

# GATHERING THE ELEMENTS

The Cult of the Wrathful Deity Vajrakīla according to the Texts  
of the Northern Treasures Tradition of Tibet

(Byang-gter phur-ba)

*Vajrakīla Texts of the Northern Treasures Tradition*  
*Volume One*

by  
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Illustration of *sman rak gtor gsum* on p.320 © Jamyang  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

A,B,C,D,E	The five collections of Byang-gter Vajrakīla mss upon which the present study is based. See Appendix I
BRT	<i>The Black Razor Tantra</i>
CIHTS	Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient</i>
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
GOS	Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda
GST	<i>Guhyasamāja-tantra</i> . Ed., F. Fremantle, 1971
HT	<i>Hevajra-tantra</i> . Ed., D.L. Snellgrove, 1959
IASWR	The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, Carmel, New York
IIBS	The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> , Paris
JASB	<i>Journal of Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i> , Madison
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> , London
LTWA	The Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamsala
MLB	Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi
MMK	<i>Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa</i> . Ed., G. Sastri, 1925
NGB	<i>rNying ma'i rgyud 'bum</i> . Reproduced from a manuscript preserved at gTing-skyes dgon-pa-byang monastery, Thimbu Published in 36 vols., 1973-1975 Catalogue by E. Kaneko, Tokyo, 1982
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
NSTB	<i>The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism; its Fundamentals and History</i> by 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje. Translation and annotation by G. Dorje and M. Kapstein (2 vols.), 1991
OUP	Oxford University Press
P	Peking <i>bKa'-'gyur</i> and <i>bsTan-'gyur</i> Catalogue and Index of the Tibetan <i>Tripiṭaka</i> kept in the library of Otani University, Kyoto Ed., D.T. Suzuki. Suzuki Research Foundation, Tokyo, 1962
PTS	Pali Text Society, London
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society, London

RKP	Routledge & Kegan Paul, London
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists, PTS, London
SBE	Sacred Books of the East. Gen. ed., Max Müller, Oxford
SDPT	<i>Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra</i> . Ed., T. Skorupski, 1983
SOAS	School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London
STTS	<i>Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha</i> . Ed., L. Chandra, 1987
SUNY	The State University of New York
T	Taisho edition of the Chinese <i>Tripitaka</i> , Taisho Issaikyo Ed., Takakusu Junjoro & Watanabe Kaigyoku Tokyo, 1924-1929
TPS	<i>Tibetan Painted Scrolls</i> . G. Tucci, 1949
VKMK	<i>Vajrakīlamūlatantrakhaṇḍa</i> (P.78)
WZKSA	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens</i> , Wien
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> , Wiesbaden







## INTRODUCTION

The present work surveys the cult of the wrathful deity Vajrakīla as represented by the literature and living tradition of the Northern Treasures (Byang-gter) school of Tibetan Buddhism. Divided into three parts, it focuses its attention, in turn, upon the Byang-gter (Part One), the *kīla* (Part Two) and the Byang-gter Kīla cult (Part Three).

*Part One: the Northern Treasures*

The first part seeks to trace the origin and development of the Northern Treasures Tradition and to indicate its vitality and relevance as a school of spiritual development within the modern world. Much of the information for this section is derived from Tibetan hagiographies dealing with the lineage of masters through whom the tradition has been transmitted, as well as from various notes and references to be found in the works of Western scholars. The latter works are mainly short papers on diverse topics, for this tradition until now has not been the subject of any major research.

In the eighth century CE, Tibet was the greatest military power in Central Asia and its control extended from what is now China and Iran to the Ganges River in India. Buddhist teachers had been visiting the country for some time but their influence had been fairly marginal. According to tradition, the learned scholar Śāntarakṣita had been invited to teach in the central provinces of Tibet but, being unable to establish the religion on any firm footing, he advised the king to invite Padmasambhava, a charismatic adept in the branch of Buddhism known as Guhyamantrayāna, the mystical path of secret utterances. Together, Padmasambhava, Śāntarakṣita and the king Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan (742-796) managed to integrate Buddhism into the Tibetan way of life and thus set the stage for more than twelve hundred years of Tibetan cultural development.

