

早稲田大学高等研究所紀要

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早稲田大学高等研究所
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『早稲田大学高等研究所紀要 第 15 号』刊行にあたって

2008 年度から刊行してきた本紀要もこのたび第 15 号を刊行する運びとなりました。日頃よりご支援をいただいております皆様におかれましては、厚く御礼を申し上げます。

早稲田大学高等研究所は、次代を担う優秀な若手研究者の育成と、本学の研究活動のより一層の活性化を目的に、2006 年 9 月に設立されました。文系、理系の分野を問わず若手研究者を国際公募にて採用し、学際的な交流を推進するとともに、研究者の自立的な研究環境を提供し、先端的な研究活動を行っております。

2022 年度は、人文・社会・自然科学分野で合計 32 名の研究員が在籍し、その約 3 分の 1 は女性研究者、約 3 分の 1 が外国人研究者です。本研究所の設立以来、本学を含む国内外の大学や研究機関等へと送り出した研究員は、各分野の第一線で活躍しております。

本紀要は、こうした現職の研究員やこれまでに在籍した研究員（所友）の研究成果を収録しております。研究内容は多岐に渡り、論文については学内外の専門家による査読審査を経て収録しています。電子媒体で刊行し、本研究所の Web サイトにて広く皆様にご覧いただいております。

本研究所では、本紀要のほか、研究員が英語にて研究報告を行う月例研究会、研究員の企画による各分野の専門家を招聘した研究会、英国 Routledge 社と提携して研究所での研究成果を書籍化する『Routledge – WIAS モノグラフシリーズ』の刊行の推進など、様々な形の成果発信や研究活動を展開しております。

こうした様々な取組みとともに、本紀要が国内外の皆様の研究活動に貢献することができましたら、これに勝る喜びはありません。

今後とも皆様のご指導とご支援をいただきますよう、心よりお願い申し上げます。

2023 年 3 月

早稲田大学高等研究所

所長 赤尾 健一

副所長 山本 聡美

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SUGIKI, Tsunehiko

Abstract

This paper provides the first critical edition of the Sanskrit texts of the following works and their English translation with annotation: Kambala's *Sādhānanidhi*, Chapters 11, 14, and 49; the *Vajradāka*, Chapter 35; the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, Chapter 24; and the *Dākārṇava*, Chapter 50.2.1–14. They are Buddhist Tantric texts composed between the 10th and the 12th centuries in South Asia. They teach the yoga of the donkey-shaped [deities] (*gardabhākārayoga*) and the seven-birth (*saptajanman*). These are Buddhist forms of the divination ritual and the animal sacrifices. Divination rituals and animal sacrifices are religio-cultural practices that can be found in many places in the world in the past and present times. I believe that this paper will be a useful reference not only for specialists who study Buddhist Tantrism but also for readers who are interested in those practice from the perspective of comparative culture.

Introduction

Some of the Buddhist *tantras* (scriptures) that Indian exegetical tradition classifies as belonging to the Yoginītantra scriptural class include discourses on the “yoga of the donkey-shaped [deities]” (*gardabhākārayoga*) and the “seven-birth” (*saptajanman*). The *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (around the late 8th or late 9th century:¹ hereinafter *Cakrasaṃvara*), which is also called *Herukābhīdhāna* or *Laghusaṃvara*,² was most likely the first to teach them.

The yoga of the donkey-shaped is also called “donkey yoga” (*gardabhayoga*). It is the worship and visualization of certain deities with donkey faces. By this practice, a yogin can know

¹ For the date of compilation of the *Cakrasaṃvara*, see Davidson (1981: 7–8 and 2004: 40) and Sander-son (2009: 158–165).

² There is a strong possibility that this scripture's name, *Laghusaṃvara*, can be found only in texts that were composed in relatively late centuries (namely in and after the 11th century). I am currently examining this possibility.

whether his client or target is close to the end of his/her life; what his or her previous lives were; and whether he is a “seven-birth” man. The concept of “seven-birth” has multiple meanings. In some Buddhist discourses including those of donkey yoga, the “seven-birth” indicates a man who has been reborn into a human existence seven times in a row. In his seven successive lives, he has not been reborn into any other state of existence such as an animal, or a hungry ghost. The same concept also refers to seven sacrificial beings, for example, a *donkey*, human, turtle, camel, jackal, horse, and boar. Donkey yoga and the concept of the seven-birth are thus partially related to each other.

I plan to discuss donkey yoga and the seven-birth in detail in future work. As part of the preparation for that, in this paper I present the first critical edition of the Sanskrit texts of the following texts that teach donkey yoga and the seven-birth, and provide an English translation of them:

- Kambala’s *Sādhanaṇidhi* (“Storehouse of Sādhana,” a commentary on the *Herukābhidhāna*³ or “Discourse of Heruka”), Chapters 11, 14, and 49 (composed around the 10th century)
- The *Vajraḍākamahātantra* (hereinafter *Vajraḍāka*, “Adamantine Ḍāka”), Chapter 35 (composed around the 10th century)
- The *Mahāmudrātilakatantrarājādhirāja* (hereinafter *Mahāmudrātilaka*, “Great Seal Ornament”), Chapter 24 (composed around the late 11th century⁴)
- The *Ḍākārṇavanāmamahāyoginītantrarāja* (hereinafter *Ḍākārṇava*, “Ocean of Ḍākas”), Chapter 50.2.1–14 (composed around the early 12th century⁵)

I also provide critical editions of the Tibetan translations of those texts as supporting materials.

Donkey-yoga and the practice centered on the seven-birth are Buddhist forms of divination rituals and animal sacrifices (including human sacrifice). Divination rituals and animal sacrifices are religio-cultural practices that can be found in many places in the world in the past and in present times. I believe that this paper will be a useful reference not only for specialists who study Buddhist Tantrism but also for readers who are interested in those practices from the perspective of comparative culture.

1. Employed Materials and Editorial Policy

The following is a collection of the Sanskrit manuscripts and versions of the Tibetan translation that I have used for editing the texts mentioned in the Introduction section of this paper.

³ In the *Sādhanaṇidhi*, the *Cakrasaṃvara* is normally called *Herukābhidhāna*.

⁴ For the date of compilation of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*, see Szántó (2015: 5, 6, 9, and 10).

⁵ For the date of the composition of the *Ḍākārṇava*, see Sugiki (2022: 9–20).

Kambala's *Sādhānanidhi*, Chapters 11, 14, and 49

Sanskrit manuscripts:

A: Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (hereinafter NGMPP) B31/20,⁶ palm leaf (73 folios), hook-topped Newar script, incomplete (the last few folios are missing), no date. Chapter 11: 26v3–v5; Chapter 14: 32r3–33r6; and Chapter 49: 75v1–v4.

B: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (hereinafter Göttingen) Xc 14/51, palm leaf (110 folios), Newar script, complete, no date. The final some folios of Göttingen Xc14/30 (from 40.jpg to 44.jpg of its digital copy, which does not contain folios 36–71) is a different film of the same Sanskrit manuscript.⁷ Chapter 11: 36r2–r3; Chapter 14: 43r5–45r1; and Chapter 49: 108v4–109r2.

Tibetan translation:⁸

D: Tohoku University catalog 1401. The Tangyur division of the Sde dge edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (hereinafter D). Chapter 11: 28v1–v2; Chapter 14: 33v6–35r2; and Chapter 49: 77r3–r5.

P: Otani University catalog 2118. The Tangyur division of the Peking edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka (hereinafter P). Chapter 11: 104v1–v3; Chapter 14: 110r6–111v3; and Chapter 49: 157v6–158r2.

NGMPP E2990/15 (palm leaf, fragments (2 folios), Newar script, incomplete, no date)⁹ is also a Sanskrit manuscript of the *Sādhānanidhi*. However, that is fragmentary and does not contain Chapters 11, 14, or 49. Therefore, in this paper, I have not used NGMPP E2990/15.

As mentioned earlier, the *Sādhānanidhi* is a commentary on the *Herukābhīdhāna*. In the edited text of the *Sādhānanidhi*, I have indicated the *pratīkas* (words that are quoted from the *Herukābhīdhāna*) and the words that are identical to those in the *Herukābhīdhāna* in italics with “HA” and numbers in boldface type that represent the locations of those words in Gray’s edition of the *Herukābhīdhāna* (Gray 2012). For example, “*athānyatamaṃ vakṣya* (**HA 11.1a**) iti” in the *Sādhānanidhi* (11.1) means that the italicized words *athānyatamaṃ vakṣye* are quoted from verse 11.1a (the first *pāda* of the first verse) of the 11th chapter in the *Herukābhīdhāna* (HA).

⁶ Prof. Harunaga Isaacson identified NGMPP B31/20 (incorrectly titled *Herukābhīdhāna*) to be Kambala’s *Sādhānanidhi* and personally taught this to me.

⁷ Prof. Peter D. Szántó found that some folios of Göttingen Xc 14/30 (from 40.jpg to 44.jpg of the digital copy that I obtained from University of Göttingen) to be the *Sādhānanidhi* (Szántó 2012: 249). Prof. Harunaga Isaacson, Prof. Ryuta Kikuya, and Dr. Daisy Cheung identified Xc 14/51 (incorrectly titled *Herukasādhānapañjikā*) to be the *Sādhānanidhi*. I have noticed that Xc 14/30 (from 40.jpg to 44.jpg) and Xc 14/51 are different films of the same Sanskrit manuscript.

⁸ The Tibetan translation of Devagupta’s commentary on the *Herukābhīdhāna* is a different translation of the *Sādhānanidhi*. I have consulted it as well, but I do not provide the Tibetan text of Devagupta’s version in the present paper.

⁹ The fragments contain parts of Chapters 8, 29, and 30 of the *Sādhānanidhi*. See Sugiki (2019: 7).

The *Vajradāka*, Chapter 35

Sanskrit manuscripts:

C: Śāstrī (Śāstrī 1917) 72 (The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata, accession no. G3825), palm leaf (126 folios), hook-topped Newar script, complete, no date. Chapter 35: 82r5–v2.

T: Matsunami (Matsunami 1965) 343, palm leaf (108 folios), hook-topped Newar script, complete, dated Nepal sambat (abbreviated to NS) 291. Chapter 35: 63r4–r7.

Tibetan translation:

D: D 370. Chapter 35: 73r6–v4.

P: P 18. Chapter 35: 303v8–304r6.

I consulted the commentary by Bhavabhadra (who has been often said to be identical to Bhavabhaṭṭa), the *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415: Chapter 35; 164r1–v6).

The *Mahāmudrātilaka*, Chapter 24

Sanskrit manuscripts:

A: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, no. Hs or 8711, paper (57 folios), Newar script, complete, dated NS 947. Chapter 24: 51r5–52r2.

Tibetan translation:

D: D 420. Chapter 24: 87v7–88r4.

P: P 12. Chapter 24: 326r7–v4.

I have also consulted Gambhīravajra's *Guhyārthaparakāśamahādbhūta* (D 1200, Chapter 24: 149v4–150r1), a commentary on the *Mahāmudrātilaka*.

Manuscript A is the only available Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*. It is a recent manuscript, copied in the 19th century. The difference between this Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāmudrātilaka* is not small, as Szántó pointed out: “When compared to the Tibetan translation, it is very clear that we are dealing with at least two recensions of the *Mahāmudrātilaka*.”¹⁰ Therefore, in the main text, I have provided an English translation of its Sanskrit text, and in the footnotes, I have presented an English translation of the variant readings of its Tibetan translation that I consider significant.

The *Mahāmudrātilaka*, Chapter 12, whose title is *Pañcāmṛtavidhi* or “the Ritual Manual of the Fivefold Nectar,” also contains a teaching of the seven-birth. However, in this paper, I do not provide an edition of that chapter because the paper would exceed the prescribed word limit.

¹⁰ Szántó (2015: 4).

The *Ḍākārṇava*, Chapter 50.2.1–14

Sanskrit manuscripts:

- A: NGMPP A138/9, paper (appearing very old: 42 folios), hook-topped Newar script, complete, no date (Probably from sometime between the 12th and 15th century). Chapter 50.2.1–14: 33v11–34r3.
- B: Matsunami 145, paper (252 folios), Newar script, complete, dated NS 779. Chapter 50.2.1–14: 189v6–191r2.
- C: NGMPP A142/2, paper (104 folios), Newar script, complete, dated NS 951. Chapter 50.2.1–14: 80v11–81r10.

Tibetan translation:

- D: D 372. Chapter 50.2.1–14: 236r3–v4.
- P: P 19. Chapter 50.2.1–14: 105r5–v6.

The title of Chapter 50.2 is *Gardabhayogamahākaṅkālabhāvakāmnāyatattvayukti* (“The Practice of the Truth of the Sacred Tradition of Donkey Yoga That Causes the Emergence of Mahākaṅkāla”). In this paper I do not present a Sanskrit edition and translation of the remaining part of the same chapter (i.e., Chapter 50.2.15–34), because it deals with a different topic¹¹ and due to article length restrictions.

I have also consulted its commentary, Padmavajra’s *Bohitā* (D 1419, 50.2.1–14: 272r2–274r4).¹² A fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript of this work (NGMPP A25/3 and A48/9, palm leaf, four damaged leaves, hook-topped Newar script, no date) is available.¹³ However, it does not contain Chapter 50.2.1–14.

The editorial policy that I have adopted in editing the *Ḍākārṇava* 50.2.1–14 is identical to the policy that I adopted in editing the *Ḍākārṇava* 15 in my previous publication, Sugiki (2022).¹⁴ It may appear to be somewhat different from the normal way of editing a Sanskrit text (namely, the way that one emends the text according to the rule of Classic Sanskrit and keeps words in irregular forms only when the meter requires them, although there are exceptional cases), which I have adopted in editing the other texts in the present paper. The Sanskrit in manuscript A contains many morphological and orthographical peculiarities. In the critical edition, I have kept many of those peculiarities. I consider this policy reasonable. (1) All available Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Ḍākārṇava* (including manuscripts B and C) are derived from manuscript A. (2) The peculiarities of the language used in manuscript A can also be attested

¹¹ The *Ḍākārṇava* 50.2.15–34 teaches the way of diagnosis of an illness connected with the calendar peculiar to the *Ḍākārṇava*.

¹² For the word “*bohitā*,” see Sugiki (2022: 3–4, footnote 3).

¹³ The four damaged leaves (one in NGMPP A25/3 and three in NGMPP A48/9) contain commentaries on parts of Chapters 15, 22, 23, 27, and 50.1. Prof. Peter D. Szántó noticed that a leaf of the Sanskrit *Bohitā* is contained in NGMPP A25/3 and gave it to me. NGMPP A48/9 and a fragment in NGMPP A25/3 are microfilms of the same Sanskrit manuscript.

¹⁴ For the editorial policy that I adopted in editing the *Ḍākārṇava* 15, see Sugiki (2022: chapter 3).

in some of the parallel passages found in the texts that antedate the *Ḍākārṇava* and in many parallel passages present in the texts that postdate the *Ḍākārṇava*. (3) In Chapter 16 of the *Ḍākārṇava*, which is a teaching of encoding the letters constituting the root mantra (*mūlamantra*), the orthographic peculiarities in question are encoded. (4) From the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Bohitā* (NGMPP A25/3 and A48/9), we can collect some *pratīkas* or quotations in Sanskrit from the *Ḍākārṇava*. Most morphological peculiarities can also be attested in the *pratīkas*, and the *Bohitā* comments on some of those peculiarities. (For more details, see Sugiki 2022, chapter 3.) The version of the text transmitted in manuscript A was thus very influential, and many of the peculiarities are most likely authorial and not transmissional in this version of the text. (However, I have emended most of the orthographic peculiarities for the readers' convenience in searching words.)

2. Conventions

Signs that I have used for the critical apparatus (both in Sanskrit and Tibetan texts) are as follows:

ac	ante correction
add.	added in
cf.	confer
conj.	conjectural emendation
corr.	correction of orthographic variants
em.	emendation
HA (verse number)	Citation from the <i>Herukābhīdhāna</i> .
m.c.	metri causa
n.e.	no equivalent in
om.	omitted in
pc	post correction
r	recto
v	verso
..	an <i>akṣara</i> illegible due to blurring
.	part(s) of an <i>akṣara</i> illegible due to blurring
++	an <i>akṣara</i> illegible due to damage to leaf
+	part(s) of an <i>akṣara</i> illegible due to damage to leaf
##	an <i>akṣara</i> erased for cancellation and hence illegible
#	part(s) of an <i>akṣara</i> erased for cancellation and hence illegible
/	<i>daṇḍa</i> or <i>shad</i>
//	<i>dvidaṇḍa</i> or <i>nyis shad</i>
◆	separates comments on different words

(word) Peculiar words that I have accepted in the edited text (see below).

In the critical apparatus, I have marked the accepted reading by a lemma sign ‘J’. This is followed by information on variant readings and the reason for my decision. For example, “paśor J B (phyugs Tib); yaśor A” (*Sādhānanidhi* 11.1) means: “I have accepted B’s reading of ‘paśor’; I have not accepted A’s reading of ‘yaśor’; and the Tibetan translation ‘phyugs’ accords with the accepted reading.” When the Tibetan translation does not accord with the accepted reading, the Tibetan translation is shown at the end, e.g., “iti J B; ti A; zhes bya ba la sogs pas Tib” (*Sādhānanidhi* 11.1).

In the edited text, I have indicated the peculiar words with underlines, and in the critical apparatus I have provided instructions on how to read them as follows: “manovega” in the edited text and “-vega (for -vegām) J” in the apparatus (*Ḍākārṇava* 50.2.1d). This means that the grammatically irregular “-vega” is used as “-vegām.”

Editorial decisions have been made regarding the division of verses and paragraphs. While I have consistently applied the classical rules of *sandhi* (except for all cases in the *Ḍākārṇava* and some cases in the other texts in which the rules are not applied to accommodate the meter), I have not reported either the non-application of *sandhi* or its misapplication. Orthographic variants that I have not reported are gemination of consonants after -r, degemination of t before -v, and non-occurrence of *avagraha*. However, when they appear in the apparatus, I have noted them. I have corrected all the words *ūrdhva* to *ūrdhva* without a report.

