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## Preliminary Notes on the *Mahāmudrātilaka*: Contents, History, Transmission

### Abstract

This short essay is an introduction to the study of the *Mahāmudrātilaka* ('An Ornament of the Great Seal'), an important Buddhist tantric scripture of the Hevajra cycle. The text is a so-called *uttaratantra* (ancillary scripture) of the *Hevajratantra*. This cult emerged around ca. 900 CE in Eastern India and quickly rose to a position of prominence. In order to illustrate this point, first I discuss some historical references to the Hevajra cult: a lexicographical work, inscriptions, and testimony in Śaiva exegesis. I then contextualise the *Mahāmudrātilaka* among the Hevajra ancillary scriptures and share some notes on the purpose of such texts. I argue that such scriptures were meant to update a cult's ritual and doctrinal palette in order to keep up with developments seen (and thought desirable to have) in rival schools. In the next section, I present the only known Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung Hs. or. 8711, a late Nepalese copy dated 1827 CE, which can be shown to be a copy of a Vorlage dating to 1204 CE. Next, I compare the text transmitted therein to the Tibetan translation, Tōh. 420, and identify them as two recensions. I then proceed to discussing exegesis on the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, the works of \*Gambhīravajra and \*Prajñāśrīgupta; these texts are for now available only in their Tibetan translation. I also identify some testimonia of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*. Using all this evidence, I argue that the text cannot be much earlier than the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. Next, I present an overview of the text by means of examining selected passages and their most significant features, with special focus on the differences and similarities with the *Hevajratantra*, the internal references to other scriptures, and the text's significant parallels with the *Vajramālābhīdhāna*. I argue that the text is unapologetically antinomian and gnostic. In the second half of the paper, styled as an appendix, I select five blocks of verses, which I edit and translate: the first deals with the relationship between initiating master and disciple, the second provides some insights into the attitudes of tantric practitioners towards orthodox Buddhists, the third contains detailed instructions on how to gather the antinomian substances known as 'nec-tars', the fourth deals with communal worship in a rite known as the *gaṇacakra*, and the final one describes a somewhat rare and rather gruesome ritual meant to bestow the power of flight.

**Keywords:** Tantric Buddhism, Sanskrit manuscripts, Hevajra, *Mahāmudrātilaka*, *yoginītantras*, antinomian religious practices

The aim of this essay is to give a general introduction to a hitherto unstudied Buddhist tantric scripture, the *Mahāmudrātilaka* ('An Ornament of the Great Seal'). This is an important text of the cycle arranged around and inspired by an emblematic Vajrayāna scripture, the *Hevajratantra*. The essay is based on a talk I delivered *in absentia* at the 2015 World Sanskrit Conference in Bangkok, Thailand. I wish to thank, and in the same breath apologise, once again for my absence to the organiser of the panel, Prof. Judit Törzsök, for her kind invitation and for agreeing to read my paper aloud at the conference. Various other obligations prevented me from submitting a written-up version for the proceedings volume; I have therefore decided to do so here. The *Mahāmudrātilaka* is currently being edited and translated by Peter Alan Roberts for the 84000: Translating the Words of the Buddha project. I hope that he will find some of these notes useful, and I wish him all the best for his work. It is also my pleasant duty to acknowledge the input of Dr Samuel Grimes, who provided useful suggestions and corrected some phrasings of a non-native speaker.

### The text's place in the *Hevajra* corpus

The rise of the *Hevajratantra* can be confidently conjectured to around ca. 900 CE, and current scholarly consensus holds that its place of birth was, as in the case of most late tantric waves of revelation (if we discount Nepalese developments), Eastern India. This text and the cult that it promoted became of critical importance to the final stages of Sanskrit Vajrayāna. The *Hevajratantra* held sway as the most important esoteric Buddhist scripture until the disappearance of the religion from what is today India. It was transmitted to Nepal, where its importance and influence is acknowledged to this day. The same can be said about its importance with regards to Buddhism in Tibet, through which it was transmitted to the Yuan (Mongol) court (1269–1368). It was during this period that it gained traction in China, in spite of the fact that the text had already been translated into Chinese in the Song period.<sup>1</sup> Finally, the cult of Hevajra was also successful in various parts of Southeast Asia, as indicated by the large number of material remains.<sup>2</sup>

As a short aside, I would like to mention (or reiterate) some little-known facts about the influence of the *Hevajratantra*. The 11<sup>th</sup>-century Sanskrit lexicographer Puruṣottamadeva, in his appendix to the *Amarakośa* called the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, mentions Hevajra in what can be termed as an updated list of Buddhist deities. In the edition consulted by me, the name is written as 'Heramba' (one of Gaṇeśa's

<sup>1</sup> See Willemsen 1983.

<sup>2</sup> See for example Lobo 1994 and Griffiths 2014.

names). However, this must be a mistake, as the names of the two other gods mentioned next, ‘Heruka’ and ‘Cakrasaṃvara’, surely warrant an emendation to ‘Hevajra’.<sup>3</sup> The deity Hevajra is the only one among late, truly-esoteric deities to be mentioned on a Sanskrit inscription dated to 1194 CE and established on the order of the king of Khasa, Aśokacalla, who was apparently a devotee.<sup>4</sup> An inscription dating from the same year—however, this time on the Southeast Asian subcontinent and in old Čam—states that the future king Sūryavarman, at that time called Vidyānandana, celebrated his victory over a Khmer expeditionary force by building a *śrīherukaharmya*, a Heruka temple.<sup>5</sup> The Heruka mentioned here is probably the same as Hevajra. The young Vidyānandana had plenty of opportunities to become a devotee during his time at the Khmer court, where the cult of the deity was well-established. However, it could also be that the identity of this Heruka is that of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinī-jālaśaṃvara*.<sup>6</sup> In his commentary on Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrāloka*, Jayaratha (fl. 1213–1236 CE) quotes the text without naming it and with expressed approval of its contents at least thrice.<sup>7</sup> To sum up this short excursus, to my knowledge no other late tantric Buddhist scripture can boast such a prestigious list of testimonia outside the self-referential exegetical literature, where, needless to say, the presence of the tantra is overwhelming. Scarce are the authors who could afford to ignore the *Hevajra* after the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

The *Mahāmudrātilaka* is a so-called exegetical scripture, an *uttaratantra*. The *Hevajra* has several such satellite scriptures: the *Ḍākinīvajrapaṅjara* (Tōh. 419), the *\*Jñānagarbha* (Tōh. 421), the *\*Jñānatilaka* (Tōh. 422), and the *\*Tattvapradīpa* (Tōh. 423); other titles are mentioned in the literature, but these texts are now completely lost. The *Ḍākinīvajrapaṅjara* survives in the original in the People’s Republic of China, although it is currently inaccessible. Fortunately, we have some exegesis in Sanskrit preserved in Nepal.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* 1.1.23ab: *Vāgīśvaro ’tha Herambo Herukaś Cakrasaṃvaraḥ |*

<sup>4</sup> See Vidyavinoda 1913–1914.

