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HOW BUDDHIST IS THE HERUKĀBHIDHĀNATANTRA?

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Handout

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Co-existence of Buddhism and Śaivism under royal patronage during the early medieval period: Kashmir, Nepal (Licchavis and Ṭhākuriṣ), Eastern India (Candras, Candras of Arakan, Pālas), the Khmers, the Chams, Majapahit eastern Java.

This co-existence facilitated by the fact that the form of Buddhism adopted and developed was one that had equipped itself with:

1. a pantheon of ordered sets of deities
2. a repertoire of Tantric ceremonies that paralleled that of the Śaivas and indeed had modelled itself upon it:
 - (a) Maṇḍala initiation
 - (b) a system of worship animated by the principle of identification with the deity of initiation (*devatāhaṃkāraḥ*, *devatāgarvaḥ*) through the use of Mantras, Mudrās, visualization, and fire-sacrifice (*homaḥ*)
 - (c) the claim that it could bestow not only Buddha-hood [in this life] but also the production of supernatural effects (*siddhiḥ*) : *śāntikam*, *pauṣṭikam*, *abhicāraḥ*, and control of the rain (*varṣāpaṇam* and *ativr̥ṣṭidhāraṇam*)
 - (d) ceremonies for patrons in the public domain: for the consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of temple images (*pratimā*), paintings of deities on cloth (*paṭaḥ*), manuscripts of sacred texts (*pustakam*), monasteries (*vihāraḥ*), shrines (*gandhakuṭī*), Caityas, reservoirs (*puṣkarīṇyādi*), gardens and the like (*ārāmādi*)
 - (e) Buddhist funeral rite (*antyeṣṭiḥ*) for initiates.

That this transformation of the Mahāyāna had been achieved by absorbing and adapting non-Buddhist practices was, of course, evident from the beginning:

1. *rNam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud* (*Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhitāntra*), DK, Rgyud 'bum, vol. *tha*, f. 177r1–3: “O [Vajrapāṇi,] Lord of the Guhyakas, in time to come there will arise people of inferior understanding and no faith who will not believe this teaching. They will dissent and have many doubts. They will hear it but they will not take it to heart and they will refuse to put it into practice. Being themselves unworthy they will bring others too to ruin. [For] they will say that this is not the teaching of the Buddhas but belongs to the outsiders”.
2. *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa* 2.32–34b: “I have taught this Mantra [of Śiva] which together with the trident Mudrā destroys all demons, out of my desire to benefit living beings. Those living on the earth will say that its ancient Kalpa, that I taught in former times, was taught by Śiva. [But] the various excellent extensive [Kalpas] in the Śaiva Tantras are in fact my teachings”.
3. 47.53–54: “It was I that first taught, in this vast Kalpa, everything that the inhabitants of earth without exception refer to as the teaching of Śiva. It was only later that others taught in the various texts [considered to be taught by him] the Kalpamantras of the wise Śiva Tumburu the Trader”.

STAGES OF THE ŚĀKTIZATION OF THE BUDDHIST MANTRANAYA:

1. *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*;
 - (a) *āveśaḥ*.
 - (b) Section 2: Vajraguhyamaṇḍala, in which the five Tathāgatas are replaced by goddesses (§§319–327): Vairocana at the centre by Vajradhātviśvarī and, around her in the four directions, Akṣobhya by Vajravajriṇī, Ratnasambhava by Ratnavajriṇī, Amitāyus by Dharmavajriṇī, and Amoghasiddhi by Karmavajriṇī. §322: “Ah, how benevolent is the Bodhicitta to all beings! For the Buddhas take on even female form to accord with [the expectations of] their disciples (*vineyavaśāt*)”.
 - (c) incorporation of sexual intercourse into the activities of worship as a higher form of practice (*niḥśaṅkācāraḥ*).
2. *Guhyasamāja*: copulating deities, sexual initiation rites, and the sacralization of impurity
3. *Sarvabuddhasamāyogadākinijālaśaṃvara*: Heruka and his Yoginīs, Kāpālika iconography, the Gaṇamaṇḍala, and the first signs of Śaiva-Buddhist intertextuality.