Before departing from Tibet, Padmasambhava was requested by his Nepalese consort Śākyadevī to leave further instructions for future generations. In response, Padmasambhava and the noble lady Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal together concealed religious teachings and material objects in secret locations all over the country. Empowering his close disciples to become the future masters of these hidden treasures (*gter*) when the time was

right, Padmasambhava protected the treasures from the gaze of the unworthy by entrusting their safe preservation to the ancient spirits of the land. Often written on scrolls of yellow parchment in a symbolic script, only to be comprehended by the one intended to receive it, these religious instructions have subsequently inspired future generations by providing them with novel methods of meditation practice, as well as sacred objects of support, including ritual implements and prescribed substances of occult power, statues and paintings.<sup>1</sup>

The Byang-gter is concerned exclusively with the esoteric tenets of *guhya*mantra and thus its documentary records consist of largely psychological narrative replete with religious symbolism, a stream of apparently miraculous events brought about by wonder-working sages (*siddha*). It claims a place within the more general fabric of Buddhism by recognising each of its principal protagonists as the reincarnation of an earlier historical personality of acknowledged religious significance, the purpose of each rebirth being to carry on the work begun in a former life (sometimes several centuries earlier) on a deeper, more esoteric, level. These reincarnations, moreover, are said to have been prophesied by the earlier Buddhist masters and thus the importance of their roles in the grand design of Buddhist history is placed beyond dispute among the faithful. Among the many great disciples of Padmasambhava who later appeared in the Northern Treasures lineage are sNa-nam rdo-rje bdud-'joms, Nam-mkha'i snying-po, gNyags Jñānakumāra, rGyal-ba mchog-dbyangs, and Princess Pema-gsal. As for the 'treasures' of this school, they are found to consist of an admixture of extraordinarily profound and subtle methods of *śamatha* and *vipaśyanā* (yogic preoccupations of the earliest Buddhists, brought here to their apogee in the teachings of *atiyoga*<sup>2</sup>), together with magical rites of every weird and wonderful sort, so beloved of the medieval Indian *siddha* tradition. In particular, the Northern Treasures contain many prophecies which emphasise their importance for future descendants of king Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan and the preservation of Tibet as a homeland of Buddhism and haven of religious practice in the coming degenerate age.

According to the Byang-gter chronicles, cultic texts and practices concerning the wrathful deity Vajrakīla were among the many teachings transmitted to Tibetan devotees in the eighth century by the visiting

<sup>1</sup> For a study of the rNying-ma *gter ma* tradition see Tulku Thondup, *Hidden Teachings of Tibet*. Wisdom Publications, London 1986

<sup>2</sup> See Samten Karmay, *The Great Perfection* (*passim*)

Indian *siddha* Padmasambhava.<sup>3</sup> A number of these esoteric teachings, said to consist of sacred texts from India and oral instructions concerning them, were specifically entrusted to the *yogin* sNa-nam rdo-rje bdud-'joms before being sealed up in a casket, together with a vast quantity of other material, and hidden away for several hundred years in a cave in La-stod-byang to the north of the Brahmaputra river. When they were eventually rediscovered and revealed to the world in 1366, this particular collection of teachings became famous as 'The Northern Treasures' and the doctrines of Vajrakīla found among them were widely acclaimed as being of paramount importance.

As knowledge of the Byang-gter spread throughout Tibet, it gradually became established as a major religious system with over fifty monasteries propagating its teachings, chief among which was the mother monastery of rDo-rje-brag. Monks of this seminary, properly trained in its rituals, have always been highly prized for their religious expertise. One such monk, for example, was invariably required in the *sKu lnga* shrine in the Jo-khang in Lhasa, another at the *lHa mo khang* and eight in the *mGon khang* at the base of the Potala palace engaged in the worship of Mahākāla. Four monks from rDo-rje-brag annually performed the '*Gong po ar gtad* ritual for the suppression of demons at the Lhasa *Rigs gsum* shrine and the oracle of dGa'-gdong was regularly consulted to divine the whereabouts of deceased lamas.

Having surveyed the general history of the Northern Treasures school in Tibet, the chapter goes on to look at the particular lineage of Yol-mo sprul-sku in Nepal and concludes with a brief note on the Byang-gter monks and monasteries now established among the Tibetan refugee population of Northern India.

#### *Part Two: the history and form of the vajra spike*

The second part of this study consists of three chapters. In the first of these (Chapter Two) I have attempted to clarify the cultural milieu out of which the Kīla deity arose. To this end I have looked at the social context as well as the religious and have drawn upon both historical and mythological sources.

