

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

**The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.** Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

# UMI

A Bell & Howell Information Company  
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA  
313/761-4700 800/521-0600



# **TANTRIC YOGA**

**A Study of the Vedic Precursors, Historical Evolution, Literatures,  
Cultures, Doctrines, and Practices of  
the 11th Century Kaśmīri Śaivite and Buddhist Unexcelled  
Tantric Yogas**

**James Francis Hartzell**

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the  
requirements for the degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences**

**Columbia University**

**1997**

**UMI Number: 9723798**

**Copyright 1997 by  
Hartzell, James; Francis**

**All rights reserved.**

---

**UMI Microform 9723798  
Copyright 1997, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized  
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

---

**UMI**  
**300 North Zeeb Road**  
**Ann Arbor, MI 48103**

©1997  
James Francis Hartzell  
All Rights Reserved

## ABSTRACT

### TANTRIC YOGA

A Study of the Vedic Precursors, Historical Evolution, Literatures,  
Cultures, Doctrines, and Practices of  
the 11th Century Kaśmīri Śaivite and Buddhist Unexcelled  
Tantric Yogas

James Francis Hartzell

A wide-ranging, in-depth study of the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions, this dissertation in thirteen chapters covers the historical development of Tantra in the Indian context prior to the Islamic invasions, relying principally on Sanskrit texts. The dissertation provides an introduction to Tantric studies, the Vedic and historical roots of the ideas and emergence of the traditions, the early Tantric literature and social position of the cults, the goals of the practices as understood by their advocates, with considerable technical detail on advanced stages and ultimate goals of Tantric Yoga. Chapter 1 traces the emergence of the field as a legitimate branch of Indology. Chapter 2 examines the Vedic roots of Tantric ideas and practices. Chapter 3 weighs the evidence and arguments for the earliest emergence of surviving written Tantric texts. Chapter 4 surveys early Buddhist Tantric literature in Sanskrit, and Chapter 5 provides a similar overview of the early Śaivite Tantric literature, delimited historically by the citations in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*. Chapter 6 discusses the social status of Tantra in the eyes of non-practitioners, with depictions of Tantric devotees by poets, satirists, and story tellers. Chapter 7 looks at the anatomy and physiology of the subtle body in the Āyurvedic medical tradition, the oldest Vedic *Upaniṣads*, the Yoga, Saṃkhya, and Yogācāra schools, the relationship

of medical physiology to Tantric physiology, and the role of the subtle body in Tantric Yoga. Chapter 8 examines the principles and objectives of Tantric initiation rites. Chapter 9 looks at the sexual yogas in the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric traditions. Chapter 10 introduces the *Kālacakrantra* text and its commentary *Vimalaprabhā* by Puṇḍarīka, and examines evidence for historical and geographic origins of the texts. Chapters 11-13 are annotated translations of the *Mahoddeśās* 1-3 of the fifth chapter of *Kālacakrantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, with a section from *Mahoddeśa* Four on the *Dharmasaṃgraha*. The author has not included his full translation of the fourth *Mahoddeśa*.

	<u>Page</u>
Preface	i
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. The Emergence of Tantric Studies as an Indological Discipline	35
Chapter 2. The Vedic Model	
2.0.1. Introduction	71
2.0.2. The Conceptual Framework	77
2.1. The Sun	85
2.2. The Three Fires	88
2.3. Soma	93
2.4. The Breaths	97
2.4.1. The Fire of the Winds and the Breath	98
2.4.2. Functions of the Inner Winds	100
2.4.3. Controlling the Breaths: the Mind and the <i>Mantras</i>	104
2.4.4. Controlling the Breaths with the <i>Mantras</i>	107
2.5. The Lotus	110
2.6. The Channels	113
2.7. The Directions	117
2.8. Ritual Sex	119
2.9. Modeling the Body	120
2.10. Conclusion	123
Chapter 3. An Historical Investigation into the Emergence of Tantra in India	
3.0.1. Preface	161
3.0.2. Introduction	165
3.1. Dating the Tantras	168
3.1.1. Scholarly Arguments	168
3.1.2. Textual Typology	177
3.1.3. Dharmakīrti's Evidence and Implications	184
3.2. Evidence of Tantra as a Popular Religious Movement	192
3.2.1. Daṇḍin's <i>Daśakumāracarita</i>	193
3.2.2. Bāṇa's <i>Harṣacarita</i> and <i>Kādambarī</i>	198
3.2.3. <i>Caṇḍālī</i> and <i>Tārā</i> , Populist Origins of the Tantric Goddesses	204
3.2.4. Lorenzen's Work on the <i>Kāpālikās</i> --early Śaivite <i>Tāntrikās</i>	210
3.3. Eighth and Ninth Century Evidence of Widespread Tantric Practices	214
3.3.1. Some Textual Evidence	214
3.3.2. The Orissan Temples	215
3.3.3. The Yoginī Cult	216
3.4. The Chinese Pilgrims	219



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

3.4.1. Wang Hiuen Ts'e	220
3.4.2. Hsuan Tsang	221
3.4.3. I-tsing	223
3.5. The Central Asian Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts	227
3.5.1. Gilgit	228
3.5.2. Turfan	231
3.5.3. Tun-huang	235
3.6. Acceptance and Integration of Tantric Doctrines into the Curricula of the Buddhist Universities	237
3.7. The Chinese and Tibetan Translations as a Check on the Historical Emergence of Tantra	241
3.7.1. Interaction with Tibetan Scholars	241
3.7.2. Chinese Translators of Buddhist Texts	243
3.8. Addendum--The <i>Dhāraṇī</i> Issue	253
3.9. Conclusion	256

### Chapter 4. The Buddhist Tantric Literature in Sanskrit

4.0.1. Preface	281
4.0.2. Introduction	285
4.1. English Translations of Sanskrit Buddhist Tantras	288
4.2. Canonical Classifications of Buddhist Tantras	290
4.3. Dating the Sanskrit Texts of the Buddhist Tantras	292
4.3.1. Abhayākaragupta's <i>Vajrāvalī</i> as a Dating Marker	293
4.3.2. The Tantric <i>Siddhas</i>	298
4.3.3. Some Notes on the Relative Dating of Buddhist Tantras	298
4.4. The Two 'Earliest' Buddhist Tantras	302
4.4.1. The <i>Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa</i>	302
4.4.2. The <i>Guhyasamājatantra</i>	308
4.5. Unpublished Sanskrit Material from Published Tantras	314
4.5.1. The <i>Cakrasaṃvara Tantra</i>	314
4.5.2. The <i>Hevajratantra</i>	325
4.5.3. The <i>Ekallavīra-Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra</i>	328
4.6. Extracts from Extant Sanskrit Manuscripts of Unpublished Buddhist Tantras	341
4.6.1. The <i>Ḍākinīvajrapañjara</i>	342
4.6.2. The <i>Bhūtaḍāmaratantra</i>	350
4.6.3. The <i>Abhidhānottaratantra</i>	352
4.6.4. The <i>Vajraḍākatantra</i>	354
4.6.5. The <i>Samputikā Mahātantrarāja</i>	356
4.6.6. The <i>Kṛṣṇayamāri Tantra</i>	359
4.6.7. The <i>Catuṣpūhanibandhatantra</i>	367

4.7. Texts Cited by Abhayākaragupta	
Not Yet Located in Sanskrit Manuscripts	376
4.7.1. The <i>Trailokyavijayatantra</i>	377
4.7.2. The <i>Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippanī</i>	378
4.7.3. The <i>Vajrāmṛtatantra</i>	379
4.7.4. The <i>Āmnāyamañjarī</i>	379
4.7.5. The <i>Buddhakapāla-sambara-hevajra</i>	379
4.7.6. The <i>Yoginī-saṅcāra-tantra</i>	380
4.7.7. The <i>Padmasupratiṣṭhitatantra</i>	380
4.7.8. The <i>Vajraśekharatantra</i>	381
4.7.9. The <i>Subāhu-paripṛcchā</i>	381
4.7.10. The <i>Ānandagarbha</i>	381
4.8. Conclusion	381
Chapter 5. The Kāśmīri Śaivite Tantric Literature	
5.0. Introduction	417
5.1. Śaivite Tantric Classification Schemas	419
5.1.1. Classifications of Śaivite Tantras by Scholars, Based on Traditional Schemas	419
5.1.2. Śaivite Tantric Classification Schemes from Within the Traditions	424
5.2. Contributing Streams of Thought to Abhinavagupta's <i>Trika-darśana</i>	427
5.2.1. The <i>Āgama</i> , <i>Spanda</i> , and <i>Pratyabhijñā</i> Literature	428
5.2.2. The <i>Krama</i> and <i>Kula</i> Influences	431
5.3. The <i>Tantrālokaḥ</i>	433
5.3.1. A Marker for Dating Śaivite Tantras	435
5.3.2. <i>Mālinīvijayottaratantra</i>	437
5.4. Possibly Shared Texts Between Buddhist and Śaivite Traditions	439
5.4.1. The <i>Kālottaratantra</i> and the <i>Kālacakra Tantra</i>	440
5.4.2. The <i>Amṛta-Tantra</i>	443
5.4.3. The <i>Bhūtaḍāmaratantra</i>	445
5.5. Translated Extracts from Unpublished Śaivite Tantras Cited by Abhinavagupta	452
5.5.1. The <i>Kiraṇāgama</i>	453
5.5.2. The <i>Kālikula Tantra</i>	455
5.5.3. The <i>Nigama Tantra</i>	458
5.5.4. The <i>Bhāiravakula Tantra</i>	460
5.5.5. The <i>Brahmayāmala Tantra</i>	465
5.5.6. The <i>Niśvāsa Tantra</i>	467
5.5.7. Other Extant Śaivite Tantras Cited by Abhinavagupta	468
5.6. The Published Tantras of the Abhinavagupta's Tradition	469
5.6.1. The <i>Svacchandabhairavatantra</i>	469

Tantric Yoga	TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page
5.6.2. The <i>Netratantra (Mṛtyuñjaya)</i>		471
5.6.3. The <i>Mṛgendrāgama</i>		472
5.6.4. The <i>Mataṅgapārameśvara</i>		473
5.7. Conclusion		473
<b>Chapter 6. Contemporary Literary Accounts of 9th-12th Century Kaśmir</b>		
6.0. Introduction		492
6.1. The Physical Setting		493
6.2. Kalhaṇa's References to Tantra		496
6.3. Kṛṣṇamiśra's Satire of the Tāntrikās		503
6.4. Kṣemendra's Social Satires		507
6.4.1. The <i>Samayamātrkā</i>		508
6.4.2. The <i>Narmamālā</i>		522
6.4.3. The <i>Deśopadeśaḥ</i>		527
6.5. Bilhaṇa's <i>Vikramāṅkadevacaritaḥ</i>		533
6.6. Maṅkhaka's <i>Śrīkaṅṭhacaritaḥ</i>		535
6.7. Vidyākara's <i>Subhāṣita-ratnakośaḥ</i>		541
6.8. Conclusion		543
<b>Chapter 7. Tantric Physiology</b>		
7.0. Introduction to Chapters 7, 8, and 9		557
7.0.1. Introduction to Chapter 7		563
7.1. Basic Perspectives of the Āyurveda Medical Tradition In Relation to Tantra		566
7.1.1. Epistemology of Traditional Medicine		568
7.2. Early Subtle Body Doctrines		571
7.2.1. The Early Medical Tradition		573
7.2.2. Early <i>Sāṃkhya</i> Theories of the Subtle Body		575
7.2.3. A Step Back in Time--Subtle Body Precursors in the Earliest <i>Upaniṣads</i>		577
7.2.4. The Subtle Body in the <i>Yoga Sūtras</i> and the <i>Yogavāsīṭha</i>		587
7.2.5. A <i>Yogācāra</i> View		589
7.3. The Detailed Doctrines of the Āyurvedic Medical Paradigm		591
7.3.1. The Importance of <i>Rasa</i>		593
7.3.2. The Medical and Tantric Winds		601
7.3.3. The Medical Orifices and Channels		603
7.4. The Detailed Doctrines of Tantric Physiology		606
7.4.1. The Tantric Knots and Their Upaniṣadic Precursors		611
7.4.2. The Four States of Consciousness in The Upaniṣads and Tantras		614
7.4.3. The <i>Sahaja-Kāya</i> --A Fourth Buddha Body		620
7.4.4. The <i>Trika</i> System Parallels to the <i>Kālacakra</i> Doctrines		622

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

<b>7.5. The Doctrine of the Vital Points and Their Relationship to the Subtle Body</b>	<b>625</b>
<b>7.5.1. The Locations of the Vulnerable Points</b>	<b>627</b>
<b>7.5.2. The Vulnerable Points and the <i>Cakras</i></b>	<b>630</b>
<b>7.5.3. Matching Locations of the <i>Cakras</i> Described in the <i>Kālacakra</i></b>	<b>635</b>
<b>7.5.4. A Physiological Rationale for <i>Cakra</i> Meditations</b>	<b>636</b>
<b>7.5.5. Etymology of the <i>Cakra</i> and Major <i>Nāḍī</i> Names –Hidden Meanings</b>	<b>645</b>
<b>7.6. Healing Techniques in the Tantras</b>	<b>646</b>
<b>7.6.1. Medicine and Healing Meditations in the <i>Kālacakra Tantra</i></b>	<b>647</b>
<b>7.6.2. Visionary Type-Identity Mapping of Physical Component Analysis of the Embryo Growing in the Mother’s Womb</b>	<b>653</b>
<b>7.6.3. Healing Meditations from the <i>Mālinīvijayottara Tantra</i></b>	<b>655</b>
<b>7.7. The <i>Rasāyana</i> Tradition in the <i>Kālacakratantra</i></b>	<b>656</b>
<b>7.8. Conclusion</b>	<b>668</b>
<b>Chapter 8. Tantric Initiations</b>	
<b>8.0. Introduction</b>	<b>713</b>
<b>8.1. The Six-Limbed and Eight-Limbed Yogas</b>	<b>718</b>
<b>8.2. Tantric Time</b>	<b>725</b>
<b>8.2.1. Time in the Tantric Systems</b>	<b>726</b>
<b>8.2.2. Some Tantric Categories of Time</b>	<b>736</b>
<b>8.2.3. The Unreality of Time</b>	<b>741</b>
<b>8.2.4. Detailed Mapping of Time in the Subtle Body Yogas</b>	<b>747</b>
<b>8.3. Phonemic Mapping in the Tantras</b>	<b>749</b>
<b>8.3.1. Phonemic Remapping of Time</b>	<b>751</b>
<b>8.3.2. Phonemic Protection and Purification</b>	<b>756</b>
<b>8.4. Introduction to the <i>Trika</i> System</b>	<b>760</b>
<b>8.4.1. The Atomic Method in the <i>Trika</i> Doctrine</b>	<b>771</b>
<b>8.4.2. Internalization of <i>Liṅga</i> Worship in the <i>Mālinīvijaya</i></b>	<b>776</b>
<b>8.4.3. <i>Trika Mantraśāstra</i></b>	<b>782</b>
<b>8.5. <i>Trika</i> Preliminary Initiation Processes</b>	<b>786</b>
<b>8.5.1. The <i>Svacchandabhairava Tantra</i></b>	<b>786</b>
<b>8.5.2. The <i>Netratantra (Mṛtyuñjayatantra)</i></b>	<b>792</b>
<b>8.5.3. The <i>Mālinīvijayottara Tantra</i></b>	<b>799</b>
<b>8.5.3.1. A <i>Mālinīvijaya</i> Version of the <i>Mahāmudrā</i></b>	<b>803</b>
<b>8.5.3.2. Death Meditations in the <i>Mālinīvijaya</i></b>	<b>806</b>
<b>8.6. Buddhist Tantric Initiation Rites</b>	<b>807</b>
<b>8.6.1. The Tantric Guru</b>	<b>809</b>
<b>8.6.2. Preliminary Initiation Rites</b>	<b>811</b>
<b>8.6.2.1. Creation Stage Visualizations</b>	<b>813</b>

Tantric Yoga	TABLE OF CONTENTS	Page
8.6.2.2. Perfection Stage Initiation		818
8.7. Conclusion		824
<b>Chapter 9. The Practice of Tantric Sexual Yogas</b>		
9.0.1. Preface		847
9.0.2. Introduction		849
9.1. The Cultural Context of Sexual Yogas		856
9.1.1. The <i>Kāma Śāstra</i> in the <i>Kālacakra Tantra</i>		862
9.1.2. The Sexual Implications of Subtle Body Terminology		864
9.1.3. Laws About Sex in Ancient India		865
9.2. A Cosmopolitan Secret Culture		866
9.2.1. Specific Locations of the Tantric Rites		866
9.2.2. Traveling Tantric Yogis and the Secret Codes		871
9.2.3. A Multicultural and Multidisciplinary Tantric Society		875
9.2.4. Who Ran the <i>Cakra-pūjas</i> ?		880
9.2.5. Daytime Monks and Vaidikās, Nighttime Tantric Yogis and Yoginīs		883
9.3. The Extent of the Tantric Sexual Yoga Practices		889
9.3.1. Sexual Yoga in the <i>Caṇḍamahāroṣāna Tantra</i>		894
9.3.1.1. The Consecrations		894
9.3.1.2. The Meditations		896
9.3.1.3. The <i>Ratibandhas</i>		898
9.3.1.4. Worshipping Women		900
9.3.1.5. A Reversed Perspective on Symbolic Language		902
9.3.2. The Sexual Yoga Practice in the <i>Mālinīvijaya</i>		906
9.4.0.1. Introduction to Section 9.4 and 9.5		909
9.4.0.2. Sexual Yoga in the <i>Kālacakratāntra</i>		910
9.4.1. Technology of Sexual Yoga		911
9.4.1.1. The <i>Sekoddeśa</i> and the Four Moments		918
9.4.2. Characteristics of Women Who are Tantric Consorts		921
9.4.3. Necessity of Contraception for Novice Practitioners		923
9.4.4. Provisions for Children Conceived in Tantric Rites		925
9.4.5. Honoring the Menses		928
9.4.6. 'Drinking' and 'Eating' the Five Nectars		930
9.4.7. Sectarian Disagreement with the Śaivite Tāntrikās		932
9.4.8. Sexual Light and Fire		934
9.4.9. Eating the Semen and Vaginal Juices		935
9.5. Sexual Yoga in the Kaśmīri Śaivite <i>Trika</i> System		937
9.5.1. The Technology of <i>Trika</i> Sexual Yogas		938
9.5.2. The Secret Rites of the <i>Kula</i> Tradition		941
9.5.3. Use of Meditation in the <i>Mālinīvijaya</i> to Attract Women		951
9.6. Conclusion		952

<b>Chapter 10. Introduction to the <i>Kālacakra Tantra</i> and the <i>Vimalaprabhā</i></b>	
<b>10.0. Introduction</b>	969
<b>10.1. Canonical Dating of the Text</b>	976
<b>10.2. A Western Epistemological Approach to Dating the Text</b>	982
<b>10.2.1. Relative Date of the <i>Kālacakra</i> and <i>Vimalaprabhā</i></b>	983
<b>10.2.2. Reference to the Erotic Tradition</b>	983
<b>10.2.3. Evidence that the <i>Kālacakra</i> is Post 7th Century CE</b>	985
<b>10.2.4. The <i>Karaṇa</i> and <i>Rasāyaṇa</i> Literature</b>	987
<b>10.2.5. Evidence From the Manuscripts that                 the <i>Kālacakra</i> Dates from the 10th-11th centuries</b>	989
<b>10.3. Identifying the Geographic Source of the <i>Kālacakra</i></b>	991
<b>10.3.1. The Text's Account of Its Locale</b>	992
<b>10.3.2. Possible Geographic Mapping of the Text's Locale</b>	994
<b>10.3.3. Coincidence of Names from the Text With Historical Fact</b>	1000
<b>10.3.4. Flaws in the Theory</b>	1002
<b>10.4. The <i>Purāṇa</i> Options</b>	1002
<b>10.5. References to the Kaśmīri Śaivite (<i>Trika</i>) Doctrines in the <i>Kālacakra</i></b>	1005
<b>10.5.1. Mention of Śaivite Tantras</b>	1006
<b>10.5.2. Apparent Quotation from the Śaivite <i>Kulāgama</i></b>	1008
<b>10.5.3. Incorporation of the Śākta <i>Pūhas</i> and <i>Kubjikā</i></b>	1011
<b>10.5.4. Reference to the Thirty-Seven <i>Tattvas</i></b>	1013
<b>10.5.5. Reference to the Three <i>Upāyas</i> of the <i>Trika</i> Tradition</b>	1014
<b>10.6. Locating the Tradition Within India                 --<i>Nyāsa</i> Practice in the <i>Kālacakra Tantra</i></b>	1020
<b>10.7. The <i>Kālacakra</i> Literature in Tibetan Translation</b>	1030
<b>10.8. Evidence of Variant Versions of the <i>Kālacakratantra</i></b>	1033
<b>10.9. Technical Notes</b>	1036
<b>10.9.1. Historical Derivations of Two <i>Krodheśvaras</i></b>	1036
<b>10.9.2. The <i>Bhūtasamkhyā</i> System of Naming Numbers</b>	1038
<b>10.9.3. <i>Kālacakra</i> Variants of Literal Numbering</b>	1039
<b>Chapter 11. Translation of the Fifth Chapter of the <i>Kalacakratantra</i> and <i>Vimalaprabhā</i>, First <i>Mahoddeśāḥ</i></b>	1057
<b>Chapter 12. Translation of the Fifth Chapter of the <i>Kalacakratantra</i> and <i>Vimalaprabhā</i>, 12.1. The Second <i>Mahoddeśāḥ</i> 12.2. Puṇḍarīka's Explanation of the <i>Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ</i></b>	1205 1158
<b>Chapter 13. Translation of the Fifth Chapter of the <i>Kalacakratantra</i> and <i>Vimalaprabhā</i>, Third <i>Mahoddeśāḥ</i>, Puṇḍarīka's 40 Page Sanskrit Commentary on KCT 5.127</b>	1254

**Tantric Yoga**

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

**James F. Hartzell**

**Bibliography**

**1396**

"Poetry, said Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, is inextinguishable; it exists and will exist for ever. Like love, it has kindled and will continue to kindle the hearts of man with new and pulsing life..."<sup>1</sup>

There is a tremendously wide range of material in the Tantric texts, including exquisitely detailed accounts of Purāṇic cosmologies, exact measurements for building *caityas*, precise recipes for preparing medicines and perfumes, incredibly elaborate procedures for drawing *maṇḍalas* on the ground, nearly unfathomably complicated methods of calculating time using astronomical data both empirical and imagined, and so on. I have left most of the abstruse and technical subjects out of this dissertation in order to focus on the subject I am most interested in--the role of the subtle body in the Tantric Yoga practices, and its relationship to the physical body and the spiritual or psychic aspect of the individual initiate. I have dug into a considerable amount of Vedic material to uncover the roots of these ideas in Tantra, and have added several chapters on the Tantric tradition itself--a study of its historical emergence, chapters on the Buddhist and Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric literature, and a study of the views of the Tantric tradition by non-Tantric writers. These added chapters provide important contextual balancing for this study, yet the principal focus of my research has been on the central issue of what is the subtle body, where did the ideas come from, why is it important for understanding Tantra, and what role does it play in the practice of the Tantric meditations and sexual yogas. Throughout this dissertation I have also sought



to illumine some of the relevant aspects of the shared character of what we might call the Tantric technologies--i.e. the techniques and methods used by the traditions that turn out to be widely and in some cases thoroughly shared between the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions.

There is also a wide range of Tantric material that I have not covered in this dissertation. I do not read Bengali, so I have not worked on the *doha* literature of Tantric songs, though I am well aware of the material. Since I work far faster and with greater ease in Sanskrit, I have worked principally from this material, and have not explored related material in Tibetan. I also have not read any of the Jain material that I understand is in a variety of Prakrits.<sup>2</sup> My focus is on Sanskrit Śaivite and Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric literature, principally from the time up to and including Abhinavagupta (c. 1075-1150 CE), and I have worked most closely on material that appears to come from the Kaśmīr region. As a result I have not included much material from the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition, the Śrī Vidyā tradition, or the Kālī literature.

I have long thought it rather silly when scholars rely heavily on the work of their predecessors to find references, sources, etc. and then, in retranslating the original material their predecessors have referred them to, neglect to cite the predecessors' work. In the case of *Abhinavagupta's Tantrālokaḥ*, Raniero Gnoli did an Italian translation of the entire work. Because Gnoli mixes explanatory material from *Jayaratha's* commentary into his translation, often not citing Jayaratha's words, and sometimes interpolates meaning into the verse that does not always appear to be

substantiated or must have come from his general background of knowledge, it is necessary to reread the Sanskrit carefully, and the commentary, to clarify the source material. However, in many of the cases where I have translated sections of the *Tantrālokaḥ* from Sanskrit into English, Gnoli's Italian translation has guided me to the correct sense of the verse. I have also made good use of Gnoli's index to his translation, and this index has in many cases led me to passages I might otherwise not have found. The same holds true with discussions of iconography in the Buddhist Tantra in the footnotes to the translation (principally in Chapter 11) of this dissertation. In many instances I first read De Mallmann's material, then found the original material in the Sanskrit. Again, though I translate from the Sanskrit, it was De Mallmann's work that usually led me to the correct passages, so I also cite her in the footnotes.

I also think it unnecessarily erudite to quote passages in French or German or Italian. Since I am writing in English, it seems only reasonable to either translate or paraphrase such passages into readable English, with the correct citations. So for instance when I give iconographic identifications attributed to De Mallmann, the descriptions are often paraphrases in English of what she wrote in French, with correct citations of her work and the original passage in the original language in the notes. This makes life easier on the reader who is not required to constantly switch linguistic gears, and is consistent with the practice of citing the original Sanskrit in the notes for passages I have translated.

I have tried in most instances where I translate Sanskrit to give in the endnote

a transliterated version of the original passage; for the ease of the readers I have in most cases broken up the *saṃdhiḥ* in the compounds, and separated the words by hyphens. I have not added transliterations of all the Sanskrit passages from the *Kālacakra* and the *Mālinīvijaya* since I cite from these texts extensively in the latter chapters of the dissertation and the amount of Sanskrit is unwieldy. I have not worked from any manuscript material directly. For the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* I have relied almost exclusively on the Sarnath Sanskrit editions from the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies (See Rinpoche et al in the Bibliography). For the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* and sections of the *Tantrāloka* I relied on the editions developed in the Kashmīr Series of Texts and Studies out of Śrīnagar. Unless otherwise noted, all *Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* translations in this dissertation are my own, as are all translations of the *Mālinīvijaya*.

For Bibliographic material I have used the following procedure: every citation is given in the endnotes and footnotes by the author's last name, and the year of the publication, followed by the page numbers. For the one citation in this Preface in the opening quote from Gnoli, for instance, the note reads:

Gnoli 1956:xxxii.

This refers to "Gnoli, Raniero (1956), The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta, Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956 (Serie Orientale Roma XI)," in the Bibliography, page xxxii. I have used this notation for all citations, whether of Sanskrit or English works, and for articles and book reviews as well. The Bibliography therefore doubles as a reference table for all the endnotes

and footnotes.

There are a few instances from Kuṭṭanī's story in Chapter 6 where I use both footnotes and endnotes in the same passage; this was occasioned by some long endnotes that would have been unwieldy as footnotes, and by the desire to otherwise have some clarificatory footnotes right at hand for understanding the translation. Otherwise, all the discursive chapters (1-10) and the Introduction have endnotes. The three translation chapters from the fifth Chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* (Chapters 11-13) have footnotes, and no endnotes. The single exception is a footnote on page 1036 to the translation of the colophon to the fifth chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā*.

In Chapters 11-13, I have marked the page and line numbers of the Sarnath edition of the Sanskrit in the translation. **60.25** refers, for instance, to Rinpoche et al 1994b:60.25, i.e. page 60, line 25 of the 3rd volume of the edition of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* published by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, India. In some instances I have also included these page and line number markings in the sections of the fifth chapter translations I have incorporated into Chapters 1-10. Throughout the dissertation, I have noted where I have used other scholars' translations from Sanskrit; otherwise the Sanskrit to English translations contained in this dissertation are my own original work.

1. Gnoli 1956:xxxii.
2. See the works of Paul Dundas (Edinburgh University) for information on Jain Tantra.

The study of Tantra presents a particularly difficult challenge for Indological scholars. Tantric studies were long neglected by Indologists who were too shocked or offended by the sexuality and excesses of certain Tantric cults to take the study seriously, or too bewildered by the complexities of the systems to put in the time necessary to make sense of their practices. Early Indologists concentrated their study on the Vedas and more literary texts of the Sanskrit tradition--the law books, drama and poetry, devotional texts and epics, etc., and largely ignored the Tantras. Indeed many scholars disparaged the subject of Tantra more or less completely, while simultaneously admitting its centrality to the history of religious thought in India. The venerable Rajendralal Mitra (who began his groundbreaking series of "Notices of Sanskrit Mss." in 1871) described a manuscript of the *Guhyasamagha* (sic) in his Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal as follows:

As a Tāntric composition of the esoteric kind, it has all the characteristics of the worst specimens of Śākta works of that type. The professed object, in either case, is devotion of the highest kind--absolute and unconditional--at the sacrifice of all worldly attachments, wishes and aspirations; but in working it out theories are indulged in and practices enjoined which are at once the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of, and compared to which the worst specimens of Holiwell street literature of the last century would appear absolutely pure. A shroud of mystery alone serves to prevent their true characters being seen, but divested of it works of the description would deserve to be burnt by the common hangman.<sup>1</sup>

Some fifty years later, the opinion of most scholars had changed very little from Mitra's view. Jarl Chapentier, reviewing Shahidullah's Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha<sup>2</sup> in 1930 remarked that "their vocabulary...is of the specifically

Tantric trend which may well evoke interest, but which is mainly--like the doctrines it is used to interpret--of a very repulsive nature. However, in the history of Indian (and Tibetan) religion, *Tantra* has played and is playing a great role. And no one interested in the manifold developments of what, for want of a better name, we persist in calling Hinduism, can venture wholly to look away from it, unsavory though it be from every point of view."<sup>3</sup> E. Hamilton Johnston, in a 1933 review of Bhattacharyya's An Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism refers to "the curious farango of which most Tantric works consist," and delivers the verdict "that the Tantra cannot be held to have any real value as religion or philosophy and that in some aspects it is, as the author states in his preface, the product of diseased minds."<sup>4</sup> These early opinions of Tantra by well-regarded scholars of Indian religion (and these are just a couple of examples of many such viewpoints by other earlier and later Indologists) effectively sealed off any systematic study of Tantra by academics until after the second world war--with the exception of some remarkable work by India-based scholars such as Benoytosh Bhattacharya and John Woodroffe. (See Chapter 1 for the early history of Tantric Studies up until the 1960's.) No non-Indian graduate students seriously interested in completing their Ph.D. could reasonably expect to write on a topic that the community of scholars held in such low regard. And even after the second world war, Tantric Studies was slow to develop.

These days Tantric Studies is a growing and active field, in India and abroad, having managed to shake off much of the stigma inherited from the opinions of earlier scholars. However the legacy of the earlier neglect has left many large, gaping holes

in our understanding. Finely edited and published editions exist of most of the Vedic *Samhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads*, as well as of the *Dharmaśāstras*, *Gṛhyasūtras*, etc., and many of these texts have been well-translated. The same cannot be said for the *Tantras*. Scores of manuscripts remain unedited, unread, or even lost, and the total number of edited, published, and translated texts is not great. As a result, there is a very large set of unsolved problems in the field, the majority of these issues unresolved simply because of lack of information.

In exploring the subject of Tantric Yoga in the pre-12th century Tantric traditions, this dissertation will make some contributions towards the resolution of several issues in Tantric studies. Chapter 1 looks at the reasons for the disinterest in Tantra by early scholars, and traces the emergence of the field as a legitimate branch of Indology. Chapter 2 examines the question of the historical roots of some basic Tantric ideas and symbols by looking at the genesis of these ideas in the Vedic tradition. Chapter 3 turns to what I call the pre-history of Tantra, weighing some of the evidence and arguments, pro and con, for when the Tantric texts first appeared as written documents. Chapter 4 then looks at the question of the scope of early Buddhist Tantric literature in terms of the number of texts that existed, how many of these survive, and what sort of material was or is contained in these texts. Chapter 5 provides a similar overview of the early Śaivite Tantric literature, delimited by the citations in Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*. Chapter 6 raises the question of the social status of Tantra in the eyes of non-practitioners, and looks at how Tantric devotees and ideas were presented by poets, satirists, and story tellers. Chapter 7 looks at the

anatomy and physiology of the subtle body itself as described in the Tantras, the relationship of this subtle physiology to medical theories of the Āyurveda tradition, and the role of the subtle body in the Tantric practices. Chapter 8 examines the Tantric initiation rites, focusing particularly on the principles involved and the objective of the preparatory initiations. Chapter 9 looks at the issue of the extent and practice of the sexual yogas in the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric traditions. Chapter 10 provides an introduction to the *Kālacakratāntra* text and its commentary by Puṇḍarīka, the *Vimalaprabhā*, and examines the evidence for the historical and geographic origins of the texts. Chapter 11 is a translation of the first *Mahoddeśaḥ* of the Fifth chapter of *Kālacakra*, Chapter 12 is a translation of the second *Mahoddeśaḥ*, supplemented by a section from the fourth *Mahoddeśaḥ* on the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*--the Buddhist canonical summary, and Chapter 13 is a translation of the third *Mahoddeśaḥ*, with Puṇḍarīka's forty-page Sanskrit commentary on KCT 5.127. Although I have translated the fourth *Mahoddeśaḥ* as well, Prof. Thurman and I decided not to include it in this dissertation largely due to space considerations--the fourth *Mahoddeśaḥ* is long, and contains an extensive section on alchemy that may not be of interest to most readers. Overall, then, the dissertation should provide a helpful introduction to the discipline of Tantric studies, the historical roots of the ideas and the emergence of the traditions, the scope of the early literature and the social position of the cults, the goals of the practices as understood by their advocates, as well as considerable technical detail on the advanced stages of Tantric yoga and the ultimate goals of the practice.



To begin to address the unresolved issues in the study of Tantra we can ask several basic questions. First--what is Tantra? Let us define the word. Studies of Tantra often begin with (usually dissatisfying) etymologies of the word, from the root  $\sqrt{tan}$  to stretch, extend or spread, weave, etc., and the derivative, literal meaning of a loom or a web. Using the favored scholastic metaphor of a warp and a woof in Indian thought, one can then build various explanations as to why the term *Tantra* came to refer to the subject in question. Rather than speculating, let us compare an early use of the term in the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā (Śuklayajurveda)* 38.12's reference to the Sun as "the web-weaver," (*tantrāyīṇa*). *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 14.2.2.22 explains this appellation as follows: "the web-weaver, doubtless, is he that shines yonder, for he moves along these worlds as if along a web (*Tantra*); and the Pravargya [offering] is also that (Sun): thus it is him he thereby pleases, and therefore he says, 'To the web-weaver'."<sup>5</sup> The Sanskrit reads: *Tantrāyīṇa iti | eṣa vai tantrāyī ya eṣa tapaty, eṣa hi imāṅḡl-lokās tantram iva anusaṅcaraty, eṣa u pravargyas tad etam eva etat prāṅḡti, tasmād āha tantrāyīṇa iti.*<sup>6</sup> As we shall see in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, when discussing some of the Vedic roots of various Tantric ideas, and in Chapter 7, when examining the principles of the subtle body, it is not that much of a stretch of the imagination to see the idea of a solar web as congruent with the intrinsic nature of the subtle body structure. We find in the Vedic sacrificial interpretive schemas that the solar fire in its various forms (lightning, the winds, the earthly fire) is said to pulsate through the human body, animate it, and inspire human intelligence. Explicit passages from the *Brāhmaṇas* explain the homology or identity between these natural

fires and the three fires of the Vedic sacrificial enclosure (*vedi*--see Chapter 2.2 for details). Similarly, we find in Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric material that the same basic idea of the different sacrificial fires encapsulating the natural and cosmic fires is internalized and considered a primary, functional aspect of the subtle body structure of *cakras* and *nāḍīs*. A telling example of just how far the Tāntrikas went to incorporate Vedic symbolism is found in Verse 2.36 of the Buddhist *Kālacakratantra* and the commentary thereon of the *Vimalaprabhā*. Here we find that the three main fires of the Vedic sacrificial altar are envisioned as residing inside three of the major *cakras* or centers in the subtle body. Then, as one would expect, the Tantra adds another, transcendent fire within the same structure: "Within the heart, the throat, and the lotus of the navel, lightning, the Sun, and fire respectively shine in the form of a bow, in a circle, and in a quadrangular fire-place. Above them, in the darkness, where neither Sun nor lightning nor the moon blazes, where there are no planets, stars, etc., there is another shining and purifying fire whose form is primordial wisdom." The *Vimalaprabhā* on this verse reads in part: "Here in the body, the three [outer] fires are: the *dakṣiṇāgni*, the *gārhapatya* and the *āhavanīya*; respectively, lightning, i.e. the fire of lightning is in the heart lotus in the shape of a bow; the solar fire, i.e. the domestic fire, is in the throat lotus, and the offering fire, i.e. the one that consumes the meat offerings, is in the square hole of the navel."<sup>7</sup> While we will discuss these topics in more detail in later chapters of the dissertation, the point to make here is that the notion of a solar or cosmic web of intelligent, life-supporting energy at the macrocosmic level appears to have been preserved in the Indian culture

over thousands of years, and explicitly incorporated into the technical theories and practices of the Tantric yogins.

Lubin and Keith have both pointed out that within the structuring of Vedic *śrauta* rituals, *Tantra* also referred to the original model (*prakṛti*) ritual that served as the template whereon other rituals are based. Other rituals are then seen as variants (*vikṛti-s*), incorporating variants (*avāpas*) on the original template.<sup>8</sup> What is interesting here is that within the logic of the Vedic tradition, these two different uses of the term *Tantra*--both as a web, with the Sun as the web-weaver, and as a template, or model for the *śrauta* rituals--are logically consistent. It is after all within the modeling structures of the rituals that one also models the cosmos, and models the individual's psychophysical structure. Since the cosmos that is being modeled is constructed along a solar web that pervades its structure, and the individual participating in the cosmos is said to partake of and exist within this same solar web, we find that the Vedic and later Tantric rituals function in a sort of fractal geometry fashion: from macro or micro levels of focus we find the same basic principles in operation. (The issue of Vedic modeling is taken up in Chapter 2 of this dissertation).

In the Vedic practices then we find a set of repetitive ritual practices designed, apparently, to inculcate and perpetuate in the mind of the Vedic initiate the awareness of their intrinsic identity with the solar web that pervades their physical body. This is the source of their individuality that has become a human being through their parents' sexual love; it is what sustains them while they are alive, and it is also the pathway

back to heaven at their death. The focus on the final goal, the return to heaven, is not incidental, and we find this awareness taken up in a new and sophisticated form by the Tāntrikās.

I do not however want to push the literal and esoteric interpretation of the term *Tantra* too far at this point. In practice throughout the history of the Sanskrit language, the term *Tantra* has been used primarily in its first-order derivative sense, i.e. usually to mean simply a system, as in a system of thought or practice. The term is used as such in Vedic literature, in grammar, in philosophy, and astronomy, and even politics,<sup>9</sup> just to name a few of the Sanskrit disciplines where we find texts called *Tantras*. Often "Tantra" can simply be translated as "a textbook." Examples abound. The *Sputanirṇaya-tantra* of *Acyuta*, The 'textbook (or system) for determining the correct value,' for instance, is a late 16th century work on astronomical computation by a Keralan author.<sup>10</sup> The term gained particular currency in the early medical literature of India. One of the most famous early *vaidyas* was Punarvasu Ātreya, son of Atri, who taught medicine at Taxila in the sixth century BCE, at the time of Śākyamuni Buddha. His six disciples recorded his teachings in *Tantras*, larger textbooks, and *kalpas*, smaller monographs on specific subjects, herbs, etc. The *Carakasamhitā* and *Bhedasamhitā* constitute in part collections (*samhitās*) of these earlier teachings. Similarly, the latter part of the *Suśrutasamhitā* is entitled the *Uttara-tantra*, ascribed to *Nāgārjuna*.<sup>11</sup> As we can see in examining the Bower manuscript--the earliest extant medical manuscript we have, the medical tradition also knew of texts written in a mixture of popular, ungrammatical Sanskrit

and more polished, literary Sanskrit, such as we sometimes find in the Tantric texts. So while the esoteric literary interpretations of the term may have some merit, it is equally likely that the customary use of the term *Tantra* in Sanskrit literature as a 'textbook' or 'system' with practical applications resulted in the term coming to be used for the texts of the tradition at issue in this dissertation.

Many scholars have sought to give illuminating etymologies of the term *Tantra*, while others have tried to summarize the Tantric doctrines. M.M. Haraprasād Śāstrī, writing in the Introduction to his 1900 Notices of Sanskrit MSS., remarked that

Any system of worship other than that sanctioned by the Vedas goes under the general name of Tantra or Agama. The great object of the Tāntrika works is the saving of the soul of women and Śūdras who have no access to the Vedas. The word Tantra, if I am permitted to hazard a conjecture, means shortening, abbreviation, *i.e.*, reducing in something like algebraical forms, Mantras or formulae that would otherwise run to scores of syllables.... The subject varies from the attainment of Salvation to the meanest fetish worship. Sometimes the directions of worship are plain, open, fervent, and beautifully impressive, at other times they are filthy, obscene, obscure, dark and mysterious.<sup>12</sup>

Winternitz distinguished between *Tantra* and *Āgama* by saying "*Tantra* means 'a system of doctrines,' 'a book,' *i.e.* 'Bible;' *Āgama* means 'tradition' and *Samhitā* a 'collection of sacred texts.'"<sup>13</sup> Kane, who was one of the most thorough scholars of the Sanskrit tradition, gives an illuminating summary of the use of the term *Tantra* in early Sanskrit literature, citing its use as a word for a 'loom' in the *Ṛgveda*, *Atharvaveda*, and *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, and noting Pāṇini's use of the term *tantraka* for a cloth just taken off the loom. He also cites the use of *Tantra* in the *Āpastambha*

*Śrautasūtra* to refer to a "procedure containing many parts," a reasonable connotation of a term originally used for something used to weave things together (the loom) or the woven product therefrom (the cloth). The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* uses *Tantra* to refer to a type-identity model<sup>14</sup> or encapsulation, i.e. "what being done once serves the purpose of many other actions," an early usage of the conceptual principle of representation and encapsulation that we find as a consistent theme in much of Tantric Yoga. By the time of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Paṇini, and the medical texts, *Tantra* has already come to refer to a system of doctrines and to a doctrinal text. As Kane concludes, though, "it is difficult to determine the exact time when the word tantra came to be employed in the sense it is used in the so-called tantra literature...."<sup>15</sup> Gnoli, following Filliozat, cites a traditional derivation of *Tantra* from the Śaivite *Kāmikāgama*, using a folk etymology from the roots  $\sqrt{tan}$ --to extend, and  $\sqrt{tra}$  to save: "The name Tantra derives from what extends elaborate arguments around the principles and mantras and produces salvation."<sup>16</sup> Gnoli's own explanation of the use of the term is that "The single common denominator that we find in these scriptures [the Saivite, Buddhist, and Vaisnava Tantras] is the aim they all profess--without exception only one, that is to offer to men in this world a faster and more adaptable means for achieving the supernormal powers or siddhis, that the Indians have with such anxiety always sought, or for those who desire it, a definitive liberation from the sufferings of phenomenal existence, from transmigration, from history."<sup>17</sup> Goudriaan has recently defined Tantrism as "a systematic quest for salvation or for spiritual excellence by realizing and fostering the bipolar, bisexual

divinity within one's own body.<sup>18</sup> Beyer's definition, put forward in his 1973 study of Tārā, offers a different emphasis: "Tantra is thus the 'quick path' whereon control is synonymous with power; to control the divine appearance, mantra, and ego is to act with the deity's body, speech, and mind, and to control the mind and body is to own the world."<sup>19</sup> I shall add my own attempt to these definitional efforts below. For the moment I would only remark that each of these (and many other) definitions offer helpful perspectives on a vast and complicated system of thought that goes under the rubric "Tantra," and we should rather dig deeper into the systems themselves than quibble over who has come up with the best *mantra*-like definition to summarize them.<sup>20</sup>

Whatever the historical evolution of the term *Tantra*, by the 7th-8th centuries CE it is clear (as will be discussed in Chapter 3) that a class of Hindu and Buddhist texts had emerged that gave rise to the *religious* phenomena Western scholars have generally classed under the term Tantra. Buddhist Sanskrit *Tantras* were produced (or revealed) in India continuously up through the 12th century, when Islamic invasions and destructions of the Buddhist monastic universities drove the Buddhist Tantric tradition and its advocates into Tibet and Nepal. During the latter part of the first millennium CE, Buddhist Sanskrit *Tantras* were fortunately systematically translated into Tibetan over several centuries, so that many have been preserved that would otherwise have been lost. In Nepal new Buddhist Sanskrit *Tantras* continued to appear for several hundred years after the Islamic invasions of India, though production appears to have dropped off over time. Śaivite Hindu *Tantras* also

appeared in great numbers in India in the centuries prior to the Islamic invasions, and then, despite being somewhat driven underground, were still produced in significant numbers (including many Tantric digests) under Moghul and British rulers, so that we even have some new texts dating from the late 19th century.

The focus of this dissertation is on the Buddhist and Kaśmīri Śaivite Sanskrit Tantras that appeared in India prior to the Islamic invasions. There are several reasons for this. Prior to the destruction of the Buddhist monastic universities, the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions had apparently grown quite close, offering interesting comparative avenues of research, and providing us with the opportunity to assess how much of the Tantric ideas and practices were common currency in Indian society at the time.<sup>21</sup> In addition, some of the best and most original Tantric writing appears by around the 11th century, particularly in Kaśmīr, not long before the whole of northern India fell under the Moghul rule. Our earliest surviving systematic encyclopedias of both the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions were also written about this time. Abhinavagupta, a very well educated and brilliant thinker living in Kaśmīr wrote the unrivalled *Tantrālokaḥ*, a survey of all the major Śaivite Tantric streams of his day. Several decades later, Abhayākaragupta, a Buddhist scholar, performed a similar task for Buddhist Tantra with his *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalauḥyikāḥ*. The Buddhist Tantra I have focused most closely on, the *Kālacakratantram*, appears to have emerged (in its written form) around the beginning of the second millennium, and appears to represent the most advanced development of its genre. So we have in north India, just prior to the Islamic takeover, a flourishing



Tantric culture that may have reached its high water mark at that time in terms of creative thinking.

To return to the question, 'what is Tantra?', I will hedge my initial response by saying that the question is difficult to answer simply because the Tantric traditions synthesized so much material from earlier strands of the Indic systems. We find extensive Vedic symbolism (as explained by the *Brāhmaṇas*) integrated into both Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras (Vedic symbolism will be discussed in Chapter 2). We find a thorough-going integration of the ascetic-oriented Buddhist and Hindu Yogic and meditational traditions, and we will examine some of these incorporations in Chapter 3, though they will be referred to as well in Chapters 7-9. Ancient Atharvaveda, Āyurveda, astronomical and astrological doctrines are mixed together with advanced philosophical, medical, alchemical, and cosmological doctrines. Then, into this mix of different doctrinal strands is brought the explosive issue of human sexuality, with the central doctrine of harnessing the immense power of physical hetero-sexuality as swiftest route to salvation, liberation, Buddhahood, or union/identification with Śiva.

To turn the dime on its head, so to speak, let us begin the discussion then with a look at why the Tāntrikas took such a keen interest in sex. In the earliest Vedic material we find a very frank acknowledgement of the power of human fertility and sexuality as the source and origin of human life--certainly a very common sense position. The Vedic thinkers also frankly acknowledged the divine component of human existence, recognizing the central power of the Sun as the giver of life--again a

very common sense proposition: turn off the Sun and we would all freeze to death. For the early Indians, then, it made perfect sense to assume that the soul or spirit of the person came from the Sun (as its first womb), entered the semen and was born in the mother's womb (its second womb; these doctrines are explicitly stated in for instance the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*--see Chapter 2.1). It also made perfect sense to celebrate and recognize other basic sources of life, such as fire, the rains, food, and of course breath itself--and to speculate on the divine underpinnings of these sources, and their contributions to human existence. Hence we find sanctifications of these sources in the various Vedic sacrificial rituals, deifications of them, and songs of praise in the Vedic hymns invoking these very deifications in attempts to win various types of prosperity. Perhaps because of the organic nature of the resultant deities, viz. the fire god (*Agni*), the storm god (*Indra*), the Sun god (*Sūrya*), etc., along with the frank appreciation of the role of these natural forces in creating and sustaining human life, it was not much of a logical leap for the Indian mind to reidentify with the very deifications they had created for themselves. So we find in very early Sanskrit writings the fire deity conceived of as residing in the human heart, the wind deities coursing through internal channels of the body, the Solar deity infusing and impelling human consciousness, and so on. In the famed *Gayatrī mantra*, for instance, RV 3.62.10, recited daily by good *vaidika* brahmans, we find the notion: "May we acquire that excellence of the Stimulator [i.e. the Sun], the radiance of the Lord; may it activate our intelligence."<sup>22</sup> We find an interpretive passage (one of many such) in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that makes clear just how the Sun is

conceived of as playing an inspirational role: "Savitṛ, forsooth, is his mind: therefore he draws the Sāvitra cup. And, forsooth, Savitṛ is his breath (vital air);-- when he draws the Upāṃśu cup [another libation], then he puts into him that vital air in front; and when he draws the Sāvitra cup, then he puts into him that vital air behind: thus those two vital airs on both sides are beneficial (or, put into him), both that which is above and that which is below."<sup>23</sup> That is, the life-giving energy of the Sun is invoked to fire-up men's minds. (We are reminded by this of the notion of the web-weaver Sun traveling through the web (*tantra*) of the universe mentioned above.) For the principle of self-identification with the supreme being (Buddhahood or identity with Śiva) that stands as a constituent part of the goal of the Tāntrikās, we should also consider here the contribution of Śākyamuni Buddha. For while the Vedic thinkers (including the interpreters in the *Brāhmaṇās* and *Upaniṣads*) saw deific natural forces flowing through and constituting our physical/spiritual selves, it was Śākyamuni who really emphasized the notion that the individual could actually *become* or achieve for himself<sup>24</sup> the highest state.

So why sex? That is, why did the issue and the practice of sexual intercourse become such a central and problematic aspect of Tantra? From a common sense point of view the question is not difficult to answer. Sex creates us, and without it we wouldn't exist as living human beings (just as the Sun sustains us); so it is not unreasonable that a tradition would have taken this fact seriously, and attempted to deal with it directly. From a historical and religious point of view within the Indian context, there are of course greater complexities. First we should acknowledge the

incredible audacity of the Tantric tradition to propose a psychophysical technology applicable to the most private moments of one's life—the intimate sharing of sexual intercourse, and the ultimate personal crisis of death. The early Vedic thinkers also took sex very seriously, though principally as a means of procreation. The Vedic ideal was to live a long a prosperous life, to the full measure of one's years (generally considered as 100 years), and then go back to the heaven from whence one had originally come, i.e. in the Sun. The object of this endeavor was to avoid having to return to the land of "repeated dying." In this sense we can see that early Indian thinkers took a very reasonable approach to life. What are after all the two biggest events in anyone's existence? The sexual creation of their individual human physical self, and the destruction of that self at death. What we find in the Tantric traditions is that these two moments of *mysterium tremendum* have been deeply investigated and analyzed. So that by the time the Tantric texts have emerged, the conceived equation of human existence has changed considerably. The moment of sexual creation has been reexamined and reconceived of as a particularly vulnerable, particularly malleable, and particularly potent opportunity for individual transformation. Due the peculiar characteristics of the Indian doctrines of time, reincarnation, and Yogic manipulation of one's destiny, it became conceivable in the Tantric doctrines to think of altering one's karmic destiny, one's individual evolutionary path, through an alteration of the sexual experience. Hence we find (as will be discussed in some detail in Chapters 7, 8 and 9) that it was considered possible in the advanced stages of Tantric sexual yogas and meditations to move out of the fixated cycling of sequential

time and move into dimensional aspects of reality wherein time as normally conceived of *and experienced* ceased to exist. In such dimensions one's opportunity for individual self-definition, spiritual self-transformation, and psycho-somatic access to the crux of reality itself changed considerably. The technology of Tantric yoga in this manner provided a veritable 'rocket to the stars', so to speak, allowing the initiates to forever alter and accelerate their own psycho-somatic and spiritual development.

The intriguing aspect of the celibate or monastic Tantric traditions' contribution to the picture lies in their sophisticated developments around the other liminal moment of human existence, our (so far) inevitable destruction in the process of death. Here again the Tāntrikās found an opportunity of unmatched potential for individual self-transformation and psycho-somatic evolutionary acceleration. Initiates were trained to 'practice dying' meditatively, so as to swiftly and safely guide themselves through the between state of the afterlife on their way to a new birth, and gained thereby the ability to accelerate their karmic evolution during the liminal crossing points. The death doctrines appear in their most highly developed forms in the Tibetan Tantric tradition. While these notions of self-directed after-life access via meditations at the time of death are implicit in the Indian tradition from the earliest times, and occasionally mentioned briefly, I have so far not read any sections in the Buddhist Sanskrit or Śaivite Tantric texts where such death-practice or afterlife self-transformation meditations are explained in any detail. In the *Svacchanda Tantra*, for instance, meditation on Maheśvara at the point of death is mentioned only in passing to describe those who reach the *Vijaya-bhuvana*, the second world in the sphere of

water above Brahmā's egg, ruled over by Vīrabhadra.<sup>25</sup>

The Tantric sensitivity to the relationship between sexual orgasm and dying is an intriguing one, and we shall see in Chapter 7 how these two "moments" of orgasm and death intersect in terms of the reincarnation doctrine. Through the premise of reincarnation, the Indian and Tibetan Tantric traditions appear to have developed two complementary sides to the equation, as it were. The sexual focus I have found in the Sanskrit Tantric material deals with our powerful procreative urge as living human beings, and the possibilities inherent in altering our perception and experience of sexual love. The Tibetan Tantric tradition has highly developed the art of death and dying, so that reincarnating beings can die properly, and then successfully find their way back to new incarnations. In the detailed subtle body doctrines of the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions, we find that the circuitry that connects the transmigrating being to his or her physical presence is intimately involved in both the orgasmic sexual yogas and the meditations on death and dying.

Though a certain ambiguity about the end-game remains, the general principle of the Tantric sexual yoga practices seems to be as follows: Normal sexual activity involves ejaculation by the man, and eventual fertilization of the woman. This leads to birth of a child, who grows up, eventually grows old and dies, only to reincarnate by means of the ejaculatory sex of a new father fertilizing a new mother. Therefore, normal sexual activity leads to continual rebirth in the cycle of *saṃsāra*, and a repeated experience of suffering, and also traps the ejaculator in this cycle. Therefore the Tantric tradition considers the possibilities inherent in altering normal sexual

activity. There are two logical routes from this position: a) one is to avoid sex altogether, the well-known route of monks and ascetics who swear to a life of celibacy. The ascetic/celibate route was well-trodden early on in India, and the organizational genius Śākyamuni Buddha systematized much of the early ascetic and yogic practices, adding great insights, to create what came to be known as Early Buddhism--a largely monastic, celibate enterprise whose adherents specifically argued that one could only become an *arhat* as a celibate male monk, not as a family-raising householder (the best women could hope for was to be reborn as a man who could then become an *arhat*); b) The other logical route is what was taken up in the Tantric traditions--continued sexual intercourse without ejaculation. This is certainly not necessarily the most obvious step to take, and the Tāntrikās recognize the necessity of procreation as well, as we shall see in Chapter 9. Yet it represents the recognition by Tantric initiates of both sexes of the tremendous power of sexuality. Presumably, the logic appears to have been, since it is possible to create human life through sexual intercourse, it should also be possible to transform human life through transforming sexual intercourse. Such an approach maintains the access to the terrifying power that creates and destroys life, while harnessing sexual energy to attain nobler and more lasting (ideally permanent) results, viz. salvation, liberation while living (*jīvanmukti*). Buddhahood, union or identification with Śiva and Śakti, a perfected physical body (*kāyasiddhi* or *piṇḍasiddhi*) infused with cosmic fire, free of disease and endowed with magical powers. This basic schema (with many permutations) lies at the heart of the Tantric traditions, i.e. using sexuality or sexual energy as the principal, most

powerful, and most direct route to liberation or enlightenment or cosmic consciousness. So we could answer the question "what is Tantra?" by saying that Tantra refers to a variety of indigenous Indian systems that harness the transformative power of human sexuality to attain the loftiest spiritual and religious goals. This is a conditional and admittedly incomplete answer, yet I think it gets at the root of what distinguishes Tantric practice from the many philosophical and religious streams that feed into it.

Having conditionally answered our first question, let us raise a second basic one: where did Tantra come from? I have said that Tantra refers to "indigenous Indian systems." How so? As I have already stated (and will explore in more detail in Chapter 2), the Tantric systems integrate a wide range of Vedic symbolism. While one can debate 'till the cows come home whether the Vedas "are" eternal, the fact is that in India the Vedas have had a "functional eternity." Vedic texts have been recited, and Vedic rituals performed, for as long as anyone can either remember or we have records for, and this recitation and performance continues today. So Vedic symbolism and ideas have formed a constant, continual backdrop to all other religious activity in India from the earliest days--and it is not therefore that surprising to find that even in a relatively late (apparently c. 11th century CE) Buddhist Tantric text, the basic ritual and sacrificial symbols of the Vedic practices, i.e. the names of the three fires of the sacrificial enclosure along with their basic symbolism--are well integrated (as mentioned above).<sup>26</sup> Nor should it be surprising, as I am asserting in this dissertation, that some basic principles of the Vedic insights (the solar web, etc., as



mentioned above) are transformed, 'updated' one might say, and integrated in Tantric doctrines. Such sharing of material between different strands of the Indian traditions does not imply doctrinal dependence or doctrinal ascendance for any particular stream, in my opinion. I would rather say that some of the early Indian ideas about the nature of reality appear to have served as an analogue to modern Physics--i.e. they simply asserted what came to be generally accepted principles of the nature of reality, regardless of one's religious or philosophical affiliation (and we must keep in mind that with a 'functionally eternal' Vedic tradition, the early Indian ideas were a constant presence during the development of later systems). A good example of this is the doctrine of the four states of consciousness--waking, sleeping, deep sleep, and the fourth state. Though this doctrine appears in the early *Upaniṣads* that form the late books of the *Brāhmaṇas*, it is a universal fact of life that we all wake, dream, and go into deep sleep, and we find the doctrine reappearing in Yogic and Tantric texts of Buddhist and Hindu persuasions through the centuries. So there are many doctrines from the Indian tradition that seem to be simply Indian, not particularly Hindu or Buddhist. The more we examine parallel texts from both traditions, the more evident these doctrines become.

Into the mix of these early ideas (as preserved and actively maintained in the Vedic literature and tradition) came the powerful impact of Śākyamuni's perspectives. Buddhism had a major influence among other things on the systematization, preservation, and further development of the widely disparate and non-organized streams of ascetic yogas brewing in various parts of India over the centuries (quite

possibly prompting the eventual systematization of Hindu Yogic practices first emerging in Patañjali's *Yogasūtras*). And as Kenneth Zysk has rather convincingly shown, early Buddhist monks also appear to have played a pivotal role in the collection, organization, and standardization of many disparate medical doctrines. So contemporaneous with the early Vedic, Buddhist, and Yogic developments were the growth of the Atharvan magical practices as preserved in the *Atharvaveda* (and widely used in healing) and the gradual standardization of medical doctrines about the structure and function of the human body in the Āyurvedic traditions. All of these pre-first millennium CE developments appear fully-integrated, with much intervening material, in the later Tantric texts that begin to emerge into the light of day about a thousand years later. So while it is difficult (as we will see in Chapter 3) to pin down exactly when Tantra as a coherent system first emerged on the Indian subcontinent, we can say with some confidence that Tantra is largely a home-grown Indian phenomenon, given that evolutionary precursors of almost all of its essential components can be traced back to the earliest strata of Indian culture.<sup>27</sup>

Before looking at some of the specifics of the doctrines, we can ask another obvious basic question. How extensive is the corpus of Tantric literature? There are really five major strands of Tantric works, generally speaking. Buddhist, Śaivite, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava, and Jain, and outside of canonical claims I have found no reliable historical evidence to indicate whether any of these Tantric traditions can claim historical primacy (see Chapter 3). As we will deal only with the first two strands in this list of Tantric traditions, a few remarks on the others are in order here. The

Śākta Tantras have a large literature, and the texts and tradition are mostly concerned with Devī, the supreme goddess, though the texts are still revealed by Śiva in conversation with her.<sup>28</sup> This tradition tends to be located more in Southern India, and considerable work on the southern tradition has been done, particularly by the scholars at the Pondichéry Institute. The Vaiṣṇava Tantric tradition, more generally known as the Pāñcarātra tradition (or the Ekāyana in its older name), holds Viṣṇu to be the supreme being, with the bulk of its texts dealing with temple rituals of the Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition, again tending to be current more in southern India. The Jain texts are largely in Prakrit, and I have not studied them.

As I will discuss in detail in Chapter 4, there are a fair number of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras from before the 12th century CE that survive, and several others from that time that appear to be lost. How do we know of these texts? Fortunately we have from the late 11th-early 12th century the encyclopedia of Buddhist Tantric material written by Abhayākaragupta, the *Vajrāvālī nāma Maṇḍalaupayikā*, the Maṇḍala Method called the Row of Vajras (or Series of Lightning Bolts). Abhayākara cites from some 24 Tantras and commentaries predating his time, giving us a solid figure to work from in terms of the Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric material known about in his day--and we can trace many of these texts in either the few translations that have been done by Western scholars, or in excerpts preserved in Catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts. Surveying this literature in the original Sanskrit gives us a pretty good idea of the range of concerns of early Tantric writers. In addition, checking the Catalogues of the Tibetan Buddhist canon we find a host of

other apparently original Sanskrit Tantric works by Buddhist authors that survive in Tibetan translations, including some 50 works (all told) by Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti, Āryadeva, Nāgabodhi, and Buddhajñānapada, along with works translated by Marpa Lotsawa and others (see Chapter 4 for a full survey).<sup>29</sup> I have completed a similar preliminary survey (see Chapter 5) of the Śaivite Tantric literature pre-dating Abhinavagupta. Gnoli and Rastogi have indexed well over 100 Tantric works cited by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrālokaḥ*,<sup>30</sup> and a majority of these texts survive in either published or manuscript form, or at least in extracts in the Catalogues. We have in addition the often confusing and contradictory canonical lists of Śaivite Tantras, and an enormous continual growth of this literature post-Abhinavagupta. We will not look too deeply at the issue of sorting out the canonical lists, in part because this material has already been worked over by other scholars, and in part because of the restricted focus of the dissertation on the earlier Tantric corpus--since many of these lists appear to have been modified as the centuries went by in attempts to account for continual additions to the Śaivite corpus of literature. Nor will I look in any detail at the post-Abhinavagupta Śaivite Tantric literature, since this literature was written largely after the Buddhists had been driven from India, so apparently largely removing the lively interaction that appears to have taken place prior to the Muslim invasions.

It will become evident by a comparative discussion of the topics and practices outlined in the earlier Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric literature that the two systems--traditions that grew up in a common Indian context--came to share a wide range of material. Basic principles of initiation and stages of spiritual progress are common,

many of the specific consecration practices and meditation techniques are very similar, specific technical terms are sometimes the same, with the same meaning, deities are often shared, and so on. While we will avoid the spurious conclusions that either tradition is in some way derivative from the other, the evidence we have at hand strongly demonstrates that both the Śaivite and the Buddhist Tantric traditions have deep common roots, and certainly influenced each other during the course of their symbiotic development.

Before examining specific Tantric doctrines in chapters 7, 8 and 9, we will in Chapter 6 explore a poorly understood area of Tantric studies--the social position of Tantra in the larger context of Indian society. Here I have relied heavily on the satirical comedies of Kṣemendra, an 11th century Kaśmīri writer who studied aesthetics with Abhinavagupta, along with the tremendously informative history of Kaśmīr by Kalhaṇa. These revealing critiques are supplemented by a variety of material from other poets and story tellers from neighboring region and centuries, who through incidental citations, descriptions, and references help give us a more fleshed-out picture of the status of the Tāntrikās among their peers. Much of the material is humorous and some a bit outrageous, and from what I have gathered or translated it becomes evident that while non-Tantric initiates may not have understood the intricacies of Tantric practice, the general public was apparently quite well aware of the existence of the cults, and not particularly appreciative of the apparent licentiousness and hypocrisy that the Tantric teachings appeared to condone. Kalhaṇa takes pains for instance to condemn the indulgence in these practices by certain of the

kings who ruled the Kaśmīr valley. To this material one must add of course the stories of the *siddhas*, though we will not examine that literature in detail since much of it has already been well translated by other scholars.

Chapters 7-9 examine some of the more technical subjects discussed in the Tantras, i.e. the actual technology whereby the sexual energy of the individual is rechanneled through the body to bring about the desired end. Underpinning this issue is the doctrine of the subtle body--a normally invisible energy pattern that overlaps and undergirds the visible gross physical body. It is through the channels of the subtle body that the *prāṇa* or life energy is said to flow, an energy flow that is coincident with consciousness, and is said to enter the body at birth, and leave the body at death. We shall examine how the structure of the subtle body intersects with standard Āyurvedic physiology, and examine how the basic, non-sectarian physiological principles of Āyurveda are revalued and integrated into Buddhist and Śaivite mind-body meditational practices. In this sense we shall be able to discern a psycho-physical, or neuro-physiological paradigm underlying the logic of Tantric practice, and inherited in large part from an integration of some central ideas preserved in the Vedas with the basic premises of the Hindu and Buddhist Yogic traditions. What the Tantric traditions appear to have done is take the basic insight of the yogis--that mediational practices can have a direct and transformative influence on both our psychological *and physical* state of being, plus the central spiritual doctrine of the Vedas--that of the creative spiritual or sacred fire that constitutes our essential being--and added to this equation an innovative transformative approach to the high

powered energy of sexuality.

Chapter 8 will continue the discussion from Chapter 7, adding to this already complex mix of information a look at the Tantric initiation procedures, with the Indian predilection for the use of *mantras* and the use of astronomical and astrological time cycles, combined with the Tantric preoccupation with revisualization of the elements of psychology, physiology, and the universe as deities. What we shall see is that in keeping with a pattern of practice established early in the Vedic, Atharvavedic, and Buddhist healing traditions, the use of *mantras* was considered essential by the Tāntrikās for controlling and moving the life energy flowing in the subtle body. Here we find a double-level system of encoding operating. Each of the many aspects of the external universe (macrocosm), such as the five basic elements, the planets, the stars, the constellations, the units of time, etc. are conceived of as functioning simultaneously within the confines of the human body, and are identified with particular deities of the Buddhist or Śaivite cosmos. The same pattern of specific deification and internal absorption is followed for external pilgrimage sites all around India (reconceived as occupying specific bodily locations), as well as for all the elements of psychology, such as the *skandhas*, *dhātus*, and *āyatanas* of the Buddhist scheme, or the *adhvas* and *tattvas* of the Śaivite scheme, and all the basic elements of medical physiology, such as the seven tissue types (*saptadhāsus*), the three peccant humors (*tridoṣa*), and the five principle elements (*pañcamahābhūtas*). Having conceived of and visualized all these external and internal elements as deities, these deities are then mapped to the structure of the subtle body in the form of encapsulated

or essentialized seed-syllables or phonemes, the so-called *bīja-mantras*. Both Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric systems appear to be set up on the premise that the initiate can learn to sanctify macro- and microcosmic elements through deific visualization, encapsulate these deities in syntactic units, and then gain control over or mastery of all these elements through the meditational practices. This having been achieved, one can then activate, or "turn on" the newly revisioned self through the energy generated in sexual yogas. While the two principles of macro-microcosmic element identification, and the belief in the power of sound (specifically the mantric sounds of Sanskrit) to control life energy are part of the common heritage of the Vedic and early Buddhist traditions, the specific practices of the "deity-yoga" visualization of these elements as gods and goddesses, and the "firing up" of this newly visualized body structure through sexual yogas appear to have been innovations by the Tantric traditions. Mapped into this practice are the ancient Upaniṣadic doctrines of the four states of consciousness (waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state), with the Tantric doctrine that initiates can become consciously aware or alert in all four states simultaneously through balancing the flows of divinely charged sexual bliss in their subtle body centers and channels.

Reading the Tantric texts themselves reveals a host of information about the specific character of Tantric practices. We find, most notably, that some of the practices satirized by Kṣemendra were in fact specifically prescribed by the Tantras themselves (particularly the admonition to act ascetically during the day, and conduct sexual rites at night). This convergence of evidence, as will be outlined in Chapter 9,



leaves no doubt that actual sexual yogas (i.e. not purely visualized or symbolic) were central to several major Buddhist and Hindu Tantric schools prior to the Islamic invasions. The evidence we will examine will lead to the following conclusions: 1) real sexual yogas were in widespread use in Buddhist and Hindu Tantric groups at least up through the eleventh century; 2) group sexual rites were held at night in a variety of secret locations (preceded by elaborate initiatory procedures), and were accompanied by the ingestion of various stimulants; 3) these group sexual rites were essentially non-partisan--i.e. though run by members of various sects, the rites were open to members of other sects; 4) there were a variety of secret communication codes in use for identifying the locations and times of these sexual congresses, and these codes were taught to the initiates; 5) the nighttime sexual rites of the Tāntrikās eventually became widely known about in Kaśmīri society, as evidenced by Kṣemendra's satires; 6) in some circumstances young women were selected as Tantric consorts at an early age and protected for that purpose; 7) in other circumstances women ran the sexual congresses themselves and served as Tantric gurus; 8) Tantric practitioners were well aware of the potential for procreation as a result of their activities, and specific typologies of classification are outlined for "Tantric children" based on when and how they might be conceived; 9) the specifics of the progression of sexual union were integrated in detail into the Tantric doctrines and yogas. We also know, particularly from the several stages outlined in Buddhist Tantric practice, and from the sophisticated developments of Tibetan Tantrism, that monastic or celibate Tantra became well-developed, whereby initiates would engage

with meditative or artistically depicted visualizations of goddesses or female consorts. 'Visualization-only' practices are noted as a usually secondary option when it is not possible to practice with an actual physical Tantric lover, and the texts indicate that loving worship of real women was a paramount concern in the Tantric traditions. While monastic or celibate Tantra is an important component in the history and current promulgation of the tradition--including some of the modern Nath yogis in India--the ensuing chapters of this dissertation will not focus in detail on this aspect. There are two main reasons for this decision: a) the strength of Buddhist monastic Tantra rests with the Tibetan tradition, and I have restricted my research to the pre-12th century Sanskrit Tantras; b) there has been such an overemphasis on the study of the monastic Tantric tradition by contemporary Tantric scholars that it has become fashionable in some circles to argue that Tantric sex was and is purely symbolic, or that Tantric sex is not really that important to the Tantric tradition. Both of these perspectives, in my opinion, slight the fundamental premise of the Tantric traditions: i.e. that it is by a sanctification, engagement with, and transformation of the awesome creative and destructive power of sexual intercourse that we can expect to attain the ultimate goal within a single lifetime. In the logic of the Tantric tradition the position is clear: it is by sexual intercourse that each individual, physical human life is created, and it is through the mishandling of sexual energy that we destroy ourselves.

Chapter 10, the final chapter of the dissertation, will provide an introduction to the topics covered in the *Kālacakratantra*, and attempt to provide some historical and geographical grounding to a text held in high esteem by the Tibetan Tantric tradition.

The final three chapters of the dissertation contain translations of the first three of the four *mahoddeśas* or great teachings of the fifth and final chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* and its major commentary by Puṇḍarīka, the *Vimalaprabhā*. The *Kālacakratantra* is the latest text to have been produced in India prior to the Islamic invasions, and in the fifth chapter of this text we have the so-called Perfection Stage teaching of the highest, or Unsurpassed (*Anuttarayoga*) Buddhist Tantra. This chapter thereby provides us detailed information on the highest development historically and doctrinally of Indian Tantric Buddhism from the Sanskrit tradition. In keeping with the comparative focus of this dissertation, I have throughout Chapters 7-9 also quoted extensively from my own translation of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, the text considered by Abhinavagupta to be the most important Tantra of his Kaśmīri Śaivite *Trika* Tantric tradition.

The comparative, historical, and multi-textual approach I have taken in this dissertation should help to begin to illuminate what is a very large and still largely unexplored landscape of the Sanskrit Tantric traditions in India. I have grounded this work with extensive references to the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Upaniṣads* to show the relationship of the Tantric doctrines and practices to the earlier Vedic tradition. This work therefore ties the Tantric Yoga traditions into the larger context of Indian and Indo-Tibetan religious concerns, and demonstrates their inextricable linkage to the Sanskrit tradition as a whole.

## NOTES

1. Mitra 1882:257.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, vol.59, p.40, 1930. This is an interesting Journal. "The general aim of the Journal will be to make the circle of subjects connected with Indian Archaeology, as complete as possible...." [IA 1872,1:1] Burgess also emphasizes in the "Prefatory" that the aim of the Journal was to serve as "*a medium of communication* between Archaeologists and in the East and West," (p.1)—a sort of 1870's Indology net. (The Indian Antiquary, a Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, History, Literature, Language, Philosophy, Religion, Folklore, &c., Part 1, Friday, 5th January, 1872, edited by Jas. Burgess, MRAS, FRGS,; reprinted by Swati Publications, Delhi, 1984.)
3. Charpentier 1930:40.
4. Johnston 1933:180.
5. Eggeling 1900:484.
6. Upadhyaya 1970:1836.
7. Modification of Wallace's translation of the same, Wallace 1995:202. The Sanskrit reads: *Hṛt-kaṅṭhe nābhi-padme pavi-ravi-sikhinas tat sphuranti krameṇa, dhanvākāre ca vṛtte tv anudina-havane ca abdhī-koṇe ca kuṇḍe | teṣāṃ ūrdhve paro 'gnih sphurad-amalakaro jñāna-mūrtis tamo 'nte, yasmin sūryo na vidyut pati-śaśa-dharo na grahās tārakādyāḥ | | Iha śartre dakṣiṇa-agnir gārhapatyam ā[hav]antīyo 'gni-trayam | yathā-saṅkhyam hṛt-padme dhanvākāro pavih vidyud agnih, kaṅṭha-kamale vṛtte sūryāgnir gārhapatyam, nābhau caturasre kuṇḍe āhavantyaḥ kravyādāgnir iti sphuranti krameṇa |* (Rinpoche et al 1986:173).
8. In describing the development of the *śrauta* ritual system, Lubin remarks that "the entirety of the ritual was based on the system of first presenting a sacrifice as a model (*prakṛti* or *Tantra*), and then describing other sacrifices only by the points where they deviate from the model (the 'insertions [*āvāpa*]), so that they are seen as variants (*vikṛti*) of the model. Virtually all the *śrauta* manuals thus begin with the new- and full-moon sacrifice, which is the model of all non-animal sacrifices; it is also the basis for the model of the animal sacrifice, and of the soma sacrifice, and is thus at the root of all *śrauta* ritual." (Lubin 1994:149). See Chapter 2.0.2 of this dissertation for Keith's remarks.
9. We find for instance at *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 53.754, when the author is describing the changing political climate in Bengal following the death of King Śaśāṅka (aka Soma), who had fought with Harṣavardhana, that "the Bengal political system will become [i.e. degenerated into] one of mutual distrust" (*anyonya-kṣobha-śīlas tu Gauḍa-tantro bhaviṣyati*; the future tense used since this is supposed as a prediction by the Buddha.) (Jayaswal 1988:50 English, and 55 Sanskrit, and compare Jayaswal 1988:66).
10. Sarma 1974:ix.
11. See Hoernle 1893:lviii.
12. Shastri 1900:xxiv.
13. Winternitz 1963:514n.2.
14. See Chapter 2.0.2., "The Conceptual Framework" in this dissertation.
15. See Kane 1962:1031-1033.

16. "Il termine tantra è fatto tradizionalmente derivare dai due temi *tan-*, stendere e *trā-*, salvare. 'Il nome di tantra si deve a questo, che esso è ciò che stende elaborate argomenti intorno ai principi ed ai mantra e produce la salvezza.' (Kamikagama, ed. di Kumbhakonam, p. 6, citato da J. Filliozat, Rauravagama, ed. cit., Introd., p. vii)." (Gnoli 1980:11, note 2).

17. Gnoli 1980:11-12; "L'unico denominatore comune che troviamo in queste scritture [quello Scivaita, quello buddhistico e quello viṣṇuita] è offerto dal loro scopo professa, che è senza eccezione uno soltanto, cioè quello di offrire agli uomini questa èta un mezzo più adeguato e diretto per arrivare a conseguire quei poteri supernormali o << perfezioni >>, che gli Indiani hanno sempre con tanta ansia ricercato, o, per chi così volesse, la liberazione definitiva dai mali dell'esistenza fenomenica, della trasmigrazione, della storia."

18. Goudriaan & Gupta 1981:1. Goudriaan's definition continues: "This result is methodically striven after by specific means (kinds of *sādhana*): the recitation of mantras or *bijas*; the construction of geometrical cosmic symbols (*maṇḍala*); the making of appropriate gestures (*mudrā*); the assignment or 'laying down' (*nyāsa*) of powerful sounds or syllables on the body; the meditation on the deity's concrete manifestation (*dhyāna*); the application of these and other elements in special ritual procedures, to wit Tantric worship (*pūjā*), initiation (*dikṣā*) etc.; besides, the performance of Kuṇḍalinīyoga by means of which the microcosmic form of the Śakti (female divine power) present in the body in the form of a fiery tube or serpent is conducted upwards along the yogic nerves towards Śiva's mystic residence at some distance above the head."

19. Beyer 1973:94.

20. Recent and contemporary Indian opinion of Tantra in some circles seems to be as low as that of the early Indologists. When I gave a paper on Tantric Medicine to a group of Indians in Durban, KwaZulu Natal, South Africa (where Gandhi lived before moving back to India) this past summer (1996), I was told that beforehand the general opinion was that "Tantric medicine" referred to witchcraft. A.K. Chirappanath of Karnatak University states baldly, in his paper "Mantra and Yantra in Tantra" that "Tantra is generally regarded as a system of black magic." (Chirappanath 1977:409).

21. F. Max Müller, commenting on Benfey's edition of the *Pañcatantra* fables, remarked that it "opened our eyes to...how important a part in Sanskrit literature had been acted by Buddhist writers...the distinction between the works of Brahmanic and Buddhist authors had been far too sharply drawn, and that in their literary pursuits their relation had been for a long time that of friendly rivalry rather than of hostile opposition." (Müller 1898:351.)

22. *tāt savitur vāreniam bhārgo devāsya dhīmahi/ dhīyo yō naḥ pracodāyāt!* According to Tim Lubin this verse is sometimes referred to as the *sāvitrī-mantra*, and he gives a slightly different translation: "May we acquire that desirable brightness of the Divine Impeller [Deva Savitr]; may he stimulate our thoughts." RV 3.62.10. (Lubin 1994:135).

23. ŚB 4.4.1.1; Eggeling 1885:357.

24. I say "himself" only here since in Early Buddhism one had to be a male monk to attain *arhat*-ship; only later, with the *Mahāyāna* and then really the Tantric developments did women gain equal footing.

25. See Arraj 1988:247.

26. J.C. Heesterman, in his review of Chris Minkowski's Priesthood in Ancient India, A Study of the Maitrāvaruṇa Priest (publication of the De Nobili Library, Vienna 1991, 272pp.), offers remarks on Vedic ritual that could serve in part as an explanation for my

sociological point about the 'functional eternity' of Veda in India: "The striking thing about ancient Indian, more precisely Vedic, ritual is not so much its daunting intricacy. Intricacy one would expect of any ritual. The real surprise is in the utter systematization, up to the slightest detail, of the *Vedic corpus rituale*. Out of the archaic institution of sacrifice the ancient Indian ritualists constructed a near-perfect rational system of rules, a closed world of ritual set apart from the lived-in world in its own transcendent sphere. As such it is an intellectual achievement of the first order. More than being practiced it demands to be known and studied." (*Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 37, no. 3, July 1994, p. 269 of pp. 269-271).

27. Excepting of course foreign influences on the components themselves, such as the Greek and Middle Eastern contributions to the Indian astronomical and medical traditions. H.P. Shastri, B. Bhattacharya, and P.C. Bagchi have all suggested that Tantric practices may have either originated in or been influenced by cultures foreign to India. (See Joshi 1966:115n.1-3). Winternitz held that "some of these [elements of tantra] may be traced back as far as the times of the *Yajurveda*, where we already find the use of mystic syllables and words, which play such an important part in the Mantras of Tantric works. Magic also, which is one of the elements of Tantra literature, of course, reaches back to the *Atharvaveda*. But there is no line of 'evolution' from *Yajurveda* and *Atharvaveda* to the *Tantras*." (Sankalia 1972:100).

Benoytosh Bhattacharyya takes a different slant on historical development, claiming that "the seeds of Tantric Buddhism were already there in the original Buddhism in the form of *Mudrās*, *Mantras*, *Maṇḍalas*, *Dhāraṇts*, *Yoga*, and *Samādhi* as a means to attain happiness and prosperity in this world." (Sankalia 1972:100, and Bhattacharyya 1929:1). Placing these two statements side by side it is not too difficult to notice that what we really have is a difference of interpretation, rather than a difference in fact. As I shall demonstrate in the chapter on the Vedic Model, much of the basic symbolism that we find in both the Buddhist and Hindu Tantric systems is in fact the common heritage of Indian culture stemming from the more esoteric interpretations of the Vedic cult. At the same time, many of the foci of the practices did indeed "pre-exist" as it were in the earliest Buddhism and the earliest Vedic ritual. Yet this is only natural in India, where there is such a strong predilection for preserving tradition that, as Jack Hawley demonstrates with a famous slide in his basic Hinduism course, a boat of a design clearly pictured on an Indus Valley seal from some 3000-4000 years ago can be seen plying the waters of Indian rivers today. One of the better statements about Tantra as a religious, philosophical and social movement comes from Bhattacharyya: "Vajrayāna took into account all the good things, tenets, philosophical notions and theories, and incorporated all that was best in Buddhism and probably in Hinduism also, and it was owing to this that [it] attained great popularity. It satisfied everybody, the cultured and the uncultured, the pious and the habitual sinners, the lower and the higher ranks of people and devotees." (Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:xxxvi).

28. As André Padoux pointed out in his talk at Columbia University in April 1996 (see Padoux 1996).

29. See Bibliography, Appendix D.

30. Gnoli 1980:883-893.

### The Emergence of Tantric Studies as an Indological Discipline

As mentioned in the Introduction, Tantric Studies was something of an orphaned stepchild to Indology from the earliest days of Indological research up until some time after the Second World War. The main reason for such neglect appears to have been the sexual licentiousness that the Tantras appear to recommend, and that, until after the sexual revolution of the 1960's in Europe and the U.S., it was by and large considered politically correct for all Indological scholars to condemn and then ignore the Tantric tradition as much as possible. It is apparent from some of the earliest published work by Western Indologists that the various Tantric texts were certainly known to them, and had been read, at least in part, by several of the well-known pioneering Indologists. One of the first surveys of Sanskrit literature to be published in English, Gerdhan Caul's piece "On the Literature of the Hindus from the Sanskrit," appeared in the very first volume of Sir William Jones' journal *Asiatic Researches* in 1788. The ten page article briefly describes the *Vedas*, *Vedāngas*, *Dharma-sāstras*, *Purāṇas*, *Sāṃkhya* and *Yoga* texts, Buddhist, Jain, and Materialist works. Under the heading of *Veda* are said to belong "the numerous *Tantra*, *Mantra*, *Agama*, and *Nigama*, *Śāstras*, which consist of *incantations* and other texts of the *Vēdas*, with remarks on the occasion, on which they may be successfully applied."<sup>1</sup> This is an interesting--though admittedly curious--classification since it accords with the claims by adherents of the Hindu *Tantras* that their material has its sources in the *Vedas*--a claim otherwise not taken seriously by most scholars. It may well have been

that Caul was following a classification scheme related to him by one or more Indian pandits. H.T. Colebrooke, a pioneering Sanskritist not known for work on *Tantra* had apparently read some of the texts, since he cites from the *Rudrayāmalatantra* that the origin of the *Rājaputras* is "from the *Vaiśya* on the daughter of an *Ambaṣṭha*."<sup>2</sup> As Colebrook also collected a number of the Tantric manuscripts that appear in the India Office Catalogue (see below), we cannot doubt that he was familiar with the tradition. With the sixth volume of *Asiatic Researches* in 1809, The Asiatic Society decided to publish "a list of Oriental Subjects as require further illustration" as Desiderata as a frontpage to each volume. Among the subjects of "primary enquiry" among the Hindus is included, along with "Doorga Pooja" and "Kalee Pooja, or Dewalee," "Churkh Pooja." As Prof. Rachel McDermott pointed out to me, it is likely that "Churkh Pooja" refers to Charakha Puja, a Śaivite singing festival popular in Bengal, though in the Tantric tradition the Sanskrit original of this term, *cakrapūja* refers to a central rite of *Tantra* practice. In a follow-up article on Hindu religious rites, Colebrook cites the oft-repeated opinion that in the *Śākta* sect "there is a right-handed and decent path, and a left-handed and indecent mode of worship: but the indecent worship of this sect is most grossly so, and consists of unbridled debauchery with wine and women. This profligate sect is supposed to be numerous, though unavowed. In most parts of India, if not in all, they are held in deserved detestation.... [T]he left-handed path...is founded on the *Tantras*, which are for this reason held in disesteem."<sup>3</sup> The general tenor of Colebrook's remarks are echoed by Horace Hayman Wilson some 25 years later, in discussing the devotees of *Śiva*: "The



adoration of Siva, indeed, has never assumed, in Upper India, a popular form. He appears in his shrines only in an unattractive and rude emblem, the mystic purpose of which is little understood, or regarded by the uninitiated and vulgar, and which offers nothing to interest the feelings or excite the imagination. No legends are recorded of this deity of a poetic and pleasing character; and above all, such legends as are narrated in the Puranas and Tantras, have not been presented to the Hindus in any accessible shape."<sup>4</sup> Unlike most of his predecessors, though, (and many subsequent Indologists), Wilson indicated in other remarks more than a passing familiarity with the issue of Hindu Tantric literature, its dates, provenance, and principal texts:

"The followers of the *Tantras* profess to consider them as a fifth *Veda*, and attribute to them equal antiquity, and superior authority. The observances they prescribe have, indeed, in Bengal, almost superseded the original ritual. The question of their date is involved in considerable obscurity. From the practices described in some of the *Purānas*, particularly that of the *Dīkṣā* or rite of initiation, in the *Agni Purāna*, from the specification of formulae, comprising the mystical monosyllables of the *Tantras* in that and other similar compilations, and from the citation of some of them by name in different *Paurānic* works,<sup>5</sup> we must conclude that some of the *Tantras* are prior to those authorities. But the date of the *Purānas* themselves is far from determined, and whilst some parts of them may be of considerable antiquity, other portions of most, if not of all, are undoubtedly subsequent to the tenth century of the Christian era. It is not unlikely, however, that several of the *Tantras* are of earlier composition, especially as we find the system they inculcate, included by Anandagiri, in his life of *Sankarācārya*, amongst the heterodoxies which that Legislator succeeded in confuting. On the other hand, there appears no indication of *Tāntrika* notions in the *Mahābhārat*, and the name of *Tantra*, in the sense of a religious text book, does not occur in the vocabulary of *Amera Sinha* [i.e. the *Amarakośa*]. It may therefore be inferred, that the system originated at some period in the early centuries of Christianity, being founded on the previous worship of the female principle, and the practices of the *Yoga* with the *Mantras*, or mystical formulae of the *Vedas*. It is equally certain that the observances of the *Tantras* have been carried to more exceptional

extremes in comparatively modern times, and that many of the works themselves are of recent composition. They appear also to have been unknown in the West and South of India, and the rites they teach having failed to set aside the ceremonies of the *Vedas*, although they are not without an important influence upon the belief and the practices of the people. The *Tantras* are too numerous to admit in this place of the specification, but the principal are the *Śyāma Rahasya*, *Rudra Yāmala*, *Mantra Mahodadhi*, *Śārada Tilaka*, and *Kālikā Tantra*, whilst the *Kulachurāmani*, *Kulārṇava* and similar works, are the chief authorities of one portion of the *Śāktas*, the sect being divided into two leading branches, the *Dakshinācaryis* and *Vāmācharis*, or followers of the right hand and left hand ritual."<sup>6</sup>

In discussing the *yogis* of the *Gorakhnātha* lineage (presumably a safe subject since they were largely ascetics) Wilson does mention the 84 *mahāsiddhas*, without further comment.

It is generally considered that the earliest notice of Tantra by Western scholars was the "Note on the Origin of the Kāla-Chakra and Ādi-Buddha Systems" by Mr. Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in 1833,<sup>7</sup> followed by his "Notices on the different systems of Buddhism, extracted from the Tibetan authorities."<sup>8</sup> Csoma de Kőrös was a remarkable linguist, with command of Hungarian, German, "Sclavonic," some Arabic, Latin, Russian, Persian, some Sanskrit, English, and Tibetan. Trained in "ecclesiastical studies," yet with no roots tying him to his native Hungary (his parents had died, and his only brother had no need of him) he decided to go to East to Constantinople "to devote my whole life to researches which may afterwards be useful in general to the learned world of Europe, and, in particular, may illustrate some obscure facts in ancient history."<sup>9</sup> Through running into multiple "irruptions of the plague," his travel took him by a roundabout route to Baghdad, where he secured the

assistance of the English resident--the first of many such liaisons that supported him over the ensuing years. Eventually he met up with one Mr. William Moorcroft in Kashmir, who handed him "the large volume of the 'Alphabetum Tibetanum'"<sup>10</sup> of Giorgii.<sup>11</sup> Contracting through Moorcroft to supply the British Government with a Dictionary and Grammar,<sup>12</sup> de Kőrös traveled in 1823 to Zanskar in S.W. Ladakh, where he encountered the 320 volumes of the Tibetan canon, and studied them with the Lāma of Yangla. After further adventures, he ended up at the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta working for the British, and died on his way to Lhasa in 1842,<sup>13</sup> leaving some 40 Tibetan mss. to the Society. De Kőrös was certainly sympathetic to Buddhism as he encountered it, so inevitably also sympathetic to the Tibetan form of Tantric Buddhism. It is to de Kőrös of course that we owe the first Indologist's notice of the existence of the *Kālacakrantra*.<sup>14</sup>

The venerable Csoma de Kőrös was however scooped on Tantra by one Brian H. Hodgson, British Resident in Nepal, who after six years in the country sent a letter, dated 11 August 1827, to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Through "time, patience, and dexterous applications to the superior intelligence of the chief minister,"<sup>15</sup> Hodgson had succeeded in overcoming local suspicions and begun "procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism."<sup>16</sup> He developed a relationship with "an old *Bauddha* in Pátan," collected Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts and sent them to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. These include 64 Tantric manuscripts, with the *Kālacakrantra*, the *Guhyasamāja*, etc. included in the mix.<sup>17</sup> The importance of Hodgson's contribution should not be underestimated;

De la Vallée Poussin remarked in 1903 that "By the recent explorations of such scholars as S. Lévi, C. Bendall and Haraprasād [Śāstrī], our knowledge of Buddhist Sanskrit documents has increased. For years we were obliged to confine our researches to the MSS. sent to Europe by Hodgson"--Poussin nonetheless considered the *Kulikāmnāya*, a Śaivite Tantra, to be "common and unreadable literature."<sup>18</sup>

Hodgson's *Sketch of Buddhism* was largely based on a Sanskrit text written for him by a local pandit. A corrected version of the proof quotes for this text subsequently appeared in the JRASB.<sup>19</sup>

Though he correctly described the colors of the five *dhyāni* Buddhas on some sculpture he sent to England, Hodgson did not at first understand much about Tantra, considering that "the *Bauddha* equivalents for the Brahmanic *Purāna* and *Tantra* seem to be *Vyākaraṇa*, and *Upadēsa*,"<sup>20</sup> though in an article a few years later, he described characteristics of *Ādi Buddha* from the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. By 1860, having returned to England and written his book on the Buddhism of Nepal, Hodgson had gained some appreciation of Tantra, publishing drawings of Nepalese Tantric *siddhas* (including Nepalese and Tibetan versions of the Siddha Gorakhnāth):

The drawings of the Bonpa deities...are saturated with what we are accustomed to call Saiva and Śākta attributes; and, without staying to discuss how far such attributes can be truly regarded as more properly Brahmanical than Buddhist, or as borrowed by the Sangatas from their rivals, or as confined to northern Buddhism, I shall content myself at present with saying that these attributes are thoroughly worked into the Brahmanism as well as the Buddhism of the Himālaya, and into the Buddhism of Tibet, and of all the countries north of Tibet; [and] that they have a wide scriptural basis in the copious Tantras of both creeds."<sup>21</sup>

One other little known pioneer in Indology was Baron Schilling von Canstadt.

who donated a collection of Tibetan manuscripts to the Société Asiatique's Institute in 1836--they were however not catalogued until nearly a century later by the Frenchman Jacques Bacot. He was a German physician who invented a magnetic telegraph system, and also did Oriental research, compiling indexed catalogues to both the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur* while living in Kiakhta, Eastern Siberia. He undertook other Sinological researches, including a long journey along China's border, and died in Paris in 1836. Schilling's collection includes both Mongolian and Tibetan works. The Tibetan portion of the collection comprises 48 works in 79 volumes. 25 of these works are translations from Sanskrit (54 volumes), while 18 do not give Sanskrit equivalents for their titles. The additional five include two dictionaries, an astrology work, and one on medicine. Of the canonical works five are *Prajñāpāramitā*, five *ūStra* works, only one text on *vinaya*, and twelve *Tantra* works. As Bacot points out, the collection is remarkable given that Csoma de Kőrös is generally credited with being the sole Western investigator of Tibetan material at this time.<sup>22</sup> Since no further biographical information about the Baron is available from Bacot's catalogue, we can only surmise that he probably collected his manuscripts from Mongolian monasteries. His selection in the "Tantric" area include a number of meditational works, *mantra-dhāranīs*, and the text and commentaries explaining the *Bhaiṣajya-guru-tantra*, the *Amṛtahṛdaya Aṣṭāṅga-guhyopadeśa-tantra*. There are no texts from the *Tantra* collection proper.<sup>23</sup>

Aside from these two British-supported pioneers, and our German physician, Tantras were largely, though not entirely, ignored by Indologists until the end of the

19th century.<sup>24</sup> Burnouf, the famed French scholar, included a section on the Tantras in his Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, based largely on the work of Csoma de Kőrös, Hodgson, and Wilson, and a look at a Mahākāla manuscript and some *Dhāraṇīs*.<sup>25</sup> His work preceded that of de la Vallée Poussin, who among other works published in 1896 a Sanskrit edition (in transliteration) of the *Pañcakrama* with commentary, an important Buddhist Tantric text attributed to Nāgārjuna.<sup>26</sup> When we look at the work of German Indologists,<sup>27</sup> who were responsible for so much of the early progress in Sanskrit studies, we find scant attention paid to Tantra until this century. Though the Dutchman Roger's translation of 200 stanzas of Bhartṛhari appeared in German in 1663 (apparently the first translation of a Sanskrit text into a European language), and Ziegenbalg published a Tamil grammar in 1716, and Kant, Schlegel, Goethe, Hegel, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were all influenced by Indian thought, none knew of the Tantras. The 50 volumes of the great F. Max Müller's series *Sacred Books of the East*, published between 1867 and 1895, include no Tantras, nor--as one can see by consulting Winternitz's index (vol.50)--any reference to Tantric material (the one listing of 'Tantra' refers to the *Sāmkhyaśāstra*),<sup>28</sup> due in part, no doubt, to "his unconditional acceptance of the Vedic and Upaniṣadic religion with total rejection of, e.g., Śivaism and Viṣṇuism as 'degraded and savage'."<sup>29</sup> Müller's predilections are evident from the catalogue of his personal manuscript collection, where 75 of 82 mss. are of the "*Caturveda*" or their commentaries, the few remaining being grammatical or philosophical texts.<sup>30</sup> Albrecht Weber, too, Müller's older contemporary, and one of the founders of Indological studies, was

primarily interested in Vedic material, and though he published a number of studies on grammar, Jain works, some Pali material, and some of the classical Sanskrit literary works, he did not delve into Tantra.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, none of the other great 19th century German Indologists, Boethlingk, Lassen, Aufrecht, Grassman, Geldner, Benfey, Haug, Kielhorn, Hultsch, Geiger, Jacobi, Jolly, Lüders, or Meyer focused on Tantra. Only the Austrian Georg Bühler (1837-1898) published some information on Tantra in his oft-cited "Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS...."<sup>32</sup>

It's not that Tantric manuscripts were unknown to early Indologists. As with Bühler's work, though, only the scholars engaged in collecting Sanskrit manuscripts and cataloguing them appeared to have paid any serious attention to Tantric texts. One Col. Mackenzie had come to India in 1782 as a Cadet of Engineers for the Madras Establishment of the East India Company. He worked the remainder of his life in India, passing away in Bengal in 1821. In the descriptive catalogue of Col Mackenzie's collection a list of 11 *Śaiva*, *Śākta*, and *Vaiṣṇava* Tantras are among the hundreds of manuscripts he collected, including *Kṛṣṇānanda Bhattacharya's Tantrasāra*, the *Kalpa Tantra* (possibly a Vedic text), and the *Yantroddhāra*, with brief notice of their contents; we find none of the disdainful remarks made by some other scholars.<sup>33</sup> In 1871 Rajendralal Mitra began his series, "Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts," a set of nine volumes finishing in 1888 that contains listings with brief notes on content, and extracts of varying lengths in *Devanāgarī*. As Mitra explains in the Preface to the first volume, "In May, 1868, Paṇḍit Rādhākṛishṇa, of Lahore, suggested to His Excellency the Viceroy, the 'compilation, by Government, of a

catalogue of all the Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in the Libraries of India and Europe, and stating that anything done towards the encouragement of Sanskrit learning would be gratefully appreciated by scholars.'"<sup>34</sup> A few years later the Government of Bengal began to fund the project, and Mitra began his multi-year project visiting private and public collections around India. While not for the faint-hearted--given that the listings are almost entirely in Sanskrit--Mitra's "Notices" contain a gold-mine of information on the scope of Tantric literature held in public and private hands in the late 19th century. Volume 1 alone includes 104 Tantric manuscripts, out of a total of 519 manuscripts from various disciplines. As I indicated in the Introduction to this dissertation, Mitra did not however hold the Tantric traditions in very high regard. His amusing characterization of the *Kulacuḍāmaṇitantra* is typical: "Its subject is the adoration of the Devī through the medium of wine, women, &c. It is one of the text books of the Kaulas, a sect of lecherous drunkards."<sup>35</sup> Mitra however did not allow his low opinion of the traditions to get in the way of good scholarship. His work is the first really extensive cataloguing of the Tantric literature even though only as part of a wider search for Sanskrit manuscripts of all disciplines, and the full set of his volumes indicates over 300 different Tantric texts that he purchased for the Government.<sup>36</sup> Though each of his volumes contain a classification for Buddhist texts, only vol. 3 actually has any Buddhist manuscripts listed, the *Bauddha-mata-Yantra-vidhi*, the *Vītarāgastotra*, and *Milinda-panna*.<sup>37</sup> In his 1880 letter to the secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by the way, he remarks that "Kāmākhyā in Assam has been the seat of Tantric



learning for many centuries, and the number of Tantras likely to be found there will take up eighteen months or more [of research]."<sup>38</sup> All in all Rajendralal Mitra did a remarkable piece of work, given the small resources at his disposal, collecting some 3,156 manuscripts from a wide variety of Sanskrit disciplines. As reported by his successor H.P. Shastri, "He had one ण्णPait [whom he accompanied from time to time] who travelled over the country, visiting every locality where Sanskrit manuscripts were likely to be met with, and two pandits at head-quarters to assist him in collating the materials and passing them through the press."<sup>39</sup> This small crew was further impeded by problems that still plague Indologists. "He [the ण्णPait] is guided, in most instances, by popular rumor as to places where MSS. can be found, and it is not always the safest guide. Even where the rumour may be correct, the MSS. found might often happen to be well-known and common-place, in no way worthy of being recorded."<sup>40</sup> These obstacles of misinformation were compounded by the suspicion of local pandits: "Most pandits, in their simplicity, cannot conceive the true reason why a foreign Government should wish to know the contents of works which, it openly declares, treat of a false religion, and therefore readily lend their ears to the suggestion of wicked men."<sup>41</sup>

In 1894 the Sanskrit professors Ernst Windisch (U. Leipzig) and Julius Eggeling (U. Edinburgh) published the portion of the Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office dealing with Tantric literature. Though the earlier work of cataloguing the Tantric manuscripts had been done by Haas, Eggeling revised Haas' work completely, and added extracts and notes on contents of

107 Tantric manuscripts. Like Mitra's *Notices* Eggeling's work does not make easy reading since none of the material is translated from the Sanskrit, and his English explanations of the contents are generally brief; Eggeling's work does however have the benefit of complete cross-references to Mitra's listings. Most of the actual manuscripts date from the 18th century--some new works, others copies of much earlier texts, supporting the impression of continuous Tantric practice, and text production through recent times.

Haraprasad Śāstri, Honorary Philological Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, took over from Rajendralal Mitra upon the death of the latter in 1891, and continued the Government of Bengal's project of collecting and cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in India.<sup>42</sup> He brought a rather different attitude to the Tantric tradition than his predecessor: "It is a matter of regret that no systematic attempt has yet been made to collect Tantric works, and no systematic treatise written to give to the world an idea of their contents. The problem of the relation of the Tantras to the Vedas occupied my attention for a long time...."<sup>43</sup> Shāstri assuaged his own regret with the first volume of the second series of Notices in 1900. This was his own series, and in the preface to volume 1 Śāstrī gives one of the earliest detailed discussions of Tantric doctrines in his summaries of various Tantric manuscripts he had collected, and apparently read. He offers a definition of *Tantra*,<sup>44</sup> and gives brief summaries and extracts of some 35 Hindu Tantric texts largely held in private libraries.<sup>45</sup> Volume 2 followed in 1904, with another 30 summaries and extracts.<sup>46</sup> Shāstri increased Mitra's collection by 8,108 mss. for a total of 11,264 mss. in Sanskrit, Prākṛti,

Hindī, Mārwarī, Marhattī, Newarī and Bengalī, bringing greater organization to the project (supplying his traveling pandits for instance with copies of Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum), and a keener eye for detail.<sup>47</sup> The oldest MSS. date to the 9th-11th centuries CE, and relate to a variety of orthodox and sectarian Hindu schools, Buddhism's different vehicles, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇavism, Tantra, and Jainism.<sup>48</sup> The following year, 1905, Shāstri published his invaluable A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper MSS. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, containing extracts from a number of rare Sanskrit Tantric manuscripts; he followed this up with a second volume in 1915 (see citations and translations in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation).<sup>49</sup>

Shāstri's open-minded attitude was obviously still not shared by European scholars. None of Peterson's reports on the search for Sanskrit manuscripts in the "Bombay circle"--conducted in between 1882-1896--contain any mention of Tantric texts, a curious omission.<sup>50</sup> And A.C. Burnell, discussing the so-called *Mṛtyūṅgala Upaniṣad*, a brief *dhāranī* [*devatāmantra*] to *Kālāgnirudra*, evinces the standard disapproval while speculating on the meaning of the text's name: "The name *mṛtyulāṅgala* is puzzling. It cannot possibly be translated as 'halitus mortis,' as Anquetil has done, probably having mistaken one Persian word for another which looks much the same. What, however, it is really intended to mean is difficult to say. *Ulukhalāṅgala* can have only one meaning; and *mṛtyulāṅgala* is perhaps also obscene; the Tantric tracts are full of such allusions."<sup>51</sup> Oddly enough, we find a few instances of citations from the Tantras in Monier-Williams' dictionary (including

from the *Kālacakratantra*), though hardly with reliable definitions. *Khecarī* the state of flying in the sky,<sup>52</sup> is referenced to the Śaivite *Rudrayāmalatantra*; *ḍāka*, defined as "an imp attending Kālī," is cited from *Kālacakratantra* 5.38--probably looked at thanks to Csoma de Kőrös' work, since this Śaivite/Śākta definition has not much to do with the use of the term in the *Kālacakra* context.<sup>53</sup> The general paucity of any accurate definitions of Tantric terms by Monier-Williams suggests these stray references may have been picked up from secondary literature, with little appreciation of their context or meaning.

With the beginning of the twentieth century the Tantric traditions begin to get a slightly better treatment by Western Indologists, along with the continued contributions of Indian scholars. Waddell amassed in Tibet, for the Indian Government, a collection of books and manuscripts that were subsequently distributed to the libraries of the British Museum, India Office, Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>54</sup> Occasional pieces on Tantra appeared in Indological journals, such as Ewing's work on the *Śāradātilakatantra* in 1902.<sup>55</sup> Ewing noted Rajendralal Mitra's view that "Tantras constitute the life and soul of the modern system of Hinduism," and himself added "The close relation of this branch of Sanskrit literature to the every-day religion of millions of Hindus, furnishes an adequate reason for careful inquiry into the contents of the various Tantric productions."<sup>56</sup> One of the very first English translations of a Tantra appeared in 1904-06 when Aiyar published the first 11 chapters of the *Jñānapada* of the *Mṛgēndrāgama*, an *upāgama* to the 28 Śaivāgamas in vols 4-6 of his *Siddhānta Dīpikā*. Quotes from the larger Tantra appear in

Mādhava's well-known 14th century compendium, the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.<sup>57</sup>

The study of Hindu Tantra in earnest, however, was really sparked in 1913 by Sir John Woodroffe, a Calcutta judge who spent some 30 years in Bengal, and who published over the ensuing decades, under his own name, and under the pen-name Arthur Avalon--to cover himself and an unnamed Indian collaborator--the 20+ volume series *Tantrik Texts*. Woodroffe also penned several works of his own, and as these were essentially the only systematic studies of the subject by a European, he earned himself renown still in the 1950's as "the greatest European scholar of Tantrism."<sup>58</sup> Though Woodroffe's own interests and leanings were predominantly Śāktic, he included some Śaivite (a Kashmiri *Krama* text), a Buddhist, and a Vaiṣṇava Tantra in his series.<sup>59</sup> The intent of the series was simply to "print hitherto unpublished Tantras, or Tantrik works, or to reprint such as have become scarce or were issued in an incomplete form," defending this activity against a view that has been widespread until the late 20th century: "Given the rapid disappearance of MSS., the paucity of printed texts, and the general ignorance which prevails as to their subject matter, many at the present day are disposed to say that none of these matters have any importance, and that if the Shāstra threatens to pass into oblivion, that is where it ought to go. Few, if any, of those who take this view have any knowledge of the subject which they condemn."<sup>60</sup> In all of his own writings (some 18 books in addition to the *Texts*), Woodroffe--who denied being a 'convert'--self-avowedly "followed the Indian fashion and placed himself at the point of view of the Indian authors and commentators, which standpoint is not necessarily, and in all cases, his

own."<sup>61</sup> By 1927 even Winternitz had acknowledged that "Tantra Śāstras deserve a study which they previously had not received, and that they have been judged without knowledge."<sup>62</sup> Primarily thanks to Woodroffe's efforts, and Schrader's earlier work on the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra tradition, Winternitz included in the Epics and Purāṇa volume of his A History of Indian Literature, a short (18 page), though entirely reasonable and non-condemnatory account of "The Tantra Literature" at the end of the volume.<sup>63</sup>

In 1914 Alice Getty published The Gods of Northern Buddhism, the first thorough study of Buddhist Tantric iconography,<sup>64</sup> though the first really systematic studies of Buddhist Tantric texts by Indologists did not begin until in the 1930's. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, General Editor of *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* and Director of the Oriental Institute in Baroda, began publishing critical editions of and articles on largely Buddhist Tantra. His Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism and Introduction to Buddhist Iconography were the first general introductions to the subject. He published a number of articles,<sup>65</sup> and edited versions of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras with detailed introductions, including the first edited edition of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra*,<sup>66</sup> and the Abhayākaragupta's *Sādhnamālā* in 1925-1928. While Bhattacharyya's work is generally accurate (though pioneering) and informative, he was somewhat reticent about certain aspects of Tantra, so that, for instance, he elided certain portions of text in his edition of the *Śaktisaṃgamatantra* (a syncretic work with information of Śaiva, Śākta, Buddhist and Jain Tantras) so as to avoid misunderstanding on the part of the uninitiated layman.<sup>67</sup> Bhattacharyya worked against a generally hostile reception from

Western scholars, and held a partisan position on the historical priority of Buddhist Tantra (see Chapter 3 of this dissertation).

In 1935, Volume 2 of the Indian Office Catalogue appeared, this time compiled by Arthur Berriedale Keith, and in it we find 129 Brahmanical Tantric manuscripts listed and briefly extracted. F.W. Thomas added a supplement on Buddhist manuscripts, and in it we find a catalogue with extracts from the collection of Buddhist Tantric works collected by Brian Hodgson some hundred years earlier. As Hodgson's collection includes a considerable number of Tantric texts, *maṇḍala* drawings and descriptions, etc., Keith could not help but be somewhat aware of the extent of Buddhist Tantric literature, to say nothing of the Śaivite material. His opinion of the discipline is however by no means complementary: "Of no philosophical importance, but of great interest to the history of superstition, are the Tantras, the essence of which is to clothe in the garments of mysticism, the union of the soul with God or the absolute, the tenets of eroticism." Keith does add to this disparagement an argument for the existence of Tantric literature from the 7th century onwards, though unfortunately without a specific reference.<sup>68</sup>

Aside from the disparaging remarks made by Keith and others, who generally seem to have considered *Tantra's* subject matter obscene, we find a consistent pattern by earlier generations of Indologists of ignoring Tantric material except to duly catalogue it and note its existence. The subject merits no mention over the 60+ years of the *Indian Antiquary* until a few brief reviews of some *Tantra* related books appear in the early 20th century, viz. the Life of Milarepa by Evans-Wentz, and

Shahidullah's Les Chants Mystiques de Kāṇha et de Saraha.<sup>69</sup> And the opinion about *Tantra* has not changed much in sixty years. As the reviewer, Jarl Charpentier, remarks, "their vocabulary...is of the specifically Tantric trend which may well evoke interest, but which is mainly--like the doctrines it is used to interpret--of a very repulsive nature. However, in the history of Indian (and Tibetan) religion, *Tantra* has played and is playing a great role. And no one interested in the manifold developments of what, for want of a better name, we persist in calling Hinduism, can venture wholly to look away from it, unsavory though it be from every point of view."<sup>70</sup> E. Hamilton Johnston, in a review of Bhattacharyya's An Introduction to Buddhist Esotericism refers to "the curious farango of which most Tantric works consist," and delivers the verdict "that the Tantra cannot be held to have any real value as religion or philosophy and that in some aspects it is, as the author states in his preface, the product of diseased minds."<sup>71</sup> Johnston cites as a desideratum a full translation of the *Guhyasamāja* with reference to Tibetan commentaries--something that has still not been delivered.

Part of the general scholarly disdain for the Tantras was undoubtedly encouraged by Farquar's influential An Outline of the Religious Literature of India,<sup>72</sup> an oft-cited text whose generally accurate and thorough depiction of the various schools of Tantric doctrine and practice--informed largely by Avalon's texts, HP Shastri's catalogue,<sup>73</sup> and Chatterji's text--under the general term "The Śākta Systems," includes such remarks as "From the very time when the system was organized, the offerings were vegetarian, animal, and human, and the three forms



were practiced until the British abolished human sacrifice,"<sup>74</sup> and "A new movement, which really amounted to a disastrous revolution, arose in Buddhism during this period, the Tāntrik movement.... Because the main conceptions of polytheistic paganism had never been repudiated and condemned."<sup>75</sup> Farquar's work was extremely well received and is still cited as a reputable source today. A.B. Keith remarked, "it deals with its vast theme with so wide a knowledge and so much objectivity of exposition and judgement that it must immediately rank as indispensable alike to the specialist and to the general student of Indian religion."<sup>76</sup> The largely Christian persuasion of most European Indological scholars, coupled with passing judgements such as Farquar's in what became a standard reference on Indian literature, most probably influenced the majority view of those who had either no inclination to wade through Woodroffe's often amorphous style and learn anything of the Tantras for themselves, or whose libraries did not have Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

In the late 1920's Evans-Wentz--who after attending Oxford spent some five years wandering India to study with various sages--published his well-known renderings of Kazi Dawa-Samdub's (Evans-Wentz's eventual guru) translations of The Tibetan Book of the Dead (1927), Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa (1928), and Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines (1935). The Tibetan Book of the Dead included an 'Introductory Foreword' by Lāma Anagarika Govinda--(who published a set of books that became popular in the 1970's), and a Foreword from Sir John Woodroffe, who had returned from India to take up a post as Reader of Indian Law at Oxford. A later

edition included a 'Psychological Commentary' by Carl Jung, attesting to fairly wide readership. Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdub, who published a translation of the Tibetan version of the *Śrīcakrasambhāra Tantra* as volume 7 of Woodroffe's series, had served as Chief Interpreter to the Tibetan Plenipotentiary to the Indian Government, and served on the political staff of the XIIIth Dalai Lāma during the time when His Holiness visited India from 1909-1912. At his death, Lāma Dawa-Samdub was a Lecturer in Tibetan at Calcutta University.<sup>77</sup> A contemporary assessment of Evans-Wentz's publications was that "The success of his editions is, indeed, similar to that of Sir John Woodroffe's work on the Tantra systems."<sup>78</sup> Then in 1932 Obermiller published his English translation of Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism in India*,<sup>79</sup> a book that has become widely read and cited, and offers a fairly detailed, traditional canonical account of the literary production of Buddhist Tantras that have survived in Tibetan translation.<sup>80</sup> We also have in Dasgupta's *History of Indian Philosophy* (1932) some detailed discussion of the *cakras* and *nāḍīs* of the Tantric physiological system. Dasgupta was however under the mistaken impression that Āyurvedic anatomy and Tantric anatomy were entirely distinct--a misapprehension I shall discuss in some detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation, since Dasgupta's opinion has misled Tantric scholars since into virtually ignoring the important contribution Āyurveda has to make to our understanding of Tantric theories and practices.

Meanwhile the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci had been doing research that was revealing a very different perspective from the negative consensus about Tantra that had ruled most of Western scholarship. He writes in 1930, "Very little attention

has been paid up till now to Tantric literature; and yet, apart from some exceptions, the Tantras contain almost nothing which can justify the sweeping judgement of some scholars who maintain that they represent the most degenerated form of Indian speculation. On the other hand, after a careful study, I cannot help seeing in them one of the highest expression[s] of Indian mysticism, which may appear to us rather strange in its outward form, chiefly because we do not always understand the symbolical language in which they are written. Moreover, they are an unparalleled source of information to the ethnologist as well as to the historian, and when properly studied they will shed a great light upon some ignored aspects of Hindu civilization and upon the manifold elements of which this is the outcome."<sup>81</sup>

Systematic work on the Śaivite Tantras began with a small text published as volume 2 of the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies*<sup>82</sup> in 1914 by J.C. Chatterji, Director of the Archaeological and Research Department for Kashmir State; it introduced in its title the still-current though deceptive (and really only useful as a general) term Kashmir Shaivism.<sup>83</sup> Essentially an outline of the philosophical aspects of the *Pratyabhijñā* school of Kashmir Śaiva practice, this book remained for decades a primary source on Śaivite Tantra for Indologists. A summary of the Kashmir Series, published in 1958, describes 87 volumes, 56 of these--comprising 64 works--covering "the Trika Śāstra," considered by the publishers as the synthesis of "all the important systems of knowledge and thinking achieved as well as all moral and spiritual disciplines practiced previously in India,"<sup>84</sup> an opinion more in keeping with Tucci's view than that of earlier Indologists.

In the Spring of 1950 Giuseppe Tucci founded the Journal *East and West* to "find a meeting ground of understanding because the road leading to love has one starting point: mutual understanding." The sometimes rather proud attitude of Italian Indologists is reflected in Tucci's remark that "When we speak of the West we mean, of course, first of all our country, not because we think that a place of privilege is due to us, but because Italy, on herediting [*sic*] Greek culture, enriched and developed through the positive contribution of Latinity and by adding Christian experience, is better suited, through the evolution of her history, to represent the continuity of certain fundamental values on which Western culture is based."<sup>85</sup> Tucci himself, generally considered "one of the great [early] authorities on Tibetan religion,"<sup>86</sup> produced some 360 publications during a distinguished scholarly career stretching over 62 years, while amassing a library of some 20,000 volumes, and conducting numerous expeditions to India, Tibet, Nepal, and Central Asia. His wide-ranging work included a number of foundational works on Tibetan Tantrism in his seven volume *Indo-Tibetica* series (1932-1941), the three volume *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (1949),<sup>87</sup> and his influential The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala.<sup>88</sup>

Also in 1950 appeared Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta's pioneering An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism,<sup>89</sup> his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Calcutta. Based almost entirely on Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric manuscripts available to him in Bengal, Dasgupta's work presents--despite its faults--a good explanation of many of the basic concepts in Buddhist Tantra, including an interesting definition of *kālacakrayāna* quoted from H.P. Shāstrī: "What is Kāla-cakra-yāna? The word Kāla means time,

death and destruction. *Kāla-cakra* is the wheel of destruction, and *Kāla-cakra-yāna* means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction."<sup>90</sup> While this definition may raise some eyebrows among contemporary scholars (being rather incomplete and general), it is not as far-fetched as it may at first appear, given the explicit statements in the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* that it is the messengers of time (*kāladūtī*) flowing through the channels of our subtle body who kill us.<sup>91</sup>

Dasgupta also corrects what must have been a misprint in the original French text of Naudou's Buddhists of Kashmir, citing the 6th (not the 16th as Naudou says) chapter of the *Tantrāloka* as discussing the theory "of the *Kāla-cakra*"--"a perusal of the text will convince the reader that the explanation of *Kāla-cakra* as given in the *Srī-kāla-cakra-tantra* is just the same as described in the *Tantrā-loka*. The whole chapter of the *Tantrā-loka* is devoted to the exposition of the doctrine of *Kāla* (time) and the process of keeping oneself above the influence of the whirl of time. Here also time (*kāla*) in all its phases (day, night, fortnight, month, year, etc.) has been explained with reference to the functions of the vital wind (*prāṇa* and *apāna*) spread through the whole nervous system, and the process of controlling time is to control the vital wind in the nerves through Yogic practices."<sup>92</sup> It is true that the 250 verse 6th chapter of the *Tantrāloka* is entitled 'elucidation of the principle of time' ("*Kāla-tattva-prakāśanam*").<sup>93</sup> Whether the doctrines are as congruent as Dasgupta claims remains to be seen. Dasgupta had also published in 1946 a now hard to find book called Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature<sup>94</sup> focusing on the Buddhist "Sahajiyā" cult through the *dohās* of Bengali *siddhas*.

In 1954 Eliade published the French edition of Yoga, Immortality and Freedom, translated into English in 1957. One of the few scholars, other than Indians such as Bhattacharyya and Dasgupta, to fully appreciate the degree of shared doctrine and practice between the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric and Yogic traditions, Eliade's work is a real milestone that is still the most thorough introduction to the wide variety of subject matter related to yoga and the Tantras. In the following year, 1955, the French Institute of Indology at Pondichéry was founded. The Institute has since published a considerable number of texts and translations of *Śaiva Tantras*.<sup>95</sup> In 1957 Liliane Silburn began her series of publications on Kaśmīr Śaivism under the auspices of the Institute de Civilisation Indienne in Paris.<sup>96</sup> In 1959 Snellgrove published his groundbreaking translation and analysis of the Hevajratantra,<sup>97</sup> and though Conze still remarked in 1962 that "the study of the Tantric phase of Indian thought is still in its infancy,"<sup>98</sup> in the 1960's and 1970's Tantric studies really began to develop. In 1962 Kane published, as part of *History of Dharmaśāstra* a little-noticed section on *Tantrik Doctrines and Dharmaśāstra* wherein he reviews, with much more balance and thoroughness than is customary in many works on the subject, a major portion of the work that had been done on Tantra by scholars up to his time. Though a bit limited due to some of the misinformation of his predecessors, and leaning mostly on the *Śākta* Tantras published by Arthur Avalon, Kane's 120 page chapter is one of the better introductions to the subject I have come across, with a much better historical sense than most scholars of Tantra, a healthy dose of citations from the Sanskrit originals,<sup>99</sup> and considerable space devoted to both Buddhist and Hindu Tantras in a

comparative context. He notes, quite reasonably I think, that "the question whether Buddhist Tantras were prior to Hindu Tantras or *vice versa* is difficult to decide."<sup>100</sup>

In the sixties, the most active Western scholars worked in Buddhist Tantrism, with publications by Ruegg, Snellgrove, Guenther, Hajima, Chang, Grönbold, Wayman and Lessing, Naudou, Chattopadhyaya, Raghavan, and others. Indian scholars were largely responsible for progress on the Hindu Tantras, with publications by Pandey, Kaw, Banerjea, Bhatt, Krishnamacharya, and others. The French of course continued their groundbreaking work in the Kaśmīr Śaivite tradition, with Silburn's publications, Padoux's now famous text on *mantra* in the Śaivite Tantric texts, and Brunner's early works. In the 1970's research expanded considerably. Filliozat's work followed Eliade's example from the medical perspective, examining *rasāyana*, *Siddha*, and *Āyurveda* material in depth, elucidating its links to both Hindu and Buddhist Tantric practice and doctrine. The Pondichéry Institute (Pondicherry in English spelling) began publishing its now extensive series of Śaiva and Śākta texts--with some translations; in Europe Gnoli, Padoux, and Brunner began extensive work on Kaśmīri Śaivism, matched by Jaideva Singh, Sen Sharma, and Rastogi in India. Fremantle finished her translation of the *Guhyasamājatantra* (unpublished), Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya came out with the English translation of Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India, Hopkins and Petech began serious work, and Beyer's The Cult of Tārā appeared. By 1975 Agehananda Bharati would remark, in reference to Lorenzen's work on the *Kāpālikas* and *Kālamukhas*, "with this book on the market, Indologists have no longer any excuse for disregarding Hindu-Buddhist esoterica as a

way-out extravaganza: for Indian and Occidental scholars, it is now time to heed these traditions with the same care and attention as the Vedas, Purānas, Epics, and the Drama."<sup>101</sup> In 1979 Piatigorsky refers to Gupta, van Hoens, and Goudriaan's Hindu Tantrism as "the best example of a real introduction to Tantrism for scholars in the realms of Indology and of religious studies."<sup>102</sup> The reason for the general change of attitude towards Tantric studies quite likely has something to do with the sexual revolution of the 1960's and the consequent loosening of attitudes towards sex. Christopher George, in his 1974 edition and translation of eight chapters of the Buddhist *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* remarked that "It should be pointed out that the sexual subject matter of works of this genre often seem to have made it difficult for this rich literature to receive the scientific treatment it deserves." Noting de La Vallée Poussin's remarks that the *śrīpūjā* recommended in some Tantric texts recommended "disgusting practices both obscene and criminal," George commented that "It seems clear that the intellectual climate for the investigation of such texts was much less favorable in his time [early 1900's] than it is today."<sup>103</sup> (The best review of Śākta Tantrism, following the earlier work by Woodroffe, is Goudriaan's portion of Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature.)<sup>104</sup>

In the eighties and nineties, Tantric studies have begun to gain legitimacy, with panels at Sanskrit conferences, panels at Religion conferences, and increasing numbers of scholars devoting their careers to Tantra.<sup>105</sup> Even in 1987, though, Padoux still gave a succinct appraisal of the difficulties in the field: "An objective and scientific assessment of Tantrism is not easy, for the subject is controversial and



perplexing. Not only do authorities give different definitions of Tantrism, but its very existence has sometimes been denied."<sup>106</sup> Minoru Hara has summed up the transition of Tantric Studies from outcaste to acceptance diplomatically. Indologists, he says, were dissuaded from studying Tantra due to "the esoteric nature of Tantric texts, and...the strange practices prescribed therein," so that

generally speaking, information in pre-war times was extremely meagre and interpretations were often biased.... After the second world war, the situation changed greatly. This was due to the opportunities Western scholars had to travel around India, and also due to the large amount of information furnished by anthropologists who were able to engage themselves in field work. In addition to this, the inauguration of the French Institute of Indology in Pondichéry by the late Professor Jean Filliozat opened a new age for further systematic studies...[resulting in] a series of important works on the solid basis of textual criticism by eminent French Indologists.<sup>107</sup>

The postwar transition Hara speaks of is accurate: in a volume published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, Progress in Indic Studies 1917-1942, none of the 25 essays mentioned Tantra.<sup>108</sup> Recently, on the other hand, in the breakdown of subject areas for the 10th World Sanskrit Conference in Bangalore in January 1997, *Āgamas* and *Tantras* have their own listing. However, the field is still young. Kvaerne remarked as recently as 1986: "hundreds of Buddhist Tantric texts--Sanskrit manuscripts, or existing in the Tibetan and Chinese canons--remain unpublished and untranslated, and hence, as far as academic scholarship goes, inaccessible to all except a small number of specialists."<sup>109</sup>

It is not really that difficult to critique much of the scholarship that has come out over the past fifty years or so on Tantra. I am generally reluctant to do so simply because I am personally very familiar with the enormous amount of effort it takes to

learn to read Sanskrit and Tibetan, and the many years that scholars have to put in of 'basic training' before being able to address even basic questions in the field. By and large I find that most of the lacunae in prior works on Tantra (and the lacunae in my own research thus far) are by and large due to gaps information occasioned by the difficulty in reading the texts, the necessity of reading many different texts from both the Śaivite and Buddhist traditions, and the fact that most scholars of Buddhist Tantra have not received a thorough 'classical' education in Sanskrit, and so do not have the benefit of seeing the Sanskrit Tantras in the full context of the earlier Sanskrit tradition, and that most scholars of Hindu Tantra are disinclined to read the Buddhist Tantric texts. In addition, many contemporary scholars of Tantra work principally from Tibetan texts, with either a weak or a non-existent background in Sanskrit, so they are largely unaware of either the Śaivite correlates, or the roots of many of the Tantric ideas in the earlier Indian tradition. This general ignorance of the Hindu Tantric traditions by Buddhist Tantric scholars results in the unwitting characterization of many of the underpinning Tantric doctrines shared by all the traditions as specifically Buddhist, with the intimation that these doctrines are somehow the creative inventions of the Buddhist tradition, with no acknowledgement that many of the basic elements of Tantric doctrines were widely shared between the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric traditions, and in many cases with the wider Indian Sanskrit culture. One tends to find a similar ignorance of Buddhist parallels in many of the works on Hindu Tantra. This neglect of historical grounding of the Tantric doctrines on both sides of the Buddhist/Hindu fence, as it were, and a reticence to explore the roots of

Tantra in the earlier Indian tradition results in unnecessary biases in the presentation of the doctrines of the different systems, with writers sometimes giving the impression that certain doctrines are the unique contribution of one or the other religious sect, and then unfortunately using such appearances of uniqueness as fodder for asserting sectarian superiority or partisan advantage. As I will present in many different sections in this dissertation, we find that most of the subtle body doctrines, medical theories, alchemical principles, Yogic and meditational principles, astronomical and astrological principles, and so on were deeply shared between the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions. Though I have not researched the Kālī Tantric material, the Śrī Vidyā tradition, the Śaiva Siddhānta tradition, or the Vaiṣṇava or Jain Tantras in any great detail, I would not be surprised to find that many of the shared principles and practices between the Śaivite and Buddhist *Tāntrikās* were also shared by these other traditions. Yet few Tantric scholars, of either the Hindu or Buddhist traditions, have taken the time and trouble to do the sort of comparative research between the traditions to see just how far the Tantric doctrines were shared between the different traditions, to say nothing of how deeply grounded Tantric doctrines are in the earlier, non-Tantric Indian Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit popular traditions. It is precisely this sort of comparative work and historical grounding that I have tried with some success to provide in this dissertation. The problem is however an enormous one, and is contributed to by the attitudes of the Indians and Tibetans themselves. Bharati offered an amusing critique the area of "mutual amnesia" between Hindu and Buddhist believers and advocates in this regard, citing "Hindus who ignore and/or reject Hindu

tantrics, Buddhists who reject or ignore Hindu tantrics, Hindus who reject or ignore Buddhist tantrics, and Buddhists who reject or ignore Buddhist tantrics...."

characterizing the problem as basically one of "perceived and rejected identities, identities activated by an open-ended but opaque terminology."<sup>110</sup> While Bharati's critique was primarily of believers, the same could well be applied to scholars. In my opinion, the Buddhist and Hindu Tantric traditions grew up hand in hand, in a sort of *yab-yum* or *Yāmala* of their own, and to study one without studying the other is to inevitably lead to distortions in our understanding of Tantra. Woodroffe was well aware of the common features among the different Tantric schools:

It was my intention in starting this Series of Tantrik Texts to include therein specimens from all the various schools of Āgama, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Shākta and Bauddha. For, whatever may be the difference as regards doctrinal and ritual details, there are marked similarities in spirit, general outlook, and method between all the Āgamas.<sup>111</sup>

In the end, I think we all have to be wary of the temptation that our individual research projects might somehow come up with 'the last word' on Tantra. The Tantric systems of India have produced an enormous literature, most of it as yet unpublished and unread by scholars. Much research remains to be done, and much comparative work will be necessary. There is still a very long way to go.

This chapter is certainly not intended as a complete picture of the emergence of Tantric studies over the last three hundred or so years. I do not read Russian, Dutch, or any of the Scandinavian or East Asian languages (particularly Japanese), so I have not searched through such material. Since I do not read European languages as quickly as I read English, I have not had the time to do as thorough an historical

research survey of the full sets of all the German, French, and Italian Indological journals, to say nothing of the large bodies of academic literature in modern Indian languages.<sup>112</sup> There have been several surveys of Tantric literature published by Indian scholars, most notably N.N. Bhattacharya's work on the history of the Tantric tradition,<sup>113</sup> and Matsunaga's (Japanese) history of the tradition, and these indicate a really enormous body of literature that has remained largely untouched--though still extant, so the work I will present in this dissertation will still count as one of the early forays into this vast body of Sanskrit literature (to say nothing of the Tibetan, Chinese, Japanese, and other Tantric literatures).<sup>114</sup> While I have not discussed the work of post-second World War Tantric scholars in much detail here, much of this work will be referred to in Chapters 3-10 at various points, and some of it in considerable detail--so I will not attempt to do so here. Some of the specific scholarship relating to the individual Tantras of the Buddhist system and the Kaśmīr Śaivite material is referred to in Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation, and is also referred to in the context of discussing specific unresolved problems in the study of Tantra. What I have simply tried to show with this chapter is that the Tantras were largely neglected for much of the history of Indology, and it is really only within the last few decades that serious work has begun. It will take many years, and many more research projects, before we begin to gain a really thorough grasp of the intricacies of the Tantric practices.

## NOTES

1. Caul 1979{1}:292.
2. Colebrook 1979a:57.
3. Colebrook 1971c:281-282.
4. Wilson 1980:170-171).
5. A note at this point reads: "As in the *Kūrma Purāna*, the *Kapāla*, *Bhairava*, *Vāma* and *Yāmala*, and the *Pancharātra* in the *Varāha*: we have also a number mentioned in the *Saṅkara Vijayas*, of both *Anandagiri* and *Mādhava*, as the *Siva Gītā*, *Siva Saṃhitā*, *Rudra Yāmala*, and *Siva Rahasya*. It is also said in *Anandagiri*'s work, that the *Brāhmanas* were cursed by *Gāyatrī*, to become *Tāntrikas* in the *Kali* age."
6. Wilson 1980:217-218.
7. Csoma de Kőrös 1833: 57-59.
8. Csoma de Kőrös 1838: 142-152.
9. Csoma de Kőrös 1834: 128.
10. Csoma de Kőrös 1834:131.
11. Duka 1884:489.
12. Duka 1884:489.
13. Duka 1884:490.
14. See Csoma de Kőrös 1833, 1834.
15. Hodgson 1830:222.
16. Hodgson 1830: 222.
17. See Appendix A.
18. Reviews--De la Vallée Poussin 1903:189.
19. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1836, vol. 6, No. 49 pp. 48-49 & no.50, pp.71-96: "Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities in proof and illustration of Mr. Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism."
20. Hodgson 1827:229. *Vyākaraṇa* in Buddhist literature does roughly correspond to the *Purāṇas*, yet Buddhist Tantric texts are certainly called *Tantras*, as are their Hindu counterparts (see Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation for more detailed discussions of naming typologies).
21. Hodgson 1861: 396-397.
22. "Pour l'époque, celle où le Hongrois Csoma de Kőrös commençait seulement à explorer et à révéler la littérature tibétaine, le fait est assez remarquable." (Bacot 1924:323)
23. Bacot 1924.
24. It is also worth remembering who many of the earliest Indological scholars were: for the English, it was largely soldiers and civil servants stationed in India who took up Indological studies as a sideline or supplement to their regular work. Col. Campbell, for instance, an "Agent for the Suppression of Human Sacrifices, and Female Infanticide in Orissa," sent a short note to Sir Walter Elliot about a temple he visited in 1853. Elliot comments, "We must remember that this was the result of a hasty visit by an officer engaged in very harassing and

important duties in an unhealthy country...." Elliot, Walter, *Indian Antiquary*, vol 7, 1878, pp. 19-20.

25. Burnouf 1876:465-494.

26. de la Vallée Poussin 1896.

27. Wilhelm 1961:395-405.

28. Winternitz 1966:569.

29. Kunst 1976:168.

30. Wickremasighe 1902:611-651.

31. Morgenroth 1976:321-338.

32. See Bühler 1876. Bühler, who lived from 1837-1898, died in a curious drowning accident while rowing alone on Lake Constance in Vienna, when still Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Antiquities. When he had an appointment as Professor of Oriental Languages at Elphinstone College in Bombay, beginning in 1862, started the *Bombay Sanskrit Series* with Keilhorn in 1865. In 1866 he began his search for Sanskrit Manuscripts. Thanks to his fluency in spoken Sanskrit, he was able to convince many otherwise suspicious Brahman *śāstris* to part with manuscript copies. His "Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kaśmir, Rājputāna and Central India" gave the first report of *Kṣemendra*, the Kashmiri poet. (Winternitz 1898).

33. Wilson 1882:172-173.

34. Mitra 1871:3.

35. Mitra 1871:130.

36. Volume 1--104 texts; vol. 2--58 texts; vol. 3--76; vol. 4--19; vol. 5--17 texts; vol. 6--13; vol 7--20; vol 8--7; vol. 9--39.

37. Mitra 1880:xxxi.

38. Mitra 1880:xv.

39. Shastri 1892:1, and Mitra 1888:317.

40. Mitra 1888:p. 2 of his Report, following p. 316 of the volume.

41. Mitra 1888:p. 5 of his Report, following p. 316 of the volume.

42. See Shastri 1892:1.

43. Shastri 1892:5.

44. See Introduction.

45. Śāstrī 1900:xxiv-xxxvii and extracts.

46. Śāstrī 1904:x-xiii and extracts.

47. He laments at one point about Mitra's methods: "It is very difficult to correct the list of Manuscripts left by the late Rāja. Many Manuscripts have been given fanciful names, and I have often to read the whole volume through to ascertain the real name of a work.... While passing this list of MSS. through the Press, 4,5 or 6 MSS. are almost every day sent me to my office from the Society's rooms by my Paṇḍit, and I have to work through them." (Shāstrī 1895:6-7).

48. Shāstri 1917:iii-iv. Shāstri even attempted to arrange the MSS. in chronological order. Sesagiri, on the other hand, who conducted a similar search for the Madras government in 1893-4 reports only one *Tantra*, the *Kāmakalāsūtram*, a work on the worship of *Tripurasundarī*. (Sesagiri 1899:89-90).
49. See Shāstri 1905, 1915.
50. These were published as 'extra numbers' of the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.
51. Burnell, A.C 1873:267. *Ulūkhala* indicates a staff or wooden mortar, so an *ulūkhala-anga[la]* probably refers to the erect penis, the "staff-limb."
52. Also a goddess who does so; the term also refers to an expansive state of consciousness that transcends normal space-time restrictions.
53. A few others are *Jambhī*—"N. of a Goddess, Kālac.iii.132"(p.412 of the dictionary); *Śakrajāla*—"magic, sorcery, Kālac."(p.1045); and *sādhana*: "a means of summoning or conjuring up a spirit (or deity), Kālac." (p.1201).
54. Waddell 1913:170n.2.
55. Ewing 1902.
56. Ewing 1902:65.
57. Borelli 1983:435.
58. Evola 1950:31.
59. See Bibliography, Appendix B.
60. Bibliography, Appendix B, Avalon and Vidyāratna 1913:i & iv.
61. Woodroffe 1935:385-306.
62. Woodroffe 1959:viii.
63. See Winternitz 1963.
64. See Coedes 1915 and Getty 1928.
65. See Bibliography, Articles.
66. Bhattacharyya 1931.
67. Bhattacharyya 1941:vi.
68. See Keith 1928:481; his comment on dating is "That the Tantra literature is reasonably old is proved in all probability by the existence of manuscripts from 609 onwards, but the exact dates of the extant texts are hard in each case to determine...." (Keith 1928:481).
69. *Indian Antiquary* vol.59, p.40, 1930.
70. Charpentier 1930:40.
71. Johnston 1933:180.
72. Farquar 1920.
73. Grünendahl 1989.
74. Farquar 1920:202-203.
75. Farquar 1920:209.
76. Keith 1920a:627.



77. Evans-Wentz 1960:lxiii-lxxiv.
78. Heiman 1938:126.
79. Obermiller 1932.
80. See Bibliography, Appendix D.
81. Tucci 1971{1}:198.
82. Barnett 1915; see Appendix C for a select listing of these publications pertinent to Tantra.
83. Muller-Ortega 1988.
84. Bibliography, Appendix C, Volume 80:1. Volume 71 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, in 5 parts, presents the texts of the Gilgit Manuscripts, a set of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in 1931 under a stūpa at Gilgit, a town on the Gilgit river in the area of Kashmir now controlled by Pakistan; these volumes include valuable information in the prefaces on the history of Buddhism in Kashmir. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
85. Tucci 1950:1-2.
86. McDermott 1983:444.
87. Petech and Scialpi 1984:11-42.
88. Tucci 1961.
89. Dasgupta 1974.
90. Dasgupta 1974:65.
91. In the commentary on *Kālacakratantra* 5.132, a verse that speaks of the thirty-six female messengers of time (*kāladūtyah*), we find this explanation: "These many, the thirty-six channels, carrying the *prāṇa*, are the female time messengers, causing the destruction of the physical body. Therefore, the *prāṇa* that moves in them is to be stopped up." The Sanskrit reads: *Etās tāvat ṣaṭ-triṃśan-nāḍikāḥ prāṇa-pravāhataḥ kāladūtyaḥ śarīra-kṣaya-kāriṇyaḥ | tasmāt tāsu gataḥ prāṇo nirodhanīya iti nītārthaḥ |* (Dwivedi & Bahulkar 1994b:107, ll. 26-27).
92. Dasgupta 1974:66-67.
93. Dwivedi and Rastogi 1987{6}:1291.
94. Dasgupta 1946.
95. For more detail, see Chapter 5 on schemas of Śaivite Tantric literature.
96. See Silburn 1957, 1964, 1968, 1975, 1980, 1988, and 1990.
97. Snellgrove 1959.
98. Conze 1962:162.
99. Kane 1962:1031-1151.
100. Kane 1962:1038.
101. Bharati 1975:156.
102. Piatigorsky 1981:97.
103. George 1974:3.
104. Goudriaan and Gupta 1981.

105. The Germans have also recently put out a series of notices of oriental manuscripts held in German libraries (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*). Band II, vols. 1-12 covers Indian manuscripts, wherein we find a scattered collection of Tantric manuscripts of Buddhist, *Śaiva*, *Śākta*, and *Pañcarātra* origin. Though small in number relative to the other subject holdings of Sanskrit mss., the total number is not insignificant: 1603-1608, 2060-2063, 2518, 2542, 3190-3201, 3892-3897, and others listed individually.

106. Padoux 1987:272.

107. Hara 1993:350.

108. Emeneau 1946:94.

109. Kvaerne 1986:157.

110. Bharati 1993:321. Bharati was of course an unusual fellow, and unfortunately now passed on. In a chapter entitled "The Doxological Correlation between Mythos and Eros," wherein he critiques the biases and misperceptions of his contemporaries about the sexual aspects of Tantra, and the male hegemony in Indian society, he remarks that "It is a fact that in today's urban and westernized ambience, women in India may well think, speak, and even analyze their sexuality, and quite a few publications have appeared by women scholars... Yet, in the religious setting of genuine, scripture and lineage informed Hinduism, such dialogue is not as yet even thinkable. It is, of course, with the followers of the late Rajneesh and other neo-Hindu mavericks, catering very largely to a western, uninformed audience, but I am not talking about that, being concerned with genuine, serious grass-roots traditions. My own brief but well structured experience in an initiatory *cakra* in Kamrup, Assam, in 1955 hardly provides a sufficient example. But for all that it's worth, I found that the women practitioners and initiates seemed almost business like, not particularly excited, and certainly not orgasmic during the key phase of the *pañcamakāra* ritual, while the male *sādhakas* exhibited the usual signs of arousal and arousal related kinetics." (Bharati 1993:316).

111. Dawa-Samdup 1919:35.

112. I have not yet fully covered all the volumes of all the English Indological journals.

113. See Bhattacharyya 1982.

114. See de Jong 1984.

### The Vedic Model

Vena saw that which is highest in secret, where everything becomes of one form; this spotted one is milked [when] born; the heaven-knowing troops have shouted at it. May the Gandharva, knowing of the immortal, proclaim that highest abode in secret; three quarters of it [are] deposited in secret; whoso knoweth them, he shall be the father's father. He, our father, is the generator, and he is the connection who knows the abodes [and] all beings; who is the sole nomenclator of the gods, all beings come to [him to] inquire. I went at once about heaven and earth; I approached the first-born of righteousness, who abides in beings as speech does in the speaker; eager is he, is he not Agni? Around all beings I went, the web of righteousness stretched out for beholding, where the gods having attained immortality bestirred themselves, in an equal place of union. (*Atharvaveda* 2.1-5).<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.0.1. Introduction

One of the most difficult, yet most necessary questions to address in the study of the Tantric traditions is the determination of to what extent practices and ideas that are central to Tantric systems are prefigured in earlier Indian literature. The question is important because of the differing opinions on the antiquity and origin of Tantric practices in India. To put this another way, then, we may ask: how much of what we call "Tantra" can be found in earlier material? The answer, it turns out, is quite a bit; i.e. much of what we find in Tantric texts, both Hindu and Buddhist, can be found in various forms in earlier Sanskrit material. The earliest Sanskrit material we have, of course, are the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, and Āraṇyakas.

The claim to Vedic legitimacy is a common one in the Indian tradition, just as the claim to superiority to the Vedas has been commonplace in the Buddhist tradition. It is relatively rare, however, that contemporary scholars of Hinduism or Buddhism

actually do the comparative studies between the Vedic texts and the texts of the more modern traditions to determine whether the adherence to the Vedas, or the attacks on the Vedas, are based largely in fact or simply amount to hyperbole and a religious version of "political correctness." One of the central claims of the Indian tradition is the eternality of the Vedas--a claim often disputed or dismissed by Western scholars. Yet the notion of the eternality of the Vedas lingers--eternally one might say--in the background. In fact, in India's society and history, the Vedas are, we could say, 'functionally eternal.' For thousands of years the Vedic sacrifices have been performed, Vedic texts have been recited, and Vedic doctrines have been taught in India, unextinguished by the rise, incursion, or contact with powerful non-Vedic traditions. Buddhism, Jainism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, the Chinese traditions of Confucianism and Taoism, and even twentieth century secular influences and technologies have all impacted and affected--to varying degrees--the Indian religious setting. Scores of other schools of thought and practice indigenous to India have also sought preeminence, including multiple schools of *yoga* and *bhakti* practice--and many sects have arisen, gained some prominence for several centuries, and then melted away. Yet throughout the centuries, as a constant background, referent, and sometimes presumed antagonist to all schools of Indian religious thought and practice, the Vedas and the Vedic sacrificial rites and interpretations have remained a constant in India's society.

This 'functional eternality of the Vedas'--to coin a phrase--has prompted some response to their presence by all of the major schools of Indian thought and practice.

Some traditions, such as the Buddhists, argued against the validity of the Vedas. Other traditions have claimed equal validity with the Vedas, claiming to have usurped the Vedic doctrine with a newer, more accurate understanding. Still others have claimed derivation from the Vedic tradition, and adherence to Vedic principles, while espousing doctrines that, at least on the surface, appear far removed from any Vedic sources. Many traditions, however, have simply accepted the hegemonic rule of the Vedic doctrines, and have sought to position themselves as subsidiary to the Vedas (as either *upaveda* or *ñVedāgas*), jockeying for position as participants in Vedic authority and prestige.<sup>2</sup> To assess the theoretical accuracy of these various stances it is important that we take a careful look at the Vedas themselves, in order to provide a comparative analysis of the Vedic tradition with the traditions of subsequent claimants. For this dissertation, we will examine Vedic doctrines in light of Tantric doctrines.

The lack of critical comparative study of the Vedic texts has been particularly evident in Tantric scholarship. In an attempt to begin to redress this deficiency in the scope of modern Tantric scholarship, I will provide here a preliminary analysis of some of the central doctrines of the Vedic period. The sources for our discussion will be primarily the *Brāhmaṇa* texts--the works that provide the earliest exegeses of the verses of the *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Sāmaveda*, and provide explanations of most of the principle Vedic sacrificial rituals (*śrauta* rites).<sup>3</sup> It is not possible within the scope of a single chapter of this dissertation to touch on all of the salient issues, nor have I attempted to venture beyond the *Brāhmaṇas* (and a couple of *Āraṇyakas*) into the

much larger literature of the ritual *Sūtras*, *Dharmaśāstras*, or *Upaniṣads*, where more developed elaborations are found of the themes this chapter will consider.<sup>4</sup> I will attempt to delineate what I think are some of the most consistently enunciated central organizing principles of Vedic doctrine and ritual practice. It should then be possible, with a careful analysis of the same aspects (i.e. consistently enunciated central organizing principles) of Tantric doctrine to determine, at least to some extent, just what sort of relationship to Vedic thought the Tantras really have.

Studying earlier Vedic doctrines can help provide a more sharply focused perspective for the more detailed comparative study of the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantra in the later chapters of the dissertation. There are however a couple of important caveats to raise at this point. We are not looking to "find Tantra" in the *Brāhmaṇas*-- that would be to engage in a rather serious logical error of attempting to find evidence in an earlier historical strata of literature for the doctrines and practices of a system that to all appearances was developed considerably later. A similar mistake is made by some contemporary thinkers who attempt to demonstrate, usually with particular ideological motivations, that certain twentieth century physical science doctrines "already existed" in early Sanskrit texts. The logical error of this approach can be seen easily by analogy: just because the same general principles of genetic recombination hold true in Gregor Mendel's nineteenth century pea breeding experiments and in late twentieth century recombinant DNA therapies, no reasonable biologist would attempt to argue that modern recombinant DNA therapies "already existed" in Mendel's time, or in his work. Similarly, just because we may find

certain principles of the relationship of man to the cosmos were enunciated in Vedic literature, and are maintained in Tantric literature, it would be non-sensical to argue that 11th century CE Tantric practices and developed doctrines "already existed" in the Vedas. What we are looking for though are what we might call evolutionary antecedents in doctrine and practice--pursuing, as it were, a "paleontology" or "archaeology" of Tantra by examining the Vedic core. I place these two -ologies in quotation marks because when we are dealing with the historical study of the Vedic tradition relative to the later traditions, we are faced with the intriguing issue of the functional eternity of the Vedas. Though historically the oldest Sanskrit material we have available, the Vedic texts are also contemporary texts, since the oral textual traditions of the Vedic schools and the practices of the rituals they prescribe have, to a great extent, been continuously present in India for thousands of years, and are still present as I write these words. While a paleontology or archaeology in the strict sense would imply some temporal gap between current time and some past time, Vedic material is in India both ancient and modern, and from all times in between. This is a crucial fact to keep in mind when examining the relationship of other schools and traditions from India in relationship to the Veda: the Vedic tradition has always been there as a living referent.<sup>5</sup>

The second major caveat is that the following analysis of the Vedic ritual ideas and sacrificial explanations and techniques is also not intended as some sort of argument for or against priority of value on the part of the Vedic tradition vis à vis the later Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions--again an argument that is sometimes

advanced by ideologically motivated writers who wish to assert that all truth about reality can be found in the Vedas, or who wish to assert that no truth about reality can be found in the Vedas. Rather, it is an attempt to demonstrate that the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions inherited a conceptual framework of ritual and religious practice, and a set of religious symbols that were bequeathed to Indian society by the Vedic tradition. Rather than presenting a religiously motivated argument--i.e. one that might assert the superiority of one belief system over another--I will attempt to outline what I think is an eminently reasonable intellectual argument: that *certain aspects* of later Tantric thought do indeed have *historical, evolutionary* roots in earlier Vedic thought. My principal motive here is to show that by coming to understand these historical antecedents some of the more obscure aspects of the Tantric traditions will become more accessible, that is, easier to make sense of. Given the complexity and sometimes deliberate obscurity of Tantric writings, any approach that improves their accessibility should be a welcome contribution to Tantric scholarship. There is an additional point to keep in mind here, as discussed by Alexis Sanderson in his article on the relationship of the Vedic and Tantric traditions in Kaśmīr: many Śaivite Tāntrikās were apparently also practicing Vaidikās,<sup>6</sup> just as many Indian Buddhist Tantric practitioners apparently also otherwise maintained their monastic vows and practices.<sup>7</sup> We furthermore find that as late as the 17th century in India, some prominent Vaidika paṇḍits were apparently also fully cognizant of the Tantric traditions. We have still a catalogue of a 17th century private Sanskrit manuscript library belonging to Kavīndrācārya, head of the Vārānasī Paṇḍit community.<sup>8</sup> The



catalogue's Tantras are divided into 32 "*vaidikatantre*," 31 "*avaidikatantre*," 14 "*upatantra*," 6 "*anyatantra*," indicating degrees of distinction between what were considered properly 'vedic' Tantras; the catalogue also lists 28 "*purānāgama*," though these do not match the names of the 28 *Śaivāgamas*--including rather the Vaiṣṇava *Nāradyapāñcarātra* (there's a separate list of 6 "*Pancarātre*")--and 136 *upāgamas*. Interestingly, no recognizably (at least to me at present) Buddhist Tantra names are listed, and Kavīndrācārya's categories don't seem to match current Śaiva, Śākta, Kaula, etc. classifications. The library was also filled with *Purāṇas*, *Dharmaśāstra*, medical texts (*vaidyaśāstra*), 44 alchemical texts, philosophical, Vedic, grammatical, astronomical, etc. (2192 manuscripts total)--a full selection of the major genres of Sanskrit literature. The existence of almost 250 Tantric texts in the personal library of the Head Paṇḍit of Benares in the mid-17th century strongly suggests that Tantras have been held in far higher esteem in India, and for far longer, than has been assumed by many scholars.

### 2.0.2. The Conceptual Framework

There appear to be a fairly large number of aspects of ritual symbolism in the Indian tradition that were common to many different religious persuasions, constituting "common knowledge" as it were. So we find the lotus symbol, for instance, used ubiquitously in Buddhist, Śaivite, Śākta, Vaiṣṇava Tantric traditions, and widely used in many non-Tantric traditions.<sup>9</sup> Somewhat surprisingly, perhaps, we also find the lotus playing an important--though by Tantra scholars little noticed--role in Vedic ritual symbolism. Similarly the names of the four intermediate directions

are shared by the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrikās, and again we find some of these names pre-existing both traditions in the *Brāhmaṇas*. The practice of assigning deities to the directions is common. The doctrines of the five major winds flowing through subtle body channels, solar and lunar symbolism used both iconographically and doctrinally, recognition and theories about the power of *mantras*, the use of the mind to control the winds, the transformative powers of Soma, etc.--all these find their place prominently in the language and practice of Buddhist and Hindu Tantras, and appear earlier in different forms in the Vedic material. The doctrine of the twofold body, part mortal, part immortal, also appears early in the *Brāhmaṇas* and is found in the *Tantras*. The doctrine of the three fires enunciated in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and their identification with the three primary breaths, survives into the Tantric period.<sup>10</sup> Sex too places an important role in Tantric thinking and practice, and also finds a significant--though somewhat different--place in the Vedic ritual world. The use of food offerings, of invocations to the deities of the cosmos, the assignment of deities to the sense functions, initiation, and the importance of a good *guru*, are all found in Vedic ritual and play roles in later Tantric ritual.

There are two questions at issue here: 1) to what extent are Tantric theories and practices actually modeled on their Vedic counterparts? and 2) to what extent do the modeling functions within the Tantric disciplines resemble the modeling functions within the Vedic tradition? Both questions rest on an initial premise, i.e. that there is some sort of a relationship between Tantra and Veda. One does not arrive at this premise however by random selection. Both the Hindu and the Buddhist Tantras

employ for instance certain characteristically Vedic terms, such as *homa*, *mantra*, *Soma*, etc., in ways that suggest conscious references to a pre-existing paradigm. Aronson et al in their theoretical work on modeling entitled Realism Rescued, have argued that theories are in fact models or "embedded in type-hierarchies." Theories are "best thought of as families of models," though the models are at the lowest level of the type-hierarchy. Type-hierarchy generates the "relative-similarity relationships between systems" and the model of one system depends on this "abstraction from, idealization of or analogue to some other system."<sup>11</sup> This is, in fact, one way we can think of a theoretical model: as a hypothetical, stylized, simplified, schematic representation of a system, or of types of systems, that can then be used as the model, the pattern, or the super-structure in the formation of other, different, though type-hierarchically similar system(s). The new systems can be so much more complicated and elaborated, functioning so much further up the type-hierarchy, as to almost completely obscure the original systemic isomorphisms.

In contemporary physical sciences (Biology, Chemistry, Physics, etc.), the truth or reality of theoretical models is tested in laboratory experiments that have objective, verifiable criteria, and that can be repeated by others. Much of modeling depends on the logics of sets and subsets. The complexity of real-world phenomena is reduced to sets of simplified entity-types sharing common properties. To control the experimental conditions, then, experiments are designed to test isolated entity types. These types are then hierarchically ordered in the theoretical models into subsets, sets, and meta-sets. This involves two "identity mappings" between a) the

entities that are the set members, and b) between the entities and their properties.

"The properties of the entities in the subtypes in the type hierarchies are identical with the properties of the entities on to which they are mapped in the supertypes."<sup>12</sup> As Aronson et al propose, it is necessary then to take into account the "relative salience"<sup>13</sup> of various elements of comparison or similarity.<sup>14</sup> "The similarity relation is no longer serving as an unanalysed primitive but is unpacked and explained in terms of the relation between a natural kind and a higher-order kind."<sup>15</sup> These set/meta-set relationships form the kernel of the modeling process. The simplified model format or structure functions as an identity subset of the larger system. In Biology, for instance, this functions in the process of identifying the functions of particular proteins, enzymes etc. in "model animals," such as leeches, frogs, etc. One can then extrapolate the information about discovered functions in these "model systems" to deduce functionality in more complex organisms, such as humans.

What is particularly salient to our discussion of Vedic theory is Aronson's mention of the notion of 'family resemblance' in language as discussed by Wittgenstein (*Philosophical Investigations* 1953): that different usages of the same word do not rely on an immutable essence of meaning that could account for similarities in import; linguistic similarities are activity-dependent. This is particularly true with regard to technical terminology of different systems of thought in Sanskrit; the same word can be used with an entirely different denotation in a different technical context. To the extent we find similarity in the lexical denotation of the same words used in different contexts, we should keep in mind Wittgenstein's

point that this is due to "a complicated network of similarities overlapping and crisscrossing: sometimes overall similarities, sometimes similarities of detail."<sup>16</sup> So in examining the use, and re-use, of the term "lotus," for instance, we must keep in mind that the similarities of "lotus" as used in Vedic and Tantric texts is also activity-dependent, and due more to a 'family-resemblance' than to any spurious arguments that Tantric doctrines are somehow fully embedded in the Vedas.

In the sense of the theoretical work on modeling presented by Aronson et al. we can see that the Vedic sacrificial rituals consistently modeled--within the controllable confines of the sacrificial enclosure--the forces of nature that control life and death, i.e. the Sun that gives life and heat to plants, animals, and man, the wind that becomes our life breath, the fire that is seen to come from the water and cooks our food, heats us on cold nights, protects us from animals, aids in agriculture, etc. The more precise the model was made to be, it was thought, the more precisely man could gain some measure of control of and access to these omnipotent natural forces. To use our modeling language from science, we can say that the creation of the Vedic sacrificial system was analogous to creating or defining an experimental model. Deifying the forces of nature, worshipping them, propitiating them with offerings, and invoking them through the uniquely human power of semantically complex language (*mantra*), Vedic man believed that he helped maintain the order of the universe, provided himself with greater assurance of success in his daily endeavors, and a secure and happy resting place after death. As we shall see in our discussion of the Tantric traditions, these early modeling efforts evolved over the centuries to a much

higher level of complexity. In Tantra control of the more complex models of the forces of external Nature and our internal nature are believed to offer a far higher level of result. Heesterman's summary remark about the *śrauta* ritual could equally well be argued for Tantric ritual: "The Vedic *śrauta* ritual presents a highly rationalized system of abstract symbols expressing the relations governing the cosmos and purporting thereby to enable the specialized operator, who knows thus, 'to manipulate the universe, or rather to make his own universe.'"<sup>17</sup> Furthermore we shall see how the very act of modeling the natural world in the Vedas itself became a model for the development of Tantric doctrine. The *Tāntrikās* appear to have taken several of the meta-properties of the Vedic modeling enterprise, and reinterpreted these properties into a more sophisticated modeling enterprise in pursuit of more radical goals than we find in Vedic literature. In this sense we find that in the Tantric traditions, both the "web" sense of "*tantra*" and the "model" or "template" sense of "*tantra*" were maintained, and expanded upon.<sup>18</sup>

To begin our look at the *Brāhmaṇas* we should first note the role of these texts in the Vedic tradition, and their relationship to other early Sanskrit texts. The *Brāhmaṇas* contain specific descriptions and explanations of Vedic ritual practice. Verses (*mantras*) from the *Ṛgveda* that are used in various rituals are frequently quoted, and explanations are then given of the ritual or esoteric import of the poetic imagery of the *mantras*, in a "he says this (or he does this) ... because ..." pattern. The "because" explanations are sometimes quite long, giving us the underlying doctrines are a) *generally* consistent between the different *Brāhmaṇa* texts, and b)

illuminate many of the presuppositions and beliefs of the Vedic period, and c) do thereby provide--within the context of Vedic beliefs--reasonable explanations for much of Vedic ritual. Keith gives us a brief analysis of the hierarchical structure of Vedic ritual that is useful both for laying out the principle of Primary Sacrifices that serve as a model for other versions of the same, and for the elucidation of what may be one of the more important meanings of the term *Tantra*:

"In the Sūtras the principle is laid down that the sacrifices are to be distinguished as *Prakṛtis* and *Vikṛtis*, the former being the base on which the latter are built; thus the new- and full-Moon sacrifices are the model for other sacrifices of the type known as *Iṣṭi*, and for the animal sacrifice, in its form as an offering to Agni and Soma, on which further animal offerings are based. The *Agniṣṭoma* again is the fundamental form of the Soma sacrifice: on it are based the other performances up to the *Dvādaśāha* inclusive, while on the latter are based the *Satras*. Each sacrifice is divided into *Pradhānas*, the characteristics which mark it out as a special offering, and *Aṅgas*, the auxiliary parts which are common to many sacrifices, and which **build the framework, *Tantra*, which serves to maintain the sacrifice.**"<sup>19</sup>

Staal has pointed out in greater detail how the Vedic ritual system is structurally organized. Using generative rules that are then reapplied to the results of their own application, the ritual structure uses such "recursive rules" that "generate infinitely many structures by applying and reapplying finite mechanisms." These complexity levels are enhanced by insertions of more sequences (of, for instance, Soma rites), or by the embedding of certain rites within other rites. Added to these are what Staal calls "transformational structures" whereby certain ritual structures from some rites can be modified or transformed when inserted or embedded in another rite.<sup>20</sup>

It is this modeling or prototype aspect in the structuring of Vedic sacrifice that I consider essential to a more complete understanding of the later Tantric tradition.

Vedic sacrifice appears to have provided not only models for itself, in terms of primary sacrifices that provide the principles and frameworks (*Tantras*) for other sacrifices. Vedic sacrificial models also appear to have provided the models for sacrificial ritual itself in India. When we look at the doctrines that are both explicit and implicit in the Vedic texts, we find a surprisingly "esoteric" set of doctrines about the spiritual and physical nature of man (and woman) that, when understood, go a long way towards explaining the rationale behind the maintenance and continuity of Vedic sacrificial rituals in the Indian tradition.

The following information in this chapter is broken down into several thematic sections. These themes were chosen because they each appear in a somewhat altered form in later Tantric writings. 1) The first section looks at Vedic ideas about the Sun as the source of life. In Vedic cosmology the Sun is the creator god, the site of heaven, the energy source for our internal and external life, and the pervading force that animates all living beings through a solar web that reaches through the world. 2) The second section examines the Vedic doctrines of the three fires: the solar fire (the Sun), the atmospheric fire (the wind), and the earthly fire (the offering, sacrificial, and cooking fires). Vedic cosmology imagines a type-identity between these three fiery entities, and so conceives of the earthly fire as in effect a subset of the heavenly, creator deity Sun, with a similarity relation that allows for *effective* ritual activity by earthly beings. 3) Drawing on themes raised by the consideration of Indra and the Soma's relationship to the three fires, the third section looks at the conceptions of Soma in Vedic thinking in regard to the role of this consumable drug--the accessible



"juice" of the fires as conceived of in the type-identity modeling system I have outlined. 4) The fourth section--the longest section of the chapter--discusses the identity relationship between the atmospheric fire (the wind) and the inner breaths of man. First we look at how the winds can be thought of as a form of solar fire. Then we look at how these winds are identified with human breaths, and the various doctrines of 'vital airs' or *prāṇas* that are developed in the *Brāhmaṇas*. These doctrines underlie the Vedic doctrine that the mind, and *mantras* can be used to control the flow of the breaths in the body, and allow--in a type-hierarchy logic--for the doctrine that the *mantras* can effect the forces of nature. 5) Section five examines the symbolism of the lotus in Vedic thought, in particular how the lotus is considered the 'source' of *Agni*, the earthly fire. 6) Section six looks at the germinal ideas of the channels (*nāḍīs*) as they appear in the *Brāhmaṇas*. 7) Section seven discusses the identifications of the directions in Vedic ritual. 8) Section eight discusses ritual sex, and 9) Section nine looks at the modeling of the human body in Vedic ritual practice. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential implications of these Vedic themes for understanding Tantric theories.

## 2.1. The Sun

The Sun, both as a physical force giving light, heat, and life, and as a spiritual source and resting place of the soul, plays a central role in Vedic doctrine and sacrificial rites. The most basic doctrine is that the conscious soul or self is the same as the Sun, comes from the Sun prior to birth in the womb, and returns to the Sun upon the death of the physical body. This doctrine encompasses the basic notion of a

twofold body, part mortal, part immortal. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* gives ṛṣi Bādhva's view on this: "That which we have called the person of the body is the corporeal self. Its essence is the incorporeal conscious self.... Let one know that the incorporeal conscious self and the Sun are the same...." The *Ṛgveda* also states plainly: "The Sun is the self of all that stands and moves."<sup>21</sup> The *Āraṇyaka* goes on to say that the seed of Prajāpati (the golden man = the Sun) becomes, in sequence, the gods, the rain, the herbs, food, semen, living creatures, the heart, the mind, speech, and action. For the author(s) of the *Āraṇyaka*, the man who knows the secret of Prajāpati's essence in this sequence is the abode of *Brahman*, and becomes "golden" in the next world.<sup>22</sup>

The solar essence of man is again conceptualized as the seed that grows first in the divine womb of the Sun, and then again in the mother's womb on earth. The earthly analogue to the Sun is the *āhavanīya* (offering) fire, in the square-shaped fireplace of the *vedi* or sacrificial enclosure. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* relates ejaculating the man's semen into the woman's womb with the offering of the oblation into this "solar" fire during the daily *agnihotra*.<sup>23</sup> The *āhavanīya* is homologized to the Sun, the divine womb/world, and the pouring of the offering into the fire is homologized to the ejaculation of semen into the womb. The sacrificer thereby "emits his Self" into the "divine womb," and comes into being in "yonder Sun." This provides the initiate with two wombs, and two selves.<sup>24</sup> The Brahmin who understands this mystery of the Sun-*ātman* identity, and adheres to the daily *agnihotra* ritual, thereby ensures that his *ātman* will return safely home to its source in the Sun upon physical death--since he

has repeatedly affirmed his own presence in heaven through the daily ritual of divine procreation. When he dies, then, the deceased spirit travels with the smoke of the fire towards heaven, the Sun, and on the way there is challenged by the Seasons. Provided the *ātman* realizes its original identity with the Sun, and abandons its earthly identity and name, it is admitted to heaven, where it is reunited with the ancestors (*pitṛs*) and shares its good *karma* with them. Those who hold onto their earthly identity by insisting on continued identification with their earthly name are dragged away by the Seasons, and sent back to "the land of repeated dying" that is ruled "by night and day."<sup>25</sup> Two different versions of this doctrine emphasize the idea that the mechanism whereby the solar *ātman* enters into the man's semen is through ingesting the Soma plant, the plant widely homologized to the Moon--as though the white light of the Moon becomes the white semen itself, through the medium of the Soma ritual. Soma is, after all, the king of the herbs, and hence the king of the plants that absorb Prajāpati's seed through the rain and transmit it to man through food.<sup>26</sup> Describing the concluding ceremonies of the *Darśapūrṇamāsa*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* reiterates that the Sun is the "final goal" or the "safe resort" that one goes to at the end of life.<sup>27</sup>

So we find in passages from the *Ṛgveda*, from two major (slightly later) *Brāhmaṇas*, and from (probably) the earliest *Āraṇyaka* an important set of doctrines: a) that the soul is explicitly identified with the Sun; b) that this solar soul comes into its physical body through the Soma ingested by the father, and emitted in the semen into the mother's womb; c) that heaven is considered to be in the Sun, or in other

stars;<sup>28</sup> d) that one must perform the daily fire ritual properly to be admitted to heaven at death; and e) that those who fail to properly perform the daily fire ritual will suffer the cruel fate of being dragged back from the gates of heaven into the realm of day and night, of repeated dying. Sexual lovemaking *for procreative purposes* is explicitly homologized to the daily practice of the fire offerings by the initiate, to ensure that just as the physical self is procreated through sexual intercourse, so the spiritual or psychic self will be 'procreated' into heaven when one dies.

Since the Sun in the Vedic lore is both the source of life (the 'divine womb') and the place where one goes (ideally) at the end of life, it is not surprising that the Sun is also occasionally spoken of as Death itself. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: "That man in yonder (Sun's) orb is no other than Death; and that glowing light is that immortal element: therefore Death does not die, for he is within the immortal; and therefore he is not seen, for he is within the immortal."<sup>29</sup> These two requirements for ensuring entrance into heaven, then, the need to properly perform the sacrifice, and the need to properly understand one's true identity, provide very powerful rationales for adherence to the Vedic rituals, and for repeated reaffirmation of Sun-*ātman* identity. The Sun is Life, and it is Death, and so must be dealt with properly, and continuously. As we shall see, these doctrines underlie many of the explanations given in the *Brāhmaṇas* for other aspects of Vedic sacrifice.

## 2.2. The Three Fires

In the type-hierarchy of the Vedic cosmological modeling system there are

three fires that share type-identity: the heavenly fire *Āditya*--the Sun (or *Viṣṇu* or *Prajāpati*); the atmospheric fire--the wind (or *Soma*, the Moon, or Lightning, the *vajra*); and the earthly fire--*Agni*.<sup>30</sup> These three are seen as different versions of the life-giving physical reality of light and heat, and are homologized variously with internal functions in man. The doctrine of the three fires is also repeatedly woven into many different explanations of Vedic sacrificial practice. The oft-repeated Vedic *mantras*, *bhūh*, *bhuvah*, *svah*, refer to earth, the atmosphere, and heaven, because these three are the location of the three fires.<sup>31</sup> *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* explains that when *Prajāpati* was creating living beings (and thereby multiplying himself) he practiced austerities (*tapas*--making *Prajāpati* the first *yogi*). Upon finishing his austerities, and having therefore engendered enough heat, he created the three worlds--earth, the atmosphere, and heaven, and heated them up. As a result, he created the three lights, fire, the wind, and the Sun, as well as the three Vedas, the three Vedic *mantras*, and the three components of the syllable *Om*.<sup>32</sup> The slightly later text from the same lineage, the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* then locates these three fires in man's body: the Sun is in "the eye in the head," lightning (as the atmospheric fire) is in the heart, and *Agni* is in the semen.<sup>33</sup>

The ritual format of the Vedic model created a type-identity between these three cosmic fires and the three fires used in the daily *Agnihotra* ritual, in the Soma sacrifices, and maintained by practicing *vaidikas* inside the *vedi*, or sacrificial enclosure. The *Āhavantya* (the "offering" fire, from *ā* +  $\sqrt{hū}$ ) in a square fireplace, *Dakṣiṇāya* (the "southern" or "right hand side" fire, since it is always placed to the

south) in a semi-circular fireplace, and the *Gārhapatya* (the "householder" fire, from *grha-pati*, master of the house) in a round fireplace. The round *Gārhapatya* fireplace is in the shape of the Sun, the square *Āhavanīya* fireplace represents the earth (the four directions), and the semi-circular *Dakṣiṇāgni* fireplace represents the Moon (and hence the atmospheric fire). In a notable demonstration of both the 'weaving' and 'modeling' connotations of the term '*tantra*' we find that the solar fire is considered to be in the earth fire-place, and the earthly fire in the disk or Sun-shaped fireplace, with the atmospheric fire in the semicircular fireplace. We find that the atmospheric fire--or the intermediate of the three fires between the Sun and *Agni*--is represented variously as the Wind, as the Moon, or as the Lightning bolt, i.e. the *vajra*. In its discussion of the *Agnicayana*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* makes the relationship between the altars and the fires explicit: "the *Āhavanīya* (altar) is the outbreathing, and yonder Sun; and the fire which is on the *Āgnīdhṛīya* (i.e. the *Dakṣiṇāgni* altar) is the through breathing, and the wind which blows yonder; and the fire which is on the *Gārhapatya* is the in-breathing, and what fire there is here in this (earth-) world."<sup>34</sup> As Seidenberg has noted, there is definitely some sense of equivalence between the *Āhavanīya* and *Gārhapatya* fires in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.<sup>35</sup> Though Seidenberg provides a geometric argument for this relationship, I think the point is more obvious, and therefore easy to miss. While the householder's fire is Sun-shaped, the gods' offering fire is Earth-shaped. Here we have the weave--rather than keeping the 'heavenly' fire and the 'earthly' fire completely distinct, the ritual logic has sought to bind them in identity, first by lighting one fire from the other, and second by flipping

their locations one into the other, so that the householders' fire becomes heavenly shaped, and the gods' fire becomes earthly shaped; it is as though the ritualist has tied the two fires together with a knot, so neither can escape. Hence we have also the model, a model that reemphasizes the type-identity between the heavenly and earthly fires by placing them into each other.

Heesterman in fact identifies that the accurate modeling character of the ritual is central to its function: "This is the problem that the ritual must attack: how to devise a ritual means to obtain and to hold the fire securely so that it will work uninterruptedly for the maintenance and continuity of life."<sup>36</sup> The *Gārhapatya* (in the East) is the fire for preparing offerings to the gods, created with a fire drill; the *Āhavantya* (in the West) is the fire for the offerings themselves, created with fire taken from the *Gārhapatya*--these two are on the East-West axis directed towards heaven. The *Dakṣiṇāgni* is in the south, on the south-north axis, and is for cooking the food offered to the brahmins during the ritual,<sup>37</sup> and Heesterman remarks that "The southern fire is preferably to be taken from elsewhere--a burning tree top, for example, apparently one hit by lightning. Mythologically this makes perfect sense."<sup>38</sup> Indeed it does, since ideally one would wish to light the *Dakṣiṇāgni* fireplace with the fire it represents, the atmospheric fire that is 'graspable' as lightning. This is however a particularly tricky fire. The lightning bolt or thunderbolt, *vajra*, that gains such prominence in Tantric literature, is preeminently Indra's weapon, and also a general term for the most powerful weapon one can use against one's enemies. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, discussing the *Trvṛt Stoma*, declares the *vajra* to contain the

essence (and thereby the power) of all three fires, capable of holding the warring gods and demons at bay. The form of the *vajra* accessible to man is the power of Sanskrit *mantra*.<sup>39</sup> The text quotes the view of one Upajīva Khālāyana, who used to say "I know this Trivṛt Stoma clearly.... Agni is the Vajra of this world, Vāyu [the Vajra] of the intermediate space and Āditya [the Vajra] of heaven. This is microcosmically as follows: Agni is speech, Vāyu is breath, Āditya is the eye."<sup>40</sup> The logic of this assertion is consistent with the Indian doctrines of speech that conceive of Sanskrit *mantras* as both visual and auditory phenomena, brought into manifestation through the breath, since one needs to breath in order to speak.<sup>41</sup>

In some instances, Indra, preeminent wielder of the *vajra*, who as storm god controls the winds, and who as master of the Soma is also master of the Moon, himself takes a place in the pattern of the three fires. Accordingly, in its description of the *Dvādaśāha* (or twelve day Soma ritual) on the first three days of the *prṣṭhya ṣaḍāha*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 4.5.4.13 tells us that the cups of the first three days are the Agni cup, the Indra cup, and the Sūrya cup.<sup>42</sup> Similarly, since the fire of the winds also is seen as the inner fire/breaths of the human body (as we shall discuss in the next section), it is not surprising that we find the breaths identified with Indra. In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*'s discussion of the morning *Pravargya* offerings the text states plainly that "the most Indra-like fire is actually the *prāṇa*."<sup>43</sup> In another passage, we are told that the *Ṛṣis* were the *prāṇas* at the beginning of creation, as was Indra, who kindled the other vital airs from their midst.<sup>44</sup>

Indra indeed has a curious relationship with the Sun, one that goes beyond



simple occasional identity.<sup>45</sup> We may even propose that Indra's popularity may be due to what appears to be his role as the archetype or rather ideal of the Vedic man--the one who has gained the power of the Sun through the Soma. There are repeated suggestions in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas* that Indra somehow conquered the Sun, or pierced it in gaining his seemingly limitless access to the Soma that fuels his prowess. The *Ṛgveda* says that belted with the Maruts, Indra "won the light of heaven" so he could drink the Soma juice,<sup>46</sup> and says in another hymn that Indra "in groundless realms of space pierced the Gandharva through, that he might make Brahmans' strength increase."<sup>47</sup> That *Gandharva* is the Sun (in this passage) is clear from many passages in the *Brāhmaṇas*, as for instance during the *Sāvitra* libations of the *Agnicayana*, when the *Adhvaryu* says "May the heavenly, thought-cleansing Gandharva cleanse our thought!" and the *Brāhmaṇa* explains, "the heavenly Gandharva is yonder Sun."<sup>48</sup>

### 2.3. Soma

The word "Soma" comes to have a wide and flexible range of connotations in later Sanskrit, and becomes most particularly a metaphoric name for the Moon in Sanskrit poetry. In the early Vedic material, we find that Soma is identified as a version of the Sun's energy in the form of a juice. This juice naturally comes from a plant, plants grow because of rain, rain comes from the atmosphere, and so--by the type-identity logic of the Vedic type-hierarchy model of the three fires (heavenly, atmospheric, and earthly)--Soma as a juice must be a form of the atmospheric fire. The atmospheric fire is usually the wind, though also, as we have looked at above,

sometimes conceived of as the *vajra* or lightning bolt. In the naturalistic homologies of early Vedic thought, it made sense also that the atmospheric fire could be the Moon, giving us one line of type-identities for conceiving of Soma as the Moon. The other embedded type-hierarchy logic appears to have been based on the natural, obvious association of the Moon as feminine, and an easily conceived of polarity with the Sun as masculine (recall that in the Vedic system the Sun is variously conceived of as the male Prajāpati or the male Viṣṇu). Certainly the Moon is less bright than the actual Sun, can be frequently seen during the day (approximately half of the time that the Moon is visible is during the day<sup>49</sup>), and shows surface features visible to the naked eye, unlike the Sun. Perhaps the Moon's greatest claim to fame is that it lights up the night, giving it in some sense equal billing with the Sun. The 'feminine' associations with the Moon may have also something to do with the pull of the Moon on the waters in the form of tides, a rough correlation of the full set of phases of the Moon with women's menstrual cycles, and the frequent descriptions of Soma in terms of being the drop or drops. The feminine is the nourishing, fertile, physical life producing (in birth) and sustaining (breast feeding, food giving) principle. Soma, as the incredibly energizing juice of the early Vedic cult, becomes seen as the preeminent food-type substance, produced out of the earth goddess (since it grows as a plant). With the Moon being then the 'ruler' of the feminine, naturally Soma would 'represent' the Moon in the embedded type-hierarchy system. The same logic apparently applies to the name Indu, the shining drop, that also becomes a name for the Moon.

In the repeated identification of the major life-bearing principles with the Sun, we find that Soma too is often specifically said to either be the Sun, be the child of the Sun or Sun-like, and carries the Sun's energy down to man in a consumable form. (I will give just one example here in the text from the *Ṛgveda*, with many others in the notes.) So we find *Ṛgveda* 8.4.10 saying: "Indra hath tossed together mighty stores of wealth, and both worlds, yea, and the Sun. Pure, brightly shining, mingled with the milk, the draught of Soma has made Indra glad." Soma drops are said to resemble lovely Suns, to be the golden-hued child of Sūrya (a name of the Sun), and to provide the portion of the Sun to those who drink the Soma.<sup>50</sup> This divine aspect to the plant lends it an air of mysticism, and we find a sense of transcendence in the imagery of the Vedic poets. As one *Ṛgveda* poet remarks, "of that Soma which the priests know, no one ever eats."<sup>51</sup> Eggeling sums this up nicely: "But, of course, the real divine Soma is not the rain-drop itself, any more than he is the drop of juice expressed from the Soma-plant; but he is the spark of celestial fire enclosed in the drop."<sup>52</sup> Soma is therefore conceived of as the drop that contains the fiery power of the Sun, and can be directly consumed by man.

We also find many passages directly identifying Soma with the Moon and the night-time. In the hymns of salutation to Soma in the ninth *ṇḍMaala* of the *Ṛgveda*, the poet says that "he with sharpened horns [i.e. Soma] brings forth abundance: the Silvery shines by night, by day the Golden."<sup>53</sup> And *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explicitly states that the Sun relates to Agni, and the Moon to Soma.<sup>54</sup> Certainly the tangibility of Soma had something to do with its popularity. As a consumable drug, its effects

were apparently quite strong, and we do not find any sort of hymns or statements in the *Brāhmaṇas* that claim Soma will not work its effects on the consumers of the plant unless they adhere to the correct *mantras*, or abide by the priest's commands. Unlike the multitude of statements claiming that the priest can put the breaths into the sacrificer and thereby ensure his passage to heaven--or take them out and kill the sacrificer, or the threats of repeated death for those who don't perform the *agnihotra*, etc., Soma simply works, and is thereby praised as immensely powerful and efficacious. While the fire rituals, the *mantras*, the ideas about the winds and breaths (see Chapter 2.4 below), and other aspects of the Vedic ritual system are all crucial to affirming and maintaining man's proper place and function and identity in the cosmos, Soma has a more tangible and accessible quality than these other aspects by being a *material, consumable substance*. Its powerful physiological and psychological effects undoubtedly accounted for Soma's preeminent place in the Vedic ritual system. Like the *prabhāva*-class drugs in Āyurveda that are effective independent of the *tridoṣa* system, Soma appears to have had a special status in relationship to other ritual elements, with thereby a long-enduring psychological appeal in later Indian traditions. Soma has the *vajra*'s power, and functions as a hot-line to heaven, connecting us directly to the gods. This notion persists in Indian thought long after the original Soma plant appears to have been lost; any method or practice developed and elaborated in later Indian traditions that claims to lead one to liberation or to the divine almost inevitably invokes the name Soma at some point in its literature.<sup>55</sup>

*Soma* is also frequently referred to as *rasa*--juice or sap or flavor. In one set

of passages from the *Śatapatha* we find even the suggestion of the rising sap (as in a plant) in *Prajāpati*'s body coincident with the successful sacrifice. While this doesn't exactly prefigure notions of the rising *bodhicitta* within the body as we find pervasively in *Anuttarayoga* Buddhist Tantra, it is also not entirely dissimilar; i.e. we have the homology of the Soma, the solar-powered juice of *vajra* strength rising upwards as an essentially fluid sap through the body of the cosmic man who is conceived of as time itself.<sup>56</sup>

#### 2.4. The Breaths

The doctrine and practice of *prāṇāyāma* is an integral part of Yoga practices in India through the ages, and the Indian Yoga tradition has sometimes been considered to be of non-Aryan origin. The evidence I will present in this section strongly suggests that the Yogic and Tantric Yoga doctrines of the breaths (*prāṇas*) and breath control have deep roots in the Vedic tradition. The Tantric doctrine of the 21,600 breaths that we find in the *Kālacakratantra* for instance dates back to early *chandaśāstra*, in the practices of breath control used for chanting the Vedic *mantras*.<sup>57</sup> This doctrine held that a *prāṇa* or a complete breath took 4 seconds, and there are 21,600 'four-second breaths' (*prāṇas*) in the course of a full day and night.<sup>58</sup> As Neugebauer and Pingree explain, "the *prāṇa*, in fact, is traditionally a sixth of a *viṇāḍī* (i.e. 1/360th of a day) or the time necessary to recite 10 long syllables."<sup>59</sup> Though I have not had time to research the *Chandaśāstra* literature, I would not be at all surprised to find that the first recorded usage of the term *prāṇāyama* occurs in these texts, and was adopted from this tradition into the early Yoga practices.

### 2.4.1. The Fire of the Winds and the Breath

Thus the *Vedas* and the *Brāhmaṇas* lay out an identification of the conscious self or soul with the Sun, and an external linkage of the Sun with the earthly fire (*Agni*) through the wind/Soma/Moon. The relative looseness of the intermediate linkage, with the shifting emphasis between the wind (*Vāyu*), *Soma*, the Moon and the Vajra appears to be due in part to the way the Vedic writers conceived of the inherently mobile, non-fixed character of wind or air. The Wind-fire is—even while identical with the Sun and *Agni*—different in kind from the other two fires. The fixed Sun far away in heaven moves slowly through the sky on its daily route, and is both our spiritual womb and our final spiritual abode. The external earthly fire, while changeable in form, and capable of playing a multitude of roles,<sup>60</sup> nonetheless remains confined—from a ritual point of view—to specific locales within the sacrificial enclosure or elsewhere in domestic hearths (though it can always break out). The wind-fire is on the other hand ubiquitous,<sup>61</sup> and is breathed into and out of the body in the form of each cycle of breath, and circulates within the body, playing an active spiritual/physiological role in a way that is more immediately accessible, and more portable (and potentially malleable) than the other two fires.

It has often been proposed by Indologists that the various Yogic doctrines of breath control, meditation, etc., somehow derived from non-Vedic sources, or were in some way indigenous to India prior to the presumed Aryan invasions. The famous Indus Valley seal of the yogi-like figure is often adduced as evidence for this doctrine. Even in the *Rgveda* though we find that so-called non-Aryan traditions had

already been encountered and to a certain extent integrated. Insler has pointed out that the *Ṛgveda* as we have it includes in the VIIIth *maṇḍala* poems by the *Kāṇvas* and *Aṅgirasas* that attest to "the attempt to integrate these peripheral tribes associated with the magical practices of the Atharvan tradition into the elevated stratum of Rigvedic authority."<sup>62</sup> Lubin has also provided a translation of the song from the Xth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* that sings of the *munis*, or ascetic sages, who are belted with the wind, clothed in red dirt, and "follow the force of the wind when the gods have entered them." These *munis* mount the winds and fly through the air with the hairy one (the Sun), who bears the drug (Soma) as their "sweet, most intoxicating friend."<sup>63</sup> These two examples suggest that whatever doctrines may have pre-existed in India in terms of magical or yogic practices were already *at the time of the composition of the Ṛgveda as we now have it* being integrated into the Vedic doctrines. So it should not be that surprising to see that we find a powerful rationale for one of the most central aspects of yogic and meditational practices--breath control or *prāṇāyāma*--enunciated in considerable detail in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the exegetical texts of the Vedic sacrificial tradition. Similarly, we find in the *Atharvaveda* that the doctrines of the relationship of the winds to the fires has already become more complex, with seven types each of *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna* identified, with each of these also said to consist of various cosmic elements. This sort of detailed level homologization prefigures the doctrines that later appear in the *Āyurvedic* and *Tantric* texts.<sup>64</sup>

That the breaths (*prāṇas*, vital airs, winds) are indeed the wind-fire that is identical with the Sun is made explicit in the discussion of the necessity for the

*agnihotra* ritual at *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, where the text states that "It is by the rays (or reins, thongs, *raśmi*) of that (Sun) that all these creatures are attached to the vital airs (breaths or life), and therefore the rays extend down to the vital airs." In fact, the context of this remark is a discussion of the Sun as Death, and the power it has over mankind, whom Death can play like a puppet, causing repeated dying unless one performs the daily morning and evening *Agnihotra* ritual. The *Ṛgveda* and other *Brāhmaṇas* reiterate this doctrine, explaining that the Maruts, the wind gods, are in fact like the rays of the Sun.<sup>65</sup> Other *Brāhmaṇa* doctrines emphasize that the sacrificial fire on earth is instrumental in bringing the life-breaths into the body. The *Śatapatha* states that fire is indeed the breath (*prāṇo 'va agnir*), since one establishes the fire (after starting it with the fire drill) by blowing on it. When the blower then inhales, "thereby he establishes that (fire) in his innermost soul" [*tad enam antarātmann ādhatte*].<sup>66</sup> Once the internal fire of the breath is established, it is permanent in one's innermost self for the duration of one's earthly life.<sup>67</sup> Naturally, since the breaths are the internalized sacrificial fire (already here in the *Brāhmaṇas*, before the *Upaniṣads*), it is not surprising that the texts also state that the three fires in the *vedi* (sacrificial enclosure) are the breaths; the *Āhavanīya* (where offerings are given) is said to be the exhalation, the *Gārhapatya* (where offerings are prepared) is said to be the inhalation, and the *Dakṣiṇāgni* (where food for the brahmins is prepared) is said to be the circulatory or "through" breath.<sup>68</sup>

#### 2.4.2. Functions of the Inner Winds

The breaths (or 'vital airs' as Keith and Eggeling tend to translate '*prāṇas*')



constitute a central explanatory paradigm used in the exegesis of virtually every Vedic ritual discussed in the *Brāhmaṇas*.<sup>69</sup> We have repeated homologizations of the breaths to elements of the sacrifice, and repeated mention of the ability of the sacrificial priests to place the breaths into the sacrificer, giving and extending his life,<sup>70</sup> or even to take them out (and thus kill the sacrificer).<sup>71</sup> The three basic breaths are the *prāṇa* (the exhalation), the *apāna* (the inhalation),<sup>72</sup> and the *vyāna* (the general term for the circulating air in the body, though the second or the third are sometimes called *udāna*).<sup>73</sup> There are also said to be seven vital airs in the head: in the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, and the mouth.<sup>74</sup> Together with the three main breaths, the seven in the head give us ten--what becomes the classic number of breaths in later developed *Yoga* doctrine, though under different names and with different functions. The number ten is not however a fixed figure. Another section of the same text enumerates a possible set of twenty-one breaths, by multiplying the seven in the head with the three basic ones; this enumeration can explain how the Sun is referred to as the twenty-first in the *Ekaviṃśa* day ceremony described at *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 4.18;<sup>75</sup> (breaths = Maruts = the Sun's rays).<sup>76</sup>

It is evident from carefully examining the citations of the various numbers of the breaths in the *Brāhmaṇas*--sometimes three, four, five, seven, nine, or ten--that the *Brāhmaṇaḥ* authors felt free to cite subsets of the complete set of ten for specific exegetical homologies, while never enumerating more than the total of ten--(except when homologizing directly to the Sun, as mentioned just above).<sup>77</sup> So when we find a passage saying "for there are five breaths" or "for there are nine breaths," etc., that

does not translate to "there are *only* five breaths" etc. This is not to say that the system is completely consistent, as we see from numerous passages from the earliest *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛgveda*. In several places it becomes clear that already in the earliest interpretive material of the Vedas there was a doctrine of a set of breaths circulating below the navel--the 'mortal' breaths, and another set circulating above--the 'immortal' breaths. Those below were considered to control the functions of urinating, excreting, and semen ejaculation. All of the breaths may be purified through the *mantras*.<sup>78</sup> Between different *Brāhmaṇas* and even within individual *Brāhmaṇa* texts though, the multiplicity of numbering schemes gives rise to some confusion about the exact number and function of the breaths. Indeed, as though in frustration over the competing and sometimes contradictory doctrines, the author of the *Śatapatha* at one point says, "for who knows how many vital airs there are inside the body?"<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, the *Brāhmaṇas* uniformly speak of the three main breaths as being the exhalation, inhalation, and circulating (or 'through-breathing') airs, and evidently even in the earliest *Brāhmaṇa* there were already present the ideas of specific winds restricted to certain parts of the body, and controlling specific bodily functions. In three of the (relatively) later exegetical texts, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, and in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, we have an enumeration of the five major winds whose names survive through the evolution of *Yoga* and *Tantra* doctrine into the present day.<sup>80</sup> In some passages we also find fairly specific descriptions of the functions of these five main breaths, with upward and downward moving breaths, and a "central breath" (*madhyama prāṇaḥ*) said to function as the

"internal motive force" of the individual.<sup>81</sup> While it would be stretching the evidence to claim that the *madhyama prāṇa* somehow refers to the 'central channel' of the later Tantric and Yogic physiology, it is in fact impossible to know when the subtle body physiological doctrines actually began. Since the oldest surviving medical texts in Sanskrit are apparently revised compilations of a wide variety of even earlier material, it is also impossible to know whether medical doctrines about the bodily functions of the winds existed at the time of the composition of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The evidence we have in the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves indicates that early medical doctrines about the winds are quite possible, and at the very least that there appear to be evolutionary precursors to later Yogic and Tantric physiological doctrines. In this sense we could say that our "archaeological" digging into the early Vedic material has indeed unearthed some interesting leads. (Not incidentally then, this evidence places the theories of non-Aryan origin of the Yoga doctrines on shakier ground, and raises some challenges to those who assert that the Yogic doctrines are in essence somehow non-Vedic or non-Sanskritic.)

We can see then that the breaths doctrine in the *Brāhmaṇas* was one in development, and there is not a neatly fixed and laid out doctrine explaining all the different uses. There are seemingly endless explanations in the *Brāhmaṇas* of homologies between sacrificial acts and the breaths.<sup>82</sup> Certainly the most developed systematization of the breaths doctrine occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, though this text generally gives the most systematic and developed forms of all the *Brāhmaṇa* doctrines. We may also never know the degree of developed theory that was kept

only in oral form. What we can say with some certainty though is that the *Brāhmaṇas* do contain a doctrine of the existence of internal winds controlling various bodily functions. And we can definitively say that these internal winds were seen as a form of the solar and earthly fires. In this sense we could argue that the *prāṇas* circulating in the human body, and moving in and out of the human body, were seen as a sort of 'divine electricity,' (to use a modern term--electricity--that has no actual correlate in early Sanskrit). For although the *prāṇa* and *apāna* refer to the breathing process, they are not just words for "air." In the Vedic system we breathe the "breath of life" and that "breath" is both wind or air *and* fiery in nature, or what we would call "electric." To extend this analogy a bit further, we could say that according to the Vedic doctrine man is enmeshed in a divine, living 'electrical energy web,' (a *tantra*, in effect), powered by the Sun, and mediated (or 'transformed') through the instrument of the Vedic ritual (the homologizing model, (*tantra*)).

#### **2.4.3. Controlling the Breaths: the Mind and the *Mantras***

One of the fundamental doctrines from the Indian traditions is the belief in the power of *mantras*--specifically Sanskrit words, syllables, and combinations of words (not necessarily always with semantic content) to effect changes in the psyche of the individual, in his or her physical states, and in the surrounding cosmos (and even other people). On one level this is common sense. As human beings, we speak, and things happen. We are effected both by what we say, and by what is said to us. In the Sanskritic tradition, though, the theories and practices related to the doctrines of speech go much further than what is taken for common sense in the West. The so-

called *mantra-śāstra*, the set of doctrines about *mantras*, forms an intrinsic part of Vedic and Tantric theories. Much of the explanations in the *Brāhmaṇas* are in fact explanations of why particular *mantras*--specifically verses and portions of verses from the *Ṛgveda*--are used at particular times in the Vedic rituals. In the earlier sections of this chapter I have sketched out some of the theoretical underpinnings of basic Vedic doctrines. These ideas are extended deeply into *mantra-śāstra* in the Vedic context. For in order to speak, or sing, or intone a *mantra*, one must breathe. And human breaths, as we have seen, are considered to be 'electrical,' i.e. individualized versions of the same heavenly, cosmic fire that creates and sustains life and the universe. To have the power of (Sanskritic) speech, then, and to employ it, is for the Vedic thinker possession and use of sacred power, divine fire, and divine light. We find two incipient doctrines about the potential for the control over the breaths that appear in the *Brāhmaṇas*; one is widely evident--the capacity to control the breaths with the *mantras*. The other appears only in incipient form--that one can use the mind or thought, through meditation, to control the flow of the *prāṇa*-fire. Since the direct evidence for mind-control is more slim, we'll examine that first.

The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, invoking the power of the priests over the vital breaths of the individual, says that the priests "raise up" the vital air through their well-framed thoughts.<sup>83</sup> This is, to be sure, merely a suggestion of the possibility that the thoughts have the power to move the winds. In the slightly later *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the idea is made more explicit with the statement that the *prāṇās* are born of the mind (*mano-jāta*), endowed with or yoked by the mind (*mano-yujo*), and of

intelligent power (*dakṣakratavo*).<sup>84</sup> The same text, in explaining the *Yajurveda* statement "hail to the *prāṇās* with their overlord," explains that the mind is the overlord of the *prāṇās* (*mano vai prāṇānam adhipatir*), and say that all the breaths are 'established' in the mind (*manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratiṣṭhitās*).<sup>85</sup> Recalling the *Brāhmaṇa* statement that the winds (*maruts*) are the 'rays' of the Sun, and yoked to the Sun, we see the type-hierarchy or macro-microcosmic homologies of the Vedic thinking at work once again--with a consistent type-identity carried from the larger matrix into the smaller one. Just as the external winds are controlled by the Sun, so the internal *prāṇās* are controlled by what the *Gāyatrī mantra* tells us is inspired or impelled by the Sun, i.e. human intelligence. These passages make the point fairly definitive--the *prāṇās* are established in the mind, and the mind has the capacity for controlling the *prāṇās*. We must conclude therefore that the doctrine that underpins the ideas about the capacity of meditation to effect the movement of the winds or *prāṇas* is built into the basic late *Brāhmaṇa* doctrine of what the *prāṇas* are.

However, the citation of "hail to the *prāṇas* with their overlord" is from the *Yajurveda*, a text generally considered to predate all the *Brāhmaṇas*. This raises a question we shall not attempt to answer in detail here: was *prāṇāyāma* an integral doctrine of the earliest *Vaidikas*? Two other passages would suggest at a more general level that the answer is yes. *Ṛgveda* 10.53.6a that states that the gods' paths to heaven consist of light, and are created through absorption in meditation. The Hotar priest must protect these paths and thereby--as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* explains--'pave' the roads to heaven for the sacrificer.<sup>86</sup> The *Śatapatha*, explaining *Prajāpati*'s

creation, says that the *manas* is the first of the *prāṇas* [*mano vai prāṇānāṃ prathamam*] and from the *manas* the *puruṣa* was created [*tad yan manasaḥ puruṣam niramimṭa*]; therefore they call the *puruṣa* the first of the animals, and the strongest [*tasmād āhuḥ puruṣaḥ prathamah paśūnāṃ, vīryattama iti*]. The *manas* is therefore all the *prāṇas* [*mano vai sarve prāṇā*], because all the *prāṇas* are established in the *manas* [*manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratiṣṭhitās*].<sup>87</sup>

#### 2.4.4. Controlling the Breaths with the *Mantras*

*Mantras* were conceived by the writers of the *Brāhmaṇas* as multivalent forces, both as versions of cosmic fire, and as capable of kindling internal breaths. Through *mantras* the internal life force of breath could be activated, and knowledge thereof provided the *mantrin* with a mystical or esoteric power.<sup>88</sup> Just as the "paths to heaven" consist of light, so in some places *mantras* are identified with light itself. In other places *mantras* are identified as kindlers of the inner fire, causing the priest to "blaze" unassailably just as the sacrificial fire does. At one point the *Śatapatha* states that the priest kindles the *avāṅprāṇaḥ* (downward breath) with the *mantra* "kindled, Agni, [you] are worshipped," and then says that by this verse the entire body is ignited from the nails to the bodily hairs (*sarvaṃ ātmānam samiddha 'ā nakhebhya 'tho lomabhyah*).<sup>89</sup> All sorts of ritual actions are described as intimately involved with the creation and maintenance of the breaths in the sacrificer, and these breaths are said to be controlled by the *mantras*. Indeed, it seems that almost every aspect of the ritual system, the *mantras*, the meters, the sacrificial implements, the fires, and the offerings are at one time or other identified with the breaths.<sup>90</sup> This makes perfect

sense within the ritual logic of the Vedic system. The rituals are performed for the maintenance and continuance of the sacrificer's life, and the ensurance that upon death the initiate will go straight to heaven, and most importantly, be admitted there to join the ancestors. In this sense we could say that the Vedic ritual system becomes, through a further step of the logic of type-identity modeling, an exteriorization of the internal functioning of the life breaths--breaths that are themselves internalizations of cosmic forces. Through ritual use of the Vedic *mantras* and meters, then, the priest connects and reinforces the life-breaths, holding the sacrificer's life together while also preparing the sacrificer for the next world.<sup>91</sup> The priest thereby wields a powerful force in his command of the *mantras*. In fact, as mentioned above, in the earliest interpretations a misplacement of the *mantras* during the ritual could mean death. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.26 explains why the *Maitrāvaruṇa* should not repeat the *Ahīna* and *Ekāha* hymns along with the *Dūrohaṇam*: "For the singing verse (Stotriya) is his soul, and the Vālakhilya are his breath. When he repeats (the Ahīna hymns) along (with the Dūrohaṇa), then he takes away the life of the sacrificer through these two deities (Indra-Varuṇa, to whom the Dūrohaṇa belongs)." A *Hotṛ* who does so will lose his own life as well, having angered the deities.<sup>92</sup> The problem inherent in this doctrine, and attacked relentlessly by the Buddhists, is that for the believing *yajamāna* his life in this world and the next becomes completely dependent on the ritual priests. The Buddha's doctrine that any individual can reach enlightenment through his or her own efforts, represents a radical break from the radical dependence on the priestly hierarchy represented in the



*Brāhmaṇa* doctrines.

Another important aspect of the mantric control of the winds has to do with the specific assignment of parts of speech to the various elements of the universe. *Mantras* are considered to have powerful *creative* effects, and so their localization within the body in the form of cosmic elements gives the practitioner a creative access to the cosmic structure.<sup>93</sup> A major concern of Tantric systems is the systematic application (*nyāsa*) of *bījamantras* or seed-phonemes to various parts of the body on both the gross physical level and in the subtle structure. This ritual initiation procedure clarifies and activates for the initiate the micro-macrocosmic connections, or identities, between the Sanskrit phonemes and the components of the cosmos. This is a practice we find greatly elaborated in the early section of chapter 5 of the *Kālacakratāntra*, and also very highly developed in *Abhinavagupta*'s writings on Tantra. The principle underlying this practice is an ancient one. One passage in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (3.2.5), discussing the "secret teaching (*upaniṣad*) of speech" indicates that a simpler version of this practice was already in vogue in early Vedic thought: the mutes, sibilants, and vowels are assigned to the three Vedas, the three major breaths, the three worlds (earth, the sky, and heaven), the senses, etc. Once again we find that the type-identity logic of the Vedic modeling system is consistent. Since the human use of Sanskrit *mantras* is the human version of wielding the *vajra*, and *mantras* are a transformed version of the cosmic life-giving light and heat (fire) radiating from the Sun, it makes perfect sense (within the system's logic) that the components of the *mantras* would, through recursion, share the same type-identity

with all the various components of the physical universe. Accordingly, the text says, "he who knows this divine lute is heard when he speaks, his fame fills the earth, and wherever they speak Aryan tongues, there he is known."<sup>94</sup>

So we see from the preceding that the framework or model of mapping the parts of speech into the human body that we find so fully elaborated in the *Kālacakratantra* (see Chapter 11 of this dissertation) has--albeit in a much simpler form--some precedent in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. To close this section on the breaths in early Vedic thought we should note that the oft-commented on "internalization of the sacrifice" in the *Upaniṣads* begins already in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Offering into the fires of the breaths via eating was a basic notion in early Vedic thought.<sup>95</sup> This 'breath-offering' or *prāṇagnihotra* has been carefully studied by Bodewitz in his study of the *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣad* that forms the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*.<sup>96</sup>

## 2.5. The Lotus

The lotus is a ubiquitous symbol in Indian religions, and is a central symbol in Buddhist and Śaivite *Tantras*. A largely overlooked (by Tantric scholars) aspect of the lotus symbol is the role of the lotus in the esoteric doctrines of the *Brāhmaṇas*. As we shall see from the following discussion, the lotus holds a key place in the doctrines of the three fires, and in explaining the Vedic doctrine of how the Solar fire comes into its earthly form. Just as in the case of the doctrine of the wind-fire, where two seemingly distinct physical elements are identified, so with the lotus we find a doctrine of the water-fire. Houben refers to "the well-known idea that water is sucked up by a Sun-ray, so that it can pour it down again in the form of rain."<sup>97</sup> So

not only does the Sun come down into man through the winds, as discussed above (in the section on the Breaths), the Sun also comes down into the earth through the rains. Accordingly, the Sun is said to rise from the "the wide ocean," and have the ocean waters as its birthplace.<sup>98</sup> By the straightforward logic that Agni comes from burning plant matter (either directly, or digested into cow dung and burnt as fuel), and plants need water to grow--and because Agni is ultimately identical to the Sun, therefore Agni also comes from the waters. In a doctrine that begins (textually) with the *Ṛgveda*, Agni is thereby called "the son" or "the child of the waters," and the waters are called Agni's "womb."<sup>99</sup> The Adhvaryu priest calls the lotus leaf the "womb of Agni" as he places it in the center of the *Agnicayana* altar, and likens the growing lotus to the fire "spread out in breadth over the expanse of heaven." In the *Ṛgveda* the poet explains that "Agni, Atharvan brought thee forth, by rubbing, from the lotus-flower." [*Tvām agne puṣkarād adhi atharvā niramanthata*].<sup>100</sup> Since the lotus is such a ubiquitous symbol in Indian religion, it is worth taking a moment to consider the derivation of this image. The lotus flower grows up out of the waters, and floats on the waters in the same way that land (i.e. earth) appears to float on the oceans. Recall that in the Indian traditions the continents are referred to as *dvīpas*, or islands, that float on the seas. Fire comes from plants that are burnt, plants that grow up from the earth, and these plants are fed by water. The explicit reason why the lotus is then seen as Agni's womb is given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*: "the lotus means the waters, and this earth is a leaf thereof: even as the lotus-leaf here lies spread on the water, so this earth lies spread on the waters. Now this same earth is Agni's

womb, for Agni (the fire-altar) is this earth, since thereof the whole Agni is built up."<sup>101</sup> This description of the lotus as the womb of Agni is made repeatedly and unambiguously in many places in the *Brāhmaṇa* texts.<sup>102</sup>

Another possibly contributing explanation for the genesis of the lotus--as water, and water as womb of fire--imagery may be the use of the lotus as a food source. In the *Śatarudriya* explanation in ŚB, we're told that the *adhvaryu* draws a frog, a lotus-flower, and a bamboo shoot across the central part of the *agnicayana* altar. These three are said to represent every kind of food: the frog representing animals, the lotus-flower water, and the bamboo-shoot trees.<sup>103</sup> Shortly thereafter the *adhvaryu* says "'With the lotus-flower of the ocean we encompass thee, Oh Agni: be thou bright and propitious unto us!'" and the *Brāhmaṇa* adds, "that is, 'With the waters of the ocean we appease thee.'"<sup>104</sup> Perhaps the association came naturally from the lotus as an "oceanic" food-source, and fire as an "oceanic" life source. A recent study published in the prestigious scientific research journal *Nature* suggest a botanical explanation for the use of the lotus as a symbol for the source of fire. It turns out that the plant actually generates heat to regulate its own temperature, so as to maintain a constant temperature between 86 and 95 degrees Fahrenheit, even during cool nights. It's heat output is equivalent to one Watt per flower, with forty flowers giving off the same heat as a 40 watt bulb, and 70 flowers' heat equal to the heat of a human sitting reading a paper.<sup>105</sup> As an explanation for the use of the lotus to represent *cakras* in later Tantric symbol systems, I would propose that since the physical body is largely water, also, and the heat of *tapas*, *kuṇḍaliṇī*, and *bodhicitta*

arise from the movement of the breaths through our watery body, it would be reasonable, and in keeping with Vedic and Tantric type-hierarchical modeling, to represent the centers of subtle fire arising in the watery body with the symbol of the lotus--the womb of the subtle fires. In the Tantric literature, particularly in the Buddhist Tantras, the insertion of the erect penis into the vagina is routinely described as inserting the *vajra* (lightning bolt, thunderbolt) into the lotus; in the context of these discussions of the lotus as the womb of the earthly fire, and the lightning bolt as a version of the atmospheric fire that is controllable by man (with Indra who hurls the *vajra* as the archetype for this), we see that the Tantric thinkers reconceived the act of sexual intercourse as man connecting the atmospheric penile fire into the woman's earthly vaginal lotus fire--essentially an image of plugging the cosmic electricity into the earthly circuitry.

## 2.6. The Channels

Generally speaking, the doctrine of the bodily channels of the winds is not well developed in the *Brāhmaṇas*, or at least not well expressed. Just as the numbers and functions of the winds within the body was flexible, evidently a subject of some continuing debate and discussion, one gets the impression that the notion of the internal channels for the winds was also somewhat inchoate and under development. In the *Agniṣṭoma* rites the *Brāhmaṇa* author speaks of fastening the winds together by connecting four "sounding holes" that are dug for the cart shed, the shed being considered "the head of the sacrificer," and the holes thereby the two eyes and two ears.<sup>106</sup> So the tradition conceived of internal connections for the winds--they are just

not referred to as "channels." The later Tantra and Yoga physiological doctrines that the 72,000 channels (*nāḍīs*) of the body end at the hair follicles also appears to be suggested in this same sacrificial paradigm, as the Adhvaryu spreads *barhis* grass on the pits, and the text explains that "what hair there is here at (the openings of) the vital airs, that he thereby bestows."<sup>107</sup> This doctrine is given a more explicit form in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*'s explanation of Prajāpati's creation of living beings. In order to overcome the power of death, the Sun-god first practices *tapas*, and while he is doing so, light shoots upwards out of his hair-pits. These radiating hair-follicles equal the number of stars in the sky.<sup>108</sup> While we cannot assume an early existence of later Tantric and Yogic doctrines, the congruence of this depiction of Prajāpati with the later Tantric physiological theories is striking. We also find in the Buddhist tradition that Buddha is often said to radiate light from his pores, and to hook up with the myriad stars in the cosmos wherein are located other *Buddha-kṣetras*.

A slightly more speculative theory of mine, though one that appears to have some basis in fact, is that the Hindu names for the two major *nāḍīs* of the subtle body that run to the right and left of the central *sūṣumnā* channel of the spine, the *iḍā* (to the left of the spine = *lalanā* in Buddhist systems) and the *piṅgala* (to the right of the spine = *rasanā* in Buddhist systems) derive their names from elements of the Vedic system--i.e. the sacrificial offering (*iḍā*) and the Soma juice. The evidence from this largely etymological argument is consistent with the idea of the internalization of the sacrifice that is definitively enunciated in the *Upaniṣads*.

In the Vedic context *iḍā* (or sometimes written *iḷā*) refers to the sacrificial

offering--either the animal food, or as Gonda describes it, simply "the essence of the holy libation."<sup>109</sup> The name is an ancient one. During the *agni-praṇayana* or carrying of fire to the altar prior to the Soma sacrifices, the Hotar recites several *mantras*; among these is RV 3.29.4: *iḷāyās tvā pade vayam* etc., "we put thee, O Jātavedas (Agni) in the place of *iḷā*, in the centre (*nābhi* of the *Uttarā Vēdi*)<sup>110</sup> on the earth to carry up (our) offerings."<sup>111</sup> Heesterman explains that the *iḷā* is invoked after the main oblations, and portions are eaten by the sacrificer and the priests. "The *iḷā*, then, is the life sustaining substance that is released by sacrifice to be enjoyed by the participants....the *iḷā* ceremony is also the time for bringing up and distributing the *dakṣiṇas*, or gifts, to the priests--another form of life-sustaining substance."<sup>112</sup> *iḷā* then is essentially the meat of the sacrificed cow, as well as the milk, butter and ghee that form the oblations.<sup>113</sup> The cattle produce the milk used in the *pravargya*, and the butter and ghee that is part of every oblation into the fire--so *iḷā* could not be more central to Vedic sacrificial rites.<sup>114</sup> Along with *Soma*, *iḷā* is a consumable substance from the Vedic sacrificial rituals, and only these two substances have status of sacred consumables (*iḷā* actually refers to a group of substances).<sup>115</sup> It seems not unreasonable to suppose that as the internalization of the sacrifice proceeded in the *Upaniṣad* period, these two ritual foods became the names for two of the three major subtle body channels. It's not clear to me yet when exactly the shift occurred. We find at, for instance, *Kṣurikopaniṣat* 16 the following remark in the midst of a discussion of the various channels and their locations in the body: The *suṣumnā* remains the ultimate, spotless, in the form of *Brahma*, while the *iḷā* is situated on the

left, and the *piṅgala* on the right.<sup>116</sup>

The name of the subtle body channel (or *nāḍī*) to the right of the spine is the *piṅgala*, a word that simply means ‘tawny, reddish brown, ruddy,’ etc. The *Soma* plant is repeatedly referred to as the tawny, reddish brown, or ruddy one in the *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda*, and the *Brāhmaṇas*, though the texts typically use the term *hari* or *babhruka*, synonyms of *piṅgala*. King Soma is said to be brown or red, producing a brownish or reddish-brown juice. Accordingly, Soma is often called the tawny bull, or tawny steer--the reddish brown colored male of the cow. Keith also remarks that the particular cow used to purchase the Soma must be brown or ruddy in color, like the Soma plant itself.<sup>117</sup> There are even occasional mentions that support the idea that *iḍā* and *piṅgala* (i.e. Soma) are of similar status as ritual substances in terms of their consumability--tending to support my hypothesis that these two were consciously internalized as the names of the two *nāḍīs*. At one point the *Ṛgveda* poets say that the Soma drops being poured through the strainer "make perpetual *iḍā* flow to us."<sup>118</sup>

In the Tantric tradition these two channels, the *iḍā* and the *piṅgala* (called the *lalanā* and *rasanā* in the Buddhist Tantras) also come to be associated with the male/semen and female/blood, respectively, with the Sun associated with the blood, and the Moon with the semen<sup>119</sup> in a similar interweaving (*iḍā*/male/semen/Moon and *piṅgala*/female/blood/Sun) to what we saw with the Sun-shaped *Gārhapatya* and the Earth-shaped *Āhavantya* fireplaces. Again the notion of the blood and the semen being associated with forms of the cosmic fire has already appeared in the Vedic texts--the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* says that a woman’s menstrual blood is a form of Agni,



and the man's semen is a form of Āditya (a name of the Sun).<sup>120</sup> We find none of the specifically Tantric and Yogic channel associations in the early Vedic tradition, however. We also do not find the explicit idea of the *cakras*--or radiating centers of the channels and winds--in the *Brāhmaṇas* (though as we have mentioned above the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* does place the three fires in the eye, heart, and semen). There is no discussion of the heart *cakra*, the throat *cakras*, etc., though these ideas do show up in germinal form in the early *Upaniṣads* as webs of channels radiating from the navel or from the heart. One of the names of the *cakras*, the Buddhist term for the crown *cakra*, the *uṣṇīṣa*, may derive from a term used in Vedic times, though. In discussing the four *Vrātya Stomas*, "rites apparently intended for admission into the Brahmanical community of persons who though Aryans have been living outside that community," Keith notes that "the dress of the Vrātyas is described as including a special kind of turban (*uṣṇīṣa*), white garments without fringes, and a curious kind of bow without a string (*jyāhroḍa*)."<sup>121</sup> Though it is probably impossible to prove any direct derivation, it is certainly curious that the same term that was used for the head-dress of Brahmanical outsiders came to be used for the crown *cakra* of the ultimate Brahmanical outsider, the *Buddha*.<sup>122</sup>

## 2.7. The Directions

Another very common feature of Tantric practice is the assignment of deities to the eight (or ten) directions. In the unexcelled Yoga Tantra (*Anuttarayogatantra*), such as the *Kālacakra*, these deities are usually in couples, male and female, with specific colors and attributes. Curiously enough, we find already in the *Brāhmaṇas*

that the ritual assignment of deities to the directions is an integral part of many rituals; we even find that many of the names of directional deities we find in Tantra already exist in the *Brāhmaṇas*. *Nirṛti* is already the southwestern quarter's deity in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.2.1.1-15, where *Nirṛti*'s bricks are discussed in building the *agnicayana* altar. She is described as an awful goddess, black, and evil.<sup>123</sup> Aditi (the Sun) is associated with the east, Agni with the south, Soma with the west, and Savitṛ (the Sun as the impeller) with the north; the wind is said to come from the northwest.<sup>124</sup> *Vāyava* as a name for the NW is quite old. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.2.3, explaining the fight between the Devas and Asuras, says they fought in the various directions, including the north-east, referred to as *aiśānī*, the direction of *īśāna* (*Śiva*).<sup>125</sup> In the *Tantras* we find northeast referred to as *aiśāna* or *īśāna*, the same name found in this *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage. However, it is also evident that certain aspects of naming the directions change over time. *Agni* for instance becomes associated with the southeast (*āgneya*) rather than the south, and Soma and Savitṛ do not appear to survive as names for the west and north. The east remains associated with the Sun, since the Sun rises in the east. The cardinal directions generally appear however to be quite flexible in the Vedas in terms of deity (or otherwise) assignments. In some passages the gods are to the east, the fathers to the south, the cattle to the west, and one's offspring to the north; in others Agni and the Vasus are to the east, Indra and the Rudras are to the south, Varuṇa and the Ādityas are to the west, and the Maruts are in the north, and so on.<sup>126</sup> This flexibility appears to be maintained in the *Tantras*, since we find that although the basic names for the

directions appear to have become standardized, the assignments of the various deities to the directions varies among the different *sādhana*s.

## 2.8. Ritual Sex

To the extent we find sexual imagery, or ritual sex in Vedic rites, these are focused on notions of enhancing fertility or the generative power of life. The use of sex to harness the generative power of life for non-procreative purposes, as we find in Tantric practices, is largely lacking. Instead we find that the procreative power of sex is seen as a grounding force. When in an *iṣṭi* rite<sup>127</sup> water is poured out next to the *Gārhapatya* fire, the *Brāhmaṇa* says that a "copulation productive of offspring" has been effected, the *Gārhapatya* is therefore a house, or safe resting place, and thus the sacrificer will not be hurt by the thunderbolt. In effect, procreative sex is seen as a sort of lightning rod that provides a safety net for handling the powerful and potentially destructive force of the Cosmic Fire in the form of lightning.<sup>128</sup> Sex and procreative coupling are fully recognized, yet there is no idea here that sex could lead to "liberation." The *Brāhmaṇa* authors also played on the male and female genders of certain words. The altar (f. *vediḥ*) and the fire (m. *agniḥ*) are described as coupling at *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.2.5.15: "The two shoulders (of the altar) he carries along both sides of the (Āhavanīya) fire. For the altar (*vedi*, fem.) is female and the fire (*agni*, masc.) is male; and the woman lies embracing the man; thereby a copulation productive of offspring is obtained."<sup>129</sup> Again at *Śatapatha* 1.3.3.8: "Now the altar (*vedi*, fem.) is a woman, and around her sits the gods and those priests who have studied and teach revealed lore; and as they thus sit around her, he makes her not

naked: hence it is in order to avoid nudity (on her or the altar's part) that he spreads the barhis."<sup>130</sup> The procreative power of the ritual is developed in a more elaborate doctrine elsewhere. We find "testicle" or "seed-shedding" bricks included among the types of bricks that make up the *agnicayana* altar, and these are laid next to the "universal-light" bricks (*viśva-jyotiḥ*) to ensure that Agni shares in the generative power of the testicles, and the testicles do not lose that power. Agni is said to be the causer of procreation, since the fertilizing seed flows when man and woman are heated. In another place Indra in the right eye and Indrāṇī in the left eye are said to descend into the heart where they join in divine union, generating the highest bliss.<sup>131</sup> Sex generates life, and kindling the fire in its physical or cosmic forms is the ritual or sacred analogue of life-generation. This doctrine is fully in keeping with the doctrines of the Sun as the source and final abode of the conscious, immortal self, and the doctrines of the three fires discussed above. Physical sex generates the mortal body, while cosmic sex--in the form of the various fire rituals--generates and sustains the immortal body.<sup>132</sup> So we might say [straining our English idiom a fair bit] that a distinct difference between the Vedic and Tantric models is the movement from procreative copulation to 'liberative' copulation.

## 2.9. Modeling the Body

One of the principal aspects of the Creation-stage practice in the Buddhist Tantra is the meditative, imaginative transformation of all the different components of the body into the structure of the three-dimensional *maṇḍala* palaces. This process includes, in the perfection stage, a self-identification with the elements of time and

space through the instrumentality of the *maṇḍala*, so that the initiate visualizes himself as physically identified with the cosmos.<sup>133</sup> Though hardly the same in terms of elaborateness of detail, we find several passages in the Vedas indicating identification of the altar with the cosmos, and the body with the altar. These suggest that the paradigm that it is possible to gain access to a more deific or enlightened state through a ritual or meditative identification with an organized schematic representation of the cosmos was part of the ritual logic bequeathed to later Indian traditions by the original *vaidikas*. In the *Ṛgveda* the *vedi* or sacrificial enclosure is identified with the furthest reaches of the earth; the sacrifice is considered the world's "navel," the Soma is considered the Sun's "seed" (i.e. semen), and the *brahman*, or Vedic *mantra*, is considered the ultimate reach of human speech.<sup>134</sup> The symbolism should be fairly clear: the male Soma seed impregnates the female speech (*Vāc*); the generative act occurs at the sacrificial "navel" or generative locus of the physical body--since we grow from our navel as embryos, "producing" the sacrificial enclosure (*vedi*), the world. The later *Brāhmaṇas* elaborate this same paradigm, with the "seed" becoming the meters, *stomas*, *prāṇas*, and deities all "poured" into the fire. Laying down the enclosing stones and bricks of the sacrificial site lays down the components of time itself, days, nights, *muhurtas*, etc., so that in the end the Vedic initiate has rebuilt his own body with the sacrificial structure. In this manner, the *Śatapatha* says, "he puts this threefold lore into his own self, and makes it his own...he becomes the body of all existing things...and ascends upwards."<sup>135</sup> That is, the initiate through the Vedic ritual makes his physical body identified with the

surrounding cosmos, absorbing the teachings of the three Vedas, and magically flows upwards towards heaven with the smoke of the sacrificial fire.

One may also compare the description of the reason for laying the circular pattern of the first layer of bricks of the *Agnicayana* altar given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, with the description of the identification of the body with the *maṇḍala* in the meditation at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakrantra*. In the *Brāhmaṇa* the initiate lays down the bricks in a particular pattern, matching the pattern of inhalation, circulation, and exhalation of the *prāṇas*; in making the bricks continuous and connected the initiate does the same for his internal breaths. The mantric formula is the bone, the settling out of the altar shape is the flesh, the *mantras* for the earth fillings (between the bricks) are the hair, and so on.<sup>136</sup> In the *Kālacakrantra* the initiate visualizes the components of his physical body shamanistically exploded into the precise structure of the three-dimensional spherical *maṇḍala*. His bones make up the pillars and row of *vajras*, his flesh, blood, urine, and excrement build the foundations, his bile (*pitta*) forms the Sun, his phlegm (*kapha*) forms the Moon, and his sinews form the lotuses. The central channel of the subtle body forms the Master's (i.e. the *Ādi-Buddha*'s) lotus, the twelve orifices of the body form the twelve doors and the twelve months, the body's hairs form the radiating flames, etc.<sup>137</sup> The Vedic symbolism is obviously neither the same exactly nor nearly as complex as the symbolism of the Tantric *maṇḍala*. However, looking at the diagram of the layers of bricks, as given by Eggeling on pp. 17, 24, 48, 98, of the 1897 volume, we can see the incipient outlines of the later, much more complex

Tantric *maṇḍala* pattern. The body of the *Agnicayana* altar is the body of *Agni* in the form of the cosmic bird, the *haṃsa* or Sun, and is also imagined as the body of the sacrificer. So the self-identification of the body with the Vedic cosmic fire, while considerably different in terms of its theological specifications, its details of construction, and its soteriological intent, is not fundamentally different at a logical or theoretical level; viz., using a precise geometric construction as a mechanism or magical device for connecting the all-too human individual with what is conceived of as his greater, divine, cosmic, or potential self.

We even find an early notions of entry into or identification with the deities. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 4.24, discussing the *Dvādaśāha* sacrifice, describes undergoing the twelve nights of fasting (*upasads*) after the initiation (*dīkṣā*), says: "He who has such a knowledge becomes purified and clean, and enters the deities after having during (these) twelve days been born anew and shaken off (all guilt) from his body."<sup>138</sup> Other passages from the earliest *Brāhmaṇas* identify the deities with the vital airs in the head, and the various senses.<sup>139</sup>

## 2.10. Conclusion

We have seen how the logic of the Vedic cosmology provides a very powerful incentive to the initiate to maintain and sustain the Vedic tradition. Certainly anyone who cared for their children, and believed in the core Vedic doctrines, would do their utmost to ensure that their offspring maintained a viable practice of regular Vedic rituals. To do otherwise would be tantamount to condemning one's heirs to the land of repeated dying, and deprive oneself, and one's ancestors of the fruits of the good

*karma* one's offspring could produce--thereby also 'diminishing' heaven, as it were.<sup>140</sup>

It has often been suggested by Indological scholars that Yoga practices and even Tantra may have emerged from non-Brahmanical traditions in India. Our examination of the Vedic elaborations of the notion of the Sun as the "web-weaver" moving along a cosmic web or network (*tantra*) casts a rather different light on this question. The evidence pretty strongly suggests the doctrine of the inner winds of the body as personal versions of the Winds--i.e. the atmospheric fire as one of the three cosmic fires (along with the solar and earthly fires)--was well established in the early Vedic tradition. Although we do not have explicit discussion of *prāṇāyāma* techniques, we do have various enumerations of the *prāṇas*, with the names of the five major winds in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇaḥ*, and the names of three or four of the winds in earlier *Brāhmaṇas*.<sup>141</sup> The term *śīrṣan-prāṇas*, or winds of the head seems to largely disappear in the later tradition.<sup>142</sup> However, we must not overlook the sometime identification of *Indra* with the winds as we found *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* passages mentioned above. It is probably no accident that the sense functions--including the eyes, ears, nose, and mouth of the *śīrṣanprāṇās*--come to be referred to as *indriyas*, a *-ya* derivative of the word *Indra* that literally denotes "of or relating to *Indra*."<sup>143</sup> It seems quite possible to me that since *Indra* is the wielder of the *vajra*, the later Tantric notions of the *vajrendriyas* (electrified or deified versions of the sense functions)--the *gandhavajra* (smell-*vajra*), *rasavajra* (taste-*vajra*), etc., and the *kāyavajra* (diamond or electric body) evolved directly out of these earlier Vedic ideas that saw the senses as functioning through the "electricity"



of the internalized solar and sacrificial fires, through the medium of the atmospheric fire, the wind. In this sense we can say that although the Tantric subtle-body doctrines are not present in the earliest Vedic literature, the seeds of the ideas were already present. As I have attempted to show here, a wide variety of aspects of Tantric symbolism derives--in a more evolved and more complex form, with different philosophical and teleological emphases and underpinnings--from material that was already present in the earliest Vedic literature. We can explain this simply as part of the ritual and symbolic language inherited by the *Tāntrikas* from the Sanskrit tradition. Just as the later Tantric traditions inherited the Sanskrit language itself, with all the intrinsic grammatical and syntactical structures, and a long history of semantic content, so too the Tantric traditions inherited a long-established and widely recognized (in India) tradition of ritual syntax and ritual semantics. Tantra in this sense inherited a model or template *of what ritual is* (for the Indian tradition), along with a model or template of what reality is, i.e. man woven into the structure of the divine cosmos.

We need also recognize salient features of *Tantra* that do not appear in the *Brāhmaṇas* in any germinal form. We do not find much by way of *bīja mantras* in the *Brāhmaṇas*--rather we find, except for a few Vedic syllables of invocation, etc., *mantras* consists of verses or portions of verses taken from the *Ṛgveda*. While we do have short syllables used in the sacrificial rituals, we do not find the practices of *bījamantranyāsa*, or protective and purificatory ritual application of seed syllables to vulnerable points on the body--an important aspect of certain Tantric rituals. There is

no "liberation" (*mokṣaḥ* or *muktiḥ*) in *Brāhmaṇas*, nor any clearly worked out doctrine of reincarnation on earth--though there are certainly some strong suggestions of the latter. The goal of *Brāhmaṇa* ritual practice is to secure "immortality" in heaven with the gods and the ancestors, and to avoid "repeated dying" in the "yonder world." Sexual rites, while found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, are strictly concerned with the procreative power of sex. All the sexual imagery is also used to indicate fertility and generation of life. We have none of the *ūrdhvaretas* (restrained semen) or *acyuta* (non-ejaculation) ideas that become integral to Tantric sexual practices. The ideas of channels or pathways in the body are not clearly worked out, and though there is apparently some awareness of the specific functions of the winds in the body, there is also some disagreement and confusion expressed on these topics. Although deities are invited to the sacrifice, and given place in the sacrificial enclosure, we do not have the almost mind-numbingly elaborately detailed anthropomorphic and iconographic visualizations of these deities that we find in the *Tantras* and used in the Tantric *sādhana*s. Although there is the germinal idea of "entering deities" and of identifying the breaths with certain gods or goddesses, these notions do not appear to play the sort of central role that deity visualization and self-identification play in Tantric creation stage practices. The iconography of Vedic deities is also relatively minor in comparison to what we find in a developed form in the *Tantras*: Indra has a *vajra*, *Viṣṇu* a *cakra*, and certain other deities have specific activities. By and large, though, Vedic deities are the forces of nature--the rain, winds, Sun, fire, etc., and are not conceived of as male and female couples. The elaborate iconography, dress, and

male-female coupling of the Tantric pantheon is absent, as are Buddhist notions of the void, and elaborate philosophical doctrines.

## NOTES

1. Adapted from Whitney 1905:37-39.
2. In late 20th century civilization—to some extent now worldwide—"science" has achieved a similar status to "Veda" in India. It is hard to read the writings from any academic discipline these days without finding phrases like "the science of" or "the scientific approach," regardless of the field of inquiry.
3. Principally the *Aitareya*, *Kauṣṭhiki*, *Jaimintya* and *Śatapatha*, with some selections from the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, and the *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirya Āraṇyaka*, and from the *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*. The name *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* comes from the Vājasaneyin tradition, "because it consists of a hundred lectures (*adhyāyas*)." (Eggeling 1882:xxviii.) *Śuklayajurveda* was the name given "on account of the lucid arrangement of their sacred texts," (Eggeling 1882:xxvii), with the separate *mantra* and *ṛBrāhma* portions, while the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda* was so called for maintaining a mix of *mantras* and *ṛBrāhma* in the same text. The *Kāthaka* and *Maitrāyaṇīyas* belong to the *Carakas* or *Carakādhvāryus*. (Eggeling 1882:xxvi). The *Taittirīyas* are a different branch, "the origin of which is ascribed to a teacher named *Tittiri*." (Eggeling 1882:xxvi). The *Taittirya* recension survives in the *Āpastambha* subdivision, a subset of the *Khāṇḍikīya* branch, the other being the *Aukhīya* branch. The *Ātreyas* were a subdivision of the latter. (Eggeling 1882:xxvi, n.2.).
4. As Keith himself remarked, "It must always be remembered that the *Brāhmaṇas* contain already in germ all the ideas which make up the fundamental doctrine of the *Upaniṣads*; even the doctrine of transmigration is presaged in the doctrine of repeated deaths in the other world." (Keith 1909:257n.10). I should point out here something that is generally misunderstood by contemporary Indologists. Though usually discussed as such, the early *Upaniṣads* are not really separate texts from the *Brāhmaṇas* (though other *Upaniṣads* were written much later). The *Āraṇyakas* form later portions of the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the *Upaniṣads* are found within the *Āraṇyakas*. As Keith remarks, for instance, "It would seem that *Aitareya Āraṇyaka II, 1-3*, which forms a unity, is the oldest long *Upaniṣad* extant." (Keith 1909:43—his boldface). The *Brāhmaṇas* themselves announce in a number of places, 'now we shall give the secret doctrine (the *upaniṣad*) with regard to some aspect of the ritual.' These facts imply both that alternate interpretations of the term *upaniṣad* are probably not correct in the context where the texts themselves appear, and that the *Upaniṣadic* doctrines were more consciously in keeping with earlier Vedic doctrines than would be assumed by those who might argue that the *Upaniṣadic* doctrines represent non-Vedic ideas.
5. My thanks to Prof. Gary Tubb for encouraging some emphasis on this point.
6. See Sanderson 1985.
7. See Chapter 9.2.5. of this dissertation.
8. Krishna Sastry 1921:1-34.
9. See *Journal Asiatique*, 11th ser., no. 9, 1917, pp. 499-513—"Le Lotus et La Naissance Des Dieux en Égypte, par M.A. Moret," whose article begins with reference to the *Sukhāvattvyūha*'s descriptions of beings sitting on blossomed lotuses in *Amitābha*'s heaven. According to Moret, in Egypt one frequently finds ancient deities sitting or standing on lotuses, in particular the child Horus, the representative of the rising Sun. Moret argues in his article that the lotus functioned as a general symbol for the miraculous birth of all divine beings. [p.499] He gives pictorial examples of King Horus born from a lotus lake ("Horus

Ra' naissant dans le 'lac du lotus'), Divine seat with lotus ("Siège divin avec lotus"), and deceased reborn in a lotus lake ("Défunt renaissant dans le lac du lotus") [p. 506]. Citing Indian and Chinese stories associating the lotus with miraculous pregnancies and births, and references to the lotus' value as a food source, he concludes: The veneration paid to the lotus by the Egyptians, Indians, and Chinese comes therefore probably from its ancient utility as a food source. From this 'tree of life' men recognized, by experience, a force capable of sustaining life; beyond the limits of observation, they lent it also a fertile power; from that come the legends of the miraculous births, whereof the alimentary origin reveals itself in the mastication rite ("La vénération que les Égyptiens, les Indiens, les Chinois ont vouée au lotus vient donc vraisemblablement de son utilité alimentaire aux temps les plus reculés. A ce "bois de vie" les hommes reconnurent, par expérience, une force capable d'entretenir la vie; dépassant les limites de l'observation, ils lui prêtèrent aussi un pouvoir fécondant; de là les légendes sur les naissances miraculeuses, dont l'origine alimentaire se décèle par le rite de la manducation.") [He then discusses artistic representations.][p.513]

10. Compare *Tantrāloka*, Table of Contents, Chapter 5, subject 13: 'An investigation into the state of ultimate proof through the meditation that has as its form the meeting together of the Moon, the Sun, and Fire that have as their nature *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *udāna*.' TA 5.22-24; *Tatra-prāṇa-apāna-udāna-ātmaka-soma-sūrya-agni-saṃghaṭṭa-rūpād dhyānāt para-pramāṭṛtā-anusamdhānam*.

11. Aronson et al 1995:8.

12. Aronson et al 1995:16-17.

13. Aronson et al 1995:20.

14. Aronson et al cite an amusing example of a lack of relative saliency in certain type similarities: "plums and lawnmowers both weigh less than 1000kg, both are found on earth, both are found in our solar system, both cannot hear well, both have an odor, both are not worn by elephants, both are used by people, both can be dropped, and so on. Yet in most contexts these matching features would not be used by anyone to put instances of these types into the same category." (Aronson et al 1995:21).

15. Aronson et al 1995:113.

16. Quoted by Aronson et al 1995:23.

17. Heesterman 1985:45.

18. Aronson et al also speak of a "virtual world" = "as constituted by a model or models in use in a particular episode of theorizing" and a "common ontology" = "the hierarchically ordered system of natural kinds from which a scientific community's virtual worlds are drawn as it builds, modifies, and discards theories." (Aronson et al 1995:14.) We shall examine both of these ideas in our discussion of Tantric practices.

19. Keith 1925{2}:313-314. My boldface.

20. See F. Staal. "Ritual Structure" in Staal 1983{2}:127-134, and p. 129 for quote (and cf. Staal 1983{1}:17). Staal reports an amusing example of ritual recursion in modern life: "At the University of California we have a Committee on Committees, which symbolizes and initiates such recursiveness, which then operates throughout the system. I once argued that a certain committee should be abandoned because it served no purpose. My arguments were taken seriously and time was spent debating whether a subcommittee should be created to look into them and submit a report." (Staal 1983{1}:17).

21. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3.2.3—Keith's translation of: *Śartrapuruṣa iti yam avocāma sa ya eva ayam daihika ātmā, tasya yo 'yam aśartraḥ prajñātmā sa rasah| .... sa yaś ca ayam aśartraḥ prajñātmā yaś ca asau āditya ekam etad iti vidyāt| tasmād puruṣaṃ puruṣaṃ praty ādityo bhavati| tad apy etad ṛṣinoktam| citram devānām udagādanikaṃ cakṣur mitrasya varuṇasya agneḥ| āprā dyāvā-pṛthivī antarikṣaṃ sūrya ātmā jagatastasthuṣaś ceti| |*. (Keith 1909:249-251 and 134-135).

22. "The act done is this man, the abode of *Brahman*. He consists of food, and because he consists of food, he consists of gold. He becomes golden in yonder world, he is seen as golden for all mortals, who knows this." *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.1.3; Keith 1909:204. In the early days of the *Gavām Āyana* or twelve-month cow's walk sacrifice (see Eggeling 1885:426n.3 for a schematic of this ritual) on the tenth day the *sattrins* enter the shed of the *Havirdhāna* carts. At the rear axle of the northern cart they say: "'We have gone to the light, we have become immortal,' for they who sit through a sacrificial session become indeed the light, they become immortal;—'to the sky we have ascended from the earth,'—for they who sit through a sacrificial session indeed ascend from the earth to the sky;—'we have attained to the gods,'—for they indeed attain to the gods;—'to heaven, to the light!'" (ŚB 4.6.9.12; Eggeling 1885:449-450.) Keith remarks that the doctrine of the identity of the conscious self (*prajñātmā*) and the Sun is "of course the most common doctrine in the Upaniṣads." (Keith 1909:250n.5).

23. *Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa* 1.17. The *agnihotra* is the daily morning (dawn) and evening (dusk) offering into the fire. The following passages illustrate how it is understood in the *Brāhmaṇas* as a rite of renewal and purification. ŚB 2.3.1.1: "The Agnihotra, doubtless, is the Sun. It is because he rose in front (agre) of that offering, that the Agnihotra is the Sun." (Eggeling 1882:327.) ŚB 2.3.1.3-6: "And when he sets, then he, as an embryo, enters that womb, the fire; and along with him thus becoming an embryo, all these creatures become embryos; for, being coaxed, they lie down contented. The reason, then, why the night envelops that (Sun), is that embryos also are, as it were, enveloped. (4:) Now when he offers in the evening after Sunset, he offers for the good of that (Sun) in the embryo state, he benefits that embryo; and since he offers for the good of that (Sun) in the embryo state, therefore embryos here live without taking food. (5:) And when he offers in the morning before Sunrise, then he produces that (Sun-child) and, having become a light, it rises shining. But, assuredly, it would not rise, were he not to make that offering; that is why he performs that offering. (6:) Even as a snake frees itself from its skin, so does it (the Sun-child) free itself from the night, from evil: and verily, whosoever, knowing this, offers the Agnihotra, he frees himself from all evil, even as a snake frees itself from its skin; and after his birth all these creatures are born; for they are set free according to their inclination." (Eggeling 1882:328.)

The passage of the Sun into an embryo state and its rebirth at dawn is also spoken of in the *Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.7-8: "Yonder Sun goes asunder in six parts when it sets....it enters the brahmin with faith, cattle with milk, the fire with glow, the plants with sap, the waters with juice, the trees with pith.... Having thus collected it he offers it in the evening. It passes that night in the condition of an embryo. Having again collected it in the same way he offers it at dawn. He causes it to be born....It is the sole hero, who shines here, it is Indra, it is Prajāpati. To him therefore is offered by the one who knowing this offers the Agnihotra." (Bodewitz 1973:36). The Sun frees itself from evil by offering itself into the fire at night, and the fire likewise in the morning *agnihotra*. ŚB 2.3.1.30: "[In the evening] he offers (the first libation), with the text (Vāj. S. 3.9.10), 'Agni is light, the light is Agni.

Svāhā!’ and in the morning with ‘Sūrya (the Sun) is light, the light is Sūrya, Svāhā!’ Thus offering is made with the truth; for, truly, when the Sun goes down, then Agni (fire) is the light, and when the Sun rises, the Sūrya is the light...” (Eggeling 1882:335.) ŚB 2.3.4.24: “Thereupon, while seated (he mutters, Vāj.S.3.19 ff), ‘Thou, O Agni, hast attained to Sūrya’s lustre—;’ this he says, because in setting, the Sun enters the Āhavanīya.” (Eggeling 1882:352.) *Śāṅkhāyana Br.* (aka *Kauṣṭakī*) 2.8: “The fire offers itself in the rising Sun. Yonder Sun, when it sets, offers itself in the fire at night. The night offers (itself) in the day, the day in the night. The exhalation offers (itself) in the inhalation, the inhalation in the exhalation.” (Bodewitz 1976:143. Cf. Bodewitz 1976:145, where he cites *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* 2.1.2.9, with the same idea.) As ŚB 2.3.3.15 poetically says: “The Agnihotra, truly, is the ship (that sails) heavenwards. The Āhavanīya and Gārhapṭya are the two sides [rudders] of that same heavenward-bound ship; and that milk-offerer is its steersman.” (Eggeling 1882:345.)

24. JB 1.17: “And the *āhavanīya* is the divine womb, (which means) the divine world.... If he who correctly acts (by offering in the ahavanīya) offers, then he thereby emits his Self in this divine womb. That Self of his comes into existence in yonder Sun. He who knows thus has two Selves and two wombs. One Self and one womb has he who does not know this.” (Bodewitz 1977:54).

25. I will not engage all the arguments that have been advanced as to whether there is a reincarnation doctrine in the *Brāhmaṇas*. I will only point out here that a land of repeated dying ruled by night and day is an accurate description of life (and death) on earth from the point of view of an Indian tradition adhering to a reincarnation doctrine.

26. JB 1.17-18: “When knowing thus one departs from this world— (18:)—the lifebreath ascends first. It announces to the gods the quantity: ‘So much good, so much evil has been done by him’. Thereupon he (i.e. the body) rises up along the smoke (of the funeral pyre). Of that one (who gives out heat) the seasons are the doorkeepers. To them he should announce himself with this (verse): ‘O, Seasons, from the radiant one, which is pressed out every half month, from the one who is connected with the *pitṛs*, the seed is produced. As such you sent me in a man as your agent. From that man, your agent, you emitted me in a mother. Thus I am produced, being added to itself by the twelvefold (a year) as the additional, thirteenth month. This I know, of this I am sure. So lead me, O Seasons, to immortality’. Him the seasons lead.... They convey him across. He comes to the one who gives out heat. At his arrival he (the Sun) asks him: ‘Who art thou?’ To him who announces himself by his (personal) name or by his family (name), he says: ‘that Self of yours that has been in me, that is yours (again)’. After that Self has been received back the seasons from all sides run towards him, grasps him by the feet and drag him away. Night and day take possession of his world. He should announce himself to him (the Sun) with these words: ‘*Ka* (who) am I, thou art heaven. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven. *Prajāpati* indeed is *Ka* and he who knows thus is *suvargas* (heaven; Sun). For he goes to heaven (*suvar gacchati*). To him he (the Sun) says: ‘Who thou art, that one am I. Who I am, that one thou art. Come.’ He approaches the essence of good deeds.” (Bodewitz 1973:54-55). A slightly different version of this same doctrine appears at JB 1.45-50, with the Seasons asking the questions “To him one of the seasons, who has a hammer in his hand, comes down along a ray of light and asks him: ‘Who art thou, man?’ In case he has some (but not the perfect) knowledge he may withhold (his name from the interrogator). The he strikes at him (with his hammer).... The world which is won by him on account of his gifts, in that he stops. Thereupon even him Death ultimately reaches. Repeated dying is not

overcome by him who knows (only) thus..... Him he should answer: 'O, Seasons, from the radiant one, which is pressed out every half month, from that one which is connected with the *pitrs* the seed is produced.' That they offer there the radiant King Soma, that (is meant by) this. 'As such you sent me in a man as your agent...From that man, your agent, you emitted me in a mother....Thus I am produced, being added by the thirteenfold one as the additional month of the twelve.'.... Him the seasons take with them....The fathers and grandfathers, swift as thought, approach him (saying): 'What, dear son, have you brought us?' He should answer them: 'Whatever good I have done that is yours.'" (Bodewitz 1973:115-116).

27. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.9.3.14: "He then looks up to the Sun, for that is the final goal, that the safe resort. To that final goal, to that resort he thereby goes: for this reason he looks up to the Sun." (Eggeling 1882:271.)

28. We have an intriguing idea from the *Maitrāyaṇīyaśaṃhitā* (of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*) 1.8.6:123.18ff that says that those who die having given many *dakṣiṇās* or having sacrificed much gain the fruit of their efforts. "The virtuous who have offered this reach (*nakṣanti*) yonder world. They are these stars (*nakṣatrāṇi*)." While this constitutes what is often referred to by Western scholars as a 'folk etymology,' this idea has curious resonance with the Pure Land doctrine that locates the many other Buddha-worlds in the distant stars. In effect the *Yajurveda* is stating that the stars are also heavens, since they are the dwelling places of those who have died after living an appropriately virtuous life. It also raises the idea that the Earth's Sun is not the only heavenly domain. Implicit in this idea of course is the sense that other stars in the visible constellations are also Suns, a rather ancient sensibility to an idea considered to be a relatively recent discovery of modern astronomy.

29. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10.5.2.3; Eggeling 1897:366.

30. The basic doctrine of the three fires is found in the *Ṛgveda*. The *Vātsapra* rite of the *Agnicayana* consists in reciting *Rk Śaṃhitā* 10.45; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 6.7.4.3-5 glosses the first three verses (also = *Vājasaneyi Śaṃhitā* 12.18-20): "'From the sky Agni was first born;--the sky, doubtless is the breath, and from the breath he (Agni) was indeed first born,--'from us the second time, the knower of beings,'--inasmuch as he, man-like, on that occasion generated him a second time;--'the third time upon the waters,'--inasmuch as he there generated him a third time from the waters;--'he, the manly minded, (kindling him) the imperishable,'--the manly-minded, doubtless, is Prajāpati; and the imperishable, Agni;--'kindling him the mindful praises (*jar*) him,'--for he who kindles him generates him, mindful. (4:) 'We know, O Agni, thy threefold three,'--Agni, Vāyua (wind), Āditya (Sun), these are his three in three forms [my boldface];--'We know thy manifold scattered sites,'--inasmuch as he (Agni) is here distributed manyways;--we know thy highest name which is secret,'--'the youngest,' that indeed is his highest name in secret;--'we know that source whence thou art come;--the source, doubtless, is the...waters, for from the waters, he first came. (5:) 'In the sea the manly-minded (kindled) thee, in the waters,'--the manly-minded is Prajāpati: thus, 'In the waters Prajāpati (kindled) thee;--'the man-watcher hath kindled thee, O Agni, in the udder of the sky,'--the man-watcher, doubtless, is Prajāpati, and the udder of the sky is the waters;--'thee, whilst standing in the third region,'--the third region, doubtless, is the sky;--'the buffaloes made (thee) grow in the lap of the waters;--'the buffaloes, doubtless, are the vital airs: thus, 'the vital airs made thee grow in the sky.'" (Eggeling 1894:283-285. RV 10.45.1-3: *Divas pari prathamam jajñe adnir asmad dvitīyam pari jātavedāḥ | tṛtīyam apsu nṛ-maṇā ajasram indhānaḥ evanm jarate svādhitḥ | | I | | vidmā te agne tredhā trayāṇi vidmā te dhāma vibhṛtā purutrā | vidmā te nāma paramam guhā yad vidmā tam*



*utsam yata ājagantha*||2|| *Samudre tvā nṛmaṇā aspv antar nṛ-cakṣā divo agna ūdhan* | *ṛṛṭye tvā rajasi tashivāṃsam apām upasthe mahiṣā avaradhan*||3|| (Bandhu 1964:3447). We find the identity of the Sun and *Agni* repeated in the *Sāmaveda*. *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* 18.46-48: "O Agni, what lights of thine in the Sun...O ye gods, what lights of yours are in the Sun...Bestow thou light upon our priests, (work though light in our kings, light in our people and Śūdras, bestow light upon me by thy light)!" (ŚB 9.4.2.14; Eggeling 1897:238.) VS 18.50/ŚB 9.4.2.19: "'Heaven-like heat, hail!'—the heat, doubtless, is yonder Sun; he thus establishes yonder Sun in Agni." (Eggeling 1897:239.)

31. Eg. ŚB 2.1.4.11: "Verily with 'bhūh (earth)!' Prajāpati generated this (earth); with 'bhuvaḥ (ether)!' the ether; with svaḥ (heaven)!' the sky." (Eggeling 1882:296). As Knipe has pointed out, the three stranded cord (*yoktra*) tied around the waist of the wife of the *āhitāgni*, and the *brahmacārin*'s three stranded *mekhalā* are also linked to the three realms and the three fires. (Knipe, "'Vedam' and 'Śrautam' in the Godāvarī Delta of Andhra," Columbia University Seminar on the Veda and Its Interpretation, March 21, 1996.)

32. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 5.32 explains the creation of these three: "*Prajāpati* had the desire of creating beings and multiplying himself. He underwent (consequently) austerities. Having finished them, he created these worlds, viz. earth, air, and heaven. He heated them (with the lustre of his mind, pursuing a course of austerities); three lights were produced: *Agni* from the earth, *Vāyu* from the air, and *Āditya* from heaven." From these three, by successive "heatings" come the three Vedas, the three sacred words, *Bhūr*, *Bhuvaḥ*, and *Svar*, and the three syllables that make up *Om*, *ā*, and *m*. (Haug 1977:372-373; my boldface.)

33. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3.1.2: "Just as there are those three lights in heaven, so there are these three lights in man. As there is in heaven the Sun, so there is the eye in the head [*yathā asau divyāditya evam idam śirasi cakṣur*]. As there is in the sky the lightning, so there is the heart in the body [*yathā asau antarikṣe vidyut, evam idam ātmani hṛdayam*]. As there is the fire in earth, so there is the seed in the member [*yathā ayam agniḥ pṛthivyām evam idam upasthe retah*]." (Keith 1909:241 (translation) and 128 (Sanskrit).) See also *Kauṣṭiki Brāhmaṇa* 2.2.8 (Keith 1920:354-355) for another declaration of the relationship between the Sun, light, and fire.

34. "... And verily he who knows this makes up for himself the whole *Vāc* (speech), the whole vital air, the whole body (of Prajāpati)." (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.1.2.21 Eggeling 1894:317.) ŚB 7.2.1.23 makes the same point in explaining the order of building the fires: "As the Gārhaptya is this (terrestrial) world, the Dhiṣṇya hearths the air, and the Āhavanīya the sky, and the air-world is not separated from this (earth-) world, why then, after building the Gārhaptya, does he build the Āhavanīya, and (only) then the Dhiṣṇya?" The answer is that the earth and heaven were created first, and the middle is completed after the two ends are. (Eggeling 1894:318-319). *Āgnīdhṛtya* ('within the *agnīdhra*,' the place where the sacred fire is kindled) and *Dhiṣṇya* ('quarter of the sky' or abode), both names of subordinate fires, are apparently used here as two alternate names of the *ṣṇDakīyā* fire.

35. See A. Seidenberg, "The Geometry of the Vedic Rituals," in Staal 1983{2}:115.

36. J.C. Heesterman, "Other Folk's Fire," in Staal 1983{2}:79. On p. 77 of the same article Heesterman notes: "Fire symbolizes life and immortality, but its possession is far from secure. Not only can fire be dangerous and destructive when it gets out of hand and acts in its aggressive Rudra form, it is also notoriously fickle and ephemeral. Indeed, the central theme of the cult and its imagery is not so much the security given by the fire as the fact that it constantly tends to withdraw from men and gods and to go into hiding in the waters, plants,

or other elements, whereupon it must be found and taken possession of again."

37 . See J.C. Heesterman, "Other Folk's Fire," in Staal 1983{2}:83.

38 . J.C. Heesterman, "Other Folk's Fire," in Staal 1983:82.

39 . Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa 1.247, discussing the *Trivṛt Stoma* of the *Bahiṣpavamāna* (outdoors purification of the Soma): "One hurls this Vajra in the form of a Trivṛt at it (i.e. at death). It moves along these worlds day by day. As to this Nagarin Jānaśruteya used to say: 'There will be no war between gods and Asuras as long as this threefold (Trivṛt) Vajra moves along these worlds day by day. For this fire blazes upwards, the wind blows sideways, yonder Sun heats downwards. These look at each other without winking. How could there be a war between gods and Asuras as long as these are in position?' And this threefold Vajra by moving along these worlds day by day also strikes off all evil for him who knows thus during its revolving movement." (Bodewitz 1990:138.) As Keith explains, a *sāman* is performed on a *Ṛgveda* verse, with different melodies that often require the addition of extra syllables, themselves lacking any meaning, and of up to fifteen different types. The *sāman* is composed of the *prastāva*, beginning with *hūmkāra* (Sung by *Prastotr*), the *udgītha*, beginning with an *omkāra* (Sung by the *Udgātr*), and the *pratihara*, also introduced by a *hīnkāra* (Sung by the *Pratihatr*). A *stotra* consists of singing more than one *Ṛgveda* verse on a tune. A *stoma* consists of various forms of chanting *stotras*. The *Trivṛt*, a type of *stoma*, includes 9 verses, and is used in the *Agniṣṭoma* rite. (Keith 1925{2}:314.)

40 . JB 1.249; Bodewitz 1990:138. Khālāyana's discussion is in terms of the destructive power of the *vajra* against one's enemies.

41 . Śāṭyāyani adds: "As the appearance and the splendour of this Agni, of this Vāyu and of yonder Āditya, thus is the appearance, thus is the splendour of this Stoma." (*Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa* 1.249; Bodewitz 1990:139.)

42 . Eggeling 1885:405-406.

43 . *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* 8.11-12, describing the morning performance of the *Pravargya*, during the offerings to the deities, explains that the *adhvaryu* intones: "'The oblation has been offered, the sweet oblation,' he says. He makes it sweet (with this mantra). 'In the most Indra-like fire,' he says. The most Indra-like fire is actually the *prāṇa*. In *prāṇa*, the most Indra-like fire, he offers it." (*Hutaṃ hair, madhu havir ityāha | svadayaty evainam | indratame 'gnāv ity āha || 11 || prāṇo vā indratamo 'gniḥ | prāṇa evainam indratame 'gnau juhōti* | Houben 1991:84-85; Houben's translation.)

On the *Tanūnapatra* in the *Agniṣṭoma*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.4.2.15 adds: "Now those favorite forms and desirable powers which the gods put together, they then deposited in Indra; -- Indra verily is he that burns yonder (the Sun); but he indeed did not burn in the beginning, but as now everything else is dark, so was he then; and it is by that very energy (derived from those divine objects) that he burns. Hence if many persons perform the consecration, let it (the *Tānūnapatra* butter), after pouring the fast-milk to it, be handed only to the master of the house, since he, among them, is the representative of Indra. And if he perform the consecration by means of an (offering) with a *dakṣiṇā*, let them hand it (the butter) to the sacrificer, after pouring the fast-milk to it, for thus it is said,--'the sacrificer is Indra.'" Eggeling 1885:96-97. "The *Tānūnapatra* is a solemn covenant made by the sacrificer and his priests, in the name of *Tanūnapāt*, and while touching the sacrificial butter; thereby pledging themselves not to injure each other." (Eggeling 1894:93n.1). According to MW, *tanūnapat*, 'son of himself' or 'self-generated' is a name for lightning, or a sacred name of

*Agni* used in the *Āprī* verses.

44 . ŚB 6.1.1.1-2; Eggeling 1894:143.

45 . *Kauṣṭaki Brāhmaṇa* 8.3, discussing the *Pravargya* rite, says: "The man of whom men speak in the Sun is Indra, is Prajāpati, is the holy power." (Keith 1920:392.)

46 . RV 8.65.3-4: "Indra, with Marut Friends grown strong, hath rent asunder Vṛtra, and Released the waters of the sea. This is that Indra who, begirt by Maruts, won the light of heaven That he might drink the Soma juice." (Griffith 1897{2}:240.)

47 . RV 8.66.4-5: "Then Indra at a single draught drank the contents of thirty pails, Pails that were filled with Soma juice. Indra in groundless realms of space pierced the Gandharva through, that he might make Brahmans' strength increase." (Griffith 1897{2}:241.)

48 . ŚB 6.3.1.19; Eggeling 1894:195.

49 . Thanks to David Pingree for pointing out to me this 'so obvious that I never noticed it' fact.

50 . Griffith 1897{2}:281-282. There are many other examples of this idea. RV 9.97.33b: "Enter the Soma-holding beaker, Indu, and with a roar approach the ray of Sūrya." (Griffith 1897{2}:388.) RV 9.102.12: "These Soma juices, skilled in song, purified, blent with milk and curd, When moving and when firmly laid in oil, resemble lovely Suns." (Griffith 1897{2}:397.) RV 9.93.1: "Ten sisters, pouring out the rain together, swift-moving thinkers of the sage, adorn him. Hither hath run the gold-hued Child of Sūrya and reached the vat like a fleet vigorous courser." (Griffith 1897{2}:380—the ten sisters are the ten fingers pressing out the juice, according to Griffith's note.) RV 9.4.5: "Give us our portion of the Sun through thine own mental power and aids; And make us better than we are." (Griffith 1897{2}:291.) Some other examples: RV 9.42.1: "Engendering the Sun in floods, engendering heaven's lights, green-hued, Robed in the waters and the milk." (Griffith 1897{2}:319.) RV 9.63.13: "Soma the God, expressed with stones, like Sūrya, floweth on his way, Pouring the juice within the jar." (Griffith 1897{2}:335.) RV 9.72.1: "They cleanse the Gold-hued: like a red Steed is he yoked, and Soma in the jar is mingled with the milk." (Griffith 1897{2}:353.) RV 9.74.1: "Born like a youngling he hath clamoured in the wood, when he, the Red, the Strong, would win the light of heaven. He comes with heavenly seed that makes the water swell: him for wide-spreading shelter we implore with prayer." (Griffith 1897{2}:356.)

51 . RV 10.85.3; Eggeling 1882:176n.3.

52 . Eggeling 1885:xx.

53 . RV 9.97.9: "He follows the Wide-strider's rapid movement: cows low, as 'twere, to him who sports at pleasure; He with sharpened horns brings forth abundance: the Silvery shines by night, by day the Golden." Griffith 1897{2}:386.

54 . "The Sun, indeed, relates to Agni, and the Moon to Soma; the day relates to Agni, and the night to Soma; the waxing half-Moon relates to Agni, and the waning one to Soma." ŚB 1.6.3.24; Eggeling 1882:169.

55 . Hence we find many passages in the *ṛg Veda* as these: RV 9.47.3, 'When his song of praise is brought fourth, then Soma, the powerful (indriya) liquor, becomes the thousand-fold-winning thunderbolt;' in 9.72.7, 'Indra's thunder-bolt, the bountiful (vibhūvasu) bull, the exhilarating Soma clarifies itself in a manner pleasing to the heart;' and in 9.77.1, 'This sweet (Soma) has roared in the tub, Indra's thunderbolt, more beautiful than the beautiful one.' :

RV 9.11.4-5, hymn to *Soma Pavamāna*: "(4:) Pressed for the gladdening draught, the drops flow forth abundantly with song, the Soma juices in a stream. (5:) Winning Vivasvān's glory and producing Morning's light, the Suns pass through the openings of the cloth." (Griffith 1897{2}:297.) RV 9.11.8: "He gives us kinship with the Gods, and with the Sun unites our eye....," or, as Pischel translates it, "Soma unites our navel with the navel of the Gods, our eye with the Sun, that is, he brings us into union with the Gods in heaven." (Griffith 1897{2}:297 and note 8.) RV 9.72.7: "Earth's central point, sustainer of the mighty heavens, distilled into the streams, into the waters' wave, As Indra's thunderbolt, Steer with far-spreading wealth, Soma is flowing on to make the heart rejoice." (Griffith 1897{2}:354.)

In the repeated and multifaceted *Brāhmaṇa* identifications of the elements of the sacrificial rituals with the sacrificer's body, we find that the Soma libations (*grahas*) are also said to be aspects of the senses. The libation for *Indra* and *Vāyu* (*Aindra-vāyava*) is his speech. (ŚB 4.1.3.1.; Eggeling 1885:265.) The *Āśvin*'s libation is his hearing. (ŚB 4.1.5.1; Eggeling 1885:272.) The *Śukra* and *Manthin* *grahas* are his eyes, identified with the Sun and the Moon respectively. (ŚB 4.2.1.1: "The *Śukra* and *Manthin* (*grahas*), forsooth, are his eyes. Now the *Śukra*, indeed, is he that burns yonder (the Sun); and because he burns there, therefore it is (called) *Śukra* ('bright'). And the *Manthin*, indeed, is the Moon. (Eggeling 1885:278.) This undoubtedly has some relationship with the Hindu iconographic tradition of representing the eyes of certain deities (*Prajāpati*, *Viṣṇu* etc.) as the Sun and the Moon. *Manthin* lit. is 'shaking or agitating,' the possessive in *-in* of *mantha*, stirring around, shaking, etc. MW says *manthin* refers to Soma-juice stirred together with meal, an explanation also given at ŚB 4.2.1.11 (Eggeling 1885:281). *Śukra* of course is also the name for semen.) The *Āgrayaṇa graha* is the trunk of his body. (ŚB 4.2.2.1/Eggeling 1885:288.) Mixing the *āgrayaṇa graha* with ghee, the *Adhvaryu* intones this mantra from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* 7,9: "I am above, I am below; and what space there is between, that was my father;—I saw the Sun on both sides: I am what is highest to the gods in secret." (ŚB 4.4.2.14; Eggeling 1885:367.) The *Ukthya graha* is his breath or vital energy. (ŚB 4.2.3.1; Eggeling 1885:292-293. Eggeling adds that the *Kāṇva* recension reads "*prāṇaḥ*," not *ātma* as in the *Madhyandina* recensions, and he translates according to the *Kāṇva* recension for undefined 'breath.' (Eggeling 1885:292n.2.) The *Vaiśvānara* and *Dhruva* *grahas* are the front and back vital airs. (ŚB 4.2.4.1; Eggeling 1885:298.) "Having drawn it (the *Dhruva graha*), he deposits it with the northern cart, lest he should confound the vital airs, for the *grahas* are vital airs." (ŚB 4.2.4.13; Eggeling 1885:301.) In another section certain libations are identified with the three principal breaths. See ŚB 2.1.2.1-2 for out-breathing, in-breathing, and through-breathing homologized to the Great Pressing in the *Agniṣṭoma*: "The *Upāṃśu* (*graha*), forsooth, is his out-breathing, the *Upāṃśu-savana* (stone) his through-breathing, and the *Antaryāma* (*graha*) his in-breathing. (2:) Now as to why it is called *Antaryāma*. That which is the out-breathing is also the in-breathing and the through-breathing. Now, in drawing the *Upāṃśu* (*graha*), he puts into him that out-breathing which tends away from him; and in drawing the *Antaryāma*, he puts into him that in-breathing which tends towards him. But this same in-breathing is confined within his self; and because it is confined (*yam*) within (*antar*) his self, or because these creatures are sustained (*yam*) by it, therefore it is called *Antaryāma*." (Eggeling 1885:257-258.) Again at ŚB 4.1.2.18 etc.: "The *Upāṃśu* and *Antaryāma*, since they are the out-breathing and in-breathing." (Eggeling 1885:262.) According to Eggeling, *Antaryāma* is here a name for one of the Soma libations: "The 'Great Pressing' (*mahābhishava*) from which the *Antaryāma* and following libations are obtained is performed by the four priests, viz. the *Adhvaryu* and his three assistants, *Pratiprasthātr*,"

Neṣṭṛ, and Unneṭṛ, each having an equal portion of Soma-plants and one of the four remaining pressing-stones assigned to him." (Eggeling 1885:256n.1.) Other Soma libations are identified with the parts of the body above and below the navel, again dividing the body vertically at the navel, in some places said to be the dividing line between the mortal (lower) and immortal (upper) parts of the body. (ŚB 4.2.4.14-15: "For those (other cups of Soma) are that part of his body from the navel upwards, and above, as it were, is what is from the navel upwards....For this (cup of Soma) is that part of his body from the navel downwards; and below, as it were, is what is from the navel downwards." (Eggeling 1885:301-302.)) In the *Agnicayana*, explaining why the sacrificer wears the gold plate sewn into the black antelope's skin, over his navel, ŚB 6.7.1.9-11 says: "Why over the navel—below the navel is the seed, the power of procreation ... and more in contact with ordure is that which is below the navel ... that part of the vital air which is immortal is above the navel, and streams out by upward breathings; but that which is mortal passes by and away from the navel." (Eggeling 1894:267.) The *Savit* libation is said to be the mind, for *Savitṛ* is the Sun as impeller of men's thoughts. This is the notion encapsulated in the famous *gayatri mantra*, RV 3.62.10, recited daily by good *vaidika* brahmans. The verse reads: May we acquire that excellent radiance of the Stimulator god [i.e. the Sun]; may he activate our intelligence. (*tāt savitur vāreniam bhārgo devāsya dhīmahi/ dhīyo yó naḥ pracodāyāt!*) According to Tim Lubin this verse is sometimes referred to as the *sāvitrī-mantra* (Lubin 1994:135). "Savitṛ, forsooth, is his mind: therefore he draws the Sāvitra cup. And, forsooth, Savitṛ is his breath (vital air);—when he draws the Upāṃśu cup [another libation], then he puts into him that vital air in front; and when he draws the Sāvitra cup, then he puts into him that vital air behind: thus those two vital airs on both sides are beneficial (or, put into him), both that which is above and that which is below." (ŚB 4.4.1.1; Eggeling 1885:357.) Accordingly we find at the *Prātaḥsavana* or morning pressing in the *Agniṣoma*, when measuring out the Soma, the priest measures out a libation for the *gāyatrī*, "Thee for the Soma-bearing falcon!" "Thee for Agni the bestower of growth of wealth!" because "Now Agni is Gāyatrī: he metes this out for Gāyatrī. And since Gāyatrī, as a falcon, fetched Soma from heaven, therefore she is (called) the Soma-bearing falcon: for that prowess of hers he metes out (for her) a second portion." (ŚB 3.9.4.10; Eggeling 1885:241.) Here the words of the *mantra* become the vehicle for the *avataraṇa* or descent from heaven of Soma. Again, in a manner not completely dissimilar from notions of the *rasa* of the *bodhicitta* flowing through the channels of the body, we find that when *Indra* overdrinks the Soma, it exudes from his life-breaths. When *Indra*, having beheaded the three heads of *Tvaṣṭṛ's* son *Viśvarūpa* is excluded by *Tvaṣṭṛ* from the Soma, *Indra* drinks up the pure Soma in the tub. ŚB 1.6.3.7 tells us: "That (Soma), however, injured him; it flowed in all directions from (the openings of) his vital airs; from his mouth alone it did not flow, but from all the other (openings of the) vital airs it flowed." (Eggeling 1882:165. It's not clear that the interpolation of "openings" here is necessary. The remaining Soma in the tub was made to grow into *Vṛtra* by an enraged *Tvaṣṭṛ*, according to ŚB 1.6.3.8-12.)

I close this note with Griffith's felicitous translation of a couple of the inspired lines in praise of the mystery plant: RV 9.85.8-9, from a hymn to *Soma Pavamāna*. 9.85.8: "While thou art purified pour on us hero strength, great, far-extended shelter, spacious pasturage; let no oppression master this our holy work: may we, Oh Indu, gain all opulence through thee. (9:) The Steer who sees afar hath risen above the sky: the Sage hath caused the lights of heaven to give their shine; the King is passing through the filter with a roar: they drain the milk of heaven from him who looks on men. (10:) High in the vault of heaven,

unceasing, honey-tongued, the Loving Ones drain out the mountain-haunting Steer,— The drop that hath grown great in the waters, in the lake, meath-rich, in the stream's wave and in the cleansing sieve." (Griffith 1897{2}:367.)

56 . The title of the tenth *Kāṇḍa* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* begins "*Ciryāgneḥ saṃvatsara-rūpatvam*," (Upadhyaya 1969:1351.) i.e. "the fire-altar has the form of the year;" it continues "*tasya prājāpatyātmanā stutiḥ*," (Upadhyaya 1969:1351) i.e. "the praise of that [fire altar] as having *Prajāpati* as its self." So that *Prajāpati* too becomes homologized to the year, or time itself. The *Brāhmaṇa* begins: "*Om*. In the beginning this Fire [altar] is built; [it is] the year. Afterwards, the great *Uktham* [verse recitation] is recited. From the relaxed *Prajāpati* the *rasa* went to the top. (ŚB 10.1.1.1: *Om | agnir eṣa purastāc cīyate | saṃvatsara upariṣṭān mahaduktham śāsyate, prājāpater visrastasya agraṃ raso 'gacchat |*. (Upadhyaya 1969:1351). According to Eggeling (Eggeling 1897:281n.3), *Sāyaṇa* takes *agraṃ* as *ūrdhvalokam*, i.e. the *rasa* went to heaven.) ŚB 10.1.1.4 says that the *rasa* that flowed upwards, or to the top, became the *mahad-uktham*, and the priests seek, or go after (*anuyanti*) that *rasa* with the *ṛk* and *Sāma* (verses). (ŚB 10.1.1.4: *Atha yo 'sya so 'graṃ raso 'gacchat | mahattaduktham tam asya tam rasam ṛk-sāmābhyām anuyanti*. (Upadhyaya 1969:1352).) The *adhvaryu* draws the *rasa* by means of the Soma cup (*graha*), the *Udgātṛ* puts the *rasa* into the cup by means of the *Mahāvraṭa Sāman*, and the *Hotṛ* puts *rasa* into it by means of the *Mahaduktham*. (Eggeling 1897:282-283.) By chanting the *stotra*, reciting the *śāstra*, and offering the *graha*, the priests put the *rasa* into Agni: "and thus those two, the *ṛk* and the *Sāman*, enter him in the form of the vital fluid; and thus they both enter (join) the Yajus." (Eggeling 1897:284.)

57 . My thanks to Prof. David Pingree for pointing out this connection to me, and referring me to the explanatory passage in his translation of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā*.

58 . There are 15 sets of four seconds in one minute ( $15 \times 4 = 60$ );  $15 \times 60$  minutes = 900 sets of four seconds in one hour.  $900 \times 24$  hours = 21,600.

59 . Neugebauer & Pingree 1971{2}:comment on XIV,31-32.

60 . The multiplicity of shapes that *Agni* may assume (since hearth-fires are constantly in motion) may well have had something to do with the genesis of the philosophical notion of *māyā* or illusion that comes to play such an important role in later Indian thought. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.30 gives an intriguing description of fire during the description of the *Agniṣṭoma praṇayanam*, i.e. bringing *Agni* and *soma* to the *Uttarā vedī* altar location. "When the King Soma had been carried once (to the place of the *Uttarā Vedi*), then the Asuras and demons sought to kill the king between the place called *sadas* (the place for the Soma near the *agnīdhriya* hearth—Haug 1977:68n.16) and the two *havirdhānas* (the two carts filled with ghee, soma, and other oblations—Haug 1977:68n.16). *Agni* saved him by assuming an illusory form (*māyā*) as is said in the words of the mantra (RV 3.27.7): *purastād eti māyayā*, i.e. he walks before him by assuming an illusory form. In this way *Agni* saved Soma." (Haug 1977:69). Similarly, AB 3.39 tells the story of the Devas and Asuras at war, and *Agni* refusing to follow the gods unless they perform a ceremony praising him; *Agni* then assumes a threefold form: "After having been praised, he followed them. He having assumed the shape of three rows, attacked in three battle lines the Asuras in order to defeat them. The three rows were made only of the metres (*Gāyatrī*, *Triṣṭubh*, and *Jagatī*). The three battle lines are only the three libations. He defeated them beyond expectation." (Haug 1977:230).

61 . AB 2.5.2, explaining the words of the *Nivid*; "He repeats: *tuṛṇir havyāvat*, i.e. the runner who carries the offerings. *Vāyu* is the runner who carries the offerings. For *Vāyu*

runs in an instant through the whole universe; he carries the offerings to the gods." (Haug 1977:145.)

62. See Insler 1995:1.

63. RV 10.136: "1. The hairy one (bears) fire, the hairy one (bears) the drug, the hairy one bears the two firmaments; the hairy one (bears) the whole (world) so that it may see the Sun; the hairy one is called that light (i.e. the Sun).

*keṣi agniṃ keṣi viṣaṃ keṣi bibharti ródast| keṣi viṣvaṃ suár dṛṣe keṣtīdam jyótir ucyate||*

"2. The *munis*, belted with the wind, clothe themselves in red dirt; they follow the force of the wind when the gods have entered (them).

*múnayo vātaraśanaḥ piśāṅgā vasate málā| vātasyānu dhrājīṃ yanti yád devāso ávikṣata||*

"3. Delirious with *muni*-hood, we have mounted the winds; you mortals perceive only our bodies."

*únmaditā maúneyena vātāṃ ā tasthimā vayám| śartred asmākaṃ yūyám mártaso abhi paśyatha||*

"4. He flies through the air, looking down on all forms; the *muni* is each god's friend, fit to do good works (rituals?).

*antárikṣeṇa patati víśvā rūpāvacaśat| múnir devāsya devasy saúkṛtyāya sákhā hitáh||*

"5. Horse of the wind, friend of Vāyu, driven by the gods as well, the *muni* inhabits both seas, both the eastern and the western.

*vātasyāśvo vāyoḥ sákhā-átho devéṣito múnih| ubhaú samudrāv ā kṣeti yás ca pūrve utāparaḥ||*

"6. Proceeding along the path of the Apsarases, the Gandharvas, and the wild animals, the hairy one, knowing (their) thoughts, is (their) sweet, most intoxicating friend.

*apsarásāṃ gāndharvāṇām mṛgānām cáraṇe cáran| keṣtī kétasīa vidvān sákhā svādúr madnitamah||*

"7. The wind has churned it for him; Kunannamā prepared it when the hairy one drank of the drug from the cup, with Rudra.

*vāyur asmā úpāmanthat pináṣṭi smā kunaṇnamā| keṣtī viśāsya pātreṇa yád rudréṇapibat sahā||*" (Lubin 1994:30-31).

64. *Atharvaveda* (15.15.16.17) identifies seven types of *prāṇa*, fire/*agni*, the Sun/*Aditya*, the Moon/*candramāḥ*, the wind/*pavamāna*, water/*āpaḥ*, animals/*paśavaḥ*, and people/*prajāḥ*), seven types of *apāna* (the full Moon/*paurṇamāsī*, seventh, eighth, and ninth days after the full Moon/*aṣṭakā*, new Moon/*amāvāsyā*, faith/*śraddhā*, initiation/*dīkṣā*, sacrifice/*yajña*, and sacrificial gifts/*dakṣiṇā*), and seven types of *vyāna* (earth/*bhūmi*, atmosphere/*antarikṣaṇi*, the sky/*dyauḥ*, the lunar constellations/*nakṣatrāṇi*, the seasons/*ṛtavah*, the combinations of seasons/*ārtavāḥ*, and the year/*saṃvatsarāḥ*). (See Dasgupta 1932:291-292n.5.)

65. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 2.3.3.7-8, "Now yonder burning (Sun) doubtless is no other than Death; and because he is Death, therefore the creatures that are on this side of him die. But those that are on the other side of him are the gods, and they are therefore immortal. It is by the rays (or reins, thongs, *raśmi*) of that (Sun) that all these creatures are attached to the vital airs (breaths of life), and therefore the rays extend down to the vital airs. ([*Sarvāḥ prajā raśmibhiḥ prāṇeṣv abhihitās, tasmād u raśmayah prāṇān abhyavatāyante*]). My boldface. Sanskrit from Upadhyaya 1967:257). And the breath of whomsoever he (the Sun) wishes he takes and rises, and that one dies. And whosoever goes to yonder world not having escaped that Death, him he causes to die again and again in yonder world, even as, in this world, one regards not him that is fettered, but puts him to death whenever one wishes." (Eggeling

1882:343). The repeated death in yonder world mentioned here echoes the doctrine expressed in *Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa* 1.17-18, and 1.49-50, discussed above. This slightly shocking sense of the potentially tyrannical power of the Sun is ameliorated by the notion that one is released from this death by firmly planting oneself on that Death, on the Sun, by offering the morning and evening Agnihotra libations, a notion we found also in *Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa* above. ŚB 2.3.3.9: "And, verily, he who knows that release from death in the Agnihotra, is freed from death again and again." (Eggeling 1882:344). *Anuvāka* 4.8-9 of the *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* explains how the external winds are also connected to the Sun's fire: "Pravargya is actually the head of the sacrifice. Indeed, yonder Āditya (the Sun) is the Pravargya. The Maruts are its rays. "Svāhā! Surround with the Maruts," he says. He piles yonder Āditya (the Sun) with rays. Hence in yonder world yonder Āditya (the Sun) is surrounded with rays. Hence the king is surrounded with people. Hence the leader of a community is surrounded by his men." (*Śiro vā etad yajñasya | yat pravargyaḥ | asau khalu vā ādityaḥ pravargyaḥ | tasya maruto raśmayah || 8 ||* "svāhā marudbhiḥ pari śrayasvety āha | anum evādityaṃ raśmibhiḥ pary ūhati | tasmād asāv ādityo 'muṣmin loke raśmibhiḥ paryūdhah | tasmād rājā viśā paryūdhah | tasmād grāmanīḥ sajātaiḥ paryūdhah" (Houben 1991:61-62, his translation). As Houben explains in a note, the adjectives for the *Maruts* in the *ṛgveda* are Sun-like: *viśvabhānu* (universal brightness or all-illuminating; *bhānu* is also a name for the Sun), *svābhānu* (self-luminous), *hiraṇyāya* (golden), *sūryatvac* (the Sun's skin, or having a Sun-like skin), etc. RV 5.55.3 says the *maruts* are *suryasyeva raśmayah*, i.e. like rays of the Sun. (Houben 1991:116n.58; my translations). Griffith translates RV 5.55.3-4 (the hymn is to the *Maruts*), as "Strong, born together, they have waxed great: the Heroes more and more have grown to majesty | Resplendent as the Sun's beams in their light are they. Their cars moved onward as they went to victory. Maruts, your mightiness deserves to be adored, sight to be longed for like the shining of the Sun. So lead us with your aid to immortality. Their cars moved onward as they went to victory." (Griffith 1897{1}:561).

66. ŚB 2.2.2.15: "Now, when, on that occasion, they produce that (fire) by churning, then he (the sacrificer) breathes (blows) upon it, when produced; for fire indeed is breath [*prāṇo 'vā agnir*]: he thereby produces the one thus [being] produced [*jātam eva enam etat santam janayati*]. He again draws his breath [*sa punar apāniti*]: thereby he establishes that (fire) in his innermost soul" ([*tad enam antarātmann ādhatte*]; The double *nn* at the end of *antarātman* is due to *samdhik*; it is not a negative particle) "and that fire becomes established in his innermost soul" [*so 'sya eṣo 'ntarātmann agnir āhito bhavati*]." Eggeling 1882:311. Sanskrit from Upadhyaya 1967:230. Eggeling refers to a passage from the *Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* 4.8.29 ff. where, after churning the fire into existence, "the sacrificer blows it with 'Breath I bestow on the immortal;' and the well-kindled flame he inhales with 'The immortal I bestow on the breath.'" (Eggeling 1882:297-298n.4).

67. As discussed below, this doctrine is apparently contradicted in some places by the idea that the priests, through following an improper sequence of *mantras*, can accidentally kill the sacrificer, and even themselves, because of the connection between the *mantras* and the breaths. *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 10.4.4. remarks, with interesting implications for the four states of consciousness theory espoused in the *Upaniṣads* (waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state), that: "the breath is always awake." (Bodewitz 1976:237n.12.) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.2.2.17 discusses the issue: "It (or some one) might come between, -- 'it might go away!' so (fear some); but, surely, as long as he lives no one comes between him and that fire which has been established in his innermost soul [*na ha vā 'syaitam kaścana antareṇa eti yāvaj jīvati yo 'syaṣo 'ntarātmann agnir āhito bhavati*]: let him, therefore, not heed this.



And as to its becoming extinguished: – surely, as long as he lives, that fire which has been established in his innermost soul, does not become extinct in him." Eggeling 1882:312. Sanskrit from Upadhyaya 1967:230. Since the *Śatapatha* is by general consent the latest of the *Brāhmaṇas*, we may conclude that the earlier doctrine of the ability of the priests to remove the sacrificer's breaths was in some lineages becoming superceded.

68 . *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 2.2.2.18: "The (sacrificial) fires, assuredly, are those breaths: the Āhavanīya and Gārhapatya are the out-breathing and the in-breathing; and the Anvāhārya-pacana is the through breathing." (Eggeling 1882:312).

69 . Only by reading through the *Brāhmaṇas* will one gain an appreciation for just how pervasive the doctrine of the breaths is in the interpretation of Vedic ritual. One really ought to include the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves in the following analogy from the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 3.2.2: "Sthavira Śākalya says that the breath is a beam, and that as the other beams rest on the main beam of the house, the eye, the ear, the mind, the speech, the senses, the body, the whole self, rests on this breath." (Keith 1909:247-248.)

70 . For instance, *Anuvāka* 4.5 of the *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* speaks of seven *prāṇas* in the head. "He offers the *prāṇāhutis*. He puts the *prāṇas* in the sacrificer. He offers seven. Seven, indeed, are the *prāṇas* in the head." (Houben 1991:60). Grinding the rice during the *darśapūrṇamāsa*, he says (ŚB 1.2.1.19:) "For out-breathing (I grind) thee! for in-breathing thee! for through breathing (pervading vital air) thee! May I impart a long duration to the life (of the sacrificer)!." (Eggeling 1882:40.)

71 . This issue of the potential danger to the life of the ritualists is rationalized in many ways. In the *Dvādsāha vyūḍhacandas* (twelve days' sacrifice with transposed meters), for instance, it is said that after drawing each Soma libation the Adhvaryu "does not deposit it--the grahas being the vital airs--lest he should disorder the vital airs." (ŚB 4.5.9.2, etc.; Eggeling 1885:419ff.)

72 . That the *Brāhmaṇas* intend *prāṇa* as exhalation, and *apāna* as inhalation is evident from several passages. One such is ŚB 1.4.1.5: "And (another reason) why he recites with 'ā' and 'pra' is this. 'Pra (forth)' clearly means out-breathing, and 'ā (hither)' means in-breathing: hence he thereby obtains out-breathing and in-breathing (for the sacrificer). For this reason he recites with 'ā' and 'pra.' (6:) ... 'Thither' the cattle disperse (for grazing), 'hither' they return. Indeed, everthing here (moves) 'hither' and 'thither.'" (Eggeling 1882:101-102.) The analogy with the cattle removes any doubt about the outward sense of *pra-* and the inward sense of *a-*.

73 . *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.4.5, describing the three offerings to the seasons (*ṛtuyājas*), says: "For the vital airs are threefold, viz. air inhaled, air exhaled, and the air circulating in the body." (Haug 1977:136). JB 1.111 refers to three breaths, *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna*. (Bodewitz 1990:64.) The threefold vital airs are also mentioned at *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa* 9.8.15; (Caland 1931:222). KB 13.9 holds to three winds: "Breath is in three ways ordered, expiration, inspiration, [and] cross-breathing." (Keith 1920:422.) KB 25.12: "The Śilpas are the lower breaths; the sacrificer is the man; the morning pressing is the upper breaths; the midday is the body." (Keith 1920:494.) KB 29.8, discussing the *Maitrāvaruṇa Prṣṭha*, says: "It is of ten verses (see RV 3.38.10); these breaths are ten; verily he places these breaths in the sacrifice and in the sacrificers." (Keith 1920:523.)

74 . ŚB 14.3.2.17-18 says there are seven vital airs in the head, the breath in the mouth that is the voice, breath in the two nostrils, two eyes, and two ears. (Eggeling 1900:506.)

According to Houben, the *Taittirya Āraṇyaka* 4.5.1(3) gives a different set of seven, identifying the seven *prāṇas* of the head (*śiṛṣaṇya*) as 1) *prāṇa*, 2) *vyāna*, 3) *apāna*, 4) *caḥsus*, 5) *śrotas*, 6) *mānas*, 7) *vāk sarasvatī*. (Houben 1991:115n.51. Houben notes that *śiṛṣaṇya* rarely if ever has the figurative sense of "primary" that often attaches to *mukhya*.)

75. See above, note to ŚB citation 6.7.1.2.

76. In the description of the *Rājasūya* or Royal Inauguration, ŚB 5.2.4.10 explains how we come to have ten winds in our body, emphasizing the power of the priest over the winds of the sacrificer: "He may also heal (some disease) with this (offering): For yonder blower (or purifier, the wind) is this breath; and the breath is the same as the vital energy. Now he (the wind) blows as one only, but on entering into man, he is divided tenfold; and ten are those oblations he offers: thus he (the priest) endows him with the ten vital airs, with the whole, entire vital energy; and were he now even as one whose vital spirit has departed, verily by this (offering) he (the priest) brings him round again." (Eggeling 1894:50.) *Se haitenāpi bhiṣajyet| aya vai prāṇo yo 'yaṃ pavate yo vai prāṇaḥ sa āyuh so 'yam eka--ivaiva pavate so 'yaṃ puruṣe 'ntaḥ praviṣto daśadhā vihito daśa vā eṭā āhutṛ juhōti tad asmin daśa prāṇān kṛtsnam eva sarvam āyur dadhāti sa yad ihāpi gatāsur iva bhavatyā haivainena harati||10||* (Upadhyaya 1969:755). (Eggeling has translated *āyur* as "vital energy.") In a different section on purificatory rites for the *Agniṣṭoma dīkṣā*, ŚB 3.1.3.19-21 says of the sacred grass purifier: "It may consist of one (stalk of grass); for that blower (or purifier, the Wind) is one only, and in accordance with his nature is this (cleanser); hence it may consist of one (stalk). (20:) Or there may be three (stalks); for one, indeed, is that blower, but on entering into man he becomes threefold, to wit, the out-breathing [*prāṇa*], the in-breathing [*udāna*] and the through-breathing [*vyāna*], and in accordance with his measure is this (cleanser): hence there may be three (stalks). (21:) Or there may be seven (stalks); for there are seven vital airs of the head [*sapta 'vā 'ime śiṛṣan-prāṇās*]: hence there may be seven (stalks). There may even be thrice seven,—one and twenty: such indeed is perfection." (Eggeling 1885:17. Sanskrit from Upadhyaya 1967:353.) See the passage from ŚB 6.7.1.2 cited above for the Sun's rays, and hence the vital airs or breaths, as twenty-one.

77. See for instance ŚB 8.4.3.1-20, where, when laying down the seventeen *Sṛṣṭi* (creation) bricks into the *Agnicayana* altar, the *Adhvaryu* speaks to the *prāṇas*, homologizing three, four, seven, nine and ten vital airs to the songs of praise, yet never more than ten *prāṇas*. So for thirteen songs of praise, for instance, the *Brāhmaṇa* explains "there are ten vital airs, and two feet, and the trunk is the thirteenth." (ŚB 8.4.3.9; Eggeling 1897:74). No eleventh etc. vital airs are invented. Again, during the oblations in the *Agniṣṭoma*, we're told that "there are here eleven fore-offerings; for here in man there are ten vital airs, and the eleventh is the self wherein those vital airs are contained; this is the whole man; thus they fill his whole self, and therefore there are eleven fore-offerings." (ŚB 3.8.1.3, Eggeling 1885:185.) *Anuvāka* 6 of the *TĀ Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* gives the nine *avakāśa mantras* (to be intoned while gazing at the *pravargya* vessel), and then says "These are the nine Avakāśa mantras. That of the wife is the tenth. Nine, indeed, are the *prāṇas* in man. The navel is the tenth. He [the *adhvaryu*] puts the *prāṇas* in the sacrificer [the *yajamāna*]. And then: the *virāj*-metre is ten-syllabic." (Houben 1991:72.). During the *prayāgas* or fore-offerings in the *darśapūrṇamāsa*, ŚB 1.5.2.5 explains the Hotṛ's recitations by "These same (preceding formulas) are nine utterances; for nine, in number, are those breaths (or vital airs) in man, and these he thereby puts into him (the sacrificer): for this reason there are nine utterances." (Eggeling 1882:140.)

78. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 1.15 refers to nine *prāṇas*, matching the nine potsherds holding the rice-ball offerings to Soma. (Haug 1977:34.) Nine winds are again mentioned at AB 1.20, corresponding to the nine *Pāvamaṇī* verses for purifying the Soma juice. (Haug 1977:45.) The *Hotṛ* points to the navel of the *pravargya* (See below for a discussion of this rite) initiate, and repeats *ayam venaś ca udayat* (RV 10.123.1). ('And this, *Vena*, arose.' Griffith explains in a note that *Vena* = "the loving Sun." (Griffith 1897{2}:615, note.) AB 1.20 glosses this "'This' (the navel) is meant by *venas*; for some vital airs are circulating (*venanti*) above the navel, others below it. On account of this vital air (the life) taking its origin from the navel, *venas* (circulation, from *ven* to circulate) means 'navel.'" (Haug 1977:45.) MW gives "to care or long for....; to tend outwards...." for  $\sqrt{ven}$ . The navel certainly is an important location vis à vis the breaths. While cleaning the sacrificial animal victim, the sacrificer's wife cleans the mouth, nostrils, eyes, ears, navel, sexual organ, anus, and feet. The navel is referred to as the site of the *aniruktaḥ prāṇaḥ*, the 'unexplained,' 'inarticulated,' or mysterious breath. (ŚB 3.8.2.6, Eggeling 1885:192. Upadhyaya 1967:496.) Elsewhere we find the heart identified as a generative source of life. Singing various hymns over the *agnicayana* altar, "He [the priest] then sings the heart of Prajāpati;—the heart assuredly is yonder Sun, for he (the Sun) is smooth, and the heart is smooth; he is round, and the heart is round. On the body (of the altar) he sings, for the heart is in the body;—at the arm-pit, for the heart is in (the vicinity of) the armpit;—at the right armpit, for the heart is nearer thereto:" (ŚB 9.2.1.40; Eggeling 1897:180-181. The claim that the heart is nearer to the right armpit is difficult to explain, unless the text is referring to a non-organic heart that is the counterpart of the organic one.) "he thus makes the Sun his (Agni's) heart, and that heart of his he thus makes boneless and immortal." "The heart of Prajāpati" is a verse from the Sāmaveda, interspersed with various modulations and interjections (*stobhas*), cited by Eggeling, "*imāḥ prajāḥ prajāpater hrdayaṃ prajārūpam ajījane*" (Eggeling 1897:180n.1) = these beings are the heart of *Prajāpati*; I [*Prajāpati*] produced myself in the form of beings. (*ajījane* is the first person singular *ātmanepada* of the reduplicated aorist of  $\sqrt{jan}$ .) Then the *Hotṛ* recites from the beginning of RV 9.83.1-2: *pavitram te vitatam; tapoḥ pavitram vitatam*. These are the first three words of RV 9.83.1 and 9.83.2 respectively, a hymn to *Soma Pavamāna*. Griffith translates "Spread is thy cleansing filter" and "[high in the seat of heaven] is spread the Scorcher's seive." (Griffith 1897{2}:364). Then the *Brāhmaṇa* explains: "On account of their containing the word "*pavitram*" (pure), the vital airs are purified (when these mantras are recited over them). These are the vital airs of the lower part of the body, presiding over the semen, urine, and excrements." (Haug 1977:45.) Here evidently the specific functions that are in later medical and Yoga literature assigned specific wind-names, are recognized as having distinct winds, yet remain unnamed (at least in the written tradition). AB 1.17, describing the *Atithi-iṣṭi* or guest reception, speaks of the seven vital airs in the head. (Haug 1977:40.) The section concludes: "They offer only the *Prayājas* at this (Iṣṭi), but not the *Anuyājas*. The *Prajāyas*, as well as the *Anuyājas* are the vital airs. The airs which are in the head are the *Prajāyas*, whilst those in the lower parts of the body are the *Anuyājas*. He who should offer the *Anuyāyas* at this (Iṣṭi) is just like a man who after having cut off the vital airs (residing in the lower parts of the body) wishes to put them in the head. That would be superfluity, were all the vital airs, those of the head as well as those of the lower parts of the body, to be found at the same place (viz. in the head)." (Haug 1977:41.) Similarly, at *Kauṣṭaki Brāhmaṇa* 25.12, we have a general indication of physiological differentiation of the breaths: "The Śilpas are the lower breaths; the sacrificer is the man; the morning pressing is the upper breaths; the midday is the body." (Keith 1920:494). Another passage divides the

upper and lower airs into those above and below the navel. In the *Agnicayana*, explaining why the sacrificer wears the gold plate sewn into the black antelope's skin, over his navel, ŚB 6.7.1.9-11 says: "Why over the navel—below the navel is the seed, the power of procreation ... and more in contact with ordure is that which is below the navel ... that part of the vital air which is immortal is above the navel, and streams out by upward breathings; but that which is mortal passes by and away from the navel." (Eggeling 1894:267.) Another use of the gold plate is hanging it round the neck of the sacrificer during the *Agnicayana*. ŚB 6.7.1.1 says: "He hangs a gold plant (round his neck), and wears it; for that gold plate is the truth, and the truth is able to sustain that [*Ukhyā agni* or fire in the pan that the Sacrificer will carry at the time of his *dikṣā*, and will be considered as the Sacrificer's divine body]: by means of the truth the gods carried it, and by means of the truth does he now carry it. (2:) Now that truth is the same as yonder Sun. It is a gold (plate), for gold is light, and he (the Sun) is the light; gold is immortality, and he is immortality. It (the plate) is round, for he (the Sun) is round. It has twenty-one knobs, for he is the twenty-first. He wears it with the knobs outside, for the knobs are his (the Sun's) rays, and his rays are outside." (Eggeling 1894:265.) As Eggeling notes, ŚB 1.3.5.12 says, "twelve months of the year, five seasons, and three worlds: this makes twenty, and he that burns yonder is the twenty-first." (Eggeling 18894:265n.2). Eggeling also points us to AB 4.18: "They perform the ceremonies of the Ekaviṃśa day, which is the equator, dividing the year (into two equal parts). By means of the performance of this day, the gods had raised the Sun up to the heavens. This Ekaviṃśa day on which the Divākīrtya mantra (was produced) is preceded by ten days, and followed by ten days, and is in the midst (of both periods). On both sides it is thus put in a Virāṭ (the number ten). Being thus put in a Virāṭ (in the number ten) on both sides, this (Ekaviṃśa, i.e. the Sun) becomes not disturbed in his course through these worlds." (Haug 1977:288-289). This identification of the Sun with twenty-one would explain why it is said at ŚB 3.1.3.21 that the vital airs can number 21. ŚB 5.4.1.14 refers to: "gold being immortal life" (Eggeling 1894:93.) during discussion of the gold-plates used in the royal inauguration. ŚB 5.5.1.8: "gold is Agni's seed." (Eggeling 1894:121.) When building the *Agnicayana* altar, the bird-shaped altar representing the fire that flies to heaven, an image of a golden man is formed (out of gold) and placed in among the altar bricks. ŚB 7.4.1.18 explains: "that one (the Sun), the gold disk, looking downwards, gives warmth by his rays, and that man (tends) upwards by his vital airs." (Eggeling 1894:367-368.)

79. Discussing strainers, on the second day of the *Darśapūrṇamāsa iṣṭi*, or New and Full Moon sacrifices, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.1.3.2 says "Two there are of them: for means of cleansing (pavitra) in this (wind) which here ventilates (pavate); and this, it is true, ventilates as one only; but on entering into man, it becomes a forward and a backward one, and they are these two, to wit, the *prāṇa* (breathing out) and the *udāna* (breathing up or in). And as this (clarifying process) takes place in accordance with the measure of that (process of breathing), therefore there are two (strainers). (1.1.3.3:) There may also be three: for the *vyāna* (or pervading vital air) is a third (kind of breathing); but in reality there are only two." (Eggeling 1882:19-20.) In the *Agnicayana* rites, during the preparation of the site for the *dhavanīya* altar, the *Adhvaryu* ploughs around each side of the site. During a series of furrows ploughed through the middle of the altar site (Prajāpati's body), *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.2.2.19-20 gives a different doctrine on the winds: "Four furrows he ploughs with prayer: he thereby puts into him those four well-defined vital airs which are in the head.... (20:) And as to why he ploughs through the body: he thereby puts into him those vital airs which are inside the body. Silently (he does so), for who knows how many vital airs there are inside

the body?" (My boldface; Eggeling 1894:331. *Yo eva ime 'ntarātman-prāṇās tān asmin etad dadhāti tūṣṭīṃ, ko hi tad veda yāvanta 'ime 'ntarātman-prāṇāḥ.* (Upadhyaya 1969:1023).) When the ploughing is finished, the *Adhvaryu* pours water on both the ploughed and unploughed ground. "But were he to pour (water) only on the ploughed ground, and not on the unploughed, there would be water only in (the channels of) the vital airs, and not in the other (parts of the) body." (ŚB 7.2.4.10; Eggeling 1894:336-337.) Then he sows seed into the ploughed and unploughed ground, healing the cosmic body. "Were he to sow only on the unploughed, and not on the ploughed ground, he would only heal the body, and not the vital airs." (ŚB 7.2.4.23; Eggeling 1894:339.) After building the *Gārhaptya*, and before building the *Āhavantya*, the *Adhvaryu* buys the Soma. ŚB 7.3.1.2 explains that "Agni is the body, and Soma the vital air," [*ātmā vā agniḥ, prāṇaḥ soma*], and ŚB 7.3.1.3 "Agni is the body, and Soma is the life-sap." [*ātmā vā agniḥ rasaḥ soma*]. (Eggeling 1894:342; Sanskrit from Upadhyaya 1969:1035.)

80. When laying the bricks in the *Agnicayana*, each is given a particular identity, complete with an explanation of its role in the cosmic bird, and with a set of *mantras* to be recited over it. ŚB 8.1.1.1ff describes the laying of the *prāṇabhṛtaḥ* or "breath-holder" bricks. ŚB 8.1.1.2: "He lays them down by ten and ten, for there are ten vital airs." (Eggeling 1897:3.) ŚB 8.1.3.6: "Those (bricks) which he lays down in front are the holders of the upward air (the breath, *prāṇa*); those behind are the eye-holders, the holders of the downward air (*apāna*); those on the right side are the mind-holders, the holders of the circulating air (*vyāna*); those on the left side are the ear-holders, the holders of the outward air (*udāna*); and those in the middle are the speech-holders, the holders of the pervading air (*samāna*)." (Eggeling 1897:15.) We also find all five major winds, the *prāṇa*, *apāna*, *udāna*, *samāna*, and *vyāna*, named separately at *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.41 as being satisfied by three eatings from of the remnants of the oblation in the ladle of the *agnihotra*. Again, there is however no specification of their varied functions. (Bodewitz 1973:94). We also find five breaths explained at *Aitareya Āraṇyakaḥ* 2,3,3: "This man is the sea, he is above all the world. Whatever he reaches, he desires to be beyond it. If he gains the sky world, he desires to be beyond it. If he were to gain yonder world, he would desire to be beyond it. Fivefold is this man. What is hot in him is fire; the apertures are the ether; blood, mucus, and seed are water; the body is earth; the breath is air. Fivefold is the air, up-breathing, down-breathing, back-breathing, out-breathing, on-breathing. The deities, sight, hearing, mind, and speech, are comprised in up-breathing and down-breathing. For they depart with the departure of breath." (Keith 1909:217-218).

81. ŚB 1.4.3.1-22 discusses the *mantras* used during kindling of the fire in the new and full Moon sacrifices. The third verse is "Shine forth, O youngest, brilliantly!" ŚB 1.4.3.3 explains this as "the high-flaming one, indeed, is the upward breathing (*udāna*): the upward breathing he accordingly kindles with this (the third verse). The eighth verse "Agni we choose for messenger" [*agniṃ dūtāṃ vṛṣīmaha*], ŚB 1.4.3.8 explains as follows: "what central breath [*madhyamaḥ prāṇaḥ*] there is (in the body), that he kindles with this (the eighth verse): that one indeed is the internal motive force of the breathings [*sā haiṣā antasthā prāṇānām*]; from it (two) others tend upwards [*ato hy anya 'ūrdhvāḥ prāṇā*], and from it (two) others tend downwards for it is indeed the internal motive force [*ato 'nye 'vāñco 'ntasthā ha bhavaty*]. And whosoever knows that internal motive force of the breathings, him they regard as the internal motive force." Eggeling 1882:121. Sanskrit from Upadhyaya 1967:84. It's not clear from the Sanskrit why Eggeling interpolated "two" into his translation.

82 . AB 4.3.2, describing the five *Ṣaḷahas* during a month, tell how each one gives the sacrificer "a firm footing" in the various aspects of time (seasons, months, half-months, and the 30-syllable *virāt* meter). The third *ṣaḍaha* makes eighteen days (3 x 6), and the *Brāhmaṇa* explains: "there are nine vital airs, and nine celestial worlds. Thus they obtain the nine vital airs, and reach the nine celestial worlds, and gaining a firm footing in the vital airs, and the celestial worlds, they walk there." (Haug 1977:286.) This transcendental relationship is reaffirmed in the summary (AB 4.3.3): "The Abhiplava *Ṣaḷaha* is like the royal road, the smooth way to heaven. The *Prṣṭhya Ṣaḷaha* is the great pathway which is to be trodden everywhere to heaven." (Haug 1977:288. See also *Pañcaviṃśa Br.* 2.15.3, 3.6.3, 4.5.21, 6.2.2, and 7.7.6 for examples of other nine-fold homologies with nine vital airs (Caland 1931:30, 36-37, 57, 100, and 150).

83 . At *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, 2.1.2, the *Hotṛ* closes the ritual of anointing the sacrificial post (*yūpa*) with RV 3.8.4 "The youth, decorated with ribands, has arrived; he is finer (than all trees) which ever grew; the wise priests raise him up under recital of well-framed thoughts of their mind." The *Brāhmaṇa* explains that "the youth decorated with ribands, is the vital air (the soul), which is covered by the limbs of the body." (Haug 1977:77. The *yūpa* is erected in front of the *uttaravedi* for tying up the sacrificial animal. (Haug 1977:72n.1).)

84 . Explaining the *agniṣṭoma*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 3.2.2.13 adds the idea that tends to confirm the *Aitareya* suggestion: "For verily, these vital airs are born of the mind, endowed with mind..., of intelligent power: [*imai vai prāṇāḥ*] *manojātā*, *manoyujo*, *dakṣakratavo*]; Agni is speech; Mitra and Varuṇa are the out-breathing and in-breathing; Āditya (the Sun) is the eye; and the All-gods are the ear,—it is unto these deities that offering is thereby made by him." (Eggeling 1885:39.)

85 . In the expiatory ceremonies accompanying the *pravargya* ritual (to be undertaken in the event of shattering the *gharma* pot), the sacrificer offers an oblation of ghee and utters the *mantra* from *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda*, 39.1: "Hail to the vital airs with their overlord." [*Svāhā prāṇebhyaḥ sādhipatikebhya itī*]. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 14.3.2.3 explains: "the over-lord of the vital airs, doubtless, is the mind (soul), for in the mind all the vital airs are established [*mano vai prāṇānām adhipatir*, *manasi hi sarve prāṇāḥ pratiṣṭhitās*]: it is thus by means of the mind that he thereby heals whatever has been unsuccessful in the sacrifice." [*tan manasā eva etad bhiṣajyati yat kiṃ ca vivṛḍha yajñasya*]. (Eggeling 1900:504; Upadhyaya 1970:1853.)

86 . *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.3.14 glosses the line: "He repeats a verse addressed to Prajāpati, *tantum tanvam rajaso* (RV 10.53.6a). *Tantu*, i.e. thread means offspring. By repeating this verse the *Hotar* spreads (*santanoti*) for him (the sacrificer) offspring. By the words of this verse (RV 10.53.6a) *jyotiṣmataḥ patho rakṣa dhiyā kṛtaṃ*, i.e. 'protect the paths which are provided with lights, and made by absorption in meditation,' wherein the term the term 'the paths provided with lights' means the road of the gods (to heaven), the *Hotar* paves these roads (for the sacrificer to go on them on his way to heaven)." (Haug 1977:228.).

87 . ŚB 7.5.2.6 Upadhyaya 1969:1032. Eggeling translates, misleadingly I think, *manas* as "soul." (Eggeling 1894:402). We find hints elsewhere that control of the flow of winds in the body is an ancient Vedic doctrine. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.2.1 glosses RV 1.164.38 as follows: "A *Ṛṣi* says... 'Down and up he goes, grasped by food,' [*apān prān eti svadhayā grhīto*] for this up-breathing [*prāṇa*] restrained by down-breathing [*apāna*] does not go forth. 'The immortal dwells with the mortal,' [*amartyo martyena sayoniḥ*] for through him all this dwells together. For these bodies are mortal, the deity is immortal. 'These two even go in different

directions, they increase the one, but not the other,' [*tā śaśvantā viśūctnā viyantā ni anyam cikyuḥ na ni cikyuḥ anyam*] for they increase the bodies, but the deity is immortal. He who knows thus becomes immortal in yonder world and is seen as immortal by all beings." (Keith 1909:211 (translation) and 107 (Sanskrit text).) [Bracketed Sanskrit from Bandhu 1963a:1070.]

88 . The *mantras* are also placed in a multifaceted identity relationship with the Sun, as forms of the cosmic fire, and as tools to control the cosmic fire. ŚB 10.5.2.1-3: "Now, that shining orb is the Great Litany, the Ṛk verse: this is the world of the Ṛk. And that glowing light is (the hymn of) the Great Rite, the Sāman-tunes: this is the world of the Sāman. And the man in yonder orb is the Fire-altar, the Yajus-formulas: this is the world of the Yajus. (2:) It is this threefold lore that shines, and even those who do not know this say, 'This threefold lore does indeed shine;' for it is Speech that, seeing it, speaks thus." (Eggeling 1897:366.) JB 1.87, discussing the *Bahiṣpavamāna* or outdoor laud, the *Brāhmaṇa* explains how the ancients switched the earthly Sun with the heavenly fire: "they took the one (the Sun) from here with three (verses of the *Bahiṣpavamāna*); from the intermediate space with three they made it go to heaven. Then it heated away (i.e. upwards). They saw this last syllable [*ā*] which contains the meaning hither. Thereby they made it directed hither. Since then it gives heat here hither. With the same syllable containing the meaning hither (or: here) they placed the fire in this world." (Bodewitz 1990:50.)

89 . *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.4.3.2, Upadhyaya 1967:84. *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.66 says: "Agni is the generative light (*jyoti*) among the gods, the Virāj is the light (among the meters...)....With light in the form of the exclamation *hrim* the gods gave light to the Trivṛt (stoma) [and so on].... Thus each Stoma continually places light in another stoma." (Bodewitz 1990:37.) ŚB 1.2.3.1-22 identifies a series of fire-kindling *mantras* with the *prāṇa* (outbreathing), *apāna* (inbreathing), *udāna* (up breathing), ear, voice, mind, eye, central breath (*madhyamaḥ prāṇaḥ*), penis (*śiśna*), downward breathing (*avānprāṇaḥ*). The first three in vs. 1.4.3.3, the remainder in vss. 1.4.3.4-10 respectively. The remaining verses describe the deleterious effects of cursing on each breath or sense. (Eggeling 1882:120-124.) ŚB 1.4.3.2 says "And in like manner the fire blazes when kindled by means of the kindling verses, so also blazes the priest (*brāhmaṇa*) that knows and recites the kindling verses; for, indeed, he is unassailable [*anavadhr̥ṣyaḥ*], unapproachable [*anavamṛṣyaḥ*]." (Eggeling 1882:120; Upadhyaya 1967:83.) In describing the recitation of the *Āpṛt* verses, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 2.4 explains that the *Hotṛ* "recites a *yājyā* verse for the wooden sticks (*samīdhaḥ*) which are used as fuel. These are the vital airs. The vital airs kindle this whole universe (give life to it). Thus he pleases the vital airs and puts them in the sacrificer." (Haug 1977:82.) The same section mentions *yājyā* verses recited for trees, dawn and night, gates of the sacrificial place, *barhis* grass, etc., pleasing them and putting them in the sacrificer, and the three goddesses, *Ilā* (sacrificial food), *Sarasvatī* (speech), and *Maṭī* or *Bhārati* (earth): "these three goddesses are the air inhaled, the air exhaled, and the air circulating in the body. Thus he pleases them and puts them in the sacrificer." (Haug 1977:83.)

90 . Describing the *agnyādhāna*, or setting of the sacrificial fires, *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* 1.1 says: "Here now they say 'What does he offer, in what is there offered?' He offers life, in (the) life (breath) there is offered. In that they churn out the fires, thereby they produce the sacrificer's life breaths. Therefore he holds his breath during the churning out. His lifebreaths are all that time in the two pieces of kindling wood." Similarly the wood borings are thought of as his food, the smoke his mind, the glowing charcoal his sight. (Bodewitz 1973:19-20.) *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.28, discussing the *Vālakhilyas* repeated by the

*Maitrāvaruṇa* after the *Nābhānediṣṭha* hymn, explains that the *Hotṛ* priest forms the sacrificer's breaths by repeating the *mantras*: "The *Bṛhatī* of the *Pragātha* is the soul, the *Śatobṛhatī* the life. If he has repeated the *Bṛhatī*, then a soul (is made); and if he has repeated the *Śatobṛhatī*, the vital airs (are made). By thus repeating the *Bṛhatī* and the *Śatobṛhatī*, he surrounds the soul with the vital airs." (Similarly the *Śatobṛhatī* is said to be cattle, and by its recitation the soul is surrounded with cattle. (Haug 1977:426).) *Kauṣṭaki Brāhmaṇa* 7.9 says "moreover the metres are the breaths; verily thus in the self he intertwines the breaths, to prevent severance; therefore these breaths though blowing in diverse directions do not blow out." (Keith 1920:388.) *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.20, discussing the hymns recited by *Maitrāvaruṇa* prior to the *Sampātas*, explains the use of the *Virāj*: "For the *Virāj* consists of ten syllables, and the *Virāj* is food; it serves for obtaining food. As regards the number ten (of these) verses, it is to be remarked that there are ten vital airs. The sacrificers thus obtain the vital airs, and connect them with one another. The *Acchāvāka* repeats this hymn after the *Sampātas* in order to secure the heavenly world (for the sacrificers), whilst the sacrificers move in this world." (Haug 1977:412.)

91. AB 1.7, Explaining the etymology of the *Prāyaṇīya Iṣṭi*: "The *prāyaṇīya* ceremony is the air inhaled (*prāṇa*), whereas the *udayaṇīya*, i.e. concluding ceremony (of the whole sacrifice) is the air exhaled. The *Hotar* (who is required at both ceremonies) is the common hold of both the airs (*samāna*). Both the air inhaled and exhaled are held together (in the same body)." (Haug 1977:16.) Again, during the digging out of the clay for the *Agnicayana* altar bricks, the priest uses the well-known *Gayatri mantra* to place the airs into the sacrificer: "With *Gāyatrī* verses (he performs),—the *Gāyatrī* is the vital air: he thus lays the vital air into him. With three (verses);—there are three vital airs, the out-breathing, the in-breathing, and the through-breathing: these he thus lays into him. These (verses) consist of nine feet, for there are nine vital airs, seven in the head, and two downward ones: these he thus lays into him." (ŚB 6.4.2.5; Eggeling 1894:218.)

92. Haug 1977:422.

93. *Aitareya Āraṇyakaḥ* 2.3.6-7: "'A' is the whole of speech and being manifested through the mutes and sibilants it becomes manifold and various. If uttered in a whisper it is breath, if aloud it is body. Therefore it is as it were hidden, for what is incorporeal is as it were hidden, and breath is incorporeal. But spoken aloud it is body and visible, for body is visible. (7:) This is produced as a thousand *bṛhatīs*. It is glory, it is Indra, it is the lord of creatures. 'He who knows it as Indra, as the lord of creatures, leaves this world shaking off all ties,' so said Mahidāsa Aitreyā. Having departed he becomes Indra, he shines in those worlds." (Keith 1909:222-223).

94. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (3.2.5): "Now comes this *Upaniṣad* of the whole speech. All these indeed are *Upaniṣads* of the whole speech, but this so they call. The mutes are the earth, the sibilants the sky, the vowels heaven. The mutes are fire, the sibilants air, the vowels the Sun. The mutes are the *Ṛgveda*, the sibilants the *Yajurveda*, the vowels the *Sāmaveda*. The mutes are the eye, the sibilants the ear, the vowels the mind. The mutes are the up-breathing, the sibilants the down-breathing, the vowels the back-breathing. Then comes this divine lute. The human lute is an imitation of it. As there is a head of this, so there is a head of that; as there is a stomach of this, so there is a cavity of that; as this has a tongue, so that has a tongue; as this has fingers, so that has strings; as this has vowels, so that has tones; as this has consonants, so that has touches; as this is endowed with sounds and firmly strung, so that is endowed with sounds and firmly strung; as this is covered with a hairy skin, so that is



covered with a hairy skin. For in former times they covered lutes with a hairy skin. He who knows this divine lute, is heard when he speaks, his fame fills the earth, and wherever they speak Aryan tongues, there is he known." Keith 1909:254-255. It's quite likely that the name of the *Viṇāśikha tantra* has something to do with this passage.

At *Aitareya Āraṇyakah* 3.2.2, we find: "Then comes Kauṇṭharavya. There are three hundred and sixty syllables, three hundred and sixty sibilants, three hundred and sixty unions. What we have called syllables are the days; what we have called sibilants are the nights; what we have called unions are the junctions of the nights and days. So far as regards the gods. Now as regards the self. The syllables which we have explained with reference to the gods are with reference to the self bones; the sibilants which we have explained with reference to the gods are with reference to the self marrow; the marrow is indeed the real breath, for it is seed, and without breath seed is not effused. Or if it is effused without breath, it will decay and will not produce. The unions which we have explained with reference to the gods are with reference to the self joints. Of these three, bones, marrow, and joints, there are five hundred and forty parts on this side and on that. They make one thousand and eighty, and one thousand and eighty are the rays of the Sun. They make the *br̥hatī* verses and this day. Thus the self which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and speech is like the syllables in number. He, who knows thus this self, which consists of sight, hearing, metre, mind, and syllables, becomes rich in sons and cattle and lives out all his days." (Keith 1909:248-249.)

95. In the *Darśapūrṇamāsa*, in the discussion of the *idā* or cattle sacrifice, ŚB 1.8.1.38-39 reports: "They (the priests and sacrificer) eat it (the *idā* [the sacrificial offering]), and do not offer it up in the fire; for assuredly the *idā* means cattle: hence they do not offer it in the fire, lest they should throw the cattle into the fire. (39:) In the vital airs rather it is offered, partly in the Hotṛ, partly in the Sacrificer, partly in the Adhvaryu." (Eggeling 1882:227.)

96. See Bodewitz 1973: "The *prāṇāgnihotra* is based on the identification of fires and *prāṇāḥ*." (Bodewitz 1976:4.), and "Eating food came to be (as a *prāṇāgnihotra*) the substitute of the offering in the fires." (Bodewitz 1976:243.) The main source for Bodewitz's analysis is the *Mahānārāyanopaniṣad*, the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*; other descriptions of the rites are given in various *dharmasūtras*, *smartasūtras*, and early *Upaniṣads*, is essentially a rule about eating a regular meal (*bhojanavidhī*), with the use of *mantras*. *Mantras* are recited before the offering the food into the breaths, sipping of water before and after the meal, touching the central seat of the *prāṇāḥ* with various *mantras*, and pouring of water on the toes with various *mantras*. (Bodewitz 1973:256.) The touching of the seat of the *prāṇa* with *mantras* prefigures the later *mantra-nyāsa* practices of the tantric traditions. "The general concept is that by eating one satisfies the *prāṇāḥ* (vital powers), which in their turn satisfy the corresponding deities and parts of the cosmos. On account of micro-macrocosmic identifications the *prāṇāhuti* is interpreted as a *tarpaṇam* of the whole cosmos." (Bodewitz 1973:265.)

97. Houben 1991:122n.96. See TĀ 5,10,6 below. *Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* 10.6, in the *Anuvāka* on disposing of the *pravargya* implements, says: "When the Darbha grass is covered all over with white ants, there he should dispose of the Pravargya for one who is desirous of rain. This Darbha grass is actually 'Discharger of Waters' by name. Yonder Āditya (the Sun) actually makes the rain rise from this (earth). For him (the sacrificer), yonder Āditya (the Sun) discharges the rain. These discharged waters come (together) with the dry soil." *Yatra darbhā upadīkasantatāḥ syuḥ | tad ud vāsayed vṛṣṭikāmasya | etā vā apām anūjjhāvāryo nāma | yad darbhāḥ | asau khalu vā āditya ito vṛṣṭim ud irayati | asāv evāsmā ādityo vṛṣṭim*

*ni yacchati | tā āpo niyatā dhanvanā yanti | |9| |* (Houben 1991:96, his translation.)

Similarly, in *Anuvāka 7* the *adhavryu* intones: "'*Svāhā! I offer you as an oblation for the Sun's ray which gains (and gives) rain,*' he says. The ray of him that is pure, that actually gains (and gives) rain." (Houben 1991:76-77.)

98 . Discussing the *Pravargya*, Houben quotes *Taittirya Āraṇyaka 4.42*: "The one that arises from the wide ocean, shining wide from the middle of the water, may he ... Sun and seer, purify me with thought." (Houben 1991:14.) *TĀ 4.11.6(17a-d)* (also *Taittirya Saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda 4.7.13.1* and *Taittirya Brāhmaṇa 3.10.4.2*) is "'You are Thought, with the ocean as birthplace. You are the skilful drop, the hawk that is in season, the golden-winged quivering bird, sitting large and firm in the assembly.'" (Houben 1991:129n.143, my boldface, his translation of: *cīd asi samudrāyonih | indur dākṣaḥ syenā rīvā | hīraṇya-pakṣaḥ śakunó bhuraṇyúḥ | mahānt sadhāsthe dhruvā ā nīṣattaḥ*. He remarks that the accent makes *samudrā-yonih* a bahuvrīhi.) This latter hymn is invoked in the context of disposing of the *Pravargya* implements at the end of the rite: "*The golden bull has roared,*' he says, for he is a bull, (9) a golden bull. '*The great one, pleasant to see like a friend; [he shines equal to the Sun],*' he says. Here he praises it. '*You are Thought, with the ocean as birthplace,*' he says." (Houben 1991:91.)

99 . In the closing ceremonies of the *Agniṣṭoma*, the sacrificer goes into the water for an expiatory bath, and says "The face of Agni, the waters, have I entered, escaping from the power of demons, O son of the waters! In every homestead offer thou the log, O Agni! let thy tongue dart forth towards the ghee,—Hail!" (*Vājasaneyi saṃhitā 8.24*; *ŚB 4.4.5.12*; Eggeling 1885:381.) *RV 8.43.9/VS 12.36* glossed at *ŚB 6.8.2.4*, reads: "'In the waters, O Agni, is thy seat'—that is, 'in the waters, O Agni, is thy womb;—as such thou clingest to the plants'—for he does indeed cling to (love) the plants,—being in (their) womb thou art born again,—when he is in the womb he is indeed born again.—[VS 12.37] 'Thou art the child of all the herbs, the child of the trees, the child of all that is, O Agni, thou art the child of the waters.'" (Eggeling 1894:294.)

100 . *RV 6.16.13*; Griffith 1889{1}:612; Bandhu 1964a:1996. *Taittirya Saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda 4.2.8.1c*, recited by the *Adhvaryu* while placing the lotus leaf at the center of the body portion (the middle) of the *Agnicayana* altar, says: "You are the back of the waters, the womb of Agni, the ocean overflowing on both sides. Growing to greatness like the lotus (*puṣkaram*), spread out in breadth over the expanse of heaven!" (Staal 1983:410.) In *Kauṣṭhiki Brāhmaṇa 8.1*, at the guest reception, the text explains: "He recites for him as he is kindled the three verses [*RV 6.16.13-15*] containing (the word) 'Kindle; 'Thee, O Agni, from the lotus.'" (Keith 1920:390.)

101 . *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa 7.4.1.7-9*:, explaining why a lotus leaf is laid into the *agnicayana* altar: "He then puts down a lotus leaf (in the centre of the altar-site); the lotus-leaf is the womb: he thereby puts a womb to it (for Agni to be born from). (8:) And again, why he puts down a lotus-leaf;—the lotus means the waters, and this earth is a leaf thereof: even as the lotus-leaf here lies spread on the water, so this earth lies spread on the waters. Now this same earth is Agni's womb, for Agni (the fire-altar) is this earth, since thereof the whole Agni is built up.... (9:) [He lays it down with *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda*, 13,2] 'The waters' back thou art, the womb of Agni,' for this earth is indeed the back of the waters, and the womb of Agni;—'around the swelling ocean,' for the ocean indeed swells around this earth'—'growing great on this lotus;—'spread out with the extent, with the breadth of the sky!' with this he strokes along (the leaf),—for this Agni is yonder Sun, and no other

extent but that of the sky is able to contain him: he thus says (to the leaf), 'Having become the sky, contain him!'" (Eggeling 1894:364.)

102 . As Eggeling summarizes, the lotus "is explained as representing the foundation of the fire-altar, or rather, the womb whence Agni is born." (Eggeling 1897:44n.4.) There are a number of other places where the same associations are referred to. In the description of digging out the clay for the *agnicayana* bricks, the priest takes hold of the clay and says (ŚB 6.4.2.1): "'From the lotus Atharvan churned thee forth,'—the lotus doubtless means the waters, and Atharvan is the breath; and the breath indeed churned him (Agni, the fire) out of the waters at first." (Eggeling 1894:217.) ŚB 7.3.2.14: "Agni went away from the gods; he entered the water. The gods said to Prajāpati, 'Go thou in search of him: to thee, his own father, he will reveal himself.' ... He found him on a lotus leaf, having crept forth from the water." (Eggeling 1894:360.) ŚB 7.3.1.9: "And only on the Āhavanīya (site) he places a lotus leaf, not on the Gārhapatya; for the lotus leaf means water, and the Āhavanīya the sky: he thus places the waters (vapours) in the sky." (Eggeling 1894:343.) ŚB 7.4.1.11: "He puts it down on the lotus-leaf;—the lotus leaf is a womb: in the womb he thus places him (Agni)." (Eggeling 1894:365.) ŚB 8.6.3.7: "And again, as to why he lays down the Gārhapatya. The lotus-leaf, doubtless, is a womb, but that (Gārhapatya) is built up outside the womb, and outside of the womb indeed takes place that performance regarding the fire-altar which takes place prior to the (laying down of the) lotus-leaf: thus, when they bring it (the Gārhapatya) here and lay it down, he then establishes it in the womb, on the lotus-leaf; and thus indeed it is not outside. Eight bricks he lays down: the significance of this has been explained." (Eggeling 1897:118-119. Eggeling refers us to 7.1.1.19 seqq. though I don't see any explanation there.)

103 . ŚB 9.1.2.23: "And again, why he draws them across it;—when he (Agni, the fire altar) is built up, he is being born, and he is born for every kind of food; and these are every kind of food, to wit, the frog, the lotus-flower, and the bamboo-shoot, for these, indeed, are animals, water, and trees: with all this food he gratifies him." (Eggeling 1897:175).

*Yadvevainaṃ vikarṣati | jāyata eva etad yac ctyate sa eṣa sarvasmā annāya jāyate, sarvam etad annaṃ, yan maṇḍūko avakā tretasaśākhā, paśavaś ca hy etā āpaś ca vanaspatayaś ca sarvevevainaṃ etad annena priṇati | | 23 | |* (Upadhyaya 1969:1262). Eggeling is translating *avakā* as lotus; *avakā* is described by both Apte and MW as a grassy plant growing in marshy land. However, the usage in the ŚB is consistent with other mention of the lotus as representative of the waters, and Apte and MW are often unreliable in terms of plant identifications.

104 . ŚB 9.1.2.25; Eggeling 1897:176.

105 . See Yoon (1996).

106 . ŚB 3.5.4.1, Eggeling 1885:135 and n.1. The holes are arm-deep, and (ŚB 3.5.4.14:) He fastens them together transversely; if he cannot do it transversely, then in the same direction. Therefore the winds are further fastened together. The Sanskrit reads: "*tān akṣṇayā samṛṇdanti; yadi akṣṇayā na śakrūyād api, samīcas; tasmād ime prāṇāḥ paraḥ samṛṇāḥ.*" (Upadhyaya 1967:445). Eggeling's translation is a bit loose: "He connects them crossways by (underground) channels; or, if he cannot crossways, he may do so in one and the same direction. This is why these (openings of the) vital airs are connected by channels farther (inside)." (Eggeling 1885:138.) The Adhvaryu and the Sacrificer later touch hands underground through the holes (ŚB 3.5.4.16). ŚB 3.5.4.17 explains: "Now in that they thus touch one another, thereby they make the vital airs yoke-fellows: hence these vital airs meet

together farther (inside)." (Eggeling 1885:138-139.)

107 . The Adhvaryu sprinkles water in the pits, "hence that moisture in the vital airs;" (ŚB 3.5.4.19, Eggeling 1885:139) and spreads barhis grass on them: "what hair there is here at (the openings of) the vital airs, that he thereby bestows." (ŚB 3.5.4.20, Eggeling 1885:139.)

108 . *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 10.4.4.1-2 says: "When Prajāpati was creating living beings, Death, that evil, overpowered him. He practiced austerities for a thousand years, striving to leave evil behind him. (2:) Whilst he was practicing austerities, lights went upwards from those hair pits (*loma-garta*) of his; and those lights are those stars: as many stars as there are, so many hair-pits there are; and as many hair-pits as there are, so many muhūrtas there are in a (sacrificial performance) of a thousand years." (Eggeling 1897:361.)

109 . Gonda 1980:184n.20. Gonda also calls it the "essence of the offering" (Gonda 1975:289n.11).

110 . A square hole in the middle of the altar, filled first with *kuśa* grass. (Haug 1977:62n.1).

111 . Haug 1977:62. RV 3.29.4 reads: "iḷāyās tvā pade vayan nābhā pṛthivyā adhi| jātavedo ni dhīmahy agne havyāya voḥhave|| (Bandhu 1963:1354).

112 . Heesterman 1985:64.

113 . In the *Pravargya* rites of the *agnicayana*, the *adhvaryu* steps behind the *garhapatya* and calls the cow: *Idā* come hither! Aditi come hither! Sarasvatī come hither! for the cow is *Idā*, and the cow is Aditi, and the cow is Sarasvatī." (ŚB 14.2.1.7; Eggeling 1900:474.) This description is given in numerous guises. During a description of creation, ŚB 1.8.1.11-12 says: "Now this (daughter of Manu) is essentially the same as the *Idā*; and whosoever, knowing this, performs with (the) *Idā*, he propagates this race which Manu generated; and whatever blessing he invokes through it (or her), all that is granted to him. (12:) It (the *idā*) consists of a fivefold cutting; for the *idā*, doubtless, means cattle, and cattle consists of five parts: for this reason it (the *idā*) consists of a fivefold cutting." (Eggeling 1882:219.)

114 . Again, at ŚB 1.8.1.20: "the *idā*, assuredly, means cattle." (Eggeling 1882:223.) And, just as with other elements of the sacrifice, *idā* is homologized, as for instance the linking of *idā* to the various hymns. *Pañcaviṃśa Br.* 10.12.4: "The Gods, forsooth, conquered this world by means of the (sāman) with running *idā*; yonder (world) by means of the (sāman) with upward *idā*; the intermediate region by means of the (sāman), the *idā* of which is preceded and followed by a stobha; they returned a firm support by means of the (sāman), which has *idābhīr idā* (as its finale); having got a firm support, they conquered finally by means of the (sāman), which has one and a half *idā*, and, by means of the (sāman), which has the word 'here' as its *idā*, they found a firm support in this world." (Caland 1931:247.) The *Brāhmaṇa* then explains that the characteristics of these different *idās* is that they are offered with different *sāmans* on different days.

115 . *Iḷā* is one of the five goddesses (with *Bhārati*, *Sarasvatī*, Dawn and Dusk) who are propitiated in the *Āpri-sūktas*. (Gonda 1975:104.)

116 . *Suṣumnā tu pare Itnā virajā brahmarūpiṇī| idā tiṣṭhati vāmena piṅgalā dakṣiṇena ca||* (Upaniṣads 1983:213 and see Jacob 1891:208.)

117 . Keith 1925:167. We find many examples of the mention of Soma's color. RV 9.11.4: "Sing a praise-song to Soma brown of hue, of independent might, the Red, who reaches up to heaven." (Griffith 1897{2}:298.) RV 9.2.6: "The tawny bull (*harir vṛṣā*)

bellowed, fair as mighty Mitra to behold: He shines together with the Sun." (Griffith 1897{2}:289. *acikradad vṛṣā hariṣ mahān mitro na darsataḥ | saṃ sūryeṇa rocate* || (Bandhu 1964:2946).) RV 9.3.9: "After the way of ancient time, this God, pressed out for Deities, Flows tawny (*hariḥ*) to the straining cloth." (Griffith 1897{2}:290-291. *eṣa pratnena janmanā devo devebhyah sutah | hariḥ pavitre arṣati* (Bandhu 1964:2948).) RV 9.27.5-6: "(5:) This Pavamāna, gladdening draught, drops on the filtering cloth, and then Mounts up with Sūrya to the sky. (6:) To Indra in the firmament this mighty tawny Steer hath flowed, This Indu, being purified." (Griffith 1897{2}:310. *Eṣa sūryeṇa hāsate pavamāno adhi dhaviṃ | pavitre matsaro madaḥ* || 5 || *eṣa śuṣmy-asīṣyadad-antarikṣe vṛṣā hariḥ | punān indur-indramā* || 6 || (Bandhu 1964:2986).) ŚB 1.6.3.1-3 (from the *Darśapūrṇamāsa*): "(1:) Tvaṣṭṛ had a three-headed, six-eyed son. He had three mouths; and because he was thus shaped, his name was Viṣvarūpa ('All-Shape'). (2:) One of his mouths was Soma-drinking, one spirit-drinking, and one for other kinds of food. Indra hated him and cut off those heads of his. (3:) Now from the one which was Soma drinking, a hazel-cock (francoline partidge) sprang forth; when the latter is of brownish colour [*babhruka iva*], for king Soma is brown." [*babhru iva hi somo rājā*]. (Eggeling 1882:164.) Some other examples: RV 9.32.2: "Then Trita's Maidens onward urge the Tawny-coloured with the stones, Indu for Indra, for his drink." (Griffith 1897{2}:312. *Ād-īm tritasya yoṣaṇo hariṃ hinvaty-adribhiḥ | indum indrāya pītaye* || 2 || (Bandhu 1964:2990).) RV 9.33.2: "With stream of sacrifice the brown bright drops have flowed with strength in store Of kine into the wooden vats." (Griffith 1897{2}:313. *Abhi droṇāni babhruvaḥ śukrā ṛtasya dhārayā | vājāṃ gomantam akṣaran* || 2 || (Bandhu 1964:2992).) RV 9.38.1-2: "Soma, the Steer, effused for draught ... Far sighted, tawny-coloured (*hariṃ*), he flows to the sieve..." (Griffith 1897{2}:316. *Eṣa u sya vṛṣā ratho 'vyo vārobhir arṣati | gacchan vājāṃ sahasriṇam* || 1 || *etaṃ tritasya yoṣiṇo hariṃ hanvanty adribhiḥ | indum indrāya pītaye* || 2 || (Bandhu 1964:2997).) RV 9.38.6: "Poured forth for the draught, this tawny (*hariṃ*) juice flows forth..." (Griffith 1897{2}:317. *Eṣa sya pītaye suto hariṣ arṣati dharṣasiḥ | krandan yonim abhi priyam* || 6 || (Bandhu 1964:2998).) RV 9.39.6: "I union they have Sung the hymn: with stones they urge the Tawny One (*hariṃ*)." (Griffith 1897{2}:317. *Samicnā anūṣata hariṃ hinvanty adribhiḥ | yonāv ṛtasya sīdata* || 6 || (Bandhu 1964:2999).) RV 9.45.3: "We balm thee, red of hue (*aruṇam*) with milk to fit thee for the rapturous joy." (Griffith 1897{2}:320. *Uta tvām aruṇaṃ vayaṃ gobhir añjmo madāya kam | vi no rāye duro vṛdhi* || 3 || (Bandhu 1964:3007).) RV 9.40.2: "The Red (*aruṇaḥ*) hath mounted to his place: to Indra goes the mighty juice." (Griffith 1897{2}:318. *Ā yonim aruṇo ruhad gamad indraṃ vṛṣā sutah | dhruve sadasi sīdati* || 2 || (Bandhu 1964:2999).) RV 9.61.21: "Red-hued (*aruṣo*), be blended with the milk that seems to yield its lonely breast, Falcon-like resting in thine home." (Griffith 1897{2}:330. *Saṃ miślah aurṣo bhava su upathābhiḥ na dhenubhiḥ | sīdañ chyeno na yonimā* || 21 || (Bandhu 1964:3023).) RV 9.63.4: "These Somas swift and brown of hue, in stream of solemn sacrifice." (Griffith 1897{2}:334. *Ete asṛgram āsavo 'ti hvarāṃsi babhruvaḥ | somā ṛtasya dhārayā* || 4 || (Bandhu 1964:3031).) RV 9.62.18: "Drive that Tawny Courser, O ye pressers, on his way to war, Swift Steed who carries off the spoil." (Griffith 1897{2}:333. *Taṃ sotāro dhanasṛtam āsum vājāya yātave | hariṃ hionta vājinam* || 18 || (Bandhu 1964:3028).) RV 9.82.1: "Even as a King hath Soma, red and tawny Bull, been pressed: the Wondrous One hath bellowed to the kine." (Griffith 1897{2}:363. *Asāvi somo aruṣo vṛṣā harī rājeva dasmao abhi gā acikradut | punāno vāraṃ paryety avyayam śyeno na yonim ghṛtavantam āsadam* || 1 || (Bandhu 1964:3090).) RV 9.86.25: "Seven Milch-kine glorify the Tawny-coloured One while with his wave in wool he purifies himself." (Griffith 1897{2}:370. *Avye punānaṃ pari vāra ūrmiṣā hariṃ navante abhi sapta dhenavaḥ | apām*

*upasthe adhyāyavaḥ kavim ṛtasya yonā mahiṣā aheṣata* || 25 || (Bandhu 1964:3105.) RV 9.95.1: "Loud neighs the Tawny Steed when startled, settling deep in the wooden vessel while they cleanse him." (Griffith 1897{2}:381. *Kanikranti harir ā sṛjyamānaḥ sidan vanasya jaṭhare punānaḥ* | *nṛbhir yataḥ kṛṇute nirṇijam gā ato matr janayata svadhābhiḥ* || 1 || (Bandhu 1964:3128).)

118 . RV 9.62.1-3: "These rapid Soma-drops have been poured through the purifying sieve ... Bringing prosperity to kine, they make perpetual Iā flow To us for noble eulogy." Griffith 1897{2}:332. *Ege Aṣṭgram indavas tiraḥ pavitram āśavaḥ* | *viśvāni abhi saubhagā* || 1 || | *vi ghnanto dur itā puru sugā tokāya vājinaḥ* | *tanā kṛṇvanto arvate* || 2 || | *kṛṇvanto varivo gave* | *bhyarṣanti suṣṭutim* | *iḷām asmabhyaṃ saṃyatam* || 3 || (Bandhu 1964:3025-3026).

119 . Dwivedi and Shashni in their recent Buddha Tantra Kośa, or Dictionary of Buddhist Tantra (Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:140), give us the following quotes {in Sanskrit} on the relationship of the Sun (*sūrya*) to the subtle body channels (I've parsed the *sandhiḥ*, then added my own translation):

"*Sūryam* 'sūryam utpāda-advaya-jñānam,' (*Caryāgītikośavyākhyā* p.49): 'The Sun [neuter] is the non-dual knowledge of birth.' *Sūryaḥ* 'Sūrya-śabdena prāṇa-vāyuh,' (*Vimalaprabhā* [vol. 1] p.196): 'By the word *sūrya* [is meant] the *prāṇa*-wind.' '*Atra Iḍā-piṅgalā-suṣumnānām adhipatiḥ prāṇaḥ sūryo nābher ūrdhvam pravāhataḥ*,' (*Vimalaprabhā* [vol.1] p. 196): 'Here the *prāṇa*, the Sun, is the ruler of the left channel, the right channel, and the central channel, flowing upwards from the navel.'

*Sūrya-nāḍī (rasanā)* 'Nābher ūrdhvam tu yā nāḍī vahati ūrdhva-mukhī tathā | *Kaṅṭha-madhye tu viśrāntā rakta-vahā prakṛtitā* || (*Vasantatilakā* p. 80): 'And the channel that flows upwards from the navel, [and is] likewise facing upwards | And ending in the middle of the throat, is known as the blood stream. ||' '*Yā iyam dakṣiṇa-pārśve rasanā-ākhyā nāḍī, sā ūrdhva-mukhī nābher ārambhya kaṅṭham yāvad raktam vahati.*' (*Vasantatilakā Tīkā* p. 80): 'This channel on the right side called *rasanā* ["tasting, the tongue"], it, facing upwards, carries the blood up the throat, beginning from the navel.' '*Raktaḥ sūrya iti smṛtaḥ*' (*Vasantatilakā*, p. 80): 'The blood is considered to be the Sun.'

120 . *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.3.7: "The blood in the woman is the form of Agni, therefore one should despise it not. The seed in the man is the form of Āditya, therefore one should despise it not. This self gives itself to that self, that self gives itself to this self. They thus gain each other." (Keith 1909:222-223). In a footnote to "the blood in the woman," Keith gives Sāyaṇa's explanation that "there are six elements in the body; three, fat, bone, and marrow, are white and represent the man; three, skin, blood, and flesh, are red and represent the woman." (Keith 1909:223,n.7). I am reminded of the red, white, and blue/black color schemes that repeatedly crop up in *Tantric* texts. Presumably the blue or black comes from the sky, and from its quality that represents the *samarasa* or equal mixing of the sexual juices of the man and the woman.

121 . Keith 1925{2}:337.

122 . The term *uṣṇīṣaḥ* is also a name of one of the meters, though I don't see how this can have any relationship to the Buddhist term.

123 . Eggeling 1894:321-323.

124 . *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* on the *Prāyaṇīya Iṣṭi* 1.2.1 explains that when the gods gathered together, *Aditi* said: "Through me you shall know the eastern direction, through Agni the

southern, through Soma the western, and through Savitar the northern direction. The Hotar repeats the (Anuvākyā and) Yājñya-mantra for the *Pathyā*.... That is done, because the wind (*pavamānaḥ*) blows most from the north between the northern and western directions; it thus blows moved by *Savitar*." (Haug 1977:16-17.)

125 . Haug 1977:33n.9: "It is called *aiśānti*, i.e. the direction of *Īśānaḥ*, who is Siva." "The Devas and the Asuras were fighting in these worlds. They fought in the eastern direction; there the Asuras defeated the Devas. They then fought in the southern direction, the Asuras defeated the Devas again. They then fought in the western direction; the Asuras defeated the Devas again. They fought in the northern direction, the Asuras defeated the Devas again. They then fought in the north-eastern direction; there the Devas did not sustain defeat. This direction is *aparājita*, i.e. unconquerable. Thence one should do work in this (north-eastern) direction, and have it done there; for such one (alone) is able to clear off his debts." (Haug 1977:33).

126 . When the milk boils in the *pravargya* rites of the *agnicayana*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* explains the directions of rising as follows: "When it rises upwards, it rises for (the benefit of) the Sacrificer; when on the front side, it does so for the gods; when on the right (south) side, it does so for the Fathers; when at the back (west side), it does so for the cattle; when on the left (north) side, it does so for (the Sacrificer's) offspring: in any case no fault is incurred by the Sacrificer, for it always rises upwards." (Eggeling 1900:485.) *TA Pravargya Brāhmaṇa Anuvāka* 5 begins with the *mantra* "Let Agni, together with the Vasus, make you shine in the east, with the *gayatri*-metre." In the south is Indra with the Rudras, with the *triṣubh* meter; in the west is Varuṇa with the Ādityas, with the *jagati* meter; in the north is Dyutāna Māruta with the Maruts, with the *anuṣubh* meter; above is Bṛhaspati with the *Visvedevas*, with the *Pañkti* meter. (Houben 1991:65-66.) *TĀ* 4.5.3/4(9) assigns *Agni* to the east, *Indra* to the south, *Savitṛ* to the west, and *Mitra-Varuṇa* to the north, with *Bṛhaspati* ruling over the zenith. (Houben 1991:116n.56.) Perhaps it was *Agni*'s continual assignment to either the east or the south that led to his eventual designation as the southeast. Finally we should note the rarely performed *sarvatomukha* Vedic ritual that involves setting up four fire altars as doors to the four cardinal directions, and requires 72 *ṛvijahs* for its performance. (Mentioned by David Knipe in his talk "'Vedam' and 'Śrautam' in the Godāvārī Delta of Andhra," Columbia University Seminar on the Veda and Its Interpretation, March 21, 1996.)

127 . *Iṣṭis* are performed every fortnight at the new and the full Moon, just as the *agniṣṭoma* is performed twice every day at Sunrise and Sunset.

128 . On the second day of the *Darśapūrṇamāsa-iṣṭi*, when the *Adhvaryu* brings forth the water, we have this explanation: (ŚB 1.1.17) "The gods then perceived this thunderbolt, to wit, the water: the water is a thunderbolt, for the water is indeed a thunderbolt; hence wherever it goes, it produces a hollow (or depression of ground); and whatever it comes near, it destroys (lit. it burns up). Thereupon they took up that thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter they spread (performed) the sacrifice. And thus he (the *Adhvaryu* priest) likewise takes up this thunderbolt, and in its safe and foeless shelter spreads the sacrifice. This is the reason why he brings forward water. (1.1.18:) After pouring out some of it (into the jug) he puts it down north of the Gārhapत्या fire. For water (ṇ) is female and fire (agni) is male; and the Gārhapत्या is a house; hence a copulation productive of offspring is thereby effected in this house. Now he who brings forward water, takes up a thunderbolt; but when he takes up the thunderbolt, he cannot do so unless he is firmly placed; for otherwise it destroys him. (1.1.19:) The reason then why he places it near the Gārhapत्या fire is, that the

Gārhaptya is a house, and a house is a safe resting place; so that he thereby stands firmly in a house, and therefore in a safe resting-place: in this way that thunderbolt does not destroy him,—for this reason he places it near the Gārhapatya fire." (Eggeling 1882:9.) See ŚB 2.1.1.4 for another passage identifying water as female, and fire as male. (Eggeling 1882:277).

129 . Eggeling 1882:63. Virtually the same lines occur at ŚB 1.9.2.21 (Eggeling 1882:261).

130 . Eggeling 1882:86. We find a similar idea in the description of the *Vaiśvadeva* offerings in the *Cāturmāsyaṇi* or Seasonal sacrifices: ŚB 2.5.1.16: "The curdled milk (payasyā, fem.) is female, and the whey is seed. From that union the infinite All was gradually generated; and since the infinite All was gradually generated from that union, therefore it (the offering of curds) belongs to the All-gods." (Eggeling 1882:388.)

131 . At *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 11.6.2.6-10 King *Janaka* of Videha gives an explanation to *Yajñavalkya*'s about the true meaning of the *agnihotra*, what Bodewitz identifies as the *pañcāgnividyā* or doctrine of the five fires. "These two libations after having been offered rise upwards. They enter the space between heaven and earth. They make the space between heaven and earth an āhavanīya fire, the wind its kindling stick..., the Sun-motes the pure libation. They satisfy the space between heaven and earth and then rise upwards. They enter heaven. They make heaven an āhavanīya fire, the Sun its kindling stick, the Moon its pure libation. They ... satisfy heaven and then return. They enter this earth. They make this earth an āhavanīya fire, the (sacrificial) fire its kindling-stick, the plants the pure libation... They enter man. They make his mouth an āhavanīya fire, the tongue its kindling stick, food the pure libation. They satisfy man. He who knowing thus eats food, by him the agnihotra is offered... They enter a woman. They make her lap an āhavanīya fire, her womb the kindling stick,—for this is called the bearer because Prajāpati bore the creatures by it—and the seed the pure libation. They satisfy the woman. He who knowing thus has sexual intercourse, by him the agnihotra is offered. The son who is born therefrom is the renascent world. This is the agnihotra, Yajñavalkya. There is nothing superior to this." (Bodewitz 1976:158-159; cf. Eggeling 1900:112-115. cf. also Bodewitz 1973:243-253.)

Of the various bricks that constitute the *agnicayana* altar, there are two known as "seed-shedding" bricks. ŚB 7.4.2.22-23: "He then lays down two Retaḥsic (seed shedding bricks);—the see-shedders doubtless are these two worlds, for these two worlds do shed seed;—this (terrestrial world) sheds seed upwards from here (in the form of) smoke; it becomes rain in yonder world, and that rain yonder world (sheds) from above: hence (creatures) are born within these two worlds, and therefore these two worlds are seed-shedders. (23:) [He lays them down with Vāj. S. 13.24] 'The wide-ruling one contained the light;' the wide-ruling one doubtless is this (terrestrial) world: it contains this fire, the light.—'The self-ruling one contained the light,' the self-ruling one doubtless is yonder world: it contains yonder Sun, the light.... (24:) And again, why he lays down the two seed-shedders; the seed-shedders are the testicles, for only he who has testicles sheds seed.... for the wide-ruling and self-ruling ones are the testicles: they contain the light, the seed, Prajāpati. He lays them down separately, for separate are these testicles." (Eggeling 1894:383-384.) Next to these two seed-shedding bricks he lays the "all-light" (*viśva-jyotis*) brick, conceived of as Agni, as progeny: "he thus lays generative power (into Agni). He lays it down so as not to be separated from the seed-shedding (bricks),—the seed-shedders being the testicles, he thus makes the generative power inseparable from the testicles." (ŚB 7.4.2.26; Eggeling 1894:385.) He also lays in seasonal bricks. (ŚB 7.4.2.29; Eggeling 1894:386.)

ŚB 10.5.2.9: "Now, that person in the right eye is the same as Indra, and (that other



person is) the same as *Indrāṇī*." (Eggeling 1897:369.) ŚB 10.5.2.11: "Those two (persons in the eyes) descend to the cavity of the heart, and enter into union with each other; and when they reach the end of their union, then the man sleeps,—even as here on reaching the end of a human union he becomes, as it were, insensible, so does he then become, as it were, insensible; for this is a divine union, and that is the highest bliss." (Eggeling 1897:370-371.) During the kindling of the fires in the *darśapūrṇamāsa*, in a series of verses that are also said to kindle the internal breaths, the ninth verse "the flaming-locked, him we adore!" is explained at ŚB 1.4.3.9 as "the flaming-locked, doubtless, is the śiśna [the penis], for it is the organ that chiefly burns (torments) him who is endowed with it: the śiśna he accordingly kindles by this (the ninth verse)." (Eggeling 1882:122.) Describing the *Avāntaradīkṣā* or intermediate consecration in the *Agniṣṭoma*, ŚB 3.4.3.2 explains that the gods, after the *tanūnapatra*, "by means of fire they enveloped (the body) with a skin. Now, fire being fervour, and the consecration being fervour, they thereby underwent an intermediate consecration.... (4:) By means of Agni (fire) they enveloped (the body) with a skin. Now, Agni, being the causer of sexual union, the progenitor, they thereby obtained offspring." (Eggeling 1885:97-98. The idea is repeated in ŚB 3.4.3.5.) During construction of the sheds, and preparation of the heaths and pressing places for the Soma in the *Agniṣṭoma*, the sacrificers anoint the Soma cart with ghee. ŚB 3.5.3.16: "And in that the wife anoints the burning (part) of the axle, thereby a productive union is effected; for when a woman and a man become heated, the seed flows, and thereupon birth takes place. She anoints in a direction away (from the cart), for away the seed is cast." (Eggeling 1885:131.) In the *Kālacakratantra*, and in the *tantras* generally, the casting away of the seed is to be avoided. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.5.1, on the *Nābhānediṣṭha Śilpa* (hymn—Haug explains these as "hymns for procuring wonderful pieces of art." (Haug 1977:432-424)) explains: "For Nābhānediṣṭha is the sperm. In such a way he (the priest) effuses the sperm. He praises him (Nābhānediṣṭha) without mentioning his name. For the sperm is like something unspeakably secret poured forth into the womb. The sperm becomes blended. For when Prajāpati had carnal intercourse with his daughter, his sperm was poured forth upon the earth (and was mixed up with it). This was done for making the sperm produce fruit.....The Hotar having effused the sacrificer in the shape of sperm (symbolically), gives him up to the Maitrāvaruṇa, saying, 'form his breaths.'" (Haug 1977:424-425.)

132. The *Mahāvratā* ceremony, one of the forms of the *agniṣṭoma*, involves a number of fertility rites, including ritual sex. (Keith 1909:27-28.)

133. See beginning of the translation of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*.

134. ṚV 1.164.35 "This *vedi* is the farthest limit of earth, this sacrifice is the navel of the world, this Soma is the seed of the stallion [the Sun], this *brahman* is the highest extension of speech." Heesterman's translation (Heesterman 1985:72).

135. ŚB 10.4.2.29-31: "Now when he (the Sacrificer), being about to build an altar, undergoes the initiation-rite,—even as Prajāpati poured his own self, as seed, into the fire-pan as the womb,—so does he pour into the fire-pan, as seed into the womb, his own self composed of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities. In the course of half-Moon, his first body is made up, in a further (half-Moon) the next (body), in a further one the next,—in a year he is made up whole and complete. (30:) And whenever he lays down an enclosing stone, he lays down a night, and along with that fifteen muhūrtas, and along with the muhūrtas fifteen eighties (of syllables). And whenever he lays down a Yajuṣmatī (a brick), he lays down a day, and along with that fifteen muhūrtas, and along with the muhūrtas fifteen

eighties (of syllables of the sacred texts). In this manner he puts this threefold lore into his own self, and makes it his own; and in this very (performance) he becomes the body of all existing things, (a body) composed of the metres, stomas, vital airs, and deities; and having become composed of all that, he ascends upwards. (31:) And he who shines yonder is his foundation, for over him he is built up, on him he is built up: from out of his own self he thus fashions him, from out of his own self he generates him." (Eggeling 1897:355.)

136. ŚB 8.1.3.9-10: "And when he has laid down those on the right side, he lays down those on the left side; for the outward air, becoming the circulating air, passes along thus from the tips of the fingers; and the circulating air, becoming the outward air, passes thus from the tips of the fingers: hence, when, after laying down (the bricks) on the right side, he lays down those on the left side, he thereby makes these two breathings continuous and connects them; whence these two breathings are continuous and connected. (10:) And those (bricks) which he lays down in the centre are the vital air: he lays them down on the range of the two Retaḥsic (bricks), for the retaḥsic are the ribs, and the ribs are the middle: he thus lays the vital air into him (Agni and the Sacrificer) in the very middle (of the body). On every side he lays down (the central bricks): in every part he thus lays vital air into him; and in the same way indeed that intestinal breath (channel) is turned all round the navel. He lays them down both lengthwise and crosswise, whence there are here in the body (channels of) vital airs both lengthwise and crosswise. He lays them down touching each other: he thereby makes these vital airs continuous and connects them; whence these (channels of the) vital airs are continuous and connected." (Eggeling 1897:17-18.) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 8.1.4.5 "Here now they say, 'How does that Agni of his become made up whole and entire in brick after brick?—Well, the formula is the marrow, the brick is the bone, the settling the flesh, the sūdadhohas the skins, the formula of the purīśa (fillings of earth) the hair, and the purīśa the food: and thus indeed that Agni of his becomes made up whole and entire in brick after brick." (Eggeling 1897:20.)

137. *Kālacakatantra* Chapter 5, vss. 5.2-3, my translation from the Sanskrit (see Dwivedi & Bahulkar 1994:2-3). "Now is stated the purification of the *maṇḍala* through the purification of the bodily constituents: Verse 5.2: You must make the pillars, the row of vajras, and the earth-circle in sections, with the bones; [You must make] the foundation in the east, south, north, and west with the flesh, blood, urine, and excrement; [You must make] the Sun with the bile [humor], also the Moon with the phlegm [humor], likewise the lotuses with the sinews; [You must make] the five types of lines by what's produced from the earth, water, fire, wind, and space. ||2|| 5.3: [You must make] the Master's lotus with the time-*nāḍī*, and the wind and fire circles etc. with the skin etc., The doors of the Sun [i.e. the twelve doors/and the twelve months] with the orifices [of the body] the structure consisting of jewels with the row of teeth, in exactly the same way; [And the eight wheels located in the wind circle in the cremation ground with the nails of the fingers [and toes]; The light ray/flame of the *vajra* with the hairs located in the cardinal directions and intermediate directions, at the [spherical] surface of the *maṇḍala*. ||3||" In the *Kālacakatantra* the twelve orifices are the standard nine--i.e. the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, anus, and urethra--plus three more female orifices, i.e. the two nipples and the vagina.

138. Haug 1977:301.

139. We have identification of the deities with the senses in an *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* passage, 3.3, describing the *Pra-uga śāstra* on the day of the Soma sacrifice, tells us that the Hotar

addresses the recitation to seven deities who are the vital airs in the head; mispronunciation of the recitations could deprive the sacrificer of these vital airs/deities. They are *Vāyu*-vital airs; *Indra/vāyu-prāṇa/apāna*; *Mitra-Varuṇa*/the eyes; *Aśvins*/the ears; *Indra*-strength; *Viśvadevas*-limbs; *Sarasvatī*-speech. (Haug 1977:163-164.) *Kauṣṭiki Brāhmaṇa* 7.1, discussing consecration of the breaths, says: "He with the body being consecrated obtains all desires; with expirations and inspirations being consecrated, identity of the world and union with all the deities." (Keith 1920:383.)

140. See discussion of The Sun, above in this chapter.

141. The idea that the yogi/ascetic ideal is somehow extra-vedic also becomes less tenable in light of certain passages in the Vedas themselves. From the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda* 16.4.28-29, part of a long list of praises to the various members of society, the deities, etc., from the so-called *Śatarudriya* formulas, we have: "Reverence be to Bhava and Rudra! reverence be to Śarva and Paśupati! reverence be to Nīlagrīva (the blue-necked) and to Śitikaṇṭha (the white-throated)! (29:) Reverence be to him of the coiled hair and to the shaven-haired one! reverence be to the thousand-eyed and the hundred-bowed one! reverence be to the mountain-dweller and to the bald one!" (Eggeling 1897:153.) *Paśupati* of course is the name of Śiva used by the *pāśupata* yoga tradition. Śiva in later mythology is called blue-throated/necked because of drinking the *kālakūṭa* poison at the churning of the cosmic ocean. The coiled hair is a common characteristic of many *yogins*.

Another argument in favor of the idea that the *Yoga* tradition probably emerged—at least in part—directly from the Vedic tradition is that we find one of the central ritual implements of Vedic initiation and practice—the black antelope skin—becomes a required part of the *yogin's* implements. The black antelope skin is used in the *agnicāyana*, *darśapūrṇamāsa*, *agniṣṭoma dikṣā*, etc., and also becomes the seat whereupon the yogi sits to practice his meditations and exercises. ŚB 1.1.4.1-2 explains (second day of the *darśapūrṇamāsa*): "He now takes the black antelope skin, for completeness of the sacrifice. For once upon a time the sacrifice escaped the gods, and having become a black antelope roamed about. The gods having thereupon found it and stripped it of its skin, they brought it (the skin) away with them. (1.1.4.2:) Its white and black hairs represent the Ṛk verses and the Sāman-verses; to wit, the white the Sāman and the black the Ṛk; or conversely, the black the Sāman and the white the Ṛk. The brown and yellow ones, on the other hand, represent the Yajus texts." Eggeling adds in a note that "the skin of the black antelope may be regarded as one of the symbols of Brāhmanical worship and civilization. Thus it is said in Manu II,22-23: 'That which lies between these two mountain ranges (the Himālaya and the Vindhya), from the eastern to the western ocean, the wise know as Āryāvarta (the land of the Āryas). Where the black antelope naturally roams about, that should be known as the land suitable for sacrifice; what lies beyond that is the country of the Mlecchas (barbarians).' (Eggeling 1882:23-24 and 23n.2.) In the *Darśapūrṇamāsa*, the priest declares of the skin (ŚB 1.2.1.14:) "'The skin of Aditi (the inviolate or boundless earth) art thou! May Aditi acknowledge (receive) thee!'" (Eggeling 1882:38.) ŚB 3.2.1.1 (*Agniṣṭoma dikṣā*): "South of the Āhavanīya he spreads two black antelope skins on the ground, with the neck parts towards the east: thereon he consecrates him. If there are two (skins), they are an image of these two worlds (heaven and earth), and thus he consecrates him on these two worlds." (Eggeling 1885:25.)

142. I have not however searched for this term in the Sanskrit of the *Upaniṣads*, or the *Pāli* of the early Buddhist canon.

143 . Compare Heesterman's discussion of RV 6.27: "[The hymn] starts with questions about Indra's achievements (answer: 'the being (*sat*) is his [achievement]'); then addresses Indra directly, 'We do not perceive your greatness...your Indra power [*indriya*] has not shown itself; and announces, finally, 'Now your *indriya* has become manifest;'" See also RV 6.27.3b: "*Indra nakiḥ dadṛṣe indriyam te.*" Oh Indra, no one has seen your *indriya*. (Heesterman 1985:78 and Bandhu 1964:2036.)

### An Historical Investigation into the Emergence of Tantra in India

#### 3.0.1. Preface

Before beginning the analysis of historical evidence in this chapter, I wish very briefly to address the issue of competing historiographies. Western historical studies rely on evidence gathered from datable writings, inscriptions, archaeological digs, etc. Western scholars are typically not too impressed with what appear to be either mythic accounts, or confessional, canonical histories that make historical claims that can not be substantiated by other sources. With Tantra, we have a typical Indian problem where the traditions claim great antiquity, and (most) Western scholars have been skeptical, to say the least. In particular, we find current proponents of the Buddhist Tantric tradition stating explicitly that the historical Śākyamuni Buddha himself taught the *Kālacakran-tantra*, the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, etc. Similarly, we find in the Śaivite tradition the claim that the texts are in fact direct revelation from Śiva, in conversation with his wife Parvatī or Devī, with the texts supposedly actual records of their conversations. For the *Kālacakratantra* we will address some aspects of this issue in the 10th Chapter of the dissertation. Otherwise, except for a few remarks on the logical framework of the Indo-Tibetan traditions, I will leave this issue of revelation or transmission aside, and look in this chapter strictly at what Western scholars consider concrete historical evidence--dates of manuscripts, archaeological finds, datable authors, etc. The discussion in Chapter 10 will raise some of the issues involved in the Western assumption of mono-directional linear sequential time, the

necessary logical implications for this assumption of prophetic prediction, issues of experience of a-temporal dimensions, etc. These issues arise naturally when we look at the principles enunciated in the "wheel of time" or "time-machine" *Tantra*, the *Kālacakra*, and are in fact addressed by the text itself.

Tibetan Buddhists and Western advocates of the tradition have been particularly forceful in advocating very early dates for Buddhist *Tantras*, and the authorship of a number of important Tantric commentaries by some of the major luminaries of the Buddhist tradition, such as Nāgārjuna, Candrakīrti, etc. While the historical evidence I will present in this chapter appears to raise some doubts about these claims, this does not necessarily imply that such canonical claims must be overtly rejected by Western scholars. There are several angles to the question of historical development that ought to be addressed at the outset of our analysis, and that have, I think, been too readily ignored by both Western scholars and canonical advocates alike. One aspect of the assignation of earlier dates to Tantra by the Tibetans that has not been much discussed by Western scholars is the relevance of the Indo-Tibetan belief in reincarnation to the issue of historical development. Cultures that have seriously embraced the notion that the Dalai Lama has been successively reborn as a Tibetan (along with many other prominent Buddhist figures), or that take just as seriously the idea that Swamis and Gurus can be reincarnations of previous teachers, have an intrinsically different take on human history. That is, it would also be perfectly reasonable to suppose, for instance, that Nāgārjuna, Sthiramati, and other famous early Buddhist luminaries would have been reborn in later centuries. Given

that among the abilities attributed to advanced Tantric practitioners and Yogis is the ability to recollect one's former lives, it would not be all that unreasonable for a young, reincarnated Nāgārjuna to readopt his earlier name. According to this logic, were Nāgārjuna of the c. 1st-2nd century CE to be have been reborn a few hundred years later, and have realized in his early twenties, say, that he had indeed been the Nāgārjuna of the second century, he might well have renamed himself Nāgārjuna, and written works under that name. And he could have done so several times in succession. To the upholders of the tradition a thousand years hence, who themselves may have recognized this process--and lived in a culture where specific multiple reincarnations of individuals was taken as part of common sense--it would be in a certain sense quite correct to attribute all these texts to a single Nāgārjuna; from the tradition's point of view they may indeed have been written by "the same"<sup>1</sup> person, just one who had been reborn many times. In fact, as long as one accepts the premise of reincarnation, then it is not unreasonable to suppose that the "same" reincarnated individual may exhibit certain consistent personality traits, certain consistent methods or attitudes of argumentation, etc.--and these could well show up in his or her writings, many centuries apart. Such consistency of writing styles is particularly possible if such a reincarnating individual were to take the trouble to study, or memorize, his or her "earlier" work; such memorization of the prior classics was after all a given in classical Indian educational systems. I am not arguing with the preceding that Western scholars must necessarily take the doctrine of reincarnation as "real." What I am asserting here is that *within the logic of the Indo-*

*Tibetan tradition* reincarnation is an accepted fact of life (and death), and that therefore *within such logic certain other postulates necessarily follow*. For Western scholars fully to understand and appreciate the viewpoints proposed by Indian thinkers, we must be ready to consider the full gamut of their idea sets--not simply choose those we prefer or find attractive, and reject *a priori* those we find logically challenging. That is, to study *a system* that takes reincarnation as a fundamental premise, and ignore the *systemic logical implications* of the reincarnation doctrine is not to study the system properly.

Another angle that has not been seriously addressed with regard to the issue of the historical development of Tantric doctrines is the issue of the theories of time that are intrinsic to the Tantric doctrines themselves. To put it simply, the theories of the subtle body espoused in the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric systems do not presuppose that linear sequential historical time is the only dimension of reality accessible by human beings. Specifically, both the *Kālacakra* system and the *Trika* system explain in some detail that the practitioners of their yogas consciously access trans-temporal dimensions where it is possible to gain detailed perception of the past, the present, and the future *simultaneously*. The logic of this premise implies that it is possible for the individual to function in trans-temporal dimensions, *i.e. dimensions where time, in the normal sense, ceases to exist*. According to this logic it is perfectly possible that Buddha or Śiva could have taught a set of Tantric doctrines at some earlier *historical* time, such as the 5th century BCE, and that these very same doctrines would not have appeared in written form, on manuscript material (birch bark, palm leaves, etc.) until



centuries later, when they were transcribed by some historical individual. The logic of this doctrine is of course a bit trickier, since a trans-temporal dimension implies that Buddha or Śiva might still be teaching these original Tantric doctrines, could have been teaching them "the whole time," i.e. continuously for the past 3000 years or more, and could teach them in the future. The reason this would be possible--within the logic of the traditions' doctrines--is that the original doctrines taught by Buddha and Śiva *could have been taught in a trans-temporal dimension*, as indeed the traditions claim that they were. Again, I am not arguing here that Western scholars must accept that such theories are "true." What I am asserting is that we must take the logical implications of these doctrines into account when assessing the claims of the tradition that adheres to these doctrines, let us now look at the time-bound, historical evidence for the emergence of the Tantric traditions in India.

### 3.0.2. Introduction

The plan of this chapter is as follows. Using textual sources from a wide variety of areas, I will examine the evidence for information on when Tantric *texts* and Tantric doctrines appeared in Indian history. Section I begins with a discussion of some scattered evidence found by other scholars that certain Tantric practices may be among the most ancient of Indian religious rituals, and some of the issues concerning canonical dating of the Tantric tradition. We will also look at the early date claimed for the *Guhyasamājantra*, simply because this is the earliest date that has been claimed by scholars for a given text. Then we turn to a discussion of the use of the two terms *Tantra* and *Kalpa* for types of texts in the early medical tradition

in India, by examining material from a late fourth century medical manuscript unearthed in Kuchar. The *Tantra/Kalpa* textual classification is maintained in the later Buddhist Tantric tradition, so it is important to understand the history of these textual types. Having established this typology, we then look at evidence from the 6th/7th century Buddhist philosopher, Dharmakīrti, who in discussing the power of *mantras* refers in passing to a functioning tradition of practitioners and texts of Hindu and Buddhist Tantras and Kalpas. This is the earliest reliable reference to the existence of Tantric texts and doctrines I have found so far, and Dharmakīrti's remarks have many implications for the state of Tantra vis-à-vis the Buddhist 'establishment' of his day; this evidence also raises some serious doubts about the 'secrecy' transmission theory advocated by many scholars of Tantric Buddhism.

Dharmakīrti's evidence raises the question of whether Tantric practices and texts emerged out of the more popular religious practices in India, and existed for many centuries in India *prior* to their incorporation into the Buddhist canon. To flesh out this impression of more populist origins for the Tantric tradition, we look in Section 2 of this chapter at four sets of evidence. First, literary evidence from the 7th century writer Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, wherein we find illuminating references to Śaivite Tantric practices and to the behavior of Buddhist nuns suggesting their involvement in non-ascetic practices. Then we look at 7th century writer Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* and *Kādamabarī*. Bāṇa's stories confirm the impression of widespread, widely known popular religious practices and texts referred to as Tantric, and he provides additional insights into the roving and (ostensibly) ascetic Yogis and Yoginīs

of the sixth and seventh centuries--from whom it appears that Tantric practices may have in part developed. We then examine the historical evidence behind the popular Tantric goddess *Caṇḍālī*, who appears in both Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras. The name appears to come from a lower caste group of butchers, supporting the impression of lower caste origins for the Tantric cults. Finally we turn to Lorenzen's remarkable study of the Kāpālikas, an early Śaivite Tantric movement.

Section 3, a relatively short section, looks briefly at some convincing evidence from datable texts and architectural remains that Tantric practices were widespread and growing in popularity in the eighth and ninth centuries, with a discussion of erotic imagery on Orissan temples, and the scattered remains of the Yoginī cult in odd circular temples found around India by Vidya Dehejia. Section 4 discusses in some detail the information we have from Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims who visited India in the seventh and eighth centuries. Given the evidence we have of a wide-spread, populist Tantric movement during the time of their visits, the records left behind by the Chinese pilgrims supports the interpretation that Tantric texts were simply not yet accepted by the Buddhist educational establishments. This 'non-acceptance' theory--as opposed to the 'secret-transmission' theory--is supported by evidence presented in Section 5 of the chapter; we look in this section at the sequentially datable text caches discovered at Gilgit, Turfan, and Tun-huang. These Central Asian text corpi show that while Tantric practices appear to have begun to infiltrate the Buddhist canon, texts were still not referred to as Tantra by the redactors of the canon at that time, and many of the characteristically Tantric practices we find in the Buddhist

*Anuttarayogatantras* and the Śaivite tradition were by and large not part of the Buddhist curricula until some point in the eighth century, when a shift towards deliberate integration appears to have taken place. We close Section 5 with a review of the evidence indicating the shift that had taken place by the ninth century, with Tantric doctrines widely acknowledged and fully integrated into the Buddhist university curricula.

As a check against the evidence presented in the earlier sections, Section 6 of this chapter looks at the datable Chinese translations of what are later classified as Tantras. The contents of some of this material, and evidence from Chinese textual classification schemes, supported by some direct evidence from surviving Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric texts, suggest that Tantric material was first integrated into the *Vaipulya-sūtra* division of the canon. As an addendum to this section we look briefly at the issue of *Dhāraṇīs*, since this has become a topic of debate in recent academic conferences. In the Conclusion to the Chapter I point out some areas where further research may be considered for expanding our understanding of the historical emergence of Tantra in India.

### **3.1 Dating the Tantras (3.1.1. Scholarly Arguments, 3.1.2. Textual Typology, 3.1.3. Dharmakīrti's evidence and implications)**

#### **3.1.1. Scholarly Arguments for Dating the Tantras**

The issue of the emergence of the Tantric doctrines, texts, and practices in India is a difficult and challenging one. The reasons for this are several. By and large this is one of the issues in Tantric Studies that has not been well researched.

There is a great lack of available information, and those theories that have been advanced have all too often been shaded by the desire on the part of theorists to prove primacy for the Buddhist schools, primacy for the Hindu schools, or such an early genesis of Tantric doctrines so as to *prove* that Śākyamuni Buddha himself taught all the *Tantras* back in the 5th century BCE, or to *prove* that the Hindu *Tantras* really do contain the essence of the Vedas and *are* ancient. In addition we have the ages-old problem in India that Indians frequently revised and added to texts over the centuries, thus making it often difficult or impossible to gauge the date of a particular text to more than within several centuries. Added to these problems is the more basic problem of scope: investigating the historical emergence of Tantra in India demands consideration of, at a minimum, about 1000 years of history in many different disciplines. One needs to look at the history of Indian medicine, since much medical material appears in the *Tantras*. Similarly, one has to look at the historical development of Yoga and meditation practices, ritual practices, philosophical developments, literary developments, and so on. Very quickly it becomes apparent that to do a really thorough job of investigating the historical emergence of Indian Tantra would take years, if not decades of research. To turn this historical investigation into a somewhat manageable task, then, I have limited my research to several areas that we shall examine in this chapter. These include the records of the Chinese pilgrims, the records of translations of Tantric texts into Chinese and Tibetan, some early literary references to *Tantras*, archaeological finds of Sanskrit texts, some evidence from the medical tradition and early Buddhist practices, and a

discussion of Lorenzen's work on the *Kāpālika* sect. Although I have discussed certain Vedic doctrines in some detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, there are many other Vedic doctrines I will not attempt to survey here, nor will I survey the vast canon of Pali literature, the Purāṇas, the centuries of Yoga literature, or the broad sweep of the Mahāyāna literature (though we will look at some Mahāyāna *sūtras*) for information on the development of the precursors to Tantric practice. There is undoubtedly a significant amount of information in these texts, yet a comprehensive study of these literary corpi for evidence on the roots of the Tantric doctrine is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Nonetheless, this is still one of the longest chapters of the dissertation.

Before beginning my own arguments, I would like to touch just briefly on some evidence of early antecedents to Tantric practices turned up by other scholars. L.M. Joshi points out that "In the Vedic literature the place for the practice of magic is usually a cemetery or the seat of flesh eating demons,"<sup>2</sup> and mentions the rite at *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 8.4.3.7.8 where men and women play the roles of Gandharvas and Apsarases, and RV 10.136.6 where the long-haired Muni is said "to move on the path of the Gandharvas and Apsarases."<sup>3</sup> This information suggests a peripheral and occasional role in the Vedic period for the sort of magical and sexual rites that become integral to the ritual practices described in the later Tantric texts (of course such practices may have been widespread, or more common, and just not preserved in the Vedic texts we have--except to a certain extent in the *Atharvaveda*). Joshi points us to the remark by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* referring to

*Śivabhāgavatas* who carried iron lances (*ayaḥśūlikas*) along with a staff and a hide (*daṇḍājina*)<sup>4</sup>—this suggests a relatively ancient lineage for the Śaivite ascetics. In the Pāli material, Thurman has for instance pointed out<sup>5</sup> the story of "A Bloodless Sacrifice" in the *Dīgha Nikāya (Kūṭadanta Sutta)*<sup>6</sup> where Buddha tells a story about King Mahāvijita that convinces the Brahmin Kūṭadanta to convert his planned *mahāyajña* of 3500 animals into one of ghee, oil, butter, curds, honey and molasses-- as an early instance of the type of transformational character of the ritual we find in developed Tantric practices. Banerji has also noted tales from the *Majjhima Nikāya* where Buddha sleeps in a cemetery with bones as his pillow, where sexual union between male and female ascetics is mentioned as a means of salvation, and from the *Cullavagga* where charms and spells are used, and skulls are used as begging bowls.<sup>7</sup> Flood also cites cremation ground rites from the *Theragata*.<sup>8</sup> Lokesh Chandra advances an interesting thesis that the *Vetullavādas* (from *vitulya*, unequalled), whose center was Dhānyakaṭaka near Śrīparvata in Andhar, and whose doctrines were transmitted to Abhayagiri in Śrīlāṅka, were instrumental in the development of Tantric doctrines. "The Vetulyakas think that sexual rites may be performed. The Tantric character had become marked already in the *Kathāvatthu* commentary which is dated by Rahul Sanrktiyayana ... to the first century A.D."<sup>9</sup> He cites from the translation of the *Kathāvatthu* the following passage controverting the Vetulyaka doctrines: "Controverted Point:--That sexual relations may be entered upon with a united resolve. From the Commentary.--Such a vow may be undertaken, some think--for instance, the Andhakas and the Vetulyakas--by a human pair who feel mutual

sympathy or *compassion* [not passion merely], and who are worshipping, it may be, at some Buddha shrine, and aspire to be united through their future lives."<sup>10</sup>

Vetullavāda, he says, "is an earlier designation of the Tantric tradition."<sup>11</sup> Chandra may be correct, yet to research this material properly requires facility with Pāli to check the original language of the texts, and I have not trained in Pāli.

The Purāṇas are a vast corpus, and of uncertain dating. As Wayman has pointed out,<sup>12</sup> the material in the Purāṇas undoubtedly represents a long-standing oral tradition that was eventually written down, so we may have no way of knowing how far back the material reaches historically. Among the *Purāṇas* we find discussion of Tantric rites in the *Brahmāṇḍa*, the *Garuḍa*, the *Liṅga*, the *Kurma*, and the *Agni*.<sup>13</sup> Rocher remarks of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* that "In general...purification and enlightenment are sought by means of Paśupata yoga which shows the influence of the Tantras."<sup>14</sup> As Winternitz says of the *Agnipurāṇa*, a text sometimes referred to by contemporary Indologists as a 'Tantric Purāṇa,'<sup>15</sup> "it actually deals with anything and everything," including sections on astronomy, geography, life cycle rituals, house building, politics, war, law, medicine, grammar, lexicography, etc. Winternitz concludes that "it is impossible to say" what date we should assign to the text.<sup>16</sup> Birwé in fact has demonstrated that the older lexicographic section of the *Agnipurāṇa* only *began* to be compiled in the middle of the twelfth century CE (it includes *pādas* from Hemacandra's 12th century lexicon, and from Yādavaprakāśa's 11th century work),<sup>17</sup> so we can hardly rely on the text to give us much dating information on the genesis of the Tantric tradition. Finally, as a caution against "reading back" into earlier



literature more fully developed Tantric practices found in later material, Winternitz notes that there are no mentions of *Tantras* in even the latest portions of the *Mahābhārata*, despite their frequent references to *itihāsa* and *Purāṇas*.<sup>18</sup> Though we find many of the elements of Hindu and Buddhist Tantra in earlier Hindu and Buddhist practices, this does not necessarily indicate that *Tantra* dates from these earlier strata of Buddhism. As Winternitz rightly comments, "The fact that the worship of Durgā, which plays so great a part in the [Hindu] Tantras, harks back to the later Vedic period, does not prove that Tantrism and the Tantras are of an equally venerable age."<sup>19</sup>

As previously mentioned, the canonical position of the Buddhist tradition is that Śākyamuni himself taught all the *Tantras*. The main canonical argument that accounts for the lack of evidence of Tantric texts until over a thousand years later is the "secrecy" doctrine, i.e. the argument that the texts were kept secret and transmitted orally to select initiates. This position is also taken by some contemporary scholars of the Buddhist tradition. The reasoning supporting such early dating of the Buddhist Tantric material can be represented by the remarks of the 17th century Tibetan historian Tāranātha (writing in 1608).<sup>20</sup> Tāranātha tells us that during the reign of Gambhīrapakṣa, there ruled in Kashmir Turukṣa Mahāsammata, son of king Turuṣka. This king "built a great *caitya* containing the tooth [relic] of the Buddha. He employed *bhikṣu*-s and *bhikṣuṇī*-s, *upāsaka*-s and *upāsikā*-s--a thousand each--for maintaining the religious services of the *caitya*. He built an immensely large number of various types of images."<sup>21</sup> Tāranātha says that though the "study of

the rituals and spells of the *kriyā* and *caryā* Tantras was quite considerable" at this time, and prior to it, "these were being studied under extreme secrecy, outside the *guhya-mantracārt*-s themselves, nobody knew who was practicing what" because "people of the earlier generations had the capacity of tenaciously keeping the secret."<sup>22</sup> Those who attained the *vidyādhara* stage "attained it by the help of the *anuttara-mārga*," with the *mantra-yāna* preached to them "by Guhyapati and others who suddenly appeared before them. They attained the rainbow bodies and left nothing in the form of preaching."<sup>23</sup> According to Tāranātha, the guru-disciple transmission of *anuttara-guhya-mantra* (*anuttarayogatantra*) began with Nāgārjuna and Saraha (Āryadeva).<sup>24</sup> Tāranātha's claims are difficult to assess historically. Kalhaṇa tells of only three "Turuṣka" kings of Kaśmīr, *Huṣka*, *Juṣka* and *Kaniṣka*, and that during their reign Kaśmīr was, by and large, "in the possession of the Bauddhas, who by [practicing] the law of religious mendicancy (*pravrajyā*) had acquired great renown."<sup>25</sup> As Kalhaṇa was not averse to heaping scorn on Tantric practices (see Chapter 6 of this dissertation), his silence on the subject with regard to the Turuṣka reigns raises some doubts about Tāranātha's claims. On numismatic evidence Stein says that it may "be considered as certain that Kaniṣka's reign cannot be removed be more than a century from the commencement of our era," i.e., the first century CE.<sup>26</sup> While Stein's dating of Kaniṣka would tend to support Tāranātha's assertion of an early dating for Tantric practices, that is only because both refer to a Turuṣka king--and Tāranātha wrote long after Kalhaṇa so he may well have had some version of the *Rājataranṅinī*'s chronology available to him. I have so far not found

reliable evidence to support Tāranātha's assertion of such early dating for the Tantras, and he may in any case have been referring to some other king than the Turuṣkas Stein mentions.<sup>27</sup>

Aside from the canonical position that Śākyamuni Buddha himself taught all the *Tantras*, the earliest date I have found claimed for Buddhist Tantric texts by scholars is the third century CE. Before beginning my own arguments, then, we must discuss these claims. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, in his Preface and Introduction to his edition of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, places the text in "the third century in Asaṅga's time."<sup>28</sup> Bhattacharyya's basic argument for this date is based on the inclusion of a *sādhana* attributed to Asaṅga in Abhayākaragupta's 12th century *Sādhanamālā*. Following the positions taken in canonical histories from the Tibetan and Chinese traditions, Bhattacharyya identifies this Asaṅga with "the famous Yogācāra philosopher of the Mahāyāna who flourished in the 3rd century A.D.,"<sup>29</sup> concluding that since both the *sādhana* and the *Guhyasamāja* contain mention of five Dhyāni Buddhas, therefore the *Guhyasamāja* must date to the third century CE, and Asaṅga must be its author.<sup>30</sup> With all due respect to Bhattacharyya's pioneering scholarship, I do not think his is a particularly strong argument. The linchpin of his dating rests on his assumed identification of the Asaṅga who wrote the *Sādhana* with the Yogācāra philosopher. Although the identification is not impossible, we do not really have any evidence to back it up. Bhattacharyya does not assume the same sort of identity between the early Nāgārjuna and the "Tantric Nāgārjuna," assigning the latter the date of 645 CE--again with no supporting evidence--saying that he is, "of course, different

from the author of the same name who is regarded as the founder of the Madhyamaka school of Buddhist philosophy.<sup>31</sup> Bhattacharyya himself shows that the Dhyāni Buddha theory is not found in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, most likely an eighth century text (see below)--though again Bhattacharyya assigns it a very early date (2nd century CE). He further asserts that "from the evidence of the *Mūlakalpa* it appears as if the *Mūlakalpa* offered materials to the writer of the *Guhyasamāja* to develop them, and thus the *Guhyasamāja* on the strength of the evidence adduced must be preceded by the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*."<sup>32</sup> Bhattacharyya provides similarly 'precise' dates for commentaries on the *Guhyasamāja* by Nāgārjuna, Kṛṣṇācārya, and others, without any evidence or explanation for how he arrived at these.<sup>33</sup> He argues, in a familiar argument from the proponents of early dates for the Buddhist *Tantras*, that "the reason we do not find any mention of the *Guhyasamāja* before Nāgārjuna (7th century A.D.), is because the Tantra was kept secret among the professors and the doctrines inculcated therein were confined to a few adepts for three hundred years until Buddhist Tantras of the Yoga and Yogatantra obtained publicity during the time of the Siddhācāryas mainly through their mystic songs, preachings and works."<sup>34</sup>

Although he rejects Bhattacharyya's Asaṅga-authorship theory, Alex Wayman has also argued an early date for the *Guhyasamāja*. He identifies the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as the oldest Tantra "of the Western side of India--and in the South," claiming that the first of the three volumes is "probably to be placed in the fourth century," and he tentatively places the *Guhyasamāja* in the same fourth century CE.<sup>35</sup> Wayman has similarly ascribed to the theory of the strictly secret propagation

of the Buddhist Tantras until the 8th century.<sup>36</sup> As we will see below, reliable evidence from Dharmakīrti's writings tends to contradict the "secret propagation" theory in at least the sixth century, and so forces us to reevaluate the basic premise of Bhattacharyya's and Wayman's argument. Matsunaga offers what appears to be a more credible argument for dating information on the *Guhyasamājatantra*.

Amoghavajra translated the *Sarvaguhya-pradīpaṭkā* into Chinese (as the *Shih-pa-lui-chin-kuei*) between 744 and 746 CE. Matsunaga reports that in the fifteenth section of this text we find the name *Guhyasamāja-yoga* and a brief explanation of the text.<sup>37</sup>

Comparing the *Shih-pa-lui-chin-kuei*'s explanation with our current version of the *Guhyasamāja*, Matsunaga finds that the five Tathāgatas and their four Śaktis, the four kinds of discipline (*caturāṅga-sādhana*), and the notion of the attainment of Buddhahood in the present life are missing from the Chinese description, though they are found in the *Yoga-Tantra* text *Tattvasaṃgraha-sūtra*. Matsunaga concludes, "In a comparison with this Yoga-tantra text, the present form of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is not thought to have existed at the time of the *Shih-pa-lui-chih-kuei*, but the original text must be considered to have been formed. In the first half of the 8th century which was still a flourishing period for Yoga-tantra, the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* as an Anuttarayoga-tantra was not completed, but we can probably say it had been in its formative stage. In the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts of this period, there appear only the Kriyā, Caryā and Yoga Tantras. Anuttarayoga-tantras cannot be found at all."<sup>38</sup> Discussing the relationship of the Jñānapāda school with the *Guhyasamāja*, Matsunaga decides that the text in its present form, including the

*Uttaratantra* section, was completed in the latter half of the eighth century.<sup>39</sup> In support of the eighth century argument I would cite Wayman's own mention of Līlavajra, an 8th century teacher who "heads one of the two lineages of Guhyasamāja interpretation," and whose commentary on the *Tantra* survives in Tibetan.<sup>40</sup> Had the *Guhyasamāja* really been around for four hundred years before-hand, might there not have been earlier interpreters (though one can always argue that there were, and these interpretations were strictly oral)? A seventh or eighth century date for the surviving written text also tends to be supported by another piece of evidence from Bhattacharyya. Although he omitted it from his edition,<sup>41</sup> Bhattacharyya points out that the so-called *Uttarārdha* manuscript or second part of the *Guhyasamāja* incorporates considerable sections of Anaṅgavajra's *Prajñopāyavinīscayasiddhi*. Again, Bhattacharyya assigns Anaṅgavajra to the seventh century without much by the way of solid evidence. Anaṅgavajra is however mentioned in the list of the 84 Mahāsiddhas (as *Anaṅgapa*, a Bengali śūdra, in the Sa-skya Bka' hbum).<sup>42</sup> The Tibetan text places him "third, beginning from Ḍombi," i.e. one of Luipa's 'grand-disciples;' this placing, and Dowman's dating place Anaṅgavajra in the late 8th or mid ninth century.<sup>43</sup> Whether Anaṅga's text preceded the *Uttaratantra*, or vice versa, is not clear. The *Guhyasamāja* was in addition not translated into Chinese until late in the 10th century, a fact that tends to support slightly later dating for the formation of the text.<sup>44</sup> Naudou, Tucci, and Bagchi all posit the 7th-8th century for the *Guhyasamāja*. Snellgrove and Naudou also conclude that the *Hevajra* dates from this period. Naudou even adds the *Cakrasaṃvara* to this era.<sup>45</sup> As we shall see with the

documentation presented in this chapter, the vast bulk of reliable historical evidence we can find supports the impression that it was during the 7th-8th century period that these texts were in all likelihood absorbed into the Buddhist canon, though in all probability they were in circulation for some time beforehand.

