THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS
PLATE 1. KĀLACAakra DANCER. Leader of the twelve months, who guides the shifts until they return to the original place and the cycle is complete.
(20 March, 1970) (Dharamsala, India)
The Buddhist Tantras

LIGHT ON INDO-TIBETAN ESOTERICISM

by Alex Wayman

Samuel Weiser, New York, 1973
To Hideko
Who has always encouraged
my essays
CONTENTS

Preface xi

I. Introductions

1. Perfection of Insight: Buddhist Tantra within Mahāyāna Buddhism 3

2. Early Literary History of the Buddhist Tantras, especially the Guhyasamāja-tantra 12

3. Buddhist Genesis and the Tantric Tradition 24

4. Analogical Thinking in the Buddhist Tantras 30

5. The Nature of Buddhist Esotericism 36

II. Foundations of the Buddhist Tantra 43

6. Divinity according to the Buddhist Tantras 45

7. Preparation of Disciples; the Meaning of Initiation 54

8. Offering Materials and their Meanings 71

9. Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace 82

10. Tantric Ritual and Symbolism of its Attainments 110

11. Twilight Language and a Tantric Song 128
III. Special Studies

12. The Nine Orifices of the Body 139
13. Tantric Teachings about the Inner Zodiac 151
14. Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras 164
15. The Five-fold Ritual Symbolism of Passion 202
16. Received Teachings of Tibet and Analysis of the Tantric Canon 225

Index 241
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tantric Paths</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Classification in Clans</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>The Great Reality of Five Secrets</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Stage of Generation</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Stage of Completion</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Nature of Divinity</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Materials in the Flasks</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Meditative Objects for Calming (the Mind)</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>The Five Ornaments</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>The Four Mudrā-s</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Orifices, and Emanations of the Wisdom Ṭākinī</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>The Four Goddesses of the Heart</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Element Winds and Transit of Inner Zodiacal Signs for Fruits</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Basic Time and Fruitional Time Correspondences</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>The Great Time</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>“The Five-arrow Correspondences”</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>“Death” (2 Aspects)</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>“Intermediate State” (2 Aspects)</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLATES

1. Kālacakra dancer  
2. The Glorious Conch Shell  
3. Śrī-Heruka, or Sambara  
4. Mahāvajradhara  
5. Seven Pots in the Kālacakra Initiation  
6. Zor for Yama and Yama Offerings  
7. Maṇḍala offerings for the Kālacakra  
8. Mt. Meru Maṇḍala  
9. Mt. Meru Temple Banner  
10. Reverse side of Temple Banner  
11. Mudrā of the Four Continents and Mt. Meru  

DRAWINGS

Maṇḍala of the Triangular Dharmodaya  
Green Tārā, Showing the Six Ornaments  
Buddhaṭākini, Showing Khaṭvāṅga, Ģāmaru and Kapāla,  
An Astrological Representation of the Heart Cakra
PREFACE

This work is prepared from my previously published articles in the field of the Buddhist Tantra plus new studies especially made to round out the material for a reasonably integrated volume. It has particular contact with two previous books in the tantric field, *Mkhas grub rje’s Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*, translated by F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman (Mouton, 1968)—which I refer to as *Mkhas grub rje’s*; and my *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra; the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses* (the publication of which is going forward in Calcutta)—which I refer to as *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*. *Mkhas grub rje’s* is written by a Tibetan proficient in the Tantra on behalf of his Tibetan disciples. The *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra* is a synthetic commentary on forty verses written by myself as a Westerner and is almost completely based on the *Guhyasamājatantra* and commentarial literature in that lineage. In contrast, the present work goes further than the last one named in communicating varied aspects of the Buddhist Tantra to Westerners by researches based on texts sometimes using the *Guhyasamājatantra* lineage, but with special reliance on what are called the lower Tantras; and in the case of the fourth or highest class of Tantra with frequent utilization of the Mother Tantra (*Śrī-Cakrasamvara, Hevajra*, and *Kālacakra*); besides by more contact with the living tradition. That is why the present work is mainly different, both in content and in organization, from my two previous book engagements with the vast Buddhist Tantra literature. I also have under active preparation two other works in this field: Tibetan Miniature Paintings based on the Lessing manuscripts, which deals with the Buddhist Tantras principally in terms of individual deities; and Minor Buddhist Tantra Texts, with relatively brief but important texts in full translation. All those works, whether
published or in press or preparation, have a common method which is the subordination of personal opinion about the Tantra to authoritative explanations by the proficient of this cult.

I am pleased to express appreciation to the following journals, publishers, or agents for permission to reprint in whole or part certain articles of mine: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Poona) (Golden Jubilee Volume) for “Early Literary History of the Buddhist Tantras . . .” Orients Extremus (Lessing Memorial issue) for “Buddhist Genesis and the Tantric Tradition.” The Tibet Society Bulletin (Bloomington) for “Preparation of Disciples for Evocation of Deities.” Adrien Maisonneuve, 11 rue St Sulpice Paris (Etudes tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou) for “Symbolism of the Maṇḍala Palace.” Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Université de Paris (Mélanges d’Indianisme à la mémoire de Louis Renou) for “Concerning sam̐ dhā-bhāṣā / saṃdhi-bhāṣā / saṃdhya ḫāṣā.” University of Chicago Press (which holds the copyright) for “Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras” and portions of “Totemic Beliefs in the Buddhist Tantras” (History of Religions). Koyasan University (Japan) (Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism) for “The Fivefold Ritual Symbolism of Passion.” Lokesh Chandra, International Academy of Indian Culture (New Delhi) for “Outline of the Thob Yig Gsal baṅi Me Loṅ . . .” I have made corrections according to my present knowledge and minor changes for mutual consistency as well as some additions.

It is with deep gratitude that I express my indebtedness to Mrs. Margaret Lessing of Berkeley, California, for making available to me the manuscripts of the late Professor Ferdinand D. Lessing, which have furnished some invaluable materials for the present book, especially the photographs and texts he collected for his réseâches in the iconography and cult of the Lamaist temple of Peking, the Yung-Ho-Kung. These materials account for all the Plates, except for 1, 5, and 11. They also furnished models after which the Dharmodaya, Green Tārā, and Buddhaṭākāni drawings were executed by Mr. Osamu Yoshida.

The American Philosophical Society deserves thanks for its support of my travel to India in Spring 1970, which, while not for the express purpose of this book, fortuitously coincided with the Kālacakra ceremony in Dharamsala. My attendance at this important ritual occasion provided some of the living touches which secure a contemporary relevance for ancient texts. Plates 1, 5, and 11, are after photographs taken by my wife and myself during that ceremony.

There are varied text sources for the studies herein reproduced. Since so much is derived from Tibetan works—the overwhelming extant corpus for the Buddhist Tantra—I should be explicit. There are a number of references here to the Derge Kanjur and Tanjur and native Tibetan works at the University of California, Berkeley, from studies beginning in the
early 1950's. The Tohoku catalogs to which I refer in connection with notes from these sources are described in my article "Female Energy . . ." (note 1). There are also many references by 'PTT' (with volume, page, and page folio number) to the Japanese photographic edition of the Peking Tibetan Buddhist canon (Kanjur and Tanjur) and including Tsoṅ-kha-pa's works. I used this edition after it was purchased by The University of Wisconsin, and eventually assembled a large collection of reproduced texts from this edition by the kind access to an excellent duplicating machine of the University-Industry Research Program Madison, Wisconsin. I still make much use of these duplicated texts with the added convenience of being able to make notes on the pages. Moreover, I use some texts of my own—preeminently for this book, Tsoṅ-kha-pa's Shāgs rim chen mo (which I often refer to as the Shāgs rim) in the Peking popular blockprint; this is his great compendium on the Buddhist Tantras. Besides, it was necessary to consult some further canonical works to complete the present book, and I have accordingly made some use of the Narthang edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur, now conveniently accessible at Columbia University.

For ease of combining the various published essays with further studies in the present form, I usually omit the original texts, Sanskrit and Tibetan, such as face the translation of Mkhas grub rje's and are abundant in Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra as well as in my various published articles over the past twelve years. These omissions not only facilitate the reading of this book but also allow my transition from a former transcription of Tibetan to the Library of Congress transcription system. In all cases, references are given so that persons who wish may consult the original texts.

Finally, for the mechanics of issuance, I must thank Mr. Donald Weiser for his interest in publishing this book and the expeditious manner of his handling it.
I

INTRODUCTIONS
The great goddess located in the heart,  
Causing the yogin’s yoga -  
The Mother of all the Buddhas -  
Is called Queen of the Diamond Realm.  

_Sarvarahasya-tantra_, verse 45.
PERFECTION OF INSIGHT: BUDDHIST TANTRA WITHIN MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

“Perfection of Insight” is the translation of the term *prajñāpāramitā*, but not here employed in its sense of a certain body of Buddhist literature, namely the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures. The present discussion of *prajñāpāramitā* will show that it is through misunderstanding the role of this faculty that the status of Buddhist Tantra has been falsely explained, as though Mahāyāna Buddhism and Tantra under the name of Mantrayāna are two distinct and different things.

This is not to deny that if one takes tantric practices historically, in the sense of obscure cults which probably existed in India before even the rise of early Buddhism, those are essentially different from Mahāyāna. But also such obscure cults are different from what we now have as Buddhist Tantra, in terms of Tantric literature and associated practices. That is to say, both the Hindu Tantras and the Buddhist Tantras have thoroughly integrated those obscure cults into sectarian forms. The Buddhist Tantras are so imbued with Buddhist terminology, mainly of Mahāyāna Buddhist variety, that it is necessary to first study Mahāyāna Buddhism, especially in its formal presentation in the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools; otherwise one would be trying to find some mystical tantric meaning in an obscure phrase which in fact is clear enough when recognized as a Buddhist tenet from the Abhidharma literature or from those two Mahāyāna schools. Therefore, it is completely pointless to say, as some critics do, that the Buddhist Tantra is based on degenerate cults but that in some works the monks cleaned and tidied them up to give them a respectable form. Since the Tantra is essentially a practice, with incantations,
breath control, and so forth, one must evaluate it by the way it is, as set forth in its principal "revealed" scriptures, authoritative commentaries, and actual practice as can still be observed (for example, among the Tibetans in India).

According to passages cited by Tsoṅ-kha-pa in the introductory section of his work on the stages of Tantra called *Shogs rim chen mo*, the Mahāyāna (Great Vehicle) has two divisions—the prajñā pāramitā method (that part of Mahāyāna which is not tantric) and the mantra method (the strictly tantric part of the Mahāyāna). In his quotation (folio 12b-4) from the (Kālacakra work) *Vimalaprabhā*, these two wings of the Mahāyāna are termed "cause" and "effect". But also the Diamond Vehicle (Vajrayāna)—so called because the diamond is unsplittable and unbreakable—can be considered the Vehicle that incorporates both the prajñāpāramitā side (the "cause") and the mantra side (the "effect"). Therefore, the vehicle of the Bodhisattvas (who are the Mahāyāna saints) has two degrees, first the perfection of insight (prajñāpāramitā) and then the practice of mantras, initiation in the maṇḍala, etc. To observe this in a textual way, the reader may refer to the final section of this work for the "Outline of the Thob Yig Gsal Baḥi Me Loṅ," and notice how this compendium first gives the non-tantric background for the Tantras, and then the Tantras. Tsoṅ-kha-pa introduces further terminology (folio 12b-6) with a passage from the Sekoddeśa:

Holding the form of the void is the cause;
The fruit is the adherence to incessant compassion.
The indissoluble union of voidness (śūnyatā) and compassion (karuṇā) is called "mind of enlightenment" (bodhicitta).

At 17a-1, he quotes the Tantra called *Vajrapaṇijarā* (Chap. One), as follows (my numbers):

1. If the void were the means (upāya), then there would be no Buddhahood, because the fruit would not be different from the cause. The means is not voidness.
2. Voidness has been taught by the Buddhas to ward off the adherence to a self on the part of those who have gone astray through views and of those who seek the view of self.
3. Hence the binding as the means of ecstasy is called the maṇḍala-circle. The yogin with pride of a Buddha is close to Buddhahood.
4. So he would accomplish with the means the thirty-two characteristics of the Teacher, along with the eighty minor marks of the Lord (prabhū). The means has the form of the Teacher.
Tsoṅ-kha-pa gives the key ideas of those four verses in their order: (1) rejecting the claim that exclusive contemplation of voidness is the means; (2) the requirement to teach voidness; (3) accompaniment of the great means which is not shared (with the Prajñāpāramitā way); (4) teaching reasons for requiring accomplishment with that means. The meaning of the manḍala as the unshared means is that in the Prajñāpāramitā way, the means is the first five perfections, of giving, morality, forbearance, striving, and meditation; with the perfection of insight as the sixth. At folio 18b-5,6, he points out that the five perfections go with accomplishing enlightenment in three incalculable eons. When the manḍala-circle (of deities) is taken as the means, with ecstasy due to “binding” of the male and female deities, this shows devatā-yoga (yoga of the deities) and produces divine pride (free from ordinary pride) which is the quick path to Buddhahood, that is to say, to acquirement of the two kinds of formal body (rūpa-kāya), the Sambhogakāya and the Nirmāṇa-kāya in the present life. Therefore, those four verses from the Vajra-paṇḍarā are important for elucidating this fundamental position of the Buddhist Tantra—the quick path. According to Tsoṅ-kha-pa, the same ideas can be garnered from other Tantras.

But while the Mantra way differs from the Prajñāpāramitā way as concerns the means, and therefore differs as regards fastness and slowness in attaining the goal of Buddhahood, Tsoṅ-kha-pa points out at folio 9a-2 and by subsequent citation of Mahāyāna sūtras, that there is no difference in terms of Prajñāpāramitā (perfection of insight) itself. He says (perhaps referring to Tibetan polyandry):

A mother is the shared cause of the sons. A father is the cause of diversifying their lineages. In the same way, the Mother Perfection of Insight is the shared cause of the four Sons; while the cause of diversifying the great and lesser lineages of their vehicles is the means consisting in generating the mind (of enlightenment), and so forth.

That is to say, a difference in means (considered to be the father) diversifies the Hinayāna into the Śrāvakayāna and the Pratyekabuddhayāna; while another difference in means diversifies the Mahāyāna into Mādhyamika and Yogācāra. But the Perfection of Insight (considered to be the mother) is the same for all the four Sons; and in consideration of this Mother of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, such a scripture as the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (The Lotus of the Illustrious Law) sets forth the thesis of One Vehicle.

This insistence that the Prajñāpāramitā of the “Prajñāpāramitā vehicle” and of the “Mantra vehicle” is the common Mother lets us conclude that even when Prajñāpāramitā is personified as a goddess and represented in tantric iconography in union with the Buddha, that in fact it is still the
same Prajñāpāramitā as is mentioned in the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures and in the various non-tantric Mahāyāna scriptures. But saying this will undoubtedly not satisfy the critics—both within and without the fold of Buddhism—who denounce the Buddhist Tantra as a degenerate development within late Buddhism. They will surely retort that it is a fine thing to extract this from a book, but that in practice Tantras has a worship of the female element in its concrete form of the woman. The ready answer of course is that one cannot deny such practices in some lineages of the Tantra, and that the same Tantra, by reason of metaphorical employment of words, can be understood differently. But, to be practical, it is passing strange that anyone would bother with the Tantra to justify his “degenerate” practice, for who so bent among worldly persons would divert his energies by muttering a mantra a hundred thousand times at dawn, noon, sunset, and midnight, with fasting and other inhibitions, to engage in a “degenerate” practice, when, as we know so well, people at large engage in degenerate practices without bothering to mortify themselves at dawn, noon, sunset, and midnight!

As one who over a long time has seen much sexual symbolism in these tantric books, I must insist that the Tantras containing such symbolism will never be understood if the reader simply extracts one sentence and judges the whole work thereby. In short, to appreciate what the Tantra amounts to, one must take it through an extended corpus, consult commentaries, and so on. This means spending some time with it, but the usual critic is too impatient. He makes his snap judgment on the basis that among all subjects the Tantra is the most easy to judge. That while one must study any recognized human discipline, such as chemistry, for years to talk responsibly about it, one does not have to work at Tantra for a whole day to speak authoritatively about it!

So I shall repeat what Tson-kha-pa said: that Prajñāpāramitā is the common Mother, and invite the reader to determine for himself if certain studies contained in the present work bear out this contention. And for the meaning of Mother, let it be understood that Prajñā is by no means a virgin, since from time immemorial, according to Buddhist teachings, mankind has been defiling this prajñā which is their own insight. Thus the course of prajñā is not, as in ordinary human terms, from innocence to loss of a pristine state, but rather from original defilement to the pure goddess state. The Buddhist prajñā is not like the Hindu Śakti, the new power created by the gods to wreak havoc on their opponents, the Asuras; but the old passive faculty become powerful for helping some beings over the opposition to be godlike. That is to say, the Hindu Śakti has a mythological base, whereas the Buddhist prajñā is rooted in man’s psyche as the ordinary ingredient of every-day thinking. In the Hindu theory, the gods have to come up with a new plan; in the Buddhist conception, man must
PLATE 2. The glorious Conch Shell, depicting Queen Māyā (she gave birth to Gautama Buddha while holding the branch) surrounded by deities. Original in the Berner Historisches Museum.
find a new role for his capacities. In this light, the Hindu Śakti and the
Buddhist tantric prajñā do have something in common, but it is not proper
to identify them.

The thirty-seven natures accessory to enlightenment as goddesses

Perhaps there is no clearer example of the tantric goddess as accessory
to enlightenment than the personification in the Śrīcakrasaṃvara tradition
of the thirty-seven bodhipakṣyā dharmāḥ as goddesses. This identification
is found in Lui-pa’s Śrī-Bhagavadabhisamaya-nāma (Toh. 1427), and there
could be no higher authority for this, since Lui-pa is among the most
famous of the masters of the Mother Tantra. In utilizing his text as
preserved in Tibetan translation in the Tanjur, it was helpful to take
advantage of Abhayarakagupta’s Niśpannapoṭvāṭ (as edited by B.
Bhattacharyya), wherein is presented the Sambara-manḍala containing all
the Sanskrit names of the principal deities of the Śrīcakrasaṃvara-tantra.
It is of interest that the central deity, under the name Śrī-Heruka, is given
the correspondence to “right samādhi” instead of his consort, but the
obvious meaning is that he is here present with his female side, usually
called Vajravarāhi (the Diamond Sow). The thirty-seven natures
accessory to enlightenment (bodhipakṣya-dharma) is an important feature
of the path both for early and later non-tantric Buddhism. The
identifications follow:

1. Station of mindfulness on bodies
2. Station of mindfulness on feelings
3. Station of mindfulness on natures
4. Station of mindfulness on thoughts
5. Base of magical power in longing
6. Base of magical power in striving
7. Base of magical power in analysis
8. Base of magical power in thought
9. Faculty of faith
10. Faculty of striving
11. Faculty of mindfulness
12. Faculty of samādhi
13. Faculty of insight
14. Power of faith
15. Power of striving
16. Power of mindfulness
17. Power of samādhi
18. Power of insight

— Dākinī
— Lāmā
— Khaṇḍarohā
— Rūpiṇī
— Pracanḍā
— Pracanḍākṣā
— Prabhavatī
— Mahānāsā
— Viśramatī
— Kharvāvyī
— Laṅkēśvāvyī
— Drumacchāyā
— Airāvatī
— Mahābhairava
— Vāyuvegā
— Surābhakṣi
— Śyāmādevī
— Subhadrā
19. Samādhi limb of enlightenment — Hayakarṇī
20. Striving limb of enlightenment — Khagānanā
21. Joy limb of enlightenment — Cakravegā
22. Cathartic limb of enlightenment — Khaṇḍaroḥā
23. Analysis-of-the-doctrine limb of enlightenment — Śaunḍinī
c24. Mindfulness limb of enlightenment — Cakravarmīṇī
c25. Equanimity limb of enlightenment — Suvirā
c26. Right understanding — Mahābalā
c27. Right conception — Cakravartiṇī
c28. Right speech — Mahāvīryā
c29. Right bodily action — Kākāṣyā
c30. Right livelihood — Ulūkāṣyā
c31. Right effort — Śvānāṣyā
c32. Right mindfulness — Śūkarāṣyā
c33. Right samādhi — Śrī-Heruka
c34. Generation of the virtuous natures so far not arisen — Yamadāhi
c35. Protection of the virtuous natures that have arisen — Yamadūṭī
c36. Elimination of the sinful natures that have arisen — Yamadaṇḍṛī
c37. Avoidance of the sinful natures so far not arisen — Yamamathanī

That takes account of all the goddesses of the Sambara-manḍala, if we accept that Vajravārāhi is included in Śrī-Heruka, which of course is the meaning of their mystic union. Besides, all the goddesses have parental Buddhas. Nos. 1-4 are the dākinīs under Ratneśa (=Ratnasambhava). 5-12 are the Circle of Mind (citta-cakra) under Akṣobhya, and they range in the sky. 13-20 are the Circle of Speech (vāk-cakra) under Amitābha, and they range upon earth. 21-28 are the Circle of Body (kāya-cakra) under Śaśvata (=Vairocana), and they range beneath the earth. 29-32 and 34-37 are the Pledge Circle (samaya-cakra) under Amoghasiddhi; and 33 (the manḍala-lord) is under Akṣobhya; his Diamond Sow side is under Vairocana.

Tsoṅ-kha-pa (Lhasa Collected Works, Ta, ’dod ’jo, 112a-4) explains Nos. 26-33 (the Eightfold Noble Path) in this context:

“Right understanding”: Great devotion to the Word of the Buddha.
“Right conception”: The errorless comprehension of its meaning, and not casting aside a project which is good to do.
“Right speech”: Having words that do not deceive the sentient beings, and free from lies.
PLATE 3. Śrī-Heruka, or Sambara (Previously published in Lessing, Yung-Ho-Kung).
“Right bodily action”: Not transgressing the ten virtues in all that is done.
“Right livelihood”: Living in a way that does not harm the sentient beings.
“Right effort”: Performing the virtuous acts of bowing, circumambulating, etc.
“Right mindfulness”: Being mindful of the Word of the Victor.
“Right samādhi”: With object of consciousness in the manner of Heruka.

But we cannot leave this subject without alerting the reader to the multiple roles of these goddesses. For example, the Abhidhāna-uttara-tantra (PTT. Vol. 2, p. 66-3) identifies the last four Bodhisattva Stages, for which see Table 18 in the present work, with the four ḍākinīs of the above list (Nos. 1-4) in respective order, which is their standard order. The same Tantra identifies the first six Bodhisattva Stages with other ḍākinīs. Furthermore, reference to my Table 5 will show that four doorkeepers of the Śrī-Cakrasamvara maṇḍala, namely Nos. 29-32, constitute in this given order with translation of names (Kākāsyā, She the Crow-Faced; and so on) the first four of the six members of the Stage of Completion. Nos. 34-35 (Yamadāhi and Yamadūti) are reversed as the last two of the six members. Right after Table 5 there is a different explanation for the remaining two Yama goddesses (Nos. 36-37). But praśī ṇā herself appears in many roles and guises—the cleverness of the market place, the science of the laboratory, the wisdom of the sage; a sword, a fire; a nymph.
EARLY LITERARY HISTORY OF THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS, ESPECIALLY THE GUHYASAMĀJA-TANTRA*

There are several reasons for discussing literary history of the Buddhist Tantras in general, while taking main evidence from the Guhyasamāja cycle. For one thing, the texts and commentaries of Tantric nature are replete with remarkable matters, intriguing to any scholar with the philological background to read them. Besides the inevitable “tantric secrets”, there are numerous problems of Indian textual history to be solved to the extent these texts can be reliably dated in terms of centuries. Such an investigation is undoubtedly challenging, because the cult of Tantra, whether Hindu or Buddhist, has something of an anti-historical tone to it, by the very nature of esotericism.

When it is seen that these Buddhist Tantras are composed by taking a previous lore reaching back into the Vedic literature and amalgamating this tradition with various Buddhist tenets, it appears that one should be able to assign a definite period of time for such synthesizing. And then there is a problem comparable to the dating of Upaniṣads and Purāṇas, because we hear a specious argument that it is possible to write such books at any time! Possible, yes; but not possible to furnish the feature of authority, as when the Tantra is represented as a revelation of the supreme Buddha in the form of Vajradhara; not possible at any arbitrary time to have a text

*This article first appeared in Annals, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vols. XLVIII-XLIX (Poona, 1968), which may be consulted for the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts omitted here.
be the main communication of religious leaders and geniuses, part of a creative ebb, capable of arousing the faith, the concordant practice, and commentarial labor of great thinkers, as were the Upaniṣads in the sense in which we speak of the great Upaniṣads and the Upaniṣad literature. And while the group of Upaniṣads called the Yoga Upaniṣads are not the greatest of their class, they too bear the imprint of creative thinking of some period, whatever it may be, only prior to the composition of the “revealed” Buddhist Tantras, because those particular “sectarian Upaniṣads” have many remarks about centers in the body, mystic veins, and other materials, in typical Upaniṣad disorganization, that are noteworthy as constituting ideas incorporated in the Buddhist Tantras in more organized and sāstra-like form.

But, then, why “especially the Guhyasamāja-tantra”? Any searching examination of this Tantric literature, mainly extant in the Tibetan language, leads the reader to notice a compatibility of style of writing, repetition of certain incantations (mantra), overlapping descriptions of ritual practices; although it is true that certain groups of texts display much more of similar matter, a fact which led to the classification of Tantras, eventually into the standard classes of Kriyā-, Caryā-, Yoga-, and Anuttarayoga-tantras, by which the Tibetan Tantric canon is arranged. Now, I concern myself mainly with the Guhyasamāja-tantra simply because it is necessary to follow through at least one current in its various connections to see the picture with some clarity, and I happen to have done so with the Guhyasamāja-tantra through my researches in writing a still unpublished work, The Arcane Lore of Forty Verses; A Buddhist Tantra Commentary on the Guhyasamāja-nīdāna-kārikā. In a literary history introduction to this work I have argued that an Explanatory Tantra (vyākhya-tantra) of the Guhyasamāja called Vajramālā was composed in the fifth century A.D., and the basic tantra Guhyasamāja probably in the fourth century A.D.

I. Dating of the Guhyasamāja

It would be well to summarize here the kind of reasoning I have employed in that manuscript to arrive at the approximate dating, as well as to add further considerations. First we notice that scholars are fairly well agreed about the dating of the named commentators on the Guhyasamāja cycle and the Tantra Siddhas generally. Leaving out the references, we observe that Saraha is a contemporary of King Dharmapāla (769-809). In

2. Cf. Alex Wayman, “Analysis of the Tantric Section of the Kanjur Correlated to Tanjur Exegesis”, Part II of Chap. 16, below.
the second half of the eighth century we must place both the tantric Nāgārjuna of the "Ārya School" and Buddhaśrījñāna of the "Jñānapāda School". In the ninth century—probably first half—comes the tantric Candrakīrti, author of the Pradipoddyotana, as well as King Indrabhūti and his sister Lakṣminkarā, who is probably not the same person as Śrī Lakṣmī, author of a beautiful commentary on Nāgārjuna's Pañcakrama. Various tantric masters such as Śabara and Nāropā lived in the tenth century, while Tilopā, Nāropā's guru, must be placed around the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries. In the second half of the ninth I would also place the tantric Āryadeva. Translations into Tibetan show that Guhyasamāja commentarial and sādhana literature continued to be written through the twelfth century. In short, the Tanjur Guhyasamāja cycle of commentarial literature is composed from eighth to twelfth centuries. The same inclusive dates roughly cover the commentarial cycles of other Buddhist Tantra literature.

Given that general period of commentarial composition, there remains the problem of dating the "revealed" scripture, the mūla-tantra Guhyasamāja (first 17 chapters of the Sanskrit text) and its uttara-tantra (the 18th chapter) along with their cluster of Explanatory Tantras available only in Tibetan except for a few quotations of Sanskrit in Nāgārjuna’s Pañcakrama and Candrakīrti’s Pradipoddyotana. The Explanatory Tantras in question are the three cited in the Pañcakrama: Caturdeviparipṛcchā, Saṃdhivyākaraṇa and Vajramālā; the one cited in Āryadeva’s Caryāmelāpakapradipa: Jñānavajrasamuccaya—all four of which are in Tibetan; and the one cited in the Pradipoddyotana: Devendraparipṛcchā, which was not translated into Tibetan. The Explanatory Tantras represent further "revelations" which have varying authority for the subsequent commentarial traditions.

A. The date of the Explanatory Tantra Vajramālā. In that manuscript on the nidāna-kārikā which was quoted in Candrakīrti’s Pradipoddyotana from the Vajramālā, I arrived at a direct reason and an indirect reason for dating the Vajramālā. Here there is no room to provide the extensive data on which the following reasoning is based: (1) The direct reason: This work contains the ten Viśṇu avatāras in a kind of esoteric embryology theory, and these ten are precisely the standard list for which there is epigraphic evidence (from Bengal) of the fifth century onwards. I have presumed that at the time this standard list became publicized it went hand-in-hand with an esoteric tradition of syncretized Viśṇuavism and Buddhism. The indirect reason: In that manuscript on the nidāna-kārikā I have set forth my hypothesis that the Pañcakrama set of 33 female prakṛtis and 40 male prakṛtis can be subdivided without change of order into five groups in each set, the first set (of female prakṛtis) especially going with the five stages of the Viśṇuav path to union with the Lord Kṛṣṇa. This adds more weight to the presumed Viśṇuav-Buddhist syncretism which I attribute to the fifth
Early Literary History of the Buddhist Tantras

century A.D. However, the term “pañcakrama” as in Nāgārjuna’s title does not seem compatible with that Vaiśṇava path. (2) There is a further reason stemming from the interesting tie-ups between the Vajramālā and later commentary on the one hand, and the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra on the other hand. I refer here (a) to Yogācāra-type vocabulary, such as the “eight-vijñāna set”; (b) to the stress on winds, in the Vajramālā as the esoteric doctrine of winds by the word vāyu, and in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra to the esoteric doctrine of winds by the word pavana; and (c) by occasional quotation of the Laṅkāvatāra in the Guhyasamāja commentaries, such as those of the tantric Āryadeva. This sūtra was first translated into Chinese in 443 A.D. and apparently enjoyed much popularity among Indian Buddhists to justify Bodhidharma’s exclusive stress on this work when he brought it to China in the 520’s of the Christian era.

B. The date of the Guhyasamāja-tantra. Of course, the tentative dating of the Explanatory Tantra Vajramālā in the fifth century A.D. has a firm implication for the latest date of the Guhyasamāja, but our approach to the latter will be as independent as possible from the Vajramālā consideration.

There is a tradition reported from Tārānātha that the Tantras were transmitted in utmost secrecy for 300 years before being rendered somewhat more public by the Siddhas. This tradition was accepted by B. Bhattacharyya in the Introduction, xxxv, to his edition of the Guhyasamāja-tantra in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. However, Bhattacharyya associated the Guhyasamāja with Asaṅga. Having studied this problem through the works of Asaṅga I concluded that while Asaṅga lived at the “right time” (circa 375-430 A.D.), he could not reasonably be credited with the Guhyasamāja-tantra. On the other hand, Japanese scholars in general, and Shoun Toganoo in particular, who worked with the Tantra decided on an historical sequence of Buddhist Tantras with approximate centuries, to wit: Mahāvairocana (sixth century), Tattvasaṃgraha (seventh century), and Guhyasamāja, which they considered degenerate Tantra (eighth century). This dating forces the Guhyasamāja to be composed contemporaneously with the first commentaries by named persons. To understand this position, one should note that the Japanese have been pre-eminent in modern-day Buddhist scholarship in wonderfully encyclopaedic scope. But the Japanese Buddhist scholars almost always prefer to work with Sanskrit or Tibetan texts that have Sino-Japanese translations. The Tibetan texts were only aids in comparative text study; and so few Japanese scholars have learned to move easily in those Tibetan texts which have neither Sanskrit nor Sino-Japanese parallel versions, as is the case with the bulk of the Tantric literature. Matsunaga is perhaps alone

in examining one of the Guhyasamāja Explanatory Tantras, the Jñānavajrasamuccaya, and deciding that Candrakirti may have had some hand in composing or in expanding it. Naturally his conclusions about the Jñānavajrasamuccaya carry no material implication for other Explanatory Tantras, each of which has to be judged by its own content. I think Matsunaga proved his point that the tantric Candrakirti had something to do with that Explanatory Tantra, but this does not mean that he had more to do with it than revising or filling in a text which already existed in more than one recension. Generally speaking, though, the late dating of the Guhyasamāja by Japanese scholars rests on the same tenuous, unexamined grounds, as did the early dating accepted uncritically by B. Bhattacharyya. I hold that only by the procedure of facing up to the content of the Guhyasamāja literature can one begin to approximate the historical context.

If one does just that, he must take account of two basic commentarial traditions of the Guhyasamāja. One of these, “the Ārya School” (of those adopting Mādhymika-famous names, Nāgārjuna, Candrakirti, Āryadeva), writes its commentaries on the basic Tantra by citing the 18th chapter (the uttara-tantra), the various Explanatory Tantras, while incorporating what is presumably oral tradition. The other, the “Jñānapāda School” (headed by Buddhaśrījītāna) cites the 18th chapter and also the other chapters of the basic Tantra, generally refrain from quoting the Explanatory Tantras, and frequently cites other Tantras, especially those of the Yoga-tantra cycle, while also incorporating what is presumably oral tradition. There is of course some overlapping of these commentarial stresses; for example, Āryadeva also is prone to quote other Tantras, and also non-tantric works such as the Prajñā-pāramitā Scriptures. But the approaches are probably a matter of temperament, and interestingly parallel to the well-known two traditions of Buddhist Abhidharma called the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika. Here the “Jñānapāda School”, more literary as well as literal, is like the Sautrāntika which takes its stand on the scriptural texts. The “Ārya School”, less literary and more interpretative as well as pedantic, is like the Vaibhāṣika which takes its stand on the monumental commentaries. Therefore it is difficult to use the mere difference of the two traditions to conclude anything about the status and history of the Explanatory Tantras. Also, this use of Yoga-tantra texts may well rest on the tradition mentioned in the Blue Annals that the Yoga-tantra is “Outer” as compared with the Anuttarayoga-tantra (including the Guhyasamāja) which is “Inner”. In fact, the Yoga-tantras such as the Tattvasamgraha, Vajraśekhara, and Śrī-Paramādya have much in common with what is

called the Stage of Generation or Production (*uputtikrama*) of the Anuttarayoga-tantra, especially in the terminology of three *samādhīs*, of Initial Praxis (*prathama-prayoga*), Triumphant Maṇḍala (*vijayamaṇḍala*), and Victory of the Rite (*karma-vijaya*).

What is significant about the two commentarial traditions is precisely that there are two, with many differences within each of these traditions. Just as the Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika of non-tantric Buddhism could not have arisen fully-grown, in the form in which we know them, in the century immediately following the passing of the Buddha, so also the “Ārya School” and the “Jñānapāda School” could not have arisen in the century immediately following the composition of the *Guhyasamāja*, let alone the very same century! Indeed, any one who even partially surveys the *Guhyasamāja* literature as extant in Tibetan and notes the remarkable variance in explanation of a given passage of the basic Tantra, would experience at least a mild shock at the flimsy reasons given for a late dating of the *Guhyasamāja*. One example will be given to show what is meant, and this case is particularly chosen for a context where one would expect minimal variation between the commentaries because the expression to be explained is merely the “three kinds” of each sense object as mentioned without explanation in the basic tantra of *Guhyasamāja*, Chap. 7:

**Ārya School:**

Nāgārjuna’s *Tantraṭikā on Guhyasamāja* (Derge ed., Sa, f. 105b-7): (form, the object of sight) “has the nature of outer, inner, and both”.

Candrakīrti’s *Pradīpoddvyotana on Guhyasamāja* (Derge ed., Ha, f. 49a-5): (form, the object of sight) “should be perceived and comprehended as inferior, intermediate, and superior”; in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s *Mchen-ḥgrel* on the *Pradīpoddvyotana* (PTT, Vol. 158, p. 55-3), we learn that the superior kind is the Buddha going with that sense object, e.g. Vairocana as form; (p. 56-1, form is also of three kinds, pleasurable, repulsive or displeasing, and neutral).

**Jñānapāda School:**

Praśāntajñāna’s *Upadeśā-niṣcaya on Guhyasamāja* (PTT, Vol. 63, p. 64-5): the three kinds are superior (lust), intermediate (delusion), and inferior (hatred).


Jinadatta’s *Paṇḍikā-nāma on Guhyasamāja* (PTT, Vol. 63, p. 259-1): “Because one discerns it as having the nature of superior, and so on, there are three kinds; having the nature of outer, inner, and both, means “non-apprehension” (*anupalabdhi*), so one
should understand it by the nature of three gates to liberation, of voidness, etc.”

Ratnakarasānti’s *Kusumāñjali-guhyasamāja-nibandha-nāma* (Vol. 64, p. 127-1): the three kinds mean the respective offerings by the three kinds of yogins, the one of lust, of delusion, and of hatred.

Sriśiṣṭijñānakirti’s *Srīguhyasamāja-tantrārāja-vṛtti* (PTT, Vol. 66, p. 132-3): “The “three kinds” means that one knows (the object) as the three gates to liberation, the signless, etc.”

Ānandagarbha’s *Srī-guhyasamāja-mahātantrārāja-tīkā* (PTT, Vol. 84, p. 127-4, 5): “The three kinds are outer, inner, and secret. That was explained by Ārya-Jñānapāda to mean fifteen in an external set, fifteen in a personal set, and fifteen in a secret set. Having cited his words, I should here explain clearly his meaning.” He goes on to take the outer as three, which multiplied by the five sense objects yields the number fifteen, and does the same for the inner or personal, and for the secret which involves the *prajñā-upāya* union. In each case, the three are the Buddha, the Bodhisattva, and the Devī associated with that object by the triad of perception, sense organ and sense object, i.e. for form, the three are the Buddha Vairocana, the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha, and the Devī Rūpavajrā.

There are three main sources for the various comments cited above. One is the Explanatory Tantra *Sāmundhivyākaraṇa*, which is a verse paraphrase, with slight enlargement, of the first twelve chapters of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. In its treatment of Chap. 7, it states (PTT, Vol. 3, p. 240-3):

The three kinds of form and other sense objects are the non-apprehension of inner, outer, and both; one should offer those to the gods.

The next source is the Explanatory Tantra *Vajramālā*, which states in what I call the “*nīdāna-kārikā*”, no. 19:

Afterwards the yogin who sees the non-duality should be dwelling upon sense objects “inferior”, “intermediate”, and “superior” by seeing the triple gnosis.

The third source is the *uttara-tantra* (18th chap. of the Sanskrit text, p. 158):

The “desires” (i.e. the 5 strands of desire, *pañcakāmaguṇa*) “form”, “sound”, etc.—pleasurable, painful, and neutral—continually
generate in the heart, (respectively), the source of “lust”, “hatred”, and “delusion”.

With all that information at hand, it is easy to see that some commentators relied especially on the Vajramālā, some especially on the Samdhivyākaraṇa, some especially on the uttara-tantra; and then some commentators tried to harmonize two different terminologies of “three kinds” by taking it as “three times three”, i.e. three each of each three. The Samdhivyākaraṇa expression “non-apprehension” suggested to some commentators the non-tantric doctrines of “Perfection of Insight” (prajñā-pāramitā) with its stress on voidness (śūnyatā), so they saw an opportunity to make contact with non-tantric Buddhism by the well-known set of Buddhism, the three gates to liberation (trīyā vimokṣa-mukhāni), that is, the voidness (śūnyatā-), the wishless (apraṇīhita-), and the signless (ānimitta-) gates. When one takes into account that these commentaries vary much more in most other places, where the Guhyasamājā passages are not restricted by such concrete objects as the sense objects, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some centuries of oral tradition have intervened between the basic Guhyasamājā-tantra and the eighth century when the “historical” writers began to appear on the scene. Of course, if the basic Tantra had been concocted by the first commentator, or had been composed just prior to his writing activity, there should not have been any question of what the “three kinds” were. Instead the commentators might have differed only in their metaphorical interpretation of the standard “three kinds”.

The above chain of reasoning shows we must set the Guhyasamājā-tantra sufficiently early that even the Vajramālā Explanatory Tantra, if my fifth century date be accepted, would be one of several ways of interpreting that Tantra, and so the Guhyasamājā basic Tantra must be assigned at least a century earlier. But I conventionally place it in the fourth century A.D., with possible authorship of Indrabhūti the Great, who should not be confused with the later King Indrabhūti.

II. Possible Greco-Roman concepts in the Buddhist Tantras

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Chicago, April 1965, I first called attention to Greco-Roman attributions of func-

6. As I explained in the article, “The Buddhist ‘Not This, Not This’,” Philosophy East and West, XI: 3 (Oct., 1961), pp. 99-114, the three gateways to liberation are understood in the Yogācāra school (headed by Āryāsaṅga) to be based on the conditioned (samskrta) as the five personality aggregates—the wishless gateway; on the unconditioned (asamskrta) as nīrāṇa—the signless gateway; and on both (reality and unreality)—the voidness gateway.
tions to corporeal centers as closely paralleled by doctrines of the Buddhist Tantras. This report was incorporated in a larger study "The Five-fold Ritual Symbolism of Passion", published in the anniversary volume of Koyasan University, and based especially on Tibetan sources. Later I noticed that the tantric Nāgārjuna’s Piṇḍikramasāḍhana, which was published by L. de la Vallée Poussin, contains a Sanskrit passage that identifies the five skandhas with five corporeal centers. To save space, I shall omit the Sanskrit original, and give my translation of those verses (Nos. 56-60) as follows:

The knower of mantras will place on his head Vairocana’s germ syllable Oṃ of white color, because it is the intrinsic nature of the personality aggregate of form (rupa-skandha).

Having contemplated in the throat Amitābha’s red Āḥ, pertaining to the intrinsic nature of the aggregate of ideas (svabhāva-skandha), he attains lordliness of speech.

The mantrin should deposit in his heart Akṣobhya’s Hūṃ, shining like the deep blue gem, as the form of the aggregate of perceptions (vijñāna-skandha).

He should place at the navel a yellow Śvā belonging to the Jewel Lord (=Ratnasambhava) and the cause of purifying feelings, because it is the form of the aggregate of feelings (vedanā-skandha).

The mantrin then deposits in both feet a Hā of green light, as the reality of the Karma Lord (=Amoghasiddhi), because it is the nature of the personality aggregate of motivations (samskāra-skandha).

In that published paper I identified the five corporeal locations of the five personality aggregates (skandha) with the five spots constituting targets for five arrows as in Guhyasamāja-tantra, Chap. XVI (Bhattacharyya ed., p. 121):

The “knower of mantras” should contemplate in the middle of the Diamond Sky (=Clear Light) an adamantine Maṇjuśrī of great power; he should recollect his projecting point with the praxis of five arrows, and make them fall, in the manner of the formidable thunderbolt, in five spots.

Thus, two Buddhist Tantra texts available in Sanskrit—the Guhyasamāja-tantra and its associated Piṇḍikramasāḍhana—refer respectively to

7. Alex Wayman, “The five-fold ritual symbolism of passion,” this work (Chap. 15).
8. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, ed., Pañcakrāma (Gand, 1896); (the editor has included the Piṇḍikrta-sādhana = Piṇḍikrama-sādhana as Part I of the edition).
five spots in the body and to five corporeal locations of the five personality aggregates.

The particular passage which first enabled me to compare with some Greco-Roman concepts was a Tibetan quotation or paraphrase by Tson-kha-pa of a work he cited as *Khyad par gsal byed*, which I later traced as the *Viśesādyota* (Toh. 1510), a work by Tathāgataavajra, with full title *Lūnipāhisamayavṛttiṭikāviśesādyota-nāma*. I shall repeat here only the explanation for the placement of the “aggregate of form” (*rūpasaṅkha*), because this was the foundation for making the comparison. Here the text: “explains that since the aggregate of forms is the basis of seeds, the chief place of the *rūpasaṅkha* is the middle of the head; and explains that the forehead is the place of the bindu: hence one contemplates it (i.e. the aggregate of forms) there.”

Therefore, it was easy to see a connection with the Greek *psyche* and the Roman *genius*—considered to be located in the head which was supposed to be the source of seed. Again, Greek thought associates the liver with deep emotions, so also the aggregate of feelings is the navel. There was also a close parallel between the location of perception (*vijñāna*) in the heart as the wind basis of consciousness and the seat of breath. The locations of the two remaining personality aggregates—ideas (*saṃjñā*) and motivations (*saṃskāra*)—in the throat and feet respectively, are not obviously parallel to the Greek or Roman concepts, for which I especially used the book by Onians.

Another implication of Greek influence arose through the collaborated translation by the late Ferdinand D. Lessing and myself of *Mkhas grub rje’s Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*, Indo-Iranian Monographs Vol. VIII (1968). In the section on Yoga-tantra, Mkhas-grub-rje mentions that for each of the four seals (*mudrā*) called “Symbolic Seal”, “Law Seal”, “Action Seal”, and “Great Seal”, there are four causes (*T. rgyu = Skt. hetu*). For a long time Dr. Lessing and I were at a loss as to how to translate the words for these four causes in the Tibetan text. The words used were not the standard causes well-known from Buddhist Abhidharma texts. Then it occurred to me that the Tibetan words reflected an attempt, presumably through Sanskrit words as intermediary, to render the well-known four Aristotelian causes, namely the efficient cause (*T. hbyuṅ baḥi rgyu*), the formal cause (*raṅ gi ṇo bo, S. svarūpa*), the material cause (*hgrub paḥi rgyu*), and the final cause (*grub pa dbaṅ du hgyur baḥi rgyu*). To illustrate the application of these terms, I shall briefly explain Mkhas-grub-rje’s employment of them for the “Symbolic Seal” (*samaya-mudrā*). In this case, the “efficient cause” is the thunderbolt tie (*vajrabandha*), the necessary preliminary. The “formal cause” involves the rite of executing the

---

10. R. B. Onians, *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate* (Cambridge at The Univ. Press, 1954).
“Symbolic Seal” per se, amounting to executing the symbolic seal of a particular Buddha, e.g. Vairocana, while seeing that Buddha dwelling in front and then reaching non-duality with that Buddha. The “material cause” involves contemplating in the heart of the deity in front, a moon and on it a white five-pronged thunderbolt; dwelling upon it for a protracted period while muttering the general and special incantations results in a “materialization”. Thereupon, one has the “final cause” by the contemplation which reduces the personality aggregates and so on to voidness (śūnyatā).

Of course, this is a different kind of evidence from the preceding data regarding corporeal placement of the five skandhas. In the present case, I suppose there might be some question as to whether the four Aristotelian causes are rightly applied. Let us, however, proceed on the supposition that the Aristotelian causes seem to fit in translating Mkhas-grub-rje’s section on the Yoga-tantra. Then, the problem arises of how such Greco-Roman influence could be found in the Buddhist Tantras, which so often are dismissed as typical of the late and declining phase of Indian Buddhism in the latter part of the first millennium A.D., thus removed by many centuries from the presumed period of Greek influence.

In assessing Greek transmissions to India, these need not be attributed to Greeks alone, because around the beginning of the Christian era many Greco-Roman ideas circulated in Central Asia and were carried by miscellaneous peoples. One conclusion is reasonable: that Buddhism was more influenced by such foreign ideas than was Hinduism. This is obvious in the iconographic art types, especially the form of the Buddha image in Gandhāra. It has long been held that foreign elements have entered into the formation of certain Buddhist Mahāyāna scriptures, especially those centred around the Buddha Amitābha (of boundless light). It is therefore reasonable that Greco-Roman concepts should have entered more into the Buddhist Tantras than into Hindu ones, whether Śaiva or Vaiśnava, that is, if we agree further that the Buddhist Tantras came into being sufficiently close to the time of Greco-Roman prestige to adopt certain foreign modes of thinking where their usefulness was apparent and at that time perhaps commonplace, their origins forgotten.

The literary history of these Tantras and their forerunning literature might well run this way in order to account for inclusion of any Greco-Roman concepts: After the old Upaniṣads just before and around the time of the Buddha, there gradually arose the type of work now called the sectarian Yoga Upaniṣad, the bulk of which is composed during the “Hindu revival” after the Maurya Dynasty downfall and down to the rise of the Gupta era. These sectarian Upaniṣads were being written by the Hindus when many foreign ideas were circulating in North-West India from about 100 B.C. to 200 A.D., but this does not mean that such Upaniṣads
were influenced by such foreign ideas. However, profane science appears
to have been so influenced, because during this period two systems of
Roman astronomy were circulated in India to be later included in the
Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira. Also there were esoteric cults borrow-
ing freely from different sources, Buddhist, Hindu, and foreign elements.
The eclectic character of such movements helped to bring in certain far-out
ideas that neither orthodox Hinduism nor orthodox Buddhism could be
expected to entertain. At that time the word “Tantra” may not yet have
been applied to such cults. Also, at the university center of Taxila in far
North-West India there was ample opportunity to learn various Greco-
Roman concepts; and also, for that matter, for some typically Indian ideas
to be transported to the West or to enter into the religious syncretisms of
Central Asia.

Conclusion

In the early Gupta period there was a vast amount of collecting and
rewriting of old legends, as well as the composition of formal treatises,
political, philosophical, and so on—required by the new age which had
turned to written-down religious texts beginning to compete with the
memorized tradition. This remarkable outpouring of new works would
make the fourth and fifth centuries the Golden Age, determining the form
of Hinduism even up to modern times. These two centuries were also the
creative age for the Buddhist Tantras, determining their pattern of rite and
doctrine for subsequent centuries. Not only the Guhyasamāja but also the
other “revealed Tantras” were composed mainly at that time, and by this
we do not preclude the later addition of chapters as happened to the
Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa or an expanded recension as apparently occurred to
the Jñānavajrasamuccaya. In the eighth century tantrism entered a new
phase with the emergence of the Siddhas or tantric masters and the
beginning of tantric rationalization, that is, the enterprise of commentary
by the tantric pandits, who tried to explain all sorts of obscure points in
those “revealed texts”. And despite the difficulty a few commentators
would be eminently successful.
BUDDHIST GENESIS AND THE TANTRIC TRADITION*

The Buddhist genesis story is very ancient, being found in the Pāli scriptures besides the northern Buddhist accounts. It is mentioned in all three branches of Buddhist scriptures, Sūtra, Vinaya, and Abhidharma. A Sanskrit version entitled Rājavamsa (royal lineage) exists in the Mahāvastu. In the Abhidharma literature the account is given in the description of vivarta (differentiation of the beings due to evolution of the inferior worlds) as contrasted with sanvarta (consubstantiation of the beings due to dissolution of the inferior worlds). At least in later Buddhist accounts, the legend does not have the importance that the Biblical Genesis has in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Our treatment suggests that in the earliest Buddhism it may well have had a much greater importance than it had later on.

In any case, Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419 A.D.), founder of the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism signals the importance of the legend in an elaborate discussion utilizing both non-Tantric and Tantric sources in the first part of his work Dpal gsal ba ḍuṇ paḥi gnad kyi don gsal ba, “Elucidating the meaning of the essential points of the Śrī-guhyasamāja (Tantra)” (Lhasa ed., collected works, Vol. Cha), which has the abbreviated reference Don gsal. Tson-kha-pa uses this legend as a rationale for the

* This article first appeared in Oriens Extremus, 9:1 (1962), which may be consulted for the Tibetan and Sanskrit texts omitted here.
types of meditations found in the Anuttara-yoga-tantra, a literature which often mystifies and repels Western scholars because of its complicated ritualism and sexual symbolism. Here there is space for only the main ideas of Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s discussion.

The non-Tantric Buddhist legend may be organized and summarized as follows:

There are three efficient causes of the periodical destruction of the world systems, viz., fire, water, and wind. According to the Abhidharma-kösa (III, 100c-d, and commentary), fire brings an eon of evolution to an end by destroying all of the realm of desire (kāma-dhātu) and the First Dhyāna Heaven of the realm of form (rūpa-dhātu). Water destroys all that as well as the Second Dhyāna Heaven; and wind destroys all the latter as well as the Third Dhyāna Heaven of the realm of form. Only the Fourth Dhyāna of this realm remains intact. The First Dhyāna is also referred to by its divine residents, such as the Brahmā retinue deities, the Second Dhyāna by its chief deities, the Ābhāsvaras, the Third Dhyāna by the Śubha deities.

I. In the next period of evolution, while the lower receptacle worlds are re-evolving, the sentient beings fall to lower planes in a process usually described as starting from the level of the Ābhāsvara deity class (after the destruction by fire). They fall from that divine world and come “here”. “Here” is explained as Jambudvīpa (our world continent or specifically India). Buddhaghosa of the southern school and Vasubandhu of the northern school of Buddhism agree that these “men of the first eon” pass through each of the intermediate worlds by a type of birth called “transformation” (upapāduka) after each successive death. The Abhidharma-kösa (II, 9b-c) says that the beings with this type of birth are the hell-beings, the beings of the intermediate state, and the gods. Hence the “men of the first eon” were in a condition rather comparable to the present (disembodied) intermediate state (antarābhava) between death and rebirth. Asaṅga explains that these “men of the first eon” (prathamakalpa) passed through these worlds with actions involved with desire (kāmāvacara-karma) that are superior, chief, best (parama, agra, śreṣṭha), and whose fruition are experienced immediately, not at another time. And these men have a beautiful form (rūpin) and are “made of mind” (manomaya). In addition, the Mahāvastu (I, 339) says that these men are self-luminous, feed on joy, and go where they wish.

II. Then, on the surface of the earth which at that time was in a fluidic

1. This is one of the four kinds of birth in Buddhism. Beings are also “born from a womb” (jorūyu-ja), “born from an egg” (anāja-ja), “born from moist heat” (samsveda-ja).
state there appeared an earth essence which some being disposed to greediness tasted with his finger. It pleased him, he came to eat mouthfuls, and other beings followed suit. Thus these beings became dependent on morsel food, still subtle. They lost their original qualities of feeding on joy, body made of mind, and so on, and their bodies became heavier and more substantial. The ones who least indulged, retained with pride their beautiful form. The sun, moon, and year became known. In the course of time this earth essence disappeared and a honey-like excrescence appeared on the surface of the earth. Aṣaṅga explains that hell beings, beings in the embryonic states, and the gods involved with desire (kāmāvacara-deva) have just the subtle kind of food, which does not give rise to excrement or urine.4

III. Then, in place of the honey-like earth excrescences, a rice-pap appeared and the beings subsisted on that coarse morsel food, described thus by the Mahāvastu (I, 341-2): “rice, not discrete, without chaff, fragrant grain” (śāli akeno atuṣah surabhitāndulahi). At that time, the distinguishing characteristics of male and female appeared, and the beings had mutual sexual desire with associated acts.

IV. The last phase of the legend shows the arising of the “private property” idea with individual rice plots, then stealing with consequent violence. Those beings decided to select someone to judge the disputes. He was called the great chosen one (mahāsammata), and the beings each gave him one-sixth of the rice crop for his royal services to provide security. Mahāsammata was the first king (cakravartin). According to the Buddhist sūtra, he inaugurated the lineage of the Śākya clan, in which Gautama Buddha was born. According to the latter’s biography, Gautama was born with auspicious characteristics portending either a Cakravartin or a Buddha. In Hindu legend also, “People suffering from anarchy . . . first elected Manu, the Vaivasvata, to be their king; and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of merchandise as sovereign dues”.5

The Tantric account presented by Tsoṅ-kha-pa claims to have information about those beings beyond what non-Tantric Buddhism teaches. Thus he writes, “Moreover, the men of the first eon, i.e., the beings who have died and transferred from the Ābhāsvara god class, and so on, down to their birth as men of Jambudvīpa, agree with the merits (guṇa) of the [thirty-two] Characteristics and [eighty] Minor Marks, so they are adorned with the merits of a Buddha”.6 Also, “The description ‘adorned with the

merits of a Buddha’ does not occur in the Abhidharma or in the Vibhaṅga’.
But why did those beings become dominated subsequently by delusion, lust, and hatred? He says, “Thus, they had obtained possession of the knowledge body (jñāna-deha)—the superior body like the body of a god of the ‘realm of form’, free from the coarse body which undergoes development; but then it was overcome by all the action (karma) and defilement (kleśa) arising from their own mind, and came into the power of those two”. He goes on to explain the reason as the habit-energy (T. bag chags, S. vāsanā) handed down from beginningless time, and continues, “Although they had a body comparable to the Illusory Body (māyā-deha) they did not know the Illusory Samādhi (māyopama-samādhi) through hearing (śrutā) and ‘pondering’ (cintā), and could not comprehend it through ‘creative contemplation’ (bhāvanā). Hence they wander in phenomenal existence”. In further additions to the standard account, Tsoṅ-kha-pa calls the earth essence also “ambrosia” (amṛta), and he calls the separation into male and female the division of means (upāya) and insight (prajñā), respectively.

The usual Buddhist formulations of the Path, such as the Eightfold Noble Path, are not obviously applicable to the legend, as classically stated. They aim to eliminate the domination of action and corruption. Why try to re-become the first eon men? These men were pure only through lack of temptations, which had been removed by the dissolution of the inferior worlds and which would inevitably reappear with the new manifestation of those worlds. Yet even the old non-Tantric Buddhism can be interpreted with steps that inversely match the successive periods of the legend, especially with Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s word “amṛta”. (1) A devotee renounces his property to become a monk. He reverses the last period, characterized by private ownership of rice plots. (2) The monk is supposed to regulate his way of life, including moderation in food and adherence to celibacy (brahmācayya). He reverses the eon characterized by coarse morsel food and the division into sexes. Also, according to the Hindu epic Mahābhārata, the god Brahmā adopted the form of a swan and said: “... I know that self-restraint is the door of immortality (amṛta). I impart to you this

7. Ibid., 20a-5,6. By “Abhidharma” Tsoṅ-kha-pa presumably means both the Abhidharma-kośa (both kārikās and auto-commentary by Vasubandhu) and the Abhidharma-samuccaya by Asaṅga. To this one should probably add the further commentary on the Vasubandhu work by Prince Yaśomitra. By “Vibhaṅga” Tsoṅ-kha-pa presumably means the Vinaya-vibhaṅga in the Tibetan Kanjur and its commentary by Vīṇātadeva. Tsoṅ-kha-pa by this remark indicates that such a teaching is not found in either the Abhidharma or Vinaya literature.
8. Don gsal, 20a-6, ff.
9. Ibid., 20b-2,3.
10. Ibid., 30b-4,5.
11. Ibid., 31a-6 to 31b-1.
hallowed (brahman) secret: there is no state superior to the human”.12
(3) This man then practices yoga and various samādhis which develop certain inner resources and which are supposed to win a command over subtle elements.13 He reverses the second period, characterized by subsistence on subtle morsel food, and comes to taste the “primeval earth”, the “deathless” or “ambrosia” (amṛta)—while still a man of Jambudvīpa.
(4) His mind separates from the “deathless” and is freed or liberated. He feeds on joy, as did the men of the first eon, but he has arrived at this comparable stage together with a discipline that eliminates the propensities of hatred, lust, and delusion. This stage is called Nirvāṇa by the Buddhists, Mokṣa by the Hindus.

However, Mahāyāna Buddhism claims to have a higher attainment than this liberation, the ideal of early Buddhism. Later the aim was to become a Complete Buddha, with the three bodies called the Dharmakāya, Saṃbhogakāya, and Nirmāṇakāya, who is restricted neither to the quiescent realm nor to the phenomenal world. In accordance with a passage cited above from Tsoṅ-kha-pa, one must reach by discipline a condition comparable to the first eon men and have in addition the Illusory Samādhi. In Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s view, one must purify birth, death, and the intermediate state by yogas concordant with the way the men of the first eon experienced those three phases during the interval between when they were still “first eon men” and when they had the ordinary bodies of period no. 3. (Of course, in Indian belief the men of later periods are those very men.) He says, “Contemplation of the Dharmakāya is the purification of death, because, briefly speaking, the Dharmakāya is equivalent to the experience by the men of the first eon of the clear light of death”.14 Again, “contemplation of the Saṃbhogakāya is the purification of the intermediate state”, and “contemplation of the Nirmāṇakāya is the purification of birth”.15

Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes, “Also, the Pañcakrama states, ‘The Saṃbhogakāya as well as the illusion of conventional truth—that is the Gandharva-sattva’, making the Saṃbhogakāya equivalent to the intermediate state [body]; hence one should have no doubt that the generation of the Primeval Lord (*ādinatha) is an element equivalent to the intermediate state”.16 The Dharmakāya is also associated with death and with comparable states such as coitus [union of upāya and prajñā] in a passage of the Mukhāgama

13. For further information, one may refer to Mircea Eliade, Yoga: Immortality and Freedom (New York, 1958).
15. Ibid., 25b-1.
16. Ibid., 26a-1,2. To understand Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s remark one should know that in this literature a gandharva-sattva means a being of the intermediate state.
quoted in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s *Shags rim chen mo*. The Nirmāṇakāya is illustrated in some Tantric āgama by the Avatars of Viśṇu interpreted as intra-uterine stages.

There are two phases of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra—the Stage of Generation (*utpatti-krama*) and the Stage of Completion (*sampanna-krama*), respectively the phase of the path (*mārga*) and the phase of the fruit (*phala*). Tsoṅ-kha-pa says, “Therefore, it is a mistake not to finish during the phase of the first Stage (*krama*) the part consisting in the various elements concordant with the three things, birth, death, and the intermediate state.” Hence, one must meditate consistently with the three bodies of the Buddha in the phase of the path; in the phase of the fruit one gains those bodies, called the “three bodies of the fruit”.

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine how old such teachings are. However, the above should indicate the profundity of that old Buddhist legend.

18. Ibid., pp. 70-72.
19. Don gsal, 26a-4.
20. Ibid., 26a-3.
The employment of systematic analogies is frequent in the Vedic literature, from the *Rig-Veda* itself, down to the Upaniṣads, the oldest of which (such as the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhadāranyaka*) precede the rise of Buddhism. A threefold symbolism is frequent in the Vedas, where all the gods were included in one or another of the three realms: heaven, atmosphere, and earth. A fourfold system had also become popular, with one of the four representing the perfect state. For example, of the four chief priests for the great Śrauta ceremonies, it was the Brahman or high priest who knew all three Vedas and protected the ceremony from hostile demons, while the other three priests each knew one Veda. In the case of the celebrated Puruṣa hymn of the *Rig-Veda*, this glorified Person is three-fourths outside our world and one-fourth in it. Of the four Ages, the Golden Age has four parts, the successive ones three, two, and one parts (or “fourths”) and are correspondingly degenerate. In the *Māndukya-Upaniṣad*, the waking state is the first fourth; dream, the second fourth; deep sleep the third fourth, and the Self (ātman) the fourth and called “the fourth” (turiya). Of course, the examples of the threefold and fourfold systems could be multiplied at length. The fivefold system became popular in the Upaniṣads, for example, in the *Taîttrīya-Upaniṣad*, where the microcosm-macrocosm analogy is presented in terms of the fivefoldness of the world and of the individual.

Both threefold and fivefold systems of analogy are prevalent in the Buddhist Tantras; and because early Buddhism does not go in for this kind of thinking—even though there are many numerical categories in
Buddhism—one may say that the Buddhist Tantras in this feature of systematic analogies constitute a development in Buddhism akin to Vedic formulations, especially of the later Upaniṣads. The threefold correspondences in the Buddhist Tantras are especially in terms of the Body, Speech, and Mind—the “three mysteries” of the Buddha:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>mudrā (gesture)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>mantra (incantation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind</td>
<td>samādhi (deep concentration)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fivefold correspondences go with the set of five Buddhas. For example, the Hevājratantra associates the five Buddhas with the five candidates for training in accordance with their dominant vice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vairocana</th>
<th>Delusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Hatred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Lust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Slander (paśuṇya)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Jealousy (Iṣya)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the Buddhist Tantras do not lack the fourfold correspondences. They are especially used to correlate steps of training. For example, the Anuttarayoga Tantra has a division into the Stage of Generation (upatti-krama) and Stage of Completion (sambpanna-krama). Each of these has its own explanation of the four mudrās: karma-mudrā, dharma-mudrā, samaya-mudrā, and mahā-mudrā. Here the word “mudrā” is employed in its more abstract significance as a “seal”.

