

Comparative Study of Vairocana Buddha in Tantra Yoga and Tantra Anuttarayoga

Seongjoon Cheong

The appearance of different Buddhas in Esoteric Buddhism's scriptures reflects Mahayāna's goal to save all sentient beings; the variety of Buddhas are expedient means to reach beings with varying desires and abilities. The different Buddhas reflect the philosophical and doctrinal changes in the historical development of Esoteric Buddhism.

For instance, Vairocana sūtra (大日經) contains key doctrines and practice systems of the middle period of Esoteric Buddhism, and is said that Vairocana Buddha is the supreme existence surpassing historical Buddha; it also said that the omniscient wisdom (一切智智) of the enlightened ones marks the ultimate stage of Buddhahood, wherein an expedient as a practical ability to save sentient beings is accomplished.

The Vajra Peak Tantra (金剛頂經) which appeared right after the advent of Vairocana sūtra, was another development of Yogacarya practice, in the tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism. In Vajra Peak Tantra, the Vairocana Buddha is described as a Dharma-kāya Buddha (法身佛) of Vajra-dhātu (金剛

Seong-joon Cheong is a Lecturer of Buddhist Studies at Dongguk University, Korea.

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界), and through his body, speech and mind of unchanging existence, he manifests Emanation Body (化身) in order to save sentient beings.

The Anuttarayoga-tantra system appeared in the latter period of Esoteric Buddhism and was a successor to the idea of Immediate Body Accomplishment (即身成佛) of the Mantrayāna (真言門), first mentioned in the Vairocana Sūtra. Anuttarayoga-tantra is said to be a practice system of both Generation (生起次第) and Completion (究竟次第) Stages; a method to experience the physical body as Buddha nature. This paper seeks to identify historical characteristics evident in the development of Vairocana Buddha throughout Esoteric Buddhism's history, with special comparison of Vajra Peak Tantra with Guhyasamājatantra.

Key Words: Vairocana Sutra, Vajra Peak Tantra, Mahāsukha, Guhyasamājatantra, Immediate Body Accomplishment.

I. Vairocana Buddha in Mahāsukha thought

The teachings of Śākyamuni Buddha were a radical departure from the prevailing religious beliefs which had been practiced for millennia on the Indian sub-continent. Buddhism came into maturity over a period of 200-300 years, at a time when India was undergoing significant religious, social and cultural change. Esoteric Buddhism was a later development in the maturing process of Mahayāna thought, and in order to understand Esoteric Buddhism we must study the changing concept of Buddha in the scriptures of both Paramitayāna and Tantra.

In Mahayāna thought, 'Buddha' means not only Sakyamuni the historic founder, but general and universal existence, beyond the limitations of time and space, and sometimes the Buddhas of the Purified land (淨土). There are a number of Buddhas in Esoteric Buddhism and each assumes characteristics and functions according to the doctrine which they reflect. The complete Buddha's pantheon of

Esoteric Buddhism constitutes a Maṇḍala that stimulates consciousness of Buddha qualities; by visualizing the Maṇḍala the mind of the Esoteric practitioner reflects the qualities of Buddha's mind.

Mahasukha (大樂) thought originated in Mahayāna Buddhism and evolved further in the latter period of Esoteric Buddhism; it is distinctive in that it differentiates Anuttarayoga-tantra from Yoga-tantra. For instance, the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (般若經) states that transcendence of this mundane world does not mean to leave behind the everyday existence of sentient beings; whereas the *Nirvāṇa sūtra* (涅槃經) says that nirvāṇa is a state of purified existence and eternal enjoyment (常樂我淨) which can be attained without abandoning this life of sentient beings.

Anuttarayoga-tantra on the other hand, is an extension of those traditions of Mahayāna thought, as its Generation and Completion Stage practices purify the physical and desires body of sentient beings so to reveal Buddha nature.

