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Vajrayāna: Origin and Function

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The Vajrayāna (the Diamond Way), also called the Way of Mantras (Mantrayāna), is examined in its latest phase, that of the Yoginītantras in general and the Śaṃvaratantras in particular. It is shown that the tradition of those texts is modelled on that of the non-Buddhist cults seen in such yet unpublished early Śaiva Tantras as the Picumata, the Yoginīsaṃcāra of the Jayadrathayāmala, and the Siddhayogeśvarīmata. Dependence on this non-Buddhist tradition is proved by evidence that extensive passages in the Śaṃvaratantras have been redacted from those texts. The theory that this form of Buddhism and Tantric Śaivism are similar because they have drawn on a hypothetical common source is redundant. Since the Buddhism of the Yoginītantras entails forms of religious practice which a member of the Saṅgha could not adopt without breaking his vows - this is shown through a summary of the ritual of empowerment [*abhiṣeka*] prescribed in the Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta and the Kriyāsamuccaya of Darpaṇācārya - it may in some sense be described as heretical and non-Buddhist. There were certainly communities of monks in India who were sufficiently offended by these supposedly Buddhist practices to resort to the destruction of Tantric images and the burning of Tantric texts. However, this paper also considers the ways in which Tantric Buddhism is Buddhist, how it imparts a Buddhist meaning and purpose to its rituals, and how it either used the Buddhist doctrines of the Mahāyāna to justify the supposed sinfulness of these rituals or, more commonly, adjusted them so as to avoid this sinfulness. Either way actual transgression of monastic and lay vows is marginalized.

From about the third to the ninth century C.E. the corpus of scripture recognized by the mainstream of Mahāyāna Buddhists was greatly expanded by the addition of Tantric texts. The Tibetans, who received Indian Buddhism when this development was virtually complete, incorporated in the Tantric section of their canon translations from the Sanskrit of almost five hundred Tantric scriptures and of more than two thousand commentaries and explanatory works. The Chinese Buddhist canon too contains many Tantric works, though the last and most controversial wave

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of Tantric compositions, that of the Yoginītantras, with which this paper will mainly be concerned, is poorly represented.¹

The term 'Tantric' is used here to denote a form of religious practice which is distinguishable from the rest of Buddhism principally by its ritual character, only secondarily by soteriological doctrine, and hardly at all by specific theories of ultimate reality. The basic character of this Tantric ritual is that it entails the evocation and worship of deities [*devatā*] by means of mantras of which the visualized forms of the deities are transformations [*pariṇāma, parāvṛtti*]. Access to such mantra-ritual is not achieved by virtue of the *prātimokṣasaṃvara*. The *prātimokṣa* vows of a lay Buddhist [*upāsaka / upāsikā*], a *poṣadha* faster, a probationer nun [*śikṣamāṇā*], a novice monk or nun [*śrāmaṇera/śrāmaṇerikā*], or a fully ordained monk [*bhikṣu*] or nun [*bhikṣuṇī*] are not sufficient qualification. It is necessary to undergo in addition an elaborate ritual of empowerment [*abhiṣeka*] during which the initiand is introduced to a particular mantra-deity and its retinue.

EMPOWERMENT RITUAL IN THE YOGINĪTANTRAS

These deities are first installed and worshipped in a maṇḍala made of coloured powders [*rajomaṇḍala*]. The initiands take the Tantric vows [*saṃvara*] and then spend the night sleeping in a room adjoining that in which the maṇḍala has been prepared [*śiṣyādhivāsana*]. The next morning the initiator interprets the initiands' dreams and takes ritual measures to eliminate any obstacles to success which they may reveal. He then goes into the maṇḍala room, bestows on himself the first empowerment, that of the garland [*mālābhiṣeka*], and then imagines that his own guru is bestowing the rest. The initiands are then blindfolded, led in by a female adept [*yoginī*] or male assistant [*karmavajrin*] and presented before the maṇḍala. They are made to take an oath of absolute secrecy [*koṣapāna*] and are then made by means of mantras to become possessed by the maṇḍala-deities [*āveśavidhī*] for the purpose of prognostication. After terminating the possession by dismissing the deities the guru asks each initiand the colour of the lights he saw and interprets the colour as predicting special aptitude for this or that Tantric accomplishment [*siddhi*]. Still blindfolded he is given a flower. He is to identify the flower in his hands with himself, imagine that the deity of the maṇḍala [*maṇḍaleśa*] is standing before him in the maṇḍala, mentally enter the maṇḍala, and throw the flower forward on to the deity. The guru determines the Buddha-family [*kula*] of the initiand from the direction in relation to the centre of the maṇḍala of the point on which the flower falls. The flower is then attached to the initiand's hair. This is the garland-empowerment [*mālābhiṣeka* (1)].

The blindfold is then removed and the initiand is told the inner meaning of each element of the maṇḍala [*maṇḍalatattva*] now revealed to him. He is then 'bathed' by the guru in a ritual area traced on the ground to the east of the maṇḍala. As he does this the guru visualizes the śiṣya undergoing a mystical rebirth which transforms him into the transcendental nature of the deities. This is the water-empowerment [*udakābhiṣeka* (2)]. The śiṣya is then clothed in a red or many-coloured garment, given an umbrella, and venerated by the guru. Imagining that the śiṣya is being empowered by the deities themselves as he touches his head, brow, two temples, and the back of

his head, he ties a band of cloth about his head (the crown-empowerment [*mukūṭābhīṣeka* (3)]). The two characteristic implements of Vajrayānist worship, the vajra and the bell, are now placed in his right and left hands. The śiṣya crosses them over in front of his chest, so entering the posture of embracing a consort [*ālīṅganamudrā*]. The giving of the *vajra* is the *vajra*-empowerment [*vajrābhīṣeka* (4)], and the rest is the bell-empowerment [*ghaṇṭābhīṣeka* (5)]. The guru then takes the two implements, touches the śiṣya's head with them, meditates upon him as fused with the deity Vajravairocana, and gives him his Vajrayānist name. This is the empowerment of the Vajra-name [*vajranāmābhīṣeka* (6)]. The name is determined in part by the śiṣya's Buddha-family established earlier by the casting of the flower.