<sup>5</sup> See Finot 1904.

<sup>6</sup> For this text, see Griffiths–Szántó 2015.

<sup>7</sup> See his commentary to *Tantrāloka* 3.94ab–95ab, 5.27cd–28ab, and 29.101cd.

<sup>8</sup> Next to a sizeable chunk of Mahāmati’s commentary, the *Tattvaviśadā* (folio 1 in Kaiser Library, Kathmandu no. 134 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel no. C 14/4, folios 2–15 in National Archives, Kathmandu = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel no. A 47/17, and the last folio in National Archives, Kathmandu 5-23 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel no. A 47/18; the Tibetan translation is Tōh. 1196), we have an anonymous collection of glosses titled *Ḍākinīvajrapaṅjaratīppati* in Kaiser Library, Kathmandu no. 230 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel no. C 26/3, now published in *Dhīh, Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research* 55: 121–134. Both manuscripts are from the scriptorium of Vikramaśīla Monastery. This material is studied in Yokoyama 2016 and in his previous and later, shorter publications.

The *Mahāmudrātilaka* is, therefore, the only *uttaratantra* of the Hevajra cycle that can be consulted in full in the original at the time of writing.

An *uttaratantra*, according to the emic model, is a scripture that is revealed subsequently to the basic tantra (*mūlatantra*) in order to clarify issues that remain obscure, to elaborate on teachings that were only alluded to previously, and to settle controversial tenets of doctrine and practice. However, if we examine *uttaratantras* with a critical eye, it soon becomes apparent that they do much more than that. For example, the entire pantheon established in the *mūlatantra* can be modified or even completely changed and new doctrines can be introduced. From a historical perspective, the most plausible motive for composing an *uttaratantra* is that followers of the cult already established in a *mūlatantra* attempted to update their own teachings to remain relevant according to new trends and to widen their ritual and doctrinal palette.

### The only known Sanskrit manuscript

Until very recently, the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, when it was studied at all, was consulted in its Tibetan translation (Tōh. 420). The original Sanskrit text of the *Mahāmudrātilaka* survives in a single manuscript; this is Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz Orientabteilung Hs. or. 8711. Here I must thank Prof. Alexis Sanderson for pointing this out to me some years ago; he also very kindly lent me a black and white photostatic copy from his collection. Since then, I have gained access to colour images thanks to the good offices of the aforementioned library. I do not know how the manuscript came into the German State Library's possession, but it was acquired in 1983.

The manuscript is a complete, rather late copy on 57 paper folios. Although the handwriting is clumsy, the text preserved is more correct than what would be expected from a late Nepalese witness. Scribal and readers' corrections abound, and lacunae in the exemplar are also carefully noted. Some of the scribal practices are quite noteworthy, but they will not be addressed here.

The text of the colophon starts in poor Sanskrit and towards the end switches to Newar. The scribe identifies himself as *śrīvajrodbhavācāryarājamānasimha*, an inhabitant of the *śrītalumulamahāvihāra* (spelled thus). The first proper name presents several problems. What the scribe means to say with the first part is that he is a *vajrācārya*, which, in the Nepalese context, is both a title and a caste, but this is—at least to me—unusually phrased as ‘born from the *vajra*’ (*vajrodbhavācārya*). The word ‘king’ may qualify *ācārya*, therefore ‘king of officiants’, but it could also be part of his proper name, which was thus either Rājamānasimha or Mānasimha. The toponym can be identified with some

degree of certainty: it must be the Tarumūlavihāra, that is to say the Sikhamu Baha, a now small institution with a rather illustrious past, situated on Kathmandu's Durbar Square about halfway between the Kumārī Palace and what was until very recently the regretted Kāṭh Maṇḍap (Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa, whence the Nepalese capital has its name).<sup>9</sup>

The colophon has two dates, given in both nouns with numeric values (*bhūtasamkhyā*) and numerals proper. The first is the date of copying; in *bhūtasamkhyās sāgara-yuga-durgati* (9-4-7), which, once converted from the Nepal Year, corresponds to 1827 CE. The second, given in the Newar part is *yuga-netra-bhuvana* (3-2-4); this gives the date of the scribe's exemplar, 1204 CE. Interestingly, both years fall into periods of increased Buddhist scribal activity in the Kathmandu Valley. The earlier was probably caused by the destruction of several great monasteries in the Gangetic Plain and the subsequent influx of learned refugees. The circumstances of the latter are a matter of debate, but this does not concern us here.

### Two recensions

When comparing this *codex unicus* to the Tibetan translation, it is very clear that there are at least two recensions of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*. The differences between the text of the *codex unicus* and that of the Tibetan translation (Tōh. 420) are too significant to be attributed to changes due to translation techniques or simple misunderstandings, although examples for these two are to be found in abundance.

### Exegesis on the text

Before I present a short overview of the contents, I would like to say a few words about the exegesis of the text. The Tibetan Canon preserves two commentaries, that of \*Gambhīravajra (Tōh. 1200) and that of \*Prajñāśrīgupta (Tōh. 1201).

The first is a text that will amply reward close study, as the commentary is very rich in quotations and references to *siddha*-type authorities. I find it particularly significant that these authorities are at times grouped together into geographical regions; thus, the varying opinions of *paṇḍitas* from Oḍḍiyāna (the Swat Valley), Jalandhar, Kashmir, and Bengal are mentioned. In other words, by studying this text carefully, one could gain precious information about regional

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<sup>9</sup> Locke 1985: 258–263. The Kāṭh Maṇḍap has since been rebuilt.

doctrinal and practical differences, something that has been barely dealt with in Buddhist tantric studies.

The second, \*Prajñāśrīgupta's work, is also quite informative from a historian's viewpoint, in spite of the fact that the commentary deals only with the opening part of the tantra. This author claims that his master's master was the famous (but little-studied) 11<sup>th</sup>-century Kashmiri master, Ratnavajra, also known as Sūkṣmāvartabhaṭṭa, in my view a man of paramount importance.<sup>10</sup> An important feature of this text for those interested in the production of exegesis is that in the introduction the author claims that he wrote the commentary for the person who also became the Tibetan translator, Rin chen rgyal mtshan. However, another passage suggests that the text was written for the author's Indian disciples, and yet another suggests that the text is merely a collection of *aide-mémoire* notes. \*Prajñāśrīgupta's person is important from the viewpoint of dating as well, since the Tibetan colophon of the *Mahāmudrātilaka* states that the two, otherwise rather obscure, Tibetan translators worked in his presence. This gives a *terminus ante quem* of the late 11<sup>th</sup> century CE. The only referenced quotations in surviving Sanskrit literature, which are in Abhayākara Gupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī* and Raviśrījñāna's *Guṇabharanī*, come from about a half a century and a century later, respectively.<sup>11</sup>

## Contents

As for the contents of the text, I find it tedious and pointless to describe all 28 chapters in a preliminary essay such as this, so I shall limit myself to those passages that I find particularly significant.