Winternitz examined the quotations from the *Tathāgataguhyā-sūtra* in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and concluded that "this is an entirely different work from the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* or *Tathāgataguhyaka* which has been edited by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya."<sup>46</sup> Śāntideva's quoted passages all refer to ethical Mahāyāna practices, with no mention of Tantra. Indeed, the passages cited speak of such virtues as "vigilance" and "restraint of the senses," and in the several citations from the text it is clear that the *Tathāgataguhyakasūtra* is a Mahāyāna work, with no trace of Tantric doctrines.<sup>47</sup> Winternitz also points out that the Sanskrit of the *Guhyasamāja* is considerably inferior to the Sanskrit of Asaṅga's known works, including the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (though this may have been written by Maitreyanātha). While there is no *a priori* reason why Bhattacharyya's early date for the *Guhyasamāja* cannot be correct, we have no really solid evidence for such dating, and it seems to me quite unreasonable to assert *with certainty* the existence of a secret doctrine at a particular time, given that the very secrecy of the doctrine would preclude the type of evidence we would require to demonstrate that it was in existence. As I have indicated, I think Matsunaga's arguments are more credible at this point, pending more research into the historical question of the origin of the Tantras. In the material that follows in this chapter I will build a case for what I

believe the evidence shows thus far--that various elements of Tantric doctrines were gradually developing over time, and that the evidence we can rely on *supports* (though it does not yet prove) that the *written* Tantric Texts may not have appeared until the sixth century CE, and that the texts as we have them now probably date from the seventh century at the earliest. Moreover, it appears that Tantric doctrines were widely known about among the populace at large, and widely shared between the Hindu and Buddhist traditions for centuries prior to the appearance of Tantra texts in the Buddhist canon. The evidence points to a conservative monastic community reluctantly coming to embrace a long-developing popular religious movement. However, the sheer volume of 'incoming' material from the earlier strata of the traditions suggests that considerable more research needs to be done--in a variety of textual groups, as outlined above--before we can begin to consider the question reliably settled.

### 3.2. Textual Typology; the *Tantras* and the *Kalpas*

In his 1990 Foreword to the reprint of his *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*, Wayman raises the issue that "the material now called 'Tantra' may have preexisted in a form not called 'Tantra'"--particularly since the earliest Buddhist Tantric text is called the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*--arguing that the term 'Tantra' originated in north-east India and only came to general usage from the eighth to the twelfth centuries.<sup>48</sup>

Wayman may be mistaken in this view. It appears from the early Sanskrit medical tradition that the term *Tantra* was long used for larger 'system' texts in many Sanskrit subjects, and the term *Kalpa*--a term from the Vedic tradition used for books of ritual



and ceremonial prescriptions (*Kalpa-sūtras*)--was used for shorter texts.<sup>49</sup> Dasgupta has pointed out that the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Suśrutasamhitā*, and even Agniveśa's original treatise (the *Agniveśasamhitā*) that Caraka revised were all known as *Tantras*.<sup>50</sup> Rudolph Hoernle first put forward the theory<sup>51</sup> that the term *Kalpa* was used for the shorter medical manuals. In his studies of the early medical texts, Hoernle found that the earliest surviving *Samhitās* of the Āyurveda tradition, the *Carakasamhitā*, the *Suśruta-samhitā*, and the *Bhedā-samhitā* contain numerous references to earlier medical texts. The larger of these texts, or the larger sections, are referred to as *Tantras*, with shorter manuals called *Kalpas*. This much is evident from the fourth century medical text called the *Navanītaka* ('fresh or clarified butter') discovered in the so-called Bower manuscript, among the oldest Sanskrit medical manuscripts ever discovered. Hoernle's opening description is priceless: "The Bower manuscript, which is named after its discoverer, Lieutenant (now Major-General) H. Bower, C.B., fell into the hands of that officer, early in the year 1890, in Kuchar, where he had gone, on a confidential mission from the Government of India, in quest of the murderer of Dagleish."<sup>52</sup> Kuchar is near the modern Aksu, on the northern rim of the Taklimakan Desert, close to the Chinese border with Kyrgyzstan--so this was quite a long trip to take from India on a detective mission in the days before motorized transport. Bower's finding of the manuscript also required some cloak and dagger shenanigans: "While at Kuchar a man offered to show me a subterranean town, provided I would go there in the middle of the night, as he was frightened of getting into trouble with the Chinese, if it was known that he had taken a European

there. I readily agreed, and we started off about midnight. The same man procured me a packet of old manuscripts written on birch bark. They had been dug out of the foot of one of the curious old erections, of which several are to be found in the Kuchar district." The source of the text turned out to be one of a group of buried *stūpas* (the others also contained manuscripts),<sup>53</sup> "solid, and built of sun-dried bricks and wooden beams now crumbling away. In shape they roughly resemble a gigantic cottage loaf, about 50 feet high."<sup>54</sup> Bühler explains that the birch bark used for manuscripts (*bhūrja*) was exported from Kaśmīr to India and elsewhere for centuries until the conquest of Kaśmīr by Akbar and the shift to use of paper. The waterproof ink used with birch-bark mss. was made by making a charcoal from almonds and boiling it with cow's urine. Birchbark mss. can be soaked in water, as Pandits often did to clean them before selling them to Bühler, who was procuring mss. for the Government Search for Sanskrit mss. in the late 1800's. Kaśmīris even used *bhūrja* mss. to plug leaks in their roofs, thanks to the water-resistant properties.<sup>55</sup> Palm-leaf manuscripts, on the other hand, originated in southern India, and as all but a very few of the other mss. found in Eastern Turkestan were paper--not birch or palm, this suggests that the Bower ms. was most likely written by Buddhist pilgrims or immigrants from the Kaśmīr or Udyāna region.<sup>56</sup> The script throughout the ms. is of the 4th-6th century Gupta style, as is the binding style.<sup>57</sup> The Gupta empire began with Candragupta I at Pāṭaliputra in eastern India. Candragupta II added western India by about 395 CE, bringing with him what has come to be called the Gupta script. With a detailed epigraphic analysis, Hoernle therefore concluded that the text

should be dated to 350-375 CE.<sup>58</sup>

The *Navanītika* summarizes medical teachings available from the *Tantras*--larger treatises, and *Kalpas*--smaller ones, that were collected into the *Carakasamhitā* (*samhitā* = a compendium, or collection of writings) and the *Bhedāsamhitā*. Hoernle cites 29 and 15 specific formulae from each *Samhitā*, respectively, that are included in the *Navanītika*, along with six from the *Suśrutasamhitā*.<sup>59</sup> One set of verses<sup>60</sup> in the text give a *Kalpa*--Hoernle translates this as "a pharmacological monograph"<sup>61</sup>--on the use of *Harītakī* (chebulic myrobalan), referred to in the *Navanītika* as the "*harītakī-kalpa* of the *Aśvins*." This gives us a concrete example from the 4th century CE of the same sort of use of the term *Kalpa* that we find in the Vedic texts--i.e. as a manual for the practical application of the system contained in the larger texts. And we find by looking at other medical texts that the colophons refer to "treatises" (*Tantras*) of previous physicians. This is true of, for instance, the *Cikitsāsthāna* of the *Carakasamhitā*, where Caraka refers to Aginveśa's earlier *Tantra* that Caraka was in effect revising.<sup>62</sup> Now the medical tradition holds that *Caraka* was court physician to Kaniška, and that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary, who revised the *Suśruta* text, adding the *Uttaratantra* portion, to form the *Suśrutasamhitā*. The *Uttaratantra* portion of *Suśruta*'s text is also an overt compilation, with a listing at the beginning of the various *Tantras* or treatises it is extracted from.<sup>63</sup> So we see that in the second through the fourth centuries the terms *Tantra* and *Kalpa* already had fairly standardized usages in Sanskrit.

Not incidentally to our discussion of the historical emergence of the *Tantras*,

Hoernle points out that the mixture of Sanskrit styles in the Bower ms. reflect developments in the Buddhist community, as the *Mahāyāna* adherents began to write their works in more polished Sanskrit, while popular Prākṛtic elements remain in the divinatory and charm portions of the work. Parts 1-3 of the text, the medical portions, are in good Sanskrit, with basic medicine, pharmacology, treatments, etc. Parts 4-5 are two manuals of *Pāśaka-kevali*, the art of fortune-telling by die casting. Parts 6 & 7, the divinatory sections, are much more Prākṛtic in style, containing portions of the *Mahāmāyūrt Vidyārājñi* or *Dhāraṇī*, a famed anti-snake charm included in the *pañca-rakṣā* or five most potent charms.<sup>64</sup> Parts IV and V of the Bower manuscript[s] are on divination, while part VI and part of part VII is a charm against snake-bite.<sup>65</sup> So it is evident from this early Buddhist medical work that charms, divination, fortune-telling, etc., were part of the popular practices of the third century, and the *Dhāraṇīs* were important enough to be included in medical texts of the day. It is necessary to note this information from the third century, since we find in the *Tantras* divinatory practices, charms, *dhāraṇīs*, and magical rites for worldly gain mixed in with medical material and the increasingly sophisticated and complex Tantric doctrines all the way up through the *Kālacakratāntra* and later texts.

### 3.1.3. The Dharmakīrti Evidence: Implications for the Dating of the Tantras

In the Introduction and Chapter 2 of this dissertation I have raised other arguments pertinent to the usage of the term 'Tantra' in Sanskrit literature. It appears, given this added evidence from the medical tradition, that the use of 'Tantra' to refer to larger 'system' works, and 'Kalpa' to refer to shorter, more practical

'manuals' ('subsystem,' in effect), was commonplace in the Vedic and Buddhist medical traditions prior to the emergence of the Tantric texts. With this textual naming typology in mind, we can then recognize the relevance of some evidence from Dharmakīrti's writings that both indicates the continued usage of this 'system'/'subsystem' meaning for the terms 'Tantra' and 'Kalpa,' and that 'Tantra' was used early as a term for larger Tantric texts, and 'Kalpa' as a term for the manuals of *mantra-japa*. This is a typology that certainly is maintained in the later redactions of the Buddhist canon, as is evident from Suzuki's catalogue of the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka that lists about 145 *Tantras*, *Mahātantras*, *Tantrarājas*, *Kalparājas*, and *Tantra Kalpas*, along with scores of *Dhāraṇīs* and *Dhāraṇī-mantra-sahitas*.<sup>66</sup> The following passages also raise some challenges to the "secrecy" transmission theory advocated by Bhattacharyya, Wayman, and others, that I will discuss below.

Ronald Davidson (currently teaching at Fairfield University, CT) has noted evidence from the early 7th century for Buddhist Tantric material in a passage from Dharmakīrti's *Svavṛtti* to his *Pramāṇavārttika*. Joshi places Dharmakīrti c. 580-650, and Candrakīrti c. 560-620,<sup>67</sup> so this is material from the late 6th or early 7th century CE. Davidson's original translation reads as follows::

Objection: There is accomplishment (*siddhi*) or lack of accomplishment either when there is the increase of *dharma* or *adharma* by means of ascetic practices or falling [into *saṃsāra*] etc., or [alternatively, accomplishment and its lack occur] naturally in those having the nature of *dharma* or *adharma*. Reply: That is not the case at all since there is the teaching in the *ḍākinī* and *bhaginī tantras* of numerous ascetic practices involving perverse actions (*hīnakarma*) which contradict *dharma* such as cruelty, stealing, sexual intercourse and so forth. Since there is even by these actions the specific characteristics of

accomplishment, we will teach according to the occasion that the proper nature of *dharmā* is not as you say.<sup>68</sup>

That Dharmakīrti's remark indicates the existence of two types of Tantric texts extant in his own time is obvious from the above. What are less obvious are the implications of this remark for our study of the history of Tantra. Davidson also refers us (without translations) to two other passages in the same text that together give an even fuller picture of the extant Tantric practices in Dharmakīrti's time, and we will look at both of these before discussing this material. Since this evidence appears relatively unknown to contemporary Tantric scholars, and since it provides fairly definitive evidence for the co-existence of a developed corpus of Buddhist and Hindu Tantras and Tantric practices in the late 6th-early 7th centuries CE, I have included it in the text here, rather than relegating it to an endnote. Dharmakīrti is discussing the effectiveness of *mantras*, and raises an objector's argument in light of the question of whether the Vedic *mantras* are of human origin. His cryptic style of writing makes the sequence of the argument a bit difficult to follow; as Gnoli puts it, "the *Pramāṇavārttikam* ... is a very difficult work.... Dharmakīrti's style is compact, precise, and not devoid of a certain leaning for an excessive brevity."<sup>69</sup> (I have boldfaced the most important lines, though one needs to see them in context to make any sense of it.)

Certainly one may object that men are completely incapable of creating *mantras*. We will discuss this subsequently. And furthermore what's called a *mantra* is not [like] anything else. Why is that? [Because] expressing it [causes] the attainment of the desired result, [since it provides] an efficaciousness [equal to] the [adherence to the] truth or *tapas*. And it is also visible to men that there is no duality in that (i.e.

no difference between the efficaciousness of a *mantra* and the practice of *tapas* or statement of the truth). The powers of the authority of the truth are individually [appropriate] since we see paralysis [caused by] poison, burning, etc. **And nowadays because even some of the mountain tribesmen are producing *mantras*. And because we see non-Vedic and Buddhist *Mantra-Kalpas* (i.e. Tantric texts of *mantras*). And those are written by men. Since there are also non-human [versions] of those [*mantras*] how can what is now non-human [still] be true? For instance the causes of such non-beneficial [practices] as violence, sexual intercourse, the doctrine of the *ātman*, etc., are described in the Buddhist and other [i.e. non-Vedic] *Mantra-Kalpas*. So how could there be at the same time a dual truth that designates contradictory [ideas]? When one manufactures some other meaning there, a still other meaning [could be] equally [valid]; hence since one has in no instance determined the meaning, there is a failure [of analysis]. And thus even reality would be useless, and non-human. Except for that, one should drink out of the cup when there are no Buddhist etc. *mantras*. And Buddhist [*mantras*] are seen that cause the actions of poisoning, etc. So to claim that there are no such *mantras* is not true. And [such] actions are also caused by non-vocalized *mudrās*, *maṇḍalas*, and meditations. And those are understood to be non-human [in origin] and obligatory. Since there is an arrangement of phonemes that produces a result, why is there objection [to their being real and effective] among men? Therefore it is absolutely not impossible for these to be effective. Now how can the two [different types of] *Mantra-Kalpas* both be correct, since they are mutually contradictory? Certainly the two cannot [both] be correct in all instances. And the two of them are [both] characterized by human vows combined with superhuman powers. And this superhuman power is also [achieved] by two different paths [or approaches] and two [sets of] *siddhis*. If there are *mantras* of human origin, then how come all men are not creators of *mantras*? Because there is a difference in their practice and effect. If they are combined with those sort of [methods] such as [insistence on] the truth, [practice of] *tapas*, etc., they [may be so] practiced. And since a man makes poetry, therefore all men may become poets. Were such not done (i.e. were no poetry written) there would be no one like that (i.e. there would be no poets); this is uniquely literal argument. The truth does not create *mantras* that are ineffective in producing the *mantra*'s results. And we absolutely do not see that in the case of any [*mantra*; i.e. they are all effective]. Therefore it is stated here that what is called a *mantra* is absolutely nothing other [than what we have discussed] according to the conventions of speech [adhered to] by those [espousing] the doctrine of [adherence to] the truth.<sup>70</sup>**

Even were someone to advance the argument that Dharmakīrti did not write the autocommentary, and therefore infer that references to Tantra are later interpolations not by Dharmakīrti, verse 309 of the *Pramāṇavarttika* itself refers to "knowers of *Tantra* who might create their own *mantras*," making any interpolation argument much less likely. I give the verse and its commentary here since the commentary (still discussing the issue of the validity of *mantras*) contains the earliest instance I've found of the use of the term *samaya* to refer (apparently) to a community of Tantric initiates. [Verse:] "And any of those who know the Tantras may create for themselves some sort of *mantras* | The lord's power in those [*mantras*] functions according the methods described therein."

[Commentary:] Even some coachmen who know the *Tantras* may perform some [magical] action with *mantras* they themselves have created. And likewise some other person who is [of] lower [social status] could create *mantras*. No, [this is not the case], because the power of those [*mantras*] derives from their authority. Because they [the Tantric initiates] cherish the community (or consensus, *samaya*) made with those [*mantras*] and are capable [of achieving results] because they live by following that teaching [about the *mantras*]. And because those who are not adherents to the teaching of that Tantric community (*samaya*) do not have the capacity [to effect results with *mantras*]......<sup>71</sup>

As Davidson rightly notes, we have no guarantee that the texts we have now are the same as they were in Dharmakīrti's time. However, the fuller translations I have given here make it fairly certain that Buddhist and Hindu Tantric practices were, so to say, in full swing while Dharmakīrti was alive. Provided we accept that Dharmakīrti lived in the 7th century, and that he wrote the *vṛtti* on the *Pramāṇavarttika* (and there is no real evidence that he did not), then we must



conclude that in Dharmakīrti's time at least two groups of texts referred to as *Tantras* existed (*Ḍākinī Tantras* and *Bhagīnī Tantras*), and that there were also Tantric texts of the time called *Mantra-Kalpas*, much as we find in the Buddhist canon as preserved in Chinese and Tibetan. Certainly as far as Dharmakīrti was concerned, these Tantric texts and practices were not secret--otherwise how could the readers of his text possibly know what he was referring to? In addition, his references strongly suggest that Hindu and Buddhist Tantric practices were on a par in terms of popular knowledge and practice. Unless we are going to assert that these practices arose rapidly during Dharmakīrti's childhood (latter 6th century), then we must assume that Hindu and Buddhist Tantric practices were well known--and somewhat at odds with Hindu and Buddhist orthodoxy--already in the sixth century, and possibly even the fifth century (though a fifth century date is still speculative without supporting evidence). Dharmakīrti remarks that "nowadays...even some of the mountain tribesmen (*Śābaras*) are producing *mantras*." This suggests that the Tantric practices had become so widespread even the remote mountain tribesmen had begun using the basic techniques--although Dharmakīrti may simply be referring to the *Śābaras*' use of *mantras* for worldly ends, a practice dating back to Vedic times and the Atharvan practices preserved in the *Atharvaveda*. The inclusion of a *Śābarapā* in the genealogy of *Mahāsiddhas* from Saraha to Nāropa, however, tends to support the indications that Dharmakīrti was referring to Tantric practitioners--particularly if some of the names in the list of *Mahāsiddhas* are 'representative' of groups of people who were Tantric practitioners (see discussion of the *Siddhas* in Chapter 7 of this

dissertation). While one is inevitably forced into a certain degree of speculation when trying to assess the cultural climate of Dharmakīrti's day, his remarks are not entirely consistent with the idea that Tantric doctrines had been kept in "strict secrecy" during the preceding centuries. In addition, were the Buddhist Tantric practices secret—as Wayman, Bhattacharyya, and others have argued—it would be very difficult to explain how it was that they shared techniques and doctrines with the Hindu Tantras (as referred to by Dharmakīrti), especially since the Hindu Tantric tradition does not claim several centuries of such secrecy, prior to the public emergence of the Tantras. Alternatively, one could of course simply push the secrecy argument back a few hundred years, and say that Tantric doctrines were kept secret until the third or fourth centuries CE. However, we would need to find some evidence to support such theorizing, and one would have the added difficulty of explaining how it was that Dharmakīrti, who apparently was not an adherent of Tantric practices, knew (apparently in some detail) about the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions.

Dharmakīrti's use of the terms 'Tantra' and 'Kalpa' indicate that at his time these two types of Tantric texts already existed. '*Mantra-Kalpa*' as a text genre suggests a type of practical manual employing *mantras* for specific ends, a genre that is probably a derivative evolution from the earlier *Dhāraṇī* texts. In this sense then I would say that the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is probably just the oldest *surviving* Buddhist Tantric text, since it appears to post-date Dharmakīrti (see Chapter 4 of this dissertation). In addition, Dharmakīrti refers to *Ḍākinī Tantras* and *Bhaginī Tantras*, not 'left-hand' and 'right-hand,' nor 'mother' and 'father' Tantras, suggesting that

these and other classificatory schemes are probably later developments in the Tantric traditions (though it is not yet clear exactly when these latter classificatory schemes first came into use, and there are a wide variety of Tantric classification schemes<sup>72</sup>). Indeed the division (if that is what it was) into *Ḍākinī Tantras* and *Bhaginī Tantras* suggests that there may have been at the time a division into visualized or imaginary or magical female consorts (*Ḍākinīs*, the ‘flying angels’) and actual, human consorts (*Bhaginī*, women who have vulvas). This suggests that there may have been a group of texts for strictly celibate practitioners, and another group for those engaging in sexual yogas. This is however speculative at this point, in addition to the fact that we cannot tell from Dharmakīrti’s writings whether *Ḍākinī* and *Bhaginī Tantras* refer to Hindu or Buddhist texts, or both. It is also clear though that these texts advocated practices still referred to in Tantric writings hundreds of years later, and that *Dharmakīrti* and others disapproved of these Tantric teachings. *Dharmakīrti* was however no prude. *Vidyākara*’s anthology of Sanskrit *subhāṣita* poetry includes nineteen verses by the great philosopher. As Ingalls remarks, the incisive, witty, and economical style of the writing is distinctively his.<sup>73</sup> "The streams of tears have not despoiled the beauty of her face/nor sighs destroyed the color of her cherry lip./But in your absence the complexion of her cheek, vying with ripened *lavaṭ*, grows every day more pale."<sup>74</sup> "Since congress with your mistress will be short,/like to a dream or jugglery,/and end in disillusion, stay away!/Though I reflect upon these truths a hundred times/my heart forgets not the gazelle-eyed girl."<sup>75</sup> *Dharmakīrti* was after all, as were all the writers of our Sanskrit texts, someone who had matured in a

society that celebrated sensuality even as it counseled, for those so inclined, renunciate asceticism or monastic study. I think the disapproval of the sexual intercourse prescribed in the *Ḍākinī* and *Bhagīnī* Tantras he expresses stems not so much from a prudish disapproval of sex per se, rather from a disapproval of such in a religious ritual setting. This is an attitude familiar in our own society. We blanch not at steamy love scenes in the electronic media, yet would be shocked to witness sexual love enacted on the altars of our churches or temples.

**Section 3.2. Evidence of a Popular Religious Movement (3.2.1. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*; 3.2.2. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*; 3.2.3. Caṇḍālī, Populist Origins of the Tantric Goddess; 3.2.4. The *Kāpālikās*--early Śaivite *Tāntrikās*)**

So we know that Tantric texts--both Hindu and Buddhist--existed *and were known as such* already in Dharmakīrti's time. We also know that the doctrines were being practiced, and that they were not considered reputable by the Buddhist orthodoxy, and were apparently perhaps not therefore part of the 'official' Buddhist canon. So who were these *Tāntrikās* to whom Dharmakīrti refers? Can we find any other evidence of their existence and practices? Can we gain any other ideas about where these practices may have come from? The answer is yes, though the information is not that easy to find, and we have to scour through some unlikely sources for data. The picture that has begun to emerge, however, is of a widespread, far-flung, multi-denominational culture of ascetics, Yogis, Yoginīs, Buddhist and Śaivite practitioners moving about the countryside, engaged in all sorts of different

practices, interacting with each other both within and across sectarian boundaries. In sum, a popular culture of Indian religion that included all sorts of magical and divinatory practices, attention to omens, spells, chants, little ritual practices, transgressive and unorthodox behavior, wherefrom, it appears, much of what later came to constitute the orthodoxy of the Tantric tradition first grew up, spread, developed, and was apparently written down already by the sixth century in texts called Tantras and Kalpas.

### 3.2.1. Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*; 7th Century Evidence of a Popular Tantric Culture

We find confirmation that Tantric doctrines were well known among the educated sectors of the populace who could read Sanskrit in the 6th-7th centuries from Daṇḍin's (c. 550-650 CE) *Daśakumāracarita*. M.R. Kale, in his study and translation of the text determines from internal evidence that the famed poet was most probably a southerner, a native of the Vidarbha region.<sup>76</sup> As Kale explains, the work as we have it is in three parts; of these only the middle part is certainly by Daṇḍin, the other two apparently by slightly later writers who attempted to replace lost sections.<sup>77</sup> The stories are full of interesting details about the ways and wiles of mid-first millennium CE Indian culture. We learn that the *Mahākāla* cult (a central deity in the Śaivite Tantric tradition) was well known in Daṇḍin's time, and that "Tantras" and "Āgamas" were also common knowledge. Early on in the story of King Rājahaṃsa of Magadha, for instance, we learn that an ascetic who comes to visit the king's court in the capital city Puṣpapurī, is in fact employed as a royal spy, and has just returned from a

mission to Mālwa. The ascetic/spy had observed that King Mānasāra of Mālwa, recently defeated in battle by Rājahaṃsa, had "propitiated Maheśvara, the lord of Kālī, at the shrine of Mahākāla," obtained from Śiva a "formidable mace," and was planning to march against Rājahaṃsa.<sup>78</sup> This gives us at least a 6th-7th century date for the *Mahākāla* cult--a Śaivite Tantric sect with several texts (*Mahākāla-tantras*) still extant (see Chapter 5). Rājahaṃsa is defeated in battle by Mānasāra, yet survives the encounter. His queen Vasumatī gives birth to his son Rājavāhana. The boy meets up, in the Vindhya forest, with a hideously scarred Brāhmaṇa who appeared to be living as a Kirāta (a mountain tribe). The strange fellow relates: "Prince, in this wood reside many who are Brāhmaṇas (only) in name, who, led by barbarians, go in quest of sinful acts, and eat their food, foregoing the study of the lores such as the Vedas and others, ignoring the observances of their tribes, and setting aside their religious and social duties such as the observance of truth, purity, and the like.'" He is the son of one such, named Mātaṅga; "With a party of the Kirātas I used to harry the neighbouring country, seize the wealthy villagers with their women and children, and, having brought them to this forest, I used to put them in custody, taking all their wealth; and thus I led a life of lawlessness (or, haughtiness) and cruelty."<sup>79</sup>

Mātaṅga had tried to prevent his cohorts from killing a Brāhmaṇa, and they had attacked him. He relates a near-death experience where he visits Yama and sees the tortures awaiting sinners. Yama tells him his time has not yet come, and sends him back to life. He awakes to find the Brāhmaṇa he sought to save ministering to his wounds, and is taken back in by his father's relations. He then reports that the

grateful Brāhmaṇa taught him the alphabet, explained the various *Āgamas* and *Tantras*, (*vividha-āgama-tantram ākhyāya*), and gave him full instructions as regards the rules of good conduct annihilating sin, "and told me the proper way to worship Śiva (lit. the moon-crested god) who can be perceived only by the eye of knowledge, and having accepted the worship I paid to him, left me."<sup>80</sup> Here then is a distinct reference from the late 6th-early 7th century to the existence of Śaivite Tantric texts. There is little doubt that the *Tantras* and *Āgamas* of the Śaivite tradition are being referred to; the context of Śaivite worship makes it extremely unlikely that these textual terms refer to other treatises and scriptures from the Hindu tradition (*Āgamas* in this context would refer to the texts of the southern *Śaiva Siddhānta* tradition). Daṇḍin evidently did not perceive the need to explain to his readers anything further about "Tantras and Āgamas," presumably under the assumption that any educated reader of Sanskrit who would read the story would be familiar with the Tantric traditions.

A further episode in the story of Mātaṅga demonstrates that Śaivite *siddhas* were well-known, and that the Mahākāla cult was also current in Ujjain in the 6th-7th century. Mātaṅga tells Rājavāhana of a recent dream when Śiva spoke to him, telling him of a copper plate hidden in a particular rock chasm "in the region along the bank of the river that flows through the Daṇḍaka forest and behind the Sphaṭaka-liṅga that is worshipped by the Siddhas and the Sādhyas..." Mātaṅga is to go there, protected by Rājavāhana, take the copper plate "and perform the rites prescribed thereon as though it were gaining victory over Fate," and Mātaṅga will become sovereign of

Pātāla.<sup>81</sup> Here again we have a clear 6th-7th century reference to *siddhas* and *sādhyas* engaged in Śaiva *liṅga* worship. These may simply be siddha ascetics (*siddha-tāpasas*); however, this establishes the existence of Śaivite practitioners called "*siddhas*" already in the 6th-7th century.<sup>82</sup> Rājavāhana, heading back through the chasm to find his friends whom he had left behind sleeping while he went in the night to help Mātāṅga, ends up in "a garden in a suburb of Ujjain"<sup>83</sup> where he runs into one of them, Somadatta. Somadatta, in relating how he had arrived in Ujjain after much travel while searching for his master, says "I came to-day with my wife to this region, the fruit whereof is the sight of a friend, by the direction of a Siddha (seer) in order to propitiate Śiva who resides in this temple of Mahākāla."<sup>84</sup>

Each of the preceding references to Tantras, Āgamas, Siddhas, Sādhyas, and Mahākāla temples comes from the *Pūrvapīṭhikā*, most likely written sometime after Daṇḍin. Gajendragadhar, in fact, assigns the author of the *Pūrvapīṭhaka* to "at least a century and a half" after Daṇḍin, due to the degradation in the style.<sup>85</sup> This dating seems a bit arbitrary to me, given that the section could easily have been written within a few years or decades of Daṇḍin's death, simply by a lesser poet, and we have confirmation of most of these references from the early 7th century writing of Bāṇa (see below). There is however little doubt that the *Pūrvapīṭhaka* was not written by Daṇḍin, filled as it is with grammatical mistakes, a slavish predilection for rhymes and alliteration, and lack of poetic grace.<sup>86</sup> Daṇḍin's own date is not entirely certain, though the general consensus appears to be that he lived in the sixth century CE.<sup>87</sup> So while it would appear that our references indicate a 6th/7th century



popularity of the Śaivite Tantric cults, supporting the implications of Dharmakīrti's remarks, we must admit that this portion of the evidence may be a bit suspect in terms of dating.

*Ucchvāsas* 1-8 of the *Daśakumāracarita* proper are certainly the work of Daṇḍin himself. In the second *ucchvāsa* of Daṇḍin's tale, we find two references to Buddhist nuns serving as liasons for courtesans. In the middle of a story told by Apahāravarmā, we hear of a courtesan named Kāmamañjarī, the ornament of the Aṅga capital city Campā. Describing her upbringing, Apahāravarmā explains how her mother needed to advertise her daughter's abilities to ensure her a successful career. "She has to be advertised through experts in various arts in different places; with the help of parasites, gay companions, jesters and the Buddhistic nuns (female mendicants), she has to get her beauty, behavior, accomplishments, charms and amiableness discussed in the circles of the townspeople." Then, once she has become "the constant object of the desires of young men," she can set a high price on her services.<sup>88</sup> What is remarkable here is the mention of female mendicants (*bhikṣukīs*) in the list of those who are expected to help spread her fame.<sup>89</sup> Later in Apahāravarmā's story we also hear of another such, Dharmarakṣitā, "a Buddhist female mendicant [*bhikṣukī*], the chief agent of [the courtesan] Kāmamañjarī."<sup>90</sup> This appears to be an otherwise little-noticed (by Western scholars) cultural fact in first millenium CE India, that Buddhist nuns (at least in Sanskrit literature so depicted) apparently frequently served as liasons for courtesans and prostitutes. We also find in Kṣemendra's 11th century *Narmamālā*, in the humorous account of the young woman

who marries a rich old man, that a *śramaṇikā* (usually a term for a Buddhist-) female ascetic acts as a go-between for the young lady and her young adulterous lover (see Chapter 6 of this dissertation). While we cannot draw too many conclusions here, the finding of the same such depictions some 4-500 years apart in Sanskrit stories suggests that such behavior by Buddhist nuns (or at least the literary motif thereof) apparently became a long, and culturally well-established tradition in India prior to the Islamic invasions. And as we learn from Kṣemendra's depiction, such liason-nuns were not entirely immune to temptation. This may offer some circumstantial support for the Dharmakīrti evidence that Tantric practices were widespread in the sixth century.

### **3.2.2. Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* and *Kādambarī*; Confirmation of a Widespread, Popular Tantric Culture in the 7th Century.**

Bāṇabhaṭṭa, court poet to King Harṣa, wrote the famed *Harṣacarita* in the first half of the 7th century, as well as the *Kādambarī* and several other works. We know from Hsuan Tsang that Harṣa was ruling north India between 629 and 645 CE, when the Chinese pilgrim visited, and other sources give the king's reign from 606-648 CE. We find several references to Tantras in Bāṇa's texts in support of the layers of evidence I am presenting that Tantric doctrines were well-known and widespread in the early 7th, and most likely late 6th centuries. Lorenzen and Dyczkowski<sup>91</sup> have both pointed out passages from Bāṇa's writings indicating Śaivite Tantric practices were known of and accepted in the first half of the seventh century. Lorenzen has located a passage in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* that contains 7th century references to Tantric

texts, practices, sexual yogas, and alchemical practices, in describing a *Draviḍadhārmika* ascetic who runs the Caṇḍikā temple on the road to Ujjayinī in southern India:

"He had a tumor growing on his forehead that was blackened by (constantly) falling at the feet of Ambikā (the idol of Caṇḍikā) ... He had brought on himself premature fever with improperly prepared mercurial medicines. Although old, he troubled Durgā with request for the boon of sovereignty over the Deccan ... He had made a collection of manuscripts of jugglery, Tantras and *mantras* (which were written) in letters of red lac and on palm leaves (tinged with) smoke. He had written down the doctrine of Mahākāla, which is the ancient teaching of the Mahāpāśupatas ... He manifested the disease of talking (continually about the nine) treasures (of Kubera) and became very windy (on the subject) of alchemy [*dhātuvāda*]... He had increased his grasp on the *mantra-sādhana* for becoming invisible and knew thousands of wonderful stories about Śrīparvata ... He had many times employed women-subduing powders on old female ascetics from foreign countries who stayed (at the temple) ...."<sup>92</sup>

Lorenzen notes from these descriptions that Bhairavācārya is portrayed sympathetically as "a worthy ascetic and a friend and confidant of the founder of the house of Bāṇa's patron." He infers thereby "that by the seventh century Tantric religion, even of the so-called 'left-hand observance' (*vāmācāra*) type, was accepted and supported by many persons of learning and high social status."<sup>93</sup>

There are several references in Bāṇa's writings to the worship of Mahākāla, and the not too subtle suggestion in that in some cases this cult involved offerings of human flesh, resulting in a market for the same,<sup>94</sup> though Bharati has raised some doubts as to whether such practices actually took place.<sup>95</sup> It appears that these offerings may have come predominantly from corpses in cremation grounds.<sup>96</sup> There is also a very curious passage in the *Kādamabartī*, during the parrot Vaiśampāyana's

recounting of his former life as a human, in the nested tale of Queen Vilāsavatī, who is sorrowful for not having born the King a child. She resolves to offer more devotions to the gods, and undertakes a variety of different forms of worship. The list is useful for the information it gives us on early 7th century Hindu religious practices, and includes several passages apparently referring to the Yogic and Tantric culture of the day (I've boldfaced these).

And from that time forth she was more and more devoted to propitiating the gods, honoring Brahmans, and paying reverence to all holy persons; whatever recommendation she heard from any source she practised in her longing for a child, nor did she count the fatigue, however great; **she slept within the temples of [Caṇḍikā] Durgā, dark with the smoke of bdellium ceaselessly burnt, on a bed of clubs covered with green grass, fasting, her pure form clothed in white raiment;** she bathed under cows endued with auspicious marks, adorned for the occasion by the wives of the old cowherds in the herd-stations, with golden pitchers laden with all sorts of jewels, decorated with branches of pipal, decked with divers fruits and flowers and filled with holy water; every day she would rise and give to Brahmans golden mustard-leaves adorned with every gem; she stood in the midst of a circle drawn by the king himself, in a place where the four roads meet, on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, and performed auspicious rites of bathing, in which the gods of the quarters were gladdened by the various oblations offered; **she served the resting places of the Siddhas, giving to them the propitiatory presents [meant] for various deities, and she went to dwellings of neighboring Mātṛ[kās] whom people showed faith in (Siddha-āyatanāni kṛta-vicitra-devata-upayācitakāni siṣeva | Darśita-pratyayāni saṃnidhāna-mātṛ-bhavanāni jagāma).**<sup>97</sup> She bathed in all the celebrated snake-ponds; with a sun-wise turn, she worshipped the pipal and other trees to which honour was wont to be shown; after bathing, with hands encircled by swaying bracelets, she herself gave to the birds an offering of curds and boiled rice placed in silver cup; she offered daily to the goddess Durgā a sacrifice consisting of parched grain of oblation, boiled rice, sesamum sweetmeats, cakes, unguents, incense, and flowers, in abundance; **she besought, with a mind prostrate with adoration, the naked wandering ascetics, bearing the name of Siddhas, and carrying their begging bowls filled by her (Svayam upahṛta-piṇḍa-pātrān bhakti-pravaṇena manasā, Siddha-ādeśān nagna-**

*kṣapaṇakān papraccha*),<sup>98</sup> she greatly honored the directions of fortune-tellers; she frequented all the soothsayers learned in signs; she showed all respect to those who understood the omens of birds; she accepted all the secrets handed down in the tradition of a succession of venerable sages; in her longing for the sight of a son, she made the Brahmans who came into her presence chant the Veda; she heard sacred stories incessantly repeated; **she carried about little caskets of mantras filled with birch-leaves written over in yellow letters** (*gorocana-ālikhita-bhūrja-pattra-garbhān mantra-karaṇḍakān uvāha*);<sup>99</sup> even her attendants went out to hear passing sounds and grasped the omens arising from them; she daily threw out lumps of flesh in the evening for the jackals; she told the pandits the wonders of her dreams, and at the cross-roads she offered oblation to Śiva.<sup>100</sup>

*Caṇḍikā* is a variant of the name *Caṇḍālī*, who becomes a principal Tantric goddess of both Hindu and Buddhist Tantras (I will discuss her background below). Evidently wandering ascetical yogi *siddhas* and their female counterparts, *mātrīs* who lived in houses, were well-known and well accepted as part of the religious-social scene. (*Samnidhāna-mātrī-bhavanāni* appears to refer to the neighboring ‘abodes’ or ‘residences’ of the ‘Mothers.’ *Bhavanam* is not a term for a temple, and though it might be used for one, that does not appear to be the context here.) The use of the name *siddha* for the men, and *mātrīkā* for the women is noteworthy since we find these two names preserved in the later Tantric texts, wherein sexual yogas are prescribed and employed. The suggestion here that *mātrīkās* or mothers stayed in houses is also relevant to the consideration of Tantric practices, since we find (see Chapter 7) described in the Tantric texts themselves that the organized *cakra-pūjas*, or group sexual rites, apparently took place in locales where a woman was often in charge of the proceedings, and might be from any one of a number of different sectarian traditions. Bāṇa’s reference to the *siddhas* correlates with the indications in

Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita* discussed above. From these two literary accounts we can conclude that wandering ascetics engaged in Śaivite worship and known as *siddhas* were well-known in the early seventh century. It is also interesting to see that the practice of wearing amulets filled with *dhāraṇīs*, such as we find described in earlier Buddhist texts, still current in the early 7th century in a Hindu context (as I understand it is today), indicating that this was a wide-spread, non-sectarian cultural practice (though the *mantras* themselves presumably came from the different sects).

At a later point in the story the Crown Prince Candrāpīḍa goes to the Mandara palace courtyard where he sees Mahāśvetā, the Gandharva ascetic princess, and Kādambarī's close friend. Bāṇa depicts the female devotees of Śiva:

There he beheld Mahāśvetā surrounded by wandering ascetic women like visible goddesses of prayer, with marks of white ash on their brow, and hands quickly moving as they turned their rosaries; bearing the vow of Śiva's followers, clad in robes tawny with mineral dyes, bound to wear red cloth, robed with the ruddy bark of ripe coconuts, or girdled with thick white cloth; with fans of white cloth, with staves, matted locks, deer-skins, and bark dresses; with the marks of male ascetics; reciting the pure praises of Śiva, Durgā, Kārtikeya, Viśravaśa [Kubera's father], Kṛṣṇa, Avalokiteśvara, the Arhat [i.e. Buddha], Viriñca [i.e. Brahmā].<sup>101</sup>

This is really a remarkable passage for the light it sheds on the ascetic yogis' culture of the early seventh century. It supports the impression from other sources (and from the earlier passage cited above) that wandering *yoginīs* and settled *mātrkās* were as common, and as widespread as the male *siddhas*. Given human nature, and the creative font that is the Indian religious mind, it does not seem at all unlikely or surprising that practitioners and theorists might have developed doctrines of controlled, disciplined, and perhaps somewhat secretive sexual yogas for these large,

mobile, and ostensibly ascetic groups of practitioners. Lorenzen's evidence (see below) certainly suggests a similar conclusion. Bāṇa is not referring to Buddhist monks and nuns here, yet Dharmakīrti's remarks, combined with Daṇḍin's and Kṣemendra's references to the involvement of Buddhist nuns in working with prostitutes, suggest that Buddhist monks and nuns were equally involved in the development of Tantric practices (see Chapter 6 of this dissertation for a discussion of satirical presentations of such ascetic-*tāntrikās* as libidinous hypocrites). Though Bāṇa in the above passage is describing ostensibly Śaivite yoginīs, the list of deific figures being praised by these female renunciates includes also Kṛṣṇa, Avalokiteśvara, and Śākyamuni Buddha, in addition to Durgā and Brahmā. Evidently the type of sectarianism practiced by the philosophers and scholars of the different traditions, as evident in the polemical condemnations of each others' doctrines we find in the writings of those with formal educations, was *not* part and parcel of the roving ascetic community.<sup>102</sup> These sort of people apparently shared a centuries old catholic culture, where the rules of behavior were more grounded in renunciation itself rather than sectarianism. All of this evidence together suggests here a tentative conclusion: that Tantric doctrines and practices emerged out of the natural tension set up in a culture where significant numbers of *yogis* and *yoginīs*, *śramaṇas* and *śramaṇikās* were moving around the countryside, the towns, and the villages, practicing their renunciate disciplines, studying texts, crossing paths, interacting, sometimes sharing quarters in *maṭhas* and *vihāras*,<sup>103</sup> and living in a cultural context that celebrated sensuality in its court poetry, and in its tradition of erotic literature and sculpture and

painting. Added to these practices would have also been the magical *Atharvaveda*-style rites, and divination practices and spells as in the Bower manuscript, all evidently wide-spread popular practices.

### 3.2.3. *Caṇḍikā* and *Tārā*, Populist Tantric Goddesses

The impression that the Tantric theories and practices probably developed directly out of the interactions of the wandering male and female ascetics is supported by the considerable evidence we have of the contribution of the lower castes to the Tantric tradition--given that Buddhist and Hindu (not to mention Jain) ascetic orders were open to all castes, and apparently tended to have more lower caste members. The use of vernaculars to preserve canonical writings is nothing new in India. As Bagchi has noted, the Tibetan tradition holds that "the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda had their works in Sanskrit, the Mahāsāṅghika in Prakrit, the Mahāsammattiya in Apabrhaṃśa, and the Sthavira in Paisācī." And this tradition is "practically confirmed by the actual finds of literature of the various schools."<sup>104</sup> Śeṣa Kṛṣṇa, writing c. 1100 CE, lists some 33 Prākṛta dialects current in India, six from the south, and 27 from various other locales.<sup>105</sup> One such Prākṛtic tradition that appears to have made a major contribution to the development of the Tantric traditions is the *Caṇḍālas*, a lower caste group of butchers. The goddess *Cāṇḍalī/ā* (or *Caṇḍikā* as she is referred to by Bāṇa in the passage cited above) becomes popular and common in both Hindu and Buddhist Tantra as the tradition develops over the centuries. The 1st-2nd century *Nāṭyaśāstra* by *Bhāratā* identifies *Cāṇḍalī* as one of the dramatic dialects (*vibhāṣās*) used in plays; Keith says it was a species of *Māgadhi*, a dialect reserved in plays for



characters of low rank.<sup>106</sup> Evidently *cāṇḍāli* speakers were a recognized lower caste group for many centuries in India considerably earlier than the emergence of Sanskrit *Tantras* of either Buddhist or Śaivite inclination. It is noteworthy that one of the major goddesses of the later Tantric tradition, *Caṇḍālī*, shares her name with this ancient and well-known lower caste group. Fa-hien (c. 400 CE), during his early 5th century visit to India, records that *Caṇḍālas* (outcastes) were shunned by higher society, and had to bang pieces of wood to announce their presence in town so others could avoid pollution.<sup>107</sup> Commenting in his *Fo-Kwo-Ki* on *Madhyadeśaḥ* or the region south of *Mathurā*, Fa-hien reports that "Throughout the country the people kill no living thing nor drink wine, nor do they eat garlic or onions, with the exception of the Chandālas only. The Chandālas are named 'evil men' and dwell apart from others; if they enter a town or market, they sound a piece of wood in order to separate themselves.... The Chandālas only hunt and sell flesh."<sup>108</sup> Though we may raise an eyebrow at the blanket claim of vegetarianism, we appear to have a more or less true report about the *Caṇḍālas*. Apparently they were a caste of some sort of itinerant butchers, hunting, catching, killing, and selling the meat that non-violent ascetics, monks, and high-caste brahmins ostensibly shunned, then later began to use in Tantric practices. This status would be in keeping with Bhārata's categorization of their dialect.

Since *Caṇḍālas* were apparently the source of the once ritually-forbidden meat, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the name came to refer to a Tantric deity involved in the ritual consumption of this taboo substance, much as some of the

names of the Buddhist *Krodharājas* apparently refer to actual historical kings or groups (see endnote to discussion of Prākṛt dialects above), and much as some of the names of various Prakrits, such as *Paiśāci*, refer to groups of people who became demonized into the semi-human mythological *Piśācas*. Monier Williams cites the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* for the definition that a *caṇḍāla* is an outcaste born from a *Śūdra* father and a *Brāhman* mother, and cites *Kulārṇavatantra* as the source for the definition that the *caṇḍālī* is "one of the 8 kinds of women attending on Kaula worship." The passage he refers to is *Kulārṇavatantra* 7.42a. The passage discussing the initiation and worship of Tantric consorts reads as follows (7.39-7.45):

Therefore having worshipped the very beautiful consort with fragrances and fresh flowers, one should present the enjoyment-goblet with the divine mind; and inside of that (one should see reflected?) also intoxicating, charming young women; honoring them with the divine mind, one should give the goblet to them individually. For the one who has not presented it, and who does not honor the reality of the clan with the consorts, his worship will be fruitless, and the goddess will not be satisfied. The *Caṇḍālī*, a leatherworker's wife or daughter, the daughter of a *Kṣatriya* mother and a *Vaiśya* father (or, the daughter of an unmarried woman, or the daughter of a *Magadha* tribe), the daughter of the *Pukkasa* tribe (of mixed race), likewise, a 'dog-cooker' (a mixed caste person--the men act as executioners or disposers of the kinless deceased), a marriage negotiator, a fisherman's wife or daughter, and *vaiśya* women; this is said to be the eightfold clan; [now] the non-clan [*akula*] group of eight is stated: a woman from the *Kauñca* region of the *Himālayas*, a woman who sells liquor, a female soldier [or wife or daughter of a professional soldier], and a woman who dyes cloth, a female singer, a washerwoman, an artisan, and a birdkeeper [? 'related to the Cuckoo bird'], thus the eight. And a young lady engaged in a vow, or one who is the basis of the *yoga* seal, she who is obtained voluntarily at the time of worship is to be known as orgasmic/innate by the wise.<sup>109</sup>

It is clear from the preceding list that both the *kula* group and the *akula* group of women come from the mixed castes, and outcastes who perform tasks shunned by

the *brāhman* elite. Since a number of the mixed caste types are referred to by the term *caṇḍāla/āṭ*, it may be that this term came to be used generically for a Tantric consort, and thereby shows up in the *Kālacakra* (see verse 5.75 commentary in translation Appendix) and other Tantras as a representative name for the deific Tantric consort.

It is evident from the eighth century Kaśmīri Buddhist monastic poet Sarvajñamitra, who composed the *Sragdharāstotram* and the *Āryatārāsādhanam*, that the worship of Tārā was already well-developed in the eighth century. The dating of this author seems fairly solid, given that the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* says a Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra lived in the Kayyavihāra built by Kayya, King of Lāṭa, a subordinate of King Mukutāpīḍa-Lalitāditya of Kaśmīr, who reigned in the early 8th century.<sup>110</sup> In the Introduction to his edition of the *Sragdharāstotram*, Vidyabhusana lists over 90 works on Tārā; some of these are in Tibetan, and of those at least 46 were translated from Sanskrit originals, including several by the famed Kaśmīri paṇḍits Śākyaśrībhadra, Saṃgamaśrībhadra, and Ravigupta.<sup>111</sup> Among the laudatory verses in the *Sragdharāstotram* we have one that mentions the Tantras: "Terrible with the excessive splendour of thy resplendent weapons which are of power to quell the pride of the manifold false decorations effected by a series of works brought into existence through power of magic, the demons wearing garlands made of a mass of entrails from dug-up corpses, confer on him whose sins have been removed by the recollection of charms derived from thy Tantras, a protection which no foe can take away."<sup>112</sup> Jina Rakṣita in the commentary refers to the protective power of the

*mantras* extracted from the *Tārāṇavādīni tantrāṇi*, i.e. the Tantras *Tārāṇava* ("The Ocean of *Tārā*) etc., suggesting that several Tantras dedicated to *Tārā* were extant at the time Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra wrote his hymn.<sup>113</sup> This would seem to be supported by the fact that the Tibetan canon also credits Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra with the *Ārya-Tārā-sādhanam* mentioned above. The lower-caste social origins of some of her devotees is evident from other verses referring to low-caste men employed to kill lice and other insects found in the beds placed outside of other men's houses, of paupers worn out by working as servants, farmers, artisans, traders, and flatterers, the unemployed disowned by their own kinsmen, and even of criminal gangs and murderers haunting the forests.<sup>114</sup> A remark by I-Tsing suggests the possibility that *Tārā* may have become popular through a convergence with a popular Buddhist monastic deity. I-Tsing remarked that "The image of *Hārītī* is found either in the porch or in a corner of the dining-hall of all Indian monasteries depicting her as holding a babe in her arms, and round her knees three or five children. Every day an abundant offering of food is made before this image."<sup>115</sup> This certainly sounds like a very popular goddess, certainly associated with fecundity, food, and representing the 'mothering' and feminine caring that would otherwise have been absent in an all-male, ascetic group of monks. In chapter II of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* *Hārītī* is referred to as *Mahāyākṣiṇī*, and she is to be drawn into the *maṇḍala* described in that chapter.<sup>116</sup> Yet *Hārītī* seems to fade in significance in the Buddhist Tantric pantheon over time, and the diminution of a goddess so popular in the seventh century that I-Tsing found her image *in every monastery* suggests to me the possibility that *Tārā* may

have some relationship to Harīti--admittedly a speculative theory at this point. Hsuan Tsang speaks of "an image of Tāra (*To-lo*) Bodhisattva on the left of a thirty-foot high image of the Buddha at the Tiladaka *sañhārāma*, with an image of Avalokiteśvara on the right."<sup>117</sup> A Bodhisattva is presumably a male figure, though Beal explains the use of the term here as referring to the female *Tārā*,<sup>118</sup> a not entirely logical explanation. "*Tāra*" of course refers to a "savior" figure, and the *Tāra Bodhisattva* was apparently very popular in the early 7th century. Hsuan Tsang described another image of the deity as very high, with a striking "spiritual appearance." "Every fast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighboring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days."<sup>119</sup> So it may be that originally this was a Bodhisattva character who became merged with a popular female deity to eventually become the powerful female deity Tārā. Whether this theory is correct or incorrect, nonetheless one cannot ignore the fact that Tārā was associated early on with lower caste devotees, and that *Caṇḍālī*, a popular Tantric goddess, has a name derived directly from the name of a widely known lower caste group of butchers. We even find that the 9th century writer Ratnākara, in his *Harivijaya*, presents Tārā as *Caṇḍālī*.<sup>120</sup> When we take this evidence together with the material we have from Bāṇa indicating a widespread yogic culture of men and women, the names for whom, *siddhas* and *mātrkās*, survive and play important roles in Tantric literature, and Dharmakīrti's apparent disapproval of

Tantric practices, the impression grows even stronger of a wide-spread popular Tantric culture long pre-existing incorporation into orthodox textual traditions of the Hindu and Buddhist Sanskrit paṇḍits.

### 3.2.4. Lorenzen's Work on the Early Śaivite Tantric Tradition

One of the more impressive and original works of research is the study by David Lorenzen, The Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas, Two Lost Śaivite Sects.<sup>121</sup> It becomes pretty clear from the evidence amassed by Lorenzen that the Kāpālikas were the earliest Śaivite *Tāntrikās*, with many of their practices and doctrines becoming absorbed into the later Tantric traditions, both Hindu and Buddhist. (The Kālāmukhas are a later sect dating largely from the 11th-13th centuries in the Kaṇṇāṭaka region; their name apparently derives from the practice of marking their faces with a black streak).<sup>122</sup> His work sheds considerable light on the early history of Śaivite Tantra. Lorenzen writes: "The Sanskrit words most often used for the Kāpālika, Kālāmukha and Pāśupata 'sects'...are *darśana*, *samaya* and *mata*. The basic meaning of these words is 'doctrine.'"<sup>123</sup> He refers to the Kāpālikas as "a Tantric Śaivite sect."<sup>124</sup> Lorenzen cites a few examples from the Sanskrit texts of the early centuries of the Christian era, with the suggestion from the *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* and the Prakrit *Gāthāsaptasatī* that the *Kāpālika*-style vows of smearing the body with cremation-ground ashes, carrying a staff, begging with a skull-bowl etc., may have originated as a vow of penance for killing a brahmin.<sup>125</sup> Among the more notable of Lorenzen's findings is the tracing of the origins of the skull-carrying, skull begging bowl, and (later famed Tantric symbol) of a skull on a stick (*khaṭvāṅga*, literally 'limb of a

bedstead') of the Kāpālika sect of Śaivite ascetics to the *mahāvratā* penitentiary rites prescribed in the Hindu lawbooks for those who have killed learned brahmins.<sup>126</sup>

Noting the predilection in the Tantric tradition for the embracing of opposites, and the *Purāṇa* tale of the Śiva's beheading of Brahmā's fifth head (and subsequent wandering as a beggar), Lorenzen suggests the Kāpālikas "adopted this vow precisely because it was the penance for the most heinous of all crimes, the killing of a Brāhmaṇa. They were at the same time the holiest of all ascetics and the lowest of all criminals....

Furthermore, if the Kāpālikas were in reality already guiltless, the performance of this penance would result in an unprecedented accumulation of religious merit and hence of magical power (*siddhi*)."<sup>127</sup> Though it is not clear whether the *Purāṇa* account originally precedes or follows the lawbooks, or was even invented by the Kāpālikas, Lorenzen makes the perspicacious observation that "the ultimate aim of the Kāpālika observance was a mystical identification or communion with Śiva. Through their imitative repetition of Śiva's performance of the Mahāvratā, the ascetics became ritually 'homologized' with the god and partook of, or were granted, some of his divine attributes... On the mundane plain the devotee gained suprahuman magical powers (*siddhis*) while on the eschatological plain he attained final liberation from transmigratory existence (*mukti*) and dwelt in a heaven of perpetual sexual bliss."<sup>128</sup>

While not precisely the same as the *anuttarayoga* Buddhist Tantric doctrines, or Abhinavagupta's elevated formulations, the Kāpālikas certainly shared much of the same basic ideas as the other, more developed Tantric sects. These facts tend to strengthen the argument advanced above of the popular Yogic contribution to the

development of the Tantric traditions.

From the c. 725 CE *Mālatīmādhava* we have a description of one of the main characters Mādhava at one point wandering the cremation ground with a "glistening chunk of human flesh dripping with clotted blood" that he offers for sale to local residents.<sup>129</sup> Though as Lorenzen points out this scene is intended to evoke horror (*bībhatsa*), one of the classical *rasas* or moods of Sanskrit drama,<sup>130</sup> nonetheless it would appear from this and other such descriptions that human sacrifice, and the offering of human flesh to fearsome gods and goddesses were indeed at one point part of these cults. As Lorenzen remarks: "it is difficult to doubt that the Kāpālikas practiced human sacrifice. The purpose of the rite was to appease and gratify a wrathful and blood-thirsty deity."<sup>131</sup> I would presume that most people would have had serious objections to themselves becoming sacrificial victims. Since we find cremation ground rites as a regular feature of such cults apparently for thousands of years in India, it appears quite possible that these bizarre offerings of human flesh and blood may have been supplied from the corpses in the cremation grounds prior to burning. The symbolic interpretations we get of these in Buddhist Tantric commentarial literature was no doubt an attempt to incorporate the more popular elements of cult religions while giving them a more elevated interpretation and prohibiting the more egregiously violent or revolting aspects of the practices--much as in the Christian tradition sites and calendar dates of earlier pagan rites were adopted and modified by the Catholic church.

Surveying mentions of the Kāpālikas as characters in Sanskrit dramas, and



identifying the kingdoms where the authors and their patrons lived, Lorenzen concludes that the Kāpālikas were spread through the Deccan by the eighth century.<sup>132</sup> He concludes that while it is impossible to establish a certain date for the emergence of the Kāpālikas, it is unlikely that they emerged prior to the fifth-sixth centuries, i.e. a century or two prior to their mention in Mahendra's (c. 600-630 CE) *Mattavilāsa*.<sup>133</sup> Lorenzen offers as possibly the earliest reference to the *Kāpālika* sect from the Prakrit *Gāthā-saptaśatī* (ascribed to King *Hālā* though more likely from sometime in the 3rd-5th centuries), speaking of a *nava-kāpālikā* smearing herself with ashes from her lover's funeral pyre.<sup>134</sup> Lorenzen also cites mentions in the *Lalitavistara* and several places in *Varāhimihira's Brhatsaṃhitā*, making it clear that "by the sixth to seventh centuries references to Kāpālika ascetics become fairly commonplace."<sup>135</sup> In my opinion, Lorenzen's dating may be a bit conservative. Though he may be correct about the *Kāpālikas* as a distinctly named sect, Patañjali's remark about the *Śivabhāgavatas* mentioned above suggests that versions of the Śaivite ascetics were around for many centuries before the fifth century. (The Kāpālika, Krama and Kula later merge into Śrīkula and Kālīkula of later Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantra.<sup>136</sup> See Chapter 5.1.1 for a discussion of the *Pāśupata* tradition in relation to the Kaśmīri Śaivite Trika Tantric school). There are also in addition to Lorenzen's references many other indications in Sanskrit literature that the predecessors to the *Kāpālikas* date to many centuries earlier than the fifth century CE. Gary Tubb has told me of references to this group in Kālidāsa's writings and in Aśvaghōṣa's work. We also must consider evidence from the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda* 16.4.28-29. As part of a

long list of praises to the various members of society, the deities, etc., from the so-called *Śatarudriya* formulas, we have: "Reverence be to Bhava and Rudra! reverence be to Śarva and Paśupati! Reverence be to Nīlagrīva (the blue-necked) and to Śitikaṇṭha (the white-throated)! (29:) Reverence be to him of the coiled hair and to the shaven-haired one! Reverence be to the thousand-eyed and the hundred-bowed one! Reverence be to the mountain-dweller and to the bald one!"<sup>137</sup> Paśupati of course is the name of Śiva used by the *Pāśupata* yoga tradition. Śiva in later mythology is called blue-throated/necked because of drinking the *kālakūṣa* poison at the churning of the cosmic ocean. The coiled hair is a common characteristic of many *yogins*. (Among other things the *Yajurveda* passage also points to an identity between Rudra and Śiva, and hence an Indra-Rudra-Śiva equation that has not been noticed by most Indologists.)

### **Section 3.3. Eighth and Ninth Century Evidence of Widespread Tantric Practices**

**(3.3.1. Some Textual Evidence, 3.3.2. The Orissan Temples, 3.3.3. The Yoginī Cult).**

#### **3.3.1. Some Textual Evidence**

We have many fairly solid pieces of evidence that Tantric practices were already fairly widespread in the 8th century. According to Bagchi, the oldest manuscript preserved in the Nepal Durbar Library, the *Niśvāsattava-Saṃhitā*, a Śaivite Tantric text, dates from the 8th century--identifiable by the transitional Gupta characters of its script.<sup>138</sup> The Tibetan historians Bu-ston and Tārānātha state that Sarvajñamitra of Kaśmīr studied Tantra at Nālandā in the 8th century, and that

Kamalaśīlā taught the subject at that time.<sup>139</sup> Jayaswal, in his study of the 53rd (*Rājavyākaraṇa-parivarta*) chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* gives (at least this portion of) the text the eminently reasonable date of c. 770 CE, since the Imperial History section that constitutes this chapter ends in 750 CE—though other portions of the text may be earlier. We find at the end of this 53rd chapter, in a section on the various monks and brahmins connected with the contemporary state (i.e. c. 770 CE), a reference to "Southern" Buddhist monks who will gain fame in the world by the practice of *mantras* and *Tantras*.<sup>140</sup> The text also describes religious Brahmins who rely on royal support for the practice of *mantras* and *Tantras*,<sup>141</sup> including one who practices the sixteen-syllable mantra (*ṣaḍakṣaram mantra-jāpī*), and several others identified by name, including several Śūdras and Śākas also supported by the state on account of the knowledge of mantras.<sup>142</sup> Since we do not find the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* translated into Chinese until the 10th century by T'ien-si-tsai, Jayaswal's dating of the text seems reasonable.

### 3.3.2. The Orissan Temples

In an article on erotic imagery on Orissan temples from the mid-8th century AD., with their frank images of *kapālika*-s with their *khaṭvāṅga*-s engaged in sexual activity and drinking, Donaldson points out "despite the avowed secrecy of their rituals, they appear on the temple in complete view."<sup>143</sup> Although pre-8th century erotic imagery is not particularly sectarian, by the mid-8th century at the Mārkaṇḍeyeśvara temple specifically Śaivite, apparently ritual erotic activity is depicted in the *baraṇḍa* recesses.<sup>144</sup> As to the extent of these practices in North India,

Donaldson notes, "At the beginning of the 10th century the sexual activities [depicted on Orissan temples] become more explicit and are frequently arranged in a sequential manner to imply, despite the avowed secrecy expressed in Tantric texts, specific stages undertaken in prescribed rites leading to Supreme Bliss. They appear on Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta temples alike and in widespread areas of Orissa to testify to the great popularity of the rituals and to their indigenous origin." The location of the images moves from earlier semi-secrecy on the *baraṇḍa* recess to progressively more public displays on the niche jambs, *pīṭhas*, pillaster capitals, and even as major wall motifs.<sup>145</sup> In support of at least 8th century prevalence of Tantric practices, Farquar refers to a number of scenes in the *Mālatīmādhava*, an 8th century drama by Bhavabhūti. One of the chief characters is Aghoraghaṇṭa, a Kāpālika ascetic serving Cāmuṇḍā's shrine (a goddess who appears in Buddhist Tantras)--through his character we learn details of the 8th century Śaivite Tantric practices of his sect.<sup>146</sup>

### 3.3.3. The Yoginī Cult

Vidya Dehejia has done a valuable study of the cult of the 64 *Yoginīs* in north India, comparing surviving circular temples from Tantric rites with information from unpublished Śaivite Tantric manuscripts (particularly the *Mattotaratantra*). She concludes that "extant remains suggest that the cult of the Yoginīs was of impelling and vital significance from the 9th to the 12th centuries, while late inscriptions added to certain Yoginī temples indicate that the shrines were in worship even in the early 16th century."<sup>147</sup> The cult apparently died out for unknown reasons thereafter, though it appears to have played an important role in the development of Tantric practices.

Having visited many of the temples, Dehejia describes them as typically "a simple circular enclosure with no roof and no hidden sanctum sanctorum, standing open to the sky and permitting the sunlight to pour into its exposed arena." This was a very uncommon design among Indian temples,<sup>148</sup> particularly as we find the circular structures have a plain outer appearance, with simply flat outer stone walls, shorn of any ornamentation. In addition, these circular structures are largely located in remote regions on the outskirts of towns, sometimes difficult to reach.<sup>149</sup> Together this suggests that whatever rites were conducted at these temples were not designed to be attended by the general public. In her anthropological researches on this cult, Dehejia encountered a prevalent superstition about the Yoginīs: "this deep-seated fear makes the average villager and even town-dweller steer clear of the Yoginī temple. He would rather not talk to you about Yoginī, much less lead you to one of their shrines."<sup>150</sup> Inside are "niches in its circular walls" with "a series of female images, generally sixty-four in number, with beautiful bodies but often with non-human heads." The sculpted *yoginīs* in niches on the inside of the circular wall sometimes also number 81 or 42, and each temple has an open shrine to Bhairava in the center of the circle.<sup>151</sup> Most of the temples Dehejia found have the 64 divisions known as *aras* (rays) or *dalas* (petals).<sup>152</sup> In Varāhamihira's *Brhat-saṃhitā* we find the remark that "the temple should always be made with sixty-four parts,"<sup>153</sup> suggesting that the 64 typology was a mainstream Hindu architectural motif. Given the wide variety of *yoginīs* in the different temples, with many different groupings of animal headed nubile human female bodies, beautiful women, and grotesque or scary figures

as *yoginīs*, Dehejia remarks that "the entire process of identifying the Yoginīs in the different temples and assigning names to them seems a somewhat meaningless enterprise."<sup>154</sup> Aside from a few common figures the sculpture sets represent local traditions. Dehejia suggests that the sixty-four *yoginīs* derive originally from *Yakṣiṇīs*, the tree spirits depicted in the Barhut sculptures entwined in tree trunks and branches, citing several passages from Tantric manuscripts where the terms are used interchangeably.<sup>155</sup> Studying the lists of *Yoginīs* and *Mātṛkāś* in the various *Purāṇas*, Dehejia discovered a dual classification--one with *Yoginīs* and *Mātṛkāś*, and another with *Yoginīs* alone: "the tradition that includes the *Mātṛkāś* regards the Yoginīs as highly placed deities and often as aspects of the divine, while the tradition excluding the *Mātṛkāś* generally considers the Yoginīs as cruel, fierce and wrathful and more in the nature of minor attendant deities."<sup>156</sup> Although Dehejia herself did not consider that these temples were the sites for *cakra-pūja* rites described in the *Tantras*, she does not really offer a solid argument for why she holds this position.<sup>157</sup> Given the local content of the deity images, the layout and amount of space within the temples (other than the small central shrine and the wall-niche figures, the circular temples have simply a flat floor), the lack of any exterior ornamentation, their remote locations, and their unsavory reputation among some of the local townspeople, I think it quite likely that these circular temples Dehejia has studied were used for the *cakra-pūja* rites described by Abhinavagupta (see Chapter 7 of this dissertation). In any event, the information she has developed strongly supports the impression that Tantric ideas and practices emerged out of the popular culture--and out of the popular Yogic

culture--and were only gradually accepted and incorporated into the more conservative Sanskrit lineages.

**Section 3.4. The Chinese Pilgrims (3.4.1. Wang Hiuen Ts'e, 3.4.2. Hsuan Tsang, 3.4.3. I-tsing)**

We need to be a bit cautious in assuming that the records of Fa-hien, Hiuen Tsiang, and I-tsing can offer reliable information on the presence or absence of Tantric practices in India. Many scholars in favor of the "secrecy" arguments have dismissed the lack of mention of Tantras by the Chinese pilgrims by saying that the Tantric practices and texts were simply not revealed to them. Dutt and Sharma exemplify the basic argument behind this position by their remarks that "Both Fa-hien and I-tsing came to India with the sole purpose of finding out correct texts of the Vinaya rules in India and to take (*sic*) them back to their homeland."<sup>158</sup> Fa-hien's focus was supposedly solely the *Vinaya* of the *Mahāsāṅghikas*, while I-tsing, three centuries later, was intent on the *Mūlasarvaśtivāda Vinaya*. I-tsing, we are told, "confined his attention to the disciplinary life of the monks."<sup>159</sup> On the other hand, the pilgrims give fairly complete accounts of social and religious practices, and in I-tsing's case, a full account of the curricula at the monastic universities, so I do not subscribe to the theory that the Tantric texts were kept secret from the Chinese pilgrims. I also think that the argument that Fa-hien, Hsuan Tsang, and I-Tsing were oblivious to ongoing secret Tantric practices at the Buddhist monasteries presumes a narrow-mindedness that is not reflected in their writings. The evidence from all the Chinese pilgrims supports, I think, a different interpretation. Chia-Luen Lo reports

that in addition to the three well-known surviving records of Chinese pilgrims, there were at least three other accounts by fifth century travelers that have been lost, a partial account from the 8th century pilgrim Hwei Chao that has been recovered from the Thousand Buddha Caves of Tung Huang, Kansu province, and other accounts surviving in quotations and extracts in later works by Chinese Buddhists and Chinese historians.<sup>160</sup> So we do not need to rely only solely on the material from the three well-known pilgrims.

### 3.4.1. The Inscriptions of Wang Hiuen-Ts'e

Levi has provided a translation of the account by the Chinese pilgrim Wang Hiuen-Ts'e of Ceylon's history, surviving in Tao-cheu's 'Encyclopedia of Buddhism' (*Fa-iouen-tchou-lin*) from 668 CE.<sup>161</sup> An inscription erected on *Gr̥dhakūta* by Wang Hiuen-ts'e in 645 CE speaks of the limitations of Taoism and Confucianism as purely Chinese doctrines, unlike Buddhism that was propagated without limits, with typically *Mahāyana*-derived imagery: "The divine force is dominating, the timely transformation is without bounds; sometimes they spring forth from the ground, sometimes they fall from the heights of heaven; during ten million days and months, in the three billion worlds, the cloud of the law protects everything, the good doctrine spreads everywhere."<sup>162</sup> There is a bit more to the inscription (5 verses total), yet it contains no hint of anything Tantric, nor of any Hīnayāna influence. Rather Wang Hiuen ts'e exults in the boundless power and glory of the Mahāyāna doctrine. Another inscription made by him at the foot of the *Bodhi* tree on the 14th of March, 645, reads in part: "On the *Vajrāsana* thousands of Buddhas sit spread out



concentrically, their venerable visages possessing the primary and secondary marks according to the model given to them by Maitreya; the supernatural wall<sup>163</sup> is wonderful and beautiful, the tree of intelligence is exuberant; crossing the ages without losing strength, what could equal this divine force?"<sup>164</sup> This is what we might call "high Mahāyāna," with Wang Hsien-Ts'e considering Mahāyāna as the unequalled universal doctrine of Buddhism, spreading over the earth. This seventh century pilgrim certainly gives the impression that his tradition did not consider what comes to be known as Vajrayāna either to exist, or to be a factor in the promulgation of Buddhism.

### 3.4.2. Hsuan Tsang's Account of Indian Buddhism

The famed pilgrim Hsuan Tsang, who visited India between 629 and 645 CE, studied for four years in Kaśmīr before visiting other monastic universities in India. He gives a fairly detailed description of the social and educational situation in Kaśmīr:

The people wear leather doublets and clothes of white linen. They are light and frivolous, and of a weak, pusillanimous disposition. As the country is protected by a dragon [!], it has always assumed superiority among neighbouring people. The people are handsome in appearance, but they are given to cunning. They love learning and are well instructed. There are both heretics and believers among them. There are about 100 *saṅghārāmas* and 5000 priests. There are four *stūpas* built by Aśoka-rāja. Each of these has about a pint-measure of relics of Tathāgata.<sup>165</sup>

In brief descriptions of some of these *saṅghārāma*, Hsuan Tsang mentions that one belonged to a group of about 100 *Mahāsaṅghikas*, another to the author of the *Vibhāṣā Śāstra*, another to the lineage of the author of the *Vibhāṣā-prakaraṇa-pāda Śāstra*, one to about 30 *Mahāyāna* monks of the lineage of Saṅghabhadra, author of

the *Nyāyānusāra Śāstra*, another with about 300 monks and an inch and a half long tooth of the Buddha in a *stūpa*. Nowhere in his description of the Buddhists of Kaśmīr in the seventh century does Hsuan Tsang even hint at the existence of *Tāntrikas* of either Buddhist or non-Buddhist persuasion.<sup>166</sup> Hsuan Tsang also praised his teacher in Kaśmīr, *Dharmasvāmin*, as being "gifted with profound intelligence, and his vast instruction embraced all branches of science."<sup>167</sup> While we can make some allowances for the laudatory tone, nonetheless "all branches of sciences" apparently did not include Tantras. He also makes no mention of the study of Tantras at Nālandā, though he details many other subjects in the curriculum, where he studied the *Yogaśāstra*, *Nyāya-Anuśāsana-śāstra*, the *Śabdavidyā*, and a variety of *Mahāyāna* texts. We find that he discussed the *Yogaśāstras* with the *bhikṣus* of Kāñcīpura,<sup>168</sup> though again no mention is made of Tantric texts in these discussions.

My preferred explanation for Hsuan Tsang's silence about the Tantras is that while Tantric texts were circulating during his time, they had not yet become an accepted part of the conservative Buddhist monastic curriculum. It seems less likely that the texts now classified as the *Anuttarayogatantras* were "secret," and hence not available to the Chinese pilgrims. Rather, it appears, those who received a formal education in the Buddhist monastic universities of the 7th and early 8th centuries were not taught the Tantras, since Tantric doctrines had not been "accepted" by the conservative educational community (much as Tantric Studies took many decades before becoming accepted by Western academic communities). We know from Dharmakīrti that in the sixth-seventh centuries Tantric texts already existed, and were

circulating, and shared much in common with the Hindu Tantras.

### 3.4.3. I-Tsing's Report on the Buddhist Curriculum in the 7th Century

I-Tsing reports on the monastic colleges at Nālandā and Valabhī as being the two preeminent institutions of the day, with Nālandā as a Mahāyāna institution, and the Duḍḍā monasteries of Valabhī Hinayāna--the latter later destroyed by Tajik invaders in the late 800's.<sup>169</sup> I-tsing's account of life at Nālandā contains many specifics about the course of study and practice there in the late 7th century.

Combing through his account, we find a full description of the curriculum of study at Nālandā at the time he visited there, and no mention whatsoever of any Tantric texts or practices either within or outside of the monastery. His account is detailed and thorough, so to claim that Tantra was being taught there at the time in secret, and therefore he was unaware of it, presumes a level of ignorance on I-tsing's part that is not reflected in the pilgrim's writings. It is worth noting in detail just what the monks were studying, to see how thorough I-tsing's knowledge was. Describing the strict monastic code at the Tāmralīpti *viḥāra*, he comments that "the rites of the monastery Nālanda are still more strict."<sup>170</sup> He mentions some 3000 monks in residence, each of whom is required to learn Māṭṛceta's two hymns "as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts (*Śīla*)."<sup>171</sup> The Avalokiteśvara chapter (Chpt. 24) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* was recited by the monks, and the *Jātakamālā* was studied.<sup>172</sup> Aśvagoṣa's *Buddhacaritakāvya* was part of the curriculum, "widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, and the countries of the Southern Sea."<sup>173</sup> Monks undertook a full study of Sanskrit grammar, *Śabdavidyā*, with a

beginning text called *Siddir-astu*, Pāṇini's *Sūtra*, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the three *Khilas*--the *Aṣṭhadhātu*, the *Maṇḍa*, and the *Uṇādi-sūtras*, the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (ascribed to Jayāditya, said to have died about 30 years before I-tsing arrived), a commentary on the *Vṛtti* by Bhartṛhari called the *Cūrṇī*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, and a work called *Veḍa* or *Beḍa*, also by Bhartṛhari, with a commentary by Dharmapāla. Monks also studied logic (*Hetuvidyā*) and metaphysics (*Abhidharma*), including the *Nyāya-dvāra-tāraka-śāstra*, and learned all the *Vinaya* works, plus the *sūtras*, and the *Śāstras* by Nāgārjuna, Deva, Aśvaghōṣa, Vasubandhu, Aśaṅga, Saṅgabhadra, Bhavaviveka, Jina, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śīlabhadra, Siṃhacandra, Sthiramati, Guṇamati, Prajñāgupta, Guṇaprabha, and Jinaprabha.<sup>174</sup> A simple logical point worth noting here is this: since the monks studied Dharmakīrti, who I-tsing says "made a further improvement in Logic (after Jina),"<sup>175</sup> they must have read the passage I have cited above where Dharmakīrti refers with some disapproval to the popular Buddhist and Hindu Tantric texts and practices. Unless these particular passages were omitted from the curriculum--and the monastic teachers would then have had to explain the missing portions of the argument--even the most cloistered monk learning his Dharmakīrti would have known about Tantric practices going on outside the monastery. Hence the caveat that Tantric teachings were kept in "strict secrecy" and so were unknown to the monks of I-tsing's day becomes considerably less plausible.

I-tsing gives us in addition a list of the *Abhidharma* texts studied in his day at Nālandā. Foremost of the *Abhidharma* material were the texts referred to then as

"Asaṅga's Eight Śāstras" of the *Yogācāraśāstra*. These included Vasubandhu's *Vidyāmātra-viṃśati-śāstra*, *Vidyāmātrasiddhi-tridaśa-śāstra-kārikā*, *Madhāntavibhāga-śāstra*, and the *Karmasiddha-śāstra*--all included with Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-samparigraha-śāstra-mūla*, *Abhidharma-saṃgīti-śāstra*, and *Sūtrālaṅkāra-ṭkā*. So, in contravention to Bhattacharyya's claims, here we find that in the late seventh century Asaṅga is not credited with either the *Guhyasamājatantra* or a related *sādhana*. To close out the curriculum, the monks also learned "Jina's Eight Śāstras," i.e. the "Śāstra on the meditation in the Three Worlds," Jina's *Savara-lakṣaṇa-dhyāna-śāstra*, Jina's *Ālambana-pratyaya-dhyāna-śāstra*, "the Śāstra on the Gate of the Cause (Hetudvāra)," "the Śāstra on the gate of the resembling cause," Nāgārjuna's *Nyāyadvāra-tāraka-śāstra*, Jina's *Prajñapti-hetu-saṃgraha-śāstra*, and "the Śāstra on the grouped inferences."<sup>176</sup> The monk also had to study the six *Pādas* of the Sarvāstivāda school, and the 4 *Āgamas* (*Dīrgha-*, *Madhyama-*, *Samyukta-*, and *Ekottara-*), and the five *Nikāyas*. With this thorough an accounting of the curriculum at Nālanda, I think it strains reasonable credibility considerably to argue that there was an large extant corpus of Tantric texts by Asaṅga and others in the late 7th century that I-tsing, despite his thorough engagement in the educational functions of the university, was somehow kept complete ignorant of. The systematic character of the material in the major commentaries on the *Anuttarayogatantras* strongly suggests that these commentarial texts were written by very accomplished Sanskrit paṇḍits who had mastered a wide variety of material that had been taught in monastic universities for many centuries (see particularly the summary of topics in the *Vimalaprabhā* on the

*Kālacakra*, in Chapter 10 of this dissertation), indicating that such commentaries were in all probability written after the Tantras had been accepted into the curricula.

I-tsing described also his own two teachers for his monastic training in China, prior to coming to India. His *Upadhyāya* Shan-yü he described as follows: "Besides his deep insight into the Tripiṭaka, he was well read in very many authors. he was equally learned in both Confucianism and Buddhism, and skilled in all the six arts of the Confucian school. He was well versed in the Sciences of Astronomy, Geography, and Mathematics, the Arts of Divination, and the Knowledge of the Calendar; thus he could explore the secret of anything, had he cared to do so."<sup>177</sup> I-tsing's meditation teacher, Jui-hsi, performed devotional exercises every four hours, teaching in between times the *Bhikṣus*, *Bhikṣuṇīs*, *Upāsakas*, and *Upāsikās*. His favorite book was the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*--a text he read once a day, every day, for over sixty years.<sup>178</sup> When we look through the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, we find astronomy, geography, mathematics, divination, and calendrical science present in the text, along with references to a variety of philosophical traditions, the Vedas, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and so on. The difference in the Tantra though is that with all of these subjects that had apparently long been part of the monastic curriculum are added detailed deity yoga practices, and explicit sexual yogas, magical practices, etc., of the type referred to by Dharmakīrti as being disreputable in his time. Comparing the contents of the Tantras (see Chapter 4 of this dissertation) with the monastic curriculum outlined by I-tsing in the 7th century, and with Dharmakīrti's remarks, leads to the very strong impression that the Tantric tradition developed as

what we might call a "popular religion" and then, sometime during the latter half of the seventh century and into the eighth century was adopted by the monastic universities and integrated into the curricula. As with many other social and political movements in history, one would presume from this shift that the Tantric practices and ideas simply became so popular over time that eventually the educational establishments could no longer afford to ignore them, and began to consciously integrate these ideas into the pre-existing courses of study.

**Section 3.5. The Central Asian Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts (3.5.1. Gilgit, 3.5.2. Turfan, 3.5.3. Tun-huang)**

The argument that Tantric texts and practices were not integrated into the Buddhist monastic curricula prior to the eighth century is supported by the evidence from three sequentially dateable groups of Sanskrit Buddhist texts that were unearthed in Central Asia--the texts from Gilgit, Turfan, and Tun-huang. With a careful examination of this material we find that the Tantric texts and practices had apparently not been incorporated into the Central Asian Buddhist Canons until after the eighth century. There are however intriguing pieces of evidence left among the scattered fragments of manuscripts unearthed that suggest that popular Tantric practices may have been present, and that various aspects of these Tantric practices were beginning to infiltrate the Mahāyāna meditation systems.

### 3.5.1. The Gilgit Manuscripts

Sir Aurel Stein revealed in July 1931 (in the *Statesman* newspaper) the discovery of a trove of fifth-sixth century Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from a *stūpa* in Gilgit--found accidentally after some herders moved a timber protruding from a stone-covered mound, while collecting soil for manuring.<sup>179</sup> Stein, an incredibly adventurous (and lucky) explorer,<sup>180</sup> reported that "in the course of the excavation a great mass of ancient manuscripts came to light closely packed in what appears to have been a wooden box. The palaeographic indications of some of the mss. suggest that they may date back to the sixth century A.D."<sup>181</sup> The script is an 'Upright Gupta' similar to the Bower ms. script,<sup>182</sup> and the texts are written on birch-bark, suggesting that the writing material came from the Kaśmīr region, (see discussion of the Bower manuscript above). This Upright Gupta script is a very similar script to that used in the manuscripts copied around the same time for Hsuan Tsang, and these Gupta scripts are preserved in Chinese texts in order to transcribe Sanskrit *mantras*.<sup>183</sup> Vira and Candra, who published a complete facsimile set of the texts, confirmed that "paleographically these manuscripts can be dated back to the fifth century,<sup>184</sup> adding that "Gilgit manuscripts represent the original Sanskrit Canon of Buddhism."<sup>185</sup>

Volume 71 of the *Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies* (KSS), in 5 parts, presents *Devanāgarī* versions of several of the texts of the Gilgit Manuscripts. Nalinaksha Dutt, the editor, reports that the language of the manuscripts is "similar to that of the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, or *Survaṃṣaprabhāsa*,"



and that it is really a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit, with the words of one being used with the inflections of the other. "It seems that the authors were well up in the Prakrit language and grammar and developed a linguistic medium containing a mixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit" with a certain uniformity of irregular grammar.<sup>186</sup> As the names of donors and their relatives and friends are found in the colophons of the manuscripts, Dutt speculates that they were copied and deposited in the *stūpa* for merit purposes--manuscript deposits have also been found in Central Asian and Eastern Turkestan *stūpas*.<sup>187</sup>

The first text in the KSS editions, the *Bhaiṣajya-guru-sūtra* includes among the Bhaiṣajyaguru's twelve vows "may all beings take to Mahāyāna, leaving aside false doctrines and Hinayāna,"<sup>188</sup> with no reference to *Vajrayāna*. The *Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-vyūhaṃ* contains *Dhāraṇīs* that remain untranslated in the Tibetan and Chinese versions (the latter c. 701 CE), suggesting, as Dutt points out, a widespread belief in "the efficacy of the mantras by their proper intonation."<sup>189</sup> Volume II contains the seventeen chapters of the *Samādhirājasūtra*, a text that was translated into Chinese by Narendrayaśa in 557 CE, after a partial translation by Shih-sen-kuñ c. 420-479 CE; an earlier version appears to have existed already in the 2nd century CE.<sup>190</sup> Both Candrakīrti and Śāntideva quoted from the *sūtra*, suggesting that their version predated the 6th century CE.<sup>191</sup> The text contains the doctrines of the *Dharmakāya* and the *Rūpakāya* of the Buddha, though no others.<sup>192</sup> Volume III, parts 1, 2 & 3, contain editions of portions of the sixth century birchbark manuscript in Gupta characters of the *Mūlasārvāstivāda Vinaya-vastu*.<sup>193</sup> The full collection of

manuscripts, as published by Vira and Chandra in their series of fascimiles from the International Academy of Indian Culture, contains *Vinaya* texts and *Mahāyāna sūtras*, though no Tantric works (see this endnote for the full list of the texts).<sup>194</sup> Dutt has analyzed the 5th-6th century *Sarva-tathāgatā-jñāna-bodhisattva-bhūmika-kramaṇam* from the collection, a *dhāraṇī* text set in the context of the Buddha dwelling "on the Potalaka mountain in the abode of Ārya Avalokiteśvara."<sup>195</sup> The *dhāraṇīs* intended to "confer benefits, or protect those beings who will read, write, or propagate" the *Sūtra*.<sup>196</sup>

One would have to conclude from the full list of Gilgit texts, and those edited by Dutt, that Tantric practices were not part of canonical Buddhism in the 5th-6th centuries in the Gilgit region--or, as I have repeatedly mentioned, one can revert to the "secrecy" argument and argue that such practices were present, just that they were kept secret. There is a very curious folio from the text-find that suggests that there may have been at least popular Śaivite Tantric practices in the area. Vira and Chandra transliterated a single folio from Gilgit entitled *Tantrasadbhāvasāra*, a four stanza praise of Śiva. A translation of this is as follows:

Having bowed my head to Śiva the unmoving, the immeasurable, the lord of all living things, the imperishable, the incomprehensible, and to the lord Kāma, together with Gaṇeśa,<sup>197</sup> and his attendants; and (bowing) to the Śiva-path of those gurus that is pervaded once, twice, three, four times, and in addition nine times by the many various gods; (the path) that is said to have previously been reached by the Tilaka of the Ātreya clan; (the path that is) the reality of the Tantras for the gods, sages, men, asuras, and goddesses; therefore, I too will now speak, meeting together with the 'dogs' who have the clearest *akṣara-pankti* [meters],<sup>198</sup> in order to awaken [their] narrow minds.<sup>199</sup>

Since we have no other section of this text, and not much context to place it in,

speculation as to its significance is not too helpful. It does tend to support Dharmakīrti's references to Buddhist and 'non-Buddhist' (i.e. Hindu) Tantric practices in the 6th-7th centuries. Perhaps this one folio of a Śaivite text was accidentally included in the collection as it was being packed.

### 3.5.2. The Turfan Manuscripts

The second major find of ancient Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts is from the seventh century sites in the Turfan Depression. Turfan is a long way from Kaśmīr, in the northeast of Xinjiang Uygur, towards Mongolia. Between 1902 and 1914 four German expeditions brought some 801 fragmentary Sanskrit manuscripts back to the Berlin Museum for the Ethnology of Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang). The manuscripts and printed works unearthed at Turfan also included texts in Chinese, 'Tungusisch' (?), Mongolian, Old Turkish, Tibetan, Tocharian, 'Sakisch' (?), Sogdian, etc.<sup>200</sup> As Aurel Stein explained, the cemetery in Kao-chang, the present Turfan, was in the seventh century CE "an important administrative centre and garrison of the Chinese after their reconquest of Eastern Turkestan."<sup>201</sup> (Dietz informs us that certain Brāhmī scripts of Northern Turkestan were in use since the 7th century.)<sup>202</sup> Examining the catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts from the "Turfanfunde," it certainly would appear that Tantric texts and practices were not part of canonical Buddhism in that area of Central Asia at the time the Turfan manuscripts were deposited. We find a wide variety of material from Turfan, including hundreds of manuscript fragments on *vinaya*, *sūtra*, *abhidharma*, *yoga*, Mahāyāna *sūtras* (*Daśabhūmika*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Śatsāhasra-prajñāpāramitā*, etc.), *kāvya*, epics (Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*),

grammatical, astronomical, and medical literature. The texts are predominantly from the *Sarvāstivāda* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda* schools. The *range* of this textual material (i.e. the variety of subject matter) roughly matches the range of the texts included in the curriculum of studies at Nālandā in the 7th century as described by I-tsing, suggesting that the collection of material represents the canon studied by Buddhists in the 7th century Turfan region. There are a number of *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* manuscripts on protective charms of various sorts, with one on *vaśtkaraṇa*--a practice surviving in Śaivite Tantras, another on snake protection magic, etc., yet no manuscripts of a fully developed Tantric style.<sup>203</sup> The prevalence of the protective-magic texts also suggests comparison with the *Atharvaveda* material, where such charms were also described for various medical conditions, as in AV 9.8: "All malady that rings thy brow we charm away with this our spell."<sup>204</sup>

As with the I-tsing's description of the Nālandā curriculum, and with the material from Gilgit in the fifth-sixth centuries, we do not find in the seventh century Turfan manuscript fragments any overt mention of Tantric texts or practices. However some of the material does suggest the sort of gradual inclusion of developing 'Tantric-like' ideas and practices. Several of the textual fragments have been edited and published in transliteration, with German translations, including Buddhist *stotras*, the *Vinayabhaṅga*, *Karmavacanā*, portions of the *Daśottarasūtra*, a metrical text entitled *Chandoviciti*, the *Anavataptagāthā* and the *Sthaviragāthā*, twenty-five *sūtras* from the *Nidānasamyukta*, and the *Samgītisūtra* with the *Samgītiparyāya* commentary. A Buddhist Yoga textbook on birch-bark manuscript

from Kyzil in the Kuśā (Kutscha) district has survived, and been studied in some detail by Dieter Schlingloff.<sup>205</sup> It gives in chapter 11 meditations on the Buddha, the *dharma*, the community, morality, and the deities (*buddha-*, *dharma-*, *saṃgha-*, *śīla-*, *devatā-anusmṛti*), and in Chapter 2 instruction on the development of attentiveness to the breath (*āna-apāna-smṛti-bhāvanā*).<sup>206</sup> Relative to the developed system of meditation and advanced *prāṇayāma* techniques that we find in the Tantras, these are fairly basic and introductory Yoga practices. Otherwise the text contains little that is surprising, and certainly nothing particularly Tantric, with chapters on *Dhātuprayoga*, *skandhaparīkṣā*, *āyatanaparīkṣā*, *pratītyasamutpādaparīkṣā*, *apramāṇa-maitrī-vihāra*, *karuṇāprayoga*, *karuṇāsthiti*, *muditā*, and *upekṣā*.<sup>207</sup>

Taking a close look at the fragments of the text as organized into chapters with fragmentary lines by Schlingloff, though, we do find some intriguing precursors to later Tantric practices--fitting with the general impression one gets as one reads more and more texts that the more fully developed Tantric systems had a wide range of precursors from the earlier strata of the traditions, including the sort of Sun, Moon, and Fire typologies we examined in the Vedic tradition. In Chapter 2, the meditation on breath, we find for instance mention of a Moon-disk (*candra-maṇḍala*) in relation to the sensation of happiness (*sukha-pratisaṃvedanā*), and a keenness of the mind (*citta-ṣaṭtvam*) in relationship to the rays of the Sun (*āditya-raśmayah*).<sup>208</sup> We also read of an outshooting quiver of blue, yellow, red, and white light-rays in the heart (*hṛdaye nīla-pīta-lohita-avadātāṃ raśmi-kālāpa-nirgatāṃ*) when there is joy in the mind (*citta-abhipramodāyām*).<sup>209</sup> In Chapter 3 of the text (*Dhātuprayoga*), we come

across such remarkable passages as follows:

Immediately afterwards the Yogi blesses his form with an *abhiṣeka*. Then he focuses his mind between the eyebrows (i.e. on the *ājñācakra* or 'third eye'). A stream flows out from there, splitting the earth *maṇḍala*, illuminating the hells and the *pretas*, splitting the golden disk (the Sun), illuminating the water sphere, the wind sphere, and the *ākāśa* element; turning around, re-entering the navel, going back out through the head, illuminating [the heavens] continuously up to the Akaniṣṭha deities, and taking the essence (*rasa*) of the fourfold meditation along, it re-enters (the body) by way of the head.<sup>210</sup>

After more of this sort of meditation we read that "the yogī sees the entire world turn into the *ākāśa*" (*ākāśābhūtaṃ ca kṛtsnaṃ lokam paśyati*).<sup>211</sup> From filling [them/himself?] with blue, yellow, red, and white *rasa* mountains are seen above him, and the image of the mountain in the mirror ... fills his form with various colored *rasa*; he sees his form completely filled with spotless *rasa*, as though his form were produced by the light from jewels.<sup>212</sup> There is more such visualization meditation here described, with streams of flowers flowing out of his navel and filling the four seas, envisioning the entire world and the forms of the Buddhas as subtle, glimmering drops of dew (*sūkṣmān avāśyāya-bindun iva sṇandamānaṃ*),<sup>213</sup> and so forth. When one compares this seventh century Sarvāstivāda yoga text with the material from the Chinese translation of the *Anāśrovaḍharmaśtla* section of Śubhākarasiṃha's 8th century *Bodhisatṛvaśtla*, discussed below, it becomes apparent that during the seventh and eighth centuries many of the principles that underlie the fully developed practices in the *Anuttarayoga Tantras* were gradually developing and becoming more sophisticated, without yet being, containing the same information as, or being called Tantras--at that time. (Later, of course, many of these texts were reclassified as

*Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga Tantras* by the Buddhists.)

Curiously enough, we also find fragments of a *Mahāsamājasūtra* from the Turfan collection.<sup>214</sup> Unfortunately the fragments published by the Germans in their catalogue are too short to determine anything much about the contents of this text. However, we can say a few things. The frame of the text is the Buddha's teaching to the great assemblage (*mahā-samāja*) of the gods.<sup>215</sup> The text opens with the Buddha in the Kapilavastu forest, with attending gods, and Mārā asking forgiveness, frightening the students.<sup>216</sup> Another fragment of the text speaks of a Yakṣa Kumbhīra, and the four heavenly kings (*diśi carvāra ete mahārājāḥ*) Dhṛtirāṣṭra, Virūḍhaka, Virūpakṣa, and Kubera.<sup>217</sup> We also have surviving in an ancient Bengali script Sanskrit manuscript (not from Turfan) a *Vaipulya-sūtra* entitled *Tathāgata-guhyaka* (see Chapter 4 of this dissertation) that appears to precede the *Guhyasamāja*. Though speculative, it is not unreasonable to hazard at this point that there may be an evolutionary relationship between the *Mahā-samāja-sūtra*, the *Tathāgata-guhyaka*, and the *Guhya-samāja-tantra*, also known in the Chinese canon as the *Buddha-ḥhāṣita-guhyasamaya-mahātantra-rāja-sūtra*.<sup>218</sup> While the lack of Tantric texts in the Turfan collection strongly suggests that Tantric techniques, terminology, and symbolism had not spread as far north as Turfan in the 7th century CE, the Turfan documents are then helpful for clarifying certain pre- or non-tantric meditative practices that become integrated, and somewhat transformed in the Tantric texts, and help establish one benchmark for the historical evolution of Tantra.

### 3.5.3. The Tun-huang Manuscripts

The third major textual find in Central Asia is the famed find at Tun-huang.

Bagchi has explained the importance of this site for the history of Buddhism:

The two routes coming from the South and the North of the Tarim desert met on the Chinese frontier at a place called Yu-men-kuan or the 'Jade Gate.' Not far from it, at a place called Tun-huang, was once situated one of the biggest establishments of Buddhist learning. In the hills near Tun-huang a large number of grottos was constructed between the 5th and 8th centuries A.D. for the use of Buddhist monks proceeding to China. These caves were called by the Chinese Ts'ien-fo-tong or 'the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas.'... Buddhist monks from Persia, Bactria, India, Sogdiana, Khotan, Kucī and other countries used to assemble here before proceeding to the Chinese capital with their burden of manuscripts...

Manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Syriac, Khotanese, etc. have all been found Tun-huang.<sup>219</sup> Stein visited the site of the famous cave temple of a thousand Buddhas southeast of Tun-huang, and reported that "There, in 1907, I had been fortunate enough to secure such abundant antiquarian and artistic spoil from the walled-up temple *cella*, in which a whole library of Buddhist and other manuscripts and hundreds of fine paintings on silk had been hidden away early in the eleventh century, together with a multitude of other relics."<sup>220</sup> Meanwhile, the Chinese had taken many of the manuscripts to Peking, with many sold along the way. A collection of Tibetan texts unearthed at Tun-huang was carted away by Pelliot in 1908, on a mission from the French government, and is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, where it has been thoroughly indexed. The manuscripts date by and large from 800-1035CE.<sup>221</sup> Unlike the Gilgit and Turfan collections we find among the Tun-huang manuscripts a fair number of Tantric texts. We have, in addition to a number of *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, *sūtras*, astrological texts and *dhāraṇīs*,



several fragments of Heruka ritual texts,<sup>222</sup> (there are a number of *dhāraṇīs* and *sūtras* by the name *Vajra-vidāraṇa*---‘lightning-splitting’ or ‘diamond-splitting’), several "Vajrayāna" ritual texts,<sup>223</sup> a Vajrapāṇi ritual text,<sup>224</sup> Varjasattva ritual texts,<sup>225</sup> a ritual text beginning with an invocation of *Samantabhadra Śrījñānasattva*,<sup>226</sup> and a commentary on a *Guhyasamāja* related text.<sup>227</sup> Finot also reported on the contents of some 50 pages of Sanskrit manuscripts unearthed at Tun-huang.<sup>228</sup> The scripts are in late 12th century CE script, and include a *Hevajraṣekaparakriyā* (the Hevajra initiation ceremony), *Śmaśānavidhi* (cremation ground rites, opening with a salutation to *Śrī Vajradāka*) attributed to Luyipa (a.k.a. Matsendranātha), *Cakrasaṃvara-balividhi* (rules for the bali offering to Cakrasaṃvara), *Vajravārāhī-sādhana* (Hevajra’s *śakti*). Even with this very cursory and superficial consideration of the Sanskrit and Tibetan manuscripts from the Tun-huang textual corpus, we would have to conclude--even without knowing much else about the Tantric tradition--that Tantric texts and practices had penetrated into the region during the 9th-12th centuries. The same cannot be said for the older manuscript collections unearthed at Gilgit and Turfan. As I mentioned at the opening of this section of the chapter, these sequentially datable textual finds tend to support the impression of a gradual incorporation of Tantric doctrines into the Buddhist monastic university curricula.

### **3.6. Acceptance and Integration of Tantric Doctrines into the Curricula of the Buddhist Universities**

We find confirmation of the widespread study of Tantras from scattered ninth century evidence. According to Lienhard, the earliest extant Nepali Sanskrit

manuscript is the *Sahottaratantra* of 878 CE.<sup>229</sup> Bagchi notes the Sisophon, Cambodia inscription from the reign of King Jayavarman II, 802 CE, where the Śaivite Tantric texts *Śiraśceda*, *Vināśikā*, *Sammohana*, and *Nayottara* are mentioned. These are said in the inscription to have come out of the four mouths of *Tumburu*, a form of Śiva (*tat [śāstram] Tumvuror vaktra-catuṣkam asya*). The first of these texts Bagchi identifies with the *Jayadrathayāmala*, an important text in the Śaivite Tantric canon.<sup>230</sup> Sykes, in an otherwise unremarkable article on the early history of India, gives us as an appendix a list of inscriptions published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Among these is an inscription on a pillar at Bhitari or Ghanzipur, from around 800 CE that mentions the Indra, Varuṇa, Yama, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, Sītā, and the Tantras--the Tantras being doctrines adhered to by Skanda Gupta, while Chandra Gupta 2nd and Kumara Gupta worshipped Viṣṇu.<sup>231</sup> Another piece of hard evidence is the mention of Śiva defeating Tripura in an inscription on the mountain temple of Harṣa at Śekavati, dated 961-973 CE, a reference to the Tripura cult of the southern Śaivite Tantric tradition.<sup>232</sup> Naudou also notes a 9th century copper plaque from Nālandā, from the 39th year of Devapāla, where the monks of the town are apparently referred to as *tāṃtrika-bodhisatvas*.<sup>233</sup>

Once accepted into the curriculum, Tantric studies became widespread at the Buddhist universities. Vikramaśīla was founded by Dharmapāla, the second of the eighth century Pāla kings (c. 770-810). Vikramaśīlā became a major center of Tantric studies, and the site where many of the Tibetan translators of Sanskrit texts worked.<sup>234</sup> Devikoṭ became the residence of the Tantric teacher Advayavajra, in

north Bengal.<sup>235</sup> Jagaddala, built under Rāmapāla (1084-1130 CE), the last of the Pāla dynasty, is located by Tibetan sources in Orissa, though this is not entirely certain. It apparently served as a refuge for Buddhists and Tantric Siddhas fleeing the Persian destruction of other monastic establishments.<sup>236</sup> Vikramapuri was located in east Bengal, where Kumāracandra/Ācārya Avadhūta wrote a Tantric commentary.<sup>237</sup> Abhayākaragupta worked at the Odantapuri monastery in Bengal that was originally built during the reign of Gopāla/Lokapāla, the first of the lineage of Pāla rulers who came to power in the early 8th century. Chittagong's Paṇḍitavihāra was apparently a famed center of Mahayāna and Tantric learning, where Buddhist and Brahmanical scholars engaged in regular debates; it may also be the source of the canonical caps worn by Tibetan lamas.<sup>238</sup> Śāntarakṣita served as head abbot of Nālandā in the second half of the eighth century. Among his works is a *Hevajrodbhava-kurukuttayaḥ pañca-mahopadeśa*,<sup>239</sup> strongly suggesting that the *Hevajratāntra* system was had been brought into the curriculum by the late eighth century. Aside from Tibetan histories, we also have "hard" evidence that *Tantras* were taught at Nālandā at least by the time of Devapāladeva (809-849), whose copper plate states that "Nālandā was the abode of *bhikṣus* and Bodhisattvas well-versed in the *Tantras*."<sup>240</sup> The Orissan *vihāra Muñjashi* was visited by the Tantric scholar Ānandagarbha, preceptor to King Mahīpāla (c. 988-1036 CE).<sup>241</sup>

We gain a good idea of the scope of development of the Buddhist communities in north India from the account of Chos-rje-dpal, a Tibetan monk pilgrim who visited India from 1234-1236 CE, as reported in an article by A.S. Atelkar (the following

summary is from his article).<sup>242</sup> By the time of Chos-rje-dpal's visit, many Buddhist monks had moved to Nepal to avoid the Persian invasions. After studying for eight years in the Svayambhu Caitra in Nepal, he made a pilgrimage to Bodha-Gaya. Finding Vaishali deserted due to fear of an impending Muslim attack, and at another point attacked by wild bulls, some of his party were also seduced by a prostitute ('an impudent woman.'). Both Patna and Bodha-Gaya were also deserted when he arrived, and a false Buddha image had been placed at a screening wall in front of the real one. After a week's time fear of the impending Muslim invasion had passed, and the local king returned with his 500 soldiers, and the false Buddha image was removed. The temple was under control of Ceylonese Hinayānists who demanded that Chos rje dpal throw his copy of the *Prajñāpāramitā* into the river. The pilgrim then went to Rajgir to study with Yaśomitra, and reported "a number of Buddhist Tāntrikas at this place as well as in the vicinity of Nalanda, who were believed to have superhuman powers," and visited a temple of Kālī.<sup>243</sup> According to Chos rje dpal Nālanda had previously had seven temples, with fourteen large and eighty-four smaller monasteries. Only two were functioning when he visited, Dhanaba and Ghunaba, all the others having been destroyed by the invaders. Most of the monks had fled, though Rāhula-śrī-bhadra, aged 90, was still there teaching some 70 monks. A final attack on Nālanda occurred during his visit, and Chos rje dpal reports that he carried Rāhula away on his shoulders to save him. While this account is from the thirteenth century, and so a couple centuries later than the primary historical focus of this dissertation, Chos rje dpal's account gives a vivid sense of the impact of the

Persian invasions in terms of the destruction and defensive abandonment of Buddhist pilgrimage towns, the forced migration of monks to Nepal, and provides a sense of the magnitude of Nālanda as a monastic university.

### **Section 3.7. The Chinese and Tibetan Translations as a Check on the Historical Emergence of Tantra (3.7.1. Interaction with Tibetan Scholars, 3.7.2. Chinese Translators of Buddhist Texts).**

#### **3.7.1. Interaction with Tibetan Scholars**

Dutt notes that Kashmir became "in the 5th or 6th centuries A.D...an academic centre of the Buddhists,"<sup>244</sup>--a view confirmed by other scholars.<sup>245</sup> He says that the *Sarvāstivāda* flourished in the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries in Mathurā, Gandhāra, and Kashmir, spreading into Central Asia, China, and southern sea islands. In the centuries that followed, Kaśmīri Buddhist scholars were instrumental in transmitting Buddhist doctrines, and eventually Buddhist Tantric doctrines, to China. Bagchi provides a list of twenty of these scholars from between the 4th and the 8th centuries.<sup>246</sup> As many Indologists have pointed out, there was also close collaboration between Tibetan and Kaśmīri scholars over many centuries beginning with the visit to Kaśmīr by *Thon-mi Sambhota*, Finance minister to King *Srong Btsan Sgom po* in the 7th century. In the field of medicine, this collaboration overlapped with work done by Hindus and Jains, since care of the sick and promotion of health really knows no sectarian boundaries. The source text of the *Rgyud bzhi* or *Catuṣtantra*, the root medical *Tantra* of Tibetan medicine, was the *Amṛta-aṣṭāṅga-guhopadeśa-tantra*, translated into Tibetan in the 8th century by *Vairocana*, disciple

of *Padmasambhava*.<sup>247</sup> The original text appears--though this is uncertain--to have been written by *Candranandana*, author of several other commentaries on *Vāgbhaṭa*'s *Aṣṭāṅgahrdaya* that were also translated into Tibetan in the 10th century.<sup>248</sup>

Skorupski reports that the *Durgatipariśodhana*--classified as *Yoga-Tantra* Buddhist text--was translated into Tibetan in the eighth century by Śāntigarbha and Jayarakṣita.<sup>249</sup>

The two best sources of information on the interaction between Kaśmīr and Tibet are Jean Naudou's study *Buddhists of Kaśmīr*,<sup>250</sup> and the late 15th century *Deb-ther sñon-po* by 'Gos los-tsa-ba gZon-nu-dpal, translated by Roerich as *The Blue Annals*.<sup>251</sup> These two works detail a long and active participation of Kaśmīri and Tibetan scholars in translating and promulgating Buddhist Tantric literature in Tibet. From the Blue Annals we learn that "during the time of Khri-sron lde-btsan and his son, many siddhas, followers of Vajrayāna, appeared...who were able to move in the sky, penetrate mountains and rocks, float on water, and exhibit before the multitudes their forms inside divine maṇḍalas. Further there appeared many female ascetics...."<sup>252</sup> Naudou however adds a helpful caution to the sometimes too willing acceptance of Tibetan historiography: "Now, the Tibetan sources (even a summary examination reveals it very quickly) are subject to caution; their information, sometimes contradictory, always fragmentary, calls for a twofold task of criticism and synthesis."<sup>253</sup> Discussing problems with Tāranātha's History, Naudou remarks that "it is necessary ... to recognize that Tāranātha committed some grave chronological errors,"<sup>254</sup> and advises, quite correctly I think, that "it is prudent then to build nothing

on datum so long as it is not confirmed by an independent authority, and irrespective of what may be the antiquity and prestige of its author."<sup>255</sup> Naudou's work relies principally on the information furnished in the colophons of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit texts, information that was by and large written down at the time the translation was made, and usually with a date. While Naudou's work is a mine of information, particularly about the transmission of Buddhism into Tibet from the 9th century onwards (see Chapter 4 of this dissertation), the study of Tantra had already become widespread in India by that time, so his researches do not offer any useful information on the emergence of Tantra in India in the earlier centuries we have been discussing in this chapter. This lack of information is also telling--Naudou only has specific information from the colophons on translations of texts called Tantras into Tibetan beginning in the ninth century.<sup>256</sup>

### 3.7.2. Chinese Translations of Buddhist Texts

Bunjiu Nanjio provides us a glimpse of the state of the Buddhist canon in the early 6th century, in so far as it had been translated into Chinese. Nanjio has translated for us the catalogue of the Chinese Buddhist canon that was arranged under the Ming dynasty (1368-1444 CE).<sup>257</sup> There were 13 other such catalogues made that are still in existence, dating from 520 CE to 1600 CE.<sup>258</sup> In the Introduction to his Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the *Tripitaka*, Nanjio gives a list of "translations now in existence, and mentioned in the oldest catalogue of about 520 A.D," including 141 Mahāyāna *sūtras* and *dharaṇīs* and *paripṛcchās*.<sup>259</sup> There are no *Kalpas*, *Mantrakalpas*, *Tantras*, *Tantrarājas*, or *Kalparājas* included in this group,

indicating that the type of texts referred to by Dharmakīrti had not been accepted by the Buddhist educational establishments. The closest we have to any magical practices are the *sūtras* from the late 4th century CE translated largely by Than-wu-lan (Dharmarakṣa?) of the Eastern Tsi dynasty, with spells for pedestrian ends, such as keeping the house safe, avoiding or removing the harm caused by a thief, relieving an epidemic, curing toothache etc.,<sup>260</sup>

The Chinese hold that Tantra was introduced into their country in the 8th century. For translating Buddhist Tantric works into Chinese, Śubhākarasasiṃha (Shen wu wei), Vajrabodhi (Kin-kang che) and Amoghavajra (Pu-k'ong) are considered the founders of Tantric Buddhism in China,<sup>261</sup> and are called the "Three Great Masters of the K'ai-yuan era 713-741 A.D."<sup>262</sup> Vajrabodhi was born in 661 as the third son of King Īśānavarman of Central India, and he left home at to study at Nālandā until he was 26, interrupted by a four-year stint in Western India (probably at Valabhī).<sup>263</sup> After working as teacher to King Narasiṃha Potavarman of Kāñcī-- where he is said to have brought the rains by means of a *dhāraṇī*, he then worked in Ceylon, and accompanied the Ceylonese mission to China, reaching Canton in 720 A.D.; he translated 11 Vajrayāna works between 723-730 CE. Amoghavajra (746-771CE)<sup>264</sup> and Yi-hing were his two most famous disciples, Amoghavajra coming from a Brahmanical family that had moved to Śrī Laṅka, and converted to Buddhism by Vajrabodhi at age 15. After Vajrabodhi died, Amoghavajra returned to Ceylon, studied for three years, then returned to China with 500 texts, and translated 119 of these into Chinese.<sup>265</sup> Amoghavajra translated 77 texts. Among these are the



*Mahāmaṇi-vipula-vimāna-viśva-supraṭiṣṭhita-guhya-parama-rahasya-kalpa-rāja-dhāraṇī.*<sup>266</sup>

The "Second Three Great Masters" were: 1) T'ien-si-tsai (c. 950 CE), from Jālandhara (then a dependency of Kaśmīr), who translated 18 works including the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*; 2) Fa-t'ien (Dharmadeva, who then in 982 assumed the name Fa-hien or Dharmabhadra), a monk from Nālandā in Magadha who came to China in 973, and who between 973-981 A.D. translated 118 Sanskrit texts into Chinese, and made Chinese transliterations of several Sanskrit *stotras*; and 3) Dānapala (She-hu), from Uḍḍiyāna, who came to China in 980 and who translated some 111 texts into Chinese, including the *Daśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and a transliteration of the *Bhagavatyā ārya-tārāyā daṇḍaka-stotram*.<sup>267</sup> Fa-t'ien translated (circa 973 CE) into Chinese among other works the *Anuttara-mahāyānavajra-mahātantrarāja-sūtra*, also known as the *Vajragarbhatantrarājasūtra*, a text said to have been composed by King Indrabodhi or Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna.<sup>268</sup> As Bagchi explains in some detail, though, "it is difficult to say anything on the date of king Indrabhūti," and the nature of the work "shows that it belongs to an age when the Vajrayāna teachers (Vajrācāryas) were shamelessly exploiting the names and works of the great teachers of the school to their own benefit." So the text may date from anywhere between the 7th-10th century, and may have been composed shortly before Fa-t'ien translated it.<sup>269</sup> Fa-t'ien is also credited with translations of the *Mañjuśrī-sadvṛtta-guhya-tantra-rājasya viṃśatika-krodha-vijayāṅgana*, a *Śrī-sarva-bhūta-dāmara-tantra*, and a *Māyājāla-mahātantra-mahāyāna-gambhīra-nāya-guhya-parāśī-sūtra*, translated 982-1001.<sup>270</sup>

It appears though that Tantric material was first integrated into the *Vaipulya-sūtra* sections of the Buddhist canons. According to Lokesh Chandra, who analyzed the Chinese *vaipulya sūtra* classifications, the *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-vikurvita-adhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtrendrarāja nāma dharmaparyāya* is "the fundamental Tantra of the Caryā division." According to Chinese classification, the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha* (also known as the *Vajraśekhara Tantra*), the principal Tantra of the Yoga class, is also a *vaipulya sūtra*. Similarly, the Tantric texts *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* and the *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* (the latter often quoted in the *Vimalaprabhā*) are classed as *mahāvaiipulya* and *vaipulya sūtras*, respectively.<sup>271</sup> This classification of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* as a *Mahāyāna-vaipulyasūtra* is confirmed by the colophons to most of the chapters of the one surviving version of the Sanskrit text, where we find the full name is *Bodhisattva-pīṭaka-avatamsaka Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa Mahāyānavaiipulyasūtra*.<sup>272</sup> Joshi, following Winternitz, Bhattacharyya, and Dutt, assigns the *Mahāmāyūrti*, *Rāṣṭrapālasūtra*, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, and *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* to the later Gupta era (6th century CE), when he says we find indications of the beginnings of *Mantrayāna*.<sup>273</sup> His opinion is that "the earliest Tāntrika Buddhist literature would seem to have been a part of the Mahāyāna Sūtras."<sup>274</sup> Jayaswal however dates the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* to the late eighth or early ninth century, based on his analysis of the fifty-third chapter of the text, the Imperial History Chapter, whose chronology ends in the mid-eighth century (as I mentioned above).

To the extent I have looked at the Mahāyāna sūtra literature for early evidence

of Tantric practices, there does appear to be something of a gradual evolution of doctrines that then appear integrated with Tantric doctrines in the Tantras--as discussed above with the Turfan material. It does not appear though that the Mahāyāna texts simply shifted smoothly into a Tantric mode. It is in fact difficult to determine to what extent certain texts were considered Tantras at their inception, or later classed as Tantras in revisionist schemas by Tantric practitioners who reclassified earlier material as types of Tantras in order to substantiate the position of the later *Anuttarayoga* texts within the canonical corpus. Bagchi credits Śubhākarasiṃha (one of the first three Chinese Tantric 'Masters' discussed above, from the early 8th century) with being the first to introduce the teachings of the Vajrayāna school into China "in a systematic manner." He claims that most of his translations were of 'Vajrayāna' texts, "either dhāraṇīs or texts on mystic maṇḍalas and mudrās employed for the worship of Mahāvairocana and other Buddhas."<sup>275</sup> Referring to Subhākarasiṃha's teachings as Vajrayāna is really a matter of definition, though. In the *Anāsravadharmaśīla* section of Śubhākarasiṃha's 8th century Chinese translation of the *Bodhisattvaśīla* the ten *paramitās* are assigned--in the explanation of *mudrā*--to the ten fingers, with the right hand as *punya*: the thumb is *dhyāna*, and the next four fingers are *vīrya*, *kṣānti*, *śīla*, and *dāna* respectively. The left hand is *jñāna*, with the left thumb as *jñāna*, and the remaining fingers *bala*, *praṇidhāna*, *upāya*, and *prajñā*.<sup>276</sup> Since in later Tantric doctrine the pairing of the male *upāya* with the female *prajñā* is *de riguer*, we may have some evidence here for an earlier stage in the gradual development of Tantric doctrine--however a role for the female is

certainly not explicit here. The *mudrā* formed by joining the fingers together in sequence<sup>277</sup> is made at the top of the head, the forehead, the right shoulder then the left shoulder, the heart, the right knee and the left knee. One then recites several hundred times (or several thousand) on the rosary the following *dhāraṇīs*: *Oṃ samaya strāṇ* (I protect the initalic community?),<sup>278</sup> *Oṃ bodhicittam utpādayāmi* (I raise up the *bodhicitta*), *Oṃ cittaprabodham karomi* (I awaken the mind), *Oṃ vajramaṇḍalam praveśāmi* (I enter the lightning/diamond *maṇḍala*), *Oṃ śudhā śudhā* (May they [the *karmas*]<sup>279</sup> become extremely purified), and *Oṃ sarvavide svāhā* (Svāhā to omniscience).<sup>280</sup> These '*dhāraṇīs*' do certainly contain some basic Buddhist Tantric doctrines--particularly the notion of awakening the mind by raising up the *bodhicitta*; *bodhicitta* is not however explicitly identified with the semen, as it is in *Anuttarayogatantra* texts.

*Dhyāna Śubhākarasiṃha* describes as sitting in an easy posture with the eyes half-closed, meditating on and worshipping the Buddhas in the ten directions of the *Dharmadhātu*. "First let the mind see Buddhas in ten directions in the assembly of men and gods, teaching the law to the four assemblies. Then you should see your own self doing the three acts of respecting, worshipping and praising all the Buddhas one by one. The man who gets this vision should clearly distinguish himself and see it as if it were before his own eyes."<sup>281</sup> So there is no visualized self-identification with the Buddhas as we find in deity yoga. The non-identification with the Buddhas is made pretty explicit: "Worship all the Buddha[s], the great Bodhisattvas, the Dharmakāya, the Sambhogakāya, and the Nirmāṇakāya, the Caryāphala and the great

assembly. The man who worships them can direct his mind to the presence of each of the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas and can acquire the highest sincerity."<sup>282</sup>

Breathing exercises in Subhākara's text are simple: "First think of breathing in and breathing out. It must go inside our body through all the joints and muscles. Afterwards it goes out slowly through the mouth. You should think that the breath is as white as snow and liquid as milk. One should follow the distance it goes."<sup>283</sup>

Again, though we can see the *suggestion* of the later Tantric notion of the identity of the breath with the *bodhicitta*/semen, it is certainly not explicit here. This is a fairly simple yogic technique, without the layers of complexity we find in for instance the *Kālacakratantra*. And rather than the detailed visualizations and self-identifications of deity-yoga practice, Śubhākara recommends visualizing "a bright disk like the clear moon at a distance of four feet from the body," that once mastered can be expanded "to fill up the *tri-sāhasra-mahāsāhasra* worlds," in order to attain *samādhi*. *Samādhi* is defined as "nothing but *nirvikalpa-dharma*."<sup>284</sup>

The moon is composed of four elements (*mahābhūtas*), which are ultimately destroyed. So it is the moon seen by all people. They take it for comparison with the intellect. Practice means seeing it for a long time and attaining success (*siddhi*).... Then you see only brightness and nothing else, not even the body and the mind. All dharmas are lost in emptiness. But this should not be taken as emptiness. It is absence of thought and hence it is *āyatana-śūnyatā* and not vacuity. It may be realized after a long practice. Then you are in a state of yoga without obstacle whether walking, sitting, staying or lying down or thinking at all times and in all places.... Go on practicing in this way till you attain Buddhahood. This is the only method and there is no other method. This is the way of the inner light of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It is not within the access of the two *yānas* and the *Tīrthikas*.<sup>285</sup>

Once one has achieved success the mind has five aspects: a) *kṣaṇa-citta*--"this *citta*

sees the way by one *smṛti-yoga*. It is quickly lost and forgotten. It is like lightning at night which quickly appears and disappears;" b) *srotāpanna-citta*--"one has already seen the way and thinks of it more and more without stopping. It is like the current falling;" c) *madhura-citta*--"when through the accumulation of endless efforts *śūnyatā* is attained and the body and mind become light (i.e. to attain *praśrabdhi*) and a taste of the way is obtained;" d) *vidhyavaṃsana-vikṣipta-citta*--"you energetically rise at once or give up the practice. Both are against the way...;" e) *ādarśa-citta*--"one goes away from the scattered and troubled state of mind and sees the round bright light. Then nothing else remains."<sup>286</sup> We have in two of the five states (a and e) images of lightning and of mirror-light. This would seem then to be an earlier stage of the development of the doctrine of the lights leading to the clear light that becomes popular in later Buddhist Tantra. This impression is strengthened by the four *dhāraṇīs* used here: *Oṃ sūkṣma vajra* to attain *vipaśyanā-siddhi*; *Oṃ tiṣṭha vajra* to attain undecaying *vipaśyanā*; *Oṃ supra (supta?) vajra* to attain vastness of *vipaśyanā*, and *Oṃ saṃhāra vajra* to re-contract the *vipaśyanā*.<sup>287</sup>

Bagchi remarks that "On the whole the teachings of Śubhākara as embodied in the present text [i.e. the *Bhōdisattvaśīla*] offer a complete practical code of the Mahāyānists of the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. They indicate the peculiar mystic bent of the faith that was developing in that period. As such the text supplies us with an important landmark in the development of the Mahāyāna Buddhism."<sup>288</sup> Śubhākara's text is certainly not an *Anuttarayogatantra* text, though. There is no self-identification with the visualization of the Buddhas; the *mantra* practices are of the

Mahāyāna *dhāraṇī* practices, without the amazingly complex *bija-mantra* identifications with the elements we find in the *anuttarayoga* texts. Most notable of all perhaps is the lack of any role for the goddess or the feminine principles in these yogas and meditations prescribed by Śubhākara. As Prof. Riuychi Abe has pointed out, however, this particular text we have examined here is an initiatory *sādhana* text within the Vairocana tradition, so it cannot be taken as a normative representative of *all* the texts available at the time. What all this suggests is that the more populist Tantric practices were being incorporated very gradually into the pre-existing Mahāyāna practices, while the canonical meditation systems were becoming increasingly more complex. Bagchi was apparently of the opinion that the Brahmanical Tantric schools strongly influenced the development of Buddhist Tantra. Describing the work of the Buddhist monks translating from Sanskrit into Chinese during the Song period (10th-11th centuries), he remarks that "Buddhism in India in this period had changed considerably and had given rise to mystic schools much influenced by the Brahmanical schools of Tantra,"<sup>289</sup> noting that of some 285 texts preserved in the Chinese Tripiṭaka from this translation period, the majority are from Tantric Buddhism schools. Most scholars who have worked carefully on the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions come to this same conclusion about mutual influence, as did Wayman.<sup>290</sup> Though I do not read Chinese, and so cannot check the contents of the various texts cited as translations of "Tantras" by the first three 'Masters' of the early Chinese Tantric translators, it would appear from Śubhākarasiṃha's 8th century *Bodhisattvaśīla* and the Turfan yoga text discussed previously that the many

of the texts translated in the eighth century were late Mahāyāna texts with advanced meditation techniques that were only *later* classified within the Tantric schemas, after the *Anuttarayoga* texts had been incorporated into the formal curricula. As I cited above, Bagchi in fact says that most of Śubhākarasiṃha's translations were "either dhāraṇīs or texts on mystic maṇḍalas and mudrās employed for the worship of Mahāvairocana and other Buddhas."<sup>291</sup> While these techniques are not foreign to Mahāyāna, and are certainly an integral part of the *Anuttarayoga* Tantric texts, they were apparently not part of the types of texts Dharmakīrti was referring to as 'Tantras,' with the disreputable practices, sexual rites, etc. Again we return to the issues of definition and usage when it comes to the term 'Tantra,' and the issue of when the tradition itself began to refer to its own practices as Tantric and its texts as Tantras. These late Mahāyāna texts on Yoga, and the texts from the *Vaipulyasūtra* class, do not appear to contain the sort of transgressive Yogic practices and symbols we find in the Kāpālika tradition. Yet, as we shall see in looking at the *Kālacakratāntra* and other *Anuttarayoga* texts, the *Anuttarayoga Tantras*, and the Kaśmīri Śaivite texts do include material from these earlier, more transgressive cults. These facts again support the impression that more popular Tantric practices were grafted into or onto the developing Mahāyāna textual traditions--and perhaps vice versa. Only with a very thorough survey of the datable contents of all the Chinese Buddhist texts translated by both groups of the 'Three Masters' will it be possible to really determine just how 'Tantric' the contents of these texts are, and where they stand in relation to earlier and later texts of the tradition.



### Section 3.8. Addendum--The *Dhāraṇī* Issue

The question of the role of *Dhāraṇīs* in determining "Tantric content" of texts has come up for discussion in several recent academic conference meetings on the Tantric tradition. Some scholars have even suggested that the presence of a *dhāraṇī* in a text marks it as Tantric in character. Part of the responsibility for this perception seems to lie with Tucci, who argued: "It is clear that the *Dhāraṇī* represent the first kernel from which the Tantras developed, so that the passage from Mahāyāna to Tantric gnosis takes place warily and imperceptibly.... We still find that it is difficult to ascertain when Tantrism arose, in its literary formulation; nevertheless there is no doubt that the *dhāraṇī* were the first codification of the ideas underlying it; the Tantras begin with them. We can even go further and admit, with the Buddhist commentators and editors, that some Mahāyānasūtra or parts of them may be considered as Tantras, Kriyātantras. Such, for instance, is the case with the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* and with the chapters on the *dhāraṇī* in the *Laṅkāvatāra*, both included by the Vajrayāna masters among the Kriyātantra."<sup>292</sup> This position seems at odds with the historical facts. Lamotte has done some of the best work on the issue of *dhāraṇīs* in the Buddhist texts through his study of Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*. As he puts it, "it's not proper to speak of it [a *dhāraṇī*] as a *mantra*, a magical formula, as it is generally translated; it is primarily the memorization of the teachings of *all* the Buddhas. That is how the Tibetans and Chinese have understood the term; the former translate it as *gzun*s, holder, from the perfect of the root *ḥdzin pa*, to lay hold of or seize; the latter translate it as ... retain

completely."<sup>293</sup> This is certainly the literal sense of the Sanskrit, a derivative noun from the root  $\sqrt{dhr}$ , to hold, resulting in a literal sense "holding" or "retaining" (here: in memory). Nāgārjuna provides explicit instructions on memorization techniques to be mastered in order to memorize the sacred texts of the Buddhist tradition. Lamotte cites a passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that gives a basic definition of *dhāraṇī* from within the tradition: 'What is a Bodhisattva's *dhāraṇī*? Generally it should be considered as fourfold: the *dhāraṇī* of the teachings, the *dhāraṇī* of their meaning, the *dhāraṇī* of the *mantra*, and the *dhāraṇī* so the bodhisattva will attain patience.'<sup>294</sup> For the fourth type the text gives the *mantra iṭi miṭi kiṭi bhi kṣānti svāhā* with the explanation that this *mantra* is designed, upon pondering, to demonstrate its meaninglessness to the bodhisattva, and thus to demonstrate the emptiness of all things. Lamotte's view is echoed by Jens Braarvig in a recent article on the subject.<sup>295</sup> Braarvig cites passages from the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa*, the *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā*, the *Daśabhūmika*, and also from the same section of the *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* that make clear the 'memorization' sense of the term for the well-trained bodhisattva, who is to combine *dhāraṇī* aptitude with *pratibhāna*, eloquence. Matsunaga also tells us that in early Mahāyāna *dhāraṇī* referred to the memorization of texts, and that the term comes to refer to "spell" only in third century CE additions to the *sūtras*, having assimilated the sense of 'science' (*vidyā*) and magic.<sup>296</sup> As de Jong summarizes (Matsunaga's brief history of Tantrism is in Japanese), Matsunaga traces the development of Tantric ritual through the gradual inclusion of adoration of statues, veneration of seven

Buddhas, eight bodhisattvas, and Avalokiteśvara, *śīmabandha* and *homa* rituals, *abhiṣeka*, and *buddhānusmṛti* (meditation on the Buddha). He finds these practices mentioned in texts translated into Chinese from the second, third, and fourth centuries, though without the systematic arrangements of later Tantric texts. In seventh century texts he found early *maṇḍala* descriptions, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas with multiple arms, and the mention of *mudrās*, along with a *blīja* meditation on Tārā, and the three rituals of warding off evil, exorcising demons, and increasing happiness.<sup>297</sup> In contrast to Huntington's claims,<sup>298</sup> Matsunaga finds that the groups of five Buddhas with Vairocana in the center do not appear in Chinese Tantric texts until the eighth century. Waddell also published in 1913 (and again in 1914) studies of the Buddhist *Dhāraṇī* cult.<sup>299</sup> Waddell argues that the *dhāraṇīs* were in use in Buddhism from the very beginning, probably introduced by Buddha himself. He includes a photo of a Greco-Bactrian (2nd-3rd cent. CE) sculpture showing Avalokita wearing the little amulet boxes around his neck typically used to hold *dhāraṇīs* (as also described by Bāṇa in the passage I cited from his *Kādamabartī*). He notices the first instance of the term in the *Lalitavistara*, where a great Bodhisattva is referred to as *Dhāraṇīśvara-rāja*, and finds the 21st chapter of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*--a text translated into Chinese in 250 CE--is entitled *Dhāraṇī* and contains a collection of such spells.<sup>300</sup> We have *dhāraṇīs* translated into Chinese as early as the late fourth century CE. Bagchi reports that "Śrīmitra, the Kuchean, and the Indian Tan-wu-lan (Dharmaratna?--late fourth century CE) were probably the first to introduce with a certain amount of success the practice of Dhāraṇī in order to satisfy the curiosity of

the Taoists who had formed a mystic bent of mind."<sup>301</sup> The earliest surviving actual manuscripts of *Dhāraṇīs* appear to be the 5th-6th century Gilgit manuscripts discussed above.<sup>302</sup> So to presume the existence of a full Tantric system of doctrine and practice merely because *dhāraṇīs* are present in a text is to ignore the history of the usage of the term in the surviving Sanskrit Buddhist canon, particularly since the *dhāraṇī* system appears to have been a well-established component of the basic Mahāyāna bodhisattva educational training regimen.

### 3.9. Conclusion

We have discussed in this chapter the multiple layers of evidence that indicate that Tantric texts and practices were circulating widely in India as early as the sixth century CE. From the evidence gathered so far it appears that popular, magical, ascetical, and yogi-derived earlier Tantric practices were *gradually* integrated with the canonical, formal Buddhist tradition. We have seen that Dharmakīrti disapproved of these practices in the early 7th century, suggesting that the conservative, well-educated Buddhist establishment did not approve of Tantric practices, though the texts were circulating, and the practices were widespread. It also becomes clear, however, that the task of tracing the specifics of the development and integration of the Mahāyāna Sūtra literature into the Tantric literature is an enormous one, and far beyond the scope of this chapter or dissertation. A really thorough study of this issue will require an historical tracking of all the Mahāyāna Sūtras, and then a reading of the Sanskrit versions of the texts to determine what language or terminology was used over the centuries to describe the evolving meditation and ritual practices.

Furthermore, one would ideally wish to study all the Yoga Śāstra and Sāṃkhya texts from the Hindu side, to see how much of the Yogic and 'pre-Tantric' material in the Buddhist canon was shared by the Hindu tradition, and vice versa (to say nothing of the Jain texts). Following the historical evidence cited above, however, as opposed to the canonical claims of Tantric origins, it would appear that as Tantric practices developed and came to be included in the more formal textual and educational systems of the Buddhists, and that many of the developing elements of practice from the earlier Mahāyāna tradition were grafted onto Tantric practices, and vice versa, so that we find in the more fully developed Buddhist Tantric texts a wide range of elements present in the Mahāyāna tradition. What is not clear, and may not be for a long time (or ever), is to what extent Tantric practices *were* in fact secretly engaged in by more orthodox figures who may have disparaged such practices in writing. And given the apparently popular origins of many of these ideas and practices, we may never be able to say when the first texts called 'Tantras' that were "Tantric" first appeared. We must also note that the material covered in this chapter and the conclusions drawn therefrom are not intended necessarily to be the most definitive conclusions that may be drawn. Some of the historical conclusions drawn in this chapter will almost certainly be revised as further research continues. The areas of uncertainty are still vast, since the literature is enormous, and still, from the point of view of Tantric Studies, largely untouched by scholars.

As I mentioned in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, the streams of "incoming" ideas and practices from the earlier strata of the Hindu and Buddhist

traditions make it a very difficult and time-consuming task to try to sort out just what practices came from where, when they were integrated with other doctrines, when the first Tantric texts actually appeared, and how the traditions referred to them, etc. We have seen in Chapter 2 of this dissertation how many of the more esoteric concepts from the Tantric tradition appear to have very deep roots in the Vedic tradition. To just hint at how far some of the other roots may go, in unlikely directions, we find that there appear to be important links from the meditative and yogic traditions to the dramatical and aesthetic tradition in India. Gnoli speaks of the ability, in India, to "trace back to a sort of common substratum, of *sāmānādhikaraṇya*, which may be said to represent the link between aesthetic and religious experience."<sup>303</sup> Relatively unknown articles such as Falk's work on "The Five Jinas and the Five Colours of Consciousness"<sup>304</sup> have explored the roots of the color-coding of the five *dhyāni* Buddhas found in the Tantras, citing passages from Pāli texts such as the *Kassapa Sthanāda Sutta*, from the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, from the *Atharvaveda* and other early texts showing the early use of color schemes in meditations on psychological parameters. Natalia Lidova has also found the pattern of associating colors with major deities in Bharata Muni's 1st-2nd century CE *Nāṭyaśāstra*: "The *rasas* have a divine origin, and were revealed to us by Brahma. Viṣṇu protects the *śṛṅgūra-rasa*, correlated with green, Pramatha *hāsyā/white*, Rudra *raudra/red*, Yama *karuṇa/dove-grey*, Mahākāla *bibhatsa/dark-blue*, Kāla *bhayanaka/black*, Mahendra *vīra/golden-brown*, and Brahma protects *adbhuta*, correlated with yellow."<sup>305</sup> Though the match is by no means exact, compare the *Nāṭyaśāstra* passage with the following description

of *Kālacakra Ādi Buddha* in the 'residence *maṇḍala*:' "Kālacakra's body is fully aspected, emitting pure light rays of five colors--blue, red, yellow, white, and green. His body is blue in color. He has three necks--black in the center, red to his right, and white to his left--and four faces."<sup>306</sup> We may be able therefore to eventually trace an evolutionary process whereby variously colored individual deities representing *rasas* in the Hindu system, and *skandhas* in the Buddhist system, (compare also individually colored Buddhas of the Mahāyāna) evolved in Tantra into application to syncretic, multi-aspected deities in iconography and visualization practices for meditation and self-identification through deity yoga. Again, though, this would require extensive reading in the Pāli sources, and a thorough study of the development of both aesthetic theory and Hindu and Buddhist (and probably Jain) meditational practices over the course of about two thousand years.

What is clear is that with the public emergence of Tantra came an outpouring of texts, digests, sects, and practices. Rajendralala Mitra went so far as to say (in 1873) that "In the way of religious rites, nothing is done in the present day, and nothing has been done for the last fifteen hundred years in Bengal, which does not, or did not, borrow its main characteristics from the Tantras." Remarking on the prevalence of Śaivite, Śāktic, and Vaiṣṇava tantra, and the fact that even though Vedic mantras are used in many ceremonies, he continued "in most instances, the mantras have been transmitted through a Tantric medium, and it may be said with very little exaggeration that the life of a Hindu from birth to burning-ground is one eternal bondage to the ordinances of the Tantras."<sup>307</sup> Even a brief passage from a

12th century *Mahākāvya* indicates how thoroughly the Tantric models had penetrated

Indian culture (*Naiṣadhacarita* 14.88-89, Sarasvatī speaking):

"King, reflect in thy heart, and ever meditate on my pure mystic formula (*hr̥īm*), which, without any form, embodies Śiva, and is accompanied by the moon [i.e. the *candrabindu*]. The formula represents that form that goes by the name Parvatī and Parameśvara, universal, but twofold owing to the union of two shapes, male in one half and female in the other [i.e. the *ardhanarīśvara* form]. May this formula prove effective to thee! The virtuous man who cherishes in his heart this my formula called Cintāmaṇi (The Wishing Stone) becomes a master of eloquence with a speech drenched with the nectar of fully developed sentiments. He acts like Cupid in charming the gazelle-eyed maids of heaven..."<sup>308</sup>

The question we will turn to in the next chapter is the issue of the contents of the Buddhist Tantric texts themselves, followed in Chapter 5 by a similar study of Śaivite Tantric texts.



## NOTES

1. There is of course the issue of *anātman* in the Buddhist tradition, though in the Tantric writings the notion of *anakṣara-bindu* or indestructible drop seems to largely take the place of an *ātman*.

2. Cited from A.A. Macdonell's article on "Magic", Vedic section in The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (Hastings 1916:314). The original passage reads: The place selected for the practice of magic, except when it is an element of the sacrificial ceremonial, is generally a lonely one. A cemetery, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favorite locality to divest oneself of evil influences. A secluded part of a house, a shed, and solitary spots in field or forest are also used. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is at night; but that of others depends on their circumstances or their purpose."

3. Joshi 1966:118. Joshi concludes, perhaps a bit too optimistically, "In short the Upanishadic mysticism and symbology seem to have paved the way for esoteric yoga and technology, and we venture to suggest, in the light of the foregoing discussion that the seeds of esotericism and erotic yoga, which flourished in fully developed form in the post-Gupta period, have been in existence in India in the Harappan and Vedic times." (Joshi 1966:119.). On the other hand, we have the opinion of Kane, who says "there is nothing in the Tripitaka or any other Buddhist document to prove that the Buddha or his first disciples had anything to do with Mantras and Maṇḍalas." (Kane, History of the Dharmśāstras, Poona, 1963 vol.4, part 2, p.1038, quoted by Vijaya Korti, "Tantra Worship During I-Tsing's Period," pp.87-92, in Handa, Devendra (ed) Indological Studies (Essays in Memory of Shri S.P. Singhal), Delhi, Caxton Publications, 1987.(p.88).)

4. Jash 1972:156--*Mahābhāṣya* ed. Kielhorn vol. II, 387-388.

5. Personal communication.

6. See Walshe 1987:133-141.

7. See Banerji 1992:29-30.

8. *Theragata* v.136--Flood 1989:244n.31.

9. Chandra 1984:110-111.

10. *Kathāvatthu* 23.1 (translation 365), Chandra 1984:106-107.

11. Chandra 1984:111. A c. 1400 CE history of Buddhism by the Ceylonese monk Dharmarakṣita (alias Dharmakīrti of Gaḍalādeṇiya), *Nikāyaśaṃgrahaya* or *Sāsanāvātāra-caritaya*, gives an interesting account of the origin of the Tantric texts from a *Hinayāna* perspective. The Tīrthikas had been expelled from the saṃgha and gathered at Nālandā, determining to create a rift between the doctrine and discipline (*dharma* and *vinaya*) of the Śākyā monks. 235 years after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* they formed into six groups with nine divisions. "The Rājagiri heretics composed the *Angulimāla Piṭaka*; the Siddhārthaka heretics the *Gūḍha Vessantara*; the Pūrvaśāili heretics the *Raṭṭhapālagarjita*; the Aparāśāili heretics the *Ālavakagarjita*; and the Wajraparvata heretics the *Gūḍha Vinaya*. These last also composed the Tantras *Māyājālatantra*, *Samājatantra*, *Mahāsamayatattva*, *Tatvasahgraha*, *Bhūtacāmara*, *Vajrāmṛta*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Dvādaśacakra*, *Bherukādbudha*, *Mahāmāyā*, *Padaniḥkshepa*, *Catushpishṭa*, *Parāmarda*, *Maricudbhava*, *Sarvabuddha*, *Sarvaguhyā*, *Samuccaya*, &c., and the Kalpa-shastras: *Māyāmarīcikalpa*, *Herambakalpa*, *Trisamayakalpa*,

*Rājakaḷpa, Vajragandhārakaḷpa, Mariciguhyakaḷpa, Suddhasamuccayaḷpa, &c.*" (Chandra 1984:107 citing from Fernando 1908:9-10.) Notably absent from this list are the *Hevajra* and *Kālacakra Tantras*—I've traced most of the other texts in the catalogue listings of Sanskrit manuscripts discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation. Barua claims that it is "well known" that there were exceptions to the rules about eating fish and meat, or even drinking wine, for the early Buddhist monks. When the flesh had not been specially killed for the *bhikṣus*, they were allowed to accept it in their begging bowls (Barua 1969:32.) Chandra tells us that a monk of the Vajraparvata sect came from India to reside and preach at Abhayagiri in the 9th century.

12 . Personal communication.

13 . Sykes 1841:483-484. Rocher adds: "The greater or lesser degree to which Tantric [Note 71: Jitendranath Banerjea: Puranic and Tantric Religion, Calcutta: Univ., 1966] practices appear in a *purāṇa*—or a section of a *purāṇa*—is most often considered to be an indication of its being more or less recent. Tantric rites are alluded to even in *mahāpurāṇas* (e.g. Bhāgavata° 11.3.47 seqq.); certain sections of the Agni°, Liṅga°, Saiva°, Brahmavaivarta°, etc., are strongly influenced by Tantra.[note 72: Ch. Chakravarti, Antiquity of Tantricism, IHQ 6, 1930, 114-126 at 125.] Several *upapurāṇas* especially are very close to true Tantric texts: *Kālikātantra* is another name for the *Kālika*°, which contains the famous Rudhirādhyāya. The distinction between Tantras and Purāṇas has been formulated as follows: Both are didactic and sectarian. As a rule Tantra contains less historical and legendary matter, and more directions as to ritual, but a more important difference lies in this, that while the Puranas approve of Vedic rites as well as of others, for which they give directions, the Tantras insist that ceremonies other than those they prescribe are now useless. [Note 73: Payne, Ernst Alexander: The Śāktas. An Introductory and Comparative Study, Calcutta: YMCA Publishing House, 1933:50].(Rocher 1986:14). Rocher also refers us to JAOS 96, 1976, 383-403, "The Amarakośa and the Lexicographical Chapters of the Agnipurana," by Robert Birwea, and Andre Padoux, "On Mantras and Mantric Practices in the Agni-Purana," Puranam 1978:57-65.

14 . Rocher 1986:187.

15 . "Because of the prominence of Tantric materials in the Agni° S.B. Chaudhuri came to the inevitable conclusion that 'the Purana has been unblushingly tampered with' by preachers of the Tantric cult." (Rocher 1986:40, cited from S.B.Chaudhuri, Agnipuranam 1928-29, p.130.)

16 . Winternitz 1963:496-497.

17 . See Birwé 1976:389-390, and 391-392.

18 . Winternitz 1963:530.

19 . Winternitz 1963:531.

20 . See Naudou 1980:17n.29.

21 . Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970:149.

22 . Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970:151.

23 . Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970:151.

24 . Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970:151-152.

25 . *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 1.168 and 1.171; Stein 1991{1}:30-31.

26. Stein 1991{1}:64.

27. Other scholars also have disagreed with early claims of Buddhist Tantric origins.

P.V.Kane, History of the Dharmśāstras, Poona, 1963 vol.4, part 2, p.1038: "there is nothing in the Tripitaka or any other Buddhist document to prove that the Buddha or his first disciples had anything to do with Mantras and Maṇḍalas." (quoted by Vijaya Korti, "Tantra Worship During I-Tsing's Period," pp.87-92, in Handa, Devendra (ed) Indological Studies (Essays in Memory of Shri S.P. Singhal), Delhi, Caxton Publications, 1987.(p.88).

28. Bhattacharya 1931:v.

29. Bapat gives us a handy schema of the major teachers of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools:

Mādhyamika teachers:

Nāgārjuna (2nd c.)  
 Āryadeva (3rd c.)  
 Buddhapālita (5th c.)  
 Bhāvaviveka (5th c.)  
 Candrakīrti (6th c.)  
 Śāntideva (7th c.)

Yogācāra teachers:

Maitreya(nātha) (3rd c.)  
 Asaṅga (4th c.)  
 Vasubandhu (4th c.)  
 Sthiramati (5th c.)  
 Dinnāga (5th c.)  
 Dharmapāla (7th c.)  
 Dharmakīrti (7th c.)  
 Śāntarakṣita (8th c.)  
 Kamalaśīla (8th c.) (Bapat 1959:119) & 121.

30. Bhattacharyya 1931:xxxiv.

31. Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:xlv.

32. Bhattacharyya 1931:xxxvi-xxxvii.

33. See Bhattacharyya 1931:xxx.

34. Bhattacharyya 1931:xxxii.

35. Wayman 1977:ix, and 98-99.

36. "The Tantric revelations were kept in esoteric cults--for there must have been a tension between the orthodox Buddhist sects and these far-out tantric groups. This strict secrecy was continued up to around the 8th century when commentaries by named persons appear."

(Wayman 1977:53). Wayman does not however assume identities between the Mādhamika Āryadeva, Nāgārjuna, or Candrakīrti and those he considers to be Tantric writers of the same name. (See Wayman 1977:93).

37. The Chinese text is *Chih-kang-ting-ching-yü-ch'ieh-shih-pa-lui-chich-kuei* (Tohoku no. 1787). (Matsunaga 1977:112 and 112n.4).

38. Matsunaga 1977:112-113.

39. Matsunaga 1977:114-115.

40. Wayman 1977:56.

41. Since the Tantra proper is usually referred to as having only eighteen chapters, Bhattacharya felt that the *Uttarārdha* portion was not part of the original text. (Bhattacharya 1931:vi.)

- 42 . One of Bhattacharya's arguments for an earlier date of the text is the elaborate description of the *Saṅgīti* at the beginning of the text, as is also the style for the earlier *Mahāyāna sūtras*. Later descriptions of the assemblies are certainly shorter. See Chapter 4 of this dissertation.
- 43 . Dowman 1985:370.
- 44 . Bhattacharyya 1931.xn.2
- 45 . See Naudou 1980:78-79, and 79n.1.
- 46 . Winternitz 1933:1-2. Matsunaga uncritically presumes that the material from the first twelve chapters of the *Guhyasamājatantra* that form, as he puts it, 'the original core of the text,' are cited in Śāntideva's 7th century *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. (Matsunaga 1977:114-115.)
- 47 . See Bendall & Rouse 1922:314, and citations listed at page 322.
- 48 . Wayman 1977:ix.
- 49 . Farquar describes the *Kalpa-sūtras* as giving "minute instructions for the sacrificers." (Farquar 1920:50).
- 50 . Dasgupta 1932:277; he cites *Cakrapāṇi's Āyurvedadīpikā* 1.1.1 *Gurv-ājñā-lābha-anantaraṃ etat-tantra-karaṇaṃ*, and *Carakasamhitā* 1.1.52.
- 51 . See especially Hoernle 1909:879-880.
- 52 . Hoernle 1893:i.
- 53 . Several manuscripts from adjacent *stūpas* at Kurchar ended up with Weber, Macartney, and Petrovski, the latter now housed in St. Petersburg.
- 54 . Hoernle 1893:iv.
- 55 . Bühler 1877:29-30.
- 56 . Hoernle 1893:xlvi-xlviii.
- 57 . Part of the argument Hoernle uses for dating the Bower manuscript is that the single hole for the binding string is found to the left of center, as was the practice in fourth and fifth century birch-bark manuscripts. (Hoernle 1893:xxiv.)
- 58 . Hoernle 1893:lvi. Hoernle proposes the date of the original *Navanītika* as the second century CE, allowing time for the *saṃhitās* to gain authoritative status. The *Carakasamhitā* was revised some centuries later by *Dr̥ḍhabala* who added the *Kalpasthāna* and *Siddhisthāna*, along with seventeen chapters of the *Cikitsāsthāna*. (Hoernle 1893:lxvii.)
- 59 . Hoernle 1893:lviii-lix.
- 60 . Verses 917-949.
- 61 . Hoernle 1909:861.
- 62 . The colophon to *Cikitsāsthānam* 2.3 of the *Carakasamhitā* refers to the *Agniveśa-kṛte tantre caraka-pratisamkṛte*, i.e. the System or Treatise by Agniveśa redacted or revised by Caraka. (See Sharma 1983:47).
- 63 . Hoernle 1893:lx.
- 64 . Hoernle 1893:lxviii-lxix, and lxxxvi-xciv.
- 65 . Hoernle 1893:xxii.

66 . Suzuki 1961:1-23, along with hundreds of *sādhana*s, not to mention the seemingly endless commentarial literature.

67 . Joshi 1977:146.

68 . Verse 3.308 of his *Pramāṇavārttika: Vratācaryābhraṃśādinā dharmā-adharma-upacāye dharmā-adharma-ātmanor vā prakṛtyā siddhy-asiddhī iti cet| na| dharmā-viruddhānām api kraury-asteya-māithuna-hīnakṛmā-ādi-bahulānāṃ vratānāṃ dākinī-bhaginī-tantrādiṣu darśanāt| taiś ca siddhi-viśeṣāt* (sic)| *na caivaṃ-vidho dharmā-svabhāva iti ca yathāvasaraṃ nivedayiṣyāmaḥ* . (Davidson 1981:8n. 21—cited from Gnoli's *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti* (Gnoli 1960a:163.1-6). Davidson refers us also to verse 309 and the *Vṛtti* on verse 243 especially Gnoli 1960a:123.20-124.2.

69 . Gnoli 1960a:xxxv.

70 . *nanu na śaknuvanty eva puruṣā mantrān kartum| etad uttaratra vicārayiṣyāmaḥ. api ca| na mantrō nāmānyad eva kiṃcit. kiṃ tarhi| satya-tapaḥ-prabhāva-tāṃ samhitā-arthā-sādhanaṃ vacanam| tad advāyate 'pi puruṣeṣu dṛśyate eva| yathāsvaṃ satya-adhiṣṭhāna-balā viśa-dahana-ādi-stambhana-darśanāt| śabarāṇāṃ ca keṣāṃ-cid adyāpi mantra-karaṇāt| teṣāṃ ca puruṣa-kṛteḥ| tatrāpy apauruṣeyate katham idāntm apauruṣeyam avitatham| tathā hi bauddha-itarayor mantra-kalpāyor hiṃsā-māithuna-ātma-darśana-ādāyo 'nabhudaya-hetavo 'nyathā ca varṇyante| tat katham ekatra viruddha-abhidhāyī dvayam satyaṃ syāt| tatra-arthā-antara-kalpane tad anyatra-api tulyam ity arthā-anirṇayāt kvacid apratipattiḥ| tathā ca sad apy anupayogam apauruṣayam| bauddhādīnām amantratve tad anyatrāpi koṣapānam syāt karaṇīyam| viśa-karma-ādi-kṛto bauddhā api dṛśyante| tatra-amantratve api vipratīṣiddham| mudrā-maṇḍala-dhyānair apy anakṣaraiḥ karmāṇi kriyante| na ca tāny apauruṣayāṇi nityāni yujyante| teṣāṃ kriyāsāmbhave 'kṣara-racanāyāṃ kaḥ pratighātaḥ puruṣāṇām| tasmān na kiṃcid aśakya-kriyam eṣām| katham idāntm satya-prabhavau mantra-kalpau paraspara-virodhanau| na vai sarvatra tau satya-prabhavau| prabhāva-yukta-puruṣa-pratījñā-lakṣanāv api tau staḥ| sa prabhāvo gati-siddhi-viśeṣābhyām api syāt| yadi pauruṣeyā mantrāḥ kiṃ na sarve puruṣā mantra-kāriṇaḥ| tat-kriyāsādhana-vaikalyāt| yadi tādṛśaiḥ satya-tapaḥ-prabhṛtibhir yuktāḥ syuḥ kurvanti eva| api ca kāvyāni puruṣaḥ karoti iti sarvaḥ puruṣaḥ kāvyā-kṛt syāt| akaraṇe vā naiva kaścit tadvad ity apūrvaiṣā vācoyuktiḥ| satyaṃ mantra-kriyā-sādhana-vikalā[n] mantrān na kurvate| tat tu kasyacit sākalyaṃ na paśyamāḥ| puruṣāṇāṃ samāna-dharmatvāt| uktam atra na mantrō nāmānyad eva kiṃcit satyādi-matām vacana-samayād iti|* (Gnoli 1960a:123.8-25—124.1-15, Dharmakīrti's commentary on verse 243).

71 . Verse 309: *ye 'pi tantra-vidah kecin mantrān kāṃścana kurvate| prabhu-prabhāvas teṣāṃ sa tad-ukta-nyāya-vṛttitah||* Commentary: *rathyāpuruṣā api kecana tantrajñāḥ svayaṃ-kṛtair mantraiḥ kiṃcit karma kurvanti| tathā-anyo 'py anatiśayaś ca kartā ca mantrāṇāṃ iti| na| teṣāṃ prabhāvavata eva adhiṣṭhānāt| tat-kṛtaṃ hi te samayam anupālayantas tad-upadeśena ca vartmānāḥ samarthāḥ| tat-samaya-upadeśa-nirapekṣāṇām asāmarthyāt|* (Gnoli 1960a:163.23-29). Miyasaka has published an edited version of the Sanskrit and Tibetan of the *Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā*, with index—(See Miyasaka 1971/2 and 1975). vss. 3.308: *asādhāraṇatā siddhā mantrākhyakramakāriṇām/ pūṃsāṃ jñāna-prabhāvābhyām anyeṣāṃ tadabhāvataḥ//* vs. 3.309 (starts the *āptacintā* section (seventh) of chapter 3: *ye 'pi tantravidah kecin mantrān kāṃścana kurvate| prabhu-prabhāvas teṣāṃ sa tad-ukta-nyāya-vṛttitah||* (Miyasaka 1971/2:158.) 3.309 (*tantravid*) is the only instance of the word *tantra* in the *Kārikās*. (Miyasaka 1975:63).

- 72 . For a good thumbnail sketch of the variety of classification schemes for Tantric texts, see Banerji 1992:1-3.
- 73 . "In view of the fact that Dharmakīrti shows just such qualities in verses that are undoubtedly his own, one cannot avoid the impression that most of the verses here attributed to Dharmakīrti are his own compositions." (Ingalls 1965:47).
- 74 . Ingalls 1965:194.
- 75 . Ingalls 1965:181.
- 76 . Kale 1966:xv; date given on p.xx.
- 77 . Kale 1966:xxxvi.
- 78 . Kale 1966:5 English.
- 79 . Kale 1966:15-16 English.
- 80 . Kale 1966:16-17 English. The pertinent sentence is: "*dvijan mā kṛtajñō mahyam akṣara-sikṣāṃ vidhāya vividha-āgama-tantram ākhyāya kalmaṣa-kṣaya-kāraṇaṃ sadācāram upadiśya jñānekṣaṇa-gamya-mānasya śaśi-khaṇḍa-śekharasya pūjā-vidhānam abhidhāya pūjāṃ mat-kṛtām aṅgikṛtya niragāt.*" Kale 1966:25-26 Sanskrit.
- 81 . Kale 1966:17 English; p. 26 Sanskrit.
- 82 . "Siddha-ascetics" are referred to in the account of the Asura Kalindī, who greets Mātāṅga upon his arrival in Pātāla and marries him; lost in grief at the death of her father the King, a Siddha ascetic predicted Mātāṅga's arrival, accounting for Kalindī's decision to come out from the palace to meet Mātāṅga. (Kale 1966:18 English, 28 Sanskrit).
- 83 . Kale 1966:19 English.
- 84 . Kale 1966:22 English.
- 85 . Gajendragadhar 1919{2}:xxii.
- 86 . Gajendragadhar 1919:xix-xx.
- 87 . Gajendragadhar 1919:xxxvii.
- 88 . Kale 1966:47 English.
- 89 . The Sanskrit reads: *diṅ-mukheṣu tat-tat-śilpa-vittakair yaśaḥ-prakhyāpanam, kārtāntikādibhiḥ kalyāṇa-lakṣaṇa-udghoṣaṇam, pīṣhamarda-viṣa-vidūṣakair bhikṣukyādibhiś ca nāgarika-puruṣa-samavāyeṣu rūpa-śīla-śilpa-saundarya-mādhurya-prastāvanā, yuva-jana-manoratha-lakṣyabhūtāyāḥ prabhūtatamena sulkena avasthāpanam.* (Kale 1966:67 Sanskrit.)
- 90 . Kale 1966:60 English; Sanskrit p. 86.
- 91 . Dyczkowski 1988:5—"the author describes a Śaiva ascetic from South India 'who had made a collection of manuscripts of jugglery, Tantras, and Mantras [which were written] in letters of red lac on palm leaves [tinged] with smoke.' Bāṇa also says that 'he had written down the doctrine of Mahākāla, which is the ancient teaching of the Mahāpaśupatas,' thus confirming that oral traditions were in fact being committed to writing." (Dyczkowski 1988:5, cited from Bāṇa's Kādambarī, part II, edited by P.V. Kane, Nirnaya Sāgara Press, 1913, pp. 68-69.)
- 92 . Lorenzen 1972:18, citing Cowell & Thomas 1963:263-265; Kane 1965{1}:46-47] for the description of *Bhairavācārya*, and Cowell & Thomas 1963:90-91; Kane 1965{1}:49-50 for a description of the *Mahākālahṛdaya* spell he performs for the king; Lorenzen gives partial translations 1972:20-22.

93 . Lorenzen 1972:22.

94 . See Cowell & Thomas 1963:134-135; Ridding 1896:53. The c. 740-750 *Gāṇḍavaha* by Vākpatirāja, written to celebrate the victory of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (who was later conquered by Lalitāditya of Kaśmīr) over a Gauḍa prince, contains some descriptions of a southern Kālī temple where human sacrifices were offered. (Keith 1928:150-151.)

95 . Reviewing Lorenzen's work on the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas (Lorenzen 1972), Bharati wrote "Lorenzen is not an anthropologist (he does not claim to be one); but his assumption (if indeed he holds it) that human sacrifices were actually a part of the ritual of one or both of these schools, is less well founded. Scriptural or commentarial reference to radical, deviant ritual—and this includes directly erotic rites like the *pañcamakāra*—is one thing, their actual execution at any time in Indian history is quite doubtful." Just above this remark Bharati adds "There is a lot of dissimulation vis-à-vis possible esoteric, read eroticized, backgrounds officially denied though most often quite well known to the sacerdotal elites." (Bharati 1975:156).

96 . Dyzkowski cites a revealing passage about a modern day Aghori by Parry, who says that "the 'true' Aghori is entirely indifferent to what he consumes, drinks not only liquor by urine and eats not only meat but excrement, vomit and the putrid flesh of corpses." (Dyzkowski 1988:28).

97 . Sanskrit from Peterson 1883:64, lines 11-13. I've modified Ridding's translation here as he left out a phrase, and misinterpreted some terms.

98 . Sanskrit from Peterson 1883:64, lines 18-19.

99 . Sanskrit from Peterson 1883:64, line 23.

100 . Ridding 1896:55-56.

101 . Ridding 1896:162.

102 . Multidenominationalism was apparently a long and well-accepted tradition in India. The famed seventh century King Harṣa (606-647 CE), about whom we know so much thanks to Hsuan-Chuang, came from a family that worshipped equally Śiva and the Sun; his elder brother and sister were Buddhists, and Harṣa himself swayed towards Buddhism in his later years. (Nariman et al 1923:xxxii-xxxiii.)

103 . Tao-si-yan, a friend of Yuan Chwang, in the 7th century text *She-Kia-Fang-Che*, described the kingdom of Kie-jo-kiu-sho on the Ganges, ruled by the pious king Kumārarāja who founded thousands of *stūpas* and fed *śramaṇas* inside his palace. He remarked that "In the five Indies the monasteries for nuns were few. So the nuns were freely living with the monks in the same monastery, taking meals together without losing their *śīla*." (Bagchi 1959:59.) Describing an annual festival near the Bodhi tree he says: "Every year when the Bhikṣus break up their *varṣā*, religious persons come from directions in large numbers (lit. hundreds, thousands, and ten thousands). During seven days and nights they offer incense, flower, dance and music etc. in the forest." (Bagchi 1959:91.)

104 . Bagchi 1946b:108.

105 . Vasu 1896:116. The list is as follows: *Mahārāṣṭrī tathā Avantī, Śaurasēti, Arhdamāgadhi | Vāhlikī Māgadhi caiva śad etā dākṣiṇātya-jāḥ | Brācaṇḍo, Laṭa-Vaidarbhav, Upanāgara-Nāgarau | Vārvara, Āvantya, Pāñcāla, Tākka, Mālava, Kaikayāḥ | Gauḍa, Udra, Daiva, Pāścātya, Pāñḍya, Kauntala, Saimhalāḥ | Kāliṅga, Prācyā, Kārṇāṭa, Kāñcyā, Drāviḍa, Gaurjarāḥ | Abhīro, Madhyadeśtya, Sūkṣma-bheda-vyavasthitāḥ | Sapta-vimśaty-*

*apabhraṃsā Vaidālādi-prabhedataḥ* || (Vasu 1896:116). We see in the names *Upanāgara* and *Nāgara* for two prakritic dialects that the *upa-* suffix for place names—since these dialect names derive from their locales—was not peculiar at the time to places of pilgrimage. We also see that the *Takka*, the source for *Taktrāja* of the ten *Krodheśvaras*, was still extant as a geographic entity in the 11th century; and that modern day *Karnatic* existed as *Kārṇāṭa*.

106. Keith 1928:31.

107. Keith 1928:75.

108. Beal 1884:xxxviii.

109. *Kulārṇavatāntra 7.39: Tasmāt sulakṣaṇām śaktim gandhapuṣpākṣatādibhiḥ* | *Abharccya devatābuddhyā bhogapātram nivedayet* | | 7.40: *Tadante kanyakās-cāpi pramadās-ca manoharāḥ* | *Sampūjya devatābuddhyā dadyāt pātram pṛthak pṛthak* | | 7.41: *Anivedya tu yaḥ śaktyai kuladravyam niṣevate* | *pūjitam niṣphalam tasya devatā na prasīdati* | | 7.42: *Caṇḍālī carmmakārti ca māgadhiḥ pukkastī tathā* | *śvapactī khaṭṭaktī caiva kaivaritī vaiśyayoṣitāḥ* | | 7.43: *Kulāṣṭakam idam proktam, akulāṣṭakam ucyate* | *Kaṇṭuktī [kauṅcuktī] śaṇḍiktī caiva śastrajīvtī ca rañcaktī* | | 7.44: *Gāyaktī rajaktī śilpī kaukiktī ca tathāṣṭamī* | *Tantra-mantra-samāyuktā samayācārapālikā*. | | 7.45: *Kumārī ca vratāsthā ca yoga-mudrādhārāpi vā* | *Pūjākāle svataḥ prāptā sā jñeyā sahaḥ budhaiḥ*. | | (Avalon & Vidyāratna 1917:68.) Goudriaan, following Carlstedt, dates this work tentatively between 1000-1400 CE (Gupta, Hoens, and Goudriaan 1979:11). Unfortunately Carlstedt's writings are in Swedish, so it's difficult to check his evidence (since I haven't learned Swedish).

110. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī 4.210*—cited by Vidyabhusana 1908:xxx, and see Stein 1991{1}:143.

111. See Vidyabhusana 1908:i-xxx. Though Vidyabhusana gives Sanskrit titles for all the works on Tārā, he does not list translators' names for all of them, so it is not clear whether some of the Tibetan works with Sanskrit titles are Sanskrit originals. As is clear from catalogue searches, numerous works on Tārā were also composed in Nepal after the Persian invasions of India—these later texts were not always translated into Tibetan. Vidyabhusana's edition includes an English translation done in collaboration with H.N. De (see pp. 114-126), and a useful index of Tibetan-Sanskrit/Sanskrit-Tibetan terms (pp. 126-273).

112. Verse 17, Vidyabhusana 1908:119. The Sanskrit reads: *Māyā-nirmāṇa-karmma-krama-kṛta-vikṛtānekanepathya-mithyā-rūpa-ārambha-anurūpa-praharaṇa-kiraṇāḍḍambaroḍḍamarāṇi* | *tvat-tantoddhāryya-mantra-smṛti-hṛta-duritasya āvahanty apradhṛṣyāṃ preta-protātantra-tantrīnicaya-viracita-srañji rakṣāṃsi rakṣām* | | (Vidyabhusana 1908:24 of Sanskrit).

113. *Tārārṇavādīni tantrāṇi teṣu uddhāryā uttolantīyā ye mantrās, teṣāṃ smṛtyā smarāṇena hṛtāni duritāni pāpāni*. (Vidyabhusana 1908:24 of Sanskrit).

114. See vss. 13, 21-23, Vidyabhusana 1908:pp. 118-121.

115. Sankalia 1972:157; Takakusu 1896:37.

116. Śāstrī 1920:44, line 1: *Evam anupūrvataḥ Hārītī mahāyakṣiṇī ālekhyā* |.

117. Beal 1884{2}:103. Naudou inexplicably misinterprets Hsuan Tsang's descriptions as referring to Tārā, the feminine deity.

118. Beal 1884{2}:103n.42. Hsuan Tsang mentions another male Tāra Bodhisattva figure near the Balāditya-rāja *vihāra*. (Beal 1884{2}:174.)

119. Beal 1884{2}:174-175.



120. *Harivijaya* 47.54; Handiqui 1934:529.
121. Lorenzen 1972.
122. Lorenzen 1972:97.
123. Lorenzen 1972:xi.
124. Lorenzen 1972:89.
125. Lorenzen 1972:12-15.
126. *Viṣṇusmṛti* 1.1-6, 15; *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 3.243; *Āpastambīya Dharmasūtra* 1.24.14, etc. (Lorenzen 1972:74-76.)
127. Lorenzen 1972:77-80.
128. Lorenzen 1972:80 & 83. Lorenzen draws from a variety of dramas for fictional, though consistent accounts of these sects, including Mahendravarman's *Mattavilāsa* (c. 600-630CE), Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* (c. 725CE) and Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya* (c. 1050-1100CE) plus two legendary accounts (c. 14th-15th century) of Śaṅkara's life, Mādhava's *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* and Ānandagiri's *Śaṅkaravijaya*. From the c. 900-950CE *Caṇḍakuśika* by Kṣemīśvara we have a Kāpālika character (Act IV, vs. 31) who holds "control over a Vetāla and a thunderbolt (*vajra*); possession of magical pills, ointments and foot salve; command over Daitya women; and knowledge of the elixir of life (*rasāyana*) and alchemy (*dhātuvāda*). (Lorenzen 1972:58.) Lorenzen cites some convincing epigraphic evidence that the Kāpālika and Pāśupata sects were well-established in the seventh century. A copper plate from the seventh century Cālukya king Nāgavardhana refers to a bequest "for the purpose of the (rite called) Guggula-pūjā of the temple of (the god) Kāpāleśvara, and ... to the great ascetics [Mahāvratins] who reside at that (temple)." (Lorenzen explains that *guggula-pūjā* refers to a penance of placing burning bdellium on one's head). (Lorenzen 1972:27.) Another temple inscription on the Paśupati temple in Kathmandu from the reign of King Jīṣṇagupta (c. 630 CE) cites a gift to "Vārāhaswāmin, Dharma...and to the Somakhaḍḍukas in the congregation of the Muṇḍaśṛṅkhalika-Pāśupatācārya," (Lorenzen 1972:30), i.e. the congregation of the Pāśupata teacher [named] Wearing a Garland of Skulls. Quoting from Rāmānuja's commentary on *Brahmasūtras* 2.2.35-37 and from Yāmunācārya, Lorenzen notes that Kāpālika's six insignia (*mudrikāṣaṭka*) are the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*), a second necklace (*rucaka*), earring (*kuṇḍala*), crest-jewel (*śikhāmaṇi*), ashes, and a sacred thread, and their two secondary insignia (*upamudrā*) are the skull (*kapāla*) and the ascetic's staff (*khaṭvaṅga*). (Lorenzen 1972:2-3.) As he says, "Sanskrit sources usually portray Kāpālikas as charlatan ascetics who wander about with a skull begging bowl and drink liquor freely for mundane as well as ritual purposes. They also wear the ashes of the dead...." (Lorenzen 1972:5.) The Kālāmukhas were also known as the Lākula, Nākula, or Lāguḍa, while Soma and Saumya were used as synonyms for the Kāpālas, and both were known as *Mahāvratadharmā*. (Lorenzen 1972:10.)
129. Act V, vss. 4ff. See *Mālatīmādhava* Act 5, opening invocation by Kapālakakuṇḍalā, the female disciple of Kāpālika Aghoraghaṇṭa, for a description of the six *cakras* and ten *nāḍīs*. (Lorenzen 1972:95.)
130. Lorenzen 1972:57.
131. Lorenzen 1972:86.
132. "They are connected specifically with Kāñci, parts of Mysore, western and central Maharashtra, Ujjain, the Gwalior region of Madhya Pradesh, and the Kurnool District in

Andhra Pradesh. They may also have been found in Orissa (Bhubaneswar) by this date." (Lorenzen 1972:52.)

133. Lorenzen 1972:53.

134. vs. 408; Lorenzen 1971:13.

135. Lorenzen 1971:13-14ff.

136. Goudriaan & Gupta 1981:9, 58ff.

137. Eggeling 1897:153. This quote also appears in note 141 of Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

138. Bagchi 1975:3-4. In the *Uttarasūtra* of this text, 18 older *Śivasūtras* are mentioned, the *Vijaya*, *Svāyambhuvamata*, *Vāthula*, *Vīrabhadra*, *Raurava*, *Mākuṣa*, *Vīrasa (Vīreśa)*, *Candra(hāsa)*, *Jñāna*, *Mukhavimbaka*, *Prodgīta*, *Lalita*, *Siddhi*, *Santāna*, *Sarvodgīta*, *Kiraṇa*, *Pārameśvara*. Bagchi 1975:5.

139. Joshi 1977:137.

140. *Dakṣiṇās tathā loke tribhavāntakarās tathā* | | *mantra-tantra-abhiyogena khyātāḥ kīrtikarāḥ smṛtāḥ* | 53.954b-955a; Jayaswal 1988:76 English and 71 Sanskrit.

141. *Adhunā tu pravakṣyāmi dvijānām dharma śīlinām* | | *mantra-tantra-abhiyogena rājya-vṛttim upāśritā* | MMK 53.955b-956a, and ff., Jayaswal 1988:76 English and 71-72 Sanskrit.

142. *Amukhā mantribhis te ca rājyavṛtti-samāśritā*. MMK 53:963a, Jayaswal 1988:76 English, 72 Sanskrit.

143. Donaldson 1986:138.

144. Donaldson 1986:137.

145. Donaldson 1986:180.

146. Farquar 1920:190-204.

147. Dehejia 1986:7.

148. As Dehejia explains, other than these *Yoginī* temples, the *vartula* or circular temple specified as a temple type in the architectural and Purāṇic texts "was not much in vogue and remained mostly a theoretical classification" according to extant remains. Dehejia 1986:42.

149. Dehejia 1986:ix.

150. Dehejia 1986:ix.

151. Dehejia 1986:40.

152. Dehejia 1986:2.

153. *Brhat Samhitā* 56.10: (*catuṣṣaṣṭipadaṃ kāryaṃ devatāyatanaṃ sadā*). (Bhat 1981{1}:538)

154. Dehejia 1986:5.

155. *Uddīśatantra*, *Yoginī Sādhana Prayoga*, various *Yoginī sādhanas* derived from the *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*, and the *Mahāyākṣiṇītantra*. (Dehejia 1986:36.) Dehejia refers us to Coomaraswamy (Commaraswamy, AK, *Yakṣas*, Washington 1922:31, and "The Tantric Doctrine of Divine Biunity" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* XIX 173-183.) who was of the same opinion.

156. Dehejia 1986:5.

157. See Dehejia 1986:11-17.
158. Dutt and Sharma 1942:viii.
159. Dutt and Sharma 1942:ix.
160. Lo 1949:84-85.
161. Levi 1900:297.
162. Levi 1900:335, 3rd verse, my translation from his French.
163. Levi has a note on "le mur surnaturel" from Julien's translation of *Huien-tsang* (II. p.139) explaining that the *bodhi* tree was surrounded by a high and very solid brick wall extending quite a ways north, south, east and west. (Levi 1900:340-341).
164. Levi 1900:340-341--"Sur le trône de daimant (vajrāsana), --les milles Buddhas tour à tour se sont tenus; Du visage vénérables les marques distinctives primaires et secondaires-- sont le modèle qu'en a donné Maitreya; Le mur surnaturel est admirable et beau;--l'arbre de l'intelligence est exubérant; Traversant les kaplas sans défaillir--cette force divine comment l'égalerait-on?"
165. Beal 1884{1}:148-149.
166. See Beal 1884{1}:148-162.
167. Naudou 1980:43.
168. Watters 1961{ii}:227-228. Several hundred monks had come there from Ceylon due to a famine, and he questioned them about the Yoga scriptures, though they offered him no new insights.
169. Dutt 1962:231.
170. Takakusu 1896:65.
171. Takakusu 1896:157.
172. Takakusu 1896:162-163.
173. Takakusu 1896:165-166.
174. See Takakusu 1896:167-184.
175. Takakusu 1896:182.
176. Takakusu 1896:186-187.
177. Takakusu 1896:199.
178. Takakusu 1896:205-206.
179. See also Mirsky 1977:469.
180. See Jeanette Mirsky's study for a full account of his various adventures (Mirsky 1977).
181. Vira & Chandra 1959:4, and Dutt 1939:41 (for quote).
182. Dutt 1939:42.
183. Dutt 1939:42-43.
184. Vira & Candra 1959:v.
185. Vira & Chandra 1959:5. Though the texts now belong to the Central Govt. of India, they had a strange history. The bulk of them "somehow found its way into the hands of Capt. Agha Mohammed Ali Shah of Rawalpindi. Since 1940 he was trying to sell his

portion. After the division of India in 1947 negotiations became increasingly more and more difficult.... We are happy that the Pakistan Government has ultimately loaned the manuscripts to Prof. G. Tucci." (Vira & Chandra 1959:5).

186. Dutt 1939:ii-iii.

187. Dutt 1939:iii-iv. Dutt provides a brief history of Buddhism in Kashmir, saying "it will be admitted by every scholar that Kashmir is the cradle of Sanskrit Buddhism," based largely on Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgi* and Tāranātha's History of Buddhism. (Dutt 1939:3).

188. Dutt 1939:54.

189. Dutt 1939:66-68.

190. Dutt 1941:iii.

191. Dutt 1939:iv.

192. Dutt 1941:xii.

193. Dutt 1942:i.

194. The full list of texts is as follows: Part 1: 1960, *Vinayavastu*, Part 2: 1960, fragments of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*.

Part 3, 1966, *Pañcaviṃśati-* and *Aṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikā (Prajñāpāramitā)*.

Part 4, 1966, *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā (Prajñāpāramitā)*.

Part 5, 1970, same as 3 & 4.

Part 6, 1974, *Vinayavastu, Mahāpratisarā, Mahāsannipāta-Ratnaketusūtra*.

Part 7, 1974, *Mahāsannipāta-Ratnaketusūtra, Viśvantarāvadhāna, Māndhātāvadhāna and Dharmarucy-avadāna, Vajracchedikā, Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra, Sumāgadhāvadāna, Sucandra-avadāna, Divyāvadhāna (?)*, *Maitreya-vyākaraṇa, Kūṭāgāra-sūtra, Kāraṇḍavyūha, Avikalpapraveśa-sūtra, Tathāgata-bimba-kārāṇa-sūtra, Kālasūtra (?)*, *Anna-pāna-vidhi, Prasenañid-gautama-gāthā, Maṇḍala-vidhi-sādhanā and Mudrā-vidhāna* (4th and 5th paṭalas of a larger work), *Vajra-dharma-samatā, Sarva-tathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-sattvālokana-buddha-kṣetra-sandarśana-vyūha*.

Part 8, 1974, *Sarva-tathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-sattvālokana-buddha-kṣetra-sandarśana-vyūha* (continued), *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra, Saṅghāta-sūtra*.

Part 9, 1974, *Saṅghāta-sūtra, Ajitasena-vyākaraṇa, Ekādaśa-mukha-hṛdaya and Hayagrīva-vidyā, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*.

Part 10, 1974, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra, Tantrasadbhāva-sūtra, Praṇāma-stava, Dārikā-gāthā, Dṛḍhanemi-gāthā (?)*, *Prasenañid-gāthā, Mekhalā-vidyā (?)*, *Bhaiṣajya-guru-sūtra*, and fragments of other manuscript. (See Vira & Chandra 1960ff).

195. Dutt 1933:567.

196. Dutt 1933:231.

197. Gaṇendra is a name for the Buddha in the *Lalitavistara*, according to Monier Williams' Dictionary; one would expect from the context though that Gaṇendra is a variant of Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Parvatī's son.

198. Apte and Monier Williams both describe *akṣara-paṅkti* as a type of meter with four lines, each containing one dactyl (a long or accented followed by two short or unaccented syllables) and one spondee (two long or accented syllables).

199. The single folio of Sanskrit is: "41. TANTRA-SADBHĀVA-SĀRA. It comprises only one folio, numbered 1 and commencing *om svasti*.// followed by stanzas to Śiva: *Śivam*

*acalam aprameyaṃ carācareśānam avyayam acintyam praṇipatya kāmam īśaṃ sagaṇedraṃ sapaṇicāraṃ ca* | | *eka-dvi-tṛ-caturdhā navadhā bhūyo* [']*py anekadhā bhedaiḥ devibhiś śivamārgaṃ vyāptaṃ tāsāṃ gurūṇāṃ ca* | | *ātreyā-varuṣa-tilakenoktaṃ sarvād avāpya yatpūrvam* | *sura-muni-nara-asurāṇāṃ devīnāṃ tantrasadbhāvaṃ* | *tasmād aham apy adhunā vakṣye saṃhatya sāramāryābhiḥ spaṣṭa-tarākṣarapaṅktibhir aviśāladhiyāṃ prabodhāya* | | The title in the National Archives has been supplied from this stanza." (Vira & Chandra 1974:8).

200. Bechert & Wille 1989:vii.

201. Stein 1917:203.

202. Dietz 1993:131.

203. Clawiter et al 1965: 348-353; Clawiter et al 1971: 277-279; Bechert and Wille 1979: 228-232; Sander and Waldschmidt 1980: 355-362. The list from Clawiter et al 1965:348-353 includes fragments from 11 *vinaya* texts, 87 *sūtras*, 4 *gāthās* and 2 *avadānas*, several *abhidharma* texts including Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, a couple of *yoga* texts, some 14 *raḁṣa*, *vidyā*, *mantra*, and *dhāraṇī* texts, *Buddha nāmāvalī*s, *stotras*, *Mahāyānasūtras*, some of *Aśvaghōṣa*'s writings, along with several works on grammar, metrics, astronomy and astrology, and medicine (*Bhedaśaṃhitā*). The list from Clawiter et al 1971:277-279 includes manuscript fragments of 4 *vinaya* texts, 33 *sūtras*, 3 *avadānas*, a few *abhidharma* texts, commentaries, a fragment of the *Yogavidhi*, fragments of *dhāraṇī*s and *mantras*, lists of names of the Buddha, songs of praise, some of the large *Mahāyānasūtras*. some poems, grammatical texts, and medical works.

204. Griffith 1895-6: 379; cf. Zysk 1991: 14.

205. See Schlingloff 1964.

206. Clawiter et al 1965:103.no. 183a.

207. Schlingloff 1964:26.

208. Schlingloff 1964:70.

209. Schlingloff 1964:71.

210. Schlingloff 1964:88. My English translation is from the Sanskrit, using Schlingloff's German translation as the guide: *tad-anantaraṃ abhiṣekena āśrayaṃ prīṇayan, tato bhru-madhye citta-upanibandhaḥ, tasmāt pravāho nirgataḥ, pṛthivī-maṇḁalaṃ bhītvā, narakāṃ pretāś ca avabhāṣya, kāñcana-cakraṃ bhītvā, āp-maṇḁalaṃ, vāyu-maṇḁalaṃ, ākāśa-dhātum avabhāṣya, parivartya, nābhyāṃ praviśya, mūrdhnā nirgatyā, avyucchinnaṃ yāvad aghaniṣṭhāṃ devān avabhāṣya catur-dhyāna-rasam ādāya, mūrdhnā punaḥ praviśati* | .

211. Schlingloff 1964:90.

212. Schlingloff 1964:91—*upari ca asya nīla-pīta-lohita-avadāta-rasa-paripūrṇāt parvatāḥ dṛśyante, ādarśe ca parvata-pratibimba ... nānā-varuṇena rasena āśrayā[a]ṃ purayati, ratna-ābhā-janam iva nirmala-rasa-paripūrṇaṃ āśrayaṃ paśyati* |

213. Schlingloff 1964:94.

214. Clawiter et al 1971:140-142.nos. 891, 892, and 894.

215. Clawiter & Holzman 1965:307.

216. Clawiter & Holzmann 1965:257.

217. Clawiter & Holzman 1965:190-191.

218. Bunyio [tk]
219. Bagchi 1981:19-21.
220. Stein 1917:194.
221. See Lalou 1939:v ff.
222. Lalou 1939:12, # 39.1, 1939:13, # 40.1, 1939:84-85, #s 321-324.
223. Lalou 1939:66-67, #s 240 & 241, 1939:70, # 254, 1939:75, #279, etc.
224. Lalou 1939:69, # 250.
225. Lalou 1939:76, # 281 and 284.
226. Lalou 1939:77, # 286.
227. Lalou 1939:88, # 337.
228. See Finot 1934:1-86.
229. Leinhard 1988:xi.
230. Bagchi 1975:1-11. Bagchi cites a passage from the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* identifying *Tumburu* as one of Śiva's aspects, and pairing *Tumburu* with *Rudra* or *Bhairava*: "The mothers, endowed with the eight divine powers, and impelled by *Rudra*, whenever they all gathered together in the sky, for whatever reason, they made a tremendous celebration for the sake of illuminating ultimate reality; flowing in the left stream, they resorted to *Tumburu* [and] to *Rudra*; honoring the two gods who should by honored by the world, *Tumburu* and *Bhairava*...." (*Yogavāsiṣṭha Nirvāṇaprakaraṇa*, *Pūrvārdham* 18.24-26a). "*Ity-aṣṭaiśvarya-yuktās tā mātaro raudraceṣṭitāḥ | kadācin militā vyomni sarvāḥ kenāpi hetunā | | utsavaṃ paramaṃ cakruḥ paramārtha-prakāśakam | vāmasrotogatā etās tumburuṃ rudram āśritāḥ | | pūjayitvā jagatpūjyau devau tumburu-bhairavau |*." (Vālmīki 1918{2}:808-809).
231. "List of Ancient Inscriptions published in the Volumes of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, from January 1834, to March 1841." (Sykes 1841:466-467).
232. Sykes 1941:462-463.
233. See Nadou 1980:80n.3, where he raises a question about Hirananda Shastri's reading of the plaque (from *Epigraphica Indica* XVII, p. 312).
234. Joshi 1977:139.
235. Barua 1969:163.
236. Barua 1969:173-174.
237. Barua 1969:177.
238. Barua 1969:180.
239. Prasad Singh 1981:111.
240. Sankalia 1972:99.
241. Barua 1969:194.
242. Altekar 1959:44-48.
243. Altekar 1959:45.
244. Dutt and Sharma 1942:xiv.

245. "In the 4th and 5th centuries Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) was famous in the Buddhist countries of Central Asia as a great centre of Sanskrit culture. This was the reason for which Kumārajīva's mother brought her son to Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) for a perfect education in the Sanskrit lore in the third quarter of the 4th century. Kumārajīva while in China seems to have attracted many Buddhist [*Sarvāstivāda*] scholars of Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) and between 381 and 442 A.D. it was the Buddhist scholars of Ki-pin (Kāśmīra) who played the most important part in the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese." (Bagchi 1946a:52.) Kumārajīva was taken to China by the general who conquere Kucī in 401. (Bagchi 1981:43-44.) Forte has also discussed the activities of one Manicintana (Pao-ssu-wei), a Kaśmīri *ḷṣatriya* who abandoned his homeland to become a Buddhist monk and go to China, where he died in 721CE. While Forte refers to him as "the Tantric Master," it turns out that Manicintana worked as a member of several different translation teams in China. The texts he worked on included the *Mahā-pratisāra-dhāraṇī*, the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-rāja-sūtra*, possibly the *Mahāratnakūṭa-sūtra*, and possibly the *Avaiartika-cakra-sūtra*. (Forte 1984:301-335.)

246. Kashmiri scholars who went to China, and translated Buddhist works: (from Bagchi 1944b:76-77.)

Saṅgabhūti 381-384--*Vinayapiṭaka* of *Sarvāstivāda* school, among others.

Gautama Saṅghadeva 384-397+--several texts, an *abhidharma* specialist.

Puṇyatrāta (404 collaborated with Kumārajīva) and Dharmayaśas (397/401-424/453), translated *Sarvāstivāda* texts.

Buddhayaśas (worked with Kumārajīva)

Vimalākṣa (406-413) with Kumārajīva

Buddhajīva (arrived Nanking 423), collaborator of Fa-hien.

Guṇavarman (arrived Nanking 431), 11 translations from Sanskrit to Chinese

Dharmamitra founded a *vihāra* at Tun-huang; in South China 424-442.

Dharmakṣena, translated works in Western China from 414-432.

Gautama Prajñārucci from Benares, 516-543 translating works.

Guṇabhadra, 435 in Canton, worked in Nanking until 468.

Jñānabhadra, Jinayaśas, and Yaśogupta, north China, latter half of sixth century.

Upasūnya (uncertain dates) and Paramārtha (546-569 in China translating) from Ujjayinī, till latter half of sixth century.

Buddhabhadra (421-429) in Nanking translating.

Vimokṣasena (541) translating.

Jinagupta (559-572, and 585-600) translating in China.

Dharmagupta in China from 590-619, translating.

Prabhākaramitra reached Chinese capital in 627, died 633.

Bodhiruci reached China in 693, translating 53 volumes till he died in 727, including completing Hiuan-tsang's unfinished translation of the *Ratnakūṭa*. Translated 25 of the 49 *sūtras* of the *Mahāratnakūṭasūtra* A.D. 713, the *Trisambara-nirdeśa* (Bunyu 1883:10.), the *Garbhasūtra* (a text that originally formed part of the *Sarvāstivādanikāya-vinaya-saṃyuktavastu*), (Bunyu 1883:13.)

Śubhākarasiṃha, studied first at Nālandā, then reached China in 716 with a load of Sanskrit manuscripts, died in Lo-yang, China in 735. "His reputation as a teacher was very great in China, where he introduced a special form of Buddhist mysticism." (Bagchi 1981:68.)

Vajrabodhi (reached Canton in 720, died in Lo-yang in 732) (Translated mystic works 723-730. His disciple Amoghavajra spread Tantra worship in China. (Bagchi 1950:53.) After

its wide propagation, it is very likely that its Vinaya rules underwent changes in the countries outside India and these did not meet with the approval of the Indian Bhikṣus of the orthodox type."

247. The text was later revised by *Sde-srid Sangs rgyas rgyam msto* (1653-1705).

248. Dash 1987:vii-viii.

249. Tadeusz Skorupski, "Tibetan Homa Rites," in Staal 1983{2}:403-417.

250. Naudou 1980.

251. Roerich 1976.

252. Roerich 1976:104.

253. Naudou 1980:9.

254. Naudou 1980:63.

255. Naudou 1980:20.

256. Discussing the translation work of the Buddhist canon into Tibetan by Kaśmīri monks, Naudou remarks that "The most important of the texts classed in the *Tantra*, the *Rgyud-'bum*, have been translated at the time of the 'second propagation of the doctrine.' [980-1055]. Several translations of that section of the *Bka'-'gyur* however go back to the 9th century, in particular that of the *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-vikurvita-adhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra-īndra-rāja nāma dharma-paryāya ... Vajra-pāṇy-abhiṣeka-mahā-tantra ... the Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra-īndra-rāja ...* and of many other texts less voluminous, such as the *Mahāmāyūrī...* Among the *Rñin-rgyud* [Old Tantras] of the *Bka'-'gyur* such as it is habitually constituted ... figure translations from that epoch, but they have for author Jñānakumāra (*Vajra-sattva-māya-jala-guhyā-sarvadarśa-tantra*)... Vairocana (*Sarvad-dharma-mahāśānta-bodhicitta-kulaya-rāja*) ... Padmasambhava (*Vajra-mantra-bhīru-sandhi-mūla-tantra nāma ...* and not the monks who came from Kaśmīr...." (Naudou 1980:102).

257. Bunyiu 1883:xi.

258. Bunyiu 1883:xxvii.

259. Nanjio 1883:xiii-xvii. There are also five Mahāyāna *abhidharma* works, and twenty-five miscellaneous other texts.

260. See Bunyiu 1883:114-115.

261. Chou 1944:86.

262. Chou 1944:86n.8.

263. Bagchi 1981:69. Levi says that the best source of biographical information on the history of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra's master, is the *Tchen-iuen sing-ting-i-kia mou-lou*, compiled by Iuen-tchao at the beginning of the ninth century; the only surviving edition is "l'édition couréenne (éd. jap., xxvii, 6, chap. 14, p. 77-78); la collection cataloguée par Nanjio n'a pas cet important ouvrage." Iuen-tchao's text is summarized ["répris] and commented on in a "Histoire de la secte tantrique: *Wen-tcha-lo kia fou fa tchoan* (chap.1, *infra*, p.7-14)," that Levi brought from Japan. (Levi 1900:418).

264. He was in Lo-yang from 724-736, went back to India, and then again in China from 746-774.

265. Bagchi 1944b:76-77. Bagchi provides a helpful list of 21 Indian Buddhist teachers who translated 289 texts into Chinese, dating from 627-810.



- 266 . Nanjio 1883:226.no. 1028.
- 267 . Chou 1944:86-88. See also Bagchi 1944e:165-166.
- 268 . Or the *Anuttara-mahāyāna-vajra-mahātantra-ratnarāja-sūtra* (Nanjio 1883:198.no. 869).
- 269 . Bagchi 1944a:28.
- 270 . Nanjio 1883:224-225.no. 1022.
- 271 . Chandra 1984:102-103.
- 272 . See for instance Śāstrī 1920:70, the colophon to Chapter 5 of the text; see further discussion of this text in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.
- 273 . Joshi 1977:9.
- 274 . Joshi 1977:11.
- 275 . Bagchi 1944d:133.
- 276 . Bagchi 1944d:139.
- 277 . See Bagchi 1944d:150 for an exact description.
- 278 . Śubhākara explains. "This dhāraṇī should be recited three times. Then let him hear the śīlā and other secret laws so that he may have all the rules of the pure Vinaya of the Bodhisattvas." (Bagchi 1944d:149).
- 279 . As Śubhākara explains, "By repeating it one hundred times you can remove all obstacles The three karmas are purified. The sins are removed." (Bagchi 1944d:150).
- 280 . Bagchi 1944d:149-150.
- 281 . Bagchi 1944d:151.
- 282 . Bagchi 1944d:151.
- 283 . Bagchi 1944d:152.
- 284 . Bagchi 1944d:152.
- 285 . Bagchi 1944d:153-154.
- 286 . Bagchi 1944d:154.
- 287 . Bagchi 1944d:155.
- 288 . Bagchi 1944d:142.
- 289 . Bagchi 1944:165.
- 290 . "Now, what is the relation of the Buddhist Tantra to Hinduism? This is hardly a one-directional influence. In fact, the Buddhist Tantra goes back in many of its leading ideas to the Brahmanism of the older Upaniṣads, and some of its ritual (e.g. the *homa*, or burnt offering) can be traced to old Vedic rites. In short, the Buddhist Tantra incorporated a large amount of the mystical ideas and practices that have been current in India from most ancient times, and preserved them just as did the Hindu Tantra in its own way, while both systems had mutual influence and their own deviations." (Wayman 1977:52).
- 291 . Bagchi 1944d:133.
- 292 . Tucci 1949{1}:224.
- 293 . Lamotte 1976:1854.

294 . Lamotte 1976:1858—"Qu'est-ce que la Dhāraṇī du Bodhisattva? En somme elle doit être considérée comme quadruple: dhāraṇī des enseignements, dhāraṇī des enseignements, dhāraṇī des sens, dhāraṇī de mantra et dhāraṇī aboutissant à la conviction du Bodhisattva.' Sanskrit: *Tatra katamābodhisattvāṅ dhāraṇī | samāsataś caturvidhā draṣṭavyā | dharmadhāraṇī, arthadhāraṇī, mantradhāraṇī, bodhisattva-kṣānti-lābhāya ca dhāraṇī.*

295 . See Braarvig 1985.

296 . de Jong 1984:95.

297 . De Jong 1984:96-98.

298 . John Huntington is one of the current generation of scholars who argues for an earlier origin of Buddhist Tantric practices. He explains away the non-mention of *Tantras* by the Chinese pilgrims by saying that "the texts were (and, in formal Buddhist practice, still are) part of a very conservative esoteric tradition open only to initiates of the system. Indeed the traditional history of the *Tantras* states that they were transmitted in secret from the time they were first revealed. Thus, it would seem that there would be little reason for the Chinese pilgrims, who were not specifically searching for initiation to the *Tantras*, to find them...." (Huntington 1987:89-90.) Huntington's arguments are a bit controversial, as is his research (as demonstrated by a fairly hostile reception to his presentation at last year's Subtle Body Conference in Virginia). He concludes his arguments by saying, "I am convinced that the artistic record will demonstrate a pervasive presence of Tantric, or perhaps 'proto Tantric' methodologies having 'emerged in the second century BCE. At that point, it is not too much of an act of faith to suggest that the *Atharvavedic* prototypes of Tantra did indeed have real significance in early Buddhism and in the formulation of early Buddhist Tantra." (Huntington 1987:96.) The problem with his reasoning, it seems to me, is that he tends to "read back" into earlier documents ideas that are fully developed in the later tradition. He takes a passage from the Chinese translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamarājasūtra* (SPS) (dating to 414-421CE) wherein the Bodhisattva Śradhāketu, having lived a virtuous life, prays to the Buddha. The floor fills with gems, the room fills with clouds of fragrance, Akṣobhya, Ratnaketu, Amitāyus and Suśabda Buddhas appear on the four walls (east, south, west, and north, respectively), radiating light in all directions. The Buddhas then answer his question about why Śākyamuni Buddha lived only eighty years (they answer "have you not seen that no one can tell the life span of a Buddha except for the Buddhas themselves?"). Huntington remarks that "to anyone knowledgeable about the *maṇḍalas* of the MVS [*Mahāvairocanasūtra*] and the STTS [*Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgrahasūtra*], this arrangement and apparent sequence of meditation is immediately familiar.... The Buddhas are essentially the *tathāgatas* of the *maṇḍala* of Mahāvairocana," and the Bodhisattva "is to envision himself in the center of the *maṇḍala*—identical to Vairocana...." (Huntington 1987:92.) The problem with this interpretation is that Vairocana is not mentioned here. Huntington then argues that "Since the *maṇḍala* of Vairocana is mentioned in the Bei Liang version of the *SPS*, it must be assumed that knowledge of the *maṇḍala* pre-existed the formulation of that version of the *SPS*..." (Huntington 1987:94.) He then goes on to conclude that this provides evidence for an earlier date for "Tantra." As I attempt to show in this dissertation, and many other scholars have pointed out, there are many streams of contribution to what becomes the Tantric tradition—however, that does not mean that when we find instances of these contributing streams in earlier strata of the traditions that we can then conclude that "Tantra" existed already at these earlier dates. Huntington's is an interesting argument on one level, since he is pointing out the proto-visualization meditations that become part of later deity yoga.

However, the bodhisattva here is not identifying with the deities, and there is actually no mention of a *maṇḍala* in the translated portion of the text Huntington is using as evidence. In panning for the history of the Tantric tradition, we must be wary of the fools' gold of claiming early existence of *Tantra* simply by finding in earlier strata of Indic thought ideas that are **incorporated** into the Tantric system. So I would conclude that although Huntington has highlighted a contributing element, and one that should be considered in developing a specific history of the evolution of visualization practices, his claim that this represents "Tantra" is, I think, an overstatement of the facts.

299 . See Waddell 1913, and Waddell 1914.

300 . Waddell 1913:172. Waddell provides a helpful list of thirty-eight common *dhāraṇīs*, along with textual references. (Waddell 1913:174-175.) He adds: "The cult of protective spells, in the form of magical texts, has been shown by me elsewhere to be widely prevalent throughout Buddhism in all its sects, and to have played an important practical part in that religion from its commencement. [Note 1: *Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift* 1912: 155-195.] Such texts under the name of *Parittā* or *Dhāraṇī* are in universal use by all sections of Buddhists,—'Southern' as well as 'Northern,'—and I there adduced evidence, almost unimpeachable, to show that some of these spells were used by *Buddha* himself." (Waddell 1914:37). Waddell asserts, without the possibility of any real evidence to back up his view, that "most of the charms and their associated rituals (*sādhana*) exhibit elements which, like those of the *Atharvaveda*, are manifestly pre-Buddhist and even pre-Vedic, and **afford some insight into the religion of pre-Aryan India** [boldface is Waddell's]." (Waddell 1914:37). I consider this sort of speculation a waste of time and intellectual energy. We do not have any texts that predate the *Vedas* in Sanskrit. While we can identify pre-Buddhist ideas in the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and perhaps the earlier *Upaniṣads*, I do not think we gain much from trying to speculate about pre-Vedic ideas. Heesterman also indulges this temptation, to create an interesting yet unprovable hypothesis about pre-Vedic conflict peaceably resolved in the Vedic ritual. Waddell does make the more pertinent and interesting point, though, that "several of the gods of the Hindu Pantheon are disclosed by these contemporary texts in early or transitional forms, and in the process of being clothed by the hands of the Brahmans with the functions and attributes of popular aboriginal gods and genii, in regard to which prototypes Brahmanical literature is more or less silent." (Waddell 1914: 37).

301 . Bagchi 1944c:11.

302 . "The earliest discovered Dharanis are the Gilgit manuscripts discovered in 1931 from a Stupa in Gilgit near Kashmir. They belong to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D." (Khosla 1972:76.)

303 . Gnoli 1955:120.

304 . Falk 1946.

305 . *Nāṭyasastra* 6.44-45/6.43-43; Lidova 1995:1.

306 . Gyatso and Hopkins 1989:80.

307 . Mitra 1873:11. Mitra goes on to give several extracts on the subject of drinking alcohol from different Hindu Tantras. He remarks, in his inimitable style, "To describe the details of the worship would be so shocking that I cannot venture upon the task. Suffice it to say, that the Kaulas, who are the most ardent followers of the Śākta Tantras, celebrate their rites at midnight in a closed room, where they sit in a circle round a jar of country arrack, one or more young women of lewd character being in the company...." (Mitra 1873:11-12.)

308 . Handiqui 1934:209-210.

### The Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras

#### 4.0.1. Preface

This Chapter contains a discussion of the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras that existed prior or contemporaneous to the systematic translation of this material into Tibetan. I have searched through the Tohoku University Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, and taken the names of authors and translators of the major Buddhist Tantric works. With authors, and occasionally with translators, I have where appropriate converted the Tibetan names back to their Sanskrit originals. Then I have matched these names with the information Naudou has uncovered giving approximate, and sometimes specific dates for the various authors and translators. With this information in hand, I have matched the data to the translations I have made (for the first time) of extracts from Buddhist Tantras surviving in H.P. Śāstrī's catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal, and in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's library in Calcutta, with some supplemental material from the manuscript collections in England at Oxford, Cambridge and the India Office Library. The result of this research technique has provided a preliminary picture of the 'currency' of various Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras in the 8th-11th centuries in India, as this material gained popularity, was absorbed into the Buddhist canon, was commented upon, and was translated into Tibetan.

Mahāmopadhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī followed in the footsteps of Rajendralal Mitra in compiling the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* referred to in Chapter 1 of this

dissertation. Much of the material in these early volumes of Mitra and Śāstrī was collected from private libraries, and I understand from Prof. David Pingree that the bulk of these manuscripts are now lost or destroyed. Śāstrī however completed two multi-volume catalogues, one of the holdings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and one of the Durbar Library in Nepal, that contain a wealth of information on both Hindu and Buddhist Tantra, and the manuscripts in these latter two catalogues have been preserved and are available to scholars today. In most instances Śāstrī included with the catalogue listing the opening verses and the colophons, sometimes with headings of major sections, some extracts from the texts, and sometimes notes on the historicity of the authors. Cecil Bendall's Catalogue of the Cambridge University library also adds some information, as does the Bodelian Library (Oxford University) catalogue by Julius Eggeling. The vast majority of catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts from Indian Universities and research institutions are not "descriptive" in the same way as Śāstrī's catalogues, despite their titles designating them as such.<sup>1</sup> I have not yet had the opportunity to translate all of the Tantric manuscript extracts in the two *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* sets of volumes (there are hundreds of manuscripts recorded, and Mitra's classifications are often inaccurate), nor have I yet had the chance to look through all the material in the catalogues of Sanskrit Tantra manuscripts held in Paris, Tokyo, and some of the other European libraries. So this chapter is not intended to present complete coverage of the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric material. Rather, what I will present here should give a good idea of the range of material in these texts, and some idea of when the texts appear to have been

incorporated into the Buddhist canon in India, and when the principal commentaries and *sādhana*s on these texts were originally written. Supplementing the information from the manuscript material is a fairly thorough coverage of the published translations of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras.

The dating information derived from the Tohoku listings of authors and Naudou's work is necessarily incomplete. Naudou's research was based on searches he made through the colophons of Tibetan translations of texts by Kaśmīri Buddhists. He was not looking particularly for translations of Tantras, nor did he provide dates for authors and translators who either were not either Kaśmīri or not related to Kaśmīr by virtue of having studied in Kaśmīr, or having worked with Kaśmīris or those educated there.<sup>2</sup> Naudou's Buddhists of Kaśmīr is however the only work I have found that provides a systematic account of the dates of Buddhist Tantric commentarial writers and their work with Tibetan translators--though other authors such as Tucci provide additional or confirmational information. Since I have relied heavily on Naudou's work for dating information and the identification of various authors, and because I have found his approach fairly consistent, reasonable, and I think relatively reliable, we should take a brief look at his methodology. Naudou read through the Tibetan canonical histories of Buddhism by Tāranātha (1608 CE), Bu-ston (1322), Sum-pa mkhan-po (1748),<sup>3</sup> and gZon-nu-dpal's *Blue Annals* (1478),<sup>4</sup> and compared this information with "indications supplied by colophons of Tibetan translations about authors of ancient texts and their translators" in Cordier's catalogue of the Beijing edition of the *bstan-'gyur* and Lalou's index.<sup>5</sup> Naudou developed a

healthy skepticism as to the reliability of some of the history of events in India by these Tibetan writers who composed their histories several centuries later. He notes Tāranātha's own acknowledgement of being unable to write about "the appearance of the Law in Kaśmīr" because of lacking "detailed sources" for Kaśmīri Buddhists.<sup>6</sup> Naudou brought some order to this wealth of information by grounding the material in data from copper plate inscriptions, Kalhaṇa's largely reliable *Rājataranṅī*, the *Annals of Ladakh*, records of the Chinese pilgrims, chronologies of the Pāla kings and other dynasties, the records of the *Mahāsiddhas*, and other sources such as Al Biruni's records and archaeological records, the *Sādhanamālā*, and so on. He then worked through the confusing variety of names used for the various translators and authors in the Tibetan colophons, where the same person may sometimes be referred to by three or four different names, either with his family name, an initiatic name, a shortened version of his name, a title such as *Mahāpaṇḍita* of Kaśmīr, etc. In many instances the surname and the initiation names are used interchangeably, as with Tailikapāda (Tilopa) for Prajñāgupta, Nāḍapāda (Nāropā) for Yaśobhadra, and Puṇyākaraḡupta or Mahāvajrāsana for Puṇyaśrī. On the other hand, multiple instances of the same name, such as Nāgārjuna, can also conceal instances of a number of different people (Naudou suggests four in the case of the name Nāgārjuna), just as multiple instances of Francis in the Roman Catholic canon refer to at least three different saints.<sup>7</sup> In several cases Naudou concedes defeat, saying that it is impossible to tell much about when or where a particular individual worked. On the whole I found his dating conclusions quite reasonable.



#### 4.0.2. Introduction

Contemporary late 20th century Buddhist scholarship tends to rely on the Tibetan classification schemes and interpretations of Buddhist Tantras. These classification schemes were developed over many centuries--and much debated among Tibetan Tantric writers--based on the voluminous corpus of Tibetan Tantric texts directly and carefully translated from the Sanskrit originals. The sheer volume of the translated literature, and the enormity of the Tibetan commentarial literature, combined with a contemporary Tibetan Tantric tradition being actively passed on by Tibetan monks and scholars, has tended to diminish (though by no means eliminate) interest by many Indologists in studying the original Sanskrit versions of the Buddhist Tantras to determine the interrelations of these texts prior to the development of the Tibetan Tantric tradition (the difficulty of mastering Sanskrit has no doubt contributed to this trend). Furthermore, the impressive command of the material on the part of Tibetan Tantric adherents and advocates can sometimes give the impression that Tibetan historiography, classifications, and interpretations have a dogmatic status, even for scholars. Adding to the impressive bulk of the abundance of such classificatory material has been the oft-repeated argument that as a "living" tradition the Tibetan Buddhists are uniquely qualified to inform about the truth of the tradition, something that cannot be gotten at by "outsiders." This may all be true, yet it obscures the fact that a fair number of Sanskrit Buddhist Tantras survive in manuscript form in India and in various European libraries, that the material these texts contain is mostly unknown to Indologists, and that the Buddhist Tantric tradition grew up in the context

of a developing Śaivite Tantric tradition. It appears that the surviving Sanskrit Tantric texts offer some helpful adumbrations that can broaden the perspectives gained by scholarship based on the Tibetan Tantric tradition--this is only natural, since by going back to the original Sanskrit sources we can only gain in our understanding of Tantra.

Since the catalogues containing manuscript extracts of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras are not that easily available, I've included transliterations of all the translated portions in the endnotes. I have however chosen this material for several reasons. First is that I read Sanskrit with considerably greater ease than Tibetan. Second is that most of the actual *manuscripts* of these Buddhist Tantras are themselves ancient--with several dating from the 11th-12th centuries (identifiable by colophon dates and script styles), and others from the 13th century. These early dates for the manuscripts suggest that the material in the texts was very likely not unduly corrupted by ignorant copyists who may have misread the originals. Furthermore, given that the manuscripts are so old, it is also very likely that later generations of redactors of these texts did not have the chance to modify the contents, consciously or unconsciously, to suit the mores of their time and culture. We know this is a real problem with more recent work on Tantras. It is not uncommon to find that published editions of Tantric texts in India either deliberately or 'accidentally' omit the most racy or contentious portions of the text. Bhattacharyya frankly admitted doing so in his edition of the *Śaktisaṃgamatantra*. I also found that the one published Sanskrit edition of the *Pradīpodyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamāja* 'accidentally'

omits the page that would explain a sexual yoga practice mentioned in the root text, and have found oddly coincidental missing portions of the text in the published edition of the *Śrīmālinīvijayottaratantra*--typically in the middle of discussion of sexual yoga rites. Similarly we find that in the 'living' Nepali Tantric tradition, most of the sexual and transgressive practices referred to in the older texts have been reinterpreted in strictly symbolic fashion, or have been left out altogether in more modern recensions of the text. A good example of this trend can be seen in the public *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* worship in Nepal. The original Sanskrit Tantra contains in Chapter 6 a detailed and explicit section on sexual yoga practices that reads quite like a passage out of a *Kāma Śāstra* text, complete with a variety of names and descriptions of *ratibandhas* or styles of sexual coitus (See Chapter 9.3.1. of this dissertation for a discussion of this text). It is not at all clear though that such sexual yogas are still practiced in Nepal.

So it may be the case that from the relatively quiescent state of the Sanskrit Buddhist Tantras--many of the texts have in fact simply lain in libraries for centuries--we may be able to gain a sharper picture of the character of Buddhist Tantric practice *in India, in the Sanskrit culture*, at the close of the first millennium, prior to the onslaught of the Persian invasions, and the wholesale destruction of the Buddhist universities in northern India. We have the chance, as it were, to see the texts shorn of any later interpretive schemas or explanations that might tend to soften or diminish what may have been perceived as objectionable aspects of the tradition. There are some limits though. For the translations from the catalogue extracts, I have not yet

secured copies of these manuscripts, deciphered the scripts, and had a chance to go through the actual texts to gain a more comprehensive picture. What I am working from here--except for the supplemental material from extant English translations of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras--are Tables of Contents, opening folios, closing folios and colophons, and occasional long extracts from certain portions of the texts that the cataloguers found interesting. Nor, as I mentioned above, and given the scope of this material, have I had the opportunity to fully survey all catalogue listings of Buddhist Tantric Sanskrit manuscripts.

#### 4.1. English Translations of Sanskrit Buddhist Tantras

A few of the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras have been translated into English, though the bulk of them remain in their original Sanskrit or in Tibetan translation from the early centuries of the second millennium CE. The Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies in Sarnath, India, under the directorship of Samdhong Rinpoche has in recent years been publishing Sanskrit editions of Buddhist Tantric texts as part of its series of the *Durlabha Bauddha Granthamālā*, i.e. its Rare Buddhist Texts Series of the Rare Buddhist Texts Research Project. Among these texts are the three volumes of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* that I have used for this dissertation (Vols. 12 and 13 of this series, and vol. 11 of the *Biblioteca Indo-Tibetica Series*)--I will discuss the *Kālacakra* translation work in Chapter 10 of this dissertation. Other texts in these series that are as yet untranslated are the *Jñānodaya Tantram* of the *Yoga Tantra* class, a text apparently not translated into Tibetan yet surviving in Sanskrit; it is a very short text of only 14 pages in the Sarnath edition.<sup>8</sup>

Another such text is the *Ḍākinījāla-saṃvara-rahasyam* by Anaṅgayogī, also a short *Yoga Tantra* of only 11 pages in the Sarnath edition.<sup>9</sup> A slightly longer text is the *Mahāmāya Tantra* restored to Sanskrit from the Tibetan translation with Ratnākaraśānti's *Guṇavati* commentary (Rare Buddhist Texts Series vol. 10). This is still a fairly short text of 73 verses total, covering 55 relatively smallish pages in the Sarnath edition including the commentary and the *sādhanas*.<sup>10</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 1, David Snellgrove provided the first English translation of a Buddhist Tantra with the *Hevajra Tantra* in 1959 (though he worked principally from the Tibetan in comparison with the Sanskrit), followed in 1971 by an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* by Francesca Fremantle, who also provided the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts with an English translation. This was followed in 1974 with Christopher George's edition and translation of the first eight chapters of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, the same year that Shinichi Tsuda published his edition and translation of selected chapters of the *Sambarodaya Tantra*. In 1976 Stablein completed his dissertation on the *Mahākāla Tantra* at Columbia with a Sanskrit edition and English translation of eight of the fifty chapters of this text,<sup>11</sup> followed in 1977 by Alex Wayman's study of the *Guhyasamājatantra* that included however only translations of what he referred to as the 40 *Nidāna-kārikās* and a portion of the *Pradīpodyotana*. Tadeusz Skorupski provided complete Sanskrit and Tibetan editions of the *Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana Tantra* with an English translation in 1983. Two recent Ph.D.'s on Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 of the *Kālacakatantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* have been completed by Newman (1986) and Wallace (1995),

respectively, and Wallace has recently completed an as yet unpublished translation of the text and commentary of Chapter 4 (see Chapter 10 of this dissertation for a discussion of *Kālacakra* scholarship). Although there has been considerable work done in terms of translating Tibetan commentaries on the Tantras, and thereby including some portions from the original texts, there is little else that has been done so far--that I am aware of--in terms of direct translations into English from the Sanskrit versions of the Tantras.

#### 4.2. Canonical Classifications of Buddhist Tantras

A large body of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras was translated into Tibetan around the turn of the first millennium CE. The basic classification system of these Buddhist Tantras as maintained in the Tibetan tradition is into the *Kriyā*, *Carya*, *Yoga*, and *Anuttarayoga tantras*, and their division into "father" and "mother" *Tantra* groups.<sup>12</sup> We find in the text of the *Kālacakra Tantra* that the first and third of these were also referred to as the *Loka-Tantra (Kriyā-Tantra)* and *Lokottara-Tantra (Yoga-Tantra)*, with the *Kālacakra* said to transcend both of these and be called the *Tantrottara* or *Tantra-rāja*.<sup>13</sup> Among the *Anuttarayoga* texts are the *Guhyasamāja*, *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*--these four being perhaps the most well known of the group. Tsukamoto et al., in the volume on 'The Buddhist Tantra' in their Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature give a very helpful layout of how the Buddhist Tantric Texts fall into this classificatory system. The *Kriyā* class includes the *Dhāraṇī* collections,<sup>14</sup> and the texts of the Tathāgata-,<sup>15</sup> Padma-,<sup>16</sup> Vajra-,<sup>17</sup> and Maṇi-kulas,<sup>18</sup> and some miscellaneous texts.<sup>19</sup> These Japanese authors class both the

*Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa* and the *Siddhaikavīra-mahātantra* in the *Tathāgatakula Kriyā Tantra* group.<sup>20</sup> Among the *Padmakula Kriyātantras* they class the *Kāraṇḍavyūha nāma Mahāyānasūtraratnarāja*.<sup>21</sup> Among the *Vajrakula Kriyātantras* they include the *Bhūṭaḍmāra-mahātantra-rāja*.<sup>22</sup>

The *Caryā-tantra* group includes only the *Vairocana-abhisambodhi*.<sup>23</sup> The *Yoga-tantra* group consists of 28 texts, including the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, the *Nāma-saṃgīti*, and the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tantra*.<sup>24</sup> The *Anuttarayogatantra* class they divide into five groups. Group 1, the *Upāya-/Mahāyoga-tantra* includes the *Guhyasamāja* and *Pañcakrama* in the *Akṣobhya-kula* and the *Māyājāla* and *Kṛṣṇa-Yamāri* in the *Vairocana-kula*.<sup>25</sup> Group 2, the *Prajñā-/Yoginī-tantra* includes in the *Heruka-kula* the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the *Abhidhānottara*, the *Vajraḍāka* and the *Ḍākārṇava*, the *Samvarodaya*, the *Saṃpuṭodbhava*, the *Hevajra*, the *Buddhakaṇḍa*, and the *Mahāmāyā*. The *Vairocana-kula* of this group includes the *Catuḥpīṭha* and the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*. The *Vajra-sūrya-kula* consists of the *Vajrāmṛtatāntra*. The *Padmanarteśvara-kula* includes only the *Śrībhagavatyārya-tārāyāḥ Kurukullā-kalpa*. The *Paramāśva-kula* includes the *Mahākāla-tantra*. In the *Vajradhara-kula* is something called the *Khasamā nāma Tantra* commentary, with a few other texts, including a *Śrīcaturviṃśatipīṭhatantra* in the general group.<sup>26</sup> In the *Yuganaddha-/Prajñā-Upāya-Advaya-Tantra* class we find the *Kālacakratāntra*, including the *Vimalaprabhā*, the 4 *Sekoddeśa* texts, the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga-ṭippaṇī Guṇabharaṇī* by Raviśrījñāna-pāda, Puṇḍarīka's *Paramārthasevā nāma Ṣaḍdarśana-avagrācīrā-tat[ti]va-avalokana-sevā*, Abhayākaragupta's *Kālacakra-avatāra*, and several other texts.<sup>27</sup>

Another often-cited Buddhist Tantric classification system is that of the Neither Father nor Mother Tantras, the Mother Tantras, and the Father Tantras. The Neither Father nor Mother Tantras (not admitted by Tsong-kha pa), include the *Nāmasaṃgīti* and the *Kālacakra*. The Mother Tantras are divided into seven *kulas* (groups, clans or families): 1) Śākyamuni's group, the *Sarva-buddha-samāyoga*, 2) Heruka-Akṣobhya's clan, the *Samvara*, *Hevajra*, *Buddhakapāla*, *Mahāmāya*, and *Ārali*, 3) Vairocana's family, the *Catuḥpīṭha* and *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, 4) Ratnasambhava's group, the *Vajāmṛta*, *Padmanartēśvara*, *Lokanātha*, and *Tārā-Kurukullā*, 5) Paramāśva-Amoghasiddhi's group, the *Namas Tāre Ekaviṃśati*, *Vajrakīlaya*, and *Mahākāla*, and 5) Vajradhara's group, the *Yathālabdhakhasama*. The Father Tantras are divided into seven *kulas*, 1) Akṣobhya's *Guhyasamāja* and *Vajrapāṇi*, 2) Vairocana's (*Kṛṣṇa*)-*Yamāri*, 3) The Ratna-kula (with no texts in the Tibetan canon), 4) The Padma-kula of the *Bhagavad-ekajaṭa*, 5) The Karma-kula (with not texts in the Tibetan canon), and 6) Vajradhara's clan, with the *Candra-guhya-tilaka*.<sup>28</sup>

#### **4.3. Dating the Sanskrit Texts of the Buddhist Tantras (4.3.1. Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī* as a Dating Marker, 4.3.2. The Tantric Siddhas, 4.3.3. Some Notes on the Relative Dating of Buddhist Tantras)**

Dating the Buddhist Tantras is difficult, particularly since, as we discussed in Chapter 3, many of them may have been circulating in popular Tantric cults prior to being accepted into the Buddhist canon. I have already described above how I have used a combination of the Tibetan canonical citations of authors and translators in combination with Naudou's and other scholars' historical research on the dates of the



transmitters of the Buddhist Canon into Tibet to attempt to establish dates for the commentaries and translations of the Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric material. We also have other helpful information, including Abhayākaragupta's citations, and some relative dating we can begin to discuss based just on the texts themselves.

#### 4.3.1. Abhayākaragupta's *Vajrāvalī* as a Dating Marker

The earliest canonical 'digest' of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras that appears to have survived (it may be the earliest that was written) is the *Vajrāvalī nāma maṇḍalopāyikā* ('the Method of the Maṇḍalas known as the Row (or Chain) of Vajras') by Abhayākaragupta, late 11th to early 12th century. As Chandra summarizes, "The *Vajrāvalī* is a practical guide to all the preliminary rites preceding initiation into the maṇḍala from the very laying of the foundations of a monastery where the maṇḍala is to be drawn."<sup>29</sup> In this sense it is not as comprehensive a text as Abhinavagupta's, since the *Tantrāloka* covers all aspects of the Śaivite Tantric theories and practices. Abayākaragupta was "a prolific writer on Tantric dogmatics, liturgy and the maṇḍalas," and we have twenty four of his works translated in the Tibetan canon. He teamed up with Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan to translate the bulk of the *sādhanas* from the *Sādhnamālā* into Tibetan, and he is often listed in the colophons of the Tibetan translations simply as Abhaya.<sup>30</sup> He served as abbot of the Buddhist University *Vikramaśīla* [in Bodhgaya] during the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (1084-1130 CE),<sup>31</sup> and also served for a while as abbot of Mahābodhi Monastery, and of Nālandā.<sup>32</sup> In a long extract Śāstrī provides from the *Vajrāvalī*,<sup>33</sup> Abhayākaragupta gives us the sources for his work: 1) *Nāgabuddhipāda*, 2)

*Niṣpannayogāvalī* (*Abhayākaragupta*'s own work), 3) *Sampuṭatantra*, 4) *Ānanadagarbha*, 5) *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*, 6) *Vimalaprabhā*, 7) *Vajradākatantra*, 8) *Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippantī*, 9) *Tantrasaṅgraha*, 10) *Bhūtaḍāmara*, 11) *Kālacakra*, 12) *Trailokyavijayatantra*, 13) *Abhidhānottaratantra*, 14) *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, 15) *Āmnāyamañjarī*,—*Abhayākaragupta* himself helped translate the *Āmnāyātāntra* into Tibetan 16) *Buddhakapāla-sambara-hevajra*, 17) *Yoginī-saṅcāra-tāntra*, 18) *Śrī- [guhya]-samāja*, 19) *Padmasupraṭiṣṭhita tāntra*. The authorities cited by *Abhayākaragupta* also include the following texts: 20) *Sārdhatrīṣatikā*, 25) *Vajraśekhara-tāntra*, 26) *Subāhu-paripṛcchā*, 28) *Siddhaikavīratāntra*, the 29) *Hevajra*, and 30) *Samvarodayābhisamayopāyikā*.

I have examined a number of the texts cited by *Abhayākaragupta* in the following discussion of surviving Buddhist Sanskrit tantras. Not all of the texts *Abhayākaragupta* cites survive in Tibetan translation. While we might attribute this to selectivity on the part of the Tibetan translators, it is equally possible, given the sort of rampant destruction that Chos-rje-dpal described in the thirteenth century (see Chapter 3.6 of this dissertation) that texts *Abhayākara* used were destroyed by invading Muslims before they could be translated. One of *Abhayākaragupta*'s many works is the *Kālacakrāvātāra*, dated 1125 CE.<sup>34</sup> Another is a commentary on the *Buddhakapālatantra*. This text cites as authorities, in addition to the *Rājavajrāvalī*, the *Vajraśekhara-tāntra*, the *Yoginī-tāntra*, the *Hevajra*, the *Śrīsampuṭatantra*, and the *Siddhaikavīratāntra*<sup>35</sup> *Abhayākaragupta* apparently also wrote a commentary on the *Sampuṭodbhavatantra*, since he mentions on leaf 2A of the *Buddhakapālatantraṭīkā*

that he has discussed a particular *nidānavākya* in detail in the *Śrītsamputaṭkā*.<sup>36</sup>

Although there is no proof for this, it seems a reasonable possibility that the *Ḍāka* (*Vajra-Ḍāka-tantra*) and the *Ḍākinī* (*Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara*) texts mentioned by Abhayākaragupta as his sources for the *Vajrāvālī* may be the texts, or derivative evolutions of the texts, referred to by *Dharmakīrti* as the *Ḍākinī-tantras*. We should also note here that Abhayākaragupta's text *Vajrāvālī* ("The Vajra Lineage") was preceded by a Śaivite text entitled *Śrīmad-Vīrāvālī-kula* ("The Clan of the Hero Lineage") cited by *Abhinavagupta* in *Tantrālokaḥ* 6.74a.<sup>37</sup>

While we do not yet have a full Sanskrit edition of the *Vajrāvālī nāma Maṇḍalaupayikā*,<sup>38</sup> we have several extracts from the manuscript in Shāstri's RASB Catalogue. The text opens as follows: "Homage to Śrī Vajrasattva. I praise the glorious lord of the clan, the feet of the most memorable enemy of the *māras* and death; the fierce one runs after [the *māras*] in [all] the directions; may the *vajra*-women sing of the mountain of happiness. Bearing by the glorious *vajra* the elements, with the world, in the majestic great *maṇḍala*, may this *Vajrāvālī* assemble here the unimpedable with the greatness of fearlessness. May this [*Vajrāvālī*] that maintains the *vajra* outside of the home be held in the heart by the *vajra* lineages; it upholds the light in the form of the glorious *vajra* holder, banishing the final darkness."<sup>39</sup>

We know from the inclusion of the texts cited as sources in Abhayākaragupta's early 12th century work that they all predated Abhaya. That however does not tell us a great deal about their earlier history. It is in order to clarify some of this earlier

history that I have attempted, with mixed results, to determine when the major *Anuttarayoga* Tantras were translated into Tibetan, and when the major commentaries on these texts were written. While the resultant tentative dates I will give here do not resolve the issue of dates of origin for these texts, they do at least give us some indication of when the texts *were* in fact in the canon, and when interest in them had risen to the point that they were deemed worthy of commentaries. Although we can only speculate, I think we should not necessarily presume that the date of a commentary indicates that the text was in the canon for any particular amount of time prior to the commentary, as with the commonplace Indological assumption of a century or more. Given that many of these texts were apparently either accepted into the canon from the more popular tradition, or may have been canonical rewrites of popular circulating texts, it does not seem to me at all unreasonable that commentaries may have been written at the same time that the texts were taken into the canon. After all, given the potentially explosive nature of the contents of some of these texts in terms of their racy sexual contents and promotion of sensual indulgences and magical practices, one might deduce that commentaries were absolutely necessary before the texts could be 'canon-ized.'<sup>40</sup>

I have attempted in the following discussions of the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric texts to put them in something of a chronological order according to dates derived from the appearance of the first commentaries on these texts. As I mentioned above, this dating information is incomplete since the dates from Naudou are incomplete. I have found so far no other source that provides dates for these early translations,

though I suspect there may be more information on dating in the Tibetan scholarship (both by Tibetans and Western scholars) than I am aware of. One cannot date texts solely based on the time of their commentaries, since commentaries often appear many centuries after the original text is written--though as mentioned just above, this may not be the case for all the Buddhist Tantric commentaries. However, I am not really suggesting here that we can reliably date the original Tantras based on the dates of their translations or commentaries. Rather, since it appears that most of the surviving Buddhist Tantric commentaries were written within a relatively short period of time--from the 8th-11th centuries, my point is that this tends to support indications discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation that there was a general trend of incorporating these Tantras into the Buddhist Canon from the 8th century onwards, and the simultaneous writing of commentaries on the original Tantric texts by Buddhist scholar-practitioners. I would note here that I have no particular ideological or partisan axe to grind as to when the Buddhist Tantras did or did not originally appear; I am simply working within modern methodologies from what appears to be reliable historical evidence, based on what I have found so far in my research and the work of other scholars. The dates I have found are certainly subject to revision pending the uncovering of further evidence. From what I have found so far, the earliest datable commentaries surviving on any of the Buddhist Tantras appear to be the few texts attributed to Padmasambhava--a difficult figure to pin down historically, though probably from 8th century, and to Indrabhuti, another historically elusive character who appears to have lived in the 8th or 9th century. The bulk of the other

commentarial material on and translations of Buddhist Tantric texts surviving in the Tibetan canon appears to date from the 9th-11th centuries.

#### 4.3.2. The Tantric Siddhas

Several of the famed Tantric Siddhas or adepts are credited in the Tibetan catalogues with authorship or translations of Buddhist Tantric texts. Sāṅkṛtyāyana gives us a genealogy of the Siddhas from Saraha to Naropa, taken from the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum*: "Saraha, (Nāgārjuna), (Śabarapa), Luīpa, Dārikāpa, (Vajra-ghaṇṭāpā), Kūrmapā, Jālandharapā, (Kaṇha(pā) Caryapā), Guhyapā, (Vijayapā), Telopā, Nāropā."<sup>41</sup> The name Śabarapa has an interesting resonance with Dharmakīrti's remark that even the Śabaras were making up their own *mantras* in the early 7th century (see Chapter 3.1.3 of this dissertation), though this resonance tells us nothing about Sabarapa's date. Luipa was according to the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum* a scribe to the emperor Dharmapāla (769-809CE).<sup>42</sup> The same source places Bhusukupa, Ghaṇṭapa, and Gorakṣapa in Devapāla's reign (809-849). Naropa is placed during the reign of Mahīpāla (974-1026), along with Śāntipa.<sup>43</sup> Dowman, who has translated the tales of the *Mahāsiddhas*, considers that with the exception of Indrabhūti they all lived in India "within the Pāla and Sena period (AD 750-1200)."<sup>44</sup> Their stories were recorded by Abhayadatta Śrī who may possibly be the same as Abhyākaragupta.<sup>45</sup>

#### 4.3.3. Some Notes on the Relative Dating of Buddhist Tantras

Over the long haul I think it will become possible to establish a relative dating of most of the Tantras--Śaivite, Buddhist, and others--by comparing the treatment of the different subjects we tend to find in Tantric texts, comparing the styles of writing,

the sets of deities, the details of the practices, etc. The general principle for relative dating could be that as texts become progressively more complex, and contain progressively more detail, we might assume that they are later, though this is by no means necessarily a reliable assumption. While my own research is a long way from having definitive information on relative dates of the texts, I have noticed a few pointers worth mentioning that I think may lead us in the direction of relative dating. We find the same opening line with only slight variations in the *Guhyasamāja*, *Hevajra*, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, *Samvarodaya*, and *Samputikātantrarāja*: "Thus I have heard: at one time the Bhagavān resided in the vulvas of the women who are the vajras of the body, speech and mind of all the Tathāgatas" (*evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoṣid-bhāgeṣu vijahāra*). This is however not the opening line in any of the other Tantras discussed in this chapter (the *Abhidhānottara* is unclear). All of these texts open with a prose passage as well, while the *Kālacakratāntra* opens and is written only in verse. In the *Guhyasamāja* many *bodhisattva mahāstvas*<sup>46</sup> accompany the *Buddha Bhagavān*, who enters a *samādhi*, then speaks. In *Hevajra Vajragarbha* responds after *Bhagavān* speaks, without a smile. In the *Samvarodaya* a few *bodhisattvas* are named, *Bhagavān* smiles upon seeing Vajrapāṇi among them, and Vajrapāṇi then rises, puts his garment over his right shoulder, kneels on his right knee, bows and asks for instruction. In the *Samputikātantra* Bhagavān smiles upon seeing Vajragarbha among the host of 80,000, then Vajragarbha rises, puts his garment over his right shoulder, kneels on his right knee, bows, and asks for instruction, exactly as

*Vajrapāṇi* does in *Samvarodaya*. This same opening pattern appears in the 22nd chapter of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. While I don't really know what to make of these differences and similarities just now, there certainly appears to be a textual typology that suggests the possibility of historical, geographical, or cultic *genres* of Tantras that may or may not match up with the canonical classification schemas. The notion comes to mind that there was a certain style of beginning a Tantra that may have been either particular to a certain time, or to a certain geography or group of traditions. What's notable is that there are such styles, that the styles are consistent in a small group of texts, and that the styles apparently changed over time, over distance, or among groups.

There appears to have been a developmental trend in the amount of alchemical information in the Tantras. As we will see below (4.4.1), the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* has a not overly long chapter on making gold. The *Guhyasamājatantra* has only a very short section on medicinal/alchemical material--indeed the material corresponds more nearly to *Atharvaveda*-style *mantras* for healing and magical purposes. We find Āyurveda and Rasāyana mentioned in Section 7 of *Samputikā Tantra*. In the *Kālacakra* the Āyurveda and Rasāyana material is very detailed and extensive. A similar developmental trend might be noticed in the description of sexual rites, though as with the alchemical material this could equally well be explained as a difference in local or regional emphasis, rather than necessarily a difference in temporal evolution. The description of the sexual rites in the *Guhyasamāja* is rather subdued. In Chapter 4, the Chapter on the *maṇḍala* of the secret body, speech, and thought (*guhya-kāya-*



*vāk-citta-maṇḍala-paṭala*), *Vajradhara* explains the delightful thought *maṇḍala* of all the *tathāgatas*.<sup>47</sup> The wise man<sup>48</sup> is to lay this out with a thread.<sup>49</sup> After he has clearly understood the ultimate mind *maṇḍala*, he should carefully make worship with offerings of his body, speech, and thought, then coming together with a sixteen year young lady, whose beauty is truly radiant, he should adorn her with perfumes and flowers,<sup>50</sup> and then make love to her in the middle of the *maṇḍala*.<sup>51</sup> Though meditative aspects are added, consecrating her as *Māmakī Prajñā*, offering feces, urine, semen and blood to the deities, etc., no further description of the sexual rites is given.<sup>52</sup> As discussed in Chapter 9 of this dissertation, the sexual yoga rites are much more explicitly detailed in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* and *Kālacakra*.

Another topic worth exploring for relative dating and geographic identification is the mention of particular deities in the Tantras. As Pingree has remarked with regard to the Indian astronomical tradition (see Chapter 8.2.1. of this dissertation), the Indian thinkers have a predilection for keeping whatever they can from the past, and integrating new material with earlier systems. This preference for continuity of ideas, symbols, and names in the Sanskrit tradition may help us determine relative, if not absolute dates in the evolution of the Tantric tradition. In *Kālacakratāntra* 5.91 we find the names *Ḍākinī* and *Viśvamātā* added to the standard set of four deities *Locanā*, *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍarā*, and *Tārā* (or *Tāriṇī*). We do not find the first two of these six goddesses in the *Guhyasamājantra*. In the *Kālacakra* the tendency is to map Buddhas and goddesses into earth, air, fire, water, space, and the void, whereas at *Guhyasamāja* 17.51 we have a mapping of *Locanā* to earth, *Māmakī* to water,

Pāṇḍarā to fire and Tārā to air, with Vajradhara mapped to space, and no deity mapped to the void. In the *Hevajra* I.i.31 these four are joined only by *Cāṇḍālī*,<sup>53</sup> In another list at *Hevajra* II.iv.65 we have "all those goddesses, led by Nairātmyā, with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā, Bhṛkuṭī, Cundā, Parṣasavarī, Ahomukhā and the rest, as numerous as the atoms in Mount Meru...",<sup>54</sup> again with no mention of *Viśvamātā* or *Ḍākinī*. It is difficult to tell too much about the relationship of the texts to each other at this stage. I merely wish to point out that by beginning to compare the contents, style, and level of detail on different subjects in the various Tantras, we eventually should be able to determine either relative dating, or the relative interests of the different cults in particular subjects. The more obvious relative dating, i.e. when one Tantra quotes another, I have discussed for the *Kālacakra* in Chapter 10 of this dissertation.

#### 4.4. The Two 'Earliest' Buddhist Tantras (4.4.1. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, 4.4.2. The *Guhyasamājantra*)

There is a general consensus among scholars of the Buddhist Tantras that the two earliest texts of the tradition are the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) and the *Guhyasamājantra* (GST) However, as we have seen in Chapter 3.1.3. there were *Ḍākinī* and *Bhaginī* Tantras circulating in Dharmakīrti's time that shared much of their contents with Hindu Tantras of the same period. So it may be that the AMMK and GST are simply the oldest surviving written texts that we have.

##### 4.4.1. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*

Scholars generally designate the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (AMMK) as the first or earliest Buddhist Tantra. Both Bhattacharyya and Wayman considered that the

MMK preceded the *Guhyasamāja*, though as we have seen in Chapter 3.0.2. their dating methods are not reliable. It was edited from a single incomplete manuscript by Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī in the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, in an edition that has been repeatedly criticized by subsequent scholars who have attempted to use his edition.<sup>55</sup> The 3-400 year old manuscript he worked from was collected in 1909 from the Manalikkara Mathom near Padmanabhapuram. The main problem with the text is the ungrammatical Sanskrit, and this was one of the texts studied by Edgerton in preparing his work on Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.<sup>56</sup> Gaṇapati Śāstrī prepared his readers with the following remark: "As the non-observance of the rules of Vyākaraṇa [grammar] in regard to the gender, number and case, found throughout this work is becoming its sacred character, and as no second manuscript has been obtained, the text in this edition is adopted exactly as it is found in the original manuscript."<sup>57</sup>

It is difficult to get a sense of the date of *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* without reading it, and it is a rather long text that has not been translated from the Sanskrit. The only published translation of any portion of the text I have found is K.P. Jayaswal's edition and translation of the 53rd chapter. Dr. Jayaswal took the trouble to re-edit Gaṇapati's Sanskrit with the aid of the Tibetan translation that was made in 1060 CE by Kumārakalāśa and Śākya-blo-gros. The Chapter is an Imperial History of India beginning in 78 CE and ending at the beginning of the Pāla dynasties. Accordingly, Jayaswal assigns the text the reasonable date of c. 770-800 CE, a date that corresponds well with the evidence gathered in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.<sup>58</sup>

Although one could assert that this 53rd chapter is a later addition, and then try to push the date of the written text back earlier, I consider that without having a full translation of the text so that we can compare it with the other Tantras, providing definitive evidence of citations from it in reliably dated earlier literature, or using other historically testable methods, we should tentatively settle on a late 8th century date for this text pending further research.

The full name of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, as found in every chapter colophon of the Sanskrit edition, is *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrā Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpā*,<sup>59</sup> i.e. the Ornament of the Bodhisattva 'Basket', the Mahāyāna Vaipulya [extensive] Sūtra, the Basic Mantra Manual of the Glorious Mañjuśrī. (I have translated the colophons to the fifty-five chapters into English and placed the complete Sanskrit and English in this endnote.<sup>60</sup>) So we see that--provided our Sanskrit text has not been consistently altered, the original Sanskrit of the work was considered a *Vaipulya-sūtra*, not a *Tantra*, and that by the time it was translated into Tibetan it had come to be classed as a *Tantra*. In fact the term '*Tantra*' is only in one chapter colophon (Chapter 38), as part of a list of ritual practices.<sup>61</sup> The first chapter opens "Homage to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Thus have I heard. At one time, at the top of the Pure Abode located in the vault of heaven, the Bhagavān relaxed in the scope of the meeting-sphere wherein were distributed an incomprehensible, miraculous, wonderful [number] of Bodhisattvas."<sup>62</sup> The first two chapters lay out the attendant deities, bodhisattvas, etc. in the *maṇḍala*, a very long list reminiscent of the beginning of many Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and unlike most of the

texts calling themselves Tantras. The chapters are composed of both verse and prose, with the prose sections typically beginning the chapters (some are exclusively prose).

It is evident from the first seven chapters of the text that there is a great deal of maṇḍālic ritual procedures described (1. *Sannipāta* (the Assembly), 2. [giving] instruction on the rules about the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vidhi-nirdeśa*), 3. procedures with the *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vidhāna*), 4. ritual procedures (*vidhāna*), 5. ritual procedures (*vidhāna*), 6. ritual procedures for the younger brother (*kanyasa-paṭa-vidhānaḥ*), 7. (no name)). Chapters 8-10 introduce the highest practice, method, and action and the highest ritual procedure (*uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma*, and *uttama-paṭa-vidhāna*), suggesting an early version of the notion of *anuttarayoga* that defines the class of the most advanced Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras. Chapter 11 suggests an elaborate ritual process, with the title of "the fourth long chapter on all the actions, rules, and procedures, i.e. the practice, method, action, position, *mantra*-recitation, disciplinary rules, offering, meditation, ethical behavior" (*sādhana-upayika-karma-sthāna-japa-niyama-homa-dhyāna-śaucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhana*). Chapters 12-16 include further ritual rules including those for *akṣa-sūtras*, i.e. the 'rosary' beads used for *mantra*-recitation, and a chapter on songs. Chapters 17-19, 21, and 24 are on the rules for using astronomy in the ritual, with chapter 18 on the causes of suffering, and chapters 22-23 on learning to understand the sounds of animals. Chapters 25-33 introduce the rites for making, painting, and using the ritual image of the Single Indestructible Cakravartin Mañjuśrī, with restrictions about the time and place of practice. Chapters 34-37 introduce the rules about the *mudrā*, and it is not

clear without translating the chapters (I have not had time to do this) whether this refers to hand postures or consorts, although Chapter 38 refers to "all the rules of action for the consort, for the *maṇḍalas*, and for the Tantra. (*mudrā-maṇḍala-tantra-sarva-karma-vidhī*)." Chapters 39-40 give the rules for meditation in the context of the ultimate practice (*uttama-sādhana*), with Garuḍa showing up in the 41st chapter, and the 42nd devoted to all the ritual actions and practices. Chapters 43-46 introduce us to the sexual yoga practices; they deal with "the *Mahāmudrā* as the means to the ultimate practice with all activity" (*sarva-karma-uttama-sādhana-upayikaḥ mahāmudra-paṭala-visaraḥ*) and related *Mahāmudrā* practices. Chapter 47 is "The first complete long chapter for the one who will enter the most secret communion--the *maṇḍala* of the four actual Tantric consorts" (*bhaginiḥ*, i.e. real women, literally 'women possessing vulvas') (*catur-bhagini-maṇḍalam anupraveśa-samaya-guhyatama*); the use of the term *samaya-guhyatama*, the most secret communion or the most secret Tantric session or group or society, suggests a similarity with the title of the *Anuttarayogatantra* the *Guhyasamāja*, particularly since *samāja* and *samaya* appear to be Sanskrit and Prakrit versions of the same word. Chapter 48 is "The complete long chapter on the four young women, [and] the subrule about entering the *maṇḍala* as the method of practice" (*dvitīya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvidhiḥ catuḥ-kumārya-paṭala-visaraḥ*). Chapter 49 is entitled "The chapter on all the activities with the consorts, the herbs, the *Tantras*, and the *mantras*, and the restrictions about recitation, and all the means that constitute the method with the four young women." (*catuḥ-kumārya-upayika-sarva-sādhana-japa-niyama-mudrā-oṣadhi-*

*tantra-mantra-sarva-karma*). Chapters 50-52 are rites for conjuring up the fierce deity *Yamāntaka*; 53 is the imperial history chapter discussed above, Chapter 54 is on praise and blame, and Chapter 55 is an alchemical chapter on the preparation of gold. From chapters 43-49 we have to conclude that we do indeed have a Tantric text in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, though I cannot say much more here without actually reading the chapters in question, and as one can see from the pagination noted in the endnote cited above, together these chapters total a significant amount of Sanskrit so translating them will take some time. As with chapter 55 of this text, we also find alchemical practices in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* (see Chapter 7.7 of this dissertation).

There are 89 texts in the Tibetan canon whose names begin with *Mañjuśrī*.<sup>63</sup> Among these are the *Mañjuśrī-guhya-tantra-maṇḍala-vidhi* (2667), i.e. ‘The Maṇḍala rite for Mañjuśrī’s Secret Tantra,’ the *Mañjuśrī-guhya-tantra-sādhana-sarva-karma-nidhi-nāma-ṭkā* (2666), i.e. ‘The Commentary called The Treasury of All the Actions in the Secret Tantric Practice of Mañjuśrī,’ and the forty-one texts of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* cycle--<sup>64</sup> including, interestingly enough, a text called the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti-ṭkā-vimalaprabhā* (1398)--i.e. the ‘Stainless Light Commentary on the Song of the Names of Mañjuśrī,’ the latter portion being the same name used by Puṇḍarīka for his commentary on the *Kālacakratāntra*, a commentary that quotes the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṃgīti* repeatedly in the fifth chapter. There are also the *Mañjuśrī-karma-catuś-cakra-guhya* (838)--i.e. ‘The Secret of the Four Cakras of the Mañjuśrī Cycle,’ and the *Mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-aṣṭaka-uttara-śataka-nāma-dhāraṇī-*

*mantra-sahita* (639, 879)--i.e. the 'Collection of *Mantras* Constituting the *Dhāraṇī* called the One hundred and eight names of Mañjuśrī Kumārabhūta.' One curiosity is the text entitled the *Mañjuśrī-vajra-bhairava-nāma-stuti*, i.e. the Hymn to the Vajra-Bhairava version of Mañjuśrī (Tohoku 2012--one folio), said to have been written by Las-kyi rgyal-po.<sup>65</sup> Bhairava is of course the fierce form of Śiva, who becomes absorbed also into the Buddhist Tantric tradition (we do not have clear information on when or where or from what tradition the 'Bhairava' first appeared). The original text is listed simply as the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-tantra* (*hphags-pa hjam-dpal-gyi rtsa-baḥi rgyud*) (Tohoku 543--245 folios), said to have been translated by Kumārakalaśa and Śākya blo-gros.<sup>66</sup>

#### 4.4.2. The *Guhyasamājantra*

The earliest extant Buddhist Tantra that calls itself a Tantra is, by common consent, the *Guhyasamāja*, The Tantra of the secret conclave, or the Tantra of the esoteric communion.<sup>67</sup> This text was first published in 1931 by Bhattacharyya as *Guhyasamājantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*, vol. 53 of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series from Baroda.<sup>68</sup> Francesca Fremantle subsequently produced a new edition of the Sanskrit, collated with the Tibetan, and an English translation of the first seventeen chapters as *A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra*, her Ph.D. thesis from the University of London.<sup>69</sup> The principal Sanskrit commentary, the *Pradīpodyotana* by *Candrakīrti* has since been published by the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna.<sup>70</sup> According to a list given by Śāstrī in Bengali, and converted to our alphabet by Bhattacharyya, there are no less than 16 Sanskrit commentaries surviving



in Tibetan translation, plus some 30 other lost Sanskrit commentaries.<sup>71</sup> In their introduction to the critical edition of *Nāgārjuna's Pañcakrama*, Mimaki and Tomabechi also refer to a new critical edition of the *Guhyasamāja* edited by Y. Matsunaga.<sup>72</sup> I have not yet been able to examine this work.

Fremantle's Sanskrit edition is based on Bhattacharyya's, and mss. from the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, and Cambridge University. Bhattacharyya's edition was based on mss. from the Cambridge University library, the Baroda Oriental Institute, the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The latter is ms. 8070, no. 64 in Śāstrī's catalogue, where he writes that the original portion of the manuscript, up to folio 46, "was written in beautiful Newari of the 11th century."<sup>73</sup> The Cambridge mss. are Add. 901, 1365, and 1617 in Bendall's catalogue.<sup>74</sup> Unnoticed by either Bhattacharyya or Fremantle,<sup>75</sup> or by Wayman<sup>76</sup> is a catalogue listing by Śāstrī of a manuscript (ms. 10765, no. 18), apparently entitled *Tathāgataguhyaka*, "a very large work of the *Vaipulya* class, hitherto unknown."<sup>77</sup> A fragmentary paper ms. in 17th century Newari script, it originally totalled 11 chapters. Śāstrī gives the surviving colophons from the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters, and these suggest some prefiguring of later Tantric doctrines--particularly the reference to the "turning of the circle of heros" (*Śūra-valaya-parivartte-nāma navamaḥ*) in Chapter 9, a term that seems to prefigure the *vīra-cakra* term that comes to be used to refer to the group sexual rites in Tantric Yoga; 3) The third chapter on the secret of the *Tathāgata's* body; 4) The fourth chapter on the secret of speech; 5) The fifth chapter on the secret

of thinking; 6) The sixth chapter teaching about the transformation of the *Tathāgata*;  
 7) The seventh chapter on prophecy; 9) The ninth chapter called the circle of heros;  
 10) The tenth chapter on *Ajātaśatru*; 11) Thus the eleventh chapter, the section  
 teaching about the transformation of the *Tathāgata*'s secret is completed.<sup>78</sup> A post-  
 colophon dates the work to the *siddhaya kājula* solar day, the tenth lunar day in the  
 bright half of *Caitra* (April-May), in the year *Samvat* 224. Śāstrī adds "it is  
 impossible to explain the early date." There are two *Samvat* eras: the Indian *Samvat*  
 that begins in 57 CE--and would place this text at 281 CE<sup>79</sup>--I think an unlikely dating;  
 or the Nepali *Samvat* that begins 880 CE and would place this manuscript at 1104 CE,  
 a more reasonable date for the manuscript. While it is impossible to say without  
 looking in detail at the contents of the manuscript how old it might be, the contents  
 do give the impression that the text is a transitional *Mahāyāna sūtra*--proto-*Tantra*.  
 Its self-classification as a *Vaipulya-sūtra* is in keeping with the same self-classification  
 of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. Śāstrī gives a two page excerpt from the 4th chapter,  
 where *Vajrapāṇi-Guhyakādhipati* and *Bodhisattva Śāntimati* converse, and *Vajrapāṇi*  
 explains the characteristics of the *Tathāgata*'s speech, including sixty forms of  
 vocalized speech (loving, pure, delighting the mind, etc.). The text most likely  
 predates any *Tantras*, for a couple of reasons: the lack of mention of *Tantras* in  
 listing the types of texts wherein the *Tathāgata*'s speech is displayed, and the lack of  
 mention of *ḍākas* or *ḍākinīs* or *yoginīs*--characteristic deific beings in Buddhist Tantric  
 texts--in a list of beings. "And in addition, *Śāntimati*, the *Tathāgata*'s speech displays  
 all the elements in the ten directions, and delights the abode of all beings, yet the

same is not the case for the *Tathāgata* himself; I am this *sūtra*, or song (*geya*), or prophecy (*vyākaraṇaṃ*), or *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivr̥tta*, *jātaka*, *vaipulya*, *adbhuta*, *dharmopadeśa*, or logical examples (*dṛṣṭānta*), or *pūrvayoga*, or *avadāna*, or *ākhyāyika*, or what should be explained (*ādeśayeyaṃ*), or what should be taught (*prajñāpayeyaṃ*), or what should be put aside (*prasthāpayeyaṃ*), or what should be shared (*vibhajeyaṃ*), or what should be revealed (*vivṛṇuyeyaṃ*), or what should be promulgated (*uttāntikuryyāṃ*), or what should be illuminated (*samprakāśayeyaṃ*).” In listing the assemblies (*parṣat*) gathered together with the *Tathāgata*, there is a *bhikṣuparṣad*, a *bhikṣuṇī*, *upāsaka*, and *upāsikā-parṣad*, and a *parṣad* of *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *kinnaras*, and *mahoragas* (great serpents). Śāstrī concludes: "Hence a conjecture is hazarded here that this Vaipulya work is the original Tathāgata Guhyaka and that the first book of Guhya Samāja and sometimes the second also are called Tathāgata Guhyaka only by an analogy."<sup>80</sup> It may well be that the tradition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* grew out this earlier *Vaipulya* tradition of the *Tathāgataguhyaka*, just as many of the *Upaniṣads* derive their names from the earlier schools of *Brāhmaṇas*, *Āraṇyakas*, and Vedic *saṃhitās*.<sup>81</sup> A thorough study of this manuscript might shed some light on the historical origins of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.<sup>82</sup> Should Śāstrī's suggestion prove to be correct, this would tend to support Lokesh Candra's conclusions from his analysis of the Chinese Tantric texts that the *Vaipulya* class texts were the direct predecessors to the named Buddhist *Tantras*, a proposition supported (as mentioned above) by the colophon evidence of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a text that refers to itself as a *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra*.

While those hoping to demonstrate that the Buddhist *Tantras* 'came first' before the Hindu *Tantras* might cite the *Vaipulya* evidence as "proof," I think such an argument would be too facile. I think it demonstrates rather what one would reasonably expect: that as Tantric doctrines developed in India and were systematized by the different schools, it would have been natural for exponents of the different schools to fit the material into the pre-existing structure of their own canonical traditions.

There are 21 *Guhyasamāja* texts in Tibetan translation in the Tohoku catalogue. One of these, a *Śrī-guhyā-samāja-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1810--15 folios) is ascribed to the 8th or 9th century<sup>83</sup> Nāgabodhi (Kluḥi byañ-chub)--whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth century during Avantivarman's reign in Kaśmīr (855-883 CE) by Kalhaṇa.<sup>84</sup> This is a reliable bit of dating that places the *Guhyasamāja* system no later than the 8th century. The *Śrī-guhyā-samāja*- texts are: 1) *tantra-nidāna-guru-upadeśana-vyākhyāna* (Tohoku 1910--8 folios) by Sgeg-paḥi rdo-rje,<sup>85</sup> 2) *-tantra-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1847-163 folios) by Jina-? (Rgyal-bas byin), translated by Śāntibhadra (Shi-ba bzañ-po) and Śes-rab ye-śes,<sup>86</sup> 3) *-tantra-rāja-ṭikā-candra-prabhā* (Tohoku 1852--119 folios) by Pra-? -ākara/sambhava-varma/gupta (Rab-tu dgaḥ-baḥ ḥbyuñ-gnas go-cha), translator unknown,<sup>87</sup> 4) *-tantra-vivaraṇa* (Tohoku 1845--83 folios) by Thagana, translated by Śraddhākaravarma and Dharmasrībhadra and Rinchen bzañ-po, 5) *-tantrasya tantra-ṭikā* (Tohoku 1784--324 folios) by Klu-sgrub, translated by Mantrakalaśa and Gshon-nu bum-pa,<sup>88</sup> 5) *Śrīguhyasamāja-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1917--80 folios) by the pre-mid-tenth century Ānandagarbha (Kun-dgaḥ sñin-

po), translated by Vijayaśrīdhara and Rin-chen bzañ-po, and revised by Śraddhākaravarman,<sup>89</sup> 6) -*mañjuśrī-sādhana* (Tohoku 1880--10 folios) by Vi-?-vajra (Rnam-par snañ-mdsad rdo-rje), translated by Puṇyaśrī and Gyuñ-druñ ḥod,<sup>90</sup> 7) -*maṇḍala-deva-kāya-stotra* (Tohoku 1828--3 folios) by Mi-gnas rdo-rje, translated by Śraddhākaravarma and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>91</sup> 8) -*maṇḍala-viṃśati-vidhi* (Tohoku 1810--14 folios) by Kluḥi byang-chub,<sup>92</sup> 9, 10, 11) -*maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1798--20 folios) by Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub), translated in the 11th century by Subhāṣita and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>93</sup> (Tohoku 1810--15 folios) by (8th or 9th century)<sup>94</sup> Nāgabodhi (Kluḥi byañ-chub)--whose writings are referred to by the Kaśmīri Śaivite disciple of Vasugupta, Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, himself dated to the mid-ninth century during Avantivarman's reign in Kaśmīr (855-883 CE) by Kalhaṇa<sup>95</sup>--translated by Tilakakalaśa and Pha-tshab Nyima grags,<sup>96</sup> (Tohoku 1865--18 folios) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad bzañ-po), translated in the 11th century by Padmākaravarma and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>97</sup> 12) -*maṇḍala-vidhi-ṭkā* (Tohoku 1871--71 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kalamaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,<sup>98</sup> 13) -*maṇḍala-sādhana-ṭkā* (Tohoku 1873--40 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kamalaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,<sup>99</sup> 14) -*mahā-yoga-tantra-bali-vidhi* (Tohoku 1824--2 folios) by Śāntadeva, translated by Śāntadeva and Ḥgos lo-tsa-ba,<sup>100</sup> 15) -*mahā-yoga-tantra-utpāda-krama-sādhana-sūtra-melāpaka* (Tohoku 1797--4 folios) by Nāgārjuna (Klu-sgrub), translated in the 11th century by Dharmaśrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>101</sup> 16) -*lokeśvara-sādhana* (Tohoku 1892--2 folios) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes), translated by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po, 17) -*sahaja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1613), 18) -*sādhana-siddhi-sambhava-vidhi*

(Tohoku 1874--68 folios) by Vitapāda, translated by Kamalaguhyā and Ye-śes rgyal-mtshan,<sup>102</sup> 19) -*stotra* (Tohoku 1894--one folio) by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes), translated by Atīśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>103</sup> 20) -*abhisamaya-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1881--16 folios) by Piṇḍapa (Bsod-snyoms-pa), translated by Śraddhākaravarman and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>104</sup> 21) -*alaṅkāra* (Tohoku 1848--152 folios) by Vimalagupta (Dri-med sbas pa) or Candraprabhā (Zla-baḥi ḥod), and Rin-chen rdo-rje myu-gu), translated by Sunyāyaśrīmitra and Dar-ma grags.<sup>105</sup>

**4.5. Unpublished Sections of Published Tantras (4.5.1. The *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, 4.5.2. The *Hevajratantra*, 4.5.3. The *Ekallavīra-Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*)**

I have found by searching through the catalogues of Sanskrit Tantric manuscripts that there are extant in Sanskrit considerable portions of some of the major *Anuttarayogatantras* in addition to what has already been published on these texts. This material includes both Sanskrit commentaries, and for two of the three texts in this section, several chapters that have not yet been either published or translated. I have therefore translated the extracts from these chapters, and they give us a much fuller idea of the material in the texts. (Some of this material is also referenced in Chapter 9.3.1. of this dissertation.)

**4.5.1. The *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra***

Shinichi Tsuda translated 19 of the 33 chapters of the *Cakrasaṃvara* or *Samvarodayatantra* (also known as the *Heruka Tantra*) in the 1974 publication of his Ph.D. thesis. He worked from eight Sanskrit manuscripts, five from the University of Tokyo, one each from Paris and London, and one from the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and included the Sanskrit for his 19 chapters with the Tibetan (he

translated chapters 2-10, 13, 17-19, 21, 23, 26, 28, 31, and 33). According to Tsuda, there are two extant Sanskrit commentaries, the *Samvarodayatantrasya pañjikāvyaḥkhyā* (by *Ratnarakṣitā*, and the only commentary preserved in Tibetan) and the *Samvarodayatantrasya ūnavimśatipaṭalavyākhyā*. Kṣāntiśrī's *Sādhanā* (commenting principally on the thirteenth chapter) apparently exists only in Chinese.<sup>106</sup> Tsuda makes several explicit claims about the text. First, the "supposition that the author of the *Samvarodaya-sātra* did intend to write correct Sanskrit," yet "gave priority to the meter." This supposition is based on the grammatically correct readings in the oldest ms. he used, a 1595 A.D. ms. from Tokyo University (ms. A.).<sup>107</sup> In contrast to Snellgrove's primary reliance on the Tibetan text and commentaries to ascertain the sense of the Sanskrit, Tsuda argued that "the Sanskrit manuscripts are the chief authority, and that the Tibetan version and the commentaries are to be treated as of a subsidiary nature with the understanding that they should actually be more reliable. In the case of the *Samvarodaya* we have obtained the impression that the Tibetan translation and the commentaries are not in themselves sufficient to provide us with a satisfactory version of the whole work.... The Tibetan translation of the *Samvarodaya* is as unreliable as that [i.e. the Tibetan translation] of *Hevajra*."<sup>108</sup> Tsuda translates the title *Samvarodaya* as "Arising of the Supreme Pleasure."<sup>109</sup> After a long discussion of what he considers an erroneous classification as a *bśad rgyud* or explanatory *Tantra*, and the assertion that the *Samvarodaya* could equally well be considered a *mūla-tantra*, Tsuda concludes "we must be content with the bare fact that some mutual relation exists between the

*Laghusaṃvara*, the *Samvarodaya* and the *Abhidhānottara* which, apart from the *Yogintsaṃcāra*, can also be taken as a *mūla-tantra*.<sup>110</sup> Tsuda notes that the *bsTan hgyur* commentaries on the *Samvara* or *Cakrasaṃvara* are really commentaries on the *Laghusaṃvaratantra*.<sup>111</sup> We also have an edition from the Tibetan with an English translation of the first seven chapters of the *Laghusaṃvara*, titled as *Śrīchakrasambhāra Tantra* by its editor Kazi Dawa-Samdup.<sup>112</sup>

There is a considerable literature from this tradition in Tibetan translation. The earliest work we have on the *Cakrasaṃvara* is the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-tantra-rājasamvara-samuccāya-nāma-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1413--118 folios) by Indrabhūti, who dates perhaps to the early 8th century,<sup>113</sup> translator unknown,<sup>114</sup> so this would appear to be among the oldest extant Buddhist Tantric texts. We also have another long commentary on the text, the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-sādhanā-sarva-śūla-nāma-ṭīkā* (Tohoku 1407--87 folios) apparently by the 9th century<sup>115</sup> King Deva-pāla (? Lhas sbas), translator unknown,<sup>116</sup> and several works by Mahāsiddhas, Nāropa, and his collaborators. The other literature in Tibetan translation includes: 1) *Śrī-cakra-sambara-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1537--5 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated in the 14th century by Dharmasrībhadra<sup>117</sup> and Rig-pa gshon-nu,<sup>118</sup> 2) *Śrī-cakra-sambara-udāya-nāma-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1538--33 folios) by Dbu-pa blo-ldan, translator unknown,<sup>119</sup> *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara- 2) -garbha-tattva-siddhi* (Tohoku 1456--one folio) by the Mahāsiddha Jaandhara, translator unknown,<sup>120</sup> 3) *Tattva-garbha-saṃgraha* (Tohoku 1505--one folio) by Kusali-pa, translated by Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug and Mar-pa Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug,<sup>121</sup> 4) *Tattva-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1507--one folio) by Kusali-pa.



translated by Bhadrabodhi and Mar-*pa* Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug,<sup>122</sup> 5) *-trayodaśa-ātmaka-abhiṣeka-vidhi* (Tohoku 1486--10 folios) by the 11th century Advayavajra (Gnyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Jñānavajra and Shañ shuñ,<sup>123</sup> 6) *nāma-śatāṣṭaka-stotra* (Tohoku 1425--one folio), author and translator unknown,<sup>124</sup> 7) *-pañca-krama* (Tohoku 1433--3 folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṇṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa--perhaps the guardian of the southern door of Nālandā when Nāropa arrived,<sup>125</sup> and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba,<sup>126</sup> 8) *-pañca-krama-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1435--6 folios) by Vajraghaṇṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu pa), translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-*pa* Chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug,<sup>127</sup> 9) *-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1403--105 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Mi mnyam rdo-rje and Rin-chen grags,<sup>128</sup> 10) *-pañjikā-sūra-manojñā* (Tohoku 1405--40 folios) by (the 10th century?) Bhavyakīrti (Skal-ldan grags-pa),<sup>129</sup> translated in the early 11th century by Dharmaśrībhadrā and Rin-chen bzañ-pa,<sup>130</sup> 11) *-bahiṣ-pūjā-vidhi* (Tohoku 1466--one folio) by the 11th century disciple of Nāropa, Prajñāraṅkṣita,<sup>131</sup> translated in the late 11th/early 12th century by Sumatikīrti<sup>132</sup> and Blo-ldan śes-rab,<sup>133</sup> 12) *-maṇḍala-deva-gaṇa-stotra* (Tohoku 1531--one folio) by the latter 10th century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated in the 11th century by Mahājñāna and Mar pa Chos-kyi dbañ-phyug,<sup>134</sup> 13) *-maṇḍala-maṅgala-gāthā* (Tohoku 1479--one folio) by the latter 10th century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated in the early twelfth century by Tārākalaśu and Abhayākaragupta's collaborator Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba,<sup>135</sup> 14 & 15) *-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1469--13 folios) by the 11th century disciple of Nāropā Prajñāraṅkṣita, translated in the late 11th/early 12th century by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab,<sup>136</sup> (Tohoku 1477--36 folios) by Vijayabhadra (this

appears to be the same fellow sometimes called Bhadrapāda or Vijayapāda, pupil of the 11th century contemporary of Nāropa, Kṛṣṇa-pāda,<sup>137</sup> called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzañ-po), translated by Hjam-dpal and Ba-ri,<sup>138</sup> 16) *-maṇḍala-vidhi-tattva-avatāra* (Tohoku 1430--16 folios) by the 12th century Dārika-pa,<sup>139</sup> translated by Kumāravajra and Nyi-ma rdo-rje,<sup>140</sup> 17) *-maṇḍala-vidhi-ratna-pradīpoddyota* (Tohoku 1444--22 folios) by Lwa-ba-pa, translated in the 11th century by Sumatikīrti and Marpa chos-kyi-dbañ-phyug,<sup>141</sup> 18) *-maṇḍala-stotra* (Tohoku 1530--3 folios) by Śūrakalaśa (= mid 12th century Tilakakalaśa or Alaṅkārakalaśa?)<sup>142</sup> and Bsod-nams bzañ-po,<sup>143</sup> 19) *-mūla-tantra-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1406--28 folios) by Laṅka Vijayabhadra (this appears to be the same fellow sometimes called Bhadrapāda or Vijayapāda, pupil of the late 11th century contemporary of Nāropa, Kṛṣṇa-pāda,<sup>144</sup> called here in the canon Rgyal-ba bzañ-po), translator unknown,<sup>145</sup> 20) *-bālividhi* (Tohoku 1467--2 folios) by the 11th century Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and Bio-ldan śes-rab,<sup>146</sup> 21) *-ṣeka-kriyā-krama* (Tohoku 1470--10 folios) by Nityavajra (? Rtag-paḥi rdo-rje), translated by Dharmasrībhadrā and Bu-ston,<sup>147</sup> 22) *-ṣeka-prakriya-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1431--3 folios) by the Mahāsiddha Vajraghaṅṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pa and Chos-kyi śes-rab,<sup>148</sup> 23) *-sahaja-tattva-āloka* (Tohoku 1504--one folio) by Dpag-med rdo-rje, translated by Dīpaṅkararakṣita,<sup>149</sup> 24, 25 & 26), *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1432--2 folios) by Vajraghaṅṭa (Rdo-rje dril-bu-pa), translated by Prajñābhadrā and Blo-gros grags,<sup>150</sup> (Tohoku 1445--4 folios), author and translators unknown, (Tohoku 1491--2 folios) by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes, translated by Atiśa (Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes) and Rin-chen bzañ-po,<sup>151</sup> 27) *-sādhana-tattva-saṃgraha*

(Tohoku 1429--6 folios) by the 12th century Dārika-pa, translated by Kumararavajra and Advayavajra (Nyiis-ma rdo-rje),<sup>152</sup> 28) -*sādhana-trṃśikā-pada-paddhati* (Tohoku 1488--2 folios) by Sprin-gyi bshon-paḥi lha, translated by Dharmapālabhadra,<sup>153</sup> 29) -*sādhana-ratna-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1484--5 folios) by Maitri-pa, translated by Vajrapāṇi and Ba-reg thos-pa-dgaḥ,<sup>154</sup> 30) -*sādhana-sarva-śāla-nāma-ṭkā* (Tohoku 1407--87 folios) by the 9th century<sup>155</sup> King Deva-pāla (? Lhas sbas), translator unknown,<sup>156</sup> 31) -*sādhana-amṛta-kṣara* (Tohoku 1462--13 folios) by King Vimalacandra (Mi-thib zla-ba), translator unknown,<sup>157</sup> 32) -*supraciṣṭhā* (Tohoku 1487--5 folios) by the 11th century Advayavajra (Gnyis-med rdo-rje), translated by Vajrapāṇi and Rma-ban chos-ḥbar,<sup>158</sup> 33, 34, & 35) -*stotra* (Tohoku 1440--1 folio) by Indrabhūti, translator unknown,<sup>159</sup> (Tohoku 1520--one folio) by Maitri/Advayavajra (11th century),<sup>160</sup> (Tohoku 1532--2 folios) by the latter 10th century Kaśmīri Ratnavajra (Rin-chen rdo-rje), translated by Mahājñāna and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dbaḥ-phyug,<sup>161</sup> 36) -*stotra-sarva-ārtha-siddhi-viśuddhi-cūḍāmaṇi* (Tohoku 1428--4 folios) by the 12th century Dārika, translated by the Kaśmīri Dharmavajra and Rgya Brtson-ḥgrus seṅ-ge,<sup>162</sup> 37) -*hastapūjā-vidhi* (1468--one folio) by Prajñārakṣita, translated by Sumatikīrti and Blo-ldan śes-rab,<sup>163</sup> 38) -*homa-vidhi* (1447--6 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Dharmabhadra and Rig-pa gshon-nu,<sup>164</sup> 39) -*advaita-dhyāna-upadeśa-yoga-caṇḍālī* (Tohoku 1508--one folio) by Dge-baḥ mgon-po, translated by the Nepali Vāgīśvara and Mar-pa Chos-kyi dbaḥ-phyug,<sup>165</sup> 40) -*abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1498--7 folios) by Abhayākaragupta, and translated by Abhayākara and Śes-rab-dpal,<sup>166</sup> 41) -*eka-vīra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1536--4 folios) by Maṇikaśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and

Prajñākīrti,<sup>167</sup> 42) -*upadeśa* (Tohoku 1485--4 folios) by Gnyis-med rdo-rje, translated by Varendraruci and Rma-ban chos-ñjar.<sup>168</sup> The *Samvarodayābhisamayopāyikā*<sup>169</sup> is among the texts cited by Abhayākaragupta.

Manuscript III.365 A in Shāstri's Durbar Library Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts is a short, 700 *śloka* commentary in 26 folios on the *Cakrasaṃvara* by Jayabhadraḥ. Though of uncertain date, the manuscript is in transitional Gupta characters. Śāstri tells us that "the commentator Jayabhadra seems to have been an immigrant from Ceylon, though the verse in which he is described is very obscure, and many of the letters have almost been effaced." This information is based on part of the colophon that reads "this work was produced by a Sinhalese born in *Śrīlanka*, known by the name Jayabhadra. May the heroic *ḍākiṅts* grant peace."<sup>170</sup> The text opens with: "Salutation to *Heruka*, the pinnacle of the intrinsic existence of all beings, who removes the fear of all beings, who appears as all beings, engendering all beings. Homage to him the *Mahāvīraṃ*, who has infinite capacity, spotless like the sky."<sup>171</sup> Glossing the use of the term *Cakrasambaram* in the root *Tantra*, Jayabhadra tells us it refers to the *Tantras* of *Śrītheruka*, *Vajravārāhi* etc.<sup>172</sup>

The catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal lists two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Heruka Tantra (Sambarodaya)*, Nos. 59 (in 82 folios, fresh and complete) and 60 (only 9 folios, in 14th century Newari script). The text in 1600 *ślokās* purports to be an extract of the 300,000 verse *Heruka Tantra*. Shāstri's placing of the text at No. 59 indicates that he considered it a relatively early *Tantra* (he notes in the preface that he attempted a chronological ordering of the mss. in the catalogue).<sup>173</sup> The

standard opening is found: *evaṃ mayā śrutam, ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoginī-bhageṣu vijahāra*!, the same line that opens the *Guhyasamājatantra*<sup>174</sup> and the *Hevajratantra*,<sup>175</sup> though not the *Kālacakratantra*. In addition, the *Cakrasaṃvara*, *Guhyasamāja*, and *Hevajra* all begin in prose, while the *Kālacakratantra* is in verse (though *Puṇḍarīka*'s commentary is in prose). Of the three earlier *Tantras*, the *Cakrasaṃvara* is the longest, in 33 chapters. The *Guhyasamāja* is complete in 17 or 18 chapters, and the *Hevajra* is rather shorter, in two chapters of ten and eleven fairly short sections each.

Since the Sanskrit of the remaining chapters of *Cakrasaṃvara* or *Sambarodaya* have not been published, the following is a translation of the opening lines from Shāstri's catalogue, and the table of contents from all the chapter colophons. "Om homage to the glorious *Vajrasambhara*. Thus was it heard by me. At one time the lord took dwelt in the vaginas of the lightning *yoginīs* of the body, speech, and thought of all the *Tathāgatas*. Together with preeminent passionless ones, beginning with *Āryya Ānanda*, *Avalokiteśvara* etc. and the 800,000 *yoginīs* [were present]; seeing *Vajrapāṇi* in [their] midst, [the lord] smiled. *Vajrapāṇi*, arising from his seat, putting his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, joining his hands together in homage, addressed the lord: 'I would like to hear, Oh lord, a description of *Uṣṭīyoga*; and how, Oh lord, is the one *Sambhara* of universal form arisen? How is there wind and water, earth, space, and [fire]? How is there the five forms, Oh *deva*, and then the sixfold, *Prabho*? How are the three bodies established externally, and established internally? You must explain how

your goddess has the form of a god, *Prabho*. How is there the sun and the moon, *Deva*, and how is there the five paths? And what is the intrinsic nature of your body, and what is the form of the channels? What is the extent of the channels, and what [is the extent] of the physical body?<sup>176</sup> You must explain to me, *Prabho*, about the *cchoma* that is the sign of the community,<sup>177</sup> what are the internal and external signs of your pilgrimage sites, how [does one] attain the stages etc., and what is the explanation of the cause. What are your twelve actions, and how is mantra recitation [performed]? What is the string of *akṣa* [beads], the practice, and your description of the recitation? What is your *maṇḍala*, [its] turning, and the form of the divinities? What is the *siddhi-mantra*, and how does one satisfy the young lady? How is your divine service performed, and what are the vowels and consonants? What are the five nectars, *Deva*, and the five goads? You must explain how to draw the *maṇḍala*, and the measuring line. How is your ground purified, and what is the protection *cakra*? With what [sort of] teacher is this done, and how does the student recognize him? What is your consecration, its extent, and the fourth? What is the rule about time, and [how] does one cheat death? What is your mark of the four ages, and what are the four continents? What is *siddhi* in each age, and what are the teachers and the practices? What are your *yoginītantras* and *yogatantras*? What is the extent of your *sūtra* literature and the perfection [of wisdom literature]? What is the *siddhimantra* of the foundational *homa* sacrifice? What is the [alchemical] elixir, *Deva*, and what is the alcoholic drink? What is the arisal of the *mantras*, *Deva*, and what is the extraction of the *mantras*? What is the punishment, *Deva*, and what is the reward?

What are the principles, Lord, and what is voidness, and compassion? What is the intrinsic nature of the void, and what is the intrinsic nature of reality? What is the form of the deity, the name, and the line [on the body] characteristic of the *yoginis*? You must explain, *Prabho*, the knowledge of all the properties of the states of being."<sup>178</sup>

Table of Contents:<sup>179</sup> (I have boldfaced the Chapter titles not included in Tsuda's edition)

**Chapter 1: Requesting instruction on the *Śrīsambarodayatantra*.**

Chapter 2: Instruction about the origin.<sup>180</sup>

Chapter 3: Instruction on the sequence of completion.<sup>181</sup>

Chapter 4: Purification of the deities of the four elements, the five forms and the six [sense] realms.<sup>182</sup>

Chapter 5: Instruction on the course of the moon and the sun.<sup>183</sup>

Chapter 6: Instruction on the five paths.<sup>184</sup>

Chapter 7: The means [using] the sequence of the array of channels.<sup>185</sup>

Chapter 8: Rules for the meeting place of the *samaya*.<sup>186</sup>

Chapter 9: Explanation of the secret signs and the places appointed for meeting (such as) *piṭha* (and so on).<sup>187</sup>

Chapter 10: The chapter called the advance and arisal of *karma*.

**Chapter 11: The instruction about *mantra* recitation.**

**Chapter 12: The instruction about the *mantra* recitation rosary.**

Chapter 13: The arisal of *Śrī Heruka*.

**Chapter 14: The rule for the worship of the lightning *yoginī*.**

**Chapter 15: The instruction about the characteristics of the drinking vessel (*pātralakṣana*).**

**Chapter 16: The instruction on the practice with the five nectars.**

Chapter 17: The instruction describing the rules for laying out the *maṇḍala*.

Chapter 18: The initiation.

Chapter 19: The *yoga* of departure showing the constructed nature of death.

**Chapter 20: The instruction about the four ages.**

Chapter 21: The instruction on the vows of practice.

**Chapter 22: The rule for the residence of the deities.**

Chapter 23: The instruction about *homa*.

**Chapter 24: The instruction on the usage of herbs for the advancement of *karma*.**

**Chapter 25: The rule about elixirs.**

Chapter 26: The instruction about alcoholic beverages.

**Chapter 27: The rule about the extraction of *mantras*.**

Chapter 28: The rule about *homa*.

**Chapter 29: The instruction about the principles.**

**Chapter 30: The instruction about the characteristics of the multi-colored etc. forms.**

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

**Chapter 32: The instruction about offering the oblation.**



Chapter 33: The section on innate arisal extracted from the three hundred thousand [verse] In the royal *Tantra* called *Śrītheruka* Perfecting the recitation of the secret of all the *yoginīs*.<sup>188</sup>

#### 4.5.2. The *Hevajratantra*

The first Buddhist Sanskrit Tantra translated into English was the *Hevajratantra* by David Snellgrove, formerly of the University of London's School of Oriental and African Studies, now retired to Italy. His complete translation of a Buddhist Tantra and commentary (the *Yogaratnamālā* by *Kaṇha*) in many ways established a paradigm for work in Buddhist Tantra by his reliance on the Tibetan translations of the text and Indian commentaries as his "chief guides" to elucidate the surviving Sanskrit text.<sup>189</sup> As he puts it more explicitly, "A Tibetan translation of a text and a commentary, let alone five commentaries or more, is of far more value for understanding a work than the Sanskrit manuscript alone. It is on these translations that I have largely relied."<sup>190</sup> Snellgrove deduces that the *Hevajratantra* existed "in its present form towards the end of the eighth century," based largely on *Tāranātha*'s statement that *Kaṇha* was a contemporary of King Devapāla, an early ninth-century king.<sup>191</sup> How long the *Hevajratantra* preexisted this date in oral tradition is hard to say.

The formal title of the text is the *Śrī-hevajra-dākinī-jāla-saṃvara-mahātantrarāja*. Snellgrove used a good Sanskrit manuscript of the *Yogaratnamālā* in the Cambridge University library. The earliest commentary in Sanskrit appears to have been the *Hevajrapañjikā* by *Śrī Kamalanāth*, who Snellgrove identifies with

*Kampala*, the originator of the *Hevajratantra* along with *Saroruha*. A complete Sanskrit version in 23 folios survived in the private Library of Field-Marshal Kaisher Shamshser in Kathmandu, though Snellgrove did not have time to translate it, and no one else has since done so (I do not know whether this commentary still exists, almost 40 years later now). Another Sanskrit commentary by Vairocana survives in Kathmandu's *Bir Library*.<sup>192</sup> Göttingen's library has a manuscript of the *Hevajrasādhanopāyikā* of *Ratnākaraśānti*, collected from *Phyag dpe lha khang* in *Sa skya* Tibet in a 1936 expedition.<sup>193</sup> In Shāstri's catalogue of the Durbar library we also find a *Yogaratnamālā* or *Hevajrapañjikā* ms. in transitional Gupta characters, though the ms. is incomplete.<sup>194</sup> More recently Farrow and Menon have retranslated both the *Hevajratantra* and the *Yogaratnamālā*, providing an edited version based on four Sanskrit mss. of the former, and two of the latter, in careful consultation with Snellgrove's edition.<sup>195</sup> The text is in some respects an improvement over Snellgrove's, as the *Yogaratnamālā* glosses are given with each verse. Unfortunately I was not able to locate any manuscript extracts of the unpublished *Hevajra* commentaries in the catalogues I have so far consulted.

The *Hevajra* has a substantial literature, with 26 works preserved in the Tibetan Canon. The text was translated into Chinese in the 11th century by Fa-hu, though this is a much later date than when the text seems to have first been incorporated into the Buddhist canon in India, and the text is generally considered to be among the earliest *Anuttarayogatantras*. One of the surviving commentaries was written by Jalandha ri-pa, one of the *Mahāsiddhas* (see No. 23 below). The Tibetan

translations include: 1) *Hevajra-krama-kuru-kulle-sādhana* (Tohoku 3568--one folio) translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, 2) *Hevajra-tantra-pañjikā-padmin* (Tohoku 1181-47 folios) by Mtsho-skyes, translated by Kṣitigarbha and Khu-ston dños-grub, 3) *Hevajra-tantra-rājā* (Tohoku 417--12 folios) translator unknown, 4, 5, & 6) *Hevajra-vibhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1235--one folio) by Vajrāla, translator unknown, (Tohoku 1271--2 folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbañ, (Tohoku 1276--2 folios) translated by Sumatīśrībhadrā and Śākya ḥod-zer, 7) *Hevajra-nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja-dvi-kalpa-māyā-pañjika-smṛti-nipāda* (Tohoku 1187--48 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po-ba), translated by Dpal-dlam zla-ba and Ḥgos lhas-btsas, 8) *Hevajra-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1243--13 folios) by Avadhūti-pa Gñis meḍ rdo-rje, translator unknown, 9) *Hevajra-piṇḍārtha-ṭkā* (Tohoku 1180--125 folios) by Vajragarbha (Rdo-rje sñiñ-po), translated by Dānaśīla, Señ-dkar śākya ḥod Maitri, and Nas-ḥbro dge-sloñ, 10) *Hevajra-bali-vidhi* (Tohoku 1288--one folio) translator unknown, 11 & 12) *Hevajra-maṇḍala-karma-krama-vidhi* (Tohoku 1219--12 folios) by Padmavajra, translated by Śākya brtson-ḥgrus, (Tohoku 1263--13 folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, 13) *Hevajra-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1221--2 folios) by Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, translator unknown, 14) *Hevajra-ṣoḍaśa-bhuja-sādhana* (1297--2 folios) by Kṛṣṇa, 15, 16, & 17) *Hevajra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1264--8 folios) by Yan-lag med-paṇi rdo-rje, translated by Kun-tu bzañ-po and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba, (Tohoku 1301--6 folios) by Ḥjam-dpal ye-śes, translated by Mañjuśrījñāna and Roñ-zon Dharmabhadra, and (Tohoku 3292--2 folios) translated by Dā, Abhaya[ākara-gupta], and Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan, 18) *Hevajra-sādhana-*

*tatta-udyotakara* (Tohoku 1253--10 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po), translated by Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) and Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba,<sup>196</sup> 19) *Hevajra-sādhana-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1233--19 folios) by the Kaśmīri Dñul-gyi bum pa, translated by Nags-kyi rin-chen and Gshon-nu dpal, 20) *Hevajra-sādhana-vajra-pradīpa-nāma-ṭippanī-śuddha* (Tohoku 1237--23 folios) by Jalandha ri-pa, translated by Nyi-ma rgyal-mtshan, 21) *Hevajra-hasta-vyavagrāha-krama* (Tohoku 1294--19 folios) by Se-rtsa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan (?), translated by Gsod-nams rgyal-mtshan, 22) *Hevajra-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1556--one folio) by Saṅs-rgyas byin, translated by Bharendraruci and Blo-ldan śes-rab, 23) *Hevajra-abhiṣeka-niścaya* (Tohoku 1272--3 folios) by Dgra-las-rgyal-ba, translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 24) *Hevajrakasmṛti* (Tohoku 1236--2 folios) by Garbha ri-pa, translated by Prajñendraruci and Śākya ye-śes, 25) *Hevajra-udbhava-kuru-kulle-pañca-mahopadeśa* (Tohoku 1316--one folio) by Shi-ba-ḥtsho, translated by Dānaśīla, 26) *Hevajra-udbhava-kuru-kulle-sādhana* (1315--one folio) by Lhan-skyes sgegs-pa, translator unknown.<sup>197</sup>

#### 4.5.3. The *Ekallavīra-Canḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*

The second Buddhist Sanskrit Tantra translated into English was the *Ekallavīra-Canḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, whose first 8 (of 25) chapters were critically edited and translated by Christopher S. George in 1974. Among the texts surviving in Tibetan translation is a single folio *Ekavīrasādhana* attributed to Padmasambhava (see No.4 below), that would give us a 7th or 8th century date for the *Canḍamahāroṣaṇa* tradition. There appear to be several related texts from this tradition in the Tibetan canon. 1) The *Siddha-ekavīra-mahā-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 544-

-12 folios) translated by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Dge-baḥi glo-gros, revised by Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba;<sup>198</sup> 2) the *Ekavtra-yoginī-sādhana* (Tohoku 1710--1 folio), author and translator unknown; the *Ekavtra-śrī-heruka-ṣoḍaśa-bhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1283--1 folio), translator unknown;<sup>199</sup> 3) the *Ekavtra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1464--1 folio) by Ḍombi Heruka, translated by Atīśa (Dīpaṃkara) in the second half of the 11th century<sup>200</sup> and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa,<sup>201</sup> and 4) by the same name (Tohoku 1473--1 folio) by Padma bhyāṅs (i.e. Padmasambhava)--so this would argue for an early date to the text, translator unknown;<sup>202</sup> 5) the *Ekavtra-heruka-sādhana* (1472--one folio) by Naropa, whom Zieme and Kara date to 1016-1100, with his teacher Tilopa (988-1069)<sup>203</sup> in the 11th century;<sup>204</sup> and 6) the *Ekavtra-ākhyā-śrī-caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 431--39 folios), translated by the Kaśmīri Ratnaśrī-(bhadrā) and the early 14th century<sup>205</sup> Tibetan Gragas-pa rgyal-mtshan.<sup>206</sup> There are also several *sādhana*s to *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, 7) (Tohoku 3062--2 folios) by Prabhākarakīrti, translated by Sbyin-pa tshul-khrims,<sup>207</sup> 8) (Tohoku 3063--one folio) by Jetari (or Jetāri Vijaya, Dgra-las mam-par-rgyal-ba), who was at the northern gate of Nālandā when Naropa arrived there in the late 10th century,<sup>208</sup> translated by Puṇyaśrī and Glog-skyā gshon-nu ḥbar,<sup>209</sup> 9) (Tohoku 3262--one folio) translated by Dā, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan,<sup>210</sup> 10) (Tohoku 3263--one folio) translated by Abhayākaragupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan,<sup>211</sup> 11) (Tohoku 3358--one folio) translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Ba-ri Dharmakīrti, 12) (Tohoku 3479--one folio), 13) (Tohoku 3480--one folio), and 14) (Tohoku 3481--one folio) all translated by the 14th century Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan,<sup>212</sup> 15) a *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-*

*sādhana sakalpa* (Tohoku 3478) by ḥod-zer ḥbyuñ-gnas grags-pa,<sup>213</sup> and 16) the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-abhisamaya* (Tohoku 1782--5 folios).<sup>214</sup>

The first Sanskrit manuscript of this text collected by a Western scholar was apparently Hodgson's copy, excerpted in Keith's volume of the India Office Catalogue.<sup>215</sup> George gives us the colophons of the 25 chapters: 1) Introduction<sup>216</sup> to the Tantra (*tantrāvatāraṇapaṭala*), 2) *Maṇḍala*, 3) Consecration (*abhiṣeka*), 4) The deity (*devatā*), 5) *Mantra*, 6) The Yoga of Completion (*Niṣpannayoga*), 7) Refreshing the body (*dehaprīṇana*), 8) His own form (*svarūpa*), 9) Meditation (*dhyāna*),<sup>217</sup> 10) Praise of women (*strīpraśaṃsa*), 11) The universal form (*viśvarūpa*), 12) Prescriptions of all *mantras* (*sarva-mantra-kalpa*), 13) Conduct (*caryā*), 14) The meaning of *acala* (*acalānvaya*),<sup>218</sup> 15) Purification (*viśuddhi*) 16) Dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), 17) Increasing the semen, etc. (*śukrādivṛddhi*),<sup>219</sup> 18) Cures for diseases, and getting old (*vyādhivṛddhatvahāni*),<sup>220</sup> 19) The Arrest of the semen, etc. (*śukrastambhādi*),<sup>221</sup> 20) Recitation of Various Mantras and Devices (*nānābhi-bheda-nigadita-yantra-mantra*), 21) Magical feats (*kutūhala*), 22) Breath control (*vāyuyoga*), 23) The signs of death (*mṛtyulakṣaṇa*), 24) The nature of the body (*dehasvarūpa*), 25) *Sādhana* of the Goddess (*devī-sādhana*).

One of the manuscripts George based his translation on is No. 84 (ms. 9089) in the ASB catalogue.<sup>222</sup> As George points out, Śāstri gives excerpts from several chapters George did not include in his dissertation.<sup>223</sup> These excerpts begin with a short one from the eleventh chapter (Universal Form): "I am everything, all pervading, and all-doing, all destroying; I maintain all forms, as *Buddha*, the

remover, the maker, the lord, the happy one. In whatever form beings become disciples, I abide in those forms for the sake of the world--wherever there is a *Buddha*, wherever there is a *siddha*, wherever there is *dharma* or a *sangha*, wherever there is a *preta*, or an animal, or a hell-being.'"<sup>224</sup> Then follows an extract from the 13th chapter (Conduct): "'With the joining together of wisdom and means one should give [to the consort] the fingernail, and the three syllables;<sup>225</sup> the kissing and the embrace, and also all of one's semen. She will become the perfection of generosity, without a doubt. With that as the highest, the body, speech, and thought enveloped through intense pleasure,<sup>226</sup> she is recognizable as the perfection of [good] disposition, she is to be known [as such] also from forbearance [even when] scratched by fingernails.<sup>227</sup> And even squeezing the three-syllabled, she is endowed with the perfection of patience. Concentrated, and reverently, one should engage in sexual union for a long time. She should be known as the perfection of the hero, her mind engaged in that pleasure; she is considered the perfection of meditation on the form of the universally beneficent; she is renowned as the meditation on the female form, the perfection of wisdom; she is filled with just the one *yoga* of great sex,<sup>228</sup> she becomes the perfection of the six;<sup>229</sup> she is said to be the perfection of the five, merit, knowledge, and wisdom. [He], completely engaged in the *yoga* of great sex, enveloped in the requisites of the *yoga*, is perfected in just a moment, endowed with merit and knowledge. Just as what's produced from the creeper is endowed with flowers and fruit, complete enlightenment<sup>230</sup> is also equipped with the pair of requirements in one moment. He becomes the master of the thirty realms, there is no

doubt And the stage[s] are to be known as delighted, stainless and likewise flaming, radiating, very difficult to conquer, forefront, traveling far, unmoving, highly thought of, and the cloud of *dharma*, likewise the light called universal, unique, possessed of knowledge, are known as the thirteen. "231

A short extract from the fifteenth (purification) chapter reads: "The male form is existence; the female form is non-existence. Blue is consciousness (*viñāna*), white is form, yellow is perception, red is name (*saṃjñā*), black is aggregate (*saṃskāra*), or blue is space, white is water, yellow is earth, red is fire, black is wind--just as [this is the case] for the *bhagavān*-s, so it is for the *bhagavatī*-s. Or, dark blue is knowledge of the truly purified *dharma* constituent; white is the mirror-knowledge; yellow is the knowledge of equanimity; red is the knowledge of direct perception; black is the knowledge of performance of duty. There is only one teacher of the Victors, established in five forms; and there is one perfection of wisdom, established in five forms."232

Śāstrī gives a slightly longer extract from the tenth (praise of women) chapter: "Now the Lady (*Bhagavati*) spoke: 'Is it possible, or not possible, Oh lord, to achieve the place of *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* without a woman? The Lord answered: 'It is not possible, Oh Goddess.' The Lady said: 'Is it impossible without the experience of pleasure?' The Lord spoke: 'The ultimate *bodhi* cannot be obtained only with the experience of pleasure; it is attained by the experience of a specific type of pleasure, and not otherwise....'

"For the sake of destroying the wickedness of the world, the wise son of



*Māyādevī*, leaving behind the eighty-four thousand, and also the harem, going to the banks of the *Nirañjanā*, illuminated the *Buddhas* and *Siddhas*; he escaped from *Māra*, having repudiated him since that is not ultimate reality, since the *Buddha* was a master in the harem, provided with guardians, friendly, since he attained pleasure through the joining together of the *vajra* and the lotus; enlightenment is attained through pleasure, [and] pleasure is not [attained] without women. And the separation that is undertaken is in order to remove the wickedness of the world. However the world-[dwellers] become students of the *Buddha*, for that [purpose] the Victor [takes on] the form of the son of *Māyādevī*. Whatever censures of women have been made in all the *sūtras* and *abhidharma* [literature], [those] should be considered as various moral precepts according to language for one's own protection; and one should teach about *nirvāṇa* through the destruction of the five aggregates.' Now the *Bhagavatī* *Prajñāpāramitā* spoke: 'Who, Oh *Bhagavān*, is the son of *Māyādevī*, and who is *Gopā*?' *Bhagavān* responded: 'I am the son of *Māyādevī*, and have achieved the state of *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. You are *Bhagavatī*, *Gopā*, i.e. *Prajñāpāramitā*. As many as are all the women, they are considered to have that [i.e. your] form; all the men likewise are well known to have my form. And this world consists of wisdom and means, having arrived at the state of both....' Then the *Bhagavatī* spoke: 'Why, Oh *Bhagavān*, do the *Śrāvakas* censure women?' The *Bhagavān* responded: 'All of those dwelling in the realm of desire who are known as *Śrāvakas* etc., they do not know the path to liberation [even though] they see women everywhere. When proximity is difficult to attain for the *śūṅkumā* etc.,<sup>233</sup> then the state of great value

does not attain value for the remote one. By reason of beginningless ignorance, these people lack faith; [they] do not put their thoughts on reality, since this is protected by me.’”<sup>234</sup>

The last extract is from the final chapter, *Devī-sādhana*: "Now the *Bhagavatī* spoke: 'I desire to hear about the *apara* arisen from the perfection of wisdom; you must be gracious to me, Oh lord, [and explain it] briefly, not overly in detail.' Then the *Bhagavān* spoke: 'Now then I will explain to you what arises from the perfection of wisdom. The beautiful sixteen-year old goddess, the *paryāṅka-āśana* of sentient beings,<sup>235</sup> dark-blue colored, illustrious, [is] embraced by *Akṣobhya*. Seeing her raised up on a red lotus, on the right, with dark blue limbs, a thousand fold,<sup>236</sup> with full, prominent breasts, large eyed, speaking kindly, [like] the very treatise on erotic love situated there above the moon-[seat] on the lotus, the *yogī*, delighted, should meditatively cause that goddess to come into existence who abides in the unshakable *samādhi* of orgasm, who is produced from the knowledge of *hūṃkāra* and is the universal *vajrī yoginī*--then the *yogī* certainly attains *siddhi*. Or [the *yogī*] should bring into being the white [goddess] produced from the *dhī-kāra* sound, the yellow mistress of the lightning realm, embraced by the ....., [or one should visualize] the goddess produced by the knowledge of the *hrīṃ-kāra*, embraced by *Amitābha*, the *vajra* sealed by red, the red mother, the mistress of the clan; [or] one should meditate on the black-colored *Tārā* mother, produced from the knowledge of the *tram-kāra*, embraced by *Amogha[siddhi]*, with the prior form, Oh woman. Firmly established with a handsome form, abiding in the *paryāṅka* of sentient beings, holding

a chopper and a noose, glorious, having embraced [her, sexually], with dramatic gesture, the creator, having embraced a young lady of his own clan, [he] should meditate. In this [manner] the *yogī* becomes perfected by the consort, there is no doubt. Otherwise, having created an image, he should perfect [the image] that is created according to the *sūtras* etc. Staying in *samādhi* together with *Caṇḍa*, he should recite [the *mantras*] with a one-pointed mind.<sup>237</sup>

"Now I will explain to you the Single-Hero *maṇḍala*. It is four-cornered [i.e. square], with four doors, adorned with four pillars. A yellow-colored great lotus of four petals is to be made; a white petal in its southeast; a red petal in its southwest; a yellow petal in its northwest, and a black one in its northeast corner. In the middle of that one should create a dark blue *Acala*. One should meditatively imagine [him as] a single form with the five *Buddhas*, white, yellow, red, or black, on a solar seat. In the southeast corner [one should visualize] *Locanā*, arranging *caṇḍā* and *aśoka* [blossoms?] with her left and right hands, radiant like the light of the autumn moon. In the southwest [corner] [one should visualize] the goddess *Pāṇḍarā* the highest, holding a bow and arrows. In the northwest corner [one should visualize] the red *Māmakī*, yellow-like,.... with a flame in her hand; in the northeast corner [one should visualize] the black *Tāriṇī*, with the boon-giving gesture in her right hand, and holding a blue lotus in her left. These are all the mistresses of *Caṇḍa*, seated in half-*pariyāṅka* positions. In the eastern door one should place the passion-*vajrā*, similar to what causes an enemy (?);<sup>238</sup> in the southern door the red hatred *vajra*, holding a chopper and arrows; dark blue, with hands holding a knife and in the threatening

gesture, enveloped by *Yama*; in the western door, [one should visualize] the *Māra-vajrā*, steady, making a colorful *vajra*, situated in the west, clothed in peacock feathers, black-like. In the north, the confusion *vajrā*, holding the *tanyaśoka* (?), yellow-colored, residing in the north, one should place [her] on the solar seat.... They are all in the *pratyāltḍha* pose, ..... One should place four bells in the corner[s], yellow colored. By just this meditation, accompanied by the eight *yoginīs*, [one becomes] the husband of living women, the supreme master of the three worlds."<sup>239</sup>

"Now I will describe to you the meditation on *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. One should imagine the deity *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa* on the petals of the universal lotus. *Vāmadeva* is in the southeast, colored red; in the southwest is *Kāmadeva* with yellow garments, delighting women; in the northwest is the dark-blue colored *Asura* named *Koila*.<sup>240</sup> And these, holding knives and skulls, are standing in the *āltḍha* position. To the west of the venerable one stands the goddess *Parṇasāvalī*;<sup>241</sup> by meditation and yoga on her, with the worship by burnt fish etc., ..... joined with the yellow wisdom, and with the white lotus [woman] on the left, and the blue *Caṇḍaroṣa*, with the red [goddess] or the red [goddess], .... one should visualize [that] intensely until it becomes manifest, since the *yogī*, becoming manifest, is perfected by the great *mantra*."<sup>242</sup>

Śāstrī refers us to a 1000 *śloka* commentary on this Tantra the *Caṇḍa-mahāroṣaṇa-tantra-pañjikā*, or *Padmavatī*, dating from *Nepali Samvat* 417 (1297 CE), in his Durbar Library catalogue.<sup>243</sup> Like the original Tantra the commentary is divided into 25 chapters. This commentary was used by Christopher George in his

translation, referred to in his notes as *Comm.* Śāstrī provides extracts from the opening and closing sections: "Om homage to *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*. Since this world of moving and stationary creatures is sunk into the belly of confusion and darkness, the manifest [world] is illumined by the rays of the divisions of wisdom and means ... the male ... [?]<sup>244</sup> his own entire learning, [his own] entire [*sa*]mādhī [?], may he stand in this world, with manifest light, to effect my pleasure. 'Evaṃ mayā,' etc., i.e. the author of the *saṃgīti*. This is the statement of the primary cause (*nidāna-vākya*), since it is [stated] at the beginning of the *Sūtra* or *Tantra* by the author of the *saṃgīti*. It is indispensable that it be said, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement. And so, having said 'evaṃ mayā śrutam,' you may ask for my statement. It is to be sung, etc., when existing in this way. [Verse:] 'In witness to the faithful the teacher fulfilled<sup>245</sup> the first section; and the place and time are indicated, in demonstration of one's own authority;' so it is established. In that sense, 'evaṃ' [means] I will express it in that way. *Mayā* means by this there is refutation of [anything] contradictory that was heard, and of what was heard through tradition. And it demonstrates that what was heard is not untrue since it is not dependent on this individual. 'Heard' means it was acquired through the knowledge of listening. 'At one time' means 'at one time.' And something else was heard at another time. This is the meaning. And in this way it demonstrates that at the beginning of this *Tantra* much was heard that was intelligible to this individual. '*Bhagavān*,' i.e. sovereignty over the vulvas (*bhagās*), etc. And likewise [Verse:] The good fortune [*bhagaḥ*] of the six--of power, of all charity, of glory, of women, of the body, and of effort--thus

[says] *śruti*.' They know these in this one, or through the experience of the addictions of passion etc. 'Vajrasattva,' refers to the being that is the indivisible *vajra*, causing the accomplishment of purposeful action. Or else, like a *vajra*, and this *vajra* is like a living being. 'All,' i.e. all those *Tathāgatās*, through their body, speech, thought, and knowledge, [there is] the reality of the body, the infinite heart--because of the desirability of that [the *Tathāgatās* are mentioned]. That itself is 'the *bhaga* (vulva) of the mistress of the lightning realm (*vajra-dhātu*);' *vajra* is *liṅga*; the realm [is the realm] of that; that is the *bodhicitta* characterized as being [both] concealed and revealed, etc.; Wisdom (*prajñā*) is the mistress of that realm,<sup>246</sup> because she is served by the *vajra-dhātu*. That one sported in the vagina of the beautiful woman. He sported by joining together the *vajra* and the lotus, i.e. he remained in union with the cavity; this is the meaning. And [as] this sexual sport is intensely protected from ordinary people, why then does the *Bhagavān Vajrasattva* [partake of it]? And for that reason it is said: 'In the land of *Vajrasattva* on top of Mount Sumeru, he took his pleasure in the uppermost apartment at the tip of the *vajra-jewel* (*vajramāṇi*).' Thereby the place and time of the instructor is indicated. He describes the assembled group by 'and with many' etc. The *Vajrayogīs*, the white unmoving ones, the *Vajrayogintīs*, the non-confusion *Vajrīs* etc. The qualities of those [male] and of those female] are gathered together, as they are of one form--[with many means] with those. 'Namely,' i.e. representing, 'the white unmoving,' i.e. the *Bhagavān*, the *Bhagavatī*, by knowing the incarnate form; likewise, the 'yellow unmoving,' the *Bhagavatī*, by knowledge of the incarnate smell; 'with the red

unmoving,' the *Bhagavatī*, with knowledge of the incarnate taste; 'with the black unmoving,' the *Bhagavatī* with the knowledge of the incarnate touch; and with the delusion *vajrī*, i.e. with the *Bhagavatī* with knowledge of the of the incarnate form of the *Bhagavān*; and with the slander *vajrī*, i.e. with the knowledge of the incarnate smell of the *Bhagavān*; and with the passion *vajrī*, i.e. with the knowledge of the incarnate taste of the *Bhagavān*; and with the jealousy *vajrī*, i.e. with the knowledge of the incarnate touch of the *Bhagavān*. The *Bhagavān* himself is incarnate sound, knowledge, and form of the *Bhagavatī*, and the *Bhagavatī* is the incarnate sound, knowledge, and form of the *Bhagavān*. So there is no distinction from this anywhere. 'Evaṃ pramukhair,' i.e. so with these sorts, i.e. with the eye, the nose, the tongue, the body, the ear, form, sensation, name, aggregates, consciousness, earth, water, fire, space, etc., i.e. with these, this is the meaning. In this way, when the the sporting is of that sort, these are the assembly of goddesses. It is said that there are others like that in the *bodhicitta*. If someone objects that since it is intensely protected, how come it has been heard by you? 'Then,' etc., this is the meaning. When by that sexual sport the pleasure of the four blisses has been experienced, immediately after that great compassion becomes visible in all men. In this way, having reached the *samādhi* of the plowed row, he 'proclaimed' i.e. he said this that will be said. Then [that] was heard by me--this is the meaning. It was heard by me abiding in fact in the body of the *Bhagavān* and the *Bhagavatī*, on account of me, *Vajrapāṇi*, the author of the *saṃgīti*, having the form of [their] ear; this is the sense. What did he say was existent non-existent? Being is the *vikalpa* of bliss and supreme

joy. In non-existence there is the *vikalpa* of bliss of cessation. What is released is free of both of these. The four blisses: the bliss resulting from the combination of the *vajra* and the lotus, by the [sexual] position of having mounted the *yantra*, with embracing, kissing, stroking the breasts, scratching with the finger nails, etc., characterized by mutual passionate love, with wisdom and means as in the *sūtra*. Thereby a certain amount of pleasure arises."<sup>247</sup>

The ending extract reads as follows: "The pair with the *yoginī* is the [sexual] joining together with the *yoginī*. Delight arises then. The cause of the state of manifestation is the cause of *siddhi*. As previously stated. The perfection of the *mahāmudrā* (great consort) was previously explained. Thus the chapter on the *sādhana* of the deity, the explanation of the twenty-fifth chapter. 'This' etc. is the statement by the author of the *saṃgīti*. This is that characteristic of what is stated--the *Bhagavān* spoke the entire *Tantra*, i.e. related it. 'Abhyanandan' means being delighted. *Samāptam* means completed. 'These *dharmas*' etc; these *dharmas* are seven, known as consciousness, name, form, the six bases, touch, sensation, birth, old age, and death. These arise from five causes, ignorance, aggregates, thirst, grasping, and existence. *Hetuḥ* is a cause; just as it is (*yathā*) because of relating them, so it has arrived (*tathāgataḥ*). *Avadat* means he said. What is the stopping of cause and effect is cessation, *nirvāṇa*; hence the disposition in order to taste it, for this one, i.e. the great religious mendicant (the *Buddha*). The wise one, the valiant one, the ascetic, the tremendously powerful one, the hero, and the agent of the miracle, is designated the great one. Because the sins are redeemed, he is a



mendicant. Or because of alleviation of the addictions and minor addictions. This commentary, the *Padmavatī* by name, containing the essence of the secret of the glorious *Tantra*, was made the most manifest by me, according to the command of [my] *guru*. Infinitely extensive merit was attained thereby. May the world in the *Kali* [yuga] quickly become of one flavor through the coming together of wisdom and means, Oh *Caṇḍācala!*"<sup>248</sup>

The post-colophon gives the date: "This was written for the *vajra* feet of the great bliss of the great paṇḍits. This writing was completed on Tuesday, on the tenth day of the dark half of *Phālguna* (February-March), (*Nepali*) *Samvat* 417, in the kingdom of the glorious king *Anantamalla*; may it bring good fortune to all people."<sup>249</sup> Petech tells us that *Anantamalla* reigned c. 1274-1310, and citing this manuscript of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa-tantra-pañjikā*, specifies the date as March 19, 1297.<sup>250</sup>

#### 4.6. Extracts from Extant Unpublished Sanskrit Manuscripts of Buddhist Tantras

(4.6.1. *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*, 4.6.2. The *Bhūtaḍāmara*, 4.6.3. The *Abhidhānottaratantra*, 4.6.4. The *Vajradākatantra*, 4.6.5. The *Sampuṭikā Mahātantrarājah*, 4.6.6. The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, 4.6.7. *Catuṣpūṭha[nibandha]tantra*)

By searching through the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues for Buddhist Tantras, and matching this information with the Tibetan canonical listings of Tibetan translations of Sanskrit Tantras, I have managed to locate a fair number of the Buddhist Tantras still surviving in Sanskrit that have not been edited, published, or

translated into English. It may be that some of these texts have been published in Japanese, Russian, or any of a number of other languages I do not read; as far as I know none of this material has been published in German, French, or Italian, though I have not made a complete search through all of the academic journals in these languages so there may be published material I am unaware of.

#### 4.6.1. The *Ḍākinīvajrapañjara*

The involvement of Indrabhuti in writing one of the commentaries to this Tantra suggests it was one of the earliest texts brought into the Canon (see No. 8 below). Indrabhuti is a difficult figure to locate historically, though he was apparently a relatively early Tantric teacher, perhaps from the beginning of the eighth century.<sup>251</sup> Two of the texts of this tradition were translated by Indrabhuti, and by Mar pa--see also the *Tantra-rāja-śrī-laghu-sambara* (Tohoku 368--33 folios) translated by Padmākara and Rin-chen bzañ-po, and revised by Prajñākīrti, Mar pa Chos-kyi grags-pa) and *Hevajra-vibhuja-sādhana* (Tohoku 1271--2 folios) by Tārāśrī, translated by Sumatikīrti and Mar-pa Chos dbañ.<sup>252</sup> There are a total of 13 texts that appear to be associated with this tradition included in the Tibetan canon: 1) *Ḍākinī-guhya-jvala-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 408--2 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, 2) *Ḍākinī-tanu-gīti* (Tohoku 2451--2 folios), with no author or translator listed, 3) *Ḍākinī-vajra-guhya-gīti* (Tohoku 2446--3 folios), authored by Ḍākinī (Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma), possibly the same as Jñāna-ḍākinī (Ye-śes Mkhaḥ-ḥgro-ma), Nāropā's Prajñā Karmakarī, better known as Niguma;<sup>253</sup> it was translated by Ston-pa señ-ge rgyal po, 4) *Ḍākinī-vajra-jāla-tantra-rāja-tattva-pauṣṭika-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1196--40 folios),

with Mahāmati (Mahādeva-kulamati, Lhaḥi rigs-kyi blo-gros chen po) listed as the authors, and Gayadhara and Hgos Lhas btsas the translators. Naudou suggests that Mahāmati may have been the same as Bodhibhadra, a student of Nāropā and a contemporary of Mar-pa;<sup>254</sup> this would place this commentary in the late 11th century. 5) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-pañca-ḍāka-sādhana* (Tohoku 1321-5 folios), with Muni-candra or Śākya-candra (Mi-thub zla-ba) as author, and Līlavajra (author of the *Kālacakra-kṣaṇa-sajaha-sādhana*--see Chapter 10) and Se-rtsa Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan as translators; Naudou does not have dating information on these individuals. 6) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma* (Tohoku 419--35 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, 7) *Ḍākinī-varja-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-kalpa-nāma-mukha-bandha*<sup>255</sup> with Kṛṣṇa-pāda (Nag-po) as the author, and Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes as translators; whether Kāla refers to Kālacakrapāda is not clear, though this identification does not seem unreasonable, and would date this commentary to the 11th century. 8) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-mahā-tantra-rāja-prathama-paṭala-mukha-bandha-nāma-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1194--6 folios), written by the mysterious Indrabhuti, who also wrote a *Hevajra* work entitled *Smṛti-saṃdarśanāloka*,<sup>256</sup> translators Nyi-ma shas-pa, and Śākya brston-ḥgrus. 9) *Ḍākinī-vajra-pañjara-saṃharaṇa-maṇḍala-anusaraṇa-sādhana* (Tohoku 1322--7 folios), written by Devavrata (?). Lhaḥi brtul-shugs), and translated by Mar pa Chos-kyi blo-gros, 10) *Ḍākinī-saṃvara-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 406--2 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, 11) *Ḍākinī-sarva-citta-advaya-acintya-jñāna-vajra-varāhy-abhībhava-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 378--11 folios), translated by Gayadhara and Śākya

ye-śes, 12) *Ḍākiny-agni-jihva-jvalā* (Tohoku 842--30 folios), translator unknown, and 13) *Ḍākiny-upadeśa-śrota-parampara-pīḍācchedanāvavāda* (Tohoku 2286--5 folios), written by Nirmāṇa-yogi (?), Sprul-paḥi rnal-ḥbyor-pa), translator unknown.<sup>257</sup>

The *Ḍākārṇava* is a 51 chapter Buddhist *Tantra* noted in Shāstrī's Nepal Catalogue,<sup>258</sup> that appears to be related, though perhaps not exactly the same as the *Ḍākinī-guhya-jvala-tantra-rāja*. Shāstrī dates the Nepali ms. to about 1130 CE, and likewise for the copy in his Calcutta Catalogue,<sup>259</sup> where he gives the extract we will examine. The full title appears to be *Ḍākārṇava-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja*. The only published work on this lineage I have found is Nagendra Chaudhuri's 1935 version of his Ph.D. thesis giving an edition of the *Apabhraṃśa* verses contained in the *Ḍākārṇava*.<sup>260</sup> Śāstrī gives us the colophons of the chapters, and the text of the entire fifth chapter. The chapter titles are as follows: 1) The descent of the ocean of wisdom; 2) The *Nāyaktī* who arises from *Vajra-vārāhī* and the true nature of the meditations with the *yantra*, *cakra*, and *maṇḍala*; 3) The rules for the clarification of the principles of action and the inviting characteristics arising from *Ḍākinī*<sup>261</sup>; 4) The *mantra* application, the true nature of the six *cakras* and paths etc., and the arrangement of *nirvāṇa* etc. characterised by the arising of *Lāmā*; 5) The four *cakras*, the arrangement of the channels, the instruction about the name, and the rules for *mantra* application etc. arising from the characteristics of *Khaṇḍarohā*. (*Khaṇḍa-rohā* literally means "she whose rise or sprout is cleft," likely a euphemism for a woman who has lost her virginity. According to De Mallmann, this is the name of two goddesses from the *Hevajra* cycle, found in the *Samvara*, *Six Cakravartin*, and

*Vajravṛāhī maṇḍalas*.<sup>262</sup> She appears in several *sādhana*s given by *Abhayākaragupta*);<sup>263</sup> 6) The intrinsic nature of the characteristics of *Rūpiṇī*, the true nature of the channels and *cakras*, the arrangement of the places, and the characteristics of the *Tantra*; 7) The characteristics of the origin of the Crow-face etc. *prāṇa*;<sup>264</sup> 8) The characteristics of the *prāṇa* etc. (whose) origin is in the determination and arrangement (according to) Owl-face; 9) The rules on the state of happiness etc. characterizing Dog-face; 10) The descending etc. of the *maṇḍala* having its origin in Hog-face; 11) The description of the origin of the arrangement of She who burns death; 12) The concise instruction on the *cakra*-meditation on the fraud of death (according) to the description etc. of the origin of *Yamadūtī*; 13) The Fraud of death etc. in the application and descent of *Yamadāśtrī*; 14) The real nature of the arrangement of the *Buddhas* and the description of the rules about the fraud of time and death in the origin of *Yamamathanī*; 15) Explaining the tradition determined by the true *samādhi* of the lord; 16) Rules for the extraction of the root *mantra*; 17) The rule about the lightning-being *Vārāhī* characterized by the arising of the armor; 18) The rules for the protection by the armor of *Vairocana* etc.; 19) Specification of the protection-*mantra* of the lord who dances in the lotus, etc.; 20) The rules for the protection armor of *Heruka* etc.; 21) The rule for the armor-protection of the Lightning-sun etc.; 22) The rule for the armor-protection of the ultimate breath etc.; 23) The rule for the worship of the *Bali-cakra*; 24) The rules about the *maṇḍala*, the *homa*, and the worship of the teacher; 25) The characteristic of the purification of the abode of the *Tathāgata* that is the purification of *Bhagavān*

etc; 26) The chapter on the subject matter called the characteristics and rules of the lovers' trysts and pleasure taking with the consorts by the heroes of the *yoginīs* in the *yantras* and *maṇḍalas* of *Pracaṇḍa* etc.; 27) The rules about the intrinsic nature of the lord of the consorts characterized by *Pracaṇḍākṣī*; 28) The rules about the consort characterized as *Prabhāvatī*; 29) The rules and regulations for the *homa* characterized by *Mahānāsā*; 30) The description of the rules on the intrinsic nature of the heroes and their consorts and the mothers and their male counterparts; 31) The chapter called the knowledge that is the intrinsic nature of the description of the *homā* of the phoneme of *Kharvatī*; 32) The chapter on the knowledge of the rule called the intrinsic nature of the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* characterized by the lover's tryst with the consort *Laṅkeśvatī*; 33) The rules and regulations for the lovers' tryst with the consort whose intrinsic characteristic is the shade of the tree; 34) The rules and explanation of the characteristics of the body consort *Airāvatī*; 35) The description relating the characteristics of the internal consort of *Mahābhairava*; 36) The description of the colors of the consorts and the rule about the application of the speed of the winds; 37) The rules and characteristics of the intrinsic nature of the use and *homā* of *Surābhakṣī*; 38) The description of the rules for the subjugation *homa*, *yantra*, and lightning *maṇḍala* of the non-dual black goddess Lightning She Boar; 39) The rule for the river-bank serpent action, and the instruction about the *yantra* of the name whose nature is union with the non-dual *Subhadrā* of the root *mantra* of the lord; 40) The description of the rules for action, and the killing, from the armoring root *mantra* through union with the non-dual hero Horse-ears; 41) The heart *mantra*

called all-action and the rules characterizing the intrinsic nature of the intoxicating action in the non-dual *yantra* and *cakra* of the feminine hero with the sky-goer's face; 42) The rules called the intrinsic nature of the characteristics of the non-dual *yoga* of the hero of the paralyzing action of *Cakravegā*; 43) The *yantras* and *cakras* for the application meditation on *Khaṇḍarohā*, and the rules and characteristics for the armor *mantras* of the six *yogins* of the expulsion activity; 44) The intrinsic nature of the *yantras* and *cakras* and the rules and descriptions of the [action causing] divisiveness for use with the ladies who run taverns; 45) The *yantra* and *cakras* in the form of a *rākṣasa* joined with a non-dual hero and the *maṇḍalas*, *cakras* and meditations characterizing the rule for application of the activity of silencing and the armoring of the *cakras*; 46) The emanation of the action of the paralyzing *mantra* and the meditation on the *yantras* and *cakras* characterizing the rules for the application of the pacification activity of *Suvīrā*; 47) The description of the rules for the use of the meditation on the *yantra* of the action *bodhisattva* and [for the use of] the *mantra* for pegging down the great protection by union with She who is extremely strong; 48) All the actions of the instructions, rules and descriptoin of the root *mantra* of the path and meditation on the various *sādhana*, actions, *mantra* and *cakra* for the usage etc. of She who is dwelling in the *cakra*; 49) The rule about the characteristic of the use of *Mahāvīryā*, the secret elixir etc., the action for worldly prosperity, and the root *mantra* of glorious correct *samādhi* of *Heruka*; 50) The entire secret explaining all the *Tantras* and having the nature of the fifty principles; 51) Praise, worship, etc., and the non-dual service of the community.<sup>265</sup>

The fifth chapter of the *Ḍākārṇava* is interesting for the information it gives us on the use of external cities and regions of the time as mapped to the *cakras* of the subtle body, and for the use of abbreviations of these names in the form of *bījamantras*. This is the first instance I have seen where the *bījamantras* mapped to the subtle body can definitively be said to have semantic content—such use is distinct from the alphabetical permutations we find in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* (see Chapter 10.6 of this dissertation for an examination of the *Mūla-Kālacakratantra*'s *bījamantranyāsa* of the Indian pilgrimage sites). We also find in the *Ḍākārṇavatantra*'s fifth chapter some indications of the geographical sensibilities of the day, with general names of peripheral regions to the subcontinent combined with many specific names of cities: "I will explain the internal cities out of a desire for the benefit of sentient beings. Situated at the feet of *Khaṇḍarohā* is *Vajraḍākaḥ*, himself the lord. In the lotuses of the four *cakras* there are one hundred and twenty channels. Their proper names will be explained, for sharing in the principles. [In the navel *cakra*:] 1)<sup>266</sup>*Madhyadeśī*, and 2) *Kaliṅgī*, 3) *Oḍḍa*, 4) *Karṇātakīśartī*, 5) *Saurāṣṭrī*, 6) *Malayī*, 7) *Vaṅgī*, 8) *Dravaḍī*, and 9) *Kali[ṅga]kī*, 10) *Mālavī* and 11) *Mahāraṣṭhī*,<sup>267</sup> 12) *Varandī*, 13) *Kāmarūpiṇī*, 14) *Ḍohalī*, 15) *Thavideśī*, and 16) *Bharāḍī*, 17) *Rāḍha*, 18) *Māgadhī*, 19) *Tirabhutti (sattī)*, 20) *Daddaraṇḍī*, 21) *Nepālī*,<sup>268</sup> 22) *Saravāsantī*, 23) *Rāḍhī*, 24) *Ḍhikkartī*, 25) *Vaṅgalī*,<sup>269</sup> 26) *Khaḍī*, and 27) *Harikelakī*, 28) *Suvarṇadvīpī*, 29) *Siṃhalī*,<sup>270</sup> 30) *Ḍāmaḍī*, and 31) *Kattorakī*, 32) *Sindhu*, 33) *Himālayī*, 34) *Buḍī*, 35) *Kurutī*, 36) *Jaḍartī*, 37) *Pathī*, 38) *Jajjavatī*, 39) *Varuṇā*, and 40) *Oriyāṇa* and 41) *Lampākakī*, 42) *Jālandhartī*, 43)



*Arbbūdī*, and 44) *Kaśmīri*, 45) *Kośālī*, 46) *Kañchī*, 47) *Jayanī*, 48) *Triśaktī*, 49) *Caśī*, 50) *Laharī*, 51) *Pūrarohikā*, 52) *Mumbantī*,<sup>271</sup> 53) *Kāambojaktī*,<sup>272</sup> and 54) *Bhaṭṭālakṭī*, 55) *Gṛhadēvatī*, 56) *Pretapūrī*, 57) *Valabhī* (*Vabhabhīca*) and 58) *Pelavī*,<sup>273</sup> and 59) *Upapelavī*, 60) *Śmaśānanī*, 61) *Upaśaśānanī*, 62) *Mahodadhitaī*, 63) *Khaśī*, and 64) *Mlecchī* are the goddess in all the places, the sixty-four in sequence--the *yoginīs* should be recognized as the clan-channels in the navel *cakras*.<sup>274</sup> In the heart *cakra*, similarly, are the eight *dhūtīkās*,<sup>275</sup> going everywhere. 1)<sup>276</sup> *Prayāga*, 2) *Devakoṣā*, and 3) *Ujjāyīnī*, 4) *Mahālakṣī*, 5) *Jvālāmukhī*, 6) *Siddasimbhalī*, 7) *Māhila*, 8) *Kaumārī Paurikī*. In this way all the illusion-making good local goddesses<sup>277</sup> are in the heart place. And in the throat *cakra* the goddess who is the best female leader is described with sixteen great portions, and sixteen elements: 1) Blood,<sup>278</sup> 2) Semen, 3) marrow, 4) sweat, 5) fat, 6) skin, 7) flesh, and 8) bone, 9) sinews, 10) pus, 11) the end (death?), 12) self-generated, 13) feces, 14) urine, 15) bile, 16) phlegm. May she who is constantly carrying<sup>279</sup> move with the secret etc. places.'"

"In the head *cakra*, Oh Great goddess, there are thirty-two channels, providing success everywhere in the steps of the *hōma* (offering), produced by the intellect. 1) *Kṛṣṇā*, 2) *Karālī*, 3) *Bhībhacchī*, 4) *Nandī*, 5) *Tītā*, 6) *Vināyikā*, 7) *Camuṇḍī*, 8) *Ghorarūpā*, 9) *Umādevī*, 10) *Sarasvatī*, 11) *Bhaārakālī*, 12) *Mahākālī*, 13) *Sthūlakālī*, 14) *Parājītā*, 15) *Jayā*, 16) *Vijayā*, 17) *Ajitā*, 18) *Jayantī*, and 19) *Ghoradamṣṭrā*, 20) *Indrī*, 21) *Caṇḍī*, 22) *Catuṣpathī*, 23) *Grāmavāsīnī*, 24) *Raudrakī*, 25) *Kāambojī*, 26) *Dāmbī*, 27) *Caṇḍālī*, 28) *Mātaṅgī*, 29) *Brāhmaṇī*, 30) *Sūdrīkā*, 31)

*Rājapurī*, and 32) *Maharddhikī*, filled with divine intoxication. So in this way there are (the goddesses) attending upon *Khaṇḍarohā* in the channels and *cakras*.'" A bit further along in the chapter the *mantranyāsa* with phonemes is described, using the first syllable of the above-mentioned locales etc.<sup>280</sup>

#### 4.6.2. The *Bhūtaḍāmara*

As discussed in Chapter 5.4.3. of this dissertation, the *Bhūtaḍaramara* cult was apparently shared by the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric traditions, since both traditions have texts by this name, with the extant Śaivite text being considerably longer. We have seven texts of the *Bhūta-ḍāmara*- tradition that were translated into Tibetan. 1) the *Bhūta-ḍāmara* itself (Tohoku 747--25 folios) translated by Budhhākaravarma and Chos-kyi śes-rab, 2) *Bhūta-ḍāmara-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 2677--12 folios) written by Blo-bzañs skoñ and translated by Non-mi paṇḍit and Rin-chen dpal, 3 & 4) *-saṃkṣipta-sādhana* (Tohoku 3302--one folio) translated by Dā, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and (Tohoku 3641--one folio) translator unknown, 5) *-Sādhana* (Tohoku 3303--3 folios) translated by Dā, Abhayākaragupta, and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and 6) *-Sādhana-vidhi* (Tohoku 3642--2 folios) written by ḥjig-rten-gsum-gyi rdo-rje.<sup>281</sup>

Ms. 4801, No. 68 of the Calcutta catalogue is the 1215 CE *Caturābharaṇa* by a Bhusukapāda, apparently a different writer than Śāntideva, and quite possibly the same fellow as the Tantric *Siḍdha* Bhusukapa who is dated by the *Sa-skyā Bka'-bum* to Devapāla's reign (809-849).<sup>282</sup> This would place the Buddhist *Bhūtaḍāmara* lineage in at least the ninth century, since the *Caturābharaṇa* appears to be a text from the

tradition of the *Bhūtaḍamaratantra*. It opens with the salutation *Namaḥ Śrī-bhūta-ḍamarāya*. *Bhūtam* means simply a being; *ḍamara* means terrible, terrifying, dreadful, etc.; hence the ‘Terrifying Being *Tantra*.’ *Caturābharaṇa* is ‘The four ornaments.’ Bhattacharyya mentions the *Bhūtaḍāmara* as a text later than the *Guhyasamāja*<sup>283</sup> and *Abhayākaragupta* gives several *sādhana*s to the deity.<sup>284</sup> I translate here the first few lines of a four-page extract given by Śāstrī; unfortunately the Sanskrit appears to be a sort of dialect or Prākṛit, or is simply corrupt in many places, so it is difficult to unravel: “Homage to *Śrībhūtaḍāmara*. Honoring the *guru*, the great *yoga*, the son in the heart of the *yoginī*,| and the *yoga* of sleeping having been explained by the *yogi Bhusukapāda*,|| Now, if the body is not perfected through an alteration of the principles,| one should do [that], causing your ignorance to go [away], one should not desire to know that;|| One should experience sleeping in a solitary place, likewise approaching the consort,| piercing old age and death, the determination of the sun and moon.|| Time, seasons, the moment, knowledge, silence, the entry of the winds;| the binding of the six *cakras*, removing from every place;|| All of this I will explain, and the texts with their purpose and stages||.”<sup>285</sup> The text continues with a description of various mediations using the subtle body channels, *cakras*, etc., with an admixture of Hindu and Buddhist terms--using *maṇipura* for the navel *cakra*, for instance (the Hindu name), references to *sūryyābharaṇamaithuna*, etc. As Śāstrī remarks, “the present work by Bhuḍuku contains much that is degenerate and mystic.”<sup>286</sup>

It’s quite possible that either the term *ḍāmara* or the cult of *Bhūtaḍāmara* was

shared between the Buddhists and the Śaivites. For more on the various *Ḍāmara Tantras* see the discussion of the Śaivite Tantras preceding *Abhinavagupta* in Chapter 5.4.3 of this dissertation, including a *Bhūtaḍāmara Mahātantrarāja* ms. held in the India Office Library.

#### 4.6.3. The *Abhidhānottaratāntra*

There are two texts from this tradition beginning *Abhidhāna-* in the Tohoku catalogue, 1) the *Abhidhānottara-tāntra* (Tohoku 369--123 folios) translated in the latter 10th century by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna (i.e. Atīśa) and Rin-chen bzañ-po, revised by Jñānaśrī, Khyuṅ-po Chos-kyi brston-ḡgrus, and then again by Ānanda and Lo chuñ,<sup>287</sup> and 2) the *Abhidhāna-śāstra-viśva-locana-(ity-aparābhidhāna-muktāvali)*, (Tohoku 4453--93 folios) by Śrīdharasenā (Dpal-ḡdsin sde), translated in the late 12th or early 12th century<sup>288</sup> by Chos skyoñs bzañ-po.<sup>289</sup> There's also a *Mūlatantra-saṃgraha-hṛdaya-abhidhānottara-tāntra-mūla-vṛtti* by Śūraṃgamavajra translated into Tibetan in the early 12th century by Jñānaśrī and 'Phags-pa śes-rab.<sup>290</sup>

The *Abhidhānottara*, ms. 10759, No. 58, is 69 chapter text whose manuscript dates from Nepali *Samvat* 418 = 1298 CE. Śāstrī provides the colophons to most chapters; the system is slightly odd, since the numbers begin 1,2,3, then begin at 1,2,3,4... again:<sup>291</sup> 1) The secret of the purification of the *avatāraṇa*-community; 2) The request; 3) The ultimate reality of the heart principle; 1) The rule for the body-*saṃvara*; 2) The net-*saṃvara* of the lotus of truly great sexual bliss; 3) Protecting the *guru* of the *saṃvara*; 4) The *Samvara*; 5) The pilgrimage seat-[bodily]-joints sequence; 6) The procedure for the parts of the sequence of everthing that is not in

order; 7) The rule about the ‘lovely lightning’ (i.e. *Mañjuśrī*’s *vajra*), the anointing the three *cakras*;<sup>292</sup> 8) (missing); 9) Explanation for the reason for the sequence of *siddhis* from the *Yoginī-pīṭhas*; 10) The tradition of the *pīṭhas* that refer to the sheaths; 11) The *Yoginīs* of the *pīṭhas* etc.; 12) The arisal of the meditations on the *Śrītheruka dākinīs*, of the hero-*yoginīs*, and the *dākinīs*; 13) The meditation on the primary activity *yoga*; 14) Instruction about the meditation on the intermediate sense; 15) Instruction about the meditation on the sharp sense; 16) The rule on *Samvara* of the *yoga* of the four *dākinīs*; 17) The discipline of the *Yoga-samvara*; 18) *Pratyāṅgirā* (?);<sup>293</sup> 19) The meditation called the omnipotent capacity of the nectar of immortality; 20) The descent of the principle of the secret community of *Yoginīs*; 21) The tradition of dwelling in the clan’s six *cakras*; 22) The sequence of the body, speech, and thought *pīṭhas*; 23) The women arising from the Buddha’s skull to establish the community; 24) The arisal of the lightning being; 25) Effecting the lovely lightning; 26) Effecting the *dāka* lightning; 27) The great secret, effecting the vowel *dākas*; 28) The instruction on the reason for the *siddhi* from the *dākas* of expansion; 29) The great royal *maṇḍala* when there’s the arisal of the community’s *saṃvara*; 30) The arisal of the quality of what’s abandoned; 31) Rain and market rules; 32) Effecting the universal form; 33) The ultimate glorious secret community; 34) Meditation on what arises from the union of the two protective *mantras*; 35) *Cchoṣmā*;<sup>294</sup> 36) Characteristics of the *Yoginīs*; 37) Characteristics of the *Dākinīs*; 38) Characteristics of *Lamā*;<sup>295</sup> 39) (missing); 40) Characteristics of the subsidiary consort; 41) The *Dākinī* subsidiary consort; 42) Characteristic of the *Dākinī*

*Cchoṣmā*: 43) The preeminent water of the happiness of beings; 44) The adept at expanding the activity of the *Ḍākinī* and the Hero, and the non-dual heart of the *Yoginī* and the Hero; 45) The rules for the picture-image, its foundation, and preliminary consecration; 46) Rules for the *maṇḍala*; 47) The [quarter-] junction of the day for the *Gāyatrī* [*mantra*];<sup>295</sup> 48) The meditation on what arises from the subsidiary heart *sādhana*; 49) The mediation on what arises from the heart plus the thirty-two; 50) Rule about the *maṇḍala*; 51) Meditation on the city of the *Dharma*-realm; 52) Meditation on the secret; 53) The *sādhana* on what arises from the secret syllable; 54) The extraction by chalk of the root *mantra*;<sup>297</sup> 55) Mediation on the heart of the armor [*mantra*]; 56) Meditation on the heart of the goddess, the *mantra*-armor of the heart; 57) Establishment and anointing of the red, four-faced (deity), the four fierce (deities) of the *maṇḍala*, and the extraction with chalk of what arises from the *Vajra-hūṃkāra*; 58) The *yoga* of the groups (of phonemes); 59) (missing); 60) The secret of knowledge; 61) The secret of the encapsulation of the four goddesses; 62) Unlocking the encapsulation of the lord of the fierce deities, *Vajrabhairava*; 63) The *sādhana* of the seven-[times] born *paśu*;<sup>298</sup> 64) The *svādhiṣṭhāna* [*cakra*], the meditation on the higher arising of one's own *dharma*; 65) Worship of the state of the self; 66) Instruction in the multiple stated principles from the great royal *Tantra* on the extraordinarily secret *saṃvara*. In the post-colophon at the end of the text, the *saṃvara* is also referred to as the *ḍāka-ḍākinī-jāla-saṃvara*.<sup>299</sup>

#### 4.6.4. The *Vajraḍākatantra*

The Tibetan canon contains 6 texts beginning *Vajra-ḍāka*-. One of these texts,

the *Vajra-dāka-Niṣkāya-dharma* (Tohoku 1527) is attributed to Tilopa, Nāropa's teacher, so this would date the text to no later than the late 10th century. The other texts of this Tantra translated into Tibetan are the *Vajra-dāka-* 1) *-Guhya-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 399) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, 2) *Tantra-tattva-susthira-nāma-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1417) written by Nor-bzañs and translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 3) *-Nāma-uttara-tantra* (Tohoku 371) translated by Mchog-gi dbañ-phyug and Śākya brston-ḥgrus, 4) *-Nāma-mahā-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 370) translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas-btsas, 5) *Niṣkāya-dharma* (Tohoku 1527) written by Telo-pa [Tilopa], translated by (unknown), 5) *-Stotra-daṇḍaka* (Tohoku 1442) written by Chos-kyi grags pa, translated by Maṇikaśrījñāna and Dpal-gyi mthaḥ-can. Another four texts begin *Vajra-dākinī-* 1) *Vajra-dākinī-niṣpanna-krama* (Tohoku 2379) written by Bhina-pa, translator unknown, 2 & 3) *Vajra-dākinī-gīti* (Tohoku 2441) translated by Sha-ma lo-tsā-ba, and (Tohoku 2442) written by Dbyiñs-kyi gtso-mo and translated by Sha-ma lo-tsa-ba, and 4) *Vajra-dākinī-yogini-sādhana* (Tohoku 1942) written by Mar-me-mdsad ye-śes and translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti.<sup>300</sup>

The *Vajradākatantra* surviving in Sanskrit is text of 51 chapters, in a manuscript of 14th century Newari script. Among the chapter titles of note are 3) Attracting all the serpents (*Sarva-nāgākarṣaṇa*), 18) Definition of *melāpaka* (*Melāpaka-nirṇaya*), 34) the barbarian consecration (*Mleccha-vajrābhiṣeka*), 36) the barbarian channels, community, and *saṃvara* (*Mleccha-nāḍya-samaya-sambara*), 37) Knowledge of all the weapons and *mudrās* of the barbarians (*mleccha-sarvvāyudha-*

*mudrā-jñāna*), 44) The rules for the internalized *homa* and the *sādhana* of the ghosts (*Vetāḍa-sādhana-adhyātma-homa-vidhī*), 47) The rules for the section on the classes of alchemical substances (*Rasāyana-dravya-varga-adhikāra-vidhī*), and another chapter on alchemy (49) whose title is partly effaced.<sup>301</sup>

#### 4.6.5. The *Samputikā Mahātantrarājah*

Another 11th century Buddhist Tantra is the *Samputikā Mahātantrarājah*, ms. 3828, No. 62 in the Śāstrī's Calcutta catalogue. What is apparently the same text, the *Samputatantra*, was cited by Abhayākaragupta. There is only one text to this tradition in the Tibetan canon, the *Samputa-nāma-mahā-tantra*, translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, revised by Bu-ston (Bu-ston's interest in the text is certainly noteworthy).<sup>302</sup> Śāstrī gives the name as *Samputikā* or *Samputodbhava-kalpa-rājah*. *Samputa* properly is a cavity or covered box or bowl. *Amarakośa* 2.6.139a gives *samudgaka*<sup>303</sup> as a synonym--a box or casket, such as for keeping jewels. Apte quotes *Bhartṛhari* 2.67, *Mālatīmādhava* 1.54, *Kāvyaḍarśa* 2.288, and *Ṛtusamhāra* 1.21 for the poetic usage of *samputa* as the fertile cavity of the ocean oyster that produces the pearl.<sup>304</sup> The definition given in the opening lines of our *Samputodbhavakalparāja* is that "The *Samputa* has the nature of wisdom and means--what arises from that is the *samputa-samādhī*."<sup>305</sup> The fourth chapter colophon of the *Tantra* is *Samputodbhava-vajra-ḍākinī-samketa-kalpa-rājas*. *Samketa* in erotic contexts means an assignation or appointment made with a lover, or the meeting place of lovers.<sup>306</sup> So it would appear that the name *Samputodbhavakalparājah* means "The royal treatise on what arises from the fertile cavity (i.e. the womb)." The use of the



term *Kalpa* in the name (there is a second incomplete manuscript of the text, ms. 4854, no. 63, entitled *Śrī-sampuṭodbhava-sarvva-tantra-nidāna-mahā-kalpa-rājah*) supports my contention that the use of the terms *Tantra* and *Kalpa* derive from early textual typologies in the medical and Vedic tradition.<sup>307</sup>

The colophons dates the *Sampuṭikā* to the 12th day of *Bhādrapāda* (August-September), Nepali *saṃvat* 145 = 1025 CE. As with the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Hevajra*, and the *Cakrasaṃvara*, the text opens "evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoṣid-bhāgeṣu vijahāra|." The text continues: "There, indeed, the Lord, seeing *Vajragarbha* ('the lightning-embryo') in the midst of 80,000 masters of *yoga*, smiled. Immediately after he smiled, *Vajragarbha* got up from his *āsana*, and placing his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, folding his hands in homage, spoke this to the Lord: 'I desire to hear, Oh master of knowledge, the secret characteristic arising from the *sampuṭa* that is the primary basis of all the *Tantras*.' (*Bhagavān* answers:) 'Ho *Vajragarbha*, very good, very good Oh very loving one, very good, very good Oh great *bodhisattva*, very good, very good (you all) are the best mine of good qualities, since you ask about that secret that is the complete in all the *Tantras*.' Then those great *bodhisattvas*, led by *Vajragarbha*, their eyes blossoming in delight, asked here about their own concerns, bowing in homage again and again: 'Why is it said, "all the *Tantras*?" How is that the primary cause? Why is it called "a secret"?' How does it arise from the *sampuṭa*? What is the explanation for the name, and why is it a *Tantra*?' The *Bhagavān* responded: '[Because] they are all, and they are *Tantras*,

[hence] "all the *Tantras*," and by the term *sarvatantra* [is meant] the [*Guhya*]-*samāja* etc.; [it is] considered to be the principal cause of them--this is the meaning. It is secret because it is not within the purview of *Hari*, *Hara*, *Hiraṇyagarbha*,<sup>308</sup> the Listeners or Isolated *Buddhas*. The *Sampuṭa* has the nature of wisdom and means-- what arises from that is the *sampuṭa-samādhi*. *Udbhava* is arisal, characterized as having the intrinsic nature of stationary or mobile beings produced in that way;<sup>309</sup> the characteristic is like this."<sup>310</sup>

The chapter titles are as follows: 1a) The reality of the meditation on the name, the nameable, the arisal of the *bodhicitta* etc.; 1b) The five senses, the five powers, the description of the seven limbs of enlightenment, ending with the eightfold path, etc., the descent of the *bodhicitta*; 2a) The consecration of the *bodhicitta*; 2b) The mediation on the purpose of wisdom and means; 2c) (unnamed). 3a) The arisal of *Heruka*; 3b and 3c (unnamed). 4a) Indestructible speech, *Cchoṣmā*;<sup>311</sup> 4b) The consort with the mark of the *Kaṭapūṭantī*;<sup>312</sup> 4c) The sign and the consort(?) 5a) The place of meeting; 5b) The purification of the aggregates, elements, and bases of consciousness; 5c) Embracing according to the practice(?) 6a) (no name); 6b) The ritual application of the places; 6c) (no name). The sixth chapter as a whole is named *Vasanta-tilaka* (The ornament of Spring).<sup>313</sup> 7.i) (Apparently the first line of the section:) Now I will explain the rules of action whereby the adepts achieve success; 7.ii) Now I will explain the rules of alchemy, the collection of all the elixirs; 7.iii) The rules for the application of unguents;<sup>314</sup> 7a) The *Āyurvedic* [section] called the arisal of omniscience; 7b) The rules for the *Homa*; 7c) The

arisa from the *cakra* [that provides for] the free scope of all activity. So the seventh chapter called is what arises from the meditation on all action is complete. 8a) The bell principle; 8b) The meditation on the *mantra* recitation; 8c) Curing the ignorance of the heretics. The name of the eighth chapter is the complete arisa of all activity. 9a) The arisa of all the *Tathāgatas*; 9b) The *bali* offering; 9c) The discussion of the cloth book. The ninth chapter is called the Reality of the four ritual actions. 10a) The teacher's great *sādhana*; 10b) The transformation of the illusion by the *Buddha*.<sup>315</sup>

#### 4.6.6. The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*

The *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra* dates from no later than the early 11th century since we have a commentary on the text, the *Kṛṣṇayamāri-tantra-pañjikā-ratnāvali* (Tohoku 1921--54 folios) by the early 11th century *Mahāsiddha* Maitrī-pa or Avadhūti-pa and Kumāra-candra (Gshon-nu zla-ba), translated by Śīlavajra and Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan.<sup>316</sup> Many other texts from the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-tantra* tradition are also in the Tibetan canon: *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri- 2) -tantra-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1922--25 folios) by Padapāṇi, translated by Parameśvara and Roñ-zom chos-kyi bzañ-po,<sup>317</sup> 3) *-tantra-rāja-trikalpa* (Tohoku 469--3 folios) translator unknown,<sup>318</sup> 4) *-tantra-rāja-prekṣaṇa-patha-pradīpa-nāma-ṣṭkā* (Tohoku 1920--85 folios) by Kṛṣṇa-chen po, translated by Parjñāśrījñānakīrti, 5, 6, 7, 8, & 9) *-nāma-sādhana* (Tohoku 1929--3 folios) by Nying-more byed-paḥi gragas pa, translated by Ḥgo Lhas-btsas, (Tohoku 1960--6 folios)<sup>319</sup> by Kun-tu bzañ-po, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje, (Tohoku 1946--one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrīmitra,<sup>320</sup> (Tohoku 1924--15 folios) by Dpal-ḥdsin,

translated by Dānakīrti and Tshul-khrims rgyal-pa,<sup>321</sup> (Tohoku 1968--2 folios) by Kīrti, translator unknown,<sup>322</sup> 10) *-maṇḍala-stuti* (Tohoku 1968--2 folios) by Kīrti, translator unknown,<sup>323</sup> 11) *-mahā-tantra-rāja-pañjikā-ratna-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1919--48 folios) by Ratnākaraśānti-pa, translated by Vinayacandra and Chos-kyi śes-rab,<sup>324</sup> 12) *-mukhu-ṣaṭ-cakra-sādhana* (Tohoku 2015--2 folios) by Devākaracandra, translated by Devākaracandra and Śes-rab bla-ma, 13) *-rakta-yamāri-pūjā-vidhi* (Tohoku 2028-- [stop]), 14) *-śānti-homa-vidhi* (Tohoku 1956--one folio) by Nag-po, translated by Prajñāśrījñānakīrti,<sup>325</sup> 15) *-sādhan-protphulla-kumudā*, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28) *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1923, 1930, 1932, 1936, 1947, 3282, 3283, 3284, 3326, 3327, 3628, 3629, 3630), 29) *-sādhana-maṇḍala-vidhi*, 30) *-sādhana sa-cakrārtha-vistara-vyākhyā* (Tohoku 1931), 31) *-abhisamaya-krama*.

The alternative name of the text is the *Kṛṣṇa-yamāri-[rakṣā]-tantra*.<sup>326</sup> The name appears to be mean "the *Tantra* of [protection by] the *yāmari* (or enemy of death) (named) *Kṛṣṇa*," rather than of "the black *yamāri*," since several of the chapters end with the phrase "the *yogī* (will attain the stated goal, etc.) according to the statement of *Kṛṣṇa* (*kṛṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā*). A manuscript from *Nepali Samvat* 500 = 1380 CE is cited in the Shāstrī's Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue. The first chapter on consecration (*abhiṣeka-paṭala*) opens as follows: "Thus it was heard by me; at one time the *Bhagavān* was taking his pleasure in the vaginas of all the *vajra*-women of the body, speech, and mind of all the *Tathāgatas*. And then the *Bhagavān* welcomed the king of all the *Tathāgatas*, *Vajrapāṇi*, *Vajrasattva*, along with the groups of the *Mahāyamāris*, beginning with *Moha-vajra-yamāri* (Confusion) and

*Piśuna-vajra-yamāri* (Slander) and *Īrṣyā-vajra-yamāri* (Envy), *Dveṣa-vajra-yamāri* (Hostility) and *Mudgara-yamāri* (Hammer) and *Daṇḍa-yamāri* (Stick) and *Padma-yamāri*, and *Khaḍga-yamāri*, and *Vajra-carccikā*, and *Vajra-vārāḥī*, and *Varja-sarasvatī*, and *Vajra-śaurī*, and *Alokā*. Then the *Bhagavān* [said] ‘Oh *Khavajra*,’ to [the one] receiving the instruction. Then [there is] a second statement. He entered the womb of his own body, speech, and thought, the *samādhi* called the thunderbolt that destroys *Māra*. ‘One should destroy *Māra* by using the moon-*vajra*; for quelling the *māras*, and for removing hatred everywhere, for protection, one should created the *vajra* abounding in the five rays; and likewise [one should created] with the *vajra* the earth and the wind, the enclosure, and the cage.’ Then the *Bhagavān*, entering into the *samādhi* called the generator of all the *Tathāgatas* and the destruction of all the *Māras*, spoke to everyone. He entered the light ning-womb of his own body, speech, and mind, the seed of *vajra*, *yama*, the *āryas*, etc.: ‘In the middle of *ya* is *kṣe sa me da ya cca ni rā jā sa ho ru ṇa yo ni ra*; the first destroyer of *yama* is in *ra*; in *kṣe Moḥa* [-*vajra-yamāri*] is said to be; in *ma* is the *akṣa* [seed] *Piśuna*, and in the phoneme *sa* is Passion, and in *da* is Envy; [these] are the five known as the destroyers of *Yama*. In *ya* is the Hammer, in *ca* is the Stick-leader; in *ni* is *Padmapāṇi*, and in *rā* is *Khaḍgavān* also; in *jā* *Carccikā* is said to be, and *Vārāḥī* is in *sa*. *Sarasvatī* is also in the phoneme *ho*, and *Śaunikā* is considered to be in *la*. The womb of *na* is in the square; [these] are considered the four instruments; one should consider that the terrifying universal thunderbolt resides in the middle of the sky-lightning bolt. One should [meditatively] create pitiless time residing in the

middle of *Yamāntaka* (the destroyer of death), and *Mohavajra* in the eastern door, and *Piśuna* in the southern, and *Rāgavajra* in the western, and *Īrṣya* in the northern door. In the four tridents in the lightning bolts of the corners, one should visualize *Carccikā* etc. In the four tridents of the lightning bolts of the doors, one should visualize the Hammer etc. In the four corners of the universal lightning bolts, [one should meditatively create] the heads of the kings.’ Then the *Bhagavān*, entering into the *samādhi* called the *Yamāri-vajra* of the king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the great *mantra* of the clan of hostility. ‘*Oṃ hrīḥ sṛṭḥ* the disfigured face *hum hum phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.*’ Then the *Bhagavān*, the king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the *Moha-vajra-mantra*: ‘*Oṃ Jina jika.*’ Then the *Bhagavān* declared the *Piśuna-vajra-mantra*: ‘*Oṃ ratnadhṛk.*’ Then the *Bhagavān*, king of all the *tathāgatas*, declared the *Rāga-vajra-mantra*, ‘*Oṃ āṛālika.*’<sup>327</sup> The text gives more *mantras* of the various *vajra* entities,<sup>328</sup> then some *dhyānas*: *Yamāri* is three faced, six armed, fierce, like a sapphire [in color]; intensifying the lightning bolt in the hand, the wise one should generate *Yamāri* into existence. *Mohavajra* is three faced, six armed, peaceful, like a very clear mirror; contemplating a *cakra* in the hand one should generate *Mohavajra*. *Piśunavajra* is three faced, six armed, nourishing, like burnt gold [in color]; intensifying a gem in the hand, one should generate *Piśuna-vajra*. *Rāgavajra* is three faced, six armed, controllable, like a ruby in appearance; intensifying a lotus in the hand, one should generate *Rāgavajra*. *Īrṣyavajra* is three faced, six armed, universal, like a budding lotus.<sup>329</sup>

Chapter two of the *Kṛṣṇa-yāmari* is hymns to the deities (*mahāmaṇḍala-*

*paṭala*); chapter three is on *karma-yoga*. Śāstrī gives an extract from the fourth chapter: "The holder of the vow should draw a pair of *cakras* on the cremation shroud. With *rājikā*<sup>330</sup> and salt, with black salt and with *nimbaka*, the three spices,<sup>331</sup> and the *arśāna* (?) from the cremation ground. And having made the index finger red with the resins from the thorn-apple leaves, and also with the seeds of *caṇḍa*,<sup>332</sup> or with the juice of the *citraka*,<sup>333</sup> taking some clay from the salt flats, the vow-holder should draw, on the fourteenth lunar day, ornamentation on the *Caṇḍāla*'s earthen pot using a 'starving lotus' drawing instrument. At midnight, with fierce thought because of the relationship with evil people, one should bind together the name of the obstacles to sentient beings with the *hurṃ* syllable. Facing south, the *yogī* should draw himself as the destroyer of death, *Mahācaṇḍa* in his fierce form, adorned with skull fragments, sitting on a buffalo, with a lolling tongue, a big belly, terrifying, with tawny erect twisted locks, likewise [tawny] curly facial hair and eyebrows; and [he should draw] in the right [hand] the great *vajra*, and also a chopper [in] the second [hand]; in the third hand a knife, and now, the left: on the left a *cakra*, and a great lotus, and a skull; at the front of the root,<sup>334</sup> [he should draw] the great bee, on the right, very brilliant [like] the moon; the left, said to be blood-red like, adorned with diamond ornaments. [He] should make the holes of the pores of the skin irradiate the king of his own clan, standing in the *pratyālīḍha* position, standing up on top of a solar disk, his face with terrible deformed fangs, appearing like the blazing fire [at the end] of the age. Furnishing oneself in this way [*evam ātmānaṃ sannahya*], one should apply what's to be prepared in front...."<sup>335</sup>

Chapters 5 and 6 of the *Kṛṣṇa-yāmari* are Drawing the symmetrical circle, and Looking at the *cakra*.<sup>336</sup> The sixth chapter begins: "Now I will explain the *mantra* for performance of the ritual offering for all beings. When the great *mantra* is articulated [it causes] trembling in all beings: to *Indra hrīḥ*, to *Yama ṣṭrīḥ*, to *Varuṇa vi*, to *Kubera kṛ*, to *Isāna ta*, to *Agni a*, to *Nairṭya na*, to *Vāyu na*, to *Candra huṃ*, to *Arka* (the Sun) *huṃ*, to *Brahman phaṭ*, to *Vasudhāra phaṭ*, to *Vemacitrin* (the variegated loom) *svā*, to all beings *hā*; *hā hā hīṃ hīṃ hūṃ hūṃ he he svāhā*. Having made the triangle [surrounded by] a circle, the *yogī* should satisfy the deities with mixtures of feces, urine, and water, and one should meditatively remember *hāhā*."<sup>337</sup>

Chapter 7 is on the means for attracting the *śaktis* of the different *Yamāris*.<sup>338</sup> "The wise one, through use of the protection attraction, should meditatively create *Carccikā* with three faces, six arms, white, a *cakra* in her hand, moon-like. The wise one, through use of the liquor attraction, one should meditatively create *Vārāhī*, with three faces, six arms, a hog's snout, with a *vajra* in her hand, very blue. The vow taker should visualize *Sarasvatī* with three faces, six arms, red, holding a lotus in her hand, and beautiful, for the purpose of increasing wisdom. Through the use of the white attraction the wise one should visualize *Śaurī*<sup>339</sup> with three faces, six arms, like a blossomed lotus."<sup>340</sup>

Chapters 8 and 9 are on the rules for the *homa* and on the female terrifier (*Bhimā*) of the *yamāris*.<sup>341</sup> Part of the ninth chapter reads: "With the flesh of a *brāhmaṇa*, with the ashes of the funeral pyre and with the soil [under] that, one should create an image of *Yamāri* with two arms and one face, with a great *vajra* in



the right hand, and a man's head on the left, colored white, really terrifying, one should mow down the evil ones with that [image]. One should offer the *bali* every day with the five types of flesh and the five nectars; the *yogī* should continually request of that [image]: 'you must cut down my enemy.' This having been requested for seven nights, the enemy will die at dawn."<sup>342</sup>

Chapter 10 is the practice, recollection, and meditation of the *Vetāla* (goblins). Chapter 11 is on practice according to the community. Chapter 12 is on the characteristics of common practices (among the various communities). Chapter 13 is the determination of *siddhi*. Chapter 14 is the practice of *Mañju-vajra*.<sup>343</sup> Chapter 14 begins as follows: "Here is this supreme ceremonial practice according to the reading of the *sūtra*; *a* is primary, because of the lack of initial arising of all the *dharma*s; in the form of the glorious destroyer of dearth, meditating on the student, the eye, the well-concentrated one should get rid of [even] the best of the best of the best of the knowledge *sūtras*. Then this is the esoteric custom of entering into the great *maṇḍala*: the string prepared by the wise ones is smeared with the five cow products, is long [enough] for twenty doors, and is twice [the dimensions] of the *maṇḍala*. Then this is the given practice for solicitation of the great *vajra*: 'Aho the *Buddha* the great teacher, Aho the lord who is a host of properties is in my body; the community, the reality, and the *bodhicitta* are in my body.' Then this is the custom for taking hold of the great earth, the invocation of the *vajra*-earth. 'You Oh goddess, are the witness of the all the *Buddhas*, of the protectors, for the specifications of proper practices, and for the perfections of the earth.'<sup>344</sup>

Śāstrī gives another short section of chapter 14: "And those (ye) who intensely control their breaths, eat fish, meat, etc., delight in liquor and beautiful women, who hold to the atheists' vows, the men who are not consecrated, and who cause all sorts of mischief, who delight in the districts of villages, become perfected; there's no doubt, according to the statement of *Kṛṣṇa*; now all these (te) *bodhisattvas*, beginning with *Maitreya*, having heard the etymology of the word *vajra* became, and remained satisfied."<sup>345</sup>

Chapter 15 is the practice of the *Vajra-anaṅga*, i.e. the thunderbolt-*Kāma* or the lightning-bolt god of love.<sup>346</sup> It begins: "And now I will explain the secret in summary, and not in detail. By knowing just this, one can attract the *Apsaras*. One should meditatively create the lightning-*kāma*, very attractive, with a yellow body, two arms, one face, with a bow and arrows in hand. One should meditate *Rati* (*Kāma*'s wife) in the east, and in the south *Madanasundarī* (intoxicatingly beautiful), in the west *Kāmadevī*, and in the north *Madanotsukā* (She who is eager for sexual love). One should visualize the bow and arrow for all the goddesses of love; one should meditatively create them as yellow, red, black white and red. And in the corner one should always apply *Aniruddha* (*Kāma*'s son), husband of *Uṣā* (the dawn).<sup>347</sup> In the door[s] and in the quarter[s] it is said there is Spring and Crocodile-bannered (*Kāma*); and it's said there is *Kandarpa* and *Darpaka* (two names of *Kāma*), and likewise *Bāṇāyudha* (armed with arrows = *Kāma*) is remembered. One should visualize in the head the Death Destroyer of all the gods; one should meditatively create lightning-*Kāma* situated at the tip of the of mouth of women,

[like] a bird, vibrating everywhere, produced from the *sītkāra mantra*.<sup>348</sup> Meditating on she who is longed for, who is agitated, who is piercing (?),<sup>349</sup> eager for ardent passion, who has fallen at one's feet, enveloped in a red garment. And one should recite the *mantra* for her, "*oṃkāra*, not separated from heaven." Then having given the *svāhā* at the end, one should utter the *sītkāra mantra*. "May this woman become subject to my will." One should meditatively visualize [her] for seven days. The *yogī* will obtain the [woman] who is longed for, according to the statement of *Kṛṣṇa*.<sup>350</sup>

Chapter sixteen is the *sādhana* of *Heruka*, chapter 17 is the recitation about the *bodhicitta*, also called the *kathāpaṭala*, as is the eighteenth chapter. The closing colophon reads: "The king of the *guhnyakas*, the leader of the lightning bolt-clan, endowed with the sap of the *nakaṭakū* (?), spoke this great royal *Tantra*; it came out of *Oḍiyāna*, and is a complete extract from a one hundred and twenty-five thousand [verse text]."<sup>351</sup>

#### 4.6.7. The *Catuṣpīṭha[nibandha]tantra*

A famous Buddhist Tantra is the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*, and we have several 11th century manuscripts of commentaries on this text, as well as a 12th century manuscript of the Tantra. In Śāstrī's Nepal Durbar Library catalogue he gives an extract from a *sādhana* text of this Tantra entitled *Catuṣpīṭhanibandhaḥ*. The colophon providing the date reads: "The abbreviated *sādhana* of the *Catuṣpīṭha* is completed. It was written by Śākyabhikṣukumāra-candra while residing in the *Śrīpadmacakra-mahāvihāra*, commissioned by Śrīguṇakāmadeva, in the kingdom of

*Śrībhāṣkaradeva*, on Friday, on the tenth day of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa (July-August), *Samvat* 165, for the attainment of the ultimate fruit [by] mothers, fathers, gurus, teachers, dear friends, and all beings. The clan-son in the real."<sup>352</sup> Nepal *Samvat* 165 = 1045 CE. Petech dates Bhāṣkaradeva to 1043-1050, specifying this text's date as July 26th, 1045 and dates Guṇakāmadeva to 942-1008,<sup>353</sup> so it would appear that the text was begun during the earlier king's reign, and took some 40 years to complete. There are several texts from this tradition in the Tibetan catalogue. We find the *Śrīcatuḥ-pīṭha-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 428--50 folios) translated by Gayadhara and ḥgos Khug-pa Lhas-btsas, *Śrīcatuḥ-pīṭha-ākhyā-tantra-rāja-mantrāṃśa-nāma* (Tohoku 429--29 folios) translated by Gayadhara and Śākya ye-śes, and the *Śrī-catuh-pīṭha-vikhyāta-tantra-rāja-nāma* (Tohoku 430--44 folios) translated by Smṛtijñānakīrti and revised by Bu-ston.<sup>354</sup> There are four *Śrī-catuh-pīṭha*-commentaries in the Tibetan canon, 1) *-tantra-rāja-maṇḍala-vidhi-sāra-samuccaya* (Tohoku 1613--25 folios) attributed to Āryadeva, and translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos-khugs-pa lhas-btsas,<sup>355</sup> 2) *-smṛti-nibhandā-nāma-ṭīkā* (Tohoku 1607--127 folios) by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos,<sup>356</sup> 3) *-yoga-tantra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1610--9 folios) attributed to Āryadeva, translated by Kamalagupta and Rinchen bzañ-po,<sup>357</sup> and the 4) *-sādhana* (Tohoku 1616--5 folios) written by Bhavabhadra, translated by Gayadhara and Ḥgos Lhas-btsas.<sup>358</sup>

As Sāstrī notes, the *Catuspīṭhatantra* is also mentioned in the second verse of the *Yogāmbara Sādhana Tantra*: "This sincere propitiation, the brief good *sādhana* is stated by me on account of the request of the students, according to the rules [set out]

in the *Catuhṣṭṭha*.<sup>359</sup> The extract (somewhat difficult to follow without the original text) reads: "So in the *Ātmapṭṭha* section, the *ātma* of the wind etc. principles is itself one's own body, the *pṭṭha*, the *āsana*, the basis; by this set of statements the wind etc. principle is expressed, or is referred to. *Ātmapṭṭha* [indicates that] the *ātma* is the *pṭṭha*. Thus the first chapter in the *Ātmapṭṭha* in the *Catuhṣṭṭhanibandha*. Now he relates the chapter on the knowledge of time, and the illusion of that, etc. 'Oh *Bhagavān*, I want to hear about the principle of knowledge, [its] domain [?], its removal etc.; we are this mark, the body (*aṅga*); hence the mark of death. How is the principle assembled? The principle of the *mantra*? ' [Bhagavān answers]: 'Listen to the teaching about the mark of the *vajra* great king, and the body. By the actions of emanation etc., royally, thus the king. The *vajra* is the protector of *Akṣobhya*, the great king, so this is known as the *Vajra*-great king. The body is to be understood as the mark. You must listen next to the [state of] remaining (*sthitam*) that is like the time of death; it is known as what has penetrated the time of death--this is the sense. He stated the mark, the breaths, etc.'<sup>350</sup>

Śāstrī gives another extract from leaf 8A of the manuscript: "One should utter that, having created the previously described *maṅḍala-cakra* according to the rules and regulations for worship. One should offer worship with the collected *mudrās* and *mantras* as stated, 'Om you must make the great offering, *hūṃ svāhā*.' Stretching out both hands, wiggling the middle fingers, at the time of the sacrifice into the fire, with the consort who is intoxicated by the offering at the time of the sacrifice, there is examination of the fire. If it indicates a bad omen, then '*vajra* you must become

visible *hum svāhā*.' In the place where there is a bad omen, then one should offer ghee there one hundred and eight times, with quieting water from the *dravya*. Having offered the consecration [water] in the three, as before, the offering to the root-deity [*mūla-devatā-homaḥ*] is to be offered, according to the previously mentioned method. Having drawn [the deity] in with the breath, one should establish in one's own body; releasing [it], it should become visible--this is the rule of the offering (*homa-vidhi*). [According to] the rules for the sacrifice, ... [following?] the extended procedure, having performed the preparation (?) with various garments, one should create a square *maṇḍala* with white sandal, from the pitcher with the white powder. Having smeared the middle vessel, filling it with shaving water and sandal, decorating it with blossoms etc., offering a lac-reddened body in the form of eye-leaves (*dr̥ṣṭi-patra-rūpakā-laktakāṅgam* ?), reciting eight-times individually [the *mantra*] beginning with *Oṃ* and ending with *svāhā*, *hum*, *hruṃ*, *suṃ*, *kṣuṃ*, *yuṃ*, *huṃ*, *strāṃ*, *stryāṃ*, *kṣrāṃ*, one should set up the eight pitchers in their appropriate places. And placing the large vessel in the middle, performing the entire *ātma-yoga* as previously stated, honoring the *ātman* (*ātmānaṃ pūjayitvā*), then one should begin that externally, 'in the likeness of a lotus, *svāhā*,' cupping the hands in the shape of a lotus. Then one should see the lotus of the middle vessel, the *maṇḍala* with the moon, provided with a white parasol. Then one should meditate with the *hūṃkāra* there on the knowledge-woman, superintended by the *vajra-hūṃkāra*. One should meditate on she who is steadfast in the *sattva-paryāṅka*,<sup>361</sup> her two arms colored white, and on the *vajra* and stick on the left and right arms. That one is *Vajrī* in the east, *Ghorī* in the north,<sup>362</sup> *Vetālī* in the

west,<sup>363</sup> and *Caṇḍālī* in the south.<sup>364</sup> In the northeast [she is] *Siṃhīnī*,<sup>365</sup> in the southeast *Vyāghrī*.<sup>366</sup> In the northwest [she is] *Ulūktī*.<sup>367</sup> She is to be meditated upon as the previously stated ornament of wise men. And one should make the *mudrās* and *maṇḍalas* of these.<sup>368</sup> 'Make that stay at the right time, *hum phaṭ*.' Performing the *vajra-bandha*, extending the two index fingers, making the *cakra* and the knot, one should show [them?] to the community. One should worship as before, 'āṃ *hum svāhā*.' Making two *vajra*-fists, one should place the left one on the heart, and the right one on the head; hence the mantra of the *mūla-bh[a]dra* (root-"dear"). And the root-*mantra*, having given also the water as desired, combined with *durva* sprouts, together with jasmine etc. flowers; uttering that one *mantra*, performing the accompanying meditation, one should strike the *vajra* in the diadem of the goddess. One should offer the *ayutāpūrvam* ("ten-thousand unprecedented?) substance. There will be whatever *siddhi* that is desired, long life, health, and growth. And at the end of the *homa* one should give the offering in the manner that was described. In the entire ritual, the *śukla* procedure is *sattvic* (?). One should make the eastern face peaceful. One should make the water that removes all misfortune, etc., and the state of peacefulness with a mind that has pacified the threatening one hundred bead garland. And the water, beginning 'prosperity, *kṣa*, you must make the northern face the one that provides prosperity by honoring all that is yellow, [and] you must invite all wealth.' With a mind delighted by the permanence in the central channel of the hundred bead garland and the one hundred eight bead garland, one should make prosperity. By honoring all that is red in the *vaśya* (subduing ritual), 'you must bring

the western face to me, you must draw it from the directions,' etc. and the water. Placing the twenty-syllable garland in the fourth finger, one should perform the pacification [rite] with a protective mind. And in the incantation, with the *ka* service, "you must kill the southern face, you must expel it," etc., and the water. With a rosary of sixty beads, with the continued presence of a young lady, with a mind filled with anger, one should conjure. [Thus] the subject matter of the offering, the *homa*, and the sacrifice is briefly written about according to the tradition of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*.<sup>369</sup>

Manuscript III.360.A in Śāstrī's Durbar Library catalogue is another commentary on the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra* entitled *Catuṣpīṭhāloka*, dated N.S. 132 = 1012 CE.<sup>370</sup> Śāstrī provides a short extract: "Homage to all the beautiful women. Honoring the five forms--the shining line of the new moon holding the sun, providing an image of the *Buddha*, Maitreya, and the beautiful young woman on his head, and Mañjuḥṣa, the form of the stick arising from the lotus, the beautiful form of the diadem, the *Vajra*-possessor, the dreadful sound, the form of *vijñāna* and *jñāna*, destroying the fear of the world, this commentary is written because of the entreaty for the protection of the body. From the statement beginning 'in this way the language' up to 'they praised,' the rules for declension and gender, the compounds, etc., and the heavy and light syllables, caesuras, and meters etc. are to be employed as appropriate according to [their usage in] *Āryadeśa*. By what begins 'in this way, knowing all the languages,' four meanings are indicated: the indicator and the manner of indication, the meaning to be indicated, [and] the place. Of these, the



indicator is 'knowing all.' 'In this way' is the manner of indication. 'Knowledge' is the meaning to be indicated. 'The pure abode' is the place. When there is meaning in that sense, it is ..., the meaning 'of the *buddhas*.' Wherever there is 'southern,' that itself is the meaning. 'The covering with the *yoginī*'s net:' the *yoginīs* are the perfection of wisdom, etc.; the net is the assemblage, as was previously stated. 'In the *samapada*'<sup>371</sup> etc.: the foot is on the opposite big toe and toe, the feet are even in the nature of an embrace. And by contracting one of those feet, standing up vertically, or the *cittapadam* (?). One should make both hands, an external toe-ring, [and] the pair of knees like that. With the two forearms, the swan-wings position. Placing the right foot in the *maṇḍala* and the left foot on the ground, one sprinkles the water with the gesture of transcending the three worlds; hence the three steps (of *Viṣṇu--trivikramapadam*). One should step over the left foot with the right foot. Bending the left leg, one should stretch it out to the extent of five *vitastis*<sup>372</sup>--such is the *ālīḍha*. For the *pratyālīḍha* here, bending the right leg, one should stretch out the left leg to the same extent.

"One foot is raised up. One should not move it around. Hence, [keep it] in one place. Reclining in pleasure with a woman inspired by an amorous look, when moving the foot back and forth by various means, if at first one touches the parts of one's body with [her] foot that's moving back and forth, [then] squeezing [the foot] all over, and by means of pressing it onto the opposite thigh, because of that resting place, one should rest on what has been produced through prior effort; and so for both, i.e. for both feet of the *yoginī*. Or until the half-setting up, [i.e.] making the

sacrificial post. And he said; from one the knee is dulled from the three (?) that are applied to the knee. The pair of feet belonging to the seated man are placed on the opposite knees, paining the left side, and beating on the shaved head. Embracing the neck of *Prajñāpāramitā* firmly in the noose-like arm of *Vajrasattva*, and placing that all around the goddess' lower leg, then joining together as the *samputa*,<sup>373</sup> it is said that there is liberation from the variety of *prāṇa* [flowing] through the woman's throat. So it was explained by *Āryadeva*. 'The sexual embracing of the pair,' i.e. whence there is the commingling of wisdom and means; by activity subsequent to transmigration with regard to the constituent [common] to all sentient beings--this is the meaning. Having liberated the covering of the net of *yoginīs*, there is no further essence to *samsāra*. 'And it is to be employed for liberation,' i.e. one should do circumambulation. 'And that particularly,' i.e. because of using the word 'particular,' there is an abridgment in [one] word of what is stated in twelve-thousand [verses] in the *Kakṣapuṣa*, i.e. this is the *Kakṣapuṣa* in that sense. [Verse:--largely unintelligible] Bearing fire together (?) with the king, a beautiful woman with beautiful hands,| she who is the thunderbolt of the ocean of Indra, causing confusion among those terrified of hell and among the ascetics with matted hair| you must make the four-fourfold-five mixture for the body| You are a young woman suitable to desire, pleasure with fangs(?)| | Hence it is to be written down at the end of the *Kakṣapuṣa*. "<sup>374</sup>

A manuscript of the *Catuspīthatantra* is listed in Bendall's catalogue of the Cambridge University Library.<sup>375</sup> Palm leaf, from the 12th century, it is divided into

four *prakaraṇas*, the first (no name), the *ātmapīṭha*, the *parapīṭha*, the *yogapīṭha*, and the *guhyaṭīṭha*. In the Asiatic Society of Bengal catalogue Śāstrī cites a 12th century manuscript of what appears to be a ritual manual based on this text under the title *Catuspīṭhanibandhaḥ*, and gives the Sanskrit (with some ellipses) of the first leaf: "Homage to the three jewels. Paying homage to the truly terrifying lightning tongue, completely filling the entire mouth, I will explain [the goddess] whose garment is conducive to *sādhana*. The *mantra*-possessor who has attained the consecration, the proper learning, and has entered into the *maṇḍala* is to begin the procedure of *mantra*-recitation according to the rule described in the *Kalpa*, for the goddesses' ocean of perspiration. At first, to that extent, with the *mantra*-possessor's great effort ... [in?] magical power, prognostication, etc. ... for she who protects .... | ... not possessing an *ātman*, with the riches of a king etc., with the mind determined upon the discipline of either achieving or requesting *siddhi*, the entire pair with *Viṣṇu* {?}. With an unwearied mind engaged in purified external and internal practice, intent upon all the *dharma*-statements in the perfection of wisdom etc., on the mountains, in the gardens and parks, in the cremation grounds, the lotus-lakes, the rivers and on the river banks, in the monastic retreats, dwellings, and caves, etc., or in places pleasing to the mind, smearing oneself with mud or cow dung, etc., one should prepare the ... ground. There is this sequence of procedures [to be followed]: at night, at the time of the end of the third [portion of the night], having arisen from sleeping, one should restore the non-existence at the end of everything to all the *Buddhas* and *bodhisattvas* situated at the end of the *dharmadhātu* in the space that has three paths. Then one

should pay homage to the self with the twelve-syllable *mantra* with the thumb-seal, [and] one should provide protection in the five places. Then one should go to the external place; at night one should face south; during the day, one should face north. Then, purified, one should perform the ablutions of the five limbs. Then, having provided the three water-offerings to the goddess, one should go to the temple. Having meditated on *bhagavatī* as non-existent in front of one of the polished images of the goddess in the disk that is sprinkled with flowers and properly anointed, wearing a red garment, supplied with all the sacrificial implements, facing to the west, etc., or facing north, one should honor all the living *Buddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, *pratyekabuddhas*, *āryyaśrāvakas*, etc. residing in all the worldly realms. Then, having honored the *Bhagavatī*, having offered an *añjali* with one's head, one should say: 'may the three jewels protect me; I confess all my sins; I delight in the merit of the world; I place my mind in the enlightenment of the *Buddhas*.' Having made offering in that way, one should utter the purified *mantra*: 'homage to the seven days, to all the *Buddhas*, *Om*, to all the purified *dharmas*....'<sup>376</sup>

#### 4.7. Texts Cited by Abhayākaragupta Not Yet Located in Sanskrit Manuscripts

There are a number of texts cited by Abhayākaragupta that survive in Tibetan translation, and that I have not yet located in the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues. The originals of these texts may be lost, or may simply be located elsewhere. I understand from my colleague Christian Wedermeyer that there is an index volume to a catalogue of the Tibetan Canon published in California that contains a complete listing of all the Sanskrit manuscripts still extant of Buddhist Tantric works translated

into Tibetan; however the library holding the volumes was unwilling to send it through Inter-library loan, despite several requests, so I have not had a chance to check this. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, I have not had the time to scour all the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues in the European libraries, so there may well still be Sanskrit manuscripts of the Tantras listed in this section.

#### 4.7.1. The *Trailokyavijayatāntra*

There are ten works of the *Trailokya*- system in the Tohoku catalogue, three *Trailokyava-Śaṅkara-lokeśvara-sādhanas* a) (Tohoku 3169--one folio) translated by in the early 12th century<sup>377</sup> by Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, b) (Tohoku 3427--one folio) by Saraha, who may or may not be identical with Padmasambhava, and in any case must date to the eighth century, translated by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan in the mid-14th century,<sup>378</sup> and c) (Tohoku 3428--one folio)<sup>379</sup> translated by the 14th century Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan; a *Trailokyava-śaṅkara-ārya-bhugma-sādhana* (Tohoku 3436--2 folios) by Śūnyatā-samādhi-vajra-pāda (possibly from the 9th century),<sup>380</sup> translated in the 14th century by Gragas-pa rgyal-mtshan, and five *Trailokyavijaya*- texts, 1) *-Nāma-vṛtti* (Tohoku 2509--69 folios) by Muditakoṣa--probably the same as Muditaśrī, who dates to the early 12th century,<sup>381</sup> translator unknown, 2) *-Maṇḍala-vidhy-ārya-tattva-saṃgraha-tantra-uddhṛta* (Tohoku 2519--43 folios) by the Kaśmīri Ānanda-garbha (Kun-dgaḥ sñiñ-po), translated by Rin chen bzañ-po (958-1055).<sup>382</sup> Ānandagarbha was responsible for the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-sūtra* commentary called the *Tattva-saṃgraha-abhisamaya-nāma-tantra-vyākhyā Tattvālokakarī nāma*, a commentary on the *Māyājāla-mahātantrarāja*, and edited version of a long

commentary (*Pañjikā*) on the *Guhyasamājatantra*; he also wrote two commentaries on the *Paramāditantra*, the *Vajra-dhātu-mahā-maṇḍala-upāyikā* called *Sarva-vajra-udaya*, the *Vajra-sattva-sādhānopāyikā* and the *Vajra-sattva-udaya-nāma-sādhana-upāyikā*, and a commentary on the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* entitled the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-tejo-rājasya tathāgatasya ārhataḥ samyak-sambuddhasya nāma kalpa-ṭkā*. Unfortunately Naudou has no specific information on his dates;<sup>383</sup> we know however that Rin chen bzañ-po lived from the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century,<sup>384</sup> so Ānandagarbha's works, and all the Tantras he commented on, must predate the mid-tenth century. 3) *-Mahā-kalpa-rāja* (Tohoku 482--48 folios) translated by Rin-chen bzañ-po or Rma dge blo, revised by Sha-lu-pa Yeśes rgya-mtsho, and 4 & 5) two *-Sādhana*s (Tohoku 3278--one folio) translated by Avhaya and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and (Tohoku 3624--one folio) translated in the 14th century by Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan,<sup>385</sup> and 6) *Trailokya-saṃkara-avalokiteśvara-sādhana* (Tohoku 3371--one folio) by Saraha, translated by Don-yod rdo-rje and Bari.<sup>386</sup>

#### 4.7.2. The *Mañju-vajra-maṇḍalaṭippaṇī*

There are four *Mañju-vajra-* texts in the Tohoku catalogue, and though we don't have a translation of this particular text, or a date for one author, the late date of these translations suggest that this was a later, and perhaps less significant development in the Buddhist Tantric group. 1) *-Pūja-vidhi* (Tohoku 1902--one folio) written by Śrīdatta (Dpal sbyin), translated by Vibhūticandra (of the thirteenth century),<sup>387</sup> and revised by Blo-gros señ-ge. 2) *-Sādhana* (3476) translated by Grags-

pa rgyal-mtshan (late 13th, early 14th century--a near contemporary of Bu-ston),<sup>388</sup> the 3) *Siddha-eka-vtra-sādhana* (Tohoku 3322--one folio) translated by Ba-ri Dharmakīrti (Ba-ri Chos-kyi grags pa), and 4) the *-Udaya-maṇḍala-vidhi-sarva-sattva-hitāvahā* (Tohoku 2590--49 folios) translator unknown.<sup>389</sup>

#### 4.7.3. The *Vajrāmṛtatantra*

There are four texts in the Tohoku catalogue from this tradition, 1) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* (Tohoku 435--11 folios) translated by Gyi Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, the Tibetan translator who worked with Bhadrabodhi (Nāropa's student) to accomplish the first Tibetan translation of the *Kālacakratatantra* in 1027 CE.<sup>390</sup> 2) *Vajrāmṛta-tantra-ṭīkā* (Tohoku 1650--38 folios) by the Kaśmīri Guṇākaraśrībhadra (c. 1075-1125 CE<sup>391</sup>--Guṇa-bhadra, Yon-tan bzañ-po), translated by Smṛtijñāna, 3) *Vajrāmṛta-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1649--15 folios)<sup>392</sup> written by the 13th century<sup>393</sup> Kaśmīri Vimalaśrībhadra (Dri-med bzañ-po), translator unknown, revised by Rin-chen grub, 4) *Vajrāmṛta-mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā* (Tohoku 1651--51 folios) by Bhago, translated by Tārapāla and Chiñs Yon-tan ḥbar, revised by Śīla-guhya-vajra and Glog skya śes-rab brtsegs.<sup>394</sup>

#### 4.7.4. The *Āmnāyamañjarī*

There are two texts that appear to be related to the *Āmnāyamañjarī* in the Tohoku Catalogue, 1) the *Āmnāya-viśeṣa* (Tohoku 3175--one folio) translated by Abhayākara Gupta and Tshul-khrims rgyal-mtshan, and 2) the *Āmnāyātāntra* (Tohoku 3200--one folio) translated by Abhayākara Gupta and Tshul-ksisms rgyal-mtshan.<sup>395</sup> Abhayākara Gupta himself helped translate the *Āmnāyātāntra* into Tibetan.

#### 4.7.5. The *Buddhakapāla-sambara-hevajra*

There are six *Buddhakaṭāla*- texts in the Tohoku Catalogue, 1) *Buddhakaṭāla-tantra-tattva-cadrika-panjikā* (Tohoku 1653--16 folios) by Padmavajra (perhaps the same as Padmākara and Padmasambhava, listed in Tohoku as Padma rdo-rje) translated by Diñ-ri Chos-grags (?)--who post-dates Abhayākaragupta, and revised by Blo-gros brtan-pa, 2) *-Tantra-panjikā-jñānavatī* (Tohoku 1652--46 folios) by Saraha--perhaps a contemporary of Padmasambhava, perhaps even a bit earlier, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 3) *-Nāma-yoginī-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 424--24 folios) translated by Śrīgayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 4) *-Maṇḍala-vidhi-krama-pradyotana* (Tohoku 1657--13 folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 5) *-Mahā-tantra-rāja-ṭīkā-abhaya-paddhati* (Tohoku 1654--59 folios) by Abhayākaragupta, translated by Diñ-ri Chos-grags (?), and revised by Blo-grso brtan-pa, and 6), the *Buddhakaṭāla-sādhana* (Tohoku 1655--4 folios) by Saraha, translated by Gayadhara and Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer. (Ui et al 1934:261, 76, 262, 261).

#### 4.7.6. The *Yoginī-saṅcāra-tantra*

There are two texts from this tradition in the Tohoku catalogue, 1) *Yoginīsaṅcārya* (Tohoku 375--10 folios) translated by Hgos lhas-btsas, and 2) *Yoginī-saṅcārya-nibandha* (Tohoku 1422--19 folios) by Tathāgatarakṣita, translated by Tathāgatarakṣita and Rin-chen grags.<sup>396</sup>

#### 4.7.7. The *Padmasupraṭiṣṭhātāntra*

There is no text called the *Padmasupraṭiṣṭhātāntra* in the Tohoku Catalogue. There are five called the *Padmanarteśvarasādhana* (Tohoku 3160, 3161, 3335, 3423, 3424) and one called the *Padmajālobbhavasādhana*, as well as a *Padmanarteśvarī-*



*guhārtha-dharavyūha* (Tohoku 1667), and a *Padmamukūṭatantra* (Tohoku 701--7 folios) translated by Dharmasrīmitra and Chos-kyi bzañ-po.<sup>397</sup>

#### 4.7.8. The *Vajraśekhara*tantra

This text is listed in Tohoku Catalogue as the *Vajra-śekhara-mahā-guhyā-yogatantra* (Tohoku 480--132 folios) translated by Karmavajra and Gshun-nu tshul-khrims.<sup>398</sup>

#### 4.7.9. The *Subāhu-paripṛcchā*

There are five *Subāhuparipṛcchā*- texts in the Tohoku Catalogue, 1 & 2), *Subāhuparipṛcchā* (Tohoku 79--this is an erroneous listing--Tohoku 79 is the *Ārya-Acintya-buddha-viṣaya-nirdeśa-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*) and (Tohoku 805--22 folios) translator unknown, 3) the *Subāhuparipṛcchā-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha* (Tohoku 2671--16 folios) written by Sañs-ryas gsañ-ba, translator unknown, 4) the *Subāhuparipṛcchā-nāma-tantra-piṇḍa-artha-vṛtti* (Tohoku 2673--16 folios) translator unknown, and 5) the *Subāhuparipṛcchā-sūtra-udbhava-praṇidhāna* (Tohoku 4381--1 folio), translator unknown.<sup>399</sup>

#### 4.7.10. The *Ānanadagarbha*

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

### 4.8. Conclusion

As we look back through the telescope of time into the history of the Buddhist

Tantric tradition, we can see very clearly through the second millennium CE thanks to the systematic preservation of and commentaries on the canonical Buddhist Tantras by the Tibetans. This clear view takes us back to the time of Abhayākaragupta in the late 11th-early 12th century, and the traceable citations of Buddhist Tantric texts in his works, particularly the *Vajrāvālī* and also the *Sādhana-mālā*. With careful and diligent tracing, we can, thanks largely to the work of Naudou, with some help from Tucci, Lokesh Chandra and others, trace the probable time periods of many of the authors of the original commentaries on the Sanskrit Tantras who lived in India (mostly northern India it appears) during the 10th and 11th centuries. As we push back further in time, things become murkier, as we are faced with the names of some of the *Mahāsiddhas* who wrote commentaries and who are largely of uncertain date though by general consensus held to have lived in the 8th-11th centuries. Then we have a very few commentaries by Indrabhūti and Padmasambhava that may possibly predate the 8th century by several decades. At that point the trail peters out, and aside from the evidence gathered in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, we have no reliable dates for earlier Buddhist Tantric texts. All of this evidence tends to support the material discussed in Chapter 3 that indicated a popular hetero-sectarian Tantric tradition that gained acceptance into the Buddhist canonical system beginning in the eighth century. In examining the *Vaipulya-sūtra* classifications of the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa Mahayāna-vaipulya-sūtra*, and the *Tathāgataguhyaka-vaipulya-sūtra*, along with Lokesh Chandra's notice of the *Vaipulya-sūtra* classifications of early Tantras in the Chinese canon (see Chapter 3.7.2), we have

good indications that the Tantric tenets, practices, and texts absorbed into the Buddhist canon were apparently integrated into the *Vaipulya* class literature before texts calling themselves Tantras were officially made part of the canon. With the canonical acceptance, and subsequent systematisations, classifications, and commentarial literature, we find that there was a substantial number of different Tantras and commentaries circulating in India for several hundred years before Buddhism was driven out of India and the Buddhists took their material for refuge into Nepal and Tibet. Fortunately a considerable amount of very early Sanskrit material survives in the Nepali libraries, and in the Bengali libraries where it must have been preserved by particularly wily librarians who managed to secure the heretical Buddhist Tantric manuscripts among the larger corpus of venerable Sanskrit works. For future research projects, this chapter has provided a substantial introduction to the surviving Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric literature. This introduction should prove of considerable value in helping the longer term project of clarifying the history of the Tantric traditions.

## NOTES

- 1 . I've found that most of the Indian University and Research Institute Catalogues simply list the names of the texts, sometimes the number of leaves, and sometimes the dates. Most contain no extracts, or even colophons.
- 2 . Someone needs to go through the rest of the colophonic information in the Tibetan translations of Sanskrit Tantric works, and correlate all the information in these colophons with Naudou's work. Second, someone needs to do the same comprehensive study of colophon information in the Chinese translations of *the texts from Sanskrit that called themselves Tantras*. These two tasks will have to be completed before it will be possible to have more definitive data on what texts were written when, where, and by whom.
- 3 . Sum-pa mkhan-po ye'-ses dpal-'byor's *Dpag bsam ljon-bzang* written in 1748. (Naudou 1980:15).
- 4 . The "*Bod-kyi yul-du chos-dang chos-smra-ba Ji-ltar byung-ba'i rim-pa, Deb-ther sngon-po*, or 'The Blue Annals, the Stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet,' written between 1476-1478. (Roerich 1976:i).
- 5 . Naudou 1980:15-16.
- 6 . Naudou 1980:20.
- 7 . See Naudou 1980:10-11.
- 8 . Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1988.
- 9 . Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1990.
- 10 . Rinpoche and Dwivedi 1992.
- 11 . Stablein mentions that there are eighty-two commentarial texts to this tradition. (Stablein 1976:9).
- 12 . It is not really necessary--nor would it be reasonable given the focus of this dissertation--to engage here in an extended discussion of the Tibetan classificatory schemes. Nor is it necessary to repeat the lists of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric works that were translated in Tibetan. Lists of such works can be readily found in several sources: among these one can consult the Hakuji Ui et al's *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon* (Sendai, 1934), the Index of Works cited in Lessing and Wayman's translation of *Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantras* (The Hague, Mouton, 1968), the Bibliography of Tibetan commentaries and translations from Sanskrit in Glenn Mullin's *The Practice of the Kālacakra* (Ithaca, Snow Lion Publications, 1991), etc.
- 13 . Commentary on 5.243: *Tantrottaraṃ vai sakclam avikalam santrarājam loka-tantrāt kriyātantrāt, lokottarād yogatantrāt tābhyām uttaraṃ lokottaram | śrīmat-tantra-ādibuddhaṃ paramajñāpater jhāna-kāyasya sahaṃjasya abhidhānaṃ vācakam* | | (Rinpoche et al 1994b:151.1-3).
- 14 . *Dhāraṇī-saṃgraha*, 23 *Pañcarakṣā* texts, and the 7 *Saptavāra* texts.
- 15 . 105 texts (Tsukamoto et al 1989:68-119).
- 16 . 49 texts (Tsukamoto et al 1989:120-146).

