

Chapter II : Place of 'Hevajra Tantra' in Tantric Literature

1. Buddhist Tantric Literature

Lama Anagarik Govinda wrote: "the word '*Tantra*' is related to the concept of weaving and its derivatives (thread, web, fabric, etc.), hinting at the interwovenness of things and actions, the interdependence of all that exists, the continuity in the interaction of cause and effect, as well as in spiritual and traditional development, which like a thread weaves its way through the fabric of history and of individual lives. The scriptures which in Buddhism go under the name of Tantra (Tib.: *rgyud*) are invariably of a mystic nature, i.e., trying to establish the *inner* relationship of things: the parallelism of microcosm and macrocosm, mind and universe, ritual and reality, the world of matter and the world of the spirit."⁹⁹

Scholars like N.N. Bhattacharyya and also Pranabananda Jash, regard Tantra as a religious system or science (*śāstra*) dealing with the means (*sādhana*) of attaining success (*siddhi*) in secular or religious efforts.¹⁰⁰ N.N. Bhattacharyya mentions that "Tantra came to mean the essentials of any religious system and, subsequently, special doctrines and rituals found only in certain forms of various religious systems. This change in the meaning, significance, and character of the word 'Tantra' is quite striking and is likely to reveal many hitherto unnoticed elements that have characterised the social fabric of India through the ages."¹⁰¹

It must be noted that the Tantrika tradition is not the work of a day, it has a long history behind it. Creation, maintenance and dissolution,

⁹⁹ Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism* (Maine: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1969), p.93.

¹⁰⁰ N.N. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Tantric Buddhism*, Pranabananda Jash, *The Tantras: An Excursus into Origins* (Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1999), p.143.

¹⁰¹ N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion* (Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1982), p.2.

propitiation of gods and goddesses, religious and spiritual practices, puraścaraṇa, ṣaṭ-karma, dhyāna, yoga and similar other practices have been discussed in Tantrika texts like the *Vārāhī Tantra*.

According to this Tantrika text it is called Āgama because spiritual knowledge proceeds from it to every direction. It is called Śāstra because everything is controlled and protected by it. It is jñāna because everything can be known with its help and it is Tantra because everything is always preserved and perpetuated by it.

In the opinion of Lama Anagarika Govinda the Buddhist does not believe in an independent or separately existing external world, into whose dynamic forces he could insert himself. The external world and his inner world are for him only the two sides of the same fabric, in which the threads of all forces and of all events, of all forms of consciousness and of their objects, are woven into an inseparable net of endless, mutually conditioned relations. And the essence of Tantrism, developed with logical necessity from the teachings and the religious practice of Vijñānavāda and Madhyamaka Schools of Mahāyāna-Buddhism. Like a gigantic wave the Tantric conception of the world swept over the whole of India, penetrating and modifying Buddhism and Hinduism alike and obliterating many of their differences.¹⁰² This opinion is shared by eminent Indian scholars like Haraprasād Śāstrī, Benoytosh Bhattacharya, and Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta. Though Buddhist Tantra or Mantrayāna started in India it disappeared from the land of its origin by the 11th to 13th century A.D. However the tradition continued to flourish in Tibet. So well has it been kept by Tibetan monks and scholars that Tibetan Buddhism is often regarded as a synonym for Tantrism, or Mantrayāna.

In Tibet, the collection of translations of Indian texts numbers more than 4,556 which are divided into two groups, viz. Bkaḥ-ḥgyur (Kanjur) consisting of 1,108 text, and Bstan-ḥgyur (Tanjur) consisting of 3,458 texts. The Kanjur is divided into seven parts – vinaya, Prajñāpāramitā, Buddhāvataṃsaka, Ratnakūṭa, Sūtra, Nirvāṇa and Tantra – while the

¹⁰² Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Foundations of Tibetan Mysticism*, pp.93-94.

Tanjur is divided into two – Tantra and Sūtra. The 'Biography of Dharmasvāmin' is of greater importance since it deals with the so called decadent phase of Buddhism which was characterised by its Vajrayāna or Tantric form. A large and important part of the Mahāyāna literature constitute of Tantric elements like the *Dhāraṇīs*. We have a Tibetan version of a group of Sūtras with Tantric affiliations, collected as early as the 4th century A.D. under the title *Mahāsannipāta*.¹⁰³

The *Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtras* also throw much light on Tantric Buddhism. They contain all the paraphernalia of worship which is to be found in Tantra. The *Sūtras*, *Hṛdayasūtrātras*, *Dhāraṇīs* and *Mantras* contained in them presuppose the Tantric cults of Vajrayāna Buddhism. Of the earlier Tantras which were composed before and about the 8th century A.D. reference should be made to the *Guhyasamāja*, *Mahāvairocana*, *Sarvatathāga-tattvasaṃgraha* (found both in Tibetan and Sanskrit Mass.), *Vajrasikhara* (a version of the preceding one), *Vajrabhairava* (found both in Tibetan and Sanskrit Mss.), *Cakrasaṃvara* (also known as *Samvara* and *Ḍākinījāla* and having various recensions in Tibetan) and *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. The composition of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the *Guhyasamāja* must have taken place sometime after the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and the *Mahāpratyāṅgīrā-dharaṇī*, i.e., about the 5th or 6th century A.D.

As per the Buddhist texts of Tantra the Tantrika worshipper identifies himself in meditation with the Deity he worships and places before himself the fully blossomed condition represented by the Deity as the ideal to be realised. But this practice must be conjoined with a facsimile-cognition of the ultimate truth of Śūnyatā, emptiness. The union of Śūnyatā or Wisdom (Prajñā) and Deity Yoga or the Means (Upāya) is the essence of Buddhist Tantra. According to *Pranabananda Jash* the Hindu Tantra texts uphold similar ideals, of course with the exception of the Śūnyatā Yoga. This differentiates tantrika from the Paurāṇika worshipper. Who, on the other hand, can never think of the identity between himself and his Deity, and always bears in mind the immense

¹⁰³ N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion*, p.58.

difference between the infinitude of God and the finiteness of man. Here we observe that the Tantra accepts the Absolute Monism of the Upaniṣads and regards the identity between the Jiva and Śiva, the individual and the Absolute, as the Supreme ideal, although this ideal is to be realised through upāsanā.¹⁰⁴

The salient features of the tantric cult consists in the worship of deities in *yantra* or diagrams symbolically representing them; *mantra* or chanting of some sacred sounds; *mudrā* or various gestures made with fingers and movement of hands in different posture; *nyāsa* or the control of the breath that brings the deity in the body of the worshipper; and *bīja* or the syllables of mystic significance peculiar to each deity. These are the means by which the Sādhaka or practitioner invokes, and identifies himself with this chosen deity (*iṣṭadevatā*).¹⁰⁵

The distinctive feature of Buddhist Tantra is the practice of Śūnyatā Yoga in fusion with Devatā Yoga. In Tantra the state of Buddha hood is regarded as the Vajrasattva state of Mahāsukha or Immutable bliss.

According to S.B. Dasgupta, "in the Buddhist Tantras the element of nirvāṇa (nirvāṇa-dhātu) is described as incessant bliss (satata-sukha-maya), it is the abode of both enjoyment as well as liberation; it is called Mahāsukha, where there is no change or decrease. It is the seed of all substance, it is the ultimate stage of those who have attained perfection; it is the highest place of the Buddhas and is called the Sukhāvatī (the abode of bliss)."¹⁰⁶

In esoteric Buddhism in a general way the nirvāṇa state has been described all along as the state of Mahāsukha and it is identified with Mahāsukha. Though Saraha-pāda in a Dohā warns not to confuse the truth of Nirvāṇa that is only to be realised within with a concept of external sukha or bliss. As in the final stage the ultimate truth of

¹⁰⁴ N.K. Brahma, *Philosophy of Hindu Sadhana*, p.274. N.N. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Tantric Buddhism*, Pranabananda Jash, *The Tantras: An Excursus into Origins* (Manohar Publishers, 1999), p141.

¹⁰⁵ N.N. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *Tantric Buddhism*, Pranabananda Jash, *Ibid*, p.138.

¹⁰⁶ Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1974), pp.134-135.

Śūnyatā is cognised by a consciousness that directly perceives the truth and it is itself in the nature of Śūnyatā, that is the visaya or object of its cognition. The subtle mind and its object of cognition are of the same taste and nature, like water poured into water. This subtle mind that perceives Śūnyatā directly can be attained in the state of Mahāsukha or Immutable bliss. The advocates of Mahāsukha usually justify their own position by describing Mahāsukha as transcending all kinds of thought-constructions, it is an absolutely pure emotion of bliss in which all the activities of the mind are absolutely lost.

