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BUDDHIST DEITIES AND MANTRAS IN THE HINDU TANTRAS: II THE ŚRĪVIDYĀRNAVATANTRA 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 Vidyāraṇya 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 *Kukkuṭeśvaratantra* 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 Vidyāraṇya¹ 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. 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,' and whose descriptions it frequently quotes without attribution. The work also contains long extracts from the Phetkāriṇītantra. 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 Bṛhattantrasāra published in 1985. It is based on a Bengali version and contains numerous misprints. The earlier edition published by the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office (Vārānasī 1938) is incomplete.

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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 (Ekajaṭā) 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 Pracaṇḍacaṇḍikā) 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. In addition to the deities adopted already in the MM, the ŚVT and the TS adopt Mañjughosa.

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-Purāṇa, chapter 43.1–14.9 The mantra refers to the following darśanas: bauddha, vaidika, saura, vaiṣṇava, śākta, śaiva and śāṃbhava, the latter associated with the sarvāṇandamayacakra 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 "*āyatanas*." 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: Padmāvatī, Ugratārā, Ekajatā, Tārā, Nīlasarasvatī, Mātaṅgī,

Sumukhī and Caṇḍamātaṅgī. The Buddhist origin of the forms of Tārā, such as Ugratārā and Ekajaṭā, 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 Padmāvatī, 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 purāṇān¹⁰ asurān vijetuṃ saṃbhāvayan cīvaracihnaveśam¹¹ / cakāra yaḥ śāstram amoghakalpaṃ tam mūlabhūtam pranamāmi¹² 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 Tārinīs 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 Ekajaṭā 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 recension 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 Guhvasamājatantra 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 $sv\bar{a}h\bar{a}$, an exclamation which has accompanied the offering of an oblation into the fire from Vedic times. The remaining syllables are the vocative tare, "O Tārā", the syllables tuttāre and the vocative ture, "O swift one." The syllables tuttare are difficult to interpret. The variant tu tare 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 tuttare as "O saviouress (Tara) 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*. According to this stanza, the two-armed goddess is dark and displays the wish-granting gesture and holds a lotus:

śyāmavarṇām trinayanām¹⁷ dvibhujām varapankaje / dadhānām¹⁸ bahuvarṇābhir bahurūpābhir¹⁹ āvrtām / śaktibhiḥ smeravadanām smeramauktikabhūṣaṇām²⁰ / ratnapādukayor 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 Saktis 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 'byun*,

941 Green Tara Śyāma Tārā T. Sgrol ljan

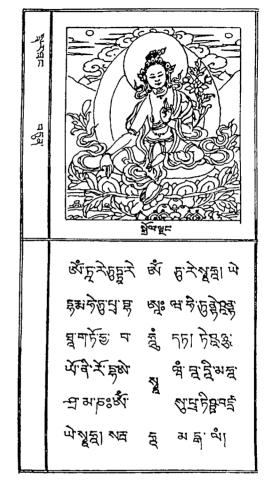


Illustration 1.

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 *oṃ 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 *oṃ 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/Ekajaṭā, 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, hrūṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisare idam arghyaṃ svāhā, to accompany an arghya offering to Tārā/Ekajaṭā.

This mantra appears as om manidhari vajrini mahāpratisare hum hum phat phat svāhā in sādhanas devoted to Mahāpratisarā, a goddess who was originally worshipped independently and later integrated into the group of the five protective goddesses (pañcaraksā).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 mani, 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 (manidhari) or, with Sen 1965, p. 71, "an amulet" and a vajra (vajrini). 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 pañcarakṣāmaṇḍala of Abhayākaragupta's NY, p. 43, 5–6 (with the long vowel in hūṃ hūṃ). In the NY, it is identified as the heart mantra of Mahāpratisarā. The mantra oṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisāre (!)²³ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā, inscribed on a xylograph of Pratisarā from the Rin 'byun, is reproduced from Chandra 1991, p. 276, no. 725 in Illustration 2.