The vows taken on the previous day were either the common Tantric vows [*sāmānyasaṃvara*] or those of a Vajra Master [*vajrācārya*]. The difference in outcome is that a Vajra Master is empowered and required to perform rituals for the benefit of others, such as this rite of initiation, and the consecration of idols, temples, monasteries and the like. He must worship for his own benefit as well; but he is also a priest-like officiant [*ācārya*], whereas the ordinary initiate is qualified only for his personal mantra-cult. If he took the vows of a Vajra Master he now requests the empowerment of a Vajra Master [*ācāryābhīṣeka* (7)]. This has the appearance of being a repetition of the concluding rites of the phase just completed. The guru places the *vajra* in the śiṣya's right hand and the bell in his left. The śiṣya rings the bell. Then the guru makes him enter the embrace-pose as before; but this time the symbolic meaning of this act is made more explicit: the guru empowers him by mentally bestowing on him an immaterial female consort [*jñānamudrā*]. The giving of the vajra, bell and consort is not classified as a separate empowerment. It is termed instead 'the rite of bestowing the three pledges' [*trisamayādānavidhi*]. The guru now imagines that all the Tathāgatas and the goddesses [*devī*] who are their consorts assemble before him in the sky and consecrate the śiṣya in his new office by pouring water upon his head. Proclaiming that he is giving the śiṣya the empowerment of all the Buddhas [*sarvabuddhābhīṣeka*] he inundates him. He then visualizes the Tathāgata Akṣobhya on the śiṣya's head and the other Tathāgatas and their consorts merging into his body, worships him with offerings of flowers and the like, and then explains again the meaning the maṇḍala and its components [*maṇḍalaviśuddhi*]. This is the *ācāryābhīṣeka* (7) proper. It is followed by a series of concluding rites. First the guru gives the mantra(s) [*mantrasamarpaṇavidhi*]. Then he anoints the śiṣya's eyes in a symbolic removal of the blindness of ignorance [*añjanavidhi*], and shows him a mirror. All phenomena, he explains, are like reflections and the deity Vajrasattva, who rests in the heart of all beings, is the mirror in which they appear. The śiṣya should recognize that no entity has any intrinsic reality [*svabhāva*] and should act with this knowledge for the benefit of others [*darpaṇadarsānavidhi*]. Finally the guru shoots arrows in the various directions to remove all obstacles from the new officiant's path [*śarakṣepavidhi*].

Candidates for the highest and most esoteric mantra-cults, those of the Yoginī tantras must now receive a series of further empowerments whose bizarre and apparently sinful nature has been the cause of much controversy in India and Tibet. The following account, like that of the rest of the ritual of empowerment described

here, summarizes the Vajrāvalī of Abhayākaragupta, a *mahāpaṇḍita* of the great Vikramaśīla monastery around the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the Kriyāsamuccaya of Darpaṇācārya, a work of uncertain date based on the Vajrāvalī. The rituals of Vajrayānist initiation still practised by the Newars of the Kathmandu valley in Nepal and found in handbooks which combine the text of a Sanskrit liturgy with glosses and instructions in Newari, are based on these same sources, though they have completely removed all that might be compromising in these rituals.

After the rituals described so far have been completed a Tantric ritual feast [*samayacakra*] is served. A candidate for these higher empowerments must leave the feast with the girl who will be his consort, go in to the guru, give her to him, and return to the group outside. The guru copulates with the girl. The candidate is then led in by an assisant [*karmavajrin*]. He kneels down and offers a flower. The guru then gives him his semen, which the śiṣya must place on his tongue and swallow, thinking of it as the embodiment of all the Buddhas. The female rises and gives him from her sex 'a drop of the pollen of all the Tathāgatas.' He must swallow it in the same way. This is termed the 'secret empowerment' [*guhyābhiṣeka*]. The guru then returns the girl to the disciple, or gives him another who is bound by the pledges and vows, or is at least endowed with beauty and youth. He unites with her and experiences the four blisses [*ānanda*]. This is 'the consecration of the knowledge of wisdom' [*prajñā-jñānābhiṣeka*].

Finally the śiṣya requests what is termed 'the fourth empowerment' [*caturthābhiṣeka*], so called because it is the fourth if all the empowerments up to that of the Vajra Master are counted as one 'vase-empowerment' [*kalasābhiṣeka*]. It takes the form of the guru's reciting an exposition of the nature of the four blisses, consisting for the most part of quotations from the esoteric Tantras and of Apabhraṃśa and Sanskrit verses attributed to Siddhas.

The guru then joins the hands of the couple and ties them together with a garland of flowers. He calls the company to be witnesses in the presence of the maṇḍala that this woman has been bestowed on this man before the eyes of the Buddhas. He must never abandon her [*vidyāvratadānavidhi*]. The guru then gives the vajra into the disciple's right hand [*vajravratavidhi*].

The guru now gives the implements needed for the performance of the post-initiatory period of mantra-observance [*caryāvrata*]. He gives the skull-topped staff [*khaṭvāṅga*], the rattle-drum [*ḍamaru*] and the bowl made from a human skull [*padmabhājana*]. A woman who adopts this observance must be visualized as Nairātmyā, the consort of Hevajra, as Vajravārāhī, the consort of Cakrasaṃvara, or as the goddess of the Buddha-family determined by the flower-casting. A man should be visualized correspondingly as Hevajra, Cakrasaṃvara, or the family Buddha. He then gives the *mudrās* or sect-marks of human bone. They are a chaplet [*cakrī*], earrings, a necklace, bracelets [*rucaka*], and a girdle-skirt [*mekhalā*]. A man receives a sixth *mudrā*, namely ashes with which to smear his body. This is 'the rite of bestowing the observance' [*caryāvratadānavidhi*].

This empowerment is confined, it seems, to ritual time. The implements are immediately

returned. However 'the vow of the observance of Heroes' [*vīracaryāvrata*] can be adopted. In this case the śiṣya is empowered for a period of paripatetic observance during which he will carry these implements and wear these sect-marks. Here the divine identities of the practitioners are no longer optional: a man must be identified with Śaṃvara and a woman with his consort Vajravārāhī. The śiṣya is given the sect-marks as before, a garland of skulls [*muṇḍamālā*], a tiger-skin as lower garment, a skull-bowl, a skull-staff [*khaṭvāṅga*], a rattle-drum, a brahmanical caste-thread made of sinews or the hair (of human corpses [*keśayajñopavīta*]), ashes, a head-dress made out of the hair of a thief twisted into two coils [*kacaḍorī*], a garland, a vajra, armlets, anklets, and little bells. This observance is also called the 'the Diamond (i.e. Vajrayānist) Kāpālika observance' [*vajrakāpālikacaryāvrata*].²

The guru then adopts the Buddha's prediction posture and predicts the initiate's liberation [*vyākaraṇavidhī*], gives him formal permission and encouragement to practise his office [*anujñāvidhī*, *āśvāsadānavidhī*], dictates the various rules of discipline which will bind him [*samayaśrāvaṇavidhī*], requests and receives a sacrificial fee [*dakṣiṇā*], and finally explains to him the inner meaning of all the consecrations [*abhiṣeka*] he has received [*sekaśuddhī*].

In taking up the implements and adornments of the postinitiatory observance the initiate takes on the basic character of the deities of the Yoginītantras. Śaṃvara, for example, is visualized as follows:³

"In the Śaṃvara-maṇḍala there is a circular enclosure of vajras. In its centre is the cosmic mountain Sumeru. On that is a double lotus seat. On that is a pair of crossed vajras supporting a temple. In the centre of that temple the Lord [Śaṃvara] stands in the pose of the archer, with his left leg bent at the knee and his right leg straight. He treads Bhairava beneath one foot and Kālarātri beneath the other. Both lie on a sun-disc which rests the top of the pericarp of a double lotus throne. He is black and has four faces looking in the [four directions]. Beginning from that which looks towards the front [*pūrva*], [and proceeding to those which face to his right, behind him, and to his left] they are black, green, red and yellow. In each he has three eyes. He wears a tiger skin and has twelve arms. With two of these holding a vajra and a bell he embraces [his consort] Vajravārāhī. With two he holds up over his back a white elephant hide dripping with blood. In his other right hands he holds a rattle-drum [*ḍamaru*], a hatchet, a chopper-knife and a trident, and in the remaining left hands a skull-staff [*khaṭvāṅga*] adorned with vajras, a skull-bowl filled with blood, a vajra-noose, and the head of Brahmā. Hanging about his neck he has a string of fifty freshly severed human heads. He has all six sect-marks [*mudrā*], a caste-thread made of human sinew,⁴ a series of five skulls above his forehead, and a left-facing new moon and a pair of crossed vajras upon a black head-dress of matted locks. His faces are wrathful and sharp fangs protude at the corners of his mouths. He combines all nine dramatic sentiments.

