

21. Kalkin in the Kālacakra

Kalki mentioned above (p. 77) is as a proper name very well known from Hindu literature, where the name designates the tenth Avatāra of Viṣṇu.¹⁶⁰ An Upapurāṇa, the *Kalkipurāṇa*, is devoted to this emanation of Viṣṇu.¹⁶¹ In this text Kalki is incarnated as the son of Viṣṇuyaśas and

¹⁶⁰ The etymon of the word *kalki(n)* is uncertain, as is its declension. The nominative singular form *kalkiḥ* is not uncommon in Hindu texts, whilst in Buddhist sources the nom. sing. form *kalkī* is usual. *Kalkī*, from the stem *kalkin*, is seemingly derived (with the possessive suffix *-in-*) from *kalka* ‘paste; dirt, filth’. And E. Abegg has suggested that the name may be dysphemistic; see his *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1928), p. 57 n. 3. The word is, however, translated into Tibetan by *rigs ldan* (*rigs* = *kula/gotra*, which has then led to the inappropriate Sanskritization ‘Kulika’, which applies rather to the Nāgarāja Kulika); this lends no support to the supposition that the person concerned was named so to say by enantiosis or antiphrasis. (Could the translation of *kalkin* by Tib. *rigs ldan* have been somehow induced by the references to the *kalkigotra* at *LKT* i.160 and *VP* i, I, p. 22.8–9 and p. 25.17?) But in view of the alternation *r/l* in Indo-Aryan languages, M. Mayrhofer (*Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen* [Heidelberg, 1956], p. 183) has pointed out that the word may be derived from *karka* ‘white horse’, a white horse being in fact the mount of Kalki(n). In Kṣemendra’s *Daśāvatāracarita* the form *karkyavatāra* is in fact found. As for *karki/karkin* < *karka* ‘crab’, it is the sign cancer in the zodiac which does not seem to be relevant here. For the Kālacakra, R. Gnoli (see R. Gnoli and G. Orofino, *Nāropā, Iniziazione* [Milan, 1994], p. 63; and R. Gnoli, ‘La realizzazione della conoscenza del Supremo immoto’, *Supplemento No. 1 alla Rivista degli Studi Orientali* [Rome, 1997], p. 70) has suggested that Kalkin means something like cement-potter by reason of Kalkin’s uniting (‘cementing together’) the castes; Gnoli refers to *VP* v.127 [III, p. 96.25]) where we read: *kalko nāma varṇavarṇānām ekīkaraṇam/ sa kalko ’syāstīti kalkī, na kalkena vinā, sa eva kalkī*. See also *VP* i (I, p. 22.8–9): *kalaśaguhyaprajñāñābhīṣekataḥ sarvavarṇānām ekakalko bhavati, sa kalko ’syāstīti kalkī, tasya gotraṃ kalkigotram*. On the importance of the association with the horse see below.

Whilst in Hinduism Kalki(ḥ) is the proper name of the tenth Avatāra of Viṣṇu, in the Kālacakra the appellative is an epithet common to twenty-five rulers of Sambhala.

As for the ninth Avatāra, the *buddhāvatāra*, he is found in the *Daśāvatāracarita* of Kṣemendra (eleventh c.) and the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva (twelfth c.).

¹⁶¹ See E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran*. For this Purāṇa, which is presented as a continuation of the *Bhāgavata*, see L. Rocher, *The Purāṇas* (Wiesbaden, 1986), p. 183.

Sumati in Sambhala/Śambhala-grāma. His rôle is to conquer the barbarians (*mleccha*) at the end of the aeon, restore the Vedic Dharma and annihilate the Buddhist Dharma (propagated, in the Kaliyuga, by the Buddhāvātāra, Viṣṇu's ninth Avatāra, as a stratagem employed by this great god in order to destroy the irreligious). Kalki's mount is a (winged) white horse. A minor Avatāra of Viṣṇu linked with the horse (and sometimes showing a theriomorphic, or hippocephalic, form), but who is kept quite separate from Kalki, is Hayagrīva – the 'Horse-necked' (or 'Horse-headed') –, in which manifestation, and in order to rescue the Veda, this great god vanquishes a Daitya. In Buddhist Vajrayāna, Hayagrīva (Tib. rTa mgrin, identified with Padmāntaka), whose human head is surmounted by that of a horse, is a prominent figure often considered a *nirmāṇa* of Avalokiteśvara, who in turn is associated with his horse, the king of horses (*aśvarāja*) Bālāha/Valāha(ka) (also the name of a horse of Viṣṇu's).¹⁶²