3. *Sādhānanidhi*, Chapter 11.

athānyatamam vakṣya (HA 11.1a) iti saptāvṛtteḥ paśor grahaṇam ānantarya-
bhāvenotpādātāḥ /¹⁵ tasya lakṣaṇam ūnapañcāśattamaṣaḥ uktam iha
nocyate /1/¹⁶

/de nas gzhan yang bshad par bya/(HA 11.1a) zhes bya ba la sogs pas skye ba bdun pa la
sogs pa'i phyugs bzung ba ste /¹⁷ skye ba gzhan gyis bar ma chod pa'o//¹⁸ de'i mtshan nyid
ni le'u bzhi bcu rtsa dgu pa las ston pas 'dir ma brjod pa'o//¹⁹

¹⁵ iti J B; ti A; zhes bya ba la sogs pas Tib ♦ saptāvṛtteḥ J B; saptāvṛtte A; skye ba bdun pa la sogs pa Tib ♦ paśor J B (phyugs Tib); yaśor A ♦ -tpādātāḥ J B; tpādanatvāt A; gzhan gyis Tib

¹⁶ tasya J A (de'i Tib); asya B ♦ ūnapañcāśattama- J *em.* (bzhi bcu rtsa dgu pa Tib); ūnapañcāśatima AB ♦ -paṣaḥ uktam J *corr.* (le'u and ston pas Tib); paṣaloktan A; paṣale uktam B ♦ iha nocyate J B ('dir ma brjod pa Tib); na ihocyate A

¹⁷ la sogs pas J D; la sogs pa'i P

¹⁸ chod pa'o J D; mchod pa'o P

¹⁹ brjod pa'o J D; brjod do P

[The *pāda*] “Now, I shall explain another” (HA 11.1a) means [that I shall explain] recognizing²⁰ a sacrificial animal that has been [re]born into the [same] state of existence seven times in a row.²¹ The characteristic of that [seven-birth] is explained in Chapter 49; it is not explained in this [chapter].

śrīherukābhīdhāne sādhananidhau pañjikāyām ekādaśapaṭalavyākhyā /²²

dpal he ru ka zhes bya ba'i dka' 'grel sgrub pa'i thabs kyi gleng gzhi las le'u bcu gcig pa'i rnam par bshad pa'o//²³

[That is] an exposition of the 11th chapter in the *Sādhānanidhi* commentary on the glorious *Herukābhīdhāna*.

4. *Sādhānanidhi*, Chapter 14

atha sādhanam vakṣya (HA 14.1a) iti /²⁴ sādhyate 'neneti sādhanam mahopāyaḥ /1/²⁵

/de nas sgrub thabs bshad bya ba/(HA 14.1a) zhes bya ba 'dis sgrub par byed pas na sgrub thabs chen po'o//

“Now I shall explain a *sādhana*²⁶” (HA 14.1a)—[Etymologically] *sādhana* is that by which [the aim] is completed (*sādhyate*); [the *sādhana*] is a great means.

gardabhākārayogātmā manoveganivṛttaya (HA 14.1cd) iti / manaso vego manovegaḥ /²⁷ tena vidhivan nivartanam sarvakudṛṣṭyāvaraṇāt /²⁸ śuddhakaḍavarasya yathā bhavati śīghraparivartanam svapnavat /²⁹ gatasāṅgair

²⁰ The word *grahaṇam*, which I have translated as “recognizing,” can also be translated as “capturing” or “[‘Now, I shall explain another’] refers to.”

²¹ The literal translation of the words *saptāvṛtteḥ paśor ... ānantaryabhāvenotpādataḥ* is “of a sacrificial animal after seven-times-[re]births (*saptāvṛtteḥ ... -utpādataḥ*) into the [same] state of existence (*-bhāvena*) in a row (*ānantarya-*).” I have translated this as “[recognizing = recognition of] a sacrificial animal that has been [re]born into the [same] state of existence seven times in a row” in order to make the meaning clearer.

²² -nidhau] B; nidho A; gleng gzhi las Tib ♦ pañjikāyām] ABpc (dka' 'grel Tib); pa### Bac ♦ ekādaśapaṭalavyākhyā] A; (le'u bcu gcig pa'i rnam par bshad pa Tib); ekādaśamaḥ paṭalaḥ B

²³ gleng gzhi las] D; gleng gzhi P

²⁴ This line is blurred and illegible out of focus in B.

²⁵ 'neneti] B ('dis Tib); neneti A ♦ sādhanam] B (sgrub par byed pas Tib); sādhanā A

²⁶ The literal translation of the word *sādhana* is “a means for perfect realization.”

²⁷ vego] B (zhugs Tib); vega A

²⁸ vidhivan] A (cho ga dang ldan pas Tib); vidhevan B ♦ nivartanam] ABpc (bzlog nas Tib); nivarttaya or nivartta### Bac

anāhataḥ /2/³⁰

/bong bu'i rnam pa'i rnal 'byor bdag/ /yid kyi shugs kyis bzlog bya'i phyir/(HA 14.1cd)
zhes bya ba la/ yid kyi shugs ni yid kyi shugs te/ de'i cho ga dang ldan pas lta ba ngan pa
dang sgrib pa thams cad las bzlog nas dag par 'gyur ba'i lus rmi lam ltar myur du yongs su
brje bas g-yo ba dang bral te mi shigs pa'o//³¹

[The passage] “[One] devotes oneself to the yoga of the donkey-shaped [deities] for the purpose of releasing by the mental power (*manovega*)” (HA 14.1cd) means [as follows]. The mind’s power (*manaso vego*: a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound) is the “mental power” (*manovega*).³² By that [mental power], according to rule, [one is] released from all wrong views and coverings,³³ so that [his body can] be quickly changed into a pure body like in a dream. Freed from worldly attachments,³⁴ [he will be] indestructible.

aśeṣayogasamdhāraṇād gardabho yoga uttamaḥ /³⁵
sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālasamvaraḥ //3//³⁶

/ma lus rnal 'byor 'dzin byed pa/ /bong bu'i rnal 'byor rnal 'byor mchog/
/sangs rgyas kun dang mnyam sbyor bas/ /mkha' 'gro ma yi dra ba sdom//

Donkey yoga is the highest because [it is] the base that supports (*samdhāraṇa*) all other yogas.³⁷

²⁹ yathā] A; om. B; n.e. Tib; the word *yathā* may appear odd, but the author might have had in mind the following phrase (although the context and the meaning of *yathā* are different): *yathā rājā indrabhūtiḥ tadvat kalevaram parivartya vajrakāyo bhūtvā* (*Sūtakamelāpaka* [*Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*], chapter 9, Sanskrit edition, p. 477, l. 8–l. 9).

³⁰ anāhataḥ] A (mi shigs pa Tib); anāhatā B

³¹ thams cad las] D; thams cad la P

³² In the commentaries on the *Herukābhidhāna* (*Cakrasamvara*), there are two kinds of interpretations about what *manovega* means: (1) “a rush of thought,” a negative aspect of the mind to be stopped, and (2) “the mental power,” a positive aspect of the mind. In this compound (*monoveganivṛttaye*), the former meaning seems more natural and most likely the original. The *Sādhānanidhi*’s interpretation falls into the latter one. In Bhavabhaṭṭa’s *Cakrasamvaravivṛti* (Skt ed., p. 94, l. 6), *manovega* refers to the *manorājya* or “realm of fancy” to be stopped, which belong to the former kind of interpretation. See also footnotes 131 and 183 of the present paper.

³³ Most likely the “coverings” (*āvaraṇa*) indicates the traditional concept of the five coverings (*pañcāvaraṇa*) as Kambala teaches to be freed from them in Chapters 1 and 14 (*Sādhānanidhi*, 1.22 [my unpublished edition] and 14.20b).

³⁴ Literally the phrase *gatasāṅgair* means “with worldly attachments abandoned.” I have translated that as “Freed from worldly attachments” to make the meaning clearer.

³⁵ gardabho] A (bong bu'i Tib); gardarbha B ♦ yoga] B; yogam A; rnam 'byor rnal 'byor Tib ♦ uttamaḥ] B (mchog Tib); uttamam A

³⁶ -samāyoga-] A (mnyam sbyor bas Tib); mahāyoga B

³⁷ Why is this yoga “the base that supports all other yogas”? The reason is explained in the previous passage, *Sādhānanidhi* (14.2): As one can be released from all wrong views and coverings, this yoga is the base of all other yogas.

[Donkey yoga is of] the supreme bliss in the web of *ḍākinīs* through the fusion of all buddhas.³⁸

śrīpadmavanaṣaṇḍe mlecchitair buddhamudrayā /³⁹
krīḍanti vanamadhye sarvasaukhyamahotsavāḥ //4//⁴⁰

/pa dma dpal gyi nags tshogs na/ /kla klo sangs rgyas kun phyag rgya/
/dga' ba kun gyi bde ba yis/ /nags kyi dbus su rnam par rol//

In a dense forest of glorious lotuses, speaking a barbarous language, they play with seals (women) of the Enlightened Ones, in the middle of the forest. [They] rejoice greatly in all pleasures.

ḍākinī ca tathā lāmā khaṇḍarohā tu rūpiṇī /⁴¹
nānārūpavilāsinyāḥ sarvālaṃkārabhāṣvarāḥ //5//⁴²

/mkha' 'gro ma dang lā ma dang/ /dum skyes ma dang gzugs can ma/
/sna tshogs gzugs kyis rnam rol zhing/ /rgyan kun brgyan bzhin 'od gsal ba//

Ḍākinī, *Lāmā*, *Khaṇḍarohā*, and *Rūpiṇī*—[They] are charming women assuming various forms, being resplendent with all [kinds of good] ornaments.

pūrvoktamaṇḍalanyāsaḥ /⁴³ kiṃ tu ḍākinī ḍākaś ca *gardabhākārarudhirava-*
ktrā ca /⁴⁴ *ḍākinī triśūlakaraveṣṭitā* (HA 14.2.1) /6/

/sngon du bstan bzhin 'khor dgod bya/ /'on kyang mkha' 'gro ma rnam dang/⁴⁵
/mkha' 'gro ma ni bong bu yi/ /rnam pa'i gdong can khrag mig gam//⁴⁶
mkha' 'gro ma'i lag na mdung rtse gsum pa (HA 14.2.1)/⁴⁷

³⁸ Alternatiely, *-saṃvaraḥ* indicates a practitioner who performs donkey yoga, the base of all yogas, and the whole line can be translated as “[By this practice, a practitioner will be in the state of] the supreme bliss in the web of *ḍākinīs* through the fusion of all buddhas.”

³⁹ *-ṣaṇḍe*] *em.* (tshogs na Tib); *ṣaṇḍa* A; *ṣaṇḍo* B ◆ *mlecchitair*] *em.* (kla klo Tib): *cchitai* A; *mlecchito* B ◆ *buddha-*] AB; *sangs rgyas kun* Tib

⁴⁰ *mahotsavāḥ*] A; *mahotsavaḥ* B; *dga' ba* Tib

⁴¹ *ca*] A (dang Tib); *tu* B ◆ *rūpiṇī*] B (gzugs can ma Tib); *rūpiṇī* A

⁴² *vilāsinyāḥ*] B (rnam rol Tib); *vināsinī* A ◆ *-laṃkāra-*] B; *laṃ* A; *rgyan* and *brgyan bzhin* Tib ◆ *-bhāṣvarāḥ*] B ('od gsal ba Tib); *prabhāṣvarāḥ* A

⁴³ *-nyāsaḥ*] B (dgod bya Tib); *nyāsaṃ* A

⁴⁴ *ḍākinī ḍākaś ca*] B; *ḍākinī ḍākasya* A; *mkha' 'gro ma rnam dang mkha' 'gro ma* Tib

⁴⁵ *dang*] D; *ni* P

⁴⁶ *mig gam*] D; *mdzag ma* P

⁴⁷ *mkha' 'gro ma'i*] D; *mkha' 'gro ma yi* P

[He] places (visualizes) the maṇḍala that was explained earlier (namely, the fivefold maṇḍala of Heruka). However, [each] ḍākinī (each of the 29 ḍākinīs residing in the Great Pleasure, the Mind, the Speech, and the Body Circles that constitute the fivefold maṇḍala)⁴⁸ and the ḍāka (Heruka) “are in the form of a donkey with the bloody mouth. [Each] ḍākinī⁴⁹ holds a trident in [her] hand.” (HA 14.2.1)

ūrdhvakhaṭvāṅgakapālakaravyagrāś caturbhujāḥ śavārūḍhā jvaladdīptās
trinetra muktakeśās tu nagnikāḥ /7/⁵⁰

steng du bskor zhing kha ṭwām ga dang thod pa bsams pa phyag bzhi pa mi ro'i gdan la
bcibs shing me bzhin 'bar ba spyang gsum pa skra grol ba gcer bu'o//

[They⁵¹ each] eagerly raise a skull staff and hold a skull bowl, have four arms, stand on a corpse, are shining in fire, have three eyes [on each face], have hair untied, and are naked.

adhipatyādisarveṣāṃ pūrvoktacihnābharaṇādi sampaśyet /8/⁵²

bdag po la sogs pa thams cad kyi mtshan ma dang rgyan dang gos la sogs pa ni sngar bstan
pa bzhin du blta'o//

For all [other features] such as [the image of] the Lord [attached to the diadem], he should visualize entirely the marks, ornaments, and others that were explained earlier.

kiṃ tu cittacakrasya vīrāḥ sarve garuḍānanāḥ /⁵³ vākcaṅkasya vīrā mayūrāna-

⁴⁸ It is the most reasonable to understand this “ḍākinī” as indicating the 29 ḍākinīs residing in the Great Pleasure, the Mind, the Speech, and the Body Circles. Features of the other deities on the fivefold maṇḍala are explained in other parts in this chapter.

⁴⁹ It is obscure whom this “[each] ḍākinī,” who holds a trident, indicates. There are five possibilities: (1) It indicates only Ḍākinī, a ḍākinī residing at the east seat in the Great Pleasure Circle (in which case the translation must be “Ḍākinī holds a trident in the hand”); (2) the 29 ḍākinīs who are donkey-faced; (3) all the 37 ḍākinīs on the fivefold maṇḍala; (4) the four ḍākinīs in the Great Pleasure Circle such as Ḍākinī; and (5) the four ḍākinīs in the Great Pleasure Circle and the eight ḍākinīs in the Pledge Circle. The first interpretation is identical to Tathāgatavajra's interpretation (Tathāgatarakṣita's *Ubhayānibandha*, D 1409, 226v3) The fifth interpretation is the same as Bhavabhaṭṭa's idea (Bhavabhaṭṭa's *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti*, Skt ed., p. 94, l. 14–l. 20). Bhavabhaṭṭa states that the ḍākinīs each hold a trident instead of a skull staff. Normally, among the 37 ḍākinīs, only the four ḍākinīs in the Great Pleasure Circle and the eight ḍākinīs in the Pledge Circles (who have four hands) hold skull staffs.

⁵⁰ -dīptās] B ('bar ba Tib); dīptā A ♦ -netra] A (spyang Tib); netra B ♦ muktakeśās tu nagnikāḥ] B (skra grol ba gcer bu'o Tib); muktakeśāḥ A

⁵¹ They seem to indicate the same ḍākinīs who hold tridents.

⁵² adhipatyādi-] *em.* (bdag po la sogs pa Tib); adhipatyādi tu A; adhepatyāte B ♦ -bharaṇādi] *conj.*; bharaṇāṃ ca A; bharaṇāḥ Bac; bharaṇāṃbarāḥ B; rgyan dang gos la sogs pa Tib ♦ sampaśyet] A; paśyet B; blta Tib

⁵³ kiṃ tu] ABpc ('on kyang Tib); ki### Bac ♦ -nanāḥ] ApcB (zhal can Tib); nānāḥ Aac

nāḥ /⁵⁴ kāyacakrasya vīrāḥ simhānanāḥ /9/⁵⁵

'on kyang thugs kyi 'khor lo'i dpa' bo thams cad ni nam mkha' lding gi zhal can no// gsung
gi 'khor lo'i dpa' bo rnams kyi zhal ni rma bya'i gdong can no// sku'i 'khor lo'i dpa' bo ni
seng ge'i gdong can no//

However, all heroes in the Mind Circle [each] have the face of Garuḍa. The heroes in the Speech Circle [each] have the face of a peacock. The heroes in the Body Circle [each] have the face of a lion.

kākāśyādyās tu catvāraḥ svanāmamukhāḥ /⁵⁶ koṇeṣu yamadāḍhyādya mahiṣa-
mṛgavyāghrabhallukamukhās tathā /10/⁵⁷

khwa'i gdong pa la sogs pa ni rang gi ming gi gdong pa'o// gshin rje'i gdong pa la sogs pa
mtshams kyi ni ma he dang/ ri dags dang/ stag dang/ de bzhin du gung gi gdong pa'o//

On the other hand, the four [goddesses] starting with Kākāśyā have the faces of [the animals that] their names [indicate].⁵⁸ Likewise, Yamadāḍhī and the other [three goddesses] at the [four] corners have the faces of a buffalo, deer, tiger, and bear, [respectively].

māṇḍaleyaś ca sarveśaṃ trinetra raktalocanāḥ /⁵⁹
mahākaruṇāparigrastā dharmanairātmyasaṃbhavāḥ //11//⁶⁰

dkyil 'khor thams cad kyang spyang gsum pa la spyang dmar zhing snying rje chen pos yongs
su gzung ba chos bdag med pa las byung ba'o//⁶¹

The maṇḍala deities of all [circles each] have three eyes that are red,⁶² are entirely seized by great compassion, and originate from [the true reality where] existences are devoid of their

⁵⁴ vīrā] A; vīrāḥ sarvve B; dpa' bo rnams kyi zhal Tib ◆ -rānanāḥ] A (gdong can Tib); rānanāḥ B

⁵⁵ vīrāḥ] A (dpa' bo Tib); vīrā B ◆ -hānanāḥ] A (gdong can Tib); hānanāḥ B

⁵⁶ kākāśyādyās tu] B (khwa'i gdong pa la sogs pa Tib); kākāśyādikā A ◆ catvāraḥ] AB; *n.e.* Tib ◆ -mukhāḥ] A (gdong pa Tib); mukhā B

⁵⁷ yamadāḍhyādya] B (gshin rje'i gdong pa la sogs pa Tib); yamā Aac; yamadāḍhyāḥ Apc ◆ -vyāghra-] A (stag Tib); vyāghraḥ B ◆ bhallukamukhās] *em.* (gung gi gdong pa Tib); bhallukamukhās A; bhallukānanāḥ B ◆ tathā] A (de bzhin du Tib); *om.* B; *n.e.* Tib

⁵⁸ The four goddesses are Kākāśyā (“crow-faced woman”), Ulūkāśyā (“owl-faced woman”), Sūkārāśyā (“boar-faced woman”), and Śvānāśyā (“dog-faced woman”). They have the faces of a crow, an owl, a boar, and a dog, respectively. They are situated at the four gates.