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

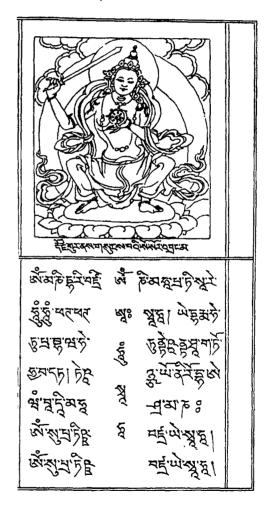


Illustration 2.

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 Pūṛṇaprakāśa) 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 dhīh of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī/Mañjughosa consists of the five initial syllables of the arapacana syllabary, which represent the entire syllabary, followed by the syllable dhīh. 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 $dh\bar{t}h$ and not $(\bar{a})di$. The syllable dhīh appears also in the mantra om dhīh 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 muh and appears, e.g., in a sādhana of Sthiracakra, a form of Mañjuśrī (cf. SM, p. 94, 15). The syllable $m\bar{u}h$ is defined as Mañjughosa's heart syllable in NY, p. 65, 20. The syllable muh/mūh appears to be derived from the initial letter m in the name Mañjuśrī/Mañjughosa and the u from the penultimate syllable ju of his name. Judging from the occurrence in the $s\bar{a}dhanas$ in the SM, the syllable muh with the short u appears to be more common.

The entire mantra arapacana $dh\bar{\iota}h$ appears in the TS and the ŚVT (in an encoded and somewhat corrupt form) in citations from the Bhairavatantra, the $\bar{A}gamottara^{25}$ and the Kukkuṭeśvaratantra. The $\bar{A}gamottara$, cited in TS, p. 304, 8–10, gives the mantra aravacaladh $\bar{\iota}m$. The same passage from the $\bar{A}gamottara$, but with variants, appears in ŚVT 2, p. 715, 25–26 and yields the mantra aravacanadh $\bar{\iota}m$. The

Kukkuṭeśvaratantra, cited in TS, p. 306, 12–13, gives the mantra arabam̄caladhī, while the same passage cited in ŚVT 2, p. 717, 23–24 with variants yields aravam̄caladhī. 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) dhīḥ (here: dhī):

amalam nirgunam sāram guṇinam²⁶ sarvakāmadam / tam namāmi hitam nātham mañjughoṣam namāmy aham // (1) ravīśam²⁷ paramam sāram stutam brahmādibhiḥ suraiḥ / raktam rajoguṇair yuktam mañjughoṣam namāmy aham // (2) vacanena na jānanti na kāyena²⁸ ca kovidāḥ / tam śāntam tamasā yuktam pītavastram namāmy aham // (3) carane patitā devā²⁹ daityānām jayahetave / carane patito jīvo buddhaye³⁰ tam namāmy aham // (4) na jānanti surā yasya tattvam sattvaguṇena vai / hṛṣṭam³¹ samastasāram ca mañjughoṣam namāmy aham // (5) dhīśam viśveśvaram caiva pratipattyādihetukam / sakalam niṣkalam³² caiva tam 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 Manjughosa.

(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 (guna), passion (rajas) (etc.) – I bow to Mañjughoșa.

(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 Mañjughoşa 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 (niskala) – I bow to him who bestows welfare."

b) The Iconographic Descriptions (dhyana)

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').

śaśadharam³³ iva śubhram khadgapustānkapāṇim³⁴ suruciram atiśāntam pañcacūḍam kumāram / pṛthunaravaramukhyam³⁵ padmapatrāyatākṣam kumatidahanadakṣam mañjughoṣam namāmi //³⁶

"The boy $(kum\bar{a}ra)$ 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 $(pa\bar{n}cac\bar{u}da)$, 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 Ma \bar{n} jughosa."