In the classical period, the Indian philosophical schools debated the extent to which analogy is a valid source of knowledge, or authoritative; and the Realists (followers of the Nyāya school) accepted analogy as an independent valid source of knowledge. In agreement with them, Candrakīrti, the great Mādhyamika commentator of the Prāsaṅgika school, accepted in his Prasannapadā (Chap. One) all four sources of knowledge (pramāṇa) in practical life, namely, direct perception (pratyakṣa), inference (anumāna), testimony (śabda)—which is the lineage of trustworthy persons (āptāgama)—and analogy (upamāna). Now, in Mkhas grub rje’s, the position is laid down that the philosophical viewpoint of all sections of the Tantras is the Prāsaṅgika. This means that all four Tantra divisions, the Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga, have the Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika for a philosophical base. One way Mkhas grub rje’s statement can be understood is that the Tantras accept the Realist’s position of analogy as an independent source of knowledge. If this is a basic reason, it would still be valid even for those tantric works
that include much Yogācāra terminology, such as the “store consciousness” (ālayavijñāna); for in such a case this terminology from another school could be considered as part of the syncretic character of the Tantras.

Those four tantric classes themselves constitute systems of analogy, being explained in terms of the candidates for whom those Tantras are expressed as well as in terms of the deities which principally represent the particular class of Tantra. This is the orthodox Tibetan explanation derived here from Tson-kha-pa’s Sṅags rim chen mo. There is an unorthodox Tibetan explanation found in Smṛti’s Vajravidārāṇā-dāma-dhārañj-ṛtti in the Tibetan Tanjur, Rgyud section, which relates the candidates in the four Buddhist systems of exegesis to kinds of washing.

In an article “Totemic Beliefs in the Buddhist Tantras,”¹ I prepared a table for classification in clans, consisting of a number of such analogical correspondences which I selected from my reading in this literature, especially the Anuttarayoga Tantra, over a number of years.²

The rationale for the correspondences on a given line of the table is

2. Many such textual correspondences are presented by way of identification with the five winds, prāṇa, apāṇa, udāna, samāna, and vyāna, which in the given order are the natures of the five Buddhas, Aksobhya, and so on, of the Table. This is the order in which they are explained in the collected works, Kloṅ rdul bla ma, sec. Ga (Peking ed.), 29a-4 ff., identified with the Buddhas, elements, and bodily locations. The correspondence of Buddhas to knowledges is that given in the Advayavajra-Samgraha ("Gaekwad Oriental Series," Vol. XC), p. 36; this is consistent with Mkhas grub rje’s. I gave a reference for the Buddha-skandha equation in my article “Contributions Regarding the Thirty-two Characteristics of the Great Person," Liebenthal Festschrift, p. 245, n. 10. The identification with the ambrosias is cited in a later subsection, “The Five Ambrosias.” The identification of Buddhas with vortices of elements is in a Sanskrit passage of the Vajramāla, as quoted in the Vajrajāpakrama of the Pañcajākrama, ed. de La Vallée Poussin. For the clan names cf. Snellgrove, Hevajra-tantra, Part I, p. 128. The correspondence with sensory domains is part of a passage in Tson-kha-pa’s collected works, Vol. Ca (Lhasa ed.), “Dkaṭ gnad,” 46b-1 ff. While I explained the purity of the sensory domains as female appearances of the Buddhas, strictly speaking, according to the latter text, this viewpoint falls in the category “purity of insight (prajñā)” (T. šes rab kyi rnam dag); while this purity can be treated also as the five Buddhas themselves through the category “purity of means (upāya)” (T. thabs kyi rnam dag). In some contexts the correspondences with “Body” (last line in Table) are localized in the crown of the head rather than throughout the body. This is the case with the column “Superintendence,” where the normal order would be (1) body, (2) speech, (3) mind, (4) acts, and (5) merits, co-ordinated with crown of the head, and so on down to privities, associated respectively with the five germ syllables Om, Āḥ, Hūṃ, Svā-Hā. This set of correspondences is found in a Tantra (Tohoku Catalog No. 453), the Advayasamatāvijaya, Derge Kanjur, Rgyud Ḥbum, Cha, 240a-2 and 241a-1. While some of the above references are made to native Tibetan texts, there is no doubt that all these correspondences are drawn ultimately from the Tantras and Tantric commentaries originally in Sanskrit and translated into Tibetan as available in the Kanjur and Tanjur. For example, the correspondences of Buddhas to winds and bodily locations is found in Ratnarakṣita’s commentary called the Padmīti (Tohoku Catalog No. 1420), Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Wa, fol. 26. However, the native Tibetan works are sometimes more convenient sources for utilizing and understanding these materials. When correspondences found in these or other tests are inconsistent with the Table, this situation frequently
TABLE 1  
TANTRIC PATHS

Orthodox Explanation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TANTRA</th>
<th>CANDIDATES</th>
<th>DEITIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kriyā</td>
<td>Those who delight mainly in external ritual over inner samādhi.</td>
<td>Laughing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caryā</td>
<td>Those who delight in external ritual and inner samādhi equally.</td>
<td>Mutually gazing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoga</td>
<td>Those who delight predominantly in inner samādhi over external ritual.</td>
<td>Holding hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuttarayoga</td>
<td>Those who delight in inner samādhi completely.</td>
<td>United</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unorthodox Explanation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TANTRA</th>
<th>CANDIDATES</th>
<th>WASHING WITH VOIDNESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kriyā</td>
<td>Śrāvakas (auditors)</td>
<td>External washing purifies body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caryā</td>
<td>Pratyekabuddhas (=ṛṣīs, seers)</td>
<td>Inner washing purifies speech.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoga</td>
<td>Yogācārins (mind-only school)</td>
<td>Secret washing purifies mind.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuttarayoga</td>
<td>Mādhyamikas</td>
<td>Reality washing by diamond-like samādhi unifies body, speech, and mind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

harder to establish. There is obviously some arbitrariness; yet there do seem to be parallels. For example, in the case of Akṣobhya’s clan, water when untroubled (akṣobhya) serves as a mirror, hence the mirror-like knowledge. Regarding the association of perception (vijñāna) or mind (citta) with water, these are compared with the ocean or its waves and with a mirror in the Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra. Later we shall see that initiation (abhiseka) attended with “sprinkling” is performed under the auspices of the Buddha Akṣobhya, who is also the “ambrosia” urine. As to association with purity of sounds, this may be due to the fact that the water disk is located in the heart, where, in the Hindu terminology, is found the cakra Anāhata (the unstruck sound), that is to say, the place where sound is self-originated. For the corresponding candidate of hatred, this association is clarified in my work in press, Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra. This has to do with the uninterrupted character of the stream of consciousness, results from positing a Buddha other than Vairocana for the “center of the mandala” and thus according that other Buddha the “Knowledge of the Natural Realm (dharmadhātu).” Furthermore, a yogic attainment involving the movement of a “wind” from one center to another naturally changes the correspondences to bodily locations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAN NAME</th>
<th>BUDDHA</th>
<th>PERSONALITY AGGREGATE (SKANDHA)</th>
<th>KNOWLEDGE (PÑÑÄNA)</th>
<th>AMBROSIA (AMÑRTA)</th>
<th>SUPERINTENDENCE (ADHIßTHÄNA)</th>
<th>PURITY OF ELEMENT AND ITS BASE</th>
<th>PURITY OF SENSORY DOMAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vajra (thunderbolt or diamond)</td>
<td>Akṣobhya “The untroubled, one”</td>
<td>Perceptions (vijñåna)</td>
<td>Mirror-like</td>
<td>Urine</td>
<td>Mind (citta)</td>
<td>Water disk in heart</td>
<td>Sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratna (jewel)</td>
<td>Ratnasambhava “Source of jewels”</td>
<td>Feelings (vedanå)</td>
<td>Of equality</td>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>Merits (guñå)</td>
<td>Earth disk in privities</td>
<td>Odors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padma (lotus)</td>
<td>Amitåbha “Boundless light”</td>
<td>Ideas (saṃjñå)</td>
<td>Discriminative</td>
<td>Semen</td>
<td>Speech (våk)</td>
<td>Fire disk in throat</td>
<td>Tastes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khadga (sword), Karma (ritual action), or Samaya (pledge)</td>
<td>Amoghasiddhi “Unfailing success”</td>
<td>Motivations (samskåra)</td>
<td>Of the procedure of duty</td>
<td>Human flesh</td>
<td>Acts (karma)</td>
<td>Wind disk in navel</td>
<td>Tangibles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cakra (wheel), or Tathågata (thus-come)</td>
<td>Vairocana “The illuminator”</td>
<td>Form (råpa)</td>
<td>Of the natural realm (dharmanadhåtu)</td>
<td>Excrement</td>
<td>Body (kåya)</td>
<td>Space (åkåśå) throughout body</td>
<td>Forms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mystically called “hatred” by hostility to cause and effect. Another interpretation is found in Buddhaguhya’s commentary (extant in Tibetan) on the Mahāvairocana-sūtra (Chap. One), which among a long list of mentalities includes the “stream mentality” (chu bo’i sms). Buddhaguhya explains this one as independent of the two extremes, where the two are nihilism and eternalism, and that this mentality takes recourse to natures which avoid those two extremes. In this sense, the middle path of Buddhism is a “hatred” toward the extremes of nihilism or eternalism, of existence or non-existence. But Buddhaguhya also points out that the stream flows with dependence on the two extremes of eternalism and nihilism (in the sense of two banks). Further down the list, he comments on the “water mentality” (chu’i sms) as the one which adheres to washing off all unvirtuous thoughts. This water mentality is consistent with Akṣobhya’s initiatory water as well as with the mirror-like water that reflects the moon as it is.
Esotericism of the Buddhist Tantras begins with what are called the “three mysteries of the Buddha,” but these could also be translated the “three secrets of the Buddha”. As Padmavajra explains them in his *Tantrārthāvatāra* Commentary (Toh. 2502, Derge ed., 147a-2, ff.), the secret Body, Speech, and Mind of the Tathāgatas, are these:

- **Secret of Body:** Whatever form is necessary to tame the living beings.
- **Secret of Speech:** Speech exactly appropriate to the lineage of the creature, as in the language of the *yakṣa*-s, etc.
- **Secret of Mind:** Knowing all things as they really are.

Since the candidate aims to correlate his body, speech, and mind with those three of the Buddha, at once Padmavajra’s simple explanation shows the limitation of some Western expositions of the Tantra. For example, S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, devotes Chap. V (The Element of Esoteric Yoga) to the tantric theory of the body, claiming that this is the fundamental stress of the Buddhist tantrists, that they seek to find the truth along with perfect bliss in the body, on the basis of its arrangement of *cakra*-s and so on. Then Agehananda Bharati, *The Tantric Tradition*, has his longest chapter (also No. 5) on *mantra*, claiming that this is “the chief instrument of tantrism.” John Blofeld, *The Tantric Mysticism of Tibet* is on the right track with his brief section “The interplay of body, speech, and mind,” where the body does prostrations, makes gestures (*mudrā*), etc.; speech utters *mantra*-s; and the mind visualizes the deity.
As to the classification “secret,” I brought forth an explanation in the study included in this work, “Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras.” This is Ānandagarbha’s point that a tantric teaching is labelled “secret” when there is a restriction on teaching it to others. This sense of the word is deeply impressed on those who take the tantric initiations, especially the Hierophant’s Initiation (vajrācārya-abhiṣeka). It should be noted, as will be justified in my treatment of the meaning of initiation, that the mere assignment to a disciple of a single deity to meditate upon, along with praises of that deity to memorize and repeat—is not counted as “secret” in Ānandagarbha’s sense.

So far my reading in tantric texts has found no clearer light on the esoteric than is in the extensive commentary by that same Ānandagarbha (a prolific commentator on the Yoga Tantra class) entitled Śrī-Paramādi-ṭkā on the Tantra portion called Śrī-Paramādya-mantrakalpakhandā-nāma. Whereas D. L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, Part I, pp. 42-43, thinks that the Tantra he worked on is symbolizing the sexual act (maithuna), we shall learn—at least from Ānandagarbha—that the vocabulary of the sexual act is used to symbolize the secret, which is not the same as physical sex. At issue is a certain verse found in the Tantra (Tibetan Kanjur, PTT, Vol. 5, p. 172-3), which that Tantra prefaces by saying this is “the Reality of the hand symbol of Śrī-Paramādya.” I translate the verse as follows:

The great weapon of the great lord who has the supreme success (siddhi) that is great, is said to be the five-pronged thunderbolt which is the great reality of the five secrets.

Ānandagarbha’s extensive commentary on this verse (PTT. Vol. 73, p. 127-5 to p. 130), starts by explaining that the “supreme success” is the siddhi of Śrī-Vajrasattva (the glorious diamond being). The “great lord” is Mahāvajradhara. The great reality of the five secrets amounts to the (1) bodhicitta (mind of enlightenment), (2) understanding it, (3) its realization, (4) its non-abandonment, and (5) the knowledge characterized by attainment; and these are represented by five goddesses, who are “seals” (mudrā) arising from the Body, Speech, and Mind diamonds (vajra) of Mahāvajradhara. Observe that the source is again the “three mysteries of the Buddha.”

Now, the intriguing feature of this classification is what the commentary refers to as the “five secrets” (gsaṅ ba ltha). Why not call the goddesses “secret”, or the subsequent commentarial explanations! But, no, it is precisely what non-tantric Buddhist texts would take as a topic of open discourse, that this commentary decides to label “secret”—such things as the mind of enlightenment, understanding it, and so on! But what do
those five have in common to justify calling them “secret”? Only, that like the secret of female sex, they are inward, and so they can be represented by five goddesses.

Also, the commentary frequently speaks of the four goddesses, by leaving out Vajrasattva, who is ordinarily considered a male deity. However, his inclusion in the group of five can be justified by his dual nature of male-female, as will be shown by the explanation. I have made a tabulation from Ānandagarbha’s data, showing the five secrets along with the five goddess group and initial commentarial explanations—which should begin to clarify this matter.

Table 3
The Great Reality of Five Secrets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Five Secrets</th>
<th>Five “Goddess” Group</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bodhicitta (mind of enlightenment)</td>
<td>Vajrasattva (Diamond being)</td>
<td>Who has both the great pleasure and the unwasted vañra (diamond).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Understanding it</td>
<td>Rāgavajrā (Diamond of passion)</td>
<td>Who pleases Vajrasattva’s mind so he will not swerve from the Thought of Enlightenment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Its realization</td>
<td>Vajrakılıkila (Diamond joyful utterance)</td>
<td>The basic pledge to arouse attachment to the great pleasure and unwasted vañra.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Its non-abandonment</td>
<td>Vajrasmṛti (Diamond memory)</td>
<td>She is “Diamond memory” because unshattered by victory over lust, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The knowledge characterized by attainment</td>
<td>Vajrakāmeśvari (Diamond queen of desires)</td>
<td>She, the “Diamond queen of desires” is the sensory objects that are materialized by the lord Vajrasattva.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It follows from the explanation of Vajrasattva that his inclusion in the five goddess group is simply because he has the “great pleasure” which must be counted as female in contrast with the “unwasted vañra” which is male. This is the closest this literature comes to the “passive-active” polarity. It is because Vajrasattva is androgyne that both men and women can practice the Tantras as yogins and yoginis.

Furthermore, Ānandagarbha (op. cit. p. 129-3) identifies the set of four goddesses with Tathāgatās in the sense that each goddess confers the diadem initiation going with the family (or lineage) of that Tathāgata.

Rāgavajrā — Akṣobhya
Kilikilā — Ratnasambhava
Vajrasmṛti — Amitābha
Vajrakāmeśvari — Amoghasiddhi
Subsequently Ānandagarbha (op. cit., p. 130-2, 3) refers to this group of four as the “secret manḍala” (gsan ba'i dkyil 'khor); calls this the “city of liberation”; and says the word “secret” in this manḍala context means that the body of the lord dwells amidst the set of diamond goddesses. He means that Vajrasattva is surrounded by the four goddesses. In this case, the word “secret” again has a sexual meaning, now referring to the privacy of the queen harem. But it is not the sexual language which is secret, rather what it symbolizes. The real secret is that the mind of enlightenment (the bodhicitta) has enticed the four lovers called “understanding it,” “its realization,” “its non-abandonment,” and “the knowledge characterized by attainment.” And a further secret is that the “mind of enlightenment” itself contains another lover called “great pleasure.” This, then, is the spiritual orgy, along with the magical song and instrumental music, the flowers and incense (op. cit., 130-1, 2).

The critic of the Tantras could now object, urging a uselessness of such sexual symbolism. He could say that it is a fine thing to have the mind of enlightenment, the understanding of it, and so on; but is it not a kind of charade to take each element of the unquestionably spiritual ascension and disguise it with the rich vocabulary of goddesses, offerings, and the like, so the commentarial discussion gets bogged down in the goddess discussion rather than in the more legitimate discourse on the understanding, etc. of the mind of enlightenment! The answer is that some Buddhist non-tantric books do exactly what this critic would enjoin. They treat the mind of enlightenment and further elements of the Bodhisattva path without any tantric terminology. A good example is the Daśabhūmika-sūtra (the scripture on the ten stages of the Bodhisattva). An intelligent scholar, Har Dayal, upon studying this kind of literature for a London doctoral thesis, wrote The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. This shows that one can also become bogged down in non-tantric terminology, because in the end the learned author labelled the Bodhisattva practice a “Doctrines”. But the Tantras have a premise that the actual pursuance by the Bodhisattva of his enlightenment goal is akin to sex. That is to say, the understanding of the mind of enlightenment is a lover. And because this goddess loves Vajrasattva’s mind of enlightenment, he, enchanted by her love, does not swerve from this Thought of Enlightenment.

In my forthcoming Yoga of the Guhyasamādžatantra I have cited the explanation of Lilavajra (the teacher of Buddhasrijña) about three kinds of “secrets”: The first, the “self-existent”, is a secret element located in the stream of consciousness, certainly by the commentarial indications to be identified with the “embryo of the Tathāgata”, the potentiality of Buddhahood. The second is the “pregnant” (sbras pa), and this is the kind which is conferred by the guru when the disciple is initiated; that is, when the disciple is prepared through initiation, the tantric secrets become in the
disciple the “pregnant”. The third, the profound, is conferred by oneself. Here again the terminology of “secret” brings in the female element, first with the seed in her, next with her pregnancy, and last with the profundity of insight (the goddess).

Tson-kha-pa’s Sbas don (p. 11-5 to 12-1) presents a list of seven topics which should not be made clear to persons who do not have lineage in this (tantric) vehicle. He says the list is taken from Lva-ba-pa’s commentary (presumably Toh. No. 1401, the Sādhanaṇidāna-śricakrasaṃvara-nāmapaṇījikā) and is practically the same as the list in the Sampujottara (in fact, PTT. Vol. 2, p. 283-3,4). He slightly expands each item of the seven, as follows:

1. The secret domain of reality, i.e. the domain of the prajñā which is reality.
2. The secret circle of the Victor, i.e. the circle of deities.
3. The secret “pregnant” truth, i.e. as in the Sampujottara, the illustrious pregnant things.
4. The secret which is the secret lotus, i.e. the lotus in the mūla-cakra as well as the lotus of the mudrā.
5. The secret delight by the seed, i.e. the delight engendered from the dripping of bodhicitta from the HAM syllable at the crown of the head.
6. The secret which is combining all, i.e. combining the secrets of vajra and lotus, etc.
7. The secret uninterrupted bliss, i.e. entering the single uninterrupted taste of both the objective reality and the subjective.

This appears to be a comprehensive list of items which should not be made clear to immature, i.e. uninitiated persons, who do not have the vows and pledges going with the higher initiations. Explaining these items to such persons constitutes the seventh fundamental transgression among the fourteen (cf. Mkhas grub rje’s, pp. 328-29)—the one which is called “mountains”.

Tson-kha-pa (Sbas don, p. 12-1) goes on to set forth what is meant by explaining such secrets and says that there are two ways of explaining—one according to the “hinted meaning” (neyārtha, draṇ ba’i don), the other according to the “evident meaning” (nītārtha, ņes pa’i don). For an example of how Nāro-pāḍa explains in both ways, see the later essay (chap. 10) on Tantric Ritual.

It should be clear from the above that a Buddhist Tantra is not just a series of secrets. In fact, most of those secret topics appertain to the body of tantric literature called the Anuttarayoga Tantra; and even in the works of this class one could find many statements that do not fit—at least on the
surface—among these “secrets”. Still, it is reasonable that the Anuttara-yoga Tantra should contain so much material to be labelled “secret” because the foregoing chapter on Analogical Thinking shows that this Tantra division is meant for candidates “who delight in inner samādhi completely,” and the “secrets” of this chapter are mainly those which are oriented inward and so have the secrecy, metaphorically, of the female sex.

With this new light on the “secrets” it would be profitable for the reader to have an evaluation of the book, S. B. Dasgupta, An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism. The author had utilized a number of Sanskrit manuscripts of Buddhist Tantras belonging to the Anuttarayoga class. Therefore, he found abundant information on such matters as the cakra-s in the body and what he calls the “sexo-yogic practice.” In fact, he generally favored the kind of data which reminded him of the Hindu Tantra and which he could therefore relate to his previous knowledge. Naturally, all his extracts are valid passages, even though, as the present researches show, the continuous line of teachers provides a somewhat different approach than what one can obtain by unguided random selection. His work is mistitled, because it is certainly not “an introduction to Tantric Buddhism.” But when he included much of the material of this book in his more mature work, Obscure Religious Cults, the material cannot be criticized that way, because now there is no misrepresentation of constituting an “introduction.”

If not those tantric “secrets” themselves, one thing should be clear: the sexual symbolism is not intended to dismay the unworthy, or to throw anyone off the track in an effort to conceal a secret. Rather, as symbolism should be, it is intimately related, as a kind of metaphorical extension, to the very facts pointed to by the symbolism. In ordinary human terms, it is no secret to anyone that he or she is a sexual being in the sense of having sexual attributes; a person does not have to be told this. But a woman does not know the secret of her mysterious processes for bringing a new life into the world, simply by having them. Someone has to tell her about them. She could be told that in India the intrauterine processes were calculated by ten lunar months, which appear to have been the prototype of the ten Bodhisattva stages. More generally, to the extent something is concealed because it is internal, it is not known simply by reason of its possession. Here again, the sexual symbolism is not the secret. The disciple does not know the tantric secrets, even though they are within him; and so the guru is absolutely essential to guide the disciple to knowledge, the disciple’s own insight (prajñā). The disciple develops this in the sequence of hearing, pondering, and cultivating, while becoming a “fit vessel” (snod ruñ, in Tibetan). Such is the meaning of coordinating his body, speech, and mind to the “three mysteries of the Buddha.”

However, it might be asked if it is not the case that the tantric texts
themselves are secret. There is little doubt that the main texts in the revealed sense, now preserved in Tibetan translation in the Kanjur, were handed down for some centuries orally; and this sort of transmission ensured a restriction to an esoteric group. But the principal texts, usually in verse (śloka) form for memorizing purposes, were not strictly secret to the masses of people, but were unknown or inconsequential to them. Down the centuries, there would have been a relatively small number of persons who sought the tantric “secrets” and were turned down. These tantric texts were positively secret to the very persons who memorized them, if memorizing is all they did with those texts. The reason is that the Tantra is essentially a practice, for which directions are required. A text giving such directions is not sufficiently detailed when written in the traditional Indian form of summary verses. Therefore, the guru had to add commentarial explanations. He would fill in those necessary details omitted by the basic texts, and fill them in for the disciples who had been conferred the necessary initiations and taken the vows. His explanations were thus secret in the sense that they could be withheld, but the basic texts had the secrecy of obscurity, just as any manual, on whatever topic, would be obscure if written in too abbreviated a form to permit anyone to follow through with the necessary actions.

Of course, now certain Buddhist tantric texts have become more available to Westerners. The Sanskrit text of the Guhyasamājatantra was edited and published. The Hevajratantra was edited and translated into English. In this sense they are not secret in the sense of being withheld from the reader. But they are still secret, if one can believe the commentators, in that reading these Tantras still conveys little of what the tantrists themselves are doing in the drawn-out rites, with their multitude of details, chanting, and so on; and little to imagine of what the best commentaries have to say in amplification of the individual words. In the case of a tantric text, it will always be a mistake for any reader to think that his proven intelligence (by university degrees and the like) or his proven intuition (by life experience and the like) will enable him to penetrate the meaning of a basic Buddhist Tantra text, because the meaning is in the doing of it, and there is no substitute for someone showing how to do it. That someone of course is the guru.
II

FOUNDATIONS OF THE BUDDHIST TANTRA
Just as the milk of lioness
Is not to be put in a vessel of earth,
So also the Great Yoga Tantra is
Not to be given to unworthy vessels.

Abhayākara’s Vajrāvāla, Sec. 50
For the numerous deities of the Buddhist Tantras, the best descriptive coverage is in Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. The luxurious growth of these cults is bewildering in complexity. Therefore, some general explanations of a unifying type are in order.

Nāro-pāda, in his *Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā* (PTT. Vol. 54, p. 11-2), inaugurates his deity chapter by two citations to explain the word “divinity” (*devatā*). The (*Kālacakra* work) *Vimalaprabhā* states: Because conventional ecstasy has arisen in the body’s nature of five elements, one speaks of “divinity.” And the *Śrī-Vajrāṃṛta-tantra* states: Why does one speak of “divinity”? In the body is located the body possessor; in order to comprehend, there is the “comprehender”; in order to comprehend oneself, there is divinity. For that reason, one speaks of “divinity”.

Nāro-pāda explains divinity in terms of the one who achieved ecstasy in the body (the co-natal joy) and who comprehended, i.e. was enlightened. He implies the Buddha under the title “Tathāgata”, because this is the source of all the Buddhist Tantric deities, or the dominion in which they serve. Mkhas grub rje, in his commentary on the *Hevajratantra* called briefly the *Brtag 'grel* (Lhasa Collected Works, Vol. Ja, folio 104a-3, ff.), has a useful exposition, which I shall further summarize and partially paraphrase as follows:

(a) *Meaning of the expression “Tathāgata”*. The Tathāgata has the two collections, of Knowledge (*jñāna*) and of Merit (*puṇya*). Through Knowledge, i.e. the Insight (*prajñā*) indissoluble from Thusness (*tathatā*), he has gone into the single taste of Thusness. Through Merit, he has come (*āgata*), i.e. returned from Thusness, to the cycle of existence (*samsāra*)
with the formal body (rūpa-kāya). Accordingly, he is called “tathāgata” (“thus-gone,” “thus-come”).

(b) Families (kula) of the Tathāgata. All the diverse appearances of the Tathāgata can be grouped in families, frequently spoken of as six kinds, namely, Vajra, Tathāgata, Ratna, Padma, Karma, and Vajrasattva families, because whatever the Buddhist deity, it can always be counted or included in these families. (Here the terminology “Tathāgata family” is differentiated from the over-all Tathāgata in the manner explained in Mkhas grub rje’s). By incorporating the Vajrasattva into the Vajra family, there are five. If the Ratna family is incorporated into the Tathāgata family, the result is the “Thunderbolt of Body” (kāya-vajra). If the Karma family is incorporated into the Padma family, the result is the “Thunderbolt of Speech” (vāg-vajra). The Vajra family is separately taken as the “Thunderbolt of Mind” (citta-vajra). The deities are grouped into five families because they are the purity of the five elements of the body (cf. Nāro-pāda’s above remark) and the purity of the five personality aggregates (skandha). They are also reduced to three families because the practitioner’s stream of elements (samsātana) have the threefold grouping of body, speech, and mind, which the tantric path aims to coordinate with the Buddha’s three mysteries of Body, Speech, and Mind.

(c) The progenitors of the Buddha families. The names of the Buddha progenitors common to the Buddhist Tantras are Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amoghasiddhi, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Vajrasattva. Furthermore, certain Buddhist Tantras replace those names with others. For example, the Hevajratantra has the appellations Brahmā, etc. Mkhas grub rje explains the progenitors in terms of those names as follows:

The Buddha Vairocana is called Brahmā. The Tibetan saṁs rgyas translates the Sanskrit “Buddha”. Because he enters the elimination of defilement, he establishes the part of freedom from defilement. Moreover, the Tibetan tshaṅs pa (Brahmā) is equivalent to entrance into Nirvāṇa; hence the name is used with the meaning of “Nirvāṇa of no fixed abode” (apraṭiṣṭhitaniṁśvāna).

Akṣobhya is called Viṣṇu. The reason for using this term is that Akṣobhya establishes the “Dharmadhātu knowledge” and by means of this knowledge enters the reality of the intrinsic nature (svabhāva) which pervades all things.

Amoghasiddhi is named Śiva, because through the nature of “knowledge of the procedure of duty” (kṛtyānuṣṭhāna-jñāna) he continually provides all sentient beings with mundane and supramundane goods.

The term Sarva is used for Ratnasambhava because, through his “equality-knowledge” (samatā-jñāna), he establishes in this equality the full comprehension of the nature of all things.
Amitābha is referred to by Tattva, because he establishes the part of “discriminative knowledge” (pratyavekṣana-jñāna) which comprehends reality (tattva), and with sublime joy is like the sky. Vajrasattva is termed Vibuddha (“expanded”) because he has expanded to the states of the “great co-natal joy” (sahajānanda) while fully comprehending them.

Mkhas grub rje broadens this explanation of Vajrasattva to apply to all the other Buddha-progenitors as well. Of course, the term “co-natal” means “born in the body” (dehe saṃbhavati; cf. Hevajratantra, I, v. 14).

The meaning of the Buddhas as progenitors is further illustrated by placing various elements of the path under their respective dominion. For example, Tson-kha-pa’s Shags rim chen mo (Peking blockprint, 365b-3, ff.) cites a number of works and explains the six members of the Stage of Generation (utpatti-krama) in the Anuttara-Yoga Tantra. In my summary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEMBER</th>
<th>THROUGH WHICH FAMILY</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>REASON FOR THE FAMILY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Vairocana</td>
<td></td>
<td>Contemplation of the palace which is the Buddhas’ dwelling.</td>
<td>Because he is the nature of the material aggregate (rūpa-skandha) of the Tathāgatas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Vajrasattva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Passion towards the divine Father-Mother, after generating the symbolic circle (samaya-cakra) by means of the five Manifest Enlightenments (abhisamādhyā) and then generating the knowledge circle (jñāna-cakra).</td>
<td>Because that is the meaning of the lord who has passion in order to produce “materializations” (nirmita) from the bodhi-citta of the Father-Mother pairs of the retinue deities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Akṣobhya</td>
<td></td>
<td>Initiation (abhigāya), conferred by the eight “wisdom goddesses” (viḍyā)</td>
<td>Because he is the essence of the water initiation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Amitābha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Enjoyment of the ambrosia (amṛta).</td>
<td>Because he is the “Thunderbolt of Speech,” which satiates.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Offerings.</td>
<td>Because he is the progenitor of the Karma family, and hence has power over offerings to the Buddhas, and actions for the sake of the living beings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Ratnasambhava</td>
<td></td>
<td>Praises.</td>
<td>Because praise is the expounding of merits; and at the time of arising of merits of Body, Speech, and Mind, Ratnasambhava is those merits.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Besides identification with male deities, as in the Hevajratantra with the names Brahmā, etc., sometimes the Buddhas appear in the form of goddesses. Among these goddesses the ones (frequently in fierce form) that the Tibetans especially invoked for occult results (siddhi) are often called ḍākīnī. Among these lines, Tsön-kha-pa (Sbas don, PTT ed., p. 4-3,4) cites the Tantra “Ocean of ḍākinīs” for an identification of the six stages of yoga of the Stage of Completion (saṃpanna-krama) in the Anuttarayoga Tantra, with six of the ḍākinīs among the eight doorkeepers in the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala. I shall complete the table with materials drawn from my forthcoming Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra, which has full justification for this data, unavoidably given here in the most abbreviated form.

**TABLE 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MEMBER</th>
<th>ḍākinī</th>
<th>NAME OF MEMBER</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>She the Crow-Faced</td>
<td>pratyāhāra (&quot;withdrawal&quot;)</td>
<td>Withdrawal, i.e. interiorization of the ten sense bases (five personal and five objective).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>She the Owl-Faced</td>
<td>dhyāna (&quot;meditation&quot;)</td>
<td>Meditation on the nature of the five Tathāgatas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>She the Dog-Faced</td>
<td>prāṇāyāma (&quot;control of the winds&quot;)</td>
<td>Control of the winds in five colors, with diamond muttering (vajrajāpa).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>She the Boar-Faced</td>
<td>dhāranā (&quot;retention&quot;)</td>
<td>The five signs, mirage, etc., with purification of mind (cittaviśuddhi) and personal blessing (svādhīśīdāna).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>She, Yama’s Messenger</td>
<td>anusmṛti (&quot;recollection&quot;)</td>
<td>Recollection, so as to proceed in the reverse order, with Revelation-Enlightenment (abhisambodhi).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>She, Yama’s Cremation Ground</td>
<td>samādhi (&quot;consummation&quot;)</td>
<td>The consummation of knowledge, with yuganaddha, the pair-united.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The passage from the “Ocean of ḍākinīs” continues, taking care of the last two goddesses: “She, Yama’s Tusk, achieves the wide-spread firmness; She, Yama’s Annihilation, engenders the entire fruit and liberates from saṃsāra.” (Yama is the Lord of the dead, in Indian mythology).

This defic identification of elements of the path is further demonstrated in my essay “Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace” as well as in the essay “Five-fold ritual symbolism of passion.”
The guru as a divinity

The identification with divinity is also performed in the case of the guru, for which the Vajrapānyabhishēka-mahātantra (as cited in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s Lam rim chen mo) provides the basic position:

Master of the Secret Folk, how should a disciple look upon his preceptor? As though upon the Lord Buddha. The mind of him so disposed incessantly generates merits; he becomes a Buddha bringing benefit to all the worlds... One should hold to the preceptor’s virtues, and never hold to his faults. If one holds to virtues, he attains success; if one holds to faults, he attains failure.

However, this brings up the problem of what constitutes the spiritual teacher. For example, the brief tantric scripture, Śrī-Mahākha-tantrarāja (Derge Kanjur, Rgyud 'bum, Ga, 203a-6) states: “It is said that there are two kinds of gurus—that external guru himself; and the inner guru, the presiding deity (dbag po'i lha).” The presiding deity is defined by Ānandagarbha in his great commentary, the Śrī-Paramāḍīṭikā (Toh. 2512, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, I, 22a-3): “One’s presiding deity is kāmādeva. The conviction that his diamonds of body, speech, and mind are one’s own—with a praxis that it is really so—is the meaning of yoga.” The “presiding deity” appears to mean the same as the “tutelary deity” (iṣṭa-devatā), or the deity which the disciple serves with daily devotions and enshrines in the heart.

The inner guru is further differentiated in a suggestion of Buddhakāśīñānapāda’s Mukti-tilaka-nāma (PTT, Vol. 65, p. 24-4) in the text line, “the superior three speakers who teach that way.” Vitapāda’s commentary on that line in the Mukti-tilaka-nāma-vyākhyāna (PTT, Vol. 65, p. 135-2,3) explains the words “who teach that way” as meaning: who teach the nature of the indestructible mark (mi šigs pa'i thig le; Skt., amata-tilaka, or aksata-bindu) as co-natal (sahaja) (i.e. in the heart). The commentary explains the inner kind as three gurus: the great basic teacher (rgyu'i slob dpon chen po), the conditional teacher (rkyen gyi slob dpon), and the co-natal teacher (iḥan cig skyes pa'i slob dpon). He quotes a work called the Rin chen phreṅ ba žes bya ba'i de kho na ŋid in amplification of these terms:

The one acting as the teacher purifying one’s own stream of consciousness in the sequence of the shared (sādhāraṇa), unshared (asādhāraṇa), abiding in pledges (samaya), water, etc. is the great basic teacher.

The great goddess who purifies the field in one’s own stream of consciousness by sporting together with that (great basic teacher) and by sixteen parts—is explained to be the conditional teacher.
One’s own mind (*citta*) when given permission by that (conditional teacher) is the co-natal teacher because of the co-natal blessing and because of comprehending the co-natal joy.

The commentary goes on to explain that those are “superior” because they surpass other gurus. In further explanation, it appears that the first of the three is the tutelary deity serving as the focus for the disciple’s adherence to practices shared with non-tantric Buddhism and other Tantras, practices not so shared but special to the cult of that deity, pledges along the way, initiations of water and so forth. That in time this service of the first kind of guru awakens the great goddess who takes the disciple through various yoga experiences, sometimes stated with sixteen parts (cf. my essay on the inner zodiac). Finally, that one’s own mind is the third guru, comprising the union of the tutelary deity and the great goddess (often called yab-yum by the Tibetan term). This is a form of divine pride (*devatā-garva*), necessary for the quick path of Tantra.

**Classifications of Divinity**

Moreover, the multitude of minor deities are incorporated in the Buddha families by the manner of speaking that those deities are “seals” (*mudrā*) of the Buddha families. Thus, when the performer identifies himself with a deity, his hand gesture (*mudrā*) can be taken as the deity. In the evocation procedure, there is a developmental order of the deity as a syllable (*akṣara*), then as a hand symbol (*cihna*), and finally as a deific body. More fully, Buddhabhuhya in his *Dhyānottara-paññala-ṭikā* (PTT. Vol. 78, p. 75-4) sets forth three main kinds of divinity to be contemplated, and he further breaks them down into varieties, which we tabulate as follows:

| TABLE 6
| NATURE OF DIVINITY |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| CONSISTING OF FORMAL BODY (*rūpa-kāya*) | CONSISTING OF SOUND | OF ABSOLUTE KIND (*pāramarthika*) |
| (1) Shaped with eye, etc. and corporal members. | (1) Consisting of letters. | (1) Nature of *dharma-dhātu*. |
| (2) Consisting of *mudrā*. | (2-a) Consisting of expressed sound of whispered, etc. recitation that is generated by palate, lips, etc. | (2) Nature of nondiscursive knowledge with non-apperception of meditative object. |
| | (2-b) Consisting of mental recitation of general *mantras*. | |
| | (2-c) Consisting of the imagination equivalent to beings (*sattra*) from respective *mantra* letters. | |
The 2-b category is also referred to as “diamond words” (vajrapada), described as soundless (lips shut), hence mental, for example, in Śrīvijñānakīrti’s commentary on Maṇjuśrī-nāmasaṅgiti (PTT. Vol. 75, p. 55-1).

Another type of classification, overlapping the foregoing one, is found in Padmavajra’s work, the Vāhikaṭṭikā-nāma (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 29b-1, ff.). Here the organization is in terms of the Bodies of the Buddha. In the oldest classification, these are the Dharmakāya and the Rūpakāya. Later the Rūpakāya further divides into the Sambhogakāya and the Nirmāṇakāya, which are standard in the Mahāyāna. Some Mahāyāna sects added a fourth one called the Mahāsūkhakāya. This is Padmavajra’s statement:

Those deities who are born by transformation have a body belonging to the Nirmāṇakāya, on which account, among the four bodies, Dharma, Sambhoga, Nirmāṇa, and Mahāsūkha, three have varieties.

Among them, the Nirmāṇakāya is the gods born by transformation. The Dharmakāya is the set of planets, asterisms (nakṣatra), etc. The Sambhogakāya is the two-footed (divinities); and the Nirmāṇakāya is like the Sambhogakāya in this respect.

The Nirmāṇakāya is the gods who range in the palace. The Sambhogakāya is those (yogins) with samāpatti in the initial samādhi (prathamasamādhi). The Dharmakāya is those who have transcended the ecstasy.

Besides, it is explained by the Dharmakāya: Whatever the gods dwelling in the wind and viṭṭha (i.e. viṭṭha riding on the winds), their non-apperception is the Dharmakāya. Moreover, those with samāpatti (meditational equipoise) in the three samādhis are the Sambhogakāya. Those who mutually gaze by reason of habit-energy of adhering to the idea of “mine”, are the Nirmāṇakāya.

Likewise, it is explained by knowledge: The non-oozing ecstasy of dwelling in the Akaniṣṭha (heaven), is the Dharmakāya. Those with the ecstasy of frequently tasting the Dharma in introspection, are the Sambhogakāya. Those who are self-originated by reason of a former vow, but do not know it, are the Nirmāṇakāya.

All these can be taken as an explanation of Buddhaguhya’s category of absolute deity, first kind: nature of dharmadhātu. These can also be discussed by the terminology of “three sattvas,” for which see Mkhas grub rje’s.

Besides, one can expand upon the absolute divinity of Buddhaguhya’s variety referred to as “non-discursive knowledge.” Tson-kha-pa’s Sngags
PLATE 4. Mahāvajradhara.
rim chen mo at folio 37b-2 cites the commentary on the Samppuṭa by Dpa’ bo rdo rje (*Sūravajra) that there are three levels of non-discursive ecstasy. The first is based on sound (the sound of laughter), which in mystical experience is referred to as “hearing the Lord”. The second is based on sight (seeing the form of the deity) therefore “seeing the Lord”. The third is based on touch (as when the deity and consort hold hands or unite), and would be later described as “touching the Lord”. In fact, this section of the Shāgs rim chen mo thereby establishes the division of four Tantras in terms of the role of the deities of the Tantra. That is to say, the Kriyā Tantra has the deities laughing; the Cāryā Tantra, the deities mutually gazing; the Yoga Tantra, the deities holding hands; the Anuttarayoga Tantra, the deities in union.

The Ādi Buddha

Finally, there is the Primordial Buddha, or the final perfection of divinity, the composite of all Buddhas, called Vajradhara (Holder of the Diamond), and also Vajrasattva (Diamond Being), Samantabhadra (Entirely Auspicious—the Vow of Enlightenment), or Kālacakra (wheel of Time). Vajradhara is sometimes depicted in union with the Goddess, and sometimes by himself, as in the illustration.

In explanation of Mahāvajradhara, the Gūhyasamājatantra (Chap. XVII, p. 135) has the verse:

Then Vajradhara, the Teacher, who is bowed to by all the Buddhas, best of the three diamonds, best of the great best, supreme lord of the three diamonds . . .

And the Explanatory Tantra Vajramālā (PTT. Vol. 3, p. 229) states:

Vajradhara is explained as endowed with the profound and far-reaching; the Diamond Being (vajrasattva), best of those with two (legs); who is master of destroying and benefitting.

As to the Gūhyasamāja verse (XVII, 39), the Pradipoddyotana (PTT. Vol. 158, p. 154-3) states in part that the three diamonds are the diamonds of Body, Speech, and Mind in the case of “supreme lord of the three diamonds”. Tson-kha-pa’s Mchon-'grel explains the “lord of body”: displays simultaneously innumerable materializations of body; “lord of speech”: teaches the Dharma simultaneously to boundless sentient beings each in his own language; “lord of mind”: understands all the knowable which seems impossible. Hence, these are the “three mysteries” of the Buddha. The Vajramālā verse stresses Vajradhara in human form as Vajrasattva, the chief hierophant.
PREPARATION OF DISCIPLES; THE MEANING OF INITIATION

By "preparation of disciples" is meant their preparation to evoke deities—a process frequently called in Sanskrit sādhana; and this is to be distinguished from the initiation of disciples. Thus there are two parts to the present essay, exhibited textually toward the end of the present work with "Outline of the Thob Yig Gsal Baḥi Me Loṅ," because Chapter 4 of the outlined treatise treats the lineages of permission to evoke deities, and its subsequent Chapter 5 treats initiation and shows that Mantrayāna begins with initiation.

Preparation of Disciples for Evocation of Deities

It is well known that Tibetan monks meditate upon a wide variety of deities. Many of these gods and goddesses are depicted upon the temple banners called Tankas, of which a goodly number have found their way into Western museums as well as into private homes. The Sanskrit word for these evocations is sādhana, translated into Tibetan as sgrub thabs (pronounced drewp top). Westerners invariably want to know the meaning of these deities and their accompanying incantations (mantra), in Tibetan sngags, pronounced ngok: and would be surprised to learn that they do not have such and such meanings in the Western sense of intellectual understanding. Their meanings arise through the regular practice and service of the deity. Nevertheless, there are some general remarks that can be made about such practices.

The Sanskrit books available on these subjects convey meager informa-
tion. This is because the collection of sādhanas contain only the bare description of the deity. These tiny treatises may start out by saying that out of the void appears such and such a germ syllable, which changes into a such and such, upon which a certain deity is imagined with so many heads and arms, with certain symbols in the right hands and certain ones in the left hands, and so on. Separate books contain general instructions about such evocations, and of course the guru or master supplies all the instructions that were missing in the book. The Tibetan manuals are superior to the former Indian ones, in that all the literary instructions concerning a particular evocation are brought together into one book.

An essential ingredient of every evocation of a deity is that the candidate must get permission. Here the Sanskrit word is anujñā, Tibetan rjes gnang (“je nang”). The theory of “permission” is stated in Mkhas grub rje’s Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras. Unavoidably, the permission to evoke a deity comes from the deity itself, especially in auspicious dreams. The master acts as an intermediary in conferring the permission. In practice, the way this is done is for the master to generate himself into the deity, and then, as the deity, to grant permission to the disciples. That is one reason why the disciple is supposed to look upon the guru as a Buddha, to never dwell upon his faults, but only on his virtues. This is not to imply that the guru is actually a Buddha, but only that by so regarding the guru, the latter is able to function in the role of conferring this all-essential permission and the consequent initiations.

The first Lcang skya Hutukhtu of Peking, Ngagdbang Blo-bzang-chos-ltan, wrote a little treatise entitled, Spyi hgrohi rjes gnang gi bṣad pa (“Explanation of the general permission”), meaning the mandatory preliminary attitude to be engendered. The disciples having bathed and approached respectfully the master, imploring him for the “permission”, he tells them some of the basic Buddhist teachings. For example, how difficult it is to attain human birth among the various destinies, good and bad; and then the fortunate circumstances of finding the teacher. Thus, with aspiration for enlightenment and liberation, they must embrace the Illustrious Doctrine. Then, about the two vehicles, the non-tantric and the tantric. Having taken those precepts to heart, the candidates are convinced that by relying on such and such a tutelary deity or such and such a protector of the religion, they (the candidates) will keep a fortunate condition, free from the untoward states (of being born when or where there is no teacher, and so on). The candidates go on to imagine that in the sky in front of the offerings, it is as though a vast cloud of the tutelary deity, the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, protectors of the religion, fairies, and so on, were condensing. Before that throng, the candidates take refuge in the Three Jewels, confess their sins long accumulated, rejoice in the virtues accumulated by themselves and others, and, for the sake of the sentient
beings, pray for the "permission" of such and such a tutelary deity or protector of the religion. The master has the candidates repeat key sentences after him. Then, in order to reveal the manḍala and vivify the basis of the permission, the disciples are generated into deity.

The way in which this "permission" is granted is especially shown in the Tibetan ritual of the goddess Uṣṇīṣhavijayā as found in the four-volume collection of sādhanas called the Rin lhan. I once studied this text in the East Asiatic Library, University of California. Here we find that the master first generates himself into the goddess Uṣṇīṣhavijayā with her retinue of eight deities. This has the two phases of generation of self into deity and generation of deity in front, which are described extensively in Mḥas grub rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras. The Rin lhan text first sets forth the "permission of body", which concerns the bodies, small, large, and infinite, of the Lordess Uṣṇīṣhavijayā and of her retinue. Then it portrays the "permission of speech", which concerns the vow to hold the Lordess as the protective deity. Finally, it tells the "permission of mind," which concerns the installation of the Lordess's body, only the length of a finger, in the heart. Naturally, those three kinds of permission each have a well-defined ritual side too complex to go into now.

It is clear that the process of evocation and of granting permission is somewhat advanced, particularly in the demands upon the imaginative ability of the master and the disciples. From ancient times, Buddhism classified candidates in terms of keen faculty, medium faculty, and inferior faculty. Certainly, there is a preceding training for the disciple. Of this, the theory of Buddhist meditation has much to say.

For example, Mr. Norbu loaned me the first folios of a work entitled Rgyal baḥi bstan skyong gYu Grags gnis kyi sgrub thabs dang ḫbred baḥi rjes gnam bya tshul. The title means: "Method of performing the evocation of the two protectors of the religion called (in short) gYu and Grags, along with the associated permission." The title suggests that this book will show the procedure by which the master evokes the two deities, first Rdo rje gYu sgron ma ("She the diamond turquoise lamp") and next, Rdo rje Grags rgyal ma ("She the diamond fame victory"); and then, how he confers the permission of those two deities upon the disciples, somewhat along the lines delineated above. We find at the outset an introductory statement that there are three parts to the method of performing the evocation and associated permission. All rituals are similarly divided, into (a) initial praxis, or preliminaries; (b) the main part of the rite; (c) concluding acts. The evocation and permission are counted as the main part of the rite.

Mr. Norbu called my attention to a word which occurs near the beginning of this work. It is written tsa-ka-li, and he explains that it means these certain miniature paintings, on which I am presently writing a book based
on the manuscripts of the late Professor F. D. Lessing of Berkeley. Naturally, the master cannot be expected to carry around with him those large tankas which hang in the temples. For the purposes of permission and initiation of the disciple, the miniature serves handily. It must be carefully prepared to depict correctly the manner in which the particular deity is to be contemplated. Hence this kind of painting is made with especially fine details and with vivid coloring. In fact, the text in question mentions this word in connection with (a) the initial praxis. Here we find that on a platform in front, the performer arranges various offerings and adornments for the deity, including the tsa-ka-li, which, as I understand the sentence, is adorned with arrow and silk.¹

After Mr. Norbu pointed out that word tsa-ka-li, I soon had the luck of finding the expression in a text of the Tanjur (the commentarial Tibetan canon). Those who have read the translation, Mkhas grub rje’s Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, will have gained some idea of the difference between the four classes of Buddhist Tantra. They will know that the Indian writer Ānandagarbha (in Tibetan, Kun-du-gaṅ-shing-po) was a celebrated commentator on the third class of Tantra called the Yogatantrya, which itself is divided up into four sections. Of these sections, the one called “Purification of Evil Destiny” is especially interesting on the commentarial side, and Ānandagarbha has written a commentary on it, in which I happened to find the word, though here it was transcribed into Tibetan letters as tsak-ka-li.

Let me translate Ānandagarbha’s key sentence: “Besides, there is a condition (rkyen) for generating those mantras; one both arranges them in the mind and arranges the tsak-ka-li of body.” This shows that in order to effectuate the incantations, there is a simultaneous or parallel process in the mind and in the external world. In the mind the incantations are arranged, and in the external world the symbolic representations of the deity are arranged. It might be thought that those external representations, such as the miniature paintings, are serving as meditation props, helping the performer to visualize the particular deity or deities. This is certainly a valid function, but Ānandagarbha intends something more than that. To see the point, one should ascertain how this particular meditation fits into the general theory of Buddhist meditation.

Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s Lam rim chen mo, section on zhi gnas “calming (of the mind)”, shows that various scriptures as well as Kamalaśilā’s Bhāva-

¹. The tsak-ka-li word transcribes an original Sanskrit term cakkali, which is not found in the Sanskrit dictionary. However, the Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary has the word cakkala, which presumably means the same, and is inappropriately defined in the dictionary as presumably “circular”, being equivalent to the word cakrama. However, here the word means an iconographic device. The painted miniatures are usually square; miniature tankas are rectangular. There is no reason why the device cannot be circular or triangular.
nākrama II and Bhāvanākrama III allow that one may accomplish samādhi by taking the body of the Tathāgata (the Buddha) as a meditative object. This is thoroughly orthodox, because it is associated with “mindfulness of the Buddha”, which is said to generate an infinity of merits. Besides, there are the merits of not losing mindfulness of the Buddha at the time of death. When the body of the Buddha, as meditated upon, becomes vivid and firm, this is the “calming” of keen faculty. The meditator can then continue, as is indicated in the Mahāyāna scriptures, by bowing, making offerings and fervent aspirations before that contemplated body—all of which is included in merit accumulation; and then go on to confess sins and take vows before that contemplated body—all of which is included in purification from obscurations. The latter seems to pertain to “discerning (the truth)” (thag mthong). Thus there are numerous benefits from holding thought on the body of the Buddha. Also, there is a well-defined procedure for such a contemplation. Tson-kha-pa quotes the Bhāvanākrama III:

In regard to that, first the yogin fastens his mind on the formal body of the Tathāgata as it is seen and as it is heard, and then is to accomplish calming. He orients his mind continuously on the form of the Tathāgata’s body, yellow like the color of purified gold, adorned with the (32) characteristics and the (80) minor marks, dwelling within its retinue, and acting for the aim of the sentient beings by diverse means. Generating a desire for the merits of that (body), he subdues fading, excitement, and the other faults, and should practice meditation until such time as that (body) dwells in front and is seen clearly.

In the same place, Tson-kha-pa makes a distinction between the initial reflected image in the mind of the external replica, such as a painting or metal casting; and the advanced vivid recollection of that body as naturally present in the mind. The latter attainment involves what is called the “basis of the meditative object”. He states: “Some place an icon in front, and viewing it with the eye, make a quick contemplation. This has been elegantly refuted by the teacher Ye-ses-sde: samādhi is not accomplished by what the senses are aware of; rather it is accomplished by what the mind is aware of.” Tson-kha-pa means that the measure of success in this kind of meditation is in the degree to which the meditative object is completely transferred to the mind, so that both the subtle and rough parts of the body appear vividly in the mind as though alive there. Such a “basis of meditative object” is divorced from the physical characteristics of the particular medium of the replica, such as the painting ingredients and the particular features brought in by reason of a metal casting.
Nevertheless, in the initial stage one does well to use a good replica as a “meditative prop”.

Let us return to that sentence of Ānandagarbha’s. He seems to indicate the more advanced stage which Tson-kha-pa refers to as the “basis of meditative object” in the mind. This is not the phase in which one is looking at the tsak-ka-li (because samādhi is not accomplished by what the senses are aware of). Rather, the tsak-ka-li is covered or unviewed. In such a case, at an appropriate point in the service the tsak-ka-li can be uncovered to constitute a revelation.

Mkhas-grub-rje writes: “Now if someone were made only to enter the maṇḍala and not to be conferred Initiation, what would be the advantage? If one takes the refuge vow and beholds the maṇḍala with faith, there is the advantage that he becomes purified from sins accumulated for many aeons and plants in his stream of consciousness (saṃtāna) the disposition (vāsana) of becoming in future times a receptacle fit for entering the profound mantra path (i.e. the Vajra-yāna).” In this connection, recall the passage from the Lcang skya Hutukhtu: “Then, in order to reveal the maṇḍala . . .” Those explanations by Mkhas-grub-rje and the Lcang skya Hutukhtu show that there is no revelation of the maṇḍala just by exhibiting it, or by the disciple’s mere seeing it. Likewise a maṇḍala is not revealed when it is published in some modern book and even if thousands of persons buy the book and look at it. But one can take Mkhas-grub-rje’s remarks as meaningful by presuming that the mental ritual is directly correlated with the hidden external representation, which thus becomes a seat of power.

Ānandagarbha’s mention of arranging mantras in the mind has to do with what is called in Tibetan books the nges don (“final meaning”) of the mantra, when it is pronounced in the mind during meditation rather than in outward spoken form, in which case it would be called drang don (“provisional meaning”). There is now a good treatment of the “meditation of dwelling in the flame and in the sound” in the English version of Mkhas-grub-rje’s book. In alternate words, the mantra has two main levels—that of its ordinary muttered expression, when it has the meaning of the waking state; and that of its extraordinary meditational expression, when it has the meaning of the dream state. One may notice as analogous the two stages in contemplation of the meditation object, mentioned above, as the initial reflected image in the mind and the advanced vivid recollection of the object abiding naturally in the mind.

The Meaning of Initiation

Mkhas grub rje’s contains a wealth of information on the subject of initiation; and it is safe to say that not before its publication was such a survey of the topic available in depth. However, there is also the fine treat-
ment of initiation according to the *Kālacakra Tantra* in Mario E. Carelli's introduction to his Sanskrit edition of Nāropā's *Sekoddeśatikā* (Baroda, 1941). The present essay is not intended to substitute for those expositions—to which the readers' attention is invited—or to substitute for the specialized treatment in my forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra; the Arcane Lore of Forty Verses*.

The word "initiation" is the translation of the Sanskrit word *abhiṣeka*, which is rendered into Tibetan as "conferral of power" (*dبا in bskur*). Among the germane issues are: (1) whether one must be initiated in order to meditate upon a certain deity; (2) whether the disciple is really "initiated" by going through the formal motions of initiation; (3) whether the procedures of initiation by the gurus are the same as what one could read in a text or manual on the topic (or whether the book could be so understood).

(1) The preceding essay on preparation of disciples for evocation of deities shows that it is not necessary to be initiated in order to evoke a deity. The simplest example of this is of course meditation on the Buddha or on one of the transcendent Bodhisattvas such Avalokiteśvara, as these meditations were practiced in countries with Mahāyāna Buddhism. In fact, such meditations as these do not even require "permission", but the theory of "permission" arose with Tantric deities. Naturally, such meditations on both non-tantric and tantric deities have gone on in countless cases without any formal initiation ceremony of the type developed in tantric Buddhism. And also for tantric deities, I cited in the foregoing part what Mkhas grub rje said: "Now if someone were made only to enter the maṇḍala and not to be conferred Initiation, what would be the advantage?..." By *maṇḍala* is meant both the residence and residents (the deities). The idea here is that one does not need to be initiated in order to meditate on a deity, but one must get the permission (*anujñā*) to so meditate, and with that permission comes the directions for the meditation. For example, a number of Westerners have studied with the Tibetan Lamas in northern India and Nepal and been given an individual deity to meditate upon, usually along with some verses directed toward that deity, e.g. Vajrasattva. This requires only a preparation of the disciple and a decision by the guru that such and such is the appropriate deity for that person to meditate upon. But, in addition, it is possible to get an initiation in connection with a certain deity, say Avalokiteśvara; and this initiation gives the person so initiated the right to be instructed in the entire cult of that deity, and therefore in the procedures of gaining various siddhis (occult powers) through that cult. Besides, the higher initiations through such deities as Guhyasamāja are intended to empower the candidate to attempt the supreme goal of Buddhahood in the present life.

(2) The next point is by no means inconsequential because a number of
Westerners have now gone through initiation ceremonies as conducted, for example, in North India by the Tibetan refugees; and the present writer and his wife so participated in the great Kālacakra initiation conducted by H.H. the Dalai Lama in 1970. Some Westerners have written on these topics in a manner to suggest to the reader that they know something about the Tantra in question by virtue of “getting initiated.” This is far from the truth: in fact, initiation is meant to qualify the candidate to receive the teachings of the Tantra, because the seventh of the fourteen fundamental transgressions (cf. Mkhas grub rje’s, p. 328) is “to tell the secrets to immature (i.e. uninitiated) persons.”

I went into another aspect of this problem in my talk before the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan (1970), which was published in their Transactions (No. XV, 1970):

Buddhism teaches three kinds of insight (Pāli, paññā; Sanskrit, prajñā), that consisting of hearing or learning (śrutamayī prajñā) that consisting of meditation or pondering (cintāmayaḥ prajñā), and that consisting of putting into practice or cultivating in one’s life (bhāvanāmayaḥ prajñā). There is a revelatory example of the first one from my recent stay in Dharmshala, Himachal Pradesh of India. In March, 1970, H. H. the Dalai Lama conferred the Kālacakra Initiation via loudspeaker to over 10,000 Tibetans. Afterwards I asked a learned Lama how His Holiness could possibly initiate so many, when initiations were usually given to small groups of proven disciples. The Lama answered: filled with faith they came from far-off distances at considerable sacrifice; that showed their suitability. I could add: and they sat for hours, listening respectfully and patiently, often under a hot sun without drinking facilities. The idea here is that the one who has faith and endures hardship to hear the teaching has the first level of insight in the Buddhist sense, the insight consisting of hearing. Naturally, few of these persons ever go on to the second stage, the insight consisting of pondering, which in conventional Buddhist theory should involve the laid-down procedure of Buddhist meditation. Again, still fewer, having heard with faith and having pondered again and again, go to the third stage of being exemplars of putting that teaching into practice, the insight of cultivating in one’s life.

Therefore, it is undeniable that a person participating in an initiation learns more about the procedure than he knew before. Moreover, there are various vows that are given during the initiation and which the candidates usually have to repeat three times; and of course the serious acceptance of vows and adherence to them in the future, is a matter that differs from
person to person. We must conclude that the mere fact that a person underwent an initiation in the sense of being there and cooperating, does not prove that he is "initiated" (empowered), but neither can initiation be categorically denied in his case if he went through all the motions.

(3) The final point is whether anyone, just by reading a Tantra (say the *Guhyasamājatantra*) knows what the work is talking about, and how its procedures, say of initiation, are actually conducted. This is an important issue because most of the criticism of the Tantras as being a degenerate cult stems from persons reading a sentence or so of a Tantra and assuming that they know, by such brief indications, what in fact the procedures are when, as is necessary for actual performance, the procedures are enacted in extension. For example, at the above-mentioned Kālacakra initiation I observed and photographed the candidates for initiation with their eye-bands made of red cloth; but whereas the texts do speak of this eye-band, one would have supposed it to be upon the two eyes, but in fact it was wound about the forehead. Then I similarly observed that the candidates, now presumably initiated, replaced the eye-band with the petal of the Champa flower pasted in the middle of the forehead (in the position of the third eye), and this also appears as part of the oral instructions. Among the offerings presented to H. H. the Dalai Lama as the officiant and initiator, was not a girl, as one might expect from the books, but seven pots graced with peach blossoms (see illustration), representing the female consort, here the earth goddess. But the significance of the seven pots were not understood by me through attendance at that initiation—as it was similarly not understood by the thousands of attendees—but rather through consulting the manuscript notes (in my possession) of the late F. D. Lessing who witnessed the great Kālacakra festival in 1932 when it was put on in Peking by the old Panchen Lama; and I was able to combine my observations with his.

It is easy to give an answer to the present problem, although it may not satisfy the critic, whose judgment is usually obdurate: Of course, one does not understand the basic Tantra just by reading it. The reason is that understanding a Tantra is being able to do it, since the Tantra is a course of action, not a philosophical exposition; and the basic Tantra is not so sufficiently detailed that a person reading it could just go ahead and do it according to the indications of the text. Therefore, in Tibetan tantric practice, the *Guhyasamājatantra* (among Father Tantras) and the *Śrī-Cakrasamvaratantra* (among Mother Tantras), and a few other Tantras, became the main Tantras actually engaged in with the full complement of cult—because such Tantras as these have the richest literature of commentaries and associated sādhanas (evocation of deity) and lineages brought into Tibet from India. That is to say, the practitioners of these Tantras do not believe they can understand the basic Tantra of the cult just by reading
Plate 5. Seven lamas with pots (one pot hidden from view). Kālacakra ceremony, March 20-23, 1970, Dharmsala, India. Describing the equivalent ceremony held in Peking, 21-27 October 1932, Ferdinand Lessing wrote in the Deutsch-Chinesische Nachrichten, Tientsin, 6 November 1932 (in German): "Seven lamas . . . proceed to the podium, each with a large water pot (kalaṣa). They move it to and fro. It symbolizes the young lady (Tib. rig ma) of the initiation who plays such a great role in this cult."
it; even though they have a superior background for understanding it by reading it, if it were possible to achieve understanding this way. Again this is not to deny that a certain Tantra, by reason of varying lineages, was sometimes practiced differently by its proficientists, in short, that the basic Tantra was sometimes understood differently in the authoritative lineages.

Now, I began this chapter by pointing out that Mantrayāna begins with initiation. "Mantrayāna" is a synonym of Vajrayāna (the Diamond Vehicle), and a natural question is: why call it "Mantrayāna", or what is the meaning of "mantra" in the title Mantrayāna? I have in my possession a Tibetan text which explains this matter as part of the preliminary explanations for the one to get the higher initiations of the Tantra; and these explanations follow the schools of Mitrajoki and Abhayākaragupta's Vajravali.  

Mantrayāna. That Tibetan work, which I shall refer to in short as the "Initiation Preliminary," explains:

It says in the Vajraśekhara: "The characteristic of mantras is the mind of all Buddhas, accomplishes the dharma-heart, possesses the Dharmadhātu—that is said to be the characteristic of mantras." For that reason, it is said that mantra is the non-dual wisdom (jñāna) of bliss-void belonging to the mind of all the Buddhas; and it is said that mantra is the deities; and it is said that mantra is the calling after the characteristic of deities; and it is said that mantra is to be kept secret from unworthy vessels (snod ma yin pa). Besides, there are three kinds: gsaḥ shags (mantra), rig shags (vidyā), and gzuh shags (dhāraṇī).

(1) Gsaḥ shags. The gsaḥ ("secret") is as stated in the Śrī-Sampūṭa (Chap. One): "It is secret because outside the scope of Viṣṇu, Maheśvara, Brahmā; śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas." As to shags (mantra), since it incorporates the meanings of the previous explanations, it is mantra by protecting the mind from signs (from sense objects) and discursive thought (vikalpa), as explained in the Continuation of the Śrī-Guhyasamājatantra (i.e. Chap. XVIII). It is as stated in the work Dbah yon tan rim pa: "The meaning of the expression 'mantra' is explained as the non-duality of void and compassion. I have explained man- as the Great Insight (mahā-prajñā) not separate from the character of the void, the breath of Vajrasattva. Tra has the meaning of protecting. The breath of the Tathāgatas is the method of non-duality of void and compassion." The expression shags stands for mantra. In explanation, man- is

2. Mi-ṭa (Mitra) daṅ rdo rje 'phreṅ ba'i dbaṅ chen skabs kyi shon 'gro'i chos bṣad.
mind, and tra is protecting, so it means protecting the performer’s mind from signs and discursive thought. As to how it protects, the purpose of mantra is the recitation of the mantra through non-dual engagement of means and insight (upāya-prajñā). That method of cultivation generates the non-dual wisdom of voidness and compassion in the practitioner’s stream of consciousness; and because of that method, it is called “mantra”.