Mahāsukha has variously been described in the Buddhist Tantras as the ultimate reality transcending, or rather absorbing within it, both existence (bhāva) and extinction (nirvāṇa). Mahāsukha is something which has neither the beginning nor any middle, nor any end : it is neither existence nor annihilation; this transcendental supreme bliss is neither the not-self nor the self. In the Mahāsukha-prakāśa (collected in the Advaya-vajra-saṃgraha) Mahāsukha is described as the Lord Vajrasattva of the nature of the unity of Prajñā and Upāya; it is the non-dual quintessence of all the entities. It is further said that perfect wisdom is never possible without bliss; perfect wisdom itself is of the nature of bliss.¹⁰⁷

In 'Hevajra Tantra' the Mahāsukha state is referred while discussing the Innate mind of Clear light (prabhāsvara) that is present in all beings. Owing to this mind an individual can ultimately attain the Buddha Kayas by sincerely practising the two stages of Highest Yoga Tantra-Generation and Completion stage. Besides Mahāsukha there are many other Buddhist tantric elements in 'Hevajra Tantra', to discover those, first one must analyse the different schools of Tantra that are held as the representatives of the Buddhist tantric thought that had evolved based on the Mahāyāna doctrines of Bodhicitta, Mahākaruṇā and Śūnyatā.

Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta has divided the Buddhist Tantras into three

¹⁰⁷ Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p.137

schools, viz., Vajra-yāna, Kāla-cakra-yāna and Sahaja-yāna. We do not know on the authority of what texts this division of schools have been made. Of course, these names are often met with in the Tantric texts, but the characteristics of the schools have never been sufficiently explained.¹⁰⁸

Vajrayāna or the 'Adamantine way' is really the way or means for the realisation of the Vajra-nature or the immutable and emptiness of the self as well as of the *dharma*s. The *Śrī-samāja*, which is regarded to be the earliest authoritative text on Vajrayāna, explains Vajrayāna as the doctrine where the families (kulas) of the five Dhyani Buddhas symbolize the transformation of the five psycho-physical aggregates viz., Moha or delusion (presided over by Vairocana with his consort Vajradhātviśvarī), Dveṣa or wrath (presided over by Akṣobhya with his Śakti Locanā), Rāga or passion (presided over by Amitābha with his consort Pāṇḍarā), etc.; but these kulas have always their foundation on the Vajra or the Śūnyatā. Thus, according to the *Śrī-samāja*, the school that grew with the system of the five families, the Kulas, of the Dhyani Buddhas is the Vajrayāna school.¹⁰⁹

"What is Kālacakrayāna? The word Kāla means time, death and destruction. Kāla-cakra is the wheel of destruction, and Kālacakrayāna means the vehicle for protection against the wheel of destruction." We have at our disposal a text of the title of Śrī-kāla-cakra-tantra. As far as our knowledge of the Buddhist Tantric texts goes, we have not found any other text belonging to this Kālacakra class. After a study of the text we find that King Sucandra approached the Omniscient Lord Buddha with salutation and asked of him the yoga of the Śrīkālacakra which is the way to salvation of all people of the Kali age. Then the Lord replied that this secret of yoga is unknown to all, it is a system of Yoga which, with all its accessories of Maṇḍala (magic circle) and consecration (abhiṣeka), is explained within this very body, and the Lord then

¹⁰⁸ Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *Ibid*, p.64.

¹⁰⁹ Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *Ibid*, p.70.

explained how all the universe with all its objects and localities are situated in the body and how time with all its varieties (viz., day, night, fortnight, month, year, etc.) are within the body in its processes of the vital wind (prāṇavāyu). In the body of the text Sahaja has been fully explained and the details of the sexo-yogic practices for the attainment of the Sahaja have also been described.¹¹⁰

The nature of Lord Śrīkālacakra becomes clear from the *Laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā*, entitled the Vimalaprabhā. Here he is saluted as of the nature of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā; in him there is the absence of the origination and destruction of the three worlds, he is a unification of the knowledge and the knowable; goddess Prajñā, who is both with form and without form, is embraced by him; he is bereft of origination and change, — he is immutable bliss bereft of all lower pleasure; he is the father of the three times (i.e., the past, present and future), the omniscient, — the ultimate and original Buddha — the non-dual Lord. Again the aim of the Kālacakratantra as professed here is no mundane benefit; on the other hand, like all other Buddhist Tantras it also professes the attainment of perfect enlightenment, not only for the self but for all the beings, to be the final aim.

The Sahajiyā school is an offshoot of Vajrayāna. There is no exclusive literature belonging to Sahajayāna, — on the other hand, the Sahajiyā poets of the Dohās and songs recognise the well-known texts of Vajrayāna as their authority. The exponents of the Sahajiyā school put the whole emphasis on their protest against the formalities of life and religion. Truth is something which can never be found through mere austere practices of discipline, neither can it be realised through much reading and philosophising, or through fasting, bathing, constructing images and worshipping gods and goddesses and the innumerable other paraphernalia of rites and rituals prescribed in Vajrayāna; it is to be intuited within in the most unconventional way through the initiation in the Tattva and the practice of yoga. This makes the position of the

¹¹⁰ Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *Ibid*, p.66.

Sahajiyās distinct from that of the Vajrayānists in general.

The name Sahajayāna seems to be doubly significant; it is Sahajayāna because, its aim is to realise the ultimate innate nature (sahaja) of the self as well as of the dharmas, and it is Sahajayāna also because of the fact that instead of suppressing and thereby inflicting undue strain on the human nature it makes man realise the truth in the most natural way, i.e., by adopting the path through which the human nature itself leads him. What is natural is the easiest; and thus Sahaja, from its primary meaning of being natural acquires the secondary meaning of being easy, straight or plain.¹¹¹

However in Tibetan Buddhism we do not come across any such division of Tantra into three schools. All the so called three schools of Tantra are clubbed together as Anuttara Yoga Tantra i.e. Highest Yoga Tantra. The Buddhist Tantra or Vajrayāna is instead classified into four types – Action, Performance Yoga and Highest Yoga Tantra. Therefore *Kālacakra Tantra*, *Guhyasamāja Tantra* as well as ‘Hevajra Tantra’ are all within the domain of Highest Yoga Tantra. While analysing ‘Hevajra Tantra’, one can not help but agree with the Tibetan view on Tantra, where all three schools are classed under Highest Yoga Tantra. It is interesting to note that the elements of Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna are both present in ‘Hevajra Tantra’ and it in turn appears to have anticipate the *Kālacakra Tantra*.

In ‘Hevajra Tantra’, the primordial mind that is by nature luminous and has cognitive power and is of the nature of void or emptiness is considered to be the seed or bīja of the Buddha mind, body and speech. According to the eminent American scholar Jeffrey Hopkins – in *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, and *Kālacakra Tantra*. the clear light nature of the mind is described as the fundamental mind in the sense that its continuum exists forever, that is to say, both while one is afflicted and, after enlightenment, while unafflicted. The clear light nature of the mind as a positive phenomenon has been emphasized in Maitreya’s Sublime

¹¹¹ Shashi Bhushan Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism*, p.69.

Continuum of the Great Vehicle (uttatantra), but it has its fullest exposition in Highest Yoga Tantras such as the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and *Kālacakra Tantra*.¹¹² Thus it is noticed that the concept of primordial mind is similar in all Highest Yoga Tantras.

In the opinion of most scholars and historians, 『Hevajra Tantra』 dates somewhere between *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, and *Kālacakra Tantra*. On this basis we can conclude that it borrowed the concept of primordial mind from *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, and passed it on to *Kālacakra Tantra*.

Similarly, using the desire for sexual union for the generation of a blissfully withdrawn consciousness that the practitioner can use to realize emptiness is advocated by all the Highest Yoga Tantras. In Highest Yoga Tantra, consciousnesses are divided into the gross, the subtle, and the very subtle. According to the system of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, a Highest Yoga Tantra that is parallel in importance to the *Kālacakra Tantra*, the most subtle is called the fundamental innate mind of clear light; the subtle are three levels of consciousness called the minds of radiant white, red (or orange), and black appearance; the gross are the five sense consciousnesses and the mental consciousness when not manifesting one of the above subtler levels. The reason why a blissful consciousness is used is that it is more intense, and thus realization of emptiness by such a consciousness is more powerful. The process is most easily explained in Highest Yoga Tantra.¹¹³ Both these features are common to all three Tantras. Therefore the concept of three Tantra schools is not tenable and, we must agree with S.B. Dasgupta, that the conception of Kālacakra is substantially the same as the conception of Vajrasattva or Hevajra and that Kālacakrayāna is not a distinct school of Tantric Buddhism, but a particular name for the Vajrayāna school, this becomes clear also from the text *Sekodeśaṭīkā*, which is a commentary on the Sekodeśa section of the Kālacakratantra.

