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Vajrayāna Deities in an Illustrated Indian Manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā**

by John Newman

Among the treasures contained in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*—the three volume collection of essays in honor of the late Professor Giuseppe Tucci—a brief article by Sadashiv Gorakshkar and Kalpana Desai deserves the special attention of students of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhism and its art history. Entitled “An Illustrated Manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* in the Asiatic Society of Bombay” (Gorakshkar and Desai 1987), the article describes and discusses Asiatic Society Acc. No. 210, and contains ten black-and-white plates reproducing the manuscript’s eighteen illustrations. No information is given about the Society’s acquisition of the manuscript, but it ultimately originated in eastern India around the end of the 12th century: it was produced *śrīmad-govindapāla-devasyātitarājyasamvat* 39—i.e., in the 39th year subsequent to the beginning of the defunct reign of the Pāla king Govindapāla (rg. ca. 1161–65).¹

This brief article will not attempt to address all of the issues raised by the manuscript and its illustrations, and we will only be directly concerned with six of the eighteen illustrations. The eighteen illustrations appear “on the first two (f. 1 rev.–2 obv.), middle two (f. 106 rev.–107 obv.) and the last two (f. 221 rev.–222 obv.) folios” (Gorakshkar and Desai 1987:562). The six we will discuss are on folios 106 rev. and 107 obv., each of which contains three illustrations. In other words, when folio 106 is turned we encounter two sets of three illustrations, one set above the other. The illustrations on 106 rev. depict male deities; those on 107 obv. portray female deities. Upon closer examination it becomes clear that we are dealing with three divine couples: a male deity on the viewer’s left of

106 rev. above his female counterpart on the left of 107 obv., a male in the center of 106 rev. above his female counterpart in the center of 107 obv., etc.

Table A indicates the locations of the illustrations of these six figures and their identifications as proposed by Gorakshkar and Desai (1987:563). Table B proposes some refinements and alternative identifications that will be discussed below.

Folio 106 rev. 1.: *Dvibhuja-Sambara*

This form of Sambara is described, for example, in verses 4–7 of the *Dvibhuja-sambaropadeśa* contained in the *Sādhanamālā*:²

“(v. 4) [The *sādhaka*] should assume the form (*dhārayet*) [of Vajraḍāka] with [a diadem of] skulls placed at his forehead and a half-moon at his crown. He has the six *mudrā*,³ a garland of heads, the crossed-*vajra* [on his head], and three eyes. (v. 5) His feet are placed in the *ālīḍha* stance.⁴ He is surrounded by the syllables of the universe, and mounted on Kālarātri together with Bhairava. He is clad in a tiger skin, (v. 6) with Akṣobhya at his crest. He is dark blue [read *kṛṣṇo* for *kubjo*], endowed with a *vajra* and bell, and hair in twisted locks. That hero [is embraced by] Vajravārāhī, who holds a *vajra* and a skull full of blood. (v. 7) She has a *khaṭvāṅga* and a *mekhalā*. She is red, has three eyes, a garland of heads, and the five *mudrā*.⁵ Her hair is free-flowing; she is naked, and has a Buddha at her crest.” (*Sādhanamālā* #255; 504.1–8; Bhattacharyya 1958:160–161; cf. de Mallmann 1975:50, 187–189).⁶

The major discrepancy between the manuscript illustration and the *sādhana* description is that the illustrated figure stands in *pratyālīḍha* whereas the *sādhana* prescribes *ālīḍha*.⁷ In all other respects they are remarkably similar.⁸

Folio 107 obv. 1.: *Vajravārāhī*

This form of Vajravārāhī is described, e.g., in the *Vajravārāhī-sādhana* of Advayaavajra:

“[The *sādhaka*] should think of himself as Bhagavatī Vajravārāhī, [red] like a pomegranate flower, with two arms. She appears to menace with the *vajra* in her right hand; she holds a skullcup and *khaṭvāṅga* in her left. She has a single face and

