THE HEVAJRA TANTRA

A Critical Study

PART I
Introduction and Translation

D. L. SNELLGROVE

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Maṇḍala of Hevajra
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Maṇḍala of Hevajra

(Reproduced—with kind permission—from the Chester Beatty Museum, Dublin.)

For the names of the divinities see Diagram III, p. 126.

Hevajra and Nairātmyā

Fresco in the Sa-skya-pa Monastery, gYas-mtsher dGon-pa of Dolpo in West Nepal. For a description of Hevajra see pp. 110 and 111. For a description of gYas-mtsher dGon-pa see my Himalayan Pilgrimage, Cassirer, Oxford, 1959, pp. 85–92.
PREFACE

The core of this work is an edition of the Hevajra-tantra, based upon a Nepalese manuscript, which was kindly lent me by Professor Giuseppe Tucci. This text has been translated with the help of the Tibetan translation and its most important Indian commentaries. Of these one which is preserved in Sanskrit, the Yogaratnamālā by a certain Kānha, has also been edited, based upon an old Bengali manuscript belonging to Cambridge University Library. It has seemed sufficient to make quotations from the other commentaries, which are all preserved in Tibetan, and to attach these in the form of notes to the translation of the main text.

The intention of the introduction is to provide some historical religious setting for the text, and to interpret to the reader the essential meaning of the tantra, as it is understood by the commentators. This part of the work is of a more general nature, and I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Professor Tucci, whose monumental works on the art of Tibet with the many references they contain, have proved a constant support, and also to Louis de la Vallée Poussin and to Paul Mus, whose theories of the development of Buddhism I have learned to accept as fundamentally sound. In the case of de la Vallée Poussin I have in mind particularly his Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, published in 1898. It was this work that first drew my attention to the essential continuity underlying the development of Buddhism, a continuity achieved by devotion to a single ideal, which was ever seeking better means of realization and expression. This short work, produced now more than fifty years ago, is still rich in unrealized implications. More recently I have come upon the work, still unfinished, of Paul Mus, Borobudur, Esquisse d'une Histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes. This method appears as entirely satisfactory; the bringing of a text into relationship with archaeological evidence has the effect of uncovering for us the intention of the practisers, so that it begins to become possible to conceive of their doctrine as they conceived of it, a refreshing change indeed from the modern spate of literature on Buddhism, which often tells little more than how certain Europeans or modern Indians conceive of some of the formulated Buddhist doctrines which please them.

To attempt an interpretation of a Buddhist tantra is to move into unmapped territory; certain landmarks are clear, a few tracks here and there, and that is all. Very few texts of this kind have so far been published, and none has been analysed in any detail. As early as 1896 de la Vallée Poussin, introducing his edition of the Pañcakrama, wrote: 'Il y a beaucoup de
chooses dans les livres tantriques—et notamment dans le *Pañcakrama*—qui se trouve au confluent d’un courant d’idées métaphysiques et d’un courant d’idées religieuses: tout ce que la philosophie Mādhyamika a de plus subtil s’y mêle harmoniquement à des conceptions d’ordre pratique savamment élaborées.’ Yet fifty years later these possibilities are still largely unexplored, and the Buddhism of India from the eighth to the thirteenth century remains relatively unknown. On the other hand, expressions of opinion have not been so slow in forthcoming. These have either been based on the first impressions given by the few texts that have become available, or upon Sir John Woodroffe’s series of non-Buddhist *tantras*. This has led to the all too rapid assumption that the Buddhist *tantras* are in all things identifiable with the *sākta tantras*, a conclusion which, if indeed justified, should have followed from an examination of the texts and traditions on both sides. The wide divergence that separates them becomes apparent when we consider the later development of tantric Buddhism, particularly in Tibet. It is here that the works of Giuseppe Tucci are of such inestimable value, particularly the four volumes of *Indo-Tibetica*, which suggest with remarkable vividness the condition of the Buddhism of those centuries, when it was being methodically transferred into Tibet. ‘Il compito doveva apparire sempre più vasto e difficile, perchè di fatto si doveva creare non solo una letteratura ma una nuova cultura, o meglio, si doveva dare al Tibet una cultura che non aveva mai posseduta. Ciò poteva solo avvenire attraverso l’introduzione della nuova religione, che a poco a poco, permeava le coscienze e ne informava tutta quanta la vita e, penetrata da circa tre secoli, aveva già avuto le sue glorie, le sue sconfitte, i suoi martiri (*I-T ii*, p. 9).’

It seems sufficiently evident that far more was involved in tantric Buddhism than a first glance at the text of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* might suggest. This important work, usefully edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharya, still awaits a thorough investigation in the light of its commentaries, which alone will place it rightly in its Buddhist setting. There seems to be nothing essentially difficult about these texts if studied in this manner, but one can go hopelessly astray if one attempts to make deductions oneself from literal interpretations of the *tantras*. Such a procedure may throw light upon their origins, but by no means does it explain their significance for Buddhist tradition.

There has also appeared recently a work by S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1950. This is a thoroughly commendable book for its discussion of many of the terms fundamental to the subject, and for its many quotations drawn largely from manuscripts, not a few of them indeed from the *Hevajra-tantra* itself, of which a copy is held by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. One needs, however, to beware of
the general manner of discussion, which is far too naïve in its approach, and seems to suggest too ready an acceptance of certain modern prejudices. The cause for this is always the same, that we are attempting to generalize on a vast subject, in which there is no lack of material, by short-cutting the longer task of examining these texts in detail and in their own context.

It is this therefore that I have attempted to do in the case of the Hevajra-tantra. Difficulties still remain, but that is at present inevitable; nor let it be thought that I am claiming immunity from error in the case of my own observations. It has, however, been my aim to base them upon as large a context as is possible to me at present. This is the only safe manner of proceeding; as our context becomes gradually enlarged, so will our observations become increasingly reliable.

I acknowledge my gratitude to Professor H. W. Bailey, who set me forth on the path of Indian studies and who is still always ready with advice and assistance; to Professor Giuseppe Tucci for the kindly interest that he has taken in my studies and for the generous manner in which he placed his private library at my disposal during my long stay with him in Rome; and to Professor Walter Simon who continues to give me such friendly guidance in London.

I would acknowledge my great debt of gratitude to the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London, where this present work has been completed, and by whose very generous subvention its publication has been made possible. At this School thanks are especially due to the Librarian and his staff for the unfailing assistance they have given me in gaining access to manuscripts and texts.
NOTE

Five years have passed since I completed the editing and translating of these texts. Delay in printing has been caused mainly by my absence from this country on travels in the Himalayan regions of India and Nepal. Now that this work is at last appearing in print, I myself am inevitably the first and most critical of readers. Five years ago the scope of the book was still limited by the actual material available to me. Now another volume might be added, compiled from other commentaries—and perhaps presented with maturer observations.

D. L. SNELLGROVE

Berkhamsted
28 July 1958
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MANUSCRIPTS AND BLOCK-PRINTS EMPLOYED,
PRECEDED BY ABBREVIATION

Dvātrīṃśatkalpoddhṛtaḥ kalpadvayātmako śrīhevaṃtrādākinījālasamvaramahātantra-
rājā

A: MS. belonging to Giuseppe Tucci, Rome.
B: MS. belonging to Cambridge University Library, Add. 1340.
C: MS. belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, no. 11317.
T: Tibetan translation: brTags pa sum cu rtsa gni las phyun ba brtags pa gni's kyi bdag niid Kyehi rDorje mkha'h ḡgro ma dra ba'i sdom pa rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po—Narthang Kanjur, rGyud, i. 306b-351b.
Ch: Chinese translation: Taisho no. 892.

COMMENTARIES

K: Yogaratnamālā by Kāṇha. MS. belonging to Cambridge University
Library, Add. 1699.
KT: Rin po chehi phren ba (Tibetan version of above)—Narthang Tenjur, rGyud, xvi. 1-73a.
Bh: Śrīhevaṃtrādhāvyāvivaraṇa—dPal dGyes pa'hī rDorjehi ran bṣad ran ma par ḡrel pa, by Bha-ta-ṭabs (Bhadrapāda), id. xv. 194b-309a.
D: Netravidhanā—sPyan ḡByed, by Dharmakirti, id. xvii. 336a-423a.
Kx: Sṛmtinispatti (?)—Dran pa'hi ḡbyun gnas, by Nag-po (Kāṇha), id. xvii. 168a-219b.
N: Vajrapādasārasaṅgraha—rDorjehi tshig gi sfin po bsdus pa, by Nārō, id. xvii. 68b-167b.
R: Muktikāvali—Mu-tig phren-ba, by Ratnākaraśānti, id. xvii. 250a-335b.
S: Padmini—Padma can, by Saroruha, id. xv. 142a-149b.
Td: Swuṣuddhasampuṭa—Khasbyor śin tu dri ma med pa, by Ṭaṅkadāsa, id. xvi. 73a-346a.
V: Hevaṃtrapiṇḍārthaṭīṭkā—Kyehi rDorje bsdus pa'hī don gyi rgya cher ḡrel pa, by the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha, id. xv. 1-141b.

OTHER EDITED BUDDHIST TANTRIC TEXTS


PK: Pañcakrama, ed. de la Vallée Poussin, Louvain, 1896.


Bagchi: Dohākoṣa, Calcutta Sanskrit Series 25c.

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Ḍākārnāvanatratra (apabhraṃśa text), ed. by N. N. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1935.


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Obermiller: History of Buddhism by Bu-ston.

Ṭāranātha: History of Buddhism, ed. Schiefner.

Schiefner: German translation of above.


Tucci, Animadversiones Indicae, JASB. xxvi, pp. 128–58.


Ray, The Dynastic History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1931.


REFERENCES RELEVANT TO RITUAL AND YOGA

TPS: Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vols. i–iii.


BEM: de la Vallée Poussin, Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux, Luzac, 1898.


Heiler, Die buddhistische Versenkung, München, 1922.
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Other incidental references appear in the notes.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS


GOS: Gaekwad's Oriental Series.


JASB: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

MCB: Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques, Brussels.

MMK: Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, ed. de la Vallée Poussin.

Mvp: Mahāvyutpatti, ed. R. Sakaki.


Other references are given in full.
INTRODUCTION

I. APologetic

Buddhism endured in the land of its origin for some 1,600 years, from the preaching of the first sermon in the Deer Park at Banaras 500 years before the beginning of the Christian era, until the final onslaughts of Islam laid waste the great monastic establishments of the Ganges Valley and Bengal. The ruthlessness of this attack is in itself sufficient to explain the disappearance of Buddhism from India. Its strength had consisted for a long time in its monastic establishments and these in turn depended largely upon royal support—of Asoka, who enabled a small community of religious mendicants to propagate itself from the north-west frontier to Ceylon—of the Andhran and Kushan kings, under whose auspices their doctrines commenced to develop and enrich themselves so that they became suitable as a religion for the greater part of Asia—of the Guptas and especially of Harsha¹—then finally of the Pāla kings of Bengal who continued their support up to the last days.² In these last four and a half centuries there is no evidence of decline; the monasteries of Sārnāth and Nālandā, of Vikramaśīla and Vajrāsana (Budhgayā) were all flourishing concerns, housing many hundreds of monks and comparable only with the similar institutions that continue in Tibet to this day. Moreover it was precisely in this period that the Tibetans themselves were engaged in transferring into their own country all that they could find of Buddhist teaching, and the contents of their canon, as it now exists, presents in itself a complete summary of the Buddhism of those centuries. In their case it was not a matter of finding texts long disused, which they might edit and translate to the best of their ability, but of finding living masters, who would instruct them in the meaning of the actual doctrines and collaborate with them in the extremely difficult work of transferring them into another language, which till that time had not even possessed the necessary religious and philosophical terms for the task. It was truly an extraordinary feat, the magnitude of which is not always sufficiently appreciated, and still less the existence of such zeal and knowledge as that to which it bears

¹ For invaluable accounts of Buddhism in India in the seventh century one may see the accounts of Hsian Tsang and I Tsing, the former translated by Beal, Records of the Western Kingdoms, 1884, by Julien, Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, 1858, and by Thomas Watters, On Yuan Chwang’s Travels, London, 1904–5; the latter by Takakusu, A Record of the Buddhist Religion, 1896.

² Concerning these kings see H. C. Ray, Dynastic History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1931, vol. i, ch. 6, Dynastic History of Bengal and Bihar, where there are many details of royal interest in Buddhist foundations, e.g. pp. 288, 293–5, 303, 313–14, 317, 321–2, 326.
INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the Tibetans themselves are somewhat to blame in this respect, for they seem to have symbolized the introduction of the doctrine in the person of Padmasambhava, so lending strength to the view which is still current, that the Buddhism introduced into the country was of a debased and popular kind. But whereas the historicity of the exploits attributed to this person are thoroughly questionable, the genuineness of the real knowledge and labour involved in the introducing of Buddhism is attested by the volumes of block-prints that repose in our libraries. A truer appreciation of the nature of their religion becomes all the more just, when it is upon their translations that we must chiefly rely for our understanding of the doctrines concerned.

Indian Buddhism was slowly and laboriously transferred to Tibetan soil, and every effort was made to copy as exactly as possible not only the texts themselves but the very conditions under which they were studied and transmitted. Monasteries developed and became, as in India, the main centres of learning; hermits and ascetics, in direct succession from Indian masters, were surrounded by their chosen pupils, to whom they transmitted the secrets of those special means towards enlightenment, such as the subject-matter of our text; the arts of imagery and painting were introduced following Indian models, all to serve the purpose of the new religion. The more useful kind of rites, such as the bringing or stopping of rain, the removal of unwanted neighbours, the quelling of troublesome sprites, merely supplanted, or sometimes reinforced, similar practices that already existed in the country. Such opposition as there was to this great invasion seems to have had its basis solely in court intrigue and fear of personal loss on the part of the old practitioners, and as has often been the case in the history of other countries, one or other faction found it convenient to associate itself with the new religion or the old. But any really effective opposition, such as an already existing religious culture would have presented, was lacking, and the poverty of bon as an organized religion is shown by the eagerness with which it has hastened to adorn itself in Buddhist garb.

For us who are interested in this period these Indo-Tibetan relations have a double importance. On the one hand we can make small progress with the study of the original Indian texts without the help of Tibetan versions, and on the other hand much that is found in Tibetan texts remains incomprehensible until it can be associated with some Indian original. It is with both these aspects in view that the present work is undertaken, to clarify one particular type of Buddhist practice which was pursued in

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1 See, however, Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, ii, p. 9. The four volumes of this series, Rome, 1932, 1933, 1935, and 1941, all serve as an admirable illustration of how great was the task.

2 See my references to Padmasambhava in *Buddhist Himalaya*, pp. 150 ff.

3 See *TPS* i, pp. 2 ff.
India, thereby assisting towards a complete study of this religion in the land of its origin, and at the same time to lay the foundation for a better understanding of the Tibetan sects themselves, which were the direct successors of these traditions.

The Tibetan Canon, itself representative of Indian Buddhism, consists of two parts. The first is the Kanjur (bKah-hgyur), 'Translation of the Word'. It comprises thirteen volumes of rules of monastic discipline (vimya) and associated material; twenty-one volumes of supposedly revealed teachings concerning the doctrine of the 'Perfection of Wisdom' (prajñāpāramitā) which seems to provide the whole basis of later Buddhist practice and to the subject of which we shall return below; forty-four volumes of mahāyāna-sūtras, which extol the endless merits of the many buddhas and bodhisattvas, telling of the benefits that accrue from devotion paid them, commending the career of the self-sacrificing bodhisattva as open to all men, listing his attributes and the stages of his advance; they touch upon points of doctrine, the three bodies of a buddha, the theory of the absolute as a 'store-consciousness' (ālayavijñāna), the theory of the three aspects (parinispāna, paratantra, and vikalpita), and so on; then lastly twenty-two volumes of tantras, works concerned with ritual and meditation of a special nature. It is part of the contents of some of these last works that have earned for late Indian and early Tibetan Buddhism its reputation as degenerate and depraved, a charge which while in some respects justifiable, as we shall see, remains essentially unfair for two reasons, viz. that it has been made on first appearances, and that even in so far as it is applicable, it can apply to no more than a part of the Buddhist practice of the period.

The second part of the canon is known as the Tenjur (bsTan-hgyur), 'Translation of Treatises', and comprises works by individual Indian masters. It is therefore not 'Buddha-Word' (buddhavacana). It is grouped into two great sections, Commentaries on the Sūtras (mDo-hgrel) and Commentaries on the Tantras (rGyud-hgrel). The first group includes all works, not necessarily commentaries, which seek their authority in the teachings of the prajñāpāramitā-literature, of the mahāyāna-sūtras, or of still older traditions, while the second group is concerned with the new theories and

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1 This group includes the Phal-chen, dKon-brTsugs, mDo-sDe, and Myan-hdas sections of the Kanjur. The totals given are those of the Narthang Kanjur edition. Those of the Derge are slightly different: 13, 21, 46, and 20.

2 Such is the arrangement in the Narthang Tenjur. The Derge edition, however, divides it into seventeen parts: commentaries on the tantras (78 vols.), on prajñāpāramitā (16), mādhyamika works (17), commentaries on sūtras (10), vijñānamatrātā works (16), abhidharma (11), vinaya (18), jātaka (5), epistles (2), logic (20), philology (4), technical works (5), medicine (1), general matters (included in preceding volume), miscellaneous (9), eulogies (1), origins of the doctrine (1). All this material, with the exception of the tantra-commentaries and eulogies, is included in the one section of the Narthang edition, and as we are only concerned here with the proportion of works on the tantras to other works, such general grouping serves the immediate purpose.
practices. There are 137 volumes in the first group as against 86 in the second, and it may be observed that the proportion of works dealing with the tantras, which comprised only 22 volumes out of a total of 100 in the 'revealed' part of the canon, far exceeds that of all other 'non-revealed' works. This outweighing proportion becomes even the more impressive, when we recall that whereas the works included in the mDo-hgrel are the fruit of the whole period of mahāyāna development, works produced for the most part between the second and the eighth centuries A.D., those of the rGyud-hgrel belong precisely to the period in which we are interested, namely from the seventh to the twelfth centuries, the bulk of the works produced probably being concentrated towards the middle of this period. This at least indicates that while the earlier works were in no wise neglected (otherwise they would have found no place at all in the Tibetan Canon), actual creative activity was to be found almost exclusively concerned with the tantras. Nor is it just to compare unfavourably the work of these later writers with that of the earlier ones. The two periods, if we may refer to them as such, are in many ways analogous, first the appearance of the authoritative texts (buddhavacana), the late appearance of which is explained away in the same manner—they had been hidden away, entrusted to the nāgas and so on because mankind was not yet prepared to receive them—followed by the works of individual writers, who comment upon these basic texts, systematize them, and produce treatises of their own dealing with the same themes in well-ordered forms. As literature too the sūtras and tantras present exactly the same type. They exist in the form of discourses which the Lord Buddha in one of his manifestations is supposed to give to a company of followers, either bodhisattvas or divinities, who ask questions and are often astounded at some new pronouncement that is made, new in that it departs in some measure from existing ideas. It is interesting that our anonymous redactors are often aware of the novelties they are introducing, and the consternation of their imaginary hearers in all probability represents the real consternation of some hearers of flesh

1 Such a distinction corresponds with the 'two modes' (lugs gñis) of Tibetan Buddhism, the mode of the sūtras (mdo lugs) and the mode of the mantras (siṅgs lugs). The first group includes all those who are not followers of the tantras. There are different ways of distinguishing the various phases of Buddhism, depending upon that aspect of it which one wishes to stress. So far as practice is concerned, it would be difficult to distinguish clearly more than these two periods, since the early schools (śrāvakas) and the early followers of the mahāyāna pursue much the same methods, the practice of recognized Buddhist morality and the set performance of meditation. (Concerning this see Mircea Eliade, Yoga, Paris, 1954, ch. 6.) The tantras naturally form a separate period as we shall see. Such a division clearly cuts across the distinction (made according to philosophical development) of the 'three swingings of the wheel', concerning which see Schcherbatsky, 'Die drei Richtungen in der Philosophie des Buddhismus', Rocznik Orientalistyczny, vol. x, pp. 1 ff. This is, however, a tendentious article, written in reply to Schayer's introduction to his Auswahlte Kapitel aus der Prasannapada, 1931, and well illustrates the relative nature of these divisions.
and blood.¹ The discourses themselves are disordered and rambling, new ideas are just stated authoritatively with no consciousness of any necessity for showing their truth; there are sudden interruptions and long digressions. The language is usually inferior Sanskrit, sometimes betraying its dependence upon an earlier version in the vernacular. It is never possible to date these works with any precision just because they usually have no date, but have developed gradually through several generations of followers within one particular group, for whom they first become authoritative, authoritative in the sense that the pupil learns them from the mouth of his master, and in this way they become the buddha-word—in a very real sense in such a setting, where the word of the master is endowed with so much sanctity. They only assume a fixed form and wider popularity when some master of unusual literary ability and greater scholarship sets about the writing of a commentary, and the work, thereby brought to the notice of masters of equal ability in other schools, begins to extend its influence. When one is thus attempting to recapture the actual setting in which these works were produced, one needs to remember that many more pupils and masters were engaged in making use of these works than the comparative few whose names may be found in the indexes to the Tibetan Canon, and that many more works of an ‘authoritative’ nature were produced in the schools than those which gained sufficient popularity to permit their inclusion in this great collection.²

Of these two great periods of development, that of the śūtras and that of the tantras, the first is now comparatively well known in the general course of its progress and in the more detailed aspect of several of its important works, of which a representative selection, śūtras, commentaries, and philosophic treatises with their commentaries, has by now appeared in print. There has resulted from this labour a more just appreciation of the Buddhism of this period, which no one would now regard as a mere corruption of the earlier and ipso facto ‘genuine’ Buddhism of the Pāli texts. We find that Buddhism of all periods may be brought into parallel relationship, both as regards theory and practice, with the other religious and philosophical

¹ See, e.g., Hevajra-tantra, I. x. 14 and II. iv. 66.
² There seem to be certain false conceptions on this subject of ‘popularity’ and ‘popularizing’. See, e.g., S. B. Dasgupta, pp. 61–63. It was apparently ‘for the sake of the common run of people the mantras, the mudrās, and the manḍalas were introduced into Buddhism in the course of time’. This seems to suggest the existence of a ‘pure Buddhism’ consisting of bare philosophical notions and untramelled virtuous conduct, which at best is nothing more than a European creation of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Ninety-nine per cent. of all Buddhists were the ‘common run of people’ who had made use of invocations and gestures and circumambulations, at least from the time the first stūpa was built. There was never any need to introduce them, and as for the tantras, these represent a prescribed and special form, by no means popular, based largely upon practices that were already Buddhist. The rite of maithuna seems to be an exception, but even this served to give expression to an existing Buddhist aspiration, namely unity with prajñā, and this particular practice seems eventually to have reverted to pure idea.
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schools of thought which existed at any one time. Their mutual dependence and interrelationship render the whole study extremely complex; it is as yet little worked. Nevertheless there is nothing surprising in this realization, nor in the manner in which it would seem to have proceeded. Men develop ideas with regard to the technique of meditation, with regard to the nature of man and of phenomenal existence as a whole; these ideas receive concrete expression within definite schools; an acknowledged leader arises and through his personal example and influence, his following increases and becomes renowned. During his lifetime his teachings can only be in terms of the concepts then prevalent, although they may be stated with greater authority from a personal realization of their truth or non-truth as the case may be. After his death the teachings still continue logically in his name, developing as ideas develop and absorbing that which can be absorbed without too great a conflict with the body of existing tradition. From some quarters there would always be opposition to new ideas, but the test of whether they were eventually Buddhist or not always consists in their receiving or not receiving sufficient acceptance for their absorption within the body of teaching and practice of any group who called themselves Buddhists. There would always be some who would continue to deny their validity, but they would never be able to produce any cogent authority for their denial, for the axiom would always be: Yat kim cin Maitreya subhāsitam tad buddhavacanam, and it must remain for the masters of each school to decide what within the context of their tradition might be considered well said or not.

This whole conception of development, while now generally accepted for the earlier mahāyāna, namely that which has its authority in the sūtras, has not yet been logically and fairly applied to the later period, namely that of the tantras. There is still a tendency to regard them as something corrupt, as belonging to the twilight of Buddhism. They are regarded in fact


2 As typical of this view see Kern, Indian Buddhism, p. 133.

3 As typical of this view see Kern, Indian Buddhism, p. 133.

4 See also Sylvain Lévi: 'Le Bouddhisme, encore enrichi de donations fréquentes jusqu’au VIIIe siècle, comme en témoignent les inscriptions, n’est plus, dès le siècle suivant qu’un accident sur le sol de l’Inde', Grande Encyclopédie, vol. xx, p. 608. Such a view seems now to be pure supposition. For its now manifest historical inaccuracy see ref. p. 1, fn. 2. Is the Tibetan canon, one of the lasting works of this period, but ‘un accident’? Not only Tibet, but S. E. Asia attests in its archaeological remains the active influence of tantric Buddhism. See, e.g., Krom, The Buddhism of Borobudur, vol. ii, pp. 327 ff.
much as the whole of the mahāyāna used to be regarded from the standpoint of the Pāli texts.¹ The reasons for this restricted view are in both cases the same, namely just as the mahāyāna-sūtras and the commentaries and treatises associated with them were little known at the end of the last century, so now the tantras and their associated works are themselves little known. But on the basis of such small knowledge with regard to them as often exists, they are found to be one of the main causes of the downfall of Buddhism in India, because they either undermined its morale, or removed those distinguishing features by which Buddhism could continue to function as an independent religion. Yet it would seem that as good literature the sūtras scarcely excel the tantras, nor are their credentials much better. Such commentaries and works of exegesis as I have so far had occasion to refer to are works that show considerable knowledge of their subject, well written and entirely serious in their intention. In no sense are they degenerate or even inferior to the works of earlier commentators on other Buddhist texts. Some are of higher quality than others, but this applies at all times. Nor of course does this period of Buddhism end with the effacement of Buddhism in India, which was probably brought about by physical causes, the destruction of the centres of learning and the absence of royal support; it is simply transferred to Tibet, and after some delay, for the Tibetans had all to learn, it continued afresh in their schools, and although very little indeed of their vast labours has yet been made available to outsiders, such little as there is attests their extraordinary ability.

As for the charge that Buddhism ceases to be distinguishable from certain other types of Indian religious practice at this time, this was now no more true than it had ever been. It is indeed true that Buddhist and non-Buddhist tantras are based upon similar ideas and often contain similar material, and that many parallels may be obvious, but one may well ask at what previous stage of the doctrine was this not true. The Buddhists now as much as before garbed similar ideas in a distinctive terminology, nor even can we be sure that they were following a lead in introducing these new notions and practices. The followers of the non-Buddhist tantras may well have been as dependent upon those who called themselves Buddhists, as the vedāntists were probably dependent upon the mādhyamikas. These are questions which can only gradually be resolved as these works become better known. Nevertheless it will be seen already in the work here edited that there are notions that are not Buddhist, in the sense that they are not properly assimilated, and so seem to exist in contradiction with the wider context. These will be referred to in due course, and are mentioned now only lest one should be tempted to point to them as showing the non-Buddhist character of the whole. De la Vallée Poussin has well said: ‘On

¹ In protest against this earlier limited view, see de la Vallée Poussin, BEM, pp. 1-3.
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regarde d'habitude le Tantrisme idolâtre et superstitieux comme "n'étant plus du Bouddhisme"; on oublie que le Bouddhisme n'est pas séparable des bouddhistes, et que les Hindous bouddhistes étaient volontiers idolâtres, superstitieux ou métaphysiciens.¹

But if the tantras have been neglected it has not been without reason, for it must be conceded that they refer to unpleasant practices on occasions, and sometimes dwell unnecessarily, or at least so it may seem to the modern reader, upon matters that might be touched upon more tactfully. It must further be admitted that even the present translation expunges short passages here and there, in which nothing of value is lost. It would not be fair to expect such sensitiveness on this score from our commentators, and in attempting to interpret these texts one can do no better than follow their lead, for they are the Buddhists who presumably practised these precepts, and it is their Buddhism we are attempting to understand. One may be confident that they deal with them in all seriousness. In the particular yoga practised, physical forces, whether of the seminal power or of the breath, need to be brought under control, and it may be to this process that some of these passages refer. There may be others that permit of a symbolical interpretation, and there are few religions that have not made use of analogous symbolism. Lastly there are the practices used by 'fools', a useful category that disposes of all malpractice.² Let it not be thought, however, that one is thereby deliberately explaining away a portion of these works in order to render the rest palatable. We are explaining these works as they were traditionally interpreted and understood. It was the realization of enlightenment that was the goal, and if these means proved efficacious, they might be confidently employed. In this we are aware of a discrepancy existing between the tantras themselves and the exegetical works of those who later adopt them, for while the latter never lose sight of the goal which is self-realization, the tantras often treat of rites in such a naïve manner as to belie any esoteric intention. In the commentaries one is dealing always with the internal process, or with the internal process as the end envisaged. In the tantra itself one is concerned with actual practices in the world without. There are certain very clear examples of this in

¹ Id., p. 6.
² Thus V commenting upon I. x. 6: 'Then in order to teach fools the way of passion, one should cause to enter in the mandala this girl.' (77 b 1). Again commenting on II. vii. 5 ff.: 'This is for the understanding of fools who are in the power of passion' (125 b 2). Again commenting on II. v. 58 ff.: 'The siddhi of passion is not to be obtained by eating flesh and drinking wine and practising sexual union at these external meeting-places (see also p. 69, note 2). For those who think thus, their stock of dharma (chos kyi phun po) even though it be 84,000-fold will be rendered ineffective and their effort in yoga, though it be of the best, will come to nought. So when the text says that one gains the siddhi of passion by celebrating this gathering with eating and drinking and so on, this can only be for the sake of attracting simple fools' (129 a 5-7). See my observation below, which is based on such passages as these—Introduction, p. 17.
the Hevajra-tantra. Chapter 7 of Part I refers in clear terms to the gatherings that come together at the meeting-places (melaka) and one is left in little doubt concerning the actuality of the rites performed there. Yet the commentators will have none of this, and for them there are no places of pilgrimage like those within one's own body. A similar example is to be found in the song of the yoginis at the beginning of Chapter 4 of Part II, for what is this if not a description of such a gathering? Tāranātha even recounts of Kānha, who was perhaps the author of the commentary included in this edition, that 'he was when practising the Samvara-tantra close to Nālandā, a dākini instructed him saying: “At the place of the goddesses called Kāmaru there will be siddhi by means of exterior practice, so go and receive it.” He went there and found a basket, and when he opened it, there appeared a drum provided with criss-cross cords. As soon as he took it in his hands, his feet ceased to touch the ground, and as he beat upon it violently, yogins and yoginis, 500 in number, came from all directions and escorted him' (Tāranātha, tib. text, p. 161, ll. 20 ff.). Yet Kānha, whose interpretation of this song is translated below (pp. 101–2), is as much concerned as the other commentators to find in it a description of the inner process of reintegration. Likewise there are several references to the eating of some kinds of human flesh. This we have to understand, it seems, as the consuming of the notion of a self, but the tantra itself by no means implies this. Here one eats this flesh in order to transform one's own body, so that it may become endowed with the powers of an aerial being. One is often aware that siddhi means not so much enlightenment, as perfection in magical powers which here receive first place.

No one can reasonably dispute the fact that the basic texts of the tantras have this murky and macabre appearance, and it is no excuse to say that 'it is open to any one to sit down and write a tantra', for while no doubt all too true, one still must explain why these very same works should become endowed with such esteem. In the solution of this problem real interest should begin, for while the defects of some of these texts are so apparent, still more apparent is the glorious blossoming of human genius which they certainly nourished. Scholars, saints, and artists of first rank appear throughout the succeeding centuries and their works bear testimony to them to this day. In many ways the civilization developed in Tibet is analogous to that of our Middle Ages in the west, and just as here Christianity provided the inspiration and Greece and Rome the model, so there Buddhism was the inspiration and the arts and sciences of India their model. It may indeed

1 Woodroffe, Shakti and Shākta, p. 577.
2 Numerous quotations from the Hevajra-tantra are to be found in the few works by tantric authors which are so far easily available. See, e.g., the Advayavajrasamgraha, p. 26, ll. 7, 24; 27, 9; 32, 10; 33, 13–14; 34, 7–8; 35, 16–19. Bagchi, Dohākoṣa, pp. 65, 67, 68, 69, 103, 151, 152, 154, 157. Sekoddeśaṭīkā, pp. 63, 71.
appear strange that this Buddhism should be of the kind that bears such close affinities with these often reprehensible texts, but it would be absurd to deny the value of those later developments just because we dislike their origins. Manure nourishes the fairest rose, and we know far too little of the nature of man and of the growth and decline of his civilization, to ignore these particular studies because of personal distaste.

This present edition presents one of these strange works of ritual, that which circles around the divinity Hevajra and his consort Nairātmyā.\(^1\) It was one of the most renowned of Buddhist tantras in India itself, was adopted in Tibet by the Ka-gyū-pas (bKa-rgyud-pa) (to which the biography of Rechung bears witness)\(^2\) and the Sa-kyā-pas (Sa-skya-pa), for whom it became a fundamental treatise to which they devoted much work of exegesis. It was in this rite that the young Khubilai, later to be khan of all the Mongols, was initiated by one of their abbots, hGro-dGon hPhags-pa.

Yet as will be seen, this work has all the defects of its class. Little attention is paid to grammar and even less to scansion. The style is often crude and disjointed, and the whole work shows no logical construction. It would have considerably assisted comprehensibility to have rearranged the material in the translation, but this would have given an entirely false impression of the nature of the work, which already benefits considerably from its transference into English, a claim that may be safely made in this case without any undue sense of personal achievement. It has seemed better therefore to add a bare résumé of the contents (pp. 121-5) and it is hoped that, on the basis of this, the various disjointed parts of the work will fall into place. The translation follows the text faithfully unless indicated in the notes, but no attempt has been made to translate a Sanskrit term with the same word regardless of context. Moreover in some cases it has seemed better to introduce the Sanskrit term itself, which elsewhere may appear translated. To compensate for such freedom, which no readable translation could renounce, the important terms have been separately discussed in the Glossary and an attempt made to fix their meaning (pp. 131-41).

\(^1\) The name Hevajra is itself merely an invocation of the final truth (tajra): He Vajra = Tibetan: Kyehi rDorje; see Buddhist Himālaya, p. 73. It sometimes is spelt, however, with the phonetically similar form: dGyes pahi rDorje (Harsavajra, 'Rejoicing Vajra'). This occurs among the 108 names of Vajradhara as listed in the Tattvasamgrahatantra (Narthang Kanjur, rgyud vii, f. 249 b 3). The Chinese extends the name into 'Great Vajra of Compassion and Voidness', ta pei k'ung chin kang. Concerning these two primary principles, compassion (karunā = upāya) and voidness (śūnyatā = prajñā) see below, Introduction, pp. 23-24. Nairātmyā is self-explanatory; see p. 24.

\(^2\) This was the first cause of my own interest in the work. Ras-chung made several visits to Nepal in the early twelfth century, where he seems to have met Maitrpa (alias Advayavajra) or a manifestation of him, pp. 23-24, and brought back several works connected with the Hevajra-tantra. This account accords with Maitrpa's known pre-dilection for this tantra (see p. 9, note 2). I questioned Professor Tucci, under whose guidance I was then working, concerning this connexion, who gave the best possible answer by placing his manuscript of the tantra in my hands.
words used in Part I and their translations will be found in the Index. The notes accompanying my English rendering are intended to justify and elucidate the translation by appeal to commentaries, from which extracts are made, or by reference to other parts of the work.

II. ORIGINS

There has been occasion already to refer to the realistic nature of parts of the Hevajra-tantra, the gatherings at the recognized meeting-places and the rites performed there. With the translation before us, itself sufficiently eloquent, there is little need to draw further attention to them, as it is this aspect of the work which will impress itself all too readily upon the reader. Well may one question the right of these yogins to call themselves Buddhists, who experience the consummation of enlightenment in the embrace of a yogini. It is this very act which is regarded as serving the universal good of living-beings. Thereafter the pupil is free to pursue the practice of strenuous meditation and physical self-control, and after five years or more he will perhaps succeed. He receives the five symbolic adornments, crown, ear-rings, necklace, bracelets, girdle, signs of his success. These he wears on those set occasions, the eighth or fifteenth day of the dark-fortnight, when perfected yogins and yoginis come together, to consume the flesh and wine, to sing and dance, and realize their consummation of bliss. He is free from all conventions and wanders as he pleases, knowing no distinction between friend or foe, clean or unclean, good or evil.

Such is the circle in which our tantra has its origin, amidst outcasts and voluntary outcasts, who reassert their position by means of the powers with which they become credited, and it is by their success that they are vindicated. Because in the early stages these men were very careful and guarded the secret, no one knew that they were practising the secret mantras, until they actually became possessed of magical powers (vidyādhara). But when they had these powers, travelling in the sky or becoming invisible, then it was known conclusively that they were practisers of mantras. On account of this (secrecy) there was but very little handing down of traditional teachings from master to pupil (that can be traced), and

1 See II. ii. c, II. iii. b.
2 See II. ii. a. The period of five years is suggested by some of the biographies of the eighty-four siddhas. In every case several years of practice were required from the time consecration was received from a master. Thus Tānkadāsa required three years (EM, p. 99), Saroruha 12 (EM, p. 46), Kampala 12 (VZ, p. 176). Mahāpadmavajra, however, succeeded in one year (EM, p. 43) and Jālandhari instantaneously (EM, p. 59). It is generally agreed that years of strenuous practice were required. One may also compare in this respect the biography of Mi-la Ras-pa.
3 See I. vi. a.
4 See I. vii, II. iv. a; II. vii, b.
5 See I. vi. b, II. iii. h.
although there had been much study devoted to the kriyā- and caryātantras from the time when the mahāyāna began to spread, as they were practised very much in secret, no one knew who was studying them except for those actually engaged in these secret mantras¹ (Ṭāranātha, tib. text, p. 82, ll. 15 ff.).

‘Many anuttarayogatantras of profound import were brought to light by individual masters—the Hevajra by Kampala and Saroruha’ (id., p. 209, ll. 15 and 18). They were considered to be of profound import because they had developed certain powerful means of mental and physical control, which if practised rightly, seemed to lead with certainty to that state of spiritual equipoise which had always been the chief goal of Indian religious endeavour. These ‘individual masters’, the first sponsors of these works, are known collectively in both Indian and Tibetan tradition as the eighty-four Perfected Ones (siddhas), and it is therefore in their biographies that one must seek knowledge of the first transmissions. There are two complete collections of these biographies preserved in Tibetan, one in the canon itself and the other in the works of Ṭāranātha.¹ Separate biographies also appear in the histories of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism by Bu-ston, gZon-nu-dPal, Padma dKar-po, and Ṭāranātha. There is then no shortage of such material, and in portraying the lives of these men, or the lives they were believed to lead (which for the study of the nature of a religion is just as important) it is of considerable assistance. But when one seeks to bring them into an historical framework, one is presented with the great difficulty of one master often possessing more than one name, and of several masters possessing the same name. This is all the more unfortunate in that it affects chiefly the more important names, just because of the renown that attached to them.

Thus SARORUHA, who is credited with bringing our tantra to light, and whose interest in it is proved by his writing of the commentary which is often quoted below, and of several short works (sādhana, vidhi, stotra)² concerned with the Hevajra cycle, has also the name of Padmavajra, and there were many with this name, as Ṭāranātha himself informs us.³ Both he and Kampala, who although also credited with the finding of this tantra, has only one short work to his name on the theme,⁴ appear as contemporaries of King Indrabhūti, but there are three Indrabhūtis. One is certainly led to mistrust such a multiplying of some of these names, but it is impossible to

¹ These are the Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bāihi lo rgyus, the first work in vol. 86 of the Narthang Tenjur, translated by Grünwedel as ‘Die vierundachtzig Zauberer’ in Baessler Archiv, vol. 5, and the bKah babs bdun ldan of Tāranātha, edited by Sarat Candra Das (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1901) and translated by Grünwedel as Tāranātha’s Edelsteinmine, Petrograd, 1914. For a general discussion of these siddhas and a comparison of their various name-lists see Tucci, TPS, pp. 226–32. Of the histories Tāranātha’s (Schiefner’s edition, Petrograd, 1868) is the most useful.
² These are to be found in the Narthang Tenjur, vol. xxi.
³ See Schiefner, p. 188.
discriminate against them until their works become better known, and one may then be able to reject some as barren. In the meantime one's selection of facts from this material is to some extent arbitrary and certainly subject to later correction.

Now Tāranātha gives a succession of names that would fit quite well, and also provides the connecting link that is needed with a second succession.¹

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<th>Indrabhūti I</th>
<th>Aśvapada</th>
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<td>Mahāpadmavajra</td>
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<td>Saroruha</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indrabhūti II</td>
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Indrabhūti II receives instruction from both Saroruha and Kampala, which brings them together both in time and place. There is also another connecting link. Elsewhere in his history, Tāranātha refers to Dombi-heruka both as preceding Saroruha and Kampala and as having taken an initial interest in the Hevajra-tantra of which he receives the quintessence (sāra);² furthermore his association with this cycle is confirmed by the existence of an invocation of Nairātmyā and her troupe written in his name and drawn from our tantra (Sādhanamālā 228). His seniority to Saroruha and Kampala, Tāranātha confirms quite incidentally in the biographies, when he makes him a contemporary of Vilasyavajrā.³

From Indrabhūti II the succession continues through Jālandhari to Krṣṇa (or Kaṇha), author of the Yogaratnamālā, one of the few commentaries on the Hevajra-tantra which is all but complete in Sanskrit and the full text of which it has seemed useful to give in this edition.⁴

¹ EM, pp. 40–49 and 49–58. ² See Schiefner, p. 192. ³ See EM, p. 50. ⁴ See EM, p. 43. To identify this particular Krṣṇa with any certainty at the present stage of our knowledge seems impossible. An attempt has already been made by Shahidullah (Chants Mystiques, pp. 24–29). Jālandhari is referred to with respect in one of the songs (no. 9, p. 115), and Shahidullah, assured of this connexion, associates this Krṣṇa with the one referred to by Tāranātha, Schiefner, p. 195, where Jālandhari and Krṣṇa appear as contemporaries of a certain king Govicandra, who, again according to Tāranātha, was a contemporary of Dharmakirti. On the basis of this and still less certain evidence (q.v.) he places Krṣṇa about A.D. 700. Such a Krṣṇa, a name all too common, may well have lived at this time, but our accounts clearly conflict, unless we also assume the existence of at least two Jālandharis, one the master of Shahidullah’s Krṣṇa, and the other the master of the Krṣṇa who lived under King Devapāla (Schiefner, p. 211) and was experienced in the Hevajra-tantra, &c. He was certainly a pupil of Jālandhari (also adept in the Hevajra-tantra) and their succession is given (EM, p. 43) in a manner which accords completely with my present requirements. The master of Jālandhari is Indrabhūti II, not Indrabhūti I, a distinction Shahidullah fails to make when he refers to this passage. It would upset his calculations by at least 100 years. Krṣṇa was a common name and the various persons who bore it are not distinguished. There may well have been one who lived about 700, and it may be he who is mentioned at EM, p. 40. At Schiefner, p. 195 he seems to be confused with someone else (Schiefner, p. 244) who lived much later under King Govicandra, who Tāranātha informs us (Schiefner, p. 197) preceded Lalitacandra who was the last of the
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Now as for dates we have two points d'appui. Mahāpadmavajra may be identified with Padmasambhava, adopted son of Indrabhūti, who goes to Tibet in the second half of the eighth century, while Kānha at this end of the series is stated by Tāranātha to have been a contemporary of King Devapāla, who ruled in the first half of the ninth century. We thus have the Hevajra-tantra existing in its present form towards the end of the eighth century. This may yet be confirmed by the short passages of *apabhramśa* which are to be found in it, when more work has been done upon this dialect.

With Tāranātha we may follow the succession through Kānha to Bhadrapada, the author of yet another commentary on the Hevajra-tantra, which we shall frequently have occasion to quote.1 He in turn gave instruction

*Candra* dynasty. The last two kings of the Candra dynasty were Govindacandra and Layahacandra and are assigned to the first half of the eleventh century (Dynastic History of Northern India, vol. i, p. 385). This dating still further demolishes the evidence which Shahidullah adduces to substantiate the existence of his Kṛṣṇa in A.D. 700. Under Devapāla (first half of ninth century) there is another Kṛṣṇa, for whom in accordance with EM, p. 43 (and since Shahidullah has now no claim) I accept Jālandhari as master. This Kṛṣṇa, expert in the *Hevajratantra* (Schiefner, p. 211), may be presumed to be the author of one of the commentaries on the *Hevajratantra* written in this name. There are two such commentaries, one the *Yogaratnamālā*, preserved in Sanskrit and included in this edition, and the other the *Smritimālā*, a shorter work existing in Tibetan translation. A certain Kṛṣṇa Panḍita co-operated in the task of translating the *Yogaratnamālā* into Tibetan, and if he were also author of the other text, one might presume that the *Yogaratnamālā* was the ninth-century work, but there is no internal evidence to support this. The Tibetan *lotsava*, mGos-lha-btsas, who translated the commentary of Ratnākaraśānti (c. 1100) also translated the *Smritimālā*, which could suggest a comparably late date for this commentary also. This almost negligible evidence would favour the *Yogaratnamālā* as the work of the Kṛṣṇa of the early ninth century, which I accept as a convenient but merely provisional identification. I referred above to the unsatisfactory nature of these biographies, and it has seemed best to place all this doubtful discussion in a note, leaving a simple and plausible scheme in the Introduction itself. It is certainly satisfactory to find that the dating of all the siddhas I am interested in accords with the genealogical table laboriously worked out by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in his article on the eighty-four siddhas (*JA* 225, 1934, pp. 218 ff.). He gives only one Kṛṣṇa, a pupil of Jālandhari, and assigned to the early ninth century. According to Tāranātha (EM, p. 69) the Jālandhari who was a contemporary of King Govicandra (the corner-stone of Shahidullah's construction—Schiefner, p. 195) was a fourth incarnation of this siddha, so there would be little difficulty in assigning him to the eleventh century. In fairness to Shahidullah it must be said that Tāranātha makes no mention of this in his history and records the event there as though it preceded the whole Pāla dynasty, and actually makes this king contemporary with Dharmakirti. The confusion therefore exists in the sources at our disposal, where the same name can continually reappear. See also Tucci, A Sanskrit Biography of the Siddhas and some questions connected with Nāgārjuna (*JRASB* xxvi, pp. 138–58), where this same problem is discussed. It seems, however, that Shahidullah may well be wrong in the dates he ascribes to the Chants Mystiques. The songs in early Bengali may perhaps belong to the eleventh century while the *dohās* in *apabhramśa* are likely to be earlier. The language appears to be at the same stage as the few verses that appear in the *Hevajra-tantra*, and there is no reason for assuming that the old Bengali verses and the *dohās* are by the same Kṛṣṇa.