His consort Vajravārāhī is red, three eyed and single faced. Her long hair is

unbound and she is naked. Her hips are adorned with [a skirt made of] fragments of human skulls and she quenches the thirst of her Lord with a stream of blood pouring from the skull-bowl held to his lips by the hand that embraces him. With her other hand reaching up holding a vajra and with its index finger outstretched in the gesture of intimidation she threatens the evil. She wears a garland of blood-drained and shrivelled human heads and the five or the six sect-marks. Menstruating, she laughs, with all the hairs on her body standing erect."

Tantric initiation was not open only to those who had taken monastic vows. It could also be received by married laypersons [*gr̥has̥tha*]; and there is some evidence that the traditional superiority of monks over laymen was undermined. This appears from the fact that there are authorities, such as the Vimalaprabhā commentary on the Kālacakratāntra, which condemn the practice of monks venerating married Vajra Masters [*gr̥has̥thācārya*] as their gurus if any ordained Vajra Master is available, and of married Vajra Masters being engaged as officiants for such rituals as the consecration of monasteries. The text insists that it is the duty of the king to ensure that this hierarchical distinction between the white-robed and the red-robed Vajra Masters is preserved, and compares the situation in India, where this distinction was obviously precarious, with that in China [*mañjuśrīviṣaya*]. There, he says, the Emperor sees to it that any novice or monk who is guilty of a grave transgression [*pārājika*] is stripped of his monastic robe, dressed in white, and expelled from the monastery; and this applies even to a Vajra Master in a Tantric monastery [*mantrivihāra*].⁵

ŚAIVA ORIGINS

Let us now consider the senses in which this tradition of the Yoginītantras is and is not Buddhist. The present author's view is that almost everything concrete in the system is non-Buddhist in origin even though the whole is entirely Buddhist in its function. The non-Buddhist origin claimed is a specific area of the Hindu Tantric tradition. This view opposes a school of thought which, while recognizing that Tantric Buddhism, especially the systems of the Yoginītantras, has drawn on a non-Buddhist source, prefers to locate this source at a level deeper than either the Hindu Tantric systems or the Buddhist. This source has been referred to as the 'Indian religious substratum'.⁶ It is held that similarities between Tantric Buddhism and Tantric Śaivism are to be explained as far as possible as the result of independent derivation from a common source, rather than as a direct dependence of the Buddhist materials on the Śaivite. Stephan Beyer has given us a good, unambiguous example of this kind of thinking when he writes the following about the deities of the Yoginītantras:⁷

Although there are iconographic variations among these general high patron deities, they share instantly recognizable similarities: they are all derived from the same cultic stock that produced the Śiva figure...

The problem with this concept of a 'religious substratum' or 'common cultic stock' is that they are by their very nature entities inferred but never perceived. Whatever we perceive is always Śaiva or Buddhist, or Vaiṣṇava, or something else specific. Derivation from this hidden source cannot therefore be the preferred explanation for

similarities between these specific traditions unless those similarities cannot be explained in any other way.

This is not say that all the cults of the Yoginītantras are identifiable with specific Śaivite cults once they have been stripped of whatever Buddhist doctrinal and soteriological content they may have and are taken simply as rituals based on certain sets of deities, mantras, maṇḍalas and the rest. The evidence indicates rather that those who put the Yoginītantras together drew on Śaiva textual materials from a specific area of the Śaiva canon to assemble wholes which were identical with no particular Śaiva system except in this or that constituent, but resembled all the Śaiva systems of this area of the canon in their general character, structure and method.

This conclusion derives from a reading of the early Śaiva Tantric literature, mostly unpublished, that was authoritative at the time of the emergence of the Yoginītantras. That the redactors of these Tantras depended on the Śaiva scriptures was obvious enough to those Śaivas who knew the literature. This is evident from a Kashmirian version of a well known Śaiva myth included by Jayadratha in the thirteenth century in his *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*. The Hindu gods are being oppressed by the demons Vidyunmālin, Tāraka and Kamala. They can do nothing to destroy them, since devotion to the Śaiva liṅga cult has made them invincible. However, Bṛhaspati, the teacher of the gods, comes up with the following ruse: *

“I shall propagate the following system and call it Bauddha (/ Buddhist) - truthfully enough, since it will be no more than the invention of my intellect [*buddhi*].⁹ In it the famous Buddha will be represented as master over the [Hindu] gods. In his visualizations even our great Cause-Deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Iṣvara, Sadāśiva and Bhairava, will be portrayed as his parasol-bearers, and the Buddhist idols will be shown standing on the heads of Gaṇapati and other high Śaiva deities. When the demons get to know of these falsely conceived icons, they will undoubtedly fall into the delusion of believing that these deities really are superior to Śiva. Once I have established these icons and seen to it that they are widely recognized, I shall add certain mantras culled from the Śaiva Tantras; and lifting various passages out of these scriptures of Śiva I shall fabricate and propagate a system of [Buddhist] Tantric ritual. I shall also write passages of a more learned kind dealing with the question of bondage and liberation, displaying a level of intelligence that will prove extremely seductive. My definition of the state of bondage will include references to the worship of the liṅga, and my liberation will be a ‘voidness’ calculated to undermine their faith in their Śaiva rituals. Indeed I shall attack the practice of sacrifice and all [Hindu] rituals; and I shall deny the existence of the Supreme Lord by arguing that there is no Self. By putting this system together and insinuating it into their hearts I shall succeed in destroying their devotion to Śiva.”

By converting the demons to Buddhism behind the back of their Śaiva guru Śukra Bṛhaspati removes the sole obstacle in the way of their destruction, enabling Śiva to accomplish the Kashmirian version of his famous exploit as Destroyer of the Three Cities (Tripurāntaka).

The form of Tantric Buddhism to which this sectarian myth refers is evidently that which includes the Yoginītantra traditions. That to attack Buddhism before a Kashmirian audience in the thirteenth century was to attack a system that culminated in these Tantras is confirmed by another piece of Śaivite propagandist mythology in the same work.¹⁰ Once again three demons have defeated all the gods. They have destroyed heaven itself and brought about the end of orthodox religion. Śiva restores the Hindu order through Garuḍa, the winged vehicle of Viṣṇu. Empowered for his great task by Śiva's touch he flies to the golden mountain Meru, on which the demons have enthroned themselves. Turning himself into a she-ass he wraps his tail three times round the mountain's summit and hurls them down into the world of the dead [*pretaloka*]. The three demons are the two Vajraḍākas, namely Hevajra and Śaṃvara, and the Ādibuddha. Their leader is Hevajra, eight-faced, four-legged, sixteen armed and embraced by his consort Nairātmyā. He is surrounded by Mahāyānists, Vajrayānists, Śrāvakayānists and copulating Buddhas, all intent on the subversion of Hindu society.¹¹ Thus, when Jayadratha represents the Buddhist scriptures as built up out of elements of Śaiva mantra-ritual, the works he has in mind are above all the Yoginītantras, which authorize the cults of these demonized gods.

