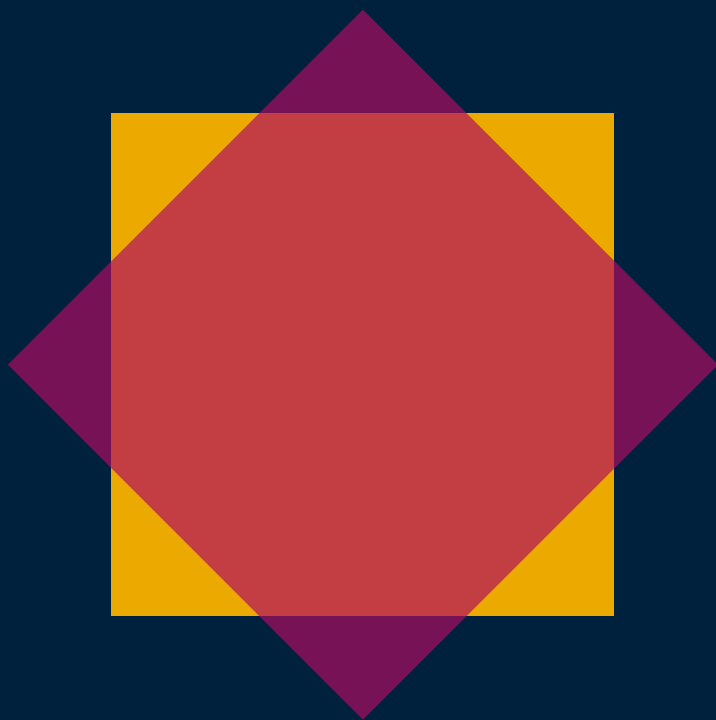


Kathrin Holz

# The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*: Apotropaic Scriptures in Early Indian Buddhism



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The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*  
Apotropaic Scriptures in Early Indian Buddhism

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Apotropaic Scriptures in Early Indian Buddhism

Kathrin Holz

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སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་དང་སྟོག་ཆགས་ཀུན། །  
འབྱུང་པོ་ཀུན་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་། །  
བདེ་བ་འབའ་ཞིག་གྲུབ་གྱུར་ཏེ། །  
ཐམས་ཅད་ཉོན་མོངས་མེད་པར་ཤོག །  
ཐམས་ཅད་བཟང་པོ་མཐོང་གྱུར་ཏེ། །  
གང་ཡང་སྤྲིག་པར་མ་གྱུར་ཅིག

May all sentient beings, all living beings,  
and all *bhūtas*, everyone  
only attain happiness.  
May they all be free from afflictive emotions.  
May they all experience auspiciousness.  
Whosoever may he not fall into evil.

(*Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, D 313 at 162b2–3)



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Lausanne, 01/2021  
Kathrin Holz

## Transliteration and citation system

Unless noted otherwise, all translations are my own. Transliterations have been unified without indication (e.g. Skt. *ś* for *śh*, Tib. *nga* for *ṇa*). Transliterated passages in original languages (Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan, etc.) are italicized, titles and proper names are capitalized. Citations from dictionaries (BHSD, Mvy, MW, PTSD, PW) are formatted according to the overall standard of this book.

### Symbols used in the transliterations of the texts edited in this volume:

- [ ]     damaged/uncertain *akṣara*(s)
- +       a missing *akṣara* on a lost portion of the manuscript
- ( )     restored *akṣara*(s)
- < >    omitted *akṣara*
- . .     illegible *akṣara*
- .       illegible part of an *akṣara*
- { }     superfluous *akṣara* or part thereof
- ///    leaf broken off here
- \*       *virāma*
- punch hole
- punctuation mark
- :       *visarga* used as punctuation
- (...~4...) estimated amount of missing *akṣaras*

Symbols used in quotations and translations:

- [...] omissions
- [ ] additions

The conventions of transliteration of the Tibetan script are based on the system devised by Turrell Wylie<sup>1</sup>.

Table 1: Transliteration system after Wylie.

ཀ	ka	ཁ	kha	ག	ga	ང	nga
ཅ	ca	ཆ	cha	ཇ	ja	ཉ	nya
ཏ	ta	ཐ	tha	ད	da	ན	na
པ	pa	ཕ	pha	བ	ba	མ	ma
ཅ	tsha	ཆ	tsha	ཇ	dza		
མ	wa	ཙ	zha	མ	za	འ	‘a
ཡ	ya	ར	ra	ལ	la		
ཤ	sha	ས	sa	ཏ	ha	ཨ	a

<sup>1</sup> Wylie 1959: 261–267

## Abbreviations

AAĀ	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāṛāloka-prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā</i> : Wogihara 1932–1935
abl.	ablative
AKP	<i>Ādikarmapradīpa</i> : La Vallée Poussin 1898
AN II	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i> , Vol. 2: Morris [1888] 1976
AN V	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i> , Vol. 5: Hardy [1900] 1958
aor.	aorist
AV	<i>Atharvaveda</i>
Ap	<i>Apadāna</i> : Lilley 1927
Bala	<i>Ārya-mahābala-nāma-mahāyānasūtra</i> : Bischoff 1956
BajC 3	* <i>Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra</i> : Strauch 2014 and personal communication
Bbh	<i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i> : Dutt 1966
BCE	Before the Common Era
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary</i> : Edgerton [1953] 1985
BHSG	<i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar</i> : Edgerton [1953] 1985
caus.	causative
CE	Common Era
cf.	confer
Ch.	Chinese
dat.	dative
Dhp	Pāli <i>Dhammapada</i> : von Hinüber, Norman 1995
Dhp-G <sup>K</sup>	Gāndhārī <i>Dharmapada</i> from Khotan: Brough 1962
Dhp-G <sup>S</sup>	Gāndhārī <i>Dharmapada</i> of the Split Collection: Falk 2015
Dhp-P	Patna <i>Dharmapada</i> : Cone 1989
Divy	<i>Divyāvadāna</i> : Cowell, Neil [1886] 1970
DKP	<i>Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra</i> : Harrison 1992
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i> , 3 vols.: Rhys Davids, Carpenter 1890–1911
ed.	edited by
f.	feminine
fr.	fragment
G.	Gāndhārī



GBMFE	<i>Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts, revised and enlarged compact facsimile edition</i> : Raghu Vira, Lokesh Chandra 1995
gen.	genitive
impv.	imperative
instr.	instrumental
Jā	<i>Jātaka</i> : Fausbøll [1877–1896] 1962–1964
Ldk	<i>Ldan dkar ma</i> catalogue
lit.	literally
loc.	locative
m.	masculine
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i>
Mil	<i>Milindapañha</i> : Trenckner 1880
Mmk(V)	<i>Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa</i> : Vaidya 1964
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i> : Chalmers [1896–1899] 1977
Mp II	<i>Manorathapūraṇī</i> , Vol. 2: Walleiser/Kopp 1967
MW	<i>A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</i> : Monier-Williams 1899
Mv	<i>Mahāvastu</i> : Senart 1882–1897
Mvy	<i>Mahāvyutpatti</i>
n.	neuter
nom.	nominative
opt.	optative
P.	Pāli
pl.	plural
Ptm	<i>’Phang thang ma</i> catalogue
PTSD	<i>The Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary</i> : Rhys Davids, Stede 1921–1925
PW	Großes Petersburger Wörterbuch: Böhtlingk, Roth 1855–1875
r	recto
RKP	<i>Ratnaketu-parivarta</i> : Kurumiya 1978
S	Stog Kangyur
sg.	singular
SHT	<i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden</i> : I–III: Waldschmidt et al. 1965–1971 IV–V: Waldschmidt/Sander 1980–1985 VI–IX: Wille/Bechert 1989–2004 X–XII: Wille 2008–2017

Śikṣ	<i>Śikṣāsamuccaya</i> : Bendall 1970
SI	Central Asian manuscripts in the Petrovsky collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Science with the siglum Serindica
SI Pold	call number of Central Asian manuscripts in the Petrovsky collection with the siglum Serindia Petrovsky
Skt.	Sanskrit
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i> : Feer [1884] 1960
Sn	<i>Sutta-nipāta</i> : Andersen/Smith 1913
Taishō	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i> : Tokyo 1924–35
Tib.	Tibetan
tr.	translated by
TŚS	<i>Triśaraṇasaptati</i> : Sørensen 1986
Utt	<i>Uttarasthāna</i> of the <i>Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā</i> : Vaidya 1939
Uv	<i>Udānavarga</i> : Bernhard 1965
v	verso
Vin II	<i>Vinaya-piṭaka</i> , Vol. 2: <i>Cullavagga</i> : Oldenberg [1880] 1995
voc.	vocative
Y	<i>Yogācārabhūmi</i>



# Introduction

This book examines the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, an important representative of early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature, and thereby contributes to the investigation of this literary genre. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* is especially informative in terms of its textual history and development. This text will be approached by codicological, philological, and palaeographic methods, including a comparative textual study of all versions extant in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. This work ultimately presents an edition, partial reconstruction, and translation of the two extant Sanskrit manuscripts found in Central Asia, as well as a critical edition and translation of the Tibetan version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. Special focus will also be given to the Chinese and Tibetan variants of the *mantras*. Moreover, it will highlight specific *rakṣā* elements, formal features, and linguistic and semantic patterns of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. These are crucial for the understanding of the peculiarities of its language, as well as its textual development and classification among *rakṣā* literature. For this purpose, the general discussion of *rakṣā* cults, rites, and practices will not only take into account textual sources, but also archaeological and epigraphical evidence. It is the aim of this thesis to introduce this text, to explore its textual history, and to discuss its value for the understanding of early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature, placing it in the wider context of Buddhist textual and ritual practices.

In a ground-breaking article, which investigates the different classes of protective texts of the Śrāvakayāna literature, as well as the typical phraseology, popular cults, and rites of *rakṣā* texts, Peter Skilling (1992) introduced for the respective literary genre the term “*rakṣā* literature” meaning “protective literature”. In his article, Skilling characterizes the function of *rakṣā* texts as: “the invocation of protection against disease, calamity, and malignant spirits through the office of spiritual attainment, profession of truth, *mantras*, or deities.”<sup>1</sup> Thus, *rakṣā* texts function mainly to provide protection and to ward off malignant beings, dangerous animals, and all sort of calamities, first in form of moral sayings, which were later supplemented by *mantras*. *Mantras* then build the main core of later protective

---

<sup>1</sup> Skilling 1992: 110.

texts and are credited with apotropaic powers to overcome calamities, dangers, and other evils.

For a long time, the Buddhist *rakṣā* literature was perceived as part of *dhāraṇī* literature, and the terms *rakṣā* and *dhāraṇī* were taken as synonyms.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, important to stress the fact that *rakṣā* texts are not a subcategory of *dhāraṇī* literature, or vice versa. Even though *mantras* play an immense role in both *dhāraṇī* and some *rakṣā* texts, the latter do not necessarily contain *mantras*. *Rakṣā* texts are defined by their protective or apotropaic function. In other words, *rakṣā* literature comprises texts, which can be considered protective because of their effect and not according to their content, style, or form. While some *dhāraṇī* texts are doubtless protective in nature, and can therefore be ascribed to *rakṣā* literature, the protective function is not a distinctive criterion of *dhāraṇīs*. *Dhāraṇī* scriptures exist in different forms as individual *dhāraṇīs* and *dhāraṇīs* in context, that is in narrative or ritual. Hidas distinguishes between three main classes of *dhāraṇī* scriptures: 1) Actual *dhāraṇī* scriptures of the Mahāyāna with the main focus on the use and benefit of the *dhāraṇī* (among them a significant number of protective texts), 2) texts referring to *dhāraṇīs* but which do not include spells and only mention them as mnemonic devices as part of the practices on the Bodhisattva path, and 3) scriptures containing *dhāraṇīs* but which are not centred on them.<sup>3</sup>

The term *rakṣā* can thus be seen as a functional term, and *rakṣā* literature invariably comprises texts with a protective function, whether they contain *mantras* or not, whereas *dhāraṇī* is a technical term arisen to preeminence in a Mahāyāna context, which refers on the one hand to the spell or incantation itself but on the other hand stands for a mnemonic device with the aid of *mantras*. Both textual genres – notably those *rakṣā* texts entailing *mantras* – can best be described as two distinct categories of what Hidas (2015) labelled Buddhist spell or incantation

---

<sup>2</sup> In the earliest introductory article on the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* concept, Waddell (1912: 156) still confuses the terminology and uses the terms *dhāraṇī*, *mantra*, and *paritta* side by side. He states: “The ‘*Dhāraṇī*’ I would define as a ‘Buddhist spell of stereotyped formulas, an exoteric device of animistic origin, adapted by the Buddhists for the purpose primarily of protecting (*parittā*) superstitious humanity against specific fears and dangers in the external world by the outward means to which it had long accustomed’. It is the Buddhist analogue of the *Mantra* or secret sacrificial spell of Brahmanism, from which parent-religion it was directly derived eclectically, along with most of the other elements of Buddhism; and ‘*Mantra*’ is still occasionally used to designate the sets of cabalistic words within the larger *Dhāraṇī*.”

<sup>3</sup> For a list of texts attributed to these three groups, see Hidas 2015: 131.

literature.<sup>4</sup> This work will thus call texts belonging to this genre ‘Buddhist mantric scriptures’.

Buddhist spell literature represents a rich corpus of texts as diverse as can possibly be, and includes scriptures in all Buddhist languages. Mantric scriptures are, to put it simply, compilations containing *mantras*, whether centred on a spell or just referring to an incantation, whereby the nature of the various *mantras* is context sensitive. Consequently, Buddhist mantric literature comprises protective *mantras* of the Śrāvakayāna and early Mahāyāna *rakṣā* literature, and *mantras* – both protective and spiritual – of later *dhāraṇī* literature. *Dhāraṇī* scriptures and early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature are thus two separate categories of Buddhist mantric scriptures, yet with a considerable fluidity and a certain degree of overlap in structure and phraseology. They are closely related literary genres, which indeed share many common elements, but have to be discerned from each other. The vast literary body of early Buddhist mantric scriptures is not only very complex, it is also one of the least-studied genres of Buddhist literature in general.

*Rakṣā* literature is not an exclusive Buddhist phenomenon. Similar means of protection are well established in the Jain tradition. Like in the Buddhist tradition, the Jains seek protection against any malevolent forces and calamities, from dangerous insentient things and evil sentient beings. Jain protective texts share typological features with a number of Buddhist *rakṣā* scriptures. For the realization of protection, the Jains make use of protective devices and practices, which can also be found among Buddhists, such as the recitation of *mantras*, and the preparation and use of amulets and protective threads.<sup>5</sup> The connection between the two traditions can best be seen by reference to the *Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī* used among Buddhist and Jain circles alike. This text of clear Buddhist content represents a boundary case. Manuscripts of this text including an initial statement of homage to the Jain teaching have been found in Jain libraries.<sup>6</sup> A more detailed comparative study of Buddhist and Jain protective scriptures presents alluring prospects for further research, but is beyond the scope of this work.

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<sup>4</sup> Hidas (2015: 129): “[R]ecalling the fluidity of the usage of *dhāraṇī*, *mantra*, and *vidyā*, we find that *dhāraṇī* texts inevitably belong to a larger class of what may be labeled Buddhist spell or incantation literature.”

<sup>5</sup> For an extensive overview on the Jain protective tradition and its *rakṣā* texts, objects, and spells, see Balbir 2018.

<sup>6</sup> For an edition and short analysis of this text, see Jaini 1968.

## State of the art

Since western researchers have only recently differentiated between *rakṣā* and *dhāraṇī*, publications on both genres are of high value for this work. The history, content, and meaning of Buddhist *dhāraṇī* literature have long been the most neglected fields of Buddhist research. After the publication of two introductory essays on *dhāraṇīs* by Waddell (1912, 1914) and one article by Hauer (1927), the study of *dhāraṇīs* came to a hiatus. Many scholars considered *dhāraṇīs* as the most insignificant and unpleasant literary genre, which did not have any value for the Buddhist literature at all, and which is therefore not worth being studied. In his examination of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*, Müller commented on *dhāraṇīs* in the following way:

Most of these Dhāraṇīs are prayers so utterly devoid of sense and grammar that they hardly admit and still less are deserving of a translation, however important they may be palæographically, and, in one sense, historically also, as marking the lowest degradation of one of the most perfect religions, at least as conceived originally in the mind of its founder. Here we have in mere gibberish a prayer for a long life addressed to Buddha, who taught that deliverance from life was the greatest of all blessings. While the beautiful utterances of Buddha were forgotten, these miserable Dhāraṇīs spread all over the world, and are still to be found, not only in Northern, but in Southern Buddhism also. [...] Here, as elsewhere, the truth of the Eastern proverb is confirmed, that the scum floats along the surface, and the pearls lie on the ground.<sup>7</sup>

The same attitude of disapproval is reflected in Winternitz' work. In his survey on one mantric passage of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, where he sees the origin of Buddhist spell practice, he designated mantric scriptures as the most unpleasant branch of Mahāyāna literature:

Es war das Bedürfnis nach Mantras, nach Zaubersprüchen, im Volke vorhanden und diesem Bedürfnis mußte auch der Buddhismus Rechnung tragen. Um den Mantras der Zauberer entgegenzutreten, mußten auch die buddhistischen Mönche ihre ‚Mantras‘ haben. Zuerst waren diese Mantras noch moralische Sprüche wie Maṅgalasutta und Rattanasutta [...] denen nur das Formelhafte den Charakter von Zaubersprüchen [...] gab. Um die Mantras der Zauberer ‚zurückzuschlagen‘, brauchte man viele nach demselben Rezept gemachte Formeln und Sprüche, zu diesem Rezept

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<sup>7</sup> Müller [1884] 1972: 31f.

gehörten insbesondere die fortwährende Wiederholung und die Einführung unverständlicher, geheimnisvollklingender Silben wie om̐, hūṃ, vaṃ, ho, phaṭ usw. So entstand dieser höchst unerfreuliche Zweig der Mahāyānaliteratur.<sup>8</sup>

It was only in the last few decades that *dhāraṇīs* found the attraction of academics and finally got the treatment they deserve. Besides editions and studies of selected *dhāraṇī* texts,<sup>9</sup> publications include general studies on a contextualized and functional definition of the term *dhāraṇī*,<sup>10</sup> encyclopaedia entries,<sup>11</sup> as well as works dealing with the traditional understanding of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*.<sup>12</sup> In particular the Buddhist spell practice in the context of Chinese sources found great attention.<sup>13</sup>

The early Buddhist *raṅṣā* literature was first systematically investigated by Peter Skilling (1992) in his article on the different classes of Śrāvakayāna *raṅṣā* texts. Skilling continued his general study of apotropaic texts, which resulted in an extensive introduction to his edition of the Tibetan *mahāsūtra* collection (1997a), one of the classes of *raṅṣā* texts he discussed in his 1992 article. While the earliest class of *raṅṣā* texts, the Pāli *parittas*, has been comprehensively studied,<sup>14</sup> general studies on early Buddhist *raṅṣā* literature remain scarce. Worthy of note are, however, von Hinüber's description of *raṅṣā* spells ("Schutzzauber") among the Gilgit manuscripts (1981, 2018), and a short entry on *paritta* and *raṅṣā* texts included in the *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (McDaniel 2004).

Others approached early Buddhist *raṅṣā* literature through the study of a single text or manuscript, or a collection of texts. This category comprises a considerable number of publications, which focus on the edition and translation of a text, and analyse its content and characteristics. These works include the *Megha-sūtra* (Bendall 1880), the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* (Waldschmidt [1932] 1979), the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* (Iwamoto 1937a), the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra* (Hoffmann

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<sup>8</sup> Winternitz 1912: 249.

<sup>9</sup> Editions and translations of selected *dhāraṇīs* include the *Ārya-mahābala-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (Bischoff 1956), the *Amoghapaśaḥḍaya-dhāraṇī* (Meiszahl 1962), the *Anantamukha-nirhāra-dhāraṇī* (Inagaki 1987), and the *Mekhalā-dhāraṇī* (Tripāṭhī 1981).

<sup>10</sup> Especially valuable are: Bernhard 1967, Braarvig 1985, Gyatso 1992, Copp 2011, and Davidson 2009, 2014a, 2014b, 2017.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hidas 2015, and Kariyawasam 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Lamotte 1949–80: 1859–1864, and Braarvig 1985.

<sup>13</sup> See particularly: McBride 2005, Copp 2005, 2008b, 2014, and Shinohara 2014.

<sup>14</sup> For references, see De Silva 1981.



[1939] 1987, and Sander 2007), the *Upasena-sūtra* (Waldschmidt [1957] 1967b), the *Daśabala-sūtra* (Waldschmidt 1958, and Hartmann/Wille 2010), the Tibetan *mahāsūtras* together with their Pāli and Sanskrit parallels (Skilling 1994a), the *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa* (Bongard-Levin et al. 1996), the Chinese translation of the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī* (DesJardins 2011, and Sørensen 2006), the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (Hidas 2012), the *\*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra* (Strauch 2014), the *Mahāśītavātī* (Hidas 2017), and the Tibetan *Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā* (Holz 2017). Moreover, a recently edited volume (Cicuzza 2018) deals with the Pāli *Uṇhissavijaya-sutta* as it appears in Laos, Thailand, and Cambodia and its Sanskrit parallel the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*. One chapter of this volume is dedicated to the study of the protective aspects in the *Vajirasāratthasaṅgha* from Thailand.

## Outline

Chapter 1 discusses the current state of research on early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature and thereby first presents Skilling's classification of *rakṣā* texts and then discusses one possible source from which apotropaic texts could be derived from. It traces the origin and spread of Buddhist *rakṣā mantras* and their distribution beyond the Indian subcontinent to Central and Southeast Asia. Moreover, it deals with the question of how protective texts become efficacious, leading to a discussion of the concepts of *maitrī* and *saccakiriyā*. It is believed that friendliness towards all sentient beings, and the formulation of an act of truth can both bring about protection. Yet, the texts mention limitations to their potency and thereby give an explanation in the event that the intended effect does not automatically occur. Similarly, the scriptures issue warnings to the supplicant not acting in accordance with the spells' specific instructions.

Chapter 2 introduces the different versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. This chapter gives special attention to the four extant Pāli discourses, which provide the canonical core for all other recensions, even if they do not contain any linguistic *rakṣā* elements.

Chapter 3 investigates the two Sanskrit manuscripts of this discourse found or obtained in Qizil and Kashgar, Central Asia. It provides an edition, translation, and partial reconstruction of the fragmentary manuscripts with the help of Pāli and Tibetan parallels. It furthermore studies the textual structure, as well as language and writing of the manuscripts in paragraphs on palaeography, orthography, phonology, and morphology.

Chapter 4 discusses the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. It explores the mantric passages of the Chinese version and tries to reconstruct the underlying Indic sound of the *mantras* rendered into Chinese. Additionally, this chapter presents a critical edition and annotated translation of the Tibetan version.

Chapter 5 brings this book to a conclusion with a general discussion of all recensions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in a synoptic way. It presents some historical considerations on the textual history and transmission of the text and studies the textual development of the discourse by focussing on the canonical core, the textual structure, and specific *rakṣā* elements. The chapter closes with a discussion of formal characteristics and linguistic patterns, which appear in a multitude of apotropaic scriptures and can thus be seen as distinctive *rakṣā* elements. Protective *mantras* soon became the key element of *rakṣā* texts and the correct recitation of their sound value is credited with the attainment of protection, welfare, and other benefits. Next, this paragraph attempts to shed light on some further aspects of early *rakṣā* literature and tackles the sources of spells, the sources of protection, and what conduct the recipients of spells must undertake in order to achieve the positive effect. *Rakṣā* literature is rich in ritual instructions, which tell us how the texts and spells should be applied in everyday practices, thereby giving some indications of their widespread use among Buddhist circles.



# 1 Early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature – state of the art

The main purpose of Buddhist *rakṣā* texts is to provide protection. They represent tools for the accomplishment of worldly aims, such as protection against any kind of calamities, malignant beings and dangerous animals, well-being and other benefits, as well as a remedy to cure diseases and sickness. The positive impact of canonical Pāli *parittas* of the Theravāda school, mostly extracted from the *Sutta-piṭaka*, is already stated in the *Milindapañha* (originally composed in a middle-Indian language different from Pāli before the third century BC<sup>1</sup>):

*Puna bhagavatā parittā ca uddiṭṭhā, seyyathidaṃ ratanasuttaṃ  
khandhaparittaṃ moraparittaṃ dhajaggaparittaṃ āṭānāṭiyaparittaṃ  
aṅgulimālaparittaṃ. [...]*

*Kataparittaṃ hi mahārāja purisaṃ ḍasitukāmo ahi na ḍasati, vivaṭaṃ  
mukhaṃ pidahati. Corānaṃ ukkhittalaḡuḷaṃ pi na sambhavati. Te laḡuḷaṃ  
muñcitvā pemaṃ karonti. Kupito pi hatthināgo samāgantvā uparamati.  
Pajjalitamahāaggikkandho pi upagantvā nibbāyati. Viṣaṃ halāhalam pi  
khāyitaṃ agadaṃ sampajjati āhāratthaṃ vā pharati. Vadhakā hantukāmā  
upagantvā dāsabhūtā sampajjanti. Akkanto pi pāso na saṃvarati.*

(Mil 150.27–152.28)

But on the other hand the Pirit [*paritta*] service was promulgated by the Blessed One that is to say, the Ratana-sutta and the Khanda-parittā and the Mora-parittā and the Dhajagga-parittā and the Āṭānāṭiya-parittā and the Aṅgulimāla-parittā. [...]

[When *paritta* has been made, o King, a snake ready to bite a man] will not bite him, but close his jaws – the club which robbers hold aloft to strike him with will never strike; they will let it drop, and treat him kindly – the enraged elephant rushing at him will suddenly stop – the burning fiery conflagration surging towards him will die out – the malignant poison he has eaten will become harmless, and turn to food – assassins who have come to slay him will become as the slaves who wait upon him – and the trap into which he has trodden will hold him not.

(tr. Rhys Davids 1890: 213–216)

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<sup>1</sup> See Demiéville 1924 and Fussman 1993 for the history of translation of the *Milindapañha*.

The important role *rakṣā* texts always played in ritual practices cannot be underestimated. It is a special characteristic of these texts that they were not only preserved and transmitted, but actually applied in rituals and ceremonies to bring about their apotropaic effects in everyday life on almost every occasion. As noted by de Silva, “*PARITTA* is a very popular Buddhist ceremony in Śrī Laṅkā. It is not an exaggeration to say that hardly a day passes without this ceremony being performed.”<sup>2</sup> The same holds true for Burma, as was stated by Bode: “the Paritta [...] is, to this day, more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali Book.”<sup>3</sup> Monks and lay followers alike, but especially monastics living in dangerous environments, in the wilderness, always memorised and recited protective texts from a very early date as a means of self-protection.

This chapter presents the state of the art of modern research on early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature. It furthermore establishes a common ground between *rakṣā* texts and medical treatises, and discusses whether the literary genre of *rakṣā* texts is derived from a now lost scientific source. Moreover, it intends to trace the origin of *mantras* in early Buddhist scriptures, and to examine the spread of *rakṣā mantras* from their place of origin on the Indian subcontinent throughout and beyond South Asia.

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<sup>2</sup> De Silva 1981: 3.

<sup>3</sup> Bode [1909] 1965: 3.

## 1.1 A classification of *rakṣā* texts

Skilling (1992) has presented different classes or collections of protective texts in his article on the *rakṣā* literature of the Śrāvakayāna tradition. While some of these texts belong to the earliest Buddhist literature and are ascribed to the Buddha himself, other texts emerged only in the first centuries of the Common Era. Skilling distinguishes four classes of *rakṣā* texts: 1) the *parittas* of the Theravādins, 2) the *mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, 3) the *svastigāthās* of various schools, and 4) the *Pañcarakṣā* collection. Their characteristics shall be briefly described below.<sup>4</sup>

In the Theravāda school we find a series of texts under the Pāli name *paritta* (P. for “protection, safeguard”), which originates from the old Indian root *pari-trā* “to protect” and was often used synonymously to the term *rakṣā*.<sup>5</sup> An early list of *parittas* can be found in the *Milindapañha*,<sup>6</sup> and in the fifth century commentaries by Buddhaghosa.<sup>7</sup> Taken together these lists give the titles of nine *parittas*. Today there exist various collections not only in Pāli, but also in Sinhalese, Burmese, and Siamese. In Śrī Laṅkā *parittas* constitute a collection of 29 texts called the *Catubhāṇavāra* gathered mostly from the *Sutta-piṭaka* preserved in Pāli.<sup>8</sup> The last seven *parittas* are, however, a later addition and Śrī Laṅkā commentaries of the

<sup>4</sup> For an extensive discussion of the four classes of *rakṣā* texts, see Skilling 1992: 116–144.

<sup>5</sup> The *paritta* collection is a, contrary to other classes of the *rakṣā* scriptures, well-examined literary genre. Lily de Silva gives a comprehensive bibliography of scholarly works in her study on the meaning, content, and historicity of Pāli *parittas*, and their application in ceremonies (cf. de Silva 1981: xi–xii). For further references, see Skilling 1992: 116. Particularly important is here Waldschmidt’s detailed description of a *paritta* ceremony (cf. Waldschmidt 1967a: 465–478). See also Harvey (1993: 53–84) for the use, function, and limitations of *parittas*.

<sup>6</sup> Mil 150.28–151.1: *Ratana-sutta*, *Khanda-paritta*, *Mora-paritta*, *Dhajagga-paritta*, *Ājānāṭiya-paritta*, *Angulimāla-paritta*.

<sup>7</sup> See for example the longest list in the commentary on the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, the *Manoratha-pūraṇī*: Mp II 342.1–3: *Ājānāṭiya-paritta*, *Isigili-paritta*, *Dhajagga-paritta*, *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*, *Khandha-paritta*, *Mora-paritta*, *Metta-paritta*, *Ratana-paritta*.

<sup>8</sup> The 29 titles are (extracted from de Silva 1981: 5f.): *Saraṇagamana*, *Dasasikkhāpada*, *Sāmaṇerapañha*, *Dvattiṃsākāra*, *Paccavekkhaṇā*, *Dasadhamma-sutta*, *Mahāmangala-sutta*, *Ratana-sutta*, *Karaṇīyametta-sutta*, *Khanda-paritta*, *Mettānisamsa*, *Mittānisamsa*, *Mora-paritta*, *Canda-paritta*, *Suriya-paritta*, *Dhajagga-paritta*, *Mahākassapatthera-bojjhaṅga*, *Mahāmoggallānatthera-bojjhaṅga*, *Mahācundatthera-bojjhaṅga*, *Girimānanda-sutta*, *Isigili-sutta*, *Ājānāṭiya-sutta*, *Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta*, *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, *Parābhava-sutta*, *Ālavaka-sutta*, *Aggikabhāradvāja-sutta*, *Kasībhāradvāja-sutta*, and *Saccavibhaṅga-sutta*.

twelfth and eighteenth centuries reference the shorter list of 22 *parittas*. The seven additional texts of the longer collection differ in order and context in different editions.

In the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition some of the *parittas* – the *Dhajagga-sutta*, the *Āṭānāṭṭiya-sutta*, and the *Mahāsamāya-sutta* – are classed under the term *mahāsūtra*, the *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*, the *Āṭānāṭṭiya-mahāsūtra*,<sup>9</sup> and the *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*.<sup>10</sup> The counterpart to the Pāli *Ratana-sutta*, a *paritta* text, is the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*. However, this is merely in terms of context, since they share only one common verse. The term *mahāsūtra* applies to a collection of six or eight *sūtras* in the *Āgamas* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation. While the Chinese list refers to six *mahāsūtras*, the Tibetan list preserved in the early ninth century *Ldan dkar ma* or *Lhan dkar ma* (henceforth: *Ldan dkar ma*) catalogue as well as in Bu ston Rin chen grub's (1290–1364) *History of Buddhism* (Tib. *Chos 'byung*) some 500 years later gives nine titles.<sup>11</sup> According to Skilling, the collection of nine Tibetan *mahāsūtras* can be dated to the eighth century.<sup>12</sup> Together with one other text, which is not listed among these nine *sūtras*, but also bears the title *mahāsūtra*, the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, we eventually can speak of a collection of ten *mahāsūtras*. Sanskrit fragments of six of these *sūtras* have been found in Central Asia. Even if they can certainly be classed as *raṅṣā* texts according to their protective function, they are not explicitly labelled as *mahāsūtras*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This text bears slightly different titles in Tibet (Mūlasarvāstivāda) and Central Asia (Sarvāstivāda): *Āṭānāṭṭiya-mahāsūtra* in Tibetan translation, *Āṭānāṭṭika-sūtra* in Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts.

<sup>10</sup> For an extensive study of *mahāsūtras* and their relation to *parittas* and other classes of *raṅṣā* literature, see the general introduction in Skilling 1997a: 3–208, and especially 63–88. For the *Pañcatraya*- and *Māyājāla-mahāsūtras*, see Skilling 2017.

<sup>11</sup> The Sanskrit titles are (extracted from Skilling 1992: 126): *Cūḍasūnyatā*-, *Mahāsūnyatā*-, *Pañcatraya*-, *Māyājāla*-, *Bimbisārapratyudgamana*-, *Dhvajāgra*-, *Āṭānāṭṭiya*-, and *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*. There are two *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtras*.

<sup>12</sup> Skilling (1997a: 17): “The Mūlasarvāstivādin collection must have existed by the beginning of the eighth century, the date of translation of the Vinaya of that school into Chinese. As for the date of the texts themselves, not much can be said.”

<sup>13</sup> For a study on the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Āṭānāṭṭika-sūtra* found in Central Asia and Gilgit, see Hoffmann [1939] 1987, and Sander 2007. For the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra*, see Waldschmidt [1932] 1979: 149–206, and Sander 1987b: 159–179; for the *Dhvajāgra-sūtra*, see Waldschmidt [1932] 1979: 43–53, and 1959; for the *Bimbisāra-sūtra*, see Waldschmidt [1932] 1979: 114–148.

The third class of *rakṣā* texts – or rather *rakṣā* verses – can be subsumed under the title *svastigāthās*, which promote welfare, benediction, or blessings. This group is represented by a multitude of verses known as *svasti*-, *svastyayana*-, or *maṅgala-gāthā*, *praṇidhāna* or *satyavāk*, which can be found in various Buddhist schools. The only extant collection of *svastigāthās* is found in Tibetan translation. The *Ldan kar ma* catalogue gives a list of seven texts, which it ascribes to the category of *Bkra shis kyi rnam grangs* (Skt. \**Svastiparyāya*).<sup>14</sup> *Svastigāthās* appear at the end of various divisions in the Tibetan Kangyur and Tengyur, and function as blessings upon completion of the meritorious work of compiling the Tibetan canon. The catalogue (Tib. *dkar chag*) to the Golden Tengyur (Tib. *Gser gyi lag bris ma*) created in the mid-eighteenth century explains the promotion of welfare on account of the compilation of the Buddhist scriptures as follows:

*da ni las byas pa don yod par bya ba'i phyir | bsngo ba dang | smon lam  
dang | bkra shis kyi skor 'di rnam la | [...]*

*gang zhig brjod na don rnam kun 'grub cing |  
gnas skabs kun tu bde legs 'gyur ba yi ||*

*bsngo ba smon lam bkra shis tshigs bcad skor ||  
bzhi bcu tham pa legs par bzhugs pa yin ||*

(Golden Tengyur, 225, *dkar chag*, tso, 366.5–367.1)

Now, in order to make fruitful the work that has [just been] completed [the copying of the Tanjur], the dedications (*bsngo ba* = *pariṇamanā*), aspirations (*smoṇ lam* = *praṇidhāna*), and blessings (*bkra shis* = *maṅgala*) [follow] ...

Well-placed [here] are the forty-odd  
dedications, aspirations, and verses of blessings

which when recited accomplish all aims  
and promote welfare at all times.

(tr. Skilling 1992: 131)

<sup>14</sup> The seven titles are: *Bkra shis kyi chigs su bcad pa chen po*, *Shis pa brjod pa'i chigs su bcad pa*, *Bkra shis kyi shigs su bcad pa*, and *Bkra shis su bya ba'i shigs su bcad pa* (Skt. *Maṅgala*), and *Bde legs kyi chigs su bcad pa*, *Yang bde legs su bya ba'i chigs su bcad pa*, and *Yang bde legs su su 'gyur ba'i chigs su bcad pa* (Skt. *Svasti*) (cf. Lalou 1953: 330, 351, 353).



The five texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* (Skt. for “Five Protections”) collection belong to the fourth class of *rakṣā* texts. Strictly speaking, there are two different collections, one preserved in Tibetan, and one in Sanskrit. The two collections only share three texts, so that we should speak of seven, rather than five texts. The *Ldan kar ma* catalogue (section XIII) lists the following Tibetan texts under the equivalent title *Gzungs chen po lnga la* “The Five Great *Dhāraṇīs*”, probably an alternative name for the *Pañcarakṣā* collection in the Tibetan tradition: 1) *Rma bya chen mo* (Skt. *Mahāmāyūrī*), 2) *Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa* (Skt. *Mahāsāhasrapramardana*), 3) *Rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'brang ba chen mo* (Skt. *Mahāpratisāravidyārājñī*), 4) *Gsil ba'i chal chen mo* (Skt. *Mahāśītavana*), and 5) *Gsang sngags rjesu 'dzin pa* (Skt. *Mahāmantrānudhāri*).<sup>15</sup> A Tibetan manuscript found in Tabo<sup>16</sup> gives the same texts, but lists them in a different order: 1) *'Phags pa stong chen mo rab tu 'jom ba zhes bya ba'i mdo* (Skt. *Ārya-mahāsāhasra-pramardanī-sūtra*), 2) *'Phags pa rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo* (Skt. *Ārya-mahā-māyūrī-vidyā-rājñī*), 3) *'Phags pa bsil ba'i tshal chen po'i mdo* (Skt. *Ārya-mahā-śītavana-sūtra*), 4) *'Phags pa rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'brang ba chen mo* (Skt. *Ārya-mahā-pratisāra-vidyā-rājñī*), and 5) *'Phags pa gsang sngags chen po rjes su 'dzin pa'i mdo* (Skt. *Ārya-mahā-mantra-anudhāraṇī*[or *anudhāri*]-*sūtra*).<sup>17</sup> Hidas assumed that the latter list represents an earlier collection:

[I]t is possible that these five texts constituted a proto-*Pañcarakṣā*-collection in Sanskrit and later on two of them, the *Mahāśītavana* and the *Mahāmantrānudhāri* were replaced with the *Mahāśītavatī* and the *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* respectively.<sup>18</sup>

The following table gives the titles of the five Sanskrit and Tibetan *Pañcarakṣā* texts. The Sanskrit titles of the Tibetan texts are extracted from the transliterations given internally at the beginning of the texts. The Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī*, the *Be con chen po shes bya ba'i gzungs* or

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Lalou 1953: 327, 351.

<sup>16</sup> The collection of Tabo manuscripts can be dated from the mid-tenth to the sixteenth centuries (cf. Scherrer-Schaub/Bonani 2002). Although it is not possible to definitely date the manuscript under consideration, its structure, style, and archaic orthography speak in favour of its antiquity (cf. Harrison 1996).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Harrison 1996: 53.

<sup>18</sup> Hidas 2012: 24 n. 16.

*Mahādaṇḍa-dhāraṇī* (displayed with grey background), is not listed among the “The Five Great *Dhāraṇīs*”.<sup>19</sup>

Table 2: The titles of the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Pañcarakṣā* texts.

Sanskrit titles	Tibetan titles
<i>Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra</i>	<i>Mahāsāhasrapramardanī-nāma-mahāyānasūtra</i> <i>Stong chen po rab tu 'joms pa shes bya ba 'i mdo</i> (D 558, Q 177)
<i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī</i>	<i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī</i> <i>Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo</i> (D 559, Q 178)
	<i>Mahāśītavana</i> <i>Bsil ba 'i tshal chen mo</i> (D 562, Q 180)
<i>Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī</i>	<i>Mahādaṇḍa-dhāraṇī</i> <i>Be con chen po shes bya ba 'i gzungs</i> (D 606, Q 308)
<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i>	<i>Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī</i> <i>Rig pa 'i rgyal mo so sor 'brang ba chen mo</i> (D 561, Q 179)
	<i>Mahāmantrānudharaṇī-sūtra</i> <i>Gsang sngags chen mo rjes su 'dzin pa 'i mdo</i> (D 563, Q 181)
<i>Mahāmantrānusāriṇī</i>	

Out of the seven *pañcarakṣā* texts, Skilling (1992) ascribes only the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (henceforth: *Mahāpratisarā*) to the Mahāyāna, and classifies the other six texts under Śrāvakayāna.<sup>20</sup> However, Hidas (2017) remarks that some manuscript colophons refer to the *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī* as a Mahāyāna scripture.<sup>21</sup> Skilling describes the remaining five texts as Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās par excellence*. They are all compilations, which centre upon *parittas*, but expand upon this core with statements of homage, *mantras*, popular cultic practices, and ritual instructions. Skilling noted:

<sup>19</sup> Hidas demonstrated that the title *Mahāśītavatī* reflects a later stage in the transmission of this text. An early title is likely to have been *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī* or simply *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*. For a critical edition, translation and study of this text, see Hidas 2017: 449. An edition of the *Mahāśītavatī* was originally published by Iwamoto 1937b.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Skilling 1992: 143.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Hidas 2017: 454.

All have *paritta* at their heart, and are expanded by preambles, by verses of homage, by *mantras* and praises of *mantras*, by lists of deities, by descriptions of rites, and so on: they are composite compilations that must have evolved over several centuries. All contain common elements, such as the cult of past Buddhas, the Four Kings, and deities such as *yakṣas*, etc., common verses, and common phraseology.<sup>22</sup>

It is at present not possible to definitely date the composition of the *Pañcarakṣā* collections, since the manuscript evidence is rather late. The Tibetan translation was produced in about 800 CE, while the oldest manuscripts of the Indian collection can be dated to about 1100 CE. There is, however, a large timespan between the actual emergence of the individual texts, which were first transmitted independently before they were grouped together and formed the *Pañcarakṣā* collection, and the date of the oldest preserved manuscripts of the collections<sup>23</sup>

Skilling's classification of the *rakṣā* literature, however, does not comprise a number of *rakṣā* texts, which were transmitted independently, and which cannot be ascribed to one of the categories or collections of *rakṣā* texts discussed above. These texts include the *Asilomapratisara*,<sup>24</sup> the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, the *Daśabala-sūtra*,<sup>25</sup> the *Diśāsauvastika-sūtra*,<sup>26</sup> the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*,<sup>27</sup> the *\*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra*,<sup>28</sup> the *Megha-sūtra*,<sup>29</sup> the *Mekhalā-dhāraṇī*,<sup>30</sup> the *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa*,<sup>31</sup> the *Satyā-sūtra*,<sup>32</sup> the *Upasena-sūtra*,<sup>33</sup> and the *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra*.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Skilling 1992: 144.

<sup>23</sup> As Hidas pointed out, the *Mahāpratisarā* circulated in Gilgit in the first half of the seventh century, and he therefore places the *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of this text to the late sixth century, even if earlier forms of this text might have already existed in the fifth century (cf. Hidas 2012: 21 n. 4).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. SHT I+IV 60.

<sup>25</sup> The canonical *Daśabala-sūtra* in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and in the *Samyukta-āgama* does not show any protective elements or *mantras*, which were supplemented only in Central Asia. Cf. Waldschmidt [1932] 1979: 207–225, and 1958: 382–405. A complete overview of the four extant versions of the *sūtra* is available in Chung 2008: 165f., and 2009.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Tournier 2016.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Harrison 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Strauch 2014.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bendall 1880.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Tripāṭhī 1980.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Bongard-Levin et al. 1996.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Waldschmidt 1959: 18f.

All these texts bear linguistic elements typical for later *rakṣā* texts and can therefore easily be classed as *rakṣā* literature. It is, however, important to keep in mind that it is not a typical linguistic feature that makes a text a *rakṣā* text, but the function, purpose, and use of a text. This short list of texts is in no case complete for there are various other protective texts. Some manuscripts found in Gilgit, Bamiyan, Nepal, and Central Asia,<sup>35</sup> most of them still unidentified, seem to be *rakṣā* collections, or composite or multiple-text manuscripts comprising several *rakṣā* texts transmitted together in one manuscript.<sup>36</sup> It seems that the use and ritual function of texts might have determined the linguistic shape they were transmitted in. A complete inventory of existent *rakṣā* manuscripts in Indian languages is currently not available and remains a desirable subject of further research.

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<sup>33</sup> Cf. Waldschmidt 1967b.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Waldschmidt [1959: 3–8] 1967c: 373–378.

<sup>35</sup> For *rakṣā* manuscripts from Gilgit, see von Hinüber 1981, 2004: 12–17, 2014, and 2018. For *rakṣā* manuscripts from Bamiyan now scattered around the world and kept in various private collections, see the *Schøyen Collection of Buddhist Manuscripts* (Braarvig 2000–2016), and the *Hirayama Collection* (Tamai 2016). Some *rakṣā* texts from Nepal can be found in R. Mitra 1882. In his *Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Turfan Collection* (Berlin), Wille lists *rakṣā* manuscripts from Central Asia now kept in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (cf. Wille 2014: 205f.: Apotropaic texts (*rakṣā*) and other charms (*dhāraṇī*, *vidyā*, *mantra*)).

<sup>36</sup> For such a multiple-text manuscript, see Hartmann/Wille 2010: 365–382, and Hartmann 2017a: 77–79.

## 1.2 The source of protective texts

The healing of various kinds of diseases is one of the main purposes and functions of *rakṣā* literature. Throughout this literary genre we find lists of diseases, of poisonous substances, and of medicinal herbs, as well as instructions on how to conduct healing rituals. There was such faith in mantric scriptures that the recitation of *mantras* constituted a separate branch of early Indic Buddhist medical practice, and it is not too far-fetched to assume a medical origin from which Buddhist *rakṣā* literature evolved. Strauch (2014) suggested that a seemingly lost botanical or scientific tradition could be identified as one of the possible sources for Buddhist *rakṣā* practices.<sup>37</sup> Several apotropaic texts were indeed used in healing rites, and their *mantras* were widely employed as means to cure illnesses. Often, texts centring upon healing illnesses use the term *vidyā* to designate their spells, which comprises the science of medicine, as Waddell (1912) demonstrated:

‘*Vidyā*’ with its meaning of higher knowledge or Art seems to have connoted frequently the art of medicine, so that most of the spells which are termed *Vidyā* purport to cure diseases – though many *Dhāraṇīs* also are expressedly intended for diseases.<sup>38</sup>

There is evidence from Central Asia that points to the use of the term *vidyā* in healing practices. Two spells (*vidyās*) on one folio of a composite manuscript (SHT III 842) represent healing spells against diseases. On the recto, there is a spell against diseases of any kind (Skt. *sarvaroga*) entitled *sarvarakṣā vidyā*, and on the verso we find a spell against headache (Skt. *śīrṣartti*). The spell for every kind of protection on the recto reads:

*tasya kaścīt prasahiṣyati devo vā nāgo vā asuro vā gandharvvo vā kinnaro  
vā mahorago vā yakṣo vā rākṣaso vā kumbhāṇḍo vā preto vā piśāco vā  
pūtano vā kaṭapūtano vā manuṣyo vā amanuṣyo vā yāva sarvvarogādhigato  
vā puṇyadattasya rakṣaṃ karomi paritrāparigrahaṃ karomi yāva  
sarvvarogādhigato vā*

(SHT III 842r1–4)

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. Strauch 2014: 81.

<sup>38</sup> Waddell 1912: 171.

He will withstand all diseases caused by any god, *nāga*, *asura*, *gandharva*, *kiṃnara*, *mahoraga*, *yakṣa*, *rākṣasa*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, *preta*, *piśāca*, *pūtana*, *kaṭapūtana*, human, or non-human. I provide protection for Punyadatta, and I safeguard from all diseases that come near.

Moreover, other *rakṣā* texts have been used in healing practices. There are several examples that show how the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī* (henceforth: *Mahāmāyūrī*) was employed for healing purposes. It was included in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*<sup>39</sup> of the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, which according to Zysk “represents the earliest form of Buddhist monastic medicine.”<sup>40</sup> There we are told that the Buddha once healed a young monk bitten by a snake by means of the recitation of the *Mahāmāyūrī mantra*.<sup>41</sup> The popularity of the *Mahāmāyūrī mantra* to cure illnesses in the early period (between the fourth and eighth centuries) is also expressed in the seventh century *Harṣacarita*, where Bāṇabhaṭṭa mentions that the *Mahāmāyūrī* was recited by the royal family for healing the emperor’s disease, and to secure the well-being of the residents of the royal palace.<sup>42</sup> The *Mahāmāyūrī* was also frequently applied as remedy in healing rites in China and Japan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>43</sup> The healing power of *dhāraṇīs* also played an important role in eighth century Japanese Buddhism, where the curing of the sick by chanting *dhāraṇīs* was included in the government’s legal code. The historiography *Continued History of Japan* (*Shoku nihongi*), compiled in 797, tells us that a group of priests well versed in *dhāraṇīs* recited them for the protection and the health of the ruler and his family.<sup>44</sup>

The tradition of *mantra* healing is, however, deeply rooted outside of Buddhist practices, and found widespread application in early Vedic times. The main source for magico-religious healing is the *Atharvaveda*, which contains an enormous

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. Dutt 1942: 286-288.

<sup>40</sup> Zysk 1991: 52.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Panglung 1980 and 1981: 61.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Cowell/Thomas 1897: 137.

<sup>43</sup> De Visser (1919-20: 387) writes on the use of the *Mahāmāyūrī* in China and Japan: “[...] daß besonders im elften und zwölften Jahrhundert viele berühmte Shingonpriester den Mahāmāyūrī-Ritus in erfolgreicher Weise beginnen, immer auf Befehl des Kaisers, um Regen hervorzurufen, der Kaiserin eine leichte Geburt zuteilwerden zu lassen, und den Kaiser von einer Krankheit oder einem leichten Unwohlsein zu befreien.”

<sup>44</sup> On the use of *dhāraṇīs* in Japanese Buddhist healing practices, see Abé 1999: 161f.

number of hymns and *mantras* devoted to healing illnesses.<sup>45</sup> These *mantras*, which were considered to be more efficacious than the actual use of herbs and medicine, were recited during special healing rites. This tradition continues then in scientific treatises, of which the *Bhela-*, *Caraka-*, and *Suśruta-saṃhitās* of the Āyurvedic tradition represent the oldest ones.<sup>46</sup> Halдар summarizes the enumeration of diseases in the *Atharvaveda*, which can be cured through the utterance of *mantras*, as follows:

They are securing curatives for various otherwise incurable diseases produced by the sins of past life, viz. Fever, Cholera and Diabetes; stopping the flow of blood from wounds caused by injuries from weapons, preventing epileptic fits and possession by different types of evil spirits, such as the *bhūta*, *piśāca*, *brahma-rakṣas*, etc.; curing *vāta*, *pitta* and *śleṣman*, heart diseases, Jaundice, white leprosy, different kinds of fever, Phthisis, Dropsy; [c]uring worms in cows and horses, providing antidotes against all kinds of poisons, supplying curatives for the diseases of the head, eyes, nose, ears, tongue, neck and inflammation of the neck warding off the evil effects of a Brāhmaṇa's curse; arranging women's rites for securing sons, securing easy delivery and the welfare of the foetus.<sup>47</sup>

Almost identical lists of diseases can be found throughout Buddhist *rakṣā* literature in Indian, Tibetan, and Chinese sources. The positive effect of the *mantras* of various texts is to prevent or to heal all kinds of illnesses, which are enumerated after the *mantras*. These lists appear among others in the *Mahāmāyūrī*,<sup>48</sup> the Tibetan *Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā*,<sup>49</sup> the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions of the *Ārya-tathāgatoṣṇīśasitātapatra-nāmāparājitā-pratyāṅgirā-mahāvidyārājñī* (henceforth: *Buddhoṣṇīśa*),<sup>50</sup> and the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī*.<sup>51</sup> Parts of an early Sanskrit

<sup>45</sup> For admirable studies on Indian classical medicine, see Filliozat 1949, and Roṣu 1989, who collected works on the history of Indian medicine by the two scholars Gustave Liétard and Palmyr Cordier.

<sup>46</sup> For a study on the use of *mantras* in Āyurvedic treatises, see Zysk 1989: 123–143.

<sup>47</sup> Halдар 1977: 14.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Takubo 1972: 28f.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Holz 2017: 232.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Samten/Pandey 2002: 152f. For a Sanskrit manuscript from Turkestan, see Hoernle 1916: 52, no. 150. For a Sanskrit manuscript from Nepal, see R. Mitra 1882: 227 no. B 46. For the Chinese text, see Taishō IXX 943A, 944B, 945, 976, 977; for the Tibetan text, see A 709, A 1092, D 591, H 542, N 515, Q 203, Z 567; for a translation of the Tibetan version, see Waddell 1914: 49–54.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Meisezahl 1962: 314.

version of the *Mahāmāyūrī* were found among the so-called Bower Manuscript from Kucha, Central Asia, a collection of medical treatises. This treatise, which can be dated to the first half of the sixth century,<sup>52</sup> contains a similar list of diseases, though in a slightly different order.<sup>53</sup> The enumeration of illnesses, and of demons and other evil beings causing fever in the *Mahāmāyūrī* here serves as example (see table 3 for a comparative list of different kinds of fever and diseases in other sources):<sup>54</sup>

*śirorttim apanayantu. arddhāvabhedakam arocakam akṣirogaṃ nāsārogaṃ mukharogaṃ kaṇṭharogaṃ hṛdrogaṃ galagrahaṃ karṇaśūlaṃ dantaśūlaṃ hṛdayaśūlaṃ pārśvaśūlaṃ prṣṭhaśūlaṃ udaraśūlaṃ gaṇḍaśūlaṃ vaṣṭiśūlaṃ gudaśūlaṃ yoniśūlaṃ prajanaśūlaṃ ūruśūlaṃ jaṃghāśūlaṃ hastaśūlaṃ pādaśūlaṃ aṅgapratyaṅgaśūlaṃ jvaram apanayantu. ekāhikaṃ dvāhikaṃ trairātrikaṃ cātūrtthikaṃ saptaśūlaṃ ardhamaśikaṃ māśikaṃ dvaimāśikaṃ mauhūrtikaṃ nityajvaram viśamajvaram bhūtajvaram pretajvaram mānuṣajvaram amānuṣajvaram vātikaṃ paittikaṃ śleṣmikaṃ sānnipātikaṃ sarvajvaram sarvavyādhiṃ sarvagrahaṃ sarvaviṣaṃ sarvapāpaṃ sarvabhayaṃ ca nāśayantu*

(Takubo 1972: 28f.)

Headache shall be removed. Hemiplegia, indigestion, diseases of the eyes, nose, mouth, throat, heart, compression of the throat, pain of the ears, teeth, heart, ribs, back, stomach, cheeks, bladder, piles, womb, menorrhagia, thighs, shanks, hands, feet, limbs, minor limbs, and fever shall be removed. Every day, every second day, every third day, every fourth day, every seventh day, every half a month, every month, every second month, momentary, uninterrupted, and irregular fever, fever caused by *bhūtas*, *pretas*, human, and non-human beings, illness that arises from a combined derangement of air, bile, and phlegm, every kind of fever, all plagues, all evil demons, all poisons, all evil, and all fears shall be extinguished.

<sup>52</sup> Date according to Sander 1987a.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Hoernle 1897: 223.

<sup>54</sup> For a comparative study of the above-mentioned sources containing lists of diseases, see Holz 2017: 237–240. Fragments of this list are also preserved in Sanskrit manuscripts from Turfan (cf. SHT III 900 and 906d).





Table 3 (continued)

<i>Mahāmāyūrī</i>	<i>Buddhoṣṇīṣa</i>	Bower Manuscript	<i>Atharvaveda</i>
<i>jaṃghāsūlaṃ</i>	<i>jaṅghāsūlaṃ</i>	<i>jaṃghāsūlaṃ</i>	<i>jānu</i>
<i>hastaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>hastaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>hastaśūlaṃ</i>	
<i>pādaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>pādaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>pādaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>pāda</i>
<i>aṅgapratyaṅgaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>aṅgapratyaṅgaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>aṅgapratyaṅgaśūlaṃ</i>	<i>aṅgabhedā</i>
<i>vātikaṃ</i>	<i>vātikāḥ</i>		<i>vāṭikāra</i>
<i>paittikaṃ</i>	<i>paittikāḥ</i>		
<i>śleṣmikaṃ</i>	<i>ślaiṣmikāḥ</i>		
<i>sānnipātikaṃ</i>	<i>sānnipātikāḥ</i>		
	<i>uraḥśūlaṃ</i>		
	<i>marmasūlaṃ</i>		

Further references to healing rituals, which frequently appear in protective scriptures, give another indication that *raṅṣā* texts are based on medical sources. The texts give instructions on how to prepare these rites, which together with the recitation of *mantras* are then performed in order to cure a sick person. The *Mahāpratisarā* describes such a rite in the following way:<sup>55</sup>

*idānīm sampravakṣyāmi āturāṇām cikitsanam |*  
*caturaśraṃ maṇḍalaṃ kuryān mṛdgomayasamanvitam ||1||*

*pañcaraṅgikacūrṇena citrayen maṇḍalaṃ śubham |*  
*caturaḥ pūrṇakumbhāmś ca sthāpayed vidhinā budhaḥ ||2||*

*puṣpāṇy avakiret tatra dhūpayed dhūpam uttamam |*  
*balikarma ca kurvīta mahāsāhasrapramardanam ||3||*

*pūrvavad gandhapuṣpāmś ca dadyāc cātra vidhānavit |*  
*catasras tīrikāḥ sthāpyāḥ sarvās ca paṭṭabaddhikāḥ ||4||*

*snāpayitvāturaṃ paścāc chucivastrasamāvṛtam |*  
*śubhagandhānuliptaṅgaṃ praveśayen madhyamaṇḍalam ||5||*

*pūrvāmukhaṃ niṣādyainam vidyām etām udāharet |*  
*saptaśo japtayā cāsya rakṣām kuryād vicakṣaṇaḥ ||6||*

*āturasya tato 'rthāya vārāmś cāpy ekaviṃśati |*  
*udāhared imām vidyām sarvarogapaśāntaye ||7||*

(Hidas 2012: 190f.)