1 EM, p. 71. This is a plausible connexion. I assume that the author of the *Śrihevajra-vyākhyātāvarama*, given as Bhāta ādīs in the colophon of the Narthang edition, is the Bhadrapada, alias Guhya, here referred to. The *Ui* catalogue (Derge canon) attributes this same work to Bhavabhadra. A certain Bhavabhadra was abbot of Vikramāśila, fourth in succession from Buddhajñānapāda, who was contemporary with King Dharmapāla. It would be possible to identify him with the author of our commentary.
to Tillopa, who, as is well known, was the master of Nāropa, the author of yet another commentary, and the connecting link with the Tibetan line of the Ka-gyū-pas.¹ Nāropa lived in the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh. To this same period belong Taṅkadāsa,² a monk of Nālandā, and Ratnākaraśānti³ of Vikramaśila, both also writers of commentaries on this tantra.

Of the commentators there remain two of importance who are not listed amongst the 84 Siddhas, Dharmakirti and Vajragarbha. In his history Tāranātha writes of Dharmakirti, the logician, whom he regards, however, as a follower of the tantras, naming Vajraghāṇṭa or Dārika or Teṇgi as his vajrācārya.⁴ All these three are in any case contemporaries, belonging to the latter half of the eighth century. It is therefore not unreasonable to deduce the existence of a second Dharmakirti, author of the commentary on the Hevajra-tantra that exists in his name, presuming this to have been written early in the ninth century.

Vajragarbha presents a more difficult problem. His commentary is the longest and by far the most useful, for there is little he leaves unexplained. He gives not only the figurative ‘internal’ meaning of the practices mentioned, in which the other commentators are usually alone interested, but uncovers also the actual rite involved. At the same time he does not fail to note the futility of such performances.⁵ This commentary is admirably presented, each chapter being introduced by a separate verse, while the whole is preceded by a long introduction in verse, in which he laments the existence of those evil masters, who seek only wealth and enjoyment under cover of the doctrine, and impose upon their trusting pupils. He assumes himself and is given in the colophon the title of the Bodhisattva Vajragarbha, a religious name presumably adopted from the tantra itself, where Vajragarbha is the chief interlocutor. He therefore remains completely anonymous. The colophon in the Tenjur states that this commentary, ‘hard to get’, was obtained in Nepal from Maitrīpa by the monk-translator Prajñākirti of ḤBro (Lotsaba ḤBro dGe-sloṅ Šes-rab Grags-pa). Maitrīpa lived in the eleventh century.

In his introduction Vajragarbha states that our version of the Hevajra-tantra, which consists of two parts (kalpa) and 750 ślokas, is but the shorter version of the original work which had thirty-two parts and 500,000 ślokas. The Chinese translation repeats a similar tradition, explaining the work as two sections from an original thirty-one. Bu-sTon also lists among the lost

¹ EM, p. 71.
² EM, p. 99. Taṅkadāsa (Kayasthavrddha) lived in the reign of Mahipāla (978–1026) and taught Durhari who taught Mahāvajrāsana, a contemporary of Atiśa (982–1054).
³ For the life of Ratnākaraśānti see EM, pp. 105–9. He was a pupil of Nāropa, EM, p. 79.
⁵ See p. 8, note 2.
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parts of the canon a version of this tantra in 100,000 ślokas. Each tantra, he says, consists of a great number of fundamental and explanatory tantras. This of course is likely and it was presumably on the basis of a large amount of such floating material that an authorized text would become established. The fact that one and the same version appears in all the commentaries and in the Tibetan and Chinese translations certainly bears witness to the strength of the tradition when once this had come about. There are no means of checking nor indeed grounds for disputing Tāranātha’s assertion (quoted above) that Kampala and Saroruha brought the work to light (spyan-drañs), which certainly involved fixing its present form as Saroruha’s commentary proves. At the same time the existence of other versions, at least of parts of the text, is attested by some of the short works in the Sādhanamālā. One may see, for example, no. 228 (already referred to above on p. 13) which is said to come from the Hevajra-tantra, and bears close affinities with Chapters 3 and 8 in Part I of our version, some of the verses being identical. It is of interest to observe that Dombi-heruka, to whom it is attributed, precedes Saroruha, and so writes perhaps before the fixing of the text, as also does Anaṅgavajra, author of another short sādhana preserved in the Tenjur (rGyud, xxi. 246–7). All the sādhanas of Nairātmyā preserved in the Sādhanamālā are by their very nature related. The two opening ślokas of no. 229 correspond exactly with our text II. viii. 6–7. One is here on the edge of a very large problem, for there are remnants of the basic material of not only the Hevajra-tantra but of several tantras, material which must have been sufficiently extensive to give rise to the notion of original works of the fantastic length of 500,000 ślokas. Nor, knowing the Indian genius for the producing of works which at least begin to approximate to these proportions, can one discount altogether the possibility of the existence of other and longer versions. This is borne out by a reference in our text itself (I. xi. 12), where we are told that the full sādhana of Kurukullā is given in twelve parts, which the commentators refer to the long version (vistirṇahevajratantra). There are a large number of sādhanas of this goddess in the Sādhanamālā, which are by no means the special preserve of the Hevajra-tantra, where her only reason for intrusion is her association with the rite of vaśya, ‘subduing’, in which she is specially proficient. Nevertheless the reference to the existence of this longer version stands, and for the present must remain unexplained. It is only strange that if such a longer version existed, the commentators should not have made some use of it.

Yet there is another version, which Vajragarbha constantly and Nāropa occasionally quotes. In his introduction Vajragarbha announces his intention of explaining the short version of 750 ślokas which comes out of the

1 Obermiller, p. 170.
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long version of 500,000 ślokas ‘in conformity with the basic tantra (mūlatantra), the fundamental text of 6,000 ślokas’. He confuses the matter by sometimes referring to this work as the ‘basic tantra of 500,000 ślokas’, a confusion which probably arises from vagueness concerning this long version the existence of which tradition maintained. The actual passages that he quotes, come from no normal tantra; they are always explanatory and doctrinal, and it is to this work that he frequently refers when he is seeking the figurative meaning of a passage. As a typical example one may refer to the matter of the corpse (p. 71). Again the tree and cemetery mentioned in I. vi. 6 are explained in a quotation as referring to the human body when the breath no longer roams about. Still more clearly, in introducing his discussion of Chapter 7 he says: ‘From this short version just as it is taught one learns the obvious meaning (neyārtha); the real meaning (nītārtha) is to be learned from the Mūlatantra.’

Now this is a statement of considerable general significance, for while the tantra itself was intended to be understood in its obvious (and be it added in its often reprehensible) sense, the leaders of this new period persist in regarding it in a figurative sense, for which it provided means of expression, such as had never been fully realized at any previous stage in the development of Buddhism. It is misleading to pretend that the doctrine was now suddenly invaded and swamped with popular and superstitious practices. This tendency existed at all times, for the Buddhists were Hindus, as there has been occasion to observe above. It is true that new ideas, some of a quite revolutionary character, now gradually enter and transform the whole doctrine, but in no sense were these new practices popular. They are based upon schemes of extreme complexity and circumscribed with all the authority of fixed traditions. The names of divinities employed may be of popular origin, but here they are endowed for the initiated with a far more profound significance, and this has the far-reaching effect of uniting in a common symbolism the aspirations of the enlightened and the simple-minded, which in any organized religion is a matter of strength and not of decrepitude. This was not a conscious intention on the part of the innovators, who were primarily concerned with their own means of release. Moreover the names that give substance to the symbolic patterns of the Hevajra-tantra are for the most part not even popular divinities, but the names of some of the lowest of Indian castes, and they appear there because women of these castes had been employed and presumably still were employed whenever ‘fools’ actually performed these rites. They persist as part of the figurative interpretation, simply because they were already there, and any set of names would serve the purpose, when once given the authority of a tradition.

As this mūlatantra in common with other works of exegesis concentrates
on the figurative sense, it is probably the work of some recognized master, and not impossibly of that writer himself who goes by the name of Vajragarbha. On my observation Nāropa, the only other commentator to quote it,\(^1\) quotes nothing that does not already appear in Vajragarbha's text, and from which he may well have extracted it. The connexion between Nāropa and Maitrpa\(^2\) in whose hands the work reposed was very close. I remain persuaded that this particular 'basic text' is in any case later than the tantra itself and the early commentators, SARORUHA, KĀNHA, BHADRAPADA, and DHARMAKĪRTI and unknown to TĀNKADĀSA and RATNAKARASĀNTI.

The fact that there is only one known version of the tantra, apart from the fragments of similar material referred to above (p. 16) increases the likelihood of Saroruha's merely having given circulation to an already existing text, to the age of which it becomes difficult to set a term until more tantras have been individually studied. The work was probably in dialect; hence the serious defects in scansion, when it was roughly sanskritized. The passages that remain in dialect may therefore reflect in their linguistic forms the period in which the sanskritized version was produced, and not the date of the work itself. Tibetan tradition would in general consider the tantras as old as the sūtras, explaining their relatively late appearance by the secrecy with which they were transmitted. This, however, is unconvincing, for these texts only began to have importance for Buddhism when they were brought into the open, and one may err as much by laying stress on their secrecy as their supposed popularity. The rites and practices prescribed in them probably derive from considerably earlier times. All that is new is their adoption of a Buddhist garb, and this with complete disregard of the contradictions that exist. It is this stage that the tantra itself represents, but nothing will be gained by hazarding a guess of the date of this process. The amount of material still awaiting exploration is vast, and much will be gained from a comparison of a few of the fundamental texts. We know, for example, from the Hevajra-tantra itself that it was written after the Sarvatathāgata-tattvātvasamgraha.\(^3\) Not only does our text refer specifically (II. v. 57) to this work, but from internal evidence there is no doubt that it is earlier.

What is of interest to us now is the manner in which these texts were accepted as part of the established order of Buddhism. They are transferred from their weird and seemingly unhealthy setting to the schools and monasteries. They no longer describe those orgiastic gatherings of yogins and yoginis, but the inner process of self-integration of a man in meditation,

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\(^1\) It is also quoted frequently in the Sekoddeśatīkā, a work also attributable to Nāropa.

\(^2\) Concerning Maitrpa see TPS i, p. 232.

\(^3\) To be found in the Narthang Kanjur rGyud, vii, fols. 213 ff. An early Skr. MS. of this work has recently been discovered by Prof. J. Brough and myself in Nepal. It will be published in due course.
and the enemy against whom the fierce rite of slaying is directed is the notion of his own substantiality.

III. SUBJECT-MATTER

*The Philosophical Basis*

Any form of mysticism, unless restrained by reason, is liable to find philosophical expression in a theory of absolute unity. Convinced of the essential reality of the mystical experience itself, a man may deny reality to rational and sensual experience, which can only realize itself in diversity. Philosophically this denial can be expressed in various and apparently contradictory ways; they are only apparently contradictory because the essential idea remains unchanged, namely that the one goal of all endeavour is to be found in mystical experience. It may also be asserted (as is done by the Mādhyamikas) that any attempt at philosophical expression is necessarily contradictory, because of its nature philosophical disquisition belongs to the sphere of diversity, and is therefore at best only relative to particular needs. While therefore one may reasonably speak of the development of Buddhist thought in an historical context, one remains aware that the practical end which they are seeking to define, or of which they deny any possible definition, as the case may be, is necessarily the same, for all their schools are essentially mystical. Philosophical as much as theological means of expression will affect the type of practice and therefore the type of mystical experience until it reaches the summit of achievement, the ‘point’ (bindu), which can know of no diversity.

The theory of the one goal is itself, however, a philosophical development, finding expression in Buddhism in the doctrine of the ‘One Way’ (ekayāna), as also is the theory of relativity, of the essential non-substantiality (niḥsvabhāva) or voidness (śūnyatā) of things. Both these theories could have had serious consequences for the later development of Buddhism, for if there is but one way, this may be understood as all ways being equally good, and if all doctrine is thus relative, then the choice between this doctrine and that, Buddhist or non-Buddhist, is a matter of expediency, of finding the most effective means towards the end that is sought. But in actual fact the consequences were by no means so devastating, for the Mādhyamikas were not the only philosophers, and it is in this period that the final great synthesis of Buddhist teaching was evolved, and the concepts of the earlier period (abhidharma) brought into relationship with the new philosophical theory of absolute unity, which was now in vogue in all schools. The teachings, which in theory at least were threatened by the Mādhyamikas, were established on a new and sure foundation by the Yogācāras. Both are equally convinced of the reality of the mystical
experience, but whereas the one asserts the non-substantiality of all experience and the indeterminability of any absolute itself, the other asserts the absolute existence of the one unity which contains potentially the twofold division into this and that, into subject (grāhaka) and object (grāhya), and so on into ever greater diversity.

This absolute is defined as thought in its pure condition, as 'just thought' (cittamātra), freed from all accidental (āgantuka) defiling processes. These defiling processes, the notion of self and other and of all sensual and rational experience, are in themselves as non-existent as the Mādhyamikas conceived of them, but for the Yogācāras they repose upon a basis, for they are reflections of pure thought, possessing such reality as the reflection of things in a mirror, in manifestation unreal but essentially real.

But the Mādhyamikas cannot admit this distinction. For them essence (svabhāva) and manifestation (utpāda) are equally unreal, or in terms of actual experience: 'Between nirvāṇa and samsāra there is not the slightest shade of difference.'

Now the basic philosophical position of the tantras is Mādhyamika. It asserts the fundamental unity of nirvāṇa and samsāra, of mystical and sensual experience, and it regards all means as relative to the needs of the practiser. It is in fact in the tantras that are realized to some extent the serious consequences referred to above, but only to some extent, for the process is checked by the conservative tendencies represented by the Yogācāras, and the whole movement remains essentially Buddhist after all, as subsequent developments show.

In the Hevajra-tantra the basic philosophic conceptions are assumed. Chapter 5 of Part I which has the title of 'Reality' (tattva) devotes only two ślokas to the subject:

In reality there is neither form nor seer,
    neither sound nor hearer,
Neither smell nor one who smells,
    neither taste nor taster,
Neither touch nor one who touches,
    neither thought nor thinker.

In elaboration of what has been said above it may be of help to quote in full Kāṇha's comments on this verse.² 'Form refers to blue and all other attributes. It is all this that does not exist. Yet how does it not exist, for one certainly sees it? It does not exist in its essential nature. An essential nature should be uncreate, transcendent, non-contingent, self-comprising, and in this capacity it does not exist, because it arises from dependent causation. And then what is this arising in dependent causation? It is in fact the non-

¹ Stcherbatsky, Nirvāṇa, p. 77. Mūlamadhyamakakārikās, p. 535.
arising of things. For if the essential nature of a thing existed before its appearance, then it would be independent of any other cause in its assumption of substantiality (and therefore there would be no arising). But if it is dependent on another cause, then the non-substantiality of a thing is proved. So Nāgārjuna has said: "Essential nature is uncreate and independent of anything else, and if phenomenal things have no such essential nature, then essentially they are non-existent."

But how then do forms in all their variety appear? For foolish people they do indeed appear to exist, but their essential nature is not proved by their mere appearance. To people who have defective sight do not things such as hairs or a double moon, or marks like that on a peacock's tail or bees appear in the vision? If they perceive these things because of their defective sight, then others in just the same way, the eyes of their mind affected with the myopia of ignorance, see everything which is essentially non-existent, as though it actually existed before them, just as the man of defective sight perceives the hairs. But not so the noble ones, for the eyes of their minds see beyond the defects of ignorance. And so the Bodhisattva Sarvāvapavarṇavidakṣambhin praised the Lord Buddha, saying: "O Lord, when you turn the wheel of the doctrine, the elements assume their absolute state, calm from all time, from all time non-arisen, extinguished in their own nature."

Thus it is established that form and the rest are essentially non-existent. Then it is said: "there is no seer". This refers to the perceiver of form, to the eye and the consciousness associated with it. Neither do these exist, since there is no arising of anything whatsoever, and it is the same with sound and the rest.

Then it is said: "there is no thought". Thought (citta) refers to consciousness in an absolute condition (parinirūpa) and thoughts (cāttika) refer to it as contingent (paratantra) and imagined (vikalpita). These three aspects of thought are also non-existent from the standpoint of absolute truth. But how are they non-existent, and how about those words pronounced by the Lord: "The whole threefold world, O Sons of the Conquerors, consists in nothing but thought"? True enough, but this is spoken in order to turn those who are to be converted away from their attachment to form and so on. In this respect Nāgārjuna has said: "The teaching of the Sage which says: 'All this is but Thought', is spoken to remove the fears of the

1 MMK, p. 262.
2 Quoted from Ratnamehasūtra (Narthang Kanjur mDo, xviii. 1–175). See MMK, p. 225.
3 Quoted at the opening of Vasubandhu's Vimśatikā, ed. Sylvain Lévi, Vijñāpati-
mātratāsiddhi, Paris, 1925. For the origin of the quotation, see Sylvain Lévi, Matériaux pour l'étude du système vijñāpatimātra, p. 43. Also quoted in Subhāṣita-saṃgraha, p. 19 and Advayavajrasaṃgraha, p. 18, ii. 1–2.
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simple-minded, but in reality it is not so.'

Thus the mystic realization, which is the highest goal (para) and the one
reality (tattva) is expressed philosophically in negative terms. 'The yogin
gains fulfilment (siddhi) in that which is no fulfilment, for its characteristic
is the very absence of any characteristic.' But this same nature, which
consists in absence of characteristics (alaksana) and absence of essential
substantiality (nihsvabhava) is also the nature of phenomenal existence
(bhava), which was indicated above when it was said: 'there is no form,
&c.' In this sense it has been said that the mystic realization (= nirvana) is
the same as the world of everyday experience (= samsara) which is there-
fore in truth already enlightened (buddhamaya). 'Such as is nirvana, such
is samsara. There is no nirvana other than samsara, we say. Samsara con-
ists in form and sound and so on, in feeling and the other constituents
of personality, in the faculties of sense, in wrath, delusion and the rest.
But all these elements are really nirvana, and only from delusion (moha) do
they appear as samsara.' But if samsara is really nirvana, then all men are
already buddhas. 'All beings are buddhas, but this is obscured by accidental
defilement (agantukamala). When this is removed, they are buddhas at once,
of this there is no doubt.'

The Theory of 'Two-in-One'

The purpose of the practice therefore is to remove these apparent defile-
ments, which arise from nothing more than a false view of existence as it
already is. The whole training consists in learning to conceive of existence
in knowledge of its non-existence, and one will then automatically realize
its true nature which is innate (sahaja) and a matter for self-experience
(svasamvedya). But this can only be done by using existence itself as the
means (upaya) for there is no other possible. One creates mentally (bhava-
yati) an idealized representation of the process of emanation of existence
(utpattikrama) which is the samsara, and by realizing the dream-like nature
of its apparent diversity, one realizes its unity in this process of realization
(sampannakrama), which is nirvana.

Such, briefly, is the theory, and it is clear that by its very nature it does
not lend itself to rational investigation, in terms of which it may appear as
just nonsense, a charge it would not attempt to refute, for in reply it is
content to make nonsense of rational investigation itself. Any discussion
of its practices is also subject to limitation, for distinctions are made, only

1 Also quoted in Subhasita-samgraha, p. 20. Otherwise untraced.
2 See I. x. 20.
3 See II. iv. 32-34.
4 See II. iv. 69; also 61-64 and 73-75.
5 See II. ii. 46-51.
6 See II. ii. 29.

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so that they may be later denied, and therefore the schemes in which one may attempt to arrange the various categories for a better understanding of them, may at any place appear contradictory, for the ideas which one thought one had reduced to some order by placing them in some opposing relationship, now suddenly appear as identical. If one assumes this identity from the start, then no distinction of the terms is possible and likewise no discussion. I must therefore beg much goodwill and patience of my reader, if he is to follow me through this attempted explanation.

The yogin who sets out on this course, begins in an apparent duality. He desires, and may to some extent already have tasted, the mystical experience (= nirvāṇa), but at the same time he lives normally in a world of sensual practical experience (samsāra). In so far as the early Buddhists (śrāvakas) had sought nirvāṇa in a deliberate stopping of the process of samsāra, such mystical experience as they achieved was limited and imperfect. It was not the end as they had thought, but merely a stage. Moreover it was limited because it was personal and therefore selfish. To bring about a cessation (nirvāṇa) of phenomenal existence (= duḥkha) for oneself amounted to disregard of the sorry plight of others. Now the early mahāyāna had already redressed this balance in its theory of the course of the bodhisattva. Such a one aspired to perfect enlightenment (samyak-sam- bodhi) and this end depended as much upon the accumulation of merit (punya-sambhara) as upon that of knowledge (jñānasambhara). This last might be achieved by the practice of meditation, but the first depended upon practical effort. Thus while the sphere of knowledge might seem to be nirvāna, the sphere of effort exists in samsāra. The motive force of the one is wisdom (prajñā) and of the other compassion (karunā). Hence of all the perfections (pāramitā) of a bodhisattva, those of wisdom and self-sacrifice (dāna) are the two most extolled. Now among these perfections there is one of skill in means (upāyakauśalya), referring to those means by which a bodhisattva should exercise his compassion. In the total list of perfections where it appears as the seventh it receives no special significance. In the tantras, however, the ‘perfections’ generally belong to an inferior practice that has been transcended, but two of them remain, endowed now with a deepened significance. One of these is Wisdom which is identified explicitly with nirvāṇa and the other is Means (or Compassion) which is identified with samsāra. The highest truth is therefore frequently referred to as a mingling of Wisdom and Means, in that it is a realization of the essential sameness of nirvāṇa and samsāra. To call anything the essence of Wisdom and Means, as the Hevajra-tantra is called on its first page, is to claim for it the nature of supreme truth, and to resolve Hevajra’s name into two parts, HE meaning compassion and VAJRA meaning wisdom, is to identify him with supreme being. One must be aware that these are arbitrary identifications to suit the
particular case, and that whereas Vajra here, and frequently elsewhere, symbolizes one of the coefficients of truth, it may also stand for the whole truth itself. The constant and deliberate identifying of a part with the whole is one of the chief difficulties in clear exposition. Wisdom is represented by the lotus (padma) or the bell (ghanta). The two ritual objects of vajra and bell with their known significance continue in use in Tibet to this day.

In this union Wisdom, although unrealizable apart from Means, yet predominates. It has behind it the whole tradition of the Perfection of Wisdom, already actually symbolized in a feminine divinity, the Goddess Prajñāpāramitā. She is therefore herself the supreme truth of the Void (śūnyatā) which is the Perfection of Wisdom; in the Hevajra-tantra she is Nairātmyā, ‘absence of the notion of selfhood’, and it is in her that the yogin, as Means, is consubstantiated.¹

At the same time this final and indestructible truth, which is also symbolized by the vajra, may appear under a masculine aspect, a form no doubt more congenial to monastic Buddhism, for it was the male figure of a Buddha which first received iconographic form. Then, as now, the purpose of these figures was that they should serve as means towards identification with the idea expressed.² Therefore the male divinity, whichever iconographic type be chosen, Vairocana, Akṣobhya, or as in our tantra, Hevajra, comprehends the whole truth, as much as does the Goddess Prajñāpāramitā. In order to emphasize the essential identity of the idea the female form is made to transmute into the male,³ and the two which are thus identified are nirvāṇa and samsāra.

It is this dominating notion of ‘two-in-one’ (Tibetan: zun-hjug) upon which the whole complicated structure of the tantras is reared, and this applies to its philosophy, its theology (if we may grace it with the name), and its practice of yoga. If one is therefore prepared to understand it, one must expect to meet with sexual symbolism at every turn, and this can only cease to be burdensome if one is able to see beyond the symbols to the ideas. The power and (in a sense) the profundity of these symbols is very great, for while on the one hand they refer intimately to the realm of sensual experience (samsāra), they also indicate the two coefficients of mystical experience (nirvāṇa). In fact these symbols indicate the identity of the one with the other, in a way in which no other symbols can possibly do. Vajra and lotus derive their whole significance from their masculine and feminine connotations. The terms, Wisdom and Compassion (which, be it noted, is now equated with Passion), belong to the earlier phase of Buddhism, a fact which tends to obscure the new meanings with which they are endowed; the other terms employed, such as Sun and Moon, ṛṣi (vowel series) and

¹ See II. iv. 40–47.
² See Mus, i. i, pp. 663–4.
³ See II. ii. 24–27.
KALI (consonant series) conceal the meaning like a code. These will be discussed below.

The 'Thought of Enlightenment'

The symbolism does not end with these pairs, in which one may conceive of either member as comprehending the other. There is a third member, the seed which results of their union, sometimes referred to in all clarity as sukra, but more generally as bodhicitta, the 'thought of enlightenment', or even as citta, 'thought'. It has a relative (samvrti) and an absolute (vivrti) aspect. As the former, it is the life-force, the essence of samsâra, and therefore manifest under the twofold aspect of the masculine and the feminine. Or it may represent (more logically) the masculine aspect only, when it is counterbalanced by rakta, 'blood', the feminine coefficient. (This fluctuation corresponds with the manner in which Hevajra alone or Hevajra embracing Nairâtmyâ may symbolize the whole samsâra and by implication nirvâna.) In its absolute aspect the bodhicitta is the supreme mystical experience and may be called by any of its attributes, the great bliss (mahâsukha), the self-experiencing (svasamvedya), the Innate (sahaja). All these distinctions are avowedly no distinctions, and perhaps this attempt to define these relative and absolute aspects of bodhicitta, for which there is authority in the text, illustrates how little the whole subject lends itself to logical discussion.¹ Every term deliberately has these emphases of meaning, everything overlaps as it were, just so that the distinctions may be blurred. Two other important synonyms of bodhicitta remain: it is the moon (candra, sâsin), regarded as absolute when it is the one only, or as relative, when it pairs with 'sun'; it is also Akshobhya, for Akshobhya is 'thought'² (citta) and thought, as was mentioned above, is essentially the 'thought of enlightenment' (bodhicitta). Lastly in terms of secret language (sandhyâbhâsa) sukra and rakta are known as karpûra (camphor) and sihlaka (frankincense).³

Thus although the two conceptions are essentially the same, one may regard the bodhicitta under two aspects: (1) as the consummation of vajra and lotus, when it is envisaged in the mystic state as the Moon which melts in the thousand-petalled lotus at the summit of the head, and flows through

¹ See I. viii. 28–29 and II. iv. 29–30.
² See diagram VII (p. 128) and diagrams on pages 27 and 28.
³ See II. iii. 59. The list given by Shahidullah (p. 9) and quoted by Éliade (pp. 254–5) consists chiefly of terms not properly sandhyâbhâsa. Terms such as lalanâ, rasanâ, padma, vajra, &c. are by no means 'hidden'. They may well have more than one interpretation, but that is another matter. Of that Éliade has well written (pp. 253–4): 'On se trouve dans un univers d’analogies, d’homologies et de double sens. Tout phénomène érotique peut exprimer, dans ce langage “intentionnel”, un exercice hathayogique ou une étape de la méditation de même que n’importe quel symbole, n’importe quel “état de sainteté” peuvent être affecté d’un sens érotique. On arrive à ce résultat, qu’un texte tantrique peut être lu avec plusieurs clés: liturgiques, yogiques, tantriques, etc.’
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the whole body, pervading it with bliss,¹ or (2) as the seed, the source of existence (samsāra), and therefore the starting-point (bindu) of the mandala, which is the idealized representation of samsāra. Now envisaged as seed, it is intimately associated with another conception, namely that of sound. We referred above to ĀLI (vowel series) and KĀLI (consonant series) as apparently arbitrary terms for the basic pair (lotus/vajra), but their usage is not without its significance. Just as these have the seed as their consummation, so the vowel and the consonant together produce the syllable, and this syllable indicates the mystic sound of the potential being comprehended in the seed (bijasamgraha).² These seed-syllables may, however, be a pure vowel, when they are essentially unmanifest, even as the primal sound A is the seed-syllable of Nairātmyā, whose name indicates her true nature. Of a divinity which becomes manifest the seed-syllable consists of initial consonant (or consonantal group), a vowel and final M (anusvāra). The anusvāra is itself, however, the symbol of the seed, the bindu (point of emergence or disappearance) and is indeed written as a dot over the syllable. Every complete seed-syllable is therefore in itself a representation of the essential idea of vajra (kāli), lotus (āli), and consummation (bindu), but at the same time it possesses an individual character in that it consists of a particular vowel and a particular consonant.³ Thus the divinity, while being a particular manifestation, is essentially the same as any other manifestation, for they all sink into one. When Hevajra becomes manifest he springs from the seed-syllable HŪM; as unmanifest he would be represented by the sound HA, and as bodhicitta or 'moon' he is known in another context as HAM. It is as this that he is able to combine with Nairātmyā as AHAM—'I', which represents the reintegrated yogin. The identifications may be arbitrary and even contradictory, as one will see if one begins to apply the theory beyond the given examples of our tantra. They are essentially means, designed to train and concentrate the thought in one direction, and with this end in view one makes the requisite assertions, theorizes so far, and leaves it at that. The contradictions arise, however, not because the theory is necessarily defective, but because those who formulate it are fitting into a scheme material which already exists in a fixed or traditional form. Aham already means 'I' and it conveniently consists of two parts, and so is identified in accordance with the theory, regardless of other associations. A still more obvious discordance of this kind exists with regard to the next set which we have to consider. Just as vajra and lotus have bodhicitta as their consummation and consonants and vowels have the syllable (aksara), so Moon (night) and Sun (day) are consumed in Fire. This like all the other elements has a general (macrocosmic) and individual (microcosmic) significance.

¹ See pp. 36–37.² See I. iii. 2 and 11.⁴ See II. v. 28 where the eight yoginis become manifest from their seed-syllables.
former it is the cosmic fire which consumes existence and out of which the new existence arises. For this reason RAM which is the seed-syllable of fire is employed to initiate the whole envisaged process of emanation. For the meditating yogin it signifies the fusing in his own person of the two coefficients represented by the breath which passes up and down the left and right sides of the body, hence the consummation of his existence. As such it is Caṇḍāli, the goddess of fire, who burns at the navel. Thus being the union of the two coefficients, she is essentially Wisdom (prajñā) and Means (upāya), and her name is arbitrarily explained in this way. Caṇḍā is prajñā, we are told, and āli is upāya, and this in spite of the general theory that āli is feminine and corresponds with prajñā. One has to accept such facile equations as merely emphasizing a particular meaning, and pass them by.

**The Yogin’s Body**

The last set of three we have to consider are the three psychic channels which are envisaged as sustaining the yogin’s body. They are suggested by the threefold scheme found in other spheres and the necessity of asserting a general concordance between macrocosm and microcosm which fundamental theory already regards as one, and by the existence of the two sides of the human body and the two nostrils where these veins are supposed to begin. We must return to them below, and here it is sufficient to state that to the left is Lalanā, feminine and corresponding with prajñā, to the right is Rasanā, masculine and corresponding with upāya, while in the centre where they unite is Avadhūti, the channel through which the means of reintegration, envisaged either as Caṇḍāli (union of Sun and Moon, hence of breath to left and right) or as the bodhicitta (union of rakta and īkra, hence also of breath to left and right) reaches the Moon in the thousand-petalled lotus of the head.

It may be of help to resume these sets of three, referring them to their special spheres of application.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Doctrinal</th>
<th>Cosmical</th>
<th>Sexual</th>
<th>Biological</th>
<th>Vocal</th>
<th>Philosophical</th>
<th>Veins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>masc.</td>
<td>upāya</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>vajra</td>
<td>śukra</td>
<td>kāli (grāhaka)</td>
<td>Rasanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem.</td>
<td>prajñā</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>lotus</td>
<td>rakta</td>
<td>āli (grāhya)</td>
<td>Lalanā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>union</td>
<td>bodhicitta</td>
<td>fire</td>
<td>śukra</td>
<td>biṣa</td>
<td>akṣara (cittra)</td>
<td>Avadhūti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As has been insisted upon above, this list does not indicate absolute distinctions, because several of the terms are interchangeable, such as bodhicitta, moon and śukra. Prajñā and vajra are both terms that may indicate the final truth, and in this sense cease to be mere coefficients. Grāhaka (subject) and grāhya (object) are included by implication, but are bracketed

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1 See I. i. 31 and pp. 36-37. For consume and consummate as practical synonyms, see p. 138.
because to my knowledge they are not commonly used as synonyms for any other term in the same horizontal row. (See however I. i. 14.) \textit{Sattva} is also bracketed because it occupies a special position. It is the \textit{bija} envisaged as ‘being in its ideal form’, namely Vajrasattva, ‘adamantine being’, who is identical with Hevajra or any other \textit{istadevatā}.

\textbf{The ‘Unity of Three’}

Such then is the complex mystery at the heart of \textit{nirvāṇa} and \textit{samsāra}. It is this that is referred to as the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Buddhas, as the Three Adamantine Ones (\textit{trayo vajrinah}), as the unity of three states of being (\textit{tribhavasyaikatā}), and may be indicated by any agreed name.\textsuperscript{1} It pervades all things for there is nothing other than it, and yet transcends all things for it is not involved in their accidental and purely unreal defilement. It can be experienced only by learning to associate oneself with its true nature, which is identical with one’s own true nature, and so on. The identity of this with all other \textit{ātman} theories, and particularly with later \textit{Vedānta}, is apparent. But it represents too the essence of \textit{Mādhyamika} theory, with which it maintains a far closer association by the use of their philosophical terms. For the commentators, as has already been indicated by the quotation from Kāṇha, there is no doubt that this is the true position.

Apart from the threefold formula of personality (Body, Speech, and Mind), and the three root-evils (Delusion, Desire, and Wrath) there are the three aspects of existence, absolute, contingent, imagined, and the theory of the three bodies of a buddha. Now these last suggest not a unity of three integrated principles, but a gradation of states of existence, which one may associate with the cosmological conception of the three worlds, \textit{kāmadhātu}, \textit{rūpadhātu}, and \textit{arūpadhātu}.\textsuperscript{2} It is in fact as these three that Dharmakīrti (alone of the commentators) interprets this phrase ‘unity of three states of being’, and it is as a vertical series that the text envisages them, associating them also with certain places in the human body, an aspect of the matter to be considered more fully below, and added only now that this may serve as a future connecting link.\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Position in space} & \textbf{Formula of personality} & \textbf{Yogini} & \textbf{Buddha} & \textbf{Root-evils} & \textbf{Position in body} & \textbf{Buddhakāya} \\
\hline
Zenith & Speech & Khecari & \textit{Amitābha} & \textit{rāga} & throat & \textit{sambhoga} \\
Centre & Mind & Nairātmyā & \textit{Akṣobhya} & \textit{dveśa} & heart & \textit{dharma} \\
Nadir & Body & Bhūcarī & \textit{Vairocana} & \textit{moha} & navel & \textit{nirmanā} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1} See I. x. 8–12.

\textsuperscript{2} Attention has been drawn several times to the associations that exist between the different stages of spiritual advance (see also below, p. 35) and the external spheres of existence. See Przyluski, ‘Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad’ \textit{BEFEO} xxxii, pp. 141 ff. Also Günther, \textit{Seelenproblem}, pp. 135 ff. and diagram p. 157. Also Masuda, ‘Origin and Doctrines of Early Indian Buddhist Schools’, \textit{Asia Major}, ii, pp. 43–44.

\textsuperscript{3} See p. 38.
Now this diagram represents the vertical core of the mandala, which must next be considered. It is clear that the stages are not ascending, for it is the centre that is in every case of prime importance. Mind (citta) corresponds with consciousness (vijñāna), considered as the chief of the five skandhas, the other four being envisaged horizontally at the four points of the compass (diagram IV p. 127). Its association with bodhicitta, which is the bindu (point), has already been mentioned above. Of Nairātmyā too, as the Perfection of Wisdom (prajñāpāramitā), the final truth of the Void (śūnyatā), we have spoken. Akṣobhya is the hypostasis of Hevajra, who is frequently referred to in the text as the one whose nature is wrath (dvesātman). The buddhas Amitābha and Vairocana with their corresponding passions all belong to the more usual fivefold scheme, when they are shown on the horizontal plane (diagrams V and VIII). We note that the dharmakāya, the chief member of this set of three, is where one would expect it in this scheme, at the centre, corresponding with the heart.

The Mandala

The whole horizontal mandala is an idealized representation of the identity of nirvāṇa and samsāra. Hence on it there appear in stylized form the various aspects of absolute being under the names of different divinities and also certain set categories of phenomenal existence. It is the process of identification of the latter with the former which is referred to as the process of purification (viśuddhi). In the identification, for example, of wrath with Akṣobhya, the aspect of phenomenal existence is seen to be none other than an aspect of absolute existence. To symbolize and to purify (in this sense) is essentially the same thing. The simplest form of mandala is that shown on diagram VIII, where the five Buddhas, who embody the five transcendent wisdoms, are equated with the five evils that lie at the root of phenomenal existence. This simple scheme is of great interest in that it illustrates so well the fantastic conclusions that extreme monism of this kind must arrive at, when its sole measure of what is real (tattva) is the mystic state. One identifies in fact those states, human passions and feelings and so on, which are now no longer experienced directly, with the blissful state of unity which is being experienced, and then when one emerges from this state, one envisages those passions and so on, now actually experienced, as so many aspects of the one mystic unity. One thereby transforms idealistically the whole of phenomenal existence into a mystic absolute, and in this vision of reality all forms are recognized as symbolic reflections at various stages of remove from the unity of the centre. Meanwhile in his delusion the ordinary man persists in regarding them as separate entities.

See p. 129 and I. viii. 6–7, where the terms are translated. See also Mahāyānaśrālaṃkāra, ed. S. Lévi, ix. 67–76. For other references see La Siddhi de Hui-an-tsang (transl. by de la Vallée Poussin, Paris 1928–9), p. 681. The full five are listed in Mep, p. 8.
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Nevertheless the power of this idea for one who seeks the mystic state as the one true goal remains unimpaired. The actual pattern of the mandala employed and the sets of divinities are always a conventional expression of the idea and so varied from school to school. In conformity with the fivefold notion, men are envisaged as belonging by nature to one of five families, each represented by one of the Five Buddhas, and the mandala suitable for such a man would have the Buddha of his family at the centre. This would correspond with a predominance in the man's nature of delusion, wrath, passion, envy, or malignity. This seems in the main a mere theoretical elaboration of the master's responsibility to find the right means for his pupil. I would have no doubt that behind the traditional formulas there lay much sound practical psychology. The great masters often had many tantras at their disposal, and 'it was the rule for them to teach those they were training in accordance with their propensities'. Hence there arises the need to find the right master, and his great importance when once he has been found, for only he can indicate the way. All this is quite reasonable within its setting, and serves once more to emphasize the seriousness of the intention, were one still inclined to doubt it. The Indian's delight in the elaboration of schemes can often give an appearance of artificiality and improbability to an idea that is in itself quite genuine. Such is the case with these five families, which are listed with all their associations in diagram V. The Hevajra-tantra belongs to the Vajra-family, of which Aksobhya or one of his wrathful manifestations, Hevajra, Heruka, or Śānvara is the head. Wrath is therefore at the centre and the aspect of the divinities is wrathful. At the same time this work is called a Yogins-tantra, in that its circles are peopled entirely with feminine divinities, even at the centre, where instead of Hevajra we sometimes find his consort, Nairātmyā, alone, albeit in a wrathful manifestation, for he and she are essentially one as was shown above. One would suspect a superimposition of one distinct cycle upon another, for whereas Hevajra appears with a troupe of eight goddesses (diagram II), Nairātmyā appears with a troupe of fourteen (diagram III). This distinction is maintained in the few relevant sādhana stotras to be found in the Sādhanamāla (nos. 228, 229, 230, 231, and 247). The redactor of our tantra is also aware of the distinction, for he makes Nairātmyā say: 'You have spoken of our circle with its troupe of fifteen. But what is your own mandala like, O Lord? Of this I have so far known nothing?' One may observe that this last comment is untrue for the work as it now exists, for Hevajra's cycle has already been given in Chapter 3 of Part I, where he appears in a two-armed form with his troupe of eight. Here in Chapter 5 of Part II the number of attendants is not increased, but he appears in full

1 Concerning these families see Buddhist Himālaya, pp. 64–67, 74–75.
2 Tāranātha, tib. text, p. 147, ll. 14–15.
3 See Glossary, pp. 132 & 138.
manifestation with sixteen arms and also embracing Nairātmyā. That, however, the two cycles were in fact completely combined is shown by the thanka reproduced as our frontispiece, where he appears in the full company of sixteen. But Nairātmyā's company is probably equally composite in nature, although in the text it already appears fully conventionalized. The eight yoginis of the outer circle belong specifically to Hevajra, and it is possible that her company consists of an original five as in diagram VIII. That two such sets of five and eight were employed separately in actual ritual is indicated in the text itself, I. x. 5, where five is the given number, and II. v. 58, where eight is the number required. (The separate nature of the remaining two, Khecari and Bhūcarī, has been shown above on p. 28.) The names appertaining to the two sets are also distinct: the inner five are goddesses proper, while the outer eight are the names of women of low caste or of eight feminine relatives. Nor would Gaurī have been duplicated if the set had been originally composite.

The essential feature of a maṇḍala is its regularity towards the various directions, for the first thing it must express is emanation from a centre into space. As the divinities in whose forms the process of emanation (utpattikrama) is expressed, have the value of pure symbol, their forms and their number are relevant only to the categories in terms of which the meditator conceives of his own personality, for it is these two things, the divine forms (nirvāṇa) and the components of his own self (samsāra), which are to be identified. The simplest set is the set already referred to, in which the five skandhas are symbolized and purified. Or the number may be increased to nine, when the five skandhas and four elements are symbolized. The normal representation of these comprises the Five Buddhas and the four goddesses, Locani.(earth), Māmakī (water), Paṇḍarā (fire), and Tārā (air), as shown in the diagram on page 50. The fifth element, space, coalesces with consciousness (viśiṇa) at the centre.