17. 6 texts (Tsukamoto et al 1989:146-149).
18. 2 texts (Tsukamoto et al 1989:149-150).
19. 171 texts, mostly *dhāraṇīs* (Tsukamoto et al 1989:150-175).
20. Tsukamoto et al 1989:75-79.
21. Tsukamoto et al 1989:142.
22. Tsukamoto et al 1989:146.
23. Tsukamoto et al 1989:179-186.
24. Tsukamoto et al 1989:187-226.
25. 42 texts (Tsukamoto et al 1989:227-250).
26. 202 texts (Tsukamoto et al 1989:251-332).
27. *Kālacakra-anusāri-gaṇita*, *Bhagavataḥ Śrī-Kālacakrasya pūjāvidhi*, the *Śrīmal-lokeśvara-nirmāṇa-Puṇḍarīka-viracita-Vimalaprabhā-uddhṛta-śrī-Kālacakra-bhagavat-sādhana-vidhi*, *Kālacakrasya pūjāvidhi*, the *Kālacakra-dhāraṇī*, the *Kālacakra nāma guhya-hṛdaya nāma dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakra-nivardhana*, *Kālacakra-mantra-dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakra-vivardhana-dhāraṇī*, *Kālacakrasya mālāntara*, Raviśrījñāna's *Amṛta-kaṇikā-(karṇikā) nāma Śrī-Nāmasaṃgiti-ṭippaṇī*, and Vibhūticandra's *Amṛta-kaṇika-udyota*. (See Tsukamoto et al 1989:333-343). Further sections of Tsukamoto et al's catalogue include a large number of related *Anuttarayoga* works, *sādhana*s from the *Sāadhanamālā*, etc.
28. Complete list from Lokesh Chandra's Preface to the 1987 edition of the *Śrīcakra-sambhāra Tantra* (see Dawa-Samdub 1919).
29. Chandra 1977:2.
30. See Tohoku #'s 3144-3304, (Ui et al 1934:481-502).
31. Chandra 1977:1.
32. Dutt 1962:346, and 346n.3. Abhayākargupta's works are Nos. 1499, 1500, 1654, 2484, 2491, 3140, 3142, 2366, and 3743 in *Tohoku Imperial University Catalogue*.
33. Shāstrī 1917:154-155.
34. Shāstrī 1917:161-162.
35. Shāstrī 1917:164.
36. Shāstrī 1917:164.
37. See Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1152.
38. The *Vajrāvalī nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* is the subject of a forthcoming dissertation by a fellow Columbia University graduate student, Lobsang Chogyen (Pema), who is editing the Sanskrit manuscript of the text. I thank him for first alerting me to the importance of Abhayākargupta's work through several conversations we have had on the subject of the development of Tantric literature.
39. *Nama Śrīvajrasattvāya | bande śrīkū[ṣ]li[ṭ]śeśvaram smaratare mārābhavāreḥ padam, krodho dhāvati dikṣu maṅgalagiro gāyantu vajrāṅganāḥ | śrīmad-vajrabhṛto mahimni jagadā dhātu[ṣ]n mahāmaṅḍale, niṣpratyūham iha abhayasya mahasā vajrāvalī mīlatu | Asta-varhi-vajra-bhṛteva vajra-paramparābhis dhriyatāṃ hṛdīyaṃ, yaj-jyotir antas-timiraṃ nirasya śrī-vajra-bhṛn-mūrti-matī bibharti | |* (Shāstrī 1917:153-154).

40. Christian Wedermeyer has suggested to me another possibility, that some of the commentaries were in fact written before the verse texts were written, with the latter serving as mnemonical summaries of the longer 'commentaries.' My own readings in Buddhist and Śavite Tantric material does not however support this possibility (though it may have occurred with texts I have not yet read), especially given the predilection of the commentaries for parsing and glossing the phrases of the verses in standard Sanskrit commentarial format.
41. Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1934:218.
42. Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1934:219-220.
43. See Sāṅkṛtyāyana's list from the *Sa-skya Bka'-bum* (Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1934:220-225).
44. Dowman 1985:389.
45. Dowman 1985:384-385.
46. Equal (in number) to the ultimate atomic particles in all the *Sumerus* of all the Buddha-fields (*Sarva-buddha-kṣetra-sumreṣu-paramāṇu-rajah-samair*) (Bhattacharyya 1931:1,1.6 & cf. Fremantle 1971:27).
47. *Atha vajradharah...bhāṣate maṇḍalaṃ ramyaṃ ... sarvatāhāgataṃ cittaṃ maṇḍalam ....* (Bhattacharyya 1931:17 & cf. Fremantle 1971:39).
48. Candrakīrtiḥ glosses *Prājñah* as *aduṣṭakarmācāryah*, i.e. a teacher who is free of evil actions. (Chakravarti 1984:42, 1.9).
49. *Sūtreṇa sūtrayet prājñah...* (Bhattacharyya 1931:17 & cf. Fremantle 1971:39).
50. Fremantle emends Bhattacharyya's text from *gandha-puṣpākulāṃ kṛtvā* to *gandhapuṣpākulīkṛtvā*.
51. *Parisphuṭaṃ tu vijñāya maṇḍalaṃ citāṃ uttamam | pūjāṃ kurvīta yatnena kāya-vāk-citta-pūjanaiḥ | | ṣoḍaḍhābdikām samprāpya yoṣitaṃ kāntisuprabhām | gandha-puṣpākulāṃ kṛtvā madhye tu kāmayet | |* (Bhattacharyya 1931:18-19 & cf. Fremantle 1971:39-40).
52. In Chakravarti's edition, the gloss on this section is missing (accidentally?). The text of Chakravarti's edition is based on "the photograph copy of the manuscript of the famous Rahul Collection of the Bihar Research Society." (Chakravarti 1984:General Editor's note). On page 42 of the Sanskrit, where we should find the gloss to this section of chapter 4, there is the footnote: "Folio 29a seems to have escaped the camera, while 29b has been photographed twice." (Chakravarti 1984:42n.1). Instead we have *Candrakīrti*'s gloss up through the installation of the *maṇḍala*, then it skips to a gloss on *guṇamekhalā* from the line about consecrating the young lady as *prajñā*.
53. Snellgrove 1959{1}:49-50.
54. Snellgrove 1959{1}:106.
55. From T. Gaṇapati Śāstri's Preface, vol. 1: "Among the collection of manuscripts acquired in 1909 from the Manalikkara Mathom near Padmanabhapuram.... It is a pretty large palm-leaf manuscript containing about 13,000 granthas.... The leaves have the appearance of being from 300 to 400 years old....; the copyist of the manuscript is one Pandita Ravichandra the head of the Mūlagoṣa-vihāra who went out from Madhyadesa.... The copyist also tells us at the end of the manuscript, '*parisamāptam ca yathā-labdham āryamañjuśrīyasya kalpam.*' which means, 'here ends the Kalpa of Ārya Mañuśrī as is available.' It can be inferred from this that the manuscript from which the present manuscript was copied is itself an incomplete one." (Śāstri 1920:1).

56 . See Edgerton 1970:xxvi.

57 . Śāstrī 1920:2.

58 . "The author brings his history down from two different points to the beginning of the Pāla Period. Once he starts with Śakas, pauses with the Guptas, and comes down right to Gopālaka after finishing the Gupta line. Then, again, he starts with the Nāga dynasty (Bhāraśiva), deals with Samudra [Gupta] and his brother in Gauda, and with Śaśānka whose name for some reason he conceals but whose history he makes unmistakable, and then comes down to the Gopālas, 'the *dāsajīvins* (śūdras). He does not know the later and the great Pāla kings (whom he would not have left unnamed had he known them) and their patronage of Mahāyāna. I would therefore regard the work as one of *circa* 770 A.D. (the death of Gopāla), or roughly 800 A.D." (Jayaswal 1988:3).

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

60 . Chapter 1: *Mahāyāna-mantra-caryā-nirdeśya-mahākālpāt mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-bodhisattva-vikurvaṇa-ṣaṭala-ṣarāt mūla-kālpāt prathamah sannipāta-parivartaḥ*. (pp. 1-25). From the great Manual teaching the usage of the Mahāyāna *mantras*, the revelation that is the chapter on the transformation of the bodhisattva who became the son of Mañjuśrī, that is the Basic Manual, the first chapter on *Sannipāta* (the Encounter).

Chapter 2: *Bodhisattva-ṣṭaka-avatamsakān mahā-kālpā-rājendrān mañjuśrī-kumāra-bhūta-vikurvaṇāt bodhisattva-ṣaṭala-ṣarād dvitīyah maṇḍala-vidhi-nirdeśa-parivartaḥ samāpta iti*. (pp. 25-52). From the Ornament of the Bodhisattva 'Basket,' the great sovereign manual, with abundant chapters on the Bodhisattva who transformed himself into the son of Mañjuśrī, the second chapter is completed, [giving] instruction on the rules about the *maṇḍala*.

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

Section A: (A1) Chapter 4: *Bodhisattva-ṣṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-sūtrān mañjuśrī-mūla-kālpāt caturthaḥ | Prathama-ṣaṭala-vidhāna-ṣarāḥ parisamāptaḥ |* (pp. 55-67). The fourth [chapter] from the Ornament of the Bodhisattva 'Basket,' the Mahāyāna sūtra, the basic manual of Mañjuśrī. Hence the first chapter of the revelations on the ritual procedures.

(A2) Chapter 5: *Bodhisattva-ṣṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kālpāt pañcamah ṣaṭala-ṣarāḥ | Dvītyah ṣaṭala-vidhāna-ṣarāḥ samāptaḥ |* (pp. 68-70). The fifth revelatory chapter from the Ornament of the Bodhisattva 'Basket,' the Mahāyāna sūtra that is the basic manual of the glorious Mañjuśrī, the second revelatory chapter on ritual procedure is completed.

(A3) Chapter 6: *Bodhisattva-ṣṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād mañjuśrī-mūlakālpāt ṣaṭthah ṣaṭala-ṣarāḥ | Tṛtīyah kanyasa-ṣaṭala-vidhānaḥ parisamāpta iti |* (pp. 71-72). The sixth revelatory chapter from Mañjuśrī's basic manual that is the Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtra, the ornament of the Bodhisattva 'Basket.' Thus the third chapter on the ritual procedures for the younger brother.

(A4) Chapter 7: *Bodhisattva-ṣṭakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakālpāt sapthamah ṣaṭala-ṣarāt caturthaḥ ṣaṭala-vidhāna-ṣaṭala-ṣarāḥ parisamāpta iti |* (pp. 73-77) The seventh revelatory chapter from the glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the [ornament of] the Bodhisattva Basket.

Section B: (B1) Chapter 8: *Bodhisattva-ṣṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād*

*aṣṭama uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-pañjala-visarāt prathamah samāpta iti* || (pp. 78-80).

The eighth revelatory chapter, being the first on the highest practice, method, and action, from the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Ornament of the Bodhisattva Basket, is completed.

(B2) Chapter 9: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakād Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpān navamah pañjala-visarād dvitīyah uttama-sādhana-upayika-karma-pañjala-visarah parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 81-84). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna

Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the ninth revelatory chapter, being the second one on the highest practice, method, and action, is completed.

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

(B4) Chapter 11: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpād ekādaśama-pañjala-visarāc caturthah sādhana-upayika-karma-sthāna-japa-niyama-homa-dhyāna-śaucācāra-sarva-karma-vidhi-sādhana-pañjala-visarah samāpta iti* | (pp. 91-117).

From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, from the eleventh revelatory chapter, the fourth long chapter on all the actions, rules, and procedures, i.e. the practice, method, action, position, *mantra*-recitation, disciplinary rules, offering, meditation, ethical behavior, is completed.

Chapter 12: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpād madhyama-pañja-vidhāna-visarād dvādaśamah akṣa-sūtra-vidhi-pañjala-visarah parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 92-122). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna

Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the twelfth revelatory chapter on the rules about the rosary beads, from the long chapter about the intermediate ritual procedures.

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

Chapter 14: *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpāt caturdaśamah cakṛa-vartti-pañjala-vidhāna-maṇḍala-sādhana-upayika-visarah parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 129-144). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna

Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the fourteenth chapter on the world sovereign and the revelation on the ritual procedures, the *maṇḍala*, the practice, and the method, is completed.

Chapter 15 (13): *Āryamañjuśrīya-mūlakalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt trayodaśamah sarva-karma-kriyārthah pañjala-visarah parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 145-165).

From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the thirteenth revelatory chapter on the objective of all the actions and ritual performances, is completed.

Chapter 16 (14): *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt caturdaśamah gāthā-pañjala-nirdeśa-visarah parisamāptam iti* || (pp. 146-168). From the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the fourteenth long chapter [giving] instruction on the *gāthās* (songs), is completed.

Section C: (C1) Chapter 17 (15): *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭokāvatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulyasūtrāt pañcadaśamah karma-svakalpa-pratyaya-pañjala-visarah parisamāpta iti* || (pp. 169-172). From the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the fifteenth revelatory chapter on faith in the ritual



practices of one's own manual.

(C2) Chapter 18 (16): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt soḍaśa-pañcāla-visarād dvitīyo graha-nakṣatra-lakṣaṇa-kṣetra-jyotiṣa-jñāna-parivarta-pañcāla-visaraḥ* | (pp. 173-180). From the Bodhisattva Basket Ornament, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtra, the Glorious Mañjuśrī's basic manual, from the sixteenth revelatory chapter, the second revelatory chapter mastering astronomical knowledge about the location and characteristics of the planets and the *nakṣatras*.

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 24 (22): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād dvāviṃśatitama[ḥ] nimitta-jñāna-jyotiṣa-pañcāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | (pp. 264-283). The long chapter on astronomy and the knowledge of causes.

Chapter 25 (23): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād tryaviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-cakra-vartty-udbhava-pañcāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | (pp. 284-288). The long chapter on the arisal of the One Syllable *Cakravartin*.

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

Chapter 27 (25): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād pañcaviṃśatitamaḥ ekākṣara-mūla-mantra ārya-mañjuśrī-hṛdaya-kalpa-pañcā-*

*vidhāna-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | (pp. 301-310). The long chapter about the procedure of [making] the painting [and the *mantra*-] *kalpa* that is the heart of Mañjuśrī, the root-mantra of the Single Syllable (or One Indestructible Cakravartin).

Chapter 28 (26): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt śaḍviṃśatimaḥ karma-vidhāna-ārya-mañjuśrīya-parivartta-ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | Chapter divided into six sections with sub-colophons: a) *ṣaṭa-vidhānaṃ samāptam*; b1) *ṣaṭa-vidhānasya - artarikarmaḥ*; b2) *dvitīyaṃ ṣaṭa-vidhānaṃ samāptam*; c) *trītiyaṃ vidhānam*; d) *catvurthaṃ vidhānam*; e) *pañcamaṃ ṣaṭa-vidhānam*; f) *ṣaṭho vidhānaḥ*. (pp. 311-321). The long chapter that is the *Āryamañjuśrī* version of the ritual procedure and activities. a) The complete procedure [for making] the image. b1) the difficult part of the procedure [for making] the image. b2) The complete second procedure for making the image. c) The third procedure d) The fourth procedure. e) The fifth procedure. f) The sixth procedure.

Chapter 29 (27): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt saptaviṃśatimaḥ mañjuśrī-ṣaṭa-vidhāna-parivarta-karma-vidhiḥ saptamaka-ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* | | One subsection, *ayam prathamah kalpah* | (pp. 322-324).

The rules of performance in the section on the procedure for making the image of Mañjuśrī.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 36 (34): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakā[n] mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt catuh-triṃśatimaḥ dvitīya-mudrā-vidhi-ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | (pp. 382-383). (Then there's another section to the chapter, with the editor's remark: *Etad-granthānte 'ntimasya ṣaṭala-visarasya tripañāśattamasya samāptyanantaraṃ mahāmudrā-ṣaṭala-visaro nāma kaścid aparaś catustriṃśatamaḥ ṣaṭala-visaro likhita upalabhyate* | *sa gatasya catustriṃśatamasyaiva prakārebhedo bhavitum arhati ity atah kāraṇād ihaiva yojyate* |) Then after more of the chapter, the colophon, *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūlakalpāt catustriṃśatimaḥ mahāmudrā-ṣaṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* |

(pp. 384-411). The second long chapter on the rules about the consort or *mudrā*. (Editor's remark—Immediately following the end of the just-preceding thirty-fifth chapter, in this text, there is found another long chapter called the Long Chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*. It should be considered a separate section from the preceding thirty-fourth chapter. For that reason it is appended here to this one.) Second colophon: The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*.

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

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

Section D1: Chapter 39 (37): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt saptatrimśatimaḥ mahā-kalpa-rāja-pañcāla-visarād uttama-sādhānopayika-sarva-karma-artha-sādhana-tattveṣu prathamāḥ dhyāna-pañcāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 434-440). The first complete long chapter on meditation, among the principles of the practice for all activity and all objectives as the means to the ultimate practice.

Section D2: Chapter 40 (38): *Iti bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād aṣṭatrimśatimaḥ mahā-kalpa-rāja-pañcāla-visarād dvitīya-sarvaloka-tattva-artha-tāra-kṛtā-vidhi-sādhana-upayika-sarva-karma-dhyāna-pañcāla-nideśaḥ parivartaḥ samāptaḥ* | (pp. 441-459). The second section of the chapter on the instruction about meditation on all activity as the means for playing with the stars for the purpose of all the principles of the universe.

Chapter 41 (39): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpād ekāna-catvāriṃśatimo garuḍa-pañcāla-parivartaḥ* | (pp. 460-469). The chapter on *Garuḍa*.

Chapter 42 (40): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt catvāriṃśatimaḥ mahākalpa-rāja-visarāt sarva-karma-sādhana-upayikaḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 470-474). The method for the practice with all activity.

Four Chapters on the *mahā-mudrā*: Chapter 43 (41): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt ekacatvāriṃśattimaḥ pañcāla-visarād dvitīyaḥ sarva-karma-uttama-sādhana-upayikaḥ mahā-mudra-pañcāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 475-477). The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā* as the means to the ultimate practice with all activity.

Chapter 44 (42): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt dvicātvāriṃśatimaḥ mahā-mudrā-pañcāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 478-490). The complete long chapter on the *Mahāmudrā*.

Chapter 45 (43): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt Sarva-tathāgata-acintya-dharma-dhātu-mudrā-mudritā tricātvāriṃśatimaḥ svacaturtho mudrā-pañcāla-visaraḥ* | (pp. 491-511). The forty-third that is itself the fourth chapter on the *mudrā*, sealed by the consort of the inconceivable *dharma*-realm of all the *Tathāgatas*.

Chapter 46 (44): *Ārya-mañjuśrīya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt catuḥcatvāriṃśatimaḥ mahā-mudrā-pañcāla-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (512-513).

The complete long chapter on the Mahāmudrā.

The Chapter of *Maṇḍala* of the Four *Bhaginis*:

Chapter 47 (45): *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt pañcatvāriṃśatimah paṭala-visarāt prathamah caṣur-bhagini-maṇḍalam anupraveśa-samāya-guhyatama-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | (pp. 514-527). The first complete long chapter for the one who will enter the most secret communion—the *maṇḍala* of the four actual Tantric consorts.

The Chapter about the four *Kumārīs* and the rules for entering their *Maṇḍala*:—Chapter 48 (46): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt ṣaṭcatvāriṃśatimah paṭalavisarād dvitīya-sādhana-upayika-maṇḍala-praveśa-anuvidhiṣ catuḥ-kumārya-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptam iti* | (pp. 528-541). The complete long chapter on the four young women, [and] the subrule about entering the *maṇḍala* as the method of practice.

Chapter 49 (47): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpāt bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakāt mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt sapta-catvāriṃśatimah paṭala-visarāt tṛtīyah catuḥ-kumārya-upayika-sarva-sādhana-japa-niyama-mudrā-oṣadhi-tantra-mantra-sarva-karma-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | (pp. 542-543). The complete long chapter on all the activities with the consorts, the herbs, the *tantras*, and the *mantras*, and the restrictions about recitation, and all the means that constitute the method with the four young women.

Chapter 50 (48): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrāt aṣṭa-catvāriṃśatimah Yamāntaka-krodha-rāja-parivarṇa-mantra-māhātmya-niyama-paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāpta iti* | | (pp. 542-551). The long chapter on the restrictions about the divine power of the *mantra* that is the spectrum of the fierce king Yamāntaka.

Chapter 51 (49): *Ārya-mañjuśriya-mūla-kalpād bodhisattva-piṭaka-avatamsakān mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtrād ekūna-pañcāśatimah Yamānta-krodharāja-abhicāruka-niyamaḥ dvitīyah paṭala-visaraḥ parisamāptaḥ* | (pp. 552-558). (*abhicāraka* = conjuring). The second long chapter for conjuring up the fierce king Yamāntaka.

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

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

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

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

61. Tucci has remarked that in the MMK "the Buddha descends to the level of witch-doctor, revealing *vidyā* by which any miracle, and even any crime, can be performed." (Tucci 1949{1}:216.)

62. *Namaḥ Sarva-buddh-bodhisattvebhyaḥ | evaṃ mayā śrutam | ekasmin samaye bhagavān śuddhāvāsopari gagana-tala-pratiṣṭite 'cintya-āścarya-adbhuta-pravibhakta-bodhisattva-sannipāta-maṇḍala-māde viharati sma |* (Śāstrī 1920:1, lines 1-3).

63. Ui et al 1934a:71-72.

64. Ui et al 1934a:71-72. These are as follows (Tohoku Numbers; I give only the portion of the title that follows after the *Mañjuśrī-nāmasaṃgīti*): -*Guhyavad-vidhi-vṛtti-jñāna-dīpa* (2584), -*Cakra-krama* (2597), -*Cakṣur-vidhi* (2573), -*Tikā* (2534), -*Tikā-vimala-prabhā* (1398), -*Tikā-sāra-abhisamaya* (2098), -*Nāma-mahāṭkā* (2090), -*Nāma-homa-krama* (2581), -*Pañjikā-saṃgraha* (2541), -*Maṇḍala-vidhi[s]* (2545, 2546, 2595, 2620), -*Mahā-bodhi-śāstra-vidhi* (2568), -*Māra-mantra-mara-cakra* (2574), -*Vidhi-maṇḍala* (2547), -*Vidhi-sūtra-piṇḍita* (2572), -*Vidhi-sūtra-piṇḍita* (2592), -*Vṛtti* (2535), -*Vṛtti* (2536), -*Vṛtti-nāma-artha-prakāśa-karaṇa* (2537), -*Vyākhyāna* (1397), -*Sarva-pāpa-viśodhana-maṇḍala-vidhi[s]* (2575, 2576), -*Sarva-maṇḍala-stotra* (2621), -*Sādhana[s]* (2108, 2579, 2600, 2619), -*Sādhana-guhya-pradīpa* (2596), -*Homa-vidhi-saṃgraha* (2569), -*Anuśamsā-vṛtti* (1399), -*Abhisamaya* (1400), -*Amṛta-bindu-pradīpa-loka-vṛtti* (1396), -*Artha-āloka-kara* (2093), -*Upadeśa-vṛtti* (2539), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-sādhana* (2544), *Mañjuśrī-nāma-aṣṭaka* (642).

65. Ui et al 1934:316.

66. Ui et al 1934:96.

67. The latter is the translation favored by Prof. Robert Thurman (personal communication). The notion of a conclave, a closed meeting such as that of the cardinals who select the pope in the Roman catholic tradition—a meeting that itself shares some aspects of a communion, may also be appropriate. At the beginning of the fourth chapter, for instance, the text reads: "Now all the blessed *Tathāgatas* again gathered together...." and addressed the *Bhagavān* (*atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatāḥ punaḥ samājam āgama...*) (Bhattacharyya 1931:17).

68. Bhattacharyya 1931.

69. Fremantle 1971. Fremantle's edition of the Sanskrit differs in many places from Bhattacharyya's edition.

70. Chakravarti 1984.

71. Bhattacharyya 1931:xxx-xxxi.

72. Osaka 1978—Yukei Matsunaga, Tokyo 1978.

73. Shāstri 1917:72.

74. Bendall 1992:15ff.

75. See Bhattacharyya 1931:iii-xxxviii and Fremantle 1971:13-15.

76. Wayman 1991

77. Shāstri 1917:17.

78. 3) *Mahāvaiṣṭyā tathāgata-kāya-guhya-parivarttas tṛtīyaḥ*; 4) *Vāg-guhya-parivartto-nāmas caturthaḥ*; 5) *Citta-guhya-parivarttaḥ pañcamaḥ*; 6) *Tathāgata-vikurvvaṇa-sandarśana-parivarttaḥ*; 7) *Vyākaraṇa-parivartto-nāma saptamaḥ*; 9) *Śūra-valaya-parivartto-nāma navamaḥ*; 10) *Ajātaśatru-parivartto-nāma daśamaḥ*; 11) *Iti tathāgata-guhyaka-vikurvvan*

*sandarśana-parivartta ekādaśa-pāṭala[h] samāpta[h].*

79 . It is unlikely that the physical manuscript itself dates from this time, since that would mean it had survived intact for some 17 centuries.

80 . Shāstri 1917:17-21.

81 . *Taittirīyopaniṣad* from the *Taittirīyasamhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*, *Aitareya Upaniṣad* from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and *Aitareyāranyaka* on the *Ṛgveda*, *Kauṣṭhiki-brāhmaṇopaniṣad* etc. See especially Geldner's introductions to each *Upaniṣad* in Geldner 1980{1-2}.

82 . The text is quoted in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* Shāstri 1917:21.

83 . Naudou 1980:87.

84 . See *Rājataranṅiṇī* 6.77 (Stein 1991{1}:195).

85 . Ui et al 1934:301.

86 . Twice revised, Ui et al 1934:291.

87 . Ui et al 1934:292.

88 . Ui et al 1934:281.

89 . Ui et al 1934:302.

90 . Ui et al 1934:296.

91 . Ui et al 1934:288.

92 . Ui et al 1934:28-286.

93 . Ui et al 1934:284.

94 . Naudou 1980:87.

95 . See *Rājataranṅiṇī* 6.77 (Stein 1991{1}:195).

96 . Ui et al 1934:286.

97 . Ui et al 1934:294.

98 . Ui et al 1934:295.

99 . Ui et al 1934:295.

100 . Ui et al 1934:288.

101 . Ui et al 1934:284.

102 . Ui et al 1934:296.

103 . Ui et al 1934:298.

104 . Ui et al 1934:297.

105 . Ui et al 1934:291.

106 . Tsuda 1974:6 & 10.

107 . Tsuda 1974:1-2 & 13.

108 . Tsuda 1974:9.

109 . Tsuda 1974:27.

110 . Tsuda 1974:45.

111 . Tsuda 1974:27.

112. Dawa-Samdub 1919.
113. Naudou 1980:79n.1 after Tucci.
114. Ui et al 1934:236.
115. See Naudou 1980:80n.3.
116. Ui et al 1934:225.
117. Naudou 1980:248.
118. Ui et al 1934:245.
119. Ui et al 1934:245.
120. Ui et al 1934:233.
121. Ui et al 1934:240.
122. Ui et al 1934:240.
123. Ui et al 1934:237.
124. Ui et al 1934:228.
125. Naudou 1980:159-160n.9.
126. Ui et al 1934:230.
127. Ui et al 1934:230.
128. Ui et al 1934:225.
129. Naudou distinguishes this author of texts on the *Cakrasaṃvara* cycle from his Kaśmīri predecessor Bhavyarāja, though he offers no further information on his dates or collaborators. (Naudou 1980:229n.68). He must however precede the 11th century, given the translation date.
130. Ui et al 1934:225.
131. Naudou 1980:157.
132. Naudou 1980:212.
133. Ui et al 1934:234. See Naudou 1980:211-216 for an account of this translator's work.
134. Ui et al 1934:244.
135. Ui et al 1934:236.
136. Ui et al 1934:235.
137. See Naudou 1980:187n.100.
138. Ui et al 1934:236.
139. This is an estimate, based on Naudou's chart (Naudou 1980:272) that places Darika as living during Harṣa's reign.
140. Ui et al 1934:229.
141. Ui et al 1934:231.
142. See Naudou 1980:240-241 for account of the latter.
143. Ui et al 1934:244.
144. See Naudou 1980:187n.100.
145. Ui et al 1934:225.

- 146 . Ui et al 1934:235.
- 147 . Ui et al 1934:235.
- 148 . Ui et al 1934:229.
- 149 . Ui et al 1934:240.
- 150 . Ui et al 1934:230.
- 151 . Ui et al 1934:238.
- 152 . Ui et al 1934:229.
- 153 . Ui et al 1934:238.
- 154 . Ui et al 1934:237.
- 155 . See Naudou 1980:80n.3.
- 156 . Ui et al 1934:225.
- 157 . Ui et al 1934:234.
- 158 . Ui et al 1934:237-238.
- 159 . Ui et al 1934:231.
- 160 . Ui et al 1934:242.
- 161 . Ui et al 1934:244.
- 162 . Ui et al 1934:229.
- 163 . Ui et al 1934:235.
- 164 . Ui et al 1934:232.
- 165 . Ui et al 1934:240-241.
- 166 . Ui et al 1934:239.
- 167 . Ui et al 1934:245.
- 168 . Ui et al 1934:237.
- 169 . There are only two "*Samvara*" texts in the Tohoku Catalogue, 1) *Samvara-viṃśaka-vṛtti* (Tohoku 4082) written by Śāntirakṣita and translated by Vidyārkarasiṃha, classed as a *Sems-tsam* text, and 2) *Samvara-vyākhyā* (Tohoku 1460) by Nag-po-pa, translated by Hol-ston chos-ḥbyuñ (Ui et al 1934: 618, 234). There are four "*Sambara*" texts, 1) *Sambara-kalita* (Tohoku 1463) by Byañ-chub rdo-rje, translated by Bhadraśrībodhi and Dde-baḥi blo-gros, 2) *Sambara-khasama-tantra-rāja* (Tohoku 415) translated by the Kaśmīri Jñānavajra, 3) *Sambara-cakra-āli-kāli-mahāyoga-bhāvanā* (Tohoku 2406) by Sāgara, translator unknown, and 4) *Sambara-maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1511) by De-bshin-gśegs paḥi rdo-rje, translated by Vibhūticandra. (Ui et al 1934:234, 74-75, 371, 241).
- 170 . *kṣtir iyaṃ siṃhalāvasya śrīlaṅkājanmabhūr abhūt tasya Jayabahdrākhyah khyātaḥ. Kṣāntiṃ kurvantu vīraḍākiṇyaḥ* |
- 171 . *namo śrītherukāya* | *sarvvabhāvasvabhāvāgraṃ sarvvabhāvabhayāvaham* | *sarvvabhāvanirābhāsam sarvvabhāvavibhāvinam* | | *taṃ praṇamya mahāvīraṃ khasamārthaṃ khanirmmalam* |.
- 172 . *Cakrasambaram iti tena yad vācyam śrītherukatāntra-vajravārāhy-ādi-tantrarūpam abhidheyam* |. (Grünendahl 1989{2}:48-50).
- 173 . Shāstri 1917:iii.



174 . Bhattacharyya 1932:1.

175 . Snellgrove 1959{2}:2.

176 . Literally, 'what are the channels in extent, and how is that body-mass?' (*ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śartrapiṇḍa[ṇ] tat kathaṃ*). I've emended the text from *śanirapiṇḍa tat kathaṃ*, since *śanir*, i.e. Saturn, would make little sense here, and *piṇḍa* lacks an *anusvāra*.

177 . *Samaya-saṅketa-cchomasya*. One might think *cchoma* is a version of *Soma*, yet the title of chapter nine includes the term as *cchoma*. This appears to be a term like *chandoha* that is peculiar to Tantric literature, and represents a reabsorption of a Prakrit term into Sanskrit; I have not yet determined what the original Sanskrit of *cchoma* must be.

178 . *Oṃ namaḥ śrīvajrasambarāya | Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajrayoginībhageṣu vijahāra | Āryānanda-prabhṛti-vitarāga-pramukhair āryāvalokiteśvarādir aṣṭikoṭiyoginī ca madhye vajrapāṇiṃ vyavalokya smitam akārṣīt | Vajrapāṇi[r] utthāya āśanād ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇajānumaṇḍalam pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya kṛtakarapuṣo bhūtvā bhagavantam adhyeṣayāmāsa | śrotum icchāmi bhagavan utpattiyogalakṣaṇaṃ | Utpannaṃ da kathaṃ deva sarvvākāraikasaṅbaraṃ | | kathaṃ vāyu āpāśca pṛthivyākāśam eva ca | pañcākāraṃ kathaṃ deva ṣaḍvidhaṅ ca tataḥ prabho | | kathaṃ trikāyam adhiṣṭhānaṃ bāhyaṃ vābhyantare sthitiḥ | kathaṃ te devatārūpaṃ kathayasva devatī prabho | candrasūryyaḥ kathaṃ deva patha pañca kathaṃ bhavet | kathaṃ te śartrasvabhāvan tu nāḍīrūpaṃ kathaṃ tataḥ | | ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śa[ṣ]ṭrapīṇḍa tat kathaṃ | samayaśaṅketacchomasya kathayasva mama prabho | | ke te pīṭhādisaṅketaṃ bāhyādhyātmakam eva ca | kathaṃ bhūmyādi-lābhasya kathaṃ nimittadarśanam | kathaṃ te dvādaśa-karma mantrajāpaṃ kathaṃ bhavet | akṣamālā kathaṃ yukti ke te jāpasya lakṣaṇaṃ | ke te maṇḍalam āvarttaṃ devatākāra-yogataḥ | siddhimantraṃ kathaṃ deva kaumārī-tarpaṇaṃ kathaṃ | | ke divasena kartavyaṃ alivali kathaṃ prabho | pañcāmṛtādi kathaṃ deva pañcāṅkuśaṃś ca tad bhavet | | kathayasva maṇḍalālekhyam sūtrapātaṃ kathaṃ bhavet | kathaṃ te bhūmi saṃśodhyaṃ rakṣācakraṃ kathaṃ bhavet | | ācāryya kena kartavyaṃ kathaṃ śiṣyasaya saṃgrahaṃ | ke te 'bhīṣekaṃ pramāṇaṅ ca caturthaṅca kathaṃ bhavet | | kathaṃ kālasya niyamaṃ mṛtyuvaḥcanam eva ca | ke te caturyugāṅkasya caturdvīpaṃ kathaṃ bhavet | yuge yuge kathaṃ siddhi caryyācāri kathaṃ bhavet | ke te yoginītantrasya yogatantraṃ kathaṃ bhavet | | kathaṃ sūrāntaḥ pramāṇasya ke te pāramitā tathā | pratiṣṭhāhomayāgasya siddhimantraṃ kathaṃ bhavet | | rasāyanaṃ kathaṃ deva madyapānaṃ kathaṃ bhavet | mantrodayaṃ kathaṃ deva mantroddhāra kathaṃ bhavet | | nigrahaṅca kathaṃ deva anugrahaṅca kathaṃ bhavet | tatvāṅca kathaṃ bhagavan śūnyatā karuṇā kathaṃ | | kathaṃ śūnyasvabhāvatvaṃ kathaṃ tathatāśvarūpaṃ | devarūpaṃ kathaṃ nāma yoginīlakṣaṇaṃ valīṃ | | sarvva-dharma-parijñānaṃ bhāvānāṃ kathaṃ prabho | | Shāstri 1917:64-65.*

179 . For the chapters translated by Tsuda, I've added the title as he gives it.

180 . *Utpattinirdeśapaṭala* -- "Explanation of the process of origination" (Tsuda 1974:73 & 239). Mapping of the birth process into a meditation: "recognizing (the process of) birth to be the process of origination (*utpattikrama*), a man should attain the state of the completely enlightened (*samyaksambuddhatva*)." (Tsuda 1974:243).

181 . *Utpannakramanirdeśapaṭala*--Explanation of the process of completion. (Tsuda 1974:77 & 243). The chapter really describes the state of completion, only briefly mentioning aspects of the process (Tsuda 1974:243-247).

182 . *Catur-bhūta-pañcākāra-ṣaḍviśaya-devatā-viśuddha-pāṭala* – "Purity of deities as the four elements, the five aspects and the six objects of the senses." (Tsuda 1974:79 & 247). A standard enumeration of the components of the body (elements, senses, etc.), the constituents of consciousness in the Buddhist system (*rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā* etc.), etc. all reenvisioned or reconceived in macro-microcosmic relations. (Tsuda 1974:247-251).

183 . *Candrasūryakramaopadeśapāṭala* – Explanation of the course of the moon and the sun (Tsuda 1974:83 & 251). A detailed discussion of the flow of *prāṇa* through the channels according to specific times, and the consequences of these movements for one's life. (Tsuda 1974:251-258).

184 . *Pathapañcanirdeśapāṭala* – "Explanation of the five ways" (Tsuda 1974:92 & 258). A short chapter on the relationship of the *dhātus* to the *maṇḍalas* of the *pañcamahābhūtas*, and the paths from these *maṇḍalas* to the various *nāthas*. (Tsuda 1974:258-260).

185 . *Nāḍīcakrakramopāyapāṭala* – "The means of the process of the circle of veins" (Tsuda 1974:93 & 260). The chapter provides a mapping of the major channels and their *pīṭha* names in the body, e.g. *Oḍḍiyāna* = the right ear, *Devikoṭa* = the eyes through the liver, *Mālava* = the shoulders through the heart, etc. (Tsuda 1974:261). We find the same material in the *Kālacakra*....., and Tsuda reports that a similar mapping of "twenty-four countries, twenty-four parts of the body, twenty-four humors or intestines, twenty four gods such as *Khaṇḍakapāla* and so on and twenty-four goddessessuch as *Pracaṇḍā* and so on are repeatedly enumerated" in the *Abhidhānottara*. (Tsuda 1974:260n.4).

186 . *Samayasamketavidhipāṭalaḥ*. Again, we have the term *saṃketa*--used for assignations of lovers, or lovers' meeting places. The text says "In his own house or in a secret place, in deserted places or in pleasant places, in mountain, cave, or thicket, on the shore of the ocean (2), in a graveyard, in a shrine of the mother-goddess or in the middle of the confluence of rivers, a man who wishes the highest result should cause the *maṇḍala* to turn correctly. The great, faithful donor should invite *yoginī* and *yogin*, the teacher (*ācārya*), (goddesses) born from the *kṣetra*, *mantra* and *pīṭha*, and all the deities (4)." (*svargrheṣu guptasthāne vijaneṣu manorame* | *giri-gahvara-kuñjeṣu mahodadhitaṭeṣu vā* | | 2 | | *śmaśāne mātṛgrhe ca nadīsaṃgamamadhyataḥ* | *vartayed maṇḍalaṃ samyag anuttaraphalam icchati* | | 3 | |) (Tsuda 1974:264 & 96). The chapter goes on to describe who is fit to fulfill the role of *ācārya*--someone virtuous, not someone observing life-long chastity (*naiṣṭhika*), a farmer, a merchant who sells the teaching, etc.; proper treatment of the attendees is mentioned, distribution of food and liquor, prayers and veneration are mentioned. The elaborate salutation to the goddesses is given, dancing, singing, *mantras*, postures, drumming and musical instruments are employed, then the *vīra* or hero, i.e. the gentleman who is ready for the rite of sexual union, joins together with a *yoginī*: "He will be possessed of the perfection of pleasure, free from disease, righteous in mind, and will attain the liberation from love-passion (*kāma*). There will be fulfilment (*siddhi*) for him who has completion." (*sukhasampattisampanna ārogyaḥ subhacetasāḥ* | *kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ siddhir bhavati sampadaḥ* | | 37 | |) (Tsuda 1974:269 & 102). The compound *kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ* should be translated "he who has attained passionate love, liberation, etc.," or "he who has attained liberation etc. through passionate love."

187 . *Chomā-pīṭha-saṃketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-pāṭala*.

188 . *Iti śrītsambarodayatantrasya adhyeśanāpāṭalaḥ prathamah* | *iti utpattinirdeśapāṭalo dvitīyah* | *iti utpannakramanirdeśapāṭalas tṛtīyah* | *iti catur-bhūta-pañcākāra-ṣaḍviśaya-devatā-viśuddhi-pāṭalaś-caturthah* | *iti candra-sūryakramaopadeśa-pāṭalaḥ pañcamah* | *iti patha-*

*pañcakanirddeśaḥ-ṣaṣṭhamah | iti nāḍī-cakra-kramopāya-pañcalah saptamah | iti samaya-saṃketa-vidhiḥ pañcalah aṣṭamah | | iti cchoma-pīṭha-saṃketa-bhūmi-nirdeśa-pañcalah navamah | iti karma-prasarodayo nāma pañcalo daśamah | iti mantra-jāpa-nirdeśa-pañcala ekādaśamah | | iti mantra-jāpākṣamālā-nirdeśa-pañcalah dvādaśah | iti śrīherukodaya-nirdeśa-pañcalas trayodaśamah | iti vajra-yoginī-pūjā-vidhi-nirdeśa-pañcalas caturdaśah | iti pātralakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-pañcalah pañcadaśah | iti pañcāmṛta-sādhana-nirdeśa-pañcalah ṣaṣṭhadaśah | iti maṇḍala-sūtrapātana-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-pañcalah sapṭadaśah | iti abhiṣeka-pañcala aṣṭadaśah | it mṛtyu-nirmittadarśana utkrāntiyoga-pañcalah ekonaviṃśatih | iti catur-yuganirdeśa-pañcala ekaviṃśatih | iti devatā-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi-pañcalo dvāviṃśatih | iti homa-nirdeśa-pañcalas trayaviṃśatih | iti karma-prasarauśadhi-prayoga-nirdeśa-pañcalas caturviṃśatitamah | iti rasāyana-vidhiḥ pañcalah pañcaviṃśatih | iti vāruṇī-nirdeśa-pañcalah ṣaḍviṃśatimah | iti mantroddhāraṇa-vidhi-pañcalah saptaviṃśatih | iti homavidhiḥ pañcalah aṣṭaviṃśatih | iti tattva-nirdeśa-pañcala ekonaviṃśatih | iti citrādi-rūpa-lakṣaṇa-nirdeśa-pañcalas triṃśatih | iti catur-yoginī-nirdeśa-krama-bodhicitta-saṃkramana-pañcalah ekatriṃśatih | iti valyupahāra-nirdeśa-pañcalo dvātriṃśah | iti śrīherukābhīdhāne tantrarāje trilakṣoddhṛtasahajodayakalpe śrīmahāsambarodaya-tantrarāje sarvvayoginī-rahasya vipaṭhitasiddhe trayo-triṃśatitamah pañcalah samāptaḥ | (Shāstri 1917:63-66). The closing section of the text reads: *Aho saukhyaṃ aho saukhyaṃ aho bhūṅja kathaṃ kathaṃ | Aho sahaja-māhātyamaṃ sarvva-dharma-svabhāvatā | | dṛśyate ca jagaj-jalendutadvataḥ śṛṇvate ca pratidhvanaikasamvṛtaḥ | paśyate ca maru-marīci-sañcitāḥ khādyapānagaganopamodyatā | | yadā jighrate na bhakta sugandhavat trasate ca svataḥ śaśī sūryya yathā | samsthitāṅca giri-meru-tatsamaṃ ālambana-svaprākṣa-mālikāṃ tathā | | māyendra-jāla-vyavahāra-mātragatāḥ evaṃ yathā sahaja-saukhyodayaṃ tathā | bhāva-svabhāva-rahitā vicintyarayā nityoditam sugata-mārga-varam namo 'stu | | sarvva-pūjāṃ parityajya guru-pūjāṃ samāramet | tena tuṣṭena tal labhyate sarvvajña-jñānam uttamaṃ | | kiṃ tena na kṛtaṃ puṇyaṃ kiṃvā nopāsitaṃ tapah | anuttara-kṛta-ācāryya-vajra-sattva-prapījanāt | | bhayaṃ pāpaharāṅ caiva ..... sātṛvikaḥ | samayācāra-rakṣā-cakra-samayaṃ tasya pradarśayet | | śrī-herukāvidhāna-tantrasya pāṭha-svādhyāya-lekhanāt | siddhim ṛddhiṃ ca saubhāgyaṃ bodhisattvarvaṃ prāpnuyāt | | śrī-sambarodaya-tantrasya bhāvite cintite yadā | mahābhāga mahāsaukhyam dāridrya-duḥkhaṃ naśyati | | sarvva-vīra-samājoga-dākinī-jāla-sambaram | nānādhimuktikā sattvāśvāryyā nānā-vivodhitāḥ | | nānā-naya-vineyān tam upāyena tu darśitāḥ | gambhīra-dharma-nirdeśe nānā-adhimuktikā yadī | | pratikṣapā na kartavyā acintyā sarvvadharmmatāḥ | sūnyatā-karuṇā-abhinnaṃ acintyo buddha-nāṭakaṃ | | śrī-heruka-samāyogaṃ dākinī-vṛndam āśritaṃ | sattvāvatāra-muktin tu tatra sarvvatra ratā iva | | sarvva-dākinī-samāyogā śrī-heruka-pade sthitā | | (Shastri 1917:66-67).**

189. Snellgrove 1959{2}:vii.

190. Snellgrove 1959{2}:viii.

191. Snellgrove 1959{1}:14.

192. Snellgrove 1959{2}:vii-viii.

193. Ehlers 1995:220.

194. Grünendahl 1989:522.

195. Farrow & Menon 1992. Since the *Yogaratanamālā* mss. they consulted are not substantially different than Snellgrove's edition, they do not provide the Sanskrit of the *Yogaratanamālā*.

196. See Naudou 1980:232 for mention of the collaboration of these two on the translation of the *Madhyamaka-avatāra-kārikā*.

197. Ui et al 1934:538, 193, 75, 201, 206, 207, 194, 202, 193, 208, 205, 199, 205, 210, 501, 201, 209, 247, 207, 201, 212, 212.

198. Ui et al 1934:96.

199. Ui et al 1934:207-208.

200. Naudou 1980:123.

201. Ui et al 1934:234.

202. Ui et al 19834:236.

203. Zieme & Kara 1979:26.

204. Naudou 1980:129, 152-154. Ui et al 1934:235.

205. Naudou 1980:256-257.

206. Ui et al 1934:77.

207. Ui et al 1934:469.

208. Naudou 1980:159-160n.20.

209. Ui et al 1934:469.

210. Ui et al 1934:497.

211. Ui et al 1934:497.

212. Ui et al 1934:526.

213. Ui et al 1934:526.

214. Ui et al 1934:281.

215. See Keith 1935:1398-1399, #7732.

216. George 1974:2-3. I've used George's translations except where noted; each colophon ends with *-paṭala*.

217. George translates this as "trance."

218. Śāstrī explains that this chapter "gives reasons why *Caṇḍa Mahāroṣaṇ* is called *Acala*, *Ekallavtra* [the solitary hero] and *Caṇḍmahāroṣaṇa*." (Shāstrī 1917:135)—see below.

219. George translates "Increasing the white, etc." though he notes "i.e. how to increase sexual potency, etc." (George 1974:3n.11).

220. George translates "Cures for the Ills of Old Age." Given the information we have on the scope of alchemical medicine, though, I suggest—without having read the chapter—that both regular disease, and the infirmities of old age, are probably the subject matter of this section.

221. Again, George keeps "White" as the translation for *śukra*, though he clearly knows what it refers to, as evident from the translated chapters he provides. The "arrest" is the *yoga* of stopping the semen from ejaculating during sexual intercourse.

222. Shāstrī 1917:131-140.

223. George 1974:8.

224 . *Sarvo 'haṃ sarvavyāpī ca sarvvaḥ sarvvanāśakāḥ | sarvva-rūpadharo buddhaḥ hartā kartā prabhuḥ sukhī | yena yenaiva rūpeṇa sattvā yānti vineyatām | tena tenaiva rūpeṇa sthito 'haṃ lokahetave | kvacit buddhaḥ kvacit siddhaḥ kvaccid-dharmo 'tha saṅkhakāḥ | kvacit pretaḥ kvacit tiryak kvacin nāraka-rūpakāḥ |*

225 . According to Apte—who is certainly no authority on Buddhist tantra, *try-akṣara* is a term for *Oṃ*, since it is considered to have three syllables, *a, u, m*. Without the rest of the chapter it's impossible to tell; given the term's usage below, some esoteric physical meaning appears to be intended.

226 . These are neuter case, though, so they probably should be taken adverbially: *tatparaṃ, kāyavākcittaṃ samvṛtaṃ gaḍhasaukhyataḥ*.

227 . Again, *nakhakṣatam* is neuter case.

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

229 . A *daṇḍa* is missing after the *ṭ*; what the "six" refers to is not clear.

230 . *Sambodhi*.

231 . See *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64 & 65 for the same list of the 13 realms, in a slightly different order (Kasawara et al 1885:14). The Sanskrit of this extract is: *Prajñopāya[-]samāyogena nakhaṃ dadyāt tu tryakṣaram | cumanālinganaṃ caiva sarvva-śva-śukram eva ca | dāna-pāramitā pūrṇā bhavaty eva na saṃśayaḥ | tatparaṃ kāya-vāk-cittaṃ samvṛtaṃ gaḍha-saukhyataḥ | śīla-pāramitā-jñeyā jñeyā sahanāc ca nakha-kṣatam | tryakṣaram pīḍanaṃ ca rataṃ kuryyāt samāhitam | vīrya-pāramitā jñeyā tat-sukhe citta-yojanā | sarvvato-bhadra-rūpeṇa dhyāna-pāramitā matā | strī-rūpa-bhāvanā prajñā-pāramitā prakīrtitā | surataka-yoga-mātreṇa pūrṇā saṭ[-]pāramitā bhavet | pañca-pāramitā puṇya-jñāna-prajñeti kathyate | surata-yoga-samāyukto yoga-sambhārasamvṛtaḥ yoga-sambhāra-samvṛtaḥ | siddhyate kṣaṇ-matreṇa puṇya-jñāna-samanvitaḥ | yathā latā-samudbhūtaṃ phala-ṇuṣpaṃ samanvitam | eka-kṣaṇāc ca sambodhiḥ sambhāra-dvaya-sambhṛtā | sa trayodaśa-bhūmiśo bhavatyeva na saṃśayaḥ | bhūmis tu muditā jñeyā vimalārcciṣmatī tathā | prabhākarī sudurjayābhimukhī dūraṅgamācalā | [sā]dhumatī dharmma-meghā samant[ā]khyā-prabhā tathā | nirupamā jñātavatītyeva trayodaśajñā |*

232 . *Puruṣarūpaṃ bhāvaḥ strī-rūpaṃ abhāvaḥ | nīlo vijñānaṃ, śveto rūpaṃ, pīto vedanā, raktaḥ saṃjñā, śyāmaḥ saṃskāraḥ—athavā nīlam ākāśam, śvetā-jalaṃ, pīta pṛthivī, raktaḥ vahni, śyāmo vātaḥ—yathā bhagavatāṃ, tathā bhavatīnāṃ—athavā nīlaḥ śviśuddha-dharmma-dhātu-jñānaṃ, śveta ādarśa-jñānaṃ, pīta samatā-jñānaṃ, rakta pratyavekṣaṇā-jñānaṃ, śyāma kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñānaṃ | eka eva jinaḥśāstā pañcarūpeṇa saṃsthit[āḥ] | prajñāpāramitā caikā pañcarūpeṇa saṃsthitā |* (Shāstrī 1917:185-186).

233 . Śāstrī inserts a question mark for this work—I second it; I've been unable to figure out what it might mean, or what it may be a variant reading of.

234 . *Atha bhagatī āha | kiṃ bhagavan strī-vyatirekeṇāpi śakyate sādhayituṃ caṇḍamahāroṣaṇapadaṃ utsāho na śakyate | bhagavān āha na śakyate devi | bhagavatī āha kiṃ bhagavan sukhānudayāt na śakyate? bhagavān āha | na sukhodayamātreṇa labhyate bodhir uttamā | sukha-viśeṣodayādeva prāpyate sā ca nānyathā | ... loka-kaukṛtya-nāśārthaṃ māyādevīsutaḥ sudhīḥ | caturaśīti sahasrāṇi tyaktvā cāntaḥpuraṃ punaḥ | gatvā nirañjanāttraṃ buddha-siddhi-prakāśakāḥ | yāto mārānnirākṛtya na caivaṃ paramārthataḥ | yasmād antaḥpure buddhaḥ siddho gopānviṭaḥ sukhī | vajra-padma-samāyogāt sa sukhaṃ labhate yataḥ | sukhena prāpyate bodhiḥ sukhaṃ na strī-viyogataḥ | viyogaḥ kriyate yas tu*

*loka-kaukṛtya-hānaye* || *yena yenaiva te lokā yānti buddha vineyatām* | *tena tenaiva rūpeṇa māyādevī suto jinaḥ* || *sarvva-sūtrābhīdarmmeṇa kṛtvā nindāstu yoṣitām* | *nānā śikṣāpadaṃ bhāvetastu svagopanabhāṣayā* | *nirvāṇaṃ darśayec cāpi pañca-skandha-vināśataḥ* || *atha bhagavatī prajñāpāramitā āha* | *kā bhagavan māyādevīsutaḥ kā ca gopā? bhagavān āha* | *māyādevīsutaś cāhaṃ caṇḍaroṣaṇatām gataḥ* | *tvam eva bhagavatī gopā prajñāpāramitātmikā* || *yāvantaḥ tu striyaḥ sarvās-tad-rūpeṇaiva tā matāḥ* | *madrūpeṇa pumāṃsastu sarvva eva prakṛtītāḥ* || *dvayor bhāgavataṃ caitat prajñopāyātmakaṃ jagat* | .... *Atha bhagatī āha, kathaṃ bhagavan śrāvakādayo hi striyo dūṣayanti bhagavān āha* | *kāmadhātu-sthitāḥ sarve khyātā ye śrāvakādayaḥ* | *mokṣamārgaṃ na jānanti striyaḥ paśyanti sarvadā* || *sannidhānaṃ bhaved yatra durllabhaṃ śuṅkumādikam* | *na tatrārghaṃ samāpnoti durasthasya mahārghatā* || *anādyā-jñāna-yogena śraddhā-hīnās tvamī janāḥ* | *cittaṃ na kurvate tattve mayāpy etat pragopitam* ||

235. Apte quotes Vasiṣṭha's definition of *vīrāsana* as being the same as *paryāṅka*—placing one foot firmly on the other thigh, likewise the thigh on the other [foot], this is called the *vīrāsanaṃ* (*ekaṃ pādāṃ athaikasmin vinyasorau tu saṃsthitāṃ* | *itarasamāns tathāveoraṃ vīrāsanaṃ udāhṛtam* || *paryāṅka-granthi-bandha*....).

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

237. *Atha bhagavatī āha* | *aparaṃ śrotum icchāmi prajñāpāramitodayam* | *sattva-paryāṅkīṅ devī ṣoḍaśābda-vapuṣmatī* || *nīlavarṇā mahābhāgā* |, *akṣobhyena ca mudritā* | *raktāo-padmodiyatām savye nīlavayavām sahasrakāṅm* || | *sthitāṃ vai kāmaśāstraṃ tu padma-candroparisthitam* | *pīnonnatakucā* | *drṣṭvā viśālākṣ* | *priyamvadām* || | *sahajācala-samādhiṣṭhā* | *devīm etām tu bhāvayet* | *hūṃkāra-jñāna-sambhūtām, viśva-vajrīn tu yoginīm* || | *bhāvayet harṣito yogī, dhruvaṃ siddhim avāpnuyāt* | *athavā bhāvayec chvetām, vāpādhi-kāra-sambhāvām* || | *mudritām śm ... tenaiva pītām vajradhātveśvarīm* | *raktena mudrita* | *vajrā* | *raktāmbā* | *[kuru]-kullikā* || | *amitābha-mudritām devīm hrīm-kāra-jñāna-sambhāvām* | *tārāmbā śyāma-varṇā ca trām-kāra* | *[jñāna-sambhāvām* || | *amogha-mudritām dhyāyet pūrva-rūpeṇa mānavī* | *sattva-paryāṅka-samsthas tu saumyarūpeṇa saṃsthitāḥ* || | *khaḍga-pāśa-dharaḥ śrīmān āliṅgyabhinayaḥ kṛtī* | *svakulīm vātha kanyām grhya prabhāvayet* || | *anena sidhyate yogī, mudrāyā naiva saṃśayaḥ* | *athavā pratimāṃ kṛtvā, sādhyat sutrādi-saṃskṛtām* || | *saha-caṇḍa-samādhi-stho japed ekāgramānasaḥ* | (Shāstrī 1917:137-138).

238. *Śatru-kṛtā* | *samā* |.

239. *Athātāḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi ekavīrantu maṇḍalam* | *caturasraṃ caturdvāraṃ, caturs-toraṇa-maṇḍitam* || | *pītavarṇaṃ tu karttavyaṃ madhya-padmaṃ catudr-dalam* | *tasya cāgnau dalaṃ śvetam narṣtye rakta-sannibham* | *vāyavye pītavarṇan tu tatrācalaṃ prakalpayet* | *sūryya-stham athavā śvetam pītām vā raktam eva vā* || | *śyāmaṃ vā pañcabhir buddhai ekarūpaṃ vicintayet* | *r[ ]locanām agnikoṇe ca caṇḍāśoka-vidhāyitām* || | *vāmadakṣiṇa-karābhyām ca śarac-candra-kara-prabhām* | *narṣtye p[ā]ṇḍarā* | *devī* | *dhanur-vāṇ-dharām parām* || | *raktā* | *vāyavyakoṇe tu māmakī* | *pītasannibhā* || | .... *śikhāstā* |, *śyām[ā]m aiśānakoṇake* | *tāriṇīm varadām śavye* |, *vāme nīlotpala-dhāriṇīm* || | *etā caṇḍe* | *śanā* | *h[ ] sarvva a* | *[ ]ddha-paryāṅka-samsthitā* | *rāgavajrā* | *nyaset pūrve dvāre śatru-kṛtā* | *samā* || | | *khaḍga-ś[ ]arya- [ ]dharā* | *raktām dvedṣa-vajrā* | *tu dakṣiṇe* | *kartti-ta* | *[ ]jani-karā* | *nīlā* | *yamena kṛta-veṣṭitā* || | *paścime māravajrān-tu varṇa-vajra-karācalaṃ* | *mayūra-piccha-vastrāṃs-tu varuṇa-sthāṃ śyāma-sannibhām* || | *uttare mohavajrān-tu tanya-śoka-dhāriṇīm* | *pītavarṇā* | *kuvera-sthā* | *[ ]nyaset sūryyāsan[e]...* || | *pratyālitdha-padāḥ sarvva*

... mūrddhajaḥ| carvāro hi ghaṇṭā[ḥ] koṇe karttavayāḥ pītasannibhāḥ| | asya bhāvan[ā]mātreṇa, yoginy-aṣṭa-samanvitam| tralokyeṣu sthita-strīṇāṃ sa bharttā parameśvaraḥ| | (Shāstrī 1917:138-139).

240 . Koilāsurasamjñakam.

241 . De Mallmann lists her as *Parṇaśabari* or *Parṇaśavari* both a Hindu and Buddhist tantric deity (De Mallmann 1986:300 and 1963:163), the wild mountain woman (*śabari*) covered with leaves (*parṇa*).

242 . Athānyat sampravakṣyāmi caṇḍaroṣaṇ-bhāvanām| viśva-padma-dale devaṇ kalpayec caṇḍaroṣaṇam| | vāmadevam bhaved agnau raktavarṇan tu naiṣṭṭye| pīambai[ḥ] kāmadevaṇ tu śyāmām māhilla-rāmakaṇ| | vāyavye kṛṣṇa-varnaṇ tu koilāsurasamjñakam| ka[r]jiti-karpa[r]ja-karā caite samsthitāḥ| | bhavataḥ paścime devī sthitā vai parṇaśavati| asyā [e]va dhyānāyogena dagdha-mats[y]ādipūjayā| | ... pītayā prajñayā yuktaṇ vāme ca śveta-padmāyā| nilaṇ vai caṇḍaroṣaṇ tu raktayā raktayāthavā| | ... tāvad vibhāvayed gādhaṇ yāvat prasphuṭatām vrajet| gatantu prasphuṭo yogī mahāmāntreṇa sidhyati| | (Shāstrī 1917:139-140).

243 . III.402.B, pp. 92-94 of the 1915 catalogue, Grünendahl 1989:570-572.

244 . This missing portion of the text here makes it difficult to interpolate a meaning to this sentence.

245 . *Aparṣad* = aorist of √pr.

246 . "The mistress of that realm" is interpolated here from George's translation of this gloss of *vajradhātviśvarībhāge* (George 1974:44n.3)—part of the Sanskrit is missing from Śāstrī's extract.

247 . Om namaś candramahāroṣaṇāyā| magnaṇ yena jagac carācaram idaṇ mohāndhakārodare| prajñopāya-vibhāga-bhāskarakaraiḥ vyaktaṇ samuddīritam| | .... mādhī-sāṅgaṇ puruṣaḥ śravaṇa-sāṅgaṇ svayaṇ| so 'yaṇ matsukha-sādhanāya jagati vyakta-prabhas tiṣṭhatu| | evaṇ mayā ityādi saṅgītikāraḥ| nidāna-vākyam etat yasmāt saṅgītikāreṇa sūtra-tantrāḍau| avāṣyaṇ vaktavyam| bhagato vacanāt| tathā ca| evaṇ mayā śrutam iti kṛtvā bhikṣava mama vacanam| saṅgītavyam ityādi evaṇ sati| | śraddhāvatām pravṛtṭyaṅgaṇ śāstāparṣac ca sāksīṇi| deśa-kāḷau ca nirddiṣṭhau sva-prāmānya-prasiddhaye| | iti pratipāditāṇ bhavati| tatra| evam iti yathā saṅgāsyāmi| mayeryanena viparīta-śruta-paramparāśrutayor nirāsaḥ| etena ātmanāsambandhāt śrutam aviparītaṇ ca pratipādayati| śrutam iti śrotra-jñānena adhigatam iti| akeasmin samaye iti| ekasmin kāle| anyasmin kāle anyad api śrutam ity arthaḥ| etena ātmano bāhuśrutyaṇ etat tantrasya āḍau lambhyaṇ ca pratipādayati| bhagavān iti| bhagā aiśvaryyādayaḥ| tathā ca| aiśvaryyasya samagrasya dānasya yaśasaḥ striyaḥ| kāyasyāpi prayatnasya ṣaṇṇāṇ bhagaḥ iti śrutih| | tāni vidyante asya iti| rāgādi-kleśa-bhañjanād vā| vajrasattva iti| vajraṇ abhedyāṇ sattvaṇ artha-kryā-kāritvam asya iti| athavā vajra iva vajra sa cāsau sattva-prāṇīveti| sarvvetyādi sarvvaṇ ca te tathāgatāś ca teṣāṇ kāya vāk-citta-jñānāt śarīratattvam tasya hṛdayam atyantam abhilaṣaṇīyavāt| tad eva vajradhātviśvarībhagaṇ vajro liṅgaṇ, tasya dhātuh, sāmvrta-vivṛtatvādi-lakṣaṇaṇ, bodhicittaṇ tat ... vyā prajñā vajradhātunā āsevītatvāt tasyāḥ| | tat varāṅge bhage vijahāreti| vihrtavān vajra-padma-saṅyogena sampuṭa-yogena sthitavān ityarthāḥ| ayaṇ ca vihāraḥ prākṛta-janasya atyanta guptaḥ bhavati kiṇ punaḥ bhagavato vajrasattvasya| tataś ca ārthād uktaṇ bhavati| sumeru-girim ūrddhva-vajra-sattva-bhīmau vajra-maṇi-śikhara-kūṭāgāre viharati smeti| etena śāstākālo deśaś coktaḥ| parṣada-lokam āha anekaiś cetyādi| vajra-yogīnaḥ| śvetācalādayaḥ| vajra-yogīnyo mohavajryādayaḥ| teṣāṇ

*tāsāṃ ca guṇāḥ samūhāḥ | eka-rūpās taiḥ | bahu-vacanaiva-eka-vacanasyaṅpi pañca-tathāgatavāt | tad-yatheti | upadarśane | śvetācaleti bhagavān bhagavatī deha-gata-rūpa-jñānena evaṃ pītācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-gandha-jñānena | rakācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-rasa-jñāneneti | śitimācaleneti bhagavatī deha-gata-sparśa-jñāne | moha-vajryā ceti | bhagavyā bhagavad-deha-gata-rūpa-jñānena | piśuna-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-gandha-jñāneneti | rāga-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-rasa-jñāneneti | īrṣā-vajryā ceti bhagavad-deha-gata-sparśa-jñānena | svayan tu bhagavān bhagavatī-deha-śabda-jñāna-rūpaḥ | Bhagavatī tu bhagavad-deha-gata-śabda-jñāna-rūpā | ato naitat prabhedāḥ kutaḥ | | evaṃ pramukhair iti | evaṃ prakāraiḥ | cakṣuṣā ghrāṇena rasanayā kāyena śrotreṇa rūpeṇa vedanayā saṃjñayā saṃskāreṇa vijñānena pṛthivyā jalena tejasā ākāśena ityādibhir ityarthāḥ | etenaivaṃvidhe vihāre parśad-devyo 'nye tādrśyo bodhicitte tu kathitaṃ bhavati | atiguptavāt nanu tadā tvayā kathaṃ śrutam iti cet | athetyāti ayam arthaḥ | tena vihāreṇa yadā catur-ānanda-sukham anubhūya tad-anantaraṃ sarva-puruṣeṣu mahākaruṇām āmukhi-kṛtyāt | evaṃ kṛṣṇhāval[i]-samādhiṃ samāpadya idam vakṣyamāṇam udājahāra udāhṛtavān | tadā śrutā mayā ityarthāḥ | saṃgīta-kārasya mama vajrapāṇeḥ śrotrendriya-rūpatvāt bhagavad-bhagavatī-deha eva sthityā mayā śrutam iti bhāvāḥ | kim udāhṛtavān bhāvābhāvetyādi | bhāvāḥ ānanda-paramānanda-vikalpaḥ | abhāve viraṃānanda-vikalpaḥ | tābhyāṃ vinirmuktaḥ tyaktaḥ | catvāra ānandāḥ | sūtra-prajñopāyābhyāṃ anyonyānūrāga-lakṣaṇam alinḡana-cumbana-stana-marddana-nakha-dānādīnā yantrārūḍha-bandhena vajra-padma-saṃyogaṃ yāvad ānandaḥ etena kiñcit sukham utpadyate | (Grünendahl 1989:570-571).*

248. *Yogintdvandvaḥ, yoginī-saṃyogaḥ | tatra nanditam utpannam | prasphuṣatā-kāraṇam eva siddheḥ kāraṇam iti | pūrvva-vyākḥātam eva | mahāmudrā-siddhis tu pūrvvaṃ vyākhyātai veti devatā-sādhanāṃ paṭalāḥ | iti pañcaviṃśati-paṭala-vyākhyā | idam ityādi saṃgīti-kāra-vacanam | idam ukta-lakṣaṇaṃ sakalaṃ tantram bhagavān avocat kathitavān | abhyanandan anumodivantaḥ iti | samāptam iti niṣpannam | ye dharmmā ityādi | ye dharmmāḥ sapta | vijñāna-nāma-rūpa-śaḍ-āyatana-sparśa-vedanā-jāti-jarā-maraṇākhyā | te hetubhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ avidyā-saṃskāra-tṛṣṇopādāna-bhavākhyebhyaḥ bhavanti | hetuḥ kāraṇaṃ teṣāṃ yathā gadanāt tathāgataḥ | avadat uktavān | kāryya-kāraṇayor yo nirodhaḥ upaśamaḥ nirvāṇaḥ evaṃ svāditum śīlam asya iti mahāśramaṇaḥ iti | vidvān śūras tapasvī ca mahotsāhaḥ ca vīryavān | adbhūtasya ca karttā hi mahān ityabhidhīyate | | samīta-pāparvāt sa śramaṇaḥ | kleśopakleśa-samanāt veti | kṛtyā vyaktatarāṃ mayā punar imāṃ pañjīṃ guror ājñayā | śrī-tantra-rahasa-sāra-racitāṃ yat tena lokaḥ kalau | prajñopāya-samāgameka-rasikaś caṇḍācalo [']stu drutam | | (Grünendahl 1989:571-572).*

249. *Kṛtir iyaṃ mahā-panḍita-mahā-sukha-vajra-pādānām iti | samvat 417 phālguna-kṛṣṇa-daśamyāṃ maṅgala-vāsare likhanaṃ samāptam idam iti rājye śrīmat anantamalladeves[eti] śubham astu sarvvajanā[n] |*

250. Petech 1958:95-98.

251. Naudou 1980:79n.1, citing Tucci.

252. Ui et al 1934:206.

253. See Naudou 1980:183-184. Naudou provides a list of fifteen of her works preserved in the *Bstan- 'gyur*, though he does not mention this one. (Naudou 1980:184n.90).

254. Naudou 1980:186-187, and 187n.100.

255. Ui et al 1934a list Tohoku 1165 as the number, though this is a misprint; Tohoku 1165 is *Saptatathāgatastotra*; the correct listing is Tohoku 1195--5 folios.

256. Naudou 1980:188.



257 . Ui et al 1934:74, 377, 377, 195-6, 212-213, 75, 195, 195, 213, 73, 70, 141, and 356 respectively.

258 . Grünendahl 1989:643-644.

259 . Shāstri 1917:89-100.

260 . His examining board consisted of F.W. Thomas (Oxford), Sylvain Lévi, and de la Vallée Poussin. (Chaudhuri 1935:1). Although Chaudhuri dates the text to the 13th century, his reasoning seems a bit more speculative. He explains the derivation of *ḍāka* for instance as a version of the Tibetan *gdag*, or wisdom (Chaudhuri 1935:6), though as we have seen in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, Dharmakīrti was already using the term *ḍākinī* prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet (See Chapter 3, Section I (iii).)

261 . In a *sādhana* to *Vajravārāhī* written by *Advayavajra* (*Mahā-panḍita-avadhūta-śrīmad-advayavajra*) given by *Abhayākaragupta*, *Ḍākinī*, *Lāmā*, *Khaṇḍarohā* and *Rūpiṇī* are on the eastern, northern, western, and southern petals, dark blue, black, red and white respectively. (*Tathā pūrvvādi-caturdalesu yathā-kramam vāmāvaritena ḍākinī-lāmā-khaṇḍarohī-rūpiṇīḥ kṛṣṇa-śyāma-rakta-gaurāḥ*. . . . Bhattacharyya 1981{2}:425, l.11-12).

262 . De Mallmann 1975:218.

263 . *Khaṇḍa-rohā* literally means "she of broken ascent," or "she whose rise is cleft." It appears to be a poetic designation for a woman who is no longer a virgin (the "rise" being her vulva). According to De Mallmann, this is the name of two goddesses from the *Hevajra* cycle, found in the *Samvara*, *Six Carkavartin*, and *Vajravārāhī maṇḍalas*. (De Mallmann 1975:218). She appears in several *sādhana*s given by *Abhayākaragupta*.

264 . De Mallmann notes that 'Crow Face' (*Kākāsyā*) is a ferocious goddess, black or blue, with a crow's head, belonging to both the *Heruka/Hevajra* and the *Kālacakra* cycle. She is always located to the east or southeast. (De Mallmann 1975:204-205). Here in the *Ḍākārṇavatānta Kākāsyā* is apparently a name of one of the breaths. See *Abhayākaragupta*'s description of the *Samvaramaṇḍala* where Crow face, Owl face, Dog face, and Hog face, like the *Ḍākinīs* etc., are accompanied by *Śiva* in each of the four doors (*dvāreṣu kākasyolūkāsyā-śvānāsyā-śūkarāsyāḥ ḍākinyādivat paramesānugatāḥ*) (Bhattacharyya 1972:27).

265 . (*Mahānāsā-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama*) 1) *Jñānārṇavatāraḥ*; 2) *Vajra-vārāhy-utpatti-nāyakt ca yantra-cakra-maṇḍala-bhāvanādi-svabhāva*; 3) *Ḍākinī-utpatti-lakṣaṇa-sukha-saṁcāra-karmma-tattva-vyavasthā-vidhi*; 4) *Lāmotpatti-lakṣaṇa-mantra-nyāsa-ṣaṭ-cakra-vartmādi-svabhāva-nirvāṇādi-vyavasthā*; 5) *Khaṇḍarohā-lakṣaṇotpatti-catuṣ-cakra-nāḍī-vyavasthā-nāmoddeśa-mantra-nyāsādi-vidhi*; 6) *Rūpiṇī-lakṣaṇa-svabhāva-nāḍī-cakra-svabhāva-sthānā-vyavasthā-tantra-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; 7) *Kākāsyādi-prāṇotpatti-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; 8) *Ulūkāsyā-nirṇaya-sambidhānotpattiḥ prāṇādi-lakṣaṇa*; 9) *Svānāsyā-lakṣaṇa-sukhādy-avasthā-vidhi*; 10) *Sūkarāsyotpatti-maṇḍalāvatāraṇādi*; 11) *Yamadāḍī-vyavasthotpattiḥ lakṣaṇa*; 12) *Yamadūty-utpatti-lakṣaṇādi-mṛtyu-vañcana-cakra-bhāvanopadeśa-saṁkṣepataḥ*; 13) *Yamadaṁśtrī-prayogāvatāra-mṛtyu-vañcanādi*; 14) *Yamamathany-avatārotpattiḥ kāla-mṛtyu-vañcanādi-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-buddhāvasthā-svabhāva*; 15) *Bhagavān samyak-samādhi-vyavasthita-{n}-āmnāya-sūcaka*; 16) *Mūla-mantroddhāra-vidhi*; 17) *Kavacotpatti-lakṣaṇa-vajra-sattva-vārāhyā vidhi*; 18) *Vairocanādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi*; 19) *Padma-nartteśvarādi-rakṣā-kavaca-mantra-nirṇaya*; 20) *Herukādik-rakṣā-kavaca-vidhi*; 21) *Vajra-sūryyādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi*; 22) *Paramāsv-ādi-kavaca-rakṣā-vidhi*; 23) *Vali-cakra-pujā-vidhi*; 24) *Maṇḍala-homa-ācāryya-pūjā-vidhi*; 25) *Bhagavān-ityādi-viśuddha-tathāgata-pratiṣṭhā-viśuddha-lakṣaṇa*; 26) *Pracaṇḍādi-yantra-maṇḍala-yogiṇī-vīrāṇam mudrāṇam saṁketa-viharaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-nāma-gocara-paṭalaḥ*; 27)

*Pracaṇḍākṣī-lakṣaṇa-mudrādhīpati-svabhāva-vidhi*; 28) *Prabhāvātī-lakṣaṇa-mudrā-vidhi*; 29) *Mahānāsā-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama*; 30) *Mudrā-pratimudrā-vītra-matī-svabhāva-vidhi-lakṣaṇaḥ*; 31) *Kharbartī-akṣara-cchomā-lakṣaṇa-svabhāvaka jñāna-nāma-pāṭalaḥ*; 32) *Laṅkeśvartī-mudrā-saṅketa-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍala-cakra-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi-jñāna-pāṭalaḥ*; 33) *Druma-cchāyā-svalakṣaṇa-mudrā-saṅketa-vidhi-niyama*; 34) *Airāvātī-kāya-mudrā-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yukti*; 35) *Mahābhairavāntar-mudrā-kathana-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; 36) *Vāyu-vegāyā[ḥ] prayoga-vidhi-mudrā-varṇaka-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; 37) *Surābhakṣī-prayoga-cchomā-svabhāva-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; 38) *Vajravārāhyādvaya-syāma-devyā vaśya-homa-yantra-vajra-maṇḍala-vidhi-lakṣaṇa*; 39) *Bhagavān mūla-mantrasya subhadrādvaya-yogātmā[ḥ]yaya-yantra-roddeśa-kūla-nāga-karma-vidhi-lakṣaṇa*; 40) *Haya-karṇa-vīrādvaya-yogataḥ kavacasī-mūlamantrasya karma-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-māraṇaṅga*; 41) *Khagānanāyā vīrāyā advaya-yantra-cakra unmattī-karṇa-svabhāva-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-hṛdaya-mantra-sarvva-karma-nāma*; 42) *Cakravegā-karma-stambhana-vīrādvaya-yoga-lakṣaṇa-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi*; 43) *Khaṇḍarohā prayoga-bhāvanā-yantra-cakram uccāṭana-karma-śaḍ-yoginī-mantra-kavaceṣu vidhi-lakṣaṇa*; 44) *Sauāḍīnī-prayogeṣu vidveṣaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yantra-cakra-svabhāva*; 45) *Cakra-varmaṇī-mūktikarṇa-prayoga-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍala-cakra-bhāvanā-vīrādvaya-yoga-rākṣasākāra-yantra-cakram*; 46) *Suvīrāyā śāntika-karma-prayoga-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-yantra-cakra-bhāvanā-stambha-mantrasya karma-prasaraṇa*; 47) *Mahāvalāyā yogena mahārakṣā-kīlana-mantrasya karma-bodhisatt[ḥ]jasya yantra-bhāvanopāya-vidhi-lakṣaṇa*; 48) *Cakra-varṇinī-prayogādi-nānā-sādhana-karma-yantra-cakra-bhāvanā-mārga-mūla-mantra-roddeśa-vidhi-lakṣaṇa-sarvva-karmakaṇḍa*; 49) *Mahāvīrāyā prayoga-lakṣaṇa-guhya-rasāyanādi-puṣṭika-karma-śrī-samyak-samādhi-heruka-mūla-mantrasya vidhir*; 50) *Pañaviṃśati-tattvātmāsarvva-tantrāṅgām artha-sūcakaṇḍa sarvva-rahasyaṇḍa*; 51) *Stutiḥ pūjādi-samaya-sevādvaya*; (Shāstri 1917:89-91).

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

267. Probably *Mahārāṣṭra*.

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

269. I.e., Bengal.

270. Ceylon, or Śrī Laṅka.

271. As Śāstrī points out, this is most likely Bombay—perhaps the earliest known usage of the name (Shāstri 1917:94).

272. Probably Cambodia.

273. This is a variant reading for the term *pīlava*, *upapīlava* terms for pilgrimage sites. *Pelava* means ‘delicate, fine, soft, tender,’ acc. to Apte, who cites the word from *Kumārasambhava* 4.29 etc., ‘from a bow made of tender leaves and flowers’ (*dhanuṣaḥ pīlava-puṣpa-patṛiṇaḥ*).

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

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

276. Again, the numbers are in the Sanskrit.

277. *Māyākāra-sukṣetriṇī*.

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

279 . I've emended *sadavāhint* to *sadāvāhint*—an honorific here for breath as a goddess, constantly carrying life through the body. The role of the goddess here is not too different from the idea of *śakti* or *kuṇḍalīnī* moving through the body.

280 . *Athavā sarvva-nāḍīṣu mantra-nyāsam iha akṣaraiḥ: Ma, ka, o, ka, sau, ma, vaṃ, dra, ka, mā, ma, va, kā, ḍā, ḍha, bha, rā, mā, ti, da, ne, sa, raṃ, ḍhi, vaṃ, khā, ha, su, siṃ, ḍā, ka, siṃ, hi, vu, ku, ja, pa, ja, va, o, laṃ | jā, a, kā, kau, kaṃ, ja, tri, ca, la, pu, mu, kā, bha, gr, pre, va, pai, u, śma, u, ma, kha, mle |*—these are the navel. *Pre, de, u, ma, jvā, si, mā, kau*—so in the heart. *Ra, su, ma, sve, me, ca, māṃ, a, snā, pū, aṃ, sva, vi, mū, pi, śle |* and so for the throat. *Kṛ, ka, bhī, ra, tī, vī, cā, gho, u, sa, bha, ma, sthū, a, ja, vī, a, ja, gho, i, ca, ca, grā, rau, kā, ḍo, ca, mā, brā, sū, rā, [ma]*, so for the head *cakra*.' (Shāstri 1917:89-100).

281 . Ui et al 1934:127, 411-412, 502, 548, 502, 548.

282 . Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1934:219-220.

283 . Bhattacharyya 1932:x.

284 . *Sādhanas* 264-267 (Bhattacharyya 1981{2}:512-528).

285 . Shāstri 1917:87-88.

286 . Shāstrī 1917:87.

287 . Ui et al 1934:68.

288 . Naudou 1980:248.

289 . Ui et al 1934:684-685.

290 . Naudou 1980:225.

291 . I've omitted the *ityabhidhānottare.....paṭalaḥ prathamah* etc. for each chapter title.

292 . Though it's impossible to tell without the complete text, it appears that the titles for chapters 7 and 8 were inadvertently combined into the double title for chapter 7.

293 . Hukam Chand Patyal, in a Brief Communication to the *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 36, no. 3, July 1993, "Aṅgiras in the Lakṣmī Tantra," concludes that "we have to give the meaning 'name of the founder of a *gotra*' to the word *aṅgiras* in the case of Lakṣmī T." There is a very short *sādhana* to *Pratyāṅgirā* in *Abhayākaragupta's Sādhanamālā*, no. 202: She is black or dark blue, has six arms and one face; her three right hands hold a chopper, a goad, and one is in the boon-giving *mudrā*; the left hands hold a red lotus, a trident situated in the heart(?), and one has a noose on the index finger; her seed syllable is *hum*, *Akṣobhya* is in her diadem, she possesses all the decorations, and is endowed with the physical appearance of an adolescent. (*Mahāpratyāṅgirā kṛṣṇā, śaḍbhujai kamukhā, khaḍgāṅkuśa-varada-dakṣiṇahastā, rakta-padma-triśūla-hṛdaya-stha-sapūṣa-tarjjanī-yukta-vāma-hastā, humbījā, akṣobhya-mukūṣā, sarvvalaṅkāravatī, rūpa-yauvana-sampannā | iti mahāpratyāṅgirāsādhanam |* | Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:402).

294 . This must be a local variation of *Ucchuṣma* (literally, 'dried out'), perhaps the consort of *Ucchuṣmajambhala* to whom five *sādhanas* are devoted in *Abhayākaragupta's Sādhanamālā* (Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:569-579). Gnoli refers to *Ucchuṣma* as a mythical Śaivite master (Gnoli 1980:936)—*Ucchuṣma* is cited by *Abhinavagupta* at *Tantrāloka* 28.391a as the first in a list of ten ancient Śaivite gurus: *Ucchuṣma-Śavara-Canḍagu-Mataṅga-Ghora-Antaka-Ugra-Halahalakāḥ | Krodhī Huluhulur ete daśa guruvaḥ śivamayāḥ pūrve | | 391 | |* (Dwivedī & Rastogi 1987{7}:3272 & Gnoli 1980:674). Of the other gurus in this list.

*Mataṅga* gives his name to the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, the 26th of the 28 *āgamas* of the *Śaiva Siddhānta* tradition (Bhatt 1977:vii); *Halahalaka* is a version of *Hālāhala*—this is the name of (not in any order of priority): a) the poison Śiva drinks at the mythical churning of the cosmic ocean; b) Several versions of *Avalokiteśvara* in Buddhist tantric *maṅḍalas* (De Mallmann 1975:107-109); c) A form of Śiva as *Hālāhalarudra* (Gnoli 1980:295; Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1632); d) The name of one of five realms in the *Vidyā* principle at *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 5.30 (*Vidyātattve 'pi pañcāhur bhuvanāni mañṣiṇaḥ | tatra hālāhalaḥ, pūrvo, rudraḥ, krodhas, tathā aparah |* | (Kaul 1984:30 & Gnoli 1980:804). The name *Hālāhala* may very likely have been a local deity from the town *Hālā*, listed by *Abhinavagupta* at *Tantrāloka* 15.90b-91 as one of the eight *upakṣetras*, mapped internally to the eight lotus petals at the top of the heart *cakra* (*upakṣetrāṣṭakam prāhur hṛtpadmāgradalāṣṭakam | | Virajā, Eruḍikā, Hālā, Elāpūḥ, Kṣīrikā, [Rāja]Pūrt | Māyā[purt], Marudeśāśca bāhyābhyantara-rūpataḥ | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{6}:2483 & Gnoli 1980:447). In the *Arcāvidhi* of the *Mādhavakulatantra* *Hālā* is visualized in the navel (*Tantrāloka* 28.61a, Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3332 & Gnoli 1980:687).

295. De Mallmann translates *Lāmā* as *jouisseuse*, the feminine sensualist, and gives it as the name of a goddess attached to the *Hevajra* cycle, found in various *maṅḍalas*. (De Mallmann 1975:230).

296. The *Gāyatrī* of course is the brahmanical *mantra* recited at the morning and evening *sandhyā*—two of the four junctions of the day (the other two being noon and midnight, the latter a Tantric addition). The *mantra* is: *Tat savitur vareṇyaṃ, bhargo devasya dhīmahi; dhiyo naḥ pracodayāt;* that best portion of the sun [that] you gave as a portion to the gods, may it impel our intelligence.

297. See *Mṛgendrāgamatantra*, *Kriyāpāda* 7.45 (Brunner-Lachaux 1985:167).

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

299. 1) *Avatāraṇa-samaya-suddha-rahasya-paṭalaḥ*; 2) *Prārthana*; 3) *Hṛdaya-tattva-paramārtha*; 4) *Kāya-saṃvara-vidhi*; 5) *Mahā-surata-padma-jāla-saṃbara*; 6) *Sambara-guru-pāli*; 7) *Sambara*; 8) *Pīṭha-parvva-krama*; 9) *Sarva-anavasthita-Krama-bheda-vidhāna*; 10) *Mañju-vajra-vidhi-paṭalaḥ-tricakrollipta-saptamaḥ*; 11) *Yoginī-pīṭha-siddhi-krama-nimitta-nirdeśa*; 12) *Kośa-prastāva-pīṭha-sampradāya*; 13) *Pīṭhādi-yoginī*; 14) *Śrī-heruka-ḍākinīyā-vīra-yoginīyā-ḍākinīyā-bhāvanopatti*; 15) *Ādi-karmika-yoga-bhāvanā*; 16) *Madhyendriya-bhāvanopadeśa*; 17) *Tikṣṇendriya-bhāvanopadeśa*; 18) *Catur-ḍākinī-yoga-sambara-vidhi*; 19) *Yoga-saṃbara-vinaya*; 20) (?); 21) *Amṛta-sañjīvanīyā sarva-karma-karī nāma bhāvanā-paṭalaḥ*; 22) *Yoginī-guhya-samaya-tattvāvatāraṇa*; 23) *Kula-ṣaṭ-cakra-varṭti-sampradāya*; 24) *Kāyavākcittapīṭhānukrama*; 25) *Samayotthāpana-buddha-kapālotpatti-striyo*; 26) *Vajra-sattvotpatti*; 27) *Mañju-vajra-sādhana*; 28) *Dāka-vajra-sādhana*; 29) *Mahā-rahasyaṃ āliḍākasya sādhana*; 30) *Praśara-ḍāka-siddhi-nimitta-nirdeśa*; 31) *Samaya-sambarodbhava mahā-maṅḍala-rājā*; 32) *Dhūta-guṇotpatti*; 33) *Varṣāpaṇa-vidhi*; 34) *Viśva-rūpa-vidhi*; 35) *Śrī-guhya-samayottama*; 36) *Kavaca-dvaya-yogotpatti-bhāvanā*; 37) *Cchośmāpaṭalaḥ*; 38) *Yoginī-lakṣaṇa*; 39) *Dākinī-lakṣaṇa*; 40) *Lāmālakṣaṇa*; 41) *Aṅga-mudrā-lakṣaṇa*; 42) *ḍākinī-āṅga-mudrā*; 43) *ḍākinī-cchośmā-lakṣaṇa*; 44) *Bhūta-saukhyāmbu-parata[r]ja*; 45) *ḍākinī-vīra-karma-prasara-sādhaka-yoginī-vīra-hṛdayādvaya*; 46) *Puṭa-pratimā-pratiṣṭhā-adhivāsana*; 47) *Maṅḍala-vidhi*; 48) *Gāyatrī sandhyā*; 49) *Upahṛdaya-sādhanaotpatti-bhāvanā*; 50) *Dvātriṃśatty-uttara-hṛdayotpatti-bhāvanā*; 51) *Maṅḍala-vidhi*; 52) *Dharma-dhātu-pura-bhāvanā*; 53) *Guhya-bhāvanā*; 54) *Guhyākṣarotpatti-sādhana*; 55) *Mūla-mantra-khaṭikoddhāra*; 56) *Kavaca-hṛdaya-bhāvanā*; 57) *Hṛdaya-mantra-kavaco devyā hṛdaya-*

*bhāvanā*; 57) *Raktā-catur-mukha-adhiṣṭhāna-lipi-maṇḍala-catuḥ-krodha-vajra-hūṅkārotipatti-khaṭikoddhāra*; 58) *Varga-yoga*; 59), 60) *Jñāna-guhya*; 61) *Caturdevyāḥ sampuṭaguhya*; 62) *Vajra-bhairava-krodhādhipat-sampuṭodghāṭa*; 63) *Sapta-janma-paśu-sādhana*; 64) *Svādhiṣṭhānaṃ svadharmottarotipatti*; 64) *Ātma-bhāva-pūjā*; 65) *Sambara-guhyāṭiguhya-rahasya-mahā-tantra-rājān an[ek]koti-tattvopadeśa-bhāvanā*. (Shāstri 1917:60-63).

300. Ui et al 1934:72, 227, 69, 68, 243, 231, 367-8, 376, 306.

301. Shāstri 1917:100-110, ms. 3825, no. 72.

302. Ui et al 1934:70.

303. Amarasimha 1885:165.

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

305. See below.

306. See Apte, who cites *Kṛṣṇa* playing the sweet flute to call his lover(s) to a meeting (*nāmasaṃketam kṛtasamketam vādayate mṛdu veṇum* | *Gitagovinda* 5; for the meaning of a 'meeting place for lovers' he cites *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 11.8.23: The wanton woman will on occasion bring her beloved to a meeting place (*sa svairṇyā ekadā kāntam upaneṣyati*); and *Amarakośa* [2.6.10a—see Amarasimha 1885:133]: Desiring her beloved, a woman keeping an appointment with a lover will go to a tryst (*Kāntārthini tu yā yāti samketam sā abhisārikā*).

307. See Section I (ii), Textual Typology, in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

308. I.e. *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*, or *Brahmā*.

309. I.e. sexually produced beings.

310. *Tatra khalu bhagavān aṣṭi-koṭi-yoginīśvara-madhye Vajragarbham avalokya smitam akārṣit | samanantarasmite 'smin vajragarbha utthāya āsanād ekāṃśam uttarāsaṅgam kṛtvā dakṣiṇam jānu-maṇḍalam pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya kṛtāñjalipuṭo bhagavantam etad avocat | śrotum icchāmi jñānendra sarvva-tantra-nidānam rahasyam sampuṭodbhava-lakṣaṇam | aho vajragarbha sādhu sādhu mahākṛpa sādhu sādhu mahābodhisattva sādhu sādhu guṇākarāḥ yad rahasyam sarvva-tantreṣu tatsarvvaṃ pṛcchatec chreyā | atha te vajragarbha-pramukhāḥ mahābodhisattvāḥ praharṣotphulla-locanāḥ pṛcchanttha sva-sandehān praṇipatyā muhurmuḥuḥ sarvva-tantram kim ucyate nidānam katham bhavet rahasyety atra kim ucyate sampuṭodbhavaḥ katham nāma-lakṣaṇam, tatra katham bhavet | bhagavān āha* | Shāstri 1917:69-70.

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

312. Apte cites *kaṭapūṭana* as "a kind of departed spirits" from *Manusmṛti* 12.71 and *Mālatīmādhava* 5.11.

313. *Vasantatilakā* is also the name of a meter with 14 syllables per *pāda* (See Apte's Appendix A on Sanskrit prosody). MW cites *Vasantatilakatantra* as a Buddhist work.

314. Both MW and Apte give rubbing or cleaning the body with perfumes or fragrant unguents, or the use of these to relieve pain, citing *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 1.152 and *Manusmṛti* 4.132 ('And one should not go near blood, feces, urine, spittle, or unguents etc.' *nākramed rakta-viṇ-mutra-ṣṭhīvanodvartanādi ca*)—perhaps not the best example for the meaning.

315. 4c) *Cihna-mudrā*; 5a) *Melāpakasthānam*; 5b) *Skandha-dhātva-āyatana-viśuddhi*; 5c) *Caryāliṅganam*; 6b) *Deśa-nyāsa[ḥ]*; 7i) *Atha karmma-vidhiṃ vakṣye yena sidhyanti sādhakāḥ*; 7ii) *Atha rasāyanavidhiṃ vakṣye sarvva-sāra-samuccayam*; 7iii) *Udvartana-vidhi*; 7a) *Sarvva-jñānodayo nāmāyurvedyāḥ saptamasya prathamam prakaraṇam*; 7b) *Homa-vidhi*; 7c) *Sarvva-*

*karma-prasara-cakrodaya; iti śrīsampuṭodbhave mahātantre sarvva-karmma-dhyāna-udayo nāma kalparājah saptamaḥ samāptah* |; 8a) *Ghaṇṭā-tattva*; 8b) *Mantra-jāpa-bhāvanā*; 8c) *Tīrthika-ajñāna-apanayanam*; *Sampuṭodhvava-sarvva-kriyā-samudaya-kalpa-rājo 'ṣṭamaḥ*; 9a) *Sarva-tathāgatotpattir*; 9b) *Baly-upahāra*; 9c) *Paṭa-pustaka-nirṇaya*. *Iti sampuṭodbhavaś catuś-kriyā-tattva-rāja navamaḥ kalpaḥ* | 10a) *Ācāryya-mahā-sādhana*; 10b) *Buddha-māyā-vikurvitaṃ*. (Shāstri 1917:69-71).

316. Ui et al 1934:303.

317. Ui et al 1934:303.

318. Ui et al 1934:83.

319. Ui et al 1934:308.

320. Ui et al 1934:306.

321. Ui et al 1934:303.

322. Ui et al 1934:309.

323. Ui et al 1934:309.

324. Ui et al 1934:302.

325. Ui et al 1934:308.

326. *Yamāri* is an alternate form of *Yamāntaka*; *Yama-ari*, or enemy of *Yama*; the name is used for both *Śiva*, and (acc. to MW) for *Viṣṇu* in the *Pañcarātra*. De Mallmann describes black, red, and yellow forms of *Yamāri*, with black being the most common (De Mallmann 1986:465-469). Here our text indicates a considerably larger number and variety of *Yamāris* than those noticed by De Mallmann. The *rakṣā* appears in the name of the *tantra* in the colophon to the first chapter. (Shāstrī 1917:147).

327. Both MW and Apte say *ārālika* = "a cook." *Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-sarvva-vajra-yoṣit-bhageṣu vijahāra* | *moha-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] piśuna-vajra-yamāriṇā ca* | *īṣyā-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] dveṣa-vajra-yamāriṇā c[a] mudgara-yamāriṇā ca* | *daṇḍa-yamāriṇā ca* | *padma-yamāriṇā ca* | *khaḍga-yamāriṇā ca* | *vajra-carccikā ca* | *vajra-vārāhī ca* | *vajra-sarasvatī ca* | *vajra-śaurī cākola* – *evaṃ pramukhaiḥ mahā-yamāri-saṅghaiḥ atha khalu bhagavān varja-pāṇiṃ vajra-sattvaṃ sarvva-tathāgatādhipatim āmantrayām āsa* | *atha khalu bhagavān kha-vajrety ādeśa-haraṃ dvitīyo 'tha śabdaḥ* | *sarvva-māra-nikṛntana-vajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ sva-kāya-vāk-citta-vajrā-yoniṃ cārayām āsa* | *candra-vajra-prayoena bhāvayed yama-ghātakam* | *mārāṇaṃ samanārthāya dviṣopanude sarvvataḥ* | | *rakṣārthaṃ bhāvayed vajraṃ pañca-raśmi-samākulam* | *vajreṇa bhūmi-vātaṃ ca prakāraṃ pañjaraṃ tathā* | | *atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-janaka-sarvva-māra-vidhamsana-vajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpadyedaṃ sarvvaṃ āha* | *vajra-yamāryyādi-vījaṃ svakāya-vāk-citta-vajra-yoniṃ cārayām āsa* | *yamadhye kṣe sa me da ya cca ni rā jā sa ho ru ṇa yo ni ra* | *rephasyādi-yamaghaṇḥ syāt kṣekāre moha ucyate* | | *makāre piśunam evākṣaṃ sakāre rāgam eva ca* | *dakāre 'pi ca* | *īṣyā syād yama-ghnāḥ pañ ca kṛtītāḥ* | | *yakāra mudgara khyātāḥ cakāre daṇḍa-nāyakaḥ* | *nikāre padma-pāṇiś ca* | *rākāre khaḍgavān api* | | *jākāre carccikā praktā vārāhī ca* | *sakārake* | *sarasvatī ca* | *hokāre lakāre śaunikā smṛtāḥ* | | *ṇa-yonir catuḥkoṇe catvāra[-]jākarakā matāḥ* | *kha-vajra-madhye gataṃ cintet viśva-vajraṃ bhayānakam* | | *yamāntakasya madhya-sthaṃ bhāvayet kāla-dāruṇam* | *pūr[v]ja-dvāre moha-vajraṃ tu dakṣiṇe piśunam eva ca* | | *paścime rāga-vajraṃ tu* | *īṣyākhyam uttare tathā* | *koṇa-vajra-catuh-śūle carccikādyā vibhāvayet* | | *dvāra-vajra-catuh-śūle mudgarādyā vibhāvayet* | | *viśva-vajra-catuh-koṇe catvāro nrk[pa]-mastakāḥ* | | *atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipati yamāri-vajraṃ*

*nāma samādhim samāpadyedaṃ mahā-dveṣa-kula-mantram udājahāra | oṃ hrīḥ strīḥ vikṛtānana huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā | atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatir moha-vajra-mantram udājahāra | oṃ jina jika | | atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiḥ piśuna-vajra-mantram udājahāra oṃ ratna-dhṛk | atha khalu bhagavān sarvva-tathāgatādhipatiḥ rāga-vajra-mantram udājahāra oṃ ārālika | |*. (Shāstrī 1917:145-146).

328 . Śāstrī does not give these.

329 . The Sanskrit reads *malakatotpala*. This appears to be a metrical abbreviation of *kuḍmalaka-utpala*, a blossoming or budding lotus. See *Rājanighaṇṭu Karavīrādir daśamo vargaḥ* 248 where *kuḍmalaka* is given as a variety/characteristic of lotus. (Narahari 1986:165).

330 . *Brassica nigra* Koch.

331 . Black pepper, long pepper, and ginger.

332 . *Rumex vesicarius*—see Dash 1986:314-315 and Narahari 1986:250.

333 . *Plymbago zeylanica* Linn (Dash 1986:21).

334 . *Mūla-mukhe* (?).

335 . *Śmaśāna-karpaṣe cakra-dvayaṃ likhed vratī | rājikā-lavanenāpi viṣeṣa nimbakena ca | | trikaṭukaṃ kaṭutailaṅca śmaśānārśānam eva ca | dhustūraka-patra-niryāsaiś caṇḍa-vījais tathaiva ca | tarjjanī-raktam ādāya ciktrakasya rasena vā | ūśarasya mṛttikā gṛhya caṇḍāla-haṇḍikāñjanam | | bubhuksita-padma-lekhanyā caturddaśyāṃ likhed vratī | madhyāhne krūra-cittena duṣṭānāṃ bandha-hetunā | nāmaṃ sattva-vighātasya huṃkāreṇa vidarbhayet | | dakṣiṇābhīmukho yogī ātmānaṃ yama-ghātakaṃ | krodha-rūpaṃ mahācaṇḍaṃ khaṇḍa-muṇḍa-vibhūṣitam | | mahiṣa-sṭhaṃ lalaj-jihvaṃ vṛhad-udaraṃ bhayānakaṃ | kaḍārordhva-jūṭa-keṣaṃ vakra-śmaśru-bhruvaṃ tathā | | dakṣiṇena mahāvajraṃ khaḍgaṃ caiva dvitīyakam | tṛtīye kartī-hastaṃ ca idānti vāmato likhet | | cakrañ caiva mahāpadmaṃ kapālañ caiva vāmataḥ | mūla-mukhe mahābhṛṅgaṃ dakṣiṇe candra-suprabhaṃ | | vāmaṃ rakta-nibhaṃ proktaṃ vajrābharaṇa-bhūṣitam | roma-kūpa-mahāvivarā sphorayet sva-kulādhipaṃ | | pratyāliḍha-pada-saṃsthaṃ sūryya-maṇḍala uddhataḥ | vikṛta-damṣṭrākārālāsyaṃ kalpa-jvālāgni-sannibhaṃ | | evam ātmānaṃ sannahya sādhyam vai purato nyaset | etc. etc.* (Shāstrī 1917:147-148).

336 . *Cakrānupūrvva-likhanaṃ* and *Cakrāvalokano*.

337 . *Atha mantraṃ pravakṣyāmi sarvva-bhūtā bali-kriyāṃ | uccārite mahāmantrē sarvva-bhūta-prakampanam | | indrāya hrīḥ, yamāya ṣṭrīḥ, varuṇāya vi, kuverāya kṛ, īśānāya ta, agnaye a, naiṣṭye na, vāyavye na, candrāya hūṃ, arkāya huṃ, brahmaṇe phaṭ, vasudhārāyai phaṭ, vemacitriṇe svā sarvva-bhūtebhyaḥ hā | hā hā hīṃ hīṃ hūṃ hūṃ he he svāhā | kṛtvā maṇḍalikāṃ tryasrāḥ viṇ-mutra-toya-miśritaiḥ | devatāḥ pṛtīyayed yogī hāhākāraṃ punaḥ smaret | |* (Shāstrī 1917:148).

338 . *Ākarṣaṇādi-prayoga-pāṭalaḥ saptamaḥ*.

339 . *Śauri* is a name for *Viṣṇu*, *Kṛṣṇa*, *Vasudeva*, *Balarāma*, and for *Saturn* (Apte).

340 . *Trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ śuklāṃ cakrahastāṃ śaśi-prabhāṃ | carccikāṃ bhāvayet prājño rakṣākrṣṭi-prayogataḥ | | trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ ghoṇāṃ vajra-hastāḥ | sunīlakāḥ | vārāhīḥ | bhāvayet prājño madyākrṣṭi-prayogataḥ | | trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ raktāṃ sarasvatīṃ bhāvayet vratī | padma-hasta-dharāṃ saumyāṃ prajñā-barddhana-hetave | | trimukhāṃ ṣaḍbhujāṃ kharvāṃ marakatoṭpala-sannibhāṃ | śauriṃ bhāvayet prājño subhrākṣṭi-prayogataḥ | |* (Shāstrī 1917:148-149).

341. *Homa-vidhi-ṣaṭalo 'ṣṭamah; –yamāri-bhīmā nāma navama-ṣaṭalaha.*

342. *Brāhmaṇasya tu māmsena citi-bhasmena tan-mṛdā | yamāri-pratimāṃ kuryyāt dvi-bhujam eka-vaktriṇam | | dakṣiṇena mahā-vajra[ṇ] savye nṛ-sīras tathā | śukla-varṇaṃ mahā-bhīmāṃ tena duṣṭān nikṣṇtayet | | pratidinaṃ baliṃ dadyāt pañca-māṃsāmṛtena tu | nityaṃ yat prārthayed yogī mama śatruṃ nikṣṇtaya | | ity-ukt[ṇ] sapta-rātreṇa pratyūṣe mṛiyate ripuḥ | | (Shāstrī 1917:149).*

343. *Vetāḍa (vetāla) [-]sādhanānusmṛti-bhāvanāṣaṭalo daśamah; caryyā-samaya-sādhanā-ṣaṭala-ekādaśamah; sarvvopāyika-viśeṣako nāma dvādaśaḥ ṣaṭalaha; siddhi-nirṇaya-ṣaṭalas trayodaśamah; -mañju-vajra-sādhanā nāma caturdaśaṣaṭalaha. (Shāstrī 1917:149).*

344. *Atredaṃ sūtra-pāṭhena parama-samayaṃ | akāro mukhaṃ sarvva-dharmāṇām ādyanuṣṇannatvāt | | śiṣyaṃ vai locanaṃ dhyātvā śrī-yamātmaka-rūpavān | jñāna-sūtra-varāgrāṅgaṃ pātayet susamāhitaḥ | | tatredaṃ mahā-maṇḍala-praveśa-samayaḥ | maṇḍala-dvi-guṇito dīrgha-dvāra-viṃśatikam | pañca-gavya-samāliptaṃ sūtraṃ buddhaiḥ prakalpitam | | tatredaṃ mahā-vajra-prārthanā-samayaḥ | aho buddha-mahācārya aho dharmā-gaṇaḥ prabhuh | dehi me samayaṃ tattvaṃ bodhicittaṃ ca dehi me | | tatredaṃ mahā-bhū-parigraha-samayaḥ | vajra-pṛthivyāvāhanam | tvaṃ devi śākṣi-bhūtāsi sarvva-buddhān tāyināṃ | caryyānaya-viśeṣeṣu bhūmi-pāramitāsu ca | | (Shāstrī 1917:149).*

345. *Prāṇatipātīnio ye ca matsya-māṃsādibhakṣakāḥ | | madirā-kāminī-saktā nāstika-vrata-dhāriṇaḥ | | anabhiṣikṭā narā ye ca uddhaṣṭa-vyasana-kāriṇaḥ | grāma-jāla-ratā ye da yamāri-tantra-parayāṇāḥ | | siddhyante nāsti sandehaḥ kṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā | | atha te maitreya-pramukhāḥ sarvva-bodhisattvā | vajra-nirukti-padaṃ śrutyā tuṣṭiṃ sthitā abhūvana | | (Shāstrī 1917:150). Note the grammatical construction ye ... te ...*

346. *-Vajrāṅga-sādhanam pañcadśamaṣaṭalaha.*

347. See Apte's definition for *Aniruddha* for his personal history.

348. *Śtikāra* or *śtikāra* is an outbreathing noise made in expression of sudden pleasure or pain, particularly during sexual enjoyment.

349. *Vedhamānāṃ*, perhaps a metrical shortening of *vedhayamānām*, feminine accusative singular of causative of √vyadh.

350. *Athāto rahasyaṃ yakṣye samāsān na tu vistarāt | yena vijñāta-mātreṇa apsarākaraṇaṃ bhavet | | dvi-bhujam eka-vaktraṃ tu iṣ[u]-kārmuka-pāṇinaṃ | pīta-dehaṃ mahārūpaṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet | | pūrvveṇa [ca] ratiṃ dhyāyet dakṣiṇe madana-sundarīṃ | paścime kāma-devīṃ tu uttare madanotsukāṃ | | sarvvāsāṃ kāmadevīnāṃ kārmukaṃ bhāvayet śaram | pītāṃ raktāṃ tathā śyāmāṃ śukla-raktāṃ ca bhāvayet | | koṇe caiva nyasen nityam aniruddham uṣāpatim | vesantaṃ makara-ketuṅca dvāri bhāge prakathyate | | kandarpa-darpakaṃ coktaṃ smaraṃ bhāṇyudhaṃ tathā | sarvveṣāṃ devatānāṃ tu yamaḥkṇaṃ mūrddhni bhāvayet | | strīṇāṃ khaga-mukhānta-sthaṃ vajrāṅgaṃ vibhāvayet | śtikāra-mantra-sambhūtaṃ visphurantaṃ samantataḥ | | vāñchitāṃ vihvalāṃ dhyātvā vedhamānāṃ madotsukāṃ | pādāyoh patitāṃ caiva rakta-vastra-parāvṛtāṃ | | mantraṃ caiva japet tatra oṃkāra svar-abheditam | svāhā me vaśībhavatu bhāvayet saptavārakam | vāñchitā[ṃ] labhate yogī kṣṇasya vancanaṃ yathā | | (Shāstrī 1917:150).*

351. *-Heruka-sādhanā-ṣaṭalaha ṣoḍaśaḥ; -bodhicitta-nigadana-ṣaṭalaha saptadaśaḥ; -kathā-ṣaṭalaha saptadaśamah. Colophon: Idam avocat guhyakādhipatir vajra-kula-praṇetā nakaṭakūrasasya sampannato[.] mahātantra-rāja[ḥ] oḍiyāna-vinirgataḥ sapāda-lakṣād uddhṛtaḥ samāptaḥ | kathā-ṣaṭalo aṣṭādaśamah. (Shāstrī 1917:151).*



352. *Catuṣpīṭha-sādhana-saṃkṣepaḥ samāpteti* | *saṃvat 165 śrāvaṇa śukla-daśamyām śukra dine rājye śrībhāṣkaradevasya śrī-guṇa-kāma-deva-kāritaḥ śrīpadma-cakra-mahāvihāre sthita[m] śākya-bhikṣu-kumāra-candrena likhitam iti* | *mātā-pitā-guopādhyāya-kalyāṇa-mitra-sarvva-sattvam anuttara-jñāna-phala-prāptaya iti* | *śrīgānulanṅge kulaputraḥ* | Śāstrī adds that *gānulanṅga* "is a Newari word, meaning 'real.'" (Grünendahl 1989:485-486).

353. Petech 1958:40-41 and 33-35.

354. Ui et al 1934:77.

355. Ui et al 1934:255-256.

356. Ui et al 1934:255.

357. Ui et al 1934:255.

358. Ui et al 1934:256.

359. *Catuhpīṭhosyavidhinā śiṣyābhyarthanayā mayā* | *sukhaṃ sādhanam saṃkṣiptam udārccanam ucyate*. (Grünendahl 1989:485).

360. *Iti prakaraṇe ātmapīṭhe iti vāy[v]ādiu-tattvasya sva-śartram eva pīṭham āsanam ādhāraḥ ity uktakrameṇa vāyvādi-tattvaṃ prakṛtyate, prastūyate, anena veti; ātma-pīṭham ātma pīṭham eva iti ātmapīṭhe catuṣpīṭha-nibandhe prathamah paṭalah* | *idāntiṃ kāla-jñāna-tad-vañcanādi paṭalam āha* | *bhagavan śrotum icchāmi jñāna-tattvaṃ viśāya[m], haraṇādikaṃ; vāyam cihnam idaṃ aṅga* | *iti mṛtyu-cihnam* | *katham tattvaṃ samāśritam iti* | *mantra-tattvam* | *śṛṇu vajra-mahārāja-aṅga-cihnasya darśitam* | *nirmmāṇādi-karyyai rājata iti rāja* | *vajra akṣobhyatrā mahārāja yasyāsau vajra-mahārāja sambodhyate* | *aṅgaṃ cihnam darśitavyam* | *anantaraṃ śṛṇu mṛtyu-kālam iva sthitam iti* | *mṛtyu-kālānitataṃ jñāyata iti bhāvah* | *cihnam āha śvāsā ityādi* | (Grünendahl 1989:485).

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

362. *Ghorī* is also in the north in the *Yogāmbara maṇḍala* described in *Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpannayogāvalī*, with a fierce demeanor, yellow colored, three-eyed, with dishevelled hair, and two hands. (De Mallmann 1986:176).

363. *Vetālī* is also in the west in the following *maṇḍalas* described by *Abhayākaragupta* in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī: Jñānaḍākinī, Yogāmbara, Hevajra, and Nairātmya*. (De Mallmann 1986:445).

364. *Caṇḍālī* is also in the south of the *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara maṇḍalas* as described by *Abhayākaragupta* in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, though she's in the southwest in his *Hevajra* and *Nairātmya maṇḍalas* (De Mallmann 1986:136).

365. De Mallmann describes *Siṃhīnī* in the *Jñānaḍākinī maṇḍala* from *Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpannayogāvalī*, vertically bi-colored with an eastern white half, and a northern yellow half. She has one lion face, two hands, dressed in red, and crowned with five skulls. (De Mallmann 1986:347-348).

366. In the *Jñānaḍākinī maṇḍala* in *Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpannayogāvalī* *Vyāghrī* is also in the southeast, with a single tiger's head, vertically bicolored with a white southern half and a blue eastern half. (De Mallmann 1986:457).

367. *Ulūki* is also in the northwest in the *maṇḍalas* of *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara* as described by *Abhayākaragupta* (De Mallmann 1986:384).

368. The text reads *yeṣāṅ ca*, though we might expect *yāsāṅ ca*.

369 . *Visarjayet tad-anupūrvokta-bali-vidhāna-vidhi-maṇḍala-cakraṇ ca kṛtvā samasta-yathokta-mudrā-mantraiḥ baliṃ dadyāt, oṃ kuru kuru mahābaliṃ huṃ svāheti | hasta-dvayaṃ prasāryya madhyaṅguṣṭhayaṃ cālayitvā -- homa-kāla-vali-matta-mudrā-hutāsana-homa-belāyāṃ vahni-parikṣaṇam | yadi durnimittaṃ sūcayati tadā jvara cakṣa huṃ svāheti | yatra pradeśe durnimittaṃ tatra aṣṭhittara-śataṃ [g]hṛtiṃ homayet dravyād aprasāmodakena triṣvabhyaḥkṣaṇam pūrvvakena homayitvā mūla-devatā-homaḥ kāryyaḥ purokta-kramenaiva | śvāsena ākṣya svadehe sthāpayitvā visarjya samutiṣṭhed iti homavidhiḥ | yāga-vidhāna ... te vidhāna-vitataṃ nānā-vastra-pral[u]ṅghitaṃ kṛtvā sita-sindhena caturasraṃ maṇḍalakaṃ kuryyāt | sita-dravyena kalasāt | madhya-bhāṇḍaṅca vilipyā kṣaurodaka-sugandhena pūrayitvā palla-vādinā maṇḍayitvā dṛṣṭi-patra-rūpa-kālaktakāṅgaṃ datvā huṃ hrūṃ suṃ kṣuṃ yuṃ huṃ strāṃ sryāṃ kṣrāṃ iti praṇavādi-svāhāntena pratyekaṃ aṣṭhottara-bāraṃ japtvā yathāsthāne aṣṭhakalasān sthāpayet | madhye ca bṛhat bhāṇḍaṃ sthāpayitvā pūrvvokta-krameṇa āma-yoga-samastaṃ nivarṛtya ātmānaṃ pūjayitvā tato vāhye samārabheta taṃ kamalābhe svāheti padmākāreṇa karapuṭaṃ vikāśayet | tena madhya-bhāṇḍa-padmaṃ paśyeta | sacandra-maṇḍalāḥ | śveta-chattra-saṃpannaṃ | tatra huṃkāreṇa vajra-huṃkāradhiṣṭhitaṃ tena jñāna-bhāvinīṃ bhāvayet | dvi-bhuja-dhavalā-varṇaṃ sattva-paryyaṅkeṇa pratiṣṭhāṃ vajraṃ daṇḍaṅca vāma-dakṣiṇayor bhāvayet | tat purvato vajrī uttare ghorī, paścime vetālī; dakṣiṇe caṇḍālī | tsānyāṃ siṃhīnī āgneyyāṃ vyāghrī | vāyavyāṃ ulūki, pūrvvokta-vijñābharaṇā dhyātavyā | yeṣāṅca mudrā-maṇḍala-mayaṃ kāryyaḥ | taṃ samaye tiṣṭha huṃ phaḥ | vajra-bandhaṃ kṛtvā tarjjanī-dvayaṃ prasāryya cakraṇ ca granthiṃ kṛtvā samayaṃ darśayet | pūrvvavat pūjayet oṃ huṃ svāhā vajra-muṣṭhi-dvayaṃ kṛtvā vāmaṃ hṛdaye dakṣiṇaṃ mūrddhataḥ sthāpayed iti mūla-bh[ra]drā-mantraḥ | mūla-mantras tu yathābhilūṣitaṃ codakaṃ datvā durvāṅkura-saṃyogjitaṃ kundādi-kusumāni sakṛt tadekaṃ mantraṃ uccāryya bhāvanāyuktaṃ kṛtvā devyā-kirīṭi[ṃ] vajraṃ āhanet | ayutāpūrvvaṃ dravyaṃ homayet | yathā-mantṣita-siddhir-āyur-ārogya-barddhanaṃ ca bhavagī | homānte ca yathoktānusāreṇa baliṃ dadyāt | sarvvatra kriyāyāṃ sātvikāṃ śukla-vidhānaṃ | pūrvvānaṃ sāntiṃ kuru | sarvvāpadam apanayetyādi codakaṃ vataikākṣa-mālā-tarjjanī-sāntaman[as]ā sāntiṃ kuryyāt | pauṣṭhika kṣa samasta-pūtopacāreṇa uttarānaṃ puṣṭhiṃ kuru sarvva-sampadam āvāhaya ityādi codakaṃ | śataikākṣamālā-aṣṭhottara-śatākṣamālāy[ā]ḥ madhyamā-sthitayā pramudita-manāḥ puṣṭhiṃ kuryyāt | vaśye sakalā-raktopacāreṇa paścimāmanaṃ mama ānaya diśāṃ ākarṣa cetyādi codakaṃ | viṃśaty-akṣara-mālām anāmikāyāṃ sthāpayitvā saṃrakṣaman[as]ā sāntiṃ kuryyāt | abhicāre ca samastam eva kopacāreṇa yāmyānaṃ mārāya uccāyaya ityādi codakaṃ | ṣaṣṭhi-saṃkhātākṣa-mālayā kanyāyā sthitayā krodhāviṣṭhaman[as]ā abhicārayed iti | saṃkṣepataḥ bali-homa-yāga-viśayaḥ | śrī-catuspṛīṭha-tantrāmnāyena likhita iti | | (Grünendahl 1989:486).*

370 . Grünendahl 1989:490-491.

371 . Both Apte and MW give for *sama-pada* "a particular posture in sexual union" or "an attitude in shooting," both where the feet are even.

372 . 60 *aṅgulas*.

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

374 . *Namaṃ sarvvabhāvintibhyaḥ | | vibhrāṇaṃ buddha-vimbaṃ divsa-kara-dharolāsi-bāleṇdu-lekhaṃ maitreyaṃ cāru-rūpaṃ śirasai vara-tanuṃ mañju-ghoṣaṇ ca gātrau | padmothaṃ daṇḍa-rūpaṃ kuṭilita-vapuṣaṃ vajriṇaṃ bhṛma-nādaṃ vijñāna-jñāna-rūpaṃ nihata-bhava-bhayaṃ pañca-mūrttiṃ praṇamya | | pañjikā likhyate seyaṃ prārthaṇāt sena-varmamaṇaḥ | evaṃ bhāṣitety ārambhya yāvad abhyavandann iti vacanāt vibhiakti-liṅga-vacanaṃ samāsādayaḥ buru-laghu-yati-cchandaādayaś cāryyādeśa-vaśāt yathā-yogaṃ*

yojanīyā | evaṃ bhāṣita-sarvva-jñāṃ ityādinā nirddiṣṭāḥ catvāro 'rthāḥ deśaka-deśanā-prakārah deśyārthaḥ sthānam iti | tatra sarvvajña iti deśakah | evaṃ iti deśanā-prakārah | jñānam iti deśyārthaḥ | śuddhaāvāsakam ity etat sthānam tatra yadārthaḥ dūṣi ... miti buddhānām ityārthaḥ | dakṣṇām iti kvacit tatrāpi sa eva arthaḥ | yoginī-jāla-sambaram iti | yoginyakḥ prajñāpāramitāādīyāḥ jālaṃ samūhaḥ sat prāg eva uktaḥ | samapada ityādi padaṃ parāṅguṣṭhāṅgulyāṃ saṃśleṣātma-samapadaṃ tasya caika-pāda-saṅkocenātiryak-sthāpanaṃ vā cittapadaṃ | hasa-dvayam eva vāhya-canaṅgulyakam | taj-vajjānuhvayaṃ kuryyāt | bāhustābhyāṃ haṃsa-pakṣākrīḥ | maṅḍala-pada-dakṣiṇa-pādaṃ bhūmau saṃsthāpya vāma-pada trailokya-laṅghanākāreṇa salilam utkṣepaḥ iti tri-vikrama-padaṃ | dakṣiṇa-careṇa vāma-caraṇam ākramet | vāma-jāṅgaṃ saṅkocya pañca-vitasti āyāma prāsārayet ālīḍha syāt | pratyālīḍho atra dakṣiṇam ākuñcyā vāmaṃ tathāva prāsārayed iti | Eka-caraṇam utkṣipyate | naiva paribhramet | ityekaḥ sthānaḥ | lalitākṣa-pāditayā sukha-niṣadya vividha-prakāreṇa pādasya vikṣepe pāda-vikṣepeṇa ātma-bhedaṃ vimṛśyādau cet sarvva saṅkucya viparītoru-vinyāsa-prayogāc cāpi tat-kṣayāt śrama-pūrvvaṃ utpanna-nāśayeti ubhayaḥ api | yoginī-pāda-dvayaṃ | yāvad arddha-sthāpanaṃ vā yūpas-kārah | āha ca | ekata kuṅṭhita-nyastas-*[tri]ni-kuṅṭhita-jānukaṃ* | āsīna-puruṣopetaṃ yugma-pādaṃ pratiṣṭhitam anyonya-jānubhyāṃ vāmā-pārsva-pīḍanaṃ muṅḍa-tāḍanaṃ | vajra-sattva-bāhu-pāśe prajñā-pāramitā-kaṅṭha-dīḍham ālīṅgya devyā-jāṅghaṃ tu parivinyāsyā tat samputaḥ saṃyamī-kṛtaṃ uktaṃ ca yogīṣit-kaṅṭha-vikalpa-prāṇāt mokṣaḥ ity uktaṃ āryya-devena iti | dvandvāliṅganam iti prajñāpāya-sammilanam kutaḥ ityāha sakala-sattva-dhātoḥ saṃsārottara-kāryyeṇa ity arthaḥ | yoginī-jāla-sambaram muktā nāsty anyah saṃsāre sāra iti | pādānāt dvādaśa-sahasrikotka-kakṣapuṣe pādasya saṃhārah tatredaṃ kakṣapuṣam | nṛpa-saḥja-sikhī-dhātī hasta-śobhā-sukanyā | jaṭa-naraka-vibhīṭā-mohanīndrābja-vajrā | kuru catur-catuṣka-pañca-dehāya miśraṃ | *[jyuvati-vaśja-yogyā tvaṃ ca tuṣṭhim sadamśjrai]* | (Grünendahl 1989:490-491).

375. Add. 1704 (Bendall 1992:197-198).

376. *Namo ratnatrayāya* | vidyuj-jihvāṃ mahābhītmāṃ sarvāsā-paripūrakāṃ | tān namaskṛtya vaksye 'haṃ sādhanopāikāmarāṃ | | bhagavyā svedāmbujāyāḥ kalpokta-vidhinā praviṣṭa-maṅḍalābhīṣeka-vidyā-labdhasya mantriṇa japa-vidhim ārabhyet | | prathamam tāvat mantriṇo kalpa ... ya-pratipālanam ṛddhi-pratihāryyādi ... mahotsāhinā | | ... m-anātmavān rājādi-sampadā anyatane siddhi-niṣpādanādhyeṣaṇā-yukte suniścic-cetasā sarvvaṃ dvandvaṃ saḥ*[v?]*ṣṭunā | | akhinnā-mānasena vāhyādhyātmika-śaucācāre samanvitena prajñāpāramitādi-saddharmma-vācanodyatena parvvatārāmodyāna-śmaśāna-padmsara-nadī-pulina-vihārālaya-guhādiṣv athavā mano 'nukūle sthāne mṛd-gomayādir-upalepanam | | ... ya-bhūmi*[m]* kalpayet | | tatrāyaṃ vidhikramo, niśā tṛtīyāvasāna-kāla-samaye śayanād utthāya trayadvihikākaśa-dhātu-niṣṭha-dharmma-dhātu-paryavasāna-vyavasthitebhyah sarvva-buddha-bodhisattvebhyah sarvvāntam abhāvaṃ viniryātayet | praṇamet tato dvādaśākṣara-mantreṇa aṅguṣṭha-mudrayā ātmānaṃ pañcasu sthāneṣu rakṣā*[m]* vidadhyāt | tena bahir bhūmyādikaṃ gacchet rātrau dakṣiṇābhīmukho divā cottarābhīmukho bhavet | tataḥ kṛtaśacas tu snāna-pañcāṅga-prakṣālanam vā kuryyāt, tato devyā udakāñjali-trayaṃ nivedya, deva-grhaṃ yāyāt, samyak-līta-kusumābhikīrṇe*[e]* maṅḍalake devyāḥ paṭa-pratimasānyatamasāyāgrataḥ abhāvena bhagavat*[m]* dhyātvā raktāmbara-dhara sarvvopakaraṇopeta*[h]* pratīcyādi-mukhodaḥmukho vā sarvva-loka-dhāryasthita-sarvva-buddha-bodhisattva-pratyeka-buddhāryya-śrāvākādīn bhāvato namet | | tato bhagavatīṃ natvā añjaliṃ śirasī nidhāyevaṃ vadet, ratna-trayaṃ me śaraṇam sarvva-pāpaṃ pratideśayāham anumode jagat-puṇyaṃ buddha-bodhau dadhe manah | tathāivāñjaliṃ kṛtvā viśuddhi-mantram udīrayet | saptavāraṃ namaḥ samasta-buddhānāṃ om sarvva-viśuddhi-dharmma | | (Shāstrī 1917:142-143).

377. Naudou 1980:232.

- 378 . Naudou 1980:256-257.
- 379 . Tohoku 3428 is mistakenly listed twice in the Tohoku Catalogue Index, Ui et al 1934a:65)
- 380 . The only Vajrapāda referred to by Naudou (Naudou 1980:95n.38) is Acintya or Vajrapāda, another name for Mīna-pā or Matsyendranātha, who was likely the same individual as Lui-pā. This would place Vajrapāda, if these identifications are accurate, in the 9th century.
- 381 . Naudou 1980:212.
- 382 . Tucci 1949{1}:88.
- 383 . Naudou 1980:149-150.
- 384 . See Naudou 1980:190.
- 385 . For Tohoku listings of authors and translators, Ui et al 1934:484-485, 519, 520, 511, 385, 387, 85, 499, and 546.
- 386 . Ui et al 1934:511.
- 387 . Naudou 1980:249.
- 388 . Naudou 1980:256-257.
- 389 . i et al 1934:299, 526, 504, 398.
- 390 . Naudou 1980:184-185.
- 391 . Naudou 1980:213-214n.38.
- 392 . This is listed in the Index to the Tohoku Catalogue as 1949--this is an incorrect listing; Tohoku 1949 is the *Daṇḍadhṛg-vidāra-yamāri-sādhana-nāma* (Ui et al 1934:307); the correct listing is Tohoku 1649.
- 393 . See Naudou 1980:253-256.
- 394 . Ui et al 1934:260-261.
- 395 . Ui et al 1934:485 and 489.
- 396 . Ui et al 1934:69, 228.
- 397 . Ui et al 1934:120.
- 398 . Ui et al 1934:85.
- 399 . Ui et al 1934:134, 411, 674.

## The Early Śaivite Tantric Literature

### 5.0. Introduction

Much as in Christianity, where the historical birth of Jesus Christ and the advent of the Christian tradition can be traced to a definite time and place, the historical Śākyamuni Buddha and the origins of the religion he started can be traced to a definite place and a roughly definite time. This definitive historical aspect to the tradition has contributed to the problematic canonical arguments for dating the Buddhist Tantras to the time of Śākyamuni's historical life. In Hinduism, the founding figures of the Tantric tradition, Śiva and Śakti, are not so easy to pin down. Since the divine couple is considered to live eternally, the advocates of the Hindu Tantric traditions do not try to pin the origins of their texts to a particular time period. On the other hand, in terms of modern historical methodologies, we do not have the advantage with the Śaivite Tantric literature of a datable translated corpus as we do with the Buddhist Tantras. We also do not have the same sort of settled consensus of classification as the Tibetans have provided for generations of Buddhist scholars and practitioners. For historical dating of the Śaivite Tantras, one of the best benchmarks we have are the citations and quotes of the Śaivite Tantras by Abhinavagupta in his early 11th century *Tantrālokaḥ*, and we shall discuss this material below. The timing of this text gives us a definitive "latest" date for a number of texts that survive in either published or manuscript form. As for classifications, what we find--instead of a consensus schema as in Buddhist Tantra--is

a variety of classification schemes used by scholars, and by the various Śaivite traditions themselves, with a general distinction between the southern Śaiva Siddhānta school and the 'northern' so-called Kaśmīri Śaiva school. Because of the vast complexity of the Śaiva Tantric corpus, and its multiple overlaps with Śākta Tantras (particularly of the Śrī Vidyā tradition), and even some Vaiṣṇava texts, I will not attempt in this dissertation any sort of comprehensive overview of all Śaivite Tantric literature. What I will cover in this chapter is 1) A discussion of the variety of classification schemas used for Śaivite Tantras by modern scholars, 2) The differing Śaivite Tantric classification schemas found in some of the Tantras, 3) Precursor traditions of the northern monistic Śaivite tradition that come to be incorporated into the Trika Śaivism espoused by Abhinavagupta, 4) Original translations of catalogue extracts from several Sanskrit manuscripts of the earliest extant Śaivite Tantras that were cited or quoted by Abhinavagupta. This tables of contents we have for these texts, and the short extracts from the introductions and closing sections of the manuscripts, gives us some sense of the topics covered in the major extant Śaivite Tantras. 5) In the last section of the chapter I will briefly discuss the published Śaivite Tantras of Abhinavagupta's tradition; several of these I will discuss in detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation. The major contribution of this chapter will simply be to show that there was and still are a substantial number of early Śaivite Tantras that are texts of significant size, and that they form part of a larger tradition that included contributions from a number of very learned and deeply thinking writers. This chapter puts, as is sometimes said, some 'meat on the bones' of the claims of the

Tantric tradition to a long and vibrant history, and provide some orientation for other scholars who may become curious about the Śaivite Tantras and wish to work on some of the untranslated and unpublished texts. It is far more useful to have some sense of the topics and style of several significant Śaivite Tantras than to simply be faced with a list of text names and not to know whether they may or may not still exist, or for that matter whether they ever existed at all.

## **5.1. Śaivite Tantric Classification Schemas (5.1.1. Scholarly Classifications, 5.1.2. Traditional Classifications)**

### **5.1.1. Classifications of Śaivite Tantras by Scholars, Based on Traditional Schemas**

Padoux has argued that traditional Tantric classification schemes are largely post-hoc and artificial,<sup>1</sup> though we really need more information about the whole tradition to settle the question. Bhatt divides the Śaiva literature fourfold, *Kāpāla*, *Kālāmuka*, *Pāśupata* and *Śaiva*,<sup>2</sup> with the latter again subdivided into the *Kāśmīra Śaiva* and the *Siddhānta Śaiva*, primarily northern and southern, respectively,<sup>3</sup> though some of the authors of Kaśmīr Śaiva texts apparently came from the south.<sup>4</sup> Dyczkowski, in his survey of the *Śaivāgamas* and the *Kaula Tantras* lists some 700 different texts,<sup>5</sup> giving some idea of the eventual scope of the literature (we will discuss this material in a bit more detail below). Of the four groupings identified by Bhatt, the authoritative study on the *Kāpālikas* and *Kālāmukhas* (both now extinct) is David Lorenzen's work from 1971, and little work has been done since.<sup>6</sup> According to Lorenzen, the *Kālāmukhas* were an offshoot of the *Pāśupatas*, and he provides a

useful list of synonyms of the cults culled from the *Purāṇas* and commentaries<sup>7</sup> (see Chapter 3.2.4. of this dissertation for a discussion of Lorenzen's work). Minoru Hara, in the introduction to his translation of the *Nakulīśa-pāśupata-darśanam*<sup>8</sup> dates *Nakulīśa* (or *Lakulīśa*) to "about the beginning of the Christian era,"<sup>9</sup> following the evidence of several earlier scholars who researched the subject. In passages purportedly quoted from *Nakulīśa*'s teachings, we are told that the *vrata* include smearing the body with ashes, lying in ashes, recitation of *mantras* and hymns, and circumambulation. Together with the customary ascetic practices and usual Yogic practices of breath control and concentration on the heart, these devotees employed a variety of acts designed to arouse scorn and mockery by others. These presentations (*upahāra*) including laughing, singing and dancing, the latter two to be performed in conformity with *Gāndharvaśāstra* (music treatises) and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Among the preliminary rites were included *śṛṅgāraṇa*, "that coquetry by which when looking at a young and beautiful woman one shows oneself to be in love with her," and *avitatkarāṇa*, "doing things which the world censures, as if one could not distinguish between what should be done and what should be not." These behaviors also included acting like a dead man or a drunkard, sleeping and snoring publicly, behaving as though buffeted by the wind, limping about, acting and speaking like a crazy man, and bellowing.<sup>10</sup> We are also told, "where the profane are present, all this should be practiced in secret."<sup>11</sup> While this by no means constitutes proof of early Tantric-style rituals, it does--provided we can rely at least somewhat on the authenticity of *Mādhava*'s attributions to *Nakulīśa*--give some indication that Tantric



activities may well have begun several centuries before the full-fledged texts became well known, and thereby tends to support the impression given by Dharmakīrti's remarks (See Chapter 3.1.3.) that Tantric practices are older than has generally been considered.<sup>12</sup>

In the Introduction to his Italian translation of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, Raniero Gnoli gives a useful classification of the Śaivite Tantras. He says that we may generally (though not strictly) divide them into two categories--one of a more ritualistic and disciplinary character, and the other decidedly mystical and erotic. The first group of scriptures are the so-called *Āgamas* (though the endings *-āgama* and *-tantra* are here interchangeable), a group of texts dating probably from the first century CE and of an eminently ritualistic character. The *Āgamas*, as the major part of the *Tantras*, are divided into four parts called *pādas*, dedicated respectively to knowledge (*vidyā*), yoga, rites (*kriyā*), and disciplinary rules (*caryā*). In the *Āgama* texts the *Kriyā* section tends to be the longest. The *Āgamas* he says were preserved in the south of India where they form the basis of the Śaivite temple rites. Among them we find as common conceptions the idea that Śiva is uniquely the one responsible for the creations, sustenance, and reabsorption of the world, and possesses six qualities: omniscience, satisfaction, pure awareness, freedom, omnipotence and infinite potential. The various scriptures emerge from his five faces: Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Tatpuruṣa, and Īśāna. Throughout these texts we find a common belief in the power of *mantras*, used not only in meditation but also in initiations (*dikṣā*), particularly for purification of the six paths (*adhvan*) of creation. In theory

these *āgama* teachings are available to all castes, and their teachings are discussed by Abhinava in the texts *Kāmika-āgama*, *Kiraṇa*, *Niḥśvāsa*, *Pauṣkara*, *Raurava*, *Svāyambhuva*, *Pārameśvara*, etc.<sup>13</sup> There are in addition many texts where the characteristics of these two divisions (viz. the more ritualistic and the more esoteric and speculative) coexist, as Gnoli puts it, happily. These include the *Mālinīvijayatantra* (classed by Abhinava as the most important to the *Trika* tradition), the *Svacchanda-tantra*, the *Triśirobhairava-tantra*, the *Niśisaṃcāra-tantra*, the *Devyāyāmala-tantra*, the *Siddhayogeśvarī-tantra*, and several others.<sup>14</sup>

We can also broadly divide Hindu Tantric literature into two major types, original Tantras and the Tantric digests. Unlike Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras, whose production largely ceased with the Persian invasions, and whose commentarial tradition shifted primarily to Tibet, Hindu Sanskrit Tantras and digests continue to be written into the twentieth century CE. The earliest significant digest is *Abhinavagupta*'s *Tantrāloka*, and a shorter summary he wrote late in life called the *Tantrasāra*. Of the better known later digests are the Pūṇānanda's sixteenth century *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantrasāra*. One of the most recent digests is the 13,000+ *śloka* *Āgamatattvavilāsa* by Raghunāthātarkavāgīśaḥ of Bengal, probably from the early 19th century.<sup>15</sup> The range of Hindu Tantric literature is vast. Though the earlier strata can be somewhat clearly distinguished into Śaiva, Śākta, and Vaiṣṇava (*Pañcarātra*) lines, many of the Tantra of the second millennium CE cross party lines, so to speak, incorporating deities from the variety of Hindu and Buddhist pantheons, with several (e.g. *Govindakalpalatā* and *Brhadgautamītantram*) devoted to

*Kṛṣṇa*,<sup>16</sup> a *Caitanyakalpa* added to the ostensibly Śaivite *Brahmayāmala*,<sup>17</sup> and another, the *Yogāvaltantram* devoted to *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa*.<sup>18</sup> (The latter is in fact a practical handbook for conscious control of reproduction.<sup>19</sup>) H.P. Śāstrī devoted an entire volume (8.1-2) to Tantric texts in his catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's Sanskrit manuscripts, with 150-200 original Tantras (some independent works define themselves as chapters of larger works), some 90 general and comprehensive Tantric digests, in addition to a hundred shorter works devoted to particular deities, rites, *mudrās*, *yantras*, etc.<sup>20</sup> We find hundreds of texts in manuscript scattered about the Indian subcontinent and in European libraries.<sup>21</sup>

Another helpful schematic overview that looks at the Śaivite Tantric literature in relationship to Vaiṣṇava and Śākta literature is the Introduction by N.R. Bhatt to the descriptive catalogue of the holdings of the French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry.<sup>22</sup> The Institute's holdings include some 12,000 manuscripts, 1100 *devanāgarī* transcripts from other libraries, and microfilm copies of the *Śaivāgama* manuscripts from the Kashmir Government Library, the Nepal Durbar Library, and the Sanskrit College in Calcutta. Bhatt notes that despite differentiations by some scholars, *Āgama* (what comes from the teacher to the disciple),<sup>23</sup> Tantras and *Samhitā* (collections) are really synonyms, though in practice *Vaiṣṇava* texts are often called *samhitās*, and most *Śākta* texts are called *Tantras*. The *Śākta* texts traditionally number 64, though many more now exist. It is from the *Śāktāgamās* that we derive the oft-misunderstood distinction between the so-called left-handed Tantra (*Vāmamārga*) and the right-handed Tantra (*Dakṣiṇamārga*)--a classification that first

gained currency among Western scholars through Woodroffe's work on *Śākta Tantras*. The *Vaiṣṇava* works are divided into the *Pāñcarātrāgamās* and the *Vaikhānasāgamas*. The former grouping is again subdivided into *Divya*--texts such as *Sāttvasaṃhitā*, *Pauṣkarasaṃhitā*, and *Jayākhyasaṃhitā* that were revealed directly by *Nārāyaṇa*; *Munibhāṣita*, i.e. spoken by the sages to their disciples, such as *Bharadvājasaṃhitā* and *Pārameśvarasaṃhitā*; and the *Āptamanujaprokta*, i.e. spoken by trustworthy men. Bhattacharyya notes that different classification schemes are given in different *Samhitās*, citing for example a different schema from the *Īśvarasaṃhitā* of *Āgama*, *Mantra*, *Tantra*, and *Tantrāntara*.<sup>24</sup> (I have not yet done any serious research on the Śākta Tantras as a group--most of Woodroffe's work is on the Śākta Tantras, or on the Kālī literature, or on the Śrī Vidyā tradition, so I will not discuss these here, although we will see that the *Krama* tradition of the *Trika* school is also known as *Kālikrama* and has *Kālī* as its principal deity.)

### 5.1.2. Śaivite Tantric Classification Schemes from Within the Traditions

Tantric classification schemes from within the traditions have been the subject of long discussions by sectarian adherents over the centuries. Bagchi, reading in the 39th (*Śrotanirṇaya*) chapter of the *Brahmayāmala* Tantric manuscript (copied in 1052 CE) gives three Śaivite classifications: a) the right, middle, and left currents (*dakṣiṇa-*, *madhyama-*, and *vāma-srotas*) = Śiva's three *śaktis*; b) the four seats of science, syllables, consorts, and circles (*vidyā-*, *mantra-*, *mudrā-*, and *maṇḍala-pīṭhas*); c) the (usually) five traditions from the eastern, western, southern, northern, and upper mouths of Śiva (*pūrva-*, *paścima-*, *dakṣiṇa-*, *uttara-*, and *ūrdhva-āmnāyas*).<sup>25</sup> Another

classification scheme speaks of the *Bhairavatantras* or the *Bhairavasrotas*. There are eight *yāmalas* (the name comes from *yamala*, or pair, as in Śiva and Śakti), such as the *Brahmayāmala*, *Rudrayāmala*, *Jayadrathayāmala* (also tied to the *vāma-madhyama-srotas* and the *paścimavaktra*).<sup>26</sup> Drabu, in a helpful study of the *Śaivāgamas*, points us to Śrīkaṇṭhi's classification of the Śaiva Āgamas cited by Jayaratha in his commentary on the *Tantrāloka*. This schema includes ten *Śiva Tantras*, eighteen *Rudra Tantras*, and sixty-four *Bhairava Tantras* in eight categories. The ten include the *Kāmaja*, *Yogaja*, *Cintya*, *Maukuta*, *Aṅśumata*, *Dīpta*, *Karana*, *Suprabheda*, *Ajīta* and one other. The eighteen are the *Vijaya*, *Niśvāsa*, *Madgīta*, *Parameśvara*, *Mukhabimba*, *Siddha*, *Santāna*, *Nārasimhaka*, *Candrāṃśu*, *Vṛabhadra*, *Āgneya*, *Svayambhuva*, *Visara*, *Raurava*, *Pañcavimala*, *Kiraṇa*, *Lalita*, and *Saurabheya*. The sixty-four *Bhairava Tantras* are divided into eight groups. The so-called *Sadāśiva-cakra* consists of the *Bhairava*, *Yāmala*, *Matākhya*, *Maṅgala*, *Cakrāṣṭaka*, *Sikhāṣṭaka*, *Bahurūpa* and *Vāgīśa* texts. According to the *Bahurūpa*, the eight *Svacchandas* are the *Svacchanda*, *Bhairava*, *Caṇḍa*, *Krodha*, *Unmattabhairava*, *Asitāṅga*, *Mahoccuṣma*, and the *Kapālīśa*. The next group of eight consists of the *Brahmayāmala*, *Viṣṇuyāmala*, *Svacchanda*, *Ruru*, *Atharvaṇa*, *Rudram*, and *Vetāla*. Here then we find either the *Atharvaveda* itself or a Tantra named for that tradition included in the list. The *Matabheda* texts include the *Rakta*, *Lampaṭa*, *Lakṣmā*, *Cālikā* (or *Ālikā*), *Piṅgala*, *Utpullaka*, and *Viśva*. Many of these texts are referred to either in the plural, or as *Viśvādya*, i.e the *Viśva* etc., indicating an attendant literature probably of *sādhana*s and *mantra-kalpa*s such as we have preserved in the

Tibetan canon for the Buddhist Tantric texts. In the *Caṇḍabheda* group--referred to as the *Maṅgala-bheda* by Krodheśa--we have the *Bhairavī*, *Picutantrasamudbhava*, *Brāhmī*, *Kalā*, *Vijayā*, *Candrā*, *Maṅgalā*, and the *Sarvamaṅgalā*. Asitāṅga referred to the *Cakrabheda* as the *Mantracakra*, *Varṇacakra*, *Śākticakra*, *Kalācakra*, *Binducakra*, *Nādacakra*, *Guhyacakra*, and *Khacakra*. The *Rurubheda* texts are the *Andhaka*, *Rurubheda*, *Ajā*, *Mūla*, *Varṇabhaṅṭha*, *Viḍaṅga*, *Jvālina*, and *Mātṛrodana*. According to Kapālīśa the *Vāgīśabhedas* are *Bhairavī*, *Citrikā*, *Hamsā*, *Kadambikā*, *Hallekhā*, *Candralekhā*, *Vidyullekhā*, and *Vidyumān*. Unmatta grouped the *Śikhābheda* as *Bhairavī*, *Śikhā*, *Vīṇā*, *Vīṇāmaṅṭ*, *Saṅmoha*, *Ḍāmara*, *Atharvaka*, *Kabandha*, and *Śīrascheda*.<sup>27</sup> In this last group includes the *Ḍāmara-tantra*, a text or at least a tradition shared by the Hindus and Buddhists under the name *Bhūta-ḍāmara-Tantra*. One other classification scheme to note is a list of authoritative Tantras given in the 39th chapter of the *Brahmayāmala Tantra*, a text Bagchi dates to the 8th century. This list roughly matches lists from the *Kāmikāgama* and the *Niśvāsataṭṭvasaṅhitā*: 1) *Vijaya*, 2) *Niśvāsa*, 3) *Svāyambhuvamata*, 4) *Vāthula*, 5) *Vīrabhadra*, 6) *Raurava*, 7) *Mākuṣa*, 8) *Vīrasa/Vireśa*, 9) *Candrahāsa*, 10) *Jñāna*, 11) *Mukhavimbaka*, 12) *Prodgīta*, 13) *Lalita*, 14) *Siddi*, 15) *Santāna* or *Sattvānaka*, 16) *Sarvodgīta*, 17) *Kīraṇa*, 18) *Pārameśvara*.<sup>28</sup>

While classification systems may be attractive to systematists, and were certainly attractive to Śaivite Tantric writers, the proliferation of schemes from within and outside of the traditions suggests that we should not rely too heavily on any one of these categorizations in terms of sorting out the meaning of the texts. The only

way to really gain much sense of what were the concerns of the Tantric writers, as with the Buddhist material, is read the texts themselves.

**5.2. Contributing Streams of Thought to Abhinavagupta's *Trika-darśana* (5.2.1. The *Āgama*, *Spanda*, and *Pratyabhijñā* Literature, 5.2.2. The *Krama* and *Kula* Influences)**

Before looking at the Tantras that served as source material for Abhinava's writings, we must briefly consider the literature of the monistic Śaiva tradition in Kaśmīr Abhinava comes from, since this includes a variety of texts and commentaries that are more philosophical in nature. This material has been well covered over the past few decades principally by French<sup>29</sup> and Italian scholars, though a few English-speaking academics have also made their mark--particularly Alexis Sanderson at Oxford and his former student Mark Dyczkowski, and the American Paul Muller-Ortega<sup>30</sup>--along with some remarkable efforts by some Indian initiates and academicians. The non-dual Śaivism of Kashmir is sometimes called *Tṛka-śāsana*, or *Tṛka-śāstra*.<sup>31</sup> According to Sanderson, this school went through three phases: an early period before 800 CE when the goal of the ritual was--

The assimilation of the power of a 'triad' (*trika*) of goddesses, Parā, Parāparā, and Aparā, the first benevolent, the other two wild and terrifying, garlanded with skulls and brandishing the *kharvāṅga*, the skull-topped staff of the Kāpālikas. Associated with the cult of these sect-defining deities was that of the eight mother goddesses and their embodiments in 'clans' (*kula*) of *yoginīs*. The latter are both supernatural apparitions and human females considered to be permanently possessed by the mother goddesses. They were to be invoked and/or placated with offerings of blood, flesh, wine, and sexual fluids by power-seeking adepts whose affinity with one or other of these clans was divined at the time of initiation.<sup>32</sup>

The second phase of the Trika tradition incorporated the Krama tradition of Kālī worship (see below). The third phase, marked mainly by Abhinavagupta's writings (*Tantrāloka*, *Tantrasāra*, *Mālinīvijayavartika*, *Parātriṃśikavivaraṇa*, etc.) and those of his student Kṣemarāja, incorporated the *Pratyabhijñā* metaphysics and positioned itself as the 'catholic' summation of the heterodox Bhairavatantras, Kaula tradition, and Krama lineage, and (with a monistic reinterpretation) the doctrines of the orthodox and dualistic Śaiva Siddhānta school.<sup>33</sup>

### 5.2.1. The Āgama, Spanda, and Pratyabhijñā Literature

There are three basic divisions of the Trika literature: the *Āgama-sāstra*, the *Spanda-sāstra*, and the *Pratyabhijñā-sāstra*. Under the revelations of the *Āgama-sāstra* are the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, the *Svacchandabhairavatantra*, the *Netratantra*, the *Rudrayāmalatantra*, the *Śivasūtras* and other texts. One major line of thinking leading into Abhinavagupta's work was this speculative and theoretical tradition dating from Vasugupta's eighth century *Śivasūtras*--supposedly divine revelation from Śiva in a dream that Vasugupta then found inscribed on some rocks in Kaśmīr. Vasugupta also authored the *Spandakārikās*, a commentary on the *Śiva Sūtras*. These two works gave rise to a host of further elaborations and commentaries that came to form much of the philosophical basis of what is loosely referred to as Kaśmīr Śaivism.

Vasugupta is therefore credited with founding the Kaśmīr Śaivite school in the early 9th century, and was the teacher of Kallaṭa who lived during Avantivarman's reign. *Rājatarāṅginī* 5.66 speaks of King Avantivarman of Kashmir who reigned from 855-883, so this confirms the dating. Vasugupta apparently wrote a commentary on the



*Bhagavadgītā* that survives in extracts;<sup>34</sup> both Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta also subsequently wrote commentaries on the *Gītā*, and the full edition of the latter has been published and translated into English.<sup>35</sup> The philosophical doctrines of the *Śiva Sūtra* tradition have been ably summarized by Jaideva Singh in his introduction to his translation of the text. I will not repeat his work here except to note a few salient doctrinal points, since these are absorbed by Abhinavagupta into his *Trikadarśana*. In this system ultimate reality is ultimate consciousness (*Parāsaṃvit*), where there is no distinction of subject and object, where the Supreme surveys itself, constituted by light (*prakāśa*) who is Śiva, and awareness (*vimarśa*) who is Śakti.<sup>36</sup> There are 36 *tattvas* or cosmic principles in the system, the first five being Śiva, Śakti, Sadāśiva (will), Īśvara (knowledge), and Sad- or Śuddhavidyā. Then there is illusion (*māyā*) and its five sheaths (*kañcukas*): *kalā* or the principle of limitation of power, *vidyā* or limited knowledge, *rāga* or passion, *kāla* or time, and *niyati* or limitation of experience. These are followed by the Sāṃkhya categories of Puruṣa and Prakṛti, Buddhi, Ahaṃkāra and Manas, the *jñānendriyas* (smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing) and *karmendriyas* (speech, grasping, locomotion, excretion, and procreation), the five *tanmātras* (sound, touch, color, flavor, odor), and the five elements (*mahābhūtas*--earth, air, fire, water, space).<sup>37</sup> These basic ideas of the nature of reality as light and consciousness embodied in Śiva and Śakti, and the set of the thirty-six *tattvas* are fully absorbed into Abhinava's system and the Trika-darśana of Tantric Yoga.

The second major division of monistic Kaśmīri Śaivite literature is the works

of the *Spanda Śāstra*. The major text is the *Spanda kārikās* or *Spandasūtra* written either by Vasugupta himself or by Kallaṭa, his chief disciple.<sup>38</sup> There are four commentaries on the text, a *vṛtti* by Kallaṭa (9th century), a *vivṛti* by Rāmakaṇṭha (10th century), Bhaṭṭa Utpala's 10th century *Spandapradīpikā*,<sup>39</sup> and Kṣemarāja's 11th century *Spandasandoha* and *Spandanirṇaya*. (These works have all been translated into European languages.)<sup>40</sup> Abhinavagupta, in the *Parātriṃśikavivaraṇa* defined *spanda* as *kramādi-parihāreṇa camat-kāra-ātmikā ucchalatā*, a phrase Singh translates as "a heaving of spiritual rapture in the essential nature of the Divine which excludes all succession."<sup>41</sup> Another way to put this is that the Spanda school defined ultimate reality as an energy, an vibration, a movement, identical with Siva: "movement, energy, incessant effort, not separated from the world, but rather the active principle, the source of innumerable creations and dissolutions, both cosmic and individual."<sup>42</sup> Developing some of Bhartṛhari's ideas about language, Somānanda, Utpaladeva, and later Abhinavagupta argued that Light and Thought are in fact two diverse facets of the same reality.<sup>43</sup> Everything that exists, prior to appearing and making itself clear in our thoughts, and translating itself finally into action, pre-exists in the will.<sup>44</sup> According to Abhinavagupta and Utpaladeva, there is a logical necessity to the preexistence of the future in the will, just as the final design of a pot or a cloth predetermines its initial representation to the potter or the weaver.<sup>45</sup> The will is an experience, not only an abstract concept.

The third major division of the literature is the *Pratyabhijñā Śāstra*. The works of this school derive from the tradition of Somānanda who wrote the

*Śivadr̥ṣṭi*,<sup>46</sup> from his student Utpaladeva who wrote the more popular *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-kārikās*, with his *vṛtti* autocommentary, and from Abhinavagupta's *Pratyabhijñāvīmarśinī* and *Pratyabhijñāvivṛtivīmarśinī*. Kṣemarāja also wrote a short 20 verse text entitled *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*,<sup>47</sup> and Abhinava discusses the system in depth in his *Tantrāloka*.<sup>48</sup> The doctrine of the system is that *citi* as the feminine or active aspect of Śiva creates the universe via a projection onto her own wall or partition (*svabhittau*), much as we would say a modern-day projectionist projects a movie onto a screen--or as Kṣemarāja puts it, like a city seen in a mirror (*darpaṇe nagaravat*).<sup>49</sup> Through the various levels of illusion inherent in reality the individual sees him or herself as distinct and separate from the consciousness-source; *pratyabhijñā*, or recognition, as the name of the system, refers to initiates coming to recognize the *citi* within them that is inextricably linked to Śiva and Śakti. This basic paradigm is also absorbed in Abhinava's system and the Trika-darśana of Śaivite Tantric Yoga. The relatedness of all three of these major divisions of the monistic Śaivite school is indicated by their inclusion in the *Tantrāloka*, and by the concerns of Abhinavagupta's Tantric disciple Kṣemarāja, who wrote commentaries on the *Śiva Sūtras*, on several of the major Kaśmīr Śaivite Tantras as well as on the *Pratyabhijñā* and *Spanda* works.<sup>50</sup>

### 5.2.2. The *Krama* and *Kula* Influences

Another contributing stream to Abhinava's Trika Śaivism is the *Krama* school, a term that, as Sanderson puts it, refers "to a number of closely related mystical cults of the goddess Kālī and her emanations, which, originating in Uḍḍiyāna (Swat) and

Kashmir before the ninth century, propagated an idealist metaphysics that exerted a decisive influence on the Trika and thence on the Śrīvidyā. The Krama rituals with their wild, skull-decked, often theriomorphic deities place them within the Kāpālīka culture of the cremation grounds."<sup>51</sup> Aside from Sanderson's article, and the sections on Krama in Pandey's study of Abhinavagupta,<sup>52</sup> the only other published works on this tradition are Silburn's two translations<sup>53</sup> and Rastogi's Krama Tantricism of Kashmir,<sup>54</sup> with two of the major surviving canonical texts of the school being the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Mahānayaprakāśa*, though there are many others.<sup>55</sup>

Sanderson gives perhaps the most succinct summary of the basic doctrines of this system that speaks of Kālī as an "infinite power of consciousness that projects and absorbs the universe within itself:

All forms of the Krama ritual are designed to induce this liberating intrinsicism through assimilative worship of Kālī (the true Self) in and as a 'sequence' (*krama*) of sets of divine powers. This 'sequence' embodies all the phases through which this cyclical dynamism manifests itself in the microcosm of the individual's cognition, as it fills and empties itself from moment to moment in the flux of experience. Thus in its commonest form the Krama ritual culminates in the worship of a sequence of deities that successively encodes the projection of content, immersion in content, retraction of content into the state of latent impression within the subject, and finally the dissolution of these subjective impressions in the implosion of consciousness into its pristine, nondiscursive potentiality. In some traditions, pure luminosity (*bhāsā*) is worshipped as a fifth phase englobing these four as its creative vibrancy. Fortifying this gnostic ritual with the expansive joy of caste-free sexual union and the consumption of wine, flesh, and the impurities of the body, the initiate penetrates through the inhibition of external values and the rebirth-generating bondage of self-awareness that this inhibition entails, thereby attaining the conviction that his individualized consciousness is but the spontaneous play of these universal powers. No longer enslaved by the appearance of subjection to the not-self in consciousness, he achieves liberation within the very flow of extroverted cognition.<sup>56</sup>

The Krama school had a major influence on the Trika system, with Abhinava taking pains to explain how Krama categories fit into his system, and the deities of the cult absorbed into the Trika system. As Sanderson explains, the doctrine also spread independently to the south of India, inspiring several major works, and survives in the Guhyakālī cult in the Kathmandu valley.<sup>57</sup>

The Kula tradition is of course a major element of the third-phase Trika school propounded by Abhinavagupta. The only study of Kula per se that has been published is the 7th chapter of Pandey's study of Abhinavagupta.<sup>58</sup> Though the scope of his study is impressive, and Pandey offers numerous insights into Abhinavagupta's thinking, his writing is often difficult to follow, and his dating methods not always backed up by substantiated evidence. Pandey identifies the *Siddhayogīśvarīmata*, the *Rudrayāmala*, and the *Kulārṇava* Tantras as the major texts of the earlier tradition, and points us to a ten-teacher *āmnaya* given by Abhinavagupta at *Tantrāloka* 28.391-393, taken from the fifty-first chapter of the *Devīyāmalatantra*.<sup>59</sup> Provided the lineage is reliable, that would place the early teachers of the *Kula* lineage in about the 7th-8th century. As I discuss the Kula doctrines in some detail in the 7th chapter of this dissertation, they need not detain us here.

### 5.3. The *Tantrāloka* (5.3.1. A Marker for Dating Śaivite Tantras, 5.3.2. The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*)

To bring some order to the otherwise easily confusing and often contradictory morass of the Śaivite Tantric classification schemes and material, I have taken as a benchmark Abhinavagupta's early 11th century magnum opus, the *Tantrāloka*, and the

commentary on this text in the thirteenth century by an adherent of the Trika-based Śrīvidyā tradition,<sup>60</sup> Jayaratha. As with Abhayākaragupta's Buddhist work (see Chapter 4 of this dissertation), Abhinava provides a historical time limit on the age of a set of Śaivite Tantric texts that he quotes in his work. This, combined with Jayaratha's clarifications, help us distinguish between the older Śaivite Tantras and those works that were written in the second millennium CE.

Abhinavagupta was an unusual fellow, conceived by his father Cukhala (Narasimhagupta) and mother Vimalā during a Kaula Tantric ritual,<sup>61</sup> who contributed major works in both Tantra and Aesthetics. He became famous throughout India for his *Abhinavabhāratī* on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, and his explication of the theory of *dhvani* (suggestion) in his slightly later commentary on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvany-āloka*, the *Kāvya-āloka-locana*.<sup>62</sup> In fact his choice of the name *Tantra-āloka* for his opus may reflect some honor paid to Ānandavardhana. As discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation, one of his students was the prolific writer Kṣemendra, who studied aesthetics and poetry with him. As for his teachers, the long list of names and subjects Abhinava provides us indicates that he was an extraordinarily well-educated fellow, with no less than 19 named *maṭhikāgurus* (teachers from specific preceptorial schools) and *jñāna-gurus* (teachers in general subject areas), and courses of study with logicians, Mīmāṃsakas, Vaiṣṇavas, Buddhists, Arhats, Śaiva Siddhāntins, and Trika adherents.<sup>63</sup> The results of these studies are impressive: Abhinava wrote 44 known works, apparently in addition to several lost works, including a Nyāya text, as well as commentaries on the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and several Tantras.<sup>64</sup> The polymath character of

Abhinavagupta's writings was not necessarily unusual for his time. To the 11th century King Bhojadeva of Dhārā, for instance, are attributed some 25 different works of literature and literary criticism, grammar, *nighaṇṭu* or specialized lexicography (*Amaravyākhyā* and *Samyamīnāma-mālikā*), *dharmaśāstra*, astronomy and astrology, *yoga*, *vaidya* or *āyurveda* (*Rāja-mṛgāṅka*, *Cārucaryā*, and *Āyurveda-sarvasva*), *Śaiva* philosophy (*Tattva-prakāśa*), *dhanurveda* or the science of archery, and music, and the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, and the *Śālihotrannaya*.<sup>65</sup>

### 5.3.1. The *Tantrāloka* as a Marker for Dating Śaivite Tantras:

Abhinava refers to about 150<sup>66</sup> Tantric texts in his *Tantrāloka*, and Jayaratha refers to about 100 or so additional texts,<sup>67</sup> so we know that by the early 11th century there was already a substantial body of northern Śaivite Tantric literature and commentaries extant. This indicates as well the likelihood of a substantial history to the tradition. Gnoli, in the Introduction to his translation of Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi*, indicates an *āmnaya* of 20 teachers, 'father to son' of the gurus who form the lineage leading up to Abhinava's time, between Tryamakāditya, "the legendary chief and founder (*pravartayitr*) of the monistic Śaiva school of Kashmir," and Somānanda, who "lived most probably in the first half of the Xth Century."<sup>68</sup> Taking as a conservative estimate 20 years between each teacher, and assuming for the moment that the 20-teacher *āmnaya* has some historical value, this would place the beginning of the Kashmiri monistic school at approximately the middle of the 6th century CE (30 year spacing would put it mid-4th century, 10 year spacing would put it in the eighth century). While not definitive, this *āmnaya* does give us a slightly better sense of the

antiquity of the Śaivite Tantric practices, and accords well with Dharmakīrti's 6th century notice of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Tantric practices. A roughly 400 year span for a lineage of 20 teachers is actually a fairly conservative estimate given that we have a reliable lineage of six teachers over a span of roughly 200 years between the 9th century Vasugupta, and his 11th century commentator Bhāskara.<sup>69</sup> While the *Āgamas* and *Tantras* are all anonymous, and considered direct revelations from Śiva, we had in the eighth and ninth centuries independent works and commentaries authored by Bṛhaspati and Sadyojyotiḥ, both of what is called the Śaivasiddhānta school, indicating at least these dates for early systematizations of the Śaivite Tantric corpus.<sup>70</sup>

While it would be tedious to list all the texts cited by Abhinava and Jayaratha (and both Gnoli<sup>71</sup> and Rastogi<sup>72</sup> have already indexed the citations), it is noteworthy that some 50-60 of these texts survive in either (sometimes partial) manuscript or published form. Rastogi has extensive notes on the existence of the various published texts and the Catalogue citations of the surviving manuscripts, and I have supplemented these lists by examining the published editions and the extracts from the manuscripts given in the India Office Catalogue, H.P. Shastri's Catalogues of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and that of the Durbar Library in Nepal, and in his and Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* It is not possible to tell that much about the original texts just from Abhinava's and Jayaratha's citations, since they are usually only a few lines or verses at most, and frequently are citations of just a single line, or a phrase, or just a reference. In order to fill in some of the gaps in this set



of information, and to gain a sense of the concerns of the authors of the earlier Śaivite Tantras, I have searched through several of the major catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts where we find extracts from these Tantras. In many instances we can tell either from the early date of the manuscripts themselves, or from the contents of the texts that we in all probability do indeed still have the texts Abhinavagupta was citing from, though in other instances we may well have later texts that adopted the same name as earlier ones now lost. The following study is not comprehensive--since just as with the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras discussed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation, I have not had the opportunity to check all the extant catalogues and manuscripts listing northern Śaivite Tantras, yet I have translated here a set of heretofore untranslated material that sheds more light on early Śaivite Tantra.

### 5.3.2. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*

*Abhinavagupta* considers the *Mālinīvijayottara* the most authoritative of the northern Śaivite Tantras, a point he makes in many places. An example of this is in his discussion of the number of worlds (*bhuvanas*) in the cosmos, in chapter 8 of the *Tantrāloka*. At TA 8.436-437a he says 'And others have many doubts, such as are discussed by teachers according to their own views. In the *Śrīpūrvaśāsana*, though, it is said that there are 118. That is authoritative in this regard; it is stated concisely and correctly."<sup>73</sup> The *Mālinīvijayottara* is also the only Tantra *Abhinavagupta* wrote a (partial) commentary on--at least that survives. We have the published version of the Tantra from the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 37.<sup>74</sup> Gnoli translated chapters 1-9 and chapter 11 of the *Mālinīvijayatantra* as Appendix 1 to his translation

of the *Tantrāloka*.<sup>75</sup> I have completed a draft English translation of the entire text, and discuss some of this material in more detail in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of this dissertation, where we will look at the theory and practice of Tantric Yoga. The Tantra itself claims to be an extraction from the *Siddhayogīśvarī-Tantram*, a Tantra that *Abhinavagupta* cites repeatedly in the *Tantrāloka*.<sup>76</sup> Śāstrī cites a manuscript by the same name in his Calcutta catalogue, ms. 5465, No. 5948. He gives the colophons from the 32 chapters, providing a table of contents: 1) (Untitled), 2) Pervasion, 3) Extraction of the *śakti* triad, 4) Extraction of the divisions of *vidyā*, 5) Extraction of the world protectors, 6) The *maṇḍala* of the Tantric group, 7) (Untitled), 8) (missing), 9) (Untitled), 10) The *Vidyā* vow, 11-13) (Untitled), 14) (Missing), 15-19) Untitled, 20) The array of the space *cakra*, 21) The congregation of the *Bhairava* heros, 22) Specification of the *Yoginī*-*cakra*, 23) (Untitled), 24) Extraction of the *cakra*, 25) Disposition of the *siddhi-maṇḍala* 26) Called the meeting, 27-32) (Untitled).<sup>77</sup> The post-colophon states ‘In Nepal *Samvat* 793, the infinite collection known as the *Siddhayogeśvarī* was written. (Among) the wise men knowing the effort involved in writing a manuscript, there is no one other than the one *Hanumān* who knows the ultimate that leaps over the ocean of suffering.’<sup>78</sup> Though the manuscript is clearly dated late--i.e. 1573 CE, the contents as we have them suggest it may well be a later version of the *Mālinīvijayottara-Tantra* source text, perhaps written to replace the missing original. Śāstrī also lists a manuscript of the fifth chapter only of the *Siddha-Vīreśvarī-Tantram*. The chapter begins: “‘So now I will explain the means to *siddhi*, Oh dearest of the lord; not knowing [this],

Oh Goddess, and not having recited [the *mantra*] to the sandals of the *guru*, how can the *Kaulika* adept not wander [lost] in the night? And [I will explain] how the *mantras* are perfected through knowledge of the meaning of the *mantras*, My dear; having recited the *Kullukā*<sup>79</sup> in the head, one should meditate on the bridge in the heart; and when the *sahasrāra* [*cakra*] is purified, one should meditate on the great bridge." It ends: "Thereby the entire recitation etc., without remainder, without a doubt| therefore one should recited the *kullukā* in one's head with every effort."<sup>80</sup> We have references to a *Siddhavātrāvalisāra* at TA 22.41 and a *Śrīśiddhavātra* at TA 33.2, texts Gnoli suggests are identical with the *Siddhayogeśvarī*.<sup>81</sup>

**5.4. Possibly Shared Texts Between Buddhist and Śaivite Traditions (5.4.1. The *Kālottara* and *Kālacakra* Tantras; 5.4.2. The *Amṛta* Tantra and the *Kālacakra Mūla* Tantra; 5.4.3. The *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*)**

Those who take the time and trouble to read through both Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric material will be immediately struck by the enormous similarities between the two traditions. Many of the gods and goddesses are shared, many of the ritual practices are extremely similar or sometimes almost exactly the same, much of the basic inheritance of magical, ritual, and Yogic practices is the same--as is the subtle body system and medical principles (see Chapter 7). I have found during my searches through the less well known and unpublished Tantras of both traditions that there appear to be a few Tantras that were actually shared (in different versions) between the two traditions, or else it is the case (equally likely) that the two traditions shared texts by the same names. The sharing or rival claims to individual Tantras is

not unheard of elsewhere in the Tantric traditions. The *Svacchandatantra* is for instance claimed as authoritative by both the non-dual *Trika-darśana*, and by the dualist *Śaiva-siddhānta* tradition, and both schools' proponents wrote commentaries on the text.

#### 5.4.1. The *Kālottaratantra* and the *Kālacakra Tantra*:

We must of course ask about the potential relationship of one of the main subjects of the *Kālacakratantra* and the Śaivite Tantras--the notion of time and the role it plays in Tantric practice. There is a rather early Śaivite *Tantra* called *Kālottara*, the *-uttara* suffix usually indicating that it forms a supplement to an earlier text--perhaps the *Kālatantra* as Śāstrī suggests<sup>82</sup> or more likely the well-known *Mahākālatantra*--a title of both a Śaivite and a later Buddhist work. The *Kālottaratantra* is cited by Abhinavagupta at *Tantrāloka* 11.19: "And it is likewise stated in the *Śrīmat Kālottara* etc. that there are in addition these five principles whereby the entire world is pervaded."<sup>83</sup> The Durbar library has two recensions of this text: 1) in 40 chapters (ms. 273), called the *Bṛhatkālottaram* or *Kālottaramahātantra*, 2) in 32 chapters (ms. 226), called the *Kālottaratantram*. This second version has as the title of chapter 24 "*Kālacakre....*" suggesting the possibility of a rather strong relationship with the content of the Buddhist text. Śāstrī provides however only the chapter titles of the two versions. While these cannot tell us much definitively without reading the text itself, the chapter titles certainly are suggestive, and there is definitely some overlap with the subject matter of the *Kālacakratantra* (not that difficult to achieve, however, given the enormous range of material covered

in the text). For the *Bṛhatkālottaram* these are: 1) Expiation (*prāyaścitta-paṭala*),<sup>84</sup> 2) The string of prayer beads (*Akṣa-sūtra-mālā*), 3) The description of the bell (*Ghaṇṭā-lakṣaṇa*), 4) Flowers (*Puṣpa*), 5) The eight little flowers (*Aṣṭa-puṣpikā*), 6) Pilgrimage (*Vrata-yātrā*), 7) The fourteen days of the dark half of February-March (*Phālguna-kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī*), 8) Astrological rites (*Graha-vrata*), 9) Religious observances (*Vrata*), 10) The source of the [cosmic] principles (*Tattvotpatti*), 11) Established *sādhanas* (*Sādhana-saṃvitti*), 12) Instruction about the channels and *cakras* (*Nāḍī-cakroddeśa*), 13) The alleviation of disease through *Oṃ* (*Prasāda-praṇava-vyādhi*),<sup>85</sup> 14) Perceptible *mantra* recitation (*Pratyakṣa-japa*), 15) Extraction of the *liṅga* (*Liṅgoddhāra*), 16) .....*teṣṭhi* (?), 17) The internal sacrifice (*Antar-yāga*), 18) Funeral rites (*Antyeṣṭhi*), 19) Faith (*Śrāddha*), 20) Coloring of the *liṅga* (*Liṅga-varṇana*), 21) *Liṅga*, 22) Image (*Pratimā*), 23) Description of the Mother and *Bhairava* (*Māṭṛ-bhairava-varṇana*), 24) Pilgrimage seat (*Pīṭha*), 25) The house sacrifice (*Vāstu-yāga*), 26) Characteristics of the palace (*Prāsāda-lakṣaṇa*), 27) Preliminary consecration (with perfumes etc.) (*Adhivāsana*), 28) Preliminary consecration (*Adhivāsana*), 29) Establishment (*Sthāpana*), 30) Extraction of the old (*Jīrṇoddhāra*), 31) Instruction about beginning (*Udghātoddeśa*), 32) Victory (*Vijaya*), 33) Description of *Brahmā*'s egg (*Brahmāṇḍa-varṇana*), 34) The rational structure of the principles (*Tattva-yukti*), 35) The meaning of the *mantras* (*Mantrārtha*), 36) Understanding the field(s) (*Kṣetra-grahaṇa*), 37) Description of *Śakti* (*Śakti-varṇana*), 38) Preliminary worship (*Pūrvva-sevā*), 39) Protecting the revelation of the *Aghora* etc. texts (*Aghorādi-śāstra-vyūṣṭi-paripālana*), 40) Closing chapter.<sup>86</sup>

The slightly shorter *Kālottaratantram* in about 600 verses is a conversation between *Kārttikeya* (*Śiva* and *Pārvatī*'s son) and *Īśvara*. Chapter 2<sup>87</sup> begins with *Kārttikeya* saying that the disposition of the conscience and similarly the purification of the elements (has been described, presumably), and the purification of the elements has already been performed. So please explain the strengthening (*āpyāyanam*) of the elements, properly. *Īśvara* replies (and this cannot be made clear without the rest of the text), one should confuse the consciousness first, then (one should perform?) its burning immediately afterwards, the strengthening is third, and *prāṇāyāma* is considered (the fourth). *Śāstrī* does not provide all the chapter titles; the ones he cites are 1) Extraction of the *mantras* (*mantroddhāra*), 2) The conscience (*Antaḥkaraṇa*), 4) Bathing with ashes (*Bhasma-snānaṃ*), 5) Rules for the sacrifice (*Yajana-vidhi*), 6) Rules for the fire ritual (*Agni-kāryya-vidhi*), 8) Explanation of the initiation (*Dīkṣā-prakāśa*), 10) Channels... (*Nāḍī...*), 11) What consists of *Agni* and *Soma* (*Agni-somātmakam*), 12) Creation and destruction (*Sṛṣṭi-saṃhāraṃ*), 14) Showing the palace (*Prāsāda-nidarśana*), 19) Specification of the principles (*Tattva-nirṇaya*), 20) Union (*Samkrānti*), 22) Equal flavor of *śakti* (*Śakti-sama-rasa*), 23) The subject of young maidens (*Kumārikā-prakaraṇa*), 24) In the wheel of time.....(*Kālacakre....*), 32) The Swan's words (*Hāṃsa-vāco*).<sup>88</sup>

None of this tells us that much definitively, though it certainly hints that in a Śaivite Tantric context, with the typical mixture of transformed Yogic, Vedic, mantric, subtle body and ritualistic aspects, the Wheel of Time plays a role, as do young maidens--presumably for ritual lovemaking. The *Mahākāla* sect is apparently

quite old. We find several references to it in *Bāṇabhaṭṭa*'s mid-seventh century tale *Kādambarī*, as discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. In describing the city of *Ujjayinī*, *Bāṇa* describes the river *Siprā* as though rippling with jealousy "at seeing the River of the Gods tumble upon the head of the blessed *Mahākāla*;" in the city "dwells *Mahākāla* himself, whose bright toenails are kissed by the crest-jewel rays of gods and demons; whose sharp trident ripped open the great demon *Andhaka*; whose crescent moon resting on his head is scratched by the points of *Gaurī*'s anklets; whose cosmetics are the ashes of *Tripura*....and who has given up his fondness for dwelling on *Mount Kailāsa*."<sup>89</sup> Certainly from *Bāṇa*'s descriptions we know that *Mahākāla* is a form of *Śiva*.

#### 5.4.2. The *Amṛta-Tantra*

One of the Tantras cited by *Kṣemarāja* in the *Śiva-sūtra-vimarṣiṇī* is the *Amṛteśatantra*, also known as the *Mṛtyujid-amṛtīśa-vidhānam*. There is extant an alternate colophon to the ending of the *Kālacakratantra* (cited and translated in Chapter 10 of this dissertation); in this colophon the original *mūlatantra* of the *Kālacakra* tradition is referred to as the *Amṛta Tantra*, rather than the better known name *Ādibuddha*. We cannot deduce much of anything from the similarity of the names alone--*amṛta* is an extremely common term in the Tantric traditions. Given the similarities between the Hindu and Buddhist *Bhūtaḍāmara Tantras* (see below), however, it is not impossible that there was some relationship between the now lost original *Kālacakra mūlatantra* and the Śaivite *Amṛta Tantra*. A manuscript of the Śaivite text survives in the Durbar Library, No. 285., and based on a colophonic date

of *Samvati* 320, Śāstrī dates it to 1200 CE. The text begins: "Om homage to the *gurus Śiva* etc. The three-fold one possessed of a *śakti*, having established a form in the three states, [a form] that is entirely the arisal, maintenance, and destruction [of the universe] through the *śakti* of the universe, gives honor to that one whose soul consists of purified nectar of immortality, to *Śiva*, who is beyond *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Īśa*, who is the supreme soul. Seeing the god of gods, *Maheśvara*, seated on Mount *Kailāsa*, playing with the attendants, together with *Pārvatī*, *Hara*, [then] *Pārvatī*, alighting quickly from [his] embrace, grasped his two feet, [and] asked with the highest devotion, delighting the supreme lord: (The goddess spoke:) 'Oh lord, master of the god of gods, ruler of the world, husband to the world; the great miracle was created by you, causing wonder, Oh god of the whole world; yet why Oh supreme lord is it difficult for me to understand, difficult to accomplish, secret, and not clarified? Neither for *Kārttikeya*, nor for me, nor for the gods, nor even for the attendants, nor for the mistresses of *yoga*, nor for the mothers, nor for the seers, nor for the *yogīs*. So that it will be very clear to me today, Oh lord of the world, I have come, and I ask that you tell me [about it] in detail.' Etc."<sup>90</sup>

The *Amṛteśatantra* ends: "Whoever knows the difference between *para* and *apara* on the part of this universal Immortal lord, the god, *Bhairava* who conquers death, he attains immortality shortly ... there's no doubt in this regard. ... It is not to be given to those practicing sin, to angry ones, or to lustful ones. ... If one gives it out of confusion, addiction, or out of desire for wealth, one will go to a terrible hell. Thus the command, Oh supreme mistress; ... from protecting ... one will attain



*siddhi*; and from protection, Oh goddess, one will become the supreme lord, the conqueror of death.’”<sup>91</sup> The text has twenty-four chapters, entitled 1) The descent of the *Tantra*; 2) Extraction of the *mantras*; 3) Sacrificing; 4) Initiation; 5) Consecration and practice; 6) Tangible matter; 7) Subtle matter; 8) The illusion of time; 9) Eternal *Śiva*; 10) The southern *cakra*; 11) The northern *Tantra*; 12) The tradition of the clan; 13) Universal knowledge; 14) Everything; 15) (no title); 16) Pervasion; 17) The five; 18) Domination and attraction; 19) (no title); 20) Protection of the king; 21) The destruction of the sacrifice (?), etc.; 22) Attraction of the living soul etc.; 23) Description of *mantra* practice; 24) *Mantra* greatness.<sup>92</sup> This is certainly a fully Śaivite text, and I would have to conclude, based on this very limited glimpse into its contents, that the similarities it may have to the extant *Kālacakratantra* are no more than the similarities we find between many other Tantras with no similarity in names.

#### 5.4.3. The *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*:

One of the terms that crops up in both Śaivite and Buddhist Tantra is *ḍāmara*, frightful or awful.<sup>93</sup> *Abhinava* refers in his *Mālinīvijayavarttikam* 1.155 to a *Śrīḍāmaratantra*.<sup>94</sup> At *Tantāloka* 3.70 he speaks of a *mahāḍāmaraka yāga* in the *Devīyāmalaśāstra*.<sup>95</sup> *Mitra* identifies the *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra* as one of the 64 "original [Śaivite] Tantras;" although it is widely quoted in Tantric compilations, he says complete manuscripts are quite rare and the full extent of the text is unknown.<sup>96</sup> There appear to have been either two different *Bhūtaḍāmaratantras*, one Śaivite and one Buddhist, or else various versions of the same text were claimed by both

traditions, since we find the name included in lists of texts from both traditions.<sup>97</sup>

The historical origins of the term *ḍāmara* are difficult and perhaps impossible to pin down. We find that in 1120 CE a group known as the Ḍāmaras rebelled under the reign of Sussala in Kaśmīr, and their leader Bhikṣācara reigned for a year, before being ousted by a resurgent Sussala, precipitating a seven year civil war. The Ḍāmaras apparently caused Kalhaṇa's family great distress, as they oppressed many, plundered estates, and offended with their humble origins. While the dating of Kalhaṇa's reference makes it unlikely that the particular historical group he refers to is directly related to the Tantras that bear the same name, it is not at all impossible that a (probably) related group of people bearing the name *Ḍāmara* from several generations earlier may have had a local deity bearing the same name that came to be associated with the Tantras. This is however speculative, and so far I've not found any other evidence for the historical origins of the term.

A *Ḍāmaratantra* is mentioned by Abhinava in his *Mālinīvijayavarttika* 1.155.<sup>98</sup> The passage from the MVV is worth quoting: "Resorting then to this fraction of a moment at the limit of consciousness, the yogi who is intent on a 'mouthful of time' instantly becomes a *khecara* (a sky-flier). Because it is said that time only appears to exist, and is innately a consumer [of existence]. It expands [into the appearance of reality] through the light rays of one's own [consciousness], and is nothing other than the non-existence of existence; therefore he who has [mastered] the *maṇḍala* wherein the paths are blocked by means of blocking one's own light rays [so that they don't bring time into existence], who has become thoroughly mixed with (of one flavor

with) a mouthful of time [i.e. one who himself consumes the consumer-time], he himself becomes a *khecara*; so *Paramēśa* has stated in the *Tantra* called *Śrīdāmara*.<sup>99</sup> Eggeling lists a *Bhūtaḍāmara Mahātantrarāja* as #2551 in the India Office Catalogue;<sup>100</sup> however, it is not clear that this is the same text as the *Ḍāmaratantra* referred to by Abhinavagupta.

Śāstrī notices four *Ḍāmaratantras* in the ASB catalogue, the *Bhūtaḍāmara*, a *Mūtaṅgīḍāmara* and a *Gaurīḍāmaram*,<sup>101</sup> a *Bṛhad-bhūta-ḍāmaratantram*, and a *Pratyāṅgirāvidhi* from the *Tridaśaḍāmara*. The manuscript of this last text--only two chapters of the longer original--dates from *Nepāla Saṃvat* 309, or 1189 c.e., bringing it quite close to *Abhinava*'s dates. Both colophons are called *Pratyāṅgīrā-vidhi*.<sup>102</sup> Śāstrī gives us extracts from the beginning and end,<sup>103</sup> and it is clear from this bit of material that the *Bhūtaḍāmara* cult probably originated from the cremation ground practices of some of the Yogis: "*Oṃ svasti. Oṃ* homage to the gurus Śiva etc. On the delightful summit of *Himavant*, surrounded by gods and *asuras*, in that place the goddess, with her hands cupped in an *añjali*, spoke this speech to the god of gods, *Maheśvara*, who was pleasantly seated, who was honored by the gods, *asuras*, and Indra, who was worshipped by the *siddhas* and *gandharvas*. The goddess said: 'The knowledge arisen from all the currents (*srotas*) has been heard by me through your grace. What is the science of *Durgā*'s attendants, though, that destroys the path of the demons? Having perfected that in a *yuga*, Oh terrifying one, all doubts are destroyed.' *Śrībhairava* responded: 'Previously, Oh *Gaurī*, Oh greatly terrifying one, in the cremation ground [and] in the cemetery, I have been propitiated by the

goddesses, and honored in the sacrifice. And having created an assembly of thieves, I went there, Oh beautiful-faced. The ten millions of very powerful ones, i.e. the attendants of *Durgā* etc., in the sixty-four [pilgrimage sites], give the sacrificial offering, having made their own kinsmen [function as] the boiled rice portion. I enjoy that, my dear, and I play, and I move about.....' [End:] "When there's a hostile guru who speaks out of fear, and is filled with lust and greed, the givers go to hell; and truly, truly it is not otherwise."<sup>104</sup>

A slightly longer extract is supplied by Śāstrī from the *Bṛhabhūtaḍāmaratantram*, from a manuscript of 24½ chapters.<sup>105</sup> The opening lines of the text suggest a highly transgressive cult, where *siddhis* are sought in part as means to destroy the sins committed in breaking social taboos: "I praise the truly terrifying one, sky-faced, whose light is the fire of ten million suns, the great destroyer of time, the glorious great *Bhūtaḍāmara* (terrifier of creatures), the ruler of the worlds, time, honored by all the worlds, the truly intoxicated ones, the lord of *Bhairava*, infinite master of *Bhairava*, the terrifier who consists of the *śabda-brahman*, the all-pervading form, *Unmatta-bhairava*,<sup>106</sup> honored by the secret *Unmatta-bhairavi*.' *Unmatta-bhairavi* spoke: 'Oh great joy, lord of creatures, master of virtuous women, beloved of your devotees, you must tell me, of master of all creatures, the *Śṛtbhūtaḍāmaram*. How do the *yakṣas*, men, the serpents, the *kinnaras*, the *pramathas* etc.,<sup>107</sup> the *ḍākinīs*, the sky-flying clanswomen (*kulakhecaryo*), the *devas*, *gandharvas*, and mistresses (*nāyikās*),<sup>108</sup> the *siddhas*, the demons, and the unmarried girls, the *yoginīs*, and the lover-mistresses, [and] their

lovely women, (how do all these) achieve *siddhi* in *Jambudvīpa* in the *Kali (yuga)*? Those who delight in sin, who speak falsely, who have abandoned virtue, who are lazy men, you yourself must offer them friendship.<sup>109</sup> [You must describe] by what means the masses of floods of addictions, the hundreds of thousands of great sins, and likewise [i.e. the hundreds of thousands of] the lesser sins destroy [them] in the *Kali [yuga]*, and [how] evil planets, evil serpents, and evil beings etc. likewise are destroyed, as are the evil causers of great obstacles. [How] are all the *siddhis* [and] the beneficial paths to liberation attained, and the *siddhis* such as becoming of atomic size etc., that destroy the great sins, through destroying the other [sins] such as the sin of cohabiting with someone else's wife, etc., the sin of causing harm to others, that of coveting others' property, the sin of *viśamāsa* (?) etc., delighting in great fear. How is torpor and hell destroyed by contempt, Oh lord of the gods, having become the light of the moon and sun, abiding for a long time in the city of Rudra? The mistresses of the lord of the gods, of the *siddhas*, of the lord of the serpents, of living beings, of the lord of the *yakṣas*, the mistresses of the secret vampires, the *gandharvas*, of the lords of the earth, and of the clan, and the daughters of the masters of the *yoga* as described, and the mistresses of *Bhūtaḍāmara*, coming forcefully, stricken with desire, embrace him powerfully. By what degree of remembering the *mantras* do they become *siddhās*? Ditto for the masters of *brahman*, Indra etc., the meta-deities of the gods, and the 330 million deities, together with the *māras* and *bhairavas*, how do these mortal ones, along with the *vidyā-śaktis*, by what means again do these mortal ones live as immortals? You must explain the

protection, out of compassion, Oh master of the gods, Oh lord.’ Having heard this statement by *Bhairavī*, *Unmatabhairava* again and again explained everything to *Unmatabhairavī*, beginning with discipline."<sup>110</sup>

The chapter colophons of the *Bṛhadbhūtaḍāmaratantram* suggest a fairly high degree of organization and development of the cult, a degree that by implication might indicate a fairly long history of development. It is fairly clear just from the titles of the chapters that nightly sexual yogas were an integral part of the practices:

- 1) Description of the result of the text;
- 2) (Untitled);
- 3) Praise of the hundred names with the name of the fierce one;
- 4) The distinctions in the *siddhi-mantras*;
- 5) The sections of the *siddha-cakra* of *Kālātmaka*;
- 6) The divisions of the halves of the month (*pakṣabheda*);
- 7) The divisions of the *cakra* [based on] the types of desire;
- 8) The divisions of the *cakra* [based on] the specification of the essences;
- 9) The divisions of the *cakra* [based] on the *Vedas*;
- 10) The division of the *cakra* [according to] the six *Kālātmakas*;
- 11) Description of the *mantra* of beautiful women (*sundarī*);
- 12) Description of the meditation on beautiful women;
- 13) Arrangement [of the *mantras*] for the *sādhana* on the women (*bhūtāntī*);
- 14) *Sādhana* for perfection of the women (*bhūtintī*);
- 15) The dark night *sādhana*;
- 16) Application of the *mantra* in praise of the dark night;
- 17) Armor for the dark night goddess;
- 18) *Sādhana* of the great slave women (*bhūta-ceṭikā*);
- 19) *Sādhana* for perfection of *Bhūtakāryāyintī*;<sup>111</sup>
- 20) *Sādhana* for perfection of *Bhūtakāryāyintī*;
- 21) Application of the armor of praise of the heroines (*nāyikā*);
- 22) The *sādhana* of the divine serpent lord and lady (*nāgendra-nāgintī*);
- 23) Application of the armor of praise of the lord and lady of the

serpents (*nāgendra-nāginī*); 24) The perfected *sādhana* of the *yoginīs* in the clan of the master of the gods.<sup>112</sup>

Another *Ḍāmara Tantra*, in fifteen chapters, the *Bhūtaḍāmara Mahātantrarāja* survives in the India Office library from the College of Fort William collection. Windisch and Eggeling give an extract from the opening lines: "Homage to the king of the fierce ones, with a face like the sky, destroyer of the gods; the divider of the indivisible, I praise, the leader *Bhūtaḍāmara*. Bowing to the ruler of the three worlds, *Raudra*, who is honored by the gods and the *siddhas*, *Unmatabhairavī* spoke to *Unmatabhairava*. *Unmatabhairavī* said: 'How do the *Yakṣas*, the *Apsaras*, the *Nāgas*, the *Kinnaras*, the *Pramathas* (Acc. to MW: "'Tormentor,' name of a class of demons attending on Śiva." etc.), and their women (a typically Tantric innovation to be sure to include the women of all the various groups of entities--divine or human--that are discussed) attain *siddhi* during the *Kali* [age] in *Jambudvīpa*? Those who delight in sin, who propound false doctrines, who have abandoned proper behavior, such lazy men--you yourself must not befriend them....'"<sup>113</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 4 there is also a surviving Buddhist *Bhūtaḍāmaratantra*, and there are six translated works of this tradition surviving in the Tibetan canon. However these Buddhist texts are all rather short, with the longest being only 25 folios, and the one surviving Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript I've located that mentions the deity is written rather in some sort of Prākrit. As we see here, the surviving old Sanskrit material from this cult is much more substantial, suggesting a fully developed Śaivite cremation-ground-based form of worship. Though

undoubtedly shared by the Hindus and the Buddhists, from this evidence one would be inclined to conclude that the *Bhūtaḍāmara* cult was more heavily Śaivite.

### **5.5. Translated Extracts from Unpublished Śaivite Tantras Cited by**

**Abhinavagupta (5.5.1. *Kiraṇāgama*, 5.5.2. *Kālikūlatantra*, 5.5.3 *Nigama Tantra*, 5.5.4. *Bhairavakula Tantra*, 5.5.5. *Brahmayāmala Tantra*, 5.5.6. *Niśvāsa Tantra*)**

I have managed to track down extracts from an number of the other Tantras cited by Abhinavagupta in the *Tantrālokaḥ*. These all appear to be Śaivite texts that did not have Buddhist counterparts, and the scope of material in them suggests that Tantric culture was a widespread and thriving enterprise in the centuries preceding Abhinavagupta's synthesis. Finding these extracts is also helpful in solidifying the sense of reliability of Abhinavagupta's work--the texts really existed, and the cults he was writing about have real histories. The complexity of the ritual structure suggested in these extracts also indicates a well-developed tradition, a fact that again tends to support pushing the dates for the development of the Tantric traditions back somewhat earlier than has previously been assumed. It is unlikely that these cults sprung fully formed out of the Indian religious landscape. More likely they developed over the centuries and gradually became more complex, as layers of tradition and practice were added on, with the typical Indian habit of preserving the earlier strata as much as possible. So for instance we find fire-pit ritual practices in the *Kiraṇāgama*, providing a Tantric version of the Vedic fire sacrifice, along with (*Kiraṇāgama* Ch. 36) rules for investiture with the sacred thread. The *Kālikula* appears to have been an enormously eclectic tradition, incorporating deities from a



wide spectrum of cults, with a heavy emphasis on nighttime sexual yogas. The *Nigama* also indicates considerable interest in sexual yogas, with many of the chapters devoted to various aspects of these (see Chapter 7 for discussion of the sexual yoga practices.) The *dhūmapāna-vidhi* or rules for ‘drinking smoke’ referred to in the *Bhairavakula Tantra* and described in the *Hāraka-Tantram* indicate a highly syncretic style of Yogic practice, where the recitation of the *Gāyatrī mantra* has been retained for the fire, yet the initiate is using an ascetic Yogic purification process as a preparatory rite for Tantric rituals. The *Brahmayāmala* and *Niśvāsa Tantra* evince similarly eclectic cults.

### 5.5.1. The *Kiraṇāgama*

There are some ten references in the *Tantrāloka* to the *Kiraṇāgama*, under the names *Kiraṇa*, *Kiraṇasaṃhitā*, *Kiraṇā*, and *Kairaṇa*.<sup>114</sup> The text constitutes one of the 28 basic Śaivite Tantras. *Rāmakaṇṭha*, the commentator on the *Kiraṇāgama*, the *Mataṅga*, the *Svāyambhuva*, and the *Kālottara Tantras* from the Śaivasiddhānta point of view, lived in Kaśmīr in the 10th century. This naturally places these Śaivite Tantras at some earlier date.<sup>115</sup> The *Kiraṇāgama* lists several earlier *upāgamas*: *Gāruḍa*, *Nairṛta*, *Nīla*, *Rūkṣa*, *Bhānuka*, *Prabuddha*, *Dhenuka*, *Buddha*, and *Kāla*.<sup>116</sup> The oldest Tantric manuscript listed in Śāstrī’s Nepal catalogue is (apparently the same) *Kiraṇatantra* [The Ray of Light *Tantra*] from a manuscript dated *Nepal Saṃvat* 44 = 924 CE, held in the private collection of a Nepalese pandit. Śāstrī gives us fairly extensive extracts. The *Tantra* is in sixty-four chapters, 2700 verses. The table of contents is as follows (with some missing chapters): 1) Reflection on the *paśus*; 2)

Food and pleasure; 3) Consideration of *Śiva*; 4) Examination of *Śakti*; 6) Examination of initiation; 7) Consideration of *mantras*, *Śiva*, and *Śakti*; 9) Examination of the principles [of reality]; 10) Reflections on *Śiva* and *Śakti*; 11) Examination of the divisions of knowledge; 12) Discussion of the extraction of *mantras*; 14) Discussion of the worship of the *liṅga*; 15) Rules of the fire ritual; 16) Discussion of the fire pit; 19) Characteristics of the house and the door; 20) Rules for the powder *maṇḍala*; 21?) Chapter on the eight characteristics; 25) Sacrifice of the eight; 26) Sacrifice of the lord of the host; 29) Sacrifice with the nine planets; 30) Discussion of the division of the portions; 31) Rules for constant behavior; 32) Lord of *yoga*; 33) Wandering around begging; 34) The sacrifice to conquer death; 35) The chapter on not studying; 36) Rules for investiture with the sacred thread; 37) *Śivā*; 38) Examination of the *guru*; 39) The investigation of the set of four [forms of divine fire]: *Śiva*, fire, starlight, and the sun; 40) (untitled); 41) The sacrifice to the lord of vows, the investigation of the behavior of ....; 42) Investigation of the pure and impure; 43) Rules for the expiation of the five great sins etc. 44) The chapter on the expiations; 45) Rules for food and meditational postures; 46) Purification of the vessels; 47) Expiation of continual renunciation (?); 48) Rules for ....; 49) The conduct of the initiate, the [spiritual] son, the adept, and the teacher; 50) The chapter on the procedure for practice; 51) Characteristics of the unmanifest *liṅga*; 52) Description of the manifest *liṅga*; 53) Characteristics of the manifest and unmanifest *liṅga*, and of the *pīṭha*; 54) Examination of the ground, and extraction of the splinter; 55) The chapter on the target and the *yoga* of [the constellations?]; 56) The chapter on the

rules for the preliminary consecration of the deity and the installation of the deity; 56a?) Installation of the bull; 57) Chapter on the .... door; 58) Chapter on the practice of *yoga*; 59) Chapter on departure [at death]; 60) Chapter on funeral sacrifices; 61) Rules for ...; 62) Chapter on the extraction of the five *brahmas*; 63) Chapter on extraction of the *liṅga*; 64) Chapter on the sacrifice of the mothers. Thus the document on the arrangement of the chapters of the great Tantra called the *Kiraṇa* is completed for the sake of remembering [it].<sup>117</sup>

### 5.5.2 The *Kālikulatantra*

We have three references in the *Tantrāloka* to the *Kālikula*.<sup>118</sup> A manuscript by this name, the *Kālikulāmṛtatantram*, survives in a version from Śaka 1727 = 1805 CE,<sup>119</sup> in 15 chapters, 1150 *ślokas*, suggesting a continuity of the cult over many centuries. It begins: "'Om, homage to *Bhavānt*.<sup>120</sup> On Mt. Kailāsa, delightful, thronging with various pleasures, bestrewn with flowers of all seasons, with joyful sounds from various sides....the *Kālikulāmṛta Tantra* has occasionally been explained, Oh lord. May it be described in detail, Oh blessed one, if you love me. If you love me, Oh blessed one, you must explain to me the science kings, and the extraction [of *mantras*], the individual phonemes, as are appropriate; the meters of the *ṛṣis*, and the deities, the seed [syllable] and the *śakti*, and the pillar; [their] use, and their purpose, the meditations and acts of worship etc., in sequence; and the songs of praise, the armor, and the *sādhana* for these, as appropriate.' Śrī *Bhairava* responded: 'you must listen, *Pārvatī*, and I will explain to you, Oh *Bhairavī*, who is dear to [my] breaths; *Parā* is to be intensely protected, is extraordinarily virtuous.

and is the greater essence than [any] essence ....” [End:] ‘In other *Tantras* fraud about me exists everywhere. I tell you this, Oh goddess, that there is absolutely no other reality than this. The *siddhi* described right here is the truth, and nothing but the truth--so everything has been explained to you; there is nothing else to tell you.’”<sup>121</sup>

It’s quite conceivable that another Tantra, the *Niruttaratantra* may have been known as the *Kāṅkula*, given the subject matter of the text.<sup>122</sup> The work appears to be quite eclectic, since it opens with homage to *Māyā* (*Jaganmohinī*--she who infatuates the world), closes with praise of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*, and in the body of the text mentions *Viṣṇu*, *Vairocana*, *Śaṅkha*, *Pāṇḍava*, *Māmaka*, *Asita*, *Padmāntaka*, *Narakāntaka*, *Maṇidharīvajriṇī*, *Mahāpratisarā*, and a *ṛṣi* named *Akṣobhya*. (I’ve translated here the opening lines, end, colophon, and table of contents): “Om homage to *Jagan-mohinī*. The goddess spoke: ‘The *Siddhi-vidyā* was previously explained, as were the *mantras* and *yantras*. Some doubt arises, Oh lord, about the distinction between the various states. Oh saviour of the world, you must explain, according to the difference between the states, the *Tantra* that is the protection for everyone, considered the correct doctrine by *Viṣṇu*. By what state is the worship of these [*Vidyās*] engendered? Where is your *prakṛti* for them [the *Vidyās*], or what sort of activity is yours? That you must clarify properly for me, whereby we will reach the unsurpassed.’ Śiva responded: ‘The *prakṛti* of all the sciences of *siddhi* is right/southern (*dakṣiṇā*), my dear; the divine hero should consider the *dakṣiṇā* the best, Oh you of great hips. And the divine hero should meditate on the clan of *Kālī*,

Oh mistress of the gods. And he should meditate on the *Śrīkula* with three states, Oh most beautiful of the gods. *Kālī, Tārā, Bhadrakālī, Bhuvanā, Mahiṣamardīnī, Tripuṭā, Tvaritā, Durgā, Vidyā, and Pratiśivā*, my dear, [are all together] considered the *Kālīkula*, and the *Śrīkula* is greater than that. *Sundarī, Bhairavī, Bālā, Vasana, and Kamalā, Dhūmavati, and Mātangi, Vidyā and Svapnavati, Madhumati and Mahāvidyā* are said to be the *Śrīkula*. One should worship the dark blue *Sarasvati, Kālī*, in the dark blue creeper. (etc.).' [Closing:] '*Kālī, Tārā*, likewise *Chinnā, Mātangi, Bhuvaneśvati, Annapūrṇā*, likewise *Durgā, Mahiṣasuramardīnī, Tvaritā, Tripurā*, Oh blessed one, *Bhairavī, Vagalā* likewise, *Tripuṭā*, and likewise *Nityā, Kamalā* and *Sarasvati, Jayadurgā*, and similarly, Oh blessed one, *Tārā, Tripurasundarī*, are considered the eighteen *Mahāvidyās* in the *Tantra* etc., my dear. Here there is no purification of time, nor proper nor improper time. There's no solar day, lunar day, nor *nakṣatra*, nor even a *yoga* or *karaṇa*.' Thus in the *Niruttaratantra*, in the conversation between *Devī* and *Īśvara*, the fifth chapter."

[Table of Contents:] 1) The description of the difference between the states; 2) Relating the *Kālīkula*; 3) Explaining the *Śrīkula*; 4) Description of the Western Lineage (*paścāmnāya-nirūpaṇam*) 5) Description of the *gurus* and *mantras* for worship of *Kālī*; 6) Description of the *kalās*; 7) Rules for the *mantras*, meditation, and worship of *Dakṣiṇā-kālikā*; 8) Explanation of the meditation on *Mahākālā*; 9) Description of *Kullukā* etc.; 10) Description of the praise of *Kālī*; 11) Explanation of the armor of *Kālī*; 12) Description of the *ajapā (mantra)*; 13) Now the rules for the preparatory rites; 14) Explanation of the different types of preparatory rites based on

the different states of *Vīra* and *Paśu*; 15) Rules for *prāṇāyāma*; 16) Rules for meditating on the *Nirguṇa* and *Saguṇa* states; 17) Rules for worship at night; 18) Description of [worship] in the second and third watches of the night (i.e. 9-12, 12-3am) etc.; 19) Now the rules for the consecration of the *Vīra*; 20) Description of the *mantras* for [the *Vīra*'s] consecration; 21) Description of the perfected *mantra*; 22) The explanation of the lack of *nirvāṇa* without the *śakti-sādhana*; 23) Explanation of the five [types] of young women according to size etc.; 24) Description of the characteristics of the *śakti-cakra* etc.; 25) The rules for the five *cakras*; 26) Explanation of the flower option; 27) Explanation of what's to be avoided in the *cakra*; 28) Explanation of protective actions (birth control?); 29) Explanation of the difference between the king's *cakra* and the god's *cakra*; 30) Rules for the *sādhana* etc. of the *yoginīs*; 31) Explanation of the characteristics etc. of the female adept; 32) Explanation of the *sādhana* according to clan custom etc.; 33) Rules about the difference between the *śaktis* according to the difference between the *Vidyās*; 34) The description of the characteristics etc. of the prostitutes; 35) Description of the five substances; 36) Explanation of the purification of these; 37) Description of the nine young women; 38) Rules about the positions etc. when satisfying (them); 39) Rules for the usage of the five [substances]; 40) Description of the eighteen *Mahāvīdyās*.

### 5.5.3 Nigama Tantra:

At *Tantrāloka* 29.141 *Abhinava* refers to the *Nigama(tantra)* that Gnoli tells us is the same as the *Gamaśāstra*.<sup>123</sup> We find various mss. of the *Nigamalatātantram* noticed by Śāstrī,<sup>124</sup> of from 24-40 chapters. I've translated here the opening and

closing lines with the colophons for the manuscript with 24 chapters (the opening lines are somewhat obscure): "*Oṃ* homage to *Paradevatā*. On the delightful mountain *Kailāsa*, it was evening in the nighttime;<sup>125</sup> having touched the two feet of the goddess, *Śaṅkara* spoke: 'Oh mother *Durgā*, Oh great *Māyā*, you must be compassionate, Oh you who are constituted of tenderness; raising the trident in [your] heart, you must protect me, Oh lotus-eyes; let it be heard, Oh most fortunate goddess, [how] that trident dwells in the heart;<sup>126</sup> that was explained by me, Oh fortunate one; misunderstanding that, one is not liberated. It was previously heard in [from] your mouth, since you indeed are the one possessing the beautiful vulva; how could one not make conversation with [that] statement, Oh mistress of the vulva? And this is one, and the second, Oh giver of boons, is in every way; and the third is not the path to loss of life, Oh ultimate mistress. Or how is the way of the lord undertaken for remaining alive permanently? With this as the highest concern, one became a crazy babbler, without a doubt.'<sup>127</sup> *Pārvatī* spoke: 'I do not speak at all to idiots, I renounce the sensual pleasure among the *paśu-vādins*; I refuse to speak to those damaging the *kula-karma*, I reject keeping company among the *Campakas*.' *Śaṅkara* responded: 'Oh goddess, Oh mistress of the universe, you certainly are the cause of creation, maintenance, and destruction. How can you cause me to remain with the *paśu* form, Oh dearest of sexual delight?' *Pārvatī* spoke: 'You previously performed the heroic activity (*vīrācāra*) through sexual union with the wife of a man of mixed caste;<sup>128</sup> thereby the lord is not released at all from the *paśu* state....'

[End:] 'My clan is Vedic, Oh leader, I am certainly the creeper, definitely Oh lord.

The attentive woman, knowing that, it is never to be revealed. Whoso protects this desire for prosperity constantly protects [it] in his house--because I am always tied to his place, just as (I am) in your city--he knows the chapter, or half of that, or half of that, Oh *Maheśvara*; he is visibly a *guru*, equal to me, or I am equal to him."<sup>129</sup>

The colophons are 1) This is the conversation in the form of the statement of *Śāṅkart* to *Śāṅkara*; 2) The explicit rules for the use of the fifth of the *m*'s (*pañca-makāras*)<sup>130</sup> since that is the most important [aspect] about the five *m*'s; 3) The rules for the creeper *sādhana*; 4) Explanation of the characteristics of the *divya*, *vīra* etc.; 5) Explanation of the attainment of liberation just through the *sādhana* with the fifth *m*; 6) Explanation of lacking the phoneme division, etc.; 7) Rules for the purification of the five *m*'s etc.; 8) Rules for drinking repeatedly; 9) Rules for worship of the *yonī*; 10) Explanation of the meditation etc. on that; 11) Now rules for the worship of *Kālikā*; 12) Procedure for the worship of *Tārā*; 13) Explanation of the procedure [for the worship] of *Ugratārā*;<sup>131</sup> 14) Explanation of the rules for consecration.<sup>132</sup>

#### 5.5.4. The *Bhairavakula Tantra*

At several places in the *Tantrāloka* *Abhinavagupta* refers to a *Bhairavakulatantra*.<sup>133</sup> While it is not at all certain to be the same text, we do have a 115 śloka manuscript fragment of a *Bhairavatantra* in the Asiatic Society of Bengal's library. The extracts given by Śāstrī<sup>134</sup> read as follows: "Now the rules for understanding the *mantras* as described in the *Bhairavatantra* are written. *Pārvatī* spoke: 'Oh god of gods, lord of the world, trident holder, fire of the three eyes; you must tell me, Oh guru of the world, about the method of *sādhana* with the *mantras*.



And by what action the ultimate perfection in *mantras* [and] in *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa* is achieved by living beings, that you must quickly tell me. You are the lord of earth, the atmosphere, and heaven, and also of Indra etc. (i.e. the gods) and the winds.... The stationary, moving, the universe, the sight and the seeing of this| and the arisal and what goes to destruction, you must tell me, Oh Śaṅkara' | |<sup>135</sup>

Īśvara spoke: 'Well asked, Oh great goddess, in the open hall of the universal *Brahma* egg. The means for the *sādhana* of the *mantras* is the single *sādhana* leading to all *siddhis*. The great *sādhana* is the ultimate for *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*. It is likewise the highest among the earth etc. worlds, and for Indra etc., and the single *sādhana* for the ability to enjoy women such as *Rambhā* etc.<sup>136</sup> Likewise [it is the greatest] for the moving and stationary [beings] in the universe, likewise for those dwelling in *Pātāla* etc. Whereby [they] attain mastery quickly, [such] a man will be honored by the gods. That method I will explain--you must listen to it, Oh Beautiful Eyes....'<sup>137</sup> [Pārvaṭī said:] 'One should meditate upon the purified *mantra* according to the demonstrated etc. sections. Together with perfection of debt etc., [one should undertake] the *mantra* initiation according to the correct procedure .....<sup>138</sup> ....meditating with the mind, one should perform the preparatory rites, and indeed with the *mantra* recitation, *homa*, etc., having attained the divine state. Endowed with greed for a larger kingdom, with the guru's command, furthermore, one should perform the fourfold *tapas* in the spring etc. seasons. [One should perform] the *sādhana*s of the fire, the sun, the smoke, and the cold, in sequence, Oh Śivā; and the *sādhana* of the fire has been explained as being one, five, and nine-

natured. Similarly .... the ultimate great *sādhana* of the twelve.<sup>139</sup> One should perform what comes from *śruti*, or from *smṛti*, or what provides the *siddhi* of happiness for oneself, what's produced from the magnifying glass, the best, the mediocre, or the worst. The worldly fire is the best, and if it is reprehensible when it is to be taken, then the charcoal fire of someone versed in the Vedas is to be taken--no other is ever to be taken.' Thus in the *Bhairavatantra*, in the conversation between *Īśvara* and *Pārvatī*, the *sādhana* of the twelve fires, one etc., is completed."<sup>140</sup> [Then a new section:] "The glorious goddess spoke: 'Oh great god, Oh great lord, Oh he who blazes with *tapas*, Oh lord of the world, Oh provider of perfection in the *mantras* for those residing in the world, with this one *sādhana* all *siddhis* are mastered, and become controlled, Oh Śambhu, Oh leader of creatures, Oh lord of the world. You must explain the highest means of perfection for the *mantras*, the *sādhana*, and the *siddhis*, out of love, Oh god of gods, if I am dear to you. The fire residing in the sky was described by you, Oh ancient leader, and the drinking in of the smoke, and the ultimate beneficial *sādhana* of the cold; by the one action there should be *siddhi* on the part of men whose nature is Śiva. And the *siddhi* that is [attained] by the four (*sādhana*s) is the *siddhi* attained by men.' *Bhairava* responded: 'Well asked, Oh great mistress (*maheśānī*), and beneficial to the adepts. What brings about perfection in the *mantras* is the highest, for the benefit of the world. Through its universal performance it is the best of the *tapas*, it is the highest *sādhana*. I will tell you, Oh great mistress (*maheśānī*) about the highest, the best meta-*sādhana*. It is declared to be the brief *sādhana* for *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*, for the

earthly, atmospheric, and heavenly etc. worlds, for those dwelling at the boundary of *Kailāsa*. The instrument of brevity that is the best is the highest *sādhana* of *Meru*. You must listen to that with a one-pointed mind, since you ask me, Oh beautiful one. On the banks of a river, on the most excellent of mountains, in a meritorious pilgrimage spot, in an abode of Śiva, in a *Śakti* pilgrimage spot, in an excellent seat (of a deity), or in a cremation ground, Oh mistress of the gods, having made the ground flat, then, with colors, colored by the mind, providing *siddhi*, like unto a tortoise, of twenty cubits, very beautiful ....'<sup>141</sup>

Śāstrī refers us to the 125 śloka manuscript of the *Hāraka-Tantram* for descriptions of the *dhūmapāna-vidhi* and the *śītasādhana-vidhi* referred to in the *Bhairava-Tantra* above. The extracts read: "Homage to Ganeśa. Pārvaṭī spoke: 'Oh god of gods, lord of the world, [you must explain] the *sādhana* of practicing *tapas* etc., the *sādhana* of the five and twelve fires, for those desiring liberation.' Śaṅkara spoke: 'You must listen carefully, Oh *Aparṇā*, and I will explain it completely. The *sādhana* of the five fires, [and] of the twelve is properly stated. Having oriented oneself towards the east for the sake of the fire-fire *sādhana*, carefully, then one should perform the purification of the ground for the purpose of the eastern performance there ....'<sup>142</sup> The *Dhūmapāna-vidhi*<sup>143</sup> description follows: "Now I will explain to you, Oh great mistress, the beneficial rules for drinking the smoke. With the *mantra* for the religious practice of that, the deity is propitiated. Having established oneself carefully in the east, in the *uparīṭha* of an auspicious riverbank pilgrimage site, making a *vedi* (sacrificial altar) of four cubits, a handsome

covered open tent, adorned with a water pitcher, with a banner and portal, etc. One should sacrifice repeatedly to the world protectors in the eight directions from the pavilion. One should satiate *Bhairava*, and *Brahmaśakti*, through giving *bali* (i.e. rice balls). One should dig a pair of holes into the ground to the south and north of the *vedi*. In the middle of the hole twenty and one finger widths, exactly, supplied with a reed, filled with *sindūra* powder, and a *sāttvic* and a *rajasic* belt<sup>144</sup> above that, in sequence. Thus the measure of the hole. You must listen to the ritual action after that:<sup>145</sup> Having set up the fire there, one should offer as oblation abundant barley, rice, and sesamum, together with clarified butter, along with the *gāyatrī mantra*,<sup>146</sup> for the true perfection of the *mantra*. Having sacrificed one hundred and eight times, then, for the perfection of the *mantra*. [There's] a lid with the platter for the coverings of the deities, and in the middle of the platter a hole of four finger widths. On top of that one should place a smooth reed of sixteen finger widths; filling the hole, narrow at the tip, straight, and thick at the base. One should stand over that, oneself, hanging one's face down over it. With one's lotus feet [tied?] with two ropes in between the posts, placing one's mouth over the tip of the reed, [one should drink] from the intoxicating liquor of the smoke, very slowly.'<sup>147</sup>

Then we have a brief description of the *śtīrasādhana-vidhi*: "The lord spoke: 'Now I will tell you, Oh great mistress, the actions of the cold *sādhana*. You must listen to the procedure, [and] what is considered the highest *sādhana* of the *mantras*. Having attained a purified reservoir, or a river, or a pond; forming a barrier to the current, and setting up the *vedi*, filled with sand, purified as before through the

offering of an oblation, abounding in banners and ornamentation, [one should perform] the sanctification rite, according to the rule. Having entered in there, with senses restrained, going into the water up to one's throat, and in the remaining *prahara* [3 hour portion] of the night,<sup>148</sup> up to the three 48 minute periods, one should practice the *mantra* until it is daytime, in order to honor the mothers of the waters day after day with continuous streams of ghee etc. According to the rules taught by the *gurus*, for the perfection of the state of divinity, having begun at the fifteenth digit of the [moon's] path, up until the full moon of *Phālguni* (February-March), this ultimate cold *sādhana* is to be followed, strenuously."<sup>149</sup>

### 5.5.5 The *Brahmayāmala Tantra*

The *Brahmayāmala* is another Tantra *Abhinavagupta* cites frequently, though he does not quote from it.<sup>150</sup> As Gnoli notes, Śāstrī lists a ms. in the Durbar library catalogue, vol. 2, III.370,<sup>151</sup> and we find other listings in Śāstrī's Calcutta Catalogue, Ms. 6392, No.5892,<sup>152</sup> and the Pondichéry catalogue, 99.4.<sup>153</sup> Bhatt describes the *Yāmalas* as a group of Kashmirian Śaiva Āgamas that "define the Tantric tradition and introduce a variety of new cults and goddesses."<sup>154</sup> Though the 55 chapter Durbar ms. is dated 1052 CE (Nepal *Samvat* 172), Bagchi considers it "a compilation of the 8th century A.D."<sup>155</sup> Śāstrī remarks that "in the opinion of the Paṇḍits of Nepal the full texts of Brahma Yāmala is a lakh and a quarter of ślokas, and that it belongs to all the six schools of Tantra. The present work, extending over 1200 ślokas, belongs, however, to the western school."<sup>156</sup> The chapter colophons all read "so in the *Mahābhairavatantra*, of twelve thousand [ślokas], in the *Picumata*," and then the

chapter title. It is in the final colophon and post colophon that the name *Brahmayāmala* occurs. The table of contents is as follows: 1) The collection of procedures for the nine syllables; 2) The analysis/extraction of *mantras* of nine syllables; 3) The great *yoga*<sup>157</sup> of the nine syllables; 4) The great *yoga* characterized by the image; 5) The great *yoga* of *yatuka* (?); 6) The great *yoga* characterized by the image; 7) The ninth chapter (?); 8) The great *yoga* for uniting in *samādhi*; 9) The great *yoga* for hitting the mark; 10) The great *yoga* for extraction of the *mantras* of the goddesses; 11) The great *yoga* of the extraction of the *mantras*; 12) The great *yoga* of union of the three principles; 13) The great *yoga* of the nine sacrifices; 14) (Untitled); 15) The *Vetāla sādhana*; 16) The *Puṣya [nakṣatra]* chapter; 17) The *Vidyā cakra*; 18) The victory procedures; 19) The *bhautika cakra*; 20) Rules for the fire ritual; 21) Vows; 22) Purified nectar; 23) *Mantra* extraction; 24) Purified nectar; 25) Specification of the sacrifice; 26) Secret *mantra* extraction; 27) The sacrifice of the triad of *śaktis*; 28) *Bhairava* of the victory of the couple; 29) *Bhīmā* etc.; 30) Rules for the sacrifice; 31) The distinction between *Śiva* and *Rudra*; 32) The ceremony; 33) The initiation; 34) The consecration; 35) Chaining the union of the reservoirs; 36) The motion through the channels; 37) The initiation into the principles; 38) (Untitled); 39) Specification of the currents;<sup>158</sup> 41{sic}) The vow of exorcism; 40{sic}) Application (of *mantras*); 42) (missing); 43) Consort; 44) Sporting activity; 45) Authorization of the adept; 46) The great refinement; 47) The great refinement; 48) Passion of the loins; 49) Extraction of the moon; 50) The eightfold ordinance; 51) The eightfold ordinance; 52) (Untitled); 51{sic}) Union

with the boon-granting *yoginī*; 52) Authorization to unite with the consort; 53-55) Authorization.<sup>159</sup>

### 5.5.6. The *Niśvāsa Tantra*

The *Niśvāsa* is another text cited by *Abhinavagupta* under the name *Niśvāsaśāśana* at TA 30.72-73 and 30.77 and as *Niśvāsatantra* at TA 30.81.<sup>160</sup> A manuscript of this text is also found in the Durbar Library, 4500 *ślokas* long, no. 277 of Śāstrī's catalogue.<sup>161</sup> Bagchi dates it to the 8th century based on the late Gupta script, and outlines the internal schema of the text with five independent *sūtras*: 1) *Laukikadharmā*, 2) *Mūlasūtra*, 3) *Uttarasūtra*, 4) *Nayasūtra*, and 5) *Guhyasūtra*. Bagchi outlines the contents of the *mūlatantra* (initiation, sacrifice, worship, *mantras* etc.), the *uttarasūtra* (establishing Śiva's abode, the mothers, the *homa*, the consecration/initiation, and knowledge-*yoga*, the names of sacred rivers, types of *liṅgas*, names of holy places, etc.).<sup>162</sup> From Śāstrī's excerpts we learn that Śiva is named *Mataṅga*, conversing with *Ricika*. *Ricika* mentions the *ṛṣis* who retain their semen (*ṛṣiṅām ūrdhvaretasām*), suggesting that the sexual practices delineated in the *Kālacakra* were widespread among the *tāntrikas*. Few of the colophons are real chapter titles, though we have four chapters in the worldly *dharma sūtra*, eight chapters in the *mūlasūtra*, five in the *uttarasūtra*, four in the *nayasūtra* including a chapter on the correct effort,<sup>163</sup> contemplation of the form,<sup>164</sup> and the consideration of the reality of the ultimate nectar;<sup>165</sup> and some sixty plus chapters in the *Guhyasūtra*, including one on the collection of all the *siddhis*,<sup>166</sup> the praise of the mothers,<sup>167</sup> and the extraction of *Brahmā*,<sup>168</sup> additional sections on the precept on the suddenly

produced,<sup>169</sup> the rule about *Aghora*,<sup>170</sup> etc., and two sections on *tatpuruṣa*.

### 5.5.7. Other Extant Śaivite Tantras Cited by Abhinavagupta

I have managed to track down short notices of a few of the other texts cited by Abhinavagupta. The *Ānandēśvara* is cited at TA 29.200. Windisch & Eggeling list a copy of this manuscript, the *Ānandatantra* in 20 chapters, "treating, in form of dialogues between *Śrī Devī* and *Kāmeśvara*, of the mysteries of the *liṅga* and *śakti* worship in all its details; but extending its observations, in the last five chapters, also on the negation of caste distinctions, on the various systems of philosophy, and on *Tantric* philosophy and sectarianism in particular."<sup>171</sup> The *Rudra(yāmalatantra)* may be mentioned by Jayaratha in the *Tantrālokaviveka* on TA 2.18.<sup>172</sup> The *Rudrayāmala* is a widely cited text that appears to survive in many fragments. What purports to be a portion of this text, the *Devīrahasya* or *Parādevīrahasya*, a 60 chapter "treatise on *Tantric* rites (*kuladharmā*)" is cited by Eggeling as #2546 of the India Office Catalogue.<sup>173</sup> The fact that the *Rudrayāmala* is not mentioned by Abhinava, yet is apparently mentioned in a list cited by Jayaratha in the 13th century, may give us an approximate date for the emergence of the text. The *Kālikula(krama)* is mentioned at TA 28.15, 29.43, 35.33; in addition to the manuscripts cited by Rastogi,<sup>174</sup> there are copies of this text in the India Office Library, #2590 and the Cambridge Library, #1477.<sup>175</sup> According to Rastogi's note, Alexis Sanderson has been working on a critical edition of the text. In the colophons to the chapters given by Eggeling, six *āmnāyas* or textual traditions are named: 1) the eastern (*pūrvāmnāya*) of *Śrīpūrṇeśvart*, 2) the southern (*dakṣiṇāmnāya*) of *Viśveśart*, 3) the western



(*paścimānāya*) of *Kuñcikādevī*, 4) the northern (*uttarāmnāya*) of *Kālikā* or *Kālī*, 5) the zenith (*ūrdhvāmnāya*) of *Śrīvidyā* or *Tripurasundarī*, and 6) (missing).<sup>176</sup> The *Triśirobhairava*,<sup>177</sup> is referenced some 33 times in the *Tantrāloka* and *Jayaratha*'s commentary. Jaideva Singh translated this text before he died as The Yoga of Delight, Wonder and Astonishment.<sup>178</sup> TA 31.101-131 discusses the *triśūlamanḍala* from this text.<sup>179</sup> *Tantrāloka* 16.254 cites the *Pauṣkarāgama*. Rastogi cites several manuscript copies extant, including #2606 of the India Office Catalogue.<sup>180</sup> The *Yoginīkaula* (TA 7.40) may or may not be the same as the *Yoginītantra* cited by Eggeling as #2555 in the India Office Catalogue.<sup>181</sup>

**5.6. The Published Tantras of the Abhinavagupta's Tradition (5.6.1. *Svacchanda*, 5.6.2. *Netra*, 5.6.3. *Matanḅapārameśvara*, and 5.6.4. *Mṛgendrāgama*)**

Though we do not have, other than Gnoli's partial translation of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* (see Chapters 8 and 9 of this dissertation for a detailed discussion of the contents of the *Mālinīvijaya*), published translations of the Tantras cited by Abhinavagupta, we do have several good editions of the texts and some helpful research on them published by French, American, and Indian scholars.

**5.6.1. The *Svacchandabhairavatantra***

The *Svacchandatantra*<sup>182</sup> is repeatedly cited by *Abhinavagupta* in the *Tantrāloka*, and by *Jayaratha* in the *Tantrālokaviveka*.<sup>183</sup> The text has been published, with Kṣemerāja's *Uddyota* commentary, in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies in 7 volumes, and reprinted in a new edition edited by Vraj Vallabh Dwivedi in 1985. Though no one has yet published a translation of the text into a European language,

William Arraj provides us a study of the text in English in his University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, along with an outline of topics and a partial translation, and I discuss the contents of this text in some detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

Helène Brunner-Lachaux has also discussed the text in some detail in her study of the *Somaśambhupaddhati*.<sup>184</sup> The text was claimed by both the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Trika school, so that Kṣemarāja's commentary is written to rebut the dualistic arguments of his opponents. Although the idealized description of Śaivite *Āgamas* includes four *pādas*, the *kriyā* (ritual), *vidyā* (doctrine), *caryā* (conduct) and *yoga* (spiritual exercise), neither the *Svacchanda* nor most of the other *Āgamas* actually conform to this structure.<sup>185</sup> It is evident from the way the material is organized in the text that the *Svacchanda* represents a compilation of various schools of teaching, "combining material from Sāṃkhya, Purāṇic, and Pāśupata sources with properly Śaiva categories and meditational schemes."<sup>186</sup> In keeping with the interiorizing tendency of the Trika system noted above by Sanderson, Arraj also notes that Kṣemarāja "devoted a major part of his commentary to reinterpreting, at every suitable occasion, the external ritual presented by *Svacchandatantram* as a meditation or noetic event."<sup>187</sup> Arraj also notes--and this remark tends to confirm my thesis about the type-hierarchical modeling system that the Vedic ritual system provided for the Tantric ritualists--that "Kṣemarājaḥ followed the pattern of brāhmaṇical meta-ritualists who used the external Vedic ritual as a paradigm for interiorizing meditations, and as a point of departure for metaphysical speculations."<sup>188</sup> I have incorporated a more detailed analysis of this text into the study of Tantric Yoga

procedures in Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

### 5.6.2. *Netratantra (Mṛtyuñjayantra)*

*Abhinava* refers to the *Mṛtyuñjaya* or *Netratantra* at TA 16.59, 16.224, and 21.11.<sup>189</sup> The *Netratantra* was published as Nos. 46 and 49 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, then reedited by Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and published in 1985. The only published work on this by Western scholars that I know of is the 1974 schematic analysis by H  l  ne Brunner,<sup>190</sup> and some discussion of the text by Padoux<sup>191</sup>--I discuss some of the doctrines in this text in detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation. The KSS edition was published with *Kṣemarāja*'s commentary, as is Dwivedi's edition. There are some other commentaries on the *Tantra* in Śāstrī ASB catalogue, though they are considerably later, and Śāstrī does not provide substantive extracts.<sup>192</sup> The interwoven character of Buddhist and Śaivite *Tantra* shows up in many places. In the thirteenth chapter of the *Netratantra*, a series of deity-visualization meditations are described: *Nārāyaṇa*, the four goddesses *Jayā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Kīrtiḥ*, and *Māyā*, and *Karpurī*, *Candanī*, *Kastūrī*, and *Kuṅkumī*, a deity called *Viśvarūpa*, various *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*--the man-lion, boar, dwarf, the Sun, *Sadāśiva*, *Brahmā*, and then--with no particular notice by the commentator, *Kṣemarāja*--we find *Buddha*, followed by *Kārtikeya*. *Netratantra* 13.32b-34a describes *Brahmā* as follows: "*Brahmā*, with four faces, handsome, colored red, with beautiful eyes; with pendulant *kūrca*, fiery, mounted on a swan, with four arms; with a stick and a rosary in [two of] his hands, holding an ascetic's water pot and the fearless [*mudrā*] [with the other two hands]; accompanied by the four *Vedas*, providing the fruit of all

*siddhis*."<sup>193</sup> After the brief gloss by *Kṣemarāja* that ‘with the Vedas’ means with their representations located at his side (*sākārair pārśvasthaiḥ*), we come at *Netratantra* 13.34b-36b to the description of the image of *Buddha* to be meditated upon: "*Buddha*, seated in the lotus posture, with pendulant ears and garments; with lotus-like eyes, the mark of the lotus, girded with jewels, good for the world; remaining in *samādhi*, the great *yogi*, his hands in the boon granting and fearless [*mudrās*]; holding an *akṣa* [bead] string, the *Deva*, holding a lotus, with beautiful eyes; in this way [he] is to be meditated upon, and honored, providing the fruit of the liberation of women."<sup>194</sup> *Kṣemarāja*'s only comments are that *Buddha* has lotus like eyes, the mark of the lotus on his hands etc., and because of being the sacrificer, etc. he is preeminent, hence is girded with jewels.<sup>195</sup> Then *Kārtikeya* is described.

Brunner critiqued Madhusūdan Kaul's KSTS edition rather sharply, questioning whether he was only a nominal editor, and remarking on his poor and basically useless introduction.<sup>196</sup> Similarly to the *Svacchanda*, the *Netratantra* is divided into a continuous series of 22 chapters, without regard for the idealized four *padas*. The text contains detailed descriptions of what Brunner terms ‘magical procedures,’ lists of demonic beings, techniques of using *mantras* for specific ends, iconographic descriptions, and lists of schools.<sup>197</sup>

### 5.6.3. *Mṛgendrāgama*

Bhatt produced two critical editions encompassing the four *pādas* of the *Mṛgendrāgama* with the commentary by Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, and Brunner-Lachaux has published a French translation of the *Kriyā* and *Caryāpādas*.<sup>198</sup> The

*Vidyāpāda* has thirteen sections: 1) Introduction, 2) Refutation of other doctrines of salvation, 3) Examination of the definition of the master (*patī*), 4) Description of the intrinsic form of the master, 5) The five activities, 6) Definition of the *paśu*, 7) Definition of the bonds (*pāśa*), 8) Discussion of action, 9) Definition of illusion, 10) Discussion of the effect of the energy of limitation etc., 11) Discussion of conceptions, etc., 12) Discussion of the sense faculties, 13) Discussion of the path.<sup>199</sup>

The *Yogapāda* is a bit shorter, with eight sections: 1) Discussion of the choice of *mantras*, 2) Discussion of ritual baths, 3) Discussion of adoration, 4) Discussion of worship to accomplish [the goal], 5) Discussion of symbolic gestures, 6) Discussion of the fire ritual, 7) Discussion of the apprenticeship, 8) Discussion of initiation, anointing, etc.<sup>200</sup>

#### 5.6.4. *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*

The *Mataṅgatantra* is referred to repeatedly by *Abhinavagupta*, with some 20 citations in the *Tantrāloka*.<sup>201</sup> The *Matāṅga* is considered a dualistic Tantra, as evident from *Abhinava*'s characterization of it as a *dvaitaśāstra* at TA 1.224.<sup>202</sup> It is a text in some 3500 verses, divided into the standard four *vidyāpāda*, *kriyāpāda*, *yogapāda*, and *caryāpāda*. Bhatt has published a critical edition with Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary of all four *pādas* with a substantial French Introduction outlining the contents of the text. The text derives from the *Pārameśvarāgama*, the latter the 26th out of the 28 *āgamas* of the Siddhānta school.

#### 5.7. Conclusion

We have seen from the discussion of the scholarly and traditional classification

systems that the Śaivite Tantric tradition was a lively and multifaceted one, with many different texts considered to be authoritative by different practitioners, and competing classification systems seeking some sort of authority in the face of continued creativity and production of texts from a variety of geographic and doctrinal sources. The introductory examination of the contributing lineages to Abhinavagupta's tradition makes it clear that he was the heir to a diverse and highly developed set of traditions, each with their own literature. By identifying the surviving manuscripts of Tantras cited by Abhinavagupta we gain a reliable sense of the existence of the textual tradition of the Tantras prior to the eleventh century CE--a sense that helps contribute to the accumulation of evidence that for several centuries prior to the turn of the first millenium CE a fairly large, widespread, and rather sophisticated Tantric tradition had developed throughout India. Our relatively brief survey of contents, openings, and closings of some of these texts shows us first of all that the texts cited by Abhinavagupta in his encyclopedic study of Śaivite Tantra were not fictitious names. Rather these still extant texts were evidently part of a large and vibrant tradition. Their very survival for so many centuries indicates the value that must have been placed on them at the time they were written.

The large number of chapters and relatively consistent set of topics in the extant Tantras of Abhinava's lineages shows us that there was, despite the plethora of schools and classification schemes, a shared body of doctrines and practices. We see that the format of a conversation between Śiva and Pārvaṭī in their various guises was a standard device for communicating the Śaivite Tantric teachings. We see that some

of the texts may have been shared between the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric schools, and that basic purification rites, vows, use of prayer beads for reciting *mantras*, versions of the Vedic fire rituals, various Yoga practices inherited from the ascetic Yoga lineages, astrological concerns, and pilgrimage practices were all relatively common among all the Śaivite Tantras. It is also evident from several of these texts that sexual Yogas were involved in Tantric practice, and I have examined this topic in some detail in Chapter 9 of this dissertation. More than anything else this chapter should simply make it clear that in dealing with the Śaivite Tantras, as in the case with the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras, we are dealing with a substantial tradition with many large, surviving texts awaiting proper editing and translation, and that these surviving Tantras were part of a larger set of doctrines and practices that were taken seriously by many highly regarded thinkers in the centuries leading up to the time of Abhinavagupta. In Chapter 6 I will look at the social context of Tantric practices; then in Chapters 7-9 we will examine the doctrines and practices of Tantric Yoga in some detail, with reference to several texts mentioned in this chapter.

## NOTES

1. Padoux 1996. See Padoux 1987:276 for a listing of various classification schemes, and mention of Vaiṣṇava-Sahajīya, Śākta, Saura, Gāṇapatya, and other Tantric groups.
2. This classification apparently originates with *Yāmuna*, and is repeated by *Rāmānuja*, thereby giving it greater weight in tradition than some other groupings. See Lorenzen 1972:1.
3. Varadachari 1986-7{1}:vii.
4. Sanderson notes the Sanskrit works by Tamil authors on the Trika, Krama, Pratyabhijñā, and Śrīvidyā traditions (Sanderson 1987a:9).
5. See Dyczkowski 1988:216-226.
6. Lorenzen 1972.
7. Lorenzen 1971:9-10.
8. The sixth chapter of *Sāyaṇa Mādhava's Sarvadarśanasamgraha*.
9. Hara 1958:9-10.
10. Gnoli 1980:16. Lakulīśa's *Pāśupatasūtra* was translated by Gnoli in 1962.
11. Hara 1958:27-28.
12. For additional material on the Kāpālikas and the Lokāyatikas, see Das 1982 and Shastri 1933.
13. See Gnoli 1980:12-13.
14. Gnoli 1980:14.
15. Shastri 1900:18-23 & xxvi.
16. Śāstrī 1900:93-95 & 244-246.
17. See No. 116 in Śāstrī 1900:116.
18. Śāstrī 1900:309-310.
19. The contents are 'Description of the cause of the birth of a girl, boy, hermaphrodite, etc.; description of the time of production of the blood, fat, bones, etc.; description of the winds etc. in the body; description of the channels etc.; description of the location of the channels, etc.; and description of the means of consciousness by stopping the winds in the channels, etc.' (*Viṣayaḥ | strī-puṃ-napuṃsaka-ādi-janma-kāraṇa-nirūpaṇam | śarīrādīnām śoṇita-māṃsa-āsthy-ādy-utpatti-kāla-nirūpaṇam | deha-stha-vāyv-ādi-nirūpaṇam | nāḍy-ādi-nirūpaṇam | nāḍy-ādi-sthiti-nirūpaṇam | vāyu-nāḍy-ādi-rodhādinā cintanopāya-nirūpaṇam |*) (Śāstrī 1900:310). The text opens as follows: 'Om Śrīrādhākṛṣṇa; Śrīmahādeva spoke: When the space [element] unites, then a body is born; the lotus has seven petals, and the *cakra* is seven *aṅgulas* in extent. | When the wind has gone into the middle of that, then an embryo is produced; when [the wind goes] into the left *cakra* then it will be a girl; when [the wind goes] into the right [*cakra*] then it will be a boy. | And the movement [of the wind] on the left is into that *cakra*--the movement [of the wind] on the right is into the two *cakras*; when [the winds] unite spontaneously, then a hermaphrodite will be born. | By the activity of the divine eye the body of the child is produced; the basis of the semen particle of the man having entered into the woman's belly, after three nights [produces] a billow, after five nights produces a bubble, after ten nights produces blood, and after fourteen produces a mass of



flesh [i.e. the different stages of the embryo], etc.’(ॐ *Śrīrādhākṣṣṇa* | | *śrīmahādeva uvāca* | *ekībhūtaṃ yathākāśaṃ śarīraṃ jāyate tathā* | *padmaṃ saptadalaṃ cakraṃ pramāṇaṃ dvādaśāṅgulaṃ* | | *tasya madhye gate vāyau tadā garbhaḥ prajāyate* | *vāmacakra bhaven nārī dakṣiṇe puruṣottamaḥ* | | *vāmagatiś ca tac cakraṃ, dvicakraṃ dakṣiṇāgatiḥ* | *ekībhaveḍ yadā kamaṃ tadā klivaḥ prajāyate* | | *karmaṇā daivaneṭreṇa jantur dehaṃ prapadyate* | *striy[ā]ḥ praviṣṭa udaraṃ puṃso-reta-kaṇāśrayaḥ* | | *kallolanaṃ trirātreṇa, pañcarātreṇa vuṭvudam* | *śoṇitaṃ daśarātreṇa māṃsapinḍaṃ caturdaśe* | | *ityādi* |) (Śāstrī 1900:310).

20. Shastri 1939-40. These numbers are not inflated—I deducted from the totals multiple manuscript listings of the same text—so, though estimates, since I have not examined the texts in detail, the numbers give a fairly accurate idea of the numbers of individual works. Since production of Tantras, digests, etc. has continued in India for over a thousand years, with many of the important texts preserved, these numbers are not really that surprising.

21. The Germans for instance have recently put out a series of notices of oriental manuscripts held in German libraries (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*). Band II, vols. 1-12 covers Indian manuscripts, including a number of Tantric mss. Göttingen’s library has among other holdings mss. of Abhinavagupta’s *Īśvarapratyabhijñāsūtravimarśinī*, and Vasugupta’s *Spandasūtra*, textual fragments of some *Śaivāgamas* (Ehlers 1995:87-88), a copy of *Nandikeśvara’s saṃvāda* on the *Rudrayāmala* (Ehlers 1995:102), the *Samayācāra* chapters 1-11 of the *Rudrayāmala* (Ehlers 1995:147-148).

22. See Varadachari 1986-7{1}:v-xxxviii—I have paraphrased Bhatt’s descriptions.

23. Bhatt gives the (folk) etymology of giving the subject matter in detail (*√tan*) and protecting those in bondage (*√trā*) for *Tantra*. (Varadachari 1986-7{1}:vi).

24. Krishnamacharya 1931:11-12. The traditional number of *Pāñcarātra* texts are 219 or 225. The *Vaiḥkhanasāgamas* trace their lineage to the sage *Vikhanas*, and were handed down through his disciples. Relatively little work has been done on by Western scholars on the Sanskrit texts of the *Vaiṣṇava* Tantras. One of the earliest canonical texts appears to be *Marīci’s Vaiḥkhanasāgama*, published in 1935 in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. (Marīci 1935.) One of the few works in English on the *Vaiḥkhanasas* is Goudriaan’s 1965 study of the *Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍaḥ*. (See Brunner 1969 for detailed review.) The bulk of the schematic research has been conducted by H. Daniel Smith of Syracuse University (now retired), who wrote published a number of articles, and published several works devoted primarily to *Pāñcarātra* iconography. (See Smith 1978:201-203.) He also collected some 75-80 different *Pāñcarātra* texts in either manuscript, manuscript fragment, or printed form in the Smith Āgama Collection at Syracuse University. Smith also published the invaluable *Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama* in 1975, a text with detailed descriptions of the contexts of each chapter of some 35 texts. (Smith 1975; see also the *Annotated Index* to the same, Smith 1980.) A number of the texts have been published in the Gaekwad’s Oriental Series, and there are a few English translations of these Tantras the more recent being Swami Vijñānānanda’s translation of the *Nāradapañcarātram*, (Vijñānānanda 1993) and Sanjukta Gupta’s *Lakṣmī Tantra* (Gupta 1972), preceded by Chatterji’s translation of the *Jñānāmṛta Sāra Saṃhitā* (Chatterji 1921), and van Buitenen’s translation of *Yāmuna’s Āgama Prāmāṇyam* (van Buitenen 1971), a philosophical text that deeply informs *Rāmānuja’s Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtras*. The earliest work in English was F.O. Schrader’s 1916 study of the *Ahīrbudhnyasaṃhitā*, a somewhat atypical text (Schrader 1916). The *Śrīvaiṣṇava Tantras* by and large teach salvation via *bhakti*, and with this focus differ somewhat in character and content from the *Śaiva* and Buddhist *Tantras*, although they employ many of the

same techniques (*mantranyāsa*, use of *bjamantras*, *yantras*, *maṇḍalas*, etc.) and some similar procedures.

25. Bagchi 1975:3.

26. Bagchi 1975:8 & 11.

27. See Drabu 1990:24-25, and TA 1.18 commentary (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{2}:40, and 42-43).

28. Bagchi 1975:4-5.

29. See for example:

Brunner-Lachaux's *Mṛgēdrāgama*, *section des rites et section du comportement, avec la Vṛtti de Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha*, reviewed by T. Goudriaan in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 33, no. 1, January 1990, pp. 53-82.

Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat's edition of the *Svāyaṃbhuvāsūtrasaṃgraha* (1991) reviewed by Eli Franco (it's a Śaiva Siddhānta text).

Silburn, Liliane, *Śivasūtra et Vimarśinī de Kṣemarāja*, Traduction et Introduction, Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1980 (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 47).

Silburn, Liliane (1957), *Le Paramārthasāra*, Texte Sanskrit Édité et Traduit, Paris, E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1957 ((Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 5).

Silburn, Liliane (1964), *La Bhakti, Le Stavacintāmaṇide Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa*, texte traduit et commenté, Paris, E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1964 ((Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 19, Études sur le Śivaism du Kaśmīr, Tome 1).

Silburn, Liliane (1968), *La Mahārthamañjarī de Maheśvarānanda* avec des Extraits de Parimāla, traduction et Introduction, Paris, E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1964 (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 29, Études sur le Śivaism du Kaśmīr, École Krama).

Silburn, Liliane (1975), *Hymnes Aux Kālī, La Rouse des Énergies Divines*, Traduction et Introduction, Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1975, (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 40, Études sur le Śivaism du Kaśmīr, École Krama).

Padoux, André (1975), *La Parātrīśikālaghuvṛtti de Abhinavagupta*, Texte Traduit et Annoté, Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1975, (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 38).

30. See Muller-Ortega 1989:18-24 for an excellent summary of contemporary scholarship on the *Trika* tradition.

31. Singh 1979:i.

32. Sanderson 1987:15.

33. Sanderson 1987:15-16.

34. See Chatterji's *Kaśmīr Śaivism* p.37, and Chintamani, 1941:xxxvii-xxviii.

35. See Sankaranarayan 1985.

36. See Singh 1979:v.

37. See Singh 1979:vii-xiv.

38. See Singh 1980:xiii-xiv for discussion.

39. The *Spandapradīpikā* by *Utpala Vaṣṇava* quotes the *Pāñcarātra saṃhitās--Jayākhyā (Śrījaya/ā)*, *Haṃsaparameśvara*, *Vaiḥāyasa*, and the *Vaiṣṇava Paramārthasāra*. (Schrader in Chatterji 1921:Appendix ii.)

40. There are a number of scholars currently working on Kaśmīr Śaivite material. In Britain we find the incomparable Alexis Sanderson at Oxford, who though commonly acknowledged as the master of the subject, has published in limited amounts and has many unfinished projects on his shelves. Gavin Flood, at St. David's University College, Lampeter, Wales, has published some very perceptive articles. (See also Flood, G. "Shared realities and symbolic forms in Kaśmīr Śaivism, *Numen* 36:1990, pp. 225-247). In Italy Gnoli has moved on to Buddhist Tantric material and has been succeeded by Raffaele Torella at Rome; Gnoli's former student Enrica Garzilli is at Harvard Law School. In France Padoux is still active, cooperating with Brunner-Lachaux on several projects. In the U.S. there is Paul Muller-Ortega of Western Michigan, and Doug Brooks has recently begun some research in the area. In the Netherlands we have Teun Goudriaan, India still has Rastogi, with a number of graduate students doing thesis work in the area, while V. Dwivedi has published numerous Sanskrit texts in this area.

41. Singh 1980:xvi.

42. Gnoli 1980:17--"la realta ultimá [é]...movimento, energia, forza incessante, non segregata dal mondo ma piuttosto il principio attivo, fonte dell innumerevoli creazioni e dissoluzioni, cosmiche e individuali."

43. Gnoli 1980:23.

44. Gnoli 1980:24.

45. Gnoli 1980:25.

46. This relatively short text was translated into English and published in 1957 by Gnoli. (Gnoli 1957). The Sanskrit was published as volume 59 of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies.

47. Translated by Jaideva Singh (Singh 1990).

48. Singh 1990:5.

49. See Singh 1990:49.

50. Singh provides us a list of his works: *Pratyabhijñāhṛdayam*, *Spandasandoha*, *Spandanirṇaya*, *Svacchandodyota*, *Netroddyota*, *Vijñānabhairava-uddyota*, *Śivasūtra-vimarśinī*, *Stavacintāmaṇi-ṭīkā*, *Parāprāveśikā*, *Tattvasandoha*, and a *ṭīkā* on Utpala's *Stotrāvalī*. (Singh 1979:iv).

51. Sanderson 1987:14.

52. See Pandey 1963:461-540.

53. See Silburn 1968 and 1975.

54. Rastogi 1979.

55. See Sanderson 1987:14, and Rastogi 1979:82-248.

56. Sanderson 1987:14. From Sanderson, Alexis: "Saivism: Krama Śaivism." Excerpted with permission of Macmillan Reference USA, a Division of Simon and Schuster, from THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION, Mircea Eliade, Editor in Chief, Vol. 13, pp. 14-15. Copyright © 1987 by Macmillan Publishing Company.

- 57 . Sanderson 1987:14-15.
- 58 . See Pandey 1963:542-732.
- 59 . Pandey 1964:547, see also Gnoli 1980:674.
- 60 . See Sanderson 1987:16-17 for a discussion of the role of the Śrīvidyā tradition in the context of the Trika tradition of Kaśmīr.
- 61 . Sanderson 1987a:8.
- 62 . See De 1960:110-111.
- 63 . See Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:32-55.
- 64 . See Pandey 1963:27-29. See also Raghavan 1949, for the text of the *Gurunāthaparāmarśa*, a text that names several lost texts by Abhinava.
- 65 . Bhojadeva 1937:xv-xvi.
- 66 . Gnoli counts slightly fewer, about 125, citing several individual texts as referred to by multiple names. (Gnoli 1980:883-892).
- 67 . See Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:253-264 and 265-283).
- 68 . Gnoli 1957:16.
- 69 . "Bhāskara says in the introductory portion of his Vārttika that Vasugupta taught the Śiva-Sūtras to Kallaṭa who taught them to Pradumnabhāṭṭa, the son of his maternal uncle. Pradyumnabhāṭṭa taught them to his son Prajñārjuna. Prajñārjuna taught them to a pupil, Mahādevabhāṭṭa, who in turn taught them to his son, Śrīkāṇṭhabhāṭṭa. Bhāskara himself learned the *sūtras* from Śrīkāṇṭhabhāṭṭa. Bhāskara flourished in the 11th century A.D." (Singh 1979:iii).
- 70 . See Gnoli 1980:15.
- 71 . See Gnoli 1980:883-893.
- 72 . See Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:253-285.
- 73 . *Anye 'pi bahuvikalpāḥ svadhiyācāryaiḥ samabhyūhāḥ | Śrīpūrvaśāsane punar aṣṭādaśādhikam śataṃ kathitam | | tad iha pradhānam adhikam saṃkṣepēṇocyate śodhyam |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1626-1627; Gnoli 1980:394).
- 74 . There is also a fairly modern Kaśmīri manuscript at the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Ms. 1554, No. 5821, Shāstrī 1939-40:27), and a partial ms. (chapters 11.22-19.86) at the Göttingen Library (Janert & Poti 1975:101.no. 1249) and another partial ms. (Chapters 1-11.22) at the Göttingen Library (Janert & Poti 1970:102.no. 641.). The Asiatic Society manuscript includes a post-colophon not found in the KSS edition: "The *Mālinīvijaya Tantra* of the goddess was previously expatiated by *Parameśvara* in secret, out of love and kindness for his devotees. And what was explained has been heard by *Kārttikeya* when those two were conversing for [the sake of] the sages who are disciplined in devotion and cross over the ocean of transmigration; the one named *Govindāśrama* has been authorized by the *guru* of that very [text]. '(Mālinīvijayaṃ devyās Tantraṃ rahasi yat purā | parameśena samproktaṃ bhaktānugraha-kāmyayā | karttikeyena yacc coktaṃ śrutvā saṃvadatos tayoh | munīnām bhakti-yuktānām saṃsārārṇava-tāraṇam | | tadetdad-gurv-anujñāto govindāśrama-saṃjñakaḥ |.)
- 75 . Gnoli 1980:783-837. There's a misprint on page 833, identifying chapter 11 as "Capitolo X."

76. See Gnoli's references to Abhinavagupta's quotations (Gnoli 1980:889-890). Gnoli however has no comment on the possible history of the text, nor any references to manuscripts of it.

77. 2) *vyāpti*, 3) *Śaktitrayoddhāra*, 4) *Vidyāṅgoddhāra*, 5) *Lokapāloddhāra*, 6) *Samayamaṇḍala*, 10) *Vidyāvratā*, 20) *Kha-cakra-vyūha*, 21) *Bhairava-vītra-saṁhitā*, 22) *Yoginī-cakra-nirṇaya*, 24) *Cakroddhāraṇam*, 25) *Siddhi-maṇḍala-vinyāsa*, 26) *Melakākhyā*.

78. *Nepāla-vatsare jāte vahni-randra-samudrake | ananta-saṁhita-likhitaṁ siddha-yogeśvart-matam | | pustaka-likhana-pariśrama-jñō dvijanno nānyah | sāgara-laṅghana-khedaṁ hanumān ekah paraṁ veti | |* (Shāstrī 1939-40:136-7).

79. Opening lines of the *mantra*.

80. ms. 3917D, no. 5947. *Athātaḥ saṁpravakṣyāmi siddhyupāyaṁ priyeśara | ajñātvā...kā devi ajaptvā gurupādukām | | rātrau paryayaṇaṁ nāsti sādhaḥ (kaukilaḥ) [kaulikaḥ] katham | katham mantrāśca siddhyanti mantrārthajñānataḥ priye | | kullukā mūrdhni saṁjaprvā hṛdī setum vicintayet | mahāsetum viśuddhau tu sahasrāre vicintayet | | End: tathā japādikaṁ sarvvaṁ niṣkalaṁ nātra saṁśayaḥ | tasmāt sarvvaprayatnena prajapet mūrdhni kullukām | |* Shāstrī 1939-40:135-6).

81. Gnoli 1980:889.

82. Grünendahl 1989:63.

83. *Śrīmat-kālotarādaū ca kathitaṁ bhūyasā tathā | pañcāitāni tu tattvāni yair vyāptam akhilaṁ jagat | |* (Dwivedī & Rastogi 1987{5}:2103); Gnoli 1980:372). *Jayaratha* clarifies that *tattva* refers to earth etc.

84. All the chapter titles end with *paṭalaḥ*.

85. Śāstrī places a (?) after this title—it may be that it should read *praṇava-vyādhi-prasāda*, though my interpretation of *prasāda* here is open to debate; we'd have to see the chapter.

86. Grünendahl 1989:127-128.

87. The first leaf of Chapter 1 is missing, so Śāstrī gives us the beginning of the second chapter.

88. Grünendahl 1989:214-215.

89. Layne's translation, Layne 1991:52, 53, and 54.

90. *Oṁ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhyaḥ | yas tridhā triṣv-avasthāsu rupam āsthāya śaktimān | udbhava-sthiti-saṁhāra-kṛtsnaṁ viśvasya śaktiṭaḥ | | vidadhāti namas-tasmai śuddhāmṛta-mayātmane | śivāya braham-viṣṇveśa-parāya paramātmane | | kailāsa-śikharāśīnaṁ devadevaṁ maheśvaram | krīḍantañ ca gaṇaiḥ sārddhaṁ pārvvatyā sahitaṁ haram | | dṛṣtvā pramuditaṁ devaṁ prāpināṁ hita-kāmyayā | utsaṅgād avatṛyyāśu pādaū jagrāha pārvvatī | | papraccha parayā bhaktyā santoṣya parameśvaram | | śrīdevy uvāca | bhagavan devadeveśa lokanātha jagatpate | yat tvayā mahad-āścaryyaṁ kṛtaṁ vismaya-kāraḥ | | sarvvasya jagato deva kiṁ nu me parameśvara | durvijñeyaṁ durārādhyāṁ rahasyaṁ na prakāśitaṁ | | kārttikeyasya na mayā na sureṣu gaṇeṣu ca | yogeśvartṛṇāṁ mātṛṇāṁ ṛṣṭṛṇāṁ yogināṁ nahi | | tadadya me jagannātha suprasanno yadi prabho | prārthayāmi prapannāhaṁ niḥśeṣaṁ vaktum arhasi | | ityādi |* (Grünendahl 1989:243).

91. *Amṛteśasya devasya mṛtyujid-bhairavasya tu | parāpara-vibhedaṁ ca yo vindaty asya sarvvaśaḥ | | so 'cirād amṛtaṁ ... nnātra saṁśayaḥ | ... na deyaṁ pāpaśīlānāṁ krodhināṁ kāmināṁ tathā | | ... dadāti yadi mohena snehena dhana-lipsayā | gacchati naraḥ ghoram*

*ityāñā pārameśvar[ī] | ... śasya-pālanāt siddhim āpnuyāt | pālanāc ca bhaved devi mṛtyujit pārameśvaraḥ |* (Grünendahl 1989:243-244).

92. *Tantrāvatārādhikāraḥ | 1 |; mantroddhāravidhiḥ | 2 |; yajanādhikāraḥ | 3 |; dīkṣādhikāraḥ | 4 |; abhiṣeka-sādhanādhikāraḥ | 5 |; sthūlādhikāraḥ | 6 |; sūkṣma ... nādhikāraḥ | 7 |; kālavañcanaḥ | 8 |; sadāśivādhikāraḥ | 9 |; dakṣiṇa-cakrādhikāraḥ | 10 |; uttara-tantrādhikāraḥ | 11 |; kulāmnāyādhikāraḥ | 12 |; sarvva-vidyādhikāraḥ | 13 |; sarvādhikāraḥ | 14 |; (no title) | 15 |; vyāpṛyādhikāraḥ | 16 |; pañcādhikāraḥ | 17 |; vaśyākaraṇādhikāraḥ | 18 |; (no title) | 19 |; rājarakṣādhikāraḥ | 20 |; iṣṭa-pātādy-adikāraḥ | 21 |; jīvākaraṇa .. dyādhikāraḥ | 22 |; mantra-vicāra-varṇanaḥ | 23 |; mantramāhātmya .. | 24 |* (Grünendahl 1989:244-245).

93. From  $\sqrt{dam}$ , to sound.

94. *Tad uktaṃ pārameśena tantrē śrīḍāmarābhidhe*—1.155. (Kaul 1921:16; see also Gnoli 1980:884.), and again at *Tantrāloka* 15.351.

95. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{2}:434 and Gnoli 1980:127). TA 15.351 reads: *iti bhairavaparapūjātātvaṃ śrīḍāmāre mahāyāge*. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{6}:2617). Gnoli reads this in conformity with TA 3.70, "Questa suprema adorazione di Bhairava, esposta nel Devyāyāmala in occasione del grande sacrificio Ḍāmara...." (Gnoli 1980:481), interpolating "nel Devyāyāmala" though this interpolation is not evident from Jayaratha's commentary. For other references to a *Ḍāmara* text see TA 3.70, 15.335, and 30.54-55.

96. Mitra 1878:165-166.

97. Bhattacharyya wrote an article on "The Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara" examining the Buddhist and Hindu versions of the text. While he states that "as regards the Tantra of Bhūtaḍāmara it must be stated in the beginning that it has no connection with the Ḍāmara literature of the Hindus," he concludes after comparing passages of the two texts that "no one can deny that there is a great deal that is common to both versions of the Bhūtaḍāmara Tantra." (Bhattacharyya 1930:353, 365). Unfortunately Bhattacharyya's analysis is slanted by his customarily unreliable dating assumptions, and his presumptive doctrine that Buddhist Tantras preceded Hindu Tantras.

98. Gnoli 1980:884 & Kaul Shastri 1921:16. Gnoli has completed an Italian translation of this text though I do not have access to it at the moment. The English translation is mine, from the Sanskrit.

99. *Tad-asmin-saṃvid-avadhau viśramya tuṭi-mātrakam | | kāla-grāsa-paro yogī jāyate khecaraḥ kṣaṇāt | uktaṃ hi bhāvābhāso yaḥ kālaḥ sa kalanātmakaḥ | | sva-saṃvid-raśmi-saṃsphāro bhāvābhāvaḥ sa nāparaḥ | tasmāt sva-raśmi-saṃrodha-dvāra-ruddha-adhva-manḍalāḥ | | kāla-grāsa-ekarasiko jāyate khecaraḥ svayam | tad-uktaṃ pārameśena tantrē śrī-ḍāmara-abhidhe | |* (*Mālinīvijayavarttika* 1.152b-155, Kaul Shastri 1921:16).

100. Windisch & Eggeling 1894:863-864.

101. Both the *Mātaṅgīḍāmara* and *Gaurīḍāmaram* date from the early 1900's and filled with Hindi.

102. Monier Williams, citing the Catalogues, says *Pratyāṅgirā* is a form of Durgā. This is a reasonable definition in light of the contents of this work.

103. Shāstri 1939-40:75-58.

104. *Oṃ svasti | Oṃ namaḥ śivādibhyo gurubhyaḥ | himavac chikhare ramye surāsuraṇiṣevite | tatra sthāne sukhāsīnaṃ devadevaṃ maheśvaram | | surāsura-ndra-namitaṃ*

*siddha-gandharvva-pūjitaṃ | kṛtāñjali-putā devī idam vacanam abravīt | | Śrīdevyuvāca | sarvva-khotodbhavaṃ jñānaṃ tvat-prasādān mayā śrutam | kā vidyā s[ś]ākinīnām tu datyānām gati-nāśinī | saṃsiddhā yā yuge ghore sarvva-saṃśaya-bhedinī | Śrībhairava uvāca | pūrvvaṃ gaurī mahāghore śmaśāne karavṛake | āradhitof'jham devībhir yāge saṃpūjanāya ca | | tāṃ coru-saṃsthām kṛtvā tu yātas tatra varānane | catuḥṣaṣṭiṣu ye koṣṭyā s[ś]ākinīyādyā mahābalāḥ | | yajñabhāgaṃ prayacchanti caruṃ kṛtvā svabāndhavān | bhūñjāmi tam aham bhadre, kṛdāmi ca carāmi ca | |.... Gurudviṣṭe bhayākte ca, kāma-lobha-samanvite | dātāro naraḥ yānti, satyaṃ satyaṃ na cānyathā | |*

105. Shāstrī 1939-40:54-56.

106. "The intoxicated terrifier."

107. Apte describes *pramathas* as a class of attendants on Śiva. *pra* +  $\sqrt{math}$  = to churn, harrass, torment.

108. The term apparently derives from the poetic tradition where *nāyikā* is the general term for a variety of heroines (see Apte and his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* citations).

109. This is an intriguing direct statement of the underlying character of Śaivite lore—that Śiva befriends, has as attendants, etc., all manner of social riffraff—thieves, slobs, etc.; the same sort of characterization we find in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, where *Vimalakīrti* frequents the whorehouses and gambling establishments as well as the councils of the gods.

110. *Mahograṃ vyomavadanaṃ koṭi-sūryyāgnibhāsvaram | mahākālāntakaṃ naumi śrībṛhad-bhūtaḍmaram | | bhuvanādhipatiṃ kālāṃ sarvva-loka-prapūjitaṃ | mahonmattaṃ bhairaveśam anantaṃ bhairaveśvaram | | śabda-brahma-mayaṃ raudraṃ sarvva-vyāpakavigrahaṃ | unmatta-bhairavaṃ natvāpracchann-unmattabhairavī | | Unmattabhairavyuvāca | bṛhadānanda-bhūteśa satīśa bhaktavatsala | vadasva sarvva-bhūteśa śrī-bṛhad-bhūtaḍmaram | | kathaṃ yakṣā narā nāgāḥ kinnarāḥ pramathādayaḥ | ḍākinyāḥ kula-khecaryo deva-gandharva-nāyikāḥ | | siddha-dānava-kanyās-ca yoginyāḥ kāma-nāyikāḥ | jambudvīpe kalau siddhiḥ yacchanty eṣāṃ varāṅgaṅgāḥ | | ye syuḥ pāparatā mithā-vādināḥ śīla-varjītāḥ | sālasyā ye narāś tebhyaḥ sāhāyāṃ kurutha svayam | | kenopāyena naśyanti kalau kleśaugh-rāśayaḥ | mahāpātaka-lakṣāṇi tathopapātakāni ca | | duṣṭa-grahā duṣṭa-nāgā duṣṭa-bhūtādayas tathā | vinaśyanti tathā duṣṭā mahāvighnakarāś ca ye | | labhyante siddhayaḥ sarvvaḥ mokṣa-paddhatayaḥ śubhāḥ | siddhāyo 'pyaṇimādyāḥ syur mahāpātaka-nāśanāḥ | | anyān nāśanataḥ pāpam anyastrīgamanādikam | paradrohakṛtaṃ pāpam paradravvyābhilāṣakam | | viśamāsādikaṃ pāpam abhinindā mahābhayaṃ | kathaṃ naśyati deveśa helayā naraḥ tamah | | candra-sūryya-prabho bhūtvā sthītīrudrapure cīram | surendra-siddha-nāgendra-bhūta-yakṣendra-nāyikāḥ | guhya-vetāla-gandharavva-mahīndra-kula-nāyikāḥ | | haṭhād āgārya kāmāritā balād āliṅgayanti tam | | uktayogendrakanyās ca bhūtaḍmāra-nāyikāḥ | mantra-smaraṇa-mātreṇa kena siddhā bhavanti tāḥ | | tathā brahmeśa-śakrādyā devānām adhidevatāḥ | trayas-triṃśat-koṭayas tu devāḥ sama[ā]ra-bhairavāḥ | | kathaṃ syur māritā ete vidyā-śakti-samanvitāḥ | punaḥ kena prakāreṇa mṛtā jīvanti nirjjarāḥ | | kṛpāyā vada bhūteśa tvam eva śaraṇaṃ prabho | śrutveti bharaṇī-vākyam unmattabhairavo 'sakṛt | unmattabhairavīṃ prāha sarvvaṃ niyamapūrvvakam | |*

111. Though *Kātyāyana* is famed as a Sanskrit grammarian who commented on *Pāṇini*, and of a *muni*, *Kātyāyanti* becomes a name for *Durgā* or *Parvatī*.

112. 1) *gratha-phala-kathanam*; 2) *krodha-namnā śata-nama-stotre*; 3) *siddhi-mantra-prabheda*; 4) *kālātmaka-siddha-cakra-prabheda*; 5) *pakṣa-bheda*; 6) *kāma-bheda-cakra-prabheda*; 7) *sāra-nirṇaya-cakra-prabheda*; 8) *veda-cakra-prabheda*; 9) *ṣaṭ-kālātmaka-cakra-*

*prabheda*; 11) *sundarī-mantra-kathana*; 12) *sundarī-dhyāna-kathana*; 13) *bhūtaṅt-sādhana-vinyāsa*; 14) *bhūtinī-siddhi-sādhana*; 15) *kāla-rātri-sādhana*; 16) *kāla-rātri-stotra-mantra-vinyāsa*; 17) *kāla-rātri-kavaca*; 18) *mahā-bhūta-ceṭikā-sādhana*; 19) *bhūta-kātyāyanī-siddhi-sādhana*; 20) *bhūta-kātyāyanī-siddhi-sādhana*; 21) *Nāyikā-stotra-kavaca-vinyāsa*; 22) *divyā-nāgendra-nāgintī-sādhana*; 23) *Nāgendra-nāgintī-stotrātmaka-kavaca-vinyāsa*; 24) *devendra-kula-yogintī-siddha-sādhana*.

113 . Windisch and Eggeling 1894:863-864.

114 . TA 1.75-77; 4.78; 9.47, 145, 146; 13.162, 284; 15.18; 18.6, 11. (Gnoli 1980:885). The text was edited and published in *grantha* characters in Devakoṭṭai in 1932. The *Vidyāpāda* has been edited, translated into Italian, and published by Maria Pia Vivanti. (Vivanti 1975). As of this writing I have not yet learned to read *grantha* script, so I have not consulted the Sanskrit text.

115 . Vivanti 1975:2n.2.

116 . Vivanti 1975:2n.1. Without giving further reasons, Vivanti places the *Kiraṇa* in the early centuries CE; to me this is problematic. Without more substantial evidence, such an early date is speculative, even were it correct.

117 . 1) *Paśu-vicāraṇā-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 2) *āhāra-vihāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 3) *śiva-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 4) *śakti-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 6) *dikṣā-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 7) *mantra-śiva-śakti-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 9) *tattva-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 10) *śiva-śakti-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 11) *jñāna-bheda-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 12) *mantroddhāra-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 14) *liṅgārccana-vicāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 15) *agni-kāryya-vidhiḥ*; 16) *agni-kunḍa-vicāraḥ*; 19) *gṛha-lakṣaṇa-dvāra-lakṣaṇaḥ*; 20) *rajo-maṇḍala-vidhiḥ*; 21) *aṣṭa-lakṣaṇa-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 25) *aṣṭa-yāgaḥ*; 26) *gaṇa-pati-yāgaḥ*; 29) *nava-graha-yāgaḥ*; 30) *aṃśa-bheda-vicāraḥ*; 31) *nityācāra-vidhiḥ*; 32) *yogīśvara*; 33) *bhikṣāṣaṭṣaḥ*; 34) *mṛtyuñjaya-yāgaḥ*; 35) *anadhyaḥ-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 36) *pavitrārohaṇa-vidhiḥ*; 37) *śivā*; 38) *guru-parikṣā*; 39) *śiva-śikhā-jyoti-sāvitṛyeti catuṣka-vicāraḥ*; 40) .. 41) *vrateśvara-yāgaḥ .. cāra-vicāraḥ*; 42) *śuddhy-aśuddhi-vicāraḥ*; 43) *mahā-pañca-pātakādi-prāyaścitta-vidhiḥ*; 44) .. *ga prāyaścitta[ḥ] ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 45) *bhojanāsana-vidhiḥ*; 46) *pātra-śuddhiḥ*; 47) *nityahāryādi prāyaścityaḥ*; 48) ... *na vidhiḥ*; 49) *samayī-putraka-sādhaka-ācāryya-vṛttiḥ*; 50) *sādhana-vidhāna-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 51) *avyakta-liṅga-lakṣaṇam*; 52) *vyakta-liṅga-lakṣaṇam*; 53) *vyaktāvkyakta-liṅga-lakṣaṇam pīṭha-lakṣaṇaṅca*; 54) *bhūparikṣā-śalyoddhāraś ca*; 55) *n ... ka lakṣayogapaṭṣaḥ*; 56) *devādhivāsana-deva-pratiṣṭhā-vidhi-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 57) ... *nādvāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 58) *yogābhyāsa-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 59) *utkrānti-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 60) *antyeṣṭiṣaṭṣaḥ*; 61) ... *vidhiḥ*; 62) *pañca-brahmoddhāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 63) *liṅgoddhāra-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; 64) *mātrkā-yāga-ṣaṭṣaḥ*; *iti kiraṇākhya mahātāntrasya ṣaṭṣaḥ-paripāṭikālikhitam smaraṇārthaṃ samāptam* | (Grünendahl 1989:577-579). Śāstrī then gives us an extract from the tenth chapter (the passage is difficult to make much sense out of): *Garuḍa* spoke: For what reason does [he] say these, Oh lord, and how many are there of them? And what are those from whence, Oh *Mahādeva*, all of this [arises]? You must tell me. *Bhagavān* spoke: He expresses these for the sake of liberation; there is no liberation from *sādhana*, in fact. In those *sādhana* is perfected; he expresses them for that purpose. Considering *Īśa* as immediately contiguous with the subtle, and *Śivā* as tenfold, and having broken apart the single knowledge, I will tell you the number of those. Thinking away {mentally separating} what is desired from the *praṇava*, she who is born from *yoga* from the statement of that, what is [flaming] from what's called flaming, the cause from what's called the cause, he who is worshipped from *Śiva*, what's well known [as the flaming lamp] from the flaming lamp, the subtle from the subtle, what's considered over and again to be called a thousand (the *sahasrāra cakra*?) from time, the very beautiful foot from it (?), the (?) from



what's named the *akṣa*, likewise; in this way, what's said first, and again in the sequence of other teachers, extracted from the three portions, desired. May the ambrosia of the gods produce *yoga*, may it be your *Tantra*, known as ashes, Oh lord. (the ms. is rather corrupt... so I didn't translate the rest of the extract).

118. TA 28.15, where it is called the *Trikāṭikula* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3113); and TA 29.43 and 35.33 where it is called the *Śrīmatkāṭikula* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3329 & 1987{8}:3664); (Gnoli 1980:885).

119. Shāstrī 1949-40:210-211.

120. A name of *Pārvatī*.

121. *Oṃ namo bhavānyai | kailāsa-śikhare ramyānā sukha-samākula | sarvvarttu-kusumākīrṇe nānā-pakṣi-sunādite | ... kālī-kulāmṛtaṃ Tantram prasāṅgāt kathitaṃ prabho | vistāreṇa mahābhāga kathyatāṃ yadi me kṛpā | | vidyā-rājñās ca uddhāraṃ varṇa-varṇān yathāyutān | ṛṣi-cchando devatāṃ ca bījaṃ śaktiṃ ca kīlakam | | viniyogaṃ yadarthaṃ ca dhyāna-pūjādikam kramāt | stotraṃ ca kavacaṃ cāsyāḥ sādhanāṃ ca yathākramam | | kathayasva mahābhāga yadyahaṃ tava vallabhā | | Śrībhairava uvāca | śṛṇu pārvvatī vakṣyāmi bhairavi prāṇa-vallabhe | atigopyā mahāpuṇyā sārāt sāratarā parā | | ... [End:] Anya-tantreṣu kāpaṭyaṃ mama sarvatra varṭtat | nātra kiñcin mahādevī tathyam etad bravīmi te | | satyaṃ satyaṃ punaḥ satyaṃ siddhir atraiva kīrtitā | iti te kathitaṃ sarvvaṃ nānyad vaktavyam asti te.* There's another manuscript from 1747 CE surviving in the Durbar library entitled *Kāṭikulārṇavatantra*. This appears to be a more recent text, and probably not a version of the *Kāṭikula* referred to by *Abhinavagupta*. (Grünendahl 1989:278-279).

122. Shāstrī 1900:205-206. *Oṃ namo jagan-mohinyai | Śrī devy uvāca | siddhi-vidyā purā proktā mantra-yantra-ādikāni ca | nānā-bhāva-prabhedenā saṃśayo jayate prabho | | bhāva-bhedena kathaya lokanīstārakāraka | sarvveṣāṃ śaraṇaṃ tantram siddhānta-viṣṇu-sammataṃ | | āsāmārādhanaṃ kena bhāvena pariḷyate | āsāṃ vaḥ prakṛtiḥ kvāpi tav vā kīdṛṣī kriyā | | tat prakāśaya saṃyaṃme yena yāmi niruttaram | śrīśiva uvāca | sarvāsāṃ saiddhi-vidyānāṃ prakṛtir dakṣiṇā priye | dviyo vīro varārohe cintayed dakṣiṇāṃ śubhām | | dviyo vīrāc ca deveṣi kāṭikulaṃ vicintayet | śrīkulaṃ ca tribhir bhāvaś cintayet surasundari | | kālī tārā bhadrakālī bhuvanā mahiṣamarddint | tripuṭā tvaritā durgā vidyā pratiśivā priye | | kāṭikulaṃ samākhyātāṃ śrīkulaṃ ca tataḥ param | sundarī bharavī bālā vasaṇā kamalā tathā | | dhūmāvati ca mātaṅgī vidyā svapnavati priye | madhmatt mahāvidyā śrīkulaṃ paribhāṣitam | | latāyāṃ pūjayet kālīm nīle nīlasarasvatīm | ityādi | | End: kālī tārā tathā cchinnā mātaṅgī bhuvaneśvarī | amrapūrṇā tathā durgā mahiṣasuramarddint | amrapūrṇā tathā durgā mahiṣasundarī | | tvaritā tripurā bhadre bhairavī vagalā tathā | tripuṭā ca tathā nityā kamalā ca sarasvatī | | jayadurgā tathā bhadre tārā tripurasundarī | aṣṭādaśa mahāvidyāś tantrāḍau kathitāḥ priye | | nātra kāla-viśuddhiḥ syāt samaya-asamaya-ādīkam | na vāratithinakṣatraṃ na yogaḥ karaṇaḥ tathā | | iti niruttaratantre devīśvarasaṃvāde pañcamah paṭalaḥ | | Table of Contents (Viṣayaḥ): 1) śivāśivayoh saṃvādena bhāva-bheda-nirūpaṇam | 2) kālī-kula-kathanam | 3) śrīkula-kathanam | 4) pañāmnāya-nirūpaṇam | 5) kālī-pūjāyāṃ guru-mantra-ādi-nirūpaṇam | 6) kalā-nirūpaṇam | 7) dakṣiṇa-kālikā-mantra-tad-dhyāna-pūjāvidhiḥ | 8) mahākāla-dhyāna-kathanam | 9) kullukādi-nirūpaṇam | 10) kālī-stava-kathanam | 11) kālī-kavaca-kathanam | 12) ajapā-nirūpaṇam | 13) atha puraścaraṇa-vidhiḥ | divya-vīra-paśu-bhāva-bhedāt puraścaraṇa-prakarara-bheda-kīrtanam | 14) prāṇāyāma-vidhiḥ | 15) nirguṇa-saguṇa-bhāva-cintanam-vidhiḥ | 16) rātrau pūjāvidhiḥ | 17) mahānīśādi-nirūpaṇam | 18) atha vīra-abhiṣeka-vidhiḥ | 19) tatra abhiṣeka-mantrādi-kathanam | 20) siddha-mantra-lakṣaṇam | 21) śakti-sādhanāṃ vinā nirvāṇa-abhāva-kathanam | 22) mātrādi-*

*pañkanyāvyākhyānam* | *śakti-cakra-ādi-lakṣaṇa-kathanam* | *pañca-cakra-vidhiḥ* | *kusuma-anukalpādi-kathanam* | *cakre varjjantya-kathanam* | *gopya-karmma-kathanam* | *rāja-cakre devacakre ca viśeṣakathanam* | *yoginām sādhaādi-vidhiḥ* | *sādhikā-lakṣaṇādi-kathanam* | *kulācārādi-sādhana-kathanam* | *vidyāviśeṣe śakti-viśeṣa-vidhānam* | *atha veśyā-lakṣaṇādi-kathanam* | *pañcadravya-nirūpaṇam* | *teṣām śuddhi-kathanam* | *nava-kanyā-nirūpaṇam* | *tarpaṇe sudrādividhiḥ* | *pañctkaraṇavidhiḥ* | *aṣṭādaśa-mahāvidhā-kīrttanañ ca* |

123 . Gnoli 1980:887 & 696.

124 . Shāstrī 1939-40:237 and Śāstrī 1900:203-204.

125 . This is a bit obscure. The text reads *yāmavante ca śarbbarī*; *yāmavante* appears to be a slightly improper locative of *yāmavanti*, a night. *Śarvvarī* or *śarbbarī* is the evening or twilight.

126 . Cf. Muller-Ortega's book on the heart as a central organizing theme in Śaivite Tantra (Muller-Ortega 1989).

127 . Śiva seems to be portraying himself as hopelessly confused without Pārvatī's teachings about the secret doctrine.

128 . Apte says *koca* is a man born of a fisherman father and a mother who works as a butcher.

129 . *Oṃ namaḥ paradevatāyai* | *kailāsaparvate ramye yāmavante ca śarbbarī* | *spṛṣtvā tu caraṇau devyā bhagavān śaṅkaro 'bravīt* | | *Śrīśaṅkara uvāca* | *mātarurge mahāmāye kṛpāṃ kuru dayāmai* | *hṛdi śūlaṃ samuddṛtya trāhi māṃ padmalocane* | | *śūnyatām subhage devi yacchūlaṃ varittate hṛdi* | *tanmayā kathitaṃ bhadre mṛṣā jñātvā na muñcati* | | *tava vaktre śrutaṃ pūrvaṃ bhagarūpā tvam eva hi* | *vākyenālāpanaṃ naiva kathaṃ kuryyād bhageśvarī* | | *idaṃ daikaṃ dvitīyañ ca varadātrī kathañcana* | *trītyaṃ parameśāni jīvañtine gatir na ca* | | *jīvasthite sadā sambhor gamanaṃ kena vā kṛtam* | *iti cintāparo bhūtvā vātulo 'bhūn na saṃśayaḥ* | | *Śrīpārvatyuvāca* | *nāhaṃ vadāmi khalu pārameṣu [not pamareṣu] ratiṃ tyajāmi paśuvādineṣu* | *vācaṃ tyajāmi kulakarmmaghātine saṅgaṃ tyajāmi kila campakeṣu* | | *Śrīśaṅkara uvāca* | *devi viśveśarī tvam hi sṛṣṭisthityantakārike* | *kathaṃ māṃ paśurūpeṇa sthāpitāsi ratipriye* | | *Śrīpārvatyuvāca* | *purā kocavadhusaṅgād vīrācāraṃ bhavān kṛtaḥ* | *tathāpi paśubhāvataṃ na muñcati kathañcana* | | *ityādi* | [End:] *nigamaṃ matkulaṃ nātha latāhaṃ niścitaṃ prabho* | *iti jñātvā sāvahitā na prakāśyaṃ kadācana* | | *yaḥ pāti pus[ṣ]tikām etām gr̥he rakṣati nityaśaḥ* | *tasya sthāne hyahaṃ baddhā sarvvadā tvatpure yathā* | | *paṭalaṃ vā tadarddhaṃ va tadarddhaṃ vā maheśvara* | *jānāti sa guruḥ sāksān matsamas tatsamo 'pi vā* | |

130 . *Mudrā* or sexual union is the fifth of the five *m*'s.

131 . We find *Ugratārā* mentioned in the opening lines of the *Mahācīna-krama-tārā-sādhanaṃ* in *Abhayākara Gupta's Sādhana-mālā*: Applying stupidity to the skull, *Ugratārā* kills the self of the three worlds (*jādyam nyasya kapālake trijagatām hany ugratārā svayam*) (Bhattacharyya 1968{1}:209).

132 . *Viśayaḥ* | *śaṅkaraṃ prati śaṅkaryā uktirūpo 'yaṃ prabadhaḥ* | *tatra pañcamakāreṣu prādhānyataḥ pañca-makārasyaiva prapañcaśaḥ prayogaādi-vidhiḥ* | *latā-sādhana-vidhiḥ* | *divya-vīrādīnām lakṣaṇādi-kathanam* | *pañcama-makāra-sādhanaenaiva mokṣa-prāpti-kathanam* | *bhairavī-cakre pravarttamāne varṇa-bheda-rāhityādi-kathanam* | *pañca-makāra-sādhanaādi-vidhiḥ* | *punaḥ punaḥ pānavidhiḥ* | *yoni-pūjā-vidhiḥ* | *tatra dhyānādi-kathanam* | *atha kālīkā-pūjā-vidhiḥ* | *tārā-pūjā-vidhānam* | *ugratārā-vidhāna-kathanam* | *abhiṣeka-vidhi-kathanañca* |

133 . Also called the *Bhairavyakula* (TA 22.41)TA 13.302; 22.41; 27.45; 28.14, 51, 59, 388; 29.251 (Gnoli 1980:883). The one more or less direct quote occurs at TA 13.302: "It is stated in the *Śrībhairavakula* that the *guru* who has truly mastered the five initiations has leapt over the lower currents and rests in the *Trika śāstra*." (*Uktaṃ śrībhairavakule pañcadikṣā-susāṃskṛtaḥ | gurur ullaṅghitādhansthasrotā vai trikaśāstragaḥ | | Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{5}:2382 & Gnoli 1980:422*).

134 . Shāstrī 1939-40:232-234.

135 . *Atha bhairavatanrokta-mantragrahaividhiḥ likhyate | | Pārvatīyuvāca | devadeva jagannātha śūlin trailokyapāvana | mantrāṇāṃ sādhanopāyaṃ vada me tvaṃ jagadguro | | karmmaṇā yena jantūnāṃ mantrāṇāṃ siddhir uttamā | dharmārthakāmamokṣāṇāṃ jāyate tadvadāśu mām | | bhurbhuvahsvahpatis tvaṃ ca śakrādīmarutāṃ tathā | ...sthāvarāṃ jaṅgamaṃ viśvaṃ yasya dṛṣṭyavalokanam | udayaṅca kṣayaṃ yāti tanme kathaya śaṅkara | |*

136 . *Rambhā* is the most beautiful woman in Indra's paradise.

137 . *Īsvara uvāca | sādhu pṛṣṭhaṃ mahādevī, sarvva-brahmāṇḍa-maṇḍape | mantrāṇāṃ sādhanopāyaṃ sarvva-siddhy-eka-sādhanam | | dharmmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇāṃ sādhanam paramaṃ mahat | bhūrādīnāṃ hi lokānāṃ śakrādīnāṃ tathā parāṃ | | rambhādi-lalanānāṃ ca bhokṣṭvāsye-eka-sādhanam | carācarasya viśvasya tathā pātāla-vāsinām | | prabhutvaṃ yānti yenāśu surapūjyo bhaven naraḥ | tasyopāyam ahaṃ vakṣye tac-chṛṇuṣv śubhekṣaṇe | |*

138 . *Siddha(siddha)sādhyādibhir bhedaiḥ śuddhamantraṃ vicārayet | ṛṇādi-siddhisahita mantradikṣāṃ vidhānataḥ | |*

139 . Most likely meaning 'lasting one, five, or nine days, with the greatest version lasting twelve days.'

140 . ...*manasā dhyāyan puraścaryyāṃ samācaret | | japa-homādibhir nūnaṃ devatābhāvam āpya ca | rājya-lobhādi-sampannaḥ śrīguror ājñāyā punaḥ | | tapaś-caturvidhaṃ kuryyāt vasantādi-ṛtuṣv ap vahnny-arka-dhūma-śītānāṃ sādhanan tu kramāc chi vahnnes tu sādhanam proktaṃ eka-pañca-navātmanā | dvādaśānāṃ tathā ... sādhanam paramaṃ mahat | | śrautaṃ vā smārttajaṃ vāpi svasyaiva sukha-siddhi-dam | sūryya-kānta-samudbhavaṃ śreṣṭha-madhyādhamam kuru | | laukikāgniḥ paro nindyaḥ sa ced grāhyo yadā bhavet | śrotṛiyāṅgārako grāhyo nānyo grāhyaḥ kadācana | | iti bhairavatnatra Īsvara-pārvvatī-saṃvāde ekādi-dvādaśāgneḥ sādhanam samāptam |*

141 . *Śrīdevy uvāca | mahādeva maheśāna taporāṣe jagatpate | bhuvanāntara-saṃsthānāṃ mantra-siddhi-pradāyaka | | ekena sādhenenaiva sādhitāḥ sarvva-siddhayaḥ | bhavanti nīyatam śambho bhūtanātha jagatpate | | siddopāyaṃ paraṃ brūhi mantra-sādhanā-siddhaye | kṛpayū devedeveśa yady ahaṃ tava vallabhā | | kathitaṃ te purānātha, agnyākāśa-nivāsakaṃ | dhūma-pānaḥ-ca śītasya sādhanam paramaṃ hitam | | ekena karmmaṇā siddhir bhavet puṃsāṃ śivātmanām | caturbhir yā bhavet siddhiḥ sā siddhiḥ prāpyate nṛṇām | Bhairava uvāca | sādhu pṛṣṭhaṃ maheśāni, sādhakānāṃ hitāya ca | anugrahāya lokānāṃ mantra-siddhi-karam param | | sarvvanuṣṭhānataḥ śreṣṭhaṃ tapasaḥ sādhanam param | kathayāmi maheśāni param śreyodhi-sādhanam | | dharmmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇāṃ sādhanam laghur īritam | bhūr-bhuvahsvādi-lokānāṃ kailāsāvadhi-vāsināṃ | | laghutva-karaṇam śreṣṭhaṃ yan meroḥ sādhanam param | śṛṇuṣvekāgra-manasā yadi pṛcchasi bhāmini | | nadī-tīre parvata-vare puṇya-kṣetre śivālaye | śakti-kṣetre śubhe pīṭhe śmaśāne vā sureśvari | | bhūmiṃ samāṃ vidhāyātha savarṇāṃ cittarañjinīm | siddhidāṃ kūrma-sadrṣṭīm vimśad-dhastāṃ suśobhīntīm | |*

142 . *Śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ | śrīpārvvatīyuvāca | devadeva jagannātha tapaścaryyādi-sādhanam | pañca-dvādaśa-vahnīnāṃ sādhanam hi mumukṣūṇām | śaṅkara uvāca | śṛṇuṣvārpaṇe yatnena*

*kathayāmi samāsataḥ | pañcāgner dvādaśādīnāṃ sādhanāḥ samyag ucyate | | pañcāgni-sādhanārthāya prācīṃ saṃsādhyā yatnataḥ | tatra prācī-saṃsādhanārthāya bhūmi-saṃsodhanaṃ kuryyāt.* Śāstrī says that the text breaks off here.

143 . Inhaling the smoke from the fire.

144 . It's not clear to me what this refers to--perhaps some layering of the *sindūra* or red lead oxide.

145 . *Atha vakṣye mahesāni dhūmapānavidhiṃ śubham | yasyānuśṭhāna-mantreṇa devatā samprasīdati | | prācīṃ saṃsādhyā yatnena śubha-tīrthopapīṭhake | kṛtvā vedīṃ caturhastāṃ maṇḍapācchādītāṃ śubhām | | patākā-toraṇādyena kalasenupaśobhitām | maṇḍapasyāṣṭadig-bhāge lokapālān yajen muhuḥ | | bhairavaṃ brahma-śaktiṃ ca toṣayed bali-dānataḥ | vedyā dakṣiṇa-saumye tu kūpa-yugmaṃ khaṇed bhūvi | | kuṇḍa-madhye viṃṣatī ca aṅgulaikena niścītam | nālena ca samāyuktā sindūra-rajāsānvitā | | sāttvikī rājasī caiva mekhalā corddhvataḥ kramāt | iti kuṇḍa-vinirmāṇaṃ paścāt karmma śṛṇuṣv tat | |*

146 . RV 3.62.10--*tat savitur vareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ pracodayāt.*

147 . *Tatravāgniṃ pratiśṭhāpya yava-brihi-tilān bahūn | homāyēn mantra-gāyatryā sājyān mantra-susiddhaye | | śatam aṣṭottaraṃ hūtvā tathā mantrasya siddhaye | devatāvaraṇānāṃ ca śarāvena pidhānakam | | śarāva-madhyā-deśe tu bilaṃ tac catur-aṅgulam | tasyopari nyaset ślakṣṇm nalikām ṣoḍaśaṅgulām | | mūle sthūlā ca saralā saṃkocāgrā bilānvitā | tasyopari svayaṃ tiṣṭhet lambamānam adhomukhaḥ | | sthūṇāmadha-vibhāge tu rajju-dvaya-padāmbujāḥ | nalikāgre mukhaṃ kṣipyāṃ dhūma-madyāc chanaiḥ śanaiḥ | |*

148 . Probaby after midnight.

149 . *Īsvara uvāca | atha vakṣye mahesāni śīta-sādhanā-karmmaṇaḥ | vidhānaṃ śṛṇu mantrāṇāṃ sādhanāṃ paramaṃ mataṃ | | śuddhaṃ jalāśayaṃ prāpya nadyā vātha taṭākajam | pravāharodhanaṃ kṛtvā, madhye vedīṃ prakalpya ca | | sikatā-pūritā śuddhā pūrvvavad-balidānataḥ | dhvaja-bhūṣaṇa-bhūṣādhyāṃ śāntikalpa yathāvidhi | | tatropaviṣṭo niyatam ākaṇṭha-jala-madhyā-gaḥ | rātre prahareṣe tu muhūrta-tritayāvadhīḥ | | divā bhavati yāvad vai tāvan mantraṃ samabhyaset | jala-māṭṭṛ-prapūjyādau ghṛtadhārābhīr anvaham | gurūpadiṣṭavidhinā devatābhāvasiddhaye | mārgapūrṇaṃ samārabhya yāvat phālguṇipūrṇimā | | tāvat kāryaṃ prayatnena śīta-sādhanam uttamam |*

150 . TA 4.54, 60; 5.97; 13.145; 15.44; 18.9; 23.43; 27.29; 28.384, 419; 29.11. (Gnoli 1980:884).

151 . Grünendahl 1989:538-540.

152 . Shāstri 1939-40:94.

153 . Varadachari 1986-7{1}:348.

154 . Varadachari 1986-7{1}:xxiv.

155 . Bagchi 1975:102.

156 . Grünendahl 1989:539.

157 . Or *yāga* according to Goudriaan (Goudriaan & Gupta 1981:42).

158 . Though the colophon reads *stotra-nirṇaya*, Bagchi corrects this to *srotanirṇaya*, and provides extracts illustrating that this is the correct reading. (Bagchi 1975:4-5 & 104).

159 . 1) *iti mahābhairavatantre dvādaśasahasrike picumate navākṣara vidhānasambandhapāṭalaḥ*; 2) *mantroddhāra*; 3) *Mahāyoga*; 4) *pratimālakṣaṇa-mahāyoga*;

5) *yatuka* (?)-; 6) *pratimālakṣaṇa*-; 7) *navama paṭalaḥ* (?); 8) *samādhiyojane* -; 9) *lakṣyabhede* -; 10) *devīnām mantroddhāra*-; 11) *mantroddhāra*-; 12) *tritattvayoga*-; 13) *navayāga*-; 14) —; 15) *vetāla sādhana*; 16) *puṣyādhikāra*; 17) *vidyācakra*; 18) *jayavidhāna*; 19) *bhatika cakrama*; 20) *agnikāryavidhi*; 21) *vrata paṭalaḥ*; 22) *śuddhāmṛta*; 23) *mantroddhāra*; 24) *śuddhāmṛta*; 25) *yāganirṇaya*; 26) *guḍha mantroddhāra*; 27) *śaktitritayayāga*; 28) *yāmalavijayabhairava*; 29) *bhīmādyā*; 30) *yāgavidhi*; 31) *śivarudrabheda*; 32) *prakriyāpaṭalaḥ*; 33) *dīkṣāpaṭalaḥ*; 34) *abhīṣeka*; 35) *āśayayoga śṛṅghalana*; 36) *nāḍīsañcāra*; 37) *tattvadīkṣā*; 38) —; 39) *stotranirṇaya*; 41) *abhicāravrata*; 40) *nyāsa paṭalaḥ*; 43) *mudrā paṭalaḥ*; 44) *kṛīḍā karmma*; 45) *sādhakādhikāraḥ*; 46) *mahāsaṃskāra*; 47) *mahāsaṃskāra*; 48) *gattārāga*; 49) *candroddhāra*; 50) *aṣṭaka kalpa*; 51) *aṣṭaka kalpa*; 52) (?); 51) *yoginīvaḍadayoga*; 52) *mudrāyogādhikāra*; 53-55) *adhikāra*. Grünendahl 1989:539-540.

The manuscript under the name *Brahmayāmala* in the Calcutta catalogue is a different text dealing with various means of divination. (Shāstrī 1939-40:94-95).

160. Gnoli 1980:724-725.

161. Grünendahl 1989:255-258.

162. Bagchi 1975:93.

163. *Yāsaprakaraṇa*.

164. *Rūpavicāra*.

165. *Paramāmṛtasadbhāvavicāra*.

166. *Sarvasiddhisandfojha*.

167. *Māṭṛkāprastāva*.

168. *Brahmoddhāra*.

169. *Sadyojātasya kalpa*.

170. *Aghorasya kalpaḥ*.

171. Windisch & Eggeling 1894:856.

172. Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{2}:42.

173. Windisch & Eggeling 1984:858-860.

174. Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:255n.15.

175. Windisch & Eggeling 1894:891-892.

176. Windisch & Eggeling 1894:892.

177. Also known as the *Triśiraḥśāstra* or the *Triśiromata*.

178. See Singh 1991.

179. Goudriaan 1981:50.

180. Windisch & Eggeling 1894:904-905; Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:259n.39.

181. Windisch & Eggeling 1894:866.

182. Also known as the *Svacchandabhairava* or the *Svacchandaśāstra*, or even the *Svacchandaśāsanaśāstratantra*.

183. *Abhinavagupta*, *Āhnika* and verse #'s: TA 1.37, 4.38, 6.50, 6.136, 6.137, 7.67, 8.11, 8.191, 8.237, 13.278, 13.307, 13.316, 15.21, 15.421, 16.174, 17.18, 27.58, 28.293, 35.27.

- 25.36. *Jayaratha*, volume and page #'s: TA 1.37, 2.42, 2.71, 3.638, 3.896, 3.1129, 3.1131, 3.1258, 4.1358, 4.1414, 4.1454, 4.1494-1497, 4.1508, 4.1549, 4.1587, 4.1622, 4.1763, 4.1795, 4.1799, 5.2160, 5.2391, 5.2454, 5.2463, 8.3661.
184. See Arraj 1988:124n.1.
185. Arraj 1988:12.
186. Arraj 1988:59.
187. Arraj 1988:118.
188. Arraj 1988:119.
189. Gnoli 1980:887.
190. Brunner 1974.
191. See Padoux 1990:chapters 3 & 7, and Brunner 1974:125n.2 & n.3.
192. Nos. 6472-85, 6588. (Shāstrī 1939-40:886 and listings).
193. *Brahmā caturmukhaḥ saumyo raktavarṇaḥ sulocanaḥ* || *lambakūrcaḥ sutejāśca haṃsārūḍhaścaturbhujah* | *daṇḍākṣasūtrahastaśca kamaṇḍalvabhaye dadhat* || *vedaiścaturbhiḥ saṃyuktaḥ sarvasiddhiphalapradah* | Dwivedi 1985a:97).
194. *Buddhaḥ padmāsanagataḥ pralamba-śruti-cīvaraḥ* || *padmākṣaḥ padmacihnaśca maṇibaddho jagaddhitah* | *samādhistho mahāyogi varadābhayapāṇikah* || *akṣasūtradharo devaḥ padmahastaḥ sulocanaḥ* | *evaṃ dhyātaḥ pūjitaśca strīṇāṃ mokṣaphalapradah* || Dwivedi 1985a:98.
195. *Maṇibaddha ity āhitāgnyāditvād niṣṭhāyāḥ paratvam* || Dwivedi 1985a:98.
196. Brunner 1974:125-126.
197. Brunner 1974:128—her term is *procédés magiques*.
198. Brunner-Lachaux 1985.
199. *Upodghātaprakaraṇam, paramokṣanirāsaprakaraṇam, patilakṣaṇaparikṣāprakaraṇam, patisvarūpanirūpaṇam, pañakṛtyaprakaraṇam, paśulakṣaṇaprakaraṇam, pāśalakṣaṇaprakaraṇam, karmavicāraprakaraṇam, māyālakṣaṇaprakaraṇam, kalādikāryaprakaraṇam, pratyayādīprakaraṇam, indriyādīprakaraṇam, adhvaprakaraṇam.* (Bhatt 1962:iv).
200. *Mantroddhāraprakaraṇam, snānaprakaraṇam, arcāprakaraṇam, sādhyapūjāprakaraṇam, mudrāprakaraṇam, agnikāryaprakaraṇam, adhvāsaprakaraṇam, dīkṣāvidhiprakaraṇam.* (Bhatt 1962:iv-v).
201. TA 1.46, 202, 224; 6.227 (not 6.228 as it reads in Gnoli); 8.320, 379, 428; 9.6, 48, 190, 247, 261; 13.284, 294; 15.9, 10, 279; 16.257; 23.89; 25.24. (Gnoli 1980:886). In the commentary by *Jayaratha* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{2}:85) on TA 1.46 he gives two quotes from the *Śrīmataṅga Vidyāpāda* 2.6b-2.7 and 17.68-69a (see Bhatt 1977:29 and 1977:399—Bhatt's edition reads 2.6b as beginning *tataḥ sa bhagavān devaḥ sphuran...* while Dwivedi & Rastogi's edition reads *tataḥ sa bhagavān īśaḥ sphuran....*; Bhatt's edition also reads the first half of 17.68a as *śiva-vaktrāmbujotpannam-amalaṃ*, and he notes the reading from Dwivedi & Rastogi's edition, *śiva-vaktrāmbujodbhūtam-amalaṃ* as a variant reading.) *Jayaratha* on TA 6.227 cites *Vidyāpāda* 7.31a (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1273 & Bhatt 1977:241), and *Kriyāpāda* 1.58-59a (Bhatt 1982:15). On TA 8.379 *Jayaratha* cites *Vidyāpāda* 1.20b-21a and 1.21b-23a (Bhatt 1977:68 & 70-71; Dwivedi & Rastogi

1987{3}:1597-98—the two other quotes from *Matāṅga Vidyāpāda* in *Jayaratha*'s comments to TA 8.380 are from 2.14 and 3.33 [not 3.23 as it reads in Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1598]). At TA 9.6 *Jayaratha* quotes *Vidyāpāda* 5.3-4 and *Yogapāda* 4.2 (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1640 & Bhatt 1977:103-104 & 1982:273).

202 . *Dvaitaśāstre matāṅgādau.... Jayaratha* cites *Matāṅgapārameśvarāgama Vidyāpāda* 3.21 in his commentary on this verse (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1980{2}:244, and Bhatt 1977:70).

### Contemporary Literary Accounts of 9th-12th Century Kaśmīr

#### 6.0. Introduction

Kaśmīr was for centuries renowned as a high seat of Sanskrit learning and culture—a status implicit in the term *śāstra-śilpin*, "skilled in the art of the *śāstras*," as a name for the country or people of Kaśmīr.<sup>1</sup> This status is also explicit in such stories as that of the poet Harṣa, who, after composing the *Naiṣadhaḥ* for King Jayantacandra of Kānyakubja, took it to Kaśmīr for approval by the paṇḍits.<sup>2</sup> There were many great writers on poetics from Kaśmīr, beginning with Bhāmaha (late 7th-early 8th century) who wrote the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāraḥ*, Udbhaṭa (latter 8th century) who commented on Bhāmaha with the *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra-sārasaṅgrahaḥ*, and Udbhaṭa's contemporary Vāmana who wrote the *Kāvyaḷaṅkārasūtram*, among other works. These were followed by Rudrata (9th century) who also wrote a *Kāvyaḷaṅkāraḥ* among other works, and one Rudrabhaṭa (who may be the same fellow) who wrote the *Śṛṅgāratilakaḥ*. Ānandavardhana lived in the latter half of the 9th century, and composed the famed *Dhvanyālokaḥ*, followed some decades later by Abhinavagupta (late 10th-early 11th century) who wrote the *Locanā* on the *Dhvanyālokaḥ*. To this fertile poetic tradition was added the panoply of Śaivite Tantric philosophers and commentators, an ongoing Vedic tradition that saw the development of specifically Kaśmīri recensions of the *Atharvaveda*, *Yajurveda*, and other texts, as well as a thriving Buddhist culture that was so fully integrated into Kaśmīri culture that Buddha was considered an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and a special birthday celebration of the Buddha



was held each year, prescribed in the local *Nilamata Purāṇa*.<sup>3</sup> It is no wonder that the ancient name of Śrīnagar, still used in the 12th century by Jayarathaḥ in his commentary on the *Tantrālokaḥ*,<sup>4</sup> was Pravarapura, "the most exalted city," a name not too different in sense from Śrīnagar, "the glorious city."

### 6.1. The Physical Setting

We find several descriptions by ancient historians and pilgrims of the natural beauty, fertility, and isolation of Kaśmīr. The naturally protected valley supported a prosperous community, with a thriving religious culture. Chinese pilgrims and Arabic visitors to Kaśmīr paint an attractive picture of a beautiful, naturally isolated valley with a unique sort of people, abundant natural resources, and remarkable architecture. Hsuan Tsang's description of Kaśmīr in the 7th century has a certain ring of authenticity to it. The Chinese pilgrim entered the kingdom by the Gilgit Road, the western pass, where he was greeted by the Kaśmīri king's maternal uncle, and subsequently welcomed by the Hushkara *vihāra* for the night.<sup>5</sup> He reported that

The kingdom of Kaśmīr is about 7000 li in circuit, and on all sides it is enclosed by mountains. These mountains are very high. Although the mountains have passes through them, these are narrow and contracted. The neighboring states that have attacked it have never succeeded in subduing it. The capital of the country on the west side is bordered by a great river.... The soil is fit for producing cereals, and abounds with fruits and flowers.... The climate is cold and stern. There is much snow but little wind.<sup>6</sup>

Cunningham clarifies that the 7000 *li* circuit Hsuan Tsang refers to (1,166 miles) describes the extended kingdom of Kaśmīr of the time, including with the valley "the whole of the hilly country between the Indus and the Chenab to the foot of the salt range in the south." The valley itself is only about 300 miles in circuit.<sup>7</sup> In 759 CE

the Chinese pilgrim Ou-k'ong also visited Kaśmīr, where he spent four years studying. By his time the number of *vihāras* had risen from the 100 reported by Hsuan Tsang, to about 300, and the Mūlasarvāstivādins were the dominant sect.<sup>8</sup> By the latter part of the 11th century, however, many of the *vihāras* had apparently fallen into ruin, as suggested by Somendra's Introduction to his father Kṣemendra's *Jñanavāhana*, where he says "those well-known *vihāras*, gorgeous with the array of pictures, pleasing to the eye, have passed away in the course of time," yet his father's word-pictures in the *Avadānas* "painted in variegated colours by the pencil of the goddess of learning, will not perish even at the end of time, not even by the ravages of fire or of water."<sup>9</sup>

Kaśmīr's natural geography contributed to the cultural uniqueness of the area. Ou-k'ong reports on only four entrances to the valley, all guarded by gates: an eastern road to Ladakh and Tibet, the western (now called the Gilgit road) towards Gandhāra, and a northern road to Baltistān. The southern road, through the Bārāmula gorge following the course of the Vitastā river, was closed when he visited.<sup>10</sup> As Alberuni described it a few hundred years later: "The inhabitants of Kashmīr are ... particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."<sup>11</sup> In a somewhat later history of the area, the *Tarikh-i-*

*Rashidi*, written in 1544-1546, Mizra Haidar also remarks on the natural isolation. The road to Khorasan he described as too difficult for beasts of burden, requiring human porters for several days' walking, as with the road to India. The road to Tibet, while easier, he noted, is for several days' travel lined by poisonous herbs that still in the late 19th century were known to be fatal to grazing horses.<sup>12</sup> Haidar tells us that one Muhammed Khan built a traveller's rest house (*rabat*) employing "stones of great size, the like of which are only to be seen in the temples [*Imárát*] of Kashmir.... The whole building is of stone, and over the doors there are huge solid blocks of stone, which I thought very wonderful, before I had seen the temples in Kashmir."<sup>13</sup> Seeing those Kaśmīri temples still extant in the sixteenth century, Haidar describes 150 or more with very large, expertly fitted stones not requiring mortar.

The inside and the outside of the halls have the appearance of two porticos, and these are covered with one or two stones. The capitals, the ornamentation in relief, the cornices, the 'dog-tooth' work, the inside covering and the outside, are all crowded with pictures and paintings, which I am incapable of describing. Some represent laughing and weeping figures, which astound the beholder. In the middle is a lofty throne of hewn stone, and over that, a dome made entirely of stone, which I cannot describe. In the rest of the world there is not to be seen, or heard of, one building like this. How wonderful that there should [here] be a hundred and fifty of them!<sup>14</sup>

While Haidar offers some rather exaggerated dimensions, the largest and finest of the Kaśmīri temples was the Martand temple, i.e. the temple to *Mārtaṇḍa*, the sun, and was dated by Fergusson to 750 CE. Most Kaśmīri temples apparently dated from between Rānāditya's reign (578-594 CE) to about 1200 CE.<sup>15</sup>

Haidar describes three types of cultivated land in the 80-mile long valley, by irrigation, non-irrigated land, gardens, and then the fourth, level ground near the

riverbanks, uncultivated due to excess moisture. In summer the weather is pleasant, and in winter not too cold.

In short I have neither seen nor heard of any country equal to Kashmir, for charm of climate during all the four seasons. In the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of these are at least five stories high and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration. But the interiors are not equal to the exteriors. The passages in the markets, and the streets of the city, are all paved with hewn stone. But the bazaars are not laid out as they are in other towns. In the streets of the markets, only drapers and retail dealers are to be found. Tradesman do all their business in the seclusion of their own houses. Grocers, druggists, beer-sellers [*fukái*], and that class of provision vendors who usually frequent the markets, do not do so here. Silk is made from the leaves of mulberry trees, and the fruits so plentiful they are rarely bought or sold in season.<sup>16</sup>

Kashmir also apparently long served as something of a mountain refuge for those in the area. As Mizra Haidar remarks with regard to the neighboring regions of Tibet, "I can discover no spot in these districts of Tibet, which can provide winter quarters for more than a thousand men.... There seems to be no place capable of supporting a large army in winter, except Kashmir."<sup>17</sup>

## 6.2. Kalhana's References to Tantra

The preceding observations of Hsuan Tsang, Ou k'ong, Alberuni, and Mizra Haidar give us a fairly complete picture of the geography, meteorology, architecture, and general society of Kaśmīr over the several centuries around the turn of the first millennium CE. And we have noted that by the observations of the Chinese travelers, Buddhist *Tantra* at least had not taken hold in the Kaśmīr valley by the 7th-8th centuries. So while we have set the physical context of Kaśmīr, and noted some of

its cultural diversity, we need to know more of its historical development of the Tantric tradition in the area. One of the best sources for the history of the region is the mid-12th century *Rājatarāṅgīnī* (written 1148-1150 CE), the ‘River of Kings,’ by Kalhaṇa, the brahman son of Caṇṇaka, a minister in the government of King Harṣa (1089-1101 CE).<sup>18</sup> Kalhaṇa’s text is essentially a political history, telling primarily of the rise and fall of the fortunes of various governments, including graphic descriptions of the circumstances of the endless political murders, details on enlightened water works projects, sponsorship of temples, etc. Information on religious practices is only incidentally mentioned, though with some diligent hunting through the text we can learn a great deal. We learn of the presence of *bhikṣus* (RT 3.9), a temple dedicated to Caṇḍikā/Cāmuṇḍā (RT 3.33, 3.40.,3.46), members of the Śaivite *kapālikas* (RT 3.369, 7.44, 8.1312), a temple to Śiva as Mahākāla (RT 4.162), a temple where Bhairava is worshipped with the *māṭṛcakra* (RT 5.55), and one mention of Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, who wrote a commentary on Vasugupta’s *Spandakārikas* (RT 5.66), a principal text in the *Spanda* tradition of Kaśmīri Śaivism.

There are several apparently specific references to Tantric practices in Kalhaṇa’s text (who did not approve of *Tantra*),<sup>19</sup> and we shall examine these here, as they shed considerable light on the social position of the Tantric tradition in the 10th and 11th century Kaśmīri society. The first reference occurs in the context of discussing the reign of the benevolent king Yaśaskara (939-948 CE),<sup>20</sup> and strongly suggests that women served as Tantric gurus in Kaśmīr, and that at least some Tantric rituals were public knowledge. Kalhaṇa reports that Yaśaskara was elected to power

by an assembly of Brahmans after the reign of the terrible and patricidal Unmattāvanti (937-939 CE), and the short-lived reign of the boy-king Sūravarma II, a boy "whom the servant girls of his seraglio had procured from somewhere and falsely declared to be the king's son."<sup>21</sup> The Brahmans assembled in Gokula to determine the successor, and "long lasted the discussion as to the disposal of the crown, while those [Brahmans] whose beards were scorched by smoke, wished to raise this man or that to the throne."<sup>22</sup> Yaśaskara was the son of Prabhākaradeva, treasurer to King Śaṅkaravarman, and he had lived abroad after falling on hard times financially. When he returned, he impressed the Brahmans with his eloquence (and perhaps because he was something of an outsider to the recent court degradations), and was consecrated as king.<sup>23</sup> They apparently made a very good choice since Yaśas restored the kingdom to rule of law and to prosperity. Yaśaskāra also built a *maṭha* on his father's land, and granted fifty-five *agrahāras* (reserves for preserving Vedic practices) to the Brahmans, though he later died of an abdominal disease.

The land became so free of robbery, that at night the doors were left open in the bazaars, and the roads were secure for travellers. As he exercised careful supervision, the functionaries, who had plundered everything, found no other occupation but to look after the cultivation. The villagers, being wholly absorbed by agriculture, never saw the royal residence. The Brahmans, devoted [solely] to their studies, did not carry arms. The Brahman Gurus did not drink spirits while singing their chants. The ascetics did not get children, wives and crops. Ignorant Gurus did not perform the Matsyāpūpa sacrifices, and did not by texts of their own composition revise traditional doctrines. There were not seen house-wives figuring as divinities at the Guru-consecration (*gurudīkṣā*), and by shakes of their heads detracting from the distinguished character of their husbands. Astrologer, doctor, councillor, teacher, minister, Purohita, ambassador, judge, clerk--none of them was then without learning.<sup>24</sup>

Stein explains in a note that "The *Matsyāpūpayāga* is a complicated sacrifice occurring in the Tantric ritual and still known in Kaśmīr. It is mentioned in connection with Tantric *śrāddhas* in the v. chapter of my MS. of the *Mṛtitattvānusmaraṇa*. Fish and cakes (*apūpa*) are offered at it."<sup>25</sup> In another interesting note he mentions that women served as Tantric gurus: "The *gurudīkṣā* is a Tantric rite by which the pupil (*sādhaka*) is initiated as a *guru* or teacher.... The tradition of Kaśmīrian Paṇḍits knows of cases, alluded to by K[alhaṇa], in which **women have assumed the position of Tantric Gurus** [my boldface]. At the *gurudīkṣā* and other Tantric ceremonies, the Guru and his spiritual predecessors are worshipped by the sacrificers under their proper names coupled with those of certain deities. K[alhaṇa]'s sally is directed against women who, having assumed the dignity of Gurus, presume to criticize their husbands' conduct." Kalhaṇa's and Stein's references to the tradition of women serving as Tantric gurus are confirmed by the fact that in the Krama school of the Kaśmīr Śaivite tradition women occasionally were gurus and custodians of the lineage. Jayaratha, the 12th century commentator on Abhinavagupta's *Tantrāloka*, refers to the three students of Śivānanda (800-850 CE) who were each known as *pīṭheśvarī*, the 'Ladies of the pilgrimage site', Keyūravatī, Madanikā, and Kalyanikā (825-875 CE); they maintained the lineage of the tradition, and taught the next generation of teachers.<sup>26</sup>

While it is evident that Kalhaṇa did not approve of Tantric practices, several kings apparently adhered to the tradition, and their celebration of Tantric rites within the royal household was well-known to the populace at large. We cite three examples

here of disreputable royal Tantric behavior. Kalhaṇa reports on King Kalaśa, who ruled Kaśmīr from 1063-1089 CE:

Though the king had reached a mature age, he did not get rid of his vice and the evil habits which the wretched foreigners had taught him. The *Ṭakka* called Vulliya bought from *Turuṣkas* girls born in various distant regions and brought them to him. With these and the wives which he had taken away from others, being enticed by their beauty, he brought the number of the ladies of his seraglio to seventy-two. Though he disported himself daily with many women, his strength did not fail him, on account of [the use of] fish-broth and other aphrodisiacs. And eagerly bent on the celebration of the great rites (*mahāsamaya*), he took great cups in the company of Gurus, without regard for moderation. This [king], whose doings were thus of a mixed character, built afresh the town and Śiva's stone temple at *Vijayakṣetra*, which had been burned down.<sup>27</sup>

Stein considers that *mahāsamaya* and the drinking of spirits refer to Tantric rites.<sup>28</sup>

This view is quite reasonable, given that we find the term *samayin* used in both Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric literature to refer to Tantric initiates, and *samayācāra* frequently used as a code term for the group rites of sexual yogas.<sup>29</sup> Whether Kalhaṇa's reference to *mahāsamaya* here is to actual Tantric rites, or simply a sarcastic analogy between the King's licentious ways and Tantric sexual rituals is not clear; yet the very use of the term suggests a general familiarity with Tantra by both Kalhaṇa and his readers.

The same term *mahāsamaya* is used by Kalhaṇa to refer to apparently Tantric rites in another passage. Describing the sway of an evil guru PramadaKaṇṭha over King Kalaśa, Kalhaṇa says:

This teacher (*guru*) instructed him [the king], who was evil-disposed by nature, in wicked practices, and made him ignore the distinction between those [women] who are approachable and those who are not. What more need be said about the unscrupulousness of this teacher?



He, without fear, lived in incest even with his own daughter. Those honorable and learned men (*bhaṭṭapāda*) who knew how to behave at great rites (*mahāsamaya*) without fear, and who, grimly conscious of their own power and inaccessible to terror, would not pay regard even to Bhairava,--they fell to the ground in fear and bent their knees before the 'cat-merchant,' and were put at ease [again] when he placed his hand on their heads.<sup>30</sup>

Again, we have some indication here of versions of Tantric rites. The references to the *mahāsamaya* and to Bhairava convey the sense that even the Tantric initiates, who were not frightened by the terrifying images of the ferocious aspect of Śīva popular in the Śaivite Tantric traditions (Bhairava), were intimidated by this evil guru Pramadakaṇṭha.

Another rather amusing popular depiction is Kalhaṇa's condemnation of the congress of King Harṣa (1089-1101 CE) with apparently Tantrically trained Ḍombi ladies, with distinct references to the sort of alchemical potions we find described in great detail at the end of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakrantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*:

"These [slave girls], instructed by the parasites, who taught them [to give] counsels, etc., [pretended to have been obtained] from conversations with the gods, confused his mind. Some among these [slave girls] showed themselves eager for amorous intercourse at those occasions, and the king forsook his good fortune by touching them with his own body. As he was anxious to live for a very long time, they granted him, when in his foolishness he asked for a long life, hundreds of years to live. When he desired to give magic perfection to his body (*piṇḍasiddhi*), some Ḍombi made him swallow a drink which, he pretended, was an elixir having that power. What object is there relating the other foolish acts of this [king], who at the bidding of his parasites gave away portions of his life as [if it were] a procurable property?<sup>31</sup>

The use of alchemical potions to obtain *siddhis*, and in this case *kāya-* or *piṇḍa-siddhi*--the alchemical ideal of the indestructible body--was widespread in

Tantric circles. Alchemy became particularly popular beginning around the eighth century,<sup>32</sup> and we find a substantial section of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* devoted to the subject. A single example should make this clear. The

*Kālacakratantra* verse 5.225 reads: "Knowing the thousand fold penetrator, the hundred-thousand fold penetrator, and the ten million fold penetrator (types of mercurial preparations), [It] is to be eaten, in the amount of a mustard-seed, at the proper time every day, and immediately following that, a one third mustard-seed portion [is to be consumed], | [As a result] A house on earth becomes a palace, and free of cold winds and [excessive] heat; After six months, this middle one [the mercurial *rasa* or potion] **makes the divine body, free of wrinkles and grey hair.**"<sup>33</sup>

There is also a substantial body of Śaivite and Buddhist alchemical *Tantras*--the so called *Rasāyana* literature, largely devoted to the preparation and consumption of various elixirs intended to extend or prolong life, combat aging, and cure the practitioner of various ailments.<sup>34</sup>

While none of the preceding passages provide detailed descriptions about Tantric practices in Kaśmir, Kalhaṇa's allusions do suggest that Śaivite Tantric practices were popular in royal circles, and were disapproved of by Kalhaṇa and some of his peers. Though the Tantric traditions may have been secret during earlier centuries, it certainly appears from the *Rājataranṅiṇī* evidence that at least the sexual and alchemical doctrines and practices had from the 10th century, and at least in Kaśmīr, become very public, enjoying under several different kings royal patronage and participation. The references to women as Tantric gurus given in Stein's note

and Rastogi's discussion certainly add a new dimension to the recent arguments put forth by Miranda Shaw about the role of women in Tantric Buddhism.<sup>35</sup>

*Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅginī* cast a long shadow over any historical work on Kaśmīr by later writers. Indeed, most of the modern historical works on the area coming out of India either look at the ancient geology, or paraphrase *Kalhaṇa's* work, then add paraphrases of his Persian successors.<sup>36</sup> Little new is offered in these works that cannot be found in Stein's translation and notes. *Kalhaṇa's* treatise contains much myth and legend for the earlier dynasties, and only becomes truly historical close to his own time. Given *Kalhaṇa's* predilection for relating the details of political infighting, his text is of limited use for religious history of the time and region. So we must turn elsewhere--to contemporary stories, poems, and satires--to gain a fuller sense of the sociological aspects of Tantric practice in Kaśmīr.

### 6.3. Kṛṣṇamiśra's Satire of the Tāntrikās

We have discussed the *Kāpālika* element in Śāivite and Buddhist Tantra in the third chapter of this dissertation. One eleventh century play, though not written by a Kaśmīri, was undoubtedly known in Kaśmīr--given the valley's far-famed intellectual culture. The *saṃnyāsīn* Kṛṣṇamiśra, under the patronage of King Kīrtivarman (perhaps in Khajuraho) wrote in 1065 the Sanskrit allegorical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* ('the Moonrise of Wisdom'),<sup>37</sup> wherein Devotion to Viṣṇu (*Bhakti*) as a character defeats Delusion, Greed, etc. through the help of the *Upaniṣads* etc. as characters.<sup>38</sup> Certain rather surprising details of the practices of various sects emerge in Act III, strongly suggesting that in the popular opinion of the

day, many of the so-called ascetic holy orders of India were thoroughly corrupted by wine and women, and that Tantric doctrines were just a cover for licentious and libidinous behavior. A Jaina enters at one point, and after offering homage to the Arhats, and declaring that the self shines like a lamp in the city of nine gates (i.e. the body),<sup>39</sup> says that the intrinsically pure self is knowable through service to the *ṛṣis*. What sort of service? "From a distance one should prostrate oneself at their feet and should welcome them and give them sweet food. One should not become polluted with jealousy when the *ṛṣis* enjoy [sexually] the [worshippers'] wives."<sup>40</sup> Shortly thereafter a Buddhist mendicant enters the scene, and espouses a similar doctrine, after a brief rendition of the doctrine of the momentariness and non-ātmic nature of all things:

(Walking around and continuing proudly) How good is the religion of the Buddha when there is (sensual) enjoyment as well as liberation. For--(living in) beautiful houses, (possessing) prostitutes who are to their liking, (having) food of their taste at any time they desire, (sleeping on) soft beds, they who meditate with faith (on Buddha) spend the nights bright with moon light, with happiness derived from sporting with young women offering their bodies.....Oh! worshippers and mendicants, listen to the Lord Sugata's sayings of nectar. (Reads from the book) 'I see with a divine eye how people rise and fall (in transmigration). All conformations are momentary. There is no lasting self. Therefore when mendicants take (your) wives you should not feel jealous. Jealousy is only an impurity of the mind.'<sup>41</sup>

The Jaina and the Bhikṣu then engage in a passionate philosophical debate, only to be interrupted by a Kāpālika (also called Somasiddhānta<sup>42</sup>), who enters in grand style: "I, who am adorned with a garland of human bones, who live in the cremation ground and who eat out of a human skull, with an eye purified by the ointment of Yoga, see the falsely differentiated world as non-differentiated from *Īśvara*." The

Jaina challenges him to explain his religion. "Oh Jaina monk, you better know our religion. We who offer oblations into the fire in the form of human flesh filled with brains, entrails and marrow, break our fast with alcohol kept in the skull of a Brāhmaṇa. Our god Mahābhairava has to be worshipped with offerings of human sacrificial victims, lustrous with nectar-bearing/streams of blood flowing from the freshly cut stiff throat [of the corpse, presumably, suffering from *rigor mortis*]." <sup>43</sup> In a riotous follow-up to this encounter, the three pseudo-ascetics engage in debate, with the Kāpālika threatening at one point with his sword to kill the Jaina, who begs off the quarrel by invoking *ahiṃsa* while being protected by the Bhikṣu. Things settle down, and the Kāpālika, at the Jaina's request, begins to explain the virtues of Pārvatī's embrace for attaining liberation. On cue, Faith (she's played other roles) enters as a Kāpālinī, and at the Kāpālika's command embraces the Bhikṣu. The Bhikṣu, overwhelmed by her swelling breasts and provision of sensual pleasure, forswears his faith and becomes the Kāpālika's disciple. The routine is repeated with the Jaina, who follows suit. The Kāpālika then drinks alcohol out of a skull-cup, and offers it to the Jaina and Bhikṣu, both of whom at first refuse. He says aside, "Faith, what are you thinking? The beastly nature of these people is not yet removed. Therefore they think that this alcohol which has come in contact with my mouth is impure. Therefore you purify it with the liquor of your mouth and then take it to them; for, even the holy people say that 'the mouth of a woman is always pure.'" <sup>44</sup> This of course does the trick and the two eagerly drink down the liquor. After a drunken dance, the Jaina asks the Kāpālika about the power of attraction, and the

Kāpālika replies: "Whomever I desire in the three worlds, whether a Vidyādhari, a God's wife, a Nāga woman, or a Yakṣa girl, I bring them here through the power of my knowledge."<sup>45</sup>

Rather than take the preceding depictions as unbiased, given the Vaiṣṇavite cast of the plot, we may take these depictions as indicative of Kṛṣṇamiśra's general opprobrium of Jaina, Śaiva, and Bauddha yogis--though he never uses the term *Tantra* in any form. The author evidently conceived of the Kāpālika as in some way the prime corruptor and principal exponent of the licentious sexuality Tantra was perceived as promoting, while making clear that Buddhist and Jain "ascetics" were no more innocent of these behaviors than the Śaivites. These *ṛṣis* apparently took great liberties with their positions of religious authority, using their status as a cover for seducing the wives of their devotees, and using their philosophical doctrines (such as momentariness, mental purification, etc.) as rationalizations for whatever they chose to do. Kṛṣṇamiśra's Kāpālika character in particular describes horrific practices from the cremation grounds where corpses are violated to provide offering material for the terrifying deity Bhairava. He at least is honestly brazen in his proud claim of using magical rites to draw his various lovers to him--and this may be part of Kṛṣṇamiśra's intent here: to show that at least the Kāpālikas made no attempt to cover up either their activities or intentions. While we can't read too much into this depiction, as it is intended both as comedy and as a moral allegory, nonetheless we can conclude, within the context of other such descriptions given below that Kṛṣṇamiśra's work captured some aspects of the reality of life in his day. His depictions suggest, as

mentioned, that there was a broad public perception of Tantric practices as licentious, libidinous, hypocritical, and corrupt.<sup>46</sup>

#### 6.4. Kṣemendra's Social Satires

Some of the best source material we have on the life and times of the populace of 11th century Kaśmīr are the works written by Kṣemendra. Son of a wealthy Kaśmīri nobleman and philanthropist,<sup>47</sup> and student of Abhinavagupta in the subjects of poetics and aesthetics, Kṣemendra was a productive poet who lived in the first half of the 11th century CE, and wrote some 39 works (20 now lost) between 1035-1066.<sup>48</sup> Born into a Śaiva family, he became a Vaiṣṇava<sup>49</sup> under the influence of Somapāda, and developed some sympathies for Buddhism<sup>50</sup> (he's the first identified writer to include Buddha among the list of Viṣṇu's *avatārās*, though this follows a doctrine established in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*). He earned a less than glowing reputation among earlier Indologists for his workman-like summaries of earlier epics (though his retelling of *Jātaka* tales in the *Bauddhāvadāna-kalpalatā* was sufficiently valuable to Buddhists that it was translated into Tibetan). His journalistic satires and didactic tales are however unique among his peers for their realistic depictions of his contemporary society, shorn of the ornate language typical of the Sanskrit *kāvya* poetic style that characterizes most of the 'histories' written to honor various royal patrons. Among Kṣemendra's surviving works are four satires of the political, moral, and social degradation of his day: The Garland of Humorous Accounts (*Narmamālā*), Advice about the Region (*Deśopadeśa*),<sup>51</sup> The Mother of the *Samayas* (here a play on the Tantric term, indicating meetings or situations a young prostitute gets involved in)

(*Samayamāṭṛkā*), written in 1050 CE,<sup>52</sup> and Amorous Sport with the [sixty-four] Practical Arts (*Kalāvīlāsa*).<sup>53</sup> Though we cannot rely on *Kṣemendra* for a objective view, given his penchant for satirical critiques, other than Kalhaṇa his are the only accounts of Tantric activity at the time that I know of that were not written by an advocate of one of the Tantric schools.

#### 6.4.1. The *Samayamāṭṛkā*

Though *Samayamāṭṛkā* is always mentioned and usually briefly summarized in works on *Kṣemendra*, there is as yet no readily available English translation,<sup>54</sup> so all of the translated sections that follow are my own work. The opening lines of the story set the stage, and indicate *Kṣemendra*'s attitude towards the *Tāntrikas* by a passing reference (that I have boldfaced):<sup>55</sup> "The three worlds are conquered by that missile from *Kāma*'s wind; homage to that one of variegated powers, with the bow of flowers. In whose unbearably terrifying hole of a face the universe dissolves, where even the three worlds have the characteristic, seemingly, of a quivering young *śāpharī* fish in a turbulent ocean; we praise that terrible full grown *Kālī* who causes the confusion of the host of embodied beings and whose causing of the extent of time was not understood even by all the ancient ones. This *Samayamāṭṛkā* of the prostitutes was written by *Kṣemendra* using the secret meanings of the *Tantras* and *mantras*."<sup>56</sup> However, as becomes abundantly clear from the rest of the story, as far as *Kṣemendra* is concerned *Tantra* isn't much more than a facade for sexual indulgence with prostitutes--so the humor and satirical elements of the tale must have been quite obvious to the author's contemporary readers. He introduces the heroine



of the tale, the prostitute *Kalāvati*:

There is a house of sexual pleasure for those well-off, offering the appearance of carnal pleasure; there is a courtyard for amorous sport for the erotic deity who is the *guru* of the clan of beautiful women; there is a city far away in the Kaśmīrs,<sup>57</sup> renowned with a name of having obtained the state of greatness, adorned with good fortune of the most beautiful woman on earth, the best place for lovers' meetings. Where, the one (i.e. *Kāma*) who was terrified by the fire in the eyes of the three-eyed one abandoned the three worlds,<sup>58</sup> the one with the odd number of arrows<sup>59</sup> lives on the slope of the three lines [in the lower abdomen]<sup>60</sup> of the townswomen. There, there was a beautiful woman, whose splendor conquered the moon, sprung from *Kāma*'s pride; called *Kalāvati*,<sup>61</sup> a courtesan, who humbled the *añjana* on her two eyes. With a firmness in her two breasts, and with a curvature to her two eyebrows; with a blackness in her two eyes, the harlot exhibited herself, unashamed. She, having ascended to the upper apartments of the palace, saw on the path the barber--the *guru* of the prostitutes, friend to the amorous sports of the lovers. His mouth visible through a mass of beard, his eyes glassy with *kāca*;<sup>62</sup> fat, like an autumnal cat with frogs on the banks of the river. A kettle-drum for the amorous sports of the paramours, like a pitcher of melted copper; holding a frying pan on his bulky bald head, as a border to the garland of his hair; with distracted eyes above frightening spittle of betel chews. She called to him, having brought him near with by knowing winks.<sup>63</sup> He, coming towards her, seeing her eyes steady with anxiety; asked her, smiling, concealing his fondness for amorous sport: "Why suddenly is your face hanging down in meditation in the palm of your hands, are your curls hanging low, has your collyrium lost its mark below your two eyes, and your breath is sighing? [Why suddenly] is the bird of amorous sport caged up by the silent eunuch, and made to sleep in the house, and the usual egress of women going abroad [curtailed]?"<sup>64</sup>

So the picture is set: Kṣemendra will tell us a tale employing the "true" meaning of the *Mantras* and *Tantras*, and that tale will be a bawdy one of prostitutes, with a fat slob of a barber as a principal interlocutor. The reason I've included extracts from this tale here is because of the remarkable second chapter of the work. While not all the information in the chapter is entirely relevant to the discussion of Tantra, Kṣemendra's (sometimes rather lewd) account of the life and times of the

prostitute Kuṭṭanī in *Samaya* II is chock-full of interesting details about life in 11th century Kaśmīr, and helps give us a much more colorful picture of the society than we can get from only the Tantric texts themselves. It is also evident from the curiously quick-moving nature of the narrative that Kṣemendra is really using the frame of the story to give a sort of journalistic account of life in Kaśmīr in the 11th century. Kuṭṭanī moves rapidly from one setting to another, engaging in a wide variety of trades and religious practices, and Kṣemendra manages thereby to give us all sorts of specific information on locations of shrines, *maṭhas* and *vihāras*, and details of a host of fraudulent religious practices and unseemly social behavior, as well as a wide variety of small-time commercial ventures. All this is neatly woven into the biography of a truly amazingly cunning young woman. We learn that prostitutes worked at the gates of open markets, as well as at *tīrthas*, cisterns, guest houses and private homes. Temples housed statues adorned with valuable jewels, while warring feudal landlords lived with their concubines who freely employed magical rites to win them as spouses. Sexual shenanigans went on at the *sabhās* (academic conferences), in the *maṭhas*, and at the Buddhist *vihāras* of monks and nuns, supporting the impression given in Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya* that all was not what it seemed with the ascetic holy men and women of the day.

The setting of the second chapter of the *Samayamāṭṛkā* is that because Kalāvati is so despondent, her friend Kaṅka, the barber, tells her about the aged prostitute Kuṭṭanī who is to become Kalāvati's teacher. By way of introduction, he gives a brief history of Kuṭṭanī's life (my translation):

Now Kañka told the story of Kuṭṭanī to the properly attentive Kalāvātī, (a story that was a veritable) refuge of fraudulent tricks. ‘Paying homage to the all-consuming Bhairavī of Bhava (Śiva), I will tell the story of her in whose belly the three worlds (reside). In Parihāsapura<sup>1</sup> there used to live a woman named Bhūmikā who ran a traveller’s lodge..... She gave birth to a daughter on top of a cluster of grinding stones; she [the daughter] was called Arghagharghaṭikā.<sup>2</sup> As she grew up she became very beautiful, and was honored by the townsmen at festivals; in their houses a thief [i.e. young Kuṭṭanī] stole the vessels of worship. A sassy talker already at age seven, her mother greedily brought her to the market gate as a article of sale; she was known to the world as Jālavadhā.<sup>3</sup> With a well-fitted necklace of conch and pearls, and a bodice fitted with false breasts, she provided satisfaction to lovers by kissing and embracing them. Then a handsome, youthful merchant’s son named Pūrṇika<sup>4</sup> came there seeking saffron, with real gold<sup>5</sup> in his possession. Drawn by the amorous dance of eyebrows moving excitedly about their eyes during the *sabhā*, the curious fellow enjoyed nighttime liasons with adulterous wives. Hanging about his neck while he slept off his drunkenness during the night, she [Kuṭṭanī] slowly devoured (i.e. took off) his entire golden earring. As she took off the golden finger rings and signet rings from his fingers, the merchant woke up suddenly; he cried out noisily, ‘*Hā hā*, I am being molested by a thief!’ Shamed by her own people, she fled, covering her head with a garment. Then [blossoming] in adolescence, adorned with beautiful ornaments, she settled in Śaṅkarapura, taking on the name Mahlaṇā.<sup>6</sup> Addicted to the enormous heaps of flowers, with the abundant burdens of good fortune, she took no respite from carnal enjoyment either in the day or night. There was no counting the number of those coming out, those going in, or those eagerly waiting outside of her house like lustful dogs. At wells, at cisterns for travellers, in pleasure gardens, in the flowery houses at the well-springs, and in her friends houses, she daily ‘consecrated’ lovers

---

<sup>1</sup> A town in the modern Parasapor *pargana* of Kaśmīr, where Lalitāditya built several temples; See Stein 1991{2}:300-303 and Index.

<sup>2</sup> ‘The little offering of *gargara* fish.’

<sup>3</sup> ‘The deadly snare’.

<sup>4</sup> ‘The complete one’.

<sup>5</sup> ‘Gold of full color,’ i.e. not mixed with something else.

<sup>6</sup> Śaṅkarapura was founded King Śaṅkaravarman, 883-902 c.e., the modern Paṭan, halfway between Śrīnagar and Bārāmūla; (Stein 1991{2}:481).

on an equal basis. At the beginning of the night, leaving a drunkard on the bed like a child, then she went to another, and to still another who fell asleep from a surfeit of sex; for the remainder of the night, under the pretext of going to her own lady friends' houses, overburdened with what [constituted] her own merchandise, she went continually to other [lovers to relieve them of] their own burden of purchases. Intensively pursued by various charming, yet angry thieves, she fled from them and took refuge in the protected houses of her lovers. Then one night she was let into the Parvatī's inner sanctum<sup>1</sup> by the love-blind palace guard Nandisoma. When he was dead asleep,<sup>2</sup> she stole the goddess' jewelry and quickly fled. Then she became a concubine named Nāgarikā<sup>3</sup> to the *Ḍāmara* (feudal landlord)<sup>4</sup> Samarasimha who lived in Pratāpapura.<sup>5</sup> Having fattened [herself] up on his abundant supplies of meat, she became as dear to him as Hiḍimbā was to Bhīmasena.<sup>6</sup> Having attained total mastery over that impassioned man, wishing to destroy him, she urged him into battles with his relatives. Once his group of paternal ancestors (i.e. father, uncles, grandfathers, etc.) had been killed, since she was firmly rooted in the household, she became the concubine of the eldest son, Śrīsimha. With her youthful beauty beginning to fade, and desiring to become the wife of the young man, she managed to marry him by means of (magical) allurements (*vaśtkaraṇamūlakaiḥ*). With fish soup, ghee, milk, onions, garlic, etc., she became the one that the dear young fellow was intent upon marrying.<sup>7</sup> Then, beginning to fear the king after spending too much time with him, stealing a significant amount of money, she fled for another city. There, wearing very delicate white clothes, [acting] downcast, she became the widow named Mṛgavatī, the [mother] earth of those yearning for physical contact. She went constantly to

---

<sup>1</sup> Also a metaphor for love-making, 'introduced to the inner sanctum of the virgin'.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'when by the breathing of sleep he'd reached the state of becoming like a log.' (*niḥśvāsa-nidrayā tasmin prayāte kāṣṭhabhūtatām*). (Durgāprasād & Parab 1888:8).

<sup>3</sup> 'Cunning, yet courteous'.

<sup>4</sup> See Stein on *Ḍāmaras* (Stein 1991{2}:304-308, where he also cites this passage).

<sup>5</sup> The modern Tāpar, founded by King Pratāpāditya-Durlabha in the 7th c., "about four miles northwest of Paṭan on the high road to Bārāmūla." (Stein 1991{2}:482).

<sup>6</sup> Hiḍimbā was the sister of a demon slain by Bhīmasena who then married the hero.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer refers us to *Rājataranṅiṭ* 7.522, where fish-soup is also named as an aphrodisiac used by King Kalaśa to maintain his rampant sex-life. (See Stein 1991{1}:310).

Sureśvarī,<sup>8</sup> [spending] a long time on the banks of the Śatadhārā [spring]; anointed with sesamum, camphor, and *darbha*, she made offerings to the ancestors. Staying there at the *tīrtha*, she captured a very wealthy horseman (cavalry man) named Bandhusāra,<sup>2</sup> just as the wife of a crane (and a thief) catches a fish. Seizing his house with one fist, and skillfully seizing hold of his mind [with the other], she became his master in all his financial affairs.<sup>3</sup> When after a month this wealthy fellow died, she stood, holding up his two feet (at the funeral pyre), prepared to follow him. There, surrounded by his relatives, pretending that it was difficult to begin, she summoned up profound composure and spoke like a noble wife: 'Widowhood in a great family, the confusion about one's identity in widowhood, and the (sense of) loss in the destruction of one's identity; (all) this will leave me by [means of] the fire.' So speaking, as though made of immovable rock with her intense will, she maintained as it were the appearance of goodness because of her joy at having gained (all of) his wealth. Then [as a result of the charade], at [their] request she remained with the king's ministers, having gained control over all of his wealth through an order of the king, engaged in amorous sports. Taking under her control the accounts-clerk of the royal stables, who was a veritable stud-horse of erotic pleasure, she caused a revolution in her own name in the world of the living. In the pursuit of profiting from him, she regularly stole away the mind of that accounts clerk by conversations interrupted with amorous sports in the river bath-house.<sup>4</sup> After plundering [the king's treasury] all day with numerous loans (written on) birch-bark (see endnote<sup>65</sup>), [he] ate and drank even more during the night so as to become a veritable Kumbhakarṇa,<sup>5</sup> in the morning, rousing [himself]

---

<sup>1</sup> Stein remarks that "The Tīrtha of Sureśvarī is often referred to in Kalhaṇa's Chronicle and Kaśmīrian texts as a spot of exceptional holiness. It was particularly sought by the pious as a place to die in. The pilgrimage to Sureśvarī is connected with visits to several sacred springs in and about Iśabar. One of them, Śatadhārā, is already mentioned by Kṣemendra. It is passed in a narrow gorge some 1500 feet below the rock of Sureśvarī." (Stein 1991{2}:455.)

<sup>2</sup> 'The best of kinsmen'.

<sup>3</sup> Lit: of his income and expenses.

<sup>4</sup> *Snānakoṣṭhake*; Stein describes *snānakoṣṭhakas*, also called *saritsnānagrhas* or *majjanāvāsa* as "wooden bathing-cells placed on rafts which are found also nowadays near most of the river and canal Ghāṭs of Śrīnagar." (Stein 1991{1}:56n.706-710; RT 8.706, 8.1182, and 8.2423. In his note to RT 8.2423 Stein cites this passage of the *Samayamāṭṛkā* (Stein 1991{1}:188n.2423).

<sup>5</sup> Apte cites the story of the demon Kumbhakarṇa from the *Rāmāyaṇa*; after Kumbhakarṇa  
(continued...)

from his deceitful fantasies with the art of mutual bathing (i.e. as he and she bathed each other), he extinguished the alcoholic fire with his inner water (i.e. urine). She, with her other son grown up (?),<sup>1</sup> devoted to the stable-clerk's pleasure, she stole the money, selling the entire world of the living (i.e. selling everything the king owned). When she was prevented from seizing [the proceeds] from the sale of the house, having been dragged [from there] by [his] sons, she undertook to serve the master of the *maṭhi*,<sup>2</sup> having gone before a tribunal (court of justice). With her wealth seized and desired by those Bhaṭṭas such as Kūṭaratha<sup>3</sup> etc. who fought with each other to have first crack at the bribes,<sup>4</sup> she seized the victorious writ (i.e. won in court). Selling the house, taking everything, in fear of the sons, dressed in bright apparel, she went to the refuge of a *Śākta-maṭha*. Making her blond hair black by smearing it with dye, she became there a trader in new goods, like a ....<sup>5</sup> Going about as a guest, ....., since rumor had it that she was the wife of a merchant, she made additional sales. People run about as blind followers, eager for gossip, without ever considering whether the facts of a story are true or false. Her tongue exhausted and her hands drooping from drinking from the vessels of her lovers, her fingers cut (from love-bites?), she seized again and again the opportunity for passion. Captured by roguish paramours while she stealing the thieves' property, though denying what was perfectly obvious, she was well tied up and placed in confinement. Making love there (in jail) with the jail-guard named

---

<sup>5</sup>(...continued)

had devoured thousands of beings Brahmā cursed him, and Kumbhakarṇa began practicing very rigid austerities. Brahmā, pleased, was about to grant him a boon when the gods intervened and Sarasvatī sat on his tongue. Instead of asking for *Indrapada* he said *Nidrāpada*, and so slept afterwards for six months at a stretch, waking only for a day. Rāvaṇa woke him to save Laṅkā, and Kumbhakarṇa consumed 2000 jars of liquor, with copious quantities of food, before engaging the battle.

<sup>1</sup> The text reads *pravṛddha-apara-putrā*; Meyer interpolates *Stiefsöhne*, i.e. step-son. (Meyer 1903:17).

<sup>2</sup> Appears to indicate "a court" here.

<sup>3</sup> 'Having a phony chariot'.

<sup>4</sup> This is a slight interpolation on my part; the Sanskrit is *utkoca-ārabdha-saṃghaṭṭair bhaṭṭair*, 'by the Bhaṭṭas who were in conflict over the beginning of the bribes.'

<sup>5</sup> Text missing here and in next line.

Bhujāṅga,<sup>6</sup> she was unrestrainedly happy while consuming fish, cakes, and wine. Then, while in a deep lovemaking embrace with the jail guard, intently kissing the drunkard, she bit off his tongue in order to free herself. Dressing him--who was unconscious due to his tongue being cut off and unable to cry out--in women's clothes with her own garments, casting off her chains, she fled. With her iron chains broken, she reached Vijayeśvara<sup>2</sup> at night. There she declared "I am the daughter of a high minister," calling herself Anupamā.<sup>3</sup> There she was showered with jewels by the classically handsome youth Bhogamitra<sup>4</sup> until he had virtually nothing left. With carefully heightened breasts, with her hair straightened, ... (text missing) ..., and tied with a red ribbon, (her eyes) marked with thick straight (lines) of collyrium, concealing her face with a cloth reaching halfway up her nose, this *Vidyādhari* fascinated the foolish ones (who said), "who is this fresh young marvel?" Someone who had however out of initial curiosity seen her naked one day, was so disgusted they were no longer able to go out in the street. Like a cold house in winter, or a row of lamps during the day, an old prostitute is like a worn out garland--what is she good for? Due to lack of customers there, she put up (instead) with itinerant travelers; she asked for small wages by attracting them with the hem of her dress at sundown. [Then,] as a female ascetic named Śikhā ('fire'), she 'made contact' with a male ascetic named Bhairavasoma, who provided her with half of his food from begging. Relishing in and provided with a body smiling with ashes, wearing collyrium to liven up her eyes (Kṣemendra's joke, an ascetic wearing eye makeup), wearing a clean, clear crystal rosary round her neck--as her friend in despair, her arms and breasts were well supported as she was wrapped in a full unwrinkled bodice. Coming out at the time for begging, she caused great consternation among the perplexed (ascetics). When there was a famine there, and food was very difficult to obtain by begging, she left in the night, taking with her the ascetic's (image of) the mother of the gods, etc. Arriving at the Kṛtyāśrama *vihāra*, her possessions having been stolen, she became the *bhikṣukt* called

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Serpent' or 'paramour'.

<sup>2</sup> Vijayeśvara is the modern Vijabrōr, about two miles north of Cakradhara, with a bridge over the Vitastā since the 12th century; it was the site of a famed Śaivite *tīrtha*, with temple and *liṅga*, long since destroyed by fire and a Muslim ruler. (See Stein 1991{2}:463-464 for a history of the town.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Incomparable'.

<sup>4</sup> 'A friend to enjoyment'.

Vajraghaṇṭā,<sup>5</sup> who was firm in her meditations.<sup>6</sup> She made her head adorned by baldness, like unto a pendulous, split open pumpkin gourd for receiving alms, a [veritable] intimate guild-monastery for trapping customers (*viṭas*, court dandies and customers of the prostitute). She was always very shrewd about instructing devotees in the *maṇḍala*; in each house occupied by virtuous women, she provided instruction in loose morals. She became the most worshipped among prostitutes for her techniques of manipulation, among merchants for her ways of increasing her wealth, and among fools by her recitation of *mantras*. Then, by making love to the servant of a lay Buddhist, she conceived a child, as an incarnate hindrance to the pleasures of religious hypocrisy. With her great [pregnant] belly hanging down, the inflow of alms was cut off; giving birth to the child, she abandoned it, and returned again to the city. There, wearing a wig, she was introduced as virtuous wet-nurse of the wife of the minister Citrasena when their son was born. As the wet-nurse named *Sārdhakṣtra*,<sup>3</sup> sitting on the lion's paw *kuśa*-grass seat with a child in her lap, she looked around, as though ready to consume the entire house in a [single] mouthful. To guard against her milk stopping, she ate juicy foods; as wet nurse she became the provider of prosperity in the minister's house. A coral necklace about her throat, a pair of silver earrings on her ears, her two arms enjoyed the most excellent armlets (*vatakas*) connected with very large clasps; her hips girded by thick cloth hanging down and brushing against her ankles, the ancient body of the wet nurse was renewed by nourishing foods. Then, when the child caught a fever through her negligence, she [tried to] get rid of it with a fish soup (an aphrodisiac), following a fast prescribed by a *vaidya*. 'Water should be avoided as unhealthy, much less any food; for two or three days [the child] should drink the wet nurse's broth [provided] by the compassion of the wet nurse. The child should survive. You should share in good fortune by the various festivities [held] for this child.' Being thus advised by the *vaidya*, she turned a deaf ear to everything. Seeing the sick child, feeling the child to be like a [worthless] blade of grass, without [any] compassion, she left in the night, taking with her the golden string [used to protect the

---

<sup>1</sup> 'The diamond bell,' a characteristically Tantric name.

<sup>2</sup> Kalhaṇa refers to this *vihāra* at RT 1.147; Stein identifies the *vihāra* as one said to have been built by Aśoka, and certainly visited in the 8th century by Ou-k'ong. Stein traced the ruins of the foundations at Kitshom, a village near the left bank of the Vitastā, about five miles south of Varāhamūla. (Stein 1991{1}:26n.147.)

<sup>3</sup> 'Producing one and a half times the milk'.



child from demons].<sup>4</sup> Then, going by the name Dhanavatī<sup>5</sup> she set up a prosperous household in a neighboring area with plenty of goats and pasturage. Now when she'd gone into this dangerous forest rich with animals, she nearly jumped out of her skin when lightning struck.<sup>3</sup> Putting on a thick upper wool garment for protection against the animals, she moved to Avantipura,<sup>4</sup> and sold cakes called *Tārū*. Buying a small bamboo box of thin cakes made for offerings for Gaṇeṣa, she regularly sold them again on the street with a cooking fire. She enjoyed the abundant rice that [had been offered] as food [to the deity] by the housewives; for [those housewives] greedy for abundant gain [by their offerings, she became] the destruction of even the basis [of such gain, by eating the offerings]. Anointing a young street girl with ghee, and calling herself Kuśalikā<sup>5</sup> she solicited house to house under the pretext of [the girl's] impending marriage. Then under the name Pañjikā<sup>6</sup> stationing herself in front of the gambling house, she made a market out of loaded dice and [gaming] pegs. As the flower girl named Mukulikā<sup>7</sup> she made a business in selling flower offerings; having taken as capital the coins offered to the gods, she left during the night. Under the name Himā<sup>8</sup> she provided the water offerings for the village sacrifices; she led circles and so forth of children in stage presentations. Calling herself Varṇa<sup>9</sup> she tried, under false colors, casting horoscopes for marriages and the six calamities.<sup>10</sup> Knowing the *gaṇas* (of the lunar mansions) she achieved fame among the foolish; however, knowing only their names and symbols, she did not recognize

---

<sup>1</sup> See Meyers 1903:22n.1 for reading of *sūtrikā* in place of *sūtikā*, and explanation thereof.

<sup>2</sup> 'The wealthy one'.

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'with a blow from the clouds, it was as though her own body [attained] the state of her skin being left remaining.' (*Sātha meghāpahatena tasmin paśudhane vane | svakāya iva sāpāye yāte carma-avaśeṣatām* | | (Durgāprasād & Parab 1888:13).

<sup>4</sup> Then a sizeable town, now the village of Vantipur on the Vitastā river. (Stein 1991{2}:460).

<sup>5</sup> 'Prosperous'.

<sup>6</sup> 'The accounting ledger'.

<sup>7</sup> 'Blossoming'.

<sup>8</sup> 'Snow' or 'Frost'.

<sup>9</sup> 'Color'.

<sup>10</sup> See Meyer 1903:23n.2 for the reading of *ṣaṭ-kaṣṭakeṣu*; the six *kaṣṭakas* or *Itis* are 1) too much rain, 2) drought, 3) locusts, 4) rats, 5) parrots, and 6) foreign invasions. (see Apte under *Iti*).

the thieves. Designating herself *Bhāvasiddhi*<sup>1</sup> she supported herself as a prostitute of god (i.e. a *devadāsī* or temple prostitute),<sup>2</sup> saying "you must offer gifts," though she didn't say anything else (or, she did not speak about the supreme; *na avadat param*). Then, (pretending to) have gone crazy (or become intoxicated), naked, embraced by the dogs, she was known as *Kumbhādevī*<sup>3</sup> she achieved sustained worship. Worshipped by the minister Kuladāsa, greedy for a quick teaching, she took the silver vessel [he] offered, and left. She was then Cala[k]aṅṭhā<sup>4</sup> for three days in the Takṣaka procession; as a liquor-seller named Kalā<sup>5</sup> she made a business in spirits. At night there she presented seven bells to the sleeping, drunken ascetic named 'Having bells on his buttocks.'<sup>6</sup> Then, having stolen everything from travelers whom she had drugged with wine copiously laced with *dhattūra*<sup>7</sup> she left in the night for Sūrapura.<sup>8</sup> Having thus made up the name of a husband who was a load-carrier on the salt-road,<sup>9</sup> spending the night

---

<sup>1</sup> 'The fulfillment of existence'.

<sup>2</sup> Y.A. Raikar, in an article on "Prostitution During the Yadava Period," cites a 1960's study of prostitution in Bombay to say that "A recent sociological survey of prostitutes in Bombay found that one-third of the modern common prostitutes were *devadāsīs*." (Raikar 1963-64:129).

<sup>3</sup> 'The goddess of the water pots'.

<sup>4</sup> I've emended from *Calahaṅṭhā*—though the sense is still unclear, 'having a moving throat/neck' could well have been a local name for a serpent deity; this is still a guess though. Meyer offers some other possibilities (Meyer 1903:24n.1).

<sup>5</sup> 'A small part,' used also for digits of the moon and hence allegorically for portions of Soma.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps some well-known local character of Kṣemendra's day? It sounds like it may have been a running joke of the time to tie bells on his buttocks while the pseudo-ascetic slept off his drunkenness. The wearing of bells to ward off demons was apparently also a popular practice with certain ascetics (see Wjotilla 1984:385n.33).

<sup>7</sup> The syrup of the white thorn apple tree used for centuries to induce unconsciousness.

<sup>8</sup> A Kāśmiri village now called Hurapor, just below the 11,400' pass into the central Panjab; it was a sizeable town in Kṣemendra's time, and forms a station on that major trade route for the valley (Stein 1991{2}:394, 471.)

<sup>9</sup> Stein provides a helpful note on this section, and since his text is not that easy to come by, I shall quote it in full here: "Alīābād Sarai is a Mughal hospice erected for the shelter of travellers about half a mile above Hast'vañj. It is about the highest point on the ascent to the pass where fuel can be conveniently obtained. I think it hence probably that the *Maṭha* or hospice which Kṣemendra mentions on the Pīr Pantsāl Pass, must have been situated

with others when she became sleepy, at daybreak, binding her hips and waist (to protect against the load), she cheerfully carried a load on her head for the entire day over the long road through the narrow pass. Calling herself Bambā,<sup>1</sup> crossing over the terrifying mountains by means of narrow trails piled with snow, at the end of the day [she had gained] the appearance of a respectable woman; her face covered with cloth against the winter, draped with masses of woolen blankets, cold and exhausted, she yearned for [the comfort of] the *Pañcāladhārā maṭha*.<sup>2</sup> Then, calling herself Satyavatī,<sup>3</sup> a wise Vedāntin, she wandered the earth that is ornamented by the girdle of oceans and continents. In some places she was skilled in [telling] tales of *yoga*, in others she was a woman who fasted for a month;<sup>4</sup> in yet another place she was a member of one of Śaṅkarācārya's ascetic orders (*Tīrthārthintī*); she deceitfully became greatly worshipped. Enjoying the faith of fools with their incense waved before their creator, she attained great recognition in the mansions of the kings. Receiving gold for her promise "I will stop the armies of kings," she fled in the night when the preparations for battle were imminent. Professing (faith) in the waters of Kedāra (in the Himālayas), in (performing) funeral rites at Gayā, and in bathing in the Ganges, etc., [and] taking pledges from

---

<sup>9</sup>(...continued)

somewhere in this neighborhood. Ksemendra makes this interesting reference in that curious portion of the *Samayamātrkā* already alluded to above, which describes the wanderings of the courtesan kaṅkalī. The heroine of this story after effecting some petty thefts in Kaśmīr proceeds to *Śūrapura*. There she passes herself off as the wife of a load-carrier (*bhārika*) engaged on the 'salt-road.' By this term the Pīr Pantsāl route is quite correctly designated. It has remained to the present day the chief route by which the produce of the Panjāb salt mines coming via Jehlam and Bhimbhar enters Kaśmīr. [He adds in note 47: Salt is a considerable article of import into Kaśmīr where it is wholly wanting....; I remember vividly the long strings of salt-laden bullocks which I used to meet daily when marching into Kaśmīr by the Pīr Pantsāl route.] She keeps up the disguise which is evidently intended to help her through the clutches of the officials at the frontier guard-station, by taking next morning a good load on her head and starting with it towards the pass (*saṅkata*). On the way she passes along high mountains by precipitous paths, deeply covered with snow. By nightfall she reaches the *Pañcāladhārāmaṭha*, after apparently disposed [*sic*] of her load. It being late in the season, she passes the night there shivering in the cold, though wrapped up in thick woolen cloaks. Thence she finds her way open to India where a career of successful adventures awaits her." (Stein 1991{2}:395-396; compare Meyer 1903:24-25n.4).

<sup>1</sup> 'The mover'.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a rest-stop on the salt-trading route through the mountain pass.

<sup>3</sup> 'Truthful'.

<sup>4</sup> *Māsopavāsintī*, also has the ironic sense of a lascivious woman.

those desiring the fruits of those (activities), she earned a fortune. Solicited by the robbers on the highway for the purpose of instruction in destruction of their shadows (i.e. destroying any trail of evidence), she (had herself) raised up on a palanquin for a year<sup>1</sup> then left, escaping (them). Espousing the superiority of the *rudrākṣa* (beads, used for rosaries), under the name Rudrākṣā, she gave the beads (lit: eggs) for a price to her poor, wretched students.<sup>2</sup> She cast into overgrown wells those eager for the pleasures of hell, whose clothes and jewelry had been stolen (by her) through their faith and who practiced their yogic powers in caves. Calling herself *Viṣajāṅgulikā*,<sup>3</sup> she tied a garland around her neck with very smooth poison pills, saying "I am one whose limbs are saturated with poison." Giving the customs officers at the toll stations a flower that instantly knocked them unconscious, she naturally went through freely. "I have lived for more than a thousand years; I know alchemy; I have mastered the manifestation of speech; the Tripura principle of desire is gathered in the palm of my hand. Because of the devotion of the village to this superior woman, all the gurus have become crippled with their pride." With this declaration, [even] the *thakkuras* (local nobility)<sup>4</sup> were reduced to the state of dogs licking the soles of her feet. Prepared for worship, the (citizens) of Kāmbhoja and Bhoja share in prostrations in all the directions for panegyrics of praise; the Turks dry themselves up in servitude, so why should the Chinese (not be) ruined in the sentiment of service? The Trigārtas (of Jalandhara) are stressed out with anxiety, and the Gauḍas are tormented about [following] the rules of worship; because of her engaging in deception, the people of Bengal filled her lap with flowers. Wandering the entire earth that reaches to the oceans, continuously exalted due to her the good training she had acquired in illusion, she returned once again to her native land as the surviving slender heroine; who (after all) would abandon their native land, just as (who would abandon their own) body, even though it is

---

<sup>1</sup> Presumably by the thieves, i.e. treated as a queen; this is a joke by Kṣemendra, since by being carried around she left no trace of her movement, and thereby 'instructed' them.

<sup>2</sup> Or, to her students who carry Chinese war drums. I take the alternate reading given in the footnote to the *Kāvya-mālā* edition, *ctna-anakānām* (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1888:15n.2). The text as given, *ctnānakānām* could only refer to 'students possessed of Chinese war drums,' *ctna-ānaka*—this doesn't seem to make much sense here, though see verse 2.108 below with its reference to the Chinese. Carrying Chinese war drums could have been a custom of the time (or a fad) among particular groups of students, a fad well-known and therefore somehow amusing to Kṣemendra's readers.

<sup>3</sup> 'The expert in poisons'.

<sup>4</sup> See Stein 1991{1}:292n.290, quoted at Meyer 1903:28n.1.

thin? She, [knowing] the dress and languages of all the places she'd been in contact with, claiming "I am the daughter of a fallen king," with cut fingers, chipped teeth, and the tip of her nose broken, she was recognized by me because of the blue marks (bruises?) on her forehead. If she, the mother of avariciousness, slithering (serpent-like) into the treasury of the house where the wealth is scattered about, seizes your mother's place, then you know, Oh lovely lady, that she will effortlessly take all the wealth and possessions in this lovely land into her own hands. So going myself to that omniscient one who fraudulent in deceit, I will ask that what you do will be successful on the path to all possessions and wealth; what else can I say? She knows how to conquer the world with her wits; there is no other way.' Having spoken thus, the kindly barber quickly departed."<sup>66</sup>

With the preceding we have another layer to our 'thick' description of life in 11th century Kaśmīr. Taking Kṣemendra's literary device of couching his description in the guise of a biography of one of his characters, we can generalize about the society of the day. 11th century Kaśmīr was a valley of much natural beauty and fertility, protected by mountain ranges and narrow passes, was host to a lively and colorful society with feudal lords, local kings, concubines, pilgrimage sites, thieves, rogues, high brow and wealthy cavalrymen, an upper-crust society of (often gullible) ministers serving the government and living in the city, farmers, sheep herders, wandering ascetics of various creeds, monasteries that were apparently more than just monasteries, unreliable doctors, a lively trade in food and flower offerings for the temples, in salt and other goods, temple prostitutes, phony gurus and self-proclaimed incarnations of deities, gambling houses, astrologers, and liquor sellers. Particularly noteworthy is Kṣemendra's description of Kuṭṭanī's turn as the *bhikṣukī* called Vajraghaṇṭā, who is famed for her recitation of *mantras* all the while she is 'instructing devotees' in the '*maṇḍala*' of loose morals. Certainly this is a humorous

depiction, though as with any such satires there would likely have been some resonance with reality for the joke to have any punch. So we can say with the above that we have now two layers of thick description: a geographical and social, and we still need some sense of the specifically Tantric. For this we turn to a couple of Kṣemendra's earlier, less polished works.

#### 6.4.2. The *Narmamālā*

Among the earliest works written by Kṣemendra are the two satires, the *Narmamālā* and the *Deśopadeśa*; neither of these have been translated into English. Again we find in Kṣemendra's (perhaps somewhat yellow-) journalistic fascination with the details of everyday life some rather unflattering portraits of Śaivite *tāntrikas* and an equally unflattering portrayal of a female Buddhist *tāntrika*. The *Narmamālā* tells a humorous tale of the life of a government official (*Niyogīn*, supervisor of villages and territorial subdivisions (*pargaṇās*)<sup>67</sup>) who rises from poverty to wealth through the appropriative opportunities of his official position, whose wife learns to love the good life and disdain her husband's affections, and of various troubles that then befall them, leading to a tragic end. *Parihāsa* One (the first 'joke' or 'satire') of the *Narmamālā* depicts a variety of corrupt government officials, including the main character, a venal department head who wields a pen-weapon (*kalamāstra*) to plunder temple fortunes, along with spies, a thieving governor, and other self-enriching public servants (it was just these sort of venal officials who Kalhaṇa told us were put out of business by the benevolent king Yaśaskara). The second *parihāsa* describes an adulterer (*pāradārikah*), and another venal officer who, dog-like, revives the dead

[i.e. steals from the dead, or adds them to the tax roles?], enjoys the *Kāpālika* vow with his hand upraised for stealing from the livelihood of good people, lusts after his daughter-in-law, and burns brightly from [the liquor] of the distiller's *kula* (playing on the Tantric term for an initiate's Tantric 'family' or 'clan').<sup>68</sup> Kṣemendra then gives a brief and amusing take on a Buddhist nun, who serves as a go-between for the minister's wife and one of her lovers. "She enters the minister's wife's house violently, this *śramaṇikā*, constantly abusive is the *Vajrayoginī*; she is the mother of the dominance-*yogas*, the perfect confidante of lovers; she is the Tantric goddess (*samaya-devatā*) among women for the initiations [i.e. intercourse] that produce [real] men; she quickly deceives even *Arundhatī* [the ideal wife] as a sport, because she is an ancient harlot; she considers [bedding] straw as the Ganges [i.e. what she should immerse herself in for merit]; she will quickly satisfy our desire; having said this, the rogues go to the house of the aged *śramaṇikā*."<sup>69</sup> Even the *Maṭha*'s abbot is said to engage in sexual shenanigans, as the beautiful women are said to have taken initiation with that guru of lovers, thereby becoming omnipresent [like *brahman*], staying in the practice of *nirvikalpa* [*samādhi*].<sup>70</sup> These accounts are followed by descriptions of a illness feigned by the minister's wife to avoid his attentions, an incompetent *Vaidya* the minister calls in to treat her illness, and a phony astrologer.

Then a guru is called in to run a sacrifice for the wife's welfare. The *niyogin* had previously been a Buddhist, then hypocritically became a *Vaiṣṇava*. In order to save his wife, he gains new respect for the *Kaulāgamas* of his birth.<sup>71</sup> (Evidently conversion between traditions was not that uncommon.) He brings in

A guru who is a veritable palace of arrogance, hypocrisy, and greed, who possesses the initiation into illusion, the Tantric vow of deception, and the *maṇḍala* of unreliability. Homage to the leader of gurus, the thief of wealth and wives, an irritating man who eats everything, a real *yakṣa*, eating at night. With a bunch of flowers, a piece of writing paper, and half a red-oxide [mark] placed on his palate (?), his great forehead is always [smeared with] camphor, with a *bindu* and an *upabindu*. His minimal matted hair is cropped to mere tufts at the base of his ears, the tips of his ears marked with saffron, and he is glassy-eyed, with a huge chin. He is bald, with a skimpy beard, and a high voice, tottering around in all directions, filling his face with the errant *bhagas* of elderly aristocratic women.<sup>72</sup> He quickly quaffs a jar of liquor, [followed] by the sounds of jar after jar--how can the enormity of the channel of his throat be measured? Wearing a meditation cloth stained with liquor and stinking of meat, supporting the full breasts of women with his chest, he has the form of a *rākṣasa*. The deep hole of his navel is adorned by being filled with red-oxide (*sindūra*), his great belly is (however) not filled by a mixture of *lopikās* [a type of sweet], *pūpas* [cakes] and *śapharīs* [a glittering small fish]; he is like an overburdened cloud releasing walls of belching vapor of the unbearable fresh fragrance of indigestion caused by wine and meat. The guru, whose intelligence is blind with the intoxication of liquor and the fault of ignorance of the best teacher, is beheld coming as it were in the form of the ego itself. And in form he is the heaviest of gurus [i.e. overweight, a play on the word *guru*], by word [he praises] the follies of sloth, a guru who is with his penis too much of a guru, and likewise has a heavy face, a heavy throat, a heavy mustache and beard, a heavy belly, and a heavy buttocks.<sup>73</sup> He is the guru of deceiving prostitutes, lovers, and ministers, void of any good conduct, the guru is variously guru to everyone, consistently a lightweight with regard to the great teachings spoken by *Śiva*. Most likely a [guru] of ethical behavior might be born on earth, [though] the gurus who are storehouses of impurity would not be honored by him. All of them falling at his feet in emulation, they would cause a rumbling and shaking of an earthquake with their heads. For the protection of their own wives, for the increase of their wealth, the *Bhagavān* guru was invited by the *Niyogin* to conduct a sacrifice. Having drawn quickly with saffron a little cricket (list of needed?) provisions, pleased, he said 'I'll come in the morning,' and then he went with his disciples.<sup>74</sup>

The implications of Kṣemendra's depiction of the Tantric *guru* here are fairly self-evident, and need little comment. The character is bald, ugly, smelly, and



overweight, a thorough-going glutton, and driven by unbounded lust ('too much of a guru') in his frequent sexual liaisons with the wives of government ministers and social aristocrats. The suggestion is that not only had Tantric practices become popular in the royal households (as mentioned by Kalhaṇa); they had also worked their way into the upper social strata of the government bureaucracy and social movers and shakers, though in Kṣemendra's opinion only as a license for sensual indulgence.

The third *parihāsaḥ* tells of the guru's minions arriving at the sacrifice along with ministers and friends of the *niyogin*. A long list of foodstuffs are prepared for the sacrifice, then a student very carefully prepares the *maṇḍala*, whose interior is covered with *sindūra*, and that is adorned with a *bhaga* (vulva) and *liṅga* (phallus).<sup>75</sup> The guru comes with about a hundred disciples, a delightful cast of characters including the extremely ugly mayor who's like a thief, a leather worker and butcher, a potter, a fisherman, a fair-ascetic (i.e. one who performs Yogic *tapas* and tricks at fairs and markets), an old courtesan, a distiller, a brew-master, an old *viṭa* (dissolute companion of a prince, or client of prostitutes), five diseased lechers, three libertines, a cook, a beef-eater, a teacher from the *Bhairava* tradition, a teacher from the *Kula* tradition, a weaver, an [*Kāpālika*] with a *rudrākṣa* bead rosary as a crest (i.e. in his hair), a water-carrier missing a nose, an ascetic devotee, a pimp, a teacher of the *Śaiva darśana*, three bards, a naked mendicant, a keeper of the time vow (*velāvratin?*), a keeper of the vow of silence, a panegyrist with bells on his knees,<sup>76</sup> two or three drunken women accompanied by some dogs, a *mantra-vādin* (sacred text

reciter, or conjuror; this may also refer to a Buddhist *tāntrika*, since in Buddhist texts *Tantra* is often referred to as *mantra-naya* or *mantrayāna*) smeared with feces,<sup>77</sup> and a drunken alchemist, a magician, a practitioner of *latāveśa*,<sup>78</sup> a wise man (? *viññānin*), a gigolo (? *kāma-tattvikah*), and other venerables, the guru's rogues, dedicated to drinking and eating. Sweating, delighting in [consuming] the offerings to the deities, filled with inebriating liquors, they entered. Then, making the cooked food disappear, stealing everything, inebriated, the guru's masters completely consumed the sesamum, fragrant powders, and ghee. First one, then two, then many of them spent time with their leather pouch on the ground rice, the barley and walnuts, the *bilva* fruits, oblations, ghee, and sandal paste (presumably filling the pouches).<sup>79</sup> Once this rowdy crowd has arrived, the *Niyogin* minister provides his own young sister, who keeps house for him and works as a whore, to serve the guru in the procedures for the proper performance of the sacrifice. Named *Jayatī*, she is extremely beautiful ('she steals the light of the entire disk of the moon'), she has a face as pretty as a white lotus; she is a harlot adorned with the blossom of new youth. She and the *brahmacārin* make the earth rumble at night, while during the day he is hypocritically busy with worship and pilgrimage sites.<sup>80</sup> She also stays busy seducing a variety of other ascetics, freely providing a *kāmasattra* or sacrificial session of sexual passion.<sup>81</sup>

Kṣemendra's mention of the *guru/brahmacārin* who spends his daytime hours acting like a good holy man, and spends his nights in unbridled sensuality is apparently not just fictitious. We find in the *Vimalaprabhā* a specific prescription for

Buddhist Tantric initiates, men, and women, to maintain their celibate, vegetarian, and renunciate vows during the day, and to engage in the Tantric sexual rites with meat and alcohol during specific hours of the night. These and other "transgressive" practices, such as smearing the body with feces, are specifically discussed and explained by Puṇḍarīka in the *Vimalaprabhā* (See Chapter 9 of this dissertation for a detailed discussion of these explanations).

#### 6.4.3. The *Deśopadeśaḥ*

In the other of Kṣemendra's early satires, the *Deśopadeśaḥ*, we find in the eighth and final *Upadeśa*, The Description of Various Types of People (*Prakṛṇavarṇanam*), a brief portrayal of a *Kulavadhūḥ*, or the woman of a good family (also, punning, a woman who belongs to the *Kula* Tantric tradition).<sup>82</sup> She is, it turns out, a "Tantric" initiate of sorts, in that she partakes of the 'Tantric' guru's sexual instructions. This is yet another layer of indication that the upper class members of 11th century Kaśmīri society were involved in versions of Tantric practice. Together with Kalhaṇa's references to practices in the royal households, Kṣemendra's depictions indicate that certain popular, and perhaps degraded forms of *Tantra* had become widespread among the upper classes. In the *Prakṛṇavarṇanam* of the *Deśopadeśaḥ*, when the husband has been brought from a state of arrogance to a state of servitude upon seeing his wife's face in the home (i.e. when he has been, so to speak, 'tamed'), the "initiated" wife, putting on her fine dress, goes to the guru. As the mistress of a master who does not belong to the Tantric community (*samaya-vihṅnasya bhartuḥ*), she is averse to contact with animals, and always arrives [home]

after having purified herself through sexual pleasure with the guru (a joke, since the guru is the most slovenly of characters). Having left from the house with a slow gait in her very sharp rear buttocks, the wife slowly kills her husband with the kicks of pleasure (i.e. the 'foot-blows' of her walking to her guru-lover).<sup>83</sup> The notion of 'being averse to contact with animals' (*paśu-saṃsparśād vimukht*) is also a pun on the term used by Śaivites to describe disciples--*paśu*, or those of animal nature, compared to *paśupatiḥ*, or Śiva. Kṣemendra follows the preceding description with one of the gentleman (*bhaṭṭaḥ*) initiated into the rites. The *bhaṭṭa* is educated in drinking wine, his humble birth [whatever it may be] is destroyed in the Kaula account of things (*kaula-kathā-naṣṭa-jāti-saṃkocah*). With fish and platter in hand, the initiated fellow comes to the guru's house. Drinking the [liquid] *Bhairava* (i.e. alcohol) who fills his throat with the sounds *gala-gala-gala* from the jug, he is seen to become exhausted, as though wallowing in a stream [of water falling] from a cloud. Passing the entire night, [he becomes] inebriated with liquor and vomit, his face licked by the dogs. Completely purified by obeisance [to the guru], in the morning he is [once again] a gentleman among gentlemen.<sup>84</sup> Here too we have the portrayal of an almost institutionalized practice--during the day the practitioners are perfect ladies and gentlemen, or ideal monks and nuns; during the night they are unrestrained lovers and inebriates. As I mentioned above, we cannot take Kṣemendra's portrayals as completely accurate, given that they are intended as didactic satires and humorous entertainment. However, the consistency of the social aspects of his stories among his own writings and with Kalhaṇa's descriptions strongly suggests--up to a point--that

we have a reasonably reliable journalistic indication of Kaśmīri society in the 11th century.

Since alchemy plays such an important role in Tantric practice, it's worth also noting Kṣemendra's humorous sketch of the *dhātuvādin* or alchemist. In Kṣemendra's view the so-called alchemy or *rasāyana* practiced by the *dhātuvādin* is a sham, and does nothing more than impoverish the fellow and destroy his health through phony elixirs. His body is aged with fever, his strength destroyed by coughing, asthma, and exertion, the aged adept of alchemy goes to his own guru for his whole life. Saying "I will make my own people supremely wealthy with gold pieces and elixirs poured from the mouth of the crucible," the impoverished one dies. When the old mercury-adept is plagued with dysentery at the end, then his bodily impurities are purified [by endless excretions], and happiness [finally] results [in death].<sup>85</sup>

Finally we cannot leave out the description given in the sixth *upadeśa* of the *Deśopadeśaḥ*<sup>86</sup> of the foreign students who come from Gauḍa (central Bengal) to study in Kaśmīr. As one of Kṣemendra's earliest poems, there's a certain awkwardness and crudeness to some of the similes, yet it seems to give a somewhat true-to-life--though probably composite, and certainly slanted and racist (on account of their dark skin)--picture of some of the Bengali students who came to Kaśmīr. Indeed, Kṣemendra refers to barbers, shoemakers, fishermen, and even soldiers who come as students, suggesting that Kaśmīri *maṭhas* may have functioned as some sort of public universities of the day, for students of different religious affiliations (he refers to both Buddhist and Brahmanical students). Evidently there was considerable resentment in

some quarters about the ‘ignorant’ foreign students who came to study in Kaśmīr, and used the opportunity to fleece the locals, live off the charity of the townspeople, mistreat their servants, use their studies for social climbing, spend their free time with the prostitutes, and disrupt the *maṭhas* with annoying, loutish behavior. Kṣemendra gives us the impression that the *maṭhas* were breeding grounds for all sorts of trouble for the locals (a common complaint in college towns of our own time).

Homage to the student who, like the terrible trident-bearing, poison-eating Śiva is always occupying the left-half [of the body; or, in a double entendre, captivating the desirable half, i.e. women] at night. The student who has come from another land is similar to a black skeleton; he is avoided by people who are frightened by skeletons, [as in the case of] a sentry [who is avoided] from a distance. Even the *munis* are shamed by this Gauḍa who is so emaciated, a kṣatriya with the sacred grass who makes the sound *hūṃ* [when bringing the blades of grass into] contact. A Brāhmaṇa beggar who’s accomplished his vow--i.e. eating every day of the week, humble [or skillful], desiring food, he recites *mantras* for two watches of the day [six hours]. Having attained his *tilaka* in the sacrificial ritual (*sattra*), along with the foodstuffs and perfumes, he is born anew like a snake shedding his skin. He asks the harlots for their wages, he asks the gambler for his winnings, he asks for meat in the storehouse, a [veritable] preceptor to those exhausted by their vows [of giving charity]. The student is engaged in profound study for the sake of fleecing the elderly Kaśmīris; [only] with great difficulty does he know the *omkāra*, how much less, certainly, is [he interested] in people’s welfare. Unable to write, even, and stupefied by egotism, the Gauḍa undertakes the study of grammar, logic, and *Mīmāṃsā* (solely) for the sake of arguing with people. The Gauḍa avoids contact, with the hem of his garment [pulled up so high to avoid pollution] as to form his waistband, bent away to one side as though from an excessive burden of religious hypocrisy. His nails polished and marked with lac, wearing multi-colored garments, he is embarrassed [even] by the dirty feathers in the collection of discuses and arrows [i.e. so haughty even dirty feathers on the arrows of soldiers offend him]. He is cruel to all the hired laborers, warding them off with blows from his staff; the young woman who is his house-mistress [barely] endures her service to him. Walking slowly, proud of the contemptible noise of his shoes, he (can’t help but) behold his own waist wrapped with a red cloth and dagger. His hand a

sportively graceful creeper, his eyebrows turned in sportive play, the provincial student wanders evenings on the roads in front of the prostitution houses. The rogue, the madam (bawd), the prostitute, the shoemaker, and the elderly gentleman, these five are [as though] distinguished only as knots on the bamboo walking stick of the lecher Gauḍa (presumably since they've all been deceived by him). Having conquered Saturn with the loveliness of his face equal to a drinking vessel without a lamp (?),<sup>87</sup> the student, who was like Kāma in his appearance, sang songs with indigent singers. Famous for his cruelty, never resting from [his search for] sex, the provincial one could not get himself a prostitute even at three times the price. When the student tightly bound up his matted hair in order to lie down, then the prostitute, terrified, cried out "Ha, I am done for!" The prostitute who took payment for services from the provincial, even though under a different name, for her he became like an upper garment when one is under treatment for a pain in the side of one's torso (i.e. very difficult to endure). He alone enjoyed the honey that was poured forth by the prostitutes. In the winter time, with a piece of petticoat [tied] about his head in the houses of the prostitutes, the provincial became a laughing, black-faced, white-toothed monkey. He strenuously sought to find whores or other men's wives, getting on a first-name basis with the fathers from house to house. The other men's wives (asked), with foolish utterance, "why do they laugh, what are they talking about?"; having been drawn into confidence, the fool (husband) waited upon (the Gauḍa) with sacrificial foods and adornments. With dangling golden earrings and thick, triple finger rings, he shone forth as Kubera's form; (then) the provincial quickly left. At the end of the day he looked like a *piśāca* who had won at gambling, naked, with a busted face, a dung-smearing soma drinker.<sup>88</sup> The *maṭha* was uprooted by the student with his coat unbuttoned over his belly, his matted hair in knots, roaring, with his hand upraised with a stick. Who indeed would (want) to go to their destruction in a 'session' with the *Gauḍa-yakṣa* who seeks their destruction, and whose (own) belly has been trampled on and struck with multiple knife (wounds).<sup>89</sup> The Gauḍa eats not with pleasure, nor out of fear, nor even out of necessity; he moves around in this world like evil incarnate. Since the Gauḍa, like anyone else, had to fast on the twelfth day when the *saṭtras* stopped, he cooked for himself a break-fast with fish and meat. As a barber, shoemaker, fisherman or even soldier in his own land, the provincial (who came to Kaśmīr to study) certainly didn't know about the recitation (of Vedic texts) at the *saṃdhyās* (dawn, noon, and dusk). When the student received food in his dish at the *saṭtra*, both the gods and the prostitutes enjoyed sweetmeats of milk and ghee (since he took the offerings with him as payment to the prostitutes). Devoted to the prostitutes, and gambling,

the student continually made these his priorities; in penetrating wombs in the woods around the *maṭha*, he was (as disciplined) as a *muni* (sitting) with the five fires (in the four directions, and the sun overhead). Neither a *brahmacārin*, nor a householder, nor a forest-dweller, nor a renunciate, (he had entered rather) a fifth (stage), called the one having the advantages of (all) five, i.e. the stage of life for students' lack of self-restraint. The provincial, having drunk up his pitcher and having entered, with such pity (into the *maṭha*), writes about the killing of brahmins (i.e. the cuckolded husbands) and [their] eating poison at the time of death.<sup>90</sup> [Suffering from] a fever for a host of prostitutes, alighting at the *sattras*, destroying the *maṭha*, the provincial achieves nothing practical either with groups of people, nor with their hearts (i.e. neither externally, nor internally). Going directly for the yogurt, carrying a staff (i.e. the master) in the kitchens and slaughterhouses, the college student, always carrying a parasol, was nonetheless not educated (lit: not initiated, or instructed, *dikṣitaḥ*). "The *cākrika* (apparently refers to a *Śaivite* or *tāntrika* here, though otherwise refers to a potter) reaches oneness with *Śiva*, the thief is supported by laborers (whom he steals from), [yet I], the Gauḍa, am a nobleman whose chin is held high in pride," [he] said. The students of Buddha who die with their bellies full of food from the *sattra*, they cry out in the *sattratūrya* (an instrument played at the *sattra*?), and are born right there as wild cocks. He asks for more wares, he demands the lowest price, the provincial stands in front of the merchant, looking like Kaliḥ (the personification of the Kali yuga). Just as fish eat fish, dividing up the weak ones in an instant, so the students ['eat up' the merchants] with parasols, bamboo boxes, etc., blankets, upper garments, and lower garments. Having eaten at the side of a *śrāddha* (ceremony) in a merchant's house somewhere, the college student, his eyes turned upwards (towards the ancestors) does not see the ground, like a (Śaivite ascetic) with his upraised trident. This is not a college, it's a lofty fraud of a college, or even a college of violence; this is a terrible cave of the Dāru mountain. The vampires (*vetāla*) are in the college cremation ground, the goblins are in the bathing trough; like terrifying Bhairavas the students join together at the *sattras*. (As though) having tangled with an angry ape, or having a large serpent bound round one's neck, having met up with the shrewd Gauḍa, what good can the *vaidya* do (for anyone so unfortunate)? Flaming with a groundless wrath at bathing, at the giving (of charity), at (the keeping of) a vow, and at a *śrāddha* (ceremony), he does everything saying "I excite (your) mother" (sounds like an 11th century insult). Unwearied, he goes (all) day drinking the *sattra* (-libation) (until) the very end of the *sattra*; and (although) ugly and fanged he delights the young women; eating he destroys his own *kulānt* (family lineage?), the sinful



deformed ‘cracker’<sup>91</sup> of the college plays.

How reliable are Kṣemendra’s rather jaundiced, though certainly humorous and undoubtedly somewhat accurate depictions of religious practitioners and students given in his satires? We may never be able to say for certain, though one fact stands out--simply that Kṣemendra’s works have been preserved for centuries in India.

These tales were not intended as entirely fictional: Kṣemendra repeatedly says that he tells his tales for moral and didactic purposes, i.e. to warn good people of the wiley ways of the populace. The factual (as opposed to mythic) bent of the material, its didactic intention, and the consistency of some of Kṣemendra’s descriptions both with his own other writings, and those of some other authors (Kalhaṇa, Kṛṣṇamiśra, and as we shall see in the chapter 9, the authors of some of the *Tantras*) suggest to me that Kṣemendra’s writing may be relied on much like newspaper accounts of the 20th century. While not necessarily entirely accurate, they give the reader a pretty good idea of what was really happening in the area at the time.