The text opens without the traditional etiology *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye* etc. Instead, the entire first chapter contains a list of questions addressed to the Lord (*bhagavat*) by his consort, the goddess.

A significant part of the tantra addresses issues that relate to what is usually termed as 'subtle body practices' in secondary scholarship, for example the nature and mutual relationship of tubes (*nāḍī*), discuses (*cakra*), and vital energies that the initiate should master. This is the subject of chapters 3–6, 17–18, 21, and 26. I will not deal with these passages here, since my understanding of the subject is very meagre. In fact, I think that this topic has not yet been dealt with by any competent scholar, in spite of the fact that it is a rich area of study with plentiful material available, for example our very text. It would be

<sup>10</sup> See Szántó 2020.

<sup>11</sup> See Sferra 2000: 88 and Tomabechi 2018 (the fifth chapter of the *Āmnāyamañjarī* quotes the text with attribution four times).

very important to understand what kind of empirical observations may have led to postulating such an intricate system generally and how and why it was adopted by tantric Buddhists in particular. It seems to me that after an initial—and seemingly aborted—attempt to introduce such concepts by *Guhyasamāja* practitioners, most likely in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century, there was a revival kickstarted by the *Hevajratāntra*, possibly paralleled in various texts of the *Śaṃvara* cult, and developed to astonishing complexity in the *Kālacakratāntra* in the following two centuries. This rather late appearance in esoteric Buddhism leads me to think that, as so many other elements, these motifs too were adaptations from outside sources. The similarity between ‘Hindu’ and Buddhist practices of this type were already pointed out by classical authors, such as the learned 13<sup>th</sup>-century Tibetan scholar, Sa skya Paṇḍita (1182–1251 CE), who wrote the following in an open epistle:

For one who understands it correctly, the inner-heat meditation is a technique for developing Gnosis. Done incorrectly, inner heat generates mere heat, but that is not Gnosis — that belongs to the Indian non-Buddhist systems, not ours. Brahmanical<sup>12</sup> and Buddhist presentations of the vital airs and yogic exercises also resemble each other; if one is not familiar with them, it is difficult to distinguish brass from gold.<sup>13</sup>

A second major motif of the tantra is interaction with *yoginīs*, both supernatural beings and human females who were seen as manifestations of the former. The signs (*lakṣaṇa*) by which the initiate would recognise such females are described in chapters 15 and 23—the latter also includes a passage on how to interact with them if they appear during group worship (*ganacakra*). The hand-signs (*sāṅketa*) and code-words (the much-misunderstood *sandhyābhāṣā*) by means of which one should communicate with them are taught in chapters 13 and 14.

In the following, I would like to say a few words about chapters that I found particularly noteworthy.

Chapter 2 (with some elaboration in chapter 19) deals mostly with matters related to initiation (*abhiṣeka*): if this is not performed and one begins to teach the tantra, even if such a teacher is already in possession of some supernatural accomplishments, both disciple and teacher will go to hell after death. Moreover, before establishing what is essentially a feudal-cum-spiritual relationship, master and disciple should examine each other carefully. The text promotes a peculiar system of 12 rites of initiation, which can be reduced to four. This might seem like a minor point, but in fact the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries witnessed a very serious doctrinal battle between those advocating for three *abhiṣekas* and

<sup>12</sup> Lit. *tīrthikas*, pagans. My note.

<sup>13</sup> Translation from Rhoton 2002: 247.

four *abhiṣekas*. The second and third initiations are unapologetically described as consisting of ritual copulation with a consort (or perhaps one for each initiation), who should be 12, 13, or 20 years old—the last being the absolute limit of age. The chapter closes stating that there is no other method than this for obtaining Buddhahood.

Chapter 10 outlines the main philosophical-practical points. The initiate should not worship external deities and should not perform external rituals. Other passages, such as chapter 11, suggest that all these rituals, including *homa*, are to be internalised. However, here we see some discrepancy, as chapter 22 teaches an external food-offering rite (*bali*), and chapter 23 gives an elaborate description of group worship (*gaṇacakra*). Nevertheless, the present chapter advocates that the practitioner should worship his own body, which is the locus of the deity, inasmuch as it is the ultimate form of one's consciousness. He should not respect the idea of caste, nor should he discriminate between prescribed and forbidden diet or between allowed and forbidden women. Interestingly, here we also find a ban on interacting with *śrāvakas*, that is orthodox monastic Buddhists and their followers. A substantial amount of secondary literature maintains that tantric Buddhists were fully inclusivist—that is they accepted what they saw as lower layers of revelation as valid but temporary—but in fact I have found a mounting body of evidence (to be presented elsewhere) that shows that the so-called Hīnayāna was not part of this scheme, certainly not doctrinally, but something to be disregarded altogether.

Chapter 12 has an unusually extensive description of how the practitioner should obtain the so-called five nectars (*pañcāmṛta*), the antinomian substances identified with the five *tathāgatas*, which are to be used in his rituals. These are blood (here menstrual), semen, human flesh, urine, and faeces. Consumption of these substances is meant to break purity rules, more precisely, as the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary famously states, 'to rid oneself of the pride of one's pedigree' (*kulābhimānahānaye*). The presence of these five substances in late Buddhist tantras is overwhelming, but there are precious few descriptions about how to obtain them. According to this text, the initiate should build a hut (*āgāra*) that looks ordinary from the outside but which in fact has two levels, one subterranean. Here he should meditate until he obtains a dream of the deities, who order him to take a consort. He does just that and enjoys her sexually until her menses manifests. He is to continue and collect the menstrual blood as well his own ejaculate with his mouth. Then he should obtain urine and faeces. All substances are placed in a skull-bowl for safekeeping. Lastly, he should find a corpse that is 'seven-times born' (*saptajanma*), that is a Brahmin for the last seven lifetimes. He worships the corpse then splits the head open and fashions another skull-bowl. It is presumably from here that he obtains meat. This maca-



bre motif is repeated in chapter 24, where a substance called *rocana* is extracted from a similar corpse, by the consumption of which one is said to obtain the power of flight.<sup>14</sup>

Chapter 20 contains an account of the practitioner's post-initiatory observance (*caryā*). The initial procedure is again meditation, obtaining a vision of the deities and taking a consort. The initiate should then behave in a variety of contradictory ways, essentially feigning madness: sometimes being licentious and sometimes abstinent, sometimes eating little and sometimes feasting, sometimes acting like a king and sometimes like a beggar, sometimes wailing in grief and sometimes laughing with joy, sometimes imitating a *kāpālika* or a *caṇḍāla*, and sometimes preaching the doctrine or listening to it in a dignified manner. He should change his clothing and imitate a child, an old man, a prostitute, a lover, and so on and so forth.