In the dGe lug ba order of Tibetan Buddhism, *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, is

¹¹² His Holiness the Dalai Lama, (tr. & ed. by) Jeffrey Hopkins, *Kalachakra Tantra* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, enlarged ed., 1999), p.16.

¹¹³ His Holiness the Dalai Lama, (tr. & ed. by) Jeffrey Hopkins, *Ibid*, p.34.

of foremost importance. Here Highest Yoga Tantra is studied mainly in the context of the *Guhyasamāja* system, which is considered the “general system” of Highest Yoga Tantra through which most other Tantras of that class are understood.

According to the practices of the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and the *Hevajra Tantra*, this body remains and, apart from this body, there arises the illusory body as Hevajra or whoever it might be. Then, one attains enlightenment as that particular illusory body, which arises separate and distinct from these present aggregates. In the Kālacakra system, on the other hand, this material body, together with the active energies, is gradually exhausted.¹¹⁴ In this perspective the ‘Guhyasamāja Tantra’ is an exception, as it presents a somewhat parallel but interestingly different system for transforming mind and body into purity.¹¹⁵ But in the following aspects all three Highest Yoga Tantras are similar.

All the Highest Yoga Tantras are a system of Yoga which contain special features such as the Maṇḍala rites and consecration (abhiṣeka) rituals. These are explained within this very body, and so is the universe with all its objects and localities. They are situated in the body and how time with all its varieties (viz., day, night, fortnight, month, year, etc.) are also within the body in its processes of the vital wind (prāṇavāyu). The attainment of the Sahaja or the Innate is possible by the use of desire on the path. Sahaja has been saluted as it is of the nature of Śūnyatā and Karuṇā. In accordance with S.B. Dasgupta it can be stated that the Sahaja or the Innate [Emptiness of the mind] is the one that ultimately transforms into the deity form of the particular Highest Yoga Tantra being practiced by the yogi. Thus the Deity form (*Guhyasamāja, Kālacakra* or *Hevajra*) which is a manifested form of the Innate mind that directly perceives Emptiness and from which all obscurations have been removed is a unification of the knowledge and the knowable. The main

¹¹⁴ Allan Wallace (tr.), *Kālacakra Tantra* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, reprinted 2001), p.143.

¹¹⁵ His Holiness the Dalai Lama, (tr. & ed. by) Jeffrey Hopkins, *Kalachakra Tantra*, p.63.

deity who is always in union with consort who is the manifestation of Wisdom (prajñā) is bereft of origination and change, – he is immutable bliss bereft of all lower pleasure; he is the father of the three times (i.e., the past, present and future), the omniscient, – the ultimate and original Buddha – the non-dual Lord. By an examination of these descriptions of the Śrikālacakra it will be found that there is no difference between the conception of this Lord Śrikālacakra and the Lord Hevajra. In the succeeding chapter the points of similarity between 『Hevajra Tantra』 and 『Guhyasamāja Tantra』 is illustrated.

2. 『Hevajra Tantra』 as a Buddhist Tantric Literature

As has been already noted that all Highest Yoga Tantra texts share certain common characteristics, such as the maṇḍala rites, consecration rituals, practise of self generation as a deity and so forth. A careful study of 『Guhyasamāja Tantra』 and 『Hevajra Tantra』 reveals their similarity in philosophy as well as in the way of practice.

The 『Guhyasamāja Tantra』 is one of the earliest extant Buddhist Tantras which was composed evidently before the 7th century A.D. Later works like the *Guhyasiddhi* of Padmavajra and the *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti acknowledge 『Guhyasamāja Tantra』 as the highest authority. Guhyasamāja means a secret society, which, it is believed, was the organisation which first introduced tenets of Vajrayāna into Buddhism. They are said to have been introduced in an assembly of the faithful by Lord Buddha who is called here Sarva-Tathāgata-Kāya-Vāk-Citta.

The 『Guhyasamāja Tantra』 deals mainly with yoga and anuttarayoga and incidentally with maṇḍalas. Its chief aim is to explain the Tathāgatas as also of the phenomenal world, and how to realise it. According to this text, the truth is Vajra or the oneness of the universe in which there is

no distinction between a man and a woman, or even between a wife or sister or mother. Kāya or body, Vāk or speech, and Citta or mind are called tri-vajra. It puts forward a quick and short method for realising Buddhahood and for the attainment of miraculous powers such as killing an enemy with magical rites, causing rainfall in a drought, etc., and methods for the attainment of siddhi, which is of two kinds, ordinary (sāmānya) and extra ordinary (uttama). It sets forth six aṅgas of Yoga, omitting the first three of Patañjali and adding anusmṛti.¹¹⁶

All these characteristics are to be found in 'Hevajra Tantra', these features of 'Hevajra Tantra' are discussed in detail along with illustrations from the text in chapter III. In the following paragraph the points of similarity between 'Hevajra Tantra' and 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' are elucidated.

In this context it must be mentioned that 'Hevajra Tantra' admits being influenced by preceeding Buddhist Tantras such as 'Sarvatathāgata tattvasaṃgraha'.

[HT] What need is there to say much more! Perform the maṇḍala ritual as prescribed in the 'Tattvasaṃgraha'. (II.5.57)¹¹⁷

[HT] In accordance with the injunctions bestow the consecrations previously revealed in the appropriate maṇḍala. The worship and the supplication should be performed there as prescribed. (I.10.25)¹¹⁸

[commentary of I.10.25] Worship and supplication refers to the worship and supplication of the guru. 'As prescribed' means as prescribed in the 'Tattvasaṃgraha' and other works. (YM)¹¹⁹

The consecration and maṇḍala rites along with the rituals of guru puja(worship) as presented in 'Hevajra Tantra' are similar in nature not only to what has been recommended in 'Tattvasaṃgraha', but also to

¹¹⁶ N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion*, pp.61-62.

¹¹⁷ kiṃ bahunā pralāpena yathā tattvasaṃgrāhe maṇḍalavidhis tathā kartavyam// (HT[S].part2, p.256)

¹¹⁸ prakāśitās tu ye sekā vidhivad dadyāt svamaṇḍale/ pūjā cābhyarcana caiva yathākhyātā tathātra ca// (HT[F&M].,part2, p.131)

¹¹⁹ pūjā 'bhyarthanā guruḥ yathākhyāteti Tattvasaṃgrahāda// (HT[S].part2, p.134)

that which has been prescribed in 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'. The following illustrations reveal the common features of the 'Hevajra Tantra' and 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'.

[GST] A distinction of three initiations is prepared in this Tantra, to wit : initiation of the flask as the first; the second, as the secret initiation; insight-knowledge, the third; and the fourth, precisely the same. (18.111–112)¹²⁰

[HT] In the Diverse is the First Joy; in ripening is the refined Joy; in the dissolving is the Joy of Cessation; and in the Signless is the Innate Joy. In the order of the four consecrations, Master, Secret, Wisdom and after that the Fourth thus, the Joys are to be experience. (II.3.9–10)¹²¹

Next it can be observed that the process of meditation as recommended in 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' is echoed by 'Hevajra Tantra'.

[GST] A yogi must practise on two levels – Ordinary and Supreme. The Ordinary level consists of four types of Mindfulness and the Supreme consists of the knowledge of the Nectar like Wisdom. The first of the four Mindfulness is the revelation of voidness; the second is the drawing together of germ syllables; the third is the perfection of the image; the fourth is the invariant (=letter) placement. This construes Ordinary practise. The practice of the Six Yogas is the content of the Supreme practise. without the practise of the Six Yogas one can not attain the Supreme Nectar like wisdom. Individual Converge (Pratyāhāra), Individual meditation (dhyāna), Life effort (prāṇāyāma), Retention (dhāraṇā), Recollection (anusmṛti) and Meditative equipoise (samādhi) are the Six Yogas. (18.136–140)¹²²

¹²⁰ abhiṣekaṁ tridhā bhedaṁ asmin tanre prakalpitaṁ/ kalacābhiṣekaṁ prathamam dvitīyaṁ guhyābhiṣekataḥ//111/ prajñā-jñānaṁ tṛtīyaṁ tu caturthaṁ tat punas tathā//112a// (GST. 18. 111–112), S.Bagchi (ed.), *Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka*, BST. No.9 (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1965), p.129, II.23–26.