The *Uttara-tantra*, which concurs with Chapter 18 in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, understands 'bodhicitta' and realized mind as follows:

“Calmness without beginning or end, dissolution and therefore liberation from boundaries of existence and non-existence, and indivisibility of emptiness and compassion; this is Bodhicitta. Since its nature is an opening and constancy of immutable body, speech and mind, unified with light, it is named, 'being of brightness.’”¹

'Bodhicitta,' as we noted above, is awakened mind residing in Nirvāṇa and destroying all discriminations of phenomenon and absolute; it is also a mind stage realizing both emptiness and compassion.

1 “anadinidhanaṃ śāntaṃ bhavabhavaḥśayaṃ vibhūṃ/sūnyatākaruṇābhinnāṃ bodhicittam iti smṛtam/38 kāyavācīkittavajreṇa bhedyabhedyasvabhavataḥ/ vidyayā saha saṃyukto vidyāpuruṣa ucyate/39” (Yukei: 116).

So Bodhicitta, when seeking to save all sentient beings, is ‘Vajracitta,’ when it is actualized in body and speech and is a mind of unchanging and permanent nature. A Sanskrit word equivalent to Bodhicitta is ‘vidya’ meaning ‘light,’ and a ‘vidyadhara (持明人)’ is a personality that possesses ‘realization,’ as with Buddha or Bodhisattva individuality.

Mahāsukha thought in *Guhyasamājantra*, on the other hand, purports that the absolute Buddha realm is cultivated and realized in the living realm of the physical body of sentient beings. The *Uttaratantra* states, “Bodhicitta as nature appears in all the creations of passions (of sentient beings) of desire, anger and ignorance.”² The same text also states, “Vajrayāna is an expedient of ignorance, anger and desire, while remain in the state of blissful enjoyment.”³

Guhyasamājantra introduces the notion of Family (部族思想 kūla); for instance the desire world of sentient beings manifested in Five Aggregates (五蘊) is regarded as Five Buddhas nature, as follows:

- (i) Consciousness aggregates (識蘊) belongs to the Anger family (忿怒族)
- (ii) Material aggregation (色蘊) belongs to the Ignorance family(痴族)
- (iii) Receptive aggregation (受蘊) belongs to the Pride family(我慢族)
- (iv) Conceptive aggregation (想蘊) belongs to the Desire family (貪族)
- (v) Conduct aggregation (行蘊) belongs to the Jealousy family (嫉族).⁴

2 “svabhavam bodhicittam tu sarvatrabhavasambhavam/ kamam cittam iti proktam ragadvesata-mo’nvitam/48” (Yukei: 116).

3 “moho dveṣas tathā ragaḥ sadā vajre ratiḥ sthita/upayas tena buddhaṇaṃ vajrayānaṃ iti smṛtam/52” (Yukei: 117).

4 “vijñānaṃ dveṣaṃ akhyātaṃ heti veti dvayair dviṣaṃ/ rūpaṃ moham iti khyātaṃ jaḍavandhasvabhāvataḥ/46 vedana ghaṭṭāmanakhyā ahaṅkaraṣvabhāvataḥ/ sañjñā saṃrāgaṃ ātmānaṃ vastutaḥ saktilakṣaṇaṃ/47 saṃskāras tu sadā irṣyā pratitya preraṇātmaṇaṃ/” (Yukei: 116).

The arrangement of these Buddha families varies according to the reference source, but in most of them, Vairocana Buddha is placed at the center, Akṣobhya in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitabha in the west, and Amoghasiddhi in the north; but occasionally, Amita Buddha is replaced by Lokeśvara. *Vajra Peak Tantra* is the main reference which describes these relationships, as follows:

“And indeed, Akṣobhya and Ratnasambhava; and Lokeśvara and Amoghasiddhi; correspond to the Tathagatha stage according to their nature and to the corresponding equality of directions, which accords with Lord Sakyamuni Buddha’s skillfulness in being seated at the four corners of the four directions.”⁵

Comparing the Vairocana Buddha of *Vajra Peak Tantra* with that of *Guhyasamāja tantra* opening of the first chapter states is as follows: ⁶