4. The Cakrasaṃvara texts: the full appropriation of Vidyāpīṭha Śaivism:
 - (a) Śaṃvara/Vajrarudra and Vajravārāhī: the transformation of Bhairava and his consort.
 - (b) The rise of the goddess to independence.
 - (c) The adoption of the Vidyāpīṭha's Caryā and Yoga
 - i. Vidyāpīṭha's Kāpālika mode of post-initiatory observance (*caryāvratam*)
 - ii. The pan-Indian topography of the Śākta Śaivas' sacred sites, their Pīṭhas, Kṣetras, Upakṣetras, Saṃdohas/Chandohas and the like (*Laghuśaṃvara* and *Vajradāka*).
 - iii. The practice of visiting these sacred sites (*pīṭhabhramaṇam*) in search of meetings with the Yoginīs/Ḍākinīs that are believed to frequent them and to be incarnate there in human women enlightened from birth or in childhood.
 - iv. Classifying such women as belonging to one or other a fixed number of deity-clans (*kulam*) and of specifying various characteristics of appearance and behaviour that enable the adept to determine these clan-affiliations.
 - v. Consumption and offering of meat and alcoholic liquor in their rites.
 - vi. The consumption of foul substances without inhibition as an initiatory test of nondual awareness.
 - vii. The sacrifice and consumption of the flesh of human beings believed to have been reincarnated seven times for this purpose (*saptāvartaḥ*) and the use of their skulls as skull-bowls.
 - viii. The practice of visualizations in which the Sādhaka enters the body of a victim through the channels of his vital energy (*nāḍī*), extracts his vital essences, and draws them into himself.
 - ix. Yogically raising one's consciousness out of one's body through the central channel as a means of ending one's life and ascending to a paradise or liberation, (*utkrāntiḥ*, Tib. 'pho ba).
 - x. The adaptation of this practice as a means of assisting the dying and the dead.
 - xi. The practice of transferring one's consciousness out of one's body to pass into and animate a corpse (*parakāyapraveśaḥ*).
 - xii. The Yoga of the three Nāḍīs.
5. Textual dependence: I have reported (2001, 2009) correspondences with passages in five Śaiva scriptures: (1) the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* of the third *Ṣaṭka* of the

Jayadrathayāmala; (2) the short redaction of the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*—a much longer redaction, known to Abhinavagupta, has not come down to us—, (3) the *Tantrasadbhāva*, (4) the *Picumata* (*Brahmayāmala*), and (5) the *Niśisaṃcāra*, all of which are texts of the Vidyāpīṭha. 200 verses out of a total of about 700 with some prose equivalent in length to about 80 more:

- (a) *Yoginīdākinīlāmākulalakṣaṇāni*
- (b) *chommāḥ* (Paṭalas 15–24)
- (c) *samayāḥ* (Paṭalas 26–29)
- (d) *pīṭhādayaḥ* (Paṭala 41)
- (e) *saptāvartalakṣaṇam* (Paṭala 49).
- (f) The worship of the Kulikā 1.4–7b (< *Herukābhyyudaya* 15.6–10) < *Picumata* 84.9c–16.
- (g) The initiation ceremony: *Laghuśaṃvara* 1.15–4.1 < 8.3–28 of the *Yoginīsaṃcāra*.
- (h) The ritual procedures for supernatural effects:
 - i. *Laghuśaṃvara*, *Paṭala* 34 < *Picumata* 41.1–3, 49.3c–4c, 41.4–7b, 41.12abc, and 41.15d.
 - ii. *Laghuśaṃvara*, *Paṭala* 35 < *Picumata* 26.1–2b, 26.41c–44.
 - iii. *Laghuśaṃvara*, *Paṭala* 36 < *Picumata* 26.45c–48b.
 - iv. *Laghuśaṃvara*, *Paṭala* 37 < *Picumata* 29.1ab, 30.1, 29.35, 29.38–48b, 29.50 [cf. 20.56–57], 29.61ab.
 - v. *Laghuśaṃvara*, *Paṭala* 50, up to v. 19 (the point at which the earlier redaction of the text ends) < *Picumata* 5.17–18, 5.23c–28, 5.63, 5.67, 5.70.