(2) Rig śhags. The Vajraśekhara states: “Countering avidyā (nescience) by overcoming the darkness of passion and by overcoming of defilements, it is called vidyā.” Hence, it is the preeminent return to destroying faults; and that is the purpose of vidyā (occult science).

(3) Gzuhs śhags. The same work states: “The character of dhārant-s is to hold the Buddha-dharmas; its holding is called ‘holding of dharmas’ and ‘virtue’.” Hence, it is the preeminent return to holding of merits; and that is dhārant.

Besides, Buddhaguhya explains in the Dhyānottarapātaṭalaṭikā (Toh. 2670, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Thu, 4a-3): “Here a vidyā is a deity with the form and shape of a female, as well as the sound, gesture (mudrā), etc. which manifests that (deity). The reverse of that (i.e. a male deity, etc.) is the characteristic of mantra.” And the same author says (7b-3): “The passage means that if even Rishis cannot make a mantra successful when they are not in Meditation (dhyāna), how much less could other performers (sādhaka)!”

That is the mysterious world into which the initiate enters. And the Guhyasamājatantra (Chap. XVIII, Bhattacharyya ed., p. 156.16-17) states:

The pledge (samaya) and vow (samvara) said to be liberated from worldly conduct, when protected by all the “diamonds” (vajra), is pronounced “practice of mantra.”

This passage indicates that the tantric devotee enters upon a new and perhaps secretive life that starts with the vows and pledges of his initiations. The word “vow” (Tibetan sdom pa) is a statement taken ritually and ordinarily uttered three times; it is in a form easily understood and must hold together, adhere in the disciple’s stream of consciousness. The vows are usually of a general nature, holding for the entire Tantra in which the candidate is initiated and for the entire time after his initiation. On the other hand, the “pledge” (Tibetan dam tshig) is less comprehensible and may require commentarial or oral expansion to get the meaning. The pledges are not general, but may apply to a particular element of the
Tantra and to a special phase of the practice. Frequently they are in a negative form, pointing to what the disciple should avoid or not engage in.

The vows that are taken by the disciples during initiation are sometimes shared between different initiations and sometimes peculiar to a certain initiation in which case they are termed “unshared”. Examples are one petition and two vows which Geshe Rabten of Dharmasala asked me to translate from Tibetan on behalf of the Europeans who were attending the Kālacakra initiation held 21-23 March, 1970. Each one of these is to be repeated three times by direction of the guru (who in this case was H.H. the Dalai Lama):

A. (Petition): Thou my teacher with great joy art the sole savior from the ocean of phenomenal life attended with such dangers as the great water monster of birth, old age, and death. I bow to thee the great lord who is steadfast in the way of the great enlightenment. Grant me that same pledge! Grant me the thought of enlightenment! Grant me the three refuges of Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha! O lord, pray introduce me into the exalted city (= the mandala) of great liberation!

B. (Common vow between the Bodhisattva and the Tantra path): I take refuge in the three jewels, confess all my sins, hold mentally the sympathetic joy with the virtues of (other) living beings, as well as with the Buddha’s enlightenment.

C. (Unshared vow, peculiar to the Kālacakra Tantra): Having conferred upon me the sublime initiation of the irreversible wheel, O lord, pray explain the reality of the gods of the wheel, the wondrous action of the hierophant, the pledge of all the Buddhas, and the highest secret of the vow. So as to serve the aim of all sentient beings may I forever be a hierophant!

The fact that these three utterances are given here in sequence is no indication of their actual location in the long and elaborate Kālacakra initiation ritual. The time of petition for initiation is when the disciples made the gesture (mudrā) of the universe (the four continents and Mt. Meru).

The pledges are special to the different families of Tathāgatas and to different phases of the path. For example, there is the pledge to refrain from the fourteen fundamental transgressions of the Anuttarayoga Tantra. The fourteen are given in Mṅhas grub rje’s (p. 328 note) as follows:
1. To disparage one’s master.
2. To transgress the directives of the Buddha.
3. To express anger toward “diamond brothers”.
4. To abandon love of the sentient beings.
5. To abandon the Mind of Enlightenment.
6. To disparage the Doctrine of one’s own or of another’s tenets.
7. To tell the secrets to immature persons.
8. To abuse the five skandhas for their nature belongs to the five Buddhas.
9. To have reservations concerning the natures intrinsically pure.
10. To have love for the wicked.
11. To apply discursive thought to the wordless natures.
12. To have belittling thoughts toward the believers.
13. To not adhere to the pledges in the way they were taken.
14. To disparage women, who are the nature of insight.

After Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s individual commentary on those fourteen in his Deśos grub kyi sde ma (PTT. Vol. 160, p. 70-1,2) he groups them in this way (my summary including material from his individual commentary):

A. Concerning Dharma.
   (1) Teacher of the Dharma. No. 1 “to disparage one’s master” (ācārya).
   (2) Associates in accomplishing the Dharma.
      (a) Good associates. No. 3 “To express anger toward diamond brothers” who are fellow initiates of the same master. No. 12 “To have belittling thoughts toward the believers” who are fit vessels for the path.
      (b) Bad associates. No. 10 “To have love (maitri) for the wicked”, especially those who damage and destroy the Doctrine, but one should have compassion (karuṇā) for them.
   (3) Dharma to take to heart. No. 2 “To transgress the directives of the Buddha” which are the three vows (of the Vinaya, the Bodhisattva, and the Mantrayāna). No. 6 “To disparage the Doctrine of one’s own (mantrayāna) or of another’s (prajñāpāramitāyāna) tenets. No. 7 “To tell the secrets to immature (uninitiated) persons”; but Tsoṅ-kha-pa rejects a certain learned opinion that it is a transgression to show esoteric substances such as icons, the dāmaru drum and so on, because the Tantras state the fault in what is revealed to the ear, not in what is revealed to the eye.

B. Concerning Path
   (1) Basis of Path. At the time one has generated the Mind of Enlightenment: No. 4 “To abandon love of the sentient beings” by acting waywardly toward the sentient beings. No. 5 “To abandon the Mind of Enlightenment” by abandoning the true nature of the mind.
   (2) Nature of Path.
      (a) The Stage of Generation (utpatti-krama). No. 8 “To
abuse the five skandhas for their nature belongs to the five Buddhas”, such abuse including all injury, mortification, and suppression. (My forthcoming Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra will clearly show why this transgression applies to the Stage of Generation, because in this Stage there is the meditation of associating the skandhas with the respective Buddhas).

(b) The Stage of Completion (sampanna-krama). No. 9 “To have reservations concerning the natures (dharma) intrinsically pure”. No. 11 “To apply discursive thought to the wordless natures”.

(3) Ancillaries of the Path. No. 13 “To not adhere to the pledges in the way they were taken” because pledges are the substance of the path, whether of the Anuttarayoga or of the Yoga Tantra. No. 14 “To disparage women, who are the nature of insight” because women are a hindrance to the path. “Women” are both the mundane kind and the supra-mundane kind of Vajravārāhi (the Diamond Sow), etc. “Insight” is the knowledge of great bliss (mahāsukha). One disparages women either by way of lusting for them or (in overt conduct) by reason of lusting for them.

Initiation of the Mirror

Again, while I do not intend to compete with Mkhas grub rje’s authoritative material on initiations—those of the flask and the higher initiations of Anuttarayoga Tantra; nor can a written account take the place of actual participation in these tantric initiation rituals, it is still useful to present one here as found in written form. The “initiation of the mirror” is one of the six in the Guhyasamāja Akṣobhya ritual that corresponds to the role of the five flask initiations as portrayed in Mkhas grub rje’s. Besides the intrinsic interest of this initiation, it is especially picked for its brevity, because initiation rituals are frequently of considerable length and detail whereby their presentation would require too much space for present purposes. This is translated from Tson-kha-pa’s work, “Dban gi don gyi de ŋid rab tu gsal ba” (Clarifying the realities belonging to the meaning of initiation) (PTT, Vol. 160, p. 111-3,4). Previously (p. 109-4-6) he had listed the six initiations as (1) initiation of water, (2) initiation of the diadem, (3) initiation of the vajra, (4) initiation of the bell, (5) initiation of the mirror, and (6) initiation of the name. Now for the “initiation of the mirror.”

* * *
The placement of the mirror initiation in this phase which is the fifth stage, is as done by Klu byaṅ (*Nāgabodhi). In that (i.e. his method) there are two parts, starting with the “eye opening” (rite).

I. The method of “eye opening” proceeds by reciting and applying (of ointment). (The guru) places in a gold or silver vessel the golden eye ointment consisting of butter and honey. While the disciple imagines on his eyes the syllable PRĀM, (the guru) applies (the eye ointment) with a probe (śālākā), reciting OṂ VAJRANETRA APAHARA PAṬALAM HṚĪḥ (“Oṃ. Remove the film that is on the diamond eye! Hṛīḥ.”). He repeats the verse (of the Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantra): “Just as the King of Healing (bhaṣajya-rāja) with his probe removed the worldly film, so may the Buddhas dispel your film of ignorance, my son!” While he is so reciting, they imagine that the knowledge eye is opened upon removal of the nescience film.

II. Having had his eye opened in that manner, (the disciple) should look upon all dharmas as reflected images. So (the disciple) may accomplish that, he (the guru) shows a mirror incanted with an ĀḤ, and recites:

All dharmas are like reflected images, clear and pure, without turbulence; ungraspable, inexpressible, truly arisen from cause and action (hetu and karma).

Just like Vajrasattva in a mirror that is clear, pure, without turbulence; so also the Buddhas, universal lords, themselves abide in the heart of thee, my son.

Now that you have so understood the dharmas as without intrinsic nature and without location, may you perform incomparably the aim of sentient beings, so they may be born as sons of the Protectors!

Those verses enjoin (the disciple) to understand in general that all dharmas are like a reflected image, and in particular that the Vajrasattva dwelling in one’s heart is like a reflected image in a mirror.

* * *

When the third of those three verses speaks of the dharmas “as without intrinsic nature” and “without location” it refers respectively to the first and second verses. This is because when the second verse proclaims that “the Buddhas . . . themselves abide in the heart of thee”, this is possible with the Mahāyāna position of the “Nirvāṇa of no fixed abode”
(apratiṣṭhita-nirvāṇa), so the Buddha natures (Buddha-dharma) can be understood to abide in the disciple’s heart while abiding elsewhere. Therefore the second verse is expressed from the standpoint of supreme truth (paramārtha-satya), while the first verse, stressing that the dharmas are “like reflected images” is expressed with conventional truth (saṃvṛti-satya). Since these are crucial points for grasping Mahāyāna Buddhist thought, it is well to expand a little.

The mirror is incanted with an ĀH, which suggests breath come to a stop on the mirror and thereby creating insubstantial shapes. The guru recites the first verse, “All dharmas are like reflected images . . . ” to show that all mundane dharmas are without intrinsic nature, yet truly arisen from cause and action, i.e. in Dependent Origination (pratītya-samutpāda). This is the scope of conventional truth, or saṃsāra.

Then the guru recites the second verse to show that when the mind is smooth and clear like a mirror, i.e. when it is plunged in samādhi, it can reflect the form of Vajrasattva, treasured in the disciple’s heart. But also in this case the Buddhas dwell in the heart, meaning that there is no limitation to their dwelling—whether in this person’s or that person’s heart, or elsewhere—and so this refers to the supramundane dharmas that are without location. This is the scope of supreme truth, or “Nirvāṇa of no fixed abode,” not limited to either saṃsāra or nirvāṇa, but both.

The third verse then alludes to the meaning of this initiation. First the disciple’s knowledge eye is opened and then he is brought to a new understanding—about mundane and supramundane dharmas—so he can now perform the aim of sentient beings. This shows the meaning of initiation as “maturation” of the candidate, in this case, maturation through the “initiation of the mirror”.
OFFERING MATERIALS AND THEIR MEANINGS

Among the profusion of ritual implements and other substances of the tantric cults, the offering materials are paramount because they are the most wide-spread in all the cults and of course stem from practices far more ancient than Buddhism itself. The usual Sanskrit word for “offering” is pūjā; the word for “food offering” is bali; and for “burnt offering”, homa. Besides, the notion of an “offering” is generalized, as will be seen below by their classifications.

Classification of Offerings

In tantric commentaries one frequently notices the terminology of “outer” and “inner” offerings. Sometimes the category “secret” is added. Usually the commentators take for granted that the reader knows what is meant. However, some sources do give explanations, and two such will now be presented.

Kukuri-pā, in his Mahāmāyāsādhanaṃḍaḷavidhi (Toh. 1630, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Ya, 238b-4), states:

Then he makes offering with outer offerings, from “water for the feet” down to “music.” The “inner offering” is the offering to the host (tshogs) (of deities) after one has enjoyed the ambrosia. The “secret offering” is the pleasure of the two organs. The “ultimate (anuttara) offering” is the contemplation of non-duality.
The second passage is found in the manuscript remains of the late Professor F. D. Lessing. Some lama, perhaps a lama-teacher of his during the China years, wrote out in Tibetan script a classification of offerings but without indication of a textual source. Here is my translation:

*Outer offerings* (*phyi’i mchod pa*). The diversity of offerings as feasible, such as *maṇḍala*, incense, flower, water for the feet, perfumed water, feet-cooling water, food, lamp, music.

*Inner offerings* (*naḥ gi mchod pa*). Having meditatively created offerings by way of deities, after they have clearly arisen in one’s mind in the manner of largesse, one offers them individually to the magnanimous host of deities.

*Secret offering* (*gsah ba’i mchod pa*). Having enjoyed great ecstasy (*mahāsūkhā*) as the deities dissolve in oneself, one should make offering in the sense of inseparability of means and insight.

*Goal offering* (*don gyi mchod pa*). As the true-nature of all offerings dissolves in true nature and spontaneously appears, one offers them in the sense of no hindrance to one’s liberation.

*Symbolic offerings* (*rtags kyi mchod pa*). As one sees delightful things, such as flowers, clean water, grains, he makes offering of them to the guru who is the jewel and the great compassionate one.

*Illustrative offerings* (*mtshon pa’i mchod pa*). (Showing that one is free from clinging and attachment to offering of personal substances, to wit, the body and personality aggregates (*skandha*) one offers them.

It is apparent that Kukuri-pā’s four kinds match four of the six in the second list given by Dr. Lessing’s lama teacher. The three of the same title (outer, inner, and secret) easily agree; and Kukuri-pā’s category of “ultimate offering” seems to be the “goal offering” of the other list. Among the two extra ones, the symbolic offerings made to the guru are obviously a Tibetan addition because Tibetan Buddhism added a refuge in the guru to the traditional three refuges in Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha. (Notice that the same Tibetan word, *rtags*, is used for the substances, herbs, etc., inserted in the flasks; and that the usage, while seemingly different, may well be intimately related). The illustrative offerings are a special feature of the “perfection of giving” (*dāna-pāramitā*) of the Bodhisattva path.

Of those various categories, the outer offerings and symbolic offerings are discussed in the present essay; the inner offerings are featured by the “five ambrosias” in the Tantric Ritual essay; the secret offering is the
main theme of the material on Twilight Language; the ultimate offering is alluded to in various places of this work, particularly by the description "contemplation of non-duality."

That leaves only the category of illustrative offerings to be further discussed here. In an article of the Indo-Iranian Journal (III, 1959, pp. 121-22) I cited Buddhaguhya’s commentary on the Mahāvairocana, about the "inner burnt offering" (T. nah gi sbyin sreg) (and even though he uses the word for "inner" the material fits the "illustrative" category). Here I repeat my translation of the passage about this kind of offering:

Moreover, one destroys the five ātmaka-skandha in Voidness (śūnyatā), and also destroys the forms of sense objects (viśaya), such as the external "hearth" (agnikūḍa), in Voidness. In the same way one individually destroys the issuances of six-doored perception (vijñāna); and when they do not issue and are stopped, in the same way the "thought of enlightenment" (bodhicitta) which destroys and stops those is itself stopped by the non-issuing Insight (prajñā); and that abiding in the non-discursive (avikalpa) samādhi is the Inner Burnt Offering. Hence, one stops the "fire of wind" (vāyu-agni) by the non-issuing Insight, and "One makes the burnt offering to fire with the mind (manas)." "Stop the fire of wind" means "restrains the prāṇa and āyāma." "One makes the burnt offering to fire with the mind" means "one burns thought immobile (aṇinjya or āniṇjya)."

Here prāṇa has the special meaning of winds (vāyu), and āyāma refers to the mental component; together they make up the term prāṇāyāma; since perceptive consciousness rides on these winds, the stopping up of these winds (cf. my section on The Nine Orifices) is tantamount to the burnt offering of mind.

Finally, while it is convenient to have this classification into six for discussion purposes, the fact that the texts generally mention only the first three (outer, inner, and secret), or even just the first two, suggests that the set of six can be reduced to the three, or in any case there is considerable overlap.

The Four Offerings

Buddhaguhya, who has been cited above, is among the greatest commentators in the field of the three lower Tantras (Kriyā, Caryā, and Yoga), and among his most remarkable works is the commentary on the Tantra Sarvadurgatipariśodhana, his Artha-vyañjana-vṛtti (later I shall cite at
length his explanation of the *maṇḍala*. In this work (PTT. Vol. 76, p. 35-2) he presents a personification of four offerings into goddesses of various colors, by the following scheme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offering</th>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Buddhist Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfumed incense</td>
<td>white</td>
<td>morality (<em>śīla</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower</td>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>deep concentration (<em>samādhi</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamp</td>
<td>red</td>
<td>insight (<em>prajñā</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfume</td>
<td>green</td>
<td>mind of enlightenment (<em>bodhicitta</em>)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first three Buddhist terms constitute a well-known set, called from early Buddhist times “the three instructions;” and the famous compendium of the (Hinayāna) Buddhist path by Buddhaghosa, the *Visuddhimagga*, is divided into three parts by these very headings. The “mind of enlightenment” is the foundation of the Bodhisattva path of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Perfumed incense is used to purify (fumigate) the room, and so it represents morality as a purifying activity of the personality, hence also the color white. In the case of the celebrated Mahāyāna Buddhist scripture that is translated under the title *The Lotus of the True Law*, the original word for “lotus” here is *puṇḍarīka*, which is really the white lotus; and this lotus for centuries symbolized in China purity, especially moral purity.

For the flower with the meaning of *samādhi*, we may refer to the writings of D. T. Suzuki:¹

> The legendary story of the origin of Zen in India runs as follows: Sakyamuni was once engaged at the Mount of the Holy Vulture in preaching to a congregation of his disciples. He did not resort to any lengthy verbal discourse to explain his point, but simply lifted a bouquet of flowers before the assemblage, which was presented to him by one of his lay-disciples. Not a word came out of his mouth. Nobody understood the meaning of this except the old venerable Mahakasyapa, who quietly smiled at the Master, as if he fully comprehended the purport of this silent but eloquent teaching on the part of the Enlightened One. The latter perceiving this opened his golden-tongued mouth and proclaimed solemnly, “I have the most precious treasure, spiritual and transcendental, which this moment I hand over to you, O venerable Mahakasyapa!”

The same writer mentions the special lines that sum up the message of Bodhidharma, who introduced Zen into China with his arrival in A.D. 520.²

---

“A special transmission outside the scriptures;  
No dependence upon words and letters;  
Direct pointing at the soul of man;  
Seeing into one’s nature and the attainment of Buddhahood.”

Hence, yellow—and notice the reference to “golden-tongued mouth”—apparently refers to the official color of Buddhism and its emphasis on training the mind.

For the representation of insight by the lamp, Mkhas grub rje’s (p. 183) has the verse (addressed to the deity):

Pray enjoy these lamps,  
Auspicious and triumphant over harmful elements,  
Virtuous and dispelling of darkness,  
Which I offer with devotion.

The color red is of course that of fire, and shows that the illumination is from a flame. Insight (prajñā) in this role of a fire is explained in the Kāśyapaparipṛcchā, as cited and expanded near the end of Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s Lam rim chen mo:

Kāśyapa, thus, for example, when two trees are rubbed together by the wind, and fire arises (from the friction), (that fire) having arisen, burns the two trees. In the same way, Kāśyapa, (when natures are analysed) by the most pure discrimination (pratyāvekṣāṇā), the faculty of noble Insight (ārya-prajñā) arises; and (that Fire) having arisen, it burns up that most pure discrimination itself.

In order to get the sense of perfume colored green that stands for the mind of enlightenment, one can refer to Mkhas grub rje’s (pp. 31-32), for the third Abhisambodhi when Gautama “saw directly that Samantabhadra of the former thought of enlightenment under the shape of an upright five-pronged white thunderbolt in his own heart,” for which reason (infra), perfumes are offered to the heart. See the note to those pages of Mkhas grub rje’s: Samantabhadra is the knowledge of the pledge. This agrees with D. T. Suzuki, Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra (pp. 230-36), on the Avatamsaka-sūtra’s ten vows of the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In Tibet the green Samantabhadra is the Bodhisattva aspect of the “primordial Buddha” (ādi-buddha) (for which see Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, I, p. 236), and protector of the Tibetan Rñīn-ma-pa sect. Here “primordial Buddha” means knowledge of the vow of enlightenment, or seed bodhicitta. The applicability of perfume is suggested by Mkhas grub
rje’s (p. 181) verse to the deity: “These auspicious perfumes . . .”, because the word translated “auspicious” is bzaṅ po, part of the Tibetan name Kun-tu-bzaṅ-po (Samantabhadra), “entirely auspicious,” so the perfume conveys the auspiciousness of the “mind of enlightenment”. This seems also to be the meaning of the Green Tārā, because of the legend that in one of her former lives she was a queen who vowed that in her future lives she would always be a woman and would eventually in the incarnation of a woman become a Buddha, which she did become.

Oblations to the Deities

Concerning the offerings to the deities to be residents and the offering of seats, with the oblations and others such as the “feet-cooling water”, cf. Mkhas grub rje’s, pp. 178-83. Shags rim (237b to 238a) states the places where they are offered: The feet-cooling water, because it washes the feet, is imagined as offered to the feet (of the deity). The bath, to the entire body (i.e. to the reflected image of the body). The oblations, in front or to the head. The flower, to the head. Perfumed incense and lamp, in front. Food for the gods, in front, to the hands, or to the face. And one imagines the perfume offered to the heart. Those (locations) are common to all rites. Mkhas grub rje’s (p. 177) has a fine summary statement of the oblations used for the invitation:

The invitation must be done with an oblation (arghya), which therefore must be prepared beforehand. The vessel for that is of gold, silver, and so forth; and a copper vessel is auspicious for all (invitations) in common. For appeasing rites (sāntika) and their superior siddhi, barley and milk are required. For rites to increase prosperity (paustika) and their middling siddhi, sesameum and sour milk are needed. For dreadful rites (abhicāraka) and their inferior siddhi, ordinary urine together with millet, or blood, is offered up. Parched rice, fragrant odors, white flowers, kuśa grass, and sesameum mixed in pure water, which are auspicious for all rites in common, are prepared and incensed with the odors of incense. One blesses the oblation by reciting seven times an appropriate one among the general dhāraṇīs of the Vidyārāja and of the three Families, among the dhāraṇīs of all the rites of the individual Families, or among the dhāraṇīs of Invitation.

That passage, however, does not give the complete list of oblations in the several cases. Shags rim (236b to 237a) sets forth two lists of seven oblations each. For appeasing rites, there are 1. barley, 2. milk, 3. white flowers, 4. kuśa grass, 5. sesameum, 6. parched rice, and 7. ambrosia.
For prosperity rites, there are 1. sesamum, 2. sour milk, 3. yellow flowers, 4. kuśa grass, 5. perfume, 6. yellow water, 7. ambrosia. A similar list was not presented for dreadful rites.3

Perhaps the most important of all special rites in the category of “appeasing” is the cult of Bhaisajya-guru (the Healing Buddha). The elaborate layered structure for the offerings in this case is indeed impressive.

Among the “prosperity” rites, the most eagerly pursued is the cult of the “three divinities of long life”—in the iconography, the Buddha Amitāyus, with Uṣṇīṣavijayā and the White Tārā in the foreground.

In the coercing service, included among the “terrible rites,” there is, for example, the offering made to the Lord of the Dead, Yama, and his retinue. A Tibetan text in my possession, the Drug bcu pa, mentions the food offering (bali) to be the “three sweets and three whites” (dkar gsum mňar gsum), which the Sarat Chandra Das Tibetan-English Dictionary explains to be molasses, honey, and sugar; and milk, curds, and butter. In the ritual, these offerings in large precious vessels are imagined to become a vast ocean of ambrosia. (This is perhaps also the meaning of the item “ambrosia” in the above two lists of seven oblations each). In this service, there is a large triangular construction called “zor”—in my text “gtor zor gniin po” (adversary zor for the offering)—for combating the evil spirits. On the pinnacle of the triangle is a skull with headdress—the whole giving a scare-crow appearance. The offerings are shown in more imaginative form in the Yama-offering tankas of Tibet, of which a sample is reproduced. The kinds of materials included in these coercing representations are listed by Lessing, for example, the animals to gratify the sight of the fierce deity, the eight offerings in bowls in the foreground, and so on. In Lessing’s manuscript remains, I notice the description of what is called in Tibetan the dkar rgyan, ornament of the three white things: the round offering; with flame-shaped ornament ending in sun, moon, and “fiery tongue” (the dkar rgyan); this is surmounted by the “black arrow” and a piece of black cloth.

Among the miscellaneous special offerings, there is the elaborate Tibetan rite of what Schubert calls the “rice maṇḍala” and Lessing a “thanksgiving offering”. Lessing explains that it was first offered, according to legend, by Indra himself to the newly-born Śākyamuni Buddha; and that it

3. This is the threefold grouping of rites requiring a burnt offering (homa) and is very ancient, going back to the Vedic period. See F. D. Lessing, Yung-Ho-Kung, pp. 139-61, for the homa rites classified as four; in the latter case, the third group of “terrible rites” is divided up into “controlling” and “destroying”.
PLATE 6. Zor for Yama and Yama Offerings.
is coupled with a rite, on which he himself did much study, called the “bath of the Buddha.” In the course of the rites associated with Avalokiteśvara (the 11-headed variety, with an “eye-wound” in each of his thousand hands), this deity is invoked to slake the thirst of the starving ghosts (preta) in the verse:

May the starving spirits be satiated, bathed, and always cooled by the streams of milk flowing from the hands of Ārya-Avalokiteśvara.

The officiant, acting the role of Avalokiteśvara, pours some water to his left or right, or into a small bowl placed to the right of the food vessel, while making the incantation, Oṃ Āḥ HRIḤ HŪṂ OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ. OṂ JALAM IDAM SARVA-PRETEBHYAH SVĀHĀ. "Oṃ Āḥ Hriḥ Hūṃ. Oṃ Maṇi Padme Hūṃ. Oṃ, this water to all the starving spirits, Svāhā." Observe that milk is one of the “three whites”.

Materials Inserted in the Flasks

The Buddhist Tantras and their commentaries frequently mention certain ritual materials in sets as the five herbs, five perfumes, five essences, five grains, and five jewels; and sometimes the five ambrosias. The different works do not always itemize the members of each set the same. Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s Šhung rim chen mo, folio 193a, has a number of these lists for the items to be placed within the ritual flask. Of course, these materials do not necessarily all go into the same flask, and the Šhung rim, 193b to 194a gives various theories. According to Mṅhas grub rje’s “Preparation of the flask” (pp. 287, ff.) there are two main kinds of flask, the victorious flask (vijaya-kalasha) for the time of initiation and the action flask (karma-kalasha) for general sprinkling purposes. The gods are generated in the victorious flask.

I found a number of itemizations of the fivefold sets in the commentaries on the Vajra-vidārana-dhāránti. The commentary by Smṛti relates these to the body, speech, mind, marvellous action (karma), and merits (guna) of the deity, as shown in the following table, along with more or less standard listings in each set.

---


8. My own translation of the Tibetan verse which I find reproduced by Lessing in his manuscript study of the “Hundred-fold Offerings”. I do not possess the Tibetan work he utilized, but only the very abbreviated form of the rite in a little treatise entitled, Gtor ma brgya rtsa sīn tu bsdus pa.
PLATE 7. Manjula Offerings for the Kalacakra (Peking 1932).
## TABLE 7

**MATERIALS IN THE FLASKS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUPERINTENDENCE</th>
<th>SYMBOLIC SUBSTANCES (RTAGS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>Herbs (5): bhrati, kaṇḍakāri, white aparājita, white and red daṇḍa flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>Perfumes (5): sandal, musk, saffron, aloe, incense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind</td>
<td>Essences (5): sesamum, salt, butter, molasses, honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marvellous Action</td>
<td>Grains (5): mustard seed, barley, fodder barley, sesame, peas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merits</td>
<td>Jewels (5): sapphire or another precious gem, coral, gold, pearl, crystal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The commentary (Toh. 2687) by Jñānavajra says of the five essences, (1) the essence from earth is sesamum; (2) from water is salt; (3) from cream is butter; (4) from a tree, molasses, (5) from flowers, honey. The commentary (Toh. 2681) by Vimalamitra substitutes for (1) and (2) the fire-crystal and the moon-crystal (presumably as the essence of the sun and the moon).

The greatest variety seems to be in the list of herbs. The list in the table is from the *Shags rim chen mo*. Jñānavajra gives instead: vyakri, seṅkri, jirikarṇikā, hasa, hasadeva.

Also, the *Shags rim*, folio 195b-3, states that the herbs, grains, and jewels are explained in the *Hevajra-tantra* tradition as tokens (*rtags*) respectively of the mind of enlightenment, heart, and bodily color, of the maṇḍala-deities. On the same folio, Tson-kha-pa quotes Kukurāja’s *Samayogamaṇḍalavidhi* (Toh. 1671), “The five herbs are the mind of enlightenment of the compassionate one; the grains are the self-existence of the gods; the five kinds of jewels are the light of their bodies; the essences are the heart-realm of knowledge; the perfumes are the victorious merits of virtue.” Of course, these correspondences in commentaries on the Anuttarayoga Tantra differ from those which Smṛti gives in a Kriyā Tantra commentary, and this suggests that the commentaries on the different Tantra divisions, Kriyā, Caryā, Yoga, and Anuttarayoga, may have their own way of working out the correspondences to the fivefold sets.
SYMBOLISM OF THE MAṆḌALA-PALACE*

I. Varieties of maṆḍala symbolism

The Tibetan diagrams called maṆḍala, usually in the form of square paintings, have aroused much interest in the West. These maṆḍalas are especially depicted with an ornamented circular border which encloses a two-dimensional form of a four-sided palace. The present study is not meant to convey a thorough account of the rich symbolism involved, but to show what light can be cast on the subject by selected passages from authoritative works. For this purpose, the abbreviation PTT with volume number will be used for citations from the Japanese photographic edition of the Peking Tibetan canon. The abbreviation Śṅags rim refers to Tsön-kha-pa's Śṅags rim chen mo in a separate Peking blockprint. The works of Ratnākaraśānti (known to the Tibetans as Śānti-pā) have been especially helpful.

Introducing the palace

The palace demands a proper setting. For example, in Ratnākaraśānti’s Mahāmāyāśādhana (Sādhanamālā, No. 239), we read: “One should contemplate as below, a spot of earth made of diamond; across, a diamond enclosure; above, a tent; in the middle, a dreadful burning ground” (adho vajramayīm bhūmiṁ tiryag vajraprākāram upari vajrapaṁjaram

* Under the title “Contributions on the Symbolism of the Maṇḍala-Palace,” the first part of the present study was published in Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou. (Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris, 1971), which may be consulted for the Tibetan and Sanskrit passages here omitted.
madhye ghoraśmaśānam vibhāvyā). The text continues: “In the midst of that, one sees a palace with a single courtyard and made entirely of jewels—with four corners, four gates, decorated with four arches, having four altars, and radiant with nets and so on, and with nymphs” (tanmadhye kūṭā-gārām ekapuṭām sarvaratnamayaṁ paśyet—caturāśraṁ caturdvāraṁ catustorṇabhūṣitam / hārādyair apsarobhiś ca bhāsvad vedicatuṣṭa-yam //).¹

Besides, the palace can be understood as the transformation of the body, in the context of which Shiṣaṃ rim (234a-6) cites the Explanatory Tantra of the Guhyasamāja, the Vajramālā: “The body becomes a palace, the hallowed basis of all the Buddhas” (/ lus ni gzal yas khaṅ du gyur / /sān sgyas kun gyi ṣn tag rten/). When the body of the yogin has this transformation he is called the Diamond Being (Vajrasattva), as in this passage of the Śrī Paramādya-tantra (PTT, Vol. 5, p. 172-2):

... Surrounded by a diamond line, beautified with eight posts, decorated with four gates, arches, altars, banners and half-banners, and so on. How is Vajrasattva understood as the principal meaning there? Because he has marks born of the sky, is supreme without beginning or end, the great self-existence (svabhāva) of Vajrasattva is said to be the Glorious Supreme Primordial (śrī paramādya).²

Explanation of the parts of the palace

Undoubtedly, the Tanjur (commentarial portion of the Tibetan canon) contains many commentaries on the basic palace terminology. Invariably, such elements as the four gates are identified with categories of the Buddhist path, thus indicating that Vajrasattva is the synthetic paragon of all Buddhist accomplishments. The first solution comes from the Sarvarahasyanāma-tantrarāja (PTT, Vol. 5, p. 58-5), verses 117-123 in my counting:

117. Where the maṇḍala is explained is the sublime mental maṇḍala. The palace is knowledge (jñāna), erection of an edifice of consciousness.
118. The four outer corners establish equality of measure. The mind of maitri, etc. is explained as the four lines.
119. The recollection praxis of dharma is explained as the


2. This passage introduces some more terms of which the equivalences are not in doubt: S. sūtra, T. thig. S. stambha, T. ka ba. S. vedī, T. kha khyer. S. ardhahāra, T. dra phyed.
diamond line. The liberation from all views is explained as the knowledge line.
120. The holy collection of morality is referred to as “ornament” (alaṃkāra). The thoughts of independence, and so on, have realized the five hopes.
121. The four liberations (vimokṣa) are the gates. The four right elimination-exertions (samyak-prahāṇa) are the arches and involve posts.
122. The four stations of mindfulness (smṛtyupasthāna) are understood as the four courtyards. The four bases of magical power (ṛddhi-pāda) are the four gate projections (niryūha).3
123. The seven ancillaries of enlightenment (bodhyaṅga) are the adornment with garlands and flower bundles. The eightfold Noble Path is explained as the eight posts.

Following are extracts from the commentary on the foregoing by Ratnākaraśanti, his Śrī-sarvarahasya-nibandha-rahasya-pradīpa-nāma (PTT, Vol. 76, p. 12-1,2,3):

“Sublime” (dam pa) because it is comprised by the Sambhoga-kāya. “Knowledge” means insight (prajñā) . . . The equality of the four sides in terms of external measurement, is the “four lines”; in reality, it is friendliness (maithri), etc., that is, friendliness, compassion, sympathetic joy, and impartiality. Because they take the sentient beings as object, the four boundless states (apramāṇa) of friendliness, etc. are called “boundless”. When they take as object the sentient beings involved with the realm of desire, they are called the “pure abodes” (brahma-vihāra) . . . (In the first case, see verse 119) the line is the reality (tattva); (in the second case,) it is the knowledge (jñāna) . . . The five hopes are the faculties of faith, etc.

Turning to the Guhyasamāja-tantra cycle, there are two main commentarial traditions, that headed by Buddhajñānapāda and that headed by the tantric Nāgārjuna. Here one finds an interesting, but overly brief, explanation in Buddhajñānapāda’s Caturāṅga-sādhanopāyika-samantabhadra-nāma, PTT Vol. 65, p. 19, which has been overly expanded in Samantabhadra’s Caturāṅga-sādhanā-tīkā-sārastamba-jāri-nāma, PTT Vol. 65, p. 116, f. The following summary will present the principal details of this position:

The officiant recites the formula Om śīnyatājñānavajrasvabhāva ātmaka 'ham. He then imagines in the triangular dharmodaya (T. chos ḥbyun)
a lotus adorned with a viśvavajra. (These words point to the maṇḍala-
palace). From the wheel of BHRŪM syllables arise Vairocana together
with his consort. (These words point to the divine residents of the maṇḍala).
The four corners show that there is no inequality of Buddhahood and Com-
plete Buddhahood in comparison with Buddhahood and Incomplete
Buddhahood. The four gates mean excellence by way of mindfulness
(smṛti) and faculty (indriya). The mindfulness is said to imply the four
stations of mindfulness, the four right elimination-exertions, and the four
bases of magical power; faculty means the set beginning with faith.
Besides, the stations of mindfulness have three levels by way of the three
insights, that consisting of learning, of pondering, and of cultivation.
Preliminary to all the rest is faith (śraddhā), so that is the Eastern Gate.
The four right elimination-exertions or four strivings (vīrya) are the
Southern Gate. To the Western Gate are assigned the mindfulness
generated by analysis of the doctrine (dharma-pravicaya) as well as the
four bases of magical power. The Northern Gate has one-pointed samādhi
which implies the five faculties (indriya) and five powers (bala). The four
arches are the four Dhyānas; and these are encircled by the four-part
perimeter (nemi) of samādhis, the four called Śuromaṇgama, Gaganagaṇja,
Vimala, and Simha-vijṛmbhita. This part is well-ornamented with objects
of worship. Because the nine divisions of scripture are intended to please
and attract the sentient beings, they are represented by the fluttering
banners of eight different colors and tinkling bells, called the ninefold
miscellany (prakṛtya). “Knowledge-mirror” is expanded as net (hāra), half-
net (ardha-hāra), mirror, flower-garland, and so on—representing the
seven ancillaries of enlightenment. The eight decorated posts stand for the
purity of the eight liberations. The diamond line stands for turning the
wheel of the doctrine by the diamond method, which is the method of
incantation (mantra). The five-offerings (flowers, powdered incense, lamp,
perfume, and food for the gods) represent the Dharmadhātu. Besides, the
palace is to be studded with as many jewels as possible.4

In the case of Nāgārjuna, there is his Piṇḍikṛta-sādhana, which fortunately
has been edited by Louis de La Vallée Poussin in his edition of the Pañca-
krāma (Gand, 1896). Verse 23 has the setting of the palace: “When one
draws together the four maṇḍalas, there is the maṇḍala in a spot of diamond
earth (vajrabhūbhāga). There one should contemplate a palace arisen from
the syllable BHRŪM:—”

24-26. With four corners, four gates, decorated with four arches,
associated with four lines, adorned with eight posts, beautified with
nets and half-nets, and with maṇi-vajras and half-moons. Studded

4. Here we have S. nemi, T. mu khyud.
(khacita) with vajraratnas [in all the joints of corners and] in the joints of the gates and gate projections. [Has a line struck for the outer circle]. With flasks, posts, and the Mahāvajra; also birds on the series of heads. Adorned with bell-banners; also with cāmaras, and so on".5

On this, Ratnakarasānti has well commented in his Piṇḍikṛta-sādhana-pāyikā-ṛtti-ratnāvalī-nāma (PTT, Vol. 62, p. 74). He has employed the classifying terminology of “hinted meaning” (neyārtha) and “evident meaning” (nītārtha), which turns out to be here the distinction between the conceptualized and then externally-represented maṇḍala on the one hand, and the body maṇḍala on the other.

A. Hinted Meaning. The spread of the rampart perimeter about the four corners amounts to four aṅguli, because it is the purity of “sameness knowledge” (samatā-jñāna). “Four gates” means accompanied with gates in each direction, because they are the purity of the four gates to liberation and the four stations of mindfulness. “Four arches” means the special structures over the four gates as a lovely decoration, because they are the purity of the four Dhyānas. Likewise, “associated with four lines” means with the two Brahmā lines or with the (four) basic lines,6 because they are the purity of the four pure abodes. “Adorned with eight posts” means with their positions in the directions of the eastern square (kośṭhaka) of the cakravartin, etc. since they possess various jewels and are marked with vajras, mirrors, etc., because they are the purity of the (eight) liberations of meditation. Likewise, “beautified” means that the net, which has a lord, and the half-net, which is without a lord, are beautified with maṇḍi-vajras and half-moons, because they are the purity of the seven ancillaries of enlightenment. “All the joints of the corners” means joints of the four directions; likewise, the “gate projections” are the outer parts and the “joints” are the inner parts. They are “studded with vajraratnas,” i.e. with vajras marked with ratnas that slightly stand out and emanate light, because they are the intrinsic nature of the five knowledges. Likewise, flasks are placed on both sides of each gate, that is, eight golden flasks; among them,

5. La Vallée Poussin’s reading krayaśīrṣas tu yakṣīni has been corrected to kramaśīrṣaṇa yakṣīni. In the Śāhags rim, 188a-4,5,6, this kramaśīrṣa is identified with the “elephant trunks” (S. sūcikā, T. šar bu rnam).

6. The two Brahmā lines (North-South and East-West) cross each other and so can be counted as four segments. The basic lines are the directional lines constituting the sides of the square. See the diagram in Ferdinand D. Lessing, “The Eighteen Worthies Crossing the Sea,” in the Sino-Swedish Expedition Publication 38 (Stockholm 1954), p. 126.
the Jaya and Maṅgala are in the East; the Pratihārya and Siddhi in the South; Vijaya and Śānti in the West; Siddha and Nirmi in the North—because they are the nature of the eight siddhis of ızī ba,7 etc. The posts are eight, since there are two each at each gate; their adornment is as before. “Mahāvajra” stands for the eleven vajras, because they are the purity of the Stages.8 “Birds on the series of heads” means that on the summits of the arches, there are two peacocks (māyūra) in the East, two swans (hanṣa) in the South, two cakravākas in the West, two jīvamjīvakas in the North, because they are the purification of passion (rāga). Likewise, “bell-banners” are banners along with bells which give out peals from the tops of the banners, and are possessed of nets of banners and bells. Again, “with cāmaras and so on” means cāmaras (i.e. whisks made of yak tail), flower garlands. “Adorned” means adorned with those (bell-banners, etc.), which are the purity of the nine divisions of the sacred scripture. (The foregoing:) Hinted Meaning (neyārtha).

B. Evident Meaning. Among those, “Meru” is the body. “Eight peaks” are the eight orifices.9 “Viśva-vajra” and “viśva-padma” are the two organs by division into male and female. The “palace” is the body itself. “Four corners” are the front, back, right, and left sides. “Four gates” are the mouth, the secret place (here: the heart), navel, and Brahmarandhra. The four arches are the two eyes and the two ears. The four lines are Rus sbal ma (*Kūrmi), Zla ba ma (*Candrikā), Lha sbyin ma (Devadattā), and Nor rgya ma.10 The eight posts are the two shoulders, both the arms and the legs and the two thighs. The “net” is the basic veins; the “half-net” is the subsidiary fibres, totalling 72,000. The half-moon is the

7. The term ızī ba may be a slip. It is equivalent to the rite of appeasing (jāntika); this is the first of the three or four rites aimed at siddhis (occult powers or success) of various kinds. For the list of eight siddhis, cf. Mkhas grub rje’s Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, tr. by F. D. Lessing and A. Wayman (The Hague, 1968), pp. 220-1.
8. The Stages are of course the ten Bodhisattva Stages and the Buddha Stage, making a total of eleven.
9. The eight orifices are presumably the usual nine minus the Brahmarandhra; cf. Tson-kha-pa’s commentary on the Six Laws of Nārō-pa, the “Yid ches gsum ldan”. (PTT Vol. 161, p. 10), where it is taught that in order to have a transit through the Brahmarandhra (here called the “Golden Gate”), it is necessary to inhibit the transits (Ratnakarashanti would call them the “oozing”) of vīḍhāna through the other eight orifices.
10. Earlier in this same work by Ratnakarashanti, PTT Vol. 62, p. 69-3, he had also mentioned this tortoise lady (kūrmi) as a vein (nāḍī) and in like fashion the moon lady (candrikā). Presumably the four ladies are equivalent to the four goddesses of the heart, Traivṛttā, Kāmini, Gehā, and Cāḍikā, who are placed in the four directions according to the discussion in Śangs rim, 435a-6, where a fifth goddess Māradārīkā is added in the middle. In this theory of the heart having the initial structure which spreads to the other cakras of the body, the four goddesses of the heart, representing the four sensory objects, seem to well correspond to the first four lines of the maṅgala.
bodhicitta, which is the part of means (upāya) incorporating the part of insight (prajñā). The vajra is the vajra of the secret place. Ratna is its peak. “Corner part” is the left nostril; “joint of the gate projection” is the right nostril. Their “vajra” is perception (vijñāna). Jewel is the substance oozing therefrom, and which possesses it. Flask is the belly. Post is the back. Mahāvajra is the six elements. Birds are the ten winds, because they move about. Bell is the tongue, because it makes sounds. Banner is the central channel. Câmara is the hair of head. The flower garlands included in “and so on” are the intestines. “Deer” are the eight perceptions. (The foregoing:) Evident Meaning (nittārtha).

Then there is a passage in Vajravarman's commentary, the “Sundarālam-kara”, on the tantra Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana, PTT Vol. 76, p. 133, which is worthwhile presenting to show a somewhat unorthodox way of interpreting the same parts of the palace, and in particular to introduce the obscure Tibetan term pha-khu (=pha-gu): “The four boundless states of friendliness, etc., are the four gates. The four samādhīs are the four arches. The eight liberations are the eight posts. The four noble Truths are the four sides (logs). The four Dhyānas are the jewelled pha-khu. Finally, the nine samāpattis are the nets and half-nets”.

Those commentaries on the parts of the palace, attributing to them the categories of Buddhist ascension, agree rather consistently on the basic parts to be so treated symbolically. In addition, the books go into further technicalities of construction, which are elaborately developed in the Shāgṣ rim, chapter on Preparatory Rite (sta gon gi cho ga), subsection “Explaining the meaning of the lines which are ‘struck’” (btab paṭi thig rnams kyi don bṣad paṅho). Besides, this subsection has valuable information for our present discussion. In particular, maṇḍala paintings show two circular strips, the outer ring and the inner enclosure of the lotus. Already we have noticed in the setting of the palace that there is a diamond enclosure. Shāgṣ rim (178b-3) cites Kluṭi Blo (*Nāgabuddhi), “The arch (toraja) has a pinnacle of diamond; beyond that is the outer wall which has the good light of a diamond garland”. With reference to the inner enclosure, Shāgṣ rim (175a-2) cites the same author, “Outside the inner circle, one should draw the four lines completely equal”. The following passage of Shāgṣ rim (178a-2, ff.) insists that the expression “diamond enclosure” (vajraprākāra) means both the outer wall of the world and the Dharmodaya (secund source of all the natures of the world). They are, so to say, the outer and inner boundaries of the world. Accordingly, the

11. The Shāgṣ rim (187a-1) defines the pha-gu as follows: “The “pha- gu” goes upon the structure up to the summit of the gate side, as the structure runs” (/ pha gu ni rtṣig paṭi steṅ nas sgo logs kyi rtse moḥi bar du rtṣig pa ji ltar soṅ ba bzin yod do /).
four equal lines according to the *Sñags rim* are really boundless, just as was set forth above from the *Sarvarahasya-náma-tantrarája*:

The equal measure of the "fire mountain" (S. agniparvata, T. me ri) in all directions has the meaning of equal measure of emitting rays, but it is not the case that the four small parts (segments) do not continue further. Hence, (he) says that one does not prepare the painting of powdered colors as its ceiling: it continues on without measure. In all the directional angles, the fire heap keeps on; within that, the diamond enclosure has the nature of the outer wall of the world (*mahâcakravâla*) which is thick and compact. Furthermore, this *âcârya* [presumably Kluţi Blö] maintains that the meaning of its contemplation goes from the wind-maṇḍala below to the Akaniṣṭha above, so it is necessary to understand likewise the "strips" (*snam bu*) of the diamond spot. The sort of *vajra* may be either five-pronged, three-pronged, or a *viśva-vajra* (crossed thunderbolt); and if painted, is to be made accordingly. Our school holds that the circular line which encloses the *vajra* and the *padma* symbolizes the Dharmodaya; and if there is contemplation of the Dharmodaya, it is (done) that way.

According to that position of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, although the texts frequently describe the dharmodaya as a triangle, one should contemplate it as an inner circle in the case of conceiving the maṇḍala.

*The Triangular Dharmodaya*

The Dharmodaya as a triangle is apparently shown in a maṇḍala in my possession only in photographic form (original presumably in Stockholm, the Hedin collection). Unfortunately, it is not sufficiently clear for further reproduction.

Here, what I take to be the Dharmodaya triangle is within the inner circle which is surrounded by four petals, suggesting the maṇḍala of the heart, described later in my essay on the Inner Zodiac. Previously it was noted that in the *Caturaṅga-sādhana* the officiant imagines a lotus adorned with a *viśva-vajra* (a crossed thunderbolt) in the triangular Dharmodaya (=*dharmadhiṭu* as source of natures). Presumably that is also what Šridhara refers to in his *Kṛṣṇayamārī-sādhana-nāma* (PTT. Vol. 85, p. 298-5), verse 18:

(From which) rightly arises the auspicious member—
a white triangular Dharmodaya,
located above like the sky,
with a *viśva-padma-vajra* in the middle.
Mandala of the Triangular Dharmodaya
In the present case the "diamond thread" which surrounds the inner circle is strung with skulls; and within the triangle, instead of the viśvavajra—which is a stiff structure—there is what seems to be a free representation of the svastika in its meaning (as Buddhaghūhya will be cited below) of the union of means and insight, or of the male and female, symbolized by the vajra and the padma. This becomes clear when the small, diffuse, triangular area of the photograph is viewed under a microscope. The figure within the triangle seems to consist of two scarves crossing each at their midpoints where they are tied together, which the artist has embellished in wave fashion. On the facing page is a drawing of the central area only of this particular maṇḍala.

* * *

The figure within the drawing is such that it can be turned in any direction. In any case, the triangle, while drawn pointing downwards, need not be so construed because it is part of a two-dimensional representation of the three-dimensional palace. In the Guhyasamājatantra tradition, as in Tson-kha-pa's annotation commentary on the Pradīpoddyotana (PTT. Vol. 158, p. 13-3), there is a triangle called the "E-triangle" (after the shape of the letter "e" in an Indian alphabet) meaning the lotus of the vidyā, and also meaning the three liberations (the voidness, wishless, and signless).

II. Symbolism of maṇḍala ritual

Mkhas grub rje's *Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras* contains a fund of basic data, but scattered here and there for our present purposes. Let us recall the line cited from the Sarvarahasya-nāma-tantrarāja, "Where the maṇḍala is explained is the sublime mental maṇḍala," on which Ratnākaraṇānti comments: "'sublime' because it is comprised by the Saṃbhogakāya". This indicates that the maṇḍala can be understood to represent the palace of the Akaniṣṭha heaven, where according to Mahāyāna tradition (say, the Lankāvatārā-sūtra), Gautama was initiated as a Complete Buddha with the body called Saṃbhoga-kāya. This Akaniṣṭha heaven is considered to be at the top of the world at the limit of the "pure abodes" of the "Realm of Form" (rūpa-dhātu). Mkhas grub rje's work contains the tradition that this Saṃbhoga-kāya teaches only Bodhisattvas of the Tenth Stage. The implication is that the maṇḍala constitutes the re-establishment of the heavenly arrangement. It amounts to saying that mythologically the advanced Bodhisattvas ascend to the Akaniṣṭha heaven to receive the instruction of the Saṃbhoga-kāya, and that in practice they construct a

mandala. Mkhas grub rje's work clarifies that the mandala must be more than constructed: it must be realized. The mandala is constructed in the order of steps generally employed in the Tibetan hieratic paintings. First, there is a sketch according to the rules. In the Tantra, this is called the karma-line, which is white. Then, areas are given appropriate colors. In the Tantra, this is called the jñāna-line, with lines of five colors representing the five Buddhas; and Mkhas grub rje explains that five sets of threads of five colors, making a total of twenty five, are twisted together, to constitute the jñāna-line. Lastly, the details are put in. In the Tantra, this is the last stage of mandala-construction, the erection of an edifice.

Besides, that author Vajravarman (op. cit., p. 133, fol. 5) says, “There are two fruitional mandalas, with the method of the Dharmakāya and with the method of the Saṃbhogakāya”. He goes on to illustrate the “method of the Dharmakāya” as the five knowledges which are the nature of the five Buddhas, starting with the Dharmadhātu-jñāna which is the basis of all supramundane knowledge and which has the nature of Vairocana. If one follows the terminology in the tradition of the Mahāvairocana-tantra which leads up to the two mandalas of the Japanese Shingon school, the method of the Dharmakāya might be a mandala representing the Diamond Realm (vajradhātu) and the method of the Saṃbhogakāya might be a mandala representing the Nature Realm (dharma-dhātu). The mandala of the Diamond Realm is inexpressible, and that of the Nature Realm is expressible.13

The reflected-image mandala

The following materials are based on six verses in a Tantra of the Yoga class referred to briefly as the Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana (Purification of all evil destiny).14 While there are several extensive commentaries on this Tantra preserved in Tibetan translation, I shall translate here only the one by Buddhaguhyā in his work of reconstructed title, Durgati-pariśodhanārtha-
vyañjana-vṛtti. First the six verses (sloka) of the Tantra (PTT. Vol. 5, p. 84-4,5) translated from the Tibetan:

1. One should start by blessing the place with a rite of whatever be the sort, i.e. vihāra, upavana, stūpa, devakula, ārāma, etc.
2. One should draw the outer mandala in that place which has been blessed, to wit, possessed of four corners, four gates, four arches; adorned with four staircases and garland, lions, bulls; adorned with silk, tassels, pendant necklaces, garland, bells, yak tails.

13. Ibid., pp. 204-5.
14. The full title of the Tantra as entered in the catalogs of the Tibetan canon is: Sarvadurgati-pariśodhana-tejorājasya tathāgatasya arhate samyaksambuddhasya kalpa-nāma.
4. One should adorn it with the seals (mudrā) of diamond, jewel, lotus, svastika. It should possess eight lines, and be adorned with outer gate projections.

5A. One should dress it in nine parts and render the gates and gate projections into three parts.

5B. The casting of thread with diamond line is the casting of thread of the center maṇḍala.

6. Like the wheel of the law, it has sixteen spokes along with a nave. It is possessed of a triple series, and the spokes are to be doubled.

Next I translate Buddhaguhya’s commentary on these verses in the section which he calls “the concise meaning of the maṇḍala” (PTT, Vol. 76, p. 22-1 to 23-1). Because of certain illegible spots in the photographic edition I also consulted the Narthang Tanjur edition. I shall use superscript letters, starting with “a” to indicate the paragraphs of my annotation which follows the translation.

* * *

Now I shall teach about the reflected image of the conceptual basic maṇḍala. Why so? Because this is said to be the external maṇḍala. As to its being external, the method of constructing the reflected image maṇḍala of powdered colors appears in the sensory domain of the five sense organs. The “maṇḍa” is the inner palace; and the “la” is the wheel possessed of spokes, and possessed of strips, gates, and corners. The meaning expressed below has the pure tones from the mouth (of my guru).

1. The vihāra and the upavāna. It is said that the vihāra (temple) kind is made within the confines of a monastery. The upavāna (grove) kind occurs variously on a spot of ground that is smooth.

The stūpa, devakula, ārāma. The stūpa kind occurs where there are relics of the body. The devakula (chapel) is a residence for mundane gods. The ārāma (garden) is drawn in a place where many persons congregate.

With a rite of whatever be the sort. “Of whatever be the sort” indicates of whatever sort of place, of whatever sort of implements, and of whatever sort of incantation expert, incantation assistant, and patron. The “rite” involves the place, rite of investigating, (permission) of a visible king, or of an invisible deity, and so forth. In this case there is the sequence: (1) the spot where it will be done; and the search for a good spot; (2) begging permission to do the stipulated activities according to the rules; (3) using incantation (mantra), gesture (mudrā), and deep concentration (samādhi) to bless it into the mind of enlightenment which is the nature of the five knowledges; (4) examining the self-existence and characteristic of earth; (5) contemplating according to the rite; (6) beseeching to know according
to the rite, doing the ritual methodically, and not wavering in samādhi. Why so?

One should bless the place. There are four kinds of blessing: (1) blessing the place into the true nature of knowledge; (2) blessing the place of the dharma-maṇḍala arisen from the samādhi-mind; (3) blessing the place of conceptual names into the dharmadhātu; (4) blessing the maṇḍala of powdered colors as a place of material marks, into a dwelling place for the Buddha.

2.-3. In that place which has been blessed. In the manner that a thousand ounces of silver are changed into gold by using gold paint, it is said that one blesses the defilement into purity by using the paint of samādhi-knowledge.

One should draw the outer maṇḍala. Cognition manifests. One must visualize the samādhi-maṇḍala. The outer maṇḍala is a reflected image of that, and since that is the required basis, one speaks of an “outer maṇḍala”; and in order to symbolize that, there is the expression “outer maṇḍala”.

Possessed of four corners and four gates. It exhibits the four corners as symbols of having the four knowledges; and exhibits the four gates as symbols of having the four kinds of marvellous action (phrin las).

Possessed of four arches; adorned with four staircases and garland. The “arches,” the terrace steps of the maṇḍala-stand, are made of terrace steps in the gateways. The “staircases” are made of small stairs from the arches. The “garland” consists of the staircases and arches, and is beautified by eight intervals (or segments) which appear along with the garland. Besides, it is ornamented by possession of the “arches” consisting of the four boundless states, with the “staircases” consisting of the four means of conversion, and with the “garland” consisting of infinite compassion; and it also exhibits the eight liberations.

Adorned with lions and bulls. There are “lions” since the one with great compassion of means is not frightened of saṃsāra. There are “bulls” in the sense of infinite marks of right powers.

Adorned with silk, tassels, pendant necklaces, garland, bells, and yak tails. They are on the left and right of the gates. “Silk,” or pañcarāga (five-colored), has the meaning of five kinds of knowledge. “Tassels,” or trirāga (three-colored), are the pure nature of body, speech, and mind. “Pendant necklace” is a hanging necklace of pearls, standing for the Bodhisattva’s joy. “Garland” is a pearl garland surrounding the circular necklace; this means the set of requirements for samādhi. “Bells” are combined with the necklaces; because they are the purity of speech, they cause the teaching of Dharma to the living beings; and made of pearl, they circle the border of the maṇḍala. “Yak tails,” Himalayan, extend out; free from fault, they stand for no shifting in the mind of enlightenment.

4. One should adorn it with the seals (mudrā) of diamond, jewel, lotus,
and svastika. The “diamond” means a round fence of diamond, i.e. an unconstructed fence like diamond consisting of wisdom-knowledge (vidyā-jñāna). With a garland of “jewels” there is the inner circle of the palace; it arises through all sorts of other merits. “Lotus” is the special thing with the various seats for goddesses; it means the aim of living beings with the great compassion of skill in the means while being unattached. The “svastika” is an angular cross of vajras, like the moon. It is a symbol of the union of means (upāya) and insight (prajñā). “Adorn it” means ornamentation to beautify the reflected image, and ornamentation to clarify the apperception of inner symbols.

It should possess eight lines and be adorned with outer gate projections. The “lines,” i.e. threads, mean contemplation in the manner of the mind of enlightenment. Having “eight” means it is decorated with four directional threads and four inner threads, making eight. Possessing the eight kinds means that the person with the eight good-luck symbols on his body, has the symbols of completion. “Outer gate projections” are the gate-bends (sgo khug pa), standing for the means of entering by samādhi comprehension. “Adorned” with those kinds, means three levels (sum rim) in the gates, exhibited by twelve gates. This means that in order to turn the sentient beings of the three realms away from the twelve members of dependent origination, there is the Buddha in the method of the twelve acts. Adorning the strips (snam bu) with a quadruple series (bzi rim) is a symbol of purifying the four kinds of birthplace by means of the four knowledges. That is the meaning of adorning it.

5A. One should dress it in nine parts and render the gates and gate projections in three parts. This means that because one purifies with compassion the three realms and the nine stages, one explains the single face of the maṇḍala as having nine (parts). “One should render the gates and gate projections” means that one should render the gates and gate projections by the union of calming (the mind) and discerning (the truth); and because that perfects body, speech, and mind, one explains that there are three parts.

That finishes the teaching of Indra differentiation. Now to teach the meaning of the inner. Why so?

5B. The casting of thread with diamond line is the casting of thread of the center maṇḍala. “Diamond” is taken as the family (rigs), because it is blessed into mind of enlightenment. The “line” is taken as the thread which is the means of showing this and that. The “center” is taken as a round palace which is the symbol standing for the dharmaḍhātu. The “thread” is the diamond thread of wisdom (vidyā) and is to be taken as the great bliss (mahāsukha) of the mind of enlightenment. From that “thread” with the magical performance (prātiḥārya) of blessing, emanate the rays of knowledge (jñāna) which exhort the illustrious hearts of the noble ones
and bless by performing the aim of sentient beings. Casting the “son thread”, i.e. the thread that is blessed and is emanating the light of knowledge, means casting the sky thread (gnam thig) and the earth thread (sa thig). By so casting the pure brahmā thread, it is blessed into purity or brahmā.

6. Like the wheel of the law. Here “wheel” means that when it has a nave and spokes there is capability as a wheel. Like that example, when one has a Teacher, retinue, place, etc., because he teaches the law, there is the wheel (set into motion). The one with a wheel is like an offering. Because right knowledge cuts off the defilement kind of suffering, it is said to be the wheel of the law; it is the understanding that perceives the meaning after cutting down the nets of intellect. “Net” is a term that takes as one the sixteen constructed with having spokes, and is a symbol showing that. The dharmadhātu is primordially pure (ye nas rnam par dag pa); the nave is a symbol showing that. The spokes are a symbol of the perfection of compassion with skill in the means; and dharma is the realm exhibited at the nave. The wheel is exhibited as marvellous action (phrin las), and the spokes are exhibited as the nature of compassion. The “net” as a symbol of showing, is taken as the reflected image which shows the world. In order to take it that way, the garland of jewels which shows knowledge surrounds the circle; and through the arising of desire there is the Saṃbhogakāya. One posits the example of the horse-maṇḍala. What is the reason for that?

It has sixteen spokes along with a nave. The “nave”, which is the circular palace of the center, is the Dharmakāya. “Along with” means that the garland of jewels surrounds the circle and through the arising of desire there is the Saṃbhogakāya. The “spokes”, i.e. the wheel, exhibit the nature of the sixteen sattvas who are the perfection of compassion, and are the Nirmāṇakāya. Why so?

It is possessed of a triple series. The “series” is exhibited as three entrances within from without, and three exits from within. The exits from within are exhibited as the nave, the garland of jewels, and the spokes. Among them, the nave represents the symbol of All-kennning (kun rig) Vairocana, the Dharmakāya, “Series” is a term for arising of the special (āvenika). The garland of jewels represents the Buddhas of the four families as well as the Mother of the family, i.e. the Saṃbhogakāya in great bliss. The spokes of the triple series are the Nirmāṇakāya, i.e. they represent the Nirmāṇakāya as the nature of the supramundane retinue of sixteen sattvas, etc. After the diamond fence, the created circle (nirmitacakra) should be understood as mundane and supramundane. The triple series of entrances from without represent the three levels (sum rlin) in the gate. There is the term “entrance from without” because one arouses the mind in the Great Vehicle in the series of performing the aim of living
beings by way of the body and speech of the Tathāgata; and by installing the living beings that way among the Bodhisattvas. Now to teach the aim of the wheel:

* The spokes are to be doubled. This means that the spokes are doubled at the nave of the wheel, but the pairing does not include the garland of jewels of the center. Moreover, it is because the garland of jewels and the aforementioned doubling take rise from the nave, that the spokes are to be doubled. It is said that there is doubling for the sake of performing the aim of living beings by way of the means and insight.

The concise meaning of the maṇḍala is finished.

* * *

Subsequently (p. 27-I) Buddhaguhya has an explanation of maṇḍala ornaments: "(The text) mentions "canopy" because this is the guru of the three realms; "banner" because victorious over the Māras; "adornment" (vibhūṣaṇa)—marvellous action of compassion; "umbrella"—mind of enlightenment; "yak-tail (whisk)"—marvellous action; "tassels"—compassion; "food"—benefit and morality of body; sixteen golden flasks which show the seal (mudrā) of the dharmañdhātu; five flasks that are filled with the water of the five families—the knowledges of the five families; "lamp"—insight; "strewn food offering" (bali)—compassion; "food and drink"—food for the gods, diverse foods having the hundred flavors, offering water having the eight aspects, and so on."