The set of fifteen permits the inclusion of the six spheres of sense as is seen in diagram IV. Vajragarbha is also concerned to include the six faculties of sense (II. iii. 50), but this can logically be done only by increasing the size of the troupe. The names he is given in reply, however, suggest merely a duplicating of places, for the number fifteen in this tantra is inviolate. It is envisaged as corresponding with the fifteen vowels and the fifteen phases of the moon, and Hevajra as bodhicitta with the moon itself.1

So the whole maṇḍala like the symbol of the vajra or of any divine form is still but an expression of the one same idea, more complex in manifestation but in essence identical. 'The maṇḍala is the full and efficacious expression of the great bliss, for nowhere else does this have its origin.'2

1 See II. iv. 26 and p. 25. 2 See II. ii. 21.
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The Practice of Concentration

The purpose of all these imagined forms, seed-syllables, symbols, divinities, and mystic circles, should by now be clear. They represent in every case the essential identity of nirvāṇa and samsāra, with which it is the aim of the meditator to identify himself. At one time he may select as means the form of his chosen divinity (iṣṭadevatā) and concentrate upon it one-pointedly. 'O Wise One, you should conceive of existence in knowledge of its non-existence, and likewise you should conceive of Heruka in knowledge of his non-existence.'1 And again: 'The samsāra is Heruka's phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world.'2 At set times one should therefore practise concentrated meditation (samāhitayoga) upon him, and at all other times in whatever activities one may be engaged, one should seek to be mindful of union with him (nirantarayoga).3 The whole process of concentrated meditation is fully described in Part I, Chapter 3. After the preliminaries, the purification of the site and of one's own person, the evocation is begun. This may proceed in various ways in accordance with the meanings of the symbols suggested above. One may first envisage the syllable RAM which is the primeval fire. In this one envisages a crossed-vajra, symbol of the absolute centre, and then at the heart of this the syllable HŪM which is the essence of Heruka or Hevajra. One may complicate the process by envisaging this vajra, the adamantine essence, as first transforming itself into a protected palace, at the centre of which Hevajra is enthroned.4 Or one may commence the whole process with the lotus in the stylized form of the triangle of origination (see I. viii. 3). From this the elements in due order are envisaged as arising, each represented by their particular syllable, YAM RAM VAM LAM. Or one may envisage Sun and Moon and then the seed (bijā) which is their union. They are all merely expedients for concentrating the mind along a due succession of events which represents the emanation of existence (utpattikrama) and therefore they may be combined in any logical order, for it is the effect produced that is alone important. One may envisage the final stage of

1 See I. i. 11.
2 See II. ix. 10.
3 See p. 89 fn.
4 See Tucci, Teoria e Pratica del Mandala, p. 31: 'Questa (la montagna Sumeru, l'axis mundi) è una concezione panasiatica cui hanno contribuito a dare chiarezza e precisione le idee cosmografiche espresse nello zikurrat assiro-babilonese, poi riflesse nello schema della città imperiale dei re iranici e quindi nell'immagine ideale della reggia del cakravartin, il monarca universale delle tradizioni indiane.' See also J. Przyluski: 'La Ville du Cakravartin', Rocznik Orientalistyczny, v, pp. 165 ff. The mandala, the primary function of which is to express the truth of emanation and return (samsāra and nirvāṇa), is the centre of the universe. Hence it involves all previous tradition associated with this idea. Its core is Mt. Meru; it is the palace of the universal monarch, it is the royal stūpa; it is even the fire-altar where one makes the sacrifice of oneself. This last idea finds expression in the figurative interpretation given to the rite of slaying (mārana). It seems that all these notions were perhaps involved in the Buddhist stūpa itself (see Mus, Borobudur, i, pp. 233-53); it is as a stūpa that the maṇḍala is primarily envisaged (see I. x. c. and II. v. c.).
emanation as the *manda* of sixteen divinities, or one may envisage it as countless forms of Hevajra filling space in a regularized order in every direction. Then one must realize the identity of oneself with the whole process by associating one’s personality with the emanation, which is achieved by a strenuous act of belief: *OM HERUKA-svabhāvātmako ‘HAM—I am of the essence of Heruka*. The imagined forms are conceived as sinking into one’s own heart, and from here the process may be repeated, so that one becomes oneself the twofold process of emanation and absorption, of *samsāra* and *nirvāna*. This is the unity of Wisdom and Means which remains unharmed by this twofold process of origination and dissolution, for Means is the origination and Wisdom the dissolution.¹

One need not doubt the effectiveness of such concentration, if practised regularly over a period of time. ‘Try it’, says our text persuasively, ‘try it one fortnight with zeal, making final realization your goal, abandoning all discursive thought, your mind set on the form of the divinity.’²

*The Ritual of Union*

It is only after such practice and more of which our text tells nothing, that the pupil comes before his master with his *yogini*.³ Of the actuality of

¹ See II. ii. 27.
² II. ii. 8–9.
³ Of the actual method of controlling the physical functions the text tells nothing directly. They are, however, clearly implied in the more general statements (II. iv. e). The Taoists, treating of similar practices, are certainly more explicit. See the article by Henri Maspero, Les Procédés de ‘Nourrir le principe vital’, *JA* 229 (1937), pp. 177–252 and 353–430. The various processes are here described explicitly, whereas in the Indian texts one is presented primarily with schemes and patterns. Nor is any distinction made between an imagined and an actual physical process, because no such distinction is recognized. One surmises that the real process was elaborated to conform with a theoretical scheme, just as the master’s responsibility towards his pupil is elaborated into the theory of the five families (see above, p. 30). This has the effect of concealing what is actually involved, and I doubt whether this particular problem is soluble. To ask what may appear to us an all-important question: ‘Are the *cakras* within the body conceived of as real psychic centres, or are they an imagined device like the external *manda*?’ is to bring contradiction into the whole basic theory from the standpoint of the texts. For them the whole process, internal and external, is *bhāvanā* (mental production), and the *manda*, although imagined (*bhāvita*) exists on a higher plane of reality than the phenomenal world it represents. Likewise the idealized representation of the body, consisting of the veins and *cakras*, exists on a higher plane than the normal physical structure of the body. Then, finally, these higher stages themselves are dissolved. The same applies to the divine forms. They are not pure symbol as we might interpret them. We regard them as unreal in the beginning. The Buddhists, however, regard them as real in the beginning, more real than flesh and blood. Hence arises the need of insisting that the divine form too consists of just something that comes into existence (II. ii. 45). In fact the very power of these gods as means of purification (*viuddhi*) resides in the initial belief that they instilled. They are the essence of *samsāra*, and one must learn to conceive of them in terms of their non-existence. To call such use symbolic is not adequate, for as pure symbol they would be powerless. Nor is any real distinction to be made between an esoteric and exoteric interpretation, between the few who know all these things are symbols, and the many who place faithful trust in them. They all, *siddhas* and *prthajanás* alike, believe in these gods. The *siddhas* have, however, trained themselves to regard them as though they were non-existent. It clearly only becomes possible to understand these texts thoroughly by accepting their
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this following ritual the text amply testifies. It is, however, one of several means, and whether it was employed or not, depended upon the predisposition of the pupil. If one is to judge it rightly, one must see it as part of the whole context. The realization in oneself of samsāra and nirvāṇa is the serious and avowed intention. One may regard this as no true end for the best of human endeavour and as founded upon an incomplete conception of the nature of existence, but one must still in all fairness view its practices in the light of its intention, and not censure these as though they were wanton acts of foolishness. After such preliminary training as they both received, it is to be expected that the yogin and the yogini should experience their union as the union of Wisdom and Means in the avowed sense. The retention of the bodhicitta may well have produced from natural causes an intensified sensation of potential bliss, which under the influence of all preceding mental training and the impressiveness of the actual ceremony would be experienced as something more than natural, as the Bliss Innate that transcended any local manifestation. Nor would this interpretation conflict with the views of those practisers themselves, for whom the whole process is a mental production (bhāvanā) and for whom every form and ritual is a mere support.

This particular rite is envisaged as proceeding by four stages, which are marked by four consecrations given by the master, and are experienced as four successive ‘joys’, known at four successive ‘moments’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consecrations</th>
<th>Joys</th>
<th>Moments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ācārya</td>
<td>ānanda</td>
<td>vicitra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. guhya</td>
<td>paramānanda</td>
<td>viśāka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. prajñājñāna</td>
<td>vibhāmānanda</td>
<td>vimārda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. caturtha</td>
<td>sahajānanda</td>
<td>vilakṣāna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[For the translation and discussion of these terms see abhiṣeka, ānanda and kṣāṇa in the Glossary (pp. 131-3, 134, 136); also the text pp. 94-96.]

Weltanschauung complete, and this is probably an impossibility for a modern European. To think one has done so is not sufficient. One is then placed in the predicament of explaining away much that is unacceptable, and one manner of doing this is an appeal to symbolism and esoteric interpretation; but these are notions that have no meaning in a genuine tradition. A distinction is made, it is true, between an inner (adhyātmika) and outer (bāhya) interpretation with regard to the actual rites, but they remain rites none the less, and the distinction arises from no embarrassment with regard to them, or desire to explain them away. On the contrary the outer sense is usually commended as necessary to lead men to the inner, which is precisely their use. The position is completely reversed by certain European and modern Indian exponents of these doctrines, who commend them to us for their esoteric significance, as though one could dispense with all else. Such an interpretation is historically inaccurate. Those Buddhists believed, and it was necessary for their whole scheme of ‘release’ that they should believe, in those gods and magical practices for their own sakes, before they began to use them as means. There was no short-cutting of this way, or the means would have been completely ineffective; nor indeed were they inclined to believe otherwise. The task now of trying to understand becomes very much more difficult, and can only be attempted when one has amassed sufficient knowledge of the historical and religious setting of the times to permit one to see certain practices in a sufficient context. Such a view can scarcely be perfect, but it is the only possible approximation, and that one can draw very close, is shown by the work of Paul Mus.
Their mere enumeration is sufficient to suggest an analogy with other fourfold schemes by which the stages of spiritual ascent were indicated. There were four stages towards arhatship (srotā-āpanna, sakrāgamin, anāgamin, arhattva-pratipanna), four stages of dhyāna, and still more obviously the four stages, analogous with sleep, jāgrat, svāpna, susūpti, turiya, where the last stage is likewise known as the 'fourth'. It is therefore in accordance with precedent that our stages are now fixed as four. Nevertheless there is some disagreement with regard to the ordering of the four Joys and the four Moments. Whenever it lists them, the Hevajra-tantra gives them in what would appear to be the normal order, yet it twice defines the Joy Innate as preceding the Joy of Cessation (I. x. 18 and II. ii. 40) in contradiction even with a definition elsewhere (I. viii. 24) where it is regularly called the End of Cessation. That two traditions existed with regard to the ordering of these Joys is confirmed by Dharmakirti. 'Some people say', he says, 'that Cessation is last and the Innate is third' (xvii. 418b 4). Maitṛpa clearly supported this view.\(^1\) That both traditions should appear in the Hevajra-tantra may be a sign of mixed origins.

The transcendental nature of this Joy Innate is emphasized as far as words permit. The other three joys are of this world, but the Innate exists not in these three.\(^2\) It is not passion (rāga = paramānanda) nor the absence of passion (arāga = viramānanda), nor yet a middle state (ānanda).\(^3\) It is both void (śūnya) and non-void (aśūnya) which is the nature of Heruka.\(^4\) One suspects that the placing of the Joy Innate as third is, however, in direct analogy with the ritualistic embrace and actual experience. As third, it is followed by the Joy called Cessation, which is a return to normal experience. The corresponding moments are that which has no characteristics (vilakṣaṇa) and that which consists of the ‘reflection’ (vimarṣa): 'I have enjoyed this bliss.' This is Maitṛpa's contention in supporting this order. 'If vimarda is such reflection, how can it be understood as third?' Such discussion serves to indicate the very transitory nature of the experience and the very delicate distinction that must always have existed between the two orders of enjoyment. It was indeed a razor's edge.

\(^1\) Advayavajrasamgraha, p. 28, 2–6.  
\(^2\) I. x. 15.  
\(^3\) I. x. 17.  
\(^4\) II. v. 70.
left and right are the two 'veins' Lalanā and Rasana, corresponding with Wisdom and Means in their separate condition, which is the state of sam-sāra. Up and down these channels passes the breath, conceived of as vital force and having the nature of rakta to the left and sukra to the right. So long as breath continues in this manner, so thought continues to wander uncontrolled. The initial part of the process consists therefore in harnessing thought to the breath, achieved by concentrating the thought upon the breathing process. One manner of doing this is to imagine the vowel series (ālī) as passing in and out with the breathing to the left and the consonant series (kālī) passing in and out to the right. By concentrating upon this both breath and thought become controlled. Running up the centre of the body a third vein is imagined. This is known as Avadhūti and represents the union of Wisdom and Means. Meeting it at cross section, at the navel, the heart, the throat, and the head, there are imagined four lotuses of varying numbers of petals, representing minor veins. These four lotuses or radiating circles (cakras) correspond with the four stages of spiritual advance, viz. the four Joys which we have discussed above. As is usual there is some contradiction in the actual arrangement, for the first Joy may be envisaged at the navel and the Joy Innate in the head, or vice versa. There seems to be some reason for both these schemes as we shall see below.

At the base of the genitals where all three channels come together, Lalanā descending from the left, Rasana descending from the right and Avadhūti ascending at the centre, there resides the bodhicitta in its relative condition (= sukra) and quiescent. At the summit of the head (brahma-randhra) there resides the bodhicitta in its absolute condition (= mahāsukha) also quiescent and known as Moon.

Such in the simplest terms is the imagined structure of the body. Now the breath to which thought is harnessed is first made to pass regularly up and down the two outer channels, which thereby enact under strict control the process of samsāra. The breath becomes quiescent and the two psychic streams thus controlled are held and forced, as other escape is denied them, to enter the base of the central channel. At their meeting they arouse the bodhicitta which resides there. Their contact, which is the contact of Wisdom and Means, of Sun and Moon, is envisaged as Fire which is Candžli, and so Candžli burns. As seed-syllable she is the syllable A, and as a blazing A it may be imagined. She is therefore also Nairātmyā and may be known under any name that signifies the bliss of this union, as Avadhūti, the name

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1 Canḍāli is gTum-mo in Tibetan, a name well known from accounts of the warmth-producing exploits of the Tibetan ‘cotton-clad ones’ (ras-pa). This Tibetan practice seems to be a turning to practical purposes of yoga which was intended primarily as a means to the supreme goal. See Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines*, pp. 171–210, where the actual producing of bodily warmth is seen to be entirely incidental to the main intention.
of the central vein itself, or as Dombi. She is now envisaged as moving upwards, consuming as she goes, from the navel to the heart and thence to the throat and the head. Then she reaches the bodhicitta in the head, the Moon, here envisaged as the syllable HAM. This melts at the contact and flows downwards through the central vein, pervading the whole body through the various cakras as it goes. It reaches the lowest cakra and A and HAM become AHAM (= 'I', the reintegrated self) in the Joy Innate.

This is the process portrayed in the texts, the final consummation, towards which the practice with mandalas and mudrās and dhyāna and japa lends its aid, and in the realization of which they are all transcended. This is the process of which the dohā-verses sing:

When the mind goes to rest,
The bonds of the body are destroyed,
And when the one flavour of the Innate pours forth,
There is neither outcast nor brahmin.

Here is the sacred Jumna and here the River Ganges,
Here are Prayaga and Benares, here are Sun and Moon.
Here I have visited in my wanderings shrines and such places of pilgrimage,
For I have not seen another shrine blissful like my own body.  

The absence of any rationality is sufficient in itself to account for inevitable contradictions and duplications, of precisely the kind which we have referred to above. Thus the sound A at the navel is both the bodhicitta (masculine in association) and Nairātmyā (feminine in association) who unites with, the bodhicitta in the head. Bodhicitta is in one sense itself sukra and yet it results from a union of Wisdom and Means, which themselves may be called rakta and sukra. The reason for all these cross-identifications we have given above. Also the twofold movement upward and downward in the process of reintegration may well account for the Joy Innate being conceived in the head and in the navel. It is with fundamental variations of this kind in mind that one hesitates to commit oneself to any one particular scheme, as they clearly varied from one school or one master to another, much as the external mandala might be varied. Nevertheless they always represent the same intention, namely to emphasize the identity of microcosm with macrocosm by locating the various orders of existence within the body at the level of the various cakras. The Hevajra-tantra itself is consistent in its allusions (I. i. c and II. iv. h) to this theory. The basis is provided by the three bodies (kāya) of a buddha, increased by addition of the fourth, known as the ‘Self-Existent Body’ (svabhāvikakāya), the ‘Innate Body’ (sahajakāya) or the ‘Body of Great Bliss’ (mahāsukhakāya). The three first are located in accordance with the diagram on page 28 above.

1 Quoted from Saraha’s Dohakośa. See Buddhist Texts (Cassirer, 1954), pp. 230–1.
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So when they are extended to this fourfold scheme, in which the place of importance is at the top, namely in the head, these three bodies of the buddha appear out of their traditional order.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Joy</th>
<th>Syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>svabhāvikāya</td>
<td>sahajānanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat</td>
<td>sambhogakāya</td>
<td>viramānanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>dharmakāya</td>
<td>paramānanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navel</td>
<td>nirmānakāya</td>
<td>ānanda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within this fourfold scheme are fitted all possible terms of reference, and primarily the 4 Joys, the 4 Moments, and the 4 Consecrations (see p. 34). Also we may insert the four truths, duhkha, samudaya, nirodha, and mārga, as indicating that the whole doctrine is comprehended within the body. Or likewise the four schools, Sthāvara, Sarvāstivāda, Sammātiya, and Mahāsaṅghika, as symbolizing the presence of the whole saṅgha within the body, or likewise the four elements, earth, water, fire, air, or the four rites of prospering (puṣti), pacifying (śānti), overpowering (vaśya), and destroying (māraṇa), as symbolizing the existence of all power within the body. This last set lends itself badly to such allocation, as there are far more than four such rites. In this context the only one of importance amongst them is the rite of slaying (māraṇa) which with the interpretation of the 'slaying of the notion of a self' is equated with the Joy Innate and is used as a synonym for it. Nor is it practicable to insert the Five Buddhas in a vertical order because of their number.² They may, however, be envisaged as there at

¹ See Dasgupta, Introduction to Tantric Buddhism, p. 163. There is no doubt that this is the traditional arrangement. For its application to Tibetan ritual, see Buddhist Himiloya, pp. 233–4. Nevertheless Vajragarbha reverses the positions of the four bodies and the four joys (folio 18b):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Joy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>nirmānakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat</td>
<td>sambhogakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>dharmakāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navel</td>
<td>sahajakāya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The dharmakāya is still positioned at the heart, but the four bodies now appear more typically as a graduation of states of existence.

² This is, however, attempted, although the allocations vary. Thus V (26a 7–b 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Joy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>BUH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat</td>
<td>JRH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>HŪM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navel</td>
<td>AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitals</td>
<td>KHM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elsewhere V (138b 4–5) and D (371a 2–3) locate the full set of six Buddhas within:

V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body</th>
<th>Joy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top of head</td>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forehead</td>
<td>Vairocana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throat</td>
<td>Amitābha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart</td>
<td>Amoghasidhdi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navel</td>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitals</td>
<td>Vajrasattva</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

D

This is achieved by making temporary use of the full set of six cakras, as employed in the non-Buddhist tantras (see Woodroffe, The Serpent Power, 4th ed., Madras, 1950,
the heart-cakra, of which Hevajra (= Akṣobhya) holds the centre in the form of the syllable हूँ with the other four in their normal positions on the horizontal plane. The whole scheme is flexible and allows of elaboration and variation within different traditions. Moreover the different cakras are envisaged as no more or less real than the circles of the external mandala. In the condition of the Joy Innate their distinctions, which were mere means, are all absorbed. It is in this sense that of the pair Wisdom/Means Wisdom remains supreme, for although without Means she is unrealizable, it is she that absorbs her partner, and never the reverse. She is the eternally quiescent one, and it is from her that he emerges, and then from their union springs all manifested form, envisaged as the circle of divinities. It is he who weaves the web of māyā and by means of him, who is the Means, that one returns to her. So the yogin must himself become Hevajra for Hevajra is the Means.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

Such then is the serious intention of this tantra, with which we can find no fault that might not also be found in earlier stages of Buddhism. There is no Buddhism known that does not set chief store by meditation, and this is but a special means of meditation. It uses mystic syllables, but these were in use long before Saroruha produced this text. It uses mystic circles and divine forms as aids to concentration, but forms of the buddhas worked in stone had now been long in use, and it is in terms of the traditional stūpa that the mandala is conceived in the Hevajra-tantra. It consists of an inner circle, surrounded by four walls with four entrances and four portals (torana). It has eight columns (two at each entrance), and is decorated with chains and garlands. As for the actual yoga-practice, there was nothing new in the breath-control which still plays the predominant role in a developed technique. Nor is this developed technique, it seems, anything new in principle, for at most it involved increased control of the physical processes of the body, which in some measure had always been recognized as necessary. If control of the breath was already recognized as a means towards the achieving of a desired mental condition, then to control also the seminal fluid and thereby gain even better results, is but an advance along the same path. The deliberate eating and drinking of things abhorrent differs nothing in kind from the deliberate meditation upon unpleasant things, such as the gross nature of the human body or the manner of disintegration of a corpse, practices which had previously been found helpful in overcoming natural pp. 115–27). There is clearly great variety in these lists, and contradictions can easily be shown even within a single tradition, if one checks the lists for cross-references. They seem to have no significance, apart from purely local modes of meditation, and more often they seem to merely represent ill-conceived attempts at needless systematization.
aversion and instilling the virtue of indifference (*upekṣa*). One conceives too easily perhaps of Buddhism in terms of the abstract theories of a few famous philosophers, and so when in the *tantras* one is brought face to face with actual practices, the like of which had long been practised, one may exclaim too readily that these cannot be Buddhist.\(^1\) That new elements are introduced, the effect of which is far-reaching, there is no denying, but there is no essential break in the development of the doctrine. One might even claim that these new elements far from issuing in a degeneration, brought about a rejuvenation, nourished in the hidden well-springs of Indian religious life. For it is not the philosopher who gives life to a religion, but the man who succeeds in practising it, and in India the practiser *par excellence* has always been the *yogin*. One may well, by present standards, dislike the actual practices of certain yogins, and may thus far refer to them as a degeneration, but this term is relevant only to our judgement, and its use does not mean that Buddhism necessarily suffered from contact with them. This seems to be but a European fable, given substance only by the cataclysmic disappearance of the doctrine from India at the time when the *tantras* were in vogue. To Isām Śākyamuni was as much a demon as Hevajra. The later Buddhists themselves conceived of their type of Buddhism as the best and most effective, and since they are not profligates who commend it for the licence it permits them, but serious practisers and scholars, their words are not without importance when we attempt to appreciate this phase of the doctrine. To any who conceive of Buddhism as just philosophy, this preoccupation with ritual and techniques of yoga may well appear a riot of degeneration, but to a Buddhist who conceived of his religion primarily as an art of yoga and who had never neglected the use of ritual, it might very reasonably have appeared as the most effective teaching ever sponsored under the name of Buddha. 'Because it is free from doubt as to the oneness of its purpose, because of its absence of difficulty, because of its many methods, and because it is adapted to keen senses, this mantra-teaching is the best.'\(^2\)

When we examine too what new things this period introduced into the Buddhist stream, we find they are a cause of strength rather than of weakness. The new notion that was perhaps most radical in its effect is that of buddhahood to be achieved in one lifetime. This hope of rapid success brings an actuality into the religious biographies of this period, however fantastic they still remain in many details, and the religious ideal of the *mahāsiddha* coincides with the historical examples. Whereas who can point to the *bodhisattva*, the great being, who pursues his career through aeons

\(^1\) Mus, p. 594: ‘L’élément culturel, capital pour l’étude du bouddhisme indien en sa riche substance, est trop souvent sacrifié à l’étude des dissentiments d’école, plus commodes d’accès que les faits rituel.’

\(^2\) Quoted by Maitrpa (Advayavajrasamgraha, p. 21) and Bu-sTon (Obermiller, p. 49).
OBSERVATIONS

of time? He remains primarily a great ideal, a subject rather for theoretical elaboration than for actual practice. The stories that tell of his virtues are fantastic in their whole purport and the very stages of his advance are acknowledged as unreal in their true nature. Now it is at least understandable for a man to train himself to regard all phenomenal things as essentially unreal, if he can hope to experience the final bliss associated with that experience in or at the end of his present life. There is some motive for self-sacrifice and arduous self-training if the goal is within his grasp. But what incentive is there to pursue an ideal realizable after aeons of time, when every stage of progress is unreal and imagined? In actual fact the ideal remained far more modest, as represented perhaps by such men of learning and sanctity as Hsüan-Tsang met in his travels, or by yogins and ascetics possessed of special powers, in the existence of which the followers of the Buddha had always believed. The tantras seem then to mark a new recognition of the actuality of the religious life as conceived in those days. They descend from superb flights of fancy to a realizable ideal; one may dislike this ideal and its means of realization, but it was at least practicable and apparently successful. For there seems no reason to doubt the efficacy of the psychological training and the theory of evocation on which it is chiefly based. This was a matter of self-knowledge in the full sense of the term, for it was necessary to exteriorize all hidden innate tendencies that they might be known and transmuted. The mandala served but as a support for this process, and the intricate forms it often assumed indicate the complexity of the task. That the divinities should be manifest in fierce forms, a stumbling-block to some Europeans who take interest in Indian art, would also be in accordance with the theory, for the hidden tendencies are fierce and destructive in their nature. Neither India nor Tibet has become impervious to the notion of ‘religious dread’ (mysterium tremendum), and this has found expression in fierce divine forms.¹

By the simple worshipper these are placated in the world without, but by the meditator they are transmuted in the world within. The realization of the essential identity of man with the universal being was one of the first fruits of Indian reflective thought, and it remains fundamental to all practice of yoga and to most philosophical exposition. To reintegrate the one was therefore automatically to reintegrate the other, and thus to save oneself might be identified with saving all beings. ‘There are no other means in the saṃsāra for achieving the weal of yourself and others.’² The fierce tendencies must be evoked and transformed, for it is they that produce the appearance of misery (duhkha). In this whole process of self-help nothing

² II. ii. 10.
final is to be gained by calling upon imagined beings who express benignity, gentleness, and compassion. This may well be done by simple folk who conceive of these imagined beings as other than themselves, and the meditator may well himself make use of such devotional practices as a psychological preparation, but they are essentially useless in the final stages, where it is the fierce aspect of the self that must be transmuted. If they are found ever to be morbid and pathological, it suggests that precisely these tendencies were to be overcome. One might well generalize and contend that it is the function of all religious practice to restore to its rightful condition that which is conceived as defective. Such is certainly the avowed intention of the practices which we have been discussing, and it was in their very power of giving expression to those things that we naturally find unpleasant that their effectiveness consisted. To dislike the *tantras*, is but to dislike the worst tendencies in man, and of the terrible existence of these tendencies we have ample experience in every generation. The *tantras* claimed to remove like by like, and so of what else should they tell? With all their excesses and defects of presentation they may well contain much that is relevant to modern thought, for they present a genuine stratum of human experience. The texts themselves of course are merely suggestive and complete evaluation is only possible in a living tradition. There is nothing superstitious in the idea of a necessary succession from master to pupil, nor in the idea of the essential secret being lost, if no succession took place. Other techniques lost in such a way are by no means unknown in the history of man.

In this whole setting the rite of *maithuna* ceases to be a matter of concern, and it would be absurd to defend it by pretending that the intention was solely symbolical. Whether performed or not, it is the idea that counts, and this idea is certainly central in the whole conception of this new reintegration. ¹ And necessarily so, for it represents a most powerful tendency

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¹ The whole conception of two-in-one is fundamental to Tantric Buddhism, viz. that Buddhism which seeks its authority in the *tantras*, conceived as Buddha-word. But sexual symbolism was not necessarily involved and seems to have been a secondary development. See in this respect an excellent article by Glasenapp, *"Tantrismus und Saktismus"*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1936, pp. 120–33. The term *Saktismus* itself is, however, not properly applicable to Buddhist developments (see below, p. 44) as Glasenapp is aware, but he omits to draw the full conclusions. 'Die Vereinigung des Buddha mit seiner Sakti im Körper der großen Lust (mahāsukha-kāya) ist das Symbol des Verschmelzens des Bewußtseins (vijñāna) in der Leere (śūnyatā), die selige Aufhebung aller Zweiheit. Wenn sich der Upāya (d. h. die Methode der aktiven Heilspropaganda) und die Prajñā (die Erkenntnis) miteinander vereinen, dann ist damit der höchste geistige Schöpfungsakt zur Tatsache geworden. Die Sakti ist hier also dem männlichen Prinzip im günstigen Falle nur koordiniert, meistens aber ist sie ihm untergeordnet, wie ja auch bei den tibetischen Yab-Yum-Darstellungen die Sakti meist kleiner erscheint als ihr männlicher Partner' (p. 126). Never, however, does this coupling mean anything other than the absorbing of *upāya* into *prajñā*, and in this sense Wisdom (*prajñā*) always predominates. The fact that iconographically the *prajñā* is shown as the smaller of the two figures indicates nothing other than the continuance of an iconographic tradition, in which the male figure (icono-
innate in all living things. It is therefore the chief thing to be symbolized, and to symbolize, one must remember, is to transmute. This is therefore no degrading of religion, but just the reverse, an ennobling of the natural condition, or rather a realization of the essential purity (viśuddhi) of the natural condition. It is samsāra that is to be realized as nirvāṇa. We have referred above to the dangerous nature of this whole theory of identification, and drawn attention to the false assumption that seems to underlie it, but in this instance the followers of the tantras seem to be specially secure from criticism, for this bond was a sanction of the highest order which Indian religion recognized, namely the obtaining of supreme enlightenment (samyaksambodhi). If misused it became automatically, as should any intended sacrament, the means of certain misery (duḥkha), which for them is samsāra, unrecognized for what it really is, involving wretched conditions in future lives. Those who behaved thus were the fools, to whom reference is made, for the followers of the tantras were themselves well aware of these dangers. It is only unfortunate that at times the canonical texts themselves seem to succumb to the danger. The wording often seems so precise that it can be only the obviously literal interpretation that was intended. Vajragarbha even says that this was so. In those circles where the Hevajra-tantra had its origin, there can be little doubt that it was believed that the body would be nourished and so become endowed with special powers, if certain sacraments (samaya), consisting of various kinds of human flesh or more repulsive articles, were consumed. To consume these in the accepted Buddhist sense, means to consume the Five Buddhas and thus to purify (viśudh) the Five Evils. If in the beginning this had been the intended sense, it would have seemed unnecessary to enumerate the articles with such precision. Yet in the main a clear Buddhist connotation is implied. The whole text seems to require different stages of interpretation, if one is in every case to understand it as the actual authors intended it. But it has seemed to me enough to attempt to understand it in its acceptable Buddhist sense, as interpreted in fact by its commentators.

At the same time there is no absolute distinction to be drawn between any of the ritual and its figurative meaning, since the final purpose of the ritual is nothing other than that meaning, and at any stage it might still be employed without necessarily belying the higher intention. The fool was not he who did these things, but he who did them ignorant of their true import. This applies particularly to the important rite of maithuna. In its symbolic interpretation it may be associated with the idea of mystic absorption into the great prajñāpāramitā, an idea which is never dissociated from graphically) predominated. The old forms receive now new significance, and it would be absurd to deny the new significance because of the old forms.

1 See II. xi. 11–15.  2 See p. 17.  3 See I. vii. d, I. xi. b, and II. x. b.
INTRODUCTION

It. This idea precedes the *tantras* themselves; they seem to give it actual
substance for a period, and then it returns again to the sphere of pure idea.
It is in the actual interpretation of this rite that the Buddhist *tantras*
differ chiefly from the non-Buddhist, and it is unfortunate that the relative
ignorance concerning Buddhist *tantras* should have permitted reference to
them with terminology which is just not properly applicable. In recent
European and Indian works the feminine element is now regularly referred
to as the *śakti*, but yet she is no *śakti* (active power). She is here *prajñā*, the
eternally quiescent one, and it is by means of her partner (*ūpāya*) that
phenomenal existence comes about. The whole idea of power is essentially
absent where she is concerned, and to refer to Hevajra and his *śakti*, or
any other Buddhist male divinity ‘and *śakti*’, already now the practice in
our museums, reveals a misunderstanding of the whole Buddhist concep-
tion. If we must use a Sanskrit term, the correct term is *prajñā*, as our text
here will amply demonstrate. If we use English, the term ‘partner’ will
serve. The term *śakti* is not used in Buddhist *tantras*.

Elaboration of this theme is not here necessary, for this has been the whole subject of this
introduction. The *yogin* as Means (*ūpāya*) is absorbed into Wisdom (*prajñā*),
and the Great Bliss (*mahāsukha*) is achieved.

While on the one hand we should recognize in all fairness the essential
purity in intention of any ritual rightly performed, in that it consists in an
identifying of *samsāra* with *nirvāṇa*, in a transmuting of a lower form into
a higher, of that which is imperfect into that which is perfect, we must on
the other hand be aware of the opposite effect that results, namely the
identifying of *nirvāṇa* in *samsāra*. While the first is essentially blameless,
the second is clearly liable to either proper or improper use. Its use is proper
only when the intention is right. To produce a *mandala* with its various
parts, to envisage it as a representation of existence as it appears to be, and
then to identify it in a higher principle, is a satisfactory proceeding perhaps,
so long as one continues to embody that higher principle. One could then
say convincingly: ‘*OM HERUKA-svabhāvātmaka* ‘HAM’. As a means towards
this stage one had provisionally identified that which was imperfect with
that which is perfect, and this was justified in so far as perfection was
achieved. But it ceases altogether to be justified when this ideal is no longer
realized, or in the case of its non-realizability. It is with this measure that
one may in fairness attempt to estimate the value of the later Buddhist
developments.

There was nothing new in the theory that in order to restore that which
was imperfect (= *duḥkha*) into that which was perfect, that which was

1 It occurs nowhere in the *Hevajra-tantra*. In Bhattacharya’s edition of the *Guhyasamājatantra* it is printed in error for the correct reading which is given in a footnote
(p. 28, note 6). It may be noted that it is liable to occur only in isolated *mantras*, e.g. *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, Narthang Kanjur r*Gyud*, vii. 346b 1.
perfect must provisionally manifest itself as imperfect, that is to say in a form that would be recognizable to imperfect beings, and so might serve as means towards their transformation. A docetic theory of Śākyamuni Buddha, which involves precisely this idea, is present in the Lalitavistara, and finds still fuller development in the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. It was this same idea that transformed the significance of the stūpa, so that from being a reliquary to which honour was due, it became a symbol of the dharmakāya from which power might be derived. This same change affects the stone figures. The quasi-historical representations of Gandhara sculpture become the stereotyped and idealized buddhas of later Buddhist times. The intention of the onlooker changes from that of devotion to an historical person, and becomes one of desire for self-identification with a transcendent ideal. It is this change which is the very essence of the mahāyāna, and in it are involved all future developments.

What is new in the tantras is the manner in which they draw certain conclusions from those premisses, conclusions that could logically be drawn, but nevertheless involved a certain contradiction with the original intention. Their whole theory of symbols is based on this same idea of perfection existing in an imperfect form, by means of which one gains the otherwise unattainable perfection. But they advance from this position in that, instead of symbols, they adopt ritual acts, where previously a symbol would have served. Now the act, rightly performed, may well be more effective than a mere idea represented by the symbol, but there is clearly the danger of the act becoming detached from its intended significance or of its use by those who are unable to comprehend that significance. For these may still claim in accordance with basic theory that samsāra is identical with nirvāṇa. It is here that one sees the fallacy of the whole theory of identification, already referred to above (p. 29). It may be all very well to say that samsāra is nirvāṇa if one remains in nirvāṇa (= mystic realization), but the theory, to say the least, lends itself to considerable misunderstanding, if one remains in samsāra (= normal phenomenal existence) and still maintains that all is nirvāṇa. From this misunderstanding arises the notion that those who have once experienced the ‘Great Bliss’ can do as they please, that whatever their acts, they themselves are free from their consequences, for they are beyond the notions of what is suitable and unsuitable, what is right and wrong.

This same desire to see nirvāṇa as samsāra in every possible manner had yet another effect, which certainly strengthened the claim of Buddhism to be a universal religion, and not merely a special technique for ‘those of keen senses’. In this respect it is difficult to regard the tantras as issuing in a degeneracy. Their elaboration of the use of symbol provides those external forms which are essential to the existence of a religion that is to enter into the life of a people and form the backbone of its culture. We can but
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surmise from their Nepalese and Tibetan versions the wonder that those
great Indian stūpas excited and the devotion they instilled; how wonderful
too must have been those murals that adorned the walls of the monasteries,
and the images and banners that filled the temples, the throngs of monks
that passed in succession to their regular offices, or assembled for bouts of
philosophical disputation. It is of this whole setting that the tantras form
part. It is this which they have strangely helped to enrich. Those same texts
that may well distress us with the barbarity of their language and the crudity
of their expression, were for them sacred symbols, for the Tantra of Hevajra
is the verbal expression of Hevajra, even as the image represents his physical
form. Probably very few were concerned to know the actual meaning of the
words which formed this verbal expression. It was learned and recited
ritually as one of the means of consubstantiation with the divinity which it
expressed, and when it is commented upon by those few who were skilled in
the meaning of its parts, they themselves would conceive of it in no other
way than as a means to this same self-experience. The literal interpretations,
so useful to us, that they sometimes provide, are merely incidental to the
main intention, and are therefore seldom plainly stated, but must more often
be deduced. They wrote their commentaries neither for those who wished
to eat repulsive sacraments, nor for those who desired to study critically
such strange practices, but for those who wished to consume the notion of
their own selfhood. This is so apparent in the manner of their writing, so
completely taken for granted, that it is oneself who becomes the fool,
when one sets about a literal interpretation of the text. For them the text,
like the image, is but an expression of the essentially inexpressible. It is
itself the convention, the samaya.
PART I

CHAPTER I. THE BODY OF HEVAJRA

a. (1) Thus have I heard—at one time the Lord dwelt in bliss with the Vajrayogini who is the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Buddhas. (2) There the Lord pronounced these words: 'Greatly to be revered is this most secret of all secret things, this essence which is the Body, Speech, and Mind of all the Buddhas. O Vajragarbha, good, good indeed, thou Great Bodhisattva of great compassion. Do thou listen to this which is named Hevajra, the essence of Vajrasattva, Mahāsattva, and Mahāsamayasattva.' (3) Vajragarbha replied: 'Why Vajrasattva, how so Mahāsattva and wherefore Samayasattva? May the Lord please explain.' (4) The Lord replied:

'It is indivisible and so known as Vajra.
A Being which is unity of three;²
Because of this device³ he's known as Vajrasattva (Adamantine Being).
(5) He is full of the flavours of great knowledge, and so he is called Mahāsattva (Great Being);
From his continual creation of conventional forms, as Samayasattva (Convention Being) he's named.'

b. (6) Vajragarbha said: 'What is meant by this composite name of HEVAJRA? What is proclaimed by the sound HE, and likewise what by VAJRA?'

(7) The Lord replied:

'By HE is proclaimed great compassion, and wisdom by VAJRA. Do thou

¹ The English chapter-titles are not intended in every case as a translation of the Sanskrit. They merely represent an attempt to characterize the subject-matter as concisely as possible.
² The unity of three is the unity of Body, Speech, and Mind, and with this interpretation the commentators are generally in agreement. Dharmakirti, however, understands it as the unity of the three worlds, kāmadhātu, rūpadhātu, and arūpadhātu, which is achieved in the condition of voidness—ston pa 'niid du chos thams cad dbyer mi phyed paho / srid pa gsum ste hdod khams gzugs khams gzugs med pahi khams gsum ston par gcig paho / (xvii. 343a 4). See p. 28.
³ The interpretation of anayā prajñā yuktyā presents some difficulty. The Tibetan versions generally confirm our text with their: 'es rab rigs pa hdi yis na, which, being a literal translation, does not help in clarifying the meaning. K, having quoted the text correctly, then interprets as though it were: anayā prajñā yuktyā (vol. II, p. 105, ll. 6–7). Bh, however, says: 'prajñā yuktyā' 'that is to say, here in this application is the authority of logical inference—'es rab rig pa 'zes gsun ste / rigs pa na ḍhir rjes su dpag pahi tshad ma ste / (xv. 195b 5). The phrase reoccurs in a similar context at I, v. 8. In both places the easiest way of satisfying demands of syntax is to translate: ‘by this wise device’. prajñā can itself, however, mean ‘device’, and I prefer to accept it as simply a synonym in apposition, as does also Bh (quoted above).
listen to this tantra, the essence of Wisdom and Means, which now is proclaimed by me. (8) Its proficiency is known to be manifold; it teaches the gazes,\(^1\) how to conjure forth and the language of secret signs, how to petrify, how to drive away, how to bewitch an army into rigidity. (9) It is the means of producing and maintaining the yoginis in accordance with right method; it is proficient in knowledge, both absolute and relative\(^2\) in the matter of the due order of appearance of the divinities. (10) But in the first place it is the one means of producing Heruka, and it is by such production\(^3\) that men are released, O Vajragarbha of great compassion. (11) They are bound by the bonds of existence and released by knowledge of them. O wise one, you should conceive of existence in knowledge of its non-existence, and likewise you should conceive of Heruka in knowledge of his non-existence. (12) Great knowledge abides in the body, free of all falsification, but although it pervades all things and exists in the body, it is not in the body that it arises.'

c. (13) Then Vajragarbha said: 'How many veins are there, Lord, in the

\(^1\) Concerning 'gazes' see Part I, ch. xi a.

\(^2\) 'knowledge absolute and relative'—\(\text{jñ\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}\). K, however, explains \(\text{\text{jñ\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}}\) as astrology, &c.' and \(\text{\text{\'i}v\text{j\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}}\) as 'attendance on one's master' (p. 105, l. 28).\(^*\) R likewise: \(\text{\text{\'y}e \text{\text{s\'{e}s ni skar m\'{a}hi rtis la sos\'{g}s pa\h{\text{\'o}}} / rna\h{\text{\'a}m s\h{\text{\'e}s ni slob d\h{\text{\'o}n g}y\h{\text{i} la thams cad la mkha\h{\text{\'a}m pa\h{\h{\text{\'o}}}} / (xvii. 255a 7). Bh interprets \(\text{\text{jñ\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}}\) as the knowledge that produces perfection (\(\text{siddhi}\)) and \(\text{\text{\'i}v\text{j\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}}\) as knowledge of the fivefold enlightenment (see Introduction p. 29) \(\text{\text{\'y}e \text{\text{s\'{e}s ni \text{\text{\h{\text{\'o}}}n}os grub g\h{\text{\'a}m la dba\h{\text{\'a}m pa\h{\text{\'o}}} / ye \text{\text{s\'{e}s ni m\h{\text{\'o}n}on pa byan chub pa rna\h{\text{\'a}m pa la h\h{\text{\'a}h}i ye \text{\text{s\'{e}s so}} / (xv. 201b 4–5). S has the most satisfactory solution: \(\text{\text{\'y}e \text{\text{s\'{e}s ni \text{\text{\h{\text{\'o}}}n}o na \h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}n}id / rna\h{\text{\'a}m pa \text{\text{s\'{e}s pa ni rDo rje ma la sos\h{\text{\'o}}} / \text{\text{\text{jñ\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}} means the absolute; \text{\text{\'i}v\text{j\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}} means Vajrā and her companions’ (xv. 143b 1) made clear by V:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{de las d\h{\text{\'o}n}os po skye ba ni} / \\
\text{gzu\h{\text{\'a}n dan \h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}d}zin pa\h{\text{\'a}m pa hi dbye ba las} /} \\
\text{yul dan dba\h{\text{\'a}m p\h{\text{\h{\text{\'o}n}}}h\h{\text{\'o}ri b}y\h{\text{\'o}r ba yis} /} \\
\text{rnam s\h{\text{\'e}s rnam s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}y}i so soho} /} \\
\text{d\h{\text{\'o}n}os p\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}n} po\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}h\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}c}hi\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m ba h\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}n\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m} bas h\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}ch\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}n} bar hygur yul dan dba\h{\text{\'a}m po rnam s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}gog pas de ye\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m} su \text{\text{s\h{\text{\'e}s pa gro\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m grol bar byed /}} \\
\text{yul dan dba\h{\text{\'a}m po rnam s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}h\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m pas de ye\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}o}}}s su \text{\text{s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'e}s pas pa sos\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m pa sos\h{\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m h\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}c}hi\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}n bar byed do /}} \\
\text{de yons su \text{\text{s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'e}s pas gro\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m grol bar byed /}} \\
\text{yul dan dba\h{\text{\'a}m po rnam s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}}}gog pas de ye\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m} su \text{\text{s\h{\text{\h{\text{\'e}s pas pa sos\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m pa sos\h{\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m h\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}c}hi\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}n bar byed do /}} \text{From that (the sound \(\text{H\h{\text{\h{\text{\'o}}}m\)) phenomena existence arises from the distinction between subject and object (\(\text{gr\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m hyag\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}m haka})\), and from the association of the sense organs and their spheres each different kind of consciousness (\(\text{\text{\'i}v\text{j\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}) arises, and one is bound by the bond of phenomenal existence. That bond of phenomenal existence binds the different types of consciousness and the eye and the rest. By the knowing of this release is achieved. When spheres and sensse cease to function, and one experiences it, that is absolute knowledge (\(\text{\text{jñ\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na})\)’ (xv. 12a 5–6).

The two terms refer here (\(\text{i}\h{\text{\h{\text{\'o}}}k\h{\text{\h{\text{\'a}a}}s 9 and 10) to the twofold process, whereby the divinities are produced in due order (\(\text{utpattikrama}) and then reabsorbed (\(\text{sampannakrama}). \(\text{\text{\'i}v\text{j\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na}) refers to the process of emanation, and therefore S (quoted above) refers it to Vajrā and the other divinities. See W. Kirfel, Die buddhistischen Termine \(\text{jñ\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na und \text{\text{\'i}v\text{j\text{\'{n}}}\text{\text{\'a}na), ZDMG 92, 1928, pp. 494–8.}

\(^3\) bhāva here translated ‘production’, for the producing of Heruka or Hevajra and his cycle represents existence (bhāva), which is conceived of as being produced just in the same way.

\(^*\) Since all such references to the text of K can apply only to vol. II, this volume reference will from now on be omitted.
Vajra-body? 'There are thirty-two veins', he replied, 'thirty-two that bear bodhicitta, and flow into the place of great bliss. Among these three veins are the chief, Lalana, Rasana, and Avadhūti. (14) Lalana has the nature of Wisdom and Rasana consists in the Means, and Avadhūti is in the middle, free from the notions of subject and object.

(15) Lalana is the bearer of Aksobhya and Rasana the bearer of blood, and she who is known as the bearer of both is famed as Avadhūti.'


(19) Vajragarbha again asked: 'Of what kind, Lord, are these thirty-two veins?' (20) The Lord replied: 'They are all a permutation of the triple nature and essentially free of the notions of subject and object, but on the other hand when they are used as means, they are conceived as possessing the characteristics of phenomenal things.' (21) Now are listed the components of the internal mandala: 2

ALI—sun—wisdom (which represent the left vein);
KĀLI—moon—means (which represent the right vein);

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Novel</th>
<th>Heart</th>
<th>Throat</th>
<th>Head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locanā</td>
<td>Māmakī</td>
<td>Pāṇḍuradevī</td>
<td>Tārā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nirmāna</td>
<td>dharma</td>
<td>sambhoga</td>
<td>mahāsukha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(body)</td>
<td>(mind)</td>
<td>(speech)</td>
<td>(unity of body, speech, and mind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

lotus of:
- 64 petals
- 8 petals
- 16 petals
- 32 petals

(24) variety development consummation blank 4 goddesses
(25) worship adoration propitiation fulfilment 4 cakras
(26) sorrow its origination its cessation the way 4 requisites
(27) self spell divinity knowledge 4 truths
(28) joy perfect joy joy of cessation innate joy 4 realities
(29) sthavira sarvāstivādu samvidi mahāsāntika 4 joys

(32) Then there are ALI, KĀLI, sun, and moon, 3 the 16 phases, the 64 periods, the 32 hours and the 4 watches. So everything goes in fours.