<sup>55</sup> The *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* also gives directions on how to conduct healing rituals (cf. Iwamoto 1937a: 30-43). Further healing rites can be found in the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, and in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (cf. Zysk 1991: 61f.).

Now I shall teach the healing of the sick.

One should make a square mandala with soil and cowdung. ||1||

One should draw a splendid mandala with five-coloured powder.

The wise one should place four filled jars according to the precept. ||2||

He should scatter flowers there and burn the finest incense.

He should make the offering crushing the Great Thousand. ||3||

Then the knower of the precepts should offer there fragrances and flowers as before.

Four arrows are to be set in place, all bound with cloth. ||4||

Then one should bring the sick person to the middle of the mandala

Having bathed him, having had him dressed in clean clothes and his body anointed with pleasant fragrances. ||5||

One should seat him facing East and should utter this spell.

By muttering it seven times the skilful one will bring about his protection. ||6||

Then for the advantage of the sick person one should utter this spell another twenty-one times

For the cessation of all diseases. ||7||

(tr. Hidas 2012: 249f.)

Some *rakṣā* texts apply poisonous substances listed among the *mantras*, which are devoted to healing diseases. The Tibetan parallel of the Gāndhārī \**Manasvināgarāja-sūtra*, the 'Phags pa *klu'i rgyal po gzi can gyis zhus pa zhes bza ba'i gzungs*, refers to the "Great poisons and medicines" using the phrase *dug dang sman chen po bco brgyad po* (Z Vol. 101 p. 329.2, H Vol. 91 p. 316.2) "eighteen great poisons and medicines". It was indicated by the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra*, which shows a close connection to scientific traditions, that some *mantra* syllables or terms refer to poisonous or medical substances:

*vīryeṇa tejasā teṣāṃ viṣam astv aviṣaṃ sadā |*  
*tatra mantrapadā bhonti nirviṣā viṣadūṣaṇāḥ ||*

*syād yathedam |*

*harikeśi | nakile | rehile | amare aṇḍare paṇḍare | kaṭake | keyūre | hase*  
*hase hase | khase khase khase | kharaṅge | marugahaṇe svāhā || mumukṣa*  
*svāhā | hile svāhā | mile svāhā ||*

*hatā gaṇḍāḥ kilāsās ca vaisarpās ca vicarcikāḥ |*  
*piṭṭakā lohalingās ca kacchūr bhavati saptamī ||*

(Iwamoto 1937a: 33)

By the energy, by the heat of them (i.e Buddhas, Pratyekabuddhas, Arhats, etc.) the poison shall always be non-poisonous. There are *mantra* words which are poisonless (*nirviṣa*), which make poison effectless (*viṣadūṣaṇa*), namely:

harikeśi. nakile. rehile. amare aṇḍare paṇḍare. kṛātake. keyūre. hase hase hase. khase khase khase. kharāṅge. marugahaṇe Hail. mumukṣa Hail. hile Hail. mile Hail.

Destroyed are goitress (*gaṇḍa*), cases of ‘white leprosy’ (*kilāsa*), the effect of the visarpa disease, itch (*vicarcikā*), cases of tartar (*piṭṭaka*), bloody abscesses, and scab (*kacchū*) as the seventh.

(tr. Strauch 2014: 79)

Some terms of this *mantra* can be connected with either poisonous or medical plants, although it is not possible at the moment to trace any similar list in the preserved early Āyurvedic or scientific scriptures of the Indian medical tradition.<sup>56</sup> It seems, however, highly probable that the list of poisons known to various *rakṣā* texts is derived from a now lost botanical or medical tradition, which has its origin outside of Buddhism, and which is not only deeply rooted in Indian magical healing circles, but also in a scientific tradition. This fact is further supported by the appearance of another list of healing substances, a list of medicinal herbs, which can be found in the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī*. This text says that illnesses are cured through recitation over medicinal herbs. By wearing them as an amulet protection and prosperity will be provided. The relevant passage of the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī* runs as follows:<sup>57</sup>

jayā vijayā | nākulī | gandhanākulī vāruṇī abhayapāṇi | indrapāṇi |  
gandhapriyaṅgu | tagara cakrā | mahācakrā | viṣṇukrāntā | somarājī |  
sucandanā ceti || eṣāṃ yathāsambhavataḥ | aṣṭottaraśatavārān parijapya  
maṇiṃ kṛtvā śirasi bāhau vā dhārayitavyaṃ | bālānāṃ gale | nārīṇāṃ  
vilagne | svayam parama saubhāgyakaraṇaṃ | alakṣmīpraśamaṇaṃ putradañ  
ca || etena maṇinā bandhena sarvarakṣā kṛtā bhavati | viṣāgnirnnākramati |

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Strauch (2014: 81) who identified G. *bidumaṭi*, Skt. *bindukinī* or *binduka* as a poison, *pāṇḍara*, *karaṇḍa*, and *śrīmaṭi* as a kind of plant, *taraṭa*, and *keyūra* as a certain medical plant, and *tejovati* as a kind of pepper. For a discussion of the use of this spell in *rakṣā* texts and in Āyurvedic literature, see Strauch 2014: 75–78.

<sup>57</sup> The *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* also gives a list of medicinal herbs (cf. Iwamoto 1937a: 30–43).

*viṣakṛtaṃ notpadyate | utpannā api na pīḍāñ janayiṣyanti | śīghraṃ  
praśamayīṣyanti | grahāḥ praśamayīṣyanti |*

(Meisezahl 1962: 326)

After having recited [the *hṛdaya*] hundred-eight times over the medicinal herbs *jayā*, *vijayā*, *nākulī*, *gandhanākulī*, *cāriṇī*, *abhayapāṇi*, *indrapāṇi*, *gandhapariyaṅgu*, *tagara*, *cakrā*, *mahācakrā*, *viṣṇukrānta*, *somarājī* and *sunandā*, a talisman (*maṇi*) is to be made [from them] which must be put on the head or on the upper arm; boys [wear it] around the neck and girls around the waist. It will be the cause of great prosperity, elimination of misfortune and bestowing with children. When the talisman is worn, every possible protection is assured. Poison and fire shall not approach. Poisoning shall not occur, and if [such a case] were possible, it will be cured quickly. All demons shall be expelled.

(tr. Meisezahl 1962: 299)

As Zysk has convincingly shown, the use of *mantras* as remedy to cure diseases plays an important role in the medical tradition of the *Atharvaveda*, as well as in Āyurvedic sources. In his study of *mantras* in the *Āyurveda*, he refers to the following *mantra* in the *Uttarasthāna* of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā*:<sup>58</sup>

*tadā mantraṃ*

*namaḥ puruṣasimhāya namo nārāyaṇāya ca |  
yathāsau nābhijānāti raṇe kṛṣṇaparājayam || 28 ||*

*raṇe kṛṣṇaḥ parājayam etena satyavākyaena agado me prasidhyatu |  
namo vaiḍūryamāte hulu hulu rakṣa māṃ sarvaviṣebhyaḥ || 29 ||*

*hulu kulu rakṣa māṃ sarvaviṣebhyaḥ  
gauri gāndhāri cāṇḍāli mātāṅgi svāhā*

(Utt 35.27–30)

Then [recite] the *mantra*:

Homage to Puruṣasimha, homage to Nārāyaṇa. Just as one does not know a defeat of Kṛṣṇa in a battle, may the antidote be effective for me by this true speech. Homage to Vaiḍūryamātā, *hulu hulu*, protect me from all poisons. *hulu kulu*, protect me from all poisons. *gauri*, *gāndhāri*, *cāṇḍāli*, *mātāṅgi*, *svāhā*!

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Zysk 1989: 140f. n. 24.

This *mantra* not only shares some linguistic features with the *mantras* of *rakṣā* literature, but also its benefits. It is believed to ward off all kinds of poisons, ghosts, demons, sorcery, misfortune, epidemic, disease, famine, war, thunderbolt, and fear.<sup>59</sup> Similar lists of calamities can be found throughout Buddhist *rakṣā* literature.<sup>60</sup> The Āyurvedic *mantra* of the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā* also shares the alinguistic syllables *hulu hulu*, *hulu kulu* with the *mantras* of *rakṣā* literature, as well as the series of invocations of the female deities *gauri gāndhārī cāṇḍālī mātangi*. The close relationship between the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya-saṃhitā mantra* and Buddhist *rakṣā mantras* suggests that they could possibly be derived from a common source.

In summary, besides providing protection and welfare for all sentient beings, one of the main functions of *rakṣā* texts is curing diseases. Protective texts were widely employed in healing rituals. Furthermore, we find lists of diseases, which will not occur by the recitation of spells, references to healing rites, as well as lists of poisonous substances and medicinal herbs throughout *rakṣā* literature. The close relationship of protective texts and medical treatises points to a common scientific source, although it is at this point impossible to establish this common origin.

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<sup>59</sup> Utt 35.30: *aśeṣaviṣavetālagrahaḥkārmaṇapāpmasu | marakavyādhidurbhikṣayuddhāśanibhayeṣu ca*.

<sup>60</sup> For an example of such a list of calamities, see chapter 5.2.1 of the present work.

### 1.3 Mantric scriptures in early Buddhism

With the discovery of numerous Gāndhārī manuscripts in the 1990s and early 2000s, which completely changed our perception of early Buddhism, we are now able to date the beginnings of early Buddhist spell practices. The *\*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra*, which is part of the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts,<sup>61</sup> represents the earliest material for the employment of *mantras* in Buddhist *rakṣā* literature. The central theme of this text is fearlessness. The *nāgarāja* Manasvin approaches the Buddha and delivers a special *mantra* to avoid and avert every kind of calamity. As Strauch demonstrated, with its phraseology and compositional structure, this *sūtra* follows a certain pattern, which then became a common feature of post-canonical apotropaic texts.<sup>62</sup> On philological and palaeographical grounds, the manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection can be dated to the first two centuries of the Common Era. The composition of the *\*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra* thus falls into the time of the very beginning of the use of *mantras* in the *rakṣā* literature as suggested by Peter Skilling.<sup>63</sup>

Further literary evidence for the early use of *mantras* is represented by two Chinese translations. The Chinese version of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* in the Śrāvakayāna tradition, and the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra* in the Mahāyāna tradition belong to the very first scriptures containing *mantras*.

The introductory story of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, story 33 in the *Dīvyāvadāna* collection, was translated into Chinese by Zhu Luyan together with Zhi Qian in 230 CE under the name *Mātāṅgī-sūtra* (Taishō 1300: *Modengqie jing* 摩登伽經).<sup>64</sup> The text begins with the following narration: Overpowered by a magical spell cast by a *caṇḍāla* woman, whose daughter Prakṛti had fallen in love with him, Ānanda enters their house. In awareness of the danger that awaits him, because of this violation of the Vinaya, he invokes the Buddha who is able to rescue him by a magical counterspell. The Buddha's spells, more powerful than spells of any sorcerer, annihilate other magical formulas. In this way Ānanda gets away from the two

<sup>61</sup> For an extensive survey of the Gāndhārī manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection, see Strauch 2008, and Falk/Strauch 2014.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Strauch 2014: 81.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Skilling 1992: 168.

<sup>64</sup> In the appendix of their edition of the *Dīvyāvadāna*, Cowell and Neil briefly describe four Chinese translations of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* (Taishō 551, 552, 1300, 1301) among them the *Mātāṅgī-sūtra* (cf. Cowell/Neil [1886] 1970: 657; see also Zinkgräf 1940).

women. The *mantra* recited by the Buddha to release Ānanda from the witch's spell consists entirely of grammatically intelligible language. The text of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* runs as follows:

*atha bhagavān āyusmantam ānandaṃ samanvāharati sma | samanvāhṛtya  
saṃbuddhamantraiś caṇḍālamāntrān pratihanti sma | tatreyam vidyāḥ |  
sthitir acyutiḥ sunītiḥ | svasti sarvapraṇibhyaḥ |  
saraḥ prasannaṃ nirdoṣaṃ praśāntaṃ sarvato 'bhayaṃ |  
ītayo yatra śāmyanti bhayāni calitāni ca |  
[tasmai] devā namasyanti sarvasiddhāś ca yoginaḥ |  
etena satyavākyena svastyānandāya bhikṣave ||*

(Mukhopadhyaya 1954: 3–4)

The Blessed One then focused his attention on the venerable Ānanda. Having turned his attention [on him] he struck back the *mantras* of the Caṇḍāla women with the *mantras* of the Enlightened One. This is the spell then:

Standing firm, imperishable, free from distress, well-being for all sentient beings.

Water, clear, faultless, calm, and entirely fearless,

Where plagues, fears, and disordered senses are extinguished.

To that, gods, all *siddhas*, and *yogins* will pay homage.

By this assertion of truth, [may there be] well-being for the monk Ānanda.

This passage is followed by the injunction to Ānanda to take up, hold, speak, and master the so-called six-syllables spell,<sup>65</sup> whose benefits and scope of use clearly exceed those of the first *mantra*:

*udgrhṇa tvam ānanda imāṃ ṣaḍakṣarīvidyāṃ dhāraya vācaya  
paryavāpnuhi | ātmano hitāya sukhāya bhikṣūṇaṃ bhikṣuṇīnāṃ  
upāsakānāṃ upāsikānāṃ hitāya sukhāya | iyaṃ ānanda ṣaḍakṣarīvidyā  
ṣaḍbhiḥ samyaksambuddhair bhāṣitā caturbhiś ca mahārājaiḥ śakreṇa  
devānāṃ indreṇa brahmaṇā ca sahāpatinā | mayā caitarhi śākyamuninā  
samyaksambuddhena bhāṣitā | tvam apy etarhy ānanda tām dhāraya  
vācaya paryavāpnuhi |*

(Mukhopadhyaya 1954: 4)

<sup>65</sup> For an investigation of the Tibetan version of the *Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā* (the six-syllables spell) extracted from the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, see Holz 2017: 237–241.



Take up, Ānanda, this six-syllables spell, hold it, speak it, master it for your benefit and happiness and for the benefit and happiness of monks, nuns, lay men, and lay women. Ānanda, this six-syllable spell was spoken by the six completely Awakened Ones, and by the Four Great Kings, and by Śakra, the king of the gods, and by Brahma, the Lord of the World. And now it is spoken by me, Śākyamuni, the completely Awakened One. Now you, Ānanda, also hold it, speak it, and master it.

The six-syllables spell strings together a variety of isolated and alinguistic phonemes and words whose sources cannot easily be traced:

*tadyathā | aṇḍare paṇḍare karaṇḍe keyūre 'rcihaste kharagrīve bandhumati  
vīramati dhara vidha cilimile viloḍaya viṣāni loke | viṣā cala cala | golamati  
gaṇḍavile cilimile sātinimne yathāsaṃvibhakta golamati gaṇḍavilāyai svāhā |*

(Mukhopadhyaya 1954: 4–5)

The *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra* (henceforth: DKP) represents the second example for the early use of *mantras*. This *sūtra*, which can well be ascribed to *rakṣā* literature, is the hitherto oldest extant representative of the genre of mantric scriptures in Chinese. The first of two Chinese versions of this text (Taishō 624: *Dun zhentuoluo souwen rulai sanmei jing* 陀真陀羅所問如來三昧經) was translated into Chinese in the late second century CE by Lokakṣema (Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖),<sup>66</sup> and is thereby one of the earliest datable Mahāyāna *sūtras*. In their study of the DKP *mantra* passage, Harrison and Coblin give a rather firm date for the Chinese translation of the text, and therefore the emergence of *mantras* in apotropaic texts:

Since Lokakṣema's predecessor, An Shigao, is not known to have translated any Mainstream Buddhist *sūtras* containing mantras or dhāraṇīs, the DKP mantra as it appears in L {Taishō 624} is probably the oldest extant example of the genre in Chinese, and may even be the first Buddhist mantra or dhāraṇī text to which we can assign a reasonably firm date (i.e., ca. 170-190 CE).<sup>67</sup>

The *mantra* occurs in the final chapter of the text. Even though we have with the second Chinese translation produced by Kumārajīva some 200 years later than the

<sup>66</sup> On Lokakṣema's life and work as translator in the time of the Emperor Ling, and in the period from 178–189 CE, see Nattier 2008: 73–89.

<sup>67</sup> Harrison/Coblin 2012: 68.

Lokakṣema translation (Taishō 625 *Dashu jinnaluowang suowen jing* 大樹緊那羅王所問), and an early ninth century Tibetan version of the text,<sup>68</sup> the best starting point for a comparative study, the *mantra* section remains highly problematic. The *mantra* of both Chinese versions begins with the discourse marker *tadyathā*; the closing marker *svāhā* is, however, missing. As a result, it seems that both translators came to a different conclusion as to where the *mantra* section ends. In both cases the *mantra* starts with a transcription of the Indic sound values, but continues in the second part with a translation. Kumārajīva's text maintains Indic phonetic transcription longer.

The Tibetan language renders the Indic phonemes with greater accuracy than the Chinese language, and so it is a more reliable basis for the reconstruction of the underlying Sanskrit wording of the *mantra*. Even though the *mantra* is not closed by a discourse marker either, the translators, who again must have guessed where the *mantra* ends, remained in transcription mode longest before switching to a translation. On a comparative basis, Harrison and Coblin gave a partial reconstruction of the original Sanskrit wording. Due to the many variant readings between the different Kangyur editions the reconstruction should be considered as a highly tentative attempt, especially for the unintelligible syllables of the first part of the *mantra*. The second part consists of intelligible words, which facilitated the selection of readings to a great extent. The Sanskrit version of the DKP *mantra* reads thus:

*tarabe arabe anobe sarabe hulu mahāhulu hulu hulu āvaṭṭe vikaṭṭe* [emend to *vivaṭṭe*?] *paricchedani nigrhṇati praghātani iṭṭi iṭṭi viṭṭi acche gacche māra-nigrahaṇa sarva-parappravādi-nigrahaṇa sarva-mithyā-prayātāna(n)-nigrahaṇa sarva-bhūta-nigrahaṇa sarva buddha-varṇitā dharma-niyataśaya aya[m] bhūtan* [or: *buddhana*?] *buddha-varṇitan catur-mahārāja-nirdeśana mantra-balān avatāra-prekṣiṇā-nigrahāya*.

(Harrison/Coblin 2012: 71)

Other references, which point to the early use of *mantras*, can be found in the Vinayas of various Śrāvākayāna schools whose scriptures, or at least parts of them, were not transmitted and are to some extent now lost. Moreover, some Buddhist philosophers and Chinese travellers, in their works and reports, hint to the existence

<sup>68</sup> A critical edition of the Tibetan version of the DKP is available in Harrison 1992.

of an independent *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka* or *Mantra-piṭaka*, which was often called *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*,<sup>69</sup> a collection of a multitude of mantric scriptures. According to these sources this *piṭaka* was composed together with the other still known canonical *piṭakas* immediately after the death of the Buddha.

The earliest reference, which mentions *mantras* as integral part of the canon is Saṅghavarman's Chinese translation of the *Sarvāstivādinaya-māṭrkā* in 435 CE:

復有如來四境界。謂智境界。法境界。人境界。神足境界。此四境界中如來制戒。謂智法人神足境界如是制毘尼。制波羅提木叉。修多羅。阿毘曇。呪術究竟。毘尼集。毘尼發露罪。

(Taishō 1441.23:608b2–6)

Moreover, here are the four domains (\**viśaya*) of the Tathāgata, which are the domains of insight, of Dharma, of persons, and of miraculous powers (*rddhipāda*). With reference to these four domains, the Tathāgata institutes discipline. That is to say, insight, Dharma, persons, and miraculous powers institute the Vinaya, institute the *Prātimokṣa*, the Sūtra, the Abhidharma, the conclusion of mantras (? \**mantra-niṣṭhā*), the *Vinayasamgraha*, the Vinaya confession ... (a lengthy list of other monastic texts follows).

(tr. Davidson 2014b: 123f.)

The term *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* can be found in the works of the two philosophers Bhā(va)viveka, also called Bhavya (500–570 CE), and Candrakīrti (600–650 CE) belonging to the Mādhyamaka school of Mahāyāna Buddhism.<sup>70</sup> Bhā(va)viveka refers to a passage from the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the Siddhārthas in his *Tarkajvālā*.<sup>71</sup> Candrakīrti lists in his work *Triśaraṇasaptati* a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* as one of the seven *piṭakas* of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparāśailas. This passage runs as follows:

[57] | 'phags pa nub kyi rir bshad dang |  
| shar gyi ri pa'i nyan thos kyis |

<sup>69</sup> The following discussion is based on references given in Skilling 1992: 114f. See also Kariyawasam 1989: 519, and Davidson 2014b: 123–126.

<sup>70</sup> Ruegg (1981) gives an outline of the philosophical literature of the Indian Mādhyamaka school and its philosophers. For the dates of the two scholars Bhā(va)viveka and Candrakīrti, see Ruegg 1981: 61, 71.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Skilling 1992: 114.

| *byang chub sems dpa'i dbang byas pa* |  
 | *sde snod bdun du bshad pa yin* |

- [58] | *byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod dang* |  
 | *de bzhin rig 'dzin zhes bya dang* |  
 | *mdo sde chos mngon 'dul ba dang* |  
 | *rgyas dang de bzhin skyes pa'i rabs* |

(TSS 50.9–12, 52.1–4)

- [57] The advocates of Aparāśaila and  
 the Śrāvakas of Pūrvaśaila  
 maintain [the existence of] seven baskets (*saptapitaka*)  
 authorizing (*\*adhikṛta*, *adhikāra*) a Bodhisattva:

- [58] The basket of a Bodhisattva as well as (*tathā*)  
 the so-called [basket of] 'Science-masters' (*vidyādhara*),  
 [the basket of] Sermons (*sūtranta*), Dogmatism (*abhidharma*) and  
 Discipline (*vinaya*),  
 [the basket of] Extensive (*vaipulya*) [Sūtras] as well as (*tathā*) Birth-  
 stories (*jātaka*).

(tr. Sørensen 1986: 51, 53)

The Chinese Buddhist monk Jizang (吉藏, 549–623 CE) pointed to the existence of five *piṭakas* of the Dharmaguptakas, the three standard *piṭakas* together with a *Bodhisattva-piṭaka* and a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka* devoted to *mantras* or magical formulas. He based his argumentation on a passage from Paramārtha's now missing commentary (mid-sixth century CE) on Vasumitra's work *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* on the origin and doctrines of early Indian Buddhist schools (first two centuries CE), extant in Chinese and Tibetan translation. Demiéville reconstructed the relevant passage of Paramārtha's commentary on the history and development of the Dharmaguptaka school on the basis of citations in other works, and gives the following translation:

Après le Nirvāṇa de Maudgalyāyana, il le repassa dans sa mémoire et en fit les cinq Corbeilles suivantes : Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma, Formules magiques et Bodhisattvas.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Demiéville 1932: 61.

The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (玄奘, 602–664 CE), who travelled through India in the first half of the seventh century, gives a similar list of five *piṭakas* of the Mahāsāṃghikas of which one was a *Dhāraṇī-* or *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*. In his travel reports<sup>73</sup> he writes that immediately after the death of the Buddha, five *piṭakas* were compiled – again the three canonical ones and a *Samyukta-piṭaka* and a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*. La Vallée Poussin translates Kern's summary of the relevant passage in his article on the *Vidhyādhara-piṭaka* as follows:

In Hiouen Tchang [Xuanzang] we find a very important statement. He tells us that at the Council of Rājagṛha, immediately after the death of the Buddha, five Piṭakas were composed, that is to say, the three official or canonical ones, and besides them the Samyukta Piṭaka and the Piṭaka of Dhāraṇī's, which he elsewhere mentions under the title of Vidyādhara Piṭaka. This statement of the Chinese pilgrim is quite true, if only its true meaning be grasped. There is not the smallest ground to suppose that the charms were younger than the Suttas, the Vinaya, or the Abhidharma. Whether the collection of them, as we now have it, is as old as that of the three Piṭakas can neither be proved nor disproved till it has been edited.<sup>74</sup>

Lamotte, however, suggests translating the respective passage in Xuanzang's reports with *Mantra-piṭaka* rather than *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*:

Au témoignage, malheureusement tardif, de Hiuan-tsang, les Mahāsāṃghika possédaient un canon en cinq corbeilles comprenant, outre des quatre piṭaka traditionnels – Sūtra, Vinaya, Abhidharma et Kṣudraka –, un Kin-tcheou-tsang [...] ou *mantrapiṭaka*, et non pas *dhāraṇīpiṭaka* comme on traduit généralement.<sup>75</sup>

In the late seventh century the Chinese pilgrim monk Yijing (義淨, 635–713 CE) spent more than ten years in India, most of the time in the then flourishing Buddhist site of Nālandā in North India (present-day Bihar). From India he returned to China with more than 400 Sanskrit texts, which were then gradually translated. In his compilation of the biographies of 60 Buddhist, mostly Chinese, monks where he describes their works and pilgrimages he also mentions a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* in 100.000 *ślokas*. This compilation dealing with the cultural and socio-political environment of India and China in the seventh and early eighth centuries became an

<sup>73</sup> Xuanzang's travelogues are available in translation with Beal 1973, and Julien 1853.

<sup>74</sup> Kern 1882: 510f., translated by de La Vallée Poussin 1895: 434f.

<sup>75</sup> Lamotte 1944–80, IV: 1862.

outstanding source for the history of Buddhism in those countries. At the time of Yijing most of the Sanskrit original texts were already lost, and only a few were still accessible. The French translation of Yijing's work entitled *Da tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng chuan* (大唐西域求法高僧傳) “Mémoires composé à l'époque de la grande dynastie T'ang sur les religieux éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident” reads as follows:

Il se tint debout de nouveau sur l'autel surnaturel ; il {le maître de la Loi, *Tao-lin*} reçut de nouveau les prières magiques. Voici comment j'essaierai d'expliquer cette expression : les prières magiques se disent en sanscrit pidi tuoluo bidejia (vidyā-dhara-piṭaka). La traduction de pidi (vidyā) est prières magiques; tuoluo (dhara) signifie tenir dans les mains; bidejia (piṭaka) signifie recueil. Il faut donc dire : le recueil des porteurs des prières magiques. Cependant on dit que ce recueil des prières magiques comprenait, dans le texte sanscrit, cent mille stances : la traduction chinoise formerait bien trois cents rouleaux. Or maintenant, si on recherche ces textes, on voit que beaucoup sont perdus et que peu sont intacts.<sup>76</sup>

A verse of a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* is also cited in the tantric treatise *Ādikarmapradīpa*. The colophon gives the name of the author with Anupamavajra. Since we do not know the content of this *piṭaka* it is at present not possible to definitely decide whether the *Ādikarmapradīpa* refers to the same work as the Chinese pilgrims. The verse runs:

*na mandacittena sarvadā muditacittena nāpy anyacittena | tathā coka[m]*  
*Vidyādharapiṭake*  
*japās tapāmsi sarvāṇi dīrghakālakṛtāny api |*  
*anyacittena mandena sarvaṁ bhavati niṣphalam || iti*

(AKP 203.6–8)

Avec une pensée joyeuse, dit le Mūlasūtra, c'est-à-dire avec une pensée non paresseuse, toujours satisfaite (mudita, comp. anumodanā), non distraite de son objet ; et il est dit dans le *Vidyādharapiṭaka* : « Les prières, les austérités, nombreuses, longtemps prolongées, mais accomplies avec une pensée distraite, paresseuse, sont sans aucune utilité. »

(tr. La Vallée Poussin 1898: 229)

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<sup>76</sup> Chavannes 1894: 101f.

In his early eighth century *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Śāntideva gives a citation of a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*, which contains a protective *mantra*:

*imām api vidyām anantajātismarahetuṃ mahāprabhāvām sapta-  
pañcāśadaḥsarām vidyādhara-piṭakopanibaddhām sarvabhayarakṣārtham  
prayuñjīta | tadyathā | aṭṭe | baṭṭe | naṭṭe | kunaṭṭe | ṭake || ṭhake | ṭharake |  
urumati | rurumati | turuhili mili | sarvajñodupadagga | namo sabbasamma-  
saṃbuddhāṇaṃ | sijjhantu me mantapadāḥ svāhā ||*

(Śikṣ 142.12–15)

The following spell he should add, remembering the infinity of births; a spell most mighty, with fifty-seven syllables, written in the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*, with the purpose of guarding against all dangers; thus: ‘Aṭṭe baṭṭe naṭṭe kumaṭṭe, ṭake ṭhake ṭharake, urumati rurumati, turu, hili mili, sarvajñodupadagga. Glory to all supreme Buddhas, may my spell be effective: hail!’

(tr. Bendall, Rouse 1971: 140)

Buddhaguhya also mentions a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* in his *Commentary on the Concentration Continuation* as preserved in the Tibetan Canon (Q 3495 Vol. 78, 70.5.1–4 *Bsam gtan phyi ma rim par phye ba rgya cher bshad pa*; Skt. *Dhyānottara-paṭalaṭīkā*). Hopkins translates the Tibetan expression for *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*, *Rig ’dzin gyi sde snod*, with “The Scriptural Division of the Bearers of Knowledge”:

The activities to be done during the concentration of secret mantra repetition are set forth in the *Susiddhi Tantra* (*Susiddhi*), the *Questions of Subahu* (*Subāhuparipṛchchā*), the *Compendium of Imaginations* [?], and so forth, which are compendiums of the general rites of all Action Tantras. These [activities] are also described in tantras of specific [lineages and deities] such as the *Vairochanabhisambodhi: the Empowerment of Emanations*, the *Vajrapani Initiation Tantra*, the *Essence of Enlightenment* [?], the *Scriptural Division of the Knowledge Bearers* (*Vidyādhara-piṭaka* [?]), and so forth.<sup>77</sup>

All the above-mentioned examples show that the term *Vidyādhara-* or *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka* is well attested in both Sanskrit and Tibetan sources. All of these notices were, however, only compiled in the late sixth or seventh centuries CE. On this account, it is impossible to trace the existence of such a *piṭaka* back to the centuries

<sup>77</sup> Hopkins 1987: 50.

following the Buddha's death. Furthermore, we can only speculate whether an independent *piṭaka* dedicated to *mantras* and spells has ever been in use, since most of the Sanskrit original texts were already lost in the late seventh century, the time when the literary evidence that speaks in favour of the existence of a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* originated. Recent research even declares a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* to be an "imaginary construct of a container that never existed".<sup>78</sup> In his *Study on Dhāraṇī Literature III*, Davidson discusses, whether there ever existed a canon of *dhāraṇī* texts, a basket exclusively containing mantric scriptures. According to him, the *Dhāraṇī-saṃgrahas*, compendia of *dhāraṇīs*, which existed much earlier than any reference of a *piṭaka* of spells, must have served as basis for this invention:

[T]he indistinct parameters of this *piṭaka* appear in some measure a reflection of actual *dhāraṇī* collections, the various compendia generally known by the designation *Dhāraṇī-saṃgraha*; these collections preceded *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka* statements and seem to have provided a prototype for the new *piṭaka*.<sup>79</sup>

To conclude, with the discovery of the Gāndhārī \**Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra*, the hitherto oldest *raṅṣā* text containing *mantras*, we are now in a position to date the beginning of Buddhist spell practice to the first two centuries of the Common Era. Further evidence for the early use of *mantras* can be found in the late second to third centuries Chinese translations of the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra* and the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*. References to a *Vidyādhara*-, *Dhāraṇī*- or *Mantra-piṭaka* of the Pūrva- and Aparāśailas, Dharmaguptakas, and Mahāsāṃghikas frequently appear in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and in philosophical works. These treatises, and travelogues were, however, only composed in the sixth or seventh century, and it is at the moment not possible to trace back the existence of such a *piṭaka* to the time when the other standard *piṭakas* were compiled, and we, therefore, cannot definitely decide whether a distinct *piṭaka* dedicated to *mantras* existed as such.

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<sup>78</sup> Davidson 2104b: 157.

<sup>79</sup> Davidson 2014b: 120.



## 1.4 The spread of *rakṣā* mantras

Due to its favourable climatic conditions the northern regions of the Indian subcontinent preserved the earliest Indic manuscripts and it is therefore not surprising that the earliest texts known to us containing *mantras* evolved in North India by the beginning of the Common Era. As we have seen above, the Gāndhārī \**Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra* (first two centuries CE) discovered in Gandhāra in Northwest India represents the oldest preserved example of post-canonical Buddhist *rakṣā* texts that used *mantras* in order to attain protection and other benefits. There is only one more Gāndhārī text of the Bajaur Collection, though poorly preserved (reverse of fragment 1), which can tentatively be ascribed to *rakṣā* literature. According to palaeographic features these two texts of the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts can be dated to the first two centuries CE. This is exactly the period when Buddhist practices expanded from South Asia to Central and East Asia.

This crucial period marks the beginning of the expansion of Buddhism, the rise of trade networks, and with them the transmission of Buddhist scriptures. Numismatic and epigraphic sources,<sup>80</sup> as well as archaeological remains and other artefacts reflect an economic trade and an exchange of religious ideas between Gandhāra, Gilgit, and Khotan from the first century onwards.<sup>81</sup> With the distribution of manuscripts, *rakṣā* mantras also disseminated and found their way into new compilations of protective texts. Most of the *rakṣā* manuscripts written on birchbark, palm leaf, and paper almost exclusively survived in the northern parts of the Indian subcontinent, that is Gandhāra, Gilgit, and Nepal. Innumerable manuscripts have also been found beyond South Asia in the ancient oasis towns along the Silk Road in Central Asia.

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<sup>80</sup> A few bilingual coins of the Indo-Scythian and Kuṣāṇa rulers issued by Khotanese kings bearing inscriptions in both Chinese characters and Kharoṣṭhī script have been discovered in the ancient area of Khotan, the major city on the southern Silk Road. This find stresses a close economic contact between Khotan and Gandhāra. Cribb identified 13 groups of Sino-Kharoṣṭhī copper coins from Khotan datable to the first two centuries CE. For an examination of these coins and an illustration of the political, economic, and cultural background, see Cribb 1984–5.

<sup>81</sup> For the early Buddhist expansion to the Central Asian Silk Road, particularly to Kashgar and Khotan, see Neelis 2011: 289–297.

One important provenance of numerous *rakṣā* manuscripts containing *mantras* is the ancient library of Naupur near Gilgit.<sup>82</sup> Some of the texts mention in the colophons as donors of the manuscripts four of the Palola Śāhis, who ruled in the seventh century.<sup>83</sup> It is, however, important to bear in mind that the library must have grown over a longer period of about a century.<sup>84</sup> Two of the most evidenced protective scriptures from Gilgit are the *Mahāpratisarā* and the *Mahāmāyūrī*, both belonging to the *Pañcarakṣā* collection.<sup>85</sup> The Gilgit *rakṣā* manuscripts are of special relevance. As von Hinüber highlighted, the *mantras* have been dedicated to certain persons, including the local rulers, who sought protection:

Die Bedeutung der Texte liegt auch darin, daß es sich um persönliche dhāraṇīs handelt. Während sonst die Pañcarakṣā ohne Bezug auf bestimmte Personen überliefert ist, wird hier die Mahāmāyūrī sogar so umformuliert, daß der Name eines Herrschers an die Stelle des Namen Svāti tritt, also des Mönches, für den der Buddha ursprünglich diese dhāraṇī spricht.<sup>86</sup>

Von Hinüber then concludes that these texts were not meant for recitation. The short formulas suggest instead that the manuscripts are destined to be deposited in *stūpas* in order to protect certain persons named in the texts throughout their life. These names predominantly are local names, so that most of the manuscripts seem to be local productions, copied from a prototype imported to the area of Gilgit and adapted in Gilgit.

The most popular discovery location of *rakṣā* manuscripts was, however, the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal with the exceptional number of more than 300

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<sup>82</sup> Both Fussman (2004: 134), and Schopen (2009: 204) stressed the prominence of manuscripts produced for the use in healing, apotropaic or death rituals among the Gilgit finds. For a list of *rakṣā* texts found in Gilgit, see *Bibliographical Guide to Identifications and Editions of the Gilgit Manuscripts* in von Hinüber 2014: 91–118.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 2004: 6f.

<sup>84</sup> This can easily be judged from the span of the reign of the four Palola Śāhis rulers mentioned in the colophons, which expands of more than a century, even if the suggested dates are tentative: Vajrādityanandi (\*585–\*605), Vikramādityanandi (\*605–\*625), Surendra-vikramādityanandi (\*625–644/\*655), and Navasurendrādityanandi (\*644/\*655– died before 706/7) (cf. von Hinüber 2014: 84).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 1981: 163.

<sup>86</sup> Von Hinüber 1981: 169.

manuscripts only of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection,<sup>87</sup> and a multitude of other compendiums and individual texts. Most of them remain, however, unpublished. On the basis of catalogues, Hidas estimated the total number of surviving manuscripts to be over 1300.<sup>88</sup> The hitherto oldest Sanskrit edition of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection found in Nepal is the Calcutta Asutosh Museum manuscript illustrating the *Pañcarakṣā* goddesses. It was produced in 1105 CE during the reign of Sihadeva, King of Nepal.<sup>89</sup>

*Rakṣā mantras* not only figured prominently in the scriptures of Buddhist schools based in the northern parts of the Indian subcontinent. There is no doubt that the scriptures of the Pāli *paritta* collection of the Theravādin school were and still are among the most copied and most popular texts in Śrī Laṅkā, which one can still find in every household. As we have already seen above, canonical *parittas* do not contain any *mantras*. That mantric scriptures nevertheless found their way into the tradition of the Theravādins is well-attested by para-canonical *parittas*, among them the *Mahādibba-manta*,<sup>90</sup> *Dhāraṇa-paritta*, *Gini-paritta*,<sup>91</sup> *Sut Catuvik*, and *Yot brahkaṇḍatraipīṭaka*, which do bear *mantras*.<sup>92</sup> The *paritta* collection, including those para-canonical *parittas* containing *mantras*, are, however, not exclusive to the Buddhist community of Śrī Laṅkā, but vernacular translations from Śrī Laṅkā spread to other countries where the Theravāda tradition is the predominant school.<sup>93</sup> *Paritta* texts are among the most commonly used texts in the Southeast Asian

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<sup>87</sup> The modern Newari translation of the Sanskrit version of the five *Pañcarakṣā* texts are up to the present day held in high esteem by Newari Buddhists based in the Kathmandu Valley and are still today recited for specific purposes (cf. Lewis 2000: 124).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Hidas 2015: 131.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Bhattacharya 1972: 91.

<sup>90</sup> Jaini (1965) studied the only extant palm leaf manuscript of the *Mahādibba-manta* from Cambodia kept in the National Museum of Bangkok.

<sup>91</sup> For a short summary of the *Gini-paritta*, and a quotation of its *mantra*, see De Silva 1981: 10.

<sup>92</sup> This short list of extra-canonical *parittas* is extracted from Skilling 1992: 157.

<sup>93</sup> The affiliation of the early Buddhist tradition in Southeast Asia to the Theravāda school is supported by Pāli inscriptions found in Burma (datable between the fifth and seventh centuries CE), and Thailand (datable between the sixth and eighth centuries CE). Besides the content of the inscriptions, which clearly points to the Theravāda school, the use of the Pāli language is another strong indicator for the school affiliation. Since different schools transmitted their canons in different Indic dialects, Skilling (1997b: 97) convincingly concludes that it is unlikely that another school but the Theravādins would have used the Pāli language for their inscriptions in this region.

countries Cambodia, Thailand,<sup>94</sup> Laos,<sup>95</sup> and Burma,<sup>96</sup> and are an important part of monastic and secular life.

Buddhist mantric scriptures expanded over almost all regions where Buddhism flourished in the course of centuries and remained in use in some regions up to the present day. It is, therefore, not surprising that *rakṣā* mantras also spread beyond South Asia, not only to Central Asia where they still used the Sanskrit language to transmit Buddhist scriptures, but also to China, Tibet, and East Asia where the texts have been translated into local languages. Protective *mantras* also found their way into later *dhāraṇī* scriptures. Hidas already noted that *mantras* were phonetically transcribed in order to keep the Indic sound substance of the mantric syllables. Oftentimes the Indic Siddham script was employed,<sup>97</sup> which enabled the translator to exactly display the original sound value:

Both individual *dhāraṇīs* and complete *dhāraṇī* scriptures gained remarkable influence in Buddhist lands of Asia from the early centuries of the Common Era onwards. The incantations were usually adopted in the original Sanskrit, often transcribed phonetically into Chinese or Tibetan characters for example, and in East Asia many times the Indic Siddham script was used to represent the mantric syllables. The *sūtras* themselves were translated into local languages, sometimes rewritten and transformed.<sup>98</sup>

*Rakṣā* mantras were not only preserved in manuscript form within the frame of larger apotropaic texts or *dhāraṇīs*, they have also been found as isolated *mantras* inscribed on archaeological artefacts outside of their narrative context and without ritual instructions on their use. A number of so-called *dhāraṇī* stones, pillars, seals, and stamps inscribed with *mantras* have been unearthed on the Indian subcontinent, in Central Asia, China, and Southeast Asia.

These objects bearing inscribed *mantras* help to understand the context in which these texts they are extracted from were used in actual Buddhist practices. After identification of these *mantras* with their source texts, it is evident that most of them

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<sup>94</sup> For the most popular extra-canonical *paritta* in Thailand, the *Jinapañjara*, though it does not contain any *mantras*, see McDaniel 2011: 77–85, and Kieffer-Pülz 2018.

<sup>95</sup> For an outline of the *paritta* collection from Laos, see Finot 1917: 53–60. Finot also briefly describes the above-mentioned *Sut Catuvik* (cf. Finot 1917: 59).

<sup>96</sup> Fragments of three Pāli *parittas*, the *Maṅgala-sutta*, the *Ratana-sutta*, and the *Mora-sutta*, inscribed on a stone slab were found in Śrīkṣetra in Burma (cf. Skilling 1997c: 152–156).

<sup>97</sup> For the use of the Siddham script in Central Asia, China, and Japan, see Salomon 2016: 26–46.

<sup>98</sup> Hidas 2015: 135.

were taken from four *dhāraṇīs*, the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya*, the *Vimaloṣṇīṣa*, the *Guhyadhātukaraṇḍa*, and the *Bodhigarbhālaṃkāralakṣa*, along with the verse of Interdependent Origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*), which give explicit instructions to ritually deposit the entire text or their *mantra* in *stūpas* what will bring about blessings, merit, and apotropaic benefits.

Eight granite tablets were found southeast of a *stūpa* at the ancient site of Abhayagiriya (Śrī Laṅkā) inscribed in northeastern Devanāgarī of the ninth century CE. Six of these *dhāraṇī* stones give fragments of one and the same *mantra* taken from a Mahāyāna *sūtra*. Even though it seems that the Sanskrit text is now lost, on the basis of Chinese and Tibetan parallels Schopen was able to identify the *mantra* on the *dhāraṇī* stones with a text entitled, according to the transliterated Sanskrit title at the beginning of the Tibetan translation, *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdayaguhyadhātukaraṇḍamudra-nāma-dhāraṇī-mahāyāna-sūtra* (henceforth: *Guhyadhātukaraṇḍa*).<sup>99</sup> According to epigraphical and archaeological finds this text not only circulated in Śrī Laṅkā, but had a widespread distribution throughout the Buddhist world. The same text was deposited in *stūpas* in Hangchow and Chekiang (China) in the tenth century.

Another text of the same genre, the *\*Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī*, was deposited in a *stūpa* in Korea (751 CE) and all over Japan (eighth century). Yet, another example is the *Samantamukhapraveśara-vimaloṣṇīṣaprabhāsa-sarvatathāgatahṛdaya-samayavilokita-dhāraṇī* (henceforth: *Vimaloṣṇīṣa*) in the polyglot inscription of Juyongguan.<sup>100</sup> The *Vimaloṣṇīṣa* circulated at Gilgit, written on separate strips of birchbark inside one of the *stūpas*, and was also discovered inscribed on seals in India at Bodhgayā, Nālandā, Ratnagiri, Paharpur, and Udayagiri.<sup>101</sup>

Two of the hundreds of terracotta tablets found in votive *stūpas* at Nālandā each bear an inscription in early medieval Nāgarī, which was in use from the sixth to ninth centuries CE, with the *Bodhigarbhālaṃkāralakṣa-dhāraṇī* (henceforth: *Bodhi*).<sup>102</sup> The same text is found in the Cuttack stone inscription now in the Provincial Museum of Orissa.<sup>103</sup> Lawson presented eleven seals kept in British

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Schopen 1982: 102.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Schopen 1982: 106.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Schopen 2005: 332–336, and 2012: 284.

<sup>102</sup> See Schopen 2005 for an edition and translation of the Tibetan and Sanskrit text.

<sup>103</sup> First published by Gosh (1941); identified by Schopen (2005: 314–321).

collections, five from Śrāvastī and six of unknown origin (eighth to tenth centuries), bearing the *Bodhi*, though he was not able to identify the inscribed *dhāraṇī*.<sup>104</sup>

On the basis of epigraphical evidence the *dhāraṇī* passage of this text was not only restricted to East India, but was in use in the Northwest of the Subcontinent as well. In an addendum to his edition and translation of this text Schopen added some new information on finds from Qunduz, Afghanistan he had received in a letter from Fussman: “a stamp used to imprint a *dhāraṇī* on a clay bulla. The stamp would have been found in the region of Qunduz, in Bactrian Afghanistan. It is inscribed in Brāhmī of the fifth-sixth centuries.”<sup>105</sup> This stamp was then published by Strauch.<sup>106</sup> In his examination of the *Bodhi*, Strauch provides a list of 20 objects inscribed with the text of the *Bodhi* together with specification of their location (Cuttack museum, Nālandā, Ratnagiri, Śrāvastī, Kashmir, Hund), material, technology of inscribing, and their textual or pictorial context.<sup>107</sup>

Approximately 300 inscribed *dhāraṇī* pillars, dating from 697 to 1285, have been found in the central, eastern, and southern parts of China, originally located in courtyards of Buddhist monasteries, in private cemeteries, near private houses, buried under *stūpas*, or at crossroads or markets. Over nine-tenths of these pillars bear the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* in Chinese characters. Other inscriptions on these pillars include the *Prāññāpāramita-hṛdaya*, the *Ṣaṇmukhī-dhāraṇī*, the *\*Rāsmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī*, and the *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī*. Further pillars bearing the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya* are found in Vietnam, Korea, and Japan.<sup>108</sup>

The production of *dhāraṇī* stones and other apotropaic objects bearing *rakṣā* mantras also was popular among Buddhist circles in Southeast Asia. Griffiths recently drew our attention to material from Indonesia, inscriptions on gold or silver foil, stone or clay seals. Here we have evidence concerning mantras extracted from the *Mahāpratisarā* (Sambas, West Kalimantan, eighth century), a *dhāraṇī* taken from the *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* (Sumatra, eighth century), the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-dhāraṇī*, *Bodhi* and *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* (Central Java), as well as mantras from the *Vimaloṣṇīṣa* (800–1000 CE) and *Amoghapāśahṛdaya-dhāraṇī* (Bali).<sup>109</sup> Some years earlier Gippert presented a Prakrit stone inscription

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Lawson 1985: 709.

<sup>105</sup> Schopen 2005: 338.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Strauch 2009.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Strauch 2009: 38f.

<sup>108</sup> For an intensive study of these *dhāraṇī* pillars, see Kuo 2014.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Griffiths 2014.

(sixth–eighth centuries) bearing protective *mantras* from the island of Landhoo, Maldives, showing that *rakṣā* practices flourished among the inhabitants of the Southeast archipelago. Even though he was not able to identify the source text, he indicated that the *mantras* share much in common with the *mantras* of other classical *rakṣā* texts, such as the *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* and the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*.<sup>110</sup>

It is not the aim to present here a systematic survey of the available epigraphical material and archaeological artefacts, but rather to show the engagement with these texts in a large geographical area to better understand their significance and meaning for the history of Buddhism and the spread of Buddhist practices from the historical heartland. It is also important to keep in mind that there always existed several specimens of one and the same text with significant variant readings. The transmission of texts throughout Buddhist Asia cannot be regarded as very uniform and the reading of one *mantra* or inscription may thus considerably differ from the same text found in another part of Asia.

To conclude, most of the *rakṣā* texts survive in manuscript form written on palm leaf, birchbark, or paper from the northern parts of the Indian subcontinent, that is Gandhāra, Gilgit, Bamiyan, and Nepal. With the expansion of Buddhism beyond its homeland, *rakṣā* texts containing *mantras* also spread to Central Asia, and, translated into local languages, to China, Tibet, and East Asia. The distribution of *rakṣā mantras* and their popularity among Buddhists from different traditions in different countries is evident from further epigraphical and archaeological finds. A number of so-called *dhāraṇī* stones, pillars, seals, and stamps inscribed with *rakṣā mantras* have been found on the Indian subcontinent, in Central Asia, China, and Southeast Asia giving hints on the actual use of *rakṣā mantras* or texts in ritual practices.

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<sup>110</sup> Cf. Gippert 2004.

## 1.5 Means of efficacy

How do protective texts become efficacious? The efficacy of *rakṣā* texts is closely related with the Buddha's capability to provide protection through his mere presence. In Buddhist texts we encounter many episodes, where it is said that people do not have to fear any miseries when the Buddha is present. This idea is expressed in the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*<sup>111</sup> of the Pāli *Dīgha-nikāya*:

*samaṇo khalu bho gotamo yasmiṃ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati, na tasmim  
gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manusse viheṭhenti.*

(DN I 116.14)

In whatever town or village the *samaṇa* Gotama stays, non-humans do not harm the people of that town or village.

(tr. Skilling 1992: 111)

The Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya-vibhaṅga* in Chinese and Tibetan translation references protective measures against *vetāḍas*, a kind of demon or zombie,<sup>112</sup> which emanate from the presence of the Buddha, a *cakravartin*, or a Bodhisattva.<sup>113</sup> The Tibetan version reads as follows:

*gal te de na srung par byed pa 'di lta bu 'di lta ste [...]  
rgyal ba bzhugs pa 'am  
rgyal bas bka' stsal pa 'am  
'khor los sgyur ba 'am  
'khor los sgyur ba 'i ma 'i mngal du 'khor los sgyur ba zhugs pa 'am  
byang chub sems dpa' i 'am  
byang chub sems dpa' i ma 'i mngal du byang chub sems dpa' zhugs pa 'dug  
pa 'am*

(Skilling 2007: 325f.)

<sup>111</sup> A Sanskrit version of this text, the *Śroṇatāṇḍya-sūtra* of the *Dīrgha-āgama* of the (Mūla-) Sarvāstivādins, is preserved in Central Asian manuscripts. For a description of contents and structure of the Sanskrit *Dīrgha-āgama*, see Hartmann 2004.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. BHSD 508/1: "(Skt. *vetāla*) a kind of demon."

<sup>113</sup> For the context of the respective passage in the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, as well as the Tibetan text together with an English translation, see Skilling 2007.



If protective measures are taken, such as: [...]  
 if the Conqueror (Jina) is staying here,  
 or one appointed by the Conqueror [is staying here],  
 if a Wheel-turning Emperor (*cakravartin*) [is staying here],  
 or a Wheel-turning Emperor is entering his mother's womb,  
 if a bodhisattva [is staying here],  
 or a bodhisattva is in the process of entering his mother's womb,

(tr. Skilling 2007: 318f.)

These episodes show that the Buddha's capacity to safeguard human beings through his mere presence is widely accepted among Buddhist communities, and that protection plays an important role in the monastic code. The notion of protection through the Buddha's presence also occurs in *raṅṣā* texts. The *Mahāsāhasra-pramardana-sūtra*, just like the *Soṇadaṇḍa-sutta*, says that humans do not face any harm by non-humans when the Buddha is present:

*yasyāṃ diṣi buddhā bhagavanto viharanti / na tatra manuṣyāmanuṣyān  
 viheṭṭhayitavyān manyate /*

(Iwamoto 1937a: 21.21)

In whatever direction the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones dwell, humans and non-humans are not considered to cause harm there.

The Buddha's presence is, however, not the only protective means that appears in *raṅṣā* literature. The attainment of benefits, protection, and well-being through ritual practices and recitation takes up an equally significant position. This paragraph will elaborate on these protective means, which are believed to bring about the desired effect. It will also discuss limitations of the effectiveness of protective texts, as well as warnings to the practitioner who contravenes the spells' instructions.

### 1.5.1 The concept of *maitrī*

By the power of *maitrī* (Skt. for “friendliness, benevolence”)<sup>114</sup> the Buddha tamed a furious elephant,<sup>115</sup> and monks were protected from threats of fire, poison, and weapons. The declaration and cultivation of friendliness towards all sentient beings and even insentient things like fire, water, poison, and weapons functions as a method of self-protection for monks living in dangerous environments.<sup>116</sup> It is, therefore, not surprising that the concept of *maitrī* found its way into magical practices, and eventually, due to the strong belief in its protective powers, into *raṅṣā* literature as a means of efficacious practice.

The concept of *maitrī* is, however, not an exclusive Buddhist phenomenon and has its historical roots before the rise of Buddhism in the Vedic period. The Buddhists then adopted and adapted this concept according to their own doctrine.<sup>117</sup> Rhys Davids pointed out the different perceptions of the idea of friendliness of Buddhists and other traditions. The main difference lies in the conception of non-violence towards even the most wicked spirits. Unlike in other traditions, no sentient being is seen as condemned in Buddhist view. It is, after all, possible to alleviate their malignancy by the power of love. Rhys Davids expressed this as follows:

This is not altogether because the agencies whose power to harm is deprecated are not, as in other cults, cursed and anathematized, but are blessed with good wishes, and suffused with an outgoing love. [...] even the most malignant spirits and beasts were looked upon, not as hopelessly and eternally damned, but as erring unfortunates upon their age-long upward way, and capable of being doctored and softened by the lovely power of love.<sup>118</sup>

Buddhist *raṅṣā* literature takes up the Vedic idea of friendliness towards all sentient beings and insentient things. By cultivating benevolence, dangerous animals and other threats are warded off, and well-being and other advantages are secured. The *Mettānisamsa-sutta*, a text belonging to the collection of canonical Pāli *parittas*, lists eleven benefits, which will occur through the practice of *maitrī*. Any person

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<sup>114</sup> MW 834/2: *maitrī* “friendship, friendliness, benevolence, good will” and PTSD 538: *mettā*: “love, amity, sympathy, friendliness, active interest in others.”

<sup>115</sup> Jā V: 333f.

<sup>116</sup> For more examples on the application of the power of *maitrī*, see Zin 2006.

<sup>117</sup> For the Vedic background of the concept of *maitrī*, see Schmithausen 1997: 25–33.

<sup>118</sup> Rhys Davids 1921: 186.

will be protected and cannot be harmed by fire, poisons, or weapons. The relevant passage of the *Mettānisaṃsa-sutta* runs as follows:

*sukhaṃ supati, sukhaṃ paṭibujjhati, na pāpakaṃ supinaṃ passati.  
Manussānaṃ piyo hoti, amanussānaṃ piyo hoti, devatā rakkhanti, nāssa  
aggī vā viṣaṃ vā satthaṃ vā kamati, tuvatāṃ cittaṃ samādhīyati,  
mukhavaṇṇo vipasādati, asammūḷho kālaṃ karoti, uttariṃ appaṭivijjhanto  
brahmalokūpago hoti.*

(AN V 342.6–11)

(1) One sleeps well; (2) one awakens happily; (3) one does not have bad dreams; (4) one is pleasing to human beings; (5) one is pleasing to spirits; (6) deities protect one; (7) fire, poison, and weapons do not injure one; (8) one's mind quickly becomes concentrated; (9) one's facial complexion is serene; (10) one dies unconfused; and (11) if one does not penetrate further, one fares on to the brahmā world.

(tr. Bodhi 2012: 1573)

A similar, though not entirely identical list, appears in the *Megha-sūtra*:

*yaduta maitryā tatva bhujāṅgādhipate maitrīvihāriṇo devamanuṣyāḥ |  
agninā na dahyante | śāstreṇa na kṣaṇyante | udakena nohyante | viṣeṇa  
na hanyante | paracakreṇa nābhībhūyante | sukhaṃ svapyanti | sukhaṃ ca  
pratibudhyante svapūṇyarakṣatās ca bhavanti | mahāpūṇyatejastejitāḥ |  
anavamardanīyās ca bhavanti sadevakena lokena prāsādikās ca  
bhavanti | priyadarśanāḥ sarvatrapratihatagatayaś ca bhavanti  
sarvaduḥkhapratiprasrabdhāḥ sampraharṣitās ca bhavanti  
sarvvasukhasamarppitāḥ ||*

(Bendall 1880: 294,9–15)

Even by charity; therein devas and men, snake-king, living in charity, are not burned by fire, nor hurt by weapons, nor carried away by water, nor slain by poison, nor overcome by a neighbour's host; they shall slumber sweetly, and sweetly they awake and are guarded by their own holiness, being glorified by the glory of great holiness, and are indestructible by this world with the world of devas, and gracious, and fair of countenance, and everywhere unhindered in their goings, with all griefs subsided, gladdened and endowed with all bliss.