“Thus have I heard, once the Lord was endowed with various superiorities of the Vajra-adhiṣṭhāna Samadhi wisdom of all Tathagathas. And he attained the Abhiṣetana(寶冠灌頂) Crown of all Tathagathas, which represents the status of Dharma King(法王) of three realms(三界); he was also Lord and Great Yogi of Omniscience Wisdom of all the Tathagatas that have mastered equality in every Tahtagata seal; while accomplishing every dexterity and action so as to satisfy the unlimited and

5 “atha khalv akṣobhyas tathagato ratna sambhavas ca tathagato lokeśvara rajas ca tathagato mogha siddhis ca tathagataḥ sarva tathagata tvam svayam atmany adhiṣṭhaya bhagavataḥ sakyamunes tathagatasya sarva samata sprativedha tvat/ sarva dhik samantam adhyalambya catarṣu dikṣuṣiṣaṇṇaḥ//” (堀内寛仁).

6 The related paragraphs of *Guhyasamājatnātra* is as follows: “tathagato`moghasiddhis tathagato vairocanaḥ tathagato bodhicittavajrasya tathagatasya hrdaye vijahāra / atha bhagavan bodhicittavajras tathagataḥ sarvatathagatābhībhavanavajraṃ nāma samādhiṃ samāpannaḥ/ samantarasamāpannasya ca sarvatathagatādhīpater athayam sarvakāśadhatuḥ sarvatathagatavajramayaḥ saṃsthito`bhūt/ atha yavantaḥ sarvakāśadhatuḥ sarvasattvas ca tena vajrasattvadhīṣṭhānena sarvatathagatasukhasaumanasya labhino`bhūvan/” (Yukei: 4).

boundless wishes of all sentient beings. The eternal Vairocana Buddha of great mercy is a Tathagata, manifesting the Vajra body, speech, and mind, while remaining in three states of existence.”⁷

And further: “And the Great Lord Vairocana Buddha is Vajra body, speech, and mind, remaining always in every space.”⁸

As mentioned above, Vairocana Buddha is a Yogacarya having accomplished supreme wisdom, and is also Dharma-kāya, remaining in the Dharma realm. Consequently, Vairocana Buddha remains at the center of the Vajra realm Maṇḍala (金剛界曼荼羅) in *Vajra Peak Tantra*, because the Buddha is a symbol of Yoga accomplishment and sublimity unified with the Dharma realm.

The Five Buddhas in *Guhyasamājantra* are the same as those in the *Vajra Peak Tantra*, but they are seated differently; as Akṣobhya at the Maṇḍala center in *Guhyasamājantra*, while in the *Vajra Peak tantra* Maṇḍala, Vairocana Buddha is seated to the east of the Vajra realm.

The constitution of the *Guhyasamājantra* Maṇḍala is explained as follows:

“So Lord Bodhicitta-vajra tathagata was absorbed in ‘vajra samaya’ Samadhi, which is a vajra flow from body, speech, and mind’ and in responding to the sattavas of all Tathagatas he manifested in the shape of Vidyadhara. As soon as he responded as Lord Bodhicittavajra Tathagata he was transformed into the shape of three faces of all Tathagatas.”⁹

7 “evaṃ mayā śrutaṃ/ ekasmin samaye/ bhagavan sarva tathagata vajradhiṣṭhana samaya jñāna vividha viśeṣa samanvagataḥ/sarva tathagata ratna mukuṭa traidhathka dharmā rajyabhiṣekapṛaptah/sarva tathagata sarva jñāna nama yog’isvarah” (堀内寛仁: 2).

8 *ibid.*, “atha bhagavan mahā vairocanaḥ sarv’akāsa dhatu sada’vasthita kaya vak citta vajrā/.”