PROGRESSIVE BUDDHICIZATION:

1. In the common text (1.1–50.19). E.g., *tasyāgrataḥ sthitāṃ devīm vajravārāhīm sughorām || mahābhairavābhimukhām kṛtvā tu trimukhīm raudrarūpiṇīm* (2.17c–2.18b) (< *tasyāgrataḥ sthitāṃ devīm aghorām ghoravikramām | bhairavābhimukhīm kruddhām raudrarūpām nyaset tataḥ*). The accessible Sanskrit manuscript gives the name of Heruka here, reading *śriherukābhimukhām kṛtvā tu*, and this reading is supported by the commentators Bhavabhaṭṭa (*śriherukābhimukhām kṛtvā*) and Indrabhūti (*he ru ka dpal ye shes phyogs ni* [**śriherukājñānābhimukha-*]), and the Tibetan translation (*he ru ka dpal che la phyogs* [**mahāśriherukābhimukha-*]). But it is certain that this is a later improvement, because *mahābhairavābhimukhām kṛtvā tu* is what we find in the older redaction attested in

Jayabhadra's commentary, and in the text as incorporated in the *Abhidhānottara* (*mahābhairavābhimukhīṃ*). It is also supported by the commentary on the later form of the *Laghuśaṃvara* by Vīravajra, who gives *rab 'jigs byed che la phyogs* 'facing Mahābhairava' here.

2. Buddhist elements in the common text: *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, *Guhyasamāja*, and *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* + *Picumata* make up nearly the whole of the flagship chapter 1.
3. Buddhist sections added at the end of the text.

Chapter 1 of the *Herukābhidhāna*, the 'flag-ship':

Herukābhidhāna

1.1 athāto rahasyaṃ vakṣye
samāsān na tu vistarāt
śrīherukasamyoḡaṃ
sarvakāmārthasādhakam
1.2 uttarād api cottaraṃ
ḍākinijālaśaṃvaram

rahasye parame ramye
sarvātmani sadā sthitaḥ
1.3 sarvaḍākinīmayāḥ sattvo
vajrasattvaḥ paraṃ sukham
asau hi svayambhūr bhagavān

vīro ḍākinijālaśaṃvaram

1.4 saṃbhavān

nādarūpād viniṣkrāntāḥ

samayācāragocarāḥ
durlabhaṃ triṣu lokeṣu
ādimadhyāntasaṃsthitam
Cf. *Herukābhyudaya* 15.6c–:

Sarvabuddhasamāyoga

1.1 rahasye parame ramye
sarvātmani sadā sthitaḥ
sarvabuddhamayaḥ sattvo
vajrasattvaḥ paraṃ sukham
1.2 asau svayambhūr bhagavān
eka evādhidaivataḥ
sarvabuddhasamāyoga-
ḍākinijāśaṃvaraḥ

Paṣkara etc.

adṣṣṭavigrahāc chāntāc
chivāt paramakāraṇāt
nādarūpaṃ viniṣkrāntaṃ
śāstraṃ paramadurlabham

Picumata / *Brahmayāmala*

84.10 durlabhaṃ triṣu lokeṣu

ḥig rten gsum na rnyed pa yin

*durlabham triṣu lokeṣu

g.yon nas skyes pas byed pa yin

*vāmodbhava- . . .

Cf. *Herukābhīdhāna* 31.6, *VD* 1.51, *AbhU* 3.32

vāmodbhavam jagat sarvaṃ trailokyam sacarācaram

dam tshig spyod pa'i mtshan nyid dang

*samayācāralakṣaṇam

1.5 manthyananthānasamyoga-

yathā tathā mantrajāpadhyānādiyuktaṃ

There is nothing corresponding to 1.5ab

in the *Herukābhyudaya*'s version.

yogaś caiva vidhijñānaṃ

tantra nigaditaṃ śṛṇu

1.6 madhyamottamaśvāsena

gandhodakasahitena tu

kulikāṃ pūjayen nitya

kālavīṣeṣeṇa tu

Cf. *Abhidhānottara* 1.11C:

madhyamottamaśvāsena

gandhokasahitena tu

gulikāṃ kārayed dhīmān;

and *Herukābhyudaya* 15.8cd:

madhyamottamaśvāsena

gandhokasahitena tu

vaṭikāṃ prāśayen nityaṃ

pūjākālavīṣeṣataḥ

1.7 dūtayaḥ sahaajāḥ siddhā

Jayadrathayāmala, Ṣaṭka 4, *Ādyayāgavidhipāṭala*, v. 23

bhagodbhavam jagat sarvaṃ bhagamadhye layaṃ gatam

samayācārapālanam

Tantrasadbhāva

mathyamanthanayogena

rjutvaṃ jāyate priye

Cf. *Kubjikāmata* 12.62ab:

madhyamanthanayogena jñānāgnir jāyate kila

Picumata

84.10c yāgaṃ vidhis tathā jñānaṃ

cakraṃ yogaṃ ca śobhanam

84.11 kathayāmi mahādevi

yat tvayā coditaṃ *balaṃ (?)