⁵⁹ sarveśaṃ] A (thams cad Tib); sarvve B ◆ -locanāḥ] *corr.* (spyang Tib); locanā AB

⁶⁰ -nairātmya-] A (bdag med pa Tib); nairātma B ◆ -saṃbhavāḥ] ApcB (las byung ba Tib); bha Aac

⁶¹ gzung ba] D; gzung ba la P

⁶² Literally it means “have three eyes, have red eyes.”

own selves.

eṣa yogavaraḥ śreṣṭhaḥ (HA 14.5c) sarvaduḥkhakṣayaṃkaraḥ /⁶³

/’di rnam rnal ’byor dam pa’i gtso (HA 14.5c)/ /sdug bsngal thams cad zad byed pa’o/

“This is the best yoga, the most excellent,” (HA 14.5c) which destroys all sufferings.

śvasanān nābhimūlataḥ //12//⁶⁴

candrasūryeti vikhyātā vāmadakṣiṇayor dvayoḥ /⁶⁵

kadalīpuṣpasamkāśā nābhimūle samutthitā //13//⁶⁶

gavākṣaṃ tu yat kamalaṃ gardabhas tu sa vijñeyaḥ /⁶⁷

/dbugs rnam lte ba’i rtsa ba nas//

/g-yas dang g-yon pa gnyis dag gis/⁶⁸/zla ba nyi ma rnam par bshad/

/chu shing me tog lta bu ni/ /lte ba’i rtsa ba nas ’greng ba//

/ba lang rmig ’dra’i pa dma ni/ /bong bur rnam par shes par bya/

Through breathing, from the base of the navel [chakra],⁶⁹ the so-call moon and sun [channels run] on the left and right [sides of the body], respectively. Having the appearance of the kadalī flower, [the avadhūtī channel] extends upward from the base of the navel [chakra]. A lotus [resembling] a bull’s eye should be recognized as a donkey.

ādhāraṃ tu yat kamalaṃ somakiraṇabhūṣitam //14//⁷⁰

tatra madhye sadā śūnyaṃ hūmkāraṃ vātarūpiṇam /⁷¹

jvalantaṃ dīpasadr̥śam adhovāyusupūritam //15//⁷²

⁶³ eṣa] A; eka B; ’di rnam Tib

⁶⁴ śvasanān] B; svā(a blank space for one letter)nām A; dbugs rnam Tib

⁶⁵ -sūrye-] A (nyi ma Tib); sūrye A ♦ vikhyātā (more generally vikhyātau or vikhyāte)] AB (rnam par bshad Tib) ♦ -dakṣiṇayor (or -dakṣiṇato)] *em.* (g-yas Tib); dakṣiṇator A; dakṣito B

⁶⁶ -puṣpa-] ABpc (me thog Tib); ##### Bac ♦ -samkāśā] *em.* (lta bu Tib); samkāśaṃ A; samkā.. (probably samkāśā or samkāśā) B ♦ samutthitā] B (’greng ba Tib); samutthitaṃ A

⁶⁷ gavākṣaṃ] B; gavākṣān A; ba lang rmig ’dra’i Tib ♦ gardabhas tu] *conj.* (bong bur Tib); gardabhasya A; gardabhaḥ B ♦ vijñeyaḥ] B (rnam par shes par bya Tib); vijñeyaṃ A

⁶⁸ gnyis dag gis] D; gnyis dag gi P

⁶⁹ The chakra in the navel area or abdomen is generally called “emanation chakra” (*nirmāṇacakra*).

⁷⁰ yat kamalaṃ] A (pa dma gang Tib); B

⁷¹ śūnyaṃ] A (stong pa Tib); sūkṣmaṃ B

⁷² adhovāyusupūritam] *em.* (’og gi rlung ni yongs gang las); This *pāda* is placed after the *bhittvā mūrdhni-m udāhṛtam* in A and B. ♦ adho-] B (’og gi Tib); adha A ♦ -supūritam] A (yongs gang las Tib); pūritam B

/og tu phyogs pa'i pa dma gang/ /zla ba'i 'od 'dras rnam brgyan pa//
 /de dbus rtag tu stong pa ni/ /hūṃ yig rlung gi rang bzhin nyid/
 /'bar ba mar me lta bu ste/ /'og gi rlung ni yongs gang las//

In the middle of the lotus⁷³ being the base and adorned with the luster of the moon,⁷⁴ [a practitioner should] always [visualize] the letter *hūṃ* being empty and having the nature of wind; [he should visualize that letter] flaming like a lamp being full of wind below (i.e., fanned by the wind from underneath).

hṛdutarṣac cittam yasya bhittvā mūrdhni -m- udāhṛtam /⁷⁵
 yogī tribhuvanatulyaḥ sarvasattvahr̥di sthitam //16//⁷⁶

/snying ga nas ni steng du rgyu/ /spyi bo phug ste 'gro bar bshad/
 /rnal 'byor pa gang sa gsum mnyam/ /sems can kun gyi snying gnas pa//

Moving upward from the heart, the mind (i.e., the flaming letter *hūṃ*), after passing through [the avadhūtī channel], is stated to be in the head.⁷⁷ A yogin who has [that mind] (*yasya ... [sa] yogī*) is equal to the triple world. [That mind] is present in the heart of every sentient being.⁷⁸

taccittasamatām gataḥ sarvacetovaśīkaraḥ /⁷⁹
 paramapāramitāprāpto dhvastasāndrāndhakāraḥ //17//⁸⁰

/sems ni mnyam par song ba ste/ /sems kun la ni dbang thob pas/
 /mchog gi pha rol phyin thob ste/ /rab tu 'bar ba'i skad cig la//

[He] attains that even-mindedness. [He] controls all mental functions. [He] attains the highest

⁷³ Probably this lotus is the emanation chakra or the lotus at the navel area where an inner fire appears.

⁷⁴ Alternatively, *somakirāṇa* means “the luster of *soma* liquid,” which is more similar to the bodily fluid (the mind of awakening or nectar) in appearance.

⁷⁵ hṛdutarṣac cittam yasya] *em.*; this *pāda* is located after *adho vāyusupūritam* in A and B. snying ga nas ni steng du rgyu Tib ◆ -utkarṣac] A (steng du rgyu Tib); utkarṣayate B ◆ mūrdhni-m] A (spyo bo phug Tib); mūrdhni B

⁷⁶ yogī] A (rnal 'byor pa Tib); sa yogī B ◆ -bhuvana-] *em.* (sa Tib); bhuvanaṃ A; bhu.. B ◆ tulyaḥ] B (mnyam Tib); tulya A ◆ sthitam] A (gnas pa Tib); sthaḥ B

⁷⁷ These verses describe a visualization of an inner fire flaming with the letter *hūṃ* in the navel chakra. It flames upward and reaches the chakra in the head.

⁷⁸ If we emend verse 16d as sarvasattvahr̥di sthitaḥ using the variant reading of manuscript B (sthaḥ), the meaning of verse 16cd would be “A yogin who has [that mind] is equal to the triple world [and simultaneously] resides in the heart of every sentient being” as Brahmanism’s Brahman that is both universal and indivisible.

⁷⁹ tac-] AB; *n.e.* Tib ◆ -vaśīkaraḥ] *conj.* (dbang thob pas Tib); vasi A; vaśi B

⁸⁰ -pāramitā-] A (pha rol phyin Tib); pārami B ◆ -ndhakāraḥ] B (mun pa'i Tib); ndhakāraṇ A

perfection (*paramapāramitā*). [He] destroys the thick darkness [of ignorance].

dhagiti prajvalaty uṣṇaiḥ /⁸¹

sūryakāntamañir yathā tribhuvanam dyotayati sacarācaram //18//⁸²

/mun pa'i tshogs kun 'joms byed pa/

/nyi 'od nor bu ji lta bar/ /rgyu dang mi rgyu ma lus pa'i//

[That inner fire, i.e., the flaming letter *hūṃ*,]⁸³ is kindled in a moment, radiating heat. Like a sunstone, it illuminates the triple world that comprehends animate and inanimate beings.

kalpāgnivan mahātejāḥ /⁸⁴

niścalo vibhramātīto hetudṛṣṭāntavarjitaḥ //19//⁸⁵

/sa gsum gsal bar byed pa ste/ /bskal pa'i me bzhin gzi brjid 'bar/

/g-yo ba med cing 'khrul pa med/ /rgyu dang dpe las rnam par 'das//

As the fire at the end of eon (*kaplāgni*), [the inner fire] is greatly splendidous. [It]⁸⁶ is firm, beyond delusion, and free from cause and example.

nirlepo nirvikāraś ca pañcāvaraṇavarjitaḥ /⁸⁷

svayaṃ herukanātho 'py ātmānam na vetty asau //20//⁸⁸

/rnam par mi 'gyur gos pa med/ /sgrib ba lnga ni rnam par spangs/

⁸¹ dhagiti] B (skad cig la Tib); dhagati A ♦ prajvalaty] B (rab tu 'bar ba'i Tib); prajvality A ♦ uṣṇaiḥ] conj.; usvaiḥ A; u.vaiḥ B; n.e. Tib

⁸² sūryakānta-] corr. (nyi 'od Tib); sūryakānti A; sūryakānta B ♦ dyotayati] B (gsal bar byed pa Tib); dyotayantam A ♦ sacarācaram] A (rgyu dang mi rgyu ma lus pa'i Tib); carācaram B

⁸³ The words that appear in the following verses such as *dhagiti prajvalati*, *uṣṇa*, *tribhuvanam dyotayati*, and *kalpāgnivat* (although among them *uṣṇa* is a conjectural emendation) are those often used in describing an inner fire that a yogin visualizes in his body. In the present context, it seems to indicate the flaming *hūṃ* letter (see verse 14.15 and the verses that follow). However, it is also possible that the subject of this line is the yogin who practices the visualization of the flaming *hūṃ* letter; he shines with heat.

⁸⁴ kalpāgni-] ApCB (bskal pa'i me Tib); kalpanāgni Aac ♦ mahātejāḥ] corr.; mahātejam A; mahatejā B; gzi brjid 'bar Tib

⁸⁵ niścalo] B (g-yo ba med cing Tib); niścalaṃ A ♦ vibhramātīto] em. ('khrul pa med Tib); vibhramatītam A; vibhra## Bac; vibhratīto Bpc ♦ -varjitaḥ] ApCB (rnam par 'das Tib); varjita Aac

⁸⁶ It is also possible to read *niścalo vibhramātīto hetudṛṣṭāntavarjitaḥ* as describing the yogin who meditates on this inner fire and not describing the inner fire.

⁸⁷ nirlepo] B (gos pa med Tib); nirlepaṃ A ♦ nirvikāraś] B (rnam par mi 'gyur Tib); nirvikāram A ♦ -varjitaḥ] B (rnam par spangs Tib); varjitaṃ A

⁸⁸ heruka-] AB; he ru ka dpal Tib ♦ 'py] AB; n.e. Tib ♦ vetty] em. (rig pa Tib); vety AB ♦ asau] AB; n.e. Tib

/he ru ka dpal mgon rang bzhin/ /bdag nyid rig pa med pas na//

[The yogin] is pure, unchangeable, and freed from the five coverings. Although [he] is spontaneously Lord Heruka, he does not recognize his own self.

tatkṣaṇāt sarvabhūtaṃ nāgataṃ vartamānaṃ svayaṃ sarvajñavat paśyet ^{/89}
asmim̐s tu gardabho yogī karatalam iva paśyet (HA 14.2.2) /21/⁹⁰

/skad cig de la 'das kun dang/ /ma 'ongs pa dang da ltar byung/
 /thams cad mkhyen pa'i rang yid mthong/ /'di ni bong bu'i rnal 'byor pas/⁹¹
 /lag mthil gnas pa bzhin du mthong (HA 14.2.2)//

In that instant, he can see all past, future, and present [things]⁹² spontaneously like the All-Knowing One (the Buddha). “Here, the donkey yogin can see” (HA 14.2.2) [them clearly] like [a fruit on] the palm of [his] hand.

etadārthaṃ sarvavikṣepam apahāya ṣaṇmāsamātrataḥ /
 mūkībhāvaprasaṅgataḥ sidhyate gardabhaḍākaḥ //22//⁹³

/de yi don du g-yeng ba kun/ /spangs nas zla ba drug tsam du/
 /lkugs pa'i dngos por ldan gyur pas/ /bong bu'i mkha' 'gro bsgrub par 'gyur//

For this purpose, avoiding every distraction, after devotion to [this yoga] in silence just for six months, he is accomplished as a donkey ḍāka.⁹⁴

sādhite (HA 14.2.2) sati sarvayogalābhī bhavati ^{/95} avrato vrataṃ āpnoti ^{/96}
 aśuciḥ śucir bhavet / daridro dhanavān ^{/97} vyādhitaś ca nirvyādhitaḥ ^{/98} aja-

⁸⁹ tatkṣaṇāt | A (skad cig de la Tib); tatkṣaṇād api B ◆ sarva- | A (kun Tib); *om.* B ◆ -bhūtaṃ | B ('das Tib); bhūtānāṃ A ◆ nāgataṃ | A (ma 'ongs pa Tib); bhaviṣyad B ◆ vartamānaṃ | A (da ltar byung Tib); vartamānaṃ ca B ◆ paśyet | A (mthong Tib); paśyen niḥsaṃdeham anākulaṃ B

⁹⁰ gardabho | A (bong bu'i Tib); gardabha B

⁹¹ bong bu'i | D; bung bu'i P

⁹² I have translated *-bhūta*, *nāgata*, and *vartamāna* (more generally, *atīta*, *anāgata*, and *vartamāna*) as “past, future, and present [things].”

⁹³ sidhyate | A (bsgrub par 'gyur Tib); sidhyati B ◆ gardabha- | A (bong bu'i Tib); śrīgardabha B ◆ -ḍākaḥ | B (mkha' 'gro Tib); ḍākajaḥ A

⁹⁴ The “donkey ḍāka” (*gardabhaḍāka*) probably refers to Heruka with a face of a donkey.

⁹⁵ sādhite | A (bsgrub pa Tib); sādhetē B ◆ -lābhī bhavati | B (rnyed par 'gyur Tib); lābhino bhavanti A

⁹⁶ avrato | B (brtul zhugs bral Tib); avrataṃ A

⁹⁷ dhanavān | A; dhanavān bhavet B; nor 'byor 'gyur Tib

⁹⁸ vyādhitaś ca | A (nad pa yin yang Tib); na vyādhetañ ca B ◆ nirvyādhitaḥ | *em.* (nad bral 'gyur Tib); nivyādhitaṃ Aac; nivyādhitvaṃ Apc; vyādhetaḥ B

ratvam amaratvaṃ prāpnoti ^{/99} aśrutam deśayed dharmam /23/

/bsgrub pa (HA 14.2.2) dang ni ldan pa yis/ /rnal 'byor thams cad rnyed par 'gyur/
/brtul zhugs bral yang brtul zhugs ldan/ /dri ma can yang dag par 'gyur//
/dbul po yin yang nor 'byor 'gyur/¹⁰⁰ /nad pa yin yang nad bral 'gyur/
/rgas med 'chi ba med rnyed pas/ /thos pa med par chos ston cing//

“When attaining accomplishment,” (HA 14.2.2) he attains all [kinds of] yoga. One without observance acquires observance. One who is impure can become pure. One who is poor becomes rich. And one who is ill becomes healthy. He attains agelessness and immortality. He can teach the dharma that has not been taught.

sattvān mocayed bahuduḥkharāśeḥ ^{/101} deśanānuttaram diśati ^{/102} antardhānādi
sidhyati ^{/103} divyacakṣuḥpañcābhijñatvam āpnoti /24/¹⁰⁴

/sdug bsngal du ma'i tshogs la ni/ /sems can dgrol bar byed pa po/
/bstan pa bla med ston pa yin/ /mi snang la sogs dngos grub dang//
/lha mig mngon shes lnga thob pa/

He can release sentient beings from multitudes of sufferings. He gives an instruction that is unsurpassed. Becoming invisible and the other [supernatural effects] are attained. He attains the five supernatural faculties [such as] supernatural vision.

yat kiṃcit triṣu lokeṣu vidyate tat sarvaṃ paśyati kṣaṇāt ^{/105} gatāyusaṃ
paśyati dīrghāyusaṃ (HA 14.2.2) tathā /25/

/'jig rten gsum gang cung zad yod/ /thams cad skad cig de la mthong//
/tshe zad par ni snang ba dang/ /de bzhin tshe ring gyur pa nyid (HA 14.2.2)/

In an instant he sees anything that occurs in the triple world. Likewise, “he sees (discerns) one who is dying and one who lives long” (HA 14.2.2).

gardabhaṃ hastinaṃ caiva (HA 14.2.2) *yasya yasya yo jātim āvahej* (HA 14.3)

⁹⁹ prāpnoti | A (rnyed pas Tib); *om.* B

¹⁰⁰ nor 'byor | D; ner 'byor P

¹⁰¹ mocayed | B (dgrol bar byed pa po Tib); mocaye A ♦ -duḥkha- | A (sdug bsngal Tib); duḥ B

¹⁰² diśati | B (ston pa yin Tib); deśya A

¹⁰³ antardhānādi | B (mi snang la sogs Tib); antarddhānāt A ♦ sidhyati | B (dngos grub Tib); siddhati A

¹⁰⁴ divyacakṣuḥ- | Apc (lha mig Tib); tasya tasya divyacakṣuḥ Aac; *om.* B

¹⁰⁵ kiṃcit | A (cung zad Tib); kiñci B ♦ triṣu | A (gsum Tib); tri B

janmasahasram api *tasya tasya rūpaṃ tad dr̥śyate iha yoginaḥ* (HA 14.3)
/26/¹⁰⁶

/bong bu dang ni glang chen dang (HA 14.2.2)/ /gang dang gang du rigs 'gyur pa (HA 14.2.3)//

/skye ba stong phrag du mar yang/ /de dang de yi gzugs su ni/

/rnal 'byor pas ni 'dir mthong 'gyur (HA 14.2.2)//

“Whichever class of birth one might attain” (HA 14.2.3), “a donkey and an elephant” (HA 14.2.2), even in a thousand lives, “every form [of birth] of that [person]¹⁰⁷ is visible to the yogin in this [moment].” (HA 14.2.3)

yas tasmāt saptajanmānaṃ jānāti *tena balihoma kartavyo* (HA 14.4c)
'vikalpataḥ /¹⁰⁸ rātrau na dr̥śyate / māṃsena bhojanaṃ kṛtvā divyakāyo
bhaviṣyati / sidhyate nātra saṃśayaḥ /27/

/gang 'dir skye ba bdun shes nas/ /de yis gtor ma sbyin sreg bya/

/rnam par mi rtog bdag nyid kyis/ /mtshan mo gsang ba la gnas te//

/bzang po nyid du sbyar byas nas/ /lha yi lus su 'gyur ba dang/

/grub pa nyid du the tshom med//

Therefore, one who discerns the seven-birth should perform the *bali* offering and fire oblation [by use of the flesh of the seven-birth] without discrimination. [He should perform them] at night without being seen. Having eaten the flesh [of the seven-birth], he will be a man with a divine body. He attains accomplishment. There is no doubt regarding this.