* * *

Here are my comments on the above:

a. Buddhaguhya here defines the word maṇḍala in terms of the contained, maṇḍa, and the container or holder, la. For more information, see Mkhas grub rje's, especially pp. 270-71. Guiseppe Tucci, The Theory and Practice of the Mandala is recommended for a general treatment and mainly for the theory of "residents" of the maṇḍala (in contrast to the maṇḍala of "residence"). Two French scholars have studied the maṇḍala as portrayed in the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa; first Marcelle Lalou, Iconographie des étoffes peintes (1930), and more recently, Ariane Macdonald, Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa (1962). For individual maṇḍalas, the most remarkable contribution is now A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Parts 12-15, published by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira† and Prof. Dr. Lokesh Chandra (International Academy of Indian Culture, 1967), the individual parts containing an enormous number of maṇḍala representations with deity lists.

b. The different parts of the rite are written up more extensively in Mkhas grub rje's, pp. 279, ff.

c. When the knowledges are given as four, there is the correspondence
system of the Yoga Tantra (cf. *Mkhas grub rje*’s, pp. 232-33); and so the knowledges are the Mirror-like, Equality, Discriminative, and Procedure of Duty, with respective Bodhisattva activity of Mind of Enlightenment, Perfection of Giving, Perfection of Insight, and Perfection of Striving.

d. The four boundless states were already set forth in the section on parts of the palace. The four means of conversion are (1) Giving, equal to the Perfection of Giving, (2) Fine, pleasant speech, (3) Acts in accordance, (4) Oneself serving as an example. The “eight liberations” were stated earlier to represent the eight posts; for the ancient Buddhist theory of the eight, see, for example, Paravahera Vajirañāṇa Mahāthera, *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice*, pp. 484-86; and the annotated version in Étienne Lamotte, *Le traité de la grande vertue de sagesse*, Tome III (1970), pp. 1291-99.

e. When five knowledges are mentioned, then the Dharmadhātu-knowledge is added to the other four. The set of requirements (T. *tshogs*) is variously stated in the books, but they more or less amount to the set stated by Asaṅga (cf. A. Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi*, p. 60): personal success, success of others, virtuous craving for the doctrine, going forth (to the religious life), restraint of morality, restraint of senses, knowing the amount in food, practice of staying awake in the former and latter parts of night, conduct with awareness, seclusion, elimination of hindrances, and right dwelling in *samādhi*.

f. For the eight good-luck symbols, see the next section of this chapter. The twelve members of dependent origination are in English translation: (1) nescience, (2) motivations, (3) perception, (4) name-and-form, (5) six sense bases, (6) sense contact, (7) feelings, (8) craving, (9) indulgence, (10) gestation, (11) birth, (12) old age and death. The twelve acts of the Buddha are (*Mkhas grub rje*’s, p. 25): (1) the descent from Tuṣita, (2) entrance into the womb, (3) rebirth, (4) skill in worldly arts, (5) enjoyment of the harem women, (6) departure from home, (7) arduous discipline, (8) passage to the terrace of enlightenment, (9) defeat of the Māra host, (10) complete enlightenment, (11) (turning) the wheel of the law, (12) departure into Nirvāṇa. The strips (*paṭa*) are shown surrounding the inner palace square in the drawing of the Dharmodaya. For the four kinds of birthplace, see my essay, “Buddhist Genesis and the Tantric Tradition” (note 1); but how the four knowledges can purify them certainly needs further explanation.

g. The term “nine stages” is somewhat obscure (the same expression occurs in the Narthang edition of this text). However, as it is coupled with the “three realms” the meaning should be the nine *samāpatti*-s (equilibrium attainments), for which see *Buddhist Meditation in Theory and Practice*, pp. 454-68. The nine *samāpatti*-s are the four *dhyāna* stages of the realm of form (*rūpa-dhātu*), the four stages of the formless (*arūpya*-s), and the stage

h. The use of the word “Indra” here requires explanation. Vajra-varman’s commentary on the same Sarvatragatiparīśodhana (PTT. Vol. 76, p. 121-3), mentions that there are two kinds of Indra, the one of the hundred offerings (śatakratu) and the one of a thousand eyes. Here the one of the hundred offerings is in point, because Buddhaguhya in his commentary (p. 33-3) says that Indra is the “yon bdag” (Sanskrit, yajamāna), i.e. patron of the sacrifice. However, the term Māhendra (belonging to Great Indra) is used in the Buddhist Tantras to mean “earth”. So far there has been a differentiation of the sanctified spot of earth, so this must be the main use here of the word “Indra”.

i. Blessing (adhiṣṭhāna) is one of the four kinds of prātiḥārya according to Mkhas grub rje’s, p. 26 (note), the other three being Initiation, Marvellous Action, and Deep Concentration. For the knowledge thread and brahmā-lines, see Mkhas grub rje’s, pp. 284-87. While Mkhas-grub-rje does not use the terminology “sky thread” and “earth thread”, his explanation is immediately applicable. The meaning of course is that the knowledge thread is really in the sky; and so the thread on earth must be imaginatively lifted to the sky and imbed with the knowledge which is there, then brought down to earth as the “knowledge line”, which accordingly is a “son thread,” blessed with knowledge.

j. Concerning the wheel of the law, in non-tantric Buddhism one may take Vasubandhu’s Ārya-Akṣayamatinirdeśa-ṭikā (Derge Tanjur, Toh. 3994, 6a-4, ff.): “‘In the manner of a wheel’ means there is a wheel by reason of a nave, spokes, and rim; so also from among the Tathāgata’s Eightfold Noble Path, right speech, right bodily action, and right livelihood are understood as the aggregate of morality, like the nave. The four, right understanding, right conception, right mindfulness, and right effort are understood as the aggregate of insight, like the spokes. Right samādhi (i.e. the aggregate of samādhi) is the pacification of all prapañca (expansion of sense attachment), hence like the rim.” Notice that Buddhaguhya’s number sixteen in a multiple of four, and can be taken as

15. This is clear enough in the Paścakrama (ed. by de La Vallée Poussin), Vajrajāpakrama, verses 19-22, which set forth the Buddha elements streaming forth from one or other nostril from their bases in various element cakras, here called “mandala” (vortex). Verse 19 speaks of the hutābhū-mandala, i.e. the vortex of fire (hutābhū) which is red and departs from the right nostril. Verse 20 uses the expression vāyu-mandala for the vortex of wind which is greenish yellow and departs from the left nostril. Verse 21 has the term māhendra-mandala for the earth vortex which goes forth in a golden ray from both nostrils. Finally, verse 22 has the term vāruṇa (“related to Varuṇa”) for the water vortex which is the white ray also leaving through both nostrils. Here māhendra (related to, belonging to, fit for Great Indra) is a name of the earth.
one in the sense of a net. But when Buddhaghuya explains the spokes as
the nature of compassion, it does not agree with Vasubandhu’s under-
standing of them as the aggregate of insight. A further divergence is when
Buddhaghuya takes the nave to stand for the dharma realm, while Vasu-
bandhu puts here the aggregate of morality, and evidently counts the
entire wheel as representing the dharma. And when Buddhaghuya takes
the circle (hence the rim) as the knowledge garland, the disagreement
is complete. That still does not clarify the “horse-maṇḍala” (same reading
in the Narthang Tanjur). But the previous use of the word “Indra” suggests
that “horse” refers metaphorically to the “horse sacrifice” (aśva-medha),
since in this sacrifice as portrayed at the opening of the Brhadāraṇyaka
Upaniṣad, the horse parts sum up the world, and the maṇḍala is also the
world.

k. The sixteen sattvas are certainly the set of sixteen Bodhisattvas which
Buddhaghuya lists in his commentary, p. 24-2,3 and where he calls them
the “Bodhisattvas of the Bhadrakalpa (fortunate eon)”. His list is not quite
the same as in any of the maṇḍalas of the Nispannayogāvalī, but the
closest lists are in the Maṇjuvajramāṇḍala and Durgatiparīśodhana-
maṇḍala, wherein the Sanskrit names are established. Here is Buddhag-
ghuya’s listing together with directional meaning:

East (who do not swerve from the true nature of mind):
Maitreya, Maṇjuśrī, Gandhahasti, Jānāketu.
South (who have purity of view and practice):
Bhadrapāla, Amoghadarśi, Ākāśagarbha, Akṣayamati.
West (who have a host of merits):
Pratibhānakūṭa, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Sarvāpāyaṇjaha, Sarvaśokatamonirghātamatī.
North (who have eliminated the two obscurations—of defilement
and knowable):
Jāliniprabha, Candraprabha, Amṛtaprabha, Samantabhadra.

The most notable omission is that of Avalokiteśvara, but he might be
present with the name “Amoghadarśi” (whose vision does not fail),
especially since the Dharmadhātu-Vāgtśvara-maṇḍala of the Nispannaya-
 yogāvalī in its list of sixteen Bodhisattvas includes Avalokiteśvara and
omits the name Amoghadarśi. Some years ago, when I was reading the list
in the Dharmadhātu-maṇḍala, the Mongolian lama Dilowa Gegen
Hutukhtu told me that those sixteen belong to the Tenth Stage (and so
according to Mkhas grub rje’s are in the retinue of the Sāṃbhogakāya).
This then is what Buddhaghuya means in his next paragraph by “supra-
mundane retinue”.

l. The three exits from within are: (1) the nave—Vairocana as Dharma-
kāya; (2) the garland of jewels, which is the rim—the Buddhas in Sambhogakāya form; (3) the sixteen spokes—the sattvas as Nirmāṇakāya. The word “āvenika” may refer to the special group of eighteen attributes peculiar to a Buddha, called the unshared natures (āvenika-dharma); the most elaborate exposition of the eighteen is now in Lamotte (op. cit.), Chap. XLI (pp. 1625-1703). The three entrances from without are the special kind of body, speech, and mind. The “diamond fence” was previously stated to be the round, unconstructed fence consisting of wisdom-knowledge. Earlier in Tson-kha-pa’s passage it is called the “fire mountain” and the outer wall of the world. In fact, it is the hallowed circle, blessed into diamond, and the demonic elements are all outside: they cannot cross the “fire mountain”.

The Mt. Meru Maṇḍala

Previously Ratnākaraśānti’s exposition of the body-maṇḍala mentioned that Meru represents the body. Then Buddhaguhya’s description of the maṇḍala-rite spoke of a person having the eight good-luck symbols on his body. The meaning of these remarks relates to the temple banner of Mt. Meru, but we must start with the maṇḍala of Mt. Meru, here reproduced.16 Meru is in the center of the four continent system of the realm of desire (kāmadhātu).

In a small Tibetan text17 I noticed a description which goes with this maṇḍala and therefore also helps explain the temple banner (below). In my translation of the passage I shall restore in part the well-attested Sanskrit names18 along with numbers that agree with those on the Mt. Meru Maṇḍala.

(The Maṇḍala:) OM VAJRABHUMI ĀH HŪM (“Om. The diamond spot of earth. Āh Hūm”). (There appears) the golden spot of earth which belongs to Great Indra (māhendra). OM VAJRAREKHE ĀH HŪM (“Om. The diamond sketch. Āh Hūm”). (There appear):—

16. The Meru maṇḍala with names in Tibetan and Chinese was produced by the Peking Buddhist Institute among the years when the late Professor F. D. Lessing was there, and probably in the late 1930’s when he participated in the Hedlin expedition. Professor Lessing prepared a Sumeru diagram accordingly (see Yung-Ho-Kung, pp. 105-106) and his further remarks are helpful (especially p. 103).

17. The Byaṅ chub lam gyi rim pa’i dmar khrid myur lam gyi sūna ‘gro’i dag ‘don gyi rim pa khyer bde bskal chog bskal bza’i mgrin rgyan žes bya ba, which was published in a book of minor Tibetan works with Western format. My copy, which has no entry of date or place of publication, was purchased at the Tibetan press in Dharmsala, H.P. (India) in Spring 1970.

18. These names are given by Professor Lessing (note 16, above) and probably stem from the Mahāvyutpatti, chapter on the four continents, especially Nos. 3047-3059 in the Sakaki edition, which I have utilized.
Plate 8. The Mt. Meru Maṇḍala (Tibetan-Chinese).
1. Su-Meru, the King of Mountains, in the center, surrounded on the outside by the Cakravāla of iron mountains;
2. Pūrvavideha (Videha of the East),
3. Jambudvīpa in the South,
4. Aparagodāniya (Godāniya of the West),
5. Uttarakuru (Kuru of the North),
6. Deha,
7. Videha,
8. Cāmara
9. Aparacāmara (the Other Cāmara),
10. Śāthā,
11. Uttaramantriṇa,
12. Kurava
13. Kaurava,
14. the Mountain of Gems,
15. the Wish-granting Tree,
16. the Cow of Plenty,
17. the Harvest Without Ploughing,
18. the jewel of the wheel,
19. the jewel of the gem,
20. the jewel of the woman,
21. the jewel of the minister,
22. the jewel of the elephant,
23. the jewel of the excellent horse,
24. the jewel of the general,
25. the flask of great treasure,
26. the play lady,
27. the garland lady,
28. the song lady,
29. the dance lady,
30. the flower lady,
31. the incense lady,
32. the lamp lady,
33. the perfume lady,
34. Sun,
35. Moon,
36. the Precious Umbrella,
37. the Banner Victorious over the Quarters.

In that list the eight ladies (Nos. 26 through 33) are goddesses frequently depicted in Tibetan banners as holding the individual offering indicated by their names (play, garland, song, dance, flower, incense, lamp, perfume). 19

OM
Sumero
Four Continents
AH
Whatever natures have arisen through causes, their cause the tathāgata has declared and whatever is their cessation—speaking thus is the great ascetic (Mahāśramaṇa)
HŪM

Plate 10. Reverse side of the Temple Banner
The Mt. Meru Temple Banner

All that data is immediately applicable to the Tibetan temple banner reproduced here and combines with Mkhas grub rje’s (p. 175). The first two evocation stages are not visible in the temple banner: (first) “he must imagine an earth surface made of many jewels and strewn with gold sand;” and second he has the diamond sketch or plan. The next (or third) evocation stage is visible in the banner at the bottom (Mkhas grub rje’s): “Upon it he imagines an ocean of milk.... In the middle of this, he imagines a four-sided Sumeru mountain, adorned on all four sides with rows of stairs made of gold, silver, sapphire, and amber, all over which spring up wish-granting trees decorated with a thousand fluttering victory banners.” In the case of the body as Meru, Ratnakaraśānti refers to the sides as “front, back, right, and left”, which are respectively East, West, South, and North.²⁰ On the temple banner in the manner of a retinue, the three white crescent shapes are the Eastern continent Pūrvavideha (middle), with two minor continents Deha and Videha. The Southern continent is represented by a blue square—the one for Jambudvipa not visible, presumably because the meditation is taking place in this continent (= India); the two visible squares are the lesser Cāmara and Aparacāmara.

²⁰. See the correspondence table, Yung-Ho-Kung, p. 102.
The three red circles are the Western continent Āparāgadāniya along with the lesser continents Sāṭhā and Uttaramantriṇa. The three yellow truncated triangles are the Northern continent Uttarakuru and its two minor companions Kurava and Kaurava.

The temple banner shows wish-granting trees but not the Mountain of Gems, the Cow of Plenty, or the Harvest Without Plowing. Then there is the list of the seven jewels of the World Emperor (cakravartin), and it is said (Śūtrālaṃkāra, Bodhipakṣa chapter) that the Bodhisattva has seven jewels comparable to the imperial seven. The Bodhisattva jewels are the seven limbs of enlightenment (Nos. 19-25 of the thirty-seven natures accessory to enlightenment, listed in my first chapter): mindfulness is comparable to the jewel of wheel, joy to the jewel of gem, the cathartic to the jewel of woman, samādhi to the jewel of the minister (or treasurer), analysis of the doctrine to the jewel of the elephant, striving to the jewel of the excellent horse, equanimity to the jewel of the general. All seven world-emperor's jewels are depicted on the temple banner on the observer's right. From top down, there are the wheel and the imperial gem (= wish-granting gem, cintāmaṇi), the woman and the treasurer, the elephant, the general, and the horse. In the case of the body- maṇḍala, the yogin naturally has the seven limbs of enlightenment.

In the middle along with the Sun and Moon, there are the external offerings, starting with the five offerings to the senses, on observer's left: mirror (the plain one), ķamaru drum, and auspicious (incense) flask (bhadraṅkalaśa); on the right: food and conch shell (the one which is held). Beneath these five are a total of twelve offerings. Among these there stand out, on the left: lamp (candles) and flower (lotus); on the right: incense (incense burner) and perfume (shell with scented water). These are the four basic offerings discussed in my Offering Materials chapter, and are shared between the list in the Mt. Meru Maṇḍala, above, and Mkhas grub rje's (pp. 179-183). However, the remaining four goddess offerings in the Mt. Meru Maṇḍala, namely, play, garland, song, and dance, are not represented in the temple banner; but the remaining four in Mkhas grub rje's list of eight are apparently represented: oblation, feet-cooling water, mirror (the other one with rays) for washing the divine body, food for the gods. The remaining four offerings (of the twelve) appear to be various kinds of herbs. All those offerings go with Sun, Moon, and stars in the intermediate space. In the Divinity chapter, Padmavajra mentions one meaning of the Dharmakāya as the set of planets, asterisms, etc. It is difficult to know if this meaning applies here. But in the section "Explanation of parts of the palace" it was observed that the set of five offerings represents the Dharmadhātu.

The star groups depicted on the banner are each rough approximations to two famous constellations. The one associated with the sun is obviously
meant to be the circumpolar constellation Ursa Major, called the Great Bear, the Plough, Great Dipper, and by other names. It amounts to seven stars called in Indian mythology the Seven Rishis, who are the ‘mind-born sons’ of Brahmā. The one associated with the moon is even more deformed, but its six stars can hardly constitute any constellation other than the Pleiades, because among the group of twenty-seven or twenty-eight asterisms (*naksatra*), the ancient Indian works always had the moon starting out in the Pleiades, called in the Indian language *Kṛttikā*. The Indian Śaivite war-god Kārttikeya owes his name and his six heads to the legend that he was fostered by the six wet-nurse stars of this constellation.

In the sky (the part of the temple banner above the Sun and Moon) (*Mkhas grub rje*’s, p. 175): “Above it, he is to imagine a canopy (appearing) in an instant. On top of that, he generates the complete characteristics of an eaved palace and generates within it various seats; and he may also generate within the palace *stupas* of the varieties ‘victorious’ and ‘radiant’.” At this upper level there are the eight good-luck symbols or emblems that are on the yogin’s body-*maṇḍala*. Buddhaguhya’s commentary on the *Sarvatvādītīparisodhana* (PTT. Vol. 76, p. 26-4) just prior to setting forth the eight, defines “yoga” of “yogin” by way of its Tibetan translation (*rnal ’byor*, “sticking to tranquillity”): “tranquillity” (*rnal*) is true nature (*dharma-tā*) and “sticking to” (*’byor*) is knowing. Then Buddhaguhya says: “Yoga displays (itself) as the eight emblems (*rītags*) on the true nature of body. The eight emblems of good luck (*aṣṭa-maṇḍala*) are: the endless knot (*śrīvatsa*) which is lotus-like; the wheel (*cakra*) which is frightening; the banner (*dvaja*) which is victorious; the umbrella (*chattrā*) which is dignified; the lotus (*padma*) which is luminous; the flask (*kalaśa*) of acute mind; the conch (*śaṅkha*) of purity; the golden fish (*matsya*) of auspicious mind.” The Mt. Meru Maṇḍala has two entries, the Precious Umbrella (No. 36) and the Banner Victorious over the Quarters (No. 37), which appear to be the same as two of the above eight emblems, namely the umbrella and the banner. Besides, the Maṇḍala entry “flask of great treasure” (No. 25) may very well be the emblem “flask”. As to those emblems being on the yogin’s body, in an early article21 I translated from a commentary of the Yoga Tantra a certain list of the thirty-two characteristics that included for the Buddha’s hands (although usually the feet are credited with these characteristics: the “lion’s seat” (*śimhāsana*), “fish” (*mīna*), “banner of victory” (*dvaja*), “thunderbolt” (*vajra*), the “hook” (*aṅkuśa*), the “flask” (*kalaśa*), the Nandyāvarta, the Śrīvatsa, the “conch shell” (*śaṅkha*), the “lotus” (*padma*), and the Svastika.

Let us now treat the three-storied palace which rests on the cloud atop Mt. Meru.

Speaking about the eaved palace on the summit of Mt. Meru, Lessing\textsuperscript{22} states that it is Indra’s palace called Sudarśana. This continues the association with the name “Indra” since the golden spot of earth from which the evocation began is called “belonging to Great Indra”. The tiny structure on the top of the palace roof is more difficult. It may very well be a stylized part of a stūpa. It will be recalled that \textit{Mkhas grub rje’s} mentions two kinds of stūpas that can be generated in the palace. Like the standard stūpa, this structure—as the photograph is seen with a microscope—also has on its very top the crescent moon surmounted by the sun, in turn surmounted by a hook-like curve that should represent fire. While the usual representation of a stūpa does not show lotuses in the superstructure, in fact two lotuses are mentioned in that position in the stupa description recently published in a Tibetan educational manual.\textsuperscript{23} These lotuses, although tiny, are visible in the tiny roof structure atop the three storied palace, which considered as a reliquary house might contain the three kinds of relics.\textsuperscript{24} The two lotuses shown in the roof structure should be (lowest) the “lotus which is the throne for the flask” (\textit{bum gdan padma}) and the other one (higher) the “lotus which supports the parasol” (\textit{gdugs ’degs padma}).

Finally, the top of the temple banner is described from Buddhaguhya’s \textit{maṇḍala} exposition previously translated. The pendant necklace is a hanging necklace of pearls, standing for the Bodhisattva’s joy. The silk (scarves)—five-colored—have the meaning of five kinds of knowledge.

\textsuperscript{22} Yung-Ho-Kung, p. 104.


\textsuperscript{24} \textit{Mkhas grub rje’s}, pp. 106-107, shows that the corporeal relics of the Buddha are of the Nirmāṇakāya, that the \textit{dāhārājī} are relics of the Dharmakāya, and so, inferentially, the icons are relics of the Sambhogakāya. The \textit{dāhārājī} do not have to be in the form of incantations. In fact, the most frequent one is the sentence of the law which is repeated on the reverse side of the Temple Banner—the sentence, “Whatever natures have arisen through causes . . .”. This famous passage is among the most ancient sayings of Buddhism, being known from the celebrated account of the conversion of the disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana.
Ritual in the Buddhist. Tantras somehow always revolves about the “three mysteries of the Buddha”—his Body, Speech, and Mind, and how the tantric performer correlates his own body, speech, and mind with those “mysteries” or secrets. That will be my first concern. Then I shall turn to various topics of the Anuttarayoga Tantra, a note on mundane occult attainments (siddhi), the “five ambrosias” of the Stage of Generation, finally the three ritual observances (vrata) and other matters of the Stage of Completion. The “three mysteries of the Buddha” are the life of all these discussions.

Orientation toward the “Three Mysteries”

It was already pointed out that the officiant correlates his body to the Body Mystery by means of gesture (mudrā), his speech to the Speech Mystery by means of incantation (mantra), and his mind to the Mind Mystery by means of intense concentration (samādhi). I now go into these in reverse order, because samādhi is the part which is shared with non-tantric Buddhism and in fact is a feature of Buddhism from its outset.

According to Mkhas grub rje’s (pp. 198-201), which should be consulted on these points, calming (the mind) (śamatha) and discerning (the truth) (vipaśyanā) are the backbone of both the “Pāramitā-yāna” and the “Mantra-yāna”. Mkhas grub rje points out that the specific techniques of developing these two essential ingredients of samādhi—as one can read about them extensively in ordinary Buddhist texts—are not mentioned in
Tantric Ritual and Symbolism of its Attainments

the Tantras for the simple reason that the contemplation, according to the rules, of the yoga of the deity brings the complete characteristics of calming. Likewise, for discerning reality, one must have the voidness contemplation, which is an essential element in the Buddhist Tantras even though they do not treat voidness in the manner of a Mādhyamika treatise, with its refutations of the opponent and the like. This voidness contemplation in tantric practice is illustrated in the meditation on sound (see those same pages of Mkhās grub rtse’s) where the sound contemplation is carried out to the extreme limit of silence, whereupon one reaches the voidness. This is called “freedom at the limit of the sound,” a freedom abiding in the Dharmakāya. This is explained for the lower Tantras in Śrī-Dipamkarabhadra’s Vāg-āśrita-dhyāna-nāma (PTT, Vol. 79, p. 251 to p. 252), where the sound of the dhāraṇī-garland (mālā) is associated with what he calls the “stage of generation,” and the sound of the void with the “stage of completion.” This author, Dipamkarabhadra, has written a work well-known in the Guhyasamāja tradition (the Guhyasamājamanḍala-vidhi). He states: “There are two kinds of sound which cut off all karma of living beings—the sound of the void and the sound of the garland.” He then says that there are six kinds of sound of the void. These are his six, with brief citation of his further explanation:

1. That based on body and speech. This relies on the magical practice born of the body through the profound unborn true nature (dharmatā), which is void.

2. That based on sense objects (viṣaya). This arises in the five gates of the profound true nature, while the yogin is devoid of intellectual activity (buddhi).

3. That based on mind (citta). This is based on memory.

4. That based on the natural disposition of a knowable entity. Here the yogin is entirely devoid of views, and true nature appears as an illusion (māyā).

5. That based on time. There are three cases: (a) the time of cognition, when cognition is cut off while sound dissolves within (one). (b) the time of comprehension, when there is realization of non-self (anattā). (c) the time of the “year’s recitation,” when there is the harvest of true-nature.

6. That based on personal transformation. This is voidness of basis (hetu). In the case based on (a spot of) body, there is gradual decrease (of phenomenal manifestation); and in the case based on mind, there is transcending of samsāra.

Besides, the Tantras usually have different meditative objects from the non-tantric Buddhist ones. Tsöṅ-kha-pa’s Lam rim chen mo (śamatha section) cites the author Bodhibhadra (his Samādhi-sambhāra-parivarta-nāma) for a classification of meditative objects that emphasizes tantric examples. Following is a tabulation of this author’s material.
### TABLE 8
**Meditative Objects for Calming (the Mind)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. By looking inward</th>
<th>II. By dwelling on what is seen outside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A. Dwelling on the body</strong></td>
<td><strong>B. Dwelling on what is based on the body</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. As the aspect of a god</td>
<td>1. On the breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. As the unpleasant thing of skeleton, etc.</td>
<td>2. On the subtle signs (sūkṣma-nimitta)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. On the drop (bindu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. With outstanding signs like khaṭvāṅga</td>
<td>4. On the member rays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5. On rapture (prīti) and pleasure (sukha)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Passing to the second topic, it is of course the officiant’s use of mantra, or a string of these in the form of dhāraṇī, to correlate his speech to the Speech Mystery. Mkhas grub rje’s section on “The four members of muttering” (pp. 186, ff.) already has so much authoritative material on this subject that I can do little more than refer the reader to his treatment. However, the little that I can add is to continue Dipamkarabhadra’s exposition. He states that there are five kinds of sound-garland, which I here give with abbreviated notice of his individual explanations.

1. Meditation of dwelling in the sound held in accordance with the “stage of generation.” Here the aim is, after much recitation, to have the sound-garland eventually sound itself, whereupon the sound is issuing in voidness, and is a reflected image of the Buddha’s realm.

2. Meditation on dwelling in the sound of the garland of letters. The officiant imagines a garland of vowel letters at the root of his nostrils between the eyes; eventually it should become “bright” and be associated with ecstasy.

3. Meditation of dwelling in the garland sound of the body-speech-circle causing a state of consciousness. The word “body” means the bodies of deities who are the “circle” and “speech” is their speech. Whirling this garland, one becomes liberated from the garland of egoistic views, and consciousness dwells in the realm of profound true nature.

4. Meditation of dwelling in the garland-sound of intrinsically pure natures (dharma). This is a method of liberation from false appearances, cutting off of discursive thought, transcending the conventions of singleness and multiplicity, so that one arrives at the realm of the Buddha.

5. Meditation of dwelling in the sound which produces the path which
is the true-nature of the stage of completion. This is for the disciple of faith who has already become a “solitary hero” of the stage of generation and having donned the armor of the gods is now a beginner of the stage of completion. He has gained a superior capacity to pursue the aims of others. Seated on a pleasant seat, he imagines on his tongue a HUM from which issue a myriad rays of blue diamond, the ends of which are encircled by a dhāranī-garland of his tutelary deity which is revolving to the right. Outside of that is another garland composed of vowels, revolving to the left; and outside of the latter is another garland, composed of consonants, revolving to the right. The mind dwells on the set of three garlands; so dwelling the yogin destroys the faults of body, speech, and mind. When those three kinds of faults are destroyed, then dwelling on the first garland, he reaches the Nirmāṇakāya of Vajravidāraṇa; by the second one, he reaches the Sambhogakāya; and by the third, the Dharmakāya. By dwelling on the rays of the HUM he reaches the body of Vajravidāraṇa inseparable from the three bodies. As to how he dwells on them—he dwells on the first garland in the manner of a dream; dwells on the second one imagining it to be like water; dwells on the third one as though it were sky. Finally, he dwells on the rays of HUM as the profound realm of the Buddha.

Dipamkara's exposition is a sample of the rich material on this subject in the Buddhist Tantra, here part of the theory of becoming a Buddha through the Kriyā Tantra deity Vajravidāraṇa, who is Vajrapāni.

The third correlation is of course by way of mudrā, which means a “seal”. I refer to the author Buddhabhuya, commentary on Durgatipariśodhana (pp. 32-5), where he states that there are three kinds of mudrā: (1) the mudrā which is not transcended. It is not transcended by reflection on true nature (dharmatā). (2) the illustration mudrā. The illustration with mudrā is, e.g. of five colors. (3) the hand-gesture mudrā. It is a gesture of empowering with the fingers of the hand. Furthermore, a mudrā is said to be “illustrious” because it pleases and because it is nondual. That is Buddhabhuya’s brief but masterful explanation. There is learned information belonging to the Tibetan tradition in Mкhas grub rje's (especially pp. 228-49). One can find much material on mudrā following the Japanese tradition in E. Dale Saunders, Mudrā; in this case, it is practically all on the third kind of mudrā, the hand gesture. Concerning the second kind of mudrā mentioned by Buddhabhuya, this appears to be exemplified later in this essay as the “six mudrās” which in fact are the six ornaments of the Buddhist tantric deities; that is to say, these ornaments illustrate or stand for the six perfections. His first kind of mudrā appears to be, for example, those also mentioned in this essay as the three Inner Seals and three Outer Seals, because these seals do not illustrate something else, but
are themselves the true-nature experiences aimed at, hence are not transcended; likewise the final topic of four mudrās falls in this category. In any case, the correlation of mudrā is with the Body Mystery.

Four Kinds of Yoga

Tsoṅ-kha-pa frequently cites Abhayākaragupta’s great commentary called the Amṇāya-maṇjarī (Man sñe) and in the Shags rim chen mo (402a-b) he refers to this work for describing three kinds of yoga, namely the yoga of eating, yoga of washing, yoga of lying down; and then adds a fourth one called yoga of getting up. I now translate all four descriptions:

Yoga of eating. At the time of taking food, including drink and the like, one should be mindful of oneself as the deity; and having empowered the food to be like ambrosia (amṛta), should enjoy it by thinking that it is a divine offering.

Yoga of washing. It is to be done as in the phase of initiation.

Yoga of lying down. Having convinced oneself that the nature of voidness which consists of the true form of co-natal bliss is the nature of the Clear Light, he should lie down with what consists of Insight and the Means.

Yoga of getting up. He should get up upon being exhorted by the sound of the ḍamaru drum, or by the song of the goddess.

The “Yoga of eating” is of course involved with the section on “five ambrosias” as also with the “inner offering” in the classification of offerings in the previous chapter on Offering Materials. The “Yoga of washing” is evidently the sprinkling rite of initiation. The “Yoga of lying down” shows that the union of Insight (prajñā) and Means (upāya) takes place within the yogin. The “Yoga of getting up” agrees with our later discussion to the effect that the yogin, or the “Means” within him, is roused, made to rise by the sound of Insight.

External materials and mundane siddhis

The Stage of Generation in the Anuttarayoga Tantra has in this Tantra class the most in common with the lower Tantras, especially the Yoga Tantra. One thing in common is the feature of what are called “mundane siddhis”, although the Stage of Generation is frequently credited with the “eight great siddhis” (still mundane). The second stage in the Anuttarayoga Tantra, called Stage of Completion, is credited with the possibility of supramundane siddhi, or Buddhahood. Therefore, at this point we may call attention to Mkhas grub rje's (p. 211): “In this Tantra it is set forth
that by taking recourse to external materials such as the sword (khaṭga), one accomplishes the (siddhi) khaṭga-vidyādhara, and so forth.” This is simply a repetition of the remark in Sṅags rim chen mo, folio 92b-4, at which place there is no further information. Buddhaguhya slightly expands the list in his commentary on the Durgatiparīśodhana (PTT, Vol. 76, p. 40-3), calling them “tokens of siddhi” (dṅos grub kyi rtags), and mentioning the sword (ral gri), trident (rte gsum), wheel (cakra), and adding “etc.” (la sogs pa). With this slightly longer list to indicate typical members of the series, one can get further with the passage in the Āryasiddhākavīrasādhanam (Śādhanamālā, No. 71, Vol. I, p. 143-44): “Then at the time of the moon or of the sun, he takes in his hand a sword (khaṭga) made of natural iron; and gazing at the moon he recites (the mantra) until such time as he is liberated and becomes a vidyādhara of the sword. In like fashion, having applied the domineering substances of eye ointment, foot ointment, mid-forehead ointment—the thunderbolt (vajra), wheel (cakra), trident (triśūla), arrow (śara), mallet (mudgara), noose (pāśa), hook (aṅkuśa), etc. are accomplished.” Furthermore, Mkhas grub rje’s (p. 216, note) states: “Contemplating the deity and performing rosary muttering, while taking recourse to such substances as malachite (lig-bu-mig) and lamp-black (or antimony) (srod-aṅjana), one attains whatever he desires.”

Merit is also counted as a success (siddhi) according to what we read in Jñānavajra’s Puṇyavardhanī-śriyānāmālā-nāma (PTT. Vol. 79, p. 251-4):

... Having personally invited the gods of the mandala, one confesses to them any sinful, unvirtuous deeds. Then, he implores them for the desired object. If it is accomplished, he should make a huge banquet for others. Then, on a day of thunder he should convey to a large river the materials of the burnt offering and so on. On the East side of the town he should make various roarings of the conch-shell, set up parasols and victory banners. On the South side he should sound various drums and set up streamers. On the West side he should ride on a horse or elephant, sounding the dāmaru drum along with the sounds of musical instruments and the gong. On the North side, he should sound the bells and cymbals and hang various silks. Then he should confess whatever accumulation (of goods) he has amassed. Having done that ritual three or seven times, that yogin will undoubtedly attain to all facets of merit like the burning of a dry tree.

The Five Ambrosias

One of the most striking identifications of the five Buddhas is with the five kinds of ambrosia (amṛta) in a context where they are explained as
blood, semen, human flesh, urine, and excrement. This context is the conclusion of yoga in the Stage of Generation (upatti-krama) in the Anuttara-yoga-tantra, preliminary to the Stage of Completion (sampanna-krama). Tson-kha-pa (A.D. 1357-1419), founder of the Gelugpa sect in Tibet, sets forth this topic in his reform of the Tantras, called Śhags rim chen mo, with the views of numerous authorities.¹ Now, I wish to signal some of the essential ideas.

Because the preceding main part of the yoga has wearied body and mind, there is this rite of enjoying the ambrosia, enigvigorating the body. The yogin imagines at the top of his head a lunar disk marked with an Om. From this Om ambrosia trickles down moistening the finest particles all the way to his feet. But that is the end result of an evocation process, which is variously described, and presumably connected with the celebrated Hindu account of the churning of the ocean to extract the amṛta, over which the gods (deva) and demigods (asura) fought.

In these texts cited by Tson-kha-pa one starts with three vessels of authorized kind, skull bowl, and so on,—one in front containing liquid offering materials (Skt. = bali), such as milk, and two more on the right and left sides containing solid offering materials, such as meat and fish. However, Tson-kha-pa says that, if these materials are not available, one can use just water. Presumably the yogin is sitting with crossed legs. He “generates” the offering materials in three steps or evocations, stacking up a wind, on that a fire, and on the latter a skull bowl, the latter itself resting on a trivet of skull bowls. In that skull bowl, level with his own head (or is it his own head?), he generates from ten germ syllables, starting with Hūṃ, the five ambrosias and the five kinds of flesh. Here there is the flesh of cow in the east, of dog in the south, of elephant in the west, of horse in the north, and of man in the middle. In the intermediate directions and center there are the five ambrosias, and Tson-kha-pa quotes from the Mahāmudrātilaka:

Ratnasambhava is blood, Amitābha is semen;
Amoghasiddhi is human flesh, Akṣobhya is urine;
Vairocanā is excrement. These are the five best ambrosias.²

The yogin stacks the three germ syllables, Om, Āh, Hūṃ, in that order, apparently at the level of the crown of the head, level of the eyebrows, and level of the little tongue, uvula. These syllables irradiate, and attract the ambrosia of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas of the ten directions, as well as the ambrosia in the oceans.

The upward evocation can be interpreted in terms of “centers” of the

¹. The section herein treated occupies almost four folios of the Shags rim chen mo, beginning 394b-4.
². Shags rim chen mo, 395b-5.
body by reference to the Table of the preceding section. There the wind disk is in the navel and the fire disk in the throat. The third evocation, that of the skull bowl, would thus correspond to one's own head. This upward "generation" naturally reminds one of Viṣṇu's Three Steps. In fact, in the Hindu legend of the churning of the ocean of milk, Viṣṇu himself is seated on the mountain Mandāra, which constitutes the churning stick. This scene is beautifully depicted in Plate 5, M. S. Randhawa's Basohli Painting (Government of India, 1959). Among the objects which arose from the churning process were the divine cow Surabhi, the seven-headed steed, and the white elephant Airāvata. These three may account for three kinds of flesh generated in the skull bowl. Flesh of man in the middle may derive from Viṣṇu's central position. Alone flesh of dog is not accounted for in the Hindu legend. Hence this remarkable yogic evocation described in the Buddhist Tantras seems intimately related to certain legends about Viṣṇu.

In evaluating this curious description of the five ambrosias, which in this literature are said to purify the offering materials, it is well to observe that Tsoṅ-kha-pa in the Bodhisattva section of his Steps of the Path to Enlightenment, the Lam rim chen mo, speaks of the impropriety of certain gifts. For example, the Bodhisattva must not give food and drink polluted with excrement and urine, spittle, vomit, pus and blood; or give forbidden flesh.3 It is my opinion that Tsoṅ-kha-pa bothers to mention this in the light of the Tantric doctrine of the five ambrosias.

The Three Ritual Observances (vrata)

The word vrata for a ritual observance is of ancient usage in India. The standard Tibetan equivalent is brtal žugs, and the present materials happen to be mainly based on the Tibetan passages using this term. As the attainments are discussed in the Mother Tantra of the Anuttarayoga Tantra, they usually come in the order of first the ornaments of the deities and next the symbolization of the ecstatic song and dance by the magic wand (khaśvānga), the drum (damaru), and the skull bowl (kapāla).

During Tsoṅ-kha-pa's explanation of the three higher initiations (the Secret one, the Insight-knowledge, and the Fourth) in the Shāgs rim chen mo, he brings in (fol. 310b to 311a) the terminology of the three kinds of vrata (ritual observance).

For the first one, called "vidyā-vrata" (ritual observance of the vidyā), he says:

Because the prajñā herself is the concrete means for perfection of

3. This prohibition is part of a lengthy statement about the impropriety of giving, occurring in the Tashilunpo edition of the Lam rim chen mo on folio 230a, where Tsoṅ-kha-pa mentions Asaṅga's Bodhisattvabhāmi as the source of this particular material.
the illustrious non-oozing bliss, the “ritual observance of the goddess consort (vidyā)” is the understanding by the beginners and so on, “I must not omit the condensed reflection (bsdus rtogs pa) in any period.”

The phrase “in any period” can be understood by materials in my forthcoming Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra that the vidyā-vrata is the contact with the goddesses at the junctures, i.e. morning, noon, sunset, and midnight. The “condensed reflection” is presumably the co-natal knowledge (sahaja-jñāna) which Tson-kha-pa in that context says is explained in the phase of the third Initiation, i.e. the prajñā-jñāna (Insight-Knowledge). This agrees with Mkhas grub rje’s (pp. 318-19, note), that this initiation takes place in the “wombs” (bhaga), i.e. in the four cakras of the body belonging to the goddesses Locanā, etc.

Then he explains the one called “vajra-vrata” (ritual observance of the diamond). This “diamond” turns out to be the inner diamond which is the one mind of enlightenment as the intrinsic nature of the five knowledges. One has ritual observance of this diamond when he practices all the rites while free from discursive thought.

The third one is called “caryā-vrata” (ritual observance of the engagement). There are three forms: (1) The first engagement is to apply oneself to accomplishing the three inner “seals” (mudrā), which are (a) one’s own body as a divine body; (b) the indestructible sound of the “heat”; (c) the saṃvṛti mind of enlightenment which is the basis for enjoying the great bliss (the three symbolized by the khaṭvāṅga, etc.). One can also understand the three as external “seals” by taking the first one as the Father (yab), the second as the Prajñā, and the third as the mantra being recited. (2) The second engagement is the ritual observance of engagement together with the yoginī who wears the five ornaments; by having this observance, one applies himself to generating the five kinds of knowledge, which are the pure Dharmadhātu knowledge, and so forth. (3) The third engagement is the application to arousing the mind of enlightenment which has the indivisibility of void and compassion, that is to say, if one has achieved the capacity of the four divine stances, the supernormal faculties, etc.—applying them to accomplish the aim of sentient beings; and if yogins and yoginīs go outside (the fold) through worldly occupations —applying the power of all one’s own inner ornaments for their aim.

Ornaments of the Deities

There are six ornaments called mudrās (seals) worn by the deities and said to represent the six perfections (pāramitā) of the Bodhisattva, according to the final verse in Durjayacandra’s Saptākṣarasādhana (No. 250 in the Śādhanamālā).
The Green Tārā, showing the six ornaments.
Besides, five of the six are made to represent the five Buddhas according to *Hevajratantra* (I, vi, 11) and, consistently, according to the Explanatory Tantra, the *Sampuṭa* (PTT. Vol. 2, p. 260-3). Nāro-pāda’s explanation of the ornaments in his *Vajrapada-sāra-saṃgraha-paṇḍjikā* (PTT. Vol. 54, p. 36-1,2,3,4) accordingly concerns itself with the set of five. Hence a sixth ornament (the sacred thread) is left over; and besides there are some variants in stating certain ornaments, for example, as found in Tson-kha-pa’s *Sbas don* commentary on the *Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara* (PTT. Vol. 157, p. 90-2). I only found the actual itemization of the ornaments with correspondences to both the perfections and the Buddhas, in Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma’s collected works, Vol. Ga (p. 74-5 in Dalama’s edition, Vol. I), for which a sixth Buddha (Mahāvajradhara) has to be allotted. Nevertheless, the fact that the various contexts in which I find the list of these ornaments do not correlate them explicitly and respectively with the six perfections; and, furthermore, that the indications already given connect them with the five kinds of knowledge, shows that it is more practical to set up the intended correspondences with this in mind (n.b., in the order of the *Hevajratantra* list):

**TABLE 9**

**The Five Ornaments**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ornament Manifested</th>
<th>By Which Buddha</th>
<th>For Which Knowledge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Head ornament (mukuta) = maṇi of head, or cakra of head</td>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Mirror-like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ear-ring (kunjalam)</td>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Discriminative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Necklace (kaṇṭhikā)</td>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Bracelet (arms and legs) (rucakam)</td>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td>Dharmadhātu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Belt (mekhalā or kāyabandhanam) or sacred ash (mahābhasman)</td>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Procedure-of-duty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to *Shags rim*, 302a-1, ff., when one has already entered into the *vidyā-vrata*, which is the regular contact with the divinity at the *sandhis* (dawn, etc.), he then is to enter into the *caryā-vrata*. Tson-kha-pa makes a distinction as to whether it is a woman or a man that enters the *caryā-vrata*. A woman generates herself into the form of Vajravārāhi (the Diamond Sow), Nairātmyā (She who is Selfless), or the goddess of the family indicated by the thrown flower (in the flower initiation; cf. *Mkhas grub rje’s*, p. 315). A man generates himself into Hevajra, etc. In either case, the person must then attract, by means of the rays from the seed in his heart, the knowledge being and then make it enter, whereupon he
should convince himself that from the transformation of Akṣobhya, etc. the respective ornaments appear on his person. That is why the ornaments are called “mudrās” (seals). For each ornament a respective mantra is set forth to be cited thrice. Tsöñ-kha-pa states that those mantras are taken from the Vajrapañjarā, Chap. Nine. In short, the yogin and the yogini try to gain the five ornaments, “avoiding the ‘sacred thread’” (precept of the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra, Chap. 27), at least in this phase.

Now to Nāro-pāda’s explanations of the five ornaments: He goes through the explanations twice, first for the ‘hinted meaning’ (neyārtha) and next for the “evident meaning” (nītārtha):

neyārtha: One wears the cakra so as to bow to the guru, ācārya, kāmadeva.
One wears the ear-rings on the ears so as to not hear any harsh words directed toward the guru, holder of the vajra.
The necklace for reciting with mantra; the bracelets for avoiding any killing of living beings; the belt for recourse to mudrā.

nītārtha: One wears the cakra so as to honor and have a transit of the “drop” (bindu) of the bodhicitta (mind of enlightenment) which is called “guru, ācārya, kāmadeva”. One wears the ear-rings on the ears so as to destroy the harsh words and to preserve the words of agreement. One ties on the necklace for the purpose of cessation through reciting the mantra, since it “protects the mind” (man-trā). The bracelets to avoid any killing of living beings, where “living being” means the mind, and one should not kill it. The belt so as to take recourse to a mudrā, i.e. the karma-mudrā.

Those explanations of the ornaments turn out rather close to the correspondences of “perfections” as given by Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma, because the assignment of prajñā-pāramitā is consistent with the explanation of mudrā, especially karma-mudrā (the visible consort) since the word prajñā is often used for the consort in this tantric material. In the standard order of the perfections, these run: 1. Giving—necklace; 2. Morality—bracelets; 3. Forbearance—Ear-ring; 4. Striving—head ornament; 5. Meditation—Sacred thread; 6. Insight (prajñā)—belt (or sacred ash)—which happens to be the order of the six ornaments in the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra, Chap. 27. Notice that this introduces the extra ornament, the “sacred thread” (brahmasūtra, or yajñopavītam), which is identified with the
Buddha Mahāvajradhara who, in the Gelugpa sect founded by Tsoṅ-kha-pa, is the Ādibuddha.

The lord and the Buddhist tantric deities represented iconographically have all six ornaments. Reference to B. Bhattacharyya’s *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* shows that the sacred thread can be formed of a number of materials. Sometimes it consists of a snake, sometimes of bone ornaments, and frequently the material is not specified. It is of course always indicated when the iconographical description specifies six mudrās (saṃmuḍrā), because this means the five as have been discussed above plus a further one which is the “sacred thread”. It is noteworthy that this one is associated with the perfection “meditation”; this is perhaps a recognition that all the principal deities of the Buddhist tantric pantheon are contacted through meditation. But this does not justify the misnomer “Dhyani Buddhas” (the texts speak only of Buddhas, Tathāgatas, or Jinas).

**The khaṭvāṅga, dāmaru, and kapāla**

Pictures of the legendary Padmasambhava (8th century magician in Tibet) have frequently appeared in the West in books on Tibet; and many persons have noticed the peculiar wand held with his left arm that is called the *khaṭvāṅga*. Former travellers in Tibet have spoken about the mysterious rite called Chöd, and the drum called *dāmaru* (large sized variety) used in that mysterious cult. (Note that the spelling *dāmaru* is standard, but when transcribed into Tibetan the word is generally written *dāmaru*). Tibetan iconography frequently depicts the skull-bowl (*kapāla*), full of blood, held by some fierce figure. Those three are the attributes or hand symbols of the ḍākīṅs, typified by Buddhājākini (saṅs rgyas mkha’ ’gro) as depicted in the *Rin ’byun* collection (Lokesh Chandra, *A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*, Part 9, *Rin ’byun* 141). On the facing page the three attributes are made more salient:

All three are also taken together in a passage which Tsoṅ-kha-pa cites in the *Shāgs rim chen mo* (311a-4), running as follows: “It is said in the *Kun spyon* (evidently the *Yoginīsāṅcārya*), ‘The khaṭvāṅga is the body of a god; the dāmaru is insight (prajñā);’ and ‘Mantra is the drinking skull (kapāla).’” In the foregoing treatment of the three ritual observances, this place in the *Shāgs rim chen mo* was alluded to in exposition of the *caryā-vrata*. In summary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Inner Seal</th>
<th>Outer Seal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khaṭvāṅga</td>
<td>one’s own body as a divine body</td>
<td>Father (yab)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dāmaru</td>
<td>indestructible sound of the “heat”</td>
<td>Prajñā (the Insight consort)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapāla</td>
<td>basis for enjoying bliss</td>
<td>Mantra being recited</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Buddhaçākini, showing the khaṭvāṅga, qamaru, and kapāla.
Because the Father (yab) and Prajñā as the Mother (yum) can be combined as Father-Mother (yab-yum), the khaṭvāṅga and the ḍamaru are frequently mentioned together, for example, Sbas don (p. 57-2): “... along with the khaṭvāṅga with skulls marked with a vajra, and the beating of the ḍamaru with the sound of HŪM ...” The particular correspondence system which Tsoṅ-kha-pa uses in the above part of the Šnags rim chen mo is consistent with his citation in the same work (426a-5) of a passage from the celebrated master of the Mother Tantra named Lui-pa, including: “The khaṭvāṅga is the divine body; Prajñā is the sound of the ḍamaru. The lord who has the vajra is day; the yoginī is night.” A passage in the Hevajra-tantra seems to contradict the above, if we are to accept Snellgrove’s translation (Part I: I, vi, 11): Wisdom (is symbolized) by the khaṭvāṅga and means by the drum. But note his own edited Sanskrit (confirmed by the Tibetan):

\[
\ldots \text{prajñā khaṭvāṅgarūpiṇī} \\
\text{ḍamarūpāyarūpeṇa} \ldots
\]

It seems possible to translate this in a manner consistent with Lui-pa:

Prajñā is embodied for (or has the body belonging to) the khaṭvāṅga i.e. is the ḍamaru, by embodiment for the means.

My interpretation appears supported by the somewhat obscure line of the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-tantra (Chap. 35): “For cheating untimely death, a body is applied to the khaṭvāṅga.”

Tsoṅ-kha-pa was undoubtedly aware of the seeming discrepancy between the tradition he is following and the Hevajra-tantra (in common with the Saṃpuṣṭa), and in his Sbas don commentary on the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvara-tantra, p. 90-2, he treats the topic along with analysis of the expression “khaṭvāṅga”. Notice that khaṭvā means a “cot” or “couch”; so khaṭvāṅga (with aṅga in the meaning of “body”): “the body on the cot”. Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes:

The reality of the “prajñā body” (šes rab yan lag) is explained as the khaṭvāṅga or the embrace by the body of the prajñā lady. Nag-po-pa states in his Maṇḍala-vidhi: “The prajñā body is on the cot;” this means that the prajñā lady is to be taken as the cot.

That is to say, if “prajñā body” is the khaṭvā body, then prajñā is the khaṭvā or cot. Hence, that Hevajra-tantra line (I, vi, 11), “Prajñā has the body belonging to the khaṭvāṅga,” or “Prajñā has the form of the khaṭvāṅga,” again possibly to be construed as meaning that Prajñā is the
khaṭvā, the cot. While “embraced by prajñā” refers to the divine body on the prajñā cot. In the Lam rim chen mo (Bodhisattva section), in the course of explaining the “perfection of insight” (prajñā-pāramitā), Tsoṅ-kha-pa cites a work by Nāgārjuna: “Insight is the root of all this visible and invisible merit; hence, to accomplish both, one must hold on to Insight. It is the great science—the source of (present) nature, (future) purpose, and liberation; hence, with devotion from the outset, one must hold on to Insight, the Great Mother.” This requirement to hold on to prajñā is of course the rationale for the tantric iconography that shows the Buddha in the tantric form of Mahāvajradhara embraced by Prajñā or by a goddess representing prajñā, while he holds on to her. This role of prajñā—and she is called “Mother of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas” in the Mahāyāna scriptures—will be clearer as we proceed.

Those observations are further certified by the Hevajratantra itself (I, vi, 17), and here Snellgrove wrongly adopted a reading prajñākhaṭvāṅgo against the evidence of “All MSS. khaṭvāṅga.” The manuscript readings require a syntactical reevaluation; and thus correcting the passage, it can be retranslated: “The sound of the ādamareśu is the recitation; prajñā is the contemplation of the khaṭvāṅga. This is to be recited and to be contemplated by the engagement of the diamond-skull.” Previously we observed that Prajñā is associated with the sound of the ādamareśu, and is the khaṭvā. How is this possible? Compare with K. Kunjunni Raja, Indian Theories of Meaning, chapter on Metaphor, giving from Gautama’s Nyāyasūtra-s a list of possible metaphorical transfer of meaning, including (p. 234), “Location”, “e.g. maṅcāh krośanti (The cots cry). Here the term maṅca (cot) is used to refer to ‘the children on the cot’.” Then giving from Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya the famous grammarian’s relations involving transference of meaning, and as the first category, “Location”, “e.g. maṅcā hasanti (The cots laugh), girir dahyate (The hill is burning). Here the term ‘cots’ stands for ‘the children in the cots’ and the term ‘hill’ stands for ‘the trees on the hill.’” In the present case, we can understand the word “cot” (khaṭvā) to have a metaphorical transfer. The khaṭvā—the stretched out canvas of a cot—is the ādamareśu’s recitation; and—as a student at Columbia University Mr. Lex Hixon, suggested to me—perhaps because a drum is stretched material analogous to a cot. As to the kind of suggestion involved, see Raja (op. cit., pp. 302-03) where we find that poetical suggestion (dhvani) is of two sorts: avivakṣita-vācya (an implicit expression that is not intended to be told) based on the metaphorical transfer (lakṣanā); and vivakṣita-vācya (an implicit expression that is intended to be told) based on the literal meaning (abhidhā). In the present case, we obviously have an example of metaphorical usage whose message was not intended to be told, because part of the secrecy code of the Tantra. Still I am here telling it, through the fortunate confluence of explanations
from diverse sources, and also because, if it is proper for Westerners to tell many wrong things about the Buddhist Tantras, it is surely proper for someone to tell some right things that have come to his notice.

But we are far from exhausting the subject! What does the Hevajratantra mean by the “engagement of the diamond-skull”? We have already noticed that “diamond” in this context is the mind of enlightenment (bodhicitta). Hence, “diamond-skull” means skull containing the conventional mind of enlightenment. But the skull is explained as the mantra being recited. So drinking from the skull is the yogin’s recitation of the mantra; and he is no longer reciting it: the recitation is done by prajñā—the cot conveying him through those three severed heads on the khatavānga pole.

As to the skull bowl, the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra (Chap. 31) says: “Who would revile the skull of the embodiment of the Dharmakāya, arisen from the three sources—conch-shell (śaṅkha), mother-of-pearl (śuktī), or pearl (muktā)!” Tson-kha-pa’s commentary (Sbas don, p. 63-2,3,4) holds that the skull here refers to the skull of man. The reason the body of man is the best, is that it is the distinguished basis for accomplishing the Dharmakāya liberation and the knowledge of great bliss (mahāsukhajñāna). Those three, conch-shell, etc. are used to construct the skull in five sections (representing the five goddesses), as attached to the head-dress.

Shedding further light on the āmaru, Indrabhūti, in his commentary on the Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra, the “Sambharasamuccaya-nāma-vṛtti” (Toh. 1413, Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Tsa, f. 75b-2) writes:

The words, “Now through himself emerging,” mean that the yogin emerges from the realm of the heart, through exhortation of the sound of the āmaru drum, in the manner of deep sleep as the Dharmakāya of the Clear Light, dream like the Sambhogakāya, and waking state as the Nirmāṇakāya.

Therefore, when, as in Lui-pa’s precepts, we take prajñā as the sound of the āmaru, it turns out that she, contemplating the yogin—the divine body on the couch—exhorts him to rise.

**The Four Mūḍrā-s**

There is a great deal of information about this topic in *Mkhas grub rje’s*, and the extensive definitions by Padmavajra cited in the notes to that work, pp. 228-29, show the situation prevalent in the three lower Tantras. Here I wish to present some further material from the Anuttarayoga Tantra that happens to be consistent with the present chapter. The Śrī-Cakrasaṃvaratantra concerns itself with this topic in Chap. 36; and Tson-kha-pa’s
Sbas don commentary (p. 71-1) presents the explanation of the four mudrā-s in accordance with Abhayākaragupta’s Āmnāyamañjari. Here the four mudrā-s are twice explained, that is, for the phase of the path in the Stage of Generation and in the Stage of Completion, and finally their fruit is established in terms of the four Buddha bodies.

**TABLE 10**

**THE FOUR MUDRĀ-S**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MUDRĀ</th>
<th>STAGE OF GENERATION</th>
<th>STAGE OF COMPLETION</th>
<th>FRUIT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Karmamudrā</td>
<td>Contemplation of an external prajñā only in the form of Kāmādevi (goddess of love).</td>
<td>The external prajñā, because she confers pleasure through the acts of embracing, etc.</td>
<td>Nirmāṇakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmamudrā</td>
<td>The HŪM and other syllables contemplated in the body.</td>
<td>The inner prajñā, the avadhūtī (central channel).</td>
<td>Dharmakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samayamudrā</td>
<td>Emanating and recollecting the maṇḍala circle (of deities) accomplished from the seed syllables, etc.</td>
<td>The materialization of diverse forms of the gods</td>
<td>Mahāsukhakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahāmudrā</td>
<td>Contemplating oneself as the body of the principal deity.</td>
<td>The <em>bodhicitta</em> with great bliss, which is the fruit of those mudrā-s.</td>
<td>Sambhogakāya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In that explanation, the Mahāsukhakāya is expanded as the *bodhicitta* of bliss-void.
TWILIGHT LANGUAGE AND A TANTRIC SONG

In my paper published in the Louis Renou memorial volume* I began, "Certainly the Vajrayāna is not now as obscure as when Prabodh Chandra Bagchi wrote his still valuable Studies in the Tantras (University of Calcutta, 1939). Nevertheless, both the form, the meaning, and illustrations of the expression saṃdhā-bhāṣa deserve a fresh approach based on primary sources." In the first section of the paper I concluded "that the correct forms are saṃdhā-bhāṣa, saṃdhi-bhāṣa, or saṃdhyā bhāṣā, and that they all intend 'bhāṣā in the manner of saṃdhi (=saṃdhā)'." To continue:—

The Meaning of the Expression

Bagchi, in the same place (p. 27) writes, "Prof. Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī in the Indian Historical Quarterly (1928, pp. 287 ff.) has tried to determine the exact meaning of the expression Sandhābhāṣā. He has collected a large number of facts which justifies us in rejecting the old interpretation suggested by Mahāmahopādhyāya H. P. Śāstrī as 'the twilight language' (āloāndhārī bhāsā). . . . The large number of texts quoted by Prof. Vidhuśekhar Śāstrī has enabled him to interpret it as ābhīprāyika vacana or nevārtha vacana, i.e. 'intentional speech' . . . (V. S. Śāstrī) 'intended to imply or suggest something different from what is expressed by the

* "Concerning saṃdhā-bhāṣā / saṃdhi-bhāṣā / saṃdhyā bhāṣā," Mélanges d’indianisme a la mémoire de Louis Renou (Éditions E. de Boccard, Paris, 1968), 789–796. This original article may be consulted for the full first section indicated in my summary as well as for the Tibetan and Sanskrit passages omitted here.
words.” This interpretation is general among modern discussions of the Buddhist Tantras; but Edgerton (Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary), takes saṃdhī as “esoteric meaning” whence saṃdhā-bhāṣīta “expressed with esoteric meaning”.

Candrakīrti’s definition of saṃdhī bhāṣa is extant in the Bihar manuscript of the Pradipoddototana (Plate I, 2d folio) and I transcribe the passage exactly as it occurs: viśīṣṭaruci-sattvānām dharmatattvaprakāśanāṁ / viruddhālāpâyogena yat tat saṃdhīyabhāṣītāṁ / “Whichever one reveals a truth of nature for sentient beings having superior zeal, and by the method of ambiguous discourse (viruddhālāpa)—that one is expressed in the manner of saṃdhī”. (Here I assume a scribal corruption in the form saṃdhīyabhāṣītāṁ; it should read saṃdhīyabhāṣītāṁ but theoretically could be saṃdhāyabhāṣītāṁ). Unfortunately definition of the negative alternative, na saṃdhīyabhāṣītāṁ is missing from the manuscript. It is easily translated from Tibetan: “Whichever one teaches with certainty a truth for the comprehension of sentient beings having dull senses and in a very clear way—that one is not expressed in the manner of saṃdhī.”

There is an extended discussion of the “six alternatives” in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s commentary on the Jñāna-vajrasamuccaya, which is an Explanatory Tantra of the Guhyasamāja, as is also the Saṃdhivyākarana referred to above. This discussion in Japanese Photo. edition is in Vol. 160, p. 164, ff. A significant remark occurs p. 165-2: “The learned men of Tibet say that the neya and the nitta are based on alternatives (koṭi) of meaning (artha); the saṃdhī, on alternatives of word (śabda); the yathārūta and na yathārūta, on alternatives of both word and meaning”. According to this remark, Edgerton’s “esoteric meaning” for saṃdhī is incorrect, since his rendition attributes a given meaning, which is the province of either neya and nitta. Tsoṅ-kha-pa explains, p. 165-4, that the saṃdhī bhāṣā is intended for candidates with keen senses and zeal for the highest siddhi (success) but the words for that goal are stated in ambiguous discourse. Since the chief goal is the “Clear Light” (prabhāsva) and “the pair united” (yuganaddha), and saṃdhī refers to that goal, mentioned by Candrakīrti as dharmatattva—there is no certainty in the goal. Tsoṅ-kha-pa quotes the commentary (Candrakīrti’s?) on Guhyasamāja, Chap. 1: “If even the Tathāgatas do not know the goal of the samāja, how much less do the Bodhisattvas know it!” This indicates that the current rendition of saṃdhī-bhāṣā as “intentional language” is incorrect, as is also Snellgrove’s translation in that Hevajratantra passage, “secret language”.

Of course, the words saṃdhī, saṃdhā, and saṃdhīyā can all be used for “twilight”. While the word saṃdhīyā is especially used in this meaning, it is invalid to reject it in “saṃdhā-bhāṣā” arguing that saṃdhī or saṃdhā are the forms rather than saṃdhīyā. There is little doubt from Candrakīrti’s and Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s remarks that Mahāmohapadhyāya H. P. Śastrī was
right in translating the term as "twilight language".—The expression saṃdhīya bhāṣā is rendered literally "language in the manner of twilight".

The term saṃdhī-bhāṣā ("twilight language") aptly refers to the ambiguity, contradiction, or paradox of the moment between darkness and light. In ancient India, these were "climactics", as represented in my article "Climactic Times in Indian Mythology and Religion." History of Religions 4:2 (Winter, 1965). It is only in recent times that Hindus have ceased to respond to the dawn and dusk (morning and evening twilights). The ancient Hindu well appreciated the paradoxical nature of Ushas, goddess of Dawn, whose ever-youthful appearance heralded another day of life, bringing men that much closer to death. When evening descended a host of spirits emerged: it was the time that the Māra host appeared to the meditating Gautama under the bodhi-tree. The twilights symbolized the sensitive points in the temporal flow when spiritual victory was possible. A special vocabulary was created to refer to these critical points and called in the Buddhist Tantras "twilight language". This should have been obvious from the outset of Western research in the Tantras. But the scholars' understanding was blinded by their preference to regard the Tantras as a repulsive literature, depicting degraded cults. Hence they concluded that the saṃdhī-bhāṣā was a kind of literary "cover-up" for dissolute practices. Of course, if the terms are understood in the latter sense, they are indeed understandable and positively not ambiguous, so the obvious rendition "twilight language" had to be rejected by early Western investigators of the Tantras.