The mythological account of the relation between the two groups of Tantras is no doubt highly biased. But it rests on facts. The Yoginītantras have indeed drawn on the Śaiva Tantras. Specifically, there are extensive parallels between these texts and the group of Tantras classified as the Vidyāpīṭha of the Bhairava section of the Śaiva canon. These Tantras are related to the rest of the Śaiva Tantric tradition in much the same way that the Yoginītantras are related to the other classes of Buddhist Tantras. They see themselves as the most esoteric revelations of the canon; and like the Yoginītantras they stand apart by reason of their Kāpālīka character.

The principal texts to have survived are the Siddhayogeśvarīmata, the Tantrasadbhāva, the Jayadrathayāmala and the Brahmayāmala. The first is the earliest scriptural basis of the system known as the Trika, which is expounded by Abhinavagupta (fl. c. C.E. 975-1025) in his Tantrāloka and is the core of 'Kashmir Śaivism'. The second too belongs to this system. The third, also known as the Tantrarājabhaṭṭāraka, is in the tradition of that other great component of esoteric Kashmirian Śaivism, the system of Kālī worship known as the Krama. The fourth, also known as the Picumata, is the basic Tantra of the cult of Kapālīśabhairava and his consort Caṇḍā Kāpālīnī, a system known to Abhinavagupta, who frequently quotes the work on matters applicable to all the systems of the Vidyāpīṭha. These ~~three~~ ^{four} works were the main pillars of the esoteric Śaiva tradition.

A comparison of the two groups of texts shows a general similarity in ritual procedures, style of observance, deities, mantras, maṇḍalas, ritual dress, Kāpālīka accoutrements, specialized terminology, secret gestures, and secret jargons. There is even direct borrowing of passages from the Śaiva texts. Chapters 15 to 17 of the Buddhist Laghusaṃvara (Herukābhīdhāna),¹² which teach a secret jargon of monosyllables [*ekākṣaracchoma*] (15), and the characteristics by means of which the Buddhist adept may recognize females as belonging to one or the other of seven

Yoginī-families (16) and seven Dākinī-families (17), equal the *samayācārācestā vidhāna* chapter of the Yoginīsaṃcāra section of the Jayadrathayāmala.¹³ Chapter 19 of the Laghusaṃvara, on the characteristics of the Yoginīs known as Lāmās, equals chapter 29 of the Siddhayogeśvarīmata.¹⁴ Chapter 43 of the Buddhist Abhidhānottara,¹⁵ on the rules [*samaya*] that bind initiates, equals chapter 85 of the Picumata.¹⁶ And the fifteenth chapter of the Buddhist Saṃvarodaya,¹⁷ on the classification of skull-bowls, is closely related to the fourth chapter of that work.¹⁸

Dependence on the Śaiva literature is also apparent in passages in the Tantras of Śaṃvara (the Laghusaṃvara, the Abhidhānottara, the Saṃvarodaya, the Vajradāka and the Dākāṃava) that teach the sequences of *pīthas* or holy places that figure prominently in the ritual and yoga of this system. The system of *pīthas* from Pullī ramalaya (Pū-ṛṃgiri) to Arbuda given in the Saṃvarodaya¹⁹ and elsewhere is found in the Trika's Tantrasadbhāva.²⁰ The direction of transmission is evident from the fact that there is an anomaly in the Buddhist list which can best be explained as the result of a distortion of the Śaiva model. This anomaly is the occurrence of Gṛhadevatā after Pretapurī and before Saurāstra in the series of the Saṃvarodaya. This Gṛhadevatā is the only place name that does not occur in the Tantrasadbhāva's list; and it is the only name that is puzzling. It is puzzling because the meaning of the word is 'household deity', hardly a likely name for a place. Now, in the version in the Tantrasadbhāva we are told not only the names of the *pīthas* but also classes of deities associated with each. The class associated with Saurāstra is that of the *Gṛhadevatās*, the household deities. Evidently, while intending to extract only the place names from a list pairing names and deities, the redactor's mind has drifted without his being aware of it from the name-list to that of the deity-list and back again.

There is no need, then, to postulate the existence of a common substratum or cultic stock to explain the similarities between the two systems. Examination of the texts reveals these similarities to be detailed and pervasive. It also enables us to explain them as direct borrowings by redactors producing what was obviously intended to be a Buddhist system parallel to the Śaiva Kāpālika cults but, of course, superior to them. Even some of the titles of the Buddhist Yoginītantras are borrowed. Within the division of the the Śaiva Vidyāpītha that contains the Śaktitantras there are besides the Siddhayogeśvarīmata, the following works listed: Sarvavīrasamāyoga, Śrīcakra, Viśvādyā, Yoginījālasaṃvara and Vidyābheda. Among the Yoginītantras there are the Sarvabuddhasamāyoga-Dākinījālasaṃvara,²¹ the Hevajradākinījālasaṃvara (the full title of the Hevajratantra) and the Dākinījālasaṃvara (as the Abhidhānottara also calls itself).²² The expression Dākinījālasaṃvara/-saṃvara occurs frequently in the Śaṃvara texts as a description of their subject matter; and it is part of Śaṃvara's heart-mantra: *om śrīvajra he he ru ru kam hūm phat dākinījālasaṃvaram svāhā*.²³ In the Dākāṃavamahāyoginītantra the term *sarvavīrasamāyoga*, 'the fusion of all the Heroes' qualifies ultimate reality²⁴ and in the Saṃvarodaya we have the expression *sarvavīrasamāyogadākinījālasatsukham*,²⁵ where *satsukham*, 'excellent bliss', is evidently an etymological substitute for *śaṃvara* [Tib. *bdem-mchog*].

The redactors' belief in the superiority of their systems over those on which they

