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BUDDHIST DEITIES AND MANTRAS IN THE HINDU TANTRAS:
I THE *TANTRASĀRASAMGRAHA* AND THE
ĪŚANAŚIVAGURUDEVAPADDHATI

1. INTRODUCTION

At various stages in its development Buddhism incorporated Brahmanical and Hindu deities, but in its Tantric form Buddhism has also influenced the Hindu pantheon. The Tantric period is characterized by mutual influences between the two religions.

A. Sanderson has provided evidence for the influence of the Tantric Śaiva canon on the Buddhist Yogānuttaratantras or Yoginītantras. Sanderson 1988, pp. 146–147 and 1994, pp. 94ff. demonstrates that passages from the yet unpublished Śaiva Tantras, such as the *Brahmayāmala (Picumata)*, the *Tantrasadbhāva*, the *Yoginīsaṃcāra* of the *Jayadrathayāmala* and the *Siddhayogeśvarīmata*, were incorporated with little or no modification into Buddhist Tantras of Śaṃvara, such as the *Laghusaṃvara (Herukābhidhāna)*, the *Abhidhānottara*, the *Samputodbhava*, the *Samvarodaya*, the *Vajradāka* and the *Ḍākārṇava*. Sanderson shows that it is unnecessary to explain existing similarities between Tantric Śaivism and Buddhism by postulating a common source (often referred to as ‘the Indian religious substratum’) from which the two traditions are assumed to have derived. Addressing the influence of Brahmanical iconography on Buddhist Tantric iconography, Banerjea 1956, pp. 558–561 highlights similarities between the forms of Śiva and the Bodhisattvas Siṃhanāda, Nīlakaṇṭha and others. As is well known, Buddhist Tantric texts such as Abhayākaragupta’s eleventh-century *Niṣpannayogāvali* (NY) include Brahmanical deities, such as Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya, the directional guardians and heavenly bodies, in the periphery of the deity maṇḍalas they describe.

The reverse, namely the influence of Tantric Buddhism on the later Hindu Tantric pantheon, is studied by B. Bhattacharyya.¹ However, Bhattacharyya 1930, p. 1277 and 1932, p. 109 goes too far when he draws the general conclusion that the Buddhists were the first to write

Tantric texts and that the Hindu Tantras are borrowed from the Buddhist Tantras. Bhattacharyya addresses not only the iconography but also the deity mantras on the basis of such texts as the *Sādhanamālā* (SM). He concludes that Chinnamastā and the eight manifestations of Tārā known as Tārā, Ugrā, Mahogrā, Vajrā, Kālī, (the Tantric) Sarasvatī, Kāmeśvarī and Bhadrakālī were adopted by the Hindu pantheon from Buddhist Tantric sources (1930, pp. 1278–1279 and 1932, pp. 148–149, 156–157). I summarize our present state of knowledge on the adoption of Chinnamastā into the Hindu pantheon in Bühnemann 1999, section 1.6.3.3. In Bühnemann 1996 I demonstrate on the basis of textual evidence how a form of Tārā, called Mahācīnakrama-Tārā, was adopted from an eleventh-century Buddhist Tantric *sādhana* by Śāśvatavajra into the Hindu *Phetkārīṇītantra*. The *Phetkārīṇītantra*'s description of the goddess as Ugratārā – along with her surrounding deities and elements of typically Buddhist Tantric worship procedures and mantras – became the authoritative description of the goddess and was incorporated into many Hindu Tantric texts, such as Kṛṣṇānanda's *Tantrasāra*. Bhattacharyya 1933 traces the adaptation of Bhūtaḍāmara into the Hindu pantheon by examining the two extant *Bhūtaḍāmara-Tantras*, one belonging to the Buddhists and the other to the Hindus. Bhattacharyya 1930, pp. 1295–1296, 1932, pp. 161–162 and Pal 1981, pp. 102–104 examine the adoption of Mañjuḥṣa by the Hindu pantheon. It is usually not easy to determine when and how a deity was adopted from one pantheon into another. The importance of the cases of Bhūtaḍāmara and Ugratārā lies in the clear understanding they offer of the process of adaptation of a deity from the Buddhist Tantric texts into Hindu Tantras.

In this paper I am concerned with the influence of Buddhist Tantrism on Hindu Tantras as evident from the adoption of Buddhist deities, mantras and elements of typically Buddhist Tantric worship procedures. Many Tantric texts have not been edited at all or at least not critically. Often we have no information about the period in which they were written nor who their authors or compilers were. Since much work remains to be done before one can attempt to draw conclusions of a more general nature based on primary texts, it seems best to begin with a study of select Tantric texts. Part One of this paper examines Buddhist influences in two closely related texts, the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* and the *Mantrapāda* of the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*. Part Two will address Buddhist deities and mantras in two later compilations, the *Śrīvidyārṇavatāntra* attributed to Vidyāraṇya Yati and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgīśa's *Tantrasāra*. I will *not* discuss the origins of these deities nor address questions as to whether they were originally tribal or folk

deities who were assimilated into the Buddhist pantheon. I use the term 'Hindu Tantras' instead of Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava or Śākta Tantras/Āgamas to indicate the non-sectarian character of most of the texts I examine.

The Tantrasārasaṅgraha (TSS) is a compilation of *mantraśāstra* by Nārāyaṇa, a Kerala Brahmin who resided in Śivapura on the banks of the river Nilā. He was the son of Nārāyaṇa and his wife Umā. The work, which is called a Tantra in the colophons of the chapters of the text (e.g., 32.67d, 70c), is divided into thirty-two chapters. It is popularly known as the *Viṣanārāyaṇīya*, since its initial chapters (2–10) deal mainly with mantras to counter the effects of poison (*viṣa*).² Goudriaan 1977, p. 160 states that the TSS is not the *Nārāyaṇīya* quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa in his commentary *Padārthādarśa* on the *Śāradātilaka* (ŚT); however, this turns out to be incorrect. The work referred to and cited by Rāghava is indeed the TSS.³ Since Rāghava completed his commentary in 1493, the TSS can safely be assigned to the fifteenth century (eliminating the possibility of the sixteenth century)⁴ or earlier. The TSS was printed with an anonymous commentary (*vyākhyā*) which cites the *Mantrapāda* of the *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati*.

This *Mantrapāda* (MP) forms *pāda* 2, *paṭalas* 15–52 of Īśānaśivagurudevamiśra's *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* (ĪŚP), which is also known as the *Tantrapaddhati*. The ĪŚP is a Śaiva manual of temple worship in four *pādas* and is assigned to the last part of the eleventh (Dvivedi)⁵ or to the twelfth century (Unni 1987, p. 9). One should, however, distinguish between the ĪŚP and the MP inserted into it. At least part of the MP seems to be of a later date than the other parts of the ĪŚP. Since MP 47.20cd is cited (without specifying the text's name) in Rāghava's commentary, p. 865, 22 on the ŚT, the MP must have been extant in its present form before 1493. Unni 1987, pp. 38–65 summarizes the contents of the MP, and Dvivedi 1995, pp. 189–190 supplies a list of the texts quoted in the ĪŚP.

Most chapters in the MP correspond to chapters in the TSS. The relationship between the MP of the ĪŚP and Nārāyaṇa's TSS is discussed in Goudriaan 1977, pp. 158–160 and by Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981, p. 128. Goudriaan considers it possible that either chapters 15–38 of the MP are recast and shortened in the TSS, and chapters 39–52 of the MP are based on the TSS, or that the MP and the TSS are based on one source. In addition, Unni 1987, pp. 19–22 has demonstrated that chapter 41.2 of the MP clearly refers to the TSS (cited as the *Nārāyaṇīya*) and that chapter 49 of the MP draws on chapter 30 of the

TSS. This confirms that the TSS is among the sources of the later part of the MP.

V.V. Dvivedi 1992, p. 35 draws attention to the fact that the ĪŚP describes the worship of the Buddhist deities Vasudhārā and Yamāntaka. The two sections are reprinted without changes in Dvivedi 1992, pp. 36–41 (= MP 26.1–64) and 1992, pp. 42–44 (= MP 47.1–39) from the only available edition of the MP. Dvivedi inserts the titles *Vasudhārā-sādhana* and *Kṛṣṇayamāri sādhana*, which do not appear in the text of the MP. Dvivedi 1995, p. 184 believes that the mantra of Yamāntaka in the MP is taken from the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* (6.13). He does not discuss possible sources for the description of Vasudhārā and her worship.

Taking Dvivedi's discovery and his brief discussion of it as a starting point, I have identified additional material of Buddhist origin in the MP of the ĪŚP and in the TSS, which Dvivedi does not consult. In this paper I discuss the adoption of the two-armed earth goddess Vasudhārā; of the god of wealth, Jambhala, who is widely known as the Buddhist counterpart of Kubera; and of Yamāntaka and his mantras. Several other Buddhist mantras in the TSS and the MP are included in an appendix.

2. THE EARTH GODDESS VASUDHĀRĀ LAKṢMĪ

The TSS and the MP extensively describe the mantras of the earth goddess Vasudhārā and their ritual applications. The goddess's name Vasudhārā means "a flow of wealth," and is suggestive of her being a form of Lakṣmī. This is indeed supported by her classification in the two texts.

The sections TSS 22.19–41 and MP 26.1–64 draw heavily on Buddhist material. The seer (*ṛṣi*) of Vasudhārā's heart mantra *om vasudhārā svāhā* (MP 26.5+) is specified as the Buddha (MP 26.5a) and the mantra's presiding deity is Vasudhārā Lakṣmī/Śrī. The practitioner is instructed to bow to the Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas in the beginning of the worship ritual (MP 26.8ab; TSS 22.20c). The five Buddhas are listed in MP 26.8cd–10 as Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha,⁶ Amoghasiddhi, and the eight Bodhisattvas as Padmapāṇi (i.e., Avalokiteśvara), Maitrātmā (Maitreya), Gaganādigaṇja (for Gaganagaṇja), Samantabhadra, Yakṣādhipa (i.e., Vajrapāṇi), Mañjuḥṣa and Viṣkambhaka. One of the eight Bodhisattvas is clearly missing from this list, which otherwise resembles the one found in texts such as SM, no. 18, pp. 49, 12 – 50, 2, which include the names Maitreya, Kṣitigarbha, Vajrapāṇi, Khagarbha, Mañjuḥṣa, Gaganagaṇja, Viṣkambhin and Samantabhadra.