### Differences and similarities

Generally speaking, the *Mahāmudrātilaka* stays close to the teachings of the *Hevajratantra*, but it also contains a number of significant differences.

For example, this text teaches a system of six *cakras* and not four. Whether this is an influence of the Śaiva Kubjikā cycle, I cannot state precisely. It is nevertheless significant to note that the Kubjikā corpus had a major presence in the Pāla domains at this time, and I think that there is some compelling evidence to suggest that Kubjikā *ācāryas* were active in the court of Rāmapāla, the last great Pāla emperor, who was possibly an initiate of the cult as well. The source I am referring to is the still unedited *Nityakaumudī* of Gaṅgādhara, a commentary on the *Nityaparakāśa* of Vīracandra, which has not been studied in secondary scholarship either.<sup>15</sup>

The *Mahāmudrātilaka* has its own system of mantras, which are somewhat unusually given both openly (chapter 27, although note that the Tibetan translation spells the mantra-syllables backwards) and in a system of encoding-decoding (*mantroddhāra*; chapter 21).

There is also a difference in iconography: the main deity is the 16-armed, eight-headed, four-legged ectype of Hevajra, but he has a new set of implements in his hands, and his retinue consists of 32 *yoginīs*, which is a major overhaul of the Hevajra pantheon. Its system of pilgrimage sites (*pīṭha*, *upapīṭha*, etc.) is also updated.

<sup>14</sup> See also Gray 2005.

<sup>15</sup> See National Archives, Kathmandu 4-324 = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project reel no. B 35/26, and also reel no. A 963/4's colophon from the online catalogue.

### Internal references

A last issue I would like highlight is that of internal references to other texts. It is perhaps unusual for a scripture to do this, since these texts are supposed to be timeless revelations, but it does happen. This is most fortunate for the historian, since it provides data for relative chronology. Four known tantras are named: the *Guhyasamāja*,<sup>16</sup> the *Vajramālā* (a *Guhyasamāja* exegetical scripture),<sup>17</sup> the *Śaṃvara*, and the *Hevajra*.<sup>18</sup> Two further titles are given that cannot be traced. The first is the *Mahākulatantra*,<sup>19</sup> about which we know nothing, and the second is the *Jñānagarbha*.<sup>20</sup> The latter matches the title of an already-mentioned *uttaratantra* of the *Hevajra* cycle, but the contents alluded to here are not seen in the Tibetan translation. This is therefore another lost text. Lastly, in the introduction there is mention of the mythical Ur-text, the *Hevajra* in 500,000 verses styled *Jñānasāgara*.<sup>21</sup>

### Conclusion

To conclude, the main points were the following. The *Mahāmudrātilaka* is to date the only exegetical scripture of the *Hevajratantra* that we can consult in the original. It survives in a single manuscript, a late Nepalese copy now kept in Berlin. The text of this *codex unicus* does not match the Tibetan translation exactly; there were therefore at least two recensions of the text. There is no evidence that would place the production of the text any earlier than the late 11<sup>th</sup> century. The text can be shown to have been influential in East India, its presumed place of birth, as well as in Kashmir, Nepal, and Tibet. Although claiming to be an *uttaratantra* of the *Hevajra* cycle, its teachings go well beyond the orbit of that text. Its main innovation is what may be called ‘subtle body’ practices, of which it presents a new and updated system. The tone of the text is unapologetically antinomian and gnostic. Sexual practices and a calculated

<sup>16</sup> 6.17ab: *samājādīni tantrāṇi gopitaṃ surateśvari* |.

<sup>17</sup> 5.7cd: *vajramālāmahātantre pūrvaiva kathitaṃ mayā* ||. The *Mahāmudrātilaka* and the Tibetan translation of the *Vajramālābhīdhāna* share large passages. This has been pointed out by Sugiki (2016: 172–181), while Kittay (2020) seems to be unaware of this important instance of intertextuality.

<sup>18</sup> 6.18ab: *saṃvare vātha hevajre na kvacit saṃprakāśitam* |.

<sup>19</sup> 4.2: *mahākule mahātantre prāk sarvaṃ prakāśitam* | *ihāpi cakraṣaṭkaṃ ca kathayāmi samāsataḥ* ||.

<sup>20</sup> 15.last verse: *dākinīnām kulaṃ cihnaṃ rūpaṃ saṃkṣepato mayā* | *kathitaṃ vistare ’nyatra jñānagarbhādi sundari* ||.

<sup>21</sup> 1.12ab: *pañcalakṣātmake tantrē hevajre jñānasāgare* |.

transgression of standard purity rules abound; external rites are taught, but the practitioner is exhorted towards internal meditation.

Although the text is noteworthy and certainly merits a more in-depth study, I doubt that at this point a critical edition not profuse with cruces of desperation could be produced. The transmission is quite faulty, the Tibetan does not always mirror helpfully, and the commentators skip entire blocks of text. I nevertheless hope that such an edition and study will be published in the near future.

### Appendix: Some noteworthy verses

In this appendix, I shall provide five sample passage from the text so that the reader may form an idea about the contents of the text, its style, and the state in which it is transmitted. While I have kept an eye on the Tibetan translation, I do not point out the numerous differences between the two recensions. My conjectures are somewhat bold, and the translation is in places highly tentative.

The following editorial conventions are used: Ms denotes the manuscript; r and v mark the folios' recto and verso sides, respectively; Ms(pc) and Ms(ac) denote the reading of the manuscript after and before (usually scribal) correction, respectively; *corr.* means correction; *em.* means emendation; and *conj.* means conjecture. The verse numerations are mine; the letters a, b, c, d, e, and f in bold typeface mark verse quarters. Some scribal conventions (gemination, degemination, homorganic nasals) are standardised silently. Due to constraints of space, I have not discussed the features of this peculiar, 'tantric', register of Sanskrit (otherwise styled *aiśa* or *ārṣa*).

*Master and disciple examine each other*

Ms 2v–3v; cf. *Vajramālābhīdhāna* ch. 2.