¹²¹ vicitre prathamānandaḥ paramānando vipākake/ viramānando vimarḍe ca shajānando vilakṣaṇe//9/ ācārya guhya prajñā ca caturthaṁ tat punas tathā/ ānandaḥ kramaśo jñeyāś catuḥsecanasamkhyayā//10// (HT[F&M]., p.183)

¹²² sāmānyottama bhedenā sevā tu dvi dvidhā bhavet/ vajra catuṣkena sāmānyam uttamam jñānamṛtena ca//136/ prathamam śūnyatā-bodhim dvitīyaṁ bīja-saṁhṛtaṁ/ tṛtīyaṁ bimba niṣpattiś caturthaṁ nyāsam akṣaram//137/ ebhir vajra catuṣkena sevā sāmānyā-sādhanaṁ/ uttame jñānamṛte caiva kāryam yoga ṣaḍaṅgataḥ//138/ sevā ṣaḍaṅga yogena kṛtvā sādhanaṁ uttamam/ sādhyed anyathā naiva jāyate siddhir uttamā//139/ pratyāhārastathā dhyānam prāṇāyāmoatha dhāraṇā/ anusmṛtiḥ samādhiśca ṣaḍaṅga yoga uccyate//140// S.Bagchi (ed.), *Ibid.*, p.132, II.1–8.

[HT] Firstly, emanate Friendliness (maitrī), secondly, emanate Compassion (karuṇā), thirdly, emanate Joyfulness (muditā) and finally, emanate Equanimous Detachment (upekṣā). Then after that: firstly the Awakening to Voidness, secondly the Collecting of the Seed-syllable, thirdly the Manifestation of the Physical Form and fourthly the Placing of the Letter. (I.3.1-2)¹²³

[HT] In the First phase of Six-phased Yoga the yogī should emanate black, in the Second red, in the Third yellow, in the Fourth green, in the Fifth blue and in the Sixth white. In this order the yogī should emanate the Six-phased Yoga, and then, the culmination of the Joy of Cessation thus. (I.8.21-22)¹²⁴

In 'Hevajra Tantra' just as in 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' the path of spiritual practise is divided into two stages. They are called stage of Generation and Completion instead of the Ordinary and Supreme stage. The difference in name does not mean that the practise recommended by the two Tantras is different 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'. The practise recommended in the generation stage of 'Hevajra Tantra' and that in the ordinary stage of 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' is identical. Both recommend the emanation of Voidness, collection of seed syllable, manifestation of Physical form and placing of the letter. However it is not quite the same with the Completion stage of 'Hevajra Tantra' and supreme level of 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'. Though both recommend the Six yogas as the essential practise of this stage and without mastering the Six yogas one can not attain the Body Speech or Mind of a Buddha, but the Six yogas are not described in the same manner in the two texts of Tantra. While 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' mentions each stage of Six yoga by a specific name and a particular feat that is to be specialized and accomplished in that level, (such as pratyāhāra is to be achieved in level one of Six yoga); it is not quite so in 'Hevajra Tantra'. Here the yogi is advised to

¹²³ prathamam bhāvayen maitrīm dvitiye karuṇām tathā/ tṛtiye bhāvayen muditām upekṣām sarvaśeṣataḥ//1/tasmāt punar api/ prathamam śūnyatābodhiṃ dvitīyaṃ bījaśaṃgraham/ tṛtīyaṃ bimbaṇiṣpattīm caturthaṃ nyāsam akṣaram//2// (HT[F&M]., pp.37-38)

¹²⁴ prathame bhāvayet kṛṣṇām dvitiye raktām eva ca/ tṛtiye bhāvayet pītām caturthe haritān tathā//21/ pañcame nīlavarṇāṃ ca ṣaṣṭame śukladehikām/ ṣaḍaṅgaṃ bhāvayed yogī viramāntaṃ punas tathā//22// (HT[F&M]., p.91)

emanate a particular colour in each of the six levels of the Six yogas such as black in level one and so forth. This does not mean that the two texts are prescribing very different kinds of Six yogas, it seems more logical to accept the view that 'Hevajra Tantra' mentions the practise of emanating special colours at different levels of the Six yoga practise in addition to the Six yoga practise recommended by 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'. This can be deduced from the fact that the Six yoga practice recommended in *Kālacakra Tantra* (much later tantra) is identical to the one mentioned in 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'. The 'Hevajra Tantra' clearly amplifies the views and methods found in the 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' and emphasizes the direct experience of the Innate (sahaja) and the Great Bliss (mahāsukha) which characterise the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment.

1) History of 'Hevajra Tantra'

The Sanskrit text of the 'Hevajra Tantra' dates from approximately the eighth century A.D. The treatise is a recording of discourses between the Bhagavān Buddha and his disciple Vajragarbha in the first part followed by discourses between the Bhagavān and his consort. These discourses are the vehicle which introduce the theory, practice and experience of the Krama, the Processes of the Buddhist tantric method.

Of the Tantras composed between the 8th and the 11th centuries besides *Hevajra Tantra*, we may refer to such works as *Rakta-Yamāri*, *Ārāli*, *Buddhakapāla*, *Mahāmāyā* (Sanskrit Mss. available), *Tilaka* or *Mahāmudrātilaka*, *Kṛṣṇayamāri*, *Samputa* or *Caturyoginīsamputa* (Sanskrit mss. available), *Yoginīsaṃcaryā*, *Vajrāmṛta* (Sanskrit Mss. available), and *Kālacakra* (Sanskrit Mss. available). Most of these texts and their authors are mentioned by Lāma Tāranātha. According to him the 'Hevajra Tantra' was introduced by Padmavajra and Kambala. Padmavajra is mentioned in the list of teachers given in the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* and translations of his works are preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur. Tāranātha

makes him a contemporary of Indrabhūti, Lalitavajra and Kukkuripā. Besides the *Hevajratantra*, *Padmavajra* had another work called *Guhyasiddhi* written in twilight language or sandhyābhāṣā. He was also the author of *Utpatti-Kramasādhana* and a few other works. According to Tāranātha, Saraha introduced the *Buddhakapāla-tantra*, Luipā the *Yoginī-saṃcaryā*, Kṛṣṇācārya the *Samputatilaka*, Gambhīravajra the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra* and Pito the *Kālācakra-tantra*.¹²⁵

The 'Hevajra Tantra' and the commentary 'Yogaratnamālā' are considered to be fine examples of the tantric compositional style. In both the root text and commentary the 'Hevajra Tantra' is referred to as a Yoginī Tantra. The commentator calls it a Niruttara tantra. It is evident that the 'Guhyasamāja Tantra' and 'Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha' have influenced the 'Hevajra Tantra'. In the 'Hevajra Tantra' (2.5.67)¹²⁶ there is a couplet in an Apabhraṃśa dialect describing the characteristic of the Innate. This couplet is found in one of the songs of the Mahāsiddha Saraha. If the 'Hevajra Tantra' is quoting the words of Saraha it would imply that the 'Hevajra Tantra' was composed during or after Saraha's time. We think that it was composed between the 8th and 9th century A.D., somewhere in the region of modern day Bengal, Orissa or Bihar. Based on Tāranātha's work on the life of the mahāsiddha Kṛṣṇācārya it can be said that the Kṛṣṇācārya who has written the 'Yogaratnamālā' commentary is the same person whose songs under the name of Kāṇha and Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita are found in the collections of Buddhist Carya songs.¹²⁷

The tantric yoga techniques described in the 'Hevajra Tantra' have their origins in an orally transmitted tradition which antedates the written tradition by at least a few centuries. Concepts and practices from various religious and social contexts are found in the Vajrayāna, known as Mantrayāna in Buddhist tantric literature. The Vajrayāna tradition adopted

¹²⁵ N.N. Bhattacharyya, *History of the Tantric Religion*, pp.59-60.

¹²⁶ bhagavān āha/ āi na anta na mahyu tahiṃ natra bhava natra nirvāṇa/ ehu so paramamahāsuha nau para nau appāṇa// (HT[F&M]., p.259)

¹²⁷ G.W.Farrow & I.Menon (tr. and ed.), *The Concealed Essence of the Hevajra Tantra with the Commentary Yogaratnamālā*, p.xLiii.

and refined relevant elements from the ascetic yoga traditions, the rituals of tribal shamans, the fertility and passage rites, the rites of initiation into manhood, the rites of coronation of chieftains, ancestor worship, the worship of temple and family deities and the circuits of pilgrimage. Concepts found in the monastic traditions of both the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna were evolved and utilised to suit the Vajrayāna method. Kṛṣṇācārya's commentary demonstrates that he was well-versed in the Abhidharma tradition and the Mahāyāna schools as well as the tantric view which originates from the 'Guhyasamāja Tantra'. There is ample evidence in his commentary to indicate that he was influenced by Candrakīrti's *Mādhyamakāvatāra* and the writings of Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu.¹²⁸

The 'Hevajra Tantra', like other Buddhist Sūtras and Tantras, commences with the Nidānavākyaṃ, the Fundamental Statement. This opening statement of doctrine begins with the crucial phrase 'evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ' (Thus have I heard). The Fundamental Statement is the source for the expose of the Upāya, the Means, the modes of practice which are introduced and outlined in the first chapter and which are then further explained and elaborated in the rest of the treatise.