The practitioner then visualizes the seed syllable *trām*, which transforms into Mt. Sumeru. From the syllable *vaṃ* (TSS, *yaṃ* MP) a lotus is mentally produced, on which the practitioner visualizes himself (MP 26.11–12; TSS 22.21ab). He then recites the widely used Buddhist Tantric mantra (cf. SM, p. 218, 8–9), *oṃ svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ* (*sarvasamāḥ* MP) / *svabhāvaśuddho* (*sarvasuddho* MP) 'ham – “Oṃ, all dharmas are intrinsically pure, I am intrinsically pure.” This recitation is followed by the contemplation of the four Brahmic states (*brahmavihāra*), loving kindness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), sympathetic joy (*muditā*, TSS, *saṃtoṣa* MP) and equanimity (*upekṣā*) (MP 26.13–14; TSS 22.21ab+). The practitioner recites the mantra *oṃ sarvatathāgatānāṃ sarvasiddhayaḥ sampadyantām* (MP; *oṃ sarvatathāgatāḥ śamsitāḥ sarvatathāgatānāṃ sarvasiddhayaḥ sampadyantām* TSS) / *sarvatathāgatās cādhiṣṭhantām* (MP; *sarvatathāgatās cātiṣṭhantām* TSS). This mantra is recited by contemporary Japanese Shingon practitioners as: *oṃ sarvatathāgata* (sic) *śamsitāḥ sarvasattvānāṃ sarvasiddhayaḥ sampadyantām tathāgatās ca adhiṣṭhantām* (Miyata 1988, p. 16). Our texts classify mantras according to the categories *hr̥daya* and *upahr̥daya*, which are well-known from Buddhist Tantric texts, and refer to the hand gestures *samayamudrā* and *vajramudrā* (MP 26.15–17ab; TSS 22.23). The *samayamudrā* is defined, for example, in SM, p. 4, 7 and the *vajramudrā* in SM, p. 3, 5–7. Among the surrounding deities of Vasudhārā are the yellow Amitābha Buddha, the white Lokeśvara (MP, Yāgeśvara TSS) and the dark Vajrapāṇi (MP, Vajrin TSS) (MP 26.24–26; TSS 22.28–30). The anonymous commentary on the TSS states that the Buddha should be visualized clad in a robe as described in the Buddhist scriptures (TSS, p. 314, 16–17).

MP 26.20–22 describes Vasudhārā as a yellow colour, holding a pomegranate (*dāḍīma*) in her left hand which is resting on her left knee. In her right hand she holds a lotus which contains a small vessel showering jewels. The goddess places one foot on a vessel which showers wealth. The TSS (22.25–27ab) confirms the above description and adds that the lotus in the goddess's hands is red. The iconographic passages in the two texts are:

MP 26.20–22:
hemanibhāṃ pīvarakucakalaśāṃ
candramukhīm alikularucikeśīm </>
kañculikāṅgīm kuvalayanayanām
cārubhujām tanutaravaramadhyām /</ 20a>
hemakirīṭām kanakamaṇimayair
ābharaṇaiḥ śucinivasanagandhair </>
añcitamālyair adhiḡatavapuṣaṃ

kāntimatīm⁷ praṇamata vasudhārām // 20⁸
tiṣṭhantīm vinidhāyāṅghriṃ vasuvarṣiḡhaṭīmukhe /
ākuñcitāṅghrijānusthavāmapānisthadādimām⁹ // 21
ratnavarṣiḡhaṭiḡarbhā utpalam cāpare kare /
syandamānārthadhārādhyānālanirgatavallarīm // 22

“Bow down to beautiful Vasudhārā, who resembles gold (in colour), whose pitcher-like breasts are fleshy, who has a moon-like face, whose hair resembles a flight of (black) bees, whose body (is covered with) a bodice, who has lotus-like eyes, beautiful arms, a very slender excellent waist, (wears) a golden crown, whose body is covered with golden and jewelled ornaments, with pure garments and fragrant substances (and) beautiful flowers; who stands, having placed (her) foot on the opening of a small vessel showering wealth, who (holds) a pomegranate in her left hand which rests on the knee of (her) bent foot (= leg) and (holds) in her other (= right) hand a lotus which contains a small vessel showering jewels, who is (so to say) a creeper growing out of the neck (of the vessel) which abounds in flows of riches issuing forth.”

TSS 22.25–27ab:

(āvāhayed . . . / 24a)
bhāsvatkañculikām citravasanām makūṭojjvalām /
saumyām udārām hemābhām sakalākālpabhūṣitām // 25
vasuvarṣiḡhaṭasthāṅghriṃ¹⁰ vāmajānvāttapāṇinā /
vahantīm dādimam savyapāṇinā¹¹ cāruṇotpalam // 26
ratnavarṣiḡhaṭiḡarbha<ṃ> nālanirgatavallarīm / 27ab

“(One should invoke [Vasudhārā] who (wears) a shining bodice, beautiful garments, a blazing crown, who is placid, generous, has a golden lustre, is adorned with all (kinds of) ornaments, whose foot rests on a vessel showering wealth, who carries a pomegranate with her (left) hand which is placed on her left knee and with her right hand a red lotus which contains a small vessel which showers jewels, who is (so to say) a creeper growing out of the neck (of the vessel).”

According to MP 26.27+ and TSS 22.31–34ab, Vasudhārā Lakṣmī is accompanied by Śrī and Mahāśrī and the seven jewels (*ratna*). But in MP 26.48, which addresses another mantra of the goddess, Vasudhārā is accompanied by Dhaneśvara, the god of wealth. This is reminiscent of the Buddhist Tantric Vasudhārā, who is often described as the consort of Jambhala, the god of wealth (e.g., SM, nos. 285 and 289). In MP 26.49+ the goddess’s surrounding deities are listed as Dharma, Buddha, “Sahya” (corrupted for *saṃgha*), Sāgaranirghoṣa, Vajrarakṣa (v.l. Vajrayakṣa), Taruṇin, Āryāvalokeśvara, Prajñā, Sarasvatī and “all Bodhisattvas.”

The description of the worship ritual of Vasudhārā in the two Hindu Tantric texts is clearly based on Buddhist material. The elements of the practitioner’s visualization pattern summarized above are characteristic of Tantric Buddhist *sādhana*s. In addition, the names of the deities surrounding Vasudhārā leave no doubt that the above ritual application of Vasudhārā’s mantras is taken from a Buddhist source. The iconographic description of Vasudhārā in the two Hindu texts is

most likely based on Buddhist sources as well. It is unlikely that the MP and the TSS would have replaced the iconographical description of the Buddhist goddess with a description of the earth goddess from their own tradition while adopting the Buddhist goddess's mantras and their ritual applications. In the Hindu tradition, the earth goddess is also known by the names Vasudhā (ŚT 15.138) and Vasundharā (cf. *Agni-Purāṇa* 120.38–39); however, iconographic descriptions of Vasudhā/Vasundharā differ from the one found in the MP and the TSS.

However, the goddess's iconography does not correspond to that of Vasudhārā described in the rather brief *sādhana*s in SM, nos. 213–216, according to which the goddess holds a rice shoot (*dhānyamañjarī*) and displays the wish-granting gesture. It also does not correspond to the iconography of a (six-armed) Buddhist Vasudhārā recorded in the *Vasundharoddeśa* whose text is discussed in both De Mallmann 1986, pp. 441–442 and in Bhattacharyya 1974, pp. 35–36. However, in one description found in the *Vasundharoddeśa*, the goddess is on a vessel of plenty (*bhadrakṣatoparisthitā*) and Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi are among the surrounding deities of the goddess just as in the MP and the TSS. I am not aware of a textual source for the goddess's iconography. Such a source may be found once additional iconographic material has been made available from yet unedited Buddhist texts.

3. JAMBHALA, THE GOD OF WEALTH

The TSS and the MP describe rituals for Jambhala, the god of wealth, who is widely known as the Buddhist counterpart of Kuvera/Kubera.

The TSS presents Jambhala in chapter 26 (26.17–35) which mainly addresses Mr̥tyum̐jaya, a form of Śiva. Jambhala's mantra, iconographic description and connected rituals are immediately followed by a description of the mantras of Kubera. The MP presents Jambhala in chapter 32 (32.90–103) following the description of Caṇḍeśvara, who is identified with Śiva. As in the TSS, Jambhala's description is immediately followed by that of mantras and rituals for Kubera and Jambhala and Kubera share some of the same surrounding deities (MP 32.108cd–109ab).

Preceding Jambhala's iconographic description in the two texts are instructions for the worshipper's visualization. Jambhala is visualized on a lotus on which a hexagon-like *maṇḍala* is inscribed. From the seed (*bīja*) syllable *hrīm* a lotus appears; on top of the lotus, from

the syllable *aṃ*, a moon disc appears; then appears, on top of the lotus, from the syllable *jaṃ* (which is Jambhala's seed syllable) the deity Jambhala (MP 32.101; TSS 26.31cd–32ab). This visualization follows patterns found in Buddhist Tantric *sādhana* texts. Two Jambhala *sādhana*s in the SM (nos. 284 and 288) enjoin that the Yogin visualize an eight-petalled double lotus (*viśvapadma*), on top of it a moon disc and on it – produced from the syllable *jaṃ* – the deity Jambhala.

