

BUDDHIST DEITIES AND MANTRAS IN THE HINDU TANTRAS:
II THE ŚRĪVIDYĀRṆAVATANTRA AND THE TANTRASĀRA

1. INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this paper (Bühnemann 1999) I examine the adoption of Vasudhārā Lakṣmī, Jambhala and Yamāntaka and their mantras from a Buddhist Tantric context into the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* and the *Mantrapāda* of the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati. This second part addresses Buddhist mantras which I have identified in two texts which belong to a later period: the *Śrīvidyārṇavatantra* (ŚVT), attributed to Vidyāranya Yati, and Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantrasāra* (TS). These two texts are compilations drawing on older Tantras, some of which appear to be lost, such as the *Kukkuteśvaratantra* and the *Āgamottara*. Since several texts which are cited in the TS as authoritative on the worship of originally Buddhist deities and mantras are also cited in the ŚVT, I combine the study of the TS and the ŚVT in this paper.

The ŚVT is a voluminous compilation of *mantraśāstra* attributed to Vidyāranya¹ Yati, a North Indian of uncertain identity. The Tantra consists of lengthy quotations from Tantric texts along with the compiler's brief explanatory notes. The texts cited include the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-Saṃhitā*, the *Tantrarāja*, the *Śāradātilaka* and the *Kulārṇavatantra*. The ŚVT has been edited by R.C. Kak and H. Shastri² 1932–1937. In their edition, the text consists of two parts: chapters (śvāsa) 1–18 (volume 1, pp. 1–545) form the *pūrvārdha* and chapters 19–36 (volume 2, pp. 1–914), the *uttarārdha*. I refer to the work by citing the volume number and page number. The vast amount of material found in the ŚVT, which is outlined in a pamphlet by Śāstri 1944, has not received the attention it deserves.³ The ŚVT in all likelihood quotes Mahīdhara's *Mantramahodadhi* (MM)⁴ and therefore must be later than 1588. Its latest possible date of composition is the year 1726, the date of an extant manuscript⁵ of the text.

The TS by Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa is a well-known compilation of *mantraśāstra*, which attained great popularity in Bengal. The TS

was compiled at least one century after the MM, which Mahīdhara completed in 1588, and was most likely written in the seventeenth century.⁶ The iconography of this text is studied by D.C. Sircar 1972–1973 and P. Pal 1981. While closely examining the TS, I noticed that it relies heavily on Lakṣmaṇadeśika's *Śāradātilaka* (ŚT), which it calls 'the *Śāradā*' or 'the *Nibandha*,'⁷ and whose descriptions it frequently quotes without attribution. The work also contains long extracts from the *Phetkarīṇītantra*. A new edition of the TS reconciling these citations with the original texts would be desirable. Since we do not have a critical edition of the work, I use here the edition entitled *Brhattantrasāra* published in 1985. It is based on a Bengali version and contains numerous misprints. The earlier edition published by the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office (Vārāṇasī 1938) is incomplete.

In this paper I address selected Buddhist mantras which appear in the ŚVT and the TS which have been discussed either not at all or not in detail by other scholars. Since the mantras in these texts are usually communicated in a code, they cannot be identified easily by glancing over the texts. Moreover, their correct wording can only be determined after deciphering the code (which often allows for several options) and comparing the version of the mantra arrived at to versions found in other texts.

The MM already incorporates mantras of the originally Buddhist goddesses Ugratārā, Tārā (Ekajātā) and Chinnamastā, who also appear in the ŚVT and the TS. Bhattacharyya 1930, pp. 1292–1295, 1932, pp. 159–161 and Pal 1981, p. 83 have already discussed the adaptation of Chinnamastā (also called Pracandacandikā) by the TS. In Bühnemann 1999, section 1.6.3.3, I have also addressed this goddess and referred to Buddhist mantras associated with her worship in Mahīdhara's MM. For this reason, I do not address Chinnamastā again in this paper. I should, however, add that Chinnamastā is conceptually related to early goddess icons which are frequently shown either headless, faceless or lotus-headed.⁸ In addition to the deities adopted already in the MM, the ŚVT and the TS adopt Mañjuhoṣa.

2. BUDDHIST MANTRAS AS A SPECIAL CATEGORY OF MANTRAS

In some traditions of the ritual worship of Śrīvidyā/Tripurasundarī in her *śrīcakra*, the teachings (*darśana*) of various sects are worshipped. These include the teaching of the Buddha. According to a late ritual compendium on the Kaula form of the daily worship of the *śrīcakra*, the unpublished *Svacchandapaddhati* by Cidānanda (cited in Khanna 1986,

pp. 253, 257), the first of the circuits of the *śrīcakra*, the *trailokyamohanacakra*, is presided over by the Buddhist teaching (*bauddhadarśana*). In the manuscript of this text cited in Khanna, six circuits of the *śrīcakra* are associated with the teachings of the following sects: (1) *bauddha*, (2) *brāhmya* and *saura*, (3) *śākta*, (4) *śaiva*, (5) *gāṇapatya* and (6) *vaiṣṇava* (Khanna 1986, pp. 257, 259, 261, 263, 265 and 267). An early reference which documents the association of the *trailokyamohanacakra* of the *śrīcakra* with the *bauddhadarśana* appears in the thousand-syllabled mantra of Lalitā, which consists of the goddess' epithets, in the *Lalitopākhyāna* of the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāna*, chapter 43.1–14.⁹ The mantra refers to the following *darśanas*: *bauddha*, *vaidika*, *saura*, *vaiṣṇava*, *śākta*, *śaiva* and *sāmbhava*, the latter associated with the *sarvānandamayacakra* of the *śrīcakra*. *Gandharvatantra* 5.75cd prescribes the worship of the Buddha in the *trailokyamohanacakra* of the *śrīcakra* as well.

In connection with the worship of the Śrīvidyā mantra, ŚVT 1, p. 170, 4–6 names teachings (*darśana*) presided over by the deities (1) Brahmā, (2) Viṣṇu, (3) the sun, (4) Buddha, (5) Śiva and – most superior – (6) Śakti. Already the earlier MM by Mahīdhara (written in 1588) 12.75 prescribes the worship of these six *darśanas*, i.e., those associated with Śiva, Śakti, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, the sun and the Buddha (*sugata*).