9 “atha bhagavan bodhicittavajras tathagataḥ sarvatathagatakayavakcittavajrasamayodbhavavajram nāma samadhiṃ samapadyemaṃ mahāvīdyāpuruṣamūrṭimsarvatathagatasattvādhiṣṭhanamadhiṣṭhāpayamāsa/samanantarādhiṣṭhitamatre sa eva bhagavan bodhicittavajras tathagatas trimukhakareṇa

In *Guhyasamājantra* the substance of Akṣobhya at the Maṇḍala center symbolizes immutable Bodhicitta. A related paragraph concerning Vairocana Buddha is as follows:

“And the Great Lord Vairocana Buddha was absorbed in the Samadhi of ‘Great Desire Vajra of all Tathagatas’ and adorned himself with the ornaments of all Tathagatas.”¹⁰

Further references identify Vairocana Buddha as Material Aggregation, which changes to the four Buddha goddesses and then five Vajra goddesses, as follows:

“Subsequently, these Tathagatas transformed into the shape of women, erupting from the body of Lord Mahavairocana Buddha so as to please the Vajra Body, Speech and Mind of all Tathagatas. At the same time, certain Buddhas manifested themselves as Buddhalocana, Māmaki, Paṇḍaravāsini, Samayātara; and also as a woman with sensory disposition for colour, sound, taste and feeling.”¹¹

The four goddesses (Buddhalocana, Māmaki, Paṇḍaravāsini, Samayātara) symbolize respectively, earth, water, fire and wind; and the five goddesses, symbolizing colour, sound, smell, taste and feelings. We cannot say that the *Guhyasamājantra* Vairocana Buddha represents eternal absoluteness of Dharma realm or any stage of Yogic practice

sarvatathagataih sandṛśyate sma/” (Yukei: 4).

10 “atha bhagavan mahavairocanas tathagataḥ sarvatathagatamaharagavajraṃ nama samadhim samapannas taṃ sarvatathagatavyūhaṃ svakayavakcittavajreṣu praveśauamasa/” (Yukei: 9).

11 *ibid.*, “atha te sarvatathagata sarvatathagatakayavakcittavajradhipateḥ paritoṣaṇātyhaṃ svabimbāni sribimbāny abhinirmāya bhagavato mahavairocanasya kāyaḥ abhiniṣkranta abhuvan / tatra kecid buddhalocanakāreṇa kecin māmakyakāreṇa kecit paṇḍaravāsinyakāreṇa kecit samayātarakāreṇa saṃsthita abhuvan / tatra kecid rūpasvabhāvākāreṇa kecit śabdsvabhāvākāreṇa kecid gandhasvabhāvākāreṇa kecid rasasvabhāvākāreṇa kecit sparsasvabhāvākāreṇa saṃsthita abhuvan/”.

referred to in *Vajra Peak Tantra*, as there is clearly a representative physical body of the true nature realm, manifested by Four Major Elements (四大), or Eighteen Circles of physical existence (十八界).¹² This accords with *Uttara Tantra*'s attributes of Five Buddhas, symbolized in Akṣobhya as Consciousness Aggregation (識蘊) while Vairocana Buddha symbolizes Material Aggregation (色蘊).

Thus, it is possible to assume that Vairocana Buddha in *Vajra Peak Tantra* is expressed in a complex nature, embodying both the Dharmakāya Buddha of the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* (華嚴經) and Knowledge of Omniscience in the Vairocana sūtra.

Consequently, the Vairocana Buddha in *Vajra Peak Tantra*, while representing absoluteness and universal eternity, is also revealed in activities to relieve sentient beings in the physical world of body, speech and mind. So the *Guhyasamājantra* and evolvement of latter Esoteric Buddhism in India can be attributed to the appearance of the doctrine of Accomplishing Immediate Body (即身成佛) which propagated the idea of accomplishing Buddhahood in physical and desires body. Accordingly, these developments led to changes in the traditional Five Buddha's disposition, so that Vairocana Buddha and Akṣobhya Buddha's dispositions became identical, inferring that fundamental Bodhicitta mind could be evolved from the physical and desires body.