There was surely a time in India when every learned Buddhist monk could understand the terminology saṃdhīya...bhāṣitam found in verses Śāriputra is made to say in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Chap. III (Edgerton's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader, p. 55):

Days and nights I spent, O Lord,
mostly thinking just that; now, I shall
ask the Lord whether I have failed or not.

And as I so reflected, O Jinendra,
the days and nights continually passed on.
And noticing many other bodhisattvas being praised
by the Preceptor of the world,

And having heard this buddhadharma, I thought
"Indeed, this is expressed in the manner of twilight; at
the tree of enlightenment the Jina reveals the know-
ledge that is inaccessible to logic, subtle, and
immaculate."
Illustrations of Saṃdhyā bhāṣā

The Saṃdhibhāṣā-ṭikā is written by Nāgārjuna, presumably the same tantric who authored the Pañcakrama of the Guhyasamāja system. In the Japanese Photo. edition, it is in Vol. 56, pp. 67-69. He lists his explanations of the “twilight” expressions in seven groups or rounds. It should be of interest to compare his explanations with those in the Hevajratantra, accepting the work of Snellgrove in most cases.

Hevajratantra

madhya (wine) is madana (intoxication)
māṃsa (flesh) is bala (strength)
malayaja (sandlewood) is milana (meeting)
kheṭa (phlegm) is gati (going)
śava (corpse) is śrāya (resort)
asthyābharāṇa (bone ornament) is niraṃśuka (naked)
prenkhana (wandering) is āgati (coming)
krpita (wood) is đamaruka (drum)
dundura (emission) is abhavya (non-potential)
Kāliñjara (N. of a mountain) is bhavya (potential)

Saṃdhibhāṣā-ṭikā (1st round)
is the ambrosia (amṛta) of heaven, to be drunk continuously.
is wind, is food, to be controlled.
the coming together of external states, sense organs, and perceptions (based thereon)—which is so to be contemplated; also the consubstantial joy (sahajānanda).
the passage of the wind; also, when one has the four yogas, he contemplates without holding it, i.e. lets it go.
is the yantra of body, having infinite light (amitābha), and one should resort to that group.
One should be convinced, “these very bones of mine are my ornaments.”
is inhalation; and one should stop it from its violent acts.
the undefeated sound; also, by controlling the prāṇa and āyāma, one beats it (the drum) and makes it even.
is vikalpa (mental emission) and should not be elsewhere.
has avikalpa nature; also, while the wind is being inhaled there is no recitation.
padmabhājana (lotus vessel) is kapāla (skull)

is the four wheels (cakra [of the body] [one of which] is either the wheel at the head or the wheel at the navel; or it is the kakkola of the karmamudrā... the four wheels are the padmabhājana...

tṛptikara (satisfying) is bhakṣya (food)

is the meditation to be eaten by the yogins.

mālātindhana (jasmine wood) is vyañjana (herbs)

that scrutiny scraping the element is to be eaten.

catuḥsama (a potion of four ingredients) is gūtha (dung) kasturikā (musk) is mūtra (urine)

is Vairocana, hence is present through anointment of the body. is Akṣobhya, ditto.

sihīlaka (frankincense) is svayāmbhu (blood)

is Ratnasambhava, ditto.

karpīra (camphor) is śukra (semen)

is Amitābha, hence is present through anointment.

sālija (rice product) is mahāmāṁsa (human-flesh)

is Amoghasiddhi, hence is present the same way.

kunduru (resin) is the union of the two

is the union of sense organ and perception.

vola (gum myrrh) is vajra (thunder-bolt)

is vijñāna (perception), or the external vajra.

kakkola (perfume) is lotus

is the secret lotus, or else the external secret praṇā; by means of these, one acts in yoga.

That ends the first round of seven in Nāgārjuna's commentary and accounts for each item in the Hevajratantra list except for "dīṇḍima (small drum) is aspasa (untouchable)," omitted in Nāgārjuna's list, or omitted in manuscript copying. In the subsequent rounds Nāgārjuna treats the very same expressions with different comments, and dīṇḍima does appear in the third round.

Nāgārjuna's commentary suggests that the Hevajratantra has given the basic list of "twilight language". These are expressions for ambiguous yoga states, while "non-twilight language" refers to states of yoga that are not ambiguous. Both these alternatives should be distinguished from the
other sets, neyārtha, nītārtha; yathārtha, na-yathārtha; and while a similarly extended discussion of the latter terms would take us afield from our main topic, some brief explanations, following Candrakīrti’s Pradhīpodyotana, are in order. In tantric usage, neyārtha and nītārtha are alternative explanations for a given term, usually referring to a momentous or precious element of the body. For example, in the case of the expression “great blood”, the neyārtha is ordinary human blood, the nītārtha is menstrual blood. The set yathārtha and na-yathārtha refer to the terms employed for given objective entities. When the term employed is standard, it is yathārtha. When the term is coined, apparently to enable the insiders of the cult to preserve secrecy even if the text falls into unworthy hands, it is na-yathārtha. In contrast, “twilight expression” does not refer to a definite given entity, and it is not a meaning (artha).

The Diamond Song

Immediately after the section on “twilight language” in the Hevajra-tantra, there is a tantric song in the type of language called Abhirmāḥa (sometimes identified with old Bengali), which is generally used for the mystic songs called Dohā. The Siddhas (tantric masters), such as Saraha and Kāṇha, have left a remarkable group of these songs, the collections of which are variously called Dohā-koṣa, Caryāgiti-koṣa, and Caryāpadas.

Of course, the various commentators on the Hevajra-tantra have each had to explain to some extent this tantric song, and Snellgrove, who edited and translated the Hevajra-tantra naturally used some of these materials for his version. Fortunately, the great tantric master Nāropā has reproduced the text of the song along with his explanations in his commentary on particular expressions of the Hevajra-tantra in the Vajrapada-sūra-samgraha-pañjikā, extant in Tibetan (PTT, Vol. 54, pp. 1 to 41), where his commentary on this portion occurs, p. 32-2, ff. This is a song of the engagement (caryā), and our foregoing section on tantric ritual shows that there are three kinds of caryā, more fully “caryā-rrata” (ritual observance of the engagement), symbolized by the khaṭvāṅga, etc. There is a considerable amount of information on this topic, pertaining to the “Stage of Completion” (saṃpanna-krama), in my forthcoming Yoga of the Gūhyasamājataṇtra. As to the song itself, Nāropā’s commentary provides an understanding of it that is hardly possible from reading Snellgrove’s translation and notes. This is not to deny the value of the Hevajra context and Snellgrove’s labors; in fact, his information that the bodhicitta (mind of enlightenment) is here in the head—where inferentially is Kollagiri—is a helpful addition, as are his notes generally. But that is also the meaning of “diamond-skull”, as explained in my section on “ritual observances”. One
should observe that the song takes for granted the basic list of “twilight language” expressions. Notice also that the song serves as an expansion of the celebrated mantra OM MANI PADME HŪM, Om, the gem in the lotus, Hūm. Snellgrove’s text is adopted with a few modifications.

** **

KOLLAIŘE ĖṬHIA VOLA MUMMUŅIRE KAKKOLA
Vola (the diamond mind of enlightenment) dwells at Kollagiri (seizing bliss); Kakkola (the lotus) at Mummuṇi (the navel disk).
GHANĀ KIPĪṬṬA HO VĀJJAI KARUŅE KIAINA ROLĀ
The diamond exhortation is uninterrupted. The diamond of all thoughts of enlightenment holds the intrinsic nature of the three worlds in melted form.
The two organs congregate with friction.
TIHĂM BALU KHUJJAI GHAĐE MAANĀ PIJJAI
Having united the vola and the kakkola, one should eat meat (= the five personality aggregates which are the nature of the five Tathāgatas, and which thereby lose self-existence, melting into the self-existence of the mind of enlightenment possessing the five knowledges, mirror-like, etc.); and having united those two, one should drink wine (i.e. ambrosia).
HALE KĀLIŅJARA PANJAI DUNDURU TAHĬM VARJJIAI
Hail! The fortunate mind of enlightenment (Kāliṅjara) should enter the antlers of the lotus. The unfortunate sense bases of eye, etc. (dunduru) should be avoided.
CAUSAMA KACCHURI SIIHA KAPPURA LĂIAI
He (the Lord) takes the fourfold potion (Vairocana), musk (Aṅgobhya), frankincense (Ratnasambhava), and camphor (Amitābha) (because he is inseparable from them).
MĀLAINDHANA ŚALIJA TAHĬM BHARU KHĀIAI
One should especially eat vegetables (mālaindhana) (= five aggregates) along with rice (śālija) (= the knowledge of the Tathāgata).
PREMKHĀŃA KHEṬA KARANTE ŚU/DDHA NA MUŅIAI
Coming and going, one cannot comprehend the pure and the impure.
NIRMŚUA ĀMGHA CAḌĀBIAI TAHĬM JA ŚARĀBA PANI
He pays no attention to the bone ornaments on his naked body (= the diamond of the mind of enlightenment, the nature of the five knowledges).
The corpse (śarāba), i.e. the mind of enlightenment which is selfless, is situated at the tip of the nostril of the lotus.
MALAYAJA KUNDURU BAŢTAI ĐIŅĐIMA TĪHĂM NA VAJJAAI
At the meeting (malayaja) of the diamond mind of enlightenment with the prajñā, there is union of the two organs. One does not touch the small
drum (ḍīṇḍima) (in any event, because it is "untouchable"—Hvajra's "Ḍombi"; and ultimately, because everything has become unified).

* * *

Concerning the "coming and going" of that song, the *Samdhībhāṣā-ṭīkā*, as previously cited, has the explanation that it is inhalation (and exhalation). Such remarks point to the yoga practice of the "pot" (*kumbhaka*), which is treated in my subsequent section on Nine Orifices.
III

SPECIAL STUDIES
Both the one who is ignorant of the yoga of wind
And the one who knowing it does not practice it,
Are saṃsāra’s worm,
Afflicted by all sorts of suffering.

Saṃvarodaya-tantra
THE NINE ORIFICES OF THE BODY

It is a well-known feature of Buddhist canonical literature that one of the chief early disciples of the Buddha, Maudgalyāyana (Pāli: Moggallāna) was credited with special magical powers (iddhi in Pāli, ṛddhi in Sanskrit) with which he often visited various other realms of the world than ours, such as the hells and heavens. The Mahāvastu (Vol. I) soon takes up an account of this disciple's visits to the eight great hells and other realms. These stories do not explain how he managed to accomplish the feat. It is only much later—as far as I know—in the Buddhist Tantra literature, that one can find an explanation of how a yogin can contact the subdivisions of the three worlds, according to the traditional Buddhist classification, that is to say, the realm of desire, realm of form, and formless realm. The realm of desire is said to include the six passion deity families, as well as men, animals, hungry ghosts (preta), and hell beings. The realm of form is called, for meditative purposes, the four dhyānas, and has further divisions. The formless realm also has its divisions of the bases of infinite space, infinite perception, and so on. These divisions are known from early Buddhist literature and are discussed acutely in the branch of literature called Abhidharma. According to the tantric literature as will be cited below, the way a yogin like Maudgalyāyana can gain entrance to those worlds is analogous to how a person might go there after death by reason of destiny. In short, the yogin concentrates in a special way on various body orifices that are deemed to be correlated with the beings of various realms, while the person who dies with his stream of consciousness passing through one orifice or another, goes to the appropriate realm of the intermediate state (antarābhava). The orifices themselves are made salient in ancient Indian literature. The rest may well have been strictly oral for
centuries; but there are suggestions of the rather curious theory herein unfolded in the wide-spread injunction to think of a deity in the hour of death so as to go to the realm of that deity. Such a teaching is found in the Hindu classic, the Bhagavadväta, and the famous American Sanskritist Franklin Edgerton once collected many materials on this subject for an article in Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute (1927).

The nine orifices are referred to in the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad, which has this well-known verse (III, 18):

The embodied swan moves to and fro, in the city of nine gates and outside, the controller of the whole world, of the stationary and the moving.

This tradition of nine is maintained in the Bhagavadväta (V, 13), where the mention of nine gates is commented upon as the two eyes, the two ears, the two nostrils, the mouth, and the two organs (male) of excretion and generation. However, the Katha Upaniṣad (II, 2, 1) refers to the city of eleven gates, and the commentary adds the navel and the opening at the top of the skull to the list of nine.

In a native Tibetan work of astrology, the Dge ldan rtsis . . . (Sec. Ja) by Mi-pham tshaṅ-sras dgyes-pa'i-rdo-rje, there is a correspondence of orifices and planets which is of interest to mention here simply because the nine differ by inclusion of the navel and omission of the mouth, which at least shows a lack of unanimity on what the nine orifices are when spelled out:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orifice</th>
<th>Corresponding Planet(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>two eyes</td>
<td>Sun (right eye) and Moon (left eye)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two ears</td>
<td>Mars and Mercury</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two nostrils</td>
<td>Jupiter and Venus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>Saturn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urethra</td>
<td>Rāhu and Ketu (head and tail of the dragon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When we pass to the Buddhist Tantras, we find in the Buddhajñānapāda wing of the Guhyasamājatantra tradition, in the work of the founder Buddhajñānapāda, his Dvikrama-tattvabhāvanā-nāma-mukhāgama (PTT, Vol. 65, p. 8-5 to p. 9-1), this list of nine orifices in explanation of transfer or transit (saṃkrānti) by a yogin or through death by way of one or other orifice to an associated external realm: 1. forehead, 2. navel, 3. crown of head, 4. eyes, 5. ears, 6. nostrils, 7. mouth, 8. urethra, and 9. anus. This list includes the eleven of the Katha Upaniṣad, reduced in number by counting the eyes, ears, and nostrils, as one each; and then adds the forehead center. The work continues in this manner:
One should understand the forehead as the prognostic of the realm of form (rūpadhātu) and birth (there). The navel is the prognostic place of the gods of the realm of desire (kāmadhātu) and certainty of birth among them. The crown of head is the prognostic source of the formless realms (arūpyas) and birth therein. If there is transfer of knowledge in the two nostrils, the person is born in the abode of the yakṣas. The two ears are the certain passage to the abode of vidyādhāras. The two eyes are the prognostics for birth as a king of men. In the case of transit of knowledge through the mouth, one may understand it as the prognostic of pretas (hungry ghosts). One should take the urethra as the prognostic for prognostics of animals. One should understand the going of knowledge through the anus as the prognostic of the hell beings. Having thus understood the individual aspects for transfer of knowledge, one should do (mantra) placement in the seven upper orifices by means of the syllable of five soundings (nādita). One should place SŪM in the urethra and KṢUṀ in the anus. Having thus stopped up the seven orifices, when one searches the place through the following sequence with one’s own mind, he will certainly go to that very realm.

Before going further, let me summarize that passage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orifice</th>
<th>Prognostic of what place or beings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>realm of form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>passion gods in realm of desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crown of head</td>
<td>formless realms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostrils</td>
<td>abode of yakṣas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ears</td>
<td>abode of vidyādhāras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>a king of men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>hungry ghosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urethra</td>
<td>animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anus</td>
<td>hell beings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Vitapāda’s commentary on that work, the Mukhāgamavṛtti (PTT., Vol. 65, p. 65-1,2) explains: The six orifices, forehead, etc. are good. The three orifices, urethra, etc. are bad. Therefore, one should understand the prognostic for birth therein by the coming and going of one’s own knowledge (jñāna) in either the good or bad orifices. (His subsequent comments show that “knowledge” means the yogin’s knowledge; hence that the yogin can establish a correlation with a certain realm by centering his knowledge or know-how, in a certain orifice). In the case of the yakṣas, this means birth as Vaiśravaṇa and other yakṣas on Mt. Meru. Vidyādhara
(holding the occult science) means becoming a yogin who has \textit{vidyā} and the eight \textit{siddhis} of “eye ointment”, etc. The five soundings are HŪM, because this is the sounding of the five Buddhas. In the case of SUM for the urethra, this is white. KŠUM for the anus is yellow. Having stopped up (or plugged) the orifices, one goes to one’s own realm of mind (cittadhātu). One “searches” by the eight methods of recitation, etc.

In agreement with a portion of these statements, Bhavabhadra states in the \textit{Śrīvajraśākna-nāma-mahātantrarājaviṃśti} (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Tsha, 137a-2):

The text, “From the navel, the gods of the desire realm,” means that any perceptual stream (\textit{vijñāna}) that goes forth from the navel orifice, is born among the gods of the desire realm. The text, “With the form of the \textit{bindu}, heaven,” means that any such one that goes forth from the orifice in the middle of the forehead is born among the gods of the realm of form. The text, “proceeding upwards,” means going forth through the golden door (the Brahmamarandhra).

This author, Bhavabhadra, has written a commentary on the Tantra \textit{Ārya-Catuspīthha}, which is also an authority for what are known as the “gates to the intermediate state (antarābhava).”

Notice, in short, that the three bad destinies of hungry ghosts, animals and hell beings, are correlated respectively with the mouth, urethra, and anus, which accordingly are the three “bad” orifices; while the two good destinies of men and gods are correlated with the other six, which are the “good” orifices. But notice also that the mouth is included among the seven upper orifices in terms of methods for blocking the orifices. Apparently, the praxis of the yogin to stop or inhibit the passage through the orifices is accomplished by imagining a mantra syllable at each of the orifices.

I also noticed what at first seemed to be a peculiar theory in the \textit{Sampūta-tantra} about nine orifices, and did not feel confident about including it without consulting the commentaries. Upon referring to the three commentaries in the Tanjur (using the Narthang edition), I did not readily find the place in Indrabhūti’s commentary (Toh. 1197, the \textit{Smṛtisāṃdar-śanāloka}), so turned to the explanations—which I quickly located—in Abhayākara-gupta’s \textit{Āmnāyamañjari} (Toh. 1198) and in Śūrabajra’s \textit{Ratnamālā} (Toh, 1199). Abhayākara-gupta (Narthang Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 19b-1, ff.) states that the practice belongs to the Stage of Completion. The use of seed-syllables or of evoked goddesses here seems also to mean plugging or gaining control over respective orifices by imagining seed syllables and goddesses in those places. This tradition employs different syllables than the preceding system, which suggests that the important thing
is not the particular syllables employed but rather a consistency or sticking to the same system throughout all the practice. In the Sāṃpuṭa-tantra tradition, the seed-syllables belong to the eight forms of the goddess Jñānaḍākīni (the Wisdom Dākīni), for which reason the nostrils and ears are counted as one orifice in the correspondence system of eight terms, and are counted as two in order to get the total of nine orifices. Combining the data from the two commentaries, and helped by the maṇḍala No. 4 in the Niṣpannayogāvalī (edited by B. Bhattacharyya), the following summary is possible (unfortunately, some of the seed syllables are still questionable):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORIFICE</th>
<th>SEED-SYLLABLE (bijā)</th>
<th>GODDESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>crown of head</td>
<td>of fire—KSūM</td>
<td>Vajraḍākīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>of earth—HUṀ</td>
<td>Ghorāḍākīni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nostrils and ears</td>
<td>of wind—YUṀ</td>
<td>Cāṇḍāli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>of ambrosial water—SUM</td>
<td>Vetālī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>purifying delusion—STUṀ</td>
<td>Śimhīni, the Lion-faced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arms (armpits?)</td>
<td>purifying pain—HĀṀ</td>
<td>Vyāghrī, the Tiger-faced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>purifying vibration—SMĀṀ</td>
<td>Jambukī, the Jackal-faced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navel</td>
<td>of lord of animals (paḷupati)—DHUṀ</td>
<td>Ulūkī, the Owl-faced</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some intriguing features to that table. For one thing, the four elements which the seed-syllables represent are stated in the standard astrological order, because Aries is a fire sign, Taurus earth, Gemini wind, and Cancer water; with the same order repeated for the rest of the zodiacal signs. Reference to the materials in my essay “Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras” will show that ordinarily the four elements are made to correspond to the element caṅkras navel, throat (=neck), heart, and privities. The present table does not have an entry for “privities” and so there is an implication that “arms” is the replacement for “legs”. Because the four elements are not here in the usual location, they must be understood in an extraordinary way, as explicitly stated for water, i.e. “ambrosial water”. Again, when the Sāṃpuṭa-tantra (PTT).

1. Of those eight forms of the Wisdom Dākīni, the most famous is the Lion-faced one, and frequently the Wisdom Dākīni is identified with this particular form in evocation (sādhana) rites. According to the Niṣpannayogāvalī, her “heart” mantra is OM HṚṆ ṢVĀḤA. This text also singles out the dākīni Vetālī for a mantra, OM VETĀLI HUṀ ṢVĀḤA, that is said to be “all-active” (sarvakarmika). The dākīni Vajraḍākīni and presumably the following three are to be identified with the dākinīs pictured in the collection called Rin 'byun (see Lokesh Chandra, A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon, Part 9, Rin 'byun 141). The general type of the dākīni posture is depicted by the drawing “Buddhaḍākīni” in my chapter on Tantric Ritual.
Vol. 2, p. 246-3-3,4) assigned the "delusion" syllable to the neck, one might have theorized that it would start the usual Buddhist set of "three poisons" (lust, hatred, delusion). When it continued with an assignment of the word "kleśa" (the Sanskrit original for the Tibetan ṇon moṅs) the translation "defilement" (which is the usual Buddhist rendition) would be inapplicable; evidently kleśa has here its more literal meaning of "pain". This conclusion is further certified by the next assignment—that of "swinging" (cala; Tibetan gYo ba) to the heart orifice, so here I adopted the more generalized rendition of "vibration". The "lord of animals" syllable, associated with the navel, recalls the Hindu legend of Viṣṇu, that when he was sleeping upon the cosmic waters a lotus grew from his navel, and on the lotus there arose the creator Brahmā. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology and Religion, p. 360, also mentions the epic legend that the destroyer Śiva (or Rudra) sprang from Viṣṇu's forehead. In the present table, this could only concern the crown of the head, associated with fire.

Specialists in Buddhism would probably wish the present writer to comment on the relation with the preceding of the well-known characteristics attributed to the Buddha—and consistently represented iconographically—of the uṣṇīṣa at the crown of the head and the ārṇā-kośa in the middle of the forehead. For one thing, the uṣṇīṣa protuberance is frequently personified as a goddess, especially Uṣṇīṣavijaya (She, the Victory of the uṣṇīṣa); and through the secondary mark, "head umbrella-shaped" (chattrākārottamāṅga), Uṣṇīṣa-Sitātapatrā (the White Umbrella Lady of the uṣṇīṣa) (see the Frontispiece, George Roerich, Tibetan Paintings). In my article on the characteristics in the Leibenthal Festschrift (Santiniketan, 1957), I cited Rgyal-tshab-rje's subcommentary on Haribhadra's Sphuṭārthā, "His face is adorned with a 'treasure of hair' (ārṇā-kośa). It is between the eye-brows in the location of the 'drop' (tilaka) . . . It has the appearance of a silver lump the size of a seed of emblic myrobalan."

The foregoing materials also associate the crown of head with a goddess, in this case Vajraḍākinī (see the picture in Evans-Wentz, Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines), and that place is associated with the formless realms. The forehead—the location of the ārṇā-kośa—is associated with the realm of form. Abhayākara-gupta in his Āmnāya-maṅjarī (PTT. Vol. 55, p. 245-2) states: "Likewise, the Tathāgata sees with the uṣṇīṣa; likewise, he sees with the ārṇā-kośa; so also with each characteristic." This suggests those characteristics, especially those two main ones mentioned above, to have the functions already described as correlated to external realms by reason of a yogin's knowledge; in short, that they function as "eyes" toward those realms. That same author, Abhayākara-gupta, in his Muni-matālāṃkāra (PTT. Vol. 101, p. 259-2) cites some scripture, without giving the title: "The enlightenment of the śrāvakas is in his face; the enlightenment
of the pratyekabuddhas is in the mid-forehead; the Incomparable, Right-completed Enlightenment is in the uṣṇīṣa." The word śrāvaka means "hearer"—hence in the iconography, the long ears of the Buddha; and since the Śrāvaka must practice meditation—also the half-closed eyes and nose for "counting the breaths" and like exercises; such must be the meaning of his enlightenment shown in the face.

Another aspect to the orifices is how they function as entrances; and this topic in the form of entrances to the future parents by a being of the Intermediate State (antarābhava), which are the three possible entrances by a gandharva, is discussed in my essay "The Five-fold Ritual Symbolism of Passion," later in the present work. There is also the entrance of divinity in the form of the "knowledge being" (jñāna-sattva).

A further technique, even more mysterious, is the reputed art of reanimating a fresh corpse. This is called in Tibetan groṅ 'jug (entering the city). It is one of the most esoteric teachings of the Marpa-Milarepa lineage, descended from Nāro-pā.

Turning to the topic of passage through the orifices, no matter how much a single researcher collects materials on these topics from various books in the Tibetan canon or elsewhere, he cannot bring together the strands to form a unified picture such as one finds in one of the great Tibetan manuals that have integrated the canonical descriptions with the oral instructions of the gurus. Tsoṅ-kha-pa's commentary on the Six Laws of Nāro-pā (the "Yid-ches gsum ldan") is precisely such an integrated work, and fortunately my readings in other works of this author over the years enables me to read his text at this point also, namely his passage explaining the transit (pho ba; Sanskrit, saṃkrānti). Just prior to the passage I shall translate (PTT, Vol. 161, p. 10-4-8 to p. 11-2-2)² he mentions that a person who is sick, suffering, or old, should not engage in this practice; and after the passage he alludes to some deviate views about it.

* * *

There are two basic counsels about transit. Of these two, [first] the purification (sbyaṅ ba) is as follows: The Vajrañāka (i.e. the Śrīvajrañāka-nāma-mahātantra) states: "The alternations (mtha') of the place are to be purified. After their purification one should perform transit of the state of being. Otherwise it would be purposeless." That refers to the alternations, pleasure and pain, of the place, i.e. the body. That is, Bhavabhādra explains that if one transits without having first purified by cultivation of the heat—the ātāl ba (yogin's rest) is purposeless. Thus, the prior cultivation of the heat is a distinguished basis for accomplishing the transit. Furthermore,

2. Compare with the rendition of this part of Tsoṅ-kha-pa's text in C. A. Muses, editor, Esoteric Teachings of the Tibetan Tantra (Falcon's Wing Press, 1961), pp. 252-55.
the *Vajradāka* states: “Upon binding the orifices by means of the ‘pot’ (*kumbhaka*), the orifice holes become pure.” Both the *Catuspīṭha* and the *Samputa* are consistent with that, because they express the necessity to cultivate the *kumbhaka* of wind with a capacity to compress within the wind that enters the sense organs and other orifices. Now, *kumbhaka* was previously explained to have the three degrees of highest, middling, and lowest; and those many persons who assert that it suffices to have the lowest degree, speak as though they do not understand the meaning of the Tantra. Hence, when one stops the transit of *vijñāna* through the eight orifices, not including the golden gate at the crown of the head, it transits through the golden gate at the crown of the head. And that transit of attainment is the chief basis for the *vidyādharā* (wisdom holder) who practices *mantras*. Such statements of the Tantras are essential; and even though there are (various) visualizations of *vijñāna* (the perceptual stream) departing from the body, it is necessary to complete the characteristic of visualizing it as explained according to those Tantras. There is both brief and expanded subject matter of visualization of the transit according to the fourth *Gdams ṅag ṣeg dril* and of the transit according to the counsels of the Rūgog school. Here I shall speak briefly using as sources the precepts of the *gurus* who put uppermost the precepts of this school (i.e. that of Rūgog). In this case one may wonder which deity should be contemplated as the basis for purifying the transit. The *gurus* maintain that one should contemplate whatever is one’s own tutelary deity. Since the *Samputa* and the *Catuspīṭha* have stated a method of contemplating the deity especially in this case, that is a reason—if one would succeed—to do it accordingly. As it would take too much space, I shall not go into that matter here.

[Second:] The “brightness” of oneself as deity and uniting of the winds. Starting with the realm of contemplating the secret place, or the navel, one imagines a red A at the navel, a black ḪŪM at the heart, a white KṢA at the *brahmaramdra* (the golden gate). Then one vehemently draws up the lower wind, and imagines it pushed to the A-syllable of the navel; and having arrived, pushed to the ḪŪM; and having arrived at the ḪŪM, pushed to the KṢA-syllable. And he imagines it re-descending to the place of the ḪŪM in the heart and to the place of the A in the navel. Now some persons claim that one should contemplate it dissolving in the A and ḪŪM, but doing it the former way (i.e. simply arriving, not dissolving) is better. One should work at it that way as long as the prognostics (*rtags*) have not arisen. The prognostics are an itching sensation, throbbing, etc. at the crown of the head. Then the application to
the rite is as follows. One should put the main part of the body in sitting up position, and clasp his two knees with his two hands. One should start with taking refuge and generating the mind of enlightenment. Then from the realm of the "bright" where oneself is the tutelary deity, one visualizes in the space straight up in front of one's head, at a distance from 1-1/2 to six feet at a comfortable level, the guru and tutelary deity in inseparable manner. Deeply moved with devotion and faith, one fervently beseeches him. Then, having brightly posited the A of the navel, the HŪM of the heart, and the KṢA of the crown of the head; vehemently drawing the lower wind one contemplates that the A itself is within the central vein and while (moving) upward pronounces a group deer-like sound (khyu ru ru byunh nas) and dissolves in the HŪM of the heart; and one recites A-HIK for as many times as necessary. Furthermore, the HŪM itself pronounces (while moving) upward, and one recites A-HIK up to twenty times and contemplates that it (the HŪM) is pronouncing in the throat. Then one should contemplate the bright KṢA-syllable at the brahmarandhra, and that it is pure white, as though the brahmarandhra constituted the starry realm; and reciting A-HIK vehemently five times one sees that HŪM proceed hastily through the brahmarandhra and dissolve in the heart of the inseparable guru and tutelary deity. Controlling consciousness that way, he settles it in the realm without discursive thought. That shows in abbreviated form the transit according to the sayings of the gurus and the Catuspatītha.

* * *

Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s passage establishes rather clearly that some of the varying descriptions—for example, some of those already brought forward in this essay—have to do with two separate phases of the praxis. That is to say, the description may concern the phase of purifying the orifices, and this is associated with containing the winds in kumbhaka, which is referred to as the “heat”, 3 or the description may concern the phase of transit of the perceptual principle (vijñāna) through the gate at the crown of the head.

Tsoṅ-kha-pa referred to three degrees of kumbhaka, which he treated earlier in the same work. He may well intend the three mentioned in the Sambarodaya-tantra (PTT, Vol. 2, p. 205-2-7,8): “The lowest amounts to thirty-six; the doubling of that is the medium; the tripling is the great.” The text seems to mean the number of times one performs the kumbhaka, thereby lengthening it. The “great” kind thus amounts to 108 times.

3. Mircea Eliade, Yoga; Immortality and Freedom (New York, 1958), pp. 246-47, shows the relation between the kumbhaka yoga, the heat, and the rise of the kundalini power (to use the Hindu terminology).
That brings us to the question of what is meant by the “pot” (kumbhaka). This involves establishing the usual condition of issuance through the orifices and the contrasting abnormal or yoga condition of that issuance.

Concerning what is usually issuing forth from the various orifices, Buddhaguhya states in the Dhyānottara-tīkā (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Thu, 14b-2,3): “Prāṇa is the vital air characterized as issuing from, and entering, the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, navel, male and female sex organs, the unclean orifice, the pores of head hair and body hair.” Buddhaguhya is also the author of the Tantrārthāvatārā (Toh, 2501), upon which Padmavajra’s Tantrārthāvatāravyākhyāna (Toh. 2502) comments (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Ḥi, 169b-5, ff.):

Moreover, we must explain the orifices through which the vital airs of breath issue and how they do so, how to inhibit them, the time of inhibiting them, and illustrations. Among them, through what orifices do they issue? They issue without and within all the (nine) orifices of the body, i.e. mouth, nose, (sex) organs, (etc.) and all the pores. How do they issue? When thought (citta) is excited or relaxed, they issue a long ways; and when it is bound fast, they issue a short ways, and subsequently, whatever be their gathering place, enter in a direction straight above the navel. As to how one inhibits them, one gathers them within the “member” (āṅga, i.e. body) of tortoise (i.e. holds the breath in, kumbhaka), one gathers them within the “member”—seizing in the manner of the tongue’s drinking water; and without breathing in, with the small tongue (the uvula) like a calm(?) stream and without straining. Relaxed as though breathing in sleep, one holds and equalizes them. As to the extent of time for restraint: At the outset, when fastening oneself in samādhi, one restrains gradually, and does it as long as the samādhi and muttering are not finished. The fault of not doing it that way is as follows: the wind whirls, whereupon the heart gets diseased, the body heavy; one is panic-stricken and one’s thoughts become tumultuous (i.e. they race). Moreover, if one holds the breath fiercely, a fault occurs in this case: it is taught that upon reverting from that, the samādhi is spoiled. When, like an animal, the vital air is not controlled, it is said, “There is no accomplishment of samādhi.”

One striking fact emerges: In Buddhaguhya’s tradition the process of kumbhaka, or holding the breath in the body as though it were a pot, does not involve mantra placement as we have noticed in some of the foregoing materials. Another thing: kumbhaka here is not the ordinary method of taking a deep breath and trying to hold one’s breath, but a gradual method
of drawing in the breath by imperceptible degrees, with the tongue lapping it up as though it were water drops. Also, implicit to all these discussions is the theory of winds in the body operating in their individual cycles with individual colors and the like, with which the yogin must be familiar.

Tson-kha-pa’s Anuttarayoga treatment involves the central vein of the body, hence the system of three chief veins (in the position of the spine) and implies the system of *cakras*. In this connection, there is the terminology “upper orifice” and “lower orifice”. Thus the tantric writer Bhavyakirti mentions in his *Prakāśikā* commentary on the *Pradīpoddytotana* (PTT, Vol. 61, p. 1-5): “‘Arises via the upper orifice’ means, via the path of the two nostrils of the face,” but the upper orifice is also treated as the neck. The “lower orifice” is at the position of the Hindu Mūlādhāra, the perineum triangle, which in the male is at the root of the penis, the juncture of the three veins. The *Ṣnags rim chen mo* (437a-1) cites the *Sāṃputa-tantra*:

The left *nāḍī* (i.e. *lalanā*) starting at the neck is She with the *Sambhogakāya* (i.e. the “sister”), who rests at the navel, and drips intoxication into the lower orifice.

The *nāḍī* (*rasanā*) going upward from the navel is (She) likewise dripping in the upper orifice, who rests at the neck and is known to drip blood (i.e. She with the *Nirmāṇakāya*, the “daughter”).

The intoxication is explained as moon.

The blood is said to be sun.

That is rather obscure, but is presented here to contact mystically with some of the foregoing materials and also to add an aspect to the orifices that ties in with subsequent tantric studies in this work.

There are some unanswered questions. For example, what is meant by “the yogin’s knowledge” for concentrating in a certain orifice? Here, a curious personal experience may be mentioned. In the year 1946, soon upon returning to Los Angeles after I was discharged from the U.S. Army, an older friend of mine took me along with another friend who had just been discharged from the U.S. Navy to a free public demonstration by an occult-type organization that expected thereby to encourage some of the attendees to enroll for private instruction for which charges were made.

4. See Alain Danielou, *Yoga; The Method of Re-Integration* (London, 1949), especially pp. 58-60, for some Hindu theories of *kumbhaka* practice. This author calls it the “chalice”. I use the word “pot” because the idea is to succeed by degrees of attainment to draw in the breath so slowly that the body can be considered a pot that is being filled by water drop by drop, where the “water” is of course the droplets of air.
In this good-sized hall which could easily seat a hundred or more persons, the guide instructed us to meditate on our heart while breathing in unison with the measured sound-beat made by a metronomic instrument (which presumably was set to agree with heart-beat time). In a very short while I experienced a strange shift of consciousness: I was in some mysterious place with a fierce rushing back and forth, and became terrified. Promptly I quit the measured breathing and bounced back to normal consciousness, sitting through the rest of the session without cooperating. At the conclusion of the demonstration I asked the other two friends what they had experienced. Each replied that he had followed the directions but nothing in particular happened. This example shows that by concentrating on a spot of the body in a certain way, controlling the breathing and so on, it is possible to “go there” and it is possible to go to an orifice, and perhaps “through the orifice”. Obviously, the person doing this must be prepared for it with a knowledge of how to do it and what to expect, the standard of success and what to do if he is successful. That is the “yogin’s knowledge”.

Another observation is that the texts cited make no distinction between the male and the female as regards the orifices, although it might be thought that the female has one more than the male. Surely these works are not written with solely the male in mind, and so there must be an explanation for this uniformity. I found a passage that may solve this problem. It is in the Maṇi-mālā commentary on the tantric Nāgārjuna’s Pañcakrama (PTT. Vol. 62, p. 154-2): “Some (sentient beings) fall fearfully into a woman’s watery orifice organ and every day are born and die.” Hence the text counts the birth channel as the urinary orifice, comparable to the male’s urinary passage also used for issuance of semen. Accordingly, the woman’s orifices are also nine.

However, in a Hindu tantric text, as discussed by Shashibhūṣan Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults, pp. 239-40, the terminology “tenth door” is applied to the mouth of the Śaṅkhinī, a curved duct in the head that starts from the moon in the thousand-petalled lotus at the crown of the head. Through this Śaṅkhinī vein passes the ambrosia (amṛta) (cf. our previous section on the “Five Ambrosias”) which is discharged out of the lower end, called the “tenth door.”

Finally, there is no conclusion on whether Maudgalyāyana depended on such orifices for his legendary exploits of visiting the heavens and hells. The fact that the nine gates are mentioned in such ancient works as the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad, which has a section on yoga, suggests that the yogic experimentation with these orifices is of great antiquity. But there is no proof that around the time of Gautama Buddha there was any definite correlation of these orifices with external realms in the well-developed manner of the tantric texts cited herein.
TANTRIC TEACHINGS ABOUT THE INNER ZODIAC

Ever since persons have come to believe in personal horoscopy, they have wondered why it should work. Doubtless the same question occurred in India because belief in astrology has been deep seated there for many centuries. The Buddhist Tantras of the Mother Tantra variety in the Anuttarayoga tradition have some theories of an inner zodiac, in all likelihood worked out in conjunction with northern Śaivism, probably Kashmir Śaivism. While these theories, insofar as I have come across them, are not sufficiently elaborated to show a determined rationalization to find an inner equivalent for the outer disposition of planets, etc. of a horoscope, it should be of interest to present these theories as I have found them.

In any case, the theories do not speak of any zodiacal circle hidden in the body, with the sun and other planets circling accordingly. Besides, while traditional astrology classifies the signs into four groups by the elements of fire, earth, wind, water, and has seven planetary rulers, the tantric theories of an inner zodiac use the fifth element “space” (ākāśa) which is sometimes translated “ether” and add Rāhu and Ketu (head and tail of the dragon that causes eclipses, i.e. the ascending and descending nodes) as planetary rulers. Furthermore, some theories might be inconsistent; or, perhaps it is better to say that it has not been an easy task to reconcile them. However, all the theories take for granted the tantric theory of three central veins (nāḍī) in the position of the spinal column (perhaps to be located in a so-called “subtle body” rather than in the physical body) referred to as right, left, and middle, with their names differing in the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras:
Besides, these systems range centers or critical vortexes at various places along this triadic central system. These are usually called “cakras” or “lotuses” (padma). The Hindu explanations are well known through the voluminous writings of Arthur Avalon. The Buddhist tantric explanation is available, for example, in S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (pp. 160-174). One can also refer to Mircea Eliade, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom* (pp. 236-45) on these same matters; and there is considerable information in my forthcoming *Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra*.

**The Heart Cakra**

The tantric theory of the heart cakra can be elucidated by an interesting treatment of the inner zodiac found in Padmavajra’s work in the field of Mother Tantra entitled, Śrī-Ḍākārṇavamahāyogīntantrarāja-vāhikaṭṭikā-nāma (Tōhoku No. 1419; Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 286b-3, ff.). On folio 289a, he assigns the zodiacal signs to petals of the heart cakra. Here I replace the Sanskrit and Tibetan terms with the standard Western equivalents. A minor correction was made of an obvious text corruption (interchange of Cancer and Aquarius positions), since Aquarius belongs to the Wind Corner; and also because the famous work of Indian astrology, Varāhamihira’s *Bṛhat-jātaka*, states in Chap. I, verse 11, that Aries, Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer with their triangular signs (their element families) represent the four quarters commencing from the East. On the facing page is Padmavajra’s solution (Observe the clockwise orientation!):

In accordance with Varāhamihira’s hint (perhaps he had in mind the inner zodiac), one can take the cardinal direction sign along with the intermediate direction pair to make an individual set (the zodiacal triangle), e.g. Aries in the East along with Leo and Sagittarius (S.E.) as the fire set. This reduction to four quarters would have to be accepted as the more primitive formulation representing the early development of the heart-cakra. This is only partially consistent with the explanation in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s *Shags rim chen mo* (Peking blockprint, 434b-5, ff.), where five goddesses are shown to be the personifications of four directional veins of the heart as the essence of the elements and of sense objects, with a fifth goddess in the middle (the central vein, the Avadhūti). The group of four goddesses (their Sanskrit names in the *Hevajratantra*, I, i, 18) are, in the given order, Traiṛttā, Kāmini, Gehā, and Caṇḍikā; while Māradārikā is in the middle. The passages which Tsoṅ-kha-pa cites do not state completely—nor does
An Astrological Representation of the Heart Cakra
his own commentary—the respective correspondences to the four elements. One passage does say, “earth, etc.” But they do state the relation to sense objects; and since the identification with elements of the four main goddesses in the Guhyasamājatantra (Chap. XVII) also starts with earth (the goddess Locañā), we are justified in setting up the following correspondences, where the successive rows indicate clockwise order:

**TABLE 12**

**THE FOUR GODDESSES OF THE HEART**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GODDESS (Hevajra tantra)</th>
<th>GODDESS (Guhyasamājatantra)</th>
<th>ELEMENT</th>
<th>SENSE DOMAIN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traiśṛttā</td>
<td>Locañā</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Form (röpa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kāmini</td>
<td>Māmakī</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Sound (ṣābda)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gehā</td>
<td>Pāṇḍārā</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Odor (gandha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caṇḍikā</td>
<td>Tārā</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Taste (rasa)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is plain that the order of elements cannot be interpreted in terms of external astrology, where discordant elements alternate, i.e. Aries (fire), Taurus (earth), Gemini (wind), and Cancer (water). But in my subsequent discussion of transits there is a possible reconciliation in terms of element wind correspondences to the zodiacal signs. Moreover, the correspondences in the above table between elements and sense domains are mostly inconsistent with the correspondences in Table 2 in the chapter on Analogical Thinking.

Now the same context in the *Shags rim chen mo* mentions that the fifth goddess Māradārikā (daughter of Māra) represents the sense domain of dharm, and so also the element of space (ākāśa), and since this goddess is located in the central channel, she is between the left and the right. According to the *Samputa* citation in *Shags rim*, 437a-6:

>The two “veins”, i.e. the left and the right, and the birthplace in the middle:— One should know that semen is on the left and blood (=menstrual blood) on the right. Their mutual admixture is the mixture Dharmadhātu.

(This language is related to the Indian theory that the embryo is created from the man’s semen and the woman’s menstrual blood).

The usage of the term “dharmadhātu” in this context is equivalent to another word of this literature, “dharmodaya” (source of dharmas). In this
tantric context, *dharmadhātu* means a birthplace, but in non-tantric Buddhism, it appears to be described by negatives.\(^1\)

Besides, the *Shags rim* (435a-2, ff.) differentiates the middle into three veins (right, left, and middle), to make a total of eight heart veins in this system (five goddesses, and three central veins). Tson-kha-pa, in the same place, shows that in the conditions of womb the three main veins (called the “three queens”) are the basis of all. However, the set of five, representing the five elements as well as the five sense objects, begin operations during the phases of the womb and continue them during life, while the three main veins apparently begin a new function upon the start of a living birth, so they would perhaps be responsible for the astrological true time of birth.

Transits

It should be mentioned that Padmavajra (in the previously cited *Vāhikaṭṭikā-nāma*, 286b-3, ff.), besides the solution already mentioned, also makes the division of the twelve signs into “right” and “left”, associating them with “rise of breath”. Here the six right (odd-numbered) ones begin with Aquarius, and the six left (even-numbered) ones begin with Capricorn. In Tson-kha-pa’s collected works (Lhasa ed., Vol. Da, “Dus ’khor Nañ le” —perhaps should read *Khams le*, 22b-1, ff.) we read: “In the same way that outside the sun transits the twelve signs, so inside, the wind transmigrates with twelve transits the lotus veins.” In the same work, 36b-4, ff. he mentions that the wind transits the six right petals and the six left petals.

Presumably it is with reference to the Hindu system, interpreted as the solar year, that in Kashmirian Śaivism, Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrāloka* (Vol. IV, p. 97) states:

> Arising from the heart in Capricorn, etc., which are the six and six intervals, the sun would enact the six months of Māgha, etc., and the progress to the North.

Compare with the popular Śaiva classic *Śivasvarodaya*, verses 73-74:

> There are twelve transits (*saṃkrama*) within the day and night. Taurus, Cancer, Virgo, Scorpio, Capricorn, Pisces, are in the “moon” (i.e. the breath rises in the left *nāḍī*). During Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra, Sagittarius, and Aquarius, one ascertains good or bad in the rise (of breath) in the right (*nāḍī*).

Notice the difference in statement: In the case of six and six intervals of the sun (as in Tsön-kha-pa’s Kalacakra passage and Abhinavagupta’s verse), the signs are divided into two groups, with consecutive signs in each group (say from Capricorn to Gemini; and from Cancer to Sagittarius). But in the other arrangement (Padmavajra’s “right” and “left”, and the Śivasvarodaya) the signs are divided into two groups on the basis of their being “right” or “left” oriented.

The allotment of twelve signs to a single cakra might be intended by the Hindu Anāhata-cakra, which is a red lotus of twelve petals, situated just below the eight-petalled heart-lotus that faces upward. In the standard representation of this cakra (see, for example, Arthur Avalon, The Serpent Power), the twelve petals of this heart lotus are arranged in a circle. It is difficult to imagine—if this be the intention—how the same twelve-petalled lotus could function both for two sets of six signs transitted consecutively and for two sets of six signs functioning according to “left” and “right”. But the four passages might all be consistent by virtue of the following materials.

A native Tibetan work on astrology in my possession divides the inner signs into two groups by northern and southern progress, in consecutive transits, with the northern group termed “auspicious” and the southern group “inauspicious”. This has to do with “element winds”, and is undoubtedly the esoteric side of Indian lore that goes with, whether or not it explains, the celebrated passage of the Bhagavadgītā (VIII, 24-25):

Fire, light, day, the increasing phases (of the Moon),
the six months of the northern path (of the Sun),
then going forth the men who know the Absolute go to
the Absolute.

Smoke, night, so also the decreasing phases (of the Moon),
the six months of the southern progress (of the Sun),
in them the yogin obtains the lunar light and returns
(to earth).

That Tibetan work is in fact a commentary on an astrological treatise in the Tanjur, i.e. translated from the Sanskrit, that is probably in the tradition of Kashmir Śaivism. I consulted this Tanjur work (Toh. 4322, the Yuddhajaya-nāma-tantrarāja-svarodaya-nāma) in the Narthang edition to get some idea of how much was being added by the Tibetan commentator in the work which I now cite (6a-6b); and can say at the outset that the

2. The Dpal gYul las rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud don rab tu gsal ba'i ņag gi bkod pa kun gzigs dbyaṅs 'char chen po śel gyi me loṅ žes bya ba.
native work is most helpful and shows deep study of the subject from different angles, including the Kālacakratantra tradition.

The two paths of sun and moon are explained as the southern and northern progress.

According to the sequence at the time of the left movement, the ākāśa wind descends by the middle (channel). That is the sign of Aries.

The passage of the fire wind from above, is the sign of Taurus; the water wind from below, is Pisces.

The earth wind moving through the post (ka ba) (both nostrils), is Aquarius.

The wind moving through the corner (i.e. the side=left nostril) is Gemini.

The five moving on the left, upon being fixed, are the Capricorn sign.

The ones moving on the left are auspicious. Space works for Umā (the consort of Śiva). Fire operates for accomplishment; water achieves ambrosia; earth works for success; wind works for perfection.

Their planetary rulers in sequence are: Rāhu (head of the dragon), Venus, Moon, Mercury, Jupiter. The Tantra did not tell the planetary ruler of ākāśa . . .

Then, at the time of moving on the right—the space (ākāśa), fire, water, earth, and wind (winds), moving by reliance on the middle, above, below, post, and corner, are respectively, Libra, Scorpio, Virgo, Leo, Sagittarius; and all five upon being fixed are Cancer.

The movements on the right are inauspicious. Space works for terror. Fire operates for death. Water achieves ignorance. Earth yields conflagration. Wind operates for suffering.

Their rulers are, in sequence, Mercury—for space; and Mars, Saturn, Sun, and Ketu (tail of the dragon).

There are a few difficulties or drawbacks with the above native Tibetan verse solution of the Tanjur work (which is also in verse). First of all, since it admits that the Tanjur work did not assign a ruler to “space”—the fifth element that was added to the classical four—fire, air, water,
earth—it quite reasonably assigned Rāhu to “space” in the left series, since Rāhu is the planet added to the traditional ones of exoteric astrology. Furthermore, in the Buddhist Tantras the middle channel corresponds to Rāhu, so this agrees. But then, on passing to the right series, the author assigns Mercury to the “space” element wind; and here we should expect, and I must correct it to, Ketu; since Rāhu and Ketu are the head and tail of the dragon, and so Ketu also corresponds to the middle channel and “space”. Besides, to take the planetary rulers “in sequence” by the given order, which in fact repeats the statement of the Tanjur text—just does not work out. Since the addition of a new planet was necessary to govern the added element, it must be presumed that the basic Tanjur text was intending those other named planets by way of the elements which they govern. Now it is well known in exoteric astrology that the Sun rules a fire sign (Leo) and the Moon a water sign (Cancer) and that the other five classical planets each rule two signs of different elements. Taking this into consideration, it is plain that there is only one solution for both the left series and the right series that allots rulers to the inner zodiacal signs on the basis of elements which those planets govern by reason of a sign in the usual system. This is my summary of the exoteric zodiacal signs contributing the element to the system of inner zodiac:

*Left Series*  
Venus’ earth = Taurus (No. 2)  
Moon’s water = Cancer (No. 4)  
Jupiter’s fire = Sagittarius (No. 9)  
Mercury’s wind = Gemini (No. 3)  

*Right Series*  
Saturn’s earth = Capricorn (No. 10)  
Mars’ water = Scorpio (No. 8)  
Sun’s fire = Leo (No. 5)  
Mercury’s wind = Gemini (No. 3)

In summary, this would use up from among the twelve traditional signs, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5; 8, 9, 10. This suggests a theory of this tradition that the classical seven planets have each their chief rulership in a given sign from among those seven of the summary. In fact, this agrees with the Western astrologers who now assign newly discovered planets to other signs, i.e. Uranus to Aquarius (No. 11), Neptune to Pisces (No. 12). Then, in consideration that Indian astrology adds the head and tail of the dragon as planets, but preserves the planetary rulership according to the Greek system, it would follow that only by these features of esoteric astrology could we continue this assignment to the remaining signs, with Rāhu going with Aries (No. 1) and Ketu with Libra (No. 7). Then only Virgo (No. 6) is left over. But enough of speculation!

Then, no matter how the planets are assigned to the signs of the inner zodiac, the chief elements of those astrological verses can be tabulated as follows:
TABLE 13

Element Winds and Transit of Inner Zodiacal Signs for Fruits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ELEMENT WIND</th>
<th>NORTHERN PROGRESS (left movement)</th>
<th>SOUTHERN PROGRESS (right movement)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(All five fixed = Solstice) Earth</td>
<td>Capricorn</td>
<td>Cancer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Aquarius (success)</td>
<td>Leo (conflagration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Middle space = Equinox) Fire</td>
<td>Pisces (ambrosia)</td>
<td>Virgo (ignorance)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Aries (UmA, the goddess)</td>
<td>Libra (terror)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Taurus (accomplishment)</td>
<td>Scorpio (death)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gemini (perfection)</td>
<td>Sagittarius (suffering)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By "all five fixed" is meant of course, all five element winds, which are fixed at the time of "solstice". Presumably on these grounds Capricorn works for a blend of the other five fruits (success, etc.), while Cancer works for a blend of the other five (conflagration, etc.).

Furthermore, the meaning of left and right is clarified by the Shags rim (437b-4) with citation of the Samvarodaya:

Having entered by the left,
the right is its path of leaving.

Tsoñ-kha-pa quotes the commentary: "Because the vijnana which 'has entered.' departs by way of the right and takes a sensory domain, thereupon, riding on the wind, enters by way of the lalanä (left vein)." This shows the meaning of left as auspicious because there is entrance of breath, and right as inauspicious because there is exit (expiration) of breath, as will be mentioned later by citation of Tsoñ-kha-pa's Sbas don. Naturally, vijnana will enter or leave in some zodiacal sign or other, in the preceding sense of the inner zodiac.

The Tanjur work, the Yuddhajaya... (Narthang, Vol. Go, 45b-5) states that the northern and southern progression is a movement in five mandalas. The context shows that the five mean the four element mandalas, plus the element "space" counted as a "mandala" even though it represents the "central channel" (Suṣumnä or Avaḍhūti). Materials in my subsequent essay "Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras" show that the earth vortex (maṇḍala) is in the privities; the water vortex in the heart; the fire vortex in the throat; and the wind vortex at the navel. The extended treatment in the Shags rim chen mo shows that the initial activity of the elements in the heart "vein" spreads out to the other centers. It appears that there is a "left" and a "right" for each cakra of the fourfold group of elements, while "space" (ākāsa) in the central channel has instead a downward and upward movement.
The Sixteen Digits of the Moon

Returning to the directional orientation with Aries in the East, this is consistent with Padmavajra’s exposition (again the Vāhikaṭṭika-nāma, 309a-1 to 309b-4) about the sixteen digits (kālā) of the Moon as yoga experiences. His remarkable passage is now translated in full:

Accordingly, he increases his own ocean of knowledge, as do the digits of the moon, because he cultivates the praxis. The cultivation of praxis will be explained here. By contemplating the letters of glorious He-ru-ka in the cakras belonging to the moon, i.e. the mind (manas), they arise as the sixteen joys. Their establishment by digits of the Moon will be here set forth as they are. The text says, “first of all,” and so on; the transits (pho ba) number sixteen; first of all arises joy. As to “knowledge” (jñāna), it belongs to the yogins who apprehend the Aries transit; this is to be known; when one is truly aware of it, there is knowledge. By entering the second one, the Taurus transit, he has a body which proceeds in the sky, that is, he rightly proceeds with a body made of wind. By the third one, Gemini, he arises in the form of that mind, like the shaft of an arrow, as though incorporeal. In the fourth, Cancer “image of the target,” he penetrates the mind, that is, he opens up all entities. In the fifth one, the Leo transit, he with the nature of the five peaks, that is, with the nature of cittavajra pleasure, penetrates the five aspects, to wit, recollects the five strands of desire, form, sound, etc. In the sixth, Virgo, called “origination of the six elements,” with the mind of enlightenment he arouses the joy of the Great Person. In the seventh, Libra, he is said to have the form of the ocean; this means those in the middle of the ocean, who have the ocean of knowledge, as previously explained in the chapter on characteristics of (the goddess) Lāmā. In the eighth one, the Scorpio transit, named “Lotus,” he has the form of joy of those very eight spaces of the heart lotus, and arises together with the moving and non-moving (worlds). In the ninth, Sagittarius, called “elixir (rasāyana),” because he refrains from laboring in the nine veins (probably the nine orifices), all the elements of the body get the elixir along with ecstasy. In the tenth one, Capricorn, called “desire of the Capricorn Moon,” he has the nature of all the ten (intra-uterine) states, superior to them with the conatal body (sahaja-deha). In the eleventh, Aquarius, called “tranquil form,” he has the distinguished joy of arising in the form of liberation, transcending the fourth (i.e. as Śiva). Having entered the twelfth, the Pisces transit, called “form of the wheel,” his mind has the form
of the Viṣṇu lineage, which means the seed of enlightenment from the enduring form of all joys. In the thirteenth, he is in the food of the rising Sun (the solar vein). In the fourteenth, he is in the food of the rising Moon (the lunar vein). In the fifteenth, by praxis of Rāhu (the eclipse planet) all the quarters melt into the Avadhūti. The sixteenth is called “bindu-nāma” for which reason it is said to be “free from time,” and so it is called “introspection,” and so on. One should understand all those characteristics.

It is not possible here to fully explain all that is meant by that passage, which seems to intend all possible yoga experience in terms of these sixteen transits. However, a few indications of the meaning can be drawn out in a way that shows how the author builds up the theory by allowing to each zodiacal sign its numerical value.

The first transit suggests the “sameness knowledge” of Buddhism, because the transit into Aries is the Equinox. The second transit, in Taurus, involving a body made of wind, in fact requires both “wind” and “mind-only”—as will be shown in my Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra—hence two things. The third transit, in Gemini, shows the hypostasis of the divine into the human by the three elements—the divine mind, its ray (like an arrow shaft), and the yogin brought into conformity.

The fourth transit, in Cancer, covers what in non-tantric Buddhism is called the four states of penetration (nirvedha-bhāgiya), which are “warmth,” “summits,” “forbearances,” and “supreme mundane natures.” This is an ancient category going back to early Buddhism. In Tantra (see Mkhas grub rje’s, pp. 28-31), there is the mantra, CITTAPRATIVEDHAM KAROMI (“I perform mind penetration.”).

In further explanation of the fifth, sixth and seventh yoga transits (in Leo, Virgo, and Libra), we may cite Indrabhūti (Derge Tanjur, Rgyud, Ca, 134b-7, ff.), commenting on the Sāṃpuṭatilaka, 1st kalpa, 2d chap.:

Now there are the thirty-seven natures ancillary to enlightenment. Here, the natures of enlightenment are the five personality aggregates (skandha), the five elements (dhātu), the five sense organs (indriya), the five sense objects (viṣaya); likewise the five organs of action (karmendriya) and their five actions (karma). In this case, the sixth is the aggregate of knowledge (jñāna), the element of knowledge, the organ of knowledge, the knowledge object; likewise the knowledge organ of action and its action. The thirty-seventh one pervades those (thirty-six); this means the knowledge realm as dharmīn (possessor of the natures). Accordingly there are thirty-seven natures—those natures as ancillary, explained as members (aṅga); those members are of three kinds and of many kinds.
That passage shows that in this system of Mother Tantra, to the fivefold groupings, a sixth element of knowledge is added (Padmavajra: “with the mind of enlightenment”), and finally a seventh, the possessor knowledge realm (Padmavajra: “who have the ocean of knowledge”).

The eighth transit, in Scorpio, requires an explanation that is accessible in the Father Tantra tradition of the Guhyasamājatantra, and available in Sanskrit in the tantric Nāgārjuna’s Pañcakrama (Abhisambodhi-krama, verses 25-27), as translated with further explanations in my Yoga of the Guhyasamājatantra (forthcoming):

The disciple who has secured the precepts then applies himself unremittingly to yoga of two sorts: by the sequence of “contraction” as well as by “expansion”.

Drawing (the winds) from head down, and from feet up, into the heart, the yogin enters bhūtakoṭi (the true limit): this is called “contraction”.

Having first rendered the stationary and the moving life into the Clear Light, he then renders that into himself: this is the stage of “expansion”.

Since this is the mystical experience of “death” it agrees with Scorpio’s fruit (death) as shown in the Table.

There is no point in dilating upon the ninth transit, because I have devoted a whole essay to the theory of nine orifices. Skipping to the eleventh and twelfth transits, the same Tibetan astrological work cited in my Nine Orifices essay (the Dge ldan rtsis), presents in the section called Rtsis ’grel the series of numerical correspondences; the elevenfold are the names of forms of Śiva, and the twelvelfold the names or forms of Viṣṇu. In the case of Śiva, he is said to have transcended the fourth, meaning that he is beyond the four states of consciousness, waking, dreaming, dreamless sleep, and the fourth. In the case of Viṣṇu, it is his wheel with twelve spokes that is emphasized, because Pisces as the last month completes the twelve spokes.

The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth transits are respectively in the right channel (of the Sun), the left channel (of the Moon), and the middle channel (of Rāhu). There is this verse in the Śivasvarodaya (v. 100):

During the flow of the Moon, poison is destroyed; during that of the Sun, there is control over the powerful. During Suṣumnā, liberation is obtained. One deva stands in three forms.

Reverting to the tenth transit, in Capricorn, it is useful to compare this with the sixteenth, “free from time.” The yogin in the tenth transit is
proceeding through the intra-uterine states (the ten lunar months) but in extranormal fashion with the co-natal body (sahaja-deha); however, this yogin is not “free from time.” Rather, his time is called “inconceivable,” as is clear from Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s commentary (the Sbas don) on the Cakrasamvara-tantra (PTT. Vol. 157, p. 15-1), where he cites a commentary to the effect that there are three kinds of time—good time, bad time, and inconceivable time. When the breath comes in the nostril, that is good time; when it goes out the nostril, that is bad time. When those two are unified (either as holding or withholding the breath), that is the inconceivable time. (Since the embryo does not inhale and exhale, the ten states have inconceivable time). Besides, good time (“coming”) is the time of the three joys (ānanda, paramānanda, and viramānanda; cf. Hevajra-tantra). Bad time (“going,” i.e. emission) is when the mystic drop (bindu) is emitted. Avoiding the two times (good and bad), one has the inconceivable time, with the co-natal joy (sahajānanda). All that is an explanation of certain initial words of the Tantra, to wit, ekasmin samaye (“on a certain occasion”), now to be understood as the inconceivable time. Tsoṅ-kha-pa gives a further explanation, which in our present context means avoiding the thirteenth and fourteenth transits (the channels of the Sun and Moon), and using only the central channel, hence the fifteenth transit (Rāhu’s channel), with cultivation of the mystic heat; hence also the inconceivable time. Thus, only the sixteenth transit can be characterized as “free from time.”

I close with the Tibetan expression of good wishes,

/ Oṃ bde legs su gyur cig /
Oṃ. May there be happiness and good fortune!
FEMALE ENERGY AND SYMBOLISM IN THE BUDDHIST TANTRAS

Introductory Considerations

The worship of divinity under sexual emblems is very ancient in India, presumably as old as the Mohenjo-daro civilization, which is usually held to be pre-Aryan. The Buddhist Tantras have numerous references to male and female deities; and the latest class of that literature, called the Anuttara-yoga-tantra is pervaded with sexual symbolism. This is true both of the traditional scripture (āgama) and the later commentaries. We should know that these works and the associated practices were evolved among peoples who took the spirit world for granted, believed that human beings could develop supernormal powers granted by deities, and assumed that in certain esoteric groups the appropriate procedures for such ends has been handed down from time immemorial.

Since the Tantric literature, Hindu as well as Buddhist, is often abruptly dismissed as unworthy of serious attention, we should consider its possible worthiness as a topic of study.¹ There are two preeminent fields in which

¹ In each case I shall give (preceded by “Toh.” for “Tohoku University”) the catalogue numbers as found in the two catalogues published by Tohoku University: the one on the translated canon (Hakuju Ui, Menetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura, and Tōkan Tada [eds.], A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons [Sendai, Japan, 1934]) having numbers from 1 to 4569; the one on native Tibetan works (Yenshō Kanakura, Ryuyo Yamada, Tōkan Tada, and Hakuuyu Hadano [eds., A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism [Sendai, Japan, 1953]) having numbers from 5001 to 7083. Unless otherwise mentioned, all folio number references to the former refer to the Derge edition; and references to the latter refer to Lhasa editions.
intelligence may be focused: the open or public, and the closed or private. This division involves no necessary value judgment. For example, the form of man and the form of woman are two superficial commonplace aspects that according to the Tantras conceal two mysteries of heightened consciousness. These two forms are not less worthy than their two mysteries and to the extent that a society realizes this worthiness, indeed sacredness, that society is civilized, removed from the brutes. In the same sense, the Buddhist Tantric literature is neither more nor less worthy of study than non-Tantric Buddhism. It should be recognized that Tantrism falls in the domain of the esoteric.

The esoteric is also of two kinds: natural and intentional. In illustration of the first kind, a man may have a great talent which to his distress is unnoticed by the world: it remains hidden, perhaps through what the Chinese philosophers called Li, the principle of things. Also the Buddhists claimed that the twelvefold formula of Dependent Origination is profound and therefore not easily understood: it eludes solution by its intrinsic difficulty. In illustration of the second kind, there are those numerous government documents stamped “confidential” and “secret.” And there are the secrets of the Tantras. In his great commentary on the fundamental Yoga-tantra called Tattvasaṅgraha, Ānandagarbha writes: “This secret means dwelling in [or upon] the disk of the full moon; . . . that is secret because it is not proper to be taught to all persons.” In addition, some Tantric materials are naturally esoteric.