drew is eloquently expressed in the iconography of their deities. Śamvara tramples Bhairava and Kālarātri (/ Kālī), the principal deities of the Tantras of the Vidyāpīṭha. In some visualizations he wears the flayed skin of Mahābhairava as his lower garment.²⁶ This subjection has an esoteric meaning, of course. We are told in the Abhidhānottara that Bhairava is *vikalpa*, 'objectification' and *trsnā*, 'craving';²⁷ and these are to be overcome by the knowledge of Emptiness, or the Great Bliss filled with Emptiness and Compassion, or the Dharmadhātu, which are the essence of the enthroned deity (*sūnyatājñāna*²⁸: *mahāsukha* + *sūnyatā* and *karunā*²⁹: *dharma-dhātu*³⁰). But this metaphysical meaning does not exclude the other. This appears from visualizations in the same text in which the deity is said to wear the flayed skins of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, to carry the head of Śiva in his hand, and also to stand upon the non-Buddhists [*tīrthika*] and their religious systems [*darśana*], wearing the flayed skins of Brahmā and Viṣṇu and carrying the severed head of Śiva in his hand³¹. The Buddhist redactors were simply adapting yet another feature of the Śaiva Tantric tradition. For the esoteric Śaivas' Bhairavas and Kālīs are enthroned upon the corpse of Sadāśiva, the icon of Śiva worshipped in the more exoteric Śaiva Siddhānta, and Bhairava enthroned on Sadāśiva became himself the corpse-throne of certain forms of Kālī in the tradition of the Jayadrathayāmala. Here too there is no shortage of metaphysical explanation of this iconography of subjection; but our authors are also alive to the sectarian meaning. In due course the Śaiva tradition of Kashmir responded to the Buddhist Tantric iconography by creating Kālī Sugatasamhārinī, 'the destroyer of the Buddhas'. She embraces a ferocious Bhairava who wears a garland made from the severed heads of Heruka and the Buddhist Krodharājas. Hanging from his ears as ornaments are the bodies of the Buddhas, while Tārā and other Buddhist goddesses provide the hair twisted together to form his sacred thread.³² There is also Trailokyadāmarā Kālī, who tramples the severed head of Mahākāla beneath one foot and the skeleton of Heruka beneath the other.³³

BUDDHIST FUNCTION

When we consider Tantric Buddhism in terms of its origin we see Śaiva influences at every turn; and the higher one goes up the hierarchy of the Buddhist Tantras, the more pervasive these influences become. However, Tantric Buddhism is, of course, entirely Buddhist in terms of its function and self-perception; and in transforming Śaiva elements it gave them meanings which obscure these origins. You will recall that the ritual of initiation includes two explanations of the meaning of the elements of the maṇḍala, and an explanation of the significance of the various consecrations. The process of worship itself is structured by purely Buddhist meditations. For example, one carries out the second evocation of Śamvara as follows. After reciting the Mahāyānist formulae: confessing sins, delighting in the merit of others, transferring one's own merit for the benefit of others, and taking the vow of the bodhisattva, one contemplates the four *brahmavihāras*: benevolence, compassion, joy and patience. One then meditates on the essential purity of all phenomena and oneself, sees oneself and all things as nothing but mind [*cittamātra*], realizes their emptiness, and then out of this emptiness generates the deity's icon. Later one meditates on the mandala as

being resorbed stage by stage into the syllable *hūṃ*, the syllable gradually disappearing into a single point, and this point into a formless resonance which one is to contemplate as the mind devoid of objectification, the Great Bliss.³⁴

The Śaiva rituals also contain meditations which see the pantheon as emerging out of consciousness and returning into seed-syllables which gradually dissolve into pure awareness.³⁵ But here we see that the basic pattern of emanation and resorption has been given a thoroughly Buddhist interpretation.

There remains the problem of the sinfulness of esoteric Buddhist ritual. By adapting the sexual rites of the Śaivas and their ritual consumption of the five jewels and other impure substances they were establishing a kind of Buddhism that would have to be seen as transcending the scope of the Prātimokṣa disciplines. That a Buddhism which sanctioned such heterodox practices should have been accepted in the high seats of monastic learning in India was offensive enough to some communities of monks to prompt them to destroy Tantric images and burn Tantric texts.³⁶ The tradition of Abhayākara-gupta and Darpaṇācārya remained true to the early tradition, insisting that any Buddhist, layperson or monk, may take the Tantric vows and receive all the consecrations, including the problematic consecrations involving sexual intercourse, provided he has achieved insight into the doctrine of emptiness. The problem of the infringement of the exoteric Buddhist vows is transcended then by means of the Mahāyānist doctrine of a higher and a lower truth.³⁷ The general trend, however, has been to modify the rituals so that they longer involve these infringements. The great Tantric Master Atīśa considered that the sexual elements of Vajrayānist ritual were permissible only for married householders. Monks could receive all the consecrations, including the most esoteric, but would receive the latter only in a symbolic or mental form. Among the Newar Buddhists of Nepal an even more thorough expurgation has been achieved. Though their ritual handbooks are based on the works of Abhayākara-gupta and Darpaṇācārya and though all those who receive the initiation of the Yoginītantras are married men and women, all explicit sexuality has been removed from the ritual, leaving only alcohol, meat, possession, and the Kāpālika accoutrements.³⁸

NOTES

1. The term Yoginītantra [Tib. *rnal hbyor maḥi rgyud*] refers here to the class of Sanskrit works whose Tibetan translations are Nos. 360-441 in the Tohoku catalogue. The principal components of these are the Tantra groups of the following deities: Kālacakra, Śaṃvara (and Vajravārāhī), Hevajra (and Nairātmyā), Buddhakapāla, Mahāmāyāhva, Yogāmbara, Candamahārosana and Vajrāmṛta, among which the first three were by far the most influential. These same Yoginītantras were also known as the Yogānuttara-/Yoganiruttaratantras [Tib. *rnal hbyor bla med kyi rgyud*], 'the Tantras of the Ultimate [Division] of the Yoga [Class]'. The term Yoginītantra is opposed to Yogatantra. Within the latter the texts distinguish between the Yogatantras proper (Tohoku 479-493) and the Yogottaratantras 'the Tantras of the Higher [Division] of the Yoga [Class]' (Tohoku 442-478). The Yogatantras proper, of which the foremost is the Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra, together with the Mahāvairocanaḥhisambodhisūtra, the principal Tantra of the small Caryātantra class (Tohoku 494-501) placed below the Yogatantras, formed the basis of the esoteric Tantric Buddhism that was propagated in China during the eighth century C.E. by the Indian missionary translators Subhakarasiṃha (Zemmui), Vajrabodhi (Bodaikongō) and Amoghavajra (Fukū), and was brought to Japan at the beginning of the ninth by Kūkai (Kōbō