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 Svayaṃbhū-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 khadgapustānkapāṇim suruciram atiśāntam³⁸ pañcacīram kumāram / pṛthurativaramokṣaṃ³⁹ padmapatrāyatākṣaṃ kumatidahanadakṣaṃ mañjughoṣaṃ praṇamya⁴⁰ //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/Mañjughoṣa 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 prthurativaramokṣaṃ, "who is the excellent liberation from intense passion", instead of prthutaravaramukhyaṃ, which I emend to prthunaravaramukhyaṃ, "who is the foremost of great men (naravara) of reputation (prthu)." Sircar 1972–1973, p. 229 explains prthutaravaramukhyaṃ 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 SVT 2, p. 718, 14–15 and TS, p. 307, 2–4, both quoting the *Kukkuteśvaratantra*:

saṃpūrṇamaṇḍalatuṣāramarīcimadhye bālaṃ vicintya dhavalaṃ varakhaḍgahastam / uddāmakeśanivahaṃ⁴³ varapustakāḍhyaṃ nagnaṃ 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

929 Arapacana-Mañjughoșa T. Hjam-dbyans a-ra-pa-tsa-na

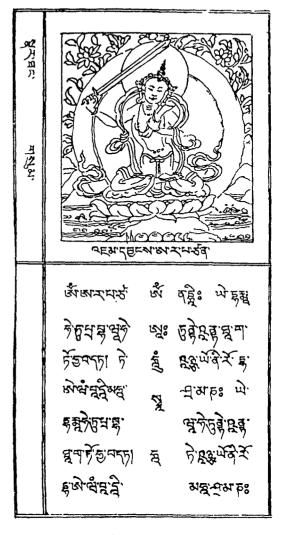


Illustration 3.

hair (and) is endowed with a most excellent manuscript, who is naked (and) whose eyes are extended like the leaves of a red lotus, one should repeat (the mantra)."

Both verses describe the deity holding the same attributes, namely the manuscript and the sword, provided we interpret the word *vara* in the second description as "most excellent" and not as "wish(-granting gesture)" as Sircar 1972–1973, p. 230 and Pal 1981, p. 100 have erro-

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 (*Prajnāpāramitā*) manuscript. The verse specifies the deity as Mañjughosa. 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 *om arapacana dhīh* 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 Beladhangadī district near the Netrāvalī river in coastal Karṇāṭaka, a deity named Mañjunāth is presently worshipped in the form of a *linga* and thus identified with Śiva. Bhattacharyya 1932, p. 162 reports that the worship of Mañjughoṣa "is still current in some parts of the Rādha country in Bengal."

6. DEITIES AND MANTRAS BORROWED FROM THE BHŪTADĀMARATANTRA

The TS and the SVT 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 Hindī 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 SVT) 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 Yaksinīs, 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, Natinī and Madhumatī. A similar list of individuals, but classified as Yaksinīs, appears in the Hindu BT 11.3. They are called Surasundarī, Sarvamanohārinī, Kanakavatī, Kāmeśvarī, Ratipriyā, Padminī, Natī and Anurāginī. This list is based on the list of Yaksinīs 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 ca⁴⁷ vajrajvālena hanayugmam ataḥ⁴⁸ param / sarvabhūtān tataḥ kūrcamantrāntamantram⁴⁹ īritam //

The code yields the following syllables: $viṣa^{50} = om$; $vajrajv\bar{a}lena$; hanayugma = hana hana; $sarvabh\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$; $k\bar{u}rca = h\bar{u}m$. The complete mantra is: om $vajrajv\bar{a}lena$ hana hana $sarvabh\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$ $h\bar{u}m$. This can be translated as: "Om, with the diamond flame kill, kill all beings,

 $h\bar{u}m$." 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., phat, at the end. This mantra, ending in the syllable phat, 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 (bhūtamārana). 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 sādhanas; 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 loose 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 Nārāyana's Tantrasārasamgraha as well as in the Agni-Purāna (see Part One of this paper, appendix 5e). In the Mantrapada and the Tantrasārasamgraha the mantra contains the name of the Buddhist deity Vajrahumkāra as well as the word vajrini, which the redactor of the Agni-Purāna replaces with the name Tryambaka, i.e., Śiva, and the word cakrini. One important difference I noticed is that the Hindu versions of the mantras sometimes have certain seed syllables end in the nasal (hrīm strīm), when the corresponding seed syllables in the Buddhist texts end in the visarga (hrīh strīh).

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 Aksobhya in the crown of Ugratārā and the goddess's bone ornaments ($mudr\bar{a}$).