Table A

FOLIO	106 rev. l.	106 rev. c.	106 rev. r.
PLATE	<i>Va</i>	<i>Vb</i>	<i>VIa</i>
I.D.	Vajrapāṇi	Mañjuśrī	Nairātmya

FOLIO	107 obv. l.	107 obv. c.	107 obv. r.
PLATE	<i>VIb</i>	<i>VIIa</i>	<i>VIIb</i>
I.D.	Sarvabuddha Dākiṇī (Na ro mkha- spyod-ma) (sic)	Female deity with the same attributes as Mañjuśrī	Female counter- part of Nairātmya

Table B

FOLIO	106 rev. l.	106 rev. c.	106 rev. r.
I.D.	Dvibhuja- Sambara	Piṇḍikrama- Akṣobhya	Trailokyākṣepa- Heruka / Hevajra

FOLIO	107 obv. l.	107 obv. c.	107 obv. r.
I.D.	Vajravārāhī	Sparśavajrā	Nairātmyā

three eyes; her hair is free-flowing. She is marked with the six *mudrā*, and is naked. She consists of the five gnosēs, and has the nature of connate joy. Standing in *pratyālīdha*, she treads on Bhairava and Kālarātri. Her body is ornamented with a garland of moist heads. She drinks a stream of blood.” (*Sādhanamālā* #217, 425.5–11; Bhattacharyya 1958:218; cf. *Samvarodaya* 13.22–24; de Mallmann 1975:77–79, 425–429, 431–433).

Again, the single major discrepancy between the figure and the *sādhana* description is that their stances seem to be inverted.⁹ In the plate the *khaṭvāṅga* is barely visible, but one can easily discern a stream of blood flowing from the skullcup to Vajravārāhī’s lips. Her hair fans out behind her, and she is clad only in a *mekhalā*.¹⁰

Folios 106 rev. c. & 107 obv. c.:

Piṅḍīkrama-Akṣobhya and *Sparsāvajrā*

These figures are best treated together. Iconographically they are virtually identical: only the breasts of the figure in 107 obv. c. distinguish it from the male in 106 rev. c.¹¹ These deities are described in Nāgārjuna’s *Piṅḍīkrama-sādhana* vv. 27 & 30, 53–54, 107-110:

madhyamaṅḍalake dhyāyād ātmānaṃ mudrayā yutam /
trimukhaṃ ṣaḍbhujākāram indranīlasamaprabham // (27)

sthitaiva sparsāvajrā tu vajrasattvasamāyutā / (30cd)

akṣobhyānupraveśena trimukhaṃ ṣaḍbhujojjvalam /
indranīlaprabhaṃ dīptaṃ vajrasattvaṃ vibhāvayet // (53)

vajraṃ cakraṃ tathā padmaṃ savyahasteṣu bhāvayet /
ghaṅṭhāṃ ratnaṃ tathā khaḍgaṃ vāmahasteṣu bhāvayet // (54)

svamantrākṣarāniṣpannaṃ trivajrādhiṣṭhitasvakam /
padmamadhye tu niṣpādyā dveṣavajro bhavet punaḥ // (107)

vajradhṛgmantrāniṣpannaṃ paśyēd akṣobhyavajriṇam /
jaṭāmukuṭadharam nātham akṣobhyakṛtaśekharam // (108)

nṛpavartakasamkāśaṃ kṛṣṇaraktasitānam /
sarvālaṅkārasampūrṇaṃ ṣaḍbhujam tu vibhāvayet // (109)

vajraṃ cakraṃ tathā padmaṃ savyahasteṣu dhārayet /
ghaṅṭhāṃ cintāmaṇiṃ khaḍgaṃ tasya vāmeṣu bhāvayet // (110)