(tr. Bendall 1880: 295)

The most prominent function of *maitrī* is protection against snakebites. This idea features in three popular *raṅṣā* texts, that is the *Khanda-paritta* of the Theravāda tradition, the *Upasena-sutta* of the *Samyutta-nikāya* or *Upasena-sūtra* of the *Samyukta-āgama* of the Central Asian (Mūla-) Sarvāstivādins, and the *Mahāmāyūrī* of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection.<sup>119</sup> In each of the three texts, the Buddha bestows the same *maitrī* verses, a declaration of friendliness towards or friendship with different royal *nāga* families. While in the *Khanda-paritta* and *Upasena-sūtra* it is explicitly said that the recitation of the *maitrī* verses protects from death through snake poison, the *Mahāmāyūrī* version expands this protection to all sorts of calamities, diseases and pain, possession by all kinds of demons, as well as harm through weapons and human violence. The *maitrī* verses of the *Mahāmāyūrī* are also found in the Bower Manuscript.

The introductory story is similar in all the different texts. A monk has been bitten by a snake and died hereafter. Several monks then approached the Buddha and informed him about this incident. The Buddha replied that the monk would not have been bitten and killed if he would have had a friendly mind towards the different snake families and he then pronounced the *maitrī* verses. The text of the *Khanda-paritta* reads:<sup>120</sup>

*Anujānāmi bhikkhave imāni cattāri ahirājakulāni mettena cittena pharituṃ  
attaguttiyā attaparittāyāti.*

(AN II 72.26–28)

I enjoin you, bhikkhus, to pervade these four royal families of snakes with a mind of loving-kindness, for your own security, safety, and protection.

(tr. Bodhi 2012: 456)

*Virūpakkehi me mettaṃ  
mettaṃ Erāpathehi me  
Chabyaputtehi me mettaṃ  
Kaṇhāgotamakehi ca*

I have loving-kindness for the *virūpakkha* snakes;  
for the *erāpatha* snakes I have loving-kindness.  
I have loving-kindness for the *chabyāputta* snakes;  
for the black *gotamakas* I have loving-kindness.

<sup>119</sup> Waldschmidt (1958: 403–405) refers to some more manuscripts containing *maitrī* verses against snakebites.

<sup>120</sup> This story is told in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya* under the title *Ahi(metta)-sutta* (AN II 72) and in the *Cullavagga* (Vin II 110). A similar version can also be found in the *Khandavatta-jātaka* (Jā 203 at Jā II 144). For a more detailed summary of the *Khanda-paritta* and its parallels, see Schmithausen 1997: 17–23.

*Apādahehi me mettaṃ  
mettaṃ dipādahehi me  
Catuppadehi me mettaṃ  
mettaṃ bahuppadehi me*

I have loving-kindness for footless creatures;  
for those with two feet I have loving-kindness.  
I have loving-kindness for those with four feet;  
for those with many feet I have loving-kindness.

*Mā maṃ apādako hiṃsi  
mā maṃ hiṃsi dipādako  
Mā maṃ catuppado hiṃsi  
mā maṃ hiṃsi bahuppado*

May footless beings not harm me;  
may no harm come to me from those with two feet;  
may four-footed beings not harm me;  
may no harm come to me from those with many feet.

*Sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā  
sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā  
Sabbe bhadrāṇi passantu  
mā kañci pāpam āgamāti.*

May all beings, all living things,  
all creatures, every one,  
meet with good fortune;  
may nothing bad come to anyone.

(AN II 72.29–73.5)

(tr. Bodhi 2012: 456f.)

### 1.5.2 The concept of *saccakiriya*

Another means of protective efficacy is the concept of *saccakiriya*,<sup>121</sup> the “Profession of Truth” or an “Act of Truth”.<sup>122</sup> It is believed that protective texts become efficacious through the irresistible power of the expression of truth or truth magic. The power of truth provides well-being for all beings, renders poison ineffective, causes rain to fall, and ensures various other benefits. The *Mahāvastu* tells the story of a *kiṇṇarī*, who is bound by truth magic and therefore cannot disappear,<sup>123</sup> and of an ascetic boy, who has been killed by a poisoned arrow and who could be revived by a statement of truth.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Cf. BHSD 554/1 for *satyavacana* and *satya-vākya*: “(= Pali *sacca-vacana*, more often *saccakiriya*), solemn statement of truth as a means of magic control of events.”

<sup>122</sup> The meaning of the word *saccakiriya*, as well as the effectiveness of *rakṣā* texts through the power of truth have already been discussed in detail by the author elsewhere (cf. Holz 2015: 100–107). Other valuable publications on the concept of *saccakiriya* in a Hindu and Buddhist tradition include Brown 1968, 1978, Burlingame 1917, Kong 2012, Lüders 1944, and Wayman 1984a.

<sup>123</sup> Mv II 97.8–10: *kathan te manuṣyāṇāṃ kinnarīyo vaśagatā bhavanti // ṛṣi āha // satyavākyaena etā badhyanti na śaknonti antarahāyituṃ //* “How have the Kinnarīs got into the power of those humans?” The seer replied, “They are bound by a spell [statement of truth], and they cannot disappear” (tr. Jones 1952: 94).

<sup>124</sup> Mv II 218.4–5: *vayan taṃ ṛṣikumāraṃ satyavākyaena upasthāpeṣyāmaḥ satyavākyaena ca taṃ mṛgaviṣaṃ haniṣyāma* “By means of an incantation [statement of truth] we will restore the young seer to life, and by means of an incantation we will destroy the poison that was

In the Buddhist *raṅṣā* literature the concept of *saccakiriya* is always expressed by a certain phraseology. In Pāli texts we find in addition to *saccakiriya* the wording *etena saccena* “by this truth” and *etena saccavajjena* “by this truth-speaking”. Sanskrit scriptures use the corresponding expressions *etena satyena* and (*anena*) *satyavākyena*. The Sanskrit equivalent \**satyakriya* is not attested in any literary genre.<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, the term *satyādhiṣṭhānena* “truthful resolve” is employed in a Mahāyāna context.<sup>126</sup> (See table below for *saccakiriya* phrases applied by different schools).

Table 4: *Saccakiriya* phrases in *raṅṣā* literature.

Text	<i>Saccakiriya</i> formula
Theravāda	
<i>Ratana-sutta</i> (Sn II 39.13 etc.)	<i>etena saccena suvatthi hotu</i>
<i>Āṅgulināla-sutta</i> (MN II 103.15)	<i>tena saccena sotthi te hotu</i>
<i>Vaṭṭaka-paritta</i> (Jā I 214.10)	<i>tena saccena kāhāmi saccakiriyaṃ anuttamaṃ</i>
Mūlasarvāstivāda	
<i>Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna</i> (Divy 613.9)	<i>etena satyavākyena svasti</i>
<i>Upasena-sūtra</i> (Waldschmidt 1967b: 41)	<i>yena me satyavākyena</i>
<i>Prātihārya-sūtra</i> (Divy 154.25)	<i>anena satyena satyavākyena</i>
Lokottaravāda	
<i>Ratana-sutta</i> (Mv I 291.8 etc.)	<i>etena satyena susvasti bhotu</i>
Pañcarakṣā collection	
<i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī</i> (Takubo 1972: 15)	<i>anena satyavākena svastir bhotu</i>
<i>Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra</i> (Iwamoto 1937a: 24, 25, 26)	<i>etena satyena ihāstu svasti</i>
Mahāyāna	
<i>Megha-sūtra</i> (Bendall 1880: 300)	<i>satyādhiṣṭhānena</i>

intended for the deer” (tr. Jones 1952: 207). For more examples for the use of *saccakiriya* see Burlingame 1917: 439–466.

<sup>125</sup> The term *satyakriya* is, however, included in the PW 582: “die mystische Kraft der Wahrheit (bei den Buddhisten).”

<sup>126</sup> Cf. BHSD 554/2: “Could also perhaps be rendered, (act of) taking one’s stand on truth.”

In *raṅṣā* texts, *saccakiriyā* phrases are often used alone as means of efficacy, but can also serve as a supportive means to other protective elements, such as the concept of *maitrī*. In the *Upasena-sūtra*, for example, the power of truth is employed as additional protective device. The Buddha first pronounced the *maitrī* verses against snakebites and adds that through friendliness and benevolence towards all sentient beings any kind of poison will be defeated. One will not only be free from snake venom, but also from the three poisons of desire, hatred, and delusion. The protective spell becomes potent through the statement of truth at the end of the incantation. The *saccakiriyā* verse the Buddha has declared subsequent to the *maitrī* verses reads as follows:

*sarpaśaundīkaprāgbhāre nityaṃ viharato mama |*  
*āśīviṣo ghoraviṣo jīvitam uparundhati ||*  
*yena me satyavākyena śāstā lokeṣv anuttaraḥ |*  
*tena me satyavākyena mā me kāye viṣam kramet ||*  
*rāgo dveṣaś ca mohaś ca ete loke viṣattrayam |*  
*nirvīṣo bhagavā(n) buddhaḥ satyadharmahataṃ viṣam ||*

(Waldschmidt [1957] 1967b: 342f.)

Für die, welche ständig in der Schlangenkopfgrotte weilen, *soll keinerlei Böses nahen und sich sammeln*, (auch nicht) die grausam verletzende, böse Giftschlange, die aller Wesen Leben zu verletzen vermag.

Da dies ein Wort der Wahrheit ist, das der höchste Lehrer verkündet hat, *das ich jetzt rezitiere und anwende*, (werden durch) des großen Lehrers Wort der Wahrheit keinerlei böse Gifte meinen Körper zu schädigen vermögen.

Leidenschaft, Haß und Verblendung sind in der Welt die drei Gifte. Wie man diese drei Gifte für immer abtut, (indem) man das Juwel ‚Buddha‘ anruft, *(ebenso) vernichtet das Juwel ‚Lehre‘ alles Gift, (und) für das Juwel ‚Gemeinde‘ ist es auch nicht anders.*<sup>127</sup>

(tr. Waldschmidt [1957] 1967b: 337f.)

<sup>127</sup> The translation is based on the parallel passage in the Chinese *sūtra* Taishō II 252. Italics indicate sections not present in the Sanskrit version.

### 1.5.3 Limitations and warnings

Throughout *rakṣā* literature we find references to limitations of the efficacy of the protective functions of *rakṣā* texts, as well as warnings to those not acting in accordance with the texts' injunctions regarding the realization of the benefits. The texts, thereby, give an explanation in case the effect did not automatically occur by recitation of the protective formulas. In most cases protection fails to appear due to past *karma* of the practitioner. For such a statement Skilling introduced the term "escape clause," which became a common element of apotropaic scriptures. He remarked:

Common also is the 'escape clause' which, after lauding the multiple and powerful effects of *mantra* or other *rakṣā*, notes that it might not succeed 'due to the fruition of past *karma*' (*varjayitvā paurāṇaṃ karmavipākam*, or variants thereof).<sup>128</sup>

Variants of the escape clause are included in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (*sthāpayitvā ānanda paurāṇaṃ karmavipākam*),<sup>129</sup> the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* (*anyatra pūrva-karmavipākena*),<sup>130</sup> the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* (*varjayitvā paurāṇaṃ karma-vipākam*),<sup>131</sup> the *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa* (*anyatra pūrvakeṇa karmaṇā*),<sup>132</sup> the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (*sthāpayitvā pūrvakarmavipākam*),<sup>133</sup> and the *Ekādaśamukha-hṛdaya* (*sthāpya paurāṇaṃ karma vipacyat(e)*).<sup>134</sup>

The karmic explanation is common to a wide range of texts. A similar statement, though not entirely identical, appears in the *Milindapañha*, in the episode where the King Milinda asks the sage Nāgasena about the efficacy of *parittas*. Nāgasena explains that *parittas* do not work in the same way for all people, and gives three reasons why *parittas* might not be efficacious, that is obstruction of past *karma*, sin, and unbelief. The respective passage on limitations due to one's past *karma* reads:

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<sup>128</sup> Skilling 1992: 148.

<sup>129</sup> Takubo 1972: 59.

<sup>130</sup> Iwamoto 1937a: 41.4.

<sup>131</sup> Mukhopadhyaya 1954: 5.

<sup>132</sup> Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 85.

<sup>133</sup> Vaidya 1960a: 28.24.

<sup>134</sup> GBMFE page 2421.3.



*Parittā ca bhagavatā uddiṭṭhā. Tañca pana sāvasesāyukassa vaya-sampannassa apetakammāvaraṇassa natthi mahārāja khīṇāyukassa ṭhitiyā kiriyā vā upakkamo vā.*

(Mil 151.15–18)

[The Blessed One sanctioned *paritta*.] But that is only meant for those who have some portion of their life yet to run, who are of full age, and restrain themselves from the evils of past Karma. And there is no ceremony or artificial means for prolonging the life of one whose allotted span of existence has come to an end.

(tr. Rhys Davids 1890: 214)

Another characteristic phraseology are warnings to those not adhering to the spell's injunctions. These warnings are usually expressed through a metaphor with the *arjaka* tree. It is said that when a branch of this tree falls to the ground, it bursts into seven parts, and so may the head of someone who contravenes the ritual practices of *rakṣā* texts split into seven pieces. The warning reads in general:

*saptadhāsyā sphalen mūrdhā ārjakasyeva mañjarī*

May his head burst into seven pieces like the cluster of blossoms of an *arjaka* tree.

This warning is known to a variety of *rakṣā* texts, including the *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta*,<sup>135</sup> and *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*,<sup>136</sup> the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*,<sup>137</sup> and the Tibetan version of the *Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā*,<sup>138</sup> as well as some manuscripts from Central Asia.<sup>139</sup> A

<sup>135</sup> DN III 203.22–23.: *api ssu naṃ mārisa amanussā sattadhā pi'ssa muddhaṃ phāleyyūṃ.*

<sup>136</sup> Hoffmann [1939: 73] 1987: 57: *saptadhāsyā sphalen mūrdhā ārjakasyeva mañjarī*. See also p. 96 n. 34 in the same work for some references.

<sup>137</sup> Vaidya 1960b: 235.10: *saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā ārjakasyeva mañjarī*.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. Holz 2017: 232.

<sup>139</sup> For Sanskrit manuscripts from Turfan, see:

SHT III 900r4f.: *sa[pt](adhāsyā sphalen mūrdhā ārjakasye)va mañjarī*.

SHT III 903r1: *sapt[ā]rdhāsyā sphale m[u]rdhna a(r)[j]*.

SHT III 904v6: *[s](ap)t(a)[dha]syā phale mūrdhna ārjakasyaiva māñjarī*.

SHT III 906d v3: *saptadāsyā spale mūrdhna ārjakasyaivā maññcari*.

SHT III 906g r6: *saptārdhāsyā sphale mūrdhna ārjakasyaiva māñca*.

SHT III 984A1: *(m)[ā]rdhn(ā) ārjuka[sy](eva mañja)[r](ī)*.

more elaborate statement can be found in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, where it is said that the protector Vajrapāṇi will break the head into seven pieces like the blossom of an *arjaka* tree. All noble Buddhist beings will intervene and cause calamities with their weapons on the transgressor. The *Mahāmāyūrī* reads:

*Yaś cemām Ānanda Mahā-māyūrī-vidyā-rājñīm atikramet tasya Vajrapāṇiḥ sapta-dhā mūrdhānam Arjakasyeva mañjarīm sphoṭayiṣyati. sarva-buddha-bodhisatva-pratyekabuddha-śrāvakānām tejasā naṣṭa āloko naṣṭaś cetasaḥ. ārya-pudgalās tena viśamvāditā bhaveyuh. catvāraś cainam mahārājānaḥ kṣura-paryantaiḥ śastrair mahāntam vyasanam āpādayeyuh. Śakraś cāsya devānām Indras tri-daśa-gaṇa-parivṛto vajreṇa mūrdhānam abhibhindyāt. Brahma-tejasā cāsya vibhūtir bhasmam gacchet.*

(Takubo 1972: 58.12–17)

And whoever, O Ānanda, might transgress against the Great Peacock Spell, the Queen of Spells, Vajrapāṇi will break his head into seven parts, like the blossom cluster of an *arjaka*. And with the majesty of all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Pratyekabuddhas and Śrāvakas, his light and mind will be destroyed. That is what would be the case for one who has deceived the noble beings. And the four Great Kings would visit enormous calamity on him with their weapons, edges sharp as razors. And Śakra, the Indra of the gods, surrounded by his retinue of [gods of the] thirty[-three], would split his head with his vajra, and by the majesty of Brahma, his wealth will be turned into ashes.

(tr. Davidson 2014a: 32)

Interestingly, a similar statement in the *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī* is used not to warn the person seeking protection, but the *graha* who would not release this person. The stock-phrase, which generally acts as a warning to the recipient is here applied for his protection. The passage reads:

*yo graho na muñcet saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyeva mañjarī | vajrapāṇiś cāsya mahāyākṣasenāpatir vajreṇādīptena samprajvālitenā ekajvālībhūtena dhyāyitvā mūrdhānam sphoṭayet | catvāraś ca mahārājāno*

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SHT III 984B2: [ā]ruka[sy](eva mañja)rī.

SHT VI 1269B1: [mū]rdhnā ā(rj)[u](ka)sy(e)va maṃcari.

SHT VI 1310: (sa)ptadhāsyā sphale [mū](rdhā) [ā](r)ju(kasye)[v](a) m(a)ñjari.

For further examples of this phenomenon in Buddhist as well as non-Buddhist literature, see Witzel 1987.

*‘yomayena cakreṇa kṣuradhārāprahāreṇa vināśayeyuḥ | tasmād yakṣalokāc  
cyavanaṃ bhavet | aḍakavatyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ na labhate vāsam |*

(Hidas 2017: 473f.)

If a Graha does not release, his head will split into seven like the blossom of the Arjaka plant. Vajrāpaṇi, the great leader of the Yakṣas, will attentively break his head with a blazing, burning and single-flamed vajra. The Four Great Kings will destroy him with an iron discus and the stroke of a razor-edge. He will fall from that Yakṣa-world and not gain residence in the capital, Aḍakavatī.

(tr. Hidas 2017: 480f.)

With the introduction of the escape clause into *raṅṣā* texts, the failure of the protective effect is shifted from the ritual legitimacy to the practitioner. Further, the texts advise the practitioner to accurately follow their prescriptions, since serious consequences could ensue if someone were to transgress them. The warning, usually expressed by the metaphor with an *arjaka* tree, is expanded in later *raṅṣā* texts. In this later stage of development, different powerful beings intervene and threaten harm upon the practitioner who contravenes the ritual instructions.

## 2 The different recensions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*

The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, the *Discourse on an auspicious night*, exists in different versions in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. These all contain the same four canonical verses, or at least parts of them, but show considerable differences in the narrative frame.<sup>1</sup> Even if some of these versions clearly are important representatives of early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature, it is noteworthy that not all recensions show decisive formal features of *rakṣā* texts. Texts arranged in the same line of the table below share the narrative setting and in part the interlocutor. Texts set in bold represent texts containing *rakṣā* mantras and other linguistic characteristics of early Buddhist apotropaic texts.

Table 5: The different versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

	Setting	Interlocutor	Pāli	Sanskrit	Chinese	Tibetan
1)	Śrāvastī	—	MN 131	<b>SHT III 816</b>		
2)	Śrāvastī	Ānanda	MN 132		MĀ 167	
3)	Rājagṛha	P./Ch. <sup>1</sup> Mahākaccāna Skt. Ānanda Ch. <sup>2</sup> /Tib. —	MN 133	<b>SI 2044</b>	<sup>1</sup> MĀ 165 <sup>2</sup> Taishō XXI 1362	<b>D 313</b> <b>Q 979</b> <b>D 617</b> <b>Q 599</b> <b>D 974</b>
4)	Śrāvastī	Lomasakaṇḍiya	MN 134		MĀ 166 Taishō I 77	

<sup>1</sup> Peter Skilling drew attention to the parallel between the Pāli *suttas*, the Sanskrit manuscripts, and the Tibetan recension of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in his article on the *rakṣā* literature of the Śrāvakayāna (1992: 157 n. 5) and in his investigation of the Tibetan *mahāsūtras* (1997a: 81f.). Bhikkhu Anālayo also mentioned the Sanskrit parallels to the four Pāli *Bhaddēkaratta-suttas* in his comparative study of the *Majjhima-nikāya*: “[A] few parts of what appears to be a parallel to the *Bhaddēkaratta-sutta* have been preserved in a Sanskrit fragment.” He goes on: “The fragment is SHT III 816 (pp. 32–33). [...] SHT III 816V4–5 has preserved parts of the verses, while the rest of the fragment continues with *dhāraṇīs*.” And finally: “Sanskrit fragments in Minayeff 1983: 242–243 [KH: SI 2044] have also preserved a discourse on the verses on an auspicious night, with Ānanda as the main protagonist” (Anālayo 2011: 755, 755 n. 3, and 755f. n. 4).

The canonical Pāli and Chinese discourses in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama*, as well as the independent Chinese translation Taishō I 77, which all build upon the interpretation of the verses, do not contain any protective devices, let alone *mantras*. This does, however, not mean that they were never used in protective rituals. What makes a text apotropaic is not its linguistic form but its function and the context in which it was employed. There are four consecutive Pāli *suttas* in the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, the 14<sup>th</sup> chapter of the *Majjhima-nikāya* in the *Sutta-piṭaka* with titles giving, if applicable, the name of the interlocutor and ending with the Pāli equivalent *bhaddekaratta-sutta*. This exceptional position of the *Bhaddekaratta-suttas* points to the possibility that they could have been used in protective rituals, thereby developing four middle Indian versions. The titles of the four *suttas* are:

- 1) MN 131 *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*
- 2) MN 132 *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta*
- 3) MN 133 *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta*
- 4) MN 134 *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta*

Three of the Pāli *suttas* have counterparts in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*. MN 131 alone does not have a Chinese parallel and was possibly a later addition to the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, there is another, independent Chinese translation of MN 134, Taishō I 77. The Chinese titles, however, significantly differ from the Pāli versions:<sup>3</sup>

- 1) —
- 2) MĀ 167 阿難說經 (*Discourse spoken by Ānanda*)

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<sup>2</sup> This assumption is supported by the fact that the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* in which the *Bhaddekaratta-suttas* are included has twelve discourses, while all other chapters of the *Majjhima-nikāya* consist of only ten *suttas*. For a more extensive remark on the formation of the *Vibhaṅga-vagga*, see Anālayo 2011: 765f. There he explains this addition with a transmission mistake within the Pāli tradition. He comments: “On this hypothesis, perhaps the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 131) was added to the *Vibhaṅga-vagga* after this chapter had already been formed in accordance with the ten discourses per chapter pattern, thereby causing an increase of the number of discourses. The Sanskrit fragments paralleling the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* do not necessarily contradict this hypothesis, as after the stanzas on an auspicious night the Sanskrit version continues with *dhāraṇīs*, so that the Sanskrit discourse seems to stem from a different line of development.”

<sup>3</sup> The Chinese titles and their translations are borrowed from Anālayo 2011: 755–763.

- 3) MĀ 165 溫泉林天經 (*Discourse on a deva at the Hot-spring Grove*)<sup>4</sup>
- 4) MĀ 166 釋中禪室尊經 (*Discourse on a venerable one in a meditation-hut among the Sakyas*)  
Taishō I 77 佛說尊上經 (*Discourse spoken by the Buddha to a venerable elder*)

The two Sanskrit manuscripts SHT III 816 and SI 2044, the Chinese translation Taishō XXI 1362, and the various Tibetan recensions included in different Kangyurs were expanded by *mantras* and other protective elements and can, therefore, be ascribed to *rakṣā* literature. All of these versions were either supplied with an appendix containing *rakṣā* elements and ritual instructions on the use of the protective formulas, which were added to the core passage of the *sūtra*, or – in the case of SI 2044 – *rakṣā* passages were inserted into the traditional text at several places. The titles are as follows:

- 1) SHT III 816 *bhadrakarātrīya*
- 2) —
- 3) SI 2044 *bhadrakarātrīya sūtra*  
Taishō XXI 1362 佛說善夜經 (*Discourse spoken by the Buddha on [the topic of] an auspicious night*)  
D 313 'Phags pa mtshan mo bzang po zhes bya ba'i mdo (*Discourse on an auspicious night*)
- 4) —

### The Pāli texts<sup>5</sup>

The four consecutive Pāli discourses (MN 131–134), all ending in *–bhaddekaratta-sutta*, share the same set of four verses, but differ in terms of narrative setting and interlocutor. The main theme of the discourses are the characteristics of the past, present, and future, and already the verses, which represent the summary (P. *uddesa*) of the text, advise to let go of the past and future, but instead one should see with insight presently arisen phenomena and practice diligence today, since death may

<sup>4</sup> For an extensive study and translation of this text, see Anālayo 2012: 421–448 (originally published in 2008).

<sup>5</sup> The Pāli texts and their translations can be found in the appendix of the present work.

come at any time. Continuous practice like that is considered as spending an auspicious night.<sup>6</sup> After the verses, all *suttas* devolve upon the interpretation or commentary (P. *vibhaṅga*) of the verses.<sup>7</sup>

The verses read as follows:

*Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,  
Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattañ ca anāgataṃ.  
Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati,  
Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.  
Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?  
Na hi no saṅgamaṃ tena mahāsenena maccunā.  
Evaṃ vihāriṃ ātāpiṃ ahorattam atanditaṃ,  
Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.*

(MN 131 at MN III 187.21–28)

Don't run back to the past, don't hope for the future.  
What's past is left behind; the future has not arrived;

and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.  
Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

Today's the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!  
For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this,  
tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.

(tr. Sujato 2018<sup>8</sup>)

<sup>6</sup> It is, however, important to keep in mind that the term *bhaddekaratta* “one auspicious night” here refers not only to the timespan of one night, but to a period of one night and one day. Cf. Horner (1959: xxvi–xxvii): “But the *Bhaddekaratta Suttas* do not appear to envisage withdrawal from thoughts of the past, future and present for so little as one night. On the contrary, the verses that form the *mātikā* say that the person to be called *bhaddekaratta* is he who abides ardently and unweariedly day and night, that is surely, for some consecutive time lasting longer than ‘one night.’” and Thanissaro (2002: 346 n. 1): “The Pali literally says, ‘an auspicious night,’ but this should be interpreted in light of the custom – common in cultures that follow the lunar calendar – of calling a 24-hour period of day-and-night a ‘night.’”

<sup>7</sup> For an extensive comparative study of the four Pāli *suttas*, see Anālayo 2011: 755–767.

<sup>8</sup> <https://suttacentral.net/mn131/en/sujato> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

The first of the four *suttas*, the *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 131), which is situated at the Jetavana near Śrāvastī, is pronounced by the Buddha himself, who teaches the summary (P. *uddesa*) and exposition (P. *vibhaṅga*) of the Discourse on an Auspicious Night. He first recites the verses, which he in turn explains. In the second *sutta*, the *Ānandabhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 132), also at the Jetavana near Śrāvastī, Ānanda delivers the verses and their explanation to the assembly of the monks. He later relates this story to the Buddha, who gives his approval. The third discourse, the *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 133) is situated at the Tapodārāma near Rājagṛha. After his conversation with a god, who also does not know the summary and exposition of the Discourse on an Auspicious Night, the monk Samiddhi approaches the Buddha and requests this teaching. Thereupon the Buddha recites the verses, which were then explained by the monk Mahākaccāna. In the fourth text, the *Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 134), the Buddha is dwelling at Śrāvastī, while the introduction takes place in the Nigrodhārāma in Kapilavastu. There a god called Candana asks the monk Lomasakaṅgiya whether he knows the summary and exposition of the Discourse on an Auspicious Night, and pronounces the verses that he once heard from the Buddha in the Heaven of the Thirty-three. The next day the monk approaches the Buddha, who then teaches the summary and exposition of the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.

The structure of the four Pāli *suttas* can be summarized as follows:

#### MN 131

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Śrāvastī
2. The Buddha teaches the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on auspicious night*
  - 2.1. The verses
  - 2.2. Exposition of the verses
  - 2.3. Repetition of the verses
3. Conclusion

#### MN 132

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Śrāvastī
2. Ānanda teaches the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on auspicious night*
  - 2.1. The verses
  - 2.2. Exposition of the verses



3. The Buddha repeats the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on auspicious night*
  - 3.1. The verses
  - 3.2. Exposition of the verses
4. Conclusion

#### MN 133

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Rājagṛha
2. Introductory narration: a god appears before the monk Samiddhi and tells him to learn the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
3. Samiddhi approaches the Buddha and requests the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
4. The Buddha teaches the verses of the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
5. The Venerable Mahākaccāna teaches the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
  - 5.1. The verses
  - 5.2. Exposition of the verses
6. Conclusion

#### MN 134

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Śrāvastī
2. Introductory narration (Kapilavastu): the god Candana appears before the Venerable Lomasakaṅgiya and teaches him the verses, that he had once heard from the Buddha in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three and tells him to learn the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
3. Lomasakaṅgiya approaches the Buddha and requests the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
4. The Buddha teaches the summary and exposition of the *Discourse on auspicious night*
  - 4.1. The verses
  - 4.2. Exposition of the verses
5. Conclusion

## The title

The title of the Pāli discourse, *Bhaddekaratta*, is ambiguous and led scholars to interpret it in two different ways. Whereas the first member of the Karmadhāraya compound *bhaddeka* (cf. PTSD 496: *bhadda/bhaddaka* “good, auspicious, fortunate”) is clear, the second part of the compound *ratta* caused difficulties. The Pāli word *ratta* can either be derived from Sanskrit *rātri* “night” or *rakta* “attachment”,<sup>9</sup> which results in two possible translations: “auspicious night” and “fortunate attachment”.<sup>10</sup>

On the basis of the available Sanskrit evidence we are now able to rule out the latter one. Both manuscripts do not have a colophon, yet the title occurs several times in the main text. Thus, the title appears twice in the SHT manuscript as *bhadrakarātrīya* (r3) and *bhadrakarā(t)r(ī)* (fr. 2v2).



Figure 1: The title in SHT III 816.

The title also features in the fourth verse, which is preserved in the SI manuscript as *(\*bha)drakarātrīyaḥ* (3v3). Moreover, the title is given in the main text with *bhadrakarātrīya* (4v4) and the conclusion refers to the whole discourse as *bhadrakarātrīyasya sūtrasya* (4v1).



Figure 2: The title in SI 2044.

Both Sanskrit manuscripts, as well as the Indic title at the beginning of the Tibetan translation, read *bhadrakarātrī* and therefore confirm the fact that the Pāli word *ratta* represents Sanskrit *rātra* or *rātri*. Only the change of the ‘e’ in *bhaddeka* to ‘a’ in *bhadraka* remained a puzzle. In a note to his translation of the Pāli discourse,

<sup>9</sup> Cf. PTSD 562.

<sup>10</sup> Translated elsewhere as “Ideal lover of solitude” (Ñāṇananda 1973) and “Glücksäligeinsam” (Neumann 1922: 427).

Bodhi suggests that this change can be seen as an attempt to render a difficult reading into a more comprehensible one. He notes that:

*ratta* and *ratti* could be taken to represent respectively either Skt *rātra* and *rātri* (= night) or Skt *rakta* and *rakti* (= attachment). [...] The Central Asian Skt version, the Skt title at the head of the Tibetan version, and the Tibetan translation itself all use *bhadrakarātri*. This confirms the identification of *ratta* with ‘night’; the change from *-e-* to *-a-* can be understood as an attempt to convert a difficult reading into a more familiar one.<sup>11</sup>

Another, highly plausible, explanation of the change from ‘*e*’ to ‘*a*’ is a Sanskritization of the Pāli word *bhaddeka* or *bhadda-eka* “one auspicious night”, and Pāli *bhadda-eka-ratta* thereby becomes Sanskrit *bahadraka-rātrī*. Regarding all points, we can translate the title *Bhaddekaratta-sutta* or *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* as the *Discourse on an auspicious night*.

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<sup>11</sup> Ñāṇamoli, Bodhi 2001: 1342 n. 1210.

### 3 The Sanskrit manuscripts

Two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* have been found or rather obtained in the oasis towns Qizil and Kashgar along the ancient Silk Road in Central Asia, a region that is today known as Xinjiang. This region witnessed a flourishing manuscript culture and yielded treasures of immeasurable value. In the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous expeditions led to the discovery of a myriad of manuscripts, among which were found manuscripts bearing text in Indic languages and scripts. It turned out that many of these texts represent those Indic texts, which were long considered to be lost, and which up to that point solely survived in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

Almost exclusively, the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts do not have any colophons, and do not mention any school affiliation. There is only one exception: the colophon of a long birchbark manuscript, about 150 leaves long, kept in the Petrovsky Collection of Central Asian Sanskrit fragments in St. Petersburg gives the Sarvāstivādin affiliation of the scribe. And indeed, scholars were able to show, on the basis of a comparative study with their Chinese translations, that the majority of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts can be attributed to the Sarvāstivādin school. The Sarvāstivādins effectively represent one of the predominant schools in Central Asia, whose texts spread from northern India to Tibet and China via Central Asia, where they especially flourished on the northern route of the Silk Road.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of this evidence, Skilling ascribed the two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* to the Sarvāstivāda tradition.<sup>2</sup> The place of discovery of the SHT manuscript, namely the Qizil Caves, most probably does not correspond to the place where this manuscript was produced, and it is therefore hazardous to give any firm school affiliation, since the manuscript might well have belonged to another tradition.

Both manuscripts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* show characteristic marks of early Buddhist *raṅṣā* literature, such as protective *mantras* and formulas, incantations, and verses for welfare. These *raṅṣā* elements first appear in the Central Asian version of the text and are not found in earlier Pāli and Chinese recensions. Though the two manuscripts have the same title and contain at least parts of the same set of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sander 1991. See also Frauwallner 1956: 24–41, and Wynne 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Skilling 1997a: 82.

canonical verses they differ at large. This already becomes clear in the difference of length between both texts. The SHT manuscript has preserved one folio recto and verso, and two small fragments, while the SI manuscript comprises four folios, both recto and verso. The manuscripts do not only differ in appearance but also in content, showing variations in the narrative setting and context. It is, therefore, obvious that at least two Sanskrit versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which did not have the same literary form, existed in Central Asia. In the following section, the two manuscripts shall be investigated more closely. Since the two vary significantly they will be discussed separately.

### Editorial conventions

The two fragmentary (and exceedingly distinct) Sanskrit texts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* preserved in Central Asia cannot be fully reconstructed, let alone compiled into one homogeneous text. Because of this, they will be edited separately. The Sanskrit text is presented in two sections: at first the text is transliterated line by line. Second, missing passages are reconstructed on the basis of Pāli and Tibetan parallels where extant. In order to facilitate the reading, the reconstruction dispenses with square brackets and proceeds with only round brackets for missing *akṣaras*. Where a complete reconstruction is not possible, the missing part is indicated with an estimated number of missing *akṣaras*. The translation is based on the reconstructed text. Grey shading marks uncertain or untranslated passages. *Mantra* syllables are rendered in italics. A running text of both Sanskrit versions is presented in the appendix of the present work.

It is not the aim of this work to present a standardised and correct Sanskrit text, but to let the text speak for itself. Throughout the edition, Buddhist Sanskrit orthography and grammar are retained, whereas proper Sanskrit forms are given in annotations. Only in metrical passages where the metre requires quantitative changes Sanskrit forms have been corrected in the text. Missing *sandhi* forms have not been reconstructed. Some cases are, however, ambiguous and it is not easy to decide whether it is a peculiar hybrid Sanskrit form or simply a scribal error or the scribe's carelessness. This is exemplified in cases where the *visarga* or *anusvāra* is missing in final position.

### 3.1 SHT III 816

#### 3.1.1 Description of the manuscript

The manuscript SHT III 816 was found in the Qizil Grottoes, a Buddhist cave complex 75 kilometres northwest of Kučā on the northern Silk Road, during the third German Turfan expedition of 1905–07. Brought back to Berlin, the manuscript is now kept in the German Turfan Collection in the Oriental Department (“Orientabteilung”) of the Berlin State Library (“Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin”), and was published with the site mark signature T III MQR (“3. Turfan-Expedition, Ming-öi bei Qizil, Rotkuppelraum”) in *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (SHT), Volume III.<sup>3</sup> In their excavation reports, the leading scholars of the German Turfan expeditions, Albert Grünwedel and Albert von LeCoq, noted the discovery of a library with Indian manuscripts in the Red Dome Cave (“Rotkuppelhöhle”). Due to unsatisfactory documentation there is now, however, disagreement on the exact location of this library among the more than 250 caves of the Qizil Grottoes. About 650 manuscripts of the German Turfan Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts are marked with the site mark signature MQR and it is so far impossible to definitely decide whether they come from the Qizil library or related sites.<sup>4</sup>

The first reading of SHT III 816 was prepared by Else Lüders, who identified *sūtra* fragments on the obverse with incantations on the reverse (“Sūtrafragment (V) und Beschwörungen (R)”) and thus ascribed the text to “Nichtkanonisch. Dhāraṇī”.<sup>5</sup> The SHT entry also indicated parallels with the canonical verses in the Pāli *Bhaddekaratta-suttas* and their Chinese translations. Further parallels are remarked in SHT XI, namely the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044 (old call number SI P/36), and the Chinese (Taishō XXI 1362) and Tibetan versions (D 313). The passage reads:

Als Bestimmung wurde im Katalogband ‚Sūtrafragment (V) und Beschwörungen (R)‘ angegeben und für die Vorderseite auf Parallelen in Suttas 131–134 (*Bhaddekaratta-sutta*, *Ānanda-bhaddekarattasutta*, *Mahākaccāna-bhaddeka*<sup>o</sup> und *Lomasakaṅgiya-bhaddeka*<sup>o</sup>) des *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN III 187–202), Sūtras 165–167 im chin. *Madhyamāgama* (T

<sup>3</sup> Waldschmidt et al. 1971: 31–33.

<sup>4</sup> For some suggestions, see Sander 1969: 10–12, and Ching (2015), who showed that the identification of certain discovery locations is possible on the basis on archival material.

<sup>5</sup> Waldschmidt et al. 1971: 31.

26, I 696b–700b) und einer Einzelübersetzung des Sūtra 166 (T 77, I 886–887a) hingewiesen. ‚Beschwörungen‘ (*mantra*) finden sich auch im *Bhadrakarātrīyasūtra* [SI P/36; ed. Oldenbourg 1904 (pp. 115–116): Text 16 (Nachdruck: BB 40, p. 69–71); tib. Übersetzung im Derge [Taipei] Kanjur, Abteilung Mdo sde, Bd. *sa*, foll. 61b1–63b5 = Nr. 313, Bd. 15, pp. 133.322.1–134.326.5; chin. Übersetzung T 1362], so daß die ‚Beschwörungen‘ der Rückseite wohl Bestandteil des Sūtra sind (Hinweis J. Chung).<sup>6</sup>

The SHT manuscript of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, originally in the Indian *poṭhī* form, is preserved in four fragments, which measure from left to right 1) 4 x 7 cm, 2) 2 x 5 cm, 3) 2 x 3 cm, 4) 4 x 13,5 cm (see figures 3 and 4 below). The material is palm leaf of the talipot palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*), which abundantly grows in South India.<sup>7</sup> It is written in ink in five lines. The leaf does not have any folio number and the fact that the text starts with the auspicious word *siddham* speaks in favour of an individual *sūtra*, which was not part of a collection or composite manuscript.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript does not contain a colophon and is undated. The text begins with a standard opening formula of *sūtras* followed by the rest of the *Bhadrakarātrī* verses and continues then with mantric formulas. Except for what is preserved of the canonical verses, the text of SHT III 816 does not agree with any of the other parallels in Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan.

Both the Indian script and the material – the raw material of palm leaves was not a common writing support in Central Asia since paper from China was easy to purchase – suggest an early date of the manuscript, which most likely originated in India and was then imported to Central Asia. Alternatively, it was written by an Indian scribe, who brought along his own writing materials from India to Central Asia. Even if the writing support points to an Indian origin, the material alone is not

<sup>6</sup> Wille 2012: 417. The folio numbers of the Tibetan text D 313 are, however, mistaken, and should be corrected to 161b1–163b5.

<sup>7</sup> On the writing material of palm leaf manuscripts and their preparation, see Sander 1968: 25f.

<sup>8</sup> Sander (1986: 255) already illustrated that the auspicious word *siddham* here at the beginning of the manuscript is the oldest example of this kind of manuscript openings among the Gilgit and Central Asian material. She noted: “The oldest example for *siddham* at the beginning of a manuscript is found in a palm leaf manuscript (Cat.-No. 816) from Qizil in the Kucha oasis. It is written in a type of the calligraphic ornate script which comes very near to the script of Chilas I graffito No. 117 mentioned above. Because the script is very faint *siddham* is not clear.” On *maṅgala* symbols opening Buddhist manuscripts, see further Sircar 1965: 92–97, and Roth 1986: 239–249.

crucial for a definite allocation of the place where the manuscript originated, although the early script reinforces this assumption.<sup>9</sup> On that account, the place of discovery most probably does not correspond to the place of origin.

The images below, showing the manuscript SHT III 816, are provided by the *International Dunhuang Project* (IDP) database.<sup>10</sup>



Figure 3: SHT III 816 recto.

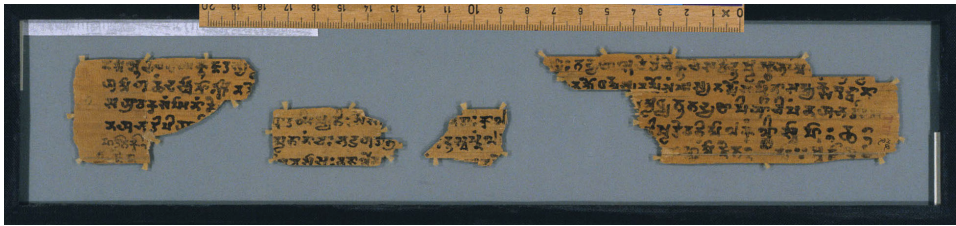


Figure 4: SHT III 816 verso.

While reading the manuscript, counting missing *akṣaras*, and reconstructing the text it soon became clear that the fragments one and four form one folio with a gap between these two of about six *akṣaras*, whereas fragments two and three belong to at least one other folio, which is not preserved in its entirety. It is evident that all fragments belong to the very same manuscript not only because they were written by the same hand, but also by the common title, which occurs in the folio and in fragment 2. Regarding all points, this results in the following rearrangement of the four fragments of the manuscript in one folio and two independent fragments:

<sup>9</sup> Schlingloff (1956: 122) was able to demonstrate that two of the birchbark manuscripts of the Turfan finds were written by local scribes. Furthermore, remains of a multitude of palm leaf manuscripts found in Bāmiyān were written in the characteristic Brāhmī of northern India.

<sup>10</sup> [http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo\\_scroll\\_h.a4d?uid=14640151320;recnum=101334;index=1](http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=14640151320;recnum=101334;index=1) (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).





Figure 5: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: folio 1 recto.



Figure 6: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: folio 1 verso.



Figure 7: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: fragment 1 recto, verso.



Figure 8: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: fragment 2 recto, verso.

### 3.1.2 Palaeographic dating

The manuscript SHT III 816 was written with a reed pen in horizontal lines and upright letters. It shows a consistent ink intensity, as well as a consistent letter dimension. In general, the writing is mostly legible, uncertain readings remain only where the manuscript is no longer intact. The script in which the manuscript was written belongs, according to Sander's classification of the different types of scripts

found in the manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan Collection,<sup>11</sup> to the transitional phase from the Indian to the Turkestan Gupta type (Schrifttyp II–III).<sup>12</sup> The latter closely resembles the northwestern Indian Brāhmī of the Gupta period and the transition between the two script types can be regarded as fluent. As Sander noted in her palaeography the Indian Gupta type (Schrifttyp II), represented by the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscript from the Kuṣāṇa time, was mostly used in manuscripts probably dating to the fifth century:

Der durch die Handschrift der *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* repräsentierte nordindische Gupta-Typus (Alphabet h–k), welcher dem ‚turkistanischen Gupta-Typ‘ (Schrifttypus III) am ähnlichsten ist, liegt am häufigsten in Manuskripten vor, die wahrscheinlich aus dem 5. Jh. n. Chr. stammen.<sup>13</sup>

The Turkestan Gupta type (Schrifttyp III) later developed into the Turkestan Brāhmī (Schrifttypen IV–VII). Since it is possible to date a manuscript written in the latter script, which mentions the king Suvarṇapuṣpa, who ruled in Kučā in the beginning of the seventh century, the Turkestan Brāhmī must have been completely elaborated by this time and consequently the Turkestan Gupta type must have evolved earlier, most likely during the fifth to sixth centuries CE.<sup>14</sup> We can, thereby, conclude that the manuscript SHT III 816 of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* had been written down by the end of the fifth or early sixth century CE.

Detailed descriptions of palaeographic characteristics of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan Collection, including their provenances, materials, formats, writing instruments, as well as charts of sample letters have already been undertaken by Sander (1968) and thus a complete palaeographic study of SHT III 816 will not be provided here.<sup>15</sup> Some selected *akṣaras* of SHT III 816, where the writing differs from the writing in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscript, are, however, worthy of mention since they clearly show the development of this script towards the Turkestan style. The differences between the SHT manuscript and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* apply to the basic signs *a*, *u*, *ga*, and *śa*, as well as the vowel

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Sander 1968: 6.

<sup>12</sup> See the note on the script of SHT III 816 in Waldschmidt et al. (1971: 31): “Übergang indischer-turkistanischer Gupta-Typ (Sander, Paläographisches, Alphabet q, p. 200).”

<sup>13</sup> Sander 1968: 47 n. 201.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sander 1968: 46f.

<sup>15</sup> See alphabet h–k for the Indian Gupta style, and alphabet q for the Turkestan Gupta type. See also Lüders (1926: 4–15) for a description of the characteristics of the Indian Gupta type Brāhmī in his palaeographic study of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.

diacritics *-ā* and *-u*. The following description of these letters concern the SHT manuscript (see also table below for a comparison of these letters with the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*):

- *a*: The modified form of *a* already looks like the fully developed Nāgarī *a*.
- *u*: The sign *u* does not show the hook to the right anymore, but the lower half of the letter corresponds to a semi-circle to the left.
- *ga, śa*: The *akṣaras ga* and *śa*, which share the main character, developed a semi-circle on the left, which continues with a horizontal stroke on the top and one vertical stroke to the right.
- *-ā*: The horizontal stroke of the *-ā* turns downwards at the right end, as can be seen in the *akṣaras kā, jā, and tā*.
- *-u*: The vowel sign *-u* that is added to a vertical stroke like in *ku, tu, and du* corresponds to a curl, beginning on the top left to the bottom left.

Table 6: Different writings of selected *akṣaras* in SHT III 816 and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.

	SHT III 816	<i>Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā</i> <sup>16</sup>
<i>a</i>		
<i>u</i>		
<i>ga śa</i>		
<i>kā jā tā</i>		
<i>ku tu du</i>		

The following two tables give an overall survey of the scribe's hand, first basic letters arranged according to the Sanskrit *varṇamālā* alphabet, then some selected consonant clusters.

<sup>16</sup> The letters of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscripts are extracted from the online palaeography Indoskript 2.0: <http://www.indoskript.org/manuscripts/details/648> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

Table 7: Palaeographic study of SHT III 816.

[illegible]

Table 7 (continued)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
ṣ-	ṣ										
s-	स	स	सि	सि	सु						
h-	ह	ह		हि							
Anu- svāra	ं	ं	ं								
Virāma Visarga	ः	ः	ः								
Virāma	ँ										

Table 8: Selected consonant clusters of SHT III 816.

kṣa	क्ष	tka	त्क	tya	त्य	tra	त्र	dya	द्य
dra	द्र	pra	प्र	rya	र्य	lpa	ल्प	sma	स्म
ṣyā	क्ष्य	ṣyā	क्ष्य						
trī	त्री								
str	स्त्र								
kṣu	क्षु								

### 3.1.3 Orthography, phonology, morphology

The manuscript is written in the Buddhist Sanskrit language. Specifically the verses are composed in a more hybrid manner than the prose passages, being not unusual. This can also be observed in other Central Asian manuscripts.<sup>17</sup> The following

<sup>17</sup> Waldschmidt et al. (1971: 86) commented on the hybrid language of the verses of the *Asilomapratīśara*: “Die Sprache der Verse ist ein sehr verwildertes Sanskrit; der Anusvāra und Vokallängen sind oft nicht geschrieben; nicht selten fehlen die Deklinationsendungen, oder es treten falsche an. Auch Schreibfehler kommen vor.”

section summarizes orthographical, phonetic, and morphological features of the manuscript, which deviate from the traditional Sanskrit language. It should be noted that none of the these forms occur regularly in the text. The forms are listed according to their appearance in the text.

### Orthography

– Scribal inconsistency:

- *saṃṛddh* (r5)/*saṃrdh* (v3)

– Confusion of vowels:

Elision of a vowel marker:

- *viharata* for *viharati* (r1)
- *sthabhāma* for *sthambhāmi* (v1)

Superfluous vowel marker (or parts thereof):

- *avidhīyate* for *avadhīyate* (r3)
- *udītaṃ* for *uditaṃ* (r4)

– Final *visarga* left unwritten:

- *bhikṣava* for *bhikṣavaḥ* (r2)

– Superfluous *anusvāra* and *visarga*:

- *kurutaṃ* for *kuruta* (r 2–3)
- *bhāṣayīṣyāmaḥs* for *bhāṣayīṣyāmas* (r3)
- *baṃndhamā* for *bandhamā* (fr.1 r3)

### Phonology (all § numbers refer to BHSG)

– Alternation of vowels:

ai > e (§ 3.67)

- *kadames* for *katamais* (r3–4)
- *adyeva* for *adyaiva* (r5)

– Voicing of unvoiced consonants:

k > g (§ 2.28)

- *bhadragarātrīya* for *bhadrakarātrīya* (r3, fr.2 v2)

ṇ > n (§ 2.39)

- *paṃṇaśabharīḥ* for *parṇaśabarīḥ* (v3)
- t > d (§ 2.28)
  - *kadames* for *katamais* (r3–4)
  - *ādaṭṭaṃ* for *ātaptam* (r5)
- Substitution of consonants:
  - r > ṛ
    - *paṃṇaśabharīḥ* for *parṇaśabarīḥ* (v3)
- Gemination of consonants:
  - dh > ddh
    - *ddharme* for *dharme* (r4)
    - *saṃṛddhyate* for *saṃṛdhyate* (r5)
- Reduction of consonant clusters:
  - śy > ś
    - *vipaśakaḥ* for *vipaśyakaḥ* (r4)
  - mbh > bh
    - *sthabhāma* for *sthambhāmi* (v1)
  - ḥsv > sv
    - *duṣvapnaṃ* for *duḥsvapnaṃ* (v4)
- *Sandhis* are frequently left unwritten

## Morphology

### Nominal endings:

- a-stem
  - Acc. pl. m. in *-ā* (§ 8.92): *pratyutpannā* for *pratyutpannān* (r4), *duṣṭā* for *duṣṭān* (v1) (probably loss of final nasal § 2.72)
  - Acc. pl. m. in *-e* (§ 8.80): *ddharme* for *dharmān* (r4)
  - Gen. pl. m. in *-ānā* (§ 8.117): *saptānā samyaksambuddhānā* for *saptānāṃ samyaksambuddhānāṃ* (v2) (probably loss of final *anusvāra* § 2.72)
- a-stem for as-stem
  - Nom. sg. m. in *-aḥ*: *vidvaḥ* for *vidvān* (r5)

- ī-stem (polysyllabic)
  - Voc. sg. f. in *-īḥ*: *paṃnaśabharīḥ* for *paṃnaśabari* (v3)
- u-stem
  - Voc. sg. m. in *-u* (§ 12.15): *bhikṣu* for *bhikṣo* (r3)
  - Voc. pl. m. in *-ava*: *bhikṣava* for *bhikṣavaḥ* (r2) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)

Verbal forms:

- 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. opt. in *-e* (§ 29.12):  $\sqrt{jñā} > jāne$  (r5) for Skt. *jānīyāt*
- 2<sup>nd</sup> pl. impv. in *-tha* for *-ta* (§ 26.11–13, § 30.12): *śṛṇutha* (r2)  
but also *kuruta* (r2–3)

### 3.1.4 Structure and summary of contents

The text of the manuscript can be divided into two parts: the canonical text, which can be found on the recto of folio 1, and an appendix on the verso of folio 1, and which probably continues on the two smaller fragments. The appendix entails some characteristic *raṅśā* features and was added to the canonical core. The fragmentary state of the manuscript makes it difficult in some places to definitely decide where a *mantra* begins or ends, since opening and closing markers are partly missing.

The structure of the text can be summarized as follows:

Part I: Canonical text

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Śrāvastī
2. The Buddha teaches the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
3. Rests of verses 2 and 3

Part II: Appendix

4. Statements of homage and three *mantras* with invocations of female deities

The text opens with a standard *sūtra* introduction and gives the narrative setting. The story is situated at the Jeta Grove near Śrāvastī, in the garden of



Anāthapiṇḍada,<sup>18</sup> and thus follows the Pāli version MN 131. The Buddha then teaches the meaning of the *Discourse on an Auspicious Night* about the three phenomena of past, present, and future and pronounces the canonical verses. The manuscript, however, has only preserved verse two and the first half of verse three. The text continues with the appendix encompassing three *mantras*, invocations of female deities, and statements of homage.

Even if we do not know how much of the text is missing, the canonical section – although it does not end in a traditional *sūtra* manner – seems to be completed in this abridged form due to the fact that the text transitions afterwards into the appendix without a gap. In short, it can be noted that the manuscript holds a condensed version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, and leaves out everything that is not necessary for the achievement of protection and welfare. It was presumably compiled for the exclusive usage in protective ritual practices.

### 3.1.5 Transliteration

Folio 1 recto

- (1) siddham\* e + + + + + /// + + + + + [s]ty. viharata sma jetavane anāthap[i]ṇḍa
- (2) dasyārāme tatra [bh]. + + + /// + + + + + [ś]ṛṇutha bhikṣava sādhu ca suṣṭu ca manasīku
- (3) rutaṃ bhāṣayīṣyāmaḥ [st]ṛ + /// + + + + + bhikṣu bhadragarātrīya ity avidhīyate : ka
- (4) dames ṭrbhiḥ udītaṃ nama.e /// + .ṣ. . . . . taḥ pratyutpannā ca ddharme tatra tatra vipaśakaḥ a
- (5) saṃhārya vikalpa s[th]aḥ vid[v]as taṃ /// .ṛddhyate : adyeve k[u]rīyam ādap[t]aṃ : ko jāne maraṇaṃ hi .o .ai .i +

Folio 1 verso

- (1) nam[o] ārya [tha] . . . . . kujarasya . . /// . . : tadyathā ace vice kuce sarv[e] duṣṭ[ā] sthābhāma . . + .u .ṭ.

<sup>18</sup> SHT III 816 r1–2: (bhagavān śrāva)sty(āṃ) viharat(i) sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme.

- (2) śam āgachaṃda svāhā [tā ka] na[mo] /// + namo dhar[m]as[y]a namo  
saṃghasya namo saptānā samyaksambuddhānā
- (3) sa śrāvakaṣaṃghānāṃ ni + + + /// + + + + + . . mṛdhyatu tadyathā piśāci  
paṃnaśabhar[ī]ḥ . .
- (4) naśabhari pi[ś]ā.i + + + /// + + + + + .iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi svāhā : cha . .
- (5) <sup>19</sup>. . ji . . + + + + + /// + + + + + . . hma mām jitaḥ m[ā] iṣ[t]aṃ jā .i . . ṃ

### Fragment 1

Recto

Verso

(1) + + . . . .v.

(1)

(2) . . atha bhaga

(2) + narāḥ kāla

(3) + kāḥ baṃndhamā

(3) . . dusvapnaṃ la

(4) + + .i + +

(4) + + + + . . . .

### Fragment 2

Recto

Verso

(1) [t].[d]y.[th]. [v].[n].[v].[r].[n]. +

(1) dh[ā]rayiṣyati : sa[s]. . . +

(2) ra te : hīnamadyama tā . .

(2) mṛtānāṃ ca : bhadragarā.r.

(3) .āḥ yat kaścid bhikṣa[vo] + +

(3) ? [ca] sā saḥ na [k]ālena

## 3.1.6 Reconstruction, translation, and parallels

The following reconstruction and translation considers only folio 1, since no cohesive meaning could be made out of the two small fragments.

<sup>19</sup> Between lines four and five the letters *ha ra ti kā* [l]. /// have been written by another scribe.