Daishi), where it survives as the Buddhism of the Shingon sect. The Yogottaratantras, principally the Guhyasamāja, have more in common with the Yoginītantras than with the Yogatantras. Both teach rites involving sexual intercourse and the consumption of alcohol and other impure substances; and in both the deities are worshipped embracing consorts. Sexual practice appears in the Yogatantras too; but it is marginal there. The common character of the Yogottaratantras and the Yogānuttara-/Yoginītantras is recognized in a classification which groups them together as the Anuttaratantras [Tib. *bla med kyi rgyud*], 'the Ultimate Tantras'. In Tibetan Buddhism the Yogottaratantras and the Yogānuttara-/Yoginītantras jointly occupy the position of the most esoteric level of the Buddha's revelation. In the Indian subcontinent, where Tantric Buddhism survives among the Newars of the Kathmandu valley, the Yogottara tradition has died away leaving that of the Yoginītantras in command; and among these that of the worship of Śaṃvara and his consort Vajravārāhī is overwhelmingly dominant. Two major Yogottaratantras, the Guhyasamāja and the Advayasamatāvijaya, reached the Sino-Japanese Buddhist canon in translations (Taishō 885 and 887) by the Indian Sego (Skt. Dānapāla ?), who was working as a translator in China from 982 to 1017 C.E. Also Yogottara is a ritual of Vajrabhairava translated around 1000 C.E. (Taishō 1242; cf. Tōhoku 468). Of the Yoginītantras, the last and most unconventional wave of the Tantras, only the Hevajra [Dākinījālaśaṃvara] entered that canon (Taishō 892). It was translated by Hōgo (Skt. Dharmapāla ?), who was in China from 1004 C.E. until his death in 1058. The most striking difference between the Yogottara and Yogānuttara-/Yoginītantra traditions is that the latter bring to the centre the symbolism, practices and deities of the Śaiva culture of the cremation grounds. Beneath the Yogatantras and the Caryātantras are the Kriyātantras (Tohoku 502-827). These texts, which form the lowest category, are entirely concerned with the attainment of supernatural benefits; and the majority of the works so classified are undoubtedly the earliest specimens of Buddhist Tantrism. Texts of this class were translated into Chinese from the third century C.E. However, they were never supplanted by later developments in the way that the Yoga- and Yogottaratantras were by the Yoginītantras. They continued to be used in important apotropaic rituals in Newar, Tibetan and Japanese Buddhism. Nor did the later scholars who translated the soteriological Tantras consider them beneath their dignity. Amoghavajra, for example, produced new translations of the Anantamukhasādhakadhāraṇī (Taishō 1009 [Tohoku 525]), the Mahāmeghasūtra (Taishō 989, 990 [Tohoku 658]), and the Mahāmāyūrividyaṛājñī (Taishō 982, 983 [Tohoku 559]). Chinese translations of the first go back to the third century (Taishō 1011), of the second and third to the fourth century (Taishō 388 and 988).

2. Abhayākaragupta, Vajrāvalī (ed. Lokesh Chandra, Satapitaka Series Vol., Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1977 [photographic reproduction of a Ms]) 219⁵⁻⁶: *vīracaryāvratam eva yauvarājyavratacāryeti vajrakāpālikacaryāvratam iti coktaṃ śrīsaṃputatantra* / .
3. Translating Abhayākaragupta, Niṣpannayogāvalī (ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. 109, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1949), 26¹⁻¹³.
4. Following MS B *naharuyajñopavītī* against the editor's *nāgayajñopavītī*. See Vajrāvalī 219²⁻³: *ṅṛ(nū)naharumayaṃ keśakṛtaṃ vā brahmasūtram* / , "The sacred thread should be made from human sinews or hair." For the form *naharu* cf. Pali *nahāru* (< Old Indic **snāru*). Nepali *nahar*, Maithili *nahru*.
5. Vimalaprabhā (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Running No. E13746, Reel No. E618/5. Place of Deposit: Asha Kaji Bajracharya, Lalitpur) folio 175r1-5: *tathādibuddhe - yo gṛhī mathikābhoktā sevako lāṅgalī vaṇik / saddharmavikrayī mūrkhō na sa vajradharo bhūvi // ityādinā trividho gurur ācāryaparīkṣāyām uktaḥ // daśatattvaparijñānāt trayāṇāṃ bhikṣur uttamaḥ / madhyamaḥ śrāvanerākhyo gṛhasthas tv adhamas taylor iti / tathā — na kartavyo gurur ājñābhūmilābhaṃ vinā gṛhī / tatra śrutaparijñānair liṅgī kartavya eva yaḥ / bhūmilābhaṃ vinācāryo gṛhasthaḥ pūjyate yadā / tadā buddhaś ca dharmas ca saṃgho gacchaty agauravam / atha — vihārādeḥ pratiṣṭhādyam kartavyam liṅginā sadā / satsu triṣv ekadeśe ca na gṛhīṇā śvetavāsīnā iti / evam anekaparakāreṇācāryaparīkṣāyām bhagavatokto guruḥ śiṣyenārādhanīya iti /; ibid. folio 175v7-176r9: *iha triṣkālaṃ bhikṣubhiḥ kaṣā-yadhāribhir vajrācāryo vandyate na gṛhī na navakaḥ saddharmavyākhyānena vinā / saddharmādīn**

puraskṛtya gṛhī vā navako`pi vā / vandyo vratadharair buddhyā lokāvadhyānahānaye / tathā —āsanadānasamutthānam arthakriyādigaauravam / sarvam etad vratī kuryāt tyaktvāsatkarmavandanam iti / iha yadi gṛhī navako`pi vā bhikṣuvajrācāryeṇa tulyo bhavati tadā kim asatkarma pādaprakṣālanādikam pañcāṅgavandanam tyaktvā svasthāne guror āgatasyārthādigaauravam kartavyam vyākhyānakāle saddharmādīn puraskṛtya vandanā kartavyā lokāvadhyānahānaye / iha lokāvadhyānam yat gṛhasthacellakānām tatkausīdyatvenottaralingāgrahaṇāt prātimokṣāśrutaparijñānena yadi kausī dyābhimāno nāsti tadā kimarthaṃ prāg bhikṣusaṃvaram jñātvā paścān mahāyānam jñātavyam iti hevajrādike bhagavato vākyaṃ na kurvanti / tasmād — gṛhasthācāryo bhikṣubhir nārādhanīyo bhikṣau vajradhare sati / rājñā punaḥ sarvaprakāreṇa nārādhanīya iti / tathācāryaparikṣāyām bhikṣayā raktavastreṇa lajjā yasya durātmanaḥ / vandyāḥ pūjyāḥ saraṅgānām bauddhānām naṣṭamārgiṇām iti saṃbandhaḥ / raktāmbaram yadā dṛṣṭvā dveṣaṃ gacchanti pāpinaḥ / mlecchadharmaratā bauddhās tathā śvetāmbarapriyā` iti / iha bauddhadarśanam sarvadā na śuklapaṭam / tathā mañjuśrīviṣaye vihāre yadā bhikṣuś cellako vā pārājikam āpadyate tadā śuklavāstram dattvā kaṣāyaṃ gṛhītvā vihārān nīrdhāyate / vajrācāryo`pi mantrivihārād rājñō niyamena / iha punar āryaviṣaye kathaṃ kaṣāyadhāriṇām śvetāmbaradharo gṛhastho gurur vihārādīpratiṣṭhākartā / mahān ayaṃ paribhavaḥ / mahatī khalv iyaṃ vivekavikalatā saugatānām yadā amī aparādhadaśāpannān ārdhayanti saty api bhikṣuvajradhare /

6. See David Seyfort Ruegg, Review of David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1989 (1), p. 173; and 'Sur les Rapports entre le Bouddhisme et le 'substrat religieux' indien et tibétain', *Journal Asiatique* 252 (1964), 7 -95.

7. Stephan Beyer, *The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 42.

8. Translating Haracaritacintāmaṇi 13.74c - 83.

9. A pun on the word *bauddha*, which means 'Buddhist' (<*buddha*) or 'intellectual' (<*buddhi*).

10. Haracaritacintāmaṇi, paṭala 17.

11. Ibid. 17.4-9.

12. Herukābhīdhānatantra, also called Laghusaṃvaratantra: Kaiser Library Kathmandu, Manuscript 410; Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel No. C 44/3.

13. Jayadrathayāmala, ṣaṭka 3. Yoginīsaṃcāra, samayācārācēṣṭāvīdhānapaṭala, verses 116 - 148: National Archives, Kathmandu Manuscript 5/1975, Śaivatantra 429; Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel No. A 152/9, folios 208r6-209v2.