Now, the Buddhist Kālacakra in particular shares certain noteworthy features with Viṣṇuism. In it (see [*Laghu*] *Kālacakratantra* i.158 f. and ii.48, and *Vimalaprabhā* v.127 [III, pp. 96–97]), the Kalkin Raudra Cakrin (Rigs ldan drag po 'khor lo can) is connected with Sambhala, and its capital Kalāpa, as its twenty-fifth Kalkin-ruler.¹⁶³ His predecessor as first Kalkin-ruler (and eighth Dharma-king of Sambhala counting from King Sucandra [Zla ba bzañ po], the Buddha's interlocutor in the *Kālacakratantra*) was Mañjuśrī-Yaśas ('Jam dpal grags pa), the promulgator (*saṃgītikāra*, *VP* I, p. 25) of the (*Laghu*) *Kālacakratantra*, who is consid-

¹⁶² See R. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva, the Mantrayānic aspect of horse-cult in China and Japan* (Leiden, 1935). Hayaśirṣa/Hayaśiras/Hayāśya/Aśvaśiras, the 'Horse-headed', is also a form of Viṣṇu. Hayagrīva is in addition the name of a Daitya vanquished by the Matsyāvātāra of Viṣṇu. – On the horse Bālāha (etc.) see also n. 240 below.

¹⁶³ In the Kālacakra, Sambhala is generally situated to the north of the Śītā/Sītānādī, a river often identified as the Tarim in Central Asia. In Hindu literature Sambhala/Śambhala has been placed in India itself.

On the perhaps not totally unrelated idea of Śvetadvīpa, the abode of Viṣṇu/Nārāyaṇa and the hyperborean 'Isle of the Blest' located in the 'far north', or to the north-west of Meru, see W. E. Clark, 'Śvetadvīpa and Śākadvīpa', *JAOS* 39 (1919), pp. 209–42; K. Rönnow, 'Some remarks on Śvetadvīpa', *BSOS* 5 (1928–30), pp. 253–84; and T. Oberlies, 'Die Textgeschichte der Śvetadvīpa-Episode des Nārāyaṇīya (Mbh 12, 321–326)', in: P. Schreiner (ed.), *Nārāyaṇīya-Studien* (Wiesbaden, 1997), pp. 75–118.

ered an emanation of Mañju(śrī)ghoṣa, a Bodhisattva of the tenth stage. The second Kalkin-ruler of Sambhala, Śrī-Puṇḍarīka (Padma dkar po), the author of the *Vimalaprabhā* (*tīkākāra*), is an emanation of Lokeśvara the lotus-holder.¹⁶⁴ In the Kālacakra, Kalkin is less a proper name than an epithet or title of the twenty-five rulers of Sambhala.

Kalkin Raudra Cakrin is associated with what are called *śailāśvas* (*LKT* i.161; *VP* v.127 [III, pp. 96–97]) (*śailāśva* is rendered in Tibetan sometimes as *ri'i rta* 'mountain horse' and sometimes as *rdo'i rta* 'stone horse'). This scenario is associated with Mount Kailāsa (i.161). At the time of the great Armageddon at the end of the Age of Discord (*kali-yuga*), after having entered into the supreme 'equine concentration' (*paramāśvasāmādhi*), and after having thereby radiated forth *paramāśvas* with which he will melt the minds of the *mlecchas*, he will, unshakeable like a mountain (*śailavan niṣkampah*), fix the irreligious in his Dharma (*VP* v.127 [p. 96.26–28]). The Kalkin Raudra will thus usher in the Golden Age of perfection and truth (*kṛdyuga*, i.e. the *kṛtayuga/satyayuga*).

In his great struggle against his foe, the Kalkin Raudra Cakrin will be accompanied by a multitude of *brahmarsis* from Kalāpa (*VP* i [I, p. 22.4], as opposed to the *duṣṭarsis*, *VP* v.127 [III, pp. 94–96]) headed by the sage Sūryaratha (*VP* i [I, pp. 26–28]). Raudra will be assisted in this struggle by Hari (i.e. Viṣṇu), Rudra or Hara (i.e. Śiva), by Skanda and Gaṇendra (*LKT* i.161–3), and also by Hanumant (i.163; ii.48). Finally, in the Golden Age he will be succeeded as ruler by eight Avatāras of Viṣṇu, or at least by eight kings having the names of Matsya, Kūrma, etc., down to Kṛṣṇa (i.168).

