BUDDHIST DEITIES AND MANTRAS IN THE HINDU TANTRAS:
I THE TANTRASARASAMGRAHA AND THE
IŚANASIVAGURUDEVAPADDHATI

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 Yogañuttaratrantras or Yogītantras. 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 demonstrates that passages from the yet unpublished Śaiva Tantras, such as the Brahmayāmala (Picumata), the Tantrasadbhāva, the Yogītsamcāra of the Jayadrathayāmala and the Siddhayogeśvarimata, were incorporated with little or no modification into Buddhist Tantras of Śaṃvara, such as the Laghusanvāra (Herukabhīdhāna), the Abhidhānottara, the Sampūṭodbhava, the Śamvarodaya, the Vajradāka and the Dākārvāva. 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 Simhanāda, Nilakaṇṭha and others. As is well known, Buddhist Tantric texts such as Abhayākaraṇagupta’s eleventh-century Nispānamahavālī (NY) include Brahmanical deities, such as Ganeśa, Kārttikeya, the directional guardians and heavenly bodies, in the periphery of the deity mandalas they describe.

The reverse, namely the influence of Tantric Buddhism on the later Hindu Tantric pantheon, is studied by B. Bhattacharyya. 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 Tara known as Tara, Ugra, Mahogra, Vajra, Kalī, (the Tantric) Sarasvati, Kāmeśvari and Bhadraḵāli 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 Tara, called Mahācakrama-Tārā, was adopted from an eleventh-century Buddhist Tantric *sādhana* by Śaśvatavajra into the Hindu *Phetkārīnītantra*. The *Phetkārīnītantra*’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 adoption of Bhūtādamara into the Hindu pantheon by examining the two extant *Bhūtādamara-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 Mañjughoṣa 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 Bhūtādamara 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 *Mantrapada* of the *Īśānaśīvaguru-devapaddhati*. Part Two will address Buddhist deities and mantras in two later compilations, the *Śrīvidyārṇava-tantra* attributed to Vidyāranya Yati and Kṛṣṇānanda Agamavāgiśa’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/Agamas to indicate the non-sectarian character of most of the texts I examine.

The Tantrasarasamgraha (TSS) is a compilation of mantraśāstra by Nārāyaṇa, a Kerala Brahmin who resided in Śivapura on the banks of the river Nīla. 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 Visanārayaṇiya, 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 Nārāyaṇiya quoted by Rāghavabhatta in his commentary Padarthaśāstra on the Śāradatilaka (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 The TSS was printed with an anonymous commentary (vyakhyā) which cites the Mantrapada of the Isanaśivagurudevapaddhati.

This Mantrapada (MP) forms pāda 2, pātalas 15–52 of Isanaśivagurudevamiśra’s Isanaśivagurudevapaddhati (ISP), which is also known as the Tantrapaddhati. The ISP 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 ISP 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 ISP. 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 ISP.

Most chapters in the MP correspond to chapters in the TSS. The relationship between the MP of the ISP 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 Nārayaṇiya) 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 ÍŚP 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 ÍŚP 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 LAKŚMI

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 Lakṣmi. 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 Lakṣmi/Srī. 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 Aksobhya, Vairocana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi, and the eight Bodhisattvas as Padmapañj (i.e., Avalokiteśvara), Maitrāyana (Maitreya), Gaganādigaja (for Gaganagañja), Samantabhadra, Yakṣādhīpa (i.e., Vajrapañj), Mañjughosha and Viśambhaka. 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, Vajrapañj, Khagarbha, Mañjughosha, Gaganagañja, Viśambhin and Samantabhadra.
The practitioner then visualizes the seed syllable trām, which transforms into Mt. Sumeru. From the syllable vam (TSS, yam 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), om svabhāvasuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ (sarvasamāh MP) / svabhāvasuddho (sarvaśuddho 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 (maitṛt), compassion (karunā), sympathetic joy (mudita, TSS, samtosa MP) and equanimity (upekṣa) (MP 26.13–14; TSS 22.21ab+). The practitioner recites the mantra om sarvatathāgatānām sarvasiddhayah sampadyantām (MP; om sarvatathāgatāḥ śamsitāḥ sarvatathāgatānām sarvasiddhayah sampadyantām TSS) / sarvatathāgataś caḥdhiṣṭhantām (MP; sarvatathāgataś cāḥdhiṣṭhantām TSS). This mantra is recited by contemporary Japanese Shingon practitioners as: om sarvatathāgata (sic) śamsitāḥ sarvasattvānām sarvasiddhayah sampadyantām tathāgataś ca adhīṣṭhantām (Miyata 1988, p. 16). Our texts classify mantras according to the categories hrdaya and upahṛdaya, 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 Vasudhāra are the yellow Amitābha Buddha, the white Lokeśvara (MP, Yageśvara TSS) and the dark Vajrapāni (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 Vasudhāra as a yellow colour, holding a pomegranate (dādima) 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 iconicographic passages in the two texts are:

MP 26.20–22:

hemanibhām pīvārakacakaluśaṃ
candramukhitam alikulacikeśtiṃ</>
kanülkakntam kavālayanayanām
carāhuryām tanutaravaramadhāyām</</20a>
hemakirtitsm kanukamānityair
ābharaṇāt snacinasvanagandhāir</>
ācītamānāyair adhiṣṭhatvapuṣam
The characteristic of Tantric Buddhist the practitioner’s visualization pattern summarized above are characteristic of Tantric Buddhist material. The elements of Buddhist Tantric Vasudhārā in MP 26.48, which addresses another mantra of the goddess, Vasudhārā (so to say) a creeper growing out of the neck (of the vessel) which abounds in flows of riches issuing forth.

“The iconographic description of Vasudhārā in MP 26.48+ and TSS 22.31–34ab, Vasudhārā Lakṣmī is accompanied by Śrī and Mahāsāri 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, Vajraarakṣa (v.l. Vajrayaṭa), Taruṇī, Āryāvalokeśvara, Prajñā, Sarasvati 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. 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 accompanied by Dhaneśvara, 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.”
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 Vasundhāra (cf. Agni-Purāṇa 120.38–39); however, iconographic descriptions of Vasudhā/Vasundhāra differ from the one found in the MP and the TSS.

However, the goddess’s iconography does not correspond to that of Vasudhāra described in the rather brief sādhana in SM, nos. 213–216, according to which the goddess holds a rice shoot (dhānyamanjari) and displays the wish-granting gesture. It also does not correspond to the iconography of a (six-armed) Buddhist Vasudhāra recorded in the Vasundhāraddeśa 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 Vasundhāraddeśa, the goddess is on a vessel of plenty (bhadragnatoparisthitā) and Lokēśvara and Vajrapāni 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 Mṛtyumjaya, 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 Čandēśvara, 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 mandala is inscribed. From the seed (bijā) syllable hrim a lotus appears; on top of the lotus, from
the syllable am, a moon disc appears; then appears, on top of the lotus, from the syllable jam (which is Jambhala’s seed syllable) the deity Jambhala (MP 32.101; TSS 26.31cd–32ab). This visualization follows patterns found in Buddhist Tantric sadhana texts. Two Jambhala sādhanas 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 jam – the deity Jambhala.

The MP identifies Jambhala as the lord of the Yaksas (32.100c), an epithet which is also found in his mantra which addresses him as the lord of the great army of the Yaksas: māṇibhadramahāsenayaksādhipataye12 jambhalāya jalendrāya svāhā (MP 32.90–91ab). A similar mantra appears in SM, no. 295 (p. 570, 7–8): namo ratnātRAYa namo māṇibhadraYa mahāyakṣasenapatauye om jambhalajalendrāya svāhā. The deities immediately surrounding Jambhala are the Yaksas Māṇibhadra, Pūrṇabhadra, Celimālin, Vikuṇdalin (most likely for Civikuṇḍalin or, with TSS 26.16+, for Sibikuṇḍalin), 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, Celimālin, Vicitra kuṇdalin, Mukhendra and Carendra (cf. also SM, no. 298, p. 566, 16–20). Siddhaikaviramahātantra, 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, Celimālin, Sukhendra and Calendra. A slab from Ratnagiri gives these names as Pūrṇabhadra, Cili kuṇḍalin, Vaiśrama (for: 6va)ṇa, Celimālin, Dhanada, Mukhendra, Māṇibhadra and Calendra (Mitra 1961, p. 40). The variants in the names are limited to Vicitra kuṇdalin (SM) for Civikuṇḍalin (NY), Cili kuṇdal in (Ratnagiri); Mukhendra (SM, Ratnagiri) for Sukhendra (NY); and Carendra (SM) for Calendra (NY), Varendra (Siddhaikaviramahātantra) or Calendra (Ratnagiri). According to NY, p. 63, 27 each of these Yaksas 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 ’byûn, 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 Yaksas, each with a consort. The mantra inscribed below the picture invokes the eight male Yaksas as follows:

om māṇibhadraYa svāhā /
Illustration 1. 820 Many-deity Jambhala from a Sādhanā
Ekavīra sādhanā-vinirgata Bahudeva Jambhala
T. Dpah-bo chig sgrub-las byun-bahi dzambha-la lha-man, NW. 74

om pūrnabhadrāya svāhā /
om dhanadeva (†) svāhā /
om batśravasaya (†) svāhā /
om kilimālinīye (†) svāhā /
This group of Yaksas is also seen in a sculpture in the round excavated at Nalanda and preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi (acc. no. 47.62). The Yaksas are positioned around Jambhala and constitute the surrounding deities of his mandala (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 hand, 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 saumyam pītabham dvibhujam prabhum /
raktakeyurakakakasātṝādyālamkṛtam /
tripādam tunditaṃ dhyayet pājādu mantrasiddhayate // 96

“For the perfection of the mantra one should meditate at the beginning of the worship (pāja) 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:
śvetapadmhito hārapattakeyurakunḍali /
raktaṇiprīyo devalaṃ pīṅgakṣas trimukhas13 triপāt //

“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
bījapūrāṃ ca nakulam dādāhānam tam 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)
sabijapūraṇa nakulaṁ dadhānām savarābhayam // 32cd
caturbhujam inaṁ 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 (bijapūra) 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 sādhanas in the SM describe a form of the yellow Jambhala with two arms holding the fruit of the citron tree and the female mongoose (nakuli), 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 Kṛṣṇayāmārītāntra. It must be added that the TSS (17.9cd–10ab) also records this mantra, which also appears in Laksmanaḍēṣīka’s ST 24.18 and in texts citing the ST, such as the Śrīvidyārṇavaśāntra (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 abhicāra15 rites (TSS 17.1–29; MP 47.1–39). While the texts usually refer to a group of six acts (śaṭ karmāṇi), the following seven abhicāra rites are listed in the TSS (cf. also Agni-Purāṇa 306.1 with v.l) and the MP: (1) immobilization (stambha), (2) causing dissension (vidveṣa), (3) eradication (uccaṭa), (4) liquidation (mārana), (5) creating confusion or madness (bhrānti, bhrama),16 (6) destruction (utsādana) and (7) creating illness (roga,17 vyāḍhi), 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 ST 24.17d, this is a yantra of Preṭarāja, i.e., Yama, the god of death. ST 24.22cd specifies its use in the rite of liquidation (mārana) (cf. also Rāgavaḥbhaṭṭa, 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 (Hooeykaas 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. Rāghavabhātta’s commentary, p. 866, 18 refers to it as the yamaraṇājaśloka. The version in MP 47.11 is:

\[
\text{ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya mo yo ru na yo da ya l}
\]
\[
\text{da ya yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣe śa śca ni rā ma yah l l}
\]

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

\[
\text{śa ma sā ga la so me śa ya me do ru na yo da ya l l}
\]
\[
\text{ya da yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣe pa śca ni rā ma ya l l}
\]

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:

\[
\text{ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya me do ru na yo da ya l l}
\]
\[
\text{ya da yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣe pa śca ni rā ma ya l l}
\]

The mantra also appears in Laksmanadeśika’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:

\[
\text{ya ma rā ja sa do me ya ya me do ru na yo da ya l l}
\]
\[
\text{ya da yo ni ra pa (ya ŚT3) kṣe ya ya kṣe ya va (pa kṣe ya ca ŚT2, 3) ni rā ma ya l l}
\]

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

\[
\text{ya ma rā ja sa dā me ya ya me dā sa ja rā ma ya l l}
\]
\[
\text{ya da yo ni ra pa kṣe pa pa kṣe pa ra ni yo da ya l l}
\]