Sanskrit	Translation
1. siddham e(vaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān śrāva)sty(āṃ) viharat(i) sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme	Success! Thus have I heard. At one time <sup>20</sup> the Blessed One was dwelling in the Jeta Grove near Śrāvastī, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada.
2. tatra bh(agavān bhikṣūn āmantrayati sma) (...~6...) śṛṇutha <sup>21</sup> bhikṣava <sup>22</sup> sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasīkuruta{m} bhāṣayiṣyāma{h}s tṛ(bhir dharmaiḥ sampannaḥ) (...~5...) bhikṣu <sup>23</sup> bhadragarātrīya <sup>24</sup> ity avidhīyate <sup>25</sup>   kadames <sup>26</sup> tṛbhiḥ udītaṃ <sup>27</sup> nama(s)e (...~7...) .ṣ. . . . . taḥ	There the Blessed One addressed the monks. [...] “Listen, monks, and bear this well and carefully in mind [what] I will say. Since it is endowed with the three characteristics, [...] monk, it is called the [discourse] on an auspicious night. What are these three? It is said: Homage [...]
3. pratyutpannā <sup>28</sup> ca {ye} ddharme <sup>29</sup> tatra tatra vipaś(y)akāḥ asaṃhārya vikalpasthaḥ vidvas <sup>30</sup> taṃ (nāvamanyate	Whatever phenomena have arisen everywhere he sees them with insight, without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat it contemptuously.
sam)ṛddhyate <sup>31</sup>	It is completely successful.
adyeva kuryyam <sup>32</sup> ādaptam <sup>33</sup>	One should be diligent today;
ko jāne <sup>34</sup> maraṇam{n} hi (śv)o	who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow.
.ai .i +	[...]

<sup>20</sup> Much scholarship has been done on the interpretation and punctuation of this opening formula. For references, see especially Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 90, and Klaus 2007: 322. For this phrase in early Chinese translations, see Nattier 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Read: śṛṇutha.

<sup>22</sup> Read: bhikṣavaḥ.

<sup>23</sup> Read: bhikṣo.

<sup>24</sup> Read: bhadragarātrīya.

<sup>25</sup> Read: avadhīyate.

<sup>26</sup> Read: katamais.

<sup>27</sup> Read: udītaṃ.

<sup>28</sup> Read: pratyutpannāṃś.

<sup>29</sup> Read: dharmāṃs.

<sup>30</sup> Read: vikalpastho vidvāṃs.

<sup>31</sup> Read: samṛddhyate.

<sup>32</sup> Read: kuryāt.

<sup>33</sup> Read: ātaptam. Cf. BHSD 91/2 for ātaptakārin: “ātapta as hyper-Skt. for Pali ātappa”.

<sup>34</sup> Read: jānīyāt.

Pāli<sup>35</sup>

## Tibetan

1. Evaṃ me sutam. ekaṃ samayaṃ  
bhagavā sāvattthiyaṃ viharati jetavane  
anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme.

2. Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi  
[...] Bhagavā etad avoca: [...] Taṃ  
suṇātha, sādhukaṃ manasi karotha.  
Bhāsissāmīti.

dge slong khyod de'i phyir legs par rab  
tu nyon la yid la zungs shig dang | ngas  
khyod la bshad par bya'o | dge slong  
chos gsum dang ldan na dge slong  
mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo sde la gnas  
pa zhes bya'o | gsum gang zhe na |

3. Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ  
tattha tattha vipassatī.  
Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ  
taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.

gang dag da ltar byung ba'i chos |  
de dang de la rab bltas nas |  
rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par |  
de dag thams cad khong du chud |

Ajje va kiccaṃ ātappaṃ  
ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve.

sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis |  
de ring nyid du brtun te bya |

<sup>35</sup> The Pāli version follows MN 131.

Sanskrit	Translation
4. namo ārya tha . . . . ku jarasya (...~8...)   tadyathā ace vice kuce sarve duṣṭā <sup>36</sup> sthabhām(i) <sup>37</sup> . . + .u .ṭ. śam āgachamda svāhā tā ka namo (...~7...) namo dharmasya namo saṃghasya namo saptānā samyaksaṃbuddhānā <sup>38</sup> saśrāvakaṣaṃghānām ni (...~15...) (sa)mṛdhyatu tadyathā piśāci paṃnaśabharī <sup>39</sup> (śa)naśabhari <sup>40</sup> piśā(c)i (...~17...) iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi svāhā   cha . . . . jī (...~22...) hma mām jitaḥ mā iṣṭam jā .i . . m	Homage to the noble [...] tadyathā <i>ace vice kuce</i> . I suppress all evil. [...] <i>śam āgachamda</i> svāhā. [...] Homage [...] Homage to the Dharma, the Saṃgha and the seven Perfectly Awakened Ones together with their order of disciples. [...] May he succeed. tadyathā <i>piśāci paṃnaśabari śanaśabari</i> <i>piśāci</i> [...] <i>iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi</i> svāhā. [...]

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<sup>36</sup> Read: *duṣṭāṇ*.

<sup>37</sup> Read: *sthabhāmi*.

<sup>38</sup> Read: *saptānām samyaksaṃbuddhānām*.

<sup>39</sup> Read: *paṃnaśabari*.

<sup>40</sup> Read: *śanaśabari*.

## 3.2 SI 2044

### 3.2.1 Description of the manuscript

The Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044, with the old call number SI P/36, of the Petrovsky Collection of Central Asian Sanskrit fragments in St. Petersburg, was obtained in Kashgar at the western end of the Tarim Basin where the northern and southern Silk Roads met. From this significant convergence point the Russian Consul Nikolai Fyodorovich Petrovsky (1837–1908), who collected archaeological and cultural artefacts in Kashgar for twenty-one years from 1882 onwards sent back to St. Petersburg a large number of manuscripts, which are now kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

The manuscript SI 2044 was first published and read by Sergei Oldenburg in 1904.<sup>41</sup> It comprises four folios, recto and verso, with five lines each. The manuscript's physical form alludes to the Indian palm leaf *poṭhī* format. Like the majority of manuscripts found in the oasis towns and monasteries along the Silk Road in Central Asia the manuscript is written on paper in a northern Turkestan alphabet. Paper was brought to Central Asia from China, but was by no means a standard material in India at that time, since paper manufactures were not to arrive in India until the tenth century.<sup>42</sup> As we have seen above, the material alone is not conclusive to determine the place of origin. But both the material and the script, which were mainly in use in the western region of Eastern Turkestan, suggest that this manuscript was written in Central Asia along the northern route of the Silk Road. The manuscript measures about 6,8 cm in width. Since it is broken off to the

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Oldenburg 1904: 115f., reprinted in Minayeff/Oldenburg 1983: 242f. The manuscript is also listed in Bongard-Levin and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya's catalogue of already published Indian texts from Central Asia until 1986 kept in the Russian Manuscript Collection under the title *Bhadrakarātrīyasūtra* (1986, table I). A list of identified Sanskrit fragments of the St. Petersburg Collection is available in Hori 2014: 261f. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* (SI 2044/SI P/36) is, however, not mentioned.

<sup>42</sup> As Sander already noted in her palaeographic examination of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the German Turfan Collection, paper found its way into the northern parts of India and was likewise used as a writing support there (cf. Sander 1968: 29). Paper manuscripts have been found in Gilgit along with birchbark manuscripts written in the same script (cf. von Hinüber 2014: 91, and Hartmann 2017b: 290 n. 3).

left and right, it is impossible to give the exact length. The preserved fragment is approximately 19,5 cm long. It does not contain a colophon and is undated.

The following images are provided by the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

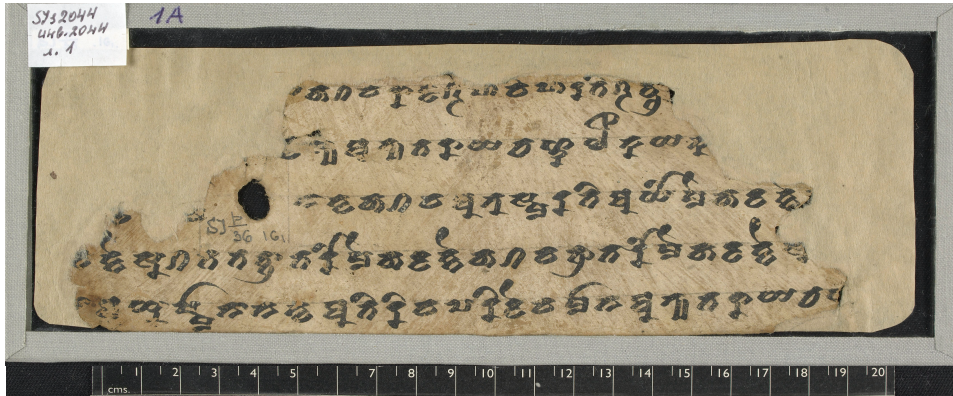


Figure 9: SI 2044 1r.

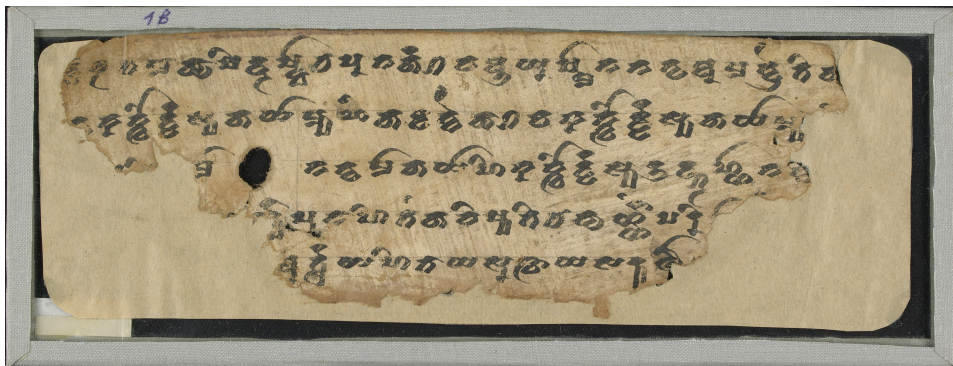


Figure 10: SI 2044 1v.

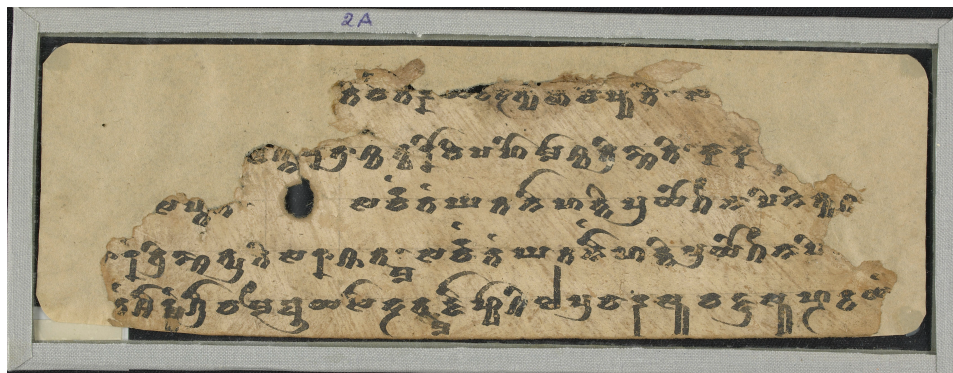


Figure 11: SI 2044 2r.



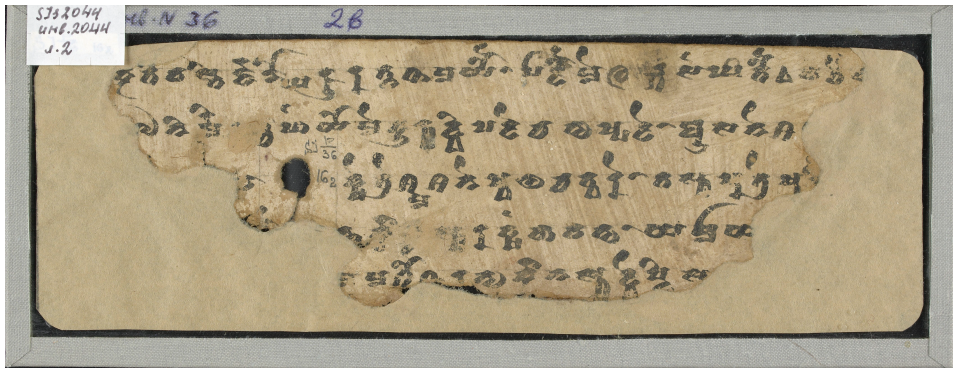


Figure 12: SI 2044 2v.

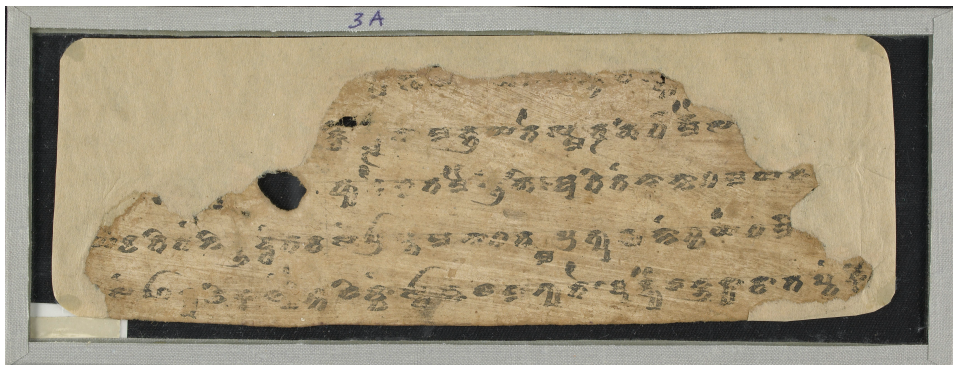


Figure 13: SI 2044 3r.

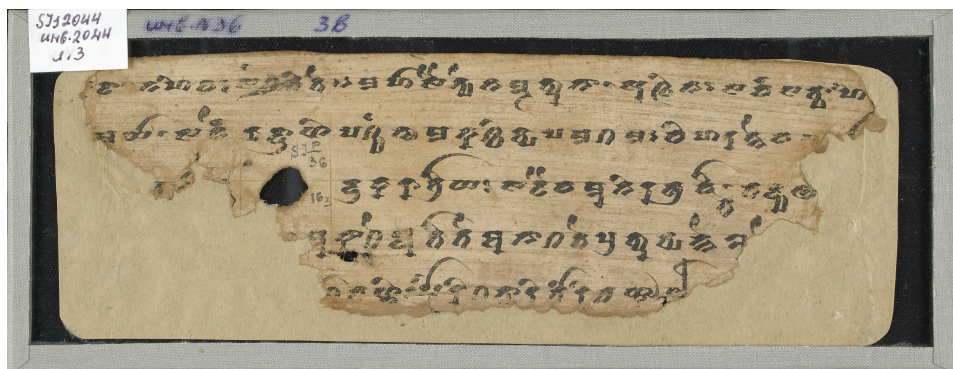


Figure 14: SI 2044 3v.



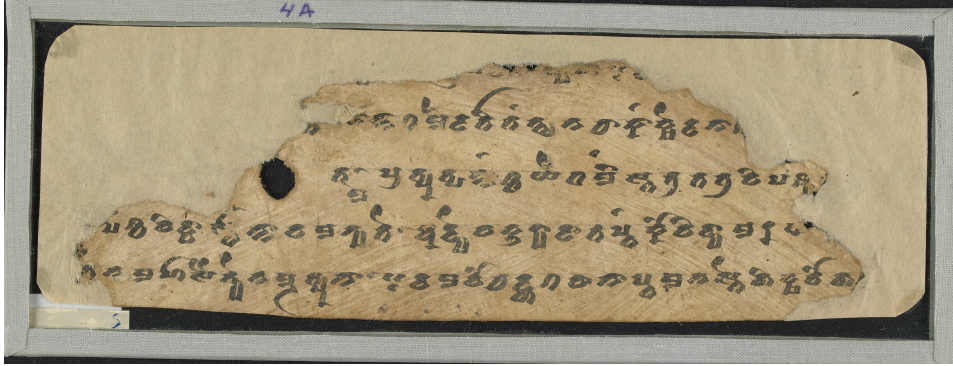


Figure 15: SI 2044 4r.

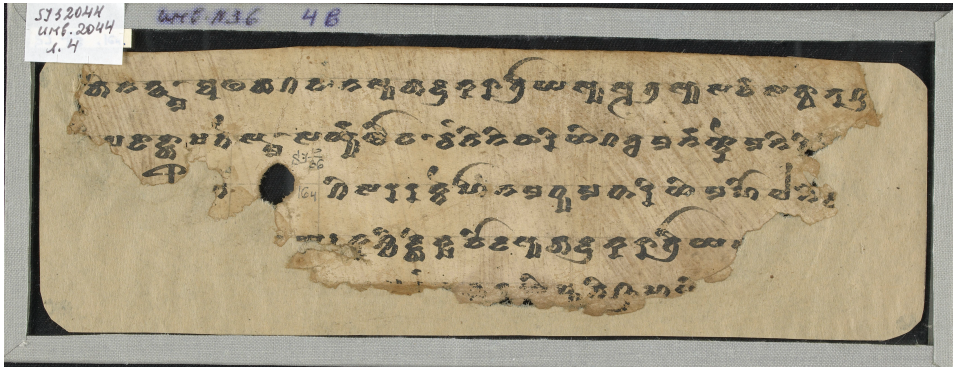


Figure 16: SI 2044 4v.

### 3.2.2 Palaeographic dating

The manuscript SI 2044 was written with ink on paper in horizontal lines and upright letters. It shows a consistent ink intensity, as well as a consistent letter dimension. The writing is for the most part legible; uncertain or doubtful readings remain only where the manuscript is broken off. The script of the manuscript is the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī Type a (Schrifttypus V),<sup>43</sup> which mainly was in use in monasteries of the western region of the northern Silk Road from the seventh century onwards. We have evidence that the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī was fully

<sup>43</sup> The script type “slanting Brāhmī” is already mentioned in Bongard-Levin/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1986. In her palaeographic study, Sander replaced the name “slanting Brāhmī” by “Northern Turkestan Brāhmī”. For her argumentation, see Sander 1968: 5.

developed by the beginning of the seventh century, so that we can assume that the script evolved as early as the sixth century, as Sander already noted:

Das einzig feststehende Datum für die nordturkistanische Schriftgeschichte ist von Lévi und Lüders aus Schenkungsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit des Königs Suvarṇapuṣpa erschlossen worden, der zu Beginn des 7. Jh.s in Kučā herrschte. Da diese Schenkungsurkunden in ‚nordturkistanischer Brāhmī, Typ a‘ geschrieben worden sind, hat schon Lüders daraus gefolgert, daß die ‚nordturkistanische Brāhmī‘ zu diesem Zeitpunkt voll entwickelt war. Wie lange sie in den Klöstern der nördlichen Seidenstraße geschrieben wurde, bleibt unbekannt.<sup>44</sup>

The development from the Turkestan Gupta type to the Early Turkestan Brāhmī, which eventually resulted in the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī can best be seen in the Central Asian vowel markers for *e* and *ai*, and the changing shape of the *akṣaras* *ā*, *ka*, *ma*, and *ya*. The Early Turkestan Brāhmī is easily identified by the first occurrence of the Central Asian *e* and *ai* slanting to the right, which developed further in the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī. The most important distinguishing feature of the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī in relation to earlier scripts is the now-closed upper line of the *akṣaras* *ā*, *ma*, and *ya*, as well as the blockier form of *ka*. For an overall survey of the *akṣaras* and for selected consonant clusters of SI 2044, see the two tables below. Oftentimes the characters for *na* and *ta*, *ya* and *ṇa*, and *va* and *da* are difficult to differentiate, so that the transliteration of the manuscript is not merely based on the outward appearance of these letters, but on etymological grounds.

Table 9: Palaeographic study of SI 2044.

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
	𑖀	𑖁	𑖂		𑖃			𑖄			
k-	𑖅	𑖆			𑖇		𑖈			𑖉	
kh-	𑖊	𑖋	𑖌								
g-	𑖍		𑖎				𑖏	𑖐			𑖑
gh-	𑖒	𑖓								𑖔	
ṇ-										𑖕	
c-	𑖖	𑖗							𑖘		
ch-											

<sup>44</sup> Sander 1968: 46.

Table 9 (continued)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	r̥	e	ai	o	au
j-	८			५							
jh-											
ñ-											
t-											
th-											
d-	१										
dh-											
n-			७								
t-	८	८	७	५	८			५			७
th-	७			५							
d-	७	७					५	५	५		५
dh-	७	७									
n-	८	८	७	५	८			५			
p-	८	८	७		८						
ph-											
b-	८										
bh-	८		७								
m-	८	८			८		८	८	८		
y-	८	८			८			८		८	८
r-	८	८	८			८		८		८	
l-	८		८								
v-	८	८	८	८				८		८	
ś-	८	८		८				८			
ṣ-	८		८								
ṣ-	८		८	८	८	८			८		
h-	८	८	८	८			८			८	
Anu- svāra	८	८	८								
Virāma Visarga	८:	८:	८:	८:							
Virāma	८	८	८								

Table 10: Selected consonant clusters of SI 2044.

kṣa	𑖅𑖆	ṇḍa	𑖇𑖆𑖅	tva	𑖅𑖆𑖅	nya	𑖅𑖆𑖅	pra	𑖅𑖆𑖅
rdda	𑖅𑖆𑖅	rbha	𑖅𑖆𑖅	śca	𑖅𑖆𑖅	sma	𑖅𑖆𑖅	sya	𑖅𑖆𑖅
trā	𑖅𑖆𑖅	rmā	𑖅𑖆𑖅	ṣtvā	𑖅𑖆𑖅	ṣmā	𑖅𑖆𑖅	smā	𑖅𑖆𑖅
grī	𑖅𑖆𑖅	tri	𑖅𑖆𑖅	dvi	𑖅𑖆𑖅	nti	𑖅𑖆𑖅	sti	𑖅𑖆𑖅
tre	𑖅𑖆𑖅	dye	𑖅𑖆𑖅	nre	𑖅𑖆𑖅	ndre	𑖅𑖆𑖅		
kkho	𑖅𑖆𑖅	ṅho	𑖅𑖆𑖅						

### 3.2.3 Orthography, phonology, morphology

The manuscript is written in Buddhist Sanskrit, but shows two varying levels of hybridisation. The *nidāna* and the introductory narration show a very high degree of hybrid forms, *sandhis* are frequently unemployed and final *visargas* are lost (cf. BHSG § 2.92), whereas correct Sanskrit forms, as well as *sandhis*, almost exclusively occur in the verses and in the final concluding formula. The following section summarizes orthographical, phonetic, and morphological features of the manuscript, which deviate from the traditional Sanskrit language. It should be noted that none of the following forms occur regularly in the text. The forms are listed according to their appearance in the text.

#### Orthography

##### – Scribal inconsistency:

- *adyaiva* (3r5)/*adyeva* (4r4)

##### – Confusion of vowels:

##### Elision of a vowel marker:

- *caṇḍalikaya* for *caṇḍalikāya* (1r2)
- *trātaro* for *trātāro* (1r4)
- *kakkhorddasya* for *kākhordasya* (1v2)

- *ananda* for *ānanda* (1v1)
- *abhuṣi* for *abhūṣi* (1v1)
- *artthaya* for *arthāya* (1v5)
- *vetaḍa* for *vetāḍa* (2r1)
- *catvaro* for *catvāro* (2r2)
- *ghatanī* for *ghātānī* (2r3)
- *śmaśanesv* for *śmaśānesv* (2v3)
- *atitaṃ* for *atītaṃ* (3r3, 3r4)
- *ma* for *mā* (3v2)

Superfluous vowel marker:

- *ānānda* for *ānanda* (1r3)
- *cākāṃkṣed* for *cakāṅkṣed* (3r3, 4r2)
- *jīhyā* for *jihvām* (2r5)
- *gila* for *galam* (2r5)
- Final *visarga* and *ansuvāra* left unwritten:
  - *sugata* for *sugataḥ* (1r4)
  - *bhagava* for *bhagavaḥ* (1r1)
  - *bhagava* for *bhagavam* (1r3)
  - *grīva* for *grīvam* (2r5)
  - *jīhyā* for *jihvām* (2r5)
  - *dharmai* for *dharmaiḥ* (3r2)
  - *nirāmayā* for *nirāmayāḥ* (3v2)
- *n* inserted before words beginning with *t*:
  - *atītaṃn tu* for *atītaṃ tu* (4r2)

Phonology (all § numbers refer to BHSG)

- Alternation of vowels:

ai > e (§ 3.67)

- *adyeva* for *adyaiva* (4r4)

– Substitution of consonants:

l > ḍ (§ 2.46)

- *vetaḍa* for *vetāla* (2r1)

v > y (§ 2.31)

- *jīhyā* for *jihvām* (2r5)

t > d (§ 2.28)

- *anvāgamayed* for *anvāgamayet* (3r3)
- *dasya* for *tasya* (4v4)

d > v (§ 2.32)

- *saryyathīva* for *sadyathīdaṃ* (4v2)

– Gemination of consonants:

kh > kkh

- *kakkhorddasya* for *kākhordasya* (1v2)

– Degemination:

- *satvā* for *sattvā* (3v1, 4v1)

## Morphology

### Nominal endings:

– a-stem

- Nom. sg. m. in *-a* (§ 8.22): *ānānda* for *ānandaḥ* (1r3, 1v1), *sugata* for *sugataḥ* (1r4), *paridevamāna* for *paridevamānaḥ* (1r5) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)
- Voc. sg. m. in *-o* (§ 8.28): *ayyo* for *arya* (1r3)
- Nom. pl. m. in *-ā* (§ 8.78): *nirāmayā* for *nirāmayāḥ* (3v2) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)

– a-stem for nt-stem

- Nom. sg. m. in *-a*: *bhagava(h)* for *bhagavān* (1r1) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)
- Acc. sg. m. in *-a* (§ 8.31): *bhagava(m)* for *bhagavantam* (1r3) (probably loss of final *anusvāra* § 2.72)

- Voc. sg. m. in *-a*: *bhagava* for *bhagavan* (1v2) (probably loss of final nasal § 2.72)
- āra-stem for ṛ-stem
  - Nom. sg. m. in *-āro* (§13.16): *trātāro* for *trātā* (1r4)
- Pronouns
  - 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun nom. sg. n. in *-am* (§ 21.11): *taṃ* for *tat* (1v4)
  - Relative pronoun acc. pl. m. in *-e* (§ 21.30): *ye* for *yān* (3r4)
- Pronominal adjectives with nominal endings
  - Oblique cases sg. f. (instr., abl., dat., gen.) in *-āya* (§ 21.17): *anyatarāya* (1r2)
  - Nom. pl. m. in *-āḥ* (§ 21.26): *sarvā(h)* for *sarve* (3v1)

Verbal forms:

- 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. aor.  $\sqrt{bhū}$  (§ 32.72): *abhuṣi* for *abhūt* (1v1)
- Periphrastic verbal expression with aor. of  $\sqrt{bhū}$  (§ 41.6): *kṛtam abhuṣi* (1v1)
- 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. impv. in *-āhi* (§§ 30.2, 30.6): *bhayāhi* for *bhaya* (1v3)
- Causative with non-causative meaning (§ 38.22): 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. opt. caus. *anvāgamayed* (3r3)
- Aorist forms with optative meaning (§ 32.119): 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. aor. *āgamat* (3v2)
- 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. opt in *-ā* (§ 29.42): *vidyā* for *vidyāt* (4r4)

### 3.2.4 Structure and summary of contents

The four folios of the SI manuscript contain several very different – or even independent – text passages (since the folios are not paginated I here follow Oldenburg’s numbering). The composition of the text on folios one, three, and four follows a common pattern and the text forms a coherent *sūtra* with additional linguistic features typical for the *raṅṣā* genre. The text on these three folios is thus considered to represent the main text of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. As opposed to the SHT manuscript, the boundaries between *sūtra* and *raṅṣā* passages of the main text become blurred and it is, therefore, not appropriate to speak of a distinct appendix. Instead, *raṅṣā* elements were inserted in various places of the text.

The structure of the main text can be summarized as follows:

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Rājagṛha
2. Introductory narration with a Caṇḍālī and Ānanda as main protagonist (*mantra* 1)
3. Core passage
  - 3.1. Verses 1–3
  - 3.2. The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings
  - 3.3. Rest of verse 4
4. *Mantra* 2
5. Repetition of verses 1–3
6. Conclusion
7. *Mantra* 3 and its effect

The text opens with a standard *sūtra* opening formula and places the story at the vulture-peak near Rājagṛha.<sup>45</sup> Right after the *nidāna*, the compiler of the text inserted a first *raṅṣā* passage, which is unique to this recension of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* and cannot be found in any of the other versions. This section begins with an introductory narration with a Caṇḍālī and Ānanda as its main protagonist and contains one *mantra*, yet only parts of the opening marker are preserved. Oldenburg identified this narrative with an episode borrowed from the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, story 33 of the *Divyāvadāna*,<sup>46</sup> which can also be found in the *Śūrangama-sūtra* (Taishō XIX 945). The *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* is one of the earliest Buddhist texts to employ protective spells and gives rise to apotropaic ritual practices using *mantras*. According to this tale, Ānanda had been overpowered by a magical spell cast by a *Caṇḍāla* woman,<sup>47</sup> whose daughter had fallen in love with him. Captivated by the power of this *mantra*, Ānanda beseeched the Buddha who countered the spell and, in this way, rescued his disciple.

<sup>45</sup> SI 2044 1r1: *bhagavā rājagṛh(e) viharati grddhra(\*kūṭe)*.

<sup>46</sup> Oldenburg (1904: 115): “Ānanda fell under the spell *cāṇḍālī*. Cf. *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*” (translation of the Russian original). Anālayo (2012: 755 n. 4) also pointed to this parallel. Judging from what has been preserved in the Sanskrit fragments of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, it is, however, not so much a matter of a verbatim parallel rather than an analogous narration with a Caṇḍālī and Ānanda as main protagonist, who expresses his state of anxiety.

<sup>47</sup> *Caṇḍālī* refers to an outcaste woman. Cf. *caṇḍāla* in MW 383/3: an outcaste, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes. For the role of outcaste or tribal women in *raṅṣā* literature, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.



This narrative can be regarded as what Davidson calls the “precipitating assertive”, the assertion of an event that precipitates and, thereby, sets out the necessity of the expression of the following *mantra* or *dhāraṇī* spell(s) as apotropaic aids.<sup>48</sup> By inserting this tale into our manuscript, the scribe provides a basis of legitimacy for the incorporation of *mantras* into the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

Then follows the core passage of the *sūtra* with the exposition of the three phenomena of past, present, and future, and the proclamation of the four canonical verses. Between the verses three and four, the compiler of the manuscript inserted the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings. This verse became a distinctive element of early Buddhist *rakṣā* texts and appears in a variety of protective scriptures.<sup>49</sup> The text goes on with the second *mantra*, repeats the first three verses, concludes with a closing formula and ends by announcing the third *mantra* and its effect.

Particularly conspicuous is the text on folio two. It contains formulaic statements in verse form in *anuṣṭubh* metre, comprising lists of evil beings and different parts of the body. It furthermore mentions oblations of poison, amulets, and the fact of killing a certain *rākṣasī* by application of magic. This passage ends with the protective formula *rakṣaṃ bhavatu* “May there be protection”, which emphasizes the protective function of the text. The origin of these verses is however very obscure and the lacunary state of preservation of the folio does not allow to make any sense out of these fragments. Moreover, the position of this folio within the manuscript of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* following Oldenburg’s first reading of the text – that is after the introductory narration and before the core passage – is not evident. There are no parallels of this text passage among all other versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. Yet, the palaeographic analysis shows that all four folios were written by the same scribe. Since there is no indication for the order of folios within the manuscript, folio two could represent an appendix to the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, or could likewise be a folio of another text in a multiple-text manuscript.

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. Davidson 2014a: 13. For further examples of “precipitating assertives”, see Davidson 2014a: 13–17.

<sup>49</sup> For parallels of the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings among *rakṣā* literature, see chapter 5.2.6 of the present work.

### 3.2.5 Transliteration

The following transliteration reproduces the text of the four folios in the order given by Oldenburg. The reconstruction of the text, however, is divided into units of meaning, taking out the text of the second folio, which was placed at the end as an appendix.

#### 1 recto

- (1) /// + + + + + . . bhagava rājagṛh. viharati grddhra + + + + + ///
- (2) /// + + + + + . . [s]ya anyatarāya caṇḍalikaya ka + + + + + ///
- (3) /// + . . + + . . ○ nānda bhagava anusmarati ayo me bhadante + + ///
- (4) /// [da]nte sugata tat trātaro me bhadante bhagava trātāro me bhadante su + ///
- (5) /// .ā [ā]yusmān ānanda atiriva paridevamāna anyatarāya ca[n]. ///

#### 1 verso

- (1) /// . . [k]ṛtam abhuṣi dṛṣṭvā ca punar bhagava āyusmān ananda amandreti bh. ///
- (2) /// . . kakkhorddasya bhayāmy ahaṃ bhadante bhagava kakkhorddasya bhayāmy a. ṃ ///
- (3) /// + . . + + m ā ○ nanda mā bhayāhi kakkhorddasya udgrhñānand. + ///
- (4) /// + + + + + .ā punā hitaṃ bhaviṣyati cāturṇṇaṃ pari.ā + + + ///
- (5) /// + + + + + artthaya hitāya sukhāya saryathī + + + + + ///

#### 2 recto

- (1) /// + + + + + ti vetaḍa [y]. . . [k]ṛtya bhav[i]ṣyati ° sa + + + + + ///
- (2) /// + + + + + [da]gn. putrās catvaro viśahomās ca triṇśati ° kāka . . + + + ///
- (3) /// + + saptat. ° ○ sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanī hanti prayogenāpi nityaśa + ///
- (4) /// .āra triṇśat pratisarā śātam\* ° sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanīm hanti prayogenāpi + + ///
- (5) /// [ta]ṃ śīrṣaṃ grīva me āyasīkṛtam\* jīhyā gila pravāḍasya vajrasya hṛdayaṃ ///

## 2 verso

- (1) /// kṛt[o] vastir jaṅghorū ratnadhāmayau ° pādaḥ me khaḍgasamghātau eva[m]  
cai[va] ///
- (2) /// [ṇ]ā nirmi . . .[c].haṃ yo me kurya dvipade catuṣpade ° āsane śa + + + ///
- (3) /// + + + + .ā ○ kṣetre śmaśaneṣv atha catvare ° tasya putreṣ[u] + + ///
- (4) /// + + + + . . + + . . r[t].ā . . [sya] rakṣaṃ bhavatu ° yamāya + + + + ///
- (5) /// + + + + + [ma]ma gau[ś]. [r].tu rtā tasya dveṣ[t]i s. + + + + + ///

## 3 recto

- (1) /// + + + + + + + + .[m]. [tu] . . . . . + + + + ///
- (2) /// + + + + + + + [tvi] .ṛ[tā] mantrayate sma tṛbhīr dharmāi sa + + + + ///
- (3) /// + + . . . . . ○ cya[t]e [ka]tamaḥ. [t]r[i]bhīr atitaṃ nānvāgamay.[d] . + + ///
- (4) /// yad atitaṃ ni[r]uddhaṃ tad asaṃprā[p]tam anāgatam\* pratyutpannāṃś ca  
y[e] dharmā + + ///
- (5) /// + saṃhā[ry]a vika[lpā]ṃś ca vidvāṃś tā[n nā]vamanyate ° adyaiva kuryād  
ātaptam ko ///

## 3 verso

- (1) /// . . dā ° na hi vaḥ saṃgani tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā ° sukhinaḥ sarvā  
satvā hi ///
- (2) /// + mayā ° sarve bhadraṇi paśyaṃtu ma kaścit pāpam agamaḥ viharante ca  
. . .ā ///
- (3) /// + + . . . . . ○ drakarātrīyaḥ sadaiva munir abravīt\* ° tadyathā + ///
- (4) /// + + + + + + mu kāśe atīte anāgate pratyutpanne b. .e + + ///
- (5) /// + + + + + + [gī] caṇḍi ghorī gan[dh]ārī cori caṇ[d]ilī + + + + + ///

## 4 recto

- (1) /// ++++++. . . . .r. . . . .y. . . i . . ++++++ ///
- (2) /// ++++++.t. . . [n]ānvāgamed atītaṃ tu na cākāṃkṣed anā . . +++++ ///
- (3) /// + + + + + ○ tam\* ° pratyutpannāṃś ca ye dharmāṃs tatra tatra  
vipaś[y]a + + ///
- (4) /// + p.[m]ś ca vidvā[s] tān nāvamanyate ° adyeva kuryād ātaptam kovidyā  
mara[ṇa] + + ///
- (5) /// tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā ° idam avocad bhagavān āptamanas te bhikṣavo  
bha . . ///

## 4 verso

- (1) /// bhinandam\* ° atha bhagavān asya bhadraakarātrīyasya sūtrasya  
sarvasatvānugra ///
- (2) /// + padād bhāṣate sma ° saryyathīva ° vaṃtini vāriṇi gandhamartaṇḍe  
mani[n]i .i + ///
- (3) /// + + + [l]i + . . ○ gi sara rakte hīnamadhyama dhāriṇi maholani d. + ///
- (4) /// + + + + + . . . kaścid bhikṣavo dasya bhadraakarātrīya . . + + + + ///
- (5) /// + + + + + + + . . .ṃ . . . . .yiś[y]ati grāha[y]i + + + + + ///

## 3.2.6 Reconstruction, translation, and parallels

	Sanskrit	Translation
1.	(evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye) bhagava <sup>50</sup> rājagṛh(e) viharati gr̥ddhra(kūṭe) <sup>51</sup> (...~7...)	Thus have I heard. At one time <sup>52</sup> the Blessed One [was] dwelling at the vulture-peak near Rājagṛha. [...]
2.	(...~12...) sya anyatarāya caṇḍali- kaya <sup>53</sup> ka (...~13...) (āyusmān ā)nānda bhagava <sup>54</sup> anusmarati ayo <sup>55</sup> me bha- dante (...~7...) (me bha)dante sugata <sup>56</sup> tat trātaro <sup>57</sup> me bhadante bhagava <sup>58</sup> trātaro me bhadante su(gatas trātaro) (...~4...) .ā āyusmān ānanda atiriva <sup>59</sup> paridevamāna anyatarāya caṇ(ḍalikāya) (...~5...) kṛtam abhuṣi <sup>60</sup> dṛṣṭvā ca pu- nar bhagava <sup>61</sup> āyusmān ananda amandreti bh(ayāmy aham) (...~5...) kakkhorddasya <sup>62</sup> bhayāmy aham bhadante bhagava <sup>63</sup> kakkhorddasya <sup>64</sup> bhayāmy a(ha)m (...~8...) (āyus- mānanda <sup>65</sup> mā bhayāhi kakkhordda- sya <sup>66</sup> udgr̥hṇānand(a) (...~14...) .ā punā <sup>67</sup> hitam bhaviṣyati cāturṇṇām pari(ś)ā(nām) (...~16...) arthaya <sup>68</sup> hitāya sukhāya saryathī(ḍam) (...~6...)	[...] a certain Caṇḍalikā <sup>69</sup> [...] The honorable Ānanda remembered the Blessed One: The venerable is my [...] The venerable Buddha is my protector. The venerable Blessed One is my protector. The venerable Buddha is my protector. [...] the honorable Ānanda exceedingly lamenting, a certain Caṇḍalikā [...] And having seen [what] he/she has done, the honorable Ānanda again addressed the Blessed One: I am afraid. [...] I am afraid of the Kākhorda. <sup>70</sup> Venerable Blessed One, I am afraid of the Kākhorda. [...] Honorable Ānanda, do not be afraid of the Kākhorda. Take up, Ānanda, [...] Benefit will be for the fourfold assembly [...] for the welfare, benefit and happiness. Namely [...]

<sup>50</sup> Read: BHS *bhagavā*, Skt. *bhagavān*.

<sup>51</sup> Read: *gr̥dhrakūṭe*.

<sup>52</sup> For this phrase see p. 80 n. 185 of the present work.

<sup>53</sup> Read: *caṇḍalikāya* (MIA oblique cases: instr., abl., dat., gen., loc. sg. f.).

<sup>54</sup> Read: BHS *bhagavaṃ*, Skt. *bhagavantam*.

<sup>55</sup> Read: *ayaṃ*.

<sup>56</sup> Read: *sugatas*.

<sup>57</sup> Read: BHS *trātaro*, Skt. *trātā*.

<sup>58</sup> Read: *bhagavān*.

<sup>59</sup> Read: BHS *atiriva*, Skt. *atīva*.

<sup>60</sup> Read: BHS *abhūṣi*, Skt. *abhūt*.

<sup>61</sup> Read: BHS *bhagavaṃ*, Skt. *bhagavantam*.

<sup>62</sup> Read: *kākhordasya*.

<sup>63</sup> Read: *bhagavan*.

<sup>64</sup> Read: *kākhordasya*.

<sup>65</sup> Read: *āyusman ānanda*.

<sup>66</sup> Read: *kākhordasya*.

<sup>67</sup> Read: *punar*.

<sup>68</sup> Read: *arthāya*.

	Pāli	Tibetan
1.	Evam me sutam. ekam samayam bhagavā rājagahe viharati tapodārāme.	'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na   bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i khab na 'od ma'i tshal bya ka lan da ka gnas pa
2.		

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<sup>69</sup> BHSD 223/1: “n. of a *yakṣiṇī*.”

<sup>70</sup> On *kākhorda*, see Sanderson 2004: 290–292.

Sanskrit	Translation
3. (...~12...) .m. tu (...~29...) tvi .rtā mantrayate sma tṛbhīr dharmā <sup>71</sup> sa(mpannaḥ bhikṣo bhadrakarārīya ity ucyate katamai(s) tribhiḥ	[...] He addressed [...] . [Since] it is endowed with the three phenomena, monk, it is called the [discourse] on an auspicious night. What are these three?
3.1. atitaṃ <sup>72</sup> nānvāgamay(e)d <sup>73</sup> (na cākāṃkṣed <sup>74</sup> anāgataṃ) yad atitaṃ <sup>75</sup> niruddhaṃ tad asaṃprāptaṃ anāgataṃ  pratyutpannāṃś ca ye <sup>76</sup> dharmā(ṃs tatra tatra vipaśyakaḥ a)saṃhārya vikalpāṃś ca vidvāṃs tān nāvamanyate    adyaiva kuryād ātaptam ko (vidyān maraṇam hi śvas) .. dā   na hi vaḥ saṃgani <sup>77</sup> tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā	One should not follow after the past, one should not long for the future. What is past has been abandoned, and the future has not yet come.  [Whatever] phenomena have arisen everywhere, he sees them with insight without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat them contemptuously.  One should be diligent today, who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow. There is no agreement with the Lord of Death and its great army.
3.2. sukhinaḥ sarvā satvā <sup>78</sup> hi (sarve sattvā nirā)mayā <sup>79</sup>   sarve bhadraṇi paśyamtu ma <sup>80</sup> kaścit pāpam agamaḥ <sup>81</sup>	May all beings be happy, may all beings be healthy. May they all experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anyone.
3.3. viharante ca .. .ā + (...4...) × × (bha)drakarārīyaḥ sadaiva munir abravīt	They dwell [...] [...] The sage has always declared the [discourse] on an auspicious night.

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<sup>71</sup> Read: *dharmāiḥ*.

<sup>72</sup> Read: *atītaṃ*.

<sup>73</sup> Read: *anvāgamayet*.

<sup>74</sup> Read: *cakāṃkṣed*.

<sup>75</sup> Read: *atītaṃ*.

<sup>76</sup> Read: *yān*.

<sup>77</sup> Read: *saṃgaram*.

<sup>78</sup> Read: *sarve sattvā*.

<sup>79</sup> Read: *nirāmayāḥ*.

<sup>80</sup> Read: *mā*.

<sup>81</sup> Read: *āgamat*.

Pāli	Tibetan
3.	chos gsum dang ldan na dge slong mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo sde la gnas pa zhes bya'o   gsum gang zhe na
3.1. Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ. Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattaṃ ca anāgataṃ.  Paccuppannaṃ ca yo dhammaṃ, tattha tattha vipassati. Asaṃhāraṃ asaṅkappaṃ, taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.	das la rjes su phrad mi byed ma 'ongs pa la re ba med 'das pa gang yin de 'gags te ma 'ongs de ni ma phyin pa'o  gang dag da ltar byung ba'i chos de dang de la rab bltas nas rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par de dag mkhas pas khong du chud  sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis de ring nyid du brtun te bya 'chi bdag sde chen de dang ni bdag tu shes pa ma yin no
Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ, ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve? Na hi no saṃgamaṃ tena, mahāsenena maccunā.	sems can kun [...] bde ba [...] grub gyur te   thams cad nyon mongs med par shog   thams cad bzang po mthong gyur te   gang yang sdig par ma gyur cig
3.2.	
3.3. Evaṃ vihārim ātāpiṃ, ahorattam atanditaṃ. Taṃ ve bhaddekaratto ti, santo ācikkhate munīti.	de ltar gnas shing rab brtson la nyin mtshan snyom las med pas na de phyir mtshan mo bzang po yi mdo sde thub pas rtag tu gsungs



	Sanskrit	Translation
4.	tadyathā (...~15...) mu kāśe atīte anāgate pratyutpanne b. .ē (...~14...) (mātaṅ)gī caṇḍi ghorī gandhāri cori caṇḍilī (...~25...) .r. . . . . .y. . . ī (...~24...) .t. . .	<i>tadyathā</i> [...] appearances in the past, future, and present [...] <i>mātaṅgī caṇḍi</i> <i>ghori gandhāri cori caṇḍilī</i> <sup>82</sup> [...]
5.	nānvāgamed <sup>83</sup> atītaṃ {n} tu na cākāṃkṣed <sup>84</sup> anā(gatam yad atītaṃ niruddhaṃ tad asaṃprāptam anāga)taṃ    pratyutpannāṃś ca ye <sup>85</sup> dharmāṃś tatra tatra vipaśya(kaḥ asaṃhārya vikal)p(ā)ṃś ca vidvās <sup>86</sup> tān nāvamanyate    adyeva <sup>87</sup> kuryād ātaptam ko vidyā <sup>88</sup> maraṇa(m hi śvas na hi vaḥ saṃgani <sup>89</sup> ) tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā	One should not follow after the past, one should not long for the future. What is past has been abandoned, and the future has not yet come.  [Whatever] phenomena have arisen everywhere, he sees them with insight without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat them contemptuously.  One should be diligent today, who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow. There is no agreement with the Lord of Death and its great army.
6.	idam avocad bhagavān āptamanas <sup>90</sup> te bhikṣavo bha(gavato bhāṣitaṃ a)bhinandam <sup>91</sup>	Thus spoke the Blessed One. Delighted the monks rejoiced at what the Blessed One had said.

<sup>82</sup> This series of feminine vocatives represents invocations of female deities. For the *mantras* of other *rakṣā* texts invoking goddesses and a discussion of the role of female deities within the *rakṣā* literature, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.

<sup>83</sup> Read: *nānvāgacched*. The form *anvāgamet* follows the caus. opt. form *anvāgamayet* in 3r3.

<sup>84</sup> Read: *cakāṅkṣed*.

<sup>85</sup> Read: *yān*.

<sup>86</sup> Read: *vidvāṃś*.

<sup>87</sup> Read: *adyaiva*.

<sup>88</sup> Read: *vidyān*.

<sup>89</sup> Read: *saṃgaram*

<sup>90</sup> Read: BHS *āptamanasas*, Skt. *āttamanasas*.

<sup>91</sup> Read: *abhyanandam*.

## Pāli

## Tibetan

4.

tadyathā [...] gauri | gandhāri | caṇḍāli |  
mātaṅgī |

5.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya,  
nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ.  
Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ,  
appattaṃ ca anāgataṃ.

Paccuppannaṃ ca yo dhammaṃ,  
tattha tattha vipassati.  
Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ,  
taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.

das la rjes su phrad mi byed  
ma 'ongs pa la re ba med  
'das pa gang yin de 'gags te  
ma 'ongs de ni ma phyin pa'o

gang dag da ltar byung ba'i chos  
de dang de la rab bltas nas  
rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par  
de dag mkhas pas khong du chud

Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ,  
ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?  
Na hi no saṃgamaṃ tena,  
mahāsenena maccunā.

sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis  
de ring nyid du brtun te bya  
'chi bdag sde chen de dang ni  
bdag tu shes pa ma yin no

6.

Idam avoca bhagavā. Attamanā te  
bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitam  
abhinandun ti.

bcom ldan 'das kyis de skad ces bka'  
stsal nas dge slong de bcom ldan 'das  
kyis gsungs pa la mngon par bstod do |

Sanskrit	Translation
7. atha bhagavān asya bhadraakarātrīyasya sūtrasya sarvasatvānugra(hāya) <sup>92</sup> (...~5...) (mantra)padād <sup>93</sup> bhāṣate sma   saryyathīva   vaṁṭini vāriṇi gandhamartaṇḍe mani[n]i .i (...~11...) [l]i + . . gi sara rakte hīnamadhyamadhāriṇi maholani d. (...~17...) kaścid bhikṣavo dasya <sup>94</sup> bhadraakarātrīya(sya sūtrasya) (...~18...) .ṁ . . . . . yiṣ[y]ati grāha[y]i(ṣyati) (...~8...)	Then the Blessed One spoke the <i>mantrapada</i> of this Discourse on an Auspicious Night for the benefit of all beings. [...] Namely <i>vaṁṭini vāriṇi</i> <i>gandhamartaṇḍe mani[n]i .i [...]</i> <i>li</i> [...] <i>gi sara rakte</i> <i>hīnamadhyamadhāriṇi maholani d.</i> [...] Whoever, monks, will [...] and hold [...] of this Discourse on an Auspicious Night [...]

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<sup>92</sup> Read: *sarvasattvānugrahāya*.

<sup>93</sup> Read: *mantrapadam*.

<sup>94</sup> Read: *tasya*.

## Folio 2

× × × × **ti** vet(ā)ḍa<sup>95</sup> **y.** × kṛtya bhaviṣyati |

**sa** × × × √ — × × × × √ — √ ×

× dagn(i) putrās<sup>96</sup> catv(ā)ro viṣahomāś ca triṅśati<sup>97</sup> |

kāka × × √ — × × × × √ saptat(i) |

sarvaṃ taṃ ghaṭanī<sup>98</sup> hanti prayogenāpi nityaśa

× × × × √ — **āra** triṅśat pratisarāś(a)taṃ |

sarvaṃ taṃ ghaṭanīm hanti prayogenāpi (nityaśa)

× × × × √ taṃ śīrṣaṃ grīva<sup>99</sup> me āyasīkṛtaṃ

jīhyā<sup>100</sup> gila<sup>101</sup> pravāḍasya vajrasya hr̥dayaṃ √ ×

× × × × kṛto vastir jaṅghorū ratnadhāmayau |

pāḍau me khaḍgasamghātau evaṃ caiva(m) √ — √ ×

× × **nā** nirmi(taś) c(ā)haṃ yo me kurya<sup>102</sup> dvipade catuṣpade |<sup>103</sup>

āsane śa(yane) — × × × × √ — √ ×

× × × × √ **ā** kṣetre śmaśaneṣv<sup>104</sup> atha catvare |

tasya putreṣu — × × × × √ — √ ×

(...~6...) **rt.ā** .. **syā** rakṣaṃ bhavatu | yamāya (...~17...) mama gauś (ca)r(a)tu **rtā**  
tasya dveṣṭi s. (...~9...)

<sup>95</sup> Read: BHS *vetāḍa*, Skt. *vetāla*. The preferred spelling of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is *vetāḍa*. Cf. Skilling 1992: 111 n. 4.

<sup>96</sup> There should be a short syllable according to metre.

<sup>97</sup> Read: *triṅśati*.

<sup>98</sup> Read: *ghāṭanīm*.

<sup>99</sup> Read: *grīvaṃ*.

<sup>100</sup> Read: *jīhvām*.

<sup>101</sup> Read: *galaṃ*.

<sup>102</sup> Read: *kuryād*.

<sup>103</sup> This *pāḍa* would only be metrically correct without the word *dvipade*.

<sup>104</sup> Read: *śmaśāneṣv*.

## Translation

[...] it will be [...] the Vetāla,<sup>105</sup> the Kṛtya.

[...]

[...] the four sons [...] and thirty oblations of poison.

The crow [...] seventy.

He always kills every Ghātanī by application of magic.

[...] thirty, hundred amulets.

He always kills every Ghātanī by application of magic.

[...] my head and my neck made to iron,

the tongue, the throat, the heart of the coral *vajra*

[...] the lower belly, the shank and the thigh are made of jewels and ?

my feet injured by a sword [...]

I am magically created. What it might do to me. The two-footed and four-footed,  
on seat and bed [...]

[...] in the field, in cremation grounds, and in a quadrangular place.

Among his sons [...]

May there be protection for [...]! For Yama [...] My cow may walk. [...] he/she/it is  
hostile against this [...].

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<sup>105</sup> On *vetāla*, see Skilling 2007, and Dezső 2010.

## 4 The Chinese and Tibetan texts

For the textual study of the oftentimes corrupt Sanskrit manuscripts, their Chinese and Tibetan translations are indispensable means to reconstruct the original Indic text, and to better understand Indian Buddhist practices. It is generally assumed that the strict rules for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan result in almost verbatim and faithful renderings.<sup>1</sup> Even though, Eimer stresses this fact in his important survey on the transmission of the Tibetan Kangyur,<sup>2</sup> there are, too many unknown or uncertain factors on both the Indian and Tibetan side to consider the faithfulness of Tibetan translations to be a general rule. Different recensions or forms of Indic texts, which might have been corrupt and rife with errors due to numerous transcriptions, as well as the Indic language skills of the Tibetan translators, different translation schools and styles contribute to the quality of a translation. Thus, every case should be carefully studied.

Early Buddhist Sanskrit texts, which mostly survive in fragmentary manuscripts found in the northern parts of the Indian subcontinent and in the oases of the region that is today known as Xinjiang, Central Asia, were brought to China and translated into the local language. The translation process then resulted in the creation of a Chinese Buddhist canon. Comparative surveys on the Sanskrit manuscripts and their Chinese counterparts show, however, that the former cannot form the sole source for Chinese Buddhist texts. In most cases the Central Asian versions are not identical with the recensions preserved in the Chinese canon, which especially holds true for the *Sūtra-piṭaka*.

In his edition of the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*, Brough demonstrated that the Chinese copies of the *Dīrgha-āgama* originated from a Middle Indic model. The agreement of the Chinese renderings with the language of the Gāndhārī

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<sup>1</sup> For the transmission of Indian Buddhism to Tibet and the principles of translation into Tibetan, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, and 2009: 162–165.

<sup>2</sup> “Die chinesischen und tibetischen Übersetzungen buddhistischer Texte gehören bislang zu den wesentlichen Quellen für die Kenntnis des indischen Buddhismus. Sie ermöglichen es, die Aussagen der in der Heimat des Buddhismus verlorenen Schriften zu verstehen und einzuordnen. Die tibetischen Wiedergaben lassen aufgrund ihrer genauen, wortgetreuen Übersetzungsweise oft sogar den Wortlaut der Originalfassung der Texte erkennen” (Eimer 1992: 1). For another considerable study on the importance of Tibetan translations for Sanskrit philology, see Simonsson 1957.

*Dharmapada* is evident to such an extent so that Brough came to the conclusion that the Chinese texts must have been translated from that very Middle Indic language.<sup>3</sup> In an examination of the *Upāligāthās* of the *Madhyama-āgama*, von Hinüber showed that this work also underlies a Middle Indian original, most likely Gāndhārī.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, Hartmann was able to strengthen this assertion in his study on the ten most popular Central Asian Buddhist Sanskrit texts and their relation to the Chinese canon, where he stated at one point that the extremely widespread texts from northern Turkestan did not necessarily serve as source for the Chinese translations:

Of the ten texts especially widespread in Northern Turkestan, [...] only five are available in the Chinese canon in the same or at least a closely related recension. Of these five, only three could possibly be derived from originals stemming from Central Asia, but this connection cannot be proven for any of them. In other words, the texts held in highest esteem by the Buddhists of Northern Turkestan played an amazing small role in the transmission of Buddhist literature into China, at least as far as can be judged from the surviving Sanskrit fragments.<sup>5</sup>

In his study of the earliest Chinese translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* by Dharmarakṣa dated to 286 CE, Boucher clearly brought to light more evidence for the hypothesis that a good number of Chinese Buddhist texts has been translated from a Gāndhārī Prakrit written in Kharoṣṭhī script.<sup>6</sup> The case, however, is not so easy as it seems and we not only have take into consideration phonological and linguistic data, but also the complex translation process. Moreover, Buddhist Sanskrit texts could well display Gāndhārī features and might have been written in

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brough 1962: 50–54.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 1982: 243–251, and 1983: 27–34. Waldschmidt (1980: 136f.) already pointed out that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* and *Samyukta-āgama* correspond to the Sanskrit texts of the Sarvāstivāda tradition, forming a counterpart to the *nikāyas* of the Theravādins (for the school affiliation of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, see also Anālayo 2017: 55–76), while the *Āṅgama* can be attributed to the Dharmaguptakas, and the *Ekottarika-āgama* belongs to one school of the Mahāsāṃghikas. Recent research has shown that the *Madhyama-āgama* and the *Samyukta-āgama* were, however, not translated from Sanskrit but from some Middle Indian language with Sanskrit elements. For the underlying language of the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, see Karashima 2017: 197–207. Moreover, Karashima (2017: 200) describes the original text of the *Āṅgama* as “a mixture of elements of Sanskritisation, Prakrit, and local dialects as well as Gandhari.”

<sup>5</sup> Hartmann 2012: 62.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Boucher 1998.