84.11c madhyamottamachāgena

gandhodasahitena tu

84.12 vaṭikāṃ prāśayen prājñāḥ

pūjākāle viṣeṣataḥ

vidhānaṃ tu sadā yojyaṃ

carvāhāreṇa suvrate

84.13 samaye sadhāne caiva

dravyālabhanakarmaṇi

tasyaiva dūtayaḥ siddhāḥ

adhamottamamadhyamāḥ

Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha

Guhyasamāja

7.26 svavajraṃ padmasaṃyuktaṃ
dvayendriyaprayogataḥ

antargatena manasā
kāmasiddhiṃ tu bhavayet
1.8 svaretobindubhir buddhān
bodhisattvāṃś ca pūjayet

2651: antargatena manasā
kāmaśuddhiṃ ca bhāvayan
svaretobindubhir buddhān
pūjayan siddhim āpnuyāt

svaretobindubhir buddhān
vajrasattvāṃś ca pūjayet

darśanasparśanābhyāṃ ca
śravaṇe smaraṇena ca
1.9 mucyate sarvapāpais tu
evam eva na saṃśayaḥ

Sarvabuddhasamāyoga qu. at *Jñānasiddhi* 15.60
darśanasparśanābhyāṃ ca
śravaṇasmarāṇena ca
sarvapāpair vimucyante
*yujyante (*em.* : pūjyante *Ed.*) sarvasiddhibhiḥ

Cf. *Matasāra*, f. 102v2:

etat te paramaṃ mantraṃ

pavitraṃ pāpanāśanam

yogitvaṃ paramaṃ puṇyaṃ
pavitraṃ pāpanāśanam
1.10 sidhyate japan mantraṃ
jāpena dhyānena ca
samayān pālayen nityaṃ

Cf. *Svacchanda* 5.52a: samayān pālayen nityam ubhayārthaphalepsyā;

Picumata 91.42ab: samayāṃ pālayet sarvāṃ khānapānavisarjitāṃ;

and *Tmirodghātana* f. 47r: samaya pālayen nityam ekākārapadāsthitam

sādhakaḥ susamāhitaḥ
1.11 bhedena samayānāṃ tu
na **dikṣāmaṇḍale** siddhir avāpyate

Very common in the Śaiva scriptures, especially in the *Picumata*.

The term *dikṣāmaṇḍalam* is standard in Śaiva texts.

It occurs nowhere else to my knowledge in Tantric Buddhist literature, except

in *Guhyasiddhi* 8.13, where the context is Śaiva rather than Buddhist Maṇḍala initiation.