So in comparing the Vairocana Buddhas of Yoga Tantra with the Anuttarayoga Tantra of *Guhyasamājantra*, it is possible to draw out the characteristics of Esoteric Buddhism, beginning from the middle years up to the latter period.

II. Vairocana Buddha Embodied in Maṇḍalas

In Esoteric Buddhism the Maṇḍala is a pictorial representation of

¹² In the same chapter the Abhisambodhi that the Vairocana Buddha has practiced is described as follows: "atha bhagavan vairocanavajras tathagataḥ sarvatathagatabhisamayavajram nama samadhim samapadyedam bodhicittam udajahara/ sarvabhavavigatam skandhadhatvayatanagra hyagrahaka varjitam/ dharmanairatmyasamataya svacittam adyanutpannam sunyataḥbhavam/ ity aha bhagavan vairocanavajras tathagataḥ/" (Yukei: 9).

various scriptural doctrine and practice systems, containing elements of mantras, shapes and mudras. A Maṇḍala is divided into several territories, each distinguished by a 'Family' expressing common attributes of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas; for example, Five Buddhas, or three families of body, mind and speech.

The idea of Family is explained more clearly in the following:

“Reality is expressed by five family categories and secrets is said by three families. A major secret is a supreme lord and the highest consists of a hundred.”¹³

Buddha (佛部), Vajra (金剛部), Treasure (寶部), Action (羯磨部) and Lotus (蓮華部) are the five families; and the three secrets are of the three-fold family: body, mind and speech, or Buddha Family, Lotus Family (蓮華部) and Vajra Family (金剛部). The supreme lord is an absolute being with a distinct disposition and represents a unification of the three or five families; manifesting, for example, as Bodhisattva or Vajrasattva. The number of one hundred is a multiplication of Five Buddha Wisdoms by the four seals, (Great Seal (大印), Dharma (法印), Samaya (三昧耶印) and Action (羯磨印) Seals), which is then further multiplied by Five Families of the Buddha Family; with a total of one hundred families.

Next we will examine the differences between the two Buddhas: Akṣobhya and Vairocana, in *Guhyasamājantra* Maṇḍala by comparing the mantras, mudras and shapes, as follows:

1. Vajra Family (also Anger Family): Akṣobhya

In the first chapter of *Guhyasamājantra*, Akṣobhya Buddha says:

¹³ “tattvaṃ pañcakulam protaṃ trikulaṃ guhyam ucyate/ adhidevo rahasyam ca patamam satadha kulam/” (Yukei: 115-116).

“Then the Tathagata, as Vajra body, speech and mind of all Lord Tathagatas, at the request of all Tathagatas, remained in Vajra Wisdom Samadhi speaking the mantra ‘vajra dhṛk,’ which is a supreme heart mantra of the Anger Family and is also Vajra body, speech and mind of the heart’s nature. Directly after saying the mantra the Lord, in the expedience of Tathagata body, mind and speech, remained in the presence of Tathagata Vajra body, mind and speech; and manifested the colours black, white and red, as an expedient correspondence to the Great Seal of Akṣobhya.”¹⁴

As mentioned previously, the Anger Family is another aspect of the Vajra Family, whereby sentient being’s anger is purified by the Vajra mantra ‘vajra dhṛk,’ which means ‘holding the nature of Vajra.’ In the *Uttaratantra*, Akṣobhya is as follows:

“The Five Causes and Results are defined by ‘Vajra dhṛk’ which means ‘to hold,’ and ‘vijñāna’ is the mind of Vajradhara.”¹⁵

The ‘Five Causes and Results’ are the five senses and objects, and are immutable truth, such as Vajra. The Sanskrit ‘dhṛk’ is ‘to keep’ or ‘to hold,’ and ‘vijñāna,’ meaning ‘mind’ or ‘consciousness,’ depicts Vajradhara’s Wisdom manifested in the personality in possession of those senses.