The 'Hevajra Tantra', like other Buddhist Tantras, is written without too much attention to the rules of classical Sanskrit grammar. This unsophisticated style accords with the view on compositional style found in the *Pradīpodyotana* commentary on the *Guhyasamāja Tantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary on the *Kālacakra Tantra*. Nevertheless, the writer or writers of this treatise have composed a sophisticated work in terms of the subject matter found in the treatise. The root treatise conveys, without unnecessary embellishments, fundamental information regarding the processes of the tantric method. Sometimes the vernacular of that era has been utilised to define crucial views regarding the tantric method.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ G.W.Farrow & I.Menon (tr. and ed.), *Ibid*, pp.xLiii-xLiv.

¹²⁹ G.W.Farrow & I.Menon (tr. and ed.), *Ibid*, p.ix.

According to George W. Farrow the Vajrayāna yogī method was forged from a variety of religious and social elements found in India in the centuries A.D. The root Tantra indicates the basic tradition which was systematized by the Mahāsiddhas during the classic tantric period of the fifth to the thirteenth centuries A.D. The systemization of this broad based tradition is indicated by means of the commentary presented here. Throughout it's history in India, Buddhism had to compete with and was influenced by and in it's turn influenced the other indigenous religions. In India the various social situations found in tribal, village and urban contexts were also influential in the evolvment of the Buddhist tantric tradition found there. This systematized tradition was totally transferred into Tibet by the end of the thirteenth century. Once well established, the Tibetan tantric tradition evolved in an almost exclusively Buddhist religious environment which had not existed in India. After centuries of political and doctrinal rivalry between the various Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna monastic orders, a conservative view of the method which was acceptable to all the sects was fully evolved by the nineteenth century.¹³⁰

Hence 『Hevajra Tantra』 must be studied in keeping with the Tibetan Buddhist tradition as systematized by the great scholar and Master Tsong kha pa and his eminent followers.

2) Commentaries on 『Hevajra Tantra』

A Japanese scholar has made a compilation of the commentaries on 『Hevajra Tantra』. There is said to be 14 kinds of commentaries.

1) Hevajra-Piṇḍārtha-ṭīkā [Rdo-rje Sñin-Po]. Tōhoku Catalogue(D) No.1180, Peking(P) No.2310.

2) Hevajra-tantra-pañjikā-Padmin nāma. [Mtsho-skyes(D), Mtsho-skyes rdo-rje, Saroruha-vajra (P)] D. No.1181, P. No.2311.

¹³⁰ G.W.Farrow & I.Menon (tr. and ed.), *Ibid*, p.xv.

- 3) Śrīhevajra-vyākhyā-Vivarāṇa(nāma). [Bhavabhadra(D), Bapabhaṭa shabs, Bhavabhaṭṭapāda (P)], D. No.1182, P. No.2312.
- 4) Yogaratnamālā nāma hevajra-pañjikā. [kṛṣṇapaṇḍit (D), Nag-po-pa, kṛṣṇa (P)] D. No.1183, P. No.2313.
- 5) Śrīhevajra-tantra-rājatīkā-Suviśadasamputa nāma. [Dhañka-dāsa] D. No.1184, P. No.2314.
- 6) Kaumudī-pañjikā nāma [Sbyaṅs dkaḥ zla-ba]. D. No.1185, P. No.2315.
- 7) Vajrapāda-sāra-saṃgraha-pañjikā [Sñan-grags bzain-po (k)(D), Nāro shabs (P)]. D. No.1186, P. No.2316.
- 8) Hevajra nāma mahātantra-rāja-dvikalpa-Māyāpañjikā-smṛti-nipāda nāma. [Nag-po-ba]. D. No.1187, P. No.2317.
- 9) (Hevajra nāma tantra-rāja-ṭīkā) [Padmaḥi myu-gu rdo-rje]. D. No.1188, P. No.2318.
- 10) Śrīhevajra-pañjikā nāma Muktikāvali. [Śrī Ratnākaraśānti]. D. No.1189, P. No.2319.
- 11) Suviśadasamputa-ṭīkā nāma [Kāyastha ḥgres-po]. D. No.1190, P. No.2321.
- 12) Śrī-hevajra-mahātantra-rājasya-pañjikā Netravibhaṅga nāma [Dharmakīrti]. D. No.1191, P. No.2320.
- 13) Śrīhevajra-Vajrapadoddharaṇa nāma pañjikā [Kāmadhenupa]. D. No.1192, P. No.2322.
- 14) Śrīhevajra nāma Tantrārtha-saṃgraha. D. No.1193, P. No.2323.¹³¹

3. Brief history of 'Yogaratnamālā'

1) Author— Kṛṣṇacārya

¹³¹ Isoda Hirofumi, 'samādhi as explained in Hevajra-tanta', 'Nippon Bukkyō Gakukai Nenpō (日本佛教學會年譜; The Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association)', vol.40., pp.17-18.

The 'Yogaratnamālā' also known as the Hevajra Pañjikā was written around the ninth century A.D. and is a commentary on the 'Hevajra Tantra'. The 'Yogaratnamālā' was written in the Pañjikā style by the pandit and Mahāsiddha, Kṛṣṇācārya. Because the 'Yogaratnamālā' is written in the Pañjika style, where words or phrases from successive units of the root treatise are taken and commented upon.¹³²

Who was Kṛṣṇācārya? According to Tāranātha's Seven Instruction Lineages, Kṛṣṇācārya is a very important master of the Innate Radiance lineage and the Karmamudrā lineage. Kṛṣṇācārya was born into the Brahmin caste in eastern India. His guru was Jālandhara. A prophecy stated that a yogī like him had not appeared before nor would another like him appear again. In his caryā songs, Kṛṣṇācārya proclaims himself to be a Kāpālika Yogī. He is said to have attained the eight magical accomplishments in addition to the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment. His six principal disciples Bhadrapāda, Mahila, Bhadala, Tshembupa, Dhamapa and Dhumapa are all said to have attained the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment. It is said that he was afflicted by pride because of his magical accomplishments. According to Abhayadatta's biography of the Eighty-four Siddhas, Kṛṣṇācārya was instructed by his guru Jālandhara to seek instruction from another of Jālandhara's disciples, a weaver. Through interplay and instructions received from his fellow disciple he overcame his obscuring pride. Later he realized the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment. There are conflicting accounts as to whether his attainment of the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment was realized in his lifetime or in the intermediate state following his death or even if he realized the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment at all. However, his importance as a lineage master is attested by the inclusion of sixty-four of his works in the Tangyur.

The practice with a Wisdom consort, a female practitioner, is an integral part of the radical, purely tantric method advocated by

¹³² G.W.Farrow & I.Menon (tr. and ed.), *Ibid*, p.viii.

Kṛṣṇācārya. Kṛṣṇācārya epitomizes the unattached, Kāpālika yogī who could easily and mercilessly draw attention to the hypocrisies of the religious and social conventions of the day. He lived and roamed in the cremation grounds and in the jungles, alone or with his consorts. Yet he was also able to be completely assured in the intellectual hotbeds of the great monasteries and universities. These qualities mixed with magical accomplishments give hints as to the stature of this awesome and unconventional yogī. It is quite possible that the conflicts and confusions regarding the biography of Kṛṣṇācārya stem from prejudices held by some later commentators against the whole idea of such direct views and methods. The utilization of the Prajñā, the Wisdom consort, during the Consecration Rite and the subsequent practice is the view of the style of transmission and of the method found in the 'Hevajra Tantra' and the commentary 'Yogaratnamālā' by Kṛṣṇācārya.¹³³

Kānhupāda,¹³⁴ variously named as Kānhu, Kṛṣṇācārya and Kṛṣṇapāda was initiated into Sahajayāna by Jālandharipāda. A reference to his birth in Uruviśā is being observed in a prediction of Buddha, delineated in the accounts of Tāranātha. As cited earlier, Uruviśā, Oḍiviśā and Oḍicā in Tāranātha's accounts are synonymous words signifying Orissa and this Uruviśā can be no other than Orissa. A Tantric scholar of prolific wisdom, he went to Somapura and served as a teacher in the Somapurī Buddhist Vihār. Somapurī Vihār, in the view of Gos-lo-tsa-ba was located in Dakṣiṇa Kośala or in the country of Kośhala in Southern India. Many scholars identify the Somapurī Vihār of the Buddhist literature with the monastic remains of Pāhārpur in Rajshahi District of East Bengal. This identification of Somapurī has already acquired a historical validity after the exploration of a clay-seal where an inscription "Śrī Sumapure Śrī Dharmapāladeva Mahāvihāriya Ārya

¹³³ G.W.Farrow & I.Menon (tr. and ed.), *Ibid*, pp.xi-xii.