The MP identifies Jambhala as the lord of the Yakṣas (32.100c), an epithet which is also found in his mantra which addresses him as the lord of the great army of the Yakṣas: *māṇibhadramahāsenayakṣādhīpataye*¹² *jambhalāya jalendrāya svāhā* (MP 32.90–91ab). A similar mantra appears in SM, no. 295 (p. 570, 7–8): *namo ratnatrayāya namo māṇibhadrāya mahāyakṣasenāpataye oṃ jambhalajalendrāya svāhā*. The deities immediately surrounding Jambhala are the Yakṣas Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Celimālin, Vikuṇḍalin (most likely for Civikuṇḍalin or, with TSS 26.16+, for Śibikuṇḍalin), Narendra and Carendra. These six names appear to have been taken from a Buddhist source listing eight names, such as SM, no. 284 (p. 561, 5–9): Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Dhanada, Vaiśravaṇa, Kelimālin, Vicitrakuṇḍalin, Mukhendra and Carendra (cf. also SM, no. 298, p. 566, 16–20). Siddhaikavīramahātantra, p. 158, 1–4 gives the same names, but has Varendra instead of Carendra. NY, p. 63, 19–26 lists Pūrṇabhadra, Māṇibhadra, Dhanada, Vaiśravaṇa, Civikuṇḍalin, Kelimālin, Sukhendra and Calendra. A slab from Ratnagiri with a relief of Jambhala gives these names as Pūrṇabhadra, Cilikuṇḍalin, Vaiśrama(for: °va°)ṇa, Kelimālin, Dhanada, Mukhendra, Māṇibhadra and Caranendra (Mitra 1961, p. 40). The variants in the names are limited to Vicitrakuṇḍalin (SM) for Civikuṇḍalin (NY), Cilikuṇḍalin (Ratnagiri); Mukhendra (SM, Ratnagiri) for Sukhendra (NY); and Carendra (SM) for Calendra (NY), Varendra (Siddhaikavīramahātantra) or Caranendra (Ratnagiri). According to NY, p. 63, 27 each of these Yakṣas holds identical attributes. These are Jambhala's characteristic attributes, the fruit of the citron tree (in the right hand) and the mongoose (in the left).

A xylograph from the *Rin 'byuñ*, prepared by Mongol artists in circa 1810 (Chandra 1991, p. 310, no. 820; see Illustration 1), portrays Jambhala embracing a consort and surrounded by eight Yakṣas, each with a consort. The mantra inscribed below the picture invokes the eight male Yakṣas as follows:

o<ṃ> jambhalajale<n>draye svāhā /
oṃ māṇibhadrāya svāhā /

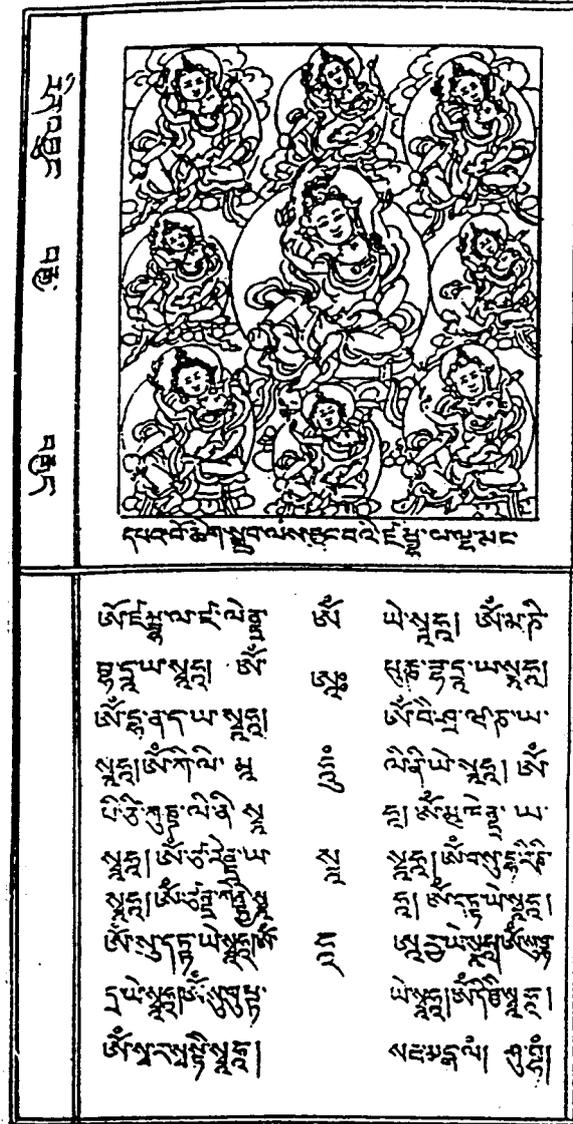


Illustration 1. 820 Many-deity Jambhala from a Sādhana
 Ekavīra sādhanā-vinirgata Bahudeva Jambhala
 T. Dpañ-bo chig sgrub-las byuñ-baḥi dzambha-la lha-mañ, NW. 74

om pūrṇabhadrāya svāhā /
 om dhanadaya (!) svāhā /
 om baiśravaṇaya (!) svāhā /
 om kilimāliniye (!) svāhā /

oṃ picikuṇḍalini (!) svāhā /
oṃ mukhendrāya svāhā /
oṃ carendrāya svāhā /

This group of Yakṣas is also seen in a sculpture in the round excavated at Nālandā and preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (acc. no. 47.62). The Yakṣas are positioned around Jambhala and constitute the surrounding deities of his *maṇḍala* (Mitra 1961, p. 41). As described in the NY, they hold the fruit of the citron tree in their right hand, the mongoose in their left and, in addition, place one foot on a vessel full of jewels.

Jambhala is described twice in the MP and the TSS. According to the first description (MP 32.96–97) he is yellow, two-armed, seated on a white lotus, has three feet and is corpulent. The parallel description in the TSS (26.21) adds that Jambhala has three feet, three faces and (one) tawny eye. The deity's deformities correspond to those of Kubera in Hindu mythology (see Hopkins 1915, pp. 142, 147). Except for the red ornaments on the deity's body, no attributes held in his hands are described. The first iconographic description in the two texts is:

MP 32.96–97:
śvetapadmasthitam saumyaṃ pītābhaṃ dvibhujam prabhum /
raktākālpasphuranmaulimaṇikuṇḍalamāṇḍitam // 96
hārakeyūrakatākakaṭiṣṭrādyaḷamkṛtam /
tripādam tundilaṃ dhyāyet pūjādau mantrasiddhaye // 97

“For the perfection of the mantra one should meditate at the beginning of the worship (*pūjā*) on the lord who is on a white lotus, is tranquil, has a yellow lustre, has two arms, is adorned with red ornaments, a shining crown and jewelled ear-rings, who is adorned with necklaces, armlets, bracelets of gold, a waistband, etc., who has three feet (and) is corpulent.”

TSS 26.21:
śvetapadmasthito hārapaṭṭakeyūraṇḍalī /
raktākālpapriyo devaḥ piṅgākṣas trimukhas¹³ tripāt //

“The god is on a white lotus, wears necklaces, a diadem, bracelets, ear-rings, is fond of red ornaments, has (one) tawny eye, three faces (and) three feet.

The second description is:

MP 32.102ab:
(... smaret / 101b ... jambhalam // 101d)
bijapūraṃ ca nakulaṃ dadhānaṃ taṃ caturbhujam /

“(One should recall) the four-armed (Jambhala) who holds the fruit of the citron tree and the mongoose.”

TSS 26.32cd–33a:
 (... *jambhalam* / 32b)
sabījapūraṃ nakulaṃ dadhānaṃ savarābhayaṃ // 32cd
caturbhujam imaṃ dhyātvā ... / 33a

“Having meditated on that four-armed (Jambhala) who holds the mongoose along with the fruit of the citron tree (and) who is endowed with the wish(-granting gesture and the gesture of) protection ...”

According to the second description (MP 32.102a), Jambhala is four-armed, but only two attributes are specified in the MP: the fruit of the citron tree (*bījāpūra*) and the mongoose (*nakula*). This may be due to a confusion of the four-armed form of Jambhala with the previously described two-armed form. Since the two descriptions of the Hindu Jambhala appear in connection with two different rituals, it is likely that they were meant to describe two different iconographic types, but through the course of time were blended together. The parallel description in the TSS (26.32cd–33a) specifies the gestures of protection and wish-granting as the two other attributes, which makes for a total of four attributes. Since in the second description the number of Kubera’s faces is unspecified, we have to assume that the deity has one face.

Buddhist *sādhana*s in the SM describe a form of the yellow Jambhala with two arms holding the fruit of the citron tree and the female mongoose (*nakulī*), which is often said to spew forth precious stones, etc. However, the deity has only one face and not three faces as specified in the TSS’s description. The Buddhist three-faced Jambhala, on the other hand, has six arms and represents a different iconographic type (cf. SM, no. 286).

Even though none of the Buddhist *sādhana* texts I examined give exactly the visualization pattern found in the two Hindu Tantric texts, and none of these texts give an identical description of Jambhala, the description of the deity and the rituals associated with his worship in the MP and the TSS are clearly of Buddhist origin. This is also substantiated by the fact that Jambhala is unknown in the Hindu Tantric pantheon, while Jambhala and Kubera appear in Buddhist Tantric pantheons, often with similar characteristics.¹⁴

The adoption of Jambhala by the Hindu texts is based on material (textual or otherwise) that is yet unidentified. The following piece of information may be useful for identifying the source. The MP and the TSS state that the deity “was once for some reason injured by a wheel on his head” (the MP adds: by Hari). To alleviate his pain one should offer water libations on his head, whereby he will be pleased. This

information could provide a clue as to the mythology connected with this deity.

4. YAMĀNTAKA

a) Introduction

Dvivedi has drawn attention to the fact that the ĪŚP (i.e., MP 47.11) cites a Yamāntaka mantra which he believes is borrowed from the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*. It must be added that the TSS (17.9cd–10ab) also records this mantra, which also appears in Lakṣmaṇadeśika's ŚT 24.18 and in texts citing the ŚT, such as the *Śrīvidyāṛṇavatantra* (ŚVT). Moreover, it is only one of two mantras of Yamāntaka found in the MP which are obviously borrowed from a Buddhist source. In the MP and the TSS the second mantra is identified as a mantra of Yama, not Yamāntaka. These two texts seem to confuse Yama and Yamāntaka as can be seen from the instances discussed below.

Ironically, the Buddhist mantras appear in the section of the MP which promotes the rites of black magic (*abhicāra*) which are said to be revealed for the sake of the protection of the (Vedic) *dharma* (47.5a) from the enemies of the *dharma* and the Veda (47.1b), which include the Buddhists.