“(v. 27) [The *sādhaka*] should think of himself in the middle *maṇḍala*, joined with [his] *mudrā*, in a three-faced, six-armed form having the radiance of a sapphire. (v. 30cd) ... and Sparśavajrā sits joined with Vajrasattva. (v. 53) With the entrance of Akṣobhya [into himself, the *sādhaka*] should imagine [himself] as Vajrasattva, three-faced, radiating six arms, blazing with the radiance of a sapphire. (v. 54) He should imagine a *vajra*, wheel, and lotus in his right hands, and a bell, jewel, and sword in his left hands. (v. 107) Having effected his completion of the *mantra* syllables, and being blessed as the three *vajras* in the middle of the lotus, [the *sādhaka*] should become Dveśavajra again. (v. 108) He should see Akṣobhyavajrin produced from the *mantra vajradhṛk*. He should imagine [himself as] the lord bearing twisted locks of hair and a diadem, with a crest formed by Akṣobhya, (v. 109) resembling a king, with dark blue, red, and white faces, fully endowed with all ornaments, and six-armed. (v. 110) He should hold a *vajra*, wheel, and lotus in his right hands, and imagine a bell, wishing-gem, and sword in his left hands.”

Here Vajrasattva, Dveśavajra, and Akṣobhyavajrin are all names or epithets of this form of Akṣobhya. This description fits the figure in 106 rev. c. precisely. We can glean additional details about this divinity from the “Piṇḍīkramokta-akṣobhyamaṇḍala” of Abhayākaragupta’s *Niṣpannayogāvalī*:

“In the middle of the *kūṭāgāra* is Akṣobhya: dark blue, wrathful, [left] face white, the right red, radiating a *kula* [i.e., *vajra*], wheel, and lotus with his right hands, and a bell, wishing-gem, and sword with his left, embraced by Sparśavajrā in his own likeness.” (*Niṣpannayogāvalī* 5.3–4; cf. English précis p. 35; see also de Mallmann 1975:43, 91–93; 351–353).¹²

Folios 106 rev. r. & 107 obv. r.:

Trailokyākṣepa-Heruka / Hevajra and Nairātmyā

Again the male and female figures depicted in these illustrations are virtually identical: only the breasts of the female and, perhaps, the treatment of the faces serves to distinguish them. This form of Heruka/Hevajra is called Trailokyākṣepa (cf. *Hevajra* I.ii.7, I.iii.1–16; *Sāadhanamālā* 474.1, 476.16; *Niṣpannayogāvalī* 14.4–7; Bhattacharyya 1935; Bhattacharyya 1958:157; de Mallmann 1975:46, 48, 182–190, 380).

Trailokyākṣepa is described in the *Samkṣipta-dvibhuja-heruka-sādhana* vv. 3–6:

“(v. 3) [The *sādhaka*] should imagine himself as [Heruka], standing on a corpse in the *ardhaparyāṅka* stance, well-clad in a human skin, his body smeared with ashes. He flourishes a *vajra* in his right [hand], (v. 4) has a *khaṭvāṅga* with a waving banner [on his left arm], and a skullcup full of blood in his left [hand]. He has a delightful necklace made from a garland of fifty heads. (v. 5) He slightly bares his fangs, his eyes are red, he frolics, his hair is tawny and stands erect on his head. He has an Akṣobhya diadem, earrings, (v. 6) and he is decorated with bone ornaments. His head [is crowned] with five skulls. He bestows Buddhahood, and protects the world from the Māras.” (*Sādhanamālā* #244, 473.10–17; Bhattacharyya 1958: 155–156).¹³

Nairātmyā is described in the *Kevala-nairātmyā-sādhana*:

“Nairātmyā stands dancing in *ardhaparyāṅka* on the heart of a corpse on a moon. She is dark blue, with one face, tawny hair flowing upward, an Akṣobhya diadem, bared fangs, and a lolling tongue. She bears a cleaver [*kartri*]¹⁴ in her right [hand], and a skull and *khaṭvāṅga* in her left [hand and on her left arm]. She has three red, round eyes, and is adorned with the five *mudrā*.” (*Sādhanamālā* #230, 451.2–6; cf. *Hevajra* I.viii.18–19; de Mallmann 1975:47, 271–272).¹⁵