Kharoṣṭhī under Brāhmī influence. And in any case, an Indian text has already undergone various translation processes from one Middle Indic language to another before it arrived in China. On this basis, Boucher concludes “that these early Chinese translations are imperfect testimonies to the Indian source texts.”<sup>7</sup>

The same holds true for the Chinese recensions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. Both versions, the canonical as well as the *raṅṣā* version, largely deviate from the Sanskrit texts and thus cannot be exclusively derived from the latter.<sup>8</sup> The two Sanskrit texts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which already significantly differ from each other, seem to have more divergence than agreement with their Chinese and Tibetan counterparts. It is, therefore, evident that none of the Sanskrit manuscripts could have served as model for the Chinese and Tibetan translations. This fact further complicates the history and transmission of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. As a consequence, the Chinese *raṅṣā* version and the Tibetan text, which mostly agree with each other, must have descended from another source: either a now lost Sanskrit text, or a text in a language other than Sanskrit. The preserved Sanskrit texts only provided the core passage with its verses and *mantras* for the Chinese and Tibetan translations. The increase of *mantras*, *dhāraṇīs*, and specific *raṅṣā* elements is a distinctive mark for the further development of *raṅṣā* texts. The structure of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* thus completely changed with its transmission.

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<sup>7</sup> Boucher 1998: 502.

<sup>8</sup> The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* is by no means an exception in the transmission of Buddhist texts into Chinese. The same applies to the Chinese translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*. The Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia of this text attest to another recension than the Nepalese manuscript tradition. For an introduction to the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* and its complex history of redaction and transmission, see Gummer 2015, for the Tibetan text, see Nobel 1944, for a translation of the Chinese version into German, see Nobel 1958, for an English translation of the Sanskrit text, see Emmerick [1970] 200, and for an edition of the Khotanese text with Sanskrit parallels, see Skjærvø 2004.



## 4.1 The Chinese version

The Chinese *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* exists in different recensions as can be seen in the table below:

Table 11: The Chinese versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

Texts without linguistic <i>raṅṣā</i> elements			<i>Raṅṣā</i> text
MN	MĀ		
131			
132	167		
133	165		Taishō XXI 1362
134	166	Taishō I 77	

There are four canonical Chinese *sūtras*: three texts included in the *Madhyama-āgama*, and an independent translation, Taishō I 77, with parallels in the Pāli *Majjhima-nikāya*.<sup>9</sup> Like the four independent Pāli discourses they all centre around the verses, but differ in terms of interlocutor and narrative setting. These texts do not contain any linguistic *raṅṣā* elements, let alone *mantras*. The texts included in the *Madhyama-āgama* represent the versions transmitted by the Sarvāstivāda school. The recension Taishō XXI 1362 parallels MĀ 165 only in the first part, as it continues after the verses with *dhāraṇīs*. These are included in an appendix, which was added to the core passage after the verses instead of the commentary of the *gāthās*. The fact that the two Sanskrit versions also show protective elements indicates that the *sūtra* was already well-known for its *raṅṣā* status in Central Asia. It is, however, at the moment impossible to determine the source text of Taishō XXI 1362. As mentioned above, the Sanskrit texts and the Chinese *raṅṣā* text of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* diverge substantially. The original Indic model, if there ever was one and which in this case served not only as a basis for the Chinese translation of this *sūtra*, but also for the Tibetan translation, did not come down to us.

The following survey only considers the text Taishō XXI 1362,<sup>10</sup> which represents the only Chinese *raṅṣā* version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* containing protective

<sup>9</sup> For a translation of MĀ 165 at Taishō I 696b26–698c1, and a comparison with its Pāli counterpart MN 133, see Anālayo 2012: 421–448 (originally published 2008: 5–29).

<sup>10</sup> The complete Chinese text can be found in the appendix of the present work.

elements and *mantras*. The text was included in volume 21 of the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon under Dhāraṇī Sūtras (Ch. 諸陀羅尼經類 *Shodaranikyōrui*).<sup>11</sup>

#### 4.1.1 General notes on Taishō XXI 1362

##### Date of translation

The Chinese translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* was produced in the early eighth century during the Tang dynasty (618–907 CE)<sup>12</sup>. The colophon of the text gives the title, the name of the translator, the Chinese monk Yijing (Ch. 義淨, 635–713 CE), who stayed in India from 671 until 695 CE,<sup>13</sup> as well as the dynasty under which it was translated. The colophon of the Chinese translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* runs as follows:

佛說善夜經一卷

唐三藏法師義淨奉 制譯

(Taishō XXI 1362 at p0881c03–p0881c05)

Discourse spoken by the Buddha on [the topic of] an auspicious night, one fascicle.

Translated by the Tripiṭaka Dharma Master Yijing during the Tang dynasty.

Yijing spent ten years at the Nālandā monastery in the present state of Bihar in Northeast India, where he studied the Sanskrit language and translated a multitude of Sanskrit texts into Chinese. He collected and brought back to China some four hundred Sanskrit texts in more than five hundred thousand stanzas. An index giving

<sup>11</sup> Strickmann distinguishes three classes of *dhāraṇī sūtras* among the Chinese corpus of Buddhist texts: The first class comprises translations or transcriptions of *dhāraṇīs* from the Indic original. The second class consists of *dhāraṇīs* directly written in Chinese, often using and rewriting older translations, and the third class is made of long anthologies containing several *dhāraṇī sūtras* (cf. Strickmann 1996: 72). The Chinese version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* belongs to the first class of *dhāraṇī sūtras*.

<sup>12</sup> Date according to Weinstein 1987.

<sup>13</sup> Dates according to Rongxi 2000: 1f. Yijing's stay in India is well recorded in his travel account entitled *A Record of the Inner Law Sent Home from the South Seas* (*Nan-hai-ji-gui-nei-fa-zhuan*), Taishō LIV 2125, in four fascicles.

all the works ascribed to Yijing can be found in Nanjio's *Catalogue of the Chinese Translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* is listed as number 500 under the title *Fo-shwo-shan-yê-kin* 'Sūtra spoken by the Buddha on the good night' *Bhadrakā-rātrī*. This entry also gives with the year 701 CE a precise date for the Chinese translation of Taishō XXI 1362. The full entry reads:

Translated by I-tsin, A.D. 701, of the Thān dynasty, A.D. 618–907. 4 leaves. In this Sūtra the Devaputra Kandana awakened Bhikshus and caused them to ask Buddha a question, then Buddha spoke the Sūtra together with three Mantras or spells.<sup>14</sup>

## Structure

The text of the Chinese translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* can be divided into two parts: the core passage followed by an appendix. The core passage corresponds almost literally to MĀ 165 and MN 133. The appendix of the Chinese version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* shares much in common with other texts of the early *raṅṣā* genre. Its structure is simple and formulaic, and follows a pattern that also appeared in the composition of other apotropaic texts. The appendix opens with the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings, which directly follows the four common verses. This verse became a characteristic mark of early Buddhist *raṅṣā* texts and features in several other protective scriptures. It also appears in the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044 and in the Tibetan version of the *sūtra*. The text then continues with *mantras* and closes with a concluding formula.

The structure of Taishō XXI 1362 can be summarized as follows:

### 0. Title and colophon

#### Part I: Core passage

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Rājagṛha
2. Introductory narration: a god appears before a monk and tells him to request the *Discourse on an auspicious night* from the Buddha

<sup>14</sup> Nanjio 1883: 116. See also the entries on the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in Bagchi's (1938: 533) description of early Chinese translations, and in the online *Database of Chinese Buddhist texts*: <http://www.kanji.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/~wittern/can/can4/t21/t21n1362.htm> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

3. The monk approaches the Buddha and relates his conversation with the god
4. The Buddha teaches the requested discourse and the four common verses

Part II: Appendix with four *mantras*

5. The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings
6. The Buddha teaches the first two *mantras*
  - 6.1. The 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> *mantra* (*dhāraṇī*)
  - 6.2. The effects of the *mantras*: awakening, list of calamities
7. Narrative break
  - 7.1. The 3<sup>rd</sup> *mantra* and its effects: protection
  - 7.2. The 4<sup>th</sup> *mantra*
8. Conclusion

## Summary of content

The core passage of the Chinese recension of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* (Taishō XXI 1362) is situated in the Veṇuvanavihāra near Rājagṛha. A monk, whose name is not mentioned, was staying nearby at the Tapodārāma, the Hot Springs. The *sūtra* begins with a conversation between the monk and a god, who appears, encompassed by majestic radiance after the first watch of the night. This god requests the monk to approach the Buddha and ask for the Discourse on an Auspicious Night. The monk then approaches the Buddha and relates his conversation with the god. The Buddha now addresses the monk and tells him the name of this god, that is Candana, the chief of the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three.<sup>15</sup> He then expounds the requested discourse together with the four common verses on an auspicious night and its great merit of becoming enlightened. The verses run as follows:

It is not proper to think of the past, do not long for the future.

In relation to the present, contemplate all according to the Dharma. Erroneous thinking is difficult to dispel, the wise should contemplate properly.

It is fitting to quickly make an effort, who knows what will happen tomorrow, because the Lord of Death [and his] assembly are closely following you.

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<sup>15</sup> According to DN II 258 and DN III 204, Candana is a “vassal of the Four Great Regent Gods. He is mentioned as one of the chief Yakkhas to be invoked by the followers in case of need” (Malalasekera 1937: 847).

For this reason I, the sage, have now expounded the discourse on the wholesome night.

(tr. Ānalayo 2011: 757f.)

The core passage ends here and the *sūtra* continues with the appendix. The appendix begins with the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings. This stanza reads:

常願諸有情	離苦獲安樂
不造諸惡業	恒修於眾善

(Taishō XXI 1362: 882a9–10)

May all sentient beings always be free from afflictions and attain happiness.  
May no evil whatsoever befall. May they always experience auspiciousness.

Hereafter the Buddha teaches the first two *mantras*, which he introduces as *dhāraṇī*, and their effects. Namely, if a monk, a nun, a lay follower, or a lay woman recites, memorizes, respectfully worships and correctly explains the verses, the *mantras*, or the meaning of the discourse to others, he or she will attain knowledge of one's former lives, will go towards *nirvāṇa*, and therefore will attain awakening. If one acts in accordance with the teachings of this scripture one will also be spared from untimely death and will be entirely protected. The benefits of the *mantras* are enumerated in a long list of calamities from which one will be liberated.

Then follows a break in the narrative and the voice changes from the the third-person voice to a first-person perspective. With the third *mantra* the narrator invokes Vajrapāṇi<sup>16</sup> in order to protect him and all sentient beings from a number of miseries. Subsequently, the fourth and final *mantra* is pronounced. The appendix concludes with the Buddha enjoining the assembly and the audience rejoiced in receiving the Buddha's teaching.

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<sup>16</sup> For an investigation of the invocation of protectors in *rakṣā* texts, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.

#### 4.1.2 The *mantras* and their effects

Even though they do not comprise a large part of the text, the study of the four Chinese *mantras* is extremely problematic.<sup>17</sup> Copp designates Chinese *dhāraṇīs* as “[s]trange on the page and in the ear” and as “the most mysterious feature of medieval Chinese Buddhist practice”.<sup>18</sup> The major challenge faced by Chinese translators of Indic texts was the rendering of the original reading of the *mantras* into Chinese characters without losing their phonological fidelity, which is considered to be crucial for the effectiveness of the *mantras*. This was a difficult task and it was not always possible to adhere to, as Nobel noted:

Denn da die Wirksamkeit der *dhāraṇīs* von der Wahrung der korrekten Lautgestalt der betreffenden Silben, Worte und Sätze abhing, so musste jeder Übersetzer darauf achten, den Lautwert, wie ihn der Sanskrittext bot, auch wirklich so wiederzugeben. Dieses Ziel konnten aber die Chinesen mit ihren Begriffszeichen kaum erreichen, so viel Sorgfalt sie auch darauf verwandten.<sup>19</sup>

A Romanised transliteration of the Chinese reading of *mantras*, which is at the same time a reconstruction of the underlying Indic model, is far from easy.<sup>20</sup> It is generally admitted that *mantras* displayed in translated texts, whether Chinese or Tibetan, are transliterations from Sanskrit. As we have seen above, it is clear that many of the Indic texts were not translated from Sanskrit but from a Middle Indic recension of the text, which was Sanskritised at a later date. Thus, we can assume that the same may be the case for the Indic *mantras*, which were brought to China together with the texts they are embedded in. Accordingly, the original Indic variants were written in a language other than Sanskrit.

The question of whether transliterated Chinese *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* are comprehensible or not is highly debated in scholarly research. In a standard

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<sup>17</sup> There is, nevertheless, quite a good number of theoretical and methodological surveys involved in the study of Chinese *dhāraṇīs*. For general studies on the meaning of *dhāraṇīs* in Chinese Buddhist incantatory practice, see Copp 2008, and 2011; for contexts, formats, uses, and ancillary practices associated with *dhāraṇīs*, see Copp 2014.

<sup>18</sup> Copp 2014: 4.

<sup>19</sup> Nobel 1958: XXXIII.

<sup>20</sup> A tentative attempt was undertaken by Harrison and Coblin (2012), who reconciled the DKP *mantras* with the help of their Tibetan parallels. The authors, however, conclude that “much of it is sheer guesswork, the product of desperation rather than inspiration” (Harrison/Coblin 2012: 81).

reference on Chinese incantations, Strickmann calls Chinese Buddhist spell practice a “thicket of Sanskrit that has traditionally been considered one of the least attractive, least rewarding areas of Buddhist studies”, “unintelligible gibberish” and a “cacophony of Sanskrit spells”.<sup>21</sup> In his case study on an exploration of the Chinese version of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*, the *Dhāraṇī of the Glory of the Buddha’s Crown* (Ch. *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni*), commonly known as the *Incantation of Glory* (Ch. *Zunsheng zhou*), Copp demonstrates on the other hand that “*dhāraṇīs* were profoundly meaningful, *readable*, texts; their words could be elaborated and their implicit narratives unpacked”.<sup>22</sup> Though most of the Chinese characters used to render Indic *mantras* have a semantic meaning, one should not seek for grammatical intelligibility, but merely be mindful of their sound since *mantras* are efficacious based on their sonic dimensions.

The following discussion of the four *mantras* of the Chinese translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* gives the Chinese reading of the *mantras* together with an attempt to reconstruct the underlying Indic model and provides a translation of their effects. A reconstruction of the Chinese *mantras* was made possible with the help of an index of all Chinese characters employed in the wording of the *mantras* giving the phonetic transcription of each character, and through a comparative study with the Tibetan variants of the *mantras*, which coincide at large (though not in their entirety).<sup>23</sup> The reconstruction, however, cannot be regarded as a definitive reading of the underlying Indic source, but rather as one possible reading and has to be seen as a tentative attempt to reconcile the Chinese with the Indic original.

## Mantra 1 and 2

The text of the first two Chinese *mantras* corresponds to the first and third Tibetan *mantra* and includes the invocations of the female deities *gauri*, *gandhari*, *caṇḍali*, *matāṃgi*, and *śabari*.<sup>24</sup> While the first *mantra* is introduced with *tadyathā*, the second one opens with *\*saṃyethida*, which should be reconstructed as *saryathīdam*. The *mantra* passage is introduced as *dhāraṇī* with the following words:

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<sup>21</sup> Strickmann 2002: 103, 171.

<sup>22</sup> Copp 2012: 169f.

<sup>23</sup> This index can be found in the appendix of the present work.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of these invocations, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.

復更說此陀羅尼曰

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882a13)

Then [the Blessed One] taught this *dhāraṇī*:

Quotation:

怛姪他 毘尼婆(引)喇爾 跋陀摩單滯 摩膩爾擻擻擻擻 瞿里健陀里  
旃荼里摩登 祇(上)薩囉爛帝 莫呼刺膩攝鉢利 斫羯囉 婆(引)枳  
攝伐里莫訶攝伐里 步精揭(巨列)爾 爾弭爾名揭爾 訖栗多(引)爾  
莎(引)訶(引)僧拽體(天移)曇(去) 頗[口\*束\*頁]伽帝 捺囉伽帝  
謗蘇迦波(引)裔 劫布得(都洛)迦波(引)裔 答布檀泥(去)莎訶

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882a14–21)

Reconstructed Indic transliteration:

*tadyathā binibhāraṇi buddhamatānadhe maṇiṇiṭṭiṭṭi gauri gandhari  
caṇḍali mataṃgi saralamte maholana śabari cakra pāti śabari mahāśabari  
bhucidgini nīminimīnggini kilitāni svāhā saṃyethidha arakāṭe narakāṭe  
bamsukapāyi kapotakapāyi tapodhane svāhā*

The effects of this *mantra* are of twofold nature. The memorization and recitation of it will bring the practitioner near to *nirvāṇa* and it grants protection for all sentient beings. The miseries against which the *mantra* protects are enumerated in a list of calamities, which includes those caused by water and fire, kings and thieves, thunder and lightning, poison, enemies, battle, and time. The text of the *sūtra* reads as follows:

Quotation:

當知是人於一切時無諸災厄。亦無枉橫及諸衰惱。能知過去七生之事。  
亦不忘失大菩提心。決定能趣涅槃正道。

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882a25–27)

擁護諸眾生 令離病憂怖  
不祥及惡夢 險路常安隱

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b4–5)



由此經威力	終無有惡報
若水火王賊	雷電毒害等
怨家戰諍時	念經皆得脫
又復有明咒	若能讀誦者
於一切時中	長善滅諸惡

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b9–13)

## Translation:

You should know that this person will never experience any misfortune. Disease and suffering do not befall him. One will know the state of one's seven previous births and will not forget the great mind of awakening. One will certainly go near *nirvāṇa* on the correct path.

May there be protection for all sentient beings. Should disease, grief, fear and misfortune come near, or in the case of an unwholesome dream and calamity, happiness will always be received.

Through the power of this discourse, untimely death, water and fire, kings and thieves, thunder and lightning, poison, enemies and fight will not occur. Everyone who recites the discourse will attain liberation. Furthermore, if one recites this *vidyā*, one will always cultivate virtue and annihilate various evil deeds.

*Mantra 3*

The variant of the third Chinese *mantra* is in line with the fourth Tibetan *mantra*. It contains a long list of calamities, which is still part of the *mantra* itself. This is made clear through the discourse marker *svāhā* at the end of this list. While the first part of the *mantra* represents a transliteration of the Indic mantric syllables, it continues in the second part with a translation of its effects. It seems, however, highly probable that the translator was mistaken about the end of the *mantra*. The discourse marker *svāhā* is missing in the Tibetan version, so that we do not exactly know whether the list of calamities still belongs to the *mantra* or not. Presumably, the translator of the Chinese text was not sure about where this *mantra* ends. This is the reason why I excluded the list of calamities from the *mantra*, which runs as follows:

即說咒曰

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b14)

The *mantra* is thus now spoken as:

Quotation:

怛姪他 儼弭尼民達哩 室哩盧迦(引)盧 枳儼 室哩輪攞陀唎儼 惡  
矩比 姪哩底 奴麗 矩都軍底 矩都屈此 雞唎底矩比儼

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b15–18)

Reconstructed Indic transliteration:

*tadyathā niminimindhari trilokālo kani trisūladharaṇi akupi tiriti nili  
kudtokuṇto kudtokupi kurtikupini*

The list of calamities reads as follows:

Quotation:

擁護擁護我某甲於一切恐怖處 於一切疾病苦痛處 於一切憂愁相惱  
處於一切 毒蟲毒藥處 於一切鬼魅厭禱處 於一切王賊水火處 於一  
切猛獸驚怖處 於一切謗讟言訟處 於一切怨家門諍處 於一切身意  
惡業處 所有語業四過處 於一切厄難危亡處 并執金剛神 常衛護  
我某甲 并諸眷屬莎(引)訶(引)

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b18–25)

Translation:

Protect [us]! Protect me and others from all frights, all diseases and pain, all kinds of miseries and afflictions, all venomous insects and poisonous herbs, all evil spirits and imprecations, all kings and thieves and water and fire, all wild animals and fear, all malicious accuse and arguments, all enemies and fights, all evil practices of body, mind and the four errors of verbal actions, all distress and indolence. Together with Vajrapāṇi always protect me and others together with our kinsmen. *svāhā*

#### Mantra 4

The fourth *mantra* of the Chinese *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* is in accordance with the fifth Tibetan *mantra* and goes as follows:

復說咒曰

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b26)

The *mantra* is now also spoken as:

Quotation:

恒姪他 呬里呬里弭里弭里 畢舍脂鉢拏 攝伐里止里莎訶

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b27–28)

Reconstructed Indic transliteration:

*tadyathā hili hili mili mili piśāci pārṇāśabari cili svāhā*

## 4.2 The Tibetan version

The Tibetan translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* was included in many Kangyur collections. The term “Kangyur” (*bka’ ’gyur*, also commonly transliterated as Kanjur) literally means “translated words (of the Buddha)”. It comprises the entire collection of texts regarded as *Buddhavacana* “the word of the Buddha” translated into Tibetan. The history of translation, when the Sanskrit texts were brought from India to Tibet, started in the mid-seventh century CE and continued for a long period in various monasteries reaching a heyday in the early ninth century. At that time the already existing translations were revised and standardized under royal patronage.<sup>25</sup> The first collection of handwritten Tibetan translations was compiled at the monastery of Narthang in the fourteenth century, which no longer exists. This so-called Old Narthang Kangyur is considered to be the archetype of all the succeeding redactions. Copies of it were brought to all parts of Tibet and evolved into two different branches. This caused a division in the line of transmission into two main traditions, the eastern and western branch, and thus two groups of recensions. The eastern branch became later known as the Tshal pa group, whereas the western branch gave rise to the Them spangs ma lineage.

It is important to keep in mind that there does not exist one standard and authorized edition of the Tibetan Kangyur. Various editions, both manuscript and block print editions, always existed side by side, showing considerable differences in the classification of the texts, content, and order in which the scriptures are arranged. These disagreements result in the fact that the form of one individual text may vary in the several recensions. The usual definition of a canon does thereby not apply for the body of translated Tibetan texts, which is nevertheless often called a ‘canon’ because it represents a collection of authoritative scriptures. Most of the editions of the Kangyur preserved until today date back to the eighteenth century.

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<sup>25</sup> For a survey in the field of Kangyur studies in general, and an extensive discussion of the history of the Tibetan Kangyur in particular, with references to other publications, see Eimer 1992. Further studies of several editions of the Tibetan Kangyur and historical considerations are available with Harrison 1992: xvi–xxiv, and Skilling 1994a: xl–xli. For a recent publication, see Tauscher’s entry “Kanjur” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Buddhism* Vol. 1 (2015).

### 4.2.1 General notes on the text

#### Date of translation

The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* was translated into Tibetan under the title *'Phags pa mtshan mo bzang po zhes bya ba'i mdo* by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye shes sde. The Indian scholar Jinamitra was one of the leading translators of Sanskrit texts into Tibetan in the late eighth and early ninth century. He worked on a variety of translations belonging to different literary genres, such as Vinaya, Abhidharma, Cittamātra, *sūtra*, and *dhāraṇī* and *rakṣā* scriptures. Even though we do not know the exact date of Jinamitra, as well as of any of the contemporary translators, we can establish a rather firm date for the Tibetan translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

Our earliest records, which mention the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, are the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue and the *'Phang thang ma* catalogue, two of three catalogues of Buddhist texts compiled under royal patronage.<sup>26</sup> The *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue, which emerged at the royal palace of Stong thang ldan dkar or Stong thang lhan kar, is included in the later canonical collection in the Tengyur section and lists all texts present at the palace that had been translated and revised by that time, including the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.<sup>27</sup> The dating of the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue is not undisputed but out of the variety of suggested dates, Halkias, Dotson, and Herrmann-Pfandt agree on the year 812 CE.<sup>28</sup> The *'Phang thang ma* catalogue was long considered to be lost and came to light only a few years ago. The date of its composition is highly discussed in scholarly works. Halkias argued that the *'Phang thang ma* catalogue refers to the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue and therefore must have been compiled after the latter one,<sup>29</sup> while Herrmann-Pfandt speaks in favour of an earlier time of origin, that is the year 806 CE.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> The third catalogue, the *Mchims phu ma* catalogue, is at present regarded missing.

<sup>27</sup> The cataloguing process is recorded in Bu ston's work *Chos 'byung*, which Obermiller translated as follows (1932: 191): "In the year of the dragon the teachers residing in the palace of Den-kar, the translators Ban-de Pal-tseg, the Ban-de Nāgendra and others made a list of the titles of the sacred texts that were translated in Tibet, as well as the number of divisions and Ślokas contained in them, and wrote all this down in the form of a catalogue."

<sup>28</sup> For a discussion of the date of the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue, see Halkias 2004: 48 n. 4, Dotson 2007: 3 n. 7, and especially Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xviii–xxii.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Halkias 2004: 54–58.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xxiv–xxvi. The present study is not the place to discuss both lines of arguments in order to draw a definite conclusion.

Another date we have to take into consideration is that of the compilation of the *Madhyavyutpatti* (Tib. *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*), which originated at about the same time as the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue, and “which now unanimously is taken to be 814 A.D.”<sup>31</sup> The Tengyur’s colophon names those scholars who worked on its formation, among them Jinamitra and Ye she sde, the translators of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. The redaction of the Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti* (Tib. *Sgra bye brag tu rtogs par byed pa chen mo/po*) and its commentary *Madhyavyutpatti* is usually connected to the reign of Khri Lde srong bstan, alias Sad na legs (798–800, 802–815),<sup>32</sup> who directed the compilation in order to standardize the Tibetan translation practice. A team of Indian and Tibetan translators collaborated on the bilingual lexicon, putting together grammatical and lexical rules for rendering Buddhist terminology from Sanskrit into Tibetan, which then became a standard reference.

Given the historical considerations we can conclude that the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* was translated into Tibetan in the early ninth century CE, at about the same time as the Mūlasarvāstivādin *mahāsūtras*.<sup>33</sup> The translations attributed to Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye shes sde are excellent, clearly rendered from one language into the other and in accordance with the *Mahāvyutpatti*, so that the quality is of the highest standard of translation. The leading translator Jinamitra is mentioned as a *vinayadhara* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins in Vinaya colophons.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, King Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, alias Ral pa can (815–841)<sup>35</sup> enacted in a royal edict three regulations concerning the translations from Sanskrit into Tibetan, of which the first prescription forbid the translations of any Śrāvākayāna texts other than those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. These regulations are cited by Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–

<sup>31</sup> Panglung 1994: 161. See further Tucci 1985: 48 n. 1, and Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 280f., who agree on the date 814 CE for the compilation of the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue.

<sup>32</sup> For the dates of the Tibetan kings at the turn of the ninth century, see Dotson 2007: 15.

<sup>33</sup> The *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue lists a group of nine *mahāsūtras* preserved in Tibetan translation to which Skilling adds the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* in his important edition and study of the Tibetan *mahāsūtras* (1994a, 1997a). The *mahāsūtras* represent one category of the Śrāvākayāna *raṅṅ* literature (see chapter 1.1 of the present work for a classification of *raṅṅ* texts). For the date of translation of the *mahāsūtras*, see Skilling 1997a: 140f.

<sup>34</sup> As an example serves the colophon to the Vinaya-vibhaṅga (D 3 'dul ba, 269a6): *'phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i 'dul ba 'dzin pa kha che'i bye brag tu smra ba'i slob dpon dzi na mi tra* | “Jinamitra, the *vinayadhara* of the noble Mūlasarvāstivādins, a master of the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas.” Cf. Mvy 5142: Skt. *vinayadhara* for Tib. *'dul ba 'dzin pa*.

<sup>35</sup> Date according to Dotson 2007: 6.

1364)<sup>36</sup> in his chronicle of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism *Chos 'byung*, or *History of Buddhism* (lit. *Origin of the Dharma*): “With regard to the different sects he prescribed that (works) other than Mūlasarvāstivāda as well as mantras were not to be translated”.<sup>37</sup> All this points to a Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

### Classification in the Tibetan Kangyur

The classification of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in the Tibetan Kangyur is varied. The *sūtra* is included in the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue and in the *'Phang thang ma* catalogue. The *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue classes the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* (Ldk 228) under miscellaneous Mahāyāna-sūtras (Tib. *Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde sna tshogs la*).<sup>38</sup> The *'Phang thang ma* catalogue lists our title (Ptm 346) under miscellaneous *dhāraṇīs* (Tib. *Gzungs che phra sna tshogs la*).<sup>39</sup> In his *History of Buddhism*, Bu ston places the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* under Sūtras together with the two Mūlasarvāstivādin *mahāsūtras*, the *Mahāsamāja* and the *Ātānāṭīya*. In the catalogue section he points out:

*'dir kha cig gis gser 'od dam pa (=Nos. 208-210?) rin po che'i tog (=No. 223)/dkon mchog ta la la/mtshan mo bzang mo (=No. 46) 'dus pa chen po (=No. 374)/rdo rje snying po (=No. 224)/nyi ma'i snying po (=No. 338)/kun tu rgyu ba dang kun tu rgyu ba ma yin pa dang mthun pa (=No. 13) la sogs pa bris pa ni nor ba yin te mdo dang rgyud ma 'dres par phye ba'i dkar chag dag tu mdor bshad pa'i phyir rol/*

(Nishioka 1983: 64f.)

<sup>36</sup> Date according to Ruegg 1966: 3.

<sup>37</sup> Vogel 1985: 109f.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Lalou 1953: 324, and Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 120f. In the edition of the *Ldan dkar ma* catalogue Hermann-Pfandt mentions, by a slip in the line, a second translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* done by Viśuddhasiṃha and Ye shes snying po together with the revisers Vidyākarasiṃha and Ye shes sde based on Bu ston's Tantra catalogue. This is, however, mistaken and this translation cannot be found in Bu ston's work.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Halkias 2004: 80.

Some list here [under Kriyā Tantra] the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama*, the *Ratnaketu*, the *Bhadrakarātrī*, the *Mahāsamāja*, the *Vajramaṇḍa*, the *Sūryagarbha*, the *Ātānāṭīya*, etc.: this is mistaken, because the catalogues which clearly distinguish the Sūtra and Tantra place them under Sūtra.

(tr. Skilling 1997a: 79)

In his later Tantra Catalogue (Tib. *Rgyud 'bum gyi dkar chag*), Bu ston changes the classification of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* and places it under Kriyā Tantra (Tib. *'Bya ba'i rgyud*) in the first of two sections (Tib. *Rigs so so'i rgyud*). Within this section he assigns the *sūtra* to the first family, the Tathāgatha family (Tib. *De bzhin gshegs pa*) and finally to the subsection male and female messengers of the family (Tib. *Rigs kyi pho nya pho mo*).<sup>40</sup> The classification of a Śrāvakayāna text under Tantra seems to be odd at a first glance. The Kriyā Tantra, the lowest of the four classes of Tantra, includes ritual texts employed for blessing, protection, and healing, and consequently comprises *raṅṣā* and *dhāraṇī* literature. This fact justifies the classification of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* under Tantra as Skilling already stated:

It may seem surprising that a number of Śrāvakayāna texts—including the *Mahāsamāja*, *Ātānāṭīya*, and *Vaiśālīpraveśa*, as well as the *Bhadrakarātrī*—are classified under Tantra and Dhāraṇī in the Tibetan Kanjur, side-by-side with texts of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. When we note that the Theravādin counterparts of several of these are paritta—protective texts to be recited in ritual contexts—it should be less surprising.<sup>41</sup>

This uncertainty about where to place the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* finally resulted in an assignment to two or three different categories, namely the Sūtra, Tantra, and Dhāraṇī divisions of the Tibetan Kangyur. The classification of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in the extant editions of the Tibetan Kangyur varies according to the different lineages, the Tshal pa group, Them spangs ma lineage and the mixed group. Some editions of the Kangyur contain two versions of the *sūtra*, other editions even three recensions. The Kangyur editions of the Tshal pa group do not coincide, so that some incorporated one version of the text, others two and still others even three recensions in the three sections Sūtra, Tantra, and Dhāraṇī, while the Them spangs ma group exclusively places the *sūtra* in the Tantra division. The Lhasa and the Narthang edition, as well as the Lang mdo Collection of the mixed group of the

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Eimer 1989: § 244.

<sup>41</sup> Skilling 1997a: 78.



Kangyur editions contain one recension of the text under Sūtra. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* also is included in the Newark manuscript from Bathang, in the Gondhla Collection, and is listed in the catalogue of the Early Mustang Kangyur.<sup>42</sup> The *sūtra* is not included in the Phug brag Kangyur.

## Recensions

The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* is included in the following editions of the Tibetan Kangyur:<sup>43</sup>

Tshal pa group

Berlin Kangyur: B 320 mdo sde, sa 222a2–225a2 (vol. 80); B 973 rgyud, ya 120b4–123b3 (vol. 108).

Cone Kangyur (*co ne bka' 'gyur*): C 604 rgyud, ya 98a6–100b6 (vol. 24); C 952 mdo sde, sa 200b5–203b2 (vol. 52).

Derge Kangyur (*sde dge bka' 'gyur*): D 313 mdo sde, sa 161b1–163b5 (vol. 72); D 617 rgyud, ba 56a7–58b3 (vol. 91); D 974 gzugs, wam 90a3–92a7 (vol. 102).

Lithang Kangyur (*li thang bka' 'gyur*): J 253 mdo sde, sa 175b4–178a2 (vol. 67).

Peking Kangyur (*pe cin bka' 'gyur*): Q 599 rgyud, ya 96b3–98b8 (vol. 11, p. 216); Q 979 mdo sna tshogs, shu 171a7–173b5 (vol. 39, p. 70).

Urga Kangyur (*u rga bka' 'gyur*): U 313 mdo sde, sa 161b1–163b5 (vol. 72); U 618 rgyud, ba 56a7–58b3 (vol. 91); U 976 gzugs, wam 90a3–92a7 (vol. 102).

Ragya Kangyur (*rwa rgya bka' 'gyur*): R 313 mdo sde, sa 161b1–163b5 (vol. 72); R 617 rgyud, ba 56a7–58b3 (vol. 91); R 955 gzugs, wam 90a3–92a7 (vol. 98).

<sup>42</sup> No copy of the Early Mustang Kangyur is extant, only its catalogue (*dkar chag*) survived. For a structured edition of the catalogue, see Eimer 1999.

<sup>43</sup> The following list was established on the basis of the online databases *Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies*, provided by the University of Vienna: <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=313> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020), and *The Buddhist Canons Research Database*, a project of the American Institute of Buddhist Studies (AIBS), and the Columbia University Center for Buddhist Studies (CCBS): [http://databases.aibs.columbia.edu/index.php?id=a0c78f129e4e06eba633a962c157995f&enc=sanskrit\\_romanized\\_title\\_4\\_search&coll=kangyur](http://databases.aibs.columbia.edu/index.php?id=a0c78f129e4e06eba633a962c157995f&enc=sanskrit_romanized_title_4_search&coll=kangyur) (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

Wanli Kangyur: W 50.29 Pander Pantheon 50 (1111)./Wanli Kanjur, rgyud, vol. YA, fol. 96b3–98b8.

#### Them spangs ma group

London Kangyur: L 465 rgyud, pa 358b5–361b1 (vol. 83).

Stog Kangyur (*stog pho brang bris ma/ bka' 'gyur*): S 575 rgyud, pa 405b2–408b6 (vol. 104).

Tokyo Kangyur: T 570 rgyud, pa 378b3–381b5 (vol. 109).

Ulanbaatar Kangyur: V 644 rgyud, pa 365b2–368b5 (vol. 109).

Shey Kangyur (*shel mkhar bris ma/ bka' 'gyur*): Z 588 rgyud, pa 419b8–422b7 (vol. 100).

#### Mixed group

Lhasa Kangyur (*lha sa bka' 'gyur*): H 317 mdo sde, la 248a7–252a4 (vol. 72).

Narthang Kangyur (*snar thang bka' 'gyur*): N 298 mdo sde, la 253b1–257a6 (vol. 72).

Lang mdo Collection: Lg 29.111, mdo ha–l 15 301a5–303b2.

#### Independent group

Newark Kangyur from Bathang: E 149, 214b9–216b2 (vol. 19).

Gondhla Collection: Go 36,92, ka–ma 44a1–46b2 (vol. 36).

Early Mustang Kangyur: EM 134 gzungs 'dus ka pa / gzungs 'bum cha; EM 412 gzungs 'dus ka pa / gzungs 'bum cha.

#### Title

The Sanskrit title is given in Tibetan transcription in three slightly different variants. The recensions included in the Sūtra division of the Kangyur (C 952, D 313, H 317, N 298, U 313, Q 979) and the version of the Stog (S 575) and Shey Kangyur (Z 588)

included in the Tantra division read *ārya-bhadrakarātrī-nāma-sūtra*. The other recensions included in the Tantra or Dhāraṇī division (C 604, D 617, D 974, U 976, Q 599) give the title *ārya-bhadrarātrī-nāma-sūtra*. The independent Kangyur from Gondhla (Go 36,92) reads *arya-bhaddrakarātri-nama-sutra*. The first variant is confirmed by the two Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts, which read *bhadrakarātrīya* (SHT III 816 r3) and *bhadrakarātrīya* (SI 2044 4v4).<sup>44</sup> In his Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary Lokesh Chandra translates the Tibetan word *bzang po* with Sanskrit *bhadra* or *bhadraka*, and Tibetan *mtshan mo* with Sanskrit *rātrī*.<sup>45</sup>

## Colophon

The translators' colophon is mentioned in D 617, D 974, U 976, Q 599, and Z 588, and runs as follows:

*'phags pa mchan mo bzang po zhes bya ba'i mdo rdzogs so // // rgya gar gyi mkhan po dzi na mi tra dang / dā na shī la dang / zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba ban dhe ye shes sdes bsgyur cing zhus te / skad gsar bcad kyis kyang bcos nas gtan la phab pa // //*

The noble *Discourse on an Auspicious Night* is finished. Translated, put into the new language<sup>46</sup> and finalized by the Indian preceptors Jinamitra and Dānaśīla, and the great editor, the translator, the monk Ye shes sde.

Other versions (C 604, C 952, D 313, Go 36,92, H 317, N 298, U 313, Q 979, and S 575) finish with the conclusion:

*'phags pa mtshan mo bzang po zhes bya ba'i mdo rdzogs so // //*

The noble *Discourse on an Auspicious Night* is finished.

We can make out two variant readings of the title and colophon and, as we will see, of the *mantras* according to the location within the Kangyur. That is, the Sūtra division on one side, and the Tantra and Dhāraṇī division on the other side. The

<sup>44</sup> See chapter 2 of the present work for more details on the Sanskrit title of the *sūtra*.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Lokesh Chandra 1971: 2064, 1968.

<sup>46</sup> The expression *skad gsar bcad kyis kyang bcos* usually indicates the revision of an already existing translation in line with the new standards regarding linguistic and grammatical aspects collated in the *Mahāvīyutpatti*.

recension in the Shey Kangyur takes up a special status and cannot be attributed to either side. Interestingly, these variations do not occur in the different lineages of the Kangyur following the Tshal pa, Them spangs ma, and mixed group, as we would have expected, but within one edition of the Kangyur with different recensions of the text.

The Tibetan title states that this text was translated from “the language of India” (Tib. *rgya gar skad*), which usually means the Sanskrit language. The Sanskrit title as well as the translators’ colophon give reason to assume that the Tibetan translation was done from a Sanskrit model. If this is the case this text did not come down to us. The fact that there is no Sanskrit original gives rise to another assumption. The Tibetan translation could well have been done from the Chinese version, since the latter one was produced earlier and both recensions coincide at large. But why should two Indian *paṇḍitas* mentioned as translators in the colophon translate a work from a language they are not trained in? This leads us to the question about the authenticity of titles and colophons in the Tibetan Kangyur in general. Skilling examined the titles of 17 and the colophons of five Tibetan translations, mostly *sūtras* from the Mūlasarvāstivāda school, and comes to the conclusion that they are for the most part reliable. He also remarks that, nevertheless, they should be treated with caution and carefully checked in all editions of the Tshal pa and Them spang ma groups, as well as in available manuscripts.<sup>47</sup> It was common practice that the compilers of one edition of a Kangyur added colophons later on the basis of oral information, or by adopting colophons from other manuscripts.

Since some of the Kangyurs contain multiple copies of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* of slightly different readings, with or without colophon, in the Sūtra, Tantra, and Dhāraṇī sections, it cannot be ruled out that these versions are not only copies of different recensions, but also different translations of the same text. Whatever might be the case, the parallel with its Chinese counterpart is so striking that I cannot give a satisfactory answer from which language the Tibetan *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* was translated as long as no Indic original was found. Yet, it seems plausible, supported by the authentic Sanskrit title, that the colophon here is reliable, which means that the Tibetan translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* was done from a lost Indic model.

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Skilling 1994b.

## Structure

The structure and content of the Tibetan text agrees to a large extent with Yijing's Chinese translation Taishō XXI 1362 of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. After the title and the invocation, the *sūtra* opens with the introductory narrative, parallel to the Pāli and Chinese versions in the *Majjhima-nikāya* and *Madhyama-āgama*. The Buddha then pronounces the common verses. It is, however, surprising that the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings was placed in between the common verses, unlike in the Chinese protective version Taishō XXI 1362, since the appendix only begins after the *gāthās*. Here the Tibetan text follows the structure of the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044. The core passage is followed by an appendix, giving *mantras* and their effects as well as ritual instructions. Like in the Chinese version there is a narrative break and a change of voice before the last two *mantras* are pronounced. This passage opens with another statement of homage to the Tathāgatas, Arhats, and Samyaksambuddhas of the past, present, and future. The appendix closes with a standard concluding formula.

The structure can be summarized as follows:

0. Title and invocation
  - 0.1. Sanskrit title
  - 0.2. Tibetan title
  - 0.3. Invocation

### Part I: Core passage

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Rājagṛha
2. Introductory narration: a god appears before a monk and tells him to request the *Discourse on an auspicious night* from the Buddha
3. The monk approaches the Buddha and relates his conversation with the god
4. The Buddha teaches the requested discourse
  - 4.1. Common verses 1–3
  - 4.2. The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings
  - 4.3. Common verse 4

### Part II: Appendix with five *mantras*

5. The Buddha teaches the *mantras* in order to protect all sentient beings
  - 5.1. The first three *mantras* (*mantrapadas* of Drāmiḍa)
  - 5.2. The effects of the *mantras*: awakening, list of calamities

6. Narrative break
  - 6.1. Statement of homage
  - 6.2. The 4<sup>th</sup> *mantra* (*vidyā*) and its effects: protection
  - 6.3. The 5<sup>th</sup> *mantra*
7. Conclusion
8. Colophon

#### 4.2.2 Notes on the present edition

The critical edition of both the main text and the *mantras* is based on the Derge (D 313, 617, 974), Lhasa (H 317), Peking (Q 599, 979), Shey (Z 588), and Stog (S 575) editions, as well as the Gondhla Collection (Go 36,92) of the Tibetan Kangyur. The facsimile edition of the eighteenth century Derge Kangyur, the manuscript Kangyur produced at the Shey palace in the 1730s, and the early eighteenth century manuscript Stog Palace Kangyur are provided by the *Buddhist Digital Resource Center* (formerly TBRC).<sup>48</sup> The e-text of the Lhasa Kangyur is available through the *Asian Classics Input Project* (ACIP)<sup>49</sup> and the printed edition made in Peking in 1737 with the edition by Suzuki (1955–1961). Digitized pages of the Gondhla proto-Kangyur compiled in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century in Lahul, northern India, are accessible through the online database *Resources for Kanjur & Tanjur Studies*.<sup>50</sup>

Even if it is common practice to publish critical editions in Romanised transliteration, I here present the main textual body of the *sūtra* in Tibetan script, while annotations are given in Wylie transliteration. The reader who is not familiar with the Tibetan language might have difficulties even with a Romanised text, especially since there are multiple transliteration systems, whereas the non-Western scholar is often not familiar with transliterations. The *mantras* are edited separately, otherwise almost every syllable would bear a footnote, rendering the text illegible. The wording of the *mantras* in the present edition conforms to the parameters of D 313.

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<sup>48</sup> <http://www.tbrc.org> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

<sup>49</sup> <http://tibetan.works/etext/reader.php?collection=kangyur&index=317> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020). The ACIP input versions are, however, frequently published unchecked and are rife with typographical errors.

<sup>50</sup> <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=313> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020). On the Gondhla Collection in general, see introduction to Tauscher 2008.



སངས་རྒྱལ་དང་<sup>60</sup>བྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་དཔའ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལ་ཕྱག་འཆལ་ལོ།

[1.] འདི་སྐད་བདག་གིས་ཐོས་པ་<sup>61</sup>དུས་གཅིག་<sup>62</sup>ན། <sup>63</sup>བཙུག་ལྷན་འདས་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་ན་  
<sup>64</sup>འདྲ་མཐིམ་ཆལ་<sup>65</sup>བྱ་ཀ་ལན་ད་<sup>66</sup>ཀ་གནས་པ་<sup>67</sup>ན་བཞུགས་ཏེ།<sup>68</sup>

[2.] དེའི་ཆོ་དགོ་སྤྲོད་ཞིག་རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་ཀྱི་<sup>69</sup>ཆུ་ཏ་<sup>70</sup>པོ་<sup>71</sup>ཏའི་འགྲམ་ན་འདུག་གོ།<sup>72</sup> དེ་  
ནས་སྟ་ཁ་དོག་<sup>73</sup>མཆོག་དང་ལྷན་པ་ཞིག་ནམ་མཁུ་ནས་<sup>74</sup>དགོ་སྤྲོད་དེ་<sup>75</sup>ག་ལ་བ་དེར་སོང་  
སྟེ་ཕྱིན་ནས་<sup>76</sup>ཆུ་ཏ་<sup>77</sup>པོ་ཏའི་<sup>78</sup>འགྲམ་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤང་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོས་ཁྱབ་པར་སྤང་<sup>79</sup>བར་  
<sup>80</sup>བྱས་ཏེ།<sup>81</sup> དགོ་སྤྲོད་དེ་<sup>82</sup>ལ་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་སྒྲས་སོ། <sup>83</sup>དགོ་སྤྲོད་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་མཆན་མོ་བཟང་  
པོའི་མདོ་སྡེ་ཤེས་སམ། དེས་<sup>84</sup>འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་སྒྲས་སོ། ལྷ་<sup>85</sup>བདག་གིས་ནི་<sup>86</sup>མཆན་མོ་བཟང་

<sup>60</sup> Go, H, Q 599 insert: /.

<sup>61</sup> Go: *pa'i*.

<sup>62</sup> Q 979: *cig*.

<sup>63</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>64</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>65</sup> Go: *'tshal*.

<sup>66</sup> Q 599: *dā*; S, Z: *ta*.

<sup>67</sup> Z inserts: *nas ba*.

<sup>68</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>69</sup> Q 979: *gyi*.

<sup>70</sup> Q 979: *te*; D 974, Q 599, S, Z insert: *la*.

<sup>71</sup> S, Z: *po*.

<sup>72</sup> H, Q 599, 979, Z omit: /.

<sup>73</sup> S, Z inserts: *bzang po*.

<sup>74</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>75</sup> Go omits: *de*.

<sup>76</sup> H, S, Z insert: /; Go inserts: //.

<sup>77</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z insert: *la*.

<sup>78</sup> S, Z: *ta*; Go: *da'i*.

<sup>79</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z omit: *ba rgya chen pos khyab par snang*.

<sup>80</sup> Go omits: *snang bar*.

<sup>81</sup> D 974, Q 599 omit: /.

<sup>82</sup> Go inserts: *dag*.

<sup>83</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>84</sup> Q 979: *ngas*.

<sup>85</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>86</sup> Go omits: *ni*.



པོའི་མདོ་ཟླ་མ་འཚལ་<sup>87</sup> བ། ལྷ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ཟླ་མཁུན་ཏམ་<sup>88</sup> མེ་<sup>89</sup>  
 མཁུན་<sup>90</sup> |<sup>91</sup> དེས་འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་སྤྲུམ་སོ། དགེ་སྦྱང་<sup>92</sup> བདག་གིས་ཀྱང་མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་  
 མདོ་ཟླ་མེ་<sup>93</sup> ཤེས་སོ། ལྷ་<sup>94</sup> འོ་ན་མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ཟླ་འཚལ་<sup>95</sup> བ་དེ་ལྷ་བྱ་<sup>96</sup> སུ་མཆིས།  
<sup>97</sup> དེས་འདི་<sup>98</sup> སྐད་ཅེས་སྤྲུམ་སོ།<sup>99</sup> རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་ཀྱི་འོད་མའི་ཚལ་<sup>100</sup> བྱ་ཀ་ལན་ད་<sup>101</sup> ཀ་  
 གནས་པ་འདི་ན་<sup>102</sup> བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་བཞུགས་ཀྱིས་<sup>103</sup> |<sup>104</sup> ཁྱོད་<sup>105</sup> བཙམ་<sup>106</sup> ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱི་  
<sup>107</sup> ཐད་དུ་སོང་ལ་ཞུས་ཏེ། བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་དེ་ཁྱོད་ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་<sup>108</sup> ལྷང་བཞུན་<sup>109</sup> བ་དེ་  
 བཞིན་དུ་བྱང་<sup>110</sup> ལ་བཙོན་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག་<sup>111</sup> ཅེས་སྤྲུམ་ནས།<sup>112</sup> ལྷ་དེ་དེ་ཉིད་དུ་མི་<sup>113</sup> ལྷང་  
 བར་གྱུར་<sup>114</sup> ཏོ།

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<sup>87</sup> Go: *mtshal*.

<sup>88</sup> Go, H insert: /.

<sup>89</sup> Z omits: *mi*.

<sup>90</sup> Go: *mkhyend*.

<sup>91</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>92</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>93</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>94</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>95</sup> Go: *'tshald*.

<sup>96</sup> D 313, Go, H, Q 979: *da ltar* for *de lta bu*.

<sup>97</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>98</sup> H: *di*.

<sup>99</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>100</sup> Go: *mtshal*.

<sup>101</sup> Q 599, S, Z: *ta*.

<sup>102</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>103</sup> H, S, Z: *kyi*.

<sup>104</sup> Q 979 inserts: /.

<sup>105</sup> Q 599 inserts: *kyi*.

<sup>106</sup> Q 599: *com*.

<sup>107</sup> Z: *kyis*.

<sup>108</sup> S, Z omit: *ji ltar*.

<sup>109</sup> Go: *bstand*.

<sup>110</sup> Go: *song*; H: *gzung*.

<sup>111</sup> Q 599 inserts: /.

<sup>112</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599 omit: /.

<sup>113</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>114</sup> Go: *gyurd*.

[3.] དེ་ནས་དག་སྤྱོད་དེ་ནང་པར་<sup>115</sup>ལངས་ནས་<sup>116</sup>བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ག་ལ་བ་དེར་སྤང་སྟེ་  
<sup>117</sup>ཐྱིན་<sup>118</sup>ནས།<sup>119</sup>བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་<sup>120</sup>ཞབས་ལ་མགོ་<sup>121</sup>བོས་ཕྱག་འཛུལ་<sup>122</sup>ཏེ།<sup>123</sup>ཕྱོགས་  
གཅིག་ཏུ་འདུག་གོ།<sup>124</sup> ཕྱོགས་གཅིག་ཏུ་འདུག་ནས་<sup>125</sup>དག་<sup>126</sup>སྤྱོད་དེས་<sup>127</sup>བཅོམ་ལྡན་  
འདས་ལ་འདི་སྐད་ཅིས་གསལ་ཏོ།། བཙུན་པ་<sup>128</sup>མདང་དགུང་ཚྱོདས་<sup>129</sup>ནས་བདག་གི་  
<sup>130</sup>དེར་སྟེ།<sup>131</sup>ཁ་དོག་མཆོག་<sup>132</sup>དང་ལྡན་པ་ཞིག་བདག་ག་ལ་བ་དེར་མཆིས་ཏེ། ཆབ་ཏུ་  
<sup>133</sup>པོ་ཏེ།<sup>134</sup>འགྲམ་<sup>135</sup>ཐམས་ཅད་སྤང་བ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོས་བྱུང་པར་<sup>136</sup>སྤང་བར་<sup>137</sup>བགྱིས་  
<sup>138</sup>ནས་<sup>139</sup>བདག་ལ་འདི་སྐད་<sup>140</sup>མཆིའོ་<sup>141</sup>།། དག་སྤྱོད་བྱོད་ཀྱིས་མཆོན་མོ་<sup>142</sup>བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་  
ཇི་ཤེས་སམ། བདག་གིས་<sup>143</sup>དེ་ལ་འདི་སྐད་ཅིས་བགྱིས་<sup>144</sup>སོ།། ལྟ་<sup>145</sup>བདག་གིས་ནི་མཆོན་མོ་

<sup>115</sup> S, Z: *nas* for *nang bar*.

<sup>116</sup> Go, S, Z insert: /.

<sup>117</sup> Q 979 inserts: /.

<sup>118</sup> Go: *phyind*.

<sup>119</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>120</sup> Q 599: *kyis*.

<sup>121</sup> Go: *mgo*'.

<sup>122</sup> H: *btsal*.

<sup>123</sup> D 617, 974, H, Q 599, 979, S, Z omit: /.

<sup>124</sup> H, Q 599, 979, S omit: /.

<sup>125</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>126</sup> Z: *de ge*.

<sup>127</sup> S inserts: /.

<sup>128</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>129</sup> Q 599: *rmos*.

<sup>130</sup> Z: *gis*.

<sup>131</sup> Go omits: *lha*.

<sup>132</sup> S, Z omit: *mchog*.

<sup>133</sup> H: *tu*; D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z insert: *la*.

<sup>134</sup> Go: *da 'i*.

<sup>135</sup> Go: *khyim*.

<sup>136</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *pas*.

<sup>137</sup> S, Z omit: *snang bar*.

<sup>138</sup> Q 599: *gyid*.

<sup>139</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>140</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z insert: *ces*.

<sup>141</sup> Go, Q 979: *'chi'o*.

<sup>142</sup> Go: *ma*.

<sup>143</sup> Z: *gi*.

<sup>144</sup> Q 599: *bgyi*.

བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ལྷེ་མ་འཛལ་<sup>146</sup> བ། ལྷ་ཁྱོད་ཀྱིས་<sup>147</sup> མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ལྷེ་མཁུན་  
<sup>148</sup> ཏམ་<sup>149</sup> མི་<sup>150</sup> མཁུན་<sup>151</sup> དེ་<sup>152</sup> འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་མཆིའོ། དགེ་སློང་<sup>153</sup> བདག་གིས་ཀྱང་མཚན་  
མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ལྷེ་མི་ཤེ<sup>154</sup> ས་སོ། ལྷ་<sup>155</sup> འོ་ན་མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ལྷེ་འཛལ་<sup>156</sup> བ་  
དེ་<sup>157</sup> ལྷ་བུ་<sup>158</sup> སུ་མཆིས། <sup>159</sup> དེ་<sup>160</sup> འདི་སྐད་ཅེས་མཆིའོ། <sup>161</sup> རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཁབ་<sup>162</sup> གྱི་འོད་མའི་  
ཚལ་<sup>163</sup> བྱ་ཀ་ལན་ད་<sup>164</sup> ཀ་གནས་པ་<sup>165</sup> རྩ་<sup>166</sup> བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་བཞུགས་ཀྱིས། ཁྱོད་<sup>167</sup> བཅོམ་  
ལྷན་འདས་<sup>168</sup> གྱི་ཐད་དུ་སོང་ལ་ཁྱས་ཏེ།<sup>169</sup> བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་<sup>170</sup> དེ་ཁྱོད་<sup>171</sup> ལ་ཇི་ལྟར་  
ལུང་བསྟན་<sup>172</sup> པ་དེ་<sup>173</sup> བཞིན་དུ་<sup>174</sup> ཟུང་<sup>175</sup> ལ་བཙོན་པར་གྱིས་ཤིག་ཅེས་སྟེས་ནས།<sup>176</sup> ལྷ་དེ་

<sup>145</sup> Go: *lha 'i*; H inserts: */*.

<sup>146</sup> Go: *mtshald*.

<sup>147</sup> D 313, H, Q 979, Z insert: *lta*.

<sup>148</sup> Go: *mkhyend*.

<sup>149</sup> Go, H insert: */*.

<sup>150</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>151</sup> Go: *mkhyend*.

<sup>152</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599 insert: *bdag la*; S, Z: *des bdag la ni* for *de*.

<sup>153</sup> H inserts: */*.

<sup>154</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>155</sup> H inserts: */*.

<sup>156</sup> Go: *'tshald*.

<sup>157</sup> S: *da*.

<sup>158</sup> D 313, Go, H, Q 979: *da ltar* for *de lta bu*; S, Z omit: *bu*.

<sup>159</sup> Q 979 inserts: */*.

<sup>160</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z: *des*.

<sup>161</sup> S, Z insert: *dge slong*.

<sup>162</sup> H: *khyab*.

<sup>163</sup> Go: *'tshal*.

<sup>164</sup> Q 599: *dā*; S, Z: *ta*.

<sup>165</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z insert: *'di*.

<sup>166</sup> Go, S, Z insert: */*.

<sup>167</sup> H inserts: *kyi*.

<sup>168</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z omit: *bcom ldan 'das bzhugs kyis / khyod*.

<sup>169</sup> D 617, 974 omit: */*.

<sup>170</sup> Go: *kyi*.

<sup>171</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *khyed*.

<sup>172</sup> Go: *bstand*.

<sup>173</sup> Go: *de'*.

<sup>174</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599 insert: *'di*; S, Z inserts: */'di*.

<sup>175</sup> H, S, Z: *gzung*.