madhu raktaṃ sakarpūraṃ

Sarvabuddhasamāyoga 6.15–16, var. 62–63

6.15 *mahāraktaṃ sakarpūraṃ

dmar chen dang ni ga bur bcas

*raktacandanayojitaṃ

tṣa ndan dmar por byar ba dag

*gaṇamadhye pratiṣṭhaṃ tu

tshogs kyi dbus su bzhaḡ pa ni

6.15d *sarvocchiṣṭarasāyanam

raktacandanayojitaṃ

1.12 gaṇamadhye pratiṣṭhan tu

Only in the version in the *Abhidhānotāra*: sarvocchiṣṭarasāyanam

sarvavajrāṅkacihnadhṛk	<i>ra sa ya na kun slong ba</i> 6.62d *savajravāmacihnadhṛk (?) <i>g.yon pa mtshan 'dzin rdo rje bcas</i> <small>6.16a rang gi lha yi sbyor ldan pas /</small> <small>6.63a rang gi lha yi rnal 'byor ldan</small>
anāmāṅguṣṭhavaktrābhyāṃ	6.16b *anāmāṅguṣṭhavaktrābhyāṃ <i>srin lag dang ni mthe bo'i rtses</i>
lehayed yogavit sadā 1.13 somapānavad āsvādyā	6.16c *somapānavad āsvādyā <i>zhi ba'i btung pa bzhin myangs na</i> *siddhim āpnoti śāśvatīm <i>rtag pa'i dngos grub thob par 'gyur</i>
siddhim āpnoti śāśvatīm	
pañcāmṛtam bhaved etat sarvasiddhipravartakam 1.14 catuḥpūjāṃ tathā yoginyo virādvayasamāpatti- samāpannaṃ ca tattvadhṛk divyamānuṣyatāṃ saukhyam piṇḍīkr̥tya vajrakaṇikayā kalāṃ nārghanti ṣoḍaśīm	
□ <i>Herukābbhidhāna</i> 1.15–4.1 1.15 girigahvarakuñjeṣu mahodadhitaṭeṣu vā ādisiddhaśmaśāne ca tatra maṇḍalam ālikhet ...	<i>Śaiva Yoginīsaṃcāra</i> 8.3–28 girigahvaraguhyeṣu mahodadhitaṭeṣu ca ādisiddhe śmaśāne vā ālikhen maṇḍalam śubham ...

For this parallel (*Herukābbhidhāna* 1.15–4.1 < *Jayadrathayāmala*, *Ṣaṭka* 3, *Yoginīsaṃcāra* 8.3–28), which covers the *Herukābbhidhāna*'s treatment of the initiation ceremony, see SANDERSON 2009, pp. 203–212.

□
The only substantially Buddhist passage in the main body of the *Herukābbhidhāna*:

10.1 atha kāyatrayaṃ vakṣye śrīherukādvayayogataḥ |
yena vijñātāmātreṇa sidhyante nātra saṃśayaḥ ||
10.2 dharmakāyaśarīrāṇāṃ yadā bhavati sādhaḥ |
tadā jñānaṃ pravādāmy aham ||
10.3 saṃbhogakāyaśarīrāṇāṃ yadā bhavati sādhaḥ |

tadā saṃbhogaṃ pravādāmy aham ||
 10.4 nirmāṇakāyaśarīrāṇaṃ yadā bhavati sādhaḥ |
 tadā nirmāṇakāyaṃ pravādāmy aham ||
 10.4 jñānasambhoganirmāṇa samāpnoti na saṃśayaḥ |
 śrīherukamāhātmanaṃ sidhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ ||

□

The concluding section of the *Herukābbhidhāna* in the shorter redaction known to the earliest commentators (Jayabhadra and Bhavyakīrti), probably early in the 10th century:

Herukābbhidhāna

50.1 atha homavidhiṃ vakṣye
 avaśyaṃ vaśyakarmaṇaḥ
 yena samyag vidhānena
 āśu siddhiḥ pravartate
 50.2 gomāṃsaṃ surayāloḍya
 vāmahastena homayet

buddho 'pi vaśam āyāti
 kiṃ punaḥ kṣudramānuṣāḥ

50.3 niṣṭhīvanam dantakāṣṭham
 svadehodvartanam tathā
 nāmnā madyāktahomena
 trailokyam vaśam ānayet

50.4 rajasvalāyā raktena
 bhuktodgīrṇam ca bhojanam
 saṃyuktaṃ mānuṣaiḥ keśaiḥ
 sadya-m ākarṣaṇam param

50.5 svakāyād ghṛtam udgīrṇam
 svakeśair homayed budhaḥ
 nimbakāṣṭhāgnisamdīpte

Picumata

5.17 gomāṃsa<ṃ> surayāloḍya
 vāmahastena homayet
 goraktaṃ ghṛtasamyuktaṃ
 avadhūtena mantravit
 5.18 vāmahastena hotavyaṃ
 yad icchet siddhim ātmanaḥ
 śakro 'pi vaśam āyāti
 kiṃ punaḥ kṣudramānuṣāḥ

5.23c niṣṭhīvanam dantakāṣṭham
 5.23d svadehodvartanam tathā
 5.24 nāmnā madyāktahomena
 trailokyam vaśam ānayet
 dantadhāvanam ādāya
 gokīṭarudhiraṃ tathā

5.25 tenāktaṃ homayet cailam
 trailokyam karṣayet kṣaṇāt

rajasvalāyā raktena
 bhuktodgīrṇam ca bhojanam
 5.26 saṃyuktaṃ mānuṣaiḥ keśaiḥ
 sadyas tv ākarṣaṇam param

Cf. *Nīśvāsaguhya* f. 72r2: sadya-m-utkrāntikārikā;

f. 72r3: sadya-m utkramayet tanum

svakāyād ghṛtam udgīrya
 svakeśair homayen naraḥ
 5.27 nimbakāṣṭhendhanair dīpte

sadya vidveṣaṇaṃ param
50.6 kākapakṣakṛte home
dhuttūrāgni samāhitaḥ
kaṭutailena saṃyuktaṃ
sadyocchātanamāraṇam

50.11c gomāyumāṃsamadyena
homayed balikriyā
50.12 japamantrakṛte rātrau
kroṣṭukaṃ nīyate . . .