* * *

Having established the identities of these six deities, we can consider them and their iconographic configuration in more general terms. First, these are worshipped deities (*iṣṭadevatā*) of three of the most important *anuttarayogatantra* traditions: the Sambara (or Cakrasaṃvara), Guhyasamāja, and Hevajra *tantras*. All three of these *tantras* are headed by Akṣobhya, chief of the *vajrakula*, but the Guhyasamāja is classified as an *upāya tantra*, a *tantra* that emphasizes the production of the *māyādeha*, whereas the Sambara and Hevajra *tantras* are the two main members of the *prajñā* tantra class that emphasizes the realization of the *prabhāsvara*.¹⁶

The *Piṇḍikrama-sādhana* of Ārya Nāgārjuna teaches the *utpattikrama sādhana* of the Ārya tradition of Guhyasamāja prac-

tice and exegesis. It looks back to the explanations of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* found in the *Vajramālā*, a *Guhyasamāja vyākhyā-tantra* (cf. *Piṇḍīkrama-sādhana* 230). Thus the manuscript illustrations of Akṣobhya and Sparśavajrā depict a form of *Guhyasamāja* that a *sādhaka* visualizes and becomes through the Arya tradition practice of the *Guhyasamāja utpattikrama*.

Even a cursory examination of the *Cakrasaṃvara* and *Hevajra tantras* reveals that these two traditions are very closely related.¹⁷ Further study may show that Bhattacharyya was essentially correct in his claim that “Heruka in no way differs from the famous Buddhist deity Hevajra” (Bhattacharyya 1935:23); “Sambara . . . is only another form of Hevajra” (Bhattacharyya 1958:160). The manuscript illustrations of these divinities represent *saṃpannakrama* forms.

If we assume the six illustrations as a group depict a hierarchy we can hypothetically “read the text” of this configuration as follows: In the center is Akṣobhya and his consort Sparśavajrā representing the *utpattikrama* of *upāya tantra*. To their right are Sambara and Vajravārāhī of the *Cakrasaṃvara tantra*, and to their left are Trailokyākṣepa and Nairātmyā of the *Hevajra tantra*—these two pairs represent the *saṃpannakrama* of *prajñā tantra*. In other words, Akṣobhya, the lord of the *vajrakula*, is flanked by his progeny. If we follow this line of reasoning one step further, we can conjecture that the “author”¹⁸ of this iconographic scheme imagined *upāya tantra* in some sense giving birth to *prajñā tantra*, similar to the way the *utpattikrama* gives birth to the *saṃpannakrama*.

In this note we will not attempt to discuss the role these and similar images played in Indian Vajrayāna Buddhist cult practice. Although great strides have been made in the iconographic and stylistic categorization of Vajrayāna icons, the study of their religious symbolism and cultural context lags far behind. Among the questions that need to be addressed we might pose the following: To what extent is Vajrayāna Buddhism indebted to the classical *nāṭyaśāstra* tradition? That is, what does it mean that erotic blood-drinking deities such as Sambara and Hevajra are “endowed with the nine *rasas* of *nāṭya*?” (See, e.g., *Samvarodaya* 13.22; *Hevajra* II.v.26; *Niṣpan-nayogāvalī* 20.4–5, 26.9. For the *Guhyasamāja* cf. *Guhyasamāja* p.29.17 and vv.10.13, 12.55; *Pradīpoddyotana* 17, 90, 93, 114;

Wayman 1977:326–328.) An earlier generation of Western scholars reacted to the imagery of Vajrayāna Buddhism with horror and disgust. We should consider the possibility that the Indian Buddhists who practiced these teachings had a more sophisticated aesthetic appreciation of the deities they created and strove to become. Indeed, as the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism progresses it is becoming every more apparent that we must examine the relationship between aesthetics and gnosis that lies at the foundation of this mystery tradition.

Gorakshkar and Desai are to be congratulated for discovering and publishing these fine representatives of the once flourishing tradition of Indian Vajrayāna Buddhist painting. These manuscript illustrations number among the few surviving Indian painted images of *anuttarayogatantra* deities.¹⁹ As such their value to the study of Vajrayāna Buddhist art history can hardly be overestimated. We hope these paintings will be reproduced again in the high resolution color enlargements that are a necessary condition for thorough study of their stylistic and iconographic content.