དེ་<sup>177</sup>ཉིད་དུ་མི་<sup>178</sup>སྒྲུང་<sup>179</sup>བར་གྱུར་<sup>180</sup>ཏོ།<sup>181</sup> བཙུན་པ་<sup>182</sup>བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་དེའི་སྒྲུང་དུ་  
 བདག་འདིའི་<sup>183</sup>དོན་<sup>184</sup>ཡོངས་སུ་བྱུངོ། བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སྒྱུལ་<sup>185</sup>པ། <sup>186</sup>དགོ་  
 སྒྲོང་ཁྱེད་ཀྱིས་<sup>187</sup>ལྷ་དེ་ཤེས་སམ། དགོ་སྒྲོང་དེས་གསོལ་པ། བཙུན་པ་<sup>188</sup>བདག་གིས་ལྷ་དེ་མ་  
 འཛལ་<sup>189</sup>ཏོ།<sup>190</sup> བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སྒྱུལ་<sup>191</sup>པ། ལྷའི་བྱ་དེ་ནི་སུམ་ཅུ་<sup>192</sup>ཙ་གསུམ་  
 གྱི་<sup>193</sup>ལྷ་རྣམས་ཀྱི་སྤེ་<sup>194</sup>དཔོན་ཏེ་<sup>195</sup>། <sup>196</sup>ཙན་དན་ཞེས་བྱའོ། དགོ་སྒྲོང་དེས་གསོལ་<sup>197</sup>པ།  
 བཙུན་<sup>198</sup>པ་བདག་<sup>199</sup>མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་སྤེ་ཐོས་<sup>200</sup>པར་འཛལ་ལོ།

[4.] བཙམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་བཀའ་སྒྱུལ་<sup>201</sup>པ། དགོ་སྒྲོང་ཁྱེད་<sup>202</sup>དེའི་<sup>203</sup>ཕྱིར་ལེགས་པར་  
 རབ་དུ་<sup>204</sup>ཉོན་ལ་ཡིད་ལ་བྱུང་<sup>205</sup>ཤིག་<sup>206</sup>དང་། ངས་ཁྱེད་ལ་བཤད་པར་བྱའོ་<sup>207</sup>། དགོ་སྒྲོང་

<sup>176</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599 omit: /.

<sup>177</sup> Z omits: *de*.

<sup>178</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>179</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z: *gda*’.

<sup>180</sup> Go: *gyurd*.

<sup>181</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>182</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>183</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z: *’di*; Go: *gi*.

<sup>184</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, Z omit: *don*; Go inserts: *’di*.

<sup>185</sup> Go: *stsald*.

<sup>186</sup> Go inserts: /.

<sup>187</sup> Z: *kyi*.

<sup>188</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>189</sup> Go: *’tshald*.

<sup>190</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>191</sup> Go: *stsald*.

<sup>192</sup> Go, Q 599, 979: *bcu*.

<sup>193</sup> Z omits: *gyi*.

<sup>194</sup> D 617, 974, S, Z: *ded*.

<sup>195</sup> Go: *ste*; S, Z: *de*.

<sup>196</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z omit: /.

<sup>197</sup> Go: *gsold*.

<sup>198</sup> Q 599: *btsum*.

<sup>199</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z insert: *kyang*.

<sup>200</sup> Q 979: *thob*.

<sup>201</sup> Go: *stsald*.

<sup>202</sup> H: *khyed*.

<sup>203</sup> Go: *de*.

<sup>204</sup> S, Z omits: *rab tu*.

<sup>208</sup>ཆོས་གསུམ་དང་ལྷན་ན་<sup>209</sup>དགེ་སློང་<sup>210</sup>མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་<sup>211</sup>ཟླེ་ལ་གནས་པ་ཞེས་  
 བྱའོ། །གསུམ་གང་ཞེ་ན།<sup>212</sup>འདི་ལྷ་སྟེ། འདས་པ་ལ་རྗེས་སུ་སྤང་<sup>213</sup>པར་<sup>214</sup>མི་<sup>215</sup>བྱེད་པ་  
 དང་། མ་འོངས་པ་ལ་རེ་བ་<sup>216</sup>མེད་<sup>217</sup>པ་དང་། ད་ལྟར་བྱུང་བའི་ཆོས་རྣམས་<sup>218</sup>ཀྱིས་མི་  
<sup>219</sup>འཕྲོགས་<sup>220</sup>པར་གནས་པའི་ཆོས་ཅན་ཏེ། ཆོས་གསུམ་པོ་དེ་དག་དང་ལྷན་ན་<sup>221</sup>དགེ་སློང་  
<sup>222</sup>མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་ཟླེ་ལ་གནས་པ་<sup>223</sup>ཞེས་བྱའོ། །བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་དེ་སྐད་  
 ཅེས་བཀའ་རྩལ་<sup>224</sup>ཏེ་<sup>225</sup>། བདེ་བར་གཤེགས་པས་<sup>226</sup>དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་<sup>227</sup>གསུངས་ནས། ལྟོན་  
<sup>228</sup>པས་<sup>229</sup>གཞན་ཡང་འདི་སྐད་<sup>230</sup>གསུང་ངོ་<sup>231</sup>།<sup>232</sup>  
 [4.1.] འདས་<sup>233</sup>ལ་<sup>234</sup>རྗེས་སུ་སྤང་<sup>235</sup>མི་<sup>236</sup>བྱེད་<sup>237</sup>།<sup>238</sup>མ་འོངས་པ་ལ་རེ་བ་མེད།<sup>239</sup>

<sup>205</sup> H: *zungs*; Z: *gzung*.

<sup>206</sup> S, Z: *zhig*.

<sup>207</sup> Go: *do for par bya'o*.

<sup>208</sup> H inserts: *.*

<sup>209</sup> Go, H, S, Z insert: *.*

<sup>210</sup> H inserts: *.*

<sup>211</sup> Go: *mo'i mdo* 'for *mo bzang po'i mdo*.

<sup>212</sup> D 974 omits: *.*

<sup>213</sup> Go: *'phrad*.

<sup>214</sup> D 313: *phar*; H: *phard*.

<sup>215</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>216</sup> Q 979: *reg pa*.

<sup>217</sup> Go: *myed*.

<sup>218</sup> Q 599: *nam* (?).

<sup>219</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>220</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *phrogs*; Z: *'phrog*.

<sup>221</sup> Go, H, S, Z insert: *.*

<sup>222</sup> H inserts: *.*

<sup>223</sup> H: *par*.

<sup>224</sup> Go: *stsald*.

<sup>225</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *nas*.

<sup>226</sup> Go: *pa*.

<sup>227</sup> D 313, Go, H, Q 979 omit: *ces*.

<sup>228</sup> Go: *stond*.

<sup>229</sup> Go, Q 599: *pa*.

<sup>230</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599 insert: *du*.

<sup>231</sup> Z: *gsungs so*.

<sup>232</sup> H, Q 979 omit: *.*

<sup>233</sup> Q 979: *'dis*.

འདས་པ་གང་ཡིན་དེ་འགགས་ཏེ་<sup>240</sup>||<sup>241</sup> མ་འོངས་དེ་<sup>242</sup>ནི་མ་ཕྱིན་<sup>243</sup>པའོ།  
 གང་དག་ད་ལྟར་བྱང་བའི་ཚོས། དེ་དང་དེ་ལ་རབ་བཞུས་ནས་<sup>244</sup>།  
 རྣམ་པར་རྟོག་<sup>245</sup>པས་མི་<sup>246</sup>འཕྲོགས་<sup>247</sup>པར།<sup>248</sup> དེ་དག་མཁས་པས་<sup>249</sup>ཁོང་<sup>250</sup>དུ་རྒྱུད།  
 སང་ཚམ་གྱི་ཡང་<sup>251</sup>ལྷས་<sup>252</sup>ཤེས་ཀྱིས་<sup>253</sup>། དེ་རིང་ཉིད་དུ་བརྟུན་ཏེ་<sup>254</sup>བྱ་<sup>255</sup>།  
 འཆི་བདག་སྡེ་<sup>256</sup>ཆེན་དེ་དང་ནི། བདག་<sup>257</sup>ཏུ་<sup>258</sup>ཤེས་<sup>259</sup>པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།

[4.2] སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་དང་སྟོག་ཆགས་ཀུན། འབྱུང་པོ་ཀུན་དང་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱང་།  
 བདེ་བ་འབའ་ཞིག་<sup>260</sup>སྒྲུབ་སྒྲུར་<sup>261</sup>ཏེ། ཐམས་ཅད་ཉོན་མོངས་མེད་<sup>262</sup>པར་ཤོག།

<sup>234</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *pa* for *la*; Go: *pa la*.

<sup>235</sup> Go: '*phrad*'; Z: *phrag*.

<sup>236</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>237</sup> S, Z: *bya*.

<sup>238</sup> Z omits: /.

<sup>239</sup> Go omits: /.

<sup>240</sup> S, Z: '*gag ste*'.

<sup>241</sup> Go omits: /.

<sup>242</sup> Go: *pa*.

<sup>243</sup> Go: *phyind*.

<sup>244</sup> S: *na*.

<sup>245</sup> D 974: *rtogs*.

<sup>246</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>247</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *phrogs*; S, Z: '*phrog*'.

<sup>248</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>249</sup> D 313, H, Q 979: *thams cad* for *mkhas pas*; Go: *par*.

<sup>250</sup> Q 979: *khod*.

<sup>251</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: '*chi 'am*', S: *shi 'am* for *shi yang*; Z: *ba* for *yang*.

<sup>252</sup> D 617, H, Q 599, 979: *su*.

<sup>253</sup> H, Q 599: *kyi*.

<sup>254</sup> D 617, 974: *rtun de*; Q 599: *rten (?) de*.

<sup>255</sup> Q 979: *ta byas*.

<sup>256</sup> Z: *bde*.

<sup>257</sup> S, Z: *rtag*.

<sup>258</sup> Go: *dang* for *tu*.

<sup>259</sup> D 313, Go, H, Q 979, S, Z: *bshes*.

<sup>260</sup> Go, Q 979: *shig*.

<sup>261</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, Z: '*grub 'gyur*'; Go: *gyurd*; S: '*gyur*'.

<sup>262</sup> Go: *myed*.

ཐམས་ཅད་བཟང་པོ་<sup>263</sup>མཐོང་གུར་<sup>264</sup>ཏེ།<sup>265</sup>གང་ཡང་<sup>266</sup>ཐྱིག་པར་མ་གུར་<sup>267</sup>ཅིག།

[4.3] དེ་ལྟར་གནས་ཤིང་རབ་བཙོན་ལ།<sup>268</sup>ཉིན་མཚན་སྟོམ་<sup>269</sup>ལས་མེད་<sup>270</sup>པས་ན།<sup>271</sup>

དེ་<sup>272</sup>ཕྱིར་མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོ་ཡི་<sup>273</sup>།མདོ་སྡེ་ཐུབ་པས་<sup>274</sup>ཏྲག་ཏུ་གསུངས།

[5.] དེ་ནས་བཙོམ་ཐུན་འདས་ཀྱིས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་<sup>275</sup>རྗེས་སུ་བསྐྱང་<sup>276</sup>བའི་ཕྱིར་

<sup>277</sup>མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་སྡེ་<sup>278</sup>འདི་<sup>279</sup>བཤད་<sup>280</sup>ནས་<sup>281</sup>འགྲོ་ཐིང་བའི་གསང་ལྔགས་ཀྱི་

<sup>282</sup>གཞི་འདི་<sup>283</sup>དག་གསུངས་སོ།

[5.1] <sup>284</sup>ཏཱ་ལླ་པ་བེ་མེ་རྩ་ར་དེ།བེ་རི་ནི།བེ་ར་ནི།བུད་རྩ་མ་ཏར་ཏུ་ན་རྩེ།མ་ཉི་ནི་མེ་ན་

ནི།ནི་ནི་ནི་ནི།ཉི་ཉི་ཉི་ཉི།བེ་ར་ཉི།ལྟོ་རི།གན་རྩ་རི།ཅན་ཏ་ལི།མ་ཏང་གི།ཕུ་ཀ་སི།བསྟུ་

ནི།ད་མེ་ཏེ།ད་མེ་ཏེ།ཤ་རྩ་དེ།ས་དུ་ལམ་རྩེ།ཉི་རྩ་མ་ཏུ་མ་ཏུད་ཏ་ར་ནི།མ་ཏོ་ལ་ན།ད་ལ་

རྩ་ནི།ད་ལྟ་རྩ་དེ།མ་ཏུ་ད་ལྟ་ནི།ཅ་ལྟ་ནི།ཁྱ་སྡེ་ཅ་ཁྱ་རྩ་གི།མ་ཏུ་ཅ་ཁྱ་རྩ་གི།ཤ་བ་རི།ཤ་

བ་རི།མ་ཏུ་ཤ་བ་རི།རྩ་ཅོད་གི་ནི།རྩ་ཅོ་རིང་གི་ན།ནི་མེ་ནི་མིང་གི་ནི།ནི་མེ་ན་རི་རྩ་ཏ་

<sup>263</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599: *por*.

<sup>264</sup> Go: *gyurd*; S, Z: *'gyur*.

<sup>265</sup> Q 599 omits: *.*

<sup>266</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z: *dag* for *yang*.

<sup>267</sup> Go: *gyurd*.

<sup>268</sup> Q 979 omits: *.*

<sup>269</sup> H, Q 979, Z: *snnyoms*.

<sup>270</sup> Go: *myed*.

<sup>271</sup> Q 599 omits: *.*

<sup>272</sup> Go: *de 'i*.

<sup>273</sup> Go: *po 'i* for *po yi*; Z: *yis*.

<sup>274</sup> Z: *pa 'i*.

<sup>275</sup> Go inserts: *la*.

<sup>276</sup> D 313, H, Go, Q 979, S, Z: *gzung* for *bsrung*.

<sup>277</sup> Go inserts: *//*; S, Z insert: *.*

<sup>278</sup> D 313, H, Q 979 omit: *sde*.

<sup>279</sup> Z omits: *'di*.

<sup>280</sup> Go inserts: *pa*.

<sup>281</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z insert: *.*

<sup>282</sup> Go, Q 599 omit: *kyi*.

<sup>283</sup> S omits: *'di*.

<sup>284</sup> Go inserts: *//*.

ནི་སྒྲ་ཏྲ་ཤ། ཨ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ་ཏྲ། ར་ཏྲ་མི་ནི། ཀེ་ནི་ཨིང་ཀྲ། སྒྲ་ཏྲ་རི་ཙ་ལ་ལ། རར་ཏྲ། རར་མ་  
ལྷ་ལྷ། ག་ལྷ་ལྷ། ཨ་བ་ཏ་ནི་ནི། ཤོ་ཀ་ནི་ར། ལྷ་ར་ལྷ་ས་ལ། ཏ་ར་ཏྲ་ཏྲ་རི་ལྷ་ཏྲ། རོང་ཏྲ། ཏ་ལ་  
ལྷ་ལྷ། བ་ཏ་ལྷ་ཏྲ། ཡ་ལྷ་ཏྲ་ཡི་སྒྲ་ཏྲ།

ཏྲ་ཤ། ཨ་ར་ཀྲ་ཏྲ། ར་ར་ཀྲ་ཏྲ། བླ་སྒྲ་ཀ། བ་ཡི་ཡི། ཀ་པོ་ཏ་ཀ་བ་ཡི་ཡི་ཏ་ལྷོ་ཏ་ནི་སྒྲ་ཏྲ།

[5.2] དགེ་སྦྱང་<sup>285</sup> རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱུང་མ། རིགས་ཀྱི་བྱུ་མོ་གང་ལ་ལ་ཞིག་གིས་<sup>286</sup> མེས་མ་ཅན་  
ཐམས་ཅད་རྗེས་སུ་བསྐྱང་<sup>287</sup> བའི་ཕྱིར་<sup>288</sup> མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་སྡེ་འདིའི་<sup>289</sup> རོན་  
<sup>290</sup>དང་། ཚིག་དང་།<sup>291</sup> ཚིགས་སུ་བཅད་པ་དང་། འགོ་ཕྱིང་བའི་གསང་<sup>292</sup> རྒྱགས་ཀྱི་<sup>293</sup>གཞི་  
འཆང་ངམ་<sup>294</sup>། འཛིན་<sup>295</sup>ཏམ། རྫོག་གམ། ཡིད་ལ་བྱེད་དམ། ཀྲུན་ལྷུ་བ་པར་བྱེད་དམ།<sup>296</sup>  
གཞན་དག་ལའང་<sup>297</sup> རྒྱ་ཆེར་<sup>298</sup> ཡང་དག་པར་<sup>299</sup> ལྷོན་<sup>300</sup> བ། དེའི་ལྷས་ལ་མེས་<sup>301</sup> མི་  
<sup>302</sup>ལྷགས་པར་<sup>303</sup>འབྱུང་། དྲག་གིས་མ་ཡིན། མཚན་གྱིས་མ་ཡིན། ལྷས་མ་ཡིན་<sup>304</sup>། ལྷལ་པོའི་  
ཆད་པས་<sup>305</sup> མ་ཡིན། ལྷ་པོའི་ཆད་པས་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། <sup>306</sup> དྲས་མ་ཡིན་པར་འཆེ་བའི་དྲས་

<sup>285</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>286</sup> Go omits: *gis*; S, Z insert: /.

<sup>287</sup> D 313, Go, H, Q 979, S, Z: *gzung* for *bsrung*.

<sup>288</sup> Go, S, Z inserts: /.

<sup>289</sup> S, Z omit: *mdo sde 'di'i*.

<sup>290</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599 omit: *sde 'di'i don*.

<sup>291</sup> Go omits: *tshig dang*.

<sup>292</sup> D 313, H, Q 979 omit: *gsang*.

<sup>293</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599 omit: *kyi*.

<sup>294</sup> Q 979: *gzhi'i cad dam* for *gzhi 'chang ngam*.

<sup>295</sup> Go: *'dzind*.

<sup>296</sup> Go omits: *kun chub par byed dam* /.

<sup>297</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599: *la yang* for *la'ang*.

<sup>298</sup> Q 599: *char*.

<sup>299</sup> Q 979: *pa*.

<sup>300</sup> Go: *stond*.

<sup>301</sup> Go: *myes*.

<sup>302</sup> Go omits: *mi*.

<sup>303</sup> Go inserts: *myi*.

<sup>304</sup> D 313, H, Q 979: *mi tshugs pa yin // for ma yin / mtshon gyis ma yin / chus ma yin* /.

<sup>305</sup> Z: *pa'i*.

<sup>306</sup> Q 979 inserts: /.



བྱེད་པར་ཡང་མི་<sup>307</sup> འགྱུར་ཞིང་<sup>308</sup> དེས་པར་མྱ་ངན་ལས་འདས་པར་<sup>309</sup> ཉེ་བར་འགྲོ་བར་  
 འགྱུར་རྟེན་<sup>310</sup> ། གང་དང་གང་དུ་སྐྱེས་པར་ཡང་།<sup>311</sup> མཚན་མོ་བཟང་པོའི་མདོ་བཟླགས་  
<sup>312</sup> བ། སྐྱེ་བ་དྲན་དང་དག་བཙམ་དང་། དབང་ཕྱག་དུ་ཡང་དེས་པར་འགྱུར། ལན་ཅིག་  
<sup>313</sup> གིས་ནི་གནས་ཀྱན་དུ། ཏུས་མིན་<sup>314</sup> འཆི་དང་བར་མ་དོར། བདག་གིས་བདག་ལ་མི་  
 སྐྱོར་བར་<sup>315</sup> ། ཏུས་མིན་<sup>316</sup> འཆི་དང་ཆོས་མ་ཡིན། སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྤང་<sup>317</sup> ཞིང་  
 སེལ་<sup>318</sup> ། ནད་དང་མྱ་ངན་འཇིགས་སྐྱེ་དང་། མི་<sup>319</sup> ལམ་མི་<sup>320</sup> ཤིས་<sup>321</sup> མྱ་ངན་དུ་<sup>322</sup> །<sup>323</sup>  
 བརྗེད་ན་དཔལ་དུ་བྱེད་པར་འགྱུར། གང་གིས་བྱིས་ཏེ་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་<sup>324</sup> ། ཅུང་མེད་<sup>325</sup> ལྷས་  
 ལ་བཏགས་<sup>326</sup> ན་ནི། སྐལ་<sup>327</sup> པ་བཟང་དང་གཟེ་<sup>328</sup> བརྗེད་དང་། དེ་ཡི་<sup>329</sup> དཔལ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་  
 བར་འགྱུར། ལྷས་དང་དག་དང་ཡིད་ཀྱིས་སྤྲ། མི་<sup>330</sup> དག་ཅུང་ཟད་གང་བྱས་པ། དེ་དག་  
 ཐམས་ཅད་བཟང་པོའི་མདོས། ཏུས་མ་ཡིན་པར་<sup>331</sup> འཆི་<sup>332</sup> ལས་<sup>333</sup> སྐྱོབ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཅུ་དང་

<sup>307</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>308</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z insert: /.

<sup>309</sup> S, Z insert: *yang*.

<sup>310</sup> Z omits: *ro*.

<sup>311</sup> Go, H, S omit: /.

<sup>312</sup> Go: *blags*; H: *bklag*; Q 979: *klags*.

<sup>313</sup> Go, H: *gcig*.

<sup>314</sup> Go: *myin*.

<sup>315</sup> S, Z: *ba*.

<sup>316</sup> Go: *myin*.

<sup>317</sup> Q 599: *bsrung*.

<sup>318</sup> Go: *seld*.

<sup>319</sup> Go: *rmyi*.

<sup>320</sup> Go: *myi*'.

<sup>321</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z: *shes*.

<sup>322</sup> Go: *tu*.

<sup>323</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>324</sup> Go: *'am*.

<sup>325</sup> Go: *myed*.

<sup>326</sup> Q 599: *las tags* for *la btags*.

<sup>327</sup> Go: *bskal*.

<sup>328</sup> Go: *gzi*'.

<sup>329</sup> Go: *de'i* for *de yi*.

<sup>330</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>331</sup> S, Z: *ltas*.

<sup>332</sup> Go: *'chi*'.

མི་<sup>334</sup>དང་སྒྲིག་<sup>335</sup>། ཚམ་པོ་ནད་དང་དག་དག་དང་།། གཡུལ་<sup>336</sup>སྒྲིབ་པ་<sup>337</sup>དང་འཐབ་  
<sup>338</sup>པར་ཡང་།། བཟང་པོ་དྲན་ན་སྒྲིབ་པར་བྱེད།། རིག་པ་བཟང་པོ་འདི་<sup>339</sup>དང་ནི།། གསང་  
 རྒྱལ་མ་འདི་དག་ཏྲག་<sup>340</sup>བཙོན་ན།། མི་<sup>341</sup>དག་མི་<sup>342</sup>ལྷུ་དུས་<sup>343</sup>ཀྱན་ཏུ་<sup>344</sup>།། དེ་བས་འདི་  
 ནི་ཡིད་ཀྱིས་བཙོན།།

[6.1] འདས་པ་དང་།། མ་བྱོན་<sup>345</sup>པ་དང་། ད་<sup>346</sup>ལྟར་བྱང་བའི་དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་དག་  
<sup>347</sup>བཅོམ་པ་ཡང་དག་པར་རྒྱལ་པའི་སངས་རྒྱས་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྱག་འཚལ་ལོ།། ཕྱག་འཚལ་  
 རས་རིག་<sup>348</sup>རྒྱལ་མ་འདི་དག་བཙོན་པར་བྱ་སྟེ། རིག་<sup>349</sup>རྒྱལ་མ་འདིས་བདག་འབྱོར་<sup>350</sup>བར་  
 བྱུང་<sup>351</sup>ཅིག།

[6.2.] ཏུ་སྒྲིག་ནི་མི་ནི་མི་རྣེ་། ཏི་མི་ཏི་མིང་ག་ལི། ཏི་ལོ་ཀ་ཨ་བ་ལོ་ཀ་ནི། ཏི་བྱ་ལ་རྣ་  
 ར་ཤི། ཨ་ཀྱ་པི་ནི། ཀྱི་མྱི་ཀྱི་ཏི། ཀེ་ལི་ཀེ་ལི། ཀྱང་ཏོ་ཀྱང་ཏོ། ཀྱང་ཏོ་ཀྱང་སི། ཀྱའི་ཀྱ་པི་ཏི།  
 བདག་དང་<sup>352</sup>སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ལག་ན་དོ་རྩེ་དང་ལྷན་ཅིག་ཏུ་<sup>353</sup>འཛིགས་པ་ཐམས་

<sup>333</sup> Q 979: *pas*.

<sup>334</sup> Go : *mye*.

<sup>335</sup> Q 599: *klog*.

<sup>336</sup> Go: *yul*.

<sup>337</sup> Go, Q 599, 979: *sa*.

<sup>338</sup> Go: *thab*; Q 979: *'tha'*.

<sup>339</sup> Z: *de*.

<sup>340</sup> Q 979: *dash tag* for *dag rtag*.

<sup>341</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>342</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>343</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 974, S, Z: *gnas* for *dus*.

<sup>344</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *du*.

<sup>345</sup> Go: *byond*.

<sup>346</sup> Q 599: *de*.

<sup>347</sup> Q 599: *gsheg pa 'dgra* for *gshegs pa dgra*.

<sup>348</sup> Go: *rigs*.

<sup>349</sup> Go: *rigs*; Q 599: *rag*.

<sup>350</sup> Go: *'byord*.

<sup>351</sup> Go: *gyurd*.

<sup>352</sup> H inserts: */*.

<sup>353</sup> Go inserts: */*.

ཅད་དང་། ནད་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། ཏུག་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། རིམས་<sup>354</sup>ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། གདོན་  
<sup>355</sup>ཐམས་ཅད་དང་།<sup>356</sup>གདུག་<sup>357</sup>པས་བེན་<sup>358</sup>པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། ཚམས་ཀྱན་ཐམས་ཅད་  
 དང་། མི་<sup>359</sup>དང་།<sup>360</sup>མི་<sup>361</sup>མ་ཡིན་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། འཇིགས་<sup>362</sup>པ་དང་།<sup>363</sup>གཞོད་པ་  
 དང་། ནད་འགོ་<sup>364</sup>པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། འཐབ་པ་དང་། རྟོག་པ་དང་། ཐིག་པ་དང་། ཚེད་པ་  
 དང་། འགྱེད་པ་དང་། མཚང་<sup>365</sup>འདྲུ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་། ལྷས་དང་།<sup>366</sup>ངག་དང་། ཡིད་  
 གྱིས་ངན་པར་སྦྱད་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དང་།<sup>367</sup>ཐམས་ཅད་དུ་འཇིགས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ལས་  
 སྤངས་<sup>368</sup>ཤིག་།<sup>369</sup>སྤངས་ཤིག་།<sup>370</sup>

[6.3] ཏཱ་ཐཱ་ ཏི་ལི་མི་ལི། ཅི་ལི། ཨི་ལི། མི་ལི། བི་ཤ་ཅི་པྱ་རྩ་ཤ་བ་རི་ཅི་ལི་ཅི་ལི་སྐྱ་དུ།

[7.] བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་བཀའ་<sup>371</sup>སྒྲུལ་<sup>372</sup>ནས། དགེ་སློང་དེ་དག་དང་།<sup>373</sup>  
 ཐམས་ཅད་དང་ལྷན་པའི་འཁོར་དེ་དག་<sup>374</sup>དང་།<sup>375</sup>ལྷ་དང་།<sup>376</sup>མི་<sup>377</sup>དང་།<sup>378</sup>ལྷ་མ་ཡིན་

<sup>354</sup> Go inserts: *nad*.

<sup>355</sup> Z: *gnod pa*.

<sup>356</sup> Z inserts: *gdug pa thams cad dang* /.

<sup>357</sup> Q 599: *gdugs*; Q 979: *gdub*.

<sup>358</sup> Go: *zind*.

<sup>359</sup> Go: *myi*.

<sup>360</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599 omit: /.

<sup>361</sup> Go: *myi*; Q 599 omits: *mi*.

<sup>362</sup> Q 599: *'digs*.

<sup>363</sup> Q 979 inserts: /.

<sup>364</sup> Z: *mgo*.

<sup>365</sup> Go: *'tshang*; Q 599: *'tshangs*; Z: *tshangs*.

<sup>366</sup> S, Z omit: *dang* /.

<sup>367</sup> Q 979 omits: /.

<sup>368</sup> Go: *bsrungs*.

<sup>369</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599, S, Z omit: /.

<sup>370</sup> Go omits: *srungs shig* /.

<sup>371</sup> Q 979 omits: *ces bka* '.

<sup>372</sup> Go: *stsald*.

<sup>373</sup> Go: *dge slong de dang* / *dge slong de dag* / for *dge slong de dag dang*; D 617, Q 979 omit: /.

<sup>374</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599 omit: *dag*.

<sup>375</sup> D 617 omits: /.

<sup>376</sup> D 617 omits: /.

<sup>377</sup> Go: *myi*.

དང་། རྣམ་མཁའ་ལྷིང་དང་། ཇི་ཟ་དང་། མེའམ་<sup>379</sup>ཅི་དང་། ལྷོ་འབྲེ་<sup>380</sup>ཆེན་པོ་དང་། གཞོད་  
 སྐྱེན་ཆེན་པོ་<sup>381</sup>དང་། སྤེན་པོ་དང་། ཡི་དགས་<sup>382</sup>དང་། ཤ་ཟ་དང་<sup>383</sup>བཅས་པའི་འཇིག་རྟེན་  
 ཡི་<sup>384</sup>རངས་ཏེ།<sup>385</sup> བཅོམ་ལྷན་འདས་ཀྱིས་གསུངས་པ་ལ་མངོན་པར་བསྟོད་དོ། ། འཕགས་པ་  
 མཚན་མོ་<sup>386</sup>བཟང་པོ་ཞེས་<sup>387</sup>བྱ་བའི་མདོ་<sup>388</sup>རྫོགས་སོ་<sup>389</sup>༥ ༥༥<sup>390</sup>

[8.] ལྷ་གར་གྱི་མཁའ་པོ་རྩོ་ན་མི་ཏ་དང་། དྲ་ན་སྤྱི་ལ་དང་། ལྷ་ཆེན་གྱི་ལྷ་ཙ་<sup>391</sup>བ་བན་རྟེ་  
<sup>392</sup>ཡེ་ཤེས་ལྷེས་བསྐྱར་ཅིང་ལྷས་ཏེ། ལྷ་གསར་ཆད་<sup>393</sup>ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བཅོས་ནས་གཏན་ལ་ཕབ་  
 བ༥ ༥༥

#### 4.2.4 The *mantras*

While editing the Tibetan text, it soon became clear that a critical edition of the *mantras* is quite problematic. The major problem is the multitude of variants, which mostly arose from rendering the Sanskrit phonemes into the Tibetan script. This leads us to the challenge of reconstructing the underlying Sanskrit original. Is it at all possible to reconstruct an original Indic version of the *mantras*? The advantage over the above-cited Chinese recension of the *mantras* is the fact that the Tibetan script is a script with letters and not symbols and retains special characters to

<sup>378</sup> D 617 omits: /.

<sup>379</sup> Go: *myi* 'am.

<sup>380</sup> Go: *phye*.

<sup>381</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599, S, Z omit: *chen po*.

<sup>382</sup> H: *dwags*.

<sup>383</sup> D 617, 974, Go, Q 599: *zar* for *za dang*.

<sup>384</sup> Go, Q 599, 979: *yid*.

<sup>385</sup> D 617 omits: /.

<sup>386</sup> Q 979 inserts: /.

<sup>387</sup> Z: *bzhes*.

<sup>388</sup> Go: *gzungs* for *mdo*; Q 979 inserts: //.

<sup>389</sup> Q 599, 979: *sto*.

<sup>390</sup> Q 979 omits: //.

<sup>391</sup> D 617, 974, Q 599: *tstsha*.

<sup>392</sup> D 617, 974: *bande*.

<sup>393</sup> Z: *bcad*.

transliterate Brāhmī *akṣaras*, which are unknown to the Tibetan language and script. This concerns the retroflex and aspirated consonants, the vocalic *r* and *l*, the diphthongs, and the long vowels, as well as the *visarga*, and the *anusvāra* (see table below).

Table 12: Special characters for the transliteration of Devanāgarī *akṣaras* into Tibetan script.

ॢ	ॣ	ṭa	॥	॥	ṭha	ॢ	ॣ	ḍa	ॢ	ॣ	ḍha	ॢ	ॣ	ṇa
ॢ	ॣ	gha	ॢ	ॣ	jha	ॢ	ॣ	dha	ॢ	ॣ	bha			
ॢ	ॣ	ṛ	ॢ	ॣ	ṛ	ॢ	ॣ	ai	ॢ	ॣ	au			
ॢ	ॣ	mā	ॢ	ॣ	mī	ॢ	ॣ	mū						
ॢ	ॣ	aḥ	ॢ	ॣ	aṃ									

To deal with the mass of different readings, and to avoid an overload of notes, in the present edition I follow Skilling's example of the edition of the Tibetan *mahāsūtra mantras*, which in turn was influenced by the work of Inagaki.<sup>394</sup> They divided the *mantras* into units from *shad* to *shad* and gave variant readings in separate lines with corresponding syllables below. Minor variants within one line are listed in the annotations. The wording of the *mantras* in the main body of the *sūtra* edited above corresponds to the text in the first line.

With regard to the problem of reconstruction, we have to consider the aim of the Tibetans when rendering Sanskrit texts. The translation guidelines in the *Madhyavyūtpatti* clearly forbade the literal translation of Sanskrit *mantras* into Tibetan. The rule 25 of the introduction runs as follows:

*gsang sngags kyi rgyud rnams gzhung gis gsang bar bya ba yin te | snod du ma gyur pa rnams la bshad cing bstan du yang mi rung la | bar du bsgyur zhing spyod du gnam gis kyang | ldem po dag tu bshad pa ma khrol nas sgra ji bzhi du 'dzin cing log par spyod pa dag kyang byung | sngags kyi rgyud kyi nang nas thu zhing bod skad du bsgyur ba dag kyang byung zhes*

<sup>394</sup> Cf. Skilling 1994a: 1, and Inagaki 1987: 314–352.

*gdags kyi | phyin chad gzungs sngags dang rgyud bla nas bka' stsal te |  
 sgyur du bcug pa ma gtogs pa | sngags kyi rgyud dang | sngags kyi tshig thu  
 zhing bsgyur du mi gnang ngo ||*

(D 4347 p. 132b6–7<sup>395</sup>)

The Tantras with their mantras are to be kept secret in accordance with the scriptures themselves, and it is not proper that they are explained and taught to those not worthy. However, in the meantime they have been translated and given for practice, but their concealed meanings were not the subject of an oral explanation, thus [the words] were understood literally – and false practices have originated. While it is an established fact that selections from among the Mantra-Tantras and translations into Tibetan do exist, henceforth, with regard to dhāraṇīmantras and the Tantras, it has been decreed that unless permission is granted to translate [a specific such scripture], it is not allowed to collect or translate the Mantra-Tantras and the words of the mantras.

(tr. Braarvig<sup>396</sup>)

This passage can be interpreted in two ways: first of all, the Tibetan kings did not want the esoteric and magic *mantras* to be brought to Tibet at all and tried to keep magic out of their country. This argumentation, however, does not seem to be very convincing as we have evidence in Bu ston's *History of Buddhism* that *mantras* were translated, though with restrictions. The second interpretation is thus more likely, namely that it was not allowed to translate the secret *mantras*, but to transliterate them in order to maintain the original sound when recited.

Reconstructing the Indic text of the *mantras* is, to put it mildly, not an easy task. To determine with certainty the original Indic form is easy only in the case where all recensions agree. Where there is no conformity in the wording of the *mantra*, it is impossible to resolve the underlying Sanskrit. All attempts can only be regarded as tentative as long as the original source was found and assigned. Furthermore, the original Sanskrit *mantra* could well belong to another line of tradition and thus

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<sup>395</sup> The e-text is provided by the *Asian Classics Input Project* (ACIP): <http://tibetan.works/etext/reader.php?collection=tengyur&index=4347> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

<sup>396</sup> Cf. the online publication of the translation of the *Madhyavyutpatti* by Jens Braarvig: <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=fulltext&vid=263&view=fulltext> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

differ from the version transmitted in Tibet as Skilling puts it for the *mantras* of the Sanskrit *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*:

Needless to say, even when all editions agree or can be reduced to a common form, this does not absolutely lead us back to the original form of the mantra in the Sanskrit manuscript(s) used by the translator in about the year 800, or even to the original transliteration adopted to their translation. Furthermore, even when a Sanskrit manuscript is available, it may well belong to a different textual lineage. For *Mahāsūtra* 9, for example, the Sanskrit fragments of the mantras of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra* cannot be described as the ‘correct’ or ‘standard’ form: they are simply the mantras as transmitted by the Central Asian Sarvāstivādins.<sup>397</sup>

The alterations in the wording of the *mantras* may well have been unintended, as well as deliberate. To the category of unintended changes, we can ascribe scribal errors such as the failure to reverse the consonants to represent retroflex *akṣaras*, omission or addition of a *tsheg* or the loss of the prototype. Deliberate editorial changes mostly concern the orthography, the way Sanskrit phonemes were rendered into the Tibetan script, for example the use of superscripts und subscripts. That is exactly the reason why the main text of the *mantras* is here given in Tibetan script, which enables the reader to better trace minor orthographical variants.

In the wording of the five *mantras* of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* we can make out four, and for the first *mantra* even five, slightly variant readings. We can group together those versions classed under Sūtra, which are given in the first line of the present edition and those placed under Tantra or Dhāraṇī, listed in the second line. The text of the Shey and Stog editions take up a special status and are, therefore, listed separately. Nevertheless, the wording of these editions, which are classified under Tantra, are closer to the other Tantra recensions given in the second line, than to those in the Sūtra division. The last line represents the reading of the Gondhla Manuscript Kangyur. For the first and longest *mantra* I decided to give a fourth line with the wording of the Lhasa edition, as it shows considerable differences to the other Sūtra versions. With this classification of different readings according to the place within the Kangyur, the *mantra* passages are perfectly in line with the division of the two variants regarding the title and the colophon.

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<sup>397</sup> Skilling 1994a: liv.

*Mantra 1*: D 313 at 162b4–6, D 617at 57b2–4, D 974 at 91a5–7, Go 3692 at 45a7–45b1, H 317 at 250b1–4, Q 599 at 97b7–8, Q 979 at 172b3–5, S 575 at 407a6–407b1, Z 588 at 421a9–421b3

D 313 Q 979	།ཏཱ་ཐ།	བེ་མེ་ལྷ་ར་དེ།	བེ་རེ་མེ།	བེ་ར་ <sup>398</sup> མེ།	བུད་ལྷ་ <sup>399</sup> མ་ཏར་ <sup>400</sup>
D 617, 974 Q 599	།ཏཱ་ཐ།	བེ་མེ་བེ་ར་ཐེ།	པ་མེ་	བུ་ར་མེ།	བུ་ལྷ་ <sup>401</sup> མཏེ་ <sup>402</sup>
S 575 Z 588	།ཏཱ་ཐ།	བེ་ལྷ་བེ་མེ།	བེ་མེ་ <sup>403</sup>	བུ་ར་མེ།	བུ་ལྷ་མཏེ་
H 317	།ཏཱ་ཐ།	མེ་མེ་ལྷ་ར་དེ།	བེ་རེ་མེ།	བེ་རེ་མེ།	བུ་ལྷ་མ་ཏར་
Go 36,92	།ཏད་ལྷ་ཐ།	བེ་མེ་བུ་རེ་མེ།	པ་མེ་	བུ་རེ་མེ།	བུད་མ་ལྷ་མོད་
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D 313 Q 979	ཏྲ་མ་ལྷེ།	མ་ཏེ་མེ་མེ་མ་མེ།	མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ།	ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ།	བེ་ར་ཏེ།
D 617, 974 Q 599		མ་མེ་མེ།	ཐེ་ཐེ་ཐེ་ཐེ།	ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ།	པ་ར་ཏེ།
S 575 Z 588		མྷ་ <sup>404</sup> མེ་མེ་མྷ་ <sup>405</sup> མེ་མེ།	ཐེ་ཐེ་ཐེ་ཐེ།	ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ།	མེ་ར་ཏེ།
H 317	ཏྲ་མ་ལྷེ།	མ་ཏེ་མེ་མེ་མ་མེ།	མེ་མེ་མེ་མེ།	ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ།	མེ་ར་ཏེ།
Go 36,92	ཏར་ཐེ།	མྷ་མྷེ་མེ།	ཐེ་ཐེ་ཐེ་ཐེ།	ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ་ཏེ།	བེ་རེ་ཏེ།

<sup>398</sup> Q 979: *ri*.

<sup>399</sup> Q 979 inserts: */*.

<sup>400</sup> Q 979: *ha ra*.

<sup>401</sup> Q 599: *bud dha*.

<sup>402</sup> Q 599: *mar te*.

<sup>403</sup> Z: *nī*.

<sup>404</sup> Z: *ma*.

<sup>405</sup> Z: *ma*.



D 313 Q 979	གློ་རི།	གན་རྩ་རི།	ཅན་ཏ་ལི།	མ་ཏང་གི།	ཕུ་ཀ་སི།	བཟུ་ནི།
D 617, 974 Q 599	གློ་རི།	གརྩ་ <sup>406</sup> རི།	ཅན་ <sup>407</sup> ལི།	མ་ཏྱི་གི།	ཕུག་ <sup>408</sup> སི།	རྩ་མ་ <sup>409</sup> ནི།
S 575 Z 588	གློ་འུ་རི།	གན་རྩ་ར་རི།	ཅན་ལི།	མ་ཏྱི་གི།	ཕུག་སི།	རྩ་མ་ནི།
H 317	གློ་རི།	གརྩ་རི།	ཅན་ལི།	མ་ཏང་གི།	ཕུ་ཀ་སི།	བཟུ་ནི།
Go 36,92	གློ་འུ་རེ།	གན་རྩ་རི།	ཅན་ཏ་ལི།	མ་ཏང་གི།	ཕུག་ཀ་སི།	རྩ་མ་ནི།
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D 313 Q 979	བ་མི་ཏི་ <sup>410</sup>	བ་མི་ཏི་ <sup>411</sup>	ཤ་རྩ་ <sup>412</sup> དི། <sup>413</sup>	ས་ར་ལམ་རྩེ།	ཉི་ན་མ་ཏྱ་མ་	
D 617, 974 Q 599	བ་མི་དི།	བ་མི་དི།	ཤ་བ་རི།	ས་ར་ལམ་རྩེ་ <sup>414</sup>	ཉི་ན་མ་རྩ་མ་	
S 575 Z 588	བ་མི་ཏི།	བ་མི་ཏི་ <sup>415</sup>	ཤ་བ་རི།	ས་ར་ལི་རྩ།	ཉི་ན་མ་རྩ་མ་	
H 317	བ་མི་ཏི།	བ་མི་ཏི།	ཤ་རྩ་དི།	ས་ར་ལམ་རྩེ།	ཉི་ན་མ་ཏྱ་མ་	
Go 36,92	བ་མི་ཏི།	བ་མི་ཏི།	ཤ་བ་རི།	ས་ར་ལམ་རྩེ།	ཉི་ན་མ་རྩ་མ་ཏྱ་	
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D 313 Q 979	ཡུང་ཏ་ར་ནི།	མ་ཏྱི་ལ་ན།	ད་ལ་རྩ་ནི།		ད་ལ་རྩ་དེ།	
D 617, 974 Q 599	རྩ་ཏ་ར་ནི།	མ་ཏྱི་ལ་ན།	ད་ལ་བ་ནི།	ད་ལ་བ་ནི།	ད་ལ་བད་ཏེ་ <sup>416</sup>	

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<sup>406</sup> Q 599: *gan dha*.

<sup>407</sup> Q 599: *tsaṇ ḍa*.

<sup>408</sup> Q 599: *bug ga*.

<sup>409</sup> Q 599: *tha*.

<sup>410</sup> Q 979: *tī*.

<sup>411</sup> Q 979: *ma ṭi*.

<sup>412</sup> Q 979: *bā*.

<sup>413</sup> Q 979 omits: */*.

<sup>414</sup> D 974: *lambhe*.

<sup>415</sup> Z omits: *drāmiḍi*.

<sup>416</sup> D 974: *batte*.

S 575 Z 588	ར་ཏ་ནི།	མ་ཉོ་ལྷ།	ད་ལ་བ་ནི། <sup>417</sup> ད་ལ་བ་ཏི།	ད་ལ་བ་ཉ།
H 317	ཡུད་ཏ་ར་ནི།	མ་ཉོ་ལ་ན།	ད་ལ་ལྷ་ནི།	ད་ལ་ལྷ་བེ།
Go 36,92	ཏ་ར་ཉ།	མ་ཉོ་ལ་ནི།	ད་ལ་བ་ནི། ད་ལ་བ་ཏི།	ད་ལ་བ་ད་ཏི།
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D 313 Q 979	མ་རྒྱ་ <sup>418</sup> ད་ལྷ་ནི།	ཅ་ལྷ་ནི།	ཡུ་ལྷེ་ <sup>419</sup> ཅ་ཀྱ་ལྷ་གི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ལྷ་གི།
D 617, 974 Q 599	མ་རྒྱ་ད་ལི་ནི།	ཅ་ལི་ནི།	ཡུ་ལྷེ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ལྷ་ཏི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ལྷ་ཏི།
S 575 Z 588	མ་རྒྱ་ད་ལི་ནི།	ཅ་ལི་ནི།	ཡུ་ལྷེ། ཅ་ཀྱ་བ་ཏི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཅ་ཀྱ་བ་ཏི།
H 317	མ་རྒྱ་ད་ལྷ་ནི།	ཅ་ལྷ་ནི།	ཡུ་ལྷེ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ལྷ་གི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ལྷ་གི།
Go 36,92	མ་རྒྱ་ད་ལི་ནི།	ཅ་ལི་ནི།	ཡུ་ལྷེ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ཀྱ་བ་གི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཅ་ཀྱ་ཀྱ་བ་གི།
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D 313 Q 979	ཤ་བ་རི།	ཤ་བ་རི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཤ་བ་རི།	བྱ་ཙོད་གི་ནི། བྱ་ཙོད་རིང་གི་ནི།
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཤ་བ་རི་	ཤ་བ་རི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཤ་བ་རི།	བྱ་ཙོད་གི་ <sup>420</sup> ནི། བྱ་ཙོད་རིང་གི་ནི།
S 575 Z 588	ཤ་བ་རི་	ཤ་བ་རི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཤ་ <sup>421</sup> བ་རི་	བྱ་ཙོད་གི་ བྱ་ཙོད་རིང་ <sup>422</sup> གི་ནི།
H 317	ཤ་བ་རི།	ཤ་བ་རི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཤ་བ་རི།	བྱ་ཙོད་གི་ནི། བྱ་ཙོད་རིང་གི་ནི།
Go 36,92	ཤ་བ་རི།	ཤ་བ་རི།	མ་རྒྱ་ཤ་བ་རི།	བྱ་ཙོད་གི་ནི། བྱ་ཙོད་རིང་གི་ནི།
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<sup>417</sup> S omits: /.

<sup>418</sup> Q 979: *phā*.

<sup>419</sup> Q 979 inserts: /.

<sup>420</sup> D 974: *tsinggi*.

<sup>421</sup> S: *shā*.

<sup>422</sup> Z omits: *ram*.

D 313 Q 979	ནི་མི་ནི་མིང་གི་ནི།	ནི་མིན་ཏེ་རི་རྩུ་ཏེ་ནི་	སྤྲ་ཏེ།
D 617, 974 Q 599	ནི་མི། ནི་མིང་གི་རི།	ནི་མིན་ཏེ་རི། རྩུ་ཏེ་ནི་	སྤྲ་ཏེ།
S 575 Z 588	ནི་མི་ནི་མི་གི་རི།	ནི་མི་ཏེ་རི། རྩུ་ཏེ་ནི་	སྤྲ་ཏེ།
H 317	ནི་མི་ནི་མིང་གི་ནི།	ནི་མིན་ཏེ་རི་རྩུ་ཏེ་ནི་	སྤྲ་ཏེ།
Go 36,92	ནི་མི་ནི་མིང་གི་ནི།	ནི་མིན་ཏེ་རི། རྩུ་ཏེ་ནི་	སྤྲ་ཏེ།

*Mantra 2:* D 313 at 162b6–7, D 617at 57b4–5, D 974 at 91a7–91b1, Go 3692 at 45b1–2, H 317 at 250b4–5, Q 599 at 97b8–98a1, Q 979 at 172b5–6, S 575 at 407b1–2, Z 588 at 421b3–4

D 313, H 317 Q 979	ཏུ་ཐ།	ཞེ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏུ།	ན་ཏུ་མི་ནི།	ཀེ་ནི་ཞིང་ཀྲ།
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཏུ་ཐ།	ཞེ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏུ།	ན་ཏུ་མི་ཆེ། <sup>423</sup>	ཀེ་ཆེ། ཞིང་ཀྲ། <sup>424</sup>
S 575 Z 588	ཏུ་ཐ།	ཞེ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏུ་ཏུ།	ན་ཏུ་མི་ཆེ།	ཀེ་ཆེ། ཞིང་ཀྲ།
Go 36,92	ཏང་ཡཱ་ཐ།	ཞེ་ཏུ་ཏུ།	ཏུ་ན་ཏུ་མིང་ཆེ།	ཀར་ཆེ། ཞིང་ཀྲ།

D 313, H 317 Q 979	ཐུང་ཏེ་རི་ཙལ་ལ།	ནར་ཏུ།	ནར་མ་ལུ་ལ།	གལ་ལུ་ལ།
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཐིང་ད་ཏེ་རི། ཙལ་ལ།	ནྟ་ཏུ། <sup>425</sup>	ནར་ལམ་ལ།	<sup>426</sup> གལ་ལུ་ལ།
S 575 Z 588	ཐི་ཏེ་ཏེ་རི། ཙལ་ལ།	ནི་ཏུ།	ནི་མ་ <sup>427</sup> ལུ།	གལུ། <sup>428</sup>
Go 36,92	ཐུང་ཏེ། རི་ཙལ་ལ།	ནར་ཏུ།	ནར་མ་ལུ།	གལ་ལུ།

<sup>423</sup> Q 599 omits: /.

<sup>424</sup> D 974: *engku*.

<sup>425</sup> Q 599: *naṃ rtu ra* for *naṃ tu* /.

<sup>426</sup> Q inserts: /.

<sup>427</sup> S: *nirma*.

<sup>428</sup> S omits: /.

D 313, H 317 Q 979	ཨ་བ་ཏ་ཅོ་ཅེ།	ཤོ་ཀ་ཅི་ར།	ཟླ་ར་ཟླ་ས་ལེ།	ཏ་ར་ཀེ་ཏ་རེ་
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཨ་བ་ཏ་ཅོ་ཅེ <sup>429</sup> །	ཤེ་ཀུ་ཅི་ར་	བ་རད་ས་ལེ།	ཏ་ར་ཀེ <sup>430</sup> ། ཏ་རེ།
S 575 Z 588	ཨ་བ་ཏ་ཅོ་ཅེ།	ཤེ་ཀུ།	ནི་ཐ་ར་ཏ་ <sup>431</sup> ས་ལེ།	ཏ་ར་ཀེ། ཏ་རེ།
Go 36,92	ཨ་བ་ཏ་ཅོ་ཅེ།	ཤེ་ཀུ་ཅི་ར་	ཟླ་རད་ས་ལེ།	ཏ་རེ་ཀེད་ཏེ་རེ།

D 313, H 317 Q 979	རྩ་བ།	ཅོད་བུ།	ཏ་ལ་ <sup>432</sup> ལ་ལ།	བ་ཏ་རྩ་ཏི།	ཡ་རྩ་ཏི་ཡེ་	སྒྲ་བ།
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཏ་རྩོད་བུ།	ཅོར་བུ།	ཏི་ལ་ལ་ལ།	རྩུ་ཏ་བ་ཏི་ཡ་ <sup>433</sup> །	བ་ཏ་ཡི་ཡེ་	སྒྲ་བ།
S 575 Z 588	ཏ་རྩོད་བུ།	ཅོད་བུ།	ཏི་ལ་ལ་ལ།	རྩུ་ཏ་བ་ཏི་ཡ།	བ་ཏི་ཡི་ཡེ་	སྒྲ་བ།
Go 36,92	ཏ་རྩོད་བུ།	ཅོད་བུ།	ཏི་ལ་ལ་ལ།	རྩུ་ཏ་བ་ཏི	ཡི་ཡེ་	སྒྲ་བ།

*Mantra 3:* D 313 at 162b7, D 617 at 57b5, D 974 at 91b1, Go 3692 at 45b2–3, H 317 at 250b5–6, Q 599 at 98a1–2, Q 979 at 172b7, S 575 at 407b2, Z 588 at 421b4

D 313, H 317 Q 979	ཏཅ་ཐ།	ཨ་ར་ཀླ་ཏི།	ན་ར་ཀླ་ཏི།	པྱི་ཐུ་ཀ།	བ་ཡི་ <sup>434</sup> ཡེ།
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཏཅ་ཐ།	ཨ་ར་ <sup>435</sup> གཤེ།	ན་ར་གཤེ།	པྱི་ <sup>436</sup> ཐུ་ཀ།	བ་ཡི་ཡེ།
S 575 Z 588	ཏཅ་ཐ།	ཨ་ར་གཤེ།		པྱི་ <sup>437</sup> ཐུ་ཀ།	བ་ཡི་ <sup>438</sup> ཡེ།

<sup>429</sup> D 974: *no*.

<sup>430</sup> Q 599: *ka*.

<sup>431</sup> S: *da*.

<sup>432</sup> Q 979: *tī* for *ta la*.

<sup>433</sup> Q 599: *ā*.

<sup>434</sup> Q 979: *ye*.

<sup>435</sup> D 617: *a ra*.

<sup>436</sup> D 974: *baṃ*.

<sup>437</sup> S: *pām*.

Go 36,92    །ཏད་ཡ་ཐ།    ཨ་ར་ག་ཏེ།    ན་ར་ག་ཏེ།    བང་སྲ་ག།    བའི་ཡི་ཡེ།

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D 313, H 317    ཀ་པོ་ཏ་ཀ་བ་<sup>439</sup>ཡི་<sup>440</sup>ཡེ་ཏ་ཚོ་ཏ་ནེ་    སྤྲ་ལྷ།  
Q 979

D 617, 974    ཀ་པོ་ཏ་ཀ་བ་ཡི་ཡེ་ཏ་པོ་ཚོ་ནེ་    སྤྲ་ལྷ།  
Q 599

S 575    ཀ་པོ་ཏ་ཀ་སྤྲ་ཡི་ཡེ། ཏ་པོ་<sup>441</sup>ཚེ་    སྤྲ་ལྷ།  
Z 588

Go 36,92    ཀ་པོ་ཏ་ག། བ་ཡི་འི་ཡེ། ཏ་པོ་ད་ནེ་    སྤྲ་ལྷ།

*Mantra 4:* D 313 at 163a7–163b1, D 617 at 58a5, D 974 at 92a1–2, Go 3692 at 46a3–4, H 317 at 251b3–4, Q 599 at 98b2, Q 979 at 173a7–8, S 575 at 408a5–6, Z 588 at 422a7–8

D 313, H 317    །ཏཅ་ཐ།    བེ་མེ་བེ་མེན་རྟེ་<sup>442</sup><sup>443</sup>    ཏི་མེ་ཏི་མང་ག་ལི།  
Q 979

D 617, 974    །ཏཅ་ཐ།    བེ་མེ་བེ་མེན་རྟེ་    ཏི་མེ་ཏི་མང་ག་ལི།  
Q 599

S 575    །ཏཅ་ཐ།    བེ་མེ་བེ་མེན་རྟེ་    ཏི་མེ་ཏི་མི་ག་ལི།  
Z 588

Go 36,92    །ཏད་ཡ་ཐ།    བེ་མེ་བེ་མེན་རྟེ་    ཏི་མེ་ཏི་མང་ག་ལི།

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D 313, H 317    ཏི་<sup>444</sup>ཨ་ཀ་ཨ་བ་ཨ་ཀ་ནི།    ཏི་ཤུ་ལ་རྟ་ར་ཆེ་<sup>445</sup>།    ཨ་ཀུ་པི་<sup>446</sup>ནི།    གི་མི་གི་ཏི།  
Q 979

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<sup>438</sup> Z: *pa*.

<sup>439</sup> H: *pa*.

<sup>440</sup> Q 979: *ye*.

<sup>441</sup> S: *po*.

<sup>442</sup> H: *ra*; Q 979: *ri*.

<sup>443</sup> Q 979 inserts: */*.

<sup>444</sup> Q 979: *tai*.

<sup>445</sup> Q 979: *ni*.

<sup>446</sup> H: *pa*.