The above mantra is known in Buddhist Tantrism as the mantra of Yamāntaka, especially of his form Vaijrabhairava, and continues to be recited in the Tibetan dGe lugs pa tradition up to the present. Decleer 1998, p. 296 reports that the Vaijrabhairava cycle continues to be practiced under the name Mahiṣasamvarara 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 Vaijrabhairava’s root mantra, a classification which is supported by two ancient Vaijrabhairava texts cited below. As Dvivedi 1995, p. 184 states, the mantra appears in the (Sarvatathāgatakāyavacittta-) Kṛṣṇayamaṁritantra. This Tantra is referred to in Taranātha’s History of Buddhism (Chattopadhyaya 1970, p. 243), along with the Trikalpa and the Saptakalpa (see below). Taranātha credits Lalitavajra (tenth century)
with having brought these texts from the library of Dharmagaṇja in Uḍḍiyāna. The mantra is referred to in *Krṣṇayāmārītantra* 1.6–13 in an encoded form and appears in full in 6.13:

\[
\begin{align*}
yā mā rā jā sa do me ya ya me do ru na yo da ya / \\
yā da yo ni ra ya kṣe ya ya kṣa ya cca ni rā ma ya //
\end{align*}
\]
This mantra is also found in the Vimalaprabhā commentary (cited in the introduction to the Kṛṣṇayamāritatantra, 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 Samksipta-Bhairava. 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 yamarāja 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 Siklōs 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. Siklōs 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. This mantra also appears in a text referred to as The Myth in Siklōs 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 yamaraṇa, with the variant yac ccha (for yac ca) and the reading ni ra ma ya (for ni rā ma ya) in the fourth quarter of the verse. Lastly, the mantra is found in chapter 1 of the Three Chapter Tantra of Vajrabhairava, which is identified with the Trikalpa by Siklōs 1996, p. 9 and Decler 1998, p. 293. In this text we also find the short a at the end of the compound yamaraṇa 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) ya ma rā ja sa do me ya
2ab) ya ma rā ja sa do me ya
3ab) ya ma rā ja sa do me ya
4ab) ya ma rā ja sa do me ya
5ab) ya ma rā ja sa do me ya

ya me do ro da yo da ya /
ya me do ro da yo da ya /
ya me do ro da yo da ya /
ya me do ro da yo da ya /
ya me do ro da yo da ya /
Another variant of this mantra from Bali is found in a hymn entitled Yamastava and published in Lévi 1933, p. 51, 2–3:

\[\text{om ya ma rá ja sa do me ya ya me ro do da yo da ya / ya da yo ni ra ri kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi ya kṣi sa ṇa ṇi rā ma ya //}

The first quarter of the verse, yamarājasaḍomeya, also appears independently in a number of other Balinese hymns. One version reads yamarājasārāmeya (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 yakṣeṣaḥ ca, “and the lord of the yakṣas,” and – in some of the Balinese versions – the word yakṣi. The last word nirāmana in inverted order of syllables reads yamarāṇi (for yamarāṇi), 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:

\[\text{ya ma rá ja sa do me ya ya me ro do da yo da ya / ya da yo ni ra ra kṣi pa ṇā ṇi rā ma ya //}
\[\text{ya me do sa ya me do ro da yo da ya da yo ni / yu ra kṣi ya kṣi ya kṣi ya ma rá ja ya ma rá ni //}

Of the versions listed above the one from the ST cited in the SVT 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 Danin’s *Kavyadarsa* 3.73:

```
yā ma rā jā sa dā me ya (=) ya me dā sa ja rā ma ya //
yā da yo nī ra pa kṣe pa (=) pa kṣe pa ra nī 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 *Prapanchasāra* (PS) (most likely tenth century) and the ST. PS 13.55 and ST 24.24 give the following mantra of Kāli and PS 13.56 and ST 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 ST these two mantras appear in the same chapter as the above thirty-two-syllabled mantra:

**Mantra of Kāli**

```
kā li mā ra (=) ra mā li kā
mā mo de tā (=) tā de mo mā

li na mo kṣa (=) kṣa mo na li
ra kṣa tā tīva (=) tīva ta kṣa ra //
```

**Mantra of Yama**