¹³⁴ Kānu-pā is variously named as Kānuphā, Kānpha, Kāhnāi, Kānāi, Kāluphā, Kālaphā, etc., all of which are dialectal variants of the Sanskrit name Kṛṣṇapāda. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, *Obscure religious Cults* (Calcutta: Firma Klm Private Limited, reprint, 1995), p.392, footnote 3.

Samghasya" is lettered very clearly. This inscription amply invalidates the geographical information of Somapurī furnished by Gos-lo-tsa-ba as testimonies from different sources prove his misconception on Oḍḍiyāna. In view of these evidence, it is logical to agnize with the view that Kānhupāda, who came out of his mother's womb in Orissa was a teacher of Somapurī Vihār in East Bengal.¹³⁵

In consonance with the view of many scholars, Kanhu was a contemporary of Devapāla who the great pāla king of Bengal in the first half of the Ninth Century A.D. In accordance with Bstan-hgyur, he is believed to have authored a large number of Tantric texts, of a Dohakoṣa and as many as Thirteen songs in the anthology of Caryā are assigned to his authorship. Kanhu may be suggested to have retained a remarkable affinity with the ancient Oriya its culture and its language as is revealed in his songs. But on the basis of his seeming affinity with the Oriya language one can not monopolise Kanhu and his other preceding and succeeding Caryā writers as a legacy of their own land or region. For such a resemblance is unavoidably natural because the Siddhas composed their literature in Apabhraṃśa a form of Medieval Prakrit and from which the modern Indian vernacular languages emerged.¹³⁶

Kānhupāda, a prolific author of his age, no less than 69 Tantric texts are assigned to his authorship in Bstan-hgyur. Thirteen songs in Caryā pada are suggested to have been the composition of this Siddhācārya. Kānhu alike the other Siddhas believes in the prevailing philosophy of Sahajaya Yoga. He advocates the practice of Śūyatā and Devatā Yoga. ¹³⁷

All being the illusive appearance of mind in his Yogic vision, Kānhu advises the mankind not to be worried on the transformative separation of the Pañchaskandhas, which are concomitant with the five elements, because the mind, as the creative quintessence of Absolute Reality is by nature crowned and complete with the Śūnyatā and Sahajānanda. Naturality of mind is imbalanced by ignorance. Once the veil of this

¹³⁵ Ramprasad Mishra, *Sahajayāna* (Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1991), p.125.

¹³⁶ Ramprasad Mishra, *Ibid*, pp.125-126.

¹³⁷ Ramprasad Mishra, *Ibid*, p.156.

illusion is uplifted from mind, one becomes capable of realising the Supreme Truth of Śūnyatā. According to this Siddha the Supreme Bliss can only be realised through Sahajayoga. Kānhupāda describes Sahajayoga through a series of similes in his Caryā poems. Somewhere he analogizes himself as an elephant who having uprooted the materials of illusive confinement constituted by Āli and Kālī enters into Lotus-tank of Sahaja and remains sportive in Mahāsukha with the she-elephant of Śūnyatā; somewhere he portrays himself as Kāpālika adorned with the peculiarities of dresses and ornaments which are constituted by Āli, Kālī, Sun and moon and requests the Dombī alias Avadhūtī for an amorous union on the fascinating bed of Lotus, blossomed with sixty four petals, and in some-otherwhere else he simlizes himself as a bridegroom and Avadhūtī as a bride and he proceeds to marry this bride in a pompous procession where Saṁsāra and Nirvāṇa figure as the musical instruments, mind and vital air become the wedding baskets which contain the materials of matrimony, Anuttara Yoga Tantra symbolises the perfection of Sahajānanda which resembles the joy of amorous copulation. All such similes figuring in the songs of Kānhu as also of other Siddhas no doubt add to the literary value and to the contour of the intentional expression of these poems, but that the essence of Sahajayoga is impregnated by these literary pieces. In this yoga by a regulation of the vital air through Āli alias Lalanā and Kālī alias Rasanā the elevation of Bodhicitta is sought through the Avadhūtī to stabilise it in Uṣṇīṣa Kamala, the highest cerebral plexus and thereby to realise the Supreme Bliss, concomitant with Nirvāṇa and Buddhahood Dārikapāda, a prominent Siddha of Sahajayāna was a native of Orissa. Initiated into Sahajayāna by Luipāda, Dārika became an erudite scholar and a successful practitioner of Sahaja Yoga. In his Caryā song, he affirms that Sahajānanda or Mahāsukha comcomitant with Buddhahood can only be realised through Sahajayoga. His precepts also figured grandiloquently in Vyaktabhāvānugatattva Siddhi of his disciple Shajayoginī Cintā where elimination of all the illusive thought creations of mind is recommended through Sahajagoga.¹³⁸

According to a recent research, an unusually large number of works 87 in all are listed under the name of Kanha, Kṛṣṇā, Kṛṣṇāpāda, Kṛṣṇāpandita, these names are all assumed to be referring to the same siddha Kṛṣṇācārya. Kṛṣṇācārya's works are of an interesting range.¹³⁹

However in this thesis the focus is on Kṛṣṇācārya's commentarial work 'Yogaratnamālā'. In 'Yogaratnamālā' we find a synthesis of the Mahāyāna Sūtra and Tantra doctrines. The following chapter elucidates Kṛṣṇācārya's assimilation of the doctrines of the Sūtra and the Tantra path and his skilfully interweaves them into the body of the text 'Yogaratnamālā' without being discursive or contradictory.

2) Sūtra and Tantra elements in 'Yogaratnamālā'

Kṛṣṇācārya, while giving his commentary on 'Hevajra Tantra', refers to the primary Mahāyāna thoughts such as Bodhicitta, Śūnyatā, Buddhā Kāya, along with the Highest Yoga Tantra concepts like maṇḍala rites, saḥajananda, Devatā Yoga. The Mādhyamika view, as well as the Cittamātra view find expression in 'Yogaratnamālā'. When concepts such as śūnyatā, bodhicitta, vijñapti and so forth are raised in the root text – 'Hevajra Tantra', Kṛṣṇācārya in the 'Yogaratnamālā', refers to various important Mahāyāna Sūtras like 'Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra', Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamakakārikā in order to clarify the deeper significance of the concepts and in the process has his prescribed view endorsed by the śūtras.

Therefore when he has to explain the of Stabilised Meditative state he refers to 'Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra'.

[commentary of I.1.11] Bhagavān has said in the 'Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra': "The one who knows the non-existent nature of phenomenal things is unattached in all

¹³⁸ Ramprasad Mishra, *Sahajayāna*, pp.156–158.

¹³⁹ David Templeman (tr.), *Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāpha* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1989), pp.143–146.

conditions. Such a person who is unattached in all conditions attains the Stabilised Meditative State of the Unconditioned (animitta-samādhi)." (YM)¹⁴⁰

The concept of sūnyatā (voidness) is explained in keeping with definition of sūnyatā as given in 'Vajraśekhara'.

[commentary of I.1.4] Bhagavān said in 'Vajraśekhara' thus: "The Void which is the firm essence, indestructible, indepletable, indivisible and not capable of being consumed is called Vajra." (YM)¹⁴¹

To validate the Tantric process of purification of the five sense organs Kṛṣṇācārya refers to the process mentioned in 'Buddhakapāla yoginī Tantra'.