¹⁰⁶ hastinaṃ caiva] B (glang chen Tib); hastiś ceva A ♦ yo] A (gang Tib); yā B ♦ jātim] B (rigs Tib); jāti A ♦ āvahej] B ('gyur pa Tib); āha Aac; āvaheta Apc ♦ rūpaṃ] A (gzugs su Tib); paśyati rūpaṃ B ♦ tad dr̥śyate] conj.; tu kṣate A; tat B; mthong 'gyur Tib; cf. tad dr̥śyate *Cakrasaṃvara* (14.3c) ♦ iha *yoginaḥ* (for *yoginā*)] A (rnal 'byor pas ni 'dir Tib); om. B; cf. *yogina* iti tṛtīyārthe ṣaṣṭhī Bhavabhaṭṭa's *Cakrasaṃvaravivṛti* (p. 95, l. 13–14).

¹⁰⁷ The structure of this sentence, 14.26, is somewhat obscure. In order to make the meaning clearer, I have translated the passage *tasya tasya rūpaṃ tad* as “every form [of birth] of that [person].” Its literal translation would be “that form [of birth] of every [person].” I have interpreted *yasya yasya ... jātim* as corresponding to *rūpaṃ tad*, and *yo* as corresponding to *tasya tasya*. Alternatively, *yasya yasya* and *yo* are connected with the first *tasya* and the second *tasya*, respectively, and *tad* is a pronoun with a light sense that indicates *rūpaṃ*; in this case, the whole translation of *tasya tasya rūpaṃ tad dr̥śyate iha yoginaḥ* would be “the form of that [birth] of that [person]— ‘that is visible to the yogin in this [moment].’”

¹⁰⁸ yas tasmāt] Aac (gang 'dir Tib); yasmāt Apc; tasmāt B ♦ -janmānaṃ] conj. (skye ba Tib); janmā A; janma B ♦ tena] A (de yis Tib); tena saptajanmanā B ♦ -homa (*m.c.* for -homah)] A (sbyin sreg Tib); homaṇ ca B; cf. -homa kartavyaḥ *Cakrasaṃvara* (Sanskrit manuscript's reading; in Gray's edition it is emended as -homah kartavyaḥ.) ♦ kartavyo 'vikalpataḥ] em. (bya and rnam par mi rtog bdag nyid kyis Tib); kartavyāvikalpataḥ A; kartavyam avikalpato B

japed (HA 14.6a) iti śaṅkhavalayena /¹⁰⁹ *rahasyam* (HA 14.6c) iti saptajan-
mano lakṣaṇaṃ mantrasya ca /28/¹¹⁰

zlos pa (HA 14.6a) zhes bya ba ni dung gi phreng ba la'o// *gsang ba* (HA 14.6c) zhes bya
ba ni skye ba bdun pa'i dang sngags kyi mtshan nyid kyi'o//

“Should recite” (HA 14.6a) means [that he should recite] by use of a rosary [made] of conch
shells. “Secret” (HA 14.6c) indicates the characteristics of the seven-birth and the mantra.

śrīherukābhīdhāne sādhananidhau pañjikāyāṃ caturdaśapaṭalavyākhyā //¹¹¹

dpal he ru ka zhes bya ba'i dka' 'grel sgrub pa'i thabs kyi gleng gzhi las le'u bcu bzhi pa'i
rnam par bshad pa'o//

[That is] an exposition of the 14th chapter in the *Sādhānanidhi* commentary on the glorious
Herukābhīdhāna.

5. *Sādhānanidhi*, Chapter 49

athānyatamaṃ vakṣye paśukarma yathā vidhir (HA 49.1ab) iti /¹¹² *paśu-*
śabdenottamaṃ tam prāpya niravadyam /¹¹³

/de nas gzhan yang bshad bya ba/ lji srid cho gas phyugs bsgrub pa/¹¹⁴ (HA 49.1ab) zhes
bya ba la/ phyugs kyi sgra ni mchog ste/ de kha na ma tho ba med pas rnyed pa'o//

[The verse] “Now, I shall explain another, the ritual of sacrificial animals, according to rule”
(HA 49.1ab) means [this]: By [the word] “sacrificial animal” [it is signified that one performs
this] after obtaining that [sacrificial animal which is] excellent and unblamable.

ekajanme-ti (HA 4a) /¹¹⁵ *ekajanmānam ārabhya nirantarasaptajanmānam*

¹⁰⁹ iti] ApcB (zhes bya ba Tib); iti## Aac ◆ -valayena] B (phreng lba la Tib); valayena tu A

¹¹⁰ -janmano] A (skye ba Tib); janma B ◆ ca] A; ceti B

¹¹¹ śrī-] A (dpal Tib); iti śrī B ◆ -bhīdhāne] A (zhes bya ba'i Tib); bhīdhane B ◆ -daśa-] A (bcu Tib);
daśaḥ B ◆ -paṭala-] A (le'u Tib); paṭalaḥ B ◆ -vyākhyā] A (rnam par bshad pa Tib); om. B

¹¹² vakṣye] A (bshad bya ba Tib); vakṣyati (slightly blurred and uncertain) B ◆ paśukarma yathā vidhir]
conj. (ji srid cho gas phyugs bsgrub pa Tib); pa.....dhir A; paśukarma vidhir B; cf. paśukarma yathā
vidhiḥ Cakrasaṃvara (49.1b)

¹¹³ tam] A (de Tib); om. B

¹¹⁴ bsgrub pa] D; sgrubs pa P

¹¹⁵ ekajanme-] em. (skye ba gcig Tib); ekajasme A; om. B ◆ -ti] A; om. B; ces bya ba la sogs pa la Tib

yāvat /¹¹⁶

skye ba gcig (HA 4a) ces bya ba la sogs pa la skye ba gcig nas brtsams nas rgyun ma chad
par bdun pa'i mthar thug pa'o//

[The line that starts with] “one who was reborn for the first time” (HA 4a) refers to [the living beings] from one who was reborn [into the same state of existence] for the first time up to one who has been reborn [into the same state of existence] for seven times in a row.

paśūnām (HA 49.11c) ityādi /¹¹⁷ anyatiryakpaśuromānvitam /¹¹⁸

nyid (HA 49.11c) ces bya ba la sogs pa la/ gzhan byol song gi phyugs kyi spu dang ldan
pa'o//

Regarding [the passage that] starts with [the term] “of sacrificial animals” (HA 49.11c), [it] contains the hair of other [species of] sacrificial animals.¹¹⁹

*tasya keśanakhadantatvacaromapañcāṅgamiśraṃ kare mūrdhni ca dhārayet
tatsadṛśo bhavati* /¹²⁰ muktena svābhāvikaḥ /¹²¹

de'i skra dang/ sen mo dang/ so dang/ pags pa dang/¹²² spu dang/ yan lag lnga bsres nas lag
pa dang mgor bzung na de dang 'dra bar 'gyur ro// bkrol na rnal mar 'gyur ro//

If he holds a mixture of the five body parts of that [sacrificial animal], [namely, its] hair, nail, tooth, skin, and body hair, in [his] hand and on [his] head, he becomes like that.¹²³ By releasing [it], [he] becomes normal again.

kaṣṭapāparata (HA 49.13c) iti /¹²⁴ apakārinirākaraṇārthaṃ /¹²⁵ yasmān

¹¹⁶ ekajanmānam] B (skye ba gcig Tib); ekajanmam A ◆ nirantara-] A (rgyun ma chad par Tib); nirantaram B ◆ saptajanmānam] B; saptam A; bdun pa'i Tib

¹¹⁷ paśūnām] AB; nyid Tib; cf. phyugs nyid kyi *Cakrasaṃvara* (Sanskrit folio missing: 49.11c)

¹¹⁸ -tiryak-] B (byol song gi Tib); tiryaka A

¹¹⁹ This line is somewhat obscure. I interpret the other animals as indicating those except for donkeys, humans, turtles, camels, jackals, horses, and boars (which are included in the list of sacrificial animals taught in 49.2–3b).

¹²⁰ tasya keśanakha-] B (de'i skra dang / sen mo dang / Tib); A ◆ -tvacaroma-] conj. (pags pa dang / spu dang / Tib); tvaca A; tvacam B ◆ -miśraṃ] B (bsres nas Tib); miśra A ◆ ca] conj. (dang Tib); tu AB ◆ tatsadṛśo] conj. (de dang 'dra bar Tib) adṛśyo AB; cf. de yi gzugs 'gyur *Cakrasaṃvara* (49.12d)

¹²¹ svābhāvikaḥ] A (rnal mar 'gyur Tib); svābhāvikaḥ B

¹²² pags pa] D; lpags pa P

¹²³ That is, he can change himself into the form of that sacrificial animal supernaturally.

mārganirodhanīti /¹²⁶

dka' zhing nyon mongs la dga' ba/(HA 49.13c) zhes bya ba ni/ gang gi phyir gnod pa byed
cing sel ba'i don gyis dngos grub kyī lam dang 'gal ba zhes bya'o//

“One delighting in evil and sinful actions” (HA 49.13c) was taught for the purpose of excluding
an evil doer because [an evil doer] obstructs the path (*mārganirodhanin*).

iti śrīherukābhīdhāne sādhananidhau pañjikāyām ūnapañcāsattamaṇḍalavyā-
khyā /¹²⁷

dpal he ru ka zhes bya ba'i dka' 'grel sgrub pa'i thabs kyī gleng gzhi las le'u bzhi bcu rtsa
dgu pa'i rnam par bshad pa'o//

That is an exposition of the 49th chapter in the *Sādhanaṇidhi* commentary on the glorious
Herukābhīdhāna.

6. *Vajradāka*, Chapter 35

atha

ḍākinījñānodayaṃ vakṣye sarvasiddhipradāyakam /¹²⁸
gardabhākārayogātmā manoveganivṛttaye //1//¹²⁹

/de nas mkha' 'gro ma rnam kyī/ /dngos grub thams cad rab ster ba'i/
/ye shes 'byung ba bshad par bya/ /bong bu'i cha byad rnal 'byor bdag/
/yid shugs kyis ni zlog par byed//

Now, I shall explain the origin of ḍākinīs' gnosis that brings all accomplishments.¹³⁰ [A practi-
tioner] is devoted to the yoga of the donkey-shaped [deities] for the purpose of stopping a rush

¹²⁴ kaṣṭapāparata] *conj.*; kaṣṭā pāparatā AB; dka' zhing nyon mongs la dga' ba Tib; cf. dka' zhing nyon
mongs la dga' ba *Cakrasaṃvara* (49.13c: Sanskrit folio is missing) ♦ iti] B (zhes bya ba Tib); iva A

¹²⁵ apakāri-] B (gnod pa byed Tib); apakāra A ♦ -ñārthaṃ] A (don Tib); ñārthaṃ B

¹²⁶ -nirodhanīti] *conj.* ('gal ba zhes bya Tib); nirodhan.ti (prpbably nirodhanīti) A; virodhenīti B

¹²⁷ -pañcāsattama-] *em.* (bzhi bcu rtsa dgu pa'i Tib); pañcāsati A; pañcāsattamaḥ B ♦ -ṇḍalavyākhyā] A
(le'u and rnam par bshad pa Tib); ṇḍalāḥ B

¹²⁸ -nodayaṃ] C ('byung ba Tib); nodaya T ♦ -pradāyakam] T (rab ster ba'i Tib); pradāyakaḥ C

¹²⁹ gardabhā-] T (bong bu'i Tib); garbhabhā C ♦ -nivṛttaye] Cpc (zlog par byed Tib); nivṛttaya C;
nivarttaye T

¹³⁰ According to Bhavabhadra's *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415, 164r2–r3), the words “an origin of ḍākinīs' gno-
sis” indicate the yoga of the donkey-faced, the main topic in this chapter, and “bring all
accomplishments” means to attain accomplishments starting with knowing concealed meanings (*lkog tu
gyur pa'i don*).

of thought.¹³¹

yoginī lāmā rūpiṇī khaṇḍarohā tu ḍākinī /¹³²
etā yoginyah kathitā mlecchitair dhyānamudrayā kāmārūpiṇyah //2//¹³³

/mkha' 'gro ma dang mdzes ma dang/
/dum skyes gzugs can rnal 'byor ma/ /rnal 'byor ma ni 'di dag nyid/
/brda yi tshul gyis bstan pa ste/¹³⁴ /bsam gtan phyag rgya 'dod gzugs can//

A yoginī, Lāmā, Rūpiṇī, Khaṇḍarohā, and Ḍākinī—these yoginīs were explained in barbarous languages¹³⁵ to assume desired forms as [they are] visualized seals (visualized women).¹³⁶

gardabhākārarudhiravaktrā ḍākinī triśūlasarpaveṣṭitā ūrdhvakhaṭvāṅgakapā-
lakaravyagrā śavārūḍhā mahādīptā piṅgalordhvajā trinetra sarvālaṃkā-
rabhūṣitā līlākartṭṣamudyatā mahāparvatāntasthā nānāpuṣpaphaloccaye
dhyeyā /3/¹³⁷

/bong bu'i cha byad khrag 'dzag zhal/ /sbrul gyis dkris pa'i mdung rtse ni/
/gsum pa mkha' 'gro'i lag na thogs/ /kha ṭwām ga dang thod pa ni//
/steng du bstod de thogs pa dang/¹³⁸ /mi ro'i stan bzhugs cher 'bar ba/¹³⁹

¹³¹ According to Bhavabhadra's *Vajraḍāḥkavivṛti* (D 1415, 164r3–r4), the phrase *manovega* or “stopping a rush of thought” (a negative aspect of the mind) means to stop the way the mind usually works (*tha mal pa'i yid kyi rgyu ba 'gags*), by which he can know concealed meanings. However, according to the Tibetan translation of the *Vajraḍāka*, the same phrase, *manovega*, appears to mean “the mental power” (a positive aspect of the mind) by which he can stop something unwholesome (*yid shugs kyis ni zlog par byed*). See also footnotes 32 and 183 in this paper.

¹³² lāmā] Cpc (mdzes ma Tib); nāmā CacT ◆ rūpiṇī] *corr.* (gzugs can Tib); rūpiṇī CT

¹³³ yoginyah] C (rnal 'byor ma Tib); yoyinyah T ◆ mlecchitair] T (brda yi tshul gyis Tib); mleccheti C ◆ -mudrayā] C (phyag rgya Tib); mudrāyāh T ◆ -rūpiṇyah] T (gzugs can Tib); rūpiṇyai C

¹³⁴ brda yi] D; brda'i P

¹³⁵ Possibly what explained those yoginīs in barbarous languages is the *Cakrasaṃvara*, Chapter 14, which explains donkey yoga in broken Sanskrit (barbarous language).

¹³⁶ According to Bhavabhadra's *Vajraḍāḥkavivṛti* (D 1415, 164r4–r6), the first word “a yoginī” indicates Vajravārāhī, and a practitioner should visualize all the ḍākinīs on the fivefold maṇḍala, namely the Great Pleasure, the Mind, the Speech, the Body, and the Pledge Circles. It seems that Bhavabhaṭṭa have an idea that all the ḍākinīs on the fivefold maṇḍala are donkey-faced. He also mentions someone's interpretation, according to which only the five ḍākinīs on the Great Pleasure Circle have the face of donkey and the other ḍākinīs are visualized in their ordinary forms (*Vajraḍāḥkavivṛti*, D 1415, 164v1–v2).

¹³⁷ -rudhira-] T (khag Tib); rūdhira C ◆ triśūlasarpa-] *corr.* (sbrul gyis and mdung rtse ni // gsum pa Tib); ṭṛśūlakara C; ṭṛśūlasarppa T ◆ ūrdhva-] T; urddha C; steng du bstod Tib ◆ śavā-] *corr.* (mi ro'i Tib); savā CT ◆ piṅgalo-] C (kham pa Tib); piṅgo T ◆ trinetra] CT; spyen gsum gyis ni mdzes par byas Tib ◆ -bhūṣitā] T (rnam par bkluṅ Tib); bhūṣitāh C ◆ līlā-] C (rtse Tib); līla T ◆ kartṭṣ-] *corr.* (zangs gri Tib); kartti C; katṭṣ T ◆ mahāparvatāntasthā] *conj.*; mahāparvatā tu sthā C; mahāparvatāntastha T; rin chen mthon po'i gnas su Tib ◆ -laccaye] T; locaye C; ldan pa'i Tib ◆ dhyeyā] T (sgom Tib); *om.* C

¹³⁸ steng du bstod] D; steng du stod P

¹³⁹ stan] D; bstan P

/skra ni kham pa gyen brdzes shing/¹⁴⁰ /spyan gsum gyis ni mdzes par byas//
/rgyan rnam kun gyis rnam par bklubs/¹⁴¹ /phyag na zangs gri bsnams shing rtse/
/sna tshogs me tog 'bras ldan pa'i/ /rin chen mthon po'i gnas su sgom//

In the form of a donkey with a bloody mouth, [each] ḍākinī has a trident around which a snake twines, eagerly raises a skull staff and holds a skull bowl,¹⁴² stands on a corpse, is shining very much, has [her] tawny hair erect, has three eyes, is adorned with all [kinds of good] ornaments, raises a knife playfully,¹⁴³ and resides in a heap of various flowers and fruits at the summit of the great mountain¹⁴⁴: [Each ḍākinī] should be [thus] meditated on.

gatāyusaṃ mṛtam api dīrghāyusaṃ sa jīvati /¹⁴⁵
gardabhākārayogena karataḥ iva paśyate //4//¹⁴⁶

/tshe thung ba dang shi ba yang/¹⁴⁷ /tsho ba dang ni tshe ring bar/
/bong bu'i tshul gyi rnal 'byor gyis/ /lag mthil gnas pa bzhin du mthong//

One who is dying is [seen] as one who is already dead, and one who lives long is [seen] as one who is alive—by means of the yoga of the donkey-shaped, he sees [thus] like [a fruit on] the palm of [his] hand.¹⁴⁸

ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrasattvas tathāgataḥ /¹⁴⁹
sarvaḍākinīsamāyogavajradākaḥ param sukham //5//¹⁵⁰

/mkha' 'gro kun dang mnyam sbyor ba'i/ /rdo rje mkha' 'gro bde ba'i mchog/
/rdo rje sems dpa' de bzhin gshegs/ /bcom ldan rdo rje can gyis gsungs//

Thus said the Blessed One, the Vajra-Holder, Vajrasattva, a tathāgata, Vajradāka who is the fusion of all ḍākinīs, and the Supreme bliss.