```
yā mā pā tā (=) tā pā mā ya
pā mo bhū ri (=) ri bhū mo pā

mā tā mo tā (=) tā mo tā mā
ta tā ri stīva (=) stīva ri tā tā //
```

ST1 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 *samadastayamaka* in Danin’s *Kavyadarsa* 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 //
hig _ 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:
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 (= troup) (sadax)
of king Yama! Having arms (dor) in which there is no (a-) rise (= production)
(udaya) of mercy (daya) 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-amaya)!"

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, Atmanepada 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-
Purāṇa 5.26.7 for the hell named ayahpana). 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 Kālari24 (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   ra   ja   sa   do   me   ya
 ma             me
 ra             do
 ni             ra
 ca             da
 ya             yo
 kse            da
 ya   kse   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:
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:

pranavaḥ (pranavam ŚT3) śṛiṃ (śṛiṃ ŚT1, śri ŚT2, pranavo ‘gramo ŚVT) tato
<ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+>

The individual syllables of the mantra in the code are given as: pranava (= om) śṛiṃ <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> <ārava+> (ārava+). This version resembles the Buddhist version of the mantra given below.

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

om hr̥iṃ sṛiṃ vikṛtānānaḥ hūm hūm phat phat svāhā.

For hūm the variant hūm (with the short vowel) is also found, and before hūm/hum 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 Kṛṣṇayamārītantra.

This mantra is also found in sādhanas of the red and the dark Yamarāja 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 Guhyasamāja tantra 15.18+ and in Abhayākaragupta’s NY, p. 37, 14. According to NY, p. 37, 14–15, the mantra is the deity’s heart (śrīyā) mantra as well as the mantra for all actions (śārvakarmikamantra). 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
red Yamāntaka from the Rin ‘byu (Chandra 1991, p. 229, no. 584; see Illustration 3) with the spelling kri instead of kr in vikrātana.

The mantra appears in a ten-syllabled form (in code) in chapter 3 of the Vajramahabhairavatantra: hrīh śrīh vikrātana hūm hūm phat.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 *kr* in *vikrtanana: om hrih strih vikrtanana hum phat.*

In the *Vajramahabhairavatantra* and in the *Three Chapter Tantra of Vajrabhairava* the mantra is classified as the action mantra. Contemporary ritual manuals of the dGe lugs pa, such as Sharpa Tulkhu/R. Guard 1990, p. 66 and Sharpa Tulkhu/R. Guard 1991, p. 25, follow this classification. *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* p. 29, 11–12 gives the mantra as *om hrih jīthi vikṛtānana hum . . . phat phat svāhā.* The occurrence of an *anuvāra* (for originally *anunāsika*) to which a *visarga* is added (= *mh*) 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 *hrih* (*hriṃ*) and *strih* (*strīṃ*) are seed (*bijā*) syllables. *Hūṃ* (*hūṃ*), *phat* and *svāhā* are each classified in Hindu Tantras as closing words (*jaṭī*) of mantras. *Phat* 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 ST’s version of the mantra, . . . *damśrāvikṛtānaya . . . svāhā,* translates as “. . . *svāhā* to the one whose face is deformed by fangs (*damśrā*).” While the Hindu versions of the mantra have some seed syllables end in the nasal (*hriṃ strīṃ*), the corresponding seed syllables in the Buddhist texts end in the visarga (*hrih strīh*). A string of seed syllables similar to those in the above mantra appears in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa,* p. 574, 20 in a mantra invoking the Yaksini Pramoda; one of the seed syllables ends in an *anuvāra* followed by a *visarga: om strīṃ hriṃḥ mahānāgni hum phat svāhā.*