Both the TSS and the MP address the mantras and rituals for Yama/Yamāntaka in the context of the *abhicāra*¹⁵ rites (TSS 17.1–29; MP 47.1–39). While the texts usually refer to a group of six acts (*ṣaṭ karmāṇi*), the following seven *abhicāra* rites are listed in the TSS (cf. also *Agni-Purāṇa* 306.1 with v.1) and the MP: (1) immobilization (*stambha*), (2) causing dissension (*vidveṣa*), (3) eradication (*uccāṭa*), (4) liquidation (*māraṇa*), (5) creating confusion or madness (*bhrānti*, *bhrama*),¹⁶ (6) destruction (*utsādana*) and (7) creating illness (*roga*,¹⁷ *vyādhi*), especially fever. These rites are briefly defined in the anonymous commentary on the TSS.

The mantras of Yama/Yamāntaka are to be inscribed in a *yantra* which is employed in black magic (*abhicāra*). According to ŚT 24.17d, this is a *yantra* of Pretarāja, i.e., Yama, the god of death. ŚT 24.22cd specifies its use in the rite of liquidation (*māraṇa*) (cf. also Rāghavabhaṭṭa, p. 865, 20), while the anonymous commentary on the TSS, p. 238, 10 states that the *yantra* is perhaps to be used in the rite of causing dissension, since the TSS does not give precise information. According to sources from Bali which will be discussed below, the first of the two mantras is also inscribed in the squares of a *yantra* (Hooykaas 1973, drawing on p. 172, charts on pp. 204–205 and remarks on p. 233).

b) *The Thirty-Two-Syllabled Mantra*

The first mantra is in Anuṣṭubh metre. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary, p. 866, 18 refers to it as the *yamarājaśloka*. The version in MP 47.11 is:

*ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya mo yo ru ṇa yo da ya /
da ya yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣe śa śca ni rā ma yaḥ //*

The version found in TSS 17.9cd–10ab is distorted and differs mainly in the first quarter of the verse:

*śa ma śā ga la so me śa ya me do ru ṇa yo da ya //
ya da yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣe pa ṅca ni rā ma ya /*

The anonymous commentary on the TSS, p. 237, 12, the author of which is familiar with the MP, gives a version closer to the one in the MP:

*ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya me do ru ṇa yo da ya /
ya da yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣe ya śca ni rā ma ya //*

The mantra also appears in Lakṣmaṇadeśika's ŚT 24.18 (last part of the tenth century or first half of the eleventh century). Its wording according to the three editions of the text is:

*ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya me do ru ṇa yo da ya /
ya di yo ni ra pa (ya ŚT3) kṣe ya ya kṣe ya va (pa kṣe ya ca ŚT2, 3) ni rā ma ya //*

ŚVT, volume 2, p. 849, 8, quoting the ŚT, gives the following reading of the mantra:

*ya ma rā ja sa dā me ya ya me dā sa ja rā ma ya /
ya da yo ni ra pa kṣe pa pa kṣe pa ra ni yo da ya //*

The above mantra is known in Buddhist Tantrism as the mantra of Yamāntaka, especially of his form Vajrabhairava, and continues to be recited in the Tibetan dGe lugs pa tradition up to the present.¹⁸ Decler 1998, p. 296 reports that the Vajrabhairava cycle continues to be practiced under the name Mahiṣasamvara in Nepal. Contemporary ritual manuals based on older texts, such as Sharpa Tulku/R. Guard 1990, p. 66 and Sharpa Tulku/R. Guard 1991, p. 25 classify the mantra as Vajrabhairava's root mantra, a classification which is supported by two ancient Vajrabhairava texts cited below. As Dvivedi 1995, p. 184 states, the mantra appears in the (*Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcitta-*) *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*. This Tantra is referred to in Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism* (Chattopadhyaya 1970, p. 243), along with the *Trikalpa* and the *Saptakalpa* (see below). Tāranātha credits Lalitavajra (tenth century)

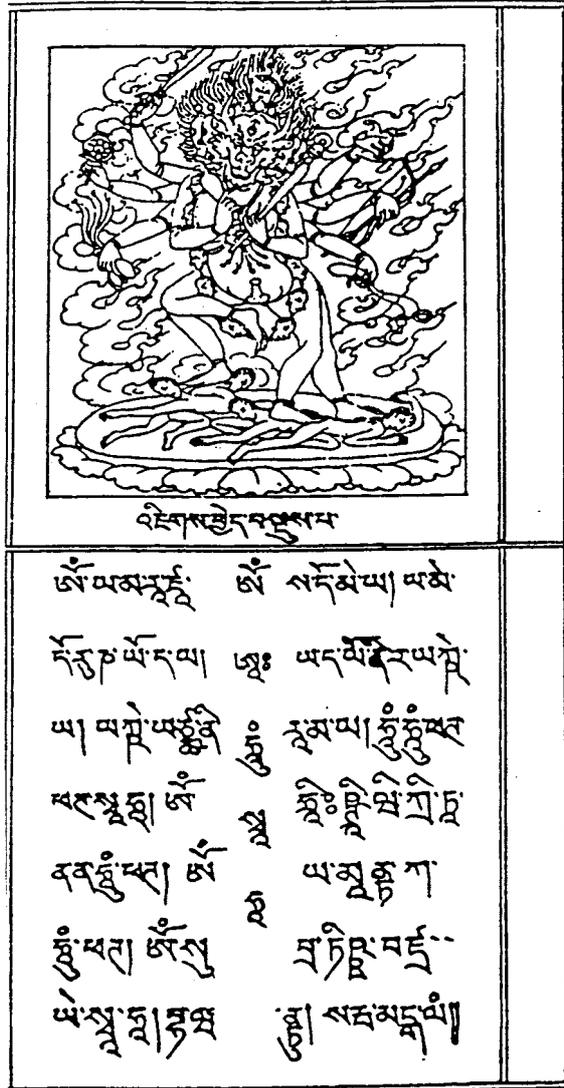


Illustration 2. 585 Samkṣipta Bhairava T. Hjigs-byed bsdus-pa

with having brought these texts from the library of Dharmagañja in Uḍḍiyāna. The mantra is referred to in *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 1.6–13 in an encoded form and appears in full in 6.13:

ya ma rā jā sa do me ya ya me do ru ṇa yo da ya /
ya da yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣa ya cca ni rā ma ya //

This mantra is also found in the *Vimalaprabhā* commentary (cited in the introduction to the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, p. 19, note 1) on *Kālacakratantra* 4.118 with a variant in the fourth quarter, *ya kṣe ya cca* instead of the above *ya kṣa ya cca*. The same version, with the variant *ya kṣe yac cha*, is inscribed on a xylograph from the *Rin'byun* (Chandra 1991, p. 229, no. 585; see Illustration 2), where the deity is called Saṃkṣipta-Bhairava.¹⁹ The reading *kṣe* better suits the parallelism in the verse and appears in several other texts cited below. Note the long *ā* at the end of the compound *yamarājā* in the versions of the two texts, which is ungrammatical unless it is supposed to be combined with an *a* at the beginning of the next word. This mantra with the same variant in the fourth quarter also appears in three Vajrabhairava texts. In chapter 3 of the *Vajramahābhairavatantra*, identified with the *Saptakalpa* by Siklós 1996, p. 9 and Decler 1998, p. 290, the mantra is classified as the root mantra of the buffalo-headed Vajramahābhairava and appears in an encoded form. Siklós 1996, p. 36 does not attempt to assemble the syllables of the mantra, which is to be extracted from the alphabet syllable by syllable. In his translation of the relevant passage he also omits syllables.²⁰ This mantra also appears in a text referred to as *The Myth* in Siklós 1996 and as *The Mythological Antecedents under one heading* in Decler 1998, p. 291, but with a short *a* at the end of the compound *yamarāja*, with the variant *yac ccha* (for *yac ca*) and the reading *ni ra mā ya* (for *ni rā ma ya*) in the fourth quarter of the verse.²¹ Lastly, the mantra is found in chapter 1 of the *Three Chapter Tantra of Vajrabhairava*, which is identified with the *Trikalpa*²² by Siklós 1996, p. 9 and Decler 1998, p. 293.²³ In this text we also find the short *a* at the end of the compound *yamarāja* and the spellings *ya ccha* (for *yac ca*) and *ni ra ma ya* (for *ni rā ma ya*) in the fourth quarter of the verse. This text confirms that the mantra is the deity's root mantra.

The above mantra verse appears in Buddhist texts from Bali, which are mostly hymns of praise which the editors have named *Yamarājastavas*. They are preserved in Archipelago Sanskrit. Different versions are recorded in Hooykaas 1964, p. 63 and p. 66; Goudriaan/Hooykaas 1971, no. 815, verse 10 and no. 941 and Hooykaas 1973, p. 210 (part of a ritual application). The versions gathered by these two scholars can be listed as follows:

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1ab) <i>ya ma rā ja sa do me ya</i> | <i>ya me do ro da yo da ya /</i> |
| 2ab) <i>ya ma rā ja sa do me ya</i> | <i>ya me do ra da yo da ya /</i> |
| 3ab) <i>ya ma rā ja sa do me ya</i> | <i>ya me do ro da yo da ya /</i> |
| 4ab) <i>ya ma rā ja sa do me ya</i> | <i>ya me do ro da yo da ya /</i> |
| 5ab) <i>ya ma rā ja sa do me ya</i> | <i>ya me do ro da yo da ya /</i> |

6ab) *ya ma rā ja sa do me ya* *ya me ro do da yo da ya /*
 7ab) *ya ma rā ja sa do me ya* *ya me ro do da yo da ya /*
 8ab) *ya ma rā ja sa do me ya* *ya me no do da so da ya /*

1cd) *ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya* *ya kṣi sa nti ṅī rā ma ya //*
 2cd) *ya da yo ni ra ya kṣi ya* *ya kṣi sa nta ṅī rā ma ya //*
 3cd) *ya da yo ni ra ya kṣi ya* *ya kṣi sa ṅca ṅī rā ma ya //*
 4cd) *ya da ya ni ja ra ma ya* *ya . . . sa ṅca ṅī rā ma ya //*
 5cd) *ya da yo ni ja ra ma ya* *ya kṣi sa ṅca ṅī rā ma ya //*
 6cd) *ya da yo ni si ra pi ya* *ya pi ra si ni ra ya ma //*
 7cd) *ya da yo ni si ra pi ya* *ya kṣi pa ṅca ni ra ma ya //*
 8cd) *ya da yo ni si ra pi ya* *ya kṣi pa ṅca ni ra ma ya //*

Another variant of this mantra from Bali is found in a hymn entitled *Yamastava* and published in Lévi 1933, p. 51, 2–3:

om *ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya me du ru da yo da ya /*
 ya da yo ni ra ya kṣi ya yakṣi sa ṅca na ra ma ya //

The first quarter of the verse, *yamarājasadomeya*, also appears independently in a number of other Balinese hymns. One version reads *yamarājasārameya* (Goudriaan/Hooykaas 1971, no. 942, verse 1a). Since *Sārameya* is the name of Yama's dog in Indian mythology, Goudriaan/Hooykaas 1971, p. 544 and Hooykaas 1973, p. 203 (note) assume that *Sadomeya* is a variant of the name *Sārameya*. Accordingly, a wood sculpture of a dog is identified as *Sadomeya* in Goudriaan/Hooykaas 1971, photograph, p. 24+. In his earlier publication, Hooykaas 1964, p. 67, the author suggests, even less convincingly, a derivation of *sadomeya* from *sadodyama*, “one who always exerts himself.”