The ŚVT classifies mantras of female deities (*vidyās*) belonging to six “*āyatana*s.” The Buddhist mantras are ascribed to the *uttarāyatana*, the northern “*āyatana*”, which is reminiscent of the *uttarāmnāya*, the northern tradition/transmission (ŚVT 1, p. 170, 5 and p. 170, 24). In the classification provided in ŚVT 1, p. 245, 11–12 and pp. 257, 10–259, 10, the Buddhist mantras are specified as those whose presiding deities are associated with the Buddhist teaching (*bauddhadarśana*).

ŚVT 1, pp. 242, 13ff., in addition to a category comprised of mantras of the Vedic tradition, classifies mantras which have (1) Viṣṇu, (2) Śiva, (3) the sun, (4) Śakti, (5) Buddha and (6) Gaṇapati as presiding deities. In a citation (ŚVT 1, p. 245, 4–11) attributed to the *Śrīkulārṇava*, which cannot be identified in the printed editions of the *Kulārṇavatantra*, mantras are classified as (1) *vaiṣṇava*, (2) *vaidika*, (3) *śaiva*, (4) *saura*, (5) *śākta* and (6) *bauddha*. In addition to the Buddha, the lists include the mantras of Viṣṇu, the sun, Śiva and Śakti who are part of the *pañcāyatana* of the Smārtas. The *pañcāyatana* usually includes Gaṇapati/Gaṇeśa, but some earlier authorities appear to have included Brahmā instead.

In the ŚVT, the Buddhist goddesses are specified as the following eight: Padmāvati, Ugratārā, Ekajātā, Tārā, Nīlasarasvatī, Mātāṅgī,

Sumukhī and Caṇḍamātaṅgī. The Buddhist origin of the forms of Tārā, such as Ugratārā and Ekajātā, and of the Tantric Sarasvatī, who are named in this list, has already been shown by Bhattacharyya 1930, pp. 1278–1279. However, neither the iconography nor the mantras of Padmāvati, Mātaṅgī, Sumukhī and Caṇḍamātaṅgī, as described in the ŚVT, can be shown to incorporate typical Buddhist Tantric elements.

The following description of the Buddha appears in ŚVT 1, p. 170, 27 – 171, 1. Its source is unspecified; however the verse can be identified in *Śāradātilaka* (ŚT) 17.158, where it is part of a hymn of praise to Viṣṇu's ten *avatāras*. This verse, as part of the same hymn, is also cited in TS, p. 386, 7–9. The hymn must have been quite popular, since it is included in a contemporary collection of *stotras*, the *Bṛhatstotraratnākara*, pp. 509–510. In this hymn, the Buddha is listed as the ninth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu and occupies the place before Kalki, a position traditionally assigned to him in Purāṇic literature (Gail 1969, p. 917; Bhattacharya 1982, pp. 387–388). The Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu is referred to in the Purāṇas from the eighth century onwards (Gail 1969, p. 923):

*purā purānān*¹⁰ *asurān vijetum*
*sambhāvayan cīvaracihnaveśam*¹¹ /
cakāra yaḥ sāstram amoghakalpam
*taṃ mūlabhūtaṃ praṇamāmi*¹² *buddham* //¹³

“To him who previously putting on the attire of a (monk’s) robe and emblems in order to conquer the ancient demons made a scripture that appeared unfailing – I bow to the Buddha, the pioneer.”

The above verse appears to refer to the Buddha as the author of a scripture with heretical teachings intended to confuse the demons so that they would turn against Vedic practices and thus can be easily conquered by the gods.¹⁴ This is the usual function of the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

In my conclusion of Part One of this paper, I have briefly discussed the attitudes of compilers of Hindu Tantras towards the Buddhist deities and mantras they incorporated in their texts. It is remarkable that in connection with the worship of Śrīvidyā, the MM, the *Svacchandapaddhati* and the ŚVT pay homage to the Buddhist teaching (*darśana*) and accept the mantras of Buddhist deities next to the mantras of the major Brahmanical deities, such as Viṣṇu and Śiva. While the ŚT cites the description (*dhyāna*) of the Buddha within the *Viṣṇustotra*, it is found independently in the ŚVT. We cannot, therefore, draw the conclusion that the compiler of the ŚVT considers the Buddha merely an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu.

3. TĀRĀ

The goddesses Tārā, Ugrā, Mahogrā, Vajrā, Kālī, Sarasvatī, Kāmeśvarī and Bhadrakālī are listed as a group of eight Tāriṇīs or manifestations of Tārā in a number of texts, such as the previously mentioned MM 4.27, TS, p. 280, 1–2, ŚVT 2, p. 280, 15 and *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*, chapter 11 (p. 420, 10–11; citing the *Māyātantra*). The *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava* by Narasiṃha is a work of the seventeenth century. Instead of Kālī, we find Nīlā in the ŚVT and in the *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*; in the place of Bhadrakālī, the MM lists Cāmuṇḍā. Bhattacharyya 1930, pp. 1278–1279 and 1932, pp. 148–149, 156–157, after comparing the mantras of these Tāriṇīs, concludes that all of these goddesses are likely to be of Buddhist origin, since they emanate from Tārā. According to this author, the goddess Tārā was adopted from the Buddhist pantheon into the Hindu pantheon, after being introduced into the Buddhist pantheon from outside at an earlier time (Bhattacharyya 1930, p. 1286 and 1932, p. 153).

The mantras of Kālī and of forms of Tārā are partially identical. Bhattacharyya 1932, p. 157 and Pal 1981, p. 13 have therefore suggested the Buddhist origin of Kālī as well. Here I will not discuss this assumption, which would require a detailed study of the relevant texts. Research on the origin of Tārā is summarized in Ghosh 1980, pp. 6–31. However, this author assumes that the Hindu Tārā is older than the Buddhist Tārā. In this paper I will not consider the fierce forms of Tārā, such as Ekajāṭā and Ugratārā, whom I have addressed in Bühnemann 1996 and 1999, section 1.6.3.3. I will instead focus on one well-known mantra of the benevolent Tārā and the iconography of the goddess, whose adoption into the Hindu Tantras has to my knowledge not been addressed by scholars.

a) *The Ten-Syllabled Mantra*

ŚVT 2, p. 277, 10–11, TS, p. 280, 21–22 and *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*, chapter 11 (p. 422, 25–26) quote the same verse which they attribute to the *Gandharvatantra* but which cannot be identified in the edited recension¹⁵ of the Tantra. This verse gives the following mantra of Tārā: *om tāre tu tāre tattā svāhā*. ŚVT 1, p. 370, 9–13 (citing the *Tantrarāja*) provides the mantra *om tāre tu tāre ture svāhā*. This passage can be identified in *Tantrarāja* 22.25–27ab. The code in which the mantra is communicated in the *Tantrarāja* is difficult to decipher; however, the mantra is spelt out in full in the commentary *Manoramā* by Subhagānandanātha (written in 1603/1604 CE), pp. 398, 24 – 399, 16 on the *Tantrarāja* and is confirmed in ŚVT 1, p. 370, 13.