1 According to the text 'bearer of Wisdom and Moon', but these terms have the same significance as blood and Aksobhya, and I avoid the confusion of too many synonymous terms. Aksobhya = bodhicitta (see p. 25).


3 These four, ALI, &c. are listed for the second time, for they not only form sets of pairs with lalanā / rasana, prajñā / upāya, but can also be arranged to fit into the four circles. So V arranges them: dpal bar kālīho / mgyrin par kālīho / sīn khar ses rab bo / lte bar thabs so (xv. 18b 3).
(31) Caṇḍāli blazes up at the navel.  
She burns the Five Buddhas.  
She burns Locanā and the others.  
HĀM is burnt and the Moon melts.¹

CHAPTER ii. MANTRAS

a. We shall expound the chapter on mantras.

(1) the mantra that accompanies offerings to all the spirits: 
   OM A—origin of all things for they are essentially non-arisen—OM ĀH  
   HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(2) the seed of the buddhas: 
   BUM AM JRĪM KHAM HŪM.²

(3) the heart of Hevajra: 
   OM DEVA PICU VAJRA HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(4) the basis of all mantras:  
   they have OM at the beginning, SVĀHĀ at the end and are adorned with  
   HŪM PHAT.

(5) the mantra for causing a city to tremble.  
   OM A KA CA TA TA PA YA ŠA SVĀHĀ.

(6) the seed of the yoginīs:  
   A Ā I I U Ü R Ī L Ė A I O AU AM AH.  

¹ K deals with this verse very fully (p. 110). See the Introduction, pp. 36–37.
² The correct reading of this set of syllables is confirmed by V who quotes them as  
   BUM AM JRĪM KHAM HŪM (xv. 26a 7). They also reappear in the text below (12) to (16)  
   and on p. 55 fn. (quotation from K). The readings of all the other mantras in this chapter  
   are confirmed by chapter 9 of Part II, where they are all spelled letter by letter.
(7) the mantra of the two-armed form:
OM TRAILOKYAKSEPA HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(8) of the four-armed form:
OM JVALAJVALABHYO HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(9) of the six-armed form:
OM KIṬI KIṬI VAJRA HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(10) the mantra for the empowering of body, speech, and mind:
OM ĀH HŪM

(11) the mantra for purifying the site:
OM RAKṢA RAKṢA HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(12) Petrifying: OM HŪM SVĀHĀ.

(13) Subduing: OM AM SVĀHĀ.

(14) Driving away: OM KHAM SVĀHĀ.

(15) Causing hatred: OM JRĪM SVĀHĀ.

(16) Bewitching: OM BUM SVĀHĀ.

(17) Conjuring forth: OM HŪM SVĀHĀ.

(18) Slaying: OM GHUḤ SVĀHĀ.

(19) OM KURU KULLE HRI SVĀHĀ.¹

(20) Rain-producing ritual: OM ĀH PHUḤ. Intoning these syllables, make an image of a snake, wash it with the five ambrosias,² honour it with blue lotuses,³ smear it with nāga-subduing juice,⁴ smear its head with ichor, and having made a pot by placing two dishes together, lay the snake inside. Then fill the pot with milk from a black cow and wrap it in a woven cloth that has been cut by a dark-skinned girl. Then in the north-west make a small pool, and place the snake in it. At its edge lay out the mandala. Black colouring is obtained from charcoal of the cemetery, white from ground human bones, yellow from green lac, red from cemetery-bricks, green from caurya leaves and ground human bones, and dark blue from ground human bones and cemetery charcoal. With these colours lay out the mandala, measuring it with a cemetery thread⁵ three cubits, three inches in size. In the centre draw Hevajra in the act of trampling on a snake; he has eight faces, four feet, sixteen arms, and twenty-four eyes.

¹ This is the mantra of the goddess Kurukullā. See I. xi, c.
² The five ambrosias are the five products of the cow, K (p. 111, l. 18); according to V (xv. 35b 2) milk, curds, butter, sugar, honey.
³ So explained by V: utpala shon pa (xv. 35b 2).
⁴ Nāga-subduing juice is unexplained by the commentaries. Tib assists only in defining nāga as snake, which is in any case to be expected in the context.
⁵ According to V: a thread made from the guts of a corpse: dur khrod kyi sraṅ bus interopa rohi rgyus pa rnams kyis byas paṭṭi sraṅ bus—(xv. 35b 6).
Then the master, his mind resolved in inmost wrath, should utter this mantra in that lonely spot:

OM GHURU GHURU GHUÐU GHUÐU GHATÃ GHATÃ GHOTAYA GHOTAYA
O Lord of the nāgas who causes the snakes to tremble, He-he Ru-ru Ka—those nāgas who have gone to the seven lower realms, drag them forth, drag them forth, rain, rain, thunder, thunder—PHUH PHUH PHUH PHUH PHUH HUM HUM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

If it does not rain now, one should recite this mantra backwards. If then they do not produce rain, their heads will burst like bunches of bread-fruit.²

(21) The cloud-rendering ritual:³

Taking one’s seat on a cemetery-shroud, one rends them by reciting this mantra:

OM noble one to whom the cemetery is dear—HUM HUM HUM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

(22) The ritual of the vajra-knife:

I tell of the chalk-ritual for destroying an enemy army. Having pounded the chalk, mix it with the five ambrosias and kūṭhārachinna⁴ and make a small ball. The mantra is:

OM vajra-knife-o Hevajra HOM HOM HOM PHAT.

For the gaining of siddhi he should recite it ten million times, and for the above-mentioned practice a hundred thousand times. He should then wrap round the neck of the jar upon which the ritual is being practised, and having wrapped it round, he should break it off. All the enemies will become headless.⁵

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¹ The whole of this mantra is translatable, although of course at the expense of the sonorous effect, whence their power was derived: ghur = roar, ghud = defend, ghat = strike, ghut = strike.

² S asserts that the heads of the nāgas will burst (xv. 145b 7)—not that of the officiant in the event of his failure! V implies so (xv. 36b 6). Ch clearly states so: ‘Then if it does not rain, it will cause the heads of those nāga-kings to burst into seven pieces like a bunch of arjaka’ (589a 27). ‘Arjaka’ is explained by K (p. 111, l. 20) and by Bh (xv. 209a 7) as ‘breath-fruit’ (panasa). According to V. it is like black mallikā, has a white stalk, and bursts at the light of the sun—arḍaṇaka ياة pa ḏbyug ḏak ḏor ḏo ḏan mallika ḏag ḏo ḏhrda ḏa ḏste—hi mahu ḏod ḏyi ḏgas ḏa (xv. 36b 6). S says likewise that it has a white stalk and that its ears burst at the contact of the sun—arḍaṇaka ياة pa ni ḏdoṇ ḏu ḏak ḏor ḏo ḏte ḏeḥi ḏste ma ḏi ḏta ḏar ḏes ḏa ḏe ḏa ḏi ḏas ḏe ḏa sḥad cṣ ḏiṣ ṛṇaṃ ḏa ḏu ḏa mahr ḏgas ḏa ḏhyuṛ ḏa ḏe ḏaṃ ḏu ḏklu ḏṇaṃ ḏyi ḏmo bo ḏgas ḏo (xv. 145b 7).

³ V gives a fuller account which gives some more point to this particular rite. When the rain becomes excessive, he says, place the snake in a pot which has been filled with ashes from the cemetery, and seated on a shroud, &c.—gaṅ ḏi ṛṣ ṛeḥ ḏar ḏes ḏa ḏyur ṛaḥ ṛaḥ ṛaḥ ṛaḥ ṛaḥ mṛtaḥ ṛas ḏe ḏur ṛhroḍ ṛyi ṛth ḏas ḏaḥ ḏon ḏar ṛaḥ ḏiṣ ḏeḥi ṛs ḏe ḏe ḏr ṛhroḍ ṛyi ṛs ḏe ḏa ḏe ḏaṃ ḏu ḏklu ḏṇaṃ ṛyi ḏmo bo ḏga ḏa (xv. 37a 2).

The invocation itself seems to be clearly addressed to Śiva.

⁴ Tibetan versions either transliterate kūṭhārachinna or translate without comment as stas res good pa ‘cut with an axe’. Ch glosses with ts’ao ‘grass’ (589c 3). The sense of the term remains uncertain; perhaps the flesh of someone slain by an axe (cf. fastrahata, I. vii. 21).

⁵ This ‘knife’ ritual is confusedly explained. A more logical account is given by V and
The ritual for the destruction of gods:

One who wishes to destroy the gods must perform the ritual upon an axe-shaped mark (tīlaka). A palāśa seed, plucked under Pusya and mixed with kūthārachinna, he should pound together with sukra under a solar eclipse. Having pounded it, he should form it into an axe. Trampling it beneath the feet he should recite the mantra:

OM vajra-axe—cleave cleave HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

Reciting it ten million times, he should make homage to the tīlaka, and the one to whom it clings will burst.

The burning ritual:

One should write the name of an enemy on an arka-leaf with the juice of poisonous mustard and burning citraka, and throwing it in a fire chaff, recite this mantra ten thousand times:

OM Hevajra-bum bum this enemy BHRUM HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT SVĀHĀ.

By reciting it ten thousand times one succeeds.

The vomiting ritual:

If one wishes to cause the vomiting forth of intoxicants, one should imagine the syllable IWU+ on the navel of the patient. One imagines the syllable MAM becoming a belly full of wine. He is seen as vomiting, and he vomits the wine.

S. Two uses of this mantra are given, firstly for converting living beings who are hard to convert. For this ten million recitations are required accompanied by a million offerings (xv. 37a 3–4). Secondly it is used for this enemy-destroying rite, when a hundred thousands suffice. S's account of this follows:

Grind the chalk together with the five nectars and with kūthārachinna make it into a pellet the size of an eye. Then place it in Heruka's mouth and recite the mantra until the image ejects it from its mouth and gives it back to the officiant; if in one session he makes a hundred thousand recitations, the rite will succeed. If he then makes a mark with the chalk on the neck of a spherical vessel, that very thing will appear on the necks of the victim and his followers. He then exercises faith so that these are severed—bdud rtsi lha dañ rdo rgyus btags te / sta res good pa dan lhan cig tu mig tsam gyi ri lu byas te Herukahi khar bcug ste snags balas nas ji srid du sku gzugs ran gi kha nas ran byun ste sgrub pa po la ma btad pa de srid du sten gcig la hbum bslas pas sgrub par hgurte / rdo rgyus de* ril pa spyi blugs kyi mgin pa la ri mo bris na bsgrub bya hkkor dañ bcas pañi mgin pa la de ston snan bar hgurte / hdi ni hphral du yid ches pañi byed poñe / 1

The gods are the gods of the tīrthikas (xv. 37a 7).

brahamabija is explained as palāśa by most of the commentators (R. xvii. 267b 7 S. xv. 146a 5, V. xv. 37b 1); palāśa according to Apte is Butea Frondosa.

2 'plucked under Pusya', so interpreted by R rgyal la blaṅ pa (xvii. 268a 1).

3 The manuscripts are in agreement, but do not make for coherent translation. T, however: bye la bslas la thig le byas te gan la phyag byas la de hgas so = k'ośim japaña tīlakes kuryād yam ca vandate sa sphiṭati. V and S confirm this. According to V, 'having pulverised (the mixture), he must make a tīlaka of the form of an axe, and by doing that, the god to whom the officiant bows, will burst'—de bdar bas agra stahi rnam pañi thig le byaño / byas pa des lha gan la sgrub pa pos phyag hṭshal ba de[s] hgas par byed poñe.

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* It would be preferable to read here: rdo rgyus des.
I. ii THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

(26) The ritual for gaining mastery of a young woman:
One who wishes to quell a young woman should go on the eighth day of aśoka to the foot of an aśoka-tree, and donning a red garment, he should cat madana-fruit. Then making a tilaka with kāmācika-juice, he should recite this mantra:

OM HRI may she come into my power svāhā.¹
By reciting it ten thousand times one gets her to come.

(27) The ritual for holding sun and moon:
One who wishes to have power over sun and moon, should make a sun and moon of ground-rice, throw them into vajra-water, and recite this mantra:

OM sun and moon, move not, move not; stay, stay—o Hevajra HŪM HŪM HŪM PHAT svāhā.
One should recite it seventy million times and they will stand still so that sun and moon will be indistinguishable day and night.

(28) The ritual for seeking a thing which is lost:
In order to gain success in this one should enchant at night time the eye of a maiden with this formula, repeating it 108 times:

OM NAGRA NAGRA, honouring her with the five kinds of offerings, flowers, incense, lamps and so on. Then at night on the eighth or fourteenth day having put ready jars containing sesame oil and lac,² one should enchant them with this formula repeated 108 times. Next smearing his big toe with the enchanted lac, and washing it with the sesame oil, he should show it to the girl, saying: Speak! Who has removed this thing of mine? Then she will reply: ‘Such or such a one.’ This is Vajra-astrology.

(29) OM VE DYĀ VE DYĀ—pronounce this and an elephant flees.
(30) OM MARM M MARM M—pronounce this and a tiger flees.
(31) OM TELIYA TELIYA—pronounce this and a rhinoceros flees.
(32) ILI MILI PHUḤ PHUḤ—pronounce this and a serpent flees.
(33) Show your hand with a gesture which indicates protection of wealth and power of subduing, and a dog will flee.

b. (34) It is in association with Vajrā, Gauri, Vāri, Vajradākinī, Nairātmikā,

¹ This is the mantra of Kurukullā as given at I. i. 19, with the words amuki me vaśibhavatā added. It is correctly quoted by V: OM KURUKULE HRĪH amukam me vaśibha-vatā svāhā (XV. 38a 2). Our text distorts the word-order.
² Translated freely, but on the basis of V: ‘on the eighth or fourteenth day in the early morning having put down the jars, place on them branches of a sappy tree (?), putting the sesame oil in the copper jar and the lac in the other’—beu bzi paham brgyad pa la sna drohi dus su bum pa bzag nas dehi sten du / ho ma can gyi sīn gi yal ga bkod ciṅ ḥbru mar zangs maṅi snod du bzag ste / rgya skyegs kyi khu ba snod gzan duṅ ho / (XV. 38a 7).
MANTRAS

I. ii

Bhūcari, and Khecari, that the yogin practises the rites of petrifying and so on.¹

¹ These rites and their mantras have been listed above in this chapter. The following quotation is from K (pp. 111-13): 'This refers to the practice of mantras. (i) One should mentally produce Vajrā, who becoming manifest from the syllable ĀM, is white in colour, treads upon a corpse and holds knife, skull, and khaṭvdāṅga. One should worship her as prescribed, repeating the mantra: OṂ HŪṂ SVĀḤĀ one hundred thousand times. Then one should write in chalk the syllable MĀM on a dish of unbaked (clay). In the middle of it one should put the mantra: OṂ HŪṂ Make Devadatta stay HŪṂ SVĀḤĀ. Then one must fill it with ashes from a funeral pyre, place another unbaked dish on top to serve as a cover, and on the top of this draw the square māṇḍala of Mahendra. Then place it on the ground, put your foot on it and repeat the 'staying-still' mantra 108 or one thousand times: OṂ HŪṂ Make Devadatta stay HŪṂ SVĀḤĀ. Then he will be made to stay.

(ii) One should mentally produce yellow Gaurī, who is of a saffron-reddish colour and holds a noose and a hook. Then meditating upon the syllable ĀM of colour like unto a bandhūka-flower (as situated) in your own heart, one should worship her as prescribed, repeating the mantra: OṂ ĀM SVĀḤĀ. Then you should imagine the woman who is to be subdued, in front of you, red in colour, naked and with dishevelled hair, and with the syllable ĀM at her pudenda. If it is a man, it will be at his heart. The syllable ĀM is like fire and one must imagine it blazing. Then repeating the mantra: OṂ ĀM GAŬRĪ Lead her into my power ĀM SVĀḤĀ, one must imagine her bound with the noose round the neck and pierced at the heart with the hook, and drawn near, and thrown at your feet. Then she will be certainly subdued.

(iii) One should mentally produce Vājriyogini, who becoming manifest from the syllable I, is dark blue in colour, holds a mirror and is pointing. Then one must imagine the syllable KHAṂ on a solar disk at the heart, and worship her as prescribed, repeating the mantra: OṂ KHAṂ SVĀḤĀ. Then one must imagine the fellow against whom the rite is to be practised, as naked and with dishevelled hair, dark blue in colour and mounted on a wild boar. He is facing right and in the act of fleeing while being beaten with the cruel blows of clubs. For a week one must repeat the mantra: OṂ KHAṂ VĀṆIYOGINI Chase away this fellow KHAṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHÂṬ, and he will certainly be chased away.

(iv) One should meditate on Vajrayogini with the syllable U and imagine the syllable JRĪṂ dark blue in colour on a solar disk at the heart. One should worship her as prescribed, repeating the mantra: OṂ JRĪṂ SVĀḤĀ one hundred thousand times. Then one must imagine the two against whom the rite is to be practised, as mounted on a horse and a buffalo and as fighting together. One repeats the mantra: OṂ JRĪṂ VAIṆAṆAKIṆI Cause Devadatta and Jñāṇadatta to hate one another JRĪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHÂṬ, and it will certainly cause them to hate one another.

(v) One must imagine Nairāṭmyā, who becomes manifest from the syllable ĀM. Her appearance is fearful and she holds the skull, khaṭvdāṅga and knife. On a solar disk at the heart one sees the syllable BŬṂ, dark blue in colour, and having performed the prescribed worship, one should draw a six-sided māṇḍala in a brahma-skull with a mixture of poisonous mustard and blood. In the six corners one must inscribe the syllable HŪṂ and in the centre OṂ BŬṂ Burn him HŪṂ. For any intended misfortunes one should write his name and burn it in a chaff-fire (passage corrupt). In fierce rites one should always end the mantra with: HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHÂṬ.

(vi) One should mentally produce Khecari, who becomes manifest from her own seed-syllable and is standing on a corpse. Then one should imagine the victim blazing on the air and fire-māṇḍalas. One draws forth from one's heart a red ray of light, which one must cause to enter the victim by way of the right nostril, and having pierced her heart, one must extract the ray by way of the left nostril. Then drawing it with the breath into one's own heart, one recites the mantra. She will certainly be drawn to one's presence.

(vii) One should meditate on Bhūcari, who becomes manifest from her seed-syllable and is dark-blue in colour. Then having performed worship as before, one should imagine a burning vajra, which becomes manifest from the syllable GHŪṂ and is entering the rear of the victim who is face-downwards. One should recite the mantra: OṂ GHŪṂ BHŪCĂRĪ Slay him HŪṂ HŪṂ HŪṂ PHÂṬ and he will certainly die.' See also notes to text of K, p. 112.
CHAPTEII. HEVAJRA AND HIS TROUPE

(1) We shall expound the chapter on the divinities. First one should produce thought of love, secondly that of compassion, thirdly that of joy, and last of all that of impassibility.

(2) Then again: first the realization of the void, secondly the seed in which all is concentrated, thirdly the physical manifestation, and fourthly one should implant the syllable. 2

1 'First' in the sense of first of this set of four, for 'first of all, having settled in a pleasant place and adopted a comfortable posture, one should pronounce three times: om rakṣa rakṣa hūm hūm hūm phat svāhā in order to protect the site, oneself, and the performance. Then one should worship Bhagavān whose form should be present on a picture or some other representation, with one's own mantra, and having intoned the dedication, one should make a confession of wrong done, an act of gladness at merit gained, and perform the triple-refuge. Then having produced the thought of enlightenment, after that one should first practise the meditation of love' (K: p. 113, ll. 14-19). These preliminaries are given in a similar form by most of the other commentators. Bh adds: 'after the taking of the triple-refuge, one should make an offering of oneself, which will be mentioned below (see I, vi. 19); having made a gift of one's own self, one should make the vow which is the thought of enlightenment: May I, having become Heruka, make all beings without exception into Heruka too.' This also is mentioned later: 'Heruka is a transformation of samsāra, the foremost of the savours of the world'; then again later: 'I will save the world—gsum la skyabs su ḍro bahi rjes la ḍag ńiḥ dbul bar byaho | ḍes paḥo | de ńiḥ kyan ḍchap par ḍgyur te | lus kyi sbyin pa byin nas su | ḍes paḥo | de nas smon pa ḍyan chub kyi sems bskyed par bya ste | ḍag ńiḥ dpal Herukar gyar nas ḍgro ba ma lus pa ḍnam kyan ḍpal Herukar byaho | ḍes paḥo | de ńiḥ kyan ḍchap par ḍgyur te | ḍkhor bahi rnam pa Heruka | ḍgro ba ṣgro ḍahi giso bo ńiḥ ces paḥo | des na ḍag gis ḍgro ba ṣgro bar byaho | ḍes paḥo daḥ—(xv. 210a 2-4).

I have quoted here in some length in order to show how the intention of the ritual that follows, remains that of the traditional bodhisattva. The intention is the same; the technique has changed or developed. 'Thought of enlightenment' remains in its traditional sense. The four brahma-vihāra are very old property of Indian Yoga and probably belong to the earliest Buddhist practice (Fr. Heiler, Buddhistische Versenkung, p. 47 and notes 294 and 295). They lose nothing of their moral force in their present setting. See K: p. 113, l. 19; or N, who emphasizes still more their benevolent character: 'Love is the directing of the thoughts, so that one's relatives and friends, the meanest of them, one's enemies and those who are strangers shall gain happiness and those things that are good for them; compassion is the will to extricate all beings, even at the cost of one's own life, from suffering and the cause of suffering; joy is rejoicing at that which is of benefit to others; impassibility is indifference to the harm caused one by others'—gños bīes tha ma l pa ḍan dgra bo rnam la pha rol po la ḍan bde pa ḍe bar ṣ grub par sems pa ni ḍyams paḥo | gños pa sīn rje ḍes pa la ḍag bstral ḍan | ḍag bstral gyi ḍgyu lās sems can rnam thams cab ḍan gi lus ḍan srog gis kyan hdon par ḍbod pa ni sīn rjeḥo | / . . . gṣan la ḍhan pa la raṅs pa ni ḍgaḥ baho | . . . gṣan gyi skyon la btaṅ sṅoms pa ni kun gyi ḍlag mar btaṅ sṅoms so ḍes paḥo (xvii. 92a 7-8 2). One should note, however, that this whole process is a meditative exercise, forming part of the yogin's own purificatory ritual, and subjective in its application. R gives the reasons for its use: 'for the purpose of rendering firm the thought of enlightenment and all the other roots of virtue, in order to allow no occasion for harmful thoughts or torments and in order to protect oneself from the sufferings of an evil future, from Māra and from the Hinayāna; they are the first branch (of training) for yogins and are common to all yogins'—byan chub kyi sems la sogs paḥi ḍge bahi rtsa ba thams cab brtan par bya bahi don ḍan | gnod sems daṅ rnam par ḍtshes la la sogs paḥi skabs mi ḍbye bahi ḍphyur ḍan | nān ḍgroḥi ḍag bstral ḍan bsdud ḍan ḍteḥ pa ḍman pa ḍas ḍag ńiḥ bruṅ bahi don du ḍdi [du] daṅ ni rnal ḍbyor pa ḍnam kyi ḍan paḥi yan lag te rnal ḍbyor pa thams cab kyi thun mon ḍo (xvii. 268b 4-5).

2 This set of four form the body of primary yoga, and are called the fourfold vajra—rnal ḍbyor daṅ paḥi lus ni rdo rje bāi ste (R: xvii. 268b 5). See also GS p. 163 where this
(3) One should imagine before one a solar disk arising from the syllable RAM and at its centre a crossed-vajra which has emerged from the syllable HUM. As produced from this vajra one should imagine a balustrade and canopy.¹

(4) (Then within the balustrade) one should first imagine a corpse which represents the whole of existence, and the yogin, seated thereupon, should conceive himself of the nature of Heruka (5). In his own heart he imagines the syllable RAM and a solar disk arising from it, and then upon that the syllable HUM, the nature of which is Wisdom and Means. (6) It is dark in colour and exceedingly fearful this syllable HUM which has emerged from a vajra, and one should conceive of the essence of this HUM as abiding in the heart of the vajra. (7) Then he should envisage the syllable HUM as transformed into (Heruka) whose nature is wrath. This Vajra-Born is

istrāka: prahamam śūnyatābodhiḥ, &c. appears in almost identical form, and is referred to as the vajracatudha. As for the interpretation of these four stages, the commentaries are in complete agreement on the meaning of the first three. A variation of interpretation for the fourth is given by Bh and Kz, both, however, fanciful and without direct relevance to the preceding three. We follow K's commentary: 'What is this realization of the Void, you ask. As all things have the mind for their support, everything is just thought, and with external things thus non-existent, it reflects sense-objects through error. It is like a dream, they say. Furthermore, as mind consists of this reflective quality, its nature is neither one nor many. It should be conceived of as free from false appearances and as consisting of pure brilliance. Now in that brilliance one duly envisages upon a solar disk and so on the divine seed encircled with rays; from that seed by the endless creation of the families of the yoginis the cause of the world is prospered, so in that seed it is concentrated. By means of that seed there comes about the physical manifestation of the god in the semi-paryanka position or in a dancing posture, mounted upon an corpse upon a solar disk which rests upon the pericarp of a many-petalled lotus. This is the physical manifestation. Fourthly the implanting of the syllable. In one's own heart one should imagine the seed-syllable set on a mandala.' (K: p. 113, ll. 114ff). R says exactly the same in substance. For the second stage he says: 'from that seed Vajrā, Gauri, and their companions pour forth endlessly, and because they are concentrated in that seed, it is called seed-concentration and that one should meditate upon' (xvii. 269a 3); and for the fourth: 'in one's heart one should imagine a solar disk, and upon that is placed the syllable of the seed. One should concentrate upon one's own thought as perfected in the nature of that thought which is expressed in the form of one's own divinity who arises from the syllable of that seed resting on the solar disk in the heart'—rān gi stīnī gar ni mahī dkyil hkhor dmigs te | dehi sten du sa bon gyi yi ge bkod la | stīnī gahi ni ma la gnas pahi sa bon gyi yi ge las rān gi lhahi rnam pahi sṃs kyi rān bṣin gyis rdzogs pa rān gi sṃs bṣigom par bya (xvii. 269a 4-5). The four stages are clear: first the concept of the void, then the seed, then the whole phenomenal process, idealized in the circle of divinities, and lastly this whole process envisaged within one's own heart, so that oneself becomes the centre and is consubstantiated with the whole.

As for the grammatical structure of this last phrase, nyāsot may be interpreted as nyayayet. There are other examples of the verbal noun with dependent accusative. See I. vi. 4. Tib has dgod, a future root, and this usually represents a Sanskrit optative.

¹ For a fuller account of these preliminary protective arrangements see K (p. 114, ll. 8-12). 'One conceives of a solar disk sprung from the syllable RAM which is red like fire, and upon it a crossed-vajra which has emerged from a dark-blue HUM. On a horizontal plane in relation to these one should imagine a vajra-balustrade, above them a vajra-canopy, and below them a floor of this adamantine material. Outside there should be a blazing vajra-fire. This is the meaning of the iloka. Then he should empower it by reciting the mantra: Oṃ rakṣa rakṣa hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phāt svāhā.'
THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

exceedingly dark like a blue lotus in colour, or one may conceive of him as dark blue and red—as one pleases.¹

(8) Envisaging in the sky that Lord, who is vajra-born and of great compassion, one should worship him in the company of eight goddesses who are wearing all their adornments. (9) Gaurī holds the moon, Caurī the sun-vessel, Vetālī holds water, Ghasmarī medicament, (10) Pukkasī holds a vajra, Śavārī the ambrosia, and Čaṇḍālī sounds a drum. By these the Lord is worshipped, with Dombī clinging to his neck and impassioned by great passion.

(11) There is Moon and Sun and betwixt them the Seed. This last is that Being, 'tis taught, whose nature is Joy Supreme.

(12) Forms like to his in brilliance shoot forth and cover the expanse of the sky. Drawing them together he induces them into his own heart, and the yogin becomes the Wrathful One himself.²

(13) Dark blue and like the sun in colour with reddened and extended eyes,³ his yellow hair twisted upwards, and adorned with the five symbolic adornments, (14) the circle, the ear-rings and necklace, the bracelets and belt. These five symbols are well known for the purificatory power⁴ of the Five Buddhas. (15) He has the form of a sixteen-year-old youth and is

¹ 'In accordance with one's own power of perception, whichever colour is agreeable, as such one should conceive him.' (K: p. 114, l. 23). Presumably the idea of aruna is derived from the solar disk, but it is difficult to conceive of the two colours at once, which is certainly intended. So B: 'the body which is the essence of Heruka is the colour of the dawn mixed with dark-blue'—sno ba dan Ḫāres pa skya rens kyis mdans can gi Herukaḥi bdag ŋiṇ kyis sku ni / sno dan ŋi mahi mdog ces pa (xx. 213a 7). When nilurunābha recurs in verse 13, he says: 'as for this colour which is blue and like that of the sun, mortals (mthah can) are not able to distinguish them. So he is blue and he is the colour of the sun, and therefore it is said he is blue and of colour like the sun'—sno dan ŋi ma mtshungs paḥi mdog ni mthah can gyis mnam par dbye ba(r) med paho / des ni sno ba yaḥ yin la ŋi ma yaḥ yin pās na sno dan ŋi ma mtshungs paḥi mdog go (xx. 214b 1). See I–T iii, part 2, frontispiece.

² The process here described is again 'the Body of Yoga' (yogas'arira), which we discussed above in the note on pp. 56–7. In this second case, however, there is a fivefold distinction, each of the five stages being equated with one of the five wisdoms. Thus R (xvii. 270b 1 ff.), D (xvii. 254b 6 ff.) and K (p. 114, ll. 32 ff.) all interpret. K quotes the text I. viii. 6–7 q.v. 'The only difficulty consists in conferencing with the feminine of the other: moon (m) and āhī (f), kāli (m), and sun (f). The context requires no other significance in the repetition than that achieved in any other language by similar use of repetition, and the efforts of the commentators, K amongst them, to explain moon as a transformation of āhī, and kāli as transformed into sun, are really superfluous. Compare however I. viii. 5–6. Sattva is defined as Vajrasattva by S (xv. 148 5) and as Vajradhara by K. He is the supreme being under any of his names, and both commentators go on to define svadehābha as shining manifestations (K: abhāḥ, S: hod ser—light rays) like Hevajra in form. Of the process whereby manifestations of this kind fill all the points of the compass we have already spoken (see Introduction, p. 33).

³ 'Eyes red and extended like a bandu, such are red bandu-eyes; eyes round, red and extended, this is the meaning'—bandu ltar rgyas sin dmār bahu stpan ni bandu dmār poḥi stpan de niḥ de / zlum sin dmār la rgyas paḥi stpan žes paḥi don to (xx. 214b 4–5). Ch: 'his eyes are red bandhuka (-flowers)'—590b 6.

⁴ See reference to visuddhi; p. 29. Also I. vi. 11–12.
clad in a tiger-skin. His gaze is wrathful. In his left hand he holds a vajra-skull, and a khatvāṅga likewise in his left, while in his right is a vajra of dark hue. In his essence he is the enunciation of the sound HŪM.

(16) This Lord plays in the cemetery surrounded by his eight yoginis. ‘In the cemetery’, we say, because here we have a play on words, for śvasiti means ‘he breathes’ and śavavasati means ‘resting-place of corpses’.

(17) The four-armed form symbolizes the destruction of the four Māras. He is born of the syllable HŪM and his form and colour are as previously described. In the first left-hand he holds a human skull filled with the blood of gods and titans; in the first right hand he holds a vajra; with the remaining two hands he embraces Prajñā. She is Vajravārāhī and is similar in form to her lord.

(18) The six-armed form has three faces, the left red, the right the colour of the rising moon, and the foremost one dark blue. The six arms symbolize the six Perfections; in the first left hand he holds a trident, in the first right hand a vajra, in the second left hand a bell and in the second right hand a knife. With his remaining two hands he clasps Vajraśrīkhalā. She too is like her lord. In her right and left hands she holds knife and skull.

He treads upon a corpse who represents the threefold world.

CHAPTER IV. SELF-CONSECRATION

(1) We shall expound the chapter on divine consecration. Imagine that from the seed¹ in your own heart you lead forth a ray, which is shining black in colour and of the form of a hook, and by means of this you draw in the buddhas who are stationed throughout the threefold world. Having worshipped them with the eight goddesses,² you should beseech them saying: ‘OM may all the buddhas consecrate me’.

(2) Then you will be consecrated by those buddhas who have all assumed the form of Heruka, with the five vessels which symbolize the Five Tathāgatas and which contain the five ambrosias.³ At the time of consecration there will be a shower of flowers and one of saffron; drums will sound; (3) you will be worshipped by Rūpavajrā and her companions⁴ and Locanā.

¹ The seed is HŪM (S: xv. 149a 1).
² Literally: the eight mothers and referring to Gaurī and her seven companions.
³ Bh interprets the five ambrosias as the Five Wisdoms—bdud rtsi lha ṣes bya ba ni me lon lta buhi ye ṣes la sogs pa ye ṣes lha po de dag ūṇid bdud rtsi ste de dag gis ḡdzin paḥo (xv. 216b 3).
⁴ The complete company are:
   Rūpavajrā who is white and holds a mirror;
   Śabḍavajrā who is black and holds a lute;
   Gandhavajrā who is yellow and holds a shell with scents;
   Rasavajrā who is red and holds a begging-bowl filled with fine savours;
   Sparšavajrā who is green and holds garments of various hues;

[footnote cont. overleaf.]
and the others will sing vajra-songs. When you have been thus consecrated, the Lord of your Family will appear on your head, and Heruka will be revealed in you.

Performing morning, noon and night this meditation which bestows such power, you should arise, and at all times remain consubstantiated with the divinity.

CHAPTER V. REALITY

(1) Now we shall expound the chapter on reality.

In reality there is neither form nor seer, neither sound nor hearer,

There is neither smell nor one who smells, neither taste nor taster, Neither touch nor one who touches, neither thought nor thinker.

(2) He who is well versed in this yoga gives honour always to the Mother and the Sister. Likewise he to whom this truth is dear, pays honour to Narti, Rajaki, and Dombi, to Caṇḍāli and to Brāhmaṇi, combining Means and Wisdom in the rite.

Dharmadhātuvajrā who is yellow and red and holds the triangle of origination (dharmodaya—see K (p. 123, l. 24).

Such is the list given by Bh (216b 5); it shows, however, some discrepancy in the matter of colours with that given in I–T iii. 2, pp. 183–4.

Locanā, Māmaki, Pāṇḍaravāsini, and Tārā have already been referred to in the Introduction, p. 31.

As an example of vajra-songs S and Bh both quote: Kollaireṭṭhi, &c. For this see beginning of Chapter 4, Part II.

3 The Lord of the Family is Akṣobhya, for it is he who is the hypostasis of Heruka or Hevajra. Bh: ran gi rigs ſes pa ni Mi bskyod paho (xv. 217a 3).

4 Bh: “At the three set times practising the meditation of the bestowal of power, one arises” so it is said. The bestowal of power (adhiśṭhāna) refers to the disposition of the divine forms (devatāvinyāsa); the practice is meditation upon them, and this is the rite; “arising” implies remaining in union (with them). Then it refers to activity outside these set times and meditations with the words “being consubstantiated with the divinity”; this means the assurance of unity of enjoyment in the divine form with regard to all spheres of activity through possession of divine self-confidence in the acts of sitting, sleeping, eating and all the rest—thun gsum du byin gyis brlabs paši sgi pah sn rnam par dgos paho | de rnam kyi sgi pah sn goms paho | dehi sgi pah sri cho paho | lai sri sri ngl byor gyis gnas paho | thun dan bsom pah sri phyi rol gyi bya ba gsum sri | lhahi ſes bya ba la sogs la la | lhahi gzugs ni dngur pah dan | za ba dan | na la la sogs sn rnam sn lhahi rna rgyal gyis yul rnam sn lhahi gzugs sn ne bar lois spyod pah sn rnal byor gyi ſes pa ni dgos so | (xv. 217a 5–7).

5 For a translation of K’s commentary on these verses see the Introduction, pp. 20–21.

6 The text actually has Vajri, but see 6lokab below.

7 These seven names fall into two groups. The first two belong to a larger set of eight feminine relatives, which will be found in full at II. v. 53. Their significance here is made clear below (I. v. 16–17). This is made more explicit by R who says that the Mother is one who always wishes you prosperity, that the Sister is one who is constant in her affection, and that they both bring prosperity to the Family of Vajrasattva—Ma ſes pa ni phan par ḡdod pa can no | sri n mo ſes pa ni byams pa brian paho | de gni s ri Do rje sems dpahis rig la phan pa byed paho (xvii. 274a 5–6). The families of the other five buddhas are accounted for by Narti and her companions (see diagram V). These are interpreted as representing the five senses with their objects. See K: p. 117, ll. 10–12.
(3) They must be served with circumspection that no disclosure come about. Through lack of secrecy misfortune will befall you, from snake or thief or fire or sprite.¹

(4) In order that one may gain release, these Mudrā are identified with the Five Families. She is called Mudrā or Sign, because she is signed with the Vajra.

(5) Vajra, Padma, Karma, Tathāgata, Ratna; these are known as the Five Families supreme, O thou of great compassion. (6 and 7) These then are their five Mudrā: Dombī for Vajra, Narti for Padma, Rajaki for Karma, Brāhmaṇī for Tathāgata, and Canḍālinī for Ratna. For shortness they are called the families of the tathāgatas. (8) He enters supreme reality, he the Blessed One, and comes just as he went, and so on account of this play on words, it 's as Tathāgata he 's known.

(9) These families are of six kinds, it 's taught, but abbreviated they are five. Then they may become three with the distinction of Body, Speech, and Mind.²

(10) These families correspond with the five elements and are identified with the five skandhas.³ It is because they can be reckoned (kul) or counted that they are therefore known as kula.

(11) There is neither meditator, nor whatso'er to meditate; there is neither god nor mantra.

   It is as (aspects of) the undifferentiated unity that god and mantra have their existence.

(12) This unity is known as Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amogha, Ratna, Ārolika,⁴ and Sātvika, as Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Sarva, Vibuddha, and Tattva.⁵

¹ These lines are interpreted differently by K: 'They (the senses that these goddesses symbolize) must be used with extreme care, so that no distinction, that is to say, so that no threefold dependence of sound, ear, hearing-consciousness, &c. shall come about' (p. 117, ll. 16–18). This seems scarcely the primary meaning, as the threats that follow the non-observance would not be suitable in this case. K shows his consciousness of this by inserting sāṁsārikāir duḥkhaṁ.

² Interesting are the names given by K to the six buddhas: Citta (Akṣobhya), Śāśvata (Vairocana), Ratneśa (Ratnasambhava), Vāgīśa (Amitābha), Amogha (Amoghasiddhi), and Sāttvika (Vajrasattva). They become five by the omission of Vajrasattva, and three by the absorption of Amoghasiddhi into Vairocana, and Ratnasambhava into Amitābha. This leaves Akṣobhya (citta), Amitābha (vāg), and Vairocana (kāya) (Td xvi. 128a). This order of elimination corresponds with the historical seniority of the group. Vajrasattva was the last-comer; Amoghasiddhi and Ratnasambhava are less substantial figures than the three first great ones who still hold their sway in China, Japan, and Tibet. Hevajra as was mentioned above (p. 60, fn. 3), is a manifestation of Akṣobhya, to whose family our whole tantra belongs. For an interesting and well-reasoned discussion of the origin of the five buddhas, see Paul Mus, Borobudur, ii. 1, part 6, ch. 1 ‘L'Origine des Cinq Jina’.

³ For a discussion of these correspondences see the Introduction, pp. 29–31. This passage is corrupted in the manuscripts, but well vouched for by the Tibetan versions.

⁴ Ārolika—a curious name for Amitābha. It belongs to a set of names of invocation with jñanīk, Ratnadvīṣā (see PK p. 8). See also GS p. 6 and Tucci, Some Glosses upon the Guhyasamāja, MCB iii, pp. 339–53. KT translates the term as hkhor ḡdas (= samsāra- [footnotes 4, 5 cont. overleaf].
I. v  THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

(13) He is called Brahmā because he has gained nirvāṇa and enlightenment. Viṣṇu because he is all-pervading, Śiva because he is propitious, Sarva because he abides in all things, (14) Tattva because he experiences real bliss, and Vibuddha because he is aware of this happiness.

He becomes manifest in the body (deha) and he is therefore called the divinity (devatā). (15) Because he, as Buddha, possesses many blessings (bhaga), he is called most blessed (bhagavat). These blessings are six: lordliness, beauty, fame, wealth, wisdom, and great energy.1 Or he may be called Bhagavat because he destroys (bhajāt) Klesāmāra and the others.

(16) Prajñā is called the Mother, because she gives birth to the world; and likewise the Sister (bhagini) because she shows the apportionment (vibhāga).2 (17) She is called Washerwoman or Daughter or Dancer: Washerwoman (rajāki)3 because she tinges all beings (raiijāt); Daughter (duhītā) because she yields good qualities (duhanāt); (18) Dancer because of her tremulous nature. She is called Ḏombi (outcast) because she is untouchable.

(19) Our speech is called uttering (japa) because it is the enunciation (prajalpana) of ēlī and kālī.4

nirvāṇa). S says rolika means dispute, and that he is called Āroliaka because in the condition of great passion, the nature of which is Joy and Supreme Joy, this does not exist—rolīka ni rtrod paḥo | de yan mcog tu āgar āghā baḥi raṇān ḍaḥ ṣangs chen po la yod pa ma yin pas Ārōlika go | (xv. 150b 6–7). And later: because this undifferentiated unity is free of a disputing nature, it is called Ārōlika (151b 3). This must be the correct interpretation. Rold ‘dissension’ occurs below (II. iii. 6). Ārōlika is thus a vṛddhi form of arola ‘unrowdy’.

S equates the buddhas with their six Brahmanical counterparts, associating the five with the five wisdoms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vairocana</th>
<th>Brahmā</th>
<th>ādārijānāna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Śiva</td>
<td>kṛtyaṁsaḥnājānāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Viṣṇu</td>
<td>svuṣuddhadharmadhātujānāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Sarva</td>
<td>samatājānāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Tattva</td>
<td>pratyaevakṣaṇājānāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajrasattva</td>
<td>Vibuddha</td>
<td>saha-jānandamahāsukhapratiti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He defines vibuddha as special and noble buddha—khyad par du ḍhpags pahi sans rgyas ni rnam par sans rgyas so |

1 R quotes these six in the following verses:

dbaṅ phyug daṅ ni gzugs bzaṅ daṅ |
dpal daṅ grags daṅ ye šes daṅ |
brtson hгрus plun sum tshogs ldan pa |
drug po ḍdi la bcom ŋes bṣad | (xvii. 276a 5)

2 K explains the apportionment as the apportionment of relative and absolute truth (samyag-paramārthayor vibhāga).

3 One might equally well translate: she is called ravisher (rajāki) because she ravishes (raiijāt) all beings.

4 It was said above that there is no mantra (I. v. 11), and this is now explained in full. Mantra is speech, and this consists in essence of vowels (ālī) and consonants (kālī), therefore mantra, like aḷijākālī, is tattva and nairātmya, and exists only as the undifferentiated unity. So B and S interpret. K refers to the yoga-practice in which the vowels and consonants are imagined as passing through the nostrils. See Evans-Wentz, Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, pp. 180–1.

(*) āgar ba ni lhan cīg skyes pahi bde ba chen po de rtogs pa) (xv. 151a 1–5)
A *mandala* is a foot-mark, and it is called *mandala* because it arises from pressure (*malanāt*).1

(20) A gesture (*mudrā*) is an opening of the hand and the pressure of one finger upon another.

Our thought is our meditation, since meditation consists in thought.2

(21) The bliss that is found in the Father,3 that bliss is enjoyed of oneself, and that bliss by which occurs the Slaying,4 such bliss is said to be *dhyāna*.

### CHAPTER VI. THE PERFORMANCE

a. (1) Now we shall further tell of the practice so excellent and supreme, the cause of perfection by means of which one gains the finality of this perfection in Hevajra.

(2–3) The yogin must wear the sacred ear-rings, and the circlet on his head; on his wrists the bracelets, and the girdle round his waist, rings around his ankles, bangles round his arms; he wears the bone-necklace (4) and for his dress a tiger-skin, and his food must be the five ambrosias. He who practises the yoga of Heruka should frequent the five classes.5

(5) These five classes that are associated together, he conceives of as one, for by him no distinction is made as between one class or many.

(6) Meditation is good if performed at night beneath a lonely tree or in a cemetery, or in the mother’s house,6 or in some unfrequented spot.

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1 This verse scarcely helps in defining a *mandala* and the commentators find difficulty in explaining its association with a footprint. K suggests that if one contracts the big toes one can make circles with the ball of one’s feet—an irrelevant notion. Bh just says: ṭāḍā = *jñāna* (xv. 224b 7). R says that a *mandala* may be briefly described as the pattern of a footprint which is made with dust and mud and water (xvii. 226b 2)—*rkaṇ paḥ bris paḥ ča paḥ ni rdul daḥ ḍham dan chu la sogs la la rkaṇ rje sryi ri mo ni dkyiḥ ḍkhor čes paḥ śiṇ tu mdo sdūd paḥo / But see following note.

2 S says *cintana* is ordinary thought, that *vicintana* refers to thought in terms of its absolute nature, and that this is *dhyāna*—*sems par byed paḥ bsem pa ste / de kho na niñ kyi tshul du rnam par sems par byed pa ste / de niñ bsem gtan no / (xv. 152b 7).