14. Siddhayogeśvarīmata, paṭala 29 (unnamed), verses 22c - 50: Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, Manuscript 5465 (Government Collection), folios 69v6-71v3.

15. Abhidhānottarottaratantra, paṭala 43 (dūtīsaukhyāmbupaṭala): Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Running No. E 15505, Reel No. E 695/3, Place of Deposit: Ashakaji Vajracharya, Lalitpur, folios 179r2 - 183r2.

16. Picumata, paṭala 85: National Archives, Kathmandu, Manuscript 3-370 ('Brahmayāmalatantra'): Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel No. A 42/6, folios 326r1 - 327v3.

17. Saṃvarodaya, paṭala 15: Kaiser Library, Kathmandu, Manuscript No. 749b: Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Reel No. C 74/1, folios 26r4-27v1.

18. The present author is preparing a monograph in which he edits these parallel passages and demonstrates the relation between them.

19. See Saṃvarodaya, paṭalas 7 and 9 (Shinīchi Tsuda [ed & tr]; *The Saṃvarodaya-Tantra: Selected Chapters*, Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1974); also Abhidhānottara, paṭalas 9 and 14; Yoginīsaṃcāra (Buddhist), paṭalas 5 and 13 (National Archives, Kathmandu, Manuscript No. 5-22/vi ['Saṃcāratāntrapañjikā']).

20. Tantrasadbhāva, adhikāra 16 (yoginīlakṣaṇa-), verses 60c-68b: National Archives, Kathmandu.

Manuscript No. 5-1985, folio 78v9-13: *kulūtāyāṃ arāṇyeśe sindhudeśe nageśvare / 60 / samudraku-
kṣyā<ṃ> saurāṣṭre pretapuryāṃ himālaye / kāñcyāṃ* (Ms: *kañcyo*) *lampākaviṣaye kaliṅge kauśale
sthale / 61 / trisāṅkunau* (Ms: *trisāṅkunis*) *tathā caudre* (Ms: *coḍre*) *kāmarūpe ca mālave / devikoṭe
sudhārāme godāvaryās* (Ms: *godāvaryāṃ*) *taṭe`rbude / 62 / eṣu* (Ms: *eṣa*) *deśeṣu yāḥ kanyāḥ* (Ms:
kanyā) *striyo vā klinnayonayaḥ / sarvās tāḥ kāmarūpiṇyo manovegānuvṛttayaḥ / 63 / śeṣeṣu yāḥ
samutpannā<ḥ> śākinyo ghoramātarāḥ / ṣaḍ yoginyaḥ kulūtāyāṃ arāṇyeśe ca mātaraḥ / 64 / sindhudeśe
bhagiṇyas tu nageśe kulanāyikāḥ / samudrakuṣyāṃ* (Ms: *samudrakuṣya*) *kāmpilyaḥ saurāṣṭre gr-
hadevatāḥ / 65 / pretapuryāṃ mahākālyo rūpiṇyo himavadgīrau / kāñcyāṃ* (Ms: *kañcyāṃ*) *ambā<ḥ>
samākhyātā lampākaviṣaye`mṛtāḥ / 66 / kaliṅge vratadhāriṇya<ḥ> kauśale piṣītāsānāḥ / cakravākyā
<ḥ> sthale proktā<s> trisāṅ<ku>nyām amarā<ḥ> smṛtāḥ / 67 / deśadvaye ca śākinyo nāvikā vīranāyikā
<ḥ> /*

21. Tohoku 366.

22. Abhidhānottara. paṭala 1, prose after verse 3 (Ms cit., folio 1v5-6).

23. See, e.g., Niṣpannayogāvalī 26⁶⁻⁷.

24. Ḍākārṇavatāntra. paṭala 1, last verse (National Archives, Kathmandu, Manuscript No. 3-447, folio 7v2): *sarvavīrasamāyogād vajrasattvaḥ paraṃ sukham*; paṭala 49 (Ms cit., folio 149r1): *sarvavī-
rasamāyogaṃ dhātu<ṃ> sarveṣu cāntaram /*

25. Saṃvarodaya (ed. Tsuda) 3.6cd; 26.10cd.

26. Abhidhānottara. paṭala 29, verse 7cd: *mahābhairavacarmmeṇa kaṭim āveṣṭya* (Ms: *āveṣṭha*) *saṃ-
sthitam /*

27. Ibid. paṭala 27, verses 4c-5b: *vikalpa bhairavañ caiva tṛṣṇāṭṛṣāṭ kālarātryayoḥ / pādākrāntatale
kṛtvā sarvadurdāntadāmakaḥ /*

28. Ibid. paṭala 30, verse 7cd: *bhujadvādaśabhir* (Ms: *-ābhi*) *yu<k>taṃ sūnyatājñānam uttamam /*

29. Ibid. paṭala 48, verses 1c-3b: *hūmkārākṣarāniṣpannaṃ vajradākaṃ mahāsukham* (Ms: *māhāsukham*) */ 1 / ṣaḍbhujāṃ trinetraṃ sarvalakṣaṇalakṣitam / vyañjanāśītisaṃyuktam* (Ms: *-āśīti-*) *ālīkālyudbhavaṃ prabhum / 2 / vārāhyā ca samāpannaṃ sūnyatākaruṇākulam /*

30. Ibid. paṭala 34, verse 13cd: *mahāmudrāsamāpannaṃ dharmadhātusvabhāvakam /*

31. Ibid. paṭala 28 (on cult of Praṇavaḍāka), verse 5 to 9: *adha<ḥ>pādatalābje tu durbhagā<n>tīrthikā-
<n> kṛtvā / pañcadarsānam ākramya pratyālīḍhapadakramāt* (Ms: *līḍhapratyālīḍhapadākramāt*) */ 5 /
... viṣṇucarmanivasanaṃ muṇḍamālāvibhūṣitaṃ* (Ms: *-tāḥ*) */ 6 / ... brahmacarmavitānāṅgakaradvayena
tu dhāryatam* (Ms: *-tām*) */ kapālakaḥṭvāṅgadharmaṃ* (Ms: *-rā*) *mahēśvaramuṇḍadhāryatam* (Ms:
tām) */*

32. Jayadrathayāmala, ṣaṭka 2, paṭala 21, verses 8c to 14 (National Archives, Kathmandu, Manuscript
No. 5-4650, folio 80r1-5): *catuścakreśvarīśeṣyāṃ bhairavotsaṅgagāminī / 8 / prathamāṃ bhairavaṃ
devaṃ mahāpātakanāśanam / ... daśabhūmīsvara-ṃ-buddhapratikarṇāvalambitam / aṣṭā ye
krodharājāno herukādyā mahābalā<ḥ> / 12 / teṣāṃ muṇḍānttrasragdāmavasāmāmsāsthībhojanam /
manaścandramahāsthāne tārādyā yās ca śaktayaḥ / 13 / tāsāṃ cūḍākalāpena ṭvaktrayukteraṭ bhāsvatā
/ yajñopavitam urasā dhārayantaṃ subhairavam / 14 / ...*