In these different versions of the stanza we can identify the epithet *yamarāja*, “king Yama,” expressions such as *yakṣeśaś ca*, “and the lord of the yakṣas,” and – in some of the Balinese versions – the word *yakṣi*. The last word *nirāmaya* in inverted order of syllables reads *yamarāni* (for *yamarāni*), which is the female reversal of *yamarāja* (Hooykaas 1964, p. 67) and appears clearly at the end of stanza 2 of hymn no. 941 in Goudriaan/Hooykaas:

ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya me ro do da yo da ya /
ya da yo ni si ra pi ya ya kṣi pa ṅca ni rā ma ya //

ya me do sa ya me do ro da yo da ya da yo ni /
ya ra kṣi ya ya kṣi ya kṣi ya ma rā ja ya ma rā ni //

Of the versions listed above the one from the ŚT cited in the ŚVT is peculiar. Not only does it have some readings that are not found in the other versions (°*sadāmeya*), but it also arranges the syllables in such a way that the second quarter of each half of the verse is the exact reversal

of the first quarter. This arrangement is termed *pratilomayamaka* in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarsa* 3.73:

ya ma rā ja sa dā me ya (=) *ya me dā sa ja rā ma ya* /
ya da yo ni ra pa kṣe pa (=) *pa kṣe pa ra ni yo da ya* //

The inversion of syllables in a mantra in a somewhat similar fashion is attested to in Hindu Tantric texts, such as the *Prapañcasāra* (PS) (most likely tenth century) and the ŚT. PS 13.55 and ŚT 24.24 give the following mantra of Kālī and PS 13.56 and ŚT 24.25 provide the following mantra of Yama. Each verse quarter consists of four syllables in regular order and the same four syllables in inverted order. In the ŚT these two mantras appear in the same chapter as the above thirty-two-syllabled mantra:

Mantra of Kālī

kā lī mā ra (=) *ra mā lī kā* *lī na mo kṣa* (=) *kṣa mo na lī* /
mā mo de ta (=) *ta de mo mā* *ra kṣa ta ttva* (=) *ttva ta kṣa ra* //

Mantra of Yama

ya mā pā ta (=) *ta pā mā ya* *mā ta mo ta* (=) *ta mo ta mā* /
pā mo bhū ri (=) *ri bhū mo pā* *ta ta rī stva* (=) *stva rī ta ta* //

ŚT1 reads *vā mo* (for *pā mo*) and *mo vā* (for *mo pā*) in the third quarter of the verse.

All versions of the mantra verse listed above show the repetition of similar syllables, which is known as *yamaka* in Indian poetics. Leaving aside the distortions in the different versions, the underlying scheme seems to be that the last three syllables of a verse quarter are repeated in inverted order at the beginning of the next verse quarter. A *yamaka* in which the last syllables of a verse quarter are repeated (in regular order) at the beginning of the next quarter is termed *saṃdaṣṭayamaka* in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarsa* 3.51. In the scheme of this verse, however, the syllables are repeated in reverse (*pratiloma*) order, which resembles the *pratilomayamaka* illustrated above. Each verse quarter contains two syllables which are not repeated. In the following scheme they are represented with the symbol _ :

abc _ _ def fed _ _ ghi /
 ihg _ _ jkl lkj _ _ cba //

Based on this scheme the following reading of the verse is suggested. An *avagraha* has been inserted before *meya* in the first quarter of the verse:

yamarājasado'meya yame doradayodaya /
yad ayonirayakṣeya yakṣeya ca nirāmaya //

Considering that the choice of syllables in the mantra is obviously dominated by sound-effects at the expense of grammar and sense, the following meaning could perhaps be extracted from this reading of the verse:

“O you immeasurable (i.e., undefeatable) (*ameya*) by the assembly (= troupes) (*sadas*) of king Yama! Having arms (*dor*) in which there is no (*a-*) rise (= production) (*udaya*) of mercy (*dayā*) towards Yama! Since (you) can destroy (= stop falling into) the iron hell (*ayo-niraya-kṣeya*), I would desire to worship (you), O disease-killer (*nir-āmaya*)!”

In this attempt at translation, which takes into account that the text compromises in grammar and meaning of words, the form *kṣeya* is taken as a gerundive from the root *kṣi* (to destroy) and *yakṣeya* as the first person singular, optative, Ātmanepada of the desiderative (without reduplication) from the root *yaj* (to worship). The iron hell (*ayo-niraya*) would refer to one of the many hells described in texts (cf. *Bhāgavata-Purāna* 5.26.7 for the hell named *ayaḥpāna*). The word *ca* is left untranslated and is considered an expletive particle to fill in the metre. In this interpretation, the mantra praises not Yama – as the editors of the Balinese texts cited above assume –, but the enemy of Yama, who could be identified with either Śiva in his manifestation as Kālārī²⁴ (for the Hindus) or with Vajrabhairava (for the Buddhists).

In a graphic form, the text of the mantra could be inscribed on the sides of a square and read in clockwise direction beginning from the upper left corner. The syllables in bold font are repeated in the scheme and the syllable *ya* in each corner must be read each time one begins a new line.

ya	ma	rā	ja	sa	do	me	ya
ma							me
rā							do
ni							ra
ca							da
ya							yo
kṣe							da
ya	kṣe	ya	ra	ni	yo	da	ya

c) *The Twelve-, Fourteen- or Ten-Syllabled Mantra*

The thirty-two-syllabled mantra is immediately followed in the MP by this twelve-syllabled mantra:

oṃ hrīm vikṛtānanāya huṃ phaṭ svāhā.

In the MP, this mantra is identified as a mantra of Yama (47.12ab). It is followed by a description of the six limbs (*aṅgas*) of Yamāntaka. The mantra is not found in the TSS, but appears in the commentary on TSS, p. 238, 11–12 as the mantra of Yama in the following form:

oṃ ṣṭrīm vikṛtānanāya svāhā.

The mantra appears in ŚT 24.20 in an encoded form. The verse in ŚT1 (with readings in ŚT2, 3 and ŚVT, volume 2, p. 849, 9–10) is:

*praṇavaḥ (praṇavaṃ ŚT3) ṣṭrīm (ṣṭhrīm ŚT1, śrī ŚT2, praṇavo 'graṃ ŚVT) tato
damṣṭrā tatparaṃ vikṛtaṃ tataḥ (vikṛtāntataḥ ŚT 1, 3) /
ānanāya vadhūr vahner
mantra 'yaṃ dvādaśākṣaraḥ //*

The individual syllables of the mantra in the code are given as: *praṇava* (= *oṃ*) *ṣṭrīm* *damṣṭrā* *vikṛta*+*ānanāya* (= *vikṛtānanāya*) *vadhūr* *vahner* (= *svāhā*), which yield the mantra: *oṃ ṣṭrīm damṣṭrāvīkṛtānanāya svāhā*. Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary specifies this mantra as the Yamāntaka mantra (p. 866, 21). Rāghavabhaṭṭa adds that instead of the above version of the mantra, some authorities recite *praṇava* (= *oṃ*) *māyā* (= *hrīm*) *ṣṭrīm* *vikṛtānana* *huṃ phaṭ svāhā*. This version resembles the Buddhist version of the mantra given below.

This mantra appears frequently with small variants in the Buddhist *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, e.g. 1.14, in which it has fourteen syllables and is specified as the mantra of Yamāri:

oṃ hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.

For *hūṃ* the variant *huṃ* (with the short vowel) is also found, and before *hūṃ/huṃ* other words, usually imperative forms of verbs, can be inserted (e.g., 4.23+). Variants of the mantra employed in *abhicāra* rites described in the Tantra are recorded in the list of mantras, p. 165, appended to the edition of the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*.