These four, *japa*, *mandala*, *mudrā*, and *dhyāna* are the substance of the yogin’s technique for the gaining of that intuitive and indefinable realization which is his goal. As methods they have only a conventional (*samvṛti*) value, and their real existence is submerged in the final undifferentiated unity, which is the chief theme of this chapter. But there is another aspect of these four techniques which the commentators have missed, namely that for the perfected yogin (*siddha*), for whom all things are possible and for whom all things are in all, all speech is mantra, even a footprint is a *mandala*, any gesture is a *mudrā*, and all thought is *dhyāna*. This interpretation is supported by I. vii. 26: ‘Whatever movement of the limbs, whatever words flow forth, these are mantra and mudrā for him who occupies the place of Śrī-Heruka’.

3 The Father is Vajradhara (K: p. 118, l. 36).

4 Death is release; it is death because it is the end of those marks of ignorance which are mind and the product of mind (K: p. 119, ll. 4–5). See Introduction, p. 38.

5 These are the five families referred to above, as represented by Nārti and the rest.

6 According to S, the dwelling of Vaśnavī and so on—*khyab hūg ma la sogs paḥi ma mohi gnas* (xv. 154a 4); Bh is more precise: ‘the house of a Mother is the place where there are statues of the seven mother-goddesses, Brāhma, Śivā and so on’—*ma mohi khyim čes bya ba ni tshāns ma daḥ / drag mo la sogs pa ma mo bdun po de rnam sryi gzugs brīṇan de dag gaṇ du gnas pa de ni ma mohi khyim mo /.

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I. vi THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

(7) When some heat has been developed,1 if one wishes to perform this practice and to gain perfection, then upon this course one should proceed.

(8–9) Take a girl of the Vajra-family, fair-featured and large-eyed and endowed with youth and beauty, who has been consecrated by oneself2 and is possessed of a compassionate disposition, and with her the practice should be performed. In the absence of one from the Vajra-family, it should be performed with a girl from the family of one's special divinity, or (if this fails) from some other. Take her then who is now consecrated with the depositing of the seed of enlightenment.

(10) If in joy songs are sung, then let them be the excellent Vajra-songs,3 and if one dances when joy has arisen, let it be done with release as its object. Then the yogin, self-collected, performs the dance in the place of Hevajra.4

(11) Akṣobhya is symbolized by the circlet, Amitābha by the ear-rings, Ratnesā by the necklace, and Vairocana (by the rings) upon the wrists.

(12) Amogha is symbolized by the girdle, Wisdom by the khaṭvāṅga and Means by the drum, while the yogin represents the Wrathful One himself.

(13) Song symbolizes mantra, dance symbolizes meditation, and so singing and dancing the yogin always acts. (14) He should always eat herbs and drink water, then old age and death will not harm him and he will always be protected.

(15) Now he, whose nature is hūm (viz. Hevajra), should arrange his

1 'Heat'—generally interpreted as power (prabhāva—māhu or nus pa), gained from meditation and incantation. So K (p. 119, l. 27), S (xv. 154b 1), Bh (xv. 227a 7) and R (xvii. 278a 3). According to V it is a first stage, presumably of trance, associated with the appearance of things as smoke and as mirage—gal te spyod pa byed hdod pa / yan lag drug sboryo gan yin te / du ba smig rgyu la sog snas pahi / drod ni dan por bskyed par bya / (quoted from the Mūlatantra xv. 56b 6). In this respect see Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines, p. 195. It is also possible that the use of this term is to be associated with the first of the four states leading to Enlightenment: utṣmaṇa, mūrḍha, kṣaṇi, and laukikāgradharma, which are known from Yogācāra works. For references see Obermiller, Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra, fasc. 1, p. 58.

2 'Consecrated by oneself'. According to Bh she is to be given instruction about all her own dharmas—ran niḥ kyi chos thams cad kyi man nag de la sbyin la byaho—or as she is of the same nature as the yogin, he embraces her and she becomes the recipient of that consecration that is purificatory in its effect—sgrub pa poḥi ran gi bdag niḍu du gyur bas hkyud cin dban bskur ba ni khrus byed pa daṅ ldan poḥo (xv. 227b 5). The compassionate disposition of which she is possessed, he defines as the basis for the producing of siddhi. If this compassion is feeble, it will not be produced—niḥ rje de ni dḥos sgrub tu hgyur bahi rtsa baho / . . . de yin ni sün rje dman na hgrub mi hgyur ḥes pa hdi niḥ kyi nag las so / (id. b 6).

3 'Songs should be sung with vajra-words, not the songs of ordinary folk'—rdo rjeḥi tshire dān ldan pa niḥ kyi glu blaṅ bar bya ste / groṅ gi giu sgya bya ba yin ma yin no / (xv. 154b 5). So also Bh, who adds that the yogin should not have a liking for the dances of simple people, the fixed intention of which is to captivate and so on, for his dancing has release as its object—so soḥi skye bohi gar rnam ni gsum ba la sog sghi mgon pa žen pa de rnam rnal hbyor pas ni de la mgon žen pa med pa ste / de bas na gar gyi bya ba ni thar poḥi rgyu rgyu gyur pa yin no (xv. 228a 7–b 1).

4 Vajrapada is elaborated by K and other commentators to refer to the various postures associated with Hevajra, and which the yogin, now identified with him, may be said to assume.
piled-up hair\(^1\) as a crest and for the performance of the yoga he should wear the skull-tiara, representing the five buddhas.\(^2\) (16) Making pieces of skull five inches long, he should secure them to the crest. He should wear the two-stranded cord of hair, that symbolizes Wisdom and Means, the ashes and the sacred thread of hair; (17) the sound of the drum is his invocation, and the \textit{khatvāṅga} of Wisdom is his meditation.\(^3\) It is this that is intoned and meditated in the practice of Vajra and Skull.

b. (18) He should abandon desire and folly, fear and anger, and any sense of shame. He should forgo sleep and uproot the notion of a self, and then the practice may be performed, there is no doubt. (19) Only when he has made an offering of his own body,\(^4\) should he commence the practice. Nor should he make this gift with the consideration of who is worthy and who is not. (20–21) Enjoying food and drink he should take it as it comes, making no distinction between that which is liked or disliked, eatable or uneatable, drinkable or undrinkable. Nor should he ever wonder whether a thing is suitable or unsuitable.

(22) Even when he has attained to \textit{siddhi} and is resplendent in his perfect knowledge, a disciple respectfully greets his master, if he wishes to avoid the \textit{Avīci} Hell.

(23) Free from learning and ceremony and any cause of shame, the yogin wanders, filled with great compassion in his possession of a nature that is common to all beings. (24) He has passed beyond oblations, renunciation, and austerities, and is freed from \textit{mantra} and meditation. Released from all the conventions of meditation,\(^5\) the yogin performs the practice.

\(^{1}\) This is certainly the intended meaning (i.e. \textit{caudakeśa}) and is thus interpreted by K. Nevertheless the only reading both in manuscripts and in the Tibetan versions is \textit{caurya}, of which no one gives an intelligible account. V says it is a coronet made into a symbol from grass—\textit{ruk mahi skra ces bya bahi rtsa las cod pan du bdah bya ba} (xv. 58a 1).

\(^{2}\) Concerning these tiaras, see \textit{I-T} iii. 1, pp. 79–80, although there is here no reference to their being made of skull.

\(^{3}\) According to \textit{V}, the double-stranded girdle of human hair is for subduing the self-confident gods of this world (\textit{laukikadewatā}); his body is smeared with ashes because of the vow of Śiva; the Brahmanic thread of human hair is for the sake of the Brahmanic vow; he holds the drum because of the acme of divine joy; he holds the \textit{khatvāṅga} because it is the sign of victory (\textit{dhvaja}) of Śiva, and with the skull-pieces he holds the \textit{vajra-skull} because of the vow—\textit{hiḥ rten pahi lha na rgyal can rnams gdul bar bya bahi don du mi rohi skrahi sre rags gniš dskor dan} \textit{dban phyug chen pohi brtal sugs kyi ched du thal bar las la byugs pa dan} \textit{tshans pahi brtal sugs kyi ched du mi rohi skrahi tshan skud dan} \textit{lha rnams kyi dgaḥ bahi moḥi ched du can tehu gzsun ba dan} \textit{dban phyug chen pohi rgyal mtsahan gyi ched du kha nus gzsun ba dan} \textit{thod pohi dum bus brtal sugs kyi ched du rdo rje ki thod pa bzuḥ bar bya ba ste} (xv. 58a 4–5). The interpretation of \textit{vajra-skull} is unsatisfactory. S equates it with Hevajra, and says it is his practice—\textit{rdo rje thod pa mi Kyehi rdo rje ste dehī spyod pas so} (xv. 150a 3). This is the required sense. The two terms refer to the two basic principles, \textit{Prājñā/Upāya, āliṅkāli, &c.} So here \textit{Kapāla/} \textit{Vajra}.

\(^{4}\) See p. 56, fn. 1.

\(^{5}\) Samaya refers to externalized conventional usages, the \textit{mandala} with its divinities, and their symbols and syllables, and \textit{samvara} to the conventional forms envisaged within the body; see these terms in the Glossary.
I. vi

THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

(25) Whatever demon should appear before him, even though it be the peer of Indra, he would have no fear, for he wanders like a lion.

(26) For the good of all beings, his drink is always compassion, for the yogin who delights in the drink of yoga, becomes drunk with no other drink.

CHAPTER VII. SECRET SIGNS

a. (1) Now we shall expound the chapter on secret signs,\(^1\) by which the (right) yogin and yogini may be recognized with certainty.

(2) Whoever shows one finger, implies: Am I welcome?\(^2\)

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\(^1\) Secret signs—chomā (tib.: brda—sign), glossed by K as milicchā (tib.: kln klo gyi skad—barbarian language). These terms serve but to emphasize the non-brahmanical origin of these practices. According to V: 'These signs are to be known as being of two kinds, even as it is said in the Mulatantra: The practiser of Heruka-yoga learns the bodily signs and the verbal signs, for if he does not express himself with these bodily and verbal signs, he will come to grief even though he be a buddha. (Compare II. v. 65–67, where this warning is given after the list of verbal signs.) So the yogins and yoginis who practise the Hevajra-yoga must make effort to remember these signs of body and speech, so that in the company of malicious outsiders and male and female messengers from other families (other than the Vajrakula) one need not converse in the terms of ordinary speech, but we shall speak of the great mystery by means of signs and these malicious outsiders and wanderers will be bewildered. In this chapter only bodily signs are explained, and the verbal signs in another (see p. 99).'

\(^2\) K, V, and D attempt a detailed interpretation of these signs, but there is absence of agreement. K does not even trouble to preserve the questions and answers which are essential to their nature and interprets as though it were an account of the granting of initiations by master to pupil. I quote V's account as being the best of the three, but it is probably as arbitrary as the others: Now 'whoever shows one finger', that is to say, if any man or woman suddenly appears before one and shows one finger, it is to be understood as meaning: 'Am I welcome?' Likewise, 'by two you are welcome', means that by stretching forth two fingers in reply, such a one is welcome. Further, 'by pressure from the left thumb one should know the sign for well-being', that is to say, you should know the sign for asking someone about his well-being: 'Are you happy in body, speech and mind?'

'Whoever shows the fourth finger'—this is the part of Upāya (the yogin), 'to him one should present the little finger'—this is the part of Prajñā (the yogini), and by this one should know Air and Fire as distinguished above and below.

'So these are signs of Void and Compassion, conceived as external and internal. Thus
The showing of two implies he is welcome.
The sign of well-being may be known from pressure with the left thumb.

(3) If he presents the fourth finger, he should be shown the little finger.
If he presents the middle finger, he should be shown the second finger.
(4) If he shows the fourth finger, one should indicate to him the neck.
If he shows a painting, one should show him a trident.
(5) If he indicates the breasts, one should indicate the parting of the hair.
If he indicates the earth, one should indicate the mouth.
(6) If he indicates the eyebrow, one should indicate the loosening of one's crest of hair.
If he indicates the forehead, one should indicate the back.
(7) If he indicates the sole of the foot, one should dance with joy.

In the Adibuddhatantra it is said: 'To east and west are Earth and Air, which mutually are Means and Wisdom; to south and north are Fire and Water, which mutually are Means and Wisdom.'

'Whoever shows the fourth finger, to him one should indicate the neck', and this asks the question: 'Do you know the truth (dharma) which is like the expanse of the sky?'; and in reply one indicates the neck, for the circle of the throat is the place where are tasted the six savours, and by means of these the veins develop, and so by this one indicates the truth that is like the sky.

'Whoever shows the canvas, to him one should show the trident'—to the question: 'Do you know the characteristics of the guardian divinity?', there is the answer: 'Yes, I know; I know the essence of the three veins which have the nature of Body, Speech, and Mind.'

'Whoever indicates the breasts, to him one should indicate the parting', which means: 'If we obtained a treatise on dancing, would you know it?', to which there is the answer: 'I know it, and I know the bliss that arises from the action of the two indriyas.'

'Whoever points to the earth, to him one should indicate the mouth', and this implies the question: 'Do you know the essence of Wisdom?', to which is the answer: 'Yes I know it; it is possessed of Wisdom and Means.'

'Whoever shows the eyebrow, to him one should indicate the loosening of one's crest of hair', and this means: 'Very well, you and I shall perform the parts of Means and Wisdom', to which there is the reply: 'There is no fear, we shall so perform.'

'Whoever shows the forehead, to him one should show the back', which means: 'Do you know that place of the Dākinīs, the foremost one of the body, which is in the head?', and to this there is the answer: 'Yes, I know it; but apart from the head, there are places of the Dākinīs in the rest of the body as well, in the back and so on.' (These places will be mentioned below.)

'Whoever shows the sole of the foot (in reply) one dances with joy.' This asks the question: 'How shall we go to those places?', to which there is the reply: 'First the treatise on dancing, and then by entering into complete tranquillity with one's mind possessed of attachment, in this way we will go to those places.'

This translation is literal, but in spite of a certain obscurity, most of which will become clear below, it provides a satisfactory interpretation of these signs, marking clearly the stages from the first meeting to the decision to unite in the ritual. My translation presumes that the yogin poses the question in every case. This is clearly stated to be so by V in the case of the third question, and implied generally by the fact that it is the yogin who is looking for a suitable yogini, and not the reverse. Nevertheless MS. A in several cases implies otherwise by reading tasyāḥ instead of tasya, 'to her' instead of 'to him'. (The Tibetan versions have everywhere de yi, which could mean either.) But since no commentary provides an interpretation that takes this distinction into account, and since Bh and K read tasya in all cases, I have adhered to this reading.

De la gan žig sor mo gcig ston pa žes bya ba ni skyes pa ham bud med gan žig gis blo bur du mdun du hoṅ pa la sor mo gcig ston pa dehi tshe | legs par hoṅs sam žes dri baḥi don du
So one explains things conventionally by means of sign and counter-sign.

(8) Then the yoginīs say: ‘Well done, O Son, thou of great compassion.’
If they show wreaths in their hands, they are signifying that you should come together in that place; (9) motioning forward with their wreaths (they mean to say) ‘O True One, stay at this ceremony and take part’. So there at that meeting-place, abiding within that sacred orbit, he should do whatever the yoginīs say.

b. (10) Vajragarbha said: ‘What, O Lord, are these places of meeting?’
The Lord replied: ‘They are the pītha and the upapītha, the kṣetra and the upakṣetra, the chandoha and the upachandoha, the melāpaka and the upamelāpaka, the pilava and the upapilava, the śmaśāna and the upaśmaśāna.’¹ (11) These correspond with the twelve stages of a Bodhisattva. It

¹ These are the different kinds of places of pilgrimage, some of which are known as 'seats' (pīṭha), some as 'fields' (kṣetra), some as 'meeting-places' (melāpaka), and some as cemeteries (imātāna). As for chandoha and pilava, I have no ready translation. The Tibetan transliterates the former and translates the latter as hitun-good 'drink and cut' as though pilava were derived from pi 'drink' and lava 'cutting'. See The Blue Annals,
is because of these that he receives the title of Lord of the Ten Stages and as Guardian Lord.11

(12) Vajragarbha said: 'What are these pthas and the rest?'2

Roerich, pp. 980 and 983, for an attempt to make some forced sense of an absurd translation. It is rare indeed that the Tibetans err in this manner. D gives an attempted explanation of these terms:

It is called 'seat' because one always stays there and performs the practice, also because the yogins stay there.

Because it is near to that place, it is called 'near-by seat' (upapīṭha).

It is called 'field', because it produces good qualities, also because the mother-goddesses stay there.

Because it is near to there, it is called 'near-by field'.

Because one desires and yearns, it is called Chando.

Because it is near to there, it is called 'near-by Chando'.

It is called 'meeting-place', because it is the site of a place, Magadha and Angamagadha.

It is called 'near-by meeting-place' because it is near there.

It is called pilava, because there are no obstructions.

It is called 'near-by pilava' because it is near to there.

It is called 'cemetery' because no discriminating thought (vikalpa) arises and because there are many corpses.

It is called 'near-by cemetery', because it is near to there.

rtag tu gnas šin spyod pas na gnas šes byaho / yan rnal hbyor pa bzung pas na yan gnas šes byaho / de dan ne bas ne bahi gnas šes byaho / yon tan skyed par byed pas na šin yan ma rnam gnas pas na šin šes byaho / de dan ne bas ne bahi šin no / hchod cin ḍun pas na tshando / de dan ne bas na ne bahi tshando / magdha dan angamagadha ni gnas kyi gzi po yin te ḍu du ba šes byaho / de dan ne bas ne bahi ḍu ba bado / . . . bar chad med pas na ḍun tshun ḡod / de dan ne ba ni ne bahi ḍun ḡod / rnam par rtag tu mi hbyun ba dan ro ma po gnas pas dur ḍu khor do / de dan ne ba ne bahi dur khor do / (xxvii. 365b 2–5).

1 These twelve kinds of place are said to correspond with the twelve bhūmis, which are here listed in all the commentaries. But it is from the bhūmis, not from the pthas, &c., that the bodhisattva gets his name of Lord of the Ten Bhūmis. I would prefer to translate: 'It is from these that the Protector is known as Lord of the Ten Bhūmis', but all the commentators, aware of the discrepancy between the twelve bhūmis just listed, and the ten referred to in the title, separate the two names, applying the ten to the Bodhisattva, and the remainder to the Protector, the Buddha. They even add a thirteenth, the Vajradhārābhūmi, which the ordinary Mahāyānists (pha rol tu phyin pa ba) do not reach (D: xvii. 366a 4).

2 According to S and D there should be thirty-two places here listed, but none of the commentators helps in arranging a satisfactory list. K (p. 122, l. 17) and R (xxvii. 280a 2–3) define the 'city' as Pāṭaliputra, but give no other helpful information. Their explanation of tatasmiṃvesam would be meaningless without the full quotation from D, given just above. But the list is clearly unsatisfactory, since from here onwards no further names are given, except perhaps for pretasamḥāta, which may be intended for Pretapuri. They are not interested in these places in the world without. 'These places, Jālandhara and so on, are mentioned for the benefit of simple fools who wander about the country' (N. xvi. 111b 2). They are therefore interpreted as symbols for the places within the body, that is to say, they are the external equivalent of that which exists within.

According to V, 'externally these are places in the world without, where dwell those goddesses who run after flesh and blood and so keep to the towns, but internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them'—phyi rol tu mi ša dan khrag la rgyug par byed pa groh la brten pahi lha mo rnam ni phyi gnas de dag na gnas pa yin la . . . / man gi gnas ni lus la rtsahi gzung kyi gnas par gsun tte de las gزان du mi blaḥo / (xx. 61b 3–4). See also S: 'As for these places Jālandhara and so on, they are the thirty-two places, the head and top of the head and so on; Abheyāya and the other (31) yoginis come together in the 12 meeting-places, viz., bhūmis.'—gnas ni Dzadzhurbar gnus šes bya ba la sogs pa la / gnas hdi rnam kya'i sum cu tsa gniś te / mgo bo dan spyi gtsug la sogs paḥo / mi phyed ma la sogs pa rnal hbyor ma rnam te / de bs dus šiṅ ne bar bs dus pa ḍus pa ni sa bcu gniś rnam suḥo / (xxv. 156b 1–2). It is here that the confusion exists which explains the unsatisfactory nature of the list of places in the main text,
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The Lord replied:

'The pīthas are Jālandhara, Oḍḍīyāna, Paurnāgīri, and Kāmarūpa;

(13) The upapiṭhas are Mālava, Sindhu, and Nagara.

The kṣetras are Munmuni, Kāruṇyapāṭaka, Devikota, and Karmārapāṭaka.

(14) The upakṣetras are Kulatā, Arbuda, Godāvari, and Himādri.

(15) The chandohas are Harikela, arising in the salt-ocean, Lampāka, Kānçika, and Saurāṣṭra.

(16) The upachandohas are Kaliṅga, the Isle of Gold and Kokana which is called upachandoha for short.

(17) The pilavas comprise that which lies on the village boundary, and that belonging to the city, Caritra, Kośala, and Vindhyākaumārapaurikā.

The upapilava is nearby to that, O Vajragarbha of great compassion.

(18) The śmaśānas are where the pretas meet and the ocean's shore.

The upaśmaśānas are where the temple is and the garden of the shore of the lotus-pool.

c. (19) The day too I will tell you when the yoginis meet together, for the purpose of the welfare of all beings in the Yogini-tantra of Hevajra.'

for whereas there are 32 veins, 'Indivisible' and the others (see I. i. 16–19), the parts of the body, commencing head and top of the head, belong to a set of 24. D is aware of this, but still wishes to run them together: 'the twelve kinds of place listed above, are listed in full below as the 32 countries of Jambudvīpa; internally these are associated with the 24 parts of the body and with the 32 veins'—phyi ltar bṣad pa ni goṅ gi bcu gnis po de hdzam buṅ gi lin gi yul sum cu rtsa gnis su ṛg na rgyas paḥ hched do i naṅ ltar bṣad pa ni lus kyi gnas ņi su rtsa bṣi la sbyar ba daṅ rtsa sum cu rtsa gnis su sbyar te—(xvii. 365b 7–366a 1). In fact in our text only 24, and not 32 places in Jambudvīpa are named; the other six are made up by such terms as village-boundary, ocean-shore, and so on. Elsewhere only 24 places are known. One of the verses of Saraha runs: 'I have visited in my wandering kṣetra and pīṭha and upaṭīṭha, for I have not seen another place of pilgrimage blissful like my own body.' (Kṣetra, &c. are here intended figuratively as our own commentators would understand them.) Advayavajra in his commentary says: 'All these kṣetra and upaṭīṭha, &c. are the 24 localities' (Bagchi, Dohākṣopa, p. 113). But most important of all for this whole subject see Tucci, I–T ii. 2, pp. 38–45. He there quotes the complete list of 24 places with the 24 equivalent parts of the body. These latter correspond with the list quoted by N at xvii. 112a 1 (except for one omission). V's list (xv. 61b 5) is more disordered but is basically the same. As for the place-names 19 of ours correspond with Tucci's list. The Hevajra-tantra presents us with an unsystematized attempt to allocate 24 places to the 12 kinds of place of pilgrimage, and the carelessness with which it is done enables the commentators to assume that there are 32 places on the analogy of the 32 veins. Nevertheless they remain aware of the relationship between the external places and the 24 places in the body and ignore the resulting contradiction.

Of the places listed in the Hevajra-tantra the 19 corresponding with those in I–T are: Jālandhara, Oḍḍīyāna, Paurnāgīri (= Pullira Malaya), Kāmarūpa, Mālava, Sindhu, Nagara, Devikota, Kulatā, Arbuda, Himādri, Lampāka, Kānçika, Saurāṣṭra, Kaliṅga, the Isle of Gold, Kośala, Godāvari and possibly Pretasamhāta (for Pretapuri). Those that remain are Munmuni, Karmārapāṭaka, Kāruṇyapāṭaka, Harikela, Kokana, Caritra, and Vindhyākaumārapaurikā (if this last is not an epithet). This produces twenty-six names, but of these pretasamhāta figures in the text not as a place-name (in spite of the possible correspondence with Pretapuri) but as a description of śmaśāna, while the last appears rather to be an epithet as I suggest. Even Kokana has doubt cast upon it by the suggestion that an alternative name for the term upachandoha: 'and Kokana is called upachandoha for short'.
(20) Vajragarbha said: ‘Lord, which are those days?’

The Lord replied: ‘The fourteenth and the eighth days in the dark fortnight.

d. (21) A man who has been hanged, a warrior killed on the field of battle, and a man of irreproachable conduct who has returned seven times to human state, of the flesh of these one should partake. ¹

¹ V: ‘A dhvaja (banner) is the corpse of any man or woman who has been a thief or something else, and who having been punished by the king, has had his or her body rent by a sword and hung on a gallows. A saptāvarta (seven times) is any man or woman who has transmigrated in human form throughout seven lives. Their characteristics are these: they appear with seven shadows, their eyes are unflinching, there are three creases on their foreheads, their bodies emit a pleasing odour, and so on. If you see such a one, offer him flowers in salutation, circumambulate him and address him thus: “O Great Lord of Yogins, the time has come to act for the good of such as us.” If you address him thus he will surrender his life. As soon as he has surrendered it, you should make of his flesh pellets as big as the kernel of a juniper berry (?), saying, “We all will eat these, and your flesh apportion to all beings even as to yourself”, and he will grant the siddhi of activity throughout space. Then having washed and compounded the ordinary flesh, that of the hanging corpse and the slain-in-battle, make it into pellets and eat it, and you will make an end of wrinkles and white hair. The figurative meaning of this is given in the Mūlatantra: “This excellent dhvaja which is the body, cleansed from the veins which are figured by the gallows, consumes the flesh which is the bodhicitta, and the yogin gains supreme perfection.”

As for the figurative meaning of the saptāvarta it is said: ‘Of all embodied beings this body represents seven births, for from the eating and drinking of food and drink with their six flavours, these are digested and nourishment increases. This is called the first birth. Then blood is formed and this is the second birth. Then flesh which is the third, skin which is the fourth, the formation of veins which is the fifth, then fat and marrow, and this is the seventh.’

rgyal mtshan ni rgyal pos rkun po la sogs pa skyes pa ham bud med ḥgah ḥig chad pas bcad de lus mtshon gyis dral nas ro šin la dpways te bāzāg paḥo / lan bdun po ni ḥi na skyes pa ham bud med ḥgah ḥig skye ba bdun du miḥi lus su bryuyd pa yin la / dehi mtshan ṣṇ kyan grīb ma bdun du ḥbyūn ba daṇi / mig mi ḍdzums pa daṇi / dpral ba la gier ma ḥsam yod pa daṇ / lus la dī ḥi im po ḥbyūn ba la sogs pa ṣṇ yin te de ltar mtshon na phyag tu me tog dag phul te bskor ba byas la ḥi skad ces ṛṇal ḥbyor gyi ḍban phyug chen po de ni bāzāg cag ṣṭa buḥi don bgyi bahi dus la bab bo ṭēs brjod pa na dehi lus ḥdor bar ḥgyur ro / de ḥor nas kyan dehi ḥi la ḥrgya ṭu ḥug gi ṭiṣṭā ḥg tu ḥρyam gi ri lu byas te / bāzāg cag thams kad kyis ḥzarg bār bya ṣṇ ṭems can thams cad la ḥhyed tshad du ḥgo bar byaho / des ni nam mkḥah la ṭpyod pahi ḥnus grub ster ba yin no / de bāzā ṣṭa phal pa rgyal mtshon mtshon dan bṣun pa la sogs pahi sa ni sbyaḥ ba daṇ spel ba la sogs pa byas la ril bir byas te zos pa kyan gier ma dan skra dkar pa sogs pa ḥjoms pa nes so / ḥdi dag gi ṭes pahi don yan ḥbum phrag ṭna pa la / ji skad du /

ṛta yi śiṅ gzugs las sbyaṅs pahi /
lus kyi rgyal mtshan mchog ḥdi yis /
byan chub sems kyi sa zos na /
ṛnal ḥbyor ḥnus grub mchog tu ḥgyur

ṭēs ṭsun ṭes te / lan bdun pa yi nes pahi don ni ji skad du /
gaṅ yan lus can thams cad kyi /
lus ḥi skye ba bdun yin te /
ro drug ldan pahi bṣah btun dag /
kun tu zos śiṅ ḥthuṅs pa la /
ṣu śiṅ bcud ni rgyas pa de /
skye ba daṇ po de brjod do /
de nas de las ḥkrag ḥbyūn ba /
skye ba ghiṣ pa rab tu brjod /
de la ḥsyi ḥyin gsum pa ste /
pagṣ par ḡyur pa bṣi pa daṇ /
ṛṭa ru ḡyur pa ṭna pahi /
de laṣ rū pa ḡrpa pa ste /
žag daṇ ṭkaṇ mar bdun paḥo / ḋes śiṅoṃ du brjod do / (xv. 62a 7–8 7).

[Footnote cont. overleaf.]
The act of slaying is performed, accompanied by the strenuous arousing of compassion. Without compassion one cannot succeed, and so one should arouse compassion. By this best of methods the activity of evil is stopped.

In this manner one should regard things:

The day is the Adamantine Lord, and Prajñā is the night.

There exists nothing one may not do and nothing one may not eat. There is nothing one may not think or say, either pleasant or unpleasant.

The Supreme Self exists in oneself just as in other beings and (as in other beings) so in oneself.

Conceiving thus, the yogin should approach food and drink and other things. Whatever movement of his limbs, whatever pouring forth of words, these are as mantra and mudrā for him who holds the place of Śrī Heruka.

Śrī implies monistic knowledge, HE the voidness of causality, RU the end of discriminating thought, KA its indeterminability.

Those beings, whose flesh is eaten by knowing yogins, are subdued to their power by the yoga of vajra and skull.

K interprets figuratively: dhvaja is thought with an object for its activity, and this is cut down by the sword of wisdom (hstrahata), and so the yogin consumes, that is to say, renders free from any notion of self-existence, the body of seven births, his own person. These terms, dhvaja, sastrahata, and saptāvara, all denote the samaya (B: de dag thams cad kyis kyan dam tshig nē bar mtshon pa, xv. 234a 5). See below, I. xi. 8–11 and II. vii. 10.

Concerning the act of slaying, see II. ix. 1–6. Here it is capable of a figurative interpretation: to slay the world is to render it free from the interdependent notions of subject and object.
CHAPTER VIII. THE TROUPE OF YOGINIS

a. (1) Now I shall explain the circle of the yoginis. Concentrate upon the triangle of origination¹ in the midst of space, and then perform this meditation at its centre, first the figurative representations² of the four elements in their right order—in the due order of appearance of the divinities.³

(2) First earth and water, then fire and wind, which correspond with the appearance of the goddesses, and with the meditator himself.⁴

(3) The mandala which now arises pure and unblemished from the triangle, consists of two concentric parts, one formed by the eight central petals of the lotus, and the other by the triangle. (4) At their centre one should imagine a corpse,⁵ which is in effect the seat of the fifteen yoginis. Resting on that there should be a lunar disk, upon that the seed-syllable and upon that a solar disk.⁶ (5) The conjunction of these two, lunar disk and solar disk, is the great bliss. ALr has become the moon, and the sun has resolved into KĀLĪ,⁷ (6) and from this mingling of sun and moon Gauri and her companions are proclaimed to be.

This is a hybrid interpretation, for while the ritual is accepted literally, the intention is idealized. It is not in order to win these beings as disciples that their flesh is eaten, but to gain their inherent power, the years of youth cut short in the hanged criminal and slain warrior, and the accumulated virtue of the person with seven human lives to his credit. More acceptable is the completely figurative interpretation, e.g. of K. The beings are the five skandhas, the flesh their self-nature; this is consumed and they are thereby freed from their phenomenal nature of mere appearance.

¹ K: 'One should concentrate upon the bhaga, that is a triangle, white like the moon in Autumn, called origin of the elements (dharmas), in space, that is to say in the space enclosed within the vajra-balustrade and canopy' (p. 123, ll. 23–25).

² These figurative representations (cakra) are as follow:
   - for Earth a square envisaged as arising from LAM
   - for Water a circle envisaged as arising from VAM
   - for Fire a triangle envisaged as arising from RAM
   - for Wind a semicircle envisaged as arising from YAM

This list is given in accordance with K (p. 123, ll. 31 ff.) and Bh (xv. 237b 7–238a 1). The syllables of origination do not agree, however, with a similar list given by G. Tucci (I–T i, p. 49) and by Gisbert Combaz ('L'Évolution du Stūpa en Asie', MCB 2, pp. 252–3). See also PK p. 2, vv. 19–22 where the syllables of origination are those listed above. The order of manifestation is here wind, fire, water, earth. Likewise Sādhanamālā, p. 226 last four lines (translated by Tucci in Teoria e Pratica del Mandala, p. 41). This is the correct order, as K is aware (p. 123, ll. 27–29), but our text reverses them none the less.

³ The divinities are the four goddesses, Locanā, Māmaki, Pāndarā, and Tārā. See K (p. 104, ll. 7–14).

⁴ The four elements are also envisaged as being within the yogin himself, situated at the navel, heart, throat, and top of the head. See Introduction, p. 38. Hence the reference to the meditator here. I translate the 2nd line of s'loka 2, reading: mahāvayur devatānām bhūvakasya yathodayam /

⁵ K (p. 124, l. 10) and Td (xvi. 169a 4) assume that there are fifteen corpses, but they thereby anticipate the process of emanation.

⁶ T: bdud las rgyal bas mnan = covered with a solar disk. Thus all the commentators take it. Td: 'covered means that the seed is covered by a solar disk'—mnan ūes pa sa bon de ni mas mnan paho (xvi. 169a 7).

⁷ Compare I. iii. 11.
The Moon is Mirror-like Wisdom,\(^1\)
The Sun is the Wisdom of Sameness,

(7) The seed-syllables and symbols of the chosen divinity are Discriminat-
ing Wisdom.

The merging of all into one is Active Wisdom,

The manifestation is the Wisdom of the Pure Absolute.

(8) The sage should conceive of phenomenal forms in terms of these five
modes here listed.

The meeting-place of ĀLĪ and KĀLĪ is the seat of Vajrasattva. (9) For
the embryo that arises from the seed-syllable the sound of hūm and phāt
is not required.\(^2\) One should envisage the chief divinity of the mandala
arising as a manifestation of that Being.

(10) With features and symbolic implements as before,\(^3\) and brilliant as
the magic moon-stone, so they all become manifest with the self-nature of
Wisdom and Means. (11) From the separating of Sun and Moon, ĀLĪ and
kālī, Wisdom and Means, Gaurī and her companions arise each from a
separate letter.\(^4\) (12) Now in the inner circle there are five yoginis, whom
the knowing yogin always regards as representing the five skandhas. (13) In
the east is Vajrā, and Gaurī to the south, Vāriyoginī in the west, Vajra-
dākini to the north, and Nairātmyā at the centre. (14) In the outer circle
there are Gaurī II, Cauri, Vetālī, Ghasmari and Pukkasī, Šavarī and
Caṇḍāli, and Đombini as the eighth. (15) At the zenith is Khecari and at
the nadir Bhūcarī, O thou of great compassion, and these two stand to
represent sansāra and nirvāṇa.

(16) All these goddesses are black in colour and exceedingly fearful
and decked with the five symbolic adornments. They have one face and
inflamed eyes and clasp in their hands the knife and the skull. (17) The
circlet, the ear-rings and the necklace, the bracelets and the girdle, such
are the five symbolic adornments that symbolize the Buddhas Five. (18)
Just as is Nairātmyā, so are they all proclaimed to be. One hand holds
the skull, in the right hand is the knife (19) and in the left hand the khatvāṅga;

\(^1\) The stages of gradual manifestation are defined in terms of the Five Wisdoms. See
p. 58, fn. 2.

\(^2\) The only obscurity here arises from the use of different terms to express essentially
the same idea. ‘That Being’ (sattva) is Vajrasattva, and he is also the syllable (aksara), in
this case the sound A from which Nairātmyā, chief of this mandala, arises. See I. iii. 11:
‘betwixt them is the seed, and this is that Being, ’tis taught’. ‘The violent invocation of
hūm hūm phāt phāt is not required. Just as a fruit ripens, white Vajradhara and black
Vajrātmā dissolve into one’—hūm hūm phāt phāt drag po yan mi hdod paho / sin hbras
htshos pa lta bur rDorje hchan dkar po rDorje bdag ma nag mo cig tu gyur to / (D: xvii.
370a 7–b 1). Some of the other commentators make much difficulty of this verse. Compare
K’s interpretation (p. 124, ll. 28–34) with the process of emanation described in chapter 5
of Part II, p. 111. There violent action has been employed in the form of rousing songs.

\(^3\) ‘as before’, as related in chapter 3. See also chapter 5 of Part II.

\(^4\) ‘separate letter’, see II. v. 28.
around her thighs is a tiger-skin; she stands upon a corpse and is burning bright, with two arms and with yellow hair.

b. (20) The knife is there to cut off the six defects of pride and so on, and the skull for bringing to an end discriminating thought which would regard existence and non-existence as essentially different. (21) From it one drinks the blood of the Four Māras. The khatvāṅga represents the Void and the corpse is understood as Means. (22) If he conceives of the troupe in this way, the yogin will very soon gain perfection.

c. He should imagine the Innate under six aspects, first as black, secondly as red, (23) thirdly as yellow, fourthly as green, fifthly as indigo, and sixthly as white. (24) Then he conceives of it as the End of Cessation.3

There is the Process of Emanation and the Process of Realization,4 (25) and relying upon these two processes the Adamantine One teaches the doctrine. The Process of Emanation has been told, and now I will tell of the Process of Realization.

d. (26) In space

is the triangle; In the lotus

lies knowledge;

1 The six defects are pride, ignorance, doubt, passion, anger, and false views (S: xv. 159a 6).

2 Literally: the lotus-vessel (is made) with a skull (to cut off) the discrimination between existence and non-existence. This presumes karttittum as repeated from the line above. The commentators give no valid help in rendering this verse.

3 'End of cessation' (viramānta) is one of the names of the Innate, because the Joy of the Innate (sahajānanda) comes at the end of the Joy of Cessation (viramānanda). See the Introduction, p. 35.

These six colours represent the six spheres of existence. See also II. ii. 32. D observes that 'they are the essence of the Six Tathāgatas, and that in meditating upon the six-fold range of colour of the mandala as requisite to the Process of Realization, one avoids clinging to the divinities as gross substantial forms'—de rnam ni de bzin giegs pa drug gi no bo yan rdogs pahi rim pa la kjug pahi yan lag tu dkyil hhkor gyi kha dog rim pa drug tu yai bigom ste rags pa lhahi zen pa spon no / (xvii. 371a 3-4).

4 K: 'The process is one of meditation. Emanation refers to the manifestation of the forms of the divinities. The meditation in which this consists, is the Process of Emanation. Realization means being substantiated in the very essence itself, and the practice by which the yogin meditates who is intent only on this, is called the Process of Realization (K: p. 25, li. 22-23).

5 This is an interpretation of the first śloka of chapter 8 (p. 73). Seven words are given this secondary interpretation: khadhātau, bhagam, bhāvanā, cakrām, yathānyāyam, devatā, and yathodayaṃ; T and the commentaries of R and D give also an interpretation for pūrvaṃ: 'Before' means here the flow. So far as the words are concerned, these meanings assigned to them are completely arbitrary. The basis for identification lies in the theory of the mandala without and the mandala within the body. As these are taught as being identical, the words describing the process of one are interpreted in terms of the other by analogy. How forced it is may be seen from the fact that devatā, yathodayaṃ, and pūrvaṃ (if included) all refer to bodhicitta, but under different names. The formula resolves itself to this: In the lotus is knowledge. There is union and the bliss that arises from it. It is self-experiencing. It is sūkra. These terms are the subject-matter of the rest of this chapter, for they express the Process of Realization.

* jñāna here equals vajra. So K (p. 25, l. 27), Bh and R all interpret.
here meditate.
Thence the circles
(27) in right order,
and the divine forms
appearing in due order.

Therefore twofold is the Innate, (28) for Wisdom is the woman and Means is the man. Thereafter these both become twofold, distinguished as absolute (viyrti) and relative (samvrti). (29) In man there is this twofold nature, *sukra* (relative) and the bliss arising from it (absolute); in woman too it is the same, *sukra* and the bliss arising from it.

e. (30) It is here that we have the distinction of the four kinds of Joy, since the Innate is fourfold in the Process of Realization.1 (31) The first Joy is the *yogin*, perfect joy is the *yogini*, extreme joy is all-embracing unity, and by means of that bliss one is omniscient.

(32) From Joy there is some bliss, from Perfect Joy yet more,
From the Joy of Cessation comes a passionless state.
The Joy of the Innate is finality.

(33) The first comes by desire for contact, the second by desire for bliss, the third from the passing of passion, and by this means the fourth is realized.

(34) Perfect Joy may be called *samsāra*, and *nirvāṇa* the Joy of Cessation, with plain Joy as a middle state. But the Innate is free of all three; (35) for there is found neither passion nor absence of passion, nor yet a middle state.

f. In that realization of the perfect truth there is neither Wisdom nor Means. (36) By no other may it be told, and from no one may it be received. It is known intuitively as a result of merit and of honouring one's *guru* and the set observances.

(37) Small and middling and great and whatever other things there are, all these are regarded as equal by those who have realized the truth.

(38) (Small means the subtle concept of a thing, and great refers to the thing as existing; middling is neither the one nor the other, and other things refers to the six faculties of sense.)

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1 This fourfold distinction of joy as existing in the Process of Realization corresponds to that which we have just read above: 'In the lotus lies knowledge; here is union, thence bliss.' The Omniscient One is Vajradhara (according to K) or Vajrasattva (according to S), who is the product of the union of Sun and Moon. See above I. iii. 11 and viii. 8. Hence the present equation. These four joys are here factors in the Process of Realization in that they are all present together, and may be regarded as the absolute aspect of the Four Joys, next listed, which are four stages, the first three of which belong to the relative sphere.

2 This verse which is intended as an explanation of the preceding verse, only serves to obscure that which is already sufficiently clear. *Madhyamam varjitaṁ dvābhāyāṁ* is a stereotyped phrase and here adds nothing to the sense. S in commenting upon this verse, ignores it: 'Small means the atom and knowledge and so on; great means earth, mountain,
(39) Whatever things there are, moving and motionless, all these things am I. They are accepted as being equal and the same by those who have realized the truth and find everywhere the same flavour. (40) To be equal is to be the same, and of this the manifestation is the flavour. There is a single substance of the one same flavour, and in this sense it is said:

(41) The whole of existence arises in me,
In me arises the threefold world,
By me pervaded is this all,
Of nought else does this world consist.

(42) Whatever yogin, thinking thus, should perform the practice in complete self-control, he will succeed, there is no doubt, even though he be a man of little merit. (43) Eating, drinking, performing ablutions, awake, asleep, it is thus he should think, and so seeking after the Great Symbol, he will gain thereby that eternal state.

(44) One conceives of the whole of existence in that the mind does not conceive of it, and in this perfect knowledge, the conceiving is a non-conceiving.

(45) Whosoever things there are, whether moving or motionless, grass and shrubs and creeping-plants, they are conceived of as the supreme essence and possessing the nature that one possesses oneself. (46) In them there is just one without a second, great bliss which is self-experiencing. It is from this self-experiencing that perfection comes, and in self-experiencing consists thought-creation. (47) Karma consists of this same self-experiencing, for karma arises when it is thwarted. One is oneself the ocean and so on; middling means pot and cloth and so on—dman pa ni rdul phra rab dan ye les la sogs paho | phul du byun ba sa dan ri dan rgya mtsko la sogs paho | bar ma ni bum pa dan snam bu la sogs paho | (xx. 161 a 5-6).

1 'Manifestation'—cakra, that is to say the bhavacakra, manifestation in phenomenal form, which is the cycle of existence. So V: 'The flavour is its manifestation', from this ordering of the discourse we have the meaning that the circle of the bliss of pure light (the Innate) arises from the cycle of existence of the threefold world which arises in the twelvefold manner (pratityasamutpāda), and this (Innate) is not to be sought elsewhere.'

2 This primary substance which is the same and of one flavour is the threefold world, and no second substance apart from this is to be seen—mi smi pa dan ro geig par bya bahi gsi ni srid pahi hkkhor lo ñiid de | hdi las ma gtagos pahi don gnis pa ni hgañ yan yod par ma mthoñ ro / (V: xv. 70a 1-2).

3 Compare the oft quoted verse: 'Existence is a conceiving of the non-existent, and this conceiving is no conceiving. Thus existence is no existence and no conceiving comes about.'

abhañabhañanā bhāvo bhāvanā naiva bhāvanā
titi bhāvo na bhāvah syād bhāvanā nopālabhaye |

4 S: 'Karma arises from opposition, that is to say it opposes this great bliss, which is self-experiencing, with discriminating thought (vikalpa) and such contention, which fails to recognize its own true nature because of the effect of beginningless ignorance.' btsod pa las ni las skyes te ŋes pa ni thog ma med pahi ma rig pahi stobs kyi(s) ran bzin yongs su ma ŋes

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I. viii

THE HEV AJRA-TANTRA

Destroyer, the Creator, the King, the Lord. (48) Passion and wrath, envy, delusion, and pride, none of these can prevail one sixteenth part against this delightful spot.¹ (49) It is the origin of all that is; it is knowledge; it is like space and it comprises Means. It is there that the threefold world arises of the nature of Wisdom and Means. (50) The Lord (Means) has the form of śukra, and the Lady (Wisdom) is the bliss that arises from it. He is free of the notions of unity and plurality, and she who is born of a moment, is the one supreme delight. (51) Self-realizing is this knowledge which surpasses the scope of words. It is a process of empowering, for it consists of the knowledge that pertains to the Omniscient Ones.²

(52) Earth, water, wind, fire, and space; none may obstruct at that moment the knowledge that knows self and other.³ (53) At that moment it assumes one form together with the heavens, hells and abodes of men. Thus obstruction becomes impossible from that thought which distinguishes self and other.