¹⁴⁰ kham pa] D; khams P

¹⁴¹ rnam par bklubs] D; rnam par glugs P

¹⁴² The ḍākinīs each have four arms (*Vajradākavivṛti*, D 1415, 164v1). According to the *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415, 164r6–r7), they each holds a trident in the first left hand, a skull staff in the first right hand, and a skull bowl in the second left hand.

¹⁴³ According to the *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415, 164v1), the ḍākinīs each hold a knife in the second right hand.

¹⁴⁴ According to the *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415, 164v2–v3), the great mountain is Mt. Sumeru.

¹⁴⁵ gatāyusaṃ] *em.* (tshe thung ba Tib); gatāyusa CT ♦ -rghāyusaṃ] T (tshe Tib); rghāyusa C ♦ sa jīvati] T; saṃjīvati C; 'tsho ba Tib

¹⁴⁶ gardabhā-] T (bong bu'i Tib); garbhada C ♦ iva] *em.* (bzhin du Tib); api CT ♦ paśyate] *corr.* (mthong Tib); pasyate C; dṛśyate T

¹⁴⁷ yang] D; dang P

iti herukīkaraṇavidhipaṭalaḥ pañcatrīmśattamaḥ // ¹⁵¹

rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro las he ru ka'i nram par rol pa'i cho ga'i
rim par phye ba ste sum cu rtsa lnga pa'o//

That is the 35th chapter, the ritual manual of changing [oneself] to Heruka.

7. *Mahāmudrātilaka*, Chapter 24.

athānyaṃ caikakarmākhyam pravakṣyāmy ādarāc chr̥ṇu // ¹⁵²
yena prāṣitamātreṇa āśu siddhiḥ pravartate //1//

/de nas gzhan yang bshad bya ba/ /de ru las ni rab yin te/
/gang zhiḡ bsten pa tsam gyis ni/ /myur du dngos grub la 'jug pa//

Now, I shall explain another, the [ritual sequence] named “one ritual.” ¹⁵³ Listen attentively. As soon as [the *tilaka* or ornament] (see below) is eaten according to that (*yena*), ¹⁵⁴ accomplishment is realized immediately.

¹⁴⁸ The structure and the meaning of verse 35.4 are somewhat obscure. (The words *sa jīvati* may be a corruption of *sajīvitam*.) The original forms of this verse can be found in the *Cakrasaṃvara* (14.2.2): *sādhite, gatāyusaṃ api paśyed dīrghāyusaṃ ca* (“When [the yoga of donkey] has been accomplished, [the yogin] can even see (discern) one who is dying and one who lives long”) and the *Cakrasaṃvara* (12.2.2): *gatāyusaṃ api mṛtam iva paśyati dīrghāyusaṃ sajīvaṃ paśyati* (“Even though [the target] is dying [and not dead yet], [the yogin] sees [the target] as if he/she was already dead. He sees one who lives long as one who is alive.”). These passages in the *Cakrasaṃvara* say that a yogin who has accomplished the yoga of donkey can discern one who is dying and one who lives long: For that yogin, the former one is seen as the dead, and the latter one is seen as the living. Probably what the obscure verse in the *Vajradāka* (35.4) means is the same as that.

The *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415, 164v3–v4) presents two interpretations of “one who is already dead” (*mṛtam*). First, it indicates one to whom certain death-signs have appeared: the signs that show that he or she will die in the very near future. The phrase “one who lives long” (*dīrghāyusaṃ*) indicates one to whom another kind of death-signs have appeared: the signs that show that he or she will die but not so soon. Second, “one who is already dead” (*mṛtam*) is literary, and the dead comes back to life (possibly a comment on *sa jīvati* = *saṃjīvati*, which is manuscript C’s reading) by means of the *ḍākinīs*’ mantras. The second interpretation suggests that the translation of verse 4ab would be “[the yogin can make] one who is dying (*gatāyusaṃ*) extend life (*dīrghāyusaṃ*). Even though being dead (*mṛtam api*), [that dead man] is brought back to life (*sa jīvati* = *saṃjīvati*).”

The objects of the verb *paśyate* are not those mentioned in the first and second *pāda* (*gatāyusaṃ*, *mṛtam*, *dīrghāyusaṃ*, and *sa jīvati* = *sajīvitam*?) according to the *Vajradākavivṛti* (D 1415, 164v4–v5). It explains that a practitioner who performs the yoga of the donkey-faced can see concealed things in the triple world (*khamṣ gsum na gnaṣ pa lkog tu gyur pa'i dngos po nams*) like a fruit placed on the palm of his hand.

¹⁴⁹ āha] C (gsungs Tib); āham api T

¹⁵⁰ This line is omitted in T.

¹⁵¹ -trīmśattamaḥ] *em.* (sum cu rtsa Tib); trīmśatimaḥ C; trīṣatimaḥ T

¹⁵² caikakarmā-] A; yang and las ni rab yin Tib; cf. las mchog *Guhyārthaprakāśamahādbhuta* (D 149v4)

◆ ādarāc chr̥ṇu] A; de ru Tib

susnigdhaś ca sugandhāṅgaḥ sugandhasvedamaṇḍitaḥ /¹⁵⁵
satyavādī salajjātmā nimeṣati ciraṃ sadā //2//¹⁵⁶

/yan lag dri zhim shin tu 'jam/ /rdul ni dri zhim gyur pa dang/
/ngo tsha che zhing bden par smra/ /yun ring mig ni mi 'dzums pa//

[He] is very gentle, has fragrant body odor, is adorned with fragrant sweat, speaks truth, naturally has a sense of shame, and always closes the eyes long.

kṛpāparaḥ kṣāntiyutaḥ satyavādī nirāśrayaḥ /¹⁵⁷
saptajanmā trijanmā vā yatnenāsau gaveṣayet //3//¹⁵⁸

/khro ba med cing snying rje che/ /skad cig 'jam par smra ba dang/
/skye ba bdun nam yang na gsum/ /'bad pa yis ni btsal bar bya//¹⁵⁹

[He] is devotedly compassionate, is patient,¹⁶⁰ speaks truth, and has no relatives.¹⁶¹ [A person like this] is one who has been reborn seven times¹⁶² or one who has been reborn thrice.¹⁶³ He (a practitioner) should seek for [that person] eagerly.

¹⁵³ The term “named ‘one ritual’” (*ekakarmākhyam*) probably means “[the sequence] named ‘one ritual’” (*ekakarmākhyā[vidhi]ṃ*) as the title of this chapter is *karmavidhi* (“the sequence of a ritual”). The term “one ritual” is “excellent ritual” (*las ni rab yin* and *las mchog*) in the Tibetan translation and the *Guhyārthaprakāśamahādbhūta* (D 149v4). However, there is also a possibility that *ekakarmākhyā* indicates something to eat (i.e., a *tilaka* explained below) as *yena prāśitamātreṇa* in the next line (verse 24.1c) suggest.

¹⁵⁴ I interpret that *yena* and *prāśitamātreṇa* indicate *ekakarmākhyā* and the *tilaka* (“ornament,” a magical pill) explained below, respectively, because I read *ekakarmākhyā* as referring to a ritual sequence (see footnote 153) and not something to eat. If *ekakarmākhyā* means the *tilaka* to eat, the meaning of *yena prāśitamātreṇa* would be “As soon as which (*ekakarmākhyā*) is eaten,”.

¹⁵⁵ sveda- | A; rdul Tib ♦-maṇḍitaḥ | A; gyur pa Tib

¹⁵⁶ nimeṣati (*m.c.* for *nimiṣati*) | *em.*; niveṣati A; mig ni mi 'dzums pa Tib; cf. *ciraṃ nimeṣayati* (though the Sanskrit manuscript reads as *ciraṃ niveṣayati*) *Cakrasaṃvara* (11.2.1)

¹⁵⁷ kṣāntiyutaḥ | A; khro ba med Tib ♦-satyavādī | A; 'jam par smra ba Tib ♦-nirāśrayaḥ | A; skad cig Tib

¹⁵⁸ yatnenāsau | *conj.*; tasya nāsau A; 'bad pa yis Tib

¹⁵⁹ 'bad pa yis | D; 'bad pa yi P

¹⁶⁰ For “is patient,” the Tibetan translation reads as “does not get angry.”

¹⁶¹ For “speaks truth, and has no relatives,” the Tibetan translation reads as “speaks gently in a moment.” The Sanskrit *nirāśrayaḥ* literally means “supportless,” which I have translated as “has no relatives.”

¹⁶² In his *Guhyārthaprakāśamahādbhūta*, Gambhīravajra interprets the *saptajanmā* as “the natures of the seven supports” (*rten bdun gyi ngo*), which possibly indicates these: (1) the support of yoga (*sbyor ba'i rten*), (2) the support of pledge (*dam tshig gi rten*), (3) the support of precept (*tshul gyi rten*), (4) the support of practice (*bskyod pa'i rten*), (5) the support of time (*dus kyi rten*), and (6) the support of karmic maturation (*rnam par smin pa'i rten*), although the text mentions only six supports (D 1200, 149v5–v6). I am uncertain about whether Gambhīravajra taught this as an inner aspect of the physical *saptajanman* or he had an idea that the *saptajanman* was a metaphor, which did not indicate a physical substance.

punṣayukto yadā kaścit tasya hastagataṃ bhavet /¹⁶⁴
 prāśya tasyaiva hr̥dayāt samastaṃ rocanāṃ śubham //4//¹⁶⁵
 gr̥hītvā vidhānena kṛpānapuṭe madhyagam /¹⁶⁶
 kṛtvā herukamantreṇa kuryāt tilakam uttamam /¹⁶⁷
 koṭīyojanavistāram ūrdhvam utpatate kṣaṇāt //5//¹⁶⁸

/bsod nams dang ldan sems pa yi/ /des ni lag tu rnyed par 'gyur/
 /de yang zos par byas nas ni/ /de yi snying gar ro tsa na//¹⁶⁹
 /rtse gcig pa yi sems kyis ni/ /he ru ka yi sngags lan bdun/
 /bzlas nas 'bad pas thig le bya/
 /'phral du steng du lding 'gyur zhing/ /dpag tshad bye bar 'gro ba'o//

When there is someone virtuous, [a practitioner] should get hold of him. [A practitioner should] eat.¹⁷⁰ [He should] take out all of the good *rocanā* (yellow pigments) from the heart of the same [victim] according to the rule. Having put [the *rocanā*] in the middle of a hollow space of the sacrificial sword,¹⁷¹ if, with [recitation of] Heruka's mantra,¹⁷² [a practitioner] makes an excellent ornament (*tilaka*) [out of the *rocanā*], at that moment he flies upward to the height of ten million *yojana*.

tena prāśitamātreṇa trailokyajñānavān bhavet /
 yojanānām koṭīśatair divā rātrau nivartayet //6//¹⁷³

¹⁶³ According to the *Guhyaṛthaprakāśamahādbhūta* (D 1200, 149v6–v7), the *trījanmā* means “the mind of awakening of the three appearances that is conducive to the triple path” (*lam gsum pa 'byung ba'i gang zhig snang ba gsum gyi byang chub kyis sems*). I am not certain of what the “three appearances” and the “triple path” exactly indicate in this context.

¹⁶⁴ yadā kaścit | A; sems pa yi Tib

¹⁶⁵ tasyaiva | *em.* (de yang Tib); matsyaiva A ♦ samastaṃ | Apc; sa..staṃ Aac; de yi Tib ♦ śubham | A; *n.e.* Tib

¹⁶⁶ For this line, the Tibetan translation reads as rtse gcig pa yi sems kyis ni. ♦ vidhānena | Apc; viśuddha Aac ♦ kṛpānapuṭe | *corr.*; kṛpānapuṭe A ♦ madhyagam | *em.*; madhyagām (-gām may be -gam /) A

¹⁶⁷ kṛtvā | A; lan bdun bzlas nas Tib ♦ uttamam | A; *n.e.* Tib

¹⁶⁸ vistāram | A; 'gro ba Tib

¹⁶⁹ snying gar | D; snying khar P

¹⁷⁰ One may say that the text *prāśya* is a corruption of *prāpya*, which means “having obtained [the victim].” Indeed, this makes better sense. However, the parallel passage found in the *Cakrasaṃvara* (11.2.2) also reads as *taṃ bhakayitvā tasya hr̥daye rocanā bhavati*. I interpret *prāśya* (“having eaten”) as being used in the sense of *prāśnīyāt* (“should eat”) because the following verses explain the sequence of making the *tilaka* out of the victim and eating it.

¹⁷¹ I speculate that the “sacrificial sword” refers to the sword used in opening the victim's heart. The Tibetan translation does not contain “and having put [the *rocanā*] in the middle of a hollow space of the sacrificial sword,”; instead, it simply reads as “concentratedly” (*rtse gcig pa yi sems kyis ni*).

¹⁷² For “with [recitation of] Heruka's mantra,” the Tibetan translation reads as “with recitation of Heruka's mantra seven times.”

¹⁷³ -śatair | A; lnga bcur Tib ♦ nivartayet | A; kun tu 'gro ba Tib

/de ni zos pa tsam gyis ni/ /khams gsum ye shes can du 'gyur/
/dpag tshad bye ba lnga bcur ni/ /nyin mtshan kun tu 'gro ba'o//¹⁷⁴

As soon as [he] eats that [ornament], he can become one who knows [all things in] the triple world. [Flying] at a hundred ten million *yojana* height, he can withdraw [himself]¹⁷⁵ by day and night.

indravad balavān sākṣād divyakāyo bhaven naraḥ /¹⁷⁶
darśanād bhāvayet kāntām sarpiś caiva yathāgninā //7//

/lha yi lus kyang thob 'gyur te/ /bskal pa stong du gnas par 'gyur/
/brgya byin gyi ni stobs 'dra 'o/
/bud med bltas pa tsam gyis ni/ /ji ltar me yis mar bzhu ltar//

He is mighty as if Indra is present. He can be a man with a divine body.¹⁷⁷ By seeing [a woman], he can make [her his] lover, just as fire [makes] butter clarified.

iti śrīmahāmudrātilake karmavidhipaṭalaś caturviṃśatitamah /¹⁷⁸

dpal phyag rgya chen po'i thig le las las kyi cho ga zhes bya ba'i le'u ste nyi shu rtsa bzhi
pa'o//

That is the 24th chapter, the sequence of a ritual (*karmavidhi*),¹⁷⁹ in the glorious *Mahāmudrātilaka*.

8. *Ḍākārṇava*, Chapter 50.2.1–14

atha mahākaṅkālasya lakṣaṇam vakṣyate mayā /¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁴ kun tu] D; kun du P

¹⁷⁵ For “he can withdraw [himself],” the Tibetan translation reads as “he goes anywhere.” The word *nivartayet* (which I translated as “he can withdraw [himself]”) is obscure and perhaps a corruption of some word. If that is not a corruption, that word may mean that the practitioner flies upward into the sky and becomes invisible by day and night as some of the 84 siddhas did at the end of their life-stories according to Abhayadattaśrī’s *Hagiography of the 84 Siddhas* (**Caturaśītisiddhapravṛtti*) in the 12th century (Sugiki 2000).

¹⁷⁶ naraḥ] A; kyang Tib ♦ bskal pa stong du gnas par 'gyur *add.* Tib

¹⁷⁷ For “He can be a man with a divine body,” the Tibetan translation reads as “He can also acquire the divine body and remains [so] for 1000 *kalpa* or eons.”

¹⁷⁸ iti] A; *n.e.* Tib ♦ -viṃśatitamah] *em.* (nyi shu Tib); viṃśatitamah A

¹⁷⁹ “A ritual” indicates a ritual to make a *tilaka* (a magical pill) from the *rocanā* of a person with particular qualities such as a “seven-birth” man and eat it.

gardabhākārayogātmā manovega nivartayet //1//¹⁸¹

/de nas keng rus chen po yi/ /mtshan nyid bdag gis bshad bya ste/
/bong 'dra'i rnal 'byor bdag nyid kyis/¹⁸² /yid kyi shugs ni 'jug med bya//

Now, I shall explain the characteristic of Mahākaṅkāla. One who is devoted to the yoga of the donkey-shaped can stop a rush of thought.¹⁸³

śikhāsthāne subhāvitvā parvatam samadhātukāḥ /¹⁸⁴
adhomukhā mṛṇālā tu taḍit sarvatra gāminī //2//¹⁸⁵

/kham mnyam pa yi ri bo ni/¹⁸⁶ /spyi bo'i gnas su bsgoms pa nyid/
/pad snal skud pa kha 'og bltas/¹⁸⁷ /glog ni kun tu 'gro ba mo//

In the tuft of hair on the head, [a yogin] visualizes well a mountain and [the inner channels that carry] the bodily constituents evenly; then,¹⁸⁸ [the inner channels,] facing downwards and [looking like] a stalk of a lotus, run to all [regions in his body] as [spreading streaks of] lightning.¹⁸⁹

tasya madhye mahāvīram bhāvayet gardabhākṛtīm /¹⁹⁰
maṇḍalam sarvasaṃpūrṇa cintaye tu mahāmahām //3//¹⁹¹

/de yi dbus su dpa' mo che/ /bong bu'i dbyibs can bsgom par bya/
/dkyil 'khor thams cad yang dag rdzogs/ /mchod pa chen po bsam par bya//

¹⁸⁰ lakṣaṇam] AC (mtshan nyid Tib); lakṣaṇa B ◆ vakṣyate] BC (bshad bya Tib); vakṣate A

¹⁸¹ gardabhā-] AB (bong Tib); darddabhā C ◆ -vega (for -vegām or -vegana)] ABC (shugs Tib); this is originally a corruption of manoveganivṛttaye (*Cakrasaṃvara* 14.1d and *Vajradāka* 35.1d).

¹⁸² bong 'dra'i] D; 'di 'dra'i P

¹⁸³ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 272r6–r7), *manovega* indicates a mental attachment to all worldly matters. Therefore, that word can be translated as “rush of thought,” a negative aspect of the mind, and the text *manovega* without suffix is used as *manovegaṃ*. If that word means “the mental power,” a positive aspect of the mind, the text without suffix is used as *manovegena* in order to accommodate the meter. See also footnotes 32 and 131 in this paper.