50.14cd svecchāyūṣo mahāyogī
krīḍate 'nekarūpadhṛk

50.18cd adhikāyu kuṣmāṇḍaṃ
mudga māṣa sagomadhu
50.19 chardirājīkāgṛha-
tamālapatrair mukhabandhanaṃ
svecchakārī bhaved yogī
yatra tatra vyavasthitaḥ

vahnau vidveṣaṇaṃ param
kākapakṣakṛte home
mūtratailāktasaṃyutaṃ
5.28 dhatūrakendhanair dīpte
sadyocchātanam uttamam

5.63 gomāyumāṃsamadyena
bhakṣahomabalikriyā
japen mantrakṛte rāve
kroṣṭuko nipate 'grataḥ

5.67c svecchāyūṣo mahāyogī
5.67d krīḍate 'nekarūpadhṛk

Cf. 15.7ab: svecchāyūṣo mahāyogī divyarūpadharo bhavet

5.70 āvikāmuktakuṣmāṇḍaṃ
mudga māṣo sitā madhuḥ
chardirājīkṛto lepas
trailokyam mukhabandhanaṃ

Here the text as known to the earliest commentators (Jayabhadra and *Bhavyakīrti) ends.

□

The passage from 50.20 to 51.12b is found in *Abhidhānottara* 53. Perhaps the text was first extended only up to this point. Part of this passage, beginning from 51.5, has also been incorporated (with some revision, mainly the omission of the cruxes) in the Buddhist *Yoginīsaṃcāra* 17.8c–14. There too the incorporated passage ends at this same point (51.12b).

50.20 athāparaṃ pravakṣyāmi bhūmi pīṭhādi yoginī |
śrīherukasyāṅgāṅgaṃ sarvāṅgaṃ sthiracalātmakam ||
50.21 pīṭhaṃ muditābhūmau papīṭhaṃ vimalaṃ tathā |
kṣetraṃ prabhākarī jñeyā arcīṣmatyopakṣetrakam ||
50.22 chandoham abhimukhī caiva upacchandohaṃ surdurjayā |
duraṅgāmeti melāyāṃ acalasyopamelakam ||
50.23 śmaśānaṃ sādhumatī caiva dharmameghopaśmaśānakam |
śrīherukamatīś cāyam eṣa adhyātmabhūmayah ||
50.24 daśapāramitābhūmau mlecchā bhāṣantu yoginī |
sarge martyeṣu pātāle vīrāṅgaṃ sthiracalātmakam ||
50.25 pullirādi yathoddiṣṭaṃ bāhyādhyātme saṃsthitam |
śrīherukamahāyogaṃ sarvakāmeśvaraṃ prabhum ||

50.26 sarvata<ḥ> pāṇipādāntaṃ sarvatokṣiṣiromukhaṃ |
sarvata<ḥ> śrūyate loka sarvam āvṛtya tiṣṭhati ||
50.27 tatas tu sādhaḥ siddhīḥ dhyānayuktena cetasā |
sādhakānāṃ hitārthāya guhyatattvaṃ udāhṛtam ||

50.21–23b and 24ab > *Samputodbhava* 5.1.16–19b. 50.25ab > *Samputodbhava* 5.1.19cd:
yathoddiṣṭaparakāraṃ tu bāhyādhyātmaṃ vicintayet. 50.26. Cf. *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* 3.16, *Bha-*
gavadgītā 13.14, *Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.3.2, *Vāyupurāṇa* 14.13: *sarvataḥ pāṇipādaṃ tat sarvatokṣiṣi-*
romukham | sarvataḥ śrutimāl loka sarvam āvṛtya tiṣṭhati; *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, p. 42, ll. 18–20:
śrīśaṃvare 'py āha: sarvataḥpāṇipādādyaṃ sarvatokṣiṣiromukham | sarvataḥ śrutimān loka sarvam
āvṛtya tiṣṭhati.