(54) Perfection is not achieved by all the vedas and siddhântas, and by purification there is another birth in another existence. (55) Vain is the striving of him who does not know Hevajra, for without him there can be no perfection in this world or the next. (56) So always, all day and night, one should abide in union with this one essential, like the flowing of the river’s stream and the steadiness of the lantern’s light.

CHAPTER IX. THE SPHERES OF PURIFICA TION

a. (1) Now I shall further expound the chapter on purification.⁴ The purified condition of all things whatsoever is known⁵ as the very truth itself. Proceeding from this we now speak of the purificatory power of the divinities, taking one by one.

(2) The six faculties of sense, their six spheres of operation,⁶ the five pahi rnam par rtog pa la sogs pahi rtosod pas bde ba chen po ran rig pa dan hgal lo / (xv. 162a 5). K read bodhanât and interpreted accordingly (p. 128, l. 30), but he is still forced to explain the word in an adverse sense as though it were vi kalpa, and this is not its normal meaning. He says it is an acceptance of things under the form of subject and object, which is much the sense required by the context, but bādhānāt lends itself better to this interpretation. See also verse 52.

¹ 'This spot'—tatpada = its place, the place of the self-experiencing (K: p. 128, l. 35). Perhaps in the present context better understood as the seat of the Destroyer, Creator, &c., viz. Vajrasatva (see I. viii. 8). This is also the spot (bindu) at the centre of the mandala. Numerous are the associations. See Introduction, p. 26.

² In this sense therefore it is theirs to bestow. See chapter 4 of Part I.

³ S: 'At the moment of the arising of the Innate, every thing assumes its nature, and there is none of the conflict of a twofold nature. All conflict belongs to the sphere of two, and in the absence of two who can produce it and what is the conflict? Such is the sense'—than cîg skyes pa hbyun bahi skad cîg la thams cad de dahn dehi ran bzin ŋid du gyur te / gñis kyi(s) tshul gys rtosod pa med paho / rtosod pa thams cad ni gñis kyi skyod yul te / gñis su med pa la su sîg gan gi rtosod par byed ces bya bahi don to / (xv. 163a 4-5).

⁴ See reference to purification (visûddhi) in the Introduction, p. 29.

⁵ 'Is known'—smrtâ, or as K understands it: 'has been taught', namely in I. viii. 35–41.

⁶ There are really twelve āyatana; I interpret here as viñaya (cf. II. iii. 31, 34).
skandhas and the five elements are pure in essence, but they are obscured by the molestation of ignorance.

(3) Their purification consists in self-experience, and by no other means of purification may one be released. This self-experiencing, this bliss supreme, arises from the pure condition of the spheres of sense. (4) Form and so on and whatever other spheres of sense there are, for the yogin all these appear in their purified condition, for of Buddha-nature is this world.

(5) Vajragarbha said: 'O Lord, what are these things unpurified?'

The Lord replied: 'They are form and so on. And how so? Because of their nature as subject and object.'

Vajragarbha said: 'What are these subjects and objects?'

(6) The Lord replied: 'Form is perceived by the eye, sound is heard by the ear, smell is perceived by the nose, and taste by the tongue, 'tis sure;

(7) things are sensed by the body and feelings of pleasure and so on are received by the mind. These are worthy of indulgence and should be indulged, when once rendered innocuous by purification.

(8) So there is Vājra for the rūpa-skandha (bodily form),

Gaurī for the vedanā-skandha (feeling),

Vāriyogini for the samjñā-skandha (perception),

Vajraḍākinī for the samskāra-skandha (impulses),

(9) Nairatmyā for the vijñāna-skandha (consciousness).

Such is the inner circle, and by the purificatory power of these, yogins who seek this truth will always gain their end.

(10) As for the outer circle:

in the north-east there is Pukkasi
in the south-east there is Śavari
in the south-west there is Caṇḍāli
in the north-west there is Đombini

(11) in the east is Gaurī II
in the south is Caurī
in the west is Vetāli
in the north is Ghasmarī
at the nadir is Bhūcarī who represents samsāra

(12) at the zenith is Khecarī who represents nirvāṇa.

Such they are in the Process of Emanation.

(13) Gaurī is for form,
Caurī is for sound,

1 Literally: 'made of buddha', consisting essentially in an enlightened or purified condition.
2 Gaurī II—'this is another Gaurī, but her name is the same' (K: p. 130, l. 33). Also see p. 31.
Vetāli is for smell,
Ghasmari is for taste,
(Bhūcari is for touch,
Khecari is for thought.

By the purificatory power of these, yogins who seek this truth will gain their end.

b. (15) The purificatory significance of the sixteen arms is the sixteen kinds of voidness.¹

The four legs signify the crushing of the four Māras,²
The faces the eight releases,³
The eyes the three adamantine ones,⁴

Pukkasi is for earth,
Śavari is for water,
Caṇḍālinī is for fire,
Ḍombi is for wind.

Nairātmyā⁵ is pervaded by wrath,
Vāriyogini by passion,
Vajraḍākinī by envy,
The hidden Gaurī⁶ by malignity,

Vajrā by delusion.

By these the skandhas are purified in the Process of Emanation.

That by which the world is bound, by that same its bonds are released, but the world is deluded and knows not this truth, and he who is deprived of this truth will not gain perfection.

So it is said: "No smell, no sound, no form, no taste, and no..."

¹ The sixteen kinds of voidness are given by K (p. 131, ll. 1-5). His list corresponds with that of the Madhyāntavibhanga, where they are fully commented upon (see Sicherbatsky's translation in Bibliotheca Buddhica XXX, pp. 86-99). See also Dinnaga's Prajñāpāramitā-pīnḍārtha, edited and translated by G. Tucci in JFRAS 1947, pp. 53-75. The list in Mv (934-51) is eighteen-fold as is that of the Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra (ed. Lamotte, p. 108).

² The four Māras are: 'Skandhamāra who takes the form of Brahmā, Kleśamāra who takes the form of a yakṣa, Mrtyumāra who takes the form of Yama and Devaputramāra who takes the form of Indra' (Bh: xv. 257b 7).

³ For the eight degrees of release see Mv, 1511-18, also Soothill and Hodous, Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms, pp. 39-40.

⁴ All versions read Vajrā instead of Nairātmyā, thus her name appears twice in this set of fives. Although textually unchallengeable, it is certainly Nairātmyā who is intended, for she, like Kṣobhya/Hvajra, is deśātmika and occupies the centre of the mandala. Of the commentators only B points this out: rDo rje can žes pa ste bdag med paho (xv. 258a 7) = 'adamantine' (vajrā) means 'absence of self' (nairātmyā). One should note that there is sometimes textual confusion between the forms Vajrī and Vajrā. Vajrā is properly the masc. sing. of vajrī 'adamantine' as used at II. iii. 1 and II. v. 1. Tibetan clearly distinguishes the two forms: rDo rje ma = Vajrā, rDo rje can = vajrī.

⁵ 'Hidden Gaurī'—Gaurī of the inner circle as opposed to Gaurī II.

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purification of thought, no touch, no substance, for the world is essentially pure by a universal purification. Ah, I know the world."

CHAPTER X. CONSECRATION

a. (1) Now I shall expound the ordering of the mandala, by means of which a pupil is consecrated, and of the rite too I shall speak.

(2) First the yogin, himself the essence of the god, should purify the site, and having zealously prepared the requisite protection, he should then inscribe the mandala. (3) In a garden or in a lonely spot or in a bodhisattva's house or in the centre of the mandala-hall one should lay out the mandala supreme, (4) using the sacred writing-colours, or secondly powder made from the five gems, or else the grains of rice and so on. (5) With these the mandala should be made, in size three cubits plus three inches. The celestial spell who comes of the Five Families, should be placed there, (6) or whatsoever sixteen-year-old girl is found. A yogini is resorted to, so long as she possesses skûra. (7) One binds the face of the prâjñâ and likewise of the upâya, and the product of the service rendered one drops into the pupil's mouth. (8) In that very act the Flavour of Sameness should be placed within the pupil's range.

b. From self-experiencing comes this knowledge, which is free from ideas of self and other; (9) like the sky it is pure and void, the essence supreme of non-existence and existence, a mingling of Wisdom and Means, a mingling of passion and absence of passion. (10) It is the life of living things, it is the Unchanging One Supreme; it is all-pervading, abiding in all embodied things. (11) It is the stuff the world is made of, and in it existence and non-existence have their origin. (12) It is all other things that there are: the universal consciousness, the primeval man, Isvara, âtman, jiva, sattva,

1 'I know'—manye is explained as jânâmi (K: p. 131, l. 20). Likewise in the 1st person by Bh: nas les pa (xv. 259a 5).
2 'The requisite protection'—literally: having made it ḪOM Vajra. See p. 56 fn.
3 'Bodhisattva's house'—K: 'of Vajrapâni and so on' (hence in their temple); D: 'of a yogin or king of compassionate disposition or in a monastery building, where there are books, for their essence is the bodhisattva'—byân chub sms pahi khyim ni rnal byhor paham rgyal po la sogs pa shin rje dan idan paho / yan gtsug lag khan ste po ti glegs bams gnas paho / dehi bdag po byan chub sms dpah yin pahi phyir /
4 'mandala-hall' means where the rite is performed or else a temple. dkyil hhkor khan pa ni sgrub pahi gnas sam lha khan no (D: xv. 77a 7–b 1).
5 For the sacred writing-colours, see I. ii. 20.
6 For the names and positioning of these five yoginis see diagram VIII. They may be imagined or actually represented. V: 'Then in order to teach foolish worldlings the way of passion one should place in the mandala a girl as described below, who bears the marks of the five families, who is expert in the Secret Way and has previously received absolution'—de nas byis pa rnam la hród chags kyi lam bstan par bya bahi phyir hog nas ston bzin pahi bu mo rigs inahi rtogs can gsan bahi theg pa la mehog tu gzhol ba ston du legs par sbyanis la / dkyil hhkor du gzung go / (xv. 77b 1–2).
kāla, pudgala. It is the essential nature of all existing things and illusory in its forms.

(13) First is just Joy,
Secondly is Joy Supreme,
Thirdly is the Joy of Cessation,
Fourth is the Joy Innate.

(15) The first Joy is of this world, the second Joy is of this world, the third Joy is of this world, but the Innate exists not in these three.'

(14) Hearing this, all the buddhas, Vajragarbha and the rest, were seized with the greatest astonishment and fell senseless to the ground.

(16) Then the Lord Hevajra whose form comprises all the Buddhas, said these words for the arousing of Vajragarbha, and which were a wondrous cure for their astonishment.

(17) 'Neither passion nor absence of passion is found there, nor yet a middle state. Because of its freedom from all three the Innate is called perfect enlightenment. (18) The essence of all things and yet free of all things, one may mark it at the beginning of Cessation, but from those other three Joys it is free. (19) At first it appears as cloud, but with realization arisen it appears as māyā; then it suddenly appears as sleep with no distinction between sleep and the waking state. (20) The yogin of the Great Symbol gains fulfilment in that which is no fulfilment, for its characteristic is the very absence of any characteristic.'

c. Then the Master spoke of the mandala, blazing (21) and brilliant, square with four portals, adorned with garlands and chains and variously coloured streamers, equipped with eight columns (22) and vajra-threads, decorated with flowers of different hues, with incense, lamps, and scents, and provided with the eight vessels. (23) These last have branches in them, and their necks are covered with cloth and encircled with the five kinds of gem. To the east one should place the Vessel of Victory. (24) With a fair new thread, well-fastened and of right measurement, the master should bind it round, for it represents the chosen divinity. (25) He should repeat one hundred thousand times the mantra of the central divinity, and ten thousand times that of the other components. With the mantra quoted above he should purify the site, (26) but first he should present an offering accompanied by the mantra: om a-kāro, &c. He should perform the rite of protection just as prescribed, for as for meditation so it is here. (27) The

1 According to the order of the text, this sloka should follow (13), but it is very clumsy. K explains it as inserted by the saṅgītikāra (p. 133, l. 1). There is no textual justification for attempting to re-order the verses. The change in the translation, however, gives ease of reading without distortion of the sense.

2 'At the beginning of the Joy of Cessation'—see the Introduction, p. 35.

3 This mantra is the first listed in Ch. 2 (p. 50).
consecrations which are taught, he should give correctly in his *mandala*, and worship and supplication should be made as ordained.

(28) He should draw the unblemished twofold circle of Gauri and her companions. In the east he should draw a knife, and continue likewise to the south and west (29) and north, to south-east, south-west, north-west, north-east, even as it is prescribed, and likewise to nadir and zenith.

(30) Then the master should enter the *mandala* as two-armed Hevajra, and assuming the majestic bearing of Vajrasattva, he should adopt the *ālidha* posture. (31) He is washed and purified and perfumed, and adorned with the various adornments. HUM HUM he cries majestically, HI HI he cries to terrify.

d. (32) Then the essence is declared, pure and consisting in knowledge, where there is not the slightest difference between *samsāra* and *nirvāna*.

(33) Nothing is mentally produced in the highest bliss, and no one produces it,
There is no bodily form, neither object nor subject,
Neither flesh nor blood, neither dung nor urine,
No sickness, no delusion, no purification,
(34) No passion, no wrath, no delusion, no envy,
No malignity, no conceit of self, no visible object,
Nothing mentally produced and no producer,
No friend is there, no enemy,
Calm is the Innate and undifferentiated.

e. (35) Then Vajragarbha said: 'How does bodily form consisting of the five elements come about, for in the beginning it is essentially pure and lacks any proper nature?'

(36) Then said the Adamantine Lord, rejoicer of the *dākints*: 'Calm it is in its proper nature and abiding in all bodily form.'

(37) Vajragarbha then said: 'But how, Lord, should the group of *skandhas* come about?'

(38) The Lord replied: 'At the union of *vajra* and lotus, earth arises there from that contact with the quality of hardness. (39) From the flow of *sukra* water arises, and fire from the friction. Wind comes from the motion, (40) and space corresponds to the bliss. Because it is involved with these five, bliss is not the final essence, for bliss consists in the elements. (41) The Innate is proclaimed as that which arises in spontaneity. The Innate is called self-nature, the single unity of all phenomenal forms.

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1 Each goddess is represented by the symbol she holds normally in the right hand: in the east Gauri by a knife, in the south Cauri by a drum, and so on in accordance with the list given in chapter 5 of Part II (p. 111).

2 *ālidha*—"a particular attitude in shooting, the right knee being advanced and the left leg retracted" (Apte).
I.

THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

(42) The yogin is Means and Compassion, and the yogini Wisdom and Voidness for she is deprived of causation.¹ The thought of enlightenment is the undivided unity of Compassion and Voidness.

(43) There is no recitation of mantras, no austerities, no oblations, no mandala, and none of its components.

This is the recitation of mantras, the austerities and oblations, this is the mandala and its components.

This in short consists of unity of thought.

CHAPTER XI. THE FOUR GAZES²

a. (1) For Overthrowing the eyes are level with the gaze directed upwards towards the forehead.

For Subduing the gaze is directed towards the left and the two eyes towards the left.

(2) For Conjuring forth one directs the two eyes towards the right and upwards.

For Petrifying the gaze is central with the eyes looking towards the end of the tip of the nose.³

¹ The text has only: 'Compassion and means is the yogin, the mudrā by freedom from cause.' K supplies the deficiency: 'The mudrā is Wisdom, and what is that? Why Voidness, the non-arising of all the dharmas. And how does this non-arising, this Voidness, come about? Because of absence of the cause' (p. 135, ll. 12-14). For full discussion of this theme see Stcherbatsky, Nirvāṇa, pp. 71 ff.

² For this 11th chapter we rely chiefly upon V's commentary.

³ The yogin who is striving to apply himself to the subjugating of some evil person, should make himself into his own chief divinity in appearance like to Aksobhya, and gazing with the two eyes level and directed towards the forehead, he should meditate, intone the mantras, and make sacrifice, and thereby the overthrowing will come about. (He looks) upwards because there is the bodily form of him who belongs to the family of wrath (Aksobhya).

The yogin who is striving to subdue the threefold world by some means of yoga, should make himself like to Padmarāga, and turning his two eyes together towards the left, by performing the meditation and so on, he will subdue the person. This is because the bodily form of Padmarāga is to the left.

Likewise the yogin who is striving to conjure forth (some being in) the threefold world should make himself like Śūryodayi, and gazing with his eyes together slightly to the right and upwards, by practising the meditation and so on, he will conjure this being forth. This is because the bodily form of Śūryodayi is to the right.

Likewise the yogin who is striving to reduce to rigidity someone in the threefold world, should make himself like Pitarajākī, and gazing with his eyes together over the tip of his nose, by practising the meditation and so on he will reduce the being to rigidity. This is because that great subduer, whose form is yellow in colour, occupies a central position.

These names are reconstructed from the Tibetan.
THE FOUR GAZES

I. xi

(3) Overthrowing is accompanied by exhaling, Subduing by inhaling, Conjuring forth by holding the breath, and Petrifying by the tranquillized pose.¹

(4) Overthrowing must take place amidst succulent trees, Subduing is associated with flowers, Conjuring forth must take place amidst vajra-trees, and Petrifying in moving grass.²

bzin du hgros ba gsun po hgsug pa la brtson pañi nmal hybyor pas / ran nrid ñi ma ñchur ke lta bhūṣi skur bygur la mig giis dus māṃśa du g'yas kyi sten phyogs su cun zad bita bzin du bsgom pa la sogs pa byas pas hgros ba gsun po hgyur te / g'yas phyogs na ñi ma ñchur ke lta bhūṣi bu bāgs pañi phyir ro / . . . de bzin du hjig rten gsun po rens pa la brtson pañi nmal hybyor pas ran nrid gSer btsos ma lta bhūṣi skur bygur la mig giis dus māṃśa du mañi rtsi moñi dbus su lta bzin du bsgom pa la sogs pa byas pas hjig rten gsun po rens par hgyur te / dbah chen sku gser gyi mdog lta bu dbu ma na bāgs pañi phyir ro / (V: xv. 85a 4–b 3).

¹ 'One applies oneself to the practice (of Overthrowing) while exhaling the breath, because by the expulsion of their breath all embodied things lose their life. One applies oneself to the practice (of Subduing) while inhaling the breath, because by the breath of life remaining within all is brought under control. One performs this practice (of Conjuring forth) without letting the breadth escape and keeping it well inside by the pot-process, because one who keeps the breath inside without letting it go, conjures forth a universal flow of nectar like that of the moon. One performs this practice (of Petrifying) placed just as one is, the breadth flowing in and out without deliberated inhalation, because by the breadth of all beings becoming motionless, they become petrified.'

² 'In order to perform these four magic rites, one carries out correctly the meditating, reciting, and sacrificing. So doing, one may test it on solid objects and one's practice may then said to be sure. Therefore in the case of practising the rite of killing, if he in the first instance directs the gaze that slays towards any green tree that is moist and possesses branches and leaves and thereby causes it to dry up, at that very time the same will apply then said to be sure. Therefore in the case of practising the rite of killing, if he in the first instance directs the gaze that slays towards any green tree that is moist and possesses branches and leaves and thereby causes it to dry up, at that very time the same will apply.

lta stans bzin po rnams bgrub par bya bahi phyir bsgom pa dan bzlas pa dan sbyin sreg la sogs pa cho ga bzin bgrub nas / re ŋig bems pañi rdzas kyi ñdons po rnams la ñams sad pa dan / tit ne ldzin btrtan par gsums so / . . . de las khyad par du gsd pañi sbyor ba goms pas thog mar re ŋig / šin ljon pa yal ga dan lo mar ldan pa rlun par hduq pa gan ŋig la nral hybyor pas rlun hgyun bzin du bsad pañi lta bas bltas pañi tshem pa hgyur bañi dus de tsam na ma rns po la yam sbyar bar byo ho / . . . de bzin du lta stans dan rlun gan dag dan ldan pas me tog gan la bltas pas skam pa de nas sbyar bar bya ŋes bya bahi don to / . . . lta stans dan rlun gan dan ldan pas bsdra lata ŋes pañi šin sin tu mkhyran ciì rtsu pa la nral hybyor pas bltas pa na / ḅoras kyi she ma legs par smin pa ltar dgug par gyur pa na sbyar bar bya ces pañi don to / . . . lta stans dan rlun gan dag dan ldan pas sgan bu mthon po dan / ri bo la sogs pañi rtsi mo gan.
(5) With six months' application to the practice one will succeed, there is no doubt. Let no mistakes be made about it, unthinkable are a buddha's powers. (6) Having perfected the four gazes, the yogin should bring about the salvation of all beings. Actual slaying should not be done as that would be indeed a breach of the convention.\(^1\) (7) All things not done may here be done except for misleading living-beings. One does not obtain the perfection of the sign by simply harming living-beings.

b. (8) For the sake of perfection in Hevajra he should consume the fivefold sacrament of initial NA, initial GA, initial HA, final SVA and initial SVA. (9) So five ambrosias one should consume for the sake of perfection in Hevajra.\(^2\)

Then one should mark out a 'seven-timer'\(^3\) with the characteristics recounted in Hevajra. (10) In the seventh birth there comes about that perfection, making of no account the Joy of Cessation (which precedes it). He has a fair-sounding voice, beauteous eyes and a sweet-smelling body of
dag na skyes pahi rtsa phra mo sìn tu mìn pa / rtaḥi rna mahi ŋag ma tsam la run gis bskyod na.cher g'yo bāḥi bdag niid can la rnal ḥbyor pas bṭas pa na run la sogs pas mi sgul ba na sbyar bar byaḥo / (V: xv. 86a 1–7).

\(^1\) 'The rites of slaying and so on which have been spoken of, are for frightening beings in order to subjugate them, and by means of that to put them (on the right path); if on the other hand one actually killed them, that would be a breaking of the convention of the Great Symbol and one would fall into the Avīci Hell'—bsad pa la sogs pahi las gaṅ dag gaṅs pa de dag sems can gdul bāḥi phyir re žig shrag par bya ba yin la des hjug par yan ḥgyur te / gzan du ni metis par gtan du gsad na phyag rgya chen pahi dam tšig ŋams te mnar med par ḥgro bar ḥgyur ro / (V: xv. 86b 5–6).

\(^2\) 'Those who keep to the convention of Hevajra should eat according to the external interpretation and be watchful according to the internal.

As for this the first letter of the name man (nara) is NA, the first letter of the name cow (go) is GA, the first letter of the name elephant (nara) is HA, the last letter of the name horse (śva) is SVA and the first letter of the name dog (śva) is SVA. Putting these materials together, one should make them into pellets the size of a thumb-joint, then purify them, mix them together and burn them, make them into an elixir and eat them; by this means one gains external perfection. Likewise by saying that these are the five faculties of sense, the eye and so on, with the name of cow (go), &c., which are turned away from their spheres and kept so, there is produced the extreme state of watchfulness. Likewise the five ambrosias, MU (mutra), MA (māmsa), VI (viś), RA (raktā), and ŚU (śukra) are to be treated with the distinction of exoteric and esoteric significance, such is the teaching of the Tathāgata.'

Kyebye c'Dorjei dam tshig la gnas pa rnams kyi phyi naṅ gi bya brag gis phye la bṣag ba dan bṛuṇ ba byaḥo / de la skyes buḥi mīṅ gi dan pohi yi ge N Aḥo / gan gi ba laṅ gi mīṅ gi dar pohi yi ge G Aḥo / HA ni glan po chebi mīṅ gi dan pohi yi ḥeḥo / ŠVA ni rtahi mthāḥ māḥi mīṅ gi yi ḥeḥo / de bžin du ŠVA ni khṣṭi mīṅ gi dan pohi yi ḥeḥo / rdzas hdi rnams mḥiṃ par byas la mthe boḥi tshigs mḥud tsam gyi rił bu byas te sbyaḥ ba dan / ṣel ba dan sbar ba dan bṛuṇ byas te zos pas phyeḥi dhos grub tu ḥgyur la / de bžin du gaṅ gi go la sogs pahi mīṅ gi māṅ gis la sogs pahi daṅ po rnams yul las bzhog ste gnas par ṣunṣi pas mḥoch gi bṛuṇ bar bḥgyur ro / de bžin du bṛuṇ rsi ṣha ste / BI dan MU dan MA dan RA dan ŚU rnams kyi phyi naṅ gi phye la spyad par bya ba de bžin gṣed pahi bḥaṅ luṅ no / (V: xv. 87a 1–5).

\(^3\) For the 'seven-timer' see p. 71
great splendour, (11) and he possesses seven shadows.\(^1\) When he sees such a one the yogin should mark him out. By the mere eating of his flesh one will gain at that moment the powers of an aerial being.\(^2\)

c. (12) Now I shall give the sādhana of Kurukullā, by means of which all beings are brought into subjection. It has been mentioned before in brief, and is told in full in twelve parts.\(^3\) (13) This goddess arises from the syllable ह्र, is red in colour with four arms, and in her hands she holds a bow, an arrow, a blue lotus, and a hook. (14) By merely meditating upon her one brings the threefold world to subjection. By 100,000 recitations of her mantra one reduces kings, by 10,000 the people, (15) by 10 million cattle and yakṣas, by 700,000 the titans, by 200,000 the gods, and yogins by 100.

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\(^1\) According to D: ‘at the time of the full-moon one should smear the cavity in the lower part of the leg of a vulture with vairocana (one of the five ambrosias), and look; if his seven shadows then appear, one will know he is a seven-timer’—नाहि दुस सु भय र्गो द्द्र त्य यार ग्यी सबुख स्नाम पर स्नान मद्दश्द क्षि भ्युग्स लि भ्लास ना देशी ग्रिब मा ब्दुन भ्युन ना स्के बार ब्दुन पर ईस पर भ्या / (xvii. 387a 3–4).

\(^2\) ‘Khecaratva means having the universal power of a vidyādhara, possessing that knowledge which is like the sky’—म्खाल ला स्प्यो द्र पा निदः चेस पा नी रिग पा ह्द्जिन पाही ह्ख्कोर लोस स्गुर बा ह्द्जिन पा निद नाम म्खाल दान म्नाम पाही ये ईस र्नीद पा निद दो / (xv. 172b 5).

\(^3\) See Ch. 2, (19) and (26), which are the previous references to this goddess. The twelve parts refer to extended version of the Hevajra-tantra, concerning which see Introduction, p. 16.
PART II

CHAPTER I. CONSECRATIONS AND OBLATIONS

a. (1) Then Vajragarbha said: 'May the Adamantine Lord, whose form comprises all the Buddhas, tell us about the consecration of books and images and so on, just as it should be.'

(2) The Lord replied: 'Having made the correct oblation and laid out the mandala, at night-fall one should prepare the image, the requisite arrangements being made. (3) Then into its heart one should cause to enter the buddhas of all the directions, remaining united with one's chosen divinity and with full and intuitive knowledge of the mantras.

(4) 'Om Vajra-flower āh hūṁ svāha'
'Om Vajra-incense ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
'Om Vajra-lamp ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
'Om Vajra-perfume ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '
'Om Vajra-offering ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

(5) So one should present flowers and so on, produced variously from the syllable hūṁ, offerings of water for the feet and so on, all as before in accordance with the way of former tantras.'

b. The oblations:

(6) For Propitiation the place for the fire should be round, for the Bestowing of Prosperity it should be square, for Slaying it should be triangular, and here too one should perform the others.

(7) For Propitiation it should be one cubit across and half a cubit deep, for the Bestowing of Prosperity two cubits across and one deep, for Slaying twenty āṅgulas across and ten deep.

1 pratīṣṭhā is the setting-up or consecrating of religious objects, books, images, thankas, &c., and is so translated in full to distinguish it from abhiṣeka, also translated by 'consecration'. Text has literally: 'the excellent characteristic (= nature) of consecration'. Concerning this rite see also TPS i, pp. 308–16.

2 According to Bh (xv. 268b 3) the former tantras are the Tattvasamgraha and so on. Compare II. v. 57.

3 V associates these rites with the elements and cakras within the body thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pacifying</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Forehead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prospering</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Navel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaying</td>
<td>Space</td>
<td>Top of the head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subduing</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Throat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This arrangement conflicts with the normal ordering of the elements within the body. (See Introduction, p. 38). For the identifying of 'slaying' with 'bliss' (which corresponds with the top of the head, viz. the mahāsukhacakra) see I. v. 21.

4 Literally: 'two cubits and one cubit below and above', and so on. The only text to give any precision is the Chinese, where we have: 'broad one cubit, deep half a cubit, ... broad two cubits, deep one cubit ... broad ten inches, deep five inches' (595a 6–8). At Jiwong Monastery in Shar-Khumbu, I saw such a ceremony performed (Buddhist Himālaya, pp. 259–60).
For Propitiation it is white, for the Bestowing of Prosperity it is yellow, (9) for Slaying black, and for Subduing red.

Conjuring forth is as for Subduing, and causing Hatred is as for Slaying.

As for the actual oblations, for Propitiation one uses sesame oil, for Bestowing Prosperity curds, for Slaying, causing Hatred and other harmful rites one uses thorns, and a blue lotus for Subduing and Conjuring forth.

The mantra for invoking Fire:

\textit{OM Agni of mighty energy, fulfils all desires, who in compassion serves all beings, be thou present here.}

The invocation of the Earth-Goddess:

Thou Goddess, honoured by Hevajra's wrath, Mother of the Earth, and bearer of many kinds of gems, Thou art witness here, for I, so and so, would lay out the \textit{mandala}.

The mantra for gratifying Fire:

Go thou, O Consumer of the Offering, to prosper the affairs of yourself and of others. At the right time you will approach. Grant me complete success.

Mantra of the offerings: \textit{OM JAH HUM VAM HAHA KHAM RAM}
Mantra of the water for the feet: \textit{OM NI RI HUM KHAH}
Mantra of the food-offering: \textit{OM DHVAM DHVAM DHVAM}

\textbf{CHAPTER ii. THE CERTAINTY OF SUCCESS}

a. (1) Vajragarbha said: 'But how should beings reach perfection by means of their chosen divinity, when they find themselves amidst all the elements of existence as extensive as space, (lost) like a goad in the ocean?'

(2) The Lord replied: 'One who desires perfection should keep his inner self in union with Nairatmya or Sri Heruka, and not even for a moment should his thought be deflected elsewhere. (3) For one who is persevering for the first time, that place is considered propitious, where single-minded and self-collected a yogin may gain success. (4) At night in his own house, confident of gaining perfection, the wise man should meditate upon the Yogini or upon Sri Heruka in his manifested form. (5) (Moreover at all times) whether washing the feet or eating, rinsing the mouth or chewing betel-nut, rubbing the hands with sandal-wood, or girding the hips with the loin-cloth, (6) going-out, making conversation, walking, standing, in wrath, in laughter, the wise man should honour the Lady, strong in his vows, he should meditate upon the Yogini.\textsuperscript{1} (7) Seekers of

\textsuperscript{1} K refers to this practice as concentrated yoga (\textit{sam\=ak\=hitayoga}) and continuous yoga (\textit{mirantarayoga}). The first is performed on fixed occasions, 'at the three times (\textit{trisandhi}) and elsewhen' (\textit{B: xv. 269a 6}); the other is a continuous process of mental control. Compare the end of Ch. 4, Part I. \textit{Bhagavati} (the Lady), \textit{Yogini} is in every case \textit{Nairatmya}.
perfection with perfection as their goal strive never for one moment to have
their thought deflected elsewhere with the mind defiled by ignorance.
(8) O Vajragarbha, I call meditation the destroyer of evil. Try it one fort-
night with zeal, making perfection your goal, (9) abandoning all discursive
thought, your mind set on the form of the divinity. Try it one day,
mediating uninterruptedly. (10) There are no other means in the samsāra
for gaining the end of yourself and others, for a spell, once acquired,
brings about immediate realization.¹

b. (11) By fears and passions and sorrows, by griefs and torments and such
calamities, by passion, wrath, and delusion, the yogin is not disturbed.
(12) Thus understanding the ripening of the fruit of good and evil acts,
how should yogins stay one moment in the Raurava Hell?
(13) Perpetrators of the five great evil acts and those who delight in
taking life, also those of wretched birth, and fools who are wicked in their
conduct, (14) and ugly brutes with distorted limbs, these gain perfection
by the right use of thought. So certainly will he succeed who practises the
ten virtues, is devoted to his master with his senses well controlled, (15) and
is free from pride and wrath.

c. Keeping continuously to the practice, perfected in the siddhi and self-
collected, (16) for one month one should privately continue, while one
awaits the acquiring of a mudrā. The yogin then receives instructions. He
is instructed by the yoginis: (17) “Take such and such a Mudrā, O Vaj-
radhṛk, and serve the cause of living-beings.” Taking this girl, who has
wide-open eyes and is of age² and endowed with youth and beauty, (18)
he should consecrate her with the seed of enlightenment. Beginning with the
ten rules of virtuous conduct, he should expound to her the Dharma,
(19) how the mind is fixed on the divine form, on the meaning of symbolic
forms and concerning one-pointedness of mind, and in one month she will
be fit, of that there is no doubt. (20) And so the girl is there, now freed
from all false notions, and received as though she were a boon. Or else he
should produce a Mudrā by conjuring her forth by his own power (21)

¹ Bh ‘As for this “spell once acquired”, according to some treatises it does not bring
about immediate realization; in the way of Prajñāpāramitā enlightenment comes about
after three immeasurable kalpas. But as for this destroying of evil and this realization, a
kalpa or more does not enter into it. It is in reference to this (that we read) a fortnight, a
day or just once. Immediately or at once means either at the end of half a month or half
a day, but (the main point is that) one gains buddhahood or Vajradharahood in this life.’
² of age—sihklakarpārasamyuktāṃ = ‘possessed of frankincense and camphor’ (see
II. ii. 59. V: kḥrag hḥyuṅ bahi dus la bab pa byan chub sṃs kyi bde ba la dgaḥ ba | (xv.
936 5-6).
from amongst the gods or titans or men, or the yakṣas or kinnaras. Then taking her, one should perform the practice with the realization of one’s own composure. (22) For this practice, which is called terrifying in appearance,¹ is not taught for the sake of enjoyment, but for the examination of one’s own thought, whether the mind is steady or waving.’

d. (23) Vajragarbha said: ‘By one who is joined in union with Nairātmyā how can any distinction be made in the meaning of mudrā? And with this Mudrā and that Mudrā, with two Mudrās in fact, how should the perfection of the Great Mudrā come about?’²

(24) The Lord replied: ‘Relinquishing her form as a woman, she would assume that of her Lord. Gone are her breasts, and his vajra is manifest with a bell on each side, where the lotus had been.

(25) The rest of the form of the mighty and blissful Heruka (26) easily assumes the masculine condition of the man who is in union with Heruka, and from this the perfection of the Great Symbol would come about for the yogin of such manifest power. (27) This identity of Wisdom and Means remains unharmed by the twofold process of origination and dissolution, for Means is the origination and Wisdom the dissolution and end of existence. (28) So in truth there is neither destruction nor origination. Having dissolved away, it has come to its end, and since there can now be no dissolution, neither is there destruction. (29) The yogin conceives of the diversity of existence as the Process of Emanation, and realizing the dream-like nature of this diversity, he renders it undiversified by means of its diversity. (30) Like a dream, like a mirage, like the “intermediate state”, so the mandala appears from continuous application to the practice.

(31) The great bliss, such as one knows it in the consecrations of the Great Symbol, of that the mandala is the full and efficacious expression, for nowhere else does it have its origin. (32) This bliss is black and yellow, red and white, dark green, dark blue, all things moving and unmoving. (33) This bliss is Wisdom, this bliss is Means, and likewise it is their union. It is existence, it is non-existence, and it is Vajrasattva.’³

(34) Vajragarbha said: ‘This state of unity achieved in the Process of

¹ K says it is terrifying in appearance because it is very bad, but he construes wrongly. Bh: ‘It is terrifying in form because it possesses a form terrifying to fools’—hīṣa paḥi gzugs can ḥes bya ba ni byis pa dag la rab tu hīṣa paḥi gzugs can gyis so / (xv. 272a 6).

² The question follows logically from the previous discourse concerning the divine Mudrā, Nairātmyā, with whom the union is one of meditation, and the physical mudrā, with whom the union is physical. But the answer given implies a slightly different question: ‘How by union with Nairātmyā (alone) does the condition of the (Great) Mudrā come about, since perfection in the (Great) Mudrā comes from two elements, Wisdom and Means?’ Bh and V therefore interpret the sloka in this sense, or rather attempt to do so, for the text will not permit it.

³ The themes of this discourse, namely the essential unity of Hevajra and Nairātmyā, of Means and Wisdom, of the evolution and reabsorption of existence, and of the mandala as the representation of this process, are discussed in the Introduction, pp. 24, 32–3.
Realization is deemed as Excellent Bliss, as Great Bliss, so what is the use of the Process of Emanation except for conceiving it as Realization?'

(35) The Lord replied: 'Oho, Great Bodhisattva, by dint of faith it is destroyed, they say.¹

e. Without bodily form how should there be bliss? Of bliss one could not speak. The world is pervaded by bliss, which pervades and is itself pervaded. (36) Just as the perfume of a flower depends upon the flower, and without the flower becomes impossible, likewise without form and so on, bliss would not be perceived. (37) I am existence, I am not existence, I am the Enlightened One for I am enlightened concerning what things are. But me they do not know, those fools, afflicted by indolence. (38) I dwell in Sukhāvatī in bliss with the Vajrayoginī, in that place which is symbolized by the syllable E,² in that casket of budha-gems.

(39) I am the teacher, and I am the doctrine, I am the disciple endowed with good qualities. I am the goal, and I am the trainer. I am the world and worldly things. (40) My nature is that of Innate Joy and I come at the end of the Joy that is Perfect and at the beginning of the Joy of Cessation.³ So be assured, my son, it is like a lamp in darkness.

(41) I am the Master with the thirty-two marks, the Lord with the eighty characteristics and I dwell in bliss in Sukhāvatī and my name is śukra. (42) Without this there would be no bliss, and without bliss this would not be. Since they are ineffective one without the other, bliss is found in union with the divinity.

(43) So the Enlightened One is neither existence nor non-existence; he has a form with arms and faces and yet in highest bliss is formless.

(44) So the whole world is the Innate, for the Innate is its essence. Its essence too is nīrođana when the mind is in a purified state.

(45) The divine form consists of just something born, for it is a repository of arms and face and colours, and moreover arises by the normal influence of past actions.⁴

¹ B: 'By power of faith means by the self impelled by faith. So there is no knowledge of the form and so on even of the tathāgatas. In the first instance the mind is in a pure condition. Then there is faith. Then there is desire (abhikāṅkṣā) and action (prayātyti)'—dad paḥi sugs ūs pa ni dad pas bskul bahi bdag ūnī ṣug pas na ṣugs te / de lta bu ni bcom ldan ḫdas kyi(s) kyon gzugs la sogs ūs pa yod pa ma ūn no snar brjod pa ūni do / de la ḫan por ni sems rab tu ḫan baha / de nas ni ūn ches ṭaḥo / de kyi ḫes la miṇ phaḥ hnot ḫin rab tu ḫuṅg te ṭaḥo / (xv. 274b 34). This line is an unidentified quotation. It is not immediately relevant to the preceding question, nor to the answer which now follows.

² See p. 94, note 2. ³ Concerning these joys see the Introduction, p. 35.

⁴ S: 'As for the difference between the forms of buddhas and men, where their appearance with faces and hands is concerned, there is no difference; as for the five skandhas there is no difference; flesh and so on correspond with the natures of Pukkasi and so on. If you conceive of the bodies of the buddhas as being essentially mind (vijñāna), and of these (men) as being of the essence of earth and the other elements, then indeed this too is a matter of not knowing; you may conceive now of all the elements as being of the nature of mind and find no distinction whatsoever. But to one thinking thus, it is said:
(46) With the very poison, a little of which would kill any other being, a man who understands poison would dispel another poison. (47) Just as a man who suffers with flatulence is given beans to eat, so that wind may overcome wind in the way of a homeopathic cure, so existence is purified by existence in the countering of discursive thought by its own kind. (48) Just as water entered in the ear is drawn out again by water, so also the notion of existing things is purified by appearances. (49) Just as those who have been burned by fire must suffer again by fire, so those who have been burned by the fire of passion must suffer the fire of passion. (50) Those things by which men of evil conduct are bound, others turn into means and gain thereby release from the bonds of existence. (51) By passion the world is bound, by passion too it is released, but by the heretical buddhists this practice of reversals is not known.

(52) In the one essential unity a fivefold aspect subsists expressed in the set of five elements, and the Joy Supreme which is essentially one becomes five through their distinctions.

(53) From the contact that comes of the union of vajra and lotus, there arises the effect of hardness. The nature of hardness is delusion, and Vairocana is deemed to be Akṣobhya.

(54) The bodhicitta is a flow and this flow is deemed as water. The nature of water is wrath and this wrath is Aksobhya.

(55) From the rubbing together of two things fire always arises. From heat arises passion and this passion is Amitābha.

(56) The bodhicitta in the lotus has the nature of air.

(57) The blood is bliss and passion and the nature of bliss is space. From space arises malignity and malignity is Ratnasambhava.

(58) Thought is one but consists in this fivefold form. This develops...
into the five families, and then there develop many thousands. (59) So this is the single self-existent, it is the great bliss, perfect and eternal, but it becomes five by the fivefold distinction of thought as passion and the other four. (60) As numerous as the sands of ten River Ganges are the companies of the tathāgatas in these single families. In these companies there are numerous clans, and in these clans yet hundreds of clans. (61) These many thousands of clans become many millions of clans, and in these clans there are still innumerable clans. Yet they all arise from the one clan of perfect joy.'

CHAPTER iii. THE BASIS OF ALL TANTRAS

(1) Then the Adamantine Lord spoke to the yoginis of the Means, which are the basis of all tantras, of the Union, of consecrations and of secret language, of the different Joys and Moments, of feasting and the rest.

a. (2) ‘Now the union of all buddhas consists in the sound EVAM. This sound EVAM, the great bliss itself, is known from the process of consecration.’

(3) Then the yoginis said to the Lord Vajrasattva: ‘Is the sound EVAM then called the union of the dākinis? May the Lord, the Teacher, the Master of the World please expound the matter as it is.’

(4) The Lord replied: ‘The sacred syllable E, adorned at its centre by the syllable VAM, is the abode of all delights, the casket of buddha-gems. (5) It is there that the four Joys arise, distinguished by the Moments, and from knowledge of these Moments the knowledge of Bliss is consummated in that sound EVAM. (6) So yogins know that the sound EVAM is attainable through the four Moments: Variety, Development, Consummation, and Blank.

1 ‘union’—samvara; see Glossary p. 138.
2 EVAM—‘thus’ symbolizes the ‘two-in-one’, viz. perfect knowledge. All sūtras and tantras begin: evam mayā śrutam—‘I have heard thus’, here interpreted as ‘I have understood EVAM’, the truth of this tantra, which is perfect knowledge. Thus we have E as prajñā (wisdom) and VAM as upāya (means). V here quotes a list of equivalents: sun/moon, blood/iukra, left-hand/right-hand, linga/bhaga, means/wisdom, sorrow/bliss, navel/head (xv. 100b 6–7).

Following the Tibetan translations I have translated dākinīyah as a feminine form, but they refer to beings who have the power of moving in space, not necessarily feminine. See K (p. 141, l. 10–11). See also I. xi. 11. Here they are synonymous with the buddhas referred to above. For such a cycle of dākins see I-T iii. 2, p. 66.

4 See Introduction, pp. 34–35. D: ‘The Moment of Variety is associated with the knowledge of various different kinds of karunā, the kiss, the embrace and so on, and Joy consists in the acquiring of some small part of Wisdom which cuts off entirely such discriminating. Saying that Development is the reverse means that external discriminating knowledge has been abandoned, that knowledge has vanished within. (This stage) lasts until the actual union, and the Perfect Joy consists in the complete cutting-off of the Moment of Development by a development exceeding that which precedes. Reflection is Consummation means that the bindu or bodhicitta has entered the vajra, that all opposing (vipākṣa)
embrace, the kiss and so forth. Development is the reverse of this, for it is
the experiencing of blissful knowledge. (8) Consummation is defined as the
reflection that this bliss has been experienced by oneself. Blank is quite
other than these three, and knows neither passion nor the absence of
passion. (g) The first Joy is found in Variety, Perfect Joy in Development, the

(10) These four Joys are to be experienced in due order in accordance
with the list of the four consecrations, that of the Master, that of the Secret,
that of the Prajña and the Fourth.¹ (11) The first is represented by a smile,
reflective thought is abandoned and the wisdom which is favourable (pratipakṣa) is acquired.
This is the Wisdom of Cessation which completely cuts off the Moment of Consummation.
As for the Blank being other than these three, this means that the bodhicitta is held; there
are no opposing factors whatsoever and only that wisdom which is favourable remains; the
Moment of Blank has been cut off, and this complete cutting-off is the Wisdom of the Innate.'