This mantra is also found in *sādhana*s of the red and the dark Yamāri in SM, nos. 268–272, nos. 274–276 and nos. 278–280, in which it is occasionally classified as the deity's root (*mūla*) mantra. It also appears in *Guhyasamājatantra* 15.18+ and in Abhayākaragupta's NY, p. 37, 14. According to NY, p. 37, 14–15, the mantra is the deity's heart (*hr̥daya*) mantra as well as the mantra for all actions (*sārvakarmikamantra*). This latter term implies that all ritual applications can be performed with it (cf. NY, p. 31, 13–14). The mantra is inscribed on a xylograph of the

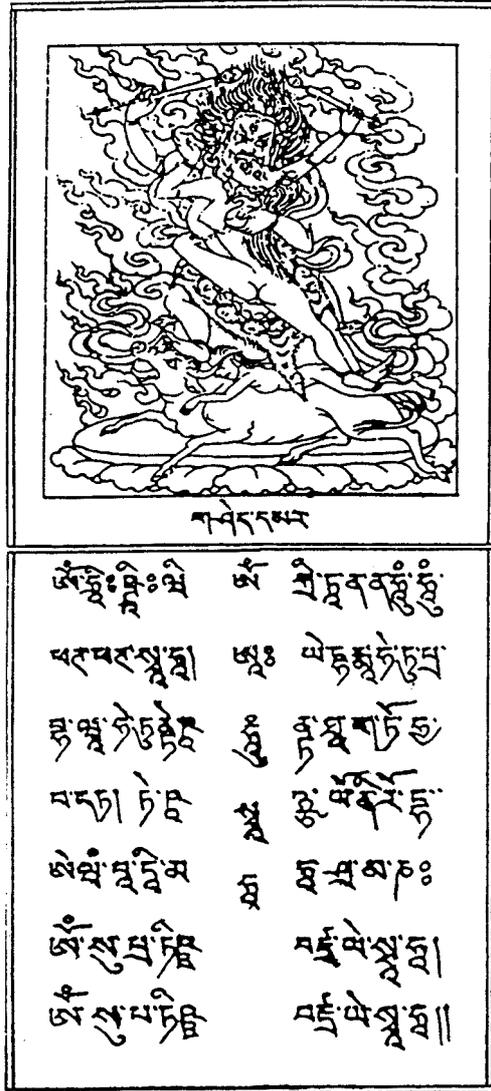


Illustration 3. Red Yamāri Raktāri/Rakta Yamāri T. Gśed dmar

red Yamāntaka from the *Rin 'byuñ* (Chandra 1991, p. 229, no. 584; see Illustration 3) with the spelling *kri* instead of *kṛ* in *vikṛtānana*.

The mantra appears in a ten-syllabled form (in code) in chapter 3 of the *Vajramahābhairavatantra*: *hrīḥ ṣṛīḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ hūṃ phaḥ*.²⁵ The mantra is spelt out in full with minor variants in chapter 1 of the above-mentioned *Three Chapter Tantra of Vajrabhairava*.²⁶ It appears in

somewhat corrupted form with seed syllables having short vowels and, as above, the spelling *kri* for *kr̥* in *vikṛtānana: oṃ hriḥ ṣṭriḥ vikṛtānana hūṃ phaṭ*.

In the *Vajramahābhairavatantra* and in the *Three Chapter Tantra of Vajrabhairava* the mantra is classified as the action mantra. Contemporary ritual manuals of the dGe lugs pas, such as Sharpa Tulku/R. Guard 1990, p. 66 and Sharpa Tulku/R. Guard 1991, p. 25, follow this classification. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 29, 11–12 gives the mantra as *oṃ hrīmḥ jñīḥ vikṛtānana huṃ . . . phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*. The occurrence of an *anusvāra* (for originally *anunāsika*) to which a *visarga* is added (= *ṃh*) in this version is occasionally attested to for other mantras in Tantric texts.²⁷

The only translatable word in this mantra is the vocative *vikṛtānana*, “O you of deformed face.” The syllables *hriḥ* (*hrīm̐*) and *ṣṭriḥ* (*ṣṭrīm̐*) are seed (*bīja*) syllables. *Hūṃ* (*hum̐*), *phaṭ* and *svāhā* are each classified in Hindu Tantras as closing words (*jāti*) of mantras. *Phaṭ* imitates the sound of bursting or breaking and *svāhā* is an exclamation already known from Vedic times, which accompanies an offering in the fire. The ŚT’s version of the mantra, . . . *damṣṭrāvīkṛtānanāya . . . svāhā*, translates as “. . . *svāhā* to the one whose face is deformed by fangs (*damṣṭrā*).” While the Hindu versions of the mantra have some seed syllables end in the nasal (*hrīm̐ ṣṭrīm̐*), the corresponding seed syllables in the Buddhist texts end in the *visarga* (*hriḥ ṣṭriḥ*). A string of seed syllables similar to those in the above mantra appears in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, p. 574, 20 in a mantra invoking the Yakṣiṇī Pramodā; one of the seed syllables ends in an *anusvāra* followed by a *visarga*: *oṃ ṣṭhrīm̐ hrīm̐ḥ mahānagni hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*.

d) The Eight-Syllabled Mantra (of Yama)

In the preface (p. 4) to his and Dvivedi’s edition of the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, Samdhong Rinpoche states that the “importance of this work [i.e., the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*] can be judged from the fact that a Śaivite Tantra called *Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati* has borrowed some of its materials from the *Kṛṣṇayamāri Tantra*.” Samdhong Rinpoche refers here to the inclusion of the thirty-two-syllabled mantra in the MP. In his statement Samdhong Rinpoche echoes Dvivedi 1995, p. 184, who believes that the author of the ĪSP borrowed the thirty-two-syllabled mantra from the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*. Dvivedi does not address the second mantra.

The occurrence of the thirty-two-syllabled mantra in the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* cannot be taken as proof that this Tantra constitutes

the source from which the TSS and the MP have borrowed, especially since no entire passage (except for the two mantras) from the Tantra can be identified in the TSS or the MP. This mantra, as well as the second one which Dvivedi does not address, also appears in three Vajrabhairava texts. ŚT 24.19 provides a third mantra, *dhūmāndhakārāya svāhā*, which is to be inscribed in the same *yantra*. This mantra is also referred to in MP 47.19c as the eight-syllabled mantra of Yama. It is not included in the TSS, but referred to in its commentary, p. 238, 15–16, also as the mantra of Yama. This mantra is not found in the Buddhist texts examined above. Therefore, it seems that the TSS and the MP (as well as the ŚT) did not borrow the two mantras directly from the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* or from the Vajrabhairava texts cited above but rather from another unidentified source, in which a third mantra was included.

e) On the Iconography

We do not find iconographic descriptions of Yama/Yamāntaka in the TSS or the MP. Rāghavabhaṭṭa, p. 866, 25, commenting on the thirty-two-syllabled mantra, states that the visualization of the deity should be learnt from one's preceptor. The mantras of the deity's limbs (*aṅga*) found in MP 47.11+ refer to the deity's deformed face, his dark (*kṛṣṇa*) colour, speak of his nine faces and reddish-brown hair mass. These references most likely have contributed to Dvivedi 1992, p. 42 labelling the section describing the deity's *yantra*, which he extracts and reprints from the MP, as the *sādhana* of the *dark* Yamāri (Kṛṣṇayamāri), as opposed to that of the red Yamāri (Raktayamāri). The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, which Dvivedi 1995, p. 184 considers the source for the thirty-two-syllabled mantra of Yamāntaka in the MP, does not describe a nine-faced form of Yamāri. This nine-faced dark Yamāntaka (cf. also MP 47.23a+) can be identified as a form of Yamāntaka called Vajrabhairava (cf. De Mallmann 1986, pp. 400–401). That deity is described with nine faces, sixteen legs and thirty-four arms in chapter 4 of the above-mentioned *Vajramahābhairavatantra* (Siklós 1996, pp. 38–41).²⁸

5. APPENDIX: OTHER MANTRAS OF BUDDHIST ORIGIN

In addition to the above mantras, the TSS and the MP include a few other mantras of Buddhist origin. These mantras include fragments of typically Buddhist Tantric offering mantras. Invocations such as *namo ratnatrayāya*, “salutation to the three jewels” (i.e., to the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *saṃgha*), as well as epithets employing the prefix

vajra- indicate their Buddhist origin. In the following, I refrain from a detailed discussion of each mantra for reasons of space.

a) *The caṇḍāsīdhārā-mantra for the destruction of evil demons (graha) which attack children*

The MP inserts the following long mantra between 43.52ab and cd. Its name, *caṇḍāsīdhārā* (cf. also MP 43.52c), means “the edge of the fierce sword.” The mantra includes the epithet *caṇḍāsīdhārādhipati*, “overlord of the edge of the fierce sword.” In the MP and the TSS this mantra is followed by another mantra which addresses Khaḍgarāvaṇa. This Khaḍgarāvaṇa, who is known as a form of Śīva, is also addressed as Caṇḍeśvara, Rudra and “the lord of the edge of the fierce sword” (*caṇḍāsīdhārāpati*). The mantra invokes Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, a fierce form of the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi.

namo bhagavate ratnatrayāya </> namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāsattvasenāpataye (for mahāyakṣa°) </> namaś caṇḍaśṛṅkhalāya pradīptāya prajvalitārpitadīptakeśāya nīlakanthāya cintitāya rūpāya (?) lambodarāya mahājñānavaktrāya bhrukuṭikāmāya caturdaṃṣṭrāya karālāya mahāvīkrtarūpāya vajragarbhāya ehy ehi kāyam anupraviśya śīrasi gr̥hṇa cakṣuṣī cālāya hari (v.l. bhīri) kiṃ cirāyasi siddhadevadānavagandharvayakṣarākṣasapretanāgapiśācāms trāsaya kampaya samayam anusmara hana jaha paca matha vidhvamsaya caṇḍāsīdhārādhipatir ājñāpayati huṃ phaṭ svāhā /

The version in TSS 13.44ab+ is:

namo ratnatrayāya </> namaś caṇḍavajraśṛṅkhalāya pradīptāya prajvalitahastāya prajvalitārcitadīptakeśāya nīlakanthāya kṛtāntarūpāya lambodarāya mahājñānavaktrāya bhrukuṭīmukhāya caturdaṃṣṭrākārālāya mahāvīkrtarūpāya vajragarbhāya / ehy ehi kāyam anupraviśya śīrasi gr̥hṇa / cakṣuṣī cālāya / hiri bhīri kiṃ cirāyasi / devadānavagandharvayakṣarākṣasabhūtabhīṣaṇa pretanāgapiśācāpasmārān trāsaya kampaya samayam anusmara hana daha paca matha vidhvamsaya caṇḍāsīdhārādhipatirudro jñāpayati huṃ phaṭ svāhā /