*vinābhiṣekeṇa phalasya siddhir nāsty ambumanthād iva sarpir astu |*  
*tathābhiṣekeṇa vinātra tantram prakāśayet siddhiyuto 'pi garvāt || 2.5 ||*  
*sa yāti satyaṃ hi guruḥ saśiṣyo vipattimātrān narake sughore |*  
*anu prayatnād abhiṣekahetoḥ sa prārthanīyaḥ kila dhīdhanena || 2.6 || [...]*  
*yathā hiraṇyaṃ tāpādyair yathā ratnaṃ jalādikaḥ |*  
*yathā satyavatī kanyā tathā śiṣyaṃ parīkṣayet || 2.10 ||*  
*tasmāt sarvātmanā bhāvād anyonyaṃ ca parīkṣaṇam |*  
*kartavyam anyathā doṣaṃ bhaved dūreha siddhayaḥ || 2.11 ||*  
*viṣaṃ mantrādibhir yadvat śodhyamānaṃ rasāyanam |*  
*tadvat sekādibhiḥ śiṣyaṃ aśuddhaṃ śuddhimad bhavet || 2.12 ||*

Critical notes: **5b** °manthād] *em.* (Tomabechei), °marthanād Ms; **5b** iva] *conj.*, iha Ms; **5d** garvāt] *em.*, gurvāt Ms; **6a** saśiṣyo] *em.*, saśiṣyor Ms; **6b** narake] Ms(pc), tarake Ms(ac); **6c** °hetoḥ] Ms(pc), °hotoḥ Ms(ac); **10c** satyavatī] Ms(pc), savatī Ms(ac); **11b** parīkṣaṇam] Ms(pc), parīkṣaṇam Ms(ac); **12a** viṣaṃ] *em.*, viśan Ms; **12d** bhavet] Ms(pc), bhāvet Ms(ac); **12** verse quoted in the *Guṇabharāṇī* (Sferra 2000: 88)

Without initiation, there is no achievement of the fruit, just as there is no butter from churning water. Thus, whosoever reveals the tantra in this world out of pride, even if [some] supernatural attainments have been realised, that guru, along with his disciple, will go to a most terrifying hell immediately after death. Therefore, a clever man should petition him (i.e., the master) for initiation.<sup>22</sup> [...] Just as gold is tried by heating and so on, just like a jewel by water and so forth, just like a maiden whether she's faithful—so should [the master] examine the disciple! Then, with all the attention they can master, they (i.e., master and disciple) should examine each other. Otherwise, there will be sin and there will be no accomplishment. Poison purified by mantras and so forth becomes [the alchemists'] elixir [of gold]. Just so, the disciple purified by initiation etc. from being impure becomes pure.

### *Against orthodox Buddhists*

Ms 17v.

*udāragambhīrataraṃ cittaṃ kuryād analpakāḥ |*  
*śrāvakāṇāṃ samaṃ cittaṃ na kartavyaṃ kadācana || 10.10 ||*  
*yasmād abhavyā loke 'sminn ajñānatamasāvṛtāḥ |*  
*tasmād ālāpamātraṃ tu teṣāṃ naiva pradāpayet |*  
*na cāpi bhartsanaṃ teṣāṃ namaskāraṃ tathaiva ca || 10.11 ||*

Critical notes: **10c** śrāvakāṇāṃ] *em.*, śāvakāṇāṃ Ms(pc), śāvakāṇāṃ Ms(ac); **11b** °āvṛtāḥ] *em.*, °āvṛtā Ms; **11e** bhartsanaṃ] *conj.* (cf. Tibetan *smad par*), bhūṣaṇam Ms

This worthy one should make his mind most vast and profound, but he should never spare a thought for *śrāvakas*. For they are unworthy in this world, enveloped by the darkness of ignorance. Therefore, one should not grant them a single word, but nor should one scold them, nor should one praise them.

<sup>22</sup> This couplet is also quoted by Sa skya Paṇḍita, see Rhoton 2002: 245.

*Gathering the nectars*

Ms 21r–22v, cf. *Vajramālābhīdhāna* ch. 61.

*kramam pañcāmṛtasyeṣṭam kathayāmi samāsataḥ |*  
*vairocanas tathākṣobhyo 'moghasiddhis tathāgataḥ |*  
*amitābhaś ca ratneśaḥ pañcaite jñānalakṣaṇāḥ || 12.1 ||*  
*ratneśo raktam ity uktam amitābhaḥ śukram ucyate |*  
*amoghasiddhir mahāmāmsam akṣobhyaṃ kuliśodakam |*  
*vairocana ghanam proktam etat pañcāmṛtam param || 12.2 ||*  
*ekānte vijane ramye sarvāyāsavivarjite |*  
*tatrāgāram prakurvīta dvipuṭam dvārasaṃyutam || 12.3 ||*  
*pātāle ekapuram kuryān mūrdhni tasyaiva cāparam |*  
*yathaikaṃ jñāyate loke tathābhijñena kārayet || 12.4 ||*  
*sādhakas tāvat subhagas tantrajño 'matsaro ṛjuḥ |*  
*kṛpārasenātividdho viśayāvaraṇojjhitaḥ || 12.5 ||*  
*mahodāro yathā buddhas tathā cottarasādhakāḥ |*  
*rāgavairāgarahitaś codyogī lobhavarjitaḥ |*  
*akrodhī sādaro bhīrur astikaś ca bahuśrutaḥ || 12.6 || [...]*  
*tatas tryakṣaram mantraṃ japen maunasādhakāḥ |*  
*svapne tu tatksaṇā paśyed yoginīgaṇamaṇḍalam || 12.9 ||*  
*tad dadāty api cādeśam gṛhāṇemām sukanyakām |*  
*kuru sattvārtham atulaṃ yathā vajradharaḥ svayam || 12.10 ||*  
*kanyāṃ bhavyāṃ viśālākṣīm rūpayauvanamaṇḍitām |*  
*sarāgacittām nirlobhām suratāsavaghūrṇitām || 12.11 ||*  
*śyāmām pīnakucām ramyāṃ nirvikalpām bahuśrutām |*  
*tāvat tām kāmāyetaḥ kanyāṃ yāvad ṛtumatī bhavet || 12.12 ||*  
*punar apy anayā sārḍham samyak suratam ācāret |*  
*tāvad anucāret saukhyaṃ yāvad rajavatī bhavet || 12.13 ||*  
*tatas tu mukhapadmena gṛhṇīyā dinasaptakam |*  
*sthāpayed ratnavad raktam padmabhāṇḍe sulakṣaṇe || 12.14 ||*  
*dīnatrayasamaṃ yogam abjaṃ vaktreṇa cumbayet |*  
*punar apy ārabhed yogī prajñopāyātmakam sukham || 12.15 ||*  
*pravṛttibodhakaṃ hṛdyam pātavyam ghanasaṃyutam |*  
*athavā khecaraiḥ sārḍham peyam nityam ajāpayatḥ || 12.16 ||*  
*ahorātram akāṭhinyāt kuryān manthānam uttamam |*  
*yāvac chukravatī kanyā bhavati ratikātarā || 12.17 ||*  
*tāvat ḥkāmān vajreṇaḥ gṛhītvāmṛtam uttamam |*  
*suvyakte nirmale sthāne sthātavyam padmabhāṇe || 12.18 ||*  
*kṛṣṇapakṣe caturdaśyām aṣṭamyām vā prayatnataḥ |*