[commentary of II.7.11] The terms 'Mother' and so on refer to the five senses. The five senses should be satiated with sound, form, taste and so on which are the five qualities of desire. The supreme worship is the worship of the goddesses located in these faculties. If it is asked how 'Mother' and others are the eyes and other sense organs, it is said in the 'Buddhakapāla yoginī tantra': 'Now I shall expound: By the purification of the impure consciousness Sister becomes the eyes, Niece the ears, Mother the nostrils, Daughter the tongue and the Wife the mind. These six are the divine and excellent bestowers of the Mahāmudrā Accomplishment.' (YM)¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ tathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā Lankāvatāre · bhāvān abhāvān iti yaḥ prajānate/ sa sarvabhāveṣu na jātu sañjate// yaḥ sarvabhāveṣu na jātu sañjate/ so 'nimittaṃ spṛṣate samādhim iti// (HT[S].part2, p.106)

¹⁴¹ tathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā vajraśekhara · dṛḍhaṃ sāraṃ asauśīṣyaṃ acchedyābheda lakṣaṇaṃ/ adāhi avināśi ca · sūnyatā vajraṃ ucyate// (HT[S].part2, pp.104-105). 'Vajraśekhara' - the original Sanskrit text is no longer available, the above verse is found in the 'Advayavajra saṃgraha' (GOS. p.37). The Tibetan translation of the verse as available in the Peking edition is: ci phyir rdo rje ra brjod par bya/ sra shiñ sñiñ po thoñ stoñ med/ gcad dañ gshig par bya ba min/ bsreg par bya min/ hjiḡ med pas/ stoñ nid rdo rje ra brjod par bya// P.No.113, vol.4, p.4. 1.3-4.

¹⁴² yadi vāmātety ādi · mātṛādisabdaiḥ pañcendriyāni · abhidhīyante/ tāni śabdarūparasādhibhiḥ pañcakāmaguṇaiḥ · tarpayet · iyaṃ eva hi tatra sthānaṃ · devīnāṃ · niruttarā pūjeti/ kathaṃ mātṛādayaḥ · cakṣurādaya iti cet/ tathā coktaṃ buddhakapāle yoginītantra · athātaḥ saṃpravakṣyāmi · asuddhacittaśodhanāt · bhaginī bhavec cakṣur bhāḡineyī śrotram eva ca · janānī bhāḡyate ghrāṇaṃ/ rasanā duhitā tathā · mano bhaved bhāryā ṣaḍ etā varā divyā mahāmudrāpradāyikā iti/ (HT[S].part2, p.156)

In 『Yogaratnamālā』 the nature of Maṇḍala Circle is defined based on the view propagated in the 『Ḍākinīvajrapañjara』.

[commentary of I.1.28] Regarding their essential nature it is said in the 『Ḍākinīvajrapañjara』: “O friend, just as the moon reflected in water is neither false nor true, so the form of the Maṇḍala Circle is pure and lucid by nature.” (YM)¹⁴³

Nāgārjuna’s 『Mūlamadhyamakakārikā』 is referred while examining the self nature (Svabhāva).

[commentary of I.5.1] In this respect Nāgārjunapāda has said: “The intrinsic nature is uncreated and independent of everything, and if phenomenal things do not have such an intrinsic nature, they are, in essence, non-existent.” (YM)¹⁴⁴

The Cittamātrins (Mind Only) expound the view that the phenomenal world is nothing but an emanation of the mind. Kṛṣṇācārya alludes to Vasubandhu’s 『Viṃśatikāvijñāptimātratāsiddhi』 only to refute it in favour of the Ultimate truth established by Nāgārjuna. According to him the Cittamātrin was propagated by the Buddha to help practitioners to remove their attachment to worldly things.

[commentary of I.5.1] The whole three-fold realm, O sons of the Victorious, is nothing but of mind. (YM)¹⁴⁵

Again Nāgārjuna’s 『Bodhicittavivaraṇa』 (27verse) is mentioned to establish the truth of the statement that Buddha taught Mind Only view to remove the fears of the ordinary people.

[commentary of I.5.1] In this respect Nāgārjunapāda has said: “the teaching of the Sage which says ‘all this is of mind’ was spoken to remove the fears of the simple-minded, but in truth it is not so.” (YM)¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ tad uktaṃ ḍākinīvajrapañjare// jima jala sajjhecāndramahi/ nai so sācca na miccha/ tima so maṇḍalacākkatā/ taṇu sahāvem sacca// (HT[S].part2, p.109)

¹⁴⁴ tathā cokaṭṭaṃ Nāgārjunapādaiḥ/ akṛtrimañ svabhāvo hi nirapekṣaḥ paratra ca// yadi niḥsvabhāvā bhāvāḥ svabhāvato na vidyante// (HT[S].part2, p.116). Nāgārjuna’s Mūlamadhyamakakārikā (15.2)

¹⁴⁵ ‘Cittamātraṃ Bho Jinaputrā yaduta traidhātukam’// (HT[S].part2, p.116)

¹⁴⁶ atrārthe Nāgārjunapādair uktaṃ cittamātram idaṃ sarvam iti yā deśanā

To emphasize the profundity of the concept of *sūnyatā* (voidness), Āryadeva's argument is referred.

[commentary of I.1.4] Regarding this Āryadeva has said: "By talking in terms of voidness the argument is overthrown, since by voidness everything is overthrown including the debated point." (YM)¹⁴⁷

Kṛṣṇācārya is in total conformity with *Samayavajrapāda* while explaining the special technique of Vajra path that leads the practitioner to realize the selflessness of all phenomena and individual mind and to attain the state of Ultimate Truth by practising *Sūnyatā* Yoga [that is directly perceive the Voidness or lack of inherent existence, of all phenomena], in conjunction with *Devatā* Yoga [that is manifesting oneself as Vajradhara].

[commentary of I.1.30] Therefore it has been said by *Samayavajrapāda*: "For the one who has, by utilising the Means of the Vajra method, purified his mind and fully manifested the direct personal experience of the Great Bliss of the body of Essential Nature, has attained skill and perfected the three Vajras, has completely severed the confusions of phenomenal existence by means of the realisation of the non-existence of self, knows the principle of his own purified mantra and is endowed with the proficiency of the Means, the accomplishment of the Vajradhara, in this very life, is in the palm of his hand." (YM)¹⁴⁸

muneḥ/ uttrāsaparihārārthaṃ bālānāṃ sā na tattvataḥ// (HT[S].part2, p.116). CHR. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana, Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), pp.192-193. The verse is from 'Bodhicittavivarāṇa', verse no.27. The entire text is no longer available in Sanskrit, only a part of it is available in the original. The above quoted verse of 'Bodhicittavivarāṇa' is referred in the text 'Subhāṣitasamgraha' (ed. Bendall).

¹⁴⁷ *tathā cāryadevapādāḥ vīgrāhe yaḥ parihāraṃ kṛte sūnyatayā vadet// sarvaṃ tasyāpa<ri>hṛtaṃ samaṃ sādhyena jāyate//* (HT[S].part2, p.104)

¹⁴⁸ *tathā coktaṃ Samayavajrapādaiḥ/ yas tu vajranayopāya<ḥ> vicitrīkṛtamānasah// sphuṭīkṛtasvasaṃvedya dharmakāya mahāsukhaḥ// () // tasya Vajradharasyeha siddhiḥ karatale sthitetyādi//* (HT[S].part2, p.108). () in the original Sanskrit text, the middle three lines are missing, they are available in the Tibetan translation of the text. *don gyi stobs kyis thos pa yis/ rdo rje gsum po rnam nes pas/ bdag med pa ni nes rig nas/ srid paḥi ḥkhrul pa kun nas gcod/ de ſiḍ rañ sñags gyur pa ni/ phun sum tshog thabs rñed par sla//* (HT[S].part2, p.108, fn. 3)

The state of Vajrasattva or Hevajra is the goal of the practitioner. But without a precise and accurate knowledge about the reality of the self, and the world of phenomena that is, the conventional truth one cannot attain the state of ultimate realisation nor overcome the obscurations to omniscience. The conventional truth cannot be understood in isolation from the ultimate truth. This world of seeming multiplicity does it have true existence? Both Theravāda and Mahāyāna schools refute the true existence of self. Though regarding phenomena there is some discord. Since the thesis is on a Mahāyāna Tantra text, the focus will be on the Mahāyāna perspective of self and phenomena. The Mādhyamika view (as presented by Nāgārjuna) of lack of true or intrinsic or inherent existence of both self and phenomena is accepted by all the schools that fall within the domain of Mahāyāna.

The truth regarding the multiplicity or singleness of phenomena and self has been lucidly explained by Śāntarakṣita in 『Madhyamakālamkārikā』 and his explanation must be comprehended in order to develop an accurate idea about the ultimate and the conventional truth, without which one cannot proceed on the path of Tantra. Thus first a brief synopsis of Śāntarakṣita's view is given, followed by illustrations from 『Yogaratanmālā』 – Kṛṣṇācārya's commentarial work on 『Hevajra Tantra』, that validate the truth of Śāntarakṣita's statements and the need to understand and generate a similar view.