In addition to Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, the TSS’s version of the mantra invokes Vajraśṛṅkhala, who may be the male counterpart of Vajraśṛṅkhalā who is known as a Yakṣiṇī in the Jain pantheon (Misra 1981, p. 128, p. 174). She also figures as a gate keeper in deity *maṇḍalas* described in Abhayākara Gupta’s NY. Compare parts of this mantra to parts of the following *dhāraṇī* from SM, no. 205, p. 404, 5–16:

namo ratnatrayāya / namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye / namo bhagavati mahāvajragāndhāri anekāśatasahasraprajvalitadīptatejāyai ugrabhūmahayānakāyāyai yoginīyai bhīṣmabhaginīyai dvādaśabhujāyai vikīrṇakeśīyai anekarūpavividhavesādhārīnīyai / ehy ehi bhagavati mahāvajragāndhāri trayāṇām ratnānām satyena ākaṭa ākaṭa baladevādikaṃ ye cānye samaye na tiṣṭhanti tān āvarttayiṣyāmi / sīghraṃ gr̥hṇa gr̥hṇa gr̥hṇa oṃ ala ala ala hulu hulu mulu mulu culu culu dhama dhama rakṣa rakṣa rakṣāpaya rakṣāpaya pūrāya pūrāya āviśa

*āviśa bhagavati mahāvajragāndhārī siddhacāṇḍavajrapāṇir ājñāpayati hrīḥ haḥ huṃ
phaṭ svāhā /*

The invocation *namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye*, which is found in the *caṇḍāsidhārā-mantra* as well as in the initial part of the *dhāraṇī* from the SM, also appears in texts such as the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (p. 2, 2). It is found several times as part of a *dhāraṇī* of Mahābala in the Chinese version of the *Āryamahābala(nāma-mahāyāna-)sūtra* as reproduced in Bischoff 1956, pp. 81, 85 – 86, 100: *namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye*. It also found in the Balinese *Buddhaveda* (Lévi 1933, p. 80, 24): *namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇimahāyakṣasenāpati*. The phrase *kiṃ cirāyasi samayam anusmara svāhā* is part of a mantra of gate keeper Abhimukha in *Mahāvairocanasūtra* (Yamamoto 1990), p. 56 and p. 114 and the phrase *kiṃ cirāyasi* only appears in a mantra of the surrounding deities in *Mahāvairocanasūtra*, p. 48. The expression *samayam anusmara* is found several times in texts such as the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*, p. 171, 2; p. 199, 5–6, p. 260, 3 and p. 266, 3.

b) The vajragāndhārī-mantra for protection from Piśācas, evil demons (graha) and fever (MP 43.72+)

*om raṣṭidehiṃ cokatjikādha oṃkāraṃ (?) kātyāyanīṃ (?) nairṛtyāṃ kālīṃ mahākālīṃ
vajrakālīṃ yaśasvinīṃ sukālīṃ āgneyāṃ vāyavyāṃ kālīkāṃ paṅktisaktīṃ śāntākṣīṃ
indrāṇīṃ yakṣakauberīṃ māheśvarīṃ vaiṣṇavīṃ cāmuṇḍīṃ raudrīṃ vārāhīṃ kauberīṃ
yās cānyā mama samaye tiṣṭhanti tannāmāvartayiṣyāmi / śīghraṃ grhṇa / om
lala culu pūraya dhara ānaya subhage / āviśa bhagavati / mahāvajragāndhārī
siddhacandravajrapāṇir ājñāpayati hrīṃ haḥ hām hām hām huṃ phaṭ svāhā /*

In this mantra we encounter the name Vajragāndhārī, who figures as a Yaksīṇī in Jainism (see Misra 1981, pp. 128, 174, 175). Parts of this mantra are similar to the *dhāraṇī* cited from the SM in a). That *dhāraṇī* is part of SM, no. 205, which is the only *sādhana* in the SM, which is dedicated to Vajragāndhārī.

c) Mantra against fever (jvara) (MP 45.55+)

The presiding deity of the following mantra is the Buddha (*buddhādhidaivato mantrō*).

*namo śaratnatra (for ratnatrayāya?) śāsāṃ (for jvara?) hṛdayam āvartayiṣyāmi /
bho bho jvara śṛṇu hana garda charda sarvajvara caṭa vajrapāṇir ājñāpayati / śiro
muñca kaṅṭham muñca uro muñca hṛdayaṃ muñca udaraṃ muñca kaṭiṃ muñca
jaṅghe muñca pāḍau muñca caṇḍapāṇir ājñāpayati huṃ phaṭ svāhā /*

TSS 15.2+ gives a similar mantra:

*namo ratnatrayāya </> jvarahṛdayam āvṛtāyisyāmi bho jvara śṛṇu hana garja
charda śarvajvara avaṭa vajrapāṇir ājñāpayati mama śiro muñca kaṅṭhaṃ muñca
bāhuṃ muñca udaraṃ muñca kaṭiṃ muñca guhyaṃ muñca ūruṃ muñca jānuṃ muñca
jaṅghe muñca pādaṃ muñca caṇḍapāṇir ājñāpayati huṃ phaṭ svāhā /*

d) Mantra accompanying a bali offering (TSS 30.37+)

*iti miti timi kākātūṇḍini svāhā /
namo ratnatrayāya piṅgalāya anale kunale gṛhṇa piṅḍaṃ piśācini svāhā //*

The mantra contains a salutation to the three jewels. The text following the invocation resembles the following mantra inscribed on a xylograph entitled “the three sisters (*bhaginītraya*) dByug gu ma” from the *Rin ‘byuñ* (Chandra 1991, p. 317, no. 842). I have made no attempt to correct the text of the mantra:

oṃ anale kuṇḍale mahāpiśāciniye svāhā / oṃ gṛhṇa mahābhāṇḍa piśāciniye svāhā /

e) Mantra to protect cattle (TSS 30.7cd+; MP 49.6ab+)

*namo bhagavate vajrahūṃkāradarśanāya (vajramukā° MP) oṃ cuku (vila MP) mili
meli siddhi gomāri vajriṇi huṃ phaṭ /
asmin grāme gokulasya rakṣāṃ kuru śāntiṃ kuru svāhā /*

Vajrahūṃkāra, whose name appears in the invocation part of this mantra, is known as a deity of the Buddhist Tantric pantheon (cf. SM, no. 257). The vocative *gomāri* may refer to a form of (Mahā)mārī, the goddess of pestilence, whose mantra is taught in chapter 137 of the *Agni-Purāṇa* and other texts. A mantra similar to the above one appears in *Agni-Purāṇa* 302.29–30: *oṃ namo bhagavate tryambakāyopaśamayopaśamaya culu culu mili mili bhidi bhidi gomānini cakriṇi hrūṃ phaṭ / asmin grāme gokulasya rakṣāṃ kuru śāntiṃ kuru kuru kuru svāhā*.²⁹ It is important to note that in the *Agni-Purāṇa* the name Vajrahūṃkāra has been replaced with that of Tryambaka, i.e., Śiva, and the vocative *vajriṇi* with *cakriṇi*. In addition, the *Agni-Purāṇa*’s version of the mantra shows corrupt forms of words.

6. CONCLUSION

Both the MP inserted into the ĪŚP and the TSS incorporate descriptions of Vasudhārā and Jambhala, originally Buddhist deities, along with the procedures for their ritual worship which include typically Buddhist Tantric elements. The two texts must have been extant before 1493, the year in which Rāghavabhaṭṭa completed his *Padārthādarśa* commentary

on the ŚT, in which they are cited. The relationship between the two texts is briefly addressed in the introduction to this paper. While this issue requires further examination, the sections of the two texts studied in this paper seem to confirm Goudriaan's hypothesis that chapters 15–38 of the MP are earlier than the TSS, while chapters 39–52 of the MP are based on the TSS.

The worship procedures for Vasudhārā and Jambhala described in these texts clearly show Tantric Buddhist elements. The iconography of the two deities is likely to be Buddhist as well, but their sources have not yet been identified in Buddhist texts. An identification of these deity descriptions may be possible when additional text material is made available in edited form. Vasudhārā, who is classified as a form of Lakṣmī, is yellow, holds a pomegranate in her left hand and a red lotus with a vessel showering jewels in its interior in her right and has her foot placed on a vessel from which wealth flows. This description does not correspond to that of Vasudhārā frequently found in Buddhist texts, where the goddess holds a rice shoot and makes the wish-granting gesture.

Jambhala is described twice. According to the first description he is yellow, is seated on a white lotus, has three feet and is corpulent. The attributes held in his two hands are not given. While the MP does not mention the number of his faces, the TSS specifies three faces. In the second description, the deity is four-armed and holds the fruit of the citron tree and the mongoose and makes the gestures of protection and wish-granting. The number of his faces is not specified and must therefore be taken as one. Neither description has so far been identified in Buddhist texts, even though the two attributes, the fruit of the citron tree and the mongoose, are common attributes of the two-armed Jambhala.

The mantras of Yamāntaka appear in connection with a *yantra* of Yama used in the rites of black magic (*abhicāra*), most likely the rite of liquidation (*māraṇa*). In the ritual applications of the MP and the TSS both the names Yama and Yamāntaka (elsewhere known as Yamāri) appear. I would, however, not conclude that an observation made by O'Flaherty 1976, p. 232, is applicable here, according to which Yamāntaka and Kālāntaka, "death, the ender," were originally epithets of Yama, which were then transferred to Śiva and reinterpreted as "the ender of death." The cause of this confusion is that mantras of the Buddhist Yamāntaka were incorporated into a *yantra* of Yama. The first mantra is thirty-two-syllabled and the second twelve-, fourteen- or ten-syllabled. While the texts of the Yamāntaka cycle of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition

employ both of these mantras as mantras of Yamāntaka/Yamāri, the Hindu Tantric texts examined in this paper identify the second mantra as a mantra of Yama. The wording of the two mantras, which continue to be recited by Tibetan Buddhists up to the present, does not indicate a connection to Tantric Buddhism. The first one seems to be in praise of the enemy of Yama, who could be identified either as Śiva in his manifestation as Kālāri (for the Hindus) or as Vajrabhairava (for the Buddhists). The second mantra addresses the (deity) with a face deformed (by fangs). The main texts of the Yamāntaka cycle in which these two mantras appear, are said to have originated in Uḍḍiyāna. Uḍḍiyāna/Oḍḍiyāna is normally identified with a province in the Swat Valley in the north-west of the subcontinent, present-day Pakistan, where Tantrism once flourished. According to the Hindu Tantras, the two mantras are said to be inscribed in the *yantra* along with a third eight-syllabled mantra which cannot be identified in the Buddhist texts examined in this paper. The third mantra is identified as a mantra of Yama. It appears as though texts such as the MP and the TSS did not borrow the three mantras directly from Buddhist Tantric texts, for example the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, but rather from another source which included the third mantra.