33. Jayadrathayāmala, ṣaṭka 3, paṭala 4, verses 26 to 27 (Ms cit., folio 28r8-v1): *kopolbaṇamahākāla-
(Ms: *-laṃ*) muṇḍadattaika* (Ms: *-darṃtaika-*) *pādikām / ghoraherukakaṅkālanyastapādadvitīyakām /
25 / krodharājāṣṭakaṃ bhīma<ṃ> bhairavendratathāgatān* (MS: *-tāḥ*) */ saṃcūrṇayantiṃ tān* (?). Ms: *-
aṃtisā*) *ghorapādāghātair bhayānakām / 26 /*

34. For the formulae, and the meditations on the four *brahmavihāras*, mind-only and emptiness as the
preliminaries of sādhana see Sādhnamālā (ed. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, Gaekwad's Oriental Series
No. 26, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1925), 458¹⁸ - 459⁸ (Mahāmāyāsādhana), 466³⁻¹² (Vajradā-
kasādhana), 468¹⁹⁻²⁰ (Herukasādhana) etc. For the resorption of *hūṃ* see, e.g., the *Cakrasaṃvarapū-
javidhi* (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Running No. 791 D, Reel No. D 35/28, folios

1v-23v), folio 20r4-1: *hūmkāraṃ mahāsukhamayaṃ bhāvayet / candram ūkāre ūkāraṃ hakāre hakāraṃ śīrasi śīro rdhacandre rdhacandraṃ bindau binduṃ nāde nādaṃ bālāgras atasahasrabhāgarūpaṃ nirvikalpaṃ mahāsukhamayaṃ cittaṃ nirūpayet /*

35. See, e.g., Svachchandantra (ed. Paṇḍit Madhusudan Kaul, Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies. Bombay: Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir State, 1921-1935) 4.525-529c. Here two the seed-syllable is *hūṃ* (the seed of Niṣkala-Svacchandabhairava, the high deity of this Tantra).

36. See Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971), 19: "The radically-reoriented religion evoked protests from the orthodox monks of Ceylon and Sindh. According to the Tibetan monk Dharmasvāmin (p. 64) and Lāmā Tāranātha, the Ceylonese Śrāvakas at Vajrāsana described Vajrayāna as being foreign to the teachings of the Buddha. They put into fire many mantra books, destroyed the silver image of Heruka and tried to convince the pilgrims about the uselessness of the Vajrayāna teachings."

37. See Kriyāsamuccaya (ed. Lokesh Chandra, Śatapiṭaka Series Vol. 237, Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1977 [photographic reproduction of a Ms]) 323⁸ - 324⁴: *anena manaḥkarmapradhānatām asya yānasya darsayaty avirodhārtham / prakṛtisāvadye 'pi hi karmaṇi samutthānaviśeṣād anāpattir bhagavatā bahuśaḥ prakāśitā / tathā ca "caṇḍālaveṇukārādyā māraṇārthārthacintakāḥ / te 'pi hevajramārgasthāḥ siddhyante nātra saṃśayaḥ /" api ca "nāpattiḥ śubhacittasya snehāc caiva dayāvataḥ / niṣiddham apy anujñātaṃ kṛpālor arthadarsīnaḥ" iti / yaḥ punar upacitapuṇyabāhuśrutyaḍibhiḥ sarvadharmān svapnasamān sūnyataikarasān sadṛḍham adhimuñcati tasya bhikṣuvajradharasaṃvarayoḥ kva virodhagandho 'pi / ata evoktaṃ bhagavatā "bhikṣuṃ vajradharaṃ kuryād" ity avaśyaṃ caitad abhyupeyam /*, "Hereby he shows, in order to avoid contradiction, that the emphasis of this Way is upon mental action. For the Lord has taught many times that even if the action is sinful by nature there is no offence if it has an (appropriate) cause. Thus: "Even untouchables, reed-cutters and the like, men who profit by killing (?), attain the goal if they enter this path of Hevajra. Of this there is no doubt." And: "There is no offence when the action is of one whose intention is good, who acts out of affection, who is compassionate. Even the forbidden is allowed in the case of the man who is compassionate and intent on the welfare of others." But he who by virtue of such factors as his accumulated merit and great learning has achieved the firm conviction that all phenomena are like illusions or dream images and identical with emptiness cannot be subject even to the slightest trace of a contradiction between his vows as a monk and his vows as a Vajra Master. Therefore the Lord has said: "One may make a monk a Vajra Master ..." This must be recognized"; *ibid.* 324⁷:- *yadi punar durjanagocaraḥ pradeśaḥ syāt tadā tasyāpi jñānamudrayā guhyaprajñājñānābhiṣekau dātavyau / durjanāsaṃbhavatu karmamudraiva / adṛḍhādhimokṣasya tu bhikṣoḥ śrāddhasyāpi bāhyaprajñāyābhiṣekagrahaṇaṃ niṣiddham / anyathā pūrvasaṃvarabhraṃsān mahān anarthaḥ syāt / yadi punar guruḥ sthirabhāvako bhavati tadā tenārpitāyāṃ jñānārpitāyāṃ jñānamudrāyāṃ tasyāpi prajñājñānābhiṣeko deyo gṛhṇataś ca nābrahmacaryeṇa kāpy āpattir bhavet / karmakāyābhāvāt / tasya tu prāggṛhasthāvasthāyāṃ anubhūtasukhasya smaraṇenānandādibhedāḥ pratipādayitavyāḥ / guror api sati bhikṣutve guhyābhiṣekādidāne sarvam uktam anusamdhayam /*, "But if the region is the home of evil men, then he may give the candidate the Secret Empowerment [*guhyābhiṣeka*] and the Empowerment of the Knowledge of Wisdom [*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*] through a Knowledge Seal [i.e. a non-physical consort]. However, if there are no such evil men, only the Action Seal [i.e. the physical consort] will be adequate. This is so unless the monk lacks firm conviction [in the illusory nature of phenomena]. In that case, even if he is a faithful Buddhist, he is forbidden to take these empowerments with an external Wisdom [i.e. consort]. If he were to do so, it would be a great ill: for he would then be guilty of breaking his vows. Rather, if his guru is capable of sustained contemplative realization he must impart the Empowerment of the Knowledge of Wisdom to him by giving him a Knowledge Seal; for in receiving 'her' he will not be guilty of abandoning his chastity. If he has been a married man before [his ordination] he can be taught the various Joys (*ānanda* etc.) [in the fourth Empowerment [*caturthābhiṣeka*]] through his memory of the sexual pleasure he experienced then. All that has been said about giving the Empowerments that begin with the Secret should be applied to the case of the initiating guru, if he is

a monk."

38. See David Gellner, *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and its Hierarchy of Ritual* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 273-281, 297-304. Gellner gives an ordered account of the ritual of initiation in the cult of Śaṃvara and Vajravārāhī following the verbal testimony of Newar Vajrācāryas. This account agrees almost entirely with the record of Newar practice preserved in the ritual manuals; see, e.g., Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, Running No. E 1093/5 (Dīkṣāvidhi), E 1203/3; Asha Saphu Kuti Bubi 84 (Dīkṣāvidhāna), *ibid.* 85 (Dīkṣā-vidhāna), *ibid.* 45 (Dīkṣāvidhāna), *ibid.* 47.

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