Whilst in the Lokadhātu-chapter of the Tantra (*LKT* i) the struggle in question, including Raudra Cakrin's epic battle, is described as due to take place in the external world – the macrocosm or *bāhya* = *phyi* level of Kālacakra hermeneutics –, its Adhyātma-chapter (*LKT* ii) interiorizes the battle with the barbarians, making it take place within the exercitant-Yogin's own body (*svadeha*) (ii.48–50) – the microcosm or *adhyātman* =

¹⁶⁴ The list of the kings and Kalkin-rulers of Sambhala is given at *VP* i, pp. 25–26. See D. Reigle, 'The lost Kālacakra Mūla Tantra on the kings of Śambhala', *Kālacakra Research Publications* i (Talent, 1986); and J. Newman, 'A brief history of the Kālacakra', in: Geshe Lhundub Sopa *et al.* (ed.), *The wheel of Time* (Ithaca, 1985).

nañ level of the Tantra's hermeneutics.¹⁶⁵ We are in fact told explicitly that the *mlecchayuddha* located in the Makha-*viṣaya* – a battle compared with a magical show (*māyārūpa*) – is in fact no ordinary war, for it takes place within the Yogin (*dehamadhye*, ii. 50). At the same time it is probably not without significance that, as a common noun, the word *raudra* designates the last of the four kinds of ritual activity (*[']phrin las, karman*) employed by an enlightened and compassionate being for the benefit of sentient beings (namely *sānti* = *ži ba*, *puṣṭi* = *rgyas pa*, *vaśī-karaṇa* = *dbañ [byed]*, and *raudra[karman]* = *drag po[']i las*], the *dgra las* or *abhicāra* = *mñon spyod*). These procedures might then be thought of as forming part of the salvific 'mesocosm' of ritual and practice placed between microcosm and macrocosm, and corresponding to the Yogic and mystical (*gžan*) level of Kālacakra hermeneutics.

At *LKT* i.163 and ii.48 Raudra Cakrin's foe, the king of the *mlecchas* and lord of the demons (*danupati*), has received the enigmatic name *Kṛṇmati* (Tib. Byed pa'i blo, Byas/Byis pa'i blo).¹⁶⁶ According to *LKT* ii.48-50 and to the accompanying *VP* (see also *VP* v.127 [p. 97]), allegorically speaking – and within the Yogin's own body (*svadeha*) in the Kālacakra's homology between microcosm and macrocosm –, the counterpart of Cakrin (that is, the Kalkin Raudra) is *vajrin* (i.e. the *cittavajra*); the counterparts of the Twelve Gods (*surapati*, i.e. Īśvara, etc.) are the stopped *aṅgas* (i.e. the twelve members of production in dependence, *pratītyasamutpāda*);¹⁶⁷ the counterpart of the Kalkin is exact Gnosis (*samyagjñāna*); the counterparts of the serving foot-soldiers, elephants, horses, and chariots of the Kalkin's (i.e. Raudra's) four-fold host are the Immeasurables (viz. the four *brahmavihāras maitrī, karuṇā, muditā, and upekṣā*); the counterpart of the Kalkin's helper Rudra is the *pratyeka(buddhajñāna)*; the counterpart of his helper Hanumant is the

¹⁶⁵ The parallel with the inner and external *jihad* of Islam is noteworthy. But there is of course no need to assume a dependence, and interiorization is a regular and not infrequent process in Indian and Buddhist thought. A kind of parallel seems to be provided by the 'secular' epic of the warrior king Ge sar which, at the hands of a 'Ju Mi pham or a Ka lu Rin po che, has undergone a sort of sublimation and interiorization in harmony with religio-philosophical principles of Buddhism.

¹⁶⁶ On this personage cf. J. Newman, *JIAS* 21 (1998), p. 329.

¹⁶⁷ Twelve Lords of the Gods are mentioned also in Bu ston's comment on *LKT* i.161, but without further detailed specification.

śrāvaka(jñāna); the counterpart of the evil barbarian lord (*mlecchendra-duṣṭa*) is one's sullied mind (*pāpacitta*); and the counterpart of Kṛṇmati, the purveyor of Ill (*duḥkhadātr*), are the unsalutary factors (*akuśala-[karma]patha*). Yogic identifications of Mañjuśrī and Lokanātha (Puṇḍarīka), the first two Kalkin-rulers, are also supplied (ii.50).