The mantras of Yamāntaka's limbs (*aṅga*) listed in MP 47.11+ address a dark deity with nine faces and reddish-brown hair. This description suggests a nine-faced form of the dark Yamāntaka (cf. also the references to his nine faces in MP 47.23a+) who is identified as Vajrabhairava. This nine-faced form of Yamāntaka is not described in the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* but in chapter 4 of the *Vajramahābhairavatantra*.

The question that arises is what attitudes the compilers of the MP and the TSS had toward the Buddhist material they included. The compilers of the MP and the TSS seem to have had an ambivalent attitude. On the one hand, they describe the rites of black magic (*abhicāra*) for use against the enemies of the (Vedic) *dharma* and the Veda. On the other hand, they incorporate mantras from these very enemies. Unlike other groups in Hinduism who included the Buddha among Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, the compilers of these two texts made a distinction between their own tradition and that of the Buddhists. The two Yamāntaka mantras are inscribed in *yantras*. Since they were transmitted as part of a ritual procedure which included the drawing of a powerful *yantra*, they could not easily be omitted. In the case of the other mantras, which were transmitted as part of a series of mantras to cure diseases, the compilers apparently did not want to exclude popular mantras, which were believed to be powerful, even though they carried traces of the

Buddhist context from which they were taken. Other mantras were inserted between descriptions of ritual procedures for similar Hindu deities for the sake of completeness. The description of Vasudhārā, for example, precedes that of different forms of Durgā and is directly followed by the presentation of the mantras of the traditional Hindu earth goddess Bhūdevī. The description of Jambhala is followed by that of Kubera. In the above discussed texts the Buddhist deities do not occupy the positions of major deities. Jambhala, Vasudhārā and Yama are all associated with the Yakṣa cult as well as Vajragāndhārī, Vajrapāṇi and possibly Vajrasṛṅkhala (if he is the male counterpart of Vajrasṛṅkhalā), whose names are invoked in some of the mantras of Buddhist origin listed in the appendix of this paper. Some of the mantras explicitly invoke the lord of the Yakṣas. In their subordinate positions they were apparently not felt to interfere with the compilers' sectarian affiliations.

NOTES

¹ See Bhattacharyya 1930, 1932, pp. 147ff. and his introduction to his edition of the *Sādhanamālā*, volume 2, pp. cxxxvff.

² This section of the TSS shares identical passages with the *Kāśyapa-Saṃhitā* (*Garudapañcākṣarikalpa*). For some information, see Aiyangar's preface to his edition of the TSS, p. 8.

³ In the following I identify a number of citations from the *Nārāyaṇīya* in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's commentary on the *Śāradātilaka* (ŚT1) that are from the TSS: Rāghavabhaṭṭa, p. 589, 12 = TSS 25.29cd; p. 589, 20 = TSS 25.23ab; p. 590, 13–14 = TSS 25.24cd–25ab; p. 591, 24–26 = TSS 25.14–15ab; p. 592, 5 = TSS 25.3d; p. 592, 25 = TSS 25.7ab; p. 592, 27–28 = TSS 25.7cd–8ab; p. 593, 15 = TSS 25.9a; p. 593, 18–19 = TSS 25.6; p. 748, 18 = TSS 23.39ab; p. 749, 15 = TSS 23.44cd; and p. 750, 19–20 = TSS 23.51a–c.

⁴ Both the preface to the edition of the TSS, p. 1 and Goudriaan in Goudriaan/Gupta 1981, p. 128 give the date as the fifteenth or the sixteenth century.

⁵ See V.V. Dvivedi's remarks in connection with the *Prapañcasāra* in the introduction to his edition of the *Nityāśoḍaśikāṛṇava* (Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Vārāṇasī 1968), p. 41. Īśānaśiva of the Mattamayūra lineage was the teacher of Vairocana who wrote the *Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya*. The oldest manuscript of the text dates from 1168 CE (see *The Hindu Deities Illustrated according to the Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya*. Compiled by G. Bühnemann and M. Tachikawa (The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo 1990), part 1: *The Pratiṣṭhālakṣaṇasārasamuccaya and Its Illustrations* by G. Bühnemann, p. 12).

⁶ The MP erroneously reads Amitāgha.

⁷ MP signals variant readings in the text, but it is not entirely clear which reading they are replacing: “*kāntimatī, tanvīti kecit.*”

⁸ The edition of the MP takes verses 20a and 20b as one stanza, which is numbered as 20. The metre of both verses is Mātrāsamaka (16 *mātras* per quarter).

⁹ °*dādimām* MP.

¹⁰ Suggested emendation, °*ghaṭasyāṅghriṃ* TSS.

- ¹¹ Suggested emendation, *vāmapāṇinā* TSS.
- ¹² The MP erroneously reads *kṣayādhipataye*.
- ¹³ *triśiras* v.l. TSS.
- ¹⁴ Abhayākara Gupta's NY gives different descriptions of Kubera. According to NY, p. 61, 12, Kubera holds a mace and a noose, while NY, p. 73, 19–20 describes him as holding a mace and a female mongoose. According to NY, p. 89, 3–4, the deity holds a mace, a jewel, a mongoose and a lotus. NY, p. 89, 3–4 and p. 93, 1 use the epithet Jambhala as a synonym of Kubera. Chandra 1991, p. 172 (no. 388) includes a block-print of the Buddhist Kubera from the Pantheon of the Mongolian Kanjur, in which Kubera holds Jambhala's attributes. According to Blom 1989, pp. 31–32, who addresses depictions of Kubera from Nepalese sketchbooks, Kubera holds, among other attributes, Jambhala's characteristic mongoose and the fruit of the citron tree. Among the different iconographic forms of the Buddhist Jambhala, one form even steps on Kubera to demonstrate his superiority (cf. SM, no. 292). In texts of the Hindu tradition, the gestures of wish-granting and protection as attributes of Kubera are also recorded in the *Aṃśubhedāgama* (cited in Rao 1914–1916, volume 2, p. 263). The fruit of the citron tree appears as an attribute of Kubera in *Rūpamaṇḍana* 2.37 as well. An icon of Kubera from Mathura, described in Misra 1981, p. 69 (see also Figure 9), represents a six-armed Kubera, holding the citron and the mongoose, displaying the gestures of wish-granting and protection and holding two other objects.
- ¹⁵ The TSS uses the term *ksudra* as a synonym of *abhicāra*. Perhaps the seven *kṣudras* (also referred to in TSS 18.4c) were considered to be a special group of *abhicāra* rites.
- ¹⁶ Here I follow the explanation given in the commentary on TSS, p. 235, 9–10, which gives the synonym *unnāda* for *bhrama*. Goudriaan 1978, p. 356 opts for the meaning “wandering, causing to wander.”
- ¹⁷ The MP erroneously reads *yoga* instead of *roga*.
- ¹⁸ For the importance of the Vajrabhairava cycle in the dGe lugs pa tradition, see Siklós 1996b, pp. 186–187.
- ¹⁹ In the block-print, the mantra is prefixed with the syllable *om* and appended with the syllables *hūm hūm phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*. The mantra *hrīḥ ṣṭrīḥ vikritānana* (!) *hūm phaṭ* follows, which is a variant of the mantra addressed in section 4c of this paper.
- ²⁰ Cf. the edited Tibetan text, Siklós 1996, pp. 91–92.
- ²¹ For the Tibetan text, see Siklós 1996, p. 138 and for the Mongolian text, which reads *nī ra ma ya* (for *nī rā ma ya*), see see Siklós 1996, p. 210; cf. also the translation section, Siklós 1996, p. 65.
- ²² In the Blue Annals (Roerich 1976, p. 375) the title *Trikalpa* also appears as part of the title of another text, the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantrarāja-Trikalpa*, which is distinguished from the above cited (*Sarvatathāgatakāyavākcitta*-) *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*; cf. also Siklós 1996, p. 18, note 24 and the discussion in Decler 1998, pp. 293–294.
- ²³ See the Tibetan text in Siklós 1996, p. 145 and the Mongolian text in Siklós 1996, p. 217; see also the translation section, Siklós 1996, p. 70.
- ²⁴ See Rao 1914–1916, volume 2, pp. 156ff. for the story of Mārkaṇḍeya and Śiva's manifestation Kālārī according to several Āgamas.
- ²⁵ See the Tibetan text in Siklós 1996, pp. 92–93 and the translation, p. 37.
- ²⁶ See Siklós 1996, p. 145 for the Tibetan text, p. 217 for the Mongolian text and p. 70 for the translation.
- ²⁷ Cf. above cited mantra of the Yakṣiṇī Pramodā from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the seed syllable *gamḥ* for Gaṇeśa in ŚVT, volume 2, p. 668, 8 (interpreting TSS 24.31) and the seed syllable *hrīmḥ* in NY, p. 65, 20.

²⁸ A discussion of the deity's iconographic forms is beyond the scope of this article. Sometimes Vajrabhairava also appears in a subordinate position. Thus SM, no. 312 (p. 598, 20–21) describes him under the feet of a sixteen-armed Mahākāla.

²⁹ The *Agni-Purāna* reads *ṭha ṭha ṭha*. The syllables *ṭha ṭha* correspond to *svāhā* as is widely attested. Since the third syllable *ṭha* is redundant, it has been omitted here.

³⁰ The so-called “first edition” of 1992, published by the Chaukhambā Saṃskṛt Pratiṣṭhān, Delhi, is only a photomechanical reprint of the edition from Madras.

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- MP *Mantrapāda* of the ĪŚP see ĪŚP.
- NY *Niṣpannayogāvalī, Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākara Gupta*. Edited by B. Bhattacharya (Oriental Institute, Baroda 1949).
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