### **6.5. Bilhaṇa’s *Vikramāṅkadevacaritaḥ***

We turn now to some rather more high-class depictions of Kaśmīri literary society that support the impression of the active and thriving intellectual culture alluded to at the beginning of this chapter, and shed some additional light on the social status of Tantra in the early second millennium CE. From the 11th century we have the historical epic *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* written by Kaśmīri poet Bilhaṇa in honor of his patron, Vikramāditya VI, Cālukya king of Kalyāṇa (1076-1127). His brothers were both poets, and Bilhaṇa learned Veda, grammar, and poetics,

composing in addition to the epic the short drama *Karṇasundarī* and the erotic poem *Caura-pañcāśikā*. He left Kaśmīr in his early twenties, sometime before 1062, traveled around India and ended up in the southern city of Kalyāṇa, where he was made poet laureate by Vikramāditya VI; he probably wrote the *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* rather later in his life, perhaps around 1085.<sup>92</sup> Most of the epic is concerned with political history and the standard *kāvya*-style descriptions of the seasons, love scenes, etc.<sup>93</sup> The final canto of the work is an ode to Pravarapura, the ancient name for Śrīnagar, the capital of Kaśmīr and Bilhaṇa's home town. Here we find a bit of local color, and some autobiographical remarks, including an account of Bilhaṇa's learned forefathers, his two poet brothers, and his long trek as a wandering paṇḍit and poet through Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Kānyakubja, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Dhārā, Gurjara, and finally to where he settled in the southern city of Kalyāṇa, after being named Vidyāpati by the Cālukya king. In the descriptions of his home town we learn of some of the more aesthetically pleasing aspects of high society. Even women speak Sanskrit and Prākṛit at home, while the *devadāsīs* in the temples perform delightful dramatic pieces; Vedic *agrahārams* are scattered along the banks of the river (confirming Kalhaṇa's report that King Yaśas had established a number of these), maintaining a strong tradition of Vedic studies, while lovers frolic in pleasure gardens and riverside houses. "What shall I say about that (city) [of Pravarapura, the ancient name of Śrīnagar], the native place of the goddess of learning, which is a repository of curiosities and provides nectar to ears by many stories of strange merits, where in every house Sanskrit and Prākṛit words sound

charming like the mother-tongue of even women, not to speak of others."<sup>94</sup> "Where the famous temple of Kṣemagaurīśvara,<sup>95</sup> with the dancing hall in its skirt, becomes a decoration to the firmament; in the dramatic performance in that temple women in acting beautifully cause horripilation to the body even of those who are absorbed in meditation,"<sup>96</sup> and a temple to Śiva erected by King Pravarasena adjacent to an enormous granary that "by dint of its height pleases the minds of the three worlds."<sup>97</sup> At the Pravarasena temple too women perform the dramatic arts in charming plays, "where, having witnessed in dramatic performances the skill in histrionic arts" even the celestial courtesans Rambhā, Citralekhā, and Urvaśī stop in their tracks.<sup>98</sup> Its river Jhelum (or Vitastā) sparkles like the Ganges in the sky (with stars) as though strewn with the jewels of necklaces torn off in lovers' passions and tossed from the windows of the houses lining its banks.<sup>99</sup> There are pleasure gardens with seductive young women in water tanks (swimming pools), with an educational institution of "unparalleled glory,"<sup>100</sup> with a land-grant *kāṭhāla*<sup>101</sup> (*agrahārams*) on the banks of the Jhelum where "the windows are resonant with the exposition of the Śāstras" and whose Brāhmaṇas' heads are grayed by the smoke from the morning and evening *agnihotras*.<sup>102</sup> Vedic sacrificial rites were regularly maintained, as the family of Muktikalaśa (Bilhaṇa's great grandfather) is said to have wiped off the stigma of the Kali age by the perspiration generated from constant practice of the *agnihotra*, and whose son (Bilhaṇa's grandfather Rājakaśa) seemingly darkened the Himālayan caves with his sacrificial smoke.<sup>103</sup>

#### 6.6. Mañkhaka's *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritaḥ*

Having raised our sights from the sordid characters of Kṣemendra's tales through Bilhaṇa's rather more elegant depictions, we can then look at one of the better indications of the character of the literary culture of 10th-12th century Kaśmīr in the famed twenty-fifth canto of Mañkhaka's *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritaḥ*--a *mahākāvya* telling of Śiva's overthrow of Tripura<sup>104</sup>--a chapter rich in information about the social status of the Tantric traditions (my discussion follows the selection of passages). At the end of this as yet untranslated Sanskrit poem, *Sarga 25* describes a *sabhā* of 30 intellectual luminaries held by Mañkhaka's brother Alaṃkāra, a minister to the Kaśmīr King Jayasiṃha (1129-50), on the occasion of completion of Mañkhaka's epic poem.<sup>105</sup> Though this is a century after Abhinavagupta, we can safely assume a certain continuity of learned culture, given that *sabhās* are held even today in India. The group included ten poets, with Kalhaṇa (author of the *Rājatarāṅgī*), under the name Kalyāṇa,<sup>106</sup> one of their sons, and a teacher of poetry, three ministers (from Rājapurī, Kānoj, and Koṅkaṇa), three *Mīmāṃsakas*, a *Nāiyāyika*, a *Brahmavādin*, a *Śaiva* philosopher, three *Vaidikas*, a couple of grammarians, one of whom was also proficient in *Alaṃkāraśāstra*, a polymath, a government official, and Mañkhaka's guru, Ruyyaka, the author of the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*.<sup>107</sup> The canto begins in the typically lavish *kāvya* style:

So Mañkhaka crafted (wrote) a largish ear-ornament for Jagannātha (lord of the world) with dalliances of devotion and with the sport of clever sayings. How wonderful that this vine of good sayings captured, through devotion, the fruitful manifestation of that one whose vision is a scorching flame, *Khaṇḍaparaśuḥ* (Śiva). He achieved an unruffled consistency of speech that together with the sentiments was sprinkled by Śambhu with floods of the drops of nectar from his own head. Having extolled with the poem *Pinākin*, kinsman to the world, he

thought to himself that he had achieved infinite contentment. 'Oh I am fortunate that the free-willed [goddess of speech] *Sarasvatī* [has visited] me, since without *Śrīkaṇṭha* [she] does not come to flatterers.'<sup>108</sup>

Mañkhaka gives an elegant description of the advent of the gathering: "The confident ones settled into the assembly hall of my older brother *Śrīmal Laṅkaka* like the cranes settle into Lake *Mānasa*. [Thinking:] 'Then, so that I will attain a fruitful consecration with the water-drops of my own labors, I will go to that very [assembly that will be] the touchstone of this composition.' Then, with his mind rippling with joy by considering the incomparable sap being produced by the *paṇḍits* formed into a circle, like the tree of the goddesses and gods of speech encircled by a trough of water (of the river *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of speech), he entered the assembly hall of his accomplished older brother."<sup>109</sup>

Mañkhaka describes the various *paṇḍitās* assembled for the *sabhā*: the Brahmavādin Nandana, who engages in the study of the *śāstras* to the point of sleep-deprivation, as though accompanied by the shrill janglings of the anklets of the continually dancing goddess of speech. Mañkhaka's guru Śrīruyyaka is next--his scratching his chin during explanations produces illuminating rays of light as though the hem of the silken dress of the goddess of speech had been cleaned by dragging it (over the rock of his jaw); the very embodiment of all the *śāstras*, he is bathed in the confluence of the two streams of affection and courtesy. Then Ramyadeva, who wears the red lower garment of an Advaita Vedāntin of the *Kaṭha* lineage (of Vaiśapāyana), and is a faultless paṇḍit free of arrogance or jealousy, like a wishing tree to his students. In the mouth of fellow poet Loṣṭadeva the six languages of

Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Śūrasenī (from Mathurā), Māgadhī, Eastern Paisācī, and Deśaja (indigenous, i.e. Kaśmīri) are handled with such skill they are likened to the skillful maneuvering of the bees' wings in the lotus flower. Mañkhaka then launches into a long panegyric to his elder brother Lañkaka, who has arranged the *sabhā*. Among the more colorful images is: "Oh Glorious Lañkaka!, the great commentary [i.e. the *Mahābhāṣyaḥ* by Patañjaliḥ, said to have been an incarnation of Śeṣaḥ] that fearlessly issued forth with this intention from the mouth [consisting of] the terrifying mass of flames of the *Halāhala* [poison] of the king of the serpents, that today rests for a long time in your mouth, consecrated [as it is] by flavor of poetry [that is] an abundant nectar pouring forth from the pot in the hand of the goddess of speech."<sup>110</sup> Mañkhaka then sees his friend, the poet Śṛigarbha, who tends to write extremely long and roundabout poems that unfold into a sweetness as though [played] on the lute in the hand of the goddess of speech,<sup>111</sup> his friend Mañḍana, Śṛigarbha's son, Mañḍana's younger brother Śṛikaṇṭha, and the poet Garga, who is particularly skilled in alliterative verses. Also present was the Vaiṣṇava *Pāñcarātrin* poet Devadharo, who having mastered the text called *Mandira* (the term for a shrine in the Vaiṣṇava Tantric tradition<sup>112</sup>), and having quickly seen that the highest reality of Viṣṇu was his own true self, wrote poems honoring *Aniruddha*, *Acyuta*, *Balarāma* and *Pradyumna* (the *Pāñcarātrin* 'aspects' of Viṣṇu) that were adorned with the skillful praises of the *Ekāyana* tradition (the tradition's own synonym for *Pāñcarātra*), and with a few of these that had the properties of divine ambrosia he delighted Mañkaka's ears with praises of Lañkaka.<sup>113</sup> Mañkaka quotes a verse of Garga's in praise of Alañkāra,

foreign-affairs minister to the fish-banner bearing [i.e. *Kāma*-like] Kaśmīri King Śrījayasiṃha (1128-1149).<sup>114</sup>

Of perhaps greatest relevance to the concerns of this dissertation was the presence in the *sabhā* of one Prakāṣaḥ ('preeminent,' 'manifest,' 'undisguised,' etc.), so called because he was the foremost *guru* in mastering [the teachings of] Abhinavagupta, and showed copious ability; he had exhibited unmitigated labors in [studying] the *Āgama*-[and]-*Tantras* of Abhinavagupta, and become the veritable lovers' tryst house of confidence [in knowing the true meaning of the texts].<sup>115</sup>

Another paṇḍit also named Suhala was from the kingdom of *Kānyakubja* (modern Kanoj), and served as the ambassador of King Govindacandra (1120-1144 c.e.<sup>116</sup>) to Kaśmīr. Apparently he was both a master of Śaivite Tantric texts and a teacher of grammar. His mouth was so sanctified by the spread-out leaves [of the manuscript] of Pāṇinī's grammar that even in dreams it did not come into contact with even the atomic particles of corrupted speech; performing magical rites (*mantra-saṃskriyās*) in Govindacandra's realm (and with double entendre, he performed consecrations with *mantras* in the *maṇḍala* of *Īśvara*, i.e. Śiva), he provided satisfaction to good people with the *āgamas*, and stood at the head of the teachers of *Kānyakubja*.<sup>117</sup> Two verses Mañkaka quotes from Tejakaṇṭha, a poet present at the *sabhā*, refer (in poetic analogies) to two groups of forest-dwellers: bark-clothed ascetics with newly matted hair (*araṇyānyām nava-jaṣṭā-vaḥkala-bhṛtaḥ*) and women pained by widowhood, their beautiful bodies scorched by the burning heat on the pathways in large dreary forests (*vaidhyopahatāḥ pratāpa-tapana-pluṣyud-vapuṣ-kāntayaḥ kāntārūdhyaṣu*).<sup>118</sup>

Mañkhaka's description of the characters at his brother's *sabhā* tells us several things we might not otherwise consider about the early medieval Kaśmīri intellectual culture. First there were evidently many Sanskrit poets over the course of the centuries who wrote works that, while perhaps impressive enough for their day that they would be included in a *sabhā*, were apparently not of sufficient interest to be preserved or commented on by later generations of paṇḍits. Secondly, at least some of those poets apparently wrote quite freely in many vernacular versions of Sanskrit in addition to writing in formal *kāvya*-style Sanskrit. However, since the manuscript preservation tradition may not have been as well established in these other, less 'timeless' languages, these vernacular works may well be lost forever. This multilingual ability of some of the poets here mentioned suggests that the 'linkage' between the non-Sanskritized and Sanskritic textual and religious traditions may have been much more fluid over the centuries than is sometimes imagined. This would strongly suggest, therefore, that the movement of texts and authors between vernacular Prākṛits and Sanskrit in the Tantric tradition may have occurred with great frequency; it is perfectly possible--strictly here from a linguistic perspective--that many Tantric ideas and practices may have developed in non-Sanskrit milieus and then easily shifted into Sanskrit ones, or vice versa. We should not necessarily assume, for instance, that Abhinavagupta knew only Sanskrit. Far more likely, given the broad range of his material, is that he also knew several of the vernaculars and used them to amass his data on the variety of Tantric practices. The same may well have been true of Abhayākaragupta. His *Sādhnamālā* for instance specifically



mentions diverse geographical origins for several of the *sādhana*s included. Might it not have been that some of these were originally in a vernacular language, and then converted to Sanskrit prior to preservation in his collection? The practice of converting Prakrit texts to Sanskrit is still common in India today. Similarly, many of the so-called demonic groups of people and languages may well have simply been "foreigners" of the day. Penzer, for instance, notes the Kashmir tradition holds the *piśāca* language to be that spoken by people with their original home at an oasis in the Central Asian desert, and the *Mahābhārata* describes the *piśācas* as a people living in northwest India, the Himālaya, and Central Asia.<sup>119</sup>

It is also evident from the inclusion of Devadhara in the *sabhā* that the *Ekāyana* or *Pāñcarātra* tradition was alive and well in 12th century Kaśmīr. More importantly, perhaps, as indicated by Prakāṣa's presence in the *sabhā*, the tradition of the "*Āgama-Tantras*" had, at least after Abhinavagupta, become quite accepted as a legitimate branch of study. Were *Tantra* considered somehow too transgressive or heretical, it would seem unlikely that Prakāṣa would have been admitted to the *sabhā*, much less lauded as the foremost authority on the subject. This impression is supported by the description of diplomatic ambassador Suhala from Govindarāja's court, who apparently combined his political skills with a thorough training in Pāṇinian grammar and Āgamic *mantraśāstra*--a three-in-one combination that certainly transgresses any rigid epistemological boundaries we may have imagined to exist in the 11th-12th century north Indian intellectual culture.

### 6.7. Vidyākara's *Subhāṣita-ratnakośaḥ*

The eclectic intellectual culture represented in Mañkhaka's *sabhā* is also reflected by Vidyākara's work, the *Subhāṣita-ratnaśoḥa*. Vidyākara was a late 11th century Bengali Buddhist abbot of the Jagaddala monastery, with a large library at his disposal (all destroyed within the following 150 years).<sup>120</sup> Though a Buddhist, Ingalls notes that Vidyākara's collection has more laudatory verses to Hindu gods than Buddha, and is without any trace of sectarianism.<sup>121</sup> We may take the work, Ingalls says, as "essentially an anthology of the middle classical period (700-1050) of Sanskrit, showing a special predilection for eastern or Bengali authors,"<sup>122</sup> though it includes selections from Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari, both of the fifth century. The text begins "Praise to the Buddha. I shall make a priceless store/of charming words by sundry master poets,/such as have ornamented expert throats/and made great poets nod in approbation."<sup>123</sup> Vidyākara's work provide us some important sociological pointers for 11th century India. Though one man does not a team or an army make, nonetheless the fact that a Buddhist abbot would have compiled a large and very high quality anthology of aesthetic and erotic poetry, only partly religious, reveals a cosmopolitan Sanskritic culture of the day--and tends to confirm the impression we gain from Mañkhaka's poem, and the polymath character of Abhinavagupta's writings. The non-sectarian breadth and scope of the *Subhāṣitaratnaśoḥa* suggest a wide open intellectual society, where writers freely borrowed from all quarters, without breach of intellectual, moral, or religious etiquette. With regard to Tantric details in the Buddhist verses, Ingalls remarks, "There is no evidence in our verses of the specialization of iconography that one finds in the Tantric texts, which record fifteen

or more forms of Lokeśvara and furnish elaborate details of the attributes, costume, and attending deities of each. These Tantric details were doubtless known to our anthologist and to the poets on whom he draws, but they do not fit easily into *subhāṣita* poetry."<sup>124</sup> Yet we do find—in this anthology by a Buddhist abbot—poetic praise of Śiva with the shamanistic symbolism of the *Kāpālika* rites: "May Bhairava's row of skulls upon their serpent string protect you,/thirsting for blood as they gaze yawning at the glow of his red eye:—/a chaplet revived by the elixir dripping from the moon,/which melts the poison flame emitted by the serpent.... [Vallaṇa]."<sup>125</sup>

### 6.8. Conclusion

Though much more could be done on this subject, the material we have examined from Kalhaṇa, Kṛṣṇamiśra, Kṣemendra, Maṅkhaka, and Vidyādhara does provide some rather reliable outlines of the social status of Tantric ideas and practices in the 9th-12th centuries in Kaśmīr. Tantra had become very public due to its patronage in royal courts, and had gained a degree of intellectual respectability (at least after Abhinavagupta) that allowed ready inclusion of its philosophical proponents in the *sabhās*—the intellectual "conferences" of the day. So into an already highly developed intellectual, religious, and philosophical culture in Kaśmīr, where poets and aestheticians famed throughout India had already produced groundbreaking works, Tantric ideas and philosophies were developed, and eventually thoroughly integrated into the highest levels of inquiry. Certain versions of Tantric practices had apparently worked their way into the upper classes, providing a ready rationalization for husbands and wives to visit Tantric "gurus" at night to indulge their sensual appetites

under the cover of religious devotion. Non-Tantric practitioners of various persuasions apparently looked upon Tantra with some disdain, seeing it as morally corrupt and largely a facade for night-time sensual indulgence, covered over by hypocritical daytime shows of moral rectitude. Some of the Buddhist nuns apparently had a less than stellar reputation, since they appear to have been involved in Tantric sexual yoga practices that were no longer entirely secret, and apparently--at least in the literary tradition, had served for many centuries as liaisons for courtesans and prostitutes. So-called 'celibate' yogis of all traditions in fact had apparently developed bad reputations as hypocritical sensualists. Indeed, as we shall see in chapter 9, where we examine some of the descriptions of Tantric activities given in the *Tantras* themselves, the maintenance of daytime appearances of celibacy and abstinence from meat and liquor, while engaging in sexual yogas, meat, and wine at night, was specifically prescribed by Tantric writers. It is also apparent from Kṣemendra's life story, from the doctrinal conversions of the *Niyogin* character in the *Narmamālā*, from the Kaśmīri embrace of Buddha in his birthday celebrations, and in many other instances, that conversions of faith, or at least open sympathies for other doctrines was not uncommon, and widely accepted. One of the earlier of the Kaśmīri *mahākāvyaś* (or *sargabandhās*) was for instance written by Śivasvāmin, a poet who flourished (along with Muktākapa, Ānandavardhana, and Ratnākara) under the peaceful reign of King Avantivarman (855-883 CE). Though he dedicated his work to Śiva, he wrote the *Kapphiṇābhyaḍayaḥ* as a retelling of the story of Kapphiṇa the Elder from the *Avadānaśatakaḥ* (derived from the earlier Pali version).<sup>126</sup>

## NOTES

1. See Monier Williams' dictionary.
  2. Nagarajan 1970:iv-vi.
  3. See Chapter 3 of this dissertation.
  4. See for example verse 6 of his addendum at the end of the commentary to *āhnika* 37 (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{8}:3719).
  5. Watters 1961:258.
  6. Beal 1884{1}:148-149.
  7. Cunningham 1963:76. Cunningham also corrects the dates of the *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* based on Chinese records to conclude that Durlabha was reigning in 631 when Hsuan Tsang arrived in Kaśmīr.
  8. Naudou 1980:57.
  9. Sarat Chandra Das' translation in Das & Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1888:vii.
  10. Stein 1991{2}:358.
  11. Sachau 1910{1}:206 & cf. Stein 1991{2}:361.
  12. Ross 1898:432. Haidar also mentions that the conversion of Kaśmīr from Hinduism to Islam did not occur until the fourteenth century. (Ross 1898:432-433.) Haidar lamented the presence under his rule of Sufis who he considered hopelessly corrupt, who "give way to their lusts and desires in a manner not consistent with the law," and of a sect of Sun-worshippers whose creed held that "the phenomenon of luminosity of the sun is due to the purity of our faith: and our being is derived from the sun's luminosity." (Ross 1898:436). These groups suggest that certain influences of Tantric and Vedic practices survived in Kaśmīr under Muslim rule. He adds that "This country [Kashmir] is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants, without the trouble of fortifying themselves, are safe from the attacks of enemies."
- Of the few details on life in Kaśmīr that Alberuni offers we learn that "Kashmīr has no *varshakāla* (i.e. rainy season), but continual snowfall during two and a half months, beginning with Māgha, and shortly after the middle of Caitra continual rain sets in for a few days, melting the snow and cleansing the earth." (Sachau 1910{1}:211-212). He also informs us that "the inhabitants of Kashmir are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankins called *khatt*, carried on the shoulders of men." (Sachau 1910{1}:206).
13. Ross 1898:58.
  14. Ross 1898:426. Ross notes that even in 1834-8 there were still some seventy temples extant, so that the 150 number is probably not an exaggeration.
  15. Based on measurements by Fergusson and Vigne, the Martand temple appears to have measured some 270 x 168 feet, and about 30 feet high at most. (Ross 1898:426-427n.3.)
  16. Ross 1898:425.
  17. Ross 1898:421.
  18. The text has been expertly translated by M.A. Stein, a British official who spent several summer vacations away from his duties researching all the geographic locations referred to by

Kalhaṇa, reading the Kaśmīri *mahātmyas* or religious histories of all the pilgrimage sites, and studying the archeological ruins. Correlating his work with what little other research had been done in the area, his research resulted in one of the most complete and thorough studies of a Sanskrit text ever produced by a Western scholar. (See Stein 1899 and Stein 1991). The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is also a rather unique text in early Sanskrit literature, since specific political histories, largely shorn of myth or legend, are rare. In addition, just about every history of Kaśmīr ever written since Kalhaṇa relies almost exclusively on his work for information up until 1150 CE. Kalhaṇa's uncle, by the way, may have been a Buddhist, since he saved several Buddha images from the destruction of these ordered by Harsa. (Stein 1991{1}:7).

19. As Keith aptly summarizes, though Kalhaṇa was a devotee of Śiva, and knew and respected the Kaśmīr *Śaivaśāstra*, "he seems to have had a poor opinion of the devotees of the Tantric rites of Śaivism." (Keith 1928:158.) He had a gentler attitude to Buddhism; "married monks were known long before Kalhaṇa's day." (Keith 1928:159).

20. Major General Cunningham wrote an article in 1843 for the Numismatic Society of London entitled "The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir," covering 18 kings of the region from c. 500 CE to 1200 CE--used by Stein in fixing the dates of the various rules in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. In 1879 C.J. Rogers did another piece on the subject, "The Copper Coins of the old Mahārājas of Kashmir," (Rogers 1879) covering nineteen of the thirty-eight rulers in the period from 875-1153 CE. Cunningham helped Rogers in reading the coins, and both articles were based on coins in the authors' personal collections. From Rogers' article we have the following helpful list of kings (Rogers 1879:277-278; he attributes to the list to "Prinsep's Tables." I have not yet found Prinsep's original work.):

Utpala Dynasty:

875 *Āditya* or *Avanti Vermā*      904 *Sankara Vermā*  
922 *Gopala Vermā*

Sankata:

924 *Sugandha Rānī*                      926 *Pārtha*  
941 *Nirjīta Vermā*                      942 *Chakra Vermā*  
952 *Sura Vermā*                          953 *Pārtha*, a second time  
954 *Chakra*, a second time      954 *Sankara Verdhana*  
956 *Chakra Vermā*, a third time.    957 *Unmatti Vermā*.  
959 *Sura Vermā*, a second time.

Last or Mixed Dynasty:

960 *Yaskara Deva*.                      969 *Sangrama Deva*  
969 *Parvagupta*                          971 *Kshemagupta*  
979 *Abhimanyu*                          993 *Nandigupta*  
(My note: This sequence of kings might explain *abhi-nava-gupta*'s name, taking the first and last of the kings, adding a "new" in the middle.)  
994 *Tribhuvana*                          996 *Bhimagupta*  
1001 *Didda Rānī*                          1024 *Sangrama Deva*  
1032 *Ananta Deva*                      1054 *Kalasa*  
1062 *Harsha*                              1062 *Udyama Vikrama*  
1072 *Sankha Rājā*                      1072 *Salha*  
1088 *Mallina*                              1088 *Jaya Siṅha*  
1110 *Paramāna*                          1119 *Bandi Deva*  
1126 *Bopya Deva* (?)                    1135 *Jasu Deva*  
1153 *Jaya Deva*, etc. etc.              1172 *Sussala*

M.A. Stein, an unusually accomplished scholar, also published a long article entitled "Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr," in 1899 (Stein 1899). This remarkable article includes two rather detailed maps of Śrīnagar and of the whole of Kaśmīr, with the ancient place names marked in red, based on archaeological researches conducted by Stein during his summer vacations.

21. *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 5.448; Stein 191{1}:232. The boy was murdered shortly after taking office.

22. *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 5.462; Stein 191{1}:233.

23. See *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 5.462 for the quote, and 5.463-483 for the account (Stein 191{1}:233-235).

24. *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 6.7-13 (Stein 191{1}:236-237) (Stein's translation). Yaśas also became the object of ridicule by the people and "resembled a physician who prescribes wholesome food for another, but himself eats what is bad (RT 6.68), since he raised a courtesan Lallā to the rank of queen, and she then carried on an affair with a Caṇḍāla watchman, and he also kept company with "attendants who had eaten the food-remnants of the Ḍombas" (RT 6.69), apparently a serious caste-restriction violation. (See RT 6.68-113). Note that the 1991 Verinag edition is a reprint of Stein's work from 1900, and is not copyrighted material.

25. Stein 191{1}:237n.11.

26. Rastogi 1979:110-111. I've not been able to find any more detailed information on these 9th century female Śaivite Tantric teachers.

27. *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 7.519-524 (Stein 191{1}:310).

28. See note, Stein 191{1}:310n.523.

29. See discussion of the term *samaya* in the next chapter of this dissertation.

30. *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 7.277-280; Stein 191{1}:291, and 291n.279-280.

31. *Rājatarāṅgiṅī* 7.1130-1135; Stein 1991(2):356--the bracketed 'slave girls' is Stein's addition.

32. See Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

33. Dwivedi 1994:141-142; the Sanskrit reads: *Jñātvā sāhasravedhī śata-guṇita-śataṃ koṭivedhī ca yāvad, bhoktavyaḥ sarśapāṃśāt pratidīnasamaye cāntimo rājikāṃśaḥ | prāsādaṃ bhūmiveśma prabhavati rahītaṃ śīta-vāta-tāpaiś ca śaṇṃsair divyadehaṃ valipalitagaṃ madhyamo 'yaṃ karoti.*

34. See Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

35. See Shaw 1994.

36. Otherwise modern 'histories' of Kaśmīr are largely polemics written by either Hindus or Muslims regarding the various injuries suffered by each group since the partition in the 1940's.

37. Farquar 1920:226-227. See also Lorenzen 1972:59-61 for brief extracts from this drama. The text was translated into French by Armelle Pédraglio, *Un Drame Allégorique Sanskrit. Le Prabodhacandrodaya de Kṛṣṇamiśra*, Texte Traduit et Commenté, Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1974, Publications de L'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Serie In-8°, Fascicule 36).

38. See also Handiqui 1934:605-606, for a discussion of this text.

39. This is a doctrine that dates back at least to the Atharvaveda (AS 10.2.31) (cf. Sharma 1992:387).

40. *Ātamā vimala-svabhāvaḥ ṛṣi-paricaraṇair jñātavayaḥ | | kiṃ bhaṅgatha-kīdṛśam ṛṣi-paricaraṇam iti tac chṛṇudhvam | dūre caraṇa-praṇāmah kṛtasatkāraṃ ca bhojanaṃ miṣṭam | Irṣyāmalaṃ na kāryaṃ ṛṣṭāṇḍ dārān ramamāṇānām.* (Nambiar 1971:66-67; I have modified her translation slightly).

41. (*Parikramya punaḥ saślāgham*) *Aho, sādhuṛ ayaṃ Saugata-dharmo yatra saukhyaṃ mokṣaś ca | Tathāhi--Āvāso layanaṃ manoharam abhiprāya-anurūpā vaṇiṅ-nāryo vāñchita-kāla-miṣṭam aśanaṃ śayya mṛdu-prastarāḥ | śraddhā-pūrvam upāsita yuvatibhiḥ kṛtāṅga-dānotsava-kṛdānanda-bharair vrajanti vilasajjyotsnojvalā rātrayaḥ | 9 | |..... Bho bho upāsakāḥ bhikṣavaś ca śrūyatāṃ bhagavataḥ sugatasya vākyāmṛtam (pustakaṃ vācayati) paśyāmy ahaṃ divyena cakṣuṣā lokānāṃ sugatiṃ durgatiṃ ca | kṣaṇikā sarve saṃskārāḥ | nāsty ātmā sthāyī | tasmād bhikṣuṣu dārān ākramatsu nerṣitavyam | cittamalaṃ hi tad yad Irṣyā nāma |* (Nambiar 1971:68-71, her translation.)

42. See Lorenzen 1972:82-83 for a discussion of the name Somasiddhānta for the Kāpālika doctrine.

43. *Nara-asthi-mālākṛta-cāru-bhūṣaṇaḥ śmaśāna-vāst nṛ-kapāla-bhojanaḥ | paśyāmi yogāñjana-suddha-cakṣuṣā jagan-mitho bhinnam abhinnam tṣvarāt | | 12 | | ... Are Kṣapaṇaka dharmāṃ tāvad asmākam avadhāraya | mastiṣka-antra-vasā-abhipūrīta-mahāmāṃsa-āhutīr juhvatāṃ vahnau brahma-kapāla-kalpita-surā-pānena naḥ pāraṇā | sadyaḥ-kṛta-kāṭhōra-kaṅṭha-vigalat-kīlāla-dhārojjvalair arcyo naḥ puruṣopahāra-balibhir devo mahābhairavaḥ | | 13 | |* (Nambiar 1971:76-77; I've modified her translation a bit).

44. *Kiṃ vimṛśasi Śraddhe, paśutvam anayor na-ādya-apy-apanīyate | tena asmad-vacana-saṃsarga-doṣād apavitram surām etau manyete | tad-bhavatī sva-vakra-āsava-pūratāṃ kṛtvā 'nayor upanayatu | yatas tairthikā apī vadanti 'strī-mukhaṃ tu sadā śuci' iti |.* (Nambiar 1981:84-85).

45. *Vidyādhariṃ vātha surāṅganāṃ vā nāgāṅganāṃ vāpy atha yakṣakanyām | yad yan mama iṣṭaṃ bhuvanatrāye 'pi vidyā-balāt tat tad upāharāmi | | 23 | |* (Nambiar 1981:88-89; I've modified her translation slightly).

46. The suggestion of some accuracy of these depictions is supported by the inclusion of a very realistic reference to contemporary Vedic practices--suggesting (by implication, only) that Kṛṣṇasvāmin's other depictions may not have been far from the truth. In the sixth act, the (goddess) Upaniṣad, while speaking with Puruṣa (man), reports "I came across Yajñavidyā [another character] on the way, surrounded by deer skins, fire, sacrificial fuel, clarified butter, sacrificial vessels and the ladles called Juhu, Sruva etc., and with sacrifices, among which oblations, animal sacrifices and Soma sacrifices are prominent and the performance of which is described in all ritual texts." (*Kṛṣṇājñāgnisamidājyajuhūsruvādīpātrais tathesṭi-paśu-soma-mukhair makhaiśca | dṛṣṭvā mayā parivṛta-akhila-karma-kāṇḍa-vyādiṣṭa-paddhati-rathādhvani yajñavidyā | | 13 | |*) (Nambiar 1981:156-157). This as though to remind us that, like a full orchestra, all the various layers of Indian religious practice were playing together in concert in Indian society--despite the predilection in Western scholarship to emphasize linear time and historical development.

47. Sūryakanta 1954:10-11.

48. Sternbach 1979:1-2.



49. In Kṣemendra's *Cārucaryā* v. 99 he says: "In the last hours of one's life one should contemplate about Visnu, the Remover of Difficulties; Bhīṣma on his death-bed of arrows contemplated about Visnu (and attained salvation)." (Sterbach 1974:77).

50. Sūryakānta 1954:15; Sterbach 1979:2.

51. See Chakraborty 1991:60-76 and Kaul's Introduction in Kṣemendra 1923:1-20 for English summaries (with some notable omissions) of these two works. Sūryakānta's summaries of Kṣemendra's works are more accurate and helpful (Sūryakānta 1954:16-25). There is no published translation of the complete text, though Sterbach published a translation of the third *upadeśa* on the prostitute (see Sterbach 1959:8-19).

52. Sterbach 1979:10.

53. In the *Kalāvīlāsa*, as summarized by Meyer, we have the story of a young merchant's son who is entrusted by his father to the rogue Mūladeva in Ujjvala. The objective is to teach the boy Candragupta the wiles of the world so he won't fall victim to them later in life. Mūladeva first introduces him to a host of hypocrites, false ascetics, etc., then to the falsely pious holy men who use their religion as a cover for sin. Kṣemendra depicts the entire crowd of pious penitents as frauds. *Kalāvīlāsa* 1.50ff has a very amusing description by Mūladeva of the false ascetics, their clothing, deportment, etc., describing them as skilled in the five arts of hypocrisy—hypocrisy of purity, of peace of mind, of purificatory baths, of meditation, and of renunciation. (Meyer 1903:xli-xliii.) See also *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 8.123ff for story of cheating merchants, similar to what's described by Kṣemendra in the *Kalāvīlāsa*'s second *Sarga*.

54. It was translated (not entirely accurately) into German by J.J. Meyer in 1903, and has been recently (very briefly) commented on by Gyula Wojtilla (Wojtilla 1984).

55. Though on occasion I used Meyer's translation as a guide, and in many places it was certainly helpful, I did all the translations into English directly from the Sanskrit.

56. *Samayamāṭṛkā* 1.1-3; Durgāprasād and Parab 1888:1.

57. Kṣemendra writes *kaśmīreṣu purāṇ paraṇ....* (*Samayamāṭṛkā* 1.4, Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1888:1); this is the first instance I've seen of the name used in the plural.

58. Emend the Sanskrit in the 1967 edition (*Samayamāṭṛkā* 1; Kṣemendra 1967) from *trinetrānetrāgni-trastat-syaktvā* to *trinetrānetrāgni-trastatḥ tyaktvā*; it's correct in the 1888 edition.

59. *Kāma* has five arrows.

60. In the *kāvya* tradition, the idea woman is said to have three folds of flesh in her lower abdomen.

61. According to Apte *kalāvāt* means both versed in all 64 arts, and the moon, because of having the digits (*kalās*).

62. A class of eye diseases.

63. Literally: 'gestures with the corners of her eyes.'

64. *Samayamāṭṛkā* 1.1-13; Durgāprasād & Parab 1888:1-2.

65. The Kaśmīr writing material. Georg Bühler, in his report on searching for Sanskrit manuscripts in Kaśmīr, gives us valuable information on the use of birch-bark as a writing material. "The Bhūrja MSS. are written on specially prepared thin sheets of the inner bark of the Himālayan birch (*Baetula Bhojpatr*), and invariably in Śāradā characters. The lines run always parallel to the narrow side of the leaf, and the MSS. present therefore the appearance

of European books, not of Indian MSS. which owe their form to an imitation of the Tālapatras. The Himālaya seems to contain an inexhaustible supply of birch-bark, which in Kaśmīr and other hill countries is used both instead of paper by the shopkeepers in the bazaars, and for lining of roofs of houses in order to make them watertight.... To give an idea of the quantities which are brought into Śrīnagar, I may mention that on one single day I counted fourteen large barges with birch-bark on the river, and that I have never moved about without seeing some boats laden with it. None of the boats carried, I should say, less than three or four tons' weight. The use of birch-bark for literary purposes is attested by the earliest classical Sanskrit writers. Kālidāsa mentions it in his dramas and epics; Suśruta, Varāhamihira (circa 500-550 A.D.) know it likewise.... The Kaśmīrian Pandits assert, and apparently with good reason, that in Kaśmīr all books were written on *bhūrjapatras* from the earliest times until after the conquest of the Valley by Akbar.... It is at present [c.1876] impossible for the Kaśmīrians to produce new birch-bark MSS., and for the collector of antiquities the existing birch-bark volumes have, therefore, a considerable value. The Pandits were very anxious that I should assist them to rediscover the secret of preparing birch bark for writing. But I declined to do so, as I feared that an extensive manufacture of spurious MSS. would be the consequence. As matters now stand, there are no birch-bark MSS. much younger than two hundred years, and some are four and five hundred years old. The preparation of the ink which was used for Bhūrja MSS. is known. It was made by converting almonds into charcoal and boiling the almonds thus obtained with *gomūtra* (*urina bovis*). The ink thus obtained is not affected by damp water, and, as the birch bark likewise stands water well, it is possible to improve dirty old MSS. by washing them, or by wetting at least the illegible portions. I have employed this method very frequently in order to make out doubtful passages. The Pandits regularly kept the MSS. in waster before selling them to me, in order to improve their appearance. I was told of a MS. which had been fished out of the Ḍal, the lake near the city, into which it had probably been thrown during one of the Musalman persecutions. It must have been laying in the water for many years. I heard also of a work which, after being considered to be lost, was recovered from a MS. found by a Pandit in the ceiling of his house, to which it had been nailed in order to keep the rain out." (Bühler 1876:29-30). These facts raise an intriguing, though admittedly totally speculative possibility. Since Nāgārjuna was said to have journeyed to the land of the Nāgas, and Kaśmīr was known as the land of the Nāgas; and Nāgārjuna was said to have recovered the texts of the Mahāyāna Sūtras from under water, and the Kaśmīris kept their birch-bark texts in water; it does not seem completely impossible that the Nāgārjuna legend derived originally from some historical facts.

66. *Samayamātrkā* 2.1-2.108; Durgāprasād & Parab 1888:6-16.

67. Banerji 1965:16.

68. *Mṛtajīvt Śvatulyo 'sau bhunkte kāpālika-vratam|| haraṇodyatahasto 'sau sādḥūnām api vartane| ... sṅṣākāmt kalyapālakulojjvalaḥ|* (Narmamālā 2.24-26; Kṣemendra 1923: part 2, p. 16 of Sanskrit.)

69. *Narmamālā* 2.29-32; *Gṛham niyogikāntāyāḥ praviśaty atinirbharam| eṣā śramaṇikā nityaṃ kuṭṭant vajrayogint|| 29|| Yā mātā vaśya-yogānām jārāṇām siddha-dūtikā| naropapatti-dīkṣāsu strīṇām samaya-devatā|| 30|| Arundhatīm api kṣipraṃ pratārayati līlayā| purāṇa-purīṣcali sā hi jāhlavīm manyate tṛṇām|| 31|| sā samlhitam asmākam acireṇa vidhāsyati| ity uktvā te yayur dhūrtā vṛddha-śramaṇikā-gṛham|| 32||* (Kṣemendra 1923: part 2:16 Sanskrit).

70. *Narmamālā* 2.54: *Tās tena jāraguruṇā kṛtadīkṣā varāṅganāḥ* | *babhūvuh sarvagāminyo nirvikalpa-vrate sthitāḥ* | | (Kṣemendra 1923:pt. 2:18 Sanskrit).

71. *Narmamālā* 2.101; *So 'bhūt pūrvataram bauddhas tato dambhāya vaiṣṇavaḥ* | *rakṣārtham atha bhāryāyā jāta-kaulāgama-ādarah* | |

72. This is a crude reference to oral sex; *bhaga* refers to a woman's vulva.

73. Playing on the double sense of *guru* as both "heavy" and "teacher."

74. *Narmamālā* 2.102-116: *Ānināya guruṇ garva-dambha-lobha-niketanam* | *māyā-kuhaka-laulyanāṃ dīkṣā-samaya-maṇḍalam* | |102| | *namaste gurunāthāya dhana-dāra-apahāriṇe* | *kṣobhiṇe sarva-bhakṣāya yakṣāyeva kṣapāsine* | |103| | *tālu-nyasta-ardha-sindūra-patrikā-puṣpa-gucchikah* | *bindūpabindu-nityārdrā-mahā-lālāṭa-karparaḥ* | |104| | *karṇa-mūla-sikhā-mātra-grathita-svalpa-jūṭikah* | *kuṅkumāṅkita-karpāgrah kāca-rākṣo mahāhanuh* | |105| | *khalvāto virala-śmaśrur-dṛgha-vāk praskhalan kvacit* | *vibhrāṇo vadanam vṛddha-mahīṣṭ-bhaga-vibhramam* | |106| | *kṣapā pivati yo madyaḥḥaṭam ghaṭaghaṭāravaiḥ* | *tasya kaṇṭha-praṇālasya sthalyam kenopamtyatām* | |107| | *madya-māṃsa-durāmodamalinam yoga-paṭṭakam* | *dadhānah stana-sampūrṇam vakṣasā rākṣasākṛtiḥ* | |108| | *sindūra-pūrṇa-gambhīra-nābhi-randhropāśobhitah* | *lopikā-pūpa-śapharī-miśra-abhṛtodarah* | |109| | *madhu-māṃsa-kṛtājīrṇa-pratyagrāmodaduḥsahān* | *dhūmodgūragaḍaṅkārān muñcan megha ivākulah* | |110| | *gurur gurutarāvidyā-avadya-madya-madāndhadhīḥ* | *ahānkāra ivākāram āgataḥ pratyadṛśyata* | |111| | *ākareṇa guru guruśca vacasā kaustūbha-maurkhyair guru meḍhreṇa atigurus tathā āśya-kuhara-śmaśrūdarasphig-guruḥ* | *veśyākāmi-niyogi-vañcana-guruḥ sad-vṛtta-sūnyo guruś citram sarvaguruḥ śivodita-mahāsīkṣāsu nityam laghuḥ* | |112| | *apī nāma sa jāyeta pavitracaritah kṣitau* | *aśaucanidhayo yena guravo nopasevitāḥ* | |113| | *ahaṅpūrvikayā sarve patitās tasya pādayoḥ* | *cakruḥ śirobhir bhūkampa-luṭhat-piṭhirakabhramam* | |114| | *rakṣāyai nijabhāryāyāḥ sampadāṃ ca vivṛddhaye* | *niyoginā yāgavidhau vijñapto bhagavān guruḥ* | |115| | *likhītvā kuṅkumēśu svalpa-sambhāra-cīrikām* | *hṛṣṭah prātaḥ sameśyāmi ity uktvā prāyāt sahānugaiḥ* | |116| | (Kṣemendra 1923:part 2:23-24).

75. *Narmamālā* 3.10: *Tato nityāvadhānena bhaga-liṅga-vibhūṣitam* | *cakāra maṇḍalam śiṣyah sindūra-antarita-antaram* | | (Kṣemendra 1923:part 2:27).

76. Recall the drunken ascetic called "having bells on his buttocks" referred to in the *Samayamātrkā*.

77. Smearing the body with feces is a prescribed Tantric practice in the *Vimalaprabhā*--see chapter 7 of this dissertation.

78. Apparently a type of sexual yoga, lit: 'entering into the creeper'; *latāveṣṭa* is a type of coitus.

79. *Narmamālā* 3.12-20: *Śatamātreṇa anuyātaḥ śiṣyāṇām āyayau śanaiḥ* | *luṅṭhim kartum iva atyagraḥ nagarādhipatiḥ svayam* | |12| | *caramkṛt-sauikāś cakrī dhīvaro haṭṭatāpasah* | *vṛddhaveśyā kalyapālo madyabhaṭto jaradviṭah* | |13| | *pañca nāraṅgāka rūṅnās triṭāṅkāro 'tha pācakah* | *gobhakṣo bhāravācāryah kulācāryo 'th vāyakah* | |14| | *cūlikākṛta-rudrākṣo ghaṭalīś channanāsikah* | *mahāvratī bhagamukhah śaivācāryas trighaṅṭikah* | |15| | *nagno velāvratī maunt stotrakṛt-jānughāṅṭikah* | *dvi-trās ca unmattavanitāḥ śvabhiḥ parivṛtās tathā* | |16| | *guṭhaliptas tathā unmatto mantravādī rasāyant* | *indrajālī latāveṣṭ vijñānt kāmātattvikah* | |17| | *bhaṭṭās ca anye guror dhūrtāḥ pāna-bhojana-sevakāḥ* | *vivīśuh svinnā-naivedya-āmōda-matta-udakākulāḥ* | |18| | *atha āma-pakva-samhāra-kāriṇah sarva-hāriṇah* | *mattā guru-bhaṭṭās cakrus tila-dhūpa-ghṛta-kṣayam* | |19| | *eko dvau bahavaḥ paścāt ninyus te*

*bhastrayā tathā* | *śāli-cūrṇa-yava-akṣoṭa-bilva-argha-ghṛta-candanam* || 20 || (Kṣemendra 1923:part 2:28). See Puṇḍarīka's reference to similar behavior in his commentary on *Kālacakratantra* 5.127, p. 70.30 ff, in Chapter 11 of this dissertation.

80. *Narmamālā* 3.39-40: *Paraspara-prārthanayā sumuṇḍita-bhaga-dhvajau* | *bhū-kampakāriṇau rātrau tau raṇḍābrahmacāriṇau* || 39 || *divā dambha-nidhānāya namas-tīrthopasevine* | (40)—in mutual lover's solicitation, with the well shaved vagina (of the harlot) as their banner, at night the two—the harlot and the *brahmacārin* cause the earth to tremble, while during the day, to maintain the religious hypocrisy, they are occupied in worship and pilgrimage. (Kṣemendra 1923:part 2:30).

81. *Narmamālā* 3.43b: *dadāti niśi niḥśaṅkā kāmasattraṃ tapasvinām*. (Kṣemendra 1923:part 2:30).

82. Chakraborty translates *kulavadhūh* as "chaste woman." (Chakraborty 1991:76).

83. *Deśopadeśaḥ* 8.8-10: *Vaktrālokini sadane prāgalbhyād dāsabhāvam ānīte* | *patyau viracitaveśā yāti guruṃ dīkṣitā patnī* || 8 || *paśu-saṃsparśād vimukht samaya-vihīnasya gehinī bhartuḥ* | *āyāti sadā kṛtvā guru-surata-pavitram ātmānam* || 9 || *kharatara-prṣṭha-kaṣṭaṭa-mandara-gamanā gṛhān etsyā* | *pādāghātaiḥ patnī hanti patiṃ bhojanasya cirāt* || 10 || (Kṣemendra 1923:part 1:24-25).

84. *Deśopadeśaḥ* 8.11-13: *Madhupāne kṛtabuddhiḥ kaula-kathā-naṣṭa-jāti-saṃkocaḥ* | *matsya-śarāvaka-hasto guru-gṛham āyāti dīkṣito bhāṭṭaḥ* || 11 || *ghaṭa-gala-gala-gala-śabdair galapūraṃ bhairavaṃ pivan bhāṭṭaḥ* | *saṃlakṣyate pravāhe luṭhita iva ambhobharāt khinnaḥ* || 12 || *nītvā nikhilāṃ rātriṃ kṣīvo vānta-asavaḥ śva-līḍha-āsyah* | *abhivādana-pariśuddhaḥ prātar bhāṭṭo 'nyabhāṭṭeṣu* || 13 || (Kṣemendra 1923:part 1:25).

85. *Deśopadeśaḥ* 8.20-22: *Jarayā jīrṇa-śarīraḥ kāsa-śvāsa-prayāsa-hata-śaktiḥ* | *vrajati rasāyana-siddhaḥ svaguruṃ vṛddho 'py aśeṣāyuh* || 20 || *mūṣā-mukha-vistīrṇair bhurisuvarṇaiḥ karomī sampūrṇam* | *nija-janam aparaṃ ca rasair ity uktvā nirdhano mriyate* || 21 || *paryanta-atītsāre lagne vṛddhasya sūta-siddhasya* | *śuddhir dehamalānāṃ jatā ity upajāyate harṣaḥ* || 22 || (Kṣemendra 1923:part 1:26-27). Kṣemendra similarly finds the gambler (*dyūtakaraḥ*) a pathetic creature. Focused on the *mantras* of *Gaṇapati* in the form of the white sun-plant (*Śvetārkaḥ*, a the white variety of *Calotropis gigantea* (*arka*)).

*Soḍhalanighaṭṭuḥ* 1.493a describes the white variety as having long leaves and white flowers. (*Śvetārko dīrghapatraś ca śveta-puṣpas tathaiva ca*). (Sharma 1978:53)) in order to overcome [i.e. beat out] the circle of rogues [the other gamblers], the rogue goes to the guru with *śaphari* fish, cakes, and *sindura* in hand [as gifts]. Suffering pain because of retaining his urine, constantly maintaining the vow of abstaining from food, he is subdued, keeping silent. Recall that Kuṭṭanī worked in front of a gambling house frequented by such characters.

86. To avoid the distraction of the verse numbers, each sentence of my translation constitutes one verse from the KSS edition of the *Deśopadeśaḥ*, in sequence, vss. 6.1-6.45 (See Kaul 1923:16-20).

87. This verse, 6.15a, is a bit obscure to me: *nirdīpa-pātra-tulya-asya-kāntyā jīta-śanaīścaraḥ*. (Kaul 1923:17).

88. This last compound is a bit puzzling: *pāṃsulipta-sattrapa-sattrapaḥ*. A *sattra* is the name for a one-day session in a Soma sacrifice, so I've taken it as "soma-drinker" though this is just a guess; the repetition could be for emphasis. (Kaul 1923:18).

89. Several of the summaries of this *upadeśa* have mistakenly reported that the Gauḍa had ripped open the belly of another student in a dispute. However, the case endings in this verse

(6.26)—*aneka-kṣurikā-āghāta-kṣuṇṇa-kukṣeḥ kṣayaiṣiṇaḥ* | *ko nāma gauḍa-yakṣasya sattre yāti vipakṣatām*—indicate that the ‘trampled belly’ belongs to the Gauḍa himself. (Kaul 1923:18)

90. This verse (6.33) is a bit opaque to me: *daiśikaḥ kṛpayā yena pītakośaḥ praveśitaḥ* | *tasyaiva likhati prāye brahmahatyām viśāśanaḥ*. (Kaul 1923:18). It appears to refer to the idea that instead of pursuing proper studies, all the Gauḍa can write about are techniques for poisoning the husbands of the wives he wishes to bed.

91. *Maṭha-caṭṭa*. The British sense of a "cracker" seems to be intended—a colorful, somewhat disreputable character. This is however interpretive on my part.

92. Buhler 1875:22-23.

93. The authors of historical epics such as *Harṣa-carita*, *Kumārapālacarita*, *Rāmacarita*, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* and other such works are "more concerned with the poetic, romantic, or dramatic possibilities than in historical events, and take more delight in delineating beauties of nature and aesthetic emotion than correctly describing the essential facts of their heroes' lives. Further, they are not content with the rich human elements offered by their theme and do not care to probe into the rational working of human minds. Instead, they seek to embellish their stories by introducing magic, miracle and even divine elements in order to explain the course of historical events." (Banerji & Gupta 1965:ii).

94. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* 18.6 (Banerji & Gupta 1965:272.) Meyer points out that several Sanskrit dramas indicate that Prakrit was considered the more delicate or tender language, while Sanskrit was considered a bit more harsh; women were typically Prakrit speakers in the dramas, while the men spoke Sanskrit. He cites *Karpūramañjarī* 1.7 where this is stated, with the difference between the two languages being that of the difference between men and women... He also cites *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 432: "Men not low and educated must speak Sanskrit, and women similarly [*sic*] circumstanced are to speak the Śauraseni dialect." The same section adds: "A women [*sic*] in general, a female friend, a boy, a courtesan, a gambler, and a nymph are to made occasionally to speak Sanskrit in order to set off their wit." (Meyer 1903:xii-xiii, n.1.) So Bilhaṇa here is indicating, relatively speaking, a highly developed Sanskrit culture.

95. *Kṣema*, 'rest, ease' etc., was evidently a local Kaśmīri name for Śiva. This would help explain the origin of Kṣemendra's name (*Kṣema-indra*) and Kṣemarāja's name, the latter being the renowned Kaśmīri Śaivite philosopher, writer, and author of several commentaries on Śaivite Tantras.

96. Banerji & Gupta 1965:276-277.

97. VC 18.26; Banerji & Gupta 1965:277.

98. VC 18.28-29; Banerji & Gupta 1965:278.

99. VC 18.9; Banerji & Gupta 1965:273. Canto 7 of the *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* has a long description of the women of the court taking their pleasure on the swings, arousing erotic feelings in the young men as the wind gradually loosens and removes their clothes while they swing. (VC 7.15-30; Banerji & Gupta 1965:113-115.)

100. VC 18.20-21; Banerji & Gupta 1965:276.

101. Though not in MW or Apte, *kāṭhāla* may have been a local contraction of *kāṭha-sāla*, an enclosure for the [recitation of] the *Kaṭha* recension of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*.

102. VC 18.24-25; Banerji & Gupta 1965:277.

103. *Vikramāṅkadevacaritam* 18.75: "Muktilkalaś was the foremost in the family of those (Brāhmaṇas) possessed of character holy in the three worlds; by their perspiration, as it were, generated from the constant practice of Agnihotra sacrifices, the stigma of the Kali Age was wiped off." (Banerji & Gupta 1965:290).

104. The Sanskrit text was published in 1887 with Jonarāja's (c.1400-1450 CE) commentary. Jonarāja also wrote the 'second' *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that continues from where Kalhaṇa's left off; see Nagarajan 1970:537-540 for a very brief summary.

105. Keith 1928:136.

106. Stein remarks: "I think we can easily and conclusively show that this poet Kalyāṇa, Maṅkha's distinguished contemporary, who emulated Bilhaṇa and who was deeply read in epic lore, is no one else but our Kalhaṇa. The name *Kalhaṇa* is undoubtedly an Apabhraṃśa form derived through Prakrit *Kallaṇa* from Skr. *Kalyāṇa*, which being a word of auspicious meaning ('happy,' 'blessed'), is often found as a proper name. The consonantal group *ly* becomes by a regular phonetic law *ll* in Prakit, and this again is liable to appear as *lh* in Apabhraṃśa and the modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars. Thus Skr. *kalyaṇ*, 'to-morrow,' which is found as *kallu* in Prakrit, reappears in forms like *kalh*, *kālh*, *kalha*, *kālha* in the several modern Vernaculars. The shortening of *ā* into *a* in the second syllable is similarly accounted for by well-known facts of phonetic conversion." (Stein 1991{1}:13).

107. Bühler 1877:50-52.

108. *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 25.1-5; Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:335-336.

109. *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 25.15-17; Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:337-338.

110. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.44: *Śrīmal-laṅkaka yad viśaṅkam uragādhtśasya halāhala-jvālā-ḍambara-dāmarād vadanatas tātparyato niryayau | vāg-devī-kara-kumbha-niryad-amṛtodriktena sikte mahābhāṣyaṃ kāvyarasena tat tava ciraṃ vaktre 'dya viśrāmyati | |* (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:343).

111. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.48a: *Ākrāntā yasya vakrimṇā dīrgha-dīrgha-guṇā giraḥ | vāgdevīkaravallakya iva puṣṇānti mādhurīm | |*, or as the commentary explains, *vakrimṇā vakrabhāvena prasiddha-prasthāna-atiriktamātreṇa tathātidīrghaguṇā yasya vāco madhurīm madhuratvaṃ puṣyanti*. (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:344).

112. See Smith's *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama* (Smith 1980:84) where he describes *mandira* as "(1) Any shrine in general; (2) that portion of a house set aside especially for worship." The commentary refers here to the well-known text called *Mandira* (*subodhaṃ mandirākyaṃ śāstram*), though Smith does not list this text in his collection (though he also acknowledges that there are many more texts from the tradition than what he managed to collect).

113. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 57-59: *Pradīparucitasamcārācāru yo 'dhyāsyā mandiram | jhagityeva svayaṃ viṣṇo tat-tattvaṃ param aikṣata | | Aniruddha-acyuta-bala-slāghya-darpa-kalāñcitāḥ | Ekāyanasya yasya āsamś caturāmyāñjitāḥ giraḥ | | sudhā-sadharmibhir dvitair iti laṅkaka-cāṭubhiḥ | abhyarṇaṃ karṇayos tasya sa Śrīdevadhāro 'dhiṇo | |*. (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:345).

114. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.61a: *Ekam śrījayasiṃhapārthivapatim kāśmtramInadhvaṃ tasya upāsita-saṃdhivigrahaṃ Alāṅkāraṃ dvitīyaṃ stumaḥ |* (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:346).

115. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.94-95 (not an exactly literal translation): *Vyanakti pṛthu sāmartyam ākhyāyā eva yo 'kṣaraiḥ | jaye 'bhinavaguptasya prakāṭaḥ prathamoguruḥ | | tam*

*tatra āgamatanreṣu sūcitānaṅkuśaśramam | tataḥ saṅketa-sadanaṃ prāgalbhasya abhyabhāṣata |* (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:351). The subject of the verb *abhyabhāṣata* is Mañkaka, who has come to address the *sabhā*, so that he describes himself (in the third person usually) as addressing (or praising, or greeting) each member. Jonarāja adds the following explanation in his commentary: As for the form of the name *Prakaṣa*, he has this combination of letters for his name because he shows great ability in the mastery of Abhinavagupta[’s writings]. Abhinavagupta was the most excellent Kaśmīri teacher. Because he was new (*abhinava*), i.e. new (*nūtana*), [and] protected (*gupta*), this one is also manifest (*prakaṣa*) and first (*prathama*), since with the syllables of his name he achieved mastery of Abhinavagupta. Having made great efforts [in studying] the *āgamaśāstras*, he is known as the single repository of confidence. (*Ākhāyāḥ prakāṣa ity evaṃrūpāyāḥ saṃbandhibhir akṣarair eva hetubhir abhinavaguptasya jaye sāmartyaṃ yo vinakti | abhinavaguptaḥ kāśmīrācāryavaryaḥ | sa hy abhinavo nūtano guptaḥ, ayaṃ tu prakāṣaḥ prathamaś ca | ato nāmākṣarair abhinavaguptajayo yena kṛtaḥ | āgamaśāstreṣu kṛta-bahv-abhyāsaṃ tathā prāgalbhasyaikāśrayaṃ sa saṅkathitavān |* (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:351).

Among other minor details we learn from Mañkaka’s descriptions is that the *vaidya* Suhala used ginger in his treatments (*nāgarī* or *śuṅṭhī*), as well as *balā* (See *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu* 1.280-281 (Narahari 1986:64-65). Synonyms for *balā* are *bhadraudant*, *vāṣṭ*, *samaṅgā*, *kharayīṣṭikā*, *mahāsamaṅgaudanikā*, and *śītapaykodanāhvayā*) and *harītakī* (*Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.98: ‘Possessed of *nāgara-prakṛti*, having *balā* as his nature, holding *abhaya* (*harītakī*), he delighted the sick with ingredients that were as though constituted of one medicine [i.e. due to their skillful combination] (*nāgara-prakṛtiś cāru-balātmā vidhṛtābhayaḥ | yaḥ prṛṇāty āturān aṅgair bheṣajaikamayair iva |* Jonarāja glosses *nāgarāṃ* as *śuṅṭhī*, and *abhayā* as *harītakī*. (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:351-352.)

116. Bhatt 1973:83, from Prinsep’s study of inscriptions.

117. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.100-102; *Pāṇinīyātapatreṇa pavitraṃ yasya tan-mukham | saṅgaṃ svapne ’py avāpnoti na apaśabda-rajah-kaṇaiḥ | | svasya īśvarasya yo vyañjan maṅḍale mantra-saṃskriyām | dhatte sad-āgama-prṛtiṃ daiśikānām dhuri sthitam | | anyāḥ sa suhalas tena tato ’vandyata paṇḍitaḥ | dūto govindacandrasya kānyakubjasya bhūbhujah | |* Jonarāja’s commentary reads: “*pāṇinīyaṃ pāṇini-praṇītaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ tad eva ātapatṛaṃ tena karaṇabhūtena yasya tan-mukham apaśabdair eva reṇukair saṅgaṃ svapne ’pi na prāpnoti | ata eva pavitam | chattrē sati rajaḥsaṅgo no bhavati | svasya īśvarasya govindacandrasya maṅḍale rāṣṭre kānyakubjadeśe mantraiḥ saṃskriyām vyañjanan yaḥ satām sādḥunām āgamena prṛtir yasyām sthitau tāṃ daiśikānām deśāntarīyāṇām dhuri sthiti dhatte |* (and here’s the explanation of the double entendre:) *atha ca svasyeśvarasya bhagavato maheśvarasya maṅḍale yāgādaḥ mantrasaṃskriyām praṇavādi-saṃskāraṃ vyanakti | kānyakubja-maṅḍalendrasya govindacandrasya rājño dūtaḥ, sa suhalo nāma anyo lokottaraḥ paṇḍitaḥ | athavānyaḥ pūrvokta-suhalāḥ | sa suhalas tena vanditaḥ | |* (Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:352).

118. *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* 25.122 & 123, Durgāprasāda & Paraba 1887:356.

119. Tawney & Penzer 1923{1}:92.

120. Ingalls 1965:30.

121. Ingalls 1965:31.

122. Ingalls 1965:33.

123. Ingalls 1965:56.

124. Ingalls 1965:63.
125. Ingalls 1965:76.
126. Shankar & Hahn 1937/1988:1-lxxxi.



### Tantric Physiology

#### 7.0. Introduction to Chapters 7, 8, and 9

We find in the Tantric material a sensitive awareness of an intimate relationship between human sexuality and death. This is a more or less universal human perspective, as indicated by the French term for sexual orgasm, 'the little death' (*le petite mort*). The Indo-Tibetan culture has a very elaborate understanding of what we could call (as an abbreviation) the 'sex-death relationship' that is incorporated and developed to a highly sophisticated level in the Tantric traditions. A culture that accepts reincarnation as a fact has as a logical corollary the premise that the newly conceived embryo is a pre-existent being who is taking birth either for the first time or once again as a new human being. The incarnating being could have 'previously' been any of several of the Indian categories of beings, including all sorts of deities. In fact the premise of incarnation or reincarnation is presupposed in the doctrine of avatars such as the series attributed to Viṣṇu, and attributed to Buddha in the *Jātaka* tales. We find this doctrine enunciated as early as the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* of the *Śukla-yajurveda*, where the Puruṣa is described as leaving behind its old body, and fashioning a new one like a goldsmith:

Just as a caterpillar, after it has reached the tip of a leaf, seizes another onset to another leaf and itself goes over to it, so also the soul, after it has shaken off the body and has temporarily freed itself from nescience, seizes another onset of new birth and itself goes beyond towards it. Just as a goldsmith takes the stuff of his craft-work and hammers out of it another, new and beautiful form, so also this soul after it has shaken off the body and has temporarily freed itself from nescience, creates for itself another, new and beautiful form--be it of a

father or a Gandharva or of the gods or of Prajāpati or of Brahman or of other beings.<sup>1</sup>

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the reincarnation doctrine was apparently taken up consciously by several of the Tantric *siddhas* who considered themselves reincarnations of earlier Buddhist teachers, and we find in the modern Tibetan Tantric tradition a well-established doctrine accepted as fact that Lamas take rebirth as identifiable reincarnations who retain a certain degree of memory about their prior lives. The reincarnation doctrines have interesting implications for the Indo-Tibetan understanding of sexual intercourse and dying. When we consider sexual intercourse in the context of the reincarnation premise, we must say that the lovers who are making love must by definition be somehow connecting to other dimensions in order for the beings who are in those dimensions (the so-called "between state," *antarabhāvaḥ* in Sanskrit) to incarnate in the fertilized ovum that grows into the baby child. That is, the moment of sexual orgasm must somehow allow the fertile woman and the ejaculating man to 'connect' to the dimension wherein are found those beings wishing to incarnate. The logic of this idea is not complicated: in a space-time system, in order to incarnate or reincarnate there must be some method whereby the incarnator or reincarnator connects to the embryo. Otherwise we would be stuck with a situation analogous to the humorous story of the old Maine farmer who, when asked directions by a traveling city slicker, looks at him for a while, then slowly draws, "Ya caan't get theare from heare." The Tantric doctrines of death and dying concentrate, as it were, on the other end of the spectrum--i.e. what happens when the individual dies and travels through the between state to a new incarnation. Again, the

reincarnation doctrine implies that there must be a state or dimension to go to from this one where we are alive as human beings, and there must be a way to get back to the human state from the afterlife.

These reincarnation doctrines therefore imply that there must be entry and exit points in the body for the transmigrating or reincarnating being. That is to say, there must be a definable mechanism, method, or route for entering into the fertilized ovum that grows into the embryo that is born as the new child, and there must be a definable portal or set of portals whereby the transmigrating being can leave the body at death, since when people die their bodies are left behind as corpses. What we find in examining the detailed explanations of the subtle body in Indian literature is that we have in the Yoga texts and *Upaniṣads*, in the Āyurveda and Sāṃkhya traditions, and in the Tantric traditions an explanation for the mechanism whereby a being can incarnate. This provides us a remarkable paradigm that purports to account for how it is that human beings come from other dimensions into the fertilized ovum of their parents created during orgasmic sexual love. The fundamental premise appears to be that our subtle body energy network of centers (*cakras* or *padmas*) and channels (*nāḍīs*) and drops (*bindus*) is multi-dimensionally interlinked. During moments of sexual ecstasy certain channels of the subtle body open to these other dimensions, providing the routes whereby the (re-) incarnator can incarnate. It turns out that these same points of entry are the points that the dying being uses to depart from the body into the other dimensions. While a person is alive as a human being, his or her transmigrating self ties itself into these multi-dimensional psycho-physical doorways in

the physical body--the *cakras* or centers--through a series of knots (*granthas*) that bind it intensely into its physical form. The life breaths (*prāṇas*) and winds (*vāyus*) then radiate out from these centers to grow and animate the physical being (the collection of breaths tend to be referred to as *prāṇas* in the Hindu systems, and *vāyus* in the Buddhist systems). At death, these breaths and winds withdraw from the channels, senses, limbs, etc., return to the central channel and then to the heart center, and then the being withdraws from or departs from the physical form.

The Tantric tradition takes this basic paradigm and proffers alternatives to go along with our innate procreative capacity and transmigrational capacities. Through an elaborate system of purifications, training, initiations, meditations, and sexual Yoga practices, the Tantric initiates are purportedly taught how to use sexual love as a doorway to divine self-transformation through a conscious harnessing of the intrinsic access to the other dimensions that sexual love provides. The doctrine of the sexual Yogas aims to bring the initiates to the cusp of the procreative moment--i.e. the moment of orgasm and ejaculation--and then redirect the concomitant energies towards creative self-transformation, rather than procreation. Again the logic of the idea is fairly simple, though the methods are tremendously complex. The basic premise appears to be that since sexual intercourse connects the lovers to divine or extra-temporal dimensions, initiates can theoretically learn to consciously connect to these other dimensions. Rather than following the our instinctive procreative urges and providing a fertilized ovum for an incarnating being, we can purportedly instead use the energy of these other dimensions to alter and enhance our own psycho-

physical presence for the purpose of helping the world and liberating other living beings from suffering, ignorance, confusion, pain, and hatred (etc.). By training themselves to be able to embody and transmit progressively more intense frequencies of divine light, love, and will, the initiates can themselves eventually become Śivas and Śaktis, Buddhas and Prajñās, and fundamentally transform the world from a world of sorrow and suffering to a world of joy and happiness.

In a set of practices that are implicit in the earlier Tantric tradition and become highly developed in the Tibetan Tantric tradition, initiates can also train themselves for a conscious mastery of the reincarnation process by meditations that prepare them for the process of dying, transiting safely through the between states, and returning to life as a new child born from to new parents. These doctrines are elaborated particularly well in the Tibetan texts, and the origin of the specific doctrines of Yogic practice for altering the death process, and navigation in the 'between-state' are attributed in the texts to some of the famous Tantric *siddhas* of the latter centuries of the first millennium CE. As the Dalai Lama has written, "*The Book of Liberation Through Understanding in the Between* has been quite popular for many centuries in Tibet. It is a manual of useful instructions for people who are facing their death, as well as for their relatives and friends. It is connected with a large literature in Tibetan that thoroughly investigates the phenomenon of dying. Indeed, the reality of death has always been a major spur to virtuous and intelligent action in all Buddhist societies. It is not considered morbid to contemplate it, but rather liberating from fear, and even beneficial to the health of the living."<sup>2</sup> The practitioners learn to

'practice dying' by Yogic meditations designed to mimic the death process, so that when it finally occurs they will be prepared for it and able to maintain some degree of conscious control over a process that is otherwise largely out of the control of the normal individual. The practitioners also study the images and experiences they can expect to encounter in the between state or afterlife, so that they can successfully navigate through these to a new birth. The famed *Tibetan Book of the Dead*, more properly titled the *Book of Natural Liberation Through Understanding in the Between*<sup>3</sup> is attributed to the eighth century Padma Sambhava, a renowned Buddhist Tantric Siddha, and was discovered in a cave in the 14th century by Karma Lingpa of Tibet. By the fifteenth century the text was copied, printed, widely distributed among the Tibetan Buddhists, and frequently imitated.<sup>4</sup> A similar text is attributed to the 11th century Tantric adept and teacher Naropa, and was discovered as a mid- 14th century (1350 CE) Uigur manuscript among the Tun Huang collection. This may well be one of the texts written in imitation of the work attributed to Padma Sambhava, since it appears to come from a Tibetan original.<sup>5</sup> I have not studied the techniques of these Tibetan death and dying meditations in depth, and so I will not discuss it in any great detail in this dissertation--rather I would refer the readers to Robert Thurman's recent translation of *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, where they will find detailed discussion of these approaches. What we will discuss however is how the physiology, initiations preceding the sexual yogas, and practice of the sexual yogas in the Tantric traditions engage the very same psychophysiological circuitry as that involved in the death and dying yogas.

The Tantric traditions therefore address the issue of how their initiates can learn to gain conscious control over the fundamental processes of creating life (making love) and dying, and learn to exercise new options during these processes that are otherwise unavailable to those whose sexual and death experiences are largely driven by instinct. In Chapters 7, 8, and 9 of this dissertation, we will examine three fundamental components of Tantric Yoga related to these issues. In this chapter, chapter 7, we will look at the relationship of the Tantric physiological system to the physiology of the traditional Indian medical system, Āyurveda. This study will illuminate the physicality of Tantric Yoga, i.e. the Tantric understanding of how Tantric Yoga practices impact our physical presence, and will examine the circuitry of the subtle and dense aspects of the human body. In Chapter 8 we will examine various aspects of the Tantric initiation process, the preparatory rites designed to transform initiates' awareness by raising their perceptual foci from being governed by instinctual compulsions to being consciously involved in the divine transmutation of existence. In Chapter 9 we will look at the vexed issue of the practice of Sexual Yoga in the Tantric traditions.

### **7.0.1. Introduction to Chapter 7**

The relationship between the Indian medical texts and the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric texts has not been well explored by modern scholars--or at least not widely written about, with the result that there is considerable confusion and misunderstanding about the origins of much of the material in the Tantric tradition vis-à-vis the Āyurveda medical tradition. My own research has led me to the

conclusion that the complicated psycho-physiological theories and meditative/yogic practices of the Tantric tradition are premised, in significant part, on the mind-body medical theories of the Āyurveda--the classical Indian medical tradition. We have seen especially in Chapters 2 & 3 of this dissertation that the Tantric tradition has deep roots in the earliest Sanskrit literature, in widely shared and practiced meditative and Yogic practices, in early Buddhist monastic techniques, and in popular magical and healing rites deriving from the *Atharvan* and early Buddhist medical traditions. We have also gained in Chapters 4 & 5 some sense of the scope of the Tantric traditions from accounts of their extant literature. With this chapter we begin an examination of the Tantric Yoga doctrines and practices. One fundamental aspect in these considerations is the relationship between the Indian physiological tradition--as embodied in Āyurveda--and the Tantric physiological system of the winds, channels, centers (*cakras*) and drops. The reason that it is necessary to understand the 'Āyurveda-Tantra connection' is that the Tantric texts rely on the physiological model of the human body they inherit from the medical traditions as the basis for their subtle body doctrines and practices. This is a bit of a chicken and egg dilemma, since in order to understand Tantric subtle body yogas, one needs to understand the subtle body structure inherited from the medical traditions and the early Yogic and Upaniṣadic traditions, yet in order to appreciate the functioning of the subtle body system, one needs to understand Tantric subtle body yogas. Accordingly, this chapter will not proceed in a strictly historical sequence.

In an original discovery worked out this past summer,<sup>6</sup> I have identified the



precise way that Tantric subtle body physiological system maps to the Āyurvedic physiological model. This discovered relationship has profound implications for our understanding of the functionality of the Tantric subtle body yogas, and goes a long way toward explaining why it is that the Tantric texts present their techniques as mind-body, or psycho-somatic techniques with real, tangible physical *and* spiritual results. The basic reason for this may be stated here: from the point of view of both the Āyurvedic and the Tantric traditions, the human being is a complex of dense and subtle components interwoven with the environment, dimensions, and cosmos wherein we live. In the Tantric traditions particularly the perspective is developed that the perceived distinction between the mind and body is ultimately a false one, so that the psyche has not only the potential for reenvisioning reality, but also for actually enhancing and upgrading one's own physical presence in life for the purpose of helping both oneself and one's fellow beings achieve liberation and enlightenment. The reason this is so is that one's own psyche is intimately connected with the most powerful divine generating energies in the universe. In the Śaivite Tantric traditions these divine generating energies are seen as specific versions of Śiva in orgasmic sexual union with his wife Parvatī or Devī (Śakti). In the Buddhist Tantric traditions they are conceived of as different versions of Buddha in union with his consort (Prajñā or Mudrā). In an interesting twist to both traditions, and as a common-sense recognition of the difficulty of achieving the stated goals of the long life (*dīrghāyus*), liberation while living (*jīvanmukti*), perfection of the body (*kāyasiddhi*, or *piṇḍasiddhi*), the 'lightning' or 'diamond' body (*vajrakāya*), the state of freedom from

diseases (*anāmaya-pada*) etc.--all versions of an enhanced and transformed living physical presence--the traditions acknowledge that one may also arrive at the requisite enlightened state of awareness upon dying, because one reconnects to the spiritual energy fonts without the challenge of doing so within the more dense physical context. However, the focus of the sexual Yoga practices in both the Śaivite and Sanskrit Buddhist Tantric material I have read for this dissertation appears to be principally on life in the here and now, and the texts include whole sections on medical treatments, magical rites for material gain, and alchemical recipe preparations for extending life and combatting aging, combined with meditations and Yoga practices said to provide the divine body. Abhinavagupta's Tantric disciple Kṣemarāja (a different fellow than Kṣemendra), in a comment on the *Trika* system's *Netratantra* remarks that "by not abandoning the state of the supreme form, and by meditating on it immediately, [the yogin] increases it with the manifested nectar of the subtle meditation as described; he becomes one who has a divine body free of diseases, i.e. he becomes one whose Śāktic form has opened its eyes because of the nectar of the subtle meditation."<sup>7</sup> As a combined system, then, it appears that the Tantric and Āyurvedic traditions together constituted what might be referred to in modern parlance as an ancient analogue to a synthesis of modern religion and the life sciences.

### 7.1. Basic Perspectives of the Āyurveda Medical Tradition In Relation to Tantra

The Tantric and Āyurvedic traditions share a focus on the body, an intensely 'somatic' awareness, one could say,<sup>8</sup> and a sense--well integrated into their practices

and philosophies--that the microcosm of the individual shares a fundamental identity with the macrocosm of the surrounding universe. In medicine we see this relationship enunciated in the analysis of foods, weather, geography, sources of meats used in medicine, times of the day or year, etc. In Tantra we see this relationship elaborated particularly in terms of the mapping of the deific cosmic realities into the body and the belief that through ritual meditations, yogas, etc., this mapping can be *realized* in the verbal sense--i.e. made real for the individual--we shall discuss this more below. As Caraka puts it, "The body that becomes the basis of consciousness has as its nature an arisal from the transformation of the five major elements,"<sup>9</sup>--i.e. the same five major elements that make up the universe--earth, air, fire, water, and space or ether. And since our physical bodies are in this sense made of the same 'stuff' as the universe, "according to this teaching there is absolutely no substance in the world that does not have medicinal use."<sup>10</sup> Suśruta puts the same point slightly differently, saying that the qualities of the substances of the world and the qualities of the substances in the body are the same, because the maintenance, growth, and destruction of embodied beings have substance as their cause.<sup>11</sup> Whereas in Vedic or Tantric ritual we might, as modern scholars, be tempted to view the type-identity mappings as purely imaginative, or theoretical, in the medical tradition we cannot deny--given the methods of diagnosis and treatment still practiced in India today--that from the point of view of practice the system takes the identity mappings of the external world and the physical individual quite literally, using the doctrines of *sāmānya* (commonality) and *viśeṣa* (distinction) in analyzing the degrees of identity a

particular individual shares with his or her environment in terms of the relative predominance of the five principle elements earth etc. in their body, in order to determine treatment options, medicinal preparations, etc. (See 7.3 below for a discussion of Āyurvedic medical doctrines).

### 7.1.1. Epistemology of Traditional Medicine

Three types of medicine are defined at Caraka *Sūtrasthāna* 11.54: *daiva-vyapāśrayam*, *yukti-vyapāśrayam*, and *sattvāvajayaś*--i.e. spiritual or divine (lit: taking refuge in the divine, *daiva-vyapāśrayam*), rational (relying on reasoning, *yukti-vyapāśrayam*), and psychological (victory over the intelligence). Caraka explains that "The spiritual therapy consists of recitation of mantras, wearing roots and gems, auspicious acts, offerings, gifts, oblations, following religious precepts, atonement, fasting, invoking blessings, falling on (the feet of) the gods, pilgrimage, etc. The rational therapy consists of the rational administration of diet and drugs. Psychological therapy is restraint of the mind from unwholesome objects."<sup>12</sup> As Chattopadhyaya puts it in discussing the *Carakasamhitā*'s focus, "Though with some kind of perfunctory references to the Atharvavedic therapy of magical chants and incantations and even to the special services of the Atharvavedic priests... the text as a whole comes out with a massive verdict exclusively in favor of *yukti-vyapāśraya bheṣaja*...",<sup>13</sup> i.e. therapy that relies on the rational. Where the Tantric traditions 'slot in' to the medical traditions, one could say, is precisely in the areas of the psychological and spiritual therapy, often alluded to in the medical *Sāmhitas*, yet not much explained.

There are traditionally eight divisions of *Āyurveda*: 1) Internal medicine, physiology and pathology (*kāyacikitsā*), 2) surgery and anatomy (*śālyacikitsā*), 3) eye, ear, nose, and throat diseases (*śālākyacikitsā*), 4) pediatrics, obstetrics, and embryology (*kaumārabhṛtya*), 5) demonology, psychotherapy, and dream analysis (*bhūtavidyā*), 6) toxicology (*agada Tantra*), 7) rejuvenation and geriatrics (*rasāyana*), 8) virilification and aphrodisiacs (*vajīkaraṇa*).<sup>14</sup> The medical student was also expected to master the ten arts of distillation, operative skills, cooking, horticulture, metallurgy, sugar manufacture, pharmacy, analysis and separation of minerals, compounding of metals, and preparation of alkaloids, with instruction done on a clinical basis.<sup>15</sup> When we look at the topics covered in the two major early *Samhitās*, Caraka's and Suśruta's, we find little mention of spiritual and psychological healing. The *Carakasamhitā* is organized as follows: 1) *Sūtrasthāna*--30 chapters on history, general principles, and theoretical basis of medicine. 2) *Nidānasthāna*--8 chapters on the causes of disease (etiology) and the symptoms. 3) *Vimānasthāna*--8 chapters on measure or proportion, relationship of humors to right amounts of medicine, remedies etc.; transformation processes in medicinal consumption, codes of conduct, methodology, etc. 4) *Śarīrasthāna*--8 chapters on anatomy and embryology, with digressions on metaphysics, ethics, etc. 5) *Indriyasthāna*--12 chapters on diagnosis and prognosis. 6) *Cikitsāsthāna*--30 chapters on therapeutics, dietetics, pharmacology. 7) *Kalpasthāna*--12 short chapters supplementing pharmacopoeia. 8) *Siddhisthāna*--12 chapters on enema, purgation, urinary diseases etc. The other major early medical treatise, the *Suśruta-samhitā*, contains 1) *Sūtrasthāna*--46 chapters on general

principles of medicine, surgical approaches, instruments, etc. 2) *Nidānasthāna*--16 chapters on the causes of diseases. 3) *Śartrasthāna*--10 chapters on anatomy, embryology, dissection techniques. 4) *Cikitsāsthāna*--40 chapters on therapeutics. 5) *Kalpasthāna*--8 chapters on toxicology. (6) *Uttaratantra*--66 chapters on assorted topics.

Just as we find the 'spiritual side' of medicine alluded to yet not explicitly dealt with in the medical texts, so too we find in the Tantric texts that the medical aspects of the tradition seem to be simply assumed, yet are rarely spelled out in great detail. Given the exceptionally 'subtle' or 'spiritual energy' concerns of many of the Tantric meditational techniques that speak so frequently of lights and fires and subtle drops and channels, one is left to wonder whether the physiological theories employed in the Tantric systems have any relationship to the Āyurvedic medical systems. Indeed a preeminent Indologist, Surendranath Dasgupta, declared that there was absolutely no relationship between the Āyurvedic and Tantric physiological theories. As he said in his *A History of Indian Philosophy* in the chapter on *Speculations in the Medical Schools*, "the nerve system of the Tantras, however, is entirely different from that of the medical systems of Caraka and Suśruta.... Tantra anatomy is entirely different in its conception from the Āyurveda anatomy."<sup>16</sup> This mistaken perspective has unfortunately contributed to the neglect of the medical tradition by Tantric scholars, and to the assumption among those scholars working on the medical tradition that there is little point in studying the Tantric texts for medical information.<sup>17</sup> As I will show below, I believe that this is an erroneous perception,

and that we can learn a great deal about Indian medicine by studying the Tantras, and a great deal about the Tantras by studying Indian medicine. In my view Tantra and Āyurveda are intrinsically related and together represent an intriguingly consistent doctrine of mind-body medicine.

Though I will not discuss the topic of *mantra-śāstra* in this chapter in relation to physiology, we must note that Tantric doctrines of the psycho-physiological power of *mantras* are shared with early medical beliefs about the healing power of *mantras*. *Mantras* are found widely used in the magical healing practices in the Veda and *Atharvaveda*. The relationship of *Āyurveda* to the *Atharvaveda* and *mantra* practices in the *Ṛgveda* tradition has already been illumined by Filliozat<sup>18</sup> and Zysk,<sup>19</sup> among others--particularly with regard to the use of *mantras* in healing practices, and the recognition of the healing aspects of the *Atharvaveda* tradition. Suśruta in fact calls *Āyurveda* an *upaveda* of the *Atharvaveda*, and Caraka echoes this remark by saying that "the doctor should honor the *Atharvaveda* since among the Vedas it properly belongs to him."<sup>20</sup> As noted in the discussion of healing *Dhāraṇīs* preserved in the Bower manuscript in Chapter 3 of this dissertation (see Chapter 3.1.2) this same idea that *mantras* could be used for instance to cure snake bites was widespread among early Buddhist communities for many centuries. We find this basic popular doctrine preserved in the Tantras, where common magical rites and healing spells appear alongside the more complex Yogic practices.

**7.2 Early Subtle Body Doctrines (7.2.1. The Early Medical Tradition, 7.2.2.**

**The Sāṃkhya Tradition, 7.2.3. A Step Back in Time--Subtle Body Precursors in**

**the Earliest *Upaniṣads*, 7.2.4. The Subtle Body in the *Yoga Sūtras* and the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, 7.2.5. A *Yogācāra* View)**

The medical tradition in India has a particularly non-sectarian history. Zysk has shown that wandering yogis and Buddhist monks were instrumental in its early development,<sup>21</sup> and we find both Buddhist and Hindu thinkers deeply involved in the development of the medical tradition. The Great Threesome (*Bṛhat-trayī*) of the Indian medical system are Caraka, physician to King Kaniṣka in the 1st century CE, author of the *Caraka-saṃhita*, Suśruta, author of the *Suśrutasaṃhita* (from roughly the same era) and Vāgbhaṭa, author of the *Āṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and/or the *Āṣṭāṅgasāṃhita* (both texts from the 7th-8th century era). The last section of Suśruta's work, the *Uttaratantra*, was reportedly revised by a Nāgārjuna, though as with the Tantric figure it is unclear whether we can identify the Suśruta Nāgārjuna with the great Mahāyāna figure. There is also debate in the medical tradition as to whether Vāgbhaṭa was a Buddhist--with some stories that he was forced to convert from Śaivism after losing a debate, and others claiming he was an incarnation of Dhanvatari, the physician to the gods. His text contains salutations to both Buddha and Śiva. A commentary on Vāgbhaṭa (along with the root text), the *Amṛtahṛdaya Aṣṭāṅga Gūhyopadeśatantra* of Candranandana, was translated into Tibetan and became the basis of the *rGyud-bzhi*, the basic text of Tibetan medicine; this was apparently not widely propagated until the 10th century, then later substantially revised by sde-srid Saṅs-ryas Rgya-mtsho in the 17th century.<sup>22</sup> Lokesh Chandra



credits Rinchen bzangpo (958-1056) with the Tibetan translations of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and Candranandana's commentary and an encyclopedia of veterinary medicine (P.V. Sharma says it was translated by a Vairocana in the 8th century). Ratna Shri (1228-1308) translated several Sanskrit alchemical texts into Tibetan, particularly on tonics and elixirs. These and other translators translated in total some seventeen Sanskrit medical texts, including Ravigupta's *Siddhasāra*, a treatise on Siddha medicine, Nāgārjuna's *Yogaśataka* and others.<sup>23</sup> The point I am making here is simply this: the Indian medical tradition and its basic doctrines were widely shared among the Hindus, Buddhist, and other sects--healing truly knows no sectarian bounds. This is an important fact to keep in mind as we consider the medical traditions' position on the subtle body. As we shall see below, this central component of Tantric physiological theories and Yogas was *not* a sectarian or partisan doctrine; rather, the subtle body was an accepted fact of the earliest medical doctrines that were themselves widely accepted among many different religious sects in India.

### **7.2.1. Early Medical Theories of the Subtle Body**

In order to understand the underlying principles of the central role of the sexual fluids flowing in the secret rites of the Tantric practitioners, it is important to realize the doctrines of the subtle body and the foetus already extant in the *Carakasamhitā*. The doctrine of a reincarnating subtle body is well established early on in the Indian tradition as a basic fact of life--something taken to be as real and fundamental to human existence as our parents' seminal fluids. Essentially the early medical tradition held to the doctrine that the transmigrating soul and subtle body left

the old body at the death of the individual to seek a new womb, the latter determined contingent upon the individual's *karma*. Conception in the womb therefore required four principle contributors, not just two: the father's semen, the mothers's blood, and the incarnating individual's twofold subtle body and soul. This is a central doctrine that survives well into the second millennium CE where we find it in 17th Tibetan medical works--with a bit more detail on the happenings in the *antarabhāvaḥ* or intermediate realm between death and rebirth, and a modification of the soul into the permanent atoms or drops (*akṣara-bindu* or *akṣara-aṇu*), the latter an inheritance from the Buddhist Tantric tradition. The *bhūtātmā* (Caraka 3.3.4) or *karmapurūṣa* (Suśruta 3.1.16) is the subtle body with the soul that comes into contact with the combined semen and blood when the child is conceived.<sup>24</sup> This is also called *ātivāhika śarīra* by Cakrapāṇi in his commentary on Caraka (4.2.36), and the *sūkṣma deha* in the Sāṃkhya system (*Sāṃkhya-kārika* 39).<sup>25</sup> In Caraka's and Suśruta's doctrines, the body is composed of the five elements (earth, air, fire, water, and space or *ākāśa*), while the semen is composed only of the first four: *ākāśa* mixes with semen in the womb. As Dasgupta explains:

But the foetus cannot simply be produced by the union of the semen of the father and the blood (*śoṇita*) of the mother. Such a union can produce the foetus only when the *ātman* with its subtle body, constituted of air, fire, water and earth, and *manas* (mind--the organ involved in all perception and thought), becomes connected with it by means of its *karma*. The four elements constituting the subtle body of the *ātman*, being the general causes of all productions, do not contribute to the essential features of the child. The elements that contribute to the general features are, (1) the mother's part--the blood, (2) the father's part--the semen, (3) the *karma* of each individual; the part played by the assimilated food-juice of the mother need not be counted separately, as it is determined by the *karma* of the individual.

The mental traits are determined by the state of mind of the individual in its previous birth.<sup>26</sup>

One of the most important points to notice here is the essential doctrine that it is the semen, blood, *and* subtle body (with the soul) that must come together in order for a new life to grow in the mother's womb. This meeting of the *three* constituents *plus* the soul (for four total) appears to be recapitulated in a different form in the Tantric sexual rites, where semen and blood and the subtle body are brought together with a different version of the fourth element, sometimes for procreative purposes, and other times for purposes different than procreation (see Chapter 9 and the discussion of the real and visualized sexual yogas).

### 7.2.2. Early *Sāṃkhya* Theories of the Subtle Body

The doctrine of a reincarnating soul and subtle body is well-established in the early *Sāṃkhya* tradition, the one of the traditional six *darśanas* or Indian philosophical schools that provides much of the theoretical underpinnings for the Indian medical tradition. The 6th century CE *Sāṃkhyasaptatīrti* quotes extensively from an *Āyurveda* text,<sup>27</sup> and tells us "The relation between the thirteenfold instrument and the subtle body is that of supporter-supported. The supported cannot remain without the support. The picture cannot remain without the support of wall or canvas (on which it is painted), so the thirteenfold organ cannot remain without the support of the subtle body made of the non-specific subtle elements."<sup>28</sup> The thirteen-fold instrument is the ten external organs, viz. the five sense organs, and the five action organs, plus the intellect, ego, and mind.<sup>29</sup> The incarnation process is described as follows:

At the beginning of the creation of all three worlds, subtle bodies are

constituted out of the five subtle elements. This subtle body enters the mother's womb; and the mother's blood and the father's semen are assimilated with it. The juice of what the mother eats or drinks is assimilated to what is contributed by the father and the mother. This enables the child's body to grow. The shape of the subtle body becomes like that of the external body--hands, feet, etc. The learned say that the external body has six constituents--blood, flesh, and hair are generated from the mother, and muscles, bone, fat from the father. Thus, this external body is assimilated with the subtle body. When the child emerges from the mother's womb at the time of birth, it begins to assimilate unto itself the external world.<sup>30</sup>

In the *Yuktidīpikā*, a text dating from between the 6th and 9th centuries CE and "our most important extant text for understanding Sāṃkhya in its early and formative development,"<sup>31</sup> we have an explicit description of the winds, and their relationship to consciousness. It is said in the text that "intellect, egoity, and mind are extremely subtle," and provide for "the maintenance of the life of the organism both internally and externally." The text defines this maintenance of life occurring through the five major breaths (*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*, and *vyāna*) plus the ego (*ahaṃkāra*), sense and action faculties (*jñānendriya* and *karmendriya*) as the *prāṇāṣṭaka*, the *prāṇa*-etc. group of eight, or the "eightfold vitality [that] arises from the five sources of action, which reside in the intellect and have *rajas* as their dominating constituent." This eightfold group functions on a basis of the three *guṇas*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*.<sup>32</sup> In the *Yuktidīpikā* then we have a good example of an already well-developed doctrine of 'the winds' in one of the dominant schools of Indian philosophy--and one of the major philosophical traditions informing the Āyurvedic medical tradition--at the time that Buddhists first transferred their doctrine into Tibet. The text also indicates how certain aspects of the earlier version of the doctrine of the

*prāṇas* were not interpreted in relationship to consciousness in exactly the same way as later Tantric developments. I will not dwell on these *Sāṃkhya* passages here. My objective is simply to point out that the subtle body doctrine was already well established as a construct in medical and *Sāṃkhya* philosophy before the emergence of the primary Tantric texts of the Buddhist and Śaivite traditions. In developing their subtle body yogas, these Tantric traditions were elaborating upon a centuries-old non-sectarian inheritance from the common font of the earlier Indian tradition. As we seek to understand the Tantric doctrines and practices, it is important to sift out of the material such inheritances in order to gain a clearer perspective of where the Tantras are truly innovative, and where they are employing widely shared doctrines and practices common to Indian culture over many centuries and in many different sectarian traditions. As we saw in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, many of the basic principles of Tantric doctrines and practices have precursors in the Vedic models. Here we see that some of the *basic* principles of the subtle body doctrine used in both Buddhist and Śaivite Tantra date to the earliest Āyurveda medical texts. Below we will explore just how thoroughly most of the basic Tantric physiological ideas are grounded in the Indian medical tradition.

### **7.2.3. A Step Back In Time--Subtle Body Precursors in the Earliest *Upaniṣads***

It is possible to trace the evolution of subtle body doctrines from their more inchoate form in the *Brāhmaṇas*--as discussed in Chapter 2, through the whole corpus of the *Upaniṣads*, where we find mention of channels radiating out from heart and navel centers in the body, *prāṇas* moving through these channels, colors of the

channels, and so forth. As I mentioned in Chapter 2, most of the early *Upaniṣads* are in fact *sections* of the later *Brāhmaṇas*--the 'secret teachings' of these texts, and so, with their *Brāhmaṇas*, associated with particular Vedas. The *Aitareya Upaniṣad* and *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* are *Ṛgveda Upaniṣads*; the *Chāndogya* and *Kena* are *Sāmaveda Upaniṣads*--the name *Chāndogya* in fact comes from *chandas-ga*, a singer of the *chandas* or *Sāmaveda* hymns; the *Taittirīya*, *Mahānārāyaṇa*, *Kāṣhaka*, *Śvetāśvatara*, and *Maitrāyaṇa Upaniṣads* are all *Kṛṣṇa* (Black) *Yajurveda Upaniṣads*; the famed *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* and the *Īśa Upaniṣad* are both *Śukla* (White) *Yajurveda Upaniṣads*. There are thirty-eight *Upaniṣads* associated with the *Atharvaveda* tradition, and these are classed into *Vedānta Upaniṣads*, *Yoga Upaniṣads*, *Samnyāsa Upaniṣads*, and *Viṣṇu Upaniṣads*. The *Atharvaveda Upaniṣads* are generally considered later texts, while the *Upaniṣads* belonging to the *śākhās* or schools of the first three Vedas are considerably older.<sup>33</sup>

I will not try to present here a complete study of subtle body doctrine precursors in the *Upaniṣads*. This material has already been covered a bit by other scholars,<sup>34</sup> though a thorough study remains to be done. Fortunately though we have a complete translation, with extensive notes, of the 60 *Upaniṣads* of the Vedas by Paul Deussen, the late German scholar, and the work has been very capably translated into English by two Indian scholars, Bedekar and Palsule. It is therefore a relatively straightforward task to read through the texts, provided one knows what to look for. In the following section I examine a few select passages from the earliest *Upaniṣads* that offer some revealing glimpses of the esoteric doctrines of the Vedic (or early

Vedāntic) tradition. Since the issue of the ‘breaths’ has been covered in some detail, I will not cite the hundreds of passages on these. Suffice it to say that the classical doctrine of the five major and five minor winds begins to appear in the texts (see for instance Zysk’s study on this, noted above). What is more interesting, and less well known about, is the intriguing doctrines about the relation of the Sun’s energy to what sound very much like the *cakras* in the subtle body that we find explicitly discussed in the Tantric traditions. Here in the *Upaniṣads* these developing ideas are built directly from the basis of the earlier *Brāhmaṇa* ideas discussed in some detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

In the *Chāndogyopaniṣat* we find that the fire symbol of the *Brāhmaṇas*, the blooming lotus (see Chapter 2.5), has taken its place in the heart of the individual Vedic initiate, as the holographic access point for the macro-microcosmic identity mapping: "There is a cavity in this city of Brahman (the physical body) that is the abode of the blossoming lotus (*punḍarikāṃ veśma*); therein is an inner space, and one should investigate what’s inside that, truly wanting to know what it is. Should the students ask ... (what is that) ... he should say, as far as this space (*ākāśa*) [reaches] so does the space in the heart [extend]; from the sky to the earth is collected in both of these (outer and inner spaces), as well as is the fire and the wind, from the sun to the moon, the lightning and the stars, and everything that belongs to one and does not belong to one."<sup>35</sup> So all the major cosmic fires we considered in Chapter 2, the sun, moon, fire, lightning, wind (= fire as breath), and stars are holographically mapped into the space inside the individual initiate’s heart, inside his

body that itself is Brahman's city. This is a fascinating notion that we find elaborated and amplified in a wide variety of ways in the later Tantric traditions. It is astonishing (from the perspective of the history of the Tantric doctrines) to find these ideas already in one of the very earliest *Upaniṣads*, the secret teachings of the *Sāmaveda* school.

The same section of the *Chāndogya* also gives us a lovely image for how exactly it is that the cosmic solar energy flows through the inner channels of the imitate's body. It maps the colors of the sun to the colors of the heart-center's channels, explaining how the rays of the sun slide silently into the channels, and the channels slip into the rays of the sun.

"So these channels of the heart (*hṛdayasya nāḍyas*) consist of an atomic (or very fine) reddish-brown, white, blue, yellow, and red; and this Sun is also reddish-brown, white, blue, yellow, and red. Just as a great road goes to two villages, to this one here to that one there, so these rays of the Sun go to the two worlds, to this one here and to that one there. These rays extend from that Sun (and) have slipped into these channels, and they extend from these channels and have slipped into that Sun."<sup>36</sup> The term 'slipped' (*sr̥pta*) is from the Vedic ritual context where the ritualist glides noiselessly from the ritual shed (*Sadas*) to the outside of the *Vedi* to perform the morning *stotra* called the *Bahiṣpavamāna*, the out of doors purificatory rites.<sup>37</sup> So we have the fetching image of divine solar rays gliding noiselessly right into the channels in our innermost heart center or cavity, and then radiating throughout our body in the like-colored channels. According to the *Upaniṣad*, when we go into deep sleep we



slip into these channels and unite with our own inner version of the cosmic fire:

"Now when one is entirely in deep sleep and has completely attained serenity (quietness), so that he sees no dreams, then he has slipped into these arteries; that is why ... he is touched by no evil because he has then become one with the heat (*tejas*)...."<sup>38</sup> Then the text explains how it is that when the individual dies he leaves the body along the heavenly highways of these solar light rays:

Further, when he lapses into weakness, they sit around him and say 'Do you still know me? Do you still know me?'; then so long as he has not left this body, that long he still knows or recognizes them. But when he departs out of this body he just goes, rising upwards on the rays of the sun; then he ascends either (the one, however, who does not know, does not--) into the height above with the thought on *Om* ... and attains quickly to the sun, when he directs his mind on it; this, truly, is the door of the (heavenly) world for the man who knows; for the man who does not know, it is locked. About this is the following verse: hundred and one are the arteries of the heart, of these, one leads towards the head; he who ascends it up, attains to immortality, the others (arteries) are for going out on all sides.<sup>39</sup>

These doctrines of the connection of the channels to the deep sleep state of consciousness, and the route to heaven at death prefigure the doctrines we find in the Tantras that elaborate the conscious integration of the four states of consciousness (waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state) with the practice of Tantric Yoga, and prefigure the death and dying meditations of the Tibetan tradition.

In the *Taittiriyaopaniṣad's Śikṣāvallī* we find that the sites of what become known in the later tradition as *cakras* in the subtle body are described as the locations of the subtle solar energy mapped with the individual's consciousness and the principal Vedic *mantras*: "There is this space in the heart; therein is this golden immortal person, made of consciousness. In the middle of the palate, the Womb of

Indra (*Indra-yoniḥ*) hangs down like a breast. Where the tip of the hair is located, emerging on the crown of the head, *bhur* is situated in fire, *bhuvar* is situated in wind, *suvar* is situated in the sun, *mahān* is situated in *Brahman*. [There] one attains self mastery, mastery of the mind, master of the speech, eye, ear, and perception. The following results from that: Brahman who is the spatial physical body; the mind that is joy, and is the pleasure garden of the breaths that consist of truth; and the nectar abounding in peacefulness."<sup>40</sup> What is particularly surprising about this passage is the characterization of the uvula as Indra's womb. Indra is of course the great Soma drinker from the Vedas. Throughout the Yogic and Tantric literature we find that the uvula is described as the site where the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*, also a common epithet of Soma) drips down, after the *kuṇḍalīnī* or *bodhicitta* has risen up to the crown of the head. The crown of the head is well known as the ruling *cakra* (see discussion of the *cakras* below).

What later become known as the throat, heart, and navel *cakras* are also indicated in the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, the tenth book of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* of the Black Yajurveda. In the section describing *Mahānārāyaṇa*, i.e. the Puruṣa--as in *Ṛgveda* 10.90--we read that this cosmic, all-pervading, all-ruling being, the highest light, (etc.) also has a heart, "facing downwards like a lotus calyx, and he is located twelve finger-widths (a *viṣṭatī*) below the throat and above the navel, the great *āyatana* (abode, and also the sacred fire place) of the universe, shining with a wreath of flames."<sup>41</sup> As we shall see below, these locations and relative measurements of the throat, heart, and navel, match the locations of the *cakras* as described in the Tantric

texts. The impression we receive of the apparent presence in these early *Upaniṣad* passages of some of the basic aspects of the subtle body is strengthened by some portions of the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat*, the final section of the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* on the White Yajurveda. In the story of the discussion between Ajātaśatru and Gārgya, Ajātaśatru describes what happens to the conscious person (*viññāna-mayaḥ puruṣaḥ*) while the individual is asleep. He says that "when he is in deep sleep, when he is not aware of anything, the seventy-two thousand channels called 'beneficial' radiate out from the cavern of the heart, and he (the *viññāna-mahaḥ puruṣaḥ*) lies in the cavern, having glided outwards through those (channels). Just like a prince, or a great king, or a great Brahmin lies, having become completely exhausted through pleasure, so too this one rests in exactly that way."<sup>42</sup> This web-like network of 72,000 channels radiating outwards from the heart is a consistent motif of subtle body descriptions in the Indian tradition up through the present day, in both Hindu and Buddhist Yogic and Tantric traditions. The *Upaniṣad* adds to this description another lovely poetic image that also prefigures some imagery employed by the later Tantric traditions: "Just as a spider (*ūrṇanābhis*) ascends via his thread, or tiny sparks fly out from a fire, in exactly the same way all the *prāṇās*, all the worlds, all the gods, all beings come up out of the *ātman*; its secret teaching is the truth of truth (or the reality of reality--*satyasya satyam*), and the *prāṇās* themselves are true; this is their truth."<sup>43</sup> In another section of the text these *hitānāḍyās*, beneficial channels, are described as though with the minuteness of the hair of the head split a thousand times, filled with reddish-brown, white, blue, and yellow (fluid).<sup>44</sup>

As I mentioned in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, we have at *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 10.5.2.9-11 the passage: "Now, that person in the right eye is the same as Indra, and (that other person is) the same as Indrāṇī... Those two (persons in the eyes) descend to the cavity of the heart, and enter into union with each other; and when they reach the end of their union, then the man sleeps,--even as here on reaching the end of a human union he becomes, as it were, insensible, so does he then become, as it were, insensible; for this is a divine union, and that is the highest bliss."<sup>45</sup> In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* this notion is repeated, with Indra called also *Indha*, the igniter, and *Indrāṇī* called instead *patnī*, *virāt*, i.e. the wife or the lustrous one-- (i.e. the fire ignited by the igniter). They are said to join in the space of the heart, their food is the mass of blood (*lohita-piṇḍa*) in the heart, their covering is like a net (*jālakam*) inside the heart; their exit from that place is the channel that moves upwards from the heart, like the hair of the head divided a thousandfold--these are the *hitā nāḍyas*.<sup>46</sup> What flows from there by these channels out from the heart is like the 'most exquisite food' (*pravivikta-āhāratara*) from the physical body for the soul.

Certainly we have the impression from these descriptions of the channels (*nāḍyas*) that the texts are using a single term to refer to arteries (reddish-brown through the skin), veins (blue when seen through the skin), lymphatic vessels (carrying white fluid that secretes as white pus) and perhaps sweat glands (yellow fluid?). Yet the texts also describe these vessels as splitting to a thickness a thousand times thinner than the hairs of your head, and carrying the Sun's energy as a fiery solar life force radiating through the body. This strongly suggests they are also

referring to what we call the nervous system, since it transmits a form of fire we call electrical impulses. The authors of these *Upaniṣad* passages seem to be acutely aware of the role of the heart in keeping the body alive, and the network of vessels radiating out from it through the body--they are certainly aware of the blood flow, as indicated by the mention of food, and the mass of blood in the heart. What is intriguing is their doctrine of the Sun's powerful rays slipping neatly into the body's channels. Assuming for the moment that in this aspect of the doctrine the channels referred to are what we call the nerves, we would then say--to use a very informal metaphor--that the authors were positing that the human being's life force functions at the level of the *ātman* as a sort of semi-autonomous remotely-powered being with the Sun as the transformer. The 'circuits'--to extend this rough analogy a bit further--are the Sun's rays (*raśmayah*) that connect to our individual bodies by slipping or gliding or connecting (*śṛpta*) into our channels (*nāḍyas*). Though the texts also liberally celebrate food as necessary for human life, much of their esoteric or spiritual teaching seems to be directed towards awakening in the initiate the personal awareness of this sort of 'remote-electrical' relationship of the individual with the Sun. The principal locus of the 'plug' or 'receiver' of the Solar 'transmitter' is our heart center, some mysterious inner space in the heart where the Solar Being, the great man (the *Mahānārāyaṇa*) or golden person (*Hiraṇya Puruṣa*) connects into our internal circuitry (the *nāḍī-jālaka*) and powers our being. One intriguing aspect to this depiction is that the 'powering element' of this plugged in connection is also conceived of as the sexual bliss of Indra and Indrāṇi in cosmic orgasm, in our hearts.

Another notable aspect is that the human heart here is not just a 'receiver' of Solar 'transmissions.' The *Chāndogya* passage cited above describes the channels as also slipping into the Sun, suggesting a two-way communication system, just like the *mahāpatha* or great road it mentions connecting the two villages--the Solar rays communicate both ways. Perhaps this is the mechanism for the functioning of the Vedic prayers and *mantra* recitations directed towards the Sun--they communicate 'back' to the Sun on the solar rays.

Those who awaken to this 'reality of the winds' (i.e. the flowing of this 'electricity') in the body come into an new sort of experience of life, wherein they become 'masters' of their sensory functions (*cakṣu-patih*, *śrotra-patir*, etc.). The 'tuned-in' initiate will come to realize his or her holographic connection to the rest of the universe, all the gods, and all other beings. Then he or she will be 'really plugged in' as we would say in a colloquial sense, though in these *Upaniṣad* texts the notion would have to be stated as 'really plugged in cosmically.' As with the *Āyurveda* and *Sāṃkhya* traditions, this 'solar energy web' being existing in the physical form, the 'city of Brahman,' is said to exit the body at death. What we seem to have is a difference of emphasis in the *Upaniṣads* and the Medical and *Sāṃkhya* systems. The former focus on the 'spiritual' or esoteric aspects of the subtle body being, emphasizing in particular the individual soul's relationship with its creator and its eventual destination at death, i.e. heaven, provided he or she knows the truth about their identity. The Medical and *Sāṃkhya* traditions seem to be more sensitive to the issue of reincarnation, or incarnation at least, and the particular way

that the individual being comes to be born and grow up. The *Upaniṣad* doctrines are in some senses more ‘far-out’ (to use a slang expression), more ‘cosmic’ in their orientation, while the Medical and Sāṃkhya doctrines about the subtle body are more focused on the ‘mundane’ physical aspects of this issue. As we shall see, it is really in the Tantric traditions that these two approaches, viz. the more ‘spiritual’ and the more ‘physical’ appear to become reconciled and more harmoniously integrated than they appear to be in these earlier traditions.

#### 7.2.4. Reference to the Subtle Body in the *Yoga Sūtras* and *Yogavāsiṣṭha*:

In addition to the material we find in the medical and *Sāṃkhya* traditions, and their precursors in the earliest *Upaniṣads*, the Yoga tradition also exhibits a continuing development of ideas about the subtle body, and the use of the subtle body system in its meditations and Yoga practices. Again, this is a very large body of literature, and it would be inappropriate to examine it at length here. I will instead simply give a couple of notable examples. In the *Yogasūtras* of *Patañjali*, 3.30-34, we find implicit reference to the structure of the subtle body. 3.30 reads: *nābhī-cakre [saṃyamāt] kāya-vyūha-jñānam*, i.e. ‘From concentration on the navel *cakra*, knowledge of the array of the body.’ Veda-vyāsa in his comment explains that the array (*vyūha*) includes the three humors (*tridoṣa*), the *dhātus* (*rakta*, *māṃsa*, etc.) as we find in the *Āyurveda* texts. Verse 3.32 reads: *kūrma-nāḍyām [saṃyamāt], sthairyam*, i.e. from concentration on the tortoise-channel, stability (of the mind). The *kūrma-nāḍī* is one of the ten channels for the ten major *prāṇas* (I will discuss these in more detail below). So we have already in the *Yogasūtras* recognition of the

basic *Āyurveda* physiology, with suggestions for meditational techniques using these physiological structures to achieve certain ends.

Those familiar with the Yoga literature are of course well aware that the basic doctrines of the relationship of the mind to the *prāṇa*--a doctrine inherited from the *Brāhmaṇas*, as we have seen in Chapter 2--is widespread in the Yoga traditions. A simple example of this can be found in the *Yogavāsiṣṭha*--where it is coupled to a poetic description of the illusion of the world; the text also betrays some influence of the *Spanda-śāstra* doctrines of the Kaśmīr Śaivite tradition (my translation):

Vasiṣṭha spoke: Just as from the circular motion of a firebrand a fire-circle is perceived, likewise the non-existent world has the appearance of existence from the vibrational motion of thinking (*citta-spandāt*). Just as from the movement of water a circular whirlpool is seen to be as though separate from [the surrounding] water, likewise this world [so appears] due to the movement of thinking.... The wind that moves all around the body-vessels in this body, like the atmospheric water in its movements, is known as *prāṇa*. As a result of its motion, there is variety of internal activity in its wake; *apāna* etc. are the names invented by those of disciplined spirit. Just as a flower is the basis of joy, and snow is the basis of whiteness, so this *rasa* is the basis of the *citta* when it becomes continuous. The consciousness that is produced from the movement of the inner *prāṇa* intent upon causing a desire, that you should know as *citta*, Oh Rāghava. From the movement of *prāṇa*, there is movement of thinking; from that movement itself there is [movement] of consciousness, entraining a circular motion, like the waves [resulting] from the movement of water. The authors of the *Āgamas* say that consciousness is the circular vibrational movement of *prāṇa*; when this (circular movement) has been stopped, the mind becomes peaceful. When the movement of the mind is calmed, this *saṃsāra* melts away, [and becomes instead] just like life when the circular movement has been quieted in the light of the Sun.<sup>47</sup>

The text also describes the results of reining in or stopping the compulsive outward movement of the *prāṇa*, so that one begins to experience an inner peace, dripping of nectar, and movement of non-conceptually-bound realizations. I only mention these



here because they share some similarity with the sort of ultimate states described in the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantras, and so again show how widely shared and perceived were many of the basic technologies that contribute to the complex systems we refer to as Tantric Yoga. Following various steps of *prāṇāyāma*, the text describes the results:

When the subtle space that has no name is freed from all compulsions, when the consciousness has merged together in meditation, the movement of the *prāṇa* is reined in. When there is a bright circumference in front of the nose for a circuit of twelve fingers' measure, when the eye of consciousness (i.e. the third eye) becomes calm, the movement of *prāṇa* is reined in. When from practice the *prāṇa* has started dripping at the *brahmarandhra*, upwards from the palate, with the upper hole, the movement of *prāṇa* is reined in. When the consciousness, the body, and the intelligence have reached the end in the peace of the saving light in the middle of the forehead, the *prāṇa* movement is reined in. When in the firm practice knowledge arises suddenly, with no relation to any portion of the conceptualizing, the movement of *prāṇa* is reined in. From the sensation of the space of loveliness in the heart for a long time, Oh Muni, from settling down into the meditation of the mind, the movement of *prāṇa* is reined in.<sup>48</sup>

### 7.2.5. A *Yogācāra* Version of the Subtle Body

It is interesting to compare the 7th-9th century *Yogavāsiṣṭha* doctrine of the subtle body, winds, and relationship to the living conscious human being with a similar doctrine espoused by the *Yogācāra* school. William S. Waldron, in his article "How Innovative is the *Ālayavijñāna*"<sup>49</sup> discusses how the *Yogācārin*s "fundamentally restructured the theory of mind with the *ālayavijñāna* at its center"<sup>50</sup> in order to resolve systemic problems with conditioning experiences outside of "the *dharmic* analysis of momentary mental processes."<sup>51</sup> The new concept of the *ālayavijñāna* resulted in a "bifurcated model of mind" with both "discrete, momentary cognition

and an abiding, maturing and accumulating, yet subliminal, level of basal consciousness."<sup>52</sup> In his discussion of the development of the concept of *ālayavijñāna* in the *Samdhinirmocana Sūtra*, Waldron quotes a passage of the *sūtra* describing how the *ālayavijñāna* "enters the mother's womb, appropriates the body, and increases and develops within *saṃsāric* existence:"

In *saṃsāra* with its six destinies (*gati*), such and such beings are born as such and such a type of being. They come into existence (*abhinirvṛtti*) and arise (*utpadyante*) in the womb of beings.... There at first, the mind which has all the seeds (*sarvabījakaṃ cittam*) matures, congeals, grows, develops and increases based on the two-fold appropriation (*upādāna*), that is, (1) the appropriation of the material sense-faculties along with their supports (*sādhiṣṭhāna-rūpīndriya-upādāna*) and (2) the appropriation which consists of the predispositions towards profuse imaginings in terms of conventional usage of images, names and conceptualizations (*nimitta-nāma-vikalpa-vyavahāra-prapañca-vāsanā-upādāna*). Of these, both of the appropriations exist within the realms with form, but the appropriation is not two-fold within the Formless realm.<sup>53</sup>

Consciousness (*vijñāna*) is the appropriator by grasping the body, and is known as *ālaya-vijñāna* or storehouse consciousness and *citta* or mind.<sup>54</sup>

It should be fairly evident from the preceding discussion that the central paradigm of a transmigrating 'psychic apparatus'--termed *sūkṣma-śarīra* by the *Sāṃkhya* writers, and termed *ālayavijñāna* by the *Yogācārins*--was a well-established, 'common sense' paradigm in Indian culture by the mid-first millennium CE. Though the paradigms are not "the same," they do share certain fundamental presuppositions about the existence of a transmigrating consciousness or 'psychic apparatus,' the way it appropriates to itself the physical body, and the way it begins to function as a conscious, living person. It is well known to any Indologist that transmigration

doctrines appear as early as the *Upaniṣads*. What the above should demonstrate here are two things: 1) that major pre-Tantric, or essentially non-Tantric schools of philosophy in India had already thought out and elaborated to a sophisticated level the implications of the transmigration doctrine and the subtle body for theories of human development and cognition--implications that were absorbed into the Tantric traditions; and 2) that the basic idea of the existence of a subtle body was partisan-independent--i.e. it was a shared doctrine among (probably) almost all the different traditions, and it was, in fact, considered as basic a fact of life as the existence of one's own hands and feet.

**Section 7.3. The Detailed Doctrines of the Āyurvedic Medical Paradigm (7.3.1. The Importance of *Rasa*; 7.3.2. The Medical and Tantric Winds, 7.3.3. The Medical Orifices and Channels)**

The classical system of Indian medicine, *Āyurveda*, or the science of long life, and its sister science of *Tantra* or Tantric yoga, have theoretical foundations quite different from that of the modern life sciences of genetics, cell biology, neurobiology, etc. Modern life sciences have developed in concert with physics and chemistry, leading to the newer disciplines of biophysics, biochemistry, micro- and molecular-biology, and their related subjects. The paradigm used in the life sciences relies on the 106 atomic elements listed in the Periodic Table, on molecular combinations of these atoms into the complex conformations of biological structures (proteins, amino acids, DNA, etc.), on the bio-physics of physiological processes such as blood flow, changes in tissue pressure and so forth, on the chemical laws of molecular

interactions, on precise time measurements of electrical neural signals, temperature changes, biochemical signaling systems, etc. The ancient Indian 'life sciences' are premised on a rather different conceptual set. The paradigmatic premises of *Āyurveda* and *Tantra* rely on five principle elements (*pañcamahābhūtas*)--earth, air, fire, water, and space, the three peccant (disease-causing) humors or faults (*tridoṣaḥ*)--wind (*vāta*),<sup>55</sup> bile (*pitta*),<sup>56</sup> and phlegm (*kapha*),<sup>57</sup> the ten inner winds (*prāṇas*)--five major and five minor,<sup>58</sup> (and in the Tantric systems) the 72,000 inner channels (*nāḍīs*), and a variously numbered set of internal, subtle centers (*cakras*)--most scholars believe that the *cakras* are not found in the medical literature. As I will discuss below, however, there appear to be exact correlates to the *cakras* in standard *Āyurvedic* physiology. The five elements, in different combinations, are said to make up the seven tissue types of the body, the plasma (*rasa*), blood (*rakta*), flesh (*māṃsa*), fat (*medas*), bone (*asthī*), marrow (*majjā*), and semen or seminal essence (*śukra*). (The *Kālacakratāntra* also maps to the five elements the aspects of Buddhist psychology: *rūpa* is in earth, *saṃjñā* in water, identified with semen, *vedanā* in fire--and this again identified with the sun and ovum (*rajas*), *saṃskāra* in wind, space becoming *viññāna*.)<sup>59</sup> Through an intriguing pulse-diagnosis technique (among other approaches), the well-trained *Āyurvedic* physician (*vaidya*) learns to discern the person's basic constitution (*prakṛti*), and the variation or imbalance in this constitution that may lead to disease (*vikṛti*). Both basic type and constitutional variations are measured at the levels of the physical body, the humors, the elements of the tissues, and the mind or consciousness--both for balance within the individual, and balance

between the individual and his or her environment. In addition, the Ayurveda's three peccant humors (*tridoṣaḥ*)—wind, bile, and phlegm are said to course through various channels in the body, to reside in particular locations, their imbalance being the defining characteristic of every disease state. *Caraka* locates the three humors as follows: *Vāta* is in the urinary tract, colon, waist, legs, feet, bones and intestines, with the intestines being the predominant site. *Pitta* is located in the sweat, chyle, lymph, blood, and stomach, with the stomach the main site. *Kapha* is located in the chest, head, neck, joints, stomach, and fat, with the chest the main location.<sup>60</sup> The three humors phlegm (*kapha*), bile (*pitta*), and wind (*vāta*) have in turn subtle components known respectively as immunity or strength (*ojas*), luster or vitality (*tejas*), and life force or life breath (*prāṇa*). Ayurveda also speaks of a variety of internal fires in the body, the most important of these being the digestive fire (*jāṭharāgni*). When the internal fires of the body are weak, in particular the digestive fire, this results in incomplete digestion of whatever we consume, leading to internal toxins that disrupt the movement of the humors, and pool in particular locations, resulting in diseases. Positing these causal pathways leads to some curious etiologies, such as a linkage between skin rashes and asthma, as external and internal disruptions of the same humoral combinations.

### 7.3.1. The Importance of *Rasa*

The basic medical appreciation of the body begins with a very common-sense point of view: we are what we eat. What we eat becomes *rasa*, the nourishing juices derived from food that sustain physical life. As Suśruta says, "One should know that

man is made of *rasa*, so one should protect *rasa* strenuously. Because of food, drink, attitude, self-respect, and [proper] behavior, one is free of lassitude."<sup>61</sup> In the chapter on the description of the blood (*Sūtrasthānam* 14) of *Suśruta*, we have the following description of *rasa*:

*Rasa* is the name for the extraordinarily subtle essence produced from the fire of the completely digested food that consists of the five [principal] elements, is of four types, of six flavors, of two-fold potency, or of eightfold potency, and endowed with many good qualities. It [*rasa*] has the heart as its basis, and from the heart, having entered the twenty-four channels--ten of the channels go upwards, ten go downwards, and four go out horizontally, day by day, [*rasa*] satisfies the entire body, causes growth, sustains, and causes locomotion by a means whose cause is invisible.<sup>62</sup>

The other main constituents of the body--blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, semen--are all produced from *rasa*. *Rasa* in the medical context is sometimes translated as chyle, i.e. the mixture of digested food and drink that nourishes the body. So an ideally burning physiological fire is said to perfectly cook the food and drink in digestion and produce good *rasa* for the body. As mentioned above, defects in the internal fires, particularly defects in the *jāṭhara-agni* or digestive fire, lead to improperly digested elements in the *rasa* that can be toxic to the body. The opposite end of this spectrum, ideal *rasa* is said to be one of the constituents in the body of the ideal man. We find in the description of the thirty-two marks of the great man that the Tathāgata exhibits, Puṇḍarīka says that "He is [like] a lion in the upper part of his body, tall and broad, with very large shoulders, with a circular neck; (flowing) in his major and minor limbs are the best juices of the saps (*rasa-rasāgrāḥ*); the sap is the flavor, hence the best flavors of the saps; they, furthermore, are the pinnacles, drawing from the best;

i.e. because he is not besmeared with the [the three humors or *doṣas*] wind (*vāta*), bile (*pitta*) and phlegm (*śleṣma*)."<sup>63</sup> The point here is that the Buddha is envisioned as having only the superlative *rasa* flowing through his body, and since his *rasa* is the best possible, naturally he does not suffer from the disorders of the *doṣas* that result from defects in the *rasa*.

This sense of the generally nourishing *rasa* (*rasa* also refers to the ‘saps’ of plants, trees, etc.) provides a perfect opening for thinkers of other schools to expand on this notion of an essential, flavorful, life-giving juice flowing through the human body. Recall that the preeminent ‘juice’ of the Vedic system is the Soma. In the Tantras and Yoga literature, the sense of the potency of the dripping *amṛta* juice from the top *cakras* down through the body as a consumable, internally acting juice, most likely has much to do with the reason we find Soma often mentioned in the midst of descriptions of the internally flowing *bodhicitta* or *rasa* of the Tantric *yogins* and *yoginis*. The ideal states of achievement within the Tantric yogic practices of the *Anuttaryoga* Buddhists and the Kaśmīri Śaivites are often described in terms of the achievement of the state of *sama-rasa* with the divine, or the *sama-rasa* of the sexual fluids of the male and female initiates. One level *sama-rasa* simply means ‘thoroughly mixed,’ so that the flavor is the same throughout. In the Tantric systems this idea is taken to indicate that the initiates’ own nourishing juices become thoroughly mixed, and hence of the same flavor as the life-giving juices or essence of the divine śakti shooting up through the subtle body structure. What the Tantric sexual yogas aim at is to restore balance in the achievement of *samarasa*--equalize

juices, flavors, states of emotion--all three are implied--i.e. a true balancing on all levels. In the Aesthetic tradition we find in Abhinavagupta's writings that it is the same term, *rasa*, that is used to represent "a juice or flavor savored by the reader or spectator" of dramatic performances.<sup>64</sup> In the context of Aesthetics, *rasa* is usually rendered as a 'sentiment' or 'feeling,' and the Aesthetic tradition developed a very exact system of categorizing *rasas*. There are eight such 'moods,' or 'feelings,' the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the comedic (*hāsya*), the affectionate or compassionate (*karuṇa*), the terrifying (*raudra*), the heroic (*vīra*), the frightening (*bhayānaka*), the revolting (*bībhatsa*) and the astonishing or surprising (*adbhuta*), with a ninth, peaceful (*śāntarasa*) sometimes added,<sup>65</sup> and there is a complex theory about the substrates of these moods and how they are created in dramatic and poetic contexts.<sup>66</sup> So although the context of the early medical use of the term *rasa*, the Tantric use, and the Aesthetics' tradition use are different, there is a common theme running through the term *rasa*--the best nectar, the essential juice, the best part of what is integral to physical, spiritual, and emotional experience.

*Rasa* is more basically simply the term for 'flavor,' as in the flavors of foods and drugs. This is an important component of medical therapy in Āyurveda, where the flavor content of a drug also impacts its therapeutic value. The flavors are classified as six, sweet (*madhura* or *svādu*), sour (*amla*), salty (*lavaṇa*), pungent (*kaṣu*), bitter (*tikta*), and astringent (*kaṣāya*),<sup>67</sup> and each is said to have particularly dominant components of the *pañcamahābhūtas* or five principal elements (earth, air, fire, water, and space). In the administration of drugs in the Āyurveda tradition,



compounds are classed by their flavors as well as by their ingredients, with certain drugs said to have combinations of certain flavors (*mudga* is astringent and sweet, *bhavya* is sweet, sour, and astringent, *tila* is sweet, bitter, astringent, and pungent, *Āmalaki* is all the flavors except salty, and so forth).<sup>68</sup> There are also *anurasas*, or subsidiary flavors that are much discussed by the medical writers, and said to be detectable after a preparation has dried, or has been consumed.<sup>69</sup> The doctrine holds that different flavor combinations can influence the *doṣas* or humors. "(Among these tastes) sweet, sour and saline overcome *vāyu*; astringent, sweet and bitter subdue *pitta* and astringent, pungent and bitter win over *kapha*," whereas pungent, sweet and salty aggravate *pitta*, sweet, sour and salty aggravate *kapha*, and pungent, bitter and astringent aggravate wind.<sup>70</sup> This basic medical doctrine of the six flavors is so commonplace in the Indian tradition that in the so-called *bhūta-saṃkhyā* tradition, whereby the names of numbers are represented by the names of real-world objects, one of the most common representations of the number six is 'rasa' (similarly, *Veda* represents four since there are four Vedas, *Candra* represents one since the Earth has only one Moon, and so on; the *bhūta-saṃkhyā* system is widely used in the *Kālacakra* verses, particularly in sections dealing with astronomy). Puṇḍarīka discusses the physical body produced from the six flavors in his long commentary on *Kālacakra* 5.127:

The body of men and animals wherein the eating and drinking of the six flavors occurs is 'the eater and drinker of the six flavors.' In this [body] there is the collection of constituents; the mixture of the constituents-- hair, skin, blood, flesh, bone, and marrow--becomes the constituent group. How so? From eating and drinking the six flavors, and these flavors are six. The six flavors--bitter, sour, salty, pungent,

sweet, and astringent--become the intrinsic form of the constituents of the hair, etc; this is the meaning. And the six flavors [come] from the primary elements. The primary elements are the constituents earth, water, fire, wind, and space, in the form of the hard, flowing, hot, vibrating, and taste/essence ultimate particles; from those combined with their seeds, the six flavors bitter etc. come into being. The [bodily] constituents take on the intrinsic nature of the flavors; this is the meaning. They arise from the primary elements, it is said, through the influence of their abode in the sentient beings; in addition, from the perspective of ultimate reality, the constituents also become the six flavors, not through a produced-producer relationship.<sup>71</sup>

As part of the broad sweep of the *Kālacakrantra*'s inheritance from the medical tradition, we also find the flavors categorized according to the *pañcamahābhūtas* in the lead-up to the section on alchemy in the fifth chapter:

5.186: The earth is salty, water is sweet, and fire is pungent, and the wind is bitter, what is mixed [space] is sour, and taste is astringent--and thus also the womb of the soil and stones, the herbs are of six sorts, the flavors and the supreme flavors; the other constituents are the best [*indras*] of the gems; and the various tactile sensations, on earth; the waters, indeed, completely breaking and removing everything. (Commentary): Likewise the six flavors: the salt flavor has the intrinsic nature of earth; the sweet [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of water; the pungent [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of fire; the bitter [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of wind; the astringent flavor has the intrinsic nature of space, and the sour [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of knowledge. In this way, the womb of the soils and stones is the earth etc. In the same way, the herbs are of six sorts. The flavors and the supreme flavors, i.e. the *siddha* flavors. The other constituents are the best [*indras*] of the gems, i.e. six. In this way, the various tactile sensations on the earth breaking and removing everything; in this way, the waters, the mountain waters, etc. are all of six sorts.<sup>72</sup>

The five major elements are also said to make up the basic constituents of the metals and gems used in medical and alchemical practice. So we also find these in listed in the *Kālacakra*. As Puṇḍarīka says in explaining 5.185:

Here, the earth is the gold constituent, i.e. gold is yellow since its intrinsic nature is earth; silver is white since its intrinsic nature is

water; copper is red since its intrinsic nature is fire; iron is black since its intrinsic nature is wind; tin [*trapu*] and lead [*nāga*] are mixed. Quicksilver [mercury] has the characteristic of space, i.e. the characteristic of the knowledge-constituent. In this way, the six metals of gold etc. Likewise the gems. The yellow gem has the intrinsic nature of earth; the white has the intrinsic nature of water; the red [128.5] has the intrinsic nature of fire; the dark blue (*kr̥ṣṇa*) has the intrinsic nature of wind; the black or green (*śyāma*) has the intrinsic nature of space; the blue has the intrinsic nature of the knowledge constituent; because of arising from that constituent.<sup>73</sup>

It is in the alchemical writings that *rasa* takes on the meaning of mercury-- although it is clear from the alchemical section in the *Kālacakra* and from other alchemical texts I consulted as translation aids for this section, that *rasa* even in the *Rasāyana* tradition does not always refer only to mercury; in many contexts in the alchemical texts themselves, *rasa* refers simply to an elixir, or to the juice of certain plants. There are several other terms used exclusively for mercury, such as *pārada* or *sūtaka*, and these are used to distinguish mercury itself from the more general *rasas* or elixirs that mercury forms an ingredient of. As we have seen, *rasa* is a multivalent term that nonetheless always comes back to referring to a basic juice or essential liquid. Among the metals mercury is the only one liquid at room temperature, so it is not surprising that it also earned the term *rasa*. The *Rasāyana* tradition however begins with the medical *saṃhitās* long before the Tantric traditions became prominent. In the Āyurveda division of *Rasāyana* most of the *rasas* are concoctions of many different plants. The first section of the *Cikitsāsthānam* in the *Carakasamhitā* is on *Rasāyana*, and makes no mention of mercury. Caraka defines therapeutics (or what comes from drugs, *bheṣaja*) as of two types, what promotes strength and immunity in the healthy person, and what alleviates disorders. The two

types of remedies for promoting strength and immunity are *vṛṣya* (aphrodisiacs) and *rasāyana* (promotive treatments).<sup>74</sup> Among the remedies prescribed in this section is the famous *cyavanaprāśa*, made of a combination of several plants.<sup>75</sup> Caraka gives a good explanation of what to expect from a proper *Rasāyana* treatment (Sharma's translation):

Oh desirous of vital breath! Listen to me explaining the method of *rasāyana* treatment which is like another nectar, beneficial for the gods, having incomprehensible magical effects, promotes life span, provides health, sustains (youthful) age, removes sleep, drowsiness, exertion, exhaustion, lassitude and debility, restores equilibrium of *vāta*, *pitta*, and *kapha*, brings stability, alleviates laxity of muscles, kindles internal fire and produces excellent lustre, complexion and voice. By (using) this the great sages like Cyavana etc. regained youthful age and became charming for women, they also attained firm, even and well-divided muscles; compact and stable physique; blossomed strength, complexion and senses; uninterrupted prowess and endurance.<sup>76</sup>

There is still debate among scholars of Indian medicine when exactly mercury began to be used in the *Rasāyana* division of the science. When we look at the later *Rasāyana Tantras*--texts that appear to date from the eighth century onwards, and the *Rasāyana* section in the *Kālacakra*, we find that to the earlier, plant-based elixirs of the Āyurveda tradition have been added as ingredients a wide range of metals, salts, mineral compounds, bits of rocks and gems, *and* mercury. Puṇḍarīka and the author of the *LaghuKālacakratantra* verses on several occasions use analogies to the 'binding' of mercury in alchemical practices as a way of explaining how the initiate has to learn to 'bind' the *bodhicitta*. Here is one example:

Without the path, there would be for sentient beings no exit from beginningless *samsāra*, because there would be no contact with *bodhisattvas*. For this reason, the earlier *bodhicitta* was made firmly fixed by the *bodhisattvas*. The binding of this [earlier] *bodhicitta* is

twofold: [it is bound] by dispassion towards wisdom, and by passion towards wisdom. Just as there is one [type of] binding of mercury (*sūtaka*) by the combination of vapor and deposition, [and] a second [type of binding of mercury] by the combination of the fire and salt (*viḍ*) for the oxidizing of iron, etc. Of the two, the mercury bound by the combination of vapor and what's deposited, fanned by an intense fire, stays somewhat, [and] escapes somewhat. What is bound by the intense fire that oxidizes all iron and gems, whenever that is fanned by an intense fire, [it] does not escape; from that itself there arises an internal state, by the influence of the internal oxidizing of the food,<sup>77</sup> as follows--"Smoke, and vapor,<sup>78</sup> and the leap of the frog (a characterization of the pulse used in Āyurvedic pulse diagnosis), | Motion, and motionless, are the five states of the *rasa*. | |" Similarly, through the strength of the practice of meditation, the internal state of the *bodhicitta* comes into being, according to the distinctions of soft, middle, what is beyond measure, and what is immeasurably beyond measure. The binding by the combination of vapor and what's deposited is the binding of the *bodhicitta*; that [binding is accomplished] through the power of the meditation on the non-permanent person, by directly perceiving the universe of the earth, etc., [and] by dispassion towards wisdom. Just as even in the combination of the vapor and what's deposited there is the consumption of the mercury (*rasa*) with the food and metal, over a period of time, [and] by the consumption [of the *rasa*] with the food there arises an internal state [of the *rasa*]; likewise, by meditation on the transient person, by meditation on the universe of earth, etc., there arises an internal state because of the destruction of the insensate aggregates, constituents, and consciousness-bases. What's called 'internal state' is the attainment of the stages (i.e. the ten *bodhisattva-bhūmis*). In this regard, the stage is twofold--the stage that is free of passions, and the stage of the completely perfected *Buddha*.<sup>79</sup>

### 7.3.2. The Medical and Tantric Winds:

Ayurveda, as well as the Yoga and Tantric yoga traditions, posit ten major winds. The ideas of these winds date back to the earliest Vedic material, and there is an evolution of ideas over time. Originally there was inhalation and exhalation, *apāna* and *prāṇa*. Then someone figured the wind must do something inside the body while in there, so *vyāna* appeared in the *Brāhmaṇas*, the exegetical texts of the

earliest Vedas. Later other winds were added, sometimes with different or overlapping roles--as I discussed in Chapter 2. By the time we get to the medical texts there are ten named winds--five major and five minor; *prāṇa* as the general term for breathing, and *vāyu* as the set-name for all the winds, *apāna* is the term for the wind governing urination, evacuation, semen, *samāna* is a metabolic wind that digests food, *udāna* is the wind that comes up through the throat when speaking, coughing, etc., and *vyāna* is a general physiological wind coursing through the body, governing, circulation, physical activities, movement, etc. Added to these are the five minor winds, the turtle wind (*kūrma*) that governs reflexes and contraction of the limbs as a turtle does; the crocodile wind (*kṛkara*) that governs appetite, and arises in anger; the 'John Smith' wind (*devadatta*, lit: given by a god, since Hindu names are generally names of god)<sup>80</sup> that results in yawning; the 'snake' wind (*nāga*) for spitting or vomiting; and the 'prize-winning' wind (*dhanamjaya*) alternately said to be the nourishing wind--this makes sense given the name, or to govern swooning, trance, and unconsciousness. These are said in the *Kālacakra* to be associated with wisdom (*apāna*), *prāṇa* with space, *samāna* and *kūrma* with wind, *udāna* and *kṛkara* with fire, *vyāna* and *devadatta* (yawning) with water, *nāga* and *dhanamjaya* with earth.<sup>81</sup>

We cannot underestimate the importance the Āyurvedic *vaidyas* have placed on the inner winds of the body. In Caraka's *Samhitā*, *Sūtrasthānaḥ*, in the chapter on the Etiology of Wind Diseases (the *Vāta-vyādhi-nidānam* Chpt. 15), Caraka describes the wind (*pavana*) as the single common cause for activity (*ekakāraṇa*) in the entire

body (15.2), the total self (*viśvātmā*), the total cause (*viśvakarmā*), the creator (*sraṣṭā*), maintainer (*dhātā*) and destroyer (*saṃhartā*), the lord (*vibhur*), the pervader (*viṣṇu*) and the destroyer of death (*mṛtyurantakaḥ*). Strenuous effort is therefore to be made constantly to keep it *aduṣṭa*--i.e. in good shape, uncorrupted. A wide variety of painful ailments, such as joint problems, coughs, belching, vomiting, muscle spasms, premature ejaculation, loss of limb strength, etc. are attributed to *kruddha vāta*, agitated or angered wind.<sup>82</sup>

### 7.3.3. The Medical Orifices and Channels

A most ancient doctrine (found in the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmaṇas*) holds that there are nine gates to the body, the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, anus, urethra; to these are added the vagina and breasts for women, giving a total of twelve (we also find twelve gates mentioned in the *Kālacakra*). Added to these are 210 joints (*saṃdhis*)--68 in extremities, 59 in trunk, 83 above neck; 900 ligaments or tendons (*snāyus*)--600 in extremities, 230 in trunk, 70 above neck; 500 muscles (*peśt*)--400 in extremities, 66 trunk, 34 above neck; here again we have 20 more muscles in women--10 in breast after puberty, 4 in vagina, 3 in uterus, 3 for propagation of embryo. There are some 700 vessels (*sirās*), said to water the body like a garden is watered by ditches--10 basic ones (*mūlaśirās*) in heart leading the nutritive fluid (*ojas*) through the body; 72,000 *nāḍīs* also start from the heart (in some *Upaniṣads* these start from the navel)--175 blue for wind; 175 red for bile (*pitta*); 175 white for phlegm *kapha*--giving the colors of the U.S. flag. There are either 24 or 200 *dhamanīs* starting from navel--10 upwards for in and out breathing,

yawning, sneezing, laughing, and speaking, 10 downwards for wind, urine, feces, sperm and ovum, and 4 circular with many branches for perspiration.<sup>83</sup>

While the muscles, joints, ligaments, etc. are fairly straightforward to define and locate, the various type of ‘channels’ or ‘vessels’ represent a more difficult subject. There is much debate between the medical texts about them, and some inherent confusion since sometimes certain terms are used as synonyms, and at other times with different meanings. Caraka asserts that *sirās*, *srotas*, and *dhamanī* are synonyms, and have the same functions, while Suśruta disagrees with this. Ḍalhana, a commentator on Suśruta, says the *sirās* carry the three humors, blood, etc., and have the colors rosy, red, blue, and white, and says the *dhamanīs* carry sense impressions (presumably nerves), and the *srotas* carry the *dhātus*, i.e. life breath, food, water, chyle, blood, flesh (i.e. muscle tissue), and fat. Caraka speaks of channels (*srotas*) carrying the seven bodily tissue types: wind-carrying (*prāṇavaha*) *srotas* from the heart, water-carrying (*udakavaha*) *srotas* from the palate and lungs, food-carrying (*annavaha*) *srotas* from the stomach, chyle (*rasa*) carrying *srotas* from the liver and spleen, muscle-tissue carrying *srotas* from the ligaments and skin, fat-carrying *srotas* from the kidney and omentum, bone-carrying *srotas* from the fat and buttocks, marrow-carrying *srotas* from the joints, and semen-carrying *srotas* from the testicles and penis.<sup>84</sup> There are also urine-carrying channels from the bladder and groin, feces-carrying channels from the intestines and rectum, and sweat-carrying channels from the fat and hair follicles. So Caraka has what we would consider the rather odd idea that basic tissue types can also migrate through the body much as



other liquids. The problem here is really with the denotations of the terms we use to translate Sanskrit into English. Evidently ‘tissue’ is an inappropriate term for the body’s *dhātus*, and even our English equivalents for these seven *dhātus*, viz. plasma or nutritive fluid (*rasa*), blood (*rakta*), flesh (*māṃsa*), fat (*medas*), bone (*asthī*), marrow (*majjā*), and semen (*śukra*), are not entirely accurate. Blood certainly flows, as does semen, yet in modern physiology bone, fat, and flesh do not ‘flow.’ On the other hand, we know at a cellular level all the organs of our body are constantly being replaced, so that there is a steady process of growth and decay going on simultaneously. In bones, for instance, there are *osteoblasts*--the bone-growing cells, and *osteoclasts*, the cells that consume dead osteoblasts. The rate of activity of these two types of cells are kept in balance by factors secreted by the immune system--and these factors do circulate in the body. So it may be that *in the context of the seven dhātus*, the term *asthī* refers to circulating bone growth and destruction factors, while in other contexts it refers to actual bones. This would not be the only instance where Sanskrit terms are multivalent in tightly related contexts. *Nāḍī* also can refer to arteries, veins, and nerves, as well as other channels in the body.

Vāgbhaṭa speaks of external *srotas* going to the bodily orifices--nose, eyes, ears, mouth, rectum, urethra, with three more in women for the breasts and menstrual blood. He adds thirteen internal ones for respiration, the seven tissue types discussed by Caraka, the three bodily wastes, water and food.<sup>85</sup> He says there are 700 *sirās*, with bluish-red ones carrying blood mixed with *vāta*, bluish-yellow carrying blood mixed with *pitta*, and whitish carrying blood mixed with *kapha*, and deep seated red

ones carrying pure blood. 24 *dhamants* radiate upwards, downwards, and sideways from the navel.<sup>86</sup> Vāgbhaṭa gives fairly precise locations for most of his *sirās*, and though the majority of these appear to be blood vessels (either veins or arteries), lymphatic circulation vessels, sweat glands, and the various types of nerves. He says that the root *sirās* are located at the heart, transporting the *rasa* and *ojas* to the whole body, big at their roots and very small at the tips, like the lines on a leaf.<sup>87</sup>

#### 7.4. The Detailed Doctrines of Tantric Physiology

It is evident from examining a variety of passages on the *nāḍīs* in different Tantras that the doctrines of the channels was somewhat fluid, and varied a bit according to the interpretive needs of different school. Typically there are three primary channels running along the spine, ten major ones carrying the ten winds through the body, and 72,000 total. Abhinavagupta states that the principal channels are three, with the others innumerable.<sup>88</sup> The Kaśmīr Śaivite *Svacchandatantram* 7.7-11a speaks of ten principal channels radiating from the navel, circle like, upwards, downwards and sideways; the lord's *Śakti* is situated at the base of the penis, below the navel, and circulates through the channels as the wind. Seventy-two thousand channels go out from those, and others go out from those [seventy-two] again and again. There are as many channels as there are tips of bodily hairs; just as the petal of a *Palāśa* [tree] is pervaded entirely by filaments, the body of all living beings is entirely pervaded by channels.<sup>89</sup> *Hevajatantra* 1.1.13-20 gives the three primary channels and a list of thirty-two channels (or veins, as Snellgrove translates *nāḍī*),<sup>90</sup> and the *Kālacakratantra* at one point even numbers nine channels.<sup>91</sup> The

*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, two very important texts for tracing the development of earlier Buddhist doctrines, do not mention the channels. However, this probably has nothing to do with doctrines of the channels in earlier Buddhism. The encyclopedic *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* also does not discuss the subject.

*Kālacakratāntra* 2.9 speaks of extremely subtle channels (*atyanta sūkṣma nāḍikās*) involved in the growth of the embryo and the formation of the various limbs in what appears to be a direct borrowing from the medical ideas. Verse 2.58 of the same text explains the relationship of the yogic channels to the medical ones:

Six channels are the enclosers of the cakras. They carry ten substances and have the nature of confluence. Once multiplied by two, then again multiplied by two, and still once more multiplied by two, they have the portions of phlegm, bile, and wind. Due to the power of the guru's precepts, they are the givers of death and the bestowers of life and health. The channels of time within the six cakras are the removers of the fear of death. This is not strange to the yogis.<sup>92</sup>

In the commentary to *Kālacakra* 2.57 the text provides a similar version of the basic Āyurveda doctrine of the flow of the three *doṣās* through the channels in the body:

The four [channels] in the crown [-cakra] and the sixteen [channels] in the forehead [-cakra] are disturbed by the element of phlegm. The thirty-two [channels] in the throat [-cakra] and eight [channels] in the lotus of the heart are disturbed by the element of bile. The sixty-four [channels] in the navel [-cakra] and sixteen [channels] in the secret [-cakra] are disturbed by the element of wind. The other obvious and definite [ten] and six [channels] in the secret [cakra] are the conjunctions and the enclosers.<sup>93</sup>

After some detailed discussions of the channels, and the number of channels radiating from the different *cakras*, the section concludes with the remark that "*Kālacakra* consists of the one hundred and sixty-two channels of the six cakras."<sup>94</sup> So it is clear from this that the basic physiological doctrines of the *Kālacakra Tantra* are indebted

to the basic physiological doctrines of the earlier medical tradition.

The Tantric system adds to its medical inheritance a fascinating doctrine of the relationship of the multi-dimensional life force and higher states of consciousness to the physical body. The basic doctrine is shared in most of its essential components by the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric systems. Thurman provides a straightforward summary of the basic subtle body system from the Buddhist perspective. The Buddhist system organizes human awareness into 1) a coarse body and coarse mind consisting of the dense physical body with its senses (*indriyas*), elements, and sense; 2) a subtle body consisting of the *cakras*, *nāḍīs*, and *bindus* with its three "luminance-intuitions" (*alokas*) that are mapped to the cosmic fires: Moon, Sun, and *Rāhu*; 3) the extremely subtle body and mind of the indestructible drop and the clear light:

The subtle body roughly corresponds to what we think of as the central nervous system. It is not as much the 'wet-ware' (brain-matter) of the system as it is the pattern structuring it into a vessel of experience. The nerve channels are a structure of energy pathways that consist of thousands of fibers radiating out from five, six, or seven nexi, called wheels, complexes, or lotuses, themselves strung together on a three-channel central axis that runs from the midbrow to the tip of the genitals, via the brain-crown and the base of the spine. Within this network of pathways, there are subtle 'drops' of awareness--transmitting substances, moved around by subtle energies called winds. The subtle mind corresponding to these structures and energies consists of three interior states that emerge in consciousness the instant subjective energy is withdrawn from the gross senses. These three are called luminance, radiance, and imminence (the deepest state of the subtle mind), and are likened to pure moonlight, pure sunlight, and pure darkness. In unenlightened persons these three are mixed with normally subconscious instinctual drive-patterns, called the eighty natural instincts (a long list including various types of desires, aggressions, and confusions).<sup>95</sup>

In addition to this subtle body the Tantric system posits an extremely subtle body

known in the Buddhist systems as the indestructible drop (*akṣaya-bindu*) carrying the clear light. "At this extremely subtle level, the mind-body distinction is abandoned, as the two are virtually inseparable."<sup>96</sup> In the *Trika Śaivite* Tantric system the equivalent to this extremely subtle is called the *para* or ultimate; in *Trika* the collection of gross body (*sthūla*) with the senses and elements, the subtle body (*sūkṣma*--also called the *puryaṣṭaka*) including the life breaths (*prāṇa*), and the ulterior (*para*) are referred to as the *kula*.<sup>97</sup>

The second or *Adhyātma* chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* gives us detailed information on the anatomy of the subtle body from a Tantric perspective. *Kālacakra* 2.27 reads: "The Inborn body of the Jina, which is without nature and with nature, [arises] in the secret, crown, and navel [-*cakras*]. Due to the efficacy of the properties [of the *cakras*], the Dharma-body (*dharmakāya*) arises in the heart-*cakra*, the Enjoyment-body (*saṃbhogakāya*) of the Jina arises in the throat-*cakra*, and the Emanation-body (*nirmāṇakāya*) arises in the drop (in the head). According to the succession of presiding deities, the heart-*cakra*, the throat-*cakra*, and the lotus in the head (i.e. the brow *cakra*) are the Dharma [-body], Enjoyment [-body], and Pure [body]."<sup>98</sup> The commentary explains that the six *cakras* of the subtle body function as the support for the four Buddha bodies, and we learn from subsequent verses that the various Buddha-clans are also arrayed in the *cakras*, and this is followed by a highly specific mapping of the external cosmos and universal time coordinates to the initiate's body. In fact we might call much of the doctrine in the *Kālacakra* and other Tantras a set of multi-dimensional mapping coordinates, describing in great detail how

what was considered to be the real universe at the time, with multi-staged heavens and hells and world realms occupied by a host of different sorts of beings and composed of a wide range of combinations of different elements, mountains, oceans, and so forth, all could actually be found in the structure of each individual initiate's body.

Puṇḍarīka provides a specific description of the array of *cakras* and *nāḍīs* in the body:

Here in the body, there are three channels of three families (*kula*), which hold the drop (*bindu*) of the body, speech, and mind. In the navel, that is, in the jewel of the secret *vajra*, there are channels of six families: *lalanā*, *rasanā*, *avadhūti*, and three conveying the feces, urine, and semen. The channels of the thirty families [include] six channels of the six *cakras*, beginning with the crown [*-cakra*], etc., and ten [channels]: two apprehending sound, two apprehending touch, two apprehending taste, two apprehending form, and two apprehending smell. Within the navel-*cakra*, in the other circles (*apara-maṇḍaleṣu*), there are the *nāḍīs* of the twelve zodiacal transits (*saṃkrānti*) and the *nāḍīs* of the eight parts of a day (*prahara*).<sup>99</sup>

Evidently the Tāntrikās conceived of *maṇḍalas* that are *within* the *cakras*. Through these inner spheres of the navel center are *nāḍīs* flowing with the time periods of all twelve astrological signs, as well as the time periods of the eight three-hour watches of the day (called *praharas*). In the *uṣṇīśa* or crown of the head center there are four channels on four petals of its lotus for the four *saṃdhyās* of the day. The heart *cakra* also has eight channels, *rohiṇī* etc., that support the *samāna* wind, and through these eight *nāḍīs* flow the eight *praharas* of the days. Through the sixteen channels of the head (i.e. the brow) *cakra* flow the sixteen *tithis*. In the throat *cakra* are the twenty-eight *nakṣatras*, causing the four *daṇḍa-nakṣatras*, giving a total of thirty-two to fit

the thirty-two petals of the throat lotus.<sup>100</sup> Evidently what we have here is a detailed schema (there is more detail than what I have included here) for a precision mapping of the movement of time, day in and day out, both externally and in the subtle micro-circuitry of the *cakra-nāḍī* system. For the Tantric initiate, then, ‘experiencing time’ is much more than a metaphor--it is a psycho-physical actuality that can be precisely defined. This type of focus is not dissimilar in its logical structure--though greatly dissimilar in its categories--from the descriptions of modern biology. In modern Life Sciences, continuing research is pushing towards the point where we could theoretically provide a precise timing description for almost all of the processes occurring in the mind-body complex that science describes as the human being. Thought *x* takes *y* milliseconds to fire through *a-w* neurons in the brain, triggering particular neuromuscular pathways down through my arms and into the movement of my fingers that type words that take further *z* milliseconds to go through the computer circuitry and onto the screen. Further permutations of this process could describe the readers’ reading of this dissertation, our metabolic functions during these processes, etc., with timing of molecular events, cellular functions, glandular secretions, and so on (much of this sort of timing has already been mapped in modern Biology). The point is not that the Tāntrikās were doing modern biology--rather, that within the world view of their time, and their doctrinal assumptions about the nature of reality and human beings, they appear to have given as precise a description of psychophysical functioning as they could, using their own categories.

#### **7.4.1. The Tantric Knots and Their Upaniṣadic Precursors**

The Tantric systems, in an inheritance from the Yoga traditions and the *Upaniṣads*, we have an extremely interesting doctrine of the knots (*granthis*) in the *cakras* of the subtle body. We find references to the knots in several of the earliest *Upaniṣads*. The *Chāndogya*, describing the person who knows the correct teaching about the *ātman*, says: "He takes pure food and he is pure; while he is pure, his teaching remains true; while [it] remains true or faithful in recollection or memory he is entitled to the loosening of all the knots.... After the impurity is removed away from him... the Bhagavān Sanatkumāra shows to him the yonder bank beyond darkness... (that is why) they call him *Skanda* (the surmounter)..."<sup>101</sup> These are the places where the subtle transmigrating life energies are tied into the dense physical body. In Tantric Yoga, as we have in the *Upaniṣads*, it is understood that at the time of death these knots loosen up, becoming untied, so that the life breaths can gather back in the heart prior to leaving the body. Yet the Tantric traditions also indicate that the initiate can learn by practicing the Tantric Yogas--while they are still alive--to see into the dimensions they will travel into at death. What the initiates learn to do is loosen these knots without dying, precisely the sort of teaching Sanatkumāra provides in the *Chāndogya*. The same idea is present in the *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* of the Black *Yajurveda*, taught to Nāciketas by the god of death, Yama:

When all the passions vanish which nestle in man's heart, then the mortal one becomes immortal, he already here attains Brahman. When all the knots split themselves, the knots which ensnare the man's heart, then the mortal becomes immortal--so far extends this teaching. Hundred and one are the arteries of the heart, from these one leads towards the head. He who ascends that up, attains to immortality; the other (arteries) serve as an exit on all sides. The Puruṣa, of the size of a thumb, is continually to be found in the inner soul in the hearts of



created beings. One should pull it out of the body cautiously, as one would pull the blade out of the reed. One should know him as pure (*śukra*), as immortal--one should know him as pure, as immortal.<sup>102</sup>

In the Tantric texts, the doctrines based on this earlier system are further elaborated. The channels running on either side of the central channel are said to tie across each other in the *cakras*, and knot particularly three times in the heart where the *akṣara-bindu* or indestructible drop is located. The Yogas are designed to loosen these knots, as explained by Hopkins, who refers to the *granthis* as 'restrictions' and explains that during the death process the *prāṇas* or *vāyus* circulating in the body dissolve into the left and right channels, and then into the central channel. Then the knots that bind the transmigrating consciousness into the body loosen as the *prāṇa* begins to flow in the central channel.

This induces manifestation of subtle minds, which ordinary beings fear since they feel they are being annihilated. Yogis of the Highest Yoga Tantra, however, put these same states to use in the spiritual path. At the central channels, there are white and red drops, upon which physical and mental health are based--white predominant at the top of the head, and red at the solar plexus. These drops have their origin in a white and red drop at the 'heart', which is the size of a large mustard seed or small pea and has a white top and a red bottom. It is called the indestructible drop, since it lasts until death. The very subtle, life-bearing wind dwells inside it and, at death, all winds ultimately dissolve into it, whereupon the clear light of death dawns.<sup>103</sup>

So here we have identified the pathways and mechanism whereby the dying individual leaves the body to go into the *antarabhāvaḥ* or state between death and the new life. In the earlier *Upaniṣads* it is indicated that the desirable state is to go to heaven, in the Sun, rather than returning here for another birth. By the time of the Tantric texts the idea of heaven in the Sun appears to have been relativized into the

notion of multiple heavens in all the stars, linked to multiple dimensions, and all of these are remapped into the subtle body of the human being in the holographic micro-macro-cosmic type-identity mapping systems that we will discuss in more detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation. The focus in the Tantric texts appears to have shifted more to the idea that we will all reincarnate, in part as a result of the influence of the *bodhisattva* ideal in the Buddhist tradition that describes the liberated being as staying around earth and reincarnating for the sake of helping other people attain liberation.

#### **7.4.2. The Four States of Consciousness in The Upaniṣads and Tantras**

From the days of the *Upaniṣads* we have in India the doctrine of the four states of consciousness, waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state. Yājñavalkya in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* describes how these four states relate to the states of living and dying: "There are two states of this spirit: The present one and that in the other world; a middle state, as the third, is that of sleep. When he stays in this middle state, he views both those states--the present one (in dream) and that in the other world (in deep sleep)."<sup>104</sup> The doctrine is that when one goes into deep sleep the *puruṣa* returns to its source in the Sun, and is also free to wander in dreams: "Throwing off, in sleep, that which is of the body, it, itself sleepless, views the sleeping organs; borrowing its light, it then returns again to its place--the golden spirit, the one bird of passage (*ekahaṃsa*)."<sup>105</sup> The rarely described fourth state is identified with *Brahma* who is the *ātman*, and there is a mapping of this fourth state to the death state as well, so that the four states of consciousness become mapped to the states of existence. Just as we repeatedly cycle through waking, dreaming, deep

sleep, the fourth state, deep sleep, dreaming, waking (for another day), and so on over the course of our physical lives as beings who are awake for part of 24 hours, and then sleep in dream and deep sleep states for another portion of this time, so too the Indians conceived of us as living a physical life, dying, passing through an intermediate or between state, and being reborn into another life.

The Tantric practitioners bring an enthusiasm to the death realms that eradicates the normal fear thereof. Hence we find included in the Tantric tradition as a whole the oddball cults celebrated in cremation grounds, the wild images of naked men and women dancing with skull garlands about their necks, and smearing their bodies with the ashes of the dead. Even the more conservative Tantric cults tend to use skull-cups in their rituals. Why? To smash the paranoia and anxiety about death, to destroy the panic at the loss of identity that one fears will ensue with the destruction of our individual identity. Yet the objective is not to die, and the cults are not ritual murder or ritual suicide cults. Far from it. Instead what we have is a confrontational attitude, a challenging of the initiates to confront and master these varied states of consciousness, and in so doing gain control over the fundamental processes of life and death. What is so intriguing about the Tantric systems is the relationship of the sexual yogas to the death process. We will examine the specifics of the initiation processes preceding the sexual yogas in Chapter 8, and the sexual yogas themselves in Chapter 9. What is important to understand here is how the classical Indian four states of consciousness are mapped into the subtle body system, undergirding the practices of Tantric Yoga, and providing a rationale for the practices

of the sexual yogas.

In the Buddhist system the doctrine of the three bodies of the Buddha is mapped to three of the four states of consciousness: the *Dharmakāya* or Dharma Body is mapped to the sleep state and death, the *Sambhogakāya*, the Enjoyment or Beatific Body, is mapped to the dream state and the between state, and the *Nirmāṇakāya* or Emanation Body is mapped to the waking state and human life. In the Buddhist Tantric system another Buddha body, the Innate, Intrinsic or Orgasmic Body, *Sajaha-kāya*, is added to the schema, and identified with the mysterious fourth state. The four bodies are then epitomized as a fourfold mind or consciousness-lightning (*cittavajram caturdhā*), i.e. a sort of super-electrified state of consciousness that connects in an alert fashion all four states of awareness. These are then mapped into the functional structure of the subtle body *cakras* and *nāḍīs*. The fourth-state *Sahajakāya* is mapped to the navel; the deep-sleep *Dharmakāya* is localized to the heart; the dreaming state *Sambhogakāya* is mapped to the throat center; and the waking state *Nirmāṇakāya* is mapped to the brow *cakra*. When the male and female initiates together master the practice of non-ejaculatory orgasm in mutual embrace, the flowing *bodhicitta* becomes poised in these centers and the initiates' awareness opens up to all four states simultaneously. The key to this doctrine, though it is not mentioned here, is that through the sexual yoga practice the initiates loosen the knots (*granthis*) in the heart and other *cakras* just as happens in the dying process, yet in the sexual yogas they use the opening up of consciousness to the other dimensions as an opportunity to integrate these dimensions into their living human state, rather than

leaving their body behind as happens in deep sleep or death. The following description is from the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā*:

Now, the cessation of waking-etc. is described--5.125: Waking and dreaming's intrinsic form, and the other, this intrinsic form of deep sleep and the fourth [state]; [59.125] Situated in the body, dissolved in the breath, [it] spreads to the sense objects, without moving, dissolved in the thinking;| Situated in knowledge, through the embrace of a woman, the moment also exists in the flowing *bodhicitta*; From the emanation etc., the restrained, fourfold mind-lightning sequentially comes forth into being. ||125|| "Waking" etc. Here, situated in the body of the transmigrators, i.e. situated in the head, the *bodhicitta* is the characteristic of the waking-[state]. Dissolved in the breath, i.e. located in the throat, it is the intrinsic state of dreaming. In both states [59.10] it spreads to the sense objects. Without moving, dissolved in thought, located in the heart, also this other one, i.e. the third, thought, the intrinsic nature of deep-sleep. The knowledge state, i.e. located in the navel, the intrinsic nature of the fourth [state], through the embrace of a woman, the characteristic of the unejaculated moment's. When the *bodhicitta* is flowing,<sup>106</sup> that itself is the thought, fourfold, stopped, the characteristic of the emanation-, enjoyment-, *dharma*-, and innate-bodies, of the *Buddhas*, comes into existence. Therefore, from the emanation etc., sequentially, the restrained fourfold thought lightning comes forth into being. ||125||

When this state is achieved, we are said to have four imperishable drops in the four centers, with *Kālacakra* taking over Indra's role as the Soma juice, here called "Moon-juice" (*candra-drava*), dripping from the uvula in the Yogi's mouth, the "Indra-womb" we discussed from the *Taittirīyopaniṣad's Śikṣāvallī* (See Chapter 7.2.3), as the initiates become *Kālacakra* and his consort:

5.37: The lord's lotus with all the lightning bolts, and with the syllables and with their seeds residing in the diamond jewels, Universal joy everywhere, the abode of equal happiness, the universal time of the lightning bolt possessor;| In this moon flow, who enters into the guru's mouth, he alone is *Kālacakra*; Called the time of the *māras*, causing fear of dying, this is the *ḍākinīcakra*. ||37|| [24.10] "The lord" etc. In this regard, the *uṣṇīṣa* etc. six *cakras*, there is the transit of the *yoginīs* by the syllables *ka* etc.; therefore, the lotus of the lord that is

the central lotus in the *maṇḍala*, it is with all the lightning bolts, i.e. with the **four imperishable drops**, i.e. unejaculated, with those situated in the lightning gems, the lotus located in the lightning jewel is universal joy everywhere, the abode of equal happiness because of its imperishability, the universal time of the lightning bolt possessor, producing joy among the *yogins*. So **in this moon juice**, in the imperishable happiness, **who enters into the guru's mouth**, in the knowledge face, he alone is [24.15] *Kālacakra*, he becomes a *yogi*, this is the rule. So that *cakra* is called time, since it is said to consist of ignorance, etc. Of the *māras*, of the four aggregates etc., it causes fear of dying, this is the *dākinīcakra*—free of all obscurations, it is not composed of the host of other deities. ||37||

In glossing *Kālacakra* 5.119 Puṇḍarīka explains how, when the initiates have mastered the sexual yoga practice, they gain insight into the void-state of reality. The mastery is also concomitant with perfection of the *prāṇāyāma*, i.e. the complete stilling of the flows of the winds through the subtle body channels. The point seems to be that as long as the *prāṇa* still moves in the left and right channels, instead of being brought into the central channel and then stilled, one will be subject to illusion and suffering.

Here, the appearance of the void is invisible, having the shape of the earth it is seen, it is not firm; having the form of a **fluid**, a mirage, like water, and it is not water because of lack of flowing-ness. In the same way, the shape of fire is not fire. The body of moving wind, [56.5] because it is not flowing, is not moving, and it is not wind. Because there is no substance, there is the form of the void, and that is seen, like an illusory city, endowed with the colors white etc., yet because there is no substance, it is also invisible. Though it has all forms, it is always invisible to immature people. That is because of what reason? Because of the existence of addictions and *māras*, because of the movement of the *prāṇa* in the left and right channels. This is the rule. ||119||

The *Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* give us a precise description of the movement of the winds and *bodhicitta* in the channels. The body, speech, and mind of traditional

Buddhist doctrine are mapped to the waking, dreaming, and deep sleep states, with the fourth state mapped to *jñāna*, true knowledge or intuition, a Buddhist Tantric addition to the earlier schema.

Now the location of the movement<sup>107</sup> in the channels is stated...Here, the sound in the heart, the thought drop, generates the state of deep sleep. The drop, i.e. the body drop in the forehead, generates the waking state. The digit, i.e. the speech drop in the throat, generates dreams. Knowledge (or intuition), i.e. the knowledge drop in the navel, generates the fourth state. [Those] are located in the place of the nectar, the chain-bound channels. The ones located there are the ones located in the nectar place, i.e. the *lalanā*, *rasanā*, and *avadhūti*; those, because of being chain-bound,<sup>108</sup> forming a triple path between the navel and the heart, and splitting the heart pericarp in the middle of the *avadhūti*, proceed with the *lalanā* and *rasanā*<sup>109</sup> using the left and right petals. Then, forming a triple path between the heart and the throat, again [56.20] it proceeds; in the same way there [they form] a triple path between the throat and the forehead, and between the forehead and the *uṣṇīṣa*. In this way, forming four triple paths, the *lalanā* "goes to the highest place, ending in twelve [finger widths] and ending in [sixteen] digits" (*Kālacakratantra* 2.47), as stated in the *Adhyātma* Chapter. The *rasanā* also goes [to that place] by the right [nostril], the *avadhūti* simultaneously goes [to that place] by both nostrils. In the same way, forming a triple path below, between the navel and the concealed, moving through the feces and urine channel<sup>110</sup> on the left and the right, [moving] through the middle of the *śaṅkhinī*<sup>111</sup> in the concealed lotus, [and] moving through the middle of the feces channel below the concealed lotus, going through the urine channel on left in either the penis [*liṅga*] or in the vagina [*bhaga*], [56.25] [and] going through the semen channel on the right--such is the movement through the channels as described in the *Adhyātma* chapter. In this way the triple paths of the *prāṇa* and *apāna*: the upward paths of the left, right, and middle for the *prāṇa*, and the downwards paths of the feces, urine, and semen for the *apāna*. The vagina of women is the lotus together with the lightning bolt because of its vibrations. The lightning bolt together with the jewel, because of its perishability, is itself joined to the lotus, because of its blossoming. In the middle of the rubbing together of the wind is in the middle of the rubbing together of the *prāṇa* and *apāna* in the navel. The sense domain, i.e. the unseparated place. And there is the exit and entry of the senses, i.e. the channels of the eye etc., in the sense domains, and in the navel. That in fact was described previously. [57.1] Perceiving the cause of smoke etc., is

by the door of the *avadhūti*'s; because of the word also, that too is in the navel. All that is secret, to be protected from immature people. This is the rule. || 120 ||

### 7.4.3. The *Sahaja-Kāya*--A Fourth Buddha Body

The *Sahaja-kāya* or Innate (orgasmic) Body that is identified with the fourth state, with *jñāna*, and with the navel drop, is described in the *Kālacakra* as including or consisting of the waking/body/*nirmāṇakāya*/forehead drop, the dreaming/speech/*saṃbhogakāya*/throat drop, and the deep sleep/mind/*dharmakāya*/heart drop. This fourth state/*jñāna/sahajakāya*/navel drop is a state of awareness that includes and transcends time, includes and transcends wisdom and means, includes and transcends male and female, and is perfectly transparent--the clear light. Since it is innate, it is innate to both man and woman--it is not restricted to either sex (reflecting the Tantric traditions' even-handedness towards the two genders). The *sahaja-kāya* consciousness provides the initiates with a *perspective on time* itself by taking awareness up and out of linear sequential time. The point here is that imitates gain the ability to see into the past and into the future, with specificity, knowing specific past events of any particular time, and specific future events at predictable times. This is the fruit or result of practicing the time yogas of the *Kālacakra* (wheel of time or time machine) system. Especially worth noting in this passage is the reference to the *saṃbhogakāya* as existing for the sake of sentient beings, seeming to cry out in its desire to help them. This is the fundamental point of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna tradition--that all of these techniques and practices are for the sake of liberating all living beings.



Here wisdom consists of fifteen *kalās*,<sup>112</sup> the bright fortnight; the dark fortnight [that is] the waning of the [fifteen] lunar *kalās* is the means. Similarly the bright is the night and the dark is the day. So the innate body is neither wisdom nor even means, this is the innate body of the *Buddhas*. In this way the bright fortnight is non-existent, nor is there a dark [fortnight] [since] it consists of unreal *kalās*; neither is real or unreal; [45.25] since they are mutually denied [logically], there is no meeting of the two. There is not even the non-existence of both--that is to say, the innate happiness is not without both the bright and dark fortnights. In this way, the innate body is said to be the complete purification of the four logical possibilities (*catuṣkoṭi*), the sixteen *kalās*, [and] possessing the property of voidness, [46.1] because it is characterized by flowing, and because of the indestructible fourth [state] of the *yogins*. Hence it is proven that it is neither male nor female. Here the innate body, in fulfillment of one's own interests and in fulfillment of the interests of others, becomes<sup>113</sup> the *dharmā* body, through the dissolution of deep sleep.... Therefore, because of the distinction between perceiving and perceivable, the *dharmā* body, with the intrinsic nature of [both] wisdom and means, is the agent for the purpose of others. And it is produced from the innate [body]. In this way the innate is flowing in the navel, ripened in the *dharmacakra* [and] in the heart; it is this *dharmā* body, the enjoyment body, for the fulfillment of the interest of others, crying out, seemingly, the agent for the purpose of many sentient beings. Here, with the divine eye, the form without past or future is seen as a reflected shape, perfectly transparent; in that [perfectly transparent form] the sound that issues forth is the echo (*pratiśabdah*) the enjoyment body, is intrinsically wisdom and means. With the divine ear [46.10] the divine *vijñāna* is the perceiver, the echo is the perceivable. Therefore one knows the calculation of time in the past and the future, in a certain *kalpa*,<sup>114</sup> in a certain *yuga*,<sup>115</sup> in a certain year, in a certain month, in a certain fortnight, in a certain day etc., such and such occurred, such and such will be. Therefore, intelligent beings are to be taught, i.e. through the dissolution of the dream state, in the throat, human effort is the enjoyment body, because of retaining the semen (*ūrdhvaretasah*). For the sake of the maturation of intelligent beings this one again becomes the enjoyment body, it becomes the emanation body, intrinsically wisdom and means. Though one of the intelligent beings, because of seeing its various emanations, [it appears to be] many. In the same way the union of one and many [46.15] is evidently wisdom and means, covertly the cessation of [both] one and many. It is also, through the dissolution of the waking state, in the forehead [*cakra*] the spotless emanation body, "the completely visible form, the jewel ensign,<sup>116</sup> the great gem" [*Nāmasaṃgīti* 9.24].<sup>117</sup> Thus the one is the

innate, it itself is the *dharmā-*, the enjoyment-, and the emanation-  
[bodies]—so it is fourfold. || 89 ||

#### 7.4.4. The *Trika* System Parallels to the *Kālacakra* Doctrines

The *Trika* system espouses a virtually identical doctrine in terms of the Tantric physiology that undergirds its Tantric Yoga practices. Padoux provides us an outline of the *sūkṣmadhyāna* discussed in Chapter 7 of the *Netratāntra*: the subtle body in this version contains, in addition to six *cakras*, twelve knots (*granthis*) and sixteen supports (*ādhāra*) along the body's axis, five spaces or voids (*śūnya* or *vyoman*), three dwelling places or abodes (*dhāman*) and three subtle centers that radiate the *nāḍīs*. The *mantras* blast their energy into these *prāṇa* channels to transform one's body into a *divyadeha* or divine body, free of death and disease. Intensive meditations are required, whereby the adept collects his vibrational energy (*Spanda*) in the 'bulb' of his subtle body (the *kanda* at the base of the spine) after it has reached down through the *bhuvanas* to *Kālāgni*--the *Kālāgni* Bhairava that the *Svacchanda* describes as located at the bottom edge of Brahmā's egg. Then the *vīrya* or seminal energy as *śākta-spanda*, the vibrational energy of *śakti*, is sent up through the genitals to the *suṣumnā*, permeating the sense organs, piercing the six *cakras*, loosening the twelve knots, penetrating the five voids and the three abodes.<sup>118</sup> There are two slightly different types of meditation described (from the *kula* and Tantra traditions); Padoux describes the latter, and Brunner provides for the first a list of the *ādhāras* (top of the head, mid-brow, palate, throat, heart, naval, and the 'joy-sense organ' (*ānandendriya*), i.e. the genitalia) mapped to the various *vyoman*, *cakras* by other names (*śānti*, *dīpti*, *bhedana*, *yogi*, *māyā*, and *nāḍī*), the *granthis* (*Śakti*,

*nāda, bairava, dīpikā, indhikā, sadāśiva, īśvara, rudra, viṣṇu, brahma, pāśava,* and *māyā*), and the *sthānas* (*Śiva, śakti, sadāśiva, īśvara, rudra, viṣṇu,* and *brahma*).<sup>119</sup>

This process excites the *bindu* (drop) that produces the immortality nectar (*amṛta*), and this nectar is then channeled down through the channels of the subtle body to pervade the entire system. In the end he becomes immortal, *Mrtyujit*, the conqueror of death, or *Kālajit*, the conqueror of time.<sup>120</sup> Abhinava says there are twelve goddesses abiding like disks of the Sun, and in each one of them the fire, Sun, Moon, and the peacefulness of the fourth state appear. And that unexcelled *cakra* (of solar goddesses) radiates outward from the heart by means of the ‘sky-paths’ of the senses (the eye etc.) into each of the sense domains (or sense objects). And through the sequence of creation, maintenance, and destruction that takes place in each sense domain by the light-rays from that *cakra*, the form whose nature is the light of the Moon, Sun, and Fire remains steady.<sup>121</sup> The yogi follows this meditation sequence as a means of collapsing the universe into his or her internal subtle wheels (*cakras*) of progressively more numerous light rays, thereby reenvisioning the entire sensory perception process as a sort of magnificently expansive divine-holographic experience. This maps quite nicely to the *Kālacakra* notion of collapsing the dimensions into the subtle body during the sexual Yogas.

Just as we find in the *Kālacakratāntra* system, the *Trika* doctrine as expressed in the *Mālinīvijayottara* exhibits a complex pattern of mapping doctrinal categories onto perceived given facts about reality. Here we have the various categories of existence that emerge from Śiva and Śakti mapped into the four normal states of

awareness, i.e. waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state, beyond deep sleep, familiar to readers of the *Upaniṣads*:

And in *Trika* one should notice that the self is divided into *Śakti*, the will of *Śakti* and *Śiva*; And reality is well known to be recognizable in the five-natured category as being the ruler together with [its] activity, and being the impeller of what is devoid of that; because of the cessation of desire, and because of being self-established, and undivided—it is fivefold. (Here begins a discussion of the set {a) *piṇḍa-stha*, b) *padastha*, c) *rūpastha*, d) *rūpātūtam*, and e) *tūryātūtam*): Furthermore, the category of the names of these states is also made clear: the (a) body-resident and the universally beneficent are considered to be the two names for the waking [state]. [They] prefer (b) situated in the place, and pervasion as the two names for dreaming. (c) Situated in a form and the great pervasion are the two names for deep sleep. A collection, and what is beyond form are properly said to be [the two names] for (d) the fourth [state]. The perceptive ones prefer the great collection (*mahāpracayam*) and (e) what is beyond the fourth [state] (*tūryātūtam*). This category is so called due to the distinction between the various principles; you must listen to how all these five principles [are distinguished]. The combination that will be established of these names of the elements and the principles is [what is] desired. That they say is [what is meant by] (a) "body-resident;" [they] know it as beyond (b) what's located in the place [*pada-stha*]; The *mantras*, the masters of them, and the rulers are what is meant by (c) "residing in the form." What is (d) beyond form is the *Parā Śakti*, including activity, and free of diseases. (e) *Śiva* is recognizable as unmanifest, without appearance, purified, established in one's very own self, beyond everything; whoever knows that becomes liberated. The (a) body-resident is fourfold, awakened and also not awakened; the (b) place-resident [*pada-stha*] is also fourfold, well-awakened and really well awakened. What's called (c) *rūpastha* is considered fourfold by those meditating by *Yoga*: going and coming, well-dispersed, come together, and well-assembled. The (d) other is likewise arisen, spacious, peaceful, and very clear. And (e) is what agitates the mind, is endless, [achieves] all objectives, and is permanently arisen. (Then, as a footnote, the text adds:) In the collection (i.e. (d), the fourth state), the one is recognizable, situated in that *mahat*. So in this way it is said that the fivefold path is now threefold: It is said that the principle of the *ātman* has as its limit the entirety of consciousness; and what's called knowledge (*vidyā*) ends in *Śiva*; what remains they know as *Śiva*'s place; In this way this path is widely known to be divided into these categories. Now, the

simultaneous differentiation of all the paths is [also] stated: The (a) earthly, the (b) prākṛtic, the (c) illusory, and the (d) śāktic--thus that fourfold egg is briefly described. The one primary principle is indicated there to be pervaded by the earth--individually, non-dual, countlessly, singly, individually. In the *manus* of the flood of words one should remember the flood of *kṣa*, individually, one by one. From the realm of the *Kālāgni*, up to what is above the city of *Vṛabhadra*, the sixteen-fold city is known. The sixfold path is well-known. And with the [feminine] satisfying one there is the second; and in that one may recognize the principles.<sup>122</sup>

Just as we find *Kālacakra* identified with the 'Moon-Juice' dripping from the uvula when the initiates attain the interconnected multidimensional hook-up into the cosmic web with their indestructible drops poised in the *cakras* as the four states of normal consciousness and the four Buddha bodies, so too we find the nectar dripping from the palate in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, chapter 21:

So then the supreme secret is described, the supreme nectar of the knowledge of Śiva, for the destruction of sickness and death of the yogis. In the sixteen-spoked throat *cakra*, whose pericarp is fabricated from the Moon, one should meditate on *Parā* in her own form, there, flowing as the nectar of immortality. The perceptive one, bound together in the single moment by prior application [of mantras], having afterwards also drawn in the tongue, placing it on the soft palate, should meditate on the divine flowing nectar of immortality, white as the disk of the Moon; his mouth becomes filled with somewhat salty water, that smells a bit metallic; however, one should not drink it, one should spit it out. One should practice thus, until what [really] achieves that (i.e. *siddhi*) is produced.<sup>123</sup> Freed from old age and sickness, [it] is produced, drinking that, then, after six months, easily after a year, one becomes a conqueror of death.  
(*Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 21.1-21.6)

Evidently in the Śaivite Tantra the idea is present that the first drips from the uvula are not the actual nectar, perhaps like a bit of rusty water in the pipes; after the flow has run for a while it clears, and one can taste the real nectar.

## 7.5. The Doctrine of the Vital Points and Their Relationship to the Subtle Body

A subsidiary and not commonly understood doctrine of the medical channels is the doctrine of the so-called vulnerable or vital points (*marman*). This is one of these doctrines one often finds mentioned in passing in a wide range of non-medical Sanskrit texts, yet never explained. There appear to have been many such doctrines in ancient India that were apparently considered common knowledge at some point, yet for modern scholars usually remain a bit mysterious. Partly out of sheer frustration at my own ignorance on the subject, I looked carefully through the section on *marmans* in Vāgbhaṭa's texts, and found some surprising correspondences between these points and the *cakras* of the subtle body. Since I have read rather widely in the secondary literature on the *cakras* and to some extent in the secondary literature on the medical tradition, and have begun to read more widely the primary medical and Tantric literature, I believe I am safe in saying that the following section of my presentation--linking the *cakras* to a particular subset of the *marmans*--has never before been pointed out by either Western or Indian Indologists (of course one never knows what may still lie hidden away in one of those conference proceedings volumes or old academic journals).

In listing the locations of the channels Vāgbhaṭa specifies subsets that are not to be cut with sharp instruments. Most of these appear to be blood vessels, though some appear to be nerves. Each limb has 100 *sirās*, with a particular one called *jālandharā* not to be cut; there are 32 in the pelvis, with two on either side of the groin (*vanṅṣaṇa*), and two at the crest of either pelvic bone (*kaṭikataraṇa*) not to be cut; sixteen in the flanks of the torso (*pārśva*) to be avoided. There are twenty four

on either side of the backbone, and two of these on each side are off limits; two on either side of the genitals in the abdomen to be avoided, among the forty-eight there; in the chest there are forty *sirās*, and of these two each at the upper edge of the breast, two each at its lower edge, one at the heart, one each at the sides of the chest, and one each at the sides of the back should not be cut. There are also forty-eight in the neck, with sixteen off-limits--two *nīla*, two *manyā*, two *kṛkāṭika*, two *vidhūra*, and eight *māṭṛkās* that cannot be cut. Sixteen in the lower jaw, and one should not cut the two at the joint of the jaw; sixteen in the tongue, with four at its base controlling taste and speech that should not be cut; twenty-four in the nose, with two of these and one in the palate not to be cut; fifty-six in the eyes, with a set of six controlling the eyelids and eye movement not to be cut; sixty in the forehead, with seven located at the center of the eyebrows, two above the eyebrows, and four at the hairline to be avoided. Sixteen in the ears with two controlling hearing to be avoided. Sixteen in each temple, with two to be avoided; twelve in the head, with two at the edge of the hair on the temples, one at each of the five sutures of the skull, and one at the crown of the head to be avoided.<sup>124</sup>

### 7.5.1. The Locations of the Vulnerable Points

Now most of the locations listed as places to avoid cutting are identified as the so-called *marmans*, vital or vulnerable points on the body, where a wound is usually fatal. This was a very reasonable medical doctrine to develop in a society where warfare was widespread and fairly frequent. There are 107 of these, eleven of these in each of the two legs, and in each of the two arms; three in the stomach region,

and nine in the chest; there are fourteen in the back, and thirty-seven above the collar-bone.<sup>125</sup> Though some of the descriptions are a bit tedious and unpleasant, they are, I think, particularly relevant to the system of nerve channels and *cakras* or centers that is so central to the complicated meditational yogas of the Tantric systems (I have provided a complete comparative translation of the sections on the *marmans* from the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* and the *Aṣṭāṅgasamhitā* in this endnote<sup>126</sup>). There is one in the center of the sole of each foot and in the palm of each hand (*tālahṛdayam*), and piercing it causes death. Another set of four called "quick" (*kṣipra*) are located between the thumb and forefinger, or between the big toe and fore-toe, and piercing those causes death by convulsions (a "wind" disease). Another set of four at the base of the thumbs or big toe are called "a bundle" (*kūrca*)--piercing these causes tremors in the affected hand or foot. At the base of the palms and heels are the 'heads of the bunches' (*kūrcaśiras*), and piercing these causes swelling or breakage of the bones. The ankles and wrists have vital points (*gulpha* and *maṇibandha*) whose injury can numb the lower legs or forearms, break the bones or weaken the hand or foot. Injury to the "abodes of Indra," (*indravastī*) at mid calf or mid-forearm can lead to death by blood loss, though that can be prevented by cutting off the blood flow. The knees and elbows can be injured, causing a limp, or crippled lower arm, and there are points called 'linch pins' (*āṇī*) just above the knees and elbows that cause pain. There are points in each thigh and each upper arm that can cause the limb to wither; points at the base of the thigh bone or upper arm (*lohītākṣa*--'blood point') that can cause paralysis; points on either side of the genitals between the groin and scrotum (*viṭapa-*



-‘sprout or branch’) that when injured can cause impotence or diminished semen. In the upper body there are points between the clavicle and armpit (*kakṣādhara*) that can cause deformity of the arm. A blow to the anus point (*guda*) causes instant death; there is the *basti* or bladder point that when wounded directly causes death, and when wounded on the side can cause urinary problems, kidney stones. A navel point that can cause sudden death. A heart point that can cause sudden death. Two points below the breasts that when wounded cause death by internal bleeding; two above the breasts that cause death by the viscera filling with phlegm and blood (perhaps by injury to the lungs). Two at the brachial tubes (*apastambha*) that when injured lead to death from coughing fits and breathing difficulties. Two below the shoulders on the sides (*apālāpas*); when the blood in a wound here turns into pus, one dies. There are the two at the tops of the pelvic bones (*kaṭīkataruṇa*) that when injured lead to death from loss of blood, withering of the appearance, loss of color, etc. The two *kukundara* points are at on either side above the crack of the buttocks, and injuries there cause paralysis of the lower body. The two *nitamba* points are at the top of the backs of the hips--when injured the lower body swells, followed by a feebleness and eventual death. The two "side-joint" points (*pārśvasandhi*) cause death from internal bleeding; the two "broad" (*brhatī*) points cause death from external bleeding; the two shoulder blade (*aṃsaphalaka*) points cause paralysis and emaciation of the arms. The two shoulder (*aṃsau*) points also cause paralysis of the arms.

Then we have the points above the collar bone. The two ‘dark-blue’ (*nīla*) points at the inner ends of the clavicle, on either side of the voice box, cause loss of

speech when injured. The two next to them (*manyā*) cause loss of taste; there are four *mātrkās* on either side of the neck, and injury to them causes instant death. There are two at the back or nape of the neck (*kṛkaṭikas*)--when injured they cause head tremors. Two just behind and below the ears, in the small depressions there (*vidhura* = depression) that when injured cause deafness; two inside the palate near the nasal openings, shaped like hooded serpents (called *phaṇa* or flared, like a serpent) that when injured cause loss of smell; two called *apāṅga* at the outer corners of the eyes, that when injured cause blindness; two just in front of the tops of the ears called *śaṅkha* (the temporal bone, a conch shell) that when injured cause immediate death. Two at the small depressions in the forehead just above the ends of the eyebrows (*āvarta*) that when wounded cause either blindness or damage to the sight. Two just above the temples (*utkṣepas*) and one in the center of the eyebrows (*sthapanī*) are where one will survive a wound as long as the arrow is allowed to fall out of its own accord--extract it and you will die immediately. Five points along the sutures of the skull that will cause madness, delusion, unconsciousness or death. There are four in the palate where the sinuses meet--with openings (they say) to the tongue, eyes, ears, and nose--injury there causes immediate death. Then, finally, there is a *marman* at the very top or crown of the head called "the ruler" (*adhipatī*). It is the meeting point of all the channels (*sirās*) and joints, and a wound there will be immediately fatal.

### 7.5.2. The Vulnerable Points and the *Cakras*

Looking at the points where wounds prove immediately fatal, that is, the anus,

the lower bladder point, the navel, the heart, the eight "mothers" (*mātrkās*) on either side of the neck, the four points inside the palate, potentially the points at the temples and between the eyebrows, the two temporal bone points on either side of the head, the points in the center of the palms in the hands and feet, and finally the point at the crown of the head, we find that we have locations that correspond, for the most part, to the locations of the major *cakras* or centers of the Tantric yoga system of *nāḍīs* and *cakras*. And while these points are discussed in the Indian medical literature in terms of their potential fatalness, it is precisely these same potentially instantly fatal points (with the possible exception of the temporal bone points) that become the focus of the intense meditational yogas of the Tantric tradition. The location of the *sahasrāra/uṣṇīṣa cakra* correlates exactly with that of the *adhipati marma*. And just as the *nāḍīs* in the Tantric physiology lead to the crown *cakra*, so that raising the *kuṇḍalīnt* or *bodhicitta* to the top of the head is an essential aspect of Tantric yoga, so we find that in the Āyurvedic doctrine the internal channels are said to go to the top of the head. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* 4.36b-37a says: 'Inside the head, on top, at the meeting place of the channels and the joints, the parting of the hair, is the vulnerable point named *adhipati*; injury there results in immediate death.' The commentary explains: 'What is located inside the head; above that, i.e. beginning from there, on top of the head, is the meeting place of the channels and the joints (*sirā-sandhi-samāgamah*); the conjunction of the channels and the joints; the particular vulnerable point called the *adhipa* is characterized by the parting of the hair.' The commentary on this same passage at *Āṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* 4.45 further clarifies this: "The *patiḥ* is the regent of the

vital points, there is one of those, and it is located inside, on the top of the head."

The other *marmans* also are located at the other major *cakras*: the *sthapanī* is at the location of the *ājñā cakra*--the 'command' center or 'third eye' center at mid-brow, called the 'forehead center' (*lalāṭacakram*) in Buddhist systems; the *hṛdaya marman* is at the location of the *hṛdaya cakra*--sometimes called *anāhatacakram* ('unstruck') in Hindu systems; the navel point (*nābhi marman*) is at the location of the navel center (*maṇipūra*, in Hindu terminology; usually just *nābhicakram* in Buddhist systems); the bladder point is roughly at the location of what is called the abdominal center (about four finger-widths below the navel) called the "self-established" center (*svādhiṣṭhāna*), and the anus point (*guda*) is located at the anus center called the "root-base" (*mūlādhāra*); these latter two are usually just referred to as one, called the *guhya-cakram* (private or secret center), in the Buddhist terminology. The eight "mother" vital points are roughly at the location of the 'purified' throat center (*viśuddha cakra*, often called simply the *kaṇṭha-cakram* in Buddhist systems.).

Though I do not know the technical yogic names for them, there are also important *cakras* at the centers of the palms of the hands and feet--these are often depicted in Indian iconography. A passage from the *Kālacakra* describing the marks of the ideal man (i.e. Buddha), makes explicit the connection between the *cakras* in the hands and the feet, and the rest of the *cakras* in the body, represented here by the crown *cakra* and the navel *cakra*: "Here the marks of the great man are as follows--the two soles of the Tathāgata's feet and the two palms of his hands are marked with *cakras*; the two soles of his feet are well connected [or established in, *supraṭiṣṭhita*, by linking

*nāḍīs*] to the completely filled thousand-rayed *cakra* and to his navel (*cakra*)."<sup>127</sup> The same passage describes the Tathāgata's brow *cakra* as follows: "the *maṇḍala* above the brow consists of the thirty-two [marks], with an extremely subtle white [just like] the white of bits of cotton, turning clockwise."<sup>128</sup> The only location where I have not seen or read about a yogic *cakra* is at the temples, though these are on the axis with the brow *cakra* that is in any case said to be inside of the head, the so-called third eye. In some of the more detailed descriptions of the *cakras* given in later Hindu Tantric Yoga and Yoga texts there is also a center located roughly where the 'crossroads' points are located at the top of the palate. It is to this upper palate *cakra* that Yogis sometimes turn the tip of their tongue during various meditation practices, so as to 'drink the nectar' dripping therefrom. This is exactly the same location referred to as 'Indra's *yonih*' in the *Taittirīyopaniṣad*'s *Śikṣāvallī* passage cited above, and in the *Kālacakratāntra* passages also cited above. We find in most Tantric descriptions of Yogic bliss that the experience includes the dripping of nectar or drops from this point, a curious consistency with the name given in the *Upaniṣad* that suggests a very ancient Yogic practice and doctrine is integral to the Tantric Yogas.

An important point to notice here is that the Tathāgata's brow *cakra* it is referred to as a *maṇḍala* turning clockwise. Normally the *cakras* of the body are depicted as static in iconography (usually paintings). Here however we have an indication that the *cakras* are in motion. Both terms, *cakra* and *maṇḍala* refer most literally to wheels or circles. Wheels tend to move. Yet the *cakras* are also described as lotuses, with the spokes of the *cakras* represented by the lotus petals. As

described in the *Upaniṣad* passage cited above from the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* the heart lotus is said to be facing downwards. So we have a dual overlay of descriptions for these centers with imagery that is not completely compatible. The *maṇḍalas* of the Tantric iconographical and visualization meditations are spherical, not flat circles. And we have descriptions in the *Kālacakratantra* indicating that there are *maṇḍalas* located inside the *cakras*. Just as in the *Upaniṣads*, where a spherical cavity inside of the heart is described, in the Tantras we have multiple spherical sub-centers localized to the various *cakras*. No doubt had the wonders of three-dimensional computer imaging and virtual-reality representations been available to the early Tantric artists, we would have been left with three-dimensional depictions of the *maṇḍalas* used in their meditations instead of the two-dimensional images we commonly find. The same appears to be true for the *cakras*--from the descriptions of the respective sizes of the vital points it appears that at these must have been thought of as three-dimensional locations; otherwise the dimensions given make no sense. The *marmans* located at the *cakra* points, the anus, the lower bladder point, the navel, the heart, the eight 'mothers' (*mātrkās*) in the neck, and the four 'crossroad' points in the palate, are among the twenty-nine points said to measure the size of the palm of one's hand. The two 'conch shell' points (*śaṅkhas*) in the temples (mapping to the third eye *cakra* depicted in the center of the brow) and the 'ruler' point (*adhipati*) at the top of the head (mapping to the crown *cakra*), are among the fifty-six points measuring half a finger's breadth.<sup>129</sup> While it is difficult in the sometimes oblique language of the *Kalacakratantra* to find exact measurements of the *cakras* (measurements of their

locations are given frequently and are easier to understand), I have located a couple of these. In a section on the "purification of the body *maṇḍala*" where the outer cosmos is mapped to the measurements of the initiate's body, the text does indeed state that the crown *cakra* is half a finger's width in dimension: "And in the *Meru* place, it is half a finger width; for the lord of victors, [this is] a thousand *yojanas*."<sup>130</sup> The 'Meru' location is a mapping of the highest point of the outer cosmos to the top of the head.

Visualizing these lotuses, or *cakras/marman* points as spherical, or three-dimensional, and radiating with the sort of fiery, lightning-like, or solar brightness and energy described in the Tantric texts gives us an impressive image of the dense human body filled with a pulsating divine light that rivals anything produced in the best science fiction movies of our day. I mention this only as an attempt to bring out more of the character of how it seems the subtle-body *cakra* system was actually thought of in the tradition. It is all too easy to forget--through the influence of the mind-numbing complexities of Tantric iconography, the plethora of two-dimensional paintings, and the static nature of the Tantric artistic tradition of sculptures and paintings--that the *Tāntrikās* were referring to phenomena that for them were real, living, animated and experiential.

### 7.5.3. Matching Locations of the *Cakras* Described in the *Kālacakra*

In the *Kālacakra*'s *Vimalaprabhā* these locations of the major *cakras* (in the Buddhist version of them) are given explicitly: "The *uṣṇīṣa*," etc. Here, from the *Bhagavān*, from the lord of victors, from the *uṣṇīṣa* to the middle of the eyebrows,

i.e. in the middle of the brow, is the sun and a half *āṅgulas*, a distance of twelve and a half finger [widths]. From that to the throat lotus, likewise, a distance of twelve and a half finger widths. To the heart, also, twelve and a half finger [widths]. Then to the navel and secret lotus, likewise, i.e. to the navel lotus, twelve and a half finger widths; likewise, to the secret lotus, twelve and a half finger widths. From there, from the *uṣṇīṣa*, to the end of the secret lotus, the length of the body is sixty-two and a half finger widths."<sup>131</sup> (These *āṅgulas* or 'finger widths' are not some abstract measuring system with a standard size as in an inch or a meter, they are rather the individual's own fingers--so that the measurement system used is customized to the individual. This is standard practice in Indian medicine, where the amounts of drugs to be taken by the patient are for instance sometimes dosed in terms of the amount that patient can hold in their own hand--the different the size of the hand, the different the size of the dose.) The Buddhist *cakra* systems typically conflate the two lower *cakras* at the genitals and the base of the spine into one, generally referred to as the secret or private (*guhya*-) center. However, these are essentially the same *cakras* as in the Hindu system, and certainly the same locations identified in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya* and *Aṣṭāṅgasamhitā* sections on the *marmans*. The measurements for the locations of the *cakras* are given again at *Kālacakratantra* 5.183, where they are used as the basis for building a *caitya* whose proportions exactly match the distribution of the *cakras* in the body.

#### 7.5.4. A Physiological Rationale for *Cakra* Meditations

So it would certainly appear that the physiological focal points of Tantric



meditational yogas are designed to strengthen the very locations of the naturally vulnerable points of the body. The logic behind such a focus is already implicit in the medical tradition's definition of these points. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya, Śārīrasthāna* 4.38 says: "A vulnerable point is also the meeting place of muscle tissue, bone, tendons, arteries and veins; so *life resides intensely in these (tena atra sutarāṃ jīvitam sthitam)*." The commentary paraphrases this: "So the meeting places of the flesh/muscle etc. are said to be those types of vulnerable points. For this reason, life resides intensely in these places--i.e. in these places the life breaths are established.' The commentary on the next verse adds, in typically repetitive commentarial fashion: "There are six sorts of *marmas*, i.e. a six-fold arrangement. By this word 'arrangement' is established the definition that there is *an arrangement of vital points since they are determined to be the location of life in man.*" An additional reason for the particular character of the nineteen points that cause instant death is that they are considered points of elemental fire, the *agni mahābhūta* of the five basic elements. At *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha, Śārīrasthāna* topic 7.56: "The vital points causing instant death," verse 2.518 reads: "The anus, the bladder, the navel, the heart, the [eight] *mātrkās*, the *śaṅkhas* (temples), the *śṛṅgūṭakas* ('the meeting place of four roads' in the palate), and the *adhipati*, these are the nineteen causing sudden death; because they are fiery (*āgneyatvāt*), the time of death from them is shorter than seven days." Given the central role played by the bodily fires in basic health as defined by Āyurveda, and the central role of psychosomatic fires in all its various forms in the subtle body system of the Tantras, it makes perfectly good sense that these

'instantaneously' fatal points--that are also the locations of major *cakras*--would have the nature of fire. In keeping with the logic of these points being the major locations of the life force in the body--as defined by the medical tradition--we also find in *Caraka* the remark that "There are only ten seats where the vital breaths are located--such as--two temples, three vital organs (*marmatrayam*--heart, bladder, and head), throat, blood, semen, ojas, and anorectal region."<sup>132</sup> The physician who knows about these is called the *prāṇabhisara* (promoter/attendant of vital breath). The only one missing in his definition is the navel. A similar list that includes the navel is given by Vāgbhaṭa, who refers to the ten seats of life (*jīvita dhāma*) as the head, the base of the tongue, the throat, the blood, the heart, the navel, the bladder, the semen, the *ojas*--essence of the tissues, and the anus.<sup>133</sup> Although no specific directions for enhancing the life energy in these points is given in the medical texts, *Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha Śārīrasthāna* topic 7.75 notes that there is no damage from the vital points for those whose health has not diminished. 2.537: "In this body that is pervaded by vital points, good health protects the vital points; therefore the wise one should always use healthy/living things. That one is protected from the damages to injured vital points."

While we have seen in section 7.4 that Tantric practice involves a rather complex appreciation of the psychophysical anatomy, the correspondence of the locations of the indestructible drops in the *cakras*, and the *cakras* with the vulnerable points of the body where the seats of life are most intensely located gives us by implication a very strong rationale for pursuing Tantric practice. It suggests that

while the death meditations as we find developed in the Tibetan tradition were a crucial aspect of Tantric practice, they were crucial precisely because they taught a person to die properly so that they could be reborn properly. To use a sporting metaphor, we could say that mastering the death meditations were akin to learning to fall properly when practicing a martial art or when downhill skiing. The objective is to fall properly so that you can get back up without being injured, so you can continue the game. The objective of most of the Indian Tantric material I have looked at so far certainly seems--however outlandish this might appear--to be the attainment of an incorruptible, unaging superconscious body that would allow the practitioners to become living human supermen and superwomen, endowed with all the magical abilities called *siddhis* (flying through the air, endowed with super-hearing, clairvoyance, telepathy, etc.), free from diseases and free from old age, maintaining the physique and energy of a late teenager or someone in their mid-twenties. To accomplish these aims we find the texts counseling elaborate initiation procedures leading up to a culminating (hetero-) sexual yoga experience, accompanied by controlled indulgence in meat, wine, and other stimulatory substances. Coupled with these concerns are passages on rejuvenating elixirs, and even, in the case of the latter part of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra*, a detailed section on the preparation of alchemical potions claimed to stave off aging (some sections speak of ridding the person of grey hair and wrinkles) and restore the individual to the youthful appearance of a sixteen or eighteen year-old (although the actual recipes appear to be poisonous). Just to give an example, we find this objective explicitly stated in

*Kālacakratāntra* 5.228: "[Taking] equal [parts] of the *daṇḍā* [and] *utpala*,<sup>134</sup> with the juices from their own tender leaves, [and] of the *śāliparṇī*,<sup>135</sup> and of the *abjasāri*, pressing [these together with the] *rasa* [and] the sulphur with the iron in the magnet and the leaf for three days, also| One should eat it for six months, at the proper time every day, in the amount of one quarter of a *ṭaṅka*,<sup>136</sup> [143.10] Freed from the diseases of leprosy etc., free from wrinkles and grey hair, he has the appearance of an eighteen year old."<sup>137</sup> We cannot deny, then, that a specific concern of Tantric practice was to enhance psycho-physical vitality as part of the larger spiritual endeavor of aiding the liberation of humanity. As with Nietzsche's ideal of the *übermensch*, the Tantras aimed at the ideal of every pair of initiates becoming a real living Buddha and Buddha consort, or a real human Śiva and Śakti.

There is one very important point to keep in mind with regard to the Buddhist approach to Tantra. In the *Mahāyāna* system one of the central prerequisites to becoming a *bodhisattva* is to renounce the option of ultimate *nirvāṇa* and final withdrawal from this dimension for the sake of helping all living beings to reach enlightenment and liberation from suffering. The *bodhisattva* vow includes the acceptance to work towards this end over the course of however many lives it takes, even should this require millions of lifetimes. The Tantric Yoga practices involve learning how to collapse or embed the other dimensions into this one through the medium of the initiates' subtle bodies. Since this process includes embedding into the subtle body multiple cycles of time, this implies that the initiates can embed into this lifetime all of the millions of past experienced and future potential lifetimes of

evolution, providing them with a massively accelerated evolutionary pathway through the medium of Tantric Yoga.<sup>138</sup>

#### 7.5.5. Etymology of the *Cakra* and Major *Nāḍī* Names--Hidden Meanings

I should take a moment to discuss give a more detailed etymology of the names of these centers, and the channels running through them, since they reveal some interesting ideas built into the subtle body system. The lowest *cakras* in the Hindu system is referred to as the root-base (*mūlādhāra*) at the bottom of the spine, a perfectly reasonable name for the supporting base position--this *cakra* is generally not included in Buddhist schemas. The genital *cakra* in the Hindu system is called the 'self-established' or 'self-governed' (*svādhiṣṭhāna*); this appears to refer to the fact that in common parlance the genitals are often said to "have a mind of their own." In Buddhism this *cakra* is generally referred to as the secret or private center (*guhya*), a term not too different from our English sense of "one's private parts." The navel center in the Hindu system is called 'filled with a gem' (*maṇipūra*) or navel (*nābhi*), the latter term more common in the Buddhist texts. 'Filled with a gem' appears to simply derive from the Hindu practice of wearing jewelry at the navel; though we could elaborate esoteric ideas from this--one thinks particularly of the sexual connotations of the famed Buddhist *mantra* *Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*--I have found no support in the texts for doing so. The heart center is in the Hindu system called the 'unstruck,' 'intact,' 'not produced by beating,' or 'unobstructed,' (*anāhataḥ*) or heart (*hṛdaya*), and *Dharmacakra*, the latter two common in the Buddhist texts. Some Yoga texts also speak of the *anāhata-nāda* or 'unstruck sound' that is the essence of

Brahman, existing at a subtle level of speech. Given the critical role for the heart center delineated in the *Upaniṣad* passages discussed above, the name *anāhata-cakra* appears to also have a rather profound esoteric sense--the center for the essential *Brahman* residing in the human subtle body structure. This doctrine also relates to the ancient Vedic meaning of the term *Brahman*, as a name for the spoken *mantra* as a hymn, or as the Vedas themselves--*brahman* in this sense represents the sacred sound of the Vedas themselves. The throat center is in the Hindu systems called the 'purified' (*viśuddhaḥ*) or throat (*kaṇṭha*), or the *Sambhoga-cakra*, the latter two common in the Buddhist texts. 'Purified' appears to refer to the idea that the initiate has to become purified to use the Tantric *mantras*, just as the Vedic initiate must also go through purificatory rites before being allowed to recite the Veda. The third eye or brow *cakra* is in the Hindu system called the 'command' (*ājñā*) or brow (*lalāṭa*) center, and *Nirmāṇa-cakra*, the latter two common in Buddhist texts. The name *ājñā* may have something to do with the Śaivite doctrine criticized by Puṇḍarīka and the *Ādibuddha* text where Śaivite Tāntrikās are disparaged for following Śiva's command (*ājñā*); otherwise it would appear to simply refer to the fact that the initiate who has 'opened' his or her third eye has gained some sense of command over their own psyche. This no doubt also has something to do with the doctrine outlined in the *Upaniṣad* passages that state that one becomes the 'master' or *patiḥ* over one's various sense and mental functions when one realizes the truth. The crown center, at the top middle of the skull, that has the most telling name. Sometimes this is called the *brahma-randhra* or hole of Brahman, since it is from this point that the departing

soul is believed to leave the body for heaven upon death, and Vedic funeral rites actually include a cracking open of the deceased's skull to facilitate this process. More commonly in the Hindu systems this is called the 'thousand-rayed' (*sahasrārah*), a term derived from the Sun, since the world of the Sun is also called the 'world of a thousand light rays,' *sahasra-kiraṇa-loka*, as it is by Puṇḍarīka in the *Vimalaprabhā*.<sup>139</sup> This name has important implications for the relationship of the subtle body system to the heavenly world of the Sun, and the celestial cosmic fire in the three-fire doctrine inherited from the Vedas. In the Buddhist texts the crown *cakra* is more commonly, though not always, referred to as the *uṣṇīṣa*. The name appears to derive from the designation of turbans worn by non-Āryans used in the Vedic texts.

Running up through the *cakras*, and woven around them, are three major channels (*nāḍīs*), called in the *Kālacakratantra* by both their Hindu and Buddhist traditional names. In Hindu terminology they are the *iḍā* on the right, the *piṅgala* on the left, and the *suṣumnā* in the center. As I discussed in Chapter 2.6, these names, etymologically, refer respectively to the sacrificial food (meat, ghee, etc.) offered to the gods in the Vedic sacrifice (*iḍā*), the Soma juice, the consciousness-altering beverage of the ancient Vedic rituals (*piṅgala* = tawny, or reddish brown, a frequent epithet of the Soma plant's juices), and "truly delightful" or "wonderful" (*suṣumnā*). Inside the *suṣumnā* is the *citrīṅī* channel, this being a name for one of the ideal types of women in the *Kāmasāstra* or erotic literature tradition in India (See Chapter 9.1.2). The Buddhist versions of these names are equally suggestive, though perhaps less

obviously so. *Rasanā*, the name for the right channel, refers etymologically to a woman's girdle, a rope or cord, or a rein; both the neuter and feminine versions of the word (*rasanam*, *rasanā*) are typically used in Sanskrit as the term for the tongue, i.e. what tastes the *rasa*. *Lalanā*, the name for the left channel, refers etymologically to a woman in general or a wanton woman, coming from the root  $\sqrt{lal}$ , to frolic or sport freely. *Avadhūtī* is a feminine derivative of the word *avadhūtaḥ* = an ascetic, one who has renounced or shaken off (*ava* +  $\sqrt{dhū}$ );  $\sqrt{avadhū}$  also = the shake, move, waver, or tremble. So a literal translation of *avadhūtī* could either be "she who shakes, moves, vibrates or trembles," or "the (feminine) renunciate," both terms quite in keeping with the ideas Buddhist interpretation of Tantric Yoga, with the vibrational energy of the *bodhicitta* traveling up the central channel, and with the (male) initiate embodying within himself all of the ideals of the earlier monastic tradition, and then transcending these through personal engagement with the feminine. Inside of the *avadhūti* is said to run the *śankhinī* channel, another one of the ideal types of women in the erotic literature tradition, in this sense similar to *citriṇī*. Particularly in the Buddhist texts, the central channel is often simply called that, the *madhyama-nāḍī*, just as many of the *cakras* are often in the Buddhist text simply called by their anatomical locations, throat, heart, navel, etc. As I said, both of the Hindu and Buddhist sets of names are used interchangeably in the *Kālacakrantra*, though Puṇḍarīka in his commentary tends to favor the Buddhist terms, and both sets of names are suggestive of two fundamental aspects of Tantric practice--the heightening of consciousness, and the role of women



in sexual yogas; specifically, it is through the practice of sexual yogas that one comes most fully to an activation and awareness of the flow of *prāṇa*, *kuṇḍalinī*, or *bodhicitta* through these ‘feminine’ channels. These Tantric texts are written largely from the perspective of men; we find for instance typologies of women as prospective sexual partners in Tantric Yoga practice, yet we tend not to find matching typologies of men (though such is given in the third chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*), suggesting that women were probably not the authors of the surviving written major Tantras. Given this male perspective in the writing, it is not therefore that surprising--though it is also not necessarily that obvious--that the terms for the principal channels are all in the feminine case in Sanskrit: *nāḍī lalanā*, *rasanā*, *citrinī*, *avadhūtiḥ*, *suṣumnā*, *idā*, *piṅgalā*. To elaborate this perspective a bit further, we might say that for men, the ‘feminine side of our nature’ is in the Tantric systems more than just a sense, abstraction or feeling. To return to the ‘web’ sense of the term *Tantra* discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, we could say that--in the Tantric system--for men our ‘feminine side’ is the web or network of the subtle body energy channels. The logical correlate of this of course is that for women the subtle body is their ‘masculine side.’ This would be in keeping with the deeply sexual perspective of the Tantric systems that I have studied--though this is a speculative perspective of my own invention, not one I have found delineated in the Tantras. In addition to this caveat, the term *cakram* is neuter, and it is usually in compound with the various names of the centers, so we should not try to make too much of word-gender here.

## 7.6. Healing Techniques in the Tantras (7.6.1. Medicine and Healing Meditations

**in the *Kālacakra Tantra*, 7.6.2. Visionary Type-Identity Mapping of Physical Component Analysis of the Embryo Growing in the Mother's Womb, 7.6.3. Healing Meditations from the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*)**

As we have seen, the perspective of the Āyurveda system inherited in the Tantras is that the *cakras* are located at the linkage points where "life resides most intensely" in the body. In the Vedic system the specific intersection of the cosmic 'web' with the human body is posited in a variety of type-hierarchy relationships, yet its specific functionality within the confines of the individual physical body is not that well defined, and might even be said to be somewhat inchoate. With the Tantric systems, the conceptualization of the human instantiation of the interpenetrating cosmic energy network has evolved to the point where it is explicitly given a detailed 'physiological' basis in the channels and centers of the subtle body. As we shall see in examining the meditational yogas involving specific subtle body functions, the Tantric systems developed their conceptualization of the subtle body to the point where the centers and channels became seen as holographic linkage points to the entire spectrum of the cosmic elements. The five principal physical elements (*pañcamahābhūtas*), the phonic seeds of the mantric powerhouse that is the Sanskrit language, the three cosmic fires, the spectrum of deities in the various dimensions, the planets, stars, and constellations, all the components of time, the Buddhist elements of psychology and the Kāśmīr Śaivite *tattvas* or principles and planes of cosmic evolution—all this and more is mapped into the subtle body system in great detail. For the Tantric initiates, this mapping is not abstract. As the adept succeeds

in consciously linking his or her subtle body to the full spectrum of cosmic elements, he or she becomes capable--through this linkage--of manipulating these cosmic elements to his or her advantage. First and foremost among this manipulation is to purify or sanctify the cosmos within oneself. In effect what is involved is a very substantial transformation of the initiate's perspective. The Tantric practitioner comes to re-see, or see anew all the elements of reality.

### **7.6.1. Medicine and Healing Meditations in the *Kālacakra Tantra***

The 're-envisioning' of reality in the Tantric systems is a magical process in the best sense of the word. In the Kaśmīr Śaivite Trika system, this re-envisioning is premised on the realization that reality consists of light and consciousness. One of the more fascinating aspects of the *Kālacakra* system, and remember that the name of the text literally refers to "the wheel of time," "time-machine," or "the center of time," is that the *avadhūti* is frequently also called the "time-channel" (*kālanāḍī*) (See for instance *Kālacakra* 5.3). The various aspects of time, the constellations, the planets, the portions of the day, etc. are all mapped--meditatively--into the system of channels and centers. In the so-called "perfection stage" yogas of the fifth chapter of the text, this relationship becomes central. As the commentator says on verse 5.125: "the *yogi* should consider all of time to be the *prāṇa* in the central channel;<sup>140</sup> to the extent that its entrance and exit is stabilized, all of time becomes pot-like. Then the *yogi* attains the five supersensory abilities (*pañcābhijñā*) through the recitation [of *mantras*] with the *prāṇa*--this is the rule of the lord."<sup>141</sup> The "pot-like" notion is a classical yoga notion of quieting the inflow and outflow of the life breaths so that they

become completely self-contained in the *yogin's* body, just as though they were enclosed in a pot. While the overt implications are spelled out in the text, the covert medical implications are also interesting. Theoretically, one who masters the time flows of one's own body could also reverse the courses of diseases. One other intriguing passage, from the second chapter of the Tantra, concerns the mapping into the *cakras* of the three fires of the Vedic sacrificial enclosure. These three are the round *gārhapatya*--representing the heavenly fire of the sun, the semi-circular *dakṣiṇāgni* representing the moon or the lightning of the atmospheric fire, and the square *āhavanīya* or offering fire, representing the earthly fire. At *Kālacakra* 2.34 the text reads: "Within the heart, the throat, and the lotus of the navel, lightning, the sun, and fire respectively shine in the form of a bow, in a circle, and in a quadrangular fire-place. Above them, in the darkness, where neither sun nor lightning nor the moon blazes, where there are no planets, stars, etc., there is another shining and purifying fire whose form is primordial wisdom." *Vimalaprabhā*: "Here in the body, the three [outer] fires are: the *dakṣiṇāgni*, the *gārhapatya* and the *āhavanīya*; respectively, lightning, i.e. the fire of lightning is in the heart lotus in the shape of a bow; the solar fire, i.e. the domestic fire, is in the throat lotus, and the offering fire, i.e. the one that consumes the meat offerings, is in the square hole of the navel."<sup>142</sup> What relationship does this have to health? Well in the Vedic tradition a "good" person, i.e. a properly initiated *vaidika* who maintains the sacrificial fires and performs the morning and evening *agnihotra* or offerings into the fires with the appropriate *mantras*, will be assured of a full life span of a 100 years, and a happy

hereafter with his forefathers in the sun, the source of his soul and the location of heaven. In keeping with the macrocosmic/microcosmic relationships elaborated in the *Kālacakra* system, the *Kālacakra* has re-identified these three fires, the cosmic, the atmospheric, and the earthly with the centers of spiritual fire in the human being. By practicing the Tantric yoga then, the practitioner also incorporates the long-life benefits of proper Vedic sacrificial observance.

The ability to perform these sort of cosmic transferences, and to see them as more than simply symbolic or allegorical depends in the Indian Tantric systems on a mind-body relationship that is built into the yoga and medical traditions. These traditions hold to the notion that one can learn to control the flow of the physiological forces--the winds and elements--through the various channels, and learn to consciously affect the balance of the humors, the disposition of the tissues, and the direction of the life energy--a sort of sophisticated ancient technique of biofeedback. As explained in the *Kālacakratantra* 2.86, a gross *prakṛti* (state of matter) is found in the gross sense faculties, and a subtle physicality (*sūkṣmā prakṛtiḥ*) is found in the subtle mind (*sthūlā sthūlendriyeṣu prakṛtir adhigatā, sūkṣmacitte ca sukṣmā*). The highest level of physicality is of course the *jñāna* or primordial wisdom of *Kālacakra*. This inherently posits an actionable pathway between the highest states of consciousness and the most concrete levels of physicality. Similarly, we find in Caraka the statement that the bodily conforms to the mind, and the mind conforms to the bodily (*śārīram api satvam anuvīdhīyate, satvaṃ ca śārīram*); that is to say, the three humors, i.e. *vāyu*, *pitta* and *kapha* work, as Dasgupta puts it, "in unison with a man's

*karma* and also in unison with a man's mind."<sup>143</sup> This connection is made more explicit in another section of the *Kālacakra*: "In the most excellent body (i.e. a Tantric yogi's body), the seventy-two thousand channels (*nāḍī*) are the supports of the group elements (i.e. the five elements earth, air, fire, water, and space); through cogitation functions (*samskāra*), the winds of the life breaths *prāṇa* become the support of the channels (indicating the active role of consciousness in maintaining life). And the winds are considered to be ten. Volition (*cetanā*) is the support of the winds of *prāṇa*, and volition [has as its support] the dual-natured mind (*citta*), on account of the *guṇas*."<sup>144</sup>

The basic idea that one can use particular meditative or Yogic techniques to cure oneself of various physical ailments is widespread in Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras. In the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, for instance, it is said that boils, pox, ulcers, other diseases vanish by the curing poison meditation, according to the statement of Vajrapāṇiḥ.<sup>145</sup> (This meditation is given as part of a set of things to get rid of, enemies, storms, etc.) The *Kālacakra* system, like most Tantric systems, is heavily invested in exploring the microcosmic/macrocosmic relationships through the medium of the subtle body--and the author(s) were evidently fully versed in Āyurvedic doctrines. *Kālacakra* 2.2, opening the chapter on the 'inner reality' (*Adhyātma-paṭalaḥ*) gives a blanket statement that all the external aspects of reality also function within the human body: "Earth, water, fire and air, lightning and rainbow, winds and zodiac circle, the moon and the sun, Rāhu and Mt. Meru, *nāgas*, humans and gods, the planets of the astrological houses together with the stars, the passages [of

planets through zodiacs], the months and fortnights, the days, nights, and lunar days, all [of them] together with their own classes of sounds are to be known within the body of the *yogi* as the threefold mode of existence of the Lord, by means of the classifications of emptiness."<sup>146</sup> The text goes on to give basic *Āyurveda* principles of the role of the five major elements, six flavors etc. in the formation of the body and the basics of conception--earth holds the seed in the womb, water makes it sprout, heat makes it blossom and consume the six flavors, water makes it grow, and space provides room for growth.<sup>147</sup> The text maps ten divine states of consciousness (*divya avasthā*)--(the types of light that one sees in the meditation/yoga practice--the nighttime images of smoke, mirage, firefly, lamp, and the daytime images of fire, full moon, sun, Rāhu, lightning, blue drop)--into developmental stages of the embryo, and maps an evolutionary series of incarnations by the Hindu god Viṣṇu--fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Paraśu Rāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, and Narendra; we also find the three Buddha bodies--*dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya*, and *nirmāṇakāya* correlated to the time from birth to growth of teeth, to the time from growth of teeth to loss of baby teeth, and from then on (*Kālacakra* 2.14). *Sattva* and *rajas* are associated with waking, *tamas* with sleeping. Then the six subtle body *cakras* are mapped to the six elements (wisdom is added to the *pañcamahābhūtas*): the crown *cakra* to space, the private *cakra* to wisdom, the heart to wind, the throat to fire, the brow to water, and the navel to earth. (*Kālacakra* 2.25). The six Buddha clans are assigned to these also. Then of course we also have the color scheme, yellow for earth, white for water, red for fire, blue or black for wind, and green for space--blue

reserved for wisdom. (*Kālacakra* 2.29) This schema--and similar ones appear in most of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras--provides a rationale for how it is that meditational and Yogic practices *could* effect healing results in the body. By purifying the energy in the navel *cakra*, for instance, the initiate would purify the earth element in his or her own body. This 'purification' would result in freedom from earth-element diseases, i.e. those disorders characterized by excessive or diminished *pṛthivī bhūta* as expressed in an imbalanced *kapha doṣa*. The same principle would of course apply to the other *cakras* and the other elements, with their related *doṣas* or humors. In one section of the *Vimalaprabhā*, Puṇḍarīka, glossing *Kālacakra* 5.108, gives the technical explanation for how this purification of the various elements in the *cakras* occurs as the yogin raises the *bodhicitta* energy up from the lowest *cakras* through to the top of the head during the practice of sexual yoga:

Verse 5.108: *Atibalaḥ* (He who is extremely strong) in addition causes the attraction of knowledge to itself here, and *Jambhaḥ* [causes] entrance into that, [51.10] *Stambha* (the Stiff One)<sup>148</sup> [causes] the binding of that, indeed, and through the influence of the supreme happiness, the Proud One<sup>149</sup> [causes] satisfaction; | *Vajra-vega* (Who is as fast as lightning) causes the occurrence of equal flavor of the *cakra[s]* in the knowledge *cakra*; In such a way, indeed, the lightning-bolt goddesses, [both] manifested and restrained, are in the body, according to the *Yoginītantra*. | | Commentary: "Knowledge" etc. Here, indeed, having become a Tantric initiate<sup>150</sup> in the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* meditation, then the drawing into oneself of the knowledge *cakra*, its entering, binding, satisfying, [are all] to be equally mixed (lit. made into equal flavor, *samarasaṃ*) by the adept (lit. *mantra* possessor). *Jaḥ*, *hūm*, *vam*, and *hoḥ*--[51.15] i.e. the drawing into oneself is [done] with the lightning goad, the entering [is performed] with the lightning, the binding [is accomplished] with the lightning noose, the satisfaction with the bell--[these are] renowned everywhere as the fierce kings standing in the eastern, southern, western, and



northern doors, [and] as the lightning *ḍākinīs* in the *Yogintāntra*. That very [point] is stated in the second chapter--"the extremely strong one causes in addition the attraction of knowledge to itself, in this," in the body. When in intercourse with a young woman, the person possessed of true knowledge<sup>151</sup> makes the semen into the a part of the *prāṇa* etc. winds, by drawing that into himself by what's inside the *saṃdhyā* language,<sup>152</sup> i.e. he causes the *bodhicitta* to completely fill up upwards into the head--this is the meaning. "And *Jambhaḥ* [causes] its entrance;" i.e. the inner fire having made that flow, causes the entry of the [*bodhicitta* in the] form of the flowing drop into the throat, into the heart, into the navel, [and] into the concealed lotus.<sup>153</sup> "*Stambha*," i.e. the earth element, causes the binding of that drop form, that is, "through the influence of the supreme happiness" it does not cause the going out of what has come with extreme speed (i.e. one retains the semen in the orgasmic rush). "The proud one" (i.e. the semen) is said to be the vibration located in the lightning jewel (i.e. the penis) in the secret lotus (i.e. the vagina), a clear liquid from the drop of the water element; through the influence of its imperishable happiness, the water element causes "the satisfaction," i.e. the coolness in the body<sup>154</sup>--this is the meaning. In addition, [the *śaktis*] *Locanā* etc. awaken that very flowing happiness so that it goes upwards from that place, with the lightning-bolt singers<sup>155</sup> [51.25] previously mentioned. Then, *Locanā* impels it in the navel for the purpose of flowing, *Māmakī* [impels] in the heart for the sake of maturation, *Paṇḍārā* [impels it] in the throat for the sake of human effort, *Tārā* [impels it] in the head for the sake of purity. The great happiness, having been made to rise up by them in that way, having become pure, causes the revelation of all the aggregates, constituents, bases of awareness etc. Then it becomes the place of omniscience for the *yogis*; it is not made to rise up by the song of the *yoginīs* in the imagined *maṇḍala*.<sup>156</sup> This is the esoteric meaning, both secretly and openly in all the *Tantras*. || 108 ||<sup>157</sup>

*Stambha*, the deification of the earth element, is responsible, through the influence of the ultimate happiness, for preventing the orgasmic rush (*āgatasya ativegaḥ*) from exiting the body. Earth is typically the 'binding' element in Āyurveda, an essential component for instance of medicinal compounds.

### 7.6.2. Visionary Type-Identity Mapping of Physical Component Analysis of the Embryo Growing in the Mother's Womb

Verse 5.236 of the *Kālacakratantra* gives us excellent example of the degree of detail the tradition developed of psychophysical mapping techniques in meditations and Yogas. To all appearances these ideas seem to have been understood in the tradition as actualities rather than simply visualizations. That is, though the initiate may have been involved in a practice to reenvision reality, the point appears to have also been that what the initiate was in fact doing was learning to understand the functioning of reality as it really is, not as it would otherwise appear to be to the uninitiated. The text maps four of five Buddhist fires (*Rāhu*, *Kālāgni*, *Sūrya*, and *Soma*--leaving out *Agni*) to the four elements required for conception, blood, semen, consciousness, and joy. This represents another step in the evolution of the conception doctrines in the combined lineage of Āyurveda and Tantra; whereas the Āyurveda doctrines discussed above strata required blood, semen, the subtle body and the soul, here the Buddhist text--with an evident debt to the *Yogācāra* tradition--gives one version of the subtle body in terms of the *ālayavijñāna*, and joy (*ānanda*) instead of the soul. The growing bodily components of the embryo are identified by *pañcamahābhūta* type (earth, air, fire, water, and space), and the sense and action organs (eye, ear, nose, hands, feet, etc.) are mapped to the planets, continents, and finger-joints (for future *mudrā* practice, presumably). (I have left the terms taken from the verse in boldface).

Here, in order that the body grows in the mother's lotus (womb), the storehouse **consciousness** is *Rāhu*; **joy** is the cosmic fire [the "time-fire"], **(the ovum) blood** is the *agni-rajās*,<sup>158</sup> i.e. the sun. **The nectar of immortality** is the semen, i.e. the moon. **These, in the beginning** [constitute] **the fourfold** cause of the birth of the body and clan. From the fourfold [cause], from that, the bones etc. are

**fivefold.** The bone is the earth; the bile is water; the blood is fire; the flesh and skin are wind; the marrow is space; **all together, also,** [they are] fivefold. Then **the eye etc., because it is sixfold.** [The eye] is Mars; the ear is Mercury; the tongue is Jupiter; the nose is Venus; the action senses are Saturn; the mind and senses are *Ketuḥ* (the descending node)--thus it is sixfold. In just that way, **the two hands, the two feet, are fourfold;** i.e. the left hand is the eastern continent; the right hand is the southern continent; the right foot is the western continent; the left foot is the northern continent; thus the group of four. **On the hands and feet, also, the group of five fingers.** Here, the thumb is smell; the index finger is taste; the middle finger is vision; the ring finger is touch; the pinky finger is hearing, by means of the qualities of earth etc. **Of those, of the five fingers, the set of three finger joints** is called threefold. The first (knuckle) joint is the *sattvaguna*, the middle finger joint is the *rajoguna*; the end joint is the *tamoguna*. *Tamas* is at the end, before the fingernail, so it is predominant. **The entire sequence here is to be known as in this clan,** thus it is understood.

The reference to the *kula* here is also reminiscent of the approach taken in the Trika system where the conglomeration of the various *tattvas* in the *adhvans* (paths) in the body are considered all together to constitute a *Kula* or clan, group, or family in the body--an inner version of the outer Tantric *Kula* the initiate belongs to (See Chapter 8 for a discussion of this doctrine). We might even see this as a recapitulation of the essential Upaniṣadic idea of the physical body as the 'city of Brahman,' (*brahmapūram*), referred to above.

### 7.6.3. Healing Meditations from the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*

It is certainly not only the *Kālacakra* system that sees the beneficial effects of Tantric yogas as producing tangible physical results. The following passage from the *Mālinīvijayottara-Tantra* should make clear that the expectation of physical benefits was a given in Tantric practices:

One should meditate on the stainless moon-disk above the brahma-hole,

gushing forth with abundant divine nectar, filling one's own body. Meditating on the self filled both inside and out with that gliding up the tube of the mind, one becomes a conqueror of death after six days. One should practice this yoga also for the destruction of the major diseases, contemplating the subordinate limbs for the destruction of the subordinate diseases. That itself called the 'form' of the self is susceptible to destruction; since the supreme is the syllable without an object, they say that itself is beyond form. Having honored the guru, the wise one should perform a meditation on that; for as long as he beholds reality, the place will be free of disease.<sup>159</sup>

This phrase, *anāmaya-padam*, the place or state free of disease, is a common term that shows up throughout much of the Tantric literature I have examined. In a world where we all catch ailments, the ideal of a state free of disease is certainly attractive one; given the other 'intensely somatic' concerns of the Tantric traditions, it makes perfect sense that they would include freedom from disease as one of their goals, and devise various approaches trying to reach that elusive goal. In another curious meditation the *Mālinīvijaya* describes a 'water' or Varuṇa (ruler of the oceans) meditation:

So now I will explain this Varuṇa/aquatic meditation, whereby, with completely mastered Yoga, one will become ruler of all the waters. One should think of the body as residing inside the water, white, cold, very round, both inside and out; the Yogi should think 'it is nothing other [than water].' After a week of this practice the body will become wet. After a month one will become free of any *pitta*-disease.<sup>160</sup>

The meditation becomes considerably more complex, yet the details need not detain us. Within the logic of this system this is perfectly reasonable; *pitta* is the fire-humor. With sufficient meditation on water the yogi should be able to 'put out' any wildfires of the *pitta-doṣaḥ*.

### 7.7. The *Rasāyana* Tradition in the *Kālacakratāntra*

One of the major divisions of Āyurveda is *Rasāyana*, the science of rejuvenation or longevity and geriatrics, as mentioned above. This is an elaborate science of potions and remedies designed to restore health that has become diminished by the ravages of aging, and to stave off as long as possible the debilities of old age.<sup>161</sup> The fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* contains a fairly detailed thirteen-page section of *Rasāyana* recipes, with specific instructions on how to make them, when and in what dosages to take them, and the effects these will have on the initiate's body (verses 5.201-5.231, pp. 131-144 of the Sarnath edition). In translating the *Kālacakra*'s section on alchemy--and being forced thereby to consult other alchemical texts and secondary literature for explanations of the technical terminology, I have found that much of the material is shared with the other Śaivite (Hindu) and Buddhist alchemical Tantras--texts devoted specifically to instructions on making elixirs.<sup>162</sup> The Tantric material is considerably more developed and complex than the sections on *Rasāyana* we find in earlier medical texts. In the *Caraka Sūtrasthāna*'s first chapter, the chapter on *Rasāyana*, Caraka says that "Āyurveda is that which deals with good, bad, happy and unhappy life, its promoters and non-promoters, measurement and nature."<sup>163</sup> The *Rasāyana* section in *Caraka* is a chapter on longevity and promoting health (*Dirghañjīvitīyam adhyāyam*). There is however none of what is later known as Alchemy--rather just a basic listing of the principles of a healthy life, names of medicinal substances (including the beneficial uses of various types of milks of sheep, goat, cow, buffalo, camel, elephant, mare, and women, and urine from horses, elephants, camels, asses, buffalo), etc., five salts,

four types of fat, medicinal roots and fruits, etc. There are none of the metals, poisons, mercury, alkalis etc. such as we find in later Alchemical and Tantric works. Most of the drugs prescribed in *Āyurvedic* texts are mixtures of many different plant substances, plus the occasional use of certain types of salts. Sharma gives us a helpful categorization of the types of *Rasāyana* in the medical tradition. There are two basic approaches, promotion of normal health (*kāmya rasāyana*)—divided into promotion of vitality (*prāṇa-*), of intellect (*medhā-*) and complexion (*śrī-kāmya*)—and promotion of vitality in response to specific diseases (*naimittika rasāyana*). These all operate under two different types of regimens, an outdoor or what in modern medicine is called ‘outpatient’ regimen (*vātātāpika rasāyana*), allowing one to maintain one’s normal lifestyle, and an ‘inpatient’ regimen (*kuṭīprāveśika rasāyana*) that takes place in a specially built cottage (*trigatbhā kuṭī*) using the systematic purifications (*pañcakarma*) followed by ingestion of specific elixirs. The basic practices in these regimens involve use of drugs, dietary modifications, and behavioral modifications (*auśadha-*, *ājasrika-*, and *ācāra-rasāyana*).<sup>164</sup> What appears to have happened with the development of the alchemical tradition is that a wide variety of very minute quantities of metallic and mineral substances were added to some of these medicinal compounds to make more potent drugs to be used when the strictly plant-compounded drugs failed.

Translation of alchemical Sanskrit is an extremely demanding process.

Virtually none of the ingredients used in the alchemical compounds have definitions, or accurate definitions in Monier Williams’ or Apte’s Sanskrit-English dictionaries.

There is only a very limited secondary literature available on the subject so far, and most of that is only partially accurate and therefore of limited use. In order to make any sense of the material, then, one is forced to consult other Sanskrit works. There are two useful classes of texts. One set is the *Rasāyana Tantras*, mostly Śaivite texts that appear to have been written during the same time period that the non-chemical Tantras came into prominence in India, in the last couple of centuries of the first millennium, and the first few hundred years thereafter. Several of these have been published, usually with Hindi commentaries, and a couple have been translated. The glossaries in some of the editions are also helpful, though incomplete. The other class of literature are the Medical *Nighaṅṭus*, the Sanskrit dictionaries of materia medica that class medicinal substances in various groups, and usually provide both a list of synonyms, and some indication of the diseases these drugs are indicated for healing--all described in Āyurveda terminology, i.e. effects on the humors, *pañcamahābhūta* components, etc. A comment by Sharma explains that the classifications were not standard: "The common practice was to describe the drug by its *Rasa*, *Guṇa*, *Vipāka*, *Vīrya*, and *Prabhāva* and decide its action on *Doṣas* and organs by inference with the help of these informations [*sic*]. In the present text [the *Siddhamantra*] the drugs have been arranged according to their effect on *Doṣas*, and *Rasa*, *Vīrya*, *Vipāka* etc. have to be inferred on this basis."<sup>165</sup> As an example of the drug classification schemes we can note here that of the *Dhanvantari-Nighaṅṭuḥ*, wherein we find bitter and evacuative drugs (*Guḍūcyādi*), those containing spices (*Śatapuspādi*), the predominantly fragrant substances (*Candanādi*), the big fruity trees

(*Āmrādi*), mineral and dietary substances (*Suvarṇādi*), and mixed drugs and poisons (*Miśrakādi*).<sup>166</sup> By working carefully through all this material it is possible to begin to build up some information on the character of the alchemical material and the ingredients of the various compounds, though this is not a task for the faint of heart. Fortunately David White's book on Alchemy is about to be published, and although he has not tried to decipher the ingredients of the alchemical elixirs, the bit of his manuscript that I have looked at indicates that he's made some significant advances in the field.

Most of the work on the medical *Nighaṇṭus* has been done by P.V. Sharma, the famed Āyurveda scholar living in Vārānasī. Kenneth Zysk was kind enough to spend some time with me teaching me how to use these texts. The *Nighaṇṭus* are designed for the use by Āyurvedic physicians (*vaidyas*) and are not specific to Alchemy; however, given the heavy overlap of the two traditions, they are very helpful for alchemical material. These texts have all sorts of problems though. As Sharma remarks, "One name is given to many drugs while one drug is given many names according to the habitat, shape, colour and properties (*rasa*, *vīrya*, *prabhāva* etc.); the people use in practice whichever name is known to them. Hence the names used vary in different regions."<sup>167</sup> As Raghavan has also noted, the texts are full of mistakes, with the frequent multiplication of synonyms and no sense of whether the terms were actually used,<sup>168</sup> and one also has to contend with Prākṛit words brought into common use, and a certain looseness with genders and even grammar.<sup>169</sup> The earlier classes of *nighaṇṭus* are largely just lists of synonyms; the later texts add the



descriptions of properties of the drugs. Working from the various published editions and the information in the forewords of some of these texts, I have compiled a partial list of the known and available medical *Nighaṅṭus*, with some notes on their contents and dating, and have placed it in this endnote.<sup>170</sup>

It becomes very clear as we read through the alchemical section of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and the verses leading up to this section that just as with the considerations of astronomy, warfare, agriculture, medicine, perfumery, and other practical sciences in the first two chapters of the *Kālacakra*, the fifth chapter of the text makes it clear that the *Kālacakratāntra* shares a great many characteristics with the *Purāṇa* literature in terms of its very wide scope of concerns. Indeed many of the subjects in the text seem tangentially ‘Tantric’ at best. In the alchemical section we find broad classifications, in detail, of a wide variety of medicinal substances. Poisons, metals, herbs, rocks, waters, clays, minerals, gems, trees, plants, and so forth are characterized according to their *pañcamahābhūta* content, in order that the practitioner will maintain the proper balance of these elements in making the compounds prescribed in the text. The medicines prescribed are generally considered to aid in the attainment of *kāyasiddhi*, or perfection of the body, the Tantric ideal of a disease-free, age-free body that would provide the initiate with an enormously extended lifespan.

In the verses leading up to the detailed alchemical section of the *Kālacakra*, the various metals are listed according to their *pañcamahābhūta* categories, as are the flavors, and the gems used in healing.

Now is stated the intrinsic nature of the various constituents in the world realm--5.185: The earth is the constituent of gold, and the water is silver, and the fire element is copper, And the wind is iron, and space (*śūnya*) tin (*trapu*); this serpent [lead] has as its intrinsic nature a mixture of the constituents, The earth is a topaz, and the water is also a crystal, and the fire is a ruby; and the wind is black, dark blue, and green--in that sense it arises from a mixture of constituents.

(Commentary): "The earth," etc. Here, the earth is the gold constituent, i.e. gold is yellow since its intrinsic nature is earth; silver is white since its intrinsic nature is water; copper is red since its intrinsic nature is fire; iron is black since its intrinsic nature is wind; tin (*trapu*) and lead (*nāga*) are mixed. Quicksilver [mercury] has the characteristic of space, i.e. the characteristic of the knowledge-constituent. In this way, the six metals of gold etc.

Likewise the gems. The yellow gem has the intrinsic nature of earth; the white has the intrinsic nature of water; the red has the intrinsic nature of fire; the dark blue (*kr̥ṣṇa*) has the intrinsic nature of wind; the black (*śyāma*) has the intrinsic nature of space; the blue has the intrinsic nature of the knowledge constituent; because of arising from that constituent. || 185 ||

5.186: The earth is salty, water is sweet, and fire is pungent, and the wind is bitter, what is mixed [space] is sour, and taste is astringent--and thus also the womb of the soil and stones, The herbs are of six sorts, the flavors and the supreme flavors; the other constituents are the best [*indras*] of the gems; and the various tactile sensations, on earth; the waters, indeed, completely breaking and removing everything. (Commentary): Likewise the six flavors: the salt flavor has the intrinsic nature of earth; the sweet [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of water; the pungent [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of fire; the bitter [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of wind; the astringent flavor has the intrinsic nature of space, and the sour [flavor] has the intrinsic nature of knowledge. In this way, the womb of the soils and stones is the earth etc. In the same way, the herbs are of six sorts. The flavors and the supreme flavors, i.e. the *siddha* flavors.

The other constituents are the best [*indras*] of the gems, i.e. six. In this way, the various tactile sensations on the earth breaking and removing everything; in this way, the waters, the mountain waters, are of six sorts, all together.

Under the general heading of *Rasāyana* we can also class healing with gems or jewels. Jewels are mentioned as healing substances in the list of medicines given by *Caraka*,<sup>171</sup> though he does not provide instructions on how to use them. In the

*Kālacakratantra* we have a brief discussion of the applicability of different jewels for different diseases:

Now are described the qualities of the jewels--(Verse 5.187): The earth removes the sting of an insect, and the water constituent also removes the poison, the fire removes the element (*bhūtam*), and the wind removes the obstruction; and space removes also minor inflammation of the eye; knowledge removes all [the *doṣas*], as also does the jewel likewise, established in the limbs of kings, all are the incomprehensible intrinsic natures of the water, flavor, jewel, touch, *mantras*, and herbs. (Commentary): "The earth," etc. Here [what is in] the earth class, either a jewel, or a gem (*ratnaṃ maṇis*) removes the sting of an insect, and the water constituent removes poison; the fire-class is the remover of demonic possession, the wind class is the remover of paralysis (*stambhanam*); the void-class is the remover of minor inflammation in the eye; the knowledge class is the remover of all the *doṣas*. Just as the jewel, the gem, likewise, even an ordinary one of *dardura* etc., removes the *doṣas* produced in the head, situated in the limb of kings. In this way are stated all those of incomprehensible intrinsic nature, having the qualities of earth, etc. In this way, there is the production of the *Buddhakṣetra*.<sup>172</sup>

In Indian lore the *ratna* may be five, nine, or fourteen. Apte provides unsourced lists of these. The *pañcaratna* are: sapphire (*ntlakam*), diamond (*vajrakam*), ruby (*padmarāgam*), pearl (*mauktikam*), and coral (*pravālam*); or gold (*suvarṇam*), silver (*rajatam*), pearl (*muktā*), beryl (*rājāvartam*), and coral (*pravālam*); or gold (*kanakam*), diamond (*htrakam*), sapphire. The *navaratna* are: pearl, ruby (*māṇikyam*), beryl (*vaidūrya*), the *gomedā* ("cow-fat", a gem from the Indus/Himālaya, white, pale yellow, red, and dark blue), diamond, coral (*vidruma*), ruby, emerald (*marakatam*), and sapphire (*ntlam*). The fourteen jewels (*caturdaśaratna*) were churned out of the ocean: *Lakṣmī*, *Kaustubhaḥ*, *Pārijātaka* (one of the trees of Paradise, the *Nictanthus arbor-tristis*), *Surā* (liquor), *Dhavantari* (physician of the gods, produced with a cup of nectar in his hand), *Candramā*

(camphor), the wish-granting cow, Indra's elephant, *Rambhā* and the subordinate goddesses (*Rambhā* is supposedly the most beautiful woman in Indra's paradise), the horse, seven faced, the poison, *Hari*'s bow, the conch, and the nectar of immortality. *Maṇi* refers rather to a polished and faceted gemstone. From the context of the *Kālacakra* passage above, it would appear that *dardura* is the name for some type of common gem--possibly green iron sulphate.<sup>173</sup>

One of the verses just preceding the alchemical section (5.192) gives a colorful account of the divine herbs and plant saps that ordinary mortals cannot see:

Now, the power of *karma* for sentient beings is stated, as follows--5.192: The wishing trees on earth, have the ultimate saps of saps, and came into being with the particles (atoms--*aṇus*). The other herbs have the chief of saps,<sup>174</sup> and remove all diseases; sentient beings do not see them, [Rather] they see what is of matter--the grass, the trees, the rainwater, the soil, the stones, and the metals; The departed spirits, men who reside in hell, [see] the water, the great fire, [and] the impaling and body splitting stakes,<sup>175</sup> all around. (Commentary): The wishing trees on earth, have the ultimate sap of saps, and came into being from the atomic particles; the other herbs are divine, have the chief of saps, remove all diseases; sentient beings do not see them, due to lack of merit. They see what is made of matter, the grass, the trees, the rainwater, the soil, the stones, and the metals. The departed spirits, they see the water in the rivers etc. as having the form of a flaming fire. The men dwelling in hell see the cutting and splitting trident etc., on account of their sins.<sup>176</sup>

There is no question that Alchemical practices were part of the now lost *Mūla Kālacakratāntra*. Puṇḍarīka at several points quotes the text, or cites descriptions from the text. I give here one example of a process for 'making' gold and silver from yellow and white micas mixed into balls with appropriate amounts of coloring agents, catalysts, etc. There appears to be nothing particularly mystical about these metallurgical alchemies. The procedures make it clear that the practitioners were

creating compounds that had the look and feel of precious metals at the end of processing.

Now, as stated in the *Ādibuddha*, the binding of the ball (*golaka*) is described--here, when making of gold, some sort of mica, the yellow mica etc., is consumed, either completely, or half-way. When making silver, white mica (is used). Then, when making gold, one should make a ball with lead (*naga*); when [making] silver, [one should make a ball] with the tin. Then one should wind that around with gold-leaf. When making silver, [one should wind that around] with silver-leaf. Similarly, having crushed red arsenic on top of the gold leaf, the salve should be given with cow's urine, with that [realgar--arsenic sulfide].<sup>177</sup> Then, externally with red lead. Then one should wrap it around with potter's clay;<sup>178</sup> then, when it is dried, one should wrap it around again with cow-dung. Drying it further with an intense fire, a gentle leaf and clay wrapping<sup>179</sup> should be provided with a *gokarṣa*<sup>180</sup> fire. Then, taking the pliable ball from the ashes, one should fan it<sup>181</sup> intensely<sup>182</sup> in the *koṣṭhi* apparatus,<sup>183</sup> until the pastes of the *mahārasas*, the *uparasas*, the gold, and the lead have turned into an equalized elixir.<sup>184</sup> Then, splitting the ball in the middle after it has cooled, the ball is bound with whatever gold, with the paste, and with whatever is combined with the paste; that very [combination] is caste into the copper with a sixty-four portion--it becomes either gold or silver, as before. Thus the binding of the ball according to the **Root Tantra**.<sup>185</sup>

I will not detail here all of the long sections on preparing gold and silver compounds, or the long sections on the use of mercury in various metallic and medicinal compounds. This is material of interest mostly to the specialists in the history of Indian medicine. It may well be that much of the logic of the *Rasāyana* movement developed out of the logic of the *Soma* ritual--an elaborate, systematic search to find a compound, or set of compounds of herbal poisons, precious metals, gems, etc. that, combined with the proper *yoga*, meditation techniques, *mantra-sāstra* etc., would provide the results claimed in the Vedic texts to ensue from consuming the *Soma*. Part of the suggestion seems to be that while it is well known that

ingesting these poisonous substances will kill ordinary people--(the alchemists/Tantrics were not unaware their compounds could kill people)--the meditations, use of powerful Sanskrit *mantras*, and proper initiations into the use of these, would provide the initiate with the power to transmute the poisons into elixirs of long life, just as consumption of the *Soma* was said to provide the initiate with god-like powers. This much is evident from the following passage:

Here, what is eaten of the barks and sprouts, etc., of the creepers, that provides intense stupefaction, like a poison. Taking the five forms<sup>186</sup> of that herb, one should make a fine powder. Every day, one should eat that very powder in a small amount, together with ghee and honey; just like that, i.e. the rest is like the prior rule. Here, [for] sentient beings who eat that the herb does not provide stupefaction; it does not provide *siddhi* for them, for the sentient beings. It provides death, [143.5] causing the ultimate fear; for *yogīs* it provides *siddhi*, through the power of *mantra* and meditation.<sup>187</sup>

It is also clear that the alchemists sought to achieve a state of permanent youth. As Puṇḍarīka explains about the finer points of two mercurial elixirs, "In this way, the middle one, the *rasa*, the thousand penetrator, makes the divine body after six months, free of wrinkles and grey hair. The perfected *rasa* makes the other [i.e. the divine body] by taking one [pill] every day.<sup>188</sup> As I have mentioned above, these alchemical practices were also aimed at achieving the elusive state of being free of diseases, combined with a perpetual state of youth. Puṇḍarīka glosses another verse as follows: "Here equal parts sulphur and the juice of the *daṇḍoṭpala*, with the juice of the *śāliparṇa*, or with the juice of the *utpalasārī*, one should pulverize it for three days on the leaf of magnetic iron, with an iron ball. Having pulverized it in this way, one should consume it every day. In the amount of a quarter *ṭaṅka*, i.e. one should

consume one *māṣa* [each day]. Such a one is freed from the diseases of leprosy etc., free of wrinkles and grey hair, [and] is sixteen, i.e. like a sixteen year old."<sup>189</sup> These passages give a good idea of the health-related intentions of the alchemical practices, and a bit of a flavor of the sort of recipes they used.

I will close this section with a note about the term *rasa* in Indian alchemy. Although *rasa* is commonly thought to refer exclusively to mercury in alchemical contexts, it is clear from the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra*, and from the Śaivite alchemical Tantras I consulted, that in alchemical texts *Rasa* frequently has the general signification of 'an elixir,' even though in many cases those elixirs included mercury in their processing, and *rasa* is itself also a widely used general term for different types of mercury. There are however also *mahārasas* and *uparasas* classified in the medical *Nighaṅṭus*, and one version of these groups is given in the *Kālacakra*. Glossing 5.201, Puṇḍarīka explains that the *mahārasas* and the *uparasas* are two groups of minerals and mineral compounds:

Here is the *mahārasa*<sup>190</sup> copper pyrite, with earth as its intrinsic nature; because of "ca", it is a *mahārasa*. Iron pyrite<sup>191</sup> has water as its intrinsic nature. Copper sulphate<sup>192</sup> has fire as its intrinsic nature; bismuth<sup>193</sup> has wind as its intrinsic nature; calamine<sup>194</sup> has void as its intrinsic nature. *Śaśaka*<sup>195</sup> [and]<sup>196</sup> cinnabar have the knowledge constituent as their essential nature; thus the seven *mahārasas*. Then the secondary minerals (*uparasas*): *kākṣikam* has the knowledge constituent as its essential nature; iron sulphate has space as its intrinsic nature; sulphur (*gandhaka*) has the wind constituent as its essential nature; red arsenic [*manahṣṭlā*]<sup>197</sup> has fire as its intrinsic nature; yellow arsenic,<sup>198</sup> has water as its intrinsic nature; white arsenic has earth as its intrinsic nature; thus the six secondary minerals. Then the five salts,<sup>199</sup> *gatam*, sea-salt, *saindhava*, black-salt, and sal-ammoniac, have earth etc. as their intrinsic nature, respectively.<sup>200</sup>

I point this out simply to expand the general conception of *rasa* in the alchemical context to the realization that as with other contexts in Sanskrit, *rasa* is a multivalent term, and has not lost its signification as a term for plant saps, juices, and elixirs of various types.

### 7.8. Conclusion

We have in traditional Indian medicine and in Indian Tantric physiology two very complex systems of classification and analysis of the physical human being-- physical in the sense of including our most intimate bodily fluids and our most intimate spiritual essences on a equal level of value. We can say that the Tantric perspective on medicine and physiology is more concerned with the other dimensions--divine dimensions, transmigratory dimensions, higher states of awareness or consciousness and their effects on physical health and function. While the objective of medicine is to maintain a healthy body to live out the full life span, the focus of Tantric practice is slightly different: "Firstly, a *mantrin* should fully protect (for himself) a complete Victor's body for the sake of [gaining] *siddhis*. In the absence of a body, neither *siddhis* nor supreme bliss can be attained in this life. Hence, for the sake of the objective of the body [i.e. the *bodhicitta*] one should practice the yoga of the channels at the proper time every day. When the body is perfected, the one who is possessed of the other *siddhis* (i.e. the worldly *siddhis*) attains the ability to do whatever they want in the three worlds."<sup>201</sup> However, as has also been demonstrated here, the Tantric tradition inherits an enormous amount of material from the medical tradition, and from the esoteric doctrines of the *Upaniṣads*.



So we see from the material presented in this chapter that there is indeed a direct and 'vital' relationship between the basic physiological system of Āyurveda and that of the Tantras. The importance of this connection cannot be overestimated. Since the principal structure of the Tantric physiological system--the *cakras* and *nāḍīs* has an overlay onto the gross physical body in a set of definable, especially vulnerable physical points (*sadyah-mṛtyu-marmans*) wherein the seats of life are most intensely located, this implies that the Tantric yogic techniques also awaken, enhance, enliven, 'fire up' or otherwise energize the major *cakras* of the body were, enhancing *the seats of life in the physical body itself*. This basic physiological fact--from within the Indian medical and Tantric traditions--indicates an eminently practical orientation to the Tantric Yoga practices, and explains, in one logical move, why it was that the *Tāntrikās* spoke of the possibility of *jīvan-mukti*. It also provides, by direct inference, the rationale for the great concern of the Tantric writers with the subject of Alchemy or rejuvenation (*rasāyana*), and the extensive section we find on this subject in the latter part of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra*. As we see from the discussion in section 7.4 of this chapter, the *jīvanmukti* state is in the *Kālacakra* tradition concomitant with the adepts' experiential mastery of their individual versions of the Buddha's *Sahajakāya*, the Innate, Intrinsic, or Orgasmic Body that provides a transtemporal awareness incorporating the four classical Indian states of consciousness, waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state. As Gary Tubb has quite correctly pointed out to me, though, we should keep in mind an important caveat: given that we have some variation in the descriptions of the *marmans*

between the different medical texts, and some differences in the locations of the *cakras* in the different Tantric traditions, we cannot at this point be overly definitive about the locations or functioning of these centers, pending further research on the relationship between the Tantric and Āyurvedic traditions.

## NOTES

1. *Bṛhadāraṇyakoṇiṣad* 4.4.3-4, Deussen 1980:495. *Tad-yathā tṛṇa-jalāyuka gatvā anyam ākramamākramyātmanam upasaṃharaty evam eva ayam ātmā idaṃ śarīraṃ nihatyā vidyāṃ gamayitvā 'nāyṃ ākramam ākramyātmānam upasaṃharati|| tadyathā peśakāri peśaso mātrām upādāyānyannavataṃ kalyāṇataraṃ rūpaṃ tanuta evam eva ayam ātmā idaṃ śarīraṃ nihatyā avidyāṃ gamayitvā anyannavataṃ kalyāṇataraṃ rūpaṃ kurute pītryaṃ vā gāndharvaṃ vā daivaṃ vā prājāptyaṃ vā brāhmaṇaṃ vā anyeṣāṃ vā bhūtānām |* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:105).
2. Thurman 1994:xvii.
3. See Thurman 1994.
4. Thurman 1994:83-87.
5. See Zieme & Kara 1979:9 & 25-28.
6. Presented this past summer at the Fetzer Institute.
7. Commentary on *Netratāntra* 7.5: *Pararūpatāmanujjhatā api samanantara-bhāvinā sūkṣma-dhyāna-amṛtena uditena sphuṭibhūtena āpyāyaṃ karoti, sa gata-vyādhir divya-deha iti sūkṣma-dhyāna-amṛtonmiśac-chākta-mūrtir bhavati |* (Kaul Shāstrī 1926:149).
8. Charlie Orzech has said that the Tantras are "incredibly somatic."
9. *Tatra śarīraṃ nāma cetanādhiṣṭhānabhūtaṃ pañcamahābhūtavikārasamudāyātmakam* (*Caraka Śārīrasthāna* 6.3) (Caraka 1991{3}:2005-2006 & Chattopadhyaya 1977:76).
10. *Anenopadeśena nānausadhībhūtaṃ jagati kiṃcid dravyam upalakṣyate.... | Sūtrasthāna* 26.26 (Caraka 1991{1}:925) (cf. Chattopadhyaya 1977:65). We have virtually the same statement at *Suśruta Sūtrasthāna* 41.9: *Anena nidarśanena nānausadhībhūtaṃ jagati kiṃcid dravyam asti.... |* (Suśruta 1981:154).
11. *guṇā ya uktā dravyeṣu śarīreṣvap ti tathā | sthāna-vṛddhi-kṣayās tasmād dehināṃ dravyahetukāḥ |* (Suśruta 1981:155 & cf. Chattopadhyaya 1977:73).
12. *Trividham auśadham iti daiva-vyapāśrayaṃ, sattvāvajayaś ca | tatra daiva-vyapāśrayaṃ, mantrauśadhi-maṇi-maṅgala-bali-upahāra-homa-niyama-prāyaścīta-upavās-svastyayana-praṇipāta-gamanādi; yukti-vyapāśrayaṃ, punar āhārauśadha-dravyāṇāṃ yojanā; sattvāvajayaḥ, punar ahitebhyo 'rthebhyo manonigrahaḥ |* (Sharma 1981:79).
13. Chattopadhyaya 1977:319.
14. Keswani 1974:26.
15. Keswani 1974:27.
16. Dasgupta 1932:352 & 356-357.
17. Dominic Wujastyk, a contemporary scholar of Indian medical history working out of London, reflected Dasgupta's perspective by remarking--in response to my telling him that I was doing some research on the relationship of Āyurveda and Tantra--that "there are no cakras in Āyurveda."

18. *The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine*, 1949/1964.
19. *Religious Medicine In India*, 1994.
20. See *Suśruta Sūtrasthāna* 1.3: *āyurveda nāma yad upāṅgam atharvavedasya*; and *Caraka Sūtrasthāna* 30.20: *bhiṣajā...vedānām ātmano 'tharvavede bhaktir ādeśyā* | (Filliozat 1964:1n.1).
21. See Zysk 1991.
22. Sharma 1992:454.
23. Chandra 1992:104-105.
24. Dasgupta 1932:303.
25. Dasgupta 1932:304.
26. Dasgupta 1932:302-303. Dasgupta supplies the original Sanskrit for these passages in the footnotes. His remarks are essentially paraphrased direct translations.
27. Larson and Bhattacharya 1987:193.
28. Larson and Bhattacharya 1987:203.
29. Larson and Bhattacharya 1993:281ff.
30. Larson and Bhattacharya 1987:202.
31. Larson and Bhattacharya 1987:227-228.
32. Larson and Bhattacharya 1987:262-263.
33. See Deussen 1980:xix-xxxii (his classificatory Table of Contents), and the Introductions to the respective *Upaniṣads*.
34. See for instance Eliade 1969:101-142 and Zysk 1993a.
35. *Chāndogyopaniṣat, Prapāṭhaka* 8.1.1-3: *Atha yad idam asmin brahma-pure daharaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ veśma daharo 'sminn antarākāśas tasmin yad antas tad anveṣṭavyaṃ tadvāva vijijñāsitavyam iti* || 1 || *taṃ ced bruyūr yad idam asmin brahmapure daharaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ veśma daharo 'sminn antarākāśaḥ kiṃ tad atra vidyate yad anveṣṭavyaṃ yadvāva vijijñāstivyaṃ iti* || 2 || *sa brūyād yāvān vā ayam ākāśas tāvan eṣo 'ntarhṛdaya ākāśa ubhe asmin dyāv-ā-prthivī antar eva samāhite ubhāv agniś ca vāyuś ca sūrya-ā-candramasāv ubhau vidyun-nakṣatrāṇi yac ca asya iha ast yac ca nāsti sarvaṃ tad asmin samāhitam iti* || 3 || (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:69; cf. Deussen 1980:191)
36. *Chāndogyopaniṣat, Prapāṭhaka* 8.6.1-2: *Atha yā etā hṛdayasya nādyas tāḥ piṅgласya aṇimnas tiṣṭhanti śuklasya nīlasya pītasya lohitasya ity asau vā ādiryaḥ piṅgala eṣa śukla eṣa nīla eṣa pīta eṣa lohitaḥ* || 1 || *tad-yathā mahāpatha ātata ubhau grāmau gacchati imaṃ ca amuṃ ca evam eva etā ādiryasya rāsmaya ubhau lokau gacchanti imaṃ ca amuṃ ca amuṣmād ādiryāt pratāyante tā āsu nādīṣu srīṭā ābhyo nādībhyah pratāyante te 'muṣmīn ādirye srīṭāḥ* || 2 || (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:71; cf. Deussen 1980:196-197).
37. See Monier Williams' dictionary under these terms.

38 . *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 8.6.4, Deussen 1980:196.

39 . *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 8.6.4-6, Deussen 1980:196. Note too here the resonance with the *Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa* description of the soul ascending to heaven in the Sun at death.

40 . *Taittirīyopaniṣat*, *Śikṣavallī* (1) 6.1-2: *sa ya eṣo 'ntar-hṛdaya ākāśaḥ || tasminn ayaṃ puruṣo mano-mayaḥ || amṛto hiraṇ-mayaḥ || anterṇa tāluke || ya eṣa stana iva avalambhate || sā indra-yoniḥ || yatra asau keśānto vivartate || vyapohya śrīṣa-kapāle || bhūr ity agnau prati-tiṣṭhati || bhuva iti vāyau || I || suvar ity āditye || maha iti brahmaṇi || āpnoti svārājyam || āpnoti manasas patim || vāk-patiś cakṣuṣ-patiḥ || śrotra-patir vijñāna-patiḥ || etat tato bhavati || ākāśa-śarīraṃ brahma || satya-ātma-prāṇa-ārāmaṇ mana ānandam || śānti-samṛddham amṛtam || iti prācīnaya udyopāsva || 2 ||* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:21; cf. Deussen 1980:226).

41 . *Mahānārāyaṇopaniṣat*: *Padma-kośa-pratikāśaṃ hṛdayaṃ ca apy adhomukham | adho-niṣṭhyā-vitastyānte nābhyaṃ upari tiṣṭhati | jvāla-māla-ākulaṃ bhāti viśvasya āyatanaṃ mahat |* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:141; Deussen 1980:258). Deussen lists this as verses 6-7 of the eleventh *Anuvāka*, while Vāsudevaśarma places it in section thirteen, referring to the text simply as the *Nārāyaṇopaniṣat*.

42 . *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat* 2.1.19: *atha yadā suṣupto bhavati, yadā na kasyacana veda hitā-nāma nāḍyo dvāsapṭati-sahasrāṇi hṛdayāt purītataṃ abhipratiṣṭhante tābhiḥ pratyavasṛpya purītate śete sa, yathā kumāro vā mahārājo vā mahābrāhmaṇo vātighnīm ānandasya gatvā śayati iti evam eva eṣa etac chete || 19 ||* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:85; cf. Deussen 1980:429)

43 . *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat*, 2.1.20: *sa yathā urṇa-nābhis tantunā uccared yathā agneḥ kṣudrā visphuliṅgā vyuccaranti, tasya upaniṣat-satyasya satyam iti prāṇā vai satyaṃ teṣāṃ eṣa satyam || 20 || prathamam brāhmaṇam || 1 ||* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:85; cf. Deussen 1980:429).

44 . *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat* 4.3.3.20: *ta vā asya etā hitā nāma nāḍyo yathā keśaḥ sahasradhā bhinnas tāvatā aṇimnā tiṣṭhanti śuklasya nīlasya piṅgalasya haritasya lohitasya pūrṇā....* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:103; cf. Deussen 1980:489).

45 . Eggeling 1897:369-371.

46 . *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣat* 4.2.2-3: *Indho ha vai nāmaiṣa yo 'yaṃ dakṣiṇe 'kṣan-puruṣas taṃ vā etam indhaṃ santam indra ity ācakṣate parokṣeṇaiva parokṣapriyā iva hi devāḥ pratyakṣadviṣaḥ || atha etad vāme 'kṣaṇi puruṣa-rūpam eṣā asya patnī virāṭ tayor eṣa samstāvo ya eṣo 'ntarhṛdaya ākāśo 'tha enayor annam ya eṣo 'ntarhṛdaye lohita-piṇḍo 'tha enayor etat prāvaraṇam yad etad antar-hṛdaye cjjālakam iva ath enayor eṣā sṛtiḥ samcaraṇī yaiṣā hṛdayād ūrdhvā nāḍy-uccarati yathā keśaḥ sahasradhā bhinna evam asya etā hitā nāma nāḍyo 'ntarhṛdaye pratiṣṭhitā bhavanty eva tābhir vā etad asravat āsravati tasmād eṣa pravivikta-āhārātara ivaiva bhatay asmāc chārīrād ātmanaḥ || 3 ||* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:101; Deussen 1980:481).

47 . *Yogavāsīṣṭha* 5.78.1-2; 5.78.10-16: *Śrī Vasiṣṭha uvāca | yathālāta-parispandād agni-cakraṃ pradṛśyate | asad eva sadābhāsaṃ citta-spandāt tathā jagat || 1 || yathā jala-parispandād vyatirikta iva ambhasaḥ | dṛśyate vartulāvartaś citta-spandāt tathā jagat || 2 || ... dehe 'smin deha-nāḍīṣu vātaḥ sphurati yo abhitaḥ | spandey iva bhuvo vāri sa prāṇa it kīrtitaḥ || 10 || tasya spanda-vaśād antaḥ kriyā-vaicitryam tyuṣaḥ | apānādīni nāmāni kalpitāni*

*kṛtātmabhiḥ* || 11 || *āmodasya yathā puṣpaṃ śauklasya tuhinaṃ yathā* | *tathāiṣa rasa ādhāraś cittasya abhinnatāṃ gataḥ* || 12 || *antaḥ-prāṇa-parispandāt saṃkalpa-kalana-unmukhi* | *saṃvit-smjāyaet yaiṣā tac cittaṃ viddhi Rāghava* || 13 || *Prāṇa-spandāc cītaḥ spandas tat-spandād eva saṃvidah* | *cakra-āvarta-vidhāyinyo jala-spandād iva ūrmayah* || 14 || *cittaṃ prāṇa-parispandam āhur āgama-bhūṣaṇāḥ* | *tasmin saṃrodhite nūnam upaśantaṃ bhaven manaḥ* || 15 || *manaḥ-spanda-upaśāntyā ayaṃ saṃsāraḥ pravilyate* | *sūryāloka-parispanda-śāntau vyavahṛtir yathā* || 16 || (Pansikar 1984{1}:729-730).

48. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* 5.78.26-31: *Samasta-kalana-unmukte na kiñcin nāma-sūkmakhe* | *dhyānūt saṃvidi ltnāyāṃ prāṇa-spande niruddhyate* || 26 || *dvā-daśāṅgula-paryante nāsāgre vimalāmbare* | *saṃvid-dṛṣi prasāmyantyaṃ prāṇa-spando niruddhyate* || 27 || *abhyāsād ūrdhva-randhreṇa tālūrdhvaṃ dvādaśāntage* | *prāṇe galita-saṃvṛtte prāṇa-spando niruddhyate* || 28 || *bhrūmadhye tārakā-loka-śāntāv antam upāgate* | *cetane ketane buddhe prāṇa-spando niruddhyate* || 29 || *jhaṭity eva yad-udbhūtaṃ jñānaṃ tasmin dṛḍhāśrite* | *asaṃśliṣṭa-vikalpāṃśe prāṇaspando niruddhyate* || 30 || *ciraṃ kālāṃ hṛte kānta-vyoma-saṃvedanān mune* | *avasānān mano-dhyānāt prāṇa-spando niruddhyate* || 31 || (Pansikar 1984{1}:731).

49. Waldron 1995.

50. Waldron 1995:10.

51. Waldron 1995:9.

52. Waldron 1995:10.

53. Waldron 1995:13.

54. Waldron 1995:14.

55. The wind (*vāta*) refers to all motive life-functions, cell development, and in particular central nervous system functions. *Vāta* correlates with what we call biophysical and biomotor activities. It is primarily constituted of the elements wind (*vāyu*) and space (*ākāśa*). According to *Caraka* the five winds of the body are as follows: a) *udāna*, acting in the throat region for speaking, singing, chanting, etc.; its disorders cause neck, throat, and head problems; b) *prāṇa*, located in the heart region, brings food to the stomach (peristalsis), and its derangement causes hiccup, asthma, etc.; c) *samāna*, in the gastrointestinal tract, digests food; disorders cause poor digestions, diarrhoea, edema, etc.; d) *apāna*, in the pelvis, for menstruation, ejaculation, parturition, urination, and defecation, and related disorders including diabetes (?); e) *vyāna*, pervades the body, moving tissue fluids, lymph, blood, perspiration, eyes, etc. (Keswani 1974:39.)

56. *Pitta* references metabolic rates, thermogenesis or bodily heating, digestion, blood formation and various bodily excretions. *Pitta* correlates to what we call biochemical or biological activities. It is predominantly constituted by the element fire (*agni*). There are five types of *pitta*: a) digestion and metabolic *pitta* (*pācakapitta*), located in the stomach (*āmāśaya*) and large intestine (*pakvāśaya*); b) what imparts coloring to the plasma (*rasa*) (*rañjakapitta*), located in the liver (*yakṛt*), spleen (*plihā*) and stomach, and is central to blood formation; c) the instrument of higher mental faculties (*sādhakapitta*), located in the heart, responsible for memory, intelligence, intellect, enthusiasm, ability to achieve aspirations; d) connected to visual perception (*ālocakapitta*), located in the eyes, distinguished as a visual

type (*cakṣuvaiśeṣika*) and connecting to the mind (*manas*) and soul (*ātman*) and an intelligence type (*buddhivaiśeṣika*), located at the third-eye (between the brows), concerned with concentration, response, and thought; e) the lustre, color, and temperature of the skin (*bhrājakapitta*). (Keswani 1974:70.) *Pitta* is of course fiery, and there are five types of elemental fires (*bhūtāgnayas*) acting on the elements (*pañcamahābhūtās*) in the food, and five types of tissue fires (*dhātuvagnayas*) acting on the seven tissues of the body noted above. The *dhātuvagnayas* are considered to be the fires that convert the potential forms of tissue types from the ingested food (*āhāra rasa*) into the tissues themselves.

57. *Kapha* or *śleṣma*, refers to cooling, heat regulation, production of mucus, synovial fluid, etc., and glandular secretions. It is primarily constituted of the elements water (*ambu*) and earth (*pṛthivī*), and so contributes to physical coherence and structure, bulk, stability, strength, and immunity. Its functions include lubrication of the joints (bursa sacks) (*sandhiḥ saṃśleṣanam*), oiliness of the body (*snehana*), healing and repair processes (*ropana*), conservation and storage (*pūraṇa*), promotion of bodily strength and immunity (*balakṛt*), soothing (*tarpana*), and stability (*sthiraiva*). Though circulating generally, it is found mainly in the chest, lungs, stomach, and joints. There are five basic types of *śleṣma*: a) supportive *śleṣma* (*avalambaka-śleṣma*), located in the chest, supporting the heart and the reservoirs of phlegm (*kapha-sthāna*); b) watery or fluid *śleṣma* (*kledaka-śleṣma*), located in the stomach, liquefying and aiding in the digestion of food; c) the indicative or communicating *śleṣma* (*bodhaka-śleṣma*), located at the base of the tongue and functioning in taste sensations; d) the satisfying *śleṣma* (*tarpaka-śleṣma*), located in the head, soothing and nourishing the sense organs; e) the adhering *śleṣma* (*śleṣaka-śleṣma*), located in the joints, keeping them connected and functioning properly. Some have suggested that these *kapha* or *śleṣma* types resemble cerebrospinal, synovial (lubricating fluid secreted by the membranes of the tendon sheaths, joint cavities, etc.), pleural (watery membrane covering lungs and chest cavity) and pericardial (fluid containing membrane surrounding the heart and roots of the largest blood vessels) fluids, the vitreous humor (of the eyeball), glandular secretions (including the salivary glands), and endolymph (of the inner ear). (Keswani 1974:33, 38-42 and 1974:70-72.)

58. The *Atharvaveda* (15.15.16.17) identifies seven types of *prāṇa* (fire/*agni*, the sun/*ditya*, the moon/*candramāh*, the wind/*pavamāna*, water/*āpah*, animals/*paśavaḥ*, and people/*prajāḥ*). seven types of *apāna* (the full moon/*paurṇamāsī*, seventh, eighth, and ninth days after the full moon/*aṣṭakā*, new moon/*amāvāsyā*, faith/*śraddhā*, initiation/*dīkṣā*, sacrifice/*yajña*, and sacrificial gifts/*dakṣiṇā*), and seven types of *vyāna* (earth/*bhūmi*, atmosphere/*antarikṣam*, the sky/*dyauḥ*, the lunar constellations/*nakṣatrāṇi*, the seasons/*ṛtavaḥ*, the combinations of seasons/*ārtavāḥ*, and the year/*saṃvatsarāḥ*). (See Dasgupta 1932:291-292n.5.)

59. VMP on 2.21, Rinpoche 1986:167; Wallace 1995:175-176.

60. Sharma 1981:138; *Carakasamhitā, Sūtrasthānam* 20.8: *teṣāṃ trayāṇāṃ api doṣāṇāṃ śarīre sthāna-vibhāga upadekṣante; tad-yathā –bastiḥ puriṣādhānaṃ kaṭiḥ sakthiṇī pādāvasthīni pakvāśayaś ca vāta-sthānini, tatrāpi pakvāśayo viśeṣeṇa vātasthānaṃ; svedo raso lasakī rudhiram āmāśayaś ca pīrāsthānini, tatrāpy āmāśayo viśeṣeṇa pittasthānam; uraḥ śiro grīvā parāny āmāśayo medaś ca śleṣma-sthānini, tatrāpy uro viśeṣeṇa śleṣma-sthānam.* (Sharma 1981:138).

61. *Rasaṃ puruṣaṃ vidyād, rasaṃ rakṣet prayatnataḥ | annāt pānāc ca matimānācārāc ca apy atandritaḥ | | Suśruta 1.14.12* (Suśruta 1981:50).

62 . *Tatra pāñcabhautikasya caturvidhasya śaḍrasasya dvividhavīryasaya aṣṭavidhavīryasaya vā anekaguṇasya upayuktasya dhārasya samyakparīṇatasya yas tejobhūtaḥ sārāḥ paramasūkṣmaḥ sa rasa ity ucyate | tasya ca hṛdayaṃ sthānaṃ, sa hṛdayāt caturviṃśati-dhamantr anupraviśy ūrdhvaḡ daśa daśa ca adhogāminyaś catasraś ca tiryaggāḥ kṛtsnam śartram aharahas tarpayti, varddhayati, dhārayati, yāpayati, ca adrṣṭahetukena karmaṇā* || 1.14.3 || (Suśruta 1981:46).

63 . Commentary on KCT 5.184: *Aṅga-pratyāṅgeṣu rasa-rasāgrāḥ, rasaṃ rasam asti iti rasa-rasāgrāḥ, tāḥ punaḥ śirā dhāriṇyo 'grata iti vāta-pitta-śleṣmabhir aliptatvāt* | (Rinpoche et al 1994b:127.13-14).

64 . Gnoli 1956:xiv.

65 . See Apte's dictionary, definition 14 under *rasa*.

66 . "Rasa is the traditional term which designates the aesthetic state of consciousness, the aesthetic pleasure. Rasa means both tasting and what is tasted. Bharata accepts eight Rasa, corresponding to the eight principal feelings of human nature (*sthayibhāva*, Permanent Mental State): Delight (*rati*), Laughter (*hāsa*), Sorrow (*śoka*), Anger (*krodha*), Heroism (*utsāha*), Fear (*bhaya*), Disgust (*jugupsā*), and Astonishment (*vismaya*). These eight feelings are liable to become the material of aesthetic experience, and the corresponding Rasas are: the Erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the Comic (*hāsyā*), the Pathetic (*karuṇā*), the Furious (*raudra*), the Heroic (*vīra*), the Terrible (*bhayānaka*), the Odious (*bībhatsa*) and the Marvellous (*adbhuta*). Later speculation generally admits a ninth permanent feeling, Serenity (*śama*); the corresponding Rasa is the Quietistic (*śānta*)." (Gnoli 1956:29,n.2).

67 . Apte gives a list in his dictionary under *rasa*, definition #4. See also *Carakasamhitā, Sūtrasthāna* 1.65: *svādur amla 'tha lavaṇaḥ kaṭukas tikta eva ca | kaṣāyaś ca iti ṣaṭko 'yaṃ rasānāṃ saṃgrahaḥ smṛtaḥ* || (Sharma 1981:8).

68 . Sharma 1985:215, citing Cakrapāṇi.

69 . Sharma 1985:216.

70 . Sharma 1981:8--*svādv-amla-lavaṇā vāyuṃ, kaṣāya-svādu-tiktakāḥ | jayanti pittam, śleṣmāṇaṃ kaṣāya-kaṭu-tiktakāḥ | | (kaṭv-amla-lavaṇāḥ pittam, svādv-amla-lavaṇāḥ kapham | kaṭu-tikta-kaṣāyāś ca kopayanti samīraṇam* ||).

71 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:84.16-24.

72 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:128.7-15.

73 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:128.1-6.

74 . Sharma 1983:4, *Carakasamhitā, Cikitsāsthānam*, 1.1.5.

75 . See Sharma 1983:9-10, *Carakasamhitā, Cikitsāsthānam* 1.1.62-74.

76 . Sharma 1983:13, *Carakasamhitā, Cikitsāsthānam* 1.2.3.

77 . Presumably what is referred to here is the further 'oxidation' of the mercury when it is consumed in pill form and digested in the fire of the stomach. During the alchemical process, then, the *rasa*--here the mercury--is 'consumed' by the food and metal, so that it takes on, or is believed to persist, only in an internal state; i.e. it becomes invisible.



78 . Literally 'hissing' (*citi-citi*).

79 . Commentary on *Kālacakra* 5.127: Rinpoche et al 1994b:93.2-17.

80 . Thanks to Gary Tubb (Columbia University) for clarifying the underlying sense of the name Devadatta as it is commonly used in Sanskrit writings.

81 . VMP on KCT 2.24.

82 . When agitated wind repeatedly fills all the channels, this results in convulsions. (A.S.n.15.18). Wind that has been suppressed downwards, moving [back] upwards through the heart channels, entering the heart, causes headaches and [pressure]-pains in the temples (A.S.n.15.19). (*Adhaḥ-pratihato vāyur vrajann ūrdhvaṃ hṛd-āśritāḥ | nāḍīḥ, praviśya hṛdayaṃ, śiraḥ śaṅkhau ca pīḍayan || 19 ||*). It throws the body around everywhere in the body, and bends it like a bow. (*ākṣipet parito gātraṃ dhanurvac cāsyā nāmayet |*. The result is that one groans like a pigeon, and goes into spasms, unconscious, with painful breathing, and the eyes closed, sunken in, and senseless. 15.20.)

He who is known as a spasmodic/convulsive, regains health right away (i.e. the spasms cease) when the winds in the heart are released; he becomes unhealthy when the winds in the heart are blocked. (*sa eva ca apatānākhya mukte tu mārutā hṛdi | aśnuvīta muhuḥ svāsthyaṃ; muhur asvāsthyaṃ āvrte || 21 ||*). When the wind is stopped up in the nape of the neck, stretching the channels internally, it pervades the entire body; then the collar-bone is stretched, the body is like an bow, internally, and there's paralysis of the two eyes; it causes yawning, grinding of the teeth, regurgitation of phlegm, pain in the sides, locking of the jaw and the back of the head—this is internal stretching (*antar-āyāma*). (15.23-25a). (*Manye saṃstabhya vāto 'ntar-āyaccan dhamanīr yadā | vyāpnoti sakalaṃ dehaṃ jatru āyamyate tadā | antar-dhanur ivāṅgaṃ ca vegaiḥ stambhaṃ ca netrayoḥ | | karoti jṛmbhāṃ daśanaṃ daśanānāṃ kaphodvamam | pārśvayor vedanāṃ vākya-hanu-prṣṭha-śiro-graham | | antarāyāma ityeṣa....*Kinjawadekar 1990:63). The external version leads (*bāhyāyāma*) leads to crushing down of the neck, discoloration in teeth and face, excessive sweating, paralysis of the body, violent shaking. From wind upon wind one gets tumors in the *marmans*, the humors stretch out the entire body, etc. When the wind impulse is gone, health returns (*gate vege bhavet, svāsthyaṃ sarveṣu ākṣepekeṣu tu*) (15.26-30a). Stroke = *pakṣavadha*. (15.40-41). A very painful swelling in the middle of the knee, produced by the wind and blood is known as the "jackal skull. (15.47b-48a)

83 . Jolly 1977:53-55.

84 . *Carakasamhitā, Vimānasthāna* 5.8; Sharma 1981:330-331.

85 . *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam, Śārtrasthānam* 3.40.42.

86 . *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam, Śārtrasthānam* 3.46-40a.

87 . *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam Śārtrasthāna* 3.18-19.

88 . *Nāḍyaḥ pradhānabhūtās tisro 'nyās tadgatās tv asaṃkhyeyāḥ | Tantrālokaḥ* 29.268a; Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3449 & Gnoli 1980:712.

89 . *Tatra ātmā prabhu-śaktiś ca, vāyur vai nāḍibhiś caran | nābhy-adho-medhira-kande ca sthitā vai, nābhi-madhyataḥ | | 7 | | tasmād vinirgatā nāḍyas tiryag ūrdhvaṃ adhaḥ priye | cakravat saṃsthitās tatre pradhānā daśa nāḍyaḥ | | 8 | | Dvāsaptatisahasrāṇi nāḍyas tābhyo*

*vinirgatāḥ | punar vinirgatās ca anyā ābhyo 'py anyāḥ punaḥ punaḥ || 9 || Yāvatyō romakoṣyas tu tāvatyō nāḍayaḥ smṛtaḥ | yathā parṇaṃ palāśasya vyāptaṃ sarvatra tantubhiḥ || 10 || Śarīraṃ sarvajantūnāṃ tadvad vyāptaṃ tu nāḍibhiḥ |* (Dwivedi 1985{2}:3-4 & cf. Gnoli 1980:244n.24).

90 . Snellgrove 1959{1}:48-49 & 1959{2}:4, mentioned again at *Hevajratāntra* 2.4.24-25 (Snellgrove 1959{1}:104 & 1959{2}:64).

91 . *Kālacakratantra* 5.242 (Rinpoche et al 1994b:150.12).

92 . Rinpoche et al 1986:189.11-14; Wallace 1995:241-242.

93 . Wallace 1995:242-243.

94 . Commentary on KCT 2.59: *Dvāśāstry-adhika-śataṃ Kālacakraṃ ṣaṭ-cakra-nāḍy-ātmakam iti |* The three compounds are appositives. (Rinpoche et al 1986:190.3; Wallace 1995:244.)

95 . Thurman 1994:36.

96 . Thurman 1994:36.

97 . Singh 1989:31.

98 . Wallace 1995:185, with some slight modifications.

99 . Wallace 1995:239-240, slightly modified—from Rinpoche et al 1986:188.26-30, commentary on KCT 2.57.

100 . See Wallace 1995:238-241, and Rinpoche et al 1986:188.26-189.10.

101 . *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 7.26.2, Deussen 1980:189. *Āhāra-suddhau sattva-suddhiḥ sattvasuddhau dhruvā smṛtiḥ smṛti-lambhe sarva-granthīnāṃ vipramokṣas, tasmai mṛditakṣāyāya tamasaḥ pāraṃ darśayati bhagavān Sanatkumāras taṃ skanda ity ācakṣate taṃ skanda ityācakṣate |* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:69. I've modified Deussen's (English) translation just a bit, removing the parenthetical additions.

102 . *Kāṭhakoṇiṣad, Adhyāya 1, Vallī 6.14-17, Deussen 1980:299-300. Yadā sarve pramucyante kāmā ye 'sya hṛdī śritāḥ | | atha martyo 'mṛto bhavaty atra brahma samśnute | | yadā sarve prabhidante hṛdayasyeha granthayaḥ | | atha martyo 'mṛto bhavaty etāvad anuśāsanam | | śataṃ ca ekā ca hṛdayasya nāḍyas tāsāṃ mūrdhānam abhiniḥṣṭaikā | | tayā ūrdhvam āyann amṛtatvam eti viṣvaṅṅanyā utkrameṇa bhavanti | | aṅguṣṭamātraḥ puruṣo 'nārātmā sadā janānāṃ hṛdaye samniviṣṭaḥ | | taṃ svāccharitrāt pravṛthen muñjādiveṣṭikāṃ dhairyēṇa | | taṃ vidyāc chukram amṛtaṃ taṃ vidyāc churkam amṛtam iti |* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:9).

103 . Rinbochay & Hopkins 1979:14-15.

104 . *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* 4.3.9, Deussen 1980:486. *Tasya vā etasya puruṣasya dve eva sthāne bhavata idaṃ ca para-loka-sthānaṃ ca sandhyaṃ tṛtīyaṃ svapnasthānaṃ tasmin sandhye sthāne tiṣṭhann ete ubhe sthāne paśyati idaṃ ca para-loka-sthānaṃ ca...* (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:102).

- 105 . *Bṛhadāraṇyakoṇiṣad* 4.3.11, Deussen 1980:487. *Svapnena sārtram abhprahatyāsuṭaḥ suṭān abhicākaṣṭi* | *śukram ādāya punar eti sthānaṃ hiraṇmayah puruṣaḥ ekahaṃsaḥ* || (Vāsudevaśarma 1983:103).
- 106 . The commentary glosses *drute* as *drute sati*, i.e. it glosses "flowed" as "is flowing."
- 107 . I've switched *nāḍī-gamanāyocyate* to *nāḍī-gamanāyā ucyate*, since the *sandhi* as given is impossible.
- 108 . Rather than take the Sarnath editors' suggested emendations here, *tāsu* for *tās*, and *śṛṅkhalābandhena* for *śṛṅkhalābaddhena*, we can simply take *vrajati* in lines 56.19 and 56.20 as referring to the *tripathaḥ*--i.e. the three channels form the triple path, and the path moves between the various *cakras*. In the verse cited at 56.21 from Chapter 2.47 of the KCT, the subject of the verb *vrajati* is *śaktir*.
- 109 . The two words *lalanā* and *rasanā* should be compounded here; the compound refers to *lalanā* on the right, and *rasanā* on the left (*lalanā-rasanaā-savya-vāma-*).
- 110 . *Viṣṇūtranāḍī* should be compounded with *vāmadakṣiṇṇena*; as a nominative singular feminine --*nāḍī* is otherwise out of place in the syntax.
- 111 . The *sankhint* is the channel in the middle of the *avadhūti*. In the Hindu system we have within the *suṣumnā* the *vajriṇi*, within that the *citriṇi*, within that the *Brahma-nāḍī*. (Avalon 1974:111).
- 112 . 15/60ths of a degree.
- 113 . The perfect of  $\sqrt{bhū}$  is used for a generic present tense here.
- 114 . 1000 *yugas*, 4.32 billion years.
- 115 . The four *kṛta/satya*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, *kali*, of 1,728,000, 1,296,000, 864,000, and 432,000 years respectively.
- 116 . Name of future *Buddhas*--*Ratnaketuḥ*.
- 117 . In Davidson's edition--verse 142b; "displaying forms without exception, he is Ratnaketu, the great gem." (Davidson 1981:35 & 59).
- 118 . Padoux 1990:412-416; Padoux (or his translator or editor) neglects to note that this description comes from Chapter 7 of the *Netratantra*.
- 119 . Brunner 1974:142n.1.
- 120 . See Brunner 1974:144-145.
- 121 . *Tantrālokaḥ* 5.23b-29a: *Tasya śaktimataḥ sphīta-śakter bhairava-tejasah* | | *mātr-māna-prameya-ākhyam dhāma-abhedena bhāvayet* | *vahny-arka-soma-śaktiṇām tad eva tritayam bhavet* | | *parā parāparā ca iyam aparā ca sadā-uditā* | *sṛṣṭi-sthiti-saṃhārais tāsām pratyekatas tridhā* | | *caturtham ca anavacchinnaṃ rūpam āsām akalpitam* | *evam dvādaśa tā devyah sūrya-bimbavad āsthitāḥ* | | *eka-ekam āsām vahny-arka-soma-tacchānti-bhāsanam* | *etad ānuttaram cakram hṛdayāc cakṣurādibhiḥ* | | *vyomabhir niḥsaraty eva tat-tad-viśaya-gocare* | *tac-cakra-bhābhis tatra arthe sṛṣṭi-sthiti-laya-kramāt* | | *soma-sūrya-agni-bhāsa-ātma rūpam samavaṣṭhite* | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:950-954)

122 . *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* 2.34a-2.52a (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:10-12).

123 . Most of the compounds given in Monier-Williams with *loha* as the first member indicate *loha* as "iron," or occasionally "copper," not as blood. The only "blood" definition is from "Buddhist literature"—that's the citation—*lohalinga*, a blood-blister. I think this simply refers to metallic taste. I've substituted *tat-sādhu*, short for *tat-sādhu-kārin*, accomplishing that, for *tat-sādu*—the latter appears to be meaningless in Sanskrit; I could find no form that matched it. In 21.7 we have again *sāduni*—see Bühler 1877:26 on 'd' for 'dh'.

124 . *Vāgbhaṣa Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayam, Śārtrasthana* 3.20-34; Murthy 1991:399-401.

125 . AHŚ 4.1-2a.

126 . The marmas or vulnerable points of the body: (note: the description in Suśruta appears to differ a bit in name types, etc.—see Jolly 1977:55). In a society where death in warfare resulted from arrows or spears or swords, the notion of fatal wounds resulted in the categorization of vulnerable points, or vital points on the body. There are 107 of these, 11 in each of the four limbs, 12 in the thorax and abdomen, 14 in the back, 37 in the head, face, and neck. There are five classes of *marmāṇi* according to the varying results of injuries to them: a) immediately fatal ("immediately removing the vital breaths" *sadyaḥ-prāṇa-harāṇi marmāṇi*; AS.Ś.2.297, b) fatal sometime later ("removing the vital breaths after a time" *kālāntara-prāṇaharāṇi marmāṇi*; AS.Ś.2.298), c) causing severe hemorrhage and death after removing a foreign body lodged therein ("killing after surgery" *viśalyaghnāni marmāṇi*; AS.Ś.2.299), d) resulting in permanent loss of limb or its activity ("causing the state of having a defective limb" *vikalyatva-karāṇi marmāṇi*; AS.Ś.2.300), e) causing intense pain (*rujā-karāṇi marmāṇi*; AS.Ś.2.301). Keswani explains these as inferred points related to the internal organs' functions; injury to the *stanamūla marmāṇi*, for instance, located at the base of the breasts, was said to fill the thoracic cavity with deranged *kapha* (phlegm), causing cough, difficulty in breathing, and death. (See diagrams Keswani 1974:33 and Kinjwadekar 1990a:53 & 54 & 56—the two editions I used for this translation.) The following is a complete translation of the sections on the *marmans* from *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahaḥ, Śārtrasthānam 2, Marmavibhāgaḥ Saptamo 'dhyāyaḥ*, and *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayaḥ, Śārtrasthānam 4, Marmavibhāgaḥ* [I've included the commentary where helpful; otherwise not—the quotation marks surround the verses; the commentary lacks the quotes. AS refers to *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgrahaḥ*, AH refers to *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*]

AS:Introduction. First is stated the purpose at the beginning of the chapter. (1) The declaration: 2.463: "Now we will propound the chapter called the Apportionment of the vital points," thus spoke the great ṛṣis Hasmāhu, Ātreya, etc.

AS: (2) The number of vital points: 2.464: "There are one hundred and seven vital points." In every body there are one hundred and seven vital points.

AS: (3) The locations of the vital points: 2.465: "Of those, forty-four are located in the limbs, there are twenty-six in the middle and lower [section of the body], and thirty-seven up above." Of these there are eleven in each of the four limbs (two arms, two legs), from the juncture of the eyes to the anus there are twenty six, and in the throat etc. there are thirty-seven. The distribution of the eleven vital points in one leg (or thigh) are indicated, and the other three external limbs are to be understood accordingly.

AH: Immediately after the chapter on the limbs the chapter on the *Marmans* of the body begins, because the *marmans* reside in the limbs. Since the *marmans* reside in the limbs and

subsidiary limbs, they are brought together here in order to make that clear; [however], since there is much to be explained, they are described separately. Therefore he says that the beginning of this very chapter is appropriate (quoting from AS, referred to here as the *Gadyasūtra*, i.e. the prose version)—"Now we will propound the chapter called the Apportionment of the vital points," thus spoke the great ṛṣis Hasmāhu, Ātreya, etc." When this limb is injured, one dies—thus a *marma*. The section is the chapter; the chapter about the *marmas* is the *Marma-vibhāgaḥ*. It is in this chapter, hence the *Marmavibhāgaḥ*, and because it concerns injury etc. (*arśa-āditvāc ca*). And bodily since they are distributed over places on the body. The rest is as above. First, for the purpose of good understanding etc. he mentions the number of *marmas*—

4.1-2a: "There are 107 *marmas* (that is, seven more than one hundred); one should indicate eleven of these in each of the two legs, and in each of the two arms; three in the stomach region, and nine in the chest; there are fourteen in the back, and thirty-seven above the collar-bone." Among them, i.e. among the *marma*, one should indicate eleven of these, i.e. one should realize that there are forty-four of these in the four major limbs (two legs and two arms). In the stomach region, i.e. in the belly, there are three vital points. In the breast, i.e. in the chest, there are nine in number. In the back there are fourteen. Above the collar bone, i.e. above the clavicle, there are thirty and seven, that is to say thirty-seven. "Collar bone" here refers to a human being. Otherwise there would be "occasional instruction according to tradition" (?), and that is not the case here.

AS: (The vital points of the limbs:) (4) The vital point named 'the heart of the sole of the foot.' 2.466: "Now for each leg, near to the middle toe, in the middle of the sole of the foot, there is a vital point named 'heart of the sole.' By painful piercing there [one causes] death." Near to the middle toe in the middle of the sole of the foot, a vital point named *tālahṛdayam*. Death follows painful piercing there.

AH: Now, in order to explain the particular locations, the particular names, and the particular functions of the vital points from the soles of the feet up to the head, he says—

4.2: In the middle of the sole of the foot, near (in the line of) the middle toe, is [the vital point] called 'the heart of the sole.' By injury there via piercing, one dies." In the middle of the sole of the foot, i.e. in the middle location, near the middle toe, i.e. in the direction of the middle toe with regards to the foot; the sole of the foot is the back of the foot. Earlier teachers called the *marma* located there by the name *tālahṛd* (heart of the sole). ("Towards" in the secondary meaning of the word can refer to coming into contact on all sides.) There refers to in that place; from piercing, i.e. from striking, *pañcatā* refers to death. How, by injury, by pain.

AS: (5) The vital point 'quick.' 2.467: "Quick is located between the big toe and the fore-toe (or between the thumb and the forefinger). [One causes] death by striking [*ākṣepaka*] there." There is death by the *ākṣepa* [strike with a dart or missile] of piercing *Kṣipra* [quick]. *Ākṣepa* is the term used for wind-diseases. (See *Nidānasthānam* 15 for wind diseases).

AH: 4.3: "Death [is caused] by striking the [vital point called] "quick" (*kṣipram*) midway between the big toe/thumb and middle toe/finger." The location in between the big toe/thumb and the middle toe/finger, i.e. located between them is the vital point called "quick." Striking that causes death by convulsions—i.e. one dies by the wind disease called convulsions.

AS: (6) The vital point at the base of the thumb or big toe. 2.468: "At two finger-breadths above the *kṣipra* point, on both sides is the *kūrca* point (at the base of the thumb or big toe; *kūrca*, "a bunch or bundle," refers to certain parts of the hands, feet, neck, and genitalia).

When [pierced] there the foot becomes unsteady and trembles." The *kūrca* [point] is at two finger-breadths above the *ksipra* [point]. [It reaches] from the upper surface of both feet to the sole of the foot [i.e. it penetrates through the foot]. When the *kūrca* point is pierced there's shaking and trembling of the foot; trembling means convulsions.

AH: 4.4a: "At two finger-breadths above that there is the *kūrca* [point], causing trembling and shaking in the foot;" Above that, i.e. above the point called 'quick,' at two finger-breadths, i.e. having moved two finger-breadths, there is the vital point named *kūrca*.

Striking that causes trembling and shaking in the foot.

AS: (7) The *kūrca-sīras* vital point (upper part of sole or palm). 2.469: "Below the ankle joint is the *kūrcaśīras*. [An injury] there [causes] breakage or swelling."

AH: 4.4.b: "Below the ankle joint is [the vital point called] *kūrcaśīro*; [injury to it] causes swelling or breakage." Below the ankle joint is the *marma* called *kūrcaśīro*; striking it causes swelling or breakage.

AS: (8) The ankle (*gulpha*) *marma*. 2.470: "At the joint of the foot and the lower leg is the ankle. [An injury] there [causes] breakage, a numbness in the thigh bone, or an injured state." At the joint of the foot and of the lower leg, there is the ankle [point; injury to it] causes breakage etc. The injured state is properly non-female (i.e. doesn't happen to women?).

AH: 4.5a: "At the joint between the foot and the lower leg is the ankle [*marma*]; [striking it] causes breakage, numbness, or weakness." In the location of the joint, the joint between the foot and the lower leg, there is the vital point called the ankle. Striking that causes breakage, numbness, or weakness. Numbness is as though the limb had become numb.

AS: (9) The calf *marma* (*Indravasti* = 'Indra's abode'). 2.471: "Beginning from the [top of the] heel, measuring twelve finger-breadths to the middle of the lower leg, is the calf [vital point]. From loss of blood there one will die." In the middle of the lower leg is the *indravasti* [*marman*]. From loss off the blood in that place one will die.

AH: 4.5: "In the middle of the lower leg is the *Indravasti*; from loss of blood [there] one causes death." In the middle of the lower leg, in the middle of the calf, i.e. twelve finger-breadths up from the heel, there is the *marma* called *Indravasti*." An injury there causes death through loss of blood, not otherwise. Therefore, he mentions the cause as 'due to the loss of blood' for the sake of establishing that when blocking off the blood it should be completely stopped. This is the only approach, otherwise it will continue to flow. Therefore, whenever there's a situation where that can cause death etc. because of bleeding, then the cure for that is to stop the bleeding.

AS: (10) The vital point in the knee (*jānu*). 2.472: "At the joint above the calf is the knee (vital point); [when there's an injury there it causes] a limp (or lameness)." The knee is located at the joint above the calf. [An injury] there produces a limp. "A limp" is a defect in walking.

AH: 4.6a: "At the joint above the calf is the knee (*jānu*); [an injury] there [causes] a limp to the living person (i.e. it does not cause death)." At the junction above the lower leg, at the joint, is the vital point called the knee. When injured there in the knee, a man may die. Or, in case he is still living, the man will have a limp. However, it is generally understood that the man will die.

AS: (11) The *āṇi marma* ('linch pin,' the part of the leg just above the knee). 2.473: "Three finger-breadths above both knees is a [vital point called] *āṇi*; [an injury there causes] swelling, growth, or numbness of the thigh." The *āṇi* [point] is also in both thighs, three finger-breadths above the knee, penetrating the two places, i.e. located there. [An injury to

it] causes pain etc.

AH: 4.6b: "Three finger-breadths above the knee is the [*marma* called] *āṇi*; [an injury] causes numbness and swelling in the thigh." Three finger-breadths above the knee, i.e. above the knee joint, is the *marma* called *āṇi*; an injury to it causes numbness and swelling of the thigh.

AS: (12) The thigh vital point. 2.474: "In the middle of the thigh is the [vital point called] *urvī* ['of the thigh']; from loss of blood there the thigh withers." The *urvī* is located in the middle of the thigh. Through loss of blood from piercing that the thigh withers.

AH: 4.7a: "The *urvī* is in the middle of the thigh; from piercing that there is a withering of the thigh caused by loss of blood." The vital point called *urvī* is in the middle of the thigh. From piercing that, i.e. from striking that, there's a withering of the thigh, i.e. an emaciation of the thigh. The withering of the thigh is through loss of blood; it does not occur when there is some other injury.

AS: (13) The thigh-joint vital point. 2.475: "Above the *urvī*, and below the groin, at the base of the thigh-bone is the *lohitākṣa* [*marma*]. From loss of blood there is paralysis." At the base of the thigh, below the groin-joint, there is the *lohitākṣam*. From loss of blood there, one will become paralyzed.

AH: 4.7b: "At the base of the thigh is the *lohitākṣa*; [injury to that] causes paralysis due to loss of blood." At the base of the thigh, above the *urvī*, below the groin, the vital point called *lohitākṣa*. Injury to that causes paralysis, because of loss of blood when it is injured.

AS: (14) The *Viṭapa marma* ('sprout' or 'branch'). 2.476: "In between the groin and the scrotum is the *viṭapa*; [an injury] there causes impotence or diminished semen." In between the groin and the scrotum is the [*marma*] called *viṭapa*. [An injury] there results in either impotence or very little semen.

AH: 4.8a: "In between the groin and the scrotum is the *viṭapa*, causing impotence." In between the groin and the scrotum is the *marma* called *viṭapa*; an injury to a man there causes impotence, i.e. childlessness.

AS: (15) The vital points of the arms. 2.477: "[The vital points] of the arms are like [those] of the legs." That is, the *talahṛdaya*, *kṣipra*, *kūrca*, *kūrcaśīras*, *gulpha*, *indravasti*, *jānu*, *āṇi*, *ūrvi*, *lohitākṣi*, *viṭapa*, [these] eleven vital points in one of the four major limbs are to be understood to be in the other three major limbs also.

AH: 4.8b: "So it is the same for the legs and the arms, i.e. the wrist (*maṇibandha*) is like the ankle." So, i.e. in this mode, there are eleven *marmas* in each of the two legs. Similarly for the arms, i.e. in both arms by this mode, there are the eleven vital points such as the heart of the palm, etc. Now whatever is the specific distance here, .... etc. So for the arm vital points, the wrist is equivalent to the ankle, differing in name only. The elbow (*kūrpara*) is equivalent to the knee. When either of the two are injured, i.e. the [points] called the wrist and the elbow, there may be withering, i.e. a deformity of the hand or of the fingers of the hand.

AS: (16) Specification of the vital points of the arm. 2.478: "And specifically, the ankle is like the wrist (*maṇibandha*), the knee like the elbow (*kūrpara*). When those two are injured, a crippled [or withered] hand or arm can result." Then is stated the specification of the whatever are the names for the arm [points] alone: Just as the ankle is at the joint between the lower leg and the foot, the wrist is [at the joint] between the forearm and the hand. Just as the knee is at the joint between the lower leg and the thigh, so the elbow is at the [joint] between the forearm and the upper arm. Just as when the knee is injured there's a withering of the leg, so when the elbow is injured there's a withering of the arm. *Kuṇṇir* [withering]

means causing deformity. (17) The vital point *kakṣādhara* ("where the armpit is lower"). 2.479: "And like the *viṭapa*, the *kakṣādhara* is between the clavicle and the armpit. [An injury] there causes deformity [of the arm]." Just as the *viṭapa* is located between the groin and the scrotum, the *kakṣādhara* is located between the armpit and the clavicle. When there's an injury there it causes deformity.

AH: 4.9: "The elbow is like the knee; there is also paralysis of the hands; and like the *viṭapa*, the *kakṣādhṛk* is located between the clavicle and the armpit; [an injury] there produces deformity." [Like] the *viṭapa* etc., in between the armpit and the clavicle, the vital point called the *kakṣādhṛk* is like the *viṭapa*. When it is injured there is a withering [of the arm], i.e. a deformity of the arm or hand or fingers.

AS: (18) The internal vital points (*antara-adhimarmāṇi*). 2.480: "The anus (*guda*) is connected to the large intestine, expelling wind and feces; [a penetrating blow] there [brings] instant death." The anus is connected to the large intestine, and has the activities of expelling wind etc. When that is pierced there is sudden death.

AH: 10a: Since the forty-four vital points in the principal limbs have been described, now he tells about the [vital points] for internal pain. "The anus (*guda*), connected to the large intestine, expels wind and feces, and brings sudden death." The intestine is divided two-fold into the large intestine and the small intestine (*sthūla-antra* and *sūkṣma-antra*). The particular vital point called the anus is connected to the large intestine. And it is possessed of wind and feces, that is to say it expels or emits wind and feces, so its called 'feces and wind emitting' (*viḍ-vātamanah*). The *kṛt* affix *-an* is used in a wide variety of meanings to indicate an agent. This anus [point, when pierced] causes death quickly, that is, after just a moment.

"*Sadyoghna*," (killing quickly) also refers to 'without a human agent.' *Iti thak*. The word anus should be considered masculine; and this in not in half-verses etc.

AS: (19): The bladder/urinary tract (*basti*) vulnerable point. 2.481: "The bladder [point] in internal, where there is little flesh or blood [flow], it is bent with a curve like a bow, a single aperture facing downwards. And from the ailment of kidney stones there there will be sudden death. And when one is pierced on both sides of that, one will not survive. When injured on one side, there will be the ailment of flowing urine (i.e. urine pours out of the wound).

Treated aggressively it will heal." The *basti* has little flesh or blood; it is curved in the middle, and in the back bent like a bow. The aperture is the mouth; there is one, and it is facing downwards. When that bladder [point] is pierced, there is death; when there is the ailment of kidney stones death [results]. And when the abdomen is injured by a kidney stone on one side, there's the ailment of urine flow. This is easily understood.

AH: Now he describes the [point] called *basti* [abdomen/bladder/kidney]. 4.10b-4.12b: "The reservoir of urine (bladder), bent like a bow, the *basti* is where there is little flesh or blood. It has a single aperture facing downwards, is curved in the middle, [when wounded] it quickly destroys life. When afflicted with kidney/bladder stones, and wounded there on either side, there's [the problem] of flowing urine; when pierced on one side, the wound may be cured by strenuous effort." The abode of urine, i.e. the reservoir, is the reservoir of urine. Where the urine resides, that is curved like a bow, i.e. like a bow it is curved. Its location is stated thereby. And this is a particular vulnerable point called *basti*. Blood and flesh, i.e. the blood and fat are less there. [He then cites *Aṣṭhādhyāyi* 3.2.75] *anyebhyo 'pi dṛśyante* ("the *kṛt* affixes *manīN*, *KvaniP* and *vaniP* are also introduced after other verbal stems [i.e. those not ending in long *-ā*] along with *viC*."). *Da*. The meaning is that that is not the location of external blood and flesh. Therefore, it has one lower aperture, i.e. this has a single downward aperture. The location is indicated by [the statement] it is curved in the middle.



When that is wounded, then suddenly, i.e. after just a moment, the winds, i.e. the breaths are removed. When afflicted with a bladder stone, i.e. the wound that is made for removing the bladder blockage, getting rid of that wound. In that sense, when there's a bladder stone wound, on either side, i.e. on either side, that wound then, i.e. this causes sudden death. On one side of the bladder, when split, i.e. when wounded, there will be the ailment of flowing urine (i.e. the urine flows out the side). That may be overcome with diligence, i.e. with extreme care it may be cured, not otherwise.

AS: (20): The navel (*nābhi*) vulnerable point. 2.482: "In the middle of the reservoir of raw and cooked food is the navel. A [wound] there may also [cause] sudden death." Not only does the wound in the bladder causes sudden death; a wound in the navel also does--this is the meaning of the word "also."

AH: 4.12b-4.13a: "In the middle of the locations of the raw and cooked foods in the body is the abode of all the channels (*sarva-sira-āśraya*), the navel; and since it too may be suddenly struck [it can death]. The body and the locations of raw and cooked food (are combined in the compound) the locations of raw and cooked foods in the body--in the middle of these. From that one place in the body, i.e. in the middle location in the body, i.e. in the middle of those two locations of cooked and raw food, in between them, is the vulnerable point called the navel. It is the abode, the reservoir of all the vessels. And since it too may be suddenly struck. *Api* is used as a copulative. *Hi* has the sense of "because." I.e. not only can the anus and the bladder be sudden killers, the navel also can be instantly fatal. The word *nābhi* (navel) is to be considered masculine.

AS: (21): The heart vital point. 2.483: "In between the viscera and the chest, between the two breasts, the base of the *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, and the door to the stomach, the heart. There too there may be instant death." The heart is located between the viscera and the chest, and between the two breasts; is the the basis of *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, and the door to the stomach. Instant death may also result from a wound there.

*Caraka* 3.5.9 describes the heart as "the base of the channels carrying the life breath"--*prāṇa-vahānāṃ srotasāṃ hṛdayaṃ mūlam*. and the supreme place of the inner self (*antar-ātmanah śreṣṭhaṃ āyatanam*).

AH: 4.13: "The door to the stomach, and the abode of *sattva* etc., the heart is located between the breasts, and between the viscera and the chest." The vital point called the heart may also be instantly fatal. And that is the door, the opening to the stomach. Since by that door the food and drink enters into the stomach. And that is the abode, i.e. the place of *sattva* etc., i.e. *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, likewise of consciousness, of the senses, of the five objects of the senses, likewise of the *ātman* and of the mind. And it is located between the two breasts and between the viscera and the chest. There are two breasts, and the chest, and the viscera, hence (the compound) *stanoraḥkoṣṭham*, and it is in the middle of those; it is located there; it connects their locations--this is the meaning of the statement that it is located in the middle of the two breasts, chest, and viscera.

AS: (22): The [two] vulnerable points at the base of the breasts (*stana-mūla*). 2.484: "The two [vulnerable points] at the base of the breasts are on both sides two finger-breadths below the breasts. Death results from the filling of the viscera with *kapha* when those two [are pierced]." Those two, i.e. when the two *stana-mūla* [points] are pierced. AS: (23): The [two] vulnerable points above the breasts. "At two finger breadths above the nipple of the breast, on both sides [of the body], the [two points called] *stana-rohita*.

AH: 4.14: "One refers to the two [points] at two finger breadths above and below the breasts (*stana-rohita-mula*). When the two [are pierced], the person will gradually die, with the

viscera filled above by blood and below by phlegm (*kapha*).” The *stana-rohita* (nipple? ‘breast-red’), and the base, since your breast begins from there. In what’s called, known as the *stanarohitamūla*. One says that there are two vulnerable points called the *stanarohitamūla*. In what location? On the breasts. “Gradually,” because it is also connected here to [the idea of] subsequently. Therefore at two finger breadths above the breasts are the *stanarohita* [points]. At two finger breadths below the breasts are the *stanamūla* [points]. When those two [sets of] points are pierced, i.e. the two above the breasts and the two below the breasts, the man, with his viscera filled with blood and phlegm, gradually, i.e. subsequently perishes. When the *stanamūla* [point] is pierced, one perishes because the viscera is filled with phlegm.

AS: (24): The two vital points called *apastambha* (lung or brachial tubes). 2.486: “On either side of the chest there are two vessels (*nāḍīs*) carrying wind, [called] the *apastambha*; when those two are [pierced], one dies of coughing and breathing difficulties because the viscera are filled with blood.” The two channels carrying wind on either side of the chest are the vulnerable points called *apastambha*.

AH: 4.15: “The *apastambha* are the two channels carrying wind on either side of the chest; when [pierced] the viscera is filled with blood, and one dies of cough and difficulty breathing.” The two channels on the sides of the chest are the vulnerable points called *apastambha*. The two carry the wind—i.e. are *vāta*-bearing. When these two vulnerable points are pierced, the viscera is filled with wind, and one dies from coughing and [difficulty] breathing.

AS: (25): The *apālāpa* vulnerable point. 2.487: “Below the shoulders, above the two sections of each side of the trunk, the two *apālāpas*; When those two [are injured] there is death by blood entering into them in the form of pus.” In between the shoulders and the sides of the person’s trunk, somewhat in the side of the flank of the trunk, the two *apālāpa* [points]. When those two are wounded, there is no sudden death. However, [death results] from blood filling them in the form of pus.

AH: 4.16-17a: “In between the backbones and the chest, and on both sides, below the shoulders, there are the two vulnerable points known as the *apālāpas*. When the two [are injured] one dies from the viscera being filled with blood that turns into pus.” In between the backbones and those of the chest, the two sides, in the upper section of those two, below the shoulders, are the two vulnerable points called *apālāpa*. When those two are pierced, when the viscera are filled with blood, one dies when the blood turns into pus. As long as the blood doesn’t turn into pus, one will live. I.e. one will not die just from the viscera filling with blood.

AS: (26): The two vital points called *kaṭkataruṇa* (‘the tender part of the hips or buttocks’). 2.488: “On either side of the backbone, located at the ear-like bones of the hips are the two [vital points] called the *kaṭkataruṇa*. [From an injury] at those two [points] one dies from loss of blood, with a whitness [of the skin], a loss of color, and a withering of the form.” On either side of the backbone, the two vital points called the *kaṭkataruṇa* located at the ear-like bone of the hips. Because the bones of the hips have the shape of ears, they [are called] *Śroṇikarṇau* [‘hip-ears.’]

AH: 4.17b-4.18: Now he describes the [points] in the back. “On either side of the backbone are the two hip bones; above the two buttocks connected to the backbone, are the [points] called *kaṭkataruṇa*; from loss of blood there, one dies with pallor and loss of good appearance.” On either side of the backbone, on either side of the buttocks, connected to the backbone, above the buttocks, there are the two bones called *kaṭkataruṇa*, and there are two

vulnerable points by that name; when they are wounded, with one's good looks disappearing, with a pallor due to loss of blood, a man dies.

[Note: although the picture in the Kinjwadekar edition shows the two *kukundara* points at the base of the spine, they may also actually be at the sides of the hips. Otherwise, why would the verses say *bahir-bhāge*. The location Kinjwadekar gives doesn't seem to incorporate this specification, and forces us to interpret *jaghana* as loins, rather than hips/buttocks; however, I think Kinjwadekar is correct.)

AS: (27): The *kukunda* vital points. 2.489: "On the two sides, in the section outside the loins, on either side of the backbone, the two [points called] *kukunda*. [Wounds] to those two leads to loss of sensation and paralysis in the lower body." On either side of the backbone are the two [points] called *kukundara*. And those two are outside of the loins, i.e. the back portion of the curve, the buttocks.

AH: 4.19-4.20a: "There are two joints on either side of the backbone, on the two sides of the buttocks; in the portion outside the loins, the two vulnerable points are the *kukundarau*. [When those two are injured] it causes paralysis and loss of sensation in the lower body." On either side of the backbone, on the two sides of the hips, on the outside section of the buttocks, at the edge, the two *kukundara*, in the form of depressions (i.e. depressions in the skin), the two joint-vulnerable points. From an injury to those two, there's loss of movement in the lower body, i.e. the lower body becomes incapable of moving, contracting, and extending. Likewise, there's loss of sensation, i.e. loss of awareness of touch. "On either side of the backbone," is by the second *ubhasarvatasoḥ* (from Pāṇinī).

AS: (28): The two vulnerable points called *nitamba*. "Above the two ear-like bones of the hips, covering the receptacle, connected to the inner part of the sides, the two *nitamba*. When those two [are pierced], the lower body swells, and there's feebleness and death." On either side of the backbone, above the two ear-like bones of the hips on the sides, connected to the inner portions of the sides, are the two vulnerable points called *nitamba*, covering over the stomach.

AH: 4.20b-21: "Connected to the inner portion of the sides, above the ear-like bones of the hips, covering over the receptacles, are the two *nitamba* [points], located in the cartilage (*taruṇāsthi*, 'soft-bone'); [when those two are pierced], there's swelling in the lower body, feebleness there, and then death." In the inner portion of the side, i.e. connected in between the sides, above the ear-like bones of the hips, covering the bladder etc., are the two vulnerable points known as *nitamba*. And those are located in the cartilage. When these two vulnerable points are pierced, there is swelling in the lower body; there's also feebleness in the lower body once that has happened. Feebleness means the inability to perform actions on one's own. Then death follows immediately after feebleness.

AS: (29): The two vulnerable points called *pārśvasandhi* (the side-joints). 2.491: "Connected below the inner part of the two sides, and across and above from the [region] between the hips and the sides, are the two *pārśvasandhi* [points]. When those two [are pierced], one dies because the visceral organs fill with blood." Connected to the inner sections of the sides, i.e. connected to the left, located on the left side, and located on the right side. Below there, and above and horizontally located, are the two *pārśvasandhi*. And they are between the sides and the hips.

AH: 4.22-4.23b: "Connected to the inner region of the sides, and between the sides and the hips, above and to the side are indicated the two *pārśvasandhi*. When those two are injured, the person dies due to the filling of the viscera with blood." The middle is the inner region of the two sides; the two joints that are connected to these are called the *pārśvasandhi*.

There is one such joint on one side, and one on the other. Where are these two located? In between the sides and the hips, above and to the side. There are two such joints. When those two are pierced, there's death because the visceral organs become filled with blood.

AS: (30): The two vital points called *brhatt* ('broad, wide'). 2.492: "In the back, in a straight line on either side [through] from the base of the breasts, are [the two points called] *brhatt*. When those two are [pierced], death results from the complications caused by excessive loss of blood." At the previously described [locations] on either side of the backbone, straight [through] from the base of the breasts, i.e. taking a straight direction, the two vulnerable points called *brhatt*.

AH: 4.23b-24a: "In the regions straight through from the base of the breasts, in the channel connected to the backbone, are the two *brhatt* [points]; from a wound there death results from loss of blood." In the region straight through from the base of the breasts, in the channel connected to the backbone, i.e. in the channels connected to either side of the backbone, are the two vulnerable points called *brhatt*. Death results from piercing those two points, due to loss of blood, not otherwise.

AS: (31): The two vulnerable points called *Aṃsaphalaka* ('shoulder blades'). "On either side of the backbone, connected to the base of the arms, are the two [points] called *aṃsaphalaka*. When those two are pierced, there's paralysis and emaciation of the arms." The *Aṃsaphalaka* points are located at the base of the two arms on either side of the spine, and they are connected to them [to the arms]; when there's an injury to those two, there's a connection everywhere [i.e. to the rest of the body].

AH: 4.24b-25a: "Connected to the base of the arms, on either side of the spine, are the two blades of the shoulders; when those two are injured, there's paralysis and emaciation of the arms." At the base of the arms, just like the root of a tree; on either side of the spine, they are principally connected at the root of the arms. What are they? The two blade of the shoulders. The compound is not used in order to conform to the meter. *Phalaka* (blade) is neuter since that's the customary usage. The two vulnerable points are called the *aṃsaphalaka*. An injury to those two causes paralysis and emaciation of the arms. Paralysis is as though the arm is asleep, without conscious awareness.

[Sharma says "acromial region" for the *aṃsa*; scapula for the *aṃsaphalaka*].

AS: (32): The two vulnerable points called the shoulders (*aṃsau*). 2.494: "Between the neck and the tops of the arms, the two *aṃsa* connect the base of the shoulders to the nape of the neck; when those two [are injured], the arms become paralyzed." The two *aṃsa* are located between the neck etc., and are connected to the shoulders, i.e. the seat of the shoulders.

Hence, the anus (*guda*), the bladder (*basti*), the navel (*nābhi*), the heart (*hṛdaya*), the two at the base of the breasts (*stanamūla*), the two above the breast (*stanarohita*), the two bronchial tubes (*apastambha*), the two *apālāpas* (below the armpits), the two *kuṣṭikataruṇas* (in the buttocks), the two *kukundaras* (next to spine at base), the two *nitambas* (top of hips), the two *pārśvasandhis* (at the waist), the two *brhatis* (mid-back, breast level), the two *aṃsaphalakas* (shoulder blades), the two *aṃsas* (shoulders) give us sixteen vulnerable points in the 'inner receptacle' (i.e. the trunk of the body).

AH: 4.25b-26a: "On either side of the neck, in between the neck and the tops of the arms, in the muscles, connected the base of the shoulders to the nape of the neck, the two *aṃsa*; [an injury to them] causes loss of activity in the arms." The two muscles on either side of the neck are called *aṃsas*; where are these located? in between the arms and the neck. What is their function? for the shoulders. At the seat, as though at the seat of the *aṃsas*, where the *aṃsas* are located, connecting the two shoulders to the nape of the neck (on either side):

that's the function. When the two are injured, it removes the activity of the arms, i.e. the contracting and extending of them.

The upper vulnerable points:

AS: (33): The two *ntla* and the two *manya* vulnerable points. 2.495: "On either side of the throat channel (trachea) there are four vessels/channels (*dhamanyah*); of these two are the *ntla*, two are the *manya*; when those are injured it results in either loss of speech, distortion of speech, or loss of taste." The upper ones are described—On either side of the throat-channel (trachea), there is a channel called *ntlā*, and a channel called *manyā*; when those are injured it causes loss of speech etc.

AH: 4.26b-27: "On either side of the trachea, there are channels (nerves?) connected to the jaw; among those, two vulnerable points are called *ntla* and two are called *manya*; when they are injured it results in either loss or damage to speech, or to loss of taste." On either side of the throat-channel are the four channels connected to the jaw; among those two channels, the vulnerable points called *ntla*, and two vulnerable points called *manya*; so it is considered by those who wrote the *tantras*—thus the ellipsis. From injury to those, the loss of speech etc. occurs. Or a speech disorder, i.e. when one begins to speak, something other sound comes out. Loss of taste means lack of sensation of taste.

AS: (34): The *māṭṛkā* vulnerable points. 2.496: "On both sides of the neck there are four channels each (nerves? *sirās*), [called] *māṭṛkās*; [injury] to them results in sudden death." On both sides of the neck there are eight channels called *māṭṛkās*.

AH: 4.28: "On either side of the throat channels there are channels leading to the tongue and to the nose, in two sets of four; they are called the *māṭṛkās*, and injury to them the causes sudden death." On either side of the throat channel, there are the *siras* leading to the tongue, and those leading to the nose; each, i.e. on each side there are four, i.e. there are four on each of the two sides. These are called, i.e. known by the name of *māṭṛkās* ('mothers'); when pierced death results immediately. These are the vulnerable points of the channels known as the mothers.

AS: (35): The two vulnerable points called *kṛkaṭika* (the back of the neck). 2.497: "At the juncture between the head and neck, are the two vulnerable points called *kṛkaṭikas*. When they are injured it results in tremors of the head." On either side of the head, at the junction of the head and neck, are the two vulnerable points called *kṛkaṭikas*; when they are injured it results in head tremors.

AH: 4.29a: "The *kṛkaṭikas* are at the junction of the head and neck; when injured they cause head tremors." At the junction of the head and neck, on either side, are the two vulnerable points called *kṛkaṭika*; when those two vulnerable points are injured, then the head gets tremors.

AS: (36): The two vulnerable points called *vidhurā* ('depressed'). 2.498: "The two *vidhurā* points are located behind and below the ears; when they are injured deafness results." The two *vidhurā* are below the ears.

AH: 4.29b: "In the hollow below the two ears are the two *vidhurā* points; when injured deafness results." Below the two ears, i.e. behind and below the ears, in the depression, not upraised, are the two vulnerable points called *vidhurā*. And when they are injured, it takes away the hearing, the ability to hear, i.e. causing deafness.

(Nasal cavities):

AS: (37): The two vulnerable points called *phaṇā* ('the expanded hood of a serpent,' or 'the flared side of the nostril.'). 2.499: "On either side of the nostrils, from the inside of the connection to the nostrils, are the *phaṇau*; from injury to them one loses the sense of smell."

On either side of the two nostrils, inside the head, in the location of the throat, are the two vulnerable points called *phaṇau*. The two channels are connected to the two channels. When they are injured, there's a loss of [the sense of] smell.

AH: 4.30: "The two *phaṇau* are on either side of the nostrils, following the path of the ears, located inside the throat, when injured they cause the loss of the sense of smell." The *phaṇau* are two specific vulnerable points located on either side of the nostrils, following the path to the ears, i.e. reaching the path to the ears. Located inside the throat, i.e. the two are located inside the throat. Their shape resembles two hooded serpents, so they are called *phaṇau*.

When those two are injured, there's a loss of sense of smell.

AS: (38): The two vulnerable points called *apaṅga* ('the outer corner of the eye'). 2.500: "Below the tail-ends of the eyebrows, outside of the eyes, are the two *apāṅgau*; damage to them results in blindness." The two vulnerable points, *apāṅgau*, are below the two tail-ends of the eyebrows, on the outside of them, and on the outside of the two eyes.

AS: (39): The two vulnerable points called the *śankhau* ('on the forehead bone'). 2.501: "Above the two tail-ends of the eyebrows, alongside the ears, the two *śankhau* are on the forehead. When they are injured, there is sudden death." On the forehead, at the tail ends of the two eyebrows, alongside the ears, the two vulnerable points called *śankhau*. When those two are injured, death is immediate.

AS: (40): The two vulnerable points called *āvarta* ('the two depressions of the forehead above the eyebrows'). 2.502: "In the two depressions above the eyebrows are the *āvarta*; when they are wounded it results in either blindness or damage to the sight." In the two depressions located above the eyebrows, there are two vulnerable points named *āvartau*. When those two are injured, the result is either blindness or damage to the sight.

AH: 4.31: "Outside of the two eyes, are the two *apāṅgau*, below the tail-ends of the eyebrows. Similarly, in the two depressions above the eyebrows, are the *āvartau*; [when they are injured it results] in [various types of] blindness." On the outside of the eyebrows, in the outer region, at the tail ends of the eyebrows, i.e. at the end, below, the two particular vulnerable points are known as the *apāṅgau*. Likewise, above, i.e. above the tail ends of the two eyebrows indicated by *apāṅga*, there are in the two depressions the two *āvartau*. When these four, the two *apāṅgau* and the two *āvartau*, are injured, blindness results.

AH: 4.32a: "At the end of the forehead, alongside the ears, are the two *śankha* [points]; [injury to them] results in sudden death." Above the tail-ends of the two eyebrows, at the edge of the forehead, alongside the ears, i.e. near the ears, are the two vulnerable points called *śankhau*. Those two, pierced, result in sudden death of the individual.

AS: (41): The two vulnerable points *utkṣepa* ('the region above the temples.'). 2.503: "Above the two *śankha* points, at the edge of the hair, are the two *utkṣepa* points; one can survive with an arrow into those two either by the arrow falling out through suppuration [of the wound], not [however] by extracting the arrow." Above the two *śankha* points, at the edge or border of the hair, the two vulnerable points [called] *utkṣepau*. When those two are pierced, one may either survive through the arrow falling out on its own through suppuration; one will not survive taking the arrow out.

AS: (42): The vulnerable point *sthapanī* ('region between the eyebrows'). 2.504: "In between the two eyebrows is the *sthapanī* [point]; an injury there is like one to the *utkṣepa*." In between the two eyebrows is the vulnerable point called the *sthapanī*. An injury there is like one to the *utkṣepa*. One may live with an arrow in it, through the arrow falling out via suppuration. One will not survive extraction of an arrow from that point.

AH: 32b-33: "At the edge of the hair, above the two *śankha* points, are the two *utkṣepa*

points, and the *sthapantī* point, in between the two eyebrows. One may survive a non-extracted arrow in this point, when it falls out itself via suppuration; however, immediate death results when it is pulled out." At the edge of the hair, above the two eyebrows, the two vulnerable points called *utkṣepau*. And the *sthapantī* vulnerable point is between the two eyebrows. When there is a wound in these three, i.e. the two *utkṣepa* and the one *sthapantī*, one may survive when the arrow is not extracted. Through suppuration at a later time, by reason of the suppuration, when the arrow falls out on its own, the man may survive; not however if it is extracted. "Suddenly," i.e. when the arrow is pulled out, the man will die immediately, from the aggravation of the winds (*vāyu-kopāt*).

AS: (43): The vulnerable points of the joints of the skull, called the *śīmānta* ('the parting of the hair'). 2.505: "There are five joints in the skull; across and upwards are the [vulnerable points called] the *śīmāntas*. [Piercing injuries] to those results in death from madness, delusion, or loss of consciousness." There are five joints of the skull in the head, five vulnerable points. Two are on either side of the forehead; two are located at the edge of the hair; the two joints are up above the sides of the two vulnerable points in the back of the neck. Above them, horizontally, is a straight joint at the parting of the hair. When pierced in those [joints], death [results] by madness etc.

AS: (44): The vulnerable points called *śṛṅgātaka* ('a mountain with three peaks,' 'the place where four roads meet'). 2.506: "There is a meeting place in the palate of the channels (*siras*) feeding the tongue, the nose, the eyes and the ears; the four openings of these are called the *śṛṅgātaka*; [piercing] those results in immediate death." There is a meeting together in the palate of the channels (*siras*) feeding the tongue etc. The four external openings of these are the vulnerable points called *śṛṅgātaka*. An injury to those results in sudden death.

(*Suśruta* calls this point the *śṛṅgātaka*, where the nerves from the nose, eyes, ears, and tongue meet, and says it is in the middle of the head—*ghrāṇa-śrotākṣi-jihvā-santarpaṇnāṃ śirāṇāṃ madhye śirā-sannipātaḥ śṛṅgātakāni*, *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 3.6.28; these in turn connect up into the *adhipati* or *romāvarta*).

AH: 4.34-35a: "There are four openings in the palate where there is a meeting of the openings of the tongue, eyes, nose, and ears; an injury to those vulnerable points that are called *śṛṅgātaka* results in immediate loss of life." The tongue, the two eyes, the nose, and the two ears. The four channels are the four openings to them. The meeting together of those is the meeting together, in the palate, where the channels are located that serve the tongue etc.; the *śṛṅgātaka* are the four opening of those. The man who is pierced in those vulnerable points loses his life immediately; merely pierced there, the life breaths are abandoned.

AS: (45): The vulnerable point called *adhipati* ('the ruler'). 2.507: "On top of the upper part of the head, at the meeting of the joints of the head, at the depression in the hair (i.e. the crown of the head), is the vulnerable point called *adhipati*; a wound there will prove immediately fatal." Inside the head, the meeting place of all the joints and the paths of the channels, is the vulnerable point called the depression of the hair. And it alone is called the *adhipati*. Hence the two *nilas*, the two *manyas*, the eight *māṭṛkās*, the two *krkātikas*, the two *vidhuras*, the two *phaṇas*, the two *apāṅgis*, the two *śaṅkhas*, the two *āvartas*, the two *utkṣepas*, the one *sthapantī*, the five *simantas*, the four *śṛṅgātakas*, and the one *adhipati* are, in circular manner, the thirty-seven vulnerable points in the head.

AH: 4.36b-37a: "Inside the head, on top, at the meeting place of the channels and the joints, the parting of the hair, is the vulnerable point named *adhipati*; injury there results in

immediate death." What is located inside the head; above that, i.e. beginning from there, on top of the head, is the meeting place of the channels and the joints (*sirā-sandhi-samāgamah*); the conjunction of the channels and the joints; the particular vulnerable point called the *adhipa* is characterized by the parting of the hair. It is the regent of the vulnerable points; hence it is so named; because all of the vulnerable points lead there--this is the meaning. The 'regent,' pierced, immediately removes the man's life breaths, i.e. it immediately kills the man.

AS: (48): An etymological explanation of the word *marman*. 2.510: "And it is called *marman* because it causes death (*marāṇa*)." And so in a conjunctive sense, the etymological interpretation that it is called *marma* because it causes death.

AH: 4.37b: "Where there is unusual throbbing and pain when it is pressed, that is a *marma*." Where, i.e. in whatever place on the body, one feels an unusual throbbing, that is a *marma*. And where on the body, when pressing, there is usual pain, that is also a *marma*. And here too 'unusual' is understood. Both the neuter and the non-neuter [version of the word] (*viśamaṃ* and *viśamā*) have the same meaning--hence the neuter is understood. So therefore the definition of a *marma* is understood to have two senses; the principle sense is the unusual throbbing of any *marma* due to the *siras* and *dhamants* etc. (The secondary sense) is defined generally as the occurrence of pain produced by pressing on the *marma* of the class of tissue and bones. The definition of piercing/wounding a vulnerable point is said to occur when they are seized or grasped (*saṃgrāhe ca marma-viddhasya lakṣaṇam uktam*). As it is stated in the *Śārṅgadhara saṃhitā*, chapter 7, "The sleeping body has a heaviness, is insensate, and its passion is cooled; sweating, fainting, nausea, and panting are characteristic of a wounded *marma*." It is a *marma* because it causes death, or because it causes pain that is similar to death.

AS: The five sorts of vulnerable points differentiated according to flesh etc. 2.511: "In addition, that [vulnerable point] is the meeting place of flesh/muscle (*māṃsa*), vessels, tendons, and bones. As a result, an injury there poses a particular danger to life. So they are designated by the most prominent [structure near to them]. Therefore the vulnerable points are divided fivefold according to the muscle, etc." In addition the vulnerable point is the meeting place of muscles, etc.; because of the fact that this mixture of [bodily tissue types] is located in one place, an injury there poses a particular danger to the life breaths. Although there is a mixture of the five [tissue types], the whole constitutes a vulnerable point. And since the vulnerable point is designated as a muscle-vulnerable point, a vessel-vulnerable point, etc., it is made of that predominantly. When the vulnerable point is predominantly flesh/muscle tissue, then it is designated by flesh/muscle tissue. When [the vulnerable points are predominantly made] of the vessels, then they are designated by the vessels, and likewise for the other ones. Hence there are five [sets] of vulnerable points according to the distinction between muscle tissue etc.

AH: Now he describes the well-delineated six fold definition of the vulnerable points--4.38: "A vulnerable point is also the meeting place of muscle tissue, bone, tendons, arteries and veins; so life resides intensely in these (*tena atra sutarāṃ jīvitāṃ sthitāṃ*)." Since from the muscle tissues to the joints [all the tissue types] connect to their own kind, there's a meeting together [of these], i.e. a coming together; that [place of meeting together] is a vital point, hence this has the name 'vital point.' The connection of flesh and muscle is a flesh vulnerable point; the conjunction of bones is a bone vital point; the conjunction of tendons is a tendon vital point; the meeting point of arteries is an arterial vital point; the meeting place of veins is a venous vulnerable point; the conjunction of joints is a joint vulnerable point. So



the meeting places of the flesh/muscle etc. are said to be those types of vulnerable points. For this reason, life resides intensely in these places--i.e. in these places the life breaths are established.

Certainly (one may argue) if a *marma* is designated as the meeting together of the muscle/flesh etc., then (*tadāntīm*), then there should be a countless number of *marmas* in the body, because there is a countless number of places where the muscles and flesh come together. And in addition, it's said in *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, *Śārtrasthānam* 3.17 that there are five hundred muscles in men, and an additional twenty in women (due to their breasts), and there are said to be many bones. And so one reaches an incalculable number of vital points. And so the statement that there are one hundred and seven vital points would be contradicted. So, in response [to this possible argument] he says--

AH: 4.39: "There is a sixfold arrangement of the vital points, indicated by what is predominant. The singular concept of 'vital points' derives from the fact that they are generally the abode of the life breaths." One may assert that there are not just one hundred and seven vital points. According to the previously stated method, there should be many vital points. However there is this designation of one hundred and seven vital points, due to predominance, i.e. by predominance the vital-point-ness of the vital points is established. Hence, i.e. by this reasoning, a *marma* is said to be the meeting point of muscle tissue, bones, etc. There are six sorts of *marmas*, i.e. a six-fold arrangement. By this word 'arrangement' is established the definition that there is an arrangement of vital points since they are determined to be the location of life in man.

AS: (50): The flesh/muscle tissue vital points. 2.512: "For example, the [four] at the center of the soles and palms, the [four] *indravasti*, the anus, and the two above the breasts are the eleven flesh/muscle tissue vital points." Then the eleven flesh/muscle tissue vital points--that is the four *talahṛdayas* in the soles of the feet and palms of the hands; the four *indravasti* (in the two calves and the two forearms), the one anus (*guda*), and the two above the breasts (*stanarohita*).

AH: He mention, in order to designate them by their number, the sets of vital points beginning with the flesh/muscle tissue and ending with the joints--

4.40a: "The [vital points] arising from the flesh/muscle tissue are the ten called *indra*-[*vasti*], *talahṛdaya*, and *stanarohita*." The two vital points called *indra* of the legs, and the two of the arms, the four called *talahṛdaya*, i.e. the two of the feet and the two of the hands; and the two *stanarohita*, one on each breast; so there are ten *māṃsajāni* [*marmāṇi*].

AS: (51): The vital points of the veins. 2.513: "There are forty-one vein (*sirā*) vital points: the [four] *ūrvī*, the [four] *lohitākṣa*, the navel, the heart, the [two] *stanamūlas*, the [two] *apastambhas*, the [two] *apālāpau*, the [two] *pārśvasandhi*, the [two] *bṛhatts*, the [two] *nilas*, the [two] *manyas*, the [eight] *mātrkās*, the [two] *phaṇas*, the [two] *apāṅgas*, the [one] *sthapanī*, the [four] *śṛṅgātakas*." That is, the four *ūrvī*, the four *lohitākṣa*, the navel, the heart, the two *stanamūlas*, the two *apastambhas*, the two *apālāpau*, the two *pārśvasandhi*, the two *bṛhatts*, the two *nilas*, the two *manyas*, the eight *mātrkās*, the two *phaṇas*, the two *apāṅgas*, the one *sthapanī*, the four *śṛṅgātakas*.

AS: (52): The vital points of the tendons/muscles: 2.514: "The [four] *kṣipras*, the [four] *kūrcas*, the [four] *kūrcaśīras*, the [two] *viṭapa*, the [two] *kakṣyādhara*, the [four] *āṇis*, the [one] *basti*, the [two] *aṃsas*, the [two] *vidhūras*, and the [two] *utkṣepas* are the twenty-seven tendon/muscle vital points." That is, the four *kṣipras*, the four *kūrcas*, the four *kūrcaśīras*, the two *viṭapa*, the two *kakṣyādhara*, the four *āṇis*, the one *basti*, the two *aṃsas*, the two *vidhūras*, and the two *utkṣepas*.

AS: (53): The vital points of the bones. 2.515: "The [two] *kaṭkataruṇa*, the [two] *nitamba*, the [two] *aṃsaphalakas*, and the [two] *śaṅkhas* are the eight bone vital points." That is, the two *kaṭkataruṇa*, the two *nitamba*, the two *aṃsaphalakas*, and the two *śaṅkhas*.

AS: (54): The vital point of the joints. 2.516: "The twenty vital points of the joints are the [two] *gulphas*, the [two] *maṇibandhas*, the [two] *jānus*, the [two] *kūrparas*, the [two] *kukundaras*, the [two] *kṛkātīkas*, the [two] *āvartas*, the [five] *sīmantas*, and the [one] *adhipatir*." That is, the two *gulphas*, the two *maṇibandhas*, the two *jānus*, the two *kūrparas*, the two *kukundaras*, the two *kṛkātīkas*, the two *āvartas*, the five *sīmantas*, and the one *adhipatir*.

AH: 4.40b-41a: "The two *śaṅkhas*, the two *kaṭkataruṇas*, the two *nitambas* and the two *aṃsaphalas*, are the eight bone [vital points]." The eight bone vital points—the two *śaṅkhas* vital points, the two *kaṭkataruṇas*, the two *nitambas*, the two *phalas* of the shoulders, these are the eight vital points of the bones.

AH: 4.41: "The tendon vital points are twenty-three; the *āṇīs*, the *kūrcas* and *kūrcaśīras*, the *apāṅgas*, the *kṣīpras*, the *utkṣepas*, the *aṃsas*, and the *basti*." There are twenty-three tendon vital points. How so? The four *āṇīs*, located individually in both thighs and both arms. The four *kūrcas*, two in the feet, and two in the hands. The four called *kūrcaśīras*, two in the feet and two in the hands. The two *apāṅgas*, indicated as 'on the outside of the eyes.' The four called *kṣīpra*, 'located between the thumb/big toe and index finger/first toe. The two *utkṣepas*, 'above the shoulders, at the edge of the hair.' The two called *aṃsa*, 'connecting the shoulders and the seats of the shoulders.' The one *basti*, the bladder—thus they are described. Hence there are twenty-three tendon vital points.

AH: 4.42: "There are nine arterial vital points, the anus, the [two] *āpastambha*, the [two] *vidhūra*, the [two] *śṛṅgātakas*." The one anus is connected to the large intestine. The two called *āpastambhas* are at the sides of the chest, the two [bronchial] tubes carrying the wind. The two called *vidhūra*, in the two depressions below the ears; the four *śṛṅgātakas*, connecting to the tongue, the eyes, and the nose. Hence the locations of the *dhamantīs*, the nine vital points that are the abodes of the *dhamantīs*.

AH: 4.42b-4.44a: "The thirty-seven *sirās* vital points are the two *bṛhatīs*, the [eight] *mātrkās*, the two *nīlas*, the two *manyas*, the two *kakṣādharas*, the two *phaṇas*, the two *viṭapas*, the heart, the navel, the two *pārśvasandhis*, the two *stanādharas* [i.e. *stanamūlas*], the two *apālāpas*, the *sthapanī*, the [four] *ūrvīs*, and the [four] *lohitās*." There are thirty-seven vital points located at the *siras*. What are they? The *bṛhatī* etc. The two *bṛhatī* are in the region straight through from above the breasts. The eight called *mātrkās* are on either side of the throat channel (trachea), going to the tongue and the nose. The two *sirās* called *nīla* and the two called *manya*, on either side of the throat channel, located at the jaw *sirās*. The two *kakṣādharas* are below the armpit, between the armpit and the clavicle. The two *phaṇas* are defined as being on either side [of the mouth]. The two *viṭapas* are between the groin and the scrotum—one for each leg. The one heart point, defined as the door to the stomach. One navel, defined as at the location of raw and cooked foods (i.e. over the stomach). The two *pārśvasandhis* (at the waist), connected between the sides (of the torso). The two *sthanādharas* below the breasts; the two *apālāpas* between the backbones and the chest; the one *sthapanī*, in the middle of the brow; the four *ūrvīs* in the two thighs and the two arms, in the middle of the thighs, and the same in both the legs and the arms, i.e. by distributive application. The four *lohitāṇi*, called the *lohitākṣas*, at the base of the thighs, and [at the base] of the arms.

AH: 4.44b-4.45a: "There are twenty [vital points] in the joints—the two *āvartas*, the two

*maṇibandhas*, the two *kukundaras*, the *sīmantās*, the two *kūrparas*, the two *gulphas*, the two *kṛkātṛyas*, the two *jānus*, and the *patiḥ*." There are twenty vital points in the joints; The two *āvartas* are in the depressions above the eyeabrows. The two *maṇibandhas* (wrists) are like the ankles. The two *kukundas* are the two vital points on the outer region of the buttocks; there are five called *sīmantas*, the joints of the skull. There are two *kūrparas* (elbows), like knees. The word *kūrpara* has two genders. There are two ankles, at the joints between the lower legs and the feet. There are two *kṛkātṛyas*, at the joint between the head and the neck. There are two knee [vital points], at the joint between the upper and lower legs. The *patiḥ* is the regent of the vital points, there is one of those, and it is located inside, on the top of the head. Hence the one hundred and seven vital points, arranged according to the arrangements of flesh etc.

AS: (55): The vital points are also [arranged] fivefold. 2.517: "And they are also fivefold." And these are said to be classified five ways according to flesh etc., and again by another method, they are said to be fivefold because of instant death etc. (1) Some of these cause instant death; (2) Some of these cause death after some time; (3) Others of these cause death when a pointed weapon is extracted; (4) Others cause defects; (5) Others cause pain—hence the five types.

AH: 4.45b-4.46: "According to the others [i.e. *Suśruta* etc., acc. to footnote], the anus is a flesh/muscle vital point, and the *kakṣādhara* is located in the tendons; and the two *viṭapas* and the two called *vidhūra* and the *śṛṅgāṭas* are *sirās* [vital points]. The *apastambha* and the *apāṅgau* are not considered to be *dhamant* points by the others." In the opinion of the other teachers the anus is a *māṃsa marma*, not a *dhamant marma*. As for the tendon etc. [vital points], in the opinion of the other teachers, the *kakṣādhara* are located in the tendon, and not located in the *sirās*. The two *viṭapas* and the *vidhuras* are located in the tendons. However, according to the preceding (i.e. in Vāgbhaṭa's text), the *viṭapau* are located at the *sirās*, and the two *vidhuras* are located in the *dhamants*. The four *śṛṅgāṭakas* are located in the *sirās*; according to Turavadhāra (? appears to be a name), though, they are not, rather the two *apastambha* and the two *apāṅga* are located in the *dhamant*. However these are not considered by other teachers to reside in the *dhamants*, rather they are said to reside in the tendons.

AH: 4.47: "When the *māṃsa* vital points are injured, there is continual flow of blood, and the body is like flowing flesh; one goes quickly to pallor, to loss of sense awareness, and death." When the flesh vital points are injured, there is an endless, continuous flow of blood. It is like flowing flesh, i.e. the same as water flowing from the flesh. Then the body also becomes pallid (translucent skin from blood loss), not strong. There's also a yellowness, or a whiteness to the body. The senses, i.e. the eye etc., become insensate, i.e. unaware of their own objects. And death comes quickly, rapidly. So when the *indrabasti* etc. flesh vital points are wounded, death is to be expected by the inference of seeing blood flowing from all the limbs; recognizing that, the *vaidya* should employ a curative to prevent that, because death may be prevented in any circumstances with the proper medicines.

AH: 4.48a: "And in the bone vital point the flowing blood is accompanied by marrow, is clear, and is interrupted." In the *śankha* etc. bone vital points, when wounded, there's a flow [of blood] accompanied by marrow, that is also clear, not thick, and interrupted, i.e. it is not continuous as when the flesh vital point is wounded. "And there's a anguish," by this it also indicates that there is excessive pain, because of the presence of just a break in all the vital points. (? *ruḥ-mātrasya sarva-marmasv api sadbhāvāt*).

AH: 4.48b-4.49a: "When the tendon-produced [vital points are injured] there is intense pain.

[excess] stretching out, convulsions, and paralysis." When the tendon-produced vital points such as *kārca*, *āṇi* etc. are wounded, there is [excess] stretching out etc. Paralysis in the respective limbs, and intense pain. Likewise, one lacks the capacity of moving, standing, or sitting down, i.e. incapable of moving, standing, or sitting down. And there is defects in the limbs. Or else, there's the end, i.e. death.

AH: 4.49b: "When the *dhamant*-located [vital points are injured], the blood [flows out] hot, frothy, and noisily, and there's loss of consciousness." When the arterial vital points are injured, such as the anus, the *apastambha*, etc., then the blood will flow out and there will be loss of consciousness. How so? Hot, frothy, and noisily. 'Noisily' is individually connected to these. (I.e. hot and noisy, frothy and noisy).

AH: 4.50: "When the *sirā* vital points are injured, the blood flow is thick, and the blood flows abundantly. Through the loss of blood, there's death from thirst, confusion, difficulty breathing, loss of consciousness, and hiccup (? *hidhma*)." When the *sirā* vital points such as *bṛhatī* etc. are injured, the blood flows thick, and plentifully, abundantly. Through the loss of that, i.e. through the loss of blood, death results, i.e. destruction of life, through thirst, delusion, etc.

AH: 4.51: "When the joint vital point is injured, it swells up, it feels as though it is filled with real thorns, one becomes crippled and lame, there are tumors in the joints, withering [of the limbs], and loss of strength and the ability to move." When the *āvarta* etc. joint-born vital points are wounded, they become as though filled with real thorns; with the word 'real' the real location of the wound is indicated. With the thorns, it is as though it is filled with awns (?) of grain connected to rice and barley. And when that is swollen up, one becomes either crippled or lame. There's loss of strength and movement, a withering of the limb, in addition, and a swelling in the joints, i.e. intumescence, in the [vital point] produced in the joint.

Now, When the other vital points are wounded, it restricts the time for death--

AH: 4.52-4.53a: "The navel, the (two) *śankha* (the temples of the head), the *adhipa* (i.e. the *adhipati* in the very top of the head), the anus (*apāna*), the heart, the (four) *śṛṅgāṭaka* (in the palate), and the *basti* (bladder), and the eight *māṭṛkās*, these nineteen cause instant death. As for the extent of time with regard to those, the time [to death] is at most seven days." The vital points such as the navel and the temples etc., the nineteen, cause immediate death.

There is one navel, two *śankha* (the temples, also a word for a conch shell), one *adhipa*, also one *apāna*, one heart, four *śṛṅgāṭakas*, one *basti*, eight *māṭṛkās*—these are the nineteen that cause immediate death. As for the extent of the time to death, at the most it is seven days—this is the highest limit. Nineteen is not twenty; it is a *sup-sup* compound. It is twenty without one; it is also a compound because of the [grammatical] splitting of one rule into two. Then, according to [the rule] *ekādiścaikasya* etc., the negative particle (*nañah* or *nañ*), the natural state (? *prakṛtibhāva*), *ekasyādugāmas ca*, in the sense of less, [hence] no, the meaning being nineteen.

AH: 4.53b-4.55a: "The thirty-three [vital points] *apastambha*, *talahṛd*, *pārśvasandhi*, *kaṭkataruṣa*, *sīmanta*, *stanamūla*, *indrabasti*, *kṣipra*, *apālāpa*, *bṛhatī*, *nitamba*, *stanarohita*, cause death after a while—one lives for a month or a month and a half." The thirty-three *apastambha* etc. remove life after a while. When they are wounded, one survives for a month or a month and a half. And it's stated in the *Samgraha* that the time for those is less than two weeks, on account of the *saumya* (phlegm) and fire elements. 'Tres-trayaḥ,' uses the substitution for three. Those are the two *apastambhas* (shoulder height, above the *stanarohita*), the four *talahṛnti*, the two *pārśvasandhis*, the two *kaṭkataruṣas* (fresh part of

buttocks), the five *sīmantas*, the two *stanamūlas*, the four *indrabastis*—two in the legs, and two in the arms, the four *kṣipras*—two in the hands and two in the feet, and the two each of the *apālāpas* (lit: ‘conversing with water’?—*ap-ālāpa*; just under the armpit), the *bṛhattis* (mid-back, height of top of breasts), the *nitambas* (top of buttocks, slope), the *stanarohitas*. AH: 4.55b-4.56: "The two *utkṣepas* and the *sthapantī* are the three that kill when the arrow is removed, because when they [are wounded], the wind drying up the muscles, fat, marros, and brains, [the wind] going out when the arrow is removed, it destroys the life breaths through heavy breathing and coughing." The two *utkṣepas* and the one *sthapantī*, these are the three *viśalyaghnās*. Why is that? Because, when there is a wound there, and the arrow is removed, the wind goes out, dries up the muscles etc., and destroys the life breaths through heavy breathing and coughing. And for that reason there is the use of the *kṛt* affix *at* (forms the present participle; technical term is *śatṛ*, used here). Because by the reason of [the wind] exiting [the body], there’s a drying up of the muscles etc.

AH: 4.57-4.59a: "The two *phaṇas* (next to the tongue), the two *apāṅgas* (at the corners of the eye), the two *vidhuras* (in the hollows behind the ears; ‘depression’), the two *nilas* (just next to the trachea, those two bump bones there), the two *manyas* (just at the side of the neck), the two *kṛkātīkas* (at the base of the neck), the two shoulders, the two *arṣaphalakas* (shoulder blades), the two *āvartas* (just above the end of each eyebrow, a little depression in the head, ‘curling, winding’), the two *viṭapas* (between groin and scrotum), the four *ūrvīs*, the two *kukundaras* (either side, just above the top of the crack of the buttocks), together with the two knees, the four *lohitākṣas* (armpits and thigh joints, ‘red-eye’ or ‘red-axis’ or ‘the axis of the blood’), the four *aṅgis* (‘linchpin,’ just above knee, just above the elbows), the two *kakṣādhrk*, the four *kūrcas*, and the two *kūrparas*—these forty-four cause deformity. Sometimes, when they are wounded, they can cause death." There are two each beginning with the *phaṇa* and ending with the *viṭapas*, there are four *ūrvīs*, two *kukundaras*, two knees, four *lohitākṣis*, four *aṅgis*, two *kakṣādharas*, four *kūrcas*—two in the hands and two in the feet, two elbows—hence the forty-four, i.e. the forty-four vital points that cause deformity of the limb. Sometimes, on account of being wounded, the forty-four cause death.

AH: 5.59b: "The eight—the four *kūrcaśīras*, the two ankles, and the two wrists cause pain." The eight *kūrca* etc. are the particular vital points that cause pain. ‘Because of the predominance of fire, wind, and moon (phlegm), because the fire and wind in particular cause pain. And the *soma* supports the life breaths,’ so these do not cause death. Of these, there are four *kūrcaśīras* in the hands and feet, two ankles, and two wrists—hence there are eight.

Now in order to describe the respective sizes of the vital points he says—[NOTE: these might be intended as three-dimensional measurements—otherwise the *dvādaśāṅgula* measurements are difficult to imagine].

AH: 4.60: "Of these, the *viṭapas*, the *kakṣādhrk*, the *ūrvīs*, and the *kūrcaśīras* measure twelve finger breadths." Among these vital points, the *viṭapas* etc. vital points measure twelve finger breadths. {NOTE: this is pretty large!}.

AH: 4.60b-4.61a: "The two wrists and the two ankles and the two *stanamūlas* are two finger breadths." The two wrists are two finger breadths; the two ankles and the two *stanamūlas* are each two finger-breadths; one word *ca* (and) has a copulative meaning, the other is to fill out the meter.

AH: 4.61b: "The knees and elbows are three finger breadths." The two knees and two ankles are three finger breadths.

AH: 4.61b-4.62: "The *apāna*, the *basti*, the heart, the navel, the two *nilas*, the *sīmantas*, the *mātrkās*, the *kūrcas*, the *śṛṅgātakas*, these twenty nine measure the size of the palm of one’s

own hand." {NOTE: also pretty large!}. The twenty nine, the *apāna, basti*, etc., measure the size of one's own palm, i.e. they measure the size of the palm of one's own hand. AH: 4.62b-4.63: "The remainder are said to measure half a finger-breadth; and fifty-six vital points are equal in size to a sesamum seed or a grain of rice; the vital points of the others are accepted." He indicates that the remaining fifty-six vital points measure half a finger's breadth according to the dimensions of one's own finger-breadth. According to the writers of other systems, the vital points may be considered to measure the size of a rice grain or a sesamum seed. It is to be understood that the opinion of this author is that there is assent to what is expressly prohibited/contradicted (? '*paramatama-pratiṣiddham anumatam eva' ityasyāpi granthakṛta etad eva matam iti bodhyam*).

Now he explains how death occurs when the vital point is struck--

AH: 4.63b-4.66a: "The veins are said to be fourfold--they reside in the vital points [and] satisfy the entire body; when there's destruction of the bodily tissues through damage to with excess loss of blood from those wounds, the wind becomes old, pain spreads [throughout the body], and sharp pains agitate [the limbs]; the bodily fire arising from that causes thirst, emaciation, madness and delusion; this destroys the sweating, languid, loosened body, and then death [follows]." The veins are said to be fourfold--the first are indicated as numbering seven, bearing purified blood supplied with the wind, bile, and phlegm; they satisfy, i.e. they please the entire body--they have vital points residing in them. 'From their destruction,'--since all these veins reach vital points, because of that, i.e. because the vital points are located there, from damage to those vital points, there's serious loss of blood. Therefore, from the serious loss of blood, there's destruction of the bodily tissues, i.e. there's successive destruction of the bodily tissues such as muscle tissue etc. When the tissues are destroyed, the air becomes old, i.e. the wind, and sharp pains, i.e. causing extreme pain, intense pain, causes, spreads. Causing what? engendering fire, bile, causing its increase; resulting, i.e. occurring a great deal, it causes thirst etc. Then immediately following thirst, etc., death destroys the man whose vital points have been pierced. His body becomes sweated out, languid, and loose. When the vital points are wounded, the mouths of the blood-bearing vessels open up. As a result of that, the blood that sustains life flows out, resulting in the end of life.

Now he explains the treatment for wounded vital points--

4.66b-4.67: "When the vital point is injured, one should quickly cut off the body [i.e. the blood flow of the body] from the joints. Because from cutting them off, the blood vessels from the joint contract. The life of living beings definitely is located in the blood." When the vital point is injured, one should quickly cut off the body. Where? From the joints. Because, by doing that, by cutting off the blood flow at the [nearest] joint, the blood vessels contract, i.e. the openings [of the wounds] close up. *Vardha* and *Chedana* etc. are *cur* roots. (a Pāṇinīan verb-root class). Then, from the contraction of the blood vessels, the blood no longer flows out. Since the blood remains, and does not flow out, one survives.

By this means, from the destruction resulting from wounds to the vital points, death results; however, not from wounds when the vital points are not injured. So he says this-- AH: 4.68-4.69: "Even though greatly wounded in places other than the vital point, one may survive, yet not when wounded in the vital point, the destroyer of life; some people may survive by treatment from a physician, or when only partially wounded, he may only be crippled. Therefore, one should carefully avoid application of alkalis, poisons, and fire etc. to the vital points." The living person dies from wounds to the vital points, though not from wounds elsewhere. Even though exceedingly wounded, that is wounded severely, even a hundred times, as long as it is not in the vital points, one may survive, though not when

wounded in the vital point. There are two sorts of vital points—one that causes death, the other that causes deformity. Now someone who is virtuous, and who has a proper term of life, when the vital point is wounded, since the vital point is not entirely wounded, he may survive through the care of a physician, with only a deformity or crippling. The word 'physician' generally indicates the three words *dravya* etc. Therefore one should carefully avoid the use of *kṣāras* etc. on the vital points. By the word 'etc.' here is understood the marking nut, mercury, emblica officinalis, *kacchu*, *śūka*, etc.

AH: 4.70: "Even when very slightly injured in the vital points is usually very painful; diseases are localized to the vital points, and so they can be cured when carefully [treated]." "Thus the fourth chapter called the section on vital points in the second *Śārtrasthāna* in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* composed by Vāgbhaṭa, the son of the famous physician Sīṃhagupta." So wounds to the vital points are to be avoided, since wounds to the vital points are generally or predominantly extremely painful. One suffers not only from wounds to the vital points, but also to diseases that are localized there. These can be cured with careful treatment.

AS: (56): The vital points causing instant death. 2.518: "The anus, the bladder, the navel, the heart, the [eight] *māṭrkās*, the *śankhas* (temples), the *śṛṅgātakas* (in the palate), and the *adhipati*, these are the nineteen causing sudden death; because they are firey (*āgneyatvāt*), the time of death from them is shorter than seven days." Among those causing immediate death, the four anus, *basti*, the navel, and the heart; the eight *māṭrkās*, the two *śankhas* (temples), the four *śṛṅgātakas* (in palate), and the *adhipati*, these are the nineteen. There is fire-ness, causing immediate death. [The time of survival] from the first day is inside seven days.

AS: (57): The vital points causing death after some time. 2.519: "The thirty-three [vital points] causing death after some time are the *talahṛdaya*, the *kṣipra*, the *indrabasti*, the vital points of the chest, the *kaṭṭkataruṇa* (in the buttocks), the *nitambas* (at the top of the hips in the back), the *pārśvasandhi* (at the waist in the back), the *bṛhatī* (in the mid back at breast-top level), those along the parting of the hair (*sīmanta*); because they consist of the moon (i.e. phlegm, *kapha*) and fire (i.e. *pitta*), the time [to death] from them in inside of two weeks. And among them, the *kṣipra* points sometimes lead to a quick death." There are thirty-three; because they are related to the moon and fire, the cause death slowly, after some time. Either inside of a fortnight, depending on the three-hour segments of the day—this is the rule. That is, the four *talahṛdayas*, the four *kṣipras*, the four *indrabastis*, the eight vital points of the chest—the [two] *stanamūlas*, the two *stanarohitas*, the [two] *apastambhas* (directly above the prior two), the [two] *apālāpas* (just below the armpits), the two *kaṭṭkataruṇas* (smack in the middle of the buttocks, lit: the new or fresh part of the buttocks), the two *nitambas* (at the tops of the hips in the back, lit: the slopes), the two *pārśvasandhis* (lit: the joint of the sides, where it curves in), the two *bṛhatis*, the five *sīmantas*, these are the thirty-three. Among these the *kṣipras* can cause sudden death.

AS: (58): The vital points that sometimes cause death (*viśalyaghna*). 2.520: "The two *utkṣepas* (region above the temples, lit: throwing upwards), and the *sthapanī* (mid brow) are the three *viśalyaghna* vital points, because of their wind character (*vāyavyatvāt*). As long as the wind remains blocked off in the hole [caused by] the arrow, the person will live." There are three *viśalyaghnas* (i.e. they kill when the arrow is removed), and they are related to the wind. When the arrow is pulled out, since there is a wound to the wind, because it goes out, one will not live; they kill without the arrow, however, not with the arrow. Those are the two *utkṣepas* and the one *sthapanī*.

AS: (59): The vital points that cause maiming. 2.521: "The *kūrca*, the knees, the elbows, the

*āṅgi* (just above the knee and elbow), the *ūrvi* (mid-thigh and bicep), the ones called *lohita* ('red,' in front of the armpit), the *viṭapas* (lit: 'branch, creeper,' between groin and scrotum), the *kakṣādhara* (between clavicle and armpit, at the top corner of the shoulder), the *kukundara* (at the base of the spine on either side; Apte defines as the cavity of the loins just above the hips), the *aṃsa* (shoulders), the *aṃsaphalas*, the *nīlas*, the *manyas*, the *kṛkātīkas* (base of neck), the *vidhuras* (behind the ears), the *phaṇas* (inside mouth, on side), the *apāṅgas* (outer edge of the eyes), the *āvartas* (above end of eyebrows)—these are the forty-four causing deformity, because of their *kapha* nature (*saumyatvāt*). The *soma* (is mentioned) because it maintains the winds with hardness and stability. And sometimes when these are struck they can cause death." The forty-four cause deformity; because of their *saumya*-ness they do not cause death. The four *kūrcas*, the two knees, the two elbows, the four *āṅgis*, the four *ūrvis*, the four *lohitas*, the two *viṭapas*, the two *kakṣādharas*, the two *kukundaras*, the two shoulders, the two *aṃsaphalakas*, the two *nīlas*, the two *manyas*, the two *kṛkātīkas*, the two *vidhuras*, the two *phaṇas*, the two *apāṅgas*, and the two *āvartas*. These are the forty-four; sometimes when struck they cause death.

AS: (60): The vital points that cause pain. 2.522: "The *kūrcasīras* (in the heels and at the base of the palms), the *gulpha* (ankles) and *maṇibandhas* (wrists), are the eight vital points that cause pain, because of the predominance of fire, wind, and *soma* (i.e. phlegm). The fire and wind are particularly what cause pain. The *soma* (i.e. phlegm) supports the winds." The eight vital points cause pain because they consist of *soma*, fire and wind—[they are] the four *kūrcasīras*, the two *gulphas*, and the two *maṇibandhas*.

AS: (61): Some other views about the vital points reject the causality of fire. 2.523: "Yet others say, the [vital points] cause immediate death because of the combination of five flesh etc. when they are wounded. When one or the other is either lacking or diminished, the others naturally [cause death]." Yet other teachers, rejecting the causality of fire for causing immediate death, attribute the cause to the growth of the set of five [tissue types] of flesh etc., without their being either lack or excess. Their argument is that when there is conjunction in either an equal amount or excess of the nineteen [vital points classed] as flesh etc., i.e. the anus etc., then that causes death. By the word 'etc.' the [vital points] of the bones, tendons, channels, and joints are understood. 'The others,' the four causing death after some time, and those coming together because of the lack or a very small amount of the flesh etc. (vital points). I.e. because of the lack of one or the other flesh etc. (tissues), they cause death after some time. When two are lacking, they cause death only upon removal of the arrow. When three are lacking, they cause deformity. When only one is present, they cause pain. Suśruta reads that the death etc. [causing points] are due to two [tissue types]. We do not accept that.

AS: (62): Some other teachers are of the opinion that the location of the vital point is innately caused. 2.524: "Others say that the moon-stone, sun-crystal, magnet, " Other teachers say that *soma* (i.e. phlegm) and fire do not play a causal role. Nor even is there a conjunction (in the vital points) of the specified flesh etc. (tissues). They argue that the causality is innate (or natural). Just as [it is not true that] the moon stones etc. [will melt away] in the moon etc., so even when the hands and feet are cut at the many locations of the vital points, one will not die—hence the causality is innate.

AS: (63): The cause for the location of the *marma* according to other teachers. 2.525: "Still others say about the cause of these—when the hands and feet are cut the veins contract; so one survives because there is diminished blood flow. Yet when a vital point is wounded, death results because of the excess blood flow caused by the wind. Therefore, one should quickly amputate the limb with the wounded vital point at the location of the joint....." The



others are well known. Therefore, when there's a limb that has been wounded in the vital point, that limb that has a vital point should be cut off at the location of the joint. When the joint is cut, the contracted veins will not release blood—so one will not lose one's life. And these vital points are said to have a five-fold action. Those wounded vital points have innate activity, as does each of the preceding. So it is said that the anus etc. when wounded innately cause sudden loss of life, and this is not possible in the preceding ones. When the *talahr̥daya* etc. are wounded, they innately cause death after some time, yet sometimes they also cause immediate death. The *utkṣepa* etc. by innate action cause death upon removal of the arrow—this is not possible for the preceding ones. Or, they cause death after some time. When the *kārca* etc. are wounded they innately cause deformity. Yet sometimes, as with the preceding, they also cause death after some time. And the preceding do not cause death upon removal of the arrow, because that is not possible. When the ones beginning with the *kārcasīras* their innate action is to cause pain. Yet sometimes, as with the preceding, they also cause deformity. Yet, as before, each of the preceding individual actions occur when it is wounded. Yet when those vital points become wounded by being struck just a little bit at the corner (or just at the edge of the vital point), i.e. when they are struck at the edge, then the latter [is true] of those (i.e. they cause pain?). Therefore, when the [vital points] that cause sudden death are wounded just at the edge [of the point] then there's the latter action, i.e. they cause death after some time. Or when the vital points that cause death after some time are wounded just at the edge, then the latter action occurs, i.e. they cause deformity. And a [wound] immediately adjacent does not produce a state of causing death by removal of the arrow. When there are wounds just at the edge of the vital points that cause death by removal of the arrows, the result is deformity. And when vital points that when wounded cause deformity are wounded just at the edge, these cause pain. So it is stated in succession.

AS: (64): The five sorts of vital points according to yet a different opinion. 2.526: "And they are also classed as fivefold another way." These vital points are also classed fivefold according to yet another opinion.

AS: (65): The vital points measuring by [one of] one's own finger-breadths. 2.527: "The [four] *ūrvī*s, the [four] *kārcasīras*, the [two] *viṭapas*, and the [two] *kakṣādharas*, are the twelve [vital points] measured by one's own finger breadths." The twelve, *ūrvī* etc. vital points measured by one's own finger breadths are four, four, two, and two, i.e. twelve.

AS: (66): The vital points [measured] by two finger-breadths. 2.528: "The two ankles, the two wrists, the two at the base of the breasts, are the six that measure two finger-breadths." The ankle etc. vital points are the six that measure two finger breadths, i.e. two, two, and two.

AS: (67): The vital points [measuring] three finger-breadths. 2.529: "The two knees and the two elbows are the four measuring three finger breadths." The two knees and the two elbows are the four measuring three finger breadths.

AS: (68): The vital points measuring the [size of] the palm of the hand. 2.530: "The [four] *kārcas*, the anus, the *basti*, the navel, the heart, the two *nilas*, the two *manyas*, the [eight] *mātrkās*, the [five] *sīmantas*, the [four] *śṛṅgātakas* are the twenty-nine measuring the size of the palm of the hand." The twenty-nine *kārca* etc. are those measuring the size of the palm of the hand.

AS: (69): The vital points measuring the size of half a finger's breadth. 2.531: "The remaining fifty-six measure half a finger-breadth." The remaining fifty-six measuring half a finger-breadth; *āṅguladala* means *ardhāṅgula*. And so Dhanvantari reads--'the remaining ones in the body measure half a finger-breadth.'

AS: (70): The measure of the vital points according to other opinions. 2.532: "Others also

say."

AS: (71): There are vital points measuring the size of a grain of rice. 2.533: "The *kṣipras* measure the size of a grain of rice."

AS: (72): The vital points measuring the size of a *kalāya* (a leguminous seed, a sort of pea or pulse). 2.534: "The *stanarohitas* and the *utkṣepas* are vital points measuring the size of a *kalāya*."

AS: (73): According to the opinion of some (teachers), there are vital points measuring the size of a sesamum seed (*tila*). 2.535: "Likewise others say that the vital points measure the size of sesamum seed." The remainder are self-evident.

AS: (74): The *tantra-rūtiḥ* (method of the system?) 2.536: "And there are (others)." There are also (others), the *ślokas* state.

AS: (75): There is no damage from the vital points for those whose health has not diminished. 2.537: "In this body that is pervaded by vital points, good health protects the vital points; therefore the wise one should always use healthy/living things." In this body that is pervaded with the vital points that kill by mere contact, the good health/length of life protects those vital points from the blows etc., because there is not pain to the vital points in those [people] whose health/length of life is not diminished. For that reason the wise man should use healthy things/living things. That one is protected from the damages to injured vital points.

AS: (76): Even with a very small injury to the vital point one suffers excessively. 2.538: "Even when one suffers a very small injury to the vital point, in general it can be very painful; the disease resides in the vital point, and that disease may be cured by careful treatment." Even when there is a very slight injury to the vital point, it can be extremely painful. Similarly, the diseases localized to the vital points may be cured by careful treatment, i.e. by undertakings to cure it. Even small injuries can be very painful--this is the meaning. Therefore the main point is that one should carefully protect them.

AS: (77): The characteristics of being at the point of death for one whose vital points have been fractured. 2.539: "One is thrown about violently, one sits listlessly, is confused, and trembles; one breathes upwards painfully, and one's limbs droop repeatedly; the heart of such a one burns, and one is incapable of staying in one place. One meets death through these signs after injury to the vital points." The characteristics of impending death when the vital points are injured are stated by saying one thrashes about violently, sitting down, etc. One meets death, i.e. one attains it--so it's understood.

AS: (78): The loss of life due to excessive loss of blood. 2.540: "Even when the vital point is not injured, a man can be injured by cuts and breaks; when excessive blood is lost, one can die quickly. On the other hand, even someone wounded with a hundred arrows can survive." One doesn't die just from injuries to the vital points, since even without an injury to the vital points, one can quickly lose one's life through excessive loss of blood. On the other hand the contrary is also asserted, that even with an injury to the vital point, with excessive loss of blood, even struck by a hundred arrows, one may survive.

AS: (79): The cure for injuries to the vital points. 2.541: "A virtuous person who is also disciplined in their health will in no way not survive; so one should strenuously treat them up until the very last breath. The doctor (*bhīṣak*) is considered as a relative or friend to him, preventing pain. Thus the seventh chapter called the section on the vital points in the *Śārtrasthāna* in the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasamhitā* by Vāgbhaṭa, the son of the master of *vaidyas* Sīṃhagupta." So someone who is virtuous, and who behaves properly, and who is disciplined with their health (i.e. has guaranteed a full life span by religious rites), there is no one who would not survive, i.e. he survives by all means. Disciplined in health indicates that such a

one is strong, and who has made his length of life [last] for the proper amount of time by religious rites; therefore, since his length of life is not diminished, one should care for such a person until their very last breath, preventing the pain from injured vital points. Being considered to such an extent as a relative etc. of the suffering one, one does not gain disrepute even during the *sandhya* asterism. Thus the seventh chapter in the *Śārīrasthāna*, in the [commentary called] *Śaśilekha* (moon-digit) of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, written by the glorious master of teachers Indu."

127 . Commentary KCT 5.184: *Atra Mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇāni, tad-yathā-tathāgatasya cakra-aṅkita-pāṇi-pāda-talau, cakre sahasrāre paripūrṇe sanābhike supraṭiṣṭhita-pāda-talau....* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:127.3-4). Note the use of the term *sahasrāra* rather than *uṣṇīṣa* for the crown *cakra*, the former the more common Hindu name.

128 . Commentary on KCT 5.184: *Ūrṇopari maṇḍalaṃ karpāsāmśu-śukla-atisūkṣma-śukla-dvātriṅḍhad-ātmakaṃ dakṣiṇa-kunḍala-āvṛttam.* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:127.11-12).

129 . (This is repeated from the longer endnote above giving the full translations of the *marman* sections): H: 4.60: "Of these, the *viṭapas*, the *kakṣādhrk*, the *ūrvīs*, and the *kūrcaśiras* measure twelve finger breadths." Among these vital points, the *viṭapas* etc. vital points measure twelve finger breadths. AH: 4.60b-4.61a: "The two wrists and the two ankles and the two *stanamūlas* are two finger breadths." The two wrists are two finger breadths; the two ankles and the two *stanamūlas* are each two finger-breadths; one word *ca* (and) has a copulative meaning, the other is to fill out the meter. AH: 4.61b: "The knees and elbows are three finger breadths." The two knees and two ankles are three finger breadths. AH: 4.61b-4.62: "The *apāna*, the *basti*, the heart, the navel, the two *nīlas*, the *sīmantas*, the *mātrkās*, the *kūrcas*, the *śṛṅgātakas*, these twenty nine measure the size of the palm of one's own hand." The twenty nine, the *apāna*, *basti*, etc., measure the size of one's own palm, i.e. they measure the size of the palm of one's own hand. AH: 4.62b-4.63: "The remainder are said to measure half a finger-breadth; and fifty-six vital points are equal in size to a sesamum seed or a grain of rice; the vital points of the others are accepted." He indicates that the remaining fifty-six vital points measure half a finger's breadth according to the dimensions of one's own finger-breadth. According to the writers of other systems, the vital points may be considered to measure the size of a rice grain or a sesamum seed. It is to be understood that the opinion of this author is that there is assent to what is expressly prohibited/contradicted (? *'paramatama-pratiṣiddham anumataṃ eva' ityasyāpi granthakṛta etad eva matam iti bodhyam*).

130 . KCT 5.175a: *merusthe 'py aṅgulārdhaṃ bhavati jīnapater yojanānām sahasram.* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:123.1).

131 . *Uṣṇīṣād iti | iha bhagavato jīnapateḥ, uṣṇīṣād ūrdhvam ūrṇa-madhyam iti bhrūmadhye sārḍha-sūrya-aṅgulaṃ bhavati sārḍha-dvādaśa-aṅguli-mānam | tasmāt kaṅṭha-abjam evaṃ sārḍha-dvādaśa-aṅguli-mānam | hṛdayam api sārḍha-dvādaśa-aṅguli | tato nābhi-guhya-abjam evam iti nābhi-kamalaṃ sārḍha-dvādaśa-aṅguli | evaṃ guhya-abjam sārḍha-dvādaśa-aṅguli | tato uṣṇīṣād guhya-padma-antaṃ sārḍha-dvā-ṣaṣṭy-aṅguli-kāya-mānam |* Rinpoche et al 1994:122, ll. 1-5, commentary on KCT 5.173. The full verse and commentary in Chapter 5 read as follows:

"Now is described the characteristic of the external *maṇḍala* according to the size of the *Bhagavān*'s body--

5.171: From the *uṣṇīṣa* to the middle of the eyebrows of the lord of victors is twelve

[sun] and a half fingers [width-wise], From there to the throat lotus is the same [distance], and to the heart; from there to the lotus of the navel, and the hidden lotus is the same [distance],|

[121.20] A foot [12 *anṅulas*] below, the knee, thighs, buttocks, also, with the fourteen,(a) with the fifteen and fifteen, and with the four [*anṅulas*], The half-thigh [*ardhorahḥ*] by twelve and a half [*sārdhasūryaiḥ*], his own upper arms, forearms, and hands, with the twenty [sky-eye] and sixteen and twelve [king-sun] measures.||171|| (b)

[122.1] The length of the body is sixty-two and a half finger widths. The foot, below, with the *manus*, with fourteen finger widths. The knee is the principles, i.e. fifteen, the thigh, also like that. The height of the foot, with the *vedas*, i.e. with fourteen and a half finger widths. In the same way the knee joint, the buttocks, also, with four finger widths. In this way, [there is a distanced measured] with sixty-two and a half finger widths from the buttocks to the end below the feet. In that way, the *Buddha*'s body [measures] one hundred and twenty-five [finger widths]. The half-thigh is with sun and a half, i.e. with twelve and a half measures. His own upper arms, forearms, and hands are with sky-eye-king-sun measures, i.e. the arm with twenty, the forearm with sixteen, the hand with twelve up to the tip of the [122.10] middle finger. With one, the joint of the hand and the forearm, [and] the joint of the forearm and the upper arm. In this way there are twelve and a half finger widths. Just as it is on the left, so is it also on the right. Everywhere the twenty five more than one hundred (c) is the measure of the body, square [*caturasram*].(d) That same [measure] is four hands (e) for sentient beings, ninety-six finger widths for men, from above to below, eighty-four; in that way, men are not endowed with the marks--so is it demonstrated. With the *Vedas*, i.e., with the four, the measure of the *uṣṇīṣa*. With the four and a half, the elevation of the head (f), with four, the forehead; and, from the word *ca*, with four, the nose; with four and a half below to the nose, ending in the chin, [122.15] with four, the throat. From that, there is the heart, the navel, and the secret, Oh king of men, with twelve and a half, in sequence. The secret lotus is at the root of the navel, the lightning bolt also, above *Meru*, is the *uṣṇīṣa*. The eyebrows, in the middle of the secret lotus, producing the indestructible happiness, is the [place of the] continuous abiding of the semen-drop. This is from the influence of both families on bearing the ground of the glorious lightning bolt, the body *cakra*, [i.e.] the forehead and navel [*cakras*], the speech *cakra*, [i.e.] the throat and the heart, the thought *cakra*, [i.e.] the secret and the *uṣṇīṣa*.||171-173||

(a) I.e. fourteen, because of the 14 Manus. According to the commentary, *tattva* = fifteen.

(b) See commentary page 122.1-10.

(c) Sarnath editors boldface *pañcaviṃśatyadhikaśataṃ* (= 125) although the verse reads *viṃśatyekādhikaṃ yac-śatam* (= 121).

(d) Is this "square *anṅulas*" the way we measure things in, say, square inches?

(e) Four "hands" (*catur-hasta*), really four measures from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow = ninety-six finger widths (*anṅulas*); one *hasta* = twenty-four finger widths.

Remarkably enough, these measurements hold true for each individual. If you use your own finger-widths, there are indeed twenty four of these from the tip of your middle finger to the tip of your elbow.

(f) This should not be boldfaced The term in the verse is *mastakādho*, below the head.

132 . *Carakasamhitā, Sūtrasthāna* 29.3: *daśava āyatanāny āhuḥ prāṇā yeṣu pratiṣṭhitah | śaṅkhau marmatrayaṃ kaṅṭho raktaṃ śukrojaṣṭi gudam ||*

133 . Śārīrasthānam 3.13.

134 . Though MW gives "N. of a plant," from Lexicons for *daṇḍotpala*, (Apte makes no such listing), the *nighaṇṭus* and *Amarakośa* know of no *daṇḍotpala*. They do have *daṇḍā*, the *Croton tiglium* Linn. plant (otherwise known as *drāvanti*—see *Soḍhalanighaṇṭuḥ* 1.242 (Sharma 1978:25) and Dash 1987:23). *Utpala* is of course the lotus. According to *Maheśvara*'s commentary on *Amarakośa* 1.10.37, *utpala* and *kavalaya* are two names for *kumuda*. When the lotus is blue it's called either *nīlāṇḍujanma* or *indīvaram* (or *indivaram*); when it is white it is called *kumuda* or *kairava*. (Amarasimha 1882:63). Puṇḍarīkaḥ appears to take *daṇḍotpala* as a single plant name, using the singular genitive of the term, though he provides no gloss.

135 . *Dhanvantartyanighaṇṭuḥ* 1.87-89 lists *śāliparṇī* and its synonyms—it is bitter in taste, heavy and hot, conquering the wind *doṣa*. Dash identifies the same plant as *śāla parṇi*, *Desmodium gangeticum* DC. Dash's list of synonyms matches *Dhanvantartyanighaṇṭuḥ*'s. (Dash 1987:70-71).

136 . Using the definitions in Monier Williams and Apte, a *ṭaṅka* = 4 *māṣas*. One *maṣa* = 0.29117 ounce; so one *taṅka* = 1.16 ounces. Here we have a *taṅkapāda* = one *māṣa*, as noted in the commentary, about a quarter ounce.

137 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:143.7-10.

138 . My thanks to Robert Thurman for making this point clear to me.

139 . See Rinpoche et al 1994b:95.21.

140 . This is a central concept with regard to the name of the text and the system. Through the carefully detailed map already given of how the phonemes encapsulate the cosmic astrological clock we live inside of, we have learned that the breaths, properly controlled, can control time. Then here, by achieving the much sought-after yogic state of *kumbhaka*, being like a pot, the text says that all of time becomes contained within the *yogin*'s body—i.e. there is no aspect of time that is functioning outside of the *yogin*'s awareness or control.

141 . Commentary on KCT 5.39: *Sarvakālaṃ yoginā mdhyamāyāṃ prāṇo bhāvayitavyaḥ, praveśa-nirgamatayā yāvat sthīrībhavati, kumbhakāvasthāṃ gacchati sarvakālam; tato yogī pañcābhijñ-lābhī bhavati, prāṇa-jāpata iti bhagavato niyamah.* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:28.11-13.)

142 . My modification of Wallace 1995:202.

143 . Dasgupta 1932:339.

144 . *Varatanau bhūtavṛndasya nāḍyo dvāsaptati-sahasrasaṅkhyā bhavanty ādhārās tāsāṃ nāḍīnām api nāḍīnām api prāṇa-vāyur ādhāraḥ, saṃskāraṇāt | ... cetanā prāṇa-vāyor ādhāraḥ, sā cetanā tad eva dviśvabhāvaṃ cittam bhavati, guṇa-vaśād... VMP on KCT 2.19, Upadhyaya 1986:166; my modification of Wallace 1995:171.*

145 . *Taira idam sarva-viśa-ākaraṇa-hṛdayam | | Āḥ | | Gaṇḍa-piṭāka-kalūtās ca ye ca anye vyādhayaḥ smṛtāḥ | naśyanti dhyānamātreṇa vajrapāṇivaco yathā | |* (Bhattacharyya 1931:106), and cf. Fremantle 1971:106.

146 . Wallace 1995:147.

147 . KCT 2.4; Wallace 1995:151-152.

148 . *Stambha*, MW gives a specifically Tantric definition as "the magical arresting of any feeling or force, as of hunger, thirst, or of the forces of water, fire, &c., as taught in the Tantras," along with generic terms such as paralysis, stiffness, solidity, a pillar, etc. In *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi's Devakāṇḍaḥ* (2.219) *stambha* appears as a synonym of *jāḍyaṃ*, stiffness, in a list of terms for sweating and horripilation or excitement. (*stambho jāḍyaṃ svedo gharma-nidāghau pulakaḥ punaḥ | romāñcaḥ kaṇṭako romavikāro romaharṣaṇam |*) (Hemacandra 1964:84).

149 . *Mānakaḥ*.

150 . I.e. a member of the Tantric family, a *samaya-sattva*.

151 . *Jñāna-sattva*.

152 . *Samdhyā* is the term for the morning, noon, and evening junctures of the day, with the Tantric addition of midnight—it would make much more sense to interpret *saṃdhyābhāṣā* as language referring to these junctures—not as obscuration—rather as the *Tantric* equivalent for the *Vedic mantras* that are used to access and control the movement of time/destiny at its vulnerable points—time's *marmans* so to speak.

153 . Here then, *Jambha*, the *Atharvaveda* disease-causing demon, has been transformed into *tejas*, the internal fire of the body. This is perfectly in keeping with the logic of Tantric yoga as espoused in this text. Mastering the wind flows in Tantric yoga is repeatedly said to free one from various diseases. Here *Jambha* has been tamed and turned into an aid to enlightenment and liberation.

154 . Presumably coolness is equated with satisfaction in the sense of the cooling of the erotic urges after satiation.

155 . *Vajra-gītikās*.

156 . Here at least Puṇḍarīka appears to be drawing a real functional distinction between the actual sexual *yoga* described in this chapter, and the visualization *yogas* without real consorts.

157 . *Jñāna-ākṣṛtiṃ karoty atra punar Atibalas tat praveśaṃ ca Jambhaḥ Stambhas tad bandhanaṃ vai para-sukha-vaśān Mānakas toṣaṇaṃ ca | Cakrasya jñāna-cakre sama-rasa-karaṇaṃ Vajravegaḥ karoti evaṃ vai Vajradevyaḥ prakāṣa-niyatā Yoginītantra-kāye || 108 | | Jñāna ityādi | iha kila maṇḍala-cakra-bhāvanāyāṇi samaya-sattvaṃ niṣpādyā, tato jñāna-cakrasya ākarṣaṇaṃ vajreṇa praveśanaṃ bandhanaṃ toṣaṇaṃ samarasam kartavyaṃ mantriṇā | jaḥ hūṃ vaṃ hor iti Vajrāṅkuṣena ākarṣaṇaṃ, Vajrena praveśanaṃ, Vajrapāśena bandhanaṃ, Ghaṇṭayā toṣaṇaṃ, pūrva-dakṣiṇa-pāścima-uttara-dvāreṣu sthitaiḥ krodha-rājair Yoginītantra Vajradākinībhiḥ sarvatra kṛtitaṃ | tad eva Adhyātmani ucyate--jñānākṣṛtiṃ karoty atra śarīre punar Atibala itī | Yuvati-prasaṅge jñāna-sattvaḥ śukraṃ sandhyā-bhāṣāntareṇa tasya ākarṣaṇaṃ prāṇādi-vāyu-vṛnda-bhedaṃ karoty ūrdhvaṃ śirasi paripūrṇaṃ karoti bodhicittam ity arthaḥ | tat-praveśaṃ ca jambha itī tejas-tad-drarayitvā dravasya bindu-rūpasya kaṇṭhe hṛdaye nābhau guhya-kamale praveśaṃ karoti itī | stambha itī pṛthvī-dhātus tasya bindu-rūpasya bandhanaṃ karoty āgatasya ativegena gantuṃ na dadāti parama-sukha-vaśād itī | Mānakas toya-dhātu-bindoḥ svaccha-dravaṃ guhya-kamale vajra-maṇau gataṃ spandam ity ucyate, tasya acyuta-sukha-vaśāt toya-dhātus toṣaṇaṃ śarīre śaityaṃ karoty ity arthaḥ | Punas tat-sthānād ūrdhva-gamana-arthaṃ tad eva niḥṣyanda-sukhaṃ Locanādayaḥ*

*prabodhayanti vajra-gṭtikābhiḥ pūrvoktibhiḥ| tato nābhau niṣyandanārthaṃ Locanā codayati, hṛdaye Māmakt vipākārthaṃ, kaṣṭhe Pāṇḍarā puruṣakārthaṃ, śirasi Tārā vaimalyārthaṃ| evaṃ ādibhir uthāpito mahāsukho vaimalyaṃ gataḥ, sarva-skanda-dhātv-āyatana-ādikaṃ nirāvaraṇaṃ karoti| tataḥ sarvajña-padaṃ yogināṃ bhavati, na kalpita-maṇḍale yoginī-gītena utthāpita iti nīrthaḥ sarvatantreṣu saṃvṛtyā vivṛtyā ca iti|| 108||* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:51, ll. 9-29).

158. This might be best translated as 'the fiery *rajas*' in a microcosmic sense, with the sun as the macrocosmic counterpart.

159. MVT 16.53-55; 20.6-7 (Kaul Śāstrī 1921:109 & 137).

160. MVT 13.1-3 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:84).

161. We read from the Chinese in the seventh century of tales of practicing *Rasāyana* specialists. Wang Hsuan-ts'ō, an Imperial emissary to Magadha who made four trips to India between 647-665 A.D., brought from India "a Brahmin named Nārāyaṇasvāmin, who is said to have been a specialist in the drugs that give long life." The Emperor however died in 649, so the Brahmin was sent home. (Bagchi 1944:69). Already in the seventh century the legend had grown of Nāgārjuna as a sage who had lived for several hundreds of years thanks to special pills he had concocted. Hsuan Tsang, in telling a story about the history of Kosala, reports that "Nāgārjuna Bodhisattva was well practised in the art of compounding medicines; by taking a preparation (*pill* or *cake*), he nourished the years of life for many hundreds of years, so that neither mind nor appearance decayed." (Beal 1884{2}:212.) From this report then it would certainly appear that we should not rely on Alberuni's 11th century report of a Nāgārjuna who had lived about a century before (so he was told), since this appears to be a more generic report of a prior Nāgārjuna, rather than an actual date. Incidentally, in the same story Hsuan Tsang also reports that thanks to Nāgārjuna's pills, the king Sadvaha had also lived several centuries, much to the distress of his son, the prince, who yearned for his chance at the throne. At his mother's suggestion (!), he goes to Nāgārjuna and asks him for his head, arguing that a true Bodhisattva cannot refuse such a request. Nāgārjuna complies, decapitating himself with a dry reed leaf, and the king thereby also dies (Beal 1884{2}:212-214). Given the improbability of the latter part of this tale, the former part's veracity may also be questioned.

162. The Śaivite alchemical Tantras also indicate a fit with the guru-student traditional teaching methods in India, and indicate that membership in the Tantric 'family' (*Kula*) was a prerequisite for instruction. In the *Rasārṇava Tantra*'s second chapter, the rules for initiation into the practice of alchemy (*dikṣāvidhāna*), it is stated that the initiate must be without envy, egotism, greed or delusion, delighting in the worship of his or her *guru*, and continually delighting in the *Kula* path. (*Rasārṇava* 2.2: *nispṛho nirahaṅkāro lobhamāyāvivarjjitaḥ| kulamārgarato nityaṃ gurupūjārataśca yaḥ||* Ray & Kaviratna 1910:10). The student is also required to be constantly delighting in worship of the gods, fire, the circle of *yoginīs*, and the clan (*Rasārṇava* 2.8a: *devāgni-yoginīcakra-kula-pūjarataḥ sadā|* Ray & Kaviratna 1910:12).

163. *Caraka Sūtrasthāna* 1.141: *hitāhitaṃ sukhaṃ duḥkham āyus tasya hitāhitaṃ| mānaṃ ca tac ca yatrotkam āyurvedaḥ sa ucyate||* (Sharma 1981:6.)

164. Sharma 1992:356.

165. Sharma 1977b:6.

166. Sharma 1982:xiv.

167. Sharma 1982:xvi—translating *Dhanvatarīyanighaṇṭu*'s author.

168. "The Āyurvedic *Nighaṇṭus* are always full of mistakes; there are not only obvious mistakes, but confusions in the names of drugs and plants; oftentimes synonyms are multiplied in a literary and poetic way, much of this class of nomenclature being unreal, i.e. not in actual or current use among the people." (V. Raghavan, in Foreword to Sharma 1973:1).