NOTES

*The author and editor are grateful to the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente for the photographs reproduced below, and to Professors Sadashiv Gorakshkar and Kalpana Desai, and the Asiatic Society, Bombay, for permission to reproduce them.

1. The Sanskrit is given following Gorakshkar and Desai (1987:562); a few of the *akṣaras* and numbers in Plate 1a (which contains the colophon) are difficult to read. Govindapāla's regnal period is given according to D.C. Sircar (1977:968). Note that Asiatic Society of Bengal MS No. G.9989A is dated Govindapāla 18, which would extend Govindapāla's reign (Saraswati 1977:LXXV).

2. This *sādhana* is ascribed to "Mahāpaṇḍita Ratnākara Gupta" in the colophon of the *Sāadhanamālā* text, but a somewhat shorter version is attributed to "Śrī Vajraghaṇṭa" (dPal rDo rje dril bu) in the *Tanjur* (Peking 2155; Toh. 1438). I suspect Vajraghaṇṭa composed the basic *sādhana*, Ratnākara Gupta produced a new redaction, and the latter was then credited with composition of the text by the textual tradition of the *Sāadhanamālā*.

3. On the six *mudrā* see Bhattacharyya (1935:24; 1958:438–439).

4. *Ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha* are two postures used in *dhanurveda*, *nāṭya*, and—most important for our purposes—iconography. These terms have created confusion among students of Indian iconography, and it is perhaps worthwhile to review the issue. All agree that both stances entail one leg being bent at the knee and the other held straight, but scholars have arrived at contrary conclusions as to which knee is bent in a particular stance (see Harle

1971:10; cf. Bhattacharyya 1958:432). This problem is not new. *Agniṣūrah* 249.13 (treating *dhanurveda*) clearly prescribes the left knee bent in *pratyālīḍha*, which is the “inversion” (*viparyasta*) of the *ālīḍha* stance described in 249.12:

*etad eva viparyastam pratyālīḍham iti smṛtam /
tiryyagbhūto bhaved vāmo dakṣiṇo 'pi bhaved rjuḥ / /* (249.13)

However, *Nāṭyaśāstra* 10.70cd–71ab (describing *nāṭya* stances) just as clearly prescribes the opposite:

kuñcitam dakṣiṇam kṛtvā vāmam pādām prasārya ca / / (10.70cd)
ālīḍhaparivartas tu pratyālīḍham iti smṛtam / (10.71ab)

In *Nāṭyaśāstra* 10.67cd–68ab *ālīḍha* is described as stretching the right leg out from the previously described *maṇḍala* stance. [Note: *Nāṭyaśāstra* 10.68d prescribes *ālīḍha* to depict *vīra* and *raudra* behavior.] This obviously creates difficulties for scholars attempting to identify images based on these stances. Fortunately, for Vajrayāna Buddhist images we are given some help by the concise Tibetan glosses contained in the tantric terminology section of the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* (#4266 & 4267):

ālīḍham: g.yas brkyang ba, “right extended”; *pratyālīḍham: g.yon brkyang ba*, “left extended.”

In this essay we will follow the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* even though, as we will see, this creates certain problems. Abhayākara Gupta's *Vajrāvalī* (f. 25–26), discussing the stances portrayed in Vajrayāna iconography, agrees with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the *Mahāvīryūtpatti* in its description of *ālīḍha* and *pratyālīḍha*. See *Iḍhīh* 9(1990)72.

5. For the five *mudrā* see *Hevajra* I.iii.13–14, II.v.3, II.vi.1–4.

6. My translation is indebted to the pioneering work of Benoytosh Bhattacharyya.

7. See note 4. A Tibetan scholar, Gen Losang Namgyal, informs me that Vajraghaṅṅa wrote that both stances are used, and that this is connected with the relationship between the *prajñā* and *upāya* modes of *anuttarayoga* tantric practice. Note also that *all* the Indian stelae and metal sculptures of the 12-armed form of Sambara listed below are standing in *ālīḍha*, i.e., left leg bent, right leg extended.