¹⁸⁴ śikhā-] *em.* (spyi bo'i Tib); sikṣā AB; śikṣā C; cf. mgo *Bohitā* (D 272r7) ◆ -sthāne subhāvitvā (*m.c.* for subhāvayitvā or subhāvitāḥ)] *conj.*; -sthāneṣv abhāvitvā A; sthāne svabhāvitvā B; sthāna svabhāvitvā C; gnas su bsgoms pa nyid Tib; cf. gnas su bsgom par bya *Bohitā* (272r7) ◆ parvatam] C (ri bo Tib); parvatum A; parvattam B ◆ sama-] C (mnyam pa Tib); samaya AB ◆ -dhātukāḥ (if subhāvitvā is used as subhāvitā, this is used as -dhātukā)] ABpcC (kham Tib); tukāḥ Bac

¹⁸⁵ mṛṇālā tu] *em.* (pad snal skud pa Tib); manālatāin tu A; manālatāis tu B; manālatāiḥ tu C; cf. pa dma'i snal ma'i skud pa lta bur *Bohitā* (D 276v2) ◆ taḍit] *em.* (glog Tib); taṃbhit AB; taṃbhi C ◆ gāminī] AB ('gro ba mo Tib); gāminīm C

¹⁸⁶ mnyam pa yi] D; mnyam pa'i P

¹⁸⁷ 'og bltas] D; rog bltas P

In the middle of that, he should visualize a great hero in the form of a donkey.¹⁹² He should meditate on [the hero's] maṇḍala which is completely furnished with all [appropriate qualities] and which is greatly effective.

tasya madhye mahāvīraḥ mahākaṅkālayogataḥ /
manthamanthānayogātmā tantubhi nābhimadhyataḥ //4//¹⁹³

¹⁸⁸ I have translated *subhāvitvā* (for *subhāvayitvā*, “having visualized well”) as “[a yogin] visualizes well ...; then.”

I interpret verse 2ab as saying “On the chakra in the head that is located at the top of the “mountain” or back bone, [a yogin] visualizes the points of origin of the inner channels that carry the bodily fluids (equivalent to the mind of awakening or nectar) evenly from the head to all regions of the body.” The words “in (at the place of) the tuft of hair on the head” (*śikhāsthāne*) indicate the chakra in the head. The head is located on the top of the back bone; often, the back bone is equivalent to Mt. Sumeru, a king of “mountain” (*parvataṃ*) (e.g., Ghaṇṭāpāda's *Śrīcakrasaṃvarasādhana* D 1432, 223r1 [*sgal tshigs ri rgyal*] and Kṛṣṇācārya's *Vasantatilakā* 8.8ab with *Rahasyadīpikā*'s comment on it). (Therefore, there is also a possibility that *parvataṃ* is used as *parvate*, and the text *śikhāsthāne ... parvataṃ [= parvate]* means “On the seat of the summit of the mountain.”) The word *dhātu* have multiple meanings such as (1) the Eighteen Elements that constitute one's experiential reality; (2) the elements that constitute one's body; (3) one of the bodily constituents, namely the bodily fluid often defined as the semen that is conceptualized as being equivalent to the mind of awakening (*bodhicitta*) or nectar (*amṛta*); (4) the mind (cf. *cittaṃ dhātur iti smṛtam*: *Mahāmudrātilaka* 6.23b [my unpublished edition]), and (5) the Five Elements that constitute the material existence. Of these meanings, I interpret the *dhātu* in *samadhātukāḥ* as meaning (3), and with the suffix *-kāḥ* (feminine plural accusative) the term *-dhātukāḥ* signifies the inner channels that carry the bodily constituents (the drops of semen that represent the mind of awakening or nectar). Normally all inner channels are originated in the chakra in the head.

The *Bohitā* does not explain the function of the word *parvataṃ* (mountain) clearly: It (D 1419, 272r4) merely says “visualizing a wheel of maṇḍala at the summit of a mountain and so on” (*ri bo'i mgo la sogs par dkyil 'khor gyi 'khor lo bsgoms pa*). The *Bohitā* (D 1419, 272r4–r5 and 272r7–v1) also says that the phrase “in the tuft of hair on the head” (*mgo bo' gnas su*) is a synecdoche (*nye bar mtshon pa*). Through the concentration on the tip of fire (which seems to indicate an inner fire), all constituent elements (*dhātu*) appear to be even or undivided (*kham s thams cad mnyam par 'gyur*). The *Bohitā* does not explain clearly what the “all constituent elements” (*dhātu*) are. However, it seems to mean (1) or (4) mentioned earlier.

¹⁸⁹ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 272v1–v2), the words “run to all as [spreading streaks of] lightning” mean 72000 inner channels. All inner channels run downward from the head to various parts of the body.

¹⁹⁰ madhye | AC (dbus su Tib); madhya B ♦ bhāvayet | BC (bsgom par bya Tib); bhāvayeta A ♦ gardabhā- | A (bong bu'i Tib); garbhā B; garbhamā C ♦ -kṛtīm (for -kṛtim) | A (dbyibs can Tib); kṛti Bac; kṛtī Bpc; kṛtim C

¹⁹¹ -sāmpūrṇa (for -sāmpūrṇam) | AB (yang dag rdzogs Tib); sāmpūrṇam C ♦ cintaye tu (for cintayet tu) | A (bsam par bya Tib); cintayet ta B; cintayet tu C; it seems that the scribe of manuscript B wrongly read manuscript A's *cintaye tu* as *cintayet ta* (the letters *tu* and *tta* are similar in this folio of manuscript A). ♦ -mahāmahām (for -mahāmaham) | A (mchod pa chen po Tib); mahāmaham BC

¹⁹² What does *tasya* (“of that”) indicate? According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 272v3–v4), a practitioner should visualize Mahākaṅkāla in the form of (donkey-faced) Heruka in the middle of the mind of awakening, the self-awareness. Probably the mind of awakening, in which the practitioner visualizes Heruka, indicates the nectar of immortality produced from the chakra in the head.

¹⁹³ mantha- (for manthya-) | ABC (srub Tib) ♦ -manthāna- | AB (190r3) C (81r3 first) (bsrub pa'i Tib); sthāna B (190r4) C (81r3 second) ♦ tantubhi (for tantubhir) | A (34r1) (skud pa rnam kyis Tib); tanvībhi mā A (33v13); tatvībhi mā B (190r4) C (81r3 first); tatvībhiḥ (C 81r3 second); cf. kud pa *Bohitā* (D 273r2) ♦ -madhyataḥ | ABC (81r3 first) (dbus su Tib); madhyataḥ svayam C (81r3 second)

/de yi dbus su dpa' chen po/ /keng rus chen po'i sbyor bas so/
 /skud pa rnams kyis lte dbus su/¹⁹⁴ /sruḅ dang bsrub pa'i sbyor bdag nyid//¹⁹⁵

The great hero in the middle of that¹⁹⁶ is [based] on the yoga of Mahākaṅkāla.

(The meaning of “Ma”—)¹⁹⁷ [The practitioner] devotes himself to the yogic union of the churn-able (*mantha for manthya*) and churning by means of the threads (viz., channels) from the middle of [his] navel region.

hākārākārarūpā tu ekatantuṣu mastakāt /¹⁹⁸
 kapālamadhye tu viśrāntā darpaṇākāracetasāḥ //5//¹⁹⁹

/hā yig rnam pa yi ni gzugs/ /mgo las skud pa gcig po ste/²⁰⁰
 /me long rnam pa'i sems kyis ni/²⁰¹ /thod pa'i dbus su ngal bso bya//²⁰²

(The meaning of “hā”—) [Those that] have the nature of the shape of the letter *hā* (*hākāra*)²⁰³ are from the head through individual threads (inner channels).

(The meaning of “ka”—) [They] rest in the middle of the skull (*kapāla*)²⁰⁴ with the mind like a mirror.²⁰⁵

kalaśāmṛtadhārābhi gartamadhye sravanty api /²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁴ skud pa rnams kyis | D; skud pa rnams kyi P ♦ dbus su | D; dbu su P

¹⁹⁵ sruḅ | D; bsrub P

¹⁹⁶ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 272v7), the “middle of that” means the middle of the conventional truth and the ultimate reality truth. I interpret “middle of that” to mean the middle of the maṇḍala mentioned in the last line (50.2.3cd).

¹⁹⁷ Verses 4c–6 explain the etymology of the name of the god Mahākaṅkāla.

¹⁹⁸ hākārākāra- | A (34r1) B (190r5) C (81r3–r4) (hā yig rnam pa Tib); hārā Aac (33v13); hākāra Apc (33v13); hārākāra B (190r4) C (81r3); cf. ha yig *Bohitā* (D 273r2) ♦ -rūpā (for -rūpās) | AB (190r5) C (81r4) (gzugs Tib); rūpān B (190r4) C (81r3) ♦ eka- | A (34r1) BC (81r4) (gcig po Tib); aika A (33v13); ekaikan C (81r3) ♦ -tantuṣu | A (34r1) B (190r5) (skud pa Tib); tantusu A (33v13) B (190r4); tu su C (81r3); tantreṣu C (81r4) ♦ mastakāt | A (34r1) B (190r5) C (81r4) (mgo las Tib); mastakām A (33v13); mastakām B (190r4) C (81r3)

¹⁹⁹ -madhye | A; madhya B; madhyen C ♦ -cetasāḥ | Apc (sams kyis Tib); cetasām Apc; cetasāḥ BC

²⁰⁰ mgo las | D; mgo la P

²⁰¹ sems | D; gzugs P

²⁰² thod pa'i | D; thos pa'i P

²⁰³ I interpret that the phrase *hākārākārarūpā[h]* (feminine plural, “[those that] have the nature of the shape of the letter *hā*”) represents *bodhicittadhārāḥ* (feminine plural, “streams of [the bodily fluids that represent] the mind of awakening”). Normally the letter in the head is *ham*, from which minds of awakening in the form of bodily fluids flow. The word *dhārā* (“stream”) appears in verse 6a.

²⁰⁴ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 273r4), the “skull” means the palate. The streams of the mind of awakening that appeared from the letter *ham* in the head flows down to the palate.

²⁰⁵ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 273r4–r5), the “mind like a mirror” is an expression for the state of mind being naturally clear (*rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'i dus kyi sems*). I interpret this (*darpaṇākāracetasāḥ*, feminine plural nominative) as a *bahuvrīhi* that modifies those (i.e., the *dhārāḥ* or streams of the mind of awakening) that rest (*viśrāntāḥ*) in the middle of the skull.

layabhogādibhāveṣu cittasya gatim ādiśet //6//²⁰⁷

/bum pa'i bdud rtsi'i rgyun rnam kyis/²⁰⁸ /khung bu'i dbus su'ang 'dzag par 'gyur/²⁰⁹
/thim dang longs spyod sogs dngos pos/²¹⁰ /sems kyi bgrod pa bstan par bya//

(The meaning of “kā”—) Assuming the appearance of streams of nectar [poured out] from a pot (*kalaśa*), they also flow in the middle of a hollow.²¹¹

(The meaning of “la”—) He should meditate that [this] mind (nectar) undergoes states such as absorption (*laya*) and enjoyment.²¹²

tadgartāgardabho yoga saptajanmañ ca paśyati /²¹³
mātrbhūtā trayākārā pitṛbhūtā trayas tathā //7//²¹⁴

/khung der bong bu'i rnal 'byor gyis/²¹⁵ /skye ba bdun yang mthong bar 'gyur/²¹⁶
/ma las byung ba'i dbyibs gsum dang/ /pha las byung ba gsum de bzhin//²¹⁷

[If he performs] the yoga of donkey in that hollow,²¹⁸ he sees the seven-birth. There are three appearances derived from the mother; likewise, there are three derived from the father.²¹⁹

²⁰⁶ kalaśā- | *em.* (bum pa'i Tib); kalāsā A; kārasā B; kālāsā C ◆ -dhārābhi (for dhārābhir) | ABC (rgyun rnam kyis Tib) ◆ garta- | *em.* (khung bu'i Tib); gartti A; ganti BC ◆ sravanty api | *corr.* ('ang 'dzag par 'gyur Tib); śravanty api AB; śravanti rā C

²⁰⁷ -bhogādi- | A (longs spyod sogs Tib); bhogadi B; bhoga C ◆ -bhāveṣu | AB (dngos pos Tib); vibhāgeṣu C

²⁰⁸ bdud rtsi'i | D; btud rtsi'i P

²⁰⁹ 'dzag par | D; mdzod par P

²¹⁰ longs spyod | D; long spyod P

²¹¹ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 273r5–r7), which is somewhat obscure, the “pot” appears to indicate the vajra gem or male organ, and the “hollow” is a skull, the palate. Streams of nectar (which is identical to the mind of awakening in this context) move back from the male organ to the palate.

²¹² According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 273v1–v2), minds of awakening in the form of bodily fluids undergo the states of absorption (*thim pa* = *laya*), enjoyment (*longs spyod pa* = *bhoga*), government (*bdag po byed*), and lordship (*gtso bo nyid*) in all channels between the head and the thumbs of the feet. The Sanskrit words for “government” and “lordship” are *adhikāra* and *prabhutva*, respectively, according to the *Laghutantraṭīkā* (p. 62, l. 12, etc.). In the Saṃvara tradition, these (*laya*, *bhoga*, *adhikāra*, and *prabhutva*) are known as the four steps that a mind of awakening or nectar in the form of bodily fluid undergoes when passing the junctures of inner channels.

²¹³ -gartā- | A (khung Tib); gato BC ◆ gardabho | ApcBC (bong bu Tib); bho Aac ◆ yoga (for yogah) | A (rnal 'byor gyis Tib); yogā B; yogo C ◆ -janmañ ca (*m.c.* for -janmānam or -janma ca) | ABC (skye ba and yang Tib)

²¹⁴ mātrbhūtā (for mātrbhūtās) | ABC (ma las byung ba'i Tib) ◆ -kārā (for kārāḥ) | AB (dbyibs Tib); kārā C ◆ pitṛbhūtā (for pitṛbhūtās) | AB (pha las byung ba Tib); pitṛbhūtās C

²¹⁵ bong bu'i | D; bung bu'i P

²¹⁶ bdun | D; bdum P ◆ mthong bar | D; mdzod par P

²¹⁷ byung ba | D; byung ba'i P

²¹⁸ According to the *Bohitā* (D 1419, 273v2–v3 and v5), the word “that” of “that hollow” indicates an inner channel. A practitioner visualizes the donkey-formed one in inner channels.

sarvadhātuḥ sa saptan tu paśyante yogabhāvanām /²²⁰
mahākaṅkālasambhūtaṃ sukhamaṃ sarvadhātubhiḥ //8//

/kham s thams cad dang bdun po de/ /rnal 'byor bsgoms pas mthong bar 'gyur/²²¹
/bde ba'i rang bzhin kham s kun gyis/ /keng rus chen po yang dag byung//

He, [complete with] all constituents, sees the seven[-birth]²²² [if he performs this] practice of yoga. [The effect is] produced from Mahākaṅkāla. [He] is made of pleasure with all constituents.

tatrasthaṃ drśyate rūpi lāmādbhāvitena tu /²²³
gardabhākāra sarvā tu rudhiravaktrā triśūlakāḥ //9//²²⁴

/lā ma la sogs bsgoms pa yis/²²⁵ /de la gnas pa'i gzugs mthong 'gyur/
/bong bu'i rnam pa'i rnal 'byor du/ /khrag gi zhal can rtse gsum can/²²⁶

The well-shaped one is seen residing there with the visualized ones such as Lāmā. All [dākinīs] are in the form of a donkey, have bloody mouths, and have tridents.²²⁷

gatāyusaṅ ca vijñānaṃ dīrghāyusaṅ ca paśyati /
hastyādīpūrvakaṃ rūpaṃ sa vīraḥ svātma paśyati //10//²²⁸

/tshe son pa yang rnam par shes/ /tshe ring ba yang mthong bar 'gyur/²²⁹
/snga mar glang po che sogs pa/ /dpa' rang bdag nyid kyis de mthong//

²¹⁹ Neither the *Ḍākārṇava* nor *Bohitā* explains what those from mother and father are. According to the *Kālacakra* (2.8), the skin (*carman*), blood (*rakta*), and flesh (*māṃsa*) are produced from the menstrual blood of a woman (mother), and the bone marrow (*majjan*), bone (*asthi*), and inner channel (or sinew, *nāḍī*) are from the semen of a man (father). I interpret the skin, blood, and flesh as the three appearances derived from the mother, and the bone marrow, bone, and inner channel or sinew as the three from the father.

²²⁰ The first *pāda* may be a corruption of “sarvadhātuṃ sasaptan.” ◆ *paśyante* (for *paśyate*)] A (mthong bar 'gyur Tib); *paśyate* BC

²²¹ bsgoms pas] D; bsgom pas P

²²² If the first *pāda* is emended as *sarvadhātuṃ sasaptan*, it means that “He sees all constituents including the seven [constituents of the body].” The *Bohitā* does not explain this line in detail. However, this appears to be how it interprets the text (D 1419, 273v3–v4).

²²³ rūpi] AB; rūpī C ◆ lāmā-] AB; rāmā C

²²⁴ -kāra (*m.c.* for *kārāḥ*)] ABC (rnam pa'i Tib) ◆ *sarvā* (for *sarvās*)] ABC; rnal 'byor du Tib ◆ *rudhira-*] ABpcC (khrag gi Tib); *rudhirā* Bac ◆ -*vaktrā* (for -*vaktrās*)] ABC (zhal can Tib) ◆ -*śūlakāḥ*] AB (rtse Tib); *śūlakā* C

²²⁵ la sogs] D; las sogs P

²²⁶ zhal can] D; zhal nas P

He sees [and distinguishes between] a consciousness of one who is dying and [that of] one who lives long. He, a hero, sees himself [having] the forms of an elephant and so on in the previous [lives].

kaṅkālaṃ prāṇa nirgacchet mahatā sarvanāḍiṣu /²³⁰
sa khalā gardabhaṃ jñeyam nānāprakṛtīm sa paśyati //11//²³¹

/chen po'i rtsa rnam thams cad du/ /keng rus srog ni yongs 'gro bya/
/de bskyod bong bu shes bya ste/²³² /sna tshogs rang bzhin de mthong 'gyur//

Kaṅkāla (related to the verb *kaṅk*, "to move"), the vital wind in all inner channels, goes out together with the great (viz., consciousness). It moves (*khal* — a homophone of *khara*, "donkey") — [hence it] should be known as a donkey. It sees various natures [of beings].