169. As Sharma also notes about *Sodhala*'s text: "Regarding the language of the text the author says that both Sanskrit and Prākṛit are used by *Vaidyas*. Hence there is no harm in using the Prākṛit words. Moreover, there is also some relaxation in use of Genders." (Sharma 1978:13).

170. (1a) *Amarakośa*--5th/6th c., has some information.

(1b) *Aṣṭāṅganighaṇṭu by Vāhata*--pre-9th century, "vouched by the fact that it does not mention any Unani drug." (V. Raghavan, in Sharma 1973:2). Probably 8th century. (Sharma 1973:xix). Probably not written by *Vāgbhaṭa* himself. (Sharma 1973:xxiii). "The first verse is from the *Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdaya* which points more towards the Buddhist faith of the author while the latter two verse relate to the Śaiva or Pāśupata religious sect." (Sharma 1973:v). "The mention of *Pārada* as *Rudra-retas* and *Abhraka* as *Pārvatī-bīja* shows the advanced state of *Rasa-sāstra* which could not have been possible before the period when *Rasārṇava* and *Rasaḥṛdaya Tantra* were written." (Sharma 1973:ix). Bhopadeva wrote another work of the same name in the 14th century. Quoted by *Hemacandra* in 12th c. A.D. (Sharma 1973:xiii)  
(1c) *Dravyaṅguṇa Saṁgraha by Cakradatta*--appears to be "the oldest *Nighaṇṭu*" (Bapalal in Sharma 1978:25).

(2) *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu*--edited by Drs. D.K. Kamat and S.D. Mahajan, Poona, 1972; discussion of each drug with its names in different languages, together with botanical names and references.

"The verses quoted from *Rasaratna Samuccaya* are found in the *Dhanvatarī Nighaṇṭu* but not in the *Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṇṭu*," so its probable that the *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu* is later than the *Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṇṭu*. (Sharma 1973:viii). Appears to be a revision of the *Dravyāvali* (10th c.)--an earlier work containing bear synonyms of drugs, adding descriptions of properties, activity, and usage, c. 13th c. (Sharma 1973:xix). Text is quoted by Kṣīraswāmi, 11th c. commentator on the *Amarakośa*. Process of addition continued for several centuries, so text dates from 10th-13th centuries. (Sharma 1982:ix)

(3) *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa by Hemacandra, with Śrīvallabhagaṇi's commentary*--edited with several indices by L.D. Bharatiya Samskṛti Vidyamandir Series, Ahmedabad. Drugs not listed by *gaṇas* but rather by nature of the drug material--tree, bush, creeper, vegetable, grass, cereal etc.

(4) *Paryāyamuktāvali by Haricaranasena*--edited by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, Patna, 1947, with index of drugs.

(5) *Paryāyaratnamālā by Mādhavakara*--edited by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury, Patna, 1946, with index of drugs.

(6) *Bṛhannighaṇṭuratnākara*--Venkateswara press, six volumes.

(7) *Abhidhānaratnamālā*--anonymous, 12th-13th c. information matches *Aṣṭāṅga Nighaṇṭu*. (Sharma 1977c:vii)

(8) *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu by Madanapāla*--14th c. A.D. (Sharma 1973:x)



(9) *Mādhava's Dravyaguna*--12th-13th century. (Sharma 1978:5). Sharma's edition, 1973; from a manuscript from 1450 CE (*Samvat* 1507).

(10) *Rājanighaṅṭu*--or--*Abhidhāna-Cudāmaṇi of Narahari*--15th century. *Rājanighaṅṭu by Narahari of Kashmir*. Introduces many new plants.

(11) *Laghunighaṅṭu by Vyāsa Keśavarāma*--Indian Drugs Research Association, Poona, 1962--editors include a longer list of *nighaṅṭus* at the end.

(12) *Siddha-mantra by Keśava*--between 1271-1309 CE.

(13) *Hṛdayadīpika Nighaṅṭu and Siddhamantra of Vaidyācārya Keśava, with the Prakāśa Commentary of Vopadeva*--Vopadeva was his son. Vopadeva wrote the *Hṛdayadīpika*.

Vopadeva was a friend and colleague of Hemādri, chief minister of Mahādeva (1260-1271) and his successor Rāmacandra (1271-1309) of Devagiri. Vopadeva was the Paṇḍita to king Mahādeva. Hemādri wrote the *Ayurveda-Rasāyana commentary on Astaṅgahṛdaya* (Sharma 1977a:11) [as well as the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*]. Keśava was apparently Mahādeva's son, according to a colophon to the *Siddhamantra*. (Sharma 1977b:2).

(14) *Soḍhala-Nighaṅṭu*-- PV Sharma ed. 1978, GOS vol. 164. *Soḍhala* -- 12th c.--mentions several Unani drugs.... "these Unani drugs might have come into this country near about 10th Cent. A.D." (Sharma 1973:xviii). Apparently the author was a Gujarati (a Rayekwad Brahman), who used some colloquial names in his *Lakṣamaṇavarga* or 7th chapter. (Sharma 1978:22). As Bapalal G. Vaidya explains in his introduction, even within Gujarat there is a wide variety of usage of different names for the same plants. *Soḍhala's Gadani-graha*--another text, published in two parts by Jādavi Trikamji Ācārya in Ayurveda Granthamālā Series. "Mercurial preparations have come into use first in Bengal and this is the reason that Soḍhala has not included mercurial preparations in *Gada-nigraha*. Moreover Hemādri has copiously copied from Baṅgasena. Baṅgasena's date comes approximately round about 12th Century." (Bapalal in Sharma 1978:24) "Drugs such as *Bhāṅga*, *Ahiphena*, *Akarakārā*, *Rumtmastakī* etc. found in '*Gadani-graha*' are not found in the *Nighaṅṭu*. These drugs were introduced in India by the Mahomedans Hakims, somewhere about 12th Century A.D." (Bapalal in Sharma 1978:24) *Soḍhala's Nighaṅṭu*. In a good edition edited by Sharma, who argues that *Soḍhala's Nighaṅṭu* marks the beginning of "the new school of *Nighaṅṭus* emphasizing the Pharmacology and Therapeutics of drugs rather than dealing with various synonyms which often lead nowhere." (Sharma 1978:9). However he contradicts this in his 1982 edition of *Dhanvantaryanighaṅṭuḥ* (Sharma 1982:vi) where this text is included in the second type of *nighaṅṭus*.

(15) *Śivakośa by Śivadatta*--edited by Dr. R.G. Harshe, with a good critical introduction and Index.

171. Jolly 1977:30.

172. Rinpoche et al 1994b:128.16-26.

173. The word is a bit problematic. *Rājanighaṅṭu* 23 gives the term at two instances under groups of words with three meanings (totaling four types of plants, an insect, and a frog--Narahari 1986:427) and once under words with six meanings, as a synonym for six types of poisons (Narahari 1986:432). *Dhanvantaryanighaṅṭu* 6.483 gives *dardura* as one of eight synonyms of *maṇḍūka* or *beka* (a frog) (Narahari 1986:281); however, at *Dhanvantaryanighaṅṭu*, *suvarṇādi*, *rasāḥ* 11 (Narahari 1986:292), listed between *bodāraśṅgakaṃ*, a yellow-colored, flaky mineral found on the slopes of the Arbuda mountain in Gujarat (*sadalaṃ pītavarṇaṃ gurjaramaṇḍale | arbudasya gireḥ pārśve jātam*) and chalk (*śilādhātu*) we find *dardura* as one of two types of *rasaka*, *dardura* and *kāravellaka*.

*Dardura* is flaky (*sadala*), and is good when the vitality has fallen; *kāravellaka* is not flaky (*nirdala*), and used in various medicinal compounds. *Rasaka* gets rid of urinary diseases, lowers *kapha* and *pitta*, counteracts eye diseases, and is used for coloring iron and mercury. *Rasa* and the two *rasakas* were recommended by (the Buddhist physician) Nāgārjuna. (*rasako dvividhaḥ prokto darduraḥ kāravellakaḥ | sadalo darduraḥ prokto nirdalaḥ kāravellaka | sattvapāte subhaḥ pūrvo, dvitīyāś-cauśadhādiṣu | | guṇāḥ--rasakaḥ sarva-meha-ghnaḥ kapha-pitta-vināśanaḥ | netra-roga-kṣaya-ghnaś ca loha-pārada-rañjanaḥ | | nāgārjunena saṃdiṣṭau rasaś ca rasakau ubhau | |*). *Soḍhalanighaṇṭu* 1.449 includes *rasaka* as a synonym of the second type of *kāṣṭha*, *puṣpakāṣṭha*, green or black iron sulphate. (Sharma 1978:47). Both MW and Apte give frog, cloud, flute, and mountain as the principal definitions for *dardura*--these don't make sense in this context. *Vaidyakaśabdāsindhu* defines it as *punarnavā* (the hogweed *Boerhavia Pro-cumbens* (Apte)) or the red or white insect *indragopa* (*indragopakṛṭa*) (Gupta & Sena 1983:534), two of the first three definitions given in *Rājanighaṇṭu*.

174. Although in other contexts *rasendra*, 'chief of saps/fluids/flavors,' refers to mercury, or quicksilver as it used to be called, here I think the sap of plants is the correct referent, since we are talking about the different *kalpadrumas* or magical trees of paradise. The five trees (*pañcavṛkṣa*) of heaven are *Mandāra* (the coral tree, *Erythrina Indica*), *Pārijātaka* (produced at the churning of the ocean), the *Santāna* (of 'continuous' bounty), the *Kalpataru* (tree of desires), and the *Haricandana* (a type of sandal tree).

175. Cheda-bhedam: the commentary glosses as the trident etc. *Śūla* also refers to a stake for impaling criminals--this is more likely what is referred to here as seen by those dwelling in hell.

176. Rinpoche et al 1994b:130.3-11.

177. *Tayā* probably refers to the *manahśilā*, instrumental singular of the feminine of the pronoun.

178. *Kumbha-kāra* is the "pot-maker;" *mṛttikā* is clay, earth, or loam--the latter is a mixture of moistened clay, sand, and some straw used for plastering, foundry molding etc.

179. *Mṛdupuṣam*.

180. *Go-karṣa* = "cow-ploughing," probably = cow-dung.

181. Probably using some sort of bellows.

182. The compound *tīvra-aṅgair* literally means "with intense or violent limbs." It probably refers to rapidly pumping the bellows to fan the flames hot enough.

183. Ray provides a diagram of a *koṣṭhi* apparatus--an hourglass shaped container, the lower half underground for collecting the mixture to be heated; the top half has a reversed pot fitted into the lower pot's mouth, filled with the substance to be heated, and surrounded by fire. A bellows is connected for fanning the fire. (See Ray 1956:191 facing, fig. 30a.) Dash provides similar designs. (Dash 1986:195-196).

184. *Samarast-bhavanti*--the noun + *t* +  $\sqrt{bhū}$  construction. See Whitney 1091 (Whitney 1977:401).

185. Commentary on KCT 5.121-122; Rinpoche et al 1994b:139.30-31--140.1-7.

186 . This may refer to the five parts of the tree--root, bark, leaf, flower, fruit. (MW).

187 . Commentary on KCT 5.227; Rinpoche et al 1994b:143.1-5.

188 . Commentary on KCT 5.227; Rinpoche et al 1994b:142.6-8.

189 . Commentary on KCT 5.228; Rinpoche et al 1994b:143.11-14.

190 . Dash explains that the major categories of metals and minerals are *rasa* (types of mercury), *mahārasa* (copper and iron pyrite, bitumen, etc.) *uparasa*, *sādhāraṇarasa*, *dhātus*, and *upadhātus*. These are all used in the *rasaśāstra* branch of *āyurveda*--the therapeutic use of processed metals, minerals, otherwise poisonous vegetable products. (Dash 1986:33-34). *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭu* lists eight *mahārasas*: *abhraka* (micas), *vaikrānta* (beryls), *mākṣika* (pyrites), *vimala*, *adrija*, *sasyaka*, *capala*, and *rasaka* (Narahari 1986:288).

191 . Dash provides this definition, though as *vimala*, not *vimalā*. (Dash 1986:34). However, from the context, it appears fairly certain that iron pyrite is the correct translation.

192 . Blue vitriol is copper sulphate, a blue-tinted glassy compound,  $\text{CuSO}_4 \cdot 5\text{H}_2\text{O}$ . The "vitriols" [from Latin *vitreus*--glassy] are sulphate compounds of different metals: green vitriol is iron sulphate; white vitriol is zinc sulphate.

193 . *Capalam* falls under the *mahārasas*. (Dash 1986:34). Dash identifies *capala* as bismuth. Ray is less definite, citing "possibly some sulphur containing mineral" (Ray 1956:137). Despite being a rather heavy metal element (slightly heavier than lead at Atomic No. 83), bismuth is however also used in the West medicinally.

194 . Dash gives *rasaka* or *kharpara* as calamine, defined in Webster as a mixture of zinc oxide and ferric oxide, giving the familiar pink colored powder used in skin lotions. (Webster's 1988:196). Dash defines it as zinc ore, of two types, of solid pieces. (Dash 1986:129).

195 . The verse omits *rasaka* here, though it is glossed in the commentary as having void as its intrinsic nature. I've been unable to find *śasaka* in any of the medical sources. The word literally = a rabbit, a meaning that makes no sense here. It is in fact an alternate reading for *sasyaka* = copper sulphate, as listed in the *Dhanvantarī Nighaṇṭu* and the *Rājanighaṇṭu* (*Ānandāśrama* Sanskrit series). Another option would be that the text should read *śasāṅka* = camphor. However this compound,  $\text{C}_{10}\text{H}_{16}\text{O}$  is not a mineral compound, is derived from the wood of the camphor tree, and is not otherwise included in *mahārasa* group. (See Dash 1986:34 and Ray 1956:137, 156).

196 . The Sarnath editors have emended the text here to add a *-ś-ca* after *hīṅgula*.

197 . *Śīlā* is realgar or red arsenic, glossed in the compound as *manahsilā*--another more precise name. This is what we call arsenic sulfide, an orange-red, monoclinic crystalline mineral compound, used in the West in fireworks. (Webster's 1988:1118).

198 . *Tālaka* is one of the synonyms of *naritāla*, yellow arsenic or orpiment (arsenic trisulphide,  $\text{As}_2\text{S}_3$ ), lemon-yellow, resinous luster, used in the West as a pigment. (Webster's 1988:956). *Tālakam* Apte lists as yellow orpiment or a fragrant earth, as does MW. As mentioned above, *alam* in the verse appears to be a poetically licensed abbreviation for *tālakam*--or else Puṇḍarīka had a slightly different verse to work with.

199. Various lists are provided by different scholars for the five salts (*pañcalavaṇa*). Zysk points out that their common use in medical practice dates back at least to both early Buddhist monastic medicine and in early *Āyurveda*. The five are 1) *saindhava*, a white rock salt from Sindh (hence *saindhava*, the *vrddhi* derivative of *Sindh*); 2) *sāmudra*, sea-salt deposited on the shoreline or possibly obtained via evaporation; 3) *viḍa* (red salt of various ingredients (Zysk) or black salt containing Ammonium chloride (Dash), or from excreta (Sharma)). 4) *Sauvarcala* or *Kālalavaṇa*, (either common rock salt called black salt—according to Zysk, or sonchal salt containing iron and sulphur—according to Dash; MW defines sochal salt as prepared by boiling down soda with emblic myrobalan; Sharma says it is "obtained from plants like suvarcalā etc." (Sharma 1981:11). Ray translates this as 'saltpetre.' (Ray 1956:148, 204). Saltpeter is a colorless salt crystal, potassium nitrate,  $KNO_3$ , and it is used medicinally in the West. The word *sauvarcala* derives from *su-varcala*, apparently meaning 'shining brightly' from *su* +  $\sqrt{varc}$  with a *-la* suffix (cf. Whitney 1924:451–1189b)—this may refer either to the compound's properties, or, as suggested by Wilson {MW} or Ray (Ray 1956:56) may refer to region of India, much as the name *saindhava* does. 5) *audbhida* or culinary salt from the earth (the term derives from *ud* +  $\sqrt{bhid}$ , to break forth, presumably referring to the way natural salt-formations protrude from the surrounding soil, due to differentiation in erosion rates); *Suśruta* adds also *romaka* (*romaka* = 'Roman,' presumably a salt imported from the West). (See Zysk 1991:81-2; Dash 1986:180; Sharma 1981:10, *Carakasamhitā Sūtrasthāna* 1.88b-92c.) In our list *gatam* perhaps represents *audbhida* or common table salt; *udadhija* (ocean-born) is a synonym for *sāmudra* (of the sea); *saindhava* is the Sindh salt; *kṛṣṇa* (black) is most likely *sauvarcala*; *caulla* or *cullikā* is most likely *viḍa*—Ray identifies *chulika lavaṇa* as 'sal-ammoniac' (Ray 1956:192), otherwise known as ammonium chloride, a white crystalline salt  $NH_4Cl$  used medicinally in the West also—following Dash's compound analysis (though not his color attribution), this would identify *caulla* with *viḍa*, and *kṛṣṇa* with *sauvarcala*. Ray gives a variety of definitions for the different salts; he says that *viḍa* or *kālanimak*—black salt, is actually reddish brown in color. (Ray 1956:204-5) The host of conflicting definitions warrants further investigation.

200. Rinpoche et al 1994b:132.3-9.

201. My modified translation—KCT 2.107: *Ādau samrakṣaṇīyā sakalajinatanur mantriṇā siddhihetoh/ kāyābhāve na siddhir na ca paramasukhaṃ prāpyate janmantha| tasmāt kāyārthahetoh pratidinasamaye bhāvayen nāḍīyogaṃ/ kāye siddhe 'nyasiddhis tribhuvanailaye kiṅkaratvaṃ prayāti.*

**Tantric Initiation****8.0. Introduction**

According to the Tāntrikās the physical body enshrouds a subtle energy structure that underpins the physical body and links the extradimensional transmigrating being into dense material reality; it is the basis of the living being-- when the subtle fires go out, the physical body is dead. However, most people are not necessarily functioning consciously at a level of awareness of their own internal subtle energy and their intimate relationship with the structure of the cosmos. As in the Vedic system, where a complex and regularly repeated set of rites were developed in part to encourage the awareness of their 'true selves' on the part of the Vedic initiates, and maintain this awareness until the day of death, the Tantric tradition developed an elaborate set of initiation procedures and sacraments to inculcate the awareness of the inner true nature of the individual by purifying or transforming the initiates' self- and other-perception. We see this propensity of course throughout the earlier strata of Indian literature, with the Upaniṣadic sages teaching their disciples about their 'real' inner self, and the Buddha and his followers struggling to disillusion people about the actual nature of life and experience. And such practices are of course developed into progressive layers of sophistication in the moral, ethical, Yogic and meditative traditions of the different schools. In the Tantric traditions of the Śaivites and the Buddhists what we find is that the initiation procedures have become enormously elaborated and detailed, with multiple stages and multiple layers

of rites required to prepare the initiates for the higher energy levels accessed through the sexual Yogas, and the meditative preparations for death and rebirth. The complexity levels of these initiation rites are further multiplied by the variety of different schools of Tantra that apparently emerged over time, sometimes using the same techniques, sometimes variations; all of these incoming streams of material were absorbed and to a certain degree standardized by later systematizers, though 'loose strands' remain where the rules and regulations can be a bit contradictory and certainly easily confusing.

We have seen in Chapter 7 how the fundamental physiological principles of Tantric Yoga are deeply rooted in the Indian medical, Yogic, and *Rasāyana* traditions, with intriguingly specific overlaps between Tantric doctrines and the esoteric subtle-body ideas of the *Brāhmaṇas* and earliest *Upaniṣads*. The Tantric authors were apparently not satisfied with the detailed incorporation of all these earlier doctrines in their quest for systematic integration of the micro and macro cosmos within the bio-psyche of the Tantric initiate. We find that along with the medical and esoteric physiological doctrines, the Tantric authors also mapped into the psyche feeling or emotional aspects, the sensual *experience* aspects of life, all the universal elements, dimensions, and beings, and the whole astrological and astronomical complex of Indian life. What we really find in the Tantric traditions is that we are dealing with what was probably considered high science of the day: an attempt to provide a thorough descriptive map of the exoteric and esoteric aspects of the human being in his or her encounter with the universe, plus a set of technologies

for conquering nature, both "mother nature" in the external world, and the "internal" human nature.

We have in the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric systems what appears to be a shared paradigm--the fundamental acceptance of the existence of a subtle body, and a recognition that mastery of control over the energy flows in this subtle body is concomitant with access to and mastery of higher states of individual consciousness that commence the experience of an inter-dimensional, unitary universal consciousness, often referred to as 'single flavor' or 'equal flavor' (*eka-rasa* or *sama-rasa*) to indicate a thorough mixing of the individual's awareness with the universal consciousness of Śiva or Buddha. Just as in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* passage cited in Chapter 7.4.2 that describes the sleep state as the state that allows the *Puruṣa* to view both the waking realm and the divine realm accessible through the deep sleep state, the Tantric traditions appear to have proposed that the subtle body allows us simultaneously to access both the dense physical universe and all the other heavenly dimensions of the cosmos. The *Tantrāloka* for instance speaks of an awakening in the initiate of an identification awareness, achieved through a ritual initiation process that involves psychological and physical identification with a *maṇḍala* as the 'combination lock' that opens the door to higher intensities of reality. The process in effect extinguishes one's isolated animal consciousness (*paśu*) by transforming these energies into the *vīra-paśu* state, the hero-animal nature. The *eka-vīra* or 'singular hero' notion used in both the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras is a term that harkens back to the earliest Vedic literature, wherein Indra, the consummate Soma-drinker, is called the

*eka-vtra* or singular hero on account of his incredible accomplishments powered by his unmatched consumption of the cosmic-fire juice of the Soma plant. The use of the *maṇḍala* visualization meditations to transform normal reality into extraordinary reality is also an essential aspect of the Creation Stage practices of the Buddhist *Anuttarayoga* Tantra. The Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions share their basic techniques of visualization, popularized in contemporary interpretations of the Tibetan version of this tradition as 'deity Yoga,' though it is technically speaking apparently not often referred to as *devatā-yoga* in the Sanskrit Tantras (though commonly so in the Tibetan Tantras). I have found only one mention of the term *devatā-yoga* in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra*, as one of the types of Tantric practices that Puṇḍarīka disapproves of, and indicates should not be practiced (see Chapter 11 of this dissertation).<sup>1</sup> As Jackson clarifies, though, what is currently called deity Yoga in the English scholarship on this subject is essentially a practice of identifying oneself via visualization or imagination of oneself with the physical and psychological attributes of a Buddha, in order to become a Buddha,<sup>2</sup> a practice we also find in the Śaivite Tantric material, though presented in a slightly different fashion. The particular influence of the Śaiva tradition on the *Kālacakratāntra* tradition is found in the KCT's sharing of the *jīvanmukta* ideal. Indeed, as Muller-Ortega remarks, the purpose of the doctrine described in Abhinavagupta's *Parātrīṃśika-vivarāṇa* is precisely "liberation while living" or *jīvanmukti*, so that one "becomes with this very body a vessel for all the extraordinary power as well as for the Supreme Bhairava."<sup>3</sup> This differentiation is reflected in the lack of a *māyā-deha* or illusory body doctrine in



the *Kālacakratantra* (a doctrine present in other *Anuttarayogatantras*), and its replacement with a *sūkṣma-deha* or subtle body doctrine that is shared in almost all of its essential aspects with the subtle body system of the *Trika* Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric school espoused by Abhinavagupta. The term 'subtle body' (*sūkṣma-śarīra*) is translated in the Tibetan tradition as *stong gzugs* or empty form (*śūnya-rūpa*), distinct from 'emptiness' per se. As Sopa explains, in the *Kālacakra* the subtlest life wind (*srog grlung* or *gnyug ma'i rlung*) resides in the body with the subtlest or innate consciousness in indestructible drops (*mi shigs pa'i thig le*). Part of the *Kālacakra*'s purification of wisdom is a meditation building up these drops in the body, along the central channel of the subtle body.<sup>4</sup> Muller-Ortega has referred to the analogous process in the *Trika* system as a restructuring of the inner experience of self-identity that leads to a realization of one's identity with Śiva (and Śakti), "the silent and translucent consciousness out of which all things are composed surfaces and becomes visible as the true reality of perceived objects."<sup>5</sup> In the *Trika* system, in fact, the *Kula*--a term that predominantly refers to the Tantric group or clan--comes also to refer, as Abhinavagupta puts it, to the "entire group (*samasta-kula*) consisting of mind, breath, body, and senses."<sup>6</sup> This is a further step in the type-identity hierarchy whereby the group of cosmic principles or planes intersecting with the individual bio-psyche (*tattvas*) is called a *grāma* or village--since the *tattvas* refer to both the constituent elements of the individual and those of the cosmos. Within the *grāma* or village in the macro sense we find the Tantric *kula* or group; within the individual's *grāma* of the *tattvas* we find the *samasta-kula* of the body, mind, breaths, and senses.

In the *Kālacakra* and *Anuttarayoga* systems we have the well-known (to Tibetan Buddhist adherents) system of the multiple lights (see 8.6.2.2 below). Dhargyey lists these in the sets of four night signs and six day signs that one perceives along the ten stages of Completion Stage meditative *samādhis* or perfected concentration practices in *Anuttarayoga* and at the death dissolution: the signs of smoke, mirage, fireflies, and butter-lamp flame at night, and the signs of fire, Moon, Sun, Rāhu, lightning, and the blue drop (or clear light) during the day. These are topped off by the visualization of the *Sambhoga-kāya* form of *Kālacakra* and his consort in an infinitesimally small black drop in the central channel at the *ājñā cakra* between the eyebrows.<sup>7</sup> The Śaivite *Trika* system sticks to a simpler version of the lights of consciousness whereby the *Kula* of the individual and the Tantric group becomes light,<sup>8</sup> with the Moon as manifestation, the Sun as maintenance, and the Fire as dissolution, mapping the Three-Fire doctrine from the Vedic system onto the popular Hindu doctrine of Creation, Maintenance, and Dissolution of the Universe (often conceived of as governed by Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, respectively), that itself is absorbed into the Śaivite *Trika* system. All of this goes to show that the basic doctrine enunciated in the Vedas, of the three fires with their subtle correlates in the human being, has been developed over the centuries to greater levels of sophistication, yet remained remarkably consistent within the type-hierarchy logic discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

### 8.1. The Six-Limbed and Eight-Limbed Yogas

One of the central aspects of the Tantric Yoga practices described in the *Kālacakratantra* is the so-called ‘six-limbed’ Yoga, or the Yoga of six parts. The *Ṣaḍāṅgayoga* in the Buddhist system is a constituent part of the Perfection Stage practices (for details see 8.6.2.2 below for details). The *Sekoddeśaṭkā* by Nāropa, a commentary on the Initiation or Consecration (*Sekah*) section from the Root *Kālacakratantra*, provides a definition of the six-limbed Yoga (*ṣaḍāṅga-yoga*) as: sense withdrawal (*pratyāhāra*), concentration (*dhyāna*), breath control (*prāṇāyāma*), meditation (*dhāraṇā*), recollection (*anusmṛti*), and perfected concentration (*samādhi*).<sup>9</sup> What is taken out of this list from the earlier Yoga Darśana or *aṣṭāṅgayoga* of Patañjali are *yama* and *niyama*, the primary and secondary restraints. This is not an insignificant omission, since the first two divisions of Patañjali’s Yoga have precisely to do with the self-restraint and vows of abstention that are directly opposite to the practices of Tantric Yoga. *Yoga Sūtras* 2.29 give us the classical list of eight divisions of the Yoga Darśana: *yama-niyama-āsana-prāṇāyāma-pratyāhāra-dhāraṇā-dhyāna-samādhayo aṣṭāv-aṅgāṇi*. The *yamas* (YS 2.30) are non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), truthfulness (*satya*), not-stealing (*asteya*), celibacy (*brahmacarya*), and non-covetousness (*aparigraha*). The *niyamas* (YS 2.32) are purity (*śaucaḥ*), contentment (*saṃtoṣaḥ*), austerity (*tapas*), self-study (*svādhyāyaḥ*), and devotion to *Īśvara* (*īśvara-praṇidhāna*).<sup>10</sup> Broido’s article on killing, lying, stealing and adultery in the Tantras comes to mind,<sup>11</sup> since these ostensibly sanctioned activities--though really interpreted more symbolically by the tradition--in the Tantric texts are of course direct contradictions of the *yama* and *niyama* observances that are part of the *aṣṭāṅgayoga*

and missing from the *ṣaḍaṅgayoga*. As Broido explains, however, Tantric injunctions about such "sinful" acts were not intended literally; rather they were seen in the context of an ethical *Sūtrayāna* preparation (see discussion of *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ* material below), and understood rather as techniques for accessing and sublimating own's subconscious drives.<sup>12</sup> What the Tantric practitioners appear to have done is take the technology of Yoga practice, with the meditations, concentrations, and breath control techniques, added an element of mentation (*anusmṛti* or recollection in the Buddhist version, *tarka* or reasoning in the Śaivite version), elided the formal restraints of the earlier ascetic Yoga *Darśana*, and of course also removed the *āsanas*, since these classic Yoga positions designed for a solitary individual are largely replaced with the sexual Yoga positions designed for a man and woman in sexual embrace. These Tantric Yoga 'āsanas' are in fact essentially identical to the *ratibandhas* or sexual postures from the Erotic tradition. Since, as discussed in Chapter 10.2.2., the Erotic Tradition (*Kāmasāstraḥ*) became prominent in India with Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* written about the end of the third century CE, this leads to the not entirely unreasonable (though not proved) hypothesis that the Tantric Yoga cults may have formed between the third and sixth centuries CE as the popularity of the Erotics Literature began to spread, and some creative thinkers decided to replace the self-abnegating discipline of the classical Yoga practices with sensual indulgence, coupled with Yoga's ancient and proven successful psycho-spiritual technologies.

We should pause a moment to consider the literal sense of the terms composing the divisions of the *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga*, so as to better appreciate how these

terms are used in the Tantric systems. *Pratyāhāraḥ* refers to ‘withdrawal,’ specifically ‘withdrawal of the senses.’ As mentioned in Chapter 7.3.2. this has partly to do with the *kūrma* or tortoise wind, one of the five subsidiary *prāṇas* of the major group of ten. The point is that the initiate learn to pull his or her sensory awareness back from external distractions and temptations and appetites as a prerequisite for successful concentration. *Dhyāna* is the basic ability to concentrate or think about anything, indicating the mental engagement essential to any successful Yoga practice, derived from the root  $\sqrt{dhyai}$ , to think of or contemplate something. *Prāṇāyāma* is customarily translated as ‘breath control,’ though it is more than just that. As evident from discussions in Chapter 2.4 and Chapter 7.3, the term *prāṇa* in the Indian Yoga systems refers to the circulating life energies and sensory functions of the bio-psyche, as well as the breathing. *Āyāma*, the second half of the compound, derives from  $\bar{a} + \sqrt{yam}$ , either to stretch, extend, or lengthen, or to stop or restrain. Both of these denotations appear to be incorporated into the term *prāṇāyāmaḥ*, since the practitioner is learning to calm and slow the breathing--thereby extending or stretching out each breath, and is learning to halt both the whirlpools of the mind and the compulsive outflows of sensory awareness. Patañjali’s *Yogasūtras* (1.2) defines Yoga for us: *Yogaḥ citta-vṛtti-nirodhaḥ*, Yoga is the restraint, checking, stopping, or reining in of the circular motions or whirlpools--i.e. the compulsive repetitive patterns of the thinking, thought, or mind. To reiterate the point of Chapter 7.2.4, here again is the pertinent *Yogavāsiṣṭhaḥ* description:

The consciousness that is produced from the movement of the inner *prāṇa* intent upon causing a desire, that you should know as *citta*, Oh

Rāghava. From the movement of *prāṇa*, there is movement of thinking; from that movement itself there is [movement] of consciousness, entraining a circular motion, like the waves [resulting] from the movement of water. The authors of the *Āgamas* say that consciousness is the circular vibrational movement of *prāṇa*; when this (circular movement) has been stopped, the mind becomes peaceful. When the movement of the mind is calmed, this *samsāra* melts away, [and becomes instead] just like life when the circular movement has been quieted in the light of the Sun.<sup>13</sup>

So the *prāṇāyāmaḥ* of both the *śaḍāṅga*- and *aṣṭāṅga-yoga* traditions is in addition to ‘breath-control’ also this calming of the compulsive, repetitive, nagging compulsions in our minds, the cessation of violent impulses, the bringing of the thought to equipoise. This becomes an extraordinarily complex science in Tantric Yoga.

*Dhāraṇā*, ‘meditation,’ has the literal sense of ‘holding’ or ‘maintaining,’ etc., and in the Tantric traditions is most closely associated with the practiced ability to hold the mental image of deific visualizations. These are the detailed *maṇḍalas* that are first drawn out (usually on the ground) and then infused by the practitioners with the presence of the host of cosmic aspects (the elements, planes, and so forth) in their deified forms, typically represented by sonic instantiations in seed-phoneme (*bija-mantra*) form in combination with iconic images. These *maṇḍalas* are then memorized, or visualized in all their detail by the initiates as part of a self-purification process. The *maṇḍalas* are like focusing lenses for the initiate’s consciousness, redirecting the awareness out of animalistic consciousness, and both micro- and tele-scoping the awareness with divine light. To practice *dhāraṇā* in the Tantric systems is to hold this maṇḍalic ‘lense’ steady in the mind’s eye as all the components of one’s body, speech, mind, i.e. the entire psychophysical makeup is re-

envisioned in divine macro-micro-cosmic form.

*Anusmṛtiḥ* in the Buddhist version of the six-limbed Yoga refers to the ability of the practitioner to recall all at once the multi-layered teachings of the Buddhist doctrinal system. It is recollection of the precepts, the vast corpus of doctrine memorized by Buddhist students that is summarized in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* and *Abhidharmakośaḥ*, the texts that gives us the full lists of all the doctrinal sets. These sets are frequently cited in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* (citations and the set members with translations are in the end notes): the eighteen *dhātus* or constituents,<sup>14</sup> the five aggregates,<sup>15</sup> the ten *Krodheśvaras*,<sup>16</sup> the four continents,<sup>17</sup> the four *Māras*<sup>18</sup> and the five fears,<sup>19</sup> the ten abilities of the Bodhisattva,<sup>20</sup> the six-fold desire realm,<sup>21</sup> the ten *bodhisattva-bhūmis* (grounds, or stages),<sup>22</sup> the twelve ‘limbs’ of interdependent origination,<sup>23</sup> the four goddesses,<sup>24</sup> the three charities,<sup>25</sup> the six addictions,<sup>26</sup> the four skills,<sup>27</sup> the twelve ascetic practices,<sup>28</sup> the Buddha’s five eyes,<sup>29</sup> the four parts to the truth of origin or arisal,<sup>30</sup> the two types of non-essentiality (*nairātmya*),<sup>31</sup> the Ten powers of the Tathāgata,<sup>32</sup> the six *abhijñās* or supersensory knowledges of the Buddha,<sup>33</sup> the requisite pair of merit and knowledge,<sup>34</sup> the four reverential recollections,<sup>35</sup> the four right-efforts,<sup>36</sup> the four supernatural sensory powers,<sup>37</sup> the seven integral parts of enlightenment,<sup>38</sup> the eightfold path,<sup>39</sup> the four truths,<sup>40</sup> the four meditations,<sup>41</sup> the four immeasurables,<sup>42</sup> the four formless,<sup>43</sup> the absorptions,<sup>44</sup> the three doors of liberation,<sup>45</sup> the three *samādhis*,<sup>46</sup> the four *dhāraṇīs*,<sup>47</sup> the four analytical sciences,<sup>48</sup> threefold wisdom and knowledge,<sup>49</sup> the eighteen gods of the desire realms,<sup>50</sup> the twelve bases of consciousness,<sup>51</sup> the two cosmic mountain

ranges at the edge of the world,<sup>52</sup> the thirty-two marks of the great man,<sup>53</sup> the four right exertions,<sup>54</sup> etc.<sup>55</sup> This is an enormous body of information that the well-educated Buddhist practitioner was ideally expected to have memorized. In the Tantric systems *anusmṛti* appears to include all of these preliminary doctrines, combined with the ability to recollect all the specific Tantric teachings.

I translate *samādhiḥ*, the sixth of the six limbs, as ‘perfected concentration’ for both etymological and contextual reasons. *Sam* + *ā* + *√dhā* as an *-i* derivative noun gives us the term. *Sam-* as a prefix refers to ‘together,’ *ā-* as a prefix refers to ‘near.’ *√dhā* as a verb refers to putting or placing, so *sam-ā-dhiḥ* is the putting or placing together and near. This is a spatial sense of what is required in ‘one-pointed’ (*ekāgrata*) or ‘perfect’ concentration, the singular self-focusing of the mind, much as is done by a martial artist preparing to split a board, or an Olympic sprinter poised to explode from the starting blocks. The focus must be total, undistracted, and completely tuned to the task at hand. This is the sort of focus referred to in the *samādhis* accompanying the Tantric Yoga practices. *Samādhi* is an essential component of the sexual Yoga practices described in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* (see Chapter 9.4.3-9.4.4). Without *samādhi* the initiate will fail in the practice of *acyuta-bodhicitta*, restraint of the semen, and *samādhi* cannot be achieved without mastering the other five divisions of the Yoga. *Samādhi* is unattainable without mastery of *dharanā*, and this itself requires the earlier steps. What we find as well in Tantric *samādhis* is that *prāṇāyāma* is developed into an extraordinarily sophisticated science wherein the Yogi can supposedly stop the flow of



time through his or her subtle body system. This is a complex system, and will be explained in some detail below.

The Śaivāgama shares with the *Kālacakra* tradition the basic doctrine of *Ṣḍaṅgayoga*, with *prāṇāyāma*, *dhyāna*, *pratyāhara*, *dhāraṇā*, *tarka*, and *samādhi* as the six limbs.<sup>56</sup> The only difference between the Śaiva list and the *Sekoddeśa* list cited above is the use of *tarka* (reasoning) in the former, and *anusmṛti* (recollection) in the latter, a slightly different emphasis. In the *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa* Abhinava clarifies the emphasis placed on correct reasoning in the *Trika* system:

Among all the lights of the component parts of *Yoga*, this (i.e. *tarka*) has been determined in the *Śrīpūrvaśāstra* (i.e. *Mālinīvijaya*) as the brilliant Sun (*gabhastimān*) by which one gets liberated and liberates others. This (i.e. *tarka*) should be understood in every way and reflected on by the clear-sighted ones (*vicakṣaṇaiḥ*) desirous of the supreme state (*parepsubhiḥ*) by abandoning for a moment the jealousy common to mortal beings. The aspirant is established in the essential nature of the Self immediately after *sat-tarka* (*ālocana*) and, therefore, the specks of cloud that cover the Sun of consciousness are dissolved automatically by the savour of delight that the aspirant experiences at this moment.<sup>57</sup>

## 8.2. Tantric Time (8.2.1. Time in the Tantric Systems, 8.2.1. Time in the Tantric Systems, 8.2.2. Some Tantric Categories of Time, 8.2.3. Mapping Time in the Tantras, 8.2.4. Detailed Mapping of Time in the Subtle Body Yogas)

The first chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* contains a long and as yet untranslated section on astronomy and astrology. This is the *Jyotir-jñāna-vidhi-mahoddeśaḥ* section, the 'Great Teaching on Procedures for Knowledge of Astronomy.'" (KCT

1.28-1.94, covering 44 pages in the Sarnath edition). Having taken a look at this material in the Sanskrit, I now understand why Newman did not translate this section in his dissertation on the first chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*,<sup>58</sup> and I have not (yet) attempted to do so either. The fifth chapter of the KCT also contains a considerable amount of material on time meditations and initiations. In translating this material I have learned that Indian astronomy is a difficult subject. Among American scholars I know of only Prof. David Pingree (Brown University) and his collaborators and students have really tackled the material (and published on it), and Prof. Pingree has proven to be the only person capable of explaining to me some of the most incredibly abstruse astronomical material we find woven through the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*. Prof. Pingree was kind enough to spend a long afternoon with me in Providence answering my many questions on the use of astronomical terminology in the *Kālacakratantra*, and both he and his student (now lecturer at Brown) Kim Plofker also spent several shorter sessions with me explaining obscure technical points of classical *Jyotiḥśāstraḥ*. My thanks to Prof. Gary Tubb for added clarifications.

### 8.2.1. Time in the Tantric Systems

The doctrine of mapping bodily constituents, deity iconography, breaths, drops, etc. into the Indian categories of time is by no means unique to the *Kālacakra* system. Abhinavagupta has a long chapter (Chapter 6) in his *Tantrālokaḥ* on the relationship of time to the initiate's subtle body structure, and the required meditational practices to be undertaken in order to absorb time into the self and conquer its flow. The Kāśmīri Śaivite Tantras *Netratantra* and *Svacchandatantra* also

use these time-mapping meditations as part of the Tantric initiation rites. And as noted in Chapter 5.4.1 of this dissertation, there is also a *Kālottaratantra* in the Kāśmīri Śaivite system that has a chapter called *Kālacakra*. Chapter 5 of the *Bṛhadbhūtaḍāmaratantram* is entitled The Section on the Perfected Wheel whose Nature is Time (*Kālātmaka-siddha-cakra-prabheda*--see Chapter 5.4.3). Chapter 10 of the same text is called the The Section on the Six *Cakras* whose Nature is Time (*Ṣaṭ-kālātmaka-cakra-prabheda*).<sup>59</sup> Chapter 8 of the *Amṛteśatantra* is called *Kālavāñcanaḥ*, the illusion of Time--a notion that appears repeatedly in different Tantric texts.<sup>60</sup> In fact the literal translation of what is called the *kālakuṣa* poison Śiva drinks at the 'churning of the cosmic ocean of milk' is either "the black poison" or "the deadly poison of time."

One of the most important aspects of both the *Trika* and *Kālacakratantra* systems is thus the doctrine of time, and the relationship of our consciousness to time. Abhinava remarks, in his *Mālinīvijayavārttika*, that the one lord, who consists of light and is beyond all thirty-seven cosmic principles, causes time to appear, creating *the appearance* of differentiation (in time). This very appearance of differentiation is known as the *Śakti* of time (*kāla-śaktir*). and by our stopping it, or blocking it, then the 'eclipse' begins.<sup>61</sup> Quoting the *Śrīḍamaratantra*, Abhinava says that time only appears to exist, having activity as its nature; it consists in the dispersal of the rays of light of one's own consciousness, and is nothing other than the non-existence of being; therefore the one who is possessed of (i.e. identified with) the *maṇḍala* whose paths have been blocked off by means of the complete blockage of (the dispersal of)

the light-beams of one's own consciousness becomes completely identified with (*ekarasika*, 'of one flavor with') the 'Eater of time,' (*kāla-grāsa*) and becomes himself a *khecara* (someone who can move freely in *kha*, space). Having thus blocked off one's own *raśmi-cakra*, and drinking the unexcelled nectar (of immortality), one lives happily in a present that is not broken up by the two times (i.e. the past and the future).<sup>62</sup> This same basic idea, i.e. that time is deadly and has to be somehow stopped, is found in the *Kālacakratantra*. In a line that could be said to epitomize the 'time-teaching' aspect of the Wheel of Time Tantra (*kāla-cakra-tantra*), Puṇḍarīka explains the 'confidantes of time' as follows: "These many, the thirty-six channels, carrying the *prāṇa*, are the female time confidantes (*kāla-dūtyah*) who cause the destruction of the physical body (*śarīra-kṣaya-kāriṇyah*). Therefore, the *prāṇa* that moves in them is to be stopped up. This is the esoteric meaning."<sup>63</sup> This line is a very simple statement of a rather complex doctrine of meditations on time cycles embedded into the subtle body that we shall discuss below. One of the intriguing aspects of this doctrine to note here is that both the *Trika* thinkers and the Buddhist Tāntrikās appear to have had a appreciation of the 'space-time' relationship in a sense somewhat analogous (though far different in detail) to what we refer to in contemporary English when we speak of a 'space-time continuum,' i.e. the notion that space and time are two interrelated aspects. The slightly mysterious term *khecara* or its feminine version *khecarī* refers to someone who can move freely through space. The doctrines of both the *Trika* and *Kālacakra* systems posit that the initiates who become free of time also become *khecara/ī*, i.e. free of space. At a more

straightforward level this is of course common sense: it takes time to move through space, so naturally anyone no longer bound in sequential time would no longer be bound to incremental space.

In ancient India (and, I understand, to a great extent still today), doing things at the 'proper time' was absolutely vital to a successful life. India is a land and culture where religious rituals, sacrifices, festivals, marriages, funerals, Vedic initiations, war campaigns, political campaigns, the building of buildings, the openings of businesses, (and whatever other aspect of life the astrologers could think of) must be performed at the proper astronomical time under the proper astrological configurations with the proper planetary, solar, lunar, and stellar influences. For the participants in all these rites, failure to follow the 'influence of the planets,' etc. can be catastrophic, resulting in failure, disaster, disease, and even death. (A similar belief in the ruling of the heavenly bodies held sway in Greece and Rome, for many centuries in Europe, and among many people worldwide today.) The belief in this influence of the heavens rested on the assumption of an intimate inner experience of the outer, observable markers of time. As Puṇḍarīka explains, there is a direct matching relationship between the changing of the external seasons and the inner- 'seasons' of the human being. "Here, [just as] in the external world there is the season of the Sun, [marked] by the movement of the Sun, with [the passing of each] pair of months (there are six seasons in the Indian system); [likewise] in the inner or meta-self (*adhyātma*), there is a season of the *prāṇa* with [each] pair of astrological signs [*lagna-dvaya*]. And it [the season of the *prāṇa*] takes place by the movement in

the ten *maṇḍalas* on the left and right, divided into creation and destruction."<sup>64</sup> This implies, as is understood in the Āyurveda doctrines, that there is a seasonal change in the *prāṇas* flowing in our bodies--giving yet another example of how the Tantras contain complementary and explicit versions of the often implicit doctrines of the Āyurveda system. In this context it should not be surprising--however confusing it may be for those of us not used to planning our lives on the basis of the complexities of Indian *Jyotiḥśāstra*, that Tantric Yoga was also conceived of and practiced within the context of a cosmos where astrological influences were vitally taken into consideration. As painful as this may be to think about, it turns out that it is impossible to understand the details of Tantric Yoga practice without learning something of Indian *Jyotiḥśāstra* (or the Tibetan version of the same).

An important point to remember for those of us used to a world of accurate digital and analogue clocks, is that in ancient India and in the rest of the ancient world there were no reliable portable time-keepers available for general use, and based on a global standard of time measurement as is the case today, with cheap and reasonably accurate clocks and watches widely available. As a result, time-keeping in India was a complicated business, partly dependent on the drips of water-clocks, and mostly dependent on the motions of the heavenly bodies. Anyone who has braved the complexities of the Indian time system quickly discovers a Pandora's box of obscure time categories mapped to what seems like every conceivable calculation the Indian mind could conjure up. The plethora of time-calculations was partly due to the political economy of the astrologer's business, and partly to the predilection of the

Indians for preserving the past. As Kim Plofker explained during a talk on Indian astronomy last year at Columbia,<sup>65</sup> Indian astronomy was filled with mathematical approximations and a sort of 'occult mathematics' practiced by astronomers who preferred not to explain the methods whereby they arrived at their calculations. Part of the *panḍitva* of the astronomer was to present roughly accurate approximations of required astronomical calculations without explanation, so that he retained a certain mysterious authority; mathematical approximations were often also necessary because Indian astronomers had absorbed incomplete or inaccurate equations from other countries, and had to correct for the discrepancies. So on the one hand we are dealing with an astronomical system that is partly designed to be incomprehensible so that its professional practitioners will stay in business. Then on the other hand we have a time-keeping system that absorbed doctrines from outside of India and overlaid them onto pre-existing strata without necessarily bothering to distinguish the old from the new, or what worked better from what made no sense. As David Pingree has remarked: "Astronomy shares with other scholarly disciplines in India the characteristic of being repetitive. Indian astronomers did not usually attempt innovations in theory; they wished to preserve their tradition as intact as possible.... Much of the history of this science in India, then, must be simply an account of the means by which the traditions were preserved, and a recitation of the often bizarre modifications and elaborations of the basic formulas."<sup>66</sup> What innovation there was came from incursions of foreign theory from Mesopotamia via Iran, and from Greece; the desire to combine new theory and the desire to preserve old theory "meant that

some contradictions would always persist. Thus, internal consistency was not expected in any Indian astronomical system.... They were not motivated to examine the logical foundations of mathematical astronomy, but only to tinker with the computational superstructure."<sup>67</sup> So there are numerous built-in obscurations and confusions to be dealt with when seeking to understand subject of time in the Tantras.

It should not really surprise us to find that the astronomical system underlying the *Trika* and the *Kālacakratantra* systems is by and large the same system developed and preserved in the classical *Jyotiḥśāstraḥ* of India in the first millennium. As Pingree has explained in his general introduction to *Jyotiḥśāstraḥ*, early Indian astronomy was devoted to determining the correct times of the Vedic ritual performances. Lagadha stated: "For the Vedas have come forth for the sake of sacrifice, and sacrifices are established in the orderly succession of times. Therefore, he who knows this *jyautiṣa*, the science of determining times, knows the sacrifices."<sup>68</sup> Later the concerns of the astronomers shifted to fixing "the proper moments (*muhūrta*) for performing the *saṃskāras* and to compute the calendar (*pañcāṅga*) which indicated festivals, auspicious and inauspicious times (*tithis*, *yogas*, or *karaṇas*), entries of the Sun into zodiacal signs (*saṅkrāntis*), eclipses (*grahaṇas*), and the like,"<sup>69</sup> and to tracking planetary motions for casting horoscopes. What we find in the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras is that this entire complex of *Jyotiḥśāstraḥ* has been absorbed, and as with other contributing streams of Tantric Yoga, somewhat transformed as part of the consistent mapping of the individual's subtle energy flows to the cosmic influences. Just as with the purification rites designed to transform the



individual's experiential perception of the physical components of the dense and subtle bodies, so too the initiation rites are designed to transform the individual's experiential perception of time and the astrological influences of the heavenly bodies. In order to conquer time, to become a time-eater or time-destroyer, and thereby become a *jīvanmukta*, the Tantric initiate needs to learn to become aware of these time influences, meditatively capture them, and then extinguish or transcend them. This is also the logic underlying the idea of compacting millions of lives as a *bodhisattva* into this life as a Tantric initiate. Millions of lives take a long time to live, and the successful practice of Tantric Yoga was apparently believed to eliminate time as normally experienced.

At the macrocosmic level the function of the heavenly influences was explained by the notion of the controlling winds, i.e. the idea that the gods and demons could control the movement of the planets and other heavenly bodies (and therefore time, since these are what time was measured by). These macrocosmic winds are described in Purāṇic cosmologies that Pingree suggests date to the early centuries of the Christian era. Pingree summarizes for us the basic cosmology found in the *Purāṇas* that is pertinent to our considerations:

In the *Purāṇas* the earth is a flat-bottomed, circular disk, in the center of which is a lofty mountain, Meru. Surrounding Meru is the circular continent Jambudvīpa, which is in turn surrounded by a ring of water known as the Salt Ocean. There follow alternating rings of land and sea until there are seven continents and seven oceans. In the southern quarter of Jambudvīpa lies India--Bhāratavarṣa. .... Above the earth's surface and parallel to its base are a series of wheels the centers of which lie on the vertical axis of Meru, at the tip of which is located the North Polestar, Dhruva. The wheels, bearing the celestial bodies, are rotated by Brahmā by means of bonds made of wind. The order of the

celestial bodies varies; the earliest seems to be Sun, Moon, *nakṣatras*, and Saptarṣis (Ursa Major). Some Purāṇas place the *grahas* (planets) between the Moon and the *nakṣatras*; in others, interpolated verses add Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn (in that order) between the *nakṣatras* and the Saptarṣis.<sup>70</sup>

What we have here then is a macro-cosmology that locates all of the heavenly bodies on wheels controlled by winds. It does not take a great leap of imagination to see a micro-cosmic version of this encapsulated in a mapping to the inner wheels (*cakras*) of the body, and the winds (*prāṇas*) flowing through these centers. We would have to say then that the basic principle in the *Trika* Tantras and *Kālacakra* of conquering the flow of winds and thereby conquering the movement of the heavenly bodies and time is based on a fairly ancient inherited paradigm. The innovation appears to be in the idea that through the subtle body Yogas this level of control would actually become possible for the initiates. It does not appear from what I have read in the Tantras that the authors had in mind actually controlling the movements of the heavenly bodies themselves in the sense of changing the actual movement of a planet through the heavens. What they appeared to be aiming at was controlling the *influence* these heavenly bodies had on the individual experient, an influence described in the astrological systems. In this intellectual and cultural context, it would have been perfectly reasonable for the Yoga traditions to develop the belief that by controlling the internal winds---since these are fundamentally the same as the cosmic winds--one would eventually be able to control the cosmic winds also--at least as far as they affected the individual.

The preceding begins, then, to explain the cultural and belief-system logic

undergirding the practices of the Tantras in general, and the *Trika* and *Kālacakra* Tantra system in particular. The basic logic is this: there are macrocosmic winds controlled by the gods that flow out of a series of stacked wheels along the pole-star axis through Mt. Meru, and cause the movement of the heavenly bodies--and therefore control the flow of measurable time. Due to the holographic nature of reality (i.e. its macro-micro-cosmic mappability), each person's subtle body is an instantiation of this macrocosmic reality, with the stacked wheels of the Mt. Meru-pole star axis individualized as the *cakras* along the central channel axis of the subtle body. The heavenly winds that move time through the planets are also the bodily winds that move time in our bodies through the flows of our humors, bodily constituents, sensory awareness, etc. Yet time manifestly kills us, driving us through the repetitive cycles of birth, living, dying, the between state, rebirth, and so on. Whether we are born as gods, demons, animals, angels, (etc.), or humans, we are still subject to this driving and ultimately deadly force of cycling time. As Arraj has summarized from the seventh book of the *Svacchanda Tantra*,

Internal time exists because of the parallelism between the microcosm and the macrocosm. Accordingly, the text begins its discussion of internal time by enumerating the divisions of the body or the microcosm. Building on the Sāṃkhya model, the text lists the components of the body and declares that the body contains all the levels (*tattvāni*) of the cosmos and their deities. The most important of the body's components, however, are the various breaths and their channels in which the self and its powers are preeminently manifest, and whose manipulation, therefore, offers to the adept a way to master and supersede the temporal structure of the manifest universe.<sup>71</sup>

In order to become liberated from time, then, the Tantric initiates have to unlock the connection points that trap them into the time-cycling experience by mastering the

flow of the internal winds. In a sense, then, *prāṇāyāma* is for the Tāntrikās a process of seizing back one's destiny from the gods who control the winds of time, taking hold of these same winds that are the inner winds of one's own system (remember from Chapter 2.4. that the *prāṇas* or inner *vāyus* are the inner version of the winds in the atmosphere), and stopping their flow. In this sense *prāṇāyāma* is not just 'breath-control'; it is also 'time-control' since the initiate is learning to control the basic counting unit of time (the four-second *prāṇa*) that is also the life-breath energy coursing through his subtle body network. This prepares the initiates to crack the combination locks that are the knots in the *cakras* discussed in Chapter 7.4. The access to these knots while the initiates are alive as human beings is through the sexual energy--the only force powerful enough to crack the safe belonging to demon time, by pulling the *vyāna* wind into the central channel and unravelling the knots (*granthis*) in the *cakras*, thus liberating the practitioners from time's grip. (The subject of the practice of the sexual yogas is taken up in detail in Chapter 9).

### 8.2.2. Some Tantric Categories of Time

I will not try here to explain all the intricacies of the time-mapping systems used in the Tantras, mostly because my understanding of Indian *Jyotiḥśāstraḥ* is too limited to do full justice to the subject. There are however a number of basic concepts that should be kept in mind. First is that for the ancient world the planetary bodies consisted of the Sun, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, the Moon, Mars, and Jupiter, with Rāhu or the ascendant designated as the cause of eclipses, and Ketu the descendant. As the slowest (known) planet to move through the heavens, Jupiter's 60

year cycle became the arbiter of time calculations--a cycle that appears to underlie our current time system of 60 seconds in a minute, and 60 minutes in an hour. The *Kālacakra* and *Trika* Tantric systems share this rather curious and interesting system of time calculation that, while familiar to Indian astrologers and astronomers, is not commonly known about by modern scholars--even though it apparently derives from a Babylonian system. During the course of sixty years, there are considered to be 21,600 days, since the ideal year for the Indian calendars was 360 days ( $60 \times 360 = 21,600$ ). In a built-in system of macro-microcosmic mapping, it was also considered that a human being takes 21,600 breaths--consisting of an inhalation and exhalation--during the course of one 24-hour day. It turns out that a full *prāṇa* (inhalation and exhalation, *prāṇa* + *apāna*) lasts four seconds. As I discussed in Chapter 2.4, this temporal unit of a four-second *prāṇa* dates back to early *Chanda-śāstra*, in the practices of breath control used for chanting the Vedic *mantras*,<sup>72</sup> where a *prāṇa* was calculated as 1/6th of a *viṇāḍī*, itself 1/360th of a day. In modern time-keeping, we have 60 minute hours, and twenty-four of these make up a day (and night). Therefore each hour is 1/24th of a full day, and each minute is 1/60th of 1/24th of a day. The Indian system used the obverse of these units. In Indian time, rather than having 24 sets (hours) of sixty minutes, we have 60 sets of twenty-four minutes. These twenty-four minute sets are called *ghaṭikās*, and the Indian water clocks were therefore set to measure 1/60th of a twenty-four hour day. A *ghaṭikā* was also known as a *nāḍī* or *nāḍīkā*, the same term used for 72,000 subtle body channels that are typically referred to as *nāḍīs*. I suspect there is a relationship of this classical

number of 72,000 channels to the standard system of Indian time calculations, though so far it eludes me.<sup>73</sup> At first I thought that the use of the same term *nāḍī* for units of time and for the subtle body channels was coincidental, though certainly odd. Upon reading through the material in the Tantric texts on the time meditations, though, it appears that the use of the same term may have been intentional, since the flow of *prāṇa* through the subtle body channels is of course time-dependent. I have however not yet plumbed all the depths of this mysterious relationship between time and the subtle body.

Another important term to be aware of when reading the Tantric passages on temporal mapping is the term *saṃdhyā*. In the Vedic literature this term refers initially to the times of Sunrise and Sunset, when the initiate is to perform the *agnihotra* rites that mark the rebirth of the Sun in the morning, and its disappearance at night (See Chapter 2.2), reaffirming the essential identity of the *ātman* with its source in the Sun. Then a third *saṃdhyā* or 'junction' is added, noontime, when the Sun is directly overhead (I am not yet clear on when this first comes into play). In the Tantric systems a fourth *saṃdhyā* appears at midnight--though the midnight *saṃdhyā* may be discussed in Vedic material I have not yet read, and so not be a Tantric innovation. These four *saṃdhyās* or junctures of the day are used to mark the times of ritual activities, and form part of another division of the day into eight *praharas*, roughly three hour segments, so there are two *praharas* between each *sandhyā*. The *prāṇas*, *nāḍīs* or *ghaṭikās*, *praharas*, and *saṃdhyās* mark the basic components of the day-night cycle. There are of course many other time markers,

including the whole set of lunar time categories, the twelve sets of astrological signs, the twelve months, rising signs of planets, a variety of transit points marked in the heavens, and then a variety of calculated values based on combining mathematical factors derived from relative values of planetary, solar, lunar, and stellar motions.

All of the various junctures or linkage points in the time sequences are looked at in the Tantric material as points where Time--in the sense of a deadly force--is vulnerable. So we find that the seed-syllables of the *mantras* are mapped to these junctures in the Tantric meditations as part of a strategy to bring time under the conscious control of the initiate. The logic of the sonic mapping of time derives from the early beliefs in the protective power of *mantras*. Although the sophistication level is considerably different, there is a consistent type-hierarchy between the logic of reciting *mantras* (*dhāraṇīs*) and applying them to the body (*mantra-nyāsa*) to protect against snake-bite (as noted in Chapter 3.8), and the logic of precision mapping of 'seed-phonemes' (*blja-mantras*) to the juncture points of time to ward-off time's deadly 'snake-bite' (see 8.2.5. below for a discussion of phonemic mapping). With *saṃdhyā* used as the term for the morning, noon, and evening junctures of the day, with the *Tantric* addition of midnight, and units of *bhāṣā*, Sanskrit language, mapped to these junctures, we could also interpret the much debated term *saṃdhyābhāṣā* as a term for the mantric language mapped to time's junctures, the *Tantric* method of using Sanskrit sound to access and control the movement of time/destiny at its vulnerable points--time's *marmans* so to speak. Given the tremendous prevalence of *bljamantra* usage in the different Tantric systems, and their great concern with time, I

would not be surprised should it turn out that this suggested interpretation of *saṃdhyābhāṣā* may in fact have been the original denotation of the term, with the idea of symbolic language--such as using the terms lotus and *vajra* for the vulva and penis--developing as a secondary denotation.

According to the system presented in the *Kālacakra*, the subtle body has an intrinsic capacity for embedding multiple cycles of time--both multiple sequential cycles and multiple meta-cycles. That is to say, the Tantric initiates can supposedly map into their awareness the Indian equivalent of milliseconds, seconds, minutes, hours, parts of the day, days and nights, fortnights, months, years, multiple years, eras, and ages, and bring these into meditative focus and mastery in what the Buddhist system calls the perfection stage or completion stage yogas. The logic of this doctrine appears to derive directly out of the Tantric understanding of the subtle body system as discussed in Chapter 7.4. Through the Tantric Yoga the initiates collapse into their living awareness the multiple temporal and a-temporal dimensions represented by life, the intermediate state, death, and what is beyond time (also represented by waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state). Those who master this process become aware, alert, and conscious in a way that incorporates the non-temporal or eternal dimensions, thereby becoming themselves Śivas and Śaktis or Buddhas and Buddha-consorts. They do this by stopping the normal flow of time through their systems.

The units of time are essentially abstract--mathematical categories or sets are used to bracket durations for time calculations. Time is the great destroyer, the



killer, in the *Trika* and *Kālacakratantra*. It is personalized as deadly female energy (the *kāla-dūtīs* mentioned above) flowing through our subtle body system. Here we can see the underlying rationale for the argument that pilgrimage trips, religious rituals, festival celebrations, etc. are for the Tantric practitioner irrelevant. Why? Because all of these ritual activities are markers in time and space, and therefore markers in a deadly unreality of perception that has to be left behind. In the *Vimalaprabhā* we have a specific directive not to engage in the "outer" or normal forms of exoteric worship and prayer: "In this regard, wherever *prāṇa* causes governance (*adhikāra*) there, understanding the single word of the forty-eight worded [*mantra*] of the lord, together with the name of the feminine leader of the *maṇḍala*, one should recite with the *prāṇa*-flow, not with the string of *akṣa* beads."<sup>74</sup> (The use of the *akṣa-māla* is widespread among other *Yoga* sects.) See also Chapter 10.6. for a discussion of the *mantra-nyāsa* practice in the *Kālacakratantra*, where the systematic absorption of the energies of the pilgrimage sites into the initiates' bodies is said to replace the need to actually go to those locations.

### 8.2.3. The Unreality of Time

It would be logically more difficult to sustain a doctrine that identifies an ultimately problematic element--i.e. deadly time--and then posits that element was somehow ultimately real, since an ultimately real all-pervading entity would presumably be inescapable. So it is quite reasonable that we find in the Tantras a doctrine of the unreality of time. One of the aspects not made explicit in the Tantric discussions of the roles of the fires in the subtle-body *Yogas* is that in order to

conquer time, in order to become a *kāla-grahaka*, one who eats up time, the initiate would have to internalize and identify with 'the Fire of Time', the *kālāgni*. Only by 'becoming' the fire that destroys time could one master the otherwise insidious and deadly flow of this illusory energy through our system. At one point in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* the text describes the *jīvaḥ*, the living soul, as "situated inside the *prāṇa*-cavity, with a brightness equal to the fire of time" (*jīvaḥ prāṇa-puta-antasthaḥ kāla-anala-sama-dyutih*).<sup>75</sup> In an amazingly bold turn of reasoning given the Indian context of a near-slavish acceptance of the powers of astrology, the Tantric tradition simply posited that time itself is ultimately unreal, part of the great illusion.

As mentioned above, the sixth chapter of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrālokaḥ* concerns time. What follows is an English translation of the first ten verses of this chapter, compared with an English translation of some material from the *Sekoddeśa* and the *Kālacakra*--we find a remarkably similar doctrines in these Śaivite and Buddhist systems about the non-reality of time:

Now is discussed the clear external method known by the name *sthāna-prakalpa* (formation of supports). It is said there are three types of supports--in the *prāṇas*, in the body, and externally. The breaths are fivefold, [the supports] in the body are twofold, external and internal. The external [supports] are elevenfold, as the *maṇḍala*, the sacrificial altar site (*sthaṇḍila*) the sacrificial vessel or recipient (*pātra*), rosary (*akṣasūtra*), book (*pustaka*, *līnga*, skull (*tūra*), cloth (*paṭa*), [plaster, clay, metal etc.] figure (*pusta*), image (*pratimā*), and divine effigy (*mūrti*), and there are many more in addition. Here the procedures are only given for what rests on the *prāṇas*. This entire path is sixfold, and is extremely diffuse; yet it is said that this is completely located in one place, i.e. in the *prāṇa*. Access to the path occurs either sequentially or non-sequentially; because sequence and non-sequence are distinguished as either varied or single in the domain of existence.<sup>76</sup>

So the focus of the chapter is on the relationship of time to the *prāṇas*. Because of

the connection of the *prāṇas* to the cosmos, through holographic instantiation the cosmos is also located in the body's *prāṇas*. *Prāṇa* functionality is either sequential and varied, or non-sequential and singular. The basic argument that follows is that the perception of cause-effect relationships requires sequence--and is therefore varied, whereas there is also instantaneous perception such as the knowledge one gains in the moment of looking at a picture, etc., that is in effect non-sequential--and this is a singular type of perception, not dispersed or divided. It is worth noting here that although *Kālī* as the name of the goddess frequently is translated as 'the black one,' in the following passage from Abhinavagupta's *Tantrālokaḥ* she is evidently the feminine personification of Time. This is in keeping with the doctrines of the *Kālīkrama* school that were absorbed into the *Trika-darśana* (see Chapter 5.2.2), and helps explain why *Kālī* is usually depicted artistically as a destroying or terrifying goddess, since time is the great destroyer.

Time also has a sequential and non-sequential nature, and exists entirely in consciousness. *Kālī* is said to be the name of the supreme Śakti of god. She is in fact external to consciousness, making manifest the sequence and non-sequence that she envelopes within herself, remaining in their manifestation as the activity of *prāṇa*. What is purified pure consciousness has as its ultimate reality light; separating what consists of that (i.e. consciousness that is light) from the self, the sky (i.e. the visible universe) appears differentiated. And that [sky] is what is said to be the void-form state of consciousness (*tad eva śūnya-rūpatavaṃ saṃvidah pariglyate*); the highest state of the *yogins* is [achieved] by the discrimination 'not this, not that.'<sup>77</sup>

Here we have an intriguing macro-mapping of basic states of consciousness, again sticking to the ancient Vedic paradigm of the three worlds. The conscious individual is on earth; up in heaven, i.e. the Sun, is the purified pure consciousness that is

light; separating these two is the sky, and the sky is the void. Time, though experienced internally as a perception by the unenlightened, is in fact external to [male?] consciousness, coming from the supreme feminine. Jayaratha glosses 'the void-form state' (*śūnya-rūparvam*) of consciousness as the state of being the perceiver of the void [*śūnya-pramāṭṛtvam*], and explains that this voidness is because of the complete destruction of the universe of knowable things; however, he says, this voidness does not apply to consciousness itself. He glosses 'the highest state' [*parā daśā*] as *śūnya-atiśūnya-rūpā*, i.e. the form that is completely empty of the void. To clarify this gloss, he quotes an unsourced verse: 'having reached the state of voidness, one is afterwards free of sensation; this is *nirvāṇa*, and has as its secondary name the path of darkness.' Jayaratha introduces the next verse by saying that the yogi who perceives the void becomes indifferent to it, and focuses instead on the perception of the *prāṇa*.<sup>78</sup>

What is interesting here is the congruence of the idea that the yogi transcends the perception of time: this is a very basic and important doctrine to understand for both the *Trika* Kaśmīr Śaivite Tantric Yoga and the *Anuttara* Buddhist Tantric Yoga as we find in the *Kāiacakra* system. Both systems posit the essential unreality of time, saying that it is in effect an illusory subsystem of human consciousness. Compare Abhinava's explanation of the Trika doctrine about time with the doctrine enunciated in the *Sekoddeśa*--(SD 29:) "Just as a young virgin might see in a mirror a divinatory image that is not produced from a real object, likewise the *yogi* also sees the properties of the past and the future in the sky. (SD 30:) That is neither existent

nor non-existent, since one sees that the object is void of reality; and since there is no real existing thing, the object is like an illusion, dream, or Indra's net."<sup>79</sup> A passage from Puṇḍarīka's commentary on the *Kālacakratāntra* elaborates the ideas in this view for us:

Because in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror [87.30] there is seeing the image of the non-frozen [properties] without the frozen (or insensate) properties (*jaḍa-dharmair vinā*). Just as the young woman, as the *mantra*-goddess in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror, by the strength of [her] authority (*adhiṣṭhāna-balena*) sees the non-frozen image of the properties that are reproduced in the past and the future, and those past, present, and future [88.1] non-frozen properties are facing into the mirror, and those that are without the frozen properties lack the appearance of the non-frozen properties in the mirror, and those properties are not thought of by the young woman. In this [same] way, the *yogī*, by the power of the authority of his own thinking, sees the non-paralyzed appearance in the space constituent without the frozen triple world [*jaḍa-traidhātukam*].<sup>80</sup>

The *Kālacakra* and *Trika* systems both refer to *jaḍa* or *jaḍatvam* as the characteristic quality of the unlightened nature of matter, and dense-matter-dominated consciousness. *Jaḍa* is used generally in Sanskrit to refer to what is cold, chilly or frozen, dull, paralyzed or numb, dull, stupid, or senseless. What is intriguing in both doctrines, with their emphasis of the light-aspect of consciousness, and their emphasis on the internal cosmic fires and melting drops, is how relevant the "frozen" denotation of the term *jaḍa* becomes. Woven into the above passage's complicated syntax is the idea that a young virgin, who is traditionally believed to be able to prognosticate by looking into a mirror, sees images of the past and future that by definition do not really exist. Past events no longer exist, and future events do not yet exist. Nonetheless she sees these prognostic images, and can accurately predict

what will happen, because in her prognostic perception she has shifted out of the normal sequentially linear continuum of time. Most aspects of material reality are, in this doctrine, frozen or insensate, un-en-lightened, unmelted by the radiating beams of divine consciousness that are pure light (and heat). In her ability to perceive past and future events in the divinatory mirror, the young virgin is by definition looking at a version of these insensate properties that is not insensate--otherwise she would not be able to see them. This is a magical ability that Tantric initiates can also partake of, and will partake of when they 'wake up.' In so doing the initiates gain a new type of vision, an ability to use the divine light of consciousness to 'see into' normally hidden (or frozen) dimensions of reality. We have here a remarkably consistent doctrine--from a system-logic viewpoint--from the Vedic times into both the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric systems. In the earlier Vedic tradition we have an elaborate placing of man in the cosmic solar/divine web of life energy, and an emphasis on the idea that man's true and potential identity is solar--the Sun being the original womb of the soul, and the home man returns to at death; and the Soma plant encapsulating that solar fiery power and potentially bringing man into the divine state while alive. Here in the *Trika* and *Kālacakra* shared logic, the initiate is striving to achieve a conscious awareness of this eternal state while alive. Rather than being killed by time, or remaining controlled by its cycles, the Tantric initiates seek to shift to the consciousness frequency whereby they kill or consume time itself, and so are no longer subject to its destructive forces. This is how, from the Buddhist perspective, it become possible for the *bodhisattvas* to 'pack in' multiple eons of lifetimes of

evolution into this one--they shift out of the time-cycling function and gain the freedom to compress cosmic repetitions of their own evolutionary paths into the present. This also is--within the logic of the systems--an achievement of the Soma drinker's ideal, without the external Soma plant; one can potentially become god-like, while alive.

#### 8.2.4. Detailed Mapping of Time in the Subtle Body Yogas

There are several passages in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra* where detailed meditations are prescribed for the initiate that are designed to map systemic components into the categories of time, and to map the components of time into the initiate's body. Puṇḍarīka gives us an explanation of the basic *Kālacakra* doctrine about the absorption of time into the initiate's *bodhicitta*:

The first attainment of a stage is with the eighteen hundred [moments] attained that are characterized by non-ejaculation. By this number, ending with the twelfth stage,<sup>81</sup> one attains the twelve stages by the twenty-one thousand six hundred indestructible drops, up until the end of the twelve limbs. From the cessation of the twelve transits, there is [94.5] cessation of the twelve astrological signs; from the cessation of the twelve months, there is cessation of the three hundred and sixty days.<sup>82</sup> From cessation of the three hundred and sixty days, there is cessation of the twenty-one thousand six hundred *ghaṭikās* (because there are 21,600 units of 24 minutes each in an idealized 360 day year). In this [same] way, just as it is externally, there is [also] in the body the cessation of the breaths of the sixty *ghaṭikās* (i.e. the 60 sets of 24 minutes in a day and night);<sup>83</sup> through the cessation of the breaths, there is cessation of the body, by the indestructible moments of the *bodhicitta*. Just as mercury (*sūtaka*) is oxidized, having consumed the iron and gems, [and] grasping their great passion (*mahārāga*), it remains, not as an insensate constituent. With that great passion it creates contact in these metals, [and] those [94.10] metals become white;<sup>84</sup> small stones become gems. Likewise, the *bodhicitta* that has come into existence, having consumed the aggregates, constituents, and consciousness bases together with the breaths, grasping their great passion, it remains, and it is not insensate. By that passion, through the influence of merit, in those sentient beings in whom it creates authority, in them it becomes a superknowledge, not completely perfected *Buddha*-hood.<sup>85</sup>

So here we find the expression of the idea that time is ‘mappable’ into the structure of the subtle body, and that by mastering the flows of energy in the subtle body one can ‘conquer’ time. The Śaivite *Svacchanda Tantra* also enumerates the pervasion of the body by the network of channels, the ten main channels and breaths, the three principal channels among these, and the mapping of the discrete components of time to the particular breaths. (In keeping with the basic Vedic paradigm, and the later Yogic adoption of the same, the text identifies the *haṃsaḥ* with Śiva, the Sun, and the Self.) The motions of the various heavenly bodies are mapped to the movements of the *prāṇas*; in particular, as the time of day moves through the eight three-hour watches (*praharas*) that make up a twenty-four hour cycle (the so called ‘nycthemeron’ in technical English), the inner *prāṇa* is said to move in sections up through the *cakras* to the *dvādaśānta* locale, a point twelve *aṅgulas* or finger breadths above the crown of the head, and out from the heart and the back. These basic day-breath mappings are then extended into mappings to brightening and darkening fortnights, months, new and full Moons, eclipses, equinoxes, the year, procession through zodiacal signs, the progression of the Sun north and south of the solar ecliptic, a cycle of twelve years, and finally the Jovian cycle of 60 years--all also common to the *Kālacakra* system, and to Abhinavagupta’s discussion of the Time principle/plane (*kālatattva*) in the *Tantrāloka*.<sup>86</sup> These considerations lead among other things to a discussion of prognostications, particularly of the adept’s own death, followed immediately by a meditation to conquer death, with a visualization of *Svacchanda* as Lord of Time, identical with the *haṃsa*.<sup>87</sup> Again we see in this Yogic



process an instance of the basic, common, widely shared Tantric Yoga technology used by the Buddhists and the Śaivites (and undoubtedly other groups in India). The systems shared a mapping paradigm that conceived of the macrocosm as mappable into, and hence controllable by the microcosmic individual--an elaborate form of magic really. Since, up to a considerable level of specificity, the doctrinal groups shared basic conceptions of the macrocosm and microcosm--with the same units of time, the same basic physiological parameters, the same number of breaths and internal channels, the same number of phonemes in the Sanskrit alphabet, and so on, it would make sense that their macro-microcosmic *mapping systems* functioned--to a large degree--according to the same principles.

### **8.3. Phonemic Mapping in the Tantras**

In contemporary computer programming, one approach is known as Object Oriented Programming, whereby programmers create moveable packets of code that are referred to as Objects. These Objects can be interchangeably assembled to create complete programs, much as one builds a car from several parts, and many of these parts can be used in different models. We can use this principle of condensed objects as an analogy for understanding the use in the Tantric systems of the packets of sound energy known as *btjamantras*. There are a large number of sets of these short syllables of Sanskrit, and they are employed for multiple different uses. Compacted into these seed phonemes are sets of information, with the phonemes functioning both as mnemonic devices, and believed to be actual encapsulations of sets of real phenomena. Two of the most important uses for *btjamantras* are for reprogramming

the time machine, and for protecting and purifying the initiates so they can safely and effectively practice the subtle body Yogas.

In Chapter 3 of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, on mastering the extraction of the *mantras* (*mantroddhāra*) we have an intriguing explanation of how it can be that one could control the elements of the universe with the seed-phonemes. The *vācakās*, i.e. the denoters, sound-syllables, are divided two-fold, nine-fold, and fifty-fold. The two-fold division is into *bījas* and *yonis*, i.e. seeds and wombs, or Śiva and Śakti, otherwise known as vowels and consonants--an interesting sexualization of sound. The nine-fold division is into the eight classes of consonants and *kṣa*. The fifty are the fifty phonemes that constitute the *mālā* or garland that gives the Tantra its name.<sup>88</sup> These fifty are considered fifty flaming rays of Sunlight (*śatārdha-kiraṇa-ujjvalā*)--another instance of the sound = light equation we find so frequently in Sanskrit, embedded in the Vedic paradox that the verses of the *Śruti* are sound-mantras that were seen by the *Ṛṣis*. At one point the *Mālinīvijaya* describes the *bīja-mantras* uttered by the yogi as a pearl-necklace of radiating, effulgent stars--the stars being the phonemes: "One should meditate [on the garland of phonemes while] uttering [it] with one's very own mouth, [the *bījas*] having the form of a pearl-necklace of *tāras* (stars), flashing, effulgent with rays."<sup>89</sup> Recall from Chapter 2.4.3. that the Vedic literature already contains the basic doctrine that human breaths are forms of the Solar fires coming to earth through the winds. And in order to enunciate a *mantra* one must breathe, and to recite it silently one must use the *prāṇa* or *vāyu* of the *citta*. Here the syllables themselves are also said to *be* the rays of Sunlight, the *kiraṇas*.

We also examined passages from the *Upaniṣads* in Chapter 7.2.3. that described how the solar rays slip into the channels of the subtle body, and vice versa. So the doctrine is essentially consistent in its type-identity logic over thousands of years and considerable transformation in form and structure. The point in the Vedas is to use the *mantras* appropriately in the prescribed manner to carry out the external rituals. In the Tantras, the system is to a great extent internalized; even what is layed out in the *maṇḍala* is then destroyed as the initiate moves on to the sexual Yogas. In both systems however the main point seems to be to learn to *control* the incoming cosmic fires through disciplined use of the breaths and sound-packets known as *mantras*. Just as in modern electronic technologies the amount of current flowing through a particular technological device has to be precisely regulated to produce the electronic image, or sound, or the user risks ‘burning out’ the circuitry, so too in the Tantric practice the circuits must be cleared (i.e. purified) and the use of the *mantras* and breaths strictly controlled in order to engender the divine nectar, and ‘light-up’ the circuitry of the subtle body, or else the initiate risks burning out his or her own circuits, and the texts warn of possible death.

### **8.3.1. Phonemic Remapping of Time**

It is difficult to follow the linguistic logic of all the intricacies of phonemic mapping in the Tantric Yoga mediational practices outlined in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra*. The problem with the comprehensibility of this system is that it bears not a small similarity to the mathematical principles used in computer languages. The built in complexity of Tantric *mantra-sāstra* represents the continuation of an ancient

Indian tradition. As Staal remarked on the use of *mantras* in the Soma rites, "The Soma sequences exhibit mind-boggling complexities that relate almost entirely to the form of the chants and recitations...."<sup>90</sup> In the Tantras, sets of variables are given, and then, under certain circumstances of time, these variables map to particular aspects of the external and internal time sequences. Using the consistent type-identity principles that run through the Indian systems, these mapped timing variables are then type-hierarchically remapped to the flows in the subtle body. Yet the subtle body is not a static system, and the planets, *nakṣatras*, and zodiacal signs are also not static from the perspective of the earth-based observer. The result is that we end up with a constantly moving, constantly shifting relationship between the flows of the *rasa* and *bodhicitta* through the channels and *cakras*, *timed to match* the motions of the heavens. In the *Trika* and *Kālacakra* systems, we live in a giant 'time machine,' (one of the terms we can use to translate *kāla-cakra* is 'time-machine'<sup>91</sup>). As Mars moves through Sagittarius, or Jupiter transits Capricorn, or the Moon enters a new *nakṣatra*, simultaneously *prāṇa* wind-energies flow through *nāḍīs* (channels) in the body, all timed by *prāṇa* and *nāḍī* units of time. In a sense we are, from the Tantric perspective, living in normal or ordinary consciousness to a certain degree as marionettes, with the most intimate functions of our bio-psyche linked to the motions of the heavenly bodies under the control of time. To gain control over this situation, instead of being controlled by it, the Tantric practitioners must gain *adhiṣṭhāna* or *adhiṣṭhātṛtvam*, that state of mastery or governance or authority over the functional processes of time that govern our lives. As part of the method for focusing the

conscious awareness on the moving target of the flowing macro-microcosmic winds that are controlling us, the initiates use the sets of mapping variables known as the *bīja mantras*.

As discussed in Chapter 2.4, the human use of Sanskrit *mantras* is the human version of wielding Indra's *vajra*, the powerful lightning bolt that can destroy enemies, free the waters, etc. In the time-machine usage of the *mantras*, those transformed versions of the cosmic life-giving light and heat (fire) radiating from the Sun, the initiates zap the junctions of time with this blazing sound-fire, permitting the initiates to stop the time flows. The code of *bījamantras* used for this reprogramming of the time machine appears to be unique to each text. I have not been able to determine (yet) whether there is a consistent syntactical logic to the *bījamantra* coding schemas. The logic of the linguistic codes, i.e. why it is that a particular *bīja* is chosen to be mapped to a particular planet, *saṃdhyā*, *nāḍī*, *cakra*, *pañcamahābhūta*, etc. so far escapes me. They appear to simply be the logical permutations of various possible combinations of Sanskrit phonemes, based largely--though not entirely--on the structure of the alphabet (except for the case of the *Ḍakārṇavatantra*'s *bījamantra* mapping of the abbreviations for the names of pilgrimage sites, noted in Chapter 4.6.1). As in the case of modern computer coding, however, it may be that I simply need to learn the generative grammars for these phonemic sets. The following passage from the *Vimalaprabhā* is not necessarily that easy to follow, yet it gives a very good sense of the types of complex, elaborate, and esoteric mapping meditations undertaken in the perfection stage Yogas of the *Anuttarayogatantra* systems. All of

the directions are mapped from the external cosmic *maṇḍalas* into the petals or spokes of the internal *cakras* (also called *maṇḍalas*--both terms refer to 'wheels'). We find the twelve zodiacal signs are mapped, as are the times of transiting into these signs. This is where Tantric relevance of the functional time-keeping of Indian astronomy/astrology becomes evident. The entire sequence is performed as a meditation prior to the subtle-body Yoga practices.

With the longs, with the five vowels, *ī, ū, ṛ, ṛ, ā*. And with the shorts, *a, i, ṛ, u, l*, separated by these, of the six consonant classes of *sa, ta, pa, ta, ca, ka*, the void etc. syllables of the earth etc. are the longs in the wind etc. spokes. Here, in the knowledge *cakra*, there is the omnipresent presiding deity; for him, *śī* is in the northwestern/wind spoke, *hpū* is in the northeastern/lord [spoke], *ṣṛ* in the southwestern/death [spoke], *śṛ* in the southeastern one, *h.kā* in the nadir. In between the *cakras* of the northwest and northern cremation grounds, these five *dākinīs* are the leaders of the five *maṇḍalas* [17.5] at the transit into Scorpio, since they bring life-breath to all intelligent beings,<sup>92</sup> i.e. by means of contraction in the right nostril. Then at the transit into Sagittarius, on top, *hka* is in between the northwestern and western cremation ground *cakra*; in the eastern spoke of the knowledge *cakra* is *śi*, in the south is *ṣṛ*, in the north is *hpū*, in the west is *śl*; the current of the left channel is in the transit into Sagittarius. Then in the earth *cakra* the dental class is the presiding deity. For that [deity], *īl* is in the northwest, *thū* is in the northeast, *dṛ* is in the northwest, *dhī* is in the southeast, *nā* is in the nadir, in the northwest door, in the middle of the cremation ground *cakra*, i.e. at the transit into Virgo. Likewise in Libra, in the zenith, *na*, in the western door, *dhi*, [17.10] in the east *dṛ*, in the south *dṛ*, *thu* in the north, *thl* in the west. Then in the water constituent element *cakra*, the *pa* class is the presiding deity. On its northwestern spoke is *pī*, *phū* is in the northeast, *bṛ* is in the southwest, *bhī* is in the southeast, *mā* is in the nadir, in the northeast door. In the same way there are the presiding deities in the transit into Cancer. Likewise in the Leo transit, *ma* is in space; in the northern door on the eastern spoke is *bhi*, in the south is *bṛ*, in the north, *phu*, and in the west *pl*. Then in the fire *cakra*, the *ta* class is the presiding deity. On its northwestern spoke is *tl*, *ṣhū* is in the northeast, *dṛ* in the southwest, *dho* in the southeast, below *nā*, in the southwest door--thus it is in the Taurus transit. Then in Gemini, *ṇa* is in the zenith, in the southern door cremation ground, on the eastern

spoke [17.15] *qhi*, on the southern *qr*, on the northern *ʃhu*, on the western *tl*. Then in the wind *cakra*, the *ca* class is the presiding deity. For that, *cī* is on the northwest spoke, on the northeast spoke *chū*, on the southwest *jr* on the southeast *jhī*, in the nadir *ñā*, in the southeast door, in the Pisces transit. Then in the Taurus transit, in the zenith *ña*, in the eastern door cremation ground *cakra*, on the eastern spoke, *ghi*, on the southern, *jr*, on the northern *chu*, on the western *cl*. Then in the space-constituent element *cakra* the *ka* class is the presiding deity. On its northwestern spoke, *kī*, in the northeastern *khū*, in the southwestern *gī*, in the southeastern *ghī*, below *ñā*; in between the southeastern and southern door, on top of the cremation ground *cakra*, [17.20] i.e. in the Capricorn transit. Then, in the Aquarius transit, in the zenith, *ña*, in between southeastern and eastern door, on the eastern spoke, *ghi*, on the southern spoke *gr*, on the northern spoke *khu*, on the western spoke *kl*. In the door, in the space between the doors, residing in the surface of the sky, joined with *ha* and *kṣa*, going everywhere. Here, the twelve short and long phonemes of the six classes of consonants, that are the conveyors of the void *maṇḍala*, are *hkā*, *hka*, *nā*, *na*, *mā*, *ma*, *ṇā*, *ṇa*, *ñā*, *ña*, *ṅā*, *ṅa*, for the goddesses of the twelve cremation grounds. The others, through the division of the four *saṃdhyās*, are the four syllables at the end of each set of three transits, *ha*, *hā*, *kṣa*, *kṣā*, in the four--north, northeast, south, southwest--cremation grounds. [17.25] In this way, in the sixteen cremation grounds, there are the sixteen goddesses, in the six *cakras*, on the forty-eight womb lotus petals, there are the eight goddesses. The seeds [syllables] of these are *a* on the eastern petal, *aḥ* on the southern petal, *aṃ* on the northern petal, *ā* on the western petal, *ha* on the southeastern petal, *haḥ* on the southwestern petal, *haṃ* on the northeastern petal, *hā* on the northwestern petal. On the eight petals on the inside of the inside of them, there are the eight skulls. In the middle, the lightning sky-goer time *cakra*, Heruka, the lord, the leader, *hūṃ*, *phraṃ*, and at the end of the seed [syllable] of the male and female sky goers, a lightning bolt; together with that the *sī*-lightning bolt, the *hpū*-lightning bolt, etc., [17.30] ending with the *kī* lightning bolt. The male sky goers of these, through the division of states [*bhāvabhedena*] are the forty eight, the *si*-lightning bolt, and *ṣṛ*-lightning bolt. [18.1] Where the seed [syllable] of the female sky goer is long, then the seed [syllable] of the male sky goer is short; where [hers] is short, then [his] is long. The *sī*-lightning bolt and the *si*-lightning bolt, wisdom and method. [Similarly] the *hpū*-lightning bolt, and *ṣṛ*-lightning bolt. So it is to be expressed everywhere. So one should sacrifice in the *maṇḍala* the twice multiplied enclosing of the net of female sky goers--this is the rule.

What we really have here, and there are many other versions of the same idea in the Tantras, is the use of phonemes, *bhāṣā*-elements, to ‘plug the holes’ in the universe. *Mantras* were long used in the Sanskrit tradition as protective devices, in charms against disease, snakebite, misfortune, the elements, and so forth. What appears to have developed into a rather complex system in the Tantras is the use of phonemes to map into the gaps, the *saṁdhyās* throughout the universe. Hence we find the phonemes mapped to all of the time-gaps that can be imagined, from the most minute to the most cosmic. I refer the readers to the first 30 pages of the Sanskrit translated in Chapter 11 of this dissertation for further examples of the complexities of the *Kālacakra* phonemic time maps.

### 8.3.2. Phonemic Protection and Purification

Another major role of the *seed-mantras* in Tantric practice is the mapping or application (*nyāsa*) of these sound packets to the initiates’ bodies both by the gurus in the rituals, and by the initiates themselves in their meditations. We find phonemes mapped to the *adhvans* or paths of cosmic elements in the body in the *Trika Śaivite* Tantric system (the path of the *tattvas* (one may use 36, 18, 9, 5, 3, or one *tattva*), the path of *kalā*, *pada*, *varṇa*, *mantra*, or the *bhuvanas* together constitute the *ṣaḍadhvan* common to all the Śaivite schools<sup>93</sup>). The same basic idea is at work here--using the mapped network or web of sacred sound, the Sanskrit language--to protect, purify, and transform the individual. It is almost as though the initiates put on suits of clothes, sets of armor, and honored uniforms woven of phonemes. The same fabric of sound is also stitched to the external cosmos through this process. In the



Tantra systems, at macro- and micro- type-hierarchically identified levels, the *bijamantras*, the 'sound molecules' or 'sound seeds' to carry the currents of divine energy and thereby connect the initiate into the cosmic net of divine electricity. In order to be *able* to practice the Tantric subtle body Yogas, in order for the individual initiate to be able to *handle* the higher voltage of the divinely powered sexual electricity coursing through the dense and subtle bodies, he or she needs to have, as it were, extra layers of insulation added to the electrical circuitry of the subtle body channels and major switching points called *cakras*. Since these channels are 'exposed' to the elements, they can otherwise easily short circuit--resulting in ejaculation during orgasm, the falling of one's consciousness out of the proper *samādhi*, and the losing of one's way in the baser animal instincts that are part of our nature, our *pasutvam* as the Śaivites term it. This is why *mantra-nṛ̥ṣa* is such an important preliminary part of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric initiation rites. One is not permitted to enter the sacred spaces without the protective magical coat of the *mantra-jāla*, the net of sound. Gnoli has made an interesting point in this regard when he speaks of the I as vocalization being the supreme mantra, the power of the mantra. Mantra, he says, is the aspect of language closest to consciousness, separated from ordinary language by the shield of convention, expressing a state of consciousness free of the logical categories of thinking.<sup>94</sup> In this sense one might see the magical coat of *bijamantras* as a shield of pure sacred sound, a force field in and around the initiate's body protecting him or her from all baleful influences, functioning in effect as safety gear for entering the nuclear fusion reactor of subtle

body Yoga.

What is important to recognize is that in their sound components the sacred *mantras* are conceived of as embodying, carrying, and transmitting the psycho-electric energy of Bhairava's feminine energy, Śakti. Seeds after all carry the compacted information sets that encode the fully grown plant, or the fully grown human being. It is this encapsulated electric fire through sound that activates the divine body of the initiate in progressively more subtle levels. In this sense it wakes up, melts, or defrosts the *jaḍa*--the insensate, frozen, pre-initiatic psycho-physical being known as the *paśu*--essentially a term for a 'dumb beast.' As Arraj notes, earlier versions of the basic sound-activation initiatory schemes conceived of the five faces of Śiva as identified with the five elements (*pañcamahābhūtā*), so that in the five-plane schema in the *Svacchandatantra* the *varṇas* of the *mantra* 'turn on' these five basic elements of human and cosmic physiology. As he says, this five-faces/five-elements identification was based on an earlier notion of the eightfold form of Śiva (*aṣṭamūrtiḥ*) whereby Śiva was identified with the Sun, the Moon, the sacrificer, and the five elements.<sup>95</sup>

The *Trika* sequence of the word initiation (*pada-dīkṣā*), phoneme initiation (*varṇa-dīkṣā*), mantra initiation (*mantra-dīkṣā*) and cosmic-realm initiation (*bhuvana-dīkṣā*) share the same basic paradigm of purification of various aspects of reality that we find in the Buddhist Tantras. Just for the purposes of comparison, I include here a passage from the *Mālinīvijaya* that describes a set of phonemic mappings quite similar to the passage cited above from the *Kālacakratāntra*:

So then, now I will tell you the supreme secret, producing sudden attainment in the perfection of Yoga for the yogis. Bound together (fastened) by prior application [of the mantras], one should direct the mind into the ear that is either without wind, or with very little wind, free from external sound. Then this yogi hears in there the uncovered sound, over and over, of the very pure struck gong (*kāṁsya*).<sup>96</sup> Hearing this, O Great Goddess, one is freed from virtues and sins; concentrating on that, after six months [one becomes] the most knowledgeable about Yoga. One knows clearly the song of even a flock of birds, effortlessly; the knowledge of hearing at a distance arises from this after a year. And after three years one attains the fruit of all desires, what's the surprise? It is achieved easily. Or when the Moon is eclipsing the Sun, equipped by prior application [of mantras], sitting behind a bit of a wall,<sup>97</sup> one should perceive the shadow of the *ātman*, above the head, unstruck, coming out like a column of smoke, with the inner-*ātman* in it (i.e. in the 'column of smoke'). To whatever extent the one who is disciplined in Yoga achieves that state, to that extent The Great Condition arises in him. Then one sees there the great flame, like beams of light flashing, and exactly when it is seen, the destruction of all one's sins will take place. After a month it slowly diffuses everywhere in the practitioner; one perceives all the directions as filled with garlands of flame. The yogi practicing for six months attains omniscience; gaining a divine body in a year, Śiva-like, he rejoices for a long time. Then the classes [i.e. the *bīja-mantras*], perpetually in their *āsanas* as before, will pronounce *hr̥m*, *kṣlām*, *kṣv̄m*, *vam*, and likewise *kṣam* of the set of five, in sequence, And *ham*, *yam*, *ram*, *lam*, and likewise *vam* of the other set of five, likewise *ṛam*, *ṣam*, *lam*, *īam*, *om*, *aum*, *haḥ*, *am* up to the area of the pericarp of the lotus. In the lotuses the ones ending in *bha*, *ham*, *hām*, *him*, and *hīm*, likewise *hum*, and on the petals *hūm*, *heṁ*, and *haiṁ*, and thus the *śaktis* with their own names. In the *maṇḍala* triad one should arrange the subtle remainder of the departed spirit, that is well known as the *jra* utterance of the horns of the trident. One should prescribe [them] therefore for all the unspoken Yogas. The classes are *Namaḥ*, *svāhā* likewise, *vauṣaṭi*, *hum*, *vaṣaṭ*, and *phaṭ*. One should recite the unbroken garland in all the expiations, [a garland that is] either divided or undivided, overcoming strength and weakness. Through simultaneous recitation, as long as one has undertaken the three-fold mark, my dear, through restraint of the whirlpools of the *prāṇa*, then the most supreme is somewhere.<sup>98</sup>

What we have here are a number of Vedic *mantras* reconfigured to serve the purposes of the Śaivite Tantric practices. *Svāhā* is the exclamation used in making oblations to

the gods Agni, Indra, etc. *Vauṣaṭ* is an exclamation or formula used on offering an oblation to the gods or deceased ancestors with fire. *Vaṣaṭ* is an exclamation uttered by the Hotṛ priest at the end of the sacrificial verse; when the Adhvaryu priest hears this, he casts the oblation offered to the deity into the fire. *Phaṭ* is the sound of ‘crack,’ onomatopoeic. *Huṃ* is used in Vedic chanting immediately before singing the *prastāva* or prelude, and during the chanting of the *pratihāra* or response.<sup>99</sup>

#### 8.4. Introduction to the *Trika* System

I have outlined above some of the basic assumptions shared by the *Trika* and *Kālacakratantra* systems as regards time and the use of *bjamantras* for re-encoding time and the functional structure of the initiates. To understand how these assumptions operate in the practice of Tantric Yoga, I would now like to introduce the two systems separately. For the *Trika* system, I have largely drawn material from my complete translation (including both the chapters Gnoli translated into Italian and the previously untranslated chapters) of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, and from material I have retranslated from Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrālokaḥ* verses along with first-time translations of portions of Jayaratha’s commentary. I have supplemented this material with portions of Jaideva Singh’s translation of Abhinavagupta’s *Parātriṃśikavivarāṇa*, and a few other secondary sources. In section 8.5 below, I also use material from Arraj’s and Brunner’s works on the *Svacchandatantra* and *Netratantra*, respectively. For the *Kālacakratantra*, my information on the initiation processes is a bit more limited since the initiations of the system are largely discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 of the text, the two (long) chapters currently without published

translations. I have drawn some material from secondary sources on the *Kālacakra* system, though these are almost exclusively based on the Tibetan commentarial tradition. To partially supplement this material I have translated a small portion of the *Sekoddeśa*, a surviving portion of the original Root *Kālacakratantra* on initiation. Unfortunately I have not had time to read the Sanskrit of the *Sekoddeśa* completely, nor the *Sekoddeśaṭkā*, both texts directly concerned with *Kālacakra* initiation rites.

The Trika system posits the purified initiate as an energy being who is at once identical with the cosmic Śiva/Śakti orgasmic creative dyad, and also somehow still individual. It says that this energy-being is *not* experienced as the normal *paśu*-type (i.e. animalistic) whose unenlightened consciousness experiences a paralyzed, frigid dullness (*jaḍarvam*) in the body, the breath, the thinking, etc. To become liberated from this insensate stupidity, we must rather learn to see our own consciousness like a reflection in a mirror, and realize that the seeing-self is identical with the solar and stellar fires that power the universe. To put this another way, we could say that in the *Trika* system, the current pattern we are operating in as a species is guided by the frozen habit patterns of nature (*paśuvam*), that however idealized they might be by some in their ‘naturalness’ lead inevitably to suffering and death, because of being so frozen. So we have to change the energy pattern that is in a governing (*adhiṣṭhātṛ/adhikārin*) position in the system. Then it will become possible, or that would be integral to, actualize the *jīvanmukta* notion, the ideal of ‘liberation while alive.’

The vibrational character of the true I-consciousness in the Trika system is

likened to the vibrating belly of a fish (*matsyodara*) that throbs inwardly without external movement. As Abhinava characterizes it, "the activity of the I-consciousness is successionless, because of the absence of the relativity of space and time which are characterized by objectivity (in manifestation) and absence of objectivity (in withdrawal), which is full of the delight of its own consciousness, well known in the *Matsyodari* and *Mata Śāstra*."<sup>100</sup> This 'vibrating fish belly' image may in fact explain the origin of the name of the elusive *Mahāsiddha* claimed as a leading teacher in the Buddhist, Śaivite, Alchemical, and Nātha Yoga traditions, *Matsyendranātha*. His name, literally 'lord of the fish,' may have referred to someone who had mastered a related version of this Śaivite doctrine under some sort of esoteric or folk-name such as 'fish-belly' Yoga, now lost in the gloom of 10th century Indian religious history (of course this is speculative, and he may just have been a fisherman, and he is described in the Tibetan biography of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas* as someone who ate fish guts<sup>101</sup>).

The term *Trika* comes initially from the Triad of goddesses in the system, *Parā* (benevolent), *Parāpara*, and *Aparā* (wild and terrifying, with skull garlands and *khaṭvāṅgas*), then from the triad of perceptual experience, the perceiver, perception, and the mode of perception (*pramātā-pramāṇa-prameya*), the triad of will, knowledge and action (*icchā-jñāna-kriyā*), and the triad of Śiva-Śakti-man (*-nara*).<sup>102</sup> The *kulas* or clans are groups of *yoginīs* that are embodiments of the 8 mother goddesses, a further evolution of the earlier idea of the *sapta-mātṛkās*, quite possibly an early Tantric development that created matching female figures for the ancient seven ṛṣis<sup>103</sup>

deriving from the Vedic and Purāṇic traditions. The Trika concept is also mapped onto the triads of Śiva, Śakti, and Nara/ṇu (atom)--man as the minute particle instantiation of the cosmic creative identity. This triad is matched by the *Śāmbhava*, *Śākta*, and *Āṇava-upāyas*, i.e. the method of Śiva, that of Śakti, or that of the atomic man, the three mutually integrated methods or approaches in the tradition. The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* explains the three methods, *āṇava*, *śākta*, and *śāmbhava* as follows:

Absorption into *Rudra* and *Śakti* is said to be fivefold--according to the categories of the elements, the principles, the self, the lord of the *mantras*, and the *śaktis*, Oh beautiful face. What are called the elements are also fivefold, and the Supreme (*Para*) is thirty-fold. What's called the self (*ātmā*) is said to be threefold, and what is called the *mantras* is said to be tenfold. What's known as *Śakti* is ultimately recognized as twofold; this pervasive absorption (*samāveśah*)<sup>104</sup> is well-known to be divided fifty-fold. The atomic [*upāya*] is celebrated, and the *śākta* [*upāya*] is also considered of this sort; likewise the *śāmbhava* [*upāya*] is also characterized as being divided by these categories.<sup>105</sup> What is said to be the correctly atomic [method] is the compenetration by expression, action, meditation, and allotment of the phonemes to their places. The contemplating reality with the mind, free of [verbal] expression, that attains such pervasive absorption, is considered the *śākta* [method]. The compenetration that is produced through awakening by the *guru*, without thinking of anything at all, this is considered the *śāmbhava* [method]. It is said that in addition to this there are a hundred categories, in regular succession; neither the explicit nor the summary enumeration of these is known.<sup>106</sup> The wise ones do not consider that there is a distinction in the fruits of understanding in this regard; there is an unmatched category that is briefly explained for those considering it. The sequence of universal penetration [is known] by the wise ones [to proceed] according to the category of waking, dreaming, etc.; it is recognized as fivefold, according to one's own activity, step by step. In that sense the intrinsic form, the *śakti*, and the entirety (*sakala*) are the triad of that; hence this waking state [is divided] into a fifteen-fold category.<sup>107</sup>

As Sanderson describes it, the ritual goal is the assimilation into the self of the power

of the triad. In the culmination of the system's practices, orgasmic union with a *dūtī* or female Tantric partner reveals, the "all containing dynamism of the absolute self radiating in blissful consciousness."<sup>108</sup>

Abhinavagupta's *Tantrālokaḥ* (TA) with Jayaratha's *Vivekaḥ* (TAV) commentary remains less well studied than they deserve to be by scholars interested in Tantra. Since the Sanskrit is saturated with technical vocabulary from the *Trika* system and Abhinavagupta's own theoretical structures, and many Indologists do not read Italian (and so do not have access to Gnoli's translation of the verses), the work has remained a sort of 'acknowledged from a bit of a distance' landmark in the history of Tantric literature. There are thirty-seven chapters of varying length to the work, with the Motilal Sanskrit edition topping out at about 3900 pages, and Gnoli's translation reaching nearly a 1000. So this is a long work. I have managed to read (i.e. retranslate) some portions of the text, yet relative to its great size have only made a small beginning. The following is an English translation of the Sanskrit chapter colophons of Jayaratha's commentary, with some pertinent subheadings from Gnoli's translation: 1) The various forms of consciousness (*Vijñāna-bheda-prakāśanam*); 2) The Non-method (*Anupāya-prakāśanam*); 3) The Śāmbhava-method (*Śāmbhavopāya-*); 4) The Śākta-method (*Śāktopāya-*); 5) The atomic-method (*Āṇavopāya-*); 6) The cosmic principle of time (*Kālatattva-*); 7) The arisal of the *cakra* (*Cakrodāya*); 8) The locational (micro-macro) path (*Deśa-adhva-*); 9) The cosmic principles (*Tattva-*); 10) The divisions of the cosmic principles (*Tattva-bheda-*); 11) The differentiation factor etc. (*Kalā-ādi-*); 12) The use of the paths (*Adhva-*



*upayoga-*); 13) The 'falling' (or initiatic descent) of *śakti* (*Śakti-pāta-*); 14) Undertaking initiation (*Dīkṣā-upakrama-*); 15) Initiation into the Tantric community (*Samaya-dīkṣā-*); 16) The object of certain knowledge (initiation as a *putraka* or spiritual son) (*Prameya-*); 17) The extended initiation (*Vikṣipta-dīkṣā-*), a chapter that includes a description of "a reliance on fire since it is suitable for burning the bonds [of illusion] with the fire energy of the *mantras*" (*mantra-tejasā pāśa-ploṣakarva-anugūṇyād vahny-āśrayaṇam*);<sup>109</sup> 18) The shortened initiation (*Samkṣipta-dīkṣā-*); 19) Sudden death (*Sadya-utkrānti-*) (this may have some information pertinent to the Tibetan death and dying meditations); 20) The 'balance' initiation, providing confidence to confused people (*Tulā-dīkṣā-mūḍha-jana-āśvāsa-pradāyini*); 21) Initiation of absentees (*Parokṣadīkṣā-*); 22) Extraction of the *liṅga* (*Liṅga-uddhāra-*); 23) The consecration (*Abhiṣeka-*); 24) Funeral oblations (*Anryeṣṭi-*); 25) Funeral rites (*Śrāddha-*, also may be worth comparing with the Tibetan death meditations); 26) Altar-worship (*Sthaṇḍila-pūjā-*); 27) Worship of (Śiva as) the *liṅga* (*Liṅga-arcā-*); 28) The ceremonies of the Moon's phase changes, the purificatory rites, etc. (*Parva-pavitrakādi-*); 29) The secret rites (*Rahasya-vidhi-*); 30) Mantras etc. (*Mantrādi-*); 31) The *Maṇḍala* (*Maṇḍala-*); 32) The *Mudrā* (*Mudrā-*); 33) The meeting or joining together (*Ekīkara-*); 34) (No name in the colophon; Gnoli calls it "Penetration into one's own nature")<sup>110</sup>; 35) The encounter of the *Śāstras* (from the different traditions) (*Śāstra-saṃmelanaṃ*); 36) The description of the sequence of their arrival (i.e. the lineage of transmission of the scriptures) (*Āyāti-krama-nirūpaṇaṃ*); 37) The explanation of how they came to be accepted (as Śaivite Tantras, *Upādeya-bhāvādi-*

*nirūpaṇam*).

As is customary with Indian Sanskrit works, Abhinava summarized in the first few verses much of the basic doctrine of the system. The first chapter opens with salutation to the divine couple--the mother goddess whose voluptuous body contains the greatness of new creation dependent upon the spotless aspect [of reality], who is herself the light protected by the five-faced one, and Śiva, the father. Abhinava says that his heart consists of the state of creation emanating from that divine couple, and because of that emanation his heart shares in the unexcelled immortal family.<sup>111</sup> He then praises the three forms of Śakti central to the *Trika* system. First is the independent, infinite Śakti *Parā*, who is the light of consciousness (*cit-pratibhā*) and Bhairava's Yoginī, and who resides in the trident-lotus aspected with the perceiver, the perceived, and the means of perception.<sup>112</sup> *Aparā* resides in the physical body (*śarīra-sthā*) of the dancing one (*ātman*-Bhairava) as an enclosed sportive streak of lightning from the mass of clouds in the sky (*prāvṛṇ-megha-ghana-vyoma-vidyul-lekhā-vilāsini*), when she is drawn towards Bhairava<sup>113</sup>--she is the Śakti who seeks progressive merging. *Parāparā* is the radiating trident of consciousness capable of eradicating both the pro- and con- energies and who splits the three bonds with a scorching mass of flaming light--she is the essential nature of progress.<sup>114</sup> Together they constitute Śiva's might, the triad of goddesses that constitutes one's internal home, and causes expansion as one's ultimate intrinsic form.<sup>115</sup> So we see here that particularly with *Aparā*, the earlier Vedic notion of the atmospheric fire as the middle of the three sacred fires has been re-imagined at the 'lightning in a bottle' of the

human body, and given a sensuous feminine character in being activated when drawn towards Bhairava. This is an important conceptual advance over the earlier Vedic discussions of the triad of fires where the atmospheric fire is not, to my knowledge, represented as feminine. In fact, in concert with the tremendously worshipful attitude towards women we find in many Tantras (see Chapter 9), the *Trika*'s reconception of the atmospheric fire as female stands as a monument to the Tantric shift towards a more equitable appreciation of the two human sexes, giving the feminine a crucial role in the doctrine of the cosmic fires.

Abhinava then goes on in the first chapter to praise the gurus of the Kula system (*Kulaprakriyā*) and the Trika doctrine (*Trikadarśana*), acknowledge his debt to his teachers and his father, and characterizes the *Mālintvijayottara Tantra* as the essence (*sāra*) of the *Trika* system that is itself the essence of Śiva's teachings as embodied in three groups of ten, eighteen, and sixty-four Śaivite Tantras.<sup>116</sup> He defines the two basic forms of awareness as consciousness and unconsciousness, explaining that according to the *Śivasūtras* the latter is nothing other than an awareness that does not recognize the totality of knowable reality, resulting in the perception of duality; due to the uselessness of such a dualistic perception, it is called bondage.<sup>117</sup> This misguided state of dualistic, bound awareness naturally identifies itself with a multiplicity of forms. In the *Trika* system, ignorance is simply a lack of complete knowledge, and with complete understanding comes liberation. The freeing of the individual from this human ignorance is achieved via the processes of initiation, and it likewise manifests itself clearly once one dies.<sup>118</sup> Though I have not yet had a

chance to read through the *Tantrālokaḥ*'s chapters on death, funeral rites, etc., there may be some congruence here with the type of doctrines we find in the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*.

The breakthrough-state in the Trika system is the achievement of becoming the same as superwoman (*khecart-sāmya*), of a homogeneity of the divine power of the feminine energy that is not bound in space or time (*khecart-śakti*), described as "awareness of the essential nature of the *anuttara* which is constantly present and which arises from the bliss of the recognition of the completion of the union of the divine Śakti with Śiva." As Singh points out, for Abhinavagupta *all* sensual enjoyment is the experience of the essential *khecart* energy--including all consumption of food, sensual perception, drama, aesthetics, and the pleasure of poetry,<sup>119</sup> giving us a hint of the relationship between Abhinavagupta's Tantric and Aesthetic doctrines. This goddess who is the Tantric leader of the Tantric clan (*kaulikī kulanāyikā śakti*) is therefore described as she who provides for the vibrational manifestation of the physical body, the *prāṇas*, and the experience of pleasure (*śarīra-prāṇa-sukhādeḥ sphurattā-dāyini*), who is the vital energy of the whole group of deities beginning with *Brāhmī* (*brāhmyādi-devatā-carkasya vīrya-bhūtā*), who constitutes the innermost form of the entire system of the senses and *nāḍīs* (*nikhila-akṣa-nāḍī-cakrasya madhya-madhyama-rūpā*), the true nature of the male and female genitalia that are the place where life is produced (*janana-sthāna-karṇikā-liṅga-ātmā*).<sup>120</sup>

What we see with Abhinavagupta's theorizing, and with the Trika system as a whole, is that the fundamental principle laid out in the Vedic esoteric doctrines, that

of a web of cosmic solar fire permeating the natural forces of the cosmos and the very life-breaths of man, has in the Tantric system been both personalized, and sexualized. Now the intimately penetrating web of energy is sexual, is female, and is in cosmic, continuous, orgasmic, and homogeneous mergence with the cosmic male that is Śiva. It is not surprising then, given the type-identity nature of the doctrinal shift from the Vedic to the thoroughly Tantric, that we find in several of the Śaivite Tantric texts a preoccupation in the preliminary initiatic ritual phases with the sacred fire lit and meditated on a *vedi*--the sacrificial altar structure used in the Vedic tradition.

Both the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric systems require the initiate to undergo elaborate preparatory rites before engaging in sexual Yogas. There are many reasons for this. Some have to do with the intrinsic power of sexual energy, and the necessity to be properly prepared to handle it. In the Buddhist system, the initiate is required to have taken the Bodhisattva vows to work for the liberation of humanity. The *Trika* doctrine appears to have absorbed this basic conception, as Abhinavagupta explains that another classification of the initiatory sequence is referred to as the *sakala* and *niṣkala dīkṣā*. The former refers to disciples whose past and future *karma* is destroyed yet who remain alive to help others, with their *prārabdha karma* (i.e. what is bearing fruit) untouched. *Niṣkala* refers to those, who like *pratyeka Buddhas*, seek only selfish or hermit-like liberation.<sup>121</sup> The Śaivite system as outlined by Abhinavagupta begins with a *paśu*--the individual in his animal nature, unaware of his 'higher' or more subtle self that is ultimately identical with Śiva (hence Śiva is often

called *Paśu-pati*, father or lord of all us *paśus* or poor brutes). The first level initiate is called the *sādhaka*, whose *dīkṣā* or initiation is designed to take him or her to the first level of awareness beyond simple 'animality' (*paśurvam*). The *sādhaka* who breaks through the six surrounding sheaths (*kañcukas*) of illusion (*māyā*) that constitute his normal experience,<sup>122</sup> who cuts his internal bonds (*pāśas*), eliminates his own impurities (*malas*) and becomes aware that he lives in the *Spandamayātā* or cosmic vibrational energy, steps into the next stage of initiation known as *putraka*, the spiritual son or child of the *guru*.<sup>123</sup> The *kañcukas* or covering sheaths are illusion (*māyā*), and its five products, the sense of limited action (*kalā*), the sense of limited knowledge (*vidyā*), attachment (*rāga*), what Dyczkowski translates as "natural law" or fate (*niyatī*), and time (*kāla*).<sup>124</sup> There are three types of *mala* or impurity. *Āṇava* or 'atomic' impurity is of two sorts, *pauruṣa* impurity innate to being an individual, and *bauddha*, impurity of the *buddhi* or intelligence. *Māyīya mala* is the impurity due to the illusion of difference. The third is *kārmamala*, impurity due to "the *vāsanās* or impressions left behind by action."<sup>125</sup> These are equivalent in conception to the notion of *āvaraṇa* or obscuration in Buddhist Tantra, though the Buddhists have a different set of obscurations or impurities. The initiation procedures are broadly divided into a knowledge initiation (*jñāna-dīkṣā*) and a ritual action or experiential initiation (*kriyā-dīkṣā*). The latter includes six steps, the *kalā*-, *tattva*-, *pada*-, *varṇa*-, *mantra*-, and *bhuvana-dīkṣā*. *Kalā* refers to the differentiated nature of the cosmos, the multiplicity that in its illusion blocks the individual's awareness of their cosmic identity with Śiva. The *tattvadīkṣā* deals with the purification of the thirty-six *tattvas* that constitute the

Śaivāgama view of the evolution of reality—a further elaboration of the Sāṃkhya system of twenty-five *tatvas*. Jaideva Singh gave us a breakdown of the 36 *tatvas* in a note to his translation of Abhinavagupta's *Parātriśikāvivarāṇa*. These are the twenty-five of the Sāṃkhya: 5 *mahābhūtas*—earth, air, fire, water, space or ether, 5 *tanmātras* (form, taste, smell, sound, and touch), 5 knowledge senses (skin, tongue, eyes, ears, nose), 5 action senses (mouth, or speech, hands, feet, anus, and penis), *buddhi*, *manas*, *ahaṅkāra*, *Prakṛti*, *Puruṣa*; plus the 11 of the Trika system: Māyā and her five sheaths (*kañcukas*), purified precise knowledge (*śuddha-vidyā*), Īśvara, Sadāśiva (i.e. the permanent or continuous Śiva), and then Anāśrita Śiva (Śiva who is an independent being) and his Śakti.<sup>126</sup> As Abhinava explains in the *Tantrāloka*, the collection of all the *tatvas* that resides in the heart, throughout the entire body, in their own states, and are extraordinarily subtle, is referred to as "the village" (*grāma*),<sup>127</sup> and to have the property of indestructibility (*anapāyavān*). *Pada*, *varṇa*, and *mantra* initiations are three versions of the initiation into the principles of sacred sound and the application (*nyāsa*) of the seed phonemes (*bījamantras*) to the body and psyche as part of the purifications required before undertaking the sexual Yoga rites. The *bhuvana* initiation is the rites of purification of the 'realms' of the cosmos as envisioned within the initiate's body.

#### 8.4.1. The Atomic Method in the Trika Doctrine

There are a variety of practices in the *Trika* system, depending on the particular affinities of the initiates. It is a rather complex, multi-staged system, with many options, and I will not attempt to outline it here; much of the basic steps of the

initiations themselves are covered in the discussion of the *Svacchanda* and *Netra Tantras* below.<sup>128</sup> Rather we will focus here on one of the three major methods of practice, the *Āṇava* or atomic method. The *Āṇava* method gets down to the nitty-gritty, as it were, dealing with the issue of personal transformation at the level of the atomized individual. It refers to a frigidity, a coldness or numbness (*jaḍatvam*)--an insensate paralyzed state of consciousness that is intrinsic to the *paśu* or 'animal' level of human life. As one verse quoted by Jayaratha says, "there's a frigidity in the mind, in the breaths, in the body, and in the land; when that is conquered, the wise one becomes one whose consciousness is made of light rays."<sup>129</sup> What warms the frigidity or insensateness is the independent radiating light that is the intrinsic nature of consciousness--i.e. perceiving reality with the radiating light of the Sun (and stars)--that is established in the heart/mind of the initiate, and that is made of all the *tattvas* or cosmic principles.<sup>130</sup> The *Trika* system has taken the essential mystery encapsulated in the *Gayatrī mantra*, where the impelling power of the Sun is invoked to inspire our thinking, and advanced it into a deeply complex, yet type-hierarchically consistent doctrine. The initiate in effect is said to succeed in harnessing the intelligent fire of the Sun with his own consciousness, and to use its light and heat to melt the frigid stupidity of our animal nature, causing the divine juices to flow through the bio-psyche's inner subtle channels and centers. The initiate who understands this underlying solar mystery of the cosmic principles--who is a *tattva-vit*--sees that divine fire located both internally and externally in the heart, like a flower in the shape of the *samputa* (cavity/sphere) of a plaintain.<sup>131</sup> This is precisely the full



realization of the solar energy in the heart cavity that is described in the *Upaniṣads* (see Chapter 7.2.3, 7.4.1, and 7.4.2.). He is then to meditate steadily on this as the ‘rubbing together’ (*saṃghaṭṭa*) of the Moon, the Sun, and Fire, and through the friction of the kindling sticks of that meditation, he will consume the oblation of Mahābhairava; blazing intensely in that great basin called the heart, he will achieve [cosmic] expansion, i.e. his consciousness will expand to infinity.<sup>132</sup> (This idea of the rubbing together of the winds in the subtle body channels is also included in the *Kālacakra*’s description I cited at the end of Chapter 7.4.2).

Jayaratha glosses the idea of the rubbing together of the cosmic fires in the subtle body by a verse from the *Vijñānabhairavatantra* that says that Śakti, in the form of the Wind (*marud-rūpā*), opens, moving neither out nor in, and maintains the form of Bhairava in the middle (of the heart/mind), since Śakti and Bhairava are actually not different.<sup>133</sup> One should meditatively generate--since they do not really have different locations--what are called the perceiver, the perceived, and the mode of perception (*mātr-māna-prameya*) from that Śakti-possessing, expansive Śakti that is the Bhairava’s inner fire. That itself is the triad of the śaktis of the Sun, the Moon, and fire, referred to as *Parā*, *Parāparā*, and *Aparā*, individuated as creation, maintenance, and destruction. The fourth aspect of these forms is continuous and *akalpita*, i.e. ‘not fabricated.’ Abhinava says there are twelve goddesses abiding like disks of the Sun, and in each one of them the fire, Sun, Moon, and the peacefulness of the fourth state appear. And that unexcelled *cakra* (of solar goddesses) radiates outwards from the heart by means of the ‘sky-paths’ of the senses

(the eye etc.) into each of the sense domains (or sense objects). And through the sequence of creation, maintenance, and destruction that takes place in each sense domain by the light-rays from that *cakra*, the form whose nature is the light of the Moon, Sun, and Fire remains steady.<sup>134</sup> The yogi follows this meditation sequence as a means of collapsing the universe into his or her internal subtle wheels (*cakras*) of progressively more numerous light rays, thereby reenvisioning the entire sensory perception process as a sort of magnificently expansive divine-holographic experience. (See Chapter 7.4 for a discussion of embedding dimensions into the subtle body with particular reference to the Buddhist Tantric tradition).

In the sixth chapter of the *Tantrālokaḥ* Abhinava gives us a lovely definition of the *prāṇa* as the beautiful vibration of effort whose splendor is knowable as the living being. He explains that though it begins from the *kanda* (the ‘bulb’ at the base of the spine) it is not very clearly [perceived] there, and he cites the *Svacchanda Tantra* where it is stated that because it begins from the root of the ‘bulb’ it has a firm basis, and so clearly forms the basis of all the winds in the channels (*nāḍīs*). The movement of *prāṇa* is experienced through the heart, and through perceptible effort.<sup>135</sup> The movement of *prāṇa* is synonymous with *vīryam* (virility), *ojas* (health), *balam* (strength), and *spandaḥ* (vibration).<sup>136</sup> Jayaratha even says at one point that vibration (*spandaḥ*) is the source of *prāṇa* (*prāṇāśrayaḥ*).<sup>137</sup> In the Trika system Abhinava says that Maheśvara’s consciousness manifests in a set of six paths in humans, three action (*kriyā*) paths, and three bodily (*mūrti*) paths. These are also classed as three sonic (*nāma*) and three physical (*rūpā*) paths, the first set being *varṇa*

(phonemes), *mantras*, and words (*padas*), with the physical set constituted of the thirty-six *tattvas*, the *bhuvanas* or worlds extending from the lowest hells to the highest heavens, and the *kalā*--portions or energy phases.<sup>138</sup>

The process of the purification of the six paths (*adhvans*) of the principles or planes (*tattvas*) etc. in the initiation processes is not so much a direct alteration of the *objective* reality of these elements as it is a purification of one's perception of them, and *thereby* an alteration of their nature (*aśuddhatvaṃ hi tattvānām dikṣayā śodhanam tataḥ*--through the initiation the impurity of the cosmic principles is purified; MVV 1.107a).<sup>139</sup> What the initiation processes are intended to do is alter the *initiate's awareness* or perception of these elements that are both of and within themselves and also constitute the surrounding cosmos. In this sense purification is an alteration of the habits of consciousness, a retraining of perception, so that one sees oneself and the universe surrounding one as more truly divine, more magical, holding more potential, and more full of life and the power of divine love than one might have become habituated into seeing it either through one's upbringing, one's prior karmic habits inherited from prior incarnations, from present impinging circumstances and the negative perceptions of one's colleagues, or from any combination of these. This reenvisionment of reality is precisely the process undergone in the Creation Stage practices of the Buddhist *Anuttarayogatantras* through the visualization of the *maṇḍala*. Where the Tantric traditions part company from earlier Yogic doctrines is that the Tantric traditions see such transformatory initiations as *preparation* for handling the awesome creative (and potentially destructive) power of divine/human

sexuality.

#### 8.4.2. Internalization of *Liṅga* Worship in the *Mālinīvijaya*

The internalization of the sacrifice that has often noted in the *Upaniṣads* is taken even further in the Tantras. In both the *Kālacakratantra* and in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* we find explicit recommendations that one abandon the type of external worship practices that are common to popular Hinduism and Buddhism--such as pilgrimages and *liṅga* worship in the temples--and find instead the divine power and energy attributed to these sites in one's own body. In the eighteenth chapter of the *Mālinīvijaya* Śiva tells his wife about the necessity to internalize *liṅga* worship, with the identification of the self-illuminating, light-radiating *liṅga* with the central channel of the subtle body:

Listen, Goddess, to the secret unattainable by those of undisciplined spirit; what has not been told to anyone, that today I am telling you. Abandoning everything else, one should cause the mind to enter here; one should not worship the *liṅga* consisting of mud, stone-mineral, jewels, etc. One should sacrifice to the internal (*adhyātmika*--of the inner Supreme Self) *liṅga*, wherein are dissolved the moving and unmoving, since the *liṅga*-ness of the external *liṅga* is established by this [internal one]. Now resorting to the supreme non-duality, one should worship it with meditation, Oh queen of the gods, with the supreme ultimate atom. He alone who has meditated sees that *liṅga*, not someone else. What is called the vibration of that is established in the heart. Having placed the mind there, there is shaking, and even generation; when one has attained tranquility there, after one month [he is] a Yoga-knower. The *liṅga* arisen from the heart ends in the Brahma-hole (i.e. the *cakra* in the crown of the head), Oh Lady; it reaches throughout the body without remainder, blazing with its own light, a stainless splendor. The one possessed of great intelligence sees himself there entirely as a net of *mantras*, having mounted the head of that after just a month, with the mind on nothing else. Then, when well arisen there, after six months all the *siddhis* [accrue]; not having known that *liṅga* [previously], the *liṅga*-possessor resorts to the *liṅga*. The one who uselessly exerts himself [going to temples] does not attain

the fruits of the *liṅga* from that [i.e. from doing so]. That great Śaivite *liṅga* is perfected in the *ātma-liṅga*. When perfected here, one becomes *liṅga*-like, *liṅga*-possessing, *liṅga*-residing, free of [the external temple] *liṅga*. So, what is the surprise from that? One is marked by the *liṅga*. By this *liṅga* of *liṅgas*, when the Yogi goes outside, he is to be known from the beginning as "possessed of the *liṅga*;" the *liṅga* is desired as the end. From this knowledge of the *liṅga*, the things that are marked (*liṅgitāḥ*) are remembered by the Yogi. By this the established *mantras*, categorized according to peaceful, terrible, etc., come into existence. What's the surprise for the one whose mind has reached that state, if one practices Yoga, resorting to the terrible state (*raudra-bhāva*)?<sup>140</sup>

Again we have the notion that the sequence of *bljamantras*, here referred to as a net of *mantras*, is radiating with light around the initiate's head. The image is that of a woven fabric of sound surrounding the body, and it is worth remembering that a woven cloth is one of the literal denotations of *Tantra*. This description is a poetic version of what we could refer to as an atomic-reactor style system, where the *paramāṇu* or ultimate particle energy level is contained in an incipient form in the structure of the physical body--the Yogi or Yoginī can activate the energy with Sanskrit sound, and the energy then suffuses the physical body with light. Such a doctrine is consistent with traditional Indian lore that says that thirty *paramāṇus* form a mote in a Sunbeam--according to Yajñavalkya, the *Yogaśāstra*, the *Mahābhārata*, and other texts.<sup>141</sup>

In non-Tantric Śaiva practice the worshippers travel to temple sites where they pay homage to the *liṅga* image, expecting to gain thereby some personal infusion of the divine energy from Śiva. Here the *Mālintvijaya* says plainly that divine atomic power is intrinsic to the human being, and can be turned on with the proper meditation and *mantras*. The results of this practice indicate a two step type-identity

shifting. First the power and majesty of the external *līṅga*--a power center so great that entire temples are built around it all over India--is absorbed into the Yogin's body. Step two is however even more radical. This internalized *līṅga* changes dimensional power within the Yogin's subtle body structure, and, as we might say colloquially, 'goes atomic.' It is called the *paramāṇu*--the ultimate atomic particle; it blazes with the stainless glory of its own light; it blasts up through the *sahasrāra cakra* or *brahmarandhra* at the top of the head.

It is difficult to recognize for all the men, *asuras*, and *devas*; freed from coming and going, one's entire vision is heroic. For as long as the moment one abides, one attains the Lord; entered, one sees everything possessed of a light similar to 10 million Suns. That which is the unmanifest syllable of Śiva is also called "Bhairava." Having seen that, after half a year the Yogi reaches the state of omniscience. He alone who has reached this discovers happiness, and not in artificial Yogas; he is freed from all bonds. There may be artificial Yogas considered with the characteristics of *prāṇāyāma* etc. Therefore they do not merit the sixteenth digit of this un-artificial [yoga]. Practicing that the Yogi sees the divine marks; devoted, sincere, the Yogi should think of nothing else at all. In an instant it/one burns up everything residing in the body, created [and] uncreated; there will be an experience of trembling here in whatever is being burnt up. Then, when one has stabilized in that, the light-jewel shines forth; having seen that supreme light, divine knowledge arises. One reaches the state of the independent Śiva, even while enjoying sense-objects. The divine eye remains open for a while. After one experiences the omnipresent state of the self; one should strenuously make just that come into being, with desire for the fruit of all *siddhis*. Then, the Yogi, trembling very slightly, should cause that to be; then he sees the fire at the top of the brow, all around. Having seen that supreme fire, one attains divine knowledge; it is achieved after six months, [or] easily after a year. Having become as strong as Śiva, the Yoga-knower goes instantly wherever he desires, having made the mind omnipresent. The Yoga-knower, having become stabilized in that then, after just a month, achieves absorption into *śakti*, [an absorption] whose nature is the experience of the vibration. One perceives the steady *śāktic* fire on both the inside and outside, carefully produced from all the senses, when one is completely well-accomplished in that. One obtains

complete, unrestricted knowledge there; and here it is to be known as omnipresent, joined with the object of the sense organ.<sup>142</sup>

I think it is not incidental that the paramount Tantric states such as described above in the *Mālinīvijaya* are repeatedly either likened to a crore of Suns, or spoken of as actual shining lights within the body, with suffusing flames or fire irradiating the physical body. The texts are speaking about a higher state of activation of the body, involving what we would might refer to as a higher level of transmission of neural information, and perhaps even what we might describe as the growth of more neural connections. This provides a fit with the embedding of the dimensions referred to in Chapter 7.4. The divine-dimensional life energies are, according to this *Mālinīvijaya* description, compacted into the *paramāṇu* or ultimate particle level of the human being. In their compacted or embedded state most people are normally unaware of the presence of these energies in their own system. Through the Tantric initiation processes, through the meditations, and through the use of the *mantras*, the Tāntrikās propose that we can activate the latent divine circuitry built into our own systems. The *Kālacakra* describes a very similar self-transformation through the medium of radiating light rays.

[55.5] 5.117: When the disk is seen, one should perform at the appropriate time each day the restraint of the *prāṇa* wind, until, indeed, the *cakra* of light rays is seen surrounding one's own body, being made to move;| After six months one reaches the equal happiness of the ascetics that is free of touch, and is the thought of the path; reaching the end of passion and dispassion, the moment also grows into the number of breaths of the lord. || 117 ||<sup>143</sup>

If we recall the description of the process of death in the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* discussed in Chapter 2, we gain a better appreciation of just what sort of a

transformation this Yogic meditative process in the Tantra entails. In the *Jaiminīya* the dying soul goes up in the smoke of the cremation fire to heaven, and is challenged at the door to the Sun; answering the Sphinx-like questions properly, the *ātman* re-merges with its original identity, the Sun itself. Here the Yogin has 'traveled' upwards through his own body with the rising fire of the *kuṇḍalīṅgī* in the subtle channels. The *liṅga* of Śiva within his subtle body has 'turned on the circuits' so to speak, and the cosmic lights have come on--"one sees everything possessed of a light similar to 10 million Suns. That which is the unmanifest syllable of Śiva is also called 'Bhairava.'" Rather than dying and going to heaven to reconnect with the Sun, the Yogin has 'contacted' the Sun's power--here as 10 million Suns--through the processes of Tantric Yoga. And 'solar-contact' is not the end-game of the practice, as it seems to be teleologically in the after-life schemes of the Vedic system; here the Yogin first stabilizes in this cosmic-fire experience, and then in so doing merges with the cosmic female, and "achieves absorption into *śakti*, [an absorption] whose nature is the experience of the vibration. One perceives the steady *śāktic* fire on both the inside and outside, carefully produced from all the senses, when one is completely well-accomplished in that." Here is an audaciousness that reminds us of the more ebullient lines of some of the Soma hymns, where the drinkers speak of becoming like the gods, and in the famed lines of the *Gayatrī mantra*, where the initiate invokes the power of the Sun to inspire and fire-up his own awareness.

It is not just the temple *liṅga* that is conceived of as radiating inside the subtle body structure of the initiate. Flavors tasted and aromas smelled by the initiates



replace the food and flower offerings to the temple icons. The basic paradigm of the Vedic sacrificial ritual is also absorbed and specifically referred to in type-hierarchy identities. Rather than a ladle of clarified butter that one pours into an external sacrificial fire, we have here the idea that the *mantra-varṇas* or syllables of the *mantras* themselves constitute the sacrificial fire--recall that the above passage identifies the *mantras* as the fire of Śakti, the feminine cosmic counterpart of Śiva. Here the mind, by concentrating on the *mantras*, is identified as the *homa* or oblations themselves being poured into the Śakti-fire of sacred sound.

One attains the supreme state, having enjoyed the wished-for *siddhi*. With scents, flowers, etc., the Yogi attentively worships the eternal self in the place of the brahma-hole (i.e. the *cakra* in the top of the head), because it also exists [right there, in addition to being present in the temple *liṅga*]; through contact with the flowing substance (i.e. the drops from the crown *cakra* that come out from the uvula), his ablution occurs. Perceiving the smell of the fragrances and flowers etc. is considered the act of sacrificing; his tasting the six flavors suffices for the food offering to the idol. One should pronounce the very syllable-sound that is widely known as *japa* (mantra-recitation), concentrating the mind there on the (internal) burning substance. As long as one abides in the burning state, then a burnt offering (*homa*) is made; exactly the form one sees, that itself is prescribed as the meditation. As a result, this is described as the great non-dual sacrificing. The mind, steady in the upper-door<sup>144</sup> has a light equal to the rising Sun. One should also make that in the same way in the heart; then one also achieves it in what consists of twelve. Practicing what has been achieved, one partakes of the state of omniscience; covering the mouth with a cloth, the yogi commits [it] to the goal. And from below the bulb of the navel, as far as up to the crest of the head, the principle (*tattva*) has the appearance of a subtle star/rescuer (*sūkṣma-tāraka*), magnified by the blazing of its light-rays. One sees also the form of the self in the stopping place of the *prāṇasakti*. From practicing just that, oh Goddess, one reaches blossoming. That is the beginning of all the *mantras* read in all the Tantras; so, after just a month of that, understanding of anything is obtained.<sup>145</sup>

The type-identity or homologization with the Vedic sacrifice is more than just

obviously stated here; even the verb, *samā-√dhā*, used for "concentrating the mind there on the burning substance," (*tatra cetah samādhāya dahyamānasya vastunaḥ*), is the same verb used for 'laying the fire' in the Vedic literature. And the *mantras* themselves are referred to as *dahyamāna vastu*, burning substance--the point being that the sacred sound is *not* ephemeral in some less-than-real sense. Rather the sound of the Sanskrit *mantras* is conceived here as just as tangible as any  *vastu* or 'thing'--specifically in this instance a real fire.

#### 8.4.3. *Trika Mantraśāstra*

Abhinava in the *Trika* system assumes the fourfold level of speech categories elucidated in Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*--without necessarily adhering to the philosophical interpretations of the earlier thinker--and maps the *Trika* deific types onto the speech categories. This predilection for a fourfold classification appears to coincide with the classic four states of consciousness from the *Upaniṣads* (waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state) that are mapped in the Buddhist Tantras to the four drops, the four Buddha bodies, and the four *cakras*. We find in Abhinava's *Parātriṃśikāvivarāṇa* the statement: "The divine Supreme Consciousness-Power [is] not different from Bhairava on the point of expansion according to Her essential nature, [and] is said to be supreme *icchāśakti* (Voluntary Power). Her actual expansion as *jñāna-śakti* (cognitive power) assumes the *parāparā* or *paśyantī* form, and as *kriyāśakti* (conative<sup>146</sup> power) the *aparā* or *madhyamā* form etc." Singh explains that "etc." here also includes *vaikharī*.<sup>147</sup> The importance of the role of spoken Sanskrit sounds in this system cannot be overemphasized. "Therefore that

highest goddess hears everything. Abiding as she does in the power of hearing, she has that sovereign power (*svātantrya*)<sup>148</sup> which consists in effecting congruous and suitable connection by blending all sound in a meaningful whole--the sound which is clear to the ear but is only a succession of a mass of confused vibrating syllables. Without this power of effecting congruous connection, an experient through hearing particular words lost in confused buzzing sound says, in common usage 'I am not hearing them.'<sup>149</sup> This is an intriguing doctrine in Sanskrit *mantraśāstra* that is encapsulated in the idea of a seed-phoneme (*bija-mantra*): the idea that the *mantras* are concentrated or compacted versions of multiple levels of information, contained in a single phoneme. This is a little bit like Mary Poppins' magical carpet bag, a bag she easily carried at her side yet contained all manner of lamps, tables, books, birdcages with birds in them, etc.--i.e. far more than would appear to be possible to extract from the one bag. Just as we find in the mnemonic sciences, where short syllables, odd words, or images are used as memorization markers for larger sets of information, the seed-*mantras* apparently contain whole sets of discursive information collapsed into a single sound, or short sets of sound, much as the *cakras* are said to contain in an embedded form multidimensional sets of cosmic energies. In the *Parātrīṣika* passage above, Śakti herself provides the semantic connections. Otherwise the seed-syllables appear to be exactly as I described them in 8.3.1 above, i.e. as apparently arbitrary sets of variables.

The system takes the triad of Śiva, Śakti, and Man (*nara*, the human being) as essential to all verbal communication: "Without the form of *nara*, Śakti and Śiva

(*tair*), there is neither word, nor meaning, nor mental movement,"<sup>150</sup> i.e. cognition. Abhinava speaks of "this multitude of objects (*tadetat*) of the nature of Śiva and Śakti, Śiva whose characteristic is universal creative pulsation (*sāmānya spanda*) and Śakti whose characteristic is particular creative pulsation (*viśeṣarūpam*) though only of one form (*ekātmyam apī*)..."<sup>151</sup> "All this (universe) consisting of thirty-six categories, though created by Śiva who being of supreme Śakti, is of the nature of universal creative pulsation (*sāmānya spanda*) rests in that consciousness itself in its own form which is predominantly Śakti i.e. characterized by particular creative pulsation (*viśeṣa spanda*)."<sup>152</sup> What is important to understand here is how consistent these doctrines are in the logic of the type-hierarchy modeling outlined in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. A web-like energy structure of the cosmos that permeates the Sun, the stars, the Moon, the atmosphere, the earthly elements, our breaths and body has to have some sort of mechanism whereby the human being can interact with it, engendering recursive effects, i.e. results that impinge on one's own state of being. Otherwise we would simply be stuck in the spider's web, so to speak, without any escape. What the Tantric systems outline in the first instance is that through the purification initiations one gains new perspective on--and most crucially thereby new access to--the structure of reality whereof we consist and wherein we live. This 'changing' of our elemental reality opens up a second major instance--that is, the ability to effect or impact this pervasive, newly perceived reality. And the principal access mode for effecting the impact is through sound, specifically through Sanskrit speech. One learns, through the initiatic procedures, the powerful tools of the

*mantra*. The *mantra*, as we see quite explicitly in this Trika ideology, is *Śakti* herself; that is, Sanskrit *mantra* or sound-vibration is accessing the fundamental life-giving vibrational energy of existence itself, and channeling or directing this vibrational life energy for specific ends.

The ability to use mantric force for powerful results is seen in the most ancient Vedic material, as we discussed to some extent in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Indians have long believed in the sacred power of the Sanskrit word--a language that is spoken by the gods, and that man too can learn to speak and use. Mantric force can be used for good or ill, and so we find the texts of the Atharvan tradition, and many of the Tantric texts, filled with 'spells,' strings of *mantras*, that can be used to kill, cause disaster, bring about good fortune, secure a desirable mate, cure one of snake bite, and all sorts of other utterly pedestrian ends. Such spells are in the *Kālacakratāntra* and other *Anuttarayogatantras* as well. Yet these pedestrian uses of the mantric forces are not the primary or illuminated goal of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric traditions. The most illuminated goals are those of the transmutation of human awareness into a more divine and enlightened state, particularly in the sense that one can learn to employ this incredibly powerful feminine energy of speech and sound to 'change state.' This is, in the Indian tradition, really seen as a sort of psycho-physics, an ancient 'scientific' doctrine with clearly definable principles, reliable results that can be repeated, and can be practiced and mastered by initiates just the way one might study, practice, and learn to play a musical instrument. In that sense, although jealously guarded, highly protected, and requiring all sorts of

elaborate qualifications before the individual is allowed to use these tools, there is--for the Indian Tantric practitioners--nothing much mysterious or mystical about these practices. I realize that sounds like a complete contradiction, yet *from within the logic of the traditions*, these abilities are part of our intrinsic natural abilities.

### **8.5. Trika Preliminary Initiation Processes**

I have not yet had the opportunity to read through and translate all of Abhinavagupta's *Tantrālokaḥ* with its detailed discussion of the wide variety of Śaivite Tantric initiation rites. Fortunately we have available to us summaries of two of the more prominent Tantras in Abhinava's system, the *Svaccandantra*, summarized by Arraj in his unpublished Ph.D. dissertation,<sup>153</sup> and the *Netratantra*, summarized in French by Brunner and published in the *BEFEO*.<sup>154</sup> The material in these two (I have read some short sections of the original texts), combined with the material I have translated from the *Mālinīvijaya*, gives us a good sense of the steps involved in becoming a Śaivite Tantric initiate.

#### **8.5.1. The *Svacchandabhairava Tantra***

I have introduced the *Svacchandabhairavatantra* in Chapter 5.6 of this dissertation, and refer the reader to that section for textual history etc. Here I will focus on the initiation processes described in the text, as summarized by Arraj, interspersed with my own discussion of the material and some references to the original Sanskrit. (The term *svacchanda* refers to 'independent,' 'self-willed,' or 'spontaneous,' even wild, in the sense of Bhairava as an independent being of untamed spontaneity pulsing with the creative life force of the universe.) The second

book of the *Svacchanda* describes the daily worship rites (*arcanam*), where after purificatory baths the worshipper enters the ritual house (*yāgagrham*) and applies the *Svacchandabhairava mantras* to his limbs via *mantra-nyāsa*. Meditatively he destroys his impure body and "sequentially replaces it, from the lowest to highest plane, with a pure formulae body, which is equated with Śivaḥ."<sup>155</sup> Then he visualizes a cosmic lotus within his body representing the hierarchical structure of the universe, replete with the extensive iconography of the *Svacchandabhairava*. Arraj also notes the "first instruction to perform the fusion [or joining together] of the channels (*nāḍīsamdhānam*)," a rite he says occurs repeatedly in initiation rituals cited throughout the text. It is accompanied by offerings to installed deities, recitation of *mantras*, preparation of the guest vessel (*arghapātram*), and worship of the deity.<sup>156</sup> There are offerings to the Bhairavas of the cremation grounds, and ritual fire construction and oblation offering, with the five faces of Bhairava imposed on the butter.<sup>157</sup> Various other preparatory rites follow, including the use of three threads that are described as the three metaphysical bonds--these are later cut and burned after the master superimposes on them the divine energies of the Lord, so that "the disciple will attain complete liberation from the macrocosm."<sup>158</sup> These complete, as Arraj terms it, "pre-initiation for the lowest level covenantor initiation (*samayidīkṣā*) that gives entrance into the Śaiva community."<sup>159</sup>

The next day the master puts the initiate through further initiations, with laying out of the sacred space, circumambulation, channel fusing, oblations, and extraction of the disciple's caste and its replacement with a twice-born caste, allowing a

participation in Rudra's state. This completes the *samaya-dikṣā*.<sup>160</sup> This is an important step for our understanding of the issue of caste in the Tantras--it solves for the orthodox brahmin Tāntrikās the social issue of non-*dvija* castes participating in the rites by granting them affirmative-action status for the sake of the ritual. The next stage of initiation, the long process of becoming a *putraka* or spiritual son, involves the master's liberation of the disciple from the six interconnected paths (*adhvans*) of the cosmic principles etc.; since each of these paths pervades and interiorizes the others, the master can choose one: "the master liberates the disciple from the universe, by superimposing these paths on the ritual microcosm, where they can be manipulated and superseded."<sup>161</sup> These various procedures eliminate the disciple's *karma* and loosen his bonds; the master joins the various energies (*Śaktis*) of Bhairava in the disciple (*Nivṛtīḥ*, *Pratiṣṭhā*, *Vidyā*, *Śāntiḥ*, and *Śānryattā*), followed by expiatory oblations. This completes "the end of the initiate's bonded condition."<sup>162</sup> Following is the procedure for joining (*yojanikā*). This leads to a casting off of the regents of the various macro- and micro-cosmic planes, as the *praṇavaḥ* formula is applied to successive microcosmic levels in the initiate, followed by a casting off the unreality of time (see 8.2. above). "Running in sequence through the seventeen divisions of time, the exercitant finally identifies with the permanent reality beyond time," before progressing through a hierarchy of voids. This prepares the initiate for a series of *sāmarasyas*--fusions in equal mixtures or flavors, joining breaths, channels and formulas, and joining levels of the cosmos up to "universal unification."<sup>163</sup> Then we have a series of Yogic techniques described, using the *haṃsa* formula in various



stages of meditation, piercing the categories, and various concluding rites. For the initiates who have completed the *sa-bīja* rite, they can become *ācāryas* through a subsequent consecration. A similar rite is undertaken to make one into an adept (*sādhaka*).<sup>164</sup>

Book 5 of the *Svacchanda* begins the initiation via the *tattvas* ('planes'), having completed in Book 4 the initiation via the *kalās* or 'energies' as Arraj translates it. "Just as in the initiation via the energies, so in this initiation via planes, the path being purified pervades (*vyāpti*) the other paths. And purifying one path, therefore, gives total liberation from all paths."<sup>165</sup> This practice fits with the holographic intermapping of micro and macro cosmos that we find throughout the Tantric systems. Flood explains for us that *tattva* has three meanings acc. to Abhinavagupta: "(i) a constituent of a level of reality, or the substance of the worlds in the cosmos; (ii) a principle governing a level of the cosmos which is also a deity; and (iii) a category of perception."<sup>166</sup> One ritual for purifying the *tattvas* involves treating the thirty-six *tattvas* as four groups of nine, with each of the nine *varṇas* (phonemes) of the *Vidyārāja mantra* (also called the *Navātma--ū*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *m*, *kṣ*, *r*, and *ḥ*, with the *praṇavaḥ om*) considered as a *vācaka* or 'expresser' of the *tattva*. Kṣemarāja defines the *vidyā* as *Svacchanda* manifest in sound.<sup>167</sup> As with the *Netra Tantra* (see below), the *ācārya* has the option of using nine, five, or three individual *tattvas* to represent all thirty-six. The *pada-dīkṣā* or 'word initiation' involves imposing the *Vidyārāja mantra* phonemes to a prescribed *maṇḍala* diagram known as the *navanābha*, nine-centered or nine-naveled, designed with nine lotuses, and

elaborate entrances.<sup>168</sup> *Svacchanda* is installed in this two-dimensional temple-like structure, with the *Vidyārāja (Navātma) mantra* laid into the central lotus, and the eight Bhairavas placed in the eight surrounding lotuses.<sup>169</sup> After some discussion of internal or 'noetic' initiations (*viññānadikṣā*), that may or may not be part of the earlier rites,<sup>170</sup> Kṣemerāja concludes with a recap of some seventy-four initiatic rites he has either discussed or alluded to.<sup>171</sup> A similar mapping approach appears in the discussion of the use of the *Praṇavaḥ* by the *sādhaka* during his meditation; *a* is *niṣkala Bhairava*, *ū* is *sakala Bhairava*, and together these emanate the universe; with the *ṃ* the universe redissolves into the Supreme Śīva; the whole *Praṇavaḥ* is said to be identical--in indissoluble union--with the *prāṇa*.<sup>172</sup> These are some brief examples of the complex set of possible phonemic mapping rites the initiation can involve.

The tenth book of the *Svacchanda Tantra* enumerates the *bhuvana-tattva*, the 'worlds' making up the Śaivite cosmos, representing, as Arraj terms it, "the Śaiva assimilation and extension of the entire Purāṇic cosmology," and the material in this chapter is taken up almost completely by Abhinava in the *Tantrāloka* description of the *bhuvanas*.<sup>173</sup> This stage of the initiation process involves the conscious meditative linkage of the initiates with the multiple dimensions of reality embedded in their psychophysical being. Just as with the Buddhist Tantras, where the cosmological planes of the earlier Mahāyana pantheon are absorbed into the Tantric texts, and then mapped into the *cakras* in the Tantric systems, so too with the Śaivite Tantras we find the normative description of the cosmos from the earlier tradition mapped into the

meditational and ritual systems of the Tantric practitioners. The elusive *Kālāgni*, the universe destroying fire at the end of time that shows up in Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric mapping schemes between the subtle-body *cakras* and the multiple cosmic fires (Sun, Moon, Fire, Lightning, *Kālāgni*, etc.) also appears in the *Svacchandra* cosmology as *Kālāgni-rudraḥ*, a terrifying form of *Kāla-Bhairava*, situated on top of the *kaṭāha* or shell of the egg of *Brahmā*, the innermost sphere of the universe.<sup>174</sup>

The actual *bhuvanas* enumerated in the *Svacchanda* include 140 of the principal hells, eight underworlds where *sādhakas* enjoy their *siddhis* after death, then the earth realms, with *Meru*, the gleaming crystal peak *Kailāsa*, the cities of the *gandharvas*, the continents, mountain ranges, seas, regions of *Jambudvīpa*, mountains, rivers, etc., the regions of darkness beyond the *lokāloka* mountains, the atmospheric world with the paths of the winds, enumeration of the clouds that travel on these winds, and the inhabitants of these airy worlds. The heavenly worlds begin at the limit of the atmospheric realms with the heavenly chariot of the Sun and its component parts, and filled with the Moon, planets, *nakṣatras*, constellations, and so forth. Above this is the *Maharloka*, residence of the sages, followed by the *ṛṣi* *Ekapāda*'s abode in *Janaloka*, and *Brahmā*'s sons in *Tapoloka*. *Brahmā* himself abides in *Satyalokaḥ*, with his retinue, topped by *Viṣṇu*'s realm, and then of course *Śiva*'s (*Rudra*'s) paradisaical realm above that. At the top of *Rudra*'s world sits one *Daṇḍapāṇih*, he who cracks open *Brahmā*'s egg with a stick to liberate those who have properly worshipped *Brahmā*. *Kṣemarāja*, *Arāj* informs us, reinterprets this stick "as the breath rendered subtle in meditation that removes the ignorance covering

the awareness centred in the heart."<sup>175</sup> Beyond this are the worlds of the hundred Rudras, enveloping Brahmā's egg, followed by the planes (*tattvas*) of the Sāmkhya system topped by the superadditions of the Śaiva system. Included in these sets are the water realm with its paradise worlds, and the third highest plane, *Sadāśiva*, described in the text as identical with the *bindu* (drop) and *nāda* (resonant sound) of the internal meditation.<sup>176</sup> These descriptions include a section on Bhadrakālī, set into the Jayam or first world of the water sphere, "a dazzling black figure set off by her attendants, crores of white celestial females."<sup>177</sup>

It is when we reach the levels, planes, or *tattvas* of the psychological components--ego, the mind, the intellect, etc. that we begin to see the logic underpinning much of the purificatory and visualization Yogas undertaken by the Tantric initiates. For the Indian Tantric believer, these realms and their resident deities actually existed. So to become god-like, or immortal, or to 'real-ize' one's cosmic identity, one would have needed to 'get in touch' with these resident beings directly, to 'real-ize' one's essential identity with them. This was done first using the mantric passwords to, as it were, line up the system; then the whole complex was fired-up, so to speak, or activated, through the sexual ritual.

### 8.5.2. The *Netratantra* (*Mṛtyuñjayatantra*)

The interwoven character of Buddhist and Śaivite *Tantra* shows up in many places of the Tantric tradition. One interesting example of this is the inclusion of Buddha in the visualization meditations described in the thirteenth chapter of the *Netratantra*: *Nārāyaṇa*, the four goddesses *Jayā*, *Lakṣmī*, *Kīrtiḥ*, and *Māyā*, and

*Karpurī*, *Candanī*, *Kastūrī*, and *Kuṅkumī*, a deity called *Viśvarūpa*, various *avatāras* of *Viṣṇu*--the man-lion, boar, dwarf, the Sun, *Sadāśiva*, *Brahmā*, and then--with no particular notice by the commentator, *Kṣemarāja*--we find *Buddha*, followed by *Kārtikeya*. *Netratāntra* 13.32b-34a describes *Brahmā* as follows: ‘*Brahmā*, with four faces, handsome, colored red, with beautiful eyes; with pendulant *kūrca*, firey, mounted on a swan, with four arms; with a stick and a rosary in [two of] his hands, holding an ascetic’s water pot and the fearless [*mudrā*] [with the other two hands]; accompanied by the four *Vedas*, providing the fruit of all *siddhis*.<sup>178</sup> After the brief gloss by *Kṣemarāja* that ‘with the *Vedas*’ means with their representations located at his side (*sākārair pārśvasthaiḥ*), we come at *Netratāntra* 13.34b-36b to the description of the image of *Buddha* to be meditated upon: *Buddha*, seated in the lotus posture, with pendulant ears and garments; with lotus-like eyes, the mark of the lotus, girded with jewels, good for the world; remaining in *samādhi*, the great *yogi*, his hands in the boon granting and fearless [*mudrās*]; holding an *akṣa* [bead] string, the *Deva*, holding a lotus, with beautiful eyes; in this way [he] is to be meditated upon, and honored, providing the fruit of the liberation of women.<sup>179</sup> *Kṣemarāja*’s only comments are that *Buddha* has lotus like eyes, the mark of the lotus on his hands etc., and because of being the sacrificer, etc. he is preeminent, hence is girded with jewels.<sup>180</sup> Then *Kārtikeya* is described.

Hélène Brunner critiqued Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī’s KSTS edition rather sharply, questioning whether he was only a nominal editor, and remarking on his poor and basically useless introduction.<sup>181</sup> She provides us in her French article with

an excellent summary of the topics covered in the Tantra; again, I have mixed into extracts from her summary my own discussion and some references to the original Sanskrit. As with the *Svacchanda*, the *Netratantra* is divided into a continuous series of 22 chapters, without regard for the idealized four *padas* of *Śaivāgamas*. The text contains detailed descriptions of what Brunner terms 'magical procedures,' lists of demonic beings, techniques of using *mantras* for specific ends, iconographic descriptions, and lists of schools.<sup>182</sup> Chapter 1 describes Śiva's third eye that he used to incinerate Kāma, and raises the paradox of the eye constituted of water--associated with the nectar of immortality--emitting such powerfully destructive fire. Śiva explains that his third eye is nothing other than his Śakti: will (*icchā*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and activity (*kriyā*) map to his three eyes, and these again map to the Sun, the Moon, and Fire--once again in keeping with the consistent mapping of the three cosmic fires of the Vedic tradition into the esoteric mystical energies of the Tantric traditions--and to the three activities of creation, maintenance, and destruction of the universe. It is however the *amṛta* aspect of Śiva's eye (singular) that is emphasized throughout the text, resulting in the alternate name of this text, the *Mṛtyujit* or *Mṛtyuñjaya*--Śiva as the conqueror of death.<sup>183</sup> This is similar to an idea we find in the *Mālinīvijaya*: "Filling one's very own body with the ocean of the nectar of immortality while contemplating the destroyer of death, one becomes [Him]--what's the surprise?"<sup>184</sup>

At the request of Pārvatī, Śiva provides the instruction in the *Netra mantra* in Chapter 2 that will relieve the worlds' sufferings. As a preliminary rite one must

draw in a purified location an eight-petalled lotus, and lay out the eight classes of Sanskrit letters (vowels, *ka-varga*, *ca-*, *ṭa-*, *ta-*, *pa-*, *ya-* and *śa-*) with *Oṃ* in the middle. The *Netra mantra* itself is *Oṃ Juṃ Saḥ Mṛtyuñjāya vaṣaṭ*.<sup>185</sup> According to Brunner the section on the *mantra* is written in a very difficult style, and even with the commentary it is not entirely clear. She notes matching of various syllables and sub-syllables of the *mantra* to directions, aspects of the body, etc., in the usual micro-macrocosmic mapping systems we find in the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantras. Chapter 3 prescribes the daily ritual; as with the *Svacchanda*, we have the preparatory bath, *sandhyā* rites followed by *tarpaṇa* (satisfaction of the deities and ancestors), entrance into the ritual location, special purification procedures by the master that involve destruction of the initiate's impure body and its replacement with a divine body provided through the *mantras* that encapsulate the divine power of Śiva expressed through Śakti. The rites include an internal meditation on *Amṛteśa* whom the initiate envisions in his own heart/mind, accompanied by external and internal rites, followed by a fire ritual (*agnicārya*).<sup>186</sup> Brunner notes that except for the difference in the central deity, the rites here are virtually the same as those in the *Svacchanda* and the *Somaśambhupaddhati* (the latter has *Sadāśiva* as the central deity; this latter text is however not cited by Abhinavagupta or Jayaratha). *Amṛteśa* is described in the meditational imagery as white like millions of moons, pearls, crystal mountains, milk, jasmine, and snow--his clothes and ornaments are white, he sits on a white lotus, and holds in his hand a Moon filled with white nectar; the worshipper must use white unguents and flowers for the worship.<sup>187</sup>

Chapters 4 & 5 provide brief instructions on *dikṣā* and *abhiṣeka*, in exact conformity with the *Svacchanda*. As Brunner puts it, "The Śaivite--or Tantric generally--initiation is a long purificatory ceremony (400 pages in the *Svacchanda* for the description of just one method) whereof the objective is to unite the disciple with Śiva after having, by means of the *mantras*, consumed in an instant all the *karma* that he has accumulated. The route that a master thereby sends a disciple on towards Śiva may vary. The *Netra(tantra)* mentions the path of the *tattvas* (one may use 36, 18, 9, 5, 3, or one *tattva*), the path of *kalā, pada, varṇa, mantra*, or the *bhuvanas*--one recognizes here the sixfold path (*ṣaḍadhvan*) common to all the Śaivite schools."<sup>188</sup>

In the multiple meaning sets that we can extrapolate from the loom-web-network notions that subsist in the connotations of the term 'Tantra' we see here that the basic concept of the interlinking web we identified in the Vedic doctrines in Chapter 2 of this dissertation has held constant in the Tantric doctrines. Yet the level of sophistication has risen considerably. In the Vedic material there were inchoate and developmental ideas of internal channels for the wind-fire that is the breath. Here in the developed Śaivite Tantric doctrine (as with the Buddhist Tantric doctrine) the basic logical concept of the existence of internal channels in the human body wherein flow and are accessible the fundamental energies of the cosmos has been taken to a much more elaborate and logically consistent level. As mentioned in our discussion of the *Svacchanda* doctrines, Arraj has pointed out that any one of the *adhvas* or paths of the *tattvas* etc. is as good as any other, since each of the *adhvas* holographically as it were intersects with and contains the others. This is almost a



quantum-level notion of the internal reality of the human being. It is a sort of trans-logical idea that it is possible to be in more than one place simultaneously, since any one of the access paths into the purified body instantaneously connects the initiated individual into the cosmic network. To use a more common and current analogy, it is as though we have a sort of cosmic Internet woven through our bodies, and accessible via the correct passwords—the *mantras* of the initiation processes.

In the *Netra* initiatic procedures, the stages of initiation, *ācārya*, *sādhaka*, etc. are matched to *the presence of Śiva within the tattva levels*. That is, the system sticks to the evolutionary system adapted from the Sāṃkhya tradition, and locates Sadāśiva at level 24 (for the identification of the *sādhaka*), Īśvara at level 33 (for the identification of the *samayin*), and so on.<sup>189</sup> The basic concept of mantric-empowerment pervades the Tantric ritual. As Brunner notes, the very water of the *abhiṣeka* rites is ‘charged’ by the *mantra*.<sup>190</sup> The *sādhaka* who desires *siddhi* must recite the chosen *mantra* in solitude, under severe asceticism, with one-pointed concentration. After one hundred thousand repetitions he will achieve only the inferior *siddhis*. After a million recitations he gains the ability of flight etc. After five million he gains the divine powers of a *bhuvaneśvara*; with ten million recitations he will become equal to Śiva while remaining alive on earth.<sup>191</sup> The text lays out (in Chapter 6) three approaches (*upāyas*) to using the *Mṛtyujit Mantra*: a) a gross (*sthūla*) method of sacrifice (*yajana*) using oblations (*homa*), recitation (*japa*), visualization (here: *dhyāna*) with *yantras* (ritual diagrams) and hand gestures (*mudrā*); b) a subtle method using Yogic techniques, and c) the supreme (*para*) or knowledge

(*jñāna*) method of total unification of the adept with the power that is the *mantra*.

The eighth chapter of the *Netratantra* describes the *para upāya* or supreme method, in a language reminiscent of the *Upaniṣads*, using here the *aṣṭāṅgayoga*. These categories parallel the coarse, subtle, and extremely subtle typology used in the Buddhist Tantras (see Chapter 7.4). All these *Netratantra* methods are explicitly dedicated to the fight against untimely death (*apamṛtyu*) or even normal death (*kālamṛtyu*) and diseases,<sup>192</sup> a fact that supports my observation at the end of Chapter 7.5.4. that a major thrust of Indian Tantric practice was aimed at a state of divinely inspired, enlightened and loving super-health and long life.

The mantric techniques in the *Netratantra*'s *sthūla* method are more complex than simple recitation: they involve bracketing the name of the person who will profit from the rite with the syllables of the *mantra*--a technique referred to as *samputa*, or encasing, in a variety of different syntactic structures.<sup>193</sup> This is a system that takes the semantic value of these sounds very seriously, believing that by arranging the sounds in certain patterns, by laying them out into diagrams or onto the body of the initiate, and by meditating on them and reciting them in the proper methods one can 'turn on' the hidden mystical energies. Just as one small error in computer code can crash a system, requiring a genuine mastery of the programming language on the part of the programmer, so too must the initiate and even more particularly the Tantric master have a real mastery of the intricacies of the mantric encoding schemes so as to properly direct the flows of these incredibly powerful and potentially very dangerous cosmic energies. We read so often in the Tantras phrases referring to becoming Śiva

or becoming god-like, or attaining Buddha-nature, etc., that it is easy to become inured to the impact these ideas must have had in their original context. For someone raised in the Gaud-Christian tradition, it would be somewhat astonishing to here the priest or rabbi or minister declare from the pulpit that certain prayer and meditation techniques would enable one to become Christ himself, or Jehovah, or to gain Jesus' ability to walk on water and heal the sick. Were a young Jew to be told by a rabbi that he or she could learn the powers of Jehovah to send down plagues onto Egypt--for this is not different in logical kind from some of the magical rites taught in the Tantras for destroying one's enemies--this would no doubt cause quite an uproar in the local Hebrew schools of the Tri-state area! Were the Bible study classes to begin teaching that one could learn--through specific prayer techniques--to heal the sick and make the blind see as did Jesus, it would not be long before members of the news media came for a visit. Yet we read in text after Tantric text precisely these sort of claims: one can become lord of a realm or dimension (*bhuvaneśvara*), a term that taken in its fullness indicates the ability to control the forces of nature within a particular *bhuvana*, such as one of the earthly realms; one can learn to fly through the sky, make one's body disappear, identify oneself with Śiva and conquer time and death, become a Buddha or his consort and liberate the universes, become free of all diseases, and so on. These are remarkable claims.

### **8.5.3. *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra***

The *Mālinīvijaya* contains a host of rather obscure teachings about the assignment of deities, worldly elements, goddesses, evolutionary components from the

Sāṃkhya and Śaivite principles of the universe, etc. to *bjamantras*. The 'garland' in the title of the text (the title is literally 'the Tantra that is the latter section of the Garland-Victory') refers to a garland of *mātrās* or *bījas*, i.e. a garland of seed phonemes in Sanskrit. As Kaul puts it, "Mālinī is of the greatest utility in infusing the divine life into the body of the practisers...."<sup>194</sup> Śiva tells Parvatī at the beginning of the nineteenth chapter of the MVT, "Because of its practicability, O Goddess, the Garlanded One [i.e. the *Mālinīviajayottaratantra*] is also known as The Parted Womb" (*sādhyaṛvena śrutā devi bhinna-yonis tu mālinī*),<sup>195</sup> in deference to the sexual yoga doctrines outlined in the latter part of the text (see Chapter 9.3.2. of this dissertation). Much of the text is devoted to prescriptions for the practice of various meditations by the yogi, complete with deities, elements, and dimensions visualized and absorbed into the initiate's body, with a variety of resulting transformations. Since I have covered so many of the basic Śaivite Tantric doctrines elsewhere (see Chapter 5.2, 7.3-7.5 and 8.1-3 above), I will not rehash the mention of these same doctrines in the *Mālinīvijaya*. As I noted in Chapter 5, this is the text that Abhinavagupta placed as the preeminent text of his system. It is written entirely in verse, and unfortunately we do not have a commentary on the text of the sort available for the *Kālacakra* and for the other major Śaivite Tantras. Abhinavagupta's own partial commentary is really a sort of versified essay. The text is in 23 Chapters, with the titles as follows: 1) Chapter 1; 2) Mastery of the Pervasion; 3) Mastery of Extraction of the Mantras; 4) Chapter 4; 5) Mastery of the paths in the cosmic realms; 6) Mastery of the paths in the body; 7) Mastery of the *Mudrās*

(gestures); 8) Mastery of the Tantric Community; 9) Mastery of Initiation into Ritual Action; 10) Mastery of the Consecration; 11) Mastery of the Initiation; 12) Mastery of the First Visualization (*dhāraṇā*); 13) Mastery of (the visualization of) engendering the elements; 14) Mastery of the mediative visualization of the *tanmātras*; 15) Mastery of the visualization of the syllables; 16) Mastery of the (divine) visualization; 17) Chapter 17; 18) Mastery of the Supreme *Vidyā*; 19) The mastery of the clan's circle; 20) Specification of all the *mantras*; 21) Mastery of attracting the Moon; 22) Mastery of attracting the Sun; 23) Chapter 23. The text opens as follows:

The light rays of the Moon of knowledge, produced from the face of the supreme lord, capable of destroying the enemies of the joy of the world, conquer the destroyer of the savior; [he is] the savior of those drowning in the ocean of existence. *Sanatkumāra* (Eternal Youth), *Sanaka* (Ancient),<sup>196</sup> *Sanātana* (Perpetual), and *Sanandana* (Delightful), [and] the great *ṛṣis*, *Nārada*, *Agastya*, *Samvata*, *Vasiṣṭha*, etc., turning towards *Śiva* and *Śakti* [because of] desiring to know supreme reality, having properly honored him, they, delighted, spoke to him: 'Oh Lord, desiring complete perfection in *Yoga*, we have come [to you], and because she [i.e. *Śakti*] should not be without *Yoga*, therefore you must tell [us] about that.' He, addressed in this way by those *ṛṣis* who were desirous of the *Yoga*, answered [them], his soul delighted [by their] having paid homage to *Maheśvara*.<sup>197</sup> 'You must listen, [and] I will explain completely what provides the fruit of all *siddhis*, the *Mālinīvijaya Tantra*, coming from the mouth of the supreme lord.' [Then] to he who provides enjoyment and liberation, the Husband of *Umā*, who is honored by the immortals, who is self-stabilized, the goddess *Umā*, having bowed [to him], [she] said this: 'the *Siddhayogīśvarītantra*, of nine-crore extent,<sup>198</sup> was previously related by you, [and] consists of three sections; in the *Mālinīvijaya Tantra*, consisting of three crore [verses],<sup>199</sup> you explained the very extensive path of *Yoga*, Oh *Maheśvara*. In addition, you also explained the summation of that in twelve thousand [verses]--it is also very detailed, and not to be understood by those of feeble intellect. Summarizing that then briefly, for the benefit of those of feeble intelligence, you must explain, *Parameśvara*, out of kindness, what causes all the *siddhis*.'

Addressed in that way then by the goddess, the Universal Sovereign spoke: 'Listen, *Devī*, I will explain in detail the view of the *Siddhayogīśvarī* that no one has explained, the *Mālinīvijayottara*.'<sup>200</sup>

Evidently twelve-thousand verses was a popular number to postulate for the length of a Tantra, as we find the same number claimed for the *Kālacakratantra*. This sort of question-answer motif between Śiva and Pārvatī is standard procedure for the beginning of most Śaivite Tantras. The first chapter is largely a recitation of the Śaivite schema of the evolution of the cosmos as it manifests from Śiva in union with Śakti. The text lays out a categorization of the eightfold sets of consonants according to eight consorts of Rudra: Maheśī, Brāhmaṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā, and Yogīśī.<sup>201</sup> Another set of *Śaktis* is mapped out for the fifty phonemes, with a variety of 'nectar' goddesses (*amṛta-*), Nectar, full of Nectar, Nectar Ocean, Nectar Light, etc., a variety of Victors, aspects of power and time, etc. All of these embrace the Rudra-atoms (*rudra-aṇūn yāḥ samāliṅgya*),<sup>202</sup> and emitting the entire conglomeration of atoms that make up the universe all these mantric elements remain as the single Śakti of Śiva (*etāḥ sarva-aṇu-saṃghātam api niṣṭhāya yathā sthitāḥ, tathā te kathitāḥ sambhoḥ śaktir ekaiva śāṅkart*).<sup>203</sup> What we have in this doctrine is the idea that the flexible matrix of phonemic sound, the system of Sanskrit phonemes, maps to the creational fulcrum of the atomic structure of reality. Using *mantras* in the proper fashion would thereby provide the initiate access to the nuclear fusion reactor where the elements of the universe are created--the meeting of the seed and womb that is Śiva and Śakti. Properly initiated Tantric yogis and yoginīs would together thereby be re-enacting and therefore accessing the very moment of cosmic

creation. Within such logic the premise that it is possible to alter the atomic function of one's own body through the use of mantric sound would be perfectly consistent and reasonable.

The first stage of the process of psycho-physical transformation is accomplished by the practice of *mantra-nyāsa*, i.e. the placing or laying of the Sanskrit phonemes into the body's anatomy. As with the *Kālacakra* phoneme mappings, and those found in other Tantras, it is not easy to detect the logic of the pattern of the mappings. Here we have syllables laid into the sense orifices, the crown of the head, throat, shoulders, arms, hands, breasts, hips, thighs, knees, calves, feet, using vowels and various phonemes such as *ṭha*, *ḍha*, *ṇu*, *ṇū*, *ṣa*, *kṣa*, etc.<sup>204</sup> These sanctifying, empowering, purifying magical sound packets are said to be the *mātr̥s* or *mātr̥kās*, the group of mothers (*mātr̥gaṇaḥ*) that provide the fruits of all desires (*iti mātr̥gaṇaḥ proktaḥ sarva-kāma-phala-dah*).<sup>205</sup> In chapter six we find a second sort of mapping to human anatomy, this time the familiar *pañcamahābhūtas*: earth, air, fire, water, and space plus various aspects of Śiva are mapped to various groups of joints.<sup>206</sup>

#### 8.5.3.1. A *Mālinīvijaya* Version of the *Mahāmudrā*

Chapters 6-10 of the MVT lay out various complicated initiation modes and meditations that I shall not discuss here. One curiosity for comparative purposes is the mention of the *mahāmudrā* in the 11th chapter, a term used in the Buddhist Tantric systems as the encompassing consort who includes within herself the preceding consorts, just as the *Sahaja-kāya* includes the other three Buddha bodies

(see Chapter 13 of this dissertation, wherein Puṇḍarīka provides an extensive discussion of the *mahāmudrā* in Buddhist Tantric practice). The MVT chapter begins:

Now then I will describe the initiation that is extremely difficult to achieve, that brings enjoyment and liberation, and provides accurate and immediate realization. The *maṇḍala*, water pot, etc. are completely useless in this initiation, as are the previously (described) optional application of *mantras*, bathing (with ashes etc.). Having entered the sacrificial house, well-smeared and annointed with 'sauce', facing either east or north, well-adorned with flowers and garments, keeping continuously in mind the flaming Śakti from the tip of the foot up to the head, one should, by use of the *mahāmudrā*, meditate on the body as consumed by fire. And through using the reverse (procedure), one should meditate on the garlanded woman (*Mālinī*) as the immortal light, one should contemplate the perfection of the body with a mind continually meditating on that. Then one should meditate on the previously described path that is to be purified in the body; then, having purified the real things (*vastus*), one should guide (them) to the state of immortality with just the Śakti.<sup>207</sup>

Unfortunately we do not have a commentary and it is not really possible to tell from the remainder of the chapter exactly what *mahāmudrā* refers to. One suspects we may have some references to sexual rites here. Just as in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, where the initiate is blindfolded and casts a flower into the *maṇḍala* in order to select his consort, so too here the thrown flower marks the disciple's *kula* or Tantric clan, though it is not entirely clear whether the rites are mental here, with the Śakti being strictly a meditative one. The description is simply too obscure (for me) to be certain.<sup>208</sup>

In Chapter 12 of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* the yogi is advised to seek out a cave, or even an underground chamber, quiet, pleasant, without distractions, for practicing Yoga. After mastering the basics of Yoga, i.e. the postures, the *prāṇa*, the



senses, the mind, sleep, anger, anxiety and agitation, he will attain the 'entire circumference of the Śaktis *Dharā* etc. who are distinguished either mentally or by their characteristic marks.' The characteristic marks are said to be six: the sky, shape, drop, wave, earth, and sound. The sky is three-fold--inner, outer, and the combination. The drop is ten-fold, like a ball of Kadamba, like a glittering star, and because of its various colors, and so on.<sup>209</sup> Then we have another reference to the *Mahāmudrā* where the term appears to refer to the female initiate who joins with the male initiate:

Possessed of a self purified by the fire-oblation and initiation, possessed of the instruction about simultaneous entering (*samāveśa-upadeśavān*), the one who is desirous of mastering this Yoga should practice it at the very beginning. In the reversed procedure, the wise one, having placed the seed of Parā (*Parābtjaṃ*) in his two hands, should contemplate Śakti by use of the *Mahāmudrā*. Afterwards, performing a *namaskāra* to the reflection of the flaming fire from the tip of the feet to the top of the head, holding the wind in the heart, one should contemplate the brightly blazing seed of Parā in its own form, (and) one should meditate on its triad of syllables, issuing forth from *ka* and *kha*.<sup>210</sup>

I would say though that this information is inconclusive for determining a comparative relationship with the Buddhist use of the term.

Several times in the succeeding verses after the above section the yogi is instructed to envisage the body as shining like melted gold; then it says: "one should contemplate the entire self residing in the heart as bright as gold, the edge of the body as illuminated without remainder by one's own splendour."<sup>211</sup> Just to remind the reader of the Vedic precursors of this idea of the 'golden man' in the heart, as mentioned in Chapter 2.4.2, there are several instances in the Vedic texts where the Sun is referred to as the golden man, and the sacrificer who performs the rituals

properly and learns the secret lore also is considered golden. Golden plates are worn on the outside of the body to represent the Sun in man.<sup>212</sup> So again we have the consistency of the ancient doctrine of the type-identifications maintained in the Tantric tradition, with a transformation, internalization, and some greater sophistication in terms of the details of explanation of the workings of these principles in the inner self. The Tantra says: "One should think of the pair as before as yellow like the disk of the Sun--one obtains the world of Brahman by the previously stated path."<sup>213</sup> In the Agni-meditation later in the same text, this notion of the individual as the golden man is taken to a new level.

One should contemplate the body as a triangle supporting a row of crimson flames. After seven days, Oh Devī, its sharpness becomes visible. After a month the adept is released from all (diseases) produced by wind and phlegm. And free from sleep, even eating a great deal he produces very little feces and urine. Through the destruction of time, one easily burns up any other real thing. Having become like fire after three years, the fire plays freely. Irritated, one can burn up everything, including mountains and woods and groves--one should contemplate the self as having mounted a triangle *maṇḍala*.... One should meditate on *tejas* as the daymaker (i.e. the Sun), the fire in heaven. When stabilized, one becomes equal to it in size.<sup>214</sup>

In a similar Wind-meditation, the text refers to the six drops in the body without any further explanation,<sup>215</sup> as the yogi becomes like the wind and travels hundreds of *yojanas*. Eventually, meditating on one's own body with the increase of the wind, and contemplating its non-existence, the yogi after seven years attains voidness (*śūnyatām pratipadyate*).<sup>216</sup> One wonders whether there is some borrowing from the Buddhist tradition here.

### 8.5.3.2. Death Meditations in the *Mālinīvijaya*

The recognition of the 'sex or death' route to liberation is mentioned in the first chapter of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*. As we see here, though, the doctrine of how to approach this sort of consciousness transformation at death is not elaborated here; rather the emphasis shifts immediately to focusing on how to achieve this transformation while alive via the initiation stages and the practices of Yoga, and especially the Mantra- and Sexual-Yogas. "He who has become completely pervaded by *Rudra* and *Śakti*, who desires to go with the will of *Śiva* towards the goal of the perfection of enjoyment and liberation, is lead towards a true *guru*. Propitiating him then, having, through satisfaction, attained the *Śāṅkara*-initiation, one should then immediately go to *Śiva*, either through enjoyment, or through the destruction of the body. Having attained initiation into *Yoga*, knowing *Yoga*, one should practice [*yoga*]. At the end of that one obtains the perfection of *Yoga* that is the eternal station. Having reached the highest station by this *Krama-yoga*, one no longer becomes a *paśu*, and one remains in one's own purified *ātman*."<sup>217</sup> Nonetheless we evidently have here a recognition of the element of the doctrine discussed in Chapter 7.4 of this dissertation--i.e. that the sexual yogas access the life-death circuitry of the subtle body system.

### **8.6. Buddhist Tantric Initiation Rites**

I have covered many aspects of the Buddhist Tantric initiation rites elsewhere in this dissertation. Chapter 7.4 discusses many significant aspects of the practices in the process of considering Tantric physiology. We have touched on some of the central issues above in the preceding sections of this chapter, and I have provided

from Christopher George's work on the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* in Chapter 9.3.1. an outline of the preliminary initiation rites. Compared to the Śaivite initiations, the Buddhist Tantric initiation rites are--to my knowledge--somewhat more standardized, reflecting perhaps the homogenizing influence of the Buddhist university system with its relatively standardized curriculum. In this section we will briefly examine three topics: 1) the importance of the Tantric guru with the grounding of the Buddhist Tantric teachings in the monastic educational system of the Buddhists; 2) the principles involved in the Creation Stage practices; 3) some of the explanations of the sequence of the Perfection Stage practices leading up to the practice of sexual Yoga. Just to give an idea of the sequence of practices and number of rites involved in the Buddhist Tantric texts, I repeat here a section from Chapter 5 of this dissertation, the previously untranslated opening to the *Sambarodaya Tantra*. Vajrapāṇi's series of questions reveal a version of the standard set of topics that appear to be covered in every full-length Buddhist Sanskrit Tantra I have examined:

Oṃ homage to the glorious *Vajrasambhava*. Thus was it heard by me. At one time the lord took his pleasure in the vulvas of the lightning *yoginīs* of the body, speech, and thought of all the *Tathāgatas*. [He was] together with the preeminent passionless ones, beginning with *Āryya Ānanda*, *Avalokiteśvara* etc. and the 800,000 *yoginīs*; seeing *Vajrapāṇi* in [their] midst, [the lord] smiled. *Vajrapāṇi*, arising from his seat, putting his upper garment on one shoulder, placing the *maṇḍala* of his right knee on the ground, joining his hands together in homage, addressed the lord: "I would like to hear, Oh lord, a description of *Utpattiyoga*; and how, Oh lord, is the one *Sambhava* of universal form arisen? How is there wind and water, earth, space, and [fire]? How is there the five forms, Oh *deva*, and then the sixfold, *Prabho*? How are the three bodies established externally, and established internally? You must explain how your goddess has the form of a god, *Prabho*. How is there the sun and the moon, *Deva*, and how is there the five paths? And what is the intrinsic nature of your

body, and what is the form of the channels? What is the extent of the channels, and what [is the extent] of the physical body?<sup>218</sup> You must explain to me, *Prabho*, about the *cchoma* that is the [secret communication] code of the Tantric community,<sup>219</sup> what are the internal and external signs of your pilgrimage sites, how [does one] attain the stages etc., and what is the explanation of the cause. What are your twelve actions, and how is *mantra* recitation [performed]? What is the string of *akṣa* [beads], the practice, and your description of the recitation? What is your *maṇḍala*, [its] turning, and the form of the divinities? What is the *siddhi-mantra*, and how does one satisfy the young lady? How is your divine service performed, and what are the vowels and consonants? What are the five nectars, *Deva*, and the five goads? You must explain how to draw the *maṇḍala*, and the measuring line. How is your ground purified, and what is the protection *cakra*? With what [sort of] teacher is this done, and how does the student recognize him? What is your consecration, its extent, and the fourth? What is the rule about time, and [how] does one cheat death? What is your mark of the four ages, and what are the four continents? What is *siddhi* in each age, and what are the teachers and the practices? What are your *yoginītantras* and *yogatantras*? What is the extent of your *sūtra* literature and the perfection [of wisdom literature]? What is the *siddhimantra* of the foundational *homa* sacrifice? What is the [alchemical] elixir, *Deva*, and what is the alcoholic drink? What is the arisal of the *mantras*, *Deva*, and what is the extraction of the *mantras*? What is the punishment, *Deva*, and what is the reward? What are the principles, Lord, and what is voidness, and compassion? What is the intrinsic nature of the void, and what is the intrinsic nature of reality? What is the form of the deity, the name, and the line [on the body] characteristic of the *yoginīs*? You must explain, *Prabho*, the knowledge of all the properties of the states of being.<sup>220</sup>

### 8.6.1. The Tantric Guru

The text and commentary of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* at several points indicate a very tight and disciplined Tantric student-teacher relationship in the context of the tradition of ascetic customs. The text prescribes that the Tantric initiate must first master the entire doctrine of early Buddhism before entering into Tantric practice. The text says "Here, in the *Kālacakra*, after the *Yogi* has learned the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, then he may be taught about the Tantra. Otherwise, without

the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, it will be a teaching about the bad path."<sup>221</sup> Verses 5.238-240 lay out virtually the entire contents of the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* itself, the basic canon of teaching of earlier Buddhism in summary form. The commentary to 5.240 even adds an explanation of the *bhikṣu* practices the Tantric initiate must have first mastered.

"Here, the qualities of the twelve ascetical practices of the *bhikṣus* are living on alms, possessing the three monastic garments, only eating afterwards (*paścāt-khalu-bhaktika*), sitting quietly, properly spread out, having only one seat, living in the open space, sleeping on the roots of trees, dwelling in the forests, staying in the cremation grounds, making clothes out of rags from the dust heap, and dressed in woolen clothes. In this way, having learned first the entire *Dharmasaṃgraha*, then the supreme place of the lord in one's own body is to be meditated upon by the *mantra* possessor, together with the teacher."<sup>222</sup>

Towards the very end of the *Kālacakratantra* we have a series of verses providing a sort of poetic summation or closing argument of the teaching (without a commentary by Puṇḍarīka who considers them *subodham*, i.e. easily understood). Among these are a couple of verses set in the form of questions. In slightly cryptic fashion, as is the style with most of the *Kālacakra* verses, these indicate that the Tantric guru-student relationship was also a long-lasting one, and that the student was expected to give everything he had to the guru, including all his possessions and his wife and children.

5.250: Who is the sinner who does not praise at all three times the beautiful lotus foot of the glorious *guru*? Who is the unknower who creates for us the *maṇḍala* of all three times (i.e. past, present, and future) with the many sorts of lotuses? Who goes quickly to the *Avīci*

hell, who causes pain for the *guru* who provides the equal happiness? Who is the obtainer of wisdom and knowledge, who, not destroyed [i.e. still living], does not release the feet of the best *guru* (i.e. remains devoted to his *guru*)? 5.251: Who (can be) destroyed, also, who with the winds residing in the three channels slays infinite time? Who is the champion who slays the *prāṇa* and the *apāna* wind in the odd and even path[s]? Who is the giver, who to the glorious *guru* gives his own body, his children, wife, etc., everything? Who is the vile man, the cheat, and the rogue whose thinking is attracted to the lightning bolt from his own heart?<sup>223</sup>

The lineage of initiation in the Tantric tradition was already a subject of some controversy among the Buddhist community at the time Puṇḍarīka wrote his commentary, since he refers to the problem of Buddhist scholars in India who would study the *Kālacakra* texts without the proper initiation. Asking rhetorically why the initiations of this *Tanrottara* (*Anuttarayoga*) tradition of the *Kālacakra* are protected relative to those of the *Lokatantra* (*Kriyatantra*) and *Lokottaratantra* (*Yogatantra*), he answers: "Why is that? Because of the conceit of Buddhist scholars in the land of India, those who are without obedience to [their] *gurus*, seeing the manuscript, the[se] Buddhist scholars will say "the place (or state) of the lightning bolt (*vajra-padaṃ*) is known by us;" therefore they will go to hell on account of egotism, because they lack the lineage of consecration. Therefore [this] is protected."<sup>224</sup>

### 8.6.2. Preliminary Initiation Rites

The Tantric practices of the Buddhist *Anuttarayogatantras* are divided into two major groups, the Generation or Creation Stage (*utpatti-krama*), and the Perfection or Completion Stage (*utpanna-krama*). Newman gives us a helpful summation of these two stages:

The primary function of the generation process is the development of a

clear visualization of oneself as the Kālacakra deity, including the deity's abode, the Kālacakra *maṇḍala*. This process starts with the yogi only able to visualize a rough approximation of the deity's form; it continues until he is able to maintain a precise visualization of the entire Kālacakra *maṇḍala* in a space the size of a pea for as long as he desires. Perfection of the generation process practices provides the yogi with a basis for the completion process. At this stage of practice the yogi maintains his visualization of himself as the deity in the *maṇḍala*, but in addition he employs more advanced yogic techniques to transform this imagination into actuality.<sup>225</sup>

The prerequisites for the Creation Stage practices are the *bodhisattva* vows of renunciation of Buddhahood for oneself, and a vow of compassion, with an intention to stay in the world and work for the benefit of all living beings over how ever many lives it takes to liberate the dimension. Concomitant with these vows is the necessity of the development of a flexible identity sense--i.e. the development of a fundamental non-attachment to one's own particular identity as epitomized in the *Jātaka* stories of Śākyamuni's prior incarnations wherein he repeatedly gives himself up in self-sacrifice to aid other beings. Finding the right guru is of course considered essential, as discussed above in 8.6.1; it is the guru who plants the seeds of attainment in the mind of the students. Then come the Creation Stage Visualization practices mentioned by Newman above. The aim of this practice is the gradual replacement of the ordinary sense of oneself with an extraordinary sense of self via the repeated practice of the reenvisionment of one's own body, the bodies of others, and one's environment as a Buddhas living in a divine Buddha-realm (*Buddha-kṣetra*). This is termed in the tradition as the development of *Buddha-abhimāna*, i.e. Buddha-pride, the sense of oneself and others as in fact Buddhas, endowed with all the traditional attributes. Through the practice of learning to visualize oneself in the *maṇḍala* as



*Kālacakrabuddha* in embrace with his consort, one learns to map the four Buddha bodies into one's subtle body, with the concomitant states of consciousness as discussed in Chapter 7.4.2-7.4.3.

### 8.6.2.1. Creation Stage Visualizations

What we find in the Tantras is that all of the substantial 'external' and conceptually abstracted elements that govern our life on earth, such as the five elements of earth, air, fire, water, and space, the planets, stars, time categories, etc. are reconceived as personalized, deified beings. In doing so, the initiate comes to see all of his or her otherwise insensate (*jaḍa*) components as a living community (*kula*) of divine beings who are infused with life-giving solar light energy. This is to really reimagine ourselves as an atomic-level electrical energy living matrix. In his wonderful book on the neuroscience of memory, In the Palaces of Memory, George Johnson cites Jonathan Spence's discussion, in The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci, of

A sixteenth-century Jesuit who brought to the people of China a wonderful memory system that had been used in the West since the days of ancient Greece. To improve their powers of retention, people would build memory palaces, huge imaginary buildings they kept inside their heads. After years of practice, the images would become so vivid that a person could close his eyes and picture his palace as though it were real. Eventually, these mental architectures would become impossible to erase.... If an orator wanted to memorize a speech or a tax collector wanted to remember a list of names, he would mentally place each item inside a room in his own personal memory palace. When he wanted to recall the information, he would enter the front door and wander from room to room, retrieving the images. The palace was a structure for arranging knowledge.<sup>226</sup>

While the intention of the Tantric practice differs from that of the old Greek and

Roman memory palace techniques, the Creation stage visualization of oneself as Kālacakra Buddha (or some other Buddha depending on the textual tradition) in the center of the Kālacakra *maṇḍala* shares the same principles of memorization. The initiate builds in his or her mind an elaborately detailed three-dimensional palace of the deity. Each tile of the floor, each pillar of the doorway, each colored wall, every ornament hanging is visualized in detail, and every element and deity visualized in the *maṇḍala* represents a divinization of the components of oneself and the universe. The opening verses of *Kālacakratāntra* Chapter 5 (see Chapter 11 of this dissertation for a translation of this material) recapitulates the visualizations of the *Kālacakra* Creation Stage described in the earlier chapters. The initiate visualizes all of his or her bodily and psychological components shamanistically shattered and reconfigured into the structure of the *Kālacakra maṇḍala* palace. This Tantric practice of visualization/deity Yoga presents a really incredibly complex mental pattern where the most intricate details of the physical body and psychological self are reimagined in a self-deification process. It is almost equivalent--allowing the invention of a technique here--to imagining the molecular structure of your DNA--the atomic bonds of the DNA base pairs, with their interlocking electron shells, with the positive and negative polarities of the water molecules, methyl groups, etc. as pairs of orgasmically coupled Buddhas and their consorts in an idealized universe. Here is one example from the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra Tantra*:

[KCT:] Now the symbolism/purification of the *maṇḍala* through the purification of the bodily constituents is stated: 5.2: You must make the pillars, the row of vajras, and the earth-circle in sections, with the bones; [You must make] the foundation in the east, south, north, and

west with the flesh, blood, urine, and excrement; [You must make] the Sun with the bile [humor], also the Moon with the phlegm [humor], likewise the lotuses with the sinews; [You must make] the five types of lines by what's produced from the earth, water, fire, wind, and space. ||2||<sup>227</sup>

After an elaborate set of instructions on this, then we find that the entire structure is again reencapsulated into seed syllables (*bijamantras*) that represent both the visualized *maṇḍala* elements and the bodily/psychological elements. This is the process of phonemic mapping described above in section 8.3 above. I refer the readers to Chapter 11 of this dissertation for the translation of this long section of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* on visualization mappings. Another very colorful visualization is given in the second chapter of the *Kṛṣṇayamāri Tantra*. I reproduce it here from Chapter 4.6.6. of this dissertation for the convenience of the readers:

At midnight, with fierce thought because of the relationship with evil people, one should bind together the name of the obstacles to sentient beings with the *hum* syllable. Facing south, the *yogī* should draw himself as the destroyer of death, *Mahācaṇḍa* in his fierce form, adorned with skull fragments, sitting on a buffalo, with a lolling tongue, a big belly, terrifying, with tawny erect twisted locks, likewise [tawny] curly facial hair and eyebrows; and [he should draw] in the right [hand] the great *vajra*, and also a chopper [in] the second [hand]; in the third hand a knife, and now, the left: on the left a *cakra*, and a great lotus, and a skull; at the front of the root,<sup>228</sup> [he should draw] the great bee, on the right, very brilliant [like] the moon; the left, said to be blood-red like, adorned with diamond ornaments. [He] should make the holes of the pores of the skin irradiate the king of his own clan, standing in the *pratyāhṛta* position, standing up on top of a solar disk, his face with terrible deformed fangs, appearing like the blazing fire [at the end] of the age. Furnishing oneself in this way [*evam ātmānaṃ sannahya*], one should apply what's to be prepared in front....<sup>229</sup>

We also find in some of the Tantras specific instructions on goddess and *ḍākinī* self-visualizations for the female initiates. The *Catuspṛthānibandha* indicates a certain

systematic location of goddesses in the *maṇḍala*: "One should meditate on she who is steadfast in the *sattva-paryāṅka*,<sup>230</sup> her two arms colored white, and on the *vajra* and stick on the left and right arms. That one is *Vajrī* in the east, *Ghorī* in the north,<sup>231</sup> *Veṭālī* in the west,<sup>232</sup> and *Caṇḍālī* in the south.<sup>233</sup> In the northeast [she is] *Siṃhīnī*,<sup>234</sup> in the southeast *Vyāghrī*.<sup>235</sup> In the northwest [she is] *Ulūki*.<sup>236</sup> A specific description of adopting their iconographic positions is given in a commentary to the *Catuspīṭhatantra*: "Placing the right foot in the *maṇḍala* and the left foot on the ground, one sprinkles the water with the gesture of transcending the three worlds; hence the three steps (of *Viṣṇu--trivikramapadam*). One should step over the left foot with the right foot. Bending the left leg, one should stretch it out to the extent of five *vitastis*<sup>237</sup>--such is the *āltḍha*. For the *pratyāltḍha* here, bending the right leg, one should stretch out the left leg to the same extent."<sup>238</sup> Many of the descriptions of different goddesses and *ḍākinīs* we find, for instance, in *Abhayākaragupta*'s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, include the deity assuming either the *āltḍha* or *pratyāltḍha* position.

Although I have not yet read the *Abhiṣeka* chapter of the *Kālacakra* in detail, I did manage to read the opening portion of the *Sekoddeśa*, a section from the now lost original or Root Tantra of the *Kālacakra*. Gnoli has managed to reconstruct the 174 verses of the *Sekoddeśa* from a single manuscript folio and citations in exegetical literature. The text was translated into Tibetan in the second half of the 11th century by Somanātha and his Tibetan collaborator,<sup>239</sup> so we know it dates from at least then, and perhaps somewhat earlier. The Sanskrit of the *Sekoddeśa* as reconstructed by

Gnoli is in fairly simple verse, so we can learn quite a bit from the Sanskrit text. Sucandra asks Bhagavān to explain to him the seven-fold initiation and the threefold unsurpassed teaching for the sake of *laukikottara-siddhi*, i.e. worldly and world-transcending perfection.<sup>240</sup> The sevenfold initiation is the water (*udaka*), crown (*mukuta*), turban-cloth (*paṭṭa*), *vajra* and bell (*ghaṇṭā*), the great vow of conduct (*mahāvratā*), the name (*nāma*), and the permission (*anujñāna*).<sup>241</sup> The first two purify the body, the second two the speech, and the third two the mind, by purifying the *dhātus* etc; the last purifies *jñāna* or knowledge. The water initiation purifies the *dhātus* or component elements of the physical body--blood, semen, bone, marrow, flesh, fat, and *rasa* or nutritive fluids. The crown initiation purifies the *skandhas* or psychological aggregates of the individual--these are five, defined in the *Dharmasaṃgraha* as *rūpaṃ*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāra*, and *viññāna*,<sup>242</sup> i.e. what we see, feel, name, conceptualize, and think we know. The cloth initiation purifies the *pāramitās* or perfections, described as either six or ten: charity (*dāna-*), proper behavior (*śīla-*), patience (*kṣānti-*), fortitude (*vīra-*), concentration or meditation (*dhyāna-*), and wisdom (*prajñā-pāramitā*);<sup>243</sup> to these four are sometimes added perfection of method (*upāya-*), prayer or solicitation (*praṇidhi-*), strength (*bala-*), and knowledge (*jñāna-*).<sup>244</sup> The *vajra* and bell initiations purify the 'great indestructible' (*mahākṣaram*)--a term used to refer to both the drops in the subtle channels and the *bīja-mantras*. As the text clarifies, the Buddha's speech is not subdivided (*buddha-bhāṣā na vicchinnā*), (so it is capable of) purifying the Sun and Moon (channels) simultaneously. The great vow consecration purifies both the senses and their

domains or objects. The name consecration purifies friendship etc., while the permission consecration purifies one's Buddha-nature.<sup>245</sup> Hopkins, working from the Tibetan tradition, gives a slightly different explanation of these first seven consecrations as authorizing the generation stage practice "in the pattern of childhood." The water purifies earth, water, fire, wind and space; the crown purifies the five aggregates of forms, feelings, discriminations, compositional factors, and consciousness; the silk-ribbon purifies the ten inner winds; the vajra and bell purify the left and right channels; the conduct purifies the six sense powers--eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mental senses, and their objects of form, sound, odor, taste, tangible objects, and 'other phenomena. The name purifies the six action faculties, mouth, arms, legs, anus, urinary and procreative organs, and their activities of speaking, grasping, walking, defecating, urinating, and ejaculating; and the permission purifies "the pristine consciousness aggregate and the pristine consciousness constituent."<sup>246</sup>

#### 8.6.2.2. Perfection Stage Initiation

The Perfection stage rites involve the practice of the *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga*, with the opening of the central channel and the unknotting of the *granthis* in the *cakras* as described in Chapter 7.4 of this dissertation, and the engagement in the stages of sexual yoga with a Tantric lover. The practice of sexual yoga is analyzed in some detail in Chapter 9, and I have already discussed essential aspects of the practice in Chapter 7.4. I have not had the time to read and translate the entire third chapter of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* (203 verses, 148 pages of Sanskrit in the

Sarnath edition), the chapter on the *Abhiṣekas* or Consecrations that tells us about the *Kālacakra* preliminary initiation rites in detail. From the Table of Contents, the Sarnath editors' summary, and a quick scan of some of the material, it is evident that these rites involved most of the standard preparatory procedures, inclusive of drawing the *maṇḍala*, installation of the deities, visualization practices, various protective magical rites, etc., in preparation for the sexual yoga initiations. The text defines the "upper initiation" (*uttara-abhiṣekah*) as twofold (KCT 3.119). The first is touching the consort on the breast, and it alone is the "pot initiation." The secret initiation is the looking at and tasting the nectar from the secret (*cakra*). Purified by the entire clan of the Victors in the Wisdom and Knowledge consecration (*prajñā-jñāna-abhiṣeke*), the consort who has beautiful limbs is [then] to be given to the student by the guru, after he has been a witness there. Puṇḍarīka explains the twofold upper initiation. The first is for the purpose of incarnating human beings, for complete knowledge of the path, and is authorized for one who has heard (i.e. learned) the Tantras. The other is to provide the position of *mahācārya*, and for turning the initiate into an instructor. The sexual rites described are essentially the same as those I have detailed in Chapters 9.3.1.1-9.3.1.2., and Puṇḍarīka cites a list from the *Mūla Kālacakratāntra* of the participants eligible for these rites that is very similar to the list I have cited from the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* in Chapter 9.3.1.2.

The *Sekoddeśa* lists what Hopkins identifies as the "four high initiations," the vase (*kumbha*--in earlier Yoga literature this usually refers to a stage of mastery of *prāṇāyāma*), and the secret consecration (*guhya-abhiṣeka*), the wisdom and knowledge

consecration, and the word consecration. The "four greatly high initiations," as Hopkins terms them, are again the pot and secret, the great wisdom and knowledge consecration, and the word consecration. (The Sanskrit grammar of the text reconstructed by Gnoli indicates a different parsing of the text that the traditional Tibetan interpretation provided by Hopkins.)<sup>247</sup> On a comparative note we find in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* that either a pot or a water pitcher is acceptable for those initiated into Śiva's fire in the Śaivite Tantric initiation process (*śivāgni-guru-śiṣṣānām vār-dhānt-kumbhayoḥ samah*).<sup>248</sup> The *Sekoddeśa* refers to a threefold purification of the body, speech, and mind by the perishable and imperishable, the vibrational and non-vibrational, and what is beyond those, with a fourth being the complete purification of *jñāna*; these are again reclassified as four--childhood, maturation, and full grown or old age, and *prajāpatiḥ*--the old name for the Vedic creator god, literally 'the father of progeny.'<sup>249</sup> In the *Kālacakra*'s fifth chapter, the four consecrations are said to be the laughing (*hasita*), gazing (*Ikṣaṇa*), (holding) hands (*paṇi*), and sexual union as the pair (*āptidvandva*), and this "fourfold consecration" is also known as the teacher (*ācārya*), the concealed (*guhya*), the wisdom (*prajñā*), [and] the knowledge (or intuition, *jñāna*).<sup>250</sup> Touching the Tantric lover's breast is said to be "taught for the purpose of introducing the path" (*mārga-avatāraṇa-artham*).<sup>251</sup>

*Sekoddeśaḥ* 18: From the division of touching the breast of the Wisdom (consort), there's the pleasure that is the release of the *bodhicitta*. The child is he who's been anointed by the breast [milk], whence pleasure is attained. (19): From titillating the private parts for a long time, the pleasure of the release of the *bodhicitta* is produced; the mature one is he who has been anointed by the private parts, since it is from the private (*cakra*) that pleasure is obtained. (20): From titillating the private parts for a long time, pleasure is produced from the



vibration at the tip of the *vajra* (penis); the old or full-grown one is anointed by wisdom and knowledge (*prajñā-jñāna-abhiṣiktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ*) since he has become vibration (*spandaṃ gato yataḥ*). (21): From the passionate love of the great consort (*mahāmudrā-anurāgāt*) the pleasure is produced from non-vibration; since he who has been anointed by the great consort achieves the state of non-vibration. (22): He is known as *Prajāpati* who is the progenitor of all the saviors; the *Vajrasattva*, the Great Being (*mahāsattva*) and the *Bodhisattva* are non-dual, imperishable. (23): This one who is the *Samaya-sattva* is fourfold, possessed of the *vajra-yoga*; he is known as *Kālacakra* since he provides liberation to the *yogis*. (24): One should practice the *sādhana* of this one (i.e. *Kālacakra*) with--from one's own consciousness--the unexpected (surprising) sudden appearances, the causal signs of smoke, etc., the sky-like images of *Prajñā* (25:) that are entirely free of the mass of particles and ultimate particles (or, atomic and subatomic particles) [and] intended to [convey] ideas that transgress existence and non-existence, (26:) [appearing as] smoke, sparks, fireflies, lamp flames, fire, the Moon, and the Sun. The darkness, digit of the Moon, great drop, image of the universe, [or] clear light (*prabhāsvaram*) (27:) that is *not* sequentially constructed in the void with one's [own] two eyes--either closed or unclosed, appears as a dream-like image, [and] one should continually meditate on that image. (28:) The *yogis'* meditation is no meditation when that image does not exist, since by seeing the non-constructed in the image in the mind, (one understands that) there it neither exists nor does not exist. (29:) Just as a young virgin might see in a mirror a divinatory image that is not produced from a real object, likewise the *yogi* also sees the properties of the past and the future in the sky. (30:) That is neither existent nor non-existent, since one sees that the object is void of reality; and since there is no real existing thing, the object is like an illusion, dream, or *Indra's net*.

The *Kālacakra* explains for us the process whereby the initiates come to see the signs of smoke etc. As David Pingree has explained to me, the notion of a sixteenth digit of the Moon is a poetic invention. The *Jyotiḥśāstra* tradition mapped fifteen *kalās* of the Moon as the fifteen slices that progressively light up as one moves from the new Moon to the full Moon. This became a standard idea in Indian astronomy. The court poets invented the idea of the sixteenth digit for the fullest full Moon of a woman's

beauty, i.e. a woman so beautiful that her beauty could outshine the moon, since she had an extra *kalā*. The sixteenth digit idea was apparently adopted into Tantric doctrine, and is here correlated with the drop of nectar from the Moon/Soma in one's head. The Yoga of open space (*abhyavakāśa*) referred to in the passage is listed at *Dharmasaṃgraha* 63 among the twelve ascetic practices, "at the base of a tree, on a single seat, in an open space, in a forest, at a cremation ground..."<sup>252</sup>

[54.1] Now the entry of this one into the image of his own thought is stated--5.115: By those whose thinking is deeply engaged in the *akāśa*, who with eyes unblinking have entered onto the lightning bolt path; From the void, smoke, a ray of light, the manifestly stainless Sun itself, the lamp;| The flame, the Moon, Sun, and lightning bolts also, the ultimate digit, is seen, the drop also; [54.5] In the middle of that, the *Buddha*'s image is a multiple enjoyment body without sense domains. ||115|| Beginning with "*Akāśa*." Here, in the *mantra*-system, in the perfection vehicle, there is a twofold *Yogic* practice: there is a practice of *Yoga* in the *ākāśa*, and [the practice of *Yoga*] in open space. He will achieve *Yoga* in the *akāśa* who at night, in a house without holes, in the darkness, with thought deeply engaged in the *akāśa*, sees the signs of smoke etc., with eyes unblinking, having entered onto the lightning bolt path. In this sense, with his *prāṇā* entered into the central channel (*avadhūtī* or *madhyamā*) from the void itself, by those whose thinking is deeply engaged in the *akāśa*, who with unblinking eyes have entered onto the lightning path, [54.10] from the void [there is] smoke, a ray of light, the evidently stainless Sun itself, [and] a lamp--[this he] will see with the night-*yoga*. Then he sees the cloudless sky. Then from the sky, again in the daytime-*yoga*--"from the sky arisen, self-arisen, the great fire of wisdom and knowledge," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.20)<sup>253</sup>--thus the fire is seen in the cloudless sky. Thus, "*Vairocana*, the great light, the light of knowledge, the Sun," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.21), a image of the Moon, the light of the world, the Sun, the torch of knowledge, the lightning-seizer (*Vajrarāhu*) the great brilliant flame, shining, the highest digit of lightning (This is an innovation; normally the *parakalā* or *paramakalā* is attributed to the Moon; here lightning is also said to have an extra portion), i.e. the king of science, the highest *mantra* lord, the drop possessor. In this way, the tenfold cause is declared by the *Bhagavān* in the [*Guhya*] *Samāja* etc, by the night *Yoga*, and in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* by the day *Yoga*, is by the *Bhagavān* stated. Then "the *mantra* king is

the great achiever of objectives," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.22), so in every form, cloth, pot etc. one sees [his] image. In the middle of that, in the middle of the drop, without sense domains, since it is lacking elementary substance,<sup>254</sup> [and] since it is lacking imagination [*kalpanā*], the multiple enjoyment body. Then by the image-*yoga* the unstruck sound itself is heard. Thus the emanation body, through the appearance of form, [54.20] [and] through the appearance of sound, is enjoyment--this is the meaning. ||115||

As part of the reabsorption meditations that are part of the Perfection Stage processes, the initiate has to learn how to absorb all the components of the universe into himself in order to transform them. In glossing KCT 5.165, Puṇḍarīka gives us an extended explanation of how it is that the basic components of the universe collapse into each other at the end of time, before the beginning of a new cycle of creation, and the relationship of this process to the existence of *karma*, via the so-called 'karmic-wind' (*karma-vāta*), a property said to be entirely lacking from the *Buddhakṣetras*.

In this way, all the heretics are believers in the collection of the ultimate particles. Therefore, externally, one must know about the arising and destruction of the *Buddha* fields and of the worldly constituents. And it [i.e. the arising and destruction] occurs because living beings experience good and bad [karmic] fruits, as many [karmic fruits] as is the number of living beings; this is the rule. Therefore, at the time of the destruction of the worldly constituents, this karmic wind [*karmavāta*] is the worldly constituent whereby [there is] what has arisen, first, and the *Buddha* field, and that [field] has a twofold intrinsic nature: one is the unmoving, like a *nakṣatra* in the sky--the worldly constituent *Buddha* field does not move in any direction whatsoever; the second has the intrinsic nature of movement, like the zodiacal circle in the sky. [118.25] In this way, immobility is the intrinsic character of the stationary [things] that are inside of the worldly constituents, [while] living beings have movement as their intrinsic nature. [It is called] the karmic wind because of the characteristic of consciousness. In this way there is, by that, the destruction of the physical bodies that are a collection of ultimate particles, at the time of the destruction of the worldly constituents and

of the destruction of the *Buddha* fields, [the time] that has the characteristic of revolution [*āvarta*] and transformation [*vivarta*], and is characterized by creation and destruction. At that time of the destruction of the worldly constituents, of the earth, i.e. the ultimate particles of the earth, are engaged by conjunction with the constituents of water etc. Having drawn from the multitude [*rāśi*] of earth ultimate particles (*bhūmi-paramāṇu*) [119.1] the earth ultimate particles, separating them individually, one casts [them] into the water constituent (*toya-dhātu*), i.e. into the heap of water ultimate particles. In this way, having drawn [the water atoms] from the water constituent, one casts [those water atoms] into the fire [constituent]; drawing the [fire atoms] from the fire [constituent], one casts [them] into the wind [constituent]; drawing from the wind, [they] go individually into space. In this way, there is the withdrawal of the worldly constituents. And whoever is in hell is called the Fire of Time, the deity who burns the worldly constituent, and creates ash, such a one is the fire of time, he in fact is a collection of ultimate particles. Whoever, [119.5] through experiencing another *dharma*, is devoid of atoms, he does not at all burn, nor does he cause consumption. In this way, when the destruction of the stationary objects happens, the *prāṇas* that have the characteristic of consciousness [*vijñānadharmaṇaḥ*], they have gone to another field, to a worldly realm [*lokadhātu*]; what is produced by the karmic wind is for their enjoyment. In this way, the unending karmic winds are generated by the worldly constituents, are produced by the *Buddha* fields, just as the *prāṇas* of living beings are individually produced in the body, i.e. produce the growth of stationary ones. Thus the proof in the concealed [truth]. || 165 ||<sup>255</sup>..... It is stated in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, in the section on the arising of the *dharma*, "the *Buddhas*' coming or going has not occurred, will not occur, and is not occurring." Therefore, in the purified atom, that is the best of the single flavor, that is the perfected flavor [*siddha-rasa*], that is the penetrator of all the constituents, that is the basis, all the *Buddhas* are gathered together who are characterized by the void, and who are revealed. In this way, the *Buddha* field is entirely without *karma*, i.e. devoid of the karmic wind.<sup>256</sup>

Here too is another example of the multivalent usage of the term *rasa*--in the purified atom (*śuddha-paramāṇu*) of the Buddha that is the best of the single flavor (*ekarasāgre*), the perfected *rasa* (*siddha-rasa*) are located all the Buddhas.

## 8.7. Conclusion

The Tantric initiation rites evidently present us with a complex system that draws in very wide range of material from different fields in the Sanskrit tradition, and adds what appear to be a number of innovations. The detailed mapping of time sequences to the subtle body appears to be an original contribution of the Tantras that is not found in traditional non-Tantric *Jyotiḥśāstra*. What is particularly interesting about this material from a historian's point of view is that it appears to offer an Indian explanation for the mechanism of astrology--i.e. it provides a rationale for how it could be that the motions of the planets could have some influence on our personalities and behavior by indicating that the movements of the planets through the constellations is concomitant with the movement of energies through our subtle body. The complicated doctrine of *Mantraśāstra* we find in the Tantras is also evidently a development that, while apparently based to some degree on the same principles as the Vedic *Mantraśāstra* (to the very limited degree that I understand this latter discipline), appears to have taken *Atharvaveda* principles of *mantranyāsa* or *mantra*-application and raised this practice to a very sophisticated level. Unlike the earlier Buddhist traditions that placed such heavy emphasis on celibacy and renunciation as prerequisites to following the path, and unlike the earlier *Yoga-darśana* that in the end idealizes an internal psychological separation of *puruṣa* from *prakṛti*, the Tantric tradition moves into a full mutual embrace of the male and female--from literal physical, psychophysical, and philosophical or doctrinal perspectives. In this sense it marks a return, doctrinally and systematically, to the earlier fertility magic hinted at in some of the Vedic, Atharvavedic, and early Buddhist practices. Yet in the Tantric

systems sexuality and the harnessing of sexual energy for transmutational ends is not tangential, incidental, or fringe in any way. Rather the frank and exuberant acceptance of the power of human sexuality has taken center stage. A good example of this is the simple fact that the seminal and menstrual sexual energy in man and woman is called *bodhicitta* and *dharma* in the Buddhist system. These names really conceal a great mystery: they acknowledge that the most potent level of consciousness is identical with the physical substance males and females generate to create new life--indeed, what more *essential* aspects of our physical existence could there be? For the woman, her essential sexual energy is called *dharma*, with "the rise of *dharma*" (*dharmodaya*) used as a *sandhyābhāṣā* reference to her vaginal orgasm during the sexual yoga practice. In the Buddhist Tantric system, there is in these names a recognition of the ultimately intimate link between a man and woman's orgasmic 'rise' with their highest potential state of awareness. For to gain control over the ejaculatory and orgasmic impulses is to gain control over the procreating impulse, the instinctive drive to create new life, and in so doing to gain the power to use the energy of this drive to 're-create' oneself. The Tantric system seeks to redirect this most basic drive (one that is normally below the threshold of conscious control), from new-life-creation (i.e. procreation) into own-life-transmutation, and it is this process we will examine in Chapter 9.

## NOTES

1. See Commentary on 5.127 (Rinpoche et al 1994b:72.7).
2. Sopa et al 1985:20.
3. Muller-Ortega 1989:185-186.
4. Sopa et al 1985:53.
5. Muller-Ortega 1989:182.
6. *Buddhi-prāṇa-dehendriyādikam samastam kulam*. Muller-Ortega 1987:188.
7. Dhargyey 1985:135.
8. Muller-Ortega 1989:188.
9. Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:99 (*Pratyāhāras tathā dhyānaṃ prāṇāyāmo atha dhāraṇāḥ | anusmṛtiḥ samādhiś ca śaḍaṅgo Yoga ucyate | |*).
10. See Woods 1914:177-183 and Taimini 1961:205-230.
11. See Broido 1988.
12. My thanks to Prof. Robert Thurman for helping clarify this particular point.
13. *Yogavāsīṣṭhaḥ* 5.78.14-16: *Prāṇa-spandāc citaḥ spandas tat-spandād eva saṃvidah | cakra-āvarta-vidhāyinyo jala-spandād iva ūrmayaḥ | | 14 | | cittaṃ prāṇa-parispandam āhur āgama-bhūṣaṇāḥ | tasmin saṃrodhite nūnam upaśāntaṃ bhaven manaḥ | | 15 | | manaḥ-spanda-upaśāntyā ayaṃ saṃsāraḥ pravilyate | sūryāloka-parispanda-śāntau vyavahṛtir yathā | | 16 | |* (Pansikar 1984{1}:730).
14. KCT 5.1b--from *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 25: The eighteen constituents are: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, form, smell, sound, taste, touch, and *dharma* constituents, and the eye-awareness, the ear-awareness, the nose-awareness, the tongue-awareness, the body-awareness, and the mind-awareness constituents. ("*Aṣṭādaśa dhātavaḥ--cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-mano-rūpa-gandha-śabda-rasa-sparśa-dharma-dhātavaś cakṣurvijñāna-śrotravijñāna-ghrāṇavijñāna-jihvāvijñāna-kāyavijñāna-manovijñāna-dhātavaś-ceti*." (Kasawara et al 1885:5).)
15. Rinpoche 1994b:2.5. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 22 lists five aggregates as *rupa*, *vedana*, *samjna*, *samskara*, *viñjana* (Kasawara et al 1885:5). The Tantric system adds a sixth, void.
16. KCT 5.14b. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 11: *Yamāntakaḥ, Prajñāntakaḥ, Padmāntakao Viḡhnāntako 'caraṭarkirājo, niladaṇḍo, mahābalo, uṣṭiśaś, cakravartī, saṃbharājaś ceti | |* (Kasawara et al 1885:3). "The ten fierce ones [*daśa-krodhāḥ*] are as follows: the destroyer of death [*Yamāntakaḥ*], the destroyer of wisdom [*Prajñāntakaḥ*], the destroyer of the lotus [*Padmāntakaḥ*], the destroyer of obstacles [*Viḡhnāntakaḥ*], the unmoving king of the *Takkas* [*Acara-ṭakki-rāja* (the text reads *-tarki-* yet this is not a word in Sanskrit. I've corrected it to *ṭakki*, following the *Vimalaprabhā* at Rinpoche 1994b:11.16.); the bearer of the dark blue stick [*Niladaṇḍa*], the very strong one [*Mahābalaḥ*], the one dwelling in the crown *cakra* [*Uṣṭiśa-cakra-vartin*], and the *Sumbha* king [*Sumbharāja*--I use the alternate reading from the India Office Library manuscript; *Sambha* is not a word in Sanskrit. (Kasawara et al 1885:3).
17. Rinpoche et al 1994b:22.10. As *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* (120) says: "The four continents are as follows: *Pūrvavidehaḥ, Jambudvīpaḥ, Aparagodānir*, and *Uttarakuru*." (Kasawara et al 1885:129). *Videhaḥ* MW identifies as "modern Tirhut." citing sources beginning from the

*Śatapathabrāhmaṇaḥ*. Janaka was also known as "king of Videha" in the *Upaniṣads*, his capital city Mithilā; Uttarakuru is the country of the northern Kurus, north of India. Jambudvīpa is India. Aparagodāniḥ or Aparagodānaḥ is the continent west of Mahāmeru.

18 . KCT 5.67d. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 80 defines the four māras as follows--the aggregate māra, the addiction māra, the son of a god māra, and the death māra. ("Catvāro mārāḥ, tadyathā--skandhamāraḥ, kleśamāro, devaputramāro, mṛtyumāraśceti." Kasawara et al 1885:17).

19 . KCT 5.37d. Monier Williams' Dictionary (MW) cites *Dharmasaṃgraha* 80 as listing four Māras, skandhamāra, kleśamāra, devaputramāra, and mṛtyumāra; later theory elaborated millions with a single ruler Māra. MW cites *Dharmasaṃgraha* 52 as listing maraṇabhaya as one of five types of fear. This is a misprint--it should be *Dharmasaṃgraha* 71: The five fears (pañca bhayāni) are: fear of the Ājīvikas (the sect founded by Gośāla, Mahāvītra's student), fear of Aśoka (aśoka-bhayam--presumably refers to the king; however Kazuwara suggests an emendation to śoka-bhayam, fear of grief), fear of dying (maraṇa-bhayam), fear of misfortune/poverty (durgati-bhayam), and fear of speaking with one's companions (parśada-vādyā-bhayam--taking Kasawara's emendation; parśadasādyā-bhayam is what's given in Kasawara et al:1885 edition--fear of the exhaustion of assemblies).

20 . KCT 5.56d. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 75: The ten abilities of the Bodhisattva are as follows: confidence [strength of attitude], mathematical ability, emotional strength, patience, knowledge, the power of renunciation, the power of perfected concentration, mental clarity, virtue, and the power of perception. ("Bodhisavvānāṃ daśa balāni, tadyathā--adhimuktibalam, pratisaṃkhyānabalam, bhāvabalam, kṣāntibalam, jñānabalam, prahāṇabalam, samādhibalam, pratibhānabalam, puṇyabalam, pratipattibalam ceti." Kasawara et al 1885:16.)

21 . KCT 5.58c. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 127 and the *Guhyasamāja-pratīpodyotana* 169 both define the desire realm (kāmadhātu) as sixfold. The former definition reads: There are six deities who are the dominions of desire, as follows--the thirty-three attendants of the four great kings, [i.e.] the 'satisfied ones' (tuṣīta), the watches of the day (yāma), the transformed ones (nirmāṇa), the sexual pleasure ones (ratayaḥ), the created ones (parinirmīta), and the obedient ones (vaśavartin). ("Tatra ṣaṭ kāmāvacarā devāḥ, tadyathā--cāturmahārājakāyikās-trāyastriṃśās tuṣītā yāmā nirmāṇa-ratayaḥ paranirmīta-vaśavartinaś ceti"--Kasawara et al 1885:31). The *Pratīpodyotanaḥ* definition is virtually identical. (*Cāturmahārāja-kāyika-trāyastriṃśad-yāma-tuṣīta-nirmāṇa-rati-paranirmīta-vaśavartīti ṣaḍvidhaḥ kāmadhātuḥ*--Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:26).

22 . KCT 5.65a. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64, the ten grounds are: delighted, stainless, illuminating, brilliant, very difficult to conquer, facing forward, gone far, unmoving, good, and the cloud of dharma. (Daśa bhūmayāḥ--pramuditā, vimalā, prabhākārī, arcīsmatī, sudurjayā, abhimukhī, dūraṅgamā, acalā, sādhumatī, dharmameghā ceti." (Kasawara et al 1885:14).)

23 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:40.28-29. The twelve limbs of the mutual origination (pratītyasamutpādaḥ) causation chain (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 42:) ignorance, mental fabrication, consciousness, name and form, the six bases of awareness, touch, perception, thirst and self-appropriation, becoming, birth, old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, despair, and upāyāsās {?}. ("Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpādāḥ--avidyā, saṃskāro, vijñānaṃ, nāmarūpaṃ, ṣaḍāyatanaṃ, sparśo, vedanā, tṛṣṇopādānaṃ, bhavo, jātir-jarāmaraṇaṃ, śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasya-upāyāsās-ceti." (Kasawara et al 1885:9).)



24 . KCT 5.91d. The *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 4 says: "The four goddesses are as follows-- Illuminating, Possessiveness, White, and the Star." ("*Catasro devyaḥ, tadyathā--Rocanī, Māmakt, Pāṇḍarā, Tārā ceti.*" (Kasawara et al 1885:2).) The term *ḍākinī* does not occur in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, nor does *Viśvamātā*, suggesting that these are Tantric additions to the earlier set of four. Similarly, we find at the beginning of the *Guhyaśāstra* we find a version of the earlier set of four (*Buddha-Lochanā, Māmakt, Pāṇḍarāvāsini*, and *Samaya-Tārā*) emanating from *Mahāvairocana Buddha*. (Fremantle 1971:27 & 176), with no mention of *Viśvamātā* or *ḍākinī*. It may be, therefore, that the presence of these two goddesses/Buddha consorts may serve as markers for the relative dating of Buddhist Tantric texts.

25 . KCT 5.100a. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 105 lists three types of charity: giving of the *dharma*, the giving of meat, and the giving of friendship. ("*tatra dānaṃ trividhaṃ, tadyathā-- dharmadānaṃ, āmiśadānaṃ, maitrīdānaṃ ceti.*" (Kasawara et al 1885:27)

26 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:28.8. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 67: passion, anger, pride, ignorance, erroneous views, and doubt ("*ṣaṭ kleśāḥ--rāgaḥ, pratigho, māno, 'vidyā, kudrṣṭir, vicikitsā ceti*" (Kasawara et al 1885:14) and one of the six concealments of *samādhi* at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 118: sloth, pride, wickedness, arrogance, discontent, and lack of enjoyment of the truth ("*tatra ṣaṭ samādhy-āvaraṇāni, tadyathā--kausīdyaṃ, mānaṃ, śāṭhyaṃ, auddhatyaṃ, anābhogaḥ, satyābhogaś-ceti*" (Muller & Wenzel 1974:29).

27 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:52.10. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 77 lists the four skills as follows: skill in attaining enlightenment, skill in knowledge of the destruction of faults, skill in *nirvāṇa*, and skill in inculcating value ("*abhisambodhi-vaiśāradyam, āśravakṣayajñāna-vaiśāradyam, nairvāṇikam, ārg[h]āvatarāṇa-vaiśāradyam ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:16). In the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* these are listed somewhat differently: skill in teaching about all the *dharma*s, skill in knowing the destruction of all faults, skill in ascertaining and explaining the unerring *dharma* for [overcoming] obstacles, skill in the reality of the access to *nirvāṇa* that provides complete success (*sarvadharmābhisambodhi-vaiśāradyam, sarvāśravakṣayajñāna-vaiśāradyam, antarāyika-dharma-ananyathātva-niścita-vyākaraṇa-vaiśāradyam, sarva-sampad-adhigamāya nirvāṇika-pratīpat-tathātva-vaiśāradyam*). (Csoma de Koros 1982{2}:249-250).

28 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:54.7. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 63 lists *abhyavakāśika* among the twelve ascetic practices, ... at the base of a tree, on a single seat, in an open space, in a forest, at a cremation ground... (...*vṛkṣa-mūlika, ekāsanika, ābhyavakāśika, āraṇyakaḥ, śmaśānikah....*Kasawara et al 1885:13).

29 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:55.2, where the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* text is cited by name. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64: The five eyes are the fleshy eye, the *dharma* eye, the wisdom eye, the divine eye, and the Buddha eye. ("*Pañca cakṣuṃṣī--māṃsacakṣur, dharmacakṣuḥ, prajñācakṣur, divyacakṣur, buddhacakṣuś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:14).

30 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:58.8. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* says there are four parts to the truth of the producing cause--due to the cause, due to the arising, due to the origin, and due to the basic idea. ("*samudaya-satyē carvāra ākārāḥ, tadyathā--hetutaḥ, samudayataḥ, prabhavataḥ, pratyayaś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:23). Pruden translates these as "material cause" (*hetu*), "arising or origin" (*samudaya*), "appearance" (*prabhava*), and "efficient condition" (*pratyaya*). (Pruden 1991{4};1110).

31 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:65.22. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 116 lists two types of *nairātmya*: the non-substantiality of things, and the non-essentiality of the individual. ("*Nairātmyaṃ dvividhaṃ, tadyathā--dharma-nairātmyaṃ pudgala-nairātmyaṃ ceti,*" Kasawara et al

1885:29).

32. See translation in Chapter 11 of this dissertation, page 67 of the Sanskrit.

*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 76 gives a different list of the ten powers of the *Tathāgataḥ*, as follows: ("Tathāgatasya daśa balāni, tadyathā--sthāna-asthāna-jñānabalaṃ, karma-vipāka-jñānabalaṃ, nānā-dhātu-jñānabalaṃ, nānā-adhimukti-jñānabalaṃ, sattvendriya-parāpara-jñānabalaṃ, saratra-gōmint-pratipatti-jñānabalaṃ, dhyāna-mokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti-saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-vyutthāna-jñānabalaṃ, pūrva-nivāsa-anusmṛti-jñānabalaṃ, cyuty-utpatti-jñānabalaṃ, āśrava-kṣaya-jñānabalaṃ ceti." Kasawara et al 1885:16).

33. Rinpoche et al 1994b:68.18. The five *abhijñās* are the divine eye (clairvoyance--*divyacakṣuḥ*), the divine ear (clairaudience--*divyaśrotraṃ*), knowing another's thoughts (i.e. the ability to read minds--*paracittajñānaṃ*), memory of prior incarnations (*pūrvanivāsānusmṛtiḥ*), and magical power (*ṛddhiḥ*) (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 20; Kasawara et al 1885:4). According to MW, the eight *vibhūti*s are *aṣṛman*--the power of becoming as minute as an atom; *laghiman*, extreme lightness; *prāpti*, attaining or reaching anything [e.g. the Moon with the tip of the finger]; *prākāmya*, irresistible will; *mahiman*, illimitable bulk; *īśitā*, supreme dominion; *vaśitā*, subjugating by magic; and *kāmavasāyitā*, the suppressing of all desires. These are not listed in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. The entire third book of the *Yoga Sūtras* is called the *Vibhūti-pāda*; *divyaśrotraṃ* is discussed at YS 3.42.

34. Rinpoche et al 1994b:69.7. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 117 defines the twofold requirement as follows: requisite merit, and requisite knowledge. ("*Sambhāro dvividhaḥ, tadyathā--puṇya-saṃbhāro, jñāna-saṃbhāraś-ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:29). Though it has been popular to translate *saṃbhāraḥ* as "accumulation," the term really refers to preparations, provisions, necessary supplies, the required collection of things needed, such as for a sacrifice. As is frequently the case with Buddhist and Upaniṣadic writings, and with later Tantric material, Vedic terms are self-consciously employed with new meaning. Just as there is a requisite collection of material for the Vedic rite, so there is requisite merit and knowledge for the Buddhist path.

35. For these and the next thirteen in the list, see page 70 of the Sanskrit in Chapter 11 of this dissertation. Also often translated as 'earnest meditations.' *Smṛti* = memory, recollection; *upasthāna* = approaching, going into the presence of (for worship, attendance, or service), a sanctuary or abode of a deity. There are four of these (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 44): meditation with regard to the body in the body, meditation with regard to sensations in sensation, meditation with regard to thinking in thought, and meditation with regard to (the seventy-five) *dharmas* in the *dharmas*. ("*Tatra katamāni smṛtyupasthānāni? Tad-yathā--kāye kāya-anudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, vedanāyāṃ vedanā-anudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, citte citta-anudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, dharme dharmānudarśasmṛtyupasthānaṃ*." Kasawara et al 1885:9).

36. *Samyak-prahāṇa*. There are four of these (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 45): the protection of the roots of good [attributes] that have already appeared, the cultivation of those that haven't appeared, the abandonment of bad attributes that have appeared, and [ensuring] the non-recurrence of those [bad attributes] that have not appeared. ("*Katamāni catvāri samyak-prahāṇāni, tadyathā--utpannānāṃ kuśala-mūlānāṃ saṃrakṣaṇaṃ, anutpannānāṃ samutpādaḥ, utpannānāṃ-akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ prahāṇaṃ, anutpannānāṃ punar-anutpādāś-ceti*." Kasawara et al 1885:10). Note that the term *prahāṇa* is used in both of its senses: effort or exertion in *samyak-prahāṇa*; and relinquishment or abandonment in *anutpannam-akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ prahāṇaṃ*.

37 . *Ṛddhipādendriyabala*. These are four (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 46): the supernatural ability that accrues through training in the effort in the perfected concentration on the will, the supernatural ability similarly [acquired through training in the exercises for perfected concentration] on thought, the supernatural ability [similarly acquired through training in the efforts towards perfected concentration] on vigor, and the supernatural ability acquired through training in the undertaking of perfected concentration on intellectual investigation. ("*Carvāra ṛddhipādāḥ, tad-yathā--chanda-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādāḥ, evaṃ citta ṛddhipādāḥ, vīrya ṛddhipādāḥ, mīmāṃsā-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samanvāgata ṛddhipādāś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:10).

38 . There are 7 *bodhi-aṅgas*, subdivisions or integral parts of [complete] enlightenment (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 49): memory, the investigation of the law, vigor, pleasure, confidence, perfected concentration, persistence. ("*Sapta bodhyaṅgāni, tadyathā--smṛti-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, dharma-pravicaya-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, vīrya-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, prīti-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, praśrabdhi-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, samādhi-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, upekṣā-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ.*" Kasuawara et al 1885:10).

39 . I.e. the noble eightfold path (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 50): correct view, correct conception, correct speech, correct business, correct lifestyle, correct exercise, correct memory, correct concentration/meditation. ("*Ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārgaḥ--samyak-dṛṣṭiḥ, samyak-saṃkalpaḥ, samyak-vāk samyak-karmāntaḥ, samyag-ājīvaḥ, samyag-vyāyāmaḥ, samyak-smṛtiḥ, samyak-samādhiś-ceti.*" Kasuawara et al 1885:11).

40 . (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 21): suffering, its arising, its cessation, and the path ("*Catvāry-ārya-satyāni, tadyathā--duḥkhaṃ, samudayo, nirodho, mārgaś-ceti.*" Kasuawara et al 1885:5). However, we may also have reference here to the two truths (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 95): conventional or concealed truth, and ultimate reality truth. ("*Dve satye, tadyathā--saṃvṛti-satyam, paramārtha-satyam ceti.*" Kasuawara et al 1885:22).

41 . *Abhidharmakośaḥ* 8.2 and commentary describe the four meditations: the first includes reasoning, reflection, delight, and happiness (*vitarkaḥ, vicāraḥ, prītiḥ, and sukhaṃ*). The second lacks reasoning and reflection (*[vitarka]-vicāra-varjitaṃ dvitīyaṃ*); the third lacks reasoning, reflection, and delight (*[vitarka]-vicāra-prīti-varjitaṃ tṛtīyaṃ*); the fourth is without all four (*[vitarka]-vicāra-prīti-sukha-varjitaṃ*). (Vasubandhuḥ 1975:433 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1219). In the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, *dhyānam* would refer to either the four meditations or the threefold meditation, or both. The four meditations are as follows (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 72): the first meditation is the pleasure and happiness produced by discrimination that includes both reasoning and reflection. The second meditation is the pleasure and happiness from internal exhilaration. The third meditation is the pleasure produced from patience and memory. The fourth meditation is perception of no suffering and no happiness that is the purification of patience and memory. ("*Catvāri dhyānāni, tadyathā--sa-vitarkaṃ sa-vicāraṃ vivekajaṃ, prīti-sukhaṃ iti prathama-dhyānaṃ; adhyātma-pramodaṇāt prītisukhaṃ iti dvitīyaṃ; upekṣā-smṛti-saṃprajanyaṃ sukhaṃ iti tṛtīyaṃ; upekṣā-smṛti-parisuddhir aduḥkha-asukhā vedanā iti caturthaṃ dhyānam iti.*" Kasuawara et al 1885:15). The threefold meditation is (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 95): the meditation that includes the removal of faults; the meditation on pleasure and recreation; the meditation on complete adornment. ("*Dhyānaṃ trividhaṃ, tadyathā--sadoṣa-apakarṣa-dhyānaṃ, sukha-vaihārika-dhyānam aśeṣ-vaivhūṣita-dhyānaṃ ceti.*" Kasuawara et al 1885:28).

42 . (*Abhidharmakośaḥ* 8.29): friendship, love, joy, and patience (*maitrī, karuṇā, muditopekṣā ca--*Vasubandhu 1975:453 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1264).

43 . The *Ārūpyas*. Like the *dhyānas* there are four of these. They consist of four aggregates, because they lack the form aggregate, and they are generated by discrimination of the lower stages. One is generated by the discrimination of the fourth meditation, because it has the infinity of space as its basis. The [second], generated by discrimination of that has the infinity of consciousness as its basis. The [third], generated by discrimination of that has absolute nothingness as its basis. The [fourth], generated by discrimination of that has neither notions nor no ideas. ("*Caturtha-dhyāna-vivekajaṃ hy-ākāśa-ānantya-āyatanam | Tad-vivekajaṃ vijñānānantyāyatanam | Tadvivekajaṃ ākiñcinyāyatanam | Tadvivekajaṃ naiva-saṃjñāna-asamjñā-āyatanam iti evaṃ catvāra ārūpyāḥ.*" Vasubandhu 1975:434 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1219-20).

44 . The eighth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* describes the *samāpattis* in detail. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* on 8.14 describes 30 *samāpattayaḥ*: six following the first meditation without inflows (*anāsrava-prathama-dhyāna*), seven following the basis of nothingness, eight following the second meditation, nine following the consciousness basis. (Vasubandhu 1975:443 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1244). The *dhyāna-samāpattayaḥ* and the *ārūpya-samāpattayaḥ* are two principal classes of the absorptions not included in the list of 30.

45 . The three *vimokṣamukhāni* are names for a type of the three *samādhayaḥ*. The three perfect concentrations are one with both logical analysis and reflection, one without logical analysis and with reflection, and one with neither. ("*Trayaḥ samādhayaḥ uktāḥ sūtre | savitarkaḥ savicāraḥ samādhiḥ | avitarko vicāramātraḥ | avitarko 'vicāra iti*" Vasubandhu 1975:448-9 Skt.) When these three are without inflows, they are called the three doors of liberation. ("*Anāsravās tu ete trayaḥ samādhayas trīṇi vimokṣamukhāni ucyante.*" Vasubandhu 1975:450 Skt.; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1258-59).

46 . *Samādhiḥ*, perfected concentration, is defined as singular focus of the thought, or 'one-pointed-ness' of thinking (*samādhiś-cittasya-ekāgratā*) in the commentary on *Abhidharmakośaḥ* 2.25 (Vasubandhu 1975:54 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{1}:190). There are three basic *samādhayaḥ* (*Abhidharmakośaḥ* 8.23): perfected concentration with intellectual analysis and reflection; perfected concentration with only reflection, no logical analysis; and perfected concentration with neither. (Vasubandhu 1975:448-449 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1256).

47 . *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 52 describes four of these, the *ātma-*, the *grantha-* (text-), the *dharma-*, and the *mantra-dhāraṇī*. (Kasuwara et al 1885:11).

48 . The *pratisaṃvidāḥ* are four (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 51): the analytical science of the law, of material purpose, of etymology, and of eloquence. ("*Catasraḥ pratisaṃvidāḥ, tadyathā-dharma-pratisaṃvid, artha-pratisaṃvin, nirukti-pratisaṃvit, pratibhāna-pratisaṃvic ceti.*" Kasuwara et al 1885:11).

49 . *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 110 defines wisdom as threefold: produced by what's heard, by thinking, and by meditation. ("*prajñā trividhaṃ tadyathā-śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhāvanāmayī ceti.*" Kasuwara et al 1885:28). *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 114 defines knowledge as threefold: what is without *vikalpa*, what awakens homogeneity in *vikalpa*, and (?) what is invisible in means with a true objective (?) ("*Avikalpakaṃ, vikalpa-samabhāva-bodhakaṃ, satyārthopāyaparokṣaṃ ceti.*" Kasuwara et al 1885:28). *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* 7.7 gives a set of ten knowledges (Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1095).

50. See page 85 of the Sanskrit in Chapter 11 of this dissertation. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 128 lists eighteen gods of the desire realms: having *brahma*-bodies, the high priests of *Brahmā*, attendants of *Brahmā*, great *brāhmaṇas*, those of circumscribed light, those of unlimited light, the radiant ones, those of circumscribed prosperity, those of universal prosperity, the cloudless ones, those possessing outflows of merit, those of great fruits, the non-conscious beings, the non-growing ones, ones not practicing asceticism, the keen-sighted ones, the keenly observing ones, the ones of whom none is younger. ("*aṣṭādaśa rūpāvacarā devāḥ, tadyathā—brahmakāyikā, brahmapurohitā, brahmapārśadyā, mahābrahmāṇaḥ, paritābhā, apramāṇābhā, ābhāsvarāḥ, paritāsubhāḥ, śubhakṛtsnā, anabhrakāḥ, puṇyaprasavā, bṛhatphalā, asaṃjñīksattvā, avṛhā, atapāḥ, sudṛśāḥ, sudarśanā, akaniṣṭhāś-ceti.*" Kasuwara et al 1885:31).

51. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 24 lists the twelve bases of consciousness—those of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, and those of form, smell, sound, taste, touch, and *dharma*. (Kasuwara et al 1885:5).

52. KCT 5.168b. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 124 names two *cakravāḍau*, the regular one and the large one (*dvau cakravāḍau, tadyathā—cakravāḍa-mahācakravāḍau ceti.* Kasawara et al 1885:30).

53. Puṇḍarīka gives us a full description of these; (the boldfaced numbers refer to page and line in Ripoché et al 1994b). "Here the marks of the great man are as follows—the two soles of the Tathāgata's feet and the two palms of his hands are marked with *cakras*; the two soles of his feet are well connected to the completely filled thousand-rayed *cakra* and in to his navel (*cakra*). He touches the ground with the entire sole of his foot [i.e. flat footed]; she also [127.5] raises herself up on the upraised sole of the foot, bows down on the bent down [sole of the foot]; on the palm of the hand and the sole of the foot, covered over with a net, the two hands, like [those] of the king goose (the *rājahaṃsa* has red feet and a red beak) are webbed (*jālin* literally = 'having a net.'). the two feet, like [those] of a new-born child, are most extraordinarily tender; there are the seven prominent parts of the body; i.e. there is a prominence on the two feet, the two hands, the two shoulders, and also on the throat. On the hands and the feet there are long fingers and toes, round, extended; the thumb etc. have beautiful joints. The heel of his foot is extended, he has very straight limbs, his knees and the tips of his fingers are high; his body hairs are high and prominent, turning to the right; he has a black antelope's lower legs, his lower abdomen and generative organ (*basti-guhya*) have disappeared into a sheath; the lower abdomen and generative organ are covered with a sheath like that of an elephant; [127.10] he is glistening with the color of gold etc.; he has a golden complexion; there is no dust or dirt attaching to the base of each individual hair in the middle of the eyebrows; the *maṇḍala* above the brow consists of the thirty-two [marks], with an extremely subtle white [just like] the white of bits of cotton, turning clockwise (the *maṇḍala* is turning; though the *maṇḍalas* are depicted artistically as static, they are in fact considered to be in motion, spinning; wheels (*cakra*) do after all turn!). He is [like] a lion in the upper part of his body, tall and broad, with very large shoulders, with a circular neck; in his major and minor limbs have the best juices of the saps; the sap is the flavor, hence the best flavors of the saps; they, furthermore, are the pinnacles, drawing from the best; i.e. because he is not besmeared with the [the three humors or *doṣas*] wind (*vāta*), bile (*pitta*) and phlegm (*śleṣma*). Round [like] the fig tree, he is the great man; in its length [127.15] and breadth, all around, in fact, his head is encircled by the *uṣṇīṣa* (the original meaning of this word is 'a turban'). The *uṣṇīṣa* is encircled and raised up like a umbrella; he touches with the tip of his tongue as far as the hairs of his head and his nostrils; and he covers with his

tongue his forehead up to the hair[line]. Just as the *brahmasvara* [the *brahman* sound] [is heard] externally because of the endless assembly [of brahmins chanting the Vedas] (this provides textual support for my proposition of the functionally eternity of the *Vedas*—they’ve been consistently recited for thousands of years) likewise it is also heard internally by all sentient beings. He has a circular jaw like that of a lion, his teeth are even, [all] twenty four are white, and they are free of all defects. His eyes are intensely blue etc.—the blue that is in his two eyes is intensely blue; where they are red, they are intensely red; what is white is intensely white; like the cows’ eyelashes for the bull, his eyelashes stretch out above and below (i.e. he has very long eyelashes). His body has all the colors, because of observing the various colors of all sentient beings. (See *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ* 83 for a similar list of the thirty-two marks). In this way, the thirty two marks of the great man, beginning from the sole of the foot [127.20], ending with the *uṣṭṣa*, are stated in the *Dharmasaṅgraha* (*M.Sū.Saṃ.* p.334).” — (this reference is given in the Sarnath text. Unfortunately, the explanations of acronyms was not included in the first edition). The *dvātriṃśal-lakṣaṇāni* are given at *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ* 83 (Kasawara et al 1885:18-19) are indicated by this verse.

54 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:148.30. *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ* 45 gives the four right exertions as the protection of the arisen roots of happiness, the production of the [sources of happiness] that have not arisen, the destruction of those things that have arisen and are not suitable, and no further arising of the unarisen things [that are not suitable]. (*Katamāni catvāri Samyakprahāṇāni, tadyathā—utpannānāṃ kuśalamūlānāṃ samrakṣaṇam | Anutpannānāṃ samutpādaḥ | Utpannānāṃ akuśalānāṃ dharmānāṃ prahāṇam | Anutpannānāṃ punar anutpādaś ceti |* | Kasawara et al 1885:10).

55 . See Chapter 11.2 of this dissertation for Puṅḍarīka’s explanation of the *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ* terminology.

56 . Singh 1989:201.

57 . Singh 1989:196, his translation. The Sanskrit reads: *Ya sarva-yoga-avayava-prakāśeṣu gabhastimān | śrīpūrvaśāstre nirṇīto yena muktaś ca mocakaḥ | etat tu sarvathā grāhyam vimṛśyam ca parepsubhiḥ | kṣaṇam martyatva-sulabhāṃ hitvāsūyam vicakṣaṇaiḥ | ālocana-kṣaṇād ūrdhvam yad bhaved ātmani sthitaḥ | cia-arka-abhra-lavās tena saṃśāmyante svato rasāt |* (Singh 1989:74 of Sanskrit).

58 . See Newman 1981.

59 . Shāstrī 1939-40:56.

60 . Grünendahl 1989:244.

61 . MVV 1.99-1.101a: *Evaṃ ca eṣa prakāśa-ātmā sapta-triṃśa-ātmakāt paraḥ | vaicitrya-bhāsanāṃ kurvan kālam bhāsayati prabhuh | vaicitrya-bhāsanā eva iyaṃ kāla-śaktir udāhṛtā | tato ’vabhāsamāna-etat-kāla-śakty-anurodhataḥ | asmaktiāt tadā ity ādir uparāgaḥ pravartate |* (Kaul Śāstrī 1921:11).

62 . MVV 1.153b-156: *Uktaṃ hi bhāva-ābhāso yaḥ kālaḥ sa kalanātmakaḥ | sva-saṃvid-raśmi-saṃsphāro bhāva-abhāvaḥ sa na aparaḥ | tasmāt sva-raśmi-saṃrodha-dvāra-ruddha-adhva-manḍalaḥ | kāla-grāsa-ekarasiko jāyate khecaraḥ svayam | tad uktaṃ parameśena Tantra śrīdāmara-abhdīdhe | niruddhya raśmi-cakraṃ svaṃ pītvā amṛtam anuttamam | kāla-ubhaya-aparicchinne vartmane sukḥi bhavet |* (Kaul Śāstrī 1921:16).

63 . Commentary on KCT 5.132, Rinpoche et al 1994b:107:26-27.

64 . Commentary on KCT 1.134, Rinpoche et al 1994b:108.28-108.29.

65 . See Plofker 1995.

66 . Pingree 1978:533.

67 . Pingree 1978:533.

68 . Pingree 1981:8 .

69 . Pingree 1981:8.

70 . Pingree 1978:554.

71 . Arraj 1988:190.

72 . My thanks to Prof. David Pingree for pointing out this connection to me, and referring me to the explanatory passage in his translation of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā*.

73 . I have not yet figured out why the number of channels is routinely given as 72,000.  $72,000 \div 60 = 1200$ ,  $1200 \div 24 = 50$ ;  $72,000 \div 24 = 3000$ ;  $(72,000 \div 60) \div 60 = 20$ . None of these results have (to me) obvious overlaps with the time system.

74 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:23.22-23.

75 . *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 8.39a (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:44).

76 . See next endnote for citation.

77 . TA 6.1-10; Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1089-1098.

78 . TA 6.1-6.10: *Sthāna-prakalpa-ākhyatayā sphuṭas tu bāhyo 'bhupāyaḥ pravivicyate 'tha|1|| sthāna-bhedas tridhā proktaḥ prāṇe dehe bahis tathā| prāṇas ca pañadhā dehe dvidhā bāhyaāntaratvataḥ|2|| maṇḍalaṇi sthaṇḍilaṇi pātram akṣasūtraṇi sapustakam| liṅgaṇi tūraṇi paṣaḥ puṣaṇi pratimā mūrtir eva ca|3|| ity ekādaśadhā bāhyaṇi punas tad-bahudhā bhavet| tatra prāpāśrayaṇi tāvad vidhānam upadiśyate|4|| adhvā samasta eva ayaṇi śaḍvidho 'py ativistṛtaḥ| yo vakṣyate sa ekatra prāṇe tāvat pratiṣṭhitaḥ|5|| adhvanaḥ kalanaṇi yat tat krama-akramatayā sthītam| krama-akramau hi citra-eka-kalanā bhāva-gocare|6|| krama-akrama-ātmā kālaś ca [sarvaḥ] saṇvidi vartate| kālī nāma parā śaktiḥ sā eva devasya gīyate|7|| sā eva saṇvid-bahiḥ sva-ātma-garbhābhūtau krama-akramau| sphuṭayantī prarohaṇe| prāṇa-vṛttir iti sthīta|8|| saṇvin-mātraṇi hi yac cchuddhaṇi prakāśa-paramārthakam| tan-meyam ātmanaḥ projjhya viviktaṇi bhāsate nabhaḥ|9|| tad eva śūnya-rūpatvaṇi saṇvidāḥ pariḡyate| neti neti vimarsēna yogināṇi sā parā daśā|| (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1089-1097). My paraphrases of Jayaratha's glosses on 6.10a and 6.10b are 'śūnya-rūpatvam' iti śūnya-pramāṇtvam iti arthaḥ| śūnyatvaṇi ca asya sarvasya saṇvedhyasya saṇkṣayāt, na tu saṇvido api... and 'yogināṇi parā' śūnya-atiśūnya-rūpā 'daśā' viśrānti-sthānam ity arthaḥ| yad āhuḥ 'śūnyatā-avasthitaḥ paścāt saṇvedana-vivarjitaḥ| nirvāṇaḥ kṣṇa-varṇma eva nirupākyo bhavaty asau||' iti. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1096-1098).*

79 . The image of Indra's net (*indra-jāla*), dates back to the *Atharvaveda* 8.8 (see Monier Williams' citation in his dictionary), where it occurs in a warrior's ritual designed to conquer enemies. As Lanman explains in a note to this hymn, the sorcerer starts a fire with a fire drill, reciting the second verse of the hymn; once the fire is burning he adds fuel, reciting verses 3 & 4; the sorcerer then magically strews the opposing army's path with various obstacles, including 'Indra's net' among various nets and stakes, piles of grass, etc. I've cited Whitney's translation of the hymn here for convenience of the reader, and bold-faced the references to Indra's net (eliding most of the inserted, bracketed Sanskrit terms):

AV 8.8.1: Let Indra the shaker shake [them], he the mighty hero, stronghold-splitter, in order

that we may slay by thousands the armies of our enemies. 8.8.2: Let the putrid rope, breathing on [it], make yonder army putrid; seeing afar smoke, fire, let our enemies set fear in their hearts. 8.8.3: Crush yonder men out, O *aśvattha*; devour them speedily, O *khadira*; let them be suddenly broken like hemp; let the slayer slay them with deadly weapons. 8.8.4: Let the rough-called one make yonder men rough; let the slayer slay them with deadly weapons; let them be broken quickly like a reed, tied together with a great net. 8.8.5: The atmosphere was the net; the great quarters [were] the net-stakes; therewith encircling [them], the mighty one (*śakra*) scattered away the army of the barbarians. 8.8.6: Since great is the net of the great mighty one, the vigorous--therewith do thou crowd down upon all [our] foes, that no one soever of them may be released. 8.8.7: Great, O Hindra, hero, is the net of thee that art great, that art worth a thousand, that hast hundred-fold heroism; therewith encircling the army of the barbarians, the mighty one slew a hundred, a thousand, ten thousand, a hundred million. 8.8.8: This great world was the net of the great mighty one; by that *net of Indra* do I encircle all yon men with darkness. 8.8.9: Debility, formidable ill-success, and mishap that is not to be exorcised away, toil, and weariness, and confusion--with these do I encircle all you men. 8.8.10: To death do I deliver those yonder; with fetters of death [are] they bound; the sad messengers that are death's--them I lead them to meet, having bound [them]. 8.8.11: Lead ye them, O messengers of death; O messengers of Yama, restrain [them]; by they slain to more than thousands; let Bhava's club shatter them. 8.8.12: The Perfectibles (*sādhyā*) go lifting with force one net-stake, the Rudras one, the Vasus one; by the Ādityas one is lifted. 8.8.13: Let all the gods from above go crowding with force; let the Āngirases go slaying midway the great army. (and so on...Whitney 1905:502-507). The idea of 'Indra's net' takes on a different interpretation in Hu-yen Buddhism.

80 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:87.29-88.3.

81 .  $1800 \times 12 = 21,600$ .

82 . This is the idealized year of twelve months of thirty days each = three hundred sixty, not three hundred sixty-five--*sastyuttaraśatatrāya*.

83 . Of the *ghatikā-samkhyā-śvāsānām*.

84 . Lit: devoid of blackness, *kālikā-rahitāni*.

85 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:94.2-94.13.

86 . See here Arraj 1988:190-195.

87 . Arraj 1988:196-198.

88 . *Mālintvijayottara Tantra* 3.10b-12. (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:15).

89 . MVT 19.52 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:131).

90 . Staal 1983:17.

91 . Prof. Thurman's innovative translation.

92 . *Sattva* appears to be the Sanskrit equivalent of *homo sapiens*.

93 . "La *dikṣā* (śivaïte--ou tantrique en général) est une longue cérémonie purificatoire (400 p. dans le *Svacchanda* pour la description d'une seule méthode) dont l'ambition est d'unir le disciple à Śiva après l'avoir, par la force des *mantra*, fait consommer en un instant tout le *karman* qu'il avait accumulé. La voie par laquelle on l'achemine ainsi vers Śiva peut varier. Le *Netra* mentionne: la Voie des *tattva* (on utilise 36, 18, 9, 5, 3 ou un *tattva*), celle de *kalā*,



des *pada*, des *varṇa*, des *mantra* et des *bhuvana*. On reconnaît le Sextuple Chemin, commun à toutes les écoles Śivāites." (Brunner 1974:135-136n.4).

94 . Gnoli 1980:32.

95 . See Arraj 1988:170 and 170n.1.

96 . A bell metal of white copper {a zinc/copper alloy}, one of the unnamed Lexicons in MW describes this as a musical instrument, gong-like consisting of this metal; cf. *kāṃsya-ghana/kāṃsya-tāla*—both cymbals.

97 . *kimcid-bhitti-mad-āśritaḥ*.

98 . MVT 23.1-23.19 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:153-155).

99 . Data from Monier Williams' Dictionary.

100 . Singh 1989:25, and Singh's note 1989:30n.16

101 . See Dowman 1985:33-38.

102 . See Singh 1989:60n.5.

103 . See Mitchiner 1982 for a study of the seven *ṛsis*.

104 . Gnoli translates as 'compenetration.'

105 . This refers to the three *upāyas* of the Trika system.

106 . Evidently the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* was written at a time when some of its doctrine had been forgotten or lost with the passing of some of the teachers, suggesting a lengthy lineage.

107 . *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* 2.17-2.27, Kaul Shāstrī 1922:8-10.

108 . Sanderson 1987:15.

109 . Item 34 in the detailed TOC, (Rastogi & Dwivedi 1987{6}:xxxiv).

110 . "La penetrazione nella natura propria." (Gnoli 1980:944).

111 . TA 1.1: *Vimala-kalā-āśraya-abhinava-sṛṣṭi-mahā janantī bharita-tanuś ca pañca-mukha-gupta-rucir-janakah | tad-ubhaya-yāmala-sphurita-bhāva-visarga-mayaṃ hṛdayam anutara-amṛta-kulaṃ mama sa-sphuratāt |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:3).

112 . TA 1.2 *Naumi cit-pratibhāṃ devīm parāṃ bhairava-yoginīm | mātṛ-māna-prameya-āṃśa-sūla-ambuja-kṛtāspadām |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:16).

113 . TA 1.2: *Naumi devīm śartra-sthāṃ nṛtyato bhairavākṛte | prāvṛṇ-megha-ghana-vyomī-vidul-lekhā-vilāsintīm |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:17). Jayaratha quotes a line from the *Śivasūtras* here that identifies "the dancer" as the *ātman*. I differ slightly here from Gnoli, who says simply that the Goddess resides in the body of the dancing Bhairava ("la dea che risiede nel corpo di Bhairava danzante" (Gnoli 1980:68).) Gnoli's translation ignores both the locative in *bhairavākṛte*, and the *-ākṛte* aspect of the compound (*ākṛta* = to be brought near or drawn towards) and ignores the relationship of Aparā to the individual Tantric practitioner. The whole point of Abhinavagupta's system is to enlighten the practitioner to their *own* intimate relationship with the divine, and to illumine how the *Śakti* is 'turned on'—essentially through tapping the creative power of sexual love, as indicated in the opening stanza about the divine couple in Abhinava's heart.

114 . TA 1.4: *Dīpta-jyotiś-chatā-pluṣṭa-bheda-banda-trayaṃ sphurat | s[ya]j jñāna-sūlaṃ sat-pakṣa-vipakṣa-utkartana-kṣamam |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:19).

115. The added characterizations of these three *Śakti* forms comes from the next verse, TA 1.5: *Svātantrya-śaktiḥ, Krama-saṁsisṛkṣā, Kramātmatā ca iti vibhor vibhūtiḥ | tad eva devitrayam antarāstam anuttaraṁ me prathayat svarūpaṁ |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:20).

116. TA 1.18: *Daśa-aṣṭādaśa-vasu-aṣṭa-bhinnaṁ yac-chāsanam vibhoḥ | tat-sāraṁ trika-śāstraṁ hi tat-sāraṁ mālini-matam |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:34; Gnoli 1980:70)

117. TA 1.26...1.30a: *Ato jñeyasya tattvasya sāmasyena aprathātmakam | jñānam eva tad-ajñānam Śivasūtreṣu bhāṣitam |* ... *Dvaita-prathā tad-ajñānam tuccharvād bandha ucyate |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:58-59; Gnoli 1980:71-72).

118. TA 1.43: *Tatra dīkṣādīnā paumṣnam ajñānam dhvaṁsi yadi api | tathāpi tac-charitra-ante taj-jñānam vyajyate sphuṭam |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:79; Gnoli 1980:74).

119. "In the mammalian kingdom, energy is stored in the central channel of the spinal column which is the generating, storing, as well as distributing centre. According to A.G. whatever is taken in, whether in the form of food or perception (e.g. sound, visual awareness of form, savor, contact, etc.) is converted first in the central channel in the form of *ojas* (vital energy); then this *ojas* is converted into seminal energy (*vīrya*) which permeates the whole body. All reproductive and creative functions are performed by this energy. Whether it is the enjoyment of good food, beautiful scenery, sweet music, entrancing poem, the embrace of a dear one, everywhere it is this energy that is at play. It is the representative of the divine energy (*khecart*) on the physical plane." (Singh 1989:52).

120. Singh 1989:21 Sanskrit, slightly modified version of his translation on pp. 61-62 English.

121. See Singh 1989:29.

122. Abhinavagupta, describing cosmic evolution in the Trika system, speaks of "the experient dominated by *māyā* (*māyā-grāhaka* or *māyā-pramātā*) of which the group of five, i.e. the group of the five *kañcukas* or coverings is his sphere of experience (*tad-grāhya-cakra*)...." (Singh 1989:115).

123. See Drabu 1990:58-77 for a helpful discussion of these initiatory stages.

124. See Dyczkowski 1987:130-131, and Drabu 1990:275.

125. Singh 1979:22.

126. Singh 1989:27-28.

127. TA 1.83: "*Hṛdi-sthaṁ sarva-deha-sthaṁ sva-bhāva-sthaṁ su-sūkṣmakam | sāmuhyaṁ caiva tattvānāṁ grāma-śabdena kīrtitam |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:124).

128. One of the better summaries is in Drabu 1990:58-81.

129. *Buddhau prāṇe tathā dehe deṣe yā jaḍatā sthitā | tāṁ tirodhāya medhāvī saṁvid-raśmi-mayo bhavet |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:935).

130. *Yah prakāśaḥ svatantra 'yaṁ cit-svabhāvaḥ hṛdi sthitaḥ | sarva-tattva-mayaḥ proktam etac ca Triśiromate |* *Tantrālokaḥ* 5.20 (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:946). Jayaratha glosses *cit-svabhāva* as *arka-ādi-prakāśa-vilakṣaṇa*, i.e. perceiving with the radiating light of the Sun etc. The *proktam etac ca Triśiromate* here indicates that Abhinavagupta is citing the opinion of the *Triśirobhairavatantra* in support of his explanation.

131. *Kadalt-saṁpuṭa-ākāraṁ sa-bāhya-abhyantara-antaram | tkṣate hṛdaya-antaḥsthaṁ tat-puṣpam iva tattva-vit |* *Tantrālokaḥ* 5.21 (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:947).

132 . *Tantrālokaḥ* 5.22-23a: *Soma-sūrya-agni-saṃghaṭṭam tatra dhyāyed anayadhīḥ | tad-dhyāna-araṇi-saṃksobhān mahā-bhairava-havya-bhuk | | hṛdaya-ākhye mahā-kuṇḍe jājvalan spṛtatām vrajet |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:948-949). Jayaratha glosses *spṛtatām vrajet* as one who witnesses the intrinsic self in the form of the 'full-perceiver' ('*spṛtatām vrajet*' *pūrṇa-pramāṭṛ-rūpatayā svātma-sākṣāt-kāro bhaved ity arthaḥ*).

133 . *Na vrajen na viśec chaktir marud-rūpā vikāsite | nirvikalpatayā madhye tayā bhairava-rūpa-dhṛt | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:949).

134 . *Tantrālokaḥ* 5.23b-29a: *Tasya śaktimataḥ sphṛta-śakter bhairava-tejasah | | māṭṛ-māna-prameya-ākhyam dhāma-abhedena bhāvayet | vahny-arka-soma-śaktīnām tad eva tritayam bhavet | | parā parāparā ca iyam aparā ca sadā-uditā | sṛṣṭi-sthiti-saṃhārais tāsām pratyekatas tridhā | | caturtham ca anavacchinnaṃ rūpam āsām akalpitam | evam dvādaśa tā devyaḥ sūrya-bimbavad āsthitāḥ | | eka-ekam āsām vahny-arka-soma-tacchānti-bhāsanam | etad ānuttaram cakram hṛdayāc cakṣurādibhiḥ | | vyomabhir niḥsaraty eva tat-tad-viṣaya-gocare | tac-cakra-bhābhis tatra arthe sṛṣṭi-sthiti-laya-kramāt | | soma-sūrya-agni-bhāsa-ātma rūpam samavaṣṭhite |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:950-954)

135 . *Tantrālokaḥ* 6.49-50, 51b: *Saṃvedya-jīvana-abhikya-prayatna-spanda-Sundaraḥ | prāṇaḥ kandāt prabhṛty eva tathā apy atra na susphuṭaḥ | | kandādhārāt prabhṛtyeva vyavasthā tena kathyate Svacchandaśāstre nādīn āṃ vāyv-ādharatayā sphuṭam | | ... Vedyayamāt tu hṛdayāt prāṇa-cāro vibhajyate | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1131, 1133).

136 . *Tantrālokaḥ* 6.62b: *Vīryam ojo balaṃ spandaḥ prāṇacāraḥ samaṃ tataḥ | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1141).

137 . Commentary on *Tantrālokaḥ* 7.28: *spandaśca prāṇāśrayaḥ* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1313).

138 . See Arraj 1988:113n.1.

139 . Kaul Śāstrī 1921:11.

140 . *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 18.1-13. *Śṛṇu devi paraṃ guhyam aprāpyam akṣātmanām | yan na kasyacid ākhyātam tad adya kathayāmi te | | 1 | | sarvam anyat parityajya cittam atra nīveśayet | mṛcchaila-dhātu-ratna-ādi-bhavaṃ liṅgaṃ na pūjayet | | 2 | | yajed ādhyātmikaṃ liṅgaṃ yatra līnaṃ carācaram | bahir liṅgasya liṅgatvam anena adhiṣṭhitaṃ yataḥ | | 3 | | ataḥ prapūjayed etat parama-advaitam āsritaḥ | anudhyānena deveśi pareṇa paramāpunā | | 4 | | yo 'nudhyātaḥ sa eva etal liṅgaṃ paśyati na aparāḥ | yad etat spandanam nāma hṛdaye samavasthitam | | 5 | | tatra cittam samādhyāya kampa udbhava eva ca | tatra praśāntim āpanne māsenā ekena Yogavir | | 6 | | hṛdayād utthitaṃ liṅgaṃ brahma-randhra-antam īsvari | sva-prabhā-uddiyotita-aśeṣa-dehā-antam amala-dyuti | | 7 | | tatraiva paśyate sarvaṃ mantra-jālaṃ mahāmatih | tan-mastakaṃ samāruhya māsa-mātram ananya-dhīḥ | | 8 | | tatas tatra Suniṣpanne ṣaṇ-māsāt sarva-siddhayaḥ | etal-liṅgam avijñāya yo liṅgī liṅgam āsrayet | | 9 | | vṛthā pariśramas tasya na liṅga-phalam aśnute śaivam etan mahāliṅgam ātma-liṅge [na] siddhyati | | 10 | | siddhe 'tra liṅgaval-liṅgī liṅgastho liṅgavarjitaḥ | bhavati iti kim āścaryam etasmāl liṅga-liṅgitaḥ | | 11 | | anena liṅga-liṅgena yadā yogī bahir vrajet | tadā liṅgī iti vijñeyaḥ purāntam liṅgam iśyate | | 12 | | etasamāl liṅga-vijñānād yogino liṅgitaḥ smṛtāḥ | anena adhiṣṭhitaḥ mantrāḥ śānta-raudra-ādi-bhedataḥ | | 13 | | bhavanti iti kim āścaryam ta-bhāva-gata-cetasah | raudraṃ bhāvaṃ samāśritya yadi Yogaṃ samabhyaset | | 14 | |* (Kaul Śāstrī 1922:117-118).

141 . From Monier-Williams' Sanskrit-English dictionary.

142 . MVT 18.15-18.30, Kaul Shāstrī 1922:118-120.

- 143 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:55.5-8.
- 144 . Monier Williams lists 'the gate opening to heaven' from the *Amrtabindu-upanisad*.
- 145 . *Mālintvijayottaratantra* 18.43-18.53, Kaul Shāstrī 1922:121-122.
- 146 . The drive or desire or inclination to do something.
- 147 . Singh 1989:63 and 64n.2-4. The Sanskrit reads: *Parā bhagavatī samvit-prasarantī svarūpataḥ | parecchā-śaktir ity uktā bhairavasya avibhedinī | | tasyāḥ prasara-dharmitvaṃ jñāna-śaikty-ādi-rūpatā | parāparaā-aparā-rūpa-paśyanty-ādi-vapur-bhṛtiḥ | |* (Singh 1989:22 Sanskrit). Singh has legitimately interpolated *kriyāśakti*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī* into the *jñāna-śaikty-ādi* and *paśyanti-ādi*, respectively.
- 148 . A more accurate English translation of this term is "independence."
- 149 . Singh 1989:68. The Sanskrit reads: *Ata eva saiva ca parameśvarī sarvaṃ śṛṇoti--śravaṇa-ākhyayā sattayā tiṣṭhanti tasyāḥ śravaṇa-samputa-sphuṭa-kramika-sva-spanda-maya-varṇa-rāśi-niṣṭham aikāntya-āpādanā-rūpa-saṃkalana-anusandhāna-ākhyam svātantryam | tena hi vinā kala-kala-līna-śabda-viśeṣam śṛnvannapi--na śṛnomi iti vyavaharati pramātā |* (Singh 1989:24 Sanskrit).
- 150 . Singh 1989:74; *na tair vinā bhavet chabdo na artho na api ceter gatih* (Singh 1989:28 Sanskrit).
- 151 . Singh 1989:78.
- 152 . Singh 1989:77.
- 153 . See Arraj 1988.
- 154 . See Brunner 1974.
- 155 . Arraj 1988:135.
- 156 . Arraj 1988:136-137.
- 157 . Arraj 1988:139.
- 158 . Arraj 1988:145.
- 159 . Arraj 1988:144.
- 160 . Arraj 1988:147-148.
- 161 . Arraj 1988:149-150.
- 162 . Arraj 1988:153.
- 163 . Arraj 1988:156-157.
- 164 . Arraj 1988:163-167.
- 165 . Arraj 1988:168.
- 166 . Flood 1989:229.
- 167 . Arraj 1988:168 and 168n.1-2, and 1988:169.
- 168 . Arraj 1988:171-172.
- 169 . Arraj 1988:172.
- 170 . Arraj remarks "It remains ambiguous whether the knowledge initiation can ever supplant the normal ceremonial initiation, or can only occur as its regular or supernumerary conclusion." (Arraj 1988:178).

171. Arraj 1988:180.
172. Arraj 1988:182-183.
173. Arraj 1988:218.
174. Arraj 1988:218-219.
175. Arraj 1988:238.
176. Arraj 1988:241.
177. Arraj 1988:246. See Arraj 1988:218-264 for the description of the *bhuvanas*.
178. *Brahmā caturmukhaḥ saumyo raktavarṇaḥ sulocanaḥ* | | *lambakūrcaḥ sutejāśca haṃsārūḍhaścaturbhujāḥ* | *daṇḍākṣasūtrahastaśca kamaṇḍalvabhaye dadhat* | | *vedaiścaturbhiḥ saṃyuktāḥ sarvasiddhiphalapradāḥ* | Dwivedi 1985a:97).
179. *Buddhaḥ padmāsanagataḥ pralamba-śruti-cīvaraḥ* | | *padmākṣaḥ padmacihnaśca maṇibaddho jagaddhitaḥ* | *samādhistho mahāyogī varadābhayapāṇikaḥ* | | *akṣasūtradhara devaḥ padmahastaḥ sulocanaḥ* | *evaṃ dhyātaḥ pūjitaśca strīṇāṃ mokṣaphalapradāḥ* | | Dwivedi 1985a:98.
180. *Maṇibaddha ity āhitāgnyāditvād niṣṭhāyāḥ paratvam* | | Dwivedi 1985a:98.
181. Brunner 1974:125-126.
182. Brunner 1974:128—her term is *procédés magiques*.
183. Brunner 1974:129-131.
184. MVT: 19.43, Kaul Shāstrī 1922:130.
185. Brunner 1974:131-133.
186. Brunner 1974:134.
187. Brunner 1974:134-135.
188. "La *dikṣā* (Śivaïte—ou tantrique en général) est une longue cérémonie purificatoire (400 p. dans le *Svacchanda* pour la description d'une seule méthode) dont l'ambition est d'unir le disciple à Śiva après l'avoir, par la force des *mantra*, fait consommer en un instant tout le *karman* qu'il avait accumulé. La voie par laquelle on l'achemine ainsi vers Śiva peut varier. Le *Netra* mentionne: la Voie des *tattva* (on utilise 36, 18, 9, 5, 3 ou un *tattva*), celle de *kalā*, des *pada*, des *varṇa*, des *mantra* et des *bhuvana*. On reconnaît le Sextuple Chemin, commun à toutes les écoles Śivaïtes." (Brunner 1974:135-136n.4).
189. Brunner 1974:136.
190. Brunner 1974:136—l'abhiṣeka "est une 'douche' rituelle avec l'eau 'chargée' de *mantra*.
191. Brunner 1974:136-137.
192. Brunner 1974:138-139.
193. Brunner 1974:140.
194. Kaul 1984:xiv-xv.
195. Kaul Śāstrī 1922:126.
196. One of the four mind-born sons of *Brahmā*, acc. to MW, = 'ancient.' The other three are given here, *Sanatkumāra*, *Sana[ātana]*, and *Sanandana*.

197. Christian Wedermeyer, a fellow Ph.D. student, suggested that we could read this as Śiva paying homage to himself, since all beings are in essence Śiva. The grammar certainly would allow for this interpretation.

198. I.e. 90 million.

199. I.e. 30 million.

200. *Mālintvijayottara Tantra* 1.1-13; Kaul Shāstrī 1922:1-2.

201. MVT 3.14, Kaul Shāstrī 1922:15.

202. MVT 3.31 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:17).

203. MVT 3.34 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:18).

204. See MVT 3.37-3.45 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:18-19).

205. MVT 3.68 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:21).

206. MVT 6.6-9 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:31-32).

207. MVT 11.1-6 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:73).

208. MVT 11.20 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:75).

209. MVT 12.5-12.11 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:79-80).

210. MVT 12.15-18 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:80-81).

211. MVT 12.34 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:83). *Sakalam ḥṛdaya-anta-stham ātmānaṃ kanaka-prabham | sva-prabhā-dyotitā-aśeṣa-deha-antam anucintayet |*

212. The *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* says: "He becomes golden in yonder world, he is seen as golden for all mortals, who knows this." (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.1.3; (Keith 1909:204.) Similarly in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*'s description of the *Agnicayana*, explaining why the sacrificer wears the gold plate sewn into the black antelope's skin, over his navel, *ŚB* 6.7.1.9-11 says: "Why over the navel—below the navel is the seed, the power of procreation ... and more in contact with ordure is that which is below the navel ... that part of the vital air which is immortal is above the navel, and streams out by upward breathings; but that which is mortal passes by and away from the navel." Another use of the gold plate is hanging it round the neck of the sacrificer during the *Agnicayana*. *ŚB* 6.7.1.1 says: "He hangs a gold plate (round his neck), and wears it; for that gold plate is the truth, and the truth is able to sustain that [*Ukhya agni* or fire in the pan that the Sacrificer will carry at the time of his *dikṣā*, and will be considered as the Sacrificer's divine body]: by means of the truth the gods carried it, and by means of the truth does he now carry it. (2:) Now that truth is the same as yonder Sun. It is a gold (plate), for gold is light, and he (the Sun) is the light; gold is immortality, and he is immortality. It (the plate) is round, for he (the Sun) is round. It has twenty-one knobs, for he is the twenty-first. He wears it with the knobs outside, for the knobs are his (the Sun's) rays, and his rays are outside." (Eggeling 1894:265.)

213. MVT 12.36 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:91).

214. MVT 13.21-24; 13.30 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:86-87)

215. MVT 13.34 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:87).

216. MVT 13.44 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:88).

217. MVT 1.44-1.47.(Kaul Shāstrī 1922:6).

218. Literally, ‘what are the channels in extent, and how is that body-mass?’ (*ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śartrapīṇḍa[ṇ] tat katham*). I’ve emended the text from *śanirapīṇḍa tat katham*, since *śanir*, i.e. Saturn, would make little sense here, and *pīṇḍa* lacks an *anusvāra*.

219. *Samaya-saṅketa-cchomasya*.

220. *Oṃ namaḥ śrīvajrasambarāya | Evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān sarvva-tathāgata-kāya-vāk-citta-vajrayoginībhaḡeṣu vijahāra | Āryyānanda-prabhṛti-vītarāga-pramukhair āryyāvalokiteśvarādir aśtikoṣṭiyoginī ca madhye vajrapāṇim vyavalokya smītam akārṣit | Vajrapāṇi[r] utthāya āśanād ekāṅsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇajānumaṅdalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya kṛtakarapuṭo bhūtvā bhagavantam adhyeṣayāmāsa | śrotum icchāmi bhagavan utpattiyogalakṣaṇaṃ | Utpannaṃ da katham deva sarvvākāraikasambaraṃ | | katham vāyu āpāśca pṛthivyākāśam eva ca | pañcākāraṃ katham deva ṣaḍvidhaṃ ca tataḥ prabho | | katham trikāyam adhiṣṭhānaṃ bāhyaṃ vābhyantare sthitiḥ | katham te devatārūpaṃ kathayasva devatī prabho | candrasūryyaḥ katham deva patha pañca katham bhavet | katham te śartrasvabhāvan tu nāḍīrūpaṃ katham tataḥ | | ke te nāḍī pramāṇasya śa[r]trapīṇḍa tat katham | samayaśaṅketacchomasya kathayasva mama prabho | | ke te pīṭhādisaṅketaṃ bāhyādhyātmakam eva ca | katham bhūmyādi-lābhasya katham nimittadarśanam | katham te dvādaśa-karmma mantrajāpaṃ katham bhavet | akṣamālā katham yukti ke te jāpasya lakṣaṇaṃ | ke te maṅḍalam āvarttaṃ devatākāra-yogataḥ | siddhimantraṃ katham deva kaumāri-tarpaṇaṃ katham | | ke divasena karttavyaṃ alivali katham prabho | pañcāmṛtādi katham deva pañcāṅkuśaṃś ca tad bhavet | | kathayasva maṅḍalālekhyāṃ sūtrapātaṃ katham bhavet | katham te bhūmi saṃśodhyaṃ rakṣācakraṃ katham bhavet | | ācāryya kena karttavyaṃ katham śiṣyasaya saṅgrahaṃ | ke te 'bhīṣekaṃ pramāṇaṃ ca caturthaṅca katham bhavet | | katham kālasya nīyamaṃ mṛtyuvañcanam eva ca | ke te caturyugāṅkasya caturdvīpaṃ katham bhavet | yuge yuge katham siddhi caryyācāri katham bhavet | ke te yoginttantrasya yogatantraṃ katham bhavet | | katham sūtrāntaḥ pramāṇasya ke te pāramitā tathā | pratiṣṭhāhomayāgasya siddhimantraṃ katham bhavet | | rasāyanaṃ katham deva madyapānaṃ katham bhavet | mantrodayaṃ katham deva mantroddhāra katham bhavet | | nīgrahaṅca katham deva anugrahaṅca katham bhavet | tattvāṅca katham bhagavan sūnyatā karuṇā katham | | katham sūnyasvabhāvatvaṃ katham tathatāsvarūpaṃ | devarūpaṃ katham nāma yoginīlakṣaṇaṃ valīṃ | | sarvva-dharma-parijñānaṃ bhāvānāṃ kathaya prabho | | Shāstri 1917:64-65.*

221. Commentary on 5.238: *Iha Kālacakre yoginā Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ jñātvā, tatas Tantra-deśanā kartavyā | anyathā Dharmasaṅgrahaṃ vinā, ku-marga-deśanā bhavati* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:148.8-9).

222. The commentary includes *napuṃsakam* after quoting the word *paramapadam* from the verse. *Napuṃsakam* refers either to something neither male nor female--i.e. either a eunuch, a hermaphrodite, or a neuter word. The grammatical sense must be intended here, though the rationale for Puṅḍarīka’s clarification is not entirely clear to me. One possible explanation could relate to his point made at 148.10-11, that the pair of wisdom and means is not the union of the penis and vagina (*dvayaṃ praññopāyo na bhaga-liṅga-śaḍyogaḥ*). Puṅḍarīka at times seems to favor the monastic and celibate traditions a bit, and his emphasis on the neuter aspect of the ultimate goal may have something to do with that predilection here. Such an attitude would seem to be emphasized by mentioning here the teacher in company with the *mantra* possessor, not a *yoginī* or Tantric consort--suggesting a situation of a male teacher and male student; this is however speculation on my part.

223. *Kaḥ pāpī śrī-guror yaḥ sucaraṇa-kamalaṃ vandate ne trikālaṃ ko 'jñānti yas trikālaṃ bahu-vidha-kusumair maṇḍalaṃ no karoti | ko 'vīciṃ yāti śīghraṃ sama-sukha-da-guroḥ khedaṃ utpādako yaḥ kāḥ prajñā-jñāna-lābhi vara-guru-caraṇaṃ yo na muñcaty anaṣṭaḥ || 250 || ko naṣṭo yas trinādyāṃ api gata-marutā māryate 'nanta-kālaṃ kaḥ śūro mārayed yaḥ sama-viṣama-pathi prāṇam apāna-vāyum | ko dātā śrī-guror yo dadati nija-tanuṃ putra-dārādī sarvaṃ ko nīco vañcuko yaḥ sva-hṛdaya-kaluṣa-ākṛṣya-cittaḥ śaṭhaś ca || 251 ||* (Rinpoche 1994b:152.24-31).

224. Commentary on 5.243: *Tat kasya hetoḥ? Ārya-viṣaye bauddhānāṃ paṇḍita-abhimānād ye guru-suśrūṣayā vinā pustakaṃ drṣṭvā asmābhir vajrapadaṃ jñātam iti vadīsyanti bauddhāḥ paṇḍitāḥ, tena ahaṅkarareṇa naraka-gamanam, seka-saṃpradāya-abhāvāt | tena [idaṃ] gopitam |* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:150.25-28).

225. Newman 1987:116-117.

226. Johnson 1992:xiii

227. Rinpoche et al 1994b:2.11-15.

228. *Mūla-mukhe* (?).

229. *Śmaśāna-karpaṭe cakra-dvayaṃ likhed vrati | rājikā-lavanenāpi viṣeṇa nimbakena ca || trikaṭukaṃ kaṭutaīlaṅca śmaśānārśānam eva ca | dhustūraka-patra-niryāsaiś caṇḍa-vījais tathaiva ca | tarjjanī-raktam ādāya ciktrakasya rasena vā | uśarasya mṛttikā gṛhya caṇḍāla-haṇḍikāñjanam || bubhuṅkṣita-padma-lekhanyā caturddaśyāṃ likhed brati | madhyāhne krūra-cittena duṣṭānāṃ bandha-hetunā | nāmaṃ sattva-vighātasya huṅkāreṇa vidarbhayet || dakṣiṇābhīmukho yogī ātmānaṃ yama-ghātakaṃ | krodha-rūpaṃ mahācaṇḍaṃ khaṇḍa-muṇḍa-vibhūṣitam || mahiṣa-sṭhaṃ lalaj-jihvaṃ vṛhad-udaraṃ bhayānakaṃ | kaḍārorddhva-jūṭa-keśaṃ vakra-śmaśru-bhruvaṃ tathā || dakṣiṇena mahāvajraṃ khaḍgaṃ caiva dvitīyakam | tṛtīye kartti-hastaṃ ca idānti vāmato likhet || cakraṃ caiva mahāpadmaṃ kapālaṃ caiva vāmataḥ | mūla-mukhe mahābhṛṅgaṃ dakṣiṇe candra-suprabhaṃ || vāmaṃ rakta-nibhaṃ proktaṃ vajrābharaṇa-bhūṣitam | roma-kūpa-mahāvivarā sphorayet sva-kulādhipaṃ || pratyāldha-pada-saṃsthaṃ sūryya-maṇḍala uddhataḥ | vikṛta-daṃṣṭrākārālāsyaṃ kalpa-jvālāgni-sannibhaṃ || evam ātmānaṃ sannahya sādhyāṃ vai purato nyaset | etc. etc. (Shāstrī 1917:147-148).*

230. See above, in the extract from the final chapter of the *Ekallavītracaṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* where *Bhagavati* is also described as the *paryaṅka-āsana* of sentient beings (*sattva-paryaṅka*).

231. *Ghorī* is also in the north in the *Yogāmbara maṇḍala* described in *Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpannayogāvalī*, with a fierce demeanor, yellow colored, three-eyed, with dishevelled hair, and two hands. (De Mallmann 1986:176).

232. *Vetālī* is also in the west in the following *maṇḍalas* described by *Abhayākaragupta* in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*: *Jñānaḍākinī*, *Yogāmbara*, *Hevajra*, and *Nairātmya*. (De Mallmann 1986:445).

233. *Caṇḍālī* is also in the south of the *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara maṇḍalas* as described by *Abhayākaragupta* in his *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, though she's in the southwest in his *Hevajra* and *Nairātmya maṇḍalas* (De Mallmann 1986:136).

234. De Mallmann describes *Siṃhīnī* in the *Jñānaḍākinī maṇḍala* from *Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpannayogāvalī*, vertically bi-colored with an eastern white half, and a northern yellow half. She has one lion face, two hands, dressed in red, and crowned with five skulls. (De Mallmann 1986:347-348).



235 . In the *Jñānaḍākinī maṇḍala* in *Abhayākaragupta's Niṣpannayogāvalī Vyāghrī* is also in the southeast, with a single tiger's head, vertically bicolored with a white southern half and a blue eastern half. (De Mallmann 1986:457).

236 . (Grünendahl 1989:486). *Ulūkt* is also in the northwest in the *maṇḍalas* of *Jñānaḍākinī* and *Yogāmbara* as described by *Abhayākaragupta* (De Mallmann 1986:384).

237 . 60 *aṅgulas*.

238 . *Maṇḍala-pada-dakṣiṇa-pādaṃ bhūmau saṃsthāpya vāmapada[m], trailokya-laṅghanākāreṇa salīlam utkṣepaḥ iti trivikramapadaṃ| dakṣiṇa-careṇa vāmacaraṇm ākramet| vāma-jaṅghaṃ saṃkocya, pañca-vitasti-āyām[e] prāsārayet, ālīḍhaṃ syāt| pratyālīḍho atra dakṣiṇam ākuñcya vāmaṃ tathāiva prāsārayed iti|* (Grünendahl 1989:491).

239 . Orofino 1994:9.

240 . *Sucandar āha: sekaḥ saptavidhaḥ śāsta trividho 'nuttaras tathā| laukikottara-siddhyartham saṃkṣepāt kathayasva me||* SD 1 (Orofino 1994:131).

241 . SD 1.10: *udaka-mukuta-paṭṭo vajra-ghaṅṭā mahāvratam| nāma-anujñāna-samāyuktaḥ sekaḥ saptavidho nṛpa||* (Orofino 1994:132).

242 . *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 22, Kasawara et al 1885:5.

243 . *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 17, Kasawara et al 1885:4.

244 . *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 18; Kasawara et al 1885:4.

245 . SD 1.11-1.14: *kāya-vāk-citta-saṃsuddhir abhiṣeka-dvayaṃ dvayam| anujñā jñāna-śuddhiḥ syād anyā dhātvādi-śuddhitā||11|| udakaṃ dhātu-saṃsuddhir maull skandha-viśodhanam| paṭṭaḥ pāramitā-śuddhir vajra-ghaṅṭā mahākṣaram||12|| buddha-bhāṣā na vicchinnā arkendv-ekatra-śodhanam| viśaya-indriya-saṃsuddhiḥ syād vajra-vratam acyutam||13|| nāma maitry-ādi-śuddhiḥ syād anujñā buddha-śodhanam| ete sapta sekā deyaḥ vartayitvā tu maṇḍalam||14||* (Orofino 1994:132).

246 . Gyatso et al 1991:73-74.

247 . Cf. Gyatso et al 1991:68. Although Hopkins designates initiations 10-11, and 14-15 as knowledge wisdom initiation and provisional word initiation, and then knowledge-wisdom initiation and definitive word initiation, the Sanskrit of the *Sekodeśaḥ* indicates a slightly different emphasis. SD 15 reads: *kumbho guhyābhiṣekaś ca prajñā-jñāna-abhidhānakaḥ| punar eva mahāprajñā tasyā jñānābhidhānakaḥ||* (Orofino 1994:132). While the first compound, *prajñā-jñāna-abhidhānakaḥ* could easily be taken either as 'wisdom-knowledge' and 'word' or 'name', or 'wisdom' and 'the word of knowledge', the second half of the verse indicates that the second interpretation is more likely. To parse the second half of the verse: *punar eva* indicates that we repeat the first half of the first line, i.e. we take *kumbho guhyābhiṣekaś ca* again. The second half of the verse however separates the *prajñā*, indicating in the 'highest' level of initiations *prajñā* is superseded by *mahāprajñā*. Then the verse uses the genitive of the *tā* pronoun, indicating that the *jñāna-abhidhānakaḥ* is the 'knowledge-word' of *mahāprajñā*, or, literally, 'great-wisdom's knowledge-word,' or the word that gives one knowledge of great wisdom. This syntactical pattern indicates that in the first half of the verse we should parse the compound by the second option, i.e. wisdom, and wisdom's knowledge-word.

248 . *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 8.122a (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:54).

249 . SD 16-17: *Kṣara-<sup>[a]</sup>kṣaras tataḥ spando niḥspandaś ca tato paraḥ | kāya-vāk-citta-saṃsuddhyā abhiṣeka-trayaṃ kramāt || 16 || caturtho jñāna-saṃsuddhiḥ kāya-vāk-citta-śodhakaḥ | bālaḥ prauḍhas tathā vṛddhaś caturthas tu prajāpatiḥ || 17 ||* (Orofino 1994:132). I've modified Gnoli's Sanskrit just slightly—he has *kṣaraḥ kṣaras* in the first *pada* of 16, though this doesn't seem to make much sense given the logic of the syntax, whereby it is paired with *spando niḥspandaś ca*; the usual pattern would be two pairs of opposites, suggesting *kṣara* and *akṣara*.

250 . KCT 5.112 and commentary, Rinpoche et al 1994b:52.26-27.

251 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:53.9.

252 . ....*vṛkṣa-mūlika, ekāsanika, ābhyavakāśika, āraṇyakāḥ, śmaśānikāḥ*....Kasawara et al 1885:13.

253 . Davidson's edition, verse 61b. "Arisen from the sky and self-arisen, he is the exalted fire of self-gnosis." The next two quotes are from Davidson verses 62a and 63a respectively: "Vairocana, the great lumen, the light of gnosis, he is the illuminator," and "he is *mantrarāja* performing the great goal." (Davidson 1981:26 & 54). These portions of the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ* are quoted in full on Rinpoche et al 1994b:69, part of the long commentary on KCT 5.127.

254 . According to the MW listing, *dravya* refers to the 9 *Nyāya* elementary substances, *pṛthivī, āp, tejas, vāyu, ākāśa, kāla, diś, ātman, manas*. These are shared by the *Vaiśeṣikas*. Jains have 6—*jīva, dharma, adharmā, pudgala, kāla, ākāśa*. *Dharmasaṃgraha* does not list *dravya*. The term is discussed at length in the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentary, generally in relation to *Vaiśeṣika* theories of matter.

255 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:118.20--119.9.

256 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:119.18-21.

## Sexual Yogas

## 9.0.1. Preface

Reading the Tantric texts themselves reveals a host of information about the specific character of Tantric practices. We find, most notably, that many of the practices satirized by Kṣemendra were in fact specifically prescribed by the Tantras themselves. This convergence of evidence, as will be outlined below, leaves no doubt that actual sexual Yogas (i.e. not purely visualized or symbolic) were central to several major Buddhist and Hindu Tantric schools. To refresh the reader, I will repeat here a version of my remarks from the Introduction to this dissertation. The evidence we will examine in this chapter will lead to the following conclusions: 1) real sexual Yogas were in widespread use in Buddhist and Hindu Tantric practices at least up through the eleventh century; 2) group sexual rites were held at night in a variety of secret locations, and were accompanied by the ingestion of various stimulants; 3) these group sexual rites were essentially non-sectarian--i.e. though run by members of various sects, the rites were open to members of other sects; 4) there were a variety of secret communication codes in use for identifying the locations and times of these sexual congresses, and these codes were taught to the initiates; 5) the nighttime sexual rites of the Tantrikas eventually became widely known about in Kaśmīri society, as evidenced by Kṣemendra's satires; 6) in some circumstances young women were selected as Tantric consorts at an early age and protected for that purpose; 7) in other circumstances women ran the sexual congresses themselves and

served as Tantric gurus; 8) Tantric practitioners were well aware of the potential for procreation as a result of their activities, and specific typologies of classification are outlined for "Tantric children" based on when and how they might be conceived; 9) the specifics of the progression of sexual union were integrated in detail into the Tantric doctrines. We also know, particularly from the several stages outlined in Buddhist Tantric practice, and from the sophisticated developments of Tibetan Tantrism, that monastic or celibate Tantra became well-developed, whereby initiates would engage with meditative or artistically depicted visualizations of goddesses or female consorts without actual sexual intercourse between a yogi and a yoginī. This development appears to have come, however, not just out of the Buddhist monastic tradition. We have hints of it in the *Mālinīvijaya*, where meditative visualization practices are given as an option to visiting the *kula-cakras* or *gaṇa-cakras* at the pilgrimage sites. One point that awaits further clarification is the use of the term *rakta* for women's sexual emissions as the parallel to semen (*śukra*). *Rakta* usually indicates blood, yet this would then tell us that these Tantric rites only took place while women were menstruating. It may be that in Tantric contexts the *rakta* spoken of refers to the vaginal secretions at orgasm. This point is not made clear in the texts I have read so far. It is further complicated by the fact that some schools of Indian medicine appear to have believed that conception occurred during menstruation. Another point that remains unresolved pending further reading is whether seminal retention as advocated in some Buddhist Tantric texts was also advocated in the Śaivite Tantras; there is some indication that the Śaivites practiced seminal retention,

yet the material I have read from the *Mālintvijaya* does not make the point as perfectly clear as it is in the *Kālacakra*. Unfortunately I have not yet managed to read enough of other original Śaivite material to find discussion of this point, and the descriptions I have found have either been censored by Indian editors, or are written in language too oblique to be clear. As I indicated in Chapter 4, the relatively quiescent state of the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric tradition for many centuries may have preserved more explicit discussions than may be available in all except the very oldest Śaivite manuscripts.

### 9.0.2. Introduction

We return in this chapter to one of the basic questions raised in the Introduction to this dissertation: why sex? Why is it that the Tantric traditions placed the act of (hetero)-sexual intercourse, and the orgasmic state of mutual arousal, in such a central role to their rituals? Certainly sexual intercourse is one of the most vulnerable and 'open' experiences we can have. As woman is penetrated by man, and man is enveloped by woman, each through the doorway of their most intimate and sensitive organ, a circuit is opened up between them that activates the current of life. As Sanderson has remarked with regard to the *Krama* rites of the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tāntrikās: "Fortifying this gnostic ritual with the expansive joy of caste-free sexual union and the consumption of wine, flesh, and the impurities of the body, the initiate penetrates through the inhibition of external values and the rebirth-generating bondage of self-awareness that this inhibition entails, thereby attaining the conviction that his individualized consciousness is but the spontaneous play of these universal powers.

No longer enslaved by the appearance of subjection to the not-self in consciousness, he achieves liberation within the very flow of extroverted cognition."<sup>1</sup> That sex is a powerfully transformative experience--for good or for ill--is well known to anyone who is no longer a virgin. Indeed it is precisely this 'dangerous' aspect of sex, its potential for releasing destructive psychological, emotional and psychophysical energy, that appears to have prompted generations of religious practitioners across a wide span of geographic, cultural, and temporal borders to opt for lives of celibacy, renouncing sexual pleasure to guarantee safety and freedom from temptation and distraction. And as any parent knows, the transformative responsibilities of raising children can easily interrupt the concentration of even the most dedicated contemplative. So there have been powerful incentives throughout human history for the religious lifestyle of renunciation as an aid to plumbing the mysteries of the divine.

In Chapter 2.5 we discussed how in the Vedic literature lightning functions as an atmospheric version of the three cosmic fires, and the self-heating lotus flower functions as a version of the womb of Agni, the earthly fire. In the Tantric literature's discussions of the practice of sexual orgasm in the sexual Yogas, particularly in the Buddhist Tantras, the insertion of the man's erect penis into the woman's vagina is routinely described as inserting the *vajra* (lightning bolt, thunderbolt) into the lotus (*padma*), as in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* passages cited below where the Yoginī invites her male consort to give her the pleasure of his Vajra by inserting it into the hole in the center of her lotus. Puṇḍarīka states the symbolism

explicitly in the *Vimalaprabhā* on *Kālacakra* 5.127: "Since according to the Tantric language (*samaya-bhāṣayā*), the group of *Vairocana* etc., individually designated as *Tathāgatas*, are not intended literally [through a relationship of designator (*vācaka*) and designated (*vācya*), as [would be the case when speaking] of a pot, cloth, etc. The woman's organ [vagina] is [what is meant by] the lotus; the man's organ [penis] is the lightning bolt; the feces is *Vairocana*; the urine is *Akśobhya*; the blood is *Ratnasambhava*; the semen is *Amitābha*; the flesh is *Amoghasiddhi*; so, by the names of the five *Tathāgatas*, the names of the five nectars are designated."<sup>2</sup>

Although I have not so far found the lotus used as a symbol for a woman's vulva in the Vedic literature, this 'vajra in the lotus' is consistent with the type-identity logic of the Vedic model. In an Indian cultural context where the Vedas speak of the lotus as the womb of the earthly fire, and the lightning bolt as a version of the atmospheric fire that is controllable by man (with Indra who hurls the *vajra* as the archetype for this), we see that the Indian Tantric thinkers reconceived the act of sexual intercourse as man connecting the atmospheric penile fire into the woman's earthly vaginal flame-essentially an image of plugging the cosmic electricity through the male into the female's earthly circuitry, a 'father sky' joins 'mother earth' type of paradigm. As I discussed in the Introduction to this dissertation when looking at variant etymologies of the term 'Tantra', the most basic denotation of the term is that of a loom or web, and the various connotations and secondary denotations that develop from that term, such as woven cloth, continuum, network, system, doctrine, treatise, all retain the basic notion of some interwoven web-like system. As we have seen by examining the

esoteric Vedic doctrines incorporated into Tantra, the Vedic idea of a solar web of cosmic fire that pervades from the heavenly sun and stars through the Moon, wind and lightning down to the earthly fires and biophysical fires of the breaths, digestion, and humors, is maintained, sustained, and integrated--or woven--into the Tantric notions of the divine function of sexual lovemaking. It is this central differentiating aspect of the Sanskritic Tantric traditions I have examined--the incorporation of ritual lovemaking as a centerpiece of their rites--that I shall discuss in detail in this chapter.

There are many other cultures that have celebrated sexuality and sensuality. Although I certainly have a biased perspective given the focus of my studies, I know of however no other culture than the Indian that has so seriously addressed the issue of *the human sexual experience* within the context of *religious ritual*. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, in modern society we are no longer shocked to see human sexuality portrayed in some detail in our films and art, yet it would create a national and perhaps global scandal were some Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Hindu or Buddhist (etc.) denomination to openly advocate and practice group sexual rites or individual sexual rites during their weekly worship services. In fact certain charismatic Christian evangelists have lost their positions as leaders of their congregations after accusations of sexual liaisons with prostitutes and secretaries. Yet in the Tantric traditions in India, sexual liaisons with prostitutes, secretaries, neighbors, teachers and students, and even family members were sanctioned and even prescribed within the context of the practice of the Tantric sexual Yogas. These were radical doctrines in the context of their time and even today some 1000-1500 years later.



Historically Tantric Yoga is not exclusively a sexual Yoga practice. In the Buddhist tradition an ascetic, celibate version of Tantric Yoga was developed based on visualized consorts and visualized sex, and a rather elaborate doctrine was developed that actually asserted the superiority of practice with the visualized consort over practice between real men and women. I would say that this development was manifestly a concession to the long history of monastic Buddhism and to the power of the monastic organizations that had for many centuries developed strongly influential doctrines and practices premised on a celibate lifestyle, particularly since there is much material in the Sanskrit Buddhist Tantras that is overtly sexual, and I have not yet found any formalized discussion of symbolic or visualized sexual Yogas in the Śaivite Tantric tradition asserting the superiority of a visualized Tantric lover over a real one. We find in the fifth Chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* that there is considerable tension between the prescription of the practice of sexual Yogas from the wider Tantric tradition, and the attempts by Puṇḍarīka--and at times the *Laghukālacakra* verses--to develop a strong argument for a strictly visualized sexual Yoga practice as a route superior to actual sexual intercourse. Much of the thrust of Puṇḍarīka's long argument in his forty-page commentary on KCT 5.127 is devoted to this point. However, there is also so much explicit discussion of the practices of sexual Yogas and the results of those practices in the *Kālacakra* that I think we cannot discount the possibility that Puṇḍarīka or his collaborators may well have added verses to the *Laghukālacakra* to support their argument for the superiority of the visualization-only approach. To even consider such a possibility is of course entirely

counter to the canonical view of the text.

The truth is though that we do not know how the *Kālacakratantra* was constructed—whether it is a compilation, whether it had several different versions before the one we now have, whether some sections of it were ‘original’ and others came later, whether the monastic tradition modified a more popular text to fit it into the celibacy-based curriculum, whether the verses and the commentary were written by several different authors and later systematically rewritten by Puṇḍarīka, and so forth. Those who believe in the canonical accounts of the text will of course not ask these questions seriously, and would consider it sacrilegious to do so.<sup>3</sup> This is the natural response of those who strongly adhere to a doctrine of faith that provides an unquestionable ‘given’ or ‘canonical’ account of the tradition. However, as modern scholars, it is incumbent upon us to openly consider these possibilities as we try to make sense of the textual tradition. In addition we must consider what appears to be the historical context of Tantra’s encounter with the proprietors of the curricula in the Buddhist monastic universities, as discussed particularly in Chapter 3.1.3, 3.3., and 3.5. It seems to me quite reasonable that the doctrines and practices of a large, widespread, and popular set of cults advocating sexual Yogas would have had to be considerably modified and restructured in order to be happily incorporated into a centuries-old conservative educational establishment that required a vow of celibacy as a basic prerequisite for its students and teachers.

The Hindu side of the picture was considerably different, with much of the education of students occurring in the homes of their married gurus, and we see some

evidence of this practice among Buddhist Tāntrikās in for instance the story of Milarepa's studies in the home of Marpa, who was himself married. Unfortunately I have not yet had the chance to read sufficient material in Sanskrit to determine the exact character of the early Indian Tantric pedagogical climate. The relative intellectual and practical freedom intrinsic to the Indian approach is however reflected in the attitude and doctrines of Abhinavagupta, the leading light of the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric schools. As Dwivedi has noted, "Tantra teaches us that sound reasoning and one's own understanding should be able to decide all such matters. Taking *Mālinīvijaya Tantra* 17,18 as his proof, Abhinavagupta declares (TA 4,15) that reasoning is the best part of Yoga. For him the expressions 'sound reasoning' and 'personal judgement' mean that one's judgement should be developed through the teaching of one's guru and the study of the *śāstra*; but for a fully developed religious scholar his own capacity for reason and understanding should be the best guide."<sup>4</sup> The verse from MVT 17,18 and TA 4,15 says that "Reasoning is the ultimate division of Yoga, because of consideration of what is to be abandoned etc. Hence it is advised that one put some effort into reasoning."<sup>5</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 5.3.1., Abhinavagupta studied with 19 named *maṭhikāgurus* (teachers from specific preceptorial schools) and *jñāna-gurus* (teachers in general subject areas), completing courses of study with logicians, Mīmāṃsakas, Vaiṣṇavas, Buddhists, Arhats, Śaiva Siddhāntins, and Trika adherents.<sup>6</sup> Flood has pointed out that the

distinction between the *guru* as the transmitter of either power or a formal teaching seems to correspond to Abhinavagupta's distinction between *maṭhikā* and *jñāna guru-s*, the former representing a preceptorial line conveying power and a teaching, the latter

representing teachers of other disciplines.... Within the *maṭhikā* category are included two *guru* traditions of importance, called the *Traiyaṃbakamaṭhikā* and the *Ardhatraiyaṃbakamaṭhikā*. These two lineages are associated with the two liturgical systems within the Trika known as the *Tantraprakriyā*, the normative practice of the Trika Śaiva... and with the esoteric *kulaprakriyā*, the ‘family practice’, which is involved with love-making as part of its liturgy.... Abhinavagupta was initiated into both lineages... through [Śambhunātha] into the secret *kulaprakriyā* or more specifically through Śambhunātha’s consort Bhagavatī who was a ‘messenger’ (*dūtī*) in the secret rite.<sup>7</sup>

Abhinavagupta’s autobiographical account is the only one I have found so far that tells us about the pedagogy of Śaivite Tantra. Abhinava was also an unusually able writer, so that self-motivation undoubtedly played a role in his multidisciplinary studies. Nonetheless we see just from this brief account that there were many other ways to learn about the Tantric doctrines without necessarily becoming a student at the Buddhist universities, and that the Kaśmīri Śaivite tradition favored personal reasoning over doctrinal authority as the principal route to understanding. As mentioned above, the style of studying individually with a guru outside of the university setting is also evident in the lineage of the Buddhist Tantric *siddhas* Tilopa, Nāropa, Marpa and Milarepa, each of whom put their student through various trials before agreeing to instruct them, and the various other 84 *Mahāsiddhas*.

**9.1. The Cultural Context of Sexual Yogas (9.1.1. The *Kāma Śāstra* in the *Kālacakra Tantra*, 9.1.2. The Sexual Implications of Subtle Body Terminology, 9.1.3. Laws About Sex in Ancient India)**

Chapter 6 of this dissertation covered a variety of perspectives on Tantra by non-Tantric writers, who generally appeared to have disapproved of Tantric practices and viewed these practices as nothing more than an excuse for licentiousness. After

Abhinavagupta's work, Śaivite Tantra at least gained more credibility in Kaśmīr. In this section I take a brief look at a relatively unexplored area--the relationship of the Tantras to the Erotic tradition in India, and the context of Tantric practices in regard to some views from the *Dharmaśāstra* tradition of traditional Indian lawbooks.

Material from the *Kālacakratāntra* and the literal meanings of a number of the subtle body terms indicate that the Tantric tradition owes a considerable debt to the Erotic literature, and indicates that further research is necessary on this largely neglected topic.

#### 9.1.1. The *Kāma Śāstra* in the *Kālacakra Tantra*

One of the unexplored areas of Tantric Studies is the relationship between the Tantric traditions and the Erotic traditions (*Kāmaśāstra* or *Ratiśāstra*), particularly with regard to the descriptions of the sexual Yogas. In a country where a high art was made out of erotic poetic metaphors, such that over the centuries scores of poems (*kāvya*), dramas, and epics were written with elaborate descriptions of nature couched in ebulliently erotic metaphor, it is not so astonishing that religious practices would have arisen that heartily embraced sexual passion and lovemaking as an avenue to the divine. As Sternbac has noted, "Highly sensuous pictorial effects, authenticated by a deep sincerity of ecstatic emotion were often blended and thus helped to create poems full of erotic mysticism, devout yet sensuous. In India worldly wisdom, religious devotion and sensual love (*kāma* as well as *śṛṅgāra*) are often intermingled."<sup>8</sup> We must also remember that it was customary for Indian kings to have harems, women in waiting for the ruler's erotic pleasure. It is not at all inconceivable that part of the

impetus for Tantric practices may have arisen in concert with a religiousization (to coin a term) of royal behavior; though other than Kalhaṇa's references to Tantric practices in the royal court, though (See Chapter 6.2), I have seen little other evidence for this idea, unless we wish to interpret *Rājatantra* as a title having political implications.

There are however several indications that there was a considerable relationship between the Tantric and Erotic traditions. Chapter 31 of *Samvarodayatantra* gives very specific erotic descriptions for lovemaking with the four ideal types of women, much as described in the *Ratiśāstra*.<sup>9</sup> There is still extant a manuscript of the *Nāgarakasarvasva*, an 18 chapter text written--oddly enough--by a Buddhist monk *Padma Śrī Jñāna*, and based on the *Siddhyaika-vīrāma-tantra* and the *Śāṅkara Kāmatantra*, both Erotic tradition texts.<sup>10</sup> Although I have not had the opportunity to read through and translate the third chapter--the consecration or initiation chapter--of the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*, Jensine Andresen, a Ph.D. student at Harvard working on this chapter, alerted me to the descriptions of ideal types of women in the Chapter. I recognized these as coming from the Erotic Tradition (*Kāmaśāstra*) in India, and subsequently found a direct reference to the *Kāmaśāstra* in a *Laghukālacakra* verse and Puṇḍarīka's commentary. As I discuss in Chapter 10.2.2. of this dissertation, this reference probably helps us date the *Vimalaprabhā*. The section on the Erotic tradition's ideal types of women is about 3 pages in the Sarnath edition of the Sanskrit, and I have translated the material here in a running *paraphrase* of the verses and commentary. This further sets the context for

our discussion of sexual Yogas in the Tantras by indicating a conscious debt to and involvement with the Erotic Tradition of India by the authors of the *Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*.

As part of the *Kālacakra*'s section on the sexual initiations and the *gaṇacakra*, Puṇḍarīka introduces the section called "The rule about the *Vajra*-worship for the purpose of success with the yoginīs such as the Action Consort etc." Young, old, youthful, their bodies both slender and sportive, of all four castes (brāhmana, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra), or outcastes, missing eyes or hands, with chopped off ears, lips or noses, all of these should be worshipped by the *ācāryas* or yogins with loving hearts for the sake of *bodhi*, i.e. by yogins who are free of pride etc., and who have entered the *bodhicarya* practice that is free from (the celibacy of) either the monasteries or the guru's houses outside of the monasteries. The four types of consorts for *Vajra*-worship are as follows: First is one's wife who is the private consort (*guhya-mudrā*); a high class woman at a Tantric meeting place is the divine consort (*divya-mudrā*); an action-consort (*karma-mudrā*) is for sexual play, such as kissing etc.; a Dharma consort (*dharma-mudrā*) is for equal pleasure when the two genital organs are joined together--these are the four Tantric descriptions for *Vajra*-worship. Then the text describes the smells in the bodies and vulvas (lotuses) of these women who are also called *dūtīs*, confidantes. These are said to be of five sorts: musk, lotus, urine, and because of the earth quality, meat and putrid. The ideal types of women from the Erotic tradition, *Śrī*, *Subhadrā*, *Jalacārī* or *Śaṅkhiṇī*, *Citriṇī*, and *Hastinī* are from the Tantric perspective considered as *Vajradhārvīśvartī*,

*Tārā, Pāṇḍarā, Māmakī, and Locanā.* Śrī and Subhadhrā are said to be of slender limb, fine hair, soft hands and feet, and loving; Padminī is said to be somewhat slender, with good-sized breasts, with curly hair and a steady gaze. Śaṅkhiṇī is shameless and intensely passionate, enjoying plenty of quarrels, with short hair. Citriṇī has long hair, full limbs, and she is not particularly worldly (? *laghuviṣayā*). Hastinī has thick hair, is stout with firm limbs, and ruthless in her affairs. In some places the confidantes are of pure caste, in others they are of mixed caste. These descriptions are virtually identical to those we find in the Erotic literature, as is evident by Apte's quotations from the *Ratimañjari* (a text considerably later than the *Kālacakratantra*, though).<sup>11</sup>

The Yōgis are also classed fivefold, as the lion, the deer, the horse, the bull, and the elephant, and these are mapped or equated in the Tantric cults to *Akṣobhya*, *Amoghasiddhi*, *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitābha*, and *Vairocana*. The *Cakrin*, a term in the verse that Puṇḍarīka does not comment on, yet may well refer to the Yogi in charge of a particular rite (*cakrin* is the name of Viṣṇu or of a monarch or ruler) is mapped to Padmapāṇi. The lion yogi lives in a solitary place, without worldly concerns, without a wife, and is very generous. The deer yogi is very fast, of timid mind, very frightened, a failure in worldly affairs (? *kṣara-laghu-viṣayaḥ*). The horse yogi is fickle with his love, influenced by others, smelling of urine, striving for the supreme goal. The Bull yogi has thick brows, walks slowly, smells of fish, and is dull-witted due to the earth-quality. The elephant is a passionate lover who also moves slowly, is extremely foolish, and has a nasty (putrid) smell. As with the yoginīs, the yogis are



also of pure and mixed castes. Over all the yogis and yoginīs are classed thirty-six ways, depending on their castes and smells.

In order to succeed in the *Vajra*-worship, the yogi should study the *Kāmaśāstra* because it is a veritable treasury of good qualities. Because the yoginī who experiences great sexual pleasure and is not left unsatisfied provides the yogi with *siddhi*.<sup>12</sup> This ends the relevant section. Evidently then the authors of the *Kālacakratāntra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* considered study of the *Kāmaśāstra* texts an essential part of the consecrations and initiations in preparation for practicing the sexual Yogas. This would be a perfectly reasonable requirement given the practices outlined in the Tantric texts--scholars however have heretofore not recognized (or at least not published on) the relationship of the Tantras to the Erotic traditions in India. Indeed it has sometimes been suggested by earlier scholars of Tantra that the women involved in the rites were either prostitutes or only low caste women. Sternbach has written a very helpful article on Prostitution in ancient India.<sup>13</sup> Of the sixteen different names Kauṭilya gives in the *Arthaśāstraḥ* for prostitutes,<sup>14</sup> only one, *kumārī*, occasionally shows up in Tantric literature, and usually refers rather to a young maiden or a virgin, not to a prostitute. The term *dūtī* (confidante, go-between, messenger, procuress) that we often find used in the Tantras was not mentioned by Kauṭilya, whose most common appellation for a prostitute was *gaṇikā*. Sternbach also lists the synonyms for prostitutes given in Hemacandra's, Halāyudha's, Amarasimha's and Medinī's Sanskrit Lexicons, and in none of these is *dūtī* used.<sup>15</sup> Nor do we find *dūtī* used in the *Kāmaśāstra* literature's discussions of prostitutes,

including Vātsyāyana's chapter on prostitutes in his *Kāmasūtra*,<sup>16</sup> and the same holds true for major Sanskrit literary works; in all of these texts the terms *gaṇikā* and *veśyā* are most common, with many synonyms--*gaṇikā* is the term for royal prostitutes working in service to the state. Sternbach also notes that "generally speaking, prostitution was not considered as a shameful occupation; on the contrary, a *gaṇikā* was a highly esteemed person, and many women, if only their social status allowed them to do it, chose to become prostitutes.... Prostitutes, and particularly *gaṇikā*, enjoyed a high position at court. They attended the court of the king, stood behind the throne, held the royal umbrella, etc."<sup>17</sup> Kauṭilya does use the term *mātrkā* for mothers of *gaṇikās*.<sup>18</sup> though *mātrkā* in any case simply means 'a mother.' Given the typology noted above in the *Kālacakratantra*, and a similar one offered by the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* below (9.3.1.4), I would provisionally conclude at this point that a wide variety of women from all walks of life participated in Tantric sexual Yogas, from the lowest caste and most unattractive, to the highest cast and best endowed, and that the same held true for the men who were their partners in these rites.

### 9.1.2. The Sexual Implications of Subtle Body Terminology

One of the little noticed facts about the Tantra is the sexual overtones in the names for some of the aspects of the subtle body system. It turns out that the names of the inner channels, the channel inside the central channel of the *cakra-nāḍī* system, are in both the Hindu and Buddhist nomenclature names of ideal types of women in the *Kāmasāstra* or Indian Erotic tradition. It also turns out that name of one of the side channels in the Buddhist nomenclature is the name for a type of lover, while the

name of the other side channel name can easily be interpreted to have sexual overtones. In Buddhist subtle body physiology, *Śāṅkhinī* is the name for the channel that runs inside of the central channel (*avadhūti*). *Śāṅkhinī* is one of the four types of erotic women in *Rati-* or *Kāma-śāstra*, a mentioned above in the *Kālacakra* passage. A *Śāṅkha* is a conch shell, *śāṅkhin*, the conch possessor, as is *Viṣṇu* or the commanding general. *Śāṅkhinī*, the feminine possessive, presumably derived from the idea of a beautiful woman with a conch shell, or perhaps whose voice is as beautiful as the sound of a conch shell. According to the *Ratimañjarī* (a medieval text on erotica) she is: ‘One with long or very long eyelashes, superbly beautiful, elegant in the enjoyment of passion, endowed with grace and qualities; her throat is adorned with the three lines, graceful in the play of passion, she certainly is *śāṅkhinī*.’ In the Hindu nomenclature, the inner channel inside the *suṣumnā* or central channel is called the *citriṇī*. *Ratimañjarī* (5) defines *citriṇī* (she of varied talents and good qualities) as: ‘She knows the essence of elegance, is not too short, she has a nose lovely as a sesamum blossom, with lovely lotus-like eyes; endowed with full, firm breasts, beautiful, of restrained virtue, lovely with all good qualities, the *Citriṇī* of beautiful face.’<sup>19</sup> Aside from the obvious erotic overtones of these two subtle body channel names, there are more subtle overtones to the names *avadhūti* and *suṣumnā* themselves. An *avadhūta* is a male ascetic, one who has renounced or cast off the things of the world. Though I have not found it listed in the dictionaries as such, *avadhūti* would have to refer to a female ascetic. It is certainly in keeping with the orgasmic focus of the Tantric sexual Yogas that the woman would be considered so

thoroughly merged with the man that her very essence would be his central channel. *Suṣumnā* simply means 'truly delightful.' (*Lalanā* and *rasanā* I have discussed in Chapter 7.4.5).

### 9.1.3. Laws About Sex in Ancient India

To appreciate just how radical were some of the sexual practices prescribed in the Tantras, it is helpful to note the traditional conservative Indian attitudes towards sexual behavior in other sectors of society not advocating the practices of the Erotic tradition. Regular sexual relations of *Brahmans* with lower-caste women and prostitutes was apparently a normal part of life in the early Vedic tradition, and one might assume such attitudes prevailed among Vedic practitioners during Tantric times. We find, for instance, in instructions for the student learning the *Pravargya mantras*, directions to refrain from both meat and sex with Śūdra women: "(The observance to be followed when the Pravargya mantras are learnt:) (13) For a year he should eat no meat. He should not approach a Śūdra woman. He should not drink from a clay vessel. A Śūdra should not drink his remnants. Thus he sharpens his brilliant energy."<sup>20</sup> Evidently sexual relations with lower caste women, use of *mantras*, consumption of meat and intoxicating substances were all part of the life of a Vedic brahmin. Generally speaking, though, the Vedic mores apparently encouraged fidelity for the wife. In the *Varuṇapraghāsa* offerings of the *Cāturmāsyaṇi*, the *Pratiprasthātṛ*, about to lead away the wife, asks her with whom she has had intercourse. ŚB 2.5.2.19 remarks: "Now when a woman who belongs to one (man) carries on intercourse with another, she undoubtedly commits (a sin) against Varuṇa.

He therefore asks her, iest she should sacrifice with a secret pang in her mind; for when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth; this is why he thus asks her. And whatever (connection) she confesses not, that indeed will turn out injurious to her relatives."<sup>21</sup> This certainly appears to indicate a double standard, with the man permitted a certain degree of sexual freedom and the woman required to confess her 'sin' had she committed adultery, yet it also indicates that perfect marital fidelity was not necessarily expected for either partner. This is a far cry from the sort of prescriptions we find in the Tantric material, however. In the context of the lawbooks, also, the Tantric doctrines that describe occasional group sexual rites with members of one's own extended clan were contravening some fairly strict rules in ancient Hindu society (to say nothing of how they might be looked at in modern society). As Kane tells us in his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, the *Nārada-smṛiti* "holds that sexual intercourse with the step-mother, mother's sister, mother-in-law, the paternal or maternal uncle's wife, father's sister, a friend's or pupil's wife, sister, sister's friend, daughter-in-law, daughter, the wife of one's Vedic teacher, a woman of the same *gotra*, a woman who has sought protection, with the queen or an ascetic woman (*pravrajitā*) or a wet-nurse or a virtuous wife (*sādhvī*) or a woman of a higher caste is incestuous and the punishment to be prescribed for this crime is the excision of the penis and no less." Some other law-books also add a death sentence for the woman.<sup>22</sup> It is important to keep these basic laws and mores in mind when we consider the Tantric doctrines on sexual Yogas.

## 9.2. A Cosmopolitan Secret Culture (9.2.1. Specific Locations of the Tantric

**Rites; 9.2.2. Traveling Tantric Yogis and the Secret Codes; 9.2.3. A Multicultural and Multidisciplinary Tantric Society; 9.2.4. Who Ran the *Cakra-pūjas*?)**

In turning to the Tantras themselves for information on their culture and practices, we find that by comparative reading among the texts of the different cults and traditions that we can begin to discern the outlines of a widespread and mobile Tantric community. The texts indicate that the Tantric rites were held secretly all over the country and countryside, in homes, gardens, caves, secret temples, cremation grounds, on riverbanks, etc. Access to these rites was provided through a variety of secret codes depending on either hand signals or names coded in *mantras*. In many instances it appears that the yoginīs were in charge, and that the visiting yogins had among other things to shed their doctrinal garb to learn from whatever tradition the yoginī belonged to.

**9.2.1. Specific Locations of the Tantric Rites**

It is evident from several passages in Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric texts that the Tantric sexual Yoga rites were held in a wide variety of locations, and by no means restricted to cremation grounds or frightening locales. The Buddhist *Śrīsamvarodaya Tantra* gives us a very helpful clue as to where and how the *Cakra-pūja* rites were held. Chapter 8 is entitled 'Rules for the meeting place of the *samaya*' (*Samaya-saṃketa-vidhipaṭala.*) The term *saṃketa* associated here with the *Samaya* meetings is used in the Erotic tradition, and in *kāvya*, as a term for assignations of lovers, or lovers' meeting places. The Tantra says (Tsuda's

translation): "In his own house or in a secret place, in deserted places or in pleasant places, in mountain, cave, or thicket, on the shore of the ocean (2), in a graveyard, in a shrine of the mother-goddess or in the middle of the confluence of rivers, a man who wishes the highest result should cause the *maṇḍala* to turn correctly. The great, faithful donor should invite *yoginī* and *yogin*, the teacher (*ācārya*), (goddesses) born from the *kṣetra*, *mantra* and *pīṭha*, and all the deities (4)."<sup>23</sup> As we shall see in examining the discussions of sexual Yogas in the *Kālacakra*, the phrase 'causing the *maṇḍala* to turn,' or 'turning the *maṇḍala*' appears to be a Tantric euphemism for engaging in Tantric sexual rites. The chapter goes on to describe who is fit to fulfill the role of *ācārya*--someone virtuous, not someone observing life-long chastity (*naiṣṭhika*), not a ruler or a servant, not a farmer, and not a merchant who sells the teaching, etc.;<sup>24</sup> proper treatment of the attendees is mentioned, distribution of food and liquor, prayers and venerations are mentioned. The elaborate salutation to the goddesses is given, dancing, singing, *mantras*, postures, drumming and musical instruments are employed, then the *vīra* or hero, i.e. the gentleman who is ready for the rite of sexual union, joins together with a *yoginī*: "He will be possessed of the perfection of pleasure, free from disease, righteous in mind, and will attain the liberation through love-passion (*kāma*). There will be fulfillment (*siddhi*) for him who has completion."<sup>25</sup>

A variety of locations for the performance of Tantric rites is also indicated by a passage in the verses of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*. Verse 5.74 says that the four types of Tantric consorts should be meditated on by the yogin

everywhere, since they provide the fruit of imperishable happiness; the yogis are described as dedicated to the worldly path, taking great delight in sexual pleasure, enjoying the body-strengthening pleasures of food and drink, using verbalized and silent magic spells, and doing so *in villages, forests, the cremation grounds, in pleasant and unpleasant places, and in the houses and abodes of deities* (temples or pilgrimage sites).<sup>26</sup> At another point in the text Puṇḍarīka specifically refers to several locations in discussing the visualization practices that are part of the Tantric rites: "In the *mantra* vehicle, [76.25] whoever, by either the *vīra* path or the *svādhiṣṭhāna* path, having entered the charnel ground in the dead of night, may be incapable of making the *Bhagavān Heruka* appear before their eyes through the power of their *mantra* recitation, oblation [offering], or meditation, [even] after a year, two years, up to twelve years, or up to the point of their death, [such people would be] similarly [incapable of making appear before their eyes by such methods] a deity such as *Samantabhadra* in solitary places such as a mountain, a garden, or the bank of either a river or ocean."<sup>27</sup> Generally speaking the term *vīra* refers to initiates who practice sexual Yogas, as in the *Samvarodaya* passage above. *Svādhiṣṭhānaḥ* is the Hindu name for the genital *cakra*, usually referred to as *guhya* by the Buddhist nomenclature. Although Puṇḍarīka does not discuss sexual Yoga practices with these terms elsewhere in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra*, we do find *vīra* commonly used in other Tantric texts with the denotation of the practitioner of sexual Yogas. The *Nigamalātā* for instance in its opening lines suggests that *vīrācāra* is Tantric sexual union, and refers in the title of its fourth chapter to the *divya-vīra* practice.<sup>28</sup> Given



the *svādhiṣṭhāna* reference as well, we can probably deduce here a reference to sexual practices in the locations listed.

The *Bhairavakula Tantra*, one of the texts cited by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrālokaḥ*, gives us the following description of locations for these rites:

You must listen to that with a one-pointed mind, since you ask me, Oh beautiful one. On the banks of a river, on the most excellent of mountains, in a meritorious pilgrimage spot, in an abode of Śiva, in a *Śakti* pilgrimage spot, in an excellent seat (of a deity), or in a cremation ground, Oh mistress of the gods, having made the ground flat, then, with colors, colored by the mind, providing *siddhi*, like unto a tortoise, of twenty cubits, very beautiful ....<sup>29</sup>

As discussed in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, some of the Śaivite Tantric groups quite probably held some of their rites in circular temple structures hidden away on the outskirts of towns in locales difficult to access (see Chapter 3.3.3). From the *Sambarodaya* we see that such rites were evidently also held in a variety of other remote locations, in both frightening (graveyards) and pleasant surroundings, or even in the safety of one's own home. Other such descriptions confirm the wide variety of these practices. One good example of this is the song Marpa sings at the *gaṇacakra* when he returns to Meto Tsonpo monastery, describing an earlier *gaṇacakra* he participated in with his Tantric teacher Nāropā. Trungpa, in the Introduction to his translation of The Life of Marpa the Translator explains in diplomatic language that a *gaṇacakra* is "a group offering that is celebrated by a group of Tantric practitioners on auspicious occasions or after special sessions of intensive practice," and mentions that among other things it is also an occasion for singing *dohās*.<sup>30</sup>

Then at a charnel ground in a teak forest, Nāropa performed a *gaṇacakra* three times. With immeasurable wealth and enjoyments,

elaborate feast offerings and tormas were arranged. By the blessing of glorious Nāropa, the divine assembly of Śrī Cakrasaṃvara, an equal number of yogins and yoginīs of the secret mantra--altogether sixty-two men and women--conversed in the profound code language. Emanating from the heart center of the great Lord Nāropa, the divine assembly of Cakrasaṃvara resided splendidly in the center of the maṇḍala. Performing the full sādhana, the great Jetsun Nāropa held the vajra and ghaṇṭā in his hands and wore the six bone ornaments. In space, a cubit above the ground, he stood in the dance posture with his right leg extended. The other yogins and yoginīs sounded ḍamarus with their right hands and held cymbals in their left. Thus I saw them enjoying and performing the dances.<sup>31</sup>

Just to give a contrast to this Buddhist Tantric rite described first-hand by Marpa in the 11th century, I have included here a look at a cremation-ground version of what sounds like a Kāpālika rite described fictionally by Kṣemendra in the 11th century.<sup>32</sup>

The wind swiftly whistled through the holes in long, decayed bones; the place resounded as if with the noise of the anklets of a rushing troop of witches. With the terrible, loud howling of jackals resounding in all directions, it seemed like the Lord of Death when he has spoken the word Om at the beginning of the destruction of the three worlds. Adorned with fragments of skulls, encircled with many skeletons, with gleaming coals for eyes, it seemed a second Bhairava (Śiva)... Naked women with firm swelling breasts and huge hips incessantly performed a violent dance (in the worship of Śiva). The place was the resort of vultures and jackals, it was full of flocks of crows and herons. The assemblies of demons and goblins who danced lasciviously there seemed to encircle the place with garlands. There was a circle of crashing drums beloved of the Piśācas and ḍākinīs; corpses laughed clear and loud; innumerable Cakreśvarīs sported there."<sup>33</sup>

We can conclude from these passages that Tantric sexual Yoga rites were not necessarily restricted to 'liminal' locations. Rather they appear to have been widely distributed geographically and topographically, with the choice of locations no doubt depending on the local customs, convenience and safety, and probably in some degree determined by the predilections of the practitioners and the characteristics of the

presiding deities of their cults.

### 9.2.2. Traveling Tantric Yogis and the Secret Codes

Chapter 19 of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* explains, in slightly oblique language, how the Yogin is to find the *cakrapūjā* rites in various parts of the country, how he is to behave at these gatherings, and the results he will achieve from his participation. The text outlines the code system used to identify the local Tantric *Kulas* based on the *vargas* of the Sanskrit alphabet. The Tantric Yogin travels by following the rule of spending five nights in a city, three nights in a town, and only one night in a village. The difference in time in each of these locales would presumably have been due to the difference in the number of people living there, and—we may deduce—therefore the difference in the number of *Kula-cakras* operating in each locale. A village might have only one group, whereas towns and cities would have more than one. This is also quite likely the origin of the term *Pāñcarātra* for the Vaiṣṇava Tantric tradition, as a typically Indian abbreviation for a well-known Tantric custom. Van Buitenen cites a passage from the oldest extant Sanskrit version of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Buddhasvāmin's *Bṛhatkathāślokaśamgraha* where a *grhasthā* who leads an ascetic's life without allegiance to any school is described as a *Pāñcarātrika*. The same text gives an explanation of the term *pāñcarātra* in the context of a discussion between a brahman and a disguised Pāśupata: "The hermit should live one night in a village for every five nights that he stays in town; you know that this is the life rule for those who have left their homes as *pravṛājakas*".<sup>34</sup> The key to the secret code for finding the *kula-cakra* practitioners in each town apparently given in the

MVT below suggests that earlier rules for ascetic wandering may have been integrated with Tantric practices, and that code language was developed for finding Tantric groups wherever the wandering Tantric yogi went. The *Mālinīvijaya* seems to say that whatever consonant class the first letter of the town's name is in, i.e. guttural, palatal, etc., the name of the *kula-cakra* begins with the same class-consonant. A town whose name begins with a *Ka-varga* consonant, for instance, (*ka, kha, ga, gha, ña*) would have a Tantric Kula with a name beginning with a consonant from that same *varga*. There the adept is to follow local customs, and partake of the rites, before moving on, and eventually returning to their own region.

The wise one, desirous of worshipping Śambhu by the precepts expressed in the clan, the wise one should first perform the clan-circle sacrifice according to what is expressed in the initiation (*kula-cakram yajed ādau budho dīkṣā-ukta-varṣmanā*). Then one should recite the supreme *śakti*, the single unbroken sign; residing inside the cavity of the supreme seed, it does not dissolve, and is not dependent. And the incomplete octet like that is its sign, the unbroken sign; one should recite also the sixfold sign of the Lord of the Clan, with the mind on nothing else. The wise one, having poured an oblation with the tenth portion of the previously mentioned substance, he achieves perfection in speech because of having developed the habit of continual remembrance [of the *mantras*]. For the one engaged in mantra-recitation in [their] own clan, or even the one not competent in the practice, they become younger, O Goddess, enjoying life in *saṃsāra*. The capable one also, achieves the middlemost and highest perfection; having performed the rites of service, he should wander the earth like an ascended bird. He should perform this rite, staying five nights in the city, and three nights in the town, and then one night in the village. Whatever is the first syllable of the name (of that city, town, or village), where it (the syllable) is in the [consonant-] class, that is said to be (the first letter of the name of?) the clan (Tantric family) of that place: there is no confusion about the city etc. for those who know the procedure. Where there is a deity standing in the [consonant-] class to be verbally expressed, that alone is to be meditated on, and to be honored by the adepts, since it is the ruler of that [place and clan]. Approaching somewhat the city etc. of that [clan], respectfully, having

become accepted in one's own regional group, (lit: consonant-class of the region/direction), joining the circle, one should engage (in the *cakra-pūjā*). [Most of the verse 19.15, and part of 19.16 are missing in the KSTS edition] *avā....sam* one by one, when arisen.... The Lord Maheśvara.... In sequence indeed, just as in the night....so by day; when one's own direction/region has well-arisen, the wise man should contemplate only that class/group. One should remain for as long as another arising (*anya-udayam*), then one should go to one's own region; contemplating one's own clan, one should go to it, or to the regional clan itself. As long as the *mantrin* is in another region, then he should follow the meditation practices there. Therefore, when he returns to his own land after wandering [abroad] for a certain amount of time according to the procedure described (for finding) the *Kula-cakras* (as mentioned just above), then, O Queen of the Gods, the clan-mistress of that place should give him a little food, etc., or else should present [him] with someone. Engaged in this precept, [possessed of] the secret practice, firm of vow, having reached the assembly of yoginīs, [he] is successful after just six months. This precept is impossible for low men who lack virtue. It is the principle thing that provides all the *siddhis* in the clan texts everywhere. So in each village, town, or city, entering that quarterly direction, one should recite to oneself that very clan [*mantra*]. After three years one easily achieves the supreme fruit, abandoning worldly affairs, taking only food. Or, in addition, one should perform with the mind on the navel *cakra*, a meditation-circled clan-natured roaming on a constant basis (i.e. remaining in one place and mentally visiting the sites). Then, after half a year of that, the clan of yoginis residing in the body will appear, without a doubt, revealing self-knowledge.<sup>35</sup>

So he comes back home after traveling abroad to engage in the practices of the group rites in other regions, where he must follow the local customs, and worship the local deities, recite the local *mantras* and engage in the rites according to the local practices. Then the *Yoginī* or *Kulanāyikā* who runs his native *Kula-cakra* should feed him and present him with a consort with whom he can practice the secret rites. We see that multiple 'clan-texts' are referred to (*kula-śāstreṣu sarvataḥ*), suggesting that *local* Tantras may have been the guides of the Tantric groups in different regions. This would tend to confirm the suggestion that emerged in the discussion of Tantric

literature that the names of some of the texts may be traced to local groups, and *sarvataḥ* here might also be taken to refer to other sects, such as Buddhist and Vaiṣṇava Tantric groups—though this is certainly stretching the interpretation of a single word. The multiplicity of different texts would though tend to confirm the impression from the research presented in Chapter 3 on the historical emergence of Tantra that much of these practices may have derived from popular religious traditions. (I must note here that it seems perhaps not accidental that portions of verses 9.15-9.16 are missing from the edited text of the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*, given that in the sequence of description in the text these verses would appear to refer to the actual engagement in the sexual Yoga practices.) The final line of the passage above also indicates that visualizations without actual engagement with real yoginīs at the pilgrimage sites were also an option for the yogi, or yoginī, though this does not appear to be the preferred practice in this text.

We find similar discussions of secret signs for finding the groups of Tantric yoginīs and yogis in the *Hevajra* (I.vii)<sup>36</sup> and *Samvarodaya* (9.1-11),<sup>37</sup> Tantras wherein the yogi and yoginī use hand gestures to indicate their membership in the cults, the locations of the rites and their availability for participation. We find a similar idea to the *Mālinī* suggestion of the *mantras* encoding the locations of the Tantric rites in the Root Tantra of the *Kālacakra*. At the end of a long list Puṇḍarīka quotes from the *Ādibuddha* of the various pilgrimage sites around India, and their attendant goddesses represented by *bjā-mantras*, the Root Tantra says: "Exoterically the female sky goers (*dākinyas*) are the body's constituent elements, said to be of

seventy-two types, according to the differentiation of the purified properties (*dharma-suddha-prabhedataḥ*). Esoterically those who are perfected in *mantras* (*mantra-siddhās*) are the *nāyikāḥ* in the houses etc.; thus their seed syllable should be the beginning (i.e. the first letter) of the *plīṭha* etc."<sup>38</sup> This suggests that the names of the *dākinīs* that appear in the texts as divine beings were in fact code names for real women in the particular locations of the Tantric rites (There is also a section on secret signs and gestures at the end of Chapter 3 in the *Kālacakratantra*, though I have not had the time to translate it.) These passages from divergent texts suggest a set of common practices that crossed sectarian lines. Of course, one would have to be able to, as we say, 'speak the right language,' so the *mantra* or hand-signal as a communications-code might be crucial; the *mantras* certainly function as a sort of computer code in the *nyāsa* practices discussed in Chapter 8. This sort of secret signs for communication, much like the signs used by Western secret societies, fraternities, etc. would have presumably gone unnoticed by the non-initiate. To be admitted to a *cakrapuūja* rite one would need know the 'lingo,' or *lingua franca* of the Tantric culture, and the combination of the *mantras* and hand-gestures appears to have constituted this language.

### 9.2.3. A Multicultural and Multidisciplinary Tantric Society

Whatever else we may posit about the 11th century *Tantrikas*, the following sort of discussion and argumentation from the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the fifth chapter of the Buddhist *Kālacakratantra* suggests a cosmopolitan quality to their faith. With a more catholic awareness of the ritual, purity, and moral codes of other groups

and faiths, the true Tantric practitioner is freed from any one particular code of caste or faith, and allowed to indulge in whatever practices are most fit for the situation--a sort of religious *carte blanche*, or an 11th century Indian version of the dictum "when in Rome, do as the Romans do." This notion takes on more significance when we consider the opening setting of the *Kālacakratantra*--the exhortation to spread the teaching to the 10 million villages north of Kalāpa. Such widespread travel would require adaptation to a variety of customs. This compares with the *Mālintvijayottaratantra*, where we have the instructions for finding the Tantric cult groups in unfamiliar towns and villages--again suggesting a mobile group of practitioners and widespread practice in different lands with varying customs. In reading the following passage from the *Vimalaprabhā*, it is instructive to keep in mind the Buddha's command as given in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinayavastu* to see just how different Buddhist Tantric practices were from Buddhist monastic restrictions: "'Ye bhikṣus, who have been ordained by me, must not give wine to others, nor take it yourselves. Do not put wine into your mouths, even so little as a drop fallen from the point of a reed.' If one eats corn-flour mixed with wine, or soup made from the dregs of wine, one is guilty....'"<sup>39</sup>

Therefore, by the one possessed of the primal action (*ādikarmikena*, i.e. the one who has been initiated into the teachings of the *Ādibuddha*, the *Kālacakra-mūlatantra*), [the law about] what is to be eaten or not eaten is to be adhered to according to the custom of his own land, and according to [the rules] of his clan, or not of his clan. In some lands, one can be purified by the water from the skull of a *kapālika*,<sup>40</sup> in other lands cow flesh is acceptable eating; in other lands, horse flesh; in yet other lands dog flesh; in other lands elephant flesh; in other lands human flesh may be consumed.<sup>41</sup> Similarly, other flesh may be eaten by any of the castes or outcastes according to the custom of the place,



in every way. In some other place, the drinking of alcohol is prescribed for *brahmanas*; in some other place it is permitted for *śūdras*; in some other place it is permitted for the *kulīna* and for the non-*kulīna*.<sup>42</sup> In some other land, dog droppings are consumable; in some other land there is no rinsing of the mouth after eating; in some other land pork may be eaten; in some other land buffalo-meat; in some other land mutton [may be eaten]; likewise other meat also may be forbidden for eating by castes and outcasts according to the custom of the land. Some places the *caṇḍālas* [offspring of *Śūdra* women and *Brāhmaṇa* men] may be [Buddhist] disciples, in some places [disciples] come from the four castes; in some places [disciples] come from all the individual castes. In some lands, when the husband has died, the son's mother may become [the son's] wife; in some other land there may be marriage between a brother and a sister; in some other land there may be a marriage to a maternal uncle; in some other place there may be mutual sexual intercourse of clan and non-clan members; in some other land *brāhmaṇī* women may practice prostitution. So in this way, according to the custom of many places, what is consumable or nonconsumable, and sexual intercourse with clan or non clan members, may be followed by the *yogin*.<sup>43</sup> Likewise, the clan deity--[whether it is] the serpent deity in someone's clan, the goat in someone's clan, the hog in someone's clan, the buffalo in someone's [clan], [or] the owl in someone's [clan]. In the same way yet other animals, as clan deities for others, are not to be killed, and not to be eaten. Likewise, someone's clan deity may be a demon; someone else's the sun; someone else's the holy fig tree; similarly others may even be trees. For others the clan deities are neither to be separated nor distinguished (probably referring to groups of deities). In this regard a worldly objective is also considered. How so? Because of either harm to one's own clan, or assistance to one's own clan. In this world, when their deity is propitiated, it performs a service [to the clan]; opposed, it causes great harm. Therefore, the possessor of the primal action should behave according to their land and clan custom, delighting in *mantras*, meditation, and spiritual practice, until he becomes one possessing perfection in *mantras*, or perfection in knowledge. Then he voluntarily follows what is to be eaten and what is not to be eaten, what is accessible and inaccessible, what is drinkable and not drinkable; he cannot be harmed in any way by following that custom. Hence the possessor of the primal action, when he is perfected in *mantra*, becomes a *yogi*. From moving through the space of the manifested *maṇḍala-cakra*, he becomes a *siddha*; through destruction of the obscurations of the knowable that turn into the *māras* and addictions, through seeing the perfection in manifestation of the magical power of the universal form, through spinning the wheel of *dharma*, through the

influence of seeing the collection of all the *dharma* aggregates, he becomes omniscient."<sup>44</sup>

The implications of the preceding passage are that 1) Tāntrikās belonged to a very wide variety of caste and social groups, with the rules about membership and about proper behavior varying widely depending on the locale; 2) those who attained the higher levels of initiation in the Tantric practices saw themselves as cosmopolitan. They considered it appropriate to alter their behavior depending on where they were and with whom they were associating at any given time; the power of their own initiations would protect them from any bad karma that might otherwise accrue to such willful and knowing transgression of their original caste or doctrinal behavioral restrictions. The variety of local customs referred to in the *Mālinīvijayottara* and the *Kālacakra* are also suggested by the titles of Chapter 11 and 12 of the *Kṛṣṇa-yāmari-tantra: Caryā-samaya-sādhana-ṣaṭṭha-ekādaśamaḥ*,<sup>45</sup> ‘The eleventh chapter on the practices of the Tantric community according to the custom or established usage,’ and *Sarvopāyika-viśeṣako nāma dvādaśaḥ ṣaṭṭhaḥ*, ‘The twelfth chapter called the distinguishing characteristics of common practices.’ Unfortunately I have not had a chance to read the Sanskrit of these chapters (they are still in manuscript form, as mentioned in Chapter 4), yet together these titles suggest a variety of practices depending on local customs, along with a definable set of common practices shared by different groups, and that need to be understood by the traveling Tantric Yogins. In addition, we find that in the *Kṛṣṇa-yāmari Tantra* those *bodhisattvas* beginning with *Maitreya* who engage in Tantric practices including intense *prāṇāyāma*, eating fish and meat, taking pleasure with liquor and beautiful women, holding to the vows of

the atheists, non-consecrated, and causing all sorts of trouble, and holding the *yamāritantra* as preeminent, are also said to be those who take their pleasure in the village districts (*grāma-jāla-ratā*).<sup>46</sup> Finally, the evolving, varied culture of the Tantric traditions is reflected in the lament (and slight dig at the Śaivites) by the Buddhist Tantric commentator Puṇḍarīka, who remarks "Nowadays, because of the instruction of false *gurus*, those whose knowledge of the great consort has deteriorated create animalness (*paśuvam*);<sup>47</sup> [this] is not *Buddha*-hood, because there is a lack of knowledge about the *mahāmudrā*."<sup>48</sup>

Puṇḍarīka's commentary on the *Kālacakra* contains numerous critiques of what he considers bad practices or bad Tāntrikās, and suggests an attempt to impose some discipline and order on a potentially chaotic situation. He may well have been an instructor at a Buddhist university--given the great learnedness he shows in his writing--and may have been in part railing against corrupting influences from the society at large. At one point in his long commentary on *Kālacakratantra* 5.127 (see Chapter 11 of this dissertation, page 72 of the Sanskrit), he critiques yogins who

Are not adept at the deity *mantras*, who constitute an assembly of fools, who act with arrogance towards the *paṇḍits*, who are deceitful cheats, who are greedy for the wealth of the colleges and monasteries, who are restricted to birth and [re]-birth in the ghost's hell form of existence [*pretanarakajātī*], who have destroyed both their own and other people's goals, who advise the opposite goal from the goal stated in the *Tantras*, uncritical men who are *Māra*'s attendants--[such is the case with regard to] the consumables describe by the *Bhagavān*.... Through the consumption of unpurified poison etc. [the non-initiate] will die; through anointing with unpurified ceremonial ointments he will become one who thinks ill of the world; through self-inflicted death, through disregard of the world, hell will come into existence, because of the renunciation of human dwelling on the part of those who have bad *mantras*.

From the point of view of religious sociology, it appears from this sort of discussion that the interpretation of certain types of Tantric statements, and acting upon them, by the non-initiated was a problem for the Tantrikas. Puṇḍarīka may simply be attacking the Śaivites, though he usually names them when he does, so I suspect he may have been referring to non-initiates and laymen and women who were drawn to the Tantric practices. What this may point up is a flourishing and functioning Tantric culture that, despite its preference for some secrecy and restricted access, was generating ripple effects in its cultural context to the extent that other groups were attempting to adopt certain of its practices without the requisite training and appreciation of the intentions and effects of these practices. Kṣemendra's humorous satires of Tantric practices certainly supports this impression. Puṇḍarīka's reference to thievery at the *maṭhs* and monasteries of the day suggests that in 11th century Kashmir and elsewhere in north India these institutions were sufficiently wealthy that there were those who coveted their wealth and material possessions. This may offer another reason why the Muslim invaders may have sacked these places--there was plenty of wealth to plunder.

#### 9.2.4. Who Ran the *Cakra-pūjas*?

There is some evidence in the Tantras to indicate that in many instances it was the *yoginīs* who were in charge of the *cakra-pūja* rites. In the *Hevajra*, after the exchange of secret signs, the Tantra says: "Then the *yoginīs* say: 'Well done, O Son, thou of great compassion.' If they show wreaths in their hands, they are signifying that you should come together in that place; motioning forward with their wreaths

(they mean to say) 'O True One, stay at this ceremony and take part.' So there at that meeting place, abiding within that sacred orbit, he should do whatever the yoginīs say."<sup>49</sup> The locations of these meeting places are "the *pīṭha* and *upapīṭha*, the *kṣetra* and the *upakṣetra*, the *chandoha* and the *upachandoha*, the *melāpaka* and the *upamelāpaka*, the *ṭlava* and the *upapṭlava*, the *śmaśāna* and the *upaśmaśāna*."<sup>50</sup> The Description of the *samayacakra* or sexual congresses in the *Hevajra* is exactly analagous to that in the *Mālinīvijayottaratantra*--with secret codes for finding the circle of *yoginīs* among the various *pīṭhas* and *kṣetras*, and the recognition that the *yoginīs* are in control of the situation in terms of determining whether the rites will take place, and where. Chapter 23 of the *Mālinīvijaya* lays out the practice of sexual Yoga in the context of Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantra. It describes the method for joining in the *cakrapūja* rites run by the 'terrifyingly courageous *yoginīs*' at the different pilgrimage sites. It is apparently written for wandering male yogis, i.e. those who are constantly *bhramana-śīla*, accustomed to wandering about the countryside.

I will explain to you the external method of the *pīṭhas* and sacred sites (*kṣetras*) for those habituated to wandering constantly--it provides the results of pleasure and *siddhis*. And one should make the great *prāṇa* in the shape of a stick reaching up to the nose, together with the drop, secretly, like that--it is to be known as what is considered to be of two syllables.<sup>51</sup> Having performed the service of that by the previously mentioned method, with a tranquil mind, one should wander about the *pīṭhas*, etc. for *siddhi*, not otherwise, O She who is praised by heroes. Having, by (following the code of the) *mantras*, advanced to that district--to the *ātman*, attentively, one should surround the place with *Vidyā*--who is like a red string.<sup>52</sup> So the wise one, with his thoughts on nothing else, both internally and externally, in many different ways, having come together [also implies sexually] in wherever in a sacred spot there are terrifyingly courageous yoginīs, [they] progress each to their own tradition (*svakaṃ svakaṃ sampradāyaṃ*).<sup>53</sup>

The reference in this passage to what is 'like a red-string' is puzzling to me. Whether it has anything to do with the practice maintained in Tibetan Tantric tradition of the initiates wearing red strings about their neck is not clear, though I suspect there may well be a connection; another practice that also survives in modern Tibetan Tantric tradition, that of wearing a *mālā* about the wrist, is clearly prescribed for the initiate in the *Mālintvijaya*: "Then according to this precept the wise one should make a string of rosary beads, made out of jewels, a collection of pearls, conch shells, etc., and lotus seeds, etc. or else produced from the elements of gold, etc., fifty in extent; it should be the length of one's own arm, having become a constituent part of the bracelet."<sup>54</sup>

As we shall see from the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* and *Kālacakratantra* discussions of the sexual Yogas below, there were apparently also many instances where a male guru was in charge of the rites; from the above passages though it is also evident that in many cases women appear to have been in charge of the rites, as suggested by the *Hevajra* passage and by the use of the term *tad-deśa-kula-nāyikā*, i.e. the woman who is the leader of the clan in that place, cited from *Mālintvijayottaratantra* 19.19 above, where she is described as hosting and caring for the traveling yogin. This distinction between the wandering yogin and the more settled yoginī reminds us of the references in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* to the more settled *māṛṭs* and the wandering *siddhas* (See Chapter 3.2.2). It may be simply that the women hosted the rites. There is however a strong suggestion here that the yogi goes to one of these places, pairs off with one of the yoginis, of whatever faith she and he

may be, is deeply instructed in her faith, and by learning that from her, is granted profound sensual satisfaction--so in this sense women served as sexual gurus to the men. In the term *svakaṃ saṃpradāyaṃ* we appear to have a reference to the idea that the yoginīs in the different *piṭhas* etc. may well be of different lineages and traditions, so the visiting yogi would presumably pair up with a woman from his own tradition when possible, though we also get the impression that members of a wide variety of cults would participate at these rites as a group. Recall for instance in Kṣemendra's satire of the Śaivite Tantric guru that among his minions there appears to have also been a Buddhist Tantric yogi (see Chapter 6.4.2.) This impression would certainly help account for the enormous amount of shared doctrines among the different Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric cults, as the companionship and lovemaking between *yogis* and *yoginīs* of different faiths would likely have led to a fruitful exchange and comparison of different ideas and practices, and the gradual harmonization of these over time. Wandering *yogis* and *yoginīs* joining in multidisciplinary Tantric rites would have been far less inclined than members of the more conservative and doctrinal establishments to attack the doctrines of alternative traditions whose adherents they frequently and intimately encountered at group rites.

#### **9.2.5. Daytime Ascetics, Nighttime Tantric Yogis and Yoginīs**

Another basic question is when did the Tantric sexual rites take place? While Kṣemendra's and Kṛṣṇamiśra's satires (Chapter 6.3 and 6.4) paint the sexual, meat-eating, and liquor drinking indulgences of Tantric practitioners in the worst possible light as an excess of hypocrisy, with the Tāntrikās 'pretending' to be devout

worshippers during the day, and indulging in sensual gratification at night, there appears to have been more than a grain of truth in the temporal characterization of Tantric practices. First of all, the daytime asceticism and occasional nighttime indulgences points to an aspect not discussed by the satirists. Just as a teetotaler can get very drunk on one beer, or a strict vegetarian can be greatly stimulated by eating a piece of meat, it appears that the Tantric practitioners used controlled indulgence as part of the mechanism of heightening sensual awareness. By otherwise denying themselves meat, alcohol, and sex except when engaged in Tantric rites, they would have made themselves more sensitive to the stimulatory effects of these substances and to sexual activity. Abhinavagupta explains that in the *Kula* secret rites (i.e. the sexual Yogas), alcohol and especially wine are considered essential. "Whatever substance has been prohibited in the whole range of *śāstras*, the wise one should use in this sacrifice, thoroughly lubricated by the lovely nectar."<sup>55</sup> According to the *Brahmayāmalatantra* alcohol is Śiva's *rasa*, or juice."<sup>56</sup> Jayaratha clarifies for us: "There are three types that are made, a) distilled from rice or grain (*paiṣṭi*), b) distilled from honey (*kṣaudrī*), and c) rum (distilled from molasses--*gauḍī*). There is one natural (*sahaja*) type, from grapes (*drākṣoṭtha*)."<sup>57</sup> These are considered to contain Śiva's *tejas* or inner fire."<sup>58</sup> Jayaratha quotes a revealing passage from an unsourced text that places Tantric consumption of alcohol in the context of socially appropriate drinking in ancient India: "for Brahmins at the *Sautrāmaṇī* rite, for Kṣatriyas at a great sacrifice, for Vaiśyas when building a house, for relatives at a festival, for friends at a party, for Śūdras at a cremation, at a wedding, or at the birth of a son.



These are the different occasions for drinking for people whose minds are confused. Those who however have been initiated into the Śaivite or Śākta *Tantras*, who follow the guru's commands, who are devoted to the recitation of *mantras* and worship, who are competent both in terms of knowledge and practice, who have the appropriate state of mind free of greediness, for those twice-borns alcohol is never forbidden."<sup>59</sup> While the rice, honey, and molasses-derived liquors provide various enjoyments, the natural alcohol that comes from grapes (wine) is the supreme Bhairava *tejas*. Abhinava remarks that this (wine) is the purified *rasa* itself, made of light, joy, and consciousness; it is the eternal delight of the gods, and should therefore always be drunk.<sup>60</sup>

As I mentioned in Chapter 6.4.2., Kṣemendra's portrayal of the *gurubrahmacārin* who spends his daytime hours acting like a good holy man, and spends his nights in unbridled sensuality was apparently a journalistic satire, and not just fictitious. We find in the *Vimalaprabhā* on KCT 5.132 a specific prescription for Buddhist Tantric initiates, men, and women, to maintain their celibate, vegetarian, and renunciate vows during the day, and to engage in the Tantric sexual rites with meat and alcohol during specific hours of the night. The discussion occurs in the context of a complicated temporal mapping of the flows of semen and blood to the movement of time during the course of the day and night. The passage refers to yogis and yoginīs engaging in the '*samaya*-activity.' *Samaya* has two basic meanings: 1) time, or the appropriate time; and 2) an agreement, established custom, or observance. Both these meanings are included in the *samaya* used in the Buddhist and

Kashmir Śaivite Tantric traditions, where the initiate is called the *samayin*; *sayama* is a particular custom is designated for observance at the appropriate time--i.e. sexual activity between *yogīs* and *yoginīs* between sundown and midnight.

She, here, in the fourfold set of *sandhyās*,<sup>61</sup> passing in each *yāma*,<sup>62</sup> through the effect of the night and day, with the divisions of the half-zodiac signs, is the thirty six feminine messengers of time (*kāladūtyah*), the *ḍākinīs* in the *tri-cakra-saṃvara*. Their motion is in the *kulikā-yoga*;<sup>63</sup> by the division of the *sandhyās*, [and] by the divisions of the *praharas* and *lagnas*. Just as externally there is motion, dissolution [*laya*], authority [*adhikāra*], and rulership [*adhipatyam*], likewise [these occur] internally [*adhyātmani*], with the division of the sun rise, with the division of the *prāṇa* rise.<sup>64</sup> In this sense, externally, [106.15] on the four continents, where there is sunrise, there is motion, where there is midnight, there is dissolution, where there is midday, there is authority [*adhikāra*], where there is sunset, there is rulership [*adhipatyam*]. For the *kulikā*, the night-entry is for the enjoyment of the *yoginī*, up until midnight. From sunrise until midday is the enjoyment of the *bhikṣus*, during the daytime. Therefore the rule, "And the day is the *Bhagavān*, the lightning bolt possessor, wisdom is the night, for enjoyment." Therefore, from sunrise until midday what is enjoyed by the *bhikṣus* is to be enjoyed free of sensual desire. From sunset to midnight, the *samaya*-activity is to be enjoyed by the *yogīs* and *yoginīs*. [If], after that, [there is] the breaking of the *saṃvara* [observance] [106.20] on the part of the disciple [*śrāvaka*] and [on the part] of the *mantrin* [the *Tāntrika*], from breaking that [vow] there is the loss of the *ṛddhis* and *siddhis*.<sup>65</sup>

This is certainly a bit of a surprising passage, due to its implications for the social climate and methods of practice of the *Tāntrikās*. *Ṛddhis* are generally supernatural powers; the term also means growth or prosperity, and it appears in the early Buddhist literature.<sup>66</sup> *Laukika* (worldly) *siddhis* are classically eight, identified early on in the texts of the *Yoga-darśana*, later becoming commonplace. These are *aṇimā*, the power of becoming minute; *laghimā*, the ability to fly by becoming lightweight; *prāptih*, the power of obtaining anything; *prākāmyam*, irresistible will; *mahimā*, the

ability to increase one's size; *īśarvam*, greatness or superiority; *vaśīrvam*, the ability to subdue others to one's will; and *kāmāvasāyitā*, the power to assume any shape at will. The point of the closing statement of the above passage (*saṃvara-bhaṅgāt śrāvaka-mantriṇoḥ ṛddhi-siddhi-hānir*), is that when disciples and *Tāntrikas* break their vow by engaging in sex after midnight, instead of within the prescribed time of from sundown to midnight, then they will lose any acquired magical or Yogic powers. The mention of *śrāvakas* is curious here; it suggests that Hīnayāna adherents may also have engaged in Tantric practices, unless we take it as simply referring to 'disciples.' However, the term is a fairly standard one for Hīnayāna practitioners, and given the wide range of people listed in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* as practitioners of Tantra, it would not be at all surprising to find that Hīnayāna monks also engaged in these rites during the late evening sessions, while maintaining their monastic vows during the rest of the day, as described and prescribed by Puṇḍarīkaḥ. These practices would fit in exactly with what was satirized by Kṣemendra.

Although it is very difficult to be certain from the oblique and partly censored description of the Tantric rites given in the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*, it appears that the rites described therein may also have taken place in the first half of the night. After the discussion of the sexual rites, the text immediately gives us, in the latter portion of the same chapter (Chapter 23 of the MVT), a discussion of sleep-yoga. Following as it does the sexual Yoga description, the placing of this discussion seems to indicate that during whatever the yogi dreams during the period of sleep following the sexual rites in the first half of the night, that will later take place in the waking

state--i.e. the practitioner will learn to have accurately prophetic dreams. This is consistent with the doctrine described in the *Kālacakra* that says that the yogi who masters the flow of the winds and the stabilization of the drops in the subtle body during the practice of the sexual Yogas will become conscious in a state that allows him (or her) to see the past, present and future. The *Mālinī* passage reads as follows, in typically cryptic fashion:

So now I will tell you the other supreme knowledge of sleep. Having become one who is constituted of what is in the heart-cakra, with the mind on nothing else each night, after a month, O Great Goddess, whatever one sees in sleep, the reality of that comes into existence for the yogi who is disciplined in meditation. If one practices the restraint of time in just that way, in the first watch of the night, in the second [watch] etc., sequentially, after ten days, after a year, and after eighteen months, gradually [one comes to know] the good and the bad (*karma*); one should attain the result at sunrise. When this is accompanied by intention wherever the ritual-activity (*kārya*) takes place, then one attains the knowledge of one's own or others' sleep--this is the doctrine in the *Siddhayogīśvarī* (Tantra), Oh Devī.<sup>67</sup>

The idea that these practices occurred at night is supported by indications in other texts, and was apparently not unique to the Tantric tradition. As mentioned in Chapter 5.5.2, the *Niruttaratantra* refers to midnight or late night worship with five types of women described for the *rājacakra* (royally sponsored *cakrapūja*?) and a *devacakra* (guru-run?).<sup>68</sup> The *Hārakatatantra* (see Chapter 5.5.4.) describes the Yogic *śtusādhana* as specifically occurring during the late hours of the night until morning.<sup>69</sup> Many of the other more 'yogic' meditations described in the earlier chapters of the *Mālinīvijaya* also are prescribed for the later hours of the night and early hours of the morning. In fact, though, this is not just a Yoga tradition. There are also Vedic recitatory rites designed to take place from 3am to 6am or sunrise, so

it may be that just as with the ritual model in other ways, the timing of the Vedic rites also provided a model for the timing of the Tantric practices. Comparing these discussions with the material from the *Kālacakra* where the monks and nuns were instructed to be ascetics by day and practice sexual Yogas at night, and here, where the yogis are apparently instructed to perform Vedic rites by day, and sexual Yogas at night, we would conclude that the practice of Tantric Yoga appears to have been a night-time affair.

One of the puzzling terms that crops up repeatedly in the description of Tantric rites is *prati-dina-samaye*, the locative singular of *prati-dina-samayah*. As we see in Tantric initiation sequences, a *samaya-sattva* or ‘covenant being’ is a Tantric initiate who has been accepted into the Tantric community and is permitted to undertake practice of the sexual Yogas. *Prati-dina* regularly refers to ‘each day,’ i.e. for something that happens every day. *Samayah* can refer either to ‘time,’ as in the proper time for doing something, or simply ‘time’ in general, or it can refer to a ‘covenant,’ an ‘agreement,’ or a common or ceremonial custom or practice.<sup>70</sup> In the context of Tantric rituals, *prati-dina-samaye* appears to refer to ‘daily Tantric rites,’ that involve ritual customs, are practiced at specific times, and are open only to those who partake of the covenant, i.e. the initiates. As with any other Yoga, Tantric Yoga apparently also required considerable practice.

### **9.3. The Extent of the Tantric Sexual Yoga Practices (Evidence from the Contents of the Major Tantras)**

Looking through several Śaivite and Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric texts, it

becomes quickly evident that sexual Yoga practices were widespread among a variety of different cults. In the *Nirutara/Kāltkula Tantra*, one of the texts cited by Abhinavagupta as source material for his *Tantrālokaḥ* that I discussed in Chapter 5.5.2, we find that over half of the chapters are concerned with sexual practices. Though the text has not been published, so I only have the colophons to work from here, we can deduce that the sexual Yogas were practiced between 9pm and 3am (this is a Śaivite Tantra, so they may have had different rules than the sundown to midnight rule Puṇḍarīka invokes), that the particulars of the practices differed according to the customs of different Tantric groups (*kulas*), that participation was restricted to men who had been consecrated and to women who had qualified as adepts, and that there were explicit instructions for the types of sexual postures (*ratibandhas*) to be used. I give here the pertinent chapter titles, repeated from Chapter 5.5.2 for convenience:

16) Rules for worship at night; 17) Description of [worship] in the second and third watches of the night (i.e. 9-12, 12-3am) etc.; 18) Now the rules for the consecration of the *Vīra*; 21) The explanation of the lack of *nirvāṇa* without the *śakti-sādhana*; 22) Explanation of the five [types] of young women according to size etc.; 23) Description of the characteristics of the *śakti-cakra* etc.; 24) The rules for the five *cakras*; 25) Explanation of the flower option; 26) Explanation of what is to be avoided in the *cakra*; 27) Explanation of protective actions; 28) Explanation of the difference between the king's *cakra* and the god's *cakra*; 29) Rules for the *sādhana* etc. of the *yoginis*; 30) Explanation of the characteristics etc. of the female adept; 31) Explanation of the *sādhana* according to clan custom etc.; 32) Rules about the difference between the *śaktis* according to the difference between the *Vidyās*; 33) The description of the characteristics etc. of the prostitutes; 34) Description of the five substances; 35) Explanation of the purification of these; 36) Description of the nine young women; 37) Rules about the positions etc. when satisfying (them); 38) Rules for the usage of the five [substances]; 39) Description of the eighteen *Mahāvīdyās*.<sup>71</sup>

The *Nigama Tantra* cited by Abhinavagupta also speaks of sexual rites (see Chapter 5.5.3). An odd sort of dispute between Pārvatī and Śiva is related in the opening lines, suggesting some caste-controversy among some of the Tantric practitioners, with perhaps a bit of prejudice on the part of higher-caste Tantric practitioners, or perhaps indicating a touch of humor about the subject. The *koca* caste referred to is defined in Apte's dictionary as a man born of a fisherman father and a mother who works as a butcher. Kalhaṇa in the *Rājataranṅiṭ* suggests that *Campakas* may have had a reputation for loose morals, when he says "Even the gods have no pity in *Trigarta*, no morals in *Campā*, no generosity in *Madra*-land, and no good-will in *Dārvābhisāra*,"<sup>72</sup> suggesting the region was known as what we might call a 'red-light' district (though here a region of the country, not of the city):

Pārvatī spoke: 'I do not speak at all to idiots, I renounce the sensual pleasure among the *paśu-vādins*; I refuse to speak to those damaging the *kula-karma*, I reject keeping company among the *Campakas*.' Śaṅkara responded: 'Oh goddess, Oh mistress of the universe, you certainly are the cause of creation, maintenance, and destruction. How can you cause me to remain with the *paśu* form, Oh dearest of sexual delight?' Pārvatī spoke: 'You previously performed the heroic activity (*vīrācāra*) through sexual union with the wife of a man of mixed caste (*koca*). Thereby the lord is not released at all from the *paśu* state....'<sup>73</sup>

The *paśuvādins* presumably refers to non-Tantric initiates, *paśu* being the term for those who have not yet realized their Śiva-nature (Śiva is Paśu-pati, the father to the *paśus*). *Kula-karma* would refer to the practices of the *Kula* division of the *Trika* system, the school most strongly favored by Abhinavagupta. It is evident from the chapter colophons of the *Tantra* that sexual Yogas were an important part of this text's cult. *Maithuna* or sexual union is the fifth of the five *m*'s, discussed in the

second chapter as the most important aspect of the practice, and chapter 8 refers to consumption of wine as part of the ritual. The colophons are:

- 1) This is the conversation in the form of the statement of Śaṅkara to Śaṅkara; 2) The explicit rules for the use of the fifth of the *m*'s (*pañcamakāras*) since that is the most important [aspect] about the five *m*'s; 3) The rules for the creeper *sādhana*; 4) Explanation of the characteristics of the *divya*, *vīra* etc.; 5) Explanation of the attainment of liberation just through the *sādhana* with the fifth *m*; 6) Explanation of lacking the phoneme division, etc.; 7) Rules for the purification of the five *m*'s etc.; 8) Rules for drinking repeatedly; 9) Rules for worship of the *yoni*; 10) Explanation of the meditation etc. on that; 11) Now rules for the worship of *Kālikā*; 12) Procedure for the worship of *Tārā*; 13) Explanation of the procedure [for the worship] of *Ugratārā*; 14) Explanation of the rules for consecration.<sup>74</sup>

Worth noting here is the inclusion of *Tārā* as one of the goddesses to be worshipped in this Śaivite Tantric tradition. De Mallmann provides extensive description of the different types of *Tārās* found in Tantric Buddhism.<sup>75</sup> The Buddhist *Tārā* in the Sanskrit texts is typically one of the four great *Prajñās*: *Locanā*, *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍarā*, and *Tārā*, who are often referred to simply as *Locanādi* (i.e. *Locanā* etc.). In the *Hevajratāntram* 1.1.21 these four are said to be expressed by *bījamantrās* constituting the phrase *evaṃ mayā [śrutam]* in the internal *maṇḍalam*,<sup>76</sup> and in the *Guhyasamāja* they are mapped to the first four of the *pañcamahābhūtas*, as they are at several places in the *Kālacakra*.<sup>77</sup> Though not, to my knowledge, a deity worshipped in any significant way in the other earlier Kaśmīr Śaivite *Tantras*, it is interesting that, unlike in the *Guhyasamāja* and *Hevajra*, where *Tārā* is not placed at the beginning of lists of goddesses, *Tārā* is included as the first of a group of *śaktis* in the retinue of *Sadāśivaḥ* at *Tantrālokaḥ* 8.373b.<sup>78</sup> Here in the *Nigama Tantra* *Tārā* is evidently a significant goddess.



We find that ten of fifty-one chapters of the *Ḍākārṇavatāntra* are devoted to a discussion of the various types of *yoginī* consorts and the rules for behavior during sexual rites with them. The following chapter titles are taken from extracts of this *Tantra* provided in one of H.P. Śāstri's catalogues:

26) The chapter on the subject matter called the characteristics and rules of the lovers' trysts and pleasure taking with the consorts by the heroes of the *yoginīs* in the *yantras* and *maṇḍalas* of *Pracaṇḍa* etc.; 27) The rules about the intrinsic nature of the lord of the consorts characterized by *Pracaṇḍākṣī*; 28) The rules about the consort characterized as *Prabhāvattī*; 29) The rules and regulations for the *homa* characterized by *Mahānāsā*; 30) The description of the rules on the intrinsic nature of the heroes (*vīras*) and their consorts and the mothers (*mātṛs*) and their male counterparts; 31) The chapter called the knowledge that is the intrinsic nature of the description of the *homā* of the phoneme of *Kharvartī*; 32) The chapter on the knowledge of the rule called the intrinsic nature of the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* characterized by the lover's tryst with the consort *Laṅkeśvartī*; 33) The rules and regulations for the lovers' tryst with the consort whose intrinsic characteristic is the shade of the tree; 34) The rules and explanation of the characteristics of the body consort *Airāvattī*; 35) The description relating the characteristics of the internal consort of *Mahābhairava*; 36) The description of the colors of the consorts and the rule about the application of the speed of the winds;<sup>79</sup>

We have already seen from the passages cited above that sexual Yogas formed a central part of the *Samvarodaya*, *Hevajra*, and *Mālinīvijayottara Tantras*. Except for the oblique and slightly censored text of the *Mālinīvijaya* the passages I have mentioned are not particularly descriptive, so it is not entirely clear what was involved in the rites. In two of the Buddhist Tantras, though, the *Ekallavīracāṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, and the *Kālacakratāntra*, and in short passages from the Śaivite *Mālinīvijaya*, we find rather detailed descriptions of the sexual Yogas. The *Kālacakra* in particular gives us an elaborated discussion of the objectives and

implications of these practices.

### 9.3.1. Sexual Yoga in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*

There is no question that some Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras prescribed explicitly sexual Yoga practices that were intended to be actually practiced. An accessible example is found in the *[Ekallavtra]-Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*—the first eight chapters have been well-translated into English with critical editions of the original Sanskrit and its Tibetan translation by Christopher George. I will examine the material in this text carefully here because the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* material is blatantly sexual and unequivocal in its recommendation that loving sexual intercourse is the recommended method for success. This material will also serve as a comparative basis for the description of sexual Yoga practices we find in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*. I have also translated several extracts from the Sanskrit manuscript catalogues of portions of the text that George did not publish (See Chapter 4.4). These will be discussed in the latter portion of this section.

#### 9.3.1.1. The Consecrations

First the initiate must draw the *maṇḍala* and empower it with the proper *mantra*. The student is made fit for practice by first receiving the Triple Refuge, the Five Teachings, a fast, followed by the five consecrations and the secret and wisdom consecrations. The five consecrations include the water, crown, sword, noose, and name. In the water the teacher moistens a mango twig with water from the ‘victory flask’ and consecrates the student with the words "*Oṃ āḥ*, to this person who has the same fortune as the one who has the consecration of all Tathāgatas, *hūṃ*."<sup>80</sup> Similar

*mantras* accompany placing a crown on the initiate's head, handing him a copper noose, placing a sword in his hand, and identifying the initiate with *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*. The women also undergo these initiations, with some variations, contradicting the position held by earlier Tantric scholars that lower caste women were merely exploited in the Tantric sexual rites, and were not full participants in the cults:

For women, instead of the Crown Initiation he should give the Minium (*sindūra*) Consecration. He should take by the hand the woman candidate, who has the form of a principal queen, and say: 'Om, O Lady, enter, enter her heart, *hūṃ, phaṭ!*' He should place in her right hand a hand-saw of iron, etc., and say: 'O, Hand-saw, cut, cut the flesh of all demons, *hūṃ, phaṭ!*' And placing a human skull, made of wood etc., in her left hand, he should say: 'Om, Skull, hold, hold the blood of all enemies, *hūṃ, phaṭ!*'<sup>81</sup>

She is to be consecrated with the names of the five *yoginīs*, and be given a Method Consecration in place of the Wisdom Consecration given to the men. The Secret Consecration involves the teacher joining with the female initiate, while the male initiate waits outside, and then the teacher takes the drops of semen and vaginal juices and uses it to draw *mantras* on the male initiate's tongue:

Then having paid respect to his teacher, the student should go outside and remain there, repeating the mantra: 'Om, O Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, *hūṃ, phaṭ!*' The teacher, moreover, should worship himself with intoxicants, meats, etc., and having satisfied Wisdom, being in her embrace, he should place the resulting white and red on a leaf, shaped into a funnel, etc. Then, having summoned the student, he should take that substance with his ring-finger and thumb, and write the letters, '*Hūṃ, phaṭ*' on the student's tongue. He should then have the student pronounce the words: 'Ah! Pleasure!' And then the teacher should say the following: 'Today I cause to be produced the Buddha-knowledge, the very same means by which the past, future, and present Buddhas, Lords, obtained independent (*apraṭiṣṭhita*) Nirvāṇa.'<sup>82</sup>

As we will see in examining the *Kālacakra* passages on sexual Yogas, the practice of using the thumb and ring-finger to grasp the vaginal juices and semen seems to be a consistent method used in different Buddhist Tantras. (I have not yet found an explanation of the symbolism of this practice.) The student is then blindfolded and throws a flower into the *maṇḍala*. Where it lands determines who will be his sexual partner in the rites. She strips naked, squats down, and pointing to her vulva challenges her male partner: "Can you bear, my dear, to eat my filth,--and feces, urine; and suck the blood from inside my Bhaga?" He responds: "Why should I not eat your filth, O Mother? I must practice devotion to women until I realize the essence of Enlightenment." She responds that she will then grant him success, since Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa himself is situated in her lotus. The male student then envisions himself as the deity and embraces her, aiming at the four blisses. Afterwards he presents himself before his teacher, laying out food, intoxicating beverages, meat, etc. The text then says, "Thus [ends] the Wisdom Consecration." (*iti prajñābhiṣekaḥ*)<sup>83</sup>

### 9.3.1.2. The Meditations

The next two chapters of the text describe an elaborate meditation on Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa and a set of attendant *mantras*, where various visualizations of identification with the deity are described, and the calling forth of the Vajrīs of various negative emotions (lust, envy, calumny, delusion)--by embracing them he should destroy them by destroying the various portions of the *maṇḍala* that was drawn earlier. In the sixth chapter we come upon the very explicit description of the sexual Yogas of the completion stage (*niṣpanna-krama*). *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Buddha* is

speaking with his consort *Prajñāpāramitā*. Tightly embracing him, and rubbing his *vajra* with her lotus (*gādham āliṅgya padmena vajragharṣaṇam kṛtvā*) she asks him: "What kind of meditation should be performed by the person practicing the Yoga of the Stage of Completion?" He responds that after perfecting the self-image as the deity, one should engage in the sexual Yogas with one's wife, or with a variety of other women, without making distinction; otherwise he will be slain by

*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*:

The Yogi who is situated in the Yoga of the stage of Completion should be devoted only to Yoga. He should meditate day and night on my form with one-pointed mind. He should ardently consider his own wife to have your form, until, with great and firm practice, it accordingly becomes perfectly clear. Mother, daughter, sister, niece, and any other female relative, as well as a female musician, Brāhman, sweeper, dancer, washerwoman, and prostitute; holy woman, yoginī, and ascetic as well-- Or whatever other he may receive with a woman's figure: these he should serve in the proper way without making any distinction. But if he makes a distinction, *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* will be provoked and slay the practitioner. And he will throw him into the Avīci Hell and threaten him with a sword and noose. Nor will he obtain Success in this world or the next. Therefore, this must be kept very secret and not be made visible.<sup>84</sup>

The couple is advised to find a quite, pleasing place, undisturbed, and to meditate intently while coupled together. They should gaze into each other's eyes intently, and the woman should say "You are my son and my husband; you are my brother and father. I am your mother, wife, sister, and niece."<sup>85</sup> She also refers to him as her slave for seven generations, and herself as his mistress. He repeats these sort of phrases in reverse, saying "I am your slave in all ways, keenly active in devotion to you. O Mother, look upon me with kindness, casting a loving glance."<sup>86</sup> Certainly these sort of descriptions contain little suggestion of abusive 'use' of women by men--

rather a mutual agreement and mutual worship and loving appreciation is indicated.

### 9.3.1.3. The *Ratibandhas*

In the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* we also find the following sort of descriptions of *ratibandhas*, the type of sexual positions described in the Erotic tradition literature of India (*Kāmaśāstra*), with language that make it quite clear that the practitioner is advised to engage in various sexual postures, kissing, and oral sex, and to worship the woman as the source of life from whence he has come. The lady kisses him and places three syllables (not specified) on his head, and in his 'sweet saliva', has him suck her lotus and presses her breast against his heart, pinches him in the chest and looking him in the eye says: "Eat my Vairocana! Drink the water of Akṣobhya! O Son, be a slave (*dāsakaḥ*) as well as a father! I am your former wife as well as your royal mother. Constantly take refuge at my feet, my dear. You were raised by me, hence your invaluable nature."<sup>87</sup> She invites him to make love to her, asking him to "be gracious, O my dear, give me the pleasure of the vajra!" asking him to insert his throbbing Vajra into the opening in the center of her Lotus (*sphurad-vajram tataḥ padmam-madhya-randhre praveśaya*),<sup>88</sup> and to give her up to a hundred million strokes.<sup>89</sup> The man is instructed to appreciate the woman as the kindly source of life whose merit encompasses all living beings: "Woman alone is the birth giver, the giver of true pleasure to the Three Worlds, the kind one. Those chattering fools engaged in evil action, who now disparage her out of hostility, will, by their action, remain constantly tortured for three eons in the fathomless Raudra Hell, wailing as their bodies burn in many fires."<sup>90</sup> So *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Buddha* could not be more

explicit here in his injunction that men worship real women of whatever relation to them, caste origin, or trade, as lovely, life-giving, adoration-meriting ladies. "Friend or stranger, she nourishes him with food. The woman who is like that is none other than Vajrayoginī."<sup>91</sup> This is a far cry from the claims of some scholars that Tantric sexual rites were none other than abusive exploitation of women by high-caste Indians. The advocacy of incestuous sex is certainly shocking to Western sensibilities, as is the request by the lady that her lover eat her feces and drink her urine. Nonetheless, these passages make it very difficult to sustain the argument that women were not equal partners in the rites described. In fact the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* places the woman in the more lofty position sexually. While the man is admonished to consume all of the woman's physical outflows and excretions, and to please the woman with oral and genital sex, the woman is not similarly required to perform oral sex or consume the man's outflows.

The next section of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* Tantra describes in some detail the sexual rites practiced by the two lovers. The passages read as though lifted out of a text on *Kāmasāstra*, the Indian erotics tradition, with an adjustment to the ethic of Buddhist Tantra that commands a loving, adoring attitude by the man towards the woman. There is no question from this material that actual sexual Yoga is being practiced, not a visualization:

Then, in the middle of a bed, with the woman assuming a squatting seat, he should have her clasp her arms firmly together on his shoulders. His own two arms should be joined, emerging together from the middle of her girth (i.e. her waist), and with the Vajra inserted in the Lotus, that is called the 'Pleasure-Evoking' position. With the two arms of both of them joined to each other like braids of

hair, the two should rock slowly. This is called the 'Swing-Rocking.' Embracing, with her two knees against his heart, and with the hands in the same position as in the 'Swing-Rocking,' this is called the 'Knee-Holding.'<sup>92</sup> .... Again, taking the 'Pleasure-Evoking position, he should have her fall on her back. Then he should insert the Vajra into the Lotus with the right hand, and catching the crooks of his elbows behind the knees, he should join her; and with each other's arms like braids of hair, this is known as the 'Honeycomb.'<sup>93</sup> .... He should kiss her mouth as much as he likes, again and again. Looking at her face lying down, saying whatever words he likes, he should suck her tongue, and drink the saliva of her mouth. .... He should rub the nipple with the hand, suck, then bite. Having the woman lie on her back, he should kiss her lovely belly, remembering again and again, 'Here I was formerly situated.' He should touch the Lotus with the hand, saying 'Lovely, O Air!' He should kiss and pinch, looking there drawing down with the hand. Smelling the odor, he should clean with the tongue the hole of that woman. He should then say this kind of speech: 'As I have entered through this, so too have I emerged numerous times.' This path, which is straight as the nose, if practiced without Knowledge, would be the path to the six states of rebirth. But when practiced with Knowledge it would be the Success of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa.<sup>94</sup>

These sort of practices are also not advised solely in the context of non-ejaculatory orgasm. Rather the text speaks of optional ejaculation, followed by licking and eating the woman's vulva to remove excess semen and blood or vaginal secretions ("optionally he may secrete or not secrete, having his mind solely on pleasure. If he does, he should lick the Lotus, on his knees. And he should eat with his tongue, the white and red of the Lotus.") This is followed by eating meat and fish, wine or milk, to increase one's desire, with an admonition that the two should repeatedly make love to perfect the practice and attain the desired result of becoming Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa.<sup>95</sup>

#### 9.3.1.4. Worshipping Women

In the next chapter (Chapter 7), called the Chapter of Refreshing the Body (*deha-prṭṇa-paṭalaḥ*), Prajñāpāramitā asks Buddha Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa what the lovers



should do after they have been exhausted by lovemaking. He explains that once the woman is satiated, the man should prepare and feed her fish, meat, wine, and whatever other food he has including milk and juice. "First he should give to the woman; then he should eat the scraps of that, and that should be eaten immediately on the dish with her scraps." He is also instructed to eat the wash water of all her orifices, with the explanation that "Just as when manure is applied, a tree becomes abundantly fruitful, so does a person have the true fruits by eating unclean things."<sup>96</sup>

The final chapter George translated, Chapter 8, includes in a list of Prajñāpāramitā's forms an itemization of women who apparently took part in Buddhist Tantric Yoga rites:

Wherever in the Three Worlds a womanly form is seen, that is said to be my form, whether she belongs to a low family or not low. Goddess, demoness, Yakṣiṇī, as well as Rākṣasī, Nāginī, ghost maiden, Kinnarī, and human female as well. And so too are the females of the Gandharvas, Hell Beings, Animals, and Pretas. Also there are the women of the four classes: Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras. And, in detail, the castes are as follows: writer, Rājput, scholar, tax-collector, trader, water-worker, prostitute, boat-woman, shoemaker; Kulatriṇī, Hatriṇī, musician, sweeper, corpse worker, washerwoman, wine merchant, perfume maker, laborer; Barber, dancer, bronze worker, gold-smith, fisherwoman, marriage arranger, potter, garland maker; Śaiva ascetic, conch-shell worker, cane splitter, Kemālinī, cowherd, arrow wright, Kocinī, stone artisan; architect, and hairdresser, encompassing all castes. Mother, sister, wife, maternal aunt, niece, paternal aunt, mother-in-law, and all other caste relations. Vow-holding devotee, yoginī, widow, and ascetic. All these and many more are women who have my form. Each in her own form is resolute in benefitting all living beings. Whomever among them are encountered, they are honored by the yogis, kissing, embracing, and joining the Vajra and Lotus. When those women are honored, they give Success instantly to those who desire the welfare of all beings. Therefore one should honor women. Women are heaven; women are Dharma; and women are the highest penance. Women are Buddha; women are the Saṃgha; and women are the Perfection of Wisdom.<sup>97</sup>

Based on just this material, we could assert that Tantric Yoga is a cult of worshipping living women as goddesses by loving them, serving them, and making love to them-- ideally physically, otherwise mentally:

He should always worship Vajrayoginī with flowers and incense, etc., with clothes, and pay homage to her with prose and poetry, with hands pressed together. He should look, touch, and remember, while acting in accordance with his words. And, kissing and embracing, he should always worship Vajrayoginī. If he is able, he should do it physically; if unable, with speech and mind. By this man I am worshipped and satisfied, and to him I will give all Success. I am none other than the bodies of all women. And there is no other way that I may be worshipped except by the worship of woman (*tyaktvā strīpūjanam na anyan madīyam syāt prapūjanam*).<sup>98</sup>

A similar passage from the twenty-fifth chapter (not translated by George) specifically recommends the practice of visualized sexual yogas with the meditative-image of a woman as an option when it is not possible to worship a real woman:

Firmly established with a handsome form, abiding in the *paryāṅka* of sentient beings, holding a chopper and a noose, glorious, having embraced [her, sexually], with dramatic gesture, the creator, having embraced a young lady of his own clan, [he] should meditate. In this [manner] the *yogī* becomes perfected by the consort, there is no doubt. Otherwise, having created an image, he should perfect [the image] that is created according to the *sūtras* etc. Staying in *samādhi* together with *Caṇḍa*, he should recite [the *mantras*] with a one-pointed mind.<sup>99</sup>

### 9.3.1.5. A Reversed Perspective on Symbolic Language

What should be completely clear is that the *Ekallavītracaṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*'s descriptions of the initiation rites and practices of sexual Yogas are intended as eminently real and practical, and however shocking or surprising we may find them, they nonetheless represent an important strand of literature in the Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric tradition. What is rather intriguing is that in some of the other portions of the

text not translated by George we find that not only were the injunctions to the practice of sexual Yoga meant literally--it was also the case that the symbolic language common in Buddhist Tantras, such as the 'joining of wisdom and means' was intended to refer to actual sexual practices; i.e. it is not that the sexual language is only meant symbolically in order to teach esoteric doctrines. Rather, the esoteric language is intended to refer to actual sexual practices. This sort of argument fits well with the explanation I cited in the Introduction above from Puṇḍarīka's commentary on the *Kālacakra* where he explains that the 'lotus' refers to the vulva, and the *vajra* to the penis, and it fits with the Root *Kālacakra* passage cited above that indicates that the names of the *ḍākinīs* are covert representations of the names of the women running the *cakra-pūjas* at various sites. We find in an extract from the 13th chapter of the *Ekallavīracanḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra*, the chapter on Conduct, the following statement, demonstrating a mapping of abstract doctrinal categories to the real woman who is the Tantric lover:<sup>100</sup>

With the joining together of wisdom and means one should give [to the consort] the fingernail, and the three syllables; the kissing and the embrace, and also all of one's semen. She will become the perfection of generosity, without a doubt. With that as the highest, the body, speech, and thought enveloped through intense pleasure,<sup>101</sup> she is recognizable as the perfection of [good] disposition, she is to be known [as such] also from forbearance [even when] scratched by fingernails.<sup>102</sup> And even squeezing the three-syllabled, she is endowed with the perfection of patience. Concentrated, and reverently, one should engage in sexual union for a long time. She should be known as the perfection of the hero, her mind engaged in that pleasure; she is considered the perfection of meditation on the form of the universally beneficent; she is renowned as the meditation on the female form, the perfection of wisdom; she is filled with just the one *Yoga* of great sexual pleasure,<sup>103</sup> she becomes the perfection of the six,<sup>104</sup> she is said to be the perfection of the five, merit, knowledge, and wisdom. [He],

completely engaged in the *Yoga* of great sexual pleasure, enveloped in the requisites of the *Yoga*, is perfected in just a moment, endowed with merit and knowledge. Just as what is produced from the creeper is endowed with flowers and fruit, complete enlightenment<sup>105</sup> is also equipped with the pair of requirements in one moment. He becomes the master of the thirty realms, there is no doubt. And the stage[s] are to be known as delighted, stainless and likewise flaming, radiating, very difficult to conquer, confrontation, traveling far, unmoving, good mind, and the cloud of *dharmā*, likewise the light called universal, unique, possessed of knowledge, are known as the thirteen.<sup>106</sup>

A similarly doctrinal explanation for the importance of real sexual Yogas between men and women is given in the tenth chapter of the text, the chapter on the Praise of Women. Here the text clearly lays out the argument for practicing sexual Yogas in the context of traditional Buddhist ascetical and celibate doctrines. *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* Buddha here reinterprets the story of Śākyamuni Buddha's leaving his harem behind as a separation in order to remove the sins of the world, and argues that the reason Buddha was able to defeat Māra was because Buddha knew the pleasure of the joining of the lotus and the *vajra* that he had learned in the harem. The censures of women found in the *Sūtra* and *Abhidharma* literature are described as self-protective language only. *Śrāvakas* who continue to censure women are said to lack faith due to beginningless ignorance, and to be unable to see the path to enlightenment in the women all around them.