8. Another manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, dated Govindapāla 18, contains a similar illustration of what appears to be Dvibhuja-Sambara standing in *pratyālīḍha* (Saraswati 1977:XCV, fig. 273). For a closely related six-armed form of Sambara (called “Heruka” in the text) see *Samvarodaya* 13.15–22. A twelve-armed form is described in the *Niṣpannyogāvalī*'s “Sambaramaṇḍala” 26.3–9 (cf. Bhattacharyya 1958:161–162). Several Indian stelae of this twelve-armed form have been found: (1) Ratnagiri, Cuttack Dt., Orissa (Chanda 1930:12, plate IV fig. 3; Mitra 1960:43–45, plate I; Mitra 1981:429–430, plate CCCXXVII A; Bénisti 1981:116–117, fig. 139). (2) Cuttack Dt. [almost identical to (1)] (Banerji 1931:plate facing 409). (3) North Bengal (Majumdar 1937:80, plate XXIV,c; cf. Mitra 1960:46; Mitra 1981:430, n.4). Several Indian metal sculptures of this form have also been found: (1) Patharghata, Bhagalpur Dt., Bihar (Banerji 1933:93, plate XXXVII(c); Mitra 1960:45–46, plates II & III; Huntington 1984:153, fig. 195). (2) Northeast India (Uhlig 1981:140, fig. 37). (3) Northeast India [with consort] (Uhlig 1981:138, fig. 35). (4) Kashmir (Pal 1975:173, fig. 64a & 64b; Uhlig 1981:120, fig. 16).

9. See notes 4 & 7. As with Sambara above, the seeming inversion of the stance is puzzling. The figure in folio 107 obv. 1. is almost identical to the Nā ro mkha' spyod form of rDo rje rnal 'byor ma (Nāḍoḍākini-Vajrayoginī) (cf. Chandra, L. 1976:1333), which, to my knowledge, is only depicted in the *ālīḍha* stance. The only major iconographic difference between the Vajravārāhī of the illustration and *sādhana* and Nāḍoḍākini is that the former wields a *vajra* in her right hand whereas the latter holds a cleaver.

10. An iconographically identical figure appears in another Indian manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Pal 1988: 87, 89, fig. 28a). A stone stele of Vajravārāhī was found in Chauduar, Orissa: "a two-armed goddess (14-3/4" by 8") standing in archer's attitude [viz. *ālīḍha*] with *vajra* in her right hand and a cup (upper half of a human skull) held up by her left hand" (Chanda 1930:22, plate VIII, fig. 1). A very similar stele was found in Bihar (Saraswati 1977:LXI, fig. 174).

11. In fact the treatment of the faces also appears to distinguish male and female, but the smallness of the plates makes it difficult to be certain.

12. Closer examination of a small stone image found at Bodh Gaya (or Nalanda?) may lead to its identification as Piṇḍikrama-Akṣobhya and Sparśavajrā in the "*yuganaddha*" pose (Huntington 1984:101, fig. 111; cf. Saraswati 1977:LXII, fig. 175).