The present article consults the small number of Buddhist Tantric texts that have been edited in the original Sanskrit. Among the commentaries, originally in Sanskrit, some important passages have been taken from the Tantric authors Saraha, Indrabhuti, Candrakirti, and Nāgārjuna, as found in the Tibetan translations of their chief works. Moreover, the native Tibetan works are often of superlative value, especially because they integrate the former written traditions (translated canon) with the oral precepts of the line of teachers (guru). Among these, I employ the works of Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419 a.d.), founder of the Gelugpa school, and of his disciple Mkhas grub rje.³

The Prajñā

Modern scholars have been somewhat confused on this subject by wholesale use of the term sakti (“power”) in reference to Buddhist goddesses. This term, general in Hindu Tantras, seldom occurs in the Buddhist Tantras, which actually employ the following generic words for the goddesses or females: praṇā (“insight”), yogini (“female yogin”), vidyā (“occult science” or “know-how”—“wisdom” in its historic mean-

2. Toh. 2510, the Tattvālokakarti, Tanjur, Li, 228a-3.
3. See n. 1.
ing including all academic learning), devī ("goddess" or "queen"), mātṛ ("mother"), mātrkā ("mother" or "letters"), ḍāṅkint ("fairy"), dūti ("female messenger"), šuri ("heroine"), and mudrā ("seal" or "gesture").

The word prajñā is especially important because in both Tantric Buddhism and in non-Tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism it contrasts with the term upāya ("means," "approach"). A certain Tantric tradition holds that after the fall from Paradise the phase involving division into male and female constituted a separation of "means" from "insight": henceforth men were a source of means and women of insight.4 But the means are various and insight is one: so in non-Tantric Buddhism Prajñāpāramitā ("the Perfection of Insight") is called "mother of the disciples (śrāvaka), self-enlightened ones (pratyekabuddha), and Buddhas," who have diverse fathers or approaches (upāya).5 This is a sort of mystical polyandry that curiously parallels the well-known Jungian thesis about the man’s shadowy anima (his unconscious female) and the woman’s shadowy animus (her unconscious males), because Jung states: "A passionate exclusiveness therefore attaches to the man’s anima, and an indefinite variety to the woman’s animus."6

According to Buddhist metaphysical treatises, an element of prajñā occurs as one of the momentary ingredients in every idea we have.7 But as long as human beings (whether male or female) are enveloped in lust, hatred, and delusion, this prajñā element can be called "impure."8 Such is the historically foisted condition of prajñā. But some persons become monks, restrict their worldly activities, withdraw their grasp upon the world. Becoming in a sense more like women, they alter the environment of prajñā and specialize it out, so to say, ultimately gaining its perfection (prajñāpāramitā). What is at issue here is not the obvious, but the subtle—those potentialities of human beings that in the manner of seeds hide their natures until nurtured.

These natures—whether of men or women—are fostered like plants raised in hothouses when the person withdraws from society. In Jung’s

4. A Tibetan account of this view is presented in my "Buddhist Genesis and the Tantric Tradition," in Oriens Extremus, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1962), one of the articles as a memorial of the late F. D. Lessing, reprinted herein.

5. See my chapter "Perfection of Insight: Buddhist Tantra Within Mahāyāna Buddhism."


7. Technically, prajñā in this context is one of the ten mahābhūnikās; cf. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, L’Abhidharmakosā de Vasubandhu, Premier et Deuxième Chapitres (Paris and Louvain, 1923), pp. 153-56.

language: “Isolation by a secret [alchemy] results as a rule in an animation of the psychic atmosphere as compensation for loss of contact with other people. It causes an activation of the unconscious, and this produces something similar to the illusions and hallucinations that beset lonely wanderers in the desert, seafarers, and saints.”

The extreme limit of such isolation is illustrated by the experience of Gautama Buddha beneath the Tree of Enlightenment. In traditional accounts of Māra’s onslaught, we find the future Buddha beset by hosts of demonic beings and tempted by the three daughters of Māra. Somewhat as a tormented liver motivates a snake dream, the besieged foundation of human nature objectifies a malicious panorama. Gautama is unmoved by this vivid display: he knows it is all an illusion. Then the Earth Goddess, Mother of the World, moves: shaking [literally: earth-quaking] in six different ways she disperses the hosts of Māra.

This celebrated encounter suggests a number of considerations:

1. Indian symbolism does not necessarily assign to male the active, to female the passive role.

2. The proposition “All mental objects (dharma) are an illusion” has one meaning for the ascetic, another for the metaphysician. For the yogin who has developed the intense visualizing power called eidetic imagery—natural to many children in certain years prior to puberty—the proposition is the rule of mental health. For the metaphysician, unliberated from discursive thinking, the proposition is the basis of an impractical world denial.

3. It is one matter to recognize something as an illusion, another matter to get rid of that thing. This contrast is the topic of a simile in the Kāśyapa-parivarta-sūtra, as quoted in Tson-kha-pa’s Lam rim chen mo: “Kāśyapa, thus for example, when two trees are rubbed together by the wind, and fire arises [from the friction], [that fire] having arisen burns up the two trees. In the same way, Kāśyapa, by reason of the most pure discrimination [analyzing mental objects], the power of noble insight (ārya-prajñā) is born; and [that Fire] having been born, burns up that most pure discrimination.”

Elsewhere in the Lam rim chen mo, this “discrimination” (pratyaveksaṇa) is treated as a form of prajñā. It is prajñā on the intellectual level; the prajñā born from it is of a mystical nature and eliminates both discrimination and its object, which by “rubbing together” during intense concentration, have given birth to that prajñā. Hence Dayal is not quite


10. For some data on the three daughters, including their names, cf. E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita, or Acts of the Buddha* (Calcutta, 1936), Part II, p. 188.

right in saying: "The two great Mahāyānist schools of Buddhist philosophy do not agree in their interpretation of prajñā. The Vijñāna-vađins (Yogācāras) explain prajñā in a positive manner... The Mādhyamika philosophers have interpreted prajñā in a negative sense."\(^{12}\) The latter prajñā is the one sometimes called the "eye of prajñā," which sees nothing (the void),\(^ {13}\) but as it springs from the intellectual prajñā ("knowing things as they really are") stressed by the Vijñāna-vađins there is no essential disagreement in the alternate explanations of the term. The real difference is in the emphasis, and there is no denying the importance of this factor. However, the feature of ascending levels of prajñā is a doctrine of Buddhism prior to the rise of Mahāyāna: there is the insight consisting of hearing or learning (śruta), the insight consisting of pondering (cintā), and the insight consisting of cultivation [in one's own life] (bhāvanā). In the third case, one no longer hears or ponders: one is that thing formerly heard and pondered and hence no longer "sees" it.

4. In the myth, the illusion-destroying power is a Woman, the Earth Goddess; in non-mythic language this power is ārya-prajñā. In the myth, this Woman is external to the future Buddha; in non-mythic language it is a power produced in himself. In the myth, the future Buddha is seated beneath the Tree of Enlightenment touching Earth with his right hand, and Earth (the World Mother) shakes. In the Order (samgha) founded by Gautama Buddha the monk is not allowed to touch a woman. Besides, the Indian Buddhist reformer Atiśa (eleventh cent.) writes that in final meaning (nītārtha) one does not need to go to the Bodhi tree considered as an external tree in order to achieve Enlightenment (bodhi).\(^ {14}\)

5. But why is the Earth Goddess represented mythically as an Other when in more prosaic terms "she" is an interior power? The question confronts us with the mystery of all mythic composition. On this point, Eliade properly emphasizes that the myth is detached from profane time; it provides an entry into the "Great Time, the sacred time."\(^ {15}\) The non-mythic Buddhist description of impending Enlightenment provides the intellect with technical terms. The scholar can "grasp" it; he may think he understands it. Still, the description is profane and likewise the understanding.


\(^{14}\) Toh. 3948, the *Bodhimārgaprādippapāṇikā-nāma* (catalogued with the author's alternate name, Dīpanakaraśrijāna), Tanjur, Dbu ma, Vol. Khi. Atiśa is commenting on verses (8b-9, in my numbering) of his *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Toh. 3947).

Reverting to that Tantric tradition about the separation of “means” and “insight,” it, of course, constitutes a rationale for (re)uniting those two along with the merit and knowledge collected since the original fall. Both the Tantric and non-Tantric Buddhist purposes are colored by the “nostalgia for Paradise” discussed by Eliade in consideration of both archaic societies and Christianity. In the non-Tantric tradition the “means” are usually explained as these five Bodhisattva perfections (pāramitā): giving, morality, forbearance, striving, and meditation. In the Tantras, the “means” may also be explained as the maṇḍala or consecrated circle in which initiation takes place. This maṇḍala may be the initiate’s body. But while the “means” is associated with men, and “insight” with women, this by no means implies that ordinary human marriage unites the “means” and “insight” in either the non-Tantric or Tantric sense. Indeed, that type of marriage generally confirms the loss of Paradise.

This is not to deny the legitimacy of the literal interpretation sometimes made by the Tantras, to wit, that they teach salvation through sexual union. But this symbolism by its very nature is capable of multiple interpretations, and thus separates the maḥātmanas (“great-souled ones”) from the alpātmanas (“small-souled ones”) as well as from those in between. This view of ours is borne out by Eliade’s remark while considering Hindu and Buddhist sexual Tantric statements: “We have already noted that the tantrics are divided into two classes: the samayins, who believe in the identity of Śiva and Śakti and attempt to awaken the kuṇḍalinī by spiritual exercises, and the kaulās, who venerate the Kaulinī (= kuṇḍalinī) and employ concrete rituals.” Of course the classical commentators could not avoid this issue and used expressions preserved in Tibetan translation as sgra ji bzin pa and sgra ji bzin ma yin, the Sanskrit originals for which were yathārūta and na-yathārūta. The former means “standard terminology”, the latter “non-standard terminology.” Thus, Jñānākara discusses these terms and mentions that in the standard terminology the “sixteen-year old girl” (prajñā aged sixteen) refers to the concrete sixteen-year-old girl, while in the non-standard terminology that aged girl refers to the sixteen voids. Again, using the generic term mudrā, the two kinds are called the karmamudrā (“seal of action”) and jñānamudrā (“seal of knowl-

17. Atiśa mentions that in the Tantras the “means” is the maṇḍala; this in his Bodhimgāpradīpapāraṇjikānāma (n. 14, above), while commenting on verse 42 (my numbering) of his Bodhipaṭhasāgrālīpa, which states: “Hence, in order to eliminate all the obscuration of defilement and the knowable, the yogin should continually cultivate prajñāpāramitā together with the means.”
19. Toh. 3719, the Mantrāvatāraṇyūṭi, Tanjur, Rgyud, Tsu, 204a-b.
edge"): "The karmamudrā has breasts and hair, is the basis of pleasure in the realm of desire (kāmadhātu) ... involves transient pleasure (kṣara-
sukha). ... The jñānamudrā is imagined by one's mind ... is the basis of pleasure in the realm of form (rūpadhātu) ... involves contact pleasure (sparśasukha)."20

The problem is whether the syncretism of Buddhism with Tantric lore giving rise to the Buddhist Tantras is consistent with non-Tantric Buddhist traditions. My own solution involves an interpretation of the "dissoluteness" of the prajñā or "woman" frequently mentioned in certain Tantric texts. Thus, with reference to the Tantric consort called the outcast (dombī), Eliade cites Kāṇha's line, "O dombī! no woman is more dissolute than thou!"21 We are not denying that some of the Tantric authors may denote a concrete woman by their dombī when we hold that there scarcely could have been a more appropriate symbol for the inner faculty of prajñā than the dissolve outcast.

This "woman" is the initiatress of the yogin, and for this function had best be "dissolute." For in the world we know the man is initiated sexually by a woman who is temporarily dissolve—however moral she may be at other times. Besides, woman is the initiator par excellence: she obviously ushers one into life and, obscurely, into death. Indian mythology reminds us of this with the stark figure of Kāli, the World Mother as destroyer. Hence also, that dombī as "insight" initiates one into knowledge, whether mundane or divine, commonplace or awesome.

This prajñā is found in all circumstances, foul and pure, as an ingredient of every idea. We do not have the introspective power to trace the ordinary prajñā to the glorious state free from the three psychological poisons, because just as that point is reached our discrimination, itself a form of prajñā, would vanish according to the sūtra citation. We only assume it is the same prajñā (or is it an alter ego?) that is the Perfection of Insight as dissolve as ever, for she consorts as freely with giving, morality, forbearance, striving, and meditation, as her wicked elder sister does with lust, hatred, and delusion. And she discloses the same ultimate truth to all the spiritual heroes.

So we can present our solution of the problem: if that dissolve woman the Tantras talk about is really an interior power and is represented externally as an Other in purely mythical language, this may well be consistent with non-Tantric Buddhism, for that woman may be no other than the Earth Goddess who shook in six ways (whether or not she was rising through six cakras of the body). And if that woman is the kind we

would call a woman in profane time, when time is added to a place, such Tantric interpretations have little in common with the teaching of Gautama Buddha.

The Three Meanings of “Evaṁ”

The remarks in the preceding section about prajñā and upāya suggest that the Tantras do not bring up in isolation the subject matter involving female symbolism. Usually male symbolism occurs side by side, especially in the discussion of evaṁ, the word which begins both the non-Tantric sermons called Sūtras and the esoteric literature called Tantras. The opening lines, setting the occasion for the work, are called the nidāna, a word which means “fundamental cause,” “theme of the discourse,” “introduction,” “introductory chapter,” and so on. The numerous commentaries on Buddhist Sūtras and Tantras naturally afforded no end of opportunity for the learned commentators to expand on the meaning of the nidāna according to their respective schools. No matter how the nidāna would subsequently diverge in the various works, its standard form for the first sentence was: evaṁ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye, which interpreted as words in an ordinary sentence means “Thus by me it was heard on an occasion.” Brough challenges the modern punctuation established by the Pāli school, which interprets the adverbial phrase ekasmin samaye with the meaning “on one occasion” as inaugurating the second sentence to add a time to the place where the Bhagavat dwelt (vijahāra). When the adverbial phrase goes with the first sentence it adds a time to the “hearing,” which might have occurred “all at once” in Great Time. Insofar as the present writer has inspected several Mahāyāna commentaries, they agree with Brough’s indications; and one may refer to the Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra for confirmation.

The Tantric commentaries also employ an interpretation not found in non-Tantric works: they comment on the nidāna as composed of individual syllables. The Tantric commentary summarizes the teaching of the whole work as will be shown extensively in the rest of its commentary by arbitrarily assigning meanings to the syllables of the nidāna, interpreted as the “theme of the discourse,” starting with the initial e of evaṁ down through the ra of vijahāra (“dwelt”). For example, the work Hevajrapīṇḍārthaṭīkā identifies the first six syllables with six goddesses, in order, Locanā, Māmaki, Pāṇḍarā, Tārā, Vajradhātvīśvari, and Prajñāpāramitā. The next six syllables are the six Buddhas, the usual five and Vajrasattva, who here represent the six personality aggregates (skandha), the usual five and a sixth

23. Lamotte (trans.), Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse (Louvain, 1944), 1, 56 ff.
not specified here but probably jñāna-skandha (the aggregate of knowledge). This particular syllabic commentary on the nidāna continues down through vijahāra and thus announces the main deities as well as indicates the sixfold nature of the correspondence system.

In effect, the Tantric commentaries on the Anuttara-yoga-tantra literature interpret the language of the basic Tantra in two ways: as words having the meanings that they seem to have; and as words having arbitrarily assigned meanings, especially when the words are decomposed into syllables. In illustration, evam has its ordinary meaning of “thus,” and has two syllables each with their arbitrary meanings as assigned in a particular Tantric tradition.

Perhaps the appearance of the letters e and va in certain Indian alphabets suggested their use for symbolizing the female and male principles, as is done in the Guhyasamāja-tantra cycle. Following this tradition, Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes: “states three meanings of E-vaṃ: (1) the E-vaṃ of the fruit to be attained; (2) the E-vaṃ of the path of attainment; (3) the E-vaṃ as “signs” guiding that [path].” He goes on to illustrate the three meanings:

1. E is the secret place for teaching the doctrine (dharma), such as the sky, the bhaga (“female organ,” metaphorical), the dharmodaya (“source of natures”), the lotus, and the lion’s seat. Vaṃ is whoever the Tantra sets forth as the Teacher, be he Vajradhara, Heruka, and so on, who dwells in the bhaga, lion’s seat, and so on. (These deities symbolize the inseparable union of the void and compassion.)


3. E is the mother’s bhaga place (ādhāra) (yum gyi bha-ga rten). Vaṃ is the father’s vajra (“male organ,” metaphorical) placed (ādhey a) therein

24. Toh. 1180, Hevajrapaṇḍarthaṇḍikā, Tanjūr, Rgyud, Ka, 7a-5 ff. The author, *Vajrayabha (T. Rdo rje snyin po), gives six goddesses, representing elements, for the syllables of evam mayā śrutam; six Buddhas, representing skandhas, for those of ekasmin samaye; six goddesses, representing sensory objects (viṣaya), for those of bhagavān sarvata- and six bodhisattvas, representing sense organs (indriya), for those of -thāgataśūyavāk-, these two groups of six constituting the twelve sense bases (āyatana); six fierce goddesses and six fierce gods, ordinarily located in twelve spots of the body, such as the limbs, for the syllables of -cittavajrayogidbhageṣu vijahā-; and finally Vajrasattva, the chief one, thirty-seventh, who is praṇā and upāya, for the syllable -ra. For purposes of this arbitrary interpretation of the syllables, amounting to the cast for the Hevajra drama, the author has not hesitated to omit the word hrdaya which appears among the opening words in the Sanskrit text of the Hevajra-tantra. His repetition of Vajrasattva is quite normal; this deity is playing two roles, one as a Buddha and another as the central deity. In the Mother Tantras, such as the Hevajra, the correspondence systems generally go by sixes. The usual way of increasing the elements and the skandhas to six is to add “knowledge” (jñāna), i.e., jñāna-dhātu and jñāna-skandha.

(de la brten pañi yab kyi rdo rje). This again is of two kinds: (a) the external E-vam as “signs,” the union with the “seal” (mudrā); (b) the internal E-vam as “signs,” the guiding agent for the path of piercing the vital centers of the cakras (the “wheels” imagined along the spinal column). “Here, ‘signs’ means signs of the genitals in the sense of shape.” 26 These shapes associated with the cakras are the triangle and the circle.

Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s treatment enables us to add some information to each of the three.

1. The first meaning of e-vam is the literal meaning of the nidāna of the Tantra. Both the Guhyasamāja-tantra and the Hevajra-tantra, as edited in Sanskrit, begin with two sentences that can be rendered as follows: “Thus by me it was heard on an occasion. The Bhagavat dwelt in the bhagas of the diamond ladies who are the essence of the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Tathāgatas.” These bhagas belong to the four goddesses Locanā, Māmaki, Pāṇḍurā, and Tārā, who are respectively associated, in this stage, with the cakras of navel, heart, neck, and head.27

2. The second meaning of e-vam is the union of “insight” and “means,” or in alternate terminology, the union of “void” and “compassion.” As discussed in our preceding terminology, this union involves aspects of the male and of the female but is not the union of ordinary marriage. The union, as mentioned above, constitutes the bindu. This is the mystical androgynous element composed of the white (male) and red (female) elements, whose ordinary function is to rise and descend in the central channel of the body (imagined to be in the spinal column), causing, as we shall soon point out, the states of consciousness. Tsoṅ-kha-pa in his Guhyasamāja commentaries often refers to the bindu as composed of the winds and mind-only (vāyu and cittamātra); and instead of “mind-only” the word “perception” (vijñāna) is sometimes used. In this terminology apparently the winds are in the “means” category and the mind-only or perception in the “insight” category. The bindu is also called bodhicitta (“mind of enlightenment”). The second meaning of e-vam concerned with the path, as well as the third meaning concerned with the signs along the path, is made explicit by the arbitrary commentarial explanations of the syllables of the nidāna.

3. The external E-vam as “signs” may mean the symbolic Father-Mother (yab-yum) unions of a god and goddess frequently depicted in Tibetan art. The internal E-vam as “signs” is explained by Tsoṅ-kha-pa in this passage: “Thus that work [the Sāṃputa] explains the meaning of the E-vam with locus in the shape of the cakras of head and navel—the shape of the E-triangle; as well as in the shape of the cakras of heart and

26. Ibid., 66a.
27. That initial passage is elaborately explained in my Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra.
neck—the shape of the Vam-circle.”

When Mkhas grub rje describes these cakras in his commentary on the Hevajra-tantra he especially clarifies the emphasis on four cakras for the Tantric manipulation of the “winds”:

The cakra of the navel with triangular shape faces upward; the cakra of the heart with circular shape faces downward; and the former has 64 petals (or “veins”), the latter 8. The cakra of the neck with circular shape has 16 petals and faces upward; the cakra of the head with triangular shape has 32 petals and faces downward. The total of those “vein” petals of the four cakras is 120; and since they form the support for the winds and perception, they are explained to be the 120 chief “veins.”

We can appreciate these symbols somewhat better by noticing what Tson-kha-pa says in a different work: “Among those, the cakras of navel and neck are prajñā with the shape of the E-triangle; and the cakras of heart and head are upāya with the shape of the Vam-circle.”

The neck and head cakras are now assigned shapes differently than in the two foregoing citations. However, Tson-kha-pa is here following the Guhyasamāja (Father Tantra) tradition, whereas the Samputa and the Hevajra are in the Mother Tantra tradition. It follows that these tantrics do not believe that there are triangles and circles in the respective places. Those signs are meditative props imagined at those centers to facilitate concentration; and it is only important that the symbolism be consistent in a particular Tantric tradition. In agreement with this conclusion, Indrabhūti writes: “For the reason that the consonants are upāya and the vowels are prajñā, there are four cakras. There is the combination of upāya with prajñā, the combination of upāya with upāya, the combination of prajñā with prajñā, and the combination of prajñā with upāya. Hence four kinds are stated.”

When these Buddhist Tantras deal with seven cakras, one is added at crown of head in the position of the uṣṇīṣa with four petals; and two below, one at the sacral place (gsaṅ ba) with thirty-two petals and another, the lowest of all, at the “tip of the jewel” (nor buḥi rtse) with eight petals. This system of seven cakras is obviously parallel to the Hindu Tantra series named, in order from top to bottom, Sahasrāra, Ājñā, Viśuddha, Anāhata, Maṇipūra, Svādhiṣṭhāna, and Mūlādhāra. The fundamental

31. Toh. 2472, the Ratnacakrabhīṣekopadesakrama, Tanjur, Rgyud, Zi, 151a.
32. According to Abhayākara’s Āmnāya-mañjarī (Toh. 1198,) as quoted and explained in the Siṅgas rim, 436b.
group of four cakras of the Buddhist Tantras therefore corresponds to the Ājñā, Viśuddha, Anāhata, and Manipūra cakras of the Hindu systems, although there are some differences in the respective descriptions. The cakra of the head, sometimes called the Mahāsukha-cakra, thus corresponds to the Hindu Ājñā cakra in the head between the eyebrows, hence in the position of the ūrṇā-koṣa, one of the main characteristics of the Buddha. It is of interest to observe that in the Hindu Tantras much is said about the goddess Kūṇḍalini, who lies sleeping in the lowest cakra, the Mūlādhāra; whereas the equivalent goddess in the Buddhist Tantra system, called Caṇḍāli or Nairātmyā, is at the navel cakra.

It may be noted that while the Hevajraprāṇḍārthaṭṭkā, above cited, sets forth six basic goddesses for the first six syllables (evaṁ maṇḍa śrutaṁ), the basic Tantra of the Hevajra gives only the first four goddesses, Locanā and so on (evaṁ maṇḍa). This is consistent with the Guhyasamājā-tantra cycle, which has an Explanatory Tantra entitled Caturdevīparipṛcchā (“Questions of the Four Goddesses”); and in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s commentary on this work we learn that a chapter is devoted to the questions of each goddess, Locanā, and so on, with the same names and same order as above.34

The primacy in this system of four cakras for physiological manipulation in ascetic practices may well go back to the old Upaniṣadic theories of the four states of consciousness. The Brahmapaniṣad, one of the Saṃnyāsa Upaniṣads, later than the early Upaniṣads but preceding the Tantric literature as we now have it, teaches that the Puruṣa has those four states when dwelling in the four places, namely, waking state in the navel, sleep (i.e., dream) in the neck, dreamless sleep in the heart, and the fourth, Turiya, in the head.35 In agreement, Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes:

When one has gone to sleep, there is both dream and absence of dream. At the time of deep sleep without dream the white and red elements of the bodhicitta, which is the basis of mind, stay in the heart, so mind is held in the heart. At the time of dreaming, those two elements stay in the neck, so mind is held in the neck. At the time when one is not sleeping, they stay at the navel, so mind is held there. When the male and female unite, those two stay in the head.36

This passage shows a belief that the orgasm or climax of ordinary coitus

35. Eliade, Yoga, p. 128.
yields a fleeting experience of a fourth state. At least the Anuttarayogatantras seek to bring about this pleasure-void (sukha-śūnya) experience in a non-fleeting form (akṣara), whereupon it is called “great pleasure” (mahāsukha), hence the name of the forehead cakra. It is the sexual union not of a man and woman but of a god and goddess. It is more prolonged in certain states of religious exaltation, mystical climax, and heightened consciousness in general, than it is in human orgasm. Moreover, if this fourth state be understood as all three of the waking, dreaming, and dreamless sleep states taken together, it becomes comprehensible that one could be in this fourth state and at the same time be emphasizing one or other of those ordinary three states. Another way of stating this proposition is that, once the mind has attained the fourth state, it could then evolve from this state in a more or less prolonged experience of an extraordinary type of waking, dream, or dreamless sleep. Along these lines, the Tantras speak of three light or void stages that evolve from the fourth, the Clear Light. According to our next section, “The Female, Male, and Androgyne,” the form of woman is a symbol of the heightened state of consciousness that emphasizes the waking state, the form of man is a symbol of such a state that emphasizes the dreaming state, while the theoretical form of androgyne is a symbol of such a state that emphasizes the dreamless sleep state. Moreover, employing the terminology of “pleasure-void” (sukha-śūnya), Tsoṅ-kha-pa says: “Among them, ‘means’ is Spread of Light: ‘insight’ is Light; neutral (or androgyne), the merger of those two, is Culmination of Light. Among pleasure and void, Light is predominantly the cognition of void; Spread of Light is the reverse of that; and Culmination of Light has the two in equal proportion.” 37 This statement implies that the secret state of mind during a woman’s climax and other exalted states of consciousness of the same nature, however achieved, are predominantly the cognition of voidness among the two factors of pleasure and void. There are similar implications for the secret states of mind typically male and androgyne.

Another late Hindu text, the Rgvidhāna, speaks of the yogin’s attempt to raise manas (the mind) from the navel to the heart, then to the neck, to the place between the eyes, and finally to the skull, whereupon to make the manas revert to the navel. 38 The last state in the ascension is the one usually referred to as “beyond the fourth” (turīyatīta); and in the Hindu system the Sahasrāra cakra is beyond the body comparable to the uṣṇīśa, which is depicted in Buddhist art as emerging from the top of the head. Some Buddhist Tantras also speak of this final state as corresponding to a fifth body. Thus in the commentary on the Maṇjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti by Śīla-maṇi dpal-ye-śes (*Sūryaśrijñāna) we read: “He has the nature of the five

37. Mthah geod (op. cit.), 49b-2.
38. Eliade, Yoga, p. 137.
bodies by reason of waking, dream, dreamless sleep, the fourth, and beyond the fourth.”\(^{39}\) The text goes on to explain this person as the Pervading Lord (vibhu, T. khyab bdag) who possesses the five knowledges. Later on, the same text mentions that the symbol of five tufts of hair on the head (pañcaśikha) stands for the five states.\(^{40}\) The Buddhist usnīsa may be a variant of this symbol; and in any case, the corresponding state in Buddhism is Complete Enlightenment, according to Tantrism when the Goddess Caṇḍālī ascends to the crown of the head. If this Pervading Lord or Complete Buddha then descends to teach, he as the union of “insight” and “means,” the second meaning of E-van, is the Van and wherever he teaches is the E of the first meaning of E-van. In this section the female symbolism is portrayed within sets of threefold correspondences, especially involved with the three syllables Om, Āḥ, Hūṃ. This treatment is expected to lead to some important considerations concerning a table, “The Great Time.” but first we must lay the groundwork by citation of a number of passages of threefold correspondences. Indeed, the analogical way of thinking is basic to the Tantras.

Among the correspondences to the triad of male, female, and androgynous, there is the set of body, speech, and mind, as well as the set of three gunas, sattva, rajas, and tamas; but inconsistencies appear in the respective correspondences. For example, Mkhas grub rje in his commentary on the Hevajra-tantra quotes from the Saṃpuṭa that sattva is the intrinsic nature of body, rajas that of speech, and tamas that of mind;\(^{41}\) while Tsoṅ-kha-pa in his commentary on the Caturdeviparipṛcchā says: “Tamas is the thunderbolt of body (kāyavajra); rajas is the thunderbolt of speech (vāgvajra); sattva is the heart, the intrinsic nature of mind (or the cittavajra).”\(^{42}\) These inconsistencies can be resolved for the most part by placing the textual passages containing the correspondences in two groups labeled the basic time (gzi dus) and the fruitional time (ḥbras dus), or profane time and Great Time. The Tibetan terminology of the two times is mentioned this way in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s discussion of the Kālacakra-tantra: “The twelve members of the basic time are the twelve [members of Dependent Origination, viz.] unwisdom (avidyā) and so on, and the twelve transits of the wind. The twelve members of the fruitional time are [stoppage of Dependent Origination, viz.] stoppage of unwisdom, and so on, and the stoppage of the twelve transits.”\(^{43}\)

The tantric Nāgārjuna presents many of the threefold sets near the

\(^{39}\) Toh. 1395, the Amṛtakāṣṭikā-nāma āryanāmaṃsantāsāpateśitāppaṅ, Tānjar, Rgyud, Pha, 60b-2.

\(^{40}\) Ibid., Pha. 73a-3.

\(^{41}\) Bṛhat īśel, op. cit., 67a-5, 6.

\(^{42}\) Bzis zus, op. cit., 32b-2.

beginning of his commentary on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*. But at least there he does not speak of a division into two groups, and he does not clarify the respective order in which a number of the sets of three things correspond to each other. Fortunately, the writings of Tson-kha-pa on the *Guhyasamāja* cycle provide the necessary further information, but for every topic it proves best to compare with what he says in another one or more of his works.\(^{44}\)

Nāgārjuna writes concerning the three syllables *Oṃ, Āḥ, Hūṃ*: “By reason of the nature of the three syllables, the yogin should dispose them in the head, the neck, and the heart, and then mutter them in the thunderbolt manner.”\(^{45}\) He mentions that the vowels have the nature of *prajñā*, the consonants the nature of *upāya*, and the semi-vowels, *ya*, etc., the nature of both. “For that very reason, they are the nature of female, male, and androgyne. Hence Āḥ, which condenses the vowels, is the intrinsic nature of *prajñā*. Hūṃ, which condenses the consonants, is the intrinsic nature of *upāya*. Oṃ, which condenses *ya, ra, la, va*, is the intrinsic nature of the androgyne.”\(^{46}\) Nāgārjuna continues with further identifications: “Those three syllables are also the three elements; the nature of body, speech, and mind; the nature of moon, sun, and fire; the intrinsic nature of inspiration and so on; and the intrinsic nature of the three transitional experiences, death and so on.”\(^{47}\)

By “inspiration” Nāgārjuna means inspiration of the breath. Tson-kha-pa explains these correspondences as follows: “Here one should recite in the sequence of drawing in the wind with an *Oṃ*, holding the wind inside with an Āḥ, and exhaling with a Hūṃ; and recite in a manner that does not violate the ancillaries of dhāraṇī (incantation) muttering.”\(^{48}\) The disposition in head, neck, and heart concerns the movement of the four lord (nātha) winds that are *upāya* (thabs mgon po bzhīhi rluṅ) along with their four [fractional] queen (devi) winds that are *prajñā* (šes rab lha mo bzhīhi rluṅ) from their ordinary locations during basic or profane time in extraordinary combinations within those three centers during fruitional or Great Time. Tson-kha-pa explains these mixtures of winds this way (in my summation): *Oṃ*, the *prāṇa* wind of the heart cakra, the *udāna* wind of the neck cakra, and the *bindu* in the position of the *uṣṇīsa*, is the thunderbolt of body at the Mahāsukha-cakra of the forehead. Āḥ, the initial *prāṇa* of the heart cakra, the *apāna* wind of the sacral center, along with the *udāna* of the neck center, is the thunderbolt of speech at the neck cakra. Hūṃ,

\(^{44}\) These correspondences are presented elaborately in Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1959), pp. 240-41.

\(^{45}\) Toh. 1784, *Śrīguhyasamājatantrasya tantraṭākā-nāma*, Tanjur, Rgyud, Sa, 8a-4.

\(^{46}\) *Ibid.*, 9b.


\(^{48}\) Rdo rje bzhad, op. cit., 63a-2, 3.
the apāna wind of the sacral center, the udāna wind of the neck center, and the pervasive prāṇa normally in the forehead, is the thunderbolt of mind at the navel of the heart lotus. And the winds mixed that way dissolve the knots (mdud) of those centers. Moreover, Tson-kha-pa writes: “Thus, the three syllables are made into body, speech, and mind as follows: Om is made into body, Āḥ into speech, Hūṃ into mind. They are made into the three bodies in the same order as follows: posited as the Nirmāṇa-kāya, the Sambhoga-kāya, and the Dharma-kāya.”

By the three transitional experiences, Nāgārjuna means death, birth, and the intermediate state. Tson-kha-pa associates death with the Dharma-kāya, the intermediate state with the Sambhoga-kāya, and birth with the Nirmāṇa-kāya. Again, he explains that Om is the secret “heart” (hrdaya) incantation of Vairocana, the Body of all the Tathāgatas; Āḥ likewise of Amitābha, the Speech of all the Tathāgatas; and Hūṃ likewise of Akṣobhya, the Mind of all the Tathāgatas. The three elements are the red, the white, and the bodhicitta; and Tson-kha-pa gives the correspondences for these as well as for a number of other sets of three. Without further citation of these passages, I shall present my solution of the two groups of correspondences.

The first group (basic time) has correspondences to the right, left, and middle “veins” of the body; the second group (fruitional time), to sequences of lights or voids. The first group involves the usual rhythm of breaths or winds in the various cakras. The second group involves a Tantric manipulation of those winds in a succession of wind mixtures to engender a controlled sequence of photism experiences. In both groups, and customarily in other contexts of the Tantras, the sequence of imagining and muttering the three syllables is Om, Āḥ, Hūṃ. The contrast between the two groups will be clearer by placing some essential elements in brief tabular form (Table 14).

The basic or profane time correspondences are more fully stated as follows: Androgyne, the semi-vowels, mind, bodhicitta or bindu, [in some texts: Rāhu,] or tamas among the guṇas, is in the central “vein,” called the Avadhūti. Prajñā, the vowels, speech, the red element, the sun, or rajas among the three guṇas, is in the left “vein,” called the Lalanā. Upāya, the consonants, body, the white element, the moon, or sattva among the guṇas, is in the right “vein,” called the Rasanā. The meaning of the

53. E.g., in *Snags rim*, 437a-3 ff.; in *Bzis ‰us*, 32b-2 ff. Some of these correspondences are already in my “Notes on the Sanskrit Term Jñāna,” *JAOS*, LXXV, No. 4 (October-December, 1955), 258 ff. My studies in that article constitute a decisive step toward my present understanding.
### TABLE 14
**Basic Time Correspondences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Middle Vein</th>
<th>Left Vein</th>
<th>Right Vein</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Om</td>
<td>Āh</td>
<td>Hūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind</td>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Androgyne</td>
<td>Prajñā</td>
<td>Upāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamas</td>
<td>Rajas</td>
<td>Sattva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frutional Time Correspondences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Left</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prajñā, form of woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Right</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upāya, form of man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Middle</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hūm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form of Androgyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sattva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sequence Om, Āh, Hūm (Androgyne, Prajñā, and Upāya) is shown in part in Mkhas grub rje’s great commentary (Tik chen) on the Kālacakra-tantra:

> During the first five (lunar) months of the womb, developing the five personality aggregates and the five elements, under the power of tamas, in the state of dreamless sleep which has no manifestation of discursive thought (vikalpa), there is the bodhicitta of the Jina (i.e., the Bhagavat) which is the diamond (vajra) Dharmakāya. During the sixth and seventh, under the power of rajas, experiencing “objects” (viṣaya) like a dream, in the state of dream, there is the Saṃbhoga-kāya. Then, from the beginning of the eighth month up to birth, under the power of sattva, in the waking state, there is the Nirmāṇa-kāya.⁵⁴

Now, various Buddhist Tantric texts identify the four basic cakras (cf. our preceding section) with the Buddha bodies, that is, the nirmāṇa-cakra is at the navel, the dhāraṇa-cakra at the heart, the saṃbhoga-cakra at the neck, and the mahāsukha-cakra at the head.⁵⁵ Combining this information with the data in Mkhas grub rje’s passage, we see that the heart cakra with eight “veins” develops first, the neck cakra with sixteen “veins” develops second, inferentially the forehead cakra with thirty-two “veins” and the navel cakra with sixty-four “veins” develop last. The inference requires the

---

⁵⁵. For example, Snellgrove (ed.), op. cit., I, 49.
Nirmāṇa-kāya to be associated with the head and navel. As a matter of fact, when Mkhas grub rje in the same Kālacakra-tantra commentary mentions the positional correspondences of the Buddha bodies, he associates the Dharmakāya with the heart and the Saṃbhoga-kāya with the neck, but places the bindu generating the waking state, and accordingly also the Nirmāṇa-kāya, at the level of the forehead (dpral ba).\textsuperscript{56} The correspondences of basic time associate the Nirmāṇa-kāya with the navel, but the correlation with the forehead cakra in fruitional time is referred to when Dasgupta writes: “It is said that when the Bodhicitta is produced in the navel region the goddess Cāṇḍālī is also awakened, as it were, in the Nirmāṇa-cakra. When she is awakened the moon situated in the forehead begins to pour nectar and this nectar rejuvenates and trans-substantiates the body of the Yoganin.”\textsuperscript{57} We may assume that upon birth as an ordinary male or female, the World Mother goes to sleep by the navel, which is then the nirmāṇa-cakra in place of the forehead cakra, hence given a different name, mahāsukha-cakra. One of the chief aims of the tantrics is to reawaken the forehead cakra as the nirmāṇa-cakra. We shall touch upon more matters related to the basic time in our next section, “The Groups of Four and Five.”

Passing now to fruitional time correspondences, this sequence is initiated by the \textit{Om} at the forehead, where the moon is said to melt when Cāṇḍālī at the navel blazes, with the dissolution of the four elements, which are Locanā and so on, and the dissolution of the five personality aggregates, which are the five Tathāgatas or Buddhas.\textsuperscript{58} This event signals the end of profane or basic time. The dissolution of the elements is associated with certain signs or appearances. According to a Tson-kha-pa commentary on the Guhyasamājya cycle, the dissolution of the earth element into water yields an appearance like a mirage (maricī), of water into fire an appearance like smoke (dhīmaṇa), of fire into wind an appearance like fire-flies (khadyota), of wind into the three Lights an appearance like a lamp (pradīpa), and of the Lights into ultimate nature an appearance like a cloudless sky (nirabhṛtagagara).\textsuperscript{59} However, the three Lights are also distinguished as being like moonlight, sunlight, junction of day and night;\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{56} Tik chen, Nah le, 30a-b.
\textsuperscript{57} S. B. Dasgupta, \textit{An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism} (Calcutta, 1950), pp. 189-90.
\textsuperscript{58} Snellgrove (ed.), \textit{op. cit.}, I, 50.
\textsuperscript{59} Th. 5286, \textit{Collected Works}, Vol. Ca, Ye rdor, 15a-2. Tson-kha-pa says he is following the Śgron gsal (Candrakirti’s Pradīpoddhotana, Th. 1785). The Sanskrit terms come from the Sekddedtātikā, text 39.28, in comparison with the Tibetan translation, Th. 1351, Tanjur Rgyud, Vol. Na, 252b-7 ff. The Sekddedtātikā reverses the order of the first two appearances, taking smoke as the first sign. Cf. also the Śvetāsvatara Upaniṣad (II, 11).
\textsuperscript{60} Cf. my “Notes on the Sanskrit Term Jñāna,” \textit{op. cit.}, p. 260; in Mthah geod, \textit{op. cit.}, Tson-kha-pa says that the moonlight is white, the sunlight is red or yellow-red (54a-4 ff.).
so now we can understand better Nāgārjuna’s set of moon, sun, and fire. In fact, the Oṁ corresponds to the first of the three Lights and hence assumes the preceding appearances of mirage, smoke, and fireflies.\textsuperscript{61} Let us proceed to the table of fruitional time correspondences (Table 15), of which several lines were already given.

\textbf{TABLE 15}

\textbf{THE GREAT TIME}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oṁ</th>
<th>Āḥ</th>
<th>Hūm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prajñā, the form of woman</td>
<td>Upāya, the form of man</td>
<td>Androgyne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-petalled lotus</td>
<td>5-pronged thunderbolt</td>
<td>Fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moonlight</td>
<td>Sunlight</td>
<td>Juncture of day and night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night</td>
<td>Day</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left</td>
<td>Right</td>
<td>Dreamless sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waking</td>
<td>Dream</td>
<td>Great Void</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Void</td>
<td>Further Void</td>
<td>Culmination of light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>Spread of Light</td>
<td>Mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>Speech</td>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>Intermediate State</td>
<td>Dharmakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nirmāṇakāya</td>
<td>Śaṃbhogakāya</td>
<td>Sattva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamas</td>
<td>Rajas</td>
<td>Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Neck</td>
<td>Expiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspiration</td>
<td>Retention</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the Fire listed under Hūm probably means here “the fire of time” (kālāgni), that is, the fire superior to time, because it puts an end to the cosmic eon and hence brings even Great Time to an end, ushering in the Clear Light, the Fourth Void, from which the other three evolve; whereas the dragon Rāhu in basic time only temporarily eclipses the sun and moon. It is of interest that the set of moon, sun, and fire is also found in the Hindu Tantras.\textsuperscript{62}

Our chief intention is to expose the female symbolism, but it is possible to do this only within a larger framework of symbolism. In basic time, Speech is female—a bit of symbolism prominent in Indo-European mythology; and in fruitional time, Speech is male. In the former time, Body is male; in the latter time, Body is female. In both times, Mind is androgyne or neutral. The correspondences in basic time exactly agree with the genders of the Sanskrit nouns: rāc, feminine (speech); kāya, masculine (body); and cītta, neuter (mind). An alternate word for mind, manas, is also neuter. We note that the correspondences of sun and moon to prajñā

\textsuperscript{61} Mṭhāṅ geol, op. cit., 51a.
\textsuperscript{62} Eliade, Yoga, 238.
and upāya are also reversed when passing from the former to the latter time. This shift seems to coincide beautifully with the contentions about a recessive male in the human female and a recessive female in the human male, or the animus and the anima of Jung’s system. That is to say, when the yogin attains the Great Time his recessive female becomes actualized; when the yogini attains this time her recessive males become actualized. This casts a flood of light on the sexual symbolism of mystical visions. Almost all of the Buddhist scriptures were composed by men, as far as is known. Hence these works speak so much about attaining prajñā, the void, the state of waking, and light. Hence that large body of scriptures entitled Prajñāpāramitā (“The perfection of insight”), and the personification of Prajñāpāramitā as the “Mother of the Buddhas.” These men were seeking to externalize or objectify what is referred to by our first column of the Great Time under Om. When successful, they achieved a more or less prolonged state of mystic consciousness, without reliance on a sexual partner, that is the birthright of all earthly women, who achieve a transitory experience of this secret state of thought in a climax with the aid of a sexual partner. But women are always representing this state by means of body. Hence the correspondence to body in fruitional time. Those conclusions imply that if women had been writing the books, the titles and contents would have diverged considerably. If they renounce earthly men and seek fulfillment in an exalted mystical consciousness, when successful they realize what is suggested by the Āha column in the Great Time, as Briffault describes it: “The primal function of the primitive religious magic of generation is re-echoed throughout the long line of female votaries of the Divine Bridegroom, in the lascivious ecstasies of a St. Theresa, of a St. Catherine, of a Madame Guyon.” But Briffault evinces no evidence in his essay that he understands the true state of affairs: men ordinarily attain transitory experiences of this consciousness of predominant pleasure (sukha) and negligible void (śūnya) through their sexual conquests. And generally men represent this state by means of speech. Anyway, such is the outcome of the table; the reader may judge for himself or herself whether the above statements are true in fact or simply a forcing of issues to make the columns “come out right.” The Tantric procedure is to master the techniques of passing through the three Lights to the experience of the Clear Light, to thus carry away the three bodies of a Complete Buddha; and Tsoṅ-kha-pa teaches that if one does not know how to proceed with skill he simply has momentary experiences of all these states when dying, passing through the intermediate state, and being reborn.

64. E.g., in his Ye rdor, op. cit., 17b-4 ff.
The Groups of Four and Five

A fine summary statement of the goddesses considered as consorts in the Anuttara-yoga-tantra is given by the Tibetan author Kwoñ-rdol bla-ma:

The “means path” of another’s body is the four families of “seals” (mudrā), namely: Padmini, Śaṅkhini, Hastini, and Mrgī. Moreover, each of those has the three varieties “together-born female” (sahajā), “field-born female” (kṣetrajā), and “incantation-born female” (dhāraṇṭjā). The “together-born female” enables one to attain the illusory body and the Goal Clear-light. The “field-born female” enables one to attain the Symbolic Clear-light with the arcane state of body, of speech, and of mind. The “incantation-born female” is the yogini at the final limit of the “stages of production” (upatti-krama). The families (kula) are explained as follows: the butcher maiden belongs to Āksobhya’s family; the washerman maiden to Vairocana’s; the necklace-stringer maiden to Ratnasambhava’s; the dancer maiden to Amitābha’s; the artisan maiden to Amoghasiddhi’s.65

The four terms, Padmini and so on, derive from the Hindu kāmaśāstra literature. They represent a classification of women. However, the explanation in Kāmasūtra (chap. ii) of the three terms Mrgī, Vaḍavā, and Hastini, is not applicable here. The set of four terms have explanations according to Apte’s dictionary66 somewhat along the lines of the “characteristics of maidens” (kanyālakṣaṇam) in Varahamihira’s work on omens, although the latter author does not use such terms as Padmini.67 These expressions (sometimes with citriṇī in place of mrgī) have been adopted by the Buddhist Tantric authors, and not necessarily with the same meanings as in the former literature. Lva-va-pa says: “Padmini belongs to the Deva family: Hastini has the lineage of Yakṣas; Śaṅkhini is known among the humans; Citriṇī is in the Preta family.”68 This passage could be interpreted to mean that all four have human form, while Śaṅkhini is really human. Another interpretation is that none are human, while Śaṅkhini is a fairy that has assumed a human form. And perhaps Lva-va-pa has something else in mind. However, Tsoñ-kha-pa writes:

67. V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Varahamihira’s Brihat Samhita (Bangalore City, 1947), II, 578-84.
68. Toh. 1401, Sūdhananidāna-śricakrasanvīra-nāma-pañjikā, Tanjur, Rgyud, Ba, 38a-6.
Female Energy and Symbolism in the Buddhist Tantras

The object to be summoned is (a) the god maiden (surakanyā), (b) the demi-god maiden (daiśyakanyā), (c) the four kinds of human maidens—Padmini, Śaṅkhani, Hastini, and Mṛgī. They on all circles (maṇḍala) of earth, are summoned from everywhere. The first is summoned from above the earth; the second, from beneath the earth; the third, from upon the earth.69

Tson-kha-pa is following a tradition more consistent, literally speaking, than Lva-va-pa’s with the Hindu meaning of the four terms. Indrabhūti also places the gods above earth, men on earth, and the demi-gods (asura or daiśya) beneath earth.70

Whatever the meaning of this classification into Padmini and so on, the fourfold group leads immediately to the fivefold group, or vice versa. This is because four entities are naturally arranged in a square, implying a “center” of a “squared circle” (maṇḍala) with the implied or given fifth entity in the middle. This is not to say that the group headed by Padmini is to be equated with the fivefold group headed by the butcher maiden. If all nine were included in one “squared circle,” the group of five would be in the cardinal directions and the center, the group of four in the intermediate directions.

The one in the center depends on the correspondence system. Thus, the correlation to “space” (ākāśa) among elements or to “Knowledge of the Natural Realm” (dharmadhūtuśīlā) among divine knowledges determine the center.71 When the system takes Vairocana as the chief Buddha, then the washerman maiden (rajakt) in this set of correspondences is regarded as an embodiment of the central goddess.

The fourfold group usually represents the situation of basic time, as portrayed in the preceding section, while the fifth entity either involves fruitional time or suggests it. We should also recall that various important non-Tantric five-termed sets divide into a four and a one. The five personality aggregates (skandha) include four on the side of “name” (nāma) and one on the side of “form” (rūpa). The “form” aggregate in turn consists of the four elements and their evolutes. While Buddhism, consistent with Hindu systems, includes the five elements of wind, and so on, in one group, calling them “realm” (dhātu), Buddhist metaphysics does not include the fifth element, space, among the “great factors of becoming” (mahābhūta). A certain treatise of this category explains that wind, fire, water, earth, are both “great” (mahā), that is, pervasive, and “factor of becoming” (bhūta).

69. Bīṣṇu, op. cit., 41b-1.
71. Cf. my “Totemic Beliefs in the Buddhist Tantras,” Table 2, and discussion, note.
Space is just mahā in the pervasive sense, and the nāma personality aggregates are just bhūta.\textsuperscript{72}

The four-and-one symbolism is used for the eaved palace (kūta-gāra) described as having a single courtyard (ekapuṭa) and as follows in a verse: “Having four corners, four entrances that are ornamented with four portals, as well as four balconies that are resplendent with nymphs (apsaras) and with garlands and other decorations.”\textsuperscript{73}

Already in the biography of the Buddha called the Lalitavistara one finds this verse about the Tree of Enlightenment: “The ornamented ‘essence of Enlightenment’ (bodhimāṇḍa) is therefore distinguished by four ‘divinities of enlightenment’ (bodhidevata) like the paradise tree (pārijāta in heaven.”\textsuperscript{74} The Tibetan translation interprets bodhidevata as “goddesses of the Tree of Enlightenment.”\textsuperscript{75} According to Dowson in A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology, the Pārijāta kept in Indra’s heaven is the delight of the nymphs of heaven. Also, the four daughters of Sakka (Indra) seem to be connected with this tree.\textsuperscript{76} In these cases four goddesses make up the fourfold group. The word maṇḍa (“core,” “essential part”) substituting for “tree” (vṛkṣa) especially shows that the tree represents the central or fifth entity.

To illustrate the case of goddesses in both cardinal and intermediate directions, we may refer to the “Maṇḍala of the Diamond Realm” (vajradhātu-maṇḍala). The Indo-Tibetan form of this maṇḍala is interpreted in the Yoga-tantra literature class, and the Sino-Japanese Tantric school elaborates it into a highly complex maṇḍala that is one of the two main ones of the Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism.\textsuperscript{77} There are four female deities belonging to the inner sanctum (garbhakūtāgāra) who are located in the four intermediate directions (south-east, southwest, northwest, northeast) and called, respectively, Wanton Movement (Lāsyā), Garland (Mālā), Song (Gitā), and Dance (Nṛtyā). A commentary of the Yoga-tantra class, while discussing this very maṇḍala, calls these four the secret goddesses (gsan baḥi lha mo rnams).\textsuperscript{78} According to the maṇḍala text, they

\textsuperscript{72} Toh. 4365, Arthaviniśayatikā (no author catalogued), Tanjur, Sna-Tshogs, No, 13a-6, 7.

\textsuperscript{73} Sādhanamālā, No. 239, text 459.11.

\textsuperscript{74} Lefmann edition, p. 281.


\textsuperscript{77} Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (ed.), Nispayogavali of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara-gupta (Baroda, 1949), introductory section, pp. 54-56.

\textsuperscript{78} Padmavajra’s Tantrārthāvatāravyākhyāna (Toh. 2502), Tanjur, Rgyud, Vol. Ḥi, 225a-5.
belong, respectively, to the Buddha families, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Of a different type are the four goddesses on petals of the first circle of the same *manḍala*, who are located in the cardinal directions starting with east: Sattvavajrī (“Diamond of Sentient Being”), Ratnavajrī (“Diamond of Jewels”), Dharmavajrī (“Diamond of the Law”), Karmavajrī (“Diamond of Ritual Acts”). The text states that they belong respectively to the same four Buddha families as do the other fourfold group. In the present case, however, three of the names directly show this relationship. Ratna is a standard name of the Ratnasambhava family, and Karma of the Amoghasiddhi family. Dharma in the sense of enunciation of the doctrinal syllables is usually correlated with Amitābha in this literature. Hence, these four represent a definite female essence of family, and their names could not have been formulated until after the theory of the five Buddhas (the four now in point and Vairocana) had arisen.

Since the text already relates the two fourfold groups by means of four Buddha families, it is feasible to relate the individual entities under headings as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BUDDHA FAMILY</th>
<th>ABSTRACT GODDESS</th>
<th>SENSUOUS GODDESS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Diamond of Sentient Being</td>
<td>Wanton Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Diamond of Jewels</td>
<td>Garland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Diamond of the Law</td>
<td>Song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Diamond of Ritual Acts</td>
<td>Dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Anuttara-tantra terminology, since the fourfold group beginning with Padmini and the fivefold group beginning with the butcher maiden seem both to refer to types of concrete women, we may theorize, for want of noticing in the texts an explanation which may be restricted to oral precepts, that the former group refers to the concrete “femailness” going with four of the latter group, all five of which are identified with the “Mothers” or the *prajāpās* of the five Buddha families. This would involve an interpretation of this literature which the present writer feels is consistent both with Hindu *kāmasūtra* usage and the general tenor of the Anuttara-tantras, namely, that what the world considers to be the signs and characteristics of femaleness is in fact the phenomenalization of the “Mothers” of the Tantric families and hence falls into distinct types. Of course, similar statements could be made for the signs of maleness. Such ideas are consistent with the world outlook prevalent in the old Vedic period when different deities were in charge of the departments of nature, and with the later Indian astrological texts which identify the various parts of the body with the twelve zodiacal signs or with the nine planets. The Tantric formulations simply carry out the identification by classifying under one or
another of the Buddha families: all things are invested with the sacredness of Buddha nature, and this may be a mental preparation for initiation into the Great Time.

The four “great factors of becoming” are identified with goddesses who are the “Mothers” of the families: “Locanā is said to be earth, Māmaki held to be the realm of water, Pāṇḍarā known as fire, Tārā proclaimed wind.” Here elements do not mean the gross ones with which we are ordinarily familiar, but pure forms of the elements. Johnston shows that these elements are already regarded as divine forces in Upaniṣadic literature. The four in the standard order of wind, fire, water, earth, are symbolized this way: “He should see the maṇḍalas of the four ‘great factors of becoming’ each next one upon the preceding one; blue, red, white, yellow; a bow (i.e., a semi-circle), a triangle, a circle, a square; the transformations of the syllables Yaṁ, Raṁ, Laṁ, Vaṁ.” In the same order the elements are associated with navel, throat, heart, and privities; and, if the correspondences are mutually consistent, Tārā, Pāṇḍarā, Māmaki, and Locanā would be the consorts, respectively, of the Buddhas Amoghasiddhi, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, and Ratnasambhava. This is the logical consequence of the identification of Amoghasiddhi and so on with the various winds having their bases in certain centers of the body. These particular correspondences are the ones in this Tantric passage on the four bases of magical power (rddhi-pāda):

The certainty regarding the four bases of magical power:—
(1) Rightly situated as the heart-based [wind, i.e., prāṇa] with the magical power of Māmaki, belonging to the water-wind Vajra Lord (i.e., Akṣobhya); (2) Said to be in the neck as udāna with the magical power of Pāṇḍarā belonging to the fire-wind Padma Lord (i.e., Amitābha); (3) mentioned to be in the sacral region (or privities) as apāna with the magical power of Buddhalocanā belonging to the earth-wind Ratna Lord (i.e., Ratnasambhava); (4) in the navel as the wind-maṇḍala, the samāna along with the fire [of the sleeping goddess Caṇḍālī], with the magical power of devī Tārā belonging to the family of the Karma Lord (i.e., Amoghasiddhi). Each one of the four goddesses belonging to each [family] Lord is mentioned with the force of magical power along the channel [of

79. Guhyasamādhyatantra, chap. xii, p. 137.
81. Śādhanamālā, No. 251, text pp. 490-91. This is the usual three-staged evocation after attaining the void: (1) germ syllable (bija), (2) emblem (cīhna), (3) body of deity (kāya). Hence, the Yaṁ is transformed into a bow, the latter into a blue wind; and likewise with the others.
82. Cf. Table 2, and note thereto, this work.
the body] equipped with the four maṇḍalas [of the “factors of becoming”].

However, as was pointed out in the section “The Three Meanings of E-vam.” the order, Locanā, Māmaki, Paṇḍurā, and Tārā (evaṃ mayā) represents an association with the cakras of navel, heart, neck, and head. As compared with the preceding correspondences, this moves up Locanā from the sacral region to the navel and Tārā from the navel to the head. The section “The Female, Male, and Androgyne” touches upon the mysterious communication between the navel and the head which may explain this shift of Tārā’s position.

Moreover, one finds some difference in relating these “Mothers” to Buddha families in the Ārya school of the Guhyasamāja, the Kālacakra-tantra, and in the Hevajra-tantra. The association of the green Tārā, also called Samayatārā, with Amoghasiddhi is standard. The next most frequent agreement is that Paṇḍarā, or the white-dressed red Tārā, goes with Amitābha. However, the Māmaki and Locanā associations differ considerably. The reason is that the correspondence of four goddesses to five Buddhas always leaves out one Buddha. This is the chief Buddha of the particular Tantra, and this Buddha is placed in the center when one has a “squared circle.” The corresponding realm is space or ether (ākāśa), which Lva-va-pa equates with the “Diamond Sow” (Vajrañārāhi), who is also called “Queen of the Diamond Realm” (Vajradhātiśvari) and “Fairy of Divine Knowledge” (Jñānaṭīkāni). In maṇḍala representation of the Buddha pentad the central Buddha is usually Vairocana or Akṣobhya, and this particular emphasis causes one or more of the “Mothers” to be assigned an association apparently inconsistent with other Tantras.

The goddesses as “great factors of becoming” are regarded as multiplying factors of the Lord winds, the male aspects of the elements. Thus Tsoṅ-kha-pa writes: “Regarding ‘Paṇḍarā and so on,’ the wind of the Lotus Lord (i.e., Amitābha) is dominated by 225 winds each of fiery Paṇḍarā of fire, windy Tārā of fire, earthy Locanā of fire, and watery


84. For the Guhyasamāja Ārya school the correspondences are in Nāgārjuna’s commentary (already cited, nn. 45-47 above), 26b and following folios. For the Kālacakra, cf. Bhattacharyya (ed.), op. cit., p. 77. For the Hevajra, cf. Snellgrove (ed.), op. cit., I, 128.

85. In his paññijikā, op. cit., Ba, folio 43.

86. Bhattacharyya (ed.), op. cit., Sanskrit text, p. 79.
Māmāki of fire; and the same goes for the other three [Lord winds]. This amounts to twenty-four divisions of ‘watches’ according to the Amāyamañjari.”87 Hence there is the fiery Pāṇḍarā of fire, of wind, of water, and of earth. As each of the four goddesses regularly rotate as consorts of each of the Buddhas in the aspects of the winds or purity of elements, it seems a matter of convention for a certain Tantra to associate one of these goddesses with a certain Buddha as though it were always the case. Nevertheless, in the phase when a goddess is involved with the particular Buddha of her own element, when, for example, Pāṇḍarā goes with Amitābha, this appears to be a special case of juncture.

The Three Grades

The cited passage of the Klong-rdol bla-ma mentions three varieties for each of those four kinds of females, Padmini and so on. This type of language is found in the “Mother Tantras,” of which the most important is the Šrīcakrasaṃvara-tantra and associated literature. When that passage speaks of the illusory body as well as the Goal and Symbolic Clear Lights, it is employing terminology found especially in the “Father Tantras,” of which the most important is the Guhyasamāja-tantra and associated literature. Because the passage incorporates materials derived from those two major classes, it becomes possible to clarify the meaning somewhat by using both commentarial traditions. It will perhaps be a modest step toward this understanding to demonstrate the following equivalences in alternate terminology of the two great divisions of the Anuttara-yogatantra:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GRADE</th>
<th>MOTHER TANTRA LANGUAGE</th>
<th>FATHER TANTRA LANGUAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highest</td>
<td>Together-born female</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Field-born female</td>
<td>Sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest</td>
<td>Incantation-born female</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus Indrabhūti is following “Mother Tantra” tradition when he writes: “The location is the circle of ‘women,’ namely together-born, field-born, incantation-born; and the butcher maiden, she of great power, the dancer maiden, the washerman maiden and so on.”88 In his commentary on the third chapter of the Sampuṭa he says: “In regard to the passage, ‘All women . . . ,’ ‘all women’ means all the goddesses. They are the illusory goddesses field-born, incantation-born, and together-born,

87. Stüga rim, 442a-3, 4.
88. The Ratnacakraḥiṣekopadesakrama, op. cit., Zi, 147b-1.
the yoginīs located in the locations and secondary locations."\(^89\) Tson-kha-pa quotes Lva-vi-pa: "Highest is the together-born female; middling is the field-born female; lowest is the incantation-born female."\(^90\) Accordingly, Tson-kha-pa writes: "Then, having taken recourse to the power of the incantation-born, one moreover achieves the assembling of the field-born [ones]; taking recourse to the latter, one is able to exhort the together-born and make the latter the consort."\(^91\)

Furthermore, these goddesses called "messengers" (dūtt) are held to grant occult powers, as the same writer comments: "The passage 'Occult power (siddhi) is speedily produced' means that the speedy production of the occult power is attained by taking recourse to the 'messenger.'"\(^92\) Tson-kha-pa goes on to compare the female messenger with the sharp edge of a sword. To take proper recourse to either object one must be fearless. In the case of the dūtt one would then achieve the siddhi. However, "If there is a fault in the recourse, one achieves not the benefit but rather no end of great troubles."\(^93\)

Now let us turn to the "Father Tantra" Guhyasamāja:

The adept who carnally loves the "mother," "sister," and "daughter"—
Achieves the extensive siddhi at the true nature of the Mahāyāna summit.\(^94\)

The tantric Candrakīrti comments on this by citing an unnamed āgama, in fact an Explanatory Tantra of the Guhyasamāja cycle, which relates these three grades of women to the graded Buddha bodies:

He should love by the non-dual yoga of thusness the Prajñā-woman, who is the Perfection of Insight called "devoid of intrinsic nature", the "Mother" identical to the Dharmakāya.

He, equipped with the yoga of his own presiding divinity should love just that one referred to as "sister", engendered equal to the Sambhogakāya. But, by (his) incantation body, the performer should contemplate that "daughter" with the form of the Nirmāna (kāya).

The yogin of this kind, loving the "mother," "sister," "daughter,"

89. Toh. 1197, Śrīsampatītīlakamā-yogintantrarāja-tīkāsamāyaśādīsūlokānāma, Tanjur, Rgyud, Ca, 152b-2.
90. Sbas don, op. cit., 145b-1.
93. Ibid.
94. Chap. v, p. 20.
attains the extensive *siddhi*, i.e. the supreme dharma-nature of Mahāyāna.\textsuperscript{95}

While Kloṅ-rod bl-a-ma’s passage provides the basic data for correlating the symbolism of the two traditions, we are able to take advantage of his remarks only by correlating the Tantric theory of initiation (*abhiṣeka*) attainments. Tson-kha-pa writes: “The initiation of the flask accomplishes the Nirmāṇakāya, the secret initiation the Saṃbhogakāya, the insight-knowledge initiation the Dharmakāya; the Saṃbhogakāya here mentioned is also explained as the illusory body.”\textsuperscript{96} Mkhas grub rje states that the initiations of the flask (*kalaśa-abhiṣeka*) are conferred in the initiation phase of the “stages of production” (*utpatti-krama*).\textsuperscript{97} The secret initiation (*guhyā-abhiṣeka*) involves the three arcane states of body, speech, and mind, the insight-knowledge initiation (*prajñājñāna-abhiṣeka*) is associated with together-born joy, and both these initiations are conferred during the “stages of completion” (*sampanna-krama*).\textsuperscript{98} Except for the apparent disagreement regarding the placement of the illusory body, it follows immediately that the “daughter” is the incantation-born female, the “sister” the field-born female, and the “mother” the together-born female. However, this “solution” has perhaps brought up more difficult points than it has solved.