The widely known Buddhist mantra of Tārā, found in many texts such as *Guhyasamājatantra* 14.6+ and *Sādhanamālā* (SM), no. 97, p. 197, 7, is: *om tāre tuttāre ture svāhā*. Occasionally we also encounter the variant *tu tāre* for *tuttāre* (*Siddhaikavīramahātantra*, p. 150, 5 and Hatta 1985, p. 53, no. 315–316), which appears in the Hindu Tantras. This mantra begins with the sacred syllable *om* and ends in *svāhā*, an exclamation which has accompanied the offering of an oblation into the fire from Vedic times. The remaining syllables are the vocative *tāre*, “O Tārā”, the syllables *tuttāre* and the vocative *ture*, “O swift one.” The syllables *tuttāre* are difficult to interpret. The variant *tu tāre* appears to be an attempt to make the syllables more comprehensible; however, the meaning *tu* “but/however” does not fit the context. Ratnākaraśānti’s commentary, cited in Wayman 1975, p. 87, explains the syllable *tud* as “pain” and *tuttāre* as “O saviouress (Tārā) from pain”, an explanation which has no etymological basis. The substitution of the syllables *ture* by the syllables *tattā* in the Hindu Tantric texts obscures the meaning of the mantra even further.

b) The Iconographic Description (dhyāna)

A number of texts contain an identical verse giving the iconographic description of Tārā. The description appears in *Tantrarājatantra* 22.29–30, in both TS, p. 280, 24–26 and ŚVT 2, p. 277, 13–14 as attributed to the *Svatantratantra*, and in *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*, chapter 11 (pp. 422, 29 – 423, 2) as attributed to the *Gandharvatantra*.¹⁶ According to this stanza, the two-armed goddess is dark and displays the wish-granting gesture and holds a lotus:

*śyāmavarnām trinayanām¹⁷ dvibhujām varapaṅkaje /
dadhānām¹⁸ bahuvārnābhīr bahurūpābhīr¹⁹ āvrtām /
śaktībhiḥ smeravadanām smeramauktikabhūṣaṇām²⁰ /
ratnapādūkayor nyastapādāmbujayugām smaret //*

“One should recall the dark-coloured (goddess) who has three eyes, two arms, is (displaying) the wish-(granting gesture and) holding a lotus, is surrounded by Śaktis having many colours (and) many forms, who has a smiling face, is adorned with big pearls (and) whose pair of lotus-like feet is placed in jewelled sandals.”

This description matches the common description of the dark (*śyāma*) or so-called green Tārā found in Buddhist texts, such as SM, nos. 89–92. According to these descriptions, the dark Tārā displays the wish-granting gesture with her right hand and holds a lotus with her left. An interesting feature in the description of the Hindu Tantras are the goddess’s jewelled sandals; Sircar 1972–1973, p. 212 suggests that the reference may point to a foreign origin of the goddess. A xylograph from the *Rin ‘byuñ*,

941 Green Tara
 Śyāma Tārā
 T. Sgrol ljañ

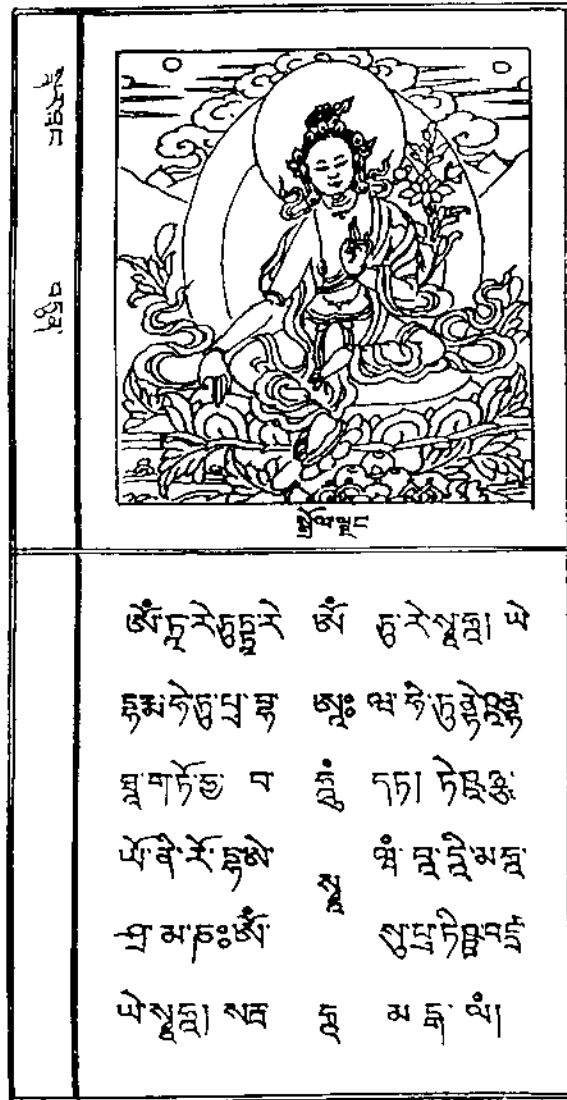


Illustration 1.

prepared by Mongol artists ca. 1810, representing this form of Tārā is reproduced from Chandra 1991, p. 352, no. 941 in Illustration 1. The goddess is seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus. She displays the gesture of wish-granting with her right hand and holds the stalk of a lotus with her left hand. The left hand may also display the gesture of text-exposition. The mantra *om tāre tuttāre ture svāhā* is the first mantra inscribed below the image.