*dhvajenāthavā śastreṇa varṇamadyād yathāhataḥ || 12.19 ||  
 nirvyādhikaḥ sukhī śuddhaḥ sukānto yauvanānvitaḥ |  
 sādhakas tādṛśaṃ yatnāt saptajanmānam ānayet || 12.20 ||  
 nānāpūjopahāreṇa pūjayet taṃ samāhitaḥ |  
 tasyottamāṅgam utkr̥tya kārayet padmabhājanam || 12.21 ||  
 tatraiva pātre madanaṃ pāyayet prajñayā saha |  
 ghanam kiṃcit svarūpeṇa bhoktavyaṃ siddhijetunā || 12.22 ||  
 kiṃcit sthāpyaṃ prayatnena padmabhāṅde surakṣitam | [etc.]*

Critical notes: **1f** pañcaite] *em.*, pañce te Ms(pc), pañce Ms(ac); **3b** °vivarjite] *em.*, °vivarjitam Ms; **5a** sādhakas] *em.*, śrāvakas Ms; **5a** subhagas] Ms(pc), subhagaḥ Ms(ac); **5c** °ātividdho] *em.*, °ātividdhau Ms; **6a** °vairāga°] *em.*, °vairāgā° Ms; **6c** bhīrur] *em.*, bhīrūr Ms; **9a** tryakṣaram] *em.*, tryakṣara° Ms; **10a** cādeśaṃ] *em.*, vādeśaṃ Ms; **10b** sukanyakām] *em.*, svakanyakām Ms; **10d** vajradharaḥ] *em.*, vajradhara Ms; **14c** sthāpayed] *em.*, stāpayed Ms; **14c** raktam] *em.*, ratnam Ms; **14d** °bhāṅde sulakṣaṇe] *em.*, °bhāṅdeṣu lakṣaṇe Ms; **15d** prajñopāyātmakaṃ] Ms(pc), praśnapāyātmakaṃ Ms(ac); **16a** °bodhakaṃ] *em.*, °bodhikaṃ Ms; **18c** suvyakte] *em.*, savyakte Ms; **19c** dhvajenāthavā śastreṇa] *em.*, dhvajenātha śastre Ms(pc), vajrenātha śastre Ms(ac); **22c** ghanam] *em.*, ghana Ms

I shall now explain in brief the desired method regarding the five nectars: Vairocana, Akṣobhya, the *tathāgata* Amoghasiddhi, Amitābha, and Ratneśa. These five are characterised as gnosis. Ratneśa is taught to be blood, Amitābha is said to be semen, Amoghasiddhi is great (i.e., human) flesh, Akṣobhya is the water of the scepter (i.e., urine), Vairocana is taught to be faeces—these are the supreme five nectars. In a solitary, unpopulated, lovely area, one free of any affliction, [the initiate] should build a hut with two enclosures and a door. One level should be underground, with the second on top of that, but the clairvoyant one should build it in such a way that people see only one. The practitioner is fortunate, an expert of the tantra, selfless, straightforward, imbued in the zest of compassion, free of the obscuration of the sense objects, generous, and clever<sup>23</sup>—and so is his assistant: free of passion and dispassion, zealous and without greed, without anger, respectful, bashful, a believer, and a learned man. [...] Then the practitioner should recite the triple mantra [otherwise] keeping a vow of silence. Soon he will see in a dream the *maṇḍala* of the coven of *yoginīs*.<sup>24</sup> And they order him: ‘Take this beautiful

<sup>23</sup> I understand that buddhas here to stand for budhas for metrical reasons.

<sup>24</sup> Note that in the parallel text of the *Vajramālābhīdhāna* it is Samantabhadra who appears.

maiden and perform the boundless benefit of sentient beings just like Vajradhara himself!’ The maiden is fortunate, wide-eyed, adorned with beauty and youth, with a passionate heart, but not greedy, drunk with the zest of lovemaking, dark-skinned, with full breasts, enchanting, without [inhibiting] conceptualisations, and learned. He should make love to that girl until her menses arrives. Once again he should make love to her and pursue bliss until her menses flows. Then he should extract [it] with his lotus-mouth and for seven days guard the blood as if it were a precious jewel in a lotus-vessel (i.e., a skull-bowl) with good traits. For three days he should copulate and kiss the lotus and then resume the bliss of Wisdom and Means. He should drink wonderful awakener of the mind (i.e., liquor) mixed with faeces; or he should drink goat’s milk mixed with *khecara* (?). Day and night he should gently perform the supreme churn until the maiden, full of semen, becomes weary of lovemaking. Then [...?] taking the supreme nectar, he should place it in a lotus-vessel in a luminous and spotless place. On the 14<sup>th</sup> of the waning fortnight, or else, on the 8<sup>th</sup>, the practitioner should bring forth the [corpse of] a seven-born from among the [higher] castes, one killed by a lance or a sword, not by disease, one who had a pleasant life, was pure, handsome, and youthful. Equiposed, he should worship it with various articles of worship. Then he should cut off his superior limb (i.e., the head) and make it into a lotus-vessel. Out of that vessel he should drink liquor in the company of his Wisdom (i.e., the consort). He should also consume a little bit of actual faeces for the sake of accomplishment. He should keep a small portion diligently, well protected in the lotus-vessel. [etc.]

### *The gaṇacakra*

Ms 47r–49r, cf. *Vajramālābhīdhāna* ch. 62.

*athānyam gaṇacakrasya vidhānam śṛṇu sundari |*  
*yad rahasyam ca ramyaṃ ca tatra cakram pravartate || 23.1 ||*  
*sarve ekasamayāḥ sarve saṃkalpavarjitāḥ |*  
*gurubhaktāḥ samādhīstās tyāgādiguṇālaṃkṛtāḥ || 23.2 ||*  
*upāyāḥ sudrśāḥ śuddhā gaṇacakre praveśayet |*  
*anyathā bhaved doṣaś cakram cāpi na sidhyati || 23.3 ||*  
*prajñā-m-upāyasāmānyāḥ sukāntāḥ suvicakṣaṇāḥ |*  
*pañcaviṃśatīvarṣasthāḥ śeṣāś ca parivarjayet || 23.4 ||*  
*upāyasya prati prajñā anekāḥ sarveṣu śasyate |*  
*prathamam manoharam ramyaṃ bhāvayet puṣpamaṇḍalam || 23.5 ||*