2. Buddha Family (also Ignorance Family): Vairocana Family

14 “atha bhagavan sarvatathagatakāyavakcittavajras tathagataḥ sarvatathagatadhyeṣaṇam viditva jñānapradīpavajram nāma samadhiṃ samapadyedaṃ dveṣakulaparamasarahṛdayaṃ svakāyavakcittavajrebhya niścārayamāsa/ vajradhṛk/ athasmin bhaṣitamātreṣa eva bhagavan sarvatathagatakāyavakcittavidyāpuruṣo kṣobhyamahamudrāsamyogaparamapa daiḥ kṣṇasitaraktakāreṇa sarvatathagatakāyavakcittavajrasya sarvatathagatakāyavakcittavajreniṣidayamāsa/” (Yukei: 6).

15 “pañcahetis ca vetis ca vajram ity abhidhiyate/ dhāraṇam dhṛg iti khyātam vijñānam vajradhṛnmanah/40” (Yukei: 116).

Mūlatantra refers to it as follows:

“Then the Lord all Tathagatas stayed in Samadhi, and ‘initiated Samaya Vajra’ by speaking the mantra ‘jina-jik,’ which in respect of the Ignorance Family, when expressed in Vajra body, speech and mind, is the supreme heart nature. Directly after saying this mantra the Lord, in the expedience of the Great Seal of Vairocana Buddha, and also in a personality that possesses the light body, speech and mind of all Lord Tathagatas; manifested the colours, white, black and red respectively, and was seated in the east (of Akṣbhya Buddha) as a qualification of all Tathagatas’ Vajra Body, Speech and Mind.”¹⁶

Uttaratantra describes the Ignorance Family in the stage of Vairocana Buddha, as follows:

“As transcendence from existence to non-existence, and their mean is achieved by the Main Elements and the results of these Elements in a sentient being’s body; with the ‘jina-jik’ dharani he is a winner.”¹⁷

In Ratnākaraśānti’s commentary, he explains that ‘body of all sentient beings’ means a physical body; and ‘Main Elements and the results of these Elements’ refers to the Earth, Water, Fire, Wind and Space as the Main Elements, and Six Organs (六根), and the Six Objects (六境) being the results of these Elements (D. Ed. 1851, 92a2-92a7.).

Ratnākaraśānti also confirms that the Sanskrit word ‘jina-jik’

16 “atha bhagavan sarvatathāgatasamayāsambhāvavajraṃ nama samādhiṃ samāpadyedaṃ mohakulaparamasāraḥṛdayaṃ svakāyavākcittavajrebhyaḥ nīśārayamāsa/ jinajik/ athasmin bhaṣitamatre sa eva bhagavan sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavidyāpuruṣo vairocanamahamudrāsaṃyogaparamapadaih sitakṛṣṇaraktakareṇa sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajra sya purato niśidayamāsa/” (Yukei: 6-7).

17 “sadasanmadhyamaṃ khyātaṃ bhūtabhautikasambhavam/ vighrahaḥ sarvasattvaṇaṃ jinajigjananaṃ jinah/41” GST[M](XVIII, p. 116), (L. Ed. 416, 524b4-524b5.).

means ‘a win by a winner,’ so here it refers to the fact that Vairocana Buddha has accomplished a sentient being’s physical body replete with 12 sense elements and has transcended the worldly realm, conquering all desires originating in this body, and eventually attaining Buddha body.

With regard to Akṣobhya Buddha, Zla ba’i Drag Pa gave his opinion that the Buddha symbolizes a Vajradhara, meaning ‘a person possessing Vajra Wisdom.’ Considering that in the Five Buddhas organization, Buddha symbolizes Consciousness Aggregation, we may assume that Akṣobhya Buddha symbolizes mind which produces physical body. And so we can conclude that Akṣobhya Buddha is mind as the internal factor which causes a sentient being to be born with a physical body, and subsequently, Vairocana Buddha represents the embodiment of a flesh body.