4. THE MANTRA OF MAHĀPRATISARĀ

As I have shown in section 1.6.3.3 of Bühnemann 1999, the MM incorporates fragments of mantras from a Buddhist Tantric ritual context and typically Buddhist Tantric offering mantras. These often employ the prefix or affix *vajra*, such as the following mantra used in the worship of Akṣobhya as a surrounding deity of Ugratārā: “Akṣobhya, accept the *vajra* flower, *svāhā*”, (*akṣobhya vajrapuṣpaṃ pratīccha svāhā*; MM 4.93cd), which appears in the Buddhist SM, p. 103, 2 as *om akṣobhya vajrapuṣpe huṃ*. Such offering mantras of Buddhist origin can also be identified in the ŚVT and the TS.²¹ Many of these are identical to the mantras I have listed in Bühnemann 1999, section 1.6.3.3 and identified in Buddhist texts. I therefore do not list them again in this paper but rather address one other offering mantra.

Among the mantras used in the ritual worship of Tārā/Ekajātā, the mantra *om maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisare rakṣa rakṣa hūṃ phaṭ svāhā* appears in TS, p. 266, 5–6 and p. 266, 26–27. First it is prescribed for tying the lock of hair (*śikhā*) (cf. also the variants of this mantra used for tying the lock of hair in MM 4.55–56 and ŚVT 2, p. 264, 22). The second time it is employed to tie a knot (*rakṣāgranthi*) in the end of the garment for protective purposes (cf. also the variant in ŚVT 2, p. 265, 23). The third time, a variant of the mantra is referred to in TS, p. 276, 3–4 and ŚVT 2, p. 269, 12–13, which is to accompany the offering of water for sipping (*ācamanīya*) to the deity. ŚVT 2, p. 269, 6 prescribes a variant of the mantra, *hrīṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisare idam arghyaṃ svāhā*, to accompany an *arghya* offering to Tārā/Ekajātā.

This mantra appears as *om maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisare huṃ huṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* in *sādhanas* devoted to Mahāpratisarā, a goddess who was originally worshipped independently and later integrated into the group of the five protective goddesses (*pañcarakṣā*).²² Sen 1965, pp. 70–71 has briefly addressed this mantra and classified Mahāpratisarā (“Great Antimagic”) as a deification of *pratisara*, a counter-magical formula. The meanings, reverting or circular amulet, such as a bracelet or a cord tied around the neck, are also attested. Mayrhofer 1956–1980, vol. 3, p. 360 explains *pratisara* as “a cord used as an amulet, magical protection” and the word *maṇi*, which appears in the mantra, as “a pearl worn at the neck, a necklace” (Mayrhofer 1956–1980, vol. 3, p. 556). The mantra would then address Mahāpratisarā as holding a necklace or amulet cord (*maṇidhari*) or, with Sen 1965, p. 71, “an amulet” and a *vajra* (*vajriṇi*). According to SM, no. 194, p. 396, 19–20, no. 195, p. 398, 3–4 and no. 206, p. 406, 16–17, the mantra is used for repetition (*japa*). SM, no. 196, p. 399, 15–16 terms it

“the king of mantras” (*mantrarāja*). This mantra is also found in the *pañcarakṣāmandala* of Abhayākara Gupta’s NY, p. 43, 5–6 (with the long vowel in *hūm hūm*). In the NY, it is identified as the heart mantra of Mahāpratisarā. The mantra *om maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisāre (!)*²³ *hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*, inscribed on a xylograph of Pratisarā from the *Rin ‘byuñ*, is reproduced from Chandra 1991, p. 276, no. 725 in Illustration 2.

725 Pratisarā of Vajrapañjara
 - Vajrapañjara-bhāṣitā Pratisarā
 T. Rdo-rje-gur-nas gsunis-paḥi
 so-sor-hbrañ-ma

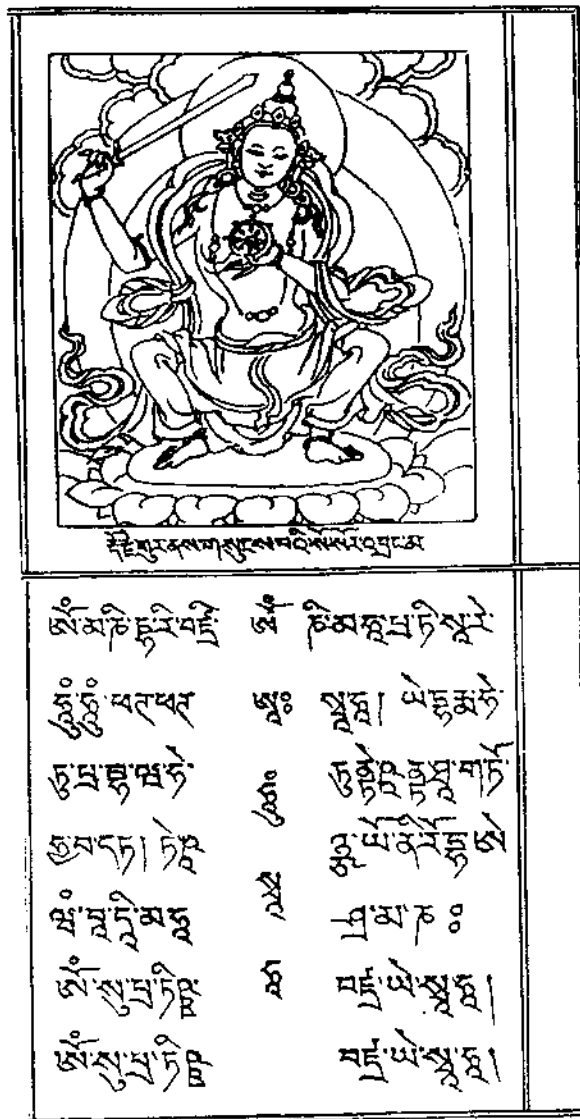


Illustration 2.