*tasyaiva vidhinā pūjāṃ kārayet susamāhitaḥ |*  
*nāyakaṃ sarvabhāvena pūjayet siddhaye khalu || 23.6 ||*  
*gaṇaṃ ca pūjayet paścāt samatādr̥ṣṭibhāvakaḥ |*  
*nāyakas tiṣṭhate yāvad gaṇaṃ cāpi tathaiva ca || 23.7 ||*  
*śāstrādivihitaṃ yatnād ānayed ardharātrake |*  
*saṃpūjyācāryanāthasya āsanopari dāpayet || 23.8 ||*  
*tadyathāhaṃ herukākāraṃ mahāmudrāsamanvitam |*  
*tathaiva vajrācāryaṃ ca mantavyaṃ surateśvari || 23.9 ||*  
*ganacakre kathālāpaṃ vivādaṃ vacanaṃ tathā |*  
*śleṣmādicchoraṇaṃ hāsyāṃ pādādīnāṃ prasāraṇam || 23.10 ||*  
*paunaḥpunyena cothhānaṃ na kuryāt siddhibhājani |*  
*mudrāsanketabhāśādyaiḥ kuryāt kāryanivedanam || 23.11 ||*  
*vinājñayā nr̥tyagītaṃ na kuryād gaṇamaṇḍale |*  
*nāyakasyāgrataḥ pātram ekakhaṇḍam sulakṣaṇam || 23.12 ||*  
*tadabhāvāt trikhaṇḍam ca nānāpuṣpādipūjitam |*  
*vidyābodhakasaṃpūrṇaṃ dhaukayet susamāhitaḥ || 23.13 ||*  
*gaṇasyāpi prthak pātram puṣpādyaiḥ paripūritam |*  
*prathamaṃ mahābaliṃ deyaṃ nānākhādyena saṃyutam || 23.14 ||*  
*tat kuryāt tādr̥ṣaṃ pānaṃ yenānandaṃ na naśyati |*  
*muhur muhur namaskṛtya mudrāṃ baddhvā tu pāyayet || 23.15 ||*  
*tataḥ khādyāni sarvāṇi śodhya saṃcārayed gaṇe |*  
*oṃkārahākārahūmkārair̥ jvalanaṃ bodhanaṃ kramāt || 23.16 ||*  
*śodhanaṃ cāmṛtasyādau kuryāc chāntyādiyogataḥ |*  
*kuṅkumaṃ candanaṃ vīraṃ himaṃ mrgamadaṃ tathā || 23.17 ||*  
*etat pañcāmṛtayutaṃ bhakṣyādyeṣu cārayet |*  
*tadanu krameṇa saṃsthāpya caturdhā parikalpayet || 23.18 ||*  
*anāmāṅguṣṭhayogena vīravīram anukramāt |*  
*āhartavyaṃ svajihvāntaṃ vīraṃ madhye 'pi sarvadā || 23.19 ||*  
*vaktre 'pi vīraṃ vinyasya kuru pūjāṃ manoharām |*  
*ity āha bhagavān śāstā samaya saṃvyavasthitaḥ || 23.20 ||*  
*padmakarṇikayor madhye vīrāṇāṃ āsanaṃ smṛtam |*  
*yadi viro na jānāti vīrāṇāṃ arthanirṇayam |*  
*tasya cakraphalaṃ devi na sidhyati kadācana || 23.21 ||*  
*evaṃ krameṇa yat kiṃcit tad bāhyādhyātmyam ācaret |*  
*tena siddhir bhaved cānyaṃ dākinyā saha darśanam || 23.22 ||*  
*kadācit̥ kṣudradākinyāḥ prekṣārthaṃ praviśanti tāḥ |*  
*tatra tāvad vivādaṃ ca na kuryāt sarvadā budhaiḥ || 23.23 ||*  
*nālāpamātraṃ dātavyaṃ mudrayā svāgataṃ bhavet |*  
*tatrācāryas tu yat kiṃcit kurute bhāṣate svayam || 23.24 ||*  
*athavā sarvakāryāṇi karmavajrī samācaret |*



*yasmāt svayaṃ vajrasattvaḥ karmavajrī na cāparaḥ* || 23.25 ||  
*nānārūpeṇa yoginyaś cāgacchanti punaḥ punaḥ* |  
*na tatra skhalitaṃ kuryād vīravat kāryam ācaret* |  
*niśiddham apy ācared yaḥ patate tasya vighrahaṃ* || 23.26 ||  
*athānande samutpanne ājñāto nṛtyam ācaret* |  
*tac ca vajrapadaih kuryād yāvat tuṣyanti devatāḥ* || 23.27 ||  
*mātā bhaginī putrī pūjām abhyarthayanti vai* |  
*prajñopāyavidhānena dhaukayed avikalpataḥ* || 23.28 ||  
*āsāṃ prapūjanāt siddhir labhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ* |

Critical notes: **1c** ca ramyaṃ] *conj.*, rahasyaṃ Ms; **2b** sarve] Ms(pc), sarva Ms(ac); **2b** °varjitāḥ] Ms(ac), °parivarjitāḥ Ms(pc); **3a** upāyāḥ sudṛśāḥ] *em.*, upāyās ca dṛśāḥ Ms; **4b** sukāntāḥ] *em.*, svakāntāḥ Ms; **5a** prati prajñā] Ms(pc), pratijñāpra° Ms(ac); **5b** sarveṣu] *em.*, sarveṣū Ms; **6c** °bhāvena] *em.*, °bhāveṣu Ms; **6d** siddhaye] Ms(pc), siddhiye Ms(ac); **7c** nāyakas] *em.*, nāyakaṃ Ms; **8cd** °nāthasya āsano°] *em.*, °nāthasyāsano° Ms; **10a** kathālāpaṃ] Ms(pc), kalāthālāpaṃ Ms(ac); **11a** paunaḥpunyena] *em.*, paunaḥpurṇena Ms; **11b** kuryāt] *corr.*, kuryān Ms; **13a** tadābhāvāt] *em.*, tadā bhāvāt Ms; **15b** na naśyati] *conj.*, pranaśyati Ms; **19a** anāmā°] Ms(pc), anā° Ms(ac); **23a** kadācit kṣudra°] Ms(pc), kadācīrcūdra° Ms(ac); **23d** budhaiḥ] *em.*, būdhaiḥ Ms; **24a** dātavyaṃ] Ms(pc), dātadyaṃ Ms(ac); **24c** °ācāryas] *em.*, °ācāryan Ms; **25b** karmavajrī] *em.*, karmabīja Ms; **26c** skhalitaṃ] *em.*, khalitaṃ Ms; **27d** devatāḥ] *em.*, devata Ms; **28c** °opāyavidhānena] Ms(pc), °opāyamahāvidhānena Ms(ac)