13. Trailokyākṣepa also appears in another Indian manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Pal 1988:85, pl. 18). Five stone stelae of this form of Heruka have been discovered: (1) Subhapur, Tipperah Dt., East Bengal (*Sāghanamālā* II. clxi-clxii, plate X; Bhattacharya 1929:35-37, plate XII; Lad 1956:317, fig. 37; Huntington 1984:172-173, fig. 215). (2) Ratnagiri (Chanda 1930:12, plate V, fig. 2; Mitra 1981:443, plate CCCXXXVI B; Uhlig 1981:115, fig. 10). (3) Sarnath (Saraswati 1977:LVIX-LX, fig. 171). (4) Nalanda (Saraswati 1977:LX, fig. 172). (5) Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh (Murthy 1988:37, 42-43, pl. II). The same figure fills niches in two "miniature *stūpas*" found at Ratnagiri (Mitra 1981:126, plate LXXIII B; Bénisti 1981:115, fig. 138). Three Indian metal sculptures of this form of Heruka are known to exist: (1) Achutrajpur, Orissa (Mitra 1978:85-86, fig. 77). (2) Unknown provenance, now apparently in the Baroda Museum (*Sāghanamālā* II.clxiii, plate XI). (3) Eastern India (Sotheby's 1985:lot #138). Several Indian sculptures of 16-armed forms of Hevajra have also been discovered: (1) Paharpur, Rajshahi Dt., Bengal [stone, in the round, with Nairātmyā] (Chandra, G.C. 1936: 122, plate LV(c-d); Uhlig 1981:138-140, fig. 36; Huntington 1984:164, fig. 202). (2) Bengal [stone stele, with Nairātmyā] (Lad 1956:314, fig. 97). (3) Bengal [metal lotus *maṇḍala* sculpture, with Nairātmyā] (Pal 1978:96-97, no. 57). (4) Dharmmanagara, Tippera State, Bengal [inscribed metal sculpture, 4-legged, without Nairātmyā] (Bhattacharya 1929:270-271, plate L).

14. Note that the female figure in folio 107 obv. r., like the male in 106 rev. r., appears to be holding a *vajra* in her right hand, not a cleaver. Also, the iconography of Nairātmyā fits a generic *ardhaparyāṅka yoginī/dākinī* type: compare Nairātmyā with the eight *yoginīs* surrounding the extraordinary Hevajra-Nairātmyā "*yuganaddha*" stele from Bengal (Lad 1956:314, fig. 97), and with the *dākinīs* illustrated in the *Bris sku mthong ba don ldan* (Chandra, L. 1976:289, 291-293, 294-295, 300, etc.).

15. A stone stele of Nairātmyā was discovered in Bihar (Nalanda?) (*Sādhnamālā* II.clxix–clxx, plate XV; Lad 1956:317, fig. 40; Saraswati 1977:LX, fig. 173). A figure in a manuscript illustration apparently synthesizes iconographic features of Nairātmyā and Vajravārāhī (Pal 1988:72, pl. 11).

16. This is according to mKhas grub rje's *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam par gzhag pa* 260–266. Other Tibetan scholars subdivide the *anuttarayogatantra* class differently.

17. The archaeological evidence reviewed above indicates the Sambara and Hevajra cults specially flourished in eastern India, i.e., Bihar, Bengal, and Orissa. This coincides with the impression one gets from the contents of these *tantras*, and from their Indo-Tibetan hagiographies.

18. We assume this arrangement of these six deities is deliberate, although we do not know when or by who it was originally devised.

19. As noted above, there are quite a few Indian sculptures of *anuttarayogatantra* deities, but they invariably lack the coloration that is such an important part of Vajrayāna symbolism.

The corpus of Indian painted images of *anuttarayogatantra* deities may be expanded if an illustrated manuscript of the *Vimalaprabhā* can be relocated. The manuscript, noticed by H.P. Shastri in 1897, was produced at the Śrī Dharmadhātu *vihāra* in Nepal by two Bengalis in the year 1818 of a *nirvāṇa* era (i.e., ca. 1274 CE). Shastri notes: "There are numerous illustrations in this work representing Buddha as Upāya, as male, and Dharma, otherwise *prajñā*, as female. The Kāmakalā is represented as producing the Saṃgha represented by the *bodhisattvas*. The MS. and the illustrations are in excellent preservation" (Shastri 1897:316). Unfortunately, this MS., along with other illustrated MSS., is missing from the National Archives in Kathmandu (cf. Pal 1988:36, n. 32).

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Folio 106 rev. 1.
Dvibhuja-Sambara



Folio 107 obv. 1.
Vajravārāhī



Folio 106 rev. c.
Piṇḍīkrama-Akṣobhya



Folio 107 obv. c.
Sparśavajrā



Folio 106 rev. r.
Trailokyākṣepa-Heruka/Hevajra



Folio 107 ov. r.
Nairātmyā