The issue of one and many has been analysed by Śāntarakṣita in the 『Madhyamakālamkārikā』 and the lack of intrinsic existence of phenomena has been established. Śāntarakṣita in the expository verse of his 『Madhyamakālamkārikā』 writes :

In reality the things that we and others talk about are empty, because they are neither one nor many, like a reflection. (MAK. 1)¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ bdag dañ gzan sra'i dños 'di dag// yañ dag tu na gcig pa dañ// du ma'i rañ bzin bral ba'i phyir// rañ bzin med de gzugs brñan bzin// Masamichi Ichigō, Madhyamakālamkāra of Śāntarakṣita with his own commentary or Vṛtti and with the subcommentary or Pañjikā of Kamalaśīla (Kyoto: Buneido, 1985), p.22. The Sanskrit form of the Tibetan verse is : niḥsvabhāva amī bhāvās tattvataḥ

[auto-commentary] If phenomena has intrinsic or inherent existence then nothing exists except for one and many. The third alternative is denied, because both have the characteristic of being mutually exclusive (parasparaparihāra sthitalakṣaṇatvāt). The aggregates and the primordial cause (pradhāna) and so forth that we and others talk about, do not exist in reality and from this the lack of inherent existence is definitely known. (MAK.-vṛtti)¹⁵⁰

The Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools which regard phenomena as having a 'thoroughly established nature (svabhāvasiddhi)' are mistaken, as phenomena is empty of inherent existence that is it does not exist from its own side. Phenomena is like a reflection and lacks in both singleness and plurality. Had phenomena truly and intrinsically existed then it would be characterised by either singleness or plurality. There could be no third alternative as an intrinsically existent object can not be both single and multiple. The so called third alternative would be senseless babble. Thus, it is ascertained that phenomena lacks in a 'thoroughly established nature'.

Śāntarakṣita continues with his critical analysis of the concept dealt by both Buddhist and non-Buddhist Schools. He refutes the existence of Ātman (self) and Pudgala. the concept of Nirvāṇa (as explained by Sarvāstāvādin) is also refuted by him on the same grounds. Self can not be a self sufficient unitary and permanent entity. The Vātsīputrīya concept of Pudgala is refuted on the grounds of the definition of Pudgala being self contradictory. Vātsīputrīya defined Pudgala to be neither limited nor non limited. The Sarvāstāvādin concept of Nirvāṇa as a non-limited (asaṃskṛta) or a permanent and uncompounded phenomena is also refuted by Śāntarakṣita. Next, he refuted the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of Ākāśa being unitary and all pervading phenomena. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory of Sāmānya or Universals and Viśeṣa or

svaparoditāḥ/ ekānekasvabhāvena viyogāt pratibimbavat// P.L.Vaidya (ed.), Bodhicaryāvatāra of Śāntideva, with the commentary pañjikā of Prajñākaramati, BST, No:12 (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute, 1960), p.173, ll.17-18.

¹⁵⁰ rañ bzin zig yod par gyur na ni gcig pa 'am cig śos las mi 'da'o// de dag ni phan tshun spans te gnas pa'i mtshan ſid yin pas phuñ po gzan sel bar byed do// Masamichi Ichigō, *Ibid*, p.22.

Individuality¹⁵¹ is also rejected. The Nyāya–Vaiśeṣika state an individual Pot has a necessary relation (samavāya) with universal ‘Potness’. One can perceive the individual ‘pot’ due to its manifesting the universal ‘potness’. Their theory of Paramānu or atom being the smallest and the indivisible unit of all materials is also untenable according to Śāntarakṣita.

According to Śāntarakṣita, when ‘the entity’ asserted by those schools is examined it is proved that it does not have singleness or diversity and therefore does not ultimately exist.

As stated earlier reflections of Śāntarakṣita’s thoughts are found in ‘Hevajra Tantra’, as well as in Kṛṣṇācārya’s ‘Yogaratnamālā’.

[HT] Bhagavān (Means) is of the nature of Semen, the Lady (Wisdom) is the bliss that arises from it. Semen is free from [the notions of] one and many. Originating from the ‘moment’ the bliss is the supreme erotic delight. (I.8.48)¹⁵²

[commentary] ‘One and many etc.’: Here, ‘semen’ is the Means facet. Semen is non-substantial and devoid of notions because of being devoid of the characteristics of one and many. Since semen, in this sense, is non-substantial its conception is not suitable for the quick attainment of enlightenment. (YM)¹⁵³

[commentary of I.5.11] ‘As aspects of the undifferentiated nature’: The differentiated (prapañca) is characterised by plurality (nānātva). When devoid of the differentiated nature of one and many, they exist as aspects of the Thusness which is characterised as the non-arising nature of the differentiated. (YM)¹⁵⁴

[commentary of II.2.37] If the phenomenal nature is understood as being the attributes of the Maṇḍala Circle, then is not the Maṇḍala Circle misconceived, because it does not possess the quality of one and many? (YM)¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ M. Hiriyanna, *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1994), pp.233–36.

¹⁵² śukrākāro bhaved bhagavān tatsukhaṃ kāmīnī smṛtaṃ/ ekānekaviyogo ‘sau kṣaṇād ekā parā raitiḥ// (HT[F&M]., p.105)

¹⁵³ *ekānekety* ādi · asāv iti · upāyabhāgaḥ śukrākāraḥ · ekānekasvabhāvavirahatvāt · niḥsvabhāvo vicāraśūnya ity arthaḥ/ ataḥ kāraṇān nāsau bhāvyā vitathatvenāśutarabodhiprāpter ayogāt// (HT[S].,part, p129)

¹⁵⁴ *niḥprapañcasvabhāvata* · iti · prapañco nānātvalakṣaṇaḥ / tasya caikānekasvabhāvavirahāt / yas teṣām anutpādalakṣaṇas tathatā tenaivākāreṇāstīti bhāvaḥ// (HT[S].,part2, p.117)

¹⁵⁵ yaḍi bhāvasvabhāvatvaṃ maṇḍalacakrākārataya tadā ekānekasvabhāvarahitatvān

[commentary of II.3.37] 'Not true (nastyam)': The fire is not true because it is devoid of the quality of one and many. 'Not false (not false)': The fire is not false because it manifests. (YM)¹⁵⁶

The yogī must eat the flesh of one killed at the gallows pole as well as one killed by a weapon and one who is a 'seven times returned'. The wise yogī performs the rite of Killing after intently arousing mercy. (1.7.21)¹⁵⁷

[commentary] 'One killed by a weapon (śāstrahataḥ)': Killing with the weapon implies the severing with the weapon of Wisdom and the non-substantiation of the differentiated by reflecting upon the nature one and many. (YM)¹⁵⁸

These illustrations help to deduce the fact that both Buddhist Sūtra (Perfection Vehicle) and Tantra teachings focus on the lack of inherent existence (nisvabhāva) of self and phenomena alike. All Buddhist Schools accept that all phenomena are products, impermanent and selfless as they lack in true existence. Hence emptiness or lack of inherent existence of each phenomena is the ultimate truth and the phenomenal world only exists nominally. Analysis of the true nature of phenomena and self is necessary to arrive at the two truths. The Ultimate (paramārtha) Truth and Conventional (saṁvṛti) Truth.

Śāntarakṣita has refuted the truly established things both ultimately and conventionally and asserted that phenomena is neither one nor many as it is ultimately without inherent existence. He based his refutations of inherent existence of perceptual phenomena on Dharmakīrti's Buddhist Logic that existence is activity or conditions that produce effects (artha kriyakaritva).

Thus it can be noted that Kṛṣṇācārya had amalgamated the various Mahāyāna doctrines both from the Sūtra schools as well as the Tantra schools. However the main philosophical view expounded by him is

maṇḍalacakrasya bhrāntatvaṃ// (HT[S], part2, p.139)

¹⁵⁶ na satyam iti · ekānekasvabhāvavirahāt/ na mṛṣeti · tathā pratibhāsamānatvāt// (HT[S], part2, p.144)

¹⁵⁷ dhvajam śāstrahataṃ caiva saptāvartaṃ ca bhakṣayet/ kṛpām utpādyā yatnena māraṇam kriyate viduḥ// (HT[F&M], p.78)

¹⁵⁸ śāstrahataṃ prajñāśāstreṇa chitvā · ekānekasvabhāvavicāraṇena niḥsvabhāvīkaraṇam śāstreṇa hananam// (HT[S], part2, p.122)

Nāgārjuna's Mādhyamika view, and the truth is established by using Sūtras from the Prāsaṅgika and the Yogācāra Mādhyamika schools. For method of spiritual practice Kṛṣṇācārya has adopted the methods recommended in the Tantra texts (primarily Anuttara Yoga Tantra texts) that were in circulation in his times. In the following chapter the practice aspect of 『Hevajra Tantra』 will be critically analysed.