ITI ŚRĪHERUKĀBHIDHĀNE VAŚYAHOMAPĪṬHĀDIBHŪMINIRDEŚAVIDHIPĀṬALAḤ PAÑCĀŚA-
TIMAḤ.

□

The 51st chapter:

In the *rnam thar* of Tilopā ascribed to Mar pa Chos kyi blo gros Jñānaḍākinī and her retinue are said to have taught Tilopā the fifty-first Paṭala together with the oral transmission (ed. CAYLEY 1995, p. 12: *gsungs nas rtsa rgyud le'u nga gcig pa bshad rgyud dang bcas pa dang snyan rgyud gnang ngo*). The *rnam thar* of Nāropā attributed to the twelfth-century author lHai'i btsun pa rin chen rnam rgyal says that Nāropā studied and mastered the Mūlatantra of Śaṃvara (bDe mchog) in fifty chapters. See the translation of GUENTHER (1963, p. 13), which misunderstands this as referring to the *Abhidhānottaratantra*.

51.1 athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi āmnāyaṃ sudurlabham |
gopaniyaṃ mayā tantre vīrasaṃketabhāṣitam ||
51.2 nivasanaṃ pañcamudrādi gātrasya prajñāṅgaṃ kīla pañjaram |
ālikālīti-m uccārya hetvādīśūnyapūrvakaṃ ||
51.3 pravṛttinādamādīni yāvat saṃhārayogataḥ |
amṛtāpyāyanivṛttiṃ tu hastapūjābhisecanaṃ ||
51.4 mahākavacena saṃrakṣya sarvamantreṅārcanam |
etac caturdaśa tattvaṃ saṃkṣepeṇa tu bhāṣitam ||
51.5 yaḥ samācarati naraḥ śreṣṭhaḥ sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā¹
tāthāgatīṃ ca labhate bhūmi janmani janmani ||

¹Cf. *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* §2612: *sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā sarvaśuddhyā karoti saḥ | sarvakāryāṇi karmo 'yam iti bhāvena sidhyati*; *Niśvāsamukha* 3.11cd: *sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā dehatyāge divaṃ yayau*; *Niśvāsaḥ* 10.9c–10b: *pañcaviṃśa sahasrāṇi japtvā vyomaśivasya tu | sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā kṛtasevo bhaviṣyati*; *Kriyākalaḡuottara* f. 57r: *sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā śivalokaṃ sa gacchati*; *Nāṭyaśāstra* 4.319: *mahēśvarasya caritaṃ ya idaṃ saṃprajoyayet | sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā śivalokaṃ sa gacchati*. The expression is also common in the Epic and Purāṇas. See, e.g., *Mahābhārata* 3.80.104cd: *sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā gacchec ca paramāṃ gatim*; and 3.80.132cd: *sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā brahmalokaṃ ca gacchati*; *Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.38.29cd: *sarvapāpaviśuddhātmā rudralokaṃ sa gacchati*.

51.6 tathāgatakulotpadya rājā bhavati dhārmikāḥ²
 yathā pūrvādipāpasya hīno sarvalakṣaṇaiḥ
 51.7 ya imāṃ dhyāyate nityaṃ sarvakāmeśvara kṣitau |
 ghr̥tapūrṇaṃ yathā bhāṇḍaṃ sthāpitam agnimadhyake ||
 51.8 dravantaṃ dravate sarpiḥ kālaṃ naśyati bhāṇḍayoḥ |
 tathā pāpaṃ ca naśyati śrīheruketi nāmataḥ ||
 51.9 dhyāne cintitamātram vā pāṭhaṃ svādhyāyalekhanāt |
 svargabhogam avāpnoti athavā cakravartinaṃ ||
 51.10 cyutikāle tu yogināṃ śrīherukādivirā yoginī |
 nānāpuṣpakaravyagrā nānādhvajapatākinam ||
 51.11 nānātūryanirghoṣair nānāgītopahārataḥ |
 mṛtyur nāma vikalpasya nīyate khecarīpade³||
 51.12 evaṃ deva mahāvīra yoginyo bhuvi durlabham |

□

Verses from the remainder of the text, from 51.12c to the end, are found elsewhere in the corpus only in the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* (YS) and the *Samvarodaya* (SU): 51.13c–16b > YS 17.21c–24b, 51.18–19 > SU 32.29c–30b, 51.21d > SU 32.31d.