Now the Lady (*Bhagavati*) spoke: "Is it possible, or not possible, Oh lord, to achieve the place of *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* without a woman?" The Lord answered: "It is not possible, Oh Goddess." The Lady said: "Is it impossible without the experience of pleasure?" The Lord spoke: "The ultimate *bodhi* cannot be obtained only with the experience of pleasure; it is attained by the experience of a specific type of pleasure, and not otherwise..... For the sake of destroying the wickedness of the world, the wise son of *Māyādevī*, leaving behind the eighty-four thousand, and also the harem, going to the banks of the *Nirañjanā*,

illuminated the *Buddhas* and *Siddhas*; he escaped from *Māra*, having repudiated him since that is not ultimate reality, since the *Buddha* was a master in the harem, provided with guardians, friendly, since he attained pleasure through the joining together of the *vajra* and the lotus; enlightenment is attained through pleasure, [and] pleasure is not [attained] without women. And the separation that is undertaken is in order to remove the wickedness of the world. However the world-[dwellers] become students of the *Buddha*, for that [purpose] the Victor [takes on] the form of the son of *Māyādevī*. Whatever censures of women have been made in all the *sūtras* and *abhidharma* [literature], [those] should be considered as various moral precepts according to language for one's own protection; and one should teach about *nirvāṇa* through the destruction of the five aggregates." Now the *Bhagavatī Prajñāpāramitā* spoke: "Who, Oh *Bhagavān*, is the son of *Māyādevī*, and who is *Gopā*?" *Bhagavān* responded: "I am the son of *Māyādevī*, and have achieved the state of *Caṇḍaroṣaṇa*. You are *Bhagavatī, Gopā*, i.e. *Prajñāpāramitā*. As many as are all the women, they are considered to have that [i.e. your] form; all the men likewise are well known to have my form. And this world consists of wisdom and means, having arrived at the state of both...." Then the *Bhagavatī* spoke: "Why, Oh *Bhagavān*, do the *Śrāvakas* censure women?" The *Bhagavān* responded: "All of those dwelling in the realm of desire who are known as *Śrāvakas* etc., they do not know the path to liberation [even though] they see women everywhere. When proximity is difficult to attain for the *śuṅkumā* etc.,<sup>107</sup> then the state of great value is not considered valuable by the remote one (i.e. the *Śrāvaka*). By reason of beginningless ignorance, these people lack faith; [they] do not put their thoughts on reality, since this is protected by me."<sup>108</sup>

The [*Ekallavīra*]-*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* represents a lineage of Buddhist Tantra that is explicitly sexual, and goes to great lengths to reinterpret earlier Buddhist doctrine in the context of a lovingly worshipful attitude towards all women. The text shows strong evidence of the influence of the *Kāmasāstra* tradition, and provides considerable detail on the actual practice of sexual Yogas. No doubt the remaining untranslated chapters will prove quite illuminating as to some of the schools of Buddhist Tantra in India. The Tibetan systematizers of the Buddhist Tantric corpus included this text in the *Vairocana-kūla* of the *Anuttarayogatantras* (the other member

of this group being the *Catuṣpīṭha*--see Chapter 4.1.2 ), so technically speaking this Tantra is in the general class of the other well-known *Anuttarayoga* Tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja*, the *Hevajra*, the *Cakrasaṃvara*, and the *Kālacakra*.

### 9.3.2. The Sexual Yoga Practice in the *Mālinīvijaya*

Though most of the *Mālinīvijaya* is devoted to the discussion of solitary meditations and Yogic practices by the initiate, there are references in the latter chapters of the text (the portions Gnoli did not translate) to sexual Yogas. After meeting up with the *yoginīs* in the *pīṭhas* and *kṣētras* etc. by means of following the coded signs in the *mantras*, the *yogī* is instructed by the *yoginī* according to her particular doctrine, as described above. Then the text indicates the sexual rites. There is an oblique and unfortunately partly censored description of what appears to be intercourse practices designed to aid in preventing ejaculation, with the poetic metaphor of 'causing the dawn to tremble' employed for bringing the woman to orgasm. The reference to the *ekam lakṣam* or 'single sign' is also a bit obscure. It may refer to a common secret mantra to recite after the sexual union, as a trans-sectarian religious or spiritual sharing that is part of the Great Seal--and seals the bond. This is however speculative on my part, and I have not yet found an explanation for the term. What is interesting here is the context of using the term *mahāmudrā* (in the form *mudrā mahatī*), a term much discussed in scholarship on Tibetan Buddhist Tantra; it appears to have originally referred in both the Śaivite and earlier Buddhist Tantric literature to the best sort of female consort for the male practitioner. My (unproven) theory is that as the Tantric material was absorbed into

the Buddhist monastic curriculum, and it became necessary to reinterpret the overtly sexual doctrines of the texts, Puṇḍarīka and others took the *jñānamudrā* classification and reformulated it as referring to a visualized consort. This would have served their purposes admirably. It would have indicated to the monastic Tantric disciples that although sexual Yogas were part of the tradition, the transcendent practice was with the visualized consort. Naturally any monk worth his salt would have wanted to 'go for the gold,' so to speak. so practicing with the visualized consort in that context would have been the preferred route. Although interpretive on my part, I can so far find no other reasonable explanation for how it is that the *mahāmudrā* term came to have such a different meaning in the later Buddhist Tantric tradition than it appears to have had in the earlier tradition (however, there is a very large body of Buddhist Sanskrit Tantric literature I have not yet read). Here is the MVT passage:

This one, with this doctrine fully obtained, O you of good vow, becomes equal in strength to that, and enjoys whatever pleasures are desired; and further, having completed the service, the smart one should recite the single sign/token. Having satiated her with the tenth part, one should join in the *ksudra*-actions. This uttered-metrical portion becomes what causes the destruction of poison. This one, moving circularly in the vagina, should meditate on she-that-is-reddened: and through the sequence of moving to and fro, [she] has the [text missing.....'effect?' 'ejaculation?'] of the drop warded off/prevented. And staying in that [in the vagina], and by not contracting during the quick coming together strokes, and with the thoughts on nothing else, he also causes *Urvaśī* [the dawn] to tremble. The precept for the one who's performed the service, with the recitation of the triple mark, satiating the glorious fruit of the lotus, provides great glory. The goddess who is possessed of the six states of arising, and who has mastered them by the stated path, who is the cause of all *siddhi*, is produced from the *mantras*. Liberating the nine-natured etc: and the sevenfold rite of the trident and lotus, the wise one should provide the six-arising *āsana* to the entire-cakra-rite (*sarva-cakra-vidhau*). And the Great Seal (*mudrā mahatī*) is to be employed

with the heart-seed [mantra] in the ceremony.<sup>109</sup>

It is not clear to me what *kṣudra-karman*--‘acting in a low or vile manner’ according to Monier Williams--refers to here. I have not found this particular term elsewhere. *Kṣudra* can also simply refer to something very small. Yet given the context, *kṣudra-karman* may have been a slang term used for the sexual Yogas, perhaps picked up by the Tāntrikās from the disparaging remarks made about them by their non-Tantric peers. The partially censored lines appear to indicate that particular movements by the yoginī were recommended to assist the yogi in inhibiting his ejaculation. One other speculative note I would like to make here is about the recitation of the *mantras* before, during, and after the sexual rites that appears to be recommended by the text. We find in the opening stanzas of Somānanda’s *Śivadṛṣṭih*--an early 10th century proponent of the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric tradition, the phrase: "Let Śiva, who is co-penetrated with my own being (identified with me), praise Śiva in his extended form through his own power, Śiva who obscures himself by himself."<sup>110</sup> This sort of self-reflexive self-identification of the initiate with his godhead is considered an essential prerequisite for the Tantric rites. Similarly, on the woman’s part, she identifies herself with Śakti. The women in the rites are therefore by definition *Śakti-yoginīs*. We also have the doctrine throughout the Śaivite Tantric tradition that the *mantras*--particularly those of the *Mālinīvijaya*--are sonic instantiations of Śakti, the goddess. Given that the text instructs the yogi to recite the appropriate mantras before, during, and after making love to the yoginī, and does not appear to require the same recitation by the yoginī (though this may simply be omitted from the text), could it



therefore be that the Devī who is invoked by the mantras is the Devī within the yoginī--i.e. that the mantric power of Sanskrit plays a central role in awakening the Devī aspect in the woman, and thereby revealing her to the man by awakening his sensitivity to her?

#### **9.4.0.1. Introduction to Section 9.4 and 9.5**

We have discussed in Chapter 7 how the subtle body doctrines of the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric traditions are grounded in the physiological doctrines of the Āyurveda tradition, and the psychophysiological views of the Yoga traditions and their inheritances from the estoric Vedic doctrines as enunciated in the *Brāhmaṇās*, *Āraṇyakās*, and earliest *Upaniṣads*. We have seen in those discussions that the sexual Yogic practices of the Tantric traditions have profound psycho-physiological implications--that the Tantric doctrinal systems outline pathways of mind-body connections and speak of attaining states of superhealth, free of disease and with an extended life. In Chapter 8 we looked at how the initiates must undergo staged purification processes prior to engaging in sexual Yogas, whereby they purify their psychophysiological constituents through these mind-body pathways. We have also seen how they map their subtle body physiology onto the cycling network of time as it was understood around the turn of the first millennium CE. And we have discussed the deific self-visualizations that are also integral to the re-envisioning of the self and the surrounding cosmos. (We also touched on this initiatory material again in the discussion of the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra* above). Now we turn to the fundamental issue of the technology of the sexual Yogas themselves: what exactly did the Tantric

writers conceive of as happening within the initiate during the practice of the sexual Yogas? And how were these processes thought of as providing the initiates with their desired goals? Because of the complexity of the issues involved, and the multi-layered nature of some of the doctrines, I present this section in two parts. The first part (Section 9.4) will look at the *Kālacakratantra*'s presentation of the technology and functioning of sexual Yoga practices. The second part (Section 9.5) will look at similar material from Abhinavagupta's writings on the subject.

#### **9.4.0.2. Sexual Yoga in the *Kālacakratantra***

**(9.4.1. Technology of Sexual Yoga, 9.4.2. Characteristics of Women Who are Tantric Consorts, 9.4.3. Necessity of Contraception for Novice Practitioners, 9.4.4. Provisions for Children Conceived in Tantric Rites, 9.4.5. Honoring the Menses, 9.4.6. 'Drinking' and 'Eating' the Five Nectars, 9.4.7. Sectarian Disagreement with the Śaivite Tāntrikās, 9.4.8. Sexual Light and Fire, 9.4.9. Eating the Semen and Vaginal Juices)**

The material presented above serves as ample introduction to the discussion of sexual Yoga practices in the *Kālacakratantra*. With the *Kālacakra* we have a curious situation, since many sections of the text explicitly recommend and describe sexual Yogas, while in other portions it is clear that Puṇḍarīka, and some of the verses, are arguing a preference for visualization practices in place of actual sexual Yoga practices. As I have indicated above, it appears to me that these 'visualization-preference' arguments were in deference to the pedagogical realities of the monastic education, though they were certainly an option in the early texts of both the Śaivite

and Buddhist Sanskrit Tantras. The *Kālackra* Tantra is also in any case an unusual text of the Tantric genre, as it includes a wide range of very detailed information that I have so far not found in other Tantras--details on war machines and irrigation techniques, recipes for concocting perfumes and Āyurveda remedies, and explicitly detailed discussions of Rasāyana therapies and recipes, all in the same text (however, these subjects may also be covered in as yet unpublished or unread Tantras--there are many). In this section I will examine the explicitly sexual material from the fifth chapter. Verse 5.75-5.85 and commentary of the *Kālacakratāntra* give some very detailed information about the sexual practices of the Buddhist *Tāntrikās*, and even include a disagreement with some of the sexual Yoga practices of the Śaivite *Tāntrikas*. I shall discuss this section here in some detail since this sort of material has not been much discussed in the published literature on the *Kālacakra* tradition. This section makes it very clear that in the perfection stage of the 11th century Indian Buddhist Tantric practitioners using Sanskrit as their communication medium, sexual Yogas were central to the perfection stage process, and the children who were sometimes conceived during these practices and were highly valued and protected, as were young ladies who were groomed for the position of Tantric consorts from an early age.

#### 9.4.1. Technology of Sexual Yoga in the *Kālacakratāntra*

Puṇḍarīka cites for us the basic schema of sexual Yoga practice from a passage in the now lost Root Tantra. This basic schema summarizes the preparatory rites, and indicates what the male initiate (and by implication the female initiate) is to

do during sexual intercourse, and indicates the results therefrom--all in a short summary verse. This verse also makes clear the fact that the advocacy of sexual Yoga also existed in the *Ādibuddha* or Root Tantra, and was not somehow an invention of the author(s) of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* verses:

The meditation on this was described by the *Tathāgata* in the knowledge chapter in the Root *Tantrarāja*, [102.25] as follows--  
 ‘Having meditated into existence the smoke etc., and having made the thought motionless, Having purified [it--the *citta*] in the middle [channel], one should bring the supremely indestructible into being. Having placed the thunderbolt (*vajra*) in the lotus, one should make the *prāṇa* enter into the drop, And [make] the drops [enter into] the *cakras*; one should halt the vibration of the drops in the thunderbolt. [102.30]  
 The *yogī* should always have a blocked-up *liṅga*, and should always hold back his semen during the penetrations with his lightning bolt [*vajrāveśair*] while in sexual embrace with his great consort [*mahāmudrā-prasaṅgena*]. Filled with the twenty-one thousand and six hundred supremely indestructible moments, he himself should become the great king, the lightning-bolt being. ||<sup>11</sup>

So having visualized the various void states of consciousness embodied in the eight goddesses (smoke, sparks, fireflies, lamp flames, fire, the Moon, the Sun, and clear light), having stilled the swirling motion of the mind’s *prāṇa* so that the thinking is no longer agitated, and having brought the flowing psychophysiological *prāṇas* into the central channel (*suṣumnā*-, *avadhūti*-, or *madhyama-nāḍī*), the yogi reenvisioned himself as Bhagavān Kālacakra, who is the Supremely Indestructible (*Parama-akṣara*) because he has conquered Time. The unspoken part here is that the yoginī is to do the same, only envisioning herself as Kālacakra’s consort. Then the two of them join coitally, inserting his *vajra* (penis) into her lotus (vagina). As the orgasmic energies rise, and the *bodhicitta* flows (in both of them) he is to merge the *prāṇas* that he has collected in his central channel into the 21,600 drops of *bodhicitta*, thereby

actualizing the mapping of his full daily cycle of life breaths into this extended moment of orgasmic bliss. The winds are however vibrational, pulsing with life, and so the *bodhicitta* is also pulsing and has the urge to emerge through his penis into his lover's vagina in ejaculation. Here though the yogi is to still--through concentration--the drops in his *vajra*, and hold them poised in the network of *cakras* arrayed down the length of his body. Then the *bodhicitta* rises upwards to their heads. Joined in blissful union with his lover who herself should have brought her own drops into balance in her *cakras* and withheld her own orgasmic secretion of vaginal juices, he *becomes* (i.e. no longer merely visualizes himself as) the *Vajrasattva* or electrical Kālacakra, and she becomes Kālacakra's consort.

Certainly in this passage it would be difficult to argue that the reference to the great consort (*mahāmudrā*) is somehow intended as purely symbolic or only visualized. The language is not too dissimilar from the ideas presented in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, though here we have the overlay of the subtle-body's 21,600 breath-drops poised along the network of *cakras* and *nāḍīs* in the subtle body, with the semen poised at the tip of his penis while he moves in and out of his lover's vagina. The passage even gives us these ideas in both symbolic or esoteric and straightforward language: having inserted his vajra into his lover's lotus, the yogi halts the vibration of the *prāṇa*-infused drops in his *vajra*, i.e. he retains his semen in his *liṅga*. The text could not really be more explicit. In a slightly later passage in the text Puṇḍarīka provides an explanation of the inner workings of this process. This passage includes among other things the use of the term *sandhyābhāṣā* in a way

that appears to support my point from Chapter 8 that the term refers both to symbolic language, and to the *bjamantras* mapped to time's *sandhyās* that allow the initiates to absorb the cosmos into their subtle bodies:

When in intercourse with a young woman, the knowledge being (*jñāna-sattva*) makes the semen into a part of the *prāṇa* etc. winds, by drawing that into himself by what is inside the *samdhya* language (*samdhya-bhāṣā-antareṇa*--this might also be read as 'according to *sandhyābhāṣā*'), i.e. he causes the *bodhicitta* to completely fill up upwards into the head--this is the meaning. And *Jambhaḥ* [causes] its entrance; i.e. the inner fire [51.20] having made that flow, causes the entry of the flowing drop-form into the throat, into the heart, into the navel, [and] into the concealed lotus. Stiffness, i.e. the earth element, causes the binding of that drop form, that is, through the influence of the supreme happiness it does not cause the going out of what has come with extreme speed. The proud one<sup>12</sup> is said to be the vibration located in the lightning jewel in the private lotus, a clear liquid from the drop of the water element; through the influence of its imperishable happiness, the water element causes the satisfaction, i.e. the coolness in the body--this is the meaning. In addition, [the *śaktis*] *Locanā* etc. awaken that very flowing happiness so that it goes upwards from that place, with the lightning-bolt singers (*vajra-gītikās*) [51.25] previously mentioned. Then, *Locanā* impels it in the navel for the purpose of flowing, *Māmakī* [impels] in the heart for the sake of maturation, *Paṇḍārā* [impels it] in the throat for the sake of human effort. *Tārā* [impels it] in the head for the sake of purity. The great happiness, having been made to rise up by them in that way, having become pure, causes the revelation of all the aggregates, constituents, bases of awareness etc. Then it becomes the place of omniscience for the *yogis*; it is not made to rise up by the song of the *yoginīs* in the imagined *maṇḍala* (*na kalpita-maṇḍale yoginī-gītena utthāpita iti*). This is the esoteric meaning, both secretly and openly in all the *Tantras*. || 108 ||

The detail of the doctrine is intriguing. This appears to say that *Stambha* or the earth element (as a goddess) is responsible, through the influence of the ultimate happiness, for preventing the orgasmic rush (*āgatasya ativegaḥ*) from exiting the body. This is in keeping with the discussion of the earth element in *Āyurveda*, where for instance

the earth element is always included as the binding element when making pills. Presumably coldness or coolness is here equated with the rush of satisfaction through the body with the satiation of the erotic urges after orgasm, though that is not entirely clear from the text. *Jambha*, who in the *Atharvaveda* is a disease-causing demon,<sup>113</sup> has been transformed into *tejas*, the internal fire of the body. This is perfectly in keeping with the logic of Tantric Yoga. Mastering the wind flows in Tantric Yoga is repeatedly said to free one from various diseases. Here *Jambha* has been tamed and turned into an aid to enlightenment and liberation. In chapter 17 of the *Guhyasamājatantram* the four *Prajñās* are assigned to four primary elements--*Locanā* to earth, *Māmakī* to water, *Pāṇḍarā* to fire, and *Tārā* to wind. The combination of the sky element and the lightning element is *Vajradharaḥ*.<sup>114</sup> Provided we can assume a consistent mapping schema (and there is considerable evidence from other Tantras that we can), then what we have here is a mind-body technique from within the logic of the Indian system of physiology. The earth element of the physical and subtle bodies is reenvisioned as the goddess or *Prajñā Locanā*. As the initiate reconceives of his or her own earth elements as the deity, this empowers the body in a new way that contributes to the raising of the *bodhicitta* up to the head. The other 'deified' aspects of the physique, water, fire, and wind as *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍarā*, and *Tārā* provide progressive boosts along the route up through the *cakras*. The 'revelation' (*nirāvāraṇam*) of all the aggregates, constituents, bases of awareness etc. indicates that through this sexual-yoga purification of the different aspects constituting the psychophysical being one comes to the enlightened state of seeing the void-nature of

one's own being. Then the yogis (and yoginīs) reach a state of omniscience.

Puṇḍarīka draws a distinction at the end of this passage, apparently indicating that this revelation cannot be achieved strictly with visualized Prajñās--the implication being that one must engage in the actual sexual Yoga in order to reach this result.

A section of the fifth chapter has a more detailed discussion of the sexual Yoga process. The section begins with Puṇḍarīka's remark that engagement in these sexual practices begins when one has seen the 'voidness-image' (*śūnyatā-bimbe dr̥ṣṭe sati*) by means of controlling the *prāṇa*. Once the initiate has achieved internal friction of the ten winds in the central channel, and seen the void-image, he ignites the flame-tipped lightning of the goddess Caṇḍālī in the navel center. A light ray from this lightning-fire (*taḍid-anala*) shoots up into the third eye, triggering the downward flow of the nectar of moon drops (i.e. the inner Soma) through the *cakras*. The drops travel from the forehead through the throat, heart, and navel centers, and finally into the secret or private *cakra*, i.e. the genital *cakra*. The 'moment' (*kṣaṇa*) of the merging of wisdom and intuition is achieved in the moment that the intensely pleasurable energy of the vibrational drops that have gone into the 'lightning-jewel' are held by the power of the *prāṇa* and *apāna* (*prāṇa-apāna-balena*) in the tip of the penis without ejaculation (*kuliśa-maṇi-gataṃ sanniruddhaṃ dhvajāgre liṅga-mukhe*). Simultaneously the speech, thought, and knowledge drops are held in the navel, heart, and throat, creating "the garland of drops" through the central channel of the subtle body.<sup>115</sup> As the text says, 'that vibrational energy that is the moment of [the union of] wisdom and knowledge provides happiness by means of the unejaculated garland



of drops.<sup>116</sup> In this moment too one encompasses within oneself all the prior initiation stages referred to as the child stages, the maturation stages, the full grown or older stages, and the Prajāpati stage in the *Sekoddeśah*:

Now when the voidness image is being seen by [means of] the *prāṇa* blockage, the attainment of the moment for the *yogis* is stated--5.75: By the winds being rubbed together, the flame tipped lightning makes the moon flow into the head; Whatever drop has flowed from this [place in the head], going into the throat and [then] into the heart, [then] into the navel and into the secret [*cakra*], it is withheld;| It is the drop's vibrational flow going into the thunderbolt jewel, being withheld at the sex organ's tip. [39.15] That moment of wisdom and knowledge, if it provides happiness with an ejaculated garland of drops.... (the phrase continues with the first line of the next verse)||75|| (Commentary): "With the winds" etc. By *prāṇāyāma* the ten winds are rubbed together. When the speech image is being seen by those ten, the *prāṇa* and *apāna* etc. being rubbed together, [then there is] in the navel pericarp Caṇḍālī,<sup>117</sup> the lightning flame's tip [or] ray; that tip in the head, i.e. in the forehead [*cakra*], causes the moon to flow--hence the *bodhicitta* has its birthplace. Whatever *bodhicitta* drop has flowed, from this, from the forehead [*cakra*], having gone into the throat, the heart, the navel, the secret place, it is withheld, i.e. [39.20] by the *prāṇa*'s and *apāna*'s strength the bodily drop is in the secret [*cakra*] withheld--in the same way the speech, thought, and knowledge drop[s] are in the navel, heart, and throat withheld, hence, that is the vibrational flow of the drop. In this regard, the additional spontaneous flow--from the bodily drop that is situated in the secret [*cakra*], since it is held back--is called the vibrational flow. In that sense going into the thunderbolt jewel, being withheld at the sex organ's tip, at the tip of the *liṅga*. The wisdom and knowledge moment is the vibration, that, if it provides happiness with an ejaculated garland of drops, as the cause, then there is no knowledge of the physical consort (*karmamudrā*). Hence wisdom and knowledge is explained. ||75||

Since the drops are held back, or stopped in the individual *cakras*, how could it be possible to have a vibrational flow (*spanda-dravam*)? The problem is solved by positing an additional spontaneous flow (*aparam svaccha-dravam*) from these stopped (*avaruddha*) drops. A contemporary parallel comes to mind from superconductivity

research in materials science, where the cooling of the material to the point where atomic motion of molecular components slows down considerably allows an electrical current to flow with little or none of the resistance normally present in electrical circuits. Here, in the Tantric system, the spontaneous vibrational flow becomes possible once the drops have been stopped in the individual *cakras*--something similar in concept to current experimental physics' atom-traps, where lasers are used to trap individual atoms in chambers. Here the 'chamber' is the *cakra* and the 'lasers' are the initiate's *samādhis*. Here a distinction is drawn between the *spanda-sukhaṃ* or vibrational pleasure, and the *niḥspanda-sukhaṃ* or non-vibrational pleasure. The former, resulting from joining with the *karma-mudrā* or the *jñāna-mudrā*, is said to be perishable, while the pleasure from the *mahāmudrā* is said to be the supremely indestructible. The three types of sexual Yoga, that with the *karma-mudrā*, with the *jñāna-mudrā*, and the *mahāmudrā* are mapped to the three *Sekoddeśa* initiation stages.

#### 9.4.1.1. The *Sekoddeśa* and the Four Moments

The *Sekoddeśa* refers to a threefold purification of the body, speech, and mind by the perishable and imperishable, the vibrational and non-vibrational, and what is beyond those, with a fourth being the complete purification of *jñāna*; these are again reclassified as four--childhood, maturation, and full grown or old age, and *prajāpatiḥ*--the old name for the Vedic creator god, literally 'the father of progeny.'<sup>118</sup>

*Sekoddeśaḥ* 18: From the division of touching the breast of the Wisdom (consort), there is the pleasure that is the release of the *bodhicitta*. The child is he who's been anointed by the breast [milk], whence pleasure is attained. (19): From titillating the private parts for a long time, the pleasure of the release of the *bodhicitta* is produced; the mature one is he who's been anointed by the private parts, since it is

from the private (*cakra*) that pleasure is obtained. (20): From titillating the private parts for a long time, pleasure is produced from the vibration at the tip of the *vajra* (penis); the old or full-grown one is anointed by wisdom and knowledge (*prajñā-jñāna-abhiṣiktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ*) since he has become vibration (*spandaṃ gato yataḥ*). (21): From the passionate love of the great consort (*mahāmudrā-anurāgāt*) the pleasure is produced from non-vibration; since he who has been anointed by the great consort achieves the state of non-vibration. (22): He is known as *Prajāpati* who is the progenitor of all the saviors; the *Vajrasattva*, the Great Being (*mahāsattva*) and the *Bodhisattva* are non-dual, imperishable. (23): This one who is the Tantric being or Covenant Hero (*Samaya-sattva*) is fourfold, possessed of the *vajra-yoga*; he is known as *Kālacakra* since he provides liberation to the *yogis*.<sup>119</sup>

The use of the term *spanda* here for the orgasmic ‘moment’ suggests to me some interaction with the context of the Kāśmīr Śaivite system, where the *Spandaśāstra* played an important role. In keeping with sectarian rivalry, this may in part explain why the *spanda* state of pleasure is listed as a high, though not the highest achievable state. The four moments are defined in the *Advayavajrasaṃgrahaḥ* (32.14-15) as *vicitra-vipāka-vilakṣaṇa-vimardāḥ*,<sup>120</sup> i.e. variegated, matured, without characteristic, and rubbing together or crushing. Presumably the *vimarda-kṣaṇa* is intended here in the *Kālacakra*. However, the *Bauddha-tantra-kośa* quotes the *Dohākośavyākhyā*’s (p.68) description of the four moments, giving a different sequence:

‘Variegated and mature, and rubbing together, and without characteristic, | Having come together with the set of four moments, the *yogīs* know [them] in this way. | | The variegated is called diverse, consisting of embracing, kissing, etc. | The matured is the opposite of that, enjoying the pleasure of knowledge. | | Rubbing together is said to be shining, and ‘the pleasure is enjoyed by me.’ | The [moment] lacking characteristic is different than the [other] three, without either passion or dispassion. | |<sup>121</sup>

The *Hevajratantra* also lists the four moments in this order (1.1.24). By the *Dohākośavyākhyā* description, the fourth of the four moments would be *vilakṣaṇa*. Snellgrove explains that the rite of sexual union for the *yogī* and *yoginī* proceeds in four stages, and these stages are experienced as four successive states of happiness at the four moments: the teacher consecration = joy at the variegated moment; the secret consecration = supreme joy at the matured moment; the (union) of wisdom and knowledge = the joy of cessation at the rubbing-together moment; the fourth consecration = the orgasmic joy at the moment without characteristics.<sup>122</sup> These different versions of the moment suggest a lively tradition at the time these texts were written.

The next verse of the *Kālacakra* (5.76) speaks of the ‘six paths’ (*rasa-gatī*), perhaps a parallel to the six paths (*ṣaḍadhvan*) of the Śaivite Trika system. Both sets of six paths are used as terms for everything in the cosmos mapped within the initiate’s body. Here the text speaks of ‘having by *prāṇa* drawn towards oneself all things, i.e. the 21,600 [drops] residing in the six paths, i.e. residing in the six *maṇḍalas* of the earth etc.’ There is a reference to dying here, though only as a caveat, saying that even one who dies will be liberated in their next birth as long as they are engaged in this practice. This verse and commentary elaborates what it is the yogi draws into his body with the drops, and the sort of powers that accrue to mastering the practice of controlling the orgasmic drops during sexual Yoga.

[39.25] 5.76: Therefore the *dharma* realm provides the orgasmic, non-vibrational moment of happiness, Having with the *prāṇa* drawn towards oneself all things residing in the six paths, having destroyed the addictions and the *mārās*; | [It provides] prosperity/supernatural power,

the ground of omniscience, three-worlds' guruship, when yogis are born here; If one dies, having perceived that, having entered the path, [one is liberated] after another birth. ||76|| (Commentary): [40.1] Therefore, because it is imperishable/non-ejaculated (*acyuta*), what is the non-vibrational happiness moment, here, the *dharma*-realm, the perfection of wisdom, provides. Therefore [it--the non-vibrational happiness moment--is] the great consort happiness, the supremely indestructible, the action and knowledge consort happiness, the vibration, the means' happiness, the perishable, the vibration (*spanda*) the child, and the full-grown. Just as the (alchemical) *rasa* is a child, a youth, full grown, and bound, so too the semen is the child, the mature, the aged, and the stopped, because of the destruction of all obscurations. An obscuration is an impurity. That itself is the *bodhicitta* rising upwards, when it goes into the forehead [*cakra*], [40.5] then it becomes what has come the way it has gone (*Tadā yathāgatam tathāgatam bhavati*). Thinking that, having with the *prāṇa* drawn towards oneself all things, i.e. the 21,600 [drops]<sup>123</sup> residing in the six paths, i.e. residing in the six *maṇḍalas* of the earth etc. Likewise having destroyed the addictions and the *mārās*, the supernatural powers (*rddhi*) of the omniscient [and] the twelve stages as will be described. It provides the three-worlds' guruship--i.e. the superhuman powers of omniscience, of the knowledge of all forms, of the knowledge of the path, of the knowledge of the path's forms, etc. for the birth of yogis, of the heroic ones. Hence the one who is accomplished in *Yoga*, when he dies, being one who has entered the path, then by perceiving that, by the strength of memory traces, again, with another human birth, [40.10] one attains everything; after seven births, even being a non-heroic one (i.e. a non-*Tāntrika*) one achieves knowledge--this is the rule. ||76||

#### 9.4.2. Characteristics of Women Who are Tantric Consorts

Verse 5.77 and commentary provide a schema of female Tantric consorts according to age. The 'body-consort' (*kāya-mudrā*) is a young virgin girl (*akṣaya-yoni*) either under 8 years of age, or between 8 and 10 years of age. The 'speech-consort' (*vāṇmudrā*) is either between 11 and 15 years of age, or between 15 and 20 years old, and then again between twenty and forty. The 'mind-consort' (*citta-mudrā*) is between 40 and 60 years of age, or between 60 and 100 years old. The text then

says that aside from these three types, 'an eleven year old [girl], completely endowed with all the qualities, is to be protected by the royal *guru*, or by the king, [either of whom] has been consecrated, or by the other masters [who] have been anointed.'<sup>124</sup>

This latter remark suggests that young women chosen to become Tantric consorts were selected at a young age and protected by the royal household or the gurus or Tantric masters until they came of age and were able to participate in the rites. In the context of an Indian culture where arranged marriages of prepubescent girls was actually a requirement in Vedic culture, and was a widespread practice, this parallel for Tantric practitioners would not have been out of place.

Now the arisal of the *bodhisattva*'s governance is stated--5.77: She who is without qualities and of slight appearance, bereft of sense objects, the body consort, she is twofold; After her, she who is passionately devoted, has the highest treasure of qualities, she who has speech's intrinsic form, is twofold also;| The black one, the white one, devoted, she who delights in sense objects and qualities, the mind consort, she is twofold; [40.15] The eight, the two, the five [and] five, evidently, and the twenty, and the forty, and the hundred. ||77|| "She who's without qualities" etc. Here she is a young lady, without qualities, without the *dharma* realm quality, because of not moving (*acyavanāt*) she is of slight appearance, her bodily constituents not filled out (i.e. not having entered puberty), without descended teeth, of eight years' age. Then the second, whose teeth have descended, is more than ten years old. Hence the body consort, of unbroken womb (i.e. still a virgin). From the end of that, beginning from eleven years, up until the fifteenth year, the one passionately devoted, intent on the treasure of qualities, up through the next five years, the speech consort [40.20] is twofold also. Hence the eight years, the two years, the five [and] the five years. Then after twenty, the next twenty,<sup>125</sup> i.e. [up to] forty years. Likewise the mind consort, one, devoted to the black state of being (*kr̥ṣṇa-bhāva-anuraktā*). In this way [up to] the sixty year old woman. In addition the next void and *Veda*,<sup>126</sup> i.e. up until [an additional] forty years; devoted to the white state of being, an old woman, characterized by old age and grey hair, ending with one hundred years of age. Hence the mind-consort is twofold. Among these three, the body consort is an infant, the speech consort is a full grown [woman],

the mind consort is an elderly [woman]. Aside from these three, [40.25] an eleven year old [girl], completely endowed with all the qualities, is to be protected by the royal *guru*, or by the king, [either of whom] has been consecrated, or by the other masters [who] have been anointed. ||77||

#### 9.4.3. Necessity of Contraception for Novice Practitioners

With verse 5.78 we have a prescription for young male Tantric practitioners who are not yet ‘jewel-masters’ (*ratneśāh*), i.e. have not yet mastered the technique of *ūrdhva-retas* or *acyuta-bodhicitta*, i.e. retaining the semen during sexual intercourse. For them measures are to be taken to ensure that the yoginī, the ‘mother of the best victors’ (*jinavara-jananī*) is ‘protected by the yogins’ (*yogibhī rakṣaṇīyā*). This is probably an admonition to use some sort of birth-control technique, given the context of the discussion and the ensuing verses that discuss what happens if the woman conceives. The young initiate, after making sure his lover is well-instructed in the Tantras, has been initiated with the authoritative Buddhist mantras (*Buddha-adhiṣṭhāna-mantras*), and with the instruction in the Mañjuśrī *samādhi*, releases his semen ‘into her secret lotus together the body, speech, and mind *mantras*.’ Here again, as with the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* rites discussed above, we have the statement that the woman is also a Tantric initiate. Having provided her protection in her secret lotus by the unexplained ‘six limbs’, ‘for the sake of complete protection’ he should happily eat up whatever semen remains on her vulva or his *liṅga*.

5.78: As long as [he] is not<sup>127</sup> yet a jewel lord, the progenitoress of the best of the victors is to be protected by the *yogins*; At the time when the jewel lord has been produced, having spun the *maṇḍala* that is the abode of all qualities; | [41.1] With the *buddha-governance mantras*, [he] releases the equal happiness, together with the *mantra*, into the secret lotus; Having provided protection in the secret [lotus]

(contraception?) he should make savory the *bodhicitta* residing in the lightning jewel. ||78|| As long as the jewel lord does not exist. "Does not exist," i.e. does not exist, [and] as long as there is *rajas* (i.e. menstrual blood or ovum, i.e. the woman is in her fertile period; the point appears to be that until the male *tāntrika* has mastered the technique of non-ejaculatory orgasm, some form of birth-control for the woman must be employed) it is to be protected. The jewel lord at time of production, having produced [by spinning] the *maṇḍala* that is the abode of all qualities, *Kālacakra*, previously having made her well instructed, then [41.5] having consecrated her, with the *Buddha* governance *mantras*, with the six lightning bolts, with the *Mañjuśrī samādhi*, and having made her into *prajñā*, he releases equal happiness, at the time when there is flow in the right *nāḍī*, [he releases] the *bodhicitta*, into her secret lotus together with the *mantra*, together with the body, speech, and thought *mantra*, he discharges. Then having provided protection in her secret [lotus] with the six limbs,<sup>128</sup> then he should make savory the *bodhicitta* residing in the lightning jewel. The *yogi* gives that to her also. What is outside of her lotus, having grasped that with the ring finger and thumb, he should eat it with relish for the sake of complete protection, [41.10] according to this prescription. ||78||

This section of the *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* appear to offer a recognition that many of the young practitioners of the Tantric sexual Yogas would not have been immediately able to master the technique of non-ejaculatory orgasm. As with any Yoga, the sexual Yogas also required considerable practice to attain mastery. At the end of this passage we have what appears to be an early attempt at contraception. The Yogin is instructed to lustily eat the semen and blood (or vaginal juices) that may remain on the outside of the woman's vulva after intercourse. This sort of extraordinarily explicit sexual instruction is not uncommon in Buddhist Tantric texts. As demonstrated above, in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* we have similarly explicit material for lovemaking between the yogi and yoginī, with a variety of *ratibandhas* described in great detail. The yogi is instructed to eat all the woman's outflows--sweat, snot,



blood, etc., as part of loving her completely.<sup>129</sup> The relishing of eating the semen and blood or vaginal juices is not out of character in the context of other such writings.

#### 9.4.4. Provisions for Children Conceived in Tantric Rites

Almost as though to counter any doubt that the verse KCT 5.78 and commentary are meant literally, not in some symbolic or visualized fashion only, verse 5.79 describes what the results will be if, despite the protective measures, a child is conceived by the Tantric practitioners. Such a child is described as a ‘beautiful diamond’ or ‘beautiful lightning’ (*mañjuvajra*). In keeping with standard medical explanations from the Āyurveda tradition, the text says that in the case of a predominance of *prajñā*--the feminine sexual fluids (*rakta* for blood or ovum here)--a daughter will ensue, and the rule is that she will be a Buddha’s mother, Mañjuśrī’s Universal Mother (*raja ādhikyād yadi duhitā bhavati, tadā .... buddhamātā dhruvaṃ sā iti mañjuśrī-viśvamātā adhiṣṭhāna-vidhiḥ*).<sup>130</sup> In fact Puṇḍarīka seems to suggest in his commentary that on these occasions it was desirable to conceive a child. He says that if a child is not conceived in the first menstrual cycle, then one should ‘spin the *maṇḍala*’ again, with different *samādhis* (*uṣṇīṣa-samādhi, krodha-samādhi, etc.*), and release the *bodhicitta* during successive menstruations. The child born from the second cycle would be The White Lotus Holder (*sita-kamala-dharaḥ*); a third-cycle boy would be *Jambhalaḥ Vajradharaḥ*, while a third cycle girl would be *Pāṇḍarā*, and so on. It appears that the senior women in the Tantric ‘clan’ served as foster grandmothers for children born from these rites. One rather intriguing element in this passage is what appears to be a Tantric invention of feminine consorts for the

*Krodheśvaras*, the fierce Buddhas that appear in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* as solitary male deities--these are the pairs arrayed in the *Kālacakra maṇḍala*. Here the first set of the types of male children that will be born at particular months--determined by the sequential number of the Tantric consort's menses cycle--are typed as the different *Krodheśvaras*, and daughters who might be born as a result of procreative sex at those times are given the names of goddesses who appear to be equivalent to *Krodheśvartīs*.

5.79: In that case, should there be a child, he is a son of the victor's progenitor, [and] he himself is beautiful lightning (*Mañjuvajra*). Whenever there is an excess of wisdom, a daughter will be produced, *Buddha's* mother [she] certainly will be;| Therefore, with the other three flowers, he who holds the white lotus, *Jambhala*, with a lightning bolt in hand; The other<sup>131</sup> eight, with the eight flowers, situated in the cardinal and intermediate directions, those possessed of great supernatural power, the fierce kings. ||79|| [41.15] In that case, in the depositing [of the *bodhicitta* in the secret lotus], should there be a child, a beautiful diamond is he indeed.<sup>132</sup> From an excess of wisdom, i.e., from an excess of ovum, if a daughter is produced, then the universal mother becomes the governess.<sup>133</sup> Therefore *Buddha's* mother she certainly will be, i.e. the universal mother of *Mañjuśrī's*; [thus] the precept on authority. Therefore, with the other three flowers. Here, if in the first menstruation a foetus is not produced, then again and again with each menstrual discharge, having spun the *maṇḍala*, with the other *samādhis*, one should release the *bodhicitta*. In this way, [if a child is born after coitus] in the second, [he is] the white lotus holder, i.e. he is the emanation of the Lord of the World [*Lokeśvara*]. [41.20] [If a child is born after coitus] in the third [menstrual cycle], he is *Jambhala's* emanation; in the fourth, he is the one with a lightning bolt in hand,<sup>134</sup> in the case of a son [being born]. In the case of a daughter, she is governed by the *Pāṇḍarā* and *Vasudhārā* sound lightning. Then the other eight, with the eight flowers, situated in the cardinal and intermediate directions, those possessed of great supernatural power, the fierce kings (*krodharājas* = *krodheśvaras*). Here<sup>135</sup> when *Jambhala* rules in the east, with the *uṣṇīṣa samādhi* the *uṣṇīṣa* rules. When the speech lightning is held in the hand of the extremely dark blue woman, either the *Śumbha* king (i.e. one of the *Krodheśvarās*), or She of terrifying eyes<sup>136</sup> comes into being. Then [when a child is born after coitus] in the fifth menses [the son is] the obstacle destroyer,<sup>137</sup> [41.25] [and the daughter is] she who

is infinitely heroic; [when a child is born after coitus] in the sixth menses, [the son is] the destroyer of wisdom (*Prajñāntakaḥ*, one of the ten *Krodheśvarās*).<sup>138</sup> [and] [the daughter is] *Jambhrī*,<sup>139</sup> [when a child is born after coitus] in the seventh [menses], [the son is] the Lotus-Destroyer (*Padmāntakaḥ*, another *Krodheśvaraḥ*), and [the daughter is] a resolute woman;<sup>140</sup> [when a child is born after coitus] in the eighth [menses], [the son is] the Destroyer of Death (*Yamāntaka*, another *Krodheśvaraḥ*),<sup>141</sup> and [the daughter is] an arrogant woman.<sup>142</sup> Then [when a child is born after coitus] in the ninth [menses], [the son will be] of great strength (*Mahābalaḥ*, another of the *Krodheśvarās*), and [the daughter is] *Māre[ṭ]cī*,<sup>143</sup> [when a child is born after coitus] in the tenth [menses], [the son will be] the Unmoving (*Acalaḥ*, another *Krodheśvaraḥ*), and [the daughter will be] *Cundā*.<sup>144</sup> [When a child is born after coitus] in the eleventh [the boy will be] a the 'miser' (the *Krodheśvara Ṭakkirājaḥ*),<sup>145</sup> and [the daughter] a worrier;<sup>146</sup> [when a child is born after coitus] in the twelfth [menses], [the boy will be] he who has a dark blue stick (the *Krodheśvara Nīladaṇḍa*), and [the girl will be] she of the diamond chain (*Vajraśṛṅkhalā*) so it is in the intermediate directions. Similarly with the fierce *samādhi* there is governance by the fierce [deities] over the foetus. Then the thirteenth menstruation is again just like the first, the ignorance etc. limb. || 79 ||<sup>147</sup>

The next verse (5.80) adds that during the first twenty years of the mother's life children born from the Tantric rites are hearty Mañjuḥśas, really intelligent *bodhisattvas*. Those born when the mother is between the ages of 20 and 40 are inclined to be a bit less intelligent, and those born to a Tantric mother after the age of forty are will be unintelligent and weak (*asattvo 'lpavīryaḥ*). In what sounds like a direct rebuke to those favoring the ascetic path who disdain women, verse 5.81 says that the menses in the *yoni* is not a sense-object that is to be avoided or gotten rid of, since without it there can be no consecration (this is quite similar to the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* admonitions cited above). And furthermore, an impotent man cannot be a Tantric master, since he cannot perform the wisdom consecration (*tasmād yonau rajo na pratihata-viṣayas tad-vināśān na sekaḥ kin nu prajñā-abhiṣeko jīnapati-*

*vacanair naṣṭa-bhṛjasya deyaḥ*).<sup>148</sup>

[42:1] 5.80: Whatever menses is produced in that month, that is also, in fact, the springing forth of *Mañjughoṣa* ('He of the beautiful voice'). For twenty years, at each menses, a really intelligent (*mahāsāttvika*) *bodhisattva* [is conceived]; [One] somewhat less intelligent is born then, up to forty [years];<sup>149</sup> Then for the next twenty years, on the other hand, [is produced] one who is not intelligent,<sup>150</sup> and has little fortitude. ||80|| [42.5] (Commentary): Therefore whatever menses is produced in that month, indeed, that menses is also the springing forth of *Mañjughoṣa*. In this way, relying on a *samādhi* focused on that,<sup>151</sup> the *yogi* should discharge the *bodhicitta*. That is the basis of the foetus; up to twenty years,<sup>152</sup> at each menstruation, when the *bodhisattva* comes into being, whether there be one, or two, etc. from the mother, [he will be] a greatly intelligent one. [One] somewhat devoid of intelligence comes to be, until forty years, from the mother, i.e. up until [the next] twenty years. And then on the other hand, one who is not intelligent, and of little fortitude. In that way, [up through] eighty years, the foetus is governed [42.10] by the differences between the mother's *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. ||80||

#### 9.4.5. Honoring the Menses

As a direct counterpoint to the early Buddhist male ascetic meditations that countenanced considering a woman as a lowly source of pain and suffering, the *Kālacakratantra* therefore states in 5.81 that the ovum or menses, the woman's fertile fluid in this system, is to be honored and sanctified, because it is the source of life of potential *bodhisattvas*. This is the same position shared by the Śaiva Tāntrikās--a direct contradiction of the puritanical purity laws of ancient Hindu society that considered menstrual blood as one of the great impurities. The point here seems to be that due to the fertile potency of the menses--as the source of human life--the ascetical or puritanical denial of women, sex, and menses is considered ineffective. There appears to be a double *entendre* to *sekaḥ* here--the term refers to both consecration, and to seminal fluid. With the destruction or loss of the menses,

seminal fluid is impossible since the child who grows into a virile man would not exist; secondly, without menses, the sexual power harnessed in the Tantric rites would not exist. And just as Tantric rites are impossible without menses, they are also impossible without semen--hence the comment about the uselessness of an impotent man (*naṣṭabīja*--lacking seed) as a Tantric guru. So the verse offers a dual repudiation of ascetic denial of the sexuality.

5.81: Therefore the menses in the womb is not a sense domain that is repulsed--there is no consecration/seminal effusion from its destruction; How much less could the consecration of wisdom, with the statements of the lord of victors, be given by an impotent<sup>153</sup> man?; | Their [feminine plural] earth, water, fire, wind and space qualities are to be searched for with the victor's limbs; This one [she] becomes the agent for the objective of sentient beings, she is many fruited, she is the *bodhicitta*'s service. ||81|| [42.15] Therefore the menses in the womb is not a repulsed sense domain of the fetus--there is no consecration/seminal effusion from its destruction; i.e. when there is no seed of wisdom and [there is] seed of means, through growth, how much less could the consecration of wisdom, with the statements of the lord of victor, by an impotent man, i.e. by an old man, be given? Just as [this is true] for the *bhikṣu*, so [it is true] in wisdom; just as [it is true] for the *bhikṣuṇī*, [so it is true in means?]. In this sense the twenty year old ones, the beautiful ones, for the purpose of consecration, for the purpose of authority, the earth constituent, with twenty years each for the earth element, and in just the same way possessed of the qualities of water, fire, wind and space, up to a century,<sup>154</sup> are to be investigated with the victors' limbs. This one [she] becomes the agent for the objective of sentient beings, she is many fruited, she is the *bodhicitta*'s service, [42.20] because she begets the *bodhisattva*. ||81||

So each twenty years represents, or is governed by, one of the five *dhātus*, or *pañcamahābhūtas*. The beautiful, twenty year old women, who have the qualities of earth, water, fire, wind, and space in each of their (ideally) twenty year segments of 100 years of life, are to be explored with the victor's limbs. The "victors" here are

the Tantric adepts. *Aṅgair anveṣaṅīyā*, to be searched for or investigated with the limbs certainly, sounds like a metaphor for sexual exploration.

#### 9.4.6. 'Drinking' and 'Eating' the Five Nectars

The procreative possibilities in Tantric unions having been addressed, the text then moves to a consideration of drinking, protecting, and eating the 'nectar' (*amṛta*). Here (verse 5.82), the nectar is provided by the absorption into the central subtle body channel, the *avadhūt*, of not only all the winds and drops, as stated above, but also the flowing constituents of the physical body (according to the Āyurveda system). The *avadhūt* is likened to a bee who drinks the nectar of the blood and the flesh. Recall that in Āyurveda doctrine the seven basic constituents of the body--the plasma (*rasa*), blood (*rakta*), flesh (*māṃsa*), fat (*medas*), bone (*asthi*), marrow (*majjā*), and semen (*śukra*)--are said to 'flow' through the inner channels of the body, odd as this sounds to us (see discussion in Chapter 7.3.3.1.). This is not some auto-cannibalistic bee (*makṣaka*) here; rather it is an extension of the logic of withdrawing the winds into the central channel--the Tantric extrapolation of earlier Yogic ideas of *prāṇayāma*. Since internally flowing winds and drops of *bodhicitta* can be drawn into the central channel, then so too can internally flowing *dhātus*. Hence urine and feces are also drawn into the internal *rasa* via Yogic means, so that the five nectars, blood, flesh, semen, urine and feces are *internally* consumed by the central channel. This provides a different interpretation of the Tantric admonitions to consume these 'nectars.' The text speaks of 'the unemitted feces and urine, blood and flesh, and the supremely *sama-rasa*, i.e. equally mixed vital fluid of semen and blood, are not

emitted (*acyuta*), not outflowing, and become arrested, and revealed, having entered into the middle of the *chardi*'--the 'protected residence' that is the *bodhicitta* residing in the central *avadhūt* channel, when it has entered into the middle of the Wisdom consort's lotus (vagina) and yet remains inside the male initiate's lightning jewel (erect penis) and (has not escaped from) the garland of *cakras* mentioned previously (referred to as 'the secret etc. faces').<sup>155</sup> This is a step forward in the sexual Yoga practice. Earlier, as mentioned above, the initiate has managed through the Yoga of drawing the 21,600 drops into the central channel to hold the body, speech, mind, and wisdom drops in the *cakras* while in orgasmic sexual union with his consort, yet he then ejaculates and she may well conceive a child. Here he does not ejaculate, and in a further adumbration of the Tantric version of *prāṇāyāma*, he becomes capable then of *also* drawing into the central channel the most basic physical constituents of the material body. This level of the Yoga then moves from the subtle body *into* the dense physical body, adding a new measure of control of our psycho-physical presence as living human beings. There is an interesting refinement in the commentary of the notion of arresting the *bodhicitta* without ejaculation: though not emitted externally into the vagina (lotus), the semen said to have nonetheless entered into the vagina while being arrested in the tip of the penis (lightning jewel), and thereby the *bodhicitta* becomes revealed--not otherwise.

Now the drinking of the immortality nectar is stated--5.82: She who drinks blood, she is the single nectar, the bee of the best of gods and men; [She is] the secure dwelling, from the secret etc. face; located in the lightning jewel, it has not entered into the middle of the lotus; |<sup>156</sup> Feces and urine, blood and flesh, the supreme equal flavor, having entered into the middle of the protected dwelling, [42.25] This is

knowledge and the nectar of immortality, and it is taught by the three realms' lord in all the *Tantras*. ||82|| "Who drinks blood," etc. In this regard, externally, by the exoteric meaning (*neyārtha*) the bee who drinks blood, she in esoteric meaning is the *avadhūt* (central channel). She who at the time of ejaculation drinks the blood constituent, she is the bee, the one nectar of the best gods and men she is the bee, the *avadhūt*, arrested--this is the meaning. She who externally is the secure dwelling of what is enjoyed, she is by esoteric meaning the protected dwelling, the *bodhicitta*; from the secret etc. face, i.e. located in the lightning jewel, it has not externally entered into the middle of wisdom's lotus. In the same way the unemitted feces and urine, [43.1] blood and flesh, the supreme equal juice, not flowing,<sup>157</sup> having entered into the middle of the protected residence, are arrested [and] become revealed. This knowledge and the nectar of immortality is not emitted, it is the five nectars, as taught by the three realms' lord in all the *Tantras*; it does not have any external location--[this] is what is taught for [the sake of achieving] perfection; thus the rule about the nectar. ||82||

#### 9.4.7. Sectarian Disagreement with the Śaivite Tāntrikās

Verse 5.83 introduces us to a sectarian controversy between the Buddhist Tantric practitioners and their Śaivite counterparts. The verse raises the issue of semen ejaculated in response to the woman's orgasm. When the wisdom consort's *dharma* rises, i.e. when she has an orgasm, and the male initiate's 'pleasure' (*sukham*) falls, i.e. when he ejaculates, the *sukham* is to be carefully guarded (*rakṣaṅīyaṃ prayatnāt*). The reason, as the text explains, is that such released *sukham* could potentially engender a *mahāsattva bodhisattva* who will continue the *Sugata*'s lineage. What the *Kālacakratāntra* critiques then is a Śaivite practice of actually eating the mixture of menstrual blood and semen--called *kuṇḍagolaka* in the *Tantrālokaḥ* (see 9.5.2. below). These Śaivites are called *rākṣasas* and Māra's attendants, 'the semen stealers' (*śukra-āhāriṇaḥ*), who eat the *bodhicitta* in a daily Tantric meeting. Puṇḍarīka remarks, 'Men who also have the designation 'yogi,'



teach that what is eaten, combined with the 'flower' of the wisdom (consort), provides the bliss of *Śiva*. These other foolish people go to hell.'<sup>158</sup> This is the first explicit denunciation of Śaivite Tantric doctrine in the fifth chapter--strongly suggesting that Śaivite Tantra had attained sufficient status at the time of the composition of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* that it merited recognition by the Buddhist author[s]/redactors. Whoever the specific group of practitioners is referring to is not totally clear, yet this *is* an unmistakable reference to Śaivite Tāntrikās. This supports my contention that the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric practitioners were well aware of each other, and, as we shall see in some other sections, shared many of the Tantric practices. The critique of the author of the verses, and Puṇḍarīka's adumbration thereof are nonetheless a critique of a rather slight variation in the larger scheme of things:

Now protection and eating in the covenant is stated--[43.5] 5.83: When the wisdom *dharma* arises (i.e. the woman's orgasm--see below) the bliss that also falls is to be strenuously protected; Anyone who becomes (i.e. is born as) an intelligent being (*mahāsattva*) by that way, he certainly becomes a *bodhisattva* in the victor's clan;| Therefore the *rākṣasās* [and] *Māra*'s attendants eat that at their daily Tantric gathering, With the wisdom flower joined, they teach that what is eaten provides the fruit of *Śiva*'s bliss. ||83|| "Wisdom" etc. Here, when there is a [sexual] congress, if the *bodhicitta*--of the *yogin* practicing meditation--is unrestrained, [and] falls [43.10] when the wisdom arises, then when the wisdom nature rises, the bliss that falls is also to be protected strenuously. Why is that? Anyone who by that, by the *bodhicitta* that is released with *samādhi*, comes into being, he [will be] certainly a *bodhisattva* in the victor's clan, increasing the *Sugata*'s lineage; since [the preceding is so], therefore that *bodhicitta*, devoid of the protection of the *Sugatas*, of those not gathered together, i.e. the *rākṣasās* [and] *Māra*'s attendants, the semen stealers, eat in a daily (Tantric) meeting. Men who also have the designation 'yogi,' teach that what is eaten, combined with the 'flower' of the wisdom (consort), provides the bliss of *Śiva*. These other foolish people [43.15] go to

hell. ||83||

#### 9.4.8. Sexual Light and Fire

Verse 5.84 returns us to the magical light and fire of the esoteric Tantric doctrines, in the context of the sexual orgasm. As long as the *bodhisattva* does not withdraw his *vajra* from the lotus, and it is 'resident in the supreme happiness' (*parama-sukha-gataṃ*), the *vajra* is said to 'have loins' (*na-akaṣyam*). Hence it is considered the Buddha's seat or dwelling (*Buddha-adhiṣṭhānam*) because of the perfection of sexual passion (*kāma-siddhiḥ*). The practitioners enter into the heart of their own lightning by means of the (union of) the *vajra* and the lotus, and this knowledge *cakra* makes the pair of bodies (of the man and woman) into the form of *cakra*, filling them up with light rays. This is similar to the imagery of verse 5.73, just above the section we are examining. This verse, without commentary, speaks of the 'action consort' (*karma-mudrā*); she is the first consort the initiate practices with to generate the orgasmic happiness of the Victors (*jina-sahaja-sukha*). Then the verse reads that after that (practice) She of the solar form (*āditya-rūpa*) fills the body, mouth, feet, *uṣṇīṣa* and all the limbs--so she is illuminating the entire body with solar rays. She conforms to the lightning scepter (*vidyud-daṇḍa-anurūpa*--the erect penis in the vagina), she generates imperishable happiness, she is adorned with the characteristics and secondary characteristics. Her body residing in the three worlds, she illumines (them) with lightning bolts--thence there is the *dharma* realm. I would assert that from the point of view of the Tāntrikas, the notion that Tantric sexual rites result in "filling both bodies with rays of light" is not intended as just a poetic

metaphor. The whole complex of the Tantric paradigm, with its inherited Vedic, Upaniṣadic and Yogic aspects, argues for the notion that these rites are intended to 'electrify' the body with divine fire and light.

5.84: Not without loins<sup>159</sup> is the lightning bolt residing in the supreme happiness, as long as it is not withdrawn from the lotus (i.e. the Tāntrika does not lose his erection as long as he is in coitus with the wisdom/consort). In this sense it is the *Buddha's* abode, because when there is perfection of passion, then that is certainly the case; <sup>160</sup> Having entered into the heart of one's own lightning by the thunderbolt and the lotus, the knowledge *cakra* is entered into; [It] takes on the form of a *cakra* because of having filled both these bodies with rays of light. ||84|| [43.20] Then the *vajra* is not without loins as long as it is not withdrawn from the lotus by the Buddhist *mantra* possessor; in this sense it is the *Buddha's* abode, because when there is passion-perfection, then that is certainly the case. Having entered into the heart of the means by the path of the lightning bolt, having entered into the heart of wisdom by the lotus path, the *cakra* of deities has entered into the heart of one's own lightning; it makes the *cakra* shape because of the pair of bodies, having filled this one with rays of light. ||84||

#### 9.4.9. Eating the Semen and Vaginal Juices

Finally Verse 5.85 says that the Tantric lovers may eat the semen remaining in the man's *liṅga* when they do not achieve *siddhiḥ*, the term *siddhiḥ* ('success') here presumably referring to achieving the requisite combination of *samādhi* and orgasm that seem to be two of the basic components of successful Tantric Yoga practice. Oddly enough, the sexual fluids here appear to be referred to as "the come," (*āgataḥ*), just as in the slang English expression, and as the body of the Buddha himself, and hence it is very important that these fluids be protected by eating the extra, rather than just leaving them. We also have a warning in this verse about the potential danger to those who might try to use these practices for nefarious ends--they will die as a result.

5.85: If there is no perfection (*siddhi*) at all, [then] what is remaining in the lightning jewel is to be consumed, [43.25] In order to protect it, [since it] supports the entire victors' clan in the place of the arisal of wisdom's *dharma*; [44.1] And now when one is joined with wisdom, on the other hand, the statement is said [that] it is the *Buddha's* body; And whoever really desires the destruction of this, such a deceitful one is killed with the lightning bolt. ||85|| If this perfection does not occur at all, then, grasping the *bodhicitta* remaining in the lightning jewel with the ring finger and thumb,<sup>161</sup> it is to be eaten. Just as in the external lotus of wisdom,<sup>162</sup> the come itself is also to be eaten by the two of them. [44.5] In the location of the arisal of wisdom's *dharma* (i.e. in her vagina where she has her orgasm) moreover, [it] supports the entire victors' clan for the sake of protection--the six lightning bolts in the forehead etc. [and] in the heart etc. [are] the six limbed. When joined to wisdom, i.e. when joined to the blood, now when the one, the *bodhicitta*, is protected, [then] there is great virtue. On the other hand the statement is said that it is the *Buddha's* body, [i.e.] this *bodhicitta*. Whatever attendant of *Māra* desires the destruction of this, such a deceitful one is killed with the lightning bolt, by *Heruka*. Thus the rule on the protection of the covenant of, and the consumption of the *bodhicitta*. ||85||

This is the end of this particular explicitly sexual section of the chapter. The reference to the arisal of the woman's *dharma* suggests that *dharma* was the feminine equivalent to the male *bodhicitta*, i.e. the sexual energy that rises up through the *cakras* to the brow and causes the drops to drip down. This long section of the *Kālacakratantra* that we have analyzed here makes it very clear that regular sexual Yoga was a most integral aspect of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric Yogas of the day, that children were sometimes (perhaps even intentionally) conceived during these rites and that the children born of such unions were highly valued. It is also clear that young girls were chosen to be protected and trained as future Tantric consorts, in what appears to have been a Tantric 'version' of the Indian tradition of prepubescent arranged marriages. More importantly perhaps than all of this is that this section

makes it very explicit that the ability to restrain ejaculation with the penis in the lover's vagina during the heights of Tantric orgasm--a state of high sexual pleasure combined with intense mental concentration (*samādhi*)--was a *sine qua non* of achieving *siddhi* or perfection in the practice of Tantric Yoga. It is also clear from the discussion of absorbing the bodily *dhātus* into the central channel that the Tantric Yoga tradition had developed the basic logic and techniques of *prāṇāyāma* to a level where it was considered that the initiate could profoundly influence the most dense physical components of his or her being, in concert with the most subtle, ineffable, and powerful divine energies.

**9.5. Sexual Yoga in the Kaśmīri Śaivite *Trika* System (9.5.1. The Technology of *Trika* Sexual Yogas, 9.5.2. The Secret Rites of the *Kula* Tradition, 9.5.3. Use of Meditation in the *Mālinīvijaya* to Attract Women)**

I have discussed to a certain extent the relationship of Abhinavagupta's theories on Aesthetics to the Tantric tradition in Chapter 8. We also know that the Śaivite Tantric tradition did not have as strong a legacy of monastic discipline as the Buddhist tradition, and therefore any tension between the ascetic and celibate ideals and the promulgations of the Tantric practitioners was considerably lessened, despite the fact that many Yoga practitioners involved in *tapas* were and still are celibate (ostensibly). Given the detailed discussion of the *Trika* doctrines in Chapter 8 of this dissertation, and the detailed examination of the sexual Yogas in the preceding passages, I will focus in this section just on some of the characteristic features of the *Trika* system as far as I am familiar with them. I have only read a relatively small

portion of Abhinavagupta's original writings, and not much of this material is translated into English, so the best I can offer for now is a basic introduction to his doctrines about the sexual Yogas.

### 9.5.1. The Technology of *Trika* Sexual Yogas

Abhinava gives in the *Parātriṃśikavivaraṇa* a precise explanation of how he and the adherents of the *Trika* system view sensual experience in relation to the psycho-physical structure of the human being. For Abhinava, any pleasurable sensual perception was to a certain extent intrinsically sexual, given that it excited the same *vīrya* or seminal energy involved in sexual orgasm. This in part explains why we so often find the notion of a *vīra* connected with the idea of a practitioner of sexual Yogas; *vīrya* is a simple *-ya* derivative of the word *vīra*. The activation of this *vīrya* energy in the human being is the mechanism whereby the insensateness or frozenness (*jaḍatvam*) of the bestial consciousness of the *paśu*-state individual (i.e. the non-Tantric initiate) is awakened or melted (Jaideva Singh's translation):

Now whatever enters the inner psychic apparatus of the outer senses of all beings, that abides as sentient life-energy (*cetana-rūpeṇa prāṇātmanā*) in the middle channel, i.e. *suṣumnā* whose main characteristic is to enliven all the parts of the body. That life energy is said to be 'ojas' (vital lustre), that is then diffused as an enlivening factor in the form of common seminal energy (*vīrya*) in all parts of the body. Then when an exciting visual or auditory perception enters the percipient, then on account of its exciting power, it fans the flame of passion in the form of the agitation of the seminal energy.... Only well-developed seminal energy (*vīrya*) containing the quintessence of all experiences (*paripuṣṭa-sarva-māya-mahāvīryam eva*) can bring about full development and endow one with the power of procreation (*puṣṭi-sṛṣṭi ikāri*), not its immature state (*apūrṇam*) as in the case of a child, or its diminished state (*śṭṇam*) as in the case of an old man. When the seminal energy that has been lying within and identical with one's Self in a placid state (*svamayātvena abhinnasyāpi*) is agitated (*vikṣobha*) i.e.

when it is in an active state, then the source of its pleasure is the Supreme I-consciousness full of creative pulsation, beyond the range of space and time (*adeśa-kāla-kalita-spanda-māya-mahāvīmāṛśa-rūpam eva*), of the nature of perfect Bhairava-consciousness, the absolute sovereignty, full of the power of bliss. Even a (beautiful thing) brought into prominence by the meeting of two eyes affords delight only by the device of its union with the mighty seminal energy (*mahāvisarga-viśleṣaṇa-yuktyā*) which stirs up the energy of the eyes (*tad-vīrya-kṣobhātmaka*); such is also the case when the ears hear a sweet song. In the case of other sense-organs also, the perception by itself (i.e. without its union with the seminal energy) cannot acquire full expansion because of the springing up of energy only in the sense-organ itself (*svātmani eva ucchalanāt*). So in the case of those in whom the seminal energy has not developed (*tadvīrya-anupabṛṃhitānām*), in whom the pleasure of love that excites the seminal energy as in other cases, is absent, who are like stone, to whom the beautiful figure of a charming young woman with large and handsome hips, with face moving to and fro and with sweet, soft and melodious song cannot give full delight.... If there is complete absence of delight it only spells insentience.... Excessive delight is possible only to those whose heart is expanded by seminal energy which has the boundless capacity to strengthen sensibility and which is established in them by repeated association with the objects of enjoyment.<sup>163</sup>

Abhinava goes on to describe an even more explicit relationship of the essential experiences of the sensual aesthetic to the internal functioning of the subtle body energy flows that are integral to the Tantric Yoga experience:

When there is dissolution of *prāṇa* and *apāna* (*marudādī*), in *suṣumnā* which, as the central channel, is full of the storage of the energy of all the senses, then one's consciousness gets entry into that stage of the great central *suṣumnā* channel where it acquires union with the pulsation of one's Śakti (*nija-śakti-kṣobha-tādātmyam*), then all sense of duality dissolves, and there is the perfect I-consciousness generated by the abundance of the perfection of one's own inherent Śakti. Then by one's entry into the union of Śiva and Śakti (*rudra-yāmala-yoga-anupraveśena*) which consists in the bliss of their essential nature of manifestation and by one's complete integration (*viśleṣaṇa*) with the expansive flow of the energy of the great *mantra* of perfect I-consciousness, there is the manifestation of the *akula* or *anuttara* (absolute) Bhairava-nature which is beyond all differentiation (*nistarāṅga*), unalterable and eternal (*dhruva-pada-ātmaka*).<sup>164</sup>

We have in these two passages from one of Abhinava's most difficult works a precise explanation of the *Trika* doctrine of how it is that sensual experience underlies the practice of the Tantric sexual Yogas. One needs as a prerequisite the mature and healthy eroticism of an adult, with a predilection for and appreciation of the sexual beauty of a woman and a lively procreative urge. The 'test' as it were of such a state is one's ability to respond to a beautiful song, or the sight of a beautiful woman, combined with an open heart and a capacity for love. Then one is capable of experiencing the expansive bliss of the Bhairava consciousness embraced by Śakti in the orgasmic bliss of sexual union. As in the Buddhist Tantric technology, the sexual Yoga experience involves the merging of the winds into the central channel, and their bonding with the pulsing Śakti energy flowing through the subtle energy network. Joining in sexual union with one's lover, all duality dissolves in the wondrous pleasure of undifferentiated identity. This is the transport system that carries the initiate into an identification-experience of the divine.

Abhinava then gives us the essential rationale for the Śaivite Tantric perspective on mutual heterosexual orgasm:

In the case of both sexes sustained by the buoyancy of their seminal energy, the inwardly felt joy of orgasm (*antaḥ-sparśa sukhaṃ*) in the central channel induced by the excitement of the seminal energy intent on oozing out at the moment of thrill (*kamapa-kāle sakala-vīrya-kṣobha-ujjigamiṣa-ātmaka*) is a matter of personal experience to every one. This joy is not simply dependent on the body which is merely a fabricated thing. If at such a moment it serves as a token of remembrance of the inherent delight of the Divine Self (*tad-abhijñāna-upadeśa-dvāreṇa*) (i.e. if at such a moment one realizes *khecari-sāmya*), one's consciousness gets entry in the eternal, unalterable state (*dhruvapade*) that is realized by means of the harmonious union (*viśleṣaṇa*)<sup>165</sup> with the expansive energy of the perfect I-consciousness



which constitutes the venerable Supreme Divine Śakti (*parā-bhaṭṭārikārupe*) who is an expression of the absolutely free manifestation of the bliss of the union of Śiva and Śakti denoting the Supreme Brahman.<sup>166</sup>

We return in this passage to the notion of *khecart-sāmya*, an identity or sameness with *khecart*--the feminine of the 'sky-' or 'space-moving', the space-time transcending state. This is a magical notion ensconced in the Tantric systems; through divinely attuned sexual bliss the initiates can fundamentally alter their experience of space-time. Due to the aesthetic resonance of time-stabilized and harmonized bliss (*sāmarasya*) the pair move from their individual disconnected senses of identity into a harmonious sense of union with the very energies that create reality.

### 9.5.2. The Secret Rites of the *Kula* Tradition

Chapter 29 of the *Tantrāloka* is called the *Rahasya-vidhi-prakāśanaḥ*,<sup>167</sup> i.e the Explanation of the Secret Rites. The chapter is about the secret rites or sacrifice (*rahasya vidhi* or *yāga*) in the *Kula* tradition (*Kulaprakriyā*). Abhinava refers to this rite as involving the "universal adoration" (*sarvā upāsā*) of the *Kula* system.<sup>168</sup> The chapter is a long one, and unfortunately I have not yet had time to translate it and the Jayaratha's commentary completely. I have however begun work on this chapter, and have managed to get through about 25 of its 291 verses and commentary to provide a short introduction to Abhinava's doctrines on the group rituals of sexual Yogas described in the chapter. What follows is a running translation of the verses and commentary where appropriate, along with some explanatory material of my own.

The rite is considered appropriate for gurus and students who have "mounted the stream" (*dhārā-adhirūḍha*),<sup>169</sup> and is said to be the essence of the *Krama* system

of worship.<sup>170</sup> The 'stream-entering' motif is of course familiar to all students of Buddhism as the Buddhist practitioner is called the *srotāpanna*, the stream-enterer. What one can attain with one month of properly mastered Krama practice cannot be achieved even after a thousand years with the various oceans of *mantras*.<sup>171</sup> Jayaratha quotes a verse (without source) in the commentary saying that the *mantras* in the various other systems lack seminal energy since they do not have the inner fire of *śakti*; whereas the Kaulikas, who have the great *mantras*, who are intrinsically possessed of blazing inner fire, radiate with divine fire, bringing instant realization.<sup>172</sup> This reminds us of the underlying sound-light doctrine of the Tantric systems: Sanskrit *mantras* mediate the divine fire, and their appropriate use has extraordinary transformative effects. *Kula* is defined in nine ways, as the Lord's Śakti, as the capability for dissolution and creation, as the higher state because of its universal causality, as independence, as *ojas* or health, as *vīrya* or seminal energy, as *piṇḍa* or a solid lump--because the *kula* exists in a state of being equally mixed together with the universe, as consciousness, and as the body.<sup>173</sup> Here we have a brilliant type-hierarchical mapping from the most cosmic to the most intimately personal, mediated through the best or highest aspects of what it is to be human: to be physical, to be aware, to have virile energy, to be healthy, to feel profoundly connected to the universe, to be capable of autonomous activity and yet be in tune with the divine energies of cosmic causality. The *Kula-yāga* or sacrifice is redefined in the *Trika* system as the sacrifice of the multitude of destroyed anxieties through seeing that all living beings consist of the intense essence of Śiva and Śakti<sup>174</sup>--certainly a different

take on the notion of sacrifice than what we find in the Vedic system. This reminds us of Sanderson's words quoted at the opening of this dissertation chapter: the initiates freeing themselves from their inhibitions and their slavish subjection to the not-self sense of other. What one should practice by means of the mind, speech, and body, for the sake of spreading the fame of that sort of form (that has Śiva and Śakti as its basic essence) is known as the sacrifice, and its practitioner is called a hero (*vīra*).<sup>175</sup> Here the obvious influence of the Buddhist system is seen with the body-speech-mind route (*mano-vāk-kāya-vartman*) included as a catch-all term for the domains of the effects of the ritual. Explicit in these remarks is a sense of advertisement: though this is the chapter on the secret ritual, one is implored to spread the fame of the Śiva-Śakti reality, to free others from these same anxieties and inhibitions and bring the divine light and life to the world.

Abhinava says Kula sacrifice is, without considering variations, divided sixfold--taking place externally, in Śakti, in the divine coupling, in the body, in the path of the *prāṇas*, and in the mind.<sup>176</sup> Again we have the magic of the type-hierarchical mapping. The *yāga* is one set of events, yet it is conceived of as occurring simultaneously in six dimensions; this is the trans-dimensional reality focus shared with the Buddhist Tantric systems--the belief that through correctly focusing the mind through the discipline of the six-limbed Yoga one can simultaneously, consciously access in one's own awareness and sensual experience of life the external forces of the cosmos and their divine impellers. Jayaratha explains *yāmala* as referring to the sexual intercourse (*mīthuna*) after completing the beginning of the

ritual, and the "path of the *prāṇas*" as the central channel (*madhya-nāḍī*--also known in the Hindu systems as the *suṣumnā*), since the *prāṇas* from the two side channels, *idā* and *piṅgala*, merge together in the central channel.<sup>177</sup> This is an interesting double mapping of the explanation of what is happening in sexual intercourse between a man and a woman externally to the joining together of the life-breaths in the two major side channels of the subtle body (running on either side of the spine) in the central channel. In concept this idea is not fundamentally dissimilar to the idea in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* of Indra in the right eye and Indrāṇī in the left eye descending into the heart where they join in sexual union (see Chapter 2.8). Indeed we find in Hindu art the image of the cosmic man with one eye as the Sun and one eye as the Moon, and these two subtle body channels, the *idā* and *piṅgala* are often likened to the Moon and the Sun in both Buddhist and Śaivite Tantra.

Abhinava explains that for performing the Secret Rites (*Rahasyavidhī*), all the preparatory initiatory rites must be abandoned. In the secret Kula 'sacrifice' the normal preparatory bathing rites, the drawing of the *maṇḍala* and its subsequent visualization, the offerings into the fire-hole (*kuṇḍa*), the six-fold *nyāsa* or mapping of the cosmic planes into the subtle energy structure of the body through the application of *mantras* to the body's six paths, etc., all these are useless, and in fact even dangerous when it comes to the practice of the secret rites.<sup>178</sup> This is a radical shift. The entire preparatory and initiatory structure that Abhinavagupta has outlined over the preceding twenty-eight chapters (and 3,290 pages of Sanskrit in the Motilal Edition) is to be abandoned, cast off like a worn out shirt. Attachment to these earlier

ritual components becomes at the point of undertaking the secret Yoga positively dangerous to the initiates. The initiatory vehicle has carried them to a certain point, and now it must be left behind. Lacking the six *maṇḍalas*, without any obstructions (or restraints), constituted of knowledge and what is knowable, such is the Kaula [sacrifice] as described in the view of the *Trisirobhairavatantra*.<sup>179</sup> Whatever substance has been prohibited in the whole range of *śāstras*, the wise one should use in this sacrifice, thoroughly lubricated by the lovely nectar (of wine) (see 9.2.5. above for the remainder of this passage on alcohol).<sup>180</sup> The secret triad in the Kaulika sacrifice is described by Parameśvara in the *Kramarahasya* as the vessel of the sacrificial liquid, the location of the sacrifice, and the lamp. The sacrificial liquid (is produced) from joining together with Śakti, the location of the sacrifice is said to be a cover (tent?) for the ground, and the body's *pīṭha*, since they are, respectively, elevated. The lamp is produced from butter, because the cows are considered divinities wandering the earth. Recognizing this the Kula initiate should be diligent regarding these three.<sup>181</sup> Jayaratha explains that the *argha* is a special substance known as *kuṇḍagolaka* (lit. 'the spherical jar.'). It is produced from the sexual intercourse mentioned above as *yāmala*, after the first part of the ritual. As Gnoli adumbrates, this is a mixture of the male semen and female ovum, menstrual blood, or vaginal secretions. The body's *pīṭha* is the head, either one's own or someone else's. While a butter lamp is the first choice, sesame-oil lamps are also used.<sup>182</sup> Abhinava goes on to say that recognizing therefore that the *argha* is considered the principal substance by Śambhu, one should not have any doubts about these

substances, since doubt is harmful in this ritual.<sup>183</sup> Jayaratha quotes a verse describing the twelve substances such as the five jewels, etc.: Semen, 'Śiva's water,' a flower, *kṣara* (usually a caustic acid, possibly treacle here), ghee in a tube (? *nālājyaka*), human, what comes from the earth, a he-goat, what comes from a fish, and what comes from a bird; an onion, and garlic, such are the twelve excellent substances.<sup>184</sup> The mention here of fish, onions, and garlic is reminiscent of the use of these substances by Kṣemendra's prostitute Kuṭṭanī as an aphrodisiac broth, discussed in Chapter 6.4.1. It suggests that Kṣemendra's characterizations may have been more accurate than one might otherwise be inclined to think.

It appears to me that part of the rationale for the usage of stimulating substances in the ritual of Tantric Yoga lies with the meta-perspective capacities intrinsic to human consciousness. Since we are at our ultimate level of reality identical with Śiva/Śakti, or can become Buddhas and his consorts, we have this intrinsically infinite capacity of self-transformation. This capacity naturally also applies to substances we ingest. Just as many adults learn 'to handle their liquor,' so to speak, the Tantric initiate has to learn to 'handle the experience,' i.e. the experience of consuming stimulatory substances, wine, meat, etc., and also has to learn to handle the sexual rites. This necessary fact of life explains in a common sense way much of the rationale of purification rites and initiations of the Tantric ritual. The Śiva-state, or Bhairava-state, involves a capacity for immediate meta-perspectives on every 'normal' psycho-physiological state. Where 'normal' people (*paśus*) would simply get drunk and have brief orgasms, the Bhairava-conscious or

Kālacakra identified initiates would be able to *use* the state of mild inebriation, and the rush of orgasmic energy to guide their consciousness along divine highways of the cosmic energy web. Through repeated and extensive training they would become progressively more adept at acting as ‘cosmic transformers’--in the sense of an electrical transformer we could say--who could tap into the energy of the cosmic web and direct this energy through their consciousness and through their bodies, transmuting their psycho-physical presence through a continual learning process, and most importantly, sharing this experience with fellow initiates, thus ‘powering up’ the *kula* in its multiple meanings, simultaneously.

Abhinava describes entering the site of the secret rites. With face uplifted, facing east, entering the sacrificial house abundantly filled with perfumes and incense, one should perform the purification that consists of increasing the internal heat either in regular order with the *Parā (mantra)* or in reverse order with the *Mālinī (mantra)*;<sup>185</sup> here apparently an advanced Tantric *mantraśāstra* practice has replaced the ancient Yogic breathing techniques of *tapas*. The purification is distinguished as either heating or cooling, otherwise (it may be accomplished) with the *Mātṛsadbhāva mantra*.<sup>186</sup> If one wishes to perform an initiation undertaking the application (of *mantras*) to the (six) paths (of the body) to be purified, then one should make the sacrificial items to be purified (*argha*, flowers, etc.) into nectar with the Śakti. Either the *Parā (mantra)* with the *sampuṭa* (i.e. with the *Mālinī*) or the *Mātṛ-(sadbhāva mantra)* with the *sampuṭa* (i.e. with the *Mālinī*) or the *Mālinī* alone--these are (appropriate) for all the ritual actions.<sup>187</sup> One should fill the sacrificial

vessel (*arghapātra*) with the substances that are the fruits and causes of joy. Jayaratha explains that the causes of joy are wine etc., and that the 'fruits' are the *kuṇḍagolaka* etc. As for the tradition of filling the sacrificial cup with this latter substance, Jayaratha does not explain it since to do so would be to violate secrecy, and would break the Tantric covenant--one should learn this from the mouth of one's guru. He adds an unsourced couplet that says 'the oblation, and the tradition, the teaching, and the meeting place, and the rules for the sequence of worship--(all) remain in the mouth of the *yoginīs*,' i.e. all remain part of the oral tradition maintained by the *yoginīs*.<sup>188</sup> This incidental remark by Jayaratha is quite telling--it tends to confirm the impression given by Kalhaṇa and Rastogi--mentioned in Chapter 6.2 of this dissertation--that women were integrally involved in the teaching lineages of the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric traditions. It also fits with the indications in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa* and the *Kālacakra* that women also went through the processes of Tantric initiations. Finally it confirms the several indications in the *Mālintvijaya* that women were in charge of the location, timing, and occurrence of the sexual Yoga practices. Here Jayaratha has indicated that it was the *yoginīs* who maintained crucial, secret aspects of the tradition. Since, as we say, it takes two to tango, an equally important role for the yogis and yoginis in the Tantric tradition makes perfectly good sense.

Following the filling of the sacrificial cup with the mystical substances (i.e. sexual fluids), one reaches the state of identity with Bhairava through the identity with him of the *mantras* uttered during the rite.<sup>189</sup> Jayaratha adds an interesting couplet



here, stating that ‘the formless goddesses who take form by residing inside the physical body (of the initiate), play with the various states of emotion out of a desire for the ultimate substance.’<sup>190</sup> This is a helpful reference to an otherwise little mentioned element: the emotional or feeling component of the experience. It also raises again the speculative question I raised at the end of 9.3.2 above. The most ephemeral aspect of all these silent, written descriptions of the Tantric practices is the issue of what actually happens for the initiates when the *mantras* are uttered. Do these semi-semantic *mantras* induce certain feeling states that are conducive to the practice of the rites? Do they function in some way to inspire the musical sensitivities of the initiates? It is not clear from the descriptions I have read so far, yet is a particularly intriguing question given the perplexing nature of the semantic value of the *mantras*.

Then one should satisfy the intense self located externally in the *cakras* and *anucakras* with the drops (from the *arghapātra*), and (internally) with the inner draught above and below. The inner draught is the inner Soma, the same drops spoken of in the Buddhist system, the inner nectar produced by the flowing sensual energy in the central channel. Then, filled with the flood of one’s own light rays on account of their activity of gushing forth, one should perform the external worship, desiring to see that sort of self (i.e. the Bhairava-identical self).<sup>191</sup> The wise one should perform the sacrifice on a beautiful red cloth (measuring) twelve *āṅgulas*, or two or three times that size, in the ‘sky’ (sprinkled) with beautiful red-lead, or provided with a multicolored cloth, in a coconut-shell drinking vessel (or) skull, filled

with liquor, and in that sort of location of the *maṇḍala* in the form that has been described. Some of this description seems evidently contradictory to Abhinava's statement that all the preparatory practices must be abandoned, though a more extensive reading of his works will undoubtedly clear up this point. Abhinava's mention here of *anucakras*, or subsidiary *cakras* is the first use of this term I have come across in my so far limited reading of Śaivite and Buddhist Tantras. It will be interesting to discover whether the *anucakras* also map to the *marman* points of the medical tradition. It is certainly evident from some of the more popular Hindu artwork that the Tantric traditions conceived of several more *cakras* than just the main six, seven, or eight that I have discussed in this dissertation.

Although the preceding is just a preliminary look into the secret sexual Yoga rites of the *Kula* tradition, it does provide some illuminating glimpses of the doctrines and practices. The idea of the *golaka*, the mixture of the semen and vaginal blood or juices in the drinking vessel that is part of the earlier portion of the *Kula* rites, is precisely the doctrine that the *Laghukālacakra* and Puṇḍarīka criticize as wasting the precious life-juices that can give rise to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, yoginīs, and Buddha-mothers (see 9.4.7. above).<sup>192</sup> It should be clear from these passages that there is otherwise extensive cross-mapping to the Buddhist Tantric doctrines, with the basic principles of the channels, sensual energy flows, activation of the *cakras*, bonding of the male and female through sexual union, use of the *mantras* as the mediators of divine energies, all constituting shared technology between the Śaivite and Buddhist Tantric systems. While some of the terminology may differ, and some of the

doctrinal interpretations are distinct, nonetheless these two major Indian Tantric systems appear to have been striving for strikingly similar goals by strikingly similar methods.

### 9.5.3. Use of Meditation in the *Mālinīvijaya* to Attract Women

As a footnote to some of the more lofty esoteric interpretations of the Tantric Yogas in the Śaivite and Buddhist systems, it is worth noting that there are also many practices described in these texts that represent practical, mundane magic. Puṇḍarīka describes a whole series of magical rites in Chapter 5 of the *Kālacakra* (see Chapter 11, page 65 of the Sanskrit in the translation) apparently in common use during his time, and part of Indian tradition since the *Atharvaveda* period. Many of the meditations in the *Mālinī* are said to provide beneficial practical results. In one case, included here, the meditation is said to make the yogi so attractive that the yoginīs will come running:

There is absolutely no higher *siddhi* on earth that is higher than the speech-*siddhi*, since the Garlanded One of speech has the nature of syllables, and the form of syllables. Or else the perceptive one should meditate on [her] in the form of a meteor, issuing forth from one's own body, blazing brightly, then, also, because of that, with crores of sparks interwoven with effulgent beams of light. Having pervaded the village, and the town, the city and the region, and also the round earth, and the entire egg of Brahma, and the scattered faces of individual people, as the best of the best, both internally and externally, and having returned, one should meditate on one's own body as entering into that previous form; so day after day one should do [this] with the inner self residing in that. Then, after a month of this, people dwelling there come as though to a *tīrtha*, passionately embraced by the brilliant flame of *Śakti*. Beautiful women, of various appearance, likewise others, wanton women, etc., walking [lit: moving on the ground], will come in emotional agitation, after six months, without a doubt. The two kinds of women born of the womb, those begotten on a wife by another [man], and those being born from the *pītha*, and the

courtesans, O Great Goddess, in turn, will be excited after a year. The divine ones dwelling in the atmosphere, the ones dwelling in the world of Brahma, and those residing inside Brahma's egg, all will become excited after three years. He should give to each of his own the knowledge as desired by the adept.<sup>193</sup>

Though this passage does provide some indication of the variety of women the yogi was expected to engage with, I include it here primarily as a grounding of our perspective on the attitudes of the Tantric practitioners. They appear to have genuinely expected tangible results from their practices, however outlandish these intentions may seem to us.

### Conclusion

I have concentrated in this chapter on the actual sexual Yogas prescribed in the Tantras and evidently practiced by many of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric yogis and yoginīs. As mentioned at several points, though, there was also a visualization Yoga indicated as an optional practice by the early Tantric traditions, and developed to a fairly high degree of specialization by the monastic and celibate practitioners. These 'visualization-only' sexual Yogas appear to owe some debt to the solitary Yoga practices from the classical Yoga schools that were incorporated into Tantric practices. As I worked on trying to sort out the logic of the rationale for the visualization-only position from Puṇḍarīka's commentary and the few verses in the fifth chapter of the *Laghukālacakratantra*, it became evident to me that the argument for the superiority of the visualization-only practice is quite a tricky one. This is part of the reason for choosing to present Puṇḍarīka's long commentary on *Kālacakratantra* verse 5.127 in Chapter 11. I have not presented an analytical

discussion of his arguments for several reasons. One is that his commentarial discussions of visualization sexual Yogas are long and complicated, and this dissertation is long enough as it is. Another is that as I began to read some sections of Nāropa's *Sekoddeśaṭkā* I found the same issues being raised, of visualized or imagined consorts in place of real ones. I have not however had the time to translate the *Sekoddeśaṭkā*, a 74 page Sanskrit text, nor read all of its attendant commentaries; these texts are in the process of being published by the group of Italian scholars working in Rome, and Italian translations of some of these works are available-- though I have not yet secured copies. As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, and discussed at some length in Chapter 3, it appears to me that the traditions of actually practicing sexual Yogas, and the attendant texts of these traditions, were absorbed at some point into the monastic universities of the Buddhist tradition, and the monk-scholars felt the need to reinterpret some of these doctrines to harmonize them with the celibate monastic disciplines of their organizations. A telling indication that this was probably so is that I have found nowhere in any of the Śaivite Tantric literature any suggestion that a visualized consort practice would somehow be superior; it is rather indicated, as it is in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa*, as a secondary option to be used when the principal mode of actual sexual Yogas are either inappropriate or inconvenient. Until I have read through the *Sekoddeśa* material, and more of the *Kālacakra* texts, I think it best to postpone an analytical assessment of the celibate Tantric practices.

## NOTES

1. Sanderson 1987:14, repeated here from Chapter 5.2.2.
2. Rinpoche et al 1994b:69.13-17.
3. In Chapter 10.1 I discuss the canonical accounts of the origin and history of the *Kālacakra*, and in Chapter 10.2-6 discuss the historical evidence with a Western epistemological methodology.
4. Goudriaan 1990:39.
5. *Śrīpūrvaśāstre tatproktam tarko yogāṅgam-uttamam | Heyādyālocanāt-tasmāt-tatra yatnah praśasyate | | TA 4.15: (Dvivedi and Rastogi 1987{3}:630).*
6. See Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{1}:32-55.
7. Flood 1989:236.
8. Sternbach 1974:60.
9. See Tsuda 1974:324-325 & 155-156.
10. Śāstrī provides this bit of information in the preface of his Durbar Library catalogue (Grünendahl 1989:49), adding that the text is "in the form of a Tantra of the left-handed class."
11. *Śāṅkhinī* = one of the four types of erotic women (*Śāṅkha* is the conch shell; *śāṅkhinī*, the conch possessor, is *Viṣṇu* or the commanding general; *śāṅkhinī*, the feminine possessive). According to the *Ratimañjarī* she is: 'One with long or very long eyelashes, superbly beautiful, elegant in the enjoyment of passion, endowed with grace and qualities; her throat is adorned with the three lines, graceful in the play of passion, she certainly is *śāṅkhinī*. (*Dīrgha-atidīrgha-nayanā, vara-sundarī, yā kāmopabhoga-rasikā guṇa-śīla-yuktā | Rekha-trayeṇa ca vibhūṣita-kaṇṭha-deśā, sambhoga-keli-rasikā, kila śāṅkhinī sā | |* (The other three types are *citriṇī*, *hastinī*, and *padminī*.) MW, citing *Kālacakra*, gives "N. of a *śakti* worshipped by the Buddhists." *Ratimañjarī* (5) defines *citriṇī* (of varied talents and good qualities) as: 'She knows the essence of elegance, is not too short, she has a nose lovely as a sesamum blossom, with lovely lotus-like eyes; endowed with full, firm breasts, beautiful, of restrained virtue, lovely with all good qualities, the *Citriṇī* of beautiful face.' (*Bhavati rasirasajñā nātikharvā, na dīrghā tila-kusuma-sunāsā, snigdha-ṇilotpalākṣī | Ghana-kaṭhina-kucāḍhyā sundarī baddha-śīlā sakala-guṇa-vicitrā citriṇī citravaktrā | |*.) *Ratimañjarī* (8) defines *Hastinī* as: 'With thick womb, thick buttocks and lips, thick fingers, thick breasts, amiable; eager for love, delighting in intense sexual passion, a tremendous eater, (unusually short), indeed the *hastinī* is, she is considered the female elephant. (*Sthūla-dharā sthūla-nītamba-bimbā sthūla-aṅgulih sthūla-kucā suśīlā | Kāmotsukā gāḍhha-rati-priyam ca nitānta-bhoktrī (nītamba-kharvā) khalu hastinī syāt (kariṇī matā sā) | |* *Ratimañjarī* defines *Padminī* as: 'She has lotus eyes, her nostrils are petite, she has a large pair of breasts, lovely hair, a slender frame; a gentle and agreeable voice, delighting in song and instrumental music, well-dressed over her entire body, the *Padminī*, with a lotus' scent.' (*Bhavati kamala-netrā nāsikākṣudra-randhrā, aviralakucayugmā cārukeśī kṛśāṅgī | Mr̥du-vacana-suśīlā gītavādyānuraktā sakala-tanu-suveśā padminī padmagandhā | |*.) (Quotations from Apte)
12. *Kālacakratatra, Abhiṣekapaṭalaḥ* 3.138-3.144b, Rinpoche et al 1994a:116.6-118.14.
13. See Sternbach 1951.

14. *Gaṇikā, pratigaṇikā, rūpājīvā, veśyā, dāstī, devadāstī, puṃscālī, śilpakārikā, kauśikastrī, rūpadāstī, adāstī, avaruddhā, kṛtāvarodhā, kṛtāparādhā, duhitṛkā, and kumārī.* (Sternbach 1951:25).

15. Sternbach 1951:26.

16. Sternbach 1951:26-27.

17. Sternbach 1951:32 and 32n.29.

18. See Sternbach 1951:45 & 48.

19. *Dīrgha-atidīrgha-nayanā, vara-sundarī, yā kāmopabhoga-rasikā guṇa-śīla-yuktā | Rekha-trayeṇa ca vibhūṣita-kaṇṭha-deśā, sambhoga-keli-rasikā, kila śaṅkhinī sā | | Bhavati rasirasajñā nātikharvā, na dīrghā tila-kusuma-sunāsā, snigdha-nīlotpalākṣī | Ghana-kaṣhina-kucāḍhyā sundarī baddha-śīlā sakala-guṇa-vicitrā citriṇī citravaktrā. Ratimañjarī (8) defines Hastinī as: 'With thick womb, thick buttocks and lips, thick fingers, thick breasts, amiable; eager for love, delighting in intense sexual passion, a tremendous eater, (unusually short), indeed the hastinī is, she is considered the female elephant. (Sthūla-dharā sthūla-nitamba-bimbā sthūla-aṅgulih sthūla-kucā suśīlā | Kāmotsukā gāḍhha-rati-priyam ca nitānta-bhoktrī (nitambha-kharvā) khalu hastinī syāt (kariṇī matā sā) | | Ratimañjarī defines Padminī as: 'She has lotus eyes, her nostrils are petite, she has a large pair of breasts, lovely hair, a slender frame; a gentle and agreeable voice, delighting in song and instrumental music, well-dressed over her entire body, the Padminī, with a lotus' scent.' (Bhavati kamala-netrā nāsikākṣudra-randhrā, aviralakucayugmā cārukeśī kṛśāṅgī | Mṛdu-vacana-suśīlā gītavādyānuraktā sakala-tanu-suveśā padminī padmagandhā.)* (Quotations from Apte's dictionary.) Monier Williams, citing the *Kālacakra*, erroneously defines *śaṅkhinī* as the "N. of a *śakti* worshipped by the Buddhists."

20. *Samvatsarāṇi na māṃsam aśṅtyāt | na rāmām upeyāt | na mṛṇmayena pibet | nāsya rāma ucchiṣṭam pibet | teja eva tat saṃśyati |* (*TĀ Pravargya Brāhmaṇa* 8.13; Houben 1991:85, his translation). Houben acknowledges some dispute about the translation of *rāmā*; Keith takes it as "woman of pleasure." Houben 1991:126n.130.

21. Eggeling 1882:397.

22. See Kane 1973:533-534.

23. *svargrheṣu guptasthāne vijaneṣu manorame | giri-gahvara-kuñjeṣu mahodadhitateṣu vā | | 2 | | śmaśāne mātṛgrhe ca nadīsamgamamadyataḥ | vartayed maṇḍalaṃ samyag anuttaraphalam icchati | | 3 | |* (Tsuda 1974:264 & 96).

24. Tsuda 1974:264.

25. *sukhasampattisampanna ārogyaḥ śubhacetasāḥ | kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ siddhir bhavati sampadaḥ | | 37 | |* (Tsuda 1974:269 & 102). The compound *kāma-mokṣādi-saṃprāptaḥ* should be translated "he who has attained passionate love, liberation, etc.," or "he who has attained liberation etc. through passionate love."

26. *Etā mudrās caturṣro 'kṣara-sukha-phala-dā yoginā bhāvantiyāḥ sarvasmin sarvakālaṃ surata-rati-gatair loka-mārga-prayuktaiḥ | grāma-āraṇya-śmaśāne 'śuci-śuci-nīlaye veśma-deva-ālaye ca varṇa-avarṇa-abhicārais tanu-bala-sukha-dair anna-pāna-ādi-bhogaiḥ | |* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:39.5-8).

27. *Ato yogī viśuddha-citto bodhisattvo bhagavatā ukta iti | Iha mantra-yāne kecid vīra-krameṇa svādhiṣṭhāna-krameṇa vā mahā-niśāyāṇi śmaśāna-bhūmyāṇi praviśya eka-varṣaṃ dvivarṣaṃ vā dvādaśa-varṣa-paryantaṃ vā maraṇa-paryantaṃ vā mantra-jāpa-homa-dhyāna-*

*balena herukaṃ bhagavantaṃ sākṣāt-kartum asamarthāḥ, tathā parvata-udyāna-sarīt-samudra-taṭa-ādiṣu vijāna-sthāneṣu samanta-bhadrādi-devatāṃ ca* | (Dwivedi & Bahulkar 1994:76, ll. 24-28).

28 . Śāstrī 1900:204.

29 . Śrīdevy uvāca | mahādeva mahēśāna taporāṣe jagatpate | bhuvanāntara-saṃsthānāṃ mantra-siddhi-pradāyaka | | ekena sādhenenaiva sādhitāḥ sarvva-siddhayaḥ | bhavanti niyatam śambho bhūtanātha jagatpate | | siddopāyaṃ paraṃ brūhi mantra-sādhana-siddhaye | kṛpayā devedeveśa yady ahaṃ tava vallabhā | | kathitaṃ te purānātha, agnyākāśa-nivāsakaṃ | dhūma-pānañ-ca śītasya sādhanam paramaṃ hitam | | ekena karmaṇā siddhir bhavet puṃsām śivātmanām | caturbhīr yā bhavet siddhiḥ sā siddhiḥ prāpyate nṛṇām | Bhairava uvāca | sādhu pṛṣṭhaṃ mahēśāni, sādhakānāṃ hitāya ca | anugrahāya lokānāṃ mantra-siddhi-karaṃ param | | sarvvanuṣṭhānataḥ śreṣṭhaṃ tapasaḥ sādhanam param | kathayāmi mahēśāni paraṃ śreyodhi-sādhanaṃ | | dharmmārtha-kāma-mokṣāṇāṃ sādhanam laghur tritam | bhūr-bhuvah-svādi-lokānāṃ kailāsāvadhi-vāsināṃ | | laghurva-karaṇam śreṣṭhaṃ yan meroḥ sādhanam param | śṛṇuṣvekāgra-manasā yadi pṛcchasi bhāmini | | nadī-tīre parvata-vare puṇya-kṣetre śivālaye | śakti-kṣetre śubhe pīṭhe śmaśāne vā sureśvari | | bhūmiṃ samāṃ vidhāyātha savarṇāṃ cittarañjinīm | siddhidāṃ kūrma-sadrśīm viṃśad-dhastāṃ suśobhinīm | |

30 . Trungpa 1982:xxxviii.

31 . Trungpa 1982:132-133.

32 . Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* includes a version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*—the 25 fables supposedly told by the Goblin (*Vetāla*) to King Vikramāditya of Ujjāyini, founder of the Vikrama era (begins 58 BCE). Kṣemendra, the prolific 11th century poet whose works we discussed in Chapter 6, and who studied aesthetics with Abhinavagupta, also retold these tales in his *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.

33 . Emeneau 1933:130-131.

34 . Van Buitenen 1971:14-15.

35 . MVT 19.5-19.26a (Kaul Shastri 1984:127—my translation).

36 . Snellgrove 1959{1}:66-68.

37 . Tsuda 1974:269-271.

38 . Ripoche et al 1994b:21.21-22.

39 . Dutt 1942:x.

40 . A reference to the widespread cult of the *kapālikas*. See Lorenzen 1972.

41 . Reference to contemporary cannibalism in 11th century India; however, even today we still speak of cannibals, though the practice is not widespread. Puṇḍarikaḥ may simply be listing known or heard-of practices.

42 . Apte defines *kulina* as: "of high descent, of a good family, well born; a worshipper of Śakti according to the left hand ritual; a *Brāhmaṇa* of the highest class in Bengal." MW has similar definitions, with the added note that a *kulinaḥ* was a member of the highest Bengali caste in the 11th century. Here it probably refers to members and non-members of Tantric cults, though it may equally well simply indicate the "well-born and the not well-born." It's not actually possible to tell from the *sandhiḥ* whether the masculine *kultna* or the feminine *kulinā* are being used here, or whether both are intended.

43 . An 11th century Indian version of the dictum, 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do.'



44. *Tasmād ādikarmikeṇa svadeśa-vyavahāreṇa bhakṣya-abhakṣyaṃ kartavyaṃ kula-akula-abhigamaṇaṃ ca | kutracid-deśe kāpālīka-kapāla-udakena śuddhir bhavati, kutracid-deśe gomāṃsaṃ bhakṣaṇṭyaṃ, kutracid-deśe 'śva-māṃsam, kutracid-deśe śuno[-]māṃsam, [73.25] kutracid-deśe hasti-māṃsam, kutracid-deśe nara-māṃsam bhakṣaṇṭyam | Evam anyad api māṃsaṃ deśa-vyavahāreṇa sarva-varṇa-avarṇānāṃ bhakṣaṇṭyaṃ sarvathā | Kutracid-deśe brāhmaṇānāṃ madya-pānaṃ vihitam, kutracid-deśe sudrāṇāṃ vihitam, kutracid-deśe kulina[-]akulnānānāṃ vihitam | kutracid-deśe śva-ucchiṣṭaṃ bhakṣaṇṭyam, kutracid-deśe bhojane kṛte na ācamaṇam, kutracid-deśe śūkara-māṃsaṃ bhakṣaṇṭyam, kutracid-deśe mahiṣa-māṃsaṃ, kutracid-deśe chāgala-māṃsam | evam anyad api māṃsaṃ [73.30] deśa-vyavahāreṇa varṇa-avarṇair na bhakṣaṇṭyam | kutracid-caṇḍālāḥ śrāvakāḥ, kutracid-deśe catur-varṇa-pravṛttiḥ, kutracid-deśe sarva-eka-varṇa-pravṛttiḥ | kutracid-deśe bhartari mṛte satī putrasya mātā bhāryā bhavati, kutracid-deśe bhrātṛ-bhāginyor vivāhaḥ, kutracid-deśe mātulaka-sambandhaḥ, kutracid-deśe kula-akulānāṃ paraspara-abhigamaṇam, kutracid-deśe brāhmaṇyo veśyā-vyavahāraṃ [74.1] kurvanti | evam aneka-deśa-vyavahāreṇa bhakṣya-abhakṣya-kula-akula-abhigamaṇaṃ yoginā kartavyam iti | tathā kuladevatā-kasyacit kule nāgo devatā, kasyacit kule chāgalaḥ, kasyacit kule śūkaraḥ, kasyacin-mahiṣaḥ, kasyacid ghūkaḥ | evam anye 'pi tiryāṅco 'nyeṣāṃ kuladevatā na māraṇṭyā na bhakṣaṇṭyāś ca | tathā kasyacit kuladevatā palāśaḥ, kasyacid arkaḥ, [74.5] kasyacid aśvathaḥ, evam anye 'pi vṛkṣāḥ | anyeṣāṃ kuladevatā na chedanṭyā na bhedanṭyāḥ | atra laukiko 'pi pratyaḃo dṛśyate | kasmāt? svakula-upadravāt svakula-upakārāt | iha yasya yā devatā ārādhitā upakāraṃ karoti, virodhitā mahā-upadravaṃ karoti, tasmāt teṣāṃ deśa-kula-vyavahāreṇa ādikarmiko vyavaharati mantra-dhyāna-sādhana-abhiraṭiḥ, yāvan mantra-siddhir bhavati jñāna-siddhir vā | tataḥ svecchayā bhakṣya-abhakṣyaṃ gamya-agamyaṃ peya-apeyaṃ karoti, na tasya ko 'pi [74.10] bādhāṃ kartuṃ samarthaḥ iti | evam ādikarmiko mantrā siddhe satī yogī bhavati | maṇḍala-cakra-sphārita-ākāśa-gamaṇāt siddhaḥ, māra-kleśa-āpatti-jñeya-āvaraṇa-kṣayāt sarvākāra-ṛddhi-sphāraṇa-siddhi-darśanād dharmā-cakra-pravartanāt sarvajña-bhāṣayā sakala-dharma-skandha-samūha-deśanā-vaśāt sarvajña bhavati iti | (Dwivedi & Bahulkar 1994:73, 1.22-74, 1.13).*

45. Shāstrī 1917:149.

46. *Prāṇatipātinio ye ca matsya-māṃsādibhakṣakāḥ | | madirā-kāminī-saktā nāstika-vrata-dhāriṇaḥ | | anabhiṣiktā narā ye ca uddha[ta]-vyasana-kāriṇaḥ | grāma-jāla-ratā ye da yamāri-tantra-parayānāḥ | | siddhyante nāsti sandehaḥ kṣṇasya vacanaṃ yathā | | atha te maitreya-pramukhāḥ sarva-bodhisattvā | vajra-nirukti-padaṃ śrutyā tuṣṭiṃ sthitā abhūvana | | (Shāstrī 1917:150). Note the grammatical construction ye ... te ...*

47. Is this a reference to the *Kāśmir Śaivas*? *Adhunā* means 'now' or 'at this time' in a temporal sense referring to present time; it is not usually used to introduce a phrase the way *atas* is. If this is a reference to the Śaivite yogis, then there's a suggestion that the rival system was gaining popularity when *Pundarīka* wrote the commentary.

48. Rinpoche 1994:Volume 3, Chapter 5, page 80, ll. 24-25.

49. *Hevajratāntra* I.vii.8-9; Snellgrove 1959{1}:68.

50. *Hevajratāntra* 1.7.10. Snellgrove 1959{1}:68. See Chapter 10.6 of this dissertation for a discussion of these terms.

51. MW list *dvyakṣara*, neuter, as the name of a *Sāman* in *Taittirya Saṃhitā*, *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*.

52. Is a red string another clue for finding the *gaṇacakra* gathering?

- 53 . MVT 23.19-23.32a (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:155-156.)
- 54 . MVT 19.75-76 (Kaul Shastrī 1922:134).
- 55 . TA 29.10: *Atra yāge ca yad-dravyaṃ niṣiddhaṃ śāstra-santatau | tad eva yojayed dhīmān vāma-amṛta-pariplutam |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3297). Gnoli has a note explaining that *vāma-amṛta* is a mystical term for alcohol. (Gnoli 1980:681n.6).
- 56 . TA 29.11a: *Śrībrahmayāmale 'pyuktaṃ surā śivaraso bahiḥ |* (Rastogi & Dwivedi 1987{7}:3295).
- 57 . *Tatra kṛtrimā trividhā paiṣṭi kṣaudrī gauḍī ceti, sahasas tu eka eva drākṣoṭho ...* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3299).
- 58 . Jayaratha: *Paratejastvād eva ca etat svayaṃ pāratyō rasas, tat-samāna-māhātmya ity arthaḥ.* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3300).
- 59 . *Sautrāmaṃyām brāhmaṇānām pānārthaṃ smṛtam adhvare | mahāhave kṣatriyāṇām vaiśyānām kṣitikarmaṇi | | mahotsave tu bandhūnām mitrāṇām ca samāgame | śmaśānānte ca sūdrāṇām vivāhe putrajanmani | | pānabhedam idaṃ bhadre jantūnām mūdhacetāsām | ye punaḥ śāṅkare tantre devītantre ca dikṣitāḥ | | gurvājñāniratā guptā japapūjāparāyaṇāḥ | jñāvijñānakuśalā laulyānna mahitāśayāḥ | teṣām punar dvijānām tu na viruddhaṃ sadā priye | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3302).
- 60 . TA 29.11b-3: *Tāṃ vinā bhukti-muktī no piṣṭa-kṣaudra-guḍais tu sā | | 11 | | strī- napuṃsaka-puṃrūpā tu pūrvāpara-bhogadā | drākṣoṭhaṃ tu paraṃ tejo bhairavaṃ kalpanojjhitam | | 12 | | tat svayaṃ rasaḥ śuddhaḥ prakāśa-ānanda-cin-mayaḥ | devatānām priyaṃ nityaṃ tasmād etat pivet sadā | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3298, Gnoli 1980:681).
- 61 . Dawn, noon, dusk, and midnight.
- 62 . The same as a *prahara*, a 3 hour section of a day; there are two of these between each *sandhyā*.
- 63 . *Yoga* is an obscure astronomical term:  
when the: (longitude of the sun) + (longitude of the moon)

---

800 arc minutes

= an integer, this is a *Yoga*. There are 27 *Yogas*. Here a new one is added, the *kulika-yoga*.

(Thanks to David Pingree and Kim Plofker for confirming this explanation).

64 . Dwivedi/Shashni 1990: 140 gives the following quotes {in Sanskrit} on *sūrya* {I've parsed the *sandhiḥ*, then added my own translation}: "The sun [neuter] is the non-dual knowledge of birth." ("Sūryam 'sūryam utpāda-advaya-jñānam,' (Caryāgītikośavyākhyā p.49)); "By the word *sūrya* [is meant] the *prāṇa*-wind." (Sūryaḥ 'Sūrya-śabdena prāṇa-vāyuḥ,' (Vimalaprabhā [vol. 1] p.196)); 'Here the *prāṇa*, the sun, is the ruler of the left channel, the right channel, and the central channel, flowing upwards from the navel.' ('Atra Idā-piṅgalā-suṣumnānām adhipatiḥ prāṇaḥ sūryo nābher ūrdhvam pravāhatāḥ,' (Vimalaprabhā [vol.1] p. 196)); 'And the channel that flows upwards from the navel, [and is] likewise facing upwards | And ending in the middle of the throat, is known as the blood stream. | |' (Sūrya-nāḍī (rasanā) 'Nābher ūrdhvam tu yā nāḍī vahati ūrdhva-mukhī tathā | Kaṅṭha-madhye tu viśrāntā rakta-vahā prakṛtītā | | (Vasantatilakā p. 80)); This channel on the right side called *rasanā* ["tasting, the tongue"], it, facing upwards, carries the blood up the throat, beginning from the

navel.' ('*Yā iyam dakṣiṇa-pārsve rasanā-ākhyā nāḍī, sā ūrdhva-mukhī nābher ārambhya kaṅṭham yāvad raktam vahati.*' (Vasantatilakā Tikā p. 80)); 'The blood is considered to be the sun.' ('*Raktaḥ sūrya iti smṛtaḥ*' (Vasantatilakā, p. 80)).

65. Rinpoche et al 1994b:106.11-20.

66. See references in (Mishra 1991:6-7).

67. MVT 23.32b-23.37; (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:156-157).

68. Śāstrī 1900:206.

69. Shāstrī 1939-40:231.

70. See Apte's and Monier Williams' dictionaries under these listings.

71. 16) *rātrau puṣṭividhiḥ* | 17) *mahāniśādi-nirūpaṇam* | 18) *atha vīra-abhiṣeka-vidhiḥ* | 19) *tatra abhiṣeka-mantrādi-kathanam* | 20) *siddha-mantra-lakṣaṇam* | 21) *śakti-sādhanaṃ vinā nirvāṇa-abhāva-kathanam* | 22) *mātrādi-pañcānyāvyaḥkhyānam* | *śakti-cakra-ādi-lakṣaṇa-kathanam* | *pañca-cakra-vidhiḥ* | *kusuma-anukalpādi-kathanam* | *cakre varjjanīya-kathanam* | *gopya-karma-kathanam* | *rāja-cakre devacakre ca viśeṣakathanam* | *yogināṃ sādhaādi-vidhiḥ* | *sādhikā-lakṣaṇādi-kathanam* | *kulācārādi-sādhana-kathanam* | *vidyāviśeṣe śakti-viśeṣa-vidhānam* | *atha veśyā-lakṣaṇādi-kathanam* | *pañcadravya-nirūpaṇam* | *teṣāṃ śuddhi-kathanam* | *nava-kanyā-nirūpaṇam* | *tarpaṇe sudrādividhiḥ* | *pañctikaraṇavidhiḥ* | *aśādaśa-mahāvidhā-kīrttanā ca* | (Śāstrī 1900:205-206.)

72. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 8.1526, Stein 1991{2}:120.

73. [End:] My clan is Vedic, Oh leader, I am certainly the creeper, definitely Oh lord. The attentive woman, knowing that, it is never to be revealed. Whoso protects this desire for prosperity constantly protects [it] in his house—because I am always tied to his place, just as (I am) in your city—he knows the chapter, or half of that, or half of that, Oh *Maheśvara*; he is visibly a *guru*, equal to me, or I am equal to him. *Oṃ namaḥ paradevatāyai* | *kailāsaparvate ramye yāmāvante ca śarbbarī* | *spṛṣtvā tu caraṇau devyā bhagavān śaṅkaro 'bravīt* | | *Śrīśaṅkara uvāca* | *mātardurge mahāmāye kṛpāṃ kuru dayāmai* | *hṛdi sūlam samuddṛtya trāhi māṃ padmalocane* | | *sūnyatāṃ subhage devi yacchūlam varttate hṛdi* | *tanmayā kathitam bhadre mṛṣā jñātvā na muñcati* | | *tava vaktre śrutam pūrvvaṃ bhagarūpā tvam eva hi* | *vākyenālāpanam naiva katham kurvyād bhageśvart* | | *idam daikam dvitīyaṃ ca varadātrī kathaṅcana* | *tṛtīyam parameśāni jīvaḥne gatir na ca* | | *jīvasthite sadā śambhor gamanam kena vā kṛtam* | *iti cintāparo bhūtvā vātulo 'bhūn na saṃsayah* | | *Śrīpārvatyuvāca* | *nāham vadāmi khalu pārameṣu [not pamaṣu] ratim tyajāmi paśuvādineṣu* | *vācam tyajāmi kulakarmmaghātine saṅgam tyajāmi kila campakeṣu* | | *Śrīśaṅkara uvāca* | *devi viśveśari tvam hi sṛṣṭisthityantakārike* | *katham māṃ paśurūpeṇa sthāpitāsi ratipriye* | | *Śrīpārvatyuvāca* | *purā kocavadhusaṅgād vīrācāram bhavān kṛtaḥ* | *tathāpi paśubhāvatvam na muñcati kathaṅcana* | | *ityādi* | [End:] *nigamaṃ matkulaṃ nātha latāham niścitam prabho* | *iti jñātvā sāvahitā na prakāśyam kadācana* | | *yaḥ pāti puṣṭikām etāṃ grhe rakṣati nityaśah* | *tasya sthāne hyaḥam baddhā sarvavadā tvaṭpure yathā* | | *paṭalam vā tadarddham va tadarddham vā maheśvara* | *jānāti sa guruḥ sāksān matsamas tatsamo 'pi vā* | | (Śāstrī 1900:203-204.)

74. *Viśayah* | *śaṅkaram prati śaṅkaryā uktirūpo 'yam prabadhaḥ* | *tatra pañcamakāreṣu prādhānyataḥ pañca-makārasyaiva prapañcaśah prayogādi-vidhiḥ* | *latā-sādhana-vidhiḥ* | *divya-vīrādīnāṃ lakṣaṇādi-kathanam* | *pañcama-makāra-sādhanaenaiva mokṣa-prāpti-kathanam* | *bhairavi-cakre pravarttamāne varṇa-bheda-rāhityādi-kathanam* | *pañca-makāra-śodhanādi-vidhiḥ* | *punaḥ punaḥ pānavidhiḥ* | *yoni-pūjā-vidhiḥ* | *tatra dhyānādi-kathanam* | *atha kālīkā-pūjā-vidhiḥ* | *tārā-pūjā-vidhānam* | *ugratarā-vidhāna-kathanam* | *abhiṣeka-vidhi-*

*kathanañca* | (Śāstrī 1900:203-204.)

75 . De Mallmann 1975:368-379.

76 . *ekāreṇa Locanādevī, vaṃkāreṇa Māmaktī smṛtā* | *makāreṇa Pāṇḍrā ca yākāreṇa Tāraṇī smṛtā* | (Snellgrove 1959{2}:4 & 19159{1}:49).

77 . At *Hevajratantram* 2.4.65 *Tārā* and the other three *Prajñās* are included in a list of countless goddesses headed by *Nairātmīyā*. Snellgrove 1959{1}:106 and 1959{2}:70. *Sādhanamālā* contains several *sādhanās* to *Vajratārā* (93-97), including one by *Āryanāgārjunaḥ* and one by *Dharmākaramatiḥ*, one to *Tārā* by *Anupamarakṣitaḥ* (98), others to *Āryakhadiravaṇī-tārā* (89), to *Mahattarī-tārā* (90), to *Varada-tārā* (91), to *Vaśyādhikāra-tārā* (92), up through 116, totaling 28, with 21 different variations on the *Tārā* name (Bhattacharyya 1968{1}:xxi-xxii & 176-245), presumably representing a wide variety of local Buddhist practices. There are also two *sādhanās* to *Tārodbhavakurukullā* (171 & 172) and a *Tārāstutiḥ* (309) (Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:clxxxix, clxxxiii, 343-344 & 594).

78 . Dwivedī & Rastogi 1987{4}:1595 & Gnoli 1980:287, mentioned again as the first of the group at *TA* 8.418b (Dwivedī & Rastogi{4}:1619 & Gnoli 292. In the second instance, Gnoli makes the mistake of taking *tārādyah* as appositional with *siddhaya*; *siddhaya* is appositional only with the *aṇimādi-gaṇah*. *Tārā* is not considered a *siddhiḥ*.) Though Beyer (Beyer 1973) did a remarkable study of *Tārā* in Tibet, *Tārā* in the Indian context has not received quite the same attention. The word itself literally means "a star," and *Yoga-tārās* figure prominently in the astronomical astrological traditions as the primary stars in each *nakṣatrah*. The moon earns the name *Tārābhartī* in the *Mṛgendrāgama*'s *Kriyāpādaḥ* 8.187a (Brunner-Lachaux 1985:313). Curiously enough, the pattern of designation using *Tārā* as first in the list of goddesses—that we find in *Tantrālokaḥ*, the 11th century Kāśmīr Śaivite text, yet not in the earlier Buddhist *tantrās*, *Guhyasamājah* and *Hevajram*—also appears in the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* described in *Abhayākaragupta*'s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where we have the *Tathāgatās Amoghasiddhiḥ* etc., and the *Bodhisattvas* in *vajrāsanam*, and *Tārādi-devyah* in the lotus posture. (Bhattacharyya 1972:86). Later, at times in history not scrutinized in this dissertation, *Tārā* is grafted wholeheartedly into the Hindu Tantric practice. In the *Tārārahasya*, a 15th-16th century work by *Brahmānanda*, the *guru* of *Pūrṇānanda* (author of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* Tantric digest), *Brahmānanda* places *Tārā* in the fourth of five voids (*śūnyās*), with *Akṣobhya* on her forehead, etc., and quotes several earlier Hindu *Tantras* featuring *Tārā*. (Shastri 1900:xxix-xxx). The *Tārārahasya* opens 'Om homage to *Tārā*, praising *Tārā*, the most essential, the progenitoress of the three worlds, providing success in all endeavors, called 'universal,' bringing good fortune, the *mayī* of *Sadāśiva*, constantly praised by all the gods....' (*Om namas tāriṇye* | *tārāṃ sāratarāṃ trilokajanantīṃ sarvvārthasiddhipradāṃ sarvvākhyāṃ śubhadāṃ sadāśivamayīṃ devaiḥ sadā vanditām* | *natvā*.... Shastri 1900:153-4).

79 . 26) *Pracaṇḍādi-yantra-maṇḍala-yogiṇī-vīrāṇāṃ mudrāṇāṃ saṃketa-viharaṇa-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-nāma-gocara-pāṭalaḥ*; 27) *Pracaṇḍākṣī-lakṣaṇa-mudrādhīpati-svabhāva-vidhi*; 28) *Prabhāvātī-lakṣaṇa-mudrā-vidhi*; 29) *Mahānāsā-lakṣaṇa-cchoma-vidhi-niyama*; 30) *Mudrā-pratimudrā-vīra-matī-svabhāva-vidhi-lakṣaṇaṃ*; 31) *Kharbarī-akṣara-cchomā-lakṣaṇa-svabhāvaḥ jñāna-nāma-pāṭalaḥ*; 32) *Laṅkēśvarī-mudrā-saṅketa-lakṣaṇa-maṇḍala-cakra-svabhāva-nāma-vidhi-jñāna-pāṭalaḥ*; 33) *Druma-cchāyā-svalakṣaṇa-mudrā-saṅketa-vidhi-niyama*; 34) *Airāvātī-kāya-mudrā-lakṣaṇa-vidhi-yukti*; 35) *Mahābhairavāntar-mudrā-kathana-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; 36) *Vāyu-vegāyā[ḥ] prayoga-vidhi-mudrā-varṇaka-lakṣaṇa-vidhi*; (Shastri 1917:89-91).

- 80 . George 1974:54.
- 81 . George 1974:54.
- 82 . George 1974:55.
- 83 . George 1974:22-23 for Sanskrit, 1974:56-57 for English.
- 84 . George 1974:66.
- 85 . George 1974:67.
- 86 . George 1974:68.
- 87 . George 1974:68-69.
- 88 . George 1974:28.
- 89 . George 1974:69
- 90 . George 1974:70.
- 91 . George 1974:70.
- 92 . George 1974:71.
- 93 . George 1974:72.
- 94 . George 1974:74.
- 95 . George 1974:75.
- 96 . George 1974:78-79.
- 97 . George 1974:81-82.
- 98 . George 1974:83; see George 1974:33 for Sanskrit.
- 99 . *Sattva-paryyaṅka-saṁsthas tu saumyarūpeṇa saṁsthitah* | | *khaḍga-pāśa-dharaḥ śrīmān āliṅgyabhīnayaḥ kṛt* | *svakulm vātha kanyāṃ gṛhya prabhāvayet* | | *anena sidhyate yogī, mudrāyā naiva saṁśayaḥ* | *athavā pratimāṃ kṛtvā, sādhayet sutrādi-saṁskṛtām* | | *saha-caṇḍa-samādhi-stho japed ekāgramānasaḥ* | (Shāstrī 1917:138).
- 100 . This passage is repeated from Chapter 4.4. of this dissertation.
- 101 . These are neuter case, though, so they probably should be taken adverbially: *tatparaṃ, kāyavākcittaṃ saṁvṛtaṃ gaḍhasaukhyataḥ*.
- 102 . Again, *nakhakṣatam* is neuter case.
- 103 . *Rata* is the pleasure of, or simply sexual union. *Su-rata* therefore indicates what we would call in colloquial English great sex, or good sex.
- 104 . A *daṇḍa* is missing after the ; what the "six" refers to is not clear.
- 105 . *Sambodhi*.
- 106 . See *Dharmasaṅgraha* 64 & 65 for the same list of the 13 realms, in a slightly different order (Kasawara et al 1885:14). The Sanskrit of this extract is: *Prajñopāya[-]samāyogena nakhaṃ dadyāt tu tryakṣaram* | *cumanāliṅganāṃ caiva sarva-śukram eva ca* | | *dāna-pāramitā pūrṇā bhavaty eva na saṁśayaḥ* | *tatparaṃ kāya-vāk-cittaṃ saṁvṛtaṃ gaḍha-saukhyataḥ* | | *śīla-pāramitā-jñeyā jñeyā sahanāc ca nakha-kṣatam* | *tryakṣaram pīḍanaṃ ca rataṃ kuryyāt samāhitah* | *vṛya-pāramitā jñeyā tat-sukhe citta-yojanā* | | *sarvato-bhadra-rūpeṇa dhyāna-pāramitā matā* | *stṛi-rūpa-bhāvanā prajñā-pāramitā prakṛtītā* | | *surataka-yoga-mātreṇa pūrṇā ṣaṭ[-]pāramitā bhavet* | *pañca-pāramitā puṇya-jñāna-prajñeti kathyate* | | *surata-yoga-samāyukto Yoga-sambhārasaṁvṛtaḥ Yoga-sambhāra-saṁvṛtaḥ* | *siddhyate kṣaṇ-*

*matreṇa puṇya-jñāna-samanvitaḥ* || *yathā latā-samudbhūtaṃ phala-puṣpaṃ samanvitam* | | *eka-kṣaṇāc ca sambodhiḥ sambhāra-dvaya-sambhṛtā* | | *sa trayodaśa-bhūmiśo bhavatyeva na saṃśayaḥ* | *bhūmis tu muditā jñeyā vimalārcciśmatis tathā* | | *prabhākari sudurjjayābhimukhī dūraṅgamācalā* | [*sā*] *dhumatī dharmma-meghā samant[ā]khyā-prabhā tathā* | | *nirupamā jñātavattīyeva trayodaśañjñā* | | .

107. Śāstrī inserts a question mark for this work—I second it; I’ve been unable to figure out what it might mean, or what it may be a variant reading of.

108. *Atha bhagavā āha* | *kiṃ bhagavan strī-vyatirekeṇāpi śakyate sādhayituṃ caṇḍamahāroṣaṇapadaṃ utsāho na śakyate* | *bhagavān āha na śakyate devi* | *bhagavā āha kiṃ bhagavan sukhānudayāt na śakyate?* *bhagavān āha* | *na sukhodayamātreṇa labhyate bodhir uttamā* | *sukha-viśeṣodayādeva prāpyate sā ca nānyathā* | | ... *loka-kaukṛtya-nāśārthaṃ māyādevīsutaḥ sudhīḥ* | *caturaśṭī sahasrāṇi tyaktvā cāntakṣurāṇi punaḥ* | | *gatvā nirañjanāttraṃ buddha-siddhi-prakāśakaḥ* | *yāto mārānnirākṛtya na caivaṃ paramārthataḥ* | | *yasmād antakṣure buddhaḥ siddho gopānvitaḥ sukhī* | *vajra-padma-samāyogāt sa sukhaṃ labhate yataḥ* | | *sukhena prāpyate bodhiḥ sukhaṃ na strī-viyogataḥ* | *viyogaḥ kriyate yas tu loka-kaukṛtya-hānaye* | | *yena yenaiva te lokā yānti buddha vineyatām* | *tena tenaiva rūpeṇa māyādevīsuto jinaḥ* | | *sarvva-sārābhīdarmmeṇa kṛtvā nindāstu yoṣitām* | *nānā śikṣāpadaṃ bhāvetastu svagopanabhāṣayā* | | *nirvāṇaṃ darśayec cāpi pañca-skandha-vināśataḥ* | | *atha bhagavā prajñāpāramitā āha* | *kā bhagavan māyādevīsutaḥ kā ca gopā?* *bhagavān āha* | *māyādevīsutaś cāhaṃ caṇḍaroṣaṇatāṃ gataḥ* | *tvam eva bhagavā gopā prajñāpāramitātīkā* | | *yāvantaḥ tu striyaḥ sarvās-tad-rūpeṇaiva tā matāḥ* | *madrūpeṇa pumānsastu sarvva eva prakṛtītātāḥ* | | *dvayor bhāgavataṃ caitat prajñopāyātmakaṃ jagat* | .... *Atha bhagavā āha, kathaṃ bhagavan śrāvakādayo hi striyo dūṣayanti bhagavān āha* | *kāmadhātu-sṭhitāḥ sarve khyātā ye śrāvakādayaḥ* | *mokṣamārgaṃ na jānanti striyaḥ paśyanti sarvādā* | | *sannidhānaṃ bhaved yatra durīlabhaṃ śūnkumādīkam* | *na tatrārghaṃ samāpnoti durasthasya mahārghatā* | | *anādyā-jñāna-yogena śraddhā-hīnās tvamī janāḥ* | *cittaṃ na kurvate tattve mayāpy etat pragopitam* | |

109. MVT 23.19-23.32a (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:155-156.)

110. Gnoli 1957:19.

111. End of commentary on KCT 5.127 (Rinpoche et al 1994b:102.26-33).

112. *Māna* itself = either an opinion, pride, conceit, listed as one of the six addictions at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 67: passion, anger, pride, ignorance, erroneous views, and doubt ("*ṣaṭ kleśāḥ—rāgaḥ, pratigho, māno, 'vidyā, kudṛṣṭir, vicikitsā ceti*" (Kasawara et al 1885:14) and one of the six concealments of *samādhi* at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 118: sloth, pride, wickedness, arrogance, discontent, and lack of enjoyment of the truth ("*tatra ṣaṭ samādhy-āvaraṇāni, tadyathā—kausīdyarṇi, mānaṃ, śāṭhyam, auddhatyam, anābhogaḥ, satyābhogaś-ceti*" (Muller & Wenzel 1974:29). *Māna* also = measure, or measurement, and MW gives *mānakaḥ* as a measure or weight.

113. *Atharvaveda* II.4.1-2 reads: "For length of life, for mighty joy, uninjured, ever showing strength. We wear Vishkandha's antidote, the Amulet of Jangida. Amulet of a thousand powers, Jangida save us, all around. From *Jambha*, and from *Viśara*, Vishkandha, and tormenting pain." (Griffith 1895-6{1}:36). In a note Griffith cites a passage found by Weber in the *Kauṣika Sūtra* (32.1): "*jambha-grhītāya stanam prayachhati, '[s]he offers the (mother's) breast to the (child) seized by Jambha,*" suggesting teething pain or some other infantile disorder. (Griffith 1895-6{1}:37). Since human breast milk is now known to provide

a wide arsenal of anti-microbial agents (see Newman, Jack, "How Breast Milk Protects Newborns," *Scientific American*, vol 273 (6), December 1995, pp. 76-79), the demon *Jambha* may have been a generic name for the demon causing infantile diseases. Zysk, however, indicates that *jambha* refers to lockjaw, a symptom of tetanus, noting that *viṣkandha* and *viśara* suggest other tetanus-like symptoms, 'tearing the shoulders apart,' and body-wrenching pain. (Zysk 1993:55-57). He says, "references to *jambha* point to its meaning as 'convulsions,' 'teething,' 'lock-jaw,' or as Caland, following Sāyaṇa suggests, 'ein Rakṣasa ... der die Mundsperrre ... verursacht.'" [i.e. a demon that causes the closing of the mouth.] (Zysk 1993:172).

114 . *Pr̥thivī locanā khyātā abdhātur māmakti smṛtā | pāṇḍarākhyā bhavet tejo vāyus tārā prakṛtītā | khavajradhātusamayāḥ saiva vajradharaḥ smṛtaḥ |* | (Bhattacharyya 1931:137.)

115 . It is noteworthy here that a remnant of the same principle of cross-mapping that we noted with the Vedic sacrificial fires seems to apply here. The speech drop would normally be expected to be in the throat, yet in this ecstatic moment it is in the navel.

116 . *Prajñā-jñāna-kṣaṇam spandam tad yadi dadati sukham bindu-māla-acyutena hetunā.* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:31.23).

117 . See Chapter 3.2.3 for a discussion of the possible origin of this Goddess.

118 . SD 16-17: *Kṣara-[a]kṣaras tataḥ spando niḥspandaś ca tato paraḥ | kāya-vāk-citta-saṁsuddhyā abhiṣeka-trayaṁ kramāt |* | 16 | | *caturtho jñāna-saṁsuddhiḥ kāya-vāk-citta-śodhakaḥ | bālah prauḍhas tathā vṛddhaś caturthas tu prajāpatiḥ |* | 17 | | (Orofino 1994:132). I've modified Gnoli's Sanskrit just slightly--he has *kṣaraḥ kṣaras* in the first *pada* of 16, though this doesn't seem to make much sense given the logic of the syntax, whereby it is paired with *spando niḥspandaś ca*; the usual pattern would be two pairs of opposites, suggesting *kṣara* and *akṣara*.

119 . *Prajñā-stana-aṅga-saṁsparśād bodhicitta-cyutaṁ sukham | payodhara-abhiṣiktaḥ sa bālah prāptaṁ yataḥ sukham |* | 18 | | *guhya-āsphālāc cirāj jātaṁ bodhicitta-cyutaṁ sukham | prauḍho guhya-abhiṣiktaḥ sa guhyāt prāptaṁ yataḥ sukham |* | 19 | | *guhya-sphālāc cirāj jātaṁ vajra-agre spandataḥ sukham | prajñā-jñāna-abhiṣiktaḥ sa vṛddhaḥ spandam gato yataḥ |* | 20 | | *mahāmudrā-anurāgād yaj jātaṁ niḥ-spandataḥ sukham | mahā-prajñā-abhiṣiktaḥ sa yato niḥ-spandatām gataḥ |* | 21 | | *prajāpatiḥ sa vijñeyo janakaḥ sarva-tāyinām | vajra-sattvo mahā-sattvo bodhi-sattvo 'dvayo 'kṣaraḥ |* | 22 | | *asau samaya-sattvaḥ syād vajra-yogaś caturvidhaḥ | kālacakra iha khyāto yoginām mukti-dāyakaḥ |* | 23 | | (Orofino 1994:132-133).

120 . Shastri 1927:32.

121 . *vicitraṁ ca vipākaṁ ca vimardam ca vilakṣaṇam | catuḥkṣaṇam samāgama evaṁ jñanti yoginaḥ |* | *vicitraṁ vividham khyātam āliṅgana-cumbanādikam | vipākaṁ tad-viparyāsam sukham jñānasya bhūjanam |* | *vimardam ārocanaṁ proktaṁ sukham bhuktaṁ mayeti ca | vilakṣaṇam tribhyo 'nyad rāgārāga-vivarjitam |* | (Shashni & Dwivedi 1990:32).

122 . Snellgrove 1959{1}:34. *Hevajratātra* II.iii.1-12 explains this as follows: "Then the Adamantine Lord spoke to the *yoginīs* of the Means, which are the basis of all the *Tantras*, of the Union (*saṁavra*), of consecrations and of secret language, of the different Joys and Moments, of feasting and the rest. 'Now the union of all buddhas consists in the sound *evaṁ*. This sound *evaṁ*, the great bliss itself, is known from the process of consecration.' Then the *yoginīs* said to the Lord Vajrasattva: 'Is the sound *evaṁ* then called the union of the *ḍākinīs*? May the Lord, the Teacher, the Master of the World please expound the matter as it is.' The Lord replied: 'The sacred syllable *e*, adorned at its center by the syllable *vaṁ*, is the abode of

all delights, the casket of buddha-gems. It is there that the four joys arise, distinguished by the moments, and from knowledge of these moments the knowledge of bliss is consummated in that sound *evaṃ*. So the yogins know that the sound *evaṃ* is attainable through the four moments: *variety*, *development*, *consummation*, and *blank*. It is called *variety* (*vividha*), because it involves different things, the embrace, the kiss, and so forth. *Development* (*vipākam*) is the reverse of this, for it is the experience of blissful knowledge. *Consummation* (*vimardam*) is defined as the reflection that this bliss has been experienced by oneself. *Blank* (*vilakṣaṇam*) is quite other than these three, and knows neither passion nor the absence of passion. The first joy is found in *Variety*, Perfect Joy in *Development*, the Joy of Cessation in *Consummation* and the Joy of the Innate in *Blank*. These four joys are to be experienced in due order in accordance with the list of the four consecrations, that of the Master, that of the Secret, that of the Prajñā and the Fourth. The first is represented by a smile, the second by a gaze, the third in an embrace, and the fourth in union. This fourfold set of consecrations is for the purpose of perfecting living beings." The text then describes the teacher making love to the consort, and taking a drop of semen with his thumb and ring finger and placing it on the student's tongue in a consecration rite. Then the student and the young lady make love. (Snellgrove 1959{1}:94-96).

123 . "Two times ten thousand and two times eight hundred." (*dvy-ayuta-dvy-aṣṭa-śatān*).

124 . *Etās tisro varjayitvā, ekādaśavarṣikā sarva-lakṣaṇa-saṃpūrṇā rakṣaṇīyā rāja-guruṇā rājñā vā abhiṣikṭena, anyair vā tīsvair ahiṣikṭaiḥ* | | (Rinpoche et al 1994b:40.25-26).

125 . *Kha-yuga* = 'aperture-pair' = 0,2 = 20.

126 . *Śūnya-veda* = 0,4 = 40.

127 . The Sanskrit should be emended by eliding the hyphen. Here we have an example of non-standard Sanskrit: *a-syād* is used for *na bhavati*, as made clear by the first line of the commentary. *Syād*, as the third singular optative of  $\sqrt{\text{āś}}$ , cannot normally take an *a-* prefix as a negation marker.

128 . *Sekoddeṣaṭkā* defines *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* as: sense withdrawal, concentration, breath control, meditation, recollection, and perfected concentration. (*Pratyāhāras tathā dhyānaṃ prāṇāyāmo atha dhāraṇā | anusmṛtiḥ samādhiś ca ṣaḍaṅgo Yoga ucyate* | |—(Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:99).) However, the "six limbs" for providing protection to the consort may be something quite different.

129 . See George 1974:65-77, and 1974:73-74 for the passage about eating.

130 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:41.15-17.

131 . These eight are masculine—*anye* is only masculine plural. *Anyās* is the feminine plural.

132 . The comma should be moved to after the *eva--sa*, masculine singular, cannot refer to *duhitā*.

133 . It's not entirely clear what this sentence means. It may be (though this is purely speculative) that daughters produced in Tantric rites were consigned to the care of the *Viśvamātā*, perhaps the senior consort of the Tantric community.

134 . *Vajrapāṇi* should be in bold; it's in the verse.

135 . Since the following lays out the eight "others" with the eight flowers, the paragraph break here in the Sarnath edition seems inappropriate. The potential boys and girls born from Tantric rites at during the fifth through twelfth menses of the year are laid out into the eight



directional petals.

136. *Raudrākṣī*.

137. Usually *Ganeśa* in a Hindu context—here one of the *Krodheśvarās*.

138. See *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 11, Kasawara et al 1885:3.

139. ‘She with the tooth’—MW notes KCT 3,132 as a citation for ‘name of a goddess.’ VMP on KCT 3.132 glosses *Jambhī* as “she who has the form of red lac,” (*lākṣākārtī*—KCT 2.114.17).

140. *Mānini*.

141. In *Guhyasamājatantra* 13, we find a slightly different list of the ten *Krodheśvarās*—*Yamāntaka*, *Aparājita*, *Hayagrīva*, *Vajrāmṛta*, *Takkirāja*, *Mahābala*, *Nīladaṇḍa*, *Vajrācala*, *Mahosṭṭiṣa*, and *Śumbha*. (Bhattacharyya 1931:70-71).

142. *Stambhī*—a stiff woman, like a pillar.

143. This is a feminine derivative of *Marīci*; Both Apte and MW give it as *Śākyamuni*’s mother, a Buddhist goddess, or an Apsaras. *Marīciḥ* is either a ray of light, or one of the ten *Prajāpatis*, the mind-born sons of *Brahman*. *Mārīcaḥ* is the name for *Kaśyapa*, one of the revered ṛṣis in the *Brāhmaṇas*, son of *Marīciḥ*.

144. MW lists *cunda* as one of *Śākyamuni*’s disciples. The *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* does not list *Cuṇḍa*, suggesting the term name may be a later development.

145. MW lists *ṭakka* from *Kathāsaritsāgara* lxx as ‘a niggard.’ The story by Somadeva he refers to tells the tale of a foolish *Ṭakka* miser who dies rather than share his pudding with a friend. Penzer’s note explains the term as either a miser or a rogue, and also as the ancient name of a once dominant tribe of the Panjab. Stein also identifies *Ṭakka* as a region in the Panjab, following Cunningham. (Stein 1990{1}:205 n.150). Perhaps the tribe had a reputation for miserlyness. A ‘miser’ would seem the best translation here for *ṭakki*. *Takkirājah* is one of the ten *Krodheśvarās*.

146. *Bhrīkṣṭī*, an alternate spelling for *bhrūkṣṭī*, she whose brow is contracted; or someone perpetually frowning.

147. The twelve limbs of the mutual origination (*pratītyasamutpādaḥ*) causation chain (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 42:) ignorance, mental fabrication, consciousness, name and form, the six bases of awareness, touch, perception, thirst and self-appropriation, becoming, birth, old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, despair, and *upāyāsās* {?}.

(“*Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpādāḥ—avidyā, saṃskāro, vijñānaṃ, nāmarūpaṃ, saḍāyatanaṃ, sparśo, vedanā, tṛṣṇopādānaṃ, bhavo, jātir-jarāmaraṇaṃ, śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasya-upāyāsās-ceti.*” (Kasawara et al 1885:9).)

148. Rinpoche et al 1994b:42.11, verse 5.81a.

149. *Śūnya-veda* = 0,4 = 40.

150. *Anyasattva* = other than intelligent, i.e. not that bright. The view persists today that a woman who bears a child too late in life risks giving birth to a child with serious handicaps.

151. This is a slightly liberal translation of *tad-upari yaṃ samādhim ālambayitvā*.

152. *Viṃśadvārṣāṇi yāvat* should be in bold; it’s in the verse.

153. MW cites Lexicon source definition for *naṣṭabīja* as ‘destitute of seminal secretion, impotent.’ This is a standard usage in Sanskrit. *Naṣṭa-x* indicates that x is non-existent.

154 . *Yāvat* shouldn't be bold; it's not in the verse.

155 . *Yā bāhye bhukta-cchardih, sā nītarthena chardi-bodhicittam, guhyādi-vaktrāt kuliśa-maṇi-gataṃ na bāhye prajñā-abja-madhye praviṣṭam | evam acyutaṃ viṣ-mūtraṃ rakta-māṃsaṃ parama-sama-rasam aś[s]rāvaṃ chardi-madhye praviṣṭam niruddhaṃ nirāvarenaṃ bhavati |* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:42.28-43.1).

156 . This appears to be an instance of the much ballyhooed Tantric Sanskrit—the feminine *chardis* is referred to by the neuter *kuliśamaṇgataṃ ... praviṣṭam*. Such variations are not uncommon in *Purāṇa* Sanskrit, or even in the *Mahābhārata*. Even here, though, since *chardis* is glossed in the commentary (3.42.28) as *bodhicittam*, one could well assert that *kuliśamaṇgataṃ* agrees correctly with the neuter *bodhicittam*.

157 . I would emend the Sanskrit to *asrāvam* (not flowing), rather than *aśrāvam* (inaudible).

158 . *Yogi-vyapadeśena narā api prajñā-puṣpeṇa yuktaṃ śiva-sukha-phala-daṃ bhakṣitaṃ deśayanti | anyeṣāṃ bāla-janānāṃ naraka-gamanāyeti | |* (Rinpoche 1994b:43.13-14).

159 . *Nākaṭyam* [cf. Pāṇini 5.1.121--*ākatya* = being *a-kata*.] The most literal translation of *nākaṭyam* is "not without loins." It is not listed in any of the dictionaries or lexicons I've consulted: MW, Apte, *Amarakośa*, *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. However, the double negative makes sense here; the 'lightning' or *vajra* in consideration here is the erect penis in the woman's vagina—both partner's loins are certainly involved.

160 . This is a common use of an enclitic particle (here *vai*)—as a marker for a repeated phrase.

161 . Just as in the commentary on KCT 5.78 above (p.49, l.9), the grasping is with the thumb and ring finger.

162 . See p.41.9, KCT 5.78, above.

163 . Singh's translation, Singh 1989:42-43.

164 . Singh's translation, Singh 1989:44. The Sanskrit reads: *Yadā sakala-indriya-nāḍī-bhūta-marud-ādi-paripūraṇe tu mahā-madhyama-sauṣumna-pada-anupraveśe nija-śakti-kṣobha-tādātmyaṃ pratipadyate tadā sarvato dvaita-galane paripūrṇa-svaśakti-bhara-vimarsa-ahantā-māya-camatkāra-anupraveśe -- paripūrṇa-sṛṣṭy-ānanda-rūpa-rudra-yāmala-yoga-anupraveśena tan-mahā-mantra-vīrya-visarga-viśeṣaṇa-ātmanā dhruva-padātmaka-nīstaraṅgākula-bhairava-bhāva-abhivyaktaḥ |* (Singh 1989:16 Sanskrit).

165 . Singh explains in a note that *mahāvisarga-viśeṣaṇa* "is a technical word of the system which means that all joy arises by union with the perfect I-consciousness." (Sing 1989:47n.8).

166 . Singh's translation, Singh 1989:44-45. The Sanskrit reads: *Tathāhi tan-madhyā-nāḍī-rūpaṣya ubhaya-liṅga-ātmano 'pi tad-vīrya-utsāha-bala-labdha-avaṣṭambhasya kampa-kāle sakala-vīrya-kṣobha-ujjigamiṣātmakam antaḥsparśasukhaṃ sva-saṃvit-sākṣikam eva | na ca etat-kalpita-śartra-niṣṭhatayaiva kevalaṃ tad-abhijñāna-upadeśa-dvāreṇa iyati mahāmantra-vīrya-visarga-viśeṣaṇāvāpta-dhruva-pade para-brahma-maya-śiva-śakti-saṃghaṭṭa-ānanda-svātantrya-sṛṣṭi-parābhaṭṭārikārūpe 'nupraveśaḥ |* (Singh 1989:16-17 Sanskrit).

167 . TA Chpt. 29 colophon, Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3462.

168 . TA 29.1b: *Atha sarvā apy upāsā iyaṃ kula-prakriyā ucyate | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3291).

169. TA 29.2a: *tathā dhārādhirūḍheṣu guruśiṣyeṣu yocitā* | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3292).
170. TA 29.2b: *uktaṃ ca parameśena sārataṃ krama-pūjane* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3292).
171. TA 29.3: *Siddha-krama-niyuktasya māsenaikena yad bhavet* | *na tad varṣa-sahasraiḥ syān mantraughair vividhair iti* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3292).
172. TA 29.3, comm., "*Siddhāntādiṣu tantreṣu ye mantrāḥ samudāhṛtāḥ* | *vīrya-hīnās tu te sarve śakti-tejojjiḥitā yataḥ* | | *Kaulikās tu mahāmantrāḥ svabhāvād dīpta-tejasaḥ* | *sphuranti divya-tejaskāḥ sadyaḥpratyayakārakāḥ* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3293).
173. TA 29.4: *Kulaṃ ca parameśasya śaktiḥ sāmāthyam ūrdhvatā* | *svātantrayam ojo vīryaṃ ca piṇḍaḥ saṃvic-charīrakam* | | Jayaratha glosses *sāmāthyam* as *laya-udaya-kāritvam*, *ūrdhvatā* as *sarveṣāṃ kāraṇatayā uparivartitvam*, *piṇḍa* as *viśvasya atra sāmāsyena avasthānāt*. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3293).
174. TA 29.5: *Tathātvena samastāni bhāvajātāni paśyataḥ* | *dhvasta-śaṅkā-samūhasya yāgas tādrṣa eva saḥ* | | Jayaratha glosses *tathātvena* as *śiva-śakti-sphāra-sāratayā*. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3294-3295).
175. TA 29.6: *Tādṛg-rūpa-nirūḍhi-arthaṃ mano-vāk-kāya-vartmanā* | *yad yat samācared vītraḥ kula-yāgaḥ sa sa smṛtaḥ* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3295).
176. TA 29.7: *Bahiḥ śaktau yāmāle ca dehe prāṇapathe matau* | *iti śoḍhā kula-ijyā syāt pratibhedam vibhedint* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3295, Gnoli 1980:681).
177. TA 29.7a comm., *Yāmāle iti ādya-yāga-adhirūḍhe mithune* | *prāṇapathe iti madhyānāḍyām* | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3295).
178. TA 29.8: *Snāna-maṇḍala-kuṇḍādi śoḍā-nyāsādi yan na tat* | *kiñcid-atra upayujyate kṛtaṃ vā khaṇḍanāya no* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3293; Gnoli 1980:681).
179. TA 29.9: *ṣaṇ-maṇḍala-vinirmuktaṃ sarva-āvaraṇa-varjitam* | *jñāna-jñeya-mayaṃ kulaṃ proktaṃ trāiśirase mate* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3293, Gnoli 1980:681).
180. TA 29.10: *Atra yāge ca yad-dravyaṃ niśiddham śāstra-santatau* | *tad eva yojayed dhīmān vāma-amṛta-pariplutam* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3297). Gnoli has a note explaining that *vāma-amṛta* is a mystical term for alcohol. (Gnoli 1980:681n.6).
181. TA 29.14-16: *Śrīmat-krama-rahasye ca nyarūpi parameśinā* | *argha-pātraṃ yāga-dhāma dīpa ity ucyate trayam* | | 14 | | *rahasyaṃ kaulike yāge tatra arghaḥ śakti-saṅgamāt* | *bhū-vastra-kāya-pīṭha-ākyaṃ dhāma ca utkarṣabhāk-kramāt* | | 15 | | *dīpā ghṛtothā gāvo hi bhūcaryo devatā smṛtāḥ* | *iti jñātvā traye 'muṣmin yatnavān kauliko bhavet* | | 16 | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3304, Gnoli 1980:682).
182. *Argha iti kuṇḍa-golaka-ākhyo dravya-viśeṣaḥ* | *śakti-saṅgamād iti ādya-yāgatayā vakṣyamāṇāt* | *kāya-pīṭhaṃ svaṃ parakīyaṃ vā śiraḥ* | ... *ghṛtothā iti prādhānyāt, tena tailotthā api* | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3304-3305).
183. TA 29.17: *Tena argha-pātra-prādhānyaṃ jñātvā dravyāṇi sambhunā* | *yāny uktāny aviśaṅko 'tra bhavec chaṅkā hi dūṣikā* | | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3305-3306, Gnoli 1980:682).
184. *Reto harāmbu puṣpaṃ ca nālājyakaṃ tathā* | *pauruṣaṃ kṣmābhavaṃ chāgaṃ mīnajaṃ śakuntiyakam* | | *palāṇḍuṃ laṣunaṃ caiva drava-dvādaśakaṃ śubham* | (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3306). Jayaratha makes no further comment on this, and Gnoli has no note about it.

185 . Jayaratha explains that 'in regular order' (*anulomataḥ*) is in the order of creation, from the head to the toe (*anulomata itī sṛṣṭi-krameṇa śīrastāḥ pādāntam*), and Gnoli adds that reverse order is from toe to head. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3307, Gnoli 1980:682n.14).

186 . TA 29.18-19: *Yāgauko gandha-dhūpādhyam praviśya prāg-udaṅmukhaḥ | parayā vā 'tha mālinyā vilomāc ca anulomataḥ || 18 || dāha-apyāyamayīṇi śuddhiṇi dīpta-saumya-vibheditaḥ | krameṇa kuryād athavā mātṛ-sadbhāva-mantrataḥ || 19 ||* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3306, Gnoli 1980:682).

187 . TA 29.20-21: *Dikṣāṇi cet pracikīrṣus tac chodhya-adhva-nyāsa-kalpanam | tataḥ saṁśodhya-vastūni śaktyaiva amṛtatām nayet || 20 || parā-sampuṣa-gā yad-vā mātṛ-sampuṣa-gā apy atho | kevalā mālinī yad-vā mālinī yadvā tāḥ samasteṣu karmasu || 21 ||* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3307, Gnoli 1980:682).

188 . TA 29.21a: *Nanda-hetu-phalair dravyair arghapātraṁ prapūrayet | Jayaratha's comments: Nandasya ānandasya hetubhiḥ surādibhiḥ, phalaiś ca kuṇḍagolakādibhiḥ | ... yaś ca atra etat-pūraṇe sampradāyaḥ, sa rahasyatvāt samaya-bhaṅga-bhayaś ca na iha asmābhiḥ pradārśita itī | etad guru-mukhād eva boddhavyam | tad uktaṁ 'carukaṁ sampradāyaś ca vijñānaṁ melakaṁ tathā | pūjā-krama-vidhānaṁ ca yoginīnāṁ mukhe sthītam ||* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3308-3309). Gnoli notes the first part of Jayaratha's explanation for his reticence in a note (Gnoli 1980:683n.21).

189 . TA 29.22b: *Tatrokta-mantra-tādātymād bhairava-ātmatvam ānayet ||* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3309).

190 . *Amūrtā mūrtim āsṛitya devyaḥ piṇḍāntare sthītāḥ | kṛṇḍanti vividhair bhāvair uttama-dravya-lipsayā ||* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3309).

191 . TA 29.23-24: *Tena nirbharam ātmānaṁ bahiś cakra-anucakragam | viprudhbhir ūrdhva-adharayor antaḥpīṭyā ca tarpayet || 23 || Tathā pūrṇa-svaraśmy-oghaḥ procchalad-vṛttitā-vaśāt | bahiś tādrśam ātmānaṁ didṛkṣur bahir arcayet || 24 ||* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3310, Gnoli 1980:683).

192 . "The antinomian character of the *kulaprakriyā* can be seen in two ways. Firstly the ritual use of polluting substances, namely mixed sexual fluids (*kuṇḍa-golaka*), which are offered to the 'circle of goddesses' (*devīcakra*) and the *guru* at the conclusion of the rite, and secondly in the flaunting of sexual prohibitions, particularly the incest taboo." (Note: TAV 29, p. 72. According to Jayaratha, Abhinavagupta maintains that the *siddha*'s partner should be restricted to any female relative except his wife, in order that lust should not arise. Other texts cited by Jayaratha are less restrictive in choice of partner, saying that the *yoginī* can be the *siddha*'s wife, sister, mother, daughter or 'beautiful friend.')

193 . MVT 19.88-19.97 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:135-136).

### Introduction to the *Kālacakra Tantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*

#### 10.0. Introduction

The fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary thereon constitute a long and complicated Sanskrit treatise. The text of the *Kālacakratāntra* as we have it in Sanskrit is really the *Śrī-laghu-kālacakratāntrarāja* and its principal commentary by Puṇḍarīka, the *Vimalaprabhā*. There are several places in the commentary where Puṇḍarīka quotes from the Root Tantra, itself referred to variously as the *Mūlatantra*, the *Paramādibuddha*, or simply the *Ādibuddha*.<sup>1</sup> Although the innate skepticism of Western scholars has often led to the impression that the root Tantra may never have even existed, I think the extensive nature of the quotations in the *Vimalaprabhā*, and the consistent style and syntax of the root Tantra verses suggests that the *Mūlatantra* did indeed at one time exist. Naropa, or Nādapada, also quotes from the root Tantra in his *Sekoddeśaṭkā*. Orofino and Gnoli have published both an edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Sekoddeśaṭkā*, with a reconstructed version of the Sanskrit of the *Sekoddeśa* verses,<sup>2</sup> and have recently published an Italian translation of the *Sekoddeśaṭkā*, though I've been unable so far to secure a copy of the latter. Carelli had published an earlier edition of Nāropa's commentary on the *Sekoddeśa* from a single Sanskrit manuscript that Tucci had borrowed from the Mahārāja's library in Kathmandu (now apparently lost), and the work has been much criticized (though apparently not equally widely read through fully).<sup>3</sup> Other than this surviving material from the *Sekoddeśa*, and the

quotes from the *Mula Tantra* by Puṇḍarīka, the text appears to be largely lost. Raffaele Torella has reported to me that a group of Italian scholars working under Raniero Gnoli has a number of texts from the *Kālacakra* literature coming out in publication. These include Gnoli's Italian translation of Puṇḍarīka's *Paramākṣara-jñānasiddhi*, Sferra's edition and translation of Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭkā* and Anupamarakṣita's *Ṣaḍaṅgayoga* with Raviśrījñāna's *Guṇābharaṇi-nāma-ṣaḍaṅgayoga-ṭippaṇṭī*, and Cicuzza's edition and translation of Vajrapāṇi's *Laghutantraṭkā*.<sup>4</sup> John Ronald Newman did a translation from the Tibetan of the verses and commentary on Chapter 1.1-27 and 1.128-169, skipping the verses and commentary from 1.28-1.127. Newman's work is extremely helpful, and I have referred to it frequently during my research for this dissertation, yet because he worked principally from the Tibetan version of the text, one needs to check his translation carefully against the Sanskrit. Recently Vesna Wallace has completed a translation of the second chapter and commentary for her Ph.D. at Stanford, based on a comparison of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian versions of the text. Her translations are by and large quite reliable, and she provided the full text of the chapter in her dissertation, along with an introduction to the text. Jensine Andresen at Harvard is currently working on the third chapter of the text, and Wallace has just finished translating the fourth chapter and commentary. I have completed a translation of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* thereon, with notes. Since in consultation with Prof. Thurman the full translation deemed too lengthy to add on to a Ph.D. dissertation, I have instead provided in Chapters 11-13

selected portions of my translation of Chapter 5 that contain some of the most interesting material.

The *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* are divided into five chapters. The First is called the Chapter on the World Realm (*Loka-dhātu-nāma prathamah paṭalaḥ*), in 170 verses covering, with the commentary, 156 pages in the Sarnath edition. According to Puṇḍarīka's commentary, this first chapter is divided into eleven *uddeśas* or explanations, as follows: 1) Rules for the True path (*san-mārga-niyama-uddeśaḥ*), 2) Teaching about the Tantras (*Tantra-deśana-uddeśaḥ*), 3) The Relationship between the Teacher and the Questioner, the Root Tantra and the Laghu Tantra (*deśaka-adhyeśaka-mūla-tantra-laghu-tantra-sambandha-uddeśaḥ*), 4) The motivation of the teacher and the questioner (*deśaka-adhyeśaka-sādhana-uddeśaḥ*), 5) Summary about the teacher etc. (*deśaka-ādi-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), 6) Summary about the *maṇḍala*, the consecrations, etc. (*maṇḍala-abhiśeka-ādi-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), 7) Summary about the World Realm (*loka-dhātu-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*)--a) Summary of the [Buddha's] Reply (*prativacana-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), b) Summary of the World Realm (*loka-dhātu-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), c) Summary about the *Vajra-Body* (*vajra-kāya-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), d) Summary about the appearance of Rāhu etc. (*rāhu-ādi-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), e) Summary about all the *mantras* [that are] the digits of the moon etc. (*candra-kalā-ādi-viśva-mantra-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), f) Instruction about the birth-places of the vowels (*svarāṇām janma-sthāna-nirdeśaḥ*), 8) Summary about the extent of the World Realm (*loka-dhātu-māna-saṃgraha-uddeśaḥ*), 9) The Long Section on the Procedures for Astronomical Knowledge (*jyotir-jñāna-vidhi-*

*mahoddeśaḥ*), 10) The Long Section on the Rules and Regulations for the Production of Sound and [the making of war] Machines, 11) The Eradication of the Barbarian Dharma and the Establishment of the Buddha Dharma, etc.<sup>5</sup> Section 10 is particularly interesting from a historical point of view, as it offers detailed instructions on how to build seige machines for destroying the fort of a retreating opponent, including measurements for building a catapult, step by step instructions for its operation, detailed instructions for building a warship with sails and oarsmen, a spinning sword-wheel operated by pulley, various devices to be strung on pulleys to get over the enemies' turrets and cast down hot oil, fire, etc., a giant bow attached to a platform for firing heavy armor-piercing arrows, a device for bridging trenches, booby-trapped holes with fixed swords, and so on.<sup>6</sup> Earlier sections of the chapter lay out the extent of the cosmos according to the ideas we find in the *Purāṇas*, with Mt. Meru in the center, and the various oceans and continents arrayed in circles about it. There are also various *mantra*-mapping schemes, listings of the components of time as experienced by beings in the different realms, summaries of other sections of the text, introduction of the frame story, and so forth.

Chapter 2 of the *Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* is called the Inner Chapter (*Adhyātma-nāma dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ*), since *adhy-ātman* indicates 'belonging to the self or person,' as Apte defines it. The Chapter is divided into seven sections (in 180 verses, and 115 pages of Sanskrit in the Sarnath edition), called long or great explanations (*mahā-uddeśas*): 1) The Origination of the Body, Speech, and Mind, and the Investigation of the Four Noble Truths (*kāya-vāk-citta-utpatti-catur-ārya-*



*sarya-nirṇaya-mahoddeśaḥ*),<sup>7</sup> 2) The Truth of Origination etc. (*samudaya-sarya-ūdi-mahoddeśaḥ*),<sup>8</sup> 3) The Battle Between the Cakravartin and the Barbarians, the Tantric Clans of the *Kālacakra*, and the Origination of the Clans of the *Nāḍīs* (*cakra-vartimleccha-yuddha-kālacakra-kula-tantra-nāḍī-kula-utpatti-mahoddeśaḥ*),<sup>9</sup> 4) The Signs of Untimely Death and the Severance of the Channels (*ariṣṭa-maraṇa-lakṣaṇa-nāḍī-ccheda-mahoddeśaḥ*),<sup>10</sup> 5) The Characteristics of the Moments and the Rule about the Wheel of Time (*kṣaṇa-lakṣaṇa-kāla-cakra-niyama-mahoddeśaḥ*);<sup>11</sup> 6) Elixirs etc. and Midwifery (*rasāyana-ūdi-bāla-tantra-mahoddeśaḥ*);<sup>12</sup> 7) Our Philosophies, Logics, and Investigations, and Those of Others (*sva-para--darśana-nyāya-vicāra-mahoddeśaḥ*).<sup>13</sup>

This chapter has extensive discussion of the anatomy of the subtle body with an intriguing doctrine of embryology based on Tantric ideas that includes a mapping of Viṣṇu's ten incarnations to ten stages in the growth of the fetus and the young child. These incarnations include Kalkin Buddha as one, another probable indication of a late date for this text. This is followed by a highly specific mapping of the external cosmos and universal time coordinates to the initiate's body. The section on Elixirs etc. contains detailed recipes for mixing medicinal incenses and perfumes, using a wide variety of roots and herbs, fruits, distillations from flowers, etc. The premise is given in the first verse of the section: "Firstly, a *mantrin* should preserve the entire body of the *Jina* (i.e. their own Buddha-body) for the sake of *siddhis*. In the absence of the body, neither a *siddhi* nor supreme bliss is attained in this life. Hence for the sake of the body's well-being one should practice the *Yoga* of the channels every day."<sup>14</sup>

The third chapter of the *Kālacakra* is the Initiation or Consecration Chapter (*Abhiṣeko nāma tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ*, in 203 verses and 148 Sanskrit pages in the Sarnath edition). It is divided into six *mahoddeśas*: 1) The characteristics of the detailed practice, all the [ritual] actions, the Tantric teacher, etc. (*vajrācārya-ādi-sarva-karma-prasara-sādhana-lakṣaṇa-mahoddeśaḥ*), 2) The Summary of the stages etc. preceded by the protection *cakra* (*rakṣā-cakra-pūrvaṅgama-bhūmyādi-saṅgraha-mahoddeśaḥ*), 3) The Turning of the *Maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-vartanaṃ nama mahoddeśaḥ*), 4) Consecration in the *Maṇḍala* (*maṇḍala-abhiṣeka-mahoddeśaḥ*), 5) The Establishment (of the deities), the Procedure for the *Gaṇa-Cakra*, and the Practice of Yoga (*pratiṣṭhā-gaṇa-cakra-vidhi-yoga-caryā-mahoddeśaḥ*), 6) The Procedures for Looking at the Consort, of Leaving the *Maṇḍala* behind, and the Enjoyment by the *Vītra* (*mudrā-dṛṣṭi-maṇḍala-visarjana-vītra-bhojya-vidhi-mahoddeśaḥ*). The Sarnath editors' provide a brief summary of the chapter, indicating a variety of magical rites, visualization of deities, drawing of the *maṇḍala*, and so forth. Although I have not read through this chapter in detail, a quick scan of some of the material indicates that the initiation rites involve the practice of sexual Yogas; *gaṇa-cakra* is the term used throughout the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantras to refer to the group sexual rites. The pot-initiation (*kalaśa-abhiṣeka*) is included as part of the *uttara-abhiṣekas*. Skimming various sections of this chapter indicates that much of the material bears a strong resemblance to the initiation rites described in the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* in Chapter 9.3.1 of this dissertation.

The fourth chapter is the *Sādhana* Chapter (*Sāghanā nāma caturthaḥ paṭalaḥ*),

i.e the chapter on the Tantric Practices (in 234 verses and 101 pages in the Sarnath edition), divided into five sections: 1) The Place [for meditation], [confession of] Sins, Teachings, etc. (*sthāna-rakṣā-pāpa-deśanādi-mahoddeśaḥ*), 2) Generation of the (Buddha-) Body in the Creation Stage (*utpatti-krameṇa kāya-niṣpatti-mahoddeśaḥ*), 3) Generation of the Life Breaths and Deities (*prāṇa-devatā-utpāda-mahoddeśaḥ*), 4) The Completion Stage Practices (*utpanna-rkama-sādhana-mahoddeśaḥ*), 5) The Various Practices (*nānā-sādhana-mahoddeśaḥ*). I have translated some short sections from this chapter in Chapter 8.6.2 of this dissertation, though I have not had the chance to read it carefully. The Sarnath editors indicate that four types of meditation are discussed in the completion stage, and a variety of *sādhana*s are given.

The Sanskrit text of the fifth chapter is called the *Jñāna-pāṭalaḥ*, most simply translated as the Intuition Chapter. It is divided into four main sections, or *Mahā-uddeśaḥ*: 1) The great teaching on the Emanation (according to) the *Yoginī Tantras* etc. (*Yoginītantra-ādi-spharaṇa-mahoddeśaḥ*); 2) The great teaching on the Explanation of the Purification of the Four Bodies, etc. (*Catuḥ-kāya-ādi-śuddhi-nirṇaya-mahoddeśaḥ*); 3) The great teaching called the Perfection of Knowledge of the Supremely Indestructible (*Parama-akṣara-jñāna-siddhir nāma mahoddeśaḥ*); 4) The great teaching for the Initiate on the Various Methods (*Nāna-upāya-vineya-mahoddeśaḥ*). Many portions of the text are abstruse, involving as they do complicated meditations using advanced *bīja-mantra-śāstra*, detailed astronomical and astrological information, or specific recipes for alchemical compounds. This material does not make easy reading. The most interesting portion of the chapter is

Puṇḍarīka's 40 page comment on verse 5.127, where he lays out a long and complicated argument for the monastic version of Tantric yoga, complete with a wide variety of critiques of religious practices from his day. This is very illuminating material, so I have included a complete English translation of this section in Chapter 13. Chapter 11 provides an English translation of the first *mahoddeśaḥ* of chapter 5, and Chapter 12 gives the second *mahoddeśaḥ*, along with a portion of the fourth *mahoddeśaḥ* on the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. Although I have translated the full chapter and commentary, in discussions with Prof. Thurman we decided that including the full translation with the dissertation would simply be too unwieldy, as the full translation and footnotes totals 510 pages. Since I have covered most of the contents of the fifth chapter in discussions in Chapters 7-9 of this dissertation, I will not try to summarize all that material again here. Rather I will concentrate in this chapter on the difficult issue of trying to determine the temporal and geographic locus for the origin of the *Kālacakratantra*.

### 10.1. Canonical Dating of the Text

In examining the issue of dating the *Kālacakratantra* we are faced with some very interesting problems. One is the tradition's own explanation of the history of its source material. The traditional, canonical account is that Śākyamuni Buddha taught the *Kālacakra* at Śrīdhānyakaṭaka at the request of Sucandra, and Sucandra wrote the teaching down as the 12,000 verse *mūlatantra*. Śāstrī gives a short extract from one of the surviving commentaries on the *Sekoddeśa* in a Sanskrit manuscript of the early 13th century in the Asiatic Society of Bengal library, the *Sekoddeśa-ṭippantī* by

*Sādhuputra Śrīdharānanda*, that provides a version of the explanation for the original teaching of the *Kālacakra*:

*Om* homage to the glorious *Kālacakra*. The mother of universal form seemingly consists of spotless void. And the lord's body is filled with a hundred juices of non-duality. With this form he engenders the lineage of the Victors. Homage to that [form] with oblations purified by the orgasmic yoga. Honoring the lotus feet of the *Guru*, I wrote [this] commentary on the *Sekodeśa* for [the purpose of] recollection, through his grace. Here, indeed, the *Bhagavān Śākyasiṃha*, solicited by those desiring to listen to the various *Tantras* at the great *caitya* of *Śrīdhānya* [*kaṭaka*], taught the great vehicle of the *mantras*. There king *Sucandra*, the emanated body of the lord of the ten stages, the great *bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi* asked the lord for the great *Tantra* of the twelve-thousand verses, the *Paramādibuddha*. Hence the lord's prophecy: In the system of the perfection [of wisdom], the *mahābodhi* abides in the *bodhi*; the place of instruction is restricted to the great mountain, *Ḡdhṛakūṭa* (Vulture Peak). The Glorious Dharma realm is the place described in the Great Mantra system; the world-realm etc. are in the awakened minds of the Buddhas dwelling in the three worlds. The instruction about the [mantra]-kalpas, the *Dhāraṇī* at the end of the *Vaibhāṣika sūtra*, that is not said to be the only abode of the Buddhas since it is the resort of Middle beings. Even on Vulture Peak Maitreya [follows] the Perfection of Wisdom system. The Buddha will teach the pure Mantra system in *Śrīdhānya*. So, in accordance with the Buddha's statement, there [occurred] the teaching of the Mantra system in *Śrīdhānya*. And in other places, with the intention of generating confidence in that [system], the great Bodhisattva Lord of the ten stages, or some other *Samḡtikāra* [reciter] taught that teaching there in detail... [Colophon:] Whatever benefit may be obtained by my writing this commentary on the *Sekodeśa*, may it serve as an ointment to the feet of *Vajrasattva*. Hence the Commentary on the *Sekodeśa* is completed. [Post colophon:] This was written by *Sādhuputrapaṇḍita* of *Śrīdharānanda*.<sup>15</sup>

The tradition then holds that in the region of *Sambhala* (or *Śambhala* as it is frequently written), King *Yaśas*, an emanation of *Mañjuśrī* known as *Kalkin*, seventh in the lineage of kings following *Sucandra*, and ruler of a town called *Kalāpagrāma*, wrote the *Laghukālacakratantra* in 1030 verses. His son, *Puṇḍarīka*, wrote the

*Vimalaprabhā* commentary.<sup>16</sup> As the colophon states at the end of the fifth chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā*, at the end of the *Laghukalacakratantra* states:

I, the son of this Yaśas, (an emanation of) Mañjuvajra, the king Śrī Kalkin, [and] king here in *Śrīkalāpa*, explicated this Tantra in five chapters from the *Ādibuddha*, with a mind delighted by what was explained by the completely awakened one, and urged on by *Śrīyaśas*. Whatever merit is obtained, blazing with great understanding, from the gift of Puṇḍarīka (who) has written the commentary on the *Tantrarāja* (by) following the footprint left by the blazing lightning bolt of the glorious root *Tantra*, may the entire world thereby become completely awakened, and obtain the path of the lightning bolt possessor.<sup>17</sup>

This then provides what Western scholars would typically consider the 'mythic' basis of the text. I must however point out that this sort of origin explanation for the text involves reference to subtle levels of reality whose existence is perfectly consonant with the other doctrines taught in the Tantras themselves. These claims however pose challenges to the epistemological categories of Western scholars, particularly in terms of the dominant scientifically colored world view in the West. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama provides a more recent explanation of the Buddhist canonical view of the source of the text that links its more subtle plane origins to demonstrable historical tradition. The texts are said to have been taught by Buddha in a mystical manifestation to disciples in a mystical state, so, His Holiness, explains, "it does not matter much whether any specific Tantra in question was expounded during the life of the historical Buddha. Yet, in fact, the *Root Tantra (Mula Tantra)* of the Kalachakra was set forth by the Buddha during his life." The tradition holds that Buddha's first disciple was King Chandrabhadra, who wrote a commentary on the root Tantra, followed in the lineage by Mañjuśrīkīrti and his son Puṇḍarīka, who wrote the *Laghu*

*Tantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, respectively. A tenth-century monk Chilupa, is said to have received the teaching from Mañjuśrī, and have passed it on through a series of teachers (Ācārya, Kālacakrapāda Senior and Junior, Mañjukīrti of Nālandā, Sang Gye Yeshe of Tibet, Samanta Śrībhadra of Nepal, and Ra Chorab, the 12th century Tibetan Yogi, Ra Yeshe Seng Gye, and eventually Bu Ston (14th century). "Thus the lineage has been passed from generation to generation until the present day. I, myself, received the initiations and the transmission of teachings on the creation and completion stages from my Vajra teacher Kyabje Ling Dorje Chang, the Ninety-Seventh Patriarch to Tsong kha pa's Throne. I received the transmission of the *Commentary to the Root Tantra* from Serkhong Tukse Rinpoche.<sup>18</sup> The preceding neatly summarizes the historical view of His Holiness' tradition, the surviving tradition of *Kālacakra* practice. Newman, in his thesis chapter on "The History of Kālacakra in India," cites the *Vimalaprabhā*'s explanation that the Buddha taught the *Kālacakra* at Dhānyakaṭaka, "the site of a huge marble stupa [once] located at what is now the village of Amaravati in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh."<sup>19</sup> (The stupa was destroyed in the early 19th century for building materials.) Further on Newman tells us "According to the Kālacakra tradition, the Kālacakra Tantra was taken from Dhānyakataka to Sambhala by Sucandra, the Dharma King of Sambhala."<sup>20</sup> Newman's explanation would then provide us with an original geographic locale for the teaching of the *Ādibuddha* text, though one would have to accept the timing of the original teaching and its author on faith.

Tucci for one did not consider the idea that Śākyamuni Buddha taught the

original *Kālacakra* to be a reasonable one: "It is evidently a pious tale, without the least historical foundation, that the *Kālacakra* 'the wheel of time' was revealed by the Buddha twelve months after his enlightenment, in the *mc'od rten* of Dhānyakāṭaka, which, for the occasion, became dilated until it assumed the proportions of the universe, symbolized by every stūpa."<sup>21</sup> The more interesting historical problem for Western epistemologies starts with the idea that Chilupa received the teaching in the 10th century CE from an incarnation of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who had brought the teaching from Śambhalā. The Dalai Lama writes that the historical Buddha taught the *Kālacakratantra*, "in mystical manifestation to those in a mystical state of purified karma and perfection." What is problematic is that no one has ever managed to identify the location, or historical existence of Śambhala, so it is difficult to account for the existence of the text between the time of Śākyamuni and the late 10th century. Edwin Bernbaum's intriguing study of the Tibetan guidebooks to Śambhala<sup>22</sup> aptly illustrates the elusive character of the kingdom, and Monier-Williams' identification (in his dictionary) of Śambhala as a town located between the Rathaprā and Ganges does little to clarify the matter. As Bernbaum's work makes clear, Śambhala fits easily into the Western epistemological category of a myth. The problem for interpretation, however, is that this easy fit is deceptive. As His Holiness' explanation illustrates, and the texts of the *Kālacakra* tradition confirm, the adherents of the *Kālacakra* tradition consider Śambhala quite real, not mythic, just not normally accessible to the perception of the unenlightened individual. The tricky magical elements in the guidebooks Bernbaum discusses illustrate that unless the individual



attempting to follow the guidebook has the proper level of Yogic/Tantric insight functioning, he/she will not understand the clues given, and will lose their way.

On the other hand, we need not necessarily take the "confessional" view, simply accept the tradition's historical explanation, and cease historical inquiry along the lines of traditional Western scholarship. Nor need we necessarily assume that in pursuing a traditional Western historical analysis we must *a priori* posit Śambhala as mythic. I would disagree with Jackson's suggestion that traditional and contemporary scholarly versions of the history of Buddhism must remain "perhaps irrevocably opposed."<sup>23</sup> As far as the historicity of the *Kālacakratantra* goes, the most intellectually honest and rigorous approach is to recognize the competing claims of the traditional Buddhist history, the standard Western historical assumptions, and then pursue the inquiry with an open mind, and see what the evidence shows. As Jackson himself says in discussing the relationship of subtle body yogas in deity yoga, "The chakras, channels, winds, and drops are not believed to be equivalent to processes known to Western physiology, but to be the subtler basis of those processes. Thus, Tantric theory does not contradict the scientific view of the body so much as it supplements it."<sup>24</sup> Whether Jackson is correct remains to be seen, yet we need to at least consider applying the logic of his point to our historical inquiry: the traditional Buddhist and contemporary scholarly historical approaches may also turn out to be somehow complementary. The real issue revolves around how we will define 'the *Kālacakra*.' Was the 'teaching' the Buddha gave exactly the same as the *words* of the text as we still have it? Or was it the case that the 'teaching' existed in an oral form

for centuries, and then took on a specific form of presentation and argument at the time it was finally written down? Or is the Buddha ‘still’ teaching at Dhanyakaṭaka in some other dimension that intersects with this one, so that he could be giving the original teaching of the *Kālacakra* right now? These are some of the issues raised by the Tantric epistemologies that we have to consider *as part of the tradition we are studying*. I also raise these questions here because the historical evidence I have uncovered using the modern epistemology of historical dating provides strong evidence that the *Kālacakra* text as we now have it came from a specific time and place in India, and from a specific doctrinal context. While I would not definitively claim to have located Śambhala, since we don’t know the borders of the region, we have pretty strong evidence for the location of Kalāpa, and Kalāpa is said by the text to be in Śambhala.

## 10.2. A Modern Epistemological Approach to Dating the Text

So we have the statement by the text itself, and the assertion by Tibetan scholars (including the Dalai Lama) that all the Buddhist *Tantras*, including the *Kālacakratantra* itself, were in fact spoken by Śākyamuni Buddha. While this may well be true in some trans-temporal dimensional sense, as modern scholars we are obliged to carefully examine the linear historical developments of the Tantric tradition and attempt to place texts within that sequence. There are several lines of evidence that point rather strongly towards the conclusion that the text of the *Kālacakra Mūla Tantra*, *Laghukālacakratantra*, and Puṇḍarīka’s commentary (*Vimalaprabhā*) date from the late first millennium CE, quite probably late 10th century or early 11th

century, and may very well have been produced by Kaśmīri writers.

### 10.2.1. Relative Date of the *Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā*

One fairly reliable *relative* dating scheme is the notice of quotations in the *Vimalaprabhā* from earlier Buddhist Tantric sources. Puṇḍarīka cites the *Guhyasamājantra*<sup>25</sup> and *Pradīpodyotana*,<sup>26</sup> the *Hevajatantra*,<sup>27</sup> the *Cakrasaṃvara*,<sup>28</sup> and a gives a large number of citations from the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, particularly in his long comment to *Kālacakratāntra* 5.127 (see Chapter 13 of this dissertation). At one point in his commentary to KCT 5.41 Puṇḍarīka remarks, "Just as the constituent elements become the basis for the child's *prāṇa*, so they are perfected externally, as well as in the supreme. Thus the rule for complete purification in the [*Guhya*]-*samāja*, the *Māyājāla*, the *Tricakrasaṃvara*, and the *Ṣaṭcakrasaṃvara*. In these *Tantras* the leader is either in the sun because of lacking the properties of form and aggregates; or in the wisdom *dharma*, in the moon, because of having the property of form."<sup>29</sup> So we have a fairly reliable basis for saying that the *Vimalaprabhā* was written after the appearance of these earlier texts. Snellgrove makes a similar point in his work on the *Hevajra Tantra*, noting quotations from *Hevajatantra* in *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*, *Dohākośa*, *Sekoddeśaṭkā*--indicating that they all postdate the *Hevajra*.<sup>30</sup> While the quotations in the *Vimalaprabhā* from the other Buddhist *Tantras* do not give us absolute dating information, they do certainly indicate that the *Vimalaprabhā* post-dates those texts.

### 10.2.2. Reference to the Erotic Tradition

We find in the third chapter of the text the admonition that for the sake of

performing Tantric worship, it is incumbent upon the Yogin to learn the *Kāmasāstra* since this text is a reservoir of all sorts of useful information. (*Pūjārthaṃ Kāmasāstraṃ bahu-guṇa-nilayaṃ yoginā veditavyaṃ*). Puṇḍarīka glosses the text as *laukika-siddhi-arthaṃ*, i.e. for the sake of worldly success.<sup>31</sup> We know that Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* was written about the end of the third century CE, "the first complete work dealing with the science of erotics,"<sup>32</sup> marking the high point of a long tradition of erotic literature (*Kāmasāstra*) in India. Though people were certainly making love and writing about it long before Vātsyāyana, the tradition of *Kāmasāstra* as a literary genre in Sanskrit really begins with him at the end of the third century. Vātsyāyana did consult "ancient sex manuals" himself,<sup>33</sup> so that the tradition of erotics undoubtedly predates him, just as the tradition of Yoga practice predates Patañjali's *Yoga Sūtras*, and the tradition of medicine predates the *Carakasamhitā* and the *Suśrutasamhitā*. Yet we do not find many references in Sanskrit literature to *Kāmasāstra* as a genre until after Vātsyāyana. So, unless we take the Ādibuddha's words as prophecy, it is difficult to explain the admonition of the *Laghukālacakrantra* text that the initiate should study *Kāmasāstra* unless the text post-dates the late third century. On the other hand, one of Vātsyāyana's sources was the writings (now lost) of the *Upaniṣad* figure Auddālikī Śvetaketu, whom Vātsyāyana credits with being the founder of Erotics or Sexology. Bhattacharyya has noted a passage at *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* 6.4.4. that mentions Udālaka Āruṇi (Śvetaketu's father) as a teacher of the erotic arts, and the *Mahābhārata* also mentions Śvetaketu as a figure in the tradition of erotic arts.<sup>34</sup> So it is evident that the tradition of

*Kāmasāstra* dates to ancient times, and therefore this reference in the *Kālacakra* can by no means give us solid dating information.

### 10.2.3. Evidence that the *Kālacakra* is Post 7th Century CE

We find in the *Kālacakra Tantra* a remarkably accurate discussion of the Muslim religion, one that of course did not exist until the 7th century CE, along with what sounds like a first-hand description of some of the ravages of the invading Persian armies in North India. Indeed, the first chapter of the *Kālacakra* is chock full of details on how to build successful fortifications and defensive weaponry, with all sorts of gory details on how various killing devices work. As an article of faith one may choose to believe, as the text presents it, that Buddha foresaw all these events, and predicted them accurately. However, we find that this literary device, of placing accurate historical information in the mouth of the Buddha as textual source, was commonplace in Buddhist scriptures for many centuries leading up to the appearance of the KCT. K.P. Jayaswal has completed an important, though little noticed study of the historical section of the *Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa* (AMMK). This 1005 verse section (the fifty-third chapter of the text), the *Rājavyākaraṇa-parivarta*, the Chapter on the Detailed Exposition, or Prophecy,<sup>35</sup> about the Kings, provides an imperial history of India from 78 CE to c. 750 CE, written from a Gauḍa point of view and so paying special attention to historical events in the larger Bengal region (including Magadha). As became commonplace with a number of Mahāyāna sūtras (and as was done with the KCT), though, the "history is put in the prophetic style in the mouth of the Buddha, who undertakes to narrate the future vicissitudes of his Doctrine and

Church, and in that connection royal history is dealt with." As Jayaswal notes, "in many places the writer of the MMK forgot to use the future tense and used the legitimate past tense in the narration."<sup>36</sup> Hsuan Tsang has noted the keeping of annual political records by various kingdoms in India in the 7th century, and according to Jayaswal, the author of the MMK certainly used such material in preparing his 53rd chapter, in addition to the canonical histories of Buddhism.<sup>37</sup> One further point might reinforce the evidence that the *Kālacakra/Vimalaprabhā* post-dates the 7th century. In the description of the emanation of the Wisdom Tantras (*prajñā-tantra-spharaṇam*) in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra*, Puṇḍarīka maps four Buddhist Tantric goddesses to four of the *pañcamahābhūtas*: "So, through the influence of the black color/syllable, the *Vajradākinī* is the wind constituent; from the color red, *Lāmā* from the fire constituent; [13.15] from the yellow color, *Khaṇḍarohā* the earth constituent; from the white principal color, *Rūpiṇī*, the water constituent."<sup>38</sup> *Lāmā* is not a Sanskrit word. The closest word in Sanskrit is *Lamakaḥ* = a lover. This is possibly, though not necessarily, a transliteration from Tibetan, apparently coming back into Sanskrit through the Prākritis, supporting a dating of at least this portion of the commentary from post 7th century CE, after the beginning of the Tibetan translation phase of Buddhism--a return influence, as it were. By the 12th century *Lāmā* had apparently become a popularly known *dākinī*--Hemacandra lists her in his *Deśīnāmamālā*, his dictionary of Prākritic words.<sup>39</sup> Finally, Chapter 5 of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* verses (5.97) refers to The Arisen Dharmā as continually communicating the true Dharma to those living in the three worlds, including "To animals, spirits, and

demons, to serpents, gods, and men, to Indians and Tibetans, etc."<sup>40</sup> Since Buddhism was not accepted in Tibet until the seventh century CE, we either date the text to the seventh century at the earliest, or explain this reference as a hopeful prophecy.

#### 10.2.4. The *Karaṇa* and *Rasāyana* Literature

As is evident from the commentary just preceding KCT 1.26, concurrent with the onset of the barbarian *dharma* in India is the destruction of astronomical textbooks (*jyotiṣa-siddhānta-vināśaḥ*) and the introduction of the shorter astronomical books (*laghu-karaṇa-pravṛttir*). Pingree explains that "*Karaṇas* outside of South India are distinguished from *siddhāntas* by their emphasis on pragmatic rules for computing and their avoidance of astronomical theory. One way in which this practical bent in most obviously manifested is by the elimination of reliance on the theory of the Kalpa or of the Mahāyuga in determining the mean motions of the planets; their mean longitudes are rather computed from their positions at a given epoch close in time to the date of the composition of the *karaṇa*, and the longitudes of the planets' apogees and nodes (except for the Moon's) are considered to be fixed." Pingree also describes "an abbreviated *karaṇa*, dealing almost exclusively with calendric matters, spherical trigonometry, and the computation of the positions of the planets ... the *Dhyānagrahopādhyāya*."<sup>41</sup> A *laghu-karaṇa* is probably 'an abbreviated' *karaṇa*. Puṇḍarīka informs us that *sphuṭa* = 'corrected,' and that the term is used ironically, like a mother's phony promise of candy in order to distract her children.<sup>42</sup>

Pingree informs us furthermore that the earliest *karaṇa* we have (*Sūryasiddhānta*) dates from 505 CE, and that before the date of the *Khaṇḍakhādya*

(665 CE) "both *karaṇas* and *siddhāntas* bore the latter designation."<sup>43</sup> The fact that *karaṇas* are referred to in KCT 1.26 strongly suggests that the root *Laghukālacakratantra* cannot have been composed until mid-7th century at the earliest; otherwise how do we reasonably explain the reference in KCT verse 1.26 to a specialized type of astronomical text that did not exist prior to the seventh century CE?<sup>44</sup> One can always argue for interpolations, of course, and assert that this verse is a later addition to the text--although Puṇḍarīka does comment on it. A similar dating conclusion can be drawn from the citation in the *Rasāyana* or Alchemical Section of the fifth chapter from the *Rasahṛdayaḥ*, a surviving Śaivite alchemical Tantra. The general consensus of historians of medicine in India is that the alchemical Tantras did not appear until after the 8th century. Among these many texts is the *Rasahṛdaya Tantra*. The *Laghukālacakra* cites this text in one of the explanations of use of mercury as a catalyst for processing metals:

5.211: This catalyst, [equal to] an eighth portion of the mercury, is for the purpose of liquification<sup>45</sup> of the metals, [135.20] Suspended in a bag over steaming heat<sup>46</sup> for eight nights, one should cause liquefaction just as is described in the *Rasahṛdaya [tantra]*,| From the decoction<sup>47</sup> an intensification and an impurity is produced; this is powerful, pulverized, and calcined,<sup>48</sup> When each individual metal has liquified, [it] should have the form of the sun and the moon [and] should color all the metals.<sup>49</sup>

The *Rasahṛdayatantra* was written in the 9th century by Govinda Bhagavatpāda, and apparently served as the model for the 12th century *Rasārṇavatantra*.<sup>50</sup> Since *rasahṛdaya* does not appear to have a technical meaning in the context of specific processing techniques of mercury, I have taken it here as the name of the *tantra*, with *-gata* loosely translated as 'described in,' and taking *yāvat eva* as 'just as.' This may



be debatable, yet the translation certainly makes sense in this context, and if accurate would constitute evidence that at least this verse of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* postdates the 9th century. Even if we read it differently, as "until it becomes the heart of the *rasa*," without reading as a reference to the *Rasahṛdayatantra*, we can still use the *Rasāyana* section of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* for dating the text. Alchemy of the type we read about in this fifth chapter did not appear as a developed science in India until the late 8th century, and the surviving texts are largely the Śaivite *Rasāyana Tantras*. Its appearance as a distinct discipline is roughly synchronic with the appearance of the major Tantras as written documents with commentaries, and several of the famed Buddhist Tantric *siddhas* are also said to have been alchemists. As discussed in Chapter 7.6, the Tantric alchemical material has a distinctly different character than the *Rasāyana* of the early medical tradition, and we do not find it much in evidence prior to the 8th century. As such, it would be very difficult to explain the extremely detailed thirty-verse, thirteen-page section on Alchemy in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratāntra* (verses 5.201-5.231, pp. 131-144 of the Sarnath edition) as dating from any time other than the 8th-9th centuries or later.

#### **10.2.5. Evidence From the Manuscripts that the *Kālacakra* Dates from the 10th-11th centuries**

Naudou identifies Kālacakrapāda Senior with Tilopa (a.k.a. Cilupa, or Tailikapāda in Sanskrit)--a *kṣatriya* from Madhyadeśa, and worshipper of Tārā, thereby explaining how Nāropa is known as the disciple of Kālacakrapāda Senior. He

identifies Piṇḍopa as Kālacakrapāda Junior, though other traditions in Tibet identify Nāropa as Kālacakrapāda Junior.<sup>51</sup> Gyi Jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer was the Tibetan translator who worked with Bhadrabodhi (Nāropa's student) to accomplish the first Tibetan translation of the *Kālacakratantra* in 1027 CE.<sup>52</sup>

Orofino gives a very helpful and lucid discussion of the lineages of the *Kālacakra* tradition as reported by Tibetan historians, with some evidence that the text may have originated either in the northwest of India, or in the Orissa/Bengal region, with the earliest teachers probably having lived in the 11th, and possibly the 10th century.<sup>53</sup> The Sanskrit manuscript that served as the principal basis for the Sarnath edition is part of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's manuscript collection in Calcutta. Haraprasād Śāstrī provided excerpts from this manuscript in his 1917 Catalogue, and it is the only surviving manuscript that includes the (virtually) complete text of the fifth chapter *Vimalaprabhā*. The palm leaf ms. is written in "Bengali characters of the late part of the 10th century A.D.,"<sup>54</sup> and the post colophon indicates that it dates from the 29th day of Āṣāḍha (June-July) of the motion of the Sun, the 39th year at the feet of the great supreme king, the glorious *Harivarmadeva*. Śāstrī notes that "the present Ms. was copied on the 29th day of Āṣāḍha in the 39th year of Harivarmadeva, King of Bengal, whose minister's Praśasti is to be found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. He is said to have reigned during the last half of the 10th century A.D."<sup>55</sup>

The post colophon, in the hand of a different writer, ends with an odd little verse: "In the forty-sixth year of *Harivarman*, | On the seventh day of the dark half

of Māgha (January-February), when the eleventh day had passed, With a corpse,<sup>56</sup> a *Cuñcaṭukā*,<sup>57</sup> with a virgin, during a dream, by sight (visualization); Taking the little finger, this was recited by request, On the bank of the Venga river in the northern and eastern direction, | Five times by the reciter,<sup>58</sup> over seven years." The indication here is that during the ensuing seven years after the text was written down in the form of the surviving manuscript, it was recited five times on the bank of the river. The obscure references to a corpse, a low caste woman, a virgin, and dream and visualization meditations suggest that the text was probably both recited and the Tantric Yogas prescribed therein were also practiced. In addition to adding another location to our list of places where Tantric Yoga was practiced (as discussed in Chapter 7), this post-colophon suggests that the single surviving complete Sanskrit manuscript that we have was in the possession of an out-of-doors practitioner for seven years in the latter part of the 10th century, and has somehow survived intact for 900 years afterwards--quite a remarkable occurrence. Śāstrī notes that the river Veng is in 'Jessore,' though I've not yet managed to find that location in India.<sup>59</sup>

### 10.3. Identifying the Geographic Source of the *Kālacakra*

In this section we will take a look at the *Kālacakratāntra*'s own account of its geographic origins, coupled as they are with evidently idealized iconographic depictions. Some of the place names and people mentioned by the text suggest the possibility that the *Kālacakra* may well have originated from the Kaśmīri region. Given that these hints come from the text itself, rather than the later commentarial tradition, they tend--at least in my mind--to have a bit more weight.

### 10.3.1. The Text's Account of Its Locale

Puṇḍarīka himself tells us the story of the origin of the *Kālackaratantra*, complete with geographical detail and family lineage. In the propitiatory/summatory verses at the beginning of the first chapter of the text we find the line: "The short Tantra that was explained with the Master of the Secret's ten powers, according to what was spoken by the Primordial Buddha; That is this Short *Kālacakratnatra*, entirely communicated by Mañjuśrī to the sages in Kalāpa."<sup>60</sup> The question is, is Kalāpa a real location? I contend that the mention of where the Tantra was spoken--in Kalāpa, or Kalāpagrāma, the village of Kalāpa, is not incidental. In the third brief account (*Uddeśa*) of the first chapter, explaining the salutatory verses at the beginning of the Tantra, Puṇḍarīka goes into some detail about the geography. I have retranslated the passage, making some minor corrections to Newman's translation.

South of the village of Kalāpa there is a royal garden of sandalwood trees. It extends for twelve *yojanas*, as does the village of Kalāpa. East of that (grove) is a lake that is similarly<sup>61</sup> matching the size of Kalāpagrāma of twelve *yojanas* extent; to the west (of the grove) is a lake of white lotuses (*puṇḍarīka-saram*) of that same measure. In between those two [lakes] is the royal garden of sandalwood trees. In the middle of the sandalwood grove is the Bhagavāna Kālacakra's *maṇḍala* circle, consisting of male and female deities sculpted from the five jewels, square, and extending for four hundred cubits. Outside [of it] is the body *maṇḍala*, square, with four doors, adorned with four pillars and eight cremation grounds, and enclosed by five walls. On the outside [of the walls] it is adorned with the four encirclements of the earth etc., and with a row of *vajras*. The circumference<sup>62</sup> of the row of *vajras* is eight hundred cubits. In the middle, half the size of the body *maṇḍala*, is the square speech *maṇḍala*--square, with four doors, adorned with four pillars, surrounded by five fences. The mind *maṇḍala* is half the size of the speech *maṇḍala*, has four doors, is adorned with four pillars, and surrounded by three enclosures. Half

[the size] of that is the knowledge *maṇḍala*, decorated with sixteen pillars. Half the [size] of this is the eight-petalled lotus. The pericarp is a third part [one third] of the lotus. In this way, the body, speech, and mind *maṇḍalas* are filled with all the qualities, adorned with strings and half-strings of pearls. Filled with jewels, tapestries, pavilions, and Bakula tree blossoms, (The tree is said to blossom when sprinkled with nectar from the mouths of beautiful women--so beautiful women must also be present, discretely) glittering with mirrors, half-moons, (presumably the suggestion of the presence of yogis as counterparts to the beautiful women) and bells."<sup>63</sup>

The preceding is evidently an iconographic-style description of an idealized *maṇḍala*-location. However, it appears to be set in what may have been a real physical location--Kalāpa. We are given a partial date, and a cultural context. It is in the preceding location, at the full moon of *Phalgunā* (February-March) that King Yaśas, who was then king of Kalāpa spoke to the assembled brahmin sages headed up by Sūryaratha.<sup>64</sup> Towards the end of his discourse King Yaśas urges the brahmins on with these words: "Quickly, gentlemen, you must leave the territory of Sambhala, so that all the sentient beings dwelling in the 960 million villages north of the Sītā river, abandoning the bad karmic paths of taking life etc., will obtain, through the governance of the Bhagavān Kālacakra, the path of true knowledge."<sup>65</sup> Again at the end of the fifth chapter the location of King Yaśas in Śrī Kalāpa is again stated explicitly: "You are the Sun in Kalkin's clan, honored by the lord of the earth, [you are] the glorious Yaśas, in Śrī Kalāpa."<sup>66</sup> Again, in the closing lines written by Puṇḍarīka he says: "This Tantra in five chapters was extracted from the *Ādibuddha* by this Mañjuvajra,/ By the king Śrī Kalkin; I, son of this Yaśas, [and] king here in Śrī Kalāpa/With my mind delighted by what was explained by the completely awakened one, and urged on by Śrī Yaśas, wrote a commentary on the *Tantrarāja*,

following the footprints left by the blazing lightning bolt of the glorious root  
Tantra."<sup>67</sup>

From the above evidence we see that Puṇḍarīka was King Yaśas' son, and ascended the throne of Kalāpa after Yaśas. Nearby to Kalāpa flows the river Śītā, and it was the intention of the King that the brahmin sages he converted to this teaching would spread it in the lands north of the Śītā river. When they attempted to go south, to the Āryadeśa, i.e. to India, he brought them back by putting them to sleep, and having local tribesmen bind them up and return them to his palace.<sup>68</sup> This tells us a few things. 1) Kalāpa was either the capital of Sambhala, or the capital of a small kingdom in Sambhala (more likely the former). 2) That it was situated north or in some upper northern section of India proper, and 3) that the river Śītā flowed nearby, forming part of its northern border.

### 10.3.2. Possible Geographic Mapping of the Text's Locale

Newman identifies the Śītā as "the Tarim in Eastern Turkestan."<sup>69</sup> In another note Newman translates Bu ston's comment: "'Śītā' means cool or white: it is much cooler than other rivers, or else it is covered with lines of white bubbles."<sup>70</sup>

Common sense tells us that a river much cooler than others, and covered with white bubbles would be a white-water laced high mountain river, probably one running off of snowbanks or glacier. As it turns out, there is another river that was known as Śītā that runs through Kaśmīr. In his Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, Dey identifies Kalāpagrāma as a village situated in the Himālayas near Badarikāśarāma, a peak about 55 miles northeast of Śrīnagar in Kaśmīr.<sup>71</sup> Dey

provides references from 5 different *Purāṇas* for this identification, and all of these place Kalāpagrāma in the Himālaya mountains near Badrināth or Badrikāsaramah.<sup>72</sup> Nearby to Badrikāsarama flows the river Alakānandā, also known as the river Śītā.<sup>73</sup> The river is the same one that flows through Śrīnagar.<sup>74</sup> The possibility that the Kaśmīri Śītā is the same as the one referred to in the *Kālacakra* is somewhat strengthened by the description of the region left for us by Capt. F.V. Raper in his survey of sources of the Ganges, published in 1818. Going north from Śrīnagar through the Kaśmīr valley, Capt. Raper passed the town and temple of Badrināth a bit more than a quarter mile (two and a half furlongs) distant; then on to Indra Dhārā another mile and a quarter; three quarters of a mile further:

On the opposite side of the *Alacanandā*, is a large town, called *Mānah*, situated at the foot of a mountain, which, by an inclination to the N.W. bounds the valley in its N.E. direction. The hill is composed of rock, and covered with large loose fragments, which seem to threaten destruction to the houses placed at the foot of it. It is called *Calāpa Grām* [Sanskrit: *Kalāpa grāma*]; and, as every rock in this neighborhood is sanctified by some holy tradition, this place is distinguished as the residence of *Surya-Vansi* and *Chandra-Vansi*, the patriarchs of the two races of *Rājputs*. From hence we proceeded along the banks of the *Alacanandā*, in the direction of W.N.W. The breadth of the current is here considerably decreased, not exceeding eighteen or twenty-feet; the stream shallow, and moderately rapid. At the distance of four furlongs [i.e. a half mile], we crossed the river, over a bed of snow, and mounted on the opposite bank, whence we descended into another valley, in which we continued our route, for two or three miles, passing over several deep beds of snow, collected in the cavities of water courses and ravines.<sup>75</sup>

The snowy ravines beyond *Kalāpa Grāma* Raper describes as quite barren and desolate, filled with snow and a sharp piercing wind, giving the appearance and sensation of the depth of winter. The river Alacanandā (the Alakanandā referred to

by Dey, above), also known as the Śītā, he describes as turbid, flowing as it does down out of the mountains and snow. So this river certainly fits the descriptive name of a 'cold' or 'white' river, is also known by the name Śītā, and flows next to a place called Kalāpa, as described in the *Kālacakra* text. *Kalāpagrāma* is also described in Chapter 1 of the *Kālacakra* as surrounded by mountains, exactly the type of location that Raper describes for us. There is no commentary on KCT 1.157 in the Sanskrit. Newman however provides us with Bu ston's comments: "Then, the p[a]lce 'Kalāpa' is the place 'renowned' as the land 'Sambhala' is 'surrounded in the four directions' of that Sambhala 'by mountains,' and 'measures arrow (5) times one hundred leagues.' This five hundred is the measure of the previously mentioned snow mountains on the circumference of Kailāsa.... Some assert it is the measure of Sambhala; some assert it is the measure of the city of Kalapa."<sup>76</sup> So Kalāpa was surrounded by mountains, not by plains, low hills, the ocean, or some other topology. This fits quite well with Raper's description of the Kalāpa of Kaśmīr. Was the Kaśmīri Kalāpa then the setting the writers of the *Kālacakra* chose? We may never know, yet this is apparently the only place in India that goes by the name *Kalāpa grāma*. Like the name Vārāṇasī, Kalāpa appears to be a unique name for a single place in India that has been known for many centuries.

Newman and the Sarnath editors have apparently made an error in the translation of *Makha* that has misled other scholars into believing that the *Kālacakra* may have come from outside of India. Newman translates *Makha* as Mecca in his English version of KCT 1.26 and commentary, and Jagannath Upadhyaya also used



this translation in the Preface to the Sarnath edition of the first two chapters of the *Kālacakra*.<sup>77</sup> Puṇḍarīka cites this verse himself in the fifth chapter of the text:

In this regard, at the time of the primal *Buddha*'s teaching, it was stated by the *Tathāgata* in the World-Realm [*Lokadhātu*] chapter [KCT 1.26] that when, at the proper astrological time, the barbarian *dharma* is produced, the destruction of the doctrines will take place; the *laghukaraṇas* will come into existence on earth, [96.15] and *Mañjuḥoṣa*, after I have been held back for six hundred years, will be [born] in the realm of *Sambhala*, in the *Śākya* clan, as the son of the lord of the gods, in the womb of *Vijayadevī*, *Yaśas* by name, *Kalkin*--as follows: "After six hundred years from the first year, the manifest king *Yaśas* will be born in [the land] called *Sambhala*; after a eight<sup>78</sup> hundred years more [there will be] the beginning of the barbarian *dharma* in the land of *Makha* (India, not Mecca);| At that time, 'corrected' *laghukaraṇa* should be recognized by men on earth, [96.20] There will be destruction of the doctrines on the whole surface of the earth, because of the connection with time. ||"<sup>79</sup> (*Kālacakratāntra* 1.26)<sup>80</sup> *Mañjuḥoṣa* was predicted by the *Tathāgata*. And he, according to the aim of the *Vajrayāna*, will create a single caste (or clan, *kula*) out of the thirty-five million *Brahmarṣis* honoring [king] *Sūryaratha*. Because of that, *Mañjuḥoṣa* will gain the name *Kalkin*, not because of supporting the *Brahma* caste [as in the Hindu mythological explanation].<sup>81</sup>

As Professor Pingree pointed out to me, *Makha* refers to great sacrifices or festivals--it is not a term used in Sanskrit to refer to Mecca. A *makha-vedī* for instance is a sacrificial altar; *makhānna* is a term for sacrificial food, *makhāgni* is the sacrificial fire, *makhakriyā* a sacrificial rite, etc. (see Monier Williams' and Apte's dictionary citations). *Makhaviṣayaḥ* is therefore a name for India--the 'land of sacrifices,' a very apt description. The commentary to KCT 1.26 identifies *Makha* as south of the *Śītā* river and adorned with ten million villages (i.e. a sizeable area) (*śītādakṣiṇe makhaviṣaye koṭi-grāma-vibhūṣite*).<sup>82</sup> This too is an apt ancient name for India still in use--common wisdom has it that India is a country of villages. In this context describing *Makhaviṣaya* as south of the *Śītā* river locates the river north of

India, and not the Tarim as Newman and others have believed. Similarly, then, the *Mleccha-dharma-pravṛtīh*, or ‘beginning of the Barbarian Dharma’ refers to the advent of Islam in India, not in Saudi Arabia. This corrected translation of the passage from the first chapter of the *Kālacakra* then agrees quite well with the geographic identification I have proposed that the Śītā river of the *Kālacakra* text is the river flowing next to *Kalāpagrāma* in the northern section of the Kaśmīr valley. As far as the dates given in KCT 1.26 and commentary, these are I think difficult to be certain of. Prof. Pingree remarked to me that without some clear idea of when the first year was (*ādya-abda*), the date is really not meaningful. Were we to take the first year as c. 450 BCE, and add the 1400 years to this that KCT 1.26 refers to, that would situate the time the text refers to at about 950 CE as the date when the barbarian *dharma* took over in India. The *Kālacakra* reference is rather vague, so we do not have a specific sense of what the authors intended by the notion of the *mleccha-dharma-pravṛttir*, although the detailed information in KCT Chapter 1.128-142 on war machines<sup>83</sup> suggests that the authors were concerned about an invasion.

We know that although Muslim invasions of India began within a few years of A.H. 0 (i.e. 620 CE), they were not successful for over two hundred years. R.C. Majumdar has published a study of these early invasion attempts, noting unsuccessful sallies against the Bombay region (637 CE), Sind (662 CE), and unsuccessful attempts against the frontier post of Kikanan (near Baluchistan) up through the mid-9th century even after the conquest of Sind. The Kabul region was alternately free and ruled by the Muslims through the 7th, and remained largely free during the eighth century until

about the mid-ninth century, as did the region of Zabulistan. As Majumdar concludes, "the long-drawn struggles of the Arabs with these powers [the Zabulistan and Kabulistan mountain peoples] ... mark their steady but fruitless endeavors to enter India through the two great Passes [i.e. the Khyber and Bolan passes]," and he lauds the "heroic deeds of these two great peoples, who defended her gates against Islam for two centuries."<sup>84</sup> Even though the Arabs had conquered Sind, then, they had not advanced into India by the mid 9th century CE, so the *makha-viṣaye mleccha-dharma-pravṛttiḥ* must refer to sometime after the mid-9th century. In fact, it was not until the turn of the 11th century, under Mahmūd of Ghazneh--who came to power in 997 CE--that the Persians began to have success in their repeated invasions of the Panjab. Al-Biruni only came to India because he had been captured in one of Mahmūd's raids of Khwārzim, taken as prisoner to Ghazneh, and given an opportunity to participate in the Panjab campaigns.<sup>85</sup> So it was really not until the 11th century that one could legitimately claim that the *mleccha-dharma* had a *pravṛttiḥ* or beginning in India. So it seems reasonable to locate the reference in KCT 1.26 to the late 10th, early 11th century CE. This is exactly the time when Abhinavagupta was alive (c. 975-1050 CE), and coincides with Orofino's dating of the *Kālacakra* texts: "the period of the composition of this literature in India corresponds to the sexagenary cycle from A.D. 967 to A.D. 1026."<sup>86</sup> As discussed in the opening section of Chapter 6 of this dissertation, the Kaśmīr valley is geographically isolated, and difficult to get into and out of (as Kuṭṭanī's story of leaving the valley by the salt road makes clear). It seems quite plausible to me that educated Buddhists living in Kaśmīr at the close of

the 10th and beginning of 11th century would have been well aware of the Muslim invasions ransacking the Buddhist universities to the south in India, and may have felt something of a siege mentality.

### 10.3.3. Coincidence of Names from the Text With Historical Fact

The possibility that the Kalāpa of the *Kālacakra* text is the same as the Kalāpa of Kaśmīr is supported by a second interesting clue comes from the name of Sucandra's mother: "In the territory of Sambhala, in village of Kalāpa, was born from the womb of Vijayadevī of Sūryaprabhā (the Light of the Sun), the master of the ten stages, Vajrapāṇi, as Sucandra."<sup>87</sup> Vijayā is the name of a district in Kāśmīr, and the pre-Muslim name of Śrīnagar was Sūryanagara--city of the Sun.<sup>88</sup> It seems likely that Vijayādevī of Sūryaprabhā was a venerable lady from the region of Vijayā in Kaśmīr, near the city of Sūryanagara. A third, and perhaps more telling clue that the *Kālacakratāntra* Kalāpa is the same as the Kaśmīr Kalāpa is that there really was a benevolent king called Yaśas who ruled Kaśmīr shortly before the apparent date of the *Vimalaprabhā*. As I discussed in Chapter 6, Yaśas or Yaśakāra (939-948) was the wise and benevolent king elected by an assembly of Brahmans after the reign of the terrible and patricidal Unmattāvanti (937-939 CE), and the short-lived reign of the boy-king Sūravarman II. Yaśaskara was the son of Prabhākaradeva, treasurer to King Śaṅkaravarman. They apparently made a very good choice since Yaśas restored the kingdom of Kaśmīr to rule of law and order, and brought prosperity to the land through a non-corrupt administration and enlightened public works projects.<sup>89</sup> He may have been part of the inspiration for the frame story of the *Kālacakratāntra*.

There is one further possibility that we might consider: Puṇḍarīka's own name; it would not be unlikely that his father might have taken his son's name from the Puṇḍarīka lake to the southwest of Kalāpagrāma [1.26.21]. Especially since the tradition offers no other explanation for the source of Puṇḍarīka's name, I am inclined to think this is the source of it--though this is certainly only speculation. In addition, if we postulate that Puṇḍarīka was in fact a real person, who really did write the *Vimalaprabhā*, then he must have lived somewhere, been the son of someone, and received his name from (most likely) his father. Aside from the propensity of scholars to disavow historical information presented in Sanskrit texts, there is no *apriori* reason not to take Puṇḍarīka at his word--that he was indeed the son of King Yaśas of Kalāpa, in the territory of Sambhala.

One other note, on the name *Sambhala*, is worth making. Monier Williams gives a verb √*sambhal* (*sambhālayati*), to observe well or perceive, or learn, from the *Naiṣadhacaritam*, and a noun *sambhalaḥ* that he says is probably originally *sambharaḥ*, and often found in the variant reading *śambhala*, a term dating from the time of the *Atharvaveda* and referring to a match maker or procurer or suitor, with *sambhalti* indicating a procuress. He lists under *Śambhala* the town of Śambhala (*Śambhalagrāma*), citing the *Mahābhārataḥ*, *Harivaṃśaḥ*, and *Purāṇa* sources, as "fabled to be the place where Kalkin, the last incarnation of Viṣṇu, is to appear in the family of a Brāhman named Viṣṇu-yaśas." This is not all that revealing etymologically, yet does confirm the idea that the *Purāṇa* story of Viṣṇu-yaśas has significant overlaps with the frame story of the *Kālacakra*.

#### 10.3.4. Flaws in the Theory

There are some flaws in the theory of trying to identify the *Kālacakra* Yaśas with the Kaśmīri Yaśas. Yaśas is prophesied to be born 800 years before the advent of the barbarian *dharma* in India. Kalhaṇa makes no mention (in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*) of the king as being particularly fond of Buddhists (some others were), and makes no mention of any of his children. Nor would it particularly make sense to refer to the Kaśmīri King Yaśas as only King of Kalāpagrāma. A *grāma* is after all a village (or a town); the term is typically not used in Sanskrit to designate a city. Within the confines of the argument that Kalāpa of Kaśmīr was the same Kalāpa of the *Kālacakra*, we would have to assume then there was perhaps another, more local ruler of Kalāpa also named Yaśas, or that the *Kālacakra* authors restricted the reference for some other reasons. This is however all speculative, and in any case there is another distinct possibility for the origin of the name Yaśas.

#### 10.4. The *Purāṇa* Options

There is also a curious overlap of several facts from the *Kālacakra* frame story with evidence from the *Purāṇas*. Prof. Pingree has also informed me that the name Yaśas as king in the *Kālacakra* frame story may have some relationship to king Viṣṇu-yaśas in the *Kalkipurāṇa* story. Unless we accept the prophecy arguments, we know that the *Kālacakratantra* and Puṇḍarīka's commentary have to date to after the late Gupta period (c. 4-5th century CE), since Kalkin, one of the important characters in the frame story of the *Kālacakra*, does not appear in Indian literature until that time.<sup>90</sup> Bhandarkar, discussing the Kalkin prophecy in the *Agnipurāṇa* notes that

"there is a prophecy in the *Agni Purāṇa* which represents the White *Yajurveda* as a conquering or triumphant Veda, saying that the only Veda that will prevail in the latter part of the *Kaliyuga* will be the *Vājasenayaka*; all others being lost, and the *purohita* or priest of *Kalkī*, the king that will overthrow the *Mlecchas*, who will have overspread the earth, will be *Yājñyavalkya*."<sup>91</sup> The basic premise of a *Kalkin* coming to overthrow the *Mlecchas* is essentially the same as what we have in the *Kalacakra*, pointing to a shared tradition, though the Buddhist and Hindu texts of course give very different reasons for his arrival. Puṇḍarīka gives us the *Kālacakra* rationale, along with a helpful explanatory etymology of the name *Kalkin*:

*Mañjuḥṣa* was predicted by the *Tathāgata*. And he, according to the aim of the *Vajrayāna*, will create a single clan out of the thirty-five million *Brahmarsis* honoring [king] *Sūryaratha*. Because of that, *Mañjuḥṣa* will gain the name *Kalkin*, not because of supporting the *Brahma* caste [as in the Hindu mythological explanation]. If *Kalkī* is the son of the *brāhmaṇa Yaśas*, [96.25] then by whom in this case is this one *kalkī* [i.e. possessed of dirt]? Without wealth, he possesses wealth. He is called *kalka* [unguent paste like cement, or a tenacious viscous sediment, or a doughy mixture] because he unites the [four] castes with the outcastes,<sup>92</sup> so there is the cement paste, hence the one possessed of the cement paste, not without the cement paste; he in fact is *Kalkī*. Furthermore, at the close of the *yuga*, having seen the extreme *adharmā* on the part of the barbarians, having become rock-like and unshakable, having manifested the endless supreme horses by the perfected meditation of the supreme horse, having by them [by those horses] caused the thoughts of the barbarians to flow into his own *dharma*, he will establish [his own *dharma*]. He will cause the destruction of their *dharma*, not the ending of their lives.<sup>93</sup>

Of course one could argue that such late Gupta mention of *Kalkin* derived from some leakage in the secrecy maintained around an ancient *Kālacakra* text, though this would be more of a doctrinal argument, not something based on demonstrable textual sources. According to Prof. Pingree there is significant

similarities between the Kalkin s'tory as presented in the *Kālacakra* and the *Kalkipurāṇa* tales. It also appears that the *Śiva Purāṇa* may have some of the doctrines of the *Kālacakra* tradition. In the 25th chapter of the *Śivapurāṇa*, Parvatī asks Śiva about the *Kālacakra*, the signs of death, and the extent of life. As Pelissero remarks, "In this context the absolute identity between *kāla* and *mṛtyu* must be kept in mind,"<sup>94</sup> as the techniques involved are designed to divine the time of death of a sick patient by application of the *tithis* (lunar days) to the *granthas* (joints of the hands), and then looking for connecting lines. While I wouldn't hazard a guess on the date of this chapter, the mere presence of such terminology and practice suggests at least a popular correspondence worth exploring, particularly since we find exactly these sort of mappings of time units to the body throughout the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*. I have not however had time to work through all the Purāṇic material to determine the extent of relationship between the *Purāṇas* and the *Tantras*. To the best of my limited knowledge of the Purāṇic material in regard to Tantra, though, it does appear to be the case that the first inclusion of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu comes in the *Nīlamatapurāṇa*, the *Purāṇa* that is local to the Kaśmir region. The text says: " The Lord Viṣṇu, ruler of the world, Oh Brahman, will come into being in the twenty-eighth Kali Yuga as Buddha, teacher to the world. "<sup>95</sup>

The *Purāṇa* also describes the rites for the annual celebration of the Buddha's birthday in Kaśmīr, a syncretistic approach reflecting the centuries of peaceful coexistence of Buddhism and Śaivite creeds in Kaśmīr.<sup>96</sup> Certainly Puṇḍarīka was



aware of this tradition of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, since he cites it in one of his many critiques of Hindu beliefs:

Similarly, the deliberations of the ancients, beginning with the fish and ending with *Kalkin* (i.e. the incarnations of Viṣṇu) are meaningless. This *Buddha Bhagavān* [is said by the *brahmans* to be] the ninth incarnation of *Vāsudeva*, and *Kalkin* the tenth. The *Buddha*, because of the great illusion in the *Kaliyuga*, will by trickery corrupt the sacrificial *dharma*; he will corrupt the combat *dharma*, the rites for the ancestors, the doctrine of the castes, the slaughter [of animals], telling lies....[etc.]<sup>97</sup>

We find the full list of Viṣṇu's incarnations in the sixth verse of the second chapter of the *Kālacakra* as well, recapitulated in the embryo as fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Paraśu Rāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Buddha, and Narendra, indicating that both Puṇḍarīka and the author of the *Laghu* verses were familiar with this doctrine. Indeed, the accepted presence of these incarnations in the *verse* of the second chapter, and Puṇḍarīka's critique of them as meaningless in the fifth chapter, suggest that, as appears elsewhere, Puṇḍarīka was a bit more partisan in his outlook than the *verse* author(s) was. By itself Puṇḍarīka's awareness of this Hindu doctrine of Viṣṇu's incarnations would not say much. However, we have a considerable body of evidence from the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra* that makes it abundantly clear that Puṇḍarīka, the author of the *Laghukālacakra*, and the author of the *Mūla Kālacakra* were all well aware of the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric doctrines, and saw their own doctrines as in competition with these.

#### 10.5. References to the Kaśmīri Śaivite (*Trika*) Doctrines in the *Kālacakra*

One other method of contextualizing a text geographically and historically is to examine the mentions in the text of other doctrines that we can reliably date. In the

case of the *Kālacakratantra* we have a significant amount of evidence from the text indicating synchrony with the Kaśmīr Śaivite Tantric tradition.

### 10.5.1. Mention of Śaivite Tantras

There are a number of passages where the verses of the *Kālacakratantra* and the commentary by Puṇḍarīka refer either directly or obliquely to doctrines that are characteristic of and identifiable as *Trika* doctrines of Abhinavagupta's tradition of Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantra. In three of a set of sixteen verses in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra* that Puṇḍarīka deems so simple that he need not comment,<sup>98</sup> a schema is given for the emergence of various Buddhist and Hindu texts from the multiple faces of Kālacakra Buddha. These verses provide us a window into the relative prominence of the various Buddhist and Hindu orthodox and Tantric traditions at the time the *Kālacakra* was written. The verses are fairly simple in style, so I will just give them here:

5.48: [He expresses] The wisdom *Tantra* certainly from the east; moreover [he speaks] what is saturated with Yoga from the directly opposite face (i.e. the western); The master of Victors speaks the *Yogatantra* from his southern mouth, [and] from his northern mouth [he declares] the *Kriyā[tantra]* etc.,| The *Yogācāra* [texts he utters] from the east, certainly, and from the western mouth [he proclaims] the *madhyaga (Mādhyamaka)* indeed, completely; From his southern mouth he expresses the *Sūtrānta* (i.e. *Sautrāntika* texts), and from the white mouth [he proclaims] the purified *Vaibhāṣika*, also. 5.49: The *Ṛgveda* the Indra of victors articulates from the western face, and [he exclaims] the *Yajur[veda]* from the left mouth; From the southern face [he elaborates] the *Sāma[veda]*, in supreme *Hari*'s clan [he communicates] the *Atharvaṇa* from the eastern face;| From the eastern face [he expresses] the *Kaulatantra*, moreover from the western face [he proclaims] the *Gāruḍa* [and] *Bhūtatantra*. [He declares] the [*Śaiva*] *Siddhānta* from the northern face, [and] the *Viṣṇudharma* [that is] like unto the rising sun [he proclaims] from the southern [face]....5.52: From the east the lord of victors utters the *Sarvāstivāda*, and the

*Sāmmittya* from the right (south); From the rear (west) face [he expresses] the *Sthāvarīyam* (*Sthāviravādins*) on the other hand, the *Mahāsaṅghika* [he emits] from the left (north) face; Humanity from the eastern face, further, from the western face, are expanded the animals, indeed; From the right face the ghosts and *devas*, from the supreme white face the *nārakas* and the *asuras*. ||52||.<sup>99</sup>

These three verses give us strong dating information, unless we revert to the prophecy argument. Kālacakra Buddha speaks the *Prajñātantra*, *Yogatantra*, and *Kriyātantra*, and presumably the *Caryātantra* from four of his faces, along with the *Mādhyamaka* doctrines, the *Yogācāra* doctrines, the *Sautrāntika* doctrines, and the *Vaiśiṣṭika* doctrines, and the early Buddhist monastic schools (*Sarvāstivādins*, *Sāmmittyas*, *Sthāviravādins* and *Mahāsaṅghikas*). He also is responsible here for the four Vedas (usually said in the *Purāṇas* to come from the mouth of Brahmā), as well as--and this is the most notable, the *Kaulatantras*, *Garuḍatantras*, *Bhūta(dāmara)tantras*, the *Śaiva Siddhānta* doctrines, and the *Vaiṣṇava* doctrines (presumably the *Pāñcarātra* texts). This is remarkably syncretistic, giving Kālacakra Buddha responsibility for the four major schemas of Buddhist Tantra, the major Buddhist philosophical schools, and the four major Buddhist monastic traditions, along with the Vedas *and* some of the major Tantras of the Kaśmīri Śaivite system, as well as the dualist Śaivite Tantras (*Śaiva Siddhānta*) and even the *Vaiṣṇava* texts. Dyczkowski tells us that the *Gāruḍa Tantras* and *Bhūta Tantras* were said to number 28 and 20 respectively, are cited in the Śaivite *Mṛgendrāgama* and in the late 8th/early 9th century *Pratiṣṭhalakṣaṇasārasamuccaya* by Vairocana, son of the Bengali Pāla king Dharmapāla.<sup>100</sup> These two *Kālacakra* verses also tend to indicate the relative prominence of these texts and traditions at the time the *Kālacatantra*

appeared. They indicate that the fourfold schema of Buddhist Tantras was already well established, and suggest that the Śaivite Tantric schools had achieved a parallel prominence with the Vedic and Buddhist schools.

### 10.5.2. Apparent Quotation from the Śaivite *Kulāgama*

Another group of references to the Śaivite Tantric traditions comes in the incorporation into the *Kālacakra* of what appears to be a section lifted directly from the *Kulāgama* class of Śaivite Tantric literature. Puṇḍarīka introduces this section by saying that the text provides the division of the *Kulas* according to the *Kulāgama*. Dyczkowski explains that the term *Kulāgama* referred to a whole body of literature called the *Kaulatantras* that "consider themselves to be essentially Śaiva and venerate Bhairava as the highest God. Moreover, many *Kaulatantras* are not only affiliated with their own Kaula groups by also have a specific place of their own in the greater Śaiva canon, usually as members of the *Bhairavasrotas*"<sup>101</sup> (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the different *srotas* or currents of Śaivite Tantra). Puṇḍarīka tells us that the *Kulāgama* comes from "the western house" (*paścima-grhe*), a phrase remarkably similar to the *Kulāgama* tradition's designation of the *Kubjikā* tradition as coming from the "western tradition" (*paścimāmnāya*)--(see below; I have translated portions of one of the 'western' lineage Tantras (*the Kālikula*) in Chapter 5.5.2). The material given in the verses of the *Kālacakratāntra* that Puṇḍarīka says comes from these texts gives a mapping of the external *kulas* or groups of external, cosmic elements, with then a remapping of these external components to the internal components of the growing child in the womb.

Now is stated the division of the *Kulas* described in the *Kulāgama*<sup>102</sup>--(Verse 5.235): *Rāhu* and *Agni*, the moon and the sun, earth, water, and fire, wind and space, the group of four, And what is eaten is the fifth, certainly; the group of planets, the other, from the six the group of four, The continents of *Meru* [and] the sense domains, is said to arise as the group of five, This other triad of qualities of *sattva* etc., is in just the same way in the middle of the body. (Commentary:) "*Rāhu*," etc. Here, the *Kulāgamaḥ*--from the western house, is fourfold, fivefold, sixfold, fourfold, fivefold, threefold; i.e. externally and in the body, it is to be purified; then there is worship of the gods. Now, externally, [there is] *Rahu*, the time-fire, the moon, and the Sun. The *yoga* of these is fourfold; the four *pīṭhas* is the meaning. Then, in order to fill up the world-realm, the group of five, beginning with the earth, ending with *rasa*. Then, the group of planets, the other, i.e. the group of four, relinquishing: Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, and *Ketuḥ*. The group of these is sixfold. The three qualities of *sattva* etc. are threefold. Then, in the four directions of Mt. *Meru*, the four continents are fourfold. The sense domains of smell etc. are fivefold. The three qualities of *sattva* etc. are threefold. In this way, just as [there are] the threefold qualities of *sattva* etc. externally, i.e. the *pīṭhās* etc., likewise, in the middle of the body, also, [they] are to be known. Verse 5.236: Consciousness, joy, blood, and the nectar are the group of four in the lotus etc.; and the five are therefore all the bones, etc., also; the group of six then is the eye etc.,| The two hands and the two feet are a group of four; and the group of five is the fingers and toes on the hands and feet, of those [fingers and toes] the group of three joints; the entire sequence here is to be known in this clan (*kula*). (Commentary:) Here, in order that the body grows in the mother's lotus (womb), the storehouse consciousness is *Rāhu*; joy is the cosmic fire [the "time-fire"], blood is the *agni-rajās*, i.e. the sun. The nectar of immortality is the semen, i.e. the moon. These, in the beginning [constitute] the fourfold cause of the birth of the body and clan. From the fourfold [cause], from that, the bones etc. are fivefold. The bone is the earth; the bile is water; the blood is fire; the flesh and skin are wind; the marrow is space; all together, also, [they are] fivefold. Then the eye etc., because it is sixfold. [The eye] is Mars; the ear is Mercury; the tongue is Jupiter; the nose is Venus; the action senses are Saturn; the mind and senses are *Ketu*--thus it is sixfold. In just that way, the two hands, the two feet, are fourfold; i.e. the left hand is the eastern continent; the right hand is the southern continent; the right foot is the western continent; the left foot is the northern continent; thus the group of four. On the hands and feet, also, the group of five fingers. Here, the thumb is smell; the index finger is taste; the middle finger

is vision; the ring finger is touch; the pinky finger is hearing, by means of the qualities of earth etc. Of those, of the five fingers, the set of three finger joints is called threefold. The first (knuckle) joint is the *sattvaguṇa*, the middle finger joint is the *rajoguṇa*; the end joint is the *tamoguṇa*. *Tamas* is at the end, before the fingernail, so it is predominant. The entire sequence here is to be known in this *Kula*, thus it is understood.<sup>103</sup>

Puṇḍarīka also quotes from the *Kulasūtra*. Monier Williams cites *Kulasūtra* as "the name of a work," without giving us any source. Given the apparent popularity of *Kubjikā*'s sect among the Śaivites, it is not inconceivable that *Kubjikā* was to some extent a shared deity between the Hindu and Buddhist *Tāntrikas*, and that a *Kulasūtra* was a shared text. Dyczkowski lists thirteen *Kubjikā* Tantras beginning with *Kula*--the *Kulakṛtīdāvatāra*, *Kulacūḍāmaṇītantra*, *Kulapañcaśikā*, *Kulapradīpa*, *Kulamūlāvatāra*, *Kulayogatantra*, *Kularatnapañcaka*, *Kularatanamālā*, *Kularatanamālāpañcakāvatāra*, *Kularatnodayantantra*, *Kulasāra*, the most popular text--the *Kulārṇavatāra*, and the *Kuloḍḍīśatantra*.<sup>104</sup> As both Dyczkowski and Schrader note,<sup>105</sup> it is not uncommon for two or more Tantric works to share the same name, so it is perfectly possible that a separate *Kulasūtra* of Buddhist extraction existed, with *Kubjikā* figuring prominently. An important point here suggesting that this was the case is Puṇḍarīka's distinction between the knowledge from this *Kulasūtra*, and the *Kaula* sect. He says that what causes the body's birth (*deha-niṣpatti-kāraṇam*) is explained as follows:

The syllable *kū*<sup>106</sup> is in *Kāmarūpa*, the *pulikā*<sup>107</sup> resides in *Puli*,<sup>108</sup> the fire's flame in the *Jālan[dhara] pīṭha*; *Oḍraḥ*<sup>109</sup> is in the glorious middle [land] *pīṭha*, the eight actions of the divine horn are found in the three-fold path,<sup>110</sup> There should be five *siddhis* and together with *ḍa*, *ra*, *la*, *ka* the five, the four goddesses; Or, from that, the *śakti* triad;<sup>111</sup> I praise the one called *Kubjikā*, the progenitoress of the family

tree. ||<sup>112</sup> Thus (Puṇḍarīka explains) the great secret is not known by demons of eating,<sup>113</sup> [nor] by *Māra*'s attendants, [nor] by the *Kaulas*<sup>114</sup>--thus the rule in the *Kulasūtra*.<sup>115</sup>

At first blush this would appear to definitively be a passage from a *Kaula* Śaivite Tantra--yet Puṇḍarīka indicates that this is a supremely secret doctrine known to the Buddhists, and not known by those demonic Kaula practitioners. We may have a lacuna in the text, and it may be that it originally read "the great secret is not known by the eating demons, nor by *Māra*'s attendants, *yet is known* by the *Kaulas*." Otherwise it is difficult to explain how we could have verses from the *Kaula* tradition with Puṇḍarīka then saying that the great secret in these verses wasn't known by the *Kaulas*. One other way to explain this is that given the other indications we have that Puṇḍarīka was a classically educated Buddhist scholar, with a deep knowledge of earlier Buddhist philosophical schools, monastic practices, and the fine points of doctrinal nuance, and his repeated sallies against the Hindu tradition and particularly the Śaivite schools, one gets the impression that Puṇḍarīka may well have been a teacher at a Buddhist university. His citation of an essentially *Kaula* doctrine from a text of the *Kubjikā* lineage of Śaivite Tantra, along with the disclaimer that these doctrines were unknown to the *Kaula* tradition, may have then been a bit of doctrinal sleight-of-hand for the benefit of maintaining sectarian purity among his Buddhist students. This is of course speculation, though, and seems less likely to me.

### 10.5.3. Incorporation of the Śākta *Pīthas* and *Kubjikā*

As with the *Hevajra* and the *Cakrasaṃvara*, we have an incorporation of the so-called *Śākta-pīthas* of the Śaivite and Śākta Tantric traditions into the text of the

*Laghu-kālacakratāntra* and into some verses from the *Mūlasūtra*, a term used sometimes by Puṇḍarīka to refer to the original *Ādibuddha* text of the *Kālacakratāntra*. Here are the verses Puṇḍarīka quotes, with his short comment afterwards.

The *śakti* is the vulva (*bhaga*) endowed with the threefold path, having three syllables, having three as her intrinsic nature; the glorious *Oḍḍiyāna* is situated in the middle of that blazing intensely together with the best portion. | To the right of that, exactly in the corner, in the public domain, the glory of the *pīṭha Jālandhara*. On the left, the glorious *Pūrṇa pīṭha*, causing fear in animals and men; [and] *Kāmarūpa* is on the top of that. || In this way, there is also the pervading *pīṭha*, *Rudra's Śakti*, the progenitoress of what causes fear; in the middle of that, the *liṅgam*, likewise, causing the ultimate happiness, providing the internally situated drop. | Continual joy and extraordinary peace come into existence, also, illumining that with the sixfold churning [of the fire], She provides these three desires; I praise the one called *Kubjikā*, the lightning of beautiful woman. || Thus it is understood that [*śakti*] is the orgasm/innate [*sahaja*]-bearing womb of all sentient beings. Thus the intrinsic form of [the vulva].<sup>116</sup>

The references to *Oḍḍiyāna*, *Jālandhara*, *Pūrṇagiri*, and *Kāmarūpa* indicate the four most prominent *Śākta pīṭhas* shared by the Hindu and Buddhist Tantric traditions. *Kubjikā* is one of the central deities in the Kaśmīr Śaivite Tantric schools, and she is the main subject of the *Kubjikāmata-tantra*, and several other Tantric texts. Dyczkowski explains that *Kubjikā* was the goddess of the so-called *Paścimāmnāya* or Western lineage of the *Kaula* tradition of Śaivite Tantric practice. Citing a list of initiates to the tradition recorded in the 12th century *Kubjikāniryāhnikatīlaka*, he writes "it is clear from this list that the cult had spread throughout India although it was certainly more popular in the north."<sup>117</sup> In the *Kularatnoddyota*, Śiva, as founder of the *Kubjikā* sect, is called the *Ādinātha*,<sup>118</sup> a curious parallel to the Buddha



*Kālacakra*'s name *Ādibuddha*. Most of the texts of the tradition that have been preserved are in Nepal, giving what Dyzckowski says is the mistaken impression among some scholars that the *Kubjikāmnāya* was Nepalese in origin--the texts themselves make it clear that the teachers of the tradition, while mostly from north India, were not from Nepal, though the sect became well established there by the 12th century.<sup>119</sup> The relative prominence of this mention of *Kubjikā* in this passage of the *Kālacakra* tends to support Dyzckowski's findings that the cult was widespread and well-known in India at the time.

The use of the *Śākta pīṭhās* by the Buddhist Tantric tradition is not unique to the *Kālacakra*. We find several of them mentioned in the *Hevajra Tantra*, and I understand from David Gray, a fellow graduate student here at Columbia working on the *Cakrasaṃvara Tantra* that the *Śākta pīṭhās* are also incorporated into that text. What is remarkable about the passages discussed here is that we find direct reference to these sites in the *Ādibuddha* verses, indicating that the original, lost version of the *Kālacakratantra* was also a product of the highly interwoven fabric of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric traditions.

#### 10.5.4. Reference to the Thirty-Seven *Tattvas*

One less obvious reference comes in a discussion towards the end of the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra* in a section praising the Buddha Kālacakra who embodies the five voids (5.244-248). The first void is the cessation of *viññāna*--mapped here to the space constituent etc. (*ākāśa-dhātv-ādi*) and senses, and Puṇḍarīka quotes a phrase from the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ* that says: "transcending the *viññāna-dharmatā*, *jñānam* is the

supporter of the non-dual form." (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 8.23).<sup>120</sup> The second void is the cessation of the *saṃskāras*, mapped to the wind etc. constituents and senses; the third the cessation of *vedanā*, mapped to the fire constituents and senses; the fourth the cessation of *saṃjñā*, mapped to "the water etc. constituents and senses," and the fifth void is the cessation of form (*rūpa*), mapped to the earth etc. constituents and senses. The drop void is the sixth; the basis of its constituent is defined as the Buddha-image (*buddha-bimba*) located in all the constituents in the three worlds. Since each of these six voids has six aspects, this gives us thirty-six *dhātus*; and, the text adds, the *kṣara-jñānaṃ*, or knowledge of the perishable--i.e. knowledge of the human body as perishable.<sup>121</sup> What is a bit surprising here is the total number--thirty-seven--of all the *dhātus*. This is exactly one more than the total of all the *tattvas* in the Trika explanation of the structure of reality. Given the close context of these two traditions, it seems to me quite likely that the supersession of the Śaivite thirty-six by thirty-seven categories was a partisan move by the Buddhists in relation to the Śaivites. I have no proof for this, yet it seems rather odd that such abstract categories turn out to be so close in number. It seems too much of a coincidence to say it is just by chance. This impression is only strengthened by the *Kālacakra*'s version of the twenty-five *tattvas* that the *Trika* system inherits from the *Sāṃkhya* system. The *Kālacakra* gives a different list that nonetheless still gives us a count of twenty-five *tattvas* (*tattvāṅgaṃ pañcāvīṃśad*).

#### 10.5.5. Reference to the Three *Upāyas* of the Trika Tradition

More convincing than any of the preceding evidence though is the direct

reference by Puṇḍarīka to the three *upāyas* of the Trika tradition (*āṇava*, *śāmbhava*, and *śākta*) as part of critique he makes of the Śaivite Tantric practitioners. The critique comes in the middle of a long argument he makes in his commentary on *Kālacakratantra* 5.127 about the superiority of his interpretation of what the *Kālacakra*'s teaching about Tantric Yoga is, and in particular an argument as to why the *mahāmudrā* practice with a visualized consort is superior to Tantric practice with a real woman. He discusses how it is that a young virgin maintains the power to see divinatory images in a mirror by not experiencing the sexual pleasure of released *bodhicitta*, and discusses arguments that ascetic yogins also gain the ability to see the past and the future when they attain *kaivalya*. He counters this argument by explaining how anyone who practices astrology can also predict the past and future, and launches into a colorful list of the variety of prognosticators in his day. At the end of this list he attacks the Śaivite gurus as part of what he considers to be this group of charlatans:

With these, [there are] these evil deities, *Māra*'s attendants, [89.15] they are adept, and they, with these ones of trifling intelligence, who are the agents of sudden concepts,<sup>122</sup> become the *gurus* of fools, and provide the teaching of *dharmā*. Knowledge is the conceptual essence of those untainted by the poison of passion; for such a one there is (in reality) no injunction to passion, [for him] there is (actually) no injunction to Śiva/spotless poison, [for him] there is no (real) injunction to penetrating the invisible by spotless atomic, śāmbhavite or śāktic direct perception (*nirāñjana-āṇava-śāmbhava-śākta-pratyakṣa*),<sup>123</sup> (so) he, even though he may be a *paṇḍit*, is (really just) a *paśu* (for believing in the commands of Śiva). Delighting in the service of all sentient beings, [he] wanders about begging; solitary, he goes about without companion, with his own interests ruined. Even in the world it is well known that "having one who's own interests ruined is foolishness." Therefore this command by *Parameśvara*, providing the fruit of [89.20] enjoyment and liberation, coming by means of an

uninterrupted succession, is attained by the grace of the *guru*. It was stated by *Parameśvaraḥ*, or the omniscient one—"There is no mother similar to the *guru*, and there is no father similar to the *guru*| Whoever causes one to cross over the terrifying, difficult- to-cross ocean of transmigration|| He, the *guru*, provides the initiation to the student, after hundreds of *yojanas*| [89.25] The provider of enjoyment and liberation is the initiation that gives freedom."|| In this way, recognizing that those great fools are in many ways overcome by great confusion, because of having minute intelligence, [*Parameśvaraḥ*] does them a favor, and enjoins that command; and they are greatly delighted, [thinking] "we are liberated by the *guru*'s grace. Now we do<sup>124</sup> everything: we cause what is impure to be eaten, we scandalously cohabit, we take life, we lie, we take and don't give, we drink liquor, etc." In this way they do many sorts of evil activities for the sake of [yogic] perfection. [89.30] And the [yogic] perfection of their body does not come about through the grace of *Parameśvara*'s command, and they do not know the past, present, and future; in the end, they die, the body is burnt by fire, or eaten by dogs, birds, etc. There is no *jīva* that becomes *Śiva*, nor insight, nor a *vajra* possessor. In this way, all of them, having trifling *mantra* deities, following the authority of the *Māras*, are to be considered by the *yogis* who delight in the knowledge of the supremely indestructible. By these ones who are governed by trifling *mantras*, there is no taking possession of the *vajra*.<sup>125</sup>

*Paśu* is a term from the *Śaiva* tradition for the common man, short of realization of basic identity as *Īśvara*. *Nirañjana* according to Apte is also an epithet of *Śiva*.

Certainly Puṇḍarīka is slighting the Śaivite gurus by saying that even the Paṇḍits of the Śaivite tradition are *paśus*--since a *paśu* is an early stage initiate who has not yet learned of his essential divine nature as *Śiva* and therefore still has a 'beastly' nature. Puṇḍarīka however betrays some ignorance of the more detailed aspects of the Trika doctrine, since in Abhinavagupta's formulations it is individual realization, not some command from *Śiva*, that guides the initiate's behavior.

The first verse of one eleven verse quotation Puṇḍarīka provides from the *Mūlatantra* (i.e. the *Ādibuddha Kālacakra-mūlatantra*) indicates that this antipathy

towards the Śaivite Tāntrikās dates to the time of the composition of the verses of the root *Kālacakra Tantra*. The passage contrasts what is considered the illusory path of the Śaivite Tāntrikās with the correct Buddhist Tantric path:

Therefore, for those desiring the place of omniscience, what is the use of practice with evil deities, and [what is the use of] the command of a *guru* that has as its intrinsic form the characteristic of *samsāra*? It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the root *Tantra*--"As long as one becomes a practitioner of the Śiva reality, the lustful reality, and the poison-reality, with the command (of *Parameśvara*), there will then be no *Buddha*-reality for men. The thinking soiled by passion etc. is perishable, [and is] the cause of transmigration; | By the absence of that it is purified, the purified [thinking] lacks the stain of *prakṛti*. | | It is not reachable at all, [nor] is it to be cast away by any command at all, | It is not to be given, nor is it to be seized; the purified reality is the great indestructible. The *guru* is neither the giver [nor] the taker of the purified reality, in any circumstances, And the omniscient lord of those lacking the accumulation of merit is one's own self. Delight in the service of others is the ultimate provision of merit for men, | From the ultimate [comes] the provision of knowledge, from those two, ultimate *Buddha*-hood. There may be a three-fold [reality] in the Śiva reality, in the passion reality, [and] in the poison reality, Yet men do not penetrate the supremely indestructible happiness by the *guru*'s command. There may be atomic (*ānava*), *śaiva* (*śāmbhava*) or *śākta* penetrating by the (*guru*'s) command, With the penetrating of the thinking, speech, and body, through sleep, dreaming, and waking, [Yet] What is called Śiva-reality is according to the command of the *guru* of fools, [With] agitation of the thinking, speaking, and body, [and] ejaculation of the semen on the part of the embodied ones [who follow the *śaiva-dharma*]. By the grace of the *guru*'s command, there is what's called 'the passion-reality.' They call the poison 'non-poison,' and they [call] what is not poison, poison. The stationary is made to be moving by the grace of the *guru*'s command, What's called the 'poison-reality' is the cause of sudden-concepts (*sadyaḥ-pratyaya-kāraṇam*). The triple reality is not indestructible, [though] it may become pleasant for embodied beings, By the grace of the *guru*'s command, therefore, the one who has taken the vow should cause that to come into being.<sup>126</sup>

The references in this passage to the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric doctrines could not be much more explicit. With this passage we have definitive proof that the author(s) of

the original *Kālacakramūlatantra* and the protagonists of the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric system had much more than a passing familiarity with each other. This series of references to the details of the doctrines and practices of the schools that came to make up the *Trika* system also place at least these passages of the *Kālacakra Mūla Tantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* in the same historical time period as the schools feeding into the Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric systems. We cannot say for sure based just on this information when the material was written. Puṇḍarīka does not refer to Abhinavagupta, his writings, nor to any of the *Pratyabhijñā* or *Spandaśāstra* texts. We do not have definitive dates yet for the *Kula Āgamas* he refers to, nor to the dates of the *Kubjikā* texts. Nonetheless, due to the specificity of Puṇḍarīka's and the *Mūlatantra*'s and the *Laghukālacakratantra*'s references to these doctrines and texts that are integral to the tradition represented by Abhinavagupta's lineage, I am inclined to conclude at this point that the authors of *Mūla* and *Laghu Kālacakra* texts, and Puṇḍarīka himself lived sometime around the last couple of centuries of the first millenium CE, possibly just before Abhinavagupta.

Puṇḍarīka certainly appears to have been an extremely well educated scholar, perhaps a teacher at a Buddhist university or monastery, who had considerable familiarity with basic Hindu doctrines and some of the Śaivite Tantric doctrines, along with an excellent Sanskrit background, thorough grounding in all the classical Buddhist monastic doctrines and philosophical schools, and an extensive knowledge of a wide range of basic sciences--including astronomy, astrology, alchemy, medicine, perfumery, warfare, and others. Indeed, given the extensive range of subject matter

covered in the *Kālacakra*, and the level of detail Puṇḍarīka provides in his commentary in explanation of a wide range of practices (see especially his long commentary section on KCT 1.127, translated in full in Chapter 13 of this dissertation), we cannot discount the possibility that information or research for the full *Vimalaprabhā* might have been compiled by more than one person, and then written as a continuous text by Puṇḍarīka--though there is really no other solid evidence to support this idea.

When we look at all the pieces of evidence we have for dating the *Kālacakra*, the weight of this material points fairly strongly towards a late 10th/early 11th century Kaśmīr origin. Combining Puṇḍarīka's references to the *Kubjikā* texts of the western *Trika* Śaivism tradition, his quotes from the *Kulāgama*, his and the author of the *Mūlakālacakra* verses' familiarity with the details of the three paths of the *Trika* Śaivite system, the coincidence of the existence of a king Yaśas in Kaśmīr and in the *Kālacakra*, the coincidence of the name of Sucandra's mother *Vijayadevī* with the name of a *Vijaya* region in the Kaśmīr valley, and the coincidence of the location of Kalāpa next to a cold mountain stream in the *Kālacakra* and the existence of just such a place with that name next to a river of that name in northern Kaśmīr--all these pieces of circumstantial evidence begin to paint a somewhat convincing case for the argument that the people who wrote down the *Kālacakra* root Tantra, *Laghu* Tantra, and whoever Puṇḍarīka was, all came from the Kaśmīr valley, and lived somewhere close to the time that Abhinavagupta wrote his *Tantrālokaḥ*, and perhaps just a bit earlier, since one might expect Abhinava to have also been attacked as promulgating

false doctrines by Puṇḍarīka. While I would not consider my own arguments here as definitive, since no one else has yet come up with more solid leads for where and when the *Kālacakra* and *Vimalaprabhā* were written--since certain elements are by necessity speculative--I would at least suggest that the Kaśmīr valley around the turn of the 11th century CE is a good place and time to focus further historical research for those interested in pursuing the problem.

Finally, the fact that all the commentaries (except perhaps the *Vimalaprabhā*) on the *Kālacakra* appear to date from the 11th and 12th centuries (as discussed below) concurs with the information presented above suggesting that the *Kālacakra* corpus emerged at the end of the 10th, or the beginning of the 11th century.

#### **10.6. Locating the Tradition Within India--Nyāsa Practice in the *Kālacakra Tantra***

The possibility has been raised by some scholars that the *Kālacakra* may have come from somewhere outside of India. I have found nothing in the text of the fifth chapter and commentary, nor in the portions of the other chapters I have read carefully, to support the view of an extra-Indian source for the tradition. Indeed, everything we find in the text points to the conclusion that the authors were thoroughly Indian, with a deep familiarity with Indian culture, customs, languages, and ritual practices. One of the more convincing sets of information we gain from the fifth chapter to demonstrate an Indian origin for the text is the absorption into the tradition of the full set of the so-called *Śākta-pīṭhas*, the pilgrimage sites of the goddess. In his commentary to verse 5.35 of the text, Puṇḍarīka cites a set of verses that give the names of these *pīṭhas*, and their associated *bija-mantras*. All of the



detailed place names, i.e. towns, villages, river banks, etc. are in India, and many of these can be roughly or specifically located. All of the general names are for regions outside of India--Nepal, Kaśmīr, China, Tibet, etc. The pilgrimage sites in the Buddhist and Hindu Tantric traditions are divided into a number of types--known as *pīṭhas*, *kṣetras*, *melāpakas*, *śmaśānas*, *chandohas*, and *pīlavas*, with *upa-* forms of each. Only one of these terms appears in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*; *śmaśāna* appears in relation to the ten ascetic practices (as *śmaśānikāḥ*, i.e. some undefined practice related to cremation grounds--probably related to early Buddhist meditations on corpses and death).<sup>127</sup> In the Tantric texts however these terms show up again and again. There are *pīṭhas* and *upa-pīṭhas*, the 'seats' of the goddesses, the latter name using the *upa-* suffix to apparently indicate a subsidiary site. There are also *melāpakas* and *upamelāpakas*--these appear to refer to 'meeting places,' another name for a pilgrimage site. There are *śmaśānas* and *upaśmaśānas*, a name for cremation ground sites that may have been renowned for Tantric ritual practice. There are *kṣetras* and *upakṣetras*; the term refers to a field or an area, again simply a type-name for a set of locations. Then there are the more obscure terms, *chandoha* and *upachandoha*, and *pīlava* and *upapīlava*. Scholars of Buddhist Tantra have been stumped about the meaning of these latter two terms. Snellgrove took a stab at the problem, and had this to say: "As for *chandoha* and *pīlava*, I have no ready translation. The Tibetan transliterates the former and translates the latter as *ḥtuñ-gcod* 'drink and cut' as though *pīlava* were derived from *pī* 'drink' and *lava* cutting." Snellgrove then adds a translation from the *siddha* Dharmakīrti's commentary,

"Because one desires and yearns, it is called *Chando*. Because it is near to there, it is called 'near-by' *Chando*.....It is called *plava*, because there are no obstructions."<sup>128</sup>

These Tibetan etymologies are manifestly inventive, attempting to find some mystical meaning in otherwise incomprehensible terms--though within the *siddha* tradition these interpretations may well have been considered valuable. In a footnote that I have not seen referred to elsewhere (and also cannot be traced by his Index), Gnoli clarifies that the term *chandoha* is the Prakrit version of the Sanskrit *saṃdoha*. He says (translating him from the Italian and Jayaratha from the Sanskrit): "the terms *saṃdoha* and *upasaṃdoha*, of uncertain origin and meaning, recur also in the Buddhist Tantric literature (in the form *chandoha* etc.).... On *saṃdoha* Jayaratha says 'it is called *saṃdohaka* principally because it is squirted out from the *upapīṭha*, because of deriving the term from  $\sqrt{\text{saṃduh-}}$ , to milk, suck up, emit (milk)."<sup>129</sup> In explanation of the term *saṃdohaka* Jayaratha quotes an unsourced and somewhat obscure verse as follows:

Furthermore, these *Saṃdohas* are known to be three, Oh Beauteous One: | The hole/cave of a wanton woman (*lalanāgarīkaṃ*) related to Śakti, what comes from the drop from the middle of the hole, and the pervasion located in the middle (of it) produced from the sound (of Brahman--*nādajam*)--these are the three concisely; | | it is also known by the name *punḍravardhana* (increasing the forehead mark or the lotus) in the *lalanā* (wanton woman); it's to be known as the lord from the drop, called the pervasion, the best mango grove.<sup>130</sup>

I won't try to make sense of all of this. However the first part of the verse apparently refers with a triple sense to a woman as a sexual consort, with the drop from the semen held in her vagina, and simultaneously to the *nāda-bindu* mark on top of a *bījamaṅtra* located in right-hand subtle body channel (*iḍā* = *lalanā*), and to a

location, some sort of cave perhaps dedicated to Śakti. In fact we know from the texts that *saṃdoha* is a term used to refer to the Śakti pilgrimage sites, as do the terms *kṣetra*, *śmaśāna*, *pīṭha*, and so forth. In addition to its etymological meaning, though, *saṃdoha* also refers to a group, mass, heap, etc. (see Monier Williams' dictionary), and this sense of the word is quite consonant with such terms as *melāpaka* for a meeting place; a *saṃdohaka* (and hence an *upasaṃdohaka*, a *chandoha*, and *upachandoha*) would be a place where there is a group of people.

Finally we have the terms *pīlava* and *upapīlava*; these, like the words *chandoha* and *upachandoha*, are used in Buddhist Tantric texts to designate pilgrimage sites, though so far no one has resolved their etymology satisfactorily. I have not found these terms in Śaivite Tantric texts (so far). In the commentary on *Kālacakratantra* 5.35 Puṇḍarīka glosses the term as *veśman*, i.e. a house, dwelling, mansion, etc.<sup>131</sup> A *pīlu* is a tree, the *Careya Arbotrea* or *Salvadora Persica* (L.) according to Monier Williams' dictionary. The tree has medicinal uses as it is listed as a bitter herb in both the *Soḍhalanighaṇṭuḥ* and the *Dhanvantaryanighaṇṭuḥ*.<sup>132</sup> Since Puṇḍarīka glosses it as a house or abode, though, we may well be dealing here with a Prākṛitic form in *pīlava* that has been absorbed into Sanskrit. Gary Tubb has also suggested to me that the term may refer to the seats that are built around trees as resting and gathering places around India. In that case, the *veśman* or 'house' gloss by Puṇḍarīka would probably be referring to the 'house' of the goddess at those sites, in all probability Pīlu tree sites with these benches.

Bharati has a helpful explanation of why it is that the Tantric practitioners saw

fit to map these pilgrimage locations into their subtle bodies through the ritual application (*nyāsa*) of the *btjamantras* of the presiding deities of the *pīṭhas* etc.:

Literally, *nyāsa* is the process of charging a part of the body, or any organ of another living body, with a specified power through touch. For instance, by placing the fire-*mudrā* on the heart-region uttering the fire-*mantra* 'ram', the adept's heart is made into the cosmic fire; and by meditating on a specific *pīṭha* with the *mantra* of its presiding 'Śakti', the very region (for instance the heart, or the navel, or the throat) wherein the Śakti is thus visualized is hypostasized or trans-substantiated, into that *pīṭha*. The Tantric formulation would be: Meditating on the pilgrimage-centre through visualizing its presiding deity in the prescribed manner, the locus of concentration in the yogi's body is charged with the spiritual efficacy of that very place." He notes however that "with the Buddhist tantrics, the pattern is transparent even on a purely doctrinal basis--for no 'place of pilgrimage' exists in an ontological sense."<sup>133</sup>

Bharati cites Sircar's work on the Buddhist *Catuspīṭhatantra* (in his study of the *Śākta pīṭhas*) wherein the four main *pīṭhas* are classed as *ātmapīṭha*, *parapīṭha*, *yogapīṭha*, and *guhyaṭīṭha*. The text deals, he says, "with the various kinds of Vajrasattvas and their intercourse with the Yoginīs, with Prajñāpāramitā and others."<sup>134</sup>

What we find in the passage from the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakra* where the *pīṭhas* and the other sites are listed is that the energy from these sites is used as part of the perfection stage meditation for stopping the flow of time through the initiates's subtle body. Time is as it were 'nailed down' or systematically killed by invoking the *saṃsāra*-transcending fiery power intrinsic to these sites and matching them to the sequential movement of the zodiac signs, the watches of the day (8 sets of 3-hour *praharas*), the four junctions of the day (sunrise, noon, sunset, and midnight *sandhyās*), as well as the cosmic *maṇḍalas* of the oceans, fires, winds, etc. that time flows through in the world.

5.35: With the eight divisions in the directions of Mt. Meru, all the seats and subseats are situated in the cardinal and intermediate directions; [19.10] The field, the gathering place, the meeting ground, and the cremation ground,<sup>135</sup> from the half-boundary of the houses and wind; | On the solar ground of the Buddha, the atom of the body-born men, [and] of the earthly deities and *asuras*; From the power of the lord, the one day expands, the clan [expands] through the manifestation of the sun and moon. ||35|| "Of Mt. Meru" etc. Here, **in the directions of Mt. Meru**--in the zenith the *Yoginīcakra* ending in the wind circle, on the earth below the course of movement is for the purpose of conscious beings. Hence in the ocean circle, in the fire circle, in the wind circle, ending in the space [circle], as far as 500,000 *yojanas* [19.15] in the world constituent element/realm *maṇḍala*, there is pervasion that ends in the hair in the body of conscious beings, because of practicing with the *yoginīs* by the lord. Here on top of Mt. Meru is the lord's five hundred thousand *yojana* womb lotus with eight petals. Its three sections are the pericarp, the solar *maṇḍala* on top of the pericarp, [and] on top of the sun, on the surface of the right foot of *Kālacakra*, there is *Māraḥ*, addiction is on the sole of his left foot, and that is *Rudra*. On the eight petals the eight lightning sky goers (*vajraḍākinīyas*), Smoke, etc. On the inside of the inside of them, on the petals, the eight skulls filled with the nectar of immortality. Thus the sixteen petalled bliss *cakra*, with the divisions of the sixteen blisses, the goddesses, and the skulls. [19.20] Because the lord holds the four drops, he has four faces; from stopping the twenty-four fortnights, he has twenty-four hands; from stopping the two fortnights of the intercalated month, he has the two additional hands of the conqueror; as previously stated [he] is swift as lightning.<sup>136</sup> The single face of *Bhagavatī* is emptiness; the pair of arms are the causeless and the unapplied; the knife, the skull, the seal, etc. is the freedom from conceptuality.<sup>137</sup> So, in the external lotus, in the eight directions of Mt. Meru, with the distinction of the directions, there is the five hundred thousand *yojana*--by the measure of the earth circle--knowledge constituent element *cakra*; in its three portioned earth there is a row of knives, with its two portions eight spokes. So in half the ocean there is the earth *cakra*, in half the latter [i.e. land] there is the water [19.25]<sup>138</sup> *cakra*. Likewise in half the fire circle there is the fire *cakra*, in half the latter there is the wind *cakra*. Then in half the wind circle there is the space *cakra*, and in half the latter there is the sky and earth [*rajobhūmikā*]. In the space circle there are the sixteen cremation grounds. This is the rule. Because here there is the five-cubit body ending in the hair; with that there are the external cremation grounds in the space *maṇḍala*; by the purification of that there is the world realm and the five hundred thousand *yojanas* in the great

*Cakrasaṃvara*. So, sequentially, in the eight directions of Mt. Meru, in the knowledge realm *cakra*, the seats [20.1] are in the directional spokes, because of stopping old age and death by stopping Sagittarius; the subseats (*upapīṭhas*) are in the intermediate direction spokes, because of stopping birth by stopping Scorpio. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the earth constituent element *cakra*, in the directional spokes, there are the four fields, because of the stopping of becoming by the stopping of Libra. The subseats are in the intermediate direction spokes because of the stopping of grasping for existence<sup>139</sup> by stopping Virgo. Likewise a pair of cremation grounds. Then in the directional spokes in the water constituent element *cakra* the four *chandohas*, [20.5] because of the stopping of craving [*trṣṇā*] by the stopping of Leo. The sub-*chandohas* are in the intermediate direction spokes because of stopping painful sensation by the stopping of Cancer. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the fire constituent *cakra*, in the directional spokes, the four meeting places (*melāpakas*) because of stopping touch by stopping sexual union. The adjacent meeting places are in the intermediate directional spokes because of stopping the six bases of consciousness by stopping Taurus. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the wind constituent element *cakra*, in the directional spokes, the four cremation grounds, because of the stopping of name and form by the stopping of Aires. In the intermediate directional spokes the sub-cremation grounds, because of the stopping of *vijñāna* by the stopping of Pisces. Likewise [20.10] the pair of cremation grounds (*śmaśānas*). Then in the space constituent element *cakra*, in the directional spokes, the four *pīlus*, or the mansions, because of the stopping of mental creations by the stopping of Aquarius. In the intermediate directional spokes the sub-*pīlus*, because of the stopping of ignorance by the stopping of Capricorn. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. By the stopping of the *saṃdhyās* and the four transits, there are the four sub-cremation grounds. Then by stopping the sixteen digits of the moon, there are the sixteen cremation grounds. Thus "[possessed of] the true meaning of the twelve forms, knowing the principles of the twelve forms," (*Nā° Saṃ* 1.15),<sup>140</sup> by stopping of the eight portions of the day (*praharas*) the eight goddesses. Now from stopping the day, i.e. in the exoteric support, [20.15] the goddesses are unveiled as having the intrinsic nature of what is to be supported.<sup>141</sup>

Puṇḍarīka then quotes the verses from the Root Tantra that give the locations in and outside of India for all these sites of the goddess' power. I've traced almost all of these through the historical atlases we have of India, and given their actual

locations in the endnotes to this section. The goddesses themselves are referred to as *nāyikās*, and given in the form of their *btjamantras*. The references to *Himālayam* and *Nepālam*, generic terms for regions, without apparently any reference in this list of places to specific places in Nepal, Tibet, or Central Asia (taking the Kabul region as part of the greater India of old), juxtaposed with a large number of specific place names from India, suggest to me that the *Kālacakramūlatantra* was a product of the Indian subcontinent, not Central Asia as some have suggested. The logic of this point is simple--were the root *Tantra* really a product of Central Asia, then we ought to find some specific place names from Central Asia mentioned as pilgrimage sites. We do not. The text exhibits a detailed knowledge of the Indian subcontinent; yet regions peripheral to the subcontinent, such as Ceylon or Sumatra, Nepal, Himālaya, and Kaśmīr,<sup>142</sup> are simply named.

According to ultimate truth, and since it is concealed from the world, the production of the *mantra* deities in what consists of the seats etc., is stated by the lord in the root *Tantra*, as follows--<sup>143</sup> a) *Kāmarūpa* and *Jālākhyā*, *Pūrṇagiri* likewise, *Oḍḍiyāṇa* are the fourfold *pṭṣha*; their *nāyikās* are in *śi*, *ṣṛ*, *ḥpu*, and *sl*.<sup>144</sup> b) *Godāvart* and *Rāmeśam*, *Devīkottam* and *Mālavam* are the four [20.20] *upapṭṣhas*; their *nāyikās* are in *sl*, *ḥpū*, *ṣṛ*, and *śya*.<sup>145</sup> c) *Arbudam*, *Munmunī*, *Oḍram* and *Kāra(u)ṇyapātakam* are the *kṣetras*; *dh*, *dṛ*, *thu*, and *tl* are the basis of the goddesses on the surface of the earth.<sup>146</sup> d) *Triśakunt* is an *upakṣetram*, as are *Karmārapātakam*, *Kośalam*, and *Lāḍadeśam*; the *nāyikās* are in *tl*, *thū*, *dṛ* and *dhī*.<sup>147</sup> [20.25] e) And the fourfold *chandoham* is *Kaliṅgam*, *Harikelam*, *Candradvīpam* and *Lampākam*; the *nāyikās* are in *bhi*, *bṛ*, *phu*, *pl*.<sup>148</sup> f) *Kāñcī*, *Koṅkaṇakam*, likewise *Himālayam*, and *Nepālam* are the fourfold *upachandoham*; the *nāyikās* are in *pṭ*, *phū*, *bṛ* and *bhī*.<sup>149</sup> g) *Māṭṛgṛham*, *Prayāgam*, *Kollagiriḥ*, and *Gṛhadevatāḥ* are the [20.30] fourfold *Melāpakam*; the *nāyikās* are in *ḍhi*, *dṛ*, *ṣhu*, *ṣhl*.<sup>150</sup> [21.1] h) *Saurāṣṭra*, and *Kāśmīra*, *Suvarṇadvīpa* and *Siṃhala* [constitute] the *upamelā[pa]ka*; the *nāyikā* are in the *tl*, *ṣhū*, *dṛ*, and *dhī*.<sup>151</sup> i) *Nagaram*, and *Mahendraśālam*, *Sindhudeśam*, and *Kirātakam* are the fourfold cremation ground; the *nāyikāḥ* are in

*jhi, jr, chu, and cl.*<sup>152</sup> [21.5] j) *Marudeśam, and Gahvaram, Kulatā,* likewise *Samalam* are said to be the *upaśmaśānam*; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *cl, chū, jṛ, jhṛ.*<sup>153</sup> k) *Caritram, and Harikelam, Vindhyaṃ, Kaumārtkāpurt* are said to be the fourfold *ṣṭlavam*; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *ghi, gr, khu, and dhṛ.*<sup>154</sup> l) *Upaveśman, Virajas, Koṅkam, Tripurt* and *Śrthattakam*, this is said to be the fourfold; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *kḷ, khū, gṛ and dhṛ.*<sup>155</sup> m) The twelve *ḥka* etc. are the female messengers, the *nāyikāḥ* of the void *maṇḍala*; [21.10] the four *ha* etc. and the sixteen are in the external cremation grounds. n) *a, ā, aṃ, aḥ, ha, hā, haṃ, haḥ,* these are the female messengers on the lotus petals; on the eight indeed are the skulls, the pericarp, the village-*nāyikāḥ.*<sup>156</sup> [21.15] o) By the cessation of the twelve limbs, since they are an obstacle to the basis of the transits,<sup>157</sup> the twelve grounds are known as the *ṣṭhāḥ* etc., according to ultimate truth. p) In conformation with ignorance etc., by concealment in Capricorn etc. [and] by Sagittarius etc. in the reverse course, they are old age, death, etc. q) With the property of unveiling, the female sky goers are the body's constituent elements, [21.20] said to be of seventy-two types, according to the purified differentiation of the *dharmas.*<sup>158</sup> r) By concealment those who are perfected in *mantras* are the *nāyikāḥ* in the houses etc.; now their seed syllable should be the beginning of the *ṣṭha* etc.<sup>159</sup>

After giving another distribution of the *bṛjāmantras* in the various *chandoḥas* etc., Puṇḍarīka explains, from his point of view, why making pilgrimages to these sites is useless. This is the first definitive statement in the text repudiating the practice of pilgrimage. So what we have here is a careful *bṛjā-mantra* mapping to the well-known pilgrimage places in India of (probably) the 10th-11th century, with the specific claim that pilgrimages to these sites are not necessary for the Tantric initiate. The logic of this procedure is that the *bṛjā-mantra* code provides the initiate the ability to step out of the restrictions of normal space-time. Most folks need to travel to these pilgrimage sites for the appropriate time-determined (i.e. astrologically determined) experience of the divine presence through those sites. However, here it is claimed that the Tantric initiate can command the same experience of the divine presence



through the magical power of this Sanskrit code system:

Hence the twofold concealment of the net of *ḍākinis* is stated for the divine incarnation of the young person according to the custom of wordly places. Being made to wander around to the places of the *ṛ̥ṭhas* such as *Kāmarupa* and *Jālandhara* is useless, even when the presiding deity of a crore of villages is in a single region, since the *ṛ̥ṭhas* etc. are stated [with the *bījamantras*]. Similarly [such perigrinations are useless] because [the *ṛ̥ṭhas* etc.] are not stated to be in the crores upon crores of presiding deities of villages in the ninety-six regions of Tibet, China, and Greater China.<sup>160</sup>

This final remark about Tibet, China, and *Mahācīna* indicates that Puṇḍarīka was acutely aware of the non-Indian potential audience of this text, and the larger trans-Asian Buddhist community he belonged to. One might expect that were the text, or Puṇḍarīka from outside of India, the Tantra or Puṇḍarīka might well mention other towns in these areas (Tibet, China, etc.) with the argument that their local deities were somehow relevant, or needed to be considered. In terms of internal dating markers, this remark strongly indicates that the *Vimalaprabhā* was written after Buddhism had spread into Tibet and China, unless we chose to interpret this geo-theological sensitivity to prophetic awareness. Puṇḍarīka's sensitivity would also be in keeping with an educated man of Kaśmīr, as the valley has long served as a transit point and link up to the major trade routes going from India into Tibet and Central Asia, (as discussed in the opening section of Chapter 6 of this dissertation).

In the context of all the preceding information, with the strong suggestion of a Kaśmīri context for the writing of the *Vimalaprabhā*, at a time when the Persian invaders were beginning to do some real damage in India, the suggestion in the first chapter of the *Vimalaprabhā* that the text was written primarily for the promulgation

of Tantric Buddhism north of the Śītā river, and hence north of India, in Central Asia, and not south of the river, in India, begins to make sense. The line in question reads:

Forseeing the future mental purification of the people living in the nine hundred sixty million villages in the lands of Sambhala etc. north of the Śītā river, the Tathāgata taught the twelve-thousand verse *Paramādibuddham* that illuminates the lightning-word and is free of [any section that] does not unlock the *vajrapadam*.<sup>161</sup>

I will close this section on a brief comparative note. The idea that the external *pīṭhas* etc. could be remapped to the initiate's body was a widely shared idea in the Tantric traditions. As the *Mālinīvijaya* says at the end of a particular meditation, "And one sees clearly what possesses the *pīṭhas* and *kṣetras* etc., inside of one's own body. Through beholding one's own form some little bit of this (energy) is produced."<sup>162</sup>

### 10.7. The *Kālacakra* Literature in Tibetan Translation

There are a total of twenty-two *Kālacakra*- texts in the Tohoku University catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. By converting the names of the authors and translators from Tibetan back to Sanskrit (to the extent possible, except for Tibetan scholars whose names are native Tibetan names), and checking the dates of these various *Kālacakra* proponents (in so far as we have them, thanks to Naudou), we see that all of the commentarial texts of the *Kālacakra* tradition (other than the *Vimalaprabhā*) were either written or translated by 11th and 12th century Buddhists-- this only tends to confirm the theories advanced above. 1) *-Kṣaṇa-sajaha-sādhana* (Tohoku 1362) by Līlavajra<sup>163</sup> (Rol-paṣi rdo-rje), translated by Vāgīśvara and Rwa Chos-rab. Vāgīśvarakīrti was a contemporary of Nāropa who lived in the 11th

century.<sup>164</sup> 2) -*Gaṇa-cakra-vidhi* (Tohoku 1393) by Kālacakrapāda, i.e. Tilopa (Dus ḥkhor-shabs), translated by Vāgīśvara and Rwa Chos-rab, 3) -*Gaṇa-upadeśa* (Tohoku 1384) translator unknown, 4) -*Gaṇita-upadeśa* (Tohoku 4455) by Bodhibhadra, another contemporary of Nāropa,<sup>165</sup> translated by Chos skyoñ bzañ-po in the *Snatshogs* or 'Miscellaneous' section of the Canon, 5) -*Garbha-nāma-tantra* (364) translated by Śrī Badhrabodhi and Zla-bāḥi ḥod-zer, 6) -*Garbha-alaṃkāra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1365) by the Brahmin Piṇḍa (Bram-ze bsod-sñoms-pa), i.e. another name for Vāgīśvarakīrti according to the *Blue Annals*;<sup>166</sup> translated by Śrī Bhadrabodhi and Gyi-jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 7) -*Catur-aṅga-sādhana* (Tohoku 1356) by Kālacakrapāda, i.e. Tilopa, (Dus shabs-pa), translated by Viśva-śrī and Gyi-jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 8) -*Tantra-rāja-seka-prakīryā-vṛtti* (Tohoku 1355) by the 11th century paṇḍit Dārika,<sup>167</sup> translated by Somanātha's assistant<sup>168</sup> Śes-rab grags, 9) -*Tantra-uttara-tantra-hṛdaya* (Tohoku 363) translated by Śrībhadrabodhi and Zla-bāḥi ḥod-zer, 10) -*Daṇḍaka-stuti* (Tohoku 1381), 11 & 12) -*Maṇḍala-vidhi* (Tohoku 1359) by Sādhuputra--(who also wrote the *Sekkodeśa-tippaṇṭī*), translated by Vāgīśvaragupta and Chos-rab, and (Tohoku 1360) by Kālacakrapāda (Dus shabs-pa), translated by Vaniśrī and La-chiñs yon-tan ḥbar, 13) -*Vajrayāna-mūlāpatti* (Tohoku 1379) by Bodhisattva (Byañ-chub-sems-dpaḥ), translator unknown, 14) -*Sajaha-sādhana* (Tohoku 1361) by Kālacakrapāda Tilopa (Dus shabs-pa), translated by Buddhaśrījñāna and Byams-paḥi dpal, 15) -*Sādhana* (Tohoku 1358) by Sādhuputra, translated by Vāgīśvaragupta and Chos-rab, 16) -*Sādhana-yoga-pradīpa* (Tohoku 1363) by Maitri or Maitrīpāda--also known as Avadhūtapāda--a *Mahāsiddha* from the early 11th century, translated by

Sha-lu lo-tsā-ba, 17) -*Supraṭiṣṭhā-vidhi* (Tohoku 1392) by Tilopa Kālacakrapāda (Dus-ḥkhor shabs), translated by Vāgīśvara and Rwa Chos-rab, 18) -*Homa-vidhi* (1394) by Kālacakrapāda (Dus-ḥkhor shabs), translated by Vāgīśvara and Rwa Chos-rab, 19) -*Avatāra* (1383) by Abhayākaragupta (Ḥjigs-med ḥbyuñ-gnas sbas pa) translated by Abhayākaratupa (Ḥjigs-med ḥbyuñ-gnas sbas pa) and Śrīdharmakīrti, revised by Rāhulaśrībhadra and Dpal-gyi mthaḥ-can, 20) -*Upadeśa* (Tohoku 1366) by Mahā-Kālacakrapāda (Dus-ḥkhor shabs-chen), translated by Buddhākarabhadra (c. 1200 CE)<sup>169</sup> and Gyi-jo Zla-baḥi ḥod-zer, 21) -*Upadeśa-yoga-ṣaḍaṅga-tantra-pañjikā* (Tohoku 1373) by Avadhūti-pa--also known as Maitrīpā, from the early 11th century (see above, work #16), translated by Zla-ba grags-pa, 22) -*Upadeśa-sūrya-candra-sādhana* (Tohoku 1369) by Trikula-nātha (Rigs gsum mgon po), translated by Śrīvibhūticandra. Though Naudou offers no information on these latter two Kālacakra scholars, the name Trikula-nātha suggests the faint possibility of someone who was a master of the Trika School of Kaśmīr Śaivism.<sup>170</sup>

In addition to these twenty-two listed above, there are two copies of the *Paramādibuddha-uddhṛta-śrī-kālacakra-nāma-tantra-rāja* in the canon, one (Tohoku 362) translated by the Kaśmīri Somanātha and ḥbro Śes-rab grags, revised by Śoñ-ston Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan, and another (Tohoku 1346) translated by Somanātha and Śes-rab grags, and revised by Tshul-krim dar, Shañ-ston Mdo-sde-dpal, and Śoñ-ston Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan.<sup>171</sup> Somanātha lived in the 11th century, raised in a Kaśmīri Brahmin family and converted to Buddhism by his mother. Known also as Candranātha (Candra, the moon, and Soma, the plant, having become by this point in

Sanskrit perfect synonyms), he went to Magadha for a while to study with Kālacakrapāda Junior. After mastering the *acyuta-bodhicitta* practice, he went to Tibet in the third quarter of the 11th century, where he taught the *Kālacakra* and the *Guhyasamāja*. His teachings and translation work were generously supported by several patrons.<sup>172</sup> In addition, Puṇḍarīka's commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā-nāma-mūlatantra-anusāriṇī-dvādaśa-sāhasrika-laghu-kālacakra-tantra-rāja-ṭīk* has a separate listing in the catalogue under *Dus-ḥkor ḥgrel-bśad*, (Tohoku 845), translated by the Kaśmīri scholar Somanātha and Śes-rab grags, and revised by Shañ-ston mdo-sde spal and Tshul-khrims bar,<sup>173</sup> giving us a total of twenty-five works in the canon from the *Kālacakra* tradition.

#### 10.8. Evidence of Variant Versions of the *Kālacakratantra*

Although the tradition represents *Puṇḍarīka*'s commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*, as a single text without significant variants, H.P. Shastri found a Palm-leaf Ms. in the Library of the Mahārāja of Nepal that indicates a different recension than that published by the CIHTS in Sarnath. The text places itself at a date 1818 years after Śākyamuni Buddha. Though it is not clear what date the authors were using, we could take c. 600 BCE as a conservative compromise, and that would place the text in the early thirteenth century (1218 CE), about 200 years after the Tibetan translations were completed by Somanātha. It is said to have been copied down under the direction of Buddhaśrī, whom Naudou identifies as Buddhaśrījñāna,<sup>174</sup> who lived at the beginning of the thirteen century (the traditional Buddhist date for Śākyamuni is c. 900 BCE, so that would date the text to about 918 CE). We know from other texts

surviving in the Tibetan canon that he also translated Tilopa's *Kālacakra-sajaha-sādhana* (Tohoku 1361) in collaboration with Byams-paḥi dpal. As the colophon differ slightly from the text published by the Sarnath, this suggests that there may have been more than one version of the *Vimalaprabhā* circulating at the time of the Tibetan translations, and that the non-translated versions were (apparently) subsequently lost or destroyed: 1) The *Laghukālacakratāntra* is said to be in accordance with the *Amṛtatantra*, a name for the *Ādibuddha* we do not find in the extant *Vimalaprabhā*. 2) The colophon speaks of a commentary on the *Kālacakra* written by one Kamalavara. Though the name works as a synonym for Puṇḍarīka ('Puṇḍarīka' is a white lotus; 'Kamalavara' means 'the best lotus'), Puṇḍarīka does not refer to himself as 'Kamalavara' in the Sarnath edition of the *Vimalaprabhā*. 3) The Sarnath edition colophon ends differently than this colophon.

The Colophon reads as follows: 'So in the *Vimalaprabhā*, the twelve-thousand [line] commentary on the *Laghukālacakra-tantrarāja*, in accordance with the *Śrī Amṛtatantra*, the fourth great teaching on the various disciplines and methods, is completed. This is the complete commentary on the Wisdom Chapter. Placing the crowd of the best sages on the path of the Buddha by what was explained by the *Sambuddha*, having given [them] the wisdom-initiation, the *Kālacakra* was taught out of the highest compassion. This chapter here [and this] *Tantra*, having been extracted from the *Ādibuddha* by *Mañjuvajra*, King *Śrīkalkin*, I, through *Yaśas* himself, am king of this [world] in *Śrīkalāpa*. According to the explanation of the *Samḥuddha* with a delighted mind, having been requested by *Śrīyaśas*, the King of the Tantras

[wrote] a commentary following the excellent and clear footprints of the glorious root *Tantra*. Whatever merit was obtained is ample and intensely white (i.e. pure), through the gift of *Puṇḍarīka*. Therefore may the entire world become fully awakened, having obtained the path of the thunderbolt-possessor. [The CIHTS Sarnath edition colophon ends here, with a sub-colophon indicating a different copyist]. These properties are as follows.....

‘On the eighth day of the bright half of *Caitra* [March-April], in [the year] 1818 after the paramount leader of the three realms--the accomplished lion of the *Śākyas*, the commentary on the *Śrīkālacakra* written by *Kamalavara*, destroying various false views, the single creator of all the worlds. This is the *Vimalaprabhā*, caused to be written down by *Buddhaśrī*, who is dear in good qualities to the Buddha. May all the people continually enjoy themselves because of the merit from that one time. In the Nepali *Śrīdharmadhātu Vihāra*, [this was copied] by the two Bengali *upāsakas*, *Śrītathāgatavara* and *Śrīpuṇḍra*.’<sup>175</sup>

The full colophon of the Sarnath edition reads as follows:

[154.20] By what was explained by the completely awakened one, the host of the best sages has been placed on the path of the *Buddha*, The command having been given, the *Kālacakra* initiation was taught out of the highest compassion, | This *Tantra* in five chapters was extracted from the *Ādibuddha* by this *Mañjuvajra*, By the king *Śrī Kalkin*; I, the son of this *Yaśas*, [and] king here in *Śrīkalāpa*, || [155.1] With a mind delighted by what was explained by the completely awakened one, and urged on by *Śrīyaśas*, A commentary, following the footprint left by the blazing lightning bolt

of the glorious root *Tantra*, on the *Tantrarāja*,| Having made; whatever merit is obtained, blazing with great understanding, from the gift by *Puṇḍarīka*, May the entire world become completely awakened by that, and obtain the path of the lightning bolt possessor. || \* This commentary on the Knowledge chapter is completed. | || The *Vimalaprabhā* commentary is completed. || (\* *Ca*: Those *dharma*s are produced from a cause, because the *Tathāgata*, not speaking, is the their cause,| And their cessation is the great ascetic speaking in this way. || This charity of the best follower of the *Mahāyāna*, of the elderly *Mahākaragupta*,<sup>176</sup> what merit there is here, let that be, having made [it?] the predecessor of the master, the teacher, the mother and the father, for the attainment of the fruit of unsurpassed knowledge on the part of the host of all sentient beings. | The 29th day of *Āṣāḍha* (June-July) of the motion of the sun, the 39th year at the feet of the great supreme king, the glorious *Harivarmadeva*. In<sup>177</sup> the forty-sixth<sup>178</sup> year of *Harivarman*,| On the seventh day of the dark half of *Māgha* (January-February), when the eleventh day had passed, || With a corpse, a *Cuñcaṭukā*,<sup>179</sup> with a virgin, during a dream, by sight (visualization); Taking the little finger, this was recited by request, || On the bank of the Vengā river in the northern and eastern direction,| Five times by the reciter,<sup>1</sup> over seven years. ||

## 10.9. Technical Notes

### 10.9.1. Historical Derivations of Two *Krodheśvaras*

---

<sup>1</sup> In the Sarnath version, the words should read as a compound, *bhāvibhavataḥ*; *bhāvi* is the compounded form of *bhāvin*. However, I have followed Shāstri's reading. *Bhāṣitavataḥ* would be the genitive or ablative singular of *bhāṣita-vant*, the 'recitation-possessor,' taken here in the instrumental sense.



Two of the names of the ten fierce kings in the Buddhist tradition appear to have historical derivations. *Dharmasaṅgraha* 11 gives us a list of the *Krodharājas* or *Krodheśvaras* of the Buddhist tradition: "The ten fierce ones (*daśa-krodhāḥ*) are as follows: the destroyer of death (*Yamāntakaḥ*), the destroyer of wisdom (*Prajñāntakaḥ*), the destroyer of the lotus (*Padmāntakaḥ*), the destroyer of obstacles (*Vighnāntakaḥ*), the unmoving king of the *Ṭakkas* (*Acara-ṭakki-rāja*); the bearer of the dark blue stick [*Nīladaṇḍa*], the very strong one (*Mahābalaḥ*), the one dwelling in the crown *cakra* (*Uṣṇīṣa-cakra-vartin*), and the *Sumbha* king."<sup>180</sup> With regard to *Ṭakki-rāja*, Monier Williams says the *Ṭakka* are *Bāhika* people, the 'name of a despised people of the Panjab.' Stein, in a note to *Rājatarāṅgīnī* 5.150, identifies *Ṭakka-deśa* as the kingdom called "Tseh-kia" by Hsuan Tsang, located in the Panjab between the Biās and Indus rivers, with its capital at *Śākala*, probably between the Cināb and the Ravī rivers.<sup>181</sup> It's intriguing that one of the ten fierce deities would be named as the King of this people. Dey also locates *Ṭakka-deśa* to the Panjab, and gives *Mada-deśa* and *Āraṭṭa* as alternate names.<sup>182</sup> *Sumbharāja* is the name of one of the *Krodheśvaras*. *Sumbha* is the name of a people: Monier Williams references the *Rāmāyana*, and gives a Lexicon reference for 'name of a country, (cf. *Śumbha-deśa*).' *Śumbha-deśa* is a Colebrooke reference to the name of a country; *Śumbhapur*, is the name of a town and district of "the modern Sambhalpūr in the district of Gondwāna"--also called *Ekacakra* and *Harigrha*. Dey identifies *Sumbha/Śumbha* with *Suhma*, itself identical with *Rādha*, the portion of Bengal west of the Ganges. In medieval times the name of *Sumbha* was *Lāṭa* or *Lāla*. "The *Buddha* delivered the

*Janapada Kalyāni Sutta* while living in a forest near the town of Deśaka in the country of Sumbha as Sumha was also called."<sup>183</sup> Indeed, we find in the introductory story to the *Talapatta-Jātaka*, no. 96, Book 1, that the story was told by the Buddha near Deśaka in Sumbha country.<sup>184</sup>

### 10.9.2. The *Bhūtasamkhyā* System of Naming Numbers

In order to read the Sanskrit of the astronomical sections and translate the numbering systems used in the micro-macrocosmic type-identity mappings in the fifth chapter of the *Kālacakrantra* one needs to know about the *Bhūtasamkhyā* system of naming numbers used for many centuries in the Indian exact sciences; this is the practice of assigning real world entities to particular numbers, and then using these 'natural' number-names in place of abstract names. To this practice is added the standard Indian mathematical practice of giving digits in reverse order, with the least significant digit (as we would say) given first. Hence 4,3,1,2 represents 2,134. These practices are not peculiar to esoteric Buddhism; the sources of definitions in Monier-Williams and Apte for these names are largely from Sanskrit astronomical texts such as the *Sūryasiddhānta*, Varāhamihira's *Brhatsamhitā*, etc.--yet another example of common terminology from a shared culture appearing in the Buddhist Tantras. Here are some common examples: *Kha* is a name for zero, meaning either a hole, that is empty, or the empty sky. *Candra* is a name for one [*Sūryasiddhānta*]; the earth has only one Moon. *Netra* is a name for two, since we have two eyes. *Guṇa* is a name for three, because of the three *guṇās*, *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. (*Guṇa* is also used as a multiplier. 'X *guṇa* x' indicates 'x times x.') *Pada* or *pāda*

is a name for four, since most poetic verse forms have four *padas*; another name for four is *yuga*, since there are four *yugas*, the *Kṛta* or *Sarya*, the *Dvāpara*, the *Treta*, and the *Kali*. *Śara* = five, since five is the number of arrows--*śara*--carried by *Kāma*. *Rasa* = six, since there are six flavors. *Giri* = eight, because there are eight mountains that surround Mount Meru (in KCT 5.134c, *ahi* is used for eight). *Arka* and *Sūrya*, names for the Sun, = 12, since there are twelve solar months. *Tithih*, a lunar 'day,' = 15, since there are fifteen lunar 'days' in each of the brightening (*śukla*) and darkening (*kṛṣṇa*) fortnights of the Moon. *Kalā*, a digit of the Moon, is a name for sixteen, since there are sixteen digits, or portions, in each cycle of the Moon's phases, or sixteen portions in the Moon's diameter (actually there are only 15 *kalās*--the sixteenth is a poetic invention from the Sanskrit *kāvya* tradition inherited by the Tantric traditions).<sup>185</sup>

### 10.9.3. *Kālacakra* Variants of Literal Numbering

There are a variety of methods for indicating numbers literally in Sanskrit. The *Kālacakratāntra* and *Vimalaprabhā* indicate some variations in the customary techniques that are familiar to scholars of the exact sciences in Sanskrit. *Pāda* in the *Kālacakra*, at the beginning or end of a compound, for instance, can indicate 'plus four' in the sense of 'with four' [*sa-pāda*], even though it more commonly indicates 'plus one quarter.' In the list of 162 *ślokas* from the *Nāmasaṃgīti* referenced by Puṇḍarīka at the end of his long commentary on KCT 5.127,<sup>186</sup> we find that *pāda-ūna-pañcāvīṣṭati* = twenty-one (twenty-five [*pañcāvīṣṭat*] minus [*ūna*] four [*pāda*]),<sup>187</sup> *pāda-adhika-daśa* = fourteen (four [*pāda*] more than [*adhika*] ten [*daśa*]),

an alternate way of saying *caturdaśa*.<sup>188</sup> We are certain of these numbers by matching the excerpts Puṇḍarīka provides with the Sanskrit of the *Nāmasaṅgītiḥ* in Davidson's edition.<sup>189</sup> In verse 5.128b, the Tantra uses an alternate reading of *sa*-number to indicate multiplication: *sapada-rasa-śara* indicates  $4 + (6 \times 5)$ , or, as Puṇḍarīka rephrases it, *sapada-ṣaṭ-pañcāśat*, six and fifty together with four.<sup>190</sup>

## NOTES

1. Reading from the Sarnath edition of the *Śrīlaghukālacakratantrarājaṭkā* and *Vimalaprabhā*, the citations from the root tantra are as follows [Volume.page.lines--the root tantra verses are never numbered; I've added question marks to quotes that may also come from the *mūlatantra*, given the similarity in style, though they are not explicitly identified as such by Puṇḍarīka]: 1.16.13-22; 1.17.15-16(?); 1.18.14-15(?); 1.24.19-1.26.7; 1.29.28-1.30.2; 1.32.16-23; 1.33.10-25; 1.35.11-16; 1.35.22-23; 1.39.31-1.40.6; 1.44.1-4; 1.50.20; 1.52.26-27(?); 1.66.20-29; 1.88.14-1.49.24; 1.256.4-5; 1.266.13-20(?); 2.2.3-4; 2.2.10-11(?); 2.4.17-18; 2.4.20-2.5.3(?)--the *Ācāryaparīkṣā* may have been a section of the root tantra; the specification of the characteristics of a good teacher is a common subject in tantric texts; 2.6.18-19 & 21-22(?); 2.45.10-15(?); 2.90.11-18(?); 2.105.1-14; 2.106.4-9(?); 2.107.11-26; 2.142.8-11(?); 2.150.15-16; 2.177.10-13; 2.178.15-18(?); 2.179.5-14; 2.197.16-19(?); 2.197.27-30(?); 2.198.9-12(?); 2.204.23-2.205.22; 2.233.7-2.234.10; 2.234.13-2.235.16; 3.14.3-4; 3.20.17-3.21.22; 3.22.10-13; 3.23.28-3.24.4; 3.48.9-10(?); 3.62.19-20; 3.80.20-21; 3.91.6-9; 3.91.19-3.92.10; 3.92.27-30(?); 3.93.9-10(?); 3.94.23-25; 3.95.14-17; 3.97.11-14; 3.98.14-17(?); 3.99.21-24 & 26-27(?); 3.101.1-2, 4-5, 7-8, 10-11, 13-14; 3.102.26-34; 3.107.16-25; 3.118.18-19(?); 3.134.6-7(?); 3.147.1-8.
2. See Orofino 1994.
3. See Carelli 1940.
4. All to be published in the *Serie Orientale Roma*, IsMEO (Torella, personal communication via email, 1 December 1995).
5. See Rinpoche et al 1986:xxxii and cf. Newman 1987:213, 221, 245, 292, 317, 366, 385, 413, 471, 531, 543, and 578.
6. See Newman 1987:543-575.
7. Wallace 1995:145.
8. Wallace 1995:185.
9. Wallace 1995:222.
10. Wallace 1995:246.
11. Wallace 1995:315.
12. Wallace 1995:371.
13. Wallace 1995:440.
14. Wallace 1995:371, KCT 2.107.a-c, Rinpoche et al 1986:228.2-4.
15. *Oṃ namaḥ śrīkālacakrāya | sarvvākṣīr vimala-sūnya-mayīva mātā | advaita-śata-rasa-pūrṇa-tanur vibhuḥ ca | mūrtyā yayā janayate 'bhījanam jinānām tasya namaḥ sajaha-yoga-viśuddha[ājyā/h] | śrīguroś caraṇāmbhojaṃ praṇamya smarāṇāya me | likhyate tat-prasādena sekoddeśasya ṭippant | | iha khalu śrī-dhānya-mahācaitya-nānā-tantra-śravaṇārthibhir adhyeṣitah śrī-sākya-siṃho bhagavān mantra-mahāyānaṃ deśayata sma | tatra daśa-bhūmīśvara-mahā-bodhisattva-vajrapāṇi-nirmitta-śartraḥ sucandro rājā parmādi-buddha-dvādaśa-sāhasra-mahātantre bhagavantam adhyeṣayati sma | Tathā hi Bhagavad-vyākaraṇam | bodhau sthānaṃ mahābodhiḥ prajñā-pāramitā-naye | niyataṃ deśakasthānaṃ grdhra-kūṭo mahā-giriḥ | | Mahā-mantra-naye proktaṃ sthānaṃ śrīdharmma-dhātukam | lokadhātuvādi sambuddhau buddhānām try-adhva-varttinām | | yad-vaibhāṣika-sūtrāntadhāraṇī kalpa-deśanā |*

*sthānaṃ naikaṃ jinasya uktaṃ madha-sattva-āśayena tat | | gr̥dhra-kūte 'pi maitreyaḥ prajñā-pāramitā-nayaṃ | buddho mantra-nayaṃ śuddhaṃ śrīdhānye deśayisyati | | iti vacanād bhagavataḥ śrīdhānya eva mantra-naya-deśanā | anya-deśe punar yat tatra adhimukto-janas tad abhiprāyena daśa-bhūmiśvara-mahābodhi-sattvaḥ saṃgīta-kāro 'nyo vā tat tantra-deśanāṃ vistareṇa karoti | ..... The colophon reads: Sekoddeśasya ṭippanyā[ṃ] yadalambhi śubhaṃ mayā | likhanāt tena saṃyāyāt vajra-sattva-padañjanaḥ | | sekoddeśa-ṭippant samāptā | Post colophon: Kṛtir iyaṃ sādhu-putra-pañḍita śrīdharānandasya | . (Shāstrī 1917:151-2).*

16. See also Orofino 1994:11-12.

17. Rinpoche et al 1994b:154.20-24–155.1-4.

18. Sopa/Jackson/Newman 1985:xviii. Dhargyey gives essentially the same explanation of the text's history, saying that "Śākyamuni Buddha was requested by King Zla-ba-bzang-po of Shambhala to teach the *Kālacakratānta* one year after his enlightenment while at Dhanyakāṭaka. The tradition was maintained for several centuries in Shambhala by the line of kings, and was brought to India "at the time of the twelfth Propagator...by two visiting Indian Paṇḍits..." (Dhargyey 1975:73.)

19. Newman 1987:71.

20. Newman 1987:74.

21. Tucci 1949{1}:212. "The scholar who is said to have given a literary form to this revelation was Zla ba bzañ op, an incarnation of Phyag Ma rdo rje, who put the Buddha's words in writing, and having gone back to his country, Śambhala, and built there a stūpa in honour of the *Kālacakra*, taught his people its secrets. But everything leads us to think that there is much truth in the rest of the narrative; according to it in Śambhala, placed by tradition near the river Sitā (viz. Tarim) many generations of kings succeeded one another and ruled wisely, handing down the secret teaching of the *Kālacakra* until their power was weakened by a raid of the Kla klo, coming from Me k'a (Mecca), i.e. by Moslem invasions.... The *Kālacakra* and its commentary, the *Vimalaprabhā*, written by Pad ma dkar po, were then brought into India by a paṇḍita from Oḍiviśa (Orissa) named Cilupā, who after long travels by land and by sea, came to Śambhala, and having become an expert in the Tantric doctrine, spread its esotericisms in India, under the King of Kaṭaka's protection, and transmitted their teachings to Pi to ācārya of Bengal and to Kālapāda of Varendra."

22. Bernbaum 1980.

23. Sopa/Jackson/Newman 1985:4.

24. Sopa/Jackson/Newman 1985:22-23.

25. Sarnath edition 2.186.6-8 = GsT p. 11; 2.207.5-6 = GsT 18.140; 3.7.4 & 5 = GsT. 18.32 & 18.24.

26. Sarnath edition, Volume 2.4.7-8; 2.4.13-14; 2.5.7-10; 2.6.3-4; 2.6.7-8.

27. Sarnath edition Volume 3.6.26-27 = *HvT* 1.1.7; 3.107.31-32 = *HvT* 1.1.16.

28. Sarnath edition, Volume 3.13.12-13; 3.106.27-28.

29. Rinpoche et al 1994b:29.25-27.

30. Snellgrove 1959{1}:9n.2.

31. KCT 3.144a, Dwivedi & Bahulkar 1994:118.

32. Bhattacharyya 1975:69.

- 33 . Bhattacharyya 1975:70.
- 34 . Bhattacharyya 1975:71.
- 35 . *Vyākaraṇa*, a term generally used in Sanskrit to refer to grammar, is in the Buddhist tradition a term for Prophecy scriptures, one of nine types of scripture enumerated in *Dharmasaṃgraha* 62.
- 36 . Jayaswal 1988:4.
- 37 . Jayaswal 1988:7.
- 38 . Commentary on KCT 5.18 (Rinpoche et al 13.14-15).
- 39 . See Pischel 1938:280, vs. 21 and commentary.
- 40 . *Ārya-bhoṣādikānāṃ* (KCT 5.97a, Rinpoche et al 1994b:49.13).
- 41 . Pingree 1981:32.
- 42 . Newman 1987:534 and note 12.
- 43 . Pingree 1981:32-33.
- 44 . In personal discussion on this point Prof. Pingree agreed with me that the text, or at least this reference to the *karana* literature, cannot predate the 6th century CE.
- 45 . *Rasārṇava* 10.10-12 lists the eight treatments of mercury required for *deha-vedha* or *deha-siddhi*, and explains their functions: 'Fomentation (*svedana*), pulverization (*mardana*), strengthening (*cāraṇa*), oxidation (*jāraṇa*), liquefaction (*drāvaṇa*), coloring (*rañjana*), potentiation (*sāraṇa*), and penetration (*krāmaṇa*). Whoever knows these correctly perfects his mercury. Through fomentation intensity is produced; through pulverizing purity [is produced]; by strengthening one creates strength; through oxidation there is binding; through liquefaction unity; coloring through colored gold; pervasion through potentiation; through penetration taking possession, likewise. (*Svedanaṃ mardanaṃ caiva cāraṇaṃ jāraṇaṃ tathā | drāvaṇaṃ rañjanaṃ caiva sāraṇaṃ krāmaṇaṃ kramāt | iti yo veti tattvena, tasya sidhyati sūtakah | | tivrataṃ jāyate svedāt amalatvaṅca mardanāt | | cāraṇena balaṃ kuryyāt jāraṇād bandhanaṃ bhaveta | | ekatvaṃ drāvaṇāt tasya, raktaṃ raktkāñcanāt | vyāpitvaṃ sāraṇāt tasya, krāmitvaṃ krāmaṇāt tathā | |* (Ray & Kaviratna 1910:147).
- 46 . This is a descriptive rendering of *dola-sveda*, fomentation in the *dolayantra*.
- 47 . *Kvātha*. Ray & Kaviratna explain that decoctions usually consist of boiling one part of herbs in sixteen parts of water until the water is reduced by three quarters. (Ray & Kaviratna 1910:19 Glossary).
- 48 . *Jārita*. Calcination, or oxidation, involves heating the substance until it becomes ash.
- 49 . *Lohānāṃ drāvaṇārthaṃ bhavati viḍam idaṃ sūtakasya aṣṭam āṃśaṃ dolāsvedo 'ṣṭarātraṃ Rasahṛdaya-gataṃ drāvayed yāvad eva | kvāthāt tīvro malaśca prabhavati balavān mardito jāritau 'sau eke lohe drute syād ravi-śaśi-vapuṣā rañjayet sarvalohān | |* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:135.19-22).
- 50 . Dash 1986:13-14.
- 51 . Naudou 1980:154.
- 52 . Naudou 1980:184-185.
- 53 . See Orofino 1994:17-24.
- 54 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:18.

55. Shāstrī 1917:80.\*.

56. The text of the Sarnath edition at this line reads *mṛtapātuñca ... sodhya ... dr̥ṣṭayā*

57. If we move the *u* over one letter, to get *cuñcu-ṭakā*, we would have two names for low cast women. According to MW and Apte *cuñcu* is the term for a mixed caste hunter, from a brahmin father and Vaideha mother. *Takā* could be a variant for *ṭakka*, the derided people who give their name to one of the *Krodheśvaras*, the *ṭakkirāja*. Alternatively, we could emend to *cañcuṭakā*, a clever *ṭakā* maiden. *Amarakośa* and *Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* both have only *cañcu*, either one of eleven names for the castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍaḥ*) (Amarasimha 1885:91) or one of four names for a bird's beak (Hemacandra 1964:317)—neither of much help here.

58. In the Sarnath version, the words should read as a compound, *bhāvibhavataḥ*; *bhāvi* is the compounded form of *bhāvin*. However, I have followed Shāstrī's reading. *Bhāṣitavataḥ* would be the genitive or ablative singular of *bhāṣita-vant*, the 'recitation-possessor,' taken here in the instrumental sense.

59. Śāstrī writes "The addition in a later hand seems to indicate that the MS. was five times recited in seven years after the copy was made, on the banks of the river Veng in Jessore." (Shāstrī 1917:80, note). This post colophon is given in different forms by Śāstrī, who says that it is in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript, and by the Sarnath edition. The text in the Sarnath edition, noted as coming from the *ca* manuscript, i.e. the manuscript in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, reads *ekonatriṃśatimate vatsare harivarmanāḥ*—in the 29th year of Harivarman. The text in Śāstrī's extract from this same manuscript (Shāstrī 1917:80) reads *ṣaṭcatvāriṃśatigate vatsare harivarmanāḥ*—in the 46th year of Harivarman. (Shāstrī 1917:80). I have taken the reading from Śāstrī's extract with the presumption that the recitation of the text over seven years was completed after it had been compiled in Harivarman's 39th year (39 + 7 = 46). It's a bit odd that the two texts differ here (see Chapter 11 for other variations) and I can only presume a scribal error in the Sarnath edition. The text as given by the Sarnath editors doesn't make much sense, and they appear to have deleted part of the third line. Śāstrī's version is a little bit better, though still obscure, so I've used his readings: *ṣaṭcatvāriṃśatigate vatsare harivarmanāḥ | māghasya kṛṣṇasaptamyāṃ ekādaśadine gate | | mṛṭayā cuñcaṭukayā gauriyā svapnena dr̥ṣṭayā | kaniṣṭhāṅgulim ādāya pṛṣṭhayā idam udīritam | pañcatvaṃ bhāṣitavataḥ saptasambarair iti |*. The Sarnath editors offer no explanation for their different readings, including changing the first line to read "the 29th year."

60. *Yad vyākṛtam daśa balena purā alpatantram guhyādhipasya gaditāt paramādibuddhāt | tat Kālacakra-laghu-tantram idam kalāpe mañjuśriyā nigaditam sakalam muntnām | | Rinpoche et al 1986:1.3.15-16; Newman 1987:227)*

61. Newman has "a miniature mānasa lake." This doesn't make much sense. The kha ms. from Patna, Nepal, offers a variant reading of *upamana saca sāram* for *upamānasam sāram*. I think a better reading would simply be *upamānam ca sāram*. The context indicates a symmetry of 12-*yojanas* extent lakes on either side of the sandalwood grove, all three (1 grove, 2 lakes).

62. Newman has "diameter." *Paryanta* however = circumference.

63. cf. Newman 1987: 304-306. The Sanskrit reads: *Kalāpagrāma-dakṣiṇena malaya-udyānam dvādaśa-yojanāyāmam Kalāpa-grāma-tulyam | tasya pūrveṇa upamāmansam saram dvādaśa-yojanāyāmam, paścimena puṇḍarikasaram tadvat-pramāṇam | tayor dvayor madhye*



*malaya-udyānam* | *malaya-udyāna-madhye sucandra-rājñā Kālacakra-bhagavato maṇḍala-cakraṃ pañca-ratna-maya-parighaṣṭita-devatā-devatyātmakam caturam catuḥśata-hasta-āyamam* | *bāhye kāya-maṇḍalam caturam caturdvāri catus-toraṇa-śmaśāna-aṣṭa-vibhūṣitam pañca-prākāra-veṣṭitam* | *bāhye pṛthivyādi-catur-valaya-vajra-āvali-bhūṣitam, vajrāvali-paryantam aṣṭa-śata-hastāyamam* | *kāya-maṇḍala-arddha-māna-madhye caturasram vānmaṇḍalam, caturasram caturdvāram catus-toraṇa-bhūṣitam, pañcaprākāra-veṣṭitam* | *vānmaṇḍala-arddha-mānam citta-maṇḍalam caturasram caturdvāram catus-toraṇa-bhūṣitam triḥ-prākāra-veṣṭitam* | *tad arddhena jñānacakraṃ, ṣoḍaśa-stambha-upaśobhitam* | *etad arddhena aṣṭa-daka-kamalam, kamala-tribhāgā karṇikā* | *evaṃ kāya-vāk-citta-maṇḍalāni sarva-lakṣaṇa-pūrṇāni hāra-arddha-hāra-saṃyuktāni* | *ratna-paṭṭikā-vedikā vakulikā-sahitāni darpaṇa-arddha-candra-ghaṇṭā-virājītāni* | (Rinpoche et al 1986:1.26.20-1.27-4).

64 . *Asmin tri-maṇḍalātmake maṇḍala-gṛhe phālguna-pūrṇimāyāṃ Sūryaratha-pramukhānāṃ sārddha-trikoṣṭhām brahma-rṣṭhām Yaśorājñā niyamo dattaḥ....* (Rinpoche et al 1986: 1.27.5ff)(Newman 1987:305ff).

65 . *Atha Sūryaratha-vacanāt Yaśorājā āha -- 'stghram sambhala-viṣayān nirgacchantu bhavanto yena śītānady-uttare ṣaṇṇavati-koṣi-grāma-nivāsinaḥ sarve sattvāḥ prāṇātipātādy-akuśala-karma-pathān parityajya Kāla-cakra-bhagavato 'dhiṣṭhānena samyak-jñāna-mārga-lābhino bhaviṣyanti' iti* | (Rinpoche et al 1986:1.28.13-15; Newman 1987:310).

66 . *Kalkīgotre tvam arkaḥ kṣiti-pati-namitaḥ Śrī-yaśaḥ śrī-kalāpe* (Rinpoche et al 1994b, 5.153.22; verse 5.257c).

67 . *yena uddhṛtya Ādibuddhād idam iṣu-paṭalam Mañju-vajreṇa tantraṃ rājñā Śrīkalkinā 'haṃ suta iha yaśasaḥ śrī-kalāpe nṛpo 'sya* | | *sambuddha-vyākṛtena pramudita-manasā śrī-yaśaś-coditena ṭikāṃ śrī-mūla-tantra-sphuṭa-kuliśa-padānveṣikāṃ tantra-rāje* | *kṛtvā puṇyam yad āptaṃ vipulam atisitam Puṇḍarīkeṇa dānāt* (Rinpoche et al 1994b: 5.154.22-23; 5.155.1-3)

68 . Newman 1987:310-311.

69 . Newman 1987:309:12 and 1987:363, note 58, citing Beal (1884:1.12-13); Laufer (1907:404), Wylie (1962:58).

70 . Newman 1987:411:27. "MSS consistently read śītā; Bu consistently reads shī ta. (See also Bu ston's note at sGra rig mkhas pa'i rgyan 612). Sanskrit śītā means 'cool' (bsil ba), whereas sita means 'white' (dkar po). I follow MSS in my transliteration, and this orthography also happens to correspond with Beal's reconstruction of the Sanskrit original of Hsuan-tsang's si-to' (Beal 1884:2.298 [n.44])."

71 . Dey 1971:84.

72 . *Kalkipurāṇa* 3.4; *Mahābhārata* 16.7; *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.87.7; *Bṛhatnāradyapurāṇa*, *Uttara* 66; *Vāyupurāṇa* 91.

73 . Dey 1971:187.

74 . Dey 1971:3.

75 . Raper 1818:523.

76 . Newman 1981:620.

77 . See Rinpoche et al 1986:xxii.

78 . The commentary on 1.26 explains that *nāga* refers to eight (*nāgair iti aṣṭa-varṣa-śataiḥ*). (KCT/VMP 1.77.11).

79. The *Vimalaprabhā* glosses the term *kālayogaḥ* as follows: time is the barbarian *dharma*. The joining of the astronomical textbooks with that [barbarian *dharma*] is the connection with time. (*kālaḥ mlecchadharmaḥ, tena siddhāntānām yogaḥ kālayogaḥ*) (Rinpoche et al 1986:77.18-19; Newman 1987:535-6).

80. Newman's translation reads: "Six hundred years from [this] the first year, the master of men Yaśas will clearly appear in (the land) called 'Sambhala.' Naga (8) hundred years after that the barbarian *dharma* will definitely be introduced in the land of Mecca. At that time people on the earth should know the *sphūtalaghukarāṇa*. The corruption of the textbooks on all the surface of the earth will occur in the yoga of time." (Newman 1987:531). Verse 1.26 marks the end of the first section of Chapter 1, the Great teaching specifying the truths of suffering, the path, arisal, and cessation produced in the body, speech, and thought (*Kāya-vāk-cittotpatti-duḥkha-mārga-samudaya-nirodha-satya-nirṇaya-mahoddeśaḥ*; 1.170.10).

81. Rinpoche et al 1994b:96.13-24.

82. Rinpoche et al 1986:77.12-13; (see Newman 1987:532-4).

83. See Newman 1987:543-564.

84. Majumdar 1933:64. See also the less informative paper by M.A. Khaliq, "Early Arab Expeditions to India," *Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, Twelfth Session, Benares Hindu University, 1943-44*, vol. II, Benares, Benares Hindu University, 1946, pp. 550-553.

85. See Spuler 1979:291-292.

86. Orofino 1994:15-16.

87. *Sambhala-viśaye Kalāpa-grāme Sūryaprabhasya Vijaya-devī-garbhā-sambhūṭḥ Daśabhūmtīśaro Vajrapāṇiḥ Sucandra iti* | (Rinpoche et al 1986:1.24.5-6; Newman 1987:297.)

88. Dey 1971:198; and Monier Williams' dictionary.

89. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 6.7-13 (Stein 1991{1}:236-237) (Stein's translation). Yaśas also became the object of ridicule by the people and "resembled a physician who prescribes wholesome food for another, but himself eats what is bad (RT 6.68), since he raised a courtesan Lallā to the rank of queen, and she then carried on an affair with a Caṇḍāla watchman, and he also kept company with "attendants who had eaten the food-remnants of the Ḍombas" (RT 6.69), apparently a serious caste-restriction violation. (See RT 6.68-113).

90. Pingree, personal communication.

91. Bhandarkar 1872:163.

92. *Varna-avarānām ekikaranam*.

93. This is a crucial distinction compared to the common misunderstanding of what *Kalkī* will accomplish. (Rinpoche et al 1994b:96.22-29.)

94. Pelissero 1993:141.

95. *Nīlamata Purāṇa* 708 (Kumari 1973:180.)

96. See also Stein 1991{1}:8-9 on this point.

97. Commentary on *Kālacakratantra* 5.127 (Rinpoche et al 1994b:95.27-30).

98. As he does several times in the text, Puṇḍarīka simply gives the verses, then remarks at the end, citing the group by their verse numbers that these are *subodhāni*, i.e. easily understood. (See Rinpoche et al 1994b:36.23-24).

99 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:34:11-18. *Prajñā-tantram hi pūrvāt punar apara-mukhād eva yoga-anuviddham savya-asyād yogatantram gadati jina-patir vāma-vaktrād kriyādyam | yogācāram hi pūrvāt punar apara-mukhān madhyagam vai samastam sūtrāntam savya-vaktrād gadati sita-mukhāc chuddha-vaibhāṣikam ca || 48 || ṛgvedam paścima-asyād api gadati yajur vāma-vaktrāj jinendrah savya-asyāt sāmavedam parama-hari-kule 'tharvaṇam pūrva-vaktrāt | pūrvāsyāt kaula-tantram punar apara-mukhād gāruḍam bhūta-tantram siddhāntam vāma-vaktrād udaya-ravi-nibhād viṣṇu-dharmam ca savyāt || 49 ||*

100 . See Dyczkowski 1988:34-35.

101 . Dyczkowski 1988:59.

102 . *Kulāgama* was one of the generic terms for the *Paścimāmnāya* of the *Śaivāgama* (Dyczkowski 1988:3 etc.). However, it's not clear here whether Puṇḍarīka is referring to a specific text or to a set of texts. Since the term *kula* was so widely used in the different Tantric schools, it's difficult to tell from Puṇḍarīka's brief reference exactly what he was referring to. Though I have not traced an extant Buddhist *Kulāgama*, we have a number of extant *Śaiva* texts that could fall under the general heading *Kulāgama*: *Kulacūḍamañitantra*, *Kuladīpikā*, *Kulapūjavidhi*, *Kūlaprakāśatantra*, *Kulapradīpa*, *Kulamuktakallolīnī*, *Kulārṇavatāntra* etc. (See listings under Shāstrī 1939-40:882 and Dyczkowski 1988:218 & 129).

103 . *Idāntam Kulāgamoktaḥ kulabheda ucyaṭe--(5.235): Rāhv-agnī candra-sūryau kṣiti-jala-hutabhug vāyu-sūnyam catuṣkam bhuktaḥ yat pañcakam vai graha-gaṇa itarah ṣaṭkasmāc catuṣkam | meror dvīpāni dikṣu prabhavati viṣayāḥ pañcakam bāhya uktaḥ sattvādīnām guṇānām trikam aparam idam deha-madhye tathāiva | | (Commentary): rāhv-ityādīnā | iha kulāgamah--paścima-gṛhāt catuṣkam pañcakam ṣaṭkam catuṣkam pañcakam trikam iti bāhye dehe ca viśodhya tato devānām pūjā iti | atha bāhye rāhuḥ kālāgniś candrah sūryaś ca | eṣām yogaś catuṣkam, catuṣpīṭham ity arthah | tato loka-dhātu-pūraṇārtham pañcakam kṣityādi rasa-paryantam | tato grahaṇa itara iti catuṣkam varjayitvā bhaumah, budhaḥ, bṛhaspatih, śukrah, śanaīscarah, ketuśceti | eṣām gaṇaḥ ṣaṭkam | tato meroś catasṣu dikṣu catvāri dvīpāni catuṣkam | gandhādi-pañca-viṣayāḥ pañcakam | sattvādayaḥ trayo guṇāś trikam | evam yathā bāhye sattvādayo guṇāś trikam pīṭhādi, tathā dehamadhye 'pi veditavyam | | 235 | | (5.236): vijñāna-ānanda-rakta-amṛtam iti kamalādau catuṣkam ca pañca tasmād asthy-ādikaḥ yat sakalam ap tataś cakṣurādyaḥ hi ṣaṭkam | hastau pādau catuṣkam kara-caraṇa-gataḥ pañcakam ca aṅgulīnām tāsām sarva-trikaḥ yat krama iha sakalo veditavyaḥ kule 'smin | | 236 | | (Commentary): iha kāyotpattiyartham mātṛ-padme ālaya-vijñānam iti rāhuḥ, ānandaḥ kālāgniḥ, raktam ity agnirajaḥ sūryaḥ, amṛtam iti śukrah candrah, ete ādau kāya-kula-utpatti-hetu-catuṣkam | catuṣkāt tasmād asthyādi pañcakam | asthī pṛthivī, pittaḥ jalam, raktaḥ tejah, māṁsa-carma vāyuh, majjā 'kāsam, sakalam api pañcakam | tataś cakṣurādyaḥ hi ṣaṭkam iti | [cakṣuh] bhaumah, śrotraḥ budhaḥ, jihvā bṛhaspatih, nāsā śukrah, karmendriyaḥ śanaīscarah, mana-indriyaḥ ketur iti ṣaṭkam | tathāiva hastau pādau catuṣkam iti vāma-hastah pūrva-dvīpam, dakṣiṇa-hasto dakṣiṇa-dvīpam, dakṣiṇapādaḥ paścima-dvīpam, vāmapāda uttaradvīpam iti catuṣkam | kara-caraṇa-gataḥ pañcakam ca aṅgulīnām iti | atra aṅguṣṭhaḥ gandhaḥ, tarjanī rasaḥ, madhyamā rūpam, anāmikā sparśah, kaniṣṭhā śabdaḥ, pṛthivyādi-guṇa-dvareṇa | tāsām pañcāṅgulīnām parvatrikam trikam ucyaṭe--prathamam parva sattva-guṇaḥ, madhyamam parva rajoguṇaḥ, antimam parva tamoguṇaḥ | tamo 'nte nakhaparva pradhānam, krama iha sakalo veditavyaḥ kule 'smin iti yujyate | | (Rinpoche et al 1994b:145.14-28--146.1-14).*

104 . Dyczkowski 1988:218.

105 . Dyzckowski 1988:141n.49.

106 . ✓*kū* (2.P. *kauti*) or (1.Ā. *kavate*) or (6.Ā. *kavate*) or (9.U. *kūnāti/te*) = to sound, make any noise, cry out in distress; cry as a bird, hum as a bee, etc.

107 . *Pulika* may be a technical term from the *mantraśāstra*. MW: *pulikā* = yellowish alum (Lexicons). However, neither the *Soḍhala*, the *Dhanvantarīya*, nor the *Rājanighaṇṭu* list any plant or mineral called *pulika*. *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭuḥ* 3.141 and *Rājanighaṇṭuḥ* 30.200 do list *pulaka* is one of the names of *karkuṣṭham*, a medicinal earth of varying colors, so it's possible *pulika* was an alternate spelling. *Pula[ka]* = horripilation, due to joy or fear. *Pulinam* is a riverbank, acc. to MW, and referred to as such in *Amarakośa* 1.10.9, in the *Vārivargah* or Water chapter, and commentary (Amarasiṃha 1882:56). Hemacandra's *Deśnāmamālā* 6.79 has *pullt* for a tiger (*vyāghraḥ*) and for a lion (*siṃhaḥ*) (Pischel 1938:242). Unfortunately none of these meanings or potential meanings would make much sense in this context of these verses from the *Kulasūtram*.

108 . Dey has no *puli* as a place; the closest is *Pulindadeśa*, in the western portion of Bundelkhand or else northwest of Hardwar. (Dey 1971:161).

109 . MW identifies *Oḍraḥ* with the modern Orissa, citing Lassen, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 1, p. 224, note 2. Here the text locates *Oḍraḥ* in *madhya(deśa)*, admittedly a fairly large area. MW defines *madhyadeśa* as between the *Himālayas* and the *Vindhya*s to the north and south, and between *Vinaśana* to the west (the district northwest of Delhi where the *Sarasvatī* river vanishes) and *Prayāga* to the east (modern Allāhābād, at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna rivers). This would rule out Orissa as the site of *Oḍraḥ*. It could refer to the modern Oudh.

110 . It's not obvious what *Deva-śṛṅga-aṣṭakāraḥ* refers to. *Śṛṅga* can = an animal's horn, tusk, etc., the summit or peak of anything; the moon's cusp; an excess of sexual passion; a mark, etc. The "eight actions," *aṣṭakāra*, could refer to eight activities, such as the eight *siddhis*, or perhaps the eight syllables of a *mantra* called *deva-śṛṅga*, the Divine Summit.

111 . Just after *Kula-taru-* in this line the Sanskrit reconstruction from the Tibetan ends, and the Sanskrit proper from the manuscript begins again in the Sarnath edition. See footnote on page 144 of Sanskrit, and my note at 144.1 above.

112 . *Kula-taru-janant*.

113 . Sarnath editors offer *bhakṣya* instead of *bhakṣyā* as in the text. MW gives *bhakṣyā* as often at the end of compounds = "having anything for food or beverage, eating, drinking, living upon." Perhaps *bhakṣyā* is simply used here as a variant form of *bhakṣya*, so the suggested emendation may be unnecessary.

114 . Mentioning the *Kaulas* in the same vein as the eating demons, and *Māra*'s attendants, suggests once again the relative prominence of the *Śaiva Kaula* sect at the time the *Puṇḍarīka*'s commentary appeared, due to the intersectarian competitive attitude of such a characterization.

115 . Commentary on 5.237: *Atha Kulasūtra-deha-niṣpatti-kāraṇam, tad-yathā--kūkāraḥ kāmārūpe puli-gata-pulikā jāla-ptṛthe 'gnijihvā oḍraḥ śīmadhyaptṛthe trividha-patha-gatā deva-śṛṅgāṣṭakāraḥ| pañca syuḥ siddhayo 'pi ḍaralaka-sahitā pañca devyaś catasras tasmāt śakti-trayaṃ vā kula-taru-janantṛṃ kubjikākhyāṃ namāmi|| iti parama-rahasyaṃ na jñātāṃ bhakṣyā(kṣya)-daityāri mārakāyikaiḥ kaulair iti Kulasūtr[e] niyamah||* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:147.10-14--148.2).

116 . Commentary on 5.237: *Yā śakti sā bhāgeti trividha-gati-yutā try-akṣarā tri-svabhāvā tatra Śrī-odḍiyāno varakalasaḥito madha-saṁshṭo 'tidīptaḥ| tat-savye koṇa eva prakāṣita-nīlaye plītha-jālandhara-śrīr vāme śrīpūrṇapīṭhaṁ paśujanabhayaḍaṁ kāmarūpaṁ tadagre|| evaṁ saṁvyāpi plīthaṁ bhayakarajanant vyāpint rudraśaktis tan-madhye liṅgaṁ evaṁ parama-sukhakarāṁ bindur antaḥ-sthāna-dam| nityānanda-atiśāntaṁ bhavati [ca] vicitaṁ manthanaiḥ ṣaḍvidhais tāṁ dhatte yā etān trikāmān varatanucapalāṁ Kubjikākhyāṁ namāmi||* (Rinpoche 1994b:147.1-8).

117 . Dyczkowski 1988:6.

118 . Dyczkowski 1988:90.

119 . Dyczkowski 1988:87.

120 . Rinpoche et 1994b:151.15.

121 . *asya nirodhaḥ ṣaṭ-skandhādayaḥ ṣaṭtriṁśad-dhātavaḥ kṣara-jñānaṁ sapta-triṁśad iti|* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:152.13).

122 . *Sadyaḥ-pratyaya-kāraḥ*. Presumably the neurotic impulses we all get when we feel we must take care of some trifling issue instantaneously. Verses quoted from the root *Tantra* identify these as resulting from the *viṣa-tattva*: "What's called the 'poison-reality' is the cause of sudden-concepts [*sadyaḥ-pratyaya-kāraḥ*]." (Rinpoche et al 1994b:92.8).

123 . These are the three *upāyas* of the *Trika Śaivite* Tradition—see discussion of the *āṇava*, *śākta*, and *sāmbhava upāyas* in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

124 . *Kurmaḥ*, 1st pers. plural, indicative.

125 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:89.15-34.

126 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:91.17-30—92.1-10.

127 . Kasawara et al 1885:13.

128 . Snellgrove 1959{1}:68-69n.1.

129 . "I termini *saṁdoha* ed *upasaṁdoha*, d'incerte origine e significato, ricorrono anche nella letteratura tantrica buddhistica (nella forma *chandoha*, etc.)... Di *saṁdoha* J. dice *saṁdohaketi upapīṭha-niḥṣyanda-prāyatvāt*, facendo così derivare dal tema *saṁduh-*, mungere, succhiare, emettere (latte)." (Gnoli 1980:446n.39). Jayaratha's comment is after *Tantrālokaḥ* 15.96 (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{6}:2489).

130 . Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{6}:2489: *punaḥ saṁdoha-saṁjñās tu trayas tv ete varānane| lalanāgartakaṁ śāktaṁ baindavaṁ paṭumadhayataḥ|| nādaḥ vyaptimadhyasthaṁ trayas ete samāsataḥ| puṇḍravardhana-saṁjñās tu lalanāyāṁ udahṛtaḥ|| vārendraṁ baindhavaṁ jñeyam ekāmraṁ vyāptisaṁjñitam|*

131 . *Tata ākāśa-dhātu-cakre dig-āreṣu catvāri pīlavāni veśmāni vā...* (Rinpoche et al 1994b:20.10).

132 . *Soḍhalanighaṇṭhuḥ* 1.575b-576a (in the chapter on bitter herbs etc., *Amlādivargaḥ*), lists the following synonyms for *pīlu*: *srāṁstī, śītasaho, dhāntī, guḍaphalo 'pi ca|| virecanaphalaḥ, śākhī, syāmaḥ, karabhavallabhaḥ|* Sharma 1978:63).

*Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭhuḥ* gives us a similar list of synonyms, adding that it removes blood and bile, and its fruit is bitter and heating. (Narahari 1986:178).

133 . Bharati 1993:91—Gnoli cites this passage in his note explaining *saṁdoha*, Gnoli 1980:446n.39.

134 . Bharati 1993:88.

135 . *Chandoha-melāpaka-citi-bhuvanam*.

136 . *Vajravega*, having the swiftness or speed of a bolt of lightning, is also the name of a *Rākṣasa* in the *Mahābhārata*, and of a *Vidyādhara* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

137 . *Anabhisamṣkāra*.

138 . The line number here in the Sarnath edition should read "25," not "30."

139 . *Upādāna*.

140 . Davidson's edition gives this as verse 133a (Davidson 1981:59). He translates it as "His referent truth in twelve aspects, knowing the sixteen aspects of reality, he is totally enlightened to the twenty aspects, awake, omniscient and supreme." (Davidson 1981:34--the second half of the verse reads: *viṃśatyākāra-saṃbodhir vibuddhaḥ sarva-vit paraḥ*).

141 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:19.8-20.15.

142 . I am well aware that the 'regional' mention of Kaśmīr, without specific pilgrimage sites within the valley, would tend to contradict my theory that the *Kālacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā* may have come out of Kaśmīr. My theory may simply be wrong; however, it is equally likely that the authors of the *mūlatantra* were simply using a standard *Śākta-pīṭha* list for India. Traditionally, Kaśmīr, despite its advanced intellectual culture, was not considered part of India proper; rather it was always looked at as a distinct region, much as Nepal is.

143 . Verses lettered by me for reference purposes, with detailed notes on the place names following; the locations of the following places are taken from Monier Williams' dictionary, Apte's, Nundo Dey's *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, an invaluable work that first appeared in serial form in the *Indian Antiquary*, and the more recent *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (see Schwartzberg 1992). I have not give page citations for these sources since the names can be easily looked up in Apte, MW, and Dey, and are all listed in the detailed Index to Schwartzberg. The majority of listings from Schwartzberg may be found on map 32a, "South Asia in the Age of Ghaznavids, Cāhamānas, Later Cālukyas and Colas, c. 975-1200.

144 . (i) *Kāmarūpa* is the name of *Brahmaputra* river valley in Assam, in the extreme northeast of India. In ancient times it referred to both the land and its people; Dey says = Assam, with its ancient capital in *Kāmākhyā* or *Gauhati*. (ii) *Jālākhyam*, not listed in MW, Apte, or Dey, literally: 'the place called *jāla*'; closest name we have is *Jālandhara*, off the Sutlej river in the Panjab. (iii) *Pūrṇagiri*, Schwartzberg identifies as a place of *Śākta* worship, located roughly at the location of the modern *Bijapur* in Karnataka. MW: N. of a place, cited from 'catalogues,' literally: the full mountain--*pūrṇa* is also listed in "Cat." as a form of the sun; not listed in Apte or Dey. Dey gives *Purṇā* as either a branch of the *Tapti* river, or a branch of the *Godāvarī* river. (iv) *Oddiyāna*, the Swat region of modern Pakistan. N. of a place (as *Uddiyāna*), Naudou locates it southwest of Kaśmīr. Dey identifies it with *Ujjāyintī*, yet given that *Ujjāyintī* was an ancient captial of *Mālava*, listed in the next verse as an *upapīṭha*, this seems an unlikely identification. In the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhanam* #225) we have an *Ūrdhva-pāda-vajra-vārāhī-sādhanam* that Abhayākaraguptaḥ tells us is *Oḍiyāna-vajrapīṭha-vinirgatam*, i.e. that comes from *Oḍiyāna*. (Bhattacharyya 1972{2}:438-439).

145 . (i) *Godāvarī*--"granting water or kine;" N. of the Deccan river emptying into the Bay of Bengal. (ii) *Rāmeśa* listed in MW only as name of an author, or name of a *linga*.

Schwartzberg and Dey locate *Rāmeśvaram* (= *Setubandha*) at the beginning of the old land-bridge to Śrī Laṅka, an island separated from the Indian mainland by the Pumben passage, with a well-known temple of *Rāmeśvara*. (iii) *Devikoṭṭa*, Schwartzberg gives a *Devikoṭṭa* for the modern Bangarh, on the border of Bangladesh. MW identifies as N. of a town on the Coromandel coast—SE India, on Bay of Bengal. Dey identifies it with *Ṣoṇitapura*, on the bank of the Kedār-Gaṅgā river, off the road from Harwar to Kedārnāth. I'd be inclined to accept the Schwartzberg identification. (iv) *Mālava* = Malwa or Avantī in central India; Dey says that before the 7th or 8th century it was called *Avantī*—citing Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* p.28, and *Kathāsarisāgara* 19. If this is true, it would suggest a post 7th-8th century date for the composition of the *Mūlatantra*. However, I've not yet had the chance to research this name development myself. MW, from 'catalogues' lists 8 *nāyikās* as *śaktis* of Durgā: *Ugracaṇḍā*, *Pracaṇḍā*, *Caṇḍogrā*, *Caṇḍanāyikā*, *Aticaṇḍā*, *Cāmuṇḍā*, *Caṇḍā*, and *Caṇḍavatī*: he also lists 'a class of female personifications representing illegitimate love': *Balini*, *Kāmeśvartī*, *Vimalā*, *Aruṇā*, *Medinti*, *Jayinti*, *Sarveśvartī*, *Kauleśī*; a *kula-nāyikā* is defined as 'a girl worshipped at the celebration of the orgies of the left-hand Śāktas.'

146. (i) *Arbuda* is in the Vedas the name of a serpent demon conquered by Indra, and of the author of RV 10.94, later the term for a fetus, then also the name of a mountain in western India (aka Abū, a pilgrimage site for Jains); Dey identifies it as Mount Abu, in the Aravali range, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. The modern region is the Pali district of Rajasthan. It was *Rṣi Vaśiṣṭha*'s hermitage, and is one of the five sacred hills of the Jains (the others being *Śatruṅjaya*, *Samet Sikhar*, *Girnar*, and *Candragiri*). (ii) *Munmuntkṣetra* is not listed in Schwartzberg, MW, Apte, or Dey. One possibility is Munnessarama, on the west coast of Śrī Laṅka, though the *Mūlatantra* list of place names does not include any specific locales on the island. (iii) *Oḍra* (*Udra*) is the name of a country = modern Orissa. Schwartzberg identifies the 10th century *Oḍra* as just the lower valley of the *Mahānadī* valley as the river empties into the Bay of Bengal. (iv) *Kāraṇya-pāṭakam*—again, not listed in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey. *Kāraṇya-pāṭaka* would = something like "the artisans' village." There is a *Karaṇja* from the 17th century in the modern Akola district of Mahārāṣṭra that may have been *Karaṇya*, though this is speculative.

147. (i) *Śakuni*, a bird, a demon or Asura, also a character in MBh and Hariv., councilor to Duryodhana. *Śakuni* was also the N. of a son of Subala, king of Gandhāra, and Duryodhana's maternal uncle, advising him on schemes to eliminate the *Pāṇḍavas*. *Trisakuni* is not listed in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey. (ii) *Kārmāra-pāṭaka*—literally, "the blacksmith's village." Not listed as such in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey. (iii) *Kośala*—country, with capital in Ayodhyā, modern Oude, cited in *Pāṇinti*, MBh, Rām. etc.; at the time of *Śākyamuni Buddha Kośala* was a powerful kingdom with incorporating Kapilavastu and Banaras. (iv) *Lāḍadeśa*—MW cites catalogues for *lāḍa* as name of a royal race; *Lāḍa* is the name of one of the servants who sacrifices himself on (883-902CE) King Śaṃkaravarman's funeral pyre (Rajatar.5.27); *ladaka* is the name of a people in the MBh. Dey says *Lāḍa* = *Lāṭa*: southern Gujarat, between the rivers Mahi and either Tapti or Kim. There was apparently another *Lāḍa* identical with *Rāḍha*, in Bengal west of the Ganges. Schwartzberg refers us to Ladakh under *Ladaka*.

148. (i) *Kalinga*. Schwartzberg locates to the coast of Orissa in the modern districts of Ganjam and Puri. MW: 'name of a people and their country (the N. is applied in the Purāṇas to several places, but especially signifies a district on the Coromandel coast, extending from below Cuttack [Kataka] to the vicinity of Madras.); Dey says 'The Northern Circars, a

country lying on the south of Orissa and north of Drāviḍa on the border of the sea.' *Kalinga-nagara* was apparently the ancient name for *Bhuvaneśvara* in Orissa. Apte gives the following unsourced quote from 'the Tantras:' "Beginning from *Jagannātha*, going to the end of *Kṛṣṇāttra*, my dear, *Kalingadeśaḥ* is said to have the left-path as the highest."

(*Jagannāthāt-samārambhya kṛṣṇāttra-antagaḥ priye | Kalingadeśaḥ samprokto vāma-mārga-parāyaṇa.*) (ii) *Harikela*. Schwartzberg locates in North Tripura and the Kanmganj and Hailakandi districts of modern Assam. MW gives *harikeltya*, "at play with *Kṛṣṇa*," the

country of Bengal; Apte also gives *Harikeltyaḥ*, synonymous with *Vaṅgā*, the Sanskrit name for Bengal. (iii) *Candradvīpa*. Schwartzberg identifies as a town in the Ganges delta, in the modern Bangladeshi region of Perojpur in Kulna. MW: N. of a *dvīpa*, cites

*Romakasiddhānta* as source; Dey has no listing. There was a *Candrapura* in the *Madhyadeśa*, and a *Candrapurī* in Oudh. Apte adds a *Candrabhāga* the river Chinab; *Candravattī* as Chanderi in the Lalitpur district, Madhyapradeśa. (iv) *Lampāka*. Schwartzberg identifies a *Lampāka* northwest of *Takṣaṣṭīla* on the *Kubhā* river dating from the Mauryan empire. MW: a people and land in MBh and Pur., acc. to some the district of Lamghan in Cabul; supposedly = *murunḍa*, the name of a King in the *Vāsavadattā*, the 7th century ce fictional work by Subandhu; *Vāsavadattā*'s story is mentioned by Pāṇini 4.3.87 and his commentaries; *murunḍa* is the name for a dynasty and people in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Apte gives "N. of a country," or "a libertine." Dey agrees essentially with MW, = "Lamghan, on the northern bank of the Kabul rivers near Peshawar," 20 miles NE of Jalalabad.

149. (i) *Kāñcī* is the ancient name of Konjeevaram, near Madras; Apte: regarded as one of the sacred cities of the Hindus. (The seven sacred cities are *Ayodhyā*, *Mathurā*, *Māyā*, *Kāśī*, *Kāñcīvarāntikā*, *Purī*, *Dvārāvattī*.) Conjeevaram is about 43 miles SW of Madras. (ii) *Konkanakam*--Schwartzberg identifies as the coastal region of Maharashtra south of Bombay. MW: N. of a people on the western shore of the Deccan, cited from *Harivaṃśa* 784; Dey says = *Paraśurāma-deśa* (citing *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 14), with capital *Tāna*; 'It denotes properly the whole strip of land between the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea.' Apte adds that *Konkadeśa* the modern Coimbatore, Salem, parts of Tinnevely and Travancore. (iii) *Himālaya* = the mountains. (iv) *Nepāla* = the country.

150. (i) *Mātṛgṛham*--MW: a temple of the divine mothers, citing *Kādambartī* as source. Schwartzberg, Apte and Dey have no listing. This may be an alternate name for *Mathura*. (ii) *Prayāga*--place of sacrifice, name of a celebrated pilgrimage site now called Allāhābad, at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā with the supposed subterranean Sarasvatī. Formed part of the kingdom of *Kośala*. (iii) *Kolagiri*. Schwartzberg identifies *Kola* as the region of Coorg or Kodagu in Karnataka. *Kolagiri* would presumably have been a mountain in that area. *Kolagirī* is cited in MBh. ii.1171, acc. to MW, who says simply, 'the name of a mountain.' Dey says *Kolagiri* = *Koḍagu* (*Mbh Sabha*, ch.30; Pargite'r's *Markand.P.* p.364) - - Coorg, a country on the Malabar Coast. (iv) *Gṛhadevatāḥ*, literally, the house-deities: MW cites *Bhāmintvilāsa* iii.12, *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra*, *Gautama-dharma-śāstra*, *Mṛcchakatikā* 1.14-15, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 4.74.. Schwartzberg, Apte and Dey have no additional information.

151. (i) *Saurāṣṭra*--the Surāt region, the southernmost portion of Gujarat. (ii) *Kāśmīra* = Kaśmīr. The general reference to *Kaśmīra*, as with the general references to Nepal or the Himālayas, suggests that the root *Tantra* did not originate in Kaśmīr. (iii) *Suvarṇadvīpa*. Schwartzberg identifies as the Malay peninsula; lit: 'the golden continent, MW: prob. the name of Sumatra, cites *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Buddhist sources; (iv) *Siṃhala* is Ceylon or Śrī



Lañka.

152 . (i) *Nagaram* denotes town or city, and is itself the name for several in (MW:) T.Ar., MBh., Manu, etc. Dey offers *Camatkārapura* as synonym, or *Nagarahāra*. The latter was located at the confluence of the Kabul and Surkhar rivers., or else on the southern bank of the Kabul river, a few miles from Jalalabad. *Camatkārapura* = *Ānandapura* in Ahmadabad. Schwartzberg says that *Nagara* refers to Jalalabad, so this may be the most likely identification. (ii) *Mahendrasailam* = the name of the *Mahendra* mountain range, aka *Mahendragiri*, located along the coast of southern Orissa and northern Andhra Pradesh; (MW:) cited in *Rāmāyana* 6.54.4; 4.49.43. Dey identifies these as a range from Orissa to Madura, including the Eastern Ghats, and the range from the Northern Circars to Gondwana. (iii) *Sindhudeśam*, the land of Sindh. Schwartzberg identifies *Sindhu* as the broad region of the lower Panjab river valley. Above its confluence with the Chinab river, the Indus river is called the Sindh River. (iv) *Kirātakam*, the *Kirāta* are a mountain tribe. Schwartzberg identifies *Kirata* as the region of central and eastern Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. Dey tells us *Kirāta* = *Tipārā/Tippera*, part of Tripura state and Chittagong in Bangladesh. Dey adds that the Tripuresvaraī temple in Udaipur, Hill Tipārā, is one of either 35 or 52 Pīthas.

153 . (i) *Marudeśam*, *maru* denotes wilderness or desert. Schwartzberg says *Marudeśam* = Marwar, the region of Rajasthan containing Jodhpur. MW: given as the N. of a country in *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* and commentary; Apte - N. of a district. Dey gives only *Mārubbhūmi* (probably the same) = *Mārushtalī* = the great desert east of Sindh; i.e. Rajputana. (ii) *Gahvaram*, deep or impenetrable, a cave or arbor. No additional information in Schwartzberg, MW, Apte or Dey. (iii) *Kulatā*, lit: clan-ness, not listed in MW, Schwartzberg, or Apte. Dey however has *Kulūta*, a section in the Kangra district, upper valley of Bias River, NE of Kangra., i.e. the Kathua and Kargil districts of modern Jammu and Kashmir; on the left bank of the Chenab river here there is a famous pilgrimage site called *Trailokyanātha*, with a six-handed image of *Avalokiteśvara*, worshipped also as an image of *Mahādeva*. (iv) *Samalam*, with stains or spots, dirty. Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey have no listing for this. The Sarnath editors offer *Mamalam* as an alternate reading, most likely an alternate reading for *Māmalapūram*, a town Schwartzberg locates on his map c.550-700 A.D. a bit north of Pondicherry in the Chengal Anna district of Tamil Nadu.

154 . (i) *Caritram*. Schwartzberg locates a bit south of Puri, at the mouth of the Mahanadi rivers in Orissa. Dey says *Caritrapura* = Puri in Orissa. (ii) *Harikelam*, repeat from (e), Bengal; (iii) *Vindhyam*, the mountain range; separates "Hindustan" from the Deccan, forming southern limit of *Madhyadeśa*. The *Vindhyas* are one of the seven *Kulaparvatas*. (iv) *Kaumārikāpurtī*: denotes 'city of the young ladies,' and refers to Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of the Indian subcontinent. In his map of Purāṇic India Schwartzberg identifies *Kumārī* at Cape Comorin. *Pīlavam*: here the fourfold *pīlus* are definitively names of places.

155 . (i) *Upaveśman*, not listed in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey, would denote 'the adjacent house.' (ii) *Virajas* denotes 'free from dust,' or 'free from passion.' Schwartzberg says it is the same as Jaipur; not listed as a place in MW/Apte/Dey. (iii) *Konkam*, probably the same as *Koṅkaṇakam* in (f) above. MW: the name of a country, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 5.6.8, 5.6.10; Apte: the strip of land between *Sahyādri* and the ocean (*MBh.* 6, and *Rājataranṅint* 4.159). (iv) *Tripurī*. Schwartzberg says = modern Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. (Apte:) N. of a place near Jabbalpura, formerly capital of the Chedi dynasty; Dey: Teor, on the river Nerbuda, seven miles west of Jabbalpur--where *Mahādeva* supposedly killed *Tripurāsura*. (cf. Doug Brooks' *Secret of the Three Cities*--Brooks 1990:103). (v) *Śrīhattakam*. Schwartzberg

identifies as the modern Sylhet, formerly also the region of the Cachar, Hailakandi, and Kamganj districts of Assam. MW has *Śrhatta*, as Silhet, a town, as does Dey, citing *Yogintantra* 2.6.

156. *Kheta*, a village or residence.

157. *Lagna-ādhāra-pratyūhataḥ*.

158. *Dharma-śuddha-prabhedataḥ*.

159. This notion of the *bījākṣara* of the house-*nāyikāḥ* being the first syllable of the *piṭṭha* [name, presumably], sounds just like the explanation given in the *Mālinīvijayottara* for finding the location of the secret groups of Tantric practitioners.

160. Rinpoche et al 1994b:22.6-9.

161. *Tathāgatena api śītā-nadī-uttare sambhala-ādi-viṣayeṣu ṣaṇṇ-navati-koṣṭ-grāma-nivāsināṃ āsanna-bhavyatāṃ citta-viśuddhiṃ dr̥ṣṭvā vajra-pada-anudghāṭana-rahitaṃ vajra-pada-prakāśakaṃ dvādaśa-sāhasrikaṃ paramādibuddhaṃ sandeśitaṃ* | (Rinpoche et al 1986:24.11-14). I've taken the Ka manuscript reading of *vajra-pada-anudghāṭana-rahitaṃ*, rather than the Sarnath editors' choice of *vajra-padam udghātana-rahitaṃ*, a choice that makes little syntactical sense in the sentence.

162. MVT 20.16 (Kaul Shāstrī 1922:138).

163. See Naudou 1980:90n.27 for Līlāvajra's name in a list of early Buddhist Tantric teachers.

164. Naudou 1980:160. Naudou identifies another Vāgīśvara who was the spiritual grandson of Ravigupta, and he places Ravigupta in the eighth century (though no more specifically than just within the century). (Naudou 1980:71-72.) Provided Naudou is correct, then we might locate this first Vāgīśvara in the 9th century. The name may have been a fairly common one, since a English translation would mean something like "eloquent" (literally 'lord of speech').

165. Naudou 1980:164.

166. Naudou 1980:153-154.

167. See Naudou 1980:272—he may have been a Buddhist king in the East, contemporary with Harṣa of Kaśmīr.

168. See Naudou 1980:199.

169. Naudou 1980:292 & 12.

170. Ui et al 1934:219, 223, 222, 685, 67, 219, 218, 217-218, 67, 218, 221, 218-219, 218, 219, 223, 222, 219, 220.

171. Ui et al 1934:67 and 216.

172. See Naudou's account, taken largely from *The Blue Annals* (Naudou 1980:198-200).

173. Ui et al 1934:142.

174. See Naudou 1980:292, 250, 94, and 12.

175. *Iti śrī-amṛta-tantra-anusāriṇyāṃ laghu-kālacakra-tantrarāja-ṭṭāyāṃ dvādaśa-sāhasrikāyāṃ vimalaprabhāyāṃ nānopāya-vaineya-mahoddeśaś-caturthaḥ samāptah | samāpteyaṃ ṭṭkā jñānapatalasya | sambuddha-vyākṛtena pravara-muni-gaṇaṃ sthāpitaṃ buddha-mārge dattvā prajñābhīṣekaṃ parama-karuṇayā deśitaṃ kālacakram | yeneddhr̥tyādibuddhādi-dam iha paṭalaṃ mañju-vajreṇa tantraṃ rājñā śrī-kalkināhaṃ svata iha yaśasaḥ śrīkalāpe nr̥po 'sya || sambuddha-vyākṛtena pramudita-manasā śrī-yaśaś-coditena*

*ṭkāṃ śrī-mūla-tantra-sphuṣa-kuṣa-lipadānveṣikāṃ tantra-rājāḥ | kṛtvā puṇyaṃ yad āptaṃ  
vipulamatisitaṃ puṇḍartkeṇa dānāt samubddhas tena lokāḥ prabhavatu sakalo vajriṇo labdha-  
mārgaḥ || ye dharmmā ityādi... Tribhuva-parama-nāthāt nirvṛtāt śākyasiṃhāt vasu-śaśi-vasu-  
candre caitra-śuklāṣṭamike | kamala-vara-kṛtā śrī-kālacakrasya ṭkā vividhakumutihantrī  
sarvalokaikadhātrī | buddha-śrīyā buddha-guṇapriyeṇa likhāpitā śrīr-vimala-prabheyam |  
tajjātu-puṇyena janāḥ samastāḥ sambodhi-lakṣmyā vilasantu nityam || nepāle śrī-dharmma-  
dhātu-vihāre gauḍa-deśtyopāsaka-śrī-tathāgata-vara-śrī-puṇḍrābhyaṃ iti |* (Shastri 1897:315).

176. The Sarnath edition reads *sthavira.....sya*. In M.M. Hara Prasad Shāstrī's catalogue the colophon reads *sthaviramahākaraguptasya*, so I have emended the text accordingly. (Shastri 1917:79).

177. This post-post colophon is given in a different form by Śāstrī, who says that it is in a different hand than the rest of the manuscript (Shāstrī 1917:80). It's a bit odd that the text differs here, since the latter half of the fifth chapter in the Sarnath edition is supposedly based on the Asiatic Society of Bengal's manuscript. The text as given by the Sarnath editors doesn't make much sense, and they appear to have deleted part of the third line. Śāstrī's version is a little bit better, though still obscure, so I've used his readings:

*ṣaṭcatvāriṃṣatigate vatsare harivarmanāḥ | māghasya kṛṣṇasaptamyāṃ ekādaśadine gate ||  
mṛtayā cuñcaṭukayā gauryyā svapnena dr̥ṣṭayā | kaniṣṭhāṅgulim ādāya pṛṣṭhayā idam  
udtritam | pañcatvaṃ bhāṣṭiavataḥ saptasambarair iti |*. Śāstrī writes "The addition in a later hand seems to indicate that the MS. was five times recited in seven years after the copy was made, on the banks of the river Veng in Jessore." (Shāstrī 1917:80, note). The Sarnath editors offer no explanation for their different readings, including changing the first line to read "the 29th year."

178. The text in the Sarnath edition, noted as coming from the *ca* manuscript, i.e. the manuscript in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, reads *ekonatriṃṣatimate vatsare harivarmanāḥ*—in the 29th year of Harivarman. The text in Śāstrī's extract from this same manuscript (Shāstrī 1917:80) reads *ṣaṭ-catvāriṃṣatigate vatsare harivarmanāḥ*—in the 46th year of Harivarman. I have taken the reading from Śāstrī's extract with the presumption that the recitation of the text over seven years was completed after it had been compiled in Harivarman's 39th year (39 + 7 = 46). Śāstrī in a note on the same page wrote "The present Ms. was copied on the 29th day of Āṣāḍha in the 39th year of Harivarmadeva, King of Bengal, whose minister's Praśāsti is to be found in the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. He is said to have reigned during the last half of the 10th century A.D.." (Shāstrī 1917:80.\*).

179. If we move the *u* over one letter, to get *cuñcu-ṭakā*, we would have two names for low cast women. According to MW and Apte *cuñcu* is the term for a mixed caste hunter, from a brahmin father and Vaideha mother. *Takā* could be a variant for *ṭakka*, the derided people who give their name to one of the *Krodheśvaras*, the *ṭakkirāja*. Alternatively, we could emend to *cañcuṭakā*, a clever *ṭakā* maiden. *Amarakośa* and *Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* both have only *cañcu*, either one of eleven names for the castor-oil plant (*eraṇḍaḥ*) (Amarasiṃha 1885:91) or one of four names for a bird's beak (Hemacandra 1964:317)—neither of much help here.

180. Kasawara et al 1885:3.

181. Stein 1991{1}:205.150.

182. Dey 1971:200.

183. Dey 1971:164, 195.

184 . Chalmers 1957:232.

185 . Thanks to Prof. David Pingree for explaining to me the distinction between the fifteen and sixteen *kalās*. There are some variations to the *bhūtasamkhyā* system in the *Kalacakra*. Although *akṣi*, the eye, usually means two, in KCT verse 5.134a, it apparently means 30, according to the VMP on the verse [109:1]. In 5.134a, *dtnākhyā* apparently means fifteen; in 5.134b *veda-jātā* apparently indicates forty.

186 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:102:2-16.

187 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:102.9-10.

188 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:102.11.

189 . See notes to translation in Chapter 11.

190 . Rinpoche et al 1994b:104.6. However, the list of phonemes given at 104:13-18 totals seventy-six, though it ends with *iti sapādaṣaṭpañcāṣat*, "thus the sixty." *Saśara-giri-rasa* [verse 5.129a] either indicates  $5 + (8 \times 6) = 53$ , or  $5 \times 8 \times 6 = 240$ .

**Translation of the Fifth Chapter of the *Kalacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā***

(1st *Mahoddeśāh*)<sup>1</sup>

The Wisdom Chapter, the Fifth

1. The Great teaching on the vibrational effusion of the *Yoginttantra* etc.

Homage to *Śrīkālacakra*

I bow to you who have aroused the love of your own lightning bolt by the power of the wisdom consort, and have drawn it to your own forehead *vajra* that is connected to the great *uṣṇīṣa* (brain dome),

You, whose atomless void is objectified, while your universal compassion is unobjectified,

To you, the guru of gods, men, *asuras*, and *nāgas*, the one teacher of the universe.

[1.5] Of whom there is neither cause nor effect,<sup>2</sup> likewise neither movement nor sequence,

Honoring that non-dual one by the designation *Kālacakra*,

The primal matchless<sup>3</sup> Buddha whose four bodies--emanation, enjoyment, good dharma, and purified, are designated by the letters *ka* etc. [i.e. *ka, la, ca, kra*],

bowing to that *Tathāgata* with the [crown of my] head,

I, *Puṇḍarīka*, in my emanated body, as the Lord of the world, holding a lotus, urged

<sup>1</sup> The translations given in Chapters 11-13 constitute works in progress, and should not be considered final versions of the translations of this material.

<sup>2</sup> "Mark" -- *lakṣaṇam*.

<sup>3</sup> Apte explains *ananvaya* as "a figure of speech in which a thing is compared to itself, the object being to show that it is matchless and can have no other *upamāna*" [comparison].

[to do so] by *Mañjuśrī*, as prophesied by *Sugata*, wrote this commentary on the venerable wisdom chapter,

**[1.10]** so that *ṛṣis* and all beings may attain the fruit of merit and wisdom.

Here, in the exquisite Malaya garden south of the town of *Kalāpa*, in the jewel pavilion at the edge of the eastern door of the glorious *Kālacakra maṇḍala*, seated on the royal gem throne, *Yaśas*, ruler of men, the emanated body of *Mañjuśrī*, asked to give instruction by the *brahmarṣi Sūryaratha*, **[1.15]** expressed with the first verse the answer of the *Tathāgata* to *Sucandra*'s solicitation for instruction, in the Wisdom Chapter from the ultimate Primal Buddha [i.e. the root *Tantra*]-

**5.1:** "Since [I] have only somewhat understood what you explained about the *sādhana* of the Lord together with the supreme victors,

I would like to know more about the *maṇḍala*, Oh *Guru* of gods and men, with its divisions of the bodily-constituents<sup>1</sup>

About the six clans of the Buddhas and the six [clans] of *yoginīs* residing in the vowel-bees and the consonant-flowers;<sup>2</sup>

Hearing *Sucandra*'s words, the Lord of the Conquerors spoke about the *maṇḍala* etc. with the elements. || 1 ||

<sup>1</sup> *Dhātus. Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 25: The eighteen constituents are: the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, form, smell, sound, taste, touch, and *dharma* constituents, and the eye-awareness, the ear-awareness, the nose-awareness, the tongue-awareness, the body-awareness, and the mind-awareness constituents. ("*Aṣṭādaśa dhātavaḥ--cakṣuḥ-śrotra-ghrāṇa-jihvā-kāya-mano-rūpa-gandha-śabda-rasa-sparśa-dharma-dhātavaś cakṣurvijñāna-śrotravijñāna-ghrāṇavijñāna-jihvāvijñāna-kāyavijñāna-manovijñāna-dhātavaś-ceti.*" (Kasawara et al 1885:5).)

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the vowels and the consonants. The *buddhas* are the vowel-bees, and the *yoginīs* are the consonant-flowers.

[1.20] Here with the first verse from the Primal Buddha (*Ādibuddha Mūla Tantra*), [there is] *Sucandra*'s solicitation; *Tathāgata*'s answer, since it is the abode of meaning, is recited by *Mañjuśrī*. That very [verse] is expanded upon by the commentary--"somewhat" etc. Here, the *sādhana* of the Lord [2.1] in the *Sādhana* Chapter, together with the *Tathāgata*, of *Kālacakra*, that was expressed by you, Hey Guru of Gods and Men, *Śākyamuni!*, that is somewhat understood by me. Therefore I would like to know more about the *Kālacakramaṇḍala* in the body with the divisions of the bodily-constituents, i.e., with the purified<sup>1</sup> bodily constituents of the bones, etc. And in addition I desire to [know] about the six clans of Buddhas, that reside in the bees/vowels and the flowers/consonants,<sup>2</sup> that reside in the vowels *a* etc., that reside in the consonants *ka* etc., as will be expressed, [2.5] thus the six [clans] of *yoginis*. Just as there are six clans of the *skandhas*,<sup>3</sup> so there are also [six clans] of the bodily constituents (*dhātus*) residing in the [letters] *a* etc. Hearing this statement by *Sucandra*, the Lord of the Conquerors speaks<sup>4</sup> about the unconcealed *skandhas* etc. whose nature is the four bodies *sahaja* etc. The Lord of them is the progenitor, the wide awake,<sup>5</sup> the Primal Buddha. The *maṇḍala* etc. with the bodily-

<sup>1</sup> In the Tibetan tradition, "purified" or "the purification of" the various constituents, etc., is understood to mean the more subtle or symbolic meaning, purified from the gross or obvious meaning. Though I've chosen to maintain the more literal sense of "purified" for *śuddha* or *viśuddha*, the terms could equally well be translated by "symbolic meaning."

<sup>2</sup> The *Buddha*-bees-vowels represent the six *skandhas*, and the *yoginī*-flowers-consonants represent the six *bhūtas* or elements (earth, air, fire, water, space, and void.)

<sup>3</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 22 lists five aggregates as *rūpa*, *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *samskāra*, *vijñāna* (Kasawara et al 1885:5). The Tāntric system adds a sixth, void.

<sup>4</sup> Verb in present tense.

<sup>5</sup> Or, completely enlightened (*sambuddha*).

**constituents**, of the six clans etc., will be expressed. So there is a relationship between the instructor and the questioner. In this verse, after the three *padas* of *Sucandra*'s solicitation, beginning with the fourth *pada* up to the end of the chapter, [2.10] is the response of the *Tathāgata*. The restriction in this Tantra is that there is not another solicitation. || 1 ||

Now is stated the purification of the *maṇḍala* through the purification of the bodily constituents:

Verse 5.2: **You must make the pillars, the row of vajras, and the earth-circle in sections,<sup>1</sup> with the bones;**

**[You must make] the foundation<sup>2</sup> in the east,<sup>3</sup> south,<sup>4</sup> north,<sup>5</sup> and west<sup>6</sup> with the flesh, blood, urine, and excrement;|**

<sup>1</sup> *Bhittam eva* really means 'sectioned,' i.e. in sections, *eva* provides the emphasis.

<sup>2</sup> *Ragapatam*; would mean literally the colored descent, the tinted fall; *ranga* can also denote a theatrical stage, *rangadvar*, for example, denotes the stage door, or theater entrance; *rangamandapa* denotes play-house or theater; in this context *raṅgapatam* appears to refer to the architectural base or foundation of the three-dimensional *maṇḍala*, colored according to the directions.

<sup>3</sup> *Sura* usually just means 'a god;,' presumably it means 'east' because the abode of the gods, i.e. the sun, rises in the east. *Surapatha* denotes the path of the gods, i.e. the atmosphere or sky; MW lists *surapraviira*, the hero/prince of the gods, as Fire, the son of *Tapas*, from the Mbh (no citation); *suraparvata*, the gods' mountain, is Meru; *suraloka* denotes gods' world, heaven.

<sup>4</sup> *Yama* denotes south here; *Yama* is the god of death; from the *Ṛgveda* onwards *Yama* is the god who presides over the *Pitṛs* and rules the spirits of the dead; *Yama* is one of the eight guardians of the world as regent of the Southern quarter; for future reference he is also regent of the *nakṣatra Apabharani* or *Bharani*.

<sup>5</sup> *Dhanada* denoting north here, is literally 'wealth-giving;,' it's a name for *Kubera*, the god of riches and treasure who is regent of the northern quarter; *Kumārasaṃbhava* iii.25 (MW) refers to the north as *kubera-gupta*—protected by *Kubera*.

<sup>6</sup> *Apara* denotes the posterior, or the western, since the traditional morning *agnihotrin* faces east, towards the rising sun, so the 'posterior' becomes the west; similarly the 'right' becomes the south; *uttara* denotes 'north' both because the north is higher than the south in India, and because it denotes 'left' as the opposite of 'right' or south.



**[You must make] the sun with the bile [humor], also the moon with the phlegm [humor], likewise the lotuses with the sinews;<sup>1</sup>**

**[You must make] the five types of lines by what's produced from the earth, water, fire, wind, and space. ||2||**

"The pillars," etc. Here, with the idea that **you must make the pillars** in the body-*maṇḍala* with the bones in the body; [also] **the row of vajras, and the circle of the earth, in sections, with the bones;** 'you must make' is understood in the three verses. With this purification one should mix the powder of bones etc. into the midst of the particles. **With the flesh, blood, water, excrement,** by the purification of the flesh **in the Gods, in the east, the foundation;** by the purification of the blood, the foundation **in Yama, in the south;** by the purification of the water [i.e. urine], the foundation [2.20] **in the north, in Kubera;** by the purification of the excrement, the foundation in the west, **in the posterior.** The foundation in the middle by the purification of the semen; where the sixth is, the ovum, there, by the purification of the ovum, is a foundation. Thus, by the purification of the Tathagata's flesh etc., [there is] respectively, *Amogha[siddhi]*, *Ratneśa*, *Amitābha*, *Vairocana*, *Akṣobhya*, and *Vajrasattva*--the six. **With the bile,** with the bile constituent, the sun-seats, **with the phlegm-constituent,** the moon-seats; [hence] **the sun and the moon. With the sinews, the lotuses** on the surface of the moon and the sun. **The five types of lines:**

<sup>1</sup> *Snayu* denotes any sinew in human or animal body, muscle, tendon, ligament, nerve, vein; MW's citations are from *Taittirīyabrāhmaṇa*, *Suśrutasaṃhitā*, *Manu*, *Mahābhārata*; two non-specific citations from *Suśrutasaṃhitā* are *snayu-jala-vat*, covered with a network of sinews or nerves or veins, and *snayu-marman*, the joint or place of junction of a sinew or tendon.

the first line, [2.25] by the purification of the thumb produced from the earth; the second, by the purification of the index finger produced from water; the third, by the purification of the middle finger produced from fire; the fourth, by the purification of the ring finger produced from wind; the fifth by the purification of the little finger produced from the space. Thus one must make the five types of lines in the particle *maṇḍala*. ||2||<sup>1</sup>

[3.1] 5.3: [You must make] the Master's lotus<sup>2</sup> with the time-*nāḍī*, and the wind and fire circles etc. with the skin etc.,

The doors of the sun<sup>3</sup> with the orifices,<sup>4</sup> the structure consisting of jewels with the row of teeth, in exactly the same way;|

And the eight wheels located in the wind circle in the cremation ground with the nails of the fingers [and toes];

The light ray/flame of the *vajra* with the hairs located in the cardinal directions and intermediate directions, at the [spherical] surface of the

<sup>1</sup> Compare the following description of the symbolic aspects of constructing the *Gārhapatya* hearth for the *Agnicayana*, from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.1.1.15-16: "For the enclosing stones are the bones, and the Sūdadohas is the breath; and there is no breath in the bones. With one and the same formula he lays down many bricks, for of one and the same form are the waters; and as to their being many enclosing stones, it is because there are many waters. (16:) The enclosing stones, then, are the womb; the saline earth is the amnion, and the sand is the seed. The enclosing stones are outside, and the saline earth is inside; for the womb is outside, and the amnion inside. The saline earth is outside, and the sand inside; for the amnion is outside, and the seed inside. He who is born is born from these: it is from them that he thus causes him (Agni) to be born." (Eggeling 1894:302).

<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit is *Bhartṛ-abja*, the lotus of the "bearer" or "supporter." Though common usage for *bhartṛ* in Sanskrit is "husband," here the term refers to the principal lotus that "supports," from underneath, the entire *Kālacakra maṇḍala*.

<sup>3</sup> Or, using the *bhūta-saṃkhyā* system, "the twelve doors."

<sup>4</sup> These twelve are specified in the commentary.

*maṇḍala.* ||3||<sup>1</sup>

**[3.5] The master's lotus with the time-*nāḍī*:** with the *avadhūti*<sup>2</sup> [you must make] the purified lotus of the leader, the remainder with the *lalanā* etc.--with the sinews up to the seventy-two thousand--thus the rule.<sup>3</sup> **And the wind and fire circle etc. with the skin etc.** Here the wind circle with the skin etc., the fire circle with the red and warm bodily constituent [i.e. blood], the water circle with the perspiration. **The doors of the sun,**<sup>4</sup> i.e. the twelve doors **with the twelve orifices:** the two ears, the two nostrils, the two eyes, the one mouth, the three holes for urine, feces, and semen, the two breasts, thus you must make the twelve holes in the powder circle (*rajomaṇḍala*) with the purification of the twelve holes. **[3.10] The structure consisting of jewels,** what begins with garland (*hārū/a*) in the *maṇḍala*, you must make with the row of teeth. **The eight circles that are in the cremation ground,** you must make **with the nails of the fingers [and toes],**<sup>5</sup> by the purification of the nails of the hands and feet. **The light ray/flame of the *vajra*** you must make with the hairs that are the flames of the lightning bolt; **with the hairs located in the cardinal directions and intermediate directions,** the *vajra* light ray/flame **on the surface of**

<sup>1</sup> Although *maṇḍalas* are typically represented in two-dimensional paintings, these visualizations are of three-dimensional *maṇḍalas*.

<sup>2</sup> This is an important gloss. The central channel of the subtle body that runs through the center of the spine, the *avadhūti*, is the time-channel--the circuit through the body whereby we experience time, and can potentially control time.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the seventy-two thousand *nāḍīs*; the *lalanā* and *rasanā* are the two major subsidiary channels on either side of the *avadhūti*, the latter running through the spine.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the twelve doors of the *maṇḍala* palace, the four doors to each of the three interset palaces = the twelve signs of the zodiac that the sun passes through during the course of a year.

<sup>5</sup> *Angula* denotes either finger or toe--it's a general term for 'digits' of hands and feet.

the [spherical] *maṇḍala*. ||3||

**5.4: In just this manner is stated the body-*vajra*, possessing the best of various qualities, in the form of a *maṇḍala*,**

**[3.15] And [you must make] the speech-*vajra*, that is *a* etc. [the vowels and] *ka* etc. [the consonants], into the form of deities with all the families of the Victors;|**

**With the six voids [you must make] the mind-*vajra* into the unitary form of the Leader pervading the three sorts of worlds;**

**Just in this way [you must make] the intuition-*vajra* into the intrinsic nature of the universal mother, destroying fear of the world.<sup>1</sup> ||4||**

The rule of the *maṇḍala* is stated here, i.e. that in just this way the body-*vajra*, consists of the six elements, possesses the best of various qualities, with the varieties of earth, etc. in the form of the *maṇḍala*. Now the symbolism of the speech *vajra* as the group of deities is stated. Here [3.20] *a* etc. [and] *ka* etc. consist of the vowels and consonants. [You must make] the speech-*vajra* as the host of deities with all the clans of the Victors, transformed into the vowels and consonants. Because of that, the speech-*vajra* is stated to be in the form of a deity. You must make exactly that deity-form in the powder-*maṇḍala*. With the six voids the mind-*vajra*, the eye-consciousness, the ear-consciousness, the nose-consciousness, the tongue-consciousness, the body-consciousness, the mind-consciousness, by purification [become] the six sorts. By the six voids, having as their objects form etc., the mind-

<sup>1</sup> *Bhava-bhaya-mathanam*; *bhava-bhoga* = the pleasures of the world, *bhava-saṅgin* = attached to the world, *bhava-jala* = the water/ocean of worldly existence; so, *bhava-bhaya-mathana* = destroying fear of the world.

*vajra* becomes revealed. **In exactly this way [you must make] the intuition *vajra*, [3.25] the mind as an object of perception, pervading the threefold world, the nature of the universal mother, the voidness image, destroying the fear of the world, free of all fictions. You must make wisdom the leading Lady in the *maṇḍala*. In this way the elements of the body, speech, mind, and intuition are externally the *maṇḍala*, the host of deities, the Leader, and the Leading Lady, esoterically; revelatorily<sup>1</sup> [they are] known as the emanation, beatific, dharma, and orgasmic [bodies]. ||4||**

[4.1] Now the clans of the six-*mantras* are stated--

**5.5: The clans of the consonant classes, the six *ka* etc. are arranged around in sequence, sequentially,**

**The *vajra*, the sword, the jewel, the wheel, likewise the lotus also, the chopper in the same way, of the Victors;|**

**And further each individual consonant class is divided into five divisions of the most eminent Universal Conquerors,**

**Because the division of the letters individually consists of earth, water, fire, air, and space. ||5||**

**Of the classes, etc.:** Here the six consonant classes *ka* etc. are *ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa, śa*; the clans of the consonant classes, the six--*ka* etc. arranged around in sequence are the *vajra* etc. signs of the six Victors. Among those the *vajra* is the clan of the gutturals, the sword is the clan of the palatals, the jewel is the clan of the

<sup>1</sup> The two terms in Sanskrit are *saṁvṛti* and *vivṛti*. *Saṁvṛti* = closure, covering, concealing, keeping secret. Revelatorily, or what is made clear--from *vivṛti* = making clear or manifest, explanation, gloss, comment, interpretation, exposure.

retroflexes, the wheel is the clan of the dentals, the lotus is the clan of the labials, likewise the knife is the clan of the sibilants, **in just that way** [vai] is absolutely; thus the rule about the clans of the consonant classes. **And further, each individual consonant class is divided into five divisions of the most eminent Universal Conquerors;** here, where there is one, there are the five clans because of the fact of their interconnection. Their usage is well-known in the world. For this reason each individual consonant class, **because of the division of the letters individually** consists of **earth**, consists of **water**, [4.10]<sup>1</sup> consists of **fire**, consists of **air**, consists of **space**; [thus] the consonant class is divided five-fold. "Individually" denotes *ka, kha, ga, gha, ṇa*. ||5||

Similarly [the three ways of reading the consonant set]: *ca* etc. are read by means of *saṃhāra*; by *pratyāhāra*, *ṇa* etc. are read; with the creation sequence as space etc.<sup>2</sup> They are also stated--

**5.6: And in the beginning the void categories, also, *ṇa, ṅa, ṇa, ma, nā, xa*, and likewise the vowel *a* etc.;**

**[4.15] So the wind category has the phoneme *i* and *gha, jha, ḍha, bha, dha, śā*; and the fire categories have the letter *ṛ* etc.;<sup>3</sup>**

**The water category also has the phoneme *u, ḥka,<sup>4</sup> kha, cha, ṭha, pha, tha*,**

<sup>1</sup> The numbering of lines in the Sarnath edition is down-shifted by one and a half lines on this page. Further down the page the numbering becomes half a line down-shifted.

<sup>2</sup> See next footnote.

<sup>3</sup> The same pattern as the first *pada*. i.e. *ghi, jhi, dhi, bhi, dhi, śi*.

<sup>4</sup> The *visargaḥ* placed before *ka*, represented by *ḥ*, or by the Greek letter it sounds closest to, *χ*, and is known in the grammatical tradition as the *jihvāmūltyaḥ* (lit: 'produced at the root of the tongue') (See Whitney 1977:23. paragraph 69). The other *visargaḥ* placed before a the *pa*.

**vā; in the earth division the phonemes with { etc.};<sup>1</sup>**

**Thus by the five forms of the clans of the Supreme Conquerors the guttural etc. classes are divided. ||6||<sup>2</sup>**

"In the beginning" etc.: Here in the beginning, to the extent there is the void, also, *ṅa*, *ṅā*, *ṅa*, *ma*, *nā*, likewise *ka*. And<sup>3</sup> in addition, [4.20] and the vowel *a* is the letter *a*. According to the grammatical rule that "what falls in between that is

is represented in transliteration either by ḥ, or by the Greek letter it sounds closest to, φ, is called the *upadmāṅyaḥ* (lit: 'produced by breathing on [the lips]'). In *devanāgarī* both the *jihvāmūṅyaḥ* and the *upadmāṅyaḥ* are represented by the X, the reversed, horizontally parallel parentheses we have in the Sarnath edition of our text, or something similar to the Pisces sign in astrology. Both of these *visarga-s* occur principally in Vedic Sanskrit, suggesting that the authors of Root *Tantra* verses, the *Laghutantra* verses, and the *Vimalaprabhā* were well-educated Sanskritists. My thanks to Jensine Andresen for first finding out for me about the *visargas*, and to Gary Tubb for a full clarification of the issue.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *ḥku*, *khu*, *chu*, *ṭhu*, *phu*, *thu*, *vu*.

<sup>2</sup> The complete set is a modified, alternate reading of the basic consonant set of the Sanskrit alphabet.

**Standard Grammatical Arrangement**

**Kalacakratantra Arrangement**

Vowels: *a, ā*

Palatal vowels: *i, ī*

Labial vowels: *u, ū*

Lingual vowels: *ṛ, ṝ*

Dental vowels: *l, ḷ*

Gutturals: *ka, kha, ga, gha, ṅa*.

Palatals: *ca, cha, ja, jha, ṅa*.

Retroflexes: *ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa*.

Dentals: *ta, tha, da, dha, na*.

Labials: *pa, pha, ba, bha, ma*.

Palatal Semivowel: *ya*

Lingual Semivowel: *ra*

Dental Semivowel: *la*

Labial Semivowel: *va*

Palatal sibilant: *śa*

Lingual sibilant: *ṣa*

Dental sibilant: *sa*

φku

κl, khu, γr, ghi, ṅa

cḷ, chu, jṛ, jhi, ṅa

ṭl, ṭhu, ḍr, ḍhi, ṇa

pḷ, phu, br, bhi, ma

tḷ, thu, dr, dhi, na

sl, vu, ṣr, śi, χka

<sup>3</sup> *Ca* should not be bold-faced; it is not in the verse.

understood by the use of the word *tad*," the phoneme *ha* is also in the space division-- so it is proved. Thus the wind division has the phoneme *i, gha, jha, dha, bha, dha, śā*, and the letter *ya*. Of fire *ṛ, ga, ja, da, ba, da, śā, ra*; of water *u, kha, cha, ṣha, pha, tha, pā, va*; of earth, *l, ka, ca, ta, pa, ta, sā, la*. Thus by the five forms of the clans of the Supreme Conquerors the guttural etc. classes are divided--the stated letters *na* etc. are to be understood with the clans of the *vajra*, the sword, the jewel, the lotus, and the wheel. This is the rule. || 6 ||

[4.25] Now the *uṣṇīṣa* clans are stated--

5.7: The *uṣṇīṣa* is the five voids; the three clans also, in the same way, are the body, speech, and mind *vajra*,

[The vowels] *a* etc. are the seals-clan, similarly; the guttural etc.

consonant classes, all together, plus *ha, ya, ra, va, la*,

[5.1] Are the [limit of the universe called] the World and Non-world;<sup>1</sup> with the syllable units, together with *ha, ya, ra, va, la*,<sup>2</sup> are also what's beyond the World and the Non-world [cosmic limit];

The consonants become Lord of the *Vidyādhara*s,<sup>3</sup> because [they are] also

<sup>1</sup> MW, citing the *Sūryasiddhānta*, the *Raghuvamśa*, and the *Purāṇas*, defines *lokāloka* as the name of a mythical belt of mountains surrounding the outermost of the seven seas, dividing the visible world from the region of darkness; the Sun is within the wall of mountains, so they are light on one side, and dark on the other. In some Buddhist sources, including the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, and in *kāvya*, these are also known as the *cakravāla*--the circular enclosure.

<sup>2</sup> The two "with," i.e. *-yuta* and *sa-* are redundant here: see commentary and note below.

<sup>3</sup> In the Buddhist Tantric contexts, *Vidyādharendra* refers to *Vajrasattva*, the lord of the *siddhas*. In classical Hindu mythology, the *Vidyādhara*s are a group of celestial musicians who serenade Śiva, living with him in the *Himālayas*, and possessing supernatural powers; hence the poetic image here that the consonants as a group are the chief of the supernaturally powered *mantras*, just as Indra is the chief of the supernaturally powered *Vidyādhara*s. In the



as a group the eight preeminent [consonant] classes. ||7||

"*Uṣṇīṣa*" etc. Here, as for the clan of the great<sup>1</sup> *uṣṇīṣa*, what is the intellect<sup>2</sup> is explained in the *Lokadhātu* chapter as the five voids. The three clans, the body, speech, and mind *vajra*, are *Om*, *Āḥ*, *Hūṃ*. *Ā* etc. are *a*, *i*, *ṛ*, *u*, *ḷ*. [5.5] The seal-clan is *Akṣobhya* etc., in order to seal the group of deities. The cosmic boundary clan is the intellect [*mahat*], joined by *ha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, *la*.<sup>3</sup> The guttural etc. classes, all together are the thirty-six consonants.<sup>4</sup> Joined with *ha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, *la*, with the vowel units, are the consonant groups, *ha* etc., with the vowel units; [these] are sixty.<sup>5</sup> The previously mentioned *ka* etc.<sup>6</sup> with the vowel units, divided into the

description of the path of space, the *deśādhva*--one of the six paths through the body, *Abhinavaguptah*, following the Kaśmīr Śaivite *Svacchandatantram* 10.182b-184a, locates the city of the *Vidyādhārās* near that of the *Vasus* to the north of Mt. *Meru*. (see *Tantrālokaḥ* 8.53a, Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1389 and Gnoli 1987:251 and 251n.21). *Vidyādhārā* also appears in Buddhist Tantric iconography as the counterpart of *Mañjuvajra* (as *Svābhavavidyādhārā*) or the black *Yamāri* (De Mallmann 1975:363 & 447).

<sup>1</sup> *Mahā*- in the compound *mahoṣṇīṣa-kulam* should not be boldfaced; it is not in the verse.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahat*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, *la*, *yutāḥ* should be boldfaced--it is in the verse.

<sup>4</sup> The thirty-six consonants here consist of the *ka-varga*, the *ca-varga*, the *ṭa-varga*, the *ta-varga*, and the *pa-varga* (5 each = 25) + the five semivowels (= 30) + the three sibilants, *śa*, *ṣa*, *sa*, *kṣa*, the *ḷ* consonant (replaces *ḍa* in Vedas when intersecting two vowels) plus *ha* = 36.

<sup>5</sup> Again, *ha*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, *la* *yutāḥ* should be boldfaced--it's in the verse. The sixty here appear to be the five sets of five consonants from the *vargas*, with the four semivowels and *ha* (= 30) with either short or long vowels. Another way to get sixty would be to add twenty-four to the thirty-six consonants. According to the VMP on KCT 1.8, the five vowels, *a*, *i*, *ṛ*, *u*, *ḷ* (KCT consistently uses this order) can be short, long, *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* (*hrasva-dīrgha-guṇa-vṛddhi*) [Sarnath edition vol.1, p.59, line 8] (Newman 1987:443)--this would give us twenty. Adding *e*, *ai*, *o*, *au* would give us twenty-four. This is however a speculative, since I have not found it so explicated in the VMP. VMP on KCT 1.8 gives a set of sixty to fit the days and nights of the thirty solar days in the idealized month: *ha*, *hi*, *hṛ*, *hu*, *hl*, *ham*; *ya*, *yi*, *yṛ*, *yu*, *yḷ*, *yam*; *ra*, *ri*, *rḷ*, *ru*, *rḷ*, *ram*; *va*, *vi*, *vṛ*, *vu*, *vḷ*, *vam*; *la*, *li*, *lṛ*, *lu*, *lḷ*, *lam* for the nights; and *llāḥ*, *llḷ*, *llū*, *llṛ*, *llī*, *llā*; *vvāḥ*, *vvḷ*, *vvū*, *vvṛ*, *vvī*, *vvā*; *rrāḥ*, *rrḷ*, *rrū*, *rrṛ*, *rrā*; *yyāḥ*, *yyḷ*, *yyū*, *yyṛ*, *yḷ*, *yyāḥ*; *hhāḥ*, *hhḷ*, *hhū*, *hhṛ*, *hhī*, *hhā* for the days. [1.63.27-30] (Newman 1987:463). However, this set of sixty does not include all

locations, are three hundred and sixty;<sup>1</sup> divided again and again by *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, and the substitution of the semivowels, [they] are 1080, and become the clan of the world and non-world [cosmic mountains]. *Ka* etc. becomes the consonant [and] the *Indra* of *Vidyādhara*s jointly, because [they are] also completely the eight preeminent [consonant] classes: (1) *K, kh, g, [5.10] gh, ṅa*; (2) *c, ch, j, jh, ṅa*; (3) *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇa*; (4) *p, ph, b, bh, ma*; (5) *t, th, d, dh, s*; (6) *ḥp, ṣ, ś, ḥka*; (7) *l, v, r, y, ha*; (8) *l, v, r, y, kṣa*.<sup>2</sup>

Now the individual *Tantra* for each individual syllable, *ka*, etc., is stated--

**5.8: The phonemes *ka* etc. are thirty, truly; joined with *ha, ya, ra, va, la*, and *kṣa*, they are thirty six, in fact;**

Expanded by the alteration of syllabic length, [they] become the *Cakranāthas*,<sup>3</sup> the tastes (6) multiplied by the tastes (6);<sup>4</sup>

**[5.15] And the single-limbed, with one indeed, accompanied by two *a*'s,<sup>5</sup> is**

thirty-six consonants, so it cannot be the same set. For *Puṇḍarīka*'s explanation that the vowels can be short, long, *guṇa*, and *vṛddhi*, see note below to Sanskrit page 6, line 13.

<sup>6</sup> That is, the six consonant classes *ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa, śa* mentioned at KCT 5.5a and VMP.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the thirty-six consonants x 3 (with short, long, or extended (3 *mātra*) syllables) x 10 (the ten directions). VMP on KCT 1.8 offers a 360 *bījamantra* set to fit the 12 idealized 30-day months of the year (Rinpoche et al 1986:62.4-27 & 63.1, Newman 1987:458-459). However, the set is probably not the same set intended here; it includes under Pisces, for instance, *ppāḥ, ppī, ppu, ppr, ppt, ppā*. According to the description given here for KCT 5.8, the set intended here should be as follows: the sixty consonant and vowels as described, then that same set repeated six times by adding to each vowel or consonant *ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa, śa* (*a, ā*, etc., then *ka, kā*, etc., for the vowels; *k, kh*, etc., then *kk, kkh*, etc. for the consonants).

<sup>2</sup> I've added parenthetical numbers just for clarification.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: "the circle leaders." Here *Cakranātha* refers to the deities of the *maṇḍala*. It appears from material in the writings of Marpa, and from the Kaśmīr Śaivite system, that the term also may refer in another Tantric context to the leaders of the *cakrapūja* rites.

<sup>4</sup> That is, thirty-six.

embraced by wisdom;

**[He is] five-natured with the five; accompanied by nine, the circle leader is nine-natured. || 8 ||**

Here *ka* etc., the thirty are the consonants; with *ha, ya, ra, va, la, kṣa*, they are thirty-six, the phonemes. Those letters are expanded by the alteration of the *mātrās*. The *mātrās*, are the letters *a* etc., short and long, twelve; [what] occupy the place of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are twelve; the semivowel replacement letters are twelve.<sup>1</sup> And being opened up by these six by six *mātrā* transformations is [what is meant by] the tastes multiplied by the tastes--so [these] become the thirty-six *Cakranāthas*.<sup>2</sup> The individual letter becomes expanded by the divisions of thirty-six.<sup>3</sup> Of all these, i.e. the thirty-six, the *Cakranāthas* become also in the thirty-six *Tantras*, with the intrinsic form of the place of the thirty-six consonants. The first, with the lead-consonant *ka*, is said to be the *Ka-Lightning Tantra*. The leader in that *maṇḍala* is the single-limbed, also, i.e. expanded with a single syllabic unit; [he is] the single hero,<sup>4</sup> the consonant *ka*, together with the syllable *a*. Accompanied by two *a*'s,<sup>5</sup> supplied with the two letters *a*, [5.25] the leader is embraced by the Wisdom

<sup>5</sup> In consultation with Gary Tubb, we determined that the compound would have to be emended to *dvir-a-parikaritaḥ*. The commentary at line 24 glosses this as "*dvābhyām a-kārābhyām yuktaḥ*"--"accompanied by two *a*'s." *Dvis* can be used in compound for "two," yet in *sandhi* with a following *a* would have to become *dvir*. The other possibility would be that the verse is correct, reading *dvi-sa-parikaritaḥ*--accompanied by two *s*'s, and the commentary should be emended to read *dvābhyām sa-kārābhyām yuktaḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> *Yaṇ* is *Pāṇini*'s abbreviation for the semivowels.

<sup>2</sup> 10 *Lokapālas*, 6 Elementals (*Bhūtas*), 10 *Krodheśvaras*, and 10 planets (Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, *Rāhu*, *Ketu*, the Moon, and *Kālāgni*).

<sup>3</sup> Text should read *ṣattriṃśadbhedabhir-bhinno*.

<sup>4</sup> The term *ekavītraḥ* appears as an epithet of Indra in the *Ṛgveda*.