Thus, an embodied flesh body is composed of Four Major Elements, earth, water, fire and wind, and also five senses such as, colour, sound, smell, taste and feeling. The Vairocana Buddha Goddesses described in *Guhyasamājatantra* have these same attributes described as the Four Paramitā Vajrasattvas of *Vajra Peak Tantra* as a manifestation of Vairocana Buddha. The following paragraphs refer to these four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas in *Vajra Peak Tantra*:

① Vajra Pāramitā Bodhisattva (金剛波羅蜜薩唾)

“Jñānasattva realizing every Vajra realm through unification of all Tathagata attributes.”¹⁸

② Ratna Pāramitā Bodhisattva (寶波羅蜜菩薩)

“Wisdom Store yield from the Vajra Adhiṣṭhāna corresponding to the indivisibility of every space; also a treasure awarded by Abhiṣṭhāna of Great Vajra Wisdom which is an immutability of all Tathagatas.”¹⁹

18 “sarva tahtagata samavasaraṇa taya sarva vajra dhatv avabodhana jñāna sattvaḥ/” (堀内寛仁: 181).

19 *ibid.*, “sarva’akāsa dhatu paramaṇu rajo vajradhisthāna sambhava jñāna garbhaḥ/ sarva

③ Dharma Pāramitā Bodhisattva (法波羅蜜菩薩)

“Abhisambodhi’s accomplishment in realizing the wisdom of truth that pervades all space, and also the complete law of purity wherein his own nature is pure like all Tathagatas”²⁰

④ Karma Pāramitā Bodhisattva (羯磨波羅蜜菩薩)

“Wisdom manifesting all phenomena in the whole space of the universe, and a supreme entity of action surrendering unlimited and non-remnant realms of sentient beings, and with a nature which can actualize all Tathagata’s sermons of non-emptiness, and various Karmas which are equal and surpassing none”.²¹

Four Pāramitā Bodhisattva in Vajra Peak Tantra	Related paragraph of Vairocana Buddha in Guhyasamājatantra
① Vajra Pāramitā Bodhisattva	Once the Lord endowed with the various superiorities of Samadhi’s wisdom of Vajra-adhiṣṭhāna of all the Tathagathas.
② Ratna Pāramitā Bodhisattva	Accomplished the Abhiṣetana by a crown of all the Tathagathas which represents the status of Dharma’s king of three realms.
③ Dharma Pāramitā Bodhisattva	As a Lord of Great Yogi of Supreme Wisdom of all the Tathagatas mastered the nature of equality of every seal of all the Tathagathas.
④ Karma Pāramitā Bodhisattva	Accomplished every dexterity, action, work, and satisfied every unlimited and boundless wish of the sentient beings realm. The eternal Vairocana Buddha of great mercy is a Tathagata of adamant body, speech, and mind abiding in the three states of existence.

tathagatananta taya mahā vajra jñānabhisekha ratnaḥ/

20 *ibid.*, “sarva’akāśa spharaṇa tathata jñānabhisambodhy abhisambodhi bhutaḥ sarva tathag at’ātmabhava suddhi tayasvabhava suddha sarva dharmah/.”

21 *ibid.*, “sarva’akāśa vyāpi sarva rū[pa] samdarsana jñānaseṣanavaseṣa sattva dhātu vinaya na caryā’gryah/ sarva tathagaramogah’ajñā kari taya sarvasamanuttara viśva karma//.”

In conclusion we can assume that the Vairocana Buddha described in *Guhyasamājantra* has succeeded the *Vajra Peak Tantra* depiction, as it has the attributes of four Pāramitā Bodhisattvas (listed in the content descriptions in *Guhyasamājantra*); hence, these different depictions of Vairocana Buddha reflect the phase of development in Indian Buddhist history, from Yoga Tantra to Anuttarayoga Tantra. In the first chapter of *Vajra Peak Tantra* the paragraph “Vairocana Buddha is eternal and of great compassion, a Tathagata with Vajra body, speech and mind, abiding in the Three Worlds” and representative of the idea that sentient beings’ reality can be manifested in the realization of absolute truth, and not by any product of desires or the transmigration of existences; these ideas were developed in the *Guhyasamājantra* in the latter part of Mahayāna Buddhism in India.