And now for something else, o beautiful one; hear the rite of the *gaṇacakra*! The circle is to be organised in a place that is secret and pleasant. The Means (i.e., the males) who should be introduced into the *gaṇacakra* all abide by the same pledge, all are without [inhibiting] conceptualisations; they are devoted to the master, stable in meditation, adorned with munificence and the rest, handsome, and pure. Otherwise, there will be sin and the circle will not succeed. The Wisdoms (i.e., the females) should be similar to the Means, enchanting and skilful, twenty-five years old [at most]; the others should be avoided. It is recommended everywhere that each means should have several Wisdoms. First, one should make an enchanting and pleasant *maṇḍala* of flowers. With the same method, equiposed, one should perform the worship. Truly, for the sake of accomplishment, one should worship the Hero (i.e., the central officiant) with full dedication. Then one should worship the assembly cultivating the view of equanimity. The assembly shall remain together as long as the Hero is present. At midnight, one should diligently bring

forth that mentioned in the Teaching etc. (i.e., the mixture of the nectars), and after having worshipped it, one should put it on the throne of the Protector. Just like I, in the shape of Heruka, am together with the Great Seal, so should one view the *vajra*-master, o mistress of amorous play! O receptacle of accomplishment! One should avoid in a *gaṇacakra* idle chit-chat, arguing, recitation, expectorating phlegm etc., laughter, stretching the legs and [arms], as well as getting up again and again. Business should be conducted with gestures, secret code-words, etc. In the *gaṇamaṇḍala*, one should not dance or sing unless instructed so. One should offer in front of the Hero a vessel (i.e., a skull-bowl) made of a single piece with [all] the good traits—or if such is not available, then of three pieces—which should be worshipped with various flowers, etc. and filled with the awakener of consciousness (i.e., liquor). And for all those in the assembly, a vessel [each], filled to the brim with flowers, etc. First, one should offer a great *bali* sacrifice with various kinds of food. Then, one should only drink as much so that his ecstasy is not affected. Bowing to her again and again, one should embrace the consort and give her drink. Then, one should distribute in the assembly all kinds of food that has been well prepared. Enflaming and awakening should be performed with the syllables ‘om’, ‘āḥ’, and ‘hūm’. One should also purify the nectars first, by means of the last and the first (i.e., ‘hūm’ and ‘om’?). Saffron, camphor, hero,<sup>25</sup> snow, and musk—these five nectars one should mix into the comestibles, etc. Then, gradually arranging them, one should divide it into four parts. From hero to hero in turn, one should consume it by joining the thumb and the ring-finger, with the tip of the tongue. The Hero in the middle should do likewise. ‘Place hero on the mouth and perform an enchanting worship!’ Thus spoke the Lord, the Teacher, abiding by the pledge. The seat of the heroes is taught to be between the lotus and the filament. If the hero does not know what heroes should (?), o goddess, the fruit of the circle will never come about. Whatever is prescribed in this method, one should perform both within and without. One will obtain accomplishment; moreover, he will meet *ḍākinīs* face to face. Should minor *ḍākinīs* enter to view the proceedings, the wise one should never argue with them. Nor should he speak to them but signal welcome with a gesture. Now, the master acts or speaks himself, or all duties are performed by the *karmavajrin* (i.e., the senior assistant), since the *karmavajrin* is no other than Vajrasattva himself. As for the *yoginīs* in various guises that come there again and again, one should not commit lack of decorum towards them but to everything befitting a hero. As for he

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<sup>25</sup> ‘Hero’ is a code word for meat, see 13.3b (Ms 24r): *vīraṃ piṣitam ucyaṭe*.

who does something that is forbidden, may punishment be levied against him. If ecstasy arises and one dances—if instructed so—then it should be done with the *vajra*-steps, so that the deities will be pleased. If a mother, a sister, or a daughter wishes to be worshipped, then one should offer it [by uniting] Wisdom and Means, without any [inhibiting] conceptualisation. By worshipping these women, accomplishment is obtained—of this there is no doubt.

### *The rocana ritual*

Ms 51r–52r.

*athānyad rocakarmākhyam pravakṣyāmy ādarāc chr̥ṇu |*  
*yena prāśitamātreṇa āśu siddhiḥ pravartate || 24.1 ||*  
*susnigdhas ca sugandhāṅgaḥ sugandhasvedamaṅḍitaḥ |*  
*satyavādī salajjātmā nimeṣati ciraṃ sadā || 24.2 ||*  
*kr̥pāparaḥ kṣāntiyutaḥ mandavādī nirāśrayaḥ |*  
*saptajanmā trijanmā vā yatnenāsau gaveṣayet || 24.3 ||*  
*punyakto yadā kaścit tasya hastagataṃ bhavet |*  
*prāśyam asyaiva hṛdayāt samastaṃ rocaṇaṃ śubham || 24.4 ||*  
*gr̥hītvā vidhānena ṛk̥pānaṅṅpūṭe madhyagam |*  
*kr̥tvā herukamantreṇa kuryāt tilakam uttamam || 24.5 ||*  
*koṭīyojanavistāram ūrdhvam utpatate kṣaṇāt |*  
*tena prāśitamātreṇa trailokyajñānavān bhavet || 24.6 ||*  
*yojanānām koṭīsaṭaṃ divārātrau nivartayet |*  
*indravad balavān sāksād divyakāyo bhaven naraḥ |*  
*darśanād drāvayet kāntāḥ sarpiś caiva yathāgninā || 24.7 ||*

Critical notes: **1a** °ānyad roca°] *conj.*, °ānyañcraka° Ms; **1d** āśu] *corr.*, āśu | Ms; **2b** nimeṣati] *conj.* (cf. Tibetan *mig ni mi 'dzums pa*), niveṣati Ms; **3b** mandavādī] *conj.* (cf. Tibetan *skad tshig 'jam par smra ba*), satyavādī Ms; **3d** yatnenāsau] *conj.* (cf. Tibetan *'bad pa yis ni*), tasya nāsau Ms; **4c** prāśyam asyaiva] *em.*, prāśya matsyaiva Ms; **5a** vidhānena] Ms(pc), viśuddhena Ms(ac); **7c** drāvayet] *conj.*, bhāvayet Ms; **7c** kāntāḥ] *em.*, kāntām Ms

And now for something else; I shall explain the ritual called *roca*. Listen respectfully! This, as soon as eaten, brings forth supernatural accomplishment. [The initiate] should search diligently for a seven-born or a thrice-born—well-fed, of pleasant body odour, adorned with fragrant sweat, truthful, bashful, blinking only very rarely, compassionate,

enduring, soft-spoken, unattached. If such a meritorious man may come into his hand, [the initiate] should eat all the auspicious *rocana* out of his heart. Taking it into possession according to the rule, placing it in the middle of two †skull-bowls(?)†, empowering it with the mantra of Heruka, he should make a forehead-ornament out of it. He will leap upwards a crore leagues. As soon as he eats it, he will become a knower of the Triple World. He will travel in a day 100 crore leagues; strong as Indra himself, a man will assume a divine body. He will make women melt like butter in the fire—all it takes is a single glance.

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Note: Tibetan canonical translations are marked by the Tōhoku (abbreviated as Tōh.) catalogue number in Ui et al. 1934.

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