[consort], *kā*. [He is] five-natured with the five--*kā, ki, kṛ, ku, kḷ*. Accompanied by nine the Circle Leader consists of nine--*kā, ki, kī, kṛ, kṝ, ku, kū, kḷ, kḹ*. ||8||

[6.1] 5.9: Having the nature of the number of *mātrās*, certainly, and with the thirteen and nineteen,<sup>1</sup> having the nature of thirty-six;

The [ten] door guardians are [encapsulated] by *ya* etc., the clan of all the *gaṇas*, are likewise [encapsulated] by the remaining *mātrās*;

The six fierce ones are [encapsulated] by *ha* etc., those residing in the direction of one's own clan are [encapsulated] by splitting the wind-*mātrā* etc.;

The individual, by the breaking open of the letters, the six multiplied by the six, [are] the *Yoginī* [and] *Yoga Tantras*. ||9||<sup>2</sup>

[6.5] Consisting of the number of syllables, certainly, and with the thirteen and the nineteen. In this sense, with the thirteen, consisting of the nine<sup>3</sup> as previously stated, joined with these [four] semivowel replacement letters *kya, kra, kva, kla*, have the nature of thirteen. Together with the door-guardians this is also again expanded by the *gaṇas*, has the nature of nineteen, i.e. together with these [six]: *ka, ke, kar, ko, kal, kam*. Then it consists of twenty five [by combining] with *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* [i.e. the six:] *kā, kai, kār, kau, kāl, kaḥ*. Then it is thirty-two: *k.hā,*<sup>4</sup> *kyā, krā, kvā,*

<sup>5</sup> See footnote to verse.

<sup>1</sup> We must emend the text from *tridaśa-nava-diśābhis* to *tridaśa-nava-daśābhis*, with the long *ā* in *daśābhis* added strictly for metrical purposes. See commentary below.

<sup>2</sup> There are 88 deities in the *śmaśāna* circle at the surface of the *maṇḍala*; the 722 deities of the *maṇḍala* are represented by *bhījamaṇḍala* syllables or phonemes. The number 722 apparently derives from 720 (the total of the 360 days and 360 nights in the idealized year) plus the Sun and the Moon (?).

<sup>3</sup> We must emend the text here to *navātmā pūrvoktāḥ*, i.e. the nine just given for the *Cakranāthās* at the end of the commentary on 5.8 above.

*klā*, *k.hāḥ*, with the womb-wisdom. Then it is thirty-four with *kaṃ* and *kaḥ*. Then it is thirty-six [6.10] with *k.haḥ* and *k.hāḥ*. Overall it consists of thirty-seven, with *hūṃ* in the middle as the leader. The thirty-six [phonemes] of the *maṇḍala* are *ka*, *kā*, *ki*, *kt*, *kr*, *kṛ*, *ku*, *kū*, *kl*, *kḷ*, *kaṃ*, *kaḥ*, with [each] phoneme expanded by the short and long vowels. Likewise *ka*, *kā*, *ke*, *kai*, *kar*, *kār*, *ko*, *kau*, *kal*, *kāl*, *kaṃ*, *kaḥ*, [with each] phoneme expanded by *guṇa* and *vr̥ddhi*.<sup>1</sup> *K.ha*, *k.hā*, *kya*, *kyā*, *kra*, *krā*, *kva*, *kvā*, *kla*, *klā*, *k.haṃ*, *k.haḥ* is [the set of] the phoneme *ka* expanded by the substitution of the long and short semivowels.<sup>2</sup> The letters *kha* etc. are also

<sup>4</sup> As an orthographic convention for this thesis, I will use *k.h* when the individual consonants are intended in combination in a *bjā-mantra*.

<sup>1</sup> As Gary Tubb clarified for me, the set of the long and short vowels, and the set of the *guṇa* and *vr̥ddhi* vowels are two distinct, yet overlapping sets. Short *i* for instance, and long *ī* are neither *guṇa* nor *vr̥ddhi*--i.e. you cannot *guṇate* or *vr̥ddhi* any vowel to get either short *i* or long *ī*--the *guṇa* for both is *e*, the *vr̥ddhi* for both is *ai*. The same is true for *u* and *ū*: the *guṇa* for both is *o*, the *vr̥ddhi* for both is *au*. Short *r* and long *ṛ* both have *ar* as their *guṇa*, and *ār* as their *vr̥ddhi*. Short *l* and long *ḷ* both have *al* as their *guṇa* and *āl* as their *vr̥ddhi*. The overlap between the two sets occurs with *a/ā*. Short *a* is a member of both sets, since it is both a short vowel in its own right, and is also the *guṇa* of itself. Similarly long *ā* is a member of both sets, since it is both a long vowel in its own right, forms the *guṇa* of itself, and is also the *vr̥ddhi* of the *guṇated a* and *ā*. None of the *guṇa* forms nor any of the *vr̥ddhi* forms are part of the set of long and short vowels. The schema of the sets is as follows:

Short Vowel & Long Vowel                      Guṇa    & Vr̥ddhi

*a*    *ā*    *a*    *ā*

---

*i*                      *ī*    *e*    *ai*

---

*u*                      *ū*    *o*    *au*

---

*r*                      *ṛ*    *ar*    *ār*

---

*l*                      *ḷ*    *al*    *āl*

(cf. Whitney 1977:82)

<sup>2</sup> The substitution pattern is *-ya* and *-yā* for *-e* and *-ai*; *-ra* and *-rā* for *-ar* and *-ār*; *-va* and *-vā* for *-o* and *-au*; *-la* and *-lā* for *-al* and *-āl*; *-haḥ* and *-haṃ* for *-aḥ* and *-aṃ*. So *y*

thirty-six.<sup>1</sup> So it is said that the *Kha-Lightning* etc. *Tantras* [6.15] [all] have the nature of the *ka* consonant, expanded by the thirty-six syllabic units.<sup>2</sup> In this way the master of the *maṇḍala* consists of thirty-six. By *ya* etc. the door guardians; by the

substitutes for the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* of *i* and *ī*; *r* substitutes for the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* and *ṝ*; *ṽ* substitutes for the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* of *u* and *ū*; *l* substitutes for the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* of *ḷ* and *ḻ*. *-haṃ* substitutes for the *anusvāraḥ*, and *-haḥ* substitutes for the *visargaḥ*. Schematically this is:

Short V. & Long V. Guṇa & Vṛddhi    Short Semiv. Long Semiv.

<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>		<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	
<i>i</i>	<i>ī</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>yā</i>
<i>u</i>	<i>ū</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>vā</i>
<i>ṛ</i>	<i>ṝ</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>ār</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>rā</i>
<i>ḷ</i>	<i>ḻ</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>āl</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>lā</i>

Visarga Anusvāra    "Semivowel" Substitution

*ḥ*    *ṃ*                    *haḥ*    *haṃ*

<sup>1</sup> I.e., one is to repeat the substitution process with the long and short vowels, with the *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* of each vowel, and with the substitution of the long and short semivowels for each of the 25 consonants of the *ka-varga*, the *ca-varga*, the *ṣa-varga*, the *ṭa-varga*, and the *pa-varga*.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarnath editors have emended the text from *ka-vyañjanātmakam* to read *[e]ka-vyañjanātmakam*, in accordance with the Tibetan reading of *gCig Gi bDag Ńid*, giving us the reading "So it is said that the *Kha-Lightning* etc. *Tantras* [each] consist of a single consonant, expanded by the thirty-six syllabic units." However, as stated in the commentary just preceding on KCT 5.8: "The leader in that *maṇḍala* is the single-limbed, also, i.e. expanded with a single syllabic unit; [he is] the single hero, the consonant *ka*, together with the syllable *a*. Accompanied by two *a*'s, supplied with the two letters *a*, the leader is embraced by wisdom, *kā*." [5.23-25] This would strongly suggest that all of the consonant-lightning *Tantras*--i.e. *Kavajratantra*, *Khavajratantra*, *Gavajratantra*, etc.--are considered to be encapsulated in the phoneme *Ka* and its female complement *kā*. In this light, we might choose to read the text according to the un-emended Sanskrit as "So it is said that the *Kha-Lightning* etc. *Tantras* [each] have the nature of the *ka* consonant," i.e. they are all structured according to this same pattern as the *Ka-vajra-tantra*, with the thirty-six expansions of *ka*.

consonants together with the semivowel substitutions, there are the door-guardians, i.e. *kya, kra, kva, kla*; by these. **The clan of the entire host**, characterized by aggregates, the constituents, and the bases. By the remaining vowels, designated by short, long, *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. **By the remaining syllables, indeed, there are the six fierce ones with *ha* etc.** Where the ten fierce ones are in the ten directions, there above them are the six fierce ones by the long semivowel substitutions, *k.hā, kyā, krā, kvā, klā, k.haḥ*.<sup>1</sup> Where the chief [*Indra*] of the fierce ones is, there are [6.20] *k.ham* and *k.haḥ*; the twelve fierce ones are in the *Tantra* of the Six Clans, and in the *Tantra* of the One Clan, with the expansions of the six syllable clans; this is the rule. In this way, the space-realm is above, situated **in the direction of one's own clan**; the knowledge realm is situated below. In addition, **with the expansions by the wind syllables etc.**, in the east, in the south and north, [and] in the west, the gods reside. In this way, **individually**, the consonant *ka*, etc., **by the expansion of the letters, with the expansions of the vowels, is six multiplied by six**, divided by the thirty-six divisions [into] the *Yogī* and *Yoginītantras*. Where there is sexual union (*sañcāra*) of *yoginīs* [and] the leader is motionless, according to concealment that is a *Yoginītantra*. Where there is sexual union (*sañcāra*) of the Art [i.e. male *yogī*] [and] Wisdom [i.e. the *yoginī*] is [6.25] not moving, that is an Art *Tantra*. Naturally all the *Yogatantras* have the nature of wisdom and art. So it is said in the *Hevajra*:

<sup>1</sup> The text must be corrupt here; it lists only five *bījamantras* for the six *krodheśvaras*. At [6.13] we have the complete list of the long and short semivowel substitutions: *K.ha, k.hā, kya, kyā, kra, krā, kva, kvā, kla, klā, k.ham, k.haḥ*. From this list it is apparent that the text should read as emended.

By the sound *He*, great compassion [is stated], [and] *vajra* refers to wisdom,  
*Tantra* has the nature of Wisdom and Art--you must listen to what I've said.

(*Hevajratantra* 1.1.7)<sup>1</sup>

[7.1] According to this statement the *Hevajra* is not a wisdom Tantra, since there is no statement saying "you must listen to the wisdom Tantra." Likewise in the [*Guhya*]samāja,

Yoga is designated as the coming together of Wisdom and Art<sup>2</sup>

(*Guhyasamājatantra* 18.32)<sup>3</sup>

[7.5] The meeting, the closing of the eyes, is said to be the designation of all the Buddhas|

(*Guhyasamājatantra* 18.24).<sup>4</sup>

From these statements it is also not an Art Tantra. Likewise in the *Ādibuddha*,

Yoga is not in the Art-[male]-body, nor is it by Wisdom [the female] alone

Yoga is said by the *Tathāgatas* to be the meeting of Wisdom and Art. ||9||

[7.10] 5.10: In this way, each individual letter is in the six times six; in the *maṇḍala* is the master of the *maṇḍala*;

With the aggregates, with the elements and senses etc., one should purify

<sup>1</sup> This exactly matches the line 1.1.7 in Snellgrove's edition (Snellgrove 1959{2}:2). Snellgrove translates: "By HE is proclaimed great compassion, and wisdom by VAJRA. Do thou listen to this *Tantra*, the essence of Wisdom and Means, which now is proclaimed by me." (Snellgrove 1959{1}:47-48).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the sexual union of female and male.

<sup>3</sup> This matches exactly page 153, line 4 of Bhattacharyya's GOS edition of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. (Bhattacharyya 1968:153). Fremantle did not translate the eighteenth chapter, nor did she include it in her edition of the text.

<sup>4</sup> This matches exactly page 152, line 7 of Bhattacharyya's edition (Bhattacharyya 1968:152).



the clan of the entire host, multiplied by the mothers [vowels];|

And with the voids, with the *anāhata* [*cakra*] etc.,<sup>1</sup> with the clans of all the Victors, [one should purify] the sealing up of the gods,

From the *uṣṇīṣa* to the edge of the lotus, in the odd and even clans, and in the seat in the middle of the *cakra*.||10||

Thus the individual letter, the six multiplied by the six, the thirty-six in the *Yoginī* and *Yoga* Tantras, in the *maṇḍala* the master of the *maṇḍala*, [7.15] known as the one clan *Tantra*, the three clan, the five clan--what that is, that itself is expanded by the blossoming of a crore of a thousand one hundred thousands [10<sup>15</sup>] of the of the *Hevajra* etc's., and the *Samāja* etc's, because the strength of the infinite number of inclinations [aptitudes] of beings. | Thus the rule about the Tantra.

Now the internal symbolism of the mantra-deities is stated, "by the aggregates etc." Here by the five aggregates what has a five-fold nature is symbolized. By the aggregates and the five elements what has a nine-fold nature is purified. Together with the four organs of action [7.20] what has the thirteen-fold nature is symbolized. Together with the six senses what has a nineteen-fold nature is purified. Together with the six sense objects what has the nature of twenty-five is symbolized. Together with the five actions and organs of action, when the five organs of action have been entered into together with one's own light and wisdom what has the nature of thirty-two is purified. Joined with the six organs of action and the six actions of the six

<sup>1</sup> The *anāhata cakra*, the "unstruck" or "unbeaten" *cakra* is at the level of the heart--what strikes or beats regularly.

organs of action the thirty-four natured [is symbolized]; joined with the six aggregates and bodily elements, the thirty-six natured is symbolized.<sup>1</sup> So the six aggregates, the six bodily constituents, the six senses, the six sense objects, the six organs of actions, [7.25] the six actions of the six organs of action, are the mandalic constituent elements. The mind and intuition pervading these are the Leader [the Buddha], everywhere. So one should purify the entire clan of the *gaṇas* by multiplying it by the mothers [vowels]. And with the voids, with the *anāhata* etc. Here [8.1] with the six voids of intuition etc., with all the clans of the Victors, with the six symbolized aggregates, the sealing of the deities, from the *uṣṇīṣa* to the end of the lotus, in the uneven and even clan, and in the seat in the middle of the *cakra*. Here in the drop in the *uṣṇīṣa-cakra Akṣobhya* is *a*. So in the heart, in the *rāhu* disk, *i* is *Amoghasiddhi*. In the forehead, in the moon disk, *Amitābha* is *u*. The odd [numbered] clan is in the odd [numbered] *cakra*. Likewise in the navel *Vairocana* is *l*, in the Supernova [*Kālāgni*, the "time-fire" of cosmic destruction]. In the throat, in the Sun, *ṛ* is *Ratneśa*; in the private [*cakra*] *aṃ*, in the intuition disk, [8.5] the *Vajra-Being*; thus the sealing of the deities--hence the rule for sealing the body. In addition, *l* is in the navel, *u* in the heart, *ṛ* in the throat, *i* in the forehead, *a* in the *uṣṇīṣa* is to be presented in the earth-etc. *maṇḍala* [the female deities]. Likewise when sealing the mind-drop, *Om* is in the moon disk in the forehead, *āḥ* is in the sun disk in the throat, *hūm* is in the *rāhu* in the heart, *hoḥ* in the supernova

<sup>1</sup> Note that the numbering system is the same as that followed with the *bījamantras* referred to in 5.9 and commentary above.

disk in the navel. Likewise for the intuition-sealing, 'the letter *a* because of the primal unproducedness of all things,' so *a* in the *vajra*-jewel [the penis] is established as the sealing of the body, speech, mind and intuition. ||10||

[8.10] Now the variety of faces is stated--

**5.11: By the *vajras* there is the different faces, with the categories of the mothers [vowels] from the arms of the Lord of Victors;**

With the *tattvas* there is the categories of the consorts, then, and the latter also likewise by the body-*vajra* etc.

In the thirty-six *Yogatantras* also, of immeasurable quality, in the division of many phonemes,

In each individual letter-name, in the odd and even clans of the gods and goddesses. ||11||

[8.15] "With the *vajras*" etc. Here the one clan, three clans, five clans, [and] six clans *vajras* is meant. **By these *vajras* there are the different faces.** By the one clan the one faced [is symbolized]; by the three clans, the three-faced is symbolized; by the five clans the five-faced is symbolized, by the six clans the six-faced is symbolized [and] becomes the terrifying one [*Bhīma*]. In this same way from the eight-faced etc., up to the hundred faced *Hālāhala*,<sup>1</sup> the Leader is symbolized by the

<sup>1</sup> Literally, the ploughed and unploughed. See *Sādhanamālā* 27 (*Hālāhala-lokeśvara-sādhanam*), 28 (*Ārya-hālāhala-sādhanam [prajñāpālitas]*), 29 (*Hālāhala-sādhanam*). (Bhattacharyya 1968{1}:65-75). De Mallmann classes *Hālāhala* under the different forms of *Avalokiteśvara*, though not with 100 faces (De Mallmann 1975:108,109,111), as in "*he bodhisattva priyahodhisattva mahābodhisattva he hale āryāvalokiteśvara paramamaitricitta...*" (Bhattacharyya 1968{1}:72, ll.9-10). The *sādhanas* in *Sādhanamālā* mention only three faces for *Hālāhala*, not 100. *Hālāhala* is also Śiva in the Śaivite Tantras.

constituent elements; thus the rule in the other *Tantra of the Lord of the Victors*. It is the same way in the *Kālacakra Tantra*; from the master of the *maṇḍala* it is also stated in the *Sādhana* Chapter that "[He is] of one beginning and endless faces, many hands and feet, many [8.20] colors, [and] darkness at the end" (KCT 4.133). Here, **by the categories of the mothers [vowels]** of the four-armed one, there is the **opening from the arms**. *Ha, hā, hi, hī, hr̥, hṝ, hu, hū* are the eight dark blue [arms] from the *tamas* quality; *Ha, hā, he, hai, har, hār, ho, hau* are the eight red [arms] from the *rajas* quality; *Hha, hhā, hya, hyā, hra, hrā, hva, hvā* are the eight white [arms] from the *sattva*; so is it according to the *Kālacakra[tantra]*. Likewise, because the Universal Mother has all the *guṇas* [i.e. *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*], *ham, haḥ, hḷ, hḹ, hal, hāl, hla, hlā* are the eight yellow ones due to the intrinsic nature of the intuition face. This is the rule. [8.25] **By the tattvas there is the categories of the consorts**; so *ā, ī, ī̄, ū, ū̄, aḥ*, are the division into space, wind, fire, water, earth, and awareness; thus the sealing of the host of all the deities. **And there is the latter also in that way** for the body-sealing *Om*, the speech-sealing *āḥ*, the mind-sealing *hūṃ*, the intuition-sealing *hoḥ*; the sealing of the one clan is the unstruck *a* sound. In this way there is the sealing by the six clans, by the five clans, by the four clans, by the three clans, by the one clan in **the thirty-six Yogatantras, of immeasurable quality, that have the categories of many letters**, in the various *Tantras*, **in each individual phoneme-name**; thus it is in the *ka-vajra*, in the *kha-vajra*, in the *ga-vajra*, in the *gha-vajra*, [and] in the *ḍa-vajra*. [9.1] In the same way also up through the thirty-six letters of the *ca* etc. [consonant groups]. In the

**even** clan, i.e. in the wisdom *Tantra*; **in the odd clan**, i.e. in the means *Tantra*, [this] is the rule for the sealing of the gods and goddesses. Externally it has the nature of the sun etc. [*rucaka*],<sup>1</sup> internally it has the nature of Buddha. || 11 ||

Now is stated the symbolism of the creation of the deities of the *mantra* by the creation stage--

**[9.5] 5.12: The one seed and the one hero,<sup>2</sup> having equal flavor in the *rajas*,<sup>3</sup> become embraced by Wisdom;**

**The five-natured one is regulated by the aggregates, and the nine-natured is also [regulated] by the constituent elements earth etc.;**

**This is accompanied by the earth etc., the eye etc., and there is the twenty-five-natured one,**

**So when the teeth arise, indeed, also again with the teeth, the Lord who has the infinite *cakra*. || 12 ||**

Just as, at conception, the single mental consciousness, together with the support of the *bodhicitta* [the male seed and female ovum] that has, [9.10] with the sphere of the *dharma*-realm, become the embryonic mass, is established as the *Ekavatra* [the single hero],<sup>4</sup> [and] the intrinsic light and wisdom of birth has become internalized, so the divinity is established as the single-hero by the single letter *ka*.

<sup>1</sup> Again we have the reference to an external/internal solar source/connection for the individual.

<sup>2</sup> *Ekavatra* in the Tantric context refers to the male deity without his consort.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. having become completely mixed into the feminine sexual fluid.

<sup>4</sup> The term *ekavatra*, also used for *Indra* in the *Ṛgveda*, (as noted above) indicates, according to Stanley Insler of Yale, nothing other than "the A #1 guy." (oral communication).

Afterwards, that seed, having the equal flavor in the ovum [i.e. thoroughly mixed together with the ovum] becomes embraced by Wisdom. From that instinct (*vāsanā*) the consciousness aggregate becomes embraced by wisdom [as] *kā*, because of being connected to the fourth [orgasmic] state--this is the rule.<sup>1</sup> So when the five aggregates issue forth, the embryo is five natured, and the divinity is likewise five-natured, [as] *kā, ki, kṛ, ku, kḷ*. So just as when the qualities of bone, liquid, heat, and motion arise, the womb, ruled over by the aggregates and constituent elements [becomes] nine-natured, [9.15] so the divinity also is established as *kā, ki, kī, kṛ, kṛ, ku, kū, kḷ, kḹ*. So just as when the organs of action arise, the mouth, hands, anus, and feet, together with the previous aggregates and constituent elements, the child becomes thirteen-natured, likewise the divinity [becomes thirteen-natured] as *kā, ki, kī, kṛ, kṛ, ku, kū, kḷ, kḹ, kya, kra, kva, kla*. Just as when the internal sense domains<sup>2</sup> arise in the womb, [the child] becomes nineteen-natured together with the previous aggregates etc., likewise the divinity as *kā, ki, kī, kṛ, kṛ, ku, kū, kḷ, kḹ, kya, kra, kva, kla, kā, kai, kār, kau, kāl, kaḥ*. Then just as when the eye etc. emerge [9.20] the child becomes twenty-five natured, likewise the divinity also is [twenty-five natured]: *kā, ki, kī, kṛ, kṛ, ku, kū, kḷ, kḹ, kya, kra, kva, kla, kā, kai, kār, kau, kāl,*

<sup>1</sup> Here is the schema: a) the *bodhicitta* has an *ādhāra* that is linked together with the *manovijñāna*. b) the *dharmadhātuviśaya* induces movement. c) the resulting state/entity is called *ekavītra*--a term current in *Śaivite Tantra* as a name for *Śiva*, and dating back to the *Ṛgveda* as a term for the most important Vedic deity, *Indra*. d) the *vijñāna-skandha* is connected to the *tūrya* state--discussed extensively from the earliest *Upaniṣads* onwards--and this connection is responsible for the *vāsanā* whereby the *vijñāna-skandha* is embraced by *prajñā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Adhyātma-viśaya*: since the embryo is still in the womb, the *viśayas* of the senses cannot yet be external.

*kaḥ, kaṃ, ke, kar, ko, kal, kam.* Then when the activities of speaking, picking things up [with the hands], walking, evacuating, and urinating emerge, just as the child becomes thirty-two natured along with the five organs of action, likewise the divinity also is [thirty-two natured]: *ka, k̄ā, ki, k̄ī, kṛ, k̄ṛ, ku, k̄ū, kḷ, k̄ḷ, k.ha, k.h̄ā, kya, kyā, kra, krā, kva, kvā, kla, klā, ka, k̄ā, ke, kai, kar, kār, ko, kau, kal, kāl, kaṃ, kaḥ;* thus the completion up to twelve years [of age of the child]. [9.25] Then up to the sixteenth year, just as when there is ejaculation of the semen for a child there is the fourth state [i.e. orgasm], [likewise] he who possesses the fourth [state] is himself the fourth body, the sixth aggregate, the sixth constituent element, the sixth sense organ, the sixth sense object, the sixth organ of action, the sixth activity of the organ of action.<sup>1</sup> In this way there are the six aggregates, the six constituent elements, the twelve bases of consciousness, the six organs of action, the six activities of the organs of action. So the thirty-six constituent elements are the support-reality, and the thirty-seventh is from this intuition-mind. [10.1] Likewise when the deity emerges/is complete, *ka, k̄ā, ki, k̄ī, kṛ, k̄ṛ, ku, k̄ū, kḷ, k̄ḷ, kaṃ, kaḥ* are the twelve aggregates and constituent elements. *K.ha, k.h̄ā, kya, kyā, kra, krā, kva, kvā, kla, klā, k.ham, k.haḥ* are the twelve organs of action and activities of the organs of action. Likewise *ka, k̄ā, ke, kai, kar, kār, ko, kau, kal, kāl, kaṃ, kaḥ* are established as the twelve bases of consciousness. The leader of these constituent elements consists of five syllables, the great void, the means, [10.5] the drop-void, the six syllables, wisdom,

<sup>1</sup> Note that the "sixth" level of aggregates, elements, etc. is said here to become activated or functional in the individual only when they reach the age of sexual activity, here idealized as the sixteen-year old.

the sound *vaṃ*, the sound *e*, i.e. the sound *evaṃ*; the Leader [Buddha], possessed of great bliss, just as [he] is the master of the *maṇḍala* in the *Ka-tantra*, so [he] is demonstrated to be the master of the *maṇḍala* in the *Kha-tantra* etc. Thus the aggregates and the constituent elements in the womb cavity are the twelve bases of consciousness, [and] in the external cavity are the [twelve] door guardians, i.e. the organs of action together with their sense objects. Here just as the youth after sixteen years is [known as] the lord possessing the infinite *cakra*, on account of generating the aggregates for sons and daughters,<sup>1</sup> likewise, by emitting the arrangement of the five *Tathāgatas*, etc., the Leader of the host of deities becomes the lord possessing the infinite *cakra* [circle of beings]. This is the rule. In this sense, just as there is production of the body in the womb, likewise [10.10] when the deity is produced [one is] possessed of the foremost king of the *maṇḍala*, as the *sevāṅgam*.<sup>2</sup> Just as speech is produced, likewise there is *upasādhanam* for the one possessed of the foremost king of *karma*. Just as there is production of the *bodhicitta* drop, likewise there is the practice of joining the drop. Just as when there is ejaculation of the semen there's production of happiness, likewise the subtle *yoga* is the *mahāsādhanam*. Thus the four-limbed practice as previously mentioned in the *Adhyātmapaṭala* is to be extensively purified. This is the rule. ||12||

Now the expansion of the deities of the clan from the constituent elements in the six *cakras* is stated--

<sup>1</sup> I.e., having reached puberty and being thus able to procreate.

<sup>2</sup> *Sevāṅgam*, *sādhanam*, *upasādhanam*, and *mahāsādhanam* are parts of the creation stage.



[10.15] 5.13: In the purified [*cakra*],<sup>1</sup> from the completely purified water, the dazzling white of the moon has the mark of the lotus, [and] is of immeasurable light;

*Mānī*,<sup>2</sup> the lord of the world indeed; going on a horse and chariot is

*Māmakī*,<sup>3</sup> She of the beautiful lightning,<sup>4</sup>

*Raudrī*,<sup>5</sup> and the Ocean,<sup>6</sup> the Indra of the host,<sup>7</sup> together

<sup>1</sup> This is not a locative absolute--see commentary below.

<sup>2</sup> De Mallmann has no mention of *Mānī*, nor is the name found in the GOS edition indexes to the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. *Mānī* also does not appear in the GOS edition index to the *Guhyasamāja*, nor in Snellgrove's index to the *Hevajratāntra*. De Mallmann does list a *Mānakī*, a name given in the *maṇḍala* of *Kālacakra* for *Jambhaka*'s wisdom counterpart. (De Mallmann 1975:250). The name literally means "the proud one." What's a bit curious here is that *Mānī* would technically be the nominative singular of *mānin*, the masculine possessive of *mānaḥ*, or, "he who is proud." In the verse this would then be appositive to *Lokeśvaraḥ*, the nominative singular for "lord of the world." *Puṇḍarikāḥ* however glosses *Mānī* as *Cundā*--see commentarial footnote.

<sup>3</sup> De Mallmann describes *Māmakī* as the second name of the four great Wisdom consorts (*Locanā*, *Māmakī*, *Pāṇḍarā*, and *Tārā*), associated with the Victors of the four cardinal directions. *Māmakī* is generally associated with *Akṣobhya* or *Citta/Citteśa*, and is usually blue or black. She may also be associated with the wild aspect of *Ratnasambhava*, *Ratnaḍāka*, and then is white. (De Mallmann 1975:249). See *Guhyasamājatantra* 13 for descriptions of the four *Prajñās* (Bhattacharyya 1931:70.12-19; Fremantle 1971:80-81).

<sup>4</sup> *Rūpavajrā*, also known, according to De Mallmann, as *Rūpā* and *Vajrarūpā*, the personification of sight, usually located in the southeast. In the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam*, she is split into two, one in the northeast, as the *śakti* of *Kṣitigarbhaḥ*, and the other on the right side of the southern gate of the third circle, with *Kṣitigarbhaḥ* as her consort. She is usually white, from the line of the white *Vairocanaḥ*, and always characterized by carrying a mirror. (De Mallmann 1975:326 and Bhattacharyya 1972:77). See also discussion of *Sparśavajrā* below, footnote to 5.14.

<sup>5</sup> *Raudrī*, the feminine derivative of *Rudra*, the wilder aspect of *Śiva*, derived from Indra. She appears, per De Mallmann, in the fourth circle of the *Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara maṇḍala*, as one of the seven mothers. In the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam*, she is located on the northern lotus as one of the eight mothers on the eight lotuses of the speech circle, white in erotic embrace with a red *Yama*; of the eight lotuses, the cardinal directions are red, and white lotuses are in the intermediate directions. On the eight lotus petals surrounding her (in the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam*), are *Gaurī*, *Gaṅgā*, *Niryā*, *Tvaritā*, *Totalā*, *Lakṣaṇ*, *Piṅgalā*, and *Kṛṣṇā*. The chief of her line is *Amitābhaḥ*. (De Mallmann 1975:325-326 and Bhattacharyya 1972:78-80). *Raudrī* appears, as one might expect, quite frequently in Śaivite Tantric literature. She is one of the three *śaktis* of *Śivaḥ* that together form the vibrational energy of the *prāṇaḥ*.

*Raudrī* regulates those desiring to know, *Jyeṣṭhā* regulates those who are truly awakened, and *Vāmā* regulates the transmigrators (*Vāmā saṃsāriṇām īśā prabhuśaktir vidhāyintī | jyeṣṭhā tu suprabuddhānām bubhutsūnām ca raudrikā | | Tantrālokaḥ* 6.56; Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987:1137 & Gnoli 1980:214). At *Tantrālokaḥ* 6.52, *Raudrī[kā]* is, along with *Jyeṣṭhā* and *Vāmā* named as one of Śiva's three śaktis. (*Prabhoḥ śivasya yā śaktir vāmā, jyeṣṭhā ca raudrikā |*). Jayaratha explains in the commentary that the *prāṇa* and *ātma* are [respectively] Śiva and his śaktiḥ, and by the embrace of one of the three with *Parameśvaraḥ*, the two together regulate [the individual adept's] effort. The combination of the three provides the vibrational energy of the *prāṇaḥ*. (*Iha khalu parameśvara-saṃbandhinyā tāsām vāmādnām madhyād anyatamayā śaktyā sahabhūtāv ātmaprāṇau yatnavidhāyinau, prabhuśaktir ātmā prāṇas ceti. Trayāḥ saṃmilitāḥ prāṇaspaṇḍam vidadhati ityarthah*). (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{3}:1133-1134 & Gnoli 1980:213). [I would emend the Dwivedi & Rastogi text at 8.52b from *sataḍ-anyatamāv ātma-prāṇau yatnavidhāyinau* to *etad-anyatamāv ātma-prāṇau yatnavidhāyinau*, with *etad* referring to *prabhuḥ* and *anyatama* to one of the śaktis.] At *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* 5.32, in the chapter on the purification of the path of the worlds (*bhuvanādhan*), after purifying all the worlds, after purifying the time and illusion principles (*kālatattva* and *māyātattva*), for purifying the knowledge principle, and *Īśvara*, in the *sakala* (universe principle) there are said to be five worlds, *Raudrī*, *Jyeṣṭhā*, *Vāmā*, *Śakti*, and *Sadāśivaḥ*. (Kaul 1984:30 & Gnoli 1987:804). In the same text, in the 8th chapter on the All-desire-granting sacrifice whose observation provides that one will be honored with a *yoginī* (8.1: *athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi yajanaṃ sarvakāmadam | yasya darśanamātreṇa yoginī-saṃmato bhavet* (Kaul 1984:40 & Gnoli 1987:813), *Raudrī* is one of nine powers (along with *Vāmā*, *Jyeṣṭhā*, *Kālī*, *Kalavikarṇī*, *Balavikarṇī*, *Balapramathinī*, *Sarvabhūtaḍamanī*, and *Manonmanī*) meditatively visualized as arrayed on the eight petals and the pericarp of the lotus of the knowledge principle (*vidyā-tattva*). (Kaul 1984:47 & Gnoli 1987:818).

<sup>6</sup> I.e. *Varuṇa*. De Mallmann gives *Nāgavajra* and *Samudra* as alternate names for *Varuṇa*, another Hindu deity integrated into the Buddhist Tantric pantheon. He's guardian of the west, i.e. one of the *Lokapālas* common to both Hinduism and Buddhism, and is found in the *maṇḍalas* of *Dharmadhātu Vāgīśvara*, *Bhūtaḍāmara*, *Mahāvairocana*, and probably *Durgatipariśodhana*. In the *Yogāmbara maṇḍala* *Varuṇa* is in the northwest, and in the *Kālacakra* he is to the right of the northern door of the body *maṇḍala*, presiding over the month of *Śrāvaṇa*. He is always white, holding a serpent-noose, and mounted on a serpent hood of seven or eight heads. (De Mallmann 1975:437). The city of *Varuṇa*, *Śuddhavatī*, lies to the west of Mt. Meru, as mentioned at *Tantrālokaḥ* 8.52b (Rastogi & Dwivedi 1987{4}:1389 & Gnoli 1980:251). *Varuṇa*'s *mantra* in the Śaivite tradition is *Oṃ V Auṃ varuṇāya namaḥ* (Gnoli 1980:721n.30). In the fifteenth chapter of the *Tantrālokaḥ*, a chapter devoted to explaining the initiation of the disciple into the *samaya* (*Samaya-dīkṣā-prakāśanam nāma pañcadaśamāhnikam*--Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{6}:2725), in a section referred to in *Abhinavagupta*'s Table of Contents as explaining the portion of the power of light held by each world-protector (*Lokapālānām prakāśa-śakty-aṃśatva-pradarśanam*--Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{6}:xi), *Abhinavaguptaḥ* tells us (*Tantrālokaḥ* 15.222b-225a) "What is the mastery of light: as for *Indra* (East), that which is his is great, *Agni*'s (Southeast) is limited, *Yama*'s (South) is terrifying, *Nairṛṭya*'s (a.k.a. *Rakṣaḥ*, Southwest) is feeble, (or, as *Jayarathaḥ* puts it, subordinate relative to *Yama*'s), *Varuṇa*'s (West) is illuminating, and *Vāyu*'s (Northwest) is unsteady. *Kubera*'s (North) [shines] with an accumulation of riches [*Kubera* has great

with the twice-born serpent,<sup>1</sup> she who is tiger-faced, together with the owl-[face],<sup>2</sup>

treasures], and in the dissolution of that [light] there is the Lord's [portion], (i.e. *Īśānaḥ*, the Northeast), of invisible form, infinite, above *Brahman*, strengthening. In such manner are the world protectors known to have portions of light. (*Prakāśasya yad aiśvaryaṃ, sa indro yat tu tan mahaḥ* || so 'gnir yantriva-bhūmatve yamo rakṣas tad ūnimā | *prakāśyaṃ varuṇas tac ca, cāñcalyād vāyur ucyate* || *bhāva-sañcaya-yogena vitteśas, tat-kṣaye vibhuḥ* | *adṛṣṭa-vigraho 'nanto, brahmordhve vṛṃhako vibhuḥ* || *prakāśasyaiva śaktyaṃśā, lokapālās tena kṛtītāḥ* | Dwivedī & Rastogi 1987{6}:2550-2551). I differ a bit from Gnoli's translation; I think he mistakes the pattern in assigning *Agniḥ* the same splendour ("il suo fulgore") as *Indraḥ*, *Yama*'s as dampened down and *Nirṛti*'s as terrifying, and in describing *Varuṇa*'s light as diminished or passive ("la minorazione or passività." There is no grounds for the "passivity" interpretation Gnoli proffers, and noting his own tentativeness in this translation, he footnotes *prakāśyam*, *Varuṇa*'s characteristic, at 493n.94, as "L'essere illuminato" without explanation.) (Gnoli 1980:463). *Jayarathaḥ* similarly mistakes the phrase *tatkṣaye* as referring to *Kuberāḥ*. The four cardinal directions are the ones with the strong powers of light, of differing qualities. The intermediate directions have less powerful portions, except for the northeast, being the Lord's direction, and naturally infinitely powerful.

<sup>7</sup> No doubt the same as *Gaṇapatiḥ* or *Gaṇeśaḥ*. Also known, per De Mallmann citing from the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, as *Vajravīṇāyaka*, *Vighna*, and *Vināyaka*. Though De Mallmann doesn't mention it, *Gaṇeśa* is mentioned in the *Kālacakraṃḍalam* as described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, in the northeast corner, mounted on a rat or mouse, in the pericarp of the lotus, white, with an axe and *vajra* in his two left hands, a serpent noose in and moonstone jewel in his two right hands, embraced by *Vārāhi*, governing the lunar days of the *Śrāvaṇa* (*nakṣatraḥ*—the 23rd.) (*Īśāne mūṣakopari padmakarṇikāyāṃ gaṇeśaḥ sitaḥ savyayoh paraśu-ratne vāmayor nāgapāśaś candrakāntamaṇiś ca vārāhi-samāśliṣṭaḥ* | *asya śrāvaṇa-tithayaḥ* | (Bhattacharyya 1972:89).

<sup>1</sup> Presumably *Ananta*, though I've yet to see *Dvijaphaṇi* as a name in other texts. In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*'s description of the *Kālacakraṃḍalam*, the ten serpents are described as situated above and below the *vedi* place in between the archways and the pillars. In the two wind circles to the left and right of the eastern door are, respectively, *Padmaḥ* and *Karkkoṭaḥ*, both black, embraced by Dog-face and Crow-face. In the two fire circles [to the left and right] of the southern door are *Vāsukiḥ* and *Śaṅkhapālaḥ*, red, embraced by Hog-face and Vulture-face. In the two earth circles [to the left and right] of the western door are *Takṣakaḥ* and *Mahāpadmaḥ*, yellow, embraced by Jackle-face and *Garuḍa*-face. In the two water circles [to the left and right] of the northern door, *Ananta* and *Kulika*, white, embraced by Tiger-face and Owl-face. In the void circle of the zenith-sky, *Jaya*, yellow, embraced by Blue. In the void circle of the nadir-hell, *Vijaya*, dark blue, embraced by lightning-eyes. All the serpents are in the *Vajrāsana*, with four arms, holding with the right hands a jar of nectar and a *vajra*, and with their left hands a lotus and a gem. (*Tatra pūrva-dvārasya vāma-dakṣiṇayor vāyu-maṇḍalayor yathāsamkhyāṃ Padma-Karkkoṭako kṛṣṇau śvānāsyā-kākāsyā-aliṅgitau* | *Dakṣiṇadvārasya vahni-maṇḍalayor Vāsuki-Śaṅkhapālau raktau śūkarāsyā-gṛdhrāsyā-samāpannau* | *Paścima-dvārasya pṛthvī-maṇḍalayor Takṣaka-Mahāpadmau pītau jambukāsyā-garuḍāsyā-āśliṣṭau* | *Uttarasya dvārasya jala-maṇḍalayor Ananta-Kulikau śuklau Vyāghrāsyā-Ulūkāsyā-āliṅgitau* | *Ūrdhva-ākāśe śūnya-maṇḍale Jayo harito nilāliṅgitaḥ* | *Adhaḥ pātāle śūnya-maṇḍale Vijayo nilo vajrākṣi-samāpannaḥ* | *Sarve nāgāḥ vajrāsanasthāḥ*

These expand from the left face with the highest compassion, and with the lightning possessor. ||13||

"Purified" etc. Here after sixteen years, just as there is a variety of vibrations of thinking on the part of men because of the intrinsic nature of the six constituent elements, [10.20] likewise [there is a variety of vibrations of thought on the part] of the Leader because of the divisions of the six constituent elements. **In the purified**, in the forehead *cakra*. **From the completely purified water**, because of the unconcealed water element, and because of the consciousness [*saṃjñā*] aggregate, the host of deities vibrates. **The blazing white of the moon has the lotus mark**, namely, of **Immeasurable Light** [*Amitābha*]. *Māmakī*, destroyer of the lotus, unmoving, *Mānī* [the proud one] is *Cundā*,<sup>1</sup> the lord of the world, She of the beautiful lightning, *Raudrī* is *Lakṣmī*, the ocean, the Indra of the host, the serpent

*caturbhujāḥ savyābhyām amṛta-ghaṭaṃ vajraṃ ca vāmābhyām padma-ratne bibhrāṇāḥ* | (Bhattacharyya 1972:90). Kṣemarājaḥ, Abhinavagupta's chief disciple and commentator on several of the primary Kāśmīr Śāivite *Tantras*, provides an unsourced quotation assigning each of the eight serpents to the planets in his commentary to 7.46 of the *Svacchandatantram*. (the chapter on the sovereignty over time--*Kālādhikārah*--see Introduction for detailed discussion). "*Anantaḥ* is said to be the sun, *Vāsukiḥ* is said to be the moon | *Takṣakaḥ* is known as Mars, *Kārkoṭaḥ* is Mercury. | | *Sarojaḥ* (i.e. *Padmaḥ*) is called Jupiter, *Mahāpadmaḥ* is said to be Venus. | *Śaṅkhaḥ* is known as Saturn--hence the seven serpents are the seven planets respectively. | | The eighth serpent, called *Kulikaḥ*, is the evil planet *Rāhuḥ*." (*Inas tv ananta ityuktaḥ, somo vāsukir ucyate | takṣakaḥ kuja ityuktaḥ, kārkoṭaḥ somajo bhavet | | sarojo gurur ākhyāto mahābhjaḥ śukra ucyate | śaṅkho mandagatir jñeyaḥ sapta nāgā grahāḥ ucyate | | aṣṭamaḥ kuliko nāma rāhuḥ krūragraho bhavet |* Dwivedi 1985{2}:13 & see Gnoli 1980:216n.35)

<sup>2</sup> Amend text to *solūka*, or *ulūka*, not *salūka*.

<sup>1</sup> According to De Mallmann, the meaning of the name *Cundā* is controversial. *Cunda* was the name of the fellow who gave the *Buddha* his last meal. There are three rather short *sādhana*s devoted to *Cundā* in the *Sāadhanamālā* (129-131, each entitled *Cundāsāadhanam*). She is also found at the south door in the body *maṇḍala* of the *Kālacakramaṇḍala*, embraced by *Takkirāja*, one of the ten *krodheśvaras*. She is always white. (See De Mallmann 1975:143-145, and Bhattacharyya 1968{1}:270-273).

*Ananta*,<sup>1</sup> *Kulika*, Tiger-faced, Owl-faced; so the deities with supreme compassion expanded from the left face, i.e. from the white body-face. [10.25] Here *Amitābha* is sealed by consciousness [*vijñāna*], the host of deities [is sealed] by *Amitābha*. The lotus mark provides success in the actions for peace and prosperity, because of water's white color. In this way there is the emanation of the deities of the clan of *Amitābha*, and their withdrawal, [understood] through investigation. ||13||

Now the emanation of *Amoghasiddhi*'s clan is stated--

**5.14: In the *dharma* [*cakra*], from the completely purified wind, having a lotus in hand and a sword [in the other hand], *Amoghasiddhi*<sup>2</sup> and *Tārā*,<sup>3</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> Text should not be bold, though commentary appears to have an alternate verse reading here, since it glosses *ananto nāgaḥ kuliko* rather than *divjaphaṇisahito*--the former is 8 syllables, the latter 7.

<sup>2</sup> De Mallmann tell us that *Amoghasiddhiḥ* ("perfection in success" or 'perfectly efficacious') is also known as *Amoghavajraḥ* and *Dundubhisvaraḥ*, is chief of the *karmakulaḥ*, characterized by the sword, chief of the jealousy lineage (*Īṣyā-kula*), and chief of the *Samaya-kula*. (De Mallmann translates *samaya* as "convention," convention, covenant, or agreement, from *sam* + *√i*, to [re]-unite, to gather together, to agree on something.) He typically occupies the northern part of the *maṇḍalam*, and is usually colored green. (De Mallmann 1975:99-101 & 99n.7). In the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*'s *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* *Amoghasiddhiḥ* is described several times as green (Bhattacharyya 1972:92, last two lines, and 93, line 3), and once, in the eastern direction, as black or dark blue, with blue, white, and red faces, with his right hands holding sword, chopper, and trident, and left hands holding a fruit, a skull, and an *khaṭvāṅgaḥ*, embraced by *Locanā*. (*Tatra pūrvasyāṃ diśi amoghasiddhiḥ kṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇa-rakta-sita-vadanah savyaiḥ karaiḥ khaḍga-kartri-triśūlāni vāmaiḥ phalaka-kapāla-khaṭvāṅgāni dadhāno locanālingitaḥ*| Bhattacharyya 1972:85). We do not find specific *sādhana*s to *Amoghasiddhiḥ* in the *Sādanamālā*. As far as I've found, the deity *Amoghasiddhiḥ* does not appear in the Kāśmīr Śaivite *Tantras* or commentaries. However, in *Tantrālokaḥ* 8.121-128, a section on the description of the origin of the paths of the ten winds in what are called the Atmospheric world etc. (*Bhuvanlokādy-abhidhāne daśa-vāyu-pathānām ādyasya nirūpaṇam*, Dwivedī & Rastogi 1987{4}:vii), we find that one of the winds is named *Amogha*. *Abhinavagupta*'s discussion is largely based on *Svacchandatantram* 10.422bff where a 100+ verse section elaborates a cosmology of atmospheric geography and the inhabitants of the various realms. The World of the atmosphere extends up to the sun. Several levels up we find the *Amogha* wind, fifty *yojanās* above the *Ogha* [flood] wind--the latter the source of the clouds that rain poison rain and cause disease. Pestilence and plagues reside in the *Amogha* wind, and it is inhabited by the three hundred million terrifying *Vināyakās* (obstacles)

born of *Mahādevaḥ*. (*Svacchandatantram* 10.432-434a and 10.444: *Yojanānām śatād ūrdhvaṃ vāyur oghaḥ prakṛtitāḥ | tasmīṃs tu rogadā meghā varṣanti ca viṣodakam | | tenopasargā jāyante mārakāḥ sarvadehinām | tasmād [ū]rdhvaṃ tu tāvadybho devy amoghaḥi sthito marut | | tasmīṃs te mārakā meghā amoghe sampratiṣṭhitāḥ | ... Amoghe vināyakā ghorā mahādevasamudbhavāḥ | trimśat-koṭi-sahasrāṇi tasmīn vāyau pratiṣṭhitāḥ | |* Dwivedi 1985{2}:169-170.) Abhinavagupta adds (at *TA* 8.126-126) that in the *Ogha* wind are the *piśācās* produced from *Skandhaḥ*, and that the *Vināyakās* residing in the pestilence clouds [of the *Amoghaḥ* wind] steal away the completed actions of men whose soul is not fully accomplished. (*Meghāḥ skandobhavāś cānye piśācā agho-mārute | tataḥ pañcāśad ūrdhvaṃ syur meghā mārakasamjñakāḥ | | tatra sthāne mahādeva-janmānas te vināyakāḥ | ye haranti kṛtaṃ karma narāṇām akṛtātmanām | |* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1444 & see Gnoli 1980:258-259).

<sup>3</sup> De Mallmann provides extensive description of the different types of *Tārās* found in Tantric Buddhism (De Mallmann 1975:368-379). Our *Tārā* here is *Tārā Prajñā*--one of the four great *Prajñās*, *Locanā*, *Māmaktī*, *Pāṇḍarā*, and *Tārā*, who are often referred to simply as *Locanādi*--the wisdom consort of *Amoghasiddhiḥ*. (De Mallmann 1975:374). She is however embracing *Vairocanaḥ* in the western direction in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*'s *Kālacakraṃḍalam* (Bhattacharyya 1972:85); she appears with *Sparśavajrā* in the southeastern direction of the third sphere (Bhattacharyya 1972:86); and she is in to the south of the door in the eastern *vedikā* of the speech circle (Bhattacharyya 1972:91). In chapter 17 of the *Guhyasamājantram* the four *Prajñās* are assigned to four primary elements--*Locanā* to earth, *Māmaktī* to water, *Pāṇḍarā* to fire, and *Tārā* to wind. The combination of the sky element and the lightning element is *Vajradharaḥ*. (*Prthivi locanā khyātā abdhātur māmaktī smṛtā | pāṇḍarākhyā bhavet tejo vāyus tārā prakṛtitā | khavajradhātusamayaḥ saiva vajradharaḥ smṛtaḥ | |* Bhattacharyya 1931:137). In the *Hevajatantram* 1.1.21 these four are give are said to be expressed by *bhījamaṅtrās* constituting the phrase *evaṃ mayā [śrutam]* in the internal *maṅḍalam*: *ekāreṇa Locanādevī, vaṃkāreṇa Māmaktī smṛtā | makāreṇa Pāṇḍrā ca yākāreṇa Tārāṇī smṛtā | |* (Snellgrove 1959{2}:4 & 19159{1}:49). At *Hevajatantram* 2.4.65 *Tārā* and the other three *Prajñās* are included in a list of countless goddesses headed by *Nairātmyā*. (Snellgrove 1959{1}:106 and 1959{2}:70). *Sādhanamālā* contains several *sādhanās* to *Vajratārā* (93-97), including one by Āryanāgārjunaḥ and one by Dharmākaramatiḥ, one to *Tārā* by Anupamarakṣitaḥ (98), others to *Āryakhadiravaṇi-tārā* (89), to *Mahattarī-tārā* (90), to *Varada-tārā* (91), to *Vaśyādhikāra-tārā* (92), up through 116, totaling 28, with 21 different variations on the *Tārā* name (Bhattacharyya 1968{1}:xxi-xxii & 176-245), presumably representing a wide variety of local Buddhist practices. There are also two *sādhanās* to *Tārodbhavakurukullā* (171 & 172) and a *Tārāstutiḥ* (309) (Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:clxxix, clxxxiii, 343-344 & 594). Though not, to my knowledge, a deity worshipped in any significant way in the earlier Kāśmīr Śāivite *Tantras*, it is interesting that, unlike in the *Guhyasamāja* and *Hevajra*, where *Tārā* is not placed at the beginning of lists of goddesses, *Tārā* is included as the first of a group of *śaktis* in the retinue of *Sadāśivaḥ* at *Tantrālokaḥ* 8.373b (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1595 & Gnoli 1980:287), mentioned again as the first of the group at *TA* 8.418b (Dwivedi & Rastogi{4}:1619 & Gnoli 292. In the second instance, Gnoli makes the mistake of taking *tārādyah* as appositional with *siddhaya*; *siddhaya* is appositional only with the *aṇimādi-gaṇaḥ*. *Tārā* is not considered a *siddhiḥ*.) Though Beyer (Beyer 1973) did a remarkable study of *Tārā* in Tibet, *Tārā* in the Indian context has not

***Vaigarbhaḥ*,<sup>1</sup> and *Sparsāvajra*,<sup>2</sup> together with *Atibala*,<sup>3</sup>**

received quite the same attention. The word itself literally means "a star," and *yoga-tārās* figure prominently in the astronomical astrological traditions as the primary stars in each *nakṣatraḥ*. The moon earns the name *Tārābhartṛ* in the *Mṛgendrāgama*'s *Kriyāpādaḥ* 8.187a (Brunner-Lachaux 1985:313). Curiously enough, the pattern of designation using *Tārā* as first in the list of goddesses—that we find in *Tantrālokaḥ*, the 11th century Kāśmīr Śaivite text, yet not in the earlier Buddhist *tantrās*, *Guhyasamājaḥ* and *Hevajram*—also appears in the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* described in *Abhayākaragupta*'s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, where we have the *Tathāgatās Amoghasiddhiḥ* etc., and the *Bodhisattvas* in *vajrāsanam*, and *Tārādi-devyaḥ* in the lotus posture. (Bhattacharyya 1972:86). Later, at times in history not scrutinized in this dissertation, *Tārā* is grafted wholeheartedly into the Hindu Tantric practice. In the *Tārārahasya*, a 15th-16th century work by *Brahmānanda*, the *guru* of *Pūrṇānanda* (author of the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* Tantric digest), *Brahmānanda* places *Tārā* in the fourth of five voids (*śūnyās*), with *Akṣobhya* on her forehead. etc., and quotes several earlier Hindu *Tantras* featuring *Tārā*. (Shastri 1900:xxix-xxx). The *Tārārahasya* opens 'Om̐ homage to *Tārīṇī*, praising *Tārā*, the most essential, the progenitress of the three worlds, providing success in all endeavors, called 'universal,' bringing good fortune, the *mayī* of *Sadāśiva*, constantly praised by all the gods....' (*Om̐ namas tāriṇye | tārāṃ sāratarāṃ trilokajanāṃ sarvvarthasiddhipradāṃ sarvvākhyāṃ śubhadāṃ sadāśivamayīṃ devaiḥ sadā vanditāṃ | natvā....* Shastri 1900:153-4).

<sup>1</sup> This name appears to be either a *Kālacakra* variant of *Khagarbhaḥ* ('sky-womb') or simply a corruption of the text, since it does not appear in any of the other texts I've consulted, either Buddhist or Hindu. *Vai* is in no dictionary or lexicon I've consulted as 'sky.' It is rather an enclitic particle to fill out meter or for emphasis. *Puṇḍarikaḥ* has only *khagarbhaḥ* in his commentary, suggesting the term was used in the verses he had. Though De Mallmann doesn't mention *khagarbhaḥ*, we find *Khagarbhaḥ* embracing *Locanā/Gandhavajrā* in the northwest of the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* described in *Abhayākaragupta*'s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. (Bhattacharyya 1972:86, line 4). I have not yet found any reference to a *Khagarbhaḥ* deity in the Kāśmīr Śaivite literature.

<sup>2</sup> Touch-lightning, or perhaps 'electric touch.' In the opening pages of the *Guhyasamājatantram*, the *Bhagavān* is said to be accompanied by innumerable *bodhisattvas*, among whom is counted *Sparsāvajraḥ* (Bhattacharyya 1972:2, line 2 - Sanskrit; *Rūpavajraḥ* also appears, as do most of the constituent elements, senses, etc.) *Hevajratantram* 1.4.1, the section on divine consecration (*devatābhīṣekam*), mentions that the initiate will be honored by *Rūpavajrā* etc. (Snellgrove 1959{1}:59 & {2}:14). De Mallmann tells us that *Sparsāvajrā* is always in a different place, depending on what *maṇḍalam* is under consideration. In the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* she is divided into two, being both in the southeast, and at the right of the western door in the third circle, both times united with *Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin* (the one who blocks all obstructions). (De Mallmann 1975:351-352 & see Bhattacharyya 1972:85 & 86 respectively). Another appearance in the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam*, as described by *Abhayākaraguptaḥ* in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (and not mentioned by De Mallmann) is to the south of the door in the eastern *vedikā* of the speech *maṇḍalam*, next to *Tārā*. (Bhattacharyya 1972:91). *Vajra*, and the *vajras* of the various sense faculties and properties are not typically

## *Carcikā*,<sup>1</sup> and *Śrīkhalā*,<sup>2</sup>

a major topic of discussion in the Kaśmīr Śaivite literature (the tradition speaks more frequently of light rays, rather than lightning bolts). I have yet to find any reference to a *Sparśavajrah/ā* deity.

<sup>3</sup> In the verse we have the masculine form, in the commentary Puṇḍarīkaḥ uses the feminine form *Atibalā*. In the western part of the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* as described by Abhayākaraguptaḥ in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, we find *Atibalā*, identified with *Tārā*, embracing *Stambhakaḥ* who is said to be like *Vairocanaḥ* (*Vairocanavar*). (Bhattacharyya 1972:86, line 9). *Atibalaḥ* is one of the ten *Krodheśvarās*, listed under the name *Vighnāntakaḥ* at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 11: *Yamāntakaḥ, Prajñāntakaḥ, Padmāntakaḥ, Vighnāntako 'caraṭarkirājo, nīladaṇḍo, mahābalo, uṣṇīśaś, cakravartī, saṃbharājaś ceti*|| (Kasawara et al 1885:3). In the first line of Abhayākaragupta's description of the *maṇḍalam*, we find *Atibalaḥ*, along with the other *Krodheśvarās*, arrayed on the ten spokes of the protection wheel (*rakṣācakram*) in the inside of the lightning-cage (*vajrapaṅjara*) of the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam*. *Atibalaḥ, Kumbhakaḥ, Jambhakaḥ*, and *Māna[va]kaḥ* are arrayed on the eastern, southern, western, and northern spokes of the *rakṣācakram*. (Abhayākaraguptaḥ notes that these deities are also known by alternate names, *Vighnāntaka* for *Atibalaḥ*, *Prajñāntakaḥ* for *Kumbhakaḥ*, *Yamāntakaḥ* for *Jambhakaḥ*, and *Prajñāntakaḥ* (should probably be *Padmāntakaḥ*) for *Māna[va]kaḥ*.) *Nīladaṇḍaḥ* is on the southeastern spoke, *Ṭakkirājaḥ* is on the southwestern spoke, *Mahābalaḥ* is on the northwestern spoke, and *Acalaḥ* (not in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* list) is on the northeastern spoke. On the zenith spoke is *Uṣṇīśacakravartī* (given as two separate names in *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 11), and on the nadir spoke is *Sumbharājaḥ*. (*Kālacakramaṇḍale vajrapaṅjarābhyaṅtare rakṣācakram daśāraṃ tasya pūrva-dakṣiṇ-paścimottarāreṣv atibala-kumbhaka-jambhaka-mānavakā vighnāntaka-prajñāntaka-yamāntaka-prajñāntaka* (or rather *padmāntaka*)-*aparanāmānaḥ* | *Āgneyādyaṅreṣu nīladaṇḍa-ṭakkirāja-mahābala-acalāḥ* | *Ūrdhvāre uṣṇīśacakravartī adha āre sumbharājaḥ* | Bhattacharyya 1972:83). De Mallmann lists *Atibalaḥ* under *Vighnāntakaḥ*, giving as alternate names *Amṛtakunḍalin*, *Vajrakunḍalin*, *Vajrāmṛtaḥ*, *Vighāṭāmṛtaḥ*, and *Vighnāriḥ*. He possesses particularly powerful *mantras*, known as *sārvakarmikamantrās* (omnipotent, or completely effective *mantras*). (De Mallmann 1975:447-450). *Atibalaḥ* shows up in a list of the deities filling the thirty-four spokes of a *cakram* at *Tantrālokaḥ* 33.15a. Abhinavaguptaḥ uses the term *Subalaḥ*, and *Jayarathaḥ* informs us that *Subalaḥ* is a synonym of *Atibalaḥ* (*Subaleti Atibalaḥ* | Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3630 & 3634). Gnoli, as is his practice in *Luce della Sacre Scrittura*, simply inserts Jayaratha's clarifications into his translation, without notation. (Gnoli 1980:758). Jayarathaḥ quotes virtually the same list from *Mālinīvijjottarantram* 3.24 (3.20-23 in the KSS edition), where *Atibalaḥ* is used instead of *Subalaḥ* (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{7}:3634 and Kaul 1984:16). The MVT/TA *Atibalaḥ* however appears to have no relationship with the ten fierce deities of the Buddhist tradition. The name is rather one of a variety of variations on the name *bala*, i.e. *Balaś ca atibalaś caiva balabhadro balapradaḥ* | *hālavahaś ca balavān baladātā baleśvaraḥ* | (MVT 3.21b-3.22a) among thirty-four versions of *Śivaḥ* springing forth from the womb of *Śaktiḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> *Carcika* is in its earliest meaning repetition of a word while reciting the Veda (*carcāpada*), or more generally reading or recitation. We find *Carcā* listed three varieties of examination of the meaning of something by logical analysis at *Amarakośaḥ* 1.5.2 (and commentary): *carcā, saṃkhyā vicāraṇa (trayaṃ pramāṇair arthaparīkṣaṇasya*. (Amarasiṃhaḥ 1885:30) The



second meaning of the word and the derivative *cārcikyaṃ*—apparently the etymological source for its use here in the KCT—is as one of three terms for bathing or smearing the body with fragrant salves such as sandalwood paste etc., is given at *Amarakośaḥ* 2.6.122 (and commentary): *snānaṃ carcā tu cārcikyaṃ sthāsako 'tha prabodhanam. | (carcā cārcikyaṃ sthāsakaḥ trīṇi candanādīnā dehavilepaviśeṣasya uṭi khyātasya) |*. *Maheśvaraḥ* adds in the commentary that *Carcikā* and *cārcikyaṃ* are considered to be synonyms (*carcikaiva cārcikyaṃ | svārthe syaṅ*). A related term given in the same verse is *patralekhā* or *patrāṅgulīḥ*, painting the head etc. with lines of fragrant substances. *Maheśvaraḥ* tells us the practice is well known in such places as *Kaliṅgaḥ*—i.e. the Coromandel coast, the southeast coast of India along the Bay of Bengal. (*Patralekhā | Kaliṅgādideśeṣu prasiddheyam*). (Amarasimhaḥ 1885:161). Despite this apparently Hindu origin of the name, I have not yet found it used in any of the Kāśmīr Śaivite Tantric texts. De Mallmann, citing the *Agnipurāṇaḥ*, informs us that *Carcikā* is one of the names of *Durgā* (as *Rudracarcikā*), so one suspects that an originally local version of the goddess whose image was annointed with fragrant paste in the style of the *Kaliṅgās*, evolved into a more prominent version. She forms one of the eight mothers in the *Kālacakra*'s speech *maṅḍalam*, embracing *Indraḥ*, in the East. (De Mallmann 1975:140). Specifically, according to *Abhayākaragupta*'s description, *Carcikā* is in the middle of the pericarp of the eastern lotus situated on top of a *pretāḥ* in the speech *maṅḍalam*; she is black, has one face with three eyes, is holding chopper and a trident with her two right hands, a skull and a *khaṭvāṅga* with her two right hands, and is embraced by *Indraḥ*. (*Vān-maṅḍale....tatra pretoparisthita-pūrvabjasya karṇikāyāṃ carccikā kṣṇā trinetrekavaktrā savyābhyāṃ kartri-triśūle vāmābhyāṃ kapāla-khaṭvaṅge bibhratī indrāliṅgitā |* Bhattacharyya 1972:87). *Carcikā* also appears as one of the ten daughters in the *Jālandharā pīṭhaḥ* of the *Kubjikā*-lineage *Tantra*, the *Ṣaṣṣāhasra-Saṃhitā* (Schoterman 1982:222).

<sup>2</sup> Literally, *śṛṅkhalāḥ/ā* = an iron chain, particularly an elephant's leg-chain. Here, *śṛṅkhalā* is short for *Vajraśṛṅkhalā*, as glossed by Puṇḍarīkaḥ. According to De Mallmann, the name designates three deities. Three *sādhanās* are dedicated to *Vajraśṛṅkhalā* in the *Sādhanamālā* (nos. 207-209) (Bhattacharyya 1968{2}:413-415). One is the deity in the *Mañjuvajra-maṅḍalam*, one is the *Prajñā* of *Hevajraḥ*, and one is found in the western door of the body *maṅḍalam* of the *Kālacakramaṅḍalam*, embracing the *Krodheśvaraḥ Mahābalaḥ*. (De Mallmann 1975:432-24). (She lists both the GOS edition and a Paris manuscript, yet never cites anything other than "NSP (26)" referring to the fact that the *Kālacakramaṅḍalam* is the 26th described in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*—neither page numbers nor folios are given for any of her citations). The description given by *Abhayākaragupta* is that in the western door there is *Mahābalaḥ*, *Vairocana*-like, in a yellow chariot with seven yellow elephants; embraced by him is *Vajraśṛṅkhalā*, who is black, holding a gem and thunderbolt in her two right hands, and a water-pot and serpent in her two left hands. (*Pāścīme saptapīṭagaja-pīṭarathe Mahābalo Vairocanavat | anenāśliṣṭā vajraśṛṅkhalā, kṣṇā, savyābhyāṃ muṅḍikuliṣe, vāmābhyāṃ kalaśasarpau bibhratī. |* Bhattacharyya 1968:89.23-24) *Vajraśṛṅkhalā* is also listed (not mentioned by De Mallmann) as the touch-desire goddess [in a group of goddesses] to the left of the door in the eastern *vedikā* of the speech *maṅḍalam*. (*Vān-maṅḍalasya vedīṣu icchādevyāḥ | Tatra pūrvasyāṃ vedikāyāṃ dvārasya dakṣiṇā-dig-deśe vidvṣecchā tāreva..... | dvārasya vāme, saṃtāpanecchā 'tinīleva, sparśecchā vajraśṛṅkhaleva.... |* Bhattacharyya 1968:91.14-17). We also find in *Abhayākaragupta*'s description of the *Kālacakramaṅḍalam*, that the red, hog-faced *Vārāhi*, who is in the pericarp of the southern lotus, on top of bull, in

[11.1] *Nairṛtya*,<sup>1</sup> the *Śūdra* serpents, the purifier [the wind], so likewise She of the dog-face, together with She of the crow [face],

And these, with the lord of the three realms of friendly disposition, expanded from the eastern face. || 14 ||.

"In the *dharma* [*cakra*]" etc. Here, in the heart, in the *dharma cakra*, from the completely purified wind constituent, from the purified *saṃskāra*, the mark of the sword is the host of deities because of the dark blue color. That is to say, *Amoghasiddhi*, *Tārā*, He who is the destroyer of obstacles, He who has a dark-blue stick,<sup>2</sup> She who is extremely strong, [11.5] She who has a lightning leg chain, He

the speech *maṇḍalam*, holds a stick and a sword in her two right hands, and a chain (*śṛṅkhalā*) and a plough, and is embraced by *Rudraḥ*. (*Mahīṣopari yāmyapadmasya karṇikāyāṃ vārāhī rakā śūkaramukhī| savyayor daṇḍa-khaḍgau| vāmayoḥ śṛṅkhalā-halake| rudrāliṅgītā|* Bhattacharyya 1968:87.17-18).

<sup>1</sup> Etymologically, *nairṛtya* = consecrated to *Nirṛti* = the goddess of death and destruction, given various geneologies in Hindu mythology, and often associated with *Mṛtyu* [MW]. *Nairṛtya* is a *vṛddhi* derivative of *nirṛti*, from *nir* +  $\sqrt{r}$ , to go out or off, fall away from, separate, etc. The term *nairṛtya* is used by both the Hindu and Buddhist *tāntrikās* to refer to the southwestern direction (see for example Bhattacharyya 1968:85.15 & 86.3). De Mallmann gives the name as a god (not a goddess), *Nairṛti*, and tells us that he is also known under the names *Vajrāṅkuṣa*, *Niśācara*, and *Rākṣasādhipa*. In the *Kālacakramaṇḍalam* he is embraced by *Aindrī* in the west; in addition he is also found to the right of the eastern door in the body *maṇḍalam*, embracing *Rākṣasī*. (De Mallmann 1975:272-273). At *Tantrālokaḥ* 8.51b Abhinavagupta tells us that *Nirṛti*'s city is *Kṛṣṇāṅgarā*. (Dwivedi & Rastogi 1987{4}:1389 & Gnoli 1980:251).

<sup>2</sup> *Niladaṇḍa* and *Vighnāntaka* are listed in *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 11 as two of the ten fierce deities. "The ten fierce ones [*daśa-krodhāḥ*] are as follows: the destroyer of death [*Yamāntakaḥ*], the destroyer of wisdom [*Prajñāntakaḥ*], the destroyer of the lotus [*Padmāntakaḥ*], the destroyer of obstacles [*Vighnāntakaḥ*], the unmoving king of the *Takkas* [*Acara-ṭakki-rāja* (the text reads *-ṭarki-* yet this is not a word in Sanskrit. I've corrected it to *ṭakki*, following VMP 11.16 just below.); the bearer of the dark blue stick [*Niladaṇḍa*], the very strong one [*Mahābalaḥ*], the one dwelling in the crown *cakra* [*Uṣṇīṣa-cakra-vartin*], and the *Sumbha* king [*Sumbharāja*--I use the alternate reading from the India Office Library manuscript; *Sambha* is not a word in Sanskrit. See note to VMP 12.21 below]." (Kasawara

who has the sky as his womb, She whose touch is lightning, *Carcikā*, *Vaiṣṇavī*,<sup>1</sup> the Wind, He who is devoted to the goddess of death [*Nairṛtya*], the Lotus, *Karkoṭaka*,<sup>2</sup> She who is crow-faced, She who is dog-faced, these [all emerge] from the eastern face, from the thought-face. They expand with the lord of the three realms of friendly disposition. Sealed by the *vijñāna* of *Amoghasiddhi*, the host of deities, with *Amoghasiddhi*, possessing the mark of the sword, causing success in the actions of ruining an adversary and generating enmity, is black because of the color of wind. Thus the emanation and contraction of the deities of *Amoghasiddhi*'s clan through the performance of what is proper. || 14 ||

et al 1885:3). *Ṭakkirāja* appears in *Guhysamājantra* 13.144-146 (see Fremantle 1971:85): "In the centre of the sky imagine the divine Sun disk and visualizing the form of Buddha, transform [Buddha] into *Ṭakkirāja*; imagine him fierce, with terrifying appearance, terrifying fear itself...." With regard to *Ṭakki-rāja*, MW says the *Ṭakka* are *Bāhika* people, the 'name of a despised people of the Panjab.' Stein, in a note to *Rājatarāṅgī* 5.150, identifies *Ṭakka-deśa* as the kingdom called "Tseh-kia" by Hiuen-tsiang, located in the Panjab between the Biās and Indus rivers, with its capital at *Śākala*, probably between the Cināb and the Ravi rivers." (Stein 1991{1}:205.150). It's intriguing that one of the ten fierce deities would be named as the King of this people. Dey also locates *Ṭakka-deśa* to the Panjab, and gives *Mada-deśa* and *Āraṭṭa* as alternate names (Dey 1971:200).

<sup>1</sup> Puṇḍarīka glosses *Carcikā* as the feminine form of *Viṣṇu*. De Mallmann says *Carcikā* is one of the names for *Durgā* integrated into the Tantric pantheon, also known under the name *Cāmuṇḍā*. She forms part of the group of eight mothers in the *Kālacakra* speech *maṇḍala*. (De Mallmann 1975:140 & 71). Bhattacharyya, in his description of the *Kālacakramaṇḍala* in the introduction to his edition of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, places *Carcikā* in the east on a lotus, standing on *Indra* as a corpse (a common image from *Durgā* iconography) surrounded by eight *yogīnis*. (Bhattacharyya 1972:79).

<sup>2</sup> De Mallmann, citing several passages in *Sādhnamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, gives the following list of eight *nāgas* or serpent deities commonly named in Tantric Buddhist texts: *Ananta*, *Karkoṭakai*, *Kulika*, *Mahāpadma*, *Padma*, *Śankhapāla*, *Takṣaka*, and *Vāsuki*. (De Mallmann 1975:268). *Ananta*, *Takṣaka*, and *Vāsuki* are the three great serpents in the *Mahābhārata*, *Harivaṃśa* etc., with *Ananta* also known as *Śeṣa* [Monier Williams' Dictionary]. *Vaidyakaśabdāsindhuḥ* gives *hiltavṛkṣa*, the Bilva tree, for *karkoṭa[ka]*. (Gupta & Sena 1983:218). Monier Williams gives "mormodica mixta" from *Suśruta* as the first definition.

Now the emanation of *Ratnasambhava*'s clan is stated--

**5.15: In the enjoyment [*cakra*], from the purified fire, like the risen sun, the Jewel Holder and *Pāṇḍarā* [*vāsini*],**

**He of the Earth womb, He who crushes, She who has the lightning bolt of the best flavor, the She-boar [making the sound *śū*], the fire of six faces, |**

**The two kings, the two Indras of the serpents, She whose contraction of the brow is evident,<sup>1</sup> She who is boar-faced, She who is vulture [faced];<sup>2</sup>**

**These expand from the glorious left face with the supremely delighted Universal mother. || 15 ||**

[11.15] "From the purified fire in the enjoyment." Here in the throat *cakra*, from the purified feeling aggregate,<sup>3</sup> from the purified fire, like the risen sun, i.e. colored red, the Jewel holder, i.e. *Ratnasambhava*. In this same way *Pāṇḍarā* [*vāsini*]. The destroyer of Wisdom,<sup>4</sup> the king of the *Ṭakki*, She who is the Crusher, **She of contracted brow**, He whose womb is the Earth, She who is the lightning of taste, She who is the Female Boar, the Young Maiden, Fire, *Kartikēya*,<sup>5</sup> She of the boar-face, She of vulture-face, *Vāsukiḥ*,<sup>6</sup> *Śaṅkhaḥ*;<sup>7</sup> these expanded from the

<sup>1</sup> The text should read *prakaṣita-bhrūkuṭṭ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sagrādhṛā*: the use of *sa*-prefix does not indicate here 'together with;' it indicates here rather that the word *asya* is carried over; this usage is not uncommon in KCT verses.

<sup>3</sup> Add a *visargaḥ* to *śuddha-vedanāyā*. The genitive singular feminine in *-ā* end in *-ās*: followed by a *ś* the preceding *s* becomes a *visargaḥ*. See Whitney's Grammar, Rule 172.

<sup>4</sup> *Prajñāntaka*, one of the *daśakrodhāḥ* deities.

<sup>5</sup> *Kartikēyaḥ* is the name of the son of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*, also considered the god of war for leading *Śiva*'s hosts against the demons.

<sup>6</sup> *Vāsukiḥ* is one of three serpent kings (*Śeṣaḥ* and *Takakaḥ* are the other two) who was used as a rope during the churning of the ocean with Mt. *Mandara*, the churning that produced the fourteen divine treasures. Monier Williams gives the following description: "Vishṇu infused

left face with the Universal mother who was supremely delighted. All are colored red, sealed by *Ratnasambhava*, providing the *siddhis* of subjecting another to one's will, and drawing an absent person into one's presence, since they are intrinsic to the speech *cakra*. In this way, [11.20] there is the emanation etc. of the deities of *Ratnasambhava*'s clan through the knowledge of equanimity [*samatā*]. Here, also, *Ratnasambhava* is sealed by consciousness [*vijñāna*]. || 15 ||

Now the emanation of *Vairocana*'s clan is stated--

**5.16: In the navel [*cakra*], from the completely purified earth, like the best gold, there is *Cakrapāṇi* [holding a disk in his hand], and the Sage,**

***Vikambhī*,<sup>1</sup> and *Locanā*,<sup>2</sup> Oh excellent King, *Stambhaka*,<sup>3</sup> She who is the**

a portion of his essence into the body of an immense tortoise to aid in producing or recovering certain valuable articles, some of which had been lost in the deluge. For this purpose he stationed himself at the bottom of the sea of milk--one of the seven concentric circular seas surrounding the seven concentric circular continents of the earth--that his back might serve as a pivot for the mountain Mandara, around which the gods and demons twisted the great serpent V\*suki. They then stood opposite each other, and using the snake as a rope and the mountain as a churning-rod, churned the milky ocean violently till, one by one, fourteen inestimably valuable or typical objects emerged. 1. They nectar conferring immortality (*Amṛta*). 2. The physician of the gods and holder of the nectar (*Dhanvantari*). 3. The goddess of good fortune and beauty, wife of Viṣṇu (Lakṣmī or Śrī). 4. The goddess of wine (Surā). 5. The moon (Candra). 6. The nymph Rambhā, celebrated as a kind of prototype of lovely women. 7. A fabulous high-eared horse (Uccaiḥśravas), the supposed prototype of the equine race. 8. The miraculous jewel Kaustubha, afterwards appropriated by Kṛṣṇa. 9. A celestial tree (Pārijāta) yielding all desired objects. 10. The cow of plenty (Kāmadhenu or Surabhi), granting all boons. 11. A mythical elephant (Airāvata)--afterwards appropriated by the god Indra--prototype of the elephantine race. 12. A sacred conch-shell (Śaṅkha), afterwards the property of Viṣṇu (or Kṛṣṇa), and supposed, when blown as a horn, to insure victory over his enemies.... 13. A miraculous unerring bow (Dhanus). 14. A deadly poison (Viṣa)." (Monier Williams 1974:109).

<sup>7</sup> *Śaṅkhapāla*, literally 'conch protector,' is a serpent demon's name in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and *Harivaṃśa*.

<sup>1</sup> She who is the supporting beam.

<sup>2</sup> She who illumines.

<sup>3</sup> He who is a post or a pillar. Also the name of one of Śiva's attendants.

lightning bolt of smell [*gandhavajra*],|

[11.25] *Māricī*,<sup>1</sup> *Aindrī*, and *Śakra*,<sup>2</sup> together with He who has a pair of faces<sup>3</sup>  
[and] all the *Vaiśya*-serpents, etc.,

With the husband, and with endurance, [these being] beneficial to all  
people, [these ones] emerge from the western face. || 16 ||

[12.1] "In the navel, from the completely purified earth." Here, in the navel, i.e. in  
the emanation *cakra*, from the purified form aggregate, from the purified earth  
constituent element, like the best gold, of yellow color, *Cakrapāṇi*, and the Sage,  
i.e. *Vairocana*. In the same way, *Locanā* [i.e. also golden, also in the emanation  
*cakra*, also from the purified earth constituent]. *Yamāntaka*,<sup>4</sup> the exceedingly strong  
one,<sup>5</sup> The Pillar *Viṣkambhī*, *Gandhavajrā*, *Aindrī*, i.e. *Brahmāṇī*, *Śakra*, i.e.  
*Brahmā*,<sup>6</sup> *Takṣaka*,<sup>7</sup> *Mahāpadma*, She of the jackle-face, She of the vulture face,  
these, with the husband and with endurance, beneficial to all people, [12.5]  
emerge from the western face. From the knowledge face, yellow colored, they  
have the mark of the *cakra*, providing the *siddhi* of the actions of paralyzing and

<sup>1</sup> N. of a Buddhist Goddess, mother of *Gautama Buddha*; patronimic feminine derivative of *Marici*, name of an *Apsaras* in MBh; a ray of light.

<sup>2</sup> Strong/powerful = *Indra*'s feminine form.

<sup>3</sup> *Yuga-mukha-sahito*.

<sup>4</sup> *Yamāntaka* is one of the ten *Krodheśvaras*; the name can also denote either Death the Destroyer, i.e. *Yama*, or, the Destroyer of Death--i.e. *Śiva*.

<sup>5</sup> Probably an alternate name for *Mahābala*, one of the *Daśakrodhāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> This is odd, since *Śakra* and *Aindrī* are usually *Indra* and his consort--the latter a post-Vedic, perhaps Tantric invention; I've never seen *Śakra* and *Aindrī* referred to as *Brahmā* and *Brahmāṇī* elsewhere.

<sup>7</sup> The third of the three royal serpents, with *Vāsuki* and *Śeṣa*. *Takṣaka* = "the cutter." *Śeṣa* is not mentioned in these groups of deities.

confusing, sealed by *Vairocana*. *Vairocana* is also sealed by consciousness [*viñāna*].  
So the emanation etc. of the clan of *Vairocana* is from knowledge of the  
mirror. || 16 ||

Now the expansion of the clan of *Akṣobhya* is stated--

**5.17: In the *uṣṇīṣa* [*cakra*], from the purified void, He who holds the best  
lightning bolt, *Akṣobhya* [and] the Mistress of the constituents, the two,**

**The *Uṣṇīṣa*, the *Dharma* realm, through the influence of the sky quality,  
the others *Vajrapāṇi* etc.,**

**In the secret [*cakra*], from the purified, all together, treasuries of peace  
and happiness, and [they are possessed of] speech lightning bolt,**

**Expanding above and below, indeed, the abodes of many qualities, for the  
sake of the liberation of breathing creatures. || 17 ||**

"In the *uṣṇīṣa cakra* from the purified void." In the *uṣṇīṣa cakra* from the  
purified consciousness aggregate, from the purified space constituent, **holding the  
best lightning bolt, *Akṣobhya***, sealed by knowledge, black colored. In this same  
way *Vajradhātviśvarī* [the Mistress of the lightning bolt constituent]. The *uṣṇīṣa*,  
[12.15] the lightning *hūṃ* sound, She who is terrible eyed [*Raudrākṣī*], the Fierce  
Queen, **He who holds the lightning bolt in his hand,**<sup>1</sup> She who is the lightning bolt  
of the *dharma* realm, *Viṣṇu*, *Yama*, the Conquering, the *Nāga*, these from the upper  
face, from the void, **expanding, the abodes of many qualities**, i.e. providing the  
*siddhi* of all actions, possessing the mark of the lightning bolt, sealed by *Akṣobhya*,

<sup>1</sup> *Vajrapāṇi* should be hold, it's in the verse.

from the black space color. Thus the expansion etc. of the deities of *Akṣobhya*'s clan, through the knowledge of the well purified *dharma* constituent.

Now the expansion of *Vajra-sattva*'s clan is stated, "In the secret [*cakra*], from the purified" etc. Here, in the secret *cakra*, [12.20] from the purified knowledge aggregate, from the purified knowledge constituent, possessing the lightning mark of the dark blue trident one, *Vajrasattva*, sealed by consciousness. In this way there is the knowledge constituent. Wisdom, She who is dark blue, the King of the *Sumbha*,<sup>1</sup> He of lightning-speed,<sup>2</sup> He who is exceedingly Dark Blue, the Fierce Mistress, *Rudra*. Crushing, He who is universally good [*Samantabhadra*], She of sound-lightning, the victorious serpent [*Vijayanāga*]. These expand from the lower face that has the characteristic of knowledge, [these being] beneficial to all people, for the sake of the liberation of breathing creatures, from the knowledge of the well-purified *dharma* element, [these being] colored dark blue, having the form of dark blue *Akṣobhya*, sealed by *Vajrasattva*, adept at all actions. |

[12.25] So in the six *cakras* there is the expansion of the deities of the six clans,

<sup>1</sup> *Sumbharāja* is the name of one of the *Krodheśvaras*. *Sumbha* is the name of a people: MW references *Rāmāyana*, and gives a Lexicon reference for 'name of a country. (cf. *Śumbha-deśa*).' *Śumbha-deśa*, is a Colebrooke reference to the Name of a country; *Śumbhapur*, is the name of a town and district of "the modern Sambhalpur in the district of Gondwāna." [MW]—also called *Ekacakra* and *Harigrha*. Dey identifies *Sumbha*/*Śumbha* with *Suhma*, itself identical with *Rādha*, the portion of Bengal west of the Ganges. In medieval times the name of *Sumbha* was *Lāṭa* or *Lāla*. "The Buddha delivered the *Janapada Kalyāni Sutta* while living in a forest near the town of Deśaka in the country of Sumbha as Sumha was also called." (Dey 1971:164, 195). Indeed, we find in the introductory story to the *Talapatta-Jātaka*, no. 96, Book 1, that the story was told by the Buddha near Deśaka in Sumbha country. (Chalmers 1957:232).

<sup>2</sup> *Vajra-vegaḥ*. Seal translates *vega* as 'momentum' in his discussion of the *Vaiśeṣika* ideas of kinetics, though I think 'speed' is more appropriate here. (See Seal 1985:137-144).



beneficial to the world; after sixteen years, since it produces the wheel of time, it is achieved--this is the rule. Here *Akṣobhya*, in the dark blue form of *Akṣobhya*, is sealed; the black consciousness aggregate, with the black *Akṣobhya*, the dark blue is the knowledge aggregate. So where there is sealing by the four distinct clans of the body, speech, thought, and knowledge, there is *Vairocana*, white, because of the nature of the moon; *Amitābha*, red, because of the nature of the sun; *Akṣobhya*, black, because of the nature of *Rāhu*; *Vajrasattva*, yellow, because of the nature of the time-fire. So [13.1] by the relationship of the designation and what it designates, there is sealing according to the precept of the Practice Chapter. So *Akṣobhya* is the sealing of *Vairocana*, *Vairocana* is the sealing of *Amitābha*, *Amitābha* is the sealing of *Ratnasambhava*, *Ratnasambhava* of *Amoghasiddhi*; this is the rule on sealing. So the great lord of three-realms is to be known as the one possessed of the infinite *cakra* in all the other *Tantras*, in [both] the triple clan, and in quintuple clan. || 17 ||

Now the expansion of the wisdom Tantra is stated--

**[13.5] 5.18: On the cardinal direction petal *Locanā* etc., situated on the intermediate direction petal is a skull filled with blood;**

**Stretched out in an archer's pose on the head of the sun, the conquering Soma Lord [Indra], really like the cloud of universal destruction;|**

**Garland-bound with skulls, speaking an ocean [of words], *Heruka*, with solar arms,**

**With the seal, serpent, and tiger skin, wearing the torn skin and bones of the lord of the elephant of universal destruction. || 18 ||**

"On the cardinal direction leaf" etc. Here, as communicated in the *Cakrasaṃvara*, are the four lightning sky-goers etc., *Locanā*<sup>1</sup> etc., [13.10] whose intrinsic nature is the earth etc., [and] who provide the perfections (*siddhis*) of expiation etc. And they, further, being divided into the black color etc. of the thought and the mouth etc., are not the providers of the action perfection (*karmasiddhi*) of earth etc. So it says--

By the yellow paralyzing is to be accomplished, by the white, pacification etc. [is achieved] on earth|

Subjugation and drawing towards oneself [is accomplished] by the red, [and] by the black ruination of the adversary, etc. [is accomplished]||

So, from through the influence of the black color/syllable, the Lightning *ḍākinī* is the wind constituent; from the color red, *Lāmā*<sup>2</sup> from the fire constituent; [13.15] from the yellow color, She whose rise is cleft,<sup>3</sup> the earth constituent; from the white principal color, She of beautiful form, the water constituent. So, just as there are, respectively, for the thought, speech, knowledge, and body faces the colors black, red, yellow, and white, likewise for each of the nine goddesses such as *Pracaṇḍā*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Locanā* should be in bold, it's from the verse.

<sup>2</sup> This word is not in MW or Apte; the closest word in Sanskrit is *Lamakaḥ* = a lover. Most likely this a transliteration from Tibetan, supporting a dating of at least this portion of the commentary from post 7th century c.e., after the beginning of the Tibetan translation phase of Buddhism--a return influence, as it were. Hemacandra includes her in his *Deśnāmamālā* (12th century), as a *ḍākinī* (Pischel 1938:280).

<sup>3</sup> *Khaṇḍa-roha*. *Khaṇḍa-indu* = the crescent moon. *Khaṇḍa* = break, fissure, fragment, portion. *Roha* = growing, rising, ascending; height, altitude. This also appears to be a sexual reference, to "she whose rise is cleft," i.e. a woman who is no longer a virgin.

<sup>4</sup> *Pracaṇḍa* -- the term as an adjective = vehement, violent, impetuous; strong, powerful, fierce.

etc., situated in its cardinal directions areas, a color is to be understood for what has the designation of the great mark. This is the *Bhagavān*'s rule. Therefore, for those possessing little fortitude, here, with the short teaching on the *Kālacakra* by *Mañjuśrī*,<sup>1</sup> he alone is illuminated as being manifest. **On the cardinal direction leaf *Locanā* etc.**; i.e. on the western leaf *Locanā* is [designated] according to [her] color; She who is ascending the crescent is yellow, since she has the intrinsic nature of the anal-channel. [13.20] Since it is the color of earth the western knowledge face of *Kālacakra* is yellow, since it has the intrinsic mark of *Heruka*. On the northern petal, according to the color of water, *Rupiṇī* is white; the northern body and mouth are white due to the intrinsic nature of the *lalanā*.<sup>2</sup> On the southern [petal] is *Lāmā*, red because of the color of fire; [her] body and face are red due to the intrinsic nature of the *rasanā*.<sup>3</sup> On the eastern petal the lightning bolt *ḍākinī* black/dark blue because of the color of wind; [her] body and face are black/dark blue due to the intrinsic nature of the urine-channel. In the same way, due to the intrinsic nature of the *avadhūtī*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Neither *Mañjuśriyā* nor *Kālacakra* are in the verse; the boldface here is honorific.

<sup>2</sup> *Lalanā* = a woman in general, or a wanton woman. By a process as yet unrevealed, the term came to be used in Buddhist esotericism for one of the two major subtle-body channels alongside the central channel running through the spine, the *avadhūtī*. The equivalent term in Hindu esotericism is *idā*.

<sup>3</sup> *Rasanā* = the tongue. The word is also often spelled *raśanā*, a term referring to a rope, cord, or a woman's girdle. This term came to be used in Buddhist esotericism for the third of the three major channels of the subtle body, this one running along opposite side of the spine from the *lalanā*. It is equivalent to the Hindu term *piṅgala*.

<sup>4</sup> *Avadhūtī* = the Buddhist name of the central channel of the subtle body running through the spine. The word *avadhūtaḥ* = an ascetic, one who has renounced or shaken off (*ava* + *√dhū*); *√avadhū* also = the shake, move, waver, or tremble. So a literal translation of *avadhūtī* would either be "she who shakes, moves, vibrates or trembles," or "the female ascetic." The name is also used in the erotic tradition to depict an ideal type of woman.

the Lightning She-boar is black, according to the intrinsic nature of the *Śaṅkhinī*.<sup>1</sup> *Kālacakra*, the lord *Heruka*, is colored dark blue. So, [13.25] on the spokes of the thought, speech, and body *cakras*, in the east, in southeast<sup>2</sup> there are the black sky-goers; in the south, and in the southwest,<sup>3</sup> the red ones; in the west, and in the northwest,<sup>4</sup> the yellow ones; in the north and in the northeast,<sup>5</sup> the white ones. In

<sup>1</sup> In subtle body physiology, *Śaṅkhinī* is the name for the channel that runs inside of the *avadhūti*. It is certainly intriguing to note that of the Buddhist names of the three major channels, and the name for the inner central channel, three define types of women (*Śaṅkhinī*, *avadhūti*, and *lalanā*), while the fourth is the name for a woman's girdle (*rasanā*). *Śaṅkhinī* = one of the four types of erotic women (*Śaṅkha* is the conch shell; *śaṅkhinī*, the conch possessor, is *Viṣṇu* or the commanding general; *śaṅkhinī*, the feminine possessive). According to the *Ratimañjarī* she is: 'One with long or very long eyelashes, superbly beautiful, elegant in the enjoyment of passion, endowed with grace and qualities; her throat is adorned with the three lines, graceful in the play of passion, she certainly is *śaṅkhinī*. (*Dīrgha-atidīrgha-nayanā, vara-sundarī, yā kāmopabhoga-rasikā guṇa-śīla-yuktā* | *Rekha-trayeṇa ca vibhūṣita-kaṇṭha-deśā, sambhoga-keli-rasikā, kila śaṅkhinī sā* | | (The other three types are *citriṇī*, *hastinī*, and *padminī*.) MW, citing *Kālacakra*, gives "N. of a *śakti* worshipped by the Buddhists." *Ratimañjarī* (5) defines *citriṇī* (of varied talents and good qualities) as: 'She knows the essence of elegance, is not too short, she has a nose lovely as a sesamum blossom, with lovely lotus-like eyes; endowed with full, firm breasts, beautiful, of restrained virtue, lovely with all good qualities, the *Citriṇī* of beautiful face.' (*Bhavati rasirasajñā nātikharvā, na dīrghā tila-kusuma-sunāsā, snigdha-ṇilotpalākṣī* | *Ghana-kaṭhina-kucāḍhyā sundarī baddha-śīlā sakala-guṇa-vicitrā citriṇī citravaktṛā*.) *Ratimañjarī* (8) defines *Hastinī* as: 'With thick womb, thick buttocks and lips, thick fingers, thick breasts, amiable; eager for love, delighting in intense sexual passion, a tremendous eater, (unusually short), indeed the *hastinī* is, she is considered the female elephant. (*Sthūla-dharā sthūla-nītamba-bimbā sthūla-aṅgulīḥ sthūla-kucā suśīlā* | *Kāmotsukā gāḍhha-rati-priyam ca nītānta-bhoktrī (nītamba-kharvā) khalu hastinī syāt (kariṇī matā sā)* | | *Ratimañjarī* defines *Padminī* as: 'She has lotus eyes, her nostrils are petite, she has a large pair of breasts, lovely hair, a slender frame; a gentle and agreeable voice, delighting in song and instrumental music, well-dressed over her entire body, the *Padminī*, with a lotus' scent.' (*Bhavati kamala-netrā nāsikākṣudra-randhrā, aviralakucayugmā cārukeṣṭi kṛṣāṅgī* | *Mṛdu-vacana-suśīlā gītavādyānuraktā sakala-tanu-suveśā padminī padmagandhā*.) (Quotations from Apte's dictionary.)

<sup>2</sup> The southeast is governed by fire; hence it is known as *Agni* or *āgneya*.

<sup>3</sup> The southwest is governed by *Nirṛti* ("decay, destruction")—one of the names of the 11 *Rudras* or forms of *Śiva*—hence the southwest is called *Nairṛtya*.

<sup>4</sup> The northwest is governed by the wind, hence it is referred to by *vāyava* (from *vāyuh*).

<sup>5</sup> The northeast is governed by *Īśvara*, hence it is called *Īśāna*.

the same way in the eight death grounds the goddesses should be recognized. By their spreading open [as petals do], the *Karmaprasara* [the spreading of action] etc. *Tantra*[s] were stated, with the commentary written by *Vajrapāṇi*,<sup>1</sup> of six thousand [verses]; it is understandable in the *Laghutantra*, so it is not written here. What's **residing on the petals of the intermediate directions** is easily understood. Similarly the *Samāja* and the *Māyājāla* [14.1] are well known [and] easily understood, so they're not written about here. Hence here is the expansion of the thought, speech, and body lightning. This is indicated by the *sūtra* in the root *Tantra*--

Two and one, three, one and a half, a half, since the one, the four, [and] the one,<sup>2</sup>

The four, the one, and the four and the one, the portion in the thirty-two etc. ||<sup>3</sup>  
[14.5] The remainder, the enclosure etc. belongs to the *Kālackara maṇḍala*. || 18 ||

**5.19: With the goddesses whose moon-bodies are blue, red, and white there are the three *cakras* on the outside;**

**The six lightning bolts with anger-born [deities], who have two arms and one moon face, likewise born from the elements;**

**In the door the *Caṇḍās* [the fierce ones], standing on corpses, and in the intermediate direction[s], the restrained ones, holding in their hands a knife and**

<sup>1</sup> Bold is honorific here; *Vajrapāṇi* is not in verse 5.18.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bhūtasamkhyā* system, *candra* is a name for one (there's only one moon for earth); *yuga* is a name for four (there are four *yugas*).

<sup>3</sup> It's not clear to me what's being referred to here. The numbers given add up to 24. *Bhāga* would have to be eight to get thirty-two, and *bhāga* does not appear as a name for eight in any of the lists I've consulted.

skulls,

In the four hands of the heroes there are lightning bolts, and the two-faced drum, the lightning *khaṭvāṅga*,<sup>1</sup> and the bell.

[14.10] 5.20: In the glorious Mt. Meru's eight directions, in the earth and water circle, all the seats and adjacent seats;<sup>2</sup>

The field, in the gathering place,<sup>3</sup> the meeting place,<sup>4</sup> and the cremation ground, |

And in the middle of the fire and wind; thus in the district, in the city, the deities should be known as residing in the cardinal and intermediate directions;

The name of the wisdom Tantra was emanated from the eastern face by the lord of the three worlds. ||20||

5.21: In the womb the cakra has nine portions; in the moon and sun lotus, half the portion is from the *maṇḍala*;

[14.15] From the rows of the diamond/lightning bolt supports is also constructed the great presiding deity of the aggregates and constituents;

On the external enclosure wall are located the moon and sun seats for the

<sup>1</sup> The *kāpālika* staff, topped by a skull, the *khaṭvāṅga*, is likened to a lightning bolt here. See Chapter 3.2.4.

<sup>2</sup> *Pīṭha* and *upapīṭha*. These are "seats" of the deities, usually pilgrimage sites where particular deities are thought to personally reside with some living presence, either invisible, or located in some temple, tree, rock, river, etc. See Chapter 10.6.

<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 10.6 for a discussion of these terms. *Chandoha* is a Prākṛit form of *saṃdoha*, a term referring to a group of people gathered together, and hence a pilgrimage site.

<sup>4</sup> *Melāpaka*. See Chapter 10.6. of this dissertation.

senses and their objects;

Situated on the sun [seats] are the door guardians, and the clan of the latter group is on the sacrificial altar, all around. ||21||<sup>1</sup>

5.22: In what begins thus the six forms are also sung; likewise the *Yogatantra* [*Guhya*] *Samāja*;

The fierce ones are in the corners; on the side of the sense objects and senses is the Crusher, with grain in his hand;|

[14.20] The mouth and the two feet, the hands and the anus, the vagina, the sun, and the moon have the intrinsic nature of the time-channel;

Wisdom and means together, three-faced and six-armed, emanating from the left mouth. ||22||

5.23: The *cakra* is in the three-cornered womb, oh ruler of men; from the *maṇḍala* itself it has three portions,

The presiding deity of the constituent elements and aggregates; again, is in the latter hole, the eight sound-lightning bolts etc.;

In the externally situated *maṇḍala* indeed, in the ten directions, the disciplined fierce host, situated on the sun [seat];

[14.25] On that enclosure wall are gathered together the *bodhisattvas* who have destroyed the ages [the four *yugas*] of the ocean [of existence]. ||23||<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *vedikā* is the sacrificial alter used in Vedic rites.

<sup>2</sup> The four *yugas* are *kṛta/satya* [1.728 million years], *dvāpara* [1.296], *treta* [864,000], and *kali* [432,000]; The aggregate or *mahāyuga* is 4.320 million years. A *kalpa* = 1000 *mahāyugas*, or 4.320 billion years.

[15.1] 5.24: The net of illusion is three-fold, having three faces and six arms, according to the divisions of the deity's body;

The beginning of a *kalpa*, in its entirety, is through the influence of the cold heart emanated from the left face;

The *Tantra* [that is] interpenetrated by *yoga* is of two kinds<sup>1</sup> here, the great vow of the sky-going women,

With six *cakras*, with six clans indeed, Oh King, with the cremation grounds, emanated from the western face. ||24||

[15.5] Now the *maṇḍala* of the *Mahāsaṃvara* [great vow] is stated--

5.25: Stringing out the *maṇḍala* with the strings apportioned along the six holes, reaching the wind circle,

And [stringing out] the lotus petal from the womb, with each of the six sections, with half the pericarp,

[Stringing out] the row with the knives, discus, lotus, jewels, and with the swords, and best thunderbolts, the pinnacle with each of the two portions,

[Stringing out] the door with the suns and [stringing out] the sacrificial altar and eating place with the six seasons. ||25||

[15.10] 5.26: [Having strung out] the line of the five enclosures with the three flames, the tablet at the base of the garland

With the suns [12], the side, the cheek, and with the three *guṇa* [multiplied] suns [12] the arch at the top of the pillar, |

<sup>1</sup> Or, "twice multiplied."



One should make the eight doors in the cardinal and intermediate directions; the great *maṇḍala* is circular;

The lotus in the middle of that is of all the colors, has a cavity for the sun and moon, and has a seat in the pericarp. ||26||

5.27: The *cakra* and the dark blue line, the yellow/green<sup>1</sup> earth also, the black earth, the yellow *cakra*,

The red earth, the white *cakra*, the white earth and white line, the red *cakra*,

[15.15] The yellow and dark blue earth, also, and the black there should be, and the black colored *cakra*,

With the six sections the subsidiary earth, from the influence of the progenitor's happiness the door-*cakras* are like that. ||27||

5.28: On the outside the sixteen cremation grounds, and through the clan's dominion the eight womb goddesses, likewise;

The eight skulls on the leaf[ves] holding the immortality nectar, the goddesses on the eight leaves;

On the outside, the goddesses of the dramatic love dance etc., in the cardinal and intermediate directions, likewise the eight serpent-kings;

Outside of that the earth, water, fire, and wind enclosures, and the row of diamonds/lightning bolts. ||28||

<sup>1</sup> *Harita* can denote yellow, pale yellow, green golden green, brownish red.

[16.1] "With the strings" etc. [i.e. from 5.25 ff.]: Here, from the western face, from the knowledge face, the Great *Cakrasaṃvara*, the two multiplications of the three *Cakrasaṃvara*, since it is with the six *cakras*, with the sixteen cremation grounds. Therefore the *maṇḍala* of this one is round, for the purification of the eight doors. So the characteristic of this *maṇḍala* is stated, "with the strings apportioned along the six holes." With the **ninety-six** sections. **By those reaching the wind circle**, i.e. in the world-realm, by those reaching 400,000 *yojanas*,<sup>1</sup> ending in the wind circle. In the body, [16.5] by those reaching four cubits. **Stringing out the *maṇḍala*** with the ninety-six strings, in the middle of these, one should make the *cakra* individually **with each of the six sections**; in this way [one should make] the *cakra* with each of the six sections. **Also the lotus petal is joined with half the pericarp**, with the six portions. So in the seven there are forty-two sections in the east, the same in the west, the south, and in the north; the eighty-four sections of all of them go to the same place. By the remaining ones in the ninety-six, by the six sections in the twelve sections, the eastern earth, also thus the western, in the same way also in the north and the south [on the left and on the right], the strings are purified in all the directions; i.e. there, [16.10] in the middle of the previously stated six sections, by the four, there is the lotus petal; by the two there is the half pericarp. In this way there are the spokes of the wheel by the four, by the two there is the row of marks,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> = 3.6 million miles?

<sup>2</sup> *Cihna-āvalī*; MW cites *Varāhamihira's Brhatsaṃhitā* 3.3 giving *cihna* as "zodiacal sign." Bhat however translates *Brhatsaṃhitā* 3.3's use of *cihna* more accurately as simply a mark, sign, or object. Chapter 3 opens with a discussion of how the point in the stars where the Sun's northern or southern course begins has changed over the centuries. Formerly the sun's

in the middle of the pericarp etc. there is the lotus of sixteen petals, on the outside of the petals of the lotus there is the dark blue row of pericarps. Its earth is black on the surface. And in the same way the spokes of the wheel are dark blue in the knowledge-constituent *cakra*. Then in the earth-constituent *cakra* the row of *cakras* is yellow, as are the spokes of the wheel, on the surface the earth is black. In the water-constituent *cakra* the row of lotuses is white, as are the spokes of the wheel, the earth is red on the surface. In the water-constituent element *cakra* the row of gems is red, as are the spokes of the wheel, and the earth is white on the surface. [16.15] In the wind constituent element *cakra* the row of swords is black, as are the spokes of the wheel, the ground is yellow on the surface. In the space constituent *cakra*, the lightning row is black, as are the spokes of the wheel, and the earth on the surface is dark blue. Then **with the six sections the subsidiary earth, from the influence of the progenitor's happiness [5.27d]**. In the east and in the southeast the black, in the south and in the southwest the red, in the west and in the northwest the yellow, and in the north and in the northeast the white, **the door-*cakras* are like that--**thus the eight *cakras* of the great cremation grounds. At the end of the eight

southern course (*dakṣiṇāyanam*) began from the star *Āśleṣai*, and the northern course (*uttarāyanam*) began from the star *Dhaniṣṭhā*. So it was stated in the ancient *sāstrās*. However, by the sixth century CE the situation had changed. The southern course began from the beginning of Cancer, and the northern course began from the beginning of Capricorn. One could verify this fact--that contradicted what was stated by the ancients--by direct observation. One way to do this was to mark the rising or setting of the sun against a distant object (*dūrastha-ciḥna-vedhād udaye 'stamaye 'pi*). (Bhat 1981{1}:23). The distant object serves as a reference point during sunrise or sunset, and then can be checked against the stars once it becomes dark. *Ciḥnam* is used for 'mark' or 'sign' several times in *Bṛhatsamhitā* 54, the chapter on exploring water springs. (see Bhat 1981{2}:1027 [Sanskrit word index] and 1981{2}:499-526). Varāhamihiraḥ tends to use *rāśiḥ*, the common term, for zodiacal signs. (see e.g. *Bṛhatsamhitā* 96.14a, Bhat 1981{2}:853).

doors, there are eight cremation ground *cakras* in the inside of the eight doors. So the sixteen cremation ground *cakras* have eight spokes, the eight goddesses are on the eight petals of the womb lotus, the skulls on the eight petals are filled with the nectar of immortality; in the insides of the inside of the eight goddesses, in the eight spokes in the six *cakras*, there are the forty-eight goddesses of the seats and adjacent seats etc. And so they are to be known as the heroines. On the outside, on the sacrificial altar, the eight serpent kings,<sup>1</sup> at the base of the arch and pillar, the Dance of Love [goddess] etc. are on the arch over the door; the remaining characteristics of the door etc. are understood according to the *Kālacakraṃḍala*. ||25-28||

Now, on the six *cakra* spokes etc., the seeds of the goddesses are stated--

**[16.25] 5.29:** And with the short and long vowels, also, *sa, ta, pa, ṭa, ca, ka*, are the void etc. syllables of the earth etc.;

In the spokes of the wind etc. the longs [i.e. the long vowels], through the influence of the course of the sun,<sup>2</sup> have the intrinsic nature of the earth etc. constituent elements;|

On the upper etc. spokes, the shorts [i.e. the short vowels], through the influence of the course of the moon, are at the top of each individual *cakra* spoke;

In the door, [and] in the space between the doors, situated on the surface of the sky, joined with *ha* and *kṣa*, [they are] everywhere. ||29||

<sup>1</sup> Verse 5.28c.

<sup>2</sup> I would suggest that the phrase *ravi-carāṇa-vaśāt* is not incidental as an explanation for why the long vowels have the intrinsic nature of the basic constituent elements: it's also curious that *dhātu* is mentioned repeatedly, while *pañcamahābhūta* is not mentioned here.

[17.1] "With the longs" etc. **With the longs**, with the five vowels,  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{r}$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ .  
**And with the shorts**,  $a$ ,  $i$ ,  $r$ ,  $u$ ,  $l$ , separated by these, of the six consonant classes of **sa, ta, pa, ta, ca, ka, the void etc. syllables of the earth etc. are the longs in the wind etc. spokes**. Here, in the knowledge *cakra*, there is the omnipresent presiding deity; for him,  $s\bar{l}$  is in the northwestern/wind spoke,  $h\bar{p}\bar{u}$  is in the northeastern/lord [spoke],  $\bar{s}\bar{r}$  in the southwestern/death [spoke],  $\bar{s}\bar{l}$  in the southeastern one,  $h.k\bar{a}$  in the nadir. In between the *cakras* of the northwest and northern cremation grounds, these five *dākinīs* are the leaders of the five *maṇḍalas* [17.5] at the transit into Scorpio, since they bring life-breath to all intelligent beings,<sup>1</sup> i.e. by means of contraction in the right nostril. Then at the transit into Sagittarius, on top,  $h\bar{k}\bar{a}$  is in between the northwestern and western cremation ground *cakra*; in the eastern spoke of the knowledge *cakra* is  $\bar{s}\bar{i}$ , in the south is  $\bar{s}\bar{r}$ , in the north is  $h\bar{p}\bar{u}$ , in the west is  $s\bar{l}$ ; the current of the left channel is in the transit into Sagittarius. Then in the earth *cakra* the dental class is the presiding deity. For that [deity],  $t\bar{l}$  is in the northwest,  $th\bar{u}$  is in the northeast,  $d\bar{r}$  is in the northwest,  $dh\bar{l}$  is in the southeast,  $n\bar{a}$  is in the nadir, in the northwest door, in the middle of the cremation ground *cakra*, i.e. at the transit into Virgo. Likewise in Libra, in the zenith,  $na$ , in the western door,  $dhi$ , [17.10] in the east  $d\bar{r}$ , in the south  $d\bar{r}$ ,  $thu$  in the north,  $th\bar{l}$  in the west.<sup>2</sup> Then in the water constituent element *cakra*, the *pa* class is the presiding deity. On its northwestern spoke is  $p\bar{l}$ ,  $ph\bar{u}$  is in the northeast,  $b\bar{r}$  is in the southwest,  $bh\bar{l}$  is in the southeast,  $m\bar{a}$

<sup>1</sup> *Sattva* appears to be the Sanskrit equivalent of *homo sapiens*.

<sup>2</sup> There are two *hṛjamantras* for the west here: should one be *pātale*, instead of *paścime*?

is in the nadir, in the northeast door. In the same way there are the presiding deities in the transit into Cancer. Likewise in the Leo transit, *ma* is in space; in the northern door on the eastern spoke is *bhi*, in the south is *br*, in the north, *phu*, and in the west *pl*. Then in the fire *cakra*, the *ta* class is the presiding deity. On its northwestern spoke is *tl*, *ṣhū* is in the northeast, *qr* in the southwest, *qho* in the southeast, below *nā*, in the southwest door--thus it is in the Taurus transit. Then in Gemini, *na* is in the zenith, in the southern door cremation ground, on the eastern spoke [17.15] *dhi*, on the southern *qr*, on the northern *ṣhu*, on the western *tl*. Then in the wind *cakra*, the *ca* class is the presiding deity. For that, *c̄l* is on the northwest spoke, on the northeast spoke *chū*, on the southwest *jr* on the southeast *jhī*, in the nadir *nā*, in the southeast door, in the Pisces transit. Then in the Taurus transit, in the zenith *nā*, in the eastern door cremation ground *cakra*, on the eastern spoke, *ghi*, on the southern, *jr*, on the northern *chu*, on the western *cl*. Then in the space-constituent element *cakra* the *ka* class is the presiding deity. On its northwestern spoke, *k̄l*, in the northeastern *khū*, in the southwestern *gr*, in the southeastern *ghī*, below *nā*; in between the southeastern and southern door, on top of the cremation ground *cakra*, [17.20] i.e. in the Capricorn transit. Then, in the Aquarius transit, in the zenith, *na*, in between southeastern and eastern door, on the eastern spoke, *ghi*, on the southern spoke *gr*, on the northern spoke *khu*, on the western spoke *k̄l*. In the door, in the space between the doors, residing in the surface of the sky, joined with *ha* and *kṣa*, going everywhere. Here, the twelve short and long phonemes of the six classes of consonants, that are the conveyors of the void *maṇḍala*, are hkā,

*hka, nā, na, mā, ma, ṛā, ṛa, ṅā, ṅa, ṇā, ṇa*, for the goddesses of the twelve cremation grounds. The others, through the division of the four *saṃdhyās*,<sup>1</sup> are the four syllables at the end of each set of three transits, *ha, hā, kṣa, kṣā*, in the four--north, northeast, south, southwest--cremation grounds. [17.25] In this way, in the sixteen cremation grounds, there are the sixteen goddesses, in the six *cakras*, on the forty-eight womb lotus petals, there are the eight goddesses. The seeds [syllables] of these are *a* on the eastern petal, *aḥ* on the southern petal, *aṃ* on the northern petal, *ā* on the western petal, *ha* on the southeastern petal, *haḥ* on the southwestern petal, *haṃ* on the northeastern petal, *hā* on the northwestern petal. On the eight petals on the inside of the inside of them, there are the eight skulls. In the middle, the lightning sky-goer time *cakra*, Heruka, the lord, the leader, *hūṃ, phraṃ*, and at the end of the seed [syllable] of the male and female sky goers, a lightning bolt; together with that the *sī̄*-lightning bolt, the *hpū*-lightning bolt, etc., [17.30] ending with the *kī̄* lightning bolt. The male sky goers of these, through the division of states [*bhāvabhedena*] are the forty eight, the *si*-lightning bolt, and *ṣṛ*-lightning bolt. [18.1] Where the seed [syllable] of the female sky goer is long, then the seed [syllable] of the male sky goer is short; where [hers] is short, then [his] is long. The *sī̄*-lightning bolt and the *si*-lightning bolt, wisdom and method. [Similarly] the *hpū*-lightning bolt, and *ṣṛ*-lightning bolt. So it is to be expressed everywhere. So one should sacrifice in the

<sup>1</sup> In the following, it appears that the Tantra has added a fourth *saṃdhyā* rite to the standard Vedic three at morning, noon, and twilight: the fourth may be at midnight? The *saṃdhyā* are the rites for the three conjunctions of the day--i.e. sunrise, high noon, and sunset, and involve the *Gayatrī* with its invocation of the powers of the sun as *savitṛ*, asking that it inspire men's intellects. The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* frequently speaks of all night, or late night and midnight meditation practices.

*maṇḍala* the twice multiplied enclosing of the net of female sky goes--this is the rule. Here, what is the application<sup>1</sup> in the reverse order of Scorpio, Sagittarius, etc., that is stated in detail. Here, with its explanation as restraining the twelve limbs [of interdependent occurrence according to ultimate truth, there is the application [of *bīja-mantras*] to the seats and subseats by the reverse order of Sagittarius, Scorpio, etc. With the progression of Capricorn and Aquarius etc. [18.5] there is application [of *bīja-mantras*] to the *upapīlavas*<sup>2</sup> etc., according to the interdependent twelve limbs. Just as in the triple *Cakrasaṃvara* the one is, by the reverse order of the fierce and non-fierce eye etc., there is application [of seed *mantras*] to the seats etc., the second is by the great hero etc.; by the sequential order with the sub-cremation grounds etc. Here what is concealed in worldly practice is to be known as revealed. So in the northwest etc. spokes, the longs are from the influence of the course of the sun. In the right/southern channel, from the influence of the course of the *prāṇā*. On the upper etc. spokes the shorts, through the influence of the course of the moon, [18.10] in the left/northern channel, through the influence of the course of the *prāṇa*, the application [of seed-*mantras*] is stated. In sequence, again, covertly, by

<sup>1</sup> *Nyāsa*, of *mantras*.

<sup>2</sup> *Upapīlava* and *pīlava*, like the words *chandoha* and *upachandoha* are used in Buddhist Tantric texts to designate pilgrimage sites, though so far no one has resolved their etymology satisfactorily. The closest word I can find to *pīlava* is *pīlu*, the name of the tree *Careya Arborea* or *Salvadora Persica* (MW). *Upapīla* appears again at 18.11, and at 20.10 we have the four *pīlavas*, or the four *veśmans* (houses, mansions). *Sodhalanighaṇṭuḥ* 1.575b-576a (in the chapter on bitter herbs etc., *Amlādivargaḥ*), lists the following synonyms for *pīlu*: *srāṃsī*, *śtīsaḥo*, *dhāntī*, *guḍaphalo* 'pi ca|| *virecanaphalaḥ*, *sākhī*, *syāmah*, *karabhavallabhaḥ*! Sharma 1978:63). *Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭuḥ* gives us a similar list of synonyms, adding that it removes blood and bile, and its fruit is bitter and heating. (Narahari 1986:178). See Chapter 10.6 for a full discussion of these terms.



*upapīlavādin* etc., in the *maṇḍalas* of Capricorn etc., the long and short syllables of the *ka*, *ca*, *ṭa*, *pa*, *ta*, and *sa* classes are to be given. The syllables *ka* etc. are expanded by the vowels *ḷ* etc., exoterically; the syllables *hka* etc., the shorts, are expanded by the vowels *a* etc., with the divisions of Sagittarius, Capricorn, etc. So the earth etc. are in the northwest etc. spokes, through the course in the southern/right *maṇḍala*; in the upper etc. spokes are space etc. through the course in the northern/left *maṇḍala*--this is the rule for the meta-self. ||29||

**[18.15] 5.30: The female sky goers consist of the short [syllables], have one face,<sup>1</sup> with knives and skull-shells in their hands;**

**Stretched out in the archer's pose<sup>2</sup> with their individual petals, born of *Danu*,<sup>3</sup> drinking blood, with loose hair, naked;|**

**On the feet, on the hips, on the forehead, on the ears, throat, and hands, a rattling etc.<sup>4</sup> bone seal,**

**A garland with broken skulls on the head, on the surface of the hips, with**

<sup>1</sup> *Śaśadhara* = the moon = a name for "one."

<sup>2</sup> *Ālīḍhāḥ*. De Mallmann describes this under her classification of dynamic standing positions (*sthānaka*), posture split towards the left, with the right leg stretched out, the left one flexed. *Pratyālīḍha* is the reverse, with the left leg stretched out, and the right leg flexed. (De Mallmann 1975:9).

<sup>3</sup> *Danuja*, or *Dānava*, a demon. *Danu* was one of *Dakṣa*'s daughters. The *Dānavas* are a class of demons opposed to the *devas*, mentioned from the RV onwards. *Danu* is one of 13 wives of *Kaśyapa*, all daughters of *Dakṣa*--others engender men, animals, gods, etc. 27 other daughters of *Dakṣa* become the moon's wives and form the lunar mansions. We find no mention of *Danu* in De Mallmann 1975, nor in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. The name does not show up in the Śaivite *Tantras* either, as far as I've checked--so I suspect either a corruption in the text, or some local tradition incorporated into the verse--both speculations, though. It could be that the text should read *dhanu-ja*, i.e. produced or born from the bow.

<sup>4</sup> *Ghurghurā*: a great noise, a growling, etc. Here it appears to refer to rattling, a sound made by bones, probably intended to be quite loud.

the five colors of the Conquerors. ||30||

5.31: The two-faced male sky goers, in their hands excellent spear points<sup>1</sup> and *damarus*, lightning-bolt-staffs and bells,

[18.20] Round the neck a glorious garland of skulls, and on the head, a crown, and a jewel in a lightning-turban,|

With a beautiful throat, an anklet on the foot, a golden ornament on the hand, a girdle, earrings,

A garland with filled skulls, with the ash seal covering the entire body of the tusked one. ||31||

5.32: The protector's garland with skulls is on the head, and the garland of bald heads is around the throat, with a hundred faces;

The half-moon is on the lightning head, on his own hips and hands are tiger skins and elephant skins;|

[18.25] The two lords of *Māra* are on [under] the soles of his feet, the moon, sun, and fire are in the *maṇḍala*, and ashes are on his limbs;

The consort joined with the serpent chief, like the cosmic fire the female sky-goer, kissing. ||32||

5.33: On the cardinal direction leaves of the female sky-goers is the one who possesses the abundant *damarus*, the lightning ascetic staff, in fact,

With excrement, urine, blood and human flesh, situated on the petals in the intermediate directions, and with a Soma vessel in hand;|

<sup>1</sup> *Pavi* is a Vedic term for the point of a spear.

**[19.1] And like that also the eight goddesses, and the *cakra* of the meeting of both happinesses, all around;**

**Yellow, white, sun-like, dark colored and green body, dark blue colors in its own directions. ||33||**

**5.34: The colors [and] marks of the protector, in the clan of the conqueror's progenitor, are as before; the net of the three-eyed one,**

**And mutually embracing, are to be known everywhere from the influence of one's own and the other's clan;|**

**[19.5] With the various etc. aggregates and elements, with the sense objects and senses, and with the five other sense organs etc.,**

**With the directions and the earth, with the powers of the directions, and by those [females] dwelling with the sons of the conqueror, the goddesses are to be purified. ||34||**

These five extra verses are easily understood. ||30-34||

Now the place of the seats etc. of the goddesses is stated--

**5.35: With the eight divisions in the directions of Mt. Meru, all the seats and subseats are situated in the cardinal and intermediate directions;**

**[19.10] The field, the Vedic recitation ground, the meeting ground, and the cremation ground,<sup>1</sup> from the half-boundary of the houses and wind;|**

**On the solar ground of the Buddha, the atom of the body-born men, [and] of the earthly deities and *asuras*;**

<sup>1</sup> *Chandoha-melāpaka-citi-bhuvanam.*

**From the power of the lord, the one day expands, the clan [expands]  
through the manifestation of the sun and moon. ||35||**

"Of Mt. Meru" etc. Here, in the directions of Mt. Meru--in the zenith the *Yoginīcakra* ending in the wind circle, on the earth below the course of movement is for the purpose of conscious beings. Hence in the ocean circle, in the fire circle, in the wind circle, ending in the space [circle], as far as 500,000 *yojanas* [19.15] in the world constituent element/realm *maṇḍala*, there is pervasion that ends in the hair in the body of conscious beings, because of practicing with the *yoginīs* by the lord. Here on top of Mt. Meru is the lord's five hundred thousand *yojana* womb lotus with eight petals. Its three sections are the pericarp, the solar *maṇḍala* on top of the pericarp, [and] on top of the sun, on the surface of the right foot of *Kālacakra*, there is *Māraḥ*, addiction is on the sole of his left foot, and that is *Rudra*. On the eight petals the eight lightning sky goers, Smoke, etc. On the inside of the inside of them, on the petals, the eight skulls filled with the nectar of immortality. Thus the sixteen petalled bliss *cakra*, with the divisions of the sixteen blisses, the goddesses, and the skulls. [19.20] Because the lord holds the four drops, he has four faces; from blocking the twenty-four fortnights, he has twenty-four hands; from blocking the two fortnights of the intercalated month, he has the two additional hands of the conqueror; as previously stated [he] is swift as lightning.<sup>1</sup> The single face of *Bhagavatī* is emptiness; the pair of arms are the causeless and the unapplied; the knife, the skull,

<sup>1</sup> *Vajravega*, having the swiftness or speed of a bolt of lightning, is also the name of a *Rākṣasa* in the *Mahābhārata*, and of a *Vidyādharma* in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

the seal, etc. is the lack of ideas.<sup>1</sup> So, in the external lotus, in the eight directions of Mt. Meru, with the distinction of the directions, there is the five hundred thousand *yojana*--by the measure of the earth circle--knowledge constituent element *cakra*; in its three portioned earth there is a row of knives, with its two portions eight spokes. So in half the ocean there is the earth *cakra*, in half the latter [i.e. land] there is the water [19.25]<sup>2</sup> *cakra*. Likewise in half the fire circle there is the fire *cakra*, in half the latter there is the wind *cakra*. Then in half the wind circle there is the space *cakra*, and in half the latter there is the sky and earth [*rajobhūmiḥ*]. In the space circle there are the sixteen cremation grounds. This is the rule. Because here there is the five-cubit body ending in the hair; with that there are the external cremation grounds in the space *maṇḍala*; by the purification of that there is the world realm and the five hundred thousand *yojanas* in the great *Cakrasaṃvara*. So, sequentially, in the eight directions of Mt. Meru, in the knowledge realm *cakra*, the seats [20.1] are in the directional spokes, because of stopping old age and death by stopping Sagittarius; the subseats are in the intermediate direction spokes, because of stopping birth by stopping Scorpio. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the earth constituent element *cakra*, in the directional spokes, there are the four fields, because of the blocking of becoming by the blocking of Libra. The subseats are in the intermediate direction spokes because of the blocking of grasping for existence<sup>3</sup> by stopping Virgo. Likewise a pair of cremation grounds. Then in the directional

<sup>1</sup> *Anabhisamṣkāra*.

<sup>2</sup> The line number here in the Sarnath edition should read "25." not "30."

<sup>3</sup> *Upādāna*.

spokes in the water constituent element *cakra* the four *chandohas*, [20.5] because of the blocking of craving [*trṣṇā*] by the blocking of Leo. The sub-*chandohas* are in the intermediate direction spokes because of stopping painful sensation (*vedanā*) by the blocking of Cancer. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the fire constituent *cakra*, in the directional spokes, the four meeting places,<sup>1</sup> because of stopping touch by stopping sexual union. The adjacent meeting places are in the intermediate directional spokes because of stopping the six bases of consciousness by stopping Taurus. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the wind constituent element *cakra*, in the directional spokes, the four cremation grounds, because of the blocking of name and form by the blocking of Aires. In the intermediate directional spokes the sub-cremation grounds, because of the blocking of *vijñāna* by the blocking of Pisces. Likewise [20.10] the pair of cremation grounds. Then in the space constituent element *cakra*, in the directional spokes, the four *pīlus*, or the mansions, because of the blocking of mental creations by the blocking of Aquarius. In the intermediate directional spokes the sub-*pīlus*, because of the blocking of ignorance by the blocking of Capricorn. Likewise the pair of cremation grounds. By the blocking of the *saṃdhyās* and the four transits, there are the four sub-cremation grounds. Then by blocking the sixteen digits of the moon, there are the sixteen cremation grounds. Thus "[possessed of] the true meaning of the twelve

<sup>1</sup> *Melāpaka*. None of the terms *chandoha*, *melāpaka*, *pīṭha*, or their *upa*- forms appear in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. *Śmaśāna* appears in relation to the ten ascetic practices (as *śmaśānikāḥ*, i.e. some undefined practice related to cremation grounds). (Kasawara et al 1885:13). See Chapter 10.6.

forms, knowing the principles of the twelve forms," (*Nā° Saṃ* 1.15),<sup>2</sup> by stopping of the eight portions of the day,<sup>2</sup> the eight goddesses. Now from stopping the day, i.e. in the exoteric support, [20.15] the goddesses are unveiled as having the intrinsic nature of what is to be supported. From the [perspective] of ultimate truth, by worldly concealment again, the production of the *mantra* deities in what consists of the seats etc., is stated by the lord in the root **Tantra**, as follows--<sup>3</sup>

a) *Kāmarūpa* and *Jālākhyā*, *Pūrṇagiri* likewise, *Oḍḍiyāṇa* are the fourfold *pīṭha*; their *nāyikās* are in *śi*, *ṣr*, *pu*, and *sī*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition gives this as verse 133a (Davidson 1981:59). He translates it as "His referent truth in twelve aspects, knowing the sixteen aspects of reality, he is totally enlightened to the twenty aspects, awake, omniscient and supreme." (Davidson 1981:34--the second half of the verse reads: *viṃśatyākāra-sambodhir vibuddhaḥ sarva-vit paraḥ*).

<sup>2</sup> *Prahara*: about 1/8th of a day, or about a three-hour stretch.

<sup>3</sup> Verses lettered by me for reference purposes, with detailed notes on the place names following; the locations of the following places are taken from Monier Williams' dictionary, Apte's, Nundo Dey's *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, an invaluable work that first appeared in serial form in the *Indian Antiquary*, and the more recent *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (see Schwartzberg 1992). I have not give page citations for these sources since the names can be easily looked up in Apte, MW, and Dey, and are all listed in the detailed Index to Schwartzberg. The majority of listings from Schwartzberg may be found on map 32a, "South Asia in the Age of Ghaznavids, Cāhamānas, Later Cālukyas and Colas, c.975-1200.

<sup>4</sup> (i) *Kāmarūpa* is the name of *Brahmaputra* river valley in Assam, in the extreme northeast of India. In ancient times it referred to both the land and its people; Dey says = Assam, with its ancient capital in *Kāmākhyā* or *Gauhati*. (ii) *Jālākhyā*, not listed in MW, Apte, or Dey, literally: 'the place called *jāla*'; closest name we have is *Jālandhara*, off the Sutlej river in the Panjab. (iii) *Pūrṇagiri*, Schwartzberg identifies as a place of *Śākta* worship, located roughly at the location of the modern *Bijapur* in Karnataka. MW: N. of a place, cited from 'catalogues,' literally: the full mountain--*pūrṇa* is also listed in "Cat." as a form of the sun; not listed in Apte or Dey. Dey gives *Purṇā* as either a branch of the *Tapti* river, or a branch of the *Godāvarī* river. (iv) *Oḍḍiyāṇa*, the Swat region of modern Pakistan. N. of a place (as *Uḍḍiyāṇa*), Naudou locates it southwest of Kaśmīr. Dey identifies it with *Ujjayintī*, yet given that *Ujjayintī* was an ancient capital of *Mālava*, listed in the next verse as an *upapīṭha*, this seems an unlikely identification. In the *Sādhanamālā* (*sādhanam* #225) we have an *Ūrdhva-pāda-vajra-vārāḥṭ-sādhanam* that *Abhayākara-guptaḥ* tells us is *Oḍḍiyāṇa-vajrapīṭha-vinirgatam*, i.e. that comes from *Oḍḍiyāṇa*. (Bhattacharyya 1972{2}:438-439).

b) *Godāvartī* and *Rāmeśam*, *Devikottam* and *Mālavam* are the four [20.20] *upapīṭhas*; their *nāyikās* are in *sī*, *pū*, *ṣṭ*, and *śya*.<sup>1</sup>

c) *Arbudam*, *Munmunt*, *Oḍram* and *Kāra(u)ṅyapātakam* are the *kṣetras*; *dh*, *dṛ*, *thu*, and *tī* are the basis of the goddesses on the surface of the earth.<sup>2</sup>

d) *Trīśakunt* is an *upakṣetram*, as are *Karmārapātakam*, *Kośalam*, and *Lāḍadeśam*; the *nāyikās* are in *tī*, *thū*, *dṛ* and *dht*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (i) *Godāvartī*--"granting water or kine;" N. of the Deccan river emptying into the Bay of Bengal. (ii) *Rāmeśa* listed in MW only as name of an author, or name of a *liṅga*. Schwartzberg and Dey locate *Rāmeśvaram* (= *Setubandha*) at the beginning of the old land-bridge to Śrī Laṅka, an island separated from the Indian mainland by the Pumben passage, with a well-known temple of *Rāmeśvara*. (iii) *Devikoṣṭa*, Schwartzberg gives a *Devikoṣṭa* for the modern Bangarh, on the border of Bangladesh. MW identifies as N. of a town on the Coromandel coast--SE India, on Bay of Bengal. Dey identifies it with *Soṅitapura*, on the bank of the Kedār-Gaṅgā river, off the road from Harwar to Kedārnāth. I'd be inclined to accept the Schwartzberg identification. (iv) *Mālava* = Malwa or Avantī in central India; Dey says that before the 7th or 8th century it was called *Avantī*--citing Rhys Davids' *Buddhist India* p.28, and *Kathāsaritsāgara* 19. If this is true, it would suggest a post 7th-8th century date for the composition of the *Mūlatantra*. However, I've not yet had the chance to research this name development myself. MW, from 'catalogues' lists 8 *nāyikās* as *śaktis* of Durgā: *Ugracaṅḍā*, *Pracaṅḍā*, *Caṅḍogrā*, *Caṅḍanāyikā*, *Aticaṅḍā*, *Cāmuṅḍā*, *Caṅḍā*, and *Caṅḍavati*; he also lists 'a class of female personifications representing illegitimate love': *Balinī*, *Kāmeśvartī*, *Vimalā*, *Aruṅā*, *Medintī*, *Jayintī*, *Sarveśvartī*, *Kauleśī*; a *kula-nāyikā* is defined as 'a girl worshipped at the celebration of the orgies of the left-hand Śāktas.'

<sup>2</sup> (i) *Arbuda* is in the Vedas the name of a serpent demon conquered by Indra, and of the author of RV 10.94, later the term for a fetus, then also the name of a mountain in western India (aka Abū, a pilgrimage site for Jains); Dey identifies it as Mount Abu, in the Aravali range, in the Sirohi State of Rajputana. The modern region is the Pali district of Rajasthan. It was *Rṣi Vaśiṣṭha*'s hermitage, and is one of the five sacred hills of the Jains (the others being *Śatruṅjaya*, *Samet Sikhar*, *Girnar*, and *Candragiri*). (ii) *Munmuntkṣetra* is not listed in Schwartzberg, MW, Apte, or Dey. One possibility is Munnessarama, on the west coast of Śrī Laṅka, though the *Mūlatantra* list of place names does not include any specific locales on the island. (iii) *Oḍra* (*Udra*) is the name of a country = modern Orissa. Schwartzberg identifies the 10th century *Oḍra* as just the lower valley of the *Mahānadī* valley as the river empties into the Bay of Bengal. (iv) *Kāra(u)ṅya-pātakam*--again, not listed in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey. *Kāraṅya-pātaka* would = something like "the artisans' village." There is a Karaṅja from the 17th century in the modern Akola district of Mahārāṣṭra that may have been *Karaṅya*, though this is speculative.

<sup>3</sup> (i) *Śakuni*, a bird, a demon or Asura, also a character in MBh and Hariv., councilor to Duryodhana. *Śakuni* was also the N. of a son of Subala, king of Gandhāra, and



[20.25] e) And the fourfold *chandoham* is *Kaliṅgam*, *Harikelam*, *Candradvīpam* and *Lampākam*; the *nāyikās* are in *bhi*, *bṛ*, *phu*, *pl*.<sup>1</sup>

f) *Kāñcī*, *Koṅkaṅakam*, likewise *Himālayam*, and *Nepālam* are the fourfold *upachandoham*; the *nāyikās* are in *pī*, *phū*, *bṛ* and *bhī*.<sup>2</sup>

Duryodhana's maternal uncle, advising him on schemes to eliminate the *Pāṇḍavas*. *Triśakuni* is not listed in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey. (ii) *Kārmāra-pāṭaka*--literally, "the blacksmith's village." Not listed as such in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey. (iii) *Kośala*--country, with capital in Ayodhyā, modern Oude, cited in *Pāṇini*, MBh, Rām. etc.; at the time of *Śākyamuni Buddha Kośala* was a powerful kingdom with incorporating Kapilavastu and Banaras. (iv) *Lāḍadeśa*--MW cites catalogues for *lāḍa* as name of a royal race; *Lāda* is the name of one of the servants who sacrifices himself on (883-902CE) King Śaṃkaravarman's funeral pyre (Rajatar.5.27); *ladaka* is the name of a people in the MBh. Dey says *Lāḍa* = *Lāṭa*: southern Gujarat, between the rivers Mahi and either Tapti or Kim. There was apparently another *Lāḍa* identical with *Rāḍha*, in Bengal west of the Ganges. Schwartzberg refers us to Ladakh under *Ladaka*.

<sup>1</sup> (i) *Kaliṅga*. Schwartzberg locates to the coast of Orissa in the modern districts of Ganjam and Puri. MW: 'name of a people and their country (the N. is applied in the Purāṇas to several places, but especially signifies a district on the Coromandel coast, extending from below Cuttack [Kataka] to the vicinity of Madras.); Dey says 'The Northern Circars, a country lying on the south of Orissa and north of Drāviḍa on the border of the sea.' *Kaliṅga-nagara* was apparently the ancient name for *Bhuvaneśvara* in Orissa. Apte gives the following unsourced quote from 'the Tantras: "Beginning from *Jagannātha*, going to the end of *Kṛṣṇāṭtra*, my dear, *Kaliṅgadeśaḥ* is said to have the left-path as the highest." (*Jagannāthāt-samārambhya kṛṣṇāṭtra-antagaḥ priye | Kaliṅgadeśaḥ samprokto vāma-mārga-parāyaṇa.*) (ii) *Harikela*. Schwartzberg locates in North Tripura and the Kanmganj and Hailakandi districts of modern Assam. MW gives *harikeltya*, "at play with *Kṛṣṇa*," the country of Bengal; Apte also gives *Harikeltyaḥ*, synonymous with *Vaṅgā*, the Sanskrit name for Bengal. (iii) *Candradvīpa*. Schwartzberg identifies as a town in the Ganges delta, in the modern Bangladeshi region of Perojpur in Kulna. MW: N. of a *dvīpa*, cites *Romakasiddhānta* as source; Dey has no listing. There was a *Candrapura* in the *Madhyadeśa*, and a *Candrapurī* in Oudh. Apte adds a *Candrabhāga* the river Chinab; *Candravati* as Chanderi in the Lalitpur district, Madhyapradeśa. (iv) *Lampāka*. Schwartzberg identifies a *Lampāka* northwest of *Takṣaṣṭila* on the *Kubhā* river dating from the Mauryan empire. MW: a people and land in MBh and Pur., acc. to some the district of Lamghan in Cabul; supposedly = *murunḍa*, the name of a King in the *Vāsavadattā*, the 7th century ce fictional work by Subandhu; *Vāsavadattā*'s story is mentioned by Pāṇini 4.3.87 and his commentaries; *murunḍa* is the name for a dynasty and people in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. Apte gives "N. of a country," or "a libertine." Dey agrees essentially with MW, = "Lamghan, on the northern bank of the Kabul rivers near Peshawar," 20 miles NE of Jalalabad.

<sup>2</sup> (i) *Kāñcī* is the ancient name of Konjeevaram, near Madras; Apte: regarded as one of the sacred cities of the Hindus. (The seven sacred cities are *Ayodhyā*, *Mathurā*, *Māyā*, *Kāśī*,

g) *Mātrgr̥ham*, *Prayāgam*, *Kollagirih*, and *Gṛhadevatāḥ* are the [20.30] fourfold *Melāpakam*; the *nāyikās* are in *q̥hi*, *q̥r*, *ṣhu*, *ṣhl*.<sup>1</sup>

[21.1] h) *Saurāṣṭra*, and *Kāśmīra*, *Suvarṇadvīpa* and *Siṃhala* [constitute] the *upamelā[pa]ka*; the *nāyikā* are in the *tī*, *ṣhū*, *dṛ*, and *dht*.<sup>2</sup>

i) *Nagaram*, and *Mahendraśālam*, *Sindhudeśam*, and *Kirātakam* are the fourfold

*Kāñcīvarāntikā*, *Purī*, *Dvārāvātī*.) Conjeevaram is about 43 miles SW of Madras. (ii) *Konkanakam*--Schwartzberg identifies as the coastal region of Maharashtra south of Bombay. MW: N. of a people on the western shore of the Deccan, cited from *Harivaṃśa* 784; Dey says = *Paraśurāma-deśa* (citing *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 14), with capital *Tāna*; 'It denotes properly the whole strip of land between the Western Ghāṭs and the Arabian Sea.' Apte adds that *Konkadeśa* the modern Coimbatore, Salem, parts of Tinnevely and Travancore. (iii) *Himālaya* = the mountains. (iv) *Nepāla* = the country. The references to *Himālayam* and *Nepālam*, generic terms for regions, without apparently any reference in this list of places to specific places in Nepal, Tibet, or Central Asia (taking the Kabul region as part of the greater India of old), juxtaposed with a large number of specific place names from India, suggest to me that the *Kālacakramūlatantra* was a product of the Indian subcontinent, not Central Asia as some have suggested. The logic of this point is simple--were the root *Tantra* really a product of Central Asia, then we ought to find some specific place names from Central Asia mentioned as pilgrimage sites. We do not.

<sup>1</sup> (i) *Mātrgr̥ham*--MW: a temple of the divine mothers, citing *Kādambarī* as source. Schwartzberg, Apte and Dey have no listing. This may be an alternate name for *Mathura*. (ii) *Prayāga*--place of sacrifice, name of a celebrated pilgrimage site now called Allāhābad, at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā with the supposed subterranean Sarasvatī. Formed part of the kingdom of *Kośala*. (iii) *Kolagiri*. Schwartzberg identifies *Kola* as the region of Coorg or Kodagu in Karnataka. *Kolagiri* would presumably have been a mountain in that area. *Kolagirī* is cited in *MBh.* ii.1171, acc. to MW, who says simply, 'the name of a mountain.' Dey says *Kolagiri* = *Koḍagu* (*Mbh Sabha*, ch.30; Pargite'r's *Markand.P.* p.364) - - Coorg, a country on the Malabar Coast. (iv) *Gṛhadevatāḥ*, literally, the house-deities; MW cites *Bhāmintvilāsa* iii.12, *Āśvalāyanagṛhyasūtra*, *Gautama-dharma-śāstra*, *Mṛcchakatikā* 1.14-15, *Kathāsaritsāgara* 4.74.. Schwartzberg, Apte and Dey have no additional information.

<sup>2</sup> (i) *Saurāṣṭra*--the Surāt region, the southernmost portion of Gujarat. (ii) *Kāśmīra* = Kaśmīr. The general reference to *Kaśmīr*, as with the general references to Nepal or the Himālayas, suggests that the root *Tantra* did not originate in Kaśmīr. (iii) *Suvarṇadvīpa*. Schwartzberg identifies as the Malay peninsula; lit: 'the golden continent, MW: prob. the name of Sumatra, cites *Kathāsaritsāgara* and Buddhist sources; (iv) *Siṃhala* is Ceylon or Śrī Laṅka. Again, the text exhibits a detailed knowledge of the Indian subcontinent; regions peripheral to the subcontinent, such as Ceylon or Sumatra, are simply named, like Nepal or Himālaya, and here, Kaśmīr.

cremation ground; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *jhi*, *jṛ*, *chu*, and *cḷ*.<sup>1</sup>

[21.5] j) *Marudeśam*, and *Gahvaram*, *Kulatā*, likewise *Samalam* are said to be the *upaśmaśānam*; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *cḷ*, *chū*, *jṛ*, *jhṛ*.<sup>2</sup>

k) *Caritram*, and *Harikelam*, *Vindhyam*, *Kaumārikāpurī* are said to be the fourfold *pīlavam*; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *ghi*, *gr*, *khu*, and *dht*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> (i) *Nagaram* denotes town or city, and is itself the name for several in (MW:) T.Ar., MBh., Manu, etc. Dey offers *Camatkārapura* as synonym, or *Nagarahāra*. The latter was located at the confluence of the Kabul and Surkhar rivers., or else on the southern bank of the Kabul river, a few miles from Jalalabad. *Camatkārapura* = *Ānandapura* in Ahmadabad. Schwartzberg says that *Nagara* refers to Jalalabad, so this may be the most likely identification. (ii) *Mahendraśailam* = the name of the *Mahendra* mountain range, aka *Mahendragiri*, located along the coast of southern Orissa and northern Andhra Pradesh: (MW:) cited in *Rāmāyana* 6.54.4; 4.49.43. Dey identifies these as a range from Orissa to Madura, including the Eastern Ghats, and the range from the Northern Circars to Gondwana. (iii) *Sindhudeśam*, the land of Sindh. Schwartzberg identifies *Sindhu* as the broad region of the lower Panjab river valley. Above its confluence with the Chinab river, the Indus river is called the Sindh River. (iv) *Kirātakam*, the *Kirāta* are a mountain tribe. Schwartzberg identifies *Kirata* as the region of central and eastern Nepal, Sikkim, and Bhutan. Dey tells us *Kirāta* = *Tipārā/Tippera*, part of Tripura state and Chittagong in Bangladesh. Dey adds that the Tripuresvarī temple in Udaipur, Hill Tipārā, is one of either 35 or 52 Pīthas.

<sup>2</sup> (i) *Marudeśam*, *maru* denotes wilderness or desert. Schwartzberg says *Marudeśam* = Marwar, the region of Rajasthan containing Jodhpur. MW: given as the N. of a country in *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* and commentary; Apte - N. of a district. Dey gives only *Mārubbhūmi* (probably the same) = *Mārushtalī* = the great desert east of Sindh; i.e. Rajputana. (ii) *Gahvaram*, deep or impenetrable, a cave or arbor. No additional information in Schwartzberg, MW, Apte or Dey. (iii) *Kulatā*, lit: clan-ness, not listed in MW, Schwartzberg, or Apte. Dey however has *Kulūta*, a section in the Kangra district, upper valley of Bias River, NE of Kangra., i.e. the Kathua and Kargil districts of modern Jammu and Kashmir; on the left bank of the Chenab river here there is a famous pilgrimage site called *Trailokyanātha*, with a six-handed image of *Avalokiteśvara*, worshipped also as an image of *Mahādeva*. (iv) *Samalam*, with stains or spots, dirty. Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey have no listing for this. The Sarnath editors offer *Mamalam* as an alternate reading, most likely an alternate reading for *Māmalapūram*, a town Schwartzberg locates on his map c.550-700 A.D. a bit north of Pondicherry in the Chengal Anna district of Tamil Nadu.

<sup>3</sup> (i) *Caritram*. Schwartzberg locates a bit south of Puri, at the mouth of the Mahanadi rivers in Orissa. Dey says *Caritrapura* = Puri in Orissa. (ii) *Harikelam*, repeat from (e), Bengal; (iii) *Vindhyam*, the mountain range: separates "Hindustan" from the Deccan, forming southern limit of *Madhyadeśa*. The *Vindhyas* are one of the seven *Kulaparvatas*. (iv) *Kaumārikāpurī*: denotes 'city of the young ladies,' and refers to Cape Comorin, the southern extremity of the Indian subcontinent. In his map of Purāṇic India Schwartzberg identifies

l) *Upaveśman*, *Virajas*, *Koṅkam*, *Tripurī* and *Śrīhattakam*, this is said to be the fourfold; the *nāyikāḥ* are in *kī*, *khū*, *gī* and *dhī*.<sup>1</sup>

m) The twelve *hka* etc. are the female messengers, the *nāyikāḥ* of the void *maṇḍala*; [21.10] the four *ha* etc. and the sixteen are in the external cremation grounds.

n) *a*, *ā*, *aṃ*, *aḥ*, *ha*, *hā*, *haṃ*, *haḥ*, these are the female messengers on the lotus petals; on the eight indeed are the skulls, the pericarp, the village-*nāyikāḥ*.<sup>2</sup>

[21.15] o) By the cessation of the twelve limbs, since they are an obstacle to the basis of the transits,<sup>3</sup> the twelve grounds are known as the *pīṭhāḥ* etc., according to ultimate truth.

p) In conformation with ignorance etc., by concealment in Capricorn etc. [and] by Sagittarius etc. in the reverse course, they are old age, death, etc.

q) With the property of unveiling, the female sky goes are the body's constituent elements, [21.20] said to be of seventy-two types, according to the purified

*Kumārī* at Cape Comorin. *Pīlavam*: here the fourfold *pīlus* are definitively names of places.

<sup>1</sup> (i) *Upaveśman*, not listed in Schwartzberg/MW/Apte/Dey, would denote 'the adjacent house.' (ii) *Virajas* denotes 'free from dust,' or 'free from passion.' Schwartzberg says it is the same as Jaipur; not listed as a place in MW/Apte/Dey. (iii) *Koṅkam*, probably the same as *Koṅkaṇakam* in (f) above. MW: the name of a country, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 5.6.8, 5.6.10; Apte: the strip of land between *Sahyādri* and the ocean (*MBh.* 6, and *Rājatarāṅginī* 4.159). (iv) *Tripurī*. Schwartzberg says = modern Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh. (Apte:) N. of a place near Jabalpur, formerly capital of the Chedi dynasty; Dey: Teor, on the river Nerbuda, seven miles west of Jabalpur--where *Mahādeva* supposedly killed *Tripurāsura*. (cf. Doug Brooks' *Secret of the Three Cities*--Brooks 1990:103). (v) *Śrīhattakam*. Schwartzberg identifies as the modern Sylhet, formerly also the region of the Cachar, Hailakandi, and Kamganj districts of Assam. MW has *Śrīhatta*, as Silhet, a town, as does Dey, citing *Yogintantra* 2.6.

<sup>2</sup> *Kheta*, a village or residence.

<sup>3</sup> *Lagna-ādhāra-pratyūhataḥ*.

differentiation of the *dharmas*.<sup>4</sup>

r) By concealment those who are perfected in *mantras* are the *nāyikāḥ* in the houses etc.; now their seed syllable should be the beginning of the *pīṭha* etc.<sup>2</sup>

(*Vimalaprabhā* continues): In that way, *kā, jā, pū* are in the *pīṭhas*; *go, rā, de, mā* in the *upapīṭhas*; *a, mu, ao, kā* in the *kṣetras*; *tri, ka, ko lā* in the *upakṣetras*. *Ka, ha, ca, la* are in the *chandohas*; [21.25] *kāṇ, koṇ, hi, ne* in the *upachandohas*. *Mā, pra, ko, gṛ* in the *melāpakas*; *so, kā, su, siṃ* in the *upamelāpakas*. *Na, ma, si, ki* are in the *śmaśānas*; *ma, ga, ku, sa*, in the *upaśaśānas*. *Ca, ke, viṃ, ko* are in the *pīlavas*; *vi, koṇ, tri, śrī* in the *upapīlavas*. Likewise in the sixteen cremation grounds, in the northwestern door, on the left and the right, *kaṇ, ka, la, la, kaṇ* and likewise *ko, la, ha, la, la, ko*. Also *ḥka, ḥkā*. So in what is foul smelling<sup>3</sup> [22.1] *pū* is in the serpent fang, *sa* is in the western and northwestern doors. Now *na, nā, kḷ, kḷ* are in the northern door; for the young child and for death, *bā* is in the northeastern [door]. Then *ma, mā*, when there's corpse-burning *śā*, in the terrible battle, *gha*. Then *ṇa, ṇā* in the southern and southwestern door, in the trident-division,<sup>4</sup> *śū, u* in the remainder. Now *ṇa, ṇā* in the eastern and southeastern door; on the left and right of the southeastern door for the terrible one *bhī*, for the fear-

<sup>1</sup> *Dharma-suddha-prabhedaṭṭha*.

<sup>2</sup> This notion of the *bījākṣara* of the house-*nāyikāḥ* being the first syllable of the *pīṭha* [name, presumably], sounds just like the explanation given in the *Mālinīvijayottara* for finding the location of the secret groups of Tantric practitioners.

<sup>3</sup> *Pūti-gandha* - adj. foul smelling, stinking; m. sulphur; stench.

<sup>4</sup> MW lists as 'the name of a place' from catalogue sources. Dey says *śūla-bheda-tīrtha* = *śūlapāṇṭ* = Makri Fall, a place of pilgrimage near the confluence of the Nerbuda river and the mountain stream Sarasvatī.

causing one *bha*. Then *na*, and *nā* are on the left and right of the northeastern door, *ha* for the laughing one, *ā* for the loudly laughing one.<sup>1</sup> Then *ha* and *hā* [22.5] are on the left and right of the southwestern door, *rau* for the terrible noise, and *phe* for the howling sound.<sup>2</sup> Then *kṣa* and *kṣā*; thus the seeds of the sixteen cremation ground goddesses. Hence the twofold concealment of the net of *dākinis* is stated for the divine incarnation<sup>3</sup> of the young person according to the custom of wordly places. Being made to wander around to the places of the *pīṭhas* such as *Kāmarupa* and *Jālandhara* is useless, even when the presiding deity of a crore of villages is in a single region, since the *pīṭhas* etc. are stated [with the *bījamantras*].<sup>4</sup> Similarly [such perigrinations are useless] because [the *pīṭhas* etc.] are not stated to be in the crores upon crores of presiding deities of villages in the ninety-six regions of Tibet, China, and Greater China.<sup>5</sup> Therefore it was stated by the lord in the root *Tantra* that--

<sup>1</sup> *Attāttahāsa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Phetkāra*.

<sup>3</sup> *Avatāraṇaya* = dative singular of *avataṛaṇam*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the first definitive statement in the text repudiating the practice of pilgrimage. So what we have here is a careful *bīja-mantra* mapping to the well-known pilgrimage places in India of (probably) the 10th-11th century, with the specific claim that pilgrimages to these sites are not necessary for the Tantric initiate. The logic of this procedure is that the *bīja-mantra* code provides the initiate the ability to step out of the restrictions of normal space-time. Most folks need to travel to these pilgrimage sites for the appropriate time-determined (i.e. astrologically determined) experience of the divine presence through those sites. However, here it is claimed that the Tantric initiate can command the same experience of the divine presence through the magical power of this Sanskrit code system.

<sup>5</sup> This statement indicates that at least Puṇḍarīka was acutely aware of the non-Indian potential audience of this text, and the larger trans-Asian Buddhist community he belonged to. One might expect that were the text, or Puṇḍarīka from outside of India, the *Tantra* or Puṇḍarīka might well mention other towns in these areas (Tibet, China, etc.) with the argument that their local deities were somehow relevant, or needed to be considered. In terms of internal dating markers, this remark strongly indicates that at least the *Vimalaprabhā* was written after Buddhism had spread into Tibet and China, unless we chose to interpret this geo-theological sensitivity to prophetic awareness.

[22.10] The *pṛṣṭha* may be *Pūrvavideha*,<sup>1</sup> and it may be *Jambudvīpa* in the south |

In the west it may be *Aparagodhānt*, [and] in the north *Uttarakuru* | |

The *upadvīpas* may be in the intermediate directions, the *upapṛṣṭhas* may be on the surface of the earth |

In this way all the *kṣētras* etc. may be in the circles of the oceans etc. | |<sup>2</sup>

So in the *Tricakrasaṃvara* [and] in the *Hevajra*, what is a contradictory statement by the lord in the former and the latter, [22.15] is in order to free people of sharp senses from grasping. In this case the *pṛṣṭhas* and *upapṛṣṭhas* etc. cited in the

<sup>1</sup> Dey identifies *Pūrvavideha* as Rungpur and Dinajpur. It is however one of the four continents in Buddhist cosmology, in the East. As the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* (120) says: "The four continents are as follows: *Pūrvavidehaḥ*, *Jambudvīpaḥ*, *Aparagodānir*, and *Uttarakuru*." (Kasawara et al 1885:129). *Videhaḥ* MW identifies as "modern Tirhut," citing sources beginning from the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇaḥ*. *Janaka* was also known as "king of *Videha*" in the *Upaniṣads*, his capital city *Mithilā*; *Uttarakuru* is the country of the northern *Kurus*, north of India. *Jambudvīpa* is India. *Aparagodāniḥ* or *Aparagodānaḥ* is the continent west of *Mahāmeru*.

<sup>2</sup> The point here is that these pilgrimage sites (that are encapsulated in the seed syllables) should not be thought of as restricted to those located in India, since they may equally well exist in the wider cosmos of the four Buddhist continents, the oceans surrounding them, etc. *Kālacakratantra* also uses other cosmological schemes. **KCT 1.16** mentions seven continents, *Candra* (the moon), *Sitābha* (white light), *Varaparamakuśa* (the very best grass), *Kinnara* (the mythical horse-headed man, or a type of celestial musician), *Krauñca* (has a variety of meanings, including the Curlew—a shorebird with long legs and a curved bill, and a mountain in the eastern Himālayas, north of Assam), *Raudra* (terrifying), and *Jambudvīpa*, seven mountains, *Nilābha* (blue light), *Mandara* (lit: 'slow,' the mountain used by the gods and asuras to churn the ocean of milk), *Niṣadha* (mountain[s] just south of *Ilāvṛta*—the highest central part of the ancient continent, and north of the *Himālaya* mountains), *Maṇikara* (lit: a jewel-hand) *Droṇa* (name of the wooden Soma vessel, a *Kuru* general, and several mountains), *Sita*, and *Vajra*; and seven oceans, salt, liquor, water, milk, curd, ghee, and molasses. (Newman 1987:501-502) (KCT 1.71.15-25). Since we know there are no oceans on earth filled with molasses, etc., and since by the 11th century it's a pretty good bet that the Indians also knew there were no oceans of milk, ghee, etc., we can ask what they were referring to. The metaphor of the ocean may refer to the vast quantities of these substances produced and consumed by human beings. Perhaps the curious names for the continents and mountains also are meant as representatives of mundane realities, mixed with some mythology.

*Cakrasaṃvara* are said to be set down and divided into the *kṣetras* and *upakṣetras* in the *Hevajra*. Since even the yogis' worldly *siddhis* don't come into existence in the external *piṭhas* etc., in the metaself the twelve transits, the twelve limbs of ignorance etc., blocked by the blockage of old age and death by Sagittarius etc., should be recognized as the *piṭhas* etc. In those *piṭhas* etc., the coming and going--in the form of deities--of the purified constituents of the *Tathāgata*--i.e. the aggregates, constituent elements, and bases of consciousness--occurred in the past, is occurring in the present, [22.20] and will occur in the future; also because of the distinction between authority, enjoyment, and dissolution. By concealment, further, in the *Tricakrasaṃvara*, the four, eight, and twenty-four goddesses are stated to have rulership over enjoyment, dissolution, and authority according to the half-divisions of junctions of the day,<sup>1</sup> the divisions of the day,<sup>2</sup> and the risings.<sup>3</sup> In this respect, in the *Satcakramahāsaṃvara*, authority, enjoyment, and dissolution [occur] through the flowing of the astrological-transit [*lagna*-] *maṇḍala*. In this regard what's called authority is the governance of the *prāṇa*, what's called the enjoyment is its rulership, and what's called dissolution is the place it should go to. ||35||

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhyā*--dawn, noon, sunset, and midnight.

<sup>2</sup> *Prahara*--either 1/8th or 0.13 of a day (1/7.5).

<sup>3</sup> *Lagna*--the rising sign or ascendant, the point when any planet or star that is in the ecliptic (the path of the sun across the heaven) crosses the horizon. This happens at many times during the solar day, accounting for the beginning of individual days for each planet etc. (My thanks to Kim Plofker for this clarification). In this text, though, the term is frequently used to refer to the twelve astrological signs that the sun passes through, so that *lagna* refers to the transit of the sun into those signs. Here, we have *-lagna-ardha-bhedena*, "by the division into half of each sign," thus accounting for the twenty-four goddesses. The four goddesses are mapped onto the four *sandhyās*; the eight goddesses are mapped onto the eight *praharas*.



**5.36: The authority is behind the goddess, the dissolution is here in front, with the intrinsic natures of the five *tattvas*,**

**[22.25] In the northwest and in the northeast, in the southwest and the southeast, and the nadir, in the east, and in the south, north, and west, |<sup>1</sup>**

**In the *uṣṇīṣa*, in the heart place, in what resides in the throat and head, and in the navel and secret *cakra*,**

**In the eight-rayed *cakra*, above the surface, daily from Capricorn,<sup>2</sup> in the intermediate spaces between each of the two transits between astrological signs. ||36||**

**So The authority/governance is behind the goddess, the dissolution here in front, with the intrinsic natures of the five *tattvas*, etc. are detailed here. In this regard, at the transit into Capricorn that consists of five *daṇḍas*,<sup>3</sup> in the first *daṇḍa*, there is the earth *maṇḍala* in the right channel; in the navel, in the twelve [22.30] petals, in the western directional portion of the Capricorn petal, the *prāṇa* flow is the authority in the northwestern spoke; this is the idea.<sup>4</sup> In this regard, [23.1] when the**

<sup>1</sup> *Vāyu* = northwest, *Īśa* = northeast, *Daiṭya* = southwest, *Vahni* = southeast; *adhas* = nadir; *kha-sura* (lit: god of the sky = Sun) = east; *yāmya* (= of *Yama*) = south; *yakṣa* (= attendants of Kubera, guardian of the north) = north; *apara* = west.

<sup>2</sup> VMP here glosses *pratidinam makarād*.

<sup>3</sup> A *daṇḍa* = a *kalā* = a second, or 1/60th of a degree (there are 360 degrees in a circle). So five *daṇḍas* = 5 seconds of a degree.

<sup>4</sup> So there are twelve petals in the navel, and these are matched to the twelve *lagnas* or astrological signs. On each petal the ten directions can be identified, each directional section apparently supporting an eight-spoked *cakra* (the vertical axis through the navel of the *cakra* giving the ninth and tenth directions). In the western directional portion of the Capricorn petal, in the northwest-directional spoke of the *cakra* on the western portion of the Capricorn petal, the ruling factor is the flow of the *prāṇa*. The ruling factor of what? The ruling factor during the first second (*daṇḍa*) of the five seconds of a degree that constitute the entry into

goddesses of the *prāṇasakti* are in the earth *maṇḍala*, there is **governance**, i.e. duration, then in the middle water *maṇḍala*, there is dissolution. Repeated grasping for rebirth is the cessation of the former [i.e. duration/governance] and the production of the latter [i.e. dissolution], as in the example of self study/recitation and the lamp, etc.; here also because the two modes<sup>1</sup> are dependent on arisal (birth) that ends in death. Therefore there is governance in the earth *maṇḍala*, dissolution in the water *maṇḍala*; governance in the water *maṇḍala*, dissolution in the fire *maṇḍala*; governance in the fire *maṇḍala*, dissolution in the wind *maṇḍala*; governance in the wind *maṇḍala*, [23.5] dissolution in the void *maṇḍala*; governance in the void *maṇḍala*, dissolution in the knowledge *maṇḍala*--thus in Capricorn.

Then the transit into the middle, in the Aquarius petal, is said to be in the upper *cakra*.<sup>2</sup> Here when authority<sup>3</sup> is in the *avadhūtī* in the knowledge *maṇḍala*, then dissolution is in the left *nāḍī* in the space *maṇḍala*. When authority is in space, then dissolution is in wind; likewise when authority is in wind, dissolution is in fire; when authority is in fire, dissolution is in water; when authority is in water,

Capricorn. At this time, the earth *maṇḍala* is in the right channel.

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmaṇor*--genitive or locative dual of *dharman* (n) arrangement, disposition, custom, manner, mode, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably "upper *cakra*" (*cakre ūrdhve*) here means the heart *cakra*, since this is the one above the navel *cakra*. Apparently the twelve petals of the twelve astrological signs form a continuum of influence along the main channels in each of the *cakras*--giving a twelve-petalled lotus wreath, as it were, around each *cakra*. So there are five arc-minutes of a degree that constitute the transition zone between each astrological sign, the "intermediate spaces between the signs," (*lagna-antarāla*). Taking these transition zones in groups of two--ten *danḍas* each, the *dūtīs* are located in the individual *danḍas* or degree-seconds. A *kalā* = one arc-minute, or 1/60th of a degree. A *kalā* and a *danḍa* are apparently synonyms.

<sup>3</sup> Governance, duration.

dissolution is in earth; when authority is in earth, dissolution is [again] in the *avadhūt* in the knowledge *maṇḍala*. It is the same in the Pisces and Aires *maṇḍalas*, likewise [23.10] for the Taurus and Gemini *maṇḍalas*, for Cancer and Leo, for Virgo and Libra, for Scorpio and Sagittarius. Thus in the sixty *maṇḍalas*, enjoyment, authority, and dissolution, at the end of the three transits, are to be known as the four in the middle [channel].<sup>1</sup> So in that way **in the northwest and northeast, in the southwest and southeast, and in the nadir, in the east, in the south, the north, and the west**, i.e. in the ten *maṇḍalas*, and because of the word *ca*, also in the knowledge *maṇḍala*. In Capricorn, in Aquarius, so also in the others.<sup>2</sup> Now for Capricorn etc. the base *cakra* and *nāḍīs* are stated, in the *uṣṇīṣa* etc. In this regard there are four *nāḍīs* in the first sphere of the *uṣṇīṣa cakra*, [and] one in the middle. Similarly [in the first orb] of the heart etc. *cakras*, [there are four *nāḍīs* and one in the middle.] Therefore in the *uṣṇīṣa-cakra* in Capricorn and Aquarius, the transit of the northwestern etc. rays; due to cleansing of space in the eastern *cakra*, the mark of the lightning bolt. [23.15] Therefore in the space-*cakra* in the *maṇḍala* there is a row of lightning bolts. Similarly, because of the intrinsic nature of **the heart**, there is a row of swords in the wind *cakra* of Pisces and Aires. Similarly, since there is the inherent nature of fire in the one situated in the throat [*cakra*], there's a row of jewels in the fire-*cakra* of Taurus and Gemini. Because of the intrinsic nature of water in the one **in the head**, there's a row of lotuses in the water-*cakra* of Cancer

<sup>1</sup> *Madhyamā* is another name for the *avadhūt*.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarnath editors add *-yu* to *anye* here--a reasonable emendation.

and Leo. Because of the intrinsic nature of earth in the navel *cakra*, there's a row of *cakras* in Virgo and Libra. Because of the intrinsic nature of knowledge in the secret *cakra*, there's a row of choppers in Scorpio and Sagittarius. [23.20] In these *cakras* that each have eight rays, and above the surface, beginning from the Capricorn transit, daily, this motion is to be known by the *yogin* from the *prāṇa*. In this regard, wherever *prāṇa* causes governance (*adhikāra*) there, understanding the single word of the forty-eight worded [*mantra*] of the lord, together with the name of the feminine leader of the *maṇḍala*, one should recite with the *prāṇa*-flow, not with the string of *akṣa* beads.<sup>1</sup> In this way, understanding the single word of the sixteen-worded [*mantra*], disconnected from the cremation ground goddesses, one should recite the eight-worded [*mantra*] together with the eight goddesses of the lotus petals, as will be explained. Thus, for the female messengers of Capricorn etc., [23.25], the movement in the *cakras* in each of the two intermediate spaces between the transits is in each of the ten *daṇḍas*. In this way, after a day and a night, there is movement of the *prāṇa* in the sixty *maṇḍalas* with the sixty *daṇḍas*.<sup>2</sup> So here, in the individual *maṇḍalas*, on the individual days of the demons, men, spirits, deities, and asuras, etc., there is transit of the *yoginīs*, produced by reason of arising and dissolution--

*Mahāmāyā*, *Mahāraudrā*, just as she causes [both] what was produced and its

<sup>1</sup> Again we have a specific directive not to engage in the "outer" or normal forms of exoteric worship and prayer. The use of the *akṣa-māla* is widespread among other *yoga* sects. (See Chapter 8.2.2. and 9.2.4. of this dissertation.)

<sup>2</sup> Over the course of 24 hours, the meditation covers all twelve astrological signs, and thereby the six groups of the ten *daṇḍas* (seconds of a degree) built from the five *daṇḍas* of each *lagna* taken in groups of two (5 *daṇḍas* x 2 *lagnas* each = 10 *daṇḍas*; 10 *daṇḍas* x 6 groups of two *lagnas* each = 60 *daṇḍas*). Mapped into these sixty *daṇḍas* are sixty *maṇḍalas*.

contraction|

So *Vajradhara* himself is considered the maker and the remover||

[24.1] *Prajñāpāramitā* is not the creator, *Buddha* is [not] the creator of embodied ones|

She is not the destroyer, he is [not] the destroyer of the Buddhists, it is taught by the truth-teller||

Whoever performs the good and evil action of the body, speech, and mind|

The conscious being who enjoys the fruit of that, he is the agent, not anyone else.||<sup>1</sup>

This is the rule of the lord.

[24.5] Now the *nāyaka*'s seat is stated--

**5.37: The lord's lotus with all the lightning bolts, and with the syllables and with their seeds residing in the diamond jewels,**

**Universal joy everywhere, the abode of equal happiness, the universal time of the lightning bolt possessor;|**

**In this moon flow, who enters into the guru's mouth, he alone is**

***Kālacakra*;**

**Called the time of the *māras*, causing fear of dying, this is the**

<sup>1</sup> The point of including this unsourced quote here, just following the preceding discussion of the localizing of the *dūts* etc. in the time coordinates of the meditation seems to be this: the text is arguing that the individual has ultimately supreme power over his or her situation, including all the supposed influences from astrology, gods, demons, etc. By mastering the meditation the practitioner gains mastery of his or her universe, and controls their own destiny.

*ḍākinīcakra.* || 37 ||<sup>2</sup>

[24.10] "The lord" etc. In this regard, the *uṣṇīṣa* etc. six *cakras*, there is the transit of the *yoginīs* by the syllables *ka* etc.; therefore, **the lotus of the lord** that is the central lotus in the *maṇḍala*, it is **with all the lightning bolts**, i.e. with the four **imperishable drops**, i.e. unejaculated, **with those situated in the lightning gems**, the lotus located in the lightning jewel is **universal joy everywhere**, the abode of **equal happiness** because of its imperishability, **the universal time of the lightning bolt possessor**, producing joy among the *yoginīs*. So in this moon juice, in the imperishable happiness, **who enters in the guru's mouth**, in the knowledge face, **he alone is [24.15] Kālacakra**, he becomes a *yogi*, this is the rule. So that *cakra* is called **time**, since it is said to consist of ignorance, etc. **Of the māras**, of the four aggregates etc., **it causes fear of dying**, this is the *ḍākinīcakra*--free of all obscurations, it is not composed of the host of other deities. || 37 ||

Now, for the accomplishment of worldly *siddhis*, the recitation of *mantras* is stated--

**5.38: With the two syllables of wisdom and means, through the influence of both clans, the name of the *ḍākinīs* and *ḍākas*,**

<sup>1</sup> MW cites *Dharmasaṃgraha* 80 as listing four *Māras*, *skandhamāra*, *kleśamāra*, *devaputramāra*, and *mṛtyumāra*; later theory elaborated millions with a single ruler Māra. MW cites *Dharmasaṃgraha* 52 as listing *marāṇabhaya* as one of five types of fear. This is a misprint--it should be *Dharmasaṃgraha* 71: The five fears (*pañca bhayāni*) are: fear of the *Ājīvikas* (the sect founded by *Gośāla*, *Mahāvītra*'s student), fear of *Aśoka* (*aśoka-bhayam*--presumably refers to the king; however Kāzuwara suggests an emendation to *śoka-bhayam*, fear of grief), fear of dying (*marāṇa-bhayam*), fear of misfortune/poverty (*durgati-bhayam*), and fear of speaking with one's companions (*parśada-vādyā-bhayam*--taking Kāzuwara's emendation; *parśadasādyā-bhayam* is what's given in Kāzuwara et al:1885 edition--fear of the exhaustion of assemblies).

**Is to be recited, with the three lightning bolts, together with the unrivalled place, divided into beginning, middle, and end;|**

**[24.20] Because it is governed by *prāṇa*, through the influence of both paths it conforms to each one's individual *karma*;**

**The *dākinīs* and the lightning-bolt *dākas*, abiding in the six paths, go quickly to *siddhi*.||38||**

"Wisdom and means" etc. Here in the *Kālacakra*, with the two syllables of *prajñā* and *upaya*. Here, where there is a short seed for wisdom, for its means, through the influence of the facing clan, there is a long [phoneme]. When there's a long one for wisdom, there's a short one for means. So through the influence of the two clans, the name of the *dākinīs* and *dākas*, i.e. the *śi*-female lightning, the *sī*-male lightning, etc. Likewise the *sī*-female lightning, and the *śi*-male lightning. Earth and wind are mutually [these two sets of *bjā-mantras*] by the division into *prajñā* and *upaya*. Similarly for water and fire, the *ṣṛ*-female [24.25] lightning, and the *hpū*-male lightning. Likewise the *hpū*-female lightning, and the *ṣṛ*-male lightning. So the name of all the *dākinīs* and *dākas* is to be recited, this with the three lightning bolts, together with the unrivalled place, is divided into beginning, middle, and end. In the beginning the sound *Oṃ*; in the middle the beginning of the garland-*mantra*, with the first word, then the feminine lightning messenger seed,<sup>1</sup> together with the lightning *dāka*, then the short *huṃ* sound, the thought-lightning, a long [phoneme] speech lightning; at the end, the *phat* sound. Then the garland-

<sup>1</sup> *Vajra-dūti-bija*.

*mantra* consisting of seventy-two *padas*.<sup>1</sup> Among these [25.1] seventy-two words, there are eight words at the beginning together with the lotus petal goddesses, sixteen words together with the cremation ground goddesses, [and] forty-eight words to be recited together with the names of the *vītras* and *vīreśvartīs* of the six *cakras*. Here the eight words, [and] the four cremation ground words for the twelve entrances [of the sun into the 12 signs of the zodiac] in the central channel (*madhyama*) are to be recited, [and are] governed by the *prāṇa*. At the time of the [sun's] transit into Scorpio etc., the remaining six words, since governed by the five *maṇḍalas*, are governed by the *prāṇa* [and constitute] the *maṇḍala*; [25.5] together with its presiding deity [this] becomes<sup>2</sup> the garland *mantra* for the *yogins*. In the splitting of the current,<sup>3</sup> they go quickly to *siddhi*, residing in the *sxi*-paths,<sup>4</sup> residing in the six paths, of the *Bhagavān*, possessed of all the *ḍākinīs* and lightning *ḍākas*. This is the rule.

In this instance the application of the concealed *upapīṭas* etc. is in the goddess-garland *mantra* with Scorpio etc.--with the letters *ka* etc. For that there are the twelve [solar] transit words.<sup>5</sup> That is, *oṃ, āḥ, hūṃ, hoḥ, haṃ, kṣaḥ, haṃ, kṣ, m, l*,

<sup>1</sup> Here *pada* appears to mean simply 'a word' rather than a quarter stanza.

<sup>2</sup> In this context it seems best to translate *siddhyati* simply as "becomes."

<sup>3</sup> *Vāha-bhede*.

<sup>4</sup> cf. Kāśmīr Śāivite material. The *ṣaṭ-adhvan* is a term for six paths of elements that run through the body, and are the focus of a variety of meditations and *mantra-nyāsa* practices. (See Chapter 8.3.2 of this dissertation).

<sup>5</sup> In the following section, the way the printed text is parsed suggests that there may be a number of locative markers {*e*} missing. An alternative understanding would be that where the locative marker appears to be missing, the word should be combined with the following *bījamantra* into a compound, with the first member in locative relationship to the *bījamantra*. A third possibility, and the one I think most likely, is that these words were originally



*v, r, ya, kālacakra-hā*, in the lightning bolt *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*, thus in the Scorpio [solar] transit, there is the aspirated recitation of the seventy-two.<sup>1</sup> Similarly in the Aquarius [solar] transit *oṃ*, the tamer of the untamable-the destroyer of birth, old age, and death-*svā*, [25.10] in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*. *Oṃ*, the conqueror of the three worlds-*haḥ*, in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in Pisces. *Oṃ* the lord of the great heros-*aḥ*, in the lightning bolt *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in Aires. *Oṃ*, the lightning-terrifier-*haḥ*,<sup>2</sup> in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in Taurus. *Oṃ* the lightning bolt body-*aḥ*, in the lightning bolt *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in Gemini. *Oṃ*, the lightning bolt limb-*haṃ*, in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in Cancer. *Oṃ*, the lightning bolt eye-*aṃ*, in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; in Leo. *Oṃ*, the lightning bolt ear-*hā*, in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in the Virgo [solar] transit. *Oṃ*, the lightning bolt nose-*ha* in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in Libra. *Oṃ*, the lightning bolt tongue-*ā*, in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; [25.15] so in Scorpio. *Oṃ*, the lightning bolt teeth-*kṣa*, in the lightning bolt, *huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*; so in the Sagittarius solar transit, one should recite with aspiration. Thus, in the twelve solar transits, there is the knowledge-*maṇḍala* recitation. *Oṃ* the lightning finger and toe-nail-*kḷ*, in the lightning *dhi*, the lightning-*huṃ, hūṃ, phaṭ*--thus in the Capricorn earth *maṇḍala*, a recitation of an additional

intended to be without case endings as part of a *mālā-mantra*; such an approach would be in keeping with what appears to be the ‘phoneme-logic’ of *bija-mantras*: i.e. that these words and phonemes represent basic elements of the language, pre-existing, as it were, the level of grammar and syntax. I have therefore hyphenated each instance where a word without a case ending is followed by a *bijamantra*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sapāda-ṣatpañcāśat* = 56 + 1/4 of 56 = 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Vajrabhairava*.

370.25.<sup>1</sup> Likewise everywhere in the sixty *maṇḍalas*. *Oṃ* the lightning head hair-*khū*, in the lightning bolt *gr*, lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in water. *Oṃ* the lightning body hair-*gr*, in the lightning bolt *khu*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in fire. *Oṃ* the lightning bolt ornament-*dhi*, in the lightning *kl*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. [25.20] *Oṃ* the lightning laughter-*dā*, in the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala*, in the cremation ground, the lord, the means; therefore the non-existence of the second seed. Likewise it is to be known in the space *maṇḍala* everywhere. *Oṃ* the lightning song-*da*, in the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus the aspirated recitation in the Aquarius space *maṇḍala*. *Oṃ* the lightning dance-*dhi*, in the lightning *kī*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* the lightning fighter-*rr*,<sup>2</sup> in the lightning *khū*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in fire. *Oṃ* in the lightning sovereign lord of anger *khu*, in the lightning *gṛ*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in water. *Oṃ* the lightning male sky goer *kl*, in the lightning *ghī*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala*, [25.25] the aspirated recitation. In this way the *ka* class is situated. Then in Pisces, *Oṃ* the lightning female sky goers' net surrounded *cī*, in the lightning *jhi*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala*, the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* you must come quickly, you must come *chū*, in the lightning *jr*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in water. *Oṃ* by the lightning being's command, all the *māras*, the obstacle removers, the *kinnaras*,<sup>3</sup> the *kimpuruṣas*,<sup>4</sup> *garuḍas*,<sup>5</sup> the *gandharvas*,<sup>6</sup> *yakṣas*,<sup>7</sup> *rākṣasas*,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sa-pādaikādaśaṣaṣṭyuttaratriśata-jāpah*.

<sup>2</sup> *Āyudhaka*--one who has a weapon.

<sup>3</sup> *Kinnara*: 'what sort of a man'--mythical horse headed humans or centaurs.

*bhūtas*,<sup>1</sup> *pretas*,<sup>2</sup> *kumbhāṇḍas*,<sup>3</sup> *apasmāras*,<sup>4</sup> the *kṣetrapālas*,<sup>5</sup> the *vetālas*,<sup>6</sup> the *pūtanās*,<sup>7</sup> the *duṣṭanāgas*,<sup>8</sup> the planets etc., who cause minor calamities with all the fevers and all the diseases, who delight in causing harm to living beings--to all of them, *jaḥ*, having drawn [them] in quickly with the lightning elephant goad, *jṛ* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *chu*, the lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the fire *maṇḍala*. *Oṃ*, those res residing in the overhead region, [26.1], having drawn them in, *jhī* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *cī*, lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the eastern direction, *ñā* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground. Then in Aires, *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the southern direction, *ñā* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *huṃ*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the northern direction, *jhi* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *cī* lightning-*huṃ*, *hūṃ*,

<sup>4</sup> *Kiṃpuruṣa*: 'what sort of man'--perhaps originally monkeys.

<sup>5</sup> *Garuḍa*: the feathered race, it's chief is Viṣṇu's mount.

<sup>6</sup> *Gandharva*: heavenly musicians.

<sup>7</sup> *Yakṣas*: benevolent spirits.

<sup>8</sup> *Rākṣasas*: evil spirits.

<sup>1</sup> *Bhūtas*: ghosts, i.e the 'has-been's.'

<sup>2</sup> *Pretas*: spirits of the deceased.

<sup>3</sup> *Kumbhāṇḍa*: having pots for testicles, class of demons headed by Rudra.

<sup>4</sup> *Apasmāra* is sleeping sickness in *Suśrutasaṃhitā*; also = epilepsy. Literally: forgetful, without memory.

<sup>5</sup> *Kṣetrapālas*: field guardians.

<sup>6</sup> *Vetālas*: demons inhabiting corpses.

<sup>7</sup> *Pūtanās*: female demons attending on Skandha; the name of the witch who tried to poison Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>8</sup> *Duṣṭanāgas*: wicked serpents.

*phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the western direction, [26.5] *jṛ* having drawn them into the lightning, *chū* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in fire. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the northwestern direction, *chu* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *jṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the water. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the northeastern direction, *cl* having drawn them into the lightning, *jhī* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala*, the aspirated recitation. Then at the Taurus transit, *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the southwestern direction, *ḹ* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ḍhi* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus the aspirated recitation in the earth *maṇḍala*. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the southeastern direction, *ṭhū* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ḍṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the water. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the nadir direction, [26.10] *ḍṛ* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ṭhu* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the fire. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the space *maṇḍala*, *ḍhī* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ḷl* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the wind *maṇḍala*, *ṇā* having drawn [them] into the lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala*, in the cremation ground, the aspirated recitation. Then in Gemini *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the fire *maṇḍala*, *ṇa* having drawn [them] into the lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala*, in the cremation ground, the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the water *maṇḍala*, *ḍhi* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ḹ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* [26.15] having drawn in those residing in the earth *maṇḍala*, *ḍṛ* having drawn [them]

into the lightning, *thū* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the fire. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the desire realm, *thu* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ḍṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the water. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the form-realm, *ḍḷ* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *ḍhī* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala*, the aspirated recitation. Then in the Cancer transit, *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the non-form realm, *pī* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *bhi* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala* the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the body-constituent, *phū* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *bṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the water. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the speech constituent, [26.20], *bṛ* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *phu* lightning-*hum* *hūṃ* *phaṭ*--thus in the fire. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the thought-constituent, *bhī* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *pī* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the five aggregates, *mā* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala*, in the cremation ground, the aspirated recitation. In Leo, *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the five constituent elements, *ma* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala*, in the cremation ground, the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the five senses, *bhi* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *pī* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the five sense realms, *bṛ* having drawn [26.25] [them] into the lightning, *phū* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the fire. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in

the five action-senses, *phu* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *bṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the water. *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing in the five action-sense-realms, *pl* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *bhī* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala* the aspirated recitation. Then in the Virgo transit, *Oṃ* having drawn in those residing everywhere wherever [they are], *ī̄* having drawn [them] into the lightning, *dhi* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala*, the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* in the great cremation ground, on the ground blazing with lightning and fire, you must throw down again and again *thū* in the lightning, [26.30] *dṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the water. *Oṃ* with the lightning noose, on all the arms, you must bind again and again *dṛ* to the lightning, *thū*, lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the fire. *Oṃ* with the lightning chain on all the feet,<sup>1</sup> you must restrain again and again, *dhī* in the lightning, *īl*, lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* with the lightning of great anger you must pulverize again and again all those wicked ones who delight in causing harm to the body speech and mind of conscious beings, *nā* in the lightning, *hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground. Then in the Libra transit, [27.1] *Oṃ* with the lightning chopper you must chop [them?] up again and again, *na* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* with the lightning trident you must split again and again, *dhi* in the lightning, *ī̄*-lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the wind. *Oṃ* with the lightning knife you must strike again

<sup>1</sup> An elephant's feet are bound with a *śṛṅkhala* chain. See notes above to *śṛṅkhalā*, verse 5.14.

and again *dṛ* in the lightning *thū* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the fire. *Oṃ* with the lightning arrow you must split again and again *thu* in the lightning, *dṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in fire. *Oṃ* with the lightning peg you must stake down again and again *tḷ* in the lightning, [27.5] *dhṛ*-lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala* the aspirated recitation. Then in the Scorpio transit *Oṃ* with the lightning hammer you must hammer<sup>1</sup> again and again *sḷ* in the lightning, *śa* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala* the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* with the lightning discus you must cut through again and again *hpū* in the lightning, *ṣṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in water. *Oṃ* with the lightning spear you must split again and again *ṣṛ* in the lightning, *hpū* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in fire. *Oṃ* with the lightning club you must strike again and again *śṛ* in the lightning, *sl* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in wind. *Oṃ* with the lightning sickle you must hew again and again *hkā* in the lightning, *hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus [27.10] in the space *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground, the aspirated recitation. Then in the Sagittarius transit, *Oṃ* having made a crore and a half of multitudes you must make again and again *hka* in the lightning as the oblation to all the ghosts on the cremation ground earth, *hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the space *maṇḍala* in the cremation ground, the aspirated recitation. *Oṃ* with the lightning drum you must invoke again and again the lightning *dākinīs*,<sup>2</sup> *śi* in the lightning, *sḷ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in wind. *Oṃ* you must offer again and

<sup>1</sup> *Ākoṭaya* not in MW or Apte: *koṭāya* is listed in MW as a root from Pāṇini 3.1.17, without definition; Apte has only *koṭa* as a fort, hut shed; *koṭaka* as curving, bending, or the builder of sheds, a thatcher. To hammer as a 10th class verb seems most likely here.

<sup>2</sup> *Vajradākinīr* = accusative plural of feminine in *-ī*.

again to the lightning *dākinīs* the blood of the members of Māra's retinue, *ṣṛ* in the lightning, *pū* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in fire. *Oṃ* you must offer again and again the five nectars<sup>1</sup> to the those appropriating the five nectars, [27.15] *hpu* in the lightning, *ṣṛ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in water. *Oṃ* together with all the lightning-*dākinīs* you must perform again and again the expiation and nourishing and protection, concealing, guarding of all conscious beings, *sṛ* in the lightning, *śṭ* lightning-*hum*, *hūṃ*, *phaṭ*--thus in the earth *maṇḍala* the aspiration recitation. In this way one should recite the garland *mantra* daily whose reckoning is the wheel of breaths.<sup>2</sup> In this regard there is no string of beads, there is no *mantra* pronunciation;<sup>3</sup> together with the inhalation and exhalation of the *mantra* syllables, the entry and exit, like a flower garland, should be looked at as [going] with the grain and against the grain,<sup>4</sup> according to the intrinsic nature of the sun and moon. In this regard, over five days, an additional 8000, [27.20] [plus] a lac<sup>5</sup> of recitations should be performed by the yogi in his meta-self. Over five hundred days a *koṭi*<sup>6</sup> of recitations plus 8 lacs of inhalations. Then the body-purification in the same way, the speech purification likewise, [and] the thought purification. In this regard, after five hundred days, the

<sup>1</sup> MW defines the *pañcāmṛta* as the five foods of the gods, milk, sour milk, honey, butter, and sugar, from *Hemacandra's Caturvargacintāmaṇi*.

<sup>2</sup> The length of the garland *mantra* is equivalent to the circle of breaths/aspiration just described.

<sup>3</sup> Again, the exoteric or customary external practices of *mantra* recitation are specifically negated.

<sup>4</sup> *Anuloma* and *viloma*.

<sup>5</sup> 100,00 = *lakṣa*; so here 108,000 repetitions.

<sup>6</sup> A *Koṭi* = 10 million.



inhalation becomes motionless. The *prāṇa* attains the pot-state.<sup>7</sup> Then, the five superknowledges are produced<sup>2</sup> in the yogis, so the lightning recitation sequence, or the hermaphrodite recitation sequence, occurs through the movement of *prāṇa* in the left, right, and middle [*nāḍīs*]*--*thus the rule of the lord. ||38||

[27.25] Now with the *avadhūti*-breaths, with the five *cakras* of the body, speech, though and knowledge, the concealment of all the Buddhas is stated--

**5.39: These breaths become one quarter plus six and fifty in the central channel at the time of birth;**

**With those [breaths] there are the *cakras* with the sets of eight; through dominion over the earth and sky the goddesses residing in the middle of the apertures;**

**With a single foot is born the mother of the three worlds, with a knife and a skull-shell in her hands;**

**Stretched out in a warrior pose, on top of the sun and moon, and embraced with a degree-second of the happiness of the nectar [of immortality],**

***Kālacakra*. ||39||<sup>3</sup>**

[27.30] "These breaths" etc. Here, in the central channel, **these breaths at the time**

<sup>1</sup> I.e., as though contained in a pot.

<sup>2</sup> Taking any form at will; hearing at any distance, seeing to any distance, penetrating men's thoughts, knowing their state and antecedents.

<sup>3</sup> Reading in the commentary changes *sapada*--a word not in MW {*sapadi* denotes 'simultaneously'}--to *sapāda*, denoting 'plus a quarter'. *Dvāra* = door; in the *Upaniṣads* and in *Suśruta*, *dvāra* is used for the nine doors or apertures of the human body; this is probably where the *navātmaka* mantra/goddess notion comes from.

of birth of the child, the fifty-six and a quarter breaths become fifty-six and a quarter, with those [breaths] there are the *cakras* with the sets of eight; through dominion over the earth and sky the goddesses residing in the middle of the apertures. [28.1] In the middle of these breaths are the eight breaths characterized by the body, speech, mind, and knowledge, according to the wisdom and means distinction; they are the eight goddesses on the petals of the womb lotus. Here there are no skulls, and the eight heros are, by the purification of form, in the earth *cakra*; the eight [heros] are, by perception purification, in the water *cakra*; the eight [heros] are, by sensation purification, in the fire *cakra*; the eight [heros] are, by *saṃskāra* purification, in the wind *cakra*; the eight [heros] are, by the consciousness purification, in the space *cakra*; the eight [heros] are, by wisdom purification, in the eight cremation grounds. [28.5] In this way, in the six [*cakras*]--the secret, the navel, the heart, the throat, the forehead, [and] the *uṣṇīṣa*--[there are] the forty-eight. In the same way in the two nostrils, the two, in the two eyes, the two, in the two ears, the two, in the two holes at the base of the tongue and the *uṣṇīṣa*--thus the goddess-group. In the same way, the fifty-six. With the remaining single foot is produced the mother of the three worlds, the universal mother, with a knife and skull shell in hand; by her, who is in a warrior pose, by she who is the immortality nectar portion, embraced, on the top of the sun and moon, on top of the temptations and the addictions,<sup>1</sup> standing, embraced, *Kālacakra*, the lord, the supreme syllable of happiness. Since the seeds of these breaths [28.10] will be explained by the

<sup>1</sup> *Māra*kleśopari.

upcoming statement "the *la* etc., what are also the eight *mātrās*" (KCT 5.125), they are not described here. In this regard, the esoteric meaning is that all of time is to be considered by the *yogi* to be the *prāṇa* in the central channel;<sup>1</sup> to the extent that its entrance and exit is stabilized, all of time goes to the pot-state. Then the *yogi* becomes attained of the five supersensory abilities (*pañcābhijñā*) through the recitation [of *mantras*] with the *prāṇa*--this is the rule of the lord. In this way, "one should recited the *mantra* with unseparated portions, you must consider it joined with *prāṇa*," thus in all the *Tantras* the lightning word [*vajrapadam*] was previously stated. Even though [28.15] the *prāṇa*-recitation is without the pronunciation of the *mantras*, and without an *akṣa*-bead string, it is nonetheless called recitation [*japa*] because of the entrance and exiting of the *prāṇa*. ||39||

Now is stated the purification of the divinity's seat on either the outside or in the metasef--

**5.40: The five [times] three fire, sun and moon, through the influence of the [five] sense objects and the [three] qualities [*guṇas*], are the seats, having four progressions,<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> This is a central concept with regard to the name of the text and the system. Through the carefully detailed map already given of how the phonemes encapsulate the cosmic astrological clock we live inside of, we have learned that the breaths, properly controlled, can control time. Then here, by achieving the much sought-after yogic state of *kumbhaka*, being like a pot, the text says that all of time becomes contained within the *yogin*'s body--i.e. there is no aspect of time that is functioning outside of the *yogin*'s awareness or control.

<sup>2</sup> Here we do have an example of "Tantric" grammar: *āsanāni* is neuter plural, *abdhicārā* is masculine plural--one cannot be the appositive of the other. This sort of apposition that retains original case endings shows up frequently in the verses.

**The days, filled with the seven rays,<sup>3</sup> are the sun's and the moon's unrivalled seats, |**

**The nights, filled with the white rays, are the sun's and moon's unrivalled seats,**

**[28.20] The days, seven-rays full, in the even and uneven place, are the sun's and moon's seats. ||40||**

"Five" etc. Here, the seat of the unique hero,<sup>2</sup> **the moon** is the semen, **the sun** is the blood. Since the five constituent elements consist of wisdom, the moon qualities are **the five sense objects**; here they are the moon seats of *Locanā* etc., bounded by the space element. **From the influence of the three qualities, the three solar seats** are for *Ratnasambhava*, *Amitābha*, and *Amoghasiddhi*. The great form consists of the four elements; since it consists of the four constituent elements, the moon seat is for *Vairocana*; since it consists of the knowledge ray, the sun seat is for **[28.25]** sensation etc., because of the statement "the remaining ones are without form." In this way there are five moon *maṇḍalas*, [and] four sun *maṇḍalas*, since there is identity of and distinction between *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. In this way there is a nine-fold joining together of the aggregates and constituent elements, since they are the basis for the qualities and the sense objects; just as in the womb [they are the basis of] the consciousness etc. of the child, so in the divinity also there are in

<sup>1</sup> Or, filled by the seven suns--*saptārkapūrṇā*.

<sup>2</sup> For *ekavīra*, see RV 10.103.1; AV 19.13.2; 20.34.17, where it is used as a name for *Indra*. Insler says the term means simply "A #1 guy." (Personal communication, University Seminar on the Veda, Columbia University, November 9, 1995).

addition another four fierce-[deity]-seats. **The four progressions** are the solar seats of the fierce ones because of the influence of the growth and decrease of the solar wealth and debts of the sun. For the same reason the movements of the angry ones is the thirteenfold communion; for the same reason the **seven days** are the solar [28.30] seats, [and what are] filled with the twelve are the moon *maṇḍalas*, the nineteen fold communion is the third; [the ones] filled with **black** [29.1] are the twelve annual days and nights of the new moon; [what are] filled with **white** are the twelve days and nights of the full moon; in this way there are the twenty four **sun and moon seats** of the leader, through the influence of the clans--either the moon [clan] or the sun [clan]. In the same way there is the twenty-five fold communion according to the distinction of the bases of the deities. Furthermore, the opposing **seven days'** seats [that] are cast into the middle of these become the thirty-two seats. The thirty-two fold communion is [the communion] of the five aggregates, and of the four constituent elements, of the twelve bases of consciousness, and of the eleven fierce ones. [29.5] In addition, **in the even and uneven places**, there is the going of the *prāṇa* to the **solar seat**, and a coming to the **lunar seat**; therefore the communion is twenty-four fold. In this way it is of six kinds--just as in the womb the child and the constituent elements unite as the recipient and the received, so the deities meet--according to this maxim there is a sixfold communion. ||40||

Now seat-purification is stated in the *Tricakra*--

**5.41: The spokes are the moon and sun movements, the seats on the lotus petals at the corners of the four doors;**

**[29.10] Furthermore, the movements are twice multiplied--from the sun and the moon, and these are themselves the seats;|**

**The full ones are the daily and solar movements, and in the even and odd places the seats are the four movements;**

**In the sun, or in the full moon, through the clan's influence there is the leader, or in the hemisphere. ||41||**

"The spokes" etc. Here, in the three *cakras*, there are twenty-four spokes, and they are "the five,<sup>1</sup> in the five, the four, the four, the three, the two, and the one" [KCT 1.32]<sup>2</sup> i.e. the previously stated moon movements are twenty-five. Of those the twenty four [29.15] become the spokes of the three *cakras*. One, the twenty-fifth, is for the lotus-petal deity, as the seat for the *pretas*. The movements of the sun are from the twelve moons,<sup>3</sup> i.e. there are eleven of these--three on the womb's lotus petals, the remaining eight in the eight cremation grounds, the spokes arrayed as corpses. This is the basis. As for the corpses, the corpses are the goddess vehicles. So the *Tricakrasaṃvara*. Further, by the distinction of prior and subsequent, the motions are twice multiplied--in the *Mahāsaṃvara* the seats of the goddesses are seventy-two. Likewise the *Saṭcakraṃvara*. In the *Māyājāla*, the full ones are twenty-four, the light and the dark ones, the moon and sun seats. Likewise [29.20]

<sup>1</sup> *Bhūtas*.

<sup>2</sup> The text as we have it in volume 1 of the Sarath edition reads "*bhutābhuteṣu vedāḥ śikhī-kara-śaśinaḥ pūrva-bhāge 'pare ca*." (Newman's 1987 translation skips from 1.27 to 1.128). The commentary (1.81.21-30) explain that these are *candrapadāni*--positions of the moon. *Śikhin* and *guṇa* are both names for three.

<sup>3</sup> 'Taste{6}-pair{2}-moon.'

the seven days are the seven solar seats. The solar motions are the eleven solar seats. Now, due to a distinction of state, the lunar seats are in this way the forty-three seats, individually. By the even and uneven place, as before, the lunar and solar seat--so there are forty-five seats in the second. The four movements become, through the solar<sup>1</sup> distinction, the solar seats, or the lunar seats through the body-state distinction. In the same way are the forty-nine seats in the third *Māyājāla* of the deities. Just as the constituent elements become the basis for the child's *prāṇa*, [29.25] so they are perfected externally, as well as in the supreme. Thus the rule for complete purification in the [*Guhya*]-*samāja*, the *Māyājāla*, the *Tricakrasaṃvara*, and the *Ṣaṭcakraṣaṃvara*. In these *Tantras* the leader is either in the sun because of lacking the properties of form and aggregates; or in the wisdom *dharma*, in the moon, because of having the property of form; *Vairocana*, in the compassion property, in the moon *maṇḍala*, through the clan's influence, through the influence of wisdom and compassion, is the leader; or is in the hemisphere, in the wisdom and compassion pair as *Kālacakra*; i.e. the *ĀdiBuddha* since he is without succession--thus it is established. ||41||

Now for the wind etc. deities the face purification is stated--

[29.30] 5.42: The wind's touch-face is one, and because of the opposite quality's influence, the sealing face is second;

Form and touch is the two-faced, the moon's sealing face is the third;|

[30.1] The touch, form, and taste face, and the face of milk/water's is the sealing

<sup>1</sup> *Ravikā*.

**face, the fourth;**

**Beginning with smell, ending with the touch-born, the earth's three faces are the fifth sealing face. ||42||**

"Wind" etc. Here are the wind etc. deities' twofold faces--the first ones through sense realm purification, the second ones through the three qualities' purification. From their wind constituent, one face has the nature of the touch quality, the second, [30.5] consisting of the sound quality, is the sealing; in the same way, for the mental activity aggregate, the consciousness aggregate is the sealing. So, the wind's touch-face is one, and because of the opposing quality's influence, the sealing face is second, on the head, not in the face's place. In the same manner, due to sense realm properties of form and touch, the fire's face pair is the third sealing face. By that quality, and by sensation, there is the sealing of consciousness. Similarly the touch, form, and taste face is the triple face, from milk/water; the space characteristic, i.e. sound is the fourth sealing face; therefore there is the sealing of consciousness (*vijñāna*) by the name.<sup>1</sup> Beginning with smell, i.e. the fourfold earth face characterized by the smell, taste, form, and touch sense domains. [30.10] Therefore it is established that the consciousness aggregate is also the sealing of the form aggregate. ||42||

**5.43: The void is the five-fold face also; and the sealing face of the navel is the sixth;**

**It is exactly the same for the knowledge-element; through the influence of**

<sup>1</sup> *Samjñā*.



**the qualities, there is the face with the sixfold void;**<sup>1</sup>

**The one mixed in the fourfold, providing the fruit of equal happiness, is fivefold, two and three mixed;**

**Wisdom and means is ten-faced; through the influence of the three-fold qualities, the twelve-faced is fourfold. ||43||**

[30.15] **The void is five-fold**, because of the statement that "the great void consists of five syllables" (*Nā. Saṃ* 10.20), the five-fold face of the space constituent element is the consciousness aggregate's **sealing face**, the south, the knowledge aggregate. **It is exactly the same for the knowledge-constituent element, through the influence of the qualities, there is the face with the sixfold void;**<sup>2</sup> for that six-faced one it is also the sealing of the consciousness element; this is the rule about the seal (*mudrā*) purified through the influence of constituent elements, sense objects, and qualities.

Now **one mixed in the fourfold, providing the fruit of equal happiness, is fivefold, two and three mixed.** Here the wind element, consisting of the single quality of touch, is sealed by space; [30.20] when it [i.e. the wind element] is mixed into the earth element-- consisting of the four qualities of smell etc.--and is sealed by the space quality, then there is the union that provides the fruit of equal happiness and consists of wisdom and means. Similarly, a) what consists of the two qualities of touch and form--sealed by the fire and space qualities, [and] b) the water constituent,

<sup>1</sup> "*Mevam*" at the beginning of KCT 5.43b should read *evam*; the *m* belongs to the *ṣaṣṭha* at the end of KCT 5.43a. The commentary reads simply *Evam* instead of *mevam* (a nonsensical word in Sanskrit).

<sup>2</sup> Move the comma from after *ṣaṣṭmukhasya* to before it.

consisting of the three qualities,<sup>1</sup> [and] sealed with the space quality, [when (a) and (b) are] mutually combined, [they become] fivefold. The same holds true for earth and wind; [sealed by fire and space, and in combination with the water constituent of three qualities, they also become] fivefold. In this way, **widsom and means is ten-faced**, since the eastern and western [faces, and] the left and right [i.e. north and south faces] are mutually combined. In the Meta-self chapter of this [text] the explanation is given that "wisdom and means [are] the bone and flesh, and also the water and blood; the purifying fire is the urine itself" (*Kā. T. 2.30*); **[30.25]** according to this etc., this is the rule.

Furthermore the threefold distinction of the opposite qualities is stated by "threefold" etc. In this regard, in all the constituents there are *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* qualities, so because of these, all the constituent elements have three faces. Beginning with smell and ending with the *dharma* element, the constituents have six sense objects, and because of these they are six-armed. So similarly **through the influence of the three-fold qualities, the twelve-faced is fourfold**, i.e. wisdom and means, in front and behind, left and **[31.1]** right,<sup>2</sup> and above--this is the rule. In the *[Guhya]samāja* the mark for each of them [i.e. for all the constituents] is--by the purification of the semen, the channels, and the bones--the lightning bolt, the lotus, and the discus, on the right; [and by the purification of] the *rajas*, the blood, and the flesh--the lightning/diamond bell, the jewel, and the chopper, on the left, of

<sup>1</sup> Add a *visargaḥ* at the end of *triguṇātmaka*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dakṣiṇa* should have an *anusvāra* on the end, i.e. *dakṣiṇam*.

*Akṣobhya*. Here, for that deity, its own mark goes on the right, in the palm of the first hand; in its [i.e. the self-mark's] position goes a diamond/lightning mark. This is the rule in the [*Guhya*]*samāja*. Just as in the *Samāja* the *Buddha* takes the middle [and] *Akṣobhya* goes into his [the *Buddha*'s] place, [31.5] likewise [*Akṣobhya*'s mark] also goes into the [*Buddha*'s] mark. Similarly, the eleven faces from the six faces and the five faces [take the place of] the consciousness and knowledge constituents, [and these elements have, respectively] five faces and six faces, [i.e.] the five syllables of the great void, and the six syllables of the drop void. Furthermore, since the two are mutually dependent, the *Samāja* is thirty-two faced--this is the rule. ||43||

Now, the purification of the faces etc. according to the division of time is stated--

**5.44: The face is founfold because of the divisions of the junctions of the day, and it is also threefold, because of the division of the *lagnas*,<sup>1</sup> there are three colors; [31.10] Because of the half-*lagnas* there is the division of the arms, and the odd**

<sup>1</sup> Prof. David Pingree and Kim Plofker (both of Brown University) have been kind enough to take a fair bit of time to explain to me what a *lagna* is--the term is not well defined in Monier Williams or Apte--and I want to thank them here for clarifying for me a small portion of the impenetrable thicket of Indian astronomy. As best as I understand it so far, a *lagna* is the amount of the arc of the ecliptic that rises in the rises from the horizon during the time that 30° of the ecliptic rises from the horizon (2 hours). At any given time of the day, and for any planet or the sun, one can identify a rising *lagna* (the *udaya-lagna*) and a setting *lagna* (the *asta-lagna*) on the ecliptic. The third *lagna* is called the *tribhona-lagna* = *tribham* + *āna* = three astrological signs + less than. This point on the ecliptic is 90 degrees squared from either the rising sign or the descendant, a point that also happens to be three astrological signs distance from either the rising or setting *lagna*. To complicate matters a bit further though, Prof. Pingree and I realized upon examining the *Kālacakra* passages where *lagna* is used, that sometimes *lagna* in the KCT refers to the junctions between zodiacal signs.

(numbered *lagnas*) are equally embraced in the body and mind;|

**In the *lagna* subsections, in front and in back, the three face and six arms embracing, in the middle limb;**

**Attachment to Wisdom, and the coming together, the laughing ones etc. are in the junctions of the three hour segments of the day. ||44||**

"The junctions," etc. Here, because of the rule that "while the day is the lord, the lightning bolt possessor, the night is wisdom, widely famed," **because of the division of the junctions by two *praharas*<sup>1</sup> each, the lord has four faces;<sup>2</sup> he has eight arms because of the half-*prahara* divisions,<sup>3</sup> from midnight to noon. [31.15]** In the same way there Wisdom also has four faces and eight arms, from noon to midnight. **Equally embracing**, i.e. at noon there is [equal embracing] of the day and the night.<sup>4</sup> **The odd also:** because it may be that [the *prahara*] preceeding the *sandhyā* [at noon] from the day may be less, and [the *prahara*] following the *sandhyā* [at noon] may be greater, then, whenever that is the case, the *Bhagavān* has five faces and ten arms, and the *Bhagavatī* has three faces and six arms, for the augmentation of

<sup>1</sup> The text reads *prahara-prahara-sandhyā-bhedena*. A *prahara* is a 3 hour division of the day. Two of these, i.e. a *prahara-prahara*, constitute the time between each *sandhyā* (two 3-hour divisions = 6 hours; there are six hours between each of the four *sandhyās* = 24 hours).

<sup>2</sup> There are four *praharas* during any twelve-hour period. Here, the twelve hour period from midnight to noon is said to provide the four *praharas* for *Kālacakra*'s four faces.

<sup>3</sup> A half-*prahara* = 1.5 hours; there are eight such divisions in a 12 hour period = *Kālacakra*'s eight arms.

<sup>4</sup> According to this passage, *dina* becomes from midnight to noon, *rātra* is from noon to midnight.

the day.<sup>5</sup> For the augmentation of the night *Bhagavatī* has five faces, *Bhagavān* has three faces--thus etc. is established; thus the one purification of *Kālacakra*. Likewise the second is stated--**threefold** etc. In this sense there are twelve zodiac signs; among these are the signs of Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces;<sup>2</sup> [31.20] from the division of the mind-*vajra* into *sattva*, *tamas*, and *rajas*, there are the white, red, and black faces--**from the division of the *lagna*, there are three colors**. In the same way there are the Aires, Taurus, and Gemini faces, and because of the division into *rajas*, *sattva*, and *tamas* division, [these] have the red, white, and black colors of the speech *vajra*. The Cancer, Leo, and Virgo faces, because of the division into *sattva*, *tamas*, and *rajas*, have the white, black, and red divisions of the body *vajra*. The Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius faces, because of division into *tamas*, *rajas*, and *sattva*, have the yellow, red, and white colors of the knowledge *vajra*. **Because of the half-*lagna* there is a division of the arm** into three colors. There is a relative enumeration of each of the two of the six [arms], beginning with the root face, on the left and the right. [31.25] In the same way for the twelve-faces--the *Bhagavān* has twenty-four hands, [yet] is [nonetheless] the one *Kālacakra*. In this regard, among

<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit reads *pūrva-sandhyā--apara-sandhyāyor divā-ratryor hīna-adhika-vaśatah*. According to this syntax, *pūrva-sandhyā* goes with *divā* and with *hīna*, stating that the day-*prahara* preceding the noon junction, is less, and the night-*prahara* following noon is greater. The text is saying that when the midnight to noon day is shorter than the noon to midnight night, *Bhagavān* is given an extra face and two extra arms to compensate.

<sup>2</sup> The text reads *teṣām madhye*, literally: "in the middle of these." Since, as Kim Plofker has explained, Aires is considered the 0 degree point of the ecliptic, these three signs would constitute the last three signs of the zodiac, not the middle. If they do constitute the middle in a different understanding of the zodiac, then we are left with four and a half signs on either side. The section that follows makes it clear that we are dealing with four groups of three signs, so "among" must be the correct translation.

the previously mentioned deities, who have one face or four faces, when there is uneven and the even embracing, that is **in a portion of a *sandhyā* in front and in back**, i.e. in what precedes the *sandhyā*, and in what follows the *sandhyā*,<sup>1</sup> as a joining together (*melāpaka*).<sup>2</sup> Where there is a mutual embracing of [deities] with three faces and six arms, that is **in the middle limb**<sup>3</sup> of the noon junction and of the midnight junction. Similarly **in the body and mind**, i.e. the fifth [lunar day]<sup>4</sup> is in the object, the seventh lunar day is from the division of the bodily states. So the former and latter junctions are the embracing [according to the] *Yoginītantra*, from the uneven union of either the one faced and the four faced; or [from the uneven union] of the one faced etc. [31.30] and of the eight faced etc.; so in the *Yogatantra*, for the two with even [number of] faces and arms, the embracing is when there is equal day and night time--this is the rule specific for time. Similarly--

[32.1] Knowing good and evil, knowing time, knowing the covenant, possessed of the

<sup>1</sup> Add a *visargaḥ* to the end of *aparasandhyāyā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Melāpakaḥ*. This is the first instance in the fifth chapter of **KCT** where *melāpakaḥ* is not used as a term referring to a geographic location.

<sup>3</sup> *Madhyamam* is also, acc. to Apte, the point where the meridian crosses the ecliptic. The **ecliptic** is the path through the celestial sphere taken by the sun, and the planets of the solar system. (Pluto's orbit is not in the ecliptic, yet Pluto is not part of ancient Indian astronomy.) The ecliptic is therefore seen as essentially horizontal by a standing observer, though its angle in the sky varies with the season and one's location on earth. The meridian is the vertical line across the heavens (or the celestial sphere) that passes through the celestial poles (not necessarily through the earth's poles, since the earth is tilted with respect to the celestial poles), and passes directly over the observer's head. *Madhyamam* is therefore the point where the meridian and the ecliptic intersect.

<sup>4</sup> *Pañcamī*: is the fifth lunar day (*tithi*). *Saptamī* is the seventh lunar day (*tithi*) of the fortnight. There is a festival on the seventh day. What *artha* refers to in this context is not clear to me.

vow,<sup>5</sup> the lord;

Knowing the *sattvic* senses, knowing the appropriate time,<sup>2</sup> skilled in the triple liberation. (*Nā, Saṃ* 8.13)<sup>3</sup>

Thus the *Bhagavān*'s designation in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. |

[32.5] Now the *Kriyātantras* are stated--"Wisdom etc." Here **attachment to Wisdom** in the *Yoginītantra*, **the coming together** in the *Yogatantra*, also, is the union of what preceeds and follows the junction [of the day], i.e. the joining together of noon and midnight--thus it is proven in the *Tantra* pair that **the laughing ones etc. are in the junctions of the three hour segments of the day**. In this sense, at the junction of the first three hour segment (*prahara*) there is laughing *Tantra*; at the [junction of the] third three hour segment, the looking (*Īkṣaṇa*) *Tantra*; at the [junction of the] fifth three hour segment the breast touching *Tantra*; at the [junction of the] seventh three hour segment the hand holding *Tantra*--in this way the fourfold *Tantra*. Why is that? In this regard, according to the degree of wisdom and laughter in the wind totalities,<sup>4</sup> [32.10] vibrational happiness occurs. By the seeing of the fire

<sup>1</sup> *Samayin* is a term used in the *Kāśmīr Śāiva* system, also for the "vow" or "covenant" possessor, i.e. the initiate.

<sup>2</sup> *Vela* is in MW as garden or grove, cited from Lexicons, or a particularly high number, cited as a Buddhist usage. *Velā* = boundary, limit, time, season, period, time of day. It would appear that *velā* is intended here. Davidson takes it this way.

<sup>3</sup> Davidson's edition gives this as verse 89. He translates it as "Knowing the skillful and the destructive (*śubhāśubha*) and aware of timing, he understands the occasion and, possessing his vow, is the overlord. Knowing the faculties of beings and the correct opportunity, he is skilled in the triple release." (Davidson 1981:29)

<sup>4</sup> MW lists *vāyukṛtsna* as "one of the ten mystical exercises called *kṛtsna*," citing an unnamed Lexicon. *Kṛtsnagata* is the name of a *samādhi* in the *Karaṇḍavyūha*. *Kṛtsna* = whole, entire.

totalities [vibrational] happiness occurs. By the breast touching of the water totalities [vibrational] happiness occurs]. By the hand holding of the earth totalities happiness occurs. In this way there are the sixteen form realms;<sup>1</sup> by beginning with *Akanistha* [lit: not the youngest], [and] ending with [the realm] of the *Brahmakāyas*, their extent in the upcoming supreme syllable knowledge attainment will be expressed. The joining together of the desire realms is the union of the pair--thus the doctrine. Everywhere in the formless [realm] there is continued existence<sup>2</sup> of the dispassionate ones. ||44||

[32.15] Now the desire state entrance is stated--

**5.45: Into wisdom's limb, into red and yellow, one enters, restrained is *Kālacakra's* state;**

**Wisdom's state is in the white limb that is like a scraping cloud, for the lightning possessor the left and the east;**

**By the wisdom state it becomes expanded in the beautiful young woman,<sup>3</sup> the left and east limb, [and the one] belonging to Soma;**

**[What] belongs to Rudra, the right and western limb, for the supreme conquering lord the expansion of the state is exactly like that. ||45||**

[32.20] "Into wisdom's limb" etc. Here, **into wisdom's limb, into red**, is into the fire element, **into yellow** is into the earth element, **one enters; restrained**,

<sup>1</sup> *Rūpa-avacarās*.

<sup>2</sup> *Utpattiḥ*, *sthitiḥ*, and *layaḥ* are three states of existence.

<sup>3</sup> *Varatanu* is a term for a beautiful young woman: i.e. "she who has the best body."



***Kālacakra's* state, wisdom and means are to be understood, since in the coming together what is wisdom is the perceiver of the means state, and what is means is the perceiver of the wisdom state. Therefore, by the perception of the state there is happiness; by that [happiness arising] *Kālacakra's* white water element enters into the red limb, i.e. into the fire limb; [as a result] equal taste occurs. |**

In the same way the black wind of equal flavor arises in the yellow limb, in earth. Similarly for the gods in the south [and] in the west. In this way, **the wisdom state [enters] into the white limb, i.e. the blood state enters [32.25] into the water element. In the lightning possessor's left limb, i.e. in the black colored wind element of the deities, the yellow earth state enters into the east. Similarly, above and below, there is mutual joining together of the green and the blue. So it is expanded by the wisdom state in the beautiful young woman; for all sentient beings the left and the east and belonging to Soma; relating to Rudra, the right and the west, for the supreme conquering lord the expansion of the state is exactly similar; it is established that what's above belongs to Soma, what's below belongs to Rudra. | |45| |**

**5.46: Expanded by wisdom, the clan of the best host of the victor attains the state of having a dual intrinsic nature;**

**[32.30] Expanded by the master of wisdom, in the intermediate direction also, is the restrained *yoginī* host itself; |**

**[33.1] The couple, right and left, with the sun and moon's form also, in fact, former and latter, also;**

**Black, yellow also, dark blue and green, so from the sky to the nether world established. ||46||**

So by wisdom expanded, the clan of the best host of the victor, what has become the semen constituent, [and] is characterized by water, wind and space, according to the division of the body, that itself, because of the division of the states, is not distinguished from the *rajas* constituent [and] becomes what has earth, fire, and knowledge as its intrinsic nature. What has a dual [33.5] intrinsic nature is clan of the best host; i.e the host of the gods is [both] red and white; the left and right are yellow and black; the former and latter, above and below, are dark blue and black. In this way, wisdom's host clan is expanded by the master's state in the intermediate direction, also, restrained, attains the state of a dual intrinsic nature. In the southwest and in the northeast there [the dual intrinsic nature] is the white and red; in the northwest and in the southeast the dual intrinsic nature is black and yellow--thus the rule. So the means' host is situated in the cardinal directions, and in the intermediate directions is the *yoginī* host, i.e. the wisdom host, of *Locanā* etc., and of *Tārā* etc. So the couple, left and right, [33.10] with the sun and moon's form also, in fact, former and latter also; black, yellow also, dark blue and green, so from the sky to the nether world situated, the deity host--thus the rule. ||46||

**5.47: There are red wisdoms for the white ones, [and] the moon-whites for the red ones in exactly the same way;<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> *Tathā eva.*

**For the yellow ones, there are the black colored ones; there are the ones like the best gold also for the white clans;**

**For the blue ones there are universal colored ones; on the other hand,<sup>1</sup> for the green ones also, there are the dark blue ones, stated in the same way; [33.15] In exactly the same way for the goddesses, the deities are to be known as residing in the cardinal directions of their own clans. ||47||**

Hence, from the [sexual] embrace by [a member of] the supreme clan, there are red wisdoms for the white ones, for the means; there are moon-whites, the wisdoms, for the reds, the means. In exactly the same way for the yellow ones, for the means, the black colored ones, the wisdoms; the best gold resembling ones, the yellow wisdoms, also for the white ones. So for the black means, for the dark blue clans, the universal colored ones, i.e. the green wisdoms. On the other hand, for the green ones, for the means, the dark blue ones, the wisdoms, stated in the same way--thus [33.20] the axiom. Through the [sexual] embrace by [a member of the] supreme clan, there is the completion of activity; through the [sexual] embrace by [a member of] one's own clan there is no completion of activity, because activity is stopped in one's own self.<sup>2</sup> Happiness does not at all arise thinking with the vagina about the constituents to be produced from the vagina; nor for the same reason does happiness arise by thinking with the penis about [constituents] produced

<sup>1</sup> *Punar api.*

<sup>2</sup> *Svātmani kriyā-virodhāt*--because of the blocking or cessation of activity in one's own self, or in the individual.

by the penis.<sup>3</sup> Hence the intrinsic lights in the *Kālacakra* are not the wisdoms, since in the intrinsic self activity is stopped. Now there is the perception of the intrinsic light of thought because it has the characteristics of a mirror image; that itself is considered. In this regard, in the mirror the male image does not resemble [a woman] with breasts and long hair, nor does it resemble<sup>2</sup> a woman's image without breasts and vagina; [33.25] therefore there is no state [of engendering the image of a woman] by one's own light. Likewise the opposite is also blocked.<sup>3</sup> In this regard the marks on the left arm of the image are situated on the right arm of what is being reflected in the mirror. Similarly what is the left face [in the mirror] is its right face,<sup>4</sup> [34.1] and the state of its color is its own light; i.e. [the image] does not exist [independently]. Therefore, [it only exists] by the *maṇḍalacakra* meditation with the embrace of the supreme clan, according to *Kālacakra*'s axiom. In a different *Tantra* than the latter, further--

With whatever state [emotion] the mind of men is joined, by that [state] its

<sup>1</sup> *Pasas* is the *Atharvaveda* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* word for penis. I've translated *bhagacintayā* and *liṅga-cintayā* (both instrumental singulars of *-cintā*) in the semi-colloquial sense we use in modern English, i.e. "thinking with his penis," or "thinking with her vagina." I think the point the text is driving at is that the sexual experience intended in the Tantric context is not the self-driven lust that leads to problematic sexual experiences. Verse 5.47 appears to be referring to specifics of identity transposition in sexual experience--the losing of one's sense of self into the other, and vice versa. The difference here is that this 'letting go' is apparently an intended, planned, and designed experience, rather than the fortuitous one it tends to be in normal sex.

<sup>2</sup> *Nāpi*. Here the *api* serves as a marker for the syntax of the preceding phrase.

<sup>3</sup> That is to say, a woman standing in front of a mirror does not produce an image of a man, with or without his genitalia, hair, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The right face of the reflectee.

constitution occurs;<sup>5</sup> the jewel is similarly of universal form.<sup>6</sup>

[34.5] (Yoginī Saṃcāra Tantra 11.2)

Therefore careful consideration of speech that is confused and disordered is not possible. According to ultimate truth, further, in the meditation on the voidness image there is no conception of the image of the form; therefore, since it lacks the intrinsic nature of intrinsic light, it doesn't exist. Since both knowledge and the knowable can be of any form and any color, and since both [knowledge and the knowable] lack the *vikalpa* of the infinitesimal atom and substance, there is no intrinsic reality [to them]. Hence one should perform the meditation on lack of intrinsic existence and lack of coming into existence of the pot, the cloth, the cart and the army<sup>3</sup> etc. [The meditation] is not local, being devoid of all worldly customs.<sup>4</sup>

[34.10] Thus the *Mādhyamika* doctrine, according to the axiom in the chapter on *tattva* in the *mantra* system. ||47||

**5.48: The wisdom *Tantra* [he expresses] certainly from the east; moreover from the opposite face itself [he speaks] what is pierced through by *yoga*;**

**From the right mouth the master of victors speaks the *Yogatantra*, from**

<sup>1</sup> Literally: it goes to being made of that (*tan-mayatām yāti*).

<sup>2</sup> Since the jewel is altered in appearance by its background.

<sup>3</sup> The mention of *senā* here as one of the objects of the *niḥsvabhāvaḥ* meditation suggests to me that it is directly related to the repeated phrase *pratisenā-ādarśaḥ* that Newman and Wallace translate as "prognostic image." See Orofino's excellent article on prognostic or oracular mirrors, (Orofino 1994b), where she does not however deal with the customary Sanskrit denotation of *senā*, and the usual denotation of *prati-* words in Sanskrit.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase in Sanskrit is: *na prādeśikī sakala-loka-vyavahāra-rahitā* (the feminine endings for the agreement with *bhāvanā*). The point seems to be that the meditation on the pot, cloth, etc. of the Tantric rites is enjoined universally for all practitioners--it is not a local variation, or a regional innovation; nor is it a local custom for ordinary purposes.

the left mouth [he declares] the *Kriyā[ tantra ]* etc., |

The *Yogācāra* [texts he utters] from the east, indeed, moreover from the western mouth [he proclaims] the *madhyaga (Mādhyamaka)* indeed, completely;

The *Sūtrānta*<sup>1</sup> he speaks from the right mouth, and from the white mouth [he proclaims] the purified *Vaibhāṣika*, also. ||48||

[34.15] 5.49: The *Ṛgveda* the Indra of victors articulates from the western face, and [he exclaims] the *Yajur[veda]* from the left mouth;

From the right face [he elaborates] the *Sāma[veda]*, in supreme *Hari*'s clan [he communicates] the *Atharvaṇa* from the eastern face; |

From the eastern face [he expresses] the *Kaulatantra*, moreover from the western face [he proclaims] the *Gāruḍa* [and] *Bhūtantras*.<sup>2</sup>

[He declares] the [*Śaiva*] *Siddhānta* from the left face, [and] the *Viṣṇudharma* [that is] like unto the rising sun [he proclaims] from the left [face]. ||49||

5.50: From the rear, at the same moment, there is cessation (*Nivṛtti*) from the supreme white face there is *Vāmadeva*, the support;

[34.20] From the right *Vidyā* and *Aghora*, moreover from the wind (western) face

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *Sautrāntika*.

<sup>2</sup> 1) This is the first mention of the *Kaulatantra* I've seen in this text--since it's in the verses proper, it might appear to align the text historically with the Kaulatantra tradition. That is, unless these are interpolated verses--and they could be--the *Mūlatantra*, or *Ādibuddha* was written at a time when the *Kaulatantra* tradition already existed. 2) MW lists *Gāruḍatantra* as "N. of a Tantra work" without any further reference. 3) MW lists *Bhūtantra* as "the doctrine of spirits (as contained in the 6th ch. of the *Aṣṭaṅga-hṛdaya*)." This may be an abbreviation for the *Bhūtaḍāmarutantra*. Dyczkowski explains that the *Gāruḍa* and *Bhūta Tantras* were two classes of Śaivite Tantras. (See Dyczkowski 1988:39ff.).

*Māruta and Brahmaśāntī*;|<sup>1</sup>

From the void face the void and the master; with the lord of the three realms, [they all]<sup>2</sup> are emitted for the sake of the world;

The *Kṛt*, *Tretā*, *Dvāpara*, and *Kaliyuga* in addition, [are emitted] according to the division of the back face etc.<sup>3</sup>||50||

5.51: In this way the hero sequence etc., from the influence of the sun's movement, in fact, is the set of four daily junctions;<sup>4</sup>

The bringing near is from the left face, and the supreme fear is expanded from the rear face;

[34.25] From the eastern face is copulation, indeed, from the supreme white face sleep and dream also, Oh king;

From the back there is the *Vaiśya* [and] the twice born, the king of men also, likewise the *Śūdra* class in sequence.||51||

[35.1] 5.52: From the east the lord of victors utters the *Sarvāstivāda*, and the *Sāmmitīya* from the right (south),

From the rear (west) face [he expresses] the *Sthāvarīyam* (*Sthāviravādins*)

<sup>1</sup> The compound *Māruta-Brahmaśāntī* is unusual. The Sarnath editors suggest that it should perhaps be emended to *-Brahmaśāntī*. The *-tyau* is simply the nominative dual ending for *-tī* in any case, so no emendation is necessary. The dual ending here indicates that the compound must be scanned as I have done. However, *Brahmaśāntī* is not a commonly found name; it would translate to something like "She who brings the peace of Brahman," most likely a specifically Tantric goddess.

<sup>2</sup> *Sphāritā* is nominative plural, so it must be referring to all the preceding in this verse, i.e. *nivṛttih*, *Vāmadevaḥ*, *Vidyā*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. these ages are emitted from the four faces.

<sup>4</sup> *Sandhyācatuṣkam*.

on the other hand, the *Mahāsaṃghika* [he emits] from the left (north) face;

Humanity from the eastern face, further, from the western face, are expanded the animals, indeed;

From the right face the ghosts and *devas*, from the supreme white face the *nārakas* and the *asuras*. || 52 ||

[35.5] 5.53: From the heart *cakra*, from the eastern face there is an vibrational expansion,<sup>1</sup> and there is [an expansion] from the navel *cakra*, [and] from the opposite face;

From the enjoyment [*cakra*] there is [a vibrational expansion], and from the innate [*sahaja*] [*cakra*] from the left face, on all sides; |

From the middle of the faces of the *cakras* the emotion<sup>2</sup> that is the state of vibrational expansion and settling conclusion<sup>3</sup> moves in the body;

And furthermore the entire three worlds also [moves as a state of expansion and conclusion in the body], certainly, also together with the different faces of the progenitor of victors. | 53 ||

5.54: From the glorious moon, water certainly flows into the moon-stone, since it

<sup>1</sup> *Spharanam*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhāvaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Nidhanam*. From √*nidhā*, to lay down, deposit, commit, put into. *Nidhanam* comes to mean: settling down, receptacle, conclusion, end, destruction, death, the concluding passage of a *Sāman*, etc. Although *spharanam* and *nidhanam* most simply refer to creation and destruction here, the choice of these terms also suggests a more technical meaning, related to the subtle body structures of the *cakras*. Given, furthermore, the fact that the text is discussing both micro and macrocosmic aspects, it is necessary to find the microcosmic import of the 'creation' and 'destruction' terms used.



is intrinsically without error;<sup>4</sup>

[35.10] Similarly the omniscient quality<sup>2</sup> flows from the lord of victors into the world, settling in the aggregates;|

The *dharma*, and likewise water, achieves equal flavor by the relationship between the seed and the constituent element;

By sentient beings' thought purification there arises the manifold, through the power of prior *karma*. |||54|||

5.55: There is no anxiety on the part of the creator of all things, in the three worlds' abode, and [there is no anxious thought engendered] from the thought gem,<sup>3</sup>

Wicked beings do not see what is situated in thought,<sup>4</sup> because of the influence of the evil fruits of action;|

[35.15] The fault is not from the thought-gem, because all beings experience good and evil fruit;

When a being is purified, [he becomes] the Indra of victors, and he [the Indra of victors] is the man--what [would one want] with another victor? |||55|||

5.56: The sprout produced by this grows; it produces, since it was produced, destruction;

What is produced becomes the producer of what is destroyed--additionally

<sup>1</sup> *Nirvikalpa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarvajña-dharmaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Cintāmaṇiḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the thought-gem (*cintāmaṇi*).

[it is the producer] of the king of seeds;|

What previously [existed], that has died from another state-- hence the statement that it was not intrinsically produced;

[35.20] From the void by this [manner just described] it came to the earth--[and] it will go, possessed of ten powers,<sup>1</sup> in a moment of happiness. || 56 ||<sup>2</sup>

5.57: From happiness, to happiness devoted, in a moment, here, spontaneously produced, devoted to no other feeling,<sup>3</sup>

These aggregates are by that [manner] produced, furthermore, and they are the producers of this moment of happiness;|

From what is purified there is *dharma*, then another furthermore, then again another, and from that it is purified;<sup>4</sup>

Just as from the seed [grow] the roots, the branches, the flower and the fruit, so from what is cultivated [the *dharma* is produced] on the purified ground. || 57 ||<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 75: The ten abilities of the *Bodhisattva* are as follows: confidence [strength of attitude], mathematical ability, emotional strength, patience, knowledge, the power of renunciation, the power of perfected concentration, mental clarity, virtue, and the power of perception. ("Bodhisavvānāṃ daśa balāni, tadyathā--*adhimuktibalam, pratisaṃkhyānabalam, bhāvabalam, kṣāntibalam, jñānabalam, prahāṇabalam, samādhibalam, pratibhānabalam, puṇyabalam, pratipattibalam ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:16.)

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be an abbreviated poetic description of incarnation and death; incarnation from the void. Death is equated with the moment of pleasure in ejaculation, just as the French call orgasm *le petit mort* (the little death).

<sup>3</sup> This too describes the moment of procreation, the complete absorption in the pleasure of the momentary experience of orgasm.

<sup>4</sup> Four stages of initiation.

<sup>5</sup> Again, this represents in abbreviated poetic form the basic argument of the Tantric philosophy. The aggregates constituting the living human being are engendered through procreation, and these aggregates in turn engender the next generation. When these are properly cultivated, however, and successively purified through the rites of Tantric initiation

[35.25] 5.58: The earth, water, and fire, and the wind, the taste and the supreme taste, and the atoms, the six sorts;

Individually lacking smell, etc., and without sense objects, [yet] the ultimates are visible by knowledge;|

[36.1] The desire-[realm]s, the form-[realm]s, the formless-[realm]s, *Yama, Yama*, and the moon,<sup>1</sup> the ultimate is the *dharma* realm;

All the forms, they are permanently those that have become the innate basis for imperishable joy, everywhere. || 58 ||

5.59: The sense objects and senses mutually become the aggregates, and the ignorances mutually destroy [them];

Mutually devoted to the five, situated in the six paths, from the moment of suffering and happiness;|

[36.5] Having all the forms, everywhere, not enamored of another's virtue, [they are] abiding, with unsplit lightning bolts;

And the other emotions, on the other hand, have also gone into the earth

and the mastery of the non-ejaculatory sexual rites, one may attain the realization of the [true] *dharma*.

<sup>1</sup> In *bhuta-saṃkhyā* notation, *yama-yama-śaśin* = 122. It is not clear yet what the 122 refers to. The *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 127 and the *Guhyasamāja-pradīpodyotana* 169 both define the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*) as sixfold. The former definition reads: There are six deities who are the dominions of desire, as follows--the thirty-three attendants of the four great kings, [i.e.] the 'satisfied ones' (*tuṣita*), the watches of the day (*yāma*), the transformed ones (*nirmāṇa*), the sexual pleasure ones (*ratayah*), the created ones (*parinirmita*), and the obedient ones (*vaśavartin*). ("*Tatra ṣaṭ kāmāvacarā devāḥ, tadyathā--cāturmahārājakāyikās-trāyastriṃśās tuṣitā yāmā nirmāṇa-ratayah parinirmita-vaśavartinaś ceti*"--Kasawara et al 1885:31). The *Pradīpodyotanaḥ* definition is virtually identical. (*Cāturmahārāja-kāyika-trāyastriṃśad-yāma-tuṣita-nirmāṇa-rati-paranirmita-vaśavartīti ṣaḍvidhaḥ kāmadhātuḥ--*Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:26).

constituent, etc., in the principal emotion. ||59||

**5.60:** And with the great many emanation bodies *Kālacakra* manifests magical power;<sup>1</sup>

And with the flashing flames of lightning [he manifests the magical power] of the *asuras*, gods, and men residing in the desire realm;|

[He manifests magical power] with the enjoyment [bodies] of the form possessors, certainly, in the navel, [and manifests magical power] with the *dharmas* bodies of the victors' sons etc. and the *arhats*;

[36.10] With the void portions [he manifests] the entirety of the void, [and] the entire three worlds, [and] with the winds [he manifests] the entire wind. ||60||

**5.61:** With the fire portions [*Kālacakra* manifests] the entire fire, and the water likewise [he manifests entirely] by the world-wide diffused water portions;

The entire earth [he manifests] by the earth portions, with the assembled sense objects the entire intrinsic nature of material objects;|

One should teach that this sky-like single *ātman* is everywhere, in the purified ground;

In this way the *buddha's* body comes into existence, and it does not die, either, since it has the single happiness as its intrinsic nature. ||61||

[36.15] **5.62:** From the five formed, from the unity of that, there is this deep understanding<sup>2</sup> by the best of all the victors,

<sup>1</sup> *Rddhi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Abhisambodhiḥ*.

It [this deep understanding] has the form of twenty-shapes, on the other hand, and because of that it also has the intrinsic form of multiple illusions;|

There is a single moment of it [of this deep understanding] that provides the fruit of equal happiness, and has no other activity as its intrinsic feeling,

In this the means is imperishable, it is innate here in this moment, when entering the *dharma*-realm. ||62||

5.63: The *Buddha* fields are endless, of unmeasured qualities, as are the constituents, the atmosphere, etc.;

[36.20] Maintenance, arisal, and destruction, threefold thus is existence; all sentient beings are in the six paths;|

The *Buddhas*, the fierce ones, the gods, etc., with compassionate hearts the *bodhisattvas*, with their wives,

This is the *cakra* of the victor, revered by three worlds, the one [*cakra*] of the one lord. ||63||

So beginning at the forty-eighth verse, up to the sixty-third verse, the sixteen verses are easily understood. ||48-63||

[37.1] Now the purification of the ten forms in the body is stated--

5.64: The bodily hair, skin, blood and flesh have the same flavor, and likewise the bones, marrow, and vessels;

In them [in the channels] there are the *prāṇa* etc. winds; the sun, moon, and sky are in midst of the winds everywhere;|

*Vijñāna* is in the moon's midst, like a faultless gem it is embraced by all

**the states of being,**

**[37.5] That is the non-duality of existence and non-existence, the supreme immortal place, the pervading and unstruck. || 64 ||**

"Hair"etc. Here **bodily hair** is the head hair, the space constituent; **the skin** and **flesh** are the wind constituent; **the blood**, twofold, is the fire constituent; sweat and urine are the water constituent; **bone and marrow** are the earth constituent; the **vessels**, the *prāṇa* etc., are the knowledge constituent. *Rāhu* and the tail are the knowledge-lightning bolt, *Rāhu* is the thought lightning bolt; the sun is the speech lightning-bolt; the moon is the body lightning bolt. Of these four **in the midst of the wind the sky is everywhere. *Vijñāna* is in the moon's midst**, in the semen's midst, **like a faultless gem, like a crystal, [37.10] embraced by all the states of being**, because of being connected to what is placed upon it.<sup>1</sup> **The non-duality of existence and non-existence,**<sup>2</sup> like an illusion, the image of the void,<sup>3</sup> here indestructible happiness, **the supreme immortal place, the pervading and unstruck is that--thus the rule. In the body, the purification of the ten forms. || 64 ||**

**Now with the ten grounds the constituents are purified--**

**5.65: The bodily hairs etc. are the moon; the ends [of the bodily hairs] situated all over the entire body are the grounds that are called the ten;<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> *Upadhāya-yogataḥ*. This is the classic simile in Sanskrit, that the gem takes the color of what it is placed against, and the mind takes the influence of what it considers.

<sup>2</sup> Verse reads *bhāvābhādvayatvam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Śūnyatā-bimbam*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the ten *bodhisattva* grounds. According to *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64, the ten grounds are: delighted, stainless, illuminating, brilliant, very difficult to conquer, facing forward, gone far, unmoving, good, and the cloud of *dharma*. (*Daśa bhūmayah--pramuditā, vimalā, prabhākārī,*

The six consonant classes, *la* etc. are the others providing for the *yogis* the fruit of equal happiness, for all time;|

[37.15] Therefore [these consonant groups] are to be investigated by *yogis* sitting at the *guru*'s feet, for the sake of liberation;

There is no other *Buddha*, and anyone, even though without a body, as a pervader, is a provider of liberation. || 65 ||

"The body hairs etc." The body hairs [and] the head hairs are 'delighted;' the skin [and] the flesh are 'without blemish;' the blood and twofold are 'illuminating;' *rasa* [and] water are 'brilliant;' the bones and the marrow are 'very difficult to conquer;' the channels [and] *prāṇa* are 'facing forward;' the time-fire [and] the passion constituent are 'going far;' *rāhu* is 'unmoving;' the sun is 'good;' the moon is the '*dharma* cloud;' [37.20] through the *tamas*, *rajas*, and *sattva* character of passion, there is the descent of what is concealed. In this way, the **bodily hairs etc. are the moon, the ends all over the entire body, having become unveiled. Of those, the grounds that are called the ten, those, further, are the six consonant classes, *la* etc.,<sup>1</sup> [and] are called the application phonemes.<sup>2</sup> Among them, the *ka* group is 'delighted.'** Similarly, by relative enumeration, *ca*, *ṭa*, *pa*, *ta*, *sa*, i.e. the six consonant groups, [and] *la*, *va*, *ra*, *ya*, *ha*, *al*, *o*, *ar*, *e*, *a*, *l*, *u*, *ṛ*, *i*, *a*, *haḥ*, *am*. Similarly, by the reverse order also, the long vowel etc. groups are the

*arciṣmatī*, *sudurjayā*, *abhimukhī*, *dūraṅgamā*, *acalā*, *sādhumatī*, *dharmameghā ceti*." (Kasawara et al 1885:14.)

<sup>1</sup> Verse reads *lokādayo 'nyāḥ*--the commentary parses this as *lokādayo nyāsamātrikā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nyāsa* is a term for the ritual application of *mantras* to various parts of the body.

grounds of wisdom. These<sup>1</sup> provide the fruit of equal happiness for the *yogis*, all the time. Therefore [these consonant groups] are to be investigated [37.25] by *yogis* sitting at the *guru*'s feet, for the sake of liberation--thus the *Bhagavān*'s rule. There is no other *Buddha*, and anyone, even though not having a body, as a pervader, is a provider of liberation. Here the bodily constituents are unveiled, [and they are] buddhahood-granting, and liberation-providing. || 65 ||

**5.66:** The conscious beings [become] *Buddhas*, yet the other [does] not [become] a *Buddha*; the great one is found here in the world's realm;

By paying homage to them, also, the unperfected state of being is cut off, because it is without change; |

[38.1] Because, causing injury, the *yogi* goes to hell, beginning with the terrifying [hell], ending with the great [hell];

Therefore, even when the thinking is purified, one should not create opposition to wise or unwise people. || 66 ||

**5.67:** Having attained the devotion of conscious beings, there comes into existence, Oh ruler of men, the purified thought of friendship etc.;

Or else there may be thought of enmity and passion towards transmigrators of inauspicious qualities; |

[38.5] The *bodhicitta* is always twofold, also, going and wishing to go;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *AmI* = nom. plural masc. of the pronoun *asau*.

<sup>2</sup> Presumably this refers to going towards liberation, or desiring to go towards liberation, in contrast to the non-progression of the *māra-cittam*, the thought or awareness dominated not by enlightenment, rather by the four *māras*. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 80 defines the four *māras* as follows--the aggregate *māra*, the addiction *māra*, the son of a god *māra*, and the death *māra*.



The *māracitta* is constantly without progress towards liberation, and without attention. ||67||

**5.68:** The *mārās* create turmoil in the three worlds' domain, and the *bodhisattvas* [create] peace;

The chief [Indra] of the *mārās* is also without prosperity, causing the paramount fear, and the prosperous one is the one teacher;|

For the *mārās* the *māra*-intelligence resides in another's heart--for the protectors [it is] the happiness intelligence;

[38.10] Therefore with the *buddha*-experiences the entire three world proceeds to endless time. ||68||

**5.69:** What is the opinion of the worldly realm, the victors do not tell that to knowledgeable men;

It is not the opinion of the *buddhas*, since through the influence of the orgasmic body a single cubit is many;|<sup>1</sup>

The opinion suitable for conscious beings manifests constantly in the action ground of living beings;

And if this one tells me an expressed-opinion, the gods say this one is an unbeliever. ||69||

[38.15] **5.70:** The chiefs of the victors, produced by this, have, through the strength of daily (practice), exited with this from the womb;

("Catvāro mārāḥ, tadyathā--skandhamāraḥ, kleśamāro, devaputramāro, mṛtyumāraśceti." Kasawara et al 1885:17).

<sup>1</sup> *Sahajatanuvaśāt ekahastam hi anekam.*

[They are] perfected by this moment, free from flowing,<sup>1</sup> having become both vibration and non-vibration;|

Abandoning the *buddha* activity that is devoid of the equal happiness, one should cause it to become mutual,

The *buddha*-hood of that sort [i.e. mutual] is intense, orgasmic happiness for many ten millions of *kalpas*.||70||

5.71: There is no grape vine from the Nimba tree,<sup>2</sup> nor immortality nectar from poison, nor lotus from the *brahma* tree;<sup>3</sup>

[38.20] Nor from the void *nirvāṇic* happiness, nor what's beneficial from the influence of what's evil, nor the *siddhis* from killing living beings;|

Nor heaven from the sacrifice of animals, nor the supreme abode of Śiva from the blocking off of the senses;

Nor from the *Veda* the language of omniscience, nor the steady indestructible happiness from the perishable, unpurified thinking. ||71||

5.72: The sinful thinking of conscious beings arises, Oh ruler of men, governed by *Māra*'s attendants;

<sup>1</sup> *Kṣaraṇa-virahitā* should end with a *visargaḥ* (-*virahitāḥ*), since it is followed by *spanda*-. In most instances terms for not flowing out, not pouring forth etc., such as *a-cyuta* or *kṣaraṇa-virahita*, are multi-faceted, meaning both non-ejaculating, and also thereby self-contained in a psychological and spiritual sense. In contemporary colloquial English we might say such a person is "very together."

<sup>2</sup> *Nimba* is identified by MW as the *Azadirachta Indica*--its fruit is bitter and its leaves are chewed at funeral ceremonies.

<sup>3</sup> The *brahma* tree MW identifies as the divine tree, *Brahmā* regarded as a tree, or *Butea Frondosa* or *Ficus Glomerata*.

Yet the devotion to merit and knowledge provides happiness, governed  
always by the *bodhisattvas*;

[38.25] [They] attain *nirvāṇa* by means of this joyful covenant, having destroyed  
the addictions and the *māras*;

Therefore the *Mārās* create for them, on a daily basis, many  
obstacles. || 72 ||

[39.1] 5.73: The action consort is to be practiced [with] at first for the sake of the  
growth of this orgasmic happiness of the victors;

After that She of the solar form<sup>1</sup> fills the body, mouth, feet, *uṣṇīṣa* and all  
the limbs;

She conforms to the lightning scepter, she generates imperishable  
happiness, she is adorned with the characteristics and secondary characteristics;

With lightning bolts she illumines, [her] body resides in the three states of  
existence; from that there is the *dharma* realm. || 73 ||

[39.5] 5.74: These four *mudrās*, providing the fruit of imperishable happiness,  
are to be meditated upon by the *yogin*,

Everywhere, all the time, by engaging in great sexual pleasure, who are  
dedicated to the worldly path,

In the village, in the forest, and in the cremation ground, in the impure  
and in the pure abodes, and in the house and in the abodes of the deities,

With the phonemic and non-phonemic spells, [and] with the bodily

<sup>1</sup> *Ādityarūpā*.

**strength and happiness providing pleasures of food and drink etc. || 74 ||**

Now when the voidness image is being seen by [means of] the *prāṇa* blockage, the attainment of the moment for the *yogis* is stated--

**5.75: By the winds being rubbed together, the flame tipped lightning makes the moon flow into the head;**

Whatever drop has flowed from this [place in the head], going into the throat and [then] into the heart, [then] into the navel and into the secret [*cakra*], it is withheld;|

It is the drop's vibrational flow going into the thunderbolt jewel, being withheld at the sex organ's tip.

[39.15] That moment of wisdom and knowledge, if it provides happiness with an ejaculated garland of drops....(the phrase continues with the first line of the next verse) || 75 ||<sup>1</sup>

"With the winds" etc. By *prāṇāyāma* the ten winds are rubbed together. When the speech image is being seen by those ten, the *prāṇa* and *apāna* etc. being rubbed together, [then there is] in the navel pericarp *Caṇḍālī*,<sup>2</sup> the lightning flame's

<sup>1</sup> This is the most explicitly sexual reference in Chapter 5 up to this point.

<sup>2</sup> A *caṇḍāla* is an outcaste born from a *Śūdra* father and a *Brāhman* mother (see *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* ii.iv [MW]). Here we have a feminine of the term, apparently made into a Tantric goddess. MW gives *caṇḍālā* as the proper feminine of *caṇḍālah*. He cites *Kulārṇavatantra* vii as the source for "one of the 8 kinds of women attending on Kaula worship." The passage he refers to is *Kulārṇavatantra* 7.42a. The passage discussing the initiation and worship of Tantric consorts reads as follows: 7.39: Therefore having worshipped the very beautiful consort with fragrances and fresh flowers, one should present the enjoyment-goblet with the divine intellect, 7.40: And inside of that there are also intoxicating, charming young women; honoring them with the divine intellect, one should give the goblet to them individually. 7.41: For the one who has not presented it, and who does not honor the reality of the clan with the consorts, his worship will be fruitless, and the

**tip [or] ray; that tip in the head, i.e. in the forehead [cakra], causes the moon to flow--hence the bodhicitta has its birthplace.<sup>1</sup> Whatever bodhicitta drop has flowed, from this, from the forehead [cakra], having gone into the throat, the heart, the navel, the secret place, it is withheld, i.e. [39.20] by the prāṇa's and apāna's strength the bodily drop is in the secret [cakra] withheld--in the same way the speech, thought, and knowledge drop[s] are in the navel, heart, and throat withheld, hence, that is the vibrational flow of the drop. In this regard, the additional spontaneous flow--from the bodily drop that is situated in the secret [cakra], since it is held back--**

goddess will not be satisfied. 7.42: The *Caṇḍālī*, a leatherworker's wife or daughter, the daughter of a *Kṣatriya* mother and a *Vaiśya* father (or, the daughter of an unmarried woman, or the daughter of a *Magadha* tribe), the daughter of the *Pukkasa* tribe (of mixed race), likewise, a dog-cooker (a mixed caste person--the men act as executioners or disposers of the kinless deceased), a marriage negotiator, a fisherman's wife or daughter, and *vaiśya* women. 7.43: This is said to be the eightfold clan; [now] the non-clan [*akula*] group of eight is stated: a woman from the *Kauñca* region of the *Himālayas*, a woman who sells liquor, a female soldier [or wife or daughter of a professional soldier], and a woman who dyes cloth. 7.44: A female singer, a washerwoman, an artisan, and a birdkeeper [? 'related to the Cuckoo bird'], thus the eight. 7.45: And a young lady engaged in a vow, or one who is the basis of the *yoga* seal, she who is obtained voluntarily at the time of worship is to be known as orgasmic/innate by the wise. (7.39: *Tasmāt sulakṣaṇām śaktim gandhapuṣpākṣatādibhiḥ | Abharccya devatābuddhyā bhogapātram nivedayet | | 7.40: Tadante kanyakāś-cāpi pramadāś-ca manoharāḥ | Sampūjya devatābuddhyā dadyāt pātram pṛthak pṛthak | | 7.41: Anivedya tu yaḥ śakṛyai kuladravyam niṣevate | pūjitam niṣphalam tasya devatā na prasīdati | | 7.42: Caṇḍālī carmmakārī ca māgadhī pukkasi tathā | śvapaṭi khaṭṭakti caiva kaivartti vaiśyayoṣitaḥ | | 7.43: Kulāṣṭakam idam proktam, akulāṣṭakam ucyate | Kaṇṭukt [kauñcukī] śaṇḍiktī caiva śastrajīvtī ca rañcaktī | | 7.44: Gāyaktī rajaktī śīlptī kaukiktī ca tathāṣṭamtī | Tantra-mantra-samāyuktā samayācārapālīkā. | | 7.45: Kumārī ca vratasthā ca yoga-mudrādhārūpi vā | Pūjākāle svataḥ prāptā sū jñeyā sahaajā budhaiḥ. | | (Avalon & Vidyāratna 1917:68).) It is clear from the preceding list that both the *kula* group and the *akula* group of women come from the mixed castes, and outcastes who perform tasks shunned by the *brāhman* elite. Since a number of the mixed caste types are referred to by the term *caṇḍāla/ālī*, it may be that this term came to be used generically for a Tantric consort, and thereby shows up in the *Kālacakra* verse as a representative name for the Tantric consort. Goudriaan, following Carlstedt, dates this work tentatively between 1000-1400 CE (Gupta, Hoens, and Goudriaan 1979:11). Unfortunately Carlstedt's writings are in Swedish, so I haven't checked his evidence (since I don't read Swedish).*

<sup>1</sup> This is the first explicit localization of arisal point of *bodhicitta*.

is called the vibrational flow.<sup>1</sup> In that sense going into the thunderbolt jewel, being withheld at the sex organ's tip, at the tip of the *liṅga*. The wisdom and knowledge moment is the vibration, that, if it provides happiness with an ejaculated garland of drops, as the cause, then there is no knowledge of the *karmamudrā*.<sup>2</sup> Hence wisdom and knowledge is explained. ||75||

[39.25] 5.76: Therefore the *dharmā* realm provides the orgasmic, non-vibrational moment of happiness,<sup>3</sup>

Having with the *prāṇa* drawn towards oneself all things residing in the six paths, having destroyed the addictions and the *mārās*;

[It provides] prosperity/supernatural power, the ground of omniscience, three-worlds' guruship, when yogis are born here;

If one dies, having perceived that, having entered the path, [one is

<sup>1</sup> The point here appears to be as follows: since the drops are held back, or stopped in the individual *cakras*, how could it be possible to have a vibrational flow (*spanda-dravam*)? The problem is solved by positing an additional spontaneous flow (*aparam svaccha-dravam*) from these *avaruddha* drops. A contemporary image that comes to mind is of superconductivity experiments, where the cooling of the material to the point where atomic motion of the material nearly ceases allows for the superconducting current to flow. Here, the spontaneous vibrational flow becomes possible once the drops have been stopped in the individual *cakras*. The use of the term *spanda* in this context suggests parallels with the *Spandaśāstra* of the Kāśmīr Śaivite tradition.

<sup>2</sup> *Karmamudrā*: The *Bauddha Tantra Kośa* gives two useful explanations. The first, from *Sekoddeśatikā* p.56, reads: The action consort, with [beautiful] breasts and hair, is the reason for happiness in the desire realm. The action is characterized by the activities of kissing, embracing, touching her private parts and rubbing [her vagina] with one's *vajra*, etc.: she who is characterized by that is the consort [*mudrā*], inspiring confidence. Confidence here is characterized as destructible happiness. The consort provides joy, special happiness, and sexual pleasure. ("Karmamudrā stana-keśavatī kāma-dhātu-sukhasya hetuḥ | Karma cumbanā-ālīṅgana-guhya-sparśa-vajra-āśphālana-ādi-vyāpārātmakam, tena upalakṣitā mudrā pratyaya-kāriṇī | Pratyayo 'tra kṣara-sukha-lakṣaṇaḥ | Mudam sukha-viśeṣam ratim dadāti iti mudrā--Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:24).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Advavajrasaṃgrahaḥ* (Shastri 1927:32.15ff).

liberated] after another birth. || 76 ||

[40.1] Therefore, because it is imperishable/non-ejaculated, what is the non-vibrational happiness moment, here, the *dharm*-realm, the perfection of wisdom, provides. Therefore [it--the non-vibrational happiness moment--is] the great consort happiness, the supremely indestructible, the action and knowledge consort happiness, the vibration, the means' happiness, the perishable, the vibration,<sup>1</sup> the child, and the full-grown. Just as the (alchemical) *rasa* is a child, a youth, full grown, and bound, so too the semen is the child, the mature, the aged, and the stopped, because of the destruction of all obscurations. An obscuration is an impurity. That itself is the *bodhicitta* rising upwards, when it goes into the forehead [*cakra*], [40.5] then it becomes what has come the way it has gone.<sup>2</sup> That thinking, having by *prāṇa* drawn towards oneself all things, i.e. the 21,600 [drops]<sup>3</sup> residing in the six paths, i.e. residing in the six *maṇḍalas* of the earth etc. Likewise having destroyed the addictions and the *mārās*, the supernatural powers<sup>4</sup> of the omniscient [and] the twelve earths<sup>5</sup> as will be described. The three-worlds' guruship--i.e. the superhuman powers of omniscience, of the knowledge of all forms, of the knowledge of the path, of the knowledge of the path's forms, etc. it provides. For the birth of yogis, of the heroic ones. Hence the one who is accomplished in *yoga*, when to death he goes, being one who has entered the path, then by perceiving that, by the

<sup>1</sup> Sarnath editors footnote: *spanda* does not appear in the Tibetan.

<sup>2</sup> *Tadā yathāgataṃ tathāgataṃ bhavati.*

<sup>3</sup> "Two times ten thousand and two times eight hundred." (*dvy-ayuta-dvy-aṣṭa-śatān*).

<sup>4</sup> *ṛddhi* is singular accusative in verse, plural accusative in the commentary.

<sup>5</sup> *Bhūmim* is singular accusative in verse, plural accusative in the commentary.

strength of memory traces, again, **with another human birth, [40.10]** one attains everything; after seven births, even being a non-heroic one,<sup>1</sup> one produces<sup>2</sup> knowledge--this is the rule. ||76||

Now the arisal the *bodhisattva*'s governance is stated--

**5.77: She who is without qualities and of slight appearance, bereft of sense objects, the body consort, she is twofold;**

**After her, she who is passionately devoted, has the highest treasure of qualities, she who has speech's intrinsic form, is twofold also;|**

**The black one, the white one, devoted, she who delights in sense objects and qualities, the mind consort, she is twofold;**

**[40.15] The eight, the two, the five [and] five, evidently, and the twenty, and the forty, and the hundred. ||77||**

"She who's without qualities" etc. Here **she** is a young lady, **without qualities**, without the *dharma* realm quality, because of not moving,<sup>3</sup> she is of slight appearance, her bodily constituents not filled out,<sup>4</sup> without descended teeth, of eight years' age. Then the second, whose teeth have descended, is more than ten years old. Hence **the body consort**, of unbroken womb.<sup>5</sup> From the end of that, beginning from eleven years, up until the fifteenth year, the one **passionately devoted, intent**

<sup>1</sup> See Note to KCT 5.19.d.

<sup>2</sup> *Abhāvayat* = imperfect third singular of  $\sqrt{bhū}$ . The sense here appears to be, "after seven births, even if one is not a practicing tāntrika, one will have produced in oneself true knowledge, by knowing the preceding.

<sup>3</sup> *Acyavanāt*.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. not having entered puberty.

<sup>5</sup> I.e., still a virgin.



on the treasure of qualities, up through the next five years, the speech consort [40.20] is twofold also. Hence the eight years, the two years, the five [and] the five years.<sup>1</sup> Then after twenty, the next twenty,<sup>2</sup> i.e. [up to] forty years. Likewise the mind consort, one, devoted to the black state of being (*kṛṣṇa-bhāva-anuraktā*). In this way [up to] the sixty year old woman. In addition the next void and *Veda*,<sup>3</sup> i.e. up until [an additional] forty years; devoted to the white state of being, an old woman, characterized by old age and grey hair, ending with one hundred years of age. Hence the mind-consort is twofold. Among these three, the body consort is an infant, the speech consort is a full grown [woman], the mind consort is an elderly [woman]. Aside from these three, [40.25] an eleven year old [girl], completely endowed with all the qualities, is to be protected by the royal *guru*, or by the king, [either of whom] has been consecrated, or by the other masters [who] have been annointed. ||77||

**5.78: As long as [he] is not<sup>4</sup> yet a jewel lord, the progenitoress of the best of the victors is to be protected by the *yogins*;**

**At the time when the jewel lord has been produced, having spun the *maṇḍala* that is the abode of all qualities;|**

<sup>1</sup> I.e.  $8+2+5+5 = 20$ . So four types of consorts are here identified--1) a young girl up to eight years of age; 2) a girl between ages 8 and 10; 3) a young lady between 10 and 15; 4) a young lady between 15 and 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Kha-yuga* = 'aperture-pair' =  $0,2 = 20$ .

<sup>3</sup> *Śūnya-veda* =  $0,4 = 40$ .

<sup>4</sup> The Sanskrit should be emended by eliding the hyphen. Here we have an example of non-standard Sanskrit: *a-syād* is used for *na bhavati*, as made clear by the first line of the commentary. *Syād*, as the third singular optative of  $\sqrt{ās}$ , cannot normally take an *a-* prefix as a negation marker.

**[41.1] With the *buddha*-governance *mantras*, [he] releases the equal happiness, together with the *mantra*, into the secret lotus;**

**Having provided protection in the secret [lotus],<sup>1</sup> he should make savory the *bodhicitta* residing in the lightning jewel. ||78||**

As long as the jewel lord does not exist. "Does not exist," i.e. does not exist, [and] as long as there is *rajas*,<sup>2</sup> it is to be protected. The jewel lord at time of production, having produced [by spinning] the *maṇḍala* that is the abode of all qualities, the *kālacakra* [*maṇḍala*], previously having made her well instructed, then **[41.5] having consecrated her, with the *buddha* governance *mantras*, with the six lightning bolts, with the *Mañjuśrī samādhi*, and having made her into *prajñā*, he releases equal happiness, at the time when there is flow in the right *nāḍī*, [he releases] the *bodhicitta*, into her secret lotus together with the *mantra*, together with the body, speech, and thought *mantra*, he discharges. Then having provided protection in her secret [lotus] with the six limbs,<sup>3</sup> then he should make savory the *bodhicitta* residing in the lightning jewel. The *yogi* gives that to her also. What is outside of her lotus, having grasped that with the ring finger and thumb, he should eat it with relish for the sake of complete protection, **[41.10]** according to this**

<sup>1</sup> Sounds like an injunction to contraception.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. menstrual blood. The point appears to be that until the male *tāntrika* has mastered the technique of non-ejaculatory orgasm, some form of birth-control for the woman must be employed.

<sup>3</sup> *Sekoddeśaṭkā* defines *ṣaḍaṅga-yoga* as: sense withdrawal, concentration, breath control, meditation, recollection, and perfected concentration. (*Pratyāhāras tathā dhyānaṃ prāṇāyāmo atha dhāraṇā | anusmṛtiḥ samādhiś ca ṣaḍaṅgo yoga ucyate* | |--(Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:99).) However, the "six limbs" for providing protection to the consort may be something quite different.

prescription. ||78||<sup>1</sup>

**5.79: In that case, should there be a child, he is a son of the victor's progenitor, [and] he himself is beautiful lightning;**<sup>2</sup>

Whenever there is an excess of wisdom, a daughter will be produced, *Buddha's* mother [she] certainly will be;

Therefore, with the other three flowers, he who holds the white lotus, *Jambhala*, with a lightning bolt in hand;

The other<sup>3</sup> eight, with the eight flowers, situated in the cardinal and intermediate directions, those possessed of great supernatural power, the fierce kings. ||79||

[41.15] In that case, in the depositing [of the *bodhicitta* in the secret lotus], should there be a child, a beautiful diamond is he indeed.<sup>4</sup> From an excess of wisdom, i.e., from an excess of ovum, if a daughter is produced, then the universal mother becomes the authority.<sup>5</sup> Therefore *Buddha's* mother she certainly will be, i.e. the universal mother of *Mañjuśrī's*; [thus] the precept on authority. Therefore, with the other three flowers. Here, if in the first menstruation a foetus is not produced,

<sup>1</sup> This certainly sounds like a fairly explicit injunction for post-coital oral sex. Apparently the *yogin* was instructed to ensure successful birth control by oral consumption of the post-coital fluids in the consort's vagina. Any doubt about the explicitly sexual meaning of this verse should be dissuaded by the following verse.

<sup>2</sup> *Mañjuvajra*.

<sup>3</sup> These eight are masculine--*anye* is only masculine plural. *Anyās* is the feminine plural.

<sup>4</sup> The comma should be moved to after the *eva-sa*, masculine singular, cannot refer to *duhitā*.

<sup>5</sup> It's not entirely clear what this sentence means. It may be (though this is purely speculative) that daughters produced in Tantric rites were consigned to the care of the *Viśvamātā*, perhaps the senior consort of the Tantric community.

then again and again with each menstrual discharge, having spun the *maṇḍala*, with the other *samādhis*, one should release the *bodhicitta*. In this way, [if a child is born after coitus] in the second, [he is] **the white lotus holder**, i.e. he is the emanation of the Lord of the World [*Lokeśvara*]. [41.20] [If a child is born after coitus] in the third [menstrual cycle], he is **Jambhala's** emanation; in the fourth, he is the one **with a lightning bolt in hand**,<sup>1</sup> in the case of a son [being born]. In the case of a daughter, she is governed by the *Pāṇḍarā* and *Vasudhārā* sound lightning. Then **the other eight, with the eight flowers, situated in the cardinal and intermediate directions, those possessed of great supernatural power, the fierce kings**. Here<sup>2</sup> when *Jambhala* rules in the east, with the *uṣṇīṣa samādhi* the *uṣṇīṣa* rules. When the speech lightning is held in the hand of the extremely dark blue woman, either the *Śumbha* king<sup>3</sup> or She of terrifying eyes<sup>4</sup> comes into being.<sup>5</sup> Then [when a child is born after coitus] in the fifth menses [the son is] the obstacle destroyer,<sup>6</sup> [41.25] [and the daughter is] she who is infinitely heroic; [when a child is born after coitus] in the sixth menses, [the son is] the destroyer of wisdom<sup>7</sup> [and] [the daughter is] *Jambhī*,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Vajrapāṇi* should be in bold; it's in the verse.

<sup>2</sup> Since the following lays out the eight "others" with the eight flowers, the paragraph break here in the Sarnath edition seems inappropriate. The potential boys and girls born from Tantric rites at during the fifth through twelfth menses of the year are laid out into the eight directional petals.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. one of the *Krodheśvarās*.

<sup>4</sup> *Raudrākṣī*.

<sup>5</sup> *Śumbha* is the name of an Asura slain by Durgā, sourced to *Harivaṃśa*, *Rāmāyana*, and *Purāṇas* by MW.

<sup>6</sup> Usually *Ganeśa* in a Hindu context--here one of the *Krodheśvarās*.

<sup>7</sup> *Prajñāntakaḥ*, one of the ten *Krodheśvarās* (see *Dharmasamgrahaḥ* 11, Kasawara et al 1885:3).

[when a child is born after coitus] in the seventh [menses], [the son is] the Lotus-Destroyer,<sup>1</sup> and [the daughter is] a resolute woman;<sup>2</sup> [when a child is born after coitus] in the eighth [menses], [the son is] the Destroyer of Death,<sup>3</sup> and [the daughter is] an arrogant woman.<sup>4</sup> Then [when a child is born after coitus] in the ninth [menses], [the son will be] of great strength,<sup>5</sup> and [the daughter is] *Māre[ti]cī*;<sup>6</sup> [when a child is born after coitus] in the tenth [menses], [the son will be] the Unmoving,<sup>7</sup> and [the daughter will be] *Cundā*.<sup>8</sup> [When a child is born after coitus] in the eleventh [the boy will be] a miser,<sup>9</sup> and [the daughter] a worrier;<sup>10</sup> [when a child is born after

<sup>8</sup> 'She with the tooth'--MW notes KCT 3,132 as a citation for 'name of a goddess.' VMP on KCT 3.132 glosses *Jambhī* as "she who has the form of red lac," (*lākṣākāri*--KCT 2.114.17).

<sup>1</sup> *Padmāntakaḥ*, another *Krodheśvaraḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Mānini*.

<sup>3</sup> *Yamāntaka*, another *Krodheśvaraḥ*. In *Guhyasamājantra* 13, we find a slightly different list of the ten *Krodheśvarās*--*Yamāntaka*, *Aparājita*, *Hayagrīva*, *Vajrāmṛta*, *Takkirāja*, *Mahābala*, *Nīladaṇḍa*, *Vajrācala*, *Mahosṇīṣa*, and *Śumbha*. (Bhattacharyya 1931:70-71).

<sup>4</sup> *Stambhī*--a stiff woman, like a pillar.

<sup>5</sup> *Mahābalaḥ*, another of the *Krodheśvarās*.

<sup>6</sup> This is a feminine derivative of *Marīci*: Both Apte and MW give it as *Śākyamuni*'s mother, a Buddhist goddess, or an Apsaras. *Marīciḥ* is either a ray of light, or one of the ten *Prajāpatis*, the mind-born sons of *Brahman*. *Mārīcaḥ* is the name for *Kaśyapa*, one of the revered ṛṣis in the *Brāhmaṇas*, son of *Marīciḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> *Acalaḥ*, another *Krodheśvaraḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> MW lists *cunda* as one of *Śākyamuni*'s disciples. The *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* does not list *Cuṇḍa*, suggesting the term name may be a later development.

<sup>9</sup> MW lists *ṭakka* from *Kathāsaritsāgara* lxx as 'a niggard.' The story by Somadeva he refers to tells the tale of a foolish *Ṭakka* miser who dies rather than share his pudding with a friend. Penzer's note explains the term as either a miser or a rogue, and also as the ancient name of a once dominant tribe of the Panjab. Stein also identifies *Ṭakka* as a region in the Panjab, following Cunningham. (Stein 1990{1}:205 n.150). Perhaps the tribe had a reputation for miserliness. A 'miser' would seem the best translation here for *ṭakki*. *Ṭakkirājaḥ* is one of the ten *Krodheśvarās*.

<sup>10</sup> *Bhṛkuṣṭī*, an alternate spelling for *bhrūkuṣṭī*, she whose brow is contracted; or someone perpetually frowning.

coitus] in the twelfth [menses], [the boy will be] he who has a dark blue stick,<sup>11</sup> and [the girl will be] she of the diamond chain;<sup>2</sup> so it is in the intermediate directions.

Similarly with the fierce *samādhi* there is governance by the fierce [deities] over the foetus. Then the thirteenth menstruation is again just like the first, the ignorance etc. limb. ||79||<sup>3</sup>

**[42:1] 5.80: Whatever menses is produced in that month, that is also, in fact, the springing forth of *Mañjughoṣa*;<sup>4</sup>**

For twenty years, at each menses, a really intelligent<sup>5</sup> *bodhisattva* [is produced];|

[One] somewhat less intelligent is born then, up to forty [years];<sup>6</sup>

Then for the next twenty years, on the other hand, [is produced] one who is not intelligent,<sup>7</sup> and has little fortitude. ||80||

**[42.5] Therefore whatever menses is produced in that month, indeed, that menses is also the springing forth of *Mañjughoṣa*. In this way, relying on a *samādhi***

<sup>1</sup> *Nṭladaṇḍa*, one of the *Krodheśvarās*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vajraśṛṅkhalā*.

<sup>3</sup> The twelve limbs of the mutual origination (*pratītyasamutpādaḥ*) causation chain (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 42:) ignorance, mental fabrication, consciousness, name and form, the six bases of awareness, touch, perception, thirst and self-appropriation, becoming, birth, old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, suffering, despair, and *upāyāsās* {?}.

("Dvāduśāṅgapratītyasamutpādāḥ--avidyā, saṃskāro, vijñānaṃ, nāmarūpaṃ, ṣaḍāyatanaṃ, sparśo, vedanā, tṛṣṇopādānaṃ, bhavo, jātir-jarāmaraṇaṃ, śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasya-upāyāsās-ceti." (Kasawara et al 1885:9).)

<sup>4</sup> He of the beautiful voice.

<sup>5</sup> *Mahāsāttvika*.

<sup>6</sup> *Śūnya-veda* = 0,4 = 40.

<sup>7</sup> *Anya-sattva* = other than intelligent, i.e. not that bright. The view persists today that a woman who bears a child too late in life risks giving birth to a child with serious handicaps.

focused on that,<sup>1</sup> the *yogi* should discharge the *bodhicitta*. That is the basis of the foetus; **up to twenty years,<sup>2</sup> at each menstruation, when the *bodhisattva* comes into being, whether there be one, or two, etc. from the mother, [he will be] a greatly intelligent one. [One] somewhat devoid of intelligence comes to be, until forty years, from the mother, i.e. up until [the next] twenty years. And then on the other hand, one who is not intelligent, and of little fortitude. In that way, [up through] eighty years, the foetus is governed [42.10] by the differences between the mother's *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*. ||80||**

**5.81: Therefore the menses in the womb is not a sense domain that is repulsed--there is no consecration/seminal effusion from its destruction;<sup>3</sup>**

**How much less could the consecration of wisdom, with the statements of the lord of victors, be given by an impotent<sup>4</sup> man?;<sup>5</sup>**

**Their [feminine plural] earth, water, fire, wind and space qualities are to be searched for with the victor's limbs;**

**This one [she] becomes the agent for the objective of sentient beings, she is**

<sup>1</sup> This is a slightly liberal translation of *tad-upari yaṃ samādhim ālambayitvā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Viṃśadvārṣāṇi yāvat* should be in bold; it's in the verse.

<sup>3</sup> The point here seems to be that due to the fertile potency of the menses--as the source of human life--the ascetical denial of women, sex, and menses is considered ineffective. There appears to be a double *entendre* to *sekaḥ* here--the term refers to both consecration, and to seminal fluid. With the destruction or loss of the menses, seminal fluid is impossible since the child who grows into a virile man would not exist; secondly, without menses, the sexual power harnessed in the Tantric rites would not exist.

<sup>4</sup> MW cites Lexicon source definition for *naṣṭabīja* as 'destitute of seminal secretion, impotent.' This is a standard usage in Sanskrit. *Naṣṭa-x* indicates that x is non-existent.

<sup>5</sup> So just as Tantric rites are impossible without menses, they are also impossible without semen. So the verse offers a dual repudiation of ascetic denial of the sexuality.

many fruited, she is the *bodhicitta's* service. ||81||

[42.15] Therefore the menses in the womb is not a repulsed sense domain of the fetus--there is no consecration/seminal effusion from its destruction; i.e. when there is no seed of wisdom and [there is] seed of means, through growth, how much less could the consecration of wisdom, with the statements of the lord of victor, by an impotent man, i.e. by an old man, be given? Just as [this is true] for the *bhikṣu*, so [it is true] in wisdom; just as [it is true] for the *bhikṣuṇī*, [so it is true in means]. In this sense the twenty year old ones, the beautiful ones, for the purpose of consecration, for the purpose of authority, the earth constituent, with twenty years each for the earth element, and in just the same way possessed of the qualities of water, fire, wind and space,<sup>1</sup> up to a century,<sup>2</sup> are to be searched for with the victors' limbs.<sup>3</sup> This one [she] becomes the agent for the objective of sentient beings, she is many fruited, she is the *bodhicitta's* service, [42.20] because she begets the *bodhisattva*. ||81||

Now the drinking of the immortality nectar is stated--

**5.82: She who drinks blood, she is the single nectar, the bee of the best of gods and men;**

<sup>1</sup> So each twenty years represents, or is governed by, one of the five *dhātus*, or *pañcamahābhūtas*.

<sup>2</sup> *Yāvat* shouldn't be bold; it's not in the verse.

<sup>3</sup> The syntax of this sentence is: the beautiful, twenty year old women, who have the qualities of earth, water, fire, wind, and space in each of their (ideally) twenty year segments of 100 years of life, are to be explored with the victor's limbs. The "victors" here are the Tantric adepts. *Aṅgair anveṣaṇīyā*. to be searched for or investigated with the limbs certainly sounds like a metaphor for sexual exploration.



**[She is] the secure dwelling, from the secret etc. face; located in the lightning jewel, it has not entered into the middle of the lotus;|<sup>1</sup>**

**Feces and urine, blood and flesh, the supreme equal flavor, having entered into the middle of the protected dwelling,**

**[42.25] This is knowledge and the nectar of immortality, and it is taught by the three realms' lord in all the *Tantras*.||82||**

"Who drinks blood," etc. In this regard, externally, by the exoteric meaning,<sup>2</sup> the bee who drinks blood, she in esoteric meaning is the *avadhūtī*<sup>3</sup>. She who at the time of ejaculation drinks the blood constituent, she is the bee, the one nectar of the best gods and men she is the bee, the *avadhūtī*, arrested--this is the meaning. She who externally is the secure dwelling of what is enjoyed, she is by esoteric meaning the protected dwelling, the *bodhicitta*; from the secret etc. face, located in the lightning jewel, has not externally entered into the middle of wisdom's lotus. In the same way the unemitted feces and urine, [43.1] blood and flesh, the supreme equal juice, not flowing,<sup>4</sup> having entered into the middle of the protected residence, is arrested [and] becomes revealed.<sup>5</sup> This knowledge and the nectar of immortality is

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be an instance of the much ballyhooed Tantric Sanskrit--the feminine *chardis* is referred to by the neuter *kulīśamaṅgataṃ ... praviṣṭaṃ*. Such variations are not uncommon in *Purāṇa* Sanskrit, or even in the *Mahābhārata*. Even here, though, since *chardis* is glossed in the commentary (3.42.28) as *bodhicittaṃ*, one could well assert that *kulīśamaṅgataṃ* agrees correctly with the neuter *bodhicittaṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> *Neyārtha*.

<sup>3</sup> The central channel.

<sup>4</sup> I would emend the Sanskrit to *asrāvam* (not flowing), rather than *aśrāvam* (inaudible).

<sup>5</sup> This is an interesting refinement--the *bodhicitta*, though not emitted externally into the vagina (lotus), is said to enter it while being arrested in the tip of the penis (lightning jewel), and thereby becomes revealed--not otherwise.

not emitted, it is the five nectars, as taught by the three realms' lord in all the *Tantras*; it does not have any external location--[this] is what's taught for [the sake of achieving] perfection; thus the rule about the nectar. ||82||

Now protection and eating in the covenant is stated--

**[43.5] 5.83: When the wisdom's *dharma* arises,<sup>1</sup> the bliss that also falls is to be strenuously protected;**

Anyone who becomes (i.e. is born as) an intelligent being (*mahāsattva*) by that way, he certainly becomes a *bodhisattva* in the victor's clan;|

Therefore the *rākṣasās* [and] *Māra*'s attendants eat that at their daily Tantric gathering,

With the wisdom flower joined, they teach that what is eaten provides the fruit of *Śiva*'s bliss. ||83||<sup>2</sup>

"Wisdom" etc. Here, when there is a [sexual] congress, if the *bodhicitta*--of the *yogin* practicing meditation--is unrestrained, [and] falls [43.10] when the wisdom arises, then when the wisdom's *dharma* rises, the bliss that falls is also to be protected strenuously. Why is that? Anyone who by that, by the *bodhicitta* that is released with *samādhi*, comes into being, he [will be] certainly a *bodhisattva* in the victor's clan, increasing the *Sugata*'s lineage; since [the preceding is so], therefore that *bodhicitta*, devoid of the protection of the *Sugatas*, of those not gathered

<sup>1</sup> This appears to refer to female orgasm. See commentary.

<sup>2</sup> This is the first explicit denunciation of Śaivite Tantric doctrine in the fifth chapter--strongly suggesting that Śaivite Tantra had attained sufficient status at the time of the composition of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* that it merited recognition by the Buddhist author[s]/redactors.

together, i.e. the *rākṣasās* [and] *Māra*'s attendants, the semen stealers, eat in a daily (Tantric) meeting. Men who also have the designation 'yogi,' teach that what is eaten, combined with the 'flower' of the wisdom (consort), provides the bliss of *Śiva*. These other foolish people [43.15] go to hell. ||83||

**5.84: Not without loins<sup>1</sup> is the lightning bolt residing in the supreme happiness, as long as it is not withdrawn from the lotus;<sup>2</sup>**

In this sense it is the *Buddha*'s abode, because when there's perfection of passion, then that is certainly the case;<sup>3</sup>

Having entered into the heart of one's own lightning by the thunderbolt and the lotus, the knowledge *cakra* is entered into;

[It] takes on the form of a *cakra* because of having filled both these bodies with rays of light. ||84||<sup>4</sup>

[43.20] Then the *vajra* is not without loins as long as it is not withdrawn from the lotus by the Buddhist *mantra* possessor; in this sense it is the *Buddha*'s abode, because when there's passion-perfection, then that is certainly the case. Having

<sup>1</sup> *Nākaṭyam* [cf. Pāṇiṇi 5.1.121--*ākaṭya* = being *a-kata*.] The most literal translation of *nākaṭyaṇi* is "not without loins." It is not listed in any of the dictionaries or lexicons I've consulted: MW, Apte, *Amarakośa*, *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, *Abhidharmakośa*, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*. However, the double negative makes sense here; the 'lightning' or *vajra* in consideration here is the erect penis in the woman's vagina--both partner's loins are certainly involved.

<sup>2</sup> The Tāntrika does not lose his erection as long as he is in coitus with the wisdom/consort.

<sup>3</sup> This is a common use of an enclitic particle (here *vai*)--as a marker for a repeated phrase.

<sup>4</sup> I would assert that from the point of view of the Tāntrikas, the notion that Tantric sexual rites result in "filling both bodies with rays of light" is not just a poetic metaphor. The whole complex of the Tantric paradigm, with its inherited Vedic and yogic aspects, argues for the notion that these rites are intended to 'electrify' the body with divine fire and light.

entered into the heart of the means by the path of **the lightning bolt, having entered into the heart of wisdom by the lotus path, the *cakra* of deities has entered into the heart of one's own lightning; it makes the *cakra* shape because of the pair of bodies, having filled this one with rays of light.** ||84||

**5.85: If there is no perfection (*siddhi*) at all, [then] what's remaining in the lightning jewel is to be consumed,**

**[43.25] In order to protect it, [since it] supports the entire victors' clan in the place of the arisal of wisdom's *dharma*;**

**[44.1] And now when one is joined with wisdom, on the other hand, the statement is said [that] it is the *Buddha's* body;**

**And whoever really desires the destruction of this, such a deceitful one is killed with the lightning bolt.** ||85||

**If this perfection does not occur at all, then, grasping the *bodhicitta* remaining in the lightning jewel with the ring finger and thumb,<sup>1</sup> it is to be eaten. Just as in the external lotus of wisdom,<sup>2</sup> the come<sup>3</sup> itself is also to be eaten by the two of them. [44.5] In the location of the arisal of wisdom's *dharma*, moreover, [it] supports the entire victors' clan for the sake of protection--the six lightning bolts in the forehead etc. [and] in the heart etc. [are] the six limbed. When joined to wisdom, i.e. when joined to the blood, now when the one, the *bodhicitta*, is**

<sup>1</sup> Just as in the commentary on KCT 5.78 above (p.49, l.9), the grasping is with the thumb and ring finger.

<sup>2</sup> See p.41.9, KCT 5.78, above.

<sup>3</sup> Interestingly, the sexual fluids here appear to be referred to as "the come." (*āgatam*). just as in the slang English expression.

protected, [then] there is great virtue. **On the other hand the statement is said to be the *Buddha's* body, [i.e.] this *bodhicitta*. Whatever attendant of *Māra* desires the destruction of this, such a deceitful one is killed with the lightning bolt, by *Heruka*. Thus the rule on the protection of the covenant of, and the consumption of the *bodhicitta*. ||85||**

**[44.10] 5.86: The many *mantras* proclaimed by the lord of the three worlds have ferocious activity as their intrinsic nature;**

**They all generate fear in and the destruction of *Māra's* troop, at any time, for us living beings;|<sup>1</sup>**

**The makers of memories,<sup>2</sup> delighting in the war sphere, the other are killers and heretics;<sup>3</sup>**

**The sons of the supreme victor are to use them for the sake of the protection of those living beings. ||86||**

Here in the *mantra* system, the multiple *mantras* that are spoken by the three worlds' lord, [those *mantras*] having cruel deeds as their intrinsic nature, they all generate destruction and fear in *Māra's* troop, for living beings [*prāṇinām*], for us, all the time. Here the *Māras*, they are the agents of memories, delighting in the domain of war, killers, the others are also heretics. They are to be used by the supreme victor's sons for the sake of the protection of living beings. Those refers to the side [devoted to] the *Veda dharma* etc.; [the

<sup>1</sup> *Prāṇinām*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. because they kill, leaving us with only memories of the formerly living.

<sup>3</sup> *Tīrthyas* or *tīrthikas*--non-Buddhists.

*mantras* cause them to be afraid] because of [their] fear of the destruction of that [Veda] *dharma*, not [because the Victor's *mantras*] are for the purpose of taking their lives. ||86||<sup>1</sup>

**5.87: The *ḍākinīs*, with lightning bolts in front, are not to be invoked by the knowers to kill animal-(natured) people;**

**They are emitted by the three worlds' lord in the world realm for the sake of the protection of intelligent beings, |**

**[44.25] Therefore they generate hostility and protect the adept at the proper time every day;**

**Because this *māra*, who has been conquered by the adept, proceeds to death through the power of *karma*. ||87||**

In this sense, the lightning *ḍākinīs* in the *Yoginītantra*, they are for the purpose of killing ignorant animal-(natured) people, [and] are not to be solicited by Buddhists, by the knowers. Why [do they exist]? Since they are widely diffused in the world realm by the three worlds' lord for the sake of the protection of intelligent beings. Therefore they protect the worlds. Supremely compassionate, they are hostile to the adept [44.25] i.e. to the [adept who] breaks his word to the world. Now when death etc. is being caused, if the conquered one through *karma*'s power proceeds in fact to death, then this one is the *māra* for the adept, [thinking] by me [it is] slain, due to self consciousness [egoity], the adept goes to hell by an evil

<sup>1</sup> *Prāṇahānaye*--dative singular. The clarification is that the destructive fury of the *mantras* is aimed at the destruction of the *Vedadharmā*, not at actually killing those who espouse it.

action; he does not perform evil action who is without possessiveness, without self-consciousness. The way [he sees] himself is the way he sees conscious beings. ||87||

**[45.1] 5.88: Men's thought is in every way addicted to despicable science, because of the influence of inauspicious fruits,**

***This science [on the other hand] causes the entire three worlds to be tamed by me in a single moment;***

**So [the one possessed of] greed-bewildered thought enters hell, having abandoned the gift of [true] knowledge;**

**In the latter case<sup>1</sup> the [material] substance [becomes subservient, just as] one's own wife is subservient; Alas!, [such is] the progress of bad practice. ||88||**

**[45.5] Here, transmigrating men's thought, in every way, through the influence of inauspicious fruit, is addicted to despicable science. This science [on the other hand] causes the entire three worlds to be tamed by me in a single moment; so [the one possessed of] greed-bewildered thought enters hell, having abandoned knowledge's gift, [and] approached death. In the latter case, when death is being approached, the [material] substance becomes subservient, [just as] one's own wife is subservient, i.e. devoted to another. Alas!, for the transmigrators [such is] the progress of bad practice. ||88||**

Thus in the commentary on the short *Kālacakratāntra* accompanying the root *Tantra*, [45.10] in the twelve thousand line [long] *Vimalaprabhā*, the great teaching

<sup>1</sup> *Pr̥ṣṭhe*—on the back, in the rear or hinder part.

on the effusion etc. of the *Yogini Tantra*, the first [section] in the wisdom chapter. | |



Translation of the Fifth Chapter of the *Kalacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā*

12.1. The Second *Mahoddeśāḥ*

(2) The Great Teaching on the Specification of the Four Body Purification.

There is neither being nor non being, nor being and non being, nor is there either what is without both natures, |

[45.15] Honoring what lacks the four logical possibilities,<sup>1</sup> i.e the body that is the great bliss. | |

Drawn up by The Beautiful Lightning<sup>2</sup> from the primal *Buddha*, [who is] without a successor, |

That characteristic of the four *Buddha* bodies is detailed. | |

5.89: Neither wisdom nor even means, this innate body became the *dharma* body;

Wisdom and means are its intrinsic nature, certainly, lacking *tamas*, because of the distinction between knowledge and *vijñāna*; |

[45.20] It is this enjoyment body, crying out, seemingly, the agent for the purpose of many intelligent beings;

For the sake of the maturation of intelligent beings this also becomes the *Buddha's* emanation body. | | 89 | |

"Not wisdom" etc. Here wisdom consists of fifteen *kalās*,<sup>3</sup> the bright

<sup>1</sup> *Koṭi*--literally a point.

<sup>2</sup> *Mañjuvajra*.

<sup>3</sup> 15/60ths of a degree.

fortnight; the dark fortnight [that is] the waning of the [fifteen] lunar *kalās* is the means. Similarly the bright is the night and the dark is the day. So the innate body is **neither wisdom nor even means, this is the innate body** of the *Buddhas*. In this way the bright fortnight is non-existent, nor is there a dark [fortnight] [since] it consists of unreal *kalās*; neither is real or unreal; [45.25] since they are mutually denied [logically], there is no meeting<sup>1</sup> of the two. There is not even the non-existence of both--that is to say, the innate happiness is not without both the bright and dark fortnights. In this way, the innate body is said to be the complete purification of the four logical possibilities,<sup>2</sup> the sixteen *kalās*, [and] possessing the property of voidness, [46.1] because it is characterized by flowing, and because of the indestructible fourth [state] of the *yogins*.<sup>3</sup> Hence it is proven that it is neither male nor female.<sup>4</sup> Here the innate body, in fulfillment of one's own interests and in fulfillment of the interests of others, **becomes<sup>5</sup> the *dharma body***, through the dissolution of deep sleep. It has also **wisdom and means as its intrinsic nature**,

<sup>1</sup> This is the only appearance (in Chapter 5) of the term *melāpakah*, with a meaning other than that of a pilgrimage site. The point here is that since neither the bright fortnight nor the dark fortnight are real, the meeting point of the two of them also does not really exist.

<sup>2</sup> *Catuṣkoṭi*.

<sup>3</sup> This is a reliable instance of a referent within the text to the inheritance from the *Yoga* tradition of India. The fourth state traces its roots to the earliest *Upaniṣads*, and arguably even to the *Vedas* and *Brāhmaṇas*. Here the text refers to it as "the fourth state of the *yogīs*," a phrase without need of further explanation since it is assumed that every reader knows full well about the waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and fourth state espoused--by the time this text was apparently written--already for about 3000 years in India.

<sup>4</sup> Since it is innate, it is innate to both man and woman--it is not restricted to either sex. More than anything else, this central logical point about the central logical construct of the *Kālacakratantra*--i.e. the innate body--should remove any doubts about the tradition's evenhanded attitude towards gender.

<sup>5</sup> The perfect of  $\sqrt{bhū}$  is used for a generic present tense here.

certainly, lacking *tamas*, due to the distinction between knowledge and *viñāna*. Here knowledge is the perceiving thought of the *yogin*, *viñāna* is the knowledge of another's thought, perceptible, characterized as knowable. In the same way the perceiving thought is wisdom, since it is lacking in [erroneous] imagination; [46.5] the *yogis'* means is perceptible thought, created/determined (*parikalpita*), characterized by compassion. Therefore, because of the distinction between perceiving and perceivable, the *dharma* body, with the intrinsic nature of [both] wisdom and means, is the agent for the purpose of others. And it is produced from the innate [body]. In this way the innate is flowing in the navel, ripened in the *dharmacakra* [and] in the heart; **it is this *dharma* body, the enjoyment body**, for the fulfillment of the interest of others, **crying out, seemingly, the agent for the purpose of many sentient beings**. Here, with the divine eye, the form without past or future is seen as a reflected shape, perfectly transparent; in that [perfectly transparent form] the sound that issues forth is the echo,<sup>1</sup> the enjoyment body, intrinsically wisdom and means. With the divine ear [46.10] the divine *viñāna* is the perceiver, the echo is the perceivable. Therefore one knows the calculation of time in the past and the future, in a certain *kalpa*,<sup>2</sup> in a certain *yuga*,<sup>3</sup> in a certain year, in a certain month, in a certain fortnight, in a certain day etc., such and such occurred,

<sup>1</sup> *Pratiśabdaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> 1000 *yugas*, 4.32 billion years.

<sup>3</sup> The four *kṛta/satya*, *tretā*, *dvāpara*, *kali*, of 1,728,000, 1,296,000, 864,000, and 432,000 years respectively.

such and such will be.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, intelligent beings are to be taught, i.e. through the dissolution of the dream state, in the throat, human effort is the enjoyment body, because of chastity.<sup>2</sup> **For the sake of the maturation of intelligent beings this one again becomes** the enjoyment body, it becomes the emanation body, intrinsically wisdom and means. Though one of the intelligent beings, because of seeing its various emanations, [it appears to be] many. In the same way the union of one and many [46.15] is evidently wisdom and means, covertly the cessation of [both] one and many. It is also, through the dissolution of the waking state, in the forehead [*cakra*] the spotless emanation body, "the completely visible form, the jewel ensign,<sup>3</sup> the great gem" [*Nāmasaṅgīti* 9.24].<sup>4</sup> Thus the one is the innate, it itself is the *dharma*-, the enjoyment-, and the emanation-[bodies]--so it is fourfold. ||89||

**5.90: One is this lightning being, resembling the cloud of universal destruction, *Heruka* indeed [he] is;**

**For the sake of the maturation of the *raudras*, and for the sake of the happiness of the stupified, he is also the victor of the covenant; ||**

**[46.20] The jewel master of the distressed is he, and the lotus holder for the sake of the passion of the impassioned;**

**For the sake of the destruction of obstacles, [he] is also *Amoghasiddhi*,**

<sup>1</sup> The point here is that one gains the ability to see into the past and into the future, with specificity, knowing specific past events of any particular time, and specific future events at predictable times.

<sup>2</sup> *Ūrdhvaretasaḥ*--{keeping} the semen above.

<sup>3</sup> Name of future *Buddhas*--*Ratnaketuḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> In Davidson's edition--verse 142b; "displaying forms without exception, he is Ratnaketu, the great gem." (Davidson 1981:35 & 59).

**sword and lotus in hand. ||90||**

He himself, as previously stated, is one, this lightning being, resembling the cloud of universal destruction, black, *Heruka* indeed is [he]. With the imperishable<sup>1</sup> quality, the other is that *vijñāna*, *Heruka*. For the sake of the maturation of the *raudras*, he is also *Vajrasattva*'s vibration. He is also the lightning being for the stupefied, for the sake of their maturation, the covenant victor, [he] is the brilliant one,<sup>2</sup> the other one has that form. He is also [46.20] the jewel master of the distressed, for the sake of generosity [he] is [the Buddha] produced from the gem.<sup>3</sup> Because of her imperishable property, the other one is she [who is] sensation, the [feminine] agent of imperishable happiness. He is also for the sake of the destruction of obstacles, *Amoghasiddhi*, with sword and lotus in hand; because of their imperishable quality the other [masculine] ones are the mental creations<sup>4</sup> causing unveiled thought, [and they] destroy the *Māras* etc.--so the five *Buddhas* are purified. ||90||

[47.1] Now the five constituent elements are stated--

**5.91: Through enmity the universal mother, like the fire of cosmic destruction, became a *dākinī*;**

Through confusion she [became] The Eye by name, [possessed of] supreme compassion; [she became] Proud,<sup>5</sup> because of pride;|

<sup>1</sup> Unejaculated--*acyuta*.

<sup>2</sup> *Vairocana*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ratnasambhavaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> *Saṃskāras*.

<sup>5</sup> *Māmakī* = 'mine' or 'possessiveness,' i.e. proud ownership.

Through passion she [became] White<sup>1</sup> by name, the treasury of all qualities, and she [became] the savior<sup>2</sup> by envy;

[47.5] These two are of universal form, and all the others became the sense domains and senses. ||91||<sup>3</sup>

"Through enmity" etc. Here, through the destruction of natural enmity, through great enmity, she, the perfection of wisdom, voidness, of universal form, the universal mother, she became the mistress of the lightning constituent, the lightning *ḍākinī*. In the same way, through confusion's destruction, through great confusion she became, The Eye by name, [possessed of] supreme compassion, *Māmakī*, through pride's destruction, from great pride's cause. Through passion's destruction, through great passion she [became] White, treasury of all qualities; she [became] the savior through greed's destruction, through great greed.<sup>4</sup>

[47.10] In the same way the other space constituent, the other earth constituent, the other water constituent, the other fire constituent, the other wind constituent, i.e. the characteristic of [each] constituent element, through the unconcealed image, through

<sup>1</sup> *Pāṇḍarā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tārīṇī*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ* 4 says: "The four goddesses are as follows--Illuminating, Possessiveness, White, and the Star." ("*Catasro devyaḥ, tadyathā--Rocanī, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā, Tārā ceti.*" (Kasawara et al 1885:2).) The term *ḍākinī* does not occur in the *Dharmasaṅgrahaḥ*, nor does *Viśvamātā*, suggesting that these are Tantric additions to the earlier set of four. Similarly, we find at the beginning of the *Guhyaśamājatantra* we find a version of the earlier set of four (*Buddha-Lochanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarāvāsīnī*, and *Samaya-Tārā*) emanating from *Mahāvairocana Buddha*. (Fremantle 1971:27 & 176), with no mention of *Viśvamātā* or *Ḍākinī*. It may be, therefore, that the presence of these two goddesses/Buddha consorts may serve as markers for the relative dating of Buddhist tantric texts.

<sup>4</sup> So here *mahā-x* = 'the destruction of x'.

imperishable happiness, is proved. **These two, having universal form,** smell etc. are the others, the sense realms; the ear etc. are the others, i.e. the senses; the others, speech, the hand, etc., are the other action senses and performance [senses] etc.

Hence--

[47.15] Everywhere the hand and foot, that is everywhere the eye,  
head and face;|

Everywhere the learned in the world, everything having turned, [it] remains. ||

[*Bhagavadgītā* 13.13]

[is] *Vajrasattva*. Similarly--

Self-knowing, other knowing, everything, universal [*sārvīya*], because [of being] the best person,|

[47.20] Transcending comparison in the world, [he] is to be known as the ruler of knowledge, the best. ||

[*Nāmasaṃgīti* 10.13]<sup>1</sup>

Likewise--

Of accomplished aim, of accomplished wishes, from all desires freed,|

Without imagination,<sup>2</sup> without destruction, the constituent, the *dharmadhātu*,  
the best, unchanging. ||

<sup>1</sup> In Davidson's edition this is verse 155. "Knowing himself and knowing others. being all for all, indeed he is the highest type of person; completely beyond all comparisons, he has to be known, the supreme monarch of gnosis." (Davidson 1981:37 & 61).

<sup>2</sup> *Yogasūtra* 1.9 defines *vikalpa* as "*śabdajñānānupātī vastuśūnyo vikalpaḥ*." I.K. Taimini translates as "An image conjured up by words without any substance behind it is fancy." (Taimini 1962:17). Woods translates *vikalpa* as "predicate relation." "The predicate-relation (*vikalpa*) is without any [corresponding perceptible] object and follows as a result of perception or of words." (Woods 1914:26).

[47.25]

[*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.15]<sup>1</sup>

[Thus] the specification about the characteristics of knowledge and the body in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. ||91|| •

[48.1] Now is stated the varied expansion of the *Buddhas* through the influence of the abode of intelligent beings--

**5.92: With the intrinsic natures of the five aggregate [he] sports tenderly in the lightning women's vaginas;**

For the sake of the maturation of intelligent beings, also, who lack the prescribed rules, [and] by whom merit has not been acquired;|

Who sports in the purified abode, etc., the *Bhagavān*, the cause of the listeners;

[48.5] The maintenance in this manner is for the sake of the highest support of those possessed of the supreme discipline. ||92||

"The five" etc. Here the descent in the womb of those free of the obscurations of addiction etc. is the taking on of **the five aggregates, in the lightning women's vaginas**, in a woman's womb, [and] the sporting for coming together [sexually], that is [done] **tenderly<sup>2</sup> for the maturation of those lacking the prescribed rules**, for natural people, who have not acquired merit. Similarly it is said--

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 56: "His aim accomplished and thought (*saṃkalpa*) accomplished, he has abandoned thought. Devoid of meditation, his sphere is indestructible, the *dharmadhātu*, supreme, imperishable."(Davidson 1981:26 & 53).

<sup>2</sup> *Kṛpāyā* should be boldfaced, it's from the verse.



For the lightning-body bodies, for the *Buddhas*, what is of transient existence[?]|

[48.10] In those equal to the pith of the plantain [tree], what anxiety [is there] about other people?| |

According to what begins with the preceding, [it is] for the maturation of the espousers of the doctrine of transiency. Further, **in the purified abode etc., the coming forth is for the sake of the destruction of the ego of the listeners** who have attained the divine state. This divine state [brings] great suffering at the time of ejaculation--by this instruction [it is] for their maturation. **In this manner the condition is what in voidness [is] for those possessed of the supreme rule**, for those possessed of welfare etc., beginning with *Maitreya*, in the north, in the complete enlightenment state, **for supporting**, for the four body teaching. The void intrinsic state is voidness, in this regard without past and future it is to be known as void, its perception is existence, [48.15] voidness, deep and noble, since past and future are lacking, deep, through past and future perceiving, noble. So it's said--

The voidness espouser, the bull, deeply and nobly bellowing, |

The *dharma* conch, the great sound, the *dharma*-cheeked,<sup>1</sup> the great battle, | |<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the *dharma*-conch blower. Davidson translates *gaṇḍī* as "bell," though it does not appear as a word in MW, Apte, or *Amarakośa*. Apte does have *gaṇḍī*, though, as the trunk of a tree. Conceivably *gaṇḍī* refers to the hollowed out trunk of a tree used as a type of drum. *Ghaṇṭā* does = a bell, though we should then emend the text. *Amara* gives *gaṇḍītra* and *samaṣṭhilā* as two types of cucumbers. (Amarasimha 1882:115). *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* also has no *gaṇḍī* or *gaṇḍin*. The lack of listing for *gaṇḍī* or *gaṇḍin* as a distinct word in any of these lexicons suggests to me that it most likely is simply an *-in* possessive of *gaṇḍa*, i.e. 'he who has [*dharma*]-cheeks,' since one's cheeks would bulge out considerably while blowing on a conch, much like a trumpet player's.

Unsituated *nirvāṇa*, the ten directional *dharma* kettle drum, |

[48.20] Without form, possessing form, foremost, having varied forms made by the mind, ||

The radiance in the appearance of all forms, holding all the reflections. ||

[*Nāmaṅgī* 8.2-3]<sup>1</sup>

Thus the description of the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmaṅgī*. ||92||

**5.93: The threefold sporting [is] for the sake of the maturation of conscious beings, with the distinctions of the body, speech, and thought;**

[48.25] The external meta-self [is] the best, and it comes forth, restrained, from the lightning bolt possessor, always; |

On the outside, in various places, it comes into being, the forth-coming of the *prāṇa* wind in the beautiful bodied [woman]; And what comes forth in the earth etc. *maṇḍala*, that also [comes forth] from the lord in the lightning woman's vagina. ||93||

[49.1] **5.94: And the thinking does not move in the sense realms of sound etc., and the latter is exactly like that;**

**In this manner, there is stability in the place of the supreme happiness,**

<sup>2</sup> Though *raṇa* can = sound, it's more common usage is as "battle." as something one delights in. "Battle" seems the more appropriate meaning here since the conch itself is used like a bugle for sounding the call the battle. The simile seems to be that Mañjuśrī is the conch, the sound of the conch, the blower, and the battle itself.

<sup>1</sup> Davidson vss. 77b-79; "he is a bull among the speakers of emptiness with a roar both deep and high. As the conch of the Dharma he has great sound, and as the gong of the Dharma he has great noise; by his nonlocalized (*apratīṣṭhita*) *nirvāṇa* he is the drum of the Dharma in the ten directions. Without form and with form he is the foremost, with various forms made from thought (*manomāya*). Being the majesty in the shining of all form, he bears the reflected images in their totality." (Davidson 1981:28 & 55).

[and] speed in body, speech, and thought;|

The one lightning bolt possessor is three fold, covered with the sense realms and the senses, and with the constituents;

Dwelling in the three roads and the three places, having also gone to the three realms, for the sake of the many intelligent beings. ||94||

[49.5] 5.95: In the *Tantras*, in this way, it was heard by me, i.e. that statement was known by me in this way;

The lightning bolt possessor, the moon flow etc. in the head, and in the throat and heart lotus, in the navel, and in the concealed [*cakra*];|

In the vagina of the lightning bolt women, that has gone into the supreme lotus, with the drop liberation triad;

Having entered into the *Buddha* field, that one here, the *Bhagavān*, he is knowable by the *yogis*. ||95||

5.96: They see the one as many, through the influence of the qualities of observation, with the feelings of peacefulness, passion, etc.;

[49.10] [They see the one] Residing in the *cakra* [as many], with [the feelings of peacefulness, passion, etc. that are] engendered in one's own heart from prior births, through the power of the memory traces;|<sup>1</sup>

The infinite language<sup>2</sup> with one meaning enters into the hearts of living beings with their individual feelings;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Book 4 of the *Yogasūtras*, 4.1-13 for a very similar set of ideas.

<sup>2</sup> See commentary on KCT 5.127, quotation of this verse on p.66 of Sanskrit text--has *ekārthānekabhāṣā* instead of *ekārthānantabhāṣā*, i.e. the many languages with one meaning.

The one situated in the *cakra* one undertakes to remove alms-giving to those residing [in heaven?],<sup>1</sup> for the sake of merit. ||96||

5.97: To animals, spirits, and demons, to serpents, gods, and men, to Indians and Tibetans,<sup>2</sup> etc.,

In the threefold [time, i.e.] past, future, and present, even, [she] is continually expressing the true law;

[49.15] [She] is stabilizing the threefold world on the path, with their individually different languages;

This one is the language of the omniscient, the provider of the fruit of equal happiness, and is not the language of the gods. ||97||

5.98: Even by the *Buddhas* [she] is inaccessible, since [she] is of infinite qualities, and is the magic of the *Buddha's* emanations;

She causes the *ātman* to be seen in the abode of the three worlds, just like Indra's net;<sup>3</sup>

Divided by the various emotions, she has entered into the individual thinking of the victors together with the gods and men;

[49.20] This one is the arisen *dharma*, she is the origin of what causes error here

<sup>1</sup> Or to the protectors--alternate reading given in text by Sarnath editors.

<sup>2</sup> The mention of Tibetans in the verses of the *Laghukālacakratāntra* provides pretty solid evidence that at least this particular verse post-dates the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet.

<sup>3</sup> Though the notion of Indra's net, or the *Śakrajāla*, becomes popular in Chinese Buddhism, it is not helpful in dating the text. As MW indicates in a citation, we find the idea already in the *Atharvaveda*: "This world so mighty was the net of Śakra, of the Mighty One: With this, the net of Indra, I envelop all those men with gloom." (Griffith 1895-6{1}:344).

[in this world], like the sky in the water.<sup>4</sup> ||98||

**5.99: Taking all forms, yet inaccessible by those with sense domains and senses, the body-lightning of the victor;**

The speech lightning, producing the *dharma* with the cries in the individual hearts of all creatures;<sup>2</sup>

The intrinsic nature of the thought of intelligent beings, present throughout the entire earth, the thought lightning of the lightning bolt possessor;

The perceiver of emotional states, like a spotless gem,<sup>3</sup> that in fact is the knowledge lightning bolt. ||99||<sup>4</sup>

[49.25] 5.100: The charities etc., the six,<sup>5</sup> the four, providing the fruit of equal happiness; [and] the powers [*śaktayaḥ*] they are stated to be ten;

Among these the purified means, the supreme tenfold full thoughts at the end of the pot;<sup>6</sup> [see 5.112 note]\*\*

<sup>1</sup> The appearance of the sky [reflected] in the water gives the false impression that the sky is in the water. In these two verses, 5.97-98, the idea is expressed that the language of the omniscient ones is not the language of the gods, nor even of the Buddhas—rather it is the one language that appears to have many meanings due to the variations in our emotions and thinking—and thereby it is the source of illusion and error, while at the same time being source of the fruit of equal happiness.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruta* refers to the characteristic sounds of the voices of all types of living creatures, i.e. roar, neigh, song, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Just as a spotless gem allows one to see what lies below it, so the spotless gem of the mind allows a clear view of one's emotional states.

<sup>4</sup> See Sanskrit page 78, commentary on KCT 5.127 for a quotation of this verse.

<sup>5</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 105 lists three types of charity: giving of the *dharma*, the giving of meat, and the giving of friendship. ("*tatra dānaṃ trividhaṃ, tudyathā—dharmadānaṃ, āmiśadānaṃ, maitrīdānaṃ ceti.*") (Kasawara et al 1885:27)

<sup>6</sup> We could emend the text to *ghaṅṭānte*, to indicate "at the end of the bell [initiation]," though there is no support for this in the commentary. Pot (*ghaṭa*) is another name for pot (*kalaśa*), the alternate name for the Master/*ācārya* initiation, the first of the four consecrations

[50.1] [They are possessed of] *Māra*'s and the addictions' destruction, indeed; the remover, i.e. sexual love, the lightning bolt multitude, the trees etc.;

The six consorts, the set of six voids, the progenitor of the three realms, knowledge and *vijñāna*, the one. || 100 ||<sup>1</sup>

5.101: The *cakra*, transparent on all sides, "the three realmed," happiness, the jewel of this one itself is passion;

The lotus, the destruction of addiction, the sword, the lightning bolt also, the great knowledge body, because [it is] indivisible;|

[50.5] The cutting off of ignorance, the agentess, and here the six, also, that are produced with the others from the clan,

They are also to be known in this way, like the sky, as the equal flavored aggregates, constituents, and senses, etc. || 101 ||<sup>2</sup>

5.102: In him indeed the birth-form reaches destruction, and that is called the great form;<sup>3</sup>

In her transmigratory suffering goes to destruction, she is the called the great awareness;|

In her, the transmigratory name goes to finality, she has the great lightning bolt name;

(*abhiṣekas*) leading to the sexual union of the *yogī* and the *yoginī*. See note to KCT 5.112b.

<sup>1</sup> This is clearly a list of some sort.

<sup>2</sup> These three verses, KCT 5.101-103 are quoted in the commentary on Sanskrit page 101, line 16ff., at the end of the long passage on KCT 5.127.

<sup>3</sup> Again we have the idea that *mahā-x* = 'the destruction of x'. See above, footnote to VMP Sanskrit p. 47.9.

[50.10] In him transmigratory growth goes to its end, [he is] the lightning mental creation (*saṃskāra*) itself. || 102 ||

5.103: In him the waking etc. state reaches its end, that is also called *vijñāna*;

In him the ignorance state goes to finality, that is the *muni*'s knowledge exactly;

These, *Vairocana* etc., the supreme victors most excellent, are sixfold, the six clans;

The others [are possessed of] the six constituent divisions, earth, fire, water, wind, space, and peace. || 103 ||

[50.15] 5.104: In her all confusion goes to finality, she is the Eye/Illuminator, the female supporter;<sup>1</sup>

In her all pride goes to finality, Possessiveness is she, water itself;

In her all passion goes to its end, White is she, the oblation;

In her all envy goes to its end, the Saviouress is she, the wind also. || 104 ||

5.105: In her, all enmity ends, [she is] the mistress of the lightning-bolt constituent [*Vajradhātviśvarī*], the sky;

[50.20] In her all jealousy ends, she is the syllable, the universal mother;

The eye that sees the visible and invisible form in the mind and in the navel,

The great ear that hears the sound from far away as though it were clear[ly heard nearby], those belong to the victor. || 105 ||

<sup>1</sup> *Dharitri*.

**5.106: She, the beautiful nose who perceives all smell that causes the supreme happiness, she belongs to the lord, also;**

**And she, the tongue that constantly tastes even the welfare-providing nectar of one's own moon, also [belongs to the lord];<sup>1</sup>**

**[51.1] The lightning touch ravishes<sup>2</sup> in every direction, constantly--that is the lightning body's sense;**

**The mind that enters into the equal happiness through the intercourse of wisdom and means, that is this one's [the lord's] *dharmā*. || 106 ||**

**5.107: These, divided sixfold are the *bodhisattvas* together with their wives, possessing senses and sense domains;**

**All those forms etc. are the sense domains of the best of the victors, of six sorts, everywhere; |**

**[51.5] Very clear, unborn, stopped, causing supreme happiness, not turbid, accessible via knowledge;**

**And the others [that] are not perceivable in the three realms, are also accessible to the entire world by means of the senses. || 107 ||**

**So from the ninety-second verse the next fifteen verses are easily understood. || 93-107 ||**

**Then the single hidden verse, that itself is explained in detail--**

**5.108: The extremely strong one<sup>3</sup> in addition causes the attraction of knowledge**

<sup>1</sup> It is not uncommon to use *ca* for an ellipsis in Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup> See Apte, definition #3. "Remove" doesn't make much sense here, except in the sense of 'carrying one off,' much like a seduction.



to itself here, and *Jambhaḥ*<sup>1</sup> [causes] entrance into that,

[51.10] Stiffness<sup>2</sup> [causes] the binding of that, indeed, and through the influence of the supreme happiness, the proud one<sup>3</sup> [causes] satisfaction; |

The lightning-speed creates the producing of the equal flavor of the *cakra[s]* in the knowledge *cakra*;

In such a way, indeed, the lightning-bolt goddesses, [both] manifested and restrained, are in the *Yoginītantra* body. || 108 ||

"Knowledge" etc. Here, indeed, having accomplished [becoming] a covenant-

<sup>3</sup> *Atibalaḥ*.

<sup>1</sup> *Jambha*, the name of a demon (derived from *'jabh*, to seize, crush, destroy, snap at with the mouth) appears early in Vedic literature. *Atharvaveda* II.4.1-2 reads: "For length of life, for mighty joy, uninjured, ever showing strength. We wear Vishkandha's antidote, the Amulet of Jangida. Amulet of a thousand powers, Jangida save us, all around. From *Jambha*, and from *Viśara*, Vishkandha, and tormenting pain." (Griffith 1895-6{1}:36). In a note Griffith cites a passage found by Weber in the *Kauṣika Sūtra* (32.1): "*jambha-grhītāya stanam prayachhati*, '[s]he offers the (mother's) breast to the (child) seized by Jambha,'" suggesting teething pain or some other infantile disorder (Griffith 1895-6{1}:37). Human breast milk is now known to provide a wide arsenal of anti-microbial agents (see Newman, Jack, "How Breast Milk Protects Newborns," *Scientific American*, vol 273 (6), December 1995, pp. 76-79), so the demon *Jambha* may be a generic ancient name for the demon causing infantile diseases. Zysk, however, indicates that *jambha* refers to lockjaw, a symptom of tetanus, noting that *viṣkandha* and *viśara* suggest other tetanus-like symptoms, 'tearing the shoulders apart,' and body-wrenching pain. (Zysk 1993:55-57). He says, "references to *jambha* point to its meaning as 'convulsions,' 'teething,' 'lock-jaw,' or as Caland, following Sāyaṇa suggests, 'ein Rakṣasa ... der die Mundsperrre ... verursacht.'" [i.e. a demon that causes the closing of the mouth.] (Zysk 1993:172).

<sup>2</sup> *Stambhaḥ*; MW gives a specifically Tantric definition as "the magical arresting of any feeling or force, as of hunger, thirst, or of the forces of water, fire, &c., as taught in the Tantras," along with generic terms such as paralysis, stiffness, solidity, a pillar, etc. In *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*'s *Devakāṇḍaḥ* (2.219) *stambha* appears as a synonym of *jāḍyaṇ*, stiffness, in a list of terms for sweating and horripilation or excitement. (*stambho jāḍyaṇ svedo gharma-nidāghau pulakaḥ punaḥ | romāñcaḥ kaṇṭako romavikāro romaharṣaṇam |*) (Hemacandra 1964:84).

<sup>3</sup> *Mānakaḥ*.

being<sup>4</sup> in the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* meditation, then the drawing into oneself of the knowledge *cakra*, [*ākaraṣaṇa*], its entering, binding, satisfying, [are all] to be made into equal flavor by the *mantra* possessor. *Jah, hūm, vam,* and *hor*--[51.15] i.e. the drawing into oneself is [done] with the lightning goad, the entering [is performed] with the lightning, the binding [is accomplished] with the lightning noose, the satisfaction with the bell--[these are] renowned everywhere as the fierce kings standing in the eastern, southern, western, and northern doors, [and] as the lightning *dākinīs* in the *Yoginītantra*. That very [point] is stated in the Inner Chapter<sup>2</sup>--the extremely strong one causes in addition the attraction of knowledge to itself, in this, in the body. When in intercourse with a young woman, the knowledge being<sup>3</sup> makes the semen into a part of the *prāṇa* etc. winds, by drawing that into himself by what's inside the *saṃdhyā* language,<sup>4</sup> i.e. he causes the *bodhicitta* to completely fill up upwards into the head--this is the meaning. And *Jambhāk* [causes] its entrance; i.e. the inner fire, [51.20] that having made flow, causes the entry of the flowing drop-form into the throat, into the heart, into the navel, [and] into the concealed lotus.<sup>5</sup> Stiffness, i.e. the earth element, causes the binding of that drop form, that is,

<sup>1</sup> Or 'time-being,' *samaya-sattva*.

<sup>2</sup> One would think *adhyātma* functions as an abbreviation here for the second chapter of the *Kālacakratantra*, although this phrase does not actually occur in the second chapter verses.

<sup>3</sup> *Jñāna-sattva*, i.e. a person possessed of true knowledge.

<sup>4</sup> *Samdhyā* is the term for the morning, noon, and evening junctures of the day, with the *Tantric* addition of midnight--it would make much more sense to interpret *saṃdhyābhāṣā* as language referring to these junctures--not as obscuration--rather as the *Tantric* equivalent for the *Vedic mantras* that are used to access and control the movement of time/destiny at its vulnerable points--time's *marmans* so to speak.

<sup>5</sup> Here then, *Jambha*, the *Atharvaveda* disease-causing demon, has been transformed into *tejas*, the internal fire of the body. This is perfectly in keeping with the logic of *Tantric* yoga

through the influence of the supreme happiness it does not cause the going out of what has come with extreme speed.<sup>1</sup> The proud one,<sup>2</sup> is said to be the vibration located in the lightning jewel in the secret lotus, a clear liquid from the drop of the water element; through the influence of its imperishable happiness, the water element causes the satisfaction, i.e. the coldness in the body<sup>3</sup>--this is the meaning. In addition, [the *śaktis*] *Locanā* etc. awaken that very flowing happiness so that it goes upwards from that place, with the lightning-bolt singers<sup>4</sup> [51.25] previously mentioned. Then, *Locanā* impels it in the navel for the purpose of flowing, *Māmakī* [impels] in the heart for the sake of maturation, *Pañḍārā* [impels it] in the throat for the sake of human effort, *Tārā* [impels it] in the head for the sake of purity. The great happiness, having been made to rise up by them in that way, having become pure, causes the revelation of all the aggregates, constituents, bases of awareness etc. Then it becomes the place of omniscience for the *yogis*; it is not made to rise up by

as espoused in this text. Mastering the wind flows in Tantric yoga is repeatedly said to free one from various diseases. Here *Jambha* has been tamed and turned into an aid to enlightenment and liberation.

<sup>1</sup> This appears to say that *stambha* or the earth element is responsible, through the influence of the ultimate happiness, for preventing the orgasmic rush (*āgatasya ativegaḥ*) from exiting the body.

<sup>2</sup> *Māna* itself = either an opinion, pride, conceit, listed as one of the six addictions at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 67: passion, anger, pride, ignorance, erroneous views, and doubt ("*ṣaṭ kleśāḥ--rāgaḥ, pratigho, māno, 'vidyā, krodhīr, vicikitsā ceti*" (Kasawara et al 1885:14) and one of the six concealments of *samādhi* at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 118: sloth, pride, wickedness, arrogance, discontent, and lack of enjoyment of the truth ("*tatra ṣaṭ samādhy-āvaraṇāni, tadyathā--kaustīyaṃ, mānaṃ, śāṭhyam, uddhatyam, anābhogaḥ, satyābhogaś-ceti*" (Muller & Wenzel 1974:29). *Māna* also = measure, or measurement, and MW gives *mānakaḥ* as a measure or weight.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably coldness is equated with satisfaction in the sense of the cooling of the erotic urges after satiation

<sup>4</sup> *Vajra-gītikās*.

the song of the *yoginīs* in the imagined *maṇḍala*.<sup>1</sup> This is the esoteric meaning, both secretly and openly in all the *tantras*. || 108 ||

**[52.1] 5.109: The dark-blue-staffed [deity]<sup>2</sup> causes the striking down of the *mārās*, indeed, in the three worlds' abode,**

**And the unmoving fierce [deity whose roar is] like the roar of universal destruction, [causes] their binding, and the intensely heroic [fierce deity causes] their fastening; |**

**The *ṭakki* [fierce king causes] the destruction of their strength, and like a pillar, [causes] their paralysis on the surface of the earth;**

**The *uṣṇīṣa* [fierce deity] also [causes] the destruction of their supernatural power; as before, the fierce goddesses are [both] manifested and restrained. || 109 ||**

**[52.5] 5.110: And then there is also the vibration of the word-recitation etc.<sup>3</sup> for the sake of the maturation of the ghosts;**

**Likewise [there is the vibrational manifestation] of the gods *Indra* etc. in the cardinal and intermediate directions, for the sake of the protection of people; |**

<sup>1</sup> Here at least *Puṇḍarika* appears to be drawing a real functional distinction between the actual sexual *yoga* described in this chapter, and the visualization *yogas* without real consorts.

<sup>2</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* lists the ten fierce deities, as follows: the destroyer of death, the destroyer of wisdom, the destroyer of the lotus, the destroyer of obstacles, the immovable king of *ṭakki* [in the Panjab], the blue-staffed one, the very powerful one, the turbaned, the turner of the wheel, and the king of *Sambhara* [a region near Jaipur]. ("*daśa krodhāḥ, tadyathā--yamāntakaḥ, prajñāntakaḥ, padmāntako, vighnāntako, 'caraṭarkirājo, nīladaṇḍo, mahābalo, uṣṇīṣaś, cakravārtī, sambhararājaś ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:3).

<sup>3</sup> *Carcika* is a term for *Vedic* recitation of a word--cf. *Hcat* 1.7.1064.

And there is, by the lightning possessor, the emanation of the entire clan of serpents for the sake of the maturation of the *nāgas*;

And there is also the vibrational emanation for the sake of the maturation of the *daityas* with the great dog's face etc. || 110 ||

Then the dark blue-staffed etc.<sup>1</sup> cause the coming and going etc. in space of the activities of the action senses, [52.10] having performed the striking down etc. of the *Mārās*; having conquered all the *Māra* retinue with the power of the four skills,<sup>2</sup> *dharmacakra* in motion--thus the previously stated characteristic, thus the rule. || 109-110 ||

5.111: Whatever other vibrational emanation there is in the lord's *maṇḍala*, it ends in what's produced from the creature;

Everything, for the sake of the purposes of intelligent beings, of the best of various qualities, is to be known as in one's own body; |

In this sense the *tantras* [and] the *mantras* are located in the various clans, according to the distinction between *yoginī* and *yoga* [*tantras*];

The consecration is also of two forms in this [*tantra*], through the influence

<sup>1</sup> The *-ādayah* should not be bold faced; only *nīladaṇḍah* appears in the verse.

<sup>2</sup> Rinpoche et al 1994b:52.10. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 77 lists the four skills as follows: skill in attaining enlightenment, skill in knowledge of the destruction of faults, skill in *nirvāṇa*, and skill in inculcating value ("*abhisambodhi-vaiśāradyam, āśravakṣayajñāna-vaiśāradyam, nairvāṇikam, ārg[ḥ]āvatarāṇa-vaiśāradyam ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:16). In the *Mahāvvyūtpatti* these are listed somewhat differently: skill in teaching about all the *dharmas*, skill in knowing the destruction of all faults, skill in ascertaining and explaining the unerring *dharma* for [overcoming] obstacles, skill in the reality of the access to *nirvāṇa* that provides complete success (*sarvadharmābhisambodhi-vaiśāradyam, sarvāsraṅvakṣayajñāna-vaiśāradyam, antarāyika-dharma-ananyathārva-niścita-vyākaraṇa-vaiśāradyam, sarva-sampad-adhigamāya nirvāṇika-pratīpat-tathārva-vaiśāradyam*). (Csoma de Koros 1982{2}:249-250).

of the quality of the child, it is worldly and extra-wordly, also. ||111||<sup>1</sup>

In such a way also, through the unconcealed happiness, whatever other vibrational emanation there is in the lord's *maṇḍala*, it ends in what's produced from the creature, to the three and a half crore [35 million] limit, in the metaself to the body hair limit, the unconcealed collection of constituent elements, all that<sup>2</sup> for the sake of the purposes of intelligent beings, having the best of various qualities, is to be known as in one's own body.<sup>3</sup> In this sense the *tantras* [and] the *mantras* located in the various clans, according to the distinction between the *yoginī* and *yoga* [*tantras*], are the wordly *siddhis*. The consecration in this, in the *Kālacakra*, is twofold, also, through the influence of the quality of the child, it is worldly [52.20] and unsurpassed,<sup>4</sup> through the influence of the quality of those desiring the unsurpassed path--thus the rule. ||111||

Now is stated the purpose of the worldly and world surpassing consecration--

**5.112: Touching the breast of the wisdom [consort] and tasting the nectar and embracing;**

<sup>1</sup> *Bauddhatantrakośaḥ* cites *Dohākośavyākhyā* p.92 for the following differentiation between *loka* and *lokottara*: 'there are two types of thinking, worldly and world-transcending. The worldly type is characterized by imagination (*vikalpa*), and to be refuted. The world transcending type is stainless, characterized by the *dharma* body, or intrinsically innate/orgasmic (*sahaja-svarūpa*).' ("*Citta-saṃjñā dvividhā--laukikī lokottarā ca | yal-laukikaṃ tad-vikalpa-lakṣaṇaṃ nirākraṅtyam | yal-lokottaraṃ nirmalaṃ dharmā-kāya-lakṣaṇaṃ sahaja-svarūpaṃ vā.*" Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:41).

<sup>2</sup> The *etad* should not be bold--it's not in the verse.

<sup>3</sup> The verse reads *sarvam satvārthahetor varavividhaguṇam ....* The commentary reads this as *sarvasattvārtham etad varavividhaguṇam...*

<sup>4</sup> The verse reads *seko 'smin uviprakāri 'pi śiśuguṇavaśāi lokalokottaraśca.* The commentary reads *seko 'smin didhā 'pi śiśuguṇavaśād laukikāḥ anuttaro.*

The fourth moment in intercourse with the wisdom [consort], [and] what resides in the nectar in the fluid of the *bodhicitta*;|<sup>1</sup>

All of that is worldly, indeed, shown with supreme compassion for the sake of the path;

[52.25] The world-transcending consecration of the supreme lord of victors is the embrace with the divine consort. ||112||

With "wisdom" etc. Here the laughing, gazing, holding hands, [union in] the pair, i.e. the fourfold consecration [is also known as] the teacher, the concealed, the wisdom, [and] the knowledge; "the fourfold, [that]<sup>2</sup> is also like that" [*Guhyasamāja* 18.112]<sup>3</sup> [thus] according to the word stated in the [*Guhya/samāja* etc., [53.1] the water pot etc.<sup>4</sup> consecration is just an agreement, by concealment [conventionally], for making [the initiate] into a teacher, not the reality [*tattva*]. According to the statement, "having been consecrated, one should impart the reality," the fourfold consecration is not the reality, [the fourfold consecration being] laughing, gazing, hand [holding], [and] union of the pair. Here the non-dual reality being considered is not the non-dual knowledge produced because of the action-consort. In this sense, if

<sup>1</sup> *Caturthakāla* is in *Manu* 9.110 and *Āpasatambha's Dharmasūtra* 1.25.10 & 1.27.11 the 4th meal, i.e. the evening of every second day (of one's fasting). *Manu* 6.19 defines *caturthakālīka* as one who takes only every fourth meal {MW p.385}.

<sup>2</sup> Sarnath editors add *tat* here in brackets.

<sup>3</sup> Fremantle's translation includes the first 17 chapters of the *Guhyasamāja*, not the eighteenth.

<sup>4</sup> As Snellgrove explains, "the first consecration may also be known as the Jar-Consecration (*kalaśābhiṣeka*), for it consists of six subsidiary consecrations, in all of which the ritual jar (*kalaśa*) is used. These six consecrations are those of Water, Crown, Vajra, Bell, Name, and Master." (Snellgrove 1959{1}:131). [See *Advayavajrasaṃgrahaḥ*, 36.1-21, *Sekatānvayasamgrahaḥ*, translated in introduction--where *kalasaḥ* is used for *kalaśaḥ*.]

the happiness produced because of **wisdom** is knowledge of wisdom [on the part] of the means, then the knowledge of the means [on the part] of wisdom [that is] produced because of the means [53.5] is for perfection [*siddhi*]. In this way, if there are two knowledges that come into being, it is because of the distinction between both knowledges [i.e. types of knowledge].<sup>1</sup> Hence there is no non-duality. Because of the lack of non-duality, there is a lack of Buddhahood. Now wisdom's knowledge is knowledge of wisdom; similarly there is also the fault, [that] the means' knowledge is knowledge of the means; thus it is proved. Therefore the happiness of the means is perishable, twofold, young, mature; the vibrational happiness of wisdom is old; of those two, of the pair, when the non-vibrational [happiness] comes into existence by means of the great consort, then it is non-dual, lacking the two senses. Hence **touching the breast touching** etc. of wisdom is worldly, taught for the purpose of introducing the path. [53.10] **The world-transcending consecration of the supreme lord of victors is the embrace of the divine consort, this is what's stated.** ||112||

**5.113: [She], the mere appearance of thought, is produced in one's own mind just like a reflection in a mirror;**

**She is to be served by the *yogīndras*, by all the victor sons, and she is served by the *Buddhas*;**

**She, the fully developed light of knowledge, burns entirely the *Māra* host together with the sense objects;**

<sup>1</sup> The argument appears to be that the non-dual knowledge that arises through the yoga with the action-consort is not really non-dual, since it involves knowledge on both the *yogin*'s part (the means), and on the *yoginī*'s part (the wisdom)--each learning about the other.



[She] provides also the passions etc. in the body [and] the equal happiness of the *yogins* after a year's *yoga*.<sup>1</sup> || 113 ||

[53.15] The verse beginning with the mere appearance of thought is easily understood. || 113 ||<sup>2</sup>

**5.114: Wisdom and knowledge become thought, and just the appearance of that is tenfold;**

Consecration is the immersion in this, like the mirror image of stainless moonlight, indeed;|

From that [immersion] there is the unejaculated *nirvāṇic* happiness, and it is innate, indestructible, and fourfold;

This is the *Buddha's* face, residing in the mouth of the heart; the glorious guru abides in that. || 114 ||

[53.20] "Wisdom, knowledge" etc. are detailed. Here **wisdom** and **knowledge**, respectively, are the perceiver and the thought; and from that, from the perceiver's thought, the **tenfold**, smoke etc., is perceivable, a mirror **image**, like the *pratisenā*; it itself is knowledge, the perceivable thought--thus the meaning. In the same way, just like the reflection of one's own eye in a mirror is perceivable as one's own eye, so [likewise] wisdom and knowledge.<sup>3</sup> **Consecration is the immersion in this.**

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mālinīvijayottaratantra* last few chapters for repeated use of the ablative to signal passage of time.

<sup>2</sup> This verse [5.113a] offers a pretty good example of why *citta* is better translated as thought.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. both one's own wisdom and one's own knowledge are perceivable through perceiving their reflection in thought--thought here functioning as a mirror.

Here, what is in the perceivable thinking from the perceiver's thought, the entry into that is not a movement into external sense domains; withdrawal of sensual awareness, mediational focusing, subtle energy/breath extension/retention, [53.25] holding the meditative focus,<sup>1</sup> is said to be immersion. With the six limbs, **from that, from the immersion, there is the unejaculated *nirvāṇic* happiness, and it is innate, indestructible, and fourfold**, a happiness higher than the child's and the adult's vibrations, having surpassed [any] resemblance to the world, stated according to the custom of the three worlds--this is the meaning. Devoid of laughing, looking, touching, holding hands, and sexual embrace, free of the cause of the action consort and the knowledge consort, having the characteristic of voidness in the appearance of all its forms. This *Buddha* face, the knowledge face, situated in **the heart of him**, of the master, is transformed into one's own experience,<sup>2</sup> **situated in the mouth**, for granting to the students **it remains** always, **it is the glorious *guru***, the lightning bolt holder [*Vajradhara*]<sup>3</sup>--this is the meaning.<sup>3</sup> [53.30]<sup>4</sup> The others are not for awakening the happiness of the two senses. || 114 ||<sup>5</sup>

[54.1] Now the entry of this one into the image of his own thought is stated--

**5.115: By those whose thinking is deeply engaged in the *akāśa*, who with eyes unblinking have entered onto the lightning bolt path;**

<sup>1</sup> *Pratyāhāraḥ, dhyānaṃ, prāṇāyāmo, dhāraṇā.*

<sup>2</sup> The Sarnath editors' addition of *bhūtaṃ* in parentheses here seems unnecessary to me.

<sup>3</sup> The text often reads in a way that suggests it is written as a textbook for Tantric masters, for those who will teach and initiate students.

<sup>4</sup> There's a typo in the Sarnath text here--80 should be 30.

<sup>5</sup> This is unclear. I've tentatively changed *-avabodhāra* to *avabodhāya*, dative singular.

From the void, smoke, a ray of light, the manifestly stainless sun itself, the lamp;|<sup>1</sup>

The flame, the moon, sun, and lightning bolts also, the ultimate digit,<sup>2</sup> is seen, the drop also;

[54.5] In the middle of that, the *Buddha's* image is a multiple enjoyment body without sense domains.||115||

Beginning with "*Akāśa*."<sup>3</sup> Here, in the *mantra*-system, in the perfection vehicle, there is a twofold *yogic* practice: there is a practice of *yoga* in the *ākāśa*, and [the practice of *yoga*] in open space.<sup>4</sup> He will achieve *yoga* in the *ākāśa* who at night, in a house without holes, in the darkness, **with thought deeply engaged in the *ākāśa*, sees the signs of smoke etc., with eyes unblinking, having entered onto the lightning bolt path.** In this sense, with his *prāṇā* entered into the central channel,<sup>5</sup> from the void itself, **by those whose thinking is deeply engaged in the *ākāśa*, who**

<sup>1</sup> It is very interesting that these terms smoke, etc. do not occur in the *Hevajratāntra*, yet are found in the *Guyhasamāja* and commentary. The *mahāmudrā* meditation is described as the path of smoke etc. (*mahāmudrā-bhāvanā-mārgo dhūmādikaḥ*) at Rinpoche et al 1986:19.19 (cf. Newman 1987:280). Dwivedi and Shashni quote Rinpoche et al 1986:19.22-25 in their definition of *nimittam*.

<sup>2</sup> As David Pingree has explained to me, the notion of a sixteenth digit of the moon is a poetic invention. The fifteen *kalās* of the moon are the fifteen slices of the moon that progressively light up as one moves from the new moon to the full moon. This is a standard idea in Indian astronomy. The court poets invented the idea of the sixteenth digit for the fullest full moon of a woman's beauty. The sixteenth digit idea was apparently adopted into Tantric doctrine, and is here correlated with the drop of nectar from the moon/soma in one's head.

<sup>3</sup> See *Dharmasaṃgraha* 32 on *ākāśa* as one of the three *asaṃkṛtānis*, and *Abhidharmakośa*.

<sup>4</sup> *Abhyavakāśa*. *Dharmasaṃgraha* 63 lists *abhyavakāśika* among the twelve ascetic practices. ... at the base of a tree, on a single seat, in an open space, in a forest, at a cremation ground... (...*vṛkṣa-mūlika*, *ekāsanika*, *ābhyavakāśika*, *āraṇyakaḥ*, *śmaśānikaḥ*.... Kasawara et al 1885:13).

<sup>5</sup> *Avadhūtī* or *madhyamā*.

with unblinking eyes have entered onto the lightning path, [54.10] from the void [there is] smoke, a ray of light, the evidently stainless sun itself, [and] a lamp-- [this he] will see with the night-*yoga*. Then he sees the cloudless sky. Then from the sky, again in the daytime-*yoga*--"from the sky arisen, self-arisen, the great fire of wisdom and knowledge," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.20)<sup>1</sup>--thus the fire is seen in the cloudless sky. Thus, "*Vairocana*,<sup>2</sup> the great light, the light of knowledge, the sun," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.21), a image of the moon, the light of the world, the sun, the torch of knowledge, the lightning-seizer,<sup>3</sup> the great brilliant flame, shining, the highest digit of lightning,<sup>4</sup> i.e. the king of science, the highest *mantra* lord, the drop possessor.<sup>5</sup> In this way, the tenfold cause<sup>6</sup> is declared by the *Bhagavān* in the [*Guhya*] *Samāja* etc, by the night *yoga*, and in the *Nāmasaṃgīti* by the day *yoga*, is by the *Bhagavān* stated. Then "the *mantra* king is the great achiever of objectives," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.22), so in every form, cloth, pot etc. one sees [his] image. In the middle of that, in the middle of the drop, without sense domains, since it is lacking elementary

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 61b. "Arisen from the sky and self-arisen, he is the exalted fire of self-gnosis." The next two quotes are from Davidson verses 62a and 63a respectively: "Vairocana, the great lumen, the light of gnosis, he is the illuminator," and "he is *mantrarāja* performing the great goal." (Davidson 1981:26 & 54). These portions of the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ* are quoted in full on VMP Sanskrit p. 69, commentary on KCT 5.127 (see Chapter 13 of this dissertation).

<sup>2</sup> Literally: "coming from the sun;" *virocana* is a name for the sun.

<sup>3</sup> *Vajrarāhu*.

<sup>4</sup> This is an innovation. Normally the *parakalā* or *paramakalā* is attributed to the moon. Here lightning is also said to have an extra portion.

<sup>5</sup> This is a very interesting synthesis of many of the ideas earlier found in the Rgveda. Brāhmanas, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Again, see *nimitta* in Introduction, and *Bauddhāntrakośa* quotes on this.

substance,<sup>7</sup> [and] since it is lacking imagination [*kalpanā*], **the multiple enjoyment body.** Then by the image-*yoga* the unstruck sound itself is heard.<sup>2</sup> Thus the emanation body, through the appearance of form, [54.20] [and] through the appearance of sound, is enjoyment--this is the meaning. || 115 ||

**5.116: The sky [*ākāśa*], free of rain clouds, is to be observed by the *yogi* with steadfast gaze;**

Until, indeed, a black line, the vibrating, spotless doer, is seen in the time channel;|<sup>3</sup>

In that [channel] there is the omni-colored clear image/disk of omniscience, like the sun [reflected] in the water,

Of every form, one's own thought, without sense-domains, non-other, thought itself. || 116 ||

[54.25] Here in the day-*yoga*, the *ākāśa*, with steadfast gaze, rain-cloud free, is to be observed by the *yogi*, in the forenoon; in the afternoon, [this meditation is to be performed] having turned the back to the sun.<sup>4</sup> Otherwise one will become blinded by the sun's rays; therefore [one should practice in that way], due to that prohibition. It

<sup>1</sup> According to the MW listing, *dravya* refers to the 9 *Nyāya* elementary substances, *pṛthivī*, *āp*, *tejas*, *vāyu*, *ākāśa*, *kāla*, *dīś*, *ātman*, *manas*. These are shared by the *Vaiśeṣikas*. Jains have 6--*jīva*, *dharma*, *adharmā*, *pudgala*, *kāla*, *ākāśa*. *Dharmasaṃgraha* does not list *dravya*. The term is discussed at length in the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentary, generally in relation to *Vaibhāṣika* theories of matter.

<sup>2</sup> *Anāhata-nāda* or *anāhata-dhvani* literally means the sound that is not produced by beating-: perhaps a reference to an electric sound, i.e. a 'fire' sound?

<sup>3</sup> *Kālanāḍī* is another name for the *avadhūti*, the central channel of the subtle body in the spine.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Mālintvijayottara* meditation techniques.

is to be looked at daily **until** in the middle of the drop a **black line**, the size of a young child, **the vibrating, spotless doer, is seen. In the time channel**, in the *avadhūti*, internally, **the image/disk of the omniscient**, the world, without remainder, **omni-colored, like the sun [reflected] in the water, of every form, one's own thought, without sense-domains, non-other, thought itself.** There is not thought of another, [55.1] because there's not knowledge of the thought of another. Here, first, the image of one's own thinking is seen with the fleshy-eye of the *Tathāgata*; with the divine etc. eye, knowledge of another's thought is seen; therefore **in the *Dharmasaṃgraha*** the five eyes of the *Bhagavān* are declared.<sup>1</sup> Thus sequentially, the fleshy eye, the divine eye, the *Buddha*'s eye, the wisdom eye, and the knowledge eye, will come into being by the meditation's power. Then the unseen, not anything else, exists for the omniscient one. ||117||

[55.5] 5.117: **When the disk is seen, one should perform at the appropriate time each day the restraint of the *prāṇa* wind;**

**Until, indeed, the *cakra* of light rays is seen surrounding one's own body, being made to move;**

**After six months one reaches the equal happiness of the ascetics that is free of touch, and is the thought of the path;**

**Going to the end of passion and dispassion, the moment also grows into the number of breaths of the lord. ||117||**

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasaṃgraha* 64: The five eyes are the fleshy eye, the *dharma* eye, the wisdom eye, the divine eye, and the Buddha eye. ("*Pañca cakṣuṃśi--māṃsacakṣur, dharmacakṣuḥ, prajñācakṣur, divyacakṣur, buddhacakṣuś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:14).

Then, when the disk is seen, at the appropriate time each day, [one should practice] the restraint of the *prāṇa* wind, i.e. the pot state,<sup>1</sup> until, indeed, [55.10] a *cakra* of light rays is seen surrounding one's own body, being made to move, in the previously discussed image/disk in oneself. Then, after six months, one reaches the equal pleasure, the indestructible pleasure that is free of touch, free of the pair of the two [sex] organs, that is the thought of the path, i.e. the thought of the image of voidness, on the part of ascetics, those who are principally practitioners of celibacy. Then there is the moment characterized by the attainment of enlightenment in a single moment, thoroughly conversant etc. with passion and dispassion. Passion, i.e. reaching the end of the bright half [of the lunar month], characterized by the sixteen digits. Dispassion, going to the beginning of the dark [half of the lunar month], [what] is entered with the dark half of the lunar month is characterized by the time of attaining enlightenment, that very moment grows into the number of breaths, [55.15] i.e. the number 21,600. From the tip of the lightning jewel in the secret [lotus],<sup>2</sup> it grows; after 3600 moments, having slain breaths of that number, one attains the secret lotus; thereby there is a pair of earths. In this way, in the navel, in the heart, in the throat, in the forehead, the four are the eighty-six grounds. In the *uṣṇīṣa*, there are twelve because of the dissolution of all the breaths. || 117 ||

Now the five *maṇḍalas*' destruction is stated--

<sup>1</sup> I.e. *kumbhaka*, making oneself like a pot that contains the bodily winds.

<sup>2</sup> This sexual metaphor, i.e. from the tip of the penis inside the vagina, appears to contradict the notion in the verse that the equal pleasure is without touching, without the pair of sex organs.

**5.122: Earth progresses to water, and water [goes] to fire, and fire [goes] to wind;**

**The wind [goes] to the void, also, and the void proceeds to the ten-fold, truly, the cause [proceeds] to the cause;|**

**The universal form [proceeds] to the unstruck indestructible supreme happiness, the knowledge body;**

**[57.20] From knowledge the magical power [*ṛddhi*] and the yogic perfection [*siddhi*] comes into being, Oh king of men, in the birth here, in fact, of men. | | 122 | |**

By "the earth" etc. Here, when the *yogi* has unblinking eyes, and his thought is elevated into the void with a fierce gaze, then **the earth** is in either the left or in the right [channel], i.e. it is a subsidiary characteristic.<sup>1</sup> When the *yogī* performs a meditation at the time the earth is flowing in the right [channel], then this is the rule; not however at the time when [the earth etc.] is flowing in the left channel, [and so on] according to the sequence beginning with the space *maṇḍala*. Therefore, to whatever *maṇḍala* on either the left or the right the *prāṇa* flows, because of its having that property, [57.25] the *maṇḍala* is called that [i.e. earth *maṇḍala*, etc.].

Therefore, in the right channel, in the earth *maṇḍala*, the *prāṇa* goes to the **water** *maṇḍala*. In the same way, up to the knowledge *maṇḍala*, [the *prāṇa*] flows with space etc. in the left *nāḍī*. In this way **the void proceeds to the tenfold cause**, smoke etc., **the cause** goes to disk/image of universal form. From the disk/image it

<sup>1</sup> *Upalakṣaṇam*.



goes to the indestructible happiness, that itself [58.1] is knowledge of the perfection of wisdom. And from knowledge there is magical power, flying in the sky etc., and yogic perfection also, i.e. mastery of the three worlds, comes into existence, oh lord of men, in the birth here, in fact, of men; this is the exact specification for the entry into the path. ||122||

Now the sixteen divisions of the four bodies are stated--

**5.123: Passion is the emanation body; restrained it becomes the filled speech itself of that one;**

**[58.5] Fire is the emanation thought, creating supreme happiness, and real knowledge<sup>1</sup> of this is the Orissans;{**

**Joy is the enjoyment body, it [becomes] the supreme bliss of cessation, by the stages of this;**

**Speech and thought become the thunderbolt of knowledge, because [it is] the innate joy itself of this lord. ||123||**

"Passion" etc. Here, because of the truth of origin,<sup>2</sup> where there is one body, there are others also, i.e. speech, thought, etc. **Passion**, i.e., from the cessation of the body's joy, **the emanation body of the Buddha comes into being, restrained.**  
**[58.10] Of it, i.e. of the emanation body, the destruction of the joy of speech,**

<sup>1</sup> Taking *jñānam eva* as 'real knowledge.'

<sup>2</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* says there are four parts to the truth of the producing cause--due to the cause, due to the arising, due to the origin, and due to the basic idea. ("*samudaya-sarye catvāra ākāraḥ, tadyathā--hetutaḥ, samudayataḥ, prabhavataḥ, pratyayaś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:23). Pruden translates these as "material cause" (*hetu*), "arising or origin" (*samudaya*), "appearance" (*prabhava*), and "efficient condition" (*pratyaya*). (Pruden 1991{4};1110).

speech itself is it, filled. Fire is the emanation thought, fire, i.e. the cessation of the joy of thought. The supreme happiness maker is the knowledge lightning of the emanation. The Orissans is the cessation of the joy of knowledge. In this way there is the fourfold emanation, likewise the fourfold enjoyment.<sup>1</sup> Joy is the enjoyment body, the cessation of the body's supreme joy; it [becomes] the supreme bliss of cessation by the stages of this. The supreme bliss, the enjoyment speech, is from the destruction of the supreme joy of speech. The joy of cessation, enjoyment's thought, is the cessation of the supreme joy of thought. In this way [58.15] speech and thought [become] the thunderbolt of knowledge, the innate joy of this lord,<sup>2</sup> the cessation of the supreme joy of knowledge; thus enjoyment, from this the fourfold *dharma*. ||123||

**5.124: The tremblings, indeed, [are] the *dharma* body, honored by the three worlds, the production of speech occurs from that;**

The rollings around<sup>3</sup> indeed, are the *dharma* thought, the knowledge destroying the fear of existence, from this indeed, is sleep;|

The syllable, indeed, is the purified body, the drop-sounds of the digits that are without accent, in sequence;

[58.20] Speech and thought [become] the knowledge thunderbolt, located in the three worlds, from the purified body of the lord. ||124||

<sup>1</sup> I.e. emanation body, speech, thought, and knowledge, and enjoyment body, speech, thought, and knowledge.

<sup>2</sup> We should use the Sarnath editors suggested emendation of *śambhor asya* for *sambhogasya*.

<sup>3</sup> Again, I've taken *ghūrma*--apparently not a word in Sanskrit, as *ghūrṇa*, as in KCT 5.118 and VMP 55.22. This is however a guess.

**The tremblings, indeed, [are] the bliss of cessation in the body; the cessation of that is the *dharma* body, honored by the three worlds; from that, from the *dharma*, there is the production of speech, i.e. the stoppage of the joy of the cessation of speech. The rollings around, indeed, is the stoppage of the joy of the cessation of speech, *dharma* thought, destroying the fear of existence, the *dharma*-knowledge; from this is sleep, the stoppage of the joy of the cessation of knowledge. The syllable, indeed, i.e. the innate joy of the body; the cessation of that is the purified body. The accentless drop sounds of the digits, in sequence. [58.25] The digit, i.e. the cessation of the innate joy of speech, is the purified speech. The drop, i.e. the cessation of the innate joy of thought, is the purified thought. The nasal sound, i.e. the cessation of the innate joy of knowledge, is purified knowledge. In this way, the knowledge-thunderbolt, located in the three worlds, from the purified body of the lord, from the thunderbolt being, is divided into the sixteen divisions of joy, according to the statement "knowing the reality that has sixteen aspects" (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 9.15).<sup>1</sup> The reality of sixteen aspects, according to revealed [truth] is the great imperishable happiness; according to concealed [truth] it is the twelve aspects<sup>2</sup> of the *Buddhas* and of the transmigrators. Therefore, by the cessation**

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition verse 133a; "knowing the sixteen aspects of reality." According to a note Davidson supplies, Mañjuśrīmitra in his *Nāmasaṃgītivṛtti* equates these sixteen aspects of reality to sixteen kinds of emptiness. (Davidson 1981:34 & 59). However, *Abhidharmakośaḥ-bhāṣya* 7.13 defines the sixteen aspects as the four aspects of each of the four noble truths. (See Pruden 1991{4}:1110-1113). Here the reality of sixteen aspects is given a new definition--the *mahākṣarasukhaṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> I have not found any listing of *dvādaśākāra* in either the *Abhidharmakośaḥ* or the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. It appears to simply refer to the twelve limbs of *pratītyasamutpāda*, from the next sentence.

of the twelve limbs, by the dissolution of the *prāṇa*, "the lightning-sun, the great world," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 8.33),<sup>1</sup> "the true meaning of the twelve aspects" (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 9.15),<sup>2</sup> through the cessation of *rajas*. [59.1] With the stoppage of the semen in the sixteen digits, "the stainless light of the lightning-moon," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 8.33),<sup>3</sup> "knowing the reality of the sixteen aspects," (*Nāmasaṃgīti* 9.15), thus the *Bhagavān Kālacakra* is perfected. || 124 ||

Now, the cessation of waking-etc. is described--

**5.125: Waking and dreaming's intrinsic form, and the other, this intrinsic form of deep sleep and the fourth [state];**

**[59.125] Situated in the body, dissolved in the breath, [it] spreads to the sense objects, without moving, dissolved in the thinking;|**

**Situated in knowledge, through the embrace of a woman, the moment also exists in the flowing *bodhicitta*;**

**From the emanation etc., the restrained, fourfold thought lightning sequentially comes forth into being. || 125 ||**

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition verse 109a: "the *vajra*-like sun, the great light." (Davidson 1981:32 & 57). Davidson takes *mahālokaḥ* as *mahā-ālokaḥ*. Following my arguments about the fundamental and shared Indian notion of the sun as the source of life and the location of heaven, taken from the *Brāhmaṇas*, and evident in such terms as *amāvāsya* for the new moon night, a term that literally = "dwelling at home," I prefer the notion "great world" as another name for the sun. However, Davidson's choice is equally defensible.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson's edition verse 133; "his referent truth in twelve aspects." Davidson provides Mañjuśrīmitra's explanation: "Endowed with the characteristic of the twelve aspects of the senses and the sense-fields (*āyatanas*), he has those twelve [aspects] which are the twelve aspects of provisional truth (*saṃvṛttisatya*)."(Davidson 1981:34 & 59).

<sup>3</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 109a: "with the stainless brilliance of the *vajra*-like moon" (Davidson 1981:32). This may in fact be the phrase that provided Puṇḍarīka with the title for his commentary on the *Kālacakratāntra*, given his fondness for quoting from the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*. *Induḥ* = a drop, especially a drop of Soma, in the earlier Vedic literature.

"Waking" etc. Here, **situated in the body** of the transmigrators, i.e. situated in the head, the *bodhicitta* is the characteristic of the **waking-[state]**. **Dissolved in the breath**, i.e. located in the throat, it is the intrinsic state of **dreaming**. In both states [59.10] it **spreads to the sense objects**. **Without moving, dissolved in thought**, located in the heart, **also this other one**, i.e. the third, thought, the intrinsic nature of deep-sleep. **The knowledge state**, i.e. located in the navel, **the intrinsic nature of the fourth [state]**, through the embrace of a woman, the characteristic of the unejaculated moment's. **When the *bodhicitta* is flowing**,<sup>1</sup> that itself is the thought, fourfold, stopped, the characteristic of the emanation-, enjoyment-, *dharm*-, and innate-bodies, of the *Buddhas*, comes into existence. Therefore, **from the emanation etc., sequentially, the restrained fourfold thought lightning comes forth into being.** || 125 ||

**5.126: In this way, the thought is fourfold, residing in the threefold world, in the middle of the drop of living beings;**

**[59.15] It is to be protected by the chief *yogīs*, providing the fruit of equal happiness, the pervader, for the purpose of liberation;**

**When there is release of the drop, where is the release? It is in the birth-seed of the *yogis* that lacks the supreme happiness;**

**Therefore, for this reason the happiness-moment in transmigration is always to be shunned by the ascetics.** || 126 ||

**In this way, the waking etc.'s characteristic is the **thought** of the**

<sup>1</sup> The commentary glosses *drute* as *drute sati*, i.e. it glosses "flowed" as "is flowing."

transmigrators, fourfold, in the middle of the drop of those residing in the three worlds, at the base of the *bodhicitta*, the *bodhicitta*; that itself is to be protected by the chief *yogīs*, providing the even happiness fruit, [59.20] providing the fruit of the indestructible happiness, pervading, for the sake of liberation's. When the drop is released, when it falls into the true basis, where is the release of the deposited *bodhicitta*? It is in what's free of the supreme happiness, in the basis, in the birth seed of the *yogīs*. Therefore, the moment of transmigratory happiness is for this reason always to be shunned by the ascetics. Here, the perishable (moment?)<sup>1</sup> i.e. the perishable vibration, thus, is to be shunned; thus the *Bhagavān*'s rule. The *yogī* must make it [go] upwards, with non-vibration etc., until it become stainless. Just as it has come, so it has gone, thus the rule about the arisal of the indestructible happiness will be stated in detail in the next *śloka* beginning with "unity,"<sup>2</sup> in the perfection of knowledge about the supremely indestructible. Therefore here is the end of the section. || 126 ||

Thus, in the twelve thousand [line] Stainless light commentary on the short *Kālacakratāntra* that accompanies the root *tantra*, the great teaching on the specification of the purification of the four bodies etc., the second section in the Knowledge Chapter. ||

## 12.2. Puṇḍarīka's Explanation of the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*

<sup>1</sup> The parenthetical is a suggestion by the Sarnath editors.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. KCT 5.127 with its forty-page commentary.

Now the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*<sup>3</sup> of the *Buddhas* is described--

**5.238: The pair of knowledge and space, certainly, and this other triad of jewels and vehicles, also,**

**[148.5] The addictions,<sup>2</sup> the *Mārās*,<sup>3</sup> and the delights,<sup>4</sup> and on the other hand, the restraints,<sup>5</sup> supernatural powers,<sup>6</sup> and the outflows,<sup>7</sup>**

**The [four] proficiencies,<sup>8</sup> the [four] truths,<sup>9</sup> and on the other hand, then,**

<sup>1</sup> This is the Dictionary of Buddhist technical terms, a Sanskrit summary of Buddhist doctrine I have cited frequently in notes throughout the dissertation for definitions of terms used in Buddhism. It has not been completely translated into English, although Kasawara provided English equivalents for many terms in the notes to the verses. (See Kasawara et al 1885). The text is cited frequently in Monier Williams' dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 67 lists six addictions, passion, enmity or resistance, pride, ignorance, false views, and doubt (ṣaṭ kleśāḥ--rāgaḥ, pratigho, māno, 'vidyā, kudṛṣṭir, vicikitsā ceti. Kasawara et al 1885:14).

<sup>3</sup> The four *Mārās* are identified at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 80 as *Skandhamāraḥ*, *Kleśamāro*, *Devaputramāro*, and *Mṛtyumāraḥ*. (Kasawara et al 1885:17).

<sup>4</sup> *Vihāras* = diversions, resting places, etc. These are listed at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 16: friendship, love, joy, and patience (*Catvāro Brahmavihārāḥ--maitri, karuṇā, muditopekṣā ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:4).

<sup>5</sup> No *niyatās* are listed in Kasawara et al's edition of the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> The four *ṛddhipādas* are listed at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 46: the supernatural ability that accrues through training in the effort in the perfected concentration on the will, the supernatural ability similarly [acquired through training in the exercises for perfected concentration] on thought, the supernatural ability [similarly acquired through training in the efforts towards perfected concentration] on vigor, and the supernatural ability acquired through training in the undertaking of perfected concentration on intellectual investigation. ("*Catvāra ṛddhipādāḥ, tad-yathā--chanda-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādāḥ, evaṃ citta ṛddhipādāḥ, vīrya ṛddhipādāḥ, mīmāṃsā-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādāś-ceti*." Kasawara et al 1885:10). (*Catvāra ṛddhipādāḥ, tadyathā--chanda-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādāḥ| evaṃ citta ṛddhipādāḥ| vīryaṃ ṛddhipādāḥ| mīmāṃsā-samādhiprahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādāś ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:10). (See footnote to Sanskrit page 70.17 above).

<sup>7</sup> *Āsravas* are not listed as a separate group in the Kasawara et al edition of the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> See *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 77, where the four proficiencies are described as *catvāri vaiśāradyaṇi, tadyathā--abhisambodhi-vaiśāradyam, āśrava-śaya-jñāna-vaiśāradyam, nairvāṇika-mārga-avataṛaṇa-vaiśāradyam ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:16). As Kasawara et al point out, one of the four is missing from the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* list. In Csoma de Kőrös'

the entirety of *smṛtyupasthāna*,<sup>1</sup>

The four, in the [*Dharma*] *Samgraha*, are to be meditated upon by the yogīs who possess the lightning bolt of the victors' lord. ||238||

"Knowledge," etc. Here, in the *Kālacakra*, the *Dharmasamgraha* having been cognized by the yogī, then the teaching about the *Tantra* is to be performed.

Otherwise, without the *Dharmasamgrahaḥ*, there is teaching about the bad path;

therefore the *Dharmasamgrahaḥ*. Here, knowledge is [148.10] the pair of

knowledge and space, the grasper is the thinking, what is to be grasped is the image

of the void; thus the pair; wisdom and means are not the union of the vagina and the

penis. The teacher of the three vehicles comes into being for this purpose for sentient

edition of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* Section 173, the four are give as *sarvadharmā-abhisambodhi-vaiśāradīyam*, *sarva-āsrava-kṣaya-jñāna-vaiśāradīyam*, *antarāyika-dharma-ananyathātva-niścita-vyākaraṇa-vaiśāradīyam*, and *sarva-sampad-adhigamāya-niryāṇika-pratipattathātva-vaiśāradīyam*. (Csoma de Körös 1982{2}:249-250). See below, commentary page 148.20, for translations.

<sup>9</sup> The four truths are given at *Dharmasamgrahaḥ* 97-100 in an elaborated form a) the truth of suffering has four forms--from impermanence, from suffering, from void[ness], and from non-self; b) the truth of the arising of suffering has four forms, from its cause, from its arising, from becoming, and from conception; c) the truth of the cessation of suffering has four forms, from its cessation, from its pacification, from its being presented [i.e. being taught], and from exiting; the truth of the path has four forms, from the path, from the method, from acquiring it, and from *nirvāṇa*. (97: *Tatra duḥkhasatyē catvāra ākārāḥ, tadyathā--anīyato, duḥkhataḥ, śūnyato 'nātmataś ceti* || 98: *Samudayasatyē catvāra ākārāḥ, tadyathā--hetutaḥ, samudayataḥ, prabhavataḥ, pratīyayataś ceti* || 99: *Nirodhasatyē catvāra ākārāḥ, tadyathā--nirodhataḥ, śāntataḥ, praṇīyata, niḥsaraṇataś ceti* || 100: *Mārgasatyē catvāra ākārāḥ, tadyathā--mārgato nyāyataḥ, pratīpattito, nair[vy]āṇikaś ceti* || Kasawara et al 1885:23; I emended the last term from *nairyāṇikaḥ* to *nairvāṇikaḥ*.)

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasamgrahaḥ* 44 lists the four *smṛtyupasthānas*--earnest meditation on the body, on perception, on thought, and on the *dharma* in each of those. (*Tatra katamāni smṛtyupasthānāni, tadyathā--kāye kāyānudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, vedanāyāṃ vedanānudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, citte cittānudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, dharme dharmānudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ*, Kasawara et al 1885:9). (See also Csoma de Körös 1982:{1}:13 for a simpler version of the same list.)



beings,<sup>1</sup> becomes the sage of the three vehicles. Here **the three vehicles** are the listener's vehicle, the *pratyekabuddha* vehicle,<sup>2</sup> and the *samyak-sambuddha* vehicle.<sup>3</sup> "Vehicle" is understood in this way. **The three jewels, indeed,** are the jewel of the *Buddha*, the jewel of the *dharma*, and the jewel of the community (*saṅgha*). The teacher, the teaching, and the solicitation for instruction are the three roots, that is, the arising of the *bodhicitta*, the purification of the recipient, and the abandonment of self-conscious action and of selfish action.<sup>4</sup> [148.15] Similarly, the three refuges are the *Buddha*'s protection, the *dharma*'s<sup>5</sup> protection, and the community's protection. **The addictions** are the four, passion, hatred, confusion, and pride on the part of sentient beings. The four *Māras* are the aggregates, the addictions, death, and the

<sup>1</sup> This statement appears to relativize all prior Buddhist teaching into a preparatory structure for the practice of *Tantra*.

<sup>2</sup> *Pratyeka* in its most basic sense = "one by one" or "each one." While the *bodhisattva* is committed to the salvation of all living beings, each individual *pratyekabuddha* becomes singly a *buddha*, without waiting for others--that is, they become *buddhas* one by one.

<sup>3</sup> Although MW translates *samyak-sambuddha* as "one who has attained complete enlightenment," giving rise a common translation "completely enlightened *buddha*," I think this is somewhat misleading. *Samyak* (the compounded form of *saṃyāñc*) = turning together, going along with, combined, united, entire, whole, complete. *Sambuddha* = thoroughly or completely awakened. In contrast to the *pratyekabuddha* ideal, the suggestion seems to be that the *samyak-sambuddha* is thoroughly awakened in a combined or united sense--i.e. a community oriented sense, as opposed to a strictly individual sense. I would argue that the term encapsulates a *buddha*-level sense of the *bodhisattva* ideal--'the communal completely awakened one,' i.e. the *Buddha* committed to all sentient beings, as is the *bodhisattva*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ahaṃkāra* is frequently translated as "ego." The literal translation is "I-action," or "I [am] doing [it]." I think the notion of what we call "self-conscious action" is more accurate--i.e. being overly concerned with oneself while doing something, instead of having the one-pointed, *ekāgrata* focus on the activity at hand. "Ego" may be too broad a term. *Mama-kāra* is literally "action for me," i.e. selfish activity.

<sup>5</sup> Sarnath editors add bracketed *buddhaśaraṇam dharmaśaraṇam*--correcting what must have been a scribal error.

divine son (*devaputra*).<sup>6</sup> The destroyers of these are the four *brahma-vihāras* of the *Buddhas*--friendship, love, delight, and patience. In this way, the four liberations--voidness, causelessness, lack of application,<sup>2</sup> lack of conceptions.<sup>3</sup> The four states of supernatural power<sup>4</sup> are free will,<sup>5</sup> valor, thinking,<sup>6</sup> and inquiry. The four **outflows** of sentient beings are as follows--the outflow of desire, the outflow of becoming, the outflow of ignorance, [148.20] and the outflow of point of view. The four **proficiencies** of the *Buddhas* are as follows--proficiency in mounting<sup>7</sup> all the *dharmas*; proficiency in teaching all the *dharmas*; proficiency in introducing the path to *nirvāṇa*;<sup>8</sup> proficiency in relinquishing and in knowledge of the destruction of outflows. The four **truths** are as follows--the truth of suffering; the truth of [its] arising; the truth of the [eightfold] path; the truth of the cessation [of suffering]. The four **reliances** (*pratiśaraṇās*) are as follows--the reliance on meaning [and] the

<sup>1</sup> I've yet to find an etymology for the choice of the term *devaputra* for one of the four *māras*, though it could be a not-so-subtle dig at the brahmanical kingship lines who claimed divine lineage through the sun or moon, or at Hindus who usually have the names of gods (hence 'John Smith' in Sanskrit is *devadatta*, i.e. given [the name of] a god--thanks to Gary Tubb for explaining the derivation of *devadatta*).

<sup>2</sup> *Apraṇihita*.

<sup>3</sup> *Anabhisamskāra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ṛddhi-pāda*.

<sup>5</sup> *Chandas*--this also translates as desire, will; it is also the term used for metrical science (as in the chanting of the Vedas).

<sup>6</sup> Another example of where the passive sense of "mind" would be inappropriate: the active sense of "thinking" is more in keeping with the other three *ṛddhipādas*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ārohaṇa*--ascending, mounting, riding (as a horse). In colloquial English we would say "getting on top of it," or "getting a handle on it," or "getting the hang of it."

<sup>8</sup> Sarnath editors parenthetically insert *nairvāṇika* as an alternative reading for *nirāvaraṇa* in the compound *nirāvaraṇa-mārga-avatāraṇa-vaiśāradyam*. As given, the text reads "proficiency in introducing the exoteric path," a notion in some ways more in keeping with the context of this Tantric text that teaches an esoteric path.

non-reliance on letter (i.e. the literal); the reliance on intuition [and] the non-reliance of dualistic consciousness; the reliance on *nītārtha* and the non reliance on *neyārtha*; [148.25] the reliance on the body of teaching (*dharmakāya*) and the non-reliance on personal authority. The four mindfulnesses are remembering the body, remembering perception, remembering thinking, and remembering the *dharma*. The four realities of the *Samgraha* are generosity, kindness in speech, purposeful activity (*arthacaryā*), and commonality of meaning (*sāmānārtha*). Here, by the word *artha* the great objective [is meant], the supreme syllable; the practice of that is the state of commonality of meaning.<sup>1</sup> Through giving of the *dharma*, generosity; the four *dharma* gifts are--that all *saṃskāras* are impermanent; all *saṃskāras* are suffering; all *dharmas* lack a permanent self; *nirvāṇa* is peace. [148.30] The four right exertions<sup>2</sup> are--the arising of will for exertion in the non-arising of [as yet] unarisen faults, the abandonment, [149.1] hostility towards arisen sins [and the arising of]<sup>3</sup> the root of happiness; the production of the unproduced virtues; the transformation (*pariṇāmanā*) in *Buddha*-hood of the unproduced roots of happiness--thus the four. These sets of four, **with the lightning bolts of the victors' lord, are to be meditated**

<sup>1</sup> Is the suggestion here that by the yogic/meditational practice with the *paramākṣara* the practitioner achieves a level where the commonality of meaning is perceived; just as the commonality of experience/identity arises through the experience of the universal *dharma*-body, as opposed to the finite experience of the separate individual (*puṅgava*)?

<sup>2</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 45 gives the four right exertions as the protection of the arisen roots of happiness, the production of the [sources of happiness] that have not arisen, the destruction of those things that have arisen and are not suitable, and no further arising of the unarisen things [that are not suitable]. (*Katamāni catvāri Samyakprahāṇāni, tadyathā--utpannānāṃ kuśalamūlānāṃ saṃrakṣaṇaṃ | Anutpannānāṃ samutpādaḥ | Utpannānāṃ akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ prahāṇaṃ | Anutpannānāṃ punar unutpādaś ceti* | | Kasawara et al 1885:10).

<sup>3</sup> Sarnath editors add "*utpādaḥ*" in brackets here. The text appears to be a bit corrupted here.

upon by the purification of the body, speech, thinking, and knowledge, and by the purification of the emanation, *dharma*, enjoyment, and intrinsic nature bodies, [and these sets of four] have the form of deities for [the purpose of the attainment of] worldly *siddhis*. ||238||

[149.5] 5.239: The powers of the five meta-faculties, the perspectives of the preeminent lord of victors, [and] the five eyes,

In this way the aggregates, senses, and memories, are six, and the limbs of enlightenment and the worship is seven,|

The seven and towards the paths of the eight limbs,<sup>1</sup> the state of good protection, the embodied ones, [and] the eight liberations,

What's called the hole, certainly, the nine-limbed, the other doctrine; the stages extend in [all] the directions. ||239||

In this way, the five meta-faculties--the *bodhisattvas*'s divine eye, divine ear, knowledge of others' thinking, [149.10] remembrance of prior existences, power of [moving] through space [i.e. flying]. The five powers are the power of faith, the power of valor, the power of memory, the power of perfected concentration (*samādhi*), and the power of wisdom. In this [same] way, the five senses. The five perspectives of sentient beings--seeing the true body, seeing the inner perceiver, seeing what is false, seeing the recollection of the perspective, and seeing the recollection of the vow of morality. The five eyes of the *Buddhas*--the flesh eye, the

<sup>1</sup> Sarnath editors propose correcting *aṣṭāṅgamārgāḥ* (nom. pl.) to *aṣṭāṅgamārgān* (acc. pl.)--probably because of the following *prati*.

divine eye, the *Buddha*'s eye, the wisdom eye, and the knowledge eye. The five **aggregates** of the extraordinary *Buddhas*--the aggregate of morality, the aggregate of perfected concentration, the aggregate of wisdom, the aggregate of liberation, and the aggregate of seeing the knowledge of liberation. The worldly form etc., the constituents earth etc., the senses such as the eye, etc., the sense domains such as smell etc., the anus etc. organs of action, the activities of the action senses, such as speaking, etc., are thus the fivefold, and together with the *dharma* realm, all are sixfold. **The six remembrances** are the memory of the *Buddha*, the memory of the *dharma*, the memory of the community, the memory of renunciation, the memory of virtuous conduct, and the memory of deity. **The seven limbs of enlightenment** are--the memory limb of complete enlightenment, the investigation of the *dharma* limb of complete enlightenment, [149.20] the heroism limb of complete enlightenment, the love limb of complete enlightenment, the confidence limb of complete enlightenment, the perfected concentration limb of complete enlightenment, the patience limb of complete enlightenment.<sup>1</sup> **The seven-fold worship** is praising, honoring, viewing, rejoicing/approving, solicitation [of teaching], entreaty, [and] adoration.<sup>2</sup> **The eight-limbed path** is correct view, correct motivation, correct

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 49 gives the seven limbs of enlightenment as *smṛtisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ*, *dharmapravicayasambodhyaṅgaṃ*, *vīryasaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ*, *prītisambodhyaṅgaṃ*, *praśrabdhisaṃbodhyaṅgaṃ*, *samādhisambodhyaṅgaṃ*, *upekṣāsambodhyaṅgaṃ* (Kasawara et al 1885:10), exactly the same as the list here.

<sup>2</sup> *Pariṇāmanā*. We could also translate this as simply 'transformation' as in being transformed by the worship or teaching. MW gives this term simply as "a type of worship," citing *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 14. *Pari* +  $\sqrt{nam}$  = to bend down, also to change or be transformed, to develop. In adoration one both honors and is transformed, so adoration seems an appropriate translation for this term. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 14 gives a slightly different list than what we have here: *saptavidhā-anutara-pūjā*, *tadyathā--vandanā*, *pūjanā*,

speech, correct task, correct [means of] livelihood, correct effort, and correct concentration.<sup>1</sup> **The eight liberations**<sup>2</sup> through meditation are seeing that form is void, seeing that the inner self and the external form [are both] void [149.25], [seeing that] [what's called] the void is the image [that has] the universal form; seeing that the void is created by good and bad views; seeing that the void is the basis of the infinity of space; seeing the void is the basis of the infinity of consciousness; seeing that, in the image of universal form, the void is the basis of poverty; seeing that the void is neither the basis of consciousness, nor unconsciousness; seeing that the void is the cessation of what's known by consciousness, in the meditation on voidness.

**The eight embodied ones** are the four great elements--form, smell, taste, and touch.

**The doctrine of the nine scriptural divisions** of the recitations<sup>3</sup>--the *Sūtra*, the song,

*pāpadeśanā, anumodanā, adhyeṣaṇā, bodhicittotpādaḥ, pariṣamanā ceti.* (Kasawara et al 1885:3). Our text replaces *pāpadeśanā* with simply *deśanā*, and *bodhicittotpādaḥ* (arising of the *bodhicitta*) with *yācanā* (entreaty for the teaching)--a rather repetitious term for *adhyeṣaṇā* (solicitation).

<sup>1</sup> Our text gives only seven limbs of the path. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 50 adds the eighth, *samyaksmṛtiḥ* or right recollection, before *samyaksamādhiḥ*. (Kasawara et al 1885:11).

<sup>2</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 59 gives a slightly different list of the eight liberations, as follows: the one possessing a form sees that form is void; the one possessing the consciousness of the form of the internal self seeing that external forms are void; seeing that the infinite basis of space is void; seeing that the infinite basis of consciousness is void; seeing that the basis of poverty is void; seeing that the basis of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness is void; seeing that the cessation of the sensation of consciousness is void. (*rūpī rūpāṇi paśyati śūnyam* | *Adhyātmārūpasamjñī bahirdhārūpāṇi paśyati śūnyam* | *ākāśānantyāyatanam paśyati śūnyam* | *vijñānānantyāyatanam paśyati śūnyam* | *ākīñcanyāyatanam paśyati śūnyam* | *naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatanam paśyati śūnyam* | *samjñāvedayatinirodham paśyati śūnyam ceti* | | Kasawara et al 1885:12-13).

<sup>3</sup> *Samgiti-kāra*--literally, the making or doing of a song or recitation; i.e. scriptural recitations. *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 62 gives these as the nine divisions of scripture, that is *sūtra*, song, grammar, religious verse, expressions of praise, the long *sūtras*, stories of miracles, and teaching. (*Navāṅgapravacanāni, tadyathā--sūtram, geyam, vyākaraṇam, gāthodānam, jātakaṃ, vaipulyam, adbhutadharmā, upadānaś ceti.* Kasawara et al 1885:13).

grammar, [149.30] rejoicings,<sup>1</sup> the *nidānam*,<sup>2</sup> history, birth stories, the long [*sūtras*], the [stories of] miracles, for the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. ||239||

**5.240: The *Buddha*'s powers of the directions<sup>3</sup> are the well-known ten powers<sup>4</sup> in the understanding of the twelve limbs,**

**In form etc., cessation, indeed, likewise the twice multiplied nine [i.e. eighteen] independent *buddhadharmās*,<sup>5</sup>**

**[150.1] The thirty two marks of the best of the victors' lord, and the eighty**

<sup>1</sup> *Gāthodānam*, literally, the rising of air for singing.

<sup>2</sup> *Nidāna* normally refers to a cause of existence. Matching this against the list from *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 62, we see that *updeśa* is missing from our text, replaced by the dubious *nidānaṃ vṛttam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Digbalāni*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 74 gives us the ten masteries or powers of the *bodhisattvas*—the power of long life, the power of thinking, the power of self-discipline, the power of *dharma*, the power of supernatural ability, the power over birth, the power of liberation, the power of concentration, the power of action, and the power of knowledge. (*Bodhisattvānāṃ daśa vaśitāḥ—Āyurvaśitā, cittavaśitā, pariṣkāraśitā, dharmavaśita-rddhivaśitā, janmavaśitā-adhimuktivaśitā, prañidhānaśitā, karmavaśitā, jñānaśitā ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:16).

<sup>5</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 79 gives us the eighteen independent *buddhadharmas*, as follows: there is no error on the *Tathāgata*'s part; there is no haste; there is no theft of memory; there are no uncollected thoughts; there is no variability in consciousness; there is no patience lacking in tranquil consideration; there is no loss of will; there is no loss of fortitude; there is no loss of memory; there is no loss of concentration; there is no loss of wisdom; there is no loss of liberation; there is no loss of perspective on the knowledge [leading] to liberation; preceded by the knowledge of all bodily activity, lack of upward motion into ignorance (?); avoidance of ignorance preceded by the knowledge of all vocal activity, the avoidance of ignorance through the knowledge of all mental activity; knowledge [of what is] obstructed by meeting with a traveller in the past; knowledge [of what is] obstructed by meeting with a traveller in the present. (*Aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ, tadyathā--nāsti tathāgatasya skhalitaṃ | nāsti ravitaṃ | nāsti muṣitasmṛtitā | nāsty-asamāhitacittaṃ | nāsti nānātvasaṃjñā | nāsty-apratisaṃkhyāyopekṣā | nāsti chandaparihāṇiḥ | nāsti vīryaparihāṇiḥ | nāsti smṛtiparihāṇiḥ | nāsti samādhiparihāṇiḥ | nāsti prajñāpārihāṇiḥ | nāsti vimuktiparihāṇiḥ | nāsti vimuktijñānadarśanaparihāṇiḥ | sarvakāyākarmajñānapūrvāṅgam ajñānānuparivṛttiḥ | sarvavākkarmajñānapūrvāṅgam ajñānānuparivṛttiḥ | sarvamanaskarmajñānapūrvāṅgam ajñānānuparivṛttiḥ | atīte 'dhvanyasaṃgamapratihatajñānaṃ | pratyutpanne 'dhvanyasaṃgamapratihatajñānadarśanaṃ ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:17).

subsidiary marks,<sup>1</sup>

**All of this is in the body, is to be meditated upon by the *mantra* possessor as the supreme station of the lord. ||240||**

The ten such as the ten perfections etc. are stated in the perfection of knowledge of the supremely indestructible. **The eighteen independent *Buddhdharmās*** are mentioned. Here, the qualities of the twelve ascetical practices of the *bhikṣus* are living on alms, possessing the three monastic garments, only eating afterwards, [150.5] sitting quietly, properly spread out, having only one seat, living in the open space, sleeping on the roots of trees, dwelling in the forests, staying in the cremation grounds, making clothes out of rags from the dust heap, and dressed in woolen clothes.<sup>2</sup> In this way, having learned first the entire *Dharmasaṃgraha*, then **the supreme place--neuter<sup>3</sup>--of the lord in one's own body is to be meditated upon**

<sup>1</sup> See Kasawara 1885:53-60 where both the thirty-two marks and the eighty subsidiary marks are listed in Sanskrit and translated into English.

<sup>2</sup> This last term has a misprint in the Sarnath edition--it should read *nāmatikaḥ* instead of *nāmantikaḥ*. This is an old list of qualities of the *bhikṣus*, found in Pāli literature. The list virtually matches the list given in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 63. The *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* has a couple of other minor modifications in its list--*khalupaścādbhaktikaḥ* instead of *paścādkhalubhaktikaḥ*; and a slight difference in order, with *vṛkṣamūlika*, *ekāsanika*, *ābhyavakāśika* instead of *vṛkṣamūlika* after the latter two. The *Pāli* includes a thirteenth, *nesaggikaṅgam* (Kasawara et al 1885:13).

<sup>3</sup> The commentary adds *napuṃsakam* after quoting the word *paramapadam* from the verse. *Napuṃsakam* refers either to something neither male nor female--i.e. either a eunuch, a hermaphrodite, or a neuter word. The grammatical sense must be intended here, though the rationale for Puṇḍarīka's clarification is not entirely clear to me. One possible explanation could relate to his point made at 148.10-11, that the pair of wisdom and means is not the union of the penis and vagina (*dvayaṃ prajñopāyo na bhaga-liṅga-saṃyogaḥ*). Puṇḍarīkaḥ at times seems to favor the monastic and celibate traditions a bit, and his emphasis on the neuter aspect of the ultimate goal may have something to do with that predilection here. Such an attitude would seem to be emphasized by mentioning here the teacher in company with the *mantra* possessor, not a *yogini* or Tantric consort--this is however speculation on my part.



by the *mantra* possessor, together with the teacher. ||240||

**Translation of the Fifth Chapter of the *Kalacakratantra* and *Vimalaprabhā***

**(3rd *Mahoddeśāḥ*--Puṇḍarīka's 40 Page Sanskrit Commentary on KCT 5.127)**

[60.1]<sup>1</sup> The great teaching called the perfection of knowledge about the supremely indestructible.

Homage to the glorious lightning being. Homage to the great consort, the supremely indestructible bliss. Homage to the gurus, Buddhas, and bodhisattvas. Homage to the fierce kings, the lightning *ḍākus*, and the *ḍākinīs*.

Now, from the innate body produced from the indestructible/syllable, there is a piercing of the properties that assume the form of syllables situated on the arms, [60.5] etc. [forms] coming from the transforming<sup>2</sup> mark of the *hūṃkāra* on the vowels and consonants of the moon and sun lotus seats:<sup>3</sup> since this is the case, therefore the *Bhagavān*'s perfection of knowledge about the supremely indestructible is described--  
**5.127: Because there is unity of the vowels and consonants, of the moon and the sun, there is no *āsana* for the lightning possessor;**

**By the *hūṃkāra* itself, the mark is transformed; the other is not regarded as the form of the syllable;**<sup>4</sup>

**[The mark is the mark] of what's produced by the indestructible, of what**

<sup>1</sup> Page numbers refer to the Sarnath edition (Rinpoche et al 1994b); 60.1 refers to page 60, line 1, etc.

<sup>2</sup> I've taken *pariṇata*, a past participle, in an active sense.

<sup>3</sup> This is one of the longer compounds in the *Vimalaprabhā*: *āli-kāli-pāṇma-candra-āditya-āsana-hūṃkāra-pariṇata-cilma-utpāda-rūpa-varṇu-bhūja-saṃsthāna-parikalpanā-dharma-prativedho*. *Rūpa-parilapanā* = assuming a shape.

<sup>4</sup> *Aparam*, the other, here presumably refers to a vowel or consonant without the *hūṃkāraḥ*.

resides in the perishable receptacle,<sup>5</sup> of this divine-sense;

**[60.10] [It is the mark] of the drop of universal form, of the supreme victor lord, of [he who] sustains the universal illusion. || 127 ||**

Beginning<sup>2</sup> with "unity." **Because there is unity of the vowels and consonants.** ‘Beginning with *a*’ refers to the set of vowels beginning with the letter *a*. The letter *ha* is the moon, and individually it is also a vowel.<sup>3</sup> ‘Beginning with *ka*’ refers to the set of consonants; the syllable *kṣa* is the sun, and individually it is also a consonant. Of the two, i.e. of the vowels and consonants, [and] **of the moon and the sun**, or of the phoneme *ha* and the phoneme *kṣa*. There is unity of the phoneme *a* and the phoneme *pa*; the unifying seat is the basis. The lotus has the nature of the consonant *pa*. The lunar *maṇḍala* has either the nature of the phoneme *a*, or the nature of the phoneme *ha*. **[60.15]** The solar *maṇḍala* has the nature of either the phoneme *r* (*rephātmaka*), or the nature of the phoneme *kṣa*. Of the one designated, **of the lightning possessor**; the thunderbolt/diamond of the indivisible one is the uejaculated/indestructible knowledge of the supremely indestructible happiness;<sup>4</sup> that is in him, therefore he is a lightning possessor. [So *vajīṇah*] refers to that designated lightning possessor. **Not**, i.e. [whose] basis lacks an *āsana* [yogic posture]. Likewise, **transformed by the *hūṃkāra***, the lightning-mark; i.e. the body of the deity, transformed by the lightning mark, whose properties are formed by the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the mortal body.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins a 43 page section of the commentary, before we get to verse 5.128.

<sup>3</sup> For fans of Tantric Sanskrit--this is decidedly non-Pāṇinian.

<sup>4</sup> The text reads *paramākṣarasukha[sya]*--the *sya* added by the Sarnath editors. I’ve simply taken the *parama-akṣara-sukha-jñānam* as a single compound.

syllables situated on the arms, **is not regarded** as having the designated characteristic. Why is that? Because the applied characteristic is intrinsically perishable. Here the *a*-sounds etc.--the vowels, and the *ka*-sounds etc.--the consonants, [60.20] having perishable natures, and interdependently arisen, are said to be indestructible by those who know the *Śāstras*.<sup>1</sup> In the same way it's said--

"[It] does not perish, it does not move, it goes to another place, hence the vowel is called by the word indestructible." Therefore, the one possessed of bad *mantras*, confused, perceives as indestructible either the collection of vowels or the collection of consonants. From [the point of view of] ultimate reality neither the vowel nor the consonant group is indestructible. By the word 'indestructible' [is meant] the intuition that is the supremely indestructible happiness, the lightning-bolt-being. In the same way, the mind, and since it provides protection, [and] the *mantra*, are called the intuition of the supremely indestructible. Similarly, by the Victors it is called [the one] whose meta-nature is other, the perfection of wisdom, [60.25] the illuminator of matter, the great consort, possessing the form of innate bliss, the state filled with the vibrations of the *dharma*-realm, the innate body. The two who are imperceptible to the interdependently arisen senses, and imperceptible by the divine senses, the lightning being and the mother of the *Buddha*, both have the supremely indestructible bliss as their intrinsic nature, both have transcended the properties of the ultimate particles, both are like the dream in the prognostic or oracular mirror (*pratisenādarśa*),<sup>2</sup> both have the intrinsic form of the supremely-indestructible. Here

<sup>1</sup> *Puṇḍarikāḥ* must be referring to brahmins here.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Sekoddeśaḥ* v.24ff. and *Nāropa's ṭikā* thereon [according to Torella]; also cf. *Bauddha-Tantra Kośaḥ*, from Rare Buddhist Text Project, Sarnath 1990--for *pratisenādarśaḥ*; also see

are the indestructibles, i.e. form, sensation, perception, imagination, and consciousness, unveiled, the five indestructibles, known as the great voids. Similarly, the earth, water, fire, wind and space constituents, unveiled, [61.1] are called the five indestructibles. The six indestructibles are the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and flesh, unveiled, without each one perceiving their individual sense domains. Similarly the form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and *dharma* constituents are revealed, and are called the six indestructibles. These take on the one same taste as the aggregates, constituents, and bases, [and as one] become the drop-void. This drop, also, being imperishable/unejaculated, is called the supremely indestructible. The supremely indestructible also is the *a*-sound; [61.5] and complete enlightenment is produced from the phoneme *a*, consisting of wisdom and means, the lightning bolt being, the neutral place,<sup>1</sup> called the innate body, consisting of knowledge and the knowable, because of the indivisibility of the cause and the fruit. It is also *Kālacakra*, the *Bhagavān*, called the place of the supremely indestructible happiness by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in praise of the great *maṇḍala* of the lightning-element, with the first *śloka*--

As here follows, the *Bhagavān*, the *Buddha*, the awakened, has his origin in the phoneme *a*; |

The *a*-phoneme is first among all phonemes, it is the great objective, the

Sansrit pages 87 (line 30)-88 (several times), and page 101, line 1, below; see page 102, line 10, for a reference to this "mirror-knowledge" discussed in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.

<sup>1</sup> *Napumsakapadam*.

supremely indestructible. ||

[61.10]

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 5.1)<sup>1</sup>

Likewise in praise of the knowledge about performance of religious duty,<sup>2</sup> with the second *śloka* is stated, as here follows--

Generating the purpose of all *mantras*, the great drop, indestructible, |

The great void [consisting of] five-syllables, the drop void [consisting of] six syllables. ||

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 10.2)<sup>3</sup>

[61.15] Likewise in the root *Tantra*, is also stated, as follows--

The conjunction of the vowels and consonants is the sacrificial seat<sup>4</sup> of the lightning being, |

And the *hūṃkāra* etc. of the body produced from the indestructible is not desired. ||

By this, from what's arisen from the indestructible, rising in the perishable

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 28a; "And in this way the blessed one, the Buddha [Mañjuśrī], the completely awakened, born from the syllable *a*, the foremost of all phonemes, of great meaning, the supreme syllable." Davidson prefaces verse 28 with the line: "Fourteen verses on the Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala." (Davidson 1981:22 & 51).

<sup>2</sup> Davidson translates this phrase, *kṛtyānuśṭhānajñāna* as "situationally effective gnosis" (Davidson 1981:36 & 61).

<sup>3</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 144; "The progenitor of the significance of all *mantras*, he is the great *bindu*, devoid of syllables; the five syllables and greatly void, he is voidness in the *bindu*, with one hundred syllables." Davidson remarks in a note that it is "certainly a strange verse, there is no consensus on it among our commentators." (Davidson 1981:36 & 60). Davidson's edition has *śatākṣaraḥ* instead of the *ṣaḍ-akṣaraḥ* in the VMP--the first difference I've found between *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ* quotes in the VMP and Davidson's edition. Given the prevalence of five and six syllable sets in the KCT and VMP, the lack of mention of a hundred syllable set, and Davidson's remark that "no one [of the commentators on the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*] identifies the hundred syllables" (Davidson 1981:36, note 119), I'm inclined to take the *ṣaḍakṣaraḥ* as the correct reading.

<sup>4</sup> *Viṣṭara*--made of *kuśa* grass.

**receptacle, from the divine-sense, i.e.,<sup>1</sup>** the perishable is characterized by states of production and cessation, it is the moment of ejaculation; what becomes the receptacle of that [perishable moment] is the supremely indestructible, the imperishable moment; it is designated as "time." That in fact [i.e. what was just stated] is the lightning bolt knowledge. The unveiling of that time [i.e. the indestructible, not-fallen or not ejaculated moment], is the *cakra* [that is] the aggregates, the constituents, and the bases; [61.20] the unveiling is knowable as the unity of the three worlds. That itself is called the great *maṇḍala* of the lightning constituent. **It is of universal form, i.e. all the senses, the drop-form, sustaining the universal illusion, the *Bhagavān*'s body, consisting of wisdom and knowledge.** So it is stated by the *Bhagavān* in the fifth chapter of the *Tantrarāja*, with the second verse in praise of the five forms, as follows--

Time, the lightning of the universe, etc.,<sup>2</sup> the incomparable *puruṣa*,  
omnipresent, without manifestation,

Standing at the top, the ears, nose, mouth, eyes, and head, the hands and feet,  
are everywhere, |

[61.25] The end of being, the leader of beings, the best supporter of the three  
worlds, the cause of causes,

The beginning of science, achievable by *yoga*, the place of ultimate happiness,  
I praise the *Kālacakra*. ||

(*Kālacakratantra* 5.245)

<sup>1</sup> There is no *iti* in the verse, it should not be bold.