5. MAÑJUŚRĪ/MAÑJUGHOṢA

Bhattacharyya 1930, pp. 1295–1296 and 1932, pp. 161–162 was the first to address the adoption of Mañjughoṣa by the TS. Subsequently, Pal 1981, pp. 102–104 has discussed this topic. Both authors refer only to texts cited in the TS. In the following, I address the mantras and the iconography of Mañjughoṣa in greater detail, referring to other texts such as the ŚVT. It seems that the fifth chapter of an anonymous *Mantramuktāvalī* (which must be distinguished from the work of the same title authored by Pūrṇaprakāśa) is also devoted to Mañjuśrī (cf. Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981, p. 137). Unfortunately, the yet unedited text was not accessible to me. I will not discuss here speculations regarding the origins of Mañjuśrī.²⁴

a) *The Six-Syllabled Mantra*

The six-syllabled mantra *arapacana dhīḥ* of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī/Mañjughoṣa consists of the five initial syllables of the *arapacana* syllabary, which represent the entire syllabary, followed by the syllable *dhīḥ*. The mantra, which is termed “the king of mantras” (*mantrarāja*) in the SM, is well known (e.g., SM, no. 58, p. 122, 5 and *Siddhaikavīramahātantra*, p. 162, 19) and continues to be recited by practitioners of the Tibetan dGe lugs school up to the present. Davidson 1981, p. 28, note 88 gives the mantra as *arapacanādi*, which could be interpreted as “*arapacana* and the other (syllables).” However, it is uncertain from which source this uncommon variant is taken. The last syllable of the mantra is likely to be *dhīḥ* and not *(ā)di*. The syllable *dhīḥ* appears also in the mantra *om dhīḥ* provided in SM, p. 151, 15–16. A variant of the mantra, which consists of the syllables *arapacana* plus a seed syllable ending in a *visarga*, is transmitted as *arapacana muḥ* and appears, e.g., in a *sādhana* of Sthiracakra, a form of Mañjuśrī (cf. SM, p. 94, 15). The syllable *mūḥ* is defined as Mañjughoṣa’s heart syllable in NY, p. 65, 20. The syllable *muḥ/mūḥ* appears to be derived from the initial letter *m* in the name Mañjuśrī/Mañjughoṣa and the *u* from the penultimate syllable *ju* of his name. Judging from the occurrence in the *sādhanas* in the SM, the syllable *muḥ* with the short *u* appears to be more common.

The entire mantra *arapacana dhīḥ* appears in the TS and the ŚVT (in an encoded and somewhat corrupt form) in citations from the *Bhairavatantra*, the *Āgamottara*²⁵ and the *Kukkuteśvaratantra*. The *Āgamottara*, cited in TS, p. 304, 8–10, gives the mantra *aravacaladhīm*. The same passage from the *Āgamottara*, but with variants, appears in ŚVT 2, p. 715, 25–26 and yields the mantra *aravacanadhīm*. The

Kukkuteśvaratantra, cited in TS, p. 306, 12–13, gives the mantra *aravamcaladhī*, while the same passage cited in ŚVT 2, p. 717, 23–24 with variants yields *aravamcaladhī*. TS, p. 308, 11–19 and ŚVT 2, pp. 719, 26 – 720, 4 (quoting the *Bhairavatantra*?) include the following hymn of praise (*stotra*) to the deity. The first syllable of each verse constitutes one syllable of the mantra *arapacana* (distorted to: *aravacana*) *dhīh* (here: *dhī*):

*amalam nirguṇam sāram guṇinam*²⁶ *sarvakāmadam /*
taṃ namāmi hitam nātham mañjuḥṣam namāmy aham // (1)
*raviśam*²⁷ *paramam sāram stutam brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ /*
raktaṃ rajoguṇair yuktaṃ mañjuḥṣam namāmy aham // (2)
*vacanena na jānanti na kāyena*²⁸ *ca kovidāḥ /*
taṃ sāntam tamasā yuktaṃ pūtavastraṃ namāmy aham // (3)
*carane patitā devā*²⁹ *daityānām jayahetave /*
*carane patito jīvo buddhaye*³⁰ *taṃ namāmy aham // (4)*
na jānanti surā yasya tattvaṃ sattvaguṇena vai /
*hr̥ṣtam*³¹ *samastasāram ca mañjuḥṣam namāmy aham // (5)*
dhīśam viśveśvaram caiva pratipattyādihetukam /
*sakalam niṣkalam*³² *caiva taṃ namāmi hitapradam // (6)*

“(1) I bow to the one who is pure, without attributes, most excellent, virtuous, the one who grants all desires, to that beneficent leader – I bow to Mañjuḥṣa.
 (2) To the lord of the sun, the highest, most excellent, who is praised by gods such as Brahmā, who is red, endowed with the qualities (*guṇa*), passion (*rajas*) (etc.) – I bow to Mañjuḥṣa.
 (3) And the learned ones do not know that tranquil one by means of speech or body, he who is connected with (the quality) darkness (*tamas*) – I bow to the one (wearing) a yellow garment.
 (4) The gods prostrate at (his) foot for victory over demons. The living being prostrates at (his) foot for intelligence – I bow to him.
 (5) Whose true state the gods indeed do not know – I bow to Mañjuḥṣa who is glad by means of the quality purity (*sattva*) and is the essence of the universe.
 (6) The lord of intelligence and also the lord of the universe, the cause of knowledge, etc., who is with qualities (*sakala*) and without qualities (*niṣkala*) – I bow to him who bestows welfare.”

b) The Iconographic Descriptions (dhyāna)

Bhattacharyya 1930, p. 1296 and 1932, p. 162 shows that the TS contains a *dhyāna* verse of Mañjuśrī which can be identified in the SM. This verse appears in TS, p. 305, 5–7, TS, p. 308, 7–9 and also in ŚVT 2, p. 716, 19–20 (quoting ‘another Tantra’).

*śāśadharam*³³ *iva śubhram khadgapustāṅkapāṇim*³⁴
suruciram atisāntam pañcacūḍam kumāram /
*prthunaravaramukhyam*³⁵ *padmapatrāyatākṣam*
*kumatidahanadakṣam mañjuḥṣam namāmi //*³⁶

“The boy (*kumāra*) who is white like the moon, whose hands are marked with the sword and the manuscript, who is very bright, extremely tranquil, who has five hair tufts (*pañcacūḍa*), who is the foremost of great men (*naravara*) of reputation (*prthu*), whose eyes are extended like lotus-leaves, who is skilled in destroying ill thoughts – I bow to Mañjuḥoṣa.”