According to Tson-kha-pa, the *yogin*’s body developed in the “stages of production” is the incantation body (*mantra-deha*); while the one developed in the “stages of completion” is the knowledge body (*jñāna-deha*), which is of two kinds: the impure illusory body and the latter body purified in the Clear Light.\textsuperscript{99} The illusory body (*māyā-deha*) is the one formed of the winds and mind only (rūḥ senś tsam) and said to be the body of Vajrasattva.\textsuperscript{100} According to Nāgārjuna’s *Pañcarakrama*, it appears like an image in a mirror, and may well be the “body made of mind” (*manomaya-kāya*) of non-Tantric Buddhism.\textsuperscript{101} Reference to Table 2 will clarify somewhat the *Vajrajāpa-krama* of the *Pañcarakrama*. Recitation of the Ōṃ, Āḥ, Hūṃ is called “thunderbolt muttering” (*vajrajāpa*), or arcane speech, and involves visualization of the *mantras* (*mantranidhyapti*). Along with this muttering there is Tantric manipulation of the winds. On this


\textsuperscript{96} *Shags rim*, 314b-5.

\textsuperscript{97} The initiation phase is made explicit in the formulation of these stages with six members; cf. my “Totemic Beliefs in the Buddhist Tantras,” op. cit., p. 90, note.


\textsuperscript{99} *Shags rim*, 410b.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 406b.

\textsuperscript{101} As discussed in my “Studies in Yama and Māra,” op. cit., p. 120.
foundation, one proceeds to the Cittaviśuddhi-krama, namely to visualization of the mental substance (cittanidhyapti) as the three light stages or three voids, the arcane mind. The arcane body or illusory body consisting of the winds and that mental substance is the topic of the Svādhīṣṭhāna-krama (stage of personal blessing). Stationed in the illusory-like samādhi (māyopama-samādhi), one enters the Clear Light with the illusory body by means of the two simultaneous meditations called “contraction” (piṇḍagraha) and “expansion” (anubheda), described in the Abhisambodhi-krama. The Yuganaddha-krama then describes the non-dual knowledge of a Manifest Complete Buddha who proceeds downward through the three light stages in a manner that carries off the three bodies.102 For this the Tantras speak of a Fourth Initiation, yielding the maturation for the fruitional attainment of the three bodies, while the previous three initiations make this possible for those bodies. Hence we can add further correspondences to Table 2 by placing under Om the initiations of the flask as well as the “daughter,” under Āḥ the secret initiation as well as the “sister,” under Hūm the insight-knowledge initiation as well as the “mother.” But what is the meaning of the “carnal love” for those three classes of “women”? They must be separately discussed.

1. The incarnation-born female.—She is called a vidyā and is evoked by a vidyā-dhāraṇī. The male deity can be called a mantra and the incantation evoking him is called a mantra-dhāraṇī.103 Lva-va-pa, when speaking of the five initiations of the flask, says:

Those five initiations which have the nature of the five Tathāgatas (i.e., Buddhas) are also referred to by the expression “wisdom initiation” (vidyā-abhiṣeka)—because they accomplish the five “wisdom knowledges” (vidyā-jñāna) whose natures are the transmutation of the five unwisdoms (avidyā), and because in every case the initiation is conferred by the vidyā goddess, Buddhhalocanā and so on.104

The meaning of this last remark is clarified in Mkhas grub rje’s treatment of the initiations of the flask. He states that when the hierophant (vajrācārya) sprinkles the disciple with the “diamond water” (vajra-udaka) of the Victorious Flask (vijaya-kalasha) it is imagined that in reality the vidyās, Locanā and so on, hold the flask and pour the initiatory water.105

102. This summary of the Pañcakrama is based on the sampanña-krama section of Tson-kha-pa’s Stīsrg rin, esp. 405a, where he quotes and discusses three verses of the Vajrajāpa-krama (4-6).

103. This is shown in my previous treatment (Chap. 7) on “The Meaning of Initiation.”

104. Toh. 1444, Śrīcakrasambaramanḍalavijñānottaraśāstra, Tanjūr Rgyud, Wa, in a passage beginning 365b-3.

105. In Mkhas grub rje’s; see n. 98 above.
Furthermore, these *vidyās* such as Locanā can be identified with the maidens mentioned in the Kloṅ-rdol bla-ma’s passage, using the same or other names. Thus Saraha writes: “Locanā is the brahmin maid (Brahmaṅi); Māmaki is the outcast (Dömbi); Pāṇḍarā is the dancing girl (Narti); Tārā is the washerwoman (Rajaki).”106 Of course, when incantation-born, they are not concrete.

2. The field-born female.—The expression “field-born” refers first of all to those located in fields and secondary fields (*kṣetra* and *upakṣetra*) which are eight in number, as Indrabhūti states: “Now, so as to teach the families of the eight field-born yoginis...”107 The intention of the number eight is to describe the fields rather than the yoginis. Besides, the expression “field-born” indicates a larger group of yoginis who are headed in lists by the eight field-born groups. These yoginis are usually placed in locations (geographical or in the body itself) numbering twelve, twenty-four, or thirty-two. Various Anuttara-yoga-tantras belonging to the “Mother Tantra” category and the commentarial literature describe the characteristics of these yoginis, place them in locations, and group them under families of Buddhas, whether five, six, or seven.108 From a Sanskrit manuscript of one of these works, the Abhidhānottara, Bagchi cites “They are faithful to their true religion and brave sisters (*saddharmaratā nityam vrabhoginyāh)*.”109 This is said in reference to one kind of the goddesses named lāmā, but the appellation “sister” is of interest as being consistent with our previous identification of the “field-born” with the “sister.” These yoginis are of course non-human. This is not only shown by some of the descriptions, but also follows from the fact that they can coalesce with the yogin’s body in the sense of becoming located in different spots. The descriptions indeed amount to a classification of the fairy world. The implication is that the yogin, upon developing the illusory body, becomes aware of a world whose nature is compatible with that body. Nāgārjuna writes in his *Pañcakrama* (*Cittaviśuddhi-krama*, vs. 36):

Of all illusions, the illusion of woman is supreme.

Just here, the variety of three knowledges is clearly marked.110

106. Toh. 1652, Śrī-Buddhakapālatantrapaṇḍjikā-jñānavatī, nāma, Tānjug, Rgyud, Ra, 137a-2.
107. The Smṛtisamādhyānālōka, op. cit., Ca, 123a-6-7.
108. Among these works of great importance is a Continuation Tantra of the basic Cakrasaṃvara Tantra (Toh. 368) entitled Abhidhāna-uttaratantra (Toh. 369). Among the Tānjug texts there is, e.g., Indrabhūti’s work, just referred to. There is a great deal of information in Tson-kha-pa’s *Hdod hjo*, op. cit., n. 91. See Snellgrove, The Hevajra-tantra, I, 66-70, and his annotations.
110. This verse is quoted in the *Shags rim*, 313b-2, during Tson-kha-pa’s discussion of the three Higher Initiations (the secret one, insight-knowledge, and the fourth).
The expression “three knowledges” means the three lights, Light, Spread of Light, and Culmination of Light, constituting the arcane mind.

3. The together-born female.—Candrakīrti in his commentary on the Guhyasamāja cites this verse about her:

    The great goddess located in the heart,
    Causing the yogin’s yoga—
    The Mother of all the Buddhas—
    Is called Vajradhātvīśvari (Queen
    of the Diamond Realm).\textsuperscript{111}

As the incantation-born female yielded a predominance of void, the field-born female a predominance of pleasure, so now the together-born female yields the experience of pleasure-void (sukha-śūnya) in equal measure. This pleasure-void involves a sequence of four joys (ānanda), produced by the melted white element in the central channel of the body.

The “carnal love” for these respective females who initiate the male called the yogin takes four forms in accordance with the initiation, as Snellgrove translates: “The first is represented by a smile, the second by a gaze, the third in an embrace, and the fourth in union.”\textsuperscript{112} The yogin smiles at the “daughter,” gazes at the “sister,” embraces the “mother,” unites with the latter in the Clear Light, and must stay united upon emerging from the Clear Light and proceeding through the three light stages in the reverse order so as to hold onto the three bodies of the Buddha associated with those three stages. The wife was a daughter, a sister, and a mother.

\section*{Their Ages}

The many textual references to these goddesses in terms of their ages are not particularly calculated to give assurance regarding their true nature. Especially is this the case with the most complete list of ages noticed by the present writer. Saraha associates five ambrosias (amṛta) with prajñās of five different ages. The first kind issues from the eye of the eight-year-old Kumārī. The second, from the hollow vein (ṛṣa khoṅ stoṅ) of the twelve-year-old Śālikā. The third, from the union with the sixteen-year-old one who flowers (puṣpavati, woman with menses), called Siddhā. The fourth, from the union with the twenty-year-old one who has menses for the first time, called *Bālikā. The fifth is the (?)menses (kha ba, perhaps corruption of khrag, “blood”) of prajñā, the semen of upāya, or the burnt fat of

\textsuperscript{111} Pradipoddhyotana, op. cit., Ha, 36a-7. The translation follows my Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra.
\textsuperscript{112} Snellgrove, op. cit., I, 95-96.
praśā, whichever be the case, of the twenty-five-year-old one, named *Bhadrakāpālīni (thod bzaṅs can ma). 113

Besides the maiden, these texts also speak of a lad. Thus the Guhya-
samāja has a verse about the maiden aged twelve and the lad aged twelve. 114
The same work has a verse:

When he sees the delightful daughter of the gods replete
with all ornaments, the lad, [or] the maiden,
He gains the occult power (siddhi). 115

Candrakīrti explains that he, the yogin, attains the mundane occult powers (laukika-siddhi), 116 usually eight in number. This is indeed a “fairy tale.” Jung might have explained that masculine consciousness has come “face to face with its feminine counterpart, the anima.” 117 The material of our preceding section suggests that the yogin now sees a “sister” or “brother.”

It will help our control of the data to organize it into classes of meaning, whether concrete or figurative, already illustrated in an earlier section by the interpretation of the sixteen-year-old girl as the sixteen voids. But it is doubtful that such organization of textual data can yield a native understanding that one has through having been born and reared in a country whose usages are commonplace and subconsciously noticed, while startling to the foreigner. The usual way to be a native in this case is to have gone through it all.

A. Ages of the Yoginis belonging to Buddha families

Bhayakīrti writes: “Among them, the butcher maiden, aged twelve, is the mudrā belonging to the yogin of Akṣobhya’s family. The washerman maiden, aged twenty, is the mudrā belonging to the yogin of Vairocana’s family. The dancer maiden, aged sixteen, is the mudrā belonging to the yogin of Amitābha’s family.” 118 The passage by the Klon-rdol bla-ma earlier cited contains such expressions as “butcher maiden.” We may assume that either the necklace-stringer maiden or the artisan maiden,

113. The Jñānavatī, op. cit., n. 106, Ra, 129a-1 ff. In this passage the name of the twelve-yeared female is written  să-ri-ka. In Toh. 1654, Abhayakaragrupta’s Śrī-
Buddhakāpālāmahātāntarājaśīkā-abhayapaddhati-nāma, Ra, 190a-5, the name is transcribed să-li-ka; and Ra, 193a-6, transcribed să-li-kā.

118. Toh. 1793, Pradīpodyotanābhisaṃdhiprakāśikā-nāma-vyākhyānikā, Tanjur, Rgyud, Khi, 41b-6, 7.
or both, is more than twenty years old. Saraha’s list has a lower age of eight and a higher one of twenty-five.

However, Candrakīrti’s commentary on the Guhyasamājā which is followed by Tson-kha-pa does not entirely agree with Bhavyakīrti. When Candrakīrti comments on a verse of the Guhyasamājā (chap. xvi, p. 125) about the sixteen-year-old maiden, he says: “The practice to be practiced by the yōgin of Vairocana’s family is together with the mudrā aged sixteen years.”119 Here the mudrā is the goddess Locanā. Candrakīrti agrees that the butcher maiden is aged twelve; but when he comments on a Guhyasamāja verse (chap. xv, p. 94) about the dancer maiden, he does not mention the latter’s age.120 Candrakīrti’s position, insofar as he did give ages, and Tson-kha-pa’s as well, is consistent with the sizes of maṇḍalas in the Guhyasamāja-tantra. According to Tson-kha-pa, “The Guhyasamāja states that the maṇḍalas of mind, body, and speech in that order have 12 hastas, 16 hastas, and 20 hastas.”121 This data is not all in one place in that Tantra. Thus, chapter iv (p. 18) shows that the maṇḍala of mind (citta), which normally is associated with Akṣobhya, has twelve hastas. Chapter xvi (pp. 113-14) show that the maṇḍala of body, associated with Vairocana, has sixteen hastas, and that the maṇḍala of speech, associated with Amitāyus (= Amitābha), has twenty hastas. Unfortunately, no maṇḍala sizes are set forth for the categories of merits (guṇa) or acts (karma), the superintendence going with Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi, respectively.122

B. The number of years to the magical power (“Siddhi”)

According to Mkhās grub rje, “Certain scholars say that if the bindu oozes at the end of sixteen years, the together-born joy occurs directly, and that it (i.e., the bindu) is called the together-born body (sahaja-kāya).”123 This interpretation of “age” agrees with these remarks by Indrabhūti: “One’s own pleasure generated at the end of the death obtained from the father is precisely the pleasure experienced in the phase of the oozing. At the end of sixteen years a man practices by himself. At the end of twelve years a woman practices by herself.”124 This “oozing” refers to the melted white element in the central channel of the body. The white element is the father element; and the phase of oozing corresponds to dreamless sleep and to death in the correspondences in Table 15.

120. Ibid., Ha, 136a-5 and Ha, 137a-6.
121. Söngs rim, 160a-2.
122. Cf. Table 2, this work.
123. Tik chen, Naṅ le, op. cit., 30a-1.
124. The Smṛtisāṃdarśanāloka, op. cit., Ca, 134b-1.
In partial agreement, Candrakīrti quotes this verse, from an Explanatory Tantra of the Guhyasamāja cycle:

The peace abiding in the unborn, whose name would be 16-yeared by differentiation of time starting with a moment, is determined as the "lady" (yoṣīt).\textsuperscript{125}

During his exposition of the secret initiation, Tsoṅ-kha-pa cites this from the Mahāmudrātīlaka:

If one does not obtain a twelve-yeared, or sixteen-yeared female, adorned with good features, long eyes, attractive figure and youth, then a twenty yeared one is proper.

Other "seals" (muḍrā) above twenty put the occult power far off. One should offer his sister, daughter, or wife to the "master" (guru).\textsuperscript{126}

Tsoṅ-kha-pa is concerned in this context with the method of the secret initiation and does not stop to explain the symbolism of the ages. Since the symbol is multi-valued, the present writer may be spoiling it by presenting a one-valued interpretation, namely, that it means the number of years elapsed when siddhi is attained since someone turned his back on worldly affairs to practice yoga—an event as memorable to him as is the marriage contract to worldly persons. But the fact that "seals" over twenty put the siddhi far off does lend weight to our interpretation. Concerning the "master," there are both inner and outer kinds.\textsuperscript{127}

The problem still remains of why the numbers increase by fours, starting from age eight in Saraha's list, and so continuing to age twenty, then jumping over twenty-four to twenty-five. There seems to be involved an idea that the yogin can attain the goal in certain definite numbers of years.

\textbf{C. The vowels and voidnesses}

Previously we have referred to Jñānākara's interpretation of the sixteen-year-old girl as the sixteen voids. The sixteen Sanskrit vowels are identified with the sixteen voidnesses in the Śrī-Rāgarāja-tantrarāja:

A is the voidness of inner and outer, Ā is the voidness of voidness, I is great voidness, Ī is the voidness of ultimate reality, U is the voidness of constructed things, Ū is the voidness of the un-

\textsuperscript{125} Proditpoddyotana, op. cit., Ha, 34a-2. The translation follows my Yoga of the Guhyasamāja-tantra, where the original Sanskrit is given.

\textsuperscript{126} Shiṣags rim, 281a-1.

\textsuperscript{127} See my chapter "Divinity according to the Buddhist Tantras."
constructed, R is the voidness of the limitless, Ṛ is the voidness of the beginningless and endless, L is the voidness of the undeniable, Ļ is the voidness of ultimate nature, E is the voidness of all natures, A! is the voidness of individual characteristics, O is the voidness of the unobserved, AU is the voidness of the non-existent, AM is the voidness of intrinsic nature, AH is the voidness of the intrinsic nature of the non-existent.\textsuperscript{128}

This Tantra continues: “The seed syllable (hrdaya) of the Saṃbhogakāya at the neck is Oṃ; the praṇā is the sixteen void ‘veins.’”\textsuperscript{129} Also, Ghandha(?) writes: “At the left side of the yogin is the praṇā vowelled sixteen.”\textsuperscript{130}

Tson-kha-pa cites an unnamed āgama as it was quoted in a Tantric commentary which mentions the sixteen spots of the body where one contemplates the sixteen vowel letters, beginning with A at the base of the thumb.\textsuperscript{131} In the same context he shows that one disposes the sixteen letters on the right side of the body for upāya, and again on the left side for praṇā, the total of thirty-two yielding the thirty-two characteristics (lakṣana) of the great person (mahāpuruṣa). The idea here is that the sixteen vowels are the sixteen parts of the bodhicitta which is the union of praṇā and upāya as the red and white elements, hence a total of thirty-two sub-parts.\textsuperscript{132}

The Tantric texts have comparable remarks for the twelve-year-old girl. Thus, Saraha says: “Those yoginis, adorned with various ornaments, having the form of youth, aged twelve, are accomplished from the twelve vowel letters and in this Tantra are called the praṇā aged twelve.”\textsuperscript{133} In the Catuṣṭipāṭhatantra, according to Bhavabhadra’s commentary, one arrives at the twelve vowels by leaving out “the two neuters” (ma niḥ gānis), explained to be Ṛ, Ṛ, L, and Ļ.\textsuperscript{134}

The present writer has not noticed in these texts the method of applying the vowels to praṇās aged eight, twenty, or twenty-five. Presumably one could leave out further vowels for the lesser age or could repeat certain vowels for the two greater ages. For the twenty-year-old maiden, one might apply the standard list of twenty voidnesses.

\textsuperscript{128} Toh. 405, Kanjur, Rgyud, Ga, 241-4 ff. Cf. T. R. V. Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism (London, 1955), pp. 350-51, for the list of twenty voidnesses, which minus Nos. 1, 2, 17, and 20, amounts to the present list of sixteen voidnesses. Murti points out that the standard list of eighteen voidnesses leaves out Nos. 17 and 20.

\textsuperscript{129} Śrī-Rāgarāja-tantrarāja, ibid.

\textsuperscript{130} Toh. 2404, Ālikālimantrajñāna-nāma, Tanjur, Rgyud, Zi, 28b-7.

\textsuperscript{131} Shags rim, 380b-6.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid., 381a-5.

\textsuperscript{133} The Jāhnavatī, op. cit., Ra, 121b-2, 3.

\textsuperscript{134} Toh. 1607, Śrīcaturpiṭhatantraśasmetinibandha-nāma-ṭīkā, Tanjur, Rgyud, Ha, 149a-2.
D. The transits of body winds

Indrabhūti states:

The females aged sixteen and so on,
The “sixteen-yeared female”—
This has a purport explained otherwise,
Expressed as the sixteen transits.
Thereby the yoginī wanders—
As to place, namely—onto sixteen places,
Onto the wheel’s spokes numbering sixteen,
Onto all of them, the vital winds wander.135

Ratnarakṣita says, “The wind has sixteen member transits in a single day.”136 One may arrive at this figure by the winds in eight watches along the right and left channels. It is of interest that sometimes the age of sixteen is expressed as twice eight, as in the case of the goddess Kurukulle, who is colored red and is twice-eight years.137

Padmavajra’s detailed explanation of the sixteen transits as the sixteen digits (kalā) of the moon is too long to translate here. In short, the first twelve transits are of the twelve interior zodiacal signs, starting with Aries (S. meṣa, T. lug). The thirteenth through the fifteenth concern the right and left channels in whatever order (not specifically mentioned) as well as the middle channel (specifically mentioned), symbolized respectively as the “food of solar manifestation,” the “food of lunar manifestation,” and the demon Rāhu (who causes eclipses). The sixteenth has the name bindu (“the drop”).138 Obviously, one can arrive at the number twelve here by leaving out the last four transits. This gives the number of transits in Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s passage, cited in the section on “The Female, Male, and Androgyne,” which in fact also refers to transits through the twelve interior zodiacal signs.

Concluding considerations

Since the Tantras were traditionally handed down in esoteric circles, for many centuries they were read only by persons who had a genuine interest in understanding the subject and would spend the necessary time and

137. Śādiḥana-mālā, No. 183, Sanskrit text p. 381.
138. Toh. 1419, Śrī-Dākāryavamahāyoginītantragājavāhikātākā-nāma, Tanjur, Rgyud, Dza, 309a-1 to 309b-4. (This passage is translated in its entirety in my essay “Tantric Teachings about the Inner Zodiac.”)
endeavor under a guru's direction to achieve maturity. The candidates had to adhere to various vows and pledges. If this symbolism is drawn out of context and presented to the general public in a mutilated, ignorant fashion, these works reap much scorn and condemnation. Even so, the Tantric adepts like Saraha would probably not regret the aversion of the "moral" person. The morality prerequisite for the Tantras in the reform of Atiśa (the Indian pandit who came to Tibet around A.D. 1040), a reform revived by Tsoṅ-kha-pa three centuries later, is far too lofty for most persons. This reform requires the Bodhisattva vow to precede the vows and pledges of the Tantras, referred to in brief as the "mantra vow." And the reform requires the morality of the Prātimokṣa (non-Tantric Buddhist morality) to precede the Bodhisattva vow.

Our study shows that much of the female symbolism of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra is derived from the human experience of sexual union—meaning both the physical and the mental state. Just as the morality or immorality of this union is independent of the act itself but is derived from the circumstances in which it is conducted, so also the symbolism based thereon is per se amoral but properly or improperly assessed by persons according to their mental orientation.

Finally, one may wonder about the truth of certain strange ideas of this literature, but the Tantras have been scarcely touched by modern scholarship. It is premature to dismiss the Tantras as sheer superstition, as some have done, content to begin with certainty and spared the sleepless night of deepening insight.
THE FIVE-FOLD RITUAL SYMBOLISM OF PASSION*

Introduction

A preeminate sādhana ("evocation of deity") sequence in the Buddhist Tantras, occurring innumerable times in the Sādhana-mālā and similar literature, is the order (1) realization of the void (śūnyatābodhi); (2) imagining there a germ syllable (bijā); (3) from that generating a hand symbol (cihna)—the emblem of the deity; and (4) from that accomplishing the body of the deity.

The present paper treats this sādhana formula in a more generalized form, together with its symbolic values, and signals the non-tantric Buddhist progression which the Tantras claim to quicken. Our exposition embodies some surprises, showing in Part I a comparison of Mañjuśrī's arrows with Kāmadeva's arrow attack on Śiva, leading to a comparison of the Greco-Roman tradition with the skandha-centers of the body; and then in Part II, introducing the relation with the famous "Heart Sūtra" (Prajñāpāramitāhydaya-sūtra); the bodhisattva preparation, path, and fruit; the Abhidharma theory of basic and conditional causes and of rebirth after death and the intermediate state; and the Buddha Bodies.

Indeed, the 'voidness' referred to in the first step of the usual Buddhist Tantric sādhana means the standard non-tantric meditations known as "selflessness of personality" (pudgala-nairātmya) and "selflessness of

* This article first appeared in Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, edited by Koyasan University, 1965, which may be consulted for Tibetan passages omitted in this reprint.
natures” (dharma-nairātmya). So, into the void personality aggregates (skandha) the officiant plants germ syllables, and does the same in the void dharmadhātu or dharmodaya triangle.

The writer wishes to emphasize that the expression “passion” (amurāga) is not to be construed as implying that this paper is preoccupied with sexual topics extracted from the Buddhist Tantras. It is true that some of these Tantras employ sexual symbolism; and we regard a symbol as a semantic unit capable of multiple interpretations. When a sexual symbol is employed, a gross person will understand it one way, a refined person in another way. And perhaps the original writer has something else in mind! Such is the case as well with the Śiva liṅga. The Hevajra-tantra (Snellgrove edition) states (I, ix, 19A): “By whatever thing the world is bound, by that the bond is unfastened.” The Dākini-vajrapaṇiṇjara, as is cited in Subhāṣita-saṃgraha (Bendall edition), states: “By passion the world arises; down-cast by passion, it goes to its end. By thorough knowledge of the diamond passion, the mind becomes vajrasattva.” (rāgenotpadyate loka rāgākṣepat kṣayaṃ gataḥ / vajrarāgapariṇāṇād vajrasattvo bhaven manah). It is easily understood that much that is worthwhile in the world has been achieved by passion. The incredible mastery of self attained by Gautama Buddha was hardly possible without an abundant amount directed toward the goal of Enlightenment. It might be objected that his passion was not the kind which leads men to vulgar deeds. But the Tantras claim that the difference is not in the passion, but in the part of the body which preempts its power. This is because the Tantras inherit the viewpoint that man is a microcosm corresponding to the macrocosm. From this standpoint, the head is the highest and best member; and the passion located there or in other upper centers such as the heart works “higher”, i.e. to a superior end, than the passion below the navel.

Another reason for the Tantric use of the expression “passion” stems from the old Buddhist term pañcakāmaguṇa (the five strands of desire), which stands for the five sensory objects constituting the “knowables” (jñeya) that unexamined for what they are, also constitute the “obscuration of the knowable” (jñeya-āvarana), the last impediment to Enlightenment. So in native Tibetan literature there occurs the abbreviated expression spaṅs-rtogs. Spaṅs-pa means “elimination” (of defilements, kleśa, such as lust, hatred, delusion); rtogs-pa means “realization” (of the knowables, such as forms). They respectively eliminate the obscurations of defilement and the knowable. After purifying the defilements from one’s nature, it is still necessary before Enlightenment to face the “five strands of desire”. That is the significance of the Māra vision by Gautama under the Bodhi Tree.

We cite a number of works by Tsoṅ-kha-pa (1357-1419 A.D.), founder of the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism. Material on the arrows used
in Part I comes from his Mchán-bu commentary on the Pradīpoddyotana in the Japanese Photo. edition, Vol. 148. Our main textual source for Part II is his Shags rim chen mo. This work which we employ in a separate Peking blockprint (references by “S” plus folio number) contains an elaborate discussion of both the Stage of Generation and the Stage of Completion of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra, stipulated as necessary and in that order. The Shags rim chen mo shows that both Stages may be expressed with six members (ṣaḍāṅga). These two sets of six members are exposed above, Tables 4 and 5.

While five-fold symbolism is ubiquitous in the Buddhist Tantras, we are concerned now with this symbolism in the 2nd member of the Stage of Generation, that of “passion” through Vajrasattva. Furthermore, even here there are two ways of setting forth the five-fold symbolism, namely (a) as a five-part rite (vidhāna, cho ga); and (b) as a five-membered evocation in terms of germ syllables and hand symbols. The latter is set forth in Part I of this paper, together with a sketch of literary history and doctrine. The former is set forth in Part II, especially following Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s exposition of the “passion” member (S 365b-6 to S 366a-6; S 379b-6 to S 388a-2) along with those important doctrinal parallels suggested by his wide treatment beginning S 379b-6 (rten pa lha bskyed pa, “generation of the deities as residents”).

I. The five arrows of Kāmadeva, the five arrows of Maṇjuśrī, and the five skandhas

The Hindi work Vaidik Koś1 mentions the Atharva Veda (3. 25. 1) as the early occurrence of love’s (kāma’s) arrow (iṣu): “The arrow of love which is terrible—with that I pierce you in the heart.”2 That reference work cites ancient Vedic synonyms of iṣu (“arrow”): śaru, śarya, śārī, bāṇa. When classical treatises of astronomy and other subjects began to employ ordinary words to signify numbers, the word “arrow” was regularly employed for the number “5”. Sirkar3 cites for this purpose the synonyms bāṇa, šara, sāyaka, iṣu, viśikha, kalamba, mārgaṇa. In the Mahābhārata kāma is personified as a deity (Kāmadeva) represented as releasing flowery arrows from his bow.4 The Amarakośa includes pañcāsaraḥ “five-arrowed” as a name of Kāmadeva.

2. iṣuḥ kāmayya yā bhīmā tayoḥ vidhyāmi tvā hṛdī.
A Hindi work *Bhāratiya Praktik Vidyā* mentions four metaphorical kinds of “five arrows”. It quotes what it calls the *sthūla-rūpa* (gross form) of the five arrows (*pañcabāṇa*) from the *Kālīvilāsanātra*, namely Kāma, Manmatha, Kandarpa, Makaradhvaja, and Mīnaketu, which are precisely chief traditional epithets of Kāmadeva in his *mūrti* or embodied form. According to Indian mythology, after Kāmadeva’s body was burnt up by the fire from Śiva’s third eye, Kāmadeva was revived with the epithetsAnaṅga (bodiless) and Smara (mindfulness or memory). That Hindi work continues with the *sūkṣma-rūpa* (subtle form) of the five arrows as cited from the *Tripurātāpiny-upanīṣat*, namely, hṛi, kli, ai, blū, and strau, which are evidently mantras; and this interpretation is certain by the discussion of *sūkṣma-rūpa* in the Tripurā section of the same work.

This work cites only the Amarakoṣa for the list of five flowers of which the arrows are composed, called *bāhyaprakṛtimaya* (made of external substance), and for the list of five arrows by their results, called bhāvanā-maya (produced by imagination). The five flowers are: aravinda, the white lotus; the Aśoka flower; cūta, the Mango flower; navamallikā, jasmine; and nilotpala, the blue lotus. The five arrows by their results, in fact the usual arrow names, are: unmādana, tāpana, śoṣaṇa, stambhana, and sāmmohana. However, the two *Amarakoṣa* verses in point are interpolations in the original text and are not found, for example, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Sanskrit-Tibetan edition of the *Amarakoṣa*.

Kālidāsa’s *Kumārasaṃbhava* treatment of the Kāmadeva arrow attack on Śiva’s mind to arouse love for Gauri or Umā mentions only the one unfailing (amogha) arrow called *Sāmmohana*. This account may be based on the *Matsya Purāṇa* (Ānandāśrama ed., 154. 245)—or an equivalent portrayal in some other *Purāṇa*—where the great arrow (*mahāśara*) released by Makaradhvaja (i.e., Kāmadeva) is called *mohana* and pierces in the heart of Śiva, followed by Śiva’s burning up of Kāmadeva. The partial translation into Tibetan of Subhūti Candra’s *Amaratīkā-kāmadhenu* contains a commentary on the Kāmadeva verses of the *Amarakoṣa*. Here a tradition is followed that Kāmadeva shot in sequence five arrows at Śiva, of which the first two missed his thoughts, the second two did no more than enter his mind, and the fifth struck the target and upset Śiva’s austerity. The Tibetan terms for the five arrows match the five Sanskrit terms, but are

given in the order unmādana (myos byed), tāpana (sreg byed), saṃmohana (yaḥ dag rmoḥ(s) byed), śoṣaṇa (skym byed), and stāṃbhana (ḥchi byed). This commentary does not specifically name the fifth or successful arrow.

“Five arrows” are also mentioned in the Buddhist Guhyasamādja-tantra, Chap. XVI, p. 121:

The “knower of mantras” should contemplate in the middle of the Diamond Sky an adamantine Maṇjuśrī of great power; he should recollect his projecting point with the praxis of five arrows, and make them fall, in the manner of the formidable thunderbolt, in five spots.

Candrakīrti’s commentary called Pradipoddhyotana, as glossed in Tibetan by Tson-kha-pa, explains the term “five arrows” with expressions that diverge from the standard list in this order with interpretations as follows: (1) madana, sexual frenzy; (2) mohana, dazzle; (3) *niḥsmarāṇa, bewitchment; (4) mūrechana, swoon; (5) niśçeṣṭikarāṇa, unconscious rigidity. Tson-kha-pa’s annotation (mchan bu) explains that the five arrows belong to the ruler of the Paranirmatavaśavartin gods of the Kāmadhātu—therefore the Buddhist equivalent of Kāmadeva. The Pradipoddhyotana states that the officiant—the “knower of mantras”—should contemplate in the Clear Light (= Diamond Sky, khavajra) an adamantine Maṇjuśrī of great power. The annotation explains that one contemplates in the realm of the void a red Maṇjuśrī whose dress and all ornaments are red; holding in his right hand a red lotus the opening bud of which has the five arrow shafts; and holding in his left hand a bow. According to the Pradipoddhyotana, the prayoga (yoga practice) of the five arrows means that one exhorts the arrows or furnishes targets to them by means of mantra-nyāsa (placement of mantra letters) in five spots of the body, namely, in the heart, the head (i.e. forehead), the navel, the secret place (standing for the neck), and the feet. The annotation mentions the respective mantra to be deposited in the five spots intended to attract the respective arrows.

Given the preceding data, it follows that a popular symbol—Love’s arrow—continued to be employed in Indian literature starting with the


10. Tokyo-Kyoto photo reprint of the Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking edition; Tson-kha-pa Bakha-hbum, Pa, extra Vol. No. 158, p. 144. Since the Pradipoddhyotana Bihar Ms. is here utilized the five arrow names are definite, except for the tentative form *niḥsmarāṇa.

11. cf. Étienne Lamotte, Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse (Louvain, 1944) I, p. 25, (note), where we learn that the ruler of those gods is called Vaśavartin and is the Buddhist Māra (the tempter). Also in the Buddhacarita, XIII, 2 ff. Māra is flower-arrowed, has 5 world-deluding arrows; and Aśvaghoṣa knows the legend of Kāma’s arrow attack on Siva.
Athravaveda, down into the Epic, Purānic, Tantric, lexical, and scientific works. In classical times, the arrow became fivefold. The ramification might be related to an idea expressed by the old Buddhist term pañcakāmaguṇa (the five strands of desire), referring to the five sensory objects. The adoption of the symbol in the Buddhist Tantras, where iconography of Mañjuśrī frequently depicts him with an arrow in his right hand, a bow in his left, especially in the case where he has four or more hands,12 shows again the syncrétic character of the Tantras13—as an example of their wholesale borrowing of symbols, which are turned to purposes of the particular Tantras. In the early Śaivitic account, the yogin seeks to ward off the arrows of Kāma, or not present himself as a target, while in this Buddhist Tantra context, the officiant seeks to attract five arrows. It is reasonable to take this Tantric employment of the symbol as another borrowing of Śaivitic terminology—this borrowing being more obvious in the Avalokiteśvara-Amoghapāśa cult.14 The appeal of the symbol to the authors of the Buddhist Tantras probably derives from the preference for five-fold terminology and symbolism in Buddhism. Thus, the Ta Chih Tu Lun (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra) according to Lamotte's translation raises the question of why the Buddha preferred to reside at Rājagṛha. An answer is given that Rājagṛha has five Vihāra—at the spots Veṇuvana, Vaibhāravana, Saptaparṇāguhā, Indraśailaguhā, and Sarpaśūṇḍikaprāg-bhāra.15 It is noteworthy that the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was popularly held to have his favorite haunt in China at the mountain Wu-tai-shan, the mountain of five peaks; and that Mañjuśrī has the epithets pañcāśikha and pañcacakira.16

So far, we can see why the Guhyasamāja-tantra would associate Mañjuśrī in particular (by the expression mañjuvajra) with five arrows aimed at five spots (pañcasthāna) in the officiant's body. The problem remains of why the Buddhist Tantra is doing this at all: that is, we wonder what this Tantra intends to achieve by this imagination that a deity up in the sky is shooting arrows into five spots of the body. The answer is suggested by the Guhyasamāja-tantra, Chap. XVII, p. 137: pañcaskandhāḥ samāsena pañcabuddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / "The five personality aggregates (skandha) are, in short, the five Buddhas." The process of effectuating these identities is

called anurāga, attraction of deific essence.\textsuperscript{17} That the skandhas are being aimed at is indicated by the Pradīpoddyotana context and Tson-kha-pa's annotation, because the five mantras deposited in body spots are standard germ syllables (bijā) of the five Buddhas, and because those five spots are allocated respectively to the five skandhas in another passage by Tson-kha-pa in his Ḥdod hjo ("Wishing cow") commentary on the Śrīcakrasaṃvara-tantra, a passage which I translate from Tibetan as follows:

The Viśeṣadyota (Toh. 1510) explains that since the aggregate of forms (rūpa-skandha) is the basis of seeds, the chief place of the rūpa-skandha is the middle of the head; and explains that the forehead is the place of the bindu: hence one contemplates it (i.e. the skandha of forms) there. Because the aggregate of feelings (vedanāskandha) depends on warmth, its chief place is the navel. Because ideas (saṃjñā) arise concomitantly with the six perceptions (vijñāna) based on the eye, etc. (i.e. based on the five outer senses and the mind) and because the neck is the central place for the senses, the place of saṃjñā is the neck. Since the aggregate of motivations (saṃskāra-skandha) is the wind-basis of mūlakāśa and upakleśa-caitasika-s, its place is both feet beneath the ankle bone. Because the aggregate of perceptions (vijñāna-skandha) is the prāṇa-wind-basis of consciousness (citta) and located in the heart, the place of the vijñāna-skandha is explained as the heart.\textsuperscript{18}

This passage taken together with the Pradīpoddyotana commentary, as well as the standard correlation between the five germ syllables, five Buddhas, and five skandhas enables us to set up the five-fold anurāga process in tabular form (Table 16).\textsuperscript{19}

This location of skandhas in body spots invites a comparison with Greco-Roman concepts. According to Onians, the Greek ἰδέα, the life spirit active in procreation, was believed to be in the head; the Romans had as analog the genius, for which the forehead was considered sacred, and believed that the head was the source of seed and concerned in procreation.\textsuperscript{20} Note that the rūpa-skandha is placed in the head for the same reason. Again, in Greek thought the liver was the inmost spring of deeper

\textsuperscript{17} The anurāga phase is part of the Stage of Generation, as set forth extensively in Tson-kha-pa's Shāsas rim chen mo. This is of utmost importance in determining the difference between the Stage of Generation and the Stage of Completion.

\textsuperscript{18} Tson-kha-pa, Bakha-bhum, Lhasa ed., Vol. Ta, "Ḥdod hjo", f. 27 a-b, ff.

\textsuperscript{19} cf. the correspondences presented by Shashi Bhusan Dasgupta, An Introduction to Tāntric Buddhism (Univ. of Calcutta, 1950), p. 97.

\textsuperscript{20} R. B. Onians, The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time, and Fate, p. 129.
### Table 16

**"The Five-Arrow Correspondences"**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arrow Names (anurāga process)</th>
<th>Mantra-nyāsa</th>
<th>Skandha There Located</th>
<th>Buddha Thus Exhorted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. sexual frenzy</td>
<td>Hūṃ in heart</td>
<td>viṣṇa (perceptions)</td>
<td>Akṣobhya (&quot;Unmoved one&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vairocana (&quot;The Sun&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. dazzle</td>
<td>Oṃ in head</td>
<td>rūpā (forms)</td>
<td>Ratnasambhava (&quot;Source of Jewels&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Amitābha (&quot;Immeasurable Light&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. bewitchment</td>
<td>Svā in navel</td>
<td>vedanā (feelings)</td>
<td>Amoghasiddhi (&quot;Unfailing Success&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. swoon</td>
<td>Āḥ in neck</td>
<td>saṃśā (ideas)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. unconscious rigidity</td>
<td>Hā in feet</td>
<td>saṃskāra (motivations)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This agrees with locating the aggregate of feelings (vedanā-skandha) at the navel. For the Greeks and Romans, the heart—more generally the chest—was the seat of consciousness and the seat of breath; and consciousness was naturally identified with the breath. This concept agrees perfectly with the Tantric location of viṣṇa in the heart as the wind basis of object consciousness. It is remarkable that three of the Buddhist skandhas can be so closely identified with Greco-Roman attributions of functions to corporeal centers. The Tantric location of saṃśā in the neck and saṃskāra in the feet has no obvious Greco-Roman parallel, although Odinian does discuss the role of the feet. Saṃśā is placed in the neck probably because, as Johnston has pointed out, saṃśā is the naming function; and so associated with the neck as the seat of speech. Regarding the placement of saṃskāra-skandha—as a center of corruptions or afflictions (kleśa)—in the feet, this agrees with the Hindu correlation of the lower part of the body with the underworlds (pātāla); and the Mongolian Lama Dilowa Gegen Hutukhtu once told me that the feet are the location of Yama, the Lord of Death, and his sister Yam.

It is noteworthy that Indian thought consistently placed in the heart the function of perception. Hence, the arrow of love was aimed at this target and said to pierce "in the heart" (hrdi in the Atharvaveda; hṛdaye in the Matsya-Purāṇa); and the five arrows were made to fall "in five spots" (pañcakṣhāṇeṣu in the Guhyasamāja-tantra) beginning with "in the heart".

---

21. Ibid., p. 85.
22. Ibid., pp. 40 ff. and p. 49.
23. cf. his appendix, pp. 524 ff.
I use the word “perception” advisedly. The plan of Kāmadeva was to make Śiva perceive Umā or Gaurī, make Śiva conscious of her as an object, aware of her as the paragon of female sensuous appearance. Therefore, the arrow was aimed at the heart, where Buddhism places viññāna; and therefore I regularly translate viññāna-skandha as “aggregate of perceptions”.

The above considerations support what is already well known, namely that religious practices of India in classical times take for granted the Vedic corpus. In addition, there is a suggestion of Greco-Roman tie-ups with the Buddhist Tantras, which merits further investigation.

II. The five-fold rite

In his annotation to the Pradīpoddyotana passage about the five arrows, Tsoṅ-kha-pa (Photo ed., Vol. 158, Pa, 355 a-b) rejects the position of some lamas that this evocation occurs in the yuganaddha phase of the Sampanna-krama. He concludes that it represents a high capability of service in the Utpatti-krama and is meant for a person of sharp senses who can achieve success (siddhi) in seven days.

Since the procedure of arrow imagination must pertain to the 2d aṅga of Utpatti-krama, it is of interest that Tsoṅ-kha-pa does indeed mention five syllables (yi ge lha, S 387 a-5) without listing them, but (S 385a-3) also mentions the nāda which comprises the three syllables, again not listing these, which are usually Om, Āḥ, Hūṃ. Moreover, he brings up (S380b-6ff.)—but in a different connection—the standard terminology of sixteen Sanskrit vowels deposited in different parts of the body, and of thirty-four Sanskrit consonants coordinated with the five elements. Furthermore, some of Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s materials on the 2d member apply more easily to the five-syllable evocation than to the restriction to three syllables or to nāda. This is certainly the case when explaining (S 385a-1, 2) the symbolism of the five-pronged thunderbolt as representing the five limbs (two legs, two arms, and head from neck up), the five fingers and toes on each of hands and feet, or the five senses in the head. For it is easy to see that the five arrow shafts held by Maṇjuśrī as Vajrasattva correspond to the five-pronged thunderbolt. Therefore, “three syllables” may be taken as the abbreviated reference to the five syllables, and the distinction between

25. The above translations of all five skandhas follow rather closely Th. Stcherbatsky, The Central Conception of Buddhism, (reprint, Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1961), pp. 5-6. My observations of numerous passages about the skandhas in Buddhist literature support Stcherbatsky’s renditions except for his rendering of viññāna as “pure sensation” or “general consciousness” and rupa as “matter”, both correct but too vague. Viññāna—like the other nāma-skandhas—is indeed consciousness, for in the case of viññāna there is consciousness of an object, in a word: “perception”. Rupa is indeed matter, but that matter which is perceived, so the literal sense of rupa as “form” is more appropriate.
nāda, the three syllables, and the five syllables may involve the difference between ordinary and superior candidates, as suggested by Tsoṅ-kha-pa.

There are two āgama passages cited for the five-fold rite. The first, quoted (S 365b-6) from Gur (S. Pañjara),\(^{26}\) shows the method of generating deity by exhortation with mystic song (ṭu ba glus bskul nas skyed tshul, discussed S 382b-3, ff.):

One should contemplate the five aspects:—
(1) First imagining a man;
(2) Then the emanation of the fairy circle (dākint-cakra);
(3) The entrance of the gandharva exorted by the directional goddesses mindful to petition (it) (by mystic song) to descend;
(4) After exhortation the guidance by that circle as follows: depositing the three vajras of moha, etc., in three spots, the eye, etc.;
(5) Then the vajra “passion” causing the jñāna element to enter.

The second, quoted (S 380a-1) from the third brtag-pa of Kha-sbyor (S. Sampūta),\(^{27}\) shows the method of generating deity by means of the five Abhisambodhi (mnon byaṅ lhas skyed tshul, discussed S 379 b-6, ff.):

(1) The moon, having the “mirror-like” knowledge;
(2) Likewise (= the 2d moon), having the “equality” knowledge;
(3) The germ syllable (bijā) and (4) the hand symbol (cīṇa) of one’s god, called “discriminative” (knowledge), and all those into one, (called) “procedure-of duty” (knowledge);
(5) The pure and perfect image (bimba) (having dharmadhisthātu knowledge).

According to Tsoṅ-kha-pa (S 386b-2) in order to understand either of these two formulations of the rite, one must associate them with the three states of birth, death, and the intermediate state (skye ḥchi bar do gsun). Indeed (S 383b-4, 5) the very name Utpatti-krama (“stage of generation”) is used because it is analogical to the life cycle of being born from a womb, amassing karma, dying, being an intermediate state being in a womb, and then taking birth again, thus becoming a son or daughter.

The rationale for applying this terminology to yoga experience is the well-known Buddhist meditation to negate the ordinary view of the

26. Gur abbreviates the Tibetan title equivalent to Arya-Ḍakiniṇavajrapāḍjārajāmahātantrarājyajakalpa-nāma (Tohoku No. 419).
personality aggregates (skandhas). In early Buddhism, the skandhas were seen by similes such as “forms (rūpa) are like a lump of foam.” In the Prajñāparamitāhydayasūtra, the skandhas are each identified with voidness. If these aggregates are to be so profoundly affected and transmuted, such a successful meditation must be comparable to death, because Buddhism teaches that such a drastic nullification of the skandhas occurs at death. So Tson-kha-pa writes (S 384 a-3,4): “Then the contemplation of voidness is comparable to death; because, by deciding the skandhas which are the foundation for adhering to “I” and “mine” to be devoid of intrinsic nature, and nullifying their manifestation—is comparable to abandoning the wrought out skandhas.” When the skandhas are seen as void, and this is to be regarded as a Symbolic Death, it follows that there is for the yogin also a Symbolic Intermediate State and a Symbolic Rebirth.

Therefore, both āgama passages are to be understood as a sādhana rite of Symbolic Death, Intermediate State, and Rebirth. But, admittedly, the two passages cannot, obviously, be so construed. In the case of the five Abhisambodhi, the first two (cf. S 386a-4, ff.), namely the moon and the second or red moon (=sun), constitute the hetu-vajradhara, while the last, the perfect image, is the phala-vajradhara. Now, the phala-vajradhara, being the fruitional spiritual rebirth, must, according to Buddhist dogmatics, be the result of the being which died, and so the hetu-vajradhara is the Symbolic Death. That leaves the intermediate two Abhisambodhis—the germ syllables and hand symbols—to represent the Intermediate State and this is the way they are treated. So (S 384b-2); “Having entered the syllables of the Intermediate State . . .” (bar srid kyi yi ge žugs nas . . .); (cf. S 384b-4) that is why (3) germ syllable and (4) hand syllable are taken together in the āgama passage; and so (S 385a-1) “the five pronged thunderbolt generated as the hand symbol from the germ syllable”. That the 3rd and 4th aspects in the rite represent the Intermediate State as the sojourn in the womb is partly born out immediately by the formulation in the former āgama passage involving mystic song. There the 3rd aspect involves the entrance of the gandharva. Wijesekera points out on the basis of Pāli Buddhism that in the Mahātanātāsaṅkhaya Sutta the presence of the gandhabba (Skt. gandharva) is required in order that coitus of parents may lead to a conception; and that Buddhaghosa explains the term “gandhabba” in this case as “the being about to enter the womb . . . being driven on by the mechanism of Kamma / = karma ./” Wijesekera also notices that in the Amarakoṣa the term gandharva is explained as “antarābhavasattva”—which of course is the Sanskrit for “Intermediate State Being”.28 Again, the two āgama passages agree on the fourth aspect because the “three vajras of moha, etc.” are hand symbols, the vajra being

the thunderbolt symbol, and “moha, etc.” stand for the three Buddhas, Vairocana, Aksobhya, and Amitābha, heading the Moha, Dveṣa, and Rāga families—who are generated from the three germ syllables.

Depositing three thunderbolts is comparable to introducing five arrows as in the Mañjuśrī episode, by exhortation of five germ syllables.

The relation to non-tantric Buddhism is further shown by introduction of the terminology of the bodhisattva’s five paths.29 For these correlations Tson-kha-pa cites the Man sīḥ (S. Mañjari)30 starting at S383b-6. The bodhisattva’s Path of Accumulating Merit (saṃbhāra-mārga) took place prior to the experience of Symbolic Death: it is in the phase of pūrvakālabhava (ḥdas pahi srid pa), defined by Abhidharma-kośa III 13c-d as “subsequent to the moment of birth and prior to the moment of death” (sa punar maraṇāt pūrva upapattikṣaṇāt parāḥ). Furthermore, according to the Pitāputrasamāgama—as quoted in Śikṣāsamuccaya, “And immediately after the cessation of that ‘first perception’ (prathama-vijñāna) pertaining to birth, a contiguous matching ‘stream of consciousness’ proceeds. Among those, the cessation of the ‘last perception’ (carama-vijñāna) is counted as ‘death’ (cyuti) in this case; the emergence of the ‘first perception’ is counted as ‘birth’ (upapatti) in this case.”31

Symbolic Death

“Death” is here explained (S 384a-4,5) as starting from initial negation of the personality aggregates and lasting up to entrance into the syllables of the Intermediate State. It is associated with the Path of Training (prayoga-mārga)—according to Man sīḥ, the Stage of Action in Faith (adhisthāna-caryā-bhūmi) and the Training in Decision about Reality (tattvaratvadha-prayoga). In the Prajñāpāramitā doctrine, it has four degrees: those of Heat (ūṣmagata), the Climax (mūrdhagata), Forbearance (kṣānti), and Highest Mundane Natures (laubhika-agra-dharma).32 The four easily divide into two groups of two, because Heat and the Climax apply to “non-self of personality”, while Forbearance [of Natures] and Highest Mundane Natures apply to “non-self of natures”. It is apparent that the “Heart Sūtra” (Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya) is easily interpreted the same way. According to the present writer’s translation33 this Sūtra

32. Obermiller (op. cit.), pp. 34-37.
presents three meditations—the first on "non-self of personality", the second and third on "non-self of natures".

Since what is called "generating the mind of Enlightenment" (bodhicittotpāda) precedes the bodhisattva path, it must be placed in the Path of Training. In his Lam rim chen mo, bodhisattva section, Tson-kha-pa thoroughly discusses the two stages called "aspiration mind" (pranidhīcitta, smon sms) and "progressing mind" (prasthānacitta, hjug sms). The "aspiration mind" is coloured with compassion (karunā), while the "progressing mind" involves taking the bodhisattva vow (sāṃvara). This vow is associated with the second abhisambodhi by Mkhas-grub-rje in his Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras, Chap. I, through the mantra, "Om bodhicitttam utpādayāmi." In that former section, Tson-kha-pa quotes Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra VIII, 158: "Therefore, just as you employed your ego (ahaṃkāra) in others’ bindu-s (formed) of semen and menstrual blood, so also devote it to others' (tasmād yathānyadiyeṣu śukraśoṇita-binduṣu / cakartha tvam ahaṃkāraṃ tathānyeṣv api bhāvaya). The "aspiration mind" is parallel with the first aspect (first abhisambodhi) and the "progressing mind" is parallel with the second one, as will become clearer by our subsequent observations.

Since the "death" phase is the cause of "birth," the Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra may again be cited: "So, great King, a ‘first perception’ arises having two conditions pertaining to ‘birth’—by reason of the ‘last perception’ as predominant condition (adhipati-pratyaya) and by reason of ‘karma’ as support condition (ārambaṇa-pratyaya)." 34 Otherwise stated, “death” is divided into “Expiration” and “Death vision” 35—the former being the “last perception” and the latter the “karma”. In Abhidharma Buddhism, two causes are necessary for a thing to arise—the hetu, basic or seed cause; and pratyaya, the conditional cause. The phase of “death” covers the first two aspects in both āgama passages, the first aspect being the hetu—in this case, the predominant condition; the second aspect, the pratyaya—in this case, the support condition. In short, both formulations of the five-fold rite begin with symbolic equivalences to death, and this is consistent with the old Upaniṣadic passage, “There was nothing whatsoever here in the beginning. By death indeed was this covered, or by hunger, for hunger is death.” 36

The preceding is more easily related to the 2d āgama passage than to the 1st one. In the case of the first two abhisambodhis, the “moon” explained (S 381a-5) as the sixteen parts of the bodhicitta (hence the sixteen

vowels—the sixteen voidnesses) is the hetu, in the sense of attaining the realm of the void—the first step in the standard Buddhist Tantric sādhana. The red moon (the sun), explained as the thirty-four consonants representing the five elements (dhātu: earth, water, fire, wind, space), is the pratyaya, in the sense that they are the five goddesses who constitute the objective plenitude. But since the two are the hetu-vajradhara, the cause for the phala-vajradhara, the comparison is made to father, mother, and son (cf. S 384b-5), to wit: the father releases semen (= bodhi = the moon), the mother’s menstrual blood wells up with her (is withheld), the two understood in old Indian belief to contribute to the formation of the embryo. Therefore, the “moon” is taken as the “father,” the “red moon” as the “mother”; and since these two are the physical condition for the birth, they (i.e., the father emitting semen and the mother holding that “white element” together with her “red element”) are—on this symbolic level—also “death.”

The 1st āgama passage conveys exhortation by mystic song, and is immediately related if we consider another Tantric passage: “Because one experiences the Dharmakāya, joyful, equal to the sky, for only an instant at the time of (1) death, (2) faint, (3) going to sleep, (4) yawning, and (5) coitus.” Here, “death” is correlated to the Dharmakāya of the Buddha; and, since (S 387a-6 to 387b-1) there would be no Mahāyāna if the Buddha had remained in the Dharmakāya and had not appeared in the Body of Form (rūpa-kāya)—this five-fold rite represents the exhortation for the Buddha as hetu-vajradhara to phenomenalize a Nirmāṇakāya for the benefit of sentient beings. In this process (S 383a-4), the first aspect “imagining a man” means the hetu-vajradhara in union with the consort (= Prajñā-pāramitā) producing, as the second aspect, the group of eight goddesses. This is still Symbolical Death, because as yet there is no Sambhogakāya coordinated with the Intermediate State or Nirmāṇakāya coordinated with Birth. Among the group of eight goddesses are the four (S 385a-6) who are the four elements that enable a phenomenal body to be formed; they are a sort of demiurge, secondary creative deities, who by their mystic

37. This involves an archaic symbolism prevalent in Mesopotamian mythology: Erishkigal, Sumerian goddess of death and gloom is in the Nether World as the “birth-giving mother”; cf. Samuel Noah Kramer, ed., Mythologies of the Ancient World, A Doubleday Anchor Original (New York, 1961), pp. 107-8. It also involves the worldwide contribution to primitive religion of woman’s “blood mysteries”, that is, menstrual blood, formation of the embryo by blood, and conversion of blood into mother’s milk.


39. The names of the eight goddesses according to the Hevajra-tantra (ed. and tr. by D. Snellgrove) are (his Vol. I, p. 74): Gauri, Gauri, Vetaĩ, Ghasmari, Pukkasì, Savari, Candali, and Þombini. However, Tson-khapa alludes to the names only as “Locanā and so on,” obviously employing Guhyasamajā traditional terminology, where Locanā, Māmakī, Pampañā, and Tārā are the four chief goddesses, identified respectively with the elements earth, water, fire, and wind.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AS &quot;CAUSE OF BIRTH&quot;</th>
<th>SOMEWHERE AN EXPERIENCE (A)</th>
<th>SOMEWHERE AN EXPERIENCE (B)</th>
<th>HETU-VAJRADHARA</th>
<th>DHARMA-KĀYA</th>
<th>PATH OF TRAINING</th>
<th>GENERATING THE bodhicitta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Hetu, primary cause</td>
<td>Expiration (last perception)</td>
<td>he (releases semen)</td>
<td>moon (= 16 parts of bodhicitta)</td>
<td>Hetu-vajradhara in union with Prajñā-pāramitā</td>
<td>“non-self of person (pudgala)”</td>
<td>“aspiration mind”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pratyaya, conditional cause</td>
<td>Death Vision (karma)</td>
<td>she (holds her menstrual blood)</td>
<td>sun (= the 5 elements)</td>
<td>the retinue of eight goddesses</td>
<td>“non-self of natures (dharma)”</td>
<td>“progressing mind”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
song call forth the “world”—in this case the phenomenal body of the Buddha. See Table 17.

**Symbolic Intermediate State**

A suggestive example of an “intermediate” statement is when the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* remarks: “Taking recourse to the bodhisattva’s perfection of insight, one dwells with obscuration of the mental substance (cittāvarana). By reason of no obscuration of the mental substance, he is fearless, beyond delusion, with supreme nirvāṇa.” That is to say, the above statement follows after the mention of meditations on “non-self of personality” and “non-self of natures” and precedes the mention of the Incomparable Enlightenment of the buddhas. The order is consistent with what has been set forth previously, namely that the voidness meditation is the preliminary training for the bodhisattva path. Therefore, the “Heart Sūtra” is now alluding to the bodhisattva path and its culmination, but leaves open the problem of describing this path, as say, with six “perfections” (pāramitā) or with ten “stages” (bhūmi). Any definite portrayal of the bodhisattva path is therefore consistent with the “Heart Sūtra” although not necessarily reflecting the viewpoint of this essence of the Prajñāpāramitā literature. Such is the case with the correspondence now made (S 384b-2,3 quotation from *Man sīne*) of the ten bodhisattva stages to the ten lunar-month states (avasthā) in the womb, for the given reason that all these stages are attended with obscuration (sa ḫī ṛṇams sgrīb pa daṅ beas pa ēṇī kyi phyīr). In non-tantric Buddhism there is the same teaching, for Vasubandhu says it, and the *Āryasamādhiśīlaṃcanaśūtrasya* vyākhyāna also comments: “The passage, ‘so as to perfect those limbs of his, he perfects all the limbs’ means: because those ten bodhisattva stages are attended with obscuration, they are comparable to the ten periods of the body dwelling in a womb.” It appears the correlation was originally made because the bodhisattva path, like the intra-uterine months, divide into groups of seven and three; that is, after the seventh stage, the bodhisattva is “irreversible” (avaivartika), and it was noticed that after the seventh lunar month of pregnancy, an infant can be born alive. However, the tantric division, as will soon be apparent, is not into seven and three, but into two groups of five. Of course the bodhisattva gradually eliminates

---

40. “The Buddhist ‘Not this, not this’,” p. 113, translation based on the scholarly edition of this *sutra* by F. Max Müller and Bunjiu Nanjo.
41. Vasubandhu’s commentary (Toh. 3993) on the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, Derge Tanjur, Mdo-bgyel, Ni, 112b-1, f.
the “obscuration”, so that on the final stages only the most subtle “obscuration” remains.\(^{43}\)

Accordingly (S 384a-6, ff.), the third path, Path of Vision (darśana-mārga), which coincides with the first of the ten bodhisattva stages, named Pramuditā, is equivalent to the first avasthā in the womb; while the Path of Concentrated Contemplation (bhāvanā-mārga), associated with the remaining nine bodhisattva stages, is prevalent during the last nine avasthās.

Now, the term “Intermediate State” (antarābhava) was the topic of lively disagreement by ancient Buddhist schools, some denying that there is such a state.\(^{44}\) Part of the quarrel may have rested on a different use of the term, because “period between death and rebirth” involves interpretation of “death” and of “rebirth”. Sometimes a period of forty-nine days was ascribed to the Intermediate State. As the term is employed in this tantric context, it seems to mean the state that begins when a gandharva is headed toward a particular womb—as well as the sojourn in that womb. It follows the second moment of death, which amounts to automatic visions; and precedes the first moment of rebirth occurring with departure from the womb. The bodhisattva path of vision may cover this initial movement as well as the first avasthā.

As was mentioned previously, “entrance of the gandharva” means entrance into the womb. At S 385a-5 Tsoñ-kha-pa quotes the Man sde for three ways of entrance and supplies further information: (1) “Through the golden portal,” also called the Vairocana portal; (2) “Through the mouth” of the mother or of the father and by him transmitted to the mother; (3) “In another way,” namely, through the portal of the womb. The third way is asserted (S 385b-1,2) for the ordinary gandharva with passion toward either the male or the female. Tsoñ-kha-pa explains the first way in his Don-gsal commentary on the Guhyasamāja:

Moreover, like a man riding a horse—that “perception-master” (vijñāna-pati), the “diamond of mind” (cittavajra), the Intermediate State Consciousness (antarābhava-citta)—along with a very subtle body (*ātisukṣma-deha), rightly straddling that mount of wind, proceeds with great rapidity, and having reached that place in an instant (kṣaṇa), a twinkling (lava), or a moment (muhurta) enters

\(^{43}\) Cf. Obermüller (op. cit.), p. 57: “Of these ten Stages the first seven are called the ‘impure’ and the last three—‘the pure’ Stages. The reason for such a classification is that on the former the different defiling elements are still existing, whereas on the latter the Bodhisattva has to remove only the most subtle forms of the Obscuration of Ignorance, consisting in the differentiation of subject and object, and of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa as two separate entities.”

\(^{44}\) André Bareau, Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule (Saigon, 1955), p. 283, thesis “Il y a une existence intermédiaire".
that Vairocana portal. Now, some former lamas, appealing to the passage [in the Mahāmudrātilaka] that Vairocana is ordure, explained the anus as the Vairocana portal. This is not tenable, for the citation "in the same way as the Knowledge Being (jñāna-sattva)" shows it to be the portal through which the Knowledge Being enters the Symbolic Being (samaya-sattva). Hence, in the same way as the Knowledge Being enters through the crown of the head, that ["perception-master"] enters through the crown of the head where is disposed the "diamond of body" (kāya-vajra) of Vairocana.45

The three ways seems to be ordered as superior, middling, and inferior. The superior way through the golden portal seems indicated for the gandharva of the first āgama passage. In its explanation (S 383a-2,3) the gandharva takes abode in the bindu-rūpa (thig lehi gzugs). This is formed from the passionate embrace of the "Father-Mother" (yab yum) [aspect No. 1]. Now exorted by the mystic songs of Locana and the other goddesses [aspect No. 2], from the bindu [into which the gandharva has descended] there arise the germ syllables [aspect No. 3] and hand symbols [aspect No. 4], and from these completion as a deity [aspect No. 5]. The last three are the standard three-fold rite (cho ga gsun t). Therefore, in both āgama passages, the third and fourth aspects constitute the Symbolic Intermediate Stage. Tsoṅ-kha-pa explains that the goddesses exhort the Dharmakāya [of Symbolic Death] to issue the Body of Form for the sake of the candidates. The Dharmakāya, and accordingly any officiant performing this as a rite, is held to think, "Hence, so as to attain that very Samantabhadra, I shall enter this very place," and having made his mind steadfast in that form of the five syllables of the Intermediate State, like a flame he enters the secret lotus of the Prajñā.46 The next aspect, as mentioned previously form S 385a-1, is the five-pronged thunderbolt. The five syllables are clearly the five as in the Mañjuśrī sādhana of our Part I, there imagined to be planted in the five skandhas, the latter elsewhere held to arise sequentially in the first five avasthas of the womb.47 Then the five arrows of Mañjuśrī depositing the five knowledges are symbolized here by the five-pronged thunderbolt, and so correspond to the second five avasthā-s, held to perfect the five sensory organs. In the case of the Mañjuśrī sādhana, this is a case of evocation without exhortation by song. The solution of applying the five arrow names to the five sense objects is possible through Tsoṅ-kha-pa’s Mchan-ḥgrel on Pradipodyotana, 7th Chapter, Photo ed., Vol. 158, p. 56-1,2. Here we learn that the sādhaka

46. Stogs rim chen mo, S 387a-4, 5, 6.
47. “Studies in Yama and Māra,” (op. cit.), p. 72, note 155.
(one realizing the *sādhana*), when reaching “forms” by way of the eye offers the lady Rūpavajrā to the *tathāgata* Vairocana; similarly with the other objects and senses: Sabdavajrā to Ratnasambhava, Gandhavajrā to Amitābha, Rasavajrā to Amoghasiddhi, Sparśa-vajrā to Akṣobhya. This is consistent with the *Pradipoddyotana* (Mchen-ḥgrel edition), Ibid., p. 55, identification of sense objects with the *tathāgata*-s. Then the correspondences in Table 16 enable us to quickly assign the arrow names accordingly. The only change in order is Akṣobhya’s “sexual frenzy” moved from first in the *skandha* series to fifth in the sense-object series, with the others moved up in the same order. But the present order of the arrows is consistent with the story in the *Amarakoṣa* commentary that the fifth arrow (unnamed), here the one named *madana*, succeeded in arousing Śiva sexually, whereas the unfailing arrow in the *Kumārasambhava* version is *saṃmohana*.