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<sup>3</sup> In the view of the Byang-gter tradition, the three principal recipients of these Kīla *upadeśa* were the king Khri Srong-lde'u-btsan, the noble lady Ye-shes mtsho-rgyal and the *yogin* sNa-nam rdo-rje bdud-'joms.

With regard to the name ‘Vajrakīla’: *vajra* as a prefix is almost ubiquitous within the Buddhist system of *guhyamantra*. Originally meaning ‘the hard or mighty one’ and referring in particular to the thunderbolt as a weapon of Indra, it subsequently became so intimately associated with the development of tantric ideas in Buddhism that the entire system of practice came to be known as the Vajrayāna or *Vajra* Vehicle. Indeed, as a symbol within the Buddhist *tantra* it is as pregnant with meaning as the very texts themselves. Characterised as *abhedya* ‘unbreakable’ and *acchedya* ‘indivisible’, the term may be said to represent nothing less than the full enlightenment of the *samyaksambuddha* who himself came to be referred to as Vajradhara, “He who holds the *vajra*”. The Sanskrit word *kīla* means ‘nail’, ‘peg’ or ‘spike’ and thus Vajrakīla may be taken to mean “the unasailable spike” or, on a higher level, “(He who is) the nail of supreme enlightenment”.

The roots of *kīla* mythology, however, may lie buried deep within the pre-Buddhist religion of ancient India where, in the *R̥gveda*, the story is told of the god Indra who slew the demon Vṛtra.<sup>4</sup> It is said that, at that time, Indra stabilised the earth and propped up the heavens and thus, at the outset, we have clearly discernible indications of a path along which a humble wooden stake might travel so as eventually to become deified as a terrifying god of awesome power, one by whom all demons are vanquished.

The idea of stabilising the earth by pinning it down with a *kīla* was taken up by architects and priests who projected a magical function onto the wooden pegs employed by them in the process of marking out a plot of ground chosen as the site for a temple or other building. Since Buddhists also used wooden pegs and lengths of string to mark out the ground plan of a *stūpa* or *vihāra*, they naturally enough also adopted the concept of those pegs as magically potent items. In particular, the pegs struck into the four corners of the site or around its periphery were regarded as estab-

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<sup>4</sup> The name Vṛtra derives from the root *vṛ* with the sense of “to surround, enclose, obstruct”. Hence the noun *vṛtra* means restrainer, enemy or hostile host. It also stands as “the name of the Vedic personification of an imaginary malignant influence or demon of darkness and drought supposed to take possession of the clouds, causing them to obstruct the clearness of the sky and keep back the waters”. M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. We shall meet with the *kīla* as an implement employed in the magical control of weather below, Chapter Two.

lishing a protective boundary (*rakṣācakra*) capable of repelling all harm.<sup>5</sup> As it says in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* [p.693]:

खदिरकीलकमष्टशतजप्तां कृत्वा चतुर्षु दिशासु निखनेत् ।  
सीमाबन्धः कृतो भवति ॥

Having prepared *kīla* of acacia wood, empowered by 108 recitations of *mantra*, they should be embedded in the four directions. That is the way in which the boundaries are sealed.

This idea may have been established in Buddhist practice at a remarkably early period because literary evidence for the use of the *kīla* as a magical implement is to be found in the *dhāraṇī*, some of which conceivably date right back to the third or fourth centuries BCE.

The earliest extant pegs of this type, in which the form of the *kīla* unambiguously reflects its identification with a wrathful divinity, are believed to have been carved in the first century BCE. They were discovered by the archeologist and explorer Sir Marc Aurel Stein among the debris associated with the ancient watchtowers situated at the south-west extremity of the frontier defence system to the north of Dūnhuáng. In the detailed reports of his expeditions, Stein describes a watchtower (which he identifies as T.VI.b) and the artefacts discovered there, among which are a number of *kīla* to which were originally attached loops of string. He describes these items as resembling tent pegs and exhibiting evident signs of having been pegged into the ground and yet “certainly not strong enough to have served as real tent pegs”. Similar finds were made at the watchtowers T.VI.c and T.VIII. Some of these pegs bore Chinese inscriptions that could only make sense if read as personal names but no indication is given as to whether they might be the personal names of men