This stanza (with three variants) constitutes the first verse in the *Arapacanasādhana* written by Ajitamitra, SM, no. 55. It is also the first stanza in the *Mañjuvajrastotra* composed by Mañjugarbha and printed in Dhīḥ 13, 1992, pp. 5–6 and in Pandey 1994, pp. 148–149. In the journal Dhīḥ and in Pandey 1994 it is attributed to the Buddhist *Svayambhū-Purāṇa*; however, the *stotra* cannot be identified in the printed edition of the *Purāṇa* published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta in six fascicles in its Bibliotheca Indica Series, 1894–1900.³⁷

śaśadharam iva śubhram khadgapustāṅkapānim
*suruciram atiśāntam*³⁸ *pañcacīram kumāram /*
*prthurativaramokṣam*³⁹ *padmapatrāyatākṣam*
*kumatidahanadakṣam mañjuḥoṣam praṇamya*⁴⁰ //⁴¹

In the version of the verse found in the SM and the one attributed to the *Svayambhū-Purāṇa*, the epithet *pañcacīra* replaces *pañcacūḍa*. The term *pañcacīra* frequently appears in descriptions of Mañjuśrī/Mañjuḥoṣa and has been interpreted in different ways.⁴² The term most likely refers to a hairstyle with five hair tufts or knots, which is a characteristic of youth. The other significant variant is *prthurativaramokṣam*, “who is the excellent liberation from intense passion”, instead of *prthutaravaramukhyam*, which I emend to *prthunaravaramukhyam*, “who is the foremost of great men (*naravara*) of reputation (*prthu*).” Sircar 1972–1973, p. 229 explains *prthutaravaramukhyam* as “very fat” (cf. also Pal 1981, p. 99), which is unconvincing. The above stanza, which gives the iconographic description, includes only the gerund *praṇamya* but not a finite form of a verb (except for the version printed in Dhīḥ, which substitutes *namāmi*) and the sentence is therefore grammatically incomplete.

A second description of the deity appears in ŚVT 2, p. 718, 14–15 and TS, p. 307, 2–4, both quoting the *Kukkuteśvaratantra*:

sampūrnamaṇḍalatuṣāramarīcimadhye
bālam vicintya dhavalam varakhadgahastam /
*uddāmakeśanivaham*⁴³ *varapustakādhyam*
nagṇam japet kṣatajapadmadalāyatākṣam //⁴⁴

“Having thought of the boy in the centre of the completely round (= full) moon, who is white, (holds) the most excellent sword in (his) hand, who has a mass of untied⁴⁵

neously done, therefore assuming four (Sircar) or three (Pal) attributes for the second description. The iconography of the deity corresponds to that of the two-armed Mañjuśrī holding a sword and the (*Prajñāpāramitā*) manuscript. The verse specifies the deity as Mañjughoṣa. Another name is Arapacana (cf. De Mallmann 1964, p. 26 for a list of names). In a xylograph from the *Rin 'byun* (cf. Illustration 3, reproduced from Chandra 1991, p. 348, no. 929), the deity holds a sword in his right hand and a manuscript in his left. The mantra *oṃ arapacana dhīḥ* is the first of the mantras inscribed below the image.

In the Hindu Tantras Mañjughoṣa is considered a form of Śiva, as evidenced by a quote from the *Bhairavatantra* found in ŚVT 2, p. 719, 14 and TS, p. 307, 28–29, in which Śiva identifies himself with Mañjughoṣa. In Dharmasthala, located in Beladhangadi district near the Netrāvalī river in coastal Karnāṭaka, a deity named Mañjunāth is presently worshipped in the form of a *liṅga* and thus identified with Śiva. Bhattacharyya 1932, p. 162 reports that the worship of Mañjughoṣa “is still current in some parts of the Rāḍha country in Bengal.”

6. DEITIES AND MANTRAS BORROWED FROM THE *BHŪTADĀMARATANTRA*

The TS and the ŚVT cite deity names and mantras from the *Bhūtadāmaratantra* (BT) several times. Two versions of this Tantra are extant, a Buddhist and a Hindu one. As Bhattacharyya 1933 shows, the Hindu Tantra is later than the Buddhist Tantra, on which it is clearly based. Bhattacharyya 1933, p. 356 dates the Buddhist version to the first part of the seventh century, while Pal 1981, p. 32, n. 8 assigns the Hindu Tantra to the period between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. For his research on both versions of the Tantra, Bhattacharyya relies on manuscript material. In 1993 the Sanskrit text of the Hindu version of the Tantra was published by K.K. Rai. The text is printed with a Hindi translation. The translation supplies the mantras, which are encoded in the text, in their full forms. Rai's edition of the Tantra is most likely based on older printed editions from Calcutta (see Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981, p. 119, n. 31), which are not accessible to me. The Sanskrit text of the Buddhist Tantra, which is yet unedited, is mentioned in SM, no. 265, p. 515, 3. I refer to Sanskrit manuscript MBB I-129 of the Buddhist Tantra, which is preserved in the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, New York. While the Buddhist Tantra spells out the mantras in full, the Hindu Tantra refers to them only in encoded form.

In the following I address only two instances of borrowings from the Hindu BT into the TS and ŚVT. A detailed study of the citations from the BT in the TS and the ŚVT is beyond the scope of the present paper and presupposes a critical edition of both versions of the Tantra.⁴⁶

a) The yoginīsādhana incorporated into the TS

The Hindu BT (which is cited in the TS and the ŚVT) borrows the mantras of a group of “Yoginīs” from the Buddhist BT. The Buddhist Tantra advocates the use of mantras and worship procedures of a large number of semi-divine beings, who usually appear in groups of eight individuals. These are the eight Sundarīs, the eight Śmaśānapraveśinīs, the eight Kātyāyanīs, the eight Bhūtinīs, the eight Apsarasas, the eight Yakṣinīs, the eight Nāgarājñīs, the six Kinnarīs and the eight Bhūtas. Pal 1981, p. 53 makes the general remark that the *yoginīsādhana* in the TS is lifted from the originally Buddhist BT and that the Yoginīs therefore must have been adopted from the Buddhist pantheon. An examination of the texts shows that Pal’s assumption is correct. The passage with the *yoginīsādhana* (TS, pp. 331, 9 – 335, 27 and ŚVT 2, pp. 346, 23 – 350, 16) is identical with chapter 16.3–11 of the Hindu BT (here each number covers an entire paragraph in the text). This passage, which is already called *yoginīsādhana* in the Hindu BT, lists the worship, the mantras and iconographic descriptions of Surasundarī, Manoharā, Kanakāntā, Kāmeśvarī, Ratisundarī, Padminī, Natīnī and Madhumatī. A similar list of individuals, but classified as Yakṣinīs, appears in the Hindu BT 11.3. They are called Surasundarī, Sarvamanohārīnī, Kanakavatī, Kameśvarī, Ratipriyā, Padminī, Natī and Anurāgiṇī. This list is based on the list of Yakṣinīs in the Buddhist BT (fol. 35a.4f.).