**d) The Eight-Syllabled Mantra (of Yama)**

In the preface (p. 4) to his and Dvvedi’s edition of the *Kṛṣṇayamārītantra,* Samdhong Rinpoche states that the “importance of this work [i.e., the *Kṛṣṇayamārītantra*] can be judged from the fact that a Śaivite Tantra called *Īśānāśivagurudevapaddhati* 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 Dvvedi 1995, p. 184, who believes that the author of the ISP borrowed the thirty-two-syllabled mantra from the *Kṛṣṇayamārītantra.* Dvvedi does not address the second mantra.

The occurrence of the thirty-two-syllabled mantra in the *Kṛṣṇayamārītantra* 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. ST 24.19 provides a third mantra, dhūmandhakāraya 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 ST) did not borrow the two mantras directly from the Kṛṣṇayamārītāntra 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/Yamantaka in the TSS or the MP. Rāghavabhatta, 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 sādhanā of the dark Yamā (Kṛṣṇayamāri), as opposed to that of the red Yamāri (Raktayamāri). The Kṛṣṇayamārītāntra, 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 ratnārayaya, “salutation to the three jewels” (i.e., to the Buddha, the dharma and the saṅgha), 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 candāsidhāra-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, candāsidhāra (cf. also MP 43.52c), means “the edge of the
fierce sword.” The mantra includes the epithet candāsidhārādhipati,
“overlord of the edge of the fierce sword.” In the MP and the TSS this
mantra is followed by another mantra which addresses Khadgarāvana.
This Khadgarāvana, who is known as a form of Śiva, is also addressed
as Candēśvara, Rudra and “the lord of the edge of the fierce sword
(candāsidhārapati).” The mantra invokes Candāvajrapāṇi, a fierce form
of the Yāka Vajrapāṇi.

namo bhagavate ratnārātāya </> namai candavajrapanaye mahāsattvasenāpateve
(tor mahāyakṣa) </> namai candāstrikhalāya pradīptāya prajhayalitāscādāpkeśāyā
ntlakānthāyā cintātya rūpāya (?) lambodarāya mahājñānavaktrāya bhrukūṭikāmāya
caturdāmstrāyā karālāya mahāviṣkṛtarāyā vajragarbāhāya ehy ehi kāyam
anupravīśā śīrasi ḍhrṇa çaksuṣṭ calayā hari (v.1. bhīrī) kim cīrāyasi
śīdha-devadānavagandharvayaksarāyākṣaśaspretanāgapisācāmś ārtāyā kampaya
samayam anusmara hana jaha pacā matha vīdhvāṃsaya candāsidhārādhīpapitir
ājnāpayati hun phat svāhā !

The version in TSS 13.44ab+ is:

namo ratnārātāya </> namai candavajrapanaye prajhayalitabastāyā
prajhayalitāscādāpkeśāyā ntlakānthāyā krāntarāyā lambodarāya mahājñānavaktrāya
bhrukūṭikāmāya caturdāmstrāyā karālāya mahāviṣkṛtarāyā vajragarbāhāya ehy ehi kāyam
anupravīśā śīrasi ḍhrṇa / çaksuṣṭ calayā / hiri bhīrī kim cīrāyasi / devadānavagandharvayaksarāyākṣaśaspretanāgapisācāmś ārtāyā kampaya
samayam anusmara hana dha pacā matha vīdhvāṃsaya
candāsidhārādhīpapitir ājnāpayati hun phat svāhā !

In addition to Candāvajrapāṇi, the TSS’s version of the mantra invokes
Vajasṛṅkhala, who may be the male counterpart of Vajrasṛṅkhala who
is known as a Yāksīṇī in the Jain pantheon (Misra 1981, p. 128, p.
174). She also figures as a gate keeper in deity mandalas described in
Abhayakaragupta’s NY. Compare parts of this mantra to parts of the
following dhāraṇī from SM, no. 205, p. 404, 5–16:

namo ratnārātāya / namai candavajrapanaye mahāyakṣasenāpateve /
namo bhagavati mahāvajraγāndhāri anekāśatāsahasrasprajhayalitāscādāpkeśāyā
ugrahīnaḥbhāyātyakāya yogīnīyai bhīṣmabhūṣhīntiayai dvādasabhūṣhīntiayai viḥitrakṣeṣṭhyai
anekāraṇapapaviḥpānvedasadāhārīntiayai / ehy ehi bhagavatī mahāvajraγāndhāriī travānām
ratānām satyena akṣā akṣā baladevādikām ye cāyē samayā na tiśhānti tān
āvarttāyāyām iśgāmṛ ghrṇa ghrṇa ghrṇa om āla āla ala āla hul hul hul mulu
mulu culu culu dhama dhama rākṣa rākṣa rākṣāpayā rākṣāpayā purāṇa purāṇa avīśa
The presiding deity of the following mantra is the Buddha, which is found in the caṇḍavajrapāṇī-mantra as well as in the initial part of the dhāraṇī from the SM, also appears in texts such as the Śatasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (p. 2, 2). It is found several times as part of a dhāraṇī of Mahābāla in the Chinese version of the Āryamahābala (nama-mahāyāna)-sūtra as reproduced in Bischoff 1956, pp. 81, 85 – 86, 100: nama ratnadṛṣṭa namo caṇḍavajrapāṇī mahāyākṣasenāpateya. It also found in the Balinese Buddhaveda (Lévi 1933, p. 80, 24): nama ratnadṛṣṭa nama caṇḍavajrapāṇī mahāyākṣasenāpateya. The phrase kim cīryasi samayam anusmara svāhā is part of a mantra of gate keeper Abhimukha in Mahāvairocanasūtra (Yamamoto 1990), p. 56 and p. 114 and the phrase kim cīryasi 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 Sarvatathāgatattvaśamgraha, p. 171, 2; p. 199, 5–6, p. 260, 3 and p. 266, 3.