¹ D: 'The first is called the Jar-Consecration or the Master’s Consecration. It is called
a baptism because impurity is washed away, that is to say here that the impurity of
the body is washed away. It is called the consecration (or baptism) of the jar, because it
washes away all impurities of the body. It is also called the consecration of knowledge
(pañcavidyājñāna). Now a consecration is a bestowing of power, and (in this case) it bestows power in the nirmanakāya.
The place of consecration is the body, and the instruments are the jar, the crown and so on.
The Secret Consecration is so called, because it is a secret from the śrāvakas, pratyeka-
buddhas and all those below them. It is a baptism because it washes away impurities of
speech, and a consecration because it bestows power in the sambhogakāya. The place of consecration is the throat, and the agent of consecration is the bodhicitta, the bindu which
has been experienced by the Master.
The Consecration in the Knowledge of Prajña (prajñājñāna) is so called because it
depends upon the prajña and has the effect of arousing wisdom. As a baptism it washes
away the impurities of the mind, and as a consecration it bestows power in the dharmakāya.
The place of consecration is the vajra, and the agent of consecration is the prajña with the
lotus. The Fourth Consecration is so called because it is fourth, a word understood in
relation to the third; it is the precious consecration. As a baptism it washes away all
tendencies towards evil of body, speech, and mind, and as a consecration it bestows power
in the Body of Great Bliss (mahāsukhakāya). The place of consecration is the body, speech,
and mind. As for the agent of consecration, one requires to have some guru as one’s support,
and with his inner power one needs no (other) agent.'
the second by a gaze, the third in an embrace, and the fourth in union. (12) This fourfold set of consecrations is for the purpose of perfecting living-beings. The word consecration or sprinkling is used because one is sprinkled or cleansed.

b. (13) The Prajñā of sixteen years he clasps within his arms, and from the union of the vajra and bell the Master's consecration comes about. (14) She is fair-featured, wide-eyed, and endowed with youth and beauty. Then with thumb and fourth finger he drops the bindu in the pupil's mouth. (15) In that very act the flavour of sameness should be placed within the pupil's range. Then having honoured and worshipped the Prajñā, he should consign her to the pupil, (16) saying: "O Great Being, take thou the Mudrā who will bring you bliss", and knowing his pupil to be worthy, free of envy and wrath, (17) he then further commands him: "Be ye one, O Vajradhṛk."

Now I shall tell you of the pupil's part and how he begs for consecration, (18) how he pronounces words of praise and worship when he beholds his master with the mudrā.

"O great tranquil Lord, intent on the vajra-practice,
(19) Thou perfecter of the Symbol, that hast thine origin in the indestructible vajra,
As you now do for yourself, may you also do for me.
(20) I am sunk in the thick mud of the samsāra. Save me who am without a helper."  

(21) Then with pleasing food and drink, with wine and meat of good quality, with incense, oblations, and garlands, with bells and banners and ointments, with all these he should honour his lord.

(22) When the pupil has now reached the moment of Perfect Joy which is free from all notions of diversity, the master should say: "O Great Being, hold thou to the great bliss. (23) Until the time of enlightenment, O Vajradhṛk, serve thou the cause of beings." Thus should speak the Adamantine Lord as he sees his pupil overwhelmed in compassion.

1 See 'Hevajra-sekaprakriyā', Journal Asiatique, July to Sept. 1934, pp. 28 and 43, where these same verses occur.
11. (24) This is the great knowledge that exists in all phenomenal forms, dual by nature and yet free of duality, the Lord whose essence is both existence and non-existence. (25) He abides pervading all things, moving or motionless, for he manifests himself in these illusive forms. But by means of the *manda*la and so on, he goes with certainty to his eternal condition.

d. (26) Then Vajragarbha, begging all the yoginis to have patience, addressed the Lord: 'May the *manda*la be called a stronghold, which is the essence of all buddhas? Tell me Lord, just how things are, for doubt assails me.'

(27) The Lord replied: 'The *manda*la is the very essence, we say; it is *bodhicitta* and the great bliss itself. This it takes to itself,\(^1\) and so in this sense *manda*la is said to be *malana*, "the act of taking". (28) *Cakra* is an assembly (of divinities) which purifies the spheres of sense and so on, and thus it is as void as space. By the union of *vajra* and lotus its bliss is experienced.'

e. (29) Vajragarbha said: 'What usage and observance should one follow?' The Lord replied: 'You should slay living-beings.
You should speak lying words.
You should take what is not given.
You should frequent others' wives.

(30) Now to practise singleness of thought is the taking of life, for the thought is the life. To vow to save all men is interpreted as lying-speech. That which is not given is the bliss of woman, and she is your own Nairātmyā who is the wife of all others.'\(^2\)

f. (31) Then all the yoginis addressed the Lord: 'What are the spheres and faculties of sense? What are the bases of consciousness and how many are the component groups of personality? What are the spheres of consciousness and what is their true nature?'

(32) The Lord replied: 'There are six spheres of sense: form, sound, smell, taste, touch, and thought. (33) Likewise there are six facultys of

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\(^1\) Compare I. v. 19 and K: p. 118, ll. 27-30. T has translated as: ādyāntam karoti—'it makes the beginning and end'. V also interprets accordingly (xv. 104a 7). All the other commentators (D gives both interpretations), however, explain as: adānam karoti, which by comparison with the references quoted above may be accepted as correct. But they then all read *kus pa* (= milana) in the second half of the line—*non sequitur*. Even KT does so although the explanation is already given in his own work.

\(^2\) As for these interpretations, the first presents no difficulty; for the second see the *Vajracchedikāsūtra* (Sanskrit text—A nec. Ox. 1881, pp. 35-36): 'Thus should one resolve who has committed himself to the way of the Bodhisattva: "I must place all beings in that condition of nirūpa where there is no residue". But having placed them there, no being is placed there. And why? If the concept of a being existed for a bodhisattva, he would be no bodhisattva.'

The third and fourth are made clear in the translation which is for this reason fairly free. Literally it runs: 'that which is not given is the energy of the woman, and another's wife is the Fair One who is (to him) as for you,'
sense: the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, the body, and the mind. (34)
From spheres and faculties together we then have the twelve bases of con-
sciousness. The five skandhas are bodily form, feeling, impulses, power
of perception and consciousness. (35) The eighteen spheres of conscious-
ness are the six faculties and six spheres of sense together with the six kinds
of consciousness belonging to each pair. (36) Their nature is that of the
especially non-arisen and is neither true nor false, for all is like the
reflection of the moon in water. O yoginis, understand it as you will.

(37) For just as fire suddenly arises from the two fire-sticks and the
action of a man’s hand, and cannot be located in either of the sticks nor in
the hand’s action, and although sought everywhere, is not to be found
anywhere, and is therefore neither a true thing nor a false thing, even thus,
O yoginis, should you conceive of all the elements.’

(38) Then all the vajra-đākinis with Nairātmyā to the fore, took up the
five ambrosias and the ingredients of the sacrament, and honouring the
Lord Vajrasattva, they drank the vajra-elixir of immortality.

(39) At that the Lord was greatly pleased and told them of effective
power. ‘Good, good O vajra-đākinis, that truth which I keep secret and is
honoured by all buddhas, of that I now tell you, for I am compelled thereto
by the power of your vajra-praise, so listen if you will.’

(40) Then all the goddesses became very zealous, and touching the
ground with one knee, they stretched forth their hands in worship to where
the Lord stood, and listened to that which he said.

(41) The Lord said: ‘Food and drink must be just as it comes. One
should not avoid things, wondering whether they are suitable or unsuitable.
One should not perform special ablutions or purifications, nor avoid the
affairs of the town. (42) The wise man does not mutter mantras, nor
devote himself to meditation; he does not abandon sleep, nor restrain his
senses. (43) He should eat all meat and associate with all manner of men.
He keeps the company of all women, his mind quite free of trepidation. (44)
He should have no love for friend, nor hatred for any enemy. Those gods
he should not honour, which are made of wood and stone and clay. For the
yogin should always be consubstantiated with the form of his own divinity.
(45) Men of all castes he may touch as readily as his own body, dombas,
candālas, carmāras, hadḍikas and the rest, brahmans and kṣatriyas, vaisīyas,
and śūdras. (46–48) Nor is there anything he may not consume, for his
mind conceives no distinctions. (49) His loin-cloth is many-coloured and
he adorns himself with clay-markings of different colours. Finding a
flower in a cemetery he should bind it in his hair.’

1 Compare I. iv. 2 and xi. 8–9.
2 The text here contains a list of the ingredients of an unpleasant potion with which the
reader need not be burdened. The svayambhukusuma is: bud med kyi skye gnas las byun
bañi khrag (V: xv. 106a 6).
1. (50) Then Vajragarbha said: 'The unpurified faculties of sense have not been listed as a set of six. Of the purification of their respective spheres the Lord has already spoken.'

(51) The Lord replied: 'For the eyes is Mohavajrā, For the ears Dveṣavajrā, For the nose Mātsaryavajrā, For the mouth Rāgavajrā,

(52) For the touch is Īrṣyāvajrā, And for the mind Nairātmyayogini.²

By these protection is given for the purification of the faculties of sense.'

j. (53) Vajragarbha said: 'What may be said of secret language, that great convention of the yoginis, which the śravakas and others cannot unriddle. May the Lord please tell us decisively. (54) As for the smile, the gaze, the embrace and the union, even by the tantras the secret language of these four is not mentioned.'³

(55) The Lord replied: 'I shall explain, O Vajragarbha, do thou listen with singleness of mind. This is that secret language, that great language, the conventional signs told in full.

(56) madhya (wine) is madana (passion) māmsa (flesh) is bala (strength) malayaja (sandal-wood) is milana (meeting) kheṭa (hide?) is gati (going) śava (corpse) is śrāya (resort) asthyābharana (bone-ornament) is niramsūka (naked)

(57) preṅkhana (wandering) is āgati (coming) kṛpta (?) belly is damaruka (drum) dundura (emission) is abhavya (unworthy) Kālīṇjara (n.pr.) is bhavya (worthy)

(58) dīṇāma (small drum) is asparśa (untouchable) padmabhājana (lotus-vessel) is kapāla (skull) trptikara (satisfying) is bhaksya (food) mālatindhana (jasmine wood) is vyañjana (herbs)

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

¹ See I. ix. 13–14. Also diagrams III and IV. ² For these equations see diagram V. Also K (p. 145, ll. 6–8) who confirms them. The allocation is unsatisfactory, however, in that Nairātmyā (= Dveṣavajrā) is used twice. Mātsarya and paśunyā are synonymous. Concerning the form Vajrā in preference to Vajrī, see p. 80, fn. 5. ³ Each of these stages, representing the four consecrations, is identified with one of the four classes of tantras. See the Glossary p. 139. The confusion of grammatical endings scarcely permits a sure translation.
sīhlaka (frankincense) is svayambhu (blood)
karpūra (camphor) is śukra (semen)
śālija (rice product) is mahāmāmsa (human-flesh)
kunduru is the union of two
bola is vajra
kakkola is lotus

k. (61) Likewise the buddhas of the five families may be referred to by means of hidden speech: (62) Đombi for the Vajra-family, Nartī for the Lotus-family, Caṇḍālí for the Gem-family, Brahmaṇī for the Tathāgata-family (63) and Rajakī for the Karma-family. These are the Mudrās, bestowers of siddhi; adamantine is their śukra, so honouring them, the yogin drinks it.

(64) O Vajragarbha, thou Great Being, you must receive with respect all that I have told you of this wondrous secret language.

(65) He who has been consecrated in Hevajra and does not use this hidden language, will lose the sacramental power, of that there is no doubt. (66) From calamities or thieves, demons, fevers, poisons, he will die, even though he be a buddha, if he does not speak with this secret language. (67) Having gained this knowledge of his own sacramental nature, if he does not use this speech, then the yoginis who spring from the four pithas will show forth their wrath.'

CHAPTER IV. ANSWERS TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS

(1) Then all those divine beings with Vajragarbha at their head, were filled with wonderment and consternation and addressed the Lord Vajrasattva thus: 'O may the Lord remove our doubts.

a. (2) (Firstly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Performance about singing and dancing as bestowing perfection, concerning this I have doubts. What is this singing and dancing?

b. (3) (Secondly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Consecration about receiving the sign of the Wrathful One or of some other family-head, concerning this I have doubts. What is the sign and of whom is the sign?

c. (4) (Thirdly) as for what is said in the Chapter on Matras about the seed-syllables of Nairātmyā and so on, concerning this I have doubt. Which is the syllable of whom?

d. (5) (Fourthly) in the Chapter on Hevajra’s Body thirty-two veins were

1 The four pithas are given in I. vii. 12. Bh associates them here with the four cakras within the body (xv. 285a 3).
mentioned. May the Lord please tell me their purificatory significance, for I am confused about them.\(^1\)

a. (6) The Lord replied (in answer to the first question):

"The yogin stays at Kollagiri, the yogini at Mummuni. Loudly the drum sounds forth. Love is our business and not dissen-

sion.

(7) There we eat meat and drink wine in great quantity. Hey there, the true followers are come together, but the frauds are kept far away. We take the fourfold preparation and musk and frankincense and camphor, Herbs and special meat we eat with relish.

(8) Going this way and that in the dance, we give no thought to what is chaste or unchaste, Adorning our limbs with bone-ornaments, we place the corpse in position. Union takes place at that meeting, for Dombi is not there rejected.\(^2\)

The questions refer to the following passages:

1. I. vi. 10 and 13.
2. I. iv. 3.
3. I. ii. 6.

As for this vajra-song, the commentaries provide two kinds of interpretation, a literal and a figurative. But in this case even the literal is concealed beneath the jargon of their 'secret language'. My own translation, supposedly literal, is based chiefly upon the explanations of K and S. It may be so far justified in the following manner: Kollagiri—an individual piṣha (K: p. 145, l. 26), not however included in the list given in Ch. 7. Mummuni is however one of the kṣetras. Bola and kakkola as vajra and lotus are well established. S here explains them as yogin and yogini (xv. 183b 5-6). ghana—K: mirantaram S: rgyun mi hchad par (id. 183b 7). khiba—see II. iii. 57. Confirmed by K and S. vājjai—K: samuchalati S: brduñ bar bya (id. 183b 7). vṛj 'send forth', 3rd sing. pres. act. khia—kr 3rd sing. pres. pass. rolā—K: kalakala S: rtsod pa (id. 184a 1) D: ḫgras pa. balu and maanā—see II. iii. 56. gāde—K: nirbharam S: šin tu dgaḥ ba skyed par byed pahi—'(wine) which arouses great joy'. khājjai and pījjai—taken as 3rd sing. pres. act. kālīñjara and dunduru—see II. iii. 57. Confirmed by S. pañja (reoccurs below) K: praveiya S: būugs par bya—'should be there'. vājjai (reoccurs below) 3rd sing. pres. pass. causa, &c. see II. iii. 59. lāśai—K: labhyante. See also vocab. in Shahidullah, pp. 106 and 217. S, however, lus la byug par bya—'should smear (them) on the body'. 3rd sing. pres. pass. mālantinboa and sālīñjo—see II. iii. 58 and 60. bharu—K: nirbharam S: khyad par gyis—'specially'. khāsia—K: khādyante. Pass. Compare khājjai above. phremkhnə khetā—see II. iii. 56, 57. S: gar la sogs pas ḫgro ba daḥ hon bar byed cin—'going and coming because of the dancing and so on' (id. 184a 5).
Dancing as Śrī Heruka with mindful application, undistracted,
Meditating with thought impassioned, the mind uninterrupted in its
concentration,
Buddhas and Masters in the Vajra-doctrine, goddesses and yogins,
Sing and dance to their utmost in this song and dance.
There comes thereby protection for the troupe and protection
for oneself. Thereby the world is reduced to subjection, and all reciting
of mantras (is perfected) by it.
Decorously one sings there; decorously one dances there. The
leader is first appointed, and then he should note the scent.

The figurative interpretations vary in the significance given to some of the terms. K and Bh differ; D gives three interpretations. The process described is, however, the same, and is that which we have already met with at the end of chapter 1 of Part I. K's interpretation may serve as an example.

HAM (bodhicitta) rests in the head, AM (Candāli) in the navel. (Mantras) resound continuously. Compassion is practised, not gross licence. One consumes the notion of a self, and drinks the drink of great bliss. The breath is concentrated within; passion, &c. are kept away. Form, feeling, power of perception and consciousness are all purified. The impulses (samskāra) and the Self are here consumed in this yoga, that is to say, are rendered non-substantial. There is the bliss-giving motion (phre'kha) of the bodhicitta, and again its motion (kheṭa). Existence and non-existence cannot be distinguished. The drops are a unity (? — miramia) because of their sameness of nature. By means of the veins the body is pervaded. In that yoga the non-substantiality of all the dharmas (the corpse) takes possession (vol. II. p. 146, ll. 4-17).

1 Defining śriherukarāpeṇa, V. refers to I. vii. 27.
2 'thought impassioned' — V: 'to be moved by great compassion by the cause of oneself and others, undefiled by that defect that consists in the absence of passion'—chags pa daṅ bral baḥi skyon gyis mi gos par bdag gzän gyi don du shiṅ rje chen po g'yो bar bya žes bya baḥi don to / (xv. 109a 7-b 1).

The dancing is the meditation (I. vi. 13: 'Nartanā bhāvanā smṛtā').

1 V: 'vajradharma indicates their nature as Speech (vāk), buddha indicates their nature as Body (kāya) — rdo rje chos ni gsum gi ran bzin no / sans rgyas ni skuḥi ran bzin no / (xv. 109b 1). As vāk they sing, as kāya they dance. Now Speech is Amitābha and Body is Vairocana (see Introduction, p. 28). Hence K's equation (p. 146, ll. 21-22), for Padma-narttėtvarā is of Amitābha's family. He is red; his prajñā is Pāṇḍuravāsīni, whose association with Amitābha may be seen from diagram VI. See also I-T iii. 2, p. 57, where he and Vairocana (presumably as Speech and Body) are the first emanations of Vajrasattva (as Mind). For his sādhanā see the Sādhanamālā, nos. 30, 31, and 32.

* Borrowed from Bh.'s interpretation.
† Bh.'s version is better: the flash of the AM bindu (drop) goes upwards, melts the HAM bindu, which comes downwards. (xv. 286b 1-2).

See also the Introduction, pp. 36-37.
garlic, next of vultures, and then of camphor and sandal-wood. Afterwards he should note the effective power of the song. (14) The sound of a goose and a bee is heard at the end of the song, and of a jackal too he should note the sound in the garden without.¹

b. (Answer to the second question.)

(15) The mudrā is a sign or mark, and by this mark the particular family is indicated. If one practises meditation within the wrong family you will gain no perfection for there will be no perfection to gain.

(These are the families:) (16–19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deva</th>
<th>Moha</th>
<th>Piṣuna</th>
<th>Rāga</th>
<th>Iṣyā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nairātmyā</td>
<td>Vajrā</td>
<td>Gaurī</td>
<td>Vārī</td>
<td>Vajrāḍākinī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukkasi</td>
<td>Śarvāri</td>
<td>Ĉandāli</td>
<td>Dombi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaurī II</td>
<td>Caurī</td>
<td>Vetāli</td>
<td>Ghasmarī</td>
<td>Khecari</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bhūcarī</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Understand this if you will.

c. (Answer to the third question.) (20–23)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nairātmyā</td>
<td>Śarvāri</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vajrā</td>
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<td>Gaurī</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Vāriyogini</td>
<td>Gaurī II</td>
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<td>O</td>
<td>Ghasmarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AU</td>
<td>Bhūcarī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Khecari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are the seed-syllables of the yoginis.

¹ Only V comments on this passage: 'Whether it is a large gathering that has received a mandate from the king, or whether it is a gathering of simple folk, or is different from both of these and is the feast of a chief, first the leader of the gathering sings, and after him the others sing as they please. This is the sense. Now on the occasions of those festivals of a general gathering or a chief, the vajrācārya should note the signs of the effective power (adhiṣṭhāna) of the song and dance. It is of three kinds (grades): firstly there will arise a scent like garlic, secondly like vultures and lastly like camphor. Likewise in accordance with the characteristics of the song the tone of the voice at beginning and end is to be led and concluded with the sound like that of a royal goose and a royal bee (respectively).
II. iv

THE HEVAJRA-TANTRA

d. (Answer to the fourth question.)

(24) The thirty-two veins which are mentioned in the Chapter on Hevajra's Body, are equated with the yoginis, two to each, (25) except for Nairātmyā who is equated with three, Lalanā, Rasanā, and Avadhūti. The last one of all must be firmly rejected, for there is no sixteenth phase. (26) And why is that? Because it is non-productive of an effect. The moon with its fifteen phases represents the Thought of Enlightenment. It is the great bliss symbolized by the fifteen vowels and the yoginis are its phases.'

e. (27) Vajragarbha said: 'So one should not eject this 'camphor'. It is there that all the yoginis have their origin, and its nature is the Joy Innate. It is indestructible and luscious, as pervasive as the sky.'

(28) The Lord replied: 'It is even as you say.'

Vajragarbha asked: 'By what means should one arouse the Thought of Enlightenment?'

(29) The Lord replied: 'By such means as that of the mandala or the process of the self-bestowing of power, by these one arouses the Thought of Enlightenment, both in its absolute and relative form. (30) As relative, white as white jasmine, as absolute essentially blissful, it arises in the lotus-paradise, which is symbolized by the word evam. (31) We call it paradise or land of bliss (sukhāvati) because of this bliss it is the keeper, for it is the home of all buddhas, bodhisattvas and vajra-holders.

f. (32) Such as is samsāra, such is nirvāṇa. There is no nirvāṇa other than samsāra, we say. (33) Samsāra consists in form and sound and so on, in feeling and the other four skandhas, in the faculties of sense, in wrath and illusion and the other three. (34) But all these elements are really sunk in nirvāṇa, and it is only from delusion that they appear as samsāra. The wise man continues in samsāra, but this samsāra is recognized as nirvāṇa, for he has brought this about by the process of purification. (35) This nirvāṇa, being the Thought of Enlightenment, is both absolute and relative in form.²

g. (40) For Nairātmyā is the camphor and Nairātmyā is the bliss. The realization of this bliss which is the Great Symbol itself is to be found in the lower cakra. (41) She is symbolized by the letter a, and it is as Wisdom that the enlightened conceive of her. In the Process of Realization she is the Lady Prajñā. (42) (No form may one apply to her) neither tall nor

¹ The last one of all is Māradārikā. See complete list at I. i. 16–19. There is no sixteenth phase of the moon and there is no sixteenth yogini. Therefore the last vein, which remains over, must be arbitrarily rejected lest it spoil the scheme. It is but an example of the essential arbitrariness of many of these lists.

² At this point the process whereby the bodhicitta in its relative form is aroused, is again described. It differs from the account already given in the last chapter (II. iii. 14) by a small elaboration: 'He should not receive it in his hand, neither on mother-of-pearl nor in a conch-shell. With his tongue he must receive the ambrosia for the increasing of his strength.'
short, neither square nor round. She transcends all taste and smell and flavour, and it is she who brings the Joy Innate. (43) In her the yogin is con-substantiated, for it is her bliss that he enjoys. With her that perfection is found that bestows the bliss of the Great Symbol. (44) Form and sound, smell, taste, touch, and sphere of thought, are all enjoyed in this Prajñā. (45–46) She is the Innate itself, the divine yogini of great bliss. She is the whole mandala and comprehends the Five Wisdoms. (47) She is the 'I', the Lord of the mandala. She is Nairātmyayoginī, the sphere of thought in essence.

h. (48) Vajragarbha said: 'The Lord has already explained how the divinities arise in the process of meditating upon the mandala. May he please tell me about the mandala within.'

(49) The Lord replied: 'We explain the internal mandala as being comprised in the unity of the sound A which exists at the centre of the yogini's body, and just as the external mandala (evolves from the seed-syllable), so also does the internal.1 (50) The bliss that the vajra experiences here is the Great Symbol, and as coefficient the vajra is Means. The internal mingling that comes about, is figured in the external union of two.2

(51) The three kāyas are found within the body in the form of the cakras, and the perfect knowledge of these three kāyas is the cakra of Great Bliss. (52) (Therefore there are four in all:) the nimānakāya, the dharmakāya, the sambhogakāya and the mahāsukhakāya. These are situated at the navel, at the heart, at the throat and in the head. (53) The nimānakāya is in the place where the birth of all beings comes about.1 One is born or fashioned (nimiyate) and therefore it is called nimāna. (54) Dharma consists of thought and the dharmakāya is at the heart. (55) Sambhoga is enjoyment which consists in the six kinds of flavour, and so the sambhogakāya is at the throat. The mahāsukhacakra is in the head. (56–57) (The Four Fruits4 are situated thus:)

The fruit which corresponds (nisyandaphala) is at the navel.

The fruit of retribution (vipākaphala) is at the heart.

The fruit of manly activity is in the throat (puruṣakārāphala).

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1 One might translate: 'The internal as much as the external is called samvarā.' The commentaries provide a variety of paraphrase for this and the following verse. The whole thought is very ill expressed but is straightforward enough. Just as in the external performance vajra and lotus are united in the rite, so too in the internal mandala the Great Symbol is realized by the union of A (= Wisdom or Lotus) which is situated in the navel-cakra, and of HAM (= Means or Vajra) which is situated in the head-cakra. See Introduction, pp. 36–37.

2 The text actually has the reverse, that the inner figures the outer, which is unreasonable. K supports the rewording (p. 148, ll. 18–20).

3 The translation omits: nimānām sthāvaram matam / It is out of place here and anticipates verse 59.

4 There are normally five fruits. See Mv p 2271–7. See also the Siddhi, pp. 464–7. Concerning their allocation to the cakras within the body, see p. 38.
The pure fruit is in the head (vimalaphala).
The Lady Prajñā, impelled by the winds of karma, is herself the enjoyer of karma.

A corresponding fruit is that which is enjoyed in correspondence with what has been done.
A fruit of retribution is the reverse of this, where the activity is small and the fruit is great.
A fruit of manly activity is that which is gained by effort.
A pure fruit is that which arises from the purificatory process of yoga.

The Sthāvara School is allocated to the nirmāṇacakra, since the act of creation (nirmāṇa) has continued long;
The Sarvāstivāda to the dharmacakra, for it is there that the theory of dharma originates;
The Samvidī to the sambhogacakra, for one experiences (samvid) (tastes) in the throat;
The Mahāsaṅghika to the mahāsukha cacakra, for great bliss abides in the head.

The School, we say, is the body. The monastery is the womb.
By freedom from passion one is in the womb.
The yellow robe is the covering of the embryo.

One's preceptor is one's mother.
The salutation is the coming head-foremost.
The course of instruction is one's worldly experience (from former lives).
The reciting of mantras is the notion of self (ahām).

The sound A is found in the lower cakra, and the sound HA in the head. So one is born as a bhikṣu, reciting mantras, naked and free from hair on head and face. By means of such effects all beings are buddhas, there is no doubt. The bhūmis are the ten months (in the womb), so all beings are already lords of the ten bhūmis.

Then all those goddesses, led by Nairātmā, with Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍurā and Tārā, Bhṛkuṭi, Cundā, Parṇāśāvari, Ahomukhā and the rest, as numerous as the atoms in Mount Meru, were seized with great wonderment, and hearing those words, they fell senseless and terrified to the ground. Seeing them all thus afflicted, the Lord uttered these words of encouragement to arouse them:

'O you who are Earth and Water and Fire and Air, O worthy Goddesses, do you listen, for I shall discourse to you on the truth which no one else knows.'

Then hearing his words as though in a dream, they all regained their senses.
ANSWERS TO VARIOUS QUESTIONS

(69) The Lord said: 'All beings are buddhas, but this is obscured by accidental defilement. When this is removed, they are buddhas at once, of this there is no doubt.'

(70) The goddesses said: 'It is even so, Lord, this is true and not false.'

j. (71) The Lord said: 'If he drinks strong poison, the simple man who does not understand it, falls senseless. But he who is free from delusion with his mind intent on the truth destroys it altogether.'

(72) So those who know the means for release and make effort in Hevajra, are not held by the bonds of delusion and so on, by ignorance and the rest.

k. (73) There is no being that is not enlightened, if it but knows its own true nature. The denizens of hell, the pretas and the animals, gods and men and titans, (74) even the worms upon the dung-heap, are eternally blissful in their true nature, and they do not know the transitory bliss of gods and titans.

(75) No buddha is found elsewhere in any of the spheres of existence. The mind itself is the perfect buddha, and no buddha is seen elsewhere.

(76) Even Cand̄alas and other low-caste wretches and those whose minds are set on slaughter, if they will betake themselves to Hevajra, they will gain siddhi, there is no doubt. (77) But those fools who are obscured in ignorance and do not know this way, continue to transmigrate through the six realms of existence. (78) But when one has found Hevajra, who is the Means, O Vajragarbha of great compassion, one purifies the spheres of sense, and gains the highest state.'

I. (79) Then Vajragarbha asked:

'Pukkasi is said to be Earth, so why should Aksobhya be her sign? Since hardness corresponds to delusion and this is Vairocana, then Vairocana would be suitable as the sign of Pukkasi.'

(80) The Lord replied: 'Apart from the body, there is no means of

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1 Tibetan: 'It is thus, Lord, neither true nor false'.
2 The interpretation of this line and the Sanskrit reading is based primarily on the Tibetan and is supported by the commentaries.
3 The thought is incompletely expressed. On hearing that all beings are essentially blissful, K raises the false objection: 'But surely the denizens of hell do not enjoy the same happiness as the gods and so on. Certainly not, we reply, for they do not know the bliss of gods and titans, but then enlightened beings do not regard the bliss of gods and titans as true bliss. They think of it as suffering because of its transitoriness and its impureness (sāṃrajasvāt)' (p. 150, ll. 23-26).
4 After Cand̄ala, the text gives the name of another low caste, Cand̄akāra (MS. A) or Cand̄akāra (MS. B).
5 The basis of the objection raised by Vajragarbha is the list of family-allocations given on p. 103. Here Pukkasi belongs to the dveṣa-family, viz. Aksobhya's (see diagram VIII). This would conflict with Pukkasi's function as the purificatory power for Earth, as listed at I. ix. 16, because Earth corresponds to Vairocana (moha) according to the process described at II. ii. 53.
activity for the mind, and therefore Vairocana becomes Mind and the Body (= Vairocana = Earth = Pukkasi) is marked with the sign of Mind (= Akṣobhya).

(81) Vajragarbha said: 'Śavarī is said to be water, and Akṣobhya has the nature of fluid. Therefore it would be suitable for Śavarī to be signed with the sign of Akṣobhya.'

(82) The Lord replied: 'Apart from the Mind (= Akṣobhya = water = Śavarī) there would be no stability for the Body (= Vairocana = Moha), and so Mind becomes delusion, and Mind (= Śavarī as above) is marked with the sign of Delusion.'

(83) Vajragarbha said: 'Caṇḍālinī is said to be fire, so why is she signed with the Gem (Paiśunya, family of Ratnasambhava)? It would be suitable with the sign of Passion (ṛgā); for Caṇḍāli we want no other sign.'

(84) The Lord replied: 'Since Passion (ṛgā = Amitābha = fire = Caṇḍāli) is red, and Ratnasambhava is red, therefore since fire is red, Passion (= Caṇḍāli as above) is signed with the sign of Envy (Ratnasambhava).'

(85) Vajragarbha said: 'Since Dombini is air, and Amoghasiddhi has the nature of air, it would be suitable for Dombini to be signed with the sign of Amogha, O Lord.'

(86) The Lord said: 'Apart from Passion (ṛgā) there would be no other source of origin for Envy (irṣyā), and therefore he who understands, signs Dombini with the sign of Passion.

(87) Since form is hardness, for Gaurī Vairocana would be prescribed, but in the manner already stated, she is signed with the Lord of Mind (= Akṣobhya). (88) In that same manner Čaurī, Vetālī and Ghasmarī all have their signs free of contradiction.'

(89) Then Nairātmyā for the benefit of living beings questioned Hevajra concerning the offerings, and he spoke about them that the life of beings might be protected from obstacles and troubles.

Taste and smell these offerings. There are flowers and incense and

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1 A tradition of a red Ratnasambhava still exists in Nepal. As a member of the set of Five Buddhas Ratnasambhava is regularly yellow, see diagram V and II. xi. 6.
2 Gaurī is form. See I. ix. 13. But hereafter, with sound, smell, &c., the reasons for these associations with the Five Buddhas, considered as representing the five elements, no longer exist. They can therefore scarcely proceed in the same manner as the text states.
3 Hevajra is here described as abiding in union, as resting in the lotus (evaṃ). Here and elsewhere such preliminaries to the questions and answers will be omitted.
4 These are invocations to the points and intermediate points of the compass.
meat. May ye prosper all our affairs and remove from our limbs our wounds and bruises.  

(93) Oṃ -a—the source of all things for they are unmanifest from the beginning.

(94) If yogins for their welfare make this invocation together with the offering, then there will be for them unalloyed happiness and the gods will be contented, possessed of all the good things of the world. (95) Moreover the rites of subduing, bewitching, destroying enemy armies, driving away, slaying, conjuring forth, propitiating and bringing happiness and prosperity, all will succeed, if one always makes this offering here to the company of these spirits.'

n. (96) Vajragarbha asked: 'With which sign should Khecari and Bhūcarī be signed, O Lord? I have never known before.'

(97) The Lord replied: 'The threefold mystery is at the centre of the mandala, and differentiated as Body, Speech, and Mind. These occupy a middle position, situated at nadir, zenith, and centre. (98) At the nadir is Bhūcarī, the adamantine representative of Body, and she has Body (Vairocana) as her sign. At the zenith is Khecari, the adamantine representative of Speech, and she has Passion (Amitābha) as her sign. (99) The adamantine representative of Mind is Nairatmyā, for mind is the essential nature of Nairatmyā. Mind has the central position and so Nairatmyā arises in the centre.

(100) In full the families are six, but they are also five and three. Just listen, Yogini.

(101) Akṣobhya Vairocana Ratnasambhava Amitābha Amoghasiddhi
dveṣa moha piśuna rāga irṣyā
Vajrasattva saukhya

(102) They should be conceived in this order with these spheres of purification. By omitting Vajrasattva, we have a fivefold set of families. Then they become three by (retaining just) dveṣa, moha, and rāga.

(103) But these six or five families are comprised in one, that one family which has mind as its Lord and consists in the wrath of Akṣobhya. Such is the adamantine power of wrath.

CHAPTER V. THE MANIFESTATION OF HEVÀJRA

a. (1) And now the Adamantine One, the mighty King and Lord Hevajra, the giver of all things and the substance of all forms, discourses on the

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1 This translation is based on K and R, but R alone explains khanti khuni. bdag gi lus la rma dan sna yar sol cig—'remove from our body wounds and afflictions'.
mandala. (2) He reposes there in bliss as the essence of all forms, for he is Lord of the Mandala and has emanated from the seed of the Vajra of Mind. (3) He has sixteen arms and eight faces and four legs, and is terrible in appearance with his garland of skulls and he wears the five symbolic adornments. Nairātmyā, clinging round the neck of this hero and god, addresses him thus:

(4) 'You have spoken of our circle with its troupe of fifteen.¹ But what is your own mandala like, O Lord? Of this I have so far known nothing.'

(5-6) He replied: 'The circle is the same as described before, square and with four portals, and adorned with garlands and chains and vajra-threads. (7) There at its centre am I, O Fair One, together with you. The Joy Innate I am in essence, and impassioned with great passion. (8) I have eight faces, four legs, and sixteen arms, and trample the four Māras under foot. Fearful am I to fear itself, (9) with my necklace made of a string of heads, and dancing furiously on a solar disk. Black am I and terrible with a crossed vajra on my head, (10-11) my body smeared with ashes, and my mouths sending forth the sound HŪM. But my inner nature is tranquil, and holding Nairātmyā in loving embrace, I am possessed of tranquil bliss. My front face is black, the one to the right is like white jasmine, (12) the one to the left is red and fearful, and the one to the rear is distorted. The remaining faces are like those of bees, and there are twenty-four eyes and so on.

(13) In that fair citadel we play together with much delight, and thence Gaurī emerges and takes her position at the eastern portal. (14) Next from our union there emerges Caurī who appears to the south as keeper of that portal. (15) Then Vetāli, that destroyer of Māra, appears in the west, (16) and Ghasmari of fearful appearance, in the north. (17) Likewise there appear Pukkasi in the north-east, (18) Savāri in the south-east, Caṇḍāli in the south-west, and Dombini in the north-west.

(19) Then the Adamantine Lord sinks with his Spell into the condition of bliss,² and the goddesses with the offering of various songs urge him to arise.

(20) "Arise, O Lord, thou whose mind is compassion, and save me, Pukkasi. Embrace me in the union of great bliss, and abandon the condition of voidness."

(21) "Without you I die. Arise, O Hevajra. Leave this condition of voidness, and prosper the doings of Savāri."

(22) "O Lord of Bliss, who speak your words of power for the benefit of the world, why do you remain in the void? I Caṇḍāli entreat you, for without you I cannot consume the four quarters."

¹ See chapters 8 and 9 of Part I.
² The term is actually more precise than 'condition of bliss', viz. drutabhūtam 'condition of the flow'. See the Introduction, p. 37.
Hevajra and Nairatmya
(23) "O Wonder-worker, arise, for I know your thought. I, Dombī, am weak in mind. Do not interrupt your compassion."

(27) Then from the sounds of AM and HUM the Lord arises from his trance, spreading his feet upon the ground, and threatening gods and titans.

(24) The skulls in his right hands contain these things in this order: an elephant, a horse, an ass, an ox, a camel, a man, a lion, and a cat. (25) Those in the left are: Earth, Water, Air, Fire, Moon, Sun, Yama, and Vaiśrāvana.

(26) He is possessed of the nine emotions of dancing: passion, heroism, loathsomeness, horror, mirth, frightfulness, compassion, wonderment, and tranquillity.

(28) GAM CAM VAM GHAM PAM SAM LAM DAM—thus does he produce their seed-syllables from HUM and AM which are blazing and terrible and black in appearance, the seed-syllables of the Lord himself and his consort.

(29) In this manner one should conceive the Lord in that fair citadel, that circle of goddesses, where, black in colour and exceedingly fearful, he bestows such bliss upon Nairātmyā.

(These are the implements of the goddesses:)

(30) Gauri holds in her right hand a knife and in her left a fish

Caurī,, ,, drum ,, ,, wild boar

(31) Vetaīi,, ,, tortoise ,, ,, skull

Ghasmarī,, ,, snake ,, ,, bowl

(32) Pukkasi,, ,, lion ,, ,, axe

Śavari,, ,, monk ,, ,, fan

1 In all the Tibetan versions these verses are translated and not transliterated. My translation is therefore based on these and supported by K’s explanations (vol. II, pp. 152–3). In verse 22 the word uhami (A) or uumi (K), translated in my version as ‘consume’, seems to have caused difficulty, for no text gives a reasonable interpretation. K translates as paśyāmi ‘I see’; T translates with hthal, a polite word used elsewhere in this work with the sense of ‘to know’ (see vol. II, Vocabulary). R and D translate by khum, an extremely rare word, of which the meaning is recorded in no dictionary with any precision. It would seem to be connected with hkhums ‘understand’ (?) Having interpreted in this manner, R adds: ‘without you I cannot see about me (in the directions), I shall see things just dark in this dimness’—khgod ma gto gs par phyogs mi khums žes pa ste | khgod dan bral na ni phyogs su mi mthon ba ste | hthams na mun pahi dnos po zams zir mthon bar gyur ro žes pahi don to | (xvii. 329a 2). D, however, explains the same word as: ‘I do not understand my own purpose’—khgod med na ni phyogs mi khum žes pa ste bdag gi don mi les par dgon paho | (xvii. 413b 5–6). No other commentator offers any explanation. It seems, however, that the whole difficulty arises from an early mis-reading, namely of u for da which are very close graphically, and indeed in the same line of A sihlau might equally well be sihlāda. This being so, our reading becomes dahami (.. dahāmi) ‘I burn’, which is precisely Caṇḍālī’s function with regard to the quarters. See I. i. 31. In verse 23 cheamanḍa is explained by K as nāgarikā, ‘quick-witted’. T’s translation as ‘weak in mind’ seems more likely in the context.

2 According to the text these verses would follow immediately after 23, before in fact Hevajra has become manifest again. ‘The elephant and horse and so on represent the eight lokapālas, fire and water and so on represent the eight planets’ (Bh xv. 299b 5).
(33) Cand̄ali holds in the right a wheel and in the left a plough. Dombi has in the right a vajra and with the left she points one finger.  
(34) They are all two-armed and in a dancing-stance in the semi-parārīka position. They have three eyes, their hair twists upwards, and they wear the five symbolic adornments. 
(35) Gauri is black; Cauri is like the sun; Vetasī is like burnished gold; Ghasmari is like emerald; (36) Pukkasī is like sapphire; Savari is like moonstone; Candali is dark like cloud and Dombini is golden. 
(37) Their seats are: Brahmā, Indra, Viṣṇu, Yama, Kubera, Nairṛti, and Vemacitrin.  

b. (38) Then Nairāttyā asked about mantras, and the Lord replied:  
(39-41) 'I will tell you of that mantra which is effective in subduing women and in threatening the wicked, which overthrows the serpents and destroys gods and titans, so do thou listen, O Goddess, thou giver of bliss. I have told none but buddhas and bodhisattvas of what is done by Vajra-sattva and what comes of this mantra. I am greatly afraid, O Goddess; for your protection it is told to you.  
(43-44) By 10,000 recitations in a clear, pleasant and sonorous tone, one who has applied himself to practice in Hevajra, may draw to himself all women. By 100,000 recitations he may perform any rite. 
(45) The eight-faced one with yellow hair twisting upwards, who has twenty-four eyes and sixteen arms, whose body is like a black thunder-cloud and bears numerous skulls and garlands, and whose mind is extremely ferocious and whose teeth are like half-moons:  
(47) Slay! Slay! Have done! Have done! Roar! Roar! Threaten! Threaten! Consume! Consume the seven seas! Bind! bind the eight serpents! 

1 V. explains these symbols thus: 'The eight symbols in the right hand, the knife and so on, are to be connected in this order: for cutting off the kleias, for causing to sound the sound of absolute void, for constant bliss, for always holding to Wrath and the other four by means of the Truth itself (i.e. always comprehending fivefold existence for what it is), for doing all things without hesitation, for constancy in the condition of arhat, for turning the wheel of the doctrine, and for overcoming the kleias. Likewise the eight in the left hand: for pleasantness to the touch, for destroying delusion, for preserving bliss, for taking knowledge, for cutting off the kleias at the root, for indicating bliss, for the non-existence of the kleias, and for indicating that spot which is immaculate.' 

2 At this point the text inserts a sūkha, which seems to have nothing to do with the present context. Corrupt in the Sanskrit versions, but clear in the Tibetan, it reads: 'Having laid out the mandala, terrible with its ring of flames, one should draw forth the excellent bindu for the consecration of Vajragarbha.' This refers to the guhyābhiṣeka (see II. iii. 14). 
3 Instead of giving OM the text says: 'the foremost of the Vedas, adorned with a half-moon and a dot.'
THE MANIFESTATION OF HEVAJRA

Seize! seize our enemies!
HA HÅ HI HI HU HÛ HE HAI HO HAU HAM HAḤ PHAT SvÄHÄ

c. (48) Then the Goddess asks about the mandala, (49) and the Master of Mighty Knowledge, blissful and self-collected, draws it there himself. (50) There is one circle, surrounded by flames of different hues, with four doors and four portals, adorned with vajra-threads and the series of five colours. (51) He draws then the eight vessels, all done with powder made from the five kinds of gem or from rice and so on, or else from cemetery bricks or the charcoal from the funeral pyre. (52) In the centre he draws a lotus with its pericarp and eight petals. At the centre of this he draws a skull, white and in three sections. (53) Then on the north-east petal he draws a lion, on the south-east a monk, on the south-west a wheel and on the north-west a vajra, (54) on the eastern a knife, on the southern a drum, on the western a tortoise, and on the northern a serpent. (55) These are the eight symbols of the goddesses in accordance with their different categories. In the centre he draws a white skull, signed with a crossed-vajra, (56) and (to the east) he places the sacred Vessel of Victory with branches in it and enwrapped with cloth, the five gems inside and filled with šālija.1 (57) But why say more? The mandala-ritual should be performed as it is given in the Tattvasamgraha.2

(58) Into the mandala one should cause to enter the eight blissful Spells, twelve or sixteen years of age, and adorned with necklaces and bangles. (59) They are called wife, sister, daughter, niece, maternal uncle’s wife, maternal aunt, mother-in-law, and paternal aunt. (60) These the yogin should honour with deep embraces and kisses. Then he should drink camphor and sprinkle the mandala with it. (61) He should cause them to drink it and he should quickly gain siddhi. Wine is drunk and meat and herbs are eaten. (62) Next he removes their garments and kisses them again and again. They honour him in return and sing and dance to their best, (63) and they play there together in the union of vajra and lotus.

Then at the second stage he should cause the pupil to enter, (64) and having covered his eyes with a cloth, he should afterwards display to him the mandala.3 Consecration is given there in that lonely place at night. (65) The consecrations are as ordained, distinguished as that of the Master and so on. Good pupils should first pronounce words of praise and worship.4 (66) Then he initiates him in the truth itself, which is experienced at the beginning of the Joy of Cessation, and at the end of the Joy Perfect.

1 Compare the description at I. x. 21–29.
2 See Introduction, p. 18, fn. The relevant section on laying out the mandala occurs on folio 250b ff. Extracts will be found translated in Buddhist Himalaya, pp. 69 ff.
3 Our text here dismisses in a few words a most elaborate ritual. See Buddhist Himalaya, loc. cit.
4 See II. iii. 18–21.
That which is concealed in all the *tantras*, is here finally made manifest."  
d. (67) Then the Goddess asked: ‘What is that moment like? May the Great Lord please tell me.’ (68) The Lord replied: ‘There there is no beginning, no end, no middle; there is neither *samsāra* nor *nirodha*. It is the great and perfect bliss, where there is neither self nor other. (69) The thumb of one’s own right hand and the fourth finger of the other hand, with these the yogin should press the two waves at the *sambhogacakra* (the throat),  
(70) and from this what happens, you ask. Then there arises knowledge blissful like that of union with a maiden or like the dream of a fool. This is the end of the Joy Perfect and the beginning of the Joy of Cessation, Void and non-Void, the state of Heruka.’