The Mantrapāda and the Tantrasārasamgraha, 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 Tantrasārasamgraha 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 (bauddhadarśana) next to that of other teachings (darśana) 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 Kalyān Mandir, Prayāg 1966-1967. The text without the variant readings is also reprinted by R.K. Rai, Vārāṇasī 1986-1989
- ³ For a study of the forms of Ganesa according to the SVT, see Bühnemann 1989.
- ⁴ For a discussion of the common passages in the MM and the SVT, see section 1.3.4 in Bühnemann 1999.
- ⁵ This manuscript is referred to in Śāstri 1944, p. 3. Śāstri tentatively places the SVT 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,
- The Śrīvidyārṇavatantra also refers to the ŚT as 'the Nibandha.' Sircar 1972-1973, p. 189 erroneously postulates that this 'Nibandha' is identical to an unedited 'Nibandhamahātantra.'
- ⁸ See, for example, the goddesses studied in Bolon 1992. Recently K.R. van Kooij 1999 presented a new interpretation of the iconography of Chinnamasta.
- 9 ...trailokyamohanacakrasvāmini (corrected from trailokyamohini cakrasvāmini) prakatayogini bauddhadarsanāngi ...
- 10 purānām Brhatstotraratnākara, ŚT1, v.l. ŚVT, surānām TS.
- ¹¹ pītharacihnaveṣam ŚVT, pīvaracihna° v.l. ŚVT, dhīvaracihnaveṣam ŚT2, chrīvaracihna° TS.
- 12 praņato 'smi Bṛhatstotraratnākara, ŚT1, 2, TS.
- 13 Metre: Upajāti.
- ¹⁴ For a similar description, see Gandharvatantra 1.53: daityānām nāśanārthāya visnunā buddharūpiņā l bauddhasāstram asat proktam nagnanīlapatādikam ||
- 15 The Tantra was edited by R.C. Kak and Harabhatta Shastri (Kashmir Pratap Steam Press, Srinagar), 1934; by R.P. Tripāthī in Tantrasangraha, volume 3 (Sampūrņānandasaṃskṛtaviśvavidyālaya, 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 Gandharvatantra.
- 17 dvinayanām Tārābhaktisudhārnava.
- 18 bibhrānām ŚVT.
- bahurūpābhir bahuvarnābhir ŚVT for bahuvarnābhir bahurūpābhir.
- ²⁰ ratnamauktika° Tantrarāja, sphuranmauktika° Tārābhaktisudhārnava. Either reading
- E.g., the mantras found in TS, pp. 265, 16 (cf. SVT 2, p. 264, 8) and TS, p. 265, 17-18 (cf. SVT 2, p. 269, 5).

- ²² For the iconography of Mahāpratisarā, see Mevissen 1991/1992, pp. 358-369 and Mevissen 1999.
- The \bar{a} in °pratis \bar{a} re 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 Manjuéri (T'oung Pao 48, 1960, pp. 1-96). Pal 1981, p. 104 holds that Manjusri is a composite deity combining different concepts and iconographic elements.
- ²⁵ The Agamottara and the Kukkuteśvaratantra appear to be lost texts and known from citations only (cf. the respective entries in the NCC).
- gunitam ŚVT.
- varenyam ŚVT.
- kāyena na ŚVT for na kāyena.
- vasva ŚVT.
- vrddhaye ŚVT with v.l. buddhāye.
- 31 krsnam ŚVT.
- 32 nisphalam ŚVT.
- 33 śaśi° ŚVT.
- 34 °pustā°ga° TS.
- 35 Suggested emendation prthunara°. The TS and the SVT read prthutara°.
- 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.
- aliśantam Manjuvajrastotra in Dhīh and Pandey 1994.
- prthutaravaramoksam Mañjuvajrastotra printed in Dhīh 13.
- namāmi Manjuvajrastotra printed in Dhīh 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.
- uddāmakankanavaham 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.
- BT omits ca.
- tatah BT.
- kūrcam astrāntam manum BT.
- 50 Visa 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 sarvam māraya māraya vajrajvālena hūm phat.
- 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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