śālyādi bhakṣitaṃ vastu tadvat sarvavastukam /
drśyate na ca tatrāsti bhrāntīś ca sarvadhātukam //12//²³³

/sā lu la sogs bza' ba'i dngos/²³⁴ /de dang 'dra bar dngos po kun/
/mthong ste de na yod pa min/ /kham thams cad kyang 'khrul pa 'o//12//

Human flesh (*śālī*)²³⁵ and so on are eaten things; everything is viewed likewise. There is no

²²⁷ Probably the word “there” (*tatra*) of “residing there” (*tatrasthaṃ*) indicates the yogin's body complete with all constituents (*sarvadhātu*) mentioned in the last line (50.2.8d). I interpret the neuter *rūpi*, “the well-shaped one,” as indicating a mind of awakening (*bodhicitta*, neuter) in the form of a bodily fluid where Heruka or Kaṅkāla in the form of a donkey resides. The *Bohitā* (D 1419, 273v4–v5) interprets verse 50.2.9 as follows: All inner channels have the nature of the four goddesses, namely, Lāmā, Khaṇḍarohā, Rūpiṇī, and Ḍākinī, and the donkey-shaped one (Kaṅkāla) is in the inner channels. The phrase “have bloody mouths” represents an inner fire of great desire, and the “tridents” symbolizes subjugation of the triple world. It seems that the *Bohitā* reads the words “All are in the form of a donkey” (*gardabhākāra sarvā*) as “The donkey-shaped one is in all [inner channels of the nature of the four Ḍākinīs].” It also seems possible to read these words as indicating all Ḍākinīs who reside on the maṇḍala of Mahākaṅkāla.

²²⁸ hastyādi-] AB (glang po che sogs Tib); hastādi C ◆ -pūrvakaṃ] AC; pūrvaka B ◆ rūpaṃ] ABC; om. Tib ◆ svātma] ApBC; svātmaṃ Aac

²²⁹ tshe ring ba] D; che ring ba P

²³⁰ kaṅkālaṃ] A (keng rus Tib); kaṅkāla BC ◆ prāṇa (*m.c.* for prāṇo or prāṇena)] ABC ◆ mahatā] B; +++++tā A; pahatā C

²³¹ sa khalā (probably meaning “it moves”)] A (de bskyod Tib); sukhālā BC. Vital winds move out of all channels, and perhaps *khal* (move) and *khara* (ass) are related ◆ gardabhaṃ jñeyam (for gardabho jñeyo)] ABC (bong bu shes bya Tib) ◆ -prakṛtīm (for -prakṛtīh)] A (rang bzhin Tib); prakṛtī B; prakṛti C

²³² bong bu] D; bong bur P

²³³ -sti] AB (yod pa Tib); stri C ◆ bhrāntīś] A ('khrul pa Tib); bhrāntīm BC ◆ -dhātukam (for -dhātuke)] ABC (kham Tib)

²³⁴ sā lu] D; sa lu P

error of that, also of every bodily constituent.²³⁶

yathā puruṣakaṅkāle vijñeyā hastidhātunā /²³⁷
 tathā ca mahākaṅkālaiḥ śālyādīdhātupratyayāt //13//²³⁸
 prakṛtīm laukikālambya svātmarūpaṃ sa paśyati /²³⁹
 jāti nānāvidhā teṣu vijñeyā yogadhāribhiḥ //14//²⁴⁰

/ji ltar skyes bur dus rnams kyis/ /glang chen kham skyis shes par bya/
 /de bzhin keng rus che rnams kyis/ /sā li la sogs kham skyen gyis//²⁴¹
 /rang bzhin 'jig rten pa dmigs pas/ /rang bdag nyid kyi gzugs de mthong/
 /rnam pa sna tshogs rigs de rnams/ /rnal 'byor 'dzin rnams skyis shes bya//

Just as [a birth] will be known by means of the bodily constituent of an elephant in the skull of a person, so too, by means of the Mahākaṅkālas, dependent on the bodily constituents such as flesh (*śāli*), and having taken the nature of the mundane, he sees his own [embodied] form. Yoga-bearers should discern various kinds of birth in them.

9. Parallel Passages

In the following table, I note parallel passages that can be found only in the texts whose Sanskrit manuscripts or editions are available.

Sādhanaṇidhi 14.4ab	Vajradāka 34.7cd (<i>śrīpadmavāṇaṣaṇḍe mlecchitair buddhamudrayā</i> : my unpublished edition)
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²³⁵ In certain discourses of the *Ḍākāraṇava*, the word *śālī* is used as a code word for “flesh of the twice-born” (*dvijamāṃsa*) (28.2 and 4), which probably indicates the flesh of the seven-birth in the present discourse. The code word *śālī* corresponds to *sālija* or *śālija* (meaning *mahāmāṃsa* or “human flesh”) in the *Hevajra* (II.3.60a), the *Samputodbhava* (7.1.8c), and the *Mahāmudrātilaka* (its Tibetan translation version: 13.5d).

²³⁶ The *Bohitā* (D 1419, 274r4) says that the passage starting with *śālī* is easy to understand and skips explaining its details. It seems that verse 50.2.12 must be understood based on the verse *tena balihome kartavyaḥ sādhaḥasya sidhyati* (“If the *bali* offering and fire ritual are performed by means of that [the flesh of the seven-birth], a practitioner attains accomplishment.”) in the *Cakrasaṃvara* (14.4cd).

²³⁷ puruṣakaṅkāle | AB; puruṣakaṅkāraṃ C; skyes bur dus rnams kyis Tib

²³⁸ -pratyayāt | AB; pratyayā C

²³⁹ prakṛtīm (for prakṛtim) | A; prakṛtim B; prakṛti C ♦ laukikālambya (*m.c.* for laukikām ālambya) | BC ('jig rten pa dmigs pas Tib); dhātukālambya Aac; ++++kālambya (probably lokikālambya) Apc

²⁴⁰ jāti (for jātir) | ABC (rigs Tib) ♦ nānāvidhā | A; nāvidhān B; nānāvidhaṃ C ♦ yoga- | ApcBC; ga Aac

²⁴¹ sā li | D; sa li P

<i>Sādhānanidhi</i> 14.13–14b	In his commentary on the <i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> (D 1412, 392r3–r4), Vīravajra mentions verses that are similar to <i>Sādhānanidhi</i> 14.13–14b as a citation from the <i>Catuṣpīṭha</i> . However, I cannot find this passage in the extant form of the <i>Catuṣpīṭha</i> .
<i>Sādhānanidhi</i> 14.19c–20c	In his commentary on the <i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> (D 1412, 392v3–v4), Vīravajra mentions verses that are similar to 14.19c–20c as a citation from the <i>Catuṣpīṭha</i> . However, I cannot find it in the extant form of the <i>Catuṣpīṭha</i> .
<i>Sādhānanidhi</i> 14.21 (<i>karatalam iva paśyati</i>)	<i>Vajradāka</i> 35.4d (<i>karatalam iva paśyate</i>).
<i>Vajradāka</i> 35.1c–4	Very roughly corresponds to the <i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> 14.1c–2.2
<i>Mahāmudrātilaka</i> 24.1cd	<i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> 11.1cd (<i>yena prāśitamātreṇāśu siddhiḥ pravartate</i>)
<i>Mahāmudrātilaka</i> 24.2	Roughly corresponds to <i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> 11.2.1 (<i>yasya puruṣasya sugandhagandhaḥ prasvedo nirgacchati / satyavādī / ciraṃ nimeṣayati</i>)
<i>Mahāmudrātilaka</i> 24.4c–6	Roughly corresponds to <i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> 11.2.2–2.3 (<i>tam bhakṣayitvā tasya hṛdaye rocanā bhavati / tām grhītvā śrīherukasya hṛdayamantreṇa śatajaptena tilakaṃ karoti / ūrdhvam utpatati / yojanakoṭyo gacchati / tena prāśitamātreṇa trailokyajñānī bhavati / pañcāśatkoṭim gatvā ahorātreṇāgacchati /</i>)
<i>Ḍākārṇava</i> 50.2.1cd	<i>Cakrasaṃvara</i> 14.1cd and <i>Vajradāka</i> 35.1cd (<i>gardabhākārayogātmā manoveganivṛttaye</i>)

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Abbreviations of the catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts

Göttingen	Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen
Matsunami	Matsunami (1965)
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
Śāstrī	Śāstrī (1917)

For the sigla used in the critical apparatus, see Section 1 of this paper.

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「三昧発得記」の編纂と流传

問題の所在

院政後期の法然房源空（長承二年〔1133〕～建暦二年〔1212〕）は、主著『選本願念仏集』（建久九年〔1198〕成立。以下、『選択集』と略す）で初唐の善導を「弥陀化身」と仰いで偏依し、浄土宗を立てた。同書などの信憑できる遺文や語録で、源空は自分が三昧を発したと述べていない。しかし、その自筆とされる「三昧発得記」の写本があり、これに依拠して舜昌『法然上人行状絵図』巻第七（正和二年〔1313〕～正申元年〔124〕成立）などの諸伝も源空が三昧を発したとしてきた。

七十余年前に田村円澄は、「三昧発得記」は偽撰であり源空の三昧発得は史実でないとする説を唱えた^①。そして卅余年前に中野正明は、「三昧発得記」はその真偽の判断によつて法然の思想的立場の理解に大きな影響を及ぼす遺文といえる。しかるに、今日も遺文としての信憑性は曖昧なままであり、法然の三昧発得という宗教体験の有無についても確実視されていないのが現状である^②と評した。このような研究状況は今も大きくは変わっていないと考えられる。そこで本稿では、平成七年（1995）に発見紹介された大徳寺本『拾遺漢語燈録』なども活用して、「三昧発得記」の編纂と流传について考察する。

第一項 善導三昧発得説と源空

源空は『選択集』第十六章で、「偏依善導一師」の理由を三つの或問により斯く私釈した。

問曰、「浄土祖師其数又多、謂弘法寺迦才、慈愍三藏等是也。何不_レ依_レ彼

等諸師、唯用_三善導一師_二哉」。答曰、此等諸師雖_レ宗_二浄土_一、未_レ發_三三昧_一。善導和尚是三昧發得之人也。於_レ道既有_三其証_一、故且用_レ之。問曰、「若依_三三昧發得_一者、懷感禪師亦是三昧發得之人也。何不_レ用_レ之」。答曰、善導是師也、懷感是弟子也。故依_レ師不_レ依_三弟子_一也。況師資之積、其相違甚多。故不_レ用_レ之。問曰、「若依_レ師不_レ依_三弟子_一者、道綽禪師者是善導和尚之師也、抑又浄土祖師也。何不_レ用_レ之」。答曰、道綽禪師者是雖_レ師、未_レ發_三三昧_一。

〔…〕爰知、善導和尚者、行發_三三昧_一、力堪_三師位_一。解行非凡、將是曉矣。

問う、浄土の祖師は数多く、弘法寺迦才や慈愍三藏などもある。何故それら諸師に依らず、ただ善導一師を用いるのか。答う、これら諸師は浄土を宗としたが三昧を発さなかったので、三昧発得の人である善導を用いる。問う、三昧発得の人を用いるのであれば、何故やはり三昧発得の人である懷感を用いないのか。答う、善導は師で懷感はその弟子だったので、師に依り弟子に依らない。しかもこの師弟は釈に相違が甚だ多かったので、懷感を用いない。問う、師に依り弟子に依らないのであれば、何故善導の師であり浄土の祖師でもある道綽を用いないのか。答う、道綽は師だが三昧を発さなかった。善導は行が三昧を発し力が師位に堪え、解行ともに非凡であることが明らかだ、と。

これら三つの或問で源空は、三昧発得者に依るべきことと、もし師弟二人がともに三昧発得者でその釈に相違が甚だ多ければ師に依るべきことの二つを挙げて、偏依善導の根拠とした。これら二由は、後に「三昧発得記」が編纂された背景として極めて重要だと考えられる。

森 新之介

第二項 源空三昧発得説の初出

源空が建暦二年（1212）に没した後、その徳を遺弟の長樂寺隆寛は建保五年（1217）乃至嘉祿三年（27）成立の「知恩講私記」で絶讃した。しかし、同講式に源空が三昧を発したという明文はなく、第三讃専修正行徳で斯く讃えられているのみである。

六時礼讃多年積功、別時念仏幾許累徳。時と欣求百千回、日と称名七万遍。願力不思議故、初常見宝樹宝宮殿、仏力不思議故、後親拝化仏菩薩。^一

先師源空は願力不思議の故、初め常に宝樹宝宮殿を見、仏力不思議の故、後に親しく化仏菩薩を拝した、と。

伊藤真徹や戸松啓真、嵐瑞徴、杉岡孝紀はこの記事が三昧発得を意味すると解釈してきたが、従い難い。源空の三昧発得を信じながらその明記を避けたとは考えられないため、「知恩講私記」の成立当時、源空三昧発得説は未だ存在していなかったろう。

同説の伝存史料における初出は、遺弟の勢観房源智（寿永二年「1183」）^{（4）}、暦仁元年「1238」が最晩年の嘉禎二年（1236）に撰述した『選択要決』である。源智は同書の第四条で当時、同門のある遺弟が先師源空の『選択集』について「当世義理超過此集、例如善導勝于道綽」と主張していたことを伝える。善導が師の道綽に勝ったように、自分の教義もまた同集を超えている、と。

師恩報謝の念が極めて篤かった源智は、この自称出藍の同法に反論するため、同条で源空について斯く決した。

誠如和尚者、発得三昧、為師作訓。其驗嚴重、尤足為勝。然先師上人、〔…〕夫熾盛念仏之窓前、勢至來現、口称三昧之室内、弥陀影向。闇夜無燈、常開聖教、牆壁有障、鎮見淨境。臨終瑞相、不可称計。若干道俗、悉以見聞。其旨在別記、不能委述之。〔…〕解行俱備、力堪師位。所為非凡、將是晚也。況復、夢中告善導再誕、覺前示勢至化現。〔…〕仰討本地者、大唐導師也、三昧正受之語、無疑于往生、俯訪垂迹者、我朝先達也、一向専称之教、有憑于念仏。

本當に善導和尚と同じであれば、三昧を発して師匠を教導するようではなくてはならない。そして先師源空が熾盛念仏していると勢至が来現し、口称三昧していると弥陀が影向した。仰いでその本地を尋ねれば大唐の善導であり、三昧正受の語は往生に疑いなく、俯いてその垂迹を訪ねれば本朝の先達であり、その一向専称の教えは念仏に憑みある、と。

前項で見た如く、源空が善導を師の道綽に勝ると判じた根拠は、その三昧発得にあった。善導が道綽に勝ったように自分もまた源空に勝る、と主張する某同法に反論して源空を擁護したければ、源空が三昧を発していたことにすればよい。そうすれば、源空が『選択集』第十六章の私記で示した二由の第一により、三昧発得の源空は未発得の某遺弟に勝ることになる。仮に某遺弟が三昧発得を自称したとしても、二由の第二により、やはり先師源空は某遺弟に勝ることになる。このように、源智が源空三昧発得説を主張したのは自称出藍の同法に反論するためだったと考えられる。

右に引いた『選択要決』第四決で注意すべきは、源智が源空の「臨終瑞相」について「其旨在別記、不能委述之」と述べるのみで、源空の三昧発得についても別記があると述べていないことである。恐らく当時、そのような別記は未だ存在していなかったのであろう。某同法の「当世義理超過此集、例如善導勝于道綽」という主張が、源智に源空三昧発得説の証拠としての「三昧発得記」を作らせることになったと考えられる。嘉禎二年に『選択要決』を作った源智は二年後の暦仁元年（1238）に没したため、この三年間が「三昧発得記」の成立時期となる。

第三項 複合された念仏記

源智が如何にして「三昧発得記」を編纂したかを解明するためには、同記の原態について検討しなければならない。

同記の諸本は四つが伝存している。誤りの少ない最善本は、二尊院御影堂蔵の正本を書写したという道光了惠編『拾遺漢語燈録』（文永十一年「1274」）^{（5）}、元亨元年「1321」成立、所収の語燈本であり、本稿では元禄十五年（1702）興誉恩哲書写の大徳寺本を用いる。僅かに劣る次善本として、山州上醍醐水本報恩院寛濟本を寛永六年（1629）にある人が書写し、それを十年後の十六

年までに良定袋中が書写した袋中本（通称「報恩院本」）があり、本稿では伊藤の翻刻を用いる。その他、親鸞書『西方指南抄』巻中本（康元二年「1257」成立）所収の西指本は、漢文が親鸞により和訳されてしまっているが参照するに足り、本稿では親鸞真筆本を用いる。醍醐寺三宝院蔵『法然上人伝記』（以下、二重鈎括弧付きの『醍醐本』と称す）第六篇「三昧発得之記」が悪本であることは、田村や嵐に指摘されている⁹⁾。

最善の語燈本「三昧発得記」は、次のように始まる（改行ママ）。なお、「三昧発得記第一」の「第二」は「拾遺漢語燈録」の編者了恵が加えたものであり、所収三篇の第一であることを示す。

三昧発得記第一

黒谷自筆記

七々日念仏記（正本在三尊院御影堂。文字及点、全如正本。不可私点等也）

元久三年正月四日、念仏之間三尊共現^二ト^一大身^一。

又五日^二モ^一。初生丑年也、生年六十有六也、午^レ年也。

建久九年正月一日記、

一日、從^二山桃法橋教慶之許^一歸^テ後、申^レ時計、恒例

正月七日念仏始^レ行^レ之^一。（…）

このように語燈本は、「三昧発得記」という篇題の次行である本文第一行に「七々日念仏記」とあり、第二乃至第三行に「元久三年正月四日、念仏之間三尊共現^二ト^一大身^一。又五日^二モ^一」という元久三年（1206）正月四、五日条があり、一字空格があつて「初生丑年也、生年六十有六也、午^レ年也」という註記が続き、第四行に「建久九年正月一日記」とあり、第五行から「一日、從^二山桃法橋教慶之許^一歸^テ後」云々という建久九年（1198）正月一日乃至建仁二年（1202）十二月廿八日条の五百余字がある。袋中本もこれと概ね同じ¹⁰⁾。

善裕昭が指摘したように、「大徳寺本を素直にみると、「三昧発得記」の名のもとに、「七々日念仏記」と「建久九年正月一日記」の二点を収めた格好である¹¹⁾。すなわち「三昧発得記」は、既存の「七々日念仏記」¹²⁾「建久九年正月一日記」¹³⁾という二つの念仏記から記事を抄出し、複合して成立したものだと考えられる。なお、源空六十六歳の午年は建久九年であり、「初生丑年也、生年六十有六也、午^レ年也」という註記は本来「建久九年正月一日記」の一部であつたに違いない。