b) The Mantra uttered by Krodharāja

A mantra of “the king of the Krodhas” appears in TS, p. 490, 29–30 (in an appendix [*pariśiṣṭa*]) in a stanza cited from the BT. This stanza, which gives the mantra in an encoded form and specifies its employment in the rite of liquidation (*māraṇa*), can be identified in the Hindu BT, chapter 2.2:

*viṣaṃ ca*⁴⁷ *vajrajvālena hanayugmaṃ ataḥ*⁴⁸ *param /*
*sarvabhūtān tataḥ kūrca*⁴⁹ *mantram*⁴⁹ *īritam //*

The code yields the following syllables: *viṣa*⁵⁰ = *oṃ*; *vajrajvālena*; *hanayugma* = *hana hana*; *sarvabhūtān*; *kūrca* = *hūṃ*. The complete mantra is: *oṃ vajrajvālena hana hana sarvabhūtān hūṃ*.⁵¹ This can be translated as: “*Oṃ*, with the diamond flame kill, kill all beings,

hum.” If we adopt the better reading of the verse found in the Hindu BT (*kūrcam astrāntam manum*), the mantra has the additional syllable *astra* (‘the weapon’), i.e., *phaṭ*, at the end. This mantra, ending in the syllable *phaṭ*, can be identified in the Buddhist BT, fol. 1b.4 as *om vajrajvāle hana hana sarvabhūtān hum phat*. In the manuscript of the Buddhist BT we find the vocative singular *vajrajvāle*, which addresses the diamond flame, instead of the instrumental singular *vajrajvālena*. The vocative is the preferred reading here for the following reason. In the Buddhist Tantra this mantra is uttered by Mahāvajradhara, who is addressed as the great overlord of the Krodhas (*mahākrodhādhipati*), for the sake of killing demons (*bhūtamāraṇa*). As soon as he utters the mantra a row/line of several diamond flames (*vajrajvālāvali*) manifests from the pores of his skin which destroys the demons. It is therefore more appropriate that the mantra uttered by Mahāvajradhara addresses the diamond flame in the vocative before ordering the flame to kill.

7. CONCLUSION

In this paper I address only selected deities and mantras of Buddhist origin in the ŚVT and the TS, two texts which possibly belong to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. A detailed study of these two texts, which are presently not available in critical editions and whose texts are frequently corrupt, must be postponed until a later time.

Based on the textual materials examined in the two parts of this paper, we can identify the following common elements which indicate that Buddhist deities and their mantras were borrowed by Hindu Tantric texts:

- The deity is visualized according to a pattern which is characteristic of Tantric Buddhist *sādhana*s; such pattern may involve the mental creation of the deity, beginning from a seed syllable, which transforms in rapid succession into different symbols and signs and finally into the deity.
- The deities surrounding the central deity bear the names of Buddhist deities; these may be the well-known five Tathāgatas or Bodhisattvas.
- The mantras used in the ritual have the following characteristics of Tantric Buddhist mantras: they may be prefixed with invocations such as *namo ratnatrayāya*, “salutation to the three jewels” (i.e., to the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṃgha*).⁵² They may contain words employing the prefix or affix *vajra*. The mantras may be fragments

of typically Buddhist Tantric offering mantras. The presiding deity or the seer of a mantra may be specified as the Buddha.

- We may find references to *mudrās* which can be traced to Buddhist texts.

It is common that an originally Buddhist deity is identified with a major deity of the Hindu pantheon. In the Hindu Tantras, the originally Buddhist names of deities were sometimes changed. However, Tantric authors attempted to preserve the correct form of mantras, because of the common belief that mantras lose their efficacy or cause harm to the reciter when altered. But a study of the mantras clearly shows that mantras are frequently distorted, which appears to be caused by the ignorance of the copyists and scribes as well as that of the Tantric preceptors, once the tradition was lost. Only in one case did I encounter what seems to be a deliberate attempt of a redactor of a text to change the wording of a mantra in order to eliminate its Buddhist traces. This is the case of a rather long mantra of Buddhist origin, which is found in the *Mantrapāda* inserted into the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* and in Nārāyaṇa's *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* as well as in the *Agni-Purāna* (see Part One of this paper, appendix 5e). In the *Mantrapāda* and the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* the mantra contains the name of the Buddhist deity Vajrahūṃkāra as well as the word *vajriṇi*, which the redactor of the *Agni-Purāna* replaces with the name Tryambaka, i.e., Śiva, and the word *cakriṇi*. One important difference I noticed is that the Hindu versions of the mantras sometimes have certain seed syllables end in the nasal (*hrīm śrīm*), when the corresponding seed syllables in the Buddhist texts end in the *visarga* (*hrīḥ śrīḥ*).

The iconography of the Buddhist and Hindu deity is usually identical, but typically Buddhist characteristics may be re-interpreted. In Bühnemann 1996, pp. 475–476 I have summarized the new interpretation suggested by the Hindu Tantras of the icon of Akṣobhya in the crown of Ugratārā and the goddess's bone ornaments (*mudrā*).

The *Mantrapāda* and the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha*, which I examine in Part One of this paper, incorporate worship rituals of Vasudhārā Lakṣmī, Jambhala and mantra of Yamāntaka as well as of Vajragāndhārī and Vajrapāṇi. All of these deities are associated with the Yakṣa cult. Within the context of the *Mantrapāda* and the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* these deities do not occupy major positions. The texts examined in Part Two of this paper, which are later than the sixteenth century, show the number of originally Buddhist deities and mantras expanded. Compilers of some later texts not only adopted individual deities and their mantras from Buddhist Tantras; some authorities went so far as to assign an

independent status to Buddhist mantras among other mantras and to prescribe paying homage to the Buddhist teaching (*bauddhadarsāna*) next to that of other teachings (*darsāna*) in connection with the ritual worship of the *śrīcakra*.