**CHAPTER VI. THE MAKING OF A PAINTING**  
a. (1-2) Then the Lord discoursed upon the five symbolic adornments.  
(3) The crown is worn for the adoration of one’s *guru* and master and chosen divinity.  
Ear-rings are worn to indicate one’s deafness to evil words spoken against one’s *guru* and “*vajra*-holder”.

b. (5-6) Then the Goddess asked Hevajra: ‘In accordance with what precept and what ritual should one make a painting of Hevajra? May the Lord of Great Bliss please tell me.’

(7) He replied: ‘By a painter who belongs to our tradition, by a yogin of our tradition, this fearful painting should be done, and it should be painted with the five colours reposing in a human skull and with a brush made from..."
the hair of a corpse. (8) She who is to spin the thread and weave the canvas should also be of our tradition and united in its sacramental power. (9) It should be painted under these circumstances: in a lonely spot at noon on the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight, in a ferocious state of mind from the drinking of some wine, (10) with the body naked and adorned with the bone accoutrements; one should eat the sacrament in its foul and impure form, (11) having placed one’s own mudrā at one’s left side, she who is beautiful, compassionate, well endowed with youth and beauty, adorned with flowers and beloved of her master.

CHAPTER VII. BOOKS AND FEASTING

a. (1) Then the Goddess asked about books and he replied:

(2) ‘O listen, Goddess, greatly blessed, and I will speak on the subject of books. The book should be written by one of our tradition on leaves of birch-bark twelve āṅgula long, with collyrium for ink and with a human bone as a pen. (3) But if someone unworthy should see either book or painting, one will fail to gain perfection either in this world or the next. (4) To one of our tradition it may be shown at any time. Then on a journey the book should be hidden in the hair or under the arm.

b. (5) (6) Now listen Goddess of wide-open eyes, to the matter of feasting in the company-circle, where if one feasts, that siddhi is gained that fulfils the substance of all one’s desires. (7) One should set about this feasting in a cemetery or mountain-cave, in a deserted town or in some lonely place. (8) One should arrange seats there, reckoned as nine, in the form of corpses, or tiger-skins, or rags from a cemetery. (9) In the centre is he who embodies Hevajra, and with previous knowledge of their right positions one should place the yoginis in the eight directions. (10) Then seated upon one’s tiger-skin one should eat the food with eagerness, the sacramental herbs and the special flesh. (11) Having eaten and eaten again, one should worship the mother-goddesses there, and perhaps the mother may be sister or niece or mother-in-law. One should honour them to a high degree and

For niramisuka as bone-ornament, see II. iii. 56. The whole passage is paraphrased by V: ‘the body naked and adorned with bones, he should paint while eating the sacramental articles which are foul and impure’—bdag nīd kyis gser bur byun žiṅ rus pas brgyan la ḏags pa dan mi gtsan baṅh dam tshig rnams za žiṅ du bṛi bar bya (xv. 128a 4–5).

See p. 108, fn. 3.

For mālatindhana as ‘herbs’ (vyaijana) see II. iii. 58. Śālija is listed as mahāmāma, and I associate rājaśāli with the flesh of the dhūja and āstāhata referred to at I. vii. 21, (p. 71). It is, however, hypothetical as no commentary gives assistance. V, who alone deals with this passage with any adequacy, says simply: ‘seated on their tiger-skins and so on, they should be offered the eatables such as they are’—stag la togs pahi pags pahi sten bsah ba ci ita ba rnams dran bar byaḥo (xv. 129b 7).

For previous reference to these relatives, see II. v. 59. They are the eight yoginis of the circle, and in them the mother-goddesses are honoured. K, however, suggests that there are five and explains them away as symbols of the five faculties of sense (p. 156, ll. 3–6).
gain *siddhi* in their company. (12) The meritorious (pupil) should present to his master a sacred skull-cup in one piece which is filled with wine, and then having made obeisance to him, he himself should drink. (13) He should hold it with his hands in the lotus-gesture and present it with his hands in the same position. Again and again the yogins make obeisance there.

CHAPTER VIII. SUBJUGATING

a. (1) Then the *yoginis* asked: ‘What is the Great Symbol like in relative form? May thou, the giver of bliss, please tell us.’

(2) The Lord replied: ‘She is neither too tall, nor too short, neither quite black nor quite white, but dark like a lotus-leaf.1 (3–4) Her breath is sweet, and her sweat has a pleasant smell like that of musk. Her *pudenda* give forth a scent from moment to moment like different kinds of lotuses2 or like sweet aloe wood. (5) She is calm and resolute, pleasant in speech and altogether delightful, with beauteous hair and three wrinkles in the middle of her body. By vulgar men, in fact, she would be classed as first-rank. Having gained her, one gains that *siddhi*, the nature of which is the Joy Innate.’

b. (6) Then Nairātmyā said: ‘Lord, what kind of vow should be made?’ He replied: ‘May I be born from birth to birth as a member of this family, free from mania, compassionate, devoted to my guru, abiding by our conventions and an expounder of Hevajra. (7) May I be born from birth to birth, proclaiming this doctrine profound and ringing the *vajra*-bell, concentrating in myself the essence of woman.’

c. (8) Then pleased at this the Goddess asked: ‘Those unworthy beings who are hard to tame, how are they brought to subjugation?’

(9) The Lord replied: ‘First there should be the public confession (*poṣadha*), then they should be taught the ten rules of virtuous conduct, then the *Vaibhāṣya* teachings and then the *Sautrāntika*, (10) after that the *Yogācāra* and then the *Mādhyamika*. Then when they know all *mantra*-method, they should start upon Hevajra. The pupil who lays hold with zeal, should succeed, there is no doubt.

CHAPTER IX. MANTRAS

a. (1) Now I shall speak of the splitting of the human-complex,3 how by the mere knowledge of which the yogin gains the end he seeks, and causes his victim to split open at the navel for one cubit’s length. (2) When one’s mind is resolved in inmost wrath in counterpart of Heruka, even a buddha may be destroyed by means of meditation only. (3) Such slaying is done from compassion, after one has supplicated one’s *guru* and master (and is

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1 Bh: ‘dark like a lotus-leaf’—*padmahi ḷḍob ma ltar sna bsais so* (xv. 303a 3).
2 The different kinds of lotuses given are: *padma, indivara, and utpala*.
3 K explains this as ‘the sundering of consciousness and body’. For previous use of the word *sampaṭa* as ‘union’ see vol. II, II. vi. 2. One gains no conclusive help from the
directed against) those who bring harm to the doctrine or injure one's guru or other buddhas.

(4) One should imagine such a one as a victim face-downwards, vomiting blood and trembling with his hair unloosed. (5) One should then imagine a needle of fire as entering his rear, and the seed-syllable of fire in his heart. By envisaging him thus, one slays him in that instant, (6) for in this rite there is no need of oblations or a performance of a sequence of gestures; this great rite succeeds just by meditation, and is brought to success by the recitation of formulas.

b. (7) Now listen, fair-faced Goddess, and I will tell you the profoundest secret of the beauteous purifier of existence, who bestows that perfection that is free from all relative thought. (8) Behold, O Goddess, this great gem, this body in a darting ring of flames. Useless is a gem uncut, but once cut, it gives forth its brilliance. (9) Likewise this gem of the samsāra, possessed of the properties of the five desires, becomes like poison in its unpurified state, but when purified, it becomes ambrosia.

c. (10) The samsāra is Heruka's phenomenal aspect, and he is the Lord, the saviour of the world. The form in which he becomes manifest, that I will tell, so now listen. (11) His eyes are red from compassion; his body is black to indicate his sentiments of friendliness; his four legs symbolize the four means of conversion,¹ (12) his eight faces the eight releases and his sixteen arms the sixteen voids. The Five Buddhas are represented by the symbolic adornments, and he is wrathful for the subduing of the evil-disposed. (13) His flesh represents Pukkasi (earth), his blood Savāri (water), his semen Candāli (fire), and his fat and marrow Dombi (air), his skin the seven factors of enlightenment, and his bones the four truths.²

d. (14) The Goddess said: 'What is that collection of mantras like, by which the activities of men reach a successful conclusion? May the Giver of Great Bliss please tell me.' He then explained the mantras.²

commentators over this passage. Hastena translated as 'for a cubit's length' is a mere supposition in order to avoid the obvious rendering of 'by his hand', which would contradict the whole theory of the ritual, which is done by 'mere application of the mind'.

¹ Elsewhere his four legs are said to indicate the crushing of the four Māras (see p. 80, I, ix. 15). Concerning the four means of conversion (catuṣṭaṅgavahastāṭi) see Har Dayal, The Bodhisattva Doctrine, pp. 251 ff. For the seven factors of enlightenment, id. pp. 149 ff.

² There follows now, omitted in the translation, the list of mantras as already given in chapter ii of Part I. Here, however, they are spelt letter by letter in accordance with the following scheme. The vowels are called by the names of their respective yoṣīnas as listed on p. 193. As for the consonants: ka—ṇa is referred to as the first series, ca—ṇa as the second, and so on as far as: pa—ma, which is the fifth; ya, ra, la, va are known as the antasthāni; ta, sa, ha as the upmāni. The five consonants in each series are then numbered from one to five. Ka is therefore the first of the first, da the third of the fourth, ra the second of the 'finals' (antasthānām dvitiyām), &c. Oṣī is known either as Vairocana or 'Lord of Letters'. M (anuṣvara) is known as 'void' (śunya). See Introduction, p. 26. These letter-by-letter spellings are useful for checking the accuracy of the list given in chapter ii of Part I, but nothing is gained by their repetition here.

* ra is also known as 'fire' of which it is the seed-syllable.
CHAPTER X. ON RECITING MANTRAS

a. (1) Then the Lord Vajrasattva, the one unity of all that is, explained to Nairātmyā the different (means used in the) reciting of mantras.

(2) For petrifying one uses beads of crystal;
   For subduing one uses red sandal-wood;
   For bewitching one uses the wood of the soap-berry tree;
   For causing hatred one uses human bone;
(3) For driving away one uses bone from a horse;
   For conjuring forth one uses the bone of a brahman;
   For causing rain one uses bone from an elephant;
   For slaying the bone of a buffalo.

b. (4) Further when petrifying one drinks milk;
   When subduing one proceeds as one pleases;
   When slaying one drinks blood;
   When conjuring forth one uses dung;
(5) When causing hatred one uses human flesh;
   When bewitching one uses urine,1 or one may use the flesh of horse and dog and man and cow and elephant.2

CHAPTER XI. THE FIVE FAMILIES

a. (1) Then Nairātmyā asked about the families of human beings, (2) and the Lord of the mandala replied: '0 listen, thou Perfection of Wisdom, and I will speak of the several families of human beings.' (3) Whatever man or woman has a nine-pointed vajra on the lower joint of the fourth

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1 These articles are listed in the code given on p. 99-100.
2 Concerning these, see p. 86, fn.
3 V is slightly more explicit than the text: 'Whatever man or woman has a line (rekhd) on the bottom joint of the fourth finger, is established (adhiṣṭhita) in the family of Āksobhya, if he has one (a line) like a nine-pointed vajra. By the force of the qualities of his inherent nature, colour for that man consists in black. He performs the rite of slaying.' . . . 'Whoever has a line like a white wheel with eight spokes, is initiated by Vairocana, and by the force of the qualities of his inherent nature, colour for that man consists in white. He performs the rite of propitiation.' Thus it continues, allocating the rite of conjuring forth to those of Aкmogha's family, the rite of petrifying to those of Ratnasambhava's, the rites of exorcizing and the rest to Vajrasattva's. — skyes bu bum bud med gan gi sрин lag gi rtsa bohī tshig na ra khā gnas pa na ra jē rtse dgu pa lta bu yol pa ni Mi bsknyod pahi rigs su byin gyis rlab ste | raṅ bzin yon tan gyi dban gis mi de la mdog kyan nag por gnas pa ste | bsad pa hṛghub bo | . . . gan la hkkor lo dkar po rtisibs bṛgyad pa lta buhi re khā gnas pa mi | rNam par snañ mzad kyi byin gyis brlabs pa ste | raṅ bzin yon tan dban gis mi dehī mdog kyan dkar por gnas te | śi ba hṛghub bo | 8c. (xv. 138a 3–5).

There is nothing to indicate whether the mark on the finger is natural, viz. something to be read from the existing lines, or whether it is a man-made mark. The fact that all men are supposedly members of one family or another by nature, would suggest the former. But we seek precision here where no precision is forthcoming from our commentators. The whole has the appearance of a stereotyped list. The colours are those of the Five Buddhas, and the various rites are allocated in accordance with the colours allotted to them at II. i. 8–9.
finger, belongs to Akṣobhya's family, which is the highest. (4) For Vairocan'a there would be a wheel, for Amitābha's a lotus, for Ratnasambhava's a gem and for Amoghasiddhi's a sword.

(5) The yogin whose colour is black has Akṣobhya as his divinity.
   The yogin whose colour is white has Vairocana.
(6) The yogin whose colour is dark green has Amoghasiddhi.
   The yogin whose colour is yellow has Ratnasambhava.
(7) The yogin whose colour is red has Amitābha.
   The yogin whose colour is white is of Vajrasattva's family.

(8) Yogins who have reached perfection should have no special liking or contempt for people. These families of the Five Buddhas should exist from a relative point of view. (9) The signs for women are the same as those for men, for they also belong to these families under a relative aspect.'

b. (10) Then the Adamantine Lord bade Nairātmyā be attentive and said: 'Listen, Goddess, how the Prajñā should be honoured. (11) In a garden, in a lonely place, or in one's inner apartment, . . .' (there follows an account similar to that already given on p. 113, embellished only by the listing of various postures).

CHAPTER xii. THE FOUR CONSECRATIONS

(1) Then the Adamantine Lord spoke concerning the four consecrations. 'O thou who art already consubstantiated with the Vajra, take up the great vajra and the great bell, and perform even today for your pupil the beneficent act of a vajra-guru.

(2) Even as the bodhisattvas are consecrated by past buddhas, so in this Secret Consecration you are consecrated by me with the flow of bodhicitta.

(3) O Great One, take, take to yourself this beauteous and delightful goddess, bestower of bliss, bestower of siddhi, and having taken her, pay her due honour.

(4) This knowledge is the great bliss, the adamantine essence, and like space, bestowing salvation, pure and tranquil. You are yourself the Father.'

(5) And now the empowering mantra of vajra and lotus:
   om Lotus, receptacle of bliss, bestowing the bliss of great passion. Many are the blessings of your four joys. हूँ हुँ म् हूँ Lord, prosper my affairs!

(6) om Vajra, greatly wrathful, bestower of the four joys. Source of all things, of single savour, pervading space, हूँ हुँ म् हूँ Lord, prosper my affairs!
In the head  om
In the heart  हुँ
In the lotus  ठ

1 'beneficent act'—samgraha—see p. 117, fn. 1.
As the subject-matter is incoherently ordered, especially in Part II, the cross-references provided in this résumé are intended to assist the reader in turning immediately to other parts of the work, where the same subjects are treated. All the references to any one main subject (e.g. Buddhahood, Consecrations, Buddha-Families, Joys, mandala, mantra, Moments, partner, rites, samsāra, &c.) will be found in the index.

Variations of subject-matter within each chapter are marked (a), (b), (c), &c. Thus I. vii (b) refers to Part I, Chapter vii, para. (b).

I. i (a) The titles of Hevajra and their meaning.
(b) The Efficacy of this tantra. Refer to index under: Gazes, Rites, bhāvanā, Yoganis, Secret Language.
(c) The vajra-body, which is the internal mandala, referred to in the Introduction pp. 35–36. Here are listed some of the pairs which correspond with the two veins Lalana and Rasana, and the sets of four, which are equated with the four cakras. The thirty-two veins are also listed. See I. vii, pp. 69–70 (where the veins are equated with the places of pilgrimage), II. iv (d) (where they are equated with the fifteen yoginis). These equations amount to no more than a dogmatic assertion of the essential identity of macrocosm and microcosm. The various items are therefore forced into some sort of correspondence. See also II. iv (h) and p. 102 fn.

I. ii (a) A general list of mantras, which are required for the process of self-identification with the various divinities. They are all relisted at II. ix (d). Their use is essential for any practice, supramundane or mundane, for the gaining of enlightenment or for the producing of rain: e.g. see p. 56, fn. 1, and p. 57, fn. 1 for the use of mantra no. 11; see II. iv (c) for the names of the yoginis, whose seed-syllables are given in mantra no. 6; mantras nos. 7, 8 and 9 are applicable in the meditations on Hevajra, which are described in I. iii; mantras nos. 12–18 are applicable to I. ii (b); see I. xi (c) for reference to Kurukullā, whose mantra is no. 19. Others are illustrated in the present chapter. See also II. v (b) for a specially potent mantra, which is not given in the present list.

(b) Fierce Rites. See also I. xi (a), II. i (b), II. iv (m), II. ix (a) and II. x.

I. iii. Meditation upon the mandala of Hevajra and his troupe of eight goddesses. See also II. v (a) where these goddesses are
described in detail. See II. ix (c) for an interpretation of Heruka (Hevajra).

I. iv. The process (called self-consecration) which is preparatory to meditation upon one's chosen divinity (sveṣṭadevataḥ). For this see II. ii (a).

I. v. Reality. The universe, which is essentially void, is conceived in a fivefold aspect, as the five buddhas, the five yoginis, the five skandhas, the five families, &c. See diagrams V and VIII. A possible sixth family, that of Vajrasattva, represents the essential unity of all of them, II. iv (n) and xi (a). It may be observed that existence is also conceived under the threefold aspect of Body, Speech, Mind and dveśa, moha, rāga. The passage II. iv (n) seeks to bring the two schemes together. See also II. iv (b) where an attempt is made to fit the fifteen yoginis into the five families. This, however, involves certain contradictions, which a complicated passage elsewhere (II. iii (l)) attempts to resolve. One may also note how the whole phenomenal world is envisaged as becoming manifest by the sexual act and yet as fivefold, because it consists of the five elements, I. x (e) and II. ii (g). See also I. viii (c) and II. ii (d).

I. vi (a) A description of the accoutrements to be worn by the yogin and their significance. See also II. vi (a). For the consecrating of the yogini, see II. ii (c), I. x (a), and references.

(b) The type of yogin. See also I. vii (f), II. ii (b), II. iii (h).

I. vii (a) Secret Signs.
(b) Meeting-places. See II. iv (a).
(c) Times for meeting.
(d) Eating of sacraments. See I. xi (b), II. vii (b). Also II. iii (g), and II. v (c).
(e) Slaying-rite. See p. 55, fn. 1, item vii and II. ix (a).
(f) The type of yogin. See above I. vi (b) for references.

I. viii (a) Meditation upon the mandala of the fifteen yoginis. See diagram III. For the actual producing of the mandala compare I. iii, especially footnotes. One may note that just as the phenomenal world is conceived as becoming manifest through the five elements (I. v above), so the mandala, which is an idealized form of being, is conceived as becoming manifest through the five wisdoms. See also references to mandala at II. ii (d), iii (d), iv (e).

(b) Significance of knife, skull, and khatvāṅga. For the identity of the four Māras, see p. 80, fn. 2.
I. viii (c) The Absolute under its fivefold aspect, as represented by the five colours and a sixth, which is that of Vajrasattva, who represents the unity of the whole. See I. v above and II. ii (d). See also II. xi (a), where the six colours are again listed. They fail to correspond, however, because Vajrasattva is sometimes white (like Vairocana) or dark blue/black (like Akṣobhya).

(d) The mandala is identified with the sexual rite.

(e) The Four Joys. See I. x (b) and II. iii (a).

(f) The Innate (Fourth Joy). See I. x (b) and (d), II. ii (e), II. iii (c), II. iv (g).

I. ix (a) The significance of the yogints which were listed in the last chapter. See diagram IV. See II. iii (f), iii (i).

(b) The essential deduction that: 'The world is released by the very bonds that bind it.' See I. i (b), II. ii (d), II. ii (f), II. iv (j), II. ix (b).

I. x (a) Laying out the mandala for the Master's Consecration. See para. (c) below. See II. iii (b), II. v (c) and II. xii. Note also I. vi (a) and II. ii (c).

(b) The Innate. For other references see I. viii (f) above.

(c) See (a) above.

(d) See (b) and I. viii (f) above.

(e) The fivefold evolution. See I. v above and II. ii (g).

I. xi (a) Fierce Rites. For other references see I. ii (b) above.

(b) Eating of sacraments. See I. vii (d) above.

(c) Kurukullā. See I. ii (a) above.

II. i (a) Consecrations of books, images, &c.

(b) Instruction for performing rites, both gentle and fierce. For other references to fierce rites see I. ii (b) above.

II. ii (a) Meditation upon Nairātmyā or Heruka (Hevajra). See also I. iv.

(b) The type of yogin. See I. vi (b) above for further references.

(c) The training of the yogini. See also I. vi (a) and I. x (a).

(d) The unity of Wisdom and Means. See also II. iv (f) and (g).

For parallels to the phrase: 'renders it undiversified by means of its diversity' see I. ix (b). For references to the six colours see I. viii (c). See also (e) below.

(e) The Innate. For other references see I. viii (f) above. The Innate, which is the Fourth Joy, is by implication the essential unity of Wisdom and Means.

(f) 'The world is bound by passion, and by passion it is released.' See I. ix (b) for further references.

(g) The fivefold evolution. See I. v and I. x (a) above.
II. iii (a) evam experienced through the Four Joys in the Four Moments
by means of the Four Consecrations. For the Four Joys see
I. viii (e, f) and x (b).

(b) The Consecrations. See references given under I. x (a).
(c) The Innate. See I. viii (f), &c.
(d) Definition of the mandala. See I. v end. See also I. iii and
I. viii (a) with references given there.
(e) The Four Rules of Conduct.
(f) The senses, spheres of sense and the bases of consciousness.
   See I. ix (a).
(g) Eating of sacraments. See I. vii (d), &c.
(h) The type of yogin. See I. vi (b), &c.
(i) The symbolizing of the faculties of sense. See I. ix (a), &c.
(j) Secret language.
(k) The Five Families known as five yoginis. See I. v.

II. iv (a) The meeting together and the eating of sacraments. See I. vii
(a, b, c, d) and the references given there.
(b) The fifteen yoginis arranged in the five families. See I. v.
(c) The seed-syllables of the yoginis. See ii. 2, mantra no. 16. See
also II. v (a), where eight of these yoginis have a separate set
of seed-syllables.
(d) The thirty-two veins equated with the fifteen yoginis. See I. i(c).
(e) ‘The Thought of Enlightenment.’ For reference to evam see
II. iii (a).

(f) The unity of samsāra and nirvāṇa.
(g) The nature of Nairātmyā. See I. viii (f) and II. ii (d).
(h) Elements of the internal mandala. See I. i (c).
(i) ‘All beings are buddhas.’
(j) ‘Those who know how, can drink strong poison.’ See I. ix(b), &c.
(k) ‘All beings are buddhas.’
(l) A forced effort to explain why the yoginis are allocated to such
and such families. See II. iv (b).
(m) Oblations, applicable to all rites, as in II. i (b) and I. ii (b).
(n) Body, Speech, and Mind, symbolized by three yoginis. The five
families are reduced to three in order to force them into corre-
spondence. As comprised in one, they should be envisaged as
the family of Vajrasattva, but as this is the Hevajra-tantra and
Hevajra is Akṣobhya, Akṣobhya is given pre-eminence. See
I. v and I. viii (c).

II. v (a) Hevajra and his troupe of goddesses. See I. iii.
   (b) A special mantra of Hevajra. See I. ii (a).
II. v (c) Laying out the *manḍala* for the Master's Consecration. See I. x (a) and references given there. For the eating of sacraments that takes place, see I. vii (d), &c.

(d) The perfect bliss. See II. iv (f).

II. vi (a) Significance of the yogin's adornments. See I. vi (a).

(b) Instructions for making a painting of Hevajra.

II. vii (a) Instructions for writing a book of Hevajra.

(b) Eating of sacraments. See I. vii (b) and references

II. viii (a) The Great Symbol in her relative form. See II. ii (d), II. iv (g). See also I. vi (a) and I. x (a).

(b) The yogin's vow.

(c) Training for those who are hard to convert.

II. ix (a) Slaying-rite. See I. vii (e).

(b) The gem, which is the *samsāra*. For reference to poison, see II. iv (j).

(c) The *samsāra* is Heruka's phenomenal aspect. See I. ix (b).

(d) Mantras. See I. ii.

II. x (a) Types of rosary to be used for the performance of different rites. See I. ii (b) and references.

(b) Types of sacrament to be eaten when performing these different rites. For the eating of sacraments generally see I. vii (d) and references.

II. xi (a) The Families. See I. viii (c) and II. iv (n). See also I. v.

(b) Honouring the *Prajñā*. See I. x (a) and references.

II. xii. The Consecrations. See I. x (a) and references.
I. Points of the Compass

III. The Troupe of the Fifteen Yoginis

See Chapters 8 and 9 of Part I
DIAGRAMS

II. Hevajra and his Troupe

See Chapter 3 of Part I and Chapter 5 of Part II

IV. The Spheres of Purification of the Fifteen Yoginis

thought

taste

wind

earth

samāskāra

smell

samjñā

vijñāna

rupa

form

vedanā

fire

water

sound

touch
V. The Five Buddhas and their Associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Buddha</th>
<th>Family name</th>
<th>Affiliated Yogini</th>
<th>Family symbol</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Vajra</td>
<td>Ṛombi</td>
<td>viśvavajra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td>Tathāgata</td>
<td>Brahmaṇi</td>
<td>cakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Padma</td>
<td>Nartī</td>
<td>padma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>Ratna</td>
<td>Canḍaliṇī</td>
<td>ratna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Karma</td>
<td>Rajakī</td>
<td>khadga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the five families, see I. v. 5–7 and II. xi. 5–7.
For the adornments, see I. vi. 11–12.

VI. The Elements and their Various Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Element</th>
<th>Locanā</th>
<th>Pukkasī</th>
<th>Vairocana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Māmakī</td>
<td>Śaṇārī</td>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Pāṇḍarā</td>
<td>Canḍālī</td>
<td>Amitābha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>Tārā</td>
<td>Ṛombi</td>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See vol. II, p. 104, ll. 7 to 14 for Locanā, &c.
See I. ix. 16 for Pukkasī, &c.
See II. ii. 53–57 for Vairocana, &c.

VII. The Three Adamantine Ones and their Various Correspondences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect</th>
<th>Khecari</th>
<th>Amitābha</th>
<th>Rāga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speech</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mind</td>
<td>Nairātmyā</td>
<td>Akṣobhya</td>
<td>Dveṣa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Body</td>
<td>Bhūcari</td>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td>Moha</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

V. continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Symbolic adornment</th>
<th>Seed-syllable</th>
<th>Type of wisdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black or dark blue</td>
<td>circlet</td>
<td>HŪM</td>
<td>suviśuddhadharmadhātuṣṭijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>bracelets</td>
<td>BŪM</td>
<td>ādāraṣṭijñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>ear-rings</td>
<td>JĪM</td>
<td>pratyaveksanajñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>necklace</td>
<td>AṂ</td>
<td>samatājñāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dark green</td>
<td>girdle</td>
<td>KHAM</td>
<td>kṛtyānuṣṭhānajñāna</td>
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For the syllables, see I. ii. 2, and Vajragarbha’s commentary (XV. 26a 7–b 1).
For the five wisdoms, see I. viii. 6–7 and p. 62, fn. 5.

VIII. The Inner Circle of Five Yoginis showing their Sphere of Purification and their Correspondence with the Five Buddhas
GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL TERMS

abhiseka. Literally a (purificatory) sprinkling, the basic sense seems to come close to that of ‘baptism’. It has acquired, however, the wider sense of any kind of initiation rite. In the earlier tantric period (as typified by the Mañjuśrīmālākalpa and the Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha) it refers primarily to initiation into the mystic significance of the mandala. Since there is explicit analogy with the rite of royal consecration, for which the term abhiśeka is also used, ‘consecration’ seems to be the most suitable general translation. But the idea of a purificatory sprinkling is never lost. ‘As externally one washes away exterior dirt with water, so one sprinkles water for the washing away of ignorance; it is thus called a sprinkling’ (Advayavajrasamgraha, p. 36).

In accordance with the general theory of the Buddhist tantric yogins, for whom everything goes in fours (Hevajra-tantra, I. i. 30), there are four consecrations:

1. Master-Consecration.
2. Secret Consecration.
3. Consecration in Knowledge of Prajñā.
4. Fourth Consecration.

The first consecration may also be known as the Jar-Consecration (kalaśabhiseka), for it consists of six subsidiary consecrations, in all of which the ritual jar (kalaśa) is used. These six consecrations are those of Water, Crown, Vajra, Beli, Name, and Master. It is presumably because the Master-Consecration completes the set of six, that this name is also given to the whole set. The main set of four, with which the Hevajra-tantra is primarily concerned (see Index, consecrations), is interrelated with other sets of four, especially the four Moments (ksaṇa), the four Joys (ānanda) and the four Mudrā. Externally they are related with the four classes of tantras and symbolized by the smile, gaze, embrace, and union (II. iii. 11 and 54). This set of four gestures is presumably related with the actual meeting of yogins and yoginis at places of pilgrimage (see I. vii). Concerning the internal interrelations I quote K (vol. II, p. 107, l. 24 ff.):

‘“Consecration is said to be fourfold for the benefit of living beings. One is sprinkled, that is to say cleansed and the consecrations are distinguished as four.” Thus it is said (in our text, II. iii. 10) “the Master, the Secret, the Prajñā and then the Fourth thus”, &c. In this yogini-

1 See p. 95 fn., Hevajrasakrakriya (JA, July-Sept. 1934), pp. 39-40, and Advayavajrasamgraha, p. 36.
tantra the Master-Consecration is given, in order that (the initiate) may progress far from evil dharmas. It is his "bond" (samvara). The essential nature of the Master-Consecration is a conferment by means of the Karmamudrā and contains in essence the four Moments and the four Joys. Some say that one can receive the Master-Consecration by the mere receiving of the non-regressio[n]ation Consecration (avaivartikabhisekā), which is common to the kriyātantras and all the others; one is then worthy, they say, for exposition and initiation in the yoga-tantras, yogini-tantras and so on. What an idea is this? In the first place then one is consecrated with the Master-Consecration in the Hevajra-tantra or some other yogini-tantra, so that one may be worthy of the initiation, reflection and meditation (which follow). Then in accordance with one's knowledge the Master, the Secret, the Prajñā and the Fourth are characterized momentarily and so known.

In the case of those of weak sensibility, who have received the Master-Consecration, when once their zealous application has been established, they should be given instruction in meditation with the Karmamudrā. Thus under the aspect of the Process of Realization (nispannakrama) with the Gem (mani = tip of the vajra) set in the Secret (= lotus) they experience in accordance with their master's instructions the four Joys which have the nature of four Moments; this experience is the Secret Consecration because it cannot be explained to yogins in terms of diffuse mental concepts.

Now in the consecration of those of medium sensibility instruction is given in meditation (bhāvanā) on the Samayamudrā. Even thus is Prajñā (Wisdom), for she is the highest knowledge, the knowledge that all the elements (dharmas) are nothing but one's own thought (citramātra). For conferring this the consecration is the Consecration of the Knowledge of Prajñā. In the unity of the three veins, which represent the three kinds of consciousness, imaginary (kalpita), contingent (paramantra) and absolute (paranispanna), one marks the four Moments by means of the Gem and in accordance with one's master's instructions. Because of the external mudrā (= feminine partner) it is properly known as the Knowledge of Prajñā.

When this consecration has been given, instruction is given to those of strong sensibility in the Dharmamudrā, the mental concentration (samādhi) in which all appears as illusion. And so (it is said: II. iii. 10) "then the Fourth thus". It is "thus-ness" (tathātā), the climax of being (bhūtakoti), the elemental sphere (dharmadhātu) and similar names without any difference of meaning. The consecration by which its nature is

1 See Hevajrasekaprakriyā, p. 43; correct avaivartika to read avaivartika, amending translation accordingly.  
2 See Glossary below, p. 139, utpattikrama.
V. continued

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For the five wisdoms, see I. viii. 6–7 and p. 62, fn. 5.

VIII. The Inner Circle of Five Yoganīs showing their Sphere of Purification and their Correspondence with the Five Buddhas

![Diagram of the Inner Circle of Five Yoganīs showing their Sphere of Purification and their Correspondence with the Five Buddhas](image-url)
**GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL TERMS**

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The Master-Consecration is given, in order that (the initiate) may progress far from evil dharmas. It is his "bond" (samvara). The essential nature of the Master-Consecration is a conferment by means of the Karmamudrā and contains in essence the four Moments and the four Joys. Some say that one can receive the Master-Consecration by the mere receiving of the non-retrgression Consecration (avaivartikābhiseka¹), which is common to the kriyātantras and all the others; one is then worthy, they say, for exposition and initiation in the yoga-tantras, yogini-tantras and so on. What an idea is this? In the first place then one is consecrated with the Master-Consecration in the Hevajra-tantra or some other yogini-tantra, so that one may be worthy of the initiation, reflection and meditation (which follow). Then in accordance with one's knowledge the Master, the Secret, the Prajñā and the Fourth are characterized momentarily and so known.

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² See Glossary below, p. 139, utpattikrama.
seen or realized, its “thus-ness”, is indicated by the word “thus”. “Then” means that it is given immediately after the Consecration in the Knowledge of Prajñā. So this perfection is experienced with the external mudrā and by one’s master’s instruction, yet by a process of yoga which has no object of experience (anālambanayogena); it is characterized by the absence of discrimination with regard to definite places of origin. This is the Fourth Consecration.’

See also D’s interpretation (translated p. 95 fn.), where the stages are related progressively with the four buddhakāya and with personality as expressed in the formula, Body, Speech, and Mind.

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GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL TERMS

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Development</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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This set of four is not referred to explicitly in the *Hevajra-tantra*, where the only terms in use are *mudrā* in the sense of feminine partner\(^1\) and *mahāmudrā*, which is used not only to refer to the final goal, but also in the sense of partner, for she is identified with the central vein, *Avadhūti*, the blazing *Caṇḍāli* who is *Nairātmyā* (II. iv. 40-47).

In the *Advayavajrasamgraha* (pp. 32 ff.) there is a short work on the Four *Mudrā*, of which the correct title is *Caturmudrānīścaya\(^2\)* and the author in fact the *Mahāsiddha* Nāgārjuna, who was master of Advaya-vajra (alias Maitrpa). The *mudrā* are discussed there in the order: *karmamudrā—dharmamudrā—mahāmudrā—samayamudrā*; the first three are conceived of as definite grades of realization, but the last seems to be added without any integral connexion with the others. In his own short work on the subject (*Caturmudropadeśa*, Narthang Tenjur, vol. xlvi, pp. 220b-224a) Maitrpa sets the four symbols side by side with the four joys:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{karmamudrā} & \quad \text{ānanda} \\
\text{dharmamudrā} & \quad \text{paramānanda} \\
\text{mahāmudrā} & \quad \text{sahajānanda} \\
\text{samayamudrā} & \quad \text{viramānanda}
\end{align*}
\]

Maitrpa’s argument for placing the Joy Innate third has been given briefly on p. 35. If this comes third, then the *mahāmudrā* must also be placed third. One suspects here an artificial scheme, for it is associated with no improved interpretation of them as a coherent set.

\(nītārtha/neyārtha\). See *adhyātmika*.

\(prajñā\). Wisdom, one of the two supreme coefficients of final enlightenment, of which Means (*upāya*, q.v.) is the other. In Buddhist *tantras* the feminine partner is properly known as *prajñā*, and this is the usual meaning of the term throughout the *Hevajra-tantra*. The Hindu term *śakti* is never used and would be quite inappropriate (see p. 44). Other terms in use are *mudrā* (q.v.), *vidyā* (q.v.) and *yoginī*, which however, has the more general meaning of any feminine practiser.

\(sādhana\). Evocation, viz. the envisaging and calling forth of a divinity, normally by means of repetitive recitation (*japa*) of the appropriate formula (*mantra*) and by meditation (*dhyāna*) upon his formal representation. Thus a written *sādhana* of a divinity usually provides a full description of his form and attributes together with his special formula.

\(samaya\). The basic meaning is that of ‘coming together’ in the literal sense of ‘concurrence’. In tantric practice it refers to the ‘concurrence’ of

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\(^1\) It is also used in the basic sense of ‘sign’ and in the special sense of ‘symbolic adornments’, of which a set of five symbolize the Five Buddhas. In these two senses a masculine form *mudra* or *mudrana* is sometimes used. See Index.

\(^2\) The Tibetan translation is in the Narthang Tenjur, vol. xlvi, pp. 80b–83a.
absolute being and phenomenal forms, by means of which the practiser may experience that which by its very nature he would otherwise have no means of experiencing. The mandala and the different forms of the divinities are means of just such a kind. In this sense we may translate samaya as 'conventional form', observing that 'con-vention' has also the literal meaning of 'coming together'. Samaya also refers to types of ritual food. The meaning is still the same, but it has seemed suitable to use the term 'sacrament' in these contexts. The samaya is always the outward sign of an inner hidden power. The Tibetan term dam-tshig means primarily 'pledge' or 'guarantee', which is precisely the function of the 'sacrament'.

samvara. 'Bond' or 'Union', translated by Tibetan sdom-pa, which has the same meaning. It may be used in the sense of religious observation (I. vi. 24 and II. iii. 29), but more commonly in that of mystic union. Thus the Innate is described as the 'single union of all forms' (I. x. 41) and Vajrasattva, supreme buddha-being, as the 'single union of all elements' (II. x. 1). Samvara has a special technical use in the sense of the union within the yogin's body, the 'internal mandala' (see I. i. 21 ff. and II. iv. 48 ff.). Here it can refer to the union of macrocosm and microcosm as well as to the union of the two coefficients (represented by the two outer veins) in the central vein of the body, which is also the centre and union of all phenomenal forms. This unity is conceived of as a consuming by cosmic fire and this consuming is the consummation of the yogin's practice, his reintegration with the Innate, the supreme buddha-being. One may note in this respect the Tibetan translation of Samvara (= Šamvara, a form of Heruka) as 'Supreme Bliss' (bde-mchog).

siddhi. 'Attainment' in the sense of 'Perfection' when referring to the highest religious striving; in the sense of 'Success' when referring to meaner objectives (see Index, rites).

tantra. Literally the 'warp' of woven fabric, the term tantra refers to a clearly definable type of ritual text common to both Hindu and Buddhist tradition, concerned with the evoking of divinities and the gaining of various kinds of siddhi by means of mantra, dhyāna, mudrā and manḍala. K glosses the term with prabandha, 'connected discourse' and defines our work under three aspects: as a hetu-tantra ('cause-tantra'), members of the vajra-family being the cause; as a phala-tantra ('result-tantra'), the perfected form of Hevajra being the result; as an upāya-tantra ('means-tantra'), the way which it teaches being the means (vol. II, p. 105). The Hevajra-tantra is in fact a yogini-tantra as distinguished from a yoga-tantra (see p. 132 above, also Buddhist Himālaya, p. 203).
According to another mode of grouping, it is classed as an anuttarayoga-tantra, a ‘tantra of supreme yoga’, for it is the means to the highest form of siddhi. Five classes of tantras are mentioned by K: kriyā, caryā, yoga, yogottara and yoganiruttara (vol. II, p. 156), but the number was traditionally fixed at four (for everything goes in fours) and it was in four such groups that the Tibetans later arranged their impressive collection. As grades they are associated, probably quite artificially, with the four consecrations (abhiṣeka) and typified by the four gestures of the ‘smile’, &c.

| kriyā-tantra | Master Consecration smile |
| caryā-tantra | Secret Consecration gaze |
| yoga-tantra | Knowledge of Prajñā embrace |
| anuttarayoga-tantra | Fourth Consecration union |

‘In some kriyā-tantras the smile indicates the impassioning of the Wisdom and Means of the divinities, by which symbolizing (viśuddhi, q.v.) the Master Consecration is indicated; in some caryā-tantras the mutual gaze indicates their impassioning, by which symbolizing the Secret Consecration is indicated; in some yoga-tantras the embrace indicates their impassioning, by which symbolizing the Consecration in Knowledge of Prajñā is indicated; in some anuttarayoga-tantras the union indicates their impassioning, by which symbolizing the Fourth Consecration is indicated’ (K, vol. II, p. 142).

K also refers to the universally authoritative nature (sarvādhiṣṭiṣṭvam) of this Hevajra-tantra which is authoritative in that it is yogini-niruttara in kind (loc. cit.). It is suitable for women as well as men of all three grades: weak, medium, and strong sensibility (vol. II, p. 126). See the references to these grades under abhiṣeka.

upāya. ‘Means’, one of the two supreme coefficients of final enlightenment, of which Wisdom (prajñā, q.v.) is the other. For references to this pair, Wisdom and Means, see the Index. The Means par excellence is Hevajra/Heruka, with whom the yogin must identify himself (see pp. 32–33, śl. I. x. 30, II. iv. 78). In the rite of union the feminine partner is prajñā and the yogin himself is upāya (I. x. 7).

utpattikrama and utpanna- or sampannakrama. These two terms refer cosmologically to the manifestation (utpāda) and reabsorption (pralaya) of phenomenal existence, and thus to the special technique of meditation which imitates this twofold process, thus identifying microcosm and macrocosm. By thought-creation (bhāvanā, q.v.) the yogin produces an idealized form of existence, symbolized by the divinities of the mandala. This is the utpattikrama, ‘Process of Emanation’. He conceives of

1 It might also be called a mahāyoga-tantra; see Roerich, Blue Annals, p. 753.
himself as the centre of the process, and drawing the forms into his own heart, realizes his essential identity with the central all-comprehending divinity. This is the utpannakrama, ‘Process of Realization’. For references see the Index.

*vajra.* In early (Vedic) times the *vajra* was the divine weapon of Indra, god of the sky and lord of thunder and storm. In this context the obvious translation is ‘thunderbolt’. The Tibetans use the term *rdo-rje*, literally ‘lord of stones’. It symbolizes pre-eminently whatever is believed to be indestructible; thus it also has the meaning of ‘diamond’. In the *tantras vajra* indicates the absolute nature of whatever it may be referred to. Thus *Vajrasattva* means ‘Absolute Being’, viz. supreme buddha-being. *Vajraganḍhā* means ‘bell of the absolute’, viz. the bell used in the rite of supreme realization. Everything associated with this intention assumes *vajra*-nature and the word is scattered freely throughout the texts. As an epithet I have used ‘adamantine’. *Vajradhātu*, ‘adamantine sphere’ is the Absolute itself, personified as the Supreme Buddha *Vajrasattva*, ‘Adamantine Being’. Also in use is the adjective *vajrin*, used in our text either of Hevajra himself or by the pupil addressing his master (*vajraguru* or *vajrācārya*). See *vajrin* in the Index. The concealed meaning of *vajra* is male organ; as such it pairs with ‘lotus’ (*padma*).

*Vajradhara* and *Vajradhrk.* ‘Holder of the *Vajra*.’

*Vajradhrk* is the name by which the master addresses the pupil during the rite (see Index). *Vajradhara* is used in the *Hevajra-tantra* (II. iv. 31; vi. 3) referring to masters, who belong to the tradition. It is already established in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvamāgraha* as the title of supreme buddhahood and is in general use by the Buddhist tantric yogins (84 siddhas). Our commentators refer to the Supreme Buddha both as *Vajrasattva* and *Vajradhara*. Akṣobhyā, the Buddha ‘Imperturbable’, as head of the *vajra*-family, is also *Vajrasattva* in essence and so may be considered Supreme Buddha by his family, to which those of the tradition of Hevajra belong.

*Vajrasattva.* See *vajra*.

*vajrin.* See *vajra*.

*vidyā.* ‘Spell’ in the special sense of the formula (*mantra*), which is the verbal expression of a divinity. Like ‘speech’ (*vāk*) it is considered as the feminine aspect and thus becomes one of the names for the feminine partner (see Buddhist *Himālaya*, pp. 288, 289). It is used in the *Hevajra-tantra* exclusively in the sense of ‘feminine partner’, i.e. as a synonym for *prajñā*. 

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viṣuddhi. Meaning literally ‘purification’, this word refers to the process, whereby the various divinities symbolize the macrocosm and microcosm under their several aspects, thus identifying them with aspects of buddha-hood. Thus the Five Yoginis (diagram VIII, p. 129) ‘symbolize’ on one side the five evils and on the other the five aspects of wisdom. This active symbolizing (viṣuddhi) represents the intended effect of any ‘conventional’ or ‘sacramental’ form (samaya, q.v.). For references see the Index, purification.

yoga. This is the one item for which it is scarcely practicable to give index-references, for the whole of the Hevajra-tantra is concerned with yoga, both in the sense of ‘union’ and that of the schemes, rites and practices, which should produce realization of that union. This tantra teaches the supreme type of yoga (anuttarayoga), which is the final identification and unifying of the macrocosm in the body of the yogin. The main technical terms used have their equivalents in the Hathayoga tradition (see P. C. Bagchi, ‘Some Technical Terms of the Tantras’, Calcutta Oriental Journal, vol. i, no. 2, Nov. 1933, pp. 75–88). Given a more limited meaning, yoga refers to union with one’s chosen divinity; one may note in this respect the terms samāhitayoga, ‘concentrated yoga’, and nirantarayoga, ‘continuous yoga’ (p. 89 fn.). This is, however, but one of the means which will lead to the supreme yoga.
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Bracketed śl. nos. will not be found in the English version (vol. I), but only in the Sanskrit and Tibetan (vol. II).

Significant references are shown in italics.

† indicates an entry in the Glossary.

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ācāryābhiseka (master’s consecration), see consecration(s).
†adhiṣṭhāna, see empowerment.
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†vīśuddhi, see purification.

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