注意すべきは、「三昧発得記」の本文で源空の三昧発得が明記されていないということである¹⁴⁾。ただ念仏中に三尊が大身を現じたとか、水想地想宝樹宝池宝殿の五観が現じたとかの記事があるだけである。源智は、既存の「七々日念仏記」¹⁵⁾「建久九年正月一日記」から三昧発得を暗示していると解釈できそうな記事を抄出して複合し、「三昧発得記」という題号を付けただけだと考えるべきであろう。そのため、源空の三昧発得が史実でなくとも、「三昧発得記」の記事は史実として信憑してよいかも知れない¹⁶⁾。

第四項 「明遍僧都」と「秘伝」

「三昧発得記」が如何に流伝したかについて、これを第六篇として収録した『醍醐本』の編者はその前と後にそれぞれ斯く記している（以下、それぞれ「記前識語」「記後識語」と称す）。

上人在生之時、發^レ得^レ口稱三昧、常見^二淨土依正^一。以^二自筆^一・^レ之^一、勢^レ至^レ房^レ伝^レ之^一。上人往生之後、明遍僧都尋^レ之^一、加^二一見^一流^二隨喜涙^一、即被^レ送^二本^一。當時聊雖^レ聞^二及此由^一、未^レ見^レ本者不^レ記^二其旨^一。後得^レ彼記^一写^レ之^一。

（五一〇ウ）

此「三昧発得之記」、年来之間、勢^レ觀^レ房秘藏不^レ披露^一。於^二没後^一不^レ面^レ伝^レ得^レ之^一書畢。

（五五ウ）

先行研究はすべて、『醍醐本』は当初から六篇本として成立したと考えてきた。しかし旧稿で論証した如く、『醍醐本』は仁治二年（1241）に五篇本として成立し、編者はその末尾に「上人在生之時、（…）未^レ見^レ本者不^レ記^二其旨^一」と記して、源空による三昧発得の自筆記があるらしいものの未だ読み得ていないとして擱筆した。しかし後に読み得たため、「後得^レ彼記^一写^レ之^一」に続けてその全文を引用し、「（…）於^二没後^一不^レ面^レ伝^レ得^レ之^一書畢」と追記したと考えられる。また、編者在住の「本処」とは遠江国、広く見ても東海道であつたろう¹⁷⁾。

記前識語で明遍僧都空阿が「三昧発得記」を一見し隨喜の涙を流したとされていることについては、先行研究でも不審とされてきた。田村が指摘したように、敬西房信瑞『明義進修集』巻第二（仁治三年「1242」）「文永十二年「75」成立」は「第二高野僧都明遍」を立伝しているが、「文中、「三昧発得記」との関係については、一言も触れるところがない¹⁸⁾」。また伊藤の言う如く、明遍

は貞応三年（1224）に没したため、仮に源智が同記を十四年後の暦仁元年（1238）に没するまで秘蔵していたとすれば、明遍がこれを披見したということは有り得ない¹⁹。

他方、源空没後弟子の静遍僧都心円は、建保五年（1217）に善導の佚書『般舟讃』一卷を仁和寺から発見した。この『般舟讃』を発見した静遍僧都と混同されて、音の近い明遍僧都が「三昧発得記」を読んだという誤伝が生じたのであろう。記前識語における同記の旧蔵者「勢至房」も、勢観房が伝写過程で斯く誤写されたのではなく、『醍醐本』編者が当時、旧蔵者についてよく知り得ず「勢至房」と誤聞していたのかも知れない。前述のように『醍醐本』編者が京師から隔たった東海道にいたのであれば、これらのような誤伝は容易に生じ得る。

『醍醐本』編者は「三昧発得記」を見写した時、同記の旧蔵者についても幾らか正確な情報を得たと考えられる。そのため、旧蔵者が源智だったという記後識語は信憑してよい。だが同識語の、源智が「三昧発得記」を秘伝していたという説には不審がある。前項までに考察した如く、源智が二つの念仏記を複合して「三昧発得記」を作ったのは、出藍を広告する同法に反論するためだったと考えられる。そうであれば同記を秘匿するのではなく、進んで流布させていったらう。

前々項で考証したように、「三昧発得記」の成立時期は『選択要決』撰述の嘉禎二年（1236）から源智死没の暦仁元年（1238）までであろう。『醍醐本』が同記のない五篇本として成立したのは仁治二年（1241）であり、同伝編者の同記を見写した時期が源智死没であることはほぼ確実である。そのため、「三昧発得記」は源智が秘蔵していたからこそその没後に見写できるようになった、という誤伝が生じたと考えられる。

結語

以上本論では、「三昧発得記」が如何に編纂され流伝したかを考察した。

源空は『選択集』などの信憑できる遺文法語で自ら三昧を発したとしておらず、没後の建保五年（1217）乃至嘉祿三年（27）成立の隆寛「知恩講私記」にも源空三昧発得説は見えない。そのため、同説は後人が創作したものである

う。

源空三昧発得説の初出は源智『選択要決』であり、源智が同説を唱えたのは当時出藍を自称していた同法に反論するためだったと考えられる。その証拠として、源智は既存の「七々日念仏記」と「建久九年正月一日記」から源空の三昧発得を意味していると解釈できそうな記事を抄出し、複合して「三昧発得記」を作ったに違いない。

『醍醐本』編者は「三昧発得記」を源智が秘蔵し明遍が一見したと伝えられたいが、それは誤りであろう。同記を源智が秘匿しなければならない理由はなく、明遍が一見したという説も静遍の『般舟讃』発見が誤伝されたものだと考えられる。

註

本稿で用いた史料の書誌は次の如し。引用では適宜字体と句読点を改め、訓点や傍点、傍記、括弧、頁数を付し、改行を省いた。

延応元年版『選択集』：大正大学浄土宗典研究会編『選択集』諸本の研究』資料編（文化書院）。「知恩講私記」：法然上人伝全集増補再版（法然上人伝全集刊行会）。「選択要決」：拙稿「選択要決」校註稿——付伝写過程考——（『早稲田大学高等研究所紀要』一四、2022）。大徳寺本『拾遺漢語燈録』：梶村昇・曾田俊弘「新出『大徳寺本拾遺漢語燈録』について」（『浄土宗学研究』一二、1995）。袋中本「三昧発得記」：伊藤真徹「法然上人の念仏修行方軌について」（『第一篇第五章、初出1965』、『日本浄土教文化史研究』、仏教大学、1975）。『西方指南抄』：増補親鸞聖人真跡集成（法蔵館）。『醍醐本』：藤堂恭俊博士古稀記念会編『浄土宗典籍研究』資料篇（同朋舎出版、1988）。『四巻伝』：法然上人絵伝集成（浄土宗）。「三昧発得記分別抄」：家蔵本『法然上人四十八巻伝私見聞抄』（寛文九年「1669」刊記、清水重右衛門）。『拾遺語燈録』巻中：佐々木勇主編『龍谷大学図書館蔵黒谷上人語燈録元亨版——翻刻および総索引——』（勉誠出版、2020）。『園太暦』：太洋社本。『天聴集』：『増補統史料大成』（臨川書店）。『円光大師行状西図翼賛』、『聞証和尚行状記』：浄土宗全書（山喜房仏書林）。

（1）田村円澄「三昧発得記」（第三部第六章、初出1951）、『法然上人伝の研究』新訂版、法蔵館、1972（初版1956）。

（2）中野正明「三昧発得記」について（第二部第一章、初出1989）、『法然遺文の基礎的研究』増補改訂、法蔵館、2010（初版1994）、二六二頁。藤吉慈海も「法然の『三昧発得記』なるものがあるが、その真偽についてはなお結論を得ていない」としていた（「三昧発得について」、奥田慈応先生喜寿記念論文集刊行会編『仏教思想論集』、平楽寺書店、1976、四九四頁）。なお、中野は同稿で「田村氏の偽撰説に

対する若干の疑問を述べさせていただき、併せて「三昧発得記」の真撰なることとその事由を開陳した」（二七七頁）が、本論で後述するように従い難い。

- (3) 伊藤真徹「法然上人の念仏修行方軌について」（『第一篇第五章、初出1965』、『日本浄土教文化史研究』、仏教大学、1975、九八頁）、戸松啓真「法然上人の『三昧発得記』について」（『第一部第三章第四節、初出1971』、『戸松啓真教授古稀記念論集刊行会編『浄土教論集』、大東出版社、1987、九九頁）、嵐瑞徴「法然上人の『三昧発得記』の研究——醍醐・報恩院本を中心として——」（『史学仏教学論集』、坤、藤原弘道先生古稀記念会、1973、七八四頁）、杉岡孝紀「法然上人に於ける三昧発得の体験」（『法然上人研究』五、1996、四七頁）。

- (4) 源智「選択要決」については、拙稿「選択要決」撰者弁証」（『早稲田大学高等研究所紀要』一三、2021、一九九頁）参照。

- (5) 嘉禎三年（1237）成立の正信房湛空『四巻伝』こと『伝法絵流通』は、巻第一で「上人、心閑浄土を觀し給ける。はしめの夜ハ宝樹を現し、次夜ハ瑠璃の地をしめし、後ハ宮殿を拝し給」と記し、善導との夢中対面などを略述した後、「これすなハ念仏三昧成就獲得の証理なるへし」とした（二七七八頁）。この『四巻伝』の源空三昧発得説が、前年成立の源智「選択要決」に依拠したものか、当時すでに「三昧発得記」が成立していてそれに依拠したものかは未詳。

- (6) なお『拾遺漢語燈録』は、平成七年（1995）に大徳寺本が発見紹介されるまで、江戸中期の正徳版が長く用いられてきた。この正徳版は良照義山が改竄したものであるため、一本として数えるに足らない。

- (7) 袋中本は、檀王法林寺袋中上人鑽仰会員の嵐瑞徴が「望西樓了惠集録の法然上人御談並に三昧発得記に就いて」（『浄土教報』二〇七五、1935）で紹介した。後に嵐は、『袋中真筆「三昧発得記」』その他はかつて京都だん王法林寺に所蔵されていたが、今時大戦の為仏教大学図書館、その他に疎開されたまゝになっていて、現在は法林寺には現存しない」とした（『法然上人の「三昧発得記」の研究』「前掲」、後註五）。

- 袋中本の本文には語燈本のそれより優れたところもあるが、今や現物も影印も見られないため最善本として用い難い。中野正明も、袋中本について「今日いまだその所蔵を確認するに及ばないため、ここでは一応除外する」としている（『三昧発得記』の諸本「第一部第一章第一節、書き下ろし」）、『法然遺文の基礎的研究』増補改訂「前掲」、後註一）。

- (8) 西指本の和訳者が親鸞であることについては、靈山勝海「三昧発得の記」および「御夢想記」の諸問題」（第六章、初出1985）、『西方指南抄論』、永田文昌堂、1993）参照。

- (9) 田村円澄は「醍醐本「三昧発得記」は、誤字や脱字が多く、その点、読みにくいのである」とし（『三昧発得記』「前掲」、一四三頁）、嵐瑞徴も「醍醐本は鎌倉時代の文書であるが、誤字や脱字がところどころにあつて、読みにくく、他より見劣りのする写本である」とする（『法然上人の「三昧発得記」の研究』「前掲」、七七二頁）。従うべきであろう。

「三昧発得記」の編纂と流伝

- (10) 袋中本の記事が時系列順になっていない理由については、袋中「三昧発得記分別抄」は「此記内年号ノ前後アルハ、作者発定ノ後、時時任筆故ナルヘシ」（四一ウ）とし、源空が後年になって思い出すままに書き連ねたからだろうと推測した。また伊藤真徹は、「乱丁の結果錯雑を招いたものと思われる」と述べた（『法然上人の念仏修行方軌について』「前掲」、九七頁）。なお、「三昧発得記分別抄」は唯一の同記末書とされている（嵐瑞徴「法然上人の「三昧発得記」の研究」「前掲」、七七五頁）。

- (11) 善裕昭「醍醐本「法然上人伝記」の成立をめぐって——曾田・伊藤説の検討——」、『仏教文化研究』五八、2014、六頁。浅野教信も「三昧発得記」の年時の正確な記述とその年月の跳び石的記述とを考慮に入れると、「三昧発得記」の法然上人御自筆のものは別に存在していて、そこには、毎日の記録が刻明に記入されていたのではないだろうか。今、われわれが接しうる「三昧発得記」はその刻明に記入されているものの一部を何等かの意図のもとに摘出して記したものではなからうかと推考するのである」としていた（『西方指南抄』における「三昧発得記」について）「第五章第三節、初出1989」、『親鸞と浄土教義の研究』、永田文昌堂、1998、一八二頁）。語燈本で「七々日念仏記」の記事が前にあるのは、三尊大身顕現を「三昧発得記」の編者源智が重んじたからであろう。しかしやはり善が指摘した（六頁）如く、伝写過程で時系列順に再編されたらしく、西指本と醍醐本では記事が建久九年（1198）正月一日条から始まり、元久三年（1206）正月四、五日条で終わっている。

- (12) なお、語燈本の「七々日念仏記」を次善の袋中本は「又七日念仏記」に作り、「又」字がありノマがない。「又」は衍字で、題号「三昧発得記」の次行に「七（々）日念仏記」とあることの意味を理解できなかった後人が、「又」字を加えて「七（々）日念仏記」を異題註記のようにしたと考えられる。他方、源空の年欠四月廿六日付津戸三郎宛消息（『拾遺漢語燈録』巻中）に「この正月に別時念仏を五十日申て候」（五三才）とあるため、語燈本の「七々日念仏記」のノマが衍字とは断じ難い。

- (13) 「建久九年正月一日記」という題号は西指本にもある。親鸞は「建久九年正月一日記」の「記」に右訓「キス」と左訓「シルスナリ」を施しており、「記」を動詞として解釈したらしい。しかし、本来「建久九年正月一日記」は念仏記の題号すなわち名詞であったに違いない。なお、西指本では元久三年正月四日の記事の前に「七（々）日念仏記」のような文言はない。

- (14) 貞和五年（1349）五月十五日に二尊院蔵の「法然上人三昧発得記」を実見した洞院公賢も、三昧発得が明記されていないため、「自「建仁」二年正月一日、懃念仏別行歟。自六日「有」発得瑞、是地觀宝樹以下次第現前。以之称「三昧発得」歟」と推測するしかなかった（『園太暦』同日条）。なお、後奈良帝宸記「天聰集」天文四年（1535）八月七日条には「廬山寺靈宝種々」の一つとして「法然上人自記」が挙げられており、嘗て二尊院にあった「三昧発得記」は同年までに廬山寺に移っていたらしい。

- (15) ただし、「三昧発得記」には「建仁元年二月八日」の記事もある。田村円澄の言う如く、「建仁と改元のあったのは二月十三日であるから正治三年でなければならぬ」

〔三昧発得記〕「前掲」、二四六頁。

- (16) 拙稿『醍醐本『法然上人伝記』の成立過程——篇題や識語などに着目して——』（『浄土学』五六、2019）参照。なお、了恵編『拾遺漢語燈録』第二篇「浄土宗見聞第二付臨終記」の底本は、第六篇「三昧発得之記」の追補されていない五篇本『醍醐本』の写本であろう。了恵は第二篇「浄土宗見聞第二付臨終記」所収の「臨終日記」について、私云、「臨終記」雖非「上人」之語、同在「見聞」奥。為「令人取信、同載之者也。見者得意。」（二四ウ）と註記している。「臨終記」が「見聞」の「奥」すなわち末尾にあったとは、その「見聞」が「臨終記」で終わっていたことを意味する。

- (17) 拙稿「最初期源空諸伝の形成過程——山門からの訴訟などに着目して——」（『浄土学』五八、2021、補記）参照。

- (18) 田村田澄「三昧発得記」(前掲)、二四五頁。なお、戸松啓真も同じ疑問を呈した（『法然上人の「三昧発得記」について』「前掲」、九二頁）。

- (19) 伊藤真徹「法然上人の念仏修行方軌について」(前掲)、九八頁。浅野教信も、「源智の生存中に明遍僧都が一見していること等を考えると秘蔵の意味が揺らいで来る」と疑った（『西方指南抄』における「三昧発得記」について「前掲」、一七〇頁）。

- (20) なお静遍も、明遍と同じく貞応三年（1224）に没したため、やはり源智が十四年後の暦仁元年（1238）に没するまで秘蔵していたものを披見することは出来ない。

補記

筆者は旧稿「『選択要決』校註稿——付伝写過程考——」（本誌前号、2022）で浄教寺本『選択要決』の来歴についても考察し、同本は近隣の真宗大谷派西福寺蔵本を書写したものでないかと推測した。ただしその後、別の推測も可能であることに想到した。

旧稿「『選択要決』撰者弁証」（本誌前々号、2021）で述べた如く、真宗大谷派の恵空は元禄九年（1696）に入手した古体本『選択要決』を後日、浄土宗鎮西流名越派の義山に売却した。その義山の師であった良光聞証（寛永十一年「1634」）貞享五年（1688）について、法泉寺珂然「聞証和尚行状記」（元禄十一年「1698」自序）は「洛陽浄教寺沙門某、歸三師德行執三師長礼」（七五〇頁）とし、義山「円光大師行状画図翼賛序」（元禄十六年十二月八日付、中阿円智纂述・義山重修「円光大師行状画図翼賛」）は「一日予引智共訪先師於洛之浄教」（九九頁）とする。これらによれば、浄教寺の某僧が聞証に師事し、義山は同法の円智とともに師の聞証を浄教寺に訪ねたことがあるという。聞証が浄教寺に一時止住していたのであれば、弟子義山の入手した古体本『選択要決』かその写本が同寺にあつてもさほど怪しむに足らなくなる。浄教寺本『選択要決』の親本は、西福寺本でなく古体本かその写本であつたかも知れない。

なお、浄教寺本の本文料紙について旧稿「『選択要決』校註稿」で「格紙、打ち紙あり」（二頁）と書いたが、撤回したい。正しくは雁皮紙であろうか。

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執筆者一覧 (掲載順)

杉 木 恒 彦
SUGIKI, Tsunehiko

広島大学大学院人間社会科学研究科 教授
Graduate School of Humanities and Social
Sciences, Hiroshima University Professor

森 新之介
MORI, Shin'nosuke

早稲田大学高等研究所 招聘研究員
Waseda Institute for Advanced Study Adjunct Researcher

早稲田大学高等研究所紀要 第15号

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編集・発行 早稲田大学高等研究所
〒169-0051 東京都新宿区西早稲田1-21-1
TEL 03-5286-2460
FAX 03-5286-2470

編集委員 アンダソヴァ マラル・稲田 奏・
海野典子・桑原夏子・社本陽太・
西田奈央・ファーヒ ロバート アンドリュウ・
フィットレル アーロン・山口 絢

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