D 617, 974 Q 599	རྟི་ <sup>447</sup> ལ་གེ་ནི། ལ་ལ་གེ་ནི། རྟི་བྱུ་ལ་རྩ་ར་ཅི། ལ་ལ་བེ་ཅི་ <sup>448</sup> གི་མི་གི་རྟི།
S 575 Z 588	རྟི་ལ་གེ་ནི། ལ་ལ་གེ་ནི། རྟི་བྱུ་ལ་རྩ་ར་ཅི། ལ་ལ་བེ་ཅི། གི་མི་གི་རྟི།
Go 36,92	རྟི་ལ་གེ། ལ་ལ་གེ་ནི། རྟི་བྱུ་ལ་རྩ་ར་ཅི། ལ་ལ་བེ་ནི། གི་མི་གི་རྟི།

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D 313, H 317 Q 979	གེ་ལི་གེ་ལི། ལུང་རྟོ་ལུང་རྟོ། ལུང་རྟོ་ལུང་སི། <sup>449</sup> ལུ་རྟི་ལུ་བེ་རྟི།
D 617, 974 Q 599	གེ་ལི་གེ་ལི། ལུང་རྟོ་ལུང་རྟོ། <sup>450</sup> ལུ་རྟོ་གེ་སི། <sup>451</sup> ལུ་རྟི་ <sup>452</sup> ལུ་བེ་རྟི།
S 575 Z 588	གེ་ལི་གེ་ལི། ལུ་རྟོ་ལུ་རྟོ། ལུ་རྟོ་ལུ་སི། ལུ་རྟི། ལུ་བེ་རྟི།
Go 36,92	གེ་ལི་གེ་ལི། ལུང་རྟོ་ལུང་རྟི། ལུ་རྟོ་ལུང་སི། ལུ་རྟི། ལུ་བེ་རྟི།

*Mantra 5:* D 313 163b3–4, D 617 at 58a7–58b1, D 974 at 92a4, Go 3692 at 46a8, H 317 at 251b7–252a1, Q 599 at 98b5, Q 979 at 173b3, S 575 at 408b2, Z 588 at 422b2–3

D 313, H 317 Q 979	ཁྱུ་ལྷ། རྟི་ལི་ <sup>453</sup> མི་ལི། ཙོ་ལི། མི་ལི། མི་ལི། བེ་ཤ་ཙོ་
D 617, 974 Q 599	ཁྱུ་ལྷ། རྟི་ལི་མི་ལི། ཙོ་ལི། <sup>454</sup> མི་ལི་ མི་ལི། བེ་ཤི་ཙོ་ཙ།
S 575 Z 588	ཁྱུ་ལྷ། རྟི་ལི་མི་ལི། ཙོ་ལི། མི་ལི། མི་ལི། བེ་ཤ་ཙོ་ཙི།
Go 36,92	ཁྱུ་ལྷ་ལྷ། རྟི་ལི་མི་ལི་ མི་ལི། མི་ལི་ མི་ལི། བེ་ཤ་ཙོ་ཙི།

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<sup>447</sup> Q 599: *tre*.

<sup>448</sup> Q 599: *na*.

<sup>449</sup> Q 979 repeats: *kud to kud si* /.

<sup>450</sup> D 974 omits: /.

<sup>451</sup> Q 599: *kud to // gi si* for *ku to ki si*.

<sup>452</sup> Q 599: *ta*.

<sup>453</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>454</sup> Q 599 omits: /.

D 313, H 317 Q 979	ལྷ་རྩ་ <sup>455</sup> ག་བ་རི་ <sup>456</sup> ཙྰ་ལི་ཙྰ་ལི་	ལྷ་ནཱ།
D 617, 974 Q 599	བརྩ་ག་བ་རི་ཙྰ་ལི་ཙྰ་ལི་	ལྷ་ནཱ།
S 575 Z 588	བརྩ་ག་བ་རི་ཙྰ་ལི་ཙྰ་ལི་ <sup>457</sup>	ལྷ་ནཱ།
Go 36,92	བར་ན་ག་བ་རི་ཙྰ་ལི་ཙྰ་ལི་	ལྷ་ནཱ།

#### 4.2.5 Translation

##### The Discourse on an Auspicious Night

[0.] In Indian language: *ārya bha dra ka rā trī nā ma sū tra*

In Tibetan language: *'phags pa mtshan mo bzang po zhes bya ba'i mdo*

Homage to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

[1.] Thus have I heard. At one time<sup>458</sup> the Blessed One was dwelling at Kalandakanivāsa<sup>459</sup> in the Veṇuvana<sup>460</sup> near Rājagṛha.

[2.] At that time, a monk was staying at the bank of the river Tapoda in Rājagṛha. During the first watch of the night, a certain god of beautiful colour went to the place where that monk was. Having reached [him], an immense brilliance pervasively illuminated the whole bank of the river Tapoda.<sup>461</sup> [The god] said to the

<sup>455</sup> Q 979: *rnā*.

<sup>456</sup> H inserts: /.

<sup>457</sup> Z inserts: /.

<sup>458</sup> For this phrase see p. 80 n. 185 of the present work.

<sup>459</sup> Mvy 4138: Skt. *kalandakanivāsaḥ* (*kalandakanivāpaḥ*) for Tib. *ka lan da ka gnas pa*. BHSD 171/2: *kalandakanivāpa* “squirrel food-offering.” PTSD 197: *kalandaka* “N. of a locality in Veṇuvana, near Rājagṛha, where oblations had been made to squirrels.”

<sup>460</sup> Mvy 4108: Skt. *veṇuvanam* for Tib. *'od ma'i tshal*. Bamboo Grove.

<sup>461</sup> The Pāli parallel *Mahākaccānabhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 133 at MN III 192,2) gives the name of the monk Samiddhi. A similar introductory narration occurs in the *Samiddhi-jātaka* (Jā 167 at Jā II 56,24). Here the monk Samiddhi is addressed by a deity after bathing in the Tapoda. The meeting of Samiddhi and a god is also related in the *Samiddhi-sutta* (SN 1.20 SN I 8.16) even though the narrative context is different. The *Lomasakangiabhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 134 at MN III 199.22) gives the name of the deity Candana.

monk: “Monk, do you know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night?” He answered: “God, since I do not know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night, god, do you know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night or not?” He replied: “Monk, I also do not know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.” “Well then, god, who is the one who knows the Discourse on an Auspicious Night?” [The god] said: “The Blessed One is dwelling at Kalandakanivāsa in the Veṇuvana near Rājagṛha. Therefore you should approach the Blessed One and request it. Just how the Blessed One teaches it to you, in the same way you should make an effort to hold it. Having said so, the god disappeared just then.

[3.] That monk then arose in the morning and went to the place where the Blessed One was. Having reached [him], he paid homage with his head to the feet of the Blessed One, and sat down to one side. After sitting to one side, he said to the Blessed One: “Lord, last night, when it became dark, a certain god of beautiful colour came to the place where I was. An immense brilliance pervasively illuminated the whole bank of the river Tapoda. He addressed me: ‘Monk, do you know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night?’ I told him: ‘God, I do not know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night. God, do you know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night or not?’ He replied: ‘Monk, I also do not know the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.’ ‘Well then, god, who is the one who knows the Discourse on an Auspicious Night?’ He said: ‘The Blessed One is dwelling at Kalandakanivāsa in the Veṇuvana near Rājagṛha. Therefore you should approach the Blessed One and request [it]. Just how the Blessed One teaches it to you, in the same way you should make an effort to hold it. Having said so, the god disappeared just then. Lord, because of that I ask the Blessed One for the meaning.” The Blessed One responded: “Monk, do you know that god?” The monk replied: “Lord, I do not know that god.” The Blessed One said: “That god<sup>462</sup> is the general of the gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-three called Candana<sup>463</sup>.” The monk requested: “Lord, I wish to hear the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.”

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<sup>462</sup> *Devaputra* here refers to a male god, and not to the son of a god. See *deva* in BHSD 270/1: “often also *devaputra*.” Alsdorf (1974: 588f.) showed that the word *putra* in a compound can indicate the affiliation to a specific group.

<sup>463</sup> Mvy 4209: Skt. *candanam* for Tib. *tsan dan*. Sandalwood.



[4.] The Blessed One responded: “Monk, listen and bear this well and carefully in mind<sup>464</sup> [what] I will explain to you. Monk, if a monk is endowed with the three characteristics, he is called one who adheres to the Discourse on an Auspicious Night. What are these three? It is like that: By possessing the qualities, one does not meet the past later on, regarding the future there is no hope, and one is not carried away by whatever presently arisen phenomena. If a monk is endowed with the three characteristics, he is called one who adheres to the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.”

The Blessed One spoke this, and after the Sugata had said this, the Teacher spoke further:

[4.1.] “One does not meet the past later on, regarding the future there is no hope. What is past has ceased, the future has not [yet] come.

Having fully observed all aspects of whatever presently arisen phenomena, the wise [should] integrate them without being carried away by discursive thoughts.

One could die just tomorrow - who knows? Therefore, one should be diligent today, [so that] the Lord of Death and [his] great army do not recognize you.

[4.2.] May all sentient beings, all living beings, and all *bhūtas*, everyone, attain only happiness. May they all be free from afflictive emotions. May they all experience auspiciousness. Whosoever may he not fall into evil.

[4.3.] In this way one should abide very diligently, without laziness, day and night. For that reason the sage always declared the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.”

[5.] Having explained this Discourse on an Auspicious Night in order to protect all sentient beings, the Blessed One taught these *mantrapadas* of Drāmiḍa<sup>465</sup>:

<sup>464</sup> Mvy 6315: Skt. *dena hi śṛṇu sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasikuru* for Tib. *de'i phyir legs par rab tu nyon la yid la zungs shig*.

<sup>465</sup> Drāmiḍa in BHSD 273/ 1: “(precisely this form seems to be un-recorded; cf. AMg. Dāmila), Dravidian.” Bernhard (1967) argues for a Dravidian origin of *mantra* syllables. The use of many retroflex sounds indeed points in this direction as they are much more common in the Dravidian languages than in Sanskrit. Davidson (2014: 48) develops this idea further by stating that there are “apparently Dravidian-based words – *īṭi mīṭi kīṭi* – [...] and the *Mahāmāyūrī* in three places recognizes that it employs similar Dravidian words (*Mahāmāyūrī*: *ilī misti kili misti ilī kili ilī me sidhyantu drāmiḍā mantrapadāḥ*, pp. 9.18, 14.7, 44.18; see also *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka* 39.1–3: *Sarvajñatākāra-dhāraṇī* 16.1, 19.8)”. The term *drāmiḍā mantra* is also attested in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Bbh 69.3: *tadyathā drāmiḍānām*

[5.1.] *tadyathā, bi ni bha ra di, bi ri ni, bi ra ni, bud dha ma har tā na dhe, ma hi ni mi na ni, ni ni ni ni, ti ti ti ti, bi ra ti, gauri, gandhāri, caṇḍāli, mātaṅgī, pukkāsī, bramhani, drāmiḍī, drāmiḍī, śabarī,*<sup>466</sup> *sa dā lam bhe, hi nā ma tya ma ud ta ra ni, ma ho la na, da la bha ni, da lā bha dre, mahā da lā ni, ca lā ni, u shhe cakra bha ki, mahācakra bha ki, śabarī, śabarī, mahāśabarī, bhu tsid gi ni, bhu tsi ring gi na, ni mi ni ming gi ni, ni min dha ri bhu ta ni svāhā.*

*tadyathā, e tu tu tu, na tu mi rni, ke rni ing ku, sud ta ri tsa la la, nar ta, nar ma lu lu, ga lu lu, a ba tra no ne, sho ka ni ra, bha ra dha sa le, ta ra kre ta re dhā tu, nod du, ta la lā lu, ba ta bha ti, ya bha ti ye svāhā.*

*tadyathā, a ra kā te, na ra kā te, baṃ su ka, ba yai ye, ka po ta ka ba yai ye ta bho ta ne svāhā.*

[5.2.] Monk, when any son of a good family, any daughter of a good family, in order to protect all sentient beings, holds, keeps, recites, concentrates on, masters, or even teaches others extensively, and in detail the meaning, the prose and the verses, and the *mantrapadas* of Drāmiḍa of the Discourse on an Auspicious Night, fire, poison, weapon, and water will not harm their bodies, [they will not be subject to] punishment of kings, and [actions] of thieves. The time of untimely death will not come either, and you will definitely approach *nirvāṇa*. Wherever one is born, when one has read the Discourse on an Auspicious Night, one will remember one's previous births,<sup>467</sup> and will become an Arhat, and a great Lord.<sup>468</sup> Even just once, in all places of rebirth, untimely death [will] not prematurely [occur]. For people who have applied it to themselves, there will not be the characteristics of untimely death. All sentient beings are protected and cured. If this is recited in times of disease, pain, fear of rebirth, and sorrow caused by inauspicious dreams, glory will arise. Whoever writes it down, man or woman, if he or she ties it around the body, good

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*mantrāṇām*), in the *Śikṣasamuccaya* (Śikṣ 333.2: *drāmiḍamantrapadebhī*), in the Tibetan *Ārya-mahābala-nāma-mahāyānasūtra* (Bala 22.19: 'gro lding ba'i gzungs "dhāraṇī of drāmiḍa"), and in the Tibetan *Ārya-drāviḍa-vidyā-rāja* (De 2009 36.8, 37.4: 'gro lding ba'i gsang sngags).

<sup>466</sup> This series of feminine vocatives represents invocations of female deities. For a discussion of these invocations, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.

<sup>467</sup> A similar phrase occurs in the *Mahāpratisarā*: *yatra yatropapadyate tatra tatra jātāu jātāu jātismaro bhaviṣyati* (Hidas 2012: 247). "Wherever he is born, there, in every single birth, he will remember his former existences" (tr. Hidas 2012: 247). For the term *jātismara* in Indic sources, see Schopen 1983.

<sup>468</sup> Mvy 639: Skt. *īśvaraḥ* for Tib. *dbang phyug*.

fortune, splendour, and glory will arise for them. Whoever committed even the smallest non-virtue by body, speech, and mind, all of them are protected from untimely death through the auspicious discourse. If one remembers the auspicious [sūtra] one is protected from kings, water and fire, lightning, thieves, diseases, enemies, fight, and dispute. If one always speaks this auspicious *vidyā* and these *mantras*, especially when one recites it silently, it makes people become undaunted in all circumstances.

[6.1.] Homage to the Tathāgatas, Arhats, and Samyaksambuddhas of the past, present, and future. Having paid homage, one should speak these *vidyās*. May I attain wealth through this *vidyā*.

[6.2.] *tadyathā, ni mi nimindhare*<sup>469</sup>, *ti mi ti ming ga li, trailoka a ba lo ka ni, trishula dharaṇi, a ku phi ni, kri mī kri ti, ki li ki li, kud to kud to, kud to kud si, kurti ku pi ti.*

Together with Vajrapāṇi protect me and all sentient beings, from all fears and all diseases, all poisons, all kinds of fever, all evil spirits, everything afflicted with miseries, all thieves, all human beings and non-human beings, fright, injury, and all infections, battle, trouble, evil deeds, conflict, dispute, weakness, and evil practices of body, speech, and mind, and from all fears at all times! Protect us!

[6.3.] *tadyathā, hi li mi li, tsi li, i li, mi li, piśācī pārṇaśabari tsi li tsi li svāhā.*

[7.] When the Blessed One had said these words, the monks, the entire retinue, and the world with its gods, humans, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *gandharvas*, *kiṃnaras*, *mahoragas*, *yakṣas*, *rākṣasas*, *pretas*, and *piśācas* rejoiced and praised the words of the Blessed One.

[8.] The noble Discourse on an Auspicious Night is finished. Translated, put into the new language and finalized by the Indian preceptors Jinamitra and Dānaśīla, and the great editor, the translator, the monk Ye shes sde.

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<sup>469</sup> See *Nimindhara* in BHSD 298/1: “n. of a *nāga*-king.”

## 5 General discussion

The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, extant in different forms and languages, has been employed in protective rites most probably from very early times. Later the text has been charged with linguistic features common to a wide range of early Buddhist protective scriptures. Thus, the *rakṣā* literature is strongly characterised by many popular cults, both Buddhist (like the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees), and pre-Buddhist (cults incorporated into the lore of Buddhist traditions at a very early time). These can be seen from various artistic representations on the railings of the great *stūpas* at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, and other ancient sites. The cults include those of the Four Great Kings, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, divine beings, and goddesses. It is not only the Buddha himself, who provides spells and protection. Various potent beings are accredited with protective powers and do have the ability to either reveal magical formulas, or to safeguard the Buddhist community – monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen – from dangers and threats mentioned in *rakṣā* texts. The protective measures and means of efficacy of apotropaic texts, that is the concept of *maitrī* and *saccakiriyā*, as well as the correct recitation of protective *mantras*, give reason to assume that the effect automatically occurs if a Buddhist practitioner recites the respective verses or spells or acts with friendliness towards all sentient beings. While recitation of the texts is still communicated as the primary means of efficacy, *rakṣā* texts present many more complex ritual instructions.

This chapter traces the textual history and development of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. The investigation of certain *rakṣā* cults, rites, and practices brings the discussion of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* to a conclusion and places the text in the wider context of Buddhist textual and ritual practices.

## 5.1 Textual history and development

### 5.1.1 Historical considerations

The earliest versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* are represented by four consecutive Pāli discourses of the Theravāda tradition, the *Bhaddekaratta-suttas*, with parallels in the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama*, which do not show any linguistic patterns of *rakṣā* texts. It is presently widely accepted that the Chinese *Madhyama-āgama* corresponds to the textual tradition of the Sarvāstivādins and was translated from a Middle Indic language with Sanskrit elements (this textual tradition is represented by X in the stemma below). Even though, the Pāli *suttas* do not contain any stylistic *rakṣā* elements, their special status in the Pāli *Majjhima-nikāya* points to the possibility that the texts might already have been employed in protective rituals.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen above it is not a typical linguistic feature that makes a text a *rakṣā* text, but the function, purpose, and use of a text.

The first evidence of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* as an apotropaic scripture containing formal characteristics of *rakṣā* literature are two Sanskrit manuscripts found in Central Asia, compiled for the use in apotropaic ritual practices. On palaeographical grounds, these manuscripts can be dated to the fifth to sixth centuries CE (SHT III 816), and from the seventh century CE onwards (SI 2044). The palm leaf material and the script of the manuscript SHT III 816, however, speak in favour of an early Indian origin and the manuscript must have been brought to Central Asia. The manuscript SI 2044, written on paper, surely originated in Central Asia. Though both manuscripts show rests of the canonical verses, they differ significantly not only from each other, but also from all other versions of this discourse.

Two different Sanskrit versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which did not have the same linguistic shape, existed in Central Asia. This is not unusual for protective texts. Different recensions of other protective texts to be used for ritual purposes always existed side by side. There are two manuscripts of the *Ātānātika-sūtra* from Qizil containing two *mantras*, which can be found neither in the Gilgit manuscripts

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<sup>1</sup> The *Bhadrakarātrī* verses included in the Royal Siamese Chanting Book (*Suat Mon Chabap Luang*) compiled at the behest of King Rāma V by Phussadeva in 1880 as the *Bhaddekaratta-gāthā* are still today recited during funeral rites in Siam.

nor in the Tibetan or Chinese translations. It is likely that these *mantras* were only integrated into texts employed in ritual practices.<sup>2</sup> The *Daśabala-sūtra* was included in a multiple-text manuscript together with other apotropaic texts in a clearly shortened form. Thus, Buddhist texts widely used for ritual practices did not circulate in, or have, a fixed form. In the publication of this very multiple-text manuscript, Hartmann and Wille remarked that:

Für die Wirksamkeit als Rakṣā ist also keineswegs der vollständige kanonische Wortlaut notwendig; es genügt ein Auszug mit den entscheidenden Punkten, und dieser Auszug wird dann um die Verehrungsformeln (*namas*) erweitert. Hinzu treten schließlich die Aufforderungen zur Schutzgewährung (*rakṣaṃ bhavatu ...*).<sup>3</sup>

The same holds true for the Sanskrit versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which include only the common verses while completely omitting the narrative context of the discourse, which, again, is not necessary to achieve the protective effect. The scribes remodelled the texts in ways that primarily suited most the ritual purposes. It is, therefore, the use of a manuscript and the function of a text that might have determined the linguistic shape of a text.

Moreover, there are Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* (Taishō XXI 1362 and D 313, taken as representative for various recensions included in different Kangyurs), which in the beginning closely follow the traditional wording of the canonical Pāli and Chinese discourses. However, they transition after the verses into a formulaic *rakṣā* text. Both recensions coincide at large and are almost verbatim counterparts. Since it is very unlikely that the later Tibetan text was done from the earlier Chinese model, we can conclude that both versions were translated from a now lost Indic version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which also influenced the composition of the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044. This stage in the textual development is represented by Y in the stemma below.

The following stemma shows the textual development of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* with two textual traditions or texts that are not preserved:

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sander 2007: 180.

<sup>3</sup> Hartmann/Wille 2010: 368f.

- X: Indic texts of the Sarvāstivādins without any linguistic *raṅṣā* elements, model for MĀ 165–167, parallels to MN 132–134 and SHT III 816
- Y: Indic text containing *raṅṣā* elements, model for Taishō XXI 1362 and D 313, parallel to MN 133 and SI 2044

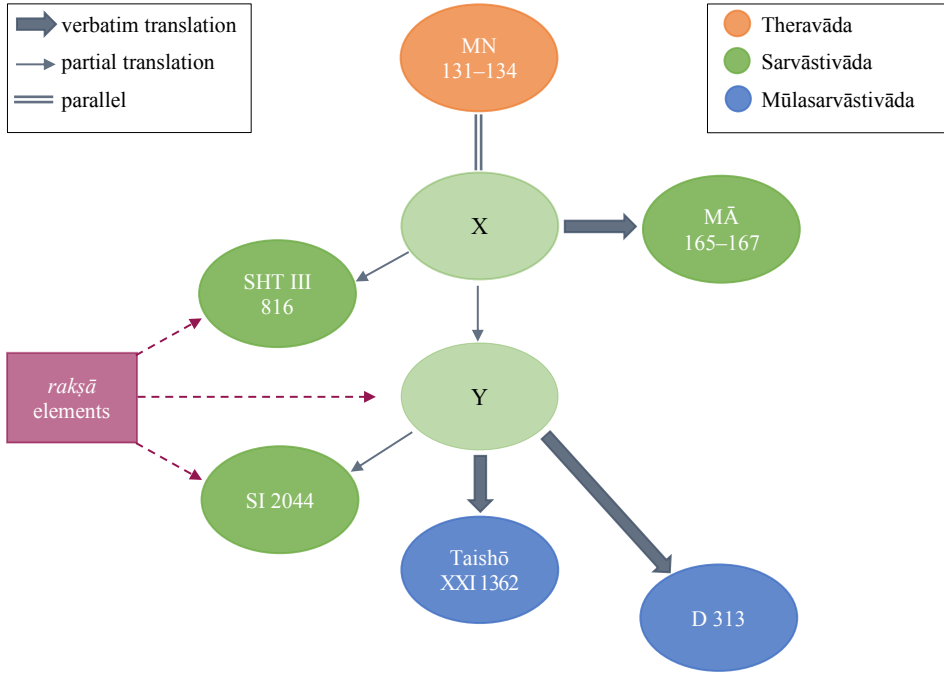


Figure 17: Stemma of the textual development of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

The lost Indic *raṅṣā* text Y, which served as model for the Chinese and Tibetan translations must have been composed sometime between the first century CE, with the emergence of *raṅṣā mantras*, and the seventh century CE, before the manuscript SI 2044 emerged (see timeline below). It is, however, impossible to trace this stage of textual development. Without any extant evidence, it is furthermore hazardous to give any concrete information on the linguistic shape of this text. It becomes even more difficult when we take into account that the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* existed in different forms.

The following timeline shows the textual history of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* and the date of emergence of the different recensions.<sup>4</sup>

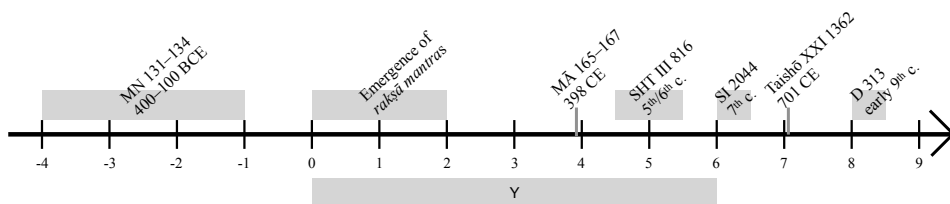


Figure 18: Timeline of the textual history of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

### 5.1.2 Textual development

#### The common verses

All versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan share, at least in part, the same set of four verses. These can be considered the seminal core of the *sūtra* common to all recensions (for the reading of the Pāli, Sanskrit, and Tibetan verses see table 13 below, for a translation of the Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan verses see table 14 below).

<sup>4</sup> The discourses of the Pāli *Majjhima-nikāya* are ascribed to the Buddha himself. However, they have been transmitted orally for centuries until they have been written down during the first century BCE, which involves a gradual development of the collection including various changes and additions, as well as transmission errors.



Table 13: The *Bhadrakarāvirī* verses in Pāli, Sanskrit, and Tibetan.

MN 131 at MN III 187.21–28	SHT III 816 1r4–5	SI 2044 3r3–3v3	D 313
<i>Aññam nānvāgameyya, nappatikkānke anāgataṃ. Yad aññitaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattañ ca anāgataṃ.</i>		<i>atitaṃ nānvāgamay(e)d tu na cākaṃkṣed anāgataṃ yad atitaṃ niruddhaṃ tad asamprāptam anāgataṃ</i>	<i>das la rjes su phrad mi byed ma 'ongs pa la re ba med 'das pa gang yin de 'gags te ma 'ongs de ni ma phyin pa 'o</i>
<i>Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ, tatttha tattha vipassati. Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ, taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.</i>	<i>pratyutpannā ca (ye) ddharṃe tatra tatra vipāśakāḥ asaṃhārya vikalpasthaḥ vidvas taṃ (nāvamanyate)</i>	<i>pratyutpannāṃs ca ye dharmāṃs tatra tatra vipāśya(kāḥ a)saṃhārya vikalpāṃs ca vidvāṃs tān nāvamanyate</i>	<i>gang dag da ltar byung ba 'i chos de dang de la rab bltas nas rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par de dag mkhas pas khong du chud</i>
<i>Ajj' eva kieccaṃ ātappaṃ, ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve? Na hi no saṅgaram tena, mahāsenena maccunā.</i>	<i>adyeva kuryyam ādaptam ko jāne maraṇam{n} hi (śv)o</i>	<i>adyaiva kuryād ātaptam ko vidyā maraṇa(m hi śvas) na hi vaḥ saṅgani tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā</i>	<i>sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis de ring nyid du brtun te bya 'chi bdag sde chen de dang ni bdag tu shes pa ma yin no</i>
<i>Evam vihārim ātāpiṃ, ahorattam atanditaṃ. Taṃ ve bhaddekaratto ti, santo ācikkhate munī.</i>		<i>viharante ca ... (bha)drakarāriyaḥ sadaiva munir abhṛavīt</i>	<i>de ltar gnas shing rab brtson la nyin mtshan snyom las med pas na de phyir mtshan mo bzang po yi mdo sde thub pas rtag tu gsungs</i>

Table 14: Translation of the Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan verses.

MN 131 (tr. Sujato 2018 <sup>5</sup> )	SI 2044	Taishō XXI 1362 (tr. Anālayo 2011: 757f.)	D 313
Don't run back to the past, don't hope for the future. What's past is left behind; the future has not arrived;	One should not follow after the past, one should not long for the future. What is past has been abandoned, and the future has not yet come.	It is not proper to think of the past, do not long for the future.	One does not meet the past later on, regarding the future there is no hope. What is past has ceased, the future has not yet come.
and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case. Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.	[Whatever] phenomena have arisen everywhere, he sees them with insight without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat them contemptuously.	In relation to the present, contemplate all according to the Dharma, erroneous thinking is difficult to dispel, the wise should contemplate properly.	Having fully observed all aspects of whatever presently arisen phenomena, the wise should integrate them without being carried away by discursive thoughts.
Today's the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death! For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.	One should be diligent today; who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow. There is no agreement with the Lord of Death and its great army.	It is fitting to quickly make an effort, who knows what will happen tomorrow, because the Lord of Death [and his] assembly are closely following you.	One could die just tomorrow - who knows? Therefore, one should be diligent today, so that the Lord of Death and [his] great army do not recognize you.
The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this, tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.	They dwell [...]  The sage has always declared the [Discourse] on an Auspicious Night.	For this reason I, the sage, have now expounded the discourse on the auspicious night.	In this way one should abide very diligently, without laziness, day and night. For that reason the sage always declared the Discourse on an Auspicious Night.

<sup>5</sup> <https://suttacentral.net/mn131/en/sujato> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

The first stanza tells us to let go of past and future, since the past is gone and the future has not yet come. This verse is missing in the SHT manuscript, and the gap of about twelve *akṣaras* at this point in the manuscript does not allow to reconstruct the whole verse, so that we have to assume that it was never there. The Chinese recension Taishō XXI 1362 has only the first half of the verse. All versions, the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2004, and the Chinese and Tibetan translations, closely agree with the Pāli stanza with some minor differences in wording. While the Pāli and Sanskrit recensions have *anvāgam* (Skt. for “to follow after”), in the first *pāda*, the Chinese reads 應念 (Ch. for “to think”), and the Tibetan has *rjes su phrad* (Tib. for “to meet later on”). The Tibetan equivalent to the Sanskrit reading would be *rjes su 'gro ba* (Mvy 5337: Skt. *anugam* for Tib. *rjes su 'gro ba*). This reading is preserved in a citation of the first half of this verse and the second verse in the Tibetan *Śarīrārthagāthā* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.<sup>6</sup> Since the reading of the verses in the *Yogācārabhūmi* and *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* also diverge in other places, the former cannot be seen as a correct translation of the Indic verse, and the latter as a corruption. Rather they represent two distinct translations of two Indic sources. Another difference in the wording of this verse appears in the third *pāda*, where the Pāli version reads *pahīna*, whereas the Sanskrit manuscript has *niruddha*. The Tibetan translation here follows the Sanskrit text and reads *'gags* (Mvy 6638: Skt. *niruddham* for Tib. *'gags*).

The second verse recommends to see with insight everything that arises in the present moment. While the Pāli verse reads *vipassati*, the Sanskrit versions have *vipaśaka* or *vipaśyaka* (BHSD 491/1: “Skt. *vi-paśyati* plus *-aka*”). In the second half of the verse, the Pāli discourse requests to remain unshakeably (P. *asaṅkappa*), whereas both Sanskrit texts and the Tibetan version advise to avoid false discrimination, or discursive thoughts (Mvy 4471: Skt. *vikalpa* for Tib. *rnam par rtog pa*). The final verb of this verse differs in all recensions. The Pāli text reads *anubrūhaye* (P. *anubrūheti* for “he/she/it fosters”), the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044 has *nāvamanyate* (Skt. for “not to be treated contemptuously”), the Chinese translation reads 善觀 (Ch. for “to contemplate properly”), and the Tibetan version has *khong du chud* (Tib. for “to integrate”).

<sup>6</sup> The full passage in the *Yogācārabhūmi* reads (D 4035 at 260b3–4):  
*'das la rjes su 'gro mi byed | ma 'ongs pa la re ba med |*  
*da ltar byung chos gang yin pa | de dang de la rnam lta la |*  
*mi 'phrogs kun du mi 'khrugs pa | de ni mkhas pas 'phel bar byed |*

The third stanza commends the subject to begin practicing diligently right now, since death might come already tomorrow. The second half of this verse, which is missing in the SHT manuscript, slightly differs in the Indic sources and the Chinese and Tibetan translations. While the Pāli and Sanskrit texts read that there is no agreement with the Lord of Death, the Chinese and Tibetan recensions advise to be diligent because the Lord of Death is closely following you (Taishō XXI 1362), and so that the Lord of Death does not recognize you (D 313). In the first *pāda* of this verse, the Pāli and Sanskrit versions employ different grammatical forms. The Pāli text uses the gerundive (*kiccaṃ*), both Sanskrit manuscripts use optative forms (SHT: *kuryyam*, SI: *kuryāt*). In the second *pāda*, the SI manuscript is the only version to use a form of the verbal root *vid* for “to know” (*vidyā*, 3. sg. opt. of  $\sqrt{\text{vid}}$ ). The Pāli text and the SHT manuscript use a form of the verbal root *jñā* (P. *jaññā*, SHT *jāne*, 3. sg. opt. of  $\sqrt{\text{jñā}}$ ). The Tibetan recension has *shes pa* and thus follows the latter.

The fourth verse proclaims that the sage declared the Discourse on an Auspicious Night, so that we continuously practice in this way. The Chinese text only preserved the second half of this stanza; the whole verse is not present in the SHT manuscript. The Pāli and SI texts use different verbal roots for the final verb “to declare,” that is  $\sqrt{\text{ā}}\sqrt{\text{khyā}}$  in the Pāli, and  $\sqrt{\text{brū}}$  in the Sanskrit text.

Even at this point, the text of the four common verses gives important indications about the textual development of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. Regarding the differences in wording and grammar, it can be concluded that the Sanskrit manuscripts and the Tibetan translation go back to a common source. This fact is further reflected by commonalities in the textual structure of the SI recension and the Tibetan version, which will be discussed below.

### Citations of the verses

The *Bhadrakarātrī* verses are quoted in a number of other works, which demonstrates the distribution of the verses and shows that they were widely known. The verses, or parts of them, were quoted in the following scriptures:<sup>7</sup>

– Asaṅga’s *Yogācārabhūmi* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins

<sup>7</sup> Besides the quotations in the *Yogācārabhūmi* and in the *\*Bhāvanākramasūtrasamuccaya*, Skilling (1997a: 81f.) also mentions the quotation of the *Bhadrakarātrī* verses in the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa-ṭīkā*. It was, however, not possible to identify the latter.

The *Śarīrārthagāthā*, a collection of canonical verses in the eleventh section (*bhūmi*) of the *Yogācārabhūmi*, contains one and a half verses of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, the first two *pādas* of the first verse and the second verse (Y 138a4f.; Taishō XXX 1579 at 387c28–388a1; D 4035 at 260b3–4, Q 5536 at 303b3f.):

*atītaṃ nānvāgamayen na pratikāṃkṣed anāgataṃ |*  
*pratyutpannāś ca ye dharmās tatra tatra vipaśyakaḥ |*  
*asaṃhāryam asaṃkṣobhyaṃ tat vidvān anubṛṃhayet |*

(after Enomoto 1989: 35 § 41)

The past [personality aggregates] should not be followed after, the future [ones] not hoped for.

According as a *dharma* is present, one should discern it thus.

Knowing that it cannot be removed and cannot be disturbed, one should promote it.

(tr. Wayman 1989: 209)

- \**Bhāvanākramasūtrasamuccaya* (Tib. *Bsgom pa'i rim pa mdo kun las btus pa*):

*mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo las kyang | sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis | de*  
*ring nyid nas brtun te bya || 'chi bdag sde chen de dag ni || bdag dang*  
*bshes pa yod ma yin ||*

(Q5329 at 149a7–8)

All four *Bhadrakarātrī* verses were included in the following works:

- *Lomasakaṅgiya-apadāna* 545 (Ap 506.20–23)

In this tale the god Candana delivers the *Bhadrakarātrī* verses to the main protagonist Lomasakaṅgiya. The same story occurs in the *Lomasakaṅgiya-bhaddekaratta-sutta* (MN 134), where the god Candana teaches the verses to the very same monk.

- *Sāsanapaṭṭhāna* of the *Netti-ppakaraṇa* (Nett 148.27–149.6)

The basic theme described in the *Bhadrakarātrī* verses finds a concise expression in a verse in the *Dharmapada* preserved in different parallel versions.<sup>8</sup> The verse in the Pāli *Dhammapada* (verse 348) runs as follows:

*muñca pure muñca pacchato, majjhe muñca bhavassa pārāgu*

(Dhp 98.1–4)

Let go of the past, let go of the future, let go of the present, transcend existence.

### The insertion of linguistic *rakṣā* elements

At some point in the history of the redaction and transmission of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, and we do not know when and where this shift took place, the text was supplied with an appendix. This appendix entails distinctive linguistic *rakṣā* elements, such as protective *mantras*, statements of homage, and ritual prescriptions, and lists apotropaic effects one can achieve by adhering to the *sūtra*'s instructions. The protective function is now explicitly made clear through a concluding formula. This formula, which found its way into numerous other *rakṣā* texts, generally reads: *rakṣaṃ/rakṣā/rakṣa bhavati/tu* [name] *svāhā* "May there be protection for [name]. *svāhā!*" and *rakṣāṃ kurvantu/kuryāt* "They/one shall protect".<sup>9</sup> The text of the SI manuscript is the only Indic version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which features this formula. It reads: *rakṣaṃ bhavatu* (SI 2044 2v4) "May there be protection!". A similar statement, which expresses the protective function and concludes the list of apotropaic effects, can be found in the Chinese version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. It reads: 擁護諸眾生 (Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b4) "May there be protection for all sentient beings".

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dhp-P 150: *muñca pure muñca pacchato majjhe muñca bhavassa paragu*; Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* (Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> 166): *muju pura muju pachadu, majadu muju bhavasa parako*, and Dhp-G<sup>S</sup> 3,8=36: *muñce purado [muñc] ... bhavasa parago*; Sanskrit *Udānavarga* (Uv 29.57): *muñca purato muñca paścato, madhye muñca bhavasya pārāgaḥ*, and its Tibetan counterpart in stanza 29.60 (Zongtse/Dietz 1990: 326): *sngon bral phyi ma dang bral zhing | dbus bral srid pa'i pha rol phyin*.

<sup>9</sup> The protective formula features in many manuscripts from Central Asia and Gilgit. For a list of 17 Central Asian manuscripts carrying the protective formula, see *Anhang II: Die Schutzformel in Turfan-Handschriften* in Hartmann/Wille 2010: 383–385. For manuscripts from Gilgit, see von Hinüber 1981.

The enhancement of a text with an appendix is one way to incorporate *mantras* and other protective devices into a seemingly ordinary *sūtra*. This tradition is represented by the Sanskrit manuscript SHT III 816, and the Chinese and Tibetan translations. The appendix was added to the traditional text after the common verses instead of the exposition of the discourse or commentary on the verses that can be found in the four consecutive Pāli discourses. While the Chinese and Tibetan translations follow the textual structure of the Pāli discourse in the first part, both Sanskrit manuscripts completely leave out the introductory narration of the traditional Pāli discourse, preserving the canonical core with the *Bhadrakarātrī* verses, which was enriched by *mantras* and *rakṣā* elements.

It is noteworthy that the SI manuscript takes a special position in the textual development of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. On the one hand, this text was, like the other *rakṣā* versions, endowed with *rakṣā* elements, on the other hand these elements have not been included into an appendix which was added to the canonical core. Rather they have been inserted right after the *nidāna*, inbetween the common verses, after the verses, and after the final conclusion. Consequently, the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings was placed in between the common verses, which might seem surprising at first sight. The whole text of this manuscript, however, does not follow the structure of the Pāli parallel. The Tibetan translation follows the textual structure of the SI manuscript in this case and inserts this apotropaic verse amongst the common verses, whereas in the Chinese version the verse on the aspiration for welfare opens the appendix. Another special feature of the text of the SI manuscript is the insertion of a *rakṣā* passage right after the *nidāna*, which includes the Caṇḍālī story and one *mantra*.

Both Sanskrit texts represent abridged versions of the canonical discourse, which are used for ritual purposes. The narrative context is not crucial for their efficacy as *rakṣā* texts. The compilers of protective scriptures only used the canonical core of traditional *sūtras* and supplemented it with apotropaic formulas. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* is thus an important representative of the early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature with a huge range of evolutionary stages, even though it is at the moment impossible to trace back all stages in its textual development. Additionally, it thoroughly displays how Buddhists adapted texts for their needs and how the ritual function of a text influenced the linguistic shape it was transmitted in. (See table 15 below for a synoptic overview of the textual structure of the different versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. *Rakṣā* passages or elements are displayed with grey background.)

Table 15: Synoptic table of the textual structure of the *Bhadrakarāṇī-sūtra*.

MN 133	SHT III 816	SI 2044	Taishō XXI 1362	D 313
Canonical text	Canonical text		Core passage	Core passage
Introduction ( <i>nidāna</i> ): Rājagṛha	Introduction ( <i>nidāna</i> ): Śrāvastī	Introduction ( <i>nidāna</i> ): Rājagṛha	Introduction ( <i>nidāna</i> ): Rājagṛha	Introduction ( <i>nidāna</i> ): Rājagṛha
A god tells the monk Samiddhi to learn the discourse			A god tells a monk to request the discourse from the Buddha	A god tells a monk to request the discourse from the Buddha
Samiddhi requests the Buddha to teach the discourse			The monk requests the Buddha to teach the discourse	The monk requests the Buddha to teach the discourse
		Introductory narration with one <i>mantra</i>		
The Buddha teaches the verses 1–4	The Buddha teaches the verses 2 and 3	The verses 1–3	The Buddha teaches the verses 1–4	The Buddha teaches the verses 1–3
Mahākaccāna teaches the summary and exposition of the discourse				
		The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings		The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings
		Rest of verse 4		Verse 4
	Appendix		Appendix	Appendix
			The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings	
		<i>Rakṣā</i> passage with one <i>mantra</i>	The Buddha teaches two <i>mantras</i> and their effects	The Buddha teaches three <i>mantras</i> and their effects
	Three <i>mantras</i> and statements of homage		Two <i>mantras</i> and their effects	Statement of homage and two <i>mantras</i> and their effects
		Repetition of verses 1–3		
		Conclusion	Conclusion	Conclusion
		The Buddha teaches one <i>mantra</i> and its effects		



## 5.2 *Rakṣā* cults, rites, and practices

### 5.2.1 Protective *mantras*

The early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature has undergone various changes over time. The extension of traditional texts with *mantras* represents the most prominent distinguishing mark for the further development of *rakṣā* texts. The recitation of protective *mantras* then became the most important source of power in *rakṣā* texts. *Mantras* are among the most ancient elements of Buddhist ritual practices. They are a pan-Buddhist phenomenon and can be found in almost every Buddhist school of both Śrāvaka- and Mahāyāna tradition. Skilling persuasively characterizes the *mantras* of early *rakṣā* literature, which were recited to ward off calamities and evil spirits, to cure diseases and to promote welfare, as protective in contrast to spiritual *mantras*, which aim at awakening. In later *rakṣā* texts, however, the recitation of *mantras* not only ensured worldly interests like protection and welfare, but could equally lead to awakening. *Mantras* thus evolved into spiritual applications. The earliest evidence for this development can be found in the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* (the earliest Chinese translation was produced between 223 and 253 CE), which advises that the recitation of *mantras* should be accompanied by meditation, which will eventually lead to awakening.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Mantras in the Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*

From what has been preserved, there are three *mantras* in the text of the SHT manuscript, all of which open with *tadyathā* and close with *svāhā*. However, this identification has to be treated with caution because of the incomplete state of preservation of the manuscript, which makes it sometimes difficult to decide where a *mantra* begins or ends. The SI manuscript shows two *mantras* and the opening marker of a third one. While two *mantras* open with *saryathīdam*, respectively *saryyathīva*, one *mantra* opens with *tadyathā*. In no case, a closing marker is preserved. The Chinese version features four *mantras*, three of which open with *tadyathā*, one with *\*saṃyethidha*, which can be reconstructed as *saryathīdam*. All *mantras* close with *svāhā*. The Tibetan text contains five *mantras*, all of which open

<sup>10</sup> For a study of this text, see Inagaki 1987.

with *tadyathā* and close with *svāhā*, except for the fourth *mantra*, which does not have a closing marker. The wording of the Chinese and Tibetan *mantras* largely agree, although the Tibetan *mantra* passages are extended. Moreover, some words or mantric syllables of the Chinese and Tibetan version agree with the wording of one of either of the Sanskrit manuscripts, or with both of them. The following table shows the reading of all *mantras* figuring in the four *rakṣā* versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. Parallel passages are marked in bold.

Table 16: The *Bhadrakarātrī* mantras.

	SHT III 816	SI 2044	Taishō XXI 1362	D 313
I	<i>tadyathā ace vice kuce sarve duṣṭā sthabhāma ... śamā gachamda svāhā</i>			
II	<i>tadyathā v. n. v. r. n. ... rate : hīnamadyama tā ...</i>	<i>tadyathā ... mukāśe atīte anāgate pratyyutpanne b. .e ... mātaṅgī caṇḍī ghori gandhāri cori caṇḍīlī ... saryyathīva vaṃtini vāriṇi gandhamartaṇḍe manini .i ... li ... gisara rakte hīnamadhyamadhār iṇi maholani d ...</i>	<i>tadyathā binibhāraṇi buddhamatānadhe maniṇi ṭiṭiṭiṭi gauri gandhari caṇḍali mataṅgi saralamte maholana śabari cakra pāti śabari mahāśabari bhucidgini niminiminggini kilitāni svāhā</i>	<i>tadyathā, binibharadi, birini, birani, buddhamahartānadhe, mahini minani, nininini, titititi, birati, gauri, gandhāri, caṇḍālī, mātaṅgī, pukkasī, bramhani, drāmiḍī, drāmiḍī, śabarī, sadā lambhe, hīnamatyama udtarani, maholana, dalabhani, dalābhadre, mahādalāni, calāni, ushhe cakra bhaki, mahācakra bhaki, śabarī, śabarī, mahāśabarī, bhutsidgini, bhutsiringgina, niminiminggini, nimindhari bhutani svāhā</i>
III				<i>tadyathā, etututu, natumirni, kerniingku, sudtaritsalala, narta,</i>

Table 16 (continued)

	SHT III 816	SI 2044	Taishō XXI 1362	D 313
				<i>narmalulu, galulu, abatranone, shokanira, bhara dhasale, tara kretare dhātu, noddu, tala lālu, bata bhati, yabhati ye svāhā</i>
IV			<i>saṃyethidha arakāṭe narakāṭe bamsukapāyi kapotakapāyi tapodhane svāhā</i>	<i>tadyathā, arakāṭe, narakāṭe, baṃsuka, bayaiye, kapotaka bayaiye tabhotane svāhā</i>
V			<i>tadyathā niminimindhari trilokālo kani triśūladharaṇi akupi tiriti nili kudtokuṇto kudtokupi kurtikupini</i>	<i>tadyathā, niminimindhare, timiti minggali, trailoka abalo kani, trishuladharāṇi, akuphini, krimī kriti, kili kili, kudto kudto, kudto kudsī, kurti kupiti,</i>
VI	<i>tadyathā piśāci paṃṇaśabharīḥ śanaśabhari piśāci ... .iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi svāhā</i>		<i>tadyathā hili hili mili mili piśāci pārṇāśabari cili svāhā</i>	<i>tadyathā, hili mili, tsili, ili, mili, piśācī pārṇaśabari tsli tsili svāhā</i>

The following section presents different related aspects on the topic of protective *mantras*, which will help to understand their importance as a means of efficacy in *rakṣā* texts. It looks at the way how *mantras* were inserted into apotropaic texts, and discerns different designations of protective spells. Additionally, it explores the peculiarities of *rakṣā mantras* on the basis of their different elements, and their function and use in the texts.

### How were *mantras* inserted into *rakṣā* texts?

The canonical texts of the Pāli *paritta* collection belong to the group of traditional *rakṣā* texts, which did not yet contain any *mantras* at this stage of development. It seems that the redaction of the Pāli canon had come to an end by the time *mantras* gained further influence in the first two centuries of the Common Era. Two of the Theravādin *parittas* were endowed with *mantras* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins and included in their *mahāsūtra* collection. These *mahāsūtras* are the *Āṭānāṭṭiya-mahāsūtra*, which is based upon the *Āṭānāṭṭiya-paritta*, and the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, the counterpart to the *Ratana-sutta*. Another representative of this evolution is the *Upasena-sūtra*, which carries on the *Khanda-paritta*. In all of these cases, *mantras* were inserted into the main textual body.

With the importation of *mantras* into *rakṣā* literature, an entirely new category of texts evolved. A special feature of these texts is the fact that they partly employ elements of older canonical texts and build new compositions around that already existing core, with the result that completely new texts emerged. They draw upon common elements of traditional *rakṣā* texts, enriching them not only with *mantras*, but also with preambles, verses of homage, lists of deities, and descriptions of rites, as well as popular cultic elements, like the cults of the previous Buddhas, the Four Great Kings, *yakṣas*, and the like. The five texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection are among the most important representatives of these newly composed texts. They are composite compilations, which must have evolved over several centuries. For instance, the *Mahāmāyūrī* comprises the protective verses already found in the Pāli *Khanda-paritta* and in the Sanskrit *Upasena-sūtra*.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* includes the complete *Ratana-sutta*.<sup>12</sup>

Other texts were supplied with an appendix containing *mantras* and other protective elements, which were added to the core text and which supply this text with additional formal *rakṣā* elements. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* can be included in this category. The Pāli version of this *sūtra* and the canonical Chinese parallels do not show any protective devices, let alone *mantras*. In the textual development of this text, and we do not know when this took place, the Sanskrit manuscript SHT III

<sup>11</sup> For studies on the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*, see Lévi 1915, De Vissier 1919–20, and Aalto 1954. A translation of the Chinese versions is available in DesJardins 2011, and a discussion of the textual history of the Chinese text in Sørensen 2006, and most recently in Overbey 2016. For the *Upasena-sūtra*, see Waldschmidt 1967b.

<sup>12</sup> For the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra*, see Hidas 2013.

816, and the texts underlying the Tibetan translation, and one independent Chinese translation were endowed with such an appendix.

This method of text extension is represented by three more texts. The Central Asian Sanskrit version of the *Nagaropama-sūtra*, some Central Asian manuscripts of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, and the Tibetan *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra* were supplemented by an appendix. The traditional text of the *Nagaropama-sūtra* does not contain any linguistic *raṅṣā* elements, but was endowed with an entire new text called *vyākaraṇa* describing the use of this *sūtra* for its protective powers. This appendix is lacking in all other recensions including the citation of the entire canonical text in the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition.<sup>13</sup> The *Āṭānāṭika-hṛdaya* was added to some Central Asian manuscripts of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*. This appendix is not found in canonical contexts, neither in Pāli nor in *Dīrgha-āgama* manuscripts from the northern Silk Route, nor in Gilgit manuscripts.<sup>14</sup> Though the Pāli counterpart of the Tibetan *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*, the *Mahāsamaya-sutta*, is nowadays listed among the 29 *parittas* of the *Catubhāṇavāra*, it does not appear in the older and shorter list of 22 *parittas*, and only gained *raṅṣā* status by the eighth century, at about the same time when the Tibetan *mahāsutras* emerged. There are no *mantras* in the Pāli text, nor in the Central Asian Sanskrit recension, nor in the main body of the Tibetan *Mahāsamāja*. As Waldschmidt pointed out, the *mantras* were incorporated in the appendix exclusively added to the text underlying the Tibetan version.<sup>15</sup>

We can find the addition of an appendix with ritual and apotropaic prescriptions only in individual translations, and not in the canonical versions of the texts in the *Āgamas*. Oftentimes a series of *raṅṣā* texts are grouped together in multiple-text manuscripts, which comprise a number of texts not directly belonging together. This fact suggests that protective texts, which took over an important role in Buddhist ritual practice, were transmitted independently or together with other *raṅṣā* texts for ritual purposes, as Skilling pointed out:

Little is known at present about these annexes, which endow their texts with ritual and apotropaic functions. I do not think that the annex would have

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of the *Nagaropama-sūtra*, and the meaning of its appendix, as well as a transliteration, reconstruction, and translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts, see Bongard-Levin et al. 1996.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Sander 2007: 185. For text and translation of the *Āṭānāṭika-hṛdaya*, see Hoffmann [1939: 118–121] 1987: 102–105 with additions in Sander 1987b: 207f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Waldschmidt 1932: 196f.

been attached to the canonical version of the *Mahāsamāja* – that is, in the *Dīrghāgama* – rather, it would appear only in versions used for ritual purposes, such as the Mahāsūtra collections. Similarly, the canonical *Nagaropama-sūtra* included in the *Nidānasamṣukta* and incorporated into the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavastu* has no annex: the version with the annex was circulated independently or with other rakṣā texts.<sup>16</sup>

### The different designations of protective *mantras*

The employment of specific terms for incantations used by different classes of texts, such as *mantra*, *dhāraṇī*, *vidyā*, and *paritta*, raised fundamental difficulties. In many studies on mantric scriptures, we find these terms, particularly *mantra* and *dhāraṇī*, used interchangeably as synonyms, and all translated as “magical spell” or “magical formula” without considering the different connotations the terms might have. We find *mantras* in all Indian traditions from the Vedic period up to the present day, whereas *dhāraṇī* is an exclusive Buddhist concept. The common perception is that *dhāraṇīs* rose to prominence in Mahāyāna literature and gained further popularity in tantric Buddhism. In order to fully understand Buddhist spell practices, it thus seems advisable to start with a discernment between the terms *mantra* and *dhāraṇī*.

The word *mantra* is derived from the Sanskrit root *man* “to think” to which the suffix *-tra*, indicating instrumentality, is added. Thus, a *mantra* is an “instrument of thought”. It is, however, impossible to translate the term by a single word. The entry in Monier-William’s Sanskrit-English dictionary gives various translations of the word *mantra*, among them “speech, sacred text, prayer, sacred formula, magical formula, incantation, charm, spell.”<sup>17</sup> We can also see the multifaceted character in the many definitions, both formal and informal, at the beginning of numerous studies on *mantras*.<sup>18</sup> The question that arises here is whether we should define

<sup>16</sup> Skilling 1997a: 534f.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. MW 786/1.

<sup>18</sup> The following two examples of definitions represent the two edges of a wide range of attempts undertaken to define *mantras*. In his extensive study on the Indian *mantra*, Gonda (1963: 247) gives an informal definition and describes the meaning of *mantras* over several pages. The quotation of one extract will suffice here. He defines Vedic *mantras* “as a general name for the formulas, verses or sequences of words in prose which contain praise [...], (which) are believed to have magical, religious, or spiritual efficiency, are recited, muttered or sung.” Bharati (1965: 111), on the other hand, gives the following functional definition of *mantras*: “A *mantra* is a quasi-morpheme or a series of quasi-morphemes, or a series of

*mantras* at all. Is it possible to find a definition that encapsulates all different aspects, meanings, functions, uses, practices, and varieties in form? *Mantras* permeate the religious life of India from the Vedic time until now and were commonly understood as means of power or magic. They vary in form, function, and content. *Mantras* have a meaning only within a certain discourse, they are culturally defined, and have a context-specific use. There exist various concepts of this complex term used for a long time in different literary genres. Therefore, *mantras* are difficult to define outside their particular context.

The word *dhāraṇī* is derived from the Sanskrit root *dhṛ* “to hold, keep, possess, bear” and is exclusively used in Buddhist terminology.<sup>19</sup> In the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Asaṅga (fourth century CE) distinguishes four types of *dhāraṇīs*:<sup>20</sup> *dharmadhāraṇī*, *arthadhāraṇī*, *mantradhāraṇī*, and *bodhisattvaḥṣāntilābhāya dhāraṇī*.<sup>21</sup> The third category, the *mantradhāraṇī*, a magical formula for the alleviation of the calamities of living beings, is the one we are concerned with in *rakṣā* literature. In his classification, Asaṅga defines the concept of *mantradhāraṇī* as follows:

*tatra mantradhāraṇī katamā | iha bodhisattvas tadrūpāṃ samādhivaśītāṃ  
pratīlabhate yayā yāni mantrapadānītisaṃśamanāya sattvānāṃ adhiṣṭhātī  
tāni siddhāni bhavanti paramasiddhāny amoghāny anekavidhānāṃ ītīnāṃ  
saṃśamanāya | iyaṃ ucyate bodhisattvasya mantradhāraṇī |*

(Lamotte 1949–80, IV: 1857)

Qu'est-ce que la *dhāraṇī* de mantra ? Le Bodhisattva gagne une telle maîtrise en concentration que par elle il consacre les syllabes magiques destinées à apaiser les fléaux de tous les êtres, et ces syllabes deviennent ainsi effectives, suprêmement effectives et infaillibles pour apaiser de multiples fléaux. Telle est, chez le Bodhisattva, la *dhāraṇī* de mantra.

(tr. Lamotte 1949–80, IV: 1858)

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mixed genuine and quasi-morphemes arranged in conventional patterns, based on codified esoteric traditions, and passed on from one preceptor to one disciple in the course of a prescribed initiation ritual.” For further studies on the phenomenon of *mantras*, see Burchett 2008, Ghim 2014, Padoux 1989, and Wayman 1984b.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *dhāraṇī* in BHS 284/2: “(recorded nowhere except in BHS), *magic formula*: often consisting of meaningless combinations of syllables; in Tib. regularly *gzungs*, lit. *hold, support*, or (Mvy 4239) *gzungs sngags* (= *man-tra*, *incantation*).”

<sup>20</sup> The following discussion is based on Braarvig 1985: 19f., and Strauch 2014: 66.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Bbh 185.

The specific meaning of the word *dhāraṇī* in the compound *mantradhāraṇī* remained, however, problematic. The 21<sup>st</sup> chapter called *dhāraṇīparivarta* of the early Mahāyāna text the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (second century CE) reveals a number of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*. This text uses the terms *mantrapadadhāraṇī*, *dhāraṇīpada*, and *dhāraṇīmantrapada* side by side.<sup>22</sup> Although the text of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* leaves no doubt that all of these expressions can be regarded as synonyms, several scholars suggested a number of different translations for the term *dhāraṇī* in the compound *mantradhāraṇī*. Lamotte and Braarvig propose that *dhāraṇī* here means the facility in retaining and remembering spells. It is the capacity to recall the teachings of the Buddha, what is credited with magical qualities. Lamotte defines *dhāraṇī* as a memorization technique rather than a magical spell:

Elle [the *dhāraṇī*] n'est pas à proprement parler un *mantra*, une formule magique, comme on traduit généralement; elle est au premier chef la mémorisation des enseignements de *tous* les Buddha.<sup>23</sup>

Braarvig describes the *dhāraṇī* as the capacity to retain or recollect magical spells, even though he adds that in some works *dhāraṇī* refers to the spell itself:

The third, *mantradhāraṇī*, at first seems to justify the translation 'magical formula.' Here, the bodhisattva acquires the power of concentration, *samādhivaśitā*, and he employs the mantras magically to alleviate the sufferings of living beings. A translation 'retain, recollect, have a magical formula in mind,' is, however, also possible; the *mantrapadāni*, words of the formula, alleviate sufferings *through dhāraṇī*. In other works, too, the *formula itself* usually is called *mantra* or *mantrapada*.<sup>24</sup>

The definition of *dhāraṇī* in the *Ajātaśatru-kaukṛtya-vinodanā-sūtra* (henceforth: AjKV),<sup>25</sup> however encompasses a still broader application of Buddhist concepts. This text belongs to a group of Mahāyāna *sūtras* translated into Chinese by Lokakṣema in the late second century CE, and thus provides us with important information on the development of practices in the early Mahāyāna. The AjKV

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Vaidya 1960b: 233–235.