NOTES

- ¹ See Bühnemann 1989, pp. 26–27 for a discussion of the identity of this Vidyāraṇya.
- ² The text of this edition, but without the prose remarks and the variant readings found in the footnotes, was reprinted by Kalyāṇ Mandir, Prayāg 1966–1967. The text without the variant readings is also reprinted by R.K. Rai, Vārāṇasī 1986–1989 in three volumes.
- ³ For a study of the forms of Gaṇeśa according to the ŚVT, see Bühnemann 1989.
- ⁴ For a discussion of the common passages in the MM and the ŚVT, see section 1.3.4 in Bühnemann 1999.
- ⁵ This manuscript is referred to in Śāstri 1944, p. 3. Śāstri tentatively places the ŚVT after 1520 and before 1720.
- ⁶ For this date, see Sircar 1972–1973, pp. 187–188. Pal 1981, p. 3 prefers to place Kṛṣṇānanda in the second half of the sixteenth century. The problem of the date of the TS is discussed in Gode 1944 and by Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981, p. 139.
- ⁷ The *Śrīvidyārṇavatāntra* also refers to the ŚT as ‘the *Nibandha*.’ Sircar 1972–1973, p. 189 erroneously postulates that this ‘*Nibandha*’ is identical to an unedited ‘*Nibandhamahātāntra*.’
- ⁸ See, for example, the goddesses studied in Bolon 1992. Recently K.R. van Kooij 1999 presented a new interpretation of the iconography of Chinnamastā.
- ⁹ ... *trailokyamohanacakrasvāmini* (corrected from *trailokyamohini cakrasvāmini*) *prakāṭayogini bauddhadarsānāṅgi* ...
- ¹⁰ *purāṇām Br̥hatstotraratnākara*, ŚT1, v.l. ŚVT, *surāṇām* TS.
- ¹¹ *pīṭharacihnaṣam* ŚVT, *pīvaracihna*^o v.l. ŚVT, *dhīvaracihnaṣam* ŚT2, *chrīvaracihna*^o TS.
- ¹² *praṇato* ‘*smi Br̥hatstotraratnākara*, ŚT1, 2, TS.
- ¹³ Metre: Upajāti.
- ¹⁴ For a similar description, see *Gandharvatāntra* 1.53: *daityānām nāśanārthāya viṣṇunā buddharūpinā / bauddhaśāstram asat proktam nagnanīlapatādīkam //*
- ¹⁵ The Tantra was edited by R.C. Kak and Harabhata Shastri (Kashmir Pratap Steam Press, Srinagar), 1934; by R.P. Tripāṭhī in *Tantrasaṅgraha*, volume 3 (Saṅpūrṇānandasamskṛtaviśvavidyālaya, Vārāṇasī), 1979, pp. 1–340 and by R.K. Rai (Krishnadas Academy, Varanasi), 1986.
- ¹⁶ I could not identify this passage in the printed editions of the *Gandharvatāntra*.
- ¹⁷ *dvīnayanām Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*.
- ¹⁸ *bībhṛāṇām* ŚVT.
- ¹⁹ *bahurūpābhir bahuvarṇābhir* ŚVT for *bahuvarṇābhir bahurūpābhir*.
- ²⁰ *ratnamauktika*^o *Tantrarāja*, *sphuranmauktika*^o *Tārābhaktisudhārṇava*. Either reading gives a better sense.
- ²¹ E.g., the mantras found in TS, pp. 265, 16 (cf. ŚVT 2, p. 264, 8) and TS, p. 265, 17–18 (cf. ŚVT 2, p. 269, 5).

- ²² For the iconography of Mahāpratisarā, see Mevissen 1991/1992, pp. 358–369 and Mevissen 1999.
- ²³ The *ā* in °*pratisāre* is a scribal error.
- ²⁴ For a brief summary of the discussions, cf. De Mallmann 1964, pp. 16–18. S. Lévi suggests the Tokharian origin of the deity; see the brief notice of his communication in *Journal Asiatique* 19, 1912, p. 622. É. Lamotte discusses concepts that possibly contributed to the development of Mañjuśrī (T'oung Pao 48, 1960, pp. 1–96). Pal 1981, p. 104 holds that Mañjuśrī is a composite deity combining different concepts and iconographic elements.
- ²⁵ The *Āgamottara* and the *Kukkūṭeśvaratantra* appear to be lost texts and known from citations only (cf. the respective entries in the NCC).
- ²⁶ *gūṇitaṃ* ŚVT.
- ²⁷ *vareṇyaṃ* ŚVT.
- ²⁸ *kāyena na* ŚVT for *na kāyena*.
- ²⁹ *yasya* ŚVT.
- ³⁰ *vṛddhaye* ŚVT with v.l. *buddhāye*.
- ³¹ *kṛṣṇaṃ* ŚVT.
- ³² *niṣphalaṃ* ŚVT.
- ³³ *śāsi*° ŚVT.
- ³⁴ °*pustā*° *ga*° TS.
- ³⁵ Suggested emendation *pr̥thunara*°. The TS and the ŚVT read *pr̥thutara*°.
- ³⁶ Metre: Mālinī.
- ³⁷ For recent research on the different versions of this Purāṇa, see H. Brinkhaus, The Textual History of the Different Versions of the «Svayambhūpurāṇa». In: G. Toffin (ed.), *Nepal, Past and Present*. Proceedings of the France-German Conference, Arc-et-Senans, June 1990 (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris) 1993, pp. 63–71.
- ³⁸ *aliśāntaṃ Mañjuvajrastotra* in Dhīḥ and Pandey 1994.
- ³⁹ *pr̥thutaravaramokṣaṃ Mañjuvajrastotra* printed in Dhīḥ 13.
- ⁴⁰ *namāmi Mañjuvajrastotra* printed in Dhīḥ 13.
- ⁴¹ Metre: Mālinī.
- ⁴² Cf. the discussion of the term in De Mallmann 1964, pp. 13–14 and Davidson 1981, p. 30, note 93.
- ⁴³ *uddāmakaṅkaṇavahaṃ* ŚVT.
- ⁴⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.
- ⁴⁵ Or: erect, i.e. flame-like hair?
- ⁴⁶ An edition of the Buddhist Tantra is planned by the Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, Sarnath, Varanasi.
- ⁴⁷ BT omits *ca*.
- ⁴⁸ *tataḥ* BT.
- ⁴⁹ *kūrcam astrāntaṃ manum* BT.
- ⁵⁰ *Viśa* is the code word usually denoting the letter *m*; however, TS, p. 489, 18 clearly equates it with the syllable *om*.
- ⁵¹ A similar mantra appears in chapter 10.2 of the Hindu BT: *om hana hana sarvaṃ māraya māraya vajrajvālena hūṃ phaḥ*.
- ⁵² Sarkar 1917, pp. 147, 192–193 describes the worship of the three jewels by the Hindus, especially in connection with the Dharma cult in Bengal.

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