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

om raśtidhiṁ cokatājākādha omkāriṁ (?) kātyāyenī (?), naṁṝṭiyam kāliṁ mahakāliṁ vajrakāliṁ yaśasvinīṁ sukaliṁ ägneyam vāyavyam kāliṁ kumārivaṁ sanktuṣṭiṁ śantakarmaṁ indrāniṁ yaksakauberīṁ mahēsvarīṁ vaisṣṇavīṁ cāmūṇḍīṁ raundrīṁ vārāhīṁ kauberīṁ yāś cānāyama samaye tisthati tannāmāvartasyāmi / śīghraṁ grha / om ṛḷa caṇḍa pūraya dhara anāy aubhage / avisā bhagavati / mahāvajragāndhāra siddhacandra-vajrapāṇī aṅkāpayati hṛin hāṁ hāṁ hāṁ hāṁ hāṁ phat svāhā /

In this mantra we encounter the name Vajragāndhāra, who figures as a Yaksīṁ 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 sadhana in the SM, which is dedicated to Vajragāndhāra.

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

The presiding deity of the following mantra is the Buddha (buddhādhiśaiva mantra).

nano saratratra (for ratnadṛṣṭa?) śāśin (for jvara?) hṛdayam aṅkāpayati / bho bho jvara śrṇu hāma garda chanda sarvajyam caṇḍa vajrapāṇī aṅkāpayati / śīro muṇica kāthum muṇica uro muṇica hṛdayum muṇica udāraṁ muṇica kāthum muṇica jāṅgha muṇica pāda muṇica caṇḍapāṇī aṅkāpayati hṛin hāṁ hāṁ hāṁ phat svāhā /

TSS 15.2+ gives a similar mantra:
and the vocative Vajrin of Vasudha, chapter 137 of the Agni-Purāṇa. Tryambaka, the goddess of pestilence, whose mantra is taught in the MP has been replaced with that of Tryambaka, i.e., Mahāmārī, the goddess of pestilence, whose mantra is taught in the Agni-Purāṇa. The vocative Vajramukti may refer to a form of Siva, and the vocative vajrini with cakrini. In addition, the Agni-Purāṇa’s version of the mantra shows corrupt forms of words.

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

iti miti tīmi kākataṃdiśi svāhā /

om sreṣṭhaṃ sādāraṃ sviṣṭhaṃ 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 ’byun (Chandra 1991, p. 317, no. 842). I have made no attempt to correct the text of the mantra:

om anale kundaḷaḥ mahāpiṣaciṃyē svāhā / om sreṣṭha mahābhāṇḍaḥ piṣaciṃyē svāhā //

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

om bhagavate vajraḥumkārārđarśāṇāya (vajramukā MP) om cuku (vila MP) mili melī siddhi vajrīṇi hum phat /
asmin grāme gokulasya rākṣāṃ kuru śaṃtiṃ kuru svāhā /

Vajraḥumkāra, 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 gomārī 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: om namo bhagavate tryambakāyopāśaṃayopāśaṃayāya cuḷa cuḷa mili mili bhīdi bhīdi gomānīni cakrīṇī hṛṃ phat / asmin grāme gokulasya rākṣāṃ kuru śaṃtiṃ kuru kuru kuru svāhā.29 It is important to note that in the Agni-Purāṇa the name Vajraḥumkāra has been replaced with that of Tryambaka, i.e., Śiva, and the vocative vajrīṇi with cakrīṇi. 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 Vasudhāra 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 Padārthādarsa 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 Vasudhāra 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 (mārāṇa). In the ritual applications of the MP and the TSS both the names Yama and Yamāntaka (elsewhere known as Yamāra) 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/Yamārī, 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 Kṛṣṇayamārītantra, 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 Kṛṣṇayamārītantra but in chapter 4 of the Vajramahabhairavatantra.

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 Vasudhāra, 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 Bhudevi. 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, Vāsudhāra and Yama are all associated with the Yaks and possibly Vajraśrīnakhalā, 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 Yaks.

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 Sādhanañātī, volume 2, pp. cxxxvff.