<sup>23</sup> Lamotte 1944–80, IV: 1854.

<sup>24</sup> Braarvig 1985: 19f.

<sup>25</sup> For a Sanskrit manuscript of this text from Bamiyan, now kept in the Schøyen Collection of Buddhist Manuscripts in Oslo, see Harrison/Hartmann 2000, and 2002.



refers to *dhāraṇī* not as a magical incantation, nor as memory or retention, but explains *dhāraṇī* as different qualities of knowledge. The Tibetan versions reads:

*de la gzungs gang zhe na | gzungs zhes bya ba ni 'di lta ste | dran pa ma  
nyams pa/ rtogs pa ma g.yengs pa | blo gros ma rmongs pa | shes rab  
mngon du byed pa | chos thams cad la de bzhin nyid bstan pas lam bstan pa  
shes pa | 'bras bu thob nas srung bar byed pa | lam skyon med pa la 'jug  
shes pa | chos thams cad kyi tshig rab tu tha dad pa shes pa |*

(D 216 at mdo sde, tsha, 238v2–4)

What is *dhāraṇī*? *Dhāraṇī* is infallible recollection, unwavering comprehension, lucid intelligence, realized discriminative understanding, knowledge how to explain the path by pointing to the thusness in all factors of existence, safeguarding the fruit after one has attained it, knowledge how to enter into flawless conduct, knowledge of the different appellations of all factors of existence.

(tr. Braarvig/Pagel 2006: 25)

While some of the *dhāraṇī* scriptures refer to their *mantras* or spells as *dhāraṇī* – and this fact led scholars to interpret *dhāraṇī* as “spell” – the semantic range of this term exceeds the spheres of incantations. It is now widely accepted that its primary meaning is “memory”, “retention” or “mnemonic device”.<sup>26</sup> Davidson argues in his extensive study on the semantic values of the term *dhāraṇī* that it is polysemic and context-sensitive, a function term denoting “‘code/coding’ indicating both encryption signs and the system of coding/decoding such information.”<sup>27</sup> This term, often misunderstood by modern scholars and ancient translators alike, was thus often used to designate spells or magical formulas of Mahāyāna texts on the one hand. On the other hand the term *dhāraṇī* stands for remembrance, contemplation, or understanding in the context of a mnemonic device as part of the Bodhisattva practice.

The *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra* and the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* call their spells *mantrapada*, whereas the *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra* uses the two expressions *mantrapada* and

<sup>26</sup> Other noteworthy discussions of the meaning of the term *dhāraṇī* appear in Gyatso 1992: 173–178, and Nattier 2003: 291 n. 549. They both speak in favour of *dhāraṇī* as a mnemonic device.

<sup>27</sup> Davidson 2009: 118.

*vidyā*,<sup>28</sup> which can indubitably be regarded as synonyms. The term *vidyā* is also employed to designate the spell in the Gāndhārī \**Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra* in its Gāndhārī equivalent *vija*,<sup>29</sup> and in the compound *vijaraya* (Skt. *vidyārāja*) “spell-king.”<sup>30</sup> This term is in close relation with its female counterpart *vidyārājñī* “spell-queen, queen among the spells,”<sup>31</sup> as used in the texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* collection. Other texts introduce the expression *dhāraṇī* to indicate their formulas, which lead to the formation of the compounds *mantradhāraṇīpada* and *dhāraṇīmantrapada*.<sup>32</sup> The following table shows the variety of terms, which were often used side by side to designate spells.

Table 17: *Mantra* terminology.

Term	Text	
	Śrāvakayāna	Mahāyāna
<i>mantra</i>	* <i>Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra</i> (G. <i>matra</i> ) <i>Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna</i>	
<i>mantrapada</i>	<i>Āṭānāṭīya-mahāsūtra</i> <i>Mahāmantrānusāriṇī</i> <i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī</i> <i>Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra</i> <i>Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra</i> <i>Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa</i> <i>Upasena-sūtra</i> <i>Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra</i>	<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i>
<i>mantradhāraṇī</i>		<i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i>
<i>mantrapadadhāraṇī</i>		<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>
<i>dhāraṇī</i>		<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i> <i>Megha-sūtra</i>
<i>dhāraṇīpada</i>		<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>

<sup>28</sup> Cf. MW 964/1: knowledge, science, spell, incantation, magical skill.

<sup>29</sup> BajC 3.38: *aya khu Maṇaspiya vija* “This is the spell of Manasvin.”

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Strauch 2014: 74.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *vidyārāja* in BHSD 488/1: “lord or master (f. mistress) of magic spells, king of spells.”

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of the term *mantrapada* (Tib. *sngags kyi tshig*) and its variant *dhāraṇīmantrapada* (Tib. *gzungs sngags kyi tshig*), together with numerous references, see Pagel (2007: 58), who states at one point: “A *mantrapada* is always a magic formula recited (in ritual) to advance the spiritual aims of the bodhisattva.”

Table 17 (*continued*)

Term	Text	
	Śrāvakayāna	Mahāyāna
<i>dhāraṇīmantrapada</i>		<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i> <i>Megha-sūtra</i> <i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra</i>
<i>vidyā</i>	<i>Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra</i> <i>Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra</i> <i>Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavātī</i> <i>*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra</i> (G. <i>vija</i> ) <i>Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa</i> <i>Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā</i>	<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i>
<i>vidyārājñī</i>	<i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī</i> <i>Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra</i> <i>Ṣaḍakṣara-vidyā</i>	<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i>
<i>vidyārāja</i>	<i>*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra</i> (G. <i>vijaraya</i> )	<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārāja/rājā</i>
<i>vidyāmantrapada</i>	<i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī</i>	<i>Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī</i>

The preferred phrases in the texts of the schools of the Sarvāstivāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, and Mahāsāṃghika are *mantra*, *vidyā*, and variations hereof. No *mantras* can be found in the collection of protective texts of the Theravādins. The term *dhāraṇī* only occurs in Mahāyāna scriptures and is not attested in Śrāvakayāna literature. Regarding the fluidity in the use of the above-cited terms, it seems to be, as Skilling has suggested,<sup>33</sup> more appropriate to apply the terms *mantra*, *dhāraṇī*, *vidyā*, and *paritta* exactly the way they are applied in the text under consideration.

### The different elements of protective *mantras*

*Rakṣā mantras* do not only consist of unintelligible syllables, non-lexical phonemes or words without any known semantic value. They may also contain intelligible elements, such as words of homage to the Buddha, invocations – notably of female deities – injunctions, statements of truth, lists of poisons, etc. Another feature of

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Skilling 1992: 152.

*mantras* are discourse markers. The opening *tadyathā* (*tad* Skt. for “that,” *yathā* Skt. for “in such a manner as follows”), *syādyathedam*,<sup>34</sup> and *saryathīdam*,<sup>35</sup> and the closing markers *svāhā* (Skt. for “hail, success”) and *(i)ti*<sup>36</sup> are the most prominent in *rakṣā* literature. Other *mantras* are entirely composed of natural or grammatically intelligible language.<sup>37</sup>

Among the unintelligible elements we find words such as *hulu mahāhulu hulu hulu*,<sup>38</sup> *hili hili mili mili kili kili cili cili sili sili*,<sup>39</sup> *hili cili khili cili*,<sup>40</sup> and many more. The expressions of homage include *namo buddhānām*, *namo ‘rhatām*, and *namo bhagavate*.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, goddesses are invoked by a list of female deities in the vocative case, such as *ghori gandhāri cori caṇḍali sopakke*,<sup>42</sup> and *mātaṅgī pukkāsī bramhani drāmiḍī śabarī*.<sup>43</sup> Other common elements of *rakṣā mantras* are injunctions and second person imperative verbs such as *rakṣa māṃ sarvasatvānāṃś ca*,<sup>44</sup> and *jambhaya stambhaya bhinda bhaṃjaya bandha mohaya*.<sup>45</sup> The *sacca-kiriya* phrases include *buddhasatyena dharmasatyena saṅghasatyena indrasatyena varuṇasatyena*,<sup>46</sup> and *sarvadevasatyādhiṣṭhānena*.<sup>47</sup> Finally, we find lists of poisons comprising the names of poisonous substances like *aṇḍarā paṇḍarā karaḍā keyūrā vindupati siripati*.<sup>48</sup> The ancient roots of Buddhist *mantras* and the precise significance of the unintelligible syllables remain, however, obscure.

<sup>34</sup> *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra*, Iwamoto 1937a: 4.21, 5.8 etc.

<sup>35</sup> SHT III 842v3, 845r6, 900r1, VI 1254r3, IX 2417v1; *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* SI 2044 1v5. Cf. P. *seyyathīdam*, BHS *sayyathīdam*.

<sup>36</sup> *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*, Skilling 1994: 444.9, 447.7 etc.

<sup>37</sup> See chapter 1.3 of the present work for the first *mantra* of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* only consisting of natural language.

<sup>38</sup> DKP, Harrison 2012: 84.

<sup>39</sup> *Mahāpratisarā*, Hidas 2012: 181.

<sup>40</sup> BajC 3, 36.

<sup>41</sup> *Mahāmāyūrī*, Takubo 1972: 7.8, 10.9.

<sup>42</sup> *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, Hoffmann [1939: 49, 51] 1987: 33, 35.

<sup>43</sup> *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, D 313 at 162b5.

<sup>44</sup> *Mahāmāyūrī*, Takubo 1972: 9.1.

<sup>45</sup> *Ārya-mahāpratisarā-vidyārājñī-dhāraṇī*, Rinpoche/Pandey 1999: 134.15–16.

<sup>46</sup> *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, Skjærvø 2004: 179.

<sup>47</sup> *Megha-sūtra*, Bendall 1880: 300.

<sup>48</sup> *Mahāmāyūrī*, Takubo 1972: 55.15.

### The function of *mantras* in *rakṣā* texts

*Mantras* function in protective texts as another means of efficacy, and their recitation is supposed to bring about protection, welfare, and other benefits. But why were *mantras* introduced into the *rakṣā* literature as an additional protective method? Why were they necessary to achieve the desired effect of apotropaic texts? *Rakṣā* texts were already used in apotropaic rituals before *mantras* were incorporated into *rakṣā* literature, and people believed in their protective powers. Nonetheless, *mantras* became the most important active principle of *rakṣā* texts. Despite this, little scholarly effort has been done so far to explore the function of *mantras* within the context of early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature. Winternitz sees the explanation of the necessity for the introduction of *mantras* as a protective device in a small episode of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, where the Buddha counteracted a sorceress' spell of love that hit his disciple Ānanda with his own *mantra*. He was, therefore, able to rescue Ānanda from the witch's charm. Winternitz comments on this passage that it was necessary for the Buddhists to have their own formulas in order to defend themselves from the spells of sorcerers:

Die ganze große Literatur der Mantras und Dhāraṇīs, der Zaubersprüche und Beschwörungsformeln, im späten Mahāyāna findet in dieser kleinen Episode ihre Erklärung. Es war das Bedürfnis nach Mantras, nach Zaubersprüchen, im Volke vorhanden und diesem Bedürfnis mußte auch der Buddhismus Rechnung tragen. Um den Mantras der Zauberer entgegenzutreten, mußten auch die buddhistischen Mönche ihre ‚Mantras‘ haben. [...] Um die Mantras der Zauberer ‚zurückzuschlagen‘, brauchte man viele nach demselben Rezept gemachte Formeln und Sprüche. Zu diesem Rezept gehörten insbesondere die fortwährende Wiederholung gleichlautender Sätze und formelhafter Wendungen und die Einführung unverständlicher, geheimnisvollklingender Silben wie om, hūṃ, vaṃ, ho, phaṭ usw.<sup>49</sup>

Winternitz was, however, mistaken in ascribing Buddhist spell literature to the later Mahāyāna tradition, as *mantras* can as well be found in the scriptures of Śrāvākayāna schools. Davidson gives a similar explication for the need of *mantras*, which is to ward off the malign effects of evil spirits and demons:

[W]hile there are spirits, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, *kumbhāṇḍas*, and so on, who have decided to protect the Dharma, there are many, many more demons, spirits

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<sup>49</sup> Winternitz 1912: 249.

and such like, who are not so beneficent, and this sets up the need for the expression of *mantras* to be used as apotropaic aids in warding off the less benign elements of the preternatural mob.<sup>50</sup>

*Mantras* thus became an integral part of *rakṣā* literature and supported the other two protective devices, the concept of *maitrī* and the concept of *saccakiriyā*, for the attainment of positive effects. We can even perceive some kind of doubt about the efficacy of the latter two means. Especially, the principle of *maitrī*, mainly employed in earlier texts, was more and more supplemented, or even completely replaced by other protective means. As a result, we can see an increasing use of *mantras*, often together with *maitrī* and *saccakiriyā* verses, to ensure the benefits of the text, what Schmithausen has convincingly stated:

Though, on the one hand, friendliness tends to become regarded as an autonomous means for protection, irrespective of the reaction of the other side and even effective with regard to insentient forms of nature like water, fire or poison, there is, on the other hand, a tendency to have some doubt about its protective effectivity. At any rate, it is often supplemented or even replaced by other protective devices like commemoration of the Buddha or the Three Jewels, or appealing to their (or other powerful beings') protective power, or 'tapping' this power by means of truth magic. Increasingly, magical formulas (*mantra*, *dhāraṇī*) come to be employed, though often in connection with other devices.<sup>51</sup>

### The mode of action of *mantras*

How does the recitation of *mantras* cause the effects given in the texts? The efficacy through the correct recitation of the wording of the *mantra* is mentioned in the early Gāndhārī \**Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra*, which tells that poisonous substances are subdued by knowing their names. The respective passage reads as follows:

*evam eva maṇaspia evam eva maṇaspia (evam eva ma)ṇaspi[a · imeṣa]  
mahaviṣaṇa ṇamo jaṇea · ṇa teṇa maṇuṣaṇa bhayidave ...*

(BajC 3, 29–30)

<sup>50</sup> Davidson 2014a: 16.

<sup>51</sup> Schmithausen 1997: 67.

Thus is (the spell) of Manasvin, thus is (the spell) of Manasvin, thus is (the spell) of Manasvin. (Who) would know the names of these great poisons has not to be afraid of human beings ...

(tr. Strauch 2014: 75)

The *sūtra* here makes two points clear. First of all, the mantric words represent the names of poisons. Secondly, through the correct recitation of the *mantra* words and syllables one gains control and power over these substances and the danger, which comes from them is averted. Thus, the poisons can be eliminated by the mere recitation of their names. This is not only true for poisons, but also for dangerous beings, animals, and other threats. The terms the *\*Manasvi-nagara-ja-sūtra* lists as the names of poisons are generally subsumed as a group called *mahāviṣa* “great poisons”. Such a list is also found in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.<sup>52</sup>

*Udgrhṇa tvam Ānanda mahāviṣāṇāṃ nāmāni. tad yathā.  
Aṇḍarā, paṇḍarā, karaḍā, keyūrā, bhūtāṃgamā, bhūtapati, vindupati,  
śiripati, tejapati, tejograpati, yaśopati, araḍā, taraḍā, taradā, tarataradā,  
duttarā, danājuhā, juhā, johā, jolā, melā, phurā, guhā, rucirā, danturā,  
ilīkīkīkā, kirīkīkīkā, kāmavā, śatanturā, vikulī, kirimī, taraṅgā, ahituhi, duhi,  
vakve, vakvadūte, vatsamāte, mahāgāre, tulamve sulamve svāhā.  
Ity ete Ānanda mahāviṣās te ‘py anayā Mahāmāyūryāvidyārājñyā Svāter  
bhikṣor mama sarvasatvānāṃ ca rakṣāṃ kurvantu.*

(Takubo 1972: 55.14–56.1)

Take up, Ānanda, the names of the Great Poisons, namely:  
aṇḍarā, paṇḍarā, karaḍā, keyūrā, bhūtāṃgamā, bhūtapati, vindupati, śiripati,  
tejapati, tejograpati, yaśopati, araḍā, taraḍā, taradā, tarataradā, duttarā,  
danājuhā, juhā, johā, jolā, melā, phurā, guhā, rucirā, danturā, ilīkīkīkā,  
kirīkīkīkā, kāmavā, śatanturā, vikulī, kirimī, taraṅgā, ahituhi, duhi, vakve,  
vakvadūte, vatsamāte, mahāgāre, tulamve sulamve. Hail!  
These are, Ānanda, the Great Poisons. They too shall protect by the Great  
Peacock spell-queen the monk Svāti, me and all living beings.

(tr. after Strauch 2014: 76)

This list of poisonous substances, whose negative impacts are averted by recitation, is not the only common list that appears in *rakṣā* texts. Other threats, which will be

<sup>52</sup> For a comparative list of variations hereof, and an investigation of the use of this spell in Buddhist protective texts and its parallels in Āyurvedic treatises, see Strauch 2014: 75–77.

warded off by the spell occur in the so-called list of calamities. These include harmful sentient beings and dangerous insentient things, like kings, thieves, fire, water, human beings, non-human beings, wild beasts, and serpents (*rāja, cora, aggi, udaka, manussa, amanussa, vāla, sirīmsapa*). This list largely agrees with the ten *antarāyas* (P. for “obstacle, hindrance, danger”),<sup>53</sup> which are found in the Vinaya.<sup>54</sup> Such a list of calamities features in the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. The Chinese list reads:

擁護擁護我某甲於一切恐怖處 於一切疾病苦痛處 於一切憂愁相惱  
處於一切 毒蟲毒藥處 於一切鬼魅厭禱處 於一切王賊水火處 於一  
切猛獸驚怖處 於一切謗讟言訟處 於一切怨家鬥諍處 於一切身意  
惡業處 所有語業四過處 於一切厄難危亡處 并執金剛神 常衛護  
我某甲 并諸眷屬莎(引)訶(引)

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b18–25)

Protect [us]! Protect me and others from all frights, all diseases and pain, all kinds of miseries and afflictions, all venomous insects and poisonous herbs, all evil spirits and imprecations, all kings and thieves and water and fire, all wild animals and fear, all malicious accuse and arguments, all enemies and fights, all evil practices of body, mind and the four errors of verbal actions, all distress and indolence. Together with Vajrapāṇi always protect me and others together with our kinsmen. *svāhā*.

The Tibetan list reads as follows:

*bdag dang sems can thams cad lag na rdo rje dang lhan cig tu 'jigs pa  
thams cad dang | nad thams cad dang | dug thams cad dang | rims thams  
cad dang | gdon thams cad dang | gdug pas zin pa thams cad dang | chom  
rkun thams cad dang | mi dang | mi ma yin pa thams cad dang | 'jigs pa  
dang | gnod pa dang | nad 'go ba thams cad dang | 'thab pa dang | rnyog  
pa dang | sdig pa dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa dang | mtshang 'dru ba  
thams cad dang | lus dang | ngag dang | yid kyis ngan par spyad pa thams  
cad dang | thams cad du 'jigs pa thams cad las srungs shig | srungs shig |*

(D 313 at 163b1–3)

Together with Vajrapāṇi protect me and all sentient beings, from all frights and all diseases, all poisons, all sickness, all evil spirits, everything afflicted

<sup>53</sup> Cf. PTSD 48.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Strauch 2014: 69.



with miseries, all thieves, all human beings and non-human beings, fright, harm-doers, and all infections, battle, trouble, evil deeds, conflict, dispute, weakness, and evil practices of body, speech, and mind, and from all fears at all times! Protect us!

It is, however, not evident from these text passages that the recitation alone and the correct pronunciation of *mantras* does not always bring about the desired effect, but rather recitation, which is accompanied by rites and practices. The remarkable philosopher Dharmakīrti (around 600 CE) made this point clear. Dharmakīrti devoted two passages of his work the *Pramāṇavārttikasvavṛtti* to the discussion of *mantras* and their efficacy and gave the following definition of a *mantra*:

*na mantro nāmānyad eva kiṃcit satyādimatām vacanasamayād iti |*

(Eltschinger 2008: 273 n. 4)

What we call a mantra is nothing other than the utterance and the agreement of [persons] who are endowed with truthfulness, etc.

(tr. Eltschinger 2008: 273)

*Mantras* are thus not automatically efficacious by the mere recitation of their phonemes but the efficacy implies an agreement of superior persons with exceptional qualities. This agreement defines the conditions for the efficacy of a *mantra* including correct pronunciation and ritual practices. Eltschinger explains this as follows:

In this agreement or promise, the creator of a mantra sets forth the conditions that any entitled user of his mantra must fulfill in order to obtain the expected result. [...] these conditions may pertain to such diverse aspects as rules for pronunciation, ritual procedures, ethical behavior or devotion.<sup>55</sup>

### Are *mantras* meaningful?

Another aspect of *mantras* is the question of whether they have meaning and, if so, of what sort. Are they meaningless or indeed a form of language? The mantric

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<sup>55</sup> Eltschinger 2008: 275. See also Eltschinger 2001 for a more extensive discussion of Dharmakīrti's notion of *mantras* and their efficacy.

syllables, or non-lexical phonemes, were often regarded as meaningless gibberish and mumbo-jumbo. Many scholars, however, perceive *mantras* as a kind of speech act. This technical term was especially developed by Searle.<sup>56</sup> The expression “speech act” implies the approach to see *mantras* as actions. In this sense, a *mantra* was produced with an intention to evoke a reaction. It is an utterance that has a performative function in language and communication. As Padoux pointed out, *mantras* are meaningful and function in a ritual action:

First, that mantras, whether in the form of sentences, words, or sounds, have a ‘meaning’ (by which I mean that they help to do something), which very well may not appear in their verbal or phonetic sequence. Second, that their function is not one of the usual ones of language (namely, informative, constative, communicative) but is a direct action, generally a ritual one, or a psychological or mystical one. [...] Perhaps, one could say that mantras have no meaning in the usual sense of the word, which is not to say that they do not make sense for those who use them, but they do have efficiency. They bring about an effect or, to be more precise, they are deemed, within their own cultural context, to bring one about.<sup>57</sup>

This idea is, however, disputed. Staal holds the opinion that *mantras* do not always require a speaker and a hearer. They do not necessarily convey information, and need not to be communicative. According to Staal, there is every reason to accept that *mantras*, even if they consist of language, are not used in the manner of language. He writes:

Mantras are used in ritual or meditation to bring about effects that are stated to be ‘ineffable’ and ‘beyond language’. This renders it all the more difficult to conceive of mantras as arising from language.<sup>58</sup>

It is obvious that *mantras* are too complex to allow easy categorization. According to Wilke and Moebus, even the speech act theory is not adequate to explain *mantras* entirely, since it does not encapsulate all aspects of mantric language. It is for this reason that they define *mantras* as language acts:

However, speech act theory is insufficient to explain mantras fully, because they are regarded as effective of themselves. The mantras bring us to a

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. Searle 1969, 1979, and Searle/Vanderveken 1985.

<sup>57</sup> Padoux 1989: 302.

<sup>58</sup> Staal 1989: 74.

radically participatory interpretation of language and to true language acts, i.e. to a use of language that can be categorized in speech act theory and yet at the same time goes beyond it. If, for example, the formula ‘for my life’ is spoken over the rice cooked on the daily sacrificial fire, this formula is effective of itself, owing to the sacrificial context. In the understanding of the Indian priest, mantras are therefore not a speech act at all in the strict sense. It is not the priest who performs something through language, i.e. brings about the blessing. The blessing is brought about by the formula itself.<sup>59</sup>

As noted before, *mantras* do not only consist of unintelligible syllables, non-lexical phonemes, or words without any known semantic value, but may also contain intelligible elements, such as discourse markers, words of homage, invocations, injunctions, and acts of truth, and they can be composed entirely of natural language. Mantric language is, thereby, not an intentional language, and the words, as the examples of the \**Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra* and the *Mahāmāyūrī* clearly demonstrate, are not arbitrary. They are sometimes conceived as a language beyond this world, the magical use of the language of *devas*, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, etc.<sup>60</sup> *Mantras* are verbal formulas, whose sounds, when properly vocalized, are believed to possess an innate power. It is the sound value that brings about the effect only when pronounced correctly, and this sound value is non-interchangeable.

In conclusion, *mantras* became a central element of newly composed *raṁṣā* texts and performed the function of supporting the other two protective devices, which were in use before *mantras* were introduced into *raṁṣā* literature. The effectiveness was thus achieved through correct recitation of the wording of the *mantra*. While the earliest collection of protective texts, the canonical Pāli *parittas* of the Theravāda school, do not contain any *mantras*, *raṁṣā* texts were extended with spells in the course of the development of *raṁṣā* literature. In some cases *mantras* were inserted right into the main textual body. Other scriptures were supplemented with an appendix, thereby charging the text with linguistic characteristics of *raṁṣā* literature. Elsewhere, even entirely new classes of texts evolved, which used central themes of older protective scriptures and built new compositions around their traditional core.

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<sup>59</sup> Wilke/Moebus 2011: 406.

<sup>60</sup> In his study of Bhā(va)viveka’s understanding of *mantras* in his work *Tarkajvāla*, Braarvig (1997: 35f.) showed that: “Commenting on the *vidyāmantra*, Bhavya stated that the reason why the ‘words of wisdom’ (*vidyāśabda*) are not understood, is that they are in a language beyond this world (*lokottaravākya*), or in the language of Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, etc.”

### 5.2.2 Who provides the spell?

We have seen above that the effectiveness of *rakṣā* texts is closely related with the Buddha's capability to provide protection through his mere presence. It is, therefore, not at all surprising that spells given by the Buddha have the potency to be efficacious. In some *rakṣā* texts, such as in the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, the *Upasena-sūtra*, the Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, and the *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavati*, the Buddha himself hands down the protective formula to his followers in need of shelter and safeguard, all for the advantage and benefit of the Buddhist community. The respective passage in the Tibetan *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* reads:

*de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis sems can thams cad rjes su bsrung ba'i phyir  
mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo 'di bshad nas 'gro lding ba'i gsang sngags kyi  
gzhi 'di dag gsungs so || tadya thā | bi ni bha ra di | bi ri ni | bi ra ni | bud  
dha ma har tā na dhe | ma hi ni mi na ni | ni ni ni ni | ti ti ti ti | bi ra ti | gau  
ri | gan dha ri | caṇ ḍa li | ma tang gī | pu ka asi | bramha ni | dra mi ḍī |  
dra mi ḍī | shā bha di | [...]*

(D 313 at 162b4–5)

Having explained this Discourse on an Auspicious Night in order to protect all sentient beings, the Blessed One taught these *mantrapadas* of Drāmiḍa: *tadyathā, bi ni bha ra di, bi ri ni, bi ra ni, bud dha ma har tā na dhe, ma hi ni mi na ni, ni ni ni ni, ti ti ti ti, bi ra ti, gauri, gandhāri, caṇḍāli, mātaṅgī, pukkasī, bramhani, drāmiḍī, drāmiḍī, śabarī [...]*

It is noteworthy that, unlike what we would expect in a Buddhist *sūtra*, it is often not the Buddha who first revealed the magical formula, but other potent beings, like previous Buddhas, the Four Great Kings, Śakra, and Brahmā. This is expressed in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*:

*iyam ānanda ṣaḍakṣarīvidyā ṣaḍbhiḥ samyak sambuddhair bhāṣitā caturbhiḥ  
ca mahārājaiḥ śakreṇa devānāṃ indreṇa brahmaṇa ca sahāpatinā | mayā  
caitarhi śākyamuninā samyak sambuddhena bhāṣitā | tvam apy etarhy  
ānanda tāṃ dhāraya vācya paryavāpuhi*

(Mukhopadhyaya 1954: 4)

Ānanda, this six-syllables spell was spoken by the six completely Enlightened Ones, and by the Four Great Kings, and by Śakra, the king of the gods, and by Brahmā, the Lord of the World. And now it is spoken by

me, Śākyamuni, the completely Enlightened One. Now you, Ānanda, also hold it, speak it, and master it.

Numerous *mantras* were handed over to the Buddha by other beings, and he then teaches the Buddhist assembly what he has learnt from them, thereby giving his sanction to their use. The Tibetan version of the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra* is first declared by the king Vaiśravaṇa who also delivers the nine *mantras*, which occur in the text, in the presence of the Buddha. The next day the Buddha repeats the *sūtra* to the monks and invites them to master it. The *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa* is introduced by the Brahman Sanatkumāra, then the Four Great Kings take over the exposition of the text. Having heard the discourse from the Brahman Sanatkumāra and the Four Great Kings of the cardinal directions, again the Buddha reiterates it to the assembly and recommends to preserve it, take it up, recite, rehearse, and reflect upon it. In the *\*Manasvi-nāgarāja-sūtra*, the Buddha receives the *mantra* from the *nāgarāja* Manasvin and then announces what he has heard.

In other texts, potent beings perform the function of revealing *mantras* without the Buddha's consent. They provide protective spells for followers of the Buddha's teachings in times of need. The appendix of the Tibetan version of the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* contains 19 *mantras*, where the first nine are each spoken by a different deity in a descending hierarchical order. The remaining formulas are pronounced by the Buddha. In his study on the Tibetan *mahāsūtras*, Skilling summarized this paragraph of the *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra* as follows:

First are two deities of the Material Realm (*rūpadhātu*): the Śuddhāvāsa, the highest deities of the fourth *dhyāna*, followed by Brahmā, who belongs to the first *dhyāna*. These are followed by deities of the Realm of Sense-pleasures (*kāmadhātu*): from Kāmapati, of the highest level, to Śakra of the second level, to the Four Kings of the first level, and finally an Asura and a wind-god. The sections follow the same pattern for each group of deities. First they announce their intention to protect the *sūtra*, and extol the benefits that issue from recitation of the *sūtra* and the *mantra*. They then recite protective spells, in all cases described as *mantrapada*.<sup>61</sup>

Another group of potent beings are the Seven Buddhas. In *raṅṣā* texts they all appear at the same time and in the same place, revealing *mantras* as a group. The *Mahāmāyūrī* describes all of the Buddhas and their trees, and then gives individual *mantras* pronounced and approved (*bhāṣitā cābhyanumoditā ca*) by each of the

<sup>61</sup> Skilling 1997a: 534.

Buddhas. The *mantra* of Vipāśyin, the first of the Seven Buddhas, will suffice here as an example:

*īyaṃ cānanda mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī vipāśyinā samyaksambuddhena  
bhāṣitā cābhyānumoditā ca. tadyathā.*

*araḍe karaḍe maraḍe madavardhane avaśabare ture ture care care śabare  
parṇaśabare, hucu hucu, kuci kuci, mucu mucu, huci huci huci huci huci  
huci huci, mucu mucu mucu mucu svāhā.*

(Takubo 1972: 43)

The Four Great Kings, usually referred to as *caturmahārāja*, not only reveal *mantras*, but also act as protectors for the preservation and defence of unprotected monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen, which can be seen in the *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*. Buddhist practitioners are protected by the words of the *mantra*, and beings who act against the Buddha's teachings will be subdued:

*de nas bcom ldan 'das la rgyal po chen po bzhis 'di skad ces gsol to || bcom  
ldan 'das rgyal po bzhi po bdag cag dang | bcom ldan 'das kyi nyan thos  
chen po de dag dang | bdag cag gis chos kyi rnam grangs 'di ring du gnas  
par bgyi ba'i slad du | bsrung ba dang | sba ba dang | bskyab pa la brtson  
par bgyi'o || [...] bcom ldan 'das dge slong | dge slong ma dang | dge  
bsnyen dang | dge bsnyen ma gang dag sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la brtson  
pa dang | gzhan yang bcom ldan 'das kyi bstan pa la mngon par dad pa  
srung ba ma mchis pa de dag bsrung ba'i ched du gsang sngags kyi tshig 'di  
dag kha ton du bgyi'o || gsang sngags kyi tshig de dag gis gnod sbyin dang |  
srin po dang | dri za dang | mi 'am ci dang | lto 'phye chen po dang | grul  
bum la sogs pa dang | mi dang mi ma yin lags pa dang | gzhan yang sangs  
rgyas kyi bstan pa la zhe sdang bar bgyid pa rnams shin tu tshar gcod par  
'gyur ro ||  
tadya thā | ta ra be a ra be | [...]*

(Harrison 1992: 293.10–295.5)

Then the four Great Kings said to the Lord, 'Lord, we four kings and those great śrāvakas of the Lord [and we?], so as to ensure that this discourse on dharma (*dharmaparyāya*) endures, will apply ourselves to its protection, preservation and defense. [...] Lord, in order that any unprotected bhikṣus and bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakas and upāsikās who are committed to the Buddha's teaching and any others who believe in the teaching of the Lord may be protected, the words of this *mantra* [...] are to be recited. By virtue of the words of that *mantra*, yakṣas, rākṣasas, gandharvas, kinnaras, mahoragas, kumbhāṇḍas and the like, human and

demonic beings, and any others who commit acts of hostility towards the Buddha's teaching will be utterly subdued.

(tr. Harrison/Coblin 2012: 69)

The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* contains *rakṣā mantras* spoken by two of the Four Great Kings, Vaiśravaṇa and Virūḍhaka, by *rākṣasīs*, and by Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja bestows protective spells on young men and women of good family who keep up the *sūtra* or turn it into a book. The respective passage reads as follows:

*atha khalu bhaiṣajyarājo bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tasyām velāyām bhagavantam etad avocat dāsyāmo vyaṃ bhagavaṃs teṣām kulaputrāṇām kuladuhitṛṇām vā yeṣām ayaṃ saddharmapuṇḍarīko dharmaparyāyaḥ kāyagato vā syāt, pustakagato vā, rakṣāvaraṇaguptaye dhāraṇīmantra-padāni | tadyathā anye manye mane mamane [...] svāhā ||*

(Vaidya 1960b: 233.14–21)

Then the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Bhaiṣajyarāja immediately said to the Lord: To those young men and ladies of good family, O Lord, who keep this Dharmaparyāya of the Lotus of the True Law in their memory or in a book, we will give talismanic words (*dhāraṇīpadāni*) for guard, defence, and protection; such as, *anye manye mane mamane* [...].

(tr. Kern [1884] 1963: 371)

In the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, the goddesses Sarasvatī<sup>62</sup> and Śrī provide the spells. Sarasvatī hands down a *dhāraṇī* to a monk who preaches the *dharma* for the sake of preventing the loss of its memory, so that the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* may flourish for the welfare of all those who listen to the Buddha's teachings, for their wisdom, knowledge, and prosperity. Sarasvatī said:

*(mantrauśadhi) saṃyuktaṃ snānakarma bhāṣiṣyāmi tasya dharmabhāṇakasya bhikṣos teṣām ca dharmasravanīkānāṃ satvānāṃ arthāya | sarvagrahanakṣatrajanmamaraṇapīḍā kalikalahakaluṣaḍimbadāmara-duḥsvapnavināyakaḥ pīḍāḥ sarvakākhordavetāḍāḥ praśamaṃ yāsyanti | auśadhayo mantrā yena snāpayanti ca paṇḍitāḥ ||*

<sup>62</sup> For a detailed discussion of the chapter on the goddess Sarasvatī, see Maue/Sertkaya 1986, and Nobel 1951.

*vacā gorocanā sprkkā śīriṣaṃ śāmyakaṃ śamī |*  
*indrahastā mahābhāgā dhyāmakam agaru tvacam ||*

*śrīveṣṭakam sarjarasaṃ śallakī guggulurasam |*  
*tagaram patraśaileyaṃ candanaṃ manaḥśilā ||*

*sarocanā ca kuṣṭhaṃ ca kuṃkumaṃ mustasarṣapāḥ |*  
*naladaṃ cavyaśūkṣmailā uśīraṃ nāgakesaram ||*

*etāni samabhāgāni puṣyanakṣatreṇa pīṣayet |*  
*imair mantrapadais cūrṇaṃ śatadhā cābhimantrayet ||*

*tadyathā || sukr̥te karajātabhāgo | haṃsaraṇḍe indrajāmari sakadrepasade*  
*avatāsikte kutra kuka vikala vimalamabhi śrīlamati sandhivudhumavati ||*  
*śiri satyasthite svāhā ||*

(Skjærvø 2004: 175f.)

‘I will explain the act of bathing attended by spells and medicaments. For the sake of the monk who preaches the Law and for the sake of those beings who listen to the Law, all the oppressions caused by planets, asterisms, birth or death, the oppressions caused by strife, quarrels, foul tumults and disorders, evil dreams, (or the god) Vināyaka, all Kākhordas and Vetālas will be completely removed.’ ‘Medicaments and spells with which the learned bathe: (1) *vacā*, (2) *gorocanā*, (3) *sprkkā*, (4) *śīriṣa*, (5) *śāmyaka*, (6) *śamī*, (7) *indrahastā*, (8) *mahābhāgā*, (9) [*dhy*]āmakā, (10) *agaru*, (11) *tvac*, (12) *śrīveṣṭaka*, (13) resin of *sarja*, (14) *śallakī*, (15) *guggulu*, (16) *tagara*, (17) *patra*, (18) *śaileya*, (19) *candana*, (20) *manaḥśilā*, (21) *sarocanā*, (22) *kuṣṭha*, (23) *kuṃkuma*, (24) *musta*, (25) *sarṣapa*, (26) *nalada*, (27) *cavya*, (28) *śūkṣmailā*, (29) *uśīra*, (30) *nāgakesara* – one should pound those, when Puṣya is the asterism, into equal portions and one should consecrate the powder a hundred times with the following spell, so: *sukr̥te* [*karajātabhāgo*, *haṃsaraṇḍe indrajāmari sakadrepasade avatāsikte kutra kuka vikala vimalamabhi śrīlamati sandhivudhumavati*, *śiri satyasthite svāhā*.]

(tr. Emmerick [1970] 2001: 45f.)

The narrative in the *Ekādaśamukha-hṛdaya* relates a story, where Avalokiteśvara proposes to utter the *mantra* called *ekādaśahṛdaya*, which he has heard several *kalpas* ago from the Tathāgata Śatapadmanayanacūḍa. By the power of this *mantra* one can attain numerous benefits and avert all kinds of evils. The passage reads as follows:



*evaṃ mahardhiko 'yaṃ mama bhagavan hṛdayam ekavelāṃ prakāśitvā  
catvāro mūlāpattayaḥ kṣayaṃ gacchanti pañcānantaryāṇi karmāṇi nir-  
avayavaṃ tanvīkariṣyanti |*

(Dutt 1939: 38.5–7)

Blessed One, having recited just once my [Avalokiteśvara's] *hṛdaya* of great magnificent power, the four fundamental sins are eliminated and the five sins bringing immediate retribution will indivisibly diminish.

As we have seen, it is not only the Buddha himself who provides protective spells. Spells are also revealed by other potent beings, such as the Seven Buddhas, the Four Great Kings, Bodhisattvas, *nāgas*, goddesses, and other divine beings. While in some discourses the spells are first given to the Buddha, who repeats them to the Buddhist assembly, in other texts these beings hand over spells directly to the person in need without the Buddha's sanction. Even though this is not what we would expect in a Buddhist *sūtra*, the aforementioned examples show that it is not unusual within the literary genre of *rakṣā* texts for the discourses to be initially spoken by beings other than the Buddha, and are then repeated by him. In Skilling's study on the *rakṣā* literature, he references the longest and most influential *rakṣā*, the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, in saying that “[t]his seems to be a device to ‘convert’ a non-Buddhist text by giving it the sanction of the Buddha.”<sup>63</sup>

### 5.2.3 Who provides protection?

Buddhist practitioners took advantage of the protective powers of the Buddha, the Three Jewels, and other powerful beings, deities, and protectors, who were believed to have the capacity of providing protection. Invocations and statements of homage, therefore, became an integral element of *rakṣā* literature and *mantras* of a wide range of texts of both the Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna traditions. One of the earliest apotropaic scriptures, the *Dhajagga-sutta* of the Pāli *paritta* collection, references the protective powers of the Buddha and the Three Jewels. By recollecting the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha, fear and anxiety will disappear. The *sūtra* expresses this with the words:

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<sup>63</sup> Skilling 1992: 159.

*evaṃ buddhaṃ sarantānaṃ | dhammaṃ saṅghaṃ ca bhikkhavo | bhayaṃ vā  
chambhitattaṃ vā | lomahaṃso na hessatī ti ||*

(SN I 220.29–32)

For those who recall the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Saṅgha, bhikkhus,  
no fear or trepidation will arise, nor any grisly terror.

(tr. Bodhi 2000: 320f.)

Another *rakṣā* text, the *Vaiśālīpraveśa* of the Tibetan *mahāsūtra* collection, invokes various potent beings in descending hierarchical order. The *mahāsūtra* begins and ends with the order to disperse (Skt. *visarata*), which was transliterated from Sanskrit rather than translated. It then calls upon the wishes or intentions (Tib. *dgongs pa*, *bsams pa*) of all Buddhas, *pratyekabuddhas*, *arhats*, *śaikṣas*, *śrāvakas*, truth-speakers, *dharmas*, Brahmā, Pratyekabrahma, Kāmeśvara, Indra, Deva, the Lord of *asuras* (Skt. *asurendra*), all *asuras*, the messenger of *asuras* (Skt. *asurapreṣya*), and all spirits (Skt. *bhūta*).<sup>64</sup> The Tibetan passage reads:

*bisarata | bisarata | bisarata | bisarata |  
sangs rgyas 'jig rten la thugs brtse ba can gyis bka' stsal to || sangs rgyas  
thams cad kyis dgongs pa | rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyis dgongs pa |  
dgra bcom pa thams cad kyis bsams pa | slob pa thams cad kyis bsams pa |  
nyan thos thams cad kyis bsams pa | bden pa'i tshig smra ba thams cad kyis  
bsams pa | chos rnams kyis bsams pa | 'dod pa'i dbang phyug gis bsams  
pa | tshangs pas bsams pa | tshangs pa so sos bsams pa | dbang po bsams  
pa | lhas bsams pa | lha ma yin gyi dbang pos bsams pa | lha ma yin thams  
cad kyis bsams pa | lha ma yin gyi mngag gzhus pas bsams pa | 'byung po  
thams cas kyis bsams pa |  
bisarata | bisarata | bisarata | bisarata |*

(Skilling 1994a: 569f.)

Central to a large number of *rakṣā* texts is the cult of the Seven Buddhas, who reveal magical formulas, and are also believed to possess the power to provide protection and methods of healing. The earliest appearance of the Seven Buddhas in *rakṣā* scriptures happens in the *Khandavatta-jātaka* (Jā 203), a parallel to the *Khanda-paritta*, which delivers verses for the protection from snakebite. There we find a statement of homage to the group of the Seven Buddhas, which reads:

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Skilling 1997a: 593f. for a summary of this *rakṣā* passage.

*katā me rakkhā, katā me parittā, paṭikkamantu bhūtāni,  
so 'haṃ namo bhagavato namo sattannaṃ sammāsambuddhānaṃ 'ti.*

(Jā II 147.22–25)

My protection is complete, my safeguard has been done. May ghosts shrink back!

I (pay) homage to the Blessed One and the Seven Buddhas!

Further statements of homage to the Seven Buddhas occur in the Pāli *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta* (DN III 195.27–96.10), which refers to each of the Buddhas listing their names: Vipassi (Skt. Vipāśyin), Sikhi (Śikhiṇ), Vessabhu (Viśvabhū), Kakusanda (Krakucchanda), Koṇāgamana (Kanakamuni), Kassapa (Kāśyapa), and Aṅgīrasa (Śākyamuni).<sup>65</sup> Similar phrases appear in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, which give the Buddhas' names, and also mention the trees under which the Buddhas found their awakening:

*aśokam āśritya jino vipaśyī | śikhī jinaḥ puṇḍarīkasya mūle,  
śālasya mūle upagamy viśvabhūt | śirīṣamūle krakucchandabrāhmaṇaḥ.  
buddhaś ca kanakamuni udumbare | nyagrodhamūle upagamy kāśyapaḥ,  
aśvatthamūle muni śākyapuṅgavaḥ | upetya bodhiṃ samavāpya gotamaḥ.  
eteṣu buddheṣu maharddhikeṣu | yā devatāḥ santi atiprasannāḥ,  
tā devatā muditamanā udagrāḥ | kurvantu śāntiṃ ca śivaṃ ca nityaṃ.*

(Takubo 1972: 13.17–14.3)

The Jina Vipāśyin, resting on the *aśoka* [tree's feet], the Jina Śikhiṇ on the *puṇḍarīka* [tree's] feet;

Viśvabhū having reached the feet of the *śāla* [tree], the brāhmin Krakucchanda the feet of the *śirīṣa* [tree];

The Buddha Kanakamuni the *udumbara* [tree's feet], Kāśyapa having reached the feet of the *nyagrodha* [tree];

The sage, the Śākyā hero Gotama having approached the feet of the *aśvattha* [tree] and having attained awakening;

<sup>65</sup> The same statement of homage in the Sanskrit equivalent can be found in a manuscript from Turfan. Cf. SHT III 903r5f.: *namo vipaśyisya namo śikhisya namo vaiśravasya na[mo] (k)[r](akasundasya) namo [kanakamu]nisya namo kaśyapasya namo [śa]k[y]am(unisya).*

Those gods who are very favourable towards these Buddhas of great power,  
may those delighted and joyful gods always bestow peace and prosperity.

Interestingly, Vipāśyin is said to have found his awakening under the *aśoka* tree, whereas in other literary works he is associated with the *pāṭali* tree.<sup>66</sup> There seems to be some relationship between the *Mahāmāyūrī* and the early depictions of the trees of five of the Seven Buddhas at Bhārhut, where Vipāśyin, like in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, is displayed with the *aśoka* tree, what can be unmistakably identified by the accompanying inscription.<sup>67</sup>

From early times, Buddhists invoked *nāgas* for the purpose of bringing about rain. The association of *nāgas* with rainfall goes back to their overall ability to control water resources. The most important source for rain rituals, and thus invocations of *nāgas*, is represented by the *Mahāmegha-sūtra*.<sup>68</sup> An early fifth century Chinese translation attributed to Dharmakṣema (414–421 CE) provides a short instruction part for a rain ritual (Taishō 387.12.1094b24–28):

If there is a head of a state who wishes to cause rain, [after] six days of fasting, the king should clean and wash himself. Then he should offer worship to the three gems, praising them humbly. Then he should invoke the name of the *nāgarāja*. O son of good family! There will be a transformation in the nature of the four *mahābhūta* elements. For one reciting and retaining this mantra, there is no place that heaven will not send down rain.

(tr. Davidson 2017: 158f.)

The next group of potent beings that enters the stage as protectors are the Four Great Kings who guard the four cardinal directions, each of them with a huge retinue of supernatural beings living in their realm. And so, the Four Great Kings decorated pillar reliefs at the cardinal points of the *stūpa* at Bhārhut, though only three of the pillars are preserved. The *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra*,<sup>69</sup> and the *Mahāmāyūrī*<sup>70</sup> first describe each king and his companions and conclude with the following verse:

<sup>66</sup> Cf. for example the *Mahāpadāna-sutta* D II 4, and the *Nidānakathā* Jā I 41ff.

<sup>67</sup> Lüders (1963: 82, no. B 13) reads the inscription as: *bhagavato Vipasino bodhi* “The Bodhi tree of the holy Vipasi (Vipāśyin).”

<sup>68</sup> For an abridged edition and translation of the Sanskrit original, see Bendall 1880.

<sup>69</sup> Waldschmidt [1932] 1979: 171, 173.

<sup>70</sup> Takubo 1972: 17.

*pūrveṇa dhṛtirāṣṭras tu dakṣiṇena virūḍhakaḥ | paścimena virūpākṣaḥ  
kuberaś cottarām diśi || catvāra ete mahārājā lokapālā yaśasvinaḥ | diśaś  
catasraḥ pālayanti mahardhikā mahābalāḥ ||*

(Hoffmann [1939: 65, 67] 1987: 49, 51)

Im Osten Dhṛtirāṣṭra, im Süden Virūḍhaka, im Westen Virūpākṣa und Kubera in der nördlichen Himmelsgegend: Diese vier Großkönige, die berühmten Welthüter, schützen die vier Himmelsgegenden, große Zaubermacht und große Kraft besitzend.

(tr. Hoffmann [1939: 99f.] 1987: 83f.)

The cult of the Four Great Kings also features in chapter six of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* (*Caturmahārājaparivarta*), where it is said that a human king receives well-being and protection of the Four Great Kings for himself and his kingdom by honouring the *sūtra*. Moreover, the Four Great Kings will watch over, guard, and protect all people.<sup>71</sup> In the *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavātī*, the Four Kings destroy evil creatures together with another divine being acting as a guardian, Vajrapāṇi, who is believed to protect the Buddhist *dharma* and its supporters.<sup>72</sup> The following passage refers to him as the great leader of the *yakṣas*:

*yo graho na muñcet saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyeva mañjarī |  
vajrapāṇiś cāsyā mahāyakṣasenāpatir vajreṇādīptena samprajvālitenā  
ekajvālībhūtena dhyāyitvā mūrdhānam sphoṭayet | catvāraś ca mahārājāno  
'yomayena cakreṇa kṣuradhārā prahāreṇa vināśayeyuḥ |*

(Hidas 2017: 473f.)

If a Graha does not release, his head will split into seven like the blossom of the Arjaka plant. Vajrapāṇi, the great leader of the *Yakṣas*, will attentively

<sup>71</sup> “We, the four great kings, dear Lord, together with the twenty-eight great generals of the *Yakṣas*, will continually watch over, guard, and protect the whole of Jampudvīpa with our divine eye, which is pure and surpasses human eyes. For this reason, dear Lord, the name world-protector has been ascribed to us four great kings. Whatever regions, dear Lord, in this Jampudvīpa will be smitten by a foreign army, will be oppressed by the affliction of hunger, by the affliction of illness, by hundreds of different oppressions, by thousands of oppressions, by hundreds of thousands of oppressions, we, dear Lord, the four great kings, will give encouragement to those monks who keep the *Suvarṇabhāsa*, king of *sūtras*” (tr. Emmerick [1970] 2001: 25).

<sup>72</sup> On the history of Vajrapāṇi and the transformation of this Lord of the *yakṣas*, see Lamotte 1966, and Snellgrove 2002: 134–141.

break his head with a blazing, burning and single-flamed vajra. The Four Great Kings will destroy him with an iron discus and the stroke of a razor-edge.

(tr. Hidas 2017: 480f.)

It is, therefore, not surprising that Vajrapāṇi is invoked in the formulas of several apotropaic scriptures and requested to provide protection. References include SHT III 846: Dhāraṇī. Beschwörung des Vajradhara (Vajrapāṇi),<sup>73</sup> and the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. A protective spell, which applies a *vajradhara-mantra*, can be found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.<sup>74</sup> The respective passages in the Chinese *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* reads as follows:

并執金剛神 常衛護我某甲 并諸眷屬

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b25)

Together with Vajrapāṇi always protect me and others together with our kinsmen!

The invocation of Vajrapāṇi in the Tibetan *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* reads:

*bdag dang sems can thams cad lag na rdo rje dang lhan cig tu 'jigs pa thams cad dang | nad thams cad dang | dug thams cad dang | rims thams cad dang | gdon thams cad dang | gdug pas zin pa thams cad dang | chom rkun thams cad dang | mi dang | mi ma yin pa thams cad dang | 'jigs pa dang | gnod pa dang | nad 'go ba thams cad dang | 'thab pa dang | rnyog pa dang | sdig pa dang | rtsod pa dang | 'gyed pa dang | mtshang 'dru ba thams cad dang | lus dang | ngag dang | yid kyis ngan par spyad pa thams cad dang | thams cad du 'jigs pa thams cad las srungs shig | srungs shig |*

(D 313 at 163b1–3)

<sup>73</sup> SHT III 846 r3, v8: *namo vajradharāya saparavārāya*. Waldschmidt (1971: 90 n. 2) notes in this respect: “Aufforderungen an den Angerufenen sind zahlreich, manchmal mit Namensnennung: *nīlāmya-vajradhara sma(ra) nayam* (V 9–10); *vajrapāṇi karmā* (für *karma*) *m-ādhi-krama ... samayaṃ tiṣṭha* (R 3); *svāra* (für *smara* ?) *vajrapāṇi* (sic, R 5–6).”

<sup>74</sup> Bendall [1897–1902] 1970: 140.13–16: *athavānena sarvavajradharamantreṇa rakṣāṃ kuryāt | namas traiyabdhikānāṃ tathāgatānāṃ sarvavajradharānāṃ caṇḍāla | cala | vajra | śāntana | phalana | cara | māraṇa | vajradālaphaṭa | lalitaśikhara samantavajriṇi | jvala | namo 'stu te agrograsāsānānāṃ raṇa haṃ phula sphāṭa vajrottame svāhā ||*

Together with Vajrapāṇi protect me and all sentient beings, from all fears and all diseases, all poisons, all sickness, all evil spirits, everything afflicted with miseries, all thieves, all human beings and non-human beings, fright, harm-doers, and all infections, battle, trouble, evil deeds, conflict, dispute, weakness, and evil practices of body, speech, and mind, and from all fears at all times! Protect us!

In the *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa*, different female *rākṣasīs* dwelling in different directions protect human beings. The first *rakṣā* passage with the two *rākṣasīs* Candraprabhā and Sūryaprabhā in the eastern direction is then repeated three times exchanging the names of the *rākṣasīs* and their directions: Sugriṇī and Vasugriṇī in the eastern direction, Caṇḍinī and Upacaṇḍinī in the southern direction, and Dṛṣyā and Mahādṛṣyā in the western direction. The text reads as follows:

*asti māriṣa purastimāyāṃ diśi dve mahārākṣasi prativasataś Candraprabhā  
nāma Sūryaprabhā ca sahasraparivāre te mānuṣikāṃ prajāṃ rakṣāṃ  
guptiṃ balaṃ phāṣaṃ suhasparśavihāratāyai paripālayataḥ pathagatā apy  
utpathagatā api ārāmagatā api śunyāgāragatā api ca tasraḥ*

(Bendall et al. 1996: 82f.)

There are, Good Sir, two great *rākṣasīs* dwelling in the eastern direction named Candraprabhā and Sūryaprabhā. They, together with their retinues [five] thousand strong, protect human beings so that they may remain safe, secure, strong, in comfort and in pleasure, whether they are on the right path or have gone astray, whether they are in pleasure gardens or in deserted houses.

(tr. Bendall et al. 1996: 96)

Female protectors are also prominent in the *svastigāthās*, a compendium of protective verses preserved in the Tibetan canon, in verses called \**Āśīrvāda-gāthā* (Tib. *Shis par brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa*).<sup>75</sup> The same verses are transmitted independently in the *Lalitavistara*, the *Mahāvastu*,<sup>76</sup> and the *Diśāsauvastika-sūtra*.<sup>77</sup> In this short metrical text, the Buddha bestows a verse blessing upon the merchants

<sup>75</sup> D 4405, Q 728, 1048, 5949.

<sup>76</sup> For a summary of the verses transmitted in the *Lalitavistara* and the *Mahāvastu*, see Bareau 1959.

<sup>77</sup> For Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Diśāsauvastika-sūtra*, see SHT I 660, with additions in vol. IV: 340f., SHT XI 4376 and 4391, Wille 1996: 387f., and Tournier 2016: 407–438. For a related Uighur text, see Radloff/von Staël-Holstein 1910, and Yakup 2006.

Trapuṣa and Bhallika. The beings invoked are 32 celestial maidens (Skt. *devakanyā*), 28 constellations (Skt. *nakṣatra*), the Four Great Kings, eight *śramaṇas*, *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, and gods, as summarized in the concluding verses:

*aṣṭāviṃśati nakṣatrā saptasapta caturdiśam |*  
*saha candramasūryehi triṃśati bhonti-m-anūnakam ||*  
*dvātriṃśati devakanyā ca aṣṭa-aṣṭa caturdiśam |*  
*catvāro ca mahārājā lokapālā yaśasvinaḥ |*  
*prajvalamānā varṇena rakṣanti te caturdiśam ||*  
*purimakāṃ dhṛtarāṣṭro paścimakāṃ virūdhako |*  
*dakṣiṇāṃ ca virūpākṣo kubero uttarāṃ diśām ||*  
*aṣṭa śramaṇā brāhmaṇā janapadeṣu kṣatriyā |*  
*aṣṭa sa-indrakā devā sadā rakṣam karontu vo ||*

(Tournier 2016: 433)

Twenty-eight constellations, seven for each of the four quarters, together with the sun and the moon, they make thirty in total.

Thirty-two celestial maidens, eight for each of the four quarters, and four great kings, illustrious protectors of the world, blazing with their colour, guard the four directions.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra [guards] the eastern [direction], Virūdhaka, the western, Virūpākṣa the southern, and Kubera [guards] the northern direction.

Eight *śramaṇas* and [eight] *brāhmaṇas*, [eight] *kṣatriyas* in the provinces, eight gods together with Indra, may they constantly guard you.

(tr. Tournier 2016: 437)

Female beings, especially goddesses, play a significant role in *rakṣā* literature. The *mantras* of a great number of texts invoke the names of female deities through a series of feminine vocatives. Among others they include *ghori*, *gauri*, *gandhāri*, *caṇḍālī*, *mātaṅgi*, *pukkasi*, *drāmiḍi*, and *śābari*.<sup