śrīherukamahātantraṃ yo jñātvāpi abhaktitaḥ |
 dāridryaṃ duḥkhasantāpaṃ tasya nityaṃ sadā bhavet ||
 51.13 kaṅṭhikācūḍakeyūraṃ kuṇḍalaṃ brahmasūtrakam |
 kaṅṭhālaṃkṛtaśiromālā mekhalāghurghurāravaiḥ ||
 51.14 girimastakakiñjalke viśvapadmālikālyam ca |
 gauryāpatiṃ samākramya vajraghaṅṭāngaliṅgitam ||
 51.15 caturviṃśena sārḍha saṃyuktaṃ vīrayoginivṛndakaiḥ |
 śrīherukamahārājaṃ bhāvayeta paramaṃ padaṃ ||
 51.16 sarvavīrasya yoginyaḥ sa parśanmadhye yogavān |
 sarve tuṣṭā vai bhūtā sṛṣṭisaṃhārakāraḥ ||
 51.17 nānādhimuktikāḥ sattvās caryā nānāvidhoditāḥ |
 nānānayavineyānāṃ nānopāyāni darśitāḥ ||
 51.18 gambhīradharmanirdeśe nādhimuktir bhaved yadi |
 pratikṣepo na kartavyaṃ smartavyācintyadharmmatā ||
 51.19 nātra me viśayo hy eṣa nāhaṃ jānāmi dharmatām |
 jānanti te mahātmānaḥ saṃbuddhā<s> tatsutā api ||
 51.20 utpādam api buddhānāṃ anutpāde pi vā sthitaḥ |

²Cf. *Śivadharma* 2.115c–116: *kṛdāte paramaṃ kālaṃ rudraloke vyavasthitaḥ | tataḥ kālāt kṣitīm prāpya rājā bhavati dhārmikāḥ | surūpaḥ sudvijo vāpi sarvavidyārthapāragah; Nīśvasamukha* 2.73: *tena puṇyaphalenaiva svargaloke mahīyate | svargalokāt paribhraṣṭo rājā bhavati dhārmikāḥ.*

³*Picumata* 56.4c–5: *śṛṇu devī pravakṣyāmi sarvayogiprasāadhanam | yāgamāntrasamopetaṃ yoginījālaśaṃvaram | yena vijñātamātreṇa trailokye khecarīpadam; Jayadrathayāmala, Śaṭka* 4, 2.9ab: *śaṅmāsād utpataty eva sādhaḥ khecarīpadam; 2.644cd: tatrārūḍhaḥ plaved devī praharāt khecarīpadam; Vāmanadatta, Dvayasāṃpattivārtika* 22cd: *mārgeṇānena saṃsiddhā labhante yoginīpadam.*

dharmatā sarvadācintyā hānivr̥ddhivivarjitā ||
51.21 ity evaṃ tulayitvā tu na nindyā<t> sarvalaukikam |
acintyo gatis teṣāṃ acintyo buddhanāṭakam ||
51.22 sūtram kriyābhicaryāṇaṃ yogaguhyan tu bhedataḥ |
sattvāvatāraṇaśīlam tu tatra tatra ratā iva ||

ITI ŚRĪHERUKĀBHIDHĀNAMAHĀTANTRARĀJALAKṢĀNTAḤPĀṬINI . . . ŚRĪCAKRASAṂVARANĀ-
MNI MAHĀYOGINĪTANTRARĀJE EKAPAÑCĀŚĀTIMAḤ PAṬALAḤ SAMĀPTAḤ.

This is where the text ends in the only currently accessible manuscript (Baroda, Maharaja Sayajirao University, Oriental Institute, MS Acc. 13290; ‘*Herukavidhānatantra*’; palm-leaf; Kuṭīla script; incomplete; undated), in the redaction known to all commentators other than Jayabhadra and Bhavyakīrti, and in the Tibetan translation (*bDe mchog nyung ngu*: Derge Kanjur, Rgyud ’bum, vol. *ka*, ff. 213r–246v; by Padmākara and Rin chen bzang po [958–1055], revised by Prajñākīrti [b. 1017] and Mar pa Chos kyi grags pa).