<sup>5</sup> All that has a terrible aspect (*ghora*) is traditionally regarded in India as *vighna*; an impediment, obstacle, interruption, hurdle, difficulty or trouble. Indeed, the vast size of the problem of *vighna* led to its being associated with the boundary or circumference which, it is said, the Vedic Prajāpati finally overcame by taking control of the centre (an inconceivable subtlety totally devoid of extension) so that “the very root of (demonic) arrogance and conceit, viz. the vast size, ceased to have any meaning”. V.S.Agrawala, “The Meaning of Gaṇapati”. *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, vol.XIII.1 (1963) 1-4. So, too, we will observe throughout this study that the *kīla* that protects the circumference is also the instrument through which the centre is conquered.

or gods. The evidence put forward by Stein for dating these finds to the first century BCE seems overwhelming.<sup>6</sup>

The theme of the apotropaic spike, having come to the surface in the early *dhāraṇī*, was subsequently developed extensively within the *kriyā*- and *yogatantra* of the later periods. Throughout this time spikes came to be employed increasingly in rituals of mundane sorcery which seem to have posed no moral dilemma for their perpetrators, even within a Buddhist context.

Although the *mantra* of Vajrakīla is to be found in the fundamental *yogatantra* STTS and, as pointed out by authorities on tantric practice, “the *mantra* is the god”, the absolute deification of the sacred spike and its transformation into an awesome god of terrible wrath seems not to have been finally completed until the period of the *yoganiruttaratantra*. By this time the spike that brought death and destruction to its opponents came also to be regarded as the harbinger of liberation, a bestower of *nirvāṇa*. As a symbol of absolute stability, the paradoxical nature of the magic spike is expressed in the religious myth and ritual of the deity which everywhere depicts chaos as the natural condition of *samsāra*. The *maṇḍala* of the deified spike is a bloody charnel ground, in the centre of which dwells the god in a palace of skulls, astride a throne of demonic corpses. His sanguinary sport (*līlā*) is the archetype of violent behaviour, leading to a distinct antinomian trend in the religious ideals of his worshippers.

Within the sacred texts of both this deity and others like him, it is said that the function of ‘wrathful compassion’ is to kill sentient beings and thus apparently to violate one of the primary ethical precepts of Buddhism. The question naturally arises – Is this vile injunction to be taken literally, or is it symbolic? In fact, it is to be taken both ways. The major commentary on the *Kālacakra-tantra* says that provisionally (*neyārtha*) “a Buddha may kill those who are really committing the five immediacies, who break their vows, and who damage the teaching. But a *mantrin* who has not attained the five special knowledges (*abhijñā*) should not perform such fearful actions.” On the definitive level (*nītārtha*), however, killing

<sup>6</sup> M.A. Stein, *Serindia* (5 vols.), Oxford, 1921. Stein's description of the watchtower and his finds is to be found in vol.III 644-651 and the *kīla* themselves are depicted in plate LII (vol.IV)

More recent photographs of two of those *kīla*, currently housed in the British Museum, are to be seen in R. Whitfield & A. Farrer, *Caves of the Thousand Buddhas; Chinese Art from the Silk Route* 174

refers to the yogic practice of holding the semen at the top of the head.<sup>7</sup> Klong-chen-pa in his commentary on the *Guhyagarbha-tantra* says that the skilful *yogin* should kill wrongdoers and release them into an exalted realm, thus saving them from the certainty of rebirth in limitless evil existences. The rite itself has two main parts: (1) destruction of the evil body, speech and mind and (2) guiding the consciousness of the deceased to a 'Pure Realm' (*buddhakṣetra*). There is no hatred in the rite, only an altruistic mind of awareness and compassion.<sup>8</sup> As it says in the *Samvarodaya-tantra*, "Ah! Marvellous is the rite of killing. It kills the transmigration which is only imagination. It does not kill the mind recognising suchness (*tathatā*, the real state of things)."<sup>9</sup>

Finally, Śubhakarasiṃha says that 'killing' expresses the basic concept of the vow to cut away the life of all beings, where 'life' means 'beginningless ignorance and passion' (*kleśa*).<sup>10</sup>

The various biographies of those whose practised this magical art of slaying, however, provide us with evidence of occasional, all too human, lapses from such noble altruism. Mortal nature is such that there have inevitably arisen in the past certain self-centred, power-hungry *yogins* who have been tempted to turn this philanthropic 'white magic' into 'black' for their own nefarious purposes. In the chronicles of the Byang-gter, for example, is recounted the story of combative sorcery between Lang-lab and the translator of Rva, which is told below in Chapter Four.