2 This section of the TSS shares identical passages with the Kāṣyapa-Samhitā (Garudapañcakṣarīktalpa). 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 Nārāyanīya in Rāghavabhātta’s commentary on the Sārudālakā (ST1) that are from the TSS: Rāghavabhātta, 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 Prapañçasarā in the introduction to his edition of the Nityāsodāsiśākārya (Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Vārānasi 1968), p. 41. Īśānaśīva of the Māttamāyūra lineage was the teacher of Vairocana who wrote the Pratisthalakṣanasārasanamuccaya. The oldest manuscript of the text dates from 1168 CE (see The Hindu Deities Illustrated according to the Pratisthalakṣanasārasanamuccaya. Compiled by G. Bühnemann and M. Tachikawa (The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, Tokyo 1990), part 1: The Pratisthalakṣanasārasanamuccaya 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: “kāntimatt, 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 Mātraśrama (16 mātras per quarter).

9 The MP erroneously reads Amitāgha.

10 Suggested emendation, ghaṭasyaṅghriṅ tại TSS.
11 Suggested emendation, vāmapāpinā TSS.

12 The MP erroneously reads ksayaḥhipataye.

13 triśiras v.l. TSS.

14 Abhayākārāgupta’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 Aṃśūbhedāgama (cited in Rao 1914–1916, volume 2, p. 263). The fruit of the citron tree appears as an attribute of Kubera in Rāpamāṇḍana 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 ksudras (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 ummāda for hṛṣṇa. Goudriaan 1978, p. 356 opts for the meaning “wandering, causing to wander.”

17 The MP erroneously reads yava instead of roga.

18 For the importance of the Vajrabhairava cycle in the dGe lugs pa tradition, see Siklōs 1996b, pp. 186–187.

19 In the block-print, the mantra is prefixed with the syllable on and appended with the syllables hām hām phat phat svāhā. The mantra hṛṣṇaḥ hṛṣṇiḥ vikritānanaḥ (1) hām phat follows, which is a variant of the mantra addressed in section 4c of this paper.

20 Cf. the edited Tibetan text, Siklōs 1996, pp. 91–92.

21 For the Tibetan text, see Siklōs 1996, p. 138 and for the Mongolian text, which reads ni ra ma ya (tor ni rā ma ya), see see Siklōs 1996, p. 210; cf. also the translation section, Siklōs 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 Kṛṣṇayamāritantraśravāja-Trikalpa, which is distinguished from the above cited (Sarvatathāgatākāyavākṣita-) Kṛṣṇayamāritantra, cf. also Siklōs 1996, p. 18, note 24 and the discussion in Decler 1998, pp. 293–294.


24 See Rao 1914–1916, volume 2, pp. 156ff. for the story of Mārkaṇḍeya and Śiva’s manifestation Kālāri according to several Agamas.


27 Cf. above cited mantra of the Yaksinī Pramodā from the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, the seed syllable gamḥ for Ganeśa in SVT, volume 2, p. 668, 8 (interpreting TSS 24.31) and the seed syllable hṛṣṇiḥ in NY, p. 65, 20.
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.

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

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

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Miyata, T. (ed.): 1988, Ritual Directions for the Śāntika Homa Offered to Acalā (Koyasan Shingon Foreign Mission, Koyasan).
MP Mantrapūḍa of the ISP see ISP
NY Nispānayaṅgāvalī, Nispānayaṅgāvalī of Mahāpandita Abhayākaraṅgūpta, Edited by B. Bhattacharyya (Oriental Institute, Baroda 1949).


SM Śādhanamālā, Śādhanamālā. Edited by B. Bhattacharya. 2 volumes (Oriental Institute, Baroda 1925–1928).


ST3 Sāradātīlaka, Sāradātīlaka-gadāhradhātpikā-sahīta (Ganēś Prabhakar Press, Varanasi 1884).


TSS Tantrārasamgraha, Tantra Śūra Saṅggraha (with Commentary). A treatise teaching formulae and rites for the attainment of health and happiness and even of super-human power of Nārāyaṇa (Tantric) of Śivapuram. Edited ... by M.D. Aiyangar (Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras 1950).


University of Wisconsin-Madison
Department of Languages and Cultures of Asia
1240 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Drive
Madison, Wisconsin 53706, USA