Curiously, in its account of Viṣṇu's Avatāras found in Purāṇa-literature, the *Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi* (in the *Vimalaprabhā* v.127 [III, p. 95. 27–28]) has alluded to Buddha/Vāsudeva as the ninth Avatāra (whilst in the standard lists Kṛṣṇa/Vāsudeva is the eighth Avatāra, as he is also in *LKT* i.153), Kalki being the tenth.¹⁶⁸ (Does this rather enigmatic allusion perhaps point to an attempt at the unification of the figures of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva and Buddha?¹⁶⁹) At *Vimalaprabhā* v.127 (III, p. 96.10), where views of Paurāṇikas are recorded, Kalkin, the son of Yaśas, is even referred to as Vāsudeva.¹⁷⁰

Notwithstanding its considerable knowledge and, indeed, internalization of a very large body of Brahmanical/Hindu materials, the Kālacakra school of thought remains well aware of its own difference from the Hindu Tīrthikas. This becomes clear, for example, from *LKT* ii.162-171 (cf. the *VP ad loc.*) where the views of Hindu Tīrthikas are discussed,¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ On the Avatāras, see L. Rocher, *The Purāṇas*, p. 106 ff., with P. Hacker, 'Zur Entwicklung der Avatāralehre', *WZKS* 4 (1960), pp. 47–70.

¹⁶⁹ No doubt – a fact sometimes overlooked – it is not without significance that several Buddhist masters and translators into Tibetan have borne the name Kṛṣṇa, and that Kāṇha/Kṛṣṇa is the name of the author of Buddhist *Dohās* and of the author of the *Yogaratanmālā* on the Hevajratāntra. On Viṣṇuism and the place of Nārāyaṇa within Buddhism, for example in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* and the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, see above, p. 23. Cf. C. Regamey, 'Motifs vichnouites et śivaïtes dans le Kāraṇḍavyūha', in: *Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*, pp. 411–32.

¹⁷⁰ It is perhaps not altogether clear whether Yaśas here is Viṣṇuyāśas, i.e. Kalki himself, or the father of the Kalki of the Paurāṇikas – who have been quoted in this passage of the *Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi* included in the *Vimalaprabhā* –, or Mañjuśrī-Yāśas, the predecessor of the Kalkin Raudra of the Kālacakra. R. Gnoli in his translation (cited above in n. 160), p. 70, takes this Yaśas to be the father of the Kalkin Puṇḍarīka of the Kālacakra.

¹⁷¹ See also *Vimalaprabhā* i, p. 41: *iha prādeśikī hariharādīnām dharmadeśanā bauddhair nānumodanīyā sarvasattvaḥṣṭayā rahitā saṃsārāduḥkhadāyini mithyā-haṃkāraḥkārīṇī jātivādābhīmāninī*; and v.127 (*Paramākṣarajñānasiddhi*, pp. 91–100).

together with those of the Lokāyatas and Cārvākas (ii.164ab, 175), the Tāyins/Mlecchas (ii.164cd, 174), the Kṣapaṇakas (ii.165), and certain other Buddhist schools of thought (Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, and Yogācāra, ii.173; cf. *VP* v.127 [pp. 86–87]). And when the Buddha is said to be the source of both Veda and Tarkaśāstra (*LKT* i.156), this is no doubt to be understood as an expression of ectypal EMANATIONISM in its DOCETIC form. The supramundane beings of Buddhism are indeed said to emanate docetically as *nirmāṇas* the sages and teachers of other systems beneficial to living beings.¹⁷²

As observed above (p. 119), whether this complex situation, found in sources belonging to the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second millennium of the common era, is best described as SYNCRETISM or SYMBIOSIS is perhaps a matter of definitions and terminology. In any case, it appears sometimes to reflect a kind of COSMOPOLITANISM in keeping with an aspiration towards soteriological UNIVERSALISM that operates DOCETICALLY through emanations (*nirmāṇas*, etc.). Analytically, and also historically, these models and paradigms are no doubt distinguishable, but here they appear to converge and to complement and reinforce each other.

It is to be observed finally that, within Buddhist thought, the *laukika* is correlated in Naḍapāda/Nāropā's *Paramārthasaṃgraha* (the *Sekodeśaṭīkā*) with realization of divinities through the generative phase, and the *lokottara* with realization of supramundane reality through the consummate phase: *devatāsādhanam utpattikrameṇa pūrvoktaṃ laukikam/lokottaratattvasādhanam utpannakrameṇa/* (ad *Sekodeśa* 24, ed. Sferra, p. 121).

For the criticism of Brahmanical systems in the Kālacakra, see G. Grönbold, 'Heterodoxe Lehren und ihre Widerlegung im Kālacakra-Tantra', *III* 35 (1992), p. 273 ff.

¹⁷² In Buddhism docetism is, of course, not solely (or even mainly) an interreligious phenomenon, it being a characteristic feature of the Mahāyāna and its doctrine of the Buddha's three Bodies (*trikāya*) including the *nirmāṇakāya*. See above.