Following the introduction of these ideas to Tibet, the *kīla* as a weapon of ritual magic became immensely popular among both Buddhist and Bon-po – both within the *Kīla* cult in which the deity Vajrakīla is worshipped, and independent of that cult.

To date there have been several western studies published concerned with the ritual *kīla* and the *Kīla* cult, although none of them could be called in any way major. The first book to be published was by John Huntington (*The Phur-pa; Tibetan Ritual Daggers*. Ascona, 1975) in which a number of ritual *kīla* are described in terms of length, weight, material of manufacture, etc. It contains almost nothing that has any bearing on the

<sup>7</sup> M. Broido, "Killing, Lying, Stealing and Adultery; a Problem of Interpretation in the Tantras" 73

<sup>8</sup> G. Dorje, *The Guhyagarbha-tantra* 918

<sup>9</sup> S. Tsuda, *The Samvarodaya-tantra* 279

<sup>10</sup> A. Snodgrass, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism* 481

present research. The second book is by Thomas Marcotty (*Dagger Blessing. The Tibetan Phurba Cult: Reflections and Materials*. Delhi, 1987) in which more is said concerning the rituals in which *kīla* are symbolically employed. This book also presents translated excerpts from four Tibetan texts, including the canonical *Vajramantrabhīrusandhi-mūlatantra* (P.467) but is, unfortunately, highly subjective in nature and riddled with unwarranted and spurious assertions. Its many shortcomings have been adequately brought to light by Cathy Cantwell in her review for the *Tibet Journal* XIV,2 (1989) 61-64.

Many other books have carried passing references to either the deity Vajrakīla or to symbolic *kīla* as encountered in iconography or ritual, foremost among which is the classic *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* by René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz. The large number of instances cited in this text clearly demonstrates the ubiquity of the ritual *kīla* as a magic weapon throughout the entire realm of Tibetan tantrism, especially following the importation from India of the cult of Vajrakīla. The several studies and text translations that have been published in more recent years, concerning the ritual techniques of the deity and the theoretical basis underpinning these techniques, serve to highlight the continuing relevance of the cult of Vajrakīla in the modern age.

Several papers have also been published in academic journals and the like which have a bearing on our topic. One of the most interesting of these is the study by Bischoff and Hartman<sup>11</sup> on the manuscript from Dūnhuáng listed as ‘Pelliot tibétain 44’. This is said to be “possibly the oldest document in existence referring to Padmasambhava” and is considered by Prof. Tucci as a major proof of the *siddha*’s historicity. Its theme is the summoning of the Kīla *Vidyottama-tantra* from Nālandā University to the Asura cave in Nepal. In their introduction to the text, the translators deal with the problem of the widespread assertion in Tibetan literature that the Sanskrit term for *phur ba* is *kīlaya* (with or without a long *i*) when all dictionaries and Sanskrit works agree the word to be *kīla* (or *kīlaka*). I am convinced that this is due to an indiscriminate use by Tibetans of the dative singular *kīlāya*. This form would have been familiar to them in the simple salutation *namo vajrakīlāya* (homage to Vajrakīla) from which it could easily be assumed by those unfamiliar with the technicali-

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<sup>11</sup> E.A. Bischoff & Charles Hartman, “Padmasambhava’s Invention of the Phur-bu.” *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou* 11-28 Paris 1971



ties of Sanskrit that the name of the deity is Vajrakīlāya instead of Vajrakīla. It should also be noted that the term (*vajra*)*kīlaya* is frequently found in Sanskrit texts (as well as in virtually every *kīlanamantra*) legitimately used as the denominative verb ‘to spike’, ‘transfix’, ‘nail down’, etc.