Elsewhere, Tsoṅ-kha-pa coordinates the Sambhoga-kāya with the Intermediate State, and the latter with the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu.48 See Table 18, where the data of this section is summarized. Of course, the five arrows (in terms of their names) can be replaced by the five-pronged thunderbolt, also emblematic of the five *tathāgatas*.

**Symbolic Rebirth**

Tsoṅ-kha-pa explains at S 386a-3,4 that upon being born as a “son” after the ten stages, there is the Fruitional (*phala*) Vajradhara, namely the state of manifesting a deity, the Nirmāṇa-kāya. And this is the fifth *bodhisattva* path, called “Stage Beyond Training” (*aśaikṣa-bhūmi*). It is the fifth aspect in both āgama passages.

In the case of the first āgama passage, the “rebirth” can be interpreted (a) from upwards down, as a passionate emanation of the knowledge of the Dharmakāya, or as an overshadowing of an individual by the *tathāgata* of his family (*kula*); (b) from downwards up, as a deification of the candidate, or as the human *bodhisattva* emerging from the tenth or Dharmameghā stage into the Buddhahāmū. The second āgama passage stresses the method of generating the gods of the *mandala*. In the fifth aspect, the god assumes a concrete attitude, reflecting the repose of the Dharmadhātu, or merges with the external icon.

According to the Siddhānta Commentary by Ḫjam-dbyaṅs bzad-paṅ-rdo-rje, there are three kinds of Nirmāṇa-kāya: (1) “artisan”, (2) “of birth”, and (3) “of Enlightenment” (*bzo daṅ skye ba byaṅ chub sprul sku gsum*). Citing references, this author explains the “artisan” kind as fashioning for the sake of sentient beings; that “of birth” as the births

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. SKANDHA PERFECTED</th>
<th>A. DETILEMENTS TO BE ELIMINATED (SPANS PA)</th>
<th>B. INDRIYA PERFECTED</th>
<th>B. KNOWABLES TO BE REALIZED (RIGGS PA)</th>
<th>B. HAND SYMBOL, IN CASE OF ARROW NAMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. AVASTHA IN WOMB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. vijñāna</td>
<td>black Hūm</td>
<td>eyes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. vijñāna</td>
<td>pride</td>
<td>ears</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. vijñāna</td>
<td>envy</td>
<td>nose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. vijñāna</td>
<td>lust</td>
<td>tongue</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. vijñāna</td>
<td>delusion</td>
<td>torso (skin)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. vijñāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>forest sounds</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. vijñāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>colors</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. vijñāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tastes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. vijñāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tangibles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. vijñāna</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>sexual frenzy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VISHNU AVATĀRAS</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Tortoise</td>
<td>Boar</td>
<td>Man-Lion</td>
<td>Dwarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradēśa-Rāma</td>
<td>The Zār Rāma</td>
<td>Kṛṣṇa</td>
<td>Rāma</td>
<td>Kali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
depicted in Jātaka stories; and that “of Enlightenment” as the Nirmāṇa-kāya of the Buddha demonstrating, among Twelve Acts, Complete Enlightenment.49

The first kind, in further explanation, seems equivalent to hypostasis in chosen individuals, that is, magically manifesting in multiform ways as śrāvaka-s, pratyekabuddha-s, Indra, Brahmā, etc. So the first of the three kinds is especially applicable to Symbolic Rebirth as the fifth aspect of the rite.

Since the Symbolic Death has been explained above as the cause of Symbolic Birth, it is well to point out a corroboration of this in terms of the “moon (= 16 parts of bodhicitta)” of Table 17. Ye-ses-rgyal-mtshan, the Yoṅs-hdzin for the Dalai Lama Hjam-dpal rgya-mtsho, contains in his Collected Works, Lhasa ed., Vol. Tha (Toh. No. 6016), a commentary on the sixteen Sthāvīra-s, in the course of which (passage beg., f. 160a-3) he refers to various Nirmāṇa-kāya(s) (sprul sku) and mentions the Bkaḥ gdams thig le bcu drug gi sgrub dkyil (“Sādhana and maṇḍala of the Bkaḥ-gdams school rite ‘sixteen parts of the bindu’”). Earlier he states:

In “final meaning” (nitārtha), these sixteen Sthāvīra-s are as said: “The sixteen Sthāvīra-s—concretely the Three Jewels—who are the Arya host of Arhat nirmita-s of the Buddha, protecting the Teaching for the sake of the world—provide the grace (adhiṣṭhāna) so that the Teaching may long endure.” Just as the Buddha was said to have gone to the ultimate of “elimination” (of defilement) and “realization” (of the knowable) so all sixteen Sthāvīra-s have gone to the ultimate of “elimination” and “realization”.50

Or, as said in the “Heart Sūtra,”—There is Enlightenment. Hail!!

Conclusion

It has been a special pleasure for the writer to weave together the above materials, casting some light on Tantric sādhana, indicating also some of the non-tantric background of Buddhist tantric ideas—and generally certifying Tson-kha-pa’s tantric reform that requires non-tantric Buddhism as the indispensable preparation for the Tantras.

An incidental conclusion is that the principal message of the Prajñāpāramitā literature is the “Path of Training” of the bodhisattva, that is, especially to drill the point that both pudgala and dharma are nairātmya, and then, in the space thus vacated of false views, to arouse the Mind of Enlightenment—consistent with Kamalaśīla’s commentary on the

49. The Grub mthab hgrel pa called Re ba kun skoṅ, published at Moussorie (India) under the direction of the Tā bla-ma, Sec. Cha, 50b-51a.
Vajracchedikā (Tohoku No. 3817), wherein he explains the “Eye of Insight” (praṇācakṣus) as “seeing” pudgala-nairātmya and dharma-nairātmya. Tantric sādhana also begins with this “Symbolic Death”, referred to as “realization of the void”.

The reasonable speculation in Part I that the five arrows may have been based on the pañcakāmaguṇa is somewhat borne out by Table 18 in Part II. Much later the arrows were associated with the five skandhas, as in Table 16, in connection with the sādhana equating these five skandhas with the five tathāgatas, a feature of the Anuttara-yoga-tantra.

But the writer does not wish to leave this subject, giving the impression that everything “works out” consistently—that the corpus of ancient Buddhism, Prajñāpāramitā and tantric literature—and even non-Buddhist literature—can be “harmonized” by such underlying threads as have been drawn out above. That diverse traditions are involved is an obvious feature, e.g. dividing the ten avasthā-s into groups of seven and three, or into two groups of five. Also, the suggestion by E. H. Johnston, The Buddhacarita, Part II (Calcutta, 1936), p. 191, n. 16, that Aśvaghōsa and Kālidāsa (Kumārasambhava) have two different traditions about Kāma’s attack on Śiva—seems verified by our findings. We may postulate, on the one hand, a tradition of five-fold symbolism, Upaniṣadic (early and later sectarian), Śaivitic, that of Aśvaghōsa regarding five flowery arrows of Māra=Kāmadeva, followed in the Amarakośa, and continued in the Buddhist Tantras; and, on the other hand, the single arrow which is a topic in the earliest source, the Atharva-veda, continued in Śaivitic Purāṇa literature and adopted by Kālidāsa. It is of interest that, according to Buddhacarita, xiii, 12, when Māra discharged an arrow at the son of Iḍā, grandson of the moon, he “became vicitta”, translated by Johnston that he “fell into a frenzy”. Johnston apparently interprets the vi- as intensive rather than deprivative. This interpretation is certified by Ibid. xiii, 16, which depicts Māra as wondering, when his arrow had no effect on the future Buddha, whether the latter was acitta or the arrow he had used was not the one which had agitated Śambhu (Śiva). The point is that if Gautama is acitta “devoid of thought”, his thoughts cannot become enhanced, frenzied, as signified by vicitta. And if we associate citta with the heart, our Table 16 suggests that Māra’s arrow was the one later called madana (“sexual frenzy”).

This forces us to consider the issue of why in non-tantric Buddhism Gautama is unaffected by Māra’s arrow while in the Guhyasamājatantra the officiant exhorts Mañjuśrī to pierce five spots of the body with the arrows we have described. It is indeed difficult to imagine, on the basis of our Table 18, the effect on a person who has eliminated hatred, pride, envy, lust, and delusion, of being pierced by the arrows “dazzle”, “bewitchment”, “swoon”, “unconscious rigidity”, and “sexual frenzy”.
Perhaps these terms have a special meaning gained through “realization” (rtogs pa) of the “knowable”.

An attempt can be made to suggest the meaning by considering the whole last line in Table 18. Here the 10th avasthā in the womb is said to perfect the skin which senses the tangible or touchables; and it is the 10th Bodhisattva stage called “Cloud of Doctrine” where bodhisattva is a future buddha, just as Kalkī is the future avatāra of Viṣṇu. What is the meaning of “sexual frenzy” here as applied to bodhisattvas of the 10th stage, Maṇjuśrī, etc.? Here a pictorial representation may help convey the point. See the plate 189 of Maṇjuśrī the Vajrasattva as Ekāvīra (“The Solitary Hero”) in Giuseppe Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Rome, 1949), discussed II, 583, where the phallus is up but hidden. Compare it with “Hermes.—Greek vase painting in the Hamilton Collection,” reproduced in C. G. Jung, Psychology and Alchemy, Bollingen Series XX (New York, 1953), p. 126, where Hermes is represented only by a head and an erect phallus, both attached to a symbolic post. Then, what is the meaning here of the passion suggested by the Śaivite ārdhva-liṅga? Starting with the Atharvaveda the main spot pierced by love’s arrow has been in the heart. So, just as in the “Twenty-one Praises of Tārā,” the “upward liṅga” is the “thumb” in the heart, marked with the Three Jewels, as seen in the Stūpa-stambha of Amarāvatī (Bhāratīya Pratik Vidya, picture No. 140). In the Mahāvastu, the 10th Bodhisattva stage is called Abhiṣeka (coronation or initiation), so called in Sanskrit because attended with sprinkling, symbolizing lustration. This is the “heart” meaning of the sprinkled ārdhva-liṅga: the Stūpa-stambha in the heart. Therefore, when Māra’s arrow is unsuccessful against the meditating Gautama, it means that a “lower” passion could not be aroused. The ecstatic bliss (sukha) associated with lofty samādhi attainment could still be present, as suggested by the “firm thunderbolt” (dṛḍha-vajra) in the heart, according to the terminology in Mkhas-grub-rje’s, Chapter I; and this also suggests a heart location for the “sexual frenzy”.
RECEIVED TEACHINGS OF TIBET AND ANALYSIS OF THE TANTRIC CANON

I. Outline of the thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ

A thob yig ("manual of what was received") is a work in which the author sets forth the lineages of the various doctrines and practices in which he has become learned or skilled. The East Asiatic Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, possesses a four-volume thob yig by the Dzaya-paṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las,1 entitled Zab pa daṅ rgya che baḥi dam paḥi chos kyi thob yig gsal baḥi me loṅ, "The ‘Bright-mirror’ thob yig of the profound and far-reaching illustrious Law". This is a well-printed Peking block-print. The same library also has this author's Nag rnams phyogs su bsgrigs pa—his minor essays. The latter were quite popular among the Lamas, especially the essay Maṇiḥi phan yon sogs ston paḥiḥbyin rlangs myur ḥjug ces bya, on the celebrated formula Om maṇi padme hūṃ, and hence were sometimes separately printed. These are in two volumes in a Peking block-print which has been run off from blocks damaged in part. Both sets were brought to that University by Professor F. D. Lessing. Using the colophon of the thob yig and his autobiography

1. In the original printing Indo-Asian Studies, Part I (1962), the editor, Lokesh Chandra, supplied this note: "For a general idea about thob yig also see G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, p. 124. It may be noted that a copy of this thob yig also exists in the collection of Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira. This work will be printed in the Śatapāṭhaka Series in the near future. A short biography of Jayapāṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḥphrin las and a list of his works is given in Lokesh Chandra, Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia, introd. p. 18, text p. 10."
among the *nag phyogs*, I have already pointed out that he was born *chu pho rta* (1642 A.D.) and was 61 years old when the Sixth Dalai Lama was 19 years old (i.e. in A.D. 1702) and that he may have been the teacher of the Sixth Dalai Lama.2

The following outline of the contents of his *thob yig* will serve to illustrate the structure and type of material in such a work. In almost all cases, the biographies have been severely condensed and are replete with religious terms; but as the sources of the author are themselves for the most part unobtainable in Western libraries, it appears desirable to suggest the research possibilities of this compendium. The folio numbers follow the Peking edition; volumes Ka, Kha, Ga, and Na are represented respectively by I, II, III and IV.

The work begins with the usual stanzas of bowing to the great Indian and Tibetan teachers, and acknowledgments to his own teachers.

Chapter (*sarga*) 1, ending I.60a6: Dge bahi bses gnen bsten nas thos pa ḫṭshol tshul daṅ/raṅ ŋid bstan par žugs nas rab byun bṣlen rdzogs thob paḥ tshul bsad pa, “Exposition of the method of hearing and search through reliance on a friendly guide (*kalyāṇamitra*); and exposition of the personal method of entering the religious life and receiving ordination through entrance in the teaching”.

The chapter title well exemplifies the contents. We may mention also that there is included (f. 8al, ff.) a general discussion of the Law (*dharma*) and its division into two categories, scripture (*T. lūṅ, S. āgama*), and higher cognition (*T. rtogs, S. adhigama*). Numerous authorities are quoted for this distinction, which in practice is the lineage of promulgation (*bkah*) contrasted with authoritative commentary (*dgoṅs hgreṅ*).

Chapter (*sarga*) 2, ending I.122b1: Thun moṅ bahi rig gnas rnams la thos bsam gyi bag chags cuṅ zad bṣag pa, “A sketch of the traces of hearing (*śrutā*) and pondering (*cintā*) of the common sciences.”

The author explains that after one has entered the teaching (as in Chapter 1) he studies sciences (*vidyāsthāna*) of two kinds, common sciences (*thun moṅ bahi rig paḥi gnas, S. sādhāraṇa-vidyāsthāna*) and uncommon science (*thun moṅ ma yin paḥi rig paḥi gnas, S. asādhāraṇa-vidyāsthāna*). The first kind is the subject of this chapter. Many legends are given to account for the origin of the sciences. The ones in this chapter are for the most part accessible in Western sources (through the translations of Tāranātha’s and of Bu-ston’s History of Buddhism). Lists of teachers are given in each case. The common sciences are grammar, logic, arts, and medicine. The folio numbers will show where the individual sections begin:

I.60b2. *Sga* (S *śabda*, “grammar”). *Sga* has the five appendages or


I.76a2. Bzo ba (S. ėlpa, “the arts”).
I.77b2. Gso ba (S. cikitsā, “medicine”). The inordinate space devoted to this heading is due to the inclusion of tantric rites concerned with medicine.


Chapter (sarga) 3, ending I.174b2: Rgyu mtshan ņid kyi theg paṅi dam paṅi chos la thos bsam gyi bag chags cuṅ zad bžag pa daṅ gzung maṅi lűṅ daṅ ḥkhrid thob paṅi tshul bṣad pa, “A sketch of the traces of hearing and pondering of the illustrious Law consisting in the causal, or exoteric, vehicle; and exposition of how the textual scriptures and guidance [through them] was obtained.”

In beginning his treatment of uncommon science, the author subdivides this into the causal (rgyu, S. hetu) or exoteric (mtshan ņid, S. laḵsaṇa), vehicle (theg pa, S. yāna); and the resultative (ḥbras bū, S. phala), esoteric (ṣhags, S. mantra), vehicle (theg pa). Both are called “inner science” (naṅ rig, S. ėdhyātmika-vidyā); and fundamental (rtsa bar gyur pa, S. mūla-bhūta) to both is the translated Word (Bkaḥ hgyur or Kanjur) of the great muni (thub pa chen po). As can be seen by the chapter title, we are here concerned with only the causal, exoteric, vehicle. The resultative, esoteric, vehicle is treated in chapters 4 through 9. The translated Word is treated in chapters 10 and 11. Our present chapter in turn divides the treatment of luṅ (S. ėgama, “scripture”), beginning I.122b3; and of ḥkhrid (S. nayana, “guidance”), meaning a guided tour through the scriptures, beginning I.171b4. The first subdivision occupies most of the chapter and is devoted chiefly to biographies, which also mention works and lineages.

I.123a2. Biography of Maitreya-nāṭha.
I.125b4. „ Asaṅga.
I.130a3. „ Vasubandhu.
I.134a3. „ Guṇaprabha.
I.136b3. „ Nāgārjuna.
I.138b1. „ Āryadeva.

3. The expression laಕṣaṇayāna is literally “vehicle of the characteristic(s)”. Here “characteristics” may well mean “characteristics of Buddhism” and be a usage drawn from Asaṅga’s Yogācarabhūmi, as I suggested in “The Rules of Debate according to Asaṅga,” Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 78 (Jan.-March, 1958), p. 35. The Tibetans may also have adopted this term with the implication that the highest vehicle is “without characteristics.”
Chapter (sarga) 4, ending I.297a5 (and concluding Volume I): Zur bkaḥi rjes gnas gi skor thob paḥi tshul bṣad pa, “Exposition of how the cycle of ‘permission’ (anujñā) in the specialized promulgations was obtained.”

In the resultative, esoteric vehicle which now begins, there is a division into specialized promulgations (zur bkaḥ), general promulgation (spyi bkaḥ), and the abstruse cycle of associated collected works of Lamas, analyzing the concepts of sūtra and tantra (ṣar byun bla maḥi gsuṅ ḥbum sogs mdo sṅags tha sṅad so sor dbye dkaḥ baḥi skor). The present chapter is concerned with the first category, namely specialized promulgations; and is devoted only to the subsection of the anujñā (“permission” to invoke the deity), which it sets forth in the order in which it was introduced into Tibet. These are further subdivided with an over-all grouping into “permission” in the Kriyā-Tantra, and “permission” in the Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra. The former begins I.174b4; the latter I.249a4. The contents are rich in legends of the main deities worshipped in Tibet, and give the lineage of
teachers; or perhaps more appropriately here, “proficients” or “adepts”. These are a few of the items:
I.175b4 to 195a6. The 16 Sthaviras, brief biographies, and other matters.
I.221a4 to 231b6. Legend of Tārā.
I.272a2 to 276a3. Legend of the three Yama, called phyi, naṅ, and gsaṅ.

Chapter (sarga) 5, ending II.130a5: Zur bkaḥ dbaṅ du ma thob paḥi tshul bṣad pa, “Exposition of how numerous initiations (abhisēka) in specialized promulgations were obtained.”

This chapter continued the treatment of specialized promulgations, in the subsection of abhiṣekā (dbaṅ bskur). This is further divided into a. śhags la ḃjug tshul spyir bṣad pa, “General exposition of the methods of entering the mantra (vehicle),” that is to say, a general introduction to the concepts of the tantras—from beginning of Vol. II to II.14a4; and b. bye brag tu rgyud sde so soḥi dbaṅ thob paḥi tshul bṣad pa, “Exposition in categories of how the abhiṣekas in the various tantra divisions were obtained.” That is to say, the major divisions of the section are into Kriyā-Tantra, Cāryā-Tantra, Yoga-Tantra, and Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra. Under these, there are divisions into different families (kula). A few of the topics are as follows: In the Kriyā-Tantra, II.16a3 to 23a5, legend of Amitāyus; 25a5 to 37b3, legend of Avalokiteśvara and his appearance in Tibet; 37b3 to 45b3, legend of Avalokiteśvara in connection with the rite of fasting (smyun gnas) in the Kriyā-Tantra. Cāryā-Tantra begins 62b5 (only a brief discussion). Yoga-Tantra begins 63a5. Contains the legend of how the Buddha obtained the five abhisambodhis, and preached the Yoga Tantras. Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra begins 68a4. General discussion of this branch of the tantras, from 68a4 to 74a1. The Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra is divided into Father Tantras and Mother Tantras; the former is treated 74a1 to 98a3, and includes the legends of Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī in his manifestation as Yamārī. The latter (Mother Tantras) is treated 98a3, ff., and includes f. 98b3 to 110a3, a general discussion of the Śrīcakrasamvara tantra. This section, and the chapter, concludes with a discussion of the Kālacakra doctrine (115a3 to 128b6).

Chapter (sarga) 6, ending II.151a5: Spyi bkaḥi dbaṅ rnam thob paḥi tshul bṣad pa, “Exposition of how the initiations (abhiṣeka) of the general promulgation were obtained.”

This chapter, beginning the major subsection of general promulgation, contains a biography of Abhyākaragupta, and discussion of his work, the Rdo rje phreṅ, one of the skor gsum (three cycles), that is to say, the Vajrāvali (Tohoku 3140), the other two being the Niṣpannayogāvali (Tohoku 3141), and the Jyotirmañjari (Tohoku 3142). There is also a biography of the Mahāsiddha Mitra [joki], and list of his work, the Rdo rje...
ḥphreṅ (Vajrāvalī), comprising the dkyil ḥkhor drug cu re drug gi dbar, "abhiṣekas of the sixty-six maṇḍalas."

Chapter (sarga) 7, ending II.259a3: Spyi bkaḥi rjes gnaṅ gi skor thob pañi tshul bṣad pa, "Exposition of how the cycle of 'permission' (anujñā) of the general promulgation was obtained."

Here we may especially point out, II.152a6 to 171b2, discussion of the sādhana collections in relation to anujñā "permission"; II.179a4 to 183a3, description of the Sambhoga-kāya in terms of the nes pa bla "the five certainties"; II.183a6 to 251a6, biographies of the 84 Mahā-siddhas (which are numbered in the text). From II.215a6, ff, the author explains that he has summarized the (84) biographies as set forth in the yig cha (manual) by the Dge sloṅ Sman grub šes rab; and, without detail, lists several other versions; then, he discusses the text in general, and in connection with anujñā "permission".

Concluding the chapter is a brief discussion (f. 257a4, ff.) of guidance (ḥkhrid) in the general promulgation.

Chapter (sarga) 8, completing Vol. II, and ending III.43a4: Rgya bod kyi mkhas grub sgon byun bkaḥ gdam pa maṅ poṅi nam thar daṅ de dag gi gsuṅ ḡbum las lung ji ltar thob pañi tshul bṣad pa, "Exposition of numerous biographies of the early learned men of India and Tibet, and of [leading figures of] the Bkaḥ gdam pa; as well as of how the scripture (āgama) was obtained from their collected works."

The third division of the resultative, esoteric vehicle, namely, the associated works of Lamas, now begins, and covers chapters 8 and 9. The present chapter covers teachers up to, but not including, Tsoṅ-kha-pa (A.D. 1357-1419). There are lineage lists in almost every case.

II.259a5 to 264b1. Biography of Śāntiraksīta, the 8th century Indian pañḍit who played a paramount role in early Tibetan Buddhist history, and through whose advice Padmasambhava was invited to Tibet.

II.265b1 to 270b1. Biography of Atiśa, and literature of the Bkaḥ gdam pa school. Atiśa, 11th century Indian pañḍit, is the most important one of the Indian Buddhist scholars for the later diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet. The Bkaḥ gdam pa school was founded by his chief student (Ḥbrom ston) to hand down Atiśa's oral precepts (bkaḥ gdam). There follow the biographies of Mkhas grub khyun po (II.272b4, ff.), Nag tsho Lotsava (II.274b1, ff.), and Lha bla ma Byaṅ chub ḡod (II.277b5, ff.), outstanding personages of the 11th century. Then, II.278b1 to 283b5, discussion of the kalyāṇamitrās (friendly guides) of the Bkaḥ gdam pa school. Individual biographies of the outstanding ones of this group follow from II.283b5 to 308a6. II.308a6 to 314b2, biography of Sa skyā pañḍita (A.D. 1182-1251), who was primarily responsible for
converting the Mongols to Buddhism. There follow the biographies of immediate predecessors and teachers of Tson-kha-pa, namely Bu ston rin po che, redactor of the Kanjur and Tanjur (from beginning of Vol. III), Thogs med dpal bzañ po (III.14a6, ff.), Sems dpal chen po Dpal ldan ye šes (III.26b1, ff.), Lho brag Nam mkhañ rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po (III.26b5, ff.), and Red mdañ pa (III.39b2 to 42b5).

Chapter (sarga) 9, completing Vol. III, and ending IV.174b4: Rgyal ba Tson-kha-pa chen po yab sras kyi rto gs de rnam kyi gsum hbum las luñ ji sñed pa thob pañi tshul bṣad pa, “Exposition of the instructive lives (avadāna) of the victorious one, the great Tson-kha-pa, and of his spiritual sons; as well as of how the scripture was obtained from their collected works.”

Chapter 9 is, in effect, a history of the Gelugpa school, founded by Tson-kha-pa (1357-1419 A.D.), in terms of the lives of its principal figures. The colophon mention of the Sixth Dalai Lama’s age as 19 shows that the author finished the work soon after the beginning of the 18th century. Theoretically, the author should include only those teachers in whose lineage he stands. However, apparently by encyclopedic knowledge, he manages to have learned something from almost everyone of importance (at least in the Gelugpa school), and this gives him the opportunity to write up their biographies, even though in many cases it is extremely brief. We shall not itemize the many personages he treats, but restrict ourselves to a few remarks. He treats with greatest amplitude the Dalai Lamas, the Pañ chen Lamas, and the chief ones among the yonl hdzin, religious teachers of the highly-placed Lamas, has an especially ample treatment of the 1st Pañ chen Lama Blo bzañ chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzañ po, III.190b1 to 232a2; and coming up to his own times, gives increasingly greater information in the biographies. Hence, the 17th century, with which he is most familiar, is especially well treated, and he naturally speaks with greatest authority on this period. Understandably, his chief emphasis is religious.

Chapter (sarga) 10, ending IV.242b2: Rgyu phar phyin pañi chos gtsob ston pañi mdoñi skor gyi luñ thob pañi tshul bṣad, “Exposition of how the scriptures of the cycle of sūtras which show principally the teaching of the causal pāramitā were obtained.”

This and chapter 11 are devoted to the Kanjur (the approximate pronunciation of bkab ḥgyur). Recalling the discussion at the outset of chapter 3 concerning the two vehicles, causal and resultative, we see that the author has maintained this distinction to the last, now dividing his treatment of the Kanjur into two chapters on this basis.

He leads up to the main subject matter with the following sections:
IV.175a3 to 187a4, biography of Śākyamuni in terms of the 12 Acts (mdzad pa bcu gñis); IV.187a4 to 190a4, how the great Śrāvakas compiled the Word (Hinayāna tradition); IV.190a4 to 190a5, compilation of the Word (Mahāyāna tradition); IV.190a6 to 190b3, duration of the Teaching; IV.190b5 to 194b3, important teachers in India and their commentaries; IV. 194b3 to 197a2, diffusion of the Teaching in Tibet.

The sūtras which show principally the causal pāramitā vehicle fall into four groups:

1. IV.197a4, ff.: Bkaḥ daṅ po bden bžiḥi chos ḥkhor las byuṅ ba ḥdul ba luṅ, “The Vinaya-vastu arising from the first promulgation (bkaḥ) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning the Four Truths”. In the Tohoku Catalog, nos 1-7.

2. IV.201a1, ff.: Bar pa mtshan ṅid med paḥi chos ḥkhor las byuṅ ba šer phyogs, “The Prajñā-pāramitā side arising from the intermediate (promulgation) which was the Wheel of Law concerning lack of characteristics (i.e. the Void, S. śūnyatā).” In the Tohoku Catalog, nos. 8-30.

3. IV.209a2, ff.: Tha ma legs par rnam par phyie bahi chos ḥkhor las byuṅ ba dkon brtsegs daṅ phal chen, “The Ratnakūṭa and Avatāṁsaka arising from the last (promulgation) which was the Wheel of the Law concerning perfect discrimination (i.e. Yoga experience).” In the Tohoku Catalog, nos. 44 (Avatāṁsaka) and 45-93 (Ratnakūṭa).

4. IV.217b3, ff.: Ḥkhor lo gsum pa ci rigs par gtoṅs pa sde tshan phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs paḥi mdo maḥ, “The numerous sūtras which pertain in some measure to all three Wheels (of the Law), arranged in a single major class.” In the Tohoku Catalog, nos. 94-359.

All the works are listed individually with notice of the translators, and listing of the chief names of the lineage going with the particular work. The Kanjur used by the author has few differences with the Derge edition, but the works are not always in the same order. Furthermore, the works with nos. 31-43 in the Tohoku Catalog found in the Derge Kanjur are apparently all translations from Pāli not included in the original plan of the Kanjur and are not discussed by the author.

Chapter (sarga) 11, ending IV.289b6: Ḣbras bu rdo rje theg pa gtso bor ston paḥi rgyud kyi skor gyi luṅ thob paḥi tshul bṣad pa, “Exposition of how the scriptures of the cycle of tantras which show principally the resultative Vajrayāna were obtained.”

First (IV.242b4) the author mentions that he will not describe the Riṅ Rgyud (“The Old Tantras”). Tohoku Catalog nos. 828-844, because luṅ ma thob (“their dāgama was not obtained”), that is to say, he is not the recipient of instruction concerning them handed down from master to disciple. In other words, the mere fact that works have been translated into the Tibetan language gives no one a particular right to expound them,
or presume to say he understands them. Even the most prominent authors write authoritatively only in those fields in which they can show they are the link in the chain of teachers. This accounts for the care taken to list the lineage of teachers for the various texts, as well as for the tendency to study only certain works, completely disregarding large sections of the translated canon.

His treatment of the remaining tantras undoubtedly follows Bu-ston, who fixed the arrangement in the 14th century, except for a few details, such as the interpolation of one or more later-translated texts. Just as for the sūtras, he lists the translators and the lineage. These are the most major categories:

IV.242b6, ff.: Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra (rnal hbyor bla med kyi rgyud), Tohoku Catalog nos. 360-478.

IV.259a3, ff.: Yoga-Tqntra (rnal hbyor rgyud), Tohoku nos. 479-493.

IV.262b2, ff.: Carṇyā-Tantra (spyod paṅhi rgyud), Tohoku nos. 494-501.

IV.264b1, ff.: Kriyā-Tantra (bya baṅhi rgyud), Tohoku nos. 502-827.

There are a few works in the Derge Kanjur not listed by the author.

The whole work concludes with a long colophon, IV.289b2 to 303a.

* * *

II. Analysis of the Tantric section of the Kanjur correlated to Tanjur exegesis

The present analysis of the Kanjur Rgyud ḡbum is based on the Thob yig gsal baṅhi me loṅ by the Dzaya-paṇḍita Blo bzaṅ ḡphrin las.4 The correlation to the Tanjur exegesis is made with the help of Palmyr Cordier’s Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Vols. II and III (Paris, 1949 and 1915), along with his Lehu numbers.5 All numbers of works are references to A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (published by the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934). The latter is a catalog of the Derge edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur, but presumably every library which possesses a Kanjur and

4. Cf. my preceding “Outline of the Thob yig gsal baṅhi me loṅ.” Prof. G. Tucci in Tibetan Painted Scrolls (Rome, 1949), pp. 261-263, presents the minute systemization, but the Blo bzaṅ ḡphrin las work was more convenient to me at the time the study was made—in fact, early summer, 1953, according to the typescript from which the present article is prepared with corrections according to my present knowledge.

5. The two volumes are Cordier’s index to the Tanjur. His tragic death at the outset of the First World War prevented his completion of the projected Vol. I devoted to alphabetical indexes. This part was finished by Marcelle Lalou in her Répertoire du Tanjur d’après le Catalogue de P. Cordier (Paris, 1933). By Lehu numbers is meant the data in Cordier’s Vol. III, pp. 537-550. It should also be mentioned that my correlation to the Tanjur does not exhaust all the Tanjur Tantric entries, particularly in Cordier’s catalog, but fairly well accounts for the numbers in the Rgyud ḡgrel section of the Derge Tanjur, as catalogued at the Tohoku University.
Tanjur of whatever edition would have this catalog because it is the only one so far for both a Kanjur and Tanjur.

The Kanjur classification of the *Rgyud ḡbum* was finally set by Bu-ston (1290-1364 A.D.) in four groups—Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra, Yoga-Tantra, Cāryā Tantra, and Kriyā-Tantra. A separate group called the *Riṅṅ ḡgyud* (Tohoku catalog nos. 828-844) comprises the old Tantras considered genuine but whose *ḍagma* (descent through master and disciple) had been broken or at least was not available to Bu-ston.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)</th>
<th>Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Neither Father nor Mother.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Māṇjuśrī-nama-saṅgiti</em>⁷</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1395-1400, 2090-2121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kālacakra</em> (Cordier, Leḥu)⁹</td>
<td>361-365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mother Tantras, under seven groupings,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Ston pa, through g. Vajradhāra.¹⁰</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Ston pa (<em>deśaka</em>).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Sarvbuddhasamayoga</em> (Cordier, Leḥu 8)</td>
<td>366-367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Heruka (i.e. Akṣobhya), in five classes.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) <em>Saṃvara</em> (Cordier, Leḥu 2)</td>
<td>368-415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) <em>Hevajra</em> (Cordier, Leḥu 3)</td>
<td>417-423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1401-1606¹¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1180-1345¹²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Tsoṅ-kha-pa did not admit this category; for him, the *Kālacakra* is a Mother Tantra. His views are summarized by his disciple Mṅhas grub rje in the *Rgyud sde spyi rnam*, which Prof. F. D. Lessing and I have translated. It was my work on Mṅhas grub rje’s text that originally inspired the research embodied in the present article.

7. This work is in a class by itself, because it has a set of commentaries as an Anuttara-Yoga-Tantra, and another set as a Yoga-Tantra (therefore see also the Yoga-Tantra section).

8. Cordier’s Leḥu 12 covers only the numbers 2090-2121, which are located immediately after the Father Vairocana *Yamārī* Tantric exegesis and are followed by the Father Padma-kula *Bhagavadekajatā* Tantric exegesis. It can be assumed that nos. 2090-2121 are commentaries in the Father Vairocana Tantric tradition. On the other hand, nos. 1395-1400 are included in Cordier’s Leḥu 1 as *Kālacakra* commentaries.

9. Cordier’s Leḥu 1 also includes nos. 1395-1400, as pointed in note 5.

10. The intention is to list the Tantras under the Buddha (Tathāgata, Jina) being emphasized. The first category (Ston pa) deals with all the Buddhas equally, and so strictly speaking does not constitute an individual Tantric family. The remaining six groups then correspond, and in the same order, to the six of the Father Tantras. The sixfold group can be increased to seven by dividing the Vajradhara family into causal (*ḥetu*) and fruitional (*phala*) Vajradhara. In such a case, the causal Vajradhara is called Vajrasattva.

11. The numbers 1401-1540 and 1541-1606 roughly correspond to Cordier’s division into Yab skor and Yum skor, respectively.

12. Yab skor, nos. 1180-1304; Yum skor, nos. 1305-1320; Gur skor, 1321-1330; Thig skor, 1331-1345.
Received Teachings of Tibet and Analysis of the Tantric Canon

Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.) Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)

(3) *Buddhakapāla* (Cordier, Lehu 7) 424 1652-1657
(4) *Mahāmāyā* (Cordier, Lehu 5) 425 1622-1648
(5) *Ārali* (Cordier, Lehu 7, last item) 426-427 1658
c. Vairocana.

*Catuḥpiṭha* (Cordier, Lehu 4) 428-430 1607-1621

*Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, Krodharāja, Acala* (in Cordier, Lehu 24)
3. Ratnasambhava.

*Vajrāmṛta* (Cordier, Lehu 6) 435 1649-1651
e. Padma gar dbaṅ (Padmanartesvara, i.e. Amitābha). (In Cordier, Lehu 9).

*Lokanātha* 436 1750-1751

*Tārā-Kurukullā* 437 —
f. Rta mchog (Paramāśva, i.e. Amoghasiddhi). (In Cordier, Lehu 9).

*Namastāre ekaviṃśati* 113 438 1683-1744 14

*Vajrakīlaya* 439 —

*Mahākāla* 440 1752-1781

g. Vajradhara.

*Yathālabdhakhasama* 441 —

3. Father Tantras, under six groupings,
a. Akṣobhya, through f. Vajradhara.
a. Akṣobhya.

*Guhyasamāja* (Cordier, Lehu 10). 442-451 16 1784-1917

*Vajrapāṇi* (Cordier, Lehu 14). 454-464 17 2147-2216

b. Vairocana

*Yamāri* (Cordier, Lehu 11) 467-475, 478 1918-2089
c. Ratna-kula (lacking).
d. Padma-kula.

13. This is an extract from no. 726, 3rd chapter, listed among the Kriyā-Tantras. That work is the most important one among the Tantras of the Mother of the Padma kula. Its Sanskrit title: *Sarvatathāgatamārttārūvivaktarmabhava-tantra*.

14. Since the twenty-one forms of Tārā represent all the moods of the World Mother, the different forms undoubtedly take care of the bulk of these commentaries. However, it is possible that some of the numbers constitute commentaries on *Tārā-Kurukullā* under e. above. Furthermore, the general works nos. 1745-1749 may have been placed immediately after the Tārā commentaries as generalities pertaining to those foregoing works.

15. And possibly also no. 416.

16. And possibly also nos. 452-453.

17. And possibly also no. 465.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)</th>
<th>Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhagavadekajatā (Cordier, Lehung 13).</td>
<td>476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Karma-kula (lacking).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Vajradhara.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candraguhvatilaka</td>
<td>477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tanjur has moreover a section on generalities of the Anuttary-yoga-tantra, including the mystic songs of the Mahāśiddhas (Cordier, Lehung 15).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. Yoga-Tantra

1. The mūla-tantra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tattvasamgraha, in four sections (dum bu).</th>
<th>479</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. Explanatory (ākhyā) Tantras.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vajraśekhara, chiefly thabs (upāya).</th>
<th>480</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paramādyā, chiefly śes rab (prajñā).</td>
<td>487-488</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Others, chiefly śes rab:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vajramanḍalalāṃkāra, Guhyālāṃkāravyūha</th>
<th>490, 492-493</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and Guhyamaṇḍitilaka.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Māyājāla\(^{19}\) 466

Commentaries on the mūla and explanatory Tantras (Cordier, Lehung 17)

Maṇjuśrī-nāma-saṅgiti, as an explanatory Tantra (Cordier, Lehung 17) 360 2532-2622

3. Cha mthun Tantras.\(^{20}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sarvarahasya, explanatory (thabs) of 1st section (Tathāgata-kula)</th>
<th>481</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trailokyavijaya, explanatory (thabs) of 2nd section (Vajra-kula)</td>
<td>482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others, explanatory from thabs standpoint</td>
<td>483-486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prajñāpāramitānayaśatapatapāñcaśatakā, and Pañcaviṃśatikāprajñāpāramitāmukha, explanatory from śes rab standpoint(^{21})</td>
<td>489, 491</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

18. The four sections represent five Buddha families compressed into four groups. This Tantra is also first of the ones showing chiefly thabs (upāya).

19. The Māyājāla was not included by the Dzaya-paṇḍita under the Yoga-Tantra, but its commentaries (nos. 2513-2514) are among the commentaries on the mūla and explanatory Tantras. The work itself is located among the Anuttara-yoga-Tantras in the Derge Kanjur, suggesting that its status was a matter of dispute among the Lamas.

20. A Cha mthun Tantra is one with materials arranged to go specifically with one or more sections of the basic Tantra. Explanatory Tantras that are not Cha mthun develop various topics of the basic Tantra without regard to the sectional divisions.

21. In particular, no. 491 goes with no. 490.
Moreover, no. 488, above, can also be considered a Cha mthun Tantra for
no. 487; and no. 487 can be considered a Cha mthun Tantra for
the mūlatantra, no. 479.
Commentaries on the Cha mthun or
Hphros pa Tantras (Cordier, Leḥu 18) 2623-2661

C. Caryā-Tantra
1. Tathāgata-kula.
   Mahāvairocana 22 494
   Acala-kalpa 495
   Commentaries on the Tathāgata-kula
   Tantras (Cordier, Leḥu 19) 2662-2669
   2. Padma-kula (lacking).
   3. Vajra-kula.
   Vajrapāny-abhiṣeka 496 —
   Aṣṭadevi-dhāraṇī 497 —
   Others: 498-501 —

D. Kriyā-Tantra 23 (Cordier, Leḥu 20) (2670-3139)
1. Tathāgata-kula.
   a. Tantras of the Lord (gtso bo) 502-542
      2694-2697,
      3130-3139
   b. Tantras of the Master (bdag po) 543-552
      2674, 2701-2719
   c. Tantras of the Mother (yum):
      Prajñāpāramitā (the Aṣṭasataaka and
      Kauśika) 553-554 —
      Suvarṇaprabhāsottama 555-557 —
      Pañcaraksā 558-563 2690-2693,
      3117-3129
   Mārīcī 564-566 —
   Others: 567-589 —
   d. Tantras of the Uṣṇīṣa 590-603 2688-2689,
      3068-3116

22. Apparently the last chapter is taken as an Uttara tantra (phyi ma rgyud).
23. As in the Caryā-Tantra there are three lokottara families, Tathāgata, Padma, and
Vajra. In addition there are three laukika families, Maṇi, Pañcaka, and Laukika.
Included among the Kriyā-Tantra are works of a general character (nos. 805-808)
which give basic material that can be used by the higher Tantras (Caryā, etc.) as well.
Finally, there is a division, often extracts from other works, of Pariṇāma and Praṇidhāna.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derge Kanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)</th>
<th>Derge Tanjur (Toh. Cat. nos.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e. Tantras of Wrathful Deities (khro bo):</td>
<td>(? 3052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantras of Male Wrathful Deities (khro bo) 604-611</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantras of Female Wrathful Deities (khro mo) 612-613</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. Tantras of Messengers (pho ña) 614-630</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tantras of Male and Female Obedient Ones (bkaḥ ñan pho mo) auxiliary to the Messengers 631-633</td>
<td>3059-3065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. Bodhisattvas belonging to the family 634-644</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. Gods, etc. of the Pure Abode 645-673</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Padma-kula.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Tantras of the Lord 674-680</td>
<td>2698-2700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Tantras of the Master 681-723</td>
<td>2720-2864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Tantras of the Mother 724-732</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Tantras of the Wrathful Deities, Male and Female 733-736</td>
<td>3053-3058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Tantras of Obedient Ones, Male and Female 737-742</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vajra-kula.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Tantras of the Lord 743</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Tantras of the Master 744, 756</td>
<td>2675-2687, 746-751 2865-3049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Tantras of the Mother 752</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Tantras of Wrathful Deities, Male and Female 753-755</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Tantras of Male and Female Messengers and Obedient Ones 757-763</td>
<td>3050-3051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Nor can (Maṇi) 764-771</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Lṅas rtsen (Pañcaka) 772</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Ḥjig rten pa (Laukika) 773-804</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. General Kriyā-Tantra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subāhuparipṛcchā 805</td>
<td>2671-2673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sāmāṇyavīdhiṇāṃ guhya-tantra 806</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susiddhi 807</td>
<td>3066</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. While no commentaries on the Mother of the Padma-kula are included in Cordier, Lebu 20, the Sādhana collection nos. 3645-3704 includes a large block of Tārā commentaries (nos. 3666-3696) which are probably Kriyā-Tantra works for the most part. Certainly the ones by Candragomin are Kriyā-Tantra.

25. However, nos. 766-767 are really one work in two brtag pa called sna and phyi.
6. Yoṅs su ḏṣo and Smon lam.
   a. Yoṅs su bsḥo (parināma).
   b. Smon lam (pranidhāna)

The above ends the analysis of the Kanjur Rgyud ḡbum correlated to Tanjur exegesis. In addition the Tanjur has a section of generalities pertaining to all four Tantras.

**Cordier, Lebu 21:**

1. General on all four Tantras.

*The Vajrāvali, Nispānayogāvali, and Jyotirmāṇjari*, by Abhayākaraagupta

2. Sādhana collections.
   a. Pa-tshab sgrub thabs brgya rtsa
   b. Ba-ri sgrub thabs brgya rtsa
   c. Sgrub thabs rgya mtsho
   d. Lha so so sna tshogs kyi sgrub thabs

3. Preparation of maṇḍala.

**Cordier, Lebu 22:**

1. Distinctions among the 3 Yānas and 4 Tantras
2. Samaya and saṃvara (pledges and vows)
3. Cycle of Dharmapāla, Vasudeva, etc.

**Cordier, Lebu 23:**

Miscellaneous, cho ga, etc.

**Cordier, Lebu 24:**

Later translations. In Derge Tanjur:

26. Most of these translations are not included in the Derge Kanjur. When they are, they have been incorporated in earlier sections, except for the one work now mentioned, no. 3305, which the Derge edition places between the Pa-tshab and Ba-ri sādhana collections. The title, *Vajrācāryakriyāsūntaḥ*, gives no clue to the placement. It is a large work devoted, according to the title, to the duties of the Tantric Hierophant (vajrācārya) who explains the Tantras, initiates others, and so on.
INDEX

Abhayākara-gupta, 8, 44, 64, 114, 127, 142, 144, 174, 196, 229
Abhidhānottara-tantra, 11, 194
Abhidharmakosa, 25, 213
Abhinavagupta, 155
Advayasaṃvatavijaya, 32, 189
Advayavajraśāntigrāha, 32
Ambrosia (amṛta), 27, 28, 32, 33, 47, 71, 72, 76, 77, 79, 114–117, 131, 134, 143, 150, 157, 159, 195
Āmnāya-maṇḍari, 114, 127, 142, 144, 174, 190, 213
Anāhata, 33, 156, 174
Ānandagarbha, 18, 37, 49, 57, 59, 165
arrow(s), 20, 57, 77, 115, 160, 161, 202–207, 209, 219–221, 223
Ārya-Akṣayamatirīdesa comm., 99
Āryadeva (tantric), 14–16
Ārya school, 14, 16
Asaṅga, 15, 20, 25–27, 117
Atśa, 168, 201, 230
Avalokiteśvara, 79, 100, 207, 229
Avalon, A., 156
Bagchi, P. C., 128, 194
bāli, 71, 77, 97, 116
Bhāgavadgītā, 40, 156
Bhattacharyya, B., 8, 16, 45, 122, 143, 186, 189, 207
Bhavabhadra, 142, 145, 199
Bhāvanākrama II & III, 58
Bhavyakirti, 149, 196
bindu, 21, 49, 112, 121, 142, 161, 172, 173, 178, 181, 197, 200, 208, 219, 222
Blofeld, J., 36
blood, 34, 76, 116, 117, 133, 149, 154, 214–216
Bodhibhadra, 111
bodhicitta, 4, 37–40, 47, 66, 67, 73, 74, 121, 126, 127, 133, 134, 173, 175, 179
bodhipakṣya-dharma, 8
bodhisattva, 41, 55, 94, 97, 98, 117, 125, 130, 172, 201, 202, 214, 217, 221, 222
Buddhaghosa, 74
Buddha pentad. all.: 9, 20, 31, 34, 46, 47, 116, 120, 132, 134, 184, 189, 197, 220; all except Vairocana: 38, 187, 188; all except Amoghasiddhi: 134; Aksobhya: 33, 35, 68, 121, 179, 196; Amśṭabha: 22, 179, 196; Vairocana: 17, 18, 32, 85, 92, 100, 179, 185, 196, 218, 219.
Buddhaśrīrījñāna (Buddhajñānapāda,

* For convenience of use and relevance to this work, which is mainly based on original sources and terms, this index features the same, with Western titles and articles omitted. Western names are given only if persons have contributed to these Buddhist tantra materials or are cited more than once. Commentaries are grouped when possible: "& comm." means, along with commentaries; "incl. X" means, including entries for X: "also Y" means, see Y for separate listing.
Arya-Jñanapāda, 14, 15, 18, 39, 49, 84, 140

cakra(s), 9, 36, 40, 41, 87, 99, 118, 120, 121, 132, 143, 149, 152, 159, 170, 173–176, 180, 181
Candāli, 177, 181, 188, 189
candidates, 41, 55, 70
Candrakirti (non-tantric), 31
Candrakirti (tantric), 14, 16, 17, 129, 133, 191, 195–198, 206
Carelli, M. E., 60, 170
Caryāmālāpakapradīpa, 14
Caturāṅgā-sādhanā, 84, 89
Caturdevaiparipṛcchā (būtā ṣava), 14, 175, 177, 179, 185
Catuṣṭpātha-tantra, 142, 146, 147, 199
Chandra, L., 97, 122, 143, 225
Clear Light, 20, 28, 114, 126, 129, 162, 176, 183, 184, 192, 193, 195, 206
colors, various, 20, 48, 74–77, 92, 99, 142, 149, 179, 181, 188, 206, 221
compassion, 4, 214
co-natal, 47, 49, 50, 114, 118, 131, 160, 163, 184, 190–192, 197
dākinī(s), 9, 11, 48, 122, 143, 211
dākini, 8
dāmaru (drum), 67, 107, 114, 115, 117, 122–126
Danielou, A. 149
dāśabhūmikā-sūtra, 39
Dasgupta, S. B., 36, 41, 150, 181, 208
dawn, 6, 118, 120, 130
Dbul gi don, 68
death, 28, 157, 159, 162, 178, 179, 182, 197, 212–216, 222, 223
Devendraparipṛcchā, 14
dhāraṇī, 64, 65, 76, 178
dharma(s), 67–70, 83, 96, 100, 154, 172, 187
dharmadhātu, 34, 46, 50, 51, 64, 85, 89, 92, 94–98, 100, 107, 118, 120, 154, 185, 203, 211, 220
Dharmadaya, 84, 88, 89, 154, 172, 203
Dhyanottara-paṭalā-ṭikā, 50, 148
diamond realm (also, Clear Light, thunderbolt, vajra), 2, 8, 20, 33, 34, 38, 51, 53, 83, 88, 89, 92, 95, 118, 125, 126, 134, 180, 187, 195
Dilowa Gegen Hutukhtu, 100, 209
Dipaṃkarabhadra, 111–113
Dīnos grub gyi sīne ma, 67
'Dod'jo, 9

Don gsal, 24, 27–29, 179, 219
dream, 30, 55, 113, 175, 182
Durjayacandra, 118

Edgerton, F., 129, 130, 140, 207
Ellände, M., 147, 152, 168–170, 175
emblems, eight, 108
Evans-Wentz, W. Y., 144
excrement, 26, 34, 116, 117, 219
eye(s), 67, 69, 70, 79, 92, 115, 140, 142, 144, 205, 223

Father-Mother, 5, 6, 47, 118, 124, 166, 173, 186, 190, 215, 218, 219
fire, 11, 73, 75, 77, 81, 89, 99, 101, 151, 154, 157, 158, 178, 181, 182, 188–190
flowers, 39, 62, 72, 74, 76, 77, 81, 85, 87, 94, 103, 205, 223
food, 26, 27, 79, 85, 97, 107, 114, 117

gandharva, 28, 29, 211, 212, 218, 219
gates, three to liberation: 18–20, 91; four: 82, 84–88, 92, 94, 95; orifices: 87, 140, 146, and chapter 12
Geshe Rabten, 66

Guhyasamāja, Uttaratantra, 18, 19, 64
guru (= hierophant, master, preceptor, teacher), 4, 42, 49, 50, 55, 56, 66, 70, 72, 96, 121, 147, 172

head, 21, 40, 76, 116, 117, 120, 132, 140, 141, 143, 144, 146, 147, 150, 173, 174, 178, 182, 189, 203, 206, 208–210, 219

Heruka, 8–11
Hevajra-tantra & comm., 31, 32, 37, 42, 45, 47, 81, 120, 124, 131–133, 135, 152, 154, 163, 171–174, 177, 189, 194, 203
H. H. the Dalai Lama, 66
homa, 71, 77

Indra, 77, 95, 99, 109, 186, 222
Indrabhūti, 14, 19, 142, 161, 174, 185, 190, 194, 197
intermediate state (antarābhava), 25, 28, 29, 139, 142, 145, 179, 212, 215, 217–219, 221

Jambudvīpa, 25, 26, 28, 103, 106
Jāhānakara, 169
Jānāpāda school, 14, 16
Jānānavajra, 81, 115
Jānānavajrasamuccaya, 14, 16, 23, 129

Kālacakra, Frontispiece, 53
Kālacakra-tantra (incl. Vimalaprabhā), 4, 45, 60, 66, 155–157, 177, 181, 189, 233
kāmādeva (= guru), 49, 121
Kāmādeva, 202, 204–206
Kamalaśīla, 57
Kāmasūtra, 184
Khaṇḍaroha, 8
hkhaṅtobuṅa, 112, 118, 122–125, 133
Klo ṅ red blā ma, 32, 120, 184, 190, 192
Kuküri-pā & Kukurājā, 71, 72, 81

Lakṣmīnikarā, 14
Lalitaavistara, 186
Lalou, M, 97
Lāma, 8, 160, 194
Lamotte, É, 98, 101, 171, 206, 207
Lam rim chen mo, 49, 57, 75, 111, 117, 125, 167, 214, 228
Lākṣāvatāra-sūtra, 9, 15
La Vallée Poussin, L de, 20, 21, 32, 86, 99, 166
Leang skya Hutukhtu, 55, 59
Lessing, F. D., 10, 21, 57, 62, 72, 77, 79, 86, 87, 101, 109, 225
Lilavajra, 39
Lord, 4, 9, 28, 37, 53, 130
Lui-pā, 8, 124, 126
lust, hatred, delusion, 17, 19, 28, 31, 144
Lvua-va-pā, 40, 184, 185, 191, 193

MacDonald, A., 97
Mādhyanikā, 3, 5
Māhā-Kāśyapa, 74, 75, 167
Mahāmāyāśādhana-mañjalavidhi, 71
Mahāmudrātilaka, 116, 198
mahāsukha (great bliss), 72, 95, 118, 126, 127, 175, 176, 178
Mahāveiarocana, 15, 35, 73, 92
Mahāveasu, 24–26, 139, 224
male-female, 26, 27, 32, 38, 91, 149, 150, 164, 166, 173, 175–178, 180, 182, 183, 187, 218
maṇḍala, 5, 17, 32, 48, 60, 66, 72, 74, 82 ff., 115, 127, 159, 169, 188, 197

Mañjuśrī, 20, 100, 206, 207, 210, 213, 219, 223
Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, 23
Mañjuśrī-māṇa-saṃgiti-comm., 176–177
mantra (incantation), 3, 5, 6, 13, 20, 22, 31, 36, 50, 54, 57, 64, 65, 85, 93, 121, 122, 148, 178, 184, 191–193, 206
Matsunaga, Y., 16
Maudgalyāyana, 139, 150
mirror, 33, 68–70, 85, 86, 107, 192
Mitrajoki, 64, 229
Mkhas grub rje, 21, 45–47, 59, 165, 177, 181, 192, 193
Mkhas grub rje’s, 31, 32, 40, 51, 57, 66, 75, 76, 79, 87, 91, 97, 98, 100, 106–115, 120, 126, 192, 214
Mitha’goed, 172, 174, 176, 182
Mt. Meru, 66, 101–109
mudrā, 21, 31, 36, 50, 66, 93, 94, 106, 113, 114, 118, 121, 122, 127, 166, 196–198
Mukhāgama & comm., 140, 141
Mukti-tilaka-nāma & comm., 49
Mumi-matiālāṅkāra, 144
mysteries, three (Body, Speech, and Mind), 31, 36, 37, 41, 46, 110–113

Nāgabodhi, 69
Nāgabuddhi, 88
Nāgārjuna (non-tantric), 125
Nāgārjuna (tantric), 14, 16, 17, 20, 84, 85, 131, 132, 150, 162, 178, 179, 192, 194
Nag po pa, 124
Nāropā, 14, 40, 45, 46, 60, 87, 120, 133, 145
nayārtha & nītārtha, 40, 59, 86, 87, 121, 133, 168
Nītāna-kārikā, 14, 18
Nirvāṇa, 69–70, 98
Nīspannavagūcali, 100, 143
noon, 6, 118
Norbu, Thubten, J., 56, 57
Padmavajra, 36, 51, 107, 126, 148, 152, 155, 160, 162, 186, 200
Pañcakrama & comm., 14, 21, 28, 99, 131, 150, 162, 192–194
path, 9, 67, 68, 84, 99
perfections, 5, 118, 119, 121
permission (anyāhā), 55, 56, 228
Pīṅgākramasādhanā (= Pīṅgākṛitasādhanā) & comm., 21, 85, 86
pledges, 65–68
Prāddhāpoddotana & comm. (incl. Mehan 'grel), 14, 17, 53, 133, 149, 192, 195–198, 204, 206, 208, 210, 219, 220
prajñā, 6, 8, 11, 18, 27, 32, 40, 41, 45, 61, 73–75, 95, 114, 117, 118, 121, 122, 124–127, 132, 135, 166, 172, 174, 178, 180, 182, 186, 195, 196, 199, 219
Prajñāpāramitā method, 3–6, 19, 67, 213, 231
Prajñāpāramitā attainment, 125, 166, 183
prāṇa, 73, 131, 148
pride, 5, 50
Pūnyaavardhānī-sīrjāānāmālā-nāma, 115
Queen Māyā, 7
Ratnākaraśānti (Śānti-pā), 18, 82, 86, 87, 91, 101, 106
Ratnarakṣita (his Padmīna), 32, 200
Roerich, G., 144
Rūpījī, 8
Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, 5
Śaḍāharmapadeśa-nāma, 189
śāhana, 54, 62
Śāhānamālā, 115, 118, 188, 200, 202
śakti, 6, 8, 165, 169
samādhis, 17, 27, 28, 48, 52, 73, 85, 93, 98, 107
Samādhi-samābhāra-parivartana-nāma, 111
Samantabhadra, 53, 75, 76, 100, 219
Samayogasamālalavīdhī, 81
Sambara-manḍala, 8, 9, 11, 48
Samādhībhidā-ṭikā, 131, 135
Samādhīyākaraṇa, 18, 19, 129
Sampuṭa & comm. (incl. Smṛtisamādarsana āloka), 53, 64, 120, 124, 142, 143, 146, 161, 173, 174, 177, 190, 191, 197, 200, 211
Sampuṣṭottara, 40
Samarodaya-tantra & comm. (incl. Padmiṇi), 32, 137, 147, 159, 200
Saraha, 13, 133, 194, 195, 197–199, 201
Sarsarudgati-pariśodhana commentaries, 73, 88, 92, 99, 113, 115
Sarsvarahasya-tantra & comm., 2, 83, 84, 89, 91, 108
Śāstri, H. P., 128, 129
Saunders, E. D., 113
Śrabodha, 40, 48, 120, 124, 126, 127, 159, 163, 179, 191
Schubert, J., 77
seals (see mudrā)
secret, 33, 36–42, 61, 64, 67, 71, 72, 132, 165
Sekoddha & comm., 4, 60, 181
semen, 34, 116, 132, 150, 154, 195, 214–216
siddhas, 13, 23, 133, 230
siddhi, 37, 48, 76, 87, 114, 115, 129, 142, 191, 196, 198
Śivasvarodaya, 155, 162
skandhas, 20, 21, 34, 46, 67, 68, 72, 134, 171, 209, 210, 212, 223
skull, 77, 116, 117, 122–124, 126, 132, 133, 140
Srūti (Srūtiśāṅkānākāri), 18, 32, 51, 181
Śrīgī tīch mere mo, 4, 29, 32, 47, 53, 76, 79, 81, 82, 87–89, 114, 115, 120, 152, 154, 155, 159, 179, 192, 193, 197–199, 204, 208, 219, 228
Snellgrove, D. L., 32, 37, 124, 125, 129, 131, 175, 180, 181, 189, 194, 195, 203, 215
Spyi 'gro'i rjes gnam gi bsdug pa, 55
Śrī-Bhagavadābhisamaya, 8
Śrīcakrasamvara & comm. (also Śbas don), 8, 40, 62, 120, 121, 124, 163, 184, 185, 190, 193, 194
Śrīdhara, 89
Śrī-Mahākā-tantrarāja, 49
Śrī-Paramādya (incl. mantrakalpa) & comm., 16, 37, 49, 83
Śrī-Vajraśaṇṭa-tantra, 45
Stage of Generation and Completion, 17, 31, 47, 48, 67, 68, 113, 114, 116, 127, 133, 192, 204, 210, 211
Stages, bodhisattva, 87, 217, 221, 224
Subhāṣīta-samgraha, 203
sun, 26, 77, 81, 107, 140, 149, 155–158, 161, 178, 179, 182, 212, 215
sunset, 6, 118
Śūrvavajra, 53, 142
Tantras, four: 13, 16, 31, 33, 53, 81, 233;
Yoga: 22, 37, 44, 57, 68, 98; Anuttara: 32, 40, 41, 48, 66, 68, 114, 164; three lower, 73; Father and Mother: 62, 151, 162, 190
Tantrārāhavatāra & comm., 36, 148
Tārā, 6, 77, 119, 171, 188, 189, 207, 224, 229
Tārānātha, 15, 226
Tathāgata, 45, 46, 48, 58, 66, 122, 134, 179, 193, 220
Tathāgatavajra, 21
Index

Tattvasaṅgraha (tantric work), 15, 16, 165
thunderbolt (vajra), 22, 75, 132, 178, 182, 210, 213, 224
Togano, S., 15
Tsa(k)-ka-li, 56, 57, 59
Tucci, G., 45, 97, 178, 224, 233

Urnā, 157, 159, 205, 210
upāya (means), 27, 32, 72, 95, 114, 166, 172, 174, 178, 180, 182, 195, 199
urine, 26, 33, 34, 116, 117, 150
Uṣṇīṣavijyā, 56, 77, 144
uvula, 116

Vāg-āśrita-dhyāna-nāma, 111
Vāhikañjikā-nāma, 51, 152, 155, 160, 200
vajra, 37, 38, 40, 46, 65, 68, 86, 91, 95, 115, 132, 172, 211–213
Vajrañāka, 142, 145, 146
Vajradhara, 12, 37, 52, 53, 120, 122, 172, 215, 216, 220, 234
Vajragarbha, 172
Vajramālā, 13–15, 18, 19, 32, 53
Vajrapada-tāra-saṅgraha-pañjikā, 120, 133
Vajrapaṇḍita, 4, 5, 121, 203, 211
Vajrapāṇḍita-bhiseka-mahātantra, 49
Vajrasattva, 37–39, 46, 47, 53, 69, 83, 171, 172, 192, 203, 204, 210, 224, 234
Vajraśekhara, 16, 64
Vajrāvalī, 44, 64

Vajravārāhī (the Diamond Sow), 8, 9, 68, 120, 189
Vajravarman, 88, 92
Vajraśudhāraṇa-nāma-dhāraṇī commentaries, 32, 79
Vajrayāna, 4, 59, 64
Varāhamihira, 23, 152, 184
Vasubandhu, 99, 217
vidyā (vig mo), 63–65, 91, 118, 142, 193
Vīśeṣādhyāta, 21, 208
Vitāpāda, 49, 141
voidness, 4, 22, 55, 64, 73, 111, 127, 176, 182, 183, 193, 196, 198, 199, 202, 203, 212, 223
vows, 65, 66
vrata, 117, 118, 133

Wayman, A., 14, 16, 87, 98, 207, 213–215
winds, 15, 32, 48, 52, 73, 99, 131, 137, 146–148, 154–163, 173, 177, 179, 188–190, 192, 200, 208, 218
women, 6, 38, 67, 76, 107, 120, 165, 168–171, 176, 183, 186, 190–198
yakṣas, 36, 141, 184
Yamu, 48, 77, 78, 209, 229
Ye śes sde, 58
Yid ches gsam ldan, 87, 145
Yogācāra, 3, 5, 20
Yoginīsaṃcārya, 122
Yukṣhaṭṭaya-nāma-tantrarāja, 156
yuganādātha, 48, 99, 129
Mahayana - Buddhism - Tantric Buddhism - Mahayana - Tantric Mahayana - Tantric
Call No. 294.32 Way
Author: Wayman Alex
Title: Buddhist Tantras