<sup>2</sup> Though *viśvādi vajraṃ* is parsed here, I've taken it as it appears in the verse on page 151 of the Sanskrit (volume 3, Rinpoche et al 1994b).

[62.1] Similarly, the other science of the inner/meta-self was also stated by the *Bhagavān* in the Inner Self chapter (KCT Chpt.2), with the ninety-sixth verse--

The Vedas, together with the subsidiary Vedas, with what is considered *Smṛti*, and with logic and the philosophical doctrines, is not science,

Nor are the other texts composed in the world by the poets *Vyāsa*, *Vaiśvānara* etc., |

What is called science is the imperishable science of the meta-self, stated in fact here in the world by the sages,

[62.5] Where the entire three worlds comes into being, Oh ruler of men, and where it also dissolves. | |

(*Kālacakratāntra* 2.96)

In addition, he alone is the lord *Kālacakra* who consists of wisdom and means, described by the relationship of the knowable and knowledge. Here knowledge of the supremely indestructible becomes the cause of the destruction of all obscurations; the means is called 'time.' The knowable consists of the three realms, characterized by infinite existence, a wheel; that indeed is wisdom. The unity of knowledge and the knowable is the wheel of time. The *Kālacakra's cakra* was described by the lord in the Royal *Tantra*, in the fifth chapter, with the ninety-sixth verse--

The Buddha fields are endless, of unmeasured qualities, as are the constituents, the atmosphere, etc.;

Maintenance, arisal, and destruction, threefold thus is existence; all sentient beings are in the six paths; |



The Buddhas, the fierce ones, the gods, etc., with compassionate hearts the bodhisattvas, with their wives,

This is the *cakra* of the victor, revered by three worlds, the one [*cakra*] of the one lord.

[62.15]

(*Kālacakratāntra* 5.63)

The *cakra* of time--that has the form of knowledge--is characterized as knowable. The unity of the two, of knowledge and the knowable, is *Kālacakra*. By this sequence of statements, he alone is the lord *Kālacakra* who is of this sort, the lightning being, praised by the Victors in all the *Tantras*. In the root *Tantra*, in the fifth chapter, it is stated by the lord-

The knowledge that is in every way indivisible is designated 'lightning/diamond.'

[62.20] The sentient being that is the unity of the three worlds is recalled as 'the lightning being.'

Therefore, from the drop of universal form that arises from the indestructible, from the innate/orgasmic body (*sahaja-kāya*) of the universal lord of Victors who is the sustainer of universal illusion, the relationship of the basis and the designee is not considered as for the purpose of the perfection of the great consort (*mahāmudrā*). Since for the purpose of the practice of worldly [yogic] perfections a (logical) relationship of the support and the supported (*ādhāra-ādheya-sambandha*) is accepted, therefore (such a relationship) is not accepted for the *yogī* who delights in the practice of the supremely indestructible happiness, who has received teaching from a true

*guru*, who has abandoned bad company, who has meditated on the causes smoke etc., who is possessed of the primal action, who has purified the central [channel], [62.25] whose thoughts are committed to the highest love like the sole son of the universal being, who desires to mount up onto the purified<sup>1</sup> place of omniscience, who has abandoned conceptualized meditations on the *maṇḍalas*, *cakras*, etc., who has observed, in the space path, the non-arisen properties of omnipresent voidness that are like the image (of an attacking army) in a divinatory mirror (*ādarśa-pratisenā*), [63.1] whose thoughts are on the dream-like objective that appears as a vibrational emanation of his own thinking, for whom the void is an investigation into the properties that constitute the collection of ultimate particles, who has repelled the voidness of annihilation, who is devoted to the properties of self-intelligible happiness of the inner-self (*adhyātma*), who has abandoned the self-intelligible properties of the happiness of the external senses, who consists of wisdom and art, for whom one moment stabilizes the *bodhicitta*, who has received the teaching about the path of wisdom and knowledge [that leads to] the supremely indestructible happiness, the imagined property of the deity of the *maṇḍala* who is established on the arms etc. by means of the syllables as marks for the basis and the designee [63.5]. †

Now there is no stability of the *maṇḍala-cakra* [achieved] through imagined thought. Why is that? Because it has the properties of arising and cessation. Here, when the moment has arrived, the *yogī* should cause the leader to come into being. At that moment, the prior deities etc. cease to exist. At the moment that one causes

<sup>1</sup> MW lists *vimārga* (*Pāṇini* 6.3.122) as a variant of *vimārga*, from *vi* + *√mrgj.* to wipe off or clean. *Vimāra* is not a word in Sanskrit, so we need to emend the text here.

the prior deity to come into existence, the leader etc. ceases to exist. In this way, sequentially, all the deities cease to exist. When one causes the blue-faced one to come into being, then the red faced ones etc. cease to be. [63.10] When one causes the red faced one to come into being, there is no blue faced one etc. In this way, sequentially, all the faces cease to be. At the moment that one causes the lightning mark to come into being, the marks of the chopper etc. cease to be. At the moment one generates the chopper mark, at that moment the lightning etc. marks cease to be. In this way, sequentially, there is non-existence of all the marks. How so? Just as when the knowledge from the vase (initiation) is stopped the knowledge from the cloth (or silk ribbon initiation) arises, likewise when the knowledge of the *maṇḍala* leader is stopped, the knowledge of the prior deity arises. In this way, from the arisal and cessation of [those] that are produced, [63.15] there is non-existence, from the arisal of those that are not produced there is non-existence, because of the non-existence of both what arises and what does not arise, there is non-existence of all [of these]. Therefore, imaginary meditation for the purpose of the perfection of the great consort is not to be undertaken by the *yogī*. And it was stated by the lord in the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*, with the fifth verse in praise of the elements of the truly purified property, as follows--

With goals accomplished, with desires achieved, with all desires abandoned, |

Without variation,<sup>1</sup> indestructible. the element realm is the truth realm, the  
supreme, unchanging. ||

<sup>1</sup> *Nirvikalpaḥ*. In the *Yogasūtras*, Woods translates *vikalpa* as "predicate relation" (Woods 1914:19); Taimini translates it as "fancy" or "imagination" (Taimini 1961:14).

[63.20]

(Nāmasaṃgīti 6.15)<sup>1</sup>

The lightning being's ego, though, is not to be exercised. In regard to that, in fact, it was stated by the lord with the twelfth verse--

Accomplished in science and [good] conduct, the *Sugata*, the world knower, the highest, |

Unselfish, without self-consciousness, established in the system of the two realities. | |

[63.25]

(Nāmasaṃgīti 6.12)<sup>2</sup>

So, according to the *Tathāgata*'s statement, the imaginative meditation, and self-consciousness on the part of the lightning being, are **not** to be practiced by the *yogī* who has resorted to the truth of the ultimate objective.

Indeed, it was stated by the reality-knowing *Bhagavān*, the *Tathāgata*, in **all the royal Tantras**--first, meanwhile, one should cause to come into being the protection-wheel. Then, meditating on the seed syllable of the deity in the *maṇḍala* of one's heart, performing the purification of the liberation face, etc., awakening the *Tathāgatas* on the earth's surface with the light rays from the seeds of knowledge, worshipping them, the *mantra*-possessor undertakes the instruction on sin, taking pleasure in merit, [63.30] going to the three refuges, restoration of one's own nature,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 56; "His aim accomplished and thought (*saṃkalpa*) accomplished, he has abandoned thought. Devoid of mentation, his sphere is indestructible, the *dharmadhātu*, supreme, imperishable" (Davidson 1981:26 & 53).

<sup>2</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 53; "Completed in wisdom and good conduct (*vidyācaraṇa*), he is well-gone (*sagata*), the best as witan of the world. Without a sense of an 'I' and 'Mine', he is established in the practice of the two truths" (Davidson 1981:25 & 53). "Witan" is an archaic word for a wise man or counselor.

<sup>3</sup> This is not a phrase found in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*.

generation of the *bodhicitta*, resorting to the path, [and] reliance on voidness. Then one should generate the arisal of *dharma* that has the space element as its intrinsic nature; in the middle of that, transformed by the *hūṃkāra*, [64.1] is the lightning ground. Now, according to the intention of the wisdom *Tantras*, the wind etc. *maṇḍalas* on *Sumeru*'s upper surface are either the upper apartment,<sup>1</sup> or the lightning cage. Then the *maṇḍala*, transformed by the body-lightning, completely filled with all characteristics, is joined to the moon and sun seats. Now in the middle, the lunar disk is transformed by the phoneme *pa*, and by the lotus *ma* phoneme, while the solar disk is transformed by the phoneme *ra*. In the upper part, with the seed syllables of the knowledge of the lunar and solar vowels and consonants, one should generate the image of the deity that consists of the five knowledges of the mirror, of identity, of investigation, of accomplishment, and of the purified *dharma* realm [64.5].<sup>2</sup> Then the body, speech, and mind lightning, flowing with wisdom and passion, is awakened by the goddesses, the lightning singers, and is, in addition, governed by the body, speech, and mind, and accomplished by its own mark. Then the *mantra*-possessor should cause to occur, in the *maṇḍala*, the release of the host of deities, the drawing to himself of the knowledge-*cakra*, the entering [into it], the binding, the satisfying, the making of equal flavor by the covenant/time-*maṇḍala*, the consecrating with all the *Tathāgatas* and goddesses, [and should make] himself into the lightning being's self-consciousness endowed with a diamond/lightning tiara ornament. |

<sup>1</sup> *Kūṭāgāraṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> Snellgrove translates these as mirror-like wisdom, wisdom of sameness, discriminating wisdom, active wisdom, and wisdom of the pure absolute (HVT 1.8.6-7; Snellgrove 1959{1}:74). See also Shastri 1927:37, and Guenther 1963:73 note) for other explanations.

[64.10] Here, how can the *maṇḍala-cakra* meditation be an conceptual meditation [*vikalpa-bhāvanā*] since the prohibition was stated according to the *Tathāgata*'s statement? This will be someone's opinion. Therefore it is said [by me, *Puṇḍarīka*] that on this very point that is true; that [is expressed] by the reality-knowing *Bhagavān* for those who, relying on the worldly concealed truth, through the influence of the abode of intelligent beings, are of young minds, deficient in strength, who have not examined supreme reality, whose thought trembles [in the face of] deep and noble knowledge, who delight in the practices of pacification etc., who are attached to the enjoyments of the sensual realms, who are desirous of practices for the worldly yogic perfections with swords, pills, ointments, mercury, and elixirs, [64.15] [this truth being] knowledge that has arisen interdependently, that has as its sense realm what has arisen interdependently, that is indicated (as something the initiate should perform), and that is capable of (the resulting) activity for the indicated<sup>1</sup> purpose. Therefore, because of its capacity for activity for the authorized purpose, having resorted to the truth of the ultimate purpose, therefore there is this statement by the *Tathāgata*. How much more is it the case, then, that just as it was stated by the *Tathāgata*, so there is also incomprehensible efficacy of the approved substances such as imaginative meditation, *mantras*, the jewels, stones, swords, pills, mercury, and elixirs<sup>2</sup> that are capable of achieving the indicated purpose. In the same way it is

<sup>1</sup> *Prādeśika* appears to be used here in the same sense that we mean in English when we say that certain substances have certain "indications," i.e. they are specifically meant to be used to treat certain specific disease conditions; in this sense they are also "authorized," since they are not meant to be used for other conditions. "Approved," as in 'approved by the FDA' would be modern equivalent.

<sup>2</sup> Although *rasāyana* is used as a generic term for alchemy, it specifically also refers to 'elixirs,' i.e. the mixtures of plant juices, ashes, herbs, mercury, etc. that are described in

also seen here that he who performs the white meditation, the tranquil form, [and] the pacification action does not undertake the killing etc. actions. [64.20] Similarly he who undertakes the black meditation, the terrible form, [and] the killing, does not undertake the actions of subjugation etc. Likewise the one who undertakes the red meditation, the passion form, [and] the subjugation, does not undertake the paralysis etc. actions. The same holds true for he who undertakes the yellow meditation, the paralyzed form, [and] the paralyzing, he does not undertake the pacification etc. action. It is to be understood in the same way for the poison, also. Whoever performs the white meditation on the drop form in the forehead, he makes the poison non-poison. Whoever performs the red meditation performs the agitation of the poison; whoever performs the black mediation performs the transference of the poison; whoever performs the yellow meditation performs the paralysis of the poison; i.e. whoever performs the authorized conceptual meditation, [64.25] he [also] performs the activity for the authorized purpose. The jewels, *mantras*, and herbs are also to be understood in this way. |<sup>1</sup>

Here the *mantra* also being perfected, he who performs pacification does not perform the killing etc. action. He who performs killing does not perform the subjugation etc. action. He who performs subjugation does not perform paralysis etc. He who performs paralysis does not perform the peaceful etc. action. Hence the worldly knowledge is not capable of [achieving] action for the purpose of world-

alchemical texts. See below, 65.17, where elixirs are one of the *siddha-dravya*--substances used by the *siddhas*.

<sup>1</sup> Puṇḍarīkaḥ appears to be arguing that the various meditative techniques take the place of the various alchemical practices, and are just as effective.

transcending knowledge. In the same way, even having perfected the sword etc., it is not [capable of activity for the purpose of world-transcending knowledge], as stated by the *Bhagavān*. [64.30]

Even one *mantra*, perfected, accomplishes all actions; how is it authorized? It will be authorized for whomever the purpose is. Therefore [although] it is stated-- here, even one *mantra*, perfected, accomplishes all actions, this by itself is not proof. Why is that? Because there is a distinction in its activity. Here, since there is a distinction in the activity of even one *mantra*, there is a distinction, and it was described by the *Tathāgata*. For example, the homage in the peaceful etc. [action] ends with a *mantra* recitation; [the praise] in the welfare promoting [action] ends with a *svāhā*; [the praise] in the attracting [action] [65.1] ends with a *vaṣaṭ*; [the praise] in the enmity [action] ends with a *hūṃ*; [the praise] in the subjugation [action] ends in *vaṣaṭ*; [the praise] in the killing [action] ends in *phaṭ*. Likewise, even in the performance of an oblation,<sup>1</sup> there is a difference stated by the difference in the pots. Here when the oblation is offered in the rounded pot,<sup>2</sup> [on a fire made] with faggots from the *Udumbara* etc. sap trees,<sup>3</sup> with *dūrva* grasses that are not milked out,<sup>4</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *Homakārya*.

<sup>2</sup> As customary, the following list abbreviates the syntax. In the first, model sentence, a *yadā ... tadā* construction appears to be understood: when the oblation is offered....then the *mantra* effects the result. I've therefore added this postulated when...then... construction to the following sentences matching the pattern.

<sup>3</sup> The four *kṣtra-vṛkṣas* are the *Nyagrodha*, *Uḍumbara*, *Aśvattha*, and *Madhuka*. The *Nyagrodha* is the Indian fig tree, with downward growing roots, *Ficus indica* or *Ficus benghalensis*. Zysk locates a passage at *Ṛgvidhāna* 4.17-18 identifying a rite using RV 10.162 and amulets of *Nyagrodha* wood to protect against abortion or stillbirth (Zysk 1993:52-3); see also *Suśruta* 5.22, 5.25, 5.49. The *Uḍumbara* (or *Udumbara*, the latter the preferred Vedic spelling acc. to MW; does this spelling here represent part of a self-conscious appropriation of Vedic authority?) {*Ficus glomerata*--see *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 7.5.1.22; used for making amulets against poverty and hunger (AV 19.31.11 & Zysk



*mantra* causes [the magical action of] pacification; it does not accomplish the welfare promotion etc. action. When the oblation is offered in the square pot, with the previously mentioned faggots [providing the smoky fire], with corn and butter [offerings], [the *mantra*] accomplishes the welfare promotion [action]; it does not accomplish the killing etc. When the oblation is offered in the bow-shaped pot, with bone-faggots [providing the fire],<sup>1</sup> with human flesh, poison, and blood [offerings], [65.5] it performs the killing [action]; it does not accomplish the ruination of an adversary etc. When the oblation is offered in the pentagonal pot, with crow-feathers and strips of human fat, it accomplishes the ruination of an adversary; [the *mantra*] does not accomplish subjugation etc. When the oblation is offered in the seven-cornered pot, [on a fire made] with *Kimśuka* faggots,<sup>2</sup> with red flowers [and] with the

1993:51), for wealth and prosperity, and for sacrificial posts, and ladles--AV 19.31 (Griffith 1895-6{2}:236-7); see also *Suśruta* 4.33.}. The *Aśvattha* tree, *Ficus religiosa*, is used for upper *araṇi*, while the *Śamt* wood is used for the lower receptacle in making fire with a fire-drill, with the two homologized respectively to man and woman--AV 6.11.1 (Griffith 1895-6{1}:203). The tree is said at AV 5.4.3, 6.95, and 19.39.6 to form the seat of the gods in the third heaven and to be the place where the general purpose healing herb *Kuṣṭha* was born (Zysk 1993:40,43,241; and Griffith 1895-6{1}:244 etc.). The *Madhūka* tree, {*Madhuca indica*; see *Suśruta* 4.32, 4.41., 4.44}. (See also Zysk 1993:258-9 for botanical names). Our passage indicates that fresh faggots of the *Udumbara* and the other sap trees are used with the fresh *dūrva* grass (*Cynodon dactylon*, bermuda grass or dog grass, Zysk 1993:259) to create a (very smoky) fire; in casting the *mantra* into the pot on such a fire one performed the magic rite of pacification. Zysk cites *Kāuśika Sūtra* 26.9-13 with a description of the use of four tips of *dūrva* grass mixed with other ingredients in a concoction to stop excess blood flow from menstruation or wounds (Zysk 1993:79). The flowering grass grows abundantly in India (Griffith 1895-6{1}:249) *Dūrva* is also one in a long list of ingredients making up the *candanādya* oil used to alleviate fever. (*Carakasamhitā Cikitsāsthānaṃ* 3.258; Sharma 1983:77).

<sup>4</sup> *Dūrvādugdhair*--i.e. the grasses still with the sap in them.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. with burning bones.

<sup>2</sup> *Kimśuka* is the *Butea frondosa* tree; it bears beautiful blossoms often alluded to by poets; the name literally means 'what a parrot?!' Synonyms are *palāśaḥ*, *parṇa*, and *kirmī* (Zysk 1993:259) Ash of the tree is mixed with various concoctions in alchemical formulas and for urinary diseases. (*Caraka, Cikitsa*. 1.3.15 & 33, and 6.31). The wood was also used to make sacrificial posts (Griffith 1895-6{2}:82) and to make the *juhū* ladle and covers of some

lightning water,<sup>1</sup> it accomplishes attraction; it does not accomplish subjugation etc.

When the oblation is offered in the triangular pot, with *khadira* [wood] faggots,<sup>2</sup> with sweating *Bilva* flowers,<sup>3</sup> [the *mantra*] accomplishes subjugation; it does not

accomplish paralysis etc. When the oblation is offered in the six-cornered pot, [on a fire made] with *Bilva* faggots, with staines *śmeṣmas*,<sup>4</sup> it accomplishes paralysis; it

does not accomplish stupefaction. [65.10] When the oblation is offered in the

octagonal pot, [on a fire made] with *arka* faggots,<sup>5</sup> with thorn-apples and *kusumadyas*<sup>6</sup> offered into the fire, it accomplishes stupefactions; it does not accomplish

pacification etc. Similarly there is a stated by the distinction in (types of) powder

(*rajas*).<sup>7</sup> White powder is used in the pacification [action], [and] in the welfare

promoting [action]. Black powder is used for killing and ruining of an adversary.

sacrificial vessels (Griffith 1895-6:210).

<sup>1</sup> Urine?

<sup>2</sup> *Khadira* is *Acacia Catechu*--a very hard wood whose resin is used in medicine--see *RV* 3.53.19 where it is used for the axel of a chariot (Griffith 1889{1}:398,400). Pieces are taken internally in a concoction to counter tuberculosis (Zysk 1993:14-15); cf. *Suśruta* 3.34, 13.43 etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Bilva* is *Aegle Marmelos*, the wood apple tree. Its yellow fruit pulp is eaten; the wood is used for sacrificial posts; the unripe fruit is used medicinally. (MW, Sharma 1992:49), and see *Suśruta* 4.12, 4.25-26. For indications see Dash 1987:65.

<sup>4</sup> *Nairmālyasmeṣmabhir*. I've been unable to find *śmeṣma* in any of the dictionaries or lexicons. A close variant reading might be *śleṣman*, phlegm--this is however unlikely since the term refers to one of the three humors. There is however a *śleṣmātakaḥ*, the plant *Cordia myxa* (*Suśruta* 4.16; 27.159 etc.).

<sup>5</sup> *Arka* is *Calotropis Gigantea* or *Calotropis procera*. See *Suśruta* 4.4 and 4.22. For indications see Dash 1987:214 and Sharma 1992:40.

<sup>6</sup> *Kusumamadhyā* is the name of a tree bearing a large acid fruit, *Cālītā Gāc*, *Cordia Myxa*, or *Dillenia Indica*; here we have *kusumamadya*; this could be an alternate spelling, or else we have *kanaka-kusuma-madyair*, with the thorn-apple-blossom-liquors. We may also need an emendation here to *kusumbha*, as in *kanaka-kusumbhādyair*--with thorn apples, saffron, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Due to the various colors mentioned *rajas* appears to refer to "powder," as probably powders used to draw *maṇḍalas* for magic rites.

Red powder is used in subjugation and attraction. Yellow powder is used for paralysis and stupefaction. Green powder is used for restoring to life.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, a distinction is stated because of the difference between rosaries.<sup>2</sup> In the pacification [action], there is *mantra* recitation with the crystalline rosary; for welfare promotion, [there is *mantra* recitation] with a pearl rosary; in the killing [action], [there is *mantra* recitation] with a rosary of human-teeth; for ruination of an adversary [there is *mantra* recitation] with a camel teeth rosary<sup>3</sup>, or with a donkey-teeth rosary; for subjugation [one performs *mantra* recitation] with a *putrajīva*<sup>4</sup> rosary; [65.15] for attraction [to oneself one performs *mantra* recitation] with a lotus-seed rosary, or with a red-sandal<sup>5</sup> rosary; for paralysis [one performs *mantra* recitation] with an *Elaeocarpus Ganitrus*<sup>6</sup> rosary; for stupefaction [one performs the *mantra* recitation] with an *ariṣṭha* rosary;<sup>7</sup> for revivifying [one performs] the *mantra* recitation with an emerald<sup>8</sup> rosary. In this way, for those who are adept, there is also the indicated quality of the substances [used by] the *siddhas*, i.e. *mantras*, herbs, gems, sword, mercury, elixires, etc.; [this] is not the quality of the knowledge of the supremely

<sup>1</sup> Cf. stories from *Marpa*'s biography on restoring birds etc. to life.

<sup>2</sup> The term is *akṣa-sūtraḥ*—literally a string of *eleocarpus* seeds. These seeds were and still are used to make prayer beads or rosaries. However, from our text it is evident that the term was also used generically for different types of rosaries.

<sup>3</sup> In earlier Vedic literature *uṣṭra* = a buffalo.

<sup>4</sup> MW lists *putrajīva* or *putraṃjīva* as the "*Putranjiva Roxburghii* (from its seeds are made necklaces which are supposed to keep children in good health), L." None of Zysk, Sharma, Dash, Amarasimha, or Hemacandra mention it.

<sup>5</sup> *Rakta-candanā*, *Caesalpinia Sappan*.

<sup>6</sup> *Rudrākṣa*—from MW by way of Wilson.

<sup>7</sup> *Ariṣṭha* is listed in *Yajñavalkya* 1.186 as the soap berry tree, *Sapindus Detergens Roxb.* whose fruits are used for washing; also defined as *Azadirachta Indica* from *Rāmāyana* 2.94.9, and as garlic, and as a medicinal plant. (MW).

<sup>8</sup> *Marakataṃ*.

indestructible. Here in the three-billion<sup>1</sup> worldly constituents, in the Buddha field, just as the *Bhagavān* with many emanation bodies, with the various cries [of animals, etc.], simultaneously accomplishes the goal of sentient beings; likewise the *yogī* is not able to accomplish the goal of sentient beings with these indicated practices, [65.20] because of the fact that they are indicated. It is stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in praise of investigative knowledge, with the first *śloka*, as follows--<sup>2</sup>

Thatness, the non-essentiality of existence,<sup>3</sup> the indestructible pinnacle of existence, |

The voidness espouser, the bull, deeply and nobly bellowing, | |

The *dharma* conch, the great sound, the *dharma* cheeked,<sup>4</sup> the great battle,<sup>5</sup> |<sup>5</sup>

[65.20] Unsituated *nirvāṇa*, the ten directional *dharma* kettle drum, | |

<sup>1</sup> The number reads *tri-sahasra-mahāsahasra*: three thousand times a great thousand. A great thousand = a million. We find the same usage in English, derived from Latin and Italian: *mille* = a thousand; *mille* + *-one* = a great or big thousand = *millione* or a million.

<sup>2</sup> This is a repeat of the quote from VMP 48.17-21, with the addition of one preceding line from the *Nāmasaṃgīti*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 116 lists two types of *nairātmya*: the non-substantiality of things, and the non-essentiality of the individual. ("*Nairātmyaṃ dvividhaṃ, tadyathā--dharma-nairātmyaṃ pudgala-nairātmyaṃ ceti*," Kasawara et al 1885:29).

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the *dharma*-conch blower. Davidson translates *gaṇḍī* as "bell," though it does not appear as a word in MW, Apte, or *Amarakośa*. Apte does have *gaṇḍī*, though, as the trunk of a tree. *Gaṇḍī* refers to the hollowed out trunk of a tree used as a type of drum. *Ghaṇṭā* does = a bell, though we should then emend the text. *Amara* gives *gaṇḍīra* and *samaṣṭhilā* as two types of cucumbers. (*Amarasīṃha* 1882:115). *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* also has no *gaṇḍī* or *gaṇḍin*. The lack of listing for *gaṇḍī* or *gaṇḍin* as a distinct word in any of these lexicons suggests to me that it most likely is simply an *-in* possessive of *gaṇḍa*, i.e. 'he who has *dharma*-cheeks,' since one's cheeks would bulge out considerably while blowing on a conch, much like a trumpet player's.

<sup>5</sup> Though *raṇa* can = sound, as Davidson takes it, its more common usage is as "battle," as something [a soldier] delights in. "Battle" seems the more appropriate meaning here since the conch itself is used like a bugle for sounding the call to battle. The simile seems to be that Mañjuśrī is the conch, the sound of the conch, the blower, and the battle itself.

[48.20] Without form, possessing form, foremost, having varied forms made by the mind, |

The radiance in the appearance of all forms, holding all the reflections. ||

[*Nāmasaṅgīti* 8.2-3]<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, in the Royal *Tantra*, also, in the fifth, wisdom chapter, with the ninety-seventh verse, the language of omniscience is described by the *Bhagavān*

[65.30] as follows--

To animals, spirits, and demons, to serpents, gods, and men, to Indians and Tibetans, etc.,

In the threefold [time, i.e.] past, future, and present, even, [she] is continually expressing the true law; |

[66.1] [She] is stabilizing the threefold world on the path, with their individually different languages;

This one is the language of the omniscient, the provider of the fruit of equal happiness, and is not the language of the gods.

(*Kālacakratantra* 5.97)

Furthermore, in that same chapter, in the preceding verse, the action of the omniscient body and speech is stated as follows--

[66.5] They see the one as many, through the influence of the qualities of observation, with the feelings of peacefulness, passion, etc.;

[They see the one] Residing in the *cakra* [as many], with [the feelings of

<sup>1</sup> Davidson vss. 77-79; Davidson translates 77a as "Being suchness, actual egolessness, the limit of actuality, and devoid of syllables." (Davidson 1981:28).

peacefulness, passion, etc. that are] engendered in one's own heart from prior births, through the power of the memory traces; |

The multiple language with one meaning enters into the hearts of living beings with their individual feelings;

The one situated in the *cakra* one undertakes to remove alms-giving to those residing [in heaven?],<sup>1</sup> for the sake of merit. | |

(*Kālacakrantra* 5.96)

[66.10] Here, just as the omni-form, omniscient body, speech, thought, and knowledge, without variation, capable of effecting every objective, comes into existence; likewise the imaginative meditation, *mantras* etc., even though mastered, are not capable of effecting every objective for the *yogīs*. In this way the entirety of the earth etc., also, made visible by those free of passion, becomes the limited individual (*prādeśika*). Why is that? Because of the limited individual's (*prādeśika*'s) growth and expansion. Here, the one who is free of passion makes all earth<sup>2</sup> visible before his eyes; he causes all earth to vibrate; [yet] he is not capable of making all water vibrate. In this way the entirety of the individual is knowable [66.15] as exactly the extent of the entirety of the void. Here the *maṇḍala* and lightning bolt possessor who causes the *Samāja maṇḍala* to vibrate, he cannot make the *Cakrasaṃvara* etc., [*maṇḍala*] vibrate. Who causes the *Cakrasaṃvara* to vibrate, he is not able to make the *Samāja* etc. [*maṇḍala*] vibrate, due to its limitation. Now someone will be of the opinion that, here, in this *maṇḍala-cakra*, when it is being

<sup>1</sup> Or to the protectors--alternate reading given in text by Sarnath editors.

<sup>2</sup> Here the text refers to the earth *dhātu* or *mahābhūta*, not the globe per se.

made visible before the eyes,<sup>1</sup> all the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras* of the three worlds also become visible before the eyes; [and] there are no other three worlds outside of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras* of the aggregates, constituents, and bases of consciousness.

Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response]—here, because **if** when the one is being made visible before the eyes, [66.20] in either the constituent-entirety, or in the *maṇḍala-cakra*, the triple world becomes visible before the eyes, and the state of omniscience etc. comes into being, **then**, when the place of omniscience is attained, then there would be no state of omniscience, no state of knowing all forms, no state of knowing the path, nor a state of knowing the forms of the path. In addition [if] when one entirety of earth etc. were being made visible before one’s eyes or were being made visible before one’s eyes in the *maṇḍala-cakra*, were there to be really complete Buddha-hood, then there would be none of the states called a monastic disciple [*śrāvaka*], a solitary Buddha, or a *siddha*. Here, just as in the triad of vehicles the *Bhagavān*’s statement is heard, in some such Buddha field, in some such world-constituent, by some one’s son, in some clan, in some such era, [so] the *Tathāgata* comes into being with the thirty-two marks of a great man, adorned with the eighty [66.25] secondary marks, with the six supernatural abilities. In some such

<sup>1</sup> My preference for translating *sphārayati* and other derivatives of *sphar* makes some sense here, I think. These *maṇḍalas* become visible as images before the mind’s eye, or perhaps before the physical eyes—this apparently was conceived of as a shimmering, vibrational appearance. Recall the repeated references to mirror-like images; images in a mirror can be made to move, by moving the mirror, or moving the reflected object around; other reflections were those of the sun or moon on the water, where the image shimmers, and appears at times to vibrate. ‘Vibrate’ in English has a range of connotations and uses, including the 1960’s slang sense of ‘vibes’ or ‘good vibrations’ for felt-energy; this slang sense, and perhaps a more technical sense of what we would term ‘physical vibrations,’ such as the subtle vibrations in sound or light waves, would appear to be combined in the *spharānu* notion, as used in the *Tantras*.

place [he becomes] completely awakened; in some place or other is takes his pleasure, performs the turning of the wheel of the law, teaches some sort of *dharmā* with various sounds [of different creatures] to intelligent beings of various dispositions, in some such place, having performed the beholding of the great constituent,<sup>1</sup> [he is] completely liberated. Having seen, among these constituents, the greatly superior miracle, those constituents are honored by the gods, *asuras* and men; it is **not**<sup>2</sup> the same [for a *yogī*, i.e. that] in some such Buddha field, in some such world-constituent, in some such *kalpa*, [having] the thirty-two *mahāpuruṣa* marks, [having] the eighty secondary marks, [having] the six supernatural abilities, the *yogī* is born in some such place, completely awakened, **[66.30]** taking his pleasure in some place, [nor] does he turn the wheel of the law in some place or other, [nor] does he teach some sort of *dharmā* with various sounds [of different creatures] to intelligent beings of various dispositions, [nor] does he demonstrate the magical growth of his body simultaneously in three billion constituents, [nor] having performed the great constituent inspection in some place or other is he completely liberated. Having seen the greatly superior vibrational expansion of these constituents, **[67.1]** these constituents are honored by the gods, *asuras*, and men. Therefore the *yogī* does not become completely awakened when this *maṇḍala-cakra* is being made visible in front of his eyes. Why is that? Because there's no turning the wheel of the law, [and] because there's no manifestation of the *Tathāgata*. Here, just as *Maitreyanātha* is prophesied by the *Tathāgata*, [since] he will come into being in a future time as a

<sup>1</sup> It's not clear what this refers to.

<sup>2</sup> I've added bold just for clarity.



*Tathāgata*, [and] others such as *Bhasmeśvara* etc.<sup>1</sup> will be prophesied by the *Tathāgata* as completely awakened ones. It is not the same that any *yogī*, when the single *maṇḍala-cakra* [67.5] is made visible, will become completely awakened; so the *Bhagavān* proclaims. However, through influence of the abode of sentient beings,<sup>2</sup> the meditation on the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*, as described by the *Bhagavān*, is for the purpose of achieving the worldly yogic perfections by the sword, pills, ointments, mercury, elixirs, etc. Therefore, through making the deities of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras* become visible, the sword etc. yogic perfections are achieved by the adept, though the state of omniscience is not achieved. If the state of omniscience were achieved by the power of the meditation on the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*, then what would be the purpose of the *siddhas* communicating the statements of the *Bhagavān* in their own texts?<sup>3</sup> So the worldly *siddhis* [67.10] do not provide the quality of omniscience, because of the statement [that they are] contextual or partial (*prādeśika*) because they lack the language of omniscience, and because they investigate the concealed magical power of the physical body.<sup>4</sup> When the concealed property [of the

<sup>1</sup> *Bhasmeśvara* is the name of Śiva as a future *Tathāgata*, from the *Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. This reference serves as an internal dating marker, placing the *Vimalaprabhā* post the *Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.

<sup>2</sup> In medicine, *raktāśaya* is the physical heart, the blood's receptacle; *āmāśaya* is the stomach, undigested food's receptacle. So *sattvāśaya* could be the brain, the receptacle of consciousness.

<sup>3</sup> The use of the term *svagranthe*, in their own text, or in this text, raises an interesting question. If *svagrantha* refers to the *Kālacakratāntra*, this suggests Puṇḍarīka is referring to the *siddhas* relating the Buddha's words in this text. Since Puṇḍarīka wrote the commentary, he could only be referring to the verses of the KCT itself. This offers an interesting twist to the oft-stated traditional argument that the Buddha taught the *Tantra*—he did, then, yet it's the *siddhas* who communicated the Buddha's words. However, *svagranthe* may be used in a generic sense to refer to texts by Buddhist alchemists, who quote Buddha therein.

<sup>4</sup> *Sāvaraṇa-kāya-ṛddhi-saṃdarśanāt*.

physical body] is being made visible, the *yogī* does not become omniscient, therefore, when the revealed property is being made visible, the *yogī* does become omniscient, due to the non-concealed *dharma*'s characteristic. The omniscient one has a divine eye, a divine ear, knowledge of others' thoughts, recollection of former lives, the magical power to go everywhere, the destruction of all outflows, the power of the knowledge of what is proper and improper, the power of the knowledge of the ripening of *karma*, the power of the knowledge of the one and the many constituents, the power of knowledge from senses near and far, [67.15] the power of the knowledge of various propensities, the power of the knowledge of the cessation of suffering and the entry into the practice of the *dharma*, the power of the knowledge of the termination of pain, the power of the knowledge of cutting off multiple births, the power of the knowledge of all miraculous abilities, [and] the power of the knowledge of the destruction of outflows.<sup>1</sup> In the same way the stage<sup>2</sup> that is entirely radiant with the brilliance of the great solar disk the stage with the radiance of nectar, shining with the great moon; the stage with the light of the atmosphere, well-established like the sky; the stage with the radiance of lightning, charming; the stage with the light of a gem, established by consecration; the stage with the light of a lotus, its stainless properties intrinsically purified, without limitations; the stage of performing the

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 76 gives a different list of the ten powers of the *Tathāgataḥ*, as follows: ("Tathāgatasya daśa balāni, tadyathā--sthāna-asthāna-jñānabalaṃ, karma-vipāka-jñānabalaṃ, nānā-dhātu-jñānabalaṃ, nānā-adhimukti-jñānabalaṃ, sattvendriya-parāpara-jñānabalaṃ, saratra-gāminī-pratipatti-jñānabalaṃ, dhyāna-mokṣa-samādhi-samāpatti-saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-vyutthāna-jñānabalaṃ, pūrva-nivāsa-anusmṛti-jñānabalaṃ, cyuty-utpatti-jñānabalaṃ, āśrava-kṣaya-jñānabalaṃ ceti." Kasawara et al 1885:16).

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be a new set of *bhūmis* or *bodhisattva* stages of *Mahāyāna*. See *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64 and 65 for the traditional sets of ten or thirteen (Monier Williams' citation is incorrect). Here we have twelve *bhūmis* described.

actions of a Buddha; [67.20] the incomparable stage; the stage whose comparison pierces all comparisons;<sup>1</sup> the stage of the unsurpassed light of wisdom; the tremendously brilliant stage of omniscience; the stage knowable by each individual, filled with the knowledge of *yogīs*.<sup>2</sup> On the *Tathāgata*'s part there is no stumbling; there is no crying out; there is no lost memory; there is no uncollected thought; there is no variegated consciousness; there is no negligence in his consciousness; there is no decrease of his desire; there is no decrease of his strength; there is no deficiency in his memory; there is no deficiency of his *samādhi*; there is no [67.25] deficiency in wisdom; there is no deficiency in knowledge and perception of liberation. In the past time, uninterrupted, independent, and unapplied<sup>3</sup> knowledge [and] perception occur; in the future time, uninterrupted, independent and unapplied, knowledge [and] perception occur; in the present time, uninterrupted, independent, and unapplied knowledge [and] perception occur. All bodily action is preceded by knowledge, [and] returns to knowledge; all vocal action is preceded by knowledge, [and] returns to knowledge; all mental action is preceded by knowledge, [and] returns to knowledge. Hence everywhere, all the time, well established in sameness,<sup>4</sup> [67.30] because of having penetrated into voidness, the *Tathāgataḥ* is one whose wisdom is thoroughly purified, because it is characterized as unveiled. Furthermore,

there is no one who, concealed, with wisdom not thoroughly purified, [can] become

<sup>1</sup> I agree with the Sarnath editors' suggested emendation of *prativedhitā* for *prativedhato*.

<sup>2</sup> The stages given in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 64–65 are: *pramuditā, vimalā, prabhākary-arcīsmatī, sudurjaya, abhimukhī, dūraṅgama-acalā, sādhumatī, dharmameghā ceti* | | *samantaprabhā, nirupamā jñāvati* | | (Kasawara et al 1885:14).

<sup>3</sup> *Apratihataṃ, asaṅgaṃ, apraṇihitaṃ*.

<sup>4</sup> The preceding [from VMP 67.21, *tathāgatasya....*] appears to be a more expository and intellectually flavored rendition of part of what is meant by the term *samarasaḥ*.

the single lightning being of ten powers through the thoroughly purified emanation by imagination of the deities of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras* who are situated on the arms with the syllables of their names. However, [68.1], having fallen from the path of omniscience, being overpowered by false self-consciousness, [such a one] thinks that "I am also the lightning being with the ten powers." This one is not [possessed of] the ten powers, [does not] have strength equal to the ten powers, is inferior (*prādeśikah*) [and] a great fool. For such a one, Buddha-hood would be unprecedented here [in this world], [and] a really extraordinary marvel, because of all the *yogī*'s obscurations. It was stated by the *Bhagavān*, in praise of knowledge by investigations, with the ninth *śloka* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*--

[68.5] Quieting the pain of the three sufferings, the end of the three, without end, reaching freedom from the three, |

Liberated from all obscurations, attaining the sameness of space. ||

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 8.9)<sup>1</sup>

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement the *yogī* does not become omniscient by the power of meditation on imagined forms. |

[68.10] Certainly [some might argue] it was stated by the *Tathāgata* in all the royal *Tantras*, that the five aggregates<sup>2</sup> are the buddhas *Vairocana* etc.; [that] the constituent elements are the goddesses; [that] *Locanā* etc. are the six senses; [that] the *Bodhisattvas* Earth-Womb<sup>3</sup> etc. are the sense domains or objects; [that] form-

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 85; "Easing the distress of the three kinds of suffering and bringing the three to an end, he is endless, passed to the triple liberation; released from all veils, he has passed [to the state of] equality (*samatā*) like space." (Davidson 1981:29 & 55).

<sup>2</sup> *Rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāra, vijñāna*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kṣitigarbhah*.

lightning,<sup>1</sup> etc., are the goddesses; [that] the bewilderment-lightning etc., [i.e.] the god of death, etc., are the fierce kings. Therefore, the body of sentient beings is the Buddha's emanation body--such will be someone's opinion. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that] although there is the statement by fools in this regard [that] sentient beings' body is the Buddha's emanation body, such is not the *Tathāgata*'s statement; he tears to shreds such thinking.<sup>2</sup> In the real truth, [68.15] were it the case that the body of sentient beings were the Buddha's emanation body, [then] all the sentient beings residing in the three worlds would have already become completely enlightened. The activities of listening, thinking, meditating, giving, etc. for the sake of Buddha-hood would be useless, because of previously [having become] completely enlightened. The birth and death of all sentient beings would not occur. In *saṃsāra*, the obstacles of happiness, suffering, hunger, thirst, etc. would not exist. The six *abhijñās*<sup>3</sup> and the *vibhūti*s of Buddha quality would [not]<sup>4</sup> come into being. And since what is explained by the *Tathāgata* would not be seen, heard, [or] inferred, therefore, since there would be no Buddha quality, conscious beings would not

<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, MW lists *Rupavajrā* as "a goddess," citing the *Kālacakra* without giving a verse.

<sup>2</sup> I want to thank Gary Tubb for clarifying for me the confusing syntax of Puṇḍarīka's version of presenting a *pūrvapakṣa*, and then refuting it.

<sup>3</sup> The five *abhijñās* are the divine eye (clairvoyance--*divyacakṣuḥ*), the divine ear (clairaudience--*divyaśrotam*), knowing another's thoughts (i.e. the ability to read minds--*paracittajñānam*), memory of prior incarnations (*pūrvānīvasānusmṛtiḥ*), and magical power (*ṛddhiḥ*) (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 20; Kasawara et al 1885:4). According to MW, the eight *vibhūti*s are *aṣiman*--the power of becoming as minute as an atom; *laghiman*, extreme lightness; *prāpti*, attaining or reaching anything [e.g. the moon with the tip of the finger]; *prākāmya*, irresistible will; *mahiman*, illimitable bulk; *īśitā*, supreme dominion; *vaśitā*, subjugating by magic; and *kāmāvasāyitā*, the suppressing of all desires. These are not listed in the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*. The entire third book of the *Yoga Sūtras* is called the *Vibhūti-pāda*; *divyaśrotam* is discussed at YS 3.42.

<sup>4</sup> There appears to be a *na* missing here.

become buddhas, because of being truly stuck in transmigration. It was stated [68.20] by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*, in praise of the very purified *Dharmadhātu*, with the thirteenth *śloka* as follows--

Situated at *saṃsāra*'s furthest and highest point, residing in the dry land of one who's completed his duties, |

Spit out from isolation-intuition, [he is] the sword of wisdom, cleaving asunder [ignorance]. | |

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.13)<sup>1</sup>

Hence according to the *Tathāgata*'s statement, sentient beings' body is not the Buddha's emanation body. |

[68.25] Certainly [some might argue, that] as stated by the *Tathāgata*, through the influence of meditational practice, the aggregates, constituent elements, and bases of consciousness<sup>2</sup> etc. will come to exist in the form of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*. Therefore [they would assert,] the same is true of Buddha-hood;<sup>3</sup> such will be someone's opinion.<sup>4</sup> Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response]--because in this case what some immature people might say is that by dint of practice, the aggregates, constituent elements, bases of consciousness etc. will come into being in the form of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*, [and] therefore in just the same way Buddha-hood [will come to be in the form of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*]; [immature people

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 54; "Standing at the uttermost limit of *saṃsāra*, he rests on this terrace, his duty done. Having rejected isolatory knowledge (*kaivalyajñāna*), he is the cleaving sword of insight." (Davidson 1981:25-26 & 53).

<sup>2</sup> According to MW, in *Suśruta*, *āyatana* is the cause of a disease; with the Buddhists, *āyatanas* are the five senses and the *manas*, considered as the inner seats.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. that it is achievable through the *maṇḍala* and *cakra* meditations.

<sup>4</sup> Remove the question mark in the Sarnath edition.

claim this] was stated by the *Tathāgata*--[and I Puṇḍarīka respond,] that is not so, since the requisite merit and knowledge is lacking. Because, here in this world, were it the case that the aggregates, constituent elements, bases of consciousness etc.--of *yogīs* who lack the requisite merit and knowledge--became, through the strength of meditation practice, the form of the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*, [68.30] and by the power of the practice of imaginary/visualization meditation (*vikalpa-bhāvanā*) also would become completely enlightened, then another one, even lacking material wealth, [69.1] could think "I am king," and he through the power of [meditational] practice would become king. Lacking the requisite merit, however, this is not seen. Just as with a mental construction (*vikalpa*) one lacking the requisite merit will not become king [even] through the influence of practice over many *kalpas*, so lacking merit and knowledge, the *yogī* does not become completely enlightened [even] through the influence of the visualization meditation (*vikalpa-bhāvanā*) over many *kalpas*, since merit and knowledge are lacking. It is stated by the *Bhagavān*, in the praise of the very purified *dharma* constituent, with the sixteenth *śloka*, [69.5] as follows--

Merit possessing, [having] the requisite merit, the form of knowledge, the intellect, |

Knowledge possessing, reality and unreality-knowing, endowed with the requisite pair.<sup>1</sup> | |

<sup>1</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 117 defines the twofold requirement as follows: requisite merit, and requisite knowledge. ("*Sambhāro dvividhaḥ, tadyathā--puṇya-sambhāro, jñāna-sambhāraś-ceti*. Kasawara et al 1885:29). Though it has been popular to translate *sambhāraḥ* as "accumulation," the term really refers to preparations, provisions, necessary supplies, the required collection of things needed, such as for a sacrifice. As is frequently the case with Buddhist and Upaniṣadic writings, and with later Tantric material, Vedic terms are self-consciously employed with new meaning. Just as there is a requisite collection of material for the Vedic rite, so there is requisite merit and knowledge for the Buddhist path.

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.16)<sup>1</sup>

Hence according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the one lacking merit and knowledge, does not become a Buddha through the effect of the practice of meditation on the imagined form. |<sup>2</sup> [69.10]

Certainly [some may opine, that] if the visual-form meditation (*rūpa-bhāvanā*) is a mental construction (*vikalpaḥ*), [and] from the mental construction (*vikalpa*) the *yogī* will not become a Buddha, then for what purpose is this body with the clans of deities in its *maṇḍalas* and *cakras* to be purified? Such will be someone's opinion that it is the *Tathāgata*'s statement. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response]--in this instance this is true, since according to the esoteric/communal language (*samaya-bhāṣā*), the group of *Vairocana* etc., individually designated as *Tathāgatas*, are not intended literally through a relationship of designator (*vācaka*) and designated (*vācya*), as [would be the case when speaking] of a pot, cloth, etc.<sup>3</sup> The woman's organ [vulva] is [what is meant by] the lotus; the man's organ [penis] is the lightning bolt; the feces is *Vairocana*; the urine is *Akśobhya*; the blood is *Ratnasambhava*; the semen is *Amitābha*; the flesh is *Amoghasiddhi*; so, by the names of the five *Tathāgatas*, the names of the five nectars are designated.

Furthermore, from the perspective of ultimate reality, there are no deities. Therefore

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 57; "Possessed of merit (*puṇyavān*), with accumulated merit, he is knowledge and the great source of knowledge. Possessed of knowledge in knowing the real and unreal, he has accumulated the two accumulations." (Davidson 1981:26 & 53).

<sup>2</sup> *Vikalpa-rūpa-bhāvanā-abhyāsa-vaśād*.

<sup>3</sup> Again, thanks to Gary Tubb for helping clarify this passage. The point is that the five *amṛtas* described below are intended to represent the five *dhyāni Buddhas*, *Vairocanaḥ*, etc. The five names of the five Tantric *amṛtas* mentioned, feces, urine, etc., are not meant literally here.



the divine body is not able to express this smelly body, since it lacks the *sāra* [the essence of digested food]. It is stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in the praise of the truly purified *dharma* constituent, with the three verses beginning with the twenty-first, as follows--

[69.20] The sole essence of the [storm] cloud [of *dharma*], the [true] nature of the thunder bolt, the instantaneously born<sup>1</sup> lord of the world, |

[69.20] Arising from the atmosphere, self-engendered, the fire of wisdom and knowledge, the great one. | |

*Vairocana*,<sup>2</sup> the great flame, the light of knowledge, the sun, |

The world's lamp, knowledge's meteor/torch, the great brilliant flame,<sup>3</sup> the brightly shining. | |

Science's king, the foremost *mantra* master, the *mantra* king, the great accomplisher of objectives, |

[69.25] The great *uṣṇīṣa*, the miraculous *uṣṇīṣa*, all-seeing, master of the sky. | |

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 6.20-22)<sup>4</sup>

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the limited body is not the

<sup>1</sup> I.e., like a crack of lightning.

<sup>2</sup> *Vairocana* literally = "solar," or "coming from the sun," and in non-Buddhist writings is a name for the sun, for *Viṣṇuḥ*, and for *Agniḥ*. The verb root is *vi* + *√ruc*, to shine forth or be radiant. *Virocanaḥ* is a name for the sun.

<sup>3</sup> *Mahātejas*--in yogic and Tantric contexts *tejas* appears to usually refer to the internal fire of the body.

<sup>4</sup> Davidson's edition, verses 61-63; "(61:) His unique essence impenetrable, himself a *vajra*, immediately arisen he is the lord of the world; arisen from the sky and self-arisen, he is the exalted fire of insightful gnosis. (62:) *Vairocana*, the great lumen, the light of gnosis, he is the illuminator, the lamp of the world, the torch of gnosis, with great splendor he is radiant light. (63:) *Vidārāja*, the lord of excellent *mantras*, he is *mantrarāja* performing the great goal. As the exalted Coronal Dome (*mahoṣṇīṣa*), the marvelous Coronal Dome, he teaches in every sort of way, the lord of space" (Davidson 1981:26 & 54).

Buddha's body. |

Certainly [some might believe, that] if the *Tathāgata* does not have a form, then none of his activities for the sake of sentient beings would occur—conception in the womb, playing as a youth, engaging in all the practical arts,<sup>1</sup> leaving behind the women in the palace apartments in order to become an ascetic, sitting on the seat under the *bodhi* tree, destroying *Māra*'s attendants, the descent of the deities, turning of the wheel of *dharma*, the thirty-two marks of the great man, the eighty subsidiary marks, the light-ray *maṇḍalas* of Sagittarius etc., [70.1] the four observances of the religious mendicant,<sup>2</sup> etc., the occupations, [and] coming and going through the atmosphere. Likewise the *Bhagavān*'s community of accomplished disciples would also not exist; the great *parinirvāṇa*, the greatly superior miracle, seeing [all] the *dhātus* at the same time,<sup>3</sup> would not occur. The vibrational emanation from the

*dhātus*, constituted by the [relics] of the hair, teeth, flesh, bones, etc., that are

<sup>1</sup> MW says there are 64 *bāhya-kalās*, such as carpentry, architecture, jewelry, acting, poetry, etc., and 64 *abhyantara-kalās*, such as kissing, embracing, etc.—cites his *Indian Wisdom* p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *Catur-īryā-patha-ādayo*. According to MW: the four positions of the body in the observances of a religious mendicant; i.e. going, standing upright, sitting, and lying down. MW cites simply Buddhist and Jain sources. MW refers also to *airyapathikī*, occurring in Hemacandra's *Parīśiṣṭhaparvan*. *īryā* MW explains as "wandering about as a religious mendicant." The term is from √*ir* (*īrte*), to rise (like the wind); in later language it is more commonly used in the causative, to cast, throw, excite, bring to life, pronounce. The term *airyapathika* occurs at several places in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* of Vasubandhu, in reference to a type of thinking. At Abh.2.72, in explaining how different states of mind or thinking arise from antecedent states, Vasubandhu classes four types of thinking in the *Kāmadhātu* that characterize what Pruden translates as the "undefiled-neutral mind" (*anivṛti-avyākṛtaṃ cittaṃ*). These four are *vipākaja* (produced from the maturation of *karma*), *airyapathika* (related to bodily position), *śailpasthānika* (related to the practical arts of life) and *nirmāṇa* (fanciful or invented). (My translations differ from Pruden's; Pruden 1991{1}:315; Vasubandhu 1975:106). Though it is not in the Sanskrit by Vasubandhu, Yaśomitra's commentary glosses *īryapathesu* as *śāyana-āsana-sthīti-caṅkrameṣu*, i.e. lying down, sitting, standing, and walking around. (Shastri 1970{1}:362).

<sup>3</sup> *Dhātusaṃdarśanam*.

honored by those dwelling in the three worlds, would not occur. Moreover, the really wonderful assumption of the *Tathāgata*'s form takes place by the form-possessing *Bhagavān*, [70.5] not from the non-form possessing [*Bhagavān*].

Therefore the *Bhagavān*'s achievement of a form-body does not occur improperly--this here will be the opinion of all sorts of people. So it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that] here, what will be stated by immature people, i.e. that the *Bhagavān*'s form-body achievement does not occur improperly--this in fact is not true. Why is that? Because of having the characteristics of arising and destruction. Because here, if there were on the *Bhagavān*'s part, from [the point of view of] supreme reality, this birth into a womb, the activity of coming and going for the sake of all sentient beings, [and] the seeing of the *dhātus* [remaining after] the great *parinirvāṇa*, then the *Tathāgata*'s achievement would be fruitless. Why is that? Because from seeing the constituent elements of the [Buddha's] body, [70.10] and from the great *parinirvāṇa*, the *Bhagavān*'s form-body is achieved, and it is also not achieved. This produced body [that] is destroyed is achieved, [yet] how will it produce the adept's indestructible body? [How,] being oneself in this way twice surrounded,<sup>1</sup> will the incomplete establish the highest? Now seeing the *dhātu* is the greatly superior mark; here, when the *dhātu*-seeing occurs, at this time, the thirty two marks of a great-man, the eighty subsidiary marks, the Sagittarian [etc.] light-ray *maṇḍalas* (*Dhanuḥ-prabhā-maṇḍalāni*) are, for the body consisting of a heap of *dhātus*, destroyed. Since the previous body does not exist, there is no lightning-being body in the *dhātu*-heap. [70.15] Since there is no body, there is no mastery of the other

<sup>1</sup> The text should probably read *evaṃ-dviparītaṃ*, not *eva-dviparītaṃ*.

[body] of the lightning being, due to mutual cessation in this regard. For the one not possessing reality,<sup>1</sup> [the bodies] are destroyed, because [they possess] the qualities of production and cessation. For the practice (*sādhana*) of the lightning-bolt being who possesses the properties of creation and destruction (*utpāda-vināśa-dharmiṇo vajrasattvasya*) completion, the Buddha qualities [that are] the continuous stream<sup>2</sup> of the perfected wisdom, voidness, the reverential recollections,<sup>3</sup> the right-efforts,<sup>4</sup> the supernatural sensory powers,<sup>5</sup> the integral parts of enlightenment,<sup>6</sup> the path,<sup>7</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *Atattvino*.

<sup>2</sup> *-āvenikā*.

<sup>3</sup> Also often translated as 'earnest meditations.' *Smṛti* = memory, recollection; *upasthāna* = approaching, going into the presence of (for worship, attendance, or service), a sanctuary or abode of a deity. There are four of these (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 44): meditation with regard to the body in the body, meditation with regard to sensations in sensation, meditation with regard to thinking in thought, and meditation with regard to (the seventy-five) *dharmas* in the *dharmas*. ("*Tatra katamāni smṛtyupasthānāni? Tad-yathā--kāye kāya-anudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, vedanāyāṃ vedanā-anudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, citte citta-anudarśa-smṛtyupasthānaṃ, dharme dharmānudarśasmṛtyupasthānaṃ.*" Kasawara et al 1885:9).

<sup>4</sup> *Samyak-prahāṇa*. There are four of these (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 45): the protection of the roots of good [attributes] that have already appeared, the cultivation of those that haven't appeared, the abandonment of bad attributes that have appeared, and [ensuring] the non-recurrence of those [bad attributes] that have not appeared. ("*Katamāni catvāri samyak-prahāṇāni, tadyathā--utpannānāṃ kuśala-mūlānāṃ samrakṣaṇaṃ, anutpannānāṃ samutpādaḥ, utpannānāṃ-akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ prahāṇaṃ, anutpannānāṃ punar-anutpādāś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:10). Note that the term *prahāṇa* is used in both of its senses: effort or exertion in *samyak-prahāṇa*; and relinquishment or abandonment in *anutpannam-akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ prahāṇaṃ*.

<sup>5</sup> *Ṛddhipādendriyabala*. These are four (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 46): the supernatural ability that accrues through training in the effort in the perfected concentration on the will, the supernatural ability similarly [acquired through training in the exercises for perfected concentration] on thought, the supernatural ability [similarly acquired through training in the efforts towards perfected concentration] on vigor, and the supernatural ability acquired through training in the undertaking of perfected concentration on intellectual investigation. ("*Carvāra ṛddhipādaḥ, tad-yathā--chanda-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādaḥ, evaṃ citta ṛddhipādaḥ, vīrya ṛddhipādaḥ, mīmāṃsā-samādhi-prahāṇāya saṃskāra-samānvāgata ṛddhipādaś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:10).

<sup>6</sup> There are 7 *bodhi-aṅgas*, subdivisions or integral parts of [complete] enlightenment (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 49): memory, the investigation of the law, vigor, pleasure, confidence, perfected concentration, persistence. ("*Sapta bodhyaṅgāni, tadyathā--smṛti-sambodhyaṅgaṃ, dharmā-pravicaya-sambodhyaṅgaṃ, vīrya-sambodhyaṅgaṃ, prīti-sambodhyaṅgaṃ,*

truths,<sup>1</sup> the meditations,<sup>2</sup> the measureless,<sup>3</sup> the formless,<sup>4</sup> the absorptions,<sup>5</sup> the doors *praśrabdhi-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, samādhi-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ, upekṣā-saṃbodhyaṅgaṃ.*" Kasawara et al 1885:10).

<sup>7</sup> I.e. the noble eightfold path (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 50): correct view, correct conception, correct speech, correct business, correct lifestyle, correct exercise, correct memory, correct concentration/meditation. ("*Ārya-aṣṭāṅgika-mārgaḥ--samyak-dṛṣṭiḥ, samyak-saṃkalpaḥ, samyak-vāk samyak-karmāntaḥ, samyag-ājīvaḥ, samyag-vyāyāmaḥ, samyak-smṛtiḥ, samyak-samādhiś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:11).

<sup>1</sup> Probably the four noble truths (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 21): suffering, its arising, its cessation, and the path ("*Catvāry-ārya-satyāni, tadyathā--duḥkhaṃ, samudayo, nirodho, mārgaś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:5). However, we may also have reference here to the two truths (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 95): conventional or concealed truth, and ultimate reality truth. ("*Dve satye, tadyathā--saṃvṛti-satyam, paramārtha-satyam ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:22).

<sup>2</sup> A similar list of the Buddha's qualities--shared with either disciples or ordinary people--appears in the *Bhāṣyam* on *Abhidharmakośaḥ* 7.35 (Vasubandhu 1975:417 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1148-49). The remaining portion of the *Abhidharmakośaḥ* and commentary details these. *Abhidharmakośaḥ* 8.2 and commentary describe the four meditations: the first includes reasoning, reflection, delight, and happiness (*vitarkaḥ, vicāraḥ, prītiḥ, and sukhaṃ*). The second lacks reasoning and reflection (*[vitarka]-vicāra-varjitaṃ dvitīyaṃ*); the third lacks reasoning, reflection, and delight (*[vitarka]-vicāra-prīti-varjitaṃ tṛtīyaṃ*); the fourth is without all four (*[vitarka]-vicāra-prīti-sukha-varjitaṃ*). (Vasubandhu 1975:433 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1219). In the *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ*, *dhyānaḥ* would refer to either the four meditations or the threefold meditation, or both. The four meditations are as follows (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 72): the first meditation is the pleasure and happiness produced by discrimination that includes both reasoning and reflection. The second meditation is the pleasure and happiness from internal exhilaration. The third meditation is the pleasure produced from patience and memory. The fourth meditation is perception of no suffering and no happiness that is the purification of patience and memory. ("*Catvāri dhyānāni, tadyathā--sa-vitarkaṃ sa-vicāraṃ vivekajaṃ, prīti-sukhaṃ iti prathama-dhyānaṃ; adhyātma-pramodaṇāt prītisukhaṃ iti dvitīyaṃ; upekṣā-smṛti-saṃprajanyaṃ sukhaṃ iti tṛtīyaṃ; upekṣā-smṛti-pariśuddhir aduḥkha-asukhā vedanā iti caturthaṃ dhyānaṃ iti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:15). The threefold meditation is (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 95): the meditation that includes the removal of faults; the meditation on pleasure and recreation; the meditation on complete adornment. ("*Dhyānaṃ trividhaṃ, tadyathā--sadoṣa-apakaṛṣa-dhyānaṃ, sukha-vaiḥārika-dhyānaṃ aśeṣ-vaiḥūṣita-dhyānaṃ ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:28).

<sup>3</sup> Or the immeasurables (*apramāṇāḥ*). These are four (*Abhidharmakośaḥ* 8.29): friendship, love, joy, and patience (*maitrī, karuṇā, muditopekṣā ca--*Vasubandhu 1975:453 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1264).

<sup>4</sup> The *Ārūpyas*. Like the *dhyānas* there are four of these. They consist of four aggregates, because they lack the form aggregate, and they are generated by discrimination of the lower stages. One is generated by the discrimination of the fourth meditation, because it has the infinity of space as its basis. The [second], generated by discrimination of that has the infinity of consciousness as its basis. The [third], generated by discrimination of that has absolute nothingness as its basis. The [fourth], generated by discrimination of that has neither notions nor no ideas. ("*Caturtha-dhyāna-vivekajaṃ hy-ākāśa-ānantya-āyatanaṃ | Tad-vivekajaṃ vijñānānantya-āyatanaṃ | Tadvivekajaṃ ākiñcinyāyatanaṃ | Tadvivekajaṃ naiva-saṃjñāna-*

of liberation,<sup>1</sup> the super-sensory abilities,<sup>2</sup> the *samādhis*,<sup>3</sup> the *dhāraṇīs*,<sup>4</sup> the strengths,<sup>5</sup>

*asaṃjñā-āyatanam iti evaṃ catvāra ārūpyāḥ.*" Vasubandhuḥ 1975:434 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1219-20).

<sup>5</sup> The eighth chapter of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* describes the *samāpattis* in detail. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* on 8.14 describes 30 *samāpattayah*: six following the first meditation without inflows (*anāsrava-prathama-dhyāna*), seven following the basis of nothingness, eight following the second meditation, nine following the consciousness basis. (Vasubandhuḥ 1975:443 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1244). The *dhyāna-samāpattayah* and the *ārūpya-samāpattayah* are two principal classes of the absorptions not included in the list of 30.

<sup>1</sup> The three *vimokṣamukhāni* are names for a type of the three *samādhayah*. The three perfect concentrations are one with both logical analysis and reflection, one without logical analysis and with reflection, and one with neither. ("*Trayaḥ samādhayah uktāḥ sūtre | savitarkaḥ savicāraḥ samādhiḥ | avitarko vicāramātraḥ | avitarko 'vicāra iti*" Vasubandhu 1975:448-9 Skt.) When these three are without inflows, they are called the three doors of liberation. ("*Anāsravās tu ete trayaḥ samādhayas trīṇi vimokṣamukhāni ucyante.*" Vasubandhu 1975:450 Skt.; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1258-59).

<sup>2</sup> The *abhijñās*--these are knowledge of magical power, clairaudience, reading others' thoughts, memory of prior incarnations, knowing [the time and circumstances] of death and rebirth, and knowing about the destruction of inflows. (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* on 7.42): *ṛddhiviśaye jñānasākṣātkriyā abhijñā | divya-śrotra-cetaḥparyāya-pūrvanivāsa-anusmṛti-cyuti-utpāda-āsrava-kṣaya-jñāna-sākṣātkriyā abhijñāḥ | etāḥ ṣaḍabhijñāḥ*. Vasubandhu 1975:421 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1157).

<sup>3</sup> *Samādhiḥ*, perfected concentration, is defined as singular focus of the thought, or 'one-pointed-ness' of thinking (*samādhiś-cittasya-ekāgratā*) in the commentary on *Abhidharmakośaḥ* 2.25 (Vasubandhuḥ 1975:54 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{1}:190). There are three basic *samādhayah* (*Abhidharmakośaḥ* 8.23): perfected concentration with intellectual analysis and reflection; perfected concentration with only reflection, no logical analysis; and perfected concentration with neither. (Vasubandhuḥ 1975:448-449 Skt; Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1256).

<sup>4</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 52 describes four of these, the *ātma-*, the *grantha-* (text-), the *dharma-*, and the *mantra-dhāraṇī*. (Kasawara et al 1885:11).

<sup>5</sup> There are ten *balas* (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* 7.28), or *jñāna-balāni*--powers of knowledge. These are listed at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 76 (differing from the ten powers of the *Bodhisattvas*, listed at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 75): the ability to know--what's proper or improper, the ripening of *karma*, the various constituent elements, the various propensities, the higher and lower senses of intelligent beings, the means of going everywhere, the purification and completion of meditation, emancipation, absorption, and suffering, the memory of prior lives, destruction and arising, and the ability to know the destruction of inflows. ("*Sthāna-asthāna-jñāna-balaṃ, karma-vipāka-jñāna-balaṃ, nānādhātu-jñāna-balaṃ, nānādhimukti-jñānabalaṃ, sattvendīrya-parāpara-jñānabalaṃ, sarvatra-gāminī-pratipatti-jñānabalaṃ, dhyāna-vimokṣa-samāpatti-saṃkleśa-vyavadāna-vyutthāna-jñānabalaṃ, pūrva-nivāsa-anusmṛti-jñānabalaṃ, cyuti-utpatti-jñānabalaṃ, āsrava-kṣaya-jñānabalaṃ ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:16.)

the proficiencies,<sup>6</sup> and the analytical sciences,<sup>7</sup> would be useless. The triple refuge taking, the instruction about sin, rejoicing in merit, the production of the *bodhicittaḥ*,<sup>3</sup> the merit and knowledge [70.20] provisions,<sup>4</sup> [and] the multiple enlightenment practices, would be in vain. The distinctions in wisdom and knowledge--that consist of what's heard and what's thought about--would cease to be distinctions.<sup>5</sup> The methods consisting of wisdom and means would become non-methods. With regard to the ultimately real truth, the delight in the profound and lofty *dharma* would become non-delight. With regard to worldly concealed truth, [the practices undertaken] for the achievement of worldly yogic perfections [*siddhis*], i.e. [being] surrounded by the lightning/diamond lance and armor, by the lightning/diamond enclosure, by the lightning/diamond cage,<sup>6</sup> by the security *cakra* etc.; what's

<sup>1</sup> There are four skills (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* 7.28). These are listed at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 77: skill in attaining enlightenment, in the knowledge of how to destroy the inflows, in attaining nirvāṇaḥ, and in undertaking the path. ("*Abhisambodhi-vaiśāradyam, āśrava-kṣaya-jñāna-vaiśāradyam, nairvāṇika-mārgāvatarāṇa-vaiśāradyaṃ ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:16).

<sup>2</sup> The *pratisaṃvidah* are four (*Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 51): the analytical science of the law, of material purpose, of etymology, and of eloquence. ("*Catasraḥ pratisaṃvidah, tadyathā--dharma-pratisaṃvid, artha-pratisaṃvin, nirukti-pratisaṃvit, pratibhāna-pratisaṃvic ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:11).

<sup>3</sup> *Pāpadeśanā, [puṇya]-anumodana, bodhicittotpādaḥ* are three of the seven types of unsurpassed worship (*sapta-vidhānuttarapūjā*), as described at *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 14 (Kasawara et al 1885:3).

<sup>4</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 117--the provision is twofold--the merit provision and the knowledge provision. ("*Sambhāro dvividhaḥ, tadyathā--puṇyasambhāro jñānasambhāraś ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:29).

<sup>5</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 110 defines wisdom as threefold: produced by what's heard, by thinking, and by meditation. ("*prajñā trividhaṃ, tadyathā--śrutamayī, cintāmayī, bhāvanāmayī ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:28). *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 114 defines knowledge as threefold: what is without *vikalpa*, what awakens homogeneity in *vikalpa*, and (?) what is invisible in means with a true objective (?) ("*Avikalpakam, vikalpa-sambhāva-bodhakam, satyārthopāyaparokṣam ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:28). *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* 7.7 gives a set of ten knowledges (Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1095).

<sup>6</sup> *Pañjara* also denotes the ribs, and the body.

described as government of (*adhiṣṭhāna*) the aggregates, the constituents, the bases of consciousness; the ritual application [of the *mantras*] of the door guardians; what's accomplished by the initiations and entrance into the [state of becoming] the knowledge being;<sup>1</sup> in the worldly constituents that are the emanation of the five sorts of *maṇḍalas* that consist of heaps of light,<sup>2</sup> [70.25] the collection of the great quantity of all the [types] of worship that provide for the objectives of living beings on the part of people who are being initiated into that, all (would) become completely useless. And that is not so.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, for the lightning bolt/diamond being who possesses the properties of creation and destruction, the qualities of proficiency etc. in the ten powers also do not come into existence.

Someone else [may argue], that if the *Bhagavān* possesses a form in this way, then, since he is situated in one location [at any one time], he will not be capable of performing purposeful action for the sake of beings--who are of as many clans as there are particles of dust in the mountains, in the worldly realms that are like unto the sands of the Ganges river--because of his having a form body. Now, the expression 'with a form body' is for those of young intellects, since having gone into one worldly realm [70.30] having performed purposeful action for the beings residing in that [realm], going then into another worldly realm, then he goes into yet another. He, though joined [to a particular realm], does not unite [with that realm]. Why is

<sup>1</sup> *Jñāna-sattva-praveśa-abhiṣekādibhir vihitam.*

<sup>2</sup> This compound provides in a kernel a basic doctrine here: the *dhātus* that constitute the individual's body are considered to be emanations from the *maṇḍalas* that are themselves of five sorts, and consist of a mass of light.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. all these previously mentioned attributes of the Buddha, and the activities for achieving worldly *siddhis*, are not in fact completely useless.



that? In even one directional sector the constituents are countless. Why then would he be incapable--over multiple *kalpas*, going again and again with a form-body--of performing purposeful action for the absolutely endless beings residing in the ten directions?

[71.1] Now [others would say], by the power of meditation and *mantra*, drawing out the beings residing in worldly realms of the multiple Buddha fields, placing [them] in front [of himself, i.e. in one place], he teaches them the *dharma*. Placing them on the path, he releases [them back] into their individual worldly realms. That [I, Puṇḍarīka, say] is itself exceedingly false--even with a supremely atomic form he is not capable of placing [himself] in front of the countless form-possessing beings residing in the worldly realms in all the holes in the sky [i.e. everywhere].<sup>1</sup> Now the statement of those of immature intellects is [that] even with this [71.5] form body in one Buddha field, he performs purposeful action for the beings residing in three billion<sup>2</sup> worldly realms; discussing this statement as containing ultimate reasoning is useless, just as a statement by *Īśvara* [i.e. *Śiva*], taken as a command, lacks reasoning and proof. According to the received tradition, etc., *Īśvara* is without parts, the universal agent. He is also independent of action, he freely creates the universe for the sake of sport, or destroys [it]. In the same way, [though] he is not similar to that, the form-body *Bhagavān* is the agent for the sake of all beings, who has mastered commands (or mastered the brow-*cakra*, *ājñā-siddha*).

<sup>1</sup> The term is *Sarva-ambara-kuhareṣu*--in all the holes in the sky. We could stretch the connotation of this a bit and say it refers to 'worlds' around other stars--the stars being the 'hole in the (night) sky.

<sup>2</sup> Three thousand times a great thousand {a million} = 3 billion: *trisahasra-mahāsahasra*-.

In this way, since there would be a lack of wisdom on the part of [both] the Buddhists and the heretics, there would be no distinction even between their *paṇḍits*. Therefore, this statement, [even] without examination, is not from the *Bhagavān*. [71.10] The Lord's statement is auspicious in the beginning, auspicious in the middle, and auspicious at the end.

In this manner the *Bhagavān* said--

"Wise men, O *bhikṣus*, accept gold etc. after burning, cutting and rubbing on a touchstone,<sup>1</sup>

So should you accept my words, not out of respect for my authority."<sup>2</sup>

[71.15] Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*,<sup>3</sup> the Buddha, being examined critically, does not have a form body. Why is that? Since it is produced from the sky, since it is self-produced, since it is [both] the universal form and without form, since it holds the four drops, since it transcends the comprehension of what's without parts, since it holds a crore of the fourth joy, since it is the great passion of dispassion etc., since it is without possessiveness, since it is without self-consciousness, since it is entirely imperishable constituents, since it produces the objectives of all the *mantras*, the great drop, since it is indestructible, since it is the great void of the five syllables, since it is the six syllables of the drop void, since it has become identical with the *ākāśa*, etc.; [71.20] in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, by what begins with "Now the lightning bolt holder, the glorious one," and ends with

<sup>1</sup> Apte lists *nikaṣaḥ* as a touchstone or whetstone, fig. anything used as a touchstone or test; the term also refers to the streak or line of gold left by testing it on a touchstone.

<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Robert Thurman for correcting my translation of this couplet.

<sup>3</sup> Even though Puṇḍarīkaḥ states that this is a verse from the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, it does not appear in Davidson's edition, and the Sarnath editors do not provide a citation.

"Oh knowledge-body, let there be homage to you,"<sup>1</sup> with the one hundred and sixty-second *śloka*, by the Buddha, by the *Bhagavān*, the lightning-bolt holder body of *Vajrapāṇi* [he who has a lightning bolt in his hand] is illuminated by both of the truths,<sup>2</sup> etc. In the Royal *Tantra* also, the emanation magic produced by the Buddha is stated by the *Bhagavān*, in the fifth chapter, in the ninety-eighth verse--

For the buddhas also [she] is unapproachable, because [she] is of unlimited quality, the Buddha's emanation magic:

[71.25] She displays the *ātman* in the three world's abode, exactly like Indra's net;

Divided by the varied states/feelings, she has entered into the individual thinking of the Victors together with the gods and men;

This one is the arisen *dharma*, in the semen, in the navel, seemingly, she is the origin of what causes error in this world. ||

(*Kālacakratantram* 5.98)

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the *Bhagavān* does not have a form-body, because of there being an assembly of all the buddhas. If the buddhas had form-bodies, then there would be no blinking of the eyes even by the ultimate atomic form. Having heard the *Bhagavān*'s statement according to the sequence stated like this, [71.30] even so sentient beings, having examined the profound and lofty *dharma* as stated by the *Bhagavān*, do not understand [it], and examining the *guru* for Buddha-hood, [they] do not honor [him], the great fools, being overcome by avarice in this very birth, [thinking] 'our [72.1] putrid body will become a Buddha body.' So

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the entire verse portion of the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*, verses 1-162 in Davidson's edition.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. conventional or concealed truth, *saṃvṛtisatyah*, and ultimate reality or revealed truth, *paramārthasatyah* or *vivṛtisatyah*.

(those who have not been properly initiated),<sup>1</sup> greedy with false expectations, through associating with evil friends, through serving false *gurus*, here, [they believe that] the five nectars, *Vairocana* etc., the portions of badly cooked beef etc., are to be eaten, since they are intrinsically purified, as stated by the *Tathāgata*; by these consumables, the body becomes without old age or death; one will even become the lightning being, the boon giver. In other cases, by perfected meditation on the fierce kings in the lightning bolt clan, living beings may be killed; in the sword clan, by *Amoghasiddhi*'s *samādhi* [72.5], one may tell lies; in the jewel clan, by *Ratnasambhava*'s *samādhi*, another person's property may be taken; in the lotus clan, by *Amitābha*'s *samādhi*, another's woman may be seized; in the *cakra* clan, by *Vairocana*'s meditation, the five nectar meats may be consumed; on yet another occasion the paths of the ten evil actions may, by deity *yoga* (*devatā-yogena*), be performed by the *yogin*. So in this way, obeying the instructions of an evil teacher, [they] perform the action paths [consisting of] the ten evil [actions]; [they] consume the impure, unawakened, unillumined [foods] that are not changed into nectars. These foods, also, the five nectars, do not become what provides the qualities of Buddha-hood [72.10] to those eaters, since they are not informed by the *Tathāgata*'s statements.

However, [someone may argue], in all the Royal *Tantras* [there are] statements by the *Tathāgata* that the five nectars may be consumed by the *yogin*. In this case, how can there be a prohibition against these? [Such] will be someone's opinion.

<sup>1</sup> See the satirical characterization of the Buddhist and Śaivite Tantric initiates by Kṣemendra I have translated in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

Therefore it is stated [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that] in this case it is the statement by those of young minds that the five nectars, etc. are consumable, according to the statements by the *Tathāgata* in all the *Tantrarājas*. [I Puṇḍarīka say that] that is true however [only] for the *yogins*, not for ordinary [*prākṛta*] beings. For these ones [i.e. the *yogins*], by the *mantra*'s power or by the meditation's power, the purified, awakened, [72.15] illumined, nectar-transformed poisons become non-poisons; the intoxicating drinks become the milks; the harmful poisonous waters that cause death to living beings become the alchemical elixirs; the bones become flowers; the teeth become pearls;<sup>1</sup> the skull becomes the lotus;<sup>2</sup> the flesh becomes the son's hair;<sup>3</sup> the blood becomes olibanum;<sup>4</sup> urine becomes musk;<sup>5</sup> the semen becomes camphor; the feces becomes the quadripartite unguent,<sup>6</sup> the hairs of the body become saffron filaments. In this way the many harmful substances, through abandoning their harmful intrinsic natures, are purified [72.20], awakened,

<sup>1</sup> MW also lists *muktāphalaṃ* as a species of flower, or the fruit of the Lavalī plant (See Suśruta 27.145).

<sup>2</sup> *Bhavanti* here must be a misprint for *bhavati*.

<sup>3</sup> This may simply refer to the hair of one's son as a precious thing. There is a *putrañjīva*--a plant also known as *pavitra* or *mantra siddhaka*, used in āyurvedic medicine. (Dash 1987:326-7). I have yet to find any references to *putrakeśaḥ* in the medical textbooks.

<sup>4</sup> Olibanum, Liquidambar Orientale. This is the botanical name for frankincense. Apte defines it a benzoin/incense. Benzoin is "a balsamic resin obtained from certain tropical Asiatic trees (genus *Styrax* of the storax family) and used in medicine and perfumery and as an incense." (Webster's 1988:130).

<sup>5</sup> *Kastūrikā*. Musk is obtained from a small sac in the abdomen of the male musk deer (Webster's 1988:895), a small hornless deer from the mountainous regions of central Asia. MW reports that musk comes from Kaśmīr, Nepal, Western Assam and Bhutan--these are all mountainous regions. The musk is used as the basis for perfumes, and is today often made synthetically. See *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 77 for preparation of perfumes (Bhat 1982{2}:704-718).

<sup>6</sup> Sandal, agallochum, saffron, and musk. MW references *Bhāvaprakāśaḥ* vii.

illuminated, formed into nectars, with their intrinsic natures purified [by]<sup>7</sup> statements by the *Tathāgata*, not because they have not abandoned their harmful intrinsic nature. And these poisons etc., with their intrinsic natures purified, having been made into nectars, consumed by the *yogins*, become in the body very powerful nutrition. Feces etc., with their intrinsic nature purified, smeared on the body, become endowed with divine aromas. Hence the [foods] described by the *Tathāgata* are for the *yogins*, not for others—who are not adept at the deity *mantras*, who constitute an assembly of fools<sup>2</sup> who act with arrogance towards the *paṇḍits*, who are deceitful cheats, who are greedy for the wealth of the colleges and monasteries,<sup>3</sup> who are restricted to birth and [72.25] [re]-birth in the ghost's hell form of existence [*pretanarakajāti*], who have destroyed both their own and other people's goals, who advise the opposite goal from the goal stated in the *Tantras*, uncritical men who are *Māra*'s attendants--[such is the case with regard to] the consumables describe by the *Bhagavān*. By those evil minded ones, the poisons etc., the noxious substances, the five nectars, that are purified, awakened, illumined, [and] made into nectars, even after many *kalpas*, they

<sup>1</sup>. To make any sense here, the Sanskrit ought to read *tathāgatoktais*. As the Sanskrit reads in the Sarnath edition, *tathāgatoktāni*, the compound is appositional to *aneka-dravya-duṣṭāni*, i.e. the many corrupt substances.

<sup>2</sup> From the point of view of religious sociology, it appears from this sort of discussion that the interpretation of certain types of Tantric statements, and acting upon them, by the non-initiated—probably either laymen or religious people who adhered to other traditions or aspects of Buddhism, was a problem for the tantrikas. What this points up is a flourishing and functioning Tantric culture that, despite its preference for some secrecy and restricted access, was generating ripple effects in its cultural context to the extent that other groups were attempting to adopt certain of its practices without the requisite training and appreciation of the intentions and effects of these practices.

<sup>3</sup> Another cultural/sociological note—the *maths* and monasteries of the day—11th century Kashmir and elsewhere in north India, were sufficiently wealthy that there were those who coveted their wealth and material possessions. This by the way offers another reason why the Muslim invaders may have sacked these places—plenty of wealth to plunder.

do not lose their corrupt intrinsic natures. Because their corrupt intrinsic natures have not been discarded, they are not [substances] whose intrinsic nature is purified.

Therefore, for those who are possessed of corrupt substances, to the extent they are not capable of destroying the corrupt intrinsic nature through either the power of their meditation, or by the power of *mantra*, either the clan son, [72.30] or the clan daughter, or the mendicant, or the mendicantess, or the male or female lay follower, or the primordial action possessor,<sup>1</sup> or the one who delights in the *Vajrayānam*;<sup>2</sup> to such a one, the teacher of the *Vajrayāna*, or the *guru* possessed of the primordial action, or the one endowed with ability in *mantras* [73.1] does not give the rule for the consumption of or anointing by the poisons etc. and the five nectars, etc.

Through the consumption of unpurified poison etc. [the non-initiate] will die; through anointing with unpurified ceremonial ointments he will become one who thinks ill of the world; through self-inflicted death, through disregard of the world, hell will come into existence, because of the renunciation of human dwelling on the part of those who have bad *mantras*. So it is stated in the *Nāmasamgīti*, in the salutation, with the fifth *śloka*--

[73.5] I will make [this] clear for human beings according to the particularity of their dwelling

For the destruction of all addictions, [and] for the destruction of all ignorance. ||

<sup>1</sup> *Ādikarmikaḥ*

<sup>2</sup> This is the first instance of the term *vajrayānam* in the fifth chapter.

(*Nāmasamgīti* 1.15)<sup>3</sup>

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, through the influence of the abode of all beings, the rule is to be given by the lightning teacher to the students, in such a way that self-inflicted death, thinking ill of the world, does not occur for those possessed of the primordial action. However [some may contend], if in this thinking ill of the world hell does come into being, then all the perspectives<sup>2</sup> create mutual disregard; through mutual [73.10] disregard, all the perspectives will lead to hell. In this sense, if the philosophical texts are contradictory, then all the doctrines, and all the religious observances, morality etc. would become meaningless--such will be someone's opinion in this world. Therefore it is stated [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that] what is stated in this regard by immature people--i.e. that all the scriptures etc. are contradictory--is not so. Why is that? According to thinking that has examined reality, there is no fault in those mutually disputing doctrines, because the thinking rests in the examination of ultimate reality, because there's lack of thinking about harming all beings, because of thinking of helping all beings. Here, furthermore, [73.15], the worldly practice in the consumption and anointing with the poisons etc. and the five nectars, etc., is not the examination of ultimate reality. And poison etc. and the five nectars etc. are not reality; examinations of them are not faults, nor from disregarding the world. Therefore, through the influence of the abode of beings [i.e. the three worlds], the *dharma* instruction for the Buddhists is not

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 15; "For the destruction of their every defilement and elimination of all their unknowing, I will reveal this [*Litany*] to beings, each according to his own disposition." (Davidson 1981: 21 & 50).

<sup>2</sup> *Darśanas*, the philosophical schools.



separate from the abode of beings [i.e. the three worlds]. Even the dwelling of humans comes into being according to the custom of the land and people. Therefore, according to the custom of their land and people, according to the worldly concealed truth, the worldly *dharma* is to be taught by the lightning teacher. The world transcending knowledge, furthermore, is in fact common to both truths. And it is not [73.20] understood according to what one can eat or not eat. Because the consumable and non-consumable is [concerned with] merely filling the stomach; it is not the purification of the four doors of liberation that is neither created nor designated [and is] the cause of voidness.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, by the one possessed of the primal action, the (rule) about what may or may not be eaten is to be followed to according to the custom of his own land, and according to what's of his clan, or not of his clan. In some lands, one can be purified by the water from the skull of a *Kapālika*,<sup>2</sup> in other lands cow flesh is acceptable eating; in other lands, horse flesh; in yet other lands dog flesh; in other lands elephant flesh; in other lands human flesh is consumable.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, other flesh [73.25] may be eaten by any of the castes or outcastes according to the custom of the place, in every way. In some other place, the drinking of alcohol is prescribed for *Brahmaṇas*; in some other place it is permitted for

*Śūdras*; in some other place it is permitted for the *Kulīna* and for the non-*Kulīna*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Śūnyatā-nimitta-apraihita-anabhisamskāra-catur-vimoksa-mukha-viśuddhiḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> An explicit reference to the apparently widespread cult of the *kapālikas*. See Chapter 3.2.4. of this dissertation.

<sup>3</sup> First explicit reference to contemporary cannibalism in 11th century India; however, even today we still speak of cannibals—this may simply be hearsay.

<sup>4</sup> Apte defines: "of high descent, of a good family, well born; a worshipper of *Śakti* according to the left hand ritual; a *Brāhmaṇa* of the highest class in Bengal. Here it probably refers to members and non-members of Tantric cults. It's not actually possible to tell from the *sandhiḥ* whether the masculine *kulīna* or the feminine *kulīnā* are being used here.

In some other land, dog droppings are consumable; in some other land there is no rinsing of the mouth after eating; in some other land pork may be eaten; in some other land buffalo-meat; in some other land mutton [may be eaten]; likewise other meat also may be forbidden for eating by castes and outcastes according to the custom of the land. Some places the *Caṇḍālas* [offspring of *Śūdra* women and *Brāhmaṇa* men] may be [Buddhist] disciples, in some places [disciples] come from the four castes [73.25]; in some places [disciples] come from all the individual castes. In some lands, when the husband has died, the son's mother may become [the son's] wife; in some other land there may be marriage between a brother and a sister; in some other land there may be a marriage to a maternal uncle; in some other place there may be mutual sexual intercourse of clan and non-clan members; in some other land *brāhmaṇī* women may practice prostitution. [74.1] So in this way, according to the custom of many places, what's consumable or nonconsumable, and sexual intercourse with clan or non clan members, may be followed by the *yogin*.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, the clan deity--[whether it is] the serpent deity in someone's clan, the goat in someone's clan, the hog in someone's clan, the buffalo in someone's [clan], [or] the owl in someone's [clan]. In the same way yet other animals, as clan deities for others, are not to be killed, and not to be eaten. Likewise, someone's clan deity may be a demon; someone else's the sun; [74.5] someone else's the holy fig tree; or whether both are intended.

<sup>1</sup> Whatever else we may posit about the 11th century *Tantrikas*, this sort of discussion and argumentation suggests a cosmopolitan quality to their faith. With a more catholic awareness of the ritual, purity, and moral codes of other groups and faiths, the true *Tantric yogin* is freed from any one particular code of caste or faith behavior, and allowed to indulge in whatever practices are most fit for the situation--a sort of religious *carte blanche*, or an 11th century Indian version of the dictum, 'when in Rome, do as the Romans do.'

similarly others may even be trees. For others the clan deities are not to be divided, nor separated. In this way the worldly conception also is seen. Why is that?

Through harm to one's own clan; through assistance to one's own clan. In this world, their deity, propitiated, performs a service [to the clan]; opposed, it causes great harm. Therefore, the possessor of the primal action behaves, according to their land and clan custom, delighting in *mantras*, meditation, and spiritual practice, until he becomes one possessing perfection in *mantras*, or perfection in knowledge. Then he voluntarily follows what's to be eaten and what's not to be eaten, what's accessible and inaccessible, what's drinkable and not drinkable, nor is he capable of doing any damage to that [custom]. [74.10] Hence the possessor of the primal action, when he is perfected in *mantra*, becomes a *yogi*. From moving through the space of the manifested *maṇḍala-cakra*, he becomes a *siddha*; through destruction of the obscurations of the knowable that turn into the *māras* and addictions, through seeing the perfection in manifestation of the magical power of the universal form, through turning the wheel of *dharma*, through the influence of seeing the collection of all the *dharma* aggregates, he becomes omniscient. It is stated by the *Bhagavān* in the Praise of Investigative Knowledge, in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, with the three *ślokas* beginning with the fortieth, that there is a union of wisdom and means--as follows:

[74.15] Possessed of great perseverance in the illusion net, the overlord of all the *Tantras*, the supreme one|

[Wearing] entirely a lightning loin cloth, supporting the entire knowledge body||

Entirely good, very wise, with the earth as his womb, supporting the earth|

The great passion of all the buddhas, supporting the universal emanation

*cakra*||

The pinnacle of the intrinsic existence of all states of being, supporting the intrinsic existence of all states of being|

[74.20] The universal goal of the unarisen things, supporting the intrinsic being of all things. ||

(*Nāmasaṅgī* 8.38-40)<sup>1</sup>

Likewise it is also stated in the Royal *Tantra*, in the fifth chapter, by the two verses beginning with the sixtieth--

And with the great many emanation bodies *Kālacakra* manifests magical power;<sup>2</sup>

And with the flashing flames of lightning [he manifests the magical power] of the *asuras*, gods, and men residing in the desire realm;|

[74.25] [He manifests magical power] with the enjoyment [bodies] of the form possessors, certainly, in the navel, [and manifests magical power] with the *dharma* bodies of the Victors' sons etc. and the *arhats*;

With the void portions [he manifests] the entirety of the void, [and] the entire

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verses 114-116: "(114:) With the great perseverance of the *Māyājāla*, becoming the monarch of all *Tantras*, he is supreme. Maintaining every cross-legged position, he bears every gnostic body. (115:) As Samantabhadra the very intelligent, being Kṣitigarbha supporting the world, as the great womb of all Buddhas, he bears the wheel of every sort of transformation. (116:) Foremost as the proper nature (*svabhāva*) of all existents, he maintains the proper nature of all existents. By nature unarisen, yet with every sort of referent, he bears the proper nature of all *dharmas*." (Davidson 1981:32).

<sup>2</sup> *Ṛddhi*.

three worlds, [and] with the winds [he manifests] the entire wind. ||

With the fire portions [*Kālacakra* manifests] the entire fire, and the water likewise [he manifests entirely] by the world-wide diffused water portions;

The entire earth [he manifests] by the earth portions, with the assembled sense objects the entire intrinsic nature of material objects; |

One should teach that this sky-like single *ātman* is everywhere, in the purified ground;

[74.30] In this way the *Buddha*'s body comes into existence, and it does not die, either, since it has the single happiness as its intrinsic nature. ||

(*Kālacakrantram* 5.60-61)

[75.1] So, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, from consuming the five nectars, from the power of *mantra* recitation and imaginative meditation [*vikalpa-bhāvanā*] on the *maṇḍalas* and *cakras*, the *yogin* does not become a completely awakened Buddha.

Certainly [some may argue], it has been stated by the *Bhagavān* that when the *maṇḍala-cakra* has become visible before one's eyes, then the *yogins* will achieve perfection in the great consort [*mahāmudrā*]. Therefore it is stated [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response] that in this case the previously mentioned *maṇḍala-cakra* is a net of imagination, limited (*prādeśikaṃ*) [75.5], providing the fruit of limited [yogic] perfection. Now this is the error of fools: that [there is] the *siddhi* of a certain person, [who] having understood the physical consort (*karma-mudrā*) in this instance becomes invisible by the power of a pill, by the power of the *mantra*, by the power of

the seven revolutions,<sup>1</sup> by the power of the sword etc., or by the power of the meditation, or by the power of practicing the *maṇḍala-cakra*. [Yet] he is not liberated from all obscurations, [and does not] become the omniscient *Bhagavān*, the lightning-bolt being. The great *maṇḍala* holder is described by the *Bhagavān*, in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in the praise of the Lightning Element Great *Maṇḍala*, [75.10] as follows:

Residing in the perfected concentration of the great meditation, maintaining the body of the great wisdom |

The very powerful one, the great art, the ocean of attentive knowledge. | |

(*Nāmasaṃgīti* 5.10)<sup>2</sup>

Hence according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, this is the yogic perfection [*siddhi*] of the great consort [*mahāmudrā*]. The great consort is characterized by intrinsic lack of all properties, is endowed with the best of all forms, is the perfection of wisdom, is the progenitoress of buddhas; she is also called by the name Source of Reality (*dharmodaya*)<sup>3</sup> Therefore, from Source of Reality [75.15], there is the arising, without intrinsic nature, of all things. The things without intrinsic nature are the ten powers and proficiencies etc., [and] the eighty-four thousand feeling aggregates; their arising having taken place, there is reality source, the Buddha field, the dwelling of buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the place of sexual pleasure, the place of birth; there is no

<sup>1</sup> *Saptāvarta*--I have not yet found an explanation for what the seven revolutions are.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 37; "Present in exalted meditation (*dhyāna*) and concentration (*samādhi*), bearing the body of great insight, he is great strength (*mahābala*), great means; his is aspiration (*praṇidhi*) and the gnostic ocean (*jñānasāgara*)." (Davidson 1981:23 & 52).

<sup>3</sup> This is also a Tantric code name for the woman's version of *bodhicitta*.

reality source in addition to this that is the arisal of blood, urine, and semen. In this case the domain of passion and dispassion [exists on the part] of the transmigrators, not [on the part] of the *Tathāgatas*. Therefore, the reality source<sup>1</sup> is she who has the intrinsic form of the *dharma* realm, the universal mother, constantly sexually embraced by the *Bhagavān* in the wheel of time, removing all obscurations. Here [75.20] passion is the time of birth, ejaculation is the time of death; the meeting of the two is the indestructible time. It's *cakra* is known as the great circle of the lightning element, the aggregates, constituents, and bases of consciousness without obscuration, called the great circle of the lightning bolt constituent. With this [*cakra* that is] produced from the indestructible, she [who is] not-arisen is sexually embraced as the great consort. Whosoever embraces this great consort many times, day and night, because of the influence of merit and memory traces from a former life, [or] because of the instruction of a true Guru--[the great consort who is] free of all qualities and conceptualizations, who is merely the appearance of one's own thinking, who is endowed with the best of all forms, who is the great voidness, who is the progenitoress of innate [orgasmic] joy--having made [75.25] [her] visible before his eyes, he, having attained perfection in the great consort, is called the omniscient *Bhagavān*. Therefore the duties of *yogaḥ* are not to be performed by the possessor of the primal action; the duties of the *siddhaḥ* are not to be performed by the *yogin*; the duties of the omniscient one are not to be performed by the *siddha*. Similarly, according to the previously stated rule, the [customs of what is] consumable and non-

<sup>1</sup> The Sarnath editors suggest emending *dharmodayo* to *dharmodayā*, to agree with *dharmadhāturūpiṇī* etc.

consumable etc. are to be followed by the possessor of the primal action.

Now<sup>1</sup> according to the predilection of evil-minded ones, of the demons, [and] of those characterized by the teachings of false *gurus*, [they say] there is a statement made in this regard by the *Tathāgataḥ* in the royal *Tantras* [that] [75.30] all [substances of the] esoteric group<sup>2</sup> are consumable by the one whose thoughts are free of imaginary constructs [*nirvikalpa-cittena*]. Therefore, first to that extent [they say] we consume the five nectars etc.; afterwards, through the influence of that practice, there will be perfection in the covenant; through the influence of the perfection in the covenant, the poisons etc. that are non-consumable will become consumable; and the feces etc. that are foul smelling will become sweet smelling. Because of the statement in this regard, [76.1] there is the ultimate contradiction. How could there be first, to that extent, entry into the fire, and then afterwards, by virtue of practice, magical quenching<sup>3</sup> of the fire. [In response, I, Puṇḍarīka say--] And it is not so. In this case, for the very evil ones, for the worst rogues, for those who ridicule the teaching on omniscience, for those disruptive of the great covenant, for those who dwell in the *Avīci* hell, for those of unpurified minds--if [their] mind [becomes] purified, then why would they not perform the duties of a *yogi*? In this instance, because of his purified mind, the *yogi* enters the fire, and he is not burnt by the fire. He can stop a maddened great elephant [76.5] and he is not killed by that elephant.

He can mount a lion or tiger, etc. and he is not torn to pieces by that lion or tiger,

<sup>1</sup> My paragraph; not a paragraph in Sarnath edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Sarva-samayā[ḥ]*--there must be a word missing or understood here. It cannot be that the *samayāḥ* (either appropriate time, or the esoteric community) are consumable.

<sup>3</sup> This is the translation of *agni-stambhana* give by MW, without reference. However, it makes good sense here.



etc.<sup>1</sup> He can enter a full stream<sup>2</sup> and he is not carried away by the full stream's current. He can consume poison and is not knocked unconscious by the poison. He can eat weapons such as swords and is not cut in the mouth by the weapons.<sup>3</sup> He does the same [with] the consumable and non-consumable, and accomplishes the transformation of his own supreme form. Similarly, the one possessed of the primal action does not perform the multifaceted *yogi's* duties. It's stated by the *Bhagavān* that there's a tenfold arrangement of *yogis*: first (1) the *yogi* possessed of the production by thought etc. [*cittotpādika*] [76.10], then (2) the one who's become a child, (3) the one who's become a youth, (4) one possessed of the primal action, (5) the one born from a *yogācāra* birth [*yogācārajanmajaḥ*], (6) the one conversant with the practice [*prayogasumpannah*], (7) the one well acquainted with the *āśaya*, (8) the one without metamorphosis, (9) the one who's received the consecration, and (10) the one who is bound to the one caste.<sup>4</sup> Then there are the ten supernatural powers [*vaśitā*] of the *bodhisattva*: (1) the mastery of long life, (2) the mastery of karma, (3) the mastery of initiatory purification [*pariṣkara-vaśitā*], (4) the mastery of self-confidence [*adhimukti*], (5) the mastery of profound religious meditation [*prañidhāna-*

<sup>1</sup> This fits with the depictions of some of the 84 *mahāsiddhas* as riding tigers, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Kākapeyaṃ* = literally 'crow-drinkable,' referring to a container of water filled to the brim so a crow may drink from it.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently then *yogi* activities included some well-known circus tricks. Modern practitioners of sword swallowing explain that they practice relaxing their throat muscles until they can swallow the blades without injury.

<sup>4</sup> Is this in part what the *kula* notion is all about?—that in a world where the proliferation of castes and subcastes was all important in social life, the *tantrika* initiations brought the individual into a single family, a single clan, a single caste, without the external distinctions otherwise so dominant—just as Buddhism itself was ostensibly anti-caste. This in itself would have been quite revolutionary in its implications, since the *tantrika* trans-caste behavior included trans-caste sexual relations, the potential for mixing of blood lines and blurring of the racial/genetic distinctions protected by caste restrictions.

], (6) the mastery of prosperity, (7) the mastery of production [*upapatti-*], (8) the power of *dharma*, (9) the mastery of thinking [*citta-*], (10), and the mastery of knowledge [*jñāna*].<sup>1</sup> The ten grounds: (1) the delighted, (2) the stainless, (3) the solar, (4) the fiery, (5) the truly invincible, (6) the confident, [76.15] (7) the far-reaching [*dūramgama*], (8) the unmoving, (9) the benevolent, and (10) the cloud of *dharma*.<sup>2</sup> Likewise the ten perfections become fulfilled--the perfections of generosity, moral virtue, patience, courage, meditation, wisdom, means, concentration, strength, and knowledge. In this way the *yogī* becomes a *bodhisattva*.<sup>3</sup> It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasamgīti*, in the praise of the truly purified *dharma* realm, with the third and fourth *ślokas*--

The one who has achieved the ten perfections, and has the ten perfections as his abode |

[76.20] Who has the purification of the ten perfections, and whose conduct is [guided] by the ten perfections | |

Becomes the Master of the ten stages, the leader, the governor of the ten stages |

Whose *ātman* is well purified by the ten [types of] knowledge, who maintains the real purity of the ten [types of] knowledge. | |

<sup>1</sup> This list differs only slightly from that at *Dharmasamgrahaḥ* 75, using *upapattivaśitā* instead of its virtual synonym *janmavaśitā*, and varying the order: "*āyurvaśitā, cittavaśitā, pariṣkāraśitā, dharmavaśitā, ṛddhivaśitā, janmavaśitā, adhimuktivaśitā, prapīdhānavaśitā, karmavaśitā, jñānavaśitā ceti.*" (Kasawara et al 1885:16).

<sup>2</sup> See Cleary's translation of the twenty-sixth chapter of the *Avataṃsakasūtram* for a detailed description of the ten stages of the *bodhisattva*'s spiritual progression. (Cleary 1993:695-811).

<sup>3</sup> One of the pleasant and interesting differences between the *Śaiva* and *Bauddha Tantras*--the former leads the *yogi* to self-transcendence in identity with *Śiva*, the latter here to transformation into a *bodhisattva*, then later identity with *Kālacakra*.

(*Nāmasamgīti* 6.2-3)<sup>1</sup>

Hence the *yogī* whose thoughts are truly purified is said by the *Bhagavān* to be a *bodhisattva*.

In this regard,<sup>2</sup> in the *mantra* vehicle, [76.25] whoever, by either the *vītra* path or the *svādhiṣṭhāna* path,<sup>3</sup> having entered the charnel ground in the dead of night, may be incapable of making the *Bhagavān Heruka* appear before their eyes through the power of their *mantra* recitation, oblation [offering], or meditation, [even] after a year, two years, up to twelve years, or up to the point of their death, [such people would be] similarly [incapable of making appear before their eyes by such methods] a deity such as *Samantabhadra* in solitary places such as a mountain, a garden, or the bank of either a river or ocean. Being without courage in the domain of action and practice for either their own or another's sake, [even] having performed *mantra* recitation, oblations, offerings, meditation, and the visualization of the *maṇḍala-cakra* etc., because of the inappropriate place and time, being of unperfected *mantras*, and with their thoughts indifferent to the deity, by that sort of [76.30] imperfected path they will have fallen from the path of the visualization of the great consort, they will be without the teachings of a true *guru*, they will have fallen into great destruction,

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition verses 43-44; "Having obtained the ten perfections (*daśapāramitā*), he is the basis (*āśraya*) for the ten perfections. Being the purity of the ten perfections, he is the practice of the ten perfections. (44:) Being the lord of the ten stages (*daśabhūmi*), he is the protector established on the ten stages. Himself pure with the ten knowledges, he is the pure bearer of the ten knowledges." (Davidson 1981:24 & 52-53).

<sup>2</sup> A new paragraph should begin with *iha*: the line beginning with *ato yogī* should not be indented—it constitutes Puṇḍarīka's standard summary point of his preceding argument.

<sup>3</sup> *Svādhiṣṭhānaḥ* is the name for the second *cakra* from the bottom of the spine in the Hindu naming system. While the Buddhist system of subtle body *cakras* recognizes only the *guhya* below the navel, the Hindu system has two, the *mūlādhāra* at the base of the spine, and the *svādhiṣṭhāna* at the level of the genitalia.

having bad *gurus*; [because of these reasons such people] cause to be taught the perfection of wisdom for those of young minds who have not perceived the profound and lofty *dharma*. [77.1] For this reason it was stated by the *Bhagavān Tathāgataḥ* in the *Prajñāpāramitā*--"without false conceptualizations are all *dharmas*, void are all *dharmas*, signless are all *dharmas*, wishless (*apraṇihitāḥ*) are all *dharmas*, free of embellishments are all *dharmas*, free of production are all *dharmas*, imperishable are all *dharmas*, void of cause are all *dharmas*, inconceivable are all *dharmas*."

Therefore, as for obtaining the fruit of omniscience, it is likely to be achieved by the bodhisattva, the great being, who is not dependent on all the *dharmas*; [77.5] it is not established in form or aggregates, not in perception [*vedanā*], not in consciousness, not in *saṃskāras*, not in worldly knowledge, not in the earth constituent is it established, not in the form constituent, not in the water element is it established, not in the fire element is it established, not in the wind element is it established, not in the void element is it established, not in the eye constituent is it established, not in the form constituent, not in the visual knowledge constituent, not in the hearing constituent, not in the sound constituent, not in the aural knowledge constituent, not in the nose constituent, not in the smell constituent, not in the olfactory knowledge constituent, not in the tongue constituent, not in the taste constituent, not in the lingual knowledge constituent, not in the body constituent, not in the touch constituent, not in the corporeal knowledge constituent, not [77.10] in the mind constituent, not in the *dharma* constituent, nor in the mental knowledge constituent is it established.

In this way, the perfected wisdom, the unthinkable knowledge of the *Tathāgata*, was expressed by the *Bhagavān* for the attainment of completely perfected Buddha-hood. In what way is it unthinkable? Since its intrinsic nature is passion and antipathy. Because in this regard when thinking occurs on the part of beings, then there will be passion for the realities of the supreme being [*parameṣṭhavastuṣu*], and there will be antipathy towards the undesirable realities, the two--passion and dispassion--being the two causes of *samsāra*. When, furthermore, the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge exists free of thinking [*niścintanam*], then there will not be passion for the desired realities, and there will not be antipathy towards the non-desired realities; from the lack of both, in fact, *samsāra* won't exist, and through its non-existence, there will perfect Buddha-hood. So [77.15] the practice of Buddha-hood is the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge without thinking; there is no other conceptualization *samādhi* (*na anyo vikalpaḥ samādhiḥ*). In this way, the non-awakened ones will say [that they] are desirous of the knowledge without thinking--any such ones [who believe this] have fallen into the great destruction. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that]--because in this regard, if the knowledge that is free of anxious thought provides Buddha-hood, then why did not all beings become buddhas? Even for these who are in profound sleep, knowledge free of thinking occurs, [they do not have] passion for the desired realities and antipathy for the non-desired realities. Therefore in this state of deep sleep, passion and antipathy do not exist,<sup>1</sup> and since it is not the case that by this knowledge free of thinking all beings became [77.20] completely perfected buddhas, therefore the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge free of thinking does not exist, since in

<sup>1</sup> *Syātām*, 3rd, dual, optative.

the *Samādhi* chapter in the *Prajñāpāramitā* [there are] the *samādhis* described by the *Bhagavān*, [and] among these is the *samādhi* called the Jewel Lamp.

In this case, if the Jewel Lamp thinking did not exist, or [at least its] appearance [did not exist], then how could there be a *samādhi* called the Jewel Lamp? Likewise the other *samādhis* could not exist free of thinking, since they are characterized as self-intelligible, and [77.25] because there's no voidness [cognized] by the stupid.

Now there is this statement on the part of the immature ones: if the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge is self-knowable, then how is it that all the *dharmas* are stated by the *Tathāgata* to be lacking intrinsic nature? In this regard it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that] in this case the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge is called the recognition of the lack of intrinsic nature in all *dharmas*; it is not the thinking in deep sleep that is characterized by a lack of intrinsic nature. It is stated in the *Prajñāpāramitā*--"there is that thinking that is the thinking that is non-thinking." [A-, S-, Pr- 3-- *Aṣṭasāhasrika-prajñāpāramitā*). If there were no self-intelligible *Tathāgata*'s knowledge called 'illuminating the material world,'<sup>1</sup> then there wouldn't be any teaching about the *dharma* by the *Tathāgata* because of the influence of the domain of sentient beings. [77.30] All *dharmas* lack awareness, since they are unknowable. Now [if] the door of the senses is self-knowable, then the completely omnipresent all-pervading doesn't exist, since it is completely concealed. Therefore the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge is self-knowable, knowing the intrinsic nature of all *dharmas*, free of conceptualization, free of the senses. It is stated by the *Bhagavān* in

<sup>1</sup> *Prakṛti-prabhāsvaraṇ*.

the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, in the praise of the knowledge via direct perception, with the three *ślokas* beginning with the twentieth--

[78.1] *Nirvāṇa* is happiness, peace, the best, emancipation, the ultimate, |

It causes the end of pleasure and suffering, it is the foundation, dispassion, the destruction of fraud. ||

Unconquerable, without equal, unmanifest, without likeness, unmixed, |

Without parts, omnipresent, pervading, subtle, the seed, without inflows. ||

Free of passion, passionless, stainless, having spit out the *dosas*, without disease, |

Truly awakened, the really awakened *ātman*, omniscient, all-knowing, the supreme. ||

(*Nāmasaṅgīti* 8.20-22)<sup>1</sup>

Similarly in the praise of the performance of duty, by the thirteenth *śloka*, as follows-

Knowing the *ātman*, knowing the supreme, everything, of everything, because [of being] the highest person, |

[78.10] Transcending all resemblance, knowable, the ruler of knowledge, the supreme. ||

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verses 96-98; "He is *nirvāṇa*, cessation, peace, well-being, deliverance and termination. Ending pleasure and pain, he is the utter conclusion (*niṣṭhā*), renunciation, with residues destroyed. (97:) Unconquerer, incomparable, indistinct, indivisible and spotless, he is partless, with total access, all-pervading, yet subtle, a seed (*bīja*) without impurities. (98:) Without dirt, stainless, with faults expelled, and free from disease, he is wide awake, himself awakened, omniscient, universally knowing and supreme." (Davidson 1981:30 & 56). Davidson's edition has *antakaḥ* instead of *antaḡaḥ* in 96a.

(*Nāmasamgiti* 10.13)<sup>2</sup>

In the Royal *Tantra* it is also stated, in the fifth chapter, with the ninety-ninth verse--

Taking all forms, yet inaccessible by those with sense domains and senses, the  
body-lightning of the victor;

The speech lightning, producing the *dharma* with the voices in the individual  
hearts of all creatures; |<sup>2</sup>

[78.15] The intrinsic nature of the thought of intelligent beings, present throughout  
the entire earth, the thought lightning of the lightning bolt possessor;

The perceiver of emotional states, like a spotless gem,<sup>3</sup> that in fact is the  
knowledge lightning bolt. ||

(*Kālacakratantram* 5.99)

Hence the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge is self-knowable [and] without sense [basis].

Certainly [some may argue], if the *Tathāgata*'s knowledge is self-knowable,  
then since there are no aggregates, constituents, or consciousness-bases, it does not  
come into being; [78.20] [in contrast to this erroneous view] it is stated by the  
*Bhagavān* in the Royal *Tantras*--

"When the aggregate doesn't exist, wisdom and knowledge are not obtained  
through the union of the two [sex]-organs. At the time of the exit of the *bodhicitta*,  
in between the simultaneous production and the cessation, constituting the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 155; "Knowing himself and knowing others, being all for all, indeed he is the highest type of person; completely beyond all comparisons, he has to be known, the supreme monarch of gnosis." (Davidson 1981:37 & 61).

<sup>2</sup> *Ruta* refers to the characteristic sounds of the voices of all types of living creatures, i.e. roar, neigh, song, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Just as a spotless gem allows one to see what lies below it, so the spotless gem of the mind allows a clear view of one's emotional states.



of the three drops is just the one moment, the completely beneficent, the knowledge of great bliss; this itself is said to be self-knowable."

[78.25] In this case, [the question] how does the *bodhicitta* drop, without *nirvāṇa*, become the non-sensual, completely beneficent, great bliss? is like pondering whether a sky flower can be smelled by the son of a barren woman--it is meaningless; such will be someone's opinion. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response]-this was not stated by the *Tathāgata* in this way [that] the *bodhicitta* drop [is] the perishable bliss, the completely beneficent, the great bliss, wisdom and knowledge, since there's the prohibitory statement "the fourth, that is also like that"

(*Guhyasamājantra* 18.112).<sup>1</sup> In this regard, if the third perishable bliss becomes wisdom and knowledge, the completely beneficent, the fourth great happiness, [78.30] then it will be the designation of what's [already] called that.<sup>2</sup> And that is not correct. Why? Because it involves a further fault in what is stated. [79.1] Just as when "hand" is being stated, there is in fact a hand, similarly also milk, [i.e. when one says 'milk' it refers to real milk]. Here [we have] the statement of fools and madmen, not the statement of *paṇḍits*. Therefore because there's the statement "the

<sup>1</sup> *Caturthaṃ tat punas tathā* is page 160, line 13 of Bhattacharyya's edition of the *Guhyasamājantra* (Bhattacharyya 1931:160.13). The passage reads as follows: With the *vajra* of the body, speech, and mind in the *maṇḍala* of the body, speech, and mind, having sealed the body, speech, and mind, one should create the *maṇḍala* that is drawn (*lekhyamaṇḍala*). The consecration is formed into a three-fold division in this *Tantra*. The pitcher consecration is first; second is the secret consecration; the third is wisdom and knowledge, and the fourth is also like that. (*kāyavākcittavajreṇa kāyavākcittamaṇḍale | āmudrya kāyavākcittam kalpayet lekhyamaṇḍalam | | abhiṣekaṃ tridhā bhedaṃ asmin tantrē prakalpitaṃ | kalāśābhiṣekaṃ prathamam, dvitīyaṃ guhyābhiṣekataḥ | prajñājñānaṃ tṛtīyaṃ tu, caturthaṃ tat punas tathā | |* Bhattacharyya 1931:160.9-13). It's not clear what the "18.112" reference refers to, since even counting by lines, *caturthaṃ tat punas tathā* is line 243 of Bhattacharyya's edition. Perhaps the "112" refers to the Tibetan version?

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the third happiness would be the designation of what is the fourth happiness.

fourth," the third is not [intended]; from the statement "that is also like that," that too is wisdom and knowledge. So according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the non-awakeners<sup>1</sup> are lost [who] will say in this regard that with the statement by the *Bhagavān* "the fourth, that is also like that," what is stated is the third, [and] the fourth name is not [expressed]. Here is the advent of *adharmā* on the part of foolish people [79.5] who, desiring the perishable happiness arising from sexual union, have destroyed the knowledge of the great indestructible bliss. Therefore, the happiness from the ejaculation of the *bodhicitta*, does not become the fourth completely beneficent knowledge of great bliss. It's stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasamgīti*, in the praise of the knowledge of one who's performed their duty, by the third *śloka*--

With the universal form, without form, holding the four drops|

Without parts, transcending comprehension, holding the pinnacle of the fourth meditation| |

[79.10] (*Nāmasamgīti* 10.3)<sup>2</sup>

In the Royal *Tantra* it is also stated, in the fifth chapter, with the one hundred and twenty-sixth *śloka*, as follows--

In this way, the thought is fourfold, residing in the threefold world, in the middle of the drop of living beings;

The pervader [i.e. the drop], providing the fruit of equalized happiness, is to

<sup>1</sup> *A-prabodhāras* = nominative plural of *a-praboddhṛ*, the agent noun. Presumably Puṇḍarīka is referring to bad *gurus*, those who do not awaken their students to reality.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 145; "Having all aspects, having no aspects, he bears four *bindus*; partless, beyond enumeration, he sustains the limit at the level of the fourth meditation." Davidson adds in a note that *bindu* refers to *bījamantra*. (Davidson 1981:36 & 60). The text says *ṣoḍasha-ardha-ardha-bindu*--half of half of sixteen drops = half of eight = four.

be protected by the *yogi-indras* for the purpose of liberation; |

[79.15] When there is release of the drop, where is the release? It is in the birth-seed of the *yogīs*, [the seed] that lacks the supreme happiness;

Therefore, for this reason the happiness-moment of transmigration is always to be shunned by the ascetics. | |

(*Kālacakratantra* 5.126)

Hence the fourth is not the third. In this regard, if the drop that is the third were that same fourth [drop of] wisdom and knowledge, then the *Bhagavān* would not be the holder of the four drops; if the fourth were cessation, then there would be no holder of the pinnacle of the fourth meditation on bliss, the supreme, cessation, and orgasm. Hence there is the non-sensual, self-knowable, *Tathāgata*'s knowledge.

[79.20] Therefore the *bodhicitta* is to be very firmly protected by the *yogī*, it is not to be released. And there are no other drops either in the body, or externally, different than the *bodhicitta* drop, such as the urine, water, etc., that will become the providers of the fruit of Buddha-hood. Some will say, in regard to this, that is not so, since if the fourth--wisdom and knowledge--is not the third, and [if] the *Bhagavān* is the drop-holder, then according to the statement "that is also like that," who will become wisdom and knowledge? In response to this it is said--

[79.25] Here in the Lightning/Diamond Vehicle (*Vajrayāna*), relying on the worldly and world-transcending truth, the wisdom (consort) is said by the *Bhagavān* to be threefold, according to the individual designations of action consort (*karma-mudrā*), knowledge consort (*jñāna-mudrā*) and the great consort (*mahā-mudrā*). Among them,

the action consort happiness and the knowledge consort happiness are characterized by vibration (*spanda-lakṣaṇam*), and the great consort happiness is characterized by lack of vibration (*niḥspanda-lakṣaṇam*) for the *yogī*. Here, if the knowledge of wisdom is wisdom-knowledge characterized by the falling [of the seed], [with] the fruit of art produced by reason of wisdom as wisdom and knowledge, then the fruit of wisdom produced on account of the art is the knowledge of art, for the sake of [yogic] perfection with the great consort. In this way the two knowledges are mutually dependent. [79.30] So, since there's a lack of the true pairs of knowledge in each of the individual knowledges, [and] because there's a lack of non-dual knowledge, there is also lack of Buddha-hood, since [each individual knowledge] lacks the purified supreme indestructible knowledge. Now if the knowledge of wisdom is wisdom and knowledge, then [80.1] the knowledge of art is art-knowledge; so we have the prior fault. The purified knowledge of the supremely indestructible was described by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, in the praise of knowledge via direct perception, with the pair of *ślokas* beginning with the thirty-sixth, as follows--

In the cross-legged sitting position of the awakened thunderbolt, the *dharma* holder of the songs of the Buddha|

Springing forth from the Buddha's lotus, the glorious one, holding the sheath of omniscient knowledge| |

[80.5] Holder of the universal illusion, the king, holder of the Buddha science, the great one|

The thunderbolt's tip, with the great sword, purified, the supremely

indestructible. ||

(*Nāmasamgīti* 8.34-35)<sup>1</sup>

In the *Tantrarāja* the defining characteristic of the great consort is also described in the *Sādhana* chapter by the two verses beginning with the one hundred and ninety-ninth--

Leaving aside this action consort with her turbid heart, [and leaving aside] the mentally created knowledge consort,

[80.10] One should produce the divine consort who engenders the best of the Victors, for the purpose of true enlightenment |

[She] is stainless, without alternation, the most contacted,<sup>2</sup> equal to the sky, pervading, accessible via *yoga*,

Standing supreme, the brilliant fire of knowledge, removing the turbidity of life, having penetrated the wheel of time. || (*Kālacakratāntra* 4.199)

The consort, taking on the form of illusion, is in the navel, in the mind, and in the corporeal mirror,<sup>3</sup>

[80.15] Illuminating the three worlds, emitting multiple rays like lightning's fire |

Externally in [many] physical bodies she is undivided, free of [external] sense

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verses 110-111; "Maintaining the cross-legged position of the completely awakened, he preserves the Dharma discussed by the Buddhas. Arisen from the lotus of the Buddha, he is glorious, wearing the treasury of the omniscient's gnosis. (111:) Bearing every sort of illusion, he is king, and as the holder of the incantations (*vidyādhara*) of the Buddhas, he is exalted. Vajratikṣṇa with a great sword, he is pure with the highest syllable." Davidson notes that *a* is the highest syllable. (Davidson 1981:32 & 57).

<sup>2</sup> The compound is *kha-sama-hata-tamām*. *Kha-sama* = sky-like, or equal to the sky. *Hata* in astronomical contexts = contacted (*tama* the superlative suffix). The sky is the most contacted since every planet, star, etc. also 'touches' the sky.

<sup>3</sup> *Rūpavad-darpaṇe*.

objects, [she] is pure light, located in the sky,

The illusion of consciousness [she] embraces the thinking, and she is one in a world of many forms||

(*Kālacakratantra* 4.198)

In the root *Tantra* it is also stated--

[80.20] Leaving aside the action consort, [and] the mentally-constructed knowledge consort (*jñāna-mudrāṃ vikalpitām*)|

By union with the supremely indestructible, one should produce the great consort (*parama-akṣara-yogena mahāmudrāṃ vibhāvayet*)||

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s rule, the happiness of the action consort is not the happiness of the completely beneficent supremely indestructible; likewise the wisdom-bliss that is mentally-created through meditation on the *maṇḍala-cakra* is not the completely good bliss of the supremely indestructible, since it is not free of mental creation [*vikalpita-aparityāgāt*]. Nowadays, because of the instruction of false *gurus*, those whose knowledge of the great consort has deteriorated create animalness (*paśuvam*);<sup>1</sup> [this] is not Buddha-hood, [80.25] because there's a lack of knowledge about the great consort. There is also the path--"the fourth, that is also like that," (*Guhyasamājatantra* 18.112).<sup>2</sup> So because of not knowing the fourth initiation, all the initiations would be pointless.

<sup>1</sup> Is this a reference to the *Kāśmir Śaivas*? *Adhunā* means 'now' or 'at this time' in a temporal sense referring to present time; it is not usually used to introduce a phrase the way *atas* is. If this is a reference to the Śaivite *yogis*, then there's a suggestion that the rival system was gaining popularity when Puṇḍarīka wrote the commentary.

<sup>2</sup> This is the same passage as cited above, 98.28 of the *Vimalaprabhā*. The phrase does not occur elsewhere in the 18th chapter of the *Guhyasamājatantra*.

Certainly [some might argue] if there is the completely good bliss of the supremely indestructible, that very fourth, i.e. the knowledge of the great consort, would not exist without the great consort. Then for what reason was the meditation on the great bliss with the joining together of the two senses [sexual union] stated by the *Bhagavān*? [80.30] With this meditation, here in this birth, it was stated [by the *Bhagavān*] that Buddha-hood, and being a lightning holder [are achievable]; such will be someone's opinion. [81.1] Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response], here in this world, what was stated by the *Bhagavān* regarding the practice of the great bliss with the joining together of the two senses is true; it was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja*, in the fifth chapter, with the one hundred and ninety-ninth verse--

By the passion whereby sentient beings have arrived at death the saviors [buddhas] are freed,

What sentient beings strive to protect on a daily basis, the saviours give away, |

[81.5] The happiness residing in their own hearts that sentient beings give away, the conquerors protect,

So this practice of the supreme Victors would be a difficult task for gods, serpents, and demons. | |

(*Kālacakratantra*

5.199)

In this sense, sentient beings who (otherwise) end up dead, i.e. reach the final destruction, on account of this passion that has fallen [dripped--*rāgena cyutena*--i.e.

ejaculated], they (can) become liberated buddhas, saviors, by means of the non-fallen [i.e. non-ejaculated passion] that becomes the supremely indestructible. [81.10] What sentient beings protect, such as their sons, wives, etc., the saviors give away. What sentient beings give away, that great bliss, the buddhas protect. For that reason, the practice that is a difficult task for gods, demons, men, and serpents is transformed by the *Tathāgatas*--that very practice of the unemitted *bodhicitta* is to be routinely practiced by the *yogīs*, for the purpose of the spiritual practice of the supremely indestructible. Therefore what's stated to be the bliss-meditation with the joining together of the two senses is not a state of ejaculating the *bodhicitta*. This inclination towards ejaculation [of the *bodhicitta*] on the part of sentient beings has as its intrinsic nature the incidental impurity from the primal time;<sup>1</sup> from this [impurity] *samsāra* [results]. The inclination towards ejaculation that occurs with the sexual embrace of the consort, will become, by that very embrace, an inclination towards non-ejaculation, [81.15] like the child and the fire (*sūtaka-agni-vat*).<sup>2</sup> It's stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja*, in the *Sādhana* chapter, with the two hundred and twenty-fourth verse--

There is no hostility<sup>3</sup> in the fire to the quicksilver, [nor] is there ever binding of the mercury without the fire;

A goldsmith without gold is not unbound,<sup>4</sup> nor are the pleasures of the

<sup>1</sup> A sort of *karma* version of the Roman Catholic doctrine of original sin.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. like the child who learns not to get burnt by fire. By practice, the *yogi* and *yoginī* will learn the value of restraint of ejaculation.

<sup>3</sup> This is a literal translation of *riputvaṃ*. I've been unable to find a contextual achemical explanation of the term.

<sup>4</sup> The text should read *kanakavirahitaḥ*, not *-virahitā*.



disputers; |

In the same way, without the sexual embrace of a woman, there is never a binding in the minds of men,

[81.20] It is not unbound, piercing the body; here the unpierced body provides the supreme happiness. | | (Kālacakratāntra 4.224)<sup>1</sup>

Here, just as the mercury that runs away from the touch of fire is by that very means caught by the fire, similarly the *bodhicitta* that runs away from the touch of the *dharmā*'s arisal is by that very means caught. Just as the mercury is bound by the fire, [and] makes all the metals into gold, likewise the *bodhicitta* is captured by the arisal and embrace of the *dharmā*,<sup>2</sup> [and] it causes the [81.25] revealing consisting of the aggregates, constituents, consciousness-bases, etc. Hence the inexplicable potency of the mercury and of the *bodhicitta* cannot be figured out by fools. Therefore even in the embrace of the action consort the meditation (*ālambanam*) on the deity is said to be for the sake of stabilizing the *bodhicitta*, just as the steaming and oxidizing etc. [is said to be for the sake of stabilizing] the mercury. So it was stated by the *Tathāgata* that there is no consumption of the *bodhicitta* that has entered into the lotus

<sup>1</sup> There is no commentary on this verse. See KCT 4.224, vol.2, page 248, of Sarnath edition. The Sanskrit reads: *sūtasīyāgne riputvaṃ na śikhi-virahitaḥ sūtabandhaḥ kadācin nābaddho hemakartā kanaka-virahitā vādīnāṃ naiva bhogāḥ | evaṃ strīsaṅghātīno nahi bhavati sadā yogināṃ cittabandho nābaddhaḥ kāyavedhī sajaha-sukham ihāvīddhakāyo dadāti | |*.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. through the experience of the *yoginī*'s orgasm the *yogi* learns to restrain his own ejaculation.

[during] animal copulation.<sup>3</sup> The spiritual practice with the action consort was described by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja* in the fifth chapter, with the seventy-third verse, as follows--

[82.1] The action consort is to be served in the beginning for the sake of the growth of this orgasmic happiness of the Victors;

After that She of the solar form<sup>2</sup> fills the body, mouth, feet, *uṣṇīṣa* and all the limbs;|

She conforms to the lightning scepter, she generates imperishable happiness, she is adorned with the characteristics and secondary characteristics;

With lightning bolts she illumines, [her] body resides in the three states of existence; from that there is the *dharmā* realm. ||

(*Kālacakratantra* 5.73)

In addition, in that same chapter, with the one hundred and thirteenth verse, it is stated--

[She], the mere appearance of thought, is produced in one's own mind just like a reflection in a mirror;

She is to be served by the *yogīndras*, by all the victor sons, and she is served by the buddhas;|

She, the fully developed light of knowledge, completely burns the *Māra* host together with the sense objects;

[82.10] [She] provides also the passions etc. in the body [and] the equal happiness of

<sup>1</sup> *Paśukarman*--the term refers to either animal sacrifice or copulation. Given the context, copulation must be intended.

<sup>2</sup> *Ādityarūpā*.

the *yogins* after a year's *yoga*. ||<sup>1</sup>

(*Kālacakratantra* 5.113)

So, according to the *Bhagavān*'s rule, and by the joining together of the two [sexual] sense organs, this great consort, the mere appearance of one's own thought, is to be generated by the *yogī*, forsaking the perishable pleasure that is produced by the sense organs externally and that results in ignorance.

It was certainly stated by the *Bhagavān* [some will argue] that the self-knowable wisdom-knowledge free of the joining together of the two senses [i.e. without sexual union] does not exist in the absence of the aggregates, constituents, and consciousness-bases, since it is non-ejaculated. How does the *yogī*, having performed the embrace with his own thought in the appearance of his own thought, [82.15] make his own thought uncovered, and enjoy the knowledge of the great indestructible bliss, since there is no physical body [consisting of] an assemblage of ultimate particles? This is false; since someone will be of the opinion that Devadatta (i.e. some John Smith) goes to the village having 'mounted' his own aggregate [*skandha*];<sup>2</sup> so it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīkaḥ, in response, that] in this regard-- because it will be stated by fools that there is no wisdom and knowledge that is self-knowable by the mind alone, without the aggregates, constituents, and consciousness-bases consisting of the collection of ultimate particles--that is not so. Why? Because of the influence of incidental thought and inclinations. Here, what's called the aggregates, constituents, and bases of consciousness, is inclination born of incidental

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mālintvijayottaratantra* last few chapters for repeated use of the ablative to signal passage of time.

<sup>2</sup> See *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* (Poussin/Pruden 1991{4}:1342-43) for a discussion of Devadatta as a series of *samskāras*, an imaginary individual. My thanks to Gary Tubb (Columbia U.) for clarifying the contextual usage of the name Devadatta in Sanskrit.

thoughts.<sup>1</sup> By the grace of that,<sup>2</sup> [82.20] the perception of happiness and suffering will enter the thinking, not because of a small unfortunate accident of this physical body when pondering ultimate truth. In this case, the body, consisting of an assemblage of ultimate particles, having fallen into a state of sleep, remains; for it (i.e. for the body) there is absolutely no slight unfortunate accident, whereby suffering enters into the thinking. This is established in all the worlds; in that very state [of sleep], another body, consisting of thought and inclinations, without the assemblage of ultimate particles, appears, wandering in another place; of that body wandering in the other place, when an unfortunate accident is occurring with thieves etc., suffering enters into the thinking (*citte*); [82.25] because of that suffering [one] cries. Then this is a very great surprise. Without a body, without [real] thieves, etc., the self-knowable knowledge of suffering occurs to the thinking. Similarly, by the experiences of the great desires in sleep, happiness enters into the thinking; this too is a great wonder: without a body, without the [actual] experiences of desires, self-knowable knowledge of pleasure enters into the thinking of sentient beings. *Panḍits* are not able to understand this, in fact, even though the knowledge has been taught to them; [82.30] how much more will fools be unable to figure out the completely beneficial knowledge of the great indestructible happiness, self-knowable by the *yogis*, produced from the inclination for *nirvāṇa*, transcending the inclination for *saṃsāra*. |

<sup>1</sup> Hemacandra includes *vāsanā* among the three characteristics of forgetfulness preceded by experience: "*vāsanā, bhāvanā, saṃskāro 'nubhūtādya-vismṛtiḥ*." (Hemacandra 1964:330 [6.9]).

<sup>2</sup> A hint of sarcasm?

[83.1] Now for those of sinful minds, for the heretics, [and] for those delighting in the reality of the *prāṇa-vāyu*, there is this statement: in this dreaming state, in the body consisting of the assemblage of ultimate atoms, there is inhalation and exhalation; from the power of the inhalation and of the exhalation, there arise the three states, not from the lack of inhalation and exhalation. This itself is called into question in this regard [by me, Puṇḍarīkaḥ], because here, if there were no state of dreaming in the thinking without inhalation and exhalation, then how [83.5] is there the appearance of thinking--for even one *praharam* [about 3 hours]--in the states of death or unconsciousness? The body appears, being led by *Yama*'s servants, following *Yama*'s command, to *Yama*'s city. In this city of *Yama*, the lord of the dead appears; he, *Yama*, performs an investigation of the virtues and sins of the body that has been led there. Having assessed them, he says--since the end of this one's first duration of life has not occurred, you must quickly take<sup>1</sup> the being [back] to the mortal world, so that his body will not be destroyed.<sup>2</sup> [This] is the restriction on *Yama*'s servants. According to that rule, they, *Yama*'s servants, send the body [back] into the mortal world. [83.10] Being placed in that [mortal world], through the influence of thinking and inclinations, inhalation and exhalation again occur in the deceased body. Then, through the influence of still other inclinations, the waking state occurs. Through the awakening of the mind in that [waking] state, [one] relates the story of *Yama* to one's kinsmen.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, without a body, and without

<sup>1</sup> *Nayata* = second person plural imperative of the causative of  $\sqrt{ni}$ .

<sup>2</sup> This is essentially the same idea we have reported in Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*--see Chapter 3.2.1 of this dissertation.

<sup>3</sup> Here we have then an 11th century report of near-death experiences.

inhalation and exhalation, the incidental inclination of beginningless thinking comes into being in sentient beings through the influence of repeated birth--it is not intrinsically natural (*svabhāvīkt*). If this inclination towards *saṃsāra* were intrinsically natural, then there would not be what's called Buddha-hood for sentient beings. By whatever reason the incidental [inclination] exists, [83.15] by that reason its destruction exists; through its destruction, [there is] the Buddha-hood described by the *Tathāgata*. So, being thought about in many different ways, this *saṃsāra* is nothing other than simply the habitual inclination of one's own thinking. And the habitual inclination [that is] *saṃsāra* is the moment characterized by the downward release [i.e. ejaculation], it is not the indestructible. The inclination that is *nirvāṇa* is the moment characterized by non-ejaculation, not the perishable. It is stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrārāja*, in the *Adhyātmapatala*, with the one hundred and second verse, as follows--

Whoever has entered into a milieu, delighting in the vows and restraints, tied down by the chords of karma,

[83.20] Lives in that milieu according to one's individual intrinsic nature, Oh ruler of men, [i.e. lives] in that clan, because of perceiving that!<sup>1</sup>

As long as the individual [*jīva*] lives, perceiving pleasure and pain through the influence of the three worlds,

For that long, Oh king, s/he will be wandering here in the torment of *saṃsāra*,

<sup>1</sup> *Grahaṇa*, though it literally translates as "grasping," and may certainly be so translated, also indicates 'perceiving.' In particular, it reflects the doctrine that one is only capable of degrees of perception that match one's psychological/spiritual evolution. As a result, in the process of reincarnation, one is drawn to, and perceives as attractive, what one is capable of perceiving. This is the sense wherein one can be said to be 'grasping.'

in heaven, in the mortal world, and also below. ||

(*Kālacakratantra*

2.102)<sup>1</sup>

Also, in that same chapter, with the ninety-seventh verse, the inclination towards *yoga* is described--

[83.25] The *yogīndra*, who has not mastered *yoga*, may go, with a wandering mind, to death, at any time;

The glorious one, disciplined by *yoga*, is born in the world of men into the clan of the best sages; |

By that prior practice, he undertakes once again the extensive knowledge-*yoga*;

When the knowledge is attained, he gains the ultimate place of the indestructible, where [he becomes] one who is no longer born. | |<sup>2</sup>

(*Kālacakratantra* 2.97)<sup>3</sup>

[83.30] So through the influence of the inclinations of the thinking, there is self-knowable wisdom and knowledge, not through the enjoyment of the ultimate

<sup>1</sup> Wallace's translation: "The [rebirth] into which one enters who has engaged in the observance of the vow and is bound by the fetters of *karma* is due to one's own disposition, oh king; and his is in a [particular] family due to grasping to that [particular family]. So long as there is a disposition of the mind that is due to the power of the three realms, and so long as there is feeling--happiness and suffering--one roams within the horror of *samsāra*--in heaven, in the world of mortals, and in the lower region." (Wallace 1995:349). The Sanskrit reads: *dehe'smin dhātuvṛndaṃ bhavati ca sakalaṃ śaḍrasāhārapānād bhūtebhyaḥ śaḍrasās ca praṭitanīyataṃ bhūtavṛndaṃ khadhātoḥ |*  
*śūnye jñānaṃ vimīśraṃ bhavati samarasam cākṣaram śāsvataṃ ca evaṃ bhūtaśāntaṃ trividhabhāvagataṃ veditavyaṃ svakāye | |*.

<sup>2</sup> This rather awkward phrase, *yatra janmin na bhūyaḥ*, literally = where a person who is born is not anymore. I.e. the realm of no further rebirth.

<sup>3</sup> Wallace's translation: "Sometimes, the best of *yogīs*, who is not accomplished in *yoga*, dies with a wandering mind. The eminent one is reborn in the human world into the family of the most excellent sages, as one who is engaged in *yoga*. Due to that earlier practice, he also attains the far-reaching *yoga* of primordial wisdom. When primordial wisdom is attained, he enters the imperishable, supreme state in which there is no living being any more." (Wallace 1995:339-340).

atomic body. |

[84.1] Certainly [one may argue], when sexual intercourse is being performed in the dream state, there is ejaculation<sup>1</sup> in the sleeping body, not because the body has thinking and inclination when dreaming. Therefore [one would contend], the great pleasure is self-knowable through the power of this body, not because of thinking and inclinations in the body--such will be the statement of any of those who desire the [sexual] pleasure of the two senses. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that] in this regard it will be said by fools that there is ejaculation from the body that consists of an assemblage of ultimate particles (or atoms, *paramāṇus*), not from the influence of the thinking and inclinations in the body. [84.5] This is not reasonable. Why? Because there is ejaculation in the formless state.<sup>2</sup> Because, in this regard, if there is no ejaculation without the body that consists of an aggregate of ultimate particles, and without ejaculation *saṃsāra* doesn't exist, and without *saṃsāra* there would be no acquisition of the great happiness, then without ejaculation on the part of those possessing a formless body, how could there be rebirth into Buddhahood, since there would be no body consisting of an assemblage of ultimate particles. Without a food-eating body for the formless ones, there would be no emission of semen, because there would be no body consisting of an assemblage of ultimate particles; because of the lack of emission of semen, there would be no pleasure, and there would be *saṃsāra* for them. [84.10] It is not this way. The body consisting of an assemblage of ultimate particles and the knowledge of the indestructible was

<sup>1</sup> Here is an instance where the translation of 'ejaculation' for *cyutiḥ* is unambiguous.

<sup>2</sup> *Arūpabhavacyavanāt*.



described by the *Bhagavān* in the second, *Adhyātma* chapter, by the third verse, as follows--

In this body there is an assemblage of constituents, and it [the assemblage of constituents] is entirely from the eating of the six flavors,

And the six flavors [come] from the elements, evidently and completely, and the collection of elements is from the sky-constituent (*kha-dhātoḥ*)|

Knowledge is mixed into the void, and is of equal flavor, indestructible, and eternal,

[84.15] Hence the tranquility residing in the elements, and spread throughout the threefold existence, is to be known in one's own body. || (Kalacakra Tantra 2.3)<sup>1</sup>

"In this body:" the body of men and animals wherein the eating and drinking of the six flavors occurs is 'the eater and drinker of the six flavors.' In this [body] there is the collection of constituents; the mixture of the constituents-- hair, skin, blood, flesh, bone, and marrow--becomes the constituent group. How so? From eating and drinking the six flavors, and these flavors are six. The six flavors--bitter, sour, [84.20] salty, pungent, sweet, and astringent--become the intrinsic form of the constituents of the hair, etc; this is the meaning. And the six flavors [come] from the primary elements. The primary elements are the constituents earth, water, fire,

wind, and space, in the form of the hard, flowing, hot, vibrating, and taste/essence

<sup>1</sup> Wallace's translation: "On account of eating and drinking the six flavors, there is an entire collection of constituents in this body. The six flavors [originate] from the elements, and the collection of elements clearly and definitely is due to the element of space. Primordial wisdom, merged into emptiness, [becomes] of the same flavor, imperishable and eternal. Thus, tranquility, existent in the elements and present in the three worlds, is to be known within one's own body." (Wallace 1995:149).

ultimate particles;<sup>1</sup> from those combined with their seeds, the six flavors bitter etc. come into being. The [bodily] constituents take on the intrinsic nature of the flavors; this is the meaning. They arise from the primary elements, it is said, through the influence of their abode in the sentient beings; in addition, from the perspective of ultimate reality, the constituents also become the six flavors, not through a produced-producer relationship.<sup>2</sup> The group of primary elements is from the sky constituent; i.e., from the sky constituent, [84.25] from the void-property, the group of primary elements comes into being, like a sprout from a seed. Just as a sprout doesn't come into being without the seed being destroyed, [and] doesn't come into being from a destroyed seed, likewise [the group of primary elements] doesn't [come into being] without abandoning its intrinsic form, nor from a paralyzed constituent, nor from the void of destruction.<sup>3</sup> In this way, all the *dharmas* come into existence from the void, [and] knowledge is mixed into the void; so there is no arising or cessation of the void *dharmas*, [there is simply] the appearance [of their arising or cessation] in one's own thinking. Knowledge is the recognition of that, the indestructible happiness; knowledge is mixed into that appearance in one's own mind that lacks [real] arising and cessation; it becomes unified as equal flavor in the appearance in one's own mind, [84.30] not by a relation of knowledge and the knowable. This very indestructible eternal is ultimate reality--such is the meaning. In this way [there is] the peace of what resides in the primary elements.

<sup>1</sup> This is the first physical explanation I've seen on how the *pañcamahābhūtas* actually constitute the body.

<sup>2</sup> This is an interesting distinction, given that the *Ayurveda* tradition adheres to the same doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> *Uccheda-sūnya*.

In<sup>1</sup> this way, by this method, the indestructible resides in the physical body's constituents, goes through the three worlds, it to be known as freely going through the form- and formless-states, [and] is knowable in one's own body by means of *yoga*. Therefore the semen and seed of men and animals is [85.1] the cause for the birth of the physical body; that [semen and seed combination] is itself the state of the constituents of the six flavors that have gone into the physical body. The *satva* constituent consisting of the collection of the ultimate particles of earth, water, fire, wind, and space, [and] consisting of smell, form, taste, touch, and sound, this, through the intrinsic nature of the seed, is produced as the karma-born physical body, and is stopped at the time of death; that itself flows forth [in ejaculation] as the five-natured seed. In addition, like the dreaming body, the inclination-body (*vāsanā-śartram*) is void, free of the collection of ultimate particles, [and] unobstructed; by that unobstructed inclination body, [85.5] produced by *karmic* inclinations, [one] again perceives/grasps the body that consists of the collection of the ultimate particles. In addition, from perceiving/grasping the body that consists of the collection of the ultimate particles, abandoning the inclinations of the previous body, the inclination of the living physical body (*vartamāna-śarīra-vāsanā*) arises in the thinking. By that cause, from the voids, from the thinking, inclinations, and aggregates, the incidental aggregates and *dharmas* come into being; from the incidental aggregates and *dharmas* the voids, the thinking, inclinations, and aggregates come into being; so only the ultimate particle doesn't go into the next world. Why is that? Because in abandoning the prior aggregates there is also grasping of new aggregates. By the means thus

<sup>1</sup> My paragraph break, just for ease of reading.

stated, at the time of ejaculation from the six-flavor consuming [85.10] body that consists of the five primary elements, [one] emits a karma-produced seed that consists of the five primary elements, and the thinking's inclination also consists of the five primary elements of [the bodies] that consume the six flavors. In addition, the gods do not have a body that consists of the five primary elements and consumes the six flavors, since there is no consumption of the six flavors.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in those six desire realms of the moon, sun, etc., the body that consists of the collection of water, fire, wind, and space, [and] consists of the collection of the four qualities of form, flavor, touch, and sound, lacks the qualities of earth and smell because of its lightness. Even the semen has that as its intrinsic nature, [and] the thinking's inclination also has that as its nature at the time of ejaculation. [85.15] For those possessing a form-body (*rūpa-kāyikānām*), the body consists of the collection of the taste-ultimate particles fire and wind, and consists of the three qualities taste, touch, and sound, yet lacks the taste-qualities of earth, water, and smell;<sup>2</sup> the body also consists of the three qualities, and the thinking's inclination has that nature at the time of ejaculation. For the sixteen, i.e. those of formless bodies (*a-rūpak-kāyikānām*--who they are is explained just below), the body consists of the void-constituent, merely the thinking's inclinations, [and] the quality of sound; the semen also is without the qualities of earth, water, fire, wind--smell, taste, form, and touch. What is merely the secondary quality--in the primary quality of these earth etc. ones--is the

<sup>1</sup> This is an important distinction, drawn repeatedly.

<sup>2</sup> Unless this is a mistake, or carelessness, we have to read the *rasa-guṇa* as an embedded *tatpuruṣa*; otherwise taste is being categorized with fire and wind, then with earth, water and smell--not a normal categorization, and would here be contradictory, both having taste in two consecutive groups, then lacking taste; taste is normally categorized with touch and sound.

quality; otherwise, without the assembled qualities, there is no inclination towards *saṃsāra* from the single quality, [85.20] in the [other] four [qualities]. So in the three states of existence, there are those having the bodies of the hell-spirits, animals, men, demons, or the four great kings, and the thirty-three gods who are subject to the pleasures created by others in the transformation in *Tuṣita* [heaven],<sup>1</sup> [constituting] the eleven desire [realm]s.<sup>2</sup> The sixteen-formed ones<sup>3</sup> are those with *Brahma* bodies, the *Brahma* family priests, the great *Brahmans*, those of limited light, those of immeasurable light, the shining ones, those of limited beauty, those of infinite beauty, those completely beautiful, the cloudless ones, those flowing with merit, those having great fruits, those without heat, the beautiful ones, and those of whom none is younger. The infinite abode of space, the infinite abode of consciousness, the infinite abode of absolute non-existence,<sup>4</sup> the infinite abode of neither consciousness nor

[85.25] unconsciousness<sup>5</sup> are the four.<sup>6</sup> In this way, at the time of the ejaculation of

<sup>1</sup> *Yāma* here refers to 'gods,' meaning literally simply "going," as in 'the ones going as the thirty-three,' i.e. the gods.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently here the eleven desire realms are those of the hell-spirits, animals, men, demons, or the four great kings, and three of the thirty-three gods.

<sup>3</sup> *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 128 lists eighteen gods of the desire realms: having *brahma*-bodies, the high priests of *Brahmā*, attendants of *Brahmā*, great *brāhmaṇas*, those of circumscribed light, those of unlimited light, the radiant ones, those of circumscribed prosperity, those of universal prosperity, the cloudless ones, those possessing outflows of merit, those of great fruits, the non-conscious beings, the non-growing ones, ones not practicing asceticism, the keen-sighted ones, the keenly observing ones, the ones of whom none is younger. ("*aṣṭādaśa rūpāvacarā devāḥ, tadyathā—brahmakāyikā, brahmapurohitā, brahmapārṣadyā, mahābrahmāṇaḥ, paritābhā, apramāṇābhā, ābhāsvarāḥ, paritāsubhāḥ, śubhakṛtsnā, anabhrakāḥ, puṣyaprasavā, bṛhatphalā, asaṃjñānsattvā, avṛhā, atapāḥ, sudṛśāḥ, sudarśanā, akaniṣṭhāś-ceti.*" Kasawara et al 1885:31).

<sup>4</sup> *Akiñcanyāyatana*.

<sup>5</sup> *Nasaṃjñānāsamjñāna-*.

<sup>6</sup> The *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* on 3.3b explains that the *Ārūpyadhātuh* is not a place (*asthānaḥ*), and is fourfold in appearance: *ākāśānantyāyatanaṃ, vijñānānantyāyatanaṃ, ākiñcanyāyatanaṃ, naivasamjñānāsamjñāyatanaṃ*. (Vasubandhuḥ 1975:112; Poussin/Pruden

the four, desire, form, and formless, the semen, in this manner, flows forth having the nature of five, four, three, and one qualities, by the influence of the thinking's inclination. Otherwise there would be no wandering around in *samsāra*. For this reason, it was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja*, in the fifth chapter, with the fifty-eighth verse, as follows--

The earth, water, and fire, and the wind, the taste and supreme taste and the atoms, the six sorts;

[85.30] Individually lacking smell etc., and without sense objects, [yet] the ultimates are visible by knowledge;|

The desire-[realm]s, the form-[realm]s, the formless-[realm]s, *Yama*,<sup>1</sup> *Yama*, and the moon,<sup>2</sup> the ultimate is the *dharma* realm;

All the forms, they are permanently those that have become the innate basis for imperishable joy, everywhere. || (Kālacakratantra 5.58)

[86.1] For that reason, because of the influence of the sentient beings' abode, the 1991{2}:366). *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 24 lists the twelve bases of consciousness--those of the eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, and mind, and those of form, smell, sound, taste, touch, and *dharma*. (Kasawara et al 1885:5). There's no mention of the *ānantyāyantanāni*.

<sup>1</sup> VMP here reads *Yuma-yama* in 5.58.c; this has to be a misprint; *yuma* is not a word in Sanskrit. The verse at 5.58 (page 35-36 of vol. 3, Sarnath edition) reads *yama-yama*-. It could be that the alternate reading Puṇḍarīkaḥ intended was *yugma-yama*-. *Yugma* (pair, couple), can also be used for 'two' in the *bhūtasamkhyā* system.

<sup>2</sup> In *bhuta-samkhyā* notation, *yama-yama-śaśin* = 122. It is not clear yet what the 122 refers to. The *Dharmasaṃgrahaḥ* 127 and the *Guhyasamāja-pradīpodyotana* 169 both define the desire realm (*kāmadhātu*) as sixfold. The former definition reads: There are six deities who are the dominions of desire, as follows--the thirty-three attendants of the four great kings, [i.e.] the 'satisfied ones' (*tuṣita*), the watches of the day (*yāma*), the transformed ones (*nirmāṇa*), the sexual pleasure ones (*ratayah*), the created ones (*parinirmīta*), and the obedient ones (*vaśavartin*). ("*Tatra ṣaṭ kāmāvacarā devāḥ, tadyathā--cāturmahārājakāyikāstrīyastrīṣāś tuṣitā yāmā nirmāṇa-ratayah paranirmīta-vaśavartinaś ceti*"--Kasawara et al 1885:31). The *Pradīpodyotanaḥ* definition is virutally identical. (*Cāturmahārāja-kāyika-trīyastrīṣad-yāma-tuṣita-nirmāṇa-rati-paranirmīta-vaśavartīti ṣaḍvidhaḥ kāmadhātuḥ*--Dwivedi & Shashni 1990:26).

*dharma* is taught by the *Tathāgata*, as the *Vaibhāsika*, the *Sautrāntika*, the *Yogācāra*, and the *Madhyamaka*. Among these, the *Vaibhāsika śāstra* demonstrates for sentient beings the dependent nature of becoming;<sup>1</sup> the *Sūtrānta śāstra* demonstrates the purpose; the *Yogācāra śāstra* demonstrates consciousness only, and the *Madhyamaka śāstra* teaches ultimate reality. Because of the influence of the sentient beings' abode, it [the *dharma*] was stated by the *Bhagavān*, because the thinking is not proper [with regard to] what's far away, and is proper [with regard to] what is nearby.<sup>2</sup> [86.5] In this regard, sentient beings, heretics since the beginning of time, delight in the *dharma* of the gods, the departed spirits, and the demons, have fallen from the omniscient path, resort to the four castes or the one caste,<sup>3</sup> desire the enjoyment of the heavenly fruits, [and] espouse the doctrine of the *ātman* as agent. Among them, there are those who espouse the doctrine of [sacred] sound, those who espouse the *dharma* of the gods and spirits, those espousing the doctrine of *Īśvara*, those espousing the doctrine of the *ātman*, and those espousing the doctrine of caste [*jāti*]. The barbarians [*mleccha*, non-Sanskrit speaking] espouse the *dharma* of the demons, espouse the doctrine of the agent, espouse the doctrine of the *jīva*, yet do not espouse the doctrine of caste. On the part of those barbarians, there are both points of view [*graha*]--the view about the collection of ultimate particles (or atoms, *paramāṇus*) and the view that there is a personal entity whose becoming has a dependent nature.

Their belief is that if in the body consisting of the collection of ultimate particles

<sup>1</sup> *Upapatti-anika*-.

<sup>2</sup> *Dūra[r]ja-bhavya-āsanna-bhavya-cittāt*; the Sarnath editors insert an (*r*). Is it possible this is some sort of an 11th century idiomatic/philosophic Sanskrit joke phrase for people who can't think straight?

<sup>3</sup> Is "one caste" a reference to the Kaśmīr Śaivite practitioners?

[86.10] there is no personal entity [*pudgala*] whose becoming is dependent, [then] when the body that consists of the ultimate particles is dying, who will perform the taking on of another body? Therefore there is a self-produced<sup>1</sup> inner being, [and] by that having been demonstrated, heaven's fruit and *nirvāṇa*'s fruit exist. Recognizing the belief in their own thinking--at the time of asking about reality--what's called *nirvāṇa* cannot be different than the fruit of heaven, it was stated [in response] by the truth-speaking *Bhagavān*, "*atthi puggalo bhāravāho ṇa ṇiccam bhaṇāmi ṇaṇiccam bhaṇāmi.*" (i.e. the *pudgala* is neither permanent nor impermanent).<sup>2</sup> This indeed is the truth according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement.<sup>3</sup> As for the inner being whose [86.15] inclination of thinking is towards the dream state, one cannot say it is either non-eternal nor eternal. According to this statement by the *Tathāgata*, Buddhists are born as *Vaibhāṣikas* after abandoning the barbarian teaching. Having heard again the extraordinary teaching of the Bodhisattvas being taught here, abandoning the belief in an inner person, any of them [may become] those who resort to the path of the completely awakened Buddha.

On the part of the *Sautrāntikas* there is, furthermore, the belief in the [self] consisting of the collection of the ultimate particles. The belief of those affirming that (*artha-vādinām*) is that if there is no universe dwelling inside the cavity of space, then there could not be what is called the three worlds; since *samsāra* [86.20]

wouldn't exist, there could be neither welfare nor misfortune; similarly, there would

<sup>1</sup> MW gives 'self-produced' as a definition for *upapāduka*, without any source. *Pādu* = foot, *pādukā* = shoe. The other definition of *upapāduka* (the only one give by Apte) is 'shod,' or 'wearing shoes.'

<sup>2</sup> My thanks to Gary Tubb for the translation of the Pāli.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no good reason for boldfacing *vacanāt* here.



be neither buddhas nor Bodhisattvas, nor would there even be ultimate *nirvāṇa*; there would also be no beholding of the constituents (*dhātu-samdarśanam*) by the *Bhagavān*, because there would be no purpose for the one dwelling inside the substances (*dravya-antar-vartin*). So, at the time of asking about reality, knowing the belief in their thinking, the *Bhagavān* said, ‘there is a final body consisting of the collection of ultimate particles, joined with the thirty-two marks of the great man; by its grace the state of the completely perfected Buddha, and the great *parinirvāṇa* exists; that itself is the truth, because of the *Bhagavān*’s perception of the constituents.’ In this way, having heard about the power of the body that consists of the collection of the ultimate particles, abandoning [86.25] the doctrine of castes, the doctrine of the sacred sound, the doctrine of *Īśvara*, [and] the doctrine of the agent, the *Sautrāntikās* became Buddhists;<sup>1</sup> furthermore, hearing the teaching about the fabulous teaching of the Bodhisattvas, abandoning belief in those sorts of things, any of them became those whose resort is the path of the perfected Buddha.

In addition, there is the belief in consciousness on the part of the *Yogācārins*; the opinion of the *Vijñānavādins* is that the entire three worlds is merely consciousness. There can not be what’s called an ultimate particle because of its being divided into six parts and what possess six parts. Just as in the dream state, [86.30] because of an object that merely appears in the thinking, purposeful action takes place, even when there is no ultimate particle substance, likewise, in the waking state, an object will appear even though it is not a real object, like the golden conch

<sup>1</sup>. This appears to indicate that the Sautrāntikas converted to Buddhism from Hinduism.

or lines seen with the eyes closed,<sup>2</sup> [apparently seen] because of the eye injured by darkness and greed. So, when they ask about reality, knowing the belief in their thinking, the *Bhagavān* said--the three worlds are consciousness only, *samsāra* is no different than consciousness; from the cessation of worldly consciousness, there is cessation of the very seed of existence; and then there is *nirvāṇa*. This indeed [86.35] is true. From the non-insensate one there is the manifestation of happiness and suffering, not from the insensate one. What is called happiness and suffering is *samsāra*, what is known as the lack of that is *nirvāṇa*. So, having heard the *Bhagavān*'s statement, abandoning the doctrine of the self as agent, the *Yogācārins* became Buddhists.

[87.1] Furthermore, hearing the teaching about the world-transcending teaching of the Bodhisattvas, abandoning the consciousness [-only] doctrine, any of them became those who take refuge in the path of the perfected Buddha. Likewise [it is said] in the *Yoginttantras*, "The Great Illusion, the Great Terrifier[-ess], [is she who] causes the destruction of beings." Hence, because of the influence of the sentient beings' abode, there is the teaching of the *dharma* by the *Bhagavān*. It [the teaching] is not produced by the throat, palate, head, teeth, and lips of the *Bhagavān*, with regional [limited] speech (*prādeśikaśabdena*). Why is that? Because of the truly

endless voices (here: dialects) of sentient beings. For this reason, [87.5] the teaching  
<sup>1</sup> MW gives for *keṣoṇḍraka* as = *keṣoṇḍuka*, "net-like apparitions seen when the eyes are shut," citing the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*. The citation is actually from Sāyaṇa's commentary on an *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* passage describing the distortions in perception that occur as signs of impending death. As Keith translates: "Next let him cover his eyes and look; then threads are seen as if falling together." (*Atha api apidhāyākṣiṇī upekṣeta, tadyathā baṭarakāṇi sampatanti iva drśyante*) (Keith 1909: 136 & 252). Sāyaṇa's gloss on *baṭarakāṇi* is "*vartulāni sūkṣmāṇi śuklavarṇāṇi keṣoṇḍrakaśabdābhidheyāni*;" i.e. subtle balls of white color, designated by the term 'hair balls.'

of the truth cannot be achieved with limited local speech simultaneously of the endless sentient beings, each with their own different language, even after endless *kalpas* [of time].<sup>1</sup> Therefore, according to the opinion of the abode of sentient beings, there is no statement by the *Bhagavān*. Through the influence of the abode of sentient beings, the *Bhagavān* also becomes one who seizes existence, [and] from grasping onto grasping becomes one who experiences *samsāra*. Therefore, by the power of the inclination towards other births on the part of sentient beings, there is, like the unproduced body in a dream, the appearance of a body for the *Bhagavān*, and the appearance of speaking. Just as, when dreaming, the students, seeing the teacher, ask [questions] on account of confusion, and the teacher, [87.10] on account of the students' confusion, causes the removal of confusion, in that case there is no teacher, [rather merely] the appearance [of the teacher] because of the inclinations in the thinking of the students. Likewise there is the [mere] appearance [of the Buddha] in the merit-possessing students' own thinking; the *Bhagavan* is not produced, and is not destroyed. For this reason, on account of the power of the inclination in the thinking of the four [schools of] Buddhists, the meditation on the non-existence of the inner being is proclaimed by the *Bhagavān* for those espousing the doctrine of the inner being; the meditation on the universe of the earth etc. [is prescribed by the *Bhagavān*] for the *Arthavādins* [those relating the facts],<sup>2</sup> perfect concentration

(*samādhi*) on just the *vijñapti*<sup>3</sup> [is prescribed] for the *Vijñānavādins*, [and] the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. even being able to teach the *dharma* in the individual dialects of different peoples over endless periods of time, it would not be possible to teach the Buddhist *dharma*.

<sup>2</sup> I've been unable to locate other references to this group.

<sup>3</sup> Poussin/Pruden, in a note on *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṃ* on 2.4, translate *vijñapti* as "that which informs" from *vijñapayati*. "the manifestation of a mind either by means of the body,

meditation on dream-like non-dual knowledge of the indestructible [is prescribed] for the *Mādhyamikās*. In this way, the non-existence of the inner self is the non-existence of the *dharma*. The *Vaibhāsikas*, [87.15] *Sautrāntikas*, and *Yogācārins* have a *nirvāṇa* with attribute. For the *Mādhyamikas* the unestablished [*apratiṣṭhita*] *nirvāṇa* is without attribute, because there is cessation of cause and result, it is free of the states of deep sleep and waking, it is similar to the fourth state of sleep.<sup>1</sup> It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the [*Nāmasamgīti*] in the praise of knowledge via direct perception, with the eleventh *śloka*, as follows:

Completely free of all attributes, established in the sky path, |

Holding the great thought gem, the best of all the jewels, the Lord. | |

[87.20] (Nāmasamgīti 8.11)<sup>2</sup>

Hence, for the completely perfected Buddha, *nirvāṇa* is free of the remains of attributes, and free of taking sides.

Certainly [some may argue] that in the dream state, without the insensate properties (*jaḍa-dharmair*), the non-frozen appearance is seen, whereas by the influence of the inclination of the thinking in the waking state, the non-frozen appearance is not seen without the frozen properties, like the image in a mirror. In that state, the image of the *yogin*'s meditation also appears to be twofold, like the water and the (reflection of the) moon (in the water), when the [87.25] properties are or by means of the voice." (Poussin/Pruden 1991{2}:709, n.5).

<sup>1</sup> Compare the four stages of waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth state in the *Upanisads*.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 87; "Released from all residues he is well established in the track of space; bearing the great wish-fulfilling gem, he is the highest of all jewels, the overlord." (Davidson 1981:29 & 56).

in the property-possessor. In that state, the *yogī*, without the frozen properties, sees in space the dream-like non-frozen properties that are not imagined, not arisen, not void, and not thought; this itself is not proven. Why is that? Because of the moving about of the properties when one possesses those properties. They are stated by the *Tathāgata* to be illusion-like. The appearance of the non-frozen (properties) without the frozen properties is not seen by *samādhi*--such will be the belief of some in this regard. Therefore it is said in this regard, because of what will be said by those delighting in the inclinations of insensate thinking, that it is not true that the appearance of the non-frozen [properties] is not seen without the frozen properties in the waking state. Why is that? Because in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror [87.30] there is seeing the image of the non-frozen [properties] without the frozen properties. Just as the young woman, as the *mantra*-goddess in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror, by the strength of [her] magical authority (*adhiṣṭhāna-balena*) sees the non-frozen image of the properties that are reproduced in the past and the future, and those past, present, and future [88.1] non-frozen properties are facing into the mirror, and those that are without the frozen properties lack the appearance of the non-frozen properties in the mirror, and those properties are not thought of by the young woman. In this way, the *yogī*, by the power of the authority of his own thinking, sees the non-paralyzed appearance in the space constituent without the frozen triple world [*jaḍa-raidhātukam*]. It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Sādhana* chapter, with the one hundred and ninety-eighth verse, as follows--

The consort, taking on the form of illusion, is in the mind, in the sky, and in

the corporeal mirror,<sup>1</sup>

**[88.5]** Illuminating the three worlds, emitting multiple rays like lightning's fire|

Externally in [many] physical bodies she is undivided, free of [external] sense objects, [she] is pure light, located in the sky,

The illusion of consciousness [she] embraces the thinking, and she is one in a world of many forms|| (Kālacakratāntra 4.198)<sup>2</sup>

**[88.10]** Hence according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, without the paralyzed *dharmas*, the *yogī* sees the appearance of the non-paralyzed *dharmas*.

Certainly (some may argue), the appearance that the young virgin woman (*kumārikā*) sees in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror,<sup>3</sup> that is [due to] the teacher's grace. Why is that? Because (the argument continues), the *mantra*-deity is made authoritative by the teacher in the virgin. In this sense (they will contend), regarding the *mantra*-deity that is made into the authority by the teacher in the virgin, it is because of its authority that the virgin sees the image in the *pratisenā* mirror, not because she is lacking the authority of the *mantra*-deity. Therefore, it is through the grace of the *guru*'s command that the *yogī* sees the triple world as mere appearance

**[88.15]** in the space constituent. In this sense, to whomever the command [is given]

[in that one] there will arise the desire for the Buddha. Therefore it is said [in response, by me, Puṇḍarīka]--because in this case what will be said by fools is that by the grace of the *guru*'s command the authority of the *mantra*-deity comes to be in the

young woman--that is not so. Why is that? Because there will be no appearance in

<sup>1</sup> *Rūpavad-darpaṇe*.

<sup>2</sup> There's no commentary on verses 4.192-4.231.

<sup>3</sup> See quote from *Mūlatantra*, Sanskrit page 101 below.

the teacher's divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror (i.e. the teacher doesn't possess the ability to make the divinations that the young virgin can, so how could the teacher possibly grant the power to the girl?). In this regard, if, by the grace of the teacher, the authority of the *mantra*-deity comes to exist in the virgin girl, then why, one may ask, should there not be that very same authority also on the part of the teacher, by whom, having provided the authority in the young lady, [there is] the invisible knowledge of the past, future, and present? If [88.20] there is authority on the part of that very one (i.e. the teacher), then having seen the appearance there in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror, he himself could speak (i.e. give the prediction or revelation), yet it is not so. Therefore, one cannot say that there is the authority of the *mantra*-deity in the virgin by the grace of the teacher, and the same holds true for the *yogin*. However, there is the authority of the *mantra*-deity in the young lady, [and] there is a cause for that. As for what the cause is, it is that the experience of the pleasure of ejaculation (produced) by the friction of the two sense (i.e. sex) organs does not take place in the (case of) the young virgin (i.e. she remains a virgin); hence she has the authority [i.e. the power of reading the divinatory images]. Even in the world it is well known that "there is great pleasure from a virgin girl." For that reason (i.e. because she holds the great sensual power in herself, without releasing it), the young virgin girl, [88.25] by the power of the authority of the *mantra*-deity, sees the appearance in the divinatory (*pratisenā*) mirror, not some other young lady who has experienced the pleasure from the two sex organs (i.e. has lost her virginity). When the governance is a young male deity, i.e. a young man, then

the young woman and the young man see the authority of the deity. In this way, the *yogins*, through the influence of practicing the pleasure of the supremely indestructible, and through abandoning the pleasure of external ejaculation, go inside the generative organ of the young woman, and see the past, future, and present,<sup>1</sup> by the power of the authority of one's own thinking, not by the grace of the *guru*'s command.

Certainly [some may argue], without the practice of the pleasure of the supremely indestructible, there are also many ascetics (*brahmacārins*) [who] teach about [yogic] isolation (*kaivalyam*); therefore (the converse must hold, i.e.) without [88.30] asceticism there may still be the authority of the *mantra*-deity. Otherwise, how could they teach about [yogic] isolation? [89.1] Such will be the opinion of some, and therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response, that]--because of what is said in this regard by immature ones, that there is the authority of the *mantra*-deity on the part of non-ascetics--that is not so. Why is that? Because of seeing the object by virtue of the practice of astrology. Because in this case, the knowledge that is [yogic] isolation is itself a subdivision of astrology,<sup>2</sup> common to all sentient beings; by virtue of the rules, and by virtue of the calculations, [the time of] death, nativity etc. is known (i.e. one can 'know' the past and future through astronomical calculations and astrological predictions, one doesn't necessarily have to practice *yoga*). Just as, according to others, the ear-flesh eating [demonness] is adept, she

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the reasons why this *Tantra* is called the *Kālacakra*--the stated result of the mastering the sexual *yoga* practice allows one to see into the past and the future, stepping free of linear time.

<sup>2</sup> This is a curious claim.



tells [i.e. prognosticates]; [or] according to others the field-protectors [89.5] are adept, they prognosticate whatever it is that flashed forth in their minds. According to others, the mothers are the adepts, and having taken possession, i.e. having entered into [someone's] body, they prognosticate; according to others the serpent kings are the adepts, and they, having bitten into time, having entered into a body, prognosticate; according to others the female slaves are adept, and they, according to the statement of adepts, having entered into a sentient being's body, emulate the sentient being's body; according to others, the *ḍākinīs* and *rākṣasās* are adept, and they drink the blood of sentient beings; according to others, the departed spirits are adept, and they, having entered into the body of sentient beings, causing reverberations and tremblings, move about; according to others, [89.10] the obstacle removers [i.e. *Ganeśa*'s attendants] are adept, and they create obstacles for sentient beings; according to others, the Soma deities are the adepts, and they protect sentient beings; according to others, the gods of love (*kāmadevatāḥ*) are the adepts, and they cause the intoxication of love and the ejaculation of semen on the part of sentient beings; according to others, some evil deities are adept, and some cause stupefaction, some confusion, some ruination, some aversion, some death, and some cause the uprooting of trees and *lingas*; these many sorts cause trifling calamitous actions, invisibly. With these, [there are] these evil deities, *Māra*'s attendants, [89.15] they are adept, and they, with these ones of trifling intelligence, who are the agents of sudden concepts,<sup>1</sup> become the *gurus* of fools, and provide the teaching of *dharma*.

<sup>1</sup> *Sadyaḥ-pratyaya-kāraḥ*. Presumably the neurotic impulses we all get when we feel we must take care of some trifling issue instantaneously. Verses quoted from the root *Tantra* identify these as resulting from the *viṣa-tattva*: "What's called the 'poison-reality' is the cause

Knowledge is the conceptual essence of those untainted by the poison of passion; for such a one there is (in reality) no injunction to passion, [for him] there is (actually) no injunction to Śiva/spotless poison, [for him] there is no (real) injunction to penetrating the invisible by spotless atomic, śāmbhavite or śāktic direct perception (*nirañjana-āṇava-śāmbhava-śākta-pratyakṣa*),<sup>1</sup> (so) he, even though he may be a *paṇḍit*, is (really just) a *paśu* (for believing in the commands of Śiva).<sup>2</sup> Delighting in the service of all sentient beings, [he] wanders about begging; solitary, he goes about without companion, with his own interests ruined. Even in the world it is well known that "having one who's own interests ruined is foolishness." Therefore this command by *Parameśvara*, providing the fruit of [89.20] enjoyment and liberation, coming by means of an uninterrupted succession, is attained by the grace of the *guru*. It was stated by *Parameśvaraḥ*, or the omniscient one--

There is no mother similar to the *guru*, and there is no father similar to the *guru* |

Whoever causes one to cross over the terrifying, difficult- to-cross ocean of transmigration | |

of sudden-  
concepts (*sadyaḥ-pratyaya-kāraṇam*). " (page 92, line 8).

<sup>1</sup> These are the three *upāyas* of the *Trika Śaivite* Tradition--see discussion of the *āṇava*, *śākta*, and *śāmbhava upāyas* in Chapter 7 of this dissertation.

<sup>2</sup> *Paśu* is a term from the *Śaiva* tradition for the common man, short of realization of basic identity as *Īśvara*. *Nirañjana* according to Apte is also an epithet of Śiva. Certainly Puṇḍarīka is slighting the Śaivite gurus by saying that even the Paṇḍits of the Śaivite tradition are *paśus*--since a *paśu* is an early stage initiate who has not yet learned of his essential divine nature as Śiva and therefore still has a 'beastly' nature. Puṇḍarīka however betrays some ignorance of the more detailed aspects of the Trika doctrine, since in Abhinavagupta's formulations it is individual realization, not some command from Śiva, that guides the initiate's behavior.

He, the *guru*, provides the initiation to the student, after hundreds of *yojanas*!

[89.25] The provider of enjoyment and liberation is the initiation that gives freedom. ||

In this way, recognizing that those great fools are in many ways overcome by great confusion, because of having minute intelligence, [*Parameśvaraḥ*] does them a favor, and enjoins that command; and they are greatly delighted, [thinking] "we are liberated by the *guru*'s grace. Now we do<sup>1</sup> everything: we cause what is impure to be eaten, we scandalously cohabit, we take life, we lie, we take and don't give, we drink liquor, etc." In this way they do many sorts of evil activities for the sake of [yogic] perfection. [89.30] And the [yogic] perfection of their body does not come about through the grace of *Parameśvara*'s command, and they do not know the past, present, and future; in the end, they die, the body is burnt by fire, or eaten by dogs, birds, etc. There is no *jīva* that becomes Śīva, nor insight, nor a *vajra* possessor. In this way, all of them, having trifling *mantra* deities, following the authority of the *Māras*, are to be considered by the *yogis* who delight in the knowledge of the supremely indestructible. By these ones who are governed by trifling *mantras*, there is no taking possession of the *vajra*. And it was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Nāmasaṃgītī*, in the praise of the mirror-knowledge, by the seventh *śloka*, as follows-

[90.1] With wide-open eyes of lightning's fire, the thunderbolt's flames as his hair|

One who's taken possession of the lightning bolt, the great possessor, of a

<sup>1</sup> *Kurmaḥ*, 1st pers. plural, indicative.

hundred eyes, of lightning eyes | |

(*Nāmasamgīti* 7.7)<sup>1</sup>

Likewise, in the *Tantrarāja*, in the Consecration chapter, with the eighty-ninth verse, the taking possession of the body etc. is described, [90.5] as follows--

By taking possession of the body, the *yogī*, through the influence of the [three] qualities of the material world, performs the bodily-deeds,<sup>2</sup>

By taking possession of speech, the speaker [becomes] the three world conqueror of the gods, serpents, and demons |

By taking possession of the thinking, one knows everything that has been and will be, residing in the heart of others,

Having become awakened by taking possession of knowledge, [he] becomes the *guru* of *gurus*, possessed of magical powers, the single teacher. | |

[90.10]

(*Kālacakratantra* 3.89)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Davidson's edition, verse 73; "Having terrible eyes blazing like a *vajra* (*vajrajvālā*) and with hair blazing like a *vajra*, he is Vajrāveśa, in exalted possession, with a hundred eyes, eyes of a *vajra*." I disagree with Davidson's reading of 73a. The Sanskrit reads *vajra-jvālā-karāla-akṣo*. Davidson reads this as *vajra-jvālā-ākāra-akṣo*. *Karāla* = gaping, opening wide, formidable, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See next footnote.

<sup>3</sup> The commentary on KCT 3.89 reads as follows: "The body etc." Here, **by taking possession of the body the *yogī***, being possessed by the lightning bolt of the deity's body, **through the influence of material qualities**, i.e. because of the intrinsic nature of terrifying, pacifying [etc. actions?], the student **performs the *kāyakṛtyaṃ***. Just as the fierce Bodhisattvas fly through the sky, likewise the student travels through hell, revolves the invisible *maṇḍala* etc., produces (or uproots, taking the Sarnath editors' emendation) the mountain; thus [the student] performs this sort of bodily action, being possessed by the lightning bolt of the divine deity's body. Similarly, **by taking possession of the speech, the speaker becomes the conqueror** of the three worlds of the gods, serpents and *asuras*. Just like *Mañjuśrī*, so even the foolish student becomes possessed by the lightning bolt of divine speech--this is the interpretation. Likewise, the student, **by taking possession of the thought** of the divine deity, **knows everything residing in the hearts of others**, everything invisible, past, future, and present. Thus the interpretation of taking possession of the thought. Now, by the force of the memory traces of prior births **the taking possession of knowledge** takes place in instances, then it is perfected in the *maṇḍala*. One becomes a **Buddha**, a *guru* even **of the *guru***, i.e. the one who's attained the five super knowledges becomes the master of the

Hence, because of lack of absorption in the thunderbolt, those who are absorbed in trifling deities do not become providers of the fruit of Buddha-hood. |

Let Buddha-hood stand in the meantime as what's called the rulership of the three worlds. By these who are absorbed in the limited [approach],<sup>1</sup> the sword, nectar, elixirs etc. are also not mastered. Why is that? Because a *guru* who imparts *Parameśvara*'s command is the robber of someone else's property. Because in this regard, if by the grace of the command of the *guru* the three worlds' kingdom were for great fools the place of omniscience here [90.15] in this birth, then what would be the purpose in the *guru*'s poverty and suffering? And there would also be no state of perfection (or mastery) in alchemy. In this sense, there is no place of omniscience that is devoid of the pair of provisions of knowledge and merit from other births. Therefore, assistance to sentient beings should be undertaken for the sake of the collection of merit and knowledge. It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the fifth chapter, by the sixty-sixth verse--

The conscious beings [become] buddhas, yet the other [does] not [become] a

ten stages. "Buddha" is a polite expression. The same is true for *ṛddhimān* (possessed of magical power) and *ekasāstrī* (the one teacher). This is the interpretation of the characteristics of taking possession of body, speech, thought, and knowledge. (*kāyetyādinā | iha kāyāveśena yogī devatākāyavajreṇādhiṣṭhitāḥ san prakṛtiguṇavaśā raudra-śānta-svabhāvāt kāyakṛtyaṃ karoti śiṣyaḥ | yathā krodhā bodhisattvāḥ kurvanti akāśa-gamanam, tathā śiṣyaḥ karoti pātāla-gamanam, maṇḍalādikam adṛṣṭaṃ vartayati, parvatam utpād[ī]jayati ityādi-kāyakṛtyaṃ karoti divya-devatā-kāya-vajreṇādhiṣṭhitāḥ sanniti | tathā vāgāveśena vādī tribhuvana-vijayī deva-nāgāsuraṇām bhavati | yathā mañjuśrīḥ tathā mūrkhō 'pi śiṣyo devatā-vāg-vajreṇādhiṣṭhito bhavattī niyamaḥ | tathā divya-devatā-cittāveśena śiṣyaḥ sarvaṃ para-hṛdaya-gataṃ jñāyate 'ttānāgataṃ vartamānam adṛṣṭaṃ sarvam iti cittāveśa-niyamaḥ | atha pūrva-janma-vāsanāvaśena kvacij-jñānāveśo bhavati tadā maṇḍale siddhyati | buddho bhavati guror api gurur iti pañcābhijñā-lābhi daśa-bhūmiśvaro bhavati | buddha ityupacāra-vacanam | ṛddhimān ekasāstāpyevam | kāya-vāk-citta-jñānādhiṣṭhāna-lakṣaṇa-niyamaḥ | | (Rinpoche et al 1994a:86).*

<sup>1</sup> *Prādeśika-āveśair*.

Buddha; the great one [*mahān*] is found here in the world's realm;

[90.20] By paying homage to them, also, the unmeasured state of being is cut off, because it's without mental activity [*nirvikalpāt*];|

Because, causing injury, the *yogi* goes to hell, beginning with the terrifying [hell], ending with the great [hell],

Therefore, even when the thinking is purified, one should not create opposition to wise or unwise people. || (Kālacakrantra 5.66)

Hence one should provide assistance to sentient beings for the sake of gathering merit, [and] for the sake of gathering knowledge one should perform the meditation on the knowledge of the supremely indestructible. [90.25] Without the intention of [helping] sentient beings, there is no gathering of merit; without the meditation on the knowledge of the supremely indestructible, there is also [no] gathering of knowledge--such is the *Tathāgata*'s heart. It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the fifth chapter, with the seventy-second verse, as follows--

The sinful thinking of conscious beings arises, Oh ruler of men, governed by *Māra*'s attendants;

Yet the devotion to merit and knowledge provides happiness, governed always by the Bodhisattvas;|

[91.1] [They] attain *nirvāṇa* by means of this joyful covenant, having destroyed the addictions and the *māras*;

Therefore the *Mārās* create for them, on a daily basis, many obstacles. ||

(Kālacakrantra 5.72)

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, by union with the great consort and the supremely indestructible, the practice in one's own thinking is to be performed [91.5] for the purpose of liberation; otherwise, there is no liberation by the *guru*'s command. Why is that? Because the *Bhagavān* is the teacher of liberation.

Because of practicing the command, things [*dharmāḥ*] become providers of liberation to living beings, wherever they may be|

The victor is the instructor about the path, the provider of liberation, by this command|

If by the grace of the *guru*'s command there were to be liberation for living beings [lit: those with physical bodies],

Then the compassionate one should not teach liberation by *samādhi*. ||<sup>1</sup>

[91.10] Therefore the *yogi* should not practice with the *mantras* of the external divinity [that are] for the sake of liberation with the aim of mastery of the worldly *siddhis*. In this sense, the external divinities, [are only] slightly helpful, even when mastered; entering into the orifices of the adept, by their power the adept creates the slight assistance of the other fierce [*pracaṇḍa*] deities. For the adept who has been seized by them, those mastered evil deities become enemies, and at the time of death they do not tell [the adept] anything at all. Also, the adept who dies without *samādhi* goes to hell. Now those [external deities] that are mastered, whom do they serve? They are like impoverished men. The mastered [external deities] say, "Hey [91.15]

<sup>1</sup> The Sarnath editors provide no reference for this verse, and I have not yet found it elsewhere.

adept! We will perform all the [yogic] restraint for you." If the adept says, "The king, having been imprisoned by you [deities], let him be brought here," then they will be evasive<sup>1</sup> [saying], "We are not capable in this domain." In this way, the trifling deities, being mastered, will be evasive when it comes to the domain of omniscience. Therefore, for those desiring the place of omniscience, what is the use of practice with evil deities, and [what is the use of] the command of a *guru* that has as its intrinsic form the characteristic of *samsāra*? It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the root *Tantra* [lettered by me for reference only]--

a) As long as one becomes a practitioner of the *Śiva* reality, the lustful reality, and the poison-reality, with the [91.20] command (of *Parameśvara*), there will then be no Buddha-reality for men.

b) The thinking soiled by passion etc. is perishable, [and is] the cause of transmigration |

By the absence of that it is purified, the purified [thinking] lacks the stain of *prakṛti* | |<sup>2</sup>

c) It is not reachable at all, [nor] is it to be cast away by any command at all, |  
It is not to be given, nor is it to be seized; the purified reality is the great indestructible. | |

[91.25] d) The *guru* is neither the giver [nor] the taker of the purified reality, in any circumstances, |

And the omniscient lord of those lacking the accumulation of merit is one's

<sup>1</sup> Lit: do the evasion, *parihāram kurvanti*.

<sup>2</sup> This last line is no different than the basic philosophy of *Sāṃkhya-Yoga* that aims to isolate the *puruṣa* from *prakṛti*.



own self. ||<sup>1</sup>

e) Delight in the service of others is the ultimate provision of merit for men, |  
From the ultimate [comes] the provision of knowledge, from those two,  
ultimate Buddha-hood. ||

f) There may be a three-fold [reality] in the Śiva reality, in the passion reality,  
[and] in the poison reality, |

[91.30] Yet men do not penetrate the supremely indestructible happiness by the  
*guru*'s command. |

[92.1] There may be atomic (*āṇava*), *śaiva* (*śāmbhava*) or *śākta* penetrating by the  
(*guru*'s) command, |<sup>2</sup>

With the penetrating of the thinking, speech, and body, through sleep,  
dreaming, and waking, ||

h) [Yet] What is called Śiva-reality is according to the command of the *guru* of  
fools, |

[With] agitation of the thinking, speaking, and body, [and] ejaculation of the  
semen on the part of the embodied ones [who follow the *śaiva-dharma*]. ||

[92.5] i) By the grace of the *guru*'s command, there is what's called 'the passion-  
reality.' |

They call the poison 'non-poison,' and they [call] what is not poison,  
poison. ||

j) The stationary is made to be moving by the grace of the *guru*'s command, |

<sup>1</sup> *Svayaṃ*.

<sup>2</sup> These are the three *upāyas* or methods of the *Trika* Kaśmīri Śaivite Tantric system (See Chapter 8.4 of this dissertation for explanation).

What's called the 'poison-reality' is the cause of sudden-concepts (*sadyah-pratyaya-kāraṅgam*). ||<sup>1</sup>

k) The triple reality is not indestructible, [though] it may become pleasant for embodied beings, |

[92.10] By the grace of the *guru*'s command, therefore, the one who has taken the vow should cause that to come into being. ||

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the meditation with the *mahāmudrā* for the sake of knowledge of the supremely indestructible, is to be performed by the one who desires liberation.

Certainly [someone may argue], if the five superknowledges do not arise without the practice of non-ejaculation, then how can there be the five superknowledges on the part of Bodhisattvas who've departed from the dharma, [or] the great *ṛṣis*, such as *Vaśiṣṭha*? Since that will be someone's opinion, therefore it is said [by me, *Puṇḍarīkaḥ*, in response, that]--because in this regard what will be said by young people, that there is no practice of asceticism [*brahmacaryam*] on the part of Bodhisattvas--that is not so. Why is that? Because there are two sorts [92.15] of ejaculating of the *bodhicitta*. As for the two sorts of ejaculating of the *bodhicitta* on the part of sentient beings: one is because of the influence of good and bad karma; the second is through the influence of the control of the thinking (*citta-vaśitā-vaśāt*). In that sense, the ejaculating through the influence of karma, that has as its purpose the wandering around in transmigration; the ejaculating under the control of the thinking has as its intention the showing the path to those perplexed by karma in the

<sup>1</sup> See line 89.16.

transmigration circle.<sup>1</sup> Just as for those who have lost the path and fallen by the wayside in the *Vindhya* forest, there is no seeing<sup>2</sup> the path without someone who points out the path, likewise for those who have fallen by the wayside in *samsāra*, there is no progress on the path without someone to point out the path. If there is no seeing [of the path] by someone who points out the path, [92.20] then there is no path. Or [if] the guide to the path did not arrive via a previously purified path, then again there is no path. Or [if he] does not understand the language of those who have lost the path, then again there is no path. Having seen the fear of those who have lost the path, there should be no fear on the part of the one whose path has not been lost. In this way, Bodhisattvas enter into *samsāra* for the purpose of aiding sentient beings, not because of the ripening of their karma. If the Bodhisattvas, who are masters of the ten stages, who have transcended the ten perfections, who have attained the ten powers, were to wander in *samsāra* because of the ripening of their karma, then there would be no liberation for sentient beings. The instruction about the path cannot be taught by one who does not know the path [92.25] to those who do not know the path, like the blind leading the blind. Therefore the incarnation of Bodhisattvas is for the sake of sentient beings. *Yama*'s attendants told me,<sup>3</sup> lord of the world, for the sake of sentient beings at the time of [their] entry into hell, that--

"Even those who are liberated from the bonds of existence grasp onto existence for the sake of sentient beings, |

<sup>1</sup> See below, 92:25--the second ejaculating is a conscious decision process for the incarnation of Bodhisattvas who see the path sentient beings must follow, and point it out to them.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarnath editors added *-gama-*, so it would read, there is no attaining a view of the path.

<sup>3</sup> This is one of Puṇḍarīka's rare self-references.

They do not abandon the fruits of karma over time because they are the teachers of the purpose of its voidness." ||

The turbidities of their thinking have been burnt by the fire of understanding, thoroughly, [and] they are constantly possessed of tender mercy, |

[92.30] We honor those *Buddhas* who delight in the purpose of sentient beings, and whose behavior is unfathomable. ||

[93.1] In this way, for those who are possessed of many qualities, and whose addictions and obscurations have been incinerated, there is the merest twinkling of addiction and obscuration, having the nature of activity for the sake of sentient beings, in order that they may take birth; otherwise, there would be no teaching about the path to sentient beings. Without the path, there would be for sentient beings no exit from beginningless *samsāra*, because there would be no contact with Bodhisattvas. For this reason, the earlier *bodhicitta* was made firmly fixed by the Bodhisattvas. The binding of this [earlier] *bodhicitta* is twofold: [it is bound] by dispassion towards wisdom, and by passion towards wisdom. Just as<sup>1</sup> there is [93.5] one [type of] binding of mercury (*sūtaka*) by the combination of vapor and

<sup>1</sup> *Yathā*—see 93.11 for correlative.

<sup>2</sup> The following line, ‘some remains, some evaporates,’ (*kiñcit tiṣṭhati, kiñcit prapalāyati*) makes clear that evaporation and deposition are intended. Ray gives the following description of the *svedani-yantram* from the *Rasaratnasamuccayaḥ* 9.5: “A pot with boiling water has its mouth covered with a piece of cloth and the substance to be steamed is placed on it, and a second pot is arranged in an inverted position over the rim of the first. Ray provides a diagram in Figure 30c (Ray 1956:189—the citation in the index on page 492 should read 189, not 139). Though we could argue for other definitions, the possibilities don’t make much sense in this context. MW does list “Indian spikenard” as one of the definitions of *saṃnyāsa*, citing Lexicons. The spikenard is *nardostachys jatamansi*. Though Dash includes *jaṭā māṃsī* in his *Materia Medica* (Dash 1987:165-6), he describes no therapeutic uses, and the term does not appear as a plant name in *Caraka* or *Suśruta*. *Saṃnyāsa* is also a term for epilepsy in

fire and salt (*viḍ*) for the oxidizing of iron, etc. Of the two, the mercury bound by the combination of vapor and what's deposited, fanned by an intense fire, stays somewhat, [and] escapes somewhat. What is bound by the intense fire that oxidizes all iron and gems, whenever that is fanned by an intense fire, [it] does not escape; from that itself there arises an internal state, by the influence of the internal oxidizing of the food,<sup>1</sup> as follows--

Smoke, and vapor,<sup>2</sup> and the leap of the frog, |

[93.10] Motion, and motionless, are the five states of the *rasa*. | |

Similarly, through the strength of the practice of meditation, the internal state of the *bodhicitta* comes into being, according to the distinctions of soft, middle, what is beyond measure,<sup>3</sup> and what is immeasurably beyond measure.<sup>4</sup> The binding by the combination of vapor and what's deposited is the binding of the *bodhicitta*; that [binding is accomplished] through the power of the meditation on the non-permanent person, by directly perceiving the universe of the earth, etc., [and] by dispassion towards wisdom. Just as even in the combination of the vapor and what's deposited there is the consumption of the mercury (*rasa*) with the food and metal, over a period of time, [and] by the consumption [of the *rasa*] with the food there arises [93.15] an *Suśruta* (Bhishagratna 1916{3}:287-8), though this is not an relevant meaning here. In the medical literature, *svedana*, literally 'sweating' is induction of therapeutic sweating by the patient (diaphoretic measures) or fomentation, the application of warm moist substances to parts of the body afflicted by pain.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably what is referred to here is the further 'oxidation' of the mercury when it is consumed in pill form and digested in the fire of the stomach. During the alchemical process, then, the *rasa*--here the mercury--is 'consumed' by the food and metal, so that it takes on, or is believed to persist, only in an internal state; i.e. it becomes invisible.

<sup>2</sup> Literally 'hissing' (*citi-citi*).

<sup>3</sup> *Adhimātra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Adhimātrādhimātra*.

internal state [of the *rasa*]; likewise, by meditation on the transient person, by meditation on the universe of earth, etc., there arises an internal state because of the destruction of the insensate aggregates, constituents, and consciousness-bases. What's called 'internal state' is the attainment of a stage.<sup>1</sup> In this regard, the stage is twofold--the stage that is free of passions, and the stage of the completely perfected Buddha. On account of the stage, [there arises] magical power: the magical power of a single form, and the magical power of all forms. Similarly there are the five super knowledges and the six super knowledges. Likewise there is the seeing of the name of the goal (*artha-samkhyā-darśanam*) and the seeing of the name of all the goals. Similarly, there is the language that consists of the name of a sentient being, and that consists of the name of all sentient beings. [93.20] Likewise the doctrine-teaching characterized by the calculation of a sentient being, and characterized by the reckoning of all sentient beings. Likewise the nirvāṇa with a false remainder, and without a false remainder. Likewise the non-essentiality of the person, [and] the non-essentiality of the thing. Likewise the meditation on the four noble truths, [and] the perfected concentration (*samādhi*) on the voidness of their intrinsic nature, and on the non-existence of all things. In this way, depending on the different stage, the activity for the sake of sentient beings is twofold. In this sense, through attaining the first stage, one sees the invisible goal delimited by the worldly realm; from attaining the second stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the second worldly realm in the ten directions; from attaining the third stage [93.25], [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the fourth worldly realm in the ten directions; from attaining the fourth

<sup>1</sup> *Bhūmi-lābhaḥ*, presumably one of the ten *bodhisattva* stages.

stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the eight worldly realms in the ten directions; from attaining the fifth stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the sixteen worldly realms in the ten directions; from attaining the sixth stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the thirty-two worldly realms in the ten directions; from attaining the seventh stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the sixty-four worldly realms in the ten directions; from attaining the eighth stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the one hundred and twenty eight worldly realms in the ten directions; from attaining the ninth stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the two hundred and fifty-six worldly realms in the ten directions; from attaining the tenth stage, [one sees the invisible goal] delimited by the five hundred and twelve worldly realms in the ten directions; [93.30] from attaining the eleventh stage, one sees the invisible goal delimited by the one thousand and twenty four worldly realms in the ten directions.<sup>1</sup> In this way, there are worldly realms characterized by the numbers two thousand [times] three thousand [i.e. six hundred thousand]. What's called one thousand is the earth's worldly realm, one thousand each, from the middle, above and below. Below, above, to the east, to the west, to the north and to the south, to the southwest, northeast, northwest and southeast.

Likewise for the two thousand. Then what's called the great thousand (i.e. million)<sup>2</sup> is the great number of [94.1] worldly realms. There is seeing of the invisible goal in them on the part of the completely perfected Buddha, not on the part of those devoid

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *adṛṣṭārtha-saṃdarśanam* is understood from the first stage through all the following stages, as evidenced by its synonym appearing with the eleventh stage, *parokṣārtha-saṃdarśanam*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare with Italian, where *mille* is one thousand, *milli-one*, or a "great thousand" is a million, "-one" being the suffix indicating a great or large version of the root word.

of passion. There is attainment of these *Tathāgata* stages by the moments of pleasure of the great indestructible, arisen from passion for wisdom.<sup>1</sup> The first attainment of a stage is with the eighteen hundred [moments] attained that are characterized by non-ejaculation. By this number, ending with the twelfth stage,<sup>2</sup> there is attainment of the twelve stages by the twenty-one thousand six hundred indestructible drops, up until the end of the twelve limbs. From the cessation of the twelve transits, there is [94.5] cessation of the twelve astrological signs; from the cessation of the twelve months, there is cessation of the three hundred and sixty days.<sup>3</sup> From cessation of the three hundred and sixty days, there is cessation of the twenty-one thousand six hundred *ghaṭikās*.<sup>4</sup> In this way, just as it is externally, there is [also] in the body the cessation of the breaths of the sixty *ghaṭikās*;<sup>5</sup> through the cessation of the breaths, there is cessation of the body, by the indestructible moments of the *bodhicitta*. Just as mercury (*sūtaka*) is oxidized, having consumed the iron and gems, [and] grasping their great passion (*mahārāga*), it remains, not as an insensate constituent. With that great passion it creates contact in these metals, [and] those [94.10] metals become white;<sup>6</sup> small stones become gems. Likewise, the *bodhicitta* that has come into

<sup>1</sup> This is an important doctrinal distinction--the central role of passion in attaining the twelve stages of the *Tathāgata*--not exactly the same as the twelve stages of the *bodhisattva*.

<sup>2</sup>  $1800 \times 12 = 21,600$ .

<sup>3</sup> This is the idealized year of twelve months of thirty days each = three hundred sixty, not three hundred sixty-five--*ṣaṣṭyuttaraśatatrāya*.

<sup>4</sup> Normally a *ghaṭikā* is a period of twenty-four minutes, so that there are sixty per day. Here, however, the term is used for the four-second period assumed for each inbreath-outbreath cycle. There are 1440 minutes in a twenty-four hour day = 86,400 seconds per day.  $86,400 \div 4 = 21,600$  inbreath-outbreath cycles per day.

<sup>5</sup> Of the *ghaṭikā-samkhyā-śvāsānām*.

<sup>6</sup> Lit: devoid of blackness, *kālikā-rahitāni*.



existence, having consumed the aggregates, constituents, and consciousness bases together with the breaths, grasping their great passion, it remains, and it is not insensate. By that passion, through the influence of merit, in those sentient beings in whom it creates authority, in them it becomes a superknowledge, not completely perfected Buddha-hood; just as the lack of blackness on the part of the metals that have been penetrated by the *rasa* is not a lack of being an insensate constituent.

When there is joining together of the oxidized metals with the *rasa*, then there will be the lack of being an insensate constituent. Then, on account of mutual [94.15] union, there will be no constituent-ness of the constituent, no mercury-ness of the mercury, because of the lack of its prior intrinsic nature. In this way, there is no constituent-ness of the body constituents that have become one together with the thinking, [and] there is no thinking-ness of the thinking, since it lacks the memory traces of prior *samsāra*. Hence it was stated by the *Bhagavān*, "what thinking there is, that thinking is non-thinking" (*A-*, *S-*, *Pr-* 3).<sup>1</sup> In this way, according to the path stated in many ways, the five super knowledges are to be recognized on the part of the gods *Īśvara* (Śiva) etc., [who are] the masters of the eight stages, and also on the part of the Bodhisattvas.<sup>2</sup> The five super knowledges however do not exist on the part of the ṛṣis Vaśiṣṭha etc. [94.20] Why is that? Because of the proof of the *Rāmāyana*, [*Mahā-*] *Bhārata* etc. In this regard, in the *Rāmāyana*, it is heard, in Vālmīki's statement, that the taking of Sītā's hand [in marriage] is performed by the god Rāma at the

<sup>1</sup> *Aṣṭasāhasrikaprajñāpāramitā*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Abhidharmakośaḥ* and *Bhāṣyaṃ*, *Īśvaraḥ* is used as a generic name for 'God' as theistic creator of the universe. In rebutting theistic doctrine Vasubandhu says (2.64.comm.): "there is no god, man, or principal person who is the cause of the whole world." (*na punaḥ sarvasyaiva jagataḥ īśvara-puruṣa-pradhānādikaṃ kāraṇam iti*. Vasubandhu 1975:101).

astrological point designated by Vaśiṣṭha. By the grace of the astrological configuration given by Vaśiṣṭha, Rāma, having lost his kingdom, entered the forest, and Sītā was constantly suffering.<sup>1</sup> Likewise it was also said--

The fruit of prior karma is to be enjoyed; the planet and the lunar constellation are meaningless, |

By the astrological configuration designated by Vaśiṣṭha, Janaka's daughter shared in suffering. | |

[94.25] Likewise, in the [Mahā]-Bhārata, in Vyāsa's speech, it is heard that "those among the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas who will enter the Kurukṣetra in the new moon (*amā-va[ā]syā*)<sup>2</sup> will be victorious." Having heard this statement, the Pāṇḍavas entered [the Kurukṣetra] on the thirteenth [digit of the moon], [and] the Kauravas entered on the new moon. Among them, those who entered on the thirteenth, they became victorious, and those who entered on the new moon, they died. As a result there is the statement by bad ṛṣis in this regard; [they claim] that by a *brāhmaṇa*'s statement the new moon was produced in the thirteenth [digit of the moon] through the joining the moon and sun together as one.<sup>3</sup> Yet that does not make sense. Why?

[94.30] Because there is no such thing as the destruction of the fifteenth digit of the moon. In this context, there is no destruction of the fifteenth digit of the moon in the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably the point is that if Vāsiṣṭhaḥ possessed the five superknowledges, he would not have chosen the astrological conjunction that--Puṇḍarīkaḥ is implying--led to Rāma and Sītā's suffering.

<sup>2</sup> According to the etymology give in Monier-Williams, this literally means 'dwelling at home,' referring to the time when the moon dwells with the sun, at the new moon--this adds an interesting twist to the solar-source ideas in Sanskrit thought.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. that the new moon really occurred at the thirteenth digit, so that Vasiṣṭha's prediction was true.

thirteenth [digit of the moon]. By whatever day of the week, and by whatever constellation the thirteenth [digit] is produced, by that day of the week, and by that constellation, it is nowhere, ever, possible for there to be a new moon. For this reason, [whatever] they<sup>1</sup> imagined from their astrology was not considering the situation by means of the five superknowledges. Thus the ancient teaching [was] for those of erroneous and sinful views. As it has been said in regard to this--

"When churning the ocean of milk at the time of King Vali,<sup>2</sup> there issued forth Uccaiṣrava,<sup>3</sup> Airāvaṇa,<sup>4</sup> the *Kaustubha*,<sup>5</sup> [94.35] the *Pārijātaka* [tree], the *Apsara*,<sup>6</sup> Lakṣmī, the moon-nectar, and the *kālakūṭa* [poison];"<sup>7</sup> such in fact is the ancient teaching's [95.1] claim. If this were the case, then there would be no lunar day, no solar day, no month, no constellation, and no year in the kingdom of the blind, because there would be no rising or setting of the moon or the sun. Since the moon, sitting in the ocean, would not experience the constellations, there would be no taking of the digits such as *pratipad*,<sup>8</sup> nor would there be any rising or setting of the sun, nor the enjoyment of the seven days of the planets Mars etc. Just as, indeed, in the

<sup>1</sup> The sages and the warriors.

<sup>2</sup> This is King *Bali*, the demon king who was oppressing the universe. *Viṣṇu* assumed the dwarf form, successfully solicited from *Bali* the boon of as much land as he could cover in three steps, then assumed his cosmic form, and strode over heaven and earth, thus returning these to Indra, and leaving the netherworld to *Bali*.

<sup>3</sup> Indra's horse, with long ears.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Airāvata*, Indra's elephant, 'from the ocean,' *irā*, or, 'possessing lots of food and drink'.

<sup>5</sup> *Kaustubha* is the name of the jewel worn on *Kṛṣṇa* or *Viṣṇu*'s chest; the etymology of the name is unclear.

<sup>6</sup> *Rambhā*--the embracer, she's considered the most beautiful woman in Indra's paradise.

<sup>7</sup> *Kālakūṭaḥ*--'the fraudulent trick of time;! or 'the deceit of the black one;' or 'the pinnacle of time/the black.'

<sup>8</sup> 'Access,' the first day of the lunar half-month.

Hiraṇyakaśapa's<sup>1</sup> kingdom there were no days, etc. Into that clan [95.5] Bali was born, after the passage of time. Then the ocean was churned by the *devas* and *asuras*. [Some may claim that] "Then it was not this moon, it was the moon on Īśvara's crest." That statement doesn't make sense. From the desire for that very moon [on Īśvara's crest] Andhaka<sup>2</sup> ended up dying.<sup>3</sup> That the *kālakūṭa* poison emerged is also not true; previously Īśvara [already] had a dark blue throat, did he not, because of consuming the *kālakūṭa* poison at the time of King Bali.<sup>4</sup> It is similarly untrue that Airāvaṇa, Uccaiṣrava, Lakṣmī, the *Kaustubha*, and the *Amṛta* emerged [from the churning]; since, in the fight with Andhaka [prior to the churning] all the *devas* [already] had their individual insignias, and rode their individual vehicles. Then there is the statement of bad ṛṣis, that by the curse of Durvāsas,<sup>5</sup> Indra's magical power entered into the ocean. That is not true. Nor were the other *devas* deprived of their magical power by Indra's curse. By this series of statements, all the ancient *dharmas* are false. It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the fifth chapter, with the one hundred and eighty-second verse, that the ancient *dharmas* are false, as follows--

Lakṣmī, and the horse Uccaiṣravas, the lord of elephants Surataru,<sup>6</sup> the *Apsara*, the *Kaustubha* (jewel),

<sup>1</sup> This name doesn't appear in the dictionaries. Hiraṇyakaśipu was the *daitya* king Viṣṇu tore to pieces in his *Narasimha* (man-lion) incarnation.

<sup>2</sup> 'Blind,' name of an *Asura*.

<sup>3</sup> *Maraṇam upagataḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Therefore, according to Puṇḍarīka, one cannot claim that Śiva drank the *kālakūṭa* poison at the churning of the ocean of milk.

<sup>5</sup> An ancient, irascible *ṛṣiḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> He of delighting sound.

The Moon nectars;<sup>1</sup> if these arose at the churning of the ocean in heaven, the atmosphere and in Bali's kingdom, |

[95.15] There would have been no moon, no solar day, no lunar days, nor even the collection of seasons, in Andhaka's kingdom;

He also, after that one who died because of greed for Īśa's half-moon, he Bali [also died]. ||<sup>2</sup>

For this reason, the deliberations of the ancient world are not true.

Then there is the wicked statement by the *Brahmarṣis*, that "here, at first, the *Veda*-teaching was innate, afterwards the teaching taught by the omniscient one was created [i.e. not natural]. Therefore the *Vedadharma* is superior." Then it is also said, "the *Vedadharma* must be superior, because afterwards came the *dharma* [95.20] of the omniscient one." What is the contradiction in this? First the great darkness arose innately, without an illuminator of the path of omniscience; afterwards, for the sake of its destruction, the world of the sun,<sup>3</sup> the illuminator of all the paths, came to be. Of these two, the great darkness and the light, the innate darkness is not superior, it is not favored by those with eyes. In the same way, the earlier *Vedadharma*, innate, and eldest, did not illuminate the path to *nirvāṇa*; afterwards, for the sake of its destruction, the youngest (*kaniṣṭha*) *dharma* of the omniscient one,

<sup>1</sup> *Indu-piyūṣāṇi*.

<sup>2</sup> This is not a *Laghu-kālacakratānta* verse. Conceivably it could have come from the root *Tantra*, though Puṇḍarīkaḥ usually cites the root *Tantra* by name. Though we can always consider the possibility that Puṇḍarīkaḥ had a different edition of the verses of the *laghutantra*, a look at the verse and commentary of 5.182 we do have, and its context, do not support such a claim. Perhaps Puṇḍarīka composed the verse himself for the sake of his argument.

<sup>3</sup> *Sahasra-kiraṇā-loka*, the world of a thousand light rays; the name is related to the Hindu name for the crown *cakra*, the *sahasrāra*, or thousand-rayed center.

illuminating the path to nirvāṇa, came into being. Of these two, of the *Vedadharma* and the *dharma* of the omniscient one, the *Vedadharma*, innate, [and] oldest, [95.25] is not preferred by the knowers, just as the great darkness [is not preferred] by those with eyes. So, between the eldest and the youngest, the youngest is the best. Therefore, by the practice of the knowledge of the supremely indestructible, nirvāṇa comes to be, not the inclination towards ejaculation by the *Vedadharmas*.

Similarly, the deliberations of the ancients, beginning with the fish and ending with Kalkin,<sup>1</sup> are meaningless. This Buddha Bhagavān [is said by the *brahmaṇas* to be] the ninth incarnation of Vāsudeva, and Kalkin the tenth. The Buddha, because of the great illusion in the *Kaliyuga*, will by trickery corrupt the sacrificial *dharma*; he will corrupt the combat *dharma*, the rites for the ancestors, the doctrine of the castes, the slaughter [of animals], telling lies, [95.30] the seizure of unmarried girls,<sup>2</sup> perverse behavior [driven] by passion, harshness of language,<sup>3</sup> slander,<sup>4</sup> idle talk,<sup>5</sup> coveting of another's property,<sup>6</sup> murder,<sup>7</sup> heresy,<sup>8</sup> injury to all sentient beings, destruction of one's own family, the *kṣatriya dharma* providing the fruit of heaven,<sup>9</sup> the statements of the great ṛṣi Vyāsa, the [*Mahā*]-*Bhārata*, the words of the [*Bhāgavad*]-*Gītā*, [and] the words of the *Veda*. Having corrupted these, he will teach

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the incarnations of *Viṣṇu*.

<sup>2</sup> *Adattā-ādānam*.

<sup>3</sup> *Pāruṣyam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Paiśunyam*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sambhinnapralāpa*.

<sup>6</sup> *Abhidya*.

<sup>7</sup> *Vyāpāda*.

<sup>8</sup> *Mithyādrṣṭi*.

<sup>9</sup> I.e. leading to death in battle.

the obverse<sup>1</sup> *dharma* to the *Śudras* etc. [96.1] Namely--that the perfection in generosity, the moral rectitude perfection, the tranquility perfection, the courage perfection, the meditation perfection, the wisdom perfection, the method perfection, the concentration (*prañidhi*) perfection, the knowledge perfection--these ten perfections are to be fulfilled by the Bodhisattvas. Friendly thinking is to be practiced towards all sentient beings; compassionate thinking is to be practiced towards all sentient beings; assistance to all sentient beings is to be practiced; the actions not to be practiced are the ten inauspicious acts: taking of life, lying, taking of young woman, erroneous action [driven by] passion, [96.5] harshness,<sup>2</sup> slander, idle speech, coveting another's property, murder, [and] heresy. Having awakened the *Śudras* etc. from the repetitions of these wrong *dharmas*, having made them shave their heads, he will make them into *bhikṣus* wearing red robes. Those previously distinguished as being on the side of the demons, who have not been killed in battle by Vāsudeva, having caused the corruption of the *Brāhmaṇas* with him, will go to hell; therefore this Buddha-illusion was created by Viṣṇu, for the sake of sending to hell the *Śudras* etc. who have previously sided with the demons. Hence [the brāhmins claim] the Buddha is an incarnation [of Viṣṇu].

[96.10] Kalkin, furthermore, having been born as the son of the *brāhmaṇa* Yaśas in the realm of *Sambhala*, [being in fact] Vāsudeva, having mounted his rock-horse,<sup>3</sup> having killed all the barbarians with arrows<sup>4</sup> made of *darbha* grass, having

<sup>1</sup> False--*vaparīta*.

<sup>2</sup> *Rūkṣa*.

<sup>3</sup> The type is broken in my copy of the Sarnath edition for the sibilant s -- *śaila-aśva*.

<sup>4</sup> *Śalla*--the translation 'arrow' is tentative; the word is cited in both Apte and MW only from Lexicons, where it means a frog, bark, rind; however, a *śala* is a dart, spear, quill of a

made an offering of the richly golden sacrificial broth,<sup>1</sup> he will once again make the earth the *Brāhmaṇa*'s place.<sup>2</sup> In this way many nonsensical statements were concocted by evil *ṛṣis* at the time of the Buddha's birth; they [these statements] did not previously exist in the recitation of the *Veda*. In this regard, at the time of the primal Buddha's teaching, it was stated by the *Tathāgata* in the World-Realm [*Lokadhātu*] chapter [KCT 1.26] that when, at the proper astrological time, the barbarian *dharma* is produced, the destruction of the *siddhas*<sup>3</sup> will take place; the *laghu-karaṇāni* (unreliable astronomical calculation manuals) will come into existence on earth, [96.15] and Mañjuhoṣa, after I have been held back for six hundred years, will be [born] in the realm of *Sambhala*, in the *Śākya* clan, as the son of the lord of the gods, in the womb of *Vijayadevī*, Yaśas by name, Kalkin--as follows:

After six hundred years from the first year, the manifest king *Yaśas* will be born in [the land] called *Sambhala*,

After a eight<sup>4</sup> hundred years more [there will be] the beginning of the barbarian *dharma* in the land of *Makha* (India, not Mecca);<sup>5</sup> porcupine, boar's bristle; a *śalya* is a dart, javelin, lance, arrow, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This sounds like *Soma*: RV 9.63.13: "Soma the God, expressed with stones, like Sūrya, floweth on his way,/Pouring the juice within the jar. (14): These brilliant drops have poured for us, in stream of solemn sacrifice,/Worshipful laws and strength in kine." (Griffith 1987{2}:335).

<sup>2</sup> *Brāhmaṇamayīm pṛthvīm*.

<sup>3</sup> Sarnath editors add *-nta-* to give "of the doctrines" *siddhāntānām* as in the verse below.

<sup>4</sup> The commentary on 1.26 explains that *nāga* refers to eight (*nāgair iti aṣṭa-varṣa-śataih*). (KCT/VMP 1.77.11).

<sup>5</sup> The commentary identifies *Makha* as south of the *śītā* river and adorned with ten million villages (i.e. a sizeable area) (*śītādakṣiṇe makhaviṣaye koṭigrāmvibhūṣite*)--*makha* refers to India, not Mecca as believed by Newman (thanks to David Pingree for pointing this out--see discussion in Chapter 10.3.2 of this dissertation). (KCT/VMP 1.77.12-13; Newman 1987:532-4). See also Newman's note on the etymology of the barbarian appellation Tājiks (KCT/VMP 1.77.13) as central Asian Muslims. (Newman 1987:532.n.4).



At that time, 'corrected' *laghu-karaṇa*<sup>1</sup> should be recognized by men on earth,

[96.20] There will be destruction of the doctrines on the whole surface of the earth,  
because of the connection with time. ||<sup>2</sup> (*Kālacakratantra*

1.26)<sup>3</sup>

Mañjuḥṣa was predicted by the *Tathāgata*. And he, according to the aim of

<sup>1</sup> As is evident from the commentary just preceding KCT 1.26, concurrent with the barbarian *dharma* is the destruction of astronomical textbooks (*jyotiṣa-siddhānta-vināśaḥ*) and the introduction of the shorter astronomical books (*laghu-karaṇa-pravṛttir*). Pingree explains that "*Karaṇas* outside of South India are distinguished from *siddhāntas* by their emphasis on pragmatic rules for computing and their avoidance of astronomical theory. One way in which this practical bent in most obviously manifested by the elimination of reliance on the theory of the Kalpa or of the Mahāyuga in determining the mean motions of the planets; their mean longitudes are rather computed from their positions at a given epoch close in time to the date of the composition of the *karaṇa*, and the longitudes of the planets' apogees and nodes (except for the Moon's) are considered to be fixed." Pingree also describes "an abbreviated *karaṇa*, dealing almost exclusively with calendric matters, spherical trigonometry, and the computation of the positions of the planets... the Dhyānagrahopādhyāya." (Pingree 1981:32) Presumably a *laghu-karaṇa* is 'an abbreviated' *karaṇa*. *Puṇḍarīka* informs us that *sphuṭa* = 'corrected,' and that the term is used ironically, like a mother's phony promise of candy in order to distract her children. (Newman 1987:534 and note 12). The earliest *karaṇa* we have (*Sūryasiddhānta*) dates from 505 c.e., and that before the date of the *Khaṇḍakhādya* (665 c.e.) "both *karaṇas* and *siddhāntas* bore the latter designation." (Pingree 1981:32-33). The fact that *karaṇas* are referred to in KCT 1.26 strongly suggests that the root *Laghukālacakratantra* cannot have been composed until mid-7th century at the earliest; otherwise how do we reasonably explain the reference in KCT verse 1.26 to a specialized type of astronomical text that did not exist prior to the seventh century CE? (One can always argue for interpolations, of course.)

<sup>2</sup> I.e. since the correct functioning of the practice of Tantric Yoga is dependent on the correct timing of the meditations and yogas, corrupted *karaṇas* will lead to incorrect time calculations, incorrectly timed meditations and yoga practices, and failure in these rites. The *Vimalaprabhā* glosses the term *kālayogaḥ* as follows: time is the barbarian *dharma*. The joining of the astronomical textbooks with that [barbarian *dharma*] is the connection with time. (*kālaḥ mlecchadharmaḥ, tena siddhāntānāṃ yogaḥ kālayogaḥ*) (KCT/VMP 1.77.18-19; Newman 1987:535-6).

<sup>3</sup> Newman's translation reads: "Six hundred years from [this] the first year, the master of men Yaśas will clearly appear in (the land) called 'Sambhala.' Naga (8) hundred years after that the barbarian *dharma* will definitely be introduced in the land of Mecca. At that time people on the earth should know the *sphuṭalaghukaraṇa*. The corruption of the textbooks on all the surface of the earth will occur in the yoga of time." (Newman 1987:531). Verse 1.26 marks the end of the first section of Chapter 1, the Great teaching specifying the truths of suffering, the path, arisal, and cessation produced in the body, speech, and thought (*Kāya-vāk-cittotpatti-duḥkha-mārga-samudaya-nirodha-satya-nirṇaya-mahoddeśaḥ*; 1.170.10).

the Vajrayāna, will create a single clan out of the thirty-five million *Brahmarṣis* honoring [king] Sūryaratha. Because of that, Mañjuhoṣa will gain the name Kalkin, not because of supporting the *Brahma* caste [as in the Hindu mythological explanation]. If Kalkī is the son of the *brāhmaṇa* Yaśas, [96.25] then by whom in this case is this one *kalkī* [i.e. possessed of cement]? Without wealth, he possesses wealth. He is called *kalka* [an unguent paste like cement, or a tenacious viscous sediment, or a doughy mixture] because he unites the [four] castes with the outcastes,<sup>1</sup> so there is the cement paste; hence the one possessed of the cement paste, not without the cement paste, he in fact is *Kalkī*. Furthermore, at the close of the *yuga*, having seen the extreme *adharmā* on the part of the barbarians, having become rock-like and unshakable, having manifested the endless supreme horses by the perfected meditation of the supreme horse, having by them [by those horses] caused the thoughts of the barbarians to flow into his own *dharma*, he will establish [his own *dharma*]. He will cause the destruction of their *dharma*, not the ending of their lives.

It is stated by the *Bhagavān*, in the *Adhyātmapaṭala*, with the forty-eighth [96.30] verse--

[97.1] The *cakra* possessor [externally] is the *vajra* possessor in one's own body, the eminent masters of the gods are the arrested twelve limbs,

Correct knowledge [internally] is Kalkī [externally], the elephants, horses, chariots, and soldiers are the four<sup>2</sup> immeasurables; †

The one called Rudra is the [knowledge of] *pratyeka* (buddhas), and Hanumān

<sup>1</sup> *Varṇa-avarṇānām ektkaraṇam*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ārya* here = four, from the four noble truths.

is the [knowledge of] *śrāvakas* [in the bodies] of living beings,

Sin is the evil of the barbarian's chief, and [the internal experience] on the path of non-virtue is [externally] he of divisive mind (*Kṛṇmatih*), the giver of suffering. ||

[97.5] (Kālacakratantra 2.48)<sup>1</sup>

Beginning this way, the battle with the barbarians is described by the *Tathāgata*; what is stated in the first chapter [1.161]<sup>2</sup> is that Kalkī will carry off the barbarians with stone horses, for the purpose of dragging thinking away from those wicked *ṛṣis*; otherwise, since confused thinking will be generated in the beginning, it will not be possible to be awakened.<sup>3</sup> Therefore what was stated by the *Bhagavān* should be brought about by a *bodhisattva* who is skilled in means. Hence the ancient *dharmas* are purposeless and questionable. So there is the statement by [97.10]

<sup>1</sup> The commentary on KCT 1.26 makes clear the macro-microcosm relationships referred to in the verse, with *yo bāhye...sa dehe* constructions. (KCT/VMP 1.183.13-18; Wallace 1995:222-223). The suggested emendation of *pathi* for *-m api* in volume 1 of the Sarnath edition is used in the quotation of the verse in volume 3 here. The commentary on KCT 1.26 makes clear that the emendation is the correct reading. Wallace's translation: "Within one's own body, Cakrī is one who has the *vajra*; the eminent lords of gods are the twelve restrained limbs; Kalkī is the right knowledge; the elephants, horses, chariots, and servatns are the [four] Immeasurables; Rudra's name is *pratyeka [buddhas]*; Hanūmān is *śrāvakas*; a vicious king of Barbarians is the vice of living beings; and Kṛṇmatī, a bestower of suffering, is a non-virtue." (Wallace 1995:222). See Wallace's footnotes to this verse.

<sup>2</sup> KCT 1.161: Destroying the barbarians in battle on the entire surface of the earth with his own armies of four divisions,/On Mount Kailāsa, at the end of the age, in the city fashioned by the gods, the Cakravartin will emerge;/And by Kalkī there will be provided as allies Rudra, Skandha, the lord of elephants, and even Harita/as well as stone horses, the best elephants, kings with golden chariots, swordsmen, and mercenaries.// See Sarnath Vol.1.154.17-20. (*Yuddhe mlecchān hanan yaḥ sakala-bhuvi tale cātur-aṅgaiḥ sva-senyaiḥ/ kailāsādrau yugānte sura-racita-pure cakravarttyāgamiṣyat| rudraṃ skandaṃ gaṇendraṃ harim api ca sakhīn dāsyate kalkinā ca/ śailāśvān vāraṇendrān kanaka-ratha-nṛpān śastra-hastān bhaṭāṃś ca|*.) There is no *Vimalaprabhā* on this verse. I would take the meaning of 1.161.c-d as that Kalkī, as the 'cementer' will provide to himself as *Cakravartin* additional allies and troops.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. if one is raised with the barbarian *dharma*, it won't be possible to become enlightened.

wicked ṛṣis--

The *Purāṇa*, Manu's *dharma*, the *Veda* with its subsidiary texts, along with the medical texts|<sup>1</sup>

The four whose commands are perfected cannot be destroyed by arguments,||

The statements of *Manu*, *Vyāsa*, and *Vaśiṣṭha*, together with the *Veda*,|

Whoever says that these are unreasonable, he is a *brāhman* killer.||

[97.15] This statement produces confusion in young people, is the erroneous statement of wicked ṛṣis, is void of deliberation, and is for the purpose of establishing the preeminence of their own caste.

Certainly (one may argue), if there is an inclination towards passionate ejaculation on the part of sentient beings, and if beginningless *samsāra* [continues] because of the power of that [inclination], then for what purpose is the [doctrine of] twelve-limbed interdependent origination taught by the *Tathāgata*? Ignorance etc. are said to be the limbs in the three, respectively, addictions, karma, and suffering. So from addiction comes karma, from karma comes suffering, and from suffering comes addiction yet again. That itself is the cycle of existence, the cause, the fruit, and the whole world. There is nothing else, [97.20] whoever the sentient being may be. From the voids the *dharmas* come into existence, and from the *dharmas*, the voids come into existence. By recitations [i.e. by study of the sacred texts] and by examples they must be recognized. It will be someone's opinion in regard to this that

<sup>1</sup> The Sarnath editors' emendation adding a *-kam* at the end of *cikitsayā* is unnecessary, and adds an extra two syllables to the 16 syllable meter of each line. It is perfectly acceptable to have *cikitsā* in the instrumental singular, indicating that it is included with the preceding list of texts.

this predilection for ejaculation is not the cycle of *samsāra*. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka in response]—because in this sense it is said by immature people that [the set of] the twelve limbs of ignorance etc. that arise interdependently, and have as their nature addiction, karma, and suffering, is itself the cycle of *samsāra*--that is not so. Why? Because the *Bhagavān* is the basis of the science of the supremely indestructible. Because, in this regard, the *Bhagavān* is the lightning bolt being, the great scientist of the supremely indestructible, [97.25] who has transcended the inclination towards *samsāra*; because they differ from him, the people living in *samsāra* (*saṃsāriṇaḥ*) maintain the science of destruction, and are seized by the predilection for *samsāra*. Therefore the supremely indestructible, the great passion, is science; and there is nescience, in this sense, on the part of sentient beings who have a beginningless predilection for passion; from that [predilection] there is the source of passion, and from passion destruction, and from destruction, aversion. What's called aversion is hatred, and from hatred comes mental stupefaction; what's called mental stupefaction (*mūrcchā*) is confusion. So ignorance has the nature of passion, hatred, and confusion, and is not [just] a garland of sky flowers.<sup>1</sup> What's called ignorance is addiction; from ignorance comes mental fabrication (*samskāra*) [that is] karma; from mental fabrication comes the limited knowledge (*vijñāna*) [that is] suffering. The **first**<sup>2</sup> soft syllable (*prathamamṛdumātrā*) is body, speech, and thought. [97.30] Then from limited knowledge comes the name and form that is addiction; from name and form come the six bases of consciousness that are karma; from the

<sup>1</sup> I.e. something that doesn't exist.

<sup>2</sup> I've boldfaced syllables 1-4 for clarity.

six bases of consciousness comes the touch that is suffering; so the **second**, mid-range sound is body, speech, and thought. Then from touch comes the sensation that is addiction; from sensation comes the thirst [98.1] that is karma; from thirst comes the appropriation that is suffering; the **third**, immeasurable syllable is body, speech, and thought. Then, from appropriation comes the existence that is addiction; from existence comes the birth that is karma; from birth comes old age and death that is suffering; so the **fourth** immeasurably immeasurable (*adhimātrādhimātra*) syllable is body, speech, and thought. In this way the four syllables, whose nature is body, speech, thought, and knowledge, are in each of the three astrological signs, Capricorn etc., [98.5] divided into womb, door, and outside. That is to say, when men take birth in the month of Capricorn, it is the womb of ignorance; the second month, Aquarius, is mental fabrication, the door; the third month, Pisces, is limited knowledge, outside; hence the mild syllable consisting of the three months for those born in the womb.<sup>1</sup> Then the fourth month, Aires, is name and form, the womb; the fifth month, Taurus, is the six consciousness-bases, the door; the sixth month, Gemini, is touch, the outside; thus the middle syllable consisting of the three months. Then the seventh month, Cancer, is the womb of sensation; the eighth month, Leo, is the door of thirst; the ninth month, Virgo, is appropriation, outside; hence the three month-natured third immeasurable syllable. Then the tenth month, Libra, is existence, the womb;<sup>2</sup> [98.10] the eleventh month, Scorpio, is birth, the door; the twelfth month, Sagittarius, is old age and death, outside; thus the three

<sup>1</sup> *Mṛdumātrā* should be separated from *garbhājānām* in the Sarnath edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Tulā* should be separated from *bhavo* in the Sarnath edition.

month-natured immeasurably immeasurable syllable. In this way, according to the divisions of body, speech, thought, and knowledge, the first soft syllable is to be known as knowledge, and the fourth is to be known as the body. It was stated by the *Bhagavān*, in the *Tantrarāja*, in the fifth or knowledge chapter, with the one hundred and seventieth verse--<sup>1</sup>

From karma and addiction suffering arises; and then addiction itself from one's own suffering;

[98.15] The sentient being wanders in this cycle of saṃsāra, there is no other cause with equal result;|

From the voids the aggregates and *dharmas* [arise], and when one dies<sup>2</sup> here then the voids [arise] again from those [aggregates and *dharmas*],

[The voids] are knowable by recitation, lamps, flowers, water, the cries of animals, by magnifying glass, by acidity, and by seeds. ||<sup>3</sup>

By these examples, such as recitation etc., the arising and cessation of the aggregates is to be known. Just as<sup>4</sup> there is no destruction of the knowledge of the teacher by the recitations, nor non-attainment [of knowledge] by the student; likewise no disappearance of the lamp because of the lamp; nor even in the water does the moon [disappear] from the moon; [no disappearance of the scent] from flowers [because of] the scent in a garment; [no disappearance of the fire] from the sun

<sup>1</sup> This verse does not match verse 5.170 in either this edition, or Das' edition. Since this is the second instance where Puṇḍarīka has quoted the *Laghukālacakratāntra* and the verse does not appear in the extant text, it suggests that he had a slightly different recension of the verses at hand when he wrote the *Vimalaprabhā*.

<sup>2</sup> Literally: here, at the end in death: *iha maraṇānte*.

<sup>3</sup> See following paragraph for explanation.

<sup>4</sup> Bold just for clarity here = first part of phrase; second part begins with **similarly** below.

[because of] the fire in the magnifying glass;<sup>1</sup> [no disappearance of the cry] from the cry of an animal [because of] the crying out; [no disappearance of the acidity] from acidity [because of] irritation of the tongue; [no disappearance of the seed] from the seed [because of] the sprout. **Similarly** the association of the aggregates is because of the influence of the predilection and passion for what is perishable. Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the cycle of *samsāra* is the passion for the perishable, nescience. In this sense, when passion for the perishable is destroyed, then the supremely indestructible comes to be. The supremely indestructible is the supreme passion. From supreme passion aversion/dispassion is destroyed. What's called dispassion is hatred. From the destruction of hatred comes the great hatred. From the great hatred the confusion called mental stupefaction is destroyed. [98.25] From the destruction of confusion, the great confusion arises. From the great passion, the great hatred, and the great confusion, ignorance consisting of passion, hatred, confusion, and pride is destroyed. From the destruction of nescience the great nescience arises. In this way, from the cessation of nescience, there is the cessation of mental fabrication; from the cessation of mental fabrication, there is the cessation of limited knowledge; from the cessation of limited knowledge, there is the cessation of name and form; from the cessation of name and form, there is the cessation of the six bases of consciousness; from the cessation of the six bases of consciousness, there is the cessation of contact; from the cessation of contact, there is the cessation of sensation; from the cessation of sensation, there is the cessation of thirst; from

<sup>1</sup> *Sūryakāntaḥ* = literally, 'sun crystal.' As any schoolboy knows, it is possible to start a fire with a magnifying glass.



the cessation of thirst, there is the cessation of appropriation; from the cessation of appropriation, there is the cessation of being; from the [98.30] cessation of being, there is the cessation of birth; from the cessation of birth there is the cessation of old age and dying. In this way there is the cessation of the twelve limbs. By [their] heterogeneity (*vaidharmyena*), the *Bhagavān*'s [twelve] limbs are to be known as revealed.

Certainly [one may argue], if *yogīs* obtained Buddha-hood through the destruction of passion for the perishable, then for what purpose does the *Tathāgata* destroy the four--death, aggregates, addictions, and sons of gods (*devaputras*)?<sup>1</sup> Because then there would be no Buddha-hood through the destruction of the passion for the perishable--[99.1]--this will be someone's view. Therefore it is said [by me, Puṇḍarīka, in response]--because in this regard it is stated by fools that the external *māras* are destroyed by the *Tathāgata*--that is not true. Why is that? Because of [the logic of] prior and subsequent cessation. In this sense, if there is first Buddha-hood, and then the destruction of the *Māras*, then there would be no manifestation of the Buddha. Now if there is first the destruction of *Māra*, and then Buddha-hood, why do the other transmigrators also not destroy *Māra*, without [attaining] Buddha-hood? [99.5] And then if there is simultaneous destruction of *Māra*, and likewise simultaneously the destruction of *Māra* is not achieved, in the moment there is *Māra*, in that moment there would be no Buddha-hood, since the thinking is [still] concealed [i.e. unawakened]. In the moment that there is Buddha-hood, in that moment there

<sup>1</sup> *Devaputra* here seems to be used as a code name for *brahmans*--consistent with *Brāhmaṇa* doctrines about the soul or *ātman* coming from and returning to the solar deity.

would be no *Māra*, because of the destruction of all obscurations. Therefore, the four *Māras* have the nature of the inclination towards nescience in the body, speech, and mind of all sentient beings. Among these, the obscuration of the body is the aggregate-*māra*; the obscuration of the speech is the addiction-*māra*; the obscuration of the thought is the death-*māra*; the onset of external nescience is the heavenly-son-*māra*. This onset of external nescience on the part of those interested in (*parīkṣaka*) the fruits of good and bad karma, [99.10] who have immature intellects, and who are desirous of the experiences of *samsāra*, is [expressed] by the mention [in the list of *māras*] of the *devaputra-māra*. In this sense there is the claim of the *devaputra-māras* (i.e. brahmanical astrologers?) that what is good or bad for sentient beings results from the power of the moon, [and] becomes good and bad through the power of the sun, through the power of Mars, through the power of Mercury, through the power of Jupiter, through the power of Venus, through the power of Saturn, through *Rāhu*'s power, through *Ketu*'s power, through the power of the solar day, through the power of the lunar day, through the power of the constellation, through the power of the principal star of the lunar constellation [*yoga*], through the power of the astrological division of the day [*karaṇa*].<sup>1</sup> Similarly, there is the statement of the others who delight in the power of the production of vowel (*svarodaya*) [i.e. the *mantra-śāstra* proponents], [that] there will be victory in battle by the power of the production of

<sup>1</sup> According to MW the *karaṇas* are—*valava*, *gara*, *vanija*, *viṣṭhi*, *śakuni*, *catuṣpada*, *kintughna*, and *ṛāga*; the first seven are *adhruvān*, moveable, filling the second half of the first day in the moon's increase until the first half of the fourteenth day in its wane; the second four are fixed, filling the four half-days from the second half of the fourteenth day of its wane to the first half of the day of its increase. (MW p.254.) This use of the term *karaṇa* is distinct from its use as a term for short astronomical texts mentioned above (see footnotes to KCT 1.26 as quoted KCT/VMP 3.96.17-20 above).

the vowel; and by the power of the *yoginī*, by the power of *Tārā*, by the power of *Rāhu*, by the power etc. of *bhadra*,<sup>1</sup> [others claim] there will be victory on the battle-field. In this way, even for the disciples and *Buddhas*, there is the onset of external nescience. According to the meaning of interdependent origination there is good and bad for sentient beings. Similarly the assertion by other *devaputras*--"by the grace of the divinity everything good comes about;" in this way there is the onset of primal ignorance on the part of sentient beings because of the statement by a *devaputra māra*. Because in this case, if without the sin and virtue from a former life, there is good and bad [karma] on the part of sentient beings--according to the statements of the *devaputra māras*--then what was good and bad in a former life would be entirely meaningless, because one would experience no power of the power of the planets etc. (*grahādibala-abalopabhogāt*) [i.e. one would be free of planetary influences]. And it is not like this; and similar fallacious reasoning (*vyabhicāra*) is evident [in the following statement]--

Not because of the astrological sign was Sītā happy, nor Duryodhana victorious, |

[Nor] by the grace of the full-moon night was he crushed by Bhīmasena, | |

Those warriors standing on the surface of the earth,<sup>2</sup> desiring to kill *Arjuna*, |

They were destroyed quickly by Arjuna, and went to death in all the directions. | |

<sup>1</sup> *Bhadra* probably refers in shorthand to *Pūrvabhadrapada* and *Uttarabhadrapada*, the 25th and 26th *nakṣatras*. (See Neugebauer & Pingree 1970{1}:187). *Bhadra* = 'auspicious'; Sarnath editors' note says that the Tibetan reads *drag po* = *rudra*.

<sup>2</sup> I've switched *bhūmi-bale* to *bhūmi-tale*.

[99.25] Hence the fruit of prior good and bad karma must be experienced by sentient beings. And likewise it was stated by the *Bhagavān*--

Whoever creates good or bad physical, vocal, or mental karma, |

The sentient being experiences the fruit of that; there is no other deity who is the giver of that fruit. | |

So in addition, whatever grace of the deity is visible, that is [visible] by the power of the former merit of sentient beings, not by the power of sin. And merit arises through service to sentient beings, not through animal sacrifice in the rituals for the gods and ancestors. The fruit of karma was described by the *Bhagavān* [99.30] in the *Adhyātma* chapter, with the ninety-first verse, as follows--

[100.1] Therefore there is no agent at all who gives or removes pleasure or pain for living beings,

In saṃsāra, prior karma becomes the provider of the fruit; what caused it is of three sorts; |

For the stupified ones, it is this intelligence that gives, removes, and is the agent of creation and destruction,

They do not see the immeasurably good orifice in the body, being distracted by their own contemptuous ways of looking at things. | |

[100.5] (Kālacakratantra 2.89)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I must disagree with Wallace's translation of 2.89.d (*dehe cchidraṃ na paśyanti aparimita-śubhaṃ hāryamāṇaṃ sva-kākṣaiḥ*): "With their own eyes [confused people] do not see the unlimited virtue being destroyed and torn asunder within the body." "Torn asunder" is a definition for *chidra* given in MW, yet only cited from the *Ṛgveda*. The classical Sanskrit usage of this term is primarily for a hole or orifice, though also for a defect, etc. *Hāryamāṇa* is the present participle of the causative of the passive of  $\sqrt{hr}$ , to take or remove, so here = 'being caused to be taken away or removed.' *Kākṣaṃ* is a look or a glance, particularly a frown, malicious look, or look of displeasure. What orifice is referred to is not specified in

Likewise, the *devaputramāra* is also described in the fifth chapter, by the eighty-sixth verse--

The many *mantras* proclaimed by the lord of the three worlds have ferocious activity as their intrinsic nature,

They all generate fear in and destruction of *Māra*'s troop, any time, for us living beings; |

The agents of memories, delighting in the realm of war, the other killers (*māra*kas) are also heretics,

They are to be joined to them by the sons of the supreme victor, for the sake of protection of living beings. | |

[100.10] (Kālacakrantra 5.86)

Hence, according to the *Bhagavān*'s statement, the onset of nescience is [brought about] by the statements of the *Māras*, [and] it is not to be done by the *yogī*. In this way, for sentient beings, the appearance of the inclination in their own thought is the *Bhagavān*, the lightning bolt being. In this way, for sentient beings, the appearance is that the *Bhagavān*, a mass of merit, is a mass of sin. It was stated by the *Bhagavān*, in the knowledge chapter, in the praise of the five forms,<sup>1</sup> with the fourth verse, as follows--

the commentary on KCT 2.89, though from the doctrinal context of the text it may well be one of the orifices of the subtle body, such as the heart center, or the crown *cakra*. *Puṇḍarīka*'s gloss of 2.89d reads: externally, by their own senses engaged in the six sense-realms, internally, [with their own senses] lacking the pleasure of no outflows--thus the interpretation of the experience of the fruits of one's own karma. (*svendriyair bāhye ṣaḍ- viṣaya-pravṛttair adhyātmani anāśrava-sukha-rahitaiḥ [iti] svakarma-phalopabhoga-niyamaḥ*). (Rinpoche et al 1986:218.16-17).

<sup>1</sup> See Rinpoche et al 1994b:151.4 ff. for the praise of the five forms.

[100.15] Pure thought, in the form of a *mantra*, surrounded by the thirty [deities?], has the intrinsic nature of [both] suffering and happiness,

For *sādhus* it has a peaceful form, self-made; it is a harsh experience for the cruel ones; |

Whoever directs the karma downwards into their own mind, its fruit is produced in him, according to the rule,

The leader of the world, the universal form, the progenitor of the three worlds, the lightning bolt being, I praise. ||

(*Kālacakratāntra* 5.247)

[100.20] So for sentient beings there is the appearance in the inclination in their own thinking as the Lightning bolt being, and as *Māra*; there is no *Māra* for the *Bhagavān*. The perishable moment that is the progenitor of these ones called the *māras* of the nescience of body, speech, and mind is called *Kāmadeva* (the god of passion). He was destroyed by the *Tathāgata* by a moment of the supremely indestructible;<sup>1</sup> his destruction was the destruction of the power of the *Māra*, the destruction of the nescience forms of passion<sup>2</sup> hatred, confusion, and anger. In this case, through the cessation of the inclination for the perishable, there is cessation of passion, hatred, confusion, and anger; through the cessation of these, there is cessation of nescience. In this way, in sequence, there is the cessation of the twelve limbs, and through the cessation of the twelve limbs, there is cessation of the cycle of existence; [100.25] through the cessation of the cycle of existence, Buddha-hood is

<sup>1</sup> Here we have a sharing of the myth that Śiva incinerated Kāma with the fire from his third eye.

<sup>2</sup> Correct *raṇa* to *raga*; see next line.

revealed. Among these disciples [*śrāvakas* or *Hīnayāna*], [followers of the *Prajñā-*  
*pāramitā* [i.e. *Mahāyāna*] and [followers of] the *mantra*-system [i.e. *Tantrayāna*], the  
supremely indestructible heart of the lightning bolt being *Bhagavān* was taught by the  
*Tathāgata* in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*. Not knowing the meaning of this, good *gurus* are  
destroyed, [and] having fallen from the knowledge of the supremely indestructible  
they will be on the path in the future. Sentient beings will be destroyed by those  
destroyed [*gurus*]. Therefore, in the root *Tantra*, in the praise of the knowledge of the  
five forms, with five *ślokas*, the meditation on the five forms is described by the  
*Bhagavān* as follows--<sup>1</sup>

[101.1] a) In the void this entirety of existence is without mental fabrication and  
form, |

Just as what is like an prognostic image (*pratisenā*--lit. 'opposing army') is  
seen by a young lady in the mirror. | |

Thus in the *Lokottara* truth [or the world-transcending truth] there is the mirror-  
knowledge of the forms and aggregates.

b) The entire existence having become equal, the single existence remains,  
indestructible, |

[101.5] Being united with the knowledge of the indestructible, there is no cutting off,  
nor is it eternal. | |

Thus the sensation aggregate, the knowledge of equality.

c) The castes consisting of all the names are produced from the clan of the  
letter *a*, |

<sup>1</sup> Again, I have given the verse letters for ease of reference.

Having attained the place of the supremely indestructible, there are no names, nor those with names. ||

Thus the name aggregate, knowledge via direct perception.

[101.10] d) In the unproduced *dharmas*, and in those devoid of mental conformation [*samskāras*], |

There is no intelligence, nor even Buddha-hood, nor a sentient being, nor even something living. ||

Thus the mental conformation aggregate, the knowledge of one who has performed his religious duties.

e) Having gone beyond the *dharma* state of limited knowledge, possessing purified knowledge, because unmuddied, |

Brilliantly shining with *prakṛti*, the *dharmas* go on the path to the *dharma* realm. ||

Thus the limited knowledge aggregate, the knowledge of the well- purified *dharma* realm.

[100.15] Similarly, in the *Laghutantra* is also stated, by the three verses beginning with the one hundred and first, the characteristic of the *Tathāgata*'s aggregate such as the discus, the insignia, etc.--

The *cakra* is transparent on all sides, [called] "the three states of being," it is happiness, the jewel of this very one, passion;

The lotus is the destruction of addiction, the sword, the lightning bolt even, the great knowledge body because indivisible;



[101.20] The cutting off of ignorance is the female agent, also, because here there are also six clans, and from these [six clans] these are arisen;

They are also to be known in this way, sky-like, having equal flavor, the aggregates, constituents, senses, etc. ||

In him indeed the birth form goes to finality, that is called the great form,

In her the suffering of saṃsāra reaches finality, she is called the great sensation. |

In her the name of saṃsāra reaches finality, she is the name of the great lightning bolt,

In him the growth in saṃsāra reaches finality, [he] is the [101.25] mental conformation itself of the lightning bolt. ||

In him the waking state reaches finality, and that is called limited knowledge [*viññānam*],

In him the state of ignorance reaches finality, that itself is the knowledge of the sage |

These ones, *Vairocana* etc., the best of the supreme Victors, are sixfold, of six clans,

The others are divided into the six constituents, earth, fire, water, wind, space, and peace. ||

[101.30] (Kālacakrantra 5.101-103)

[102.1] Similarly, in the *Nāmasaṃgīti*, the supremely indestructible knowledge of the lightning-bolt holder *Bhagavān* that has become the heart of the Buddhas and

Bodhisattvas, was taught by the *Tathāgata* with the one hundred and sixty-two *ślokas* together with the solicitations for instruction. In that text, with what begins "Now the lightning-bolt holder, the glorious one," ending "standing with a bowed body, at the top," the sixteen [16] *ślokas* seeking instruction;<sup>1</sup> beginning "Now *Śākyamuni*, the *Bhagavān*," ending "that holy one, the *Bhagavān*," the six [16+6=22] *ślokas* in response;<sup>2</sup> in addition from the word for the beginning [102.5] "now [*atha*]," ending with "the great *uṣṇīṣa* clan," the pair of [22+2=24] *ślokas* about observing the six clans;<sup>3</sup> with what begins "to this [verse of] six *mantra* kings,"<sup>4</sup> and ends with "homage to you, *Arapacana*,"<sup>5</sup> the three [24+3=27] *ślokas* in the sequence of awakening from the net of illusion; with what begins "Then in this way the *Bhagavān Buddha*" and ends "the ultimate in the *Mahāyāna* system," the fourteen [27+14=41] *ślokas* in praise of the great *maṇḍala* of the lightning bolt realm;<sup>6</sup> with

<sup>1</sup> This matches *ślokas* 1-16 of Davidson's edition, verse 1 beginning with *atha vajradharaḥ śrīmān*, verse 16 ending with *prahvakāyasthito 'grataḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Davidson vss. 18-22. The quotation marks in the Sarnath edition should be moved from after *bhagavan* to after *iti*, since *iti* is part of the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ* verse.

<sup>3</sup> Davidson vss. 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> The grammar of the verse quoted from the *Nāmasaṃgītiḥ* reflects a grammatical practice not that infrequent in the *Tantras*—i.e. retaining the original gender case endings of words despite their apposition to nouns of the opposite gender. The syntax of the verse is *imāṃ... ṣaḍmantrarājānaṃ...gāthāṃ bhāṣate sma*—[he] sings this song consisting of the six *mantra* kings. The last compound, since it is appositive with *gāthāṃ*, should also be in a feminine form. Yet the text retains the masculine accusative singular form of *rājan*. This practice may in fact reflect the heightened sensitivity in the *Tantra* doctrine of male-female relationships.

<sup>5</sup> Davidson vss. 25-27. Davidson says in his footnote to verse 27 that "Arapacana, of course, represents the esoteric alphabet of the early Mahāyāna..." (Davidson 1981:22,n.63). *A-ra-pa-ca-na* are the first five of 42 (syllables) of a mnemonic system for central Buddhist tenets. *A* represents the negative prefix in *anitya*, one of four elements of the truth about suffering. *Ra* begins the word *rajas* or passion; *pa* begins *parama* of *paramārtha-satya*, ultimate truth or ultimate reality, *ca* begins *caryā*, the practice of the path. (See John Brough, "The *Arapacana* Syllabary in the Old *Lalita-Vistara*", *Bull. of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977): 85-95, cited in Davidson's footnote.).

<sup>6</sup> Davidson vss. 28-41.

what begins "the great solar [*vairocana*] Buddha," and ends with "the lightning bolt goad, the great noose," the twenty-one [41+21=63] *śloka*s in praise of the knowledge of the very purified *dharma* constituent;<sup>1</sup> [102.10] with what begins, "the lightning-bolt-terrifier [*vajra-bhairava-bhīkara*]," ending with "the sound, the best of those having sound [*ghoṣaḥ ghoṣavatām-varaḥ*], the fourteen [*pāda-adhika-daśa*] [62+14=76] *śloka*s about the knowledge of the mirror;<sup>2</sup> beginning with "the non-essentiality of what has become suchness" ending with "the light ray of knowledge, very brilliantly shining," the forty-two [76+42=118] *śloka*s in praise of the knowledge gained by direct perception;<sup>3</sup> beginning with "the adept of the desired end," ending with "the great gem of the jewel-ensign," the twenty-four [118+24=142] *śloka*s in praise of the knowledge of sameness;<sup>4</sup> beginning with "the necessity of recognizing all the completely awakened ones [*sarva-sambuddha-boddhavyaḥ*]," ending with "*Mañjuśrī*, the best of the glorious ones," the fifteen [142+15=157] *śloka*s in praise of the knowledge of the one who's performed his religious duty;<sup>5</sup> [102.15] beginning with "Homage to you, Oh best of the lightning

<sup>1</sup> There's a difference from Davidson's edition here. Davidson's text has a twenty-five verse section, from 42-66, even though the sixty-sixth verse reads *pādana-pañcaviṃśatiḥ* – i.e. 'four less than twenty-five' = twenty-one. The first half of Davidson's 'verse' 66 ends with *vajrāṅkuṣo mahāpāṣo* as in the VMP. According to the VMP, what Davidson gives as the second half of verse 66 should function as the colophon to a twenty-one verse section beginning with verse 42. This still leaves the problem of the verses 63-65.

<sup>2</sup> Here again we have a mismatch with Davidson's edition. The phrase *vajrabhairavabhīkaraḥ* does begin the next section in Davidson's edition with a quarter verse (66), and *ghoṣo ghoṣavatām varaḥ* does end the section at verse 76, with a colophon counting 11 verses (*pādana-sārdha-daśa* = one quarter less than ten plus half of ten = 15-4 = 11). However, VMP specifies fourteen verses (*pādādhika-daśa* = ten plus four = 14).

<sup>3</sup> Once again, this is in synch with Davidson's edition.

<sup>4</sup> Matches Davidson's edition.

<sup>5</sup> Matches Davidson's edition.

bolt wielders [*vajra-dhara-agrya*]," ending with "let there be homage to you, Oh knowledge body," the five [157+5=162] *ślokas* in praise of the knowledge of the five *Tathāgatas*.<sup>1</sup> By these one hundred and sixty-two *ślokas*, having been extracted from<sup>2</sup> all the vehicles [and] gathered together, [is described] the *Bhagavān*'s heart, completely good, the great bliss of the supremely indestructible, reaching to the limit of the space constituent, shining in every direction, provided with the requisites for very purified knowledge, bearing a lofty and profound form, the light of *prakṛti*, the treasury of the beginningless, free of the mental fabrications of the *ātman* and what belongs to the *ātman*, the perceived and the perceiver, etc., at all times untarnished [*asaṅkliṣṭa*], knowing the intrinsic nature of all *dharmas*, [102.20] free of the inclination towards *samsāra*, free of going and coming, whose form is without display, the basis of the various *samādhis* and *dhāraṇīs* that blossom into the flow of one's own flavor, like a proper tree for the wishing pot, like the thinking gem [the philosopher's stone], completely filled with the wishes of all sentient beings, beyond the range of even the great sages, bringer of supreme peace to the great mass of sentient beings, illusion-like, dream-like, mirror image-like, like a promise. This itself is praiseworthy in the three worlds, the self-knowable knowledge of *yoga*, the supremely indestructible happiness, not to be abandoned by the *yogī*; thus the *Tathāgata*'s rule. The meditation on this was described by the *Tathāgata* in the knowledge chapter in the Root *Tantrarāja*, [102.25] as follows--

Having meditated into existence the smoke etc., and having made the thought

<sup>1</sup> Matches Davidson's edition.

<sup>2</sup> Instrumental used in ablative sense.

motionless, |

Having purified [it--the *cittam*] in the middle [channel], one should cause the supremely indestructible to come into being. ||

Having placed the lightning bolt in the lotus, one should make the *prāṇa* enter into the drop, |

And [make] the drops [enter into] the *cakras*; one should halt the vibration of the drops in the lightning bolt. ||

[102.30] The *yogī* should always have a blocked-up *liṅga*, and should always hold back his semen, |

Engaged in the embrace with his great consort [*mahāmudrā-prasaṅgena*] and with the penetrations of his lightning bolt [*vajrāveśair*]. ||

With the twenty-one thousand and six hundred supremely indestructible |

Moments filled, he himself should become the great king, the lightning-bolt being. ||

[103.1] It was stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja*, in the knowledge chapter, in the praise of the knowledge of the five forms, with the first verse, that *nirvāṇa* is without cause, as follows--

Of which there is neither end, beginning, or middle, continuance, death, or becoming, sound, smell, and taste,

That is without touch, form, thought, *prakṛti* or *puruṣa*, bondage or liberation, or agent, |

[103.5] Without seed or time of manifestation, without the intrinsic nature of either

suffering or happiness in the entire world,

*Nirvāṇa* is without cause, without action, and without quality; that I will  
praise. || (*Kālacakratāntra*

5.244)

The lightning bolt is the means. In just this sense, with the fifth verse, the wisdom is  
stated to be causeless--

One, and not one, and also one, equal, unequal, equal, right, left, in front,  
and behind,

[103.10] Above, below, and all around, the single form of white, green, and the  
great universal color, |

Short, long, and extended [*plūta*, 3 syllables], without quality, with qualities, a  
woman, and a man, neither a woman or a man,

Who is the single basis of everything, good fortune, and the best fortune,  
homage to you, homage to you. || (*Kālacakratāntra*

5.248)

The sentient being, the lotus, is wisdom; in this way the lightning bolt being. It was  
stated by the *Bhagavān* in the *Tantrarāja*, in the knowledge chapter--<sup>1</sup>

[103.15] The lightning bolt possessed of the lotus of wisdom and means, is called  
what is both the support and what is to be supported, |

The pair of the two is the meeting, the union with the lightning bolt, the non-  
dual, the indestructible; ||

<sup>1</sup> This verse does not appear elsewhere in the text we have of the fifth chapter. It may have  
come from the root *Tantra*.

I praise that fourfold lightning bolt *yoga*, the *Kālacakra*,  
The king has emerged in Kalāpa, Pauṇḍarīka, the lotus holder,  
himself. || 127 ||

Thus in the seventy-two thousand [verse] light *Kālacakratantrarāja*, [103.20]  
with its commentary *Vimalaprabhā*, the third great teaching called the perfection in  
the knowledge of the great imperishable.

Agrawala, V.S. (1962--review), "*Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra--The Hindu Art of Love. New authentic translation by Dr. S.C. Upadhyaya,*" in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vol. IX, 1961-62, edited by B. J. Sandesara, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1962, pp. 294-296.

Ajayapāla (1937), *Nānārthasamgraha of Ajayapāla*, ed. by T.R. Chintamani, Madras, University of Madras, 1937 (Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 10).

Allione, Tsultrim (186), *Women of Wisdom*, London, Arkana Publishers, 1986.

Alper, Harvey P. ed. (1989), *Mantra*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1989.

Altekar, A.S. (1959), "Cho-Rje-Dpal--A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim (A.D. 1234-1236), in *Indian History Congress, Proceedings of the Twenty-First Session 1958, Trivandrum, Bombay, Indian History Congress, 1959.*

Amarasimha (1882), *Amarakoṣa*, with the Commentary of Maheśvara, enlarged by R.S. Talekar, edited with index by C.S. Thatte, under supervision of F. Kielhorn, Bombay, Government Central Book Depot, 1882.

Arraj, William James (1988), *The Svacchandatantram: History and Structure of a Śaiva Scripture*, volume one and two, a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Division of Humanities in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Dept. of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, Chicago, Illinois, August 1988.

Aronson, et al (1995), *Realism Rescued, How Scientific Progress is Possible*, Jerrod L. Aronson, Rom Harré, and Eileen Cornell Way, co-authors, Chicago and La Salle, Open Court, 1995.

Avalon, Arthur (1974), *The Serpent Power, The Secrets of Tantric and Shaktic Yoga*, first published London, Luzac & Co., 1919; New York, Dover Publications, 1974.

Bacot, Jacques, "La Collection Tibétaine Schilling von Canstadt à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut," *Journal Asiatique*, 204.2, 1924, pp.321-348.

Bagchi, P.C. (1944a), "*Vajragarbhatantrarājasūtra*, A New Work of King Indrabodhi," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, 1944, pp. 23-59.

Bagchi, P.C. (1944b), "Sino-Indian Relations--The Period of the United Empires (618-1100 A.D.)," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, 1944, pp. 65-84.



Bagchi, P.C. (1944c), "The Beginnings of Buddhism in China," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, 1944, pp. 1-17.

Bagchi, P.C. (1944d), "*Bodhisattva-śīla* of Śubhākarasiṃha," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, 1944, pp. 132-156.

Bagchi, P.C. (1944e), "Sino-Indian Relations--The Period of the United Empires II," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, 1944, pp. 161-166.

Bagchi, P.C. (1946a), "Ki-pin and Kashmir," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 2, 1946, pp. 42-53.

Bagchi, P.C. (1946b), "On the original Buddhism, its canon and language," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 2, pp. 107-135.

Bagchi, P.C. (1947), "Geographical Catalogue of the Yakṣas in the *Mahāmāyūrī*," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 3, parts 1 & 2, Calcutta, April and July 1947, pp. 13-89.

Bagchi, Prabodh Chandra (1959), She-Kia-Fang-Che, Shantiniketan, Visva-Bharati Research Publication, 1959.

Bagchi, P.C. (1975), Studies in the Tantras, Part I, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1975 [Note: Part 2 never appeared.]

Bagchi, Prabodh Chandar (1981), India and China, A Thousand Years of Cultural Relations, Calcutta, Saraswat Library (based on the 2nd revised edition), 1981.

Ballantyne, James R. (1881), The Laghu Kaumudi, A Sanskrit Grammar by Varadarāja, 3rd edition, Benares, E.J. Lazarus & Co., Medical Hall Press, 1881.

Bailly, Constantina Rhodes (1987), Shaiva Devotional Songs of Kashmir, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1987.

Bandhu, Vishva (1963a), Rgveda, with the *Padapāṭha* and the available portions of the *Bhāṣya* by Skandaswāmin and Udgītha, the *Vyākhyā* by Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala's *Vṛtti* based on *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, edited by Vishva Bandhu, in collaboration with Bhīm Dev, Amar Nāth, K.S. Rāmaswāmi Sāstrī and Pītāmbhar Datta, Part II (Maṇḍala I, Sūkta-s 81-91), Hoshiarpur, Visheshvarand Vedic Research Institute, 1963 (Vishveshvarand Indological Series 20).

Bandhu, Vishva (1963), Rgveda, with the *Padapāṭha* and the available portions of the *Bhāṣya* by Skandaswāmin and Udgītha, the *Vyākhyā* by Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala's *Vṛtti* based on *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, edited by Vishva Bandhu, in collaboration with Bhīm Dev, Amar Nāth, K.S. Rāmaswāmi Sāstrī and Pītāmbhar Datta, Part III

(Maṇḍalas II, III and IV), Hoshiarpur, Visheshvarand Vedic Research Institute, 1963 (Vishveshvarand Indological Series 21).

Bandhu, Vishva (1964a), *R̥gveda*, with the *Padapāṭha* and the available portions of the *Bhāṣya* by Skandaswāmin and Udgītha, the *Vyākhyā* by Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala's *Vṛtti* based on *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, edited by Vishva Bandhu, in collaboration with Bhīm Dev, Amar Nāth, K.S. Rāmaswāmi Sāstrī and Pītāambar Datta, Part IV (Maṇḍalas V and VI), Hoshiarpur, Visheshvarand Vedic Research Institute, 1964 (Vishveshvarand Indological Series 22).

Bandhu, Vishva (1964b), *R̥gveda*, with the *Padapāṭha* and the available portions of the *Bhāṣya* by Skandaswāmin and Udgītha, the *Vyākhyā* by Veṅkaṭamādhava and Mudgala's *Vṛtti* based on *Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya*, edited by Vishva Bandhu, in collaboration with Bhīm Dev, Amar Nāth, K.S. Rāmaswāmi Sāstrī and Pītāambar Datta, Part VI (Maṇḍala IX and X, 1-45), Hoshiarpur, Visheshvarand Vedic Research Institute, 1964 (Vishveshvarand Indological Series 24).

Banerjea, S.C. (1992), Tantra in Bengal, A Study in its Origin, Development and Influence, 2nd edition, New Delhi, Manohar, 1992 (first edition, Calcutta, Naya Prokash, 1978.)

Banerji, Sures Chandra, and Gupta, Amal Kumar (1965), Bilhana's Vikramāṅkadevacaritam, Glimpses of the History of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa, First English Rendering, Calcutta, Samobdhi Publications Private Limited, 1965.

Banerji, Sures Chandra (1965), Cultural Heritage of Kashmir--A Survey of Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit Literature, Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1965.

Bapat, P.V. (1959), 2500 Years of Buddhism, Delhi, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1959.

Barnett, L.D. (1912a), "The *Paramārtha-sāra*," *JRAS* 1912 (1), pp. 474-475.

Barnett, L.D. (1912b), "The *Śiva-suta-vimarshini* of Ksemarāja, Translated into English by P.T. Shrinavas Iyengar, Indian Thought Series, No. II, Allahabad, 1912," *JRAS* 1912 (2), pp 1107-1109.

Barnett, L.D. (1912c), "The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Nos. VIII-XXIV. Edited with notes by Mahāmahopādhyāya Mukunda Rāma Śāstrī, Srinagar, Bombay printed, 1918. 8s.," *JRAS*, pp. 605-606.

Barnett, L.D. (1915), "Kashmir Shaivism: being an introduction to the history, literature, and doctrines of the Advaita Shaiva philosophy of Kashmir, specifically called the Trika System, by J.C. Chatterji, B.A. (Cantab.), Vidyāvāridhi, Fasciculus I

(The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol ii) 8vo. The Research Department, Kashmir State: Srinagar (Bombay printed), 1914," *JRAS* 1915, pp. 175-177.

Barua, Dipak Kumar (1969), *Vihāras in Ancient India*, A Survey of Buddhist Monasteries, Foreword His Holiness the Dalai Lama, Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1969.

Beal, Samuel (1884), *Sik-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, translated from the Chinese of Hiuén Tsiang (A.D. 629), London, Trubner & Co., Reprint-- Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1969. First published London, Trubner & Co. 1884. (1969 edition is two volumes bound in one, with separate paginations).

Bechert, Heinz, and Wille, Klaus (1989) *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 6, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,6), 1989.

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

Bendall, Cecil and Rouse, W.H.D. (1922), *Śikshā-Samuccaya*, A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine, compiled by Śāntideva chiefly from earlier Mahāyāna Sūtras, London, Johh Murray, Albemarle Street, W., published for the Government of India, 1922 (Indian Texts Series).

Bernbaum, E. (1980), *The Way to Shambala*, Garden City, NY, Anchor Books, 1980.

Beyer, Stephan, (1973) *The Cult of Tārā, Magic and Ritual in Tibet*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1973.

Bhandarkar, Ramkrishna Gopal (1872), "Notes on the White and Black Yajur Vedas," *Indian Antiquary*, vol.1, p. 63.

Bhat, M. Ramakrishna (1981), *Varāhamihira's Brhat Samhitā*, Parts I & II, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1981.

Bharati, Agehananda (1975), "*The Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas--Two Lost Śaitie Sects*," by David N. Lorenzen, pp. xiv+214, bibliography, index. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972, \$10.00," *JAOS* 95.1 (1975), pp. 155-156.

Bharati, Agehananda (1993), Tantric Traditions, (Revised and Enlarged Edition of *The Tantric Tradition*), Delhi, Hindustan Publishing Company, 1993 (original edition published 1965 by Rider & Co.).

Bhatt, Bhagavatprasad Natvarlal (1973), Śrīkaṅthacaritam--A Study, Baroda, M.S. University of Baroda, 1973 (Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Research Series, 14).

Bhatt, N.R. (1962), Mrgendrāgama (Kriyāpāda et Caryāpāda) avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa-Narāyaṇakaṅṭha, critical edition, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1962 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 23).

Bhatt, N.R. (1977), Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama (Vidyāpāda) avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṅṭha, critical edition, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1977 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 56).

Bhatt, N.R. (1982), Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama (Kriyāpāda, Yogapāda et Caryāpāda) avec le commentaire de Bhaṭṭa Rāmakaṅṭha, critical edition, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1982 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 65).

Bhattacharya, B. (1988), The World of Tantra, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1988.

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh (1929), Two Vajrayāna Works [Prajñopāyvinīścayasiddhi and Jñānasiddhi], edited with an introduction and index, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1929 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series XLIV).

Bhattacharyya, B. (1930), "The Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara," in Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, Dec. 1930, Patna, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1933, pp. 349-370.

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh (1931), Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka, critically edited with introduction and index, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1931 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LIII). Reprinted, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1967.

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh (1932), Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, critically edited with a preface, in four volumes; Vol. 1, Kāṭkhanda, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1932 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LXI).

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh (1941), Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, critically edited with a preface, Vol. 2, Tārākhanda, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1941 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XCI).

Bhattacharya, Benoytosh (1968), *Sādhnamālā*, vols. I & II, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1925; reprint 1968 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Nos. 26 & 41).

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh (1972), *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta*, ed. by B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1972, reprint of 1949 first edition; (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 109).

Bhattacharyya, N.N (1982), *History of the Tantric Religion (A Historical, Ritualistic and Philosophical Study)*, New Delhi, Manohar Publications, 1982.

Bhattacharyya, Narendra Nath (1975), *History of Indian Erotic Literature*, New Delhi, Minshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1975.

Bhatt, N.R. (1983), *Rauravottarāgama*, Édition critique, introduction et notes, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1983 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 66).

Bhattacharya, Shashthi Prasad (1976), *Śānta Rasa and Its Scope in Literature*, Calcutta, Sanskrit College, 1976.

Bhishagratna, Kaviraj Kunja Lal (1911), *An English Translation of the Sushruta Samhita*, Volume II (*Nidāna-sthāna, Śarīra-sthāna, Cikitsā-sthāna, and Kalapa-sthāna*), Calcutta, published by the author, 1911.

Bhishagratna, Kaviraj Kunja Lal (1916), *An English Translation of the Sushruta Samhita*, Volume III, *Uttara-tantra*, Calcutta, S.L. Bhaduri, 1916.

Bhojadeva (1937), *Sarasvatīkanthābharana of Bhojadeva*, edited by T.R. Chintamani, Madras, University of Madras, 1937, (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 11).

Birwé, Robert (1976), "The *Amarakośa* and the Lexicographical Chapters of the *Agnipurāṇa*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 96.3, pp. 383-403.

Bloomfield, Maurice (1906), *A Vedic Concordance*, Being an alphabetical index to every line of every stanza of the published Vedic literature and to the liturgical formulas thereof, that is an index to the Vedic mantras, together with an account of their variations in the different Vedic books, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University, 1906 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 10).

Bodewitz, H.W. (1973), *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa I, 1-65*, translation and commentary with a study, *Agnihotra and Prāṇāgnihotra*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, vol 17, edited by J. Gonda and H.W. Obbink).

Bodewitz, H.W. (1976), *The Daily Evening and Morning Offering (Agnihotra) According to the Brāhmaṇas*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1976 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina,

vol 21, edited by J. Gonda and H.W. Obbink).

Bodewitz, H.W. (1990), The Jyotiṣṭoma Ritual, Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa 1.66-364, Introduction, translation and commentary, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1990 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, vol. 34, edited by J. Gonda).

Borelli, John (1983), "*Mṛgendrāgama, Sections de la doctrine et du yoga. Avec la vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha et la Dīpikāḍ'Agghoraśivācārya*. Traduction, introduction et notes par Michel Hulin, pp. ix+386, Bibliographie, English Summary. (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 63). Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1980," *JAOS* 103.2 (1983), pp. 435-436. (See Bibliography, Appendix C, Volume 50.)

Bouez, Serge (1992), Ascèse et Renoncement en Inde, ou La Solitude Bien Ordonnée, Textes réunis et introduits par Serge Boue, Publié avec le Concours du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, Éditions l'Harmattan, 1992.

Braarvig, Jens (1985), "*Dhāraṇī and Pratibhāna: Memory and Eloquence of the Bodhisattvas*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1985, pp. 17-29.

Broido, Michael M. (1988), "Killing, Lying, Stealing, and Adultery: A Problem of Interpretation in the Tantras, Part I: Killing, Lying, Stealing, and Adultery in the *Kālacakratāntra*," in Donald S. Lopez, Jr., ed., Buddhist Hermeneutics, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1988 (Studies in East Asian Buddhism 6), pp. 71-118.

Brooks, Douglas Renfrew (1990), The Secret of the Three Cities, An Introduction to Śākta Tantrism, Chicago & London, The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Brown, W. Norman (1958), The Saundaryalaharī or Flood of Beauty, traditionally ascribed to Śaṅkarācārya, edited, translated, and presented in photographs, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 43).

Brunner, Hélène (1974), "Un Tantra du Nord: Le Netra Tantra," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, vol. 56, 1974, pp. 125-197.

Brunner, Hélène (1969), Review of Goudriaan's *Kāśyapa's book of wisdom (Kāśyapa-Jñānakāṇḍak)*, *A Ritual Handbook of the Vaikhānasas*, *Indo Iranian Journal*, 11.4, 1969, pp.293-302.

Brunner-Lachaux, Hélène (1985), Mṛgendrāgama, Section des Rites et Section du Comportement, Avec la Vṛtti de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇakaṇṭha, traduction, introduction et notes, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1985 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 69).

Bühler, Georg (1875), The Vikramānkadevacharita, A Life of King Vikramāditya-Tribhuvana Malla of Kalyāṇa, composed by his Vidyāpati Bilhaṇa, edited with an introduction by Georg Bühler, Bombay, Government Central Book Depot, 1875 (The Department of Public Instruction, Bombay).

Bühler, G. (1877), "Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kāśmīr, Rajputana, and Central India," *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Extra Number, 1877, Bombay, Society's Library, and London, Trubner & Co.

Bunyiiu, Nanjio (1883), A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan, compiled by order of the Secretary of State for India, reprint of the Oxford Edition of 1883, Osnabrück, 1988.

Burgess, Jas. (1883), Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and Their Inscriptions, and Report on the Elura Cave Temples and the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves in Western India, Archaeological Survey of India 4 & 5, London, Trubner & Co., 1883.

Burnell, A.C. (1873), "The *Mrtyulāṅgala Upaniṣad*," *Indian Antiquary*, vol.2, pp. 266-267, 1873.

Burness, Lieut. (1833), "Account of the Jain Temples on Mount Abu in Guzerat," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 2, no. 16, pp. 161-167, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1833.

Burnouf, E. (1876), Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme Indien, deuxième edition, Paris, Maisonneuve et Cie, Libraire-Éditeurs, 1876 (Bibliothèque Orientale, Volume III).

Caland, W. (1931), Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, translation, 1st edition, Calcutta, reprinted Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1982.

Caraka (1991). Caraka-saṃhitā, with Āyurvedadīpikā commentary of Cakrapānidatta and gloss by Gaṅgādhara Kaviratna Kavirāja, edited and revised by Kaviraja Shree Narendranath Sengupta and Kaviraja Shree Balaichandra Sengupta, vols. 1-5, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1991 (Vidyavilasa Ayurveda Series No. 1).

Carelli, Mario E. (1941), Sekoddeśatīkā by Nādapada (Naropa), Being a Commentary of the Sekoddeśa Section of the Kālacakra Tantra, The Sanskrit text edited for the first time with an Introduction in English, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1941 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 90).

Chakraborti, Haripada (1970), Pāśupata Sūtram with the Pañcārtha-bhāṣya of

Kaṇḍinya, translated, with an Introduction on the History of Śaivism in India, Calcutta, Academic Publishing, 1970.

Chakraborty, Uma (1991), Kṣemendra, The Eleventh Century Kashmiri Poet, A Study of his Life and Works, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1991 (Sri Garib Dass Oriental Series No.85).

Chakravarti, Chintaharan (1984), Guhyasamājatantrapradīpodyotana-tīkā-ṣaṭkoṭīvyākhyā, Patna, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1984 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series No. 25, published under the patronage of the Government of the State of Bihar, Dr. J.S. Jha, Director and general editor).

Chakravarti, M.M. (1892), "Troy Weights and General Currency of Ancient Orissa," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 61.1, pp. 43-49, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, 1893.

Chalmers, Robert (1957), The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births, E.B. Cowell editor, vol.1, London, Luzac & Company, 1957.

Chandra, Lokesh (1977), Vajrāvālī, A Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal containing the ritual and delineation of maṇḍalas, New Delhi, Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1977, Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, vol. 239.

Chandra, Lokesh (1984), "Vaipulya Sūtras and the Tantras," in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, edited by Louis Ligeti, vol.2, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984, pp. 99-115.

Chandra, Lokesh (1992), "Glimpses of the History of Indo-Tibetan Medicine," in Dr. D.V. Subba Reddy Memorial Lectures, Workshops on Literary Research in Ayurveda and Rasashastra, 23rd and 24th January 1992, Souvenir, Hyderabad, Indian Institute of History of Medicine, 1992, pp. 104-107.

Chang, Garma C.C. (1962), The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa, vols. 1 & 2, New Hyde Park, New York, University Books, 1962

Chatterji, Hari Prasanna (alias Swāmi Vijñānānanda, translator) (1921), Śrī Nārada Pāñcarātnam {sic}, The Jñānāmṛta Sāra Saṃhitā, Allahabad, Narendra Natha Vasu at the Panini Office, 1921 (Sacred Books of the Hindus, No.s 127-132).

Chattopadhyaya, Alak (1967), Atīśa and Tibet, Life and Works of Dīpamkara Śrījñāna in relation to the History and Religion of Tibet, with Tibetan Sources translated under Professor Lama Chimpa, Calcutta, R. Maitra at R.D. Press, 1967.

Chattopadhyaya, Debiprasad (1977), Science and Society in Ancient India, Calcutta,



Research India Publications, 1977.

Chaudhuri, Nagenrda Narayanan (1935), Dākārnavaḥ, Studies in the Apabhramśa Texts of the Dākārnava, Calcutta, Metropolitan Printing & Publishing House, 1935 (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 10).

Chimpa, Lama, and Chattopadhyaya, Alaka (1970), Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India, translated from the Tibetan, edited by Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Chintamani, T.R., ed. (1941), Śrīmadbhagavadgītā with Sarvatobhadra of Rājānaka Rāmakantha, Madras, University of Madras, 1941, (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 14).

Chirappanath, A.K. (1977), "Mantra and Yantra in Tantra," in *Journal of Dharma*, vol. II, no. 4, pp. 409-426, 1977.

Chou, Ta-fu (1944), "Three Buddhist Hymns," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 1, part 1, Calcutta, China Press Limited, pp. 85-98.

Clawiter, Walter, Sander-Holzmann, Lore, and Waldschmidt, Ernst (1965), Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 1, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1965 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,1).

Clawiter, Walter, Sander-Holzmann, Lore, and Waldschmidt, Ernst (1971), Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 3 Die Katalognummern 802-1014, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1971 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,3).

Cleary, Thomas (1993), The Flower Ornament Scripture, Shambhala, Boston & London, 1993.

Coedes, G. (1915), "Alice Getty--*The Gods of northern buddhism, their history, iconography and progressive evolution through the northern buddhist countries, with a general introduction on buddhism translated from the french of J.Deniker. Illustrations from the collection of Henry H. Getty*--Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914; 1 vol. in 4°, lii-196 pp., 64 planches," *BEFEO* vol xv, Hanoi, 1915, p.21.

Colebrook, H.T. (1971), "On the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus, and of the Brāhmens Especially," *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 5, 1808, reprinted by Csoma Publications, New Delhi, 1971, pp. 345-368.

Conze, Edward (1962), "The Theory and Practice of the Mandala, By G. Tucci,

147pp. 4 pl. Rider & Co. London, 1961, 25s.," *JRAS*, 1962, pp. 162-163.

Cowell, E.B. and Thomas, F.W. (1963), The *Harsacarita* of Bāṇa, translated, 2nd edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.

Crangle, Edward Fitzpatrick (1994), The Origin and Development of Early Indian Contemplative Practices, Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz Verlag, 1994.

Csoma de Kőrös, Alex. (1833), "Note on the Origin of the *Kāla-Chakra* and *Adi-Buddha Systems*," *JASB*, No. 14, 1833, pp. 57-59. (Reprinted, Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander, Tibetan Studies, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984, pp. 21-23.)

Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander (1834), "Biographical Sketch of M. Alexander Csoma Kőrösi, the Hungarian Traveler; extracted from a Letter addressed by that Gentleman to Capt. C.P. Kennedy, of the Hon. East-India Company's Service, Assistant to the Political Resident at Dehli, &c. Communicated by Charles Elliott, Esa. M.R.A.S., of the Hon. East-India Company's Civil Service, late Political Resident at Dehli, &c.&c.," *JRAS* vol.1, 1834, pp. 128-133.

Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander (1838a), "Notices on the different systems of Buddhism, extracted from the Tibetan authorities," *JASB*, 1838, pp. 142-147.

Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander (1838b), "Enumeration of Historical and Grammatical Works to be met with in Tibet," *JASB*, 1838, pp. 147-152.

Csoma de Kőrös, Alexander (1982), Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Vocabulary, being an edition and translation of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, first edition Calcutta, 1916-1944; second edition, Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 1982, in two volumes.

Cunningham, Sir Alexander (1963), The Ancient Geography of India, I, The Buddhist Period, including the campaigns of Alexander, and the Travels of Hwen-Tshang, Varanasi, Indological Book House (reprint), 1963.

Dagens, Bruno (1979), Le Florilège de la Doctrine Śivaïte. Śaivāgamaparibhāṣāmañjarī de Vedajñāna, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1979 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 60).

Dalai Lama, HH, Tsong-kha-pa, and Hopkins, Jeffrey, Tantra in Tibet, Ithaca, Snow Lion Publications, 1977.

Daniélou, Alain (1987), While the Gods Play. Shaiva Oracles and Predictions on the Cycles of History and the Destiny of Mankind, Rochester Vermont, Inner Traditions International, 1987 (translated from the French by B. Baily, M. Baker, and D. Lawlor.)

Das, Biswarup (1982), "The *Kāpālika* Sect in the Early Medieval Orissa," Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, 30th Session, November 1980, Viśva Bharati Śantiniketan, Poona, Published by the All-India Oriental Conference, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1982, pp. 351-354.

Das, Sarat Chandra & Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Paṇḍit Hari Mohan (1888), *Avadāna Kalpalatā*, A Collection of Legendary Stories About the Bodhisattvas by Kshemendra, with its Tibetan Version called *Rtogs brjod dpag bsam hkhri Śiṅ* by Sonton Lochāva and Paṇḍita Lakshmīkara, now first edited from a Xylograph of Lhasa and Sanskrit Manuscripts of Nepal, Calcutta, Biblioteca Indica, 1888.

Dasgupta, Surendranath (1932), A History of Indian Philosophy, Volume II, Cambridge, The University Press, 1932.

Dash, Vaidya Bhagwan (1986), Alchemy and Metallic Medicines in Āyurveda, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1986.

Dash, Vaidya Bhagwan (1987), Illustrated Materia Medica of Indo-Tibetan Medicine, Delhi, Classics India Publication, 1987.

Dash, Vaidya Bhagwan & Kashyap, Vaidya Lalitesh (1984), Diagnosis and Treatment of Diseases in Āyurveda, based on Āyurveda Saukhyam of Tadarānanda, Part Three, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1984; *Ṭoḍarānanda-Āyurveda Saukhyam Series No. 5*.

Dasgupta, Shashibhushan (1946), Obscure Religious Cults as Background of Bengali Literature, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1946.

Dasgupta, Shashi Bhushan (1974) An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 3rd edition, 1974 (1st edition, 1950).

Davidson, Ronald M. (1981), "The Litany of Names of Mañjuśrī," Text and Translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, in Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honor of R.A. Stein, edited by Michel Strickman, volume one, Bruxelles, Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1981, pp. 1-69.

Dawa-Samdup, Kazi (1919), *Shrī Chakrasambhāra Tantra*, A Buddhist Tantra, edited, under the general editorship of Arthur Avalon, *Tantrik Texts*, vol. VII, first published Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1919, reprinted New Delhi, Atidya Prakashan, 1987.

De, Sushil Kumar (1960), History of Sanskrit Poetics, second revised edition, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1960.

De la Vallée Poussin, L. (1896), Pañcakrama, Études et Textes Tantriques, vol. 1, Gand and Louvain, Université de Gand, Recueil de Travaux, La Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, 1896.

De la Vallée Poussin, L.(1903), "Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, Honorary Joint Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. (1895-1900), 25pp; large size (Published by the Society, 1901.)," *JRAS* 1903, pp. 189-195.

de Jong, J.W. (1984), "A New History of Tantric Literature," in *Studies of Mysticism in Honor of the 1150th Anniversary of Kobo Daishi's Nirvāṇam*, *Acta Indologica*, Vol. IV, pp. 91-113, Kyoto 1984. (This article is an English summary of Matsunaga Yūkei's *Mikkyo no rekishi*, Kyoto, Heirakuji shoten, 1969).

De Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse (1963), Les Enseignements Iconographiques de L'Agni Purana, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.

De Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse (1968), "Hindu Deities in Tantric Buddhism," translated by Simon Watson Taylor, *Zentralasiatische Studien* 2, Bonn, Seminar für Sprach- und Kultur-Wissenschaft Zentralasiens der Universität, 1968, pp. 41-54.

De Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse (1975) (1986), Introduction à l'Iconographie du Tāntrisme Bouddhique, dessins de Muriel Thiriet, Paris, Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975, Bibliothèque du Centre de Recherches sur l'Asie Central et la Haute Asie, vol. 1. (Reprinted essentially as a second edition, though not noted as such, in 1986, Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient).

Dehejia, Vidya (1986), Yoginī Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition, New Delhi, National Museum 1986.

Deussen, Paul (1980), Sixty Upaniṣads of the Veda, translated from the German by V.M. Bedekar and G.B. Palsule, parts 1 and 2, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1980, German editions published 1897, 1905, and 1921.

Dey, Nundo Lal (1927), The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, third edition, reprinted New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1971.

Dhargyey, Geshe Lharampa Ngawang (1985), A Commentary on the Kālacakra Tantra, translated by Allan Wallace, New Delhi, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1985, reprinted 1994.

Donaldson, Thomas E., "Erotic Rituals on Orissan Temples," *East and West*, 26 (1-3), September 1986, pp. 137-182.

Dowman, Keith (1985), Masters of Mahāmudrā, Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1985.

Drabu, Vishva Nath (1990), Śaivāgamas, A Study in the Socio-Economic Ideas and Institutions of Kashmir (200 B.C. to A.D. 700), New Delhi, Indus Publishing Company, 1990.

Dudjom Rinpoche, Jikdrel Yeshe Dorje (1991), The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism: Its Fundamentals and History, Boston, Wisdom Publications, 1991.

Durgāprasāda, Paṇḍita and Paraba, Kāśīnātha Pāṇḍuraṅga (1887), The Śrīkanthacharita of Maṅkhaka with the Commentary of Jonarāja, Bombay, The "Nirṇaya-Sāgara" Press, 1887 (Kāvyaṃālā 3).

Dutt, Nalinaksha (1933), "Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 9, pp. 227-236, 567-576.

Dutt, Nalinaksha (1939), Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. I, with the assistance of D.M. Bhattacharya and V.S.N. Sharma, Srinagar, Kashmir, published by the gracious permission of His Highness Shri Rajarajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shir Harisinghji Bahadur, 1939. (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 71.)

Dutt, Nalinaksha (1941), Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. II, with the assistance of Viyaviaridhi Shiv Nath Sharma, Śrīnagar, Kashmir, published by the gracious permission of His Highness Shri Rajarajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shir Harisinghji Bahadur, 1941. (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 71.)

Dutt, Nalinaksha (1947), Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, part 1, with the assistance of Viyaviaridhi Shiv Nath Sharma, Śrīnagar, Kashmir, published by the gracious permission of His Highness Shri Rajarajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shir Harisinghji Bahadur, 1947. [Note: this is not an error; vol. 3, part 1 appeared in 1947, after vol. 3, parts 2 and 3.]. (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 71.)

Dutt, Nalinaksha (1942), Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, part 2, with the assistance of Vidyavaridhi Shiv Nath Sharma, Srinagar, Kashmir, published by the gracious permission of His Highness Shri Rajarajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shir Harisinghji Bahadur, 1942. (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 71.)

Dutt, Nalinaksha (1943), Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, part 3, with the assistance of Vidyavaridhi Pt. Shivnath Sharma, Srinagar, Kashmir, published by the gracious permission of His Highness Shri Rajarajeshwar Maharajadhiraj Maharaja Shir Harisinghji Bahadur, 1943. (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 71.)

Dutt, Sukumar (1962), Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India, Their History and

Their Contribution to Indian Culture, London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1962.

Dwivedi, Pt. Vraj Vallabh (1982), Āgama-mīmāṃsā: Vaiṣṇava-Śaiva-Śakta-dārśanika-sāṃskṛta-svarūpa-vivecikā, New Dehli, Śrīlālabahādursāstrī-Kendriya-Samskrta-Vidyāpītham, 1982.

Dwivedi, Pt. Vraj Vallabh (1982), Tantra-yātrā, Essays on Tantra-Āgama, Thoughts and Philosophy, Literature, Culture & Travel, Varanasi, Ratna Publications, 1982.

Dwivedi, Pt. Vraj Vallabh ed. (1985a), Netratantram [Mrtyuñjaya Bhattārahah] with the commentary Udyota of Kṣemarājācārya, Delhi, Parimal Publications, 1985.

Dwivedi, Pt. Vraj Vallabh ed. (1985b), The Svacchandatantram with Commentary 'Uddyota' by Kṣemarājācārya, vols. I & II, Delhi, Parimal Publications, 1985.

Dwivedi, Pt. Vrajvallabha and Shashni, Shri Thinlay Ram, eds. (1990), Bauddha Tantra Kosha (Part 1), Rare Buddhist Text Series No. 5, Sarnath, Varanasi, Rare Buddhist Text Research Project, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990.

Dwivedi, R.C. and Rastogi, Navijan (1987{3}), eds., The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha, Volume III, Sanskrit Text: Chapters 4-7, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.

Dwivedi, R.C. and Rastogi, Navijan (1987{7}), eds., The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha, Volume VII, Sanskrit Text: Chapters 28-34, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.

Dyczkowski, Mark (1987), The Doctrine of Vibration, An Analysis of the Doctrines and Practices of Kashmir Shaivism, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1987.

Dyczkowski, Mark (1988), The Canon of the Śaivāgama and the Kubjikā Tantras of the Western Kaula Tradition, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1988.

Dyczkowski, Mark (1992) The Aphorisms of Śiva, The Śiva Sūtra with Bhāskara's Commentary, the Vārttika, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1992.

Edgerton, Franklin (1970), Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, vol. I, Grammar, by arrangement with Yale University Press, New Haven, First Indian Edition, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Eggeling, Julius (1882), The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the text of the Mādhyandina School, translated, Part I, Books I and II, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1882 (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 12).

Eggeling, Julius (1885), The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the text of the Mādhyandina School, translated, Part II, Books III and IV, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1885 (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 26).

Eggeling, Julius (1894), The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the text of the Mādhyandina School, translated, Part III, Books V, VI, and VII, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1894 (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 41).

Eggeling, Julius (1897), The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the text of the Mādhyandina School, translated, Part III, Books VIII, IX, and X, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1897 (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 43).

Eggeling, Julius (1900), The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, according to the text of the Mādhyandina School, translated, Part V, Books XI, XII, XIII, and XIV, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1900 (The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 44).

Ehlers, Gerhard (1995), Indische Handschriften, Teil 12, Die Sammlung der Niedersächsischen Staats- Und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 12).

Eliade, Mircea (1969), Yoga, Immortality and Freedom, second edition, translated from the French by Willard R. Trask, Princeton, Princeton University Press, Third Printing, 1973.

Emeneau, M.B. (1933), "Kṣemendra as Kavi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 53 (1933), pp. 124-143.

Emeneau, M.B. (1946), "*Progress of Indic Studies 1917-1942*, Edited by R.N. Dandekar, pp. 2+ii+406, Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1942 (Government Oriental Series, Class B, No.8)," *JAOS* 66(1), 1946, p. 94.

Evans-Wentz, W.Y. (1927), The Tibetan Book of the Dead or the After-Death Experiences of the Bardo Plane, according to Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering, New York, Oxford University Press, 1960 (first published 1927).

Evans-Wentz, W.Y. (1928), Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa, A Biography from the Tibetan, being the Jetsün-Kahbum or Biographical History of Jetsün Milarepa, According to the Late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering, second edition, 1951, London, Oxford University Press, reprint 1974.

Evola, J. "What Tantrism Means to Modern Western Civilization," *East and West*, 1 (1), April 1950, pp.29-32.

Ewing, Arthur H. (1902), "*The Śāradā-tilaka Tantra*.--By Dr. Arthur H. Ewing, Allahabad, India," *JAOS* 23 (1st Half), 1902, pp. 65-76.

Falk, Maryla (1946), "The Five Jinas and The Five Colours of Consciousness," Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference, 12th Session, Benares Hindu University 1943-44, Vol. II, Benares Hindu University, 1946, pp. 430-443.

Farquar, J.N. (1920), An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, London, Oxford University Press, 1920 (Reprint, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1967).

Farrow, G.W. & Menon, I. (1992), The Concealed Essence of the Hevajra Tantra, with the Commentary Yogaratnamālā, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 1992.

Filliozat, Jean (1964), The Classical Doctrine of Indian Medicine, Its Origins and its Greek Parallels, translated from the French (1949 edition) by Deva Raj Chananan, first English edition, Delhi, Minshiram Manoharlal, 1964.

Filliozat, Jean ed. (1976), Inde Ancienne, Vols. 1-6, "Actes du XXIXe Congrès International des Orientalistes, Section organisée par Jean Filliozat, Paris, L'Asiathèque, 1976.

Filliozat, Jean (1979), Yogaśataka, Texte Médical attribué à Nāgārjuna, Pondichéry, Institut Français d'Indologie, 1979 (Publications de l'Institut Français D'Indologie, No. 62).

Finot, Louis (1934), "Manuscrits de Sādhana's Retrouvés en Chine," *Journal Asiatique*, July-Sept. 1934, vol. 225, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1934.

Flood, Gavin D. (1989), "Shared Realities and Symbolic Forms in Kashmir Śaivism," *Numen*, vol. 36, Fas. 2, December 1989, pp. 225-247.

Flood, Gavin D. (1992), "Techniques of Body and Desire in Kashmir Śaivism," in *Religion*, vol. 22, January 1992, pp. 47-62.

Forte, Antonio (1984), "The Activities of the Tantric Master Manicintana (Pao-ssu-wei: ?-721 A.D.) from Kashmir and of his Northern Indian Collaborators," *East and West*, New Series, vol. 34, Nos. 1-3 (Sept. 1984), Roma, Insitituto Italiano per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente.

Fremantle, Francesca, (1971) A Critical Study of the Guhyasamāja Tantra, London, University of London Library, 1971 [Thanks to Christian Wedermeyer for finding this translation].



Fergusson, James and Burgess, James (1880), The Cave Temples of India, London, W.H. Allen & Co, Trubner & Co., E. Stanford, and W. Griggs, 1880.

Gajendragadhar, S.B. & A.B. (1919), The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin, (*Pūrvapīṭhakā* & 1st and 2nd *Ucchvāvas*) edited by S.D. Gajendragadhar and an Introduction, Notes (critical and explanatory) and appendices by A.B. Gajendragadhar, Dharwar, The Karnatak Printing Works, 1919.

George, Christopher S. (1974), The Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra, Chapters I-VIII, A critical edition and English translation, New Haven, American Oriental Society, 1974 (American Oriental Series, Vol. 56).

Getty, Alice (1928), The Gods of Northern Buddhism, Their History and Iconography, first edition 1914, second edition 1928, Oxford, Clarendon Press; reprinted (unabridged replication), New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1988.

Gnoli, Raniero (1956), The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta, Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956 (Serie Orientale Roma XI).

Gnoli, Raniero (1957), "*Śivadr̥ṣṭi* by Somānanda," translation and commentary by Raniero Gnoli, *East & West*, year VIII, n. 1, April 1957, pp. 16-22.

Gnoli, Raniero (1960), Abhinavagupta, Essenza dei Tantra, Torino, Editore Boringhieri, 1960.

Gnoli, Raniero (1960a), The Pramānavārttikam of Dharmakīrti, The First Chapter with the Autocommentary, Text and Critical Notes, Rome, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1960 (Serie Orientale Roma XXIII).

Gnoli, Raniero (1980), Luce Delle Sacre Scritture (Tantrālokaḥ) di Abhinavagupta, Torino, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, second edizione, 1980.

Gnoli, Raniero (1985), Il Commento di Abhinavagupta alla Parātr̥iṅśikā, Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1985 (Serie Orientale Roma LVIII).

Gonda, J. (1964), Review of Chauncey J. Blair's *Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*, *Indo Iranian Journal*, 1964.1, pp. 60-64.

Gonda, J. (1975), Vedic Literature, (Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas), Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1975 (A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 1, Fasc. 1).

Gonda, J. (1980), Vedic Ritual, the Non-Solemn Rites, Leiden-Köln, E.J. Brill, 1980 (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Zweite Abteilung, Indien, Vierter Band, Religionen,

Erster Abschnitt, Vedic Ritual).

Goudriaan, Teun (1970), "Vaikhānasa Daily Worship, According to the Handbooks of Atri, Bhṛgu, Kāśyapa, and Mārīci," *Indo Iranian Journal*, 12.3, 1970, pp. 161-215.

Goudriaan, Teun and Gupta, Sanjukta, (1981) Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature (A History of Indian Literature, vo. II, Fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1981.

Goudriaan, Teun (1985), The Vṛnāśikhatantra, A Śaiva Tantra of the Left Current, edited with an introduction and a translation, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1985.

Goudriaan, Teun, (1990) (ed), The Sanskrit Tradition and Tantrism, Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Kern Institute, Leiden, August 23-29, 1987, Johannes Bronkhorst, General Editor, vol. 1, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1990.

Brunner, Héléne, "Ātmārthapūjā versus parārthapūjā in the Śaiva tradition," pp. 4-23.

Colas, Gérard, "Sectarian divisions according to *Vaikhānasāgama*," pp. 24-31.

Dvivedi, V.V., "The utility of Tantra in modern times," pp. 32-42.

Goudriaan, Teun, "The Ātman as charioteer: treatment of a Vedic allegory in the *Kulālikāmnāya*," pp. 43-55.

Heilijgers-Seelen, Dory, "The doctrine of the *Ṣaṭcakra* according to the *Kubjikāmata*," pp. 56-65.

Padoux, André, "The body in tantric ritual: the case of the *mudrās*," pp. 66-75.

Schoterman, J.A., "*Kubjikāmata Tantra*: the *Laghvikāmnāya* version," pp. 76-84.

Linder, Silvia Schwarz, "The 108 names of the goddess Tripurā in the *Māhārymakhaṇḍa* of the *Tripurārahasya*," pp. 85-95.

Tsuda, Shinichi. "The cult of *śmaśāna*, the realities of Tantra," pp. 96-108.

Wotjtilla, Gyula, "*Vaśṭikaraṇa* texts in Sanskrit *Kāmaśāstra* literature," pp. 109-116.

Griffith, Ralph T.H. (1895-6), Hymns of the Atharvaveda, Translated with a popular commentary, Vol. 1, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1985, first published 1895-6.

Griffith, Ralph T.H. (1897), Hymns of the Tgveda, Translated with a Popular Commentary, 2 volumes, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1987, first published 1897.

Grünendahl, Rheinhold (1989), A Concordance of H.P. Śāstri's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project; Hara Prasad Śāstri, A Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal, Vol. I and II--(originally published 1905 and

1915, Calcutta), Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1989 (Verzeichnis Der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 31). The two volumes of Śāstri's original catalogue are bound in one, though the original pagination is retained. Therefore citations such as 1989{2}:50 refer to Sanskrit page 50 in the second half of the German volume.

Guenther, Herbert V. (1963), The Life and Teaching of Nāropa, translated from the original Tibetan with a philosophical commentary based on the oral transmission, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963.

Guenther, Herbert V. (1972), The Tantric View of Life, Berkeley and London, Shambala, the Clear Light Series, 1972.

Gupta, Kavirāja Umeśachandra & Sena, Kavirāja Nagendra Nātha (1983), Vaidyaka-Śabdāsindhuh, Comprehensive Glossary of Āyurvedic Technical Terms, compiled by K.U. Gupta, revised and enlarged second edition, by K.N.N. Sena, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1983, 3rd edition, (1st edition, 1914).

Gupta, Sanjukta (1972), Lakṣmī Tantra, A Pāñcarātra Text, translation and notes, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1972.

Gupta, Sanjukta, Hoens, Dirk Jan, and Goudriaan, Teun (1979), Hindu Tantrism, Leiden/Köln, E.J. Brill, 1979 (Handbuck der Orientalistik, zweite abteilung, Indien, vierter band, zweiter abschnitt).

Gyatso, Tenzin and Hopkins, Jeffrey (1989), Kālacakra Tantra, Rite of Initiation For the Stage of Generation, A commentary on the text of Kay-drup-ge-lek-bel-sang-bo-boy by Tenzin Gyatso, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, and the text itself, edited, translated and introduced by Jeffrey Hopkins, Boston, Wisdom Publications, 2nd revised edition, 1989, reprinted 1991.

Hara, Minoru (1958), "Nakultśa-Pāśupata-Darśanam," in *Indo Iranian Journal*, vol 2, No. 1, pp. 8-32, 1958.

Hastings, James (1916), Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, volume VIII, Life and Death-Mulla, New York, Charles Scribner & Sons, 1916, pp. 311-321 for A.A. Macdonnell's section on Vedic Magic.

Haug, Martin (1977), The Aitareya Brahmanam of the Rigveda, containing the earliest speculations of the brahmans on the meaning of the sacrificial prayers, and on the origin, performance, and sense of the Rites of the Vedic Religion, edited, translated, and explained, vol. II, translation with notes, reprint, Delhi, Bharatiya Publishing House, 1977.

Hawley, John Stratton, and Juergensmeyer, Mark (1988), Songs of the Saints of India, New York, Oxford University Press, 1988.

Hemacandra (1964) Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Śrī Hemacandrācārya, ed. with introduction by Nemichandra Śāstrī, Varanasi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1964 (The Vidyabhawan Sanskrit Series, 109).

Heesterman, J.C. (1985), The Inner Conflict of Tradition: (Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1985.

Hirakawa, Akira (1973), Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (P. Pradhan Edition), Part One, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese, Tokyo, Daizo Shuppan Kabushikikaisha, 1973. (Part II is Chinese-Sanskrit, indexed according to Chinese, not Sanskrit.)

Hoernle, A.F. Rudolf (1893), The Bower Manuscript, Fascimile leaves, Nagari transcript, Romanised transliteration and English translation with notes, Calcutta, Archaeological Survey of India, 1893; reprinted Delhi, Jayyed Press, 1983, in 3 volumes.

Hoernle, A.F. Rudolph (1909), "Studies in Ancient Indian Medicine, V--The Composition of the Caraka Samhita in the Light of the Bower Manuscript," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1909.

Horsch, Paul (1957), "The Wheel: An Indian Pattern of World-Interpretation," in *Sino-Indian Studies*, vol. 5, parts 3 and 4, 1957, pp. 62-79.

Houben, Jan E.M. (1991), The Pravargya Brāhmaṇa of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, an ancient commentary on the Pravargya ritual, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1991.

Huntington, John C. (1987), "'Note on a Chinese Text Demonstrating the Earliness of Tantra," in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1987, pp. 88-98.

Husain, Akhtar (1939), La Société dans le Drame Sanskrit, Thèse pour le doctorat de l'Université, présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris, Paris, Librairie des Facultés, E. Muller, 1939.

Ingalls, Daniel H.H. (1965), An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, Vidyākara's Subhāṣitaratnakosa, translated, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1965 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 44).

Ingalls, Daniel H.H., Masson, Jeffrey Moussaieff, and Patwardhan, M.V. (1990), The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana with the Locanā of Abhinavagupta, Cambridge

and London, Harvard University Press, 1990 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 49).

Insler, Stanley (1995), "On the Soma Sacrifice," paper presented to the Columbia University Seminar on the Veda and Its Interpretation, November 9, 1995.

Jackson, Roger R. (1992), "Ambiguous Sexuality: Imagery and Interpretation in Tantric Buddhism," in *Religion*, vol. 22, January 1992, pp. 85-100.

Jacob, Colonel G.A. (1891), *Upaniṣadvākyakośāh*, A Concordance to the Principal Upanishads and Bhagavadgītā, first published 1891, reprinted Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1963 (*Bhāratīya-adhiśāsana-saṃrakṣatāyāṃ prakāśitam*, published under the auspices of the Government of India).

Jaini, Padmanabh S. (1979), *Sāratamā*, A *Pañjikā* on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* by Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti, Patna, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1979 (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series No. xviii).

Janert, Klaus Ludwig and Poti, N. Narasimhan (1970), *Indische Handschriften*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 2).

Janert, Klaus Ludwig and Poti, N. Narasimhan (1975), *Indische Handschriften*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1975 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 4).

Janert, Klaus Ludwig and Poti, N. Narasimhan (1985), *Indische Handschriften*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1985 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 7).

Janert, Klaus Ludwig and Poti, N. Narasimhan (1990), *Indische Handschriften*, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 9).

Jash, Pranabananda (1972), "A Reappraisal of the Origin of the Pasupata Sect," in *India History Congress*, Proceedings of the Thirty Third Session, Muzaffarpur, 1972.

Jayaswal, K.P. (1988), *An Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text*, with the Sanskrit text revised by Ven. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana, Patna, Eastern Book House, 1988.

Johnson, George (1992), *In the Palaces of Memory*, New York, Vintage Books, a division of Random House, 1992; first published in hardcover by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1991.

Jolly, Julius (1977), Indian Medicine, translated from the German by C.G. Kashikar, second edition, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal 1977.

Joshi, L.M. (1966), "Protohistoric Origins of Esotericism in India," in *India History Congress*, Proceedings of the Ranchi Session, 1964, Aligarh, Indian History Congress, 1966, pp. 115-120.

Joshi, Lal Mani (1977), Studies in The Buddhistic Culture of India During the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D., Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, second edition, reprinted 1987 (first edition 1967).

Joshi, Veṇīmādhavaśāstrī and Joṣī, Nārāyaṇa Harī (1968), Āyurvedīya Mahākośaḥ arthāt Āyurvedīya Śabdakośaḥ, Mumbaī (Bombay), Mahārāṣṭra Rājya Sāhitya āṇi saṃskṛti maṇḍala, 1968.

Kale, M.R. (1966), The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin, with a commentary, with various readings, a literal English translation, explanatory and critical notes, and an exhaustive Introduction, 4th edition (by Kale's legal heirs; third edition was prefaced by Kale in 1925), Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.

Kane, Pandurang Vaman (1962), History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law), vol. V, part II, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1962.

Kane, Pandurang Vaman (1973), History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law), vol. III, second edition, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1973.

Kasawara, K., Muller, F. Max, and Wenzel, H., (1885), The Dharma-Saṃgraha. An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms, Anectoda Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, I, part 5, Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1885; the text and index were reprinted, Delhi, Orient Publications, 1984. The reprint unfortunately omits the following sections found in the original edition: the Preface, and the List of Books Quoted in the Notes, The Seventy-Five Dharmas (p.69), The Five Skandhas, Twelve Ayatanas, and Eighteen Dhatus (p.70), Contents (pp.71-73), A List of Subjects in the Chinese Version of the Dharma-Saṃgraha (pp. 74-76), The Titles of the Sections Arranged Alphabetically (pp. 76-78). The reprint is also subtitled "An Ancient Buddhist Text Ascribed to Nagarjuna," though there is no mention of Nāgārjuna in the original edition.

Kaschewsky, Rudolf (1971), Das Leben des Lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-Bzañ-grags-pa (1357-1419), dargestellt und erläutert anhand seiner Vita "Quellort allen Glückes." 1. Teil: Übersetzung und Kommentar, Asiatische Forschungen, Band 32, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1971.

Kasulis, T.P. (1993), Self as Body in Asian Theory and Practice, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1993.

Katre, Sumitra M. (1987), Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, in Roman Transliteration, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1987.

Katsumi, Mimaki (1987), "Āryadeva," in The Encyclopedia of Religion, Vol. I, New York, MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987, pp. 431-432.

Kaul Shastri, Pandit Madhusudhan, ed. (1921), Śrī Mālinīvijaya Vārttikam of Abhinava Gupta, Śrīnagar, The Research Department of Jammu & Kashmir State, 1921 (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 32).

Kaul Shastri, Pandit Madhusudhan, ed. (1922), Śrī Mālinīvijayottara Tantram, Bombay, The Research Department of Jammu & Kashmir State, 1922 (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 37).

Kaul Shastri, Pandit Madhusudhan, ed. (1984), Śrī Mālinīvijayottara Tantram, Delhi, Butala & Company, 1984--reprint of Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, vol. 37, Bombay, 1922.

Kaul Shastri, Pandit Madhusudhan, ed. (1926), The Netra Tantram with Commentary by Kshemarāja, Bombay, The Research Department of Jammu & Kashmir State, 1926 (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 46).

Kaw, R.K. (1975), Pratyabhijna Karika of Utpaladeva, Srinagar, Sharad Peetha Research Centre, 1975.

Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1909), The Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1909 (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, 9); reprinted, Oxford University Press, 1969.

Keith, A.B. (1920), Rgveda Brāhmaṇas: The Aitareya and Kauṣṭaki Brāhmaṇas of the Rgveda, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1920 (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 25).

Keith, A. Berriedale (1920a), "An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, by J.N. Farquhar, D.Litt, Oxford University Press, 1920," *JRAS*, pp. 627-629.

Keith, A.B. (1925), The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads, volumes 1 and 2, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1925 (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31, 32).

Keith, Arthur Berriedale (1928), A History of Sanskrit Literature, Oxford, At the

Clarendon Press, 1928.

Keith, Arthur, Berriedale (1935), Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Volume 2, Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts, with a Supplement, Buddhist Manuscripts, by F.W. Thomas, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1935.

Keswani, N.H. (1974), The Science of Medicine and Physiological Concepts in Ancient and Medieval India, (edited, with contributions from A. Bagchi, S.K. Manchanda, B. Singh, S. Parvathi Devi, G.S. Chhina, K. Raghunathan, N.H. Keswani, D.C Sharma, P.N.V. Kurup, A. Venkoba Rao, and R.L. Verma), New Delhi, Internal Congress of Physiological Sciences, 1974.

Khosla, Sarla (1972), History of Buddhism in Kashmir, New Delhi, Sagar Publications, 1972.

Kinjwadekar, Vaidya Pandit Ramchandra Sastri (1990a), Astānga Sangraha of Śrī Vegbhattachavirchit, Sarīrasthānam, English Introduction by Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2nd edition, 1990 (first edition, 1938, Poona); (Indian Medical Science Series, No. 10).

Kinjwadekar, Vaidya Pandit Ramchandra Sastri (1990b), Astanga Sangraha of Sri Vagbhattachavirchit, Nidanasthanam, English Introduction by Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2nd edition, 1990 (first edition, 1940, Poona); (Indian Medical Science Series, No. 12).

Kölver, Bernhard (1971), Textkritische und Philologische Untersuchungen zur Rājatarānginī des Kalhana, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1971 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 12).

Kosambi, D.D. and Gokhale, V.V. (1957), The Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa, compiled by Vidyākara, with Introduction by D.D. Kosambi, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957 (Harvard Oriental Series vol. 42).

Kotru, N.K. (1985), Śivastotrāvalī of Utpaladeva, Sanskrit Text with introduction, English translation and glossary, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1985.

Krishna Sastry, R. Ananta (1921), Kavīndrācāryasūcipatram, Kavindracharya List, Edited with Introduction, with Foreword by Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Baroda, Central Library, 1921 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XVII).

Krishnamacharya, Embar (1931), Jayākhyasamhitā, critically edited with an Introduction in Sanskrit, Indices, etc., with a foreword by the general editor (i.e. B. Bhattacharyya), Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1931 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. 54).



Kṣemendra, Vyāsadāsa (1888), The Samayamātrkā of Kṣemendra, edited by Paṇḍit Durgāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurgang Parab, Bombay, the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, 1888 (Kāvyaṃālā 10).

Kṣemendra (1923), Deśopadeśa & Narmamālā of Kṣemendra, edited with Preface and Introduction by Paṇḍit Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī, Poona, Published under the Authority of the Government of His Highness Lieut.-General Mahārāja Sir Pratāp Singh Sāhib Bahādur, 1923 (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, No. 40; The outside cover of the volume gives 1924 as the date, though the Sanskrit and English title pages use 1923).

Kṣemendra, Mahākavi (1967), Samayamātrkā, edited with the Prakāśā Hindi commentary and notes by Ramāśaṅkar Tripāthī, Varanasi, The Chawkhamba Vidyabhawan, 1967 (The Vidyabhawan Sanskrit Granthamala 143).

Kumar, Viney (1974), "Religious Life in Ancient India as Described in the She-Kia-Fang-Che," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1974, vol. 23, No. 3, pp. 175-179.

Kuṅṭe et al (1982), Aṣṭāṅghridayam, composed by Vāgbhaṭa, collated by Dr. Aṅṅā Moreśwara Kuṅṭe and Kṛṣṇa Rāmachandra Śāstrī Navare, ed. by Bhiṣagāchārya Hariśāstrī Parāḍakara Vaidya, introduction by P.V. Sharma, 9th edition, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1982 (first edition Bombay, N.S. Press, 1939; Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series, No. 52).

Kutumbiah, P. (1992), "Medicine in Mediaeval India," in Dr. D.V. Subba Reddy Memorial Lectures, Workshops on Literary Research in Ayurveda and Rasashastra, 23rd and 24th january 1992, Souvenir, Hyderabad, Indian Institute of History of Medicine, 1992, pp. 41-52.

Kvaerne, Per (1986--review), Tadeusz Skorupski, The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra, Elimination of All Evil Destinies, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction, English Translation and Notes, pp. xxix + 385, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983. *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 29, no. 2, April 1986, pp. 156-158.

Lakshman Jee, Swami (1988), Kashmir Shaivism, The Secret Supreme, Albany, The State University of New York Press under the imprint of The Universal Shaiva Trust, 1988.

Lalou, M. (1939), Inventaire des Manuscrits Tibétains de Touen-houang, conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale, (Fonds Pelliot tibétain), nos. 1-849, vol. 1, Paris, Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1939.

Lamotte, Étienne (1976), Let Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna

(*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*) avec une étude sur la Vacuité, Tome IV, Chapitres XLII (suite)-XLVIII, Louvain, Université de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1976 (Publié avec le concours de la Fondation Universitaire de Belgique).

Larson, James Gerald and Bhattahcarya, Ram Shankar (1987), Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies, Volume IV, Sāṃkhya, A Dualist Tradition in Indian Philosophy, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.

Lawrence, Bruce B. (1976), Shāhrastānī on the Indian Religions, The Hague, Paris, Mouton, 1976 (Religion and Society, 4).

Layne, Gwendolyn (1991), Kādambarī, A Classic Sanskrit Story of Magical Transformations, New York and London, Garland Publishing, Inc., 1991.

Lessing, Ferdinand D. and Wayman, Alex (1968), Mkhas Grub Rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, translated from the Tibetan, The Hague, Mouton, 1968 (Indo-Iranian Monographs, Vol. 8).

Levi, M. Sylvain (1900), "Les missions de Wang Hiu-en-Ts'e dans L'Inde," *Journal Asiatique*, Mai-Juin 1900, #156, vol. 15, 9th series, 1900, pp. 297-341; 401-468.

Lidova, Natalia (1995), "The Hindu Transformation of Vedic Symbolism: The Ritual Essence of Rasa," paper presented to the University Seminar on the Veda and Its Interpretation, New York, Columbia University, Thursday, November 9, 1995, report by James F. Hartzell.

Lienhard, Siegfried (1988), Nepales Manuscript, Part 1: Nevārī and Sanskrit, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, described by Siegfried Lienhard with the collaboration of Thakur Lal Manandhar, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1988 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXXIII, 1).

Lo, Chia-Luen (1949), "Chinese Sources for Indian History," *The Indian Archives*, January-December 1949, Vol. 3, Nos. 1-4, pp. 81-87, Delhi, The National Archives of India.

Lokeshwarananda, Swami (1989), Studies on the Tantras, Calcutta, The Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1989.

Lopez, Donald S. Jr. ed. (1988), Buddhist Hermeneutics, Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 1988.

Lorenzen, David (1972), The Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas. Two Lost Śaivite Sects, New Delhi, Thomson Press (India) Limited, 1972 (Australian National University

Centre of Oriental Studies, Oriental Monograph Series vol. 12).

Lubin, Timothy N.T. (1994), Consecration and Ascetical Regimen: A History of Hindu Vrata, Dikṣā, Upanayana, and Brahmacharya, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University, 1994.

Majumdar, R.C. (1933), "Arab Invasions of India," in Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December 1930, Patna, The Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1933, pp. 52-64.

Marīci (1935), The Vaikhānasa Āgama of Marīci, ed. by K. Sāmbaśiva Śāstrī, Trivandrum, the Government of His Highness The Maharaja of Travancore, 1935 (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 121; Śrī Citrodayamañjarī No. 10).

Matsunaga, Yukei (1977), "Some Problems of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra*," Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture, vol. 5, Commemoration Volume on the 75th Birthday of Acharay Raghuvira, edited by Lokesh Chandra and Perala Ratnam, New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1977, pp. 109-119.

McEwen, Bruce S. and Schmeck, Harold M. Jr. (1994), The Hostage Brain, New York, The Rockefeller University Press, 1994.

McDermott, James P. (1983), "*The Religions of Tibet*, by Giuseppe Tucci, translated from the German and Italian by Geoffrey Samuel, pp. xv+340, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1980, \$19.95," *JAOS* 103.2 (1983), pp. 444-445.

Meyer, Johann Jacob (1903), Kṣemendra's Samayamatrika (Das Zauberbuch der Hetären), in Deutsche übertragen, Leipzig, Lotus-Verlag, 1903 (Altindische Schelmenbücher, 1).

Meyer, Johann Jacob (1953), Sexual Life in Ancient India, New York, Barnes & Noble, 1953.

Mimaki, Katsumi and Tomabechi, Tōru (1994), Pañcakrama, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts Critically Edited with Verse Index and Fascimile Edition of the Sanskrit Manuscripts, Tokyo, The Center for East Asian Cultural Studies for Unesco, 1994 (Biblioteca Codicum Asiaticorum 8).

Minayev, I.P. (1911), Mahāvvyutpatti, *Biblioteca Indo-Buddhica Series No. 98*, first edition, St. Petersburg, 1911; reprint Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 1992.

Mirski, Jeanette (1977), Sir Aurel Stein, Archaeological Explorer, Chicago and London, Chicago University Press, 1977.

Mishra, Kameshwar Nath, ed. (1993), Aspects of Buddhist Sanskrit (Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Language of Sanskrit Buddhist Texts, Oct. 1-5, 1991), Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993.

Mishra, Ramprasad, (1991), Sahajayāna, A Study of Tantric Buddhism, Calcutta, Punthi Pustak, 1991. (Dr. Mishra's Ph.D. thesis on the *sahaja siddhas* of Orissa.)

Mitchiner, John E. (1982), Traditions of the Seven Ṛṣis, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1982.

Mitra, Rajendralala (1871), Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol. 1, published under the orders of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta, at the Baptist Mission Press, 1871.

Mitra, Rajendralāla (1873), "Spiritous Drinks in Ancient India," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 42.1, pp. 1-23, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1873.

Mitra, Rajendralala (1878), Notices of Sanskrit Mss., Volume IV, Calcutta, published under orders of the Government of Bengal, 1878.

Mitra, Rajendralāla (1882), The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, Introduction by Dr. Alok Ray, Calcutta, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1971 (Reprinted from Mitra's own copy of his original 1882 edition of the work).

Miyasaka, Yūsho (1971/2), "*Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā* (Sanskrit and Tibetan), *Acta Indologica*, vol. 2, pp. 1-206, Naritasan Shinshoji, Narita Japan, 1972.

Miyasaka, Yūsho (1971/2), "An Index to the *Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā*," *Acta Indologica*, vol. 3, pp. 1-157, Naritasan Shinshoji, Narita Japan, 1975. (Note: there is a "Tibetan-Sanskrit" section of the Index in vol. 4 of *Acta Indologica*, 1977.)

Monier Williams, Monier (1974), Religious Thought and Life in India, New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1974, first published in 1883 by John Murray, London.

Moos, Vayaskara N.S. (1985), Candranandana's Madanādi-Nighantū, first edition, Kottayam, Vaidyasarthi Press (P.), Ltd., 1985 (Vaidyasarthi Sanskrit Series No. 8).

Mulay, Yoginee (1992), "Is there any Utility of Practising Pakṣa Ccheda for Medicinal Purpose," pp. 63-70 in Workshop of Rasashastra, 24 January 1992, Hyderabad, Indian Institute of History of Medicine.

Müller, F. Max, "Georg Bühler, 1837-98," *Indian Antiquary*, vol.27, 1898, pp. 349-

355.

Muller-Ortega, Paul E. (1988), "*Kashmir Shaivism*, by J.C. Chatterji, Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986, pp.xxiv+175, \$29.50(cloth), \$9.95(paper)," *JAOS* 108.4, p.642.

Muller-Ortega, Paul Eduardo (1989), *The Triadic Heart of Śiva*, Kaula Tantrism of Abhinavagupta in the Non-Dual Shaivism of Kashmir, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1989.

Mullin, Glenn H. (1991), *The Practice of Kalachakra*, Ithaca, Snow Lion Publications, 1991.

Murthy, K.R. Srikantha (1991), *Vāgbhata's Aṣṭāṅghrdayam*, Text, English Translation, Notes, Appendix, and Indices, Vol. 1, *Sūtra Sthāna* and *Śārīra Sthāna*, Varanasi, Krishnadas Academy, 1991 (Krishnadas Ayurveda Series, 27).

Nagarajan, K.S. (1970), *Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature* (Doctoral Thesis), with a foreword by Hon'ble Dr. Karan Singh, Bangalore, V.B. Soobbiah & Sons (printers) with the permission of the University of Poona, 1970.

Nambiar, Sita Krishna (1971), *Prabodhacandrodaya of Kṛṣṇa Miśra* (Sanskrit Text with English Translation, a Critical Introduction and Index), Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.

Narahari (1986), *Rājanighaṇṭusahito Dhanvantarīyanighaṇṭuḥ*, Ānandāśrama-saṃskṛtagraṇthāvalih, vol. 33, 1986.

Nariman, G.K., Jackson, A.V. Williams, and Ogden, Charles J. (1923), *Priyadarśikā, A Sanskrit Drama by Harsha*, Columbia University Press, 1923 (Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. 10).

Naudou, Jean (1980), *Buddhists of Kashmir*, Delhi, Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980, translated from the 1968 French edition by Brereton and Picron, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968.

Neugebauer, O. and Pingree, D., (1970, 1971), *The Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira*, Parts 1 & 2, København, Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Historisk-Filosfiske Skrifter 6, 1 & 2, 1970, 1971.

Newman, John Ronald (1987), *The Outer Wheel of Time: Vajrayāna Buddhist Chronology in the Kālacakra Tantra*, Ann Arbor, UMI, 1987.

Obermiller, E. (1932), *The History of Buddhism (Chos-'byung) by Bu-ston, II Part*,

The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, Heidelberg, Materialien zuer Kunde des Buddhismus 19 Heft, 1932, reprinted, Delhi, Sri Satguru Publications, 2nd edition, 1986.

Orofino, Giacomella (1994), Sekoddeśa, A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Translations, with an Appendix by Raniero Gnoli on the Sanskrit Text, Roma, Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1994.

Oronfion, Giacomella (1994a), "Divination with Mirrors. Observations on a Simile found in the Kālacakra Literature," in Tibetan Studies, Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Vol. 2, ed. by Per Kvaerne, Oslo, The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994, pp. 612-628. (Thanks to Raffaele Torella for sending me this article.)

Padoux, André (1987), "Tantrism," and "Hindu Tantrism," Encyclopedia of Religion, vol. XIV, New York, MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987, pp. 272-274 and pp. 274-280.

Padoux, André (1990), Vāc, The Concept of the Word in Selected Hindu Tantras, translated by Jacques Gontier, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1990; (first published in French as *Recherches sur la Symbolique et l'Énergie de la Parole dans Certains Textes Tantriques*, Paris, Boccard, 1963, Publications de L'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Serie In-8°, Fascicule 21).

Padoux, André (1996), "On the Tantric Tradition," paper presented to the Columbia University Seminar on the Veda and Its Interpretation, April 9, 1996, report by James F. Hartzell.

Pandey, Kanti Chandra (1963), Abhinavagupta, An Historical and Philsophical Study, Varansi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1963.

Pandey, Kati Chandra (1986), An Outline of Śaiva Philosophy, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1986; first published 1954, Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana.

Pandit, B.N. (1989), History of Kashmir Saivism, Srinagar, Uptal Publications, 1989.

Pandit, Moti Lal (1987), Śaivism, A Relgio-Philosophical History, New Delhi, The Theological Research and Communication Institute, 1987 (published for the Dialogcenter International, Aarhus, Denmark).

Pansikar, Vasudeva Laxmana Sharma (1984), The Yogavāsīṣṭha of Valmīki, with the commentary *Vāsīṣṭhamhārāmāyaṇa-tātparyaprakāśa*, edited, in 2 volumes, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1984 (reprint); first published Bombay, Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1918, third edition 1937.

Pathak, V.S. (1980), History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India From Inscriptions (700 A.D. to 1200 A.D.), Allahabad, Abinash Prakashan, 1980.

Pelissero, Alberto, (1993) "Divinatory Techniques in *Śivapurāṇa* V 25, A Common Ground to Medicine, Divination, and Speculative Thought," *East and West*, 43 (1-4), 1993, pp. 141-154.

Petech, Luciano (1958), Mediaeval History of Nepa (c.750-1480), Roma, Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1958 (Serie Orientale Roma X).

Petech, Luciano (1977), The Kingdom of Ladakh C. 950-1842 A.D., Roma, Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1977 (Serie Orientale Roma LI).

Peterson, Peter (1883), Kādamabarī, Bombay, Government Central Book Depot, 1883 (Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXIV).

Piatigorsky, A. (1981) "Hindu Tantrism. By Sanjukta Gupta, Dirk Van Hoens, and Teun Goudriaan (Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 2, Bd. 4, Abschintt 2.)pp.xi, 208, Leiden, EJ Brill, 1979, Guilders 128," *JRAS*, 1981, No.1. pp. 95-97.

Pingree, David (1978), "History of Mathematical Astronomy in India," Dictionary of Scientific Biography, C.C. Gillispie, ed., vol. 15, Supp. 1, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978, pp. 533-633.

Pingree, David (1981), Jyotiḥśāstra, Astral and Mathematical Literature, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrasowitz, 1981 (A History of Indian Literature, edited by Jan Gonda, vol. 4, fasc. 4).

Pischel, R. (1938), The Deśināmamālā of Hemaçandra, edited with critical notes, second edition with introduction, critical notes, and glossary, by P.V. Ramanujaswami, Poona, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1938, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 17.

Plofker, Kim (1995), "Mathematical Approximation in Sanskrit Astronomy," paper presented to The University Seminar on the Veda and Its Interpretation, Columbia University, May 11, 1995, report by James F. Hartzell.

Prasad Singh, Shyam Deo (1981), "Nalanda Pandit Santarakshita--His Writings and Endeavour to Propagate Buddhism in Tibet and Nepal," in *Indian History Congress*, Proceedings of the Forty-Second Session, Magadh University, Bodhgaya, 1981.

Pruden, Leo M. (1991), Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam, by Louis de la Vallée Poussin, English translation by Leo M. Pruden, Berkeley, Asian Humanities Press, vols. 1-4, 1991.

Raghavan, V. (1949), "The *Gurunāthaparmāmarśa*," edited, in *Bulletin of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, edited by T. Chandrasekharan, vol. II, no. 1, Madras, Government Press, 1949, pp. 21-33.

Raghavan, V. (1980), Abhinavagupta and His Works, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1980 (Chaukhambha Oriental Research Studies, No.20).

Raikar, Y.A. (1963-64), "Prostitution During the Yadava Period," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XIII, 1963-1964, Baroda, The Oriental Institute, pp. 124-133.

Raper, F.V. (1818), "Narrative of A Survey for the Purposes of Discovering The Sources of the Ganges," *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 11, pp. 446-563, first published 1818 by the Asiatic Society, reprinted New Delhi, Cosmo Publications, 1979.

Rasaśāstrī, Ācārya Daulatarāma (1989), Srimat Godvind Bahgavat-pāda's Rasahrdaya Tantram, with the Commentary called Mugdhāvabodhini of Caturbhujā Miśra, translated into Hindi, first edition, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1989, Vidyavilas Ayurveda Series No. 5.

Rastogi, Navijan (1979), The Krama Tantrism of Kashmir, Historical and General Sources, vol. 1, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1979.

Ray, P. (ed.) (1956), History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India. Incorporating the History of Hindu Chemistry by Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, Calcutta, Indian Chemical Society, 1956.

Ray, Praphulla Chandra & Kaviratna, Pandita Harishandra (1910), The Rasārṇavam or the Ocean of Mercury and other metals and minerals, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1910, Bibliotheca Indica, New Series Nos. 1193, 1220, and 1238.

Redmond, Geoffrey (1995), "A Randomized Controlled Clinical Trail Comparing Ayurvedic Treatment of Osteoarthritis to Conventional Therapy With the Non-Steroidal Anti-Inflammatory Agent Oxaprozin (Daypro (R))," preliminary proposal submitted to DHIRC, Columbia University, 1995 (unpublished).

Rhys Davids, Caroline A.F. (1900), A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics, of the Fourth Century B.C., being a translation, now made for the first time from the original Pali, of the First Book in the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, entitled *Dhamma-Sangani* (Compendium of States or Phenomena), New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1975.

Ridding, C.M. (1896), The Kādambart of Bāna, Translated, with occasional omissions, London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1896.



Rinbochay, L., and Hopkins, J. (1979), Death, Intermediate State, and Rebirth, Ithaca, Snow Lion Publications, 1979, reprinted 1980, 1981, 1985.

Rinpoche, Samdhong, et al, (1986), (1994a) (1994b) (Chief Editor), Vimalaprabhātkā of Kalki Śrī Puṇḍarīka on Śrī Laghukālacakratantrarāja by Śrī Mañjuśrīyaśa:

(1986) Volume 1, Critically Edited & Annotated with Notes by Jagannath Upadhaya, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1986.

(1994a) Volume 2, Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and S.S. Bahulkar, editors, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1994.

(1994b) Volume 3, Vrajavallabh Dwivedi and S.S. Bahulkar, editors, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1994.

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

Rinpoche, Samdhong and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha (1990), Dākinījālasamvararahasyam by Anaṅgayogī, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1990 (Rare Buddhist Text Series--8).

Rinpoche, Samdhong and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha (1992), Mahāmāyatantram with Guṇavatī by Ratnākaraśānti, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1992 (Rare Buddhist Text Series--10).

Rinpoche, Samdhong and Dwivedi Vrajavallabha (1993), Abhisamayamañjarī of Śubhākara Gupta, Sarnath, Varanasi, Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993 (Rare Buddhist Text Series--11).

Rocher, Ludo (1986), The Purāṇas, A History of Indian Literature, vol II., fasc. 3, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1986.

Rodgers, C.J. (1879), "The Copper Coins of the old Mahārājas of Kashmir," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 48. no.6, pp. 277-281, Calcutta, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1879.

Roerich, George N. (1976), The Blue Annals, Parts 1 & 2, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, 1949 & 1953; reprinted, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.

Ross, E. Denison (translator) (1898), A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia, being the Tarikh-I-Rashidi of Mizra Muhammad hiadar, Dughlat, An English Version, edited, with Commentary, notes and map, (first translated into German by N. Elias), London, Curzon Press 1898; new impression, 1972.

Rudrapa, J. (1969), Kashmir Śaivism, Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1969.

Ruegg, D.S., (1966), The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che, Roma, Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente, 1966.

Sachau, Edward C. (1910), Alberuni's India, An account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws, and astrology of India about AD 1030, Vols. I & II, (originally published London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. Ltd.), New Delhi, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1983.

Saji, Vaidya V.O. & Balasubramanian, A.V. (1991), Bheshaja Kaplana Pharmacology in Traditional Medicine, Adyar, Madras, Lok Swaasthya Paramapara Samvardhan Samithi, 1991 (LSPSS Monograph No.8).

Sanderson, Alexis (1985), "Purity and Power among the Brahmans of Kashmir," The Category of the Person, M. Carrithers, S. Collins, S. Lukes, eds., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 190-216.

Sanderson, Alexis (1987), "Krama Śaivism," "Trika Śaivism," and "Śaivism in Kashmir," in Encyclopedia of Religion, vol. VII, New York, MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987, pp. 14-17.

Sanderson, Alexis (1987a), "Abhinavagupta," Encyclopedia of Religion, vol. I, New York, MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987, pp. 8-9.

Sanderson, Alexis (1988), "Śaivism and the Tantric Traditions," in The World's Religions, edited by Stewart Sutherland, Leslie Houlden, Peter Clark and Friedhelm Hardy, London, Routledge, 1988, pp. 660-704.

Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Rāhula (1934), "Recherches Bouddiques: I. Les Origines du Mahāyāna; II. L'Origine du Varjayāna et Les 84 Siddhas," *Journal Asiatique*, Octobre-Decembre 1934, pp. 195-208 and pp. 209-230, respectively, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1934.

Sankalia, H.D. (1972), The University of Nalanda, Delhi, Oriental Publishers, 1972.

Sankaranarayan, S. (1985), Śrīmadbhagavadgītā with *Gītārthasaṅgraha* of Abhinavagupta, Tirupati, Śrī Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute, 1985 (S.V. University Oriental Series, No. 11).

Sarma, K.V., ed. (1977), Jyotirmīmāṃsā. Investigations on Astronomical Theories, by Nīlakaṇṭha Somayāji, edited with critical introduction and notes by K.V. Sarma, Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab University, 1977.

Śārma, Rāmāvatāra (1928), Kalpद्रुकोषा of Keśava, Baroda, Oriental Insititue (*Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol.42-43*), 1928.

Sarma, K.V. (1974), Sphutanirṇaya-tantra of Acyuta, critically edited with Introduction and Appendices, Hoshiarpur, Vishveshvaranand Vishva Bandhu Institute of Sanskrit and Indological Studies, Panjab University, 1974 (Panjab University Indological Series No. 3).

Śāstrī, Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Gaṇapati (1920), The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Part I (Chapters 1-22), Trivandrum, Superintendent, Government Press, 1920 (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No 70*; published under the authority of the government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore).

Śāstrī, Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Gaṇapati (1922), The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Part II, (Chapters 23-48), Trivandrum, Superintendent, Government Press, 1922 (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No 76*; published under the authority of the government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore).

Śāstrī, Mahāmahopadhyāya T. Gaṇapati (1925), The Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Part III, (Chapters 49-55), Trivandrum, Superintendent, Government Press, 1925 (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No 84*; published under the authority of the government of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore).

Schrader, F.O. (1916), Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā, Adyar, Adyar Library, 1916.

Sen Sharma, Debabrata (1977), Satrimśattattva-sandohaḥ (A Text of Trika Philosophy of Kashmir), with the commentary of Rājānaka Ānanda Kavi, Kurukshetra, B.N. Chakravarty University, 1977.

Sen Sharma, Debabrata, (1983) The Philosophy of Sādhana, With Special Reference to Trika Philosophy of Kāśmīra, Karnal, Natraj Publishing House, 1983. (reviewed by Arvind Sharma in *JAOS* 113.3 (1993), pp. 479-480).

Sen Sharma, Debabrata and Banerjee, Manabendu (1991), Prajñājyoti, Prof. Dr. Gopikamohan Bhattacharya Commemoration Volume, Kurukshetra, Nirmal Book Agency, 1991.

Shaw, Miranda (1994), Passionate Enlightenment. Women in Tantric Buddhism, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994.

Schlingloff, Dieter (1964), Ein Buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch, Textband, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1964 (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden, herausgegeben im Auftrag der Akademie von Ernst Waldschmidt, VII).

Schoterman, J.A.(1982), The Śatsāhasra Samhitā, edited, translated and annotated, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1982 (Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, vol.27).

Schuh, Dieter (1973) Untersuchungen Zur Geschichte der Tibetischen Kalenderrechnung, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1973 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 16).

Schwartzberg, Joseph E., ed. (1992), A Historical Atlas of South Asia, New York, Oxford University Press, 1992 (Association for Asian Studies, Reference Series, Number 2).

Seal, Brajendranath (1985), The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1985; originally published, London, Longmans, Green, 1915.

Sen, Nilratan (1977), Caryāgītikōṣa, fascimile edition, Simla, Institute of Advanced Study, 1977 (first edition).

Sesagiri Śāstri, M. (1899), Report of a Search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts for the Year 1893-94, No. 2, prepared under the orders of the govt. of Madras, Madras, Government Press, 1899.

Shankar, Gauri & Hahn, Michael (1937/1988), Śivasvāmin's Kaphhiṇābhudaya or Exaltation of King Kaphhiṇa, critically edited with an introduction by Gauri Shankar, with an appenidix and revised romanized version of cantos i-viii and xix by Michael Hahn, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan, 1988 (first published in 1937 by Shankar; Hahn's contribution included in the 1988 edition).

Sharma, P.V. (Priyavrat) (1972), Indian Medicine in the Classical Age, Varanasi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972, (The Chawkhamba Sanskrit Studies, vol. 85).

Sharma, P.V. (1973a), The Aṣṭāṅga Nighantu of Ācārya Vāhata, Madras, The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 1973.

Sharma, P.V. (1973b), The Mādhava-Dravyagūṇah (Bhāvaswabdhāvavādah), Varanasi, Chawkhamba Vidyabhawan, 1973, The Vidyabhawan Ayurveda Granthamala, no. 72.

Sharma, Priyavrat (1977a & 1977b), Vopadeva's Hridayadīpaka Nighantu and Siddhamantra of Vaidyācārya Keśava, with the *Prakāśa* Commentary of Vopadeva, Varanasi, Chaukhamba Amarabharati Prakashan, 1977. (Chaukhamba Ayurveda Granthamala 1). [Note: The pagination begins a second time with the *Siddhamantra* in the second half of the volume. Quotations are accordingly cited as 1977a and 1977b.]

Sharma, Priyavrat (1977c) Abhidhānaratnamālā (Ṣaḍṛasanighaṇṭuḥ), Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1977. Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series No. 14.

Sharma, Priya Vrat (1978), Sodhala-Nighantu (Nāmasaṃgraha and Gunasaṃgraha) of Vaidyācārya Sodhala, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1978; Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. 164.

Sharma, Priyavrat (1981), Carakasamhitā, Agniveśa's treatise refined and annotated by Caraka and redacted by Dṛḍhabala, text with English translation, vol. 1, (Sūtrasthāna to Indriyasthāna), Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1981 (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series 36).

Sharma, Priya Vrat (1982), Dhanvantari-Nighaṇṭuḥ, translated by Guru Prasad Sharma, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1982, Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series No. 40.

Sharma, Priyavrat (1983), Caraka-Samhitā, Agniveśa's treatise refined and annotated by Caraka and redacted by Dṛḍhabala, Text with English Translation, vol. 2, (Cikitsāsthānam to Siddhisthānam), Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1983, (Jaikrishnadas Ayurveda Series No. 36).

Sharma, Priyavrat (1985), Caraka-Samhitā, Critical Notes (Incorporating the commentaries of Jejjāṭa, Cakrapāṇi, Gaṅgadhara and Yogīndranātha), vol III, Sūtrasthāna to Indriyasthāna, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1985.

Sharma, P.V. (1987), Cikitsākalikā of Tisāṭācārya, containing Sanskrit commentary of his son Candraṭa, edited with English commentary and Explanatory notes, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Surbharati Prakashan, 1987; the Chaukhamba Ayurvijnan Granthamala 21.

Sharma, Priya Vrat (1992), History of Medicine in India, (From Antiquity to 1000 A.D.), editor, New Delhi, Indian National Science Academy, 1992.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra (1975), India as Seen in the Kuttanī-Mata of Dāmodaragupta, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1975.

Shastri, Dakshina Ranjana (1933), "The Lokāyatikas and the Kāpālikas," Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, Dec. 1930, Patna, Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1933, pp. 287-297.

Shastri, Haraprasad (1892), Notices of Sanskrit Mss., volume 10, Calcutta, at the Baptist Mission Press, 1892.

Shāstri, Haraprasad (1895), Notices of Sanskrit MSS., volume 11, Calcutta, printed at

the Baptist Mission Press, 1895.

Shastri, H.P. (1897), "Notes on Palm-leaf MSS. in the Library of His Excellency the Mahārāja of Nepāl," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 66.4, pp. 310-316, Calcutta, The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1897.

Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad (1900), Notices of Sanskrit Mss. Second Series, Vol. 1, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1900 (published under orders of the Government of Bengal).

Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad (1904), Notices of Sanskrit Mss. Second Series, Vol. 2, Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1904 (published under orders of the Government of Bengal).

Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad (1917), A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 1, Buddhist Manuscripts, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1917.

Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad (1927), *Advayavajrasamgraha*, edited with an introduction, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1927 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XL).

Shastri, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad (1939-40), A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 8, parts 1 & 2, Tantra Manuscripts, revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1939, 1940.

Shastri, Swami Dwarikadas, ed. (1970), Abhidharmakośa & Bhāṣya of Acharya Vasubandhu, with Sphutārthā Commentary of Ācārya Yaśomitra, Part 1, Varanasi, Bauddha Bharati, 1970. (Part 2--1971, Part 3--1972).

Silburn, Liliane (1957), Le Paramārthasāra, Texte Sanskrit Édite et Traduit, Paris, E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1957 (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 5).

Silburn, Liliane (1964), La Bhakti. Le Stavacintāmaṇi de Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, texte traduit et commenté, Paris, E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1964 ((Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 19, Études sur le Śivaïsme du Kaśmīr, Tome 1).

Silburn, Liliane (1968), La Mahārthamañjarī de Maheśvarānanda avec des Extraits de Parimāla, traduction et Introduction, Paris, E. De Boccard, Éditeur, 1964 (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 29, Études

sur le Śivaism du Kaśmīr, École Krama).

Silburn, Liliane (1975), Hymnes Aux Kālī, La Rouse des Énergies Divines, Traduction et Introduction, Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1975, (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 40, Études sur le Śivaism du Kaśmīr, École Krama).

Silburn, Liliane (1980), Śivasūtra et Vimarsīnt de Kṣemarāja, Traduction et Introduction, Paris, Institut de Civilisation Indienne, 1980 (Publications de L'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, Série In-8°, Fascicule 47).

Silburn, Lilian (1988), Kundlinī, The Energy of the Depths, A Comprehensive Study Based on the Scriptures of Nondualistic Kasmir Śaivism, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1988 (translated from the French by Jacques Gontier).

Silburn, Lilian (1990), Spandakārikā, Stances Sur La Vibration De Vasugupta, et gloses de Bhaṭṭa Kallāta, Kṣemarāja, Utpalācārya, Śivadr̥ṣṭi (Chapitre 1) de Somānanda, Introduction et Traduction, Paris, De Boccard Édition-Diffusion, 1990.

Singh, Jaideva (1979), Śiva Sūtras, The Yoga of Supreme Identity, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1979.

Singh, Jaideva (1980), Spanda-Kārikās, The Divine Creative Pulsation, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1980.

Singh, Jaideva (1989), Abhinavagupta, A Trident of Wisdom, Translation of Parātr̥ṣṭīkā-vivarāṇa, Foreword by Paul Muller-Ortega, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1989.

Singh, Jaideva (1990), The Doctrine of Recognition, A Translation of the Pratyabhijñāhrdayam, with an Introduction and Notes, foreword by Paul Muller-Ortega, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1990 (1st published Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1980 as Pratyabhijñāhrdayam, the Secret of Self-Recognition).

Singh, Jaideva (1991), The Yoga of Delight, Wonder and Astonishment, A Translation of the Vijñāna-bhairava, with an Introduction and notes, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991.

Singh, Thakur Balwant & Chunekar, K.C. (1972), Glossary of Vegetable Drugs in Bṛhatrayī, Varanasi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972 (Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series vol. 87).

Sircar, Dinesh C. (1975), The Śākta Pīthas, first published *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XIV, 1948, pp. 1-108.

Skorpuski, Tadeusz (1983), The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra, Elimination of All Evil Destinies, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983.

Smith, H. Daniel (1975), A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama, Vol. 1, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1975 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 158).

Smith, H. Daniel (1978), The Smith Āgama Collection: Sanskrit Books and Manuscripts Relating to Pāñcarātra Studies, a descriptive catalogue, foreword by Aghehananda Bharati, Syracuse, Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, 1978 (South Asian Special Publications 2).

Smith, H. Daniel (1980), A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama, Vol. II, An Annotated Index to Selected Topics, Baroda, Oriental Institute, 1980 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 168).

Snellgrove, David L. (1959), The Hevajra Tantra, A Critical Study, Part 1, Introduction and Translation, Part 2, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts, London, Oxford University Press, 1959.

Sobel, Dava (1995), Longitude, The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time, New York, Walker and Company, 1995.

Sopa, Geshe Lhundub, Jackson, Roger, and Newman, John (1985), The Wheel of Time, The Kalachakra in Context, Madison, WI, Deer Park Books, 1985.

Spence, Jonathan D. (1984), The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci, New York, Viking Penguin 1984.

Spuler, Bertold (1979), "The Political Situation of Iran at Al-Bīrūnī's Lifetime," Al-Bīrūnī Commemorative Volume, Proceedings of the International Congress Held in Pakistan on the occasion of Millenary of Abū Rāihān Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Bīrūnī (973-Ca. 1051 A.D.), November 26, 1973 thru December 12, 1973, editor Hakim Mohammed Said, Karachi, Hamdard National Foundation, 1979, pp. 289-293.

Staal, Frits (1983), Agni, the Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar, vol. 1 by Frits Staal in collaboration with C.V. Somayajipad and M. Itti Ravi Nambudiri, photographs by Adelaide deMenil, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983; vol. 2, edited by Frits Staal, with the assistance of Pamela McFarland, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1983.

Stablein, William Byron George (1976), The Mahākālatantra: A Theory of Ritual Blessing and Tantric Medicine, submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, 1976.



Stein, M.A. (1899), "Memoir on Maps Illustrating the Ancient Geography of Kaśmīr," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 68.1, extra number 2, pp. 1-231.

Stein, Sir Aurel (1917), "A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913-1916," *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 46, 1917, pp. 109-118, 137-144, 165-172, 193-208, 221-232, 249-255.

Stein, M.A. (1991), Kalhana's Rājataranginī, A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr, translated, with an Introduction, Commentary & Appendices, Vols. 1 & 2, reprinted, Mirpur, Verinag Publishers, 1991. (Originally published 1900).

Sternbach, Ludwig (1951), "Legal Position of Prostitutes According to Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 71 (1), 1951, pp. 25-60.

Sternbach, Ludwig (1959), "The Third Lesson of Kṣemendra's Deśopadeśa," in *The Poona Orientalist*, vol. 25, Nos. 1-4, 1960, pp. 8-19.

Sternbach, Ludwig (1974), Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1974 (A History of Indian Literature, part of Vol. IV).

Sternbach, Ludwig (1979), Unknown Verses Attributed to Kṣemendra, Lucknow, Akhila Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, 1979 (first edition).

Sthavira, Śrī Śīlaskandha (1983), Viśvaprakāśa of Śrī Maheśvara Sūri, edited with Śrī Ratnagopala Bhatta, Varanasi, Chaukhamba Amarabharati Prakashan, 1983, second edition (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series No. 37).

Strickmann, Michel ed. (1981), Tantric and Taoist Studies in Honour of R.A. Stein, Bruxelles, Institut Belge Des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1981 (Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, vol xx).

Subbarayappa, B.V. & Sarma, K.V. (1985), Indian Astronomy, A Source-Book (Based primarily on Sanskrit Texts), Bombay, Nehru Center, 1985.

Subrahmanya Sastri, ed. (1962), Bhartī of Prabhākara Miśra [on the Mīmāṃsā Sūtrabhāṣya of Śabara], with The Rjvimalā Pañcikā of Śālikanātha, Madras, University of Madras, 1962 (Madras University Sanskrit Series, No. 24).

Sūryakanta (1954), Kṣemendra Studies, together with an English Translation of his *Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa*, *Aucityavicāracarcā*, and *Suvṛttatilaka*, Poona, Oriental Book Agency, 1954 (Poona Oriental Series No. 91).

Suśruta (1981-2), Suśrutasaṃhitā, in 2 volumes, edited with *Āyurveda-tattva-sandīpikā*

by Kavirāja Ambikādutta Shāstrī, Varanasi, Chaukhambha Sanskrit Sansthan, 1981-2 (The Kashi Sanskrit Series 156; date in vol. 1 given only as *Vikramasamvat* 2038 = 1981 c.e.; vol. 2 dated 1982).

Suzuki, Daisetz T. (1961), The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition, kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto, Tokyo-Kyoto, Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1961.

Sykes, Lieut.-Colonel W.H. (1841), "Notes on the Religious, Moral, and Political State of India before the Mohamedan Invasion, chiefly founded on the Travels of the Chinese Buddhist Priest Fa Hian in India, A.D. 399, and on the Commentaries of Messrs. Remusat, Klaproth, Burnouf, and Landresse," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 6, London, John W. Parker, West Strand, 1841, pp. 248-486.

Szerb, János (1990), Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet, Critically Edited with a comprehensive index, Wien Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990 (Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens Nr. 5).

Taimini, I.K. (1961), The Science of Yoga, The Yoga-sutras of Patañjali in Sanskrit with transliteration in Roman, translation in English and Commentary, Madras and London, Theosophical Publishing House, 1961; sixth Quest printing, 1986.

Takakusu, J. (1896), A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671-695) by I-Tsing, translated by J. Takakusu, Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1896.

Tawney, Charles Henry, and Penzer, N.M. (1923), The Ocean of Story, being C.H. Tawne's translation of Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (or Ocean of Streams of Story), now edited with introduction, fresh explanatory notes and terminal essay by N.M. Penzer, vol. 1, London, Chas. J. Sawyer, Ltd., second revised & enlarged edition 1923, Indian reprint, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1968.

Temple, Richard C. (1928, 1929), "Hindu and Non-Hindu Elements in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*," *Indian Antiquary*, vols 57 pp. 196 (missing from Butler), and vol. 58, 1929, pp. 6-11, 41-47, 84-90, 131-137.

Thomas, F.W. (1864 & 1865), "Ancient Indian Weights," in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 33.3, pp. 251-266 & vol. 34.1 & 2, pp. 14-27 & pp. 51-70, Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1864-5.

Thurman, Robert A.F. ed.(1982), The Life and Teachings of Tsong Khapa, Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, reprinted, 1990.

Thurman, Robert A.F. (1994), The Tibetan Book of the Dead, New York, Bantam Books, 1994.

Tīrtha, Swāmī Trivikrama (1931), Pārānanda Sūtra, critically edited with an introduction and index, with a Foreword by B. Bhattachāryya, Baroda, Oriental Institute 1931 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LVI).

Tripathi, Indradeo, ed. (1978), Rasārṇavam or Rasatantram, A Semi Dialogue between Parvati & Parameśvara, edited with 'Rasachandrika' Hindi commentary, Varanasi, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1978; Haridas Sanskrit Series 88.

Tripathi, Rama Shankar et al (1984) A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts on Ayurveda in the Banaras Hindu University, compiled by Rama Shankar Tripathi, edited by P.V. Sharma, assisted by Shri Janardhan Pandey, Varanasi, Library--Banaras Hindu University, 1984.

Trungpa, Chōgyam and Nālandā Translation Committee (1982), The Life of Marpa the Translator, Boulder, Prajñā Press, 1982.

Tsuda, Shīnichi (1974), The Samvarodaya Tantra, Selected Chapters, Tokyo, The Hokuseido Press, 1974.

Tsukamoto et al (1989), A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, vol. IV, The Buddhist Tantra, edited by Keisho Tsukamoto, Yukei Matsunaga, Hirofumi Isoda, Kyoto, Heirakuji-Shoten, 1989.

Tucci, Giuseppe (1949), Tibetan Painted Scrolls, An artistic and symbolic illustration of 172 Tibetan paintings preceded by a survey of the historical, artistic literary and religious development of Tibetan culture with an article of P. Pelliot on a Mongol Edict, the translation of historical documents and an appendix on pre-Buddhistic ideas of Tibet, vol. 1 & vol. 2, Roma, La Libreria Dello Stato, 1949.

Tucci, Giuseppe (1950), "Foreword," *East and West*, 1 (1), April 1950, pp. 1-2.

Tucci, Giuseppe (1961), The Theory and Practice of the Maṇḍala, with special reference to the modern psychology of the subconscious, translated from the Italian by Alan Houghton Brodrick, London, Rider and Company, 1969.

Tucci, Giuseppe (1971), Opera Minora, Roma, Università di Roma, Studi Orientali Pubblicati a Cura della Scuola Orientale, vol.6, parts 1 & 2, 1971.

Tucci, Giuseppe (1971), Deb T'Er Dmar Po Gsar Ma, Tibetan Chronicles by bSod nams grags pa, Vol.1, Roma, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente 1971 (Serie Orientale Roma XXIV).

Ui et al (1934), A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur), edited by Hakuju Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, and Tokan Tada, Sendai, Japan, Published by Tohoku Imperial University, aided by Saito Gratitude Foundation, 1934.

Ui et al (1934a), A Catalogue-Index of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur), Sendai, Japan, Published by Tohoku Imperial University, aided by Saito Gratitude Foundation, 1934.

Ui, H. (1962), The Vaiśeṣhika Philosophy According to the Daśapadārtha-śāstra, Chinese text, with introduction, translation, and notes, edited by F. W. Thomas, Varanasi, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1962; originally published as *Vaiśeṣhika Philosophy*, Cambridge, 1917. (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, vol. 22).

Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad (1967), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇam, vol. I, with Hindi translation, and introduction in English by Satya Prakash, New Delhi, The Research Institute of Ancient Scientific Studies, 1967 (Dr. Ratna Kumari Publication Series, No. 1).

Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad (1969), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇam, vol. II, with Hindi translation, and introduction in English by Satya Prakash, New Delhi, The Research Institute of Ancient Scientific Studies, 1969 (Dr. Ratna Kumari Publication Series, No. 2).

Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad (1970), Śatapatha Brāhmaṇam, vol. III, with Hindi translation, and introduction in English by Satya Prakash, New Delhi, The Research Institute of Ancient Scientific Studies, 1970 (Dr. Ratna Kumari Publication Series, No. 3).

Upadhaya, S.C. (1965), The Hindu Secrets of Love. Rati Rahasya of Pandit Kokkoka, translated from the original Sanskrit by S.C. Upadhyaya, foreword by V. Raghavan, Bombay, D.B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd., 1965.

Vālmīki (1918), The Yogavāsīṣṭha of Vālmīki, with the Commentary *Vāsiṣṭhamahārāmāyaṇatātpayaprakāśa*, parts I and II, Bombay, Nirnaya Sagar Press; reprinted, third edition, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1981.

van Buitenen, JAB (1971), Yāmuna's Āgama Prāmāṇyam or Treatise on the Validity of th Pañcarātra, Madras, Ramanuja Research Society, 1971.

Varadachari, V. (1986-7), Catalogue descriptif des manuscrits, Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts, vols. 1 & 2, preface N.R. Bhatt, Pondichéry, Institut Français

d'Indologie, 1986-1987 (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, No. 70.1 and 70.2).

Vasu, N.N. (1896), "The Origin of the Nāgaras and the Nāgarī-alphabet," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. 65.2, pp. 114-135, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society, 1896.

Vāsudevaśarman, Paṇḍitaropāhva Vidvadvara Lakṣmaṇaśarmatanujanuṣā (1983), *Īśādyastotaraśatopaniṣadaḥ*, One Hundred and Eight Upanishads, Vārāṇasī, Vyas Prakashan, 1983.

Venkataraman, R. (1978), "Role of Women in the Religious Practice of the Yoga Siddhas of Tamilnadu," in *Indian History Congress*, vol. 1, Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Session, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 1978, Aligarh, Indian History Congress, 1979.

Vidyabhusana, Satis Chandra (1908), *Sragdharā-Stotram, or a Hymn to Tārā in Sragdharā Metre by Bhikṣu Sarvajña Mitra of Kaśmīra*, with the Sanskrit Commentary of Jina Rakṣita, together with two Tibetan versions, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1908 (Buddha-Stotra-Saṃgrahaḥ or A Collection of Buddhist Hymns, Vol. 1).

Vijñānānanda, Swami (1993), *Nārada-Pañcarātram*, English translation with Sanskrit text, Delhi, Parimal Publications, 1993 (Parimal Sanskrit Series no. 36).

Vivanti, Maria Pia (1975), *Il 'Kiraṇāgama' Testo e traduzione del Vidyāpāda*, Napoli, Istituto Orientale Di Napoli, 1975.

Vira, Raghu, and Chandra, Lokesh (1959), *Gilgit Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts (Fascimile edition)*, part 1, New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959 (*Śatapīṭaka* Series, vol. 10, parts 1-10 published in 1959-1974).

Vira, Raghu, and Chandra, Lokesh (1974), *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*, part 10, New Delhi, International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974.

Vogel, Claus (1965), *Vāgbhata's Aṣṭāṅgharḍayasamhitā*, The First Five Chapters of its Tibetan Version, Wiesbaden, Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, 1965 (Abhandlungen 37,2), 1965.

von Hinüber, Oskar (1986), "Pāli *Samaya* und Sanskrit *Samāja*," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 29, no. 3, July 1986, pp. 201-202.

Waddell, L.A. (1913), "The Dhāraṇī Cult in Buddhism, Its Origin, Deified Literature and Images," *Ostasiatischen Zeitschrift*, vol. 1, 1912/1913, pp. 155-195.

Waddell, L.A. (1914), "Dharani", Or Indian Buddhist Protective Spells," *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 43, 1914, pp. 37-42, 47-54, 92-95.

Waldron, William S. (1995), "How Innovative is the *Ālayavijñāna*?, The *ālayavijñāna* in the context of the canonical and Abhidharma *vijñāna* theory, part II" *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 23 (1), March 1995, pp.9-51.

Wallace, Vesna Acimovic (1995), The Inner *Kālacakratantra*: A Buddhist Tantric View of the Individual, Berkeley, University of California Ph.D. thesis (unpublished), 1995 (copy provided by the kind permission of the author).

Walshe, Maurice (1987), Thus Have I Heard, The Long Discourses of the Buddha, *Dīgha Nikāya*, translated from the Pali, London, Wisdom Publications, 1987.

Warder, A.K. (1980), Indian Buddhism, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, second revised edition, 1980.

Watters, Thomas (1961), On Yuan Chwang's Travels In India (A.D. 629-645), by Thomas Watters, edited after his death by T.W. Rhys Davids and S.W. Bushell, with two maps and an itinerary by Vincent A. Smith, Delhi, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, First Indian Edition, 1961, published by the kind permission of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (first published in two volumes 1904-1905 by the Royal Asiatic Society, London).

Wayman, Alex (1959), "Studies in Yama and Māra," *Indo Iranian Journal*, vol. 3, 1959, n.r.1, pp. 44-73 and 112-131.

Wayman, Alex (1977), Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra, The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses, A Buddhist Tantra Commentary, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, reprinted 1991.

Webster's (1988), Webster's New World Dictionary of American English, Victoria Neufeldt, ed., Cleveland & New York, Webster's New World, 1988.

Whitney, William Dwight (1905), Atharva-Veda Samhitā, translated with a critical and exegetical commentary, revised and brought nearer to completion and edited by Charles Rockwell Lanman, First Half, Introduction, Books I to VII, pp. 1-470, and Second Half, Books VIII to XIX, pp. 471-1046, Cambridge Massachusetts, Harvard University, 1905 (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. VII and VIII).

Whitney, William Dwight (1977), Sanskrit Grammar, orig. published Leipzig 1924--Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, reprinted 1977.

Wilson, H.H. (1832), "Analysis of the Kah-gyur," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. 1, no. 9, pp. 375-392, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society, 1832.

Wilson, H.H. (1882), The Mackenzie Collection, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts and other articles illustrative of the literature, history, statistics and antiquities of South India, collected by the late Lt. Col. Colin Mackenzie, 2nd edition, Calcutta, Higginbotham & Co., 1882.

Windisch, Ernst and Eggeling, Julius (1894), Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Vol. I, Part. IV-V, Sanskrit Literature, A. Scientific and Technical Literature, VII. Philosophy and VIII. Tantra, London, Printed by Order of the Secretary of State for India In Council, 1894.

Winternitz, M. (1898), "Georg Bühler, In Memoriam," *Indian Antiquary*, vol.27, 1898, pp. 337-349.

Winternitz, M. (1933), "Notes on the Guhyasamāja-Tantra and the Age of the Tantras," *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. 9, No. 1, 1933, pp. 1-10.

Winternitz, M. (1963), A History of Indian Literature, vol. II, part 1, Epics and Purāṇas, second edition, translated from the original Germany by Mrs. S. Ketkar, and revised by the author, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1963.

Winternitz, M. (1966) A General Index to the Names and Subject Matter of the Sacred Books of the East, with a Preface by A.A. Madconell, Reprint, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966, first published Clarendon Press, 1910.

Wojtilla, Gyula (1984), "Notes on Popular Śaivism and Tantra in Eleventh Century Kashmir (A Study on Kṣemendra's *Samayamāṭṛkā*)," in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, edited by Louis Ligeti, vol.2, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1984, pp. 381-389.

Woodroffe, Sir John (1956), Introduction to Tantra Śāstra, third edition, Madras, Ganesh & Co., 1956.

Woodroffe, Sir John (1959) Śakti and Śākta, Essays and Addresses on the Śākta Tantraśāstra, Madras, Ganesh & Co. Private Ltd., 5th edition, 1959 (First Edition, 1918, twice revised).

Woodroffe, Sir John (1971), Tantrarāja Tantra, A Short Analysis, Madras, Ganesh & Co., 1971, third edition.

Woods, James Houghton (1914), The Yoga System of Patañjali, Or the Ancient Hindu Doctrine of Concentration of Mind, embracing the Mnemonic Rules, Called Yoga-Sūtras, of Patañjali, and the Comment, called Yoga-Bhāshya, attributed to Veda-Vyāsa, and the Explanation, Called Tattva-Vaiśarādī, of Vāchaspati Miśra, translated from the original Sanskrit, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 17, authorized

reprint, Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.

Yoon, Carol Kaesuk (1996), "Heat of Lotus Attracts Insects and Scientists," *The New York Times*, Tuesday, October 1, 1996, pp. C1 and C9.

Zachariae, Theodor (1972), *The Mañkhakośa*, edited, together with extracts from the commentary, and three indices, Varanasi, The Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1972 (The Kashi Sanskrit Series, No. 216). Originally published as "Quellenwerke der Altindischen Lexicographie Bd. III., Der Mañkhakośa, Vienna: Alfred Holder, Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay 1897).

Zieme, Peter and Kara, Gyorgy (1979), *Ein Uigurisches Totenbuch, Nāropa's Lehre in uigurischer Übersetzung von vier tibetischen Traktaten nach der Sammelhandschrift aus Dunhuang British Museum Or. 8212 (109)*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1979 (Asiatische Forschungen, Band 63).

Zimmerman, Francis (1987), *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats. An Ecological Theme in Hindu Medicine*, Berkeley & London, University of California Press, 1987 (first published 1982, Editions du Seuil, as *Le jungle et le fumer des viandes*).

Zysk, Kenneth G. (1991), *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India, Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1991.

Zysk, Kenneth G. (1993), *Religious Medicine, The History and Evolution of Indian Medicine*, with a new Introduction by the Author, New Brunswick and London, Transaction Publishers, 1993, first published in 1985 by The American Philosophical Society.

Zysk, Kenneth G. (1993a), "The Science of Respiration and the Doctrine of the Bodily Winds in Ancient India," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 113, no. 2, pp. 198-213.

#### Bibliography, Appendix A:

(List of Tantric Manuscripts Sent to Asiatic Society of Bengal by Brian H. Hodgson (Numbers added for ease of reference)

(Hodgson 1830: 226-227)

Note: the classification of these texts as "Tantras" was by Hodgson's "old friend" the "Pātan Bauddha."

- |                                   |                                 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Paramādyamahāyogatantra</i> | 2. <i>Kriyāsmgrahatantra</i>    |
| 3. <i>Parmārthasevātāntra</i>     | 4. <i>Kriyākāṇḍatantra</i>      |
| 5. <i>Piṇḍīkrama</i>              | 6. <i>Kriyāsāgaratantra</i>     |
| 7. <i>Samputodbhava</i>           | 8. <i>Kriyākālpadrumatantra</i> |



- |  |                                   |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 9. <i>Hevajratantra</i>                        | 10. <i>Kriyārnavatantra</i>       |
| 11. <i>Buddhakapāla</i>                        | 12. <i>Abhidhānottaratantra</i>   |
| 13. <i>Sambaratantra</i>                       | 14. <i>Kriyādamuccayatatantra</i> |
| 15. <i>Vārāhītantra</i>                        | 16. <i>Sāadhanamālātāntra</i>     |
| 17. <i>Yogāmbāratāntra</i>                     | 18. <i>Sādhansamuccaya</i>        |
| 19. <i>Ḍākinījālatantra</i>                    | 20. <i>Sādhanakalpalatā</i>       |
| 21. <i>Śuklayamāritāntra</i>                   | 22. <i>Sādhanasamgrahatantra</i>  |
| 23. <i>Kṛṣṇayāmarītantra</i>                   | 24. <i>Sādhanaratnatantra</i>     |
| 25. <i>Pītayamāritāntra</i>                    | 26. <i>Sādhanapartksātāntra</i>   |
| 27. <i>Raktayamāritāntra</i>                   | 28. <i>Tatvajñānasiddhitāntra</i> |
| 29. <i>Śyāmayamāritāntra</i>                   | 30. <i>Jñānasiddhitāntra</i>      |
| 31. <i>Gutdyasiddhitāntra</i>                  | 32. <i>Kurūkullātāntra</i>        |
| {note: printing is unclear for 'rū' of Kurū--} |                                   |
| 33. <i>Oḍipānatantra</i>                       | 34. <i>Bhūtadāmaratantra</i>      |
| 35. <i>Nāgārjunatantra</i>                     | 36. <i>Kālacakratantra</i>        |
| 37. <i>Yogapīthatantra</i>                     | 38. <i>Yoginīsamcāratāntra</i>    |
| 39. <i>Pīthāvatāratāntra</i>                   | 40. <i>Yoginījālatantra</i>       |
| 41. <i>Kalavīratāntra</i>                      | 42. <i>Yoginītantra</i>           |
| 43. <i>Candarosantāntra</i>                    | 44. <i>Yogāmvarapītha</i>         |
| 45. <i>Mahākālatantra</i>                      | 46. <i>Uḍḍāmaratantra</i>         |
| 47. <i>Vajravīratāntra</i>                     | 48. <i>Vasundharāsādhana</i>      |
| 49. <i>Vajrsatvatāntra</i>                     | 50. <i>Nairātmyatantra</i>        |
| 51. <i>Māricītantra</i>                        | 52. <i>Dākārnavatantra</i>        |
| 53. <i>Tārātāntra</i>                          | 54. <i>Kriyāsāratāntra</i>        |
| 55. <i>Vajradhātutantra</i>                    | 56. <i>Yamāntakatantra</i>        |
| 57. <i>Vimalaprabhātāntra</i>                  | 58. <i>Ma[ñ]juśrīkalpa</i>        |
| 59. <i>Maṇikarṇikātāntra</i>                   | 60. <i>Tantrasamuccaya</i>        |
| 61. <i>Trailokyavijayātāntra</i>               | 62. <i>Durgatipariśodhana</i>     |
| 63. <i>Samputatantra</i>                       | 64. <i>Kriyāvatamsatantra</i>     |

Note: Detailed Catalogue of 79 Sanskrit works of Hodgson's complete collection was published in (Cowell and Eggeling 1875:1-54).

### Bibliography, Appendix B

**The *Tantrik Texts Series* and the writings of Sir John Woodroffe:**

**Volume 1:** Avalon, Arthur and Vidyāratna, Tārānātha (1913), Tantrābhidhāna with Vījanighaṇṭu and Mudrānighaṇṭu, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository, and London, Luzac & Co., 1913. Notes: short Sanskrit texts of mantra dictionaries, explaining the deities and characteristics associated with individual phonemes and *mudrās*. No date or bibliographical information on Sanskrit mss. offered.

**Volume 2:** Avalon Arthur and Vidyāratna, Tārānātha (1913b), Satcakranirūpaṇa and Pādukāpanchaka, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository, and London, Luzac & Co., 1913. (Notes: subsequently translated with introduction and commentary by

Arthur Avalon as The Serpent Power (Madras, Ganesh & Co., 1919); the seventh edition was reprinted by Dover Publications, New York, 1974. A 16th century text by the Bengali *sādhakā* Pūrṇānanda, forming the sixth chapter of the 25 chapter *Śrītatvacintāmani*.)

**Volume 3:** Avalon, Arthur and Vidyāratna, Tārānātha (1914), Prapañcasāra Tantra, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository and London, Luzac & Co., 1914.

(Notes: attributed to *Śaṅkarācārya*.)

**Volume 4:** Avalon, Arthur and Vedāntatīrtha, Girīsa Candra, (1915) Kulacūdāmani Tantra, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository and London, Luzac & Co., 1915.

(Notes: "The Kulacūdāmani-tantra or 'crest-jewel' of the Kulācāra division of Tāntrika Sādhakas is included in the list of revealed works, which, according to the Vāmakeśvara Tantra, are considered to be the chief amongst those which deal with the worship of Śakti." (infra., p.1).)

(See also Reviews--Goudriaan 1988)

**Volume 5:** Avalon, Arthur and Vidyāratna, Tārānātha (1917), Kūlārṇava Tantra, London, Luzac & Co., 1917.

**Volume 6:** Avalon, Arthur and Tarkatīrtha, Pārvatī Charana (1917), Kālivilāsa Tantra, London, Luzac & Co., 1917.

(Notes: Avalon's introduction was written while he was in Śrinagar.)

**Volume 7:** Avalon, Arthur, and Dawa-Samdup (1918?--volume missing from Butler Library), Śrīcakrasambhara--A Buddhist Tibetan Tantra.

**Volume 8:** Avalon, Arthur, Tantrarāja (Kadimata), Part I, Commentary by Subhagananda-nātha, Complete Summary by Avalon (volume missing from Butler Library)

**Volume 9:** Avalon, Arthur (1922), Karpūrādistotra, with introduction and commentary by Vimalānanda Svāmī, translated by Arthur Avalon, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository, and London, Luzac & Co., 1922.

**Volume 10:** Avalon, Arthur and Mishra, Mahāmahopādhyāya Sadāśiva (1922), Kāmakaḷāvilāsa with the Commentary of Natanāndadanātha, translated by Arthur Avalon, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository and London, Luzac & Co., 1922.

(Notes: work on Śrīvidyā.)

**Volume 11:** Avalon, Arthur and Shāstri, Sītārāma (1922), Kaula and Other Upanishads, with the commentary of Bhāskararāja, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository, and London, Luzac & Co., 1922.

(Notes: "The Upanishads in this volume belong, with the exception of the Arunā [Kṛsna Yajurveda] and the Bahvrīcha [Rgveda], to the Saubhāgya Kānda of the Atharva Veda....The Tantra Shāstra at any rate in its Shākta form appears to have a special affiliation with the Atharva Veda." (p.1)).

**Volume 12:** Avalon, Arthur, Tantrarāja, Part II, with commentary, edited by MM.Sadāshiva Mishra, Calcutta, Agamānusandhāna Samiti, and London, Luzac & Co., 1926.

**Volume 13:** Avalon, Arthur, Mahānirvāṇatantra, with the Commentary of Hariharananda Bharati, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1929 (see: Avalon, Arthur, The Great Liberation (Mahānirvāṇa Tantra), A translation from the Sanskrit, with

Commentary, 2nd edition (includes Sanskrit text), Madras, Ganesh & Co. 1927.)

Notes: An earlier translation of this text appeared in 1900: Dutt, Manmatha Nath, A Prose English Translation of Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, Calcutta, H.C. Dass, 1900.

**Volume 14:** Avalon, Arthur, Kaulāvaiṇirṇaya, Sanskrit Press Depository, Calcutta, *Samvat* 1985.

**Volume 15:** Avalon, Arthur, Brahma-Samhitā with the commentary by Jīva Goswāmī and Vishnu-Sahāsa-Nāma with commentary by Shamkaracharya, Calcutta, Sanskrit Press Depository, and London, Luzac & Co., *Samvat* 1985.

(Notes: Jīva Goswāmī's commentary states that the extant *Brahma-Samhitā* he commented on was just the fifth chapter of a 100 chapter text, since lost.)

**Volume 16:** Avalon, Arthur, Shāradātīlakantraṃ, Part I, Chpts. 1-7, Calcutta, Āgamānusandhāna Samiti, 1933.

(Notes: includes 65 page English introduction and summary.)

**Volume 17:** Avalon, Arthur, Shāradātīlakantraṃ, Part II, Chpts. 8-25, Calcutta, Āgamānusandhāna Samiti, 1933.

**Volume 18:** Avalon, Arthur, Prapanchasāratāntraṃ, Part I, Chpts. 1-20, Calcutta, Āgamānusandhāna Samiti, 1934.

**Volume 19:** Avalon, Arthur, Prapanchasāratāntraṃ, Part II, Chpts. 221-36, Calcutta, Āgamānusandhāna Samiti, 1934.

**Volume 20:** Avalon, Arthur, and Tīrtha, Svāmī Trīvikrama, (1937), Cidgagana-Candrikā, Calcutta, Āgamānusandhāna Samiti, and London, Luzac & Co., 1937.

(Notes: A *Krama* text of the Kaśmīr Śaivite tradition.)

**Volume 21:** Avalon, Arthur, Tārā-Bhakti-Sudhārṇava, with an introduction in English, edited by Pañchānana Bhattāchārya, Calcutta, Sanskrit Book Depot, and London, Luzac & Co., 1940. Notes: 17th century treatise on Tantric rituals.

### Bibliography, Appendix C (partial listing)

The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies--published, unless otherwise noted, by The Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State. \* denotes English Translation.

**Volume 1:** The Shiva Sūtra Vimarshinī being the Sūtras of Vasu Gupta, with the Commentary called Vimarshinī by Kṣemarāja, Srinagar, 1911.

**Volume 7:** The Paramārtha-sāra by Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Yogarāja, Srinagar, 1916.

**Volume 11:** The Mahārtha-Maṅjarī of Maheśvara Nanda with Commentary of the Author, edited with notes by MM Mukunda Rama Shāstrī, Bombay, 1918.

**Volume 12:** Kāmakalāvīlāsaḥ of Punya Nanda, Bombay, 1918.

**Volume 13:** Śaṭ-triṃśat-tattva-sandohaḥ with Commentary by Rājānaka Ānanda, Bombay, 1918.

**Volume 14:** The Bhāvopahāra of Cakrapāni Nātha with the Commentary by Ramya Deva Bhatta, Bombay, 1918.

**Volume 15:** Parāpraveśikā of Kṣemarāja, Bombay, 1918.

**Volume 16:** The Spandasandohaḥ of Kṣemarāja, Bombay, 1917.

- Volume 17:**The Tantrasāra of Abhinavagupta, Bombay, 1918.  
(reprinted, Delhi, Bani Prakashan, 1982)
- Volume 18:**The Parātrimśikā with commentary, the latter by Abhinavagupta, Bombay, 1918.
- Volume 31:**The Svacchandatantra with commentary of Kṣemarāja, edited with notes by Pandit M.K.Shāstrī, Bombay, 1921.
- Volume 32:**Śrī Mālinīvijaya Vārttikam of Abhinavagupta, edited with notes by Pandit MK Shastri, Srinagar, 1921.
- Volume 34:**The Siddhitrayi and the Pratyabhijñā-kārikā-vṛtti of Rajanaka Utpaladeva, edited with notes by Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Shāstrī, Srinagar, 1921.
- Volume 37:**Śrīmālinīvijayottaratantam, Bombay, 1922.
- \*Volume 39:**The Vātūlanātha-sūtras with the Vṛtti of Anantaśaktipāda, edited, with English translation and notes by Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul Shāstrī, Bombay, 1923.
- Volume 40:**The Deśopadeśa & Narmamālā of Kshemendra, with Preface and Introduction by Pandit MK Shastri, Poona, Āryabhūsan Press, 1923.
- \*Volume 42:**The Spandakārikas of Vasugupta with the Nirṇaya by Kṣemarāja, edited, with Preface, Introduction, and English Translation, by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Shāstrī, Srinagar, 1925.
- Volume 45:**The Nareśvaraparīkṣā of Sadyojyotiḥ with commentary by Rāmakaṇṭha, edited with Preface and Introduction by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Shāstrī, Srinagar, 1926.
- Volume 46:**The Netra Tantra with commentary of Kṣemarāja, Volume 1, Bombay, 1926.
- Volume 49:**The Laugākṣi-grhya-sūtras with the Bhāṣyam of Devapāla, Bombay, 1928.
- Volume 50:**The Śrī Mrgendratantam (Vidyāpāda and Yogapāda), with the commentary of Nārāyanakaṇṭha, edited with Preface and Introduction by Pandit M.K.Shāstrī, Bombay, 1930.
- Volume 54:**The Śivadr̥ṣṭi of Śrī Somānanda with the Vṛtti by Utpaladeva, edited with Preface and Introduction by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Shāstrī, Srinagar, Published under the authority of the Government of ...Śrī Mahārāja H. Bahādur, 1934.
- Volume 64:**The Vāmakeśvarīmatam with the commentary of Rājānaka Jayaratha, Srinagar, 1945.
- Volume 68:**The Parātrimikālaghuvṛtti by Abhinavagupta, Srinagar, 1947.
- Volume 71, Nos. 1-3(2)** Gilgit Manuscripts, Nalkinaksha Dutt, editor, Srinagar, 1939, 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1947.
- Volume 73:**Karmakaṇḍakramāvalī by Śrī Somaśambhu (Outlines briefly the procedure of Shaivaistic Sandhya, Diksha, & other Ritual), Srinagar, 1947.
- Volume 74:**Parātrīṣikātātparyadīpikā and Śāktavijñānam of Somānanda, Srinagar, 1947.
- Volume 76-77:**Bodhapañcadaśikā and Paramārthacarcā, Srinagar, 1947.
- Volume 80:**A Descriptive Analysis of The Kashmir Series of Texts & Studies, Research and Publications Dept., Jammu & Kashmir Govt., 1958.
- Volume 89:**Hari Harastotra of Vasudeva, Srinagar, 1962.

## Bibliography, Appendix D

**Listings of Buddhist Tantric Works in Bu-ston's history, with references to their Tibetan translations taken from Obermiller's footnotes--note: Bu-ston's lists are not complete:**

Nāgārjuna's Tantric Works (Obermiller 1932:126):

"The *Tantrasamuccaya* [*Rgyud-kun-las-bstus*], a brief exposition of the theoretical and the practical side (of the Tantras), the *Bodhicitta-vivarāṇa* [*Byang-chub-sems-'grel*] where the theory is clearly exposed, the *Piṇḍīkṛta-sādhana* [*Sgrub-thabs-mdor-byas*] demonstrating the Initial Development [note 909: *bksyed-rim* = *utpatti-krama*] in an abridged form, the *Sūtra-melāpaka* (note 910: *Mdo-bsre*, Full title: *Śrī-Guhyasmāja-mahā-yoga-tantra-utpatti-krama-sādhanam Sūtra-melāpaka nāma* (Rnai-'byor-chen-po'i rgyud Dpal Gsang-ba-'dus-pa'i bkyed-pa'i-rim-pa'i bsgom-pa'i thabs Mod-dang-bsres-pa) Tg., RGYUD XXXIII.12-17. (Pek.)]

the *Maṇḍalavidhi* of 20 verses, the *Pañcakrama* [Note 911: *Rim-pa-lña-pa*, Tg. RGYUD XXXIII.50-64 (Pek.)] demonstrating the Final Development [*rdzogs-rim* = *sampanna-krama*], etc.--"

Commentaries:

the *Guhyasamāja-tantra-tīkā* [*Gsang-'dus-'grel-pa*, Tg. RGYUD XXVII] the *Śālistambaka-kārikā* [*Sa-lu-ljang-pa'i-mdo-'tshigs-su-bcad-pa-bsdus-pa*, Tg. DMO XXXIII, 213-316 and XXXIV.22-25 (Pek.)] and others.

Āryadeva's Tantric Works (Obermiller 1932:131):

*Jñāna-sāra* = *samuccaya* [*Ye-śes-nying-po-kun-las-btus* Tg. MDO XVIII, 29-31] "demonstrating the chief characteristic points of the philosophical [*msthan-nyid*] and the Tantric system."

*Caryā-melayana* [melāpaka?-JH]-*pradīpa* [*Spyod-pa-bsdus-pa'k-sgron-ma*, Tg. RGYUD XXXIII.121b-127] "on the foundation of the mixed Sutra and Tantra Scripture."

*Citta-āvaraṇa-viśodhana* [*Sems-kyi-sgrub-sbyong*, Tg. RGYUD XXXIII 121b-127-- [misprint for reference?] "demonstrating the same subject by logical means"

*Catuḥ-pīṭha-tantra-rāja-maṇḍala-upāyika-vidhi-sāra-samuccaya* [*Gdan-bshi'i dkyil-chog-snying-po-mdor-bsags*, Tg. RGYUD XXIII 142-172], "referring to the magical rights [rites] for (attaining) the power of bringing living beings to maturity."

*Catuḥpīṭha-sādhana* [*Gdan-bzhi'i-sgrub-thabs*, Tg. RGYUD XXIII 142-172] "demonstrating the Initial Development" [*bksyed-rim* = *utpatti-krama*]

*Jñāna-dākinī-sādhana* [*Ye-shes-mkha'-'gro-ma'i-sgrub-thabs* or *Jñāneśvarī-sādhana* Tg. RGYUD XXIII 129-141].

*Eka-druma-pañjikā* [*Shin-gcig-gi dka'-'grel* Tg. RGYUD XXIII 173-177]

"demonstrating the magic rites, the offerings, the final Development, etc." [*rdzogs-rim* = *utpatti-krama*]

Nāgabodhi's Tantric Works (Obermiller 1932:132):

**Guhyasamāja-maṇḍala-vidhi** [*Gsang-'dus-kyi dkyil-chog*, Tg.RGYUD XXXIII.149-165], the

**Pañca-krama-ṭīkā** [Tg.RGYUD XXXIV 174-212] (p.132) and many other works."

Candrakīrti's Tantric Works (Obermiller 1932:134):

**Pradīpa-uddiyotana oṃ the Guhyasamājatāntra**

[*Gsang-'dus-'grel pa Sgron gsal*, Tg. RGYUD XXVIII 1-233]

Buddhajñānapāda's Tantric Works (Obermiller 1932:159-160):

"14 works on the Scripture of the Guhyasamāja:

**Mukhāgama** [*Zal-gyi-lung*, Tg.RGYUD XXXIX.20-23. In the Xyl this work is called '*Jam-dpal-zhal-gyi-lung* = *Mañjuśrī-mukha-āgama*] (note 1097).

**Samantabhadra-sādhana** [*Sgrub-thabs Kun-tu-bzang-po*, Tg. RGYUD XXXIX. 33-42]

**Samantabhadrā** [*Kun-tu-baṅ-mo*, full title: *Yan-lag-bzhi-pa'i sgrub-thabs Kun-tu-baṅ-mo* = *Caturāṅga-sādhana-upāyikā Samantabhadrā*, Tg RGYUD XXXIX 42-51].

**Ātmasādhana-avatāra** [*Bdag-sgrub-pa-la-'jug-pa*, Ibid. 63-75. The Xyl has: *Bdag-grub-par-'byuṅ-ba*]

**Viśva-cakra** [*Sna-tshogs-'khor-lo*]

**Ratnajvālā** [*Rin-chen-'bar-ba*]

**Mahā-mūla-jñāna** [*Rtsa-ba'i-ye-shes-chen-po*]

**Gathā-kośa** [*Tshigs-su-'bshad-pa'i-mdzod*]

**Mukti-tilaka** [*Grol-ba'i-thig-le*, RGYUD XXXIX.56-63]

**Bodhi-citta-tilaka** [*Byang-chub-sems-kyi-thig-le*]

**Mangala-vyākhyā** [*Bkra-shis-rnam-bshad*]

**Caturtha-avatāra** [*Bzhi-pa-la-'jug-pa*]

**"List of Translations from Marpa Lotsāwa"**

from (Trungpa 1982:209-210), [I've numbered these for reference purposes only]

**In the *Bka'*-*'Gyur*:**

1. *Śrī-sarvatathāgata-guhyatantra-yoga-mahārāja-advayasamatā-vijaya-nāma-vajra-śrī-paramamahākālpa-ādi*

(Peking Tripitaka No. 88; translated with Jñānagarbya)

**In the *Bstan*-*'Gyur*:**

2. *Śrī-saṃvaropadeśa-mukhakarṇa-parampara-cintāmaṇi-nāma*

(P.T. No. 2238; written by and translated with Nāropa)

3. *Gaṇacakra-vidhi-nāma*

(P.T. No. 2360; written by Ḍombī Heruka, translated with Jñānakara).

4. *Śrī-dākinī-vajrapañjara-maṇḍala-saṃharaṇa-nāma-anusaraṇa-sādhana*

(P.T. No. 2454; written by Devavrata)

5. *Daśatattva* (= *Ḍākinī* = *vajrapañjara-upadeśa*)

(P.T. No. 2455; written by Vimalakīrti)

6. *Mahāmudrā-kanakamālā-nāma*

- (P.T. No. 3282; written by and translated with Maitrīpa)
7. *Bhagavac-chrī-cakrasaṃvara-sādhana-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4614; written by Abhayakīrti of Kaśmīr, translated with Nāropa)
  8. *Śrī-guhya-ratna-cintāmaṇi-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4623; written by and translated with Nāropa)
  9. *Śrī-cakraṃbharā-vikurvaṇa, Caturviṃśati-deśa-pramāṇa-śāsana*  
(P.T. No. 4628; written by Nāropa)
  10. *Ṣaḍdharmopadeśa-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4630; written by and translated with Nāropa)
  11. *Karṇatantra-vajrapada-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4632; written by and translated with Nāropa)
  12. *Dharmacaryāparādha-svayaṃmukṭi-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4636; written by and translated with Rāhula)
  13. *Vajrayoginī-sādhana*  
(P.T. No. 4673; written by Nāropa)
  14. *Śrīguhyasamājopadeśa-pañcakrama-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4789; written by and translated with Nāropa)
  15. *Pañcakrama-saṃgraha-prabhāva*  
(P.T. No. 4790; written by and translated with Nāropa)
  16. *Śrīmati-devīmahākālī-guhya-sādhana-nāma*  
(P.T. No. 4929; written by Nāropa)

### Bibliography, Appendix E

#### Genuinely Descriptive Catalogues of Sanskrit Tantric Manuscripts (containing excerpts, tables of contents, colophons, etc.) (partial listing)

Bechert, Heinz, and Wille, Klaus (1989) Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 6, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,6), 1989.

Chakravarti, Chintaharan (revised and edited) (1939), A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī, Volume VIII, Part I, Tantra Manuscripts, Calcutta, Royal Asiatic Society, 1939.

Dash, Sri Mahesh (1965), A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa, in the Collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Volume V., Tantra Manuscripts, Bhubaneswar, Orissa State Museum, 1965.

Grünendahl, Rheinhold (1989), A Concordance of H.P. Śāstrī's Catalogue of the Durbar Library and Microfilms of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project: Hara Prasad Śāstrī, A Catalogue of Palm Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Durbar Library Nepal, Vol. I and II--(originally published 1905 and

1915, Calcutta), Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, 1989 (Verzeichnis Der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Supplementband 31). The two volumes of Śāstri's original catalogue are bound in one, though the original pagination is retained. Therefore citations such as 1989{2}:50 refer to Sanskrit page 50 in the second half of the German volume.

Janert, Klaus L. and Poti, N. Narasimhan (1970), Indische und Nepalische Handschriften, Teil 2, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 2), 1970.

Janert, Klaus L. and Poti, N. Narasimhan (1975), Indische und Nepalische Handschriften, Teil 4, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band II, 2), 1975.

Keith, Arthur, Berriedale (1935), Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Volume 2, Brahmanical and Jaina Manuscripts, with a Supplement, Buddhist Manuscripts, by F.W. Thomas, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1935.

Lienhard, Siegfried, with Manandhar, Thakur Lal (1988), Nepalese Manuscripts, Part 1: Nevārī and Sanskrit, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturebesitz, Berlin, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band xxxiii,1), 1988.

Pillai, P.K. Nālāgana, ed., A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum. Vol VI, (Tantra and Śilpa), Trivandrum, VV Press Branch, 1940.

Sander, Lore and Waldschmidt, Ernst (1980), Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 4 (Supplementary Volume to Part 1-3 with Transcripts, Notes, Corrections and Indices of Sanskrit Words), Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1980 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,4).

Shāstrī, Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad (1917), A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. 1, Buddhist Manuscripts, Calcutta, The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1917.

Siddhanta, Sachindra Nath (1979), A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Varendra Research Museum Library, Rajshahi Bangladesh, Varendra Research Museum, University of Rajshahi, 1979.

Waldschmidt, Ernst (1965): Clawiter, Walter, Holzmann, Lore, and Waldschmidt, Ernst, Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 1, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner



Verlag, GMBH, 1965 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,1).

Waldschmidt, Ernst (1971): Clawiter, Walter, Holzmann, Lore, and Waldschmidt, Ernst, Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, Teil 3, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1971 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band X,3).

Waldschmidt, Ernst (1973), Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, unter der Leitung von Heinz Bechert, vol. 1, part 1 (each of the 7 published parts are by different authors), Göttingen, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1973 (remaining parts of volume one published in 1976, 1981, 1981, 1987, 1990, 1992).

Waldschmidt, Ernst (1990), Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, bearbeitet von Michael Schmidt und Siglinde Dietz, vol. 1, part 6, Göttingen, Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990.

Windisch, Ernst and Eggeling, Julius (1894), Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office, Vol 1, Part IV-v, Sanskrit Literature: A. Scientific and Technical Literature, VII. Philosophy and VIII. Tantra, London, Printed by Order of the Secretary of State for India in Council, 1894.