John Huntingdon made the assumption that the precursor of Vajrakīla was Mahākāla.<sup>12</sup> Such an identification appears quite plausible for Mahākāla is, indeed, one of the earliest wrathful deities to become clearly defined in the Vajrayāna pantheon and among his many epithets and guises he is widely renowned as the destroyer of obstructors and misleaders,<sup>13</sup> a role subsequently taken up by Vajrakīla. Mahākāla is, of course, a deity known to both the Buddhists and Hindus and in the opening chapter of the Hindu *Uḍḍiṣa-tantra* there is given a rite for the destruction of an enemy which involves burying “a terrible pin made of copper” in the chest of his effigy. Sitting on a seat of tiger skin, the *yogin* should mutter the *mantra* “OM Honour to the Lord Mahākāla whose lustre is equal to the fire of destruction; Liquidate liquidate, destroy destroy this enemy of mine called So-and-so; HŪM PHAṬ SVĀHĀ”.<sup>14</sup> Such a procedure differs in no way from its Buddhist counterparts. There is, furthermore, an attested Buddhist form of Mahākāla with *kīla* legs which was worshipped in Khotan,<sup>15</sup> a place known to have accepted early on the notion of the *kīla* as a god<sup>16</sup> and culturally connected via the ‘silk route’ with those Central Asian finds of Sir Aurel Stein. There is also the widespread opinion that ritual *kīla* evolved to a certain extent from tent pegs<sup>17</sup> and it is certainly true to say that tent pegs are viewed by *yogins* as *kīla*.<sup>18</sup> In rites of meditation, *kīla* are employed to effect a protective tent (*pañjara*) around an area that is to be kept ritually pure<sup>19</sup> and the special form of Mahākāla with the *kīla* feet is known as ‘the Lord of the Tent’ (Pañjara-nātha). That god also has *garuḍa* wings and other details of iconography that match exactly those of the later Vajrakīla. On the face of it, therefore, one might sup-

<sup>12</sup> John C. Huntingdon, *The Phur-pa* 32

<sup>13</sup> More than one dozen rites of Mahākāla are to be found in the *Sādhana-mālā*.

<sup>14</sup> T. Goudriaan & S. Gupta, *Hindu Tantric and Śākta Literature* 120

<sup>15</sup> René de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet* 51

<sup>16</sup> R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* 46-47

<sup>17</sup> P. Pal, *Art of Tibet* 244 and *passim*

<sup>18</sup> W.Y. Evans-Wentz, *Tibetan Yoga and Secret Doctrines* 324

<sup>19</sup> J. Hopkins, *The Yoga of Tibet* 98-100

pose Huntingdon's theory of the identity of Mahākāla and Vajrakīla to be correct. In Chapter Two of the present work, however, I have drawn together several strands of literary evidence that clearly reveal not Mahākāla but Amṛtakunḍalin (a god also associated with the protection of boundaries) to be the precursor of Vajrakīla.

This identification of Amṛtakunḍalin with Vajrakīla remains valid even in the Byang-gter literature of a much later period. The short Byang-gter text *Phur pa'i dam can gnad rem*, for example, gives proper names to the Kīlas of the three families: Buddhakīla is called Yamāntaka, Padmakīla is Hayagrīva and Vajrakīla is Amṛtakunḍalin.<sup>20</sup> This grouping of three families (*kula*) belongs to the system of *kriyātantra*<sup>21</sup> and therefore indicates an early provenance for this material said to have been unearthed in 1366. Such primitive features are widespread in the Byang-gter literature and I see no reason to doubt that much of it could indeed have been brought to Tibet from India in the eighth century CE.

The Byang-gter text *sGrub thabs rgyun khyer* exemplifies the manner in which the *yogin* mystically identifies himself with the deity Vajrakīla as he takes the ritual nail into his hands. Thinking of himself as the single-faced, two-armed god with the lower half of his body in the form of a triple-edged spike blazing in a mass of fire, the *yogin* blesses the ritual *kīla* by contemplating that his right hand is the *maṇḍala* of the sun from which arise the *bīja* of the *pañcatathāgata* and his left hand is the *maṇḍala* of the moon emanating the *bīja* of their five consorts. Then, as his hands are brought together with *mantra*, the male and female buddhas unite and the *bodhicitta* of their union flows into the *kīla*. Rolling it between his palms, the *yogin* exhorts the *kīla* to fulfil the four magical acts. He places the deity Hūmkāra on the top of the spike and Mahābala at its lower tip. Upon the upper 'vast knot' he places the *krodha* kings of the four cardinal quarters, and the kings of the intermediate directions are installed within its lower knot. Then, as the *yogin* rolls the empowered spike between the palms of his hands, he recites the *mantra* and simultaneously blesses the entire *traidhātuka* with 'liberation'.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> C8 99

<sup>21</sup> Lessing & Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* 103

<sup>22</sup> A29 199-200