III. Conclusions

Esoteric Buddhism’s development was another phase in expressing the religious ideas of Mahayāna Buddhism, and one of these ideas is reflected in the interpretation of Buddha’s body which is why a lot of effort was made to build the doctrinal and practice system of Esoteric Buddhism.

In the *Vairocana Sūtra* from the mid period of Esoteric Buddhism in India, it is said that Vairocana Buddha as a personality, attained Omniscient Wisdom, and also attained Universal Buddhahood. ‘Omniscient Wisdom’ is the idea that all Buddhas embody the practical ability to save sentient beings. Historically, this idea of ‘Omniscient Wisdom’ opened up a new realm of Mantrayāna in Mahayāna Buddhism.

The *Vajra Peak Tantra* is a representative Yogatantra scripture, and Vairocana Buddha in this Tantra is described as an embodiment accomplishing the ultimate goal of Yoga practice, which is to realize the internal world of all Buddhas. A Yogatantra practitioner abides in the

heart of Vairocana Buddha, this heart being a manifestation of the Vajra Realm Maṇḍala.

Anuttarayogatantra has survived down through the ages, partly because the traditions of Yogatantra developed doctrinal and practice systems which supported theories that the realm of sentient beings is not different from Buddha Nature.

The thought of 'Family' in Anuttarayogatantra and in Yogatantra, expands its interpretation to embrace the physical and desires body of sentient beings which can attain truth in nature.

The concept of Supreme Bliss is distinctive in the tradition of Anuttarayogatantra, in that the ultimate goal of Buddhism is to abide in the world of sentient beings, even to be born in a flesh and desires body. One who has fulfilled this goal of Mahayāna Buddhism in this real world, is regarded as a successor of Samantabhadra Bodhisattva (普賢菩薩).

Thus, in the latter period of Esoteric Buddhism in India, the intention was to actualize Mahayāna Buddhism's religious ideals in this real world by realizing the reality of this world where Buddhas and Bodhisattvas attain their vow to save all sentient beings.

Glossary of Chinese Terms

- Action Family 羯磨部
Action Seal 羯磨印
Anger Family 忿怒族
Avataṃsaka Sūtra 華嚴經
Buddha's Family 佛部
Conceptive Aggregation 想蘊
Conduct Aggregation 行蘊
Consciousness Aggregation 識蘊
Crown Abhiṣetana 寶冠灌頂
Desire Family 貪族

- Dharma Seal 法印
 Dharma-kāya Buddha 法身佛
 Eighteen Circles of Physical Existence 十八界
 Family Thought 部族思想
 Five Aggregation 五蘊
 Four Major Elements 四大
 Great Seal 大印
 Ignorance Family 痴族
 Immediate Body Accomplishment 卽身成佛
 Jealousy Family 嫉族
 Mahāsukha 大樂
 Mantrayāna system 真言門
 Material Aggregation 色蘊
 Minute Yoga System 微細瑜伽
 Omniscience Wisdom 一切智智
 Pride Family 我慢族
 Receptive Aggregation 受蘊
 Samaya Seal 三昧耶印
 Six Objects 六境
 Six Organs 六根
 Three Realms 三界
 Treasure Family 寶部
 Vairocana sūtra 大日經
 Vajra Family 金剛部
 Vajra Peak Tantra 金剛頂經
 Vajra Realm 金剛界
 Vajra Realm Maṇḍala 金剛界曼荼羅

Abbreviations

- GST *The Guhyasamāja Tantra: A New Critical Edition*. Ed. by Matsunaga Yukei. Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978.
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (大正新修大藏經: Japanese Edition of the Buddhist Canon). Ed. by Takakasu-Junjirō (高楠順次郎) et al. Tokyo: Taishō-Issaikyō-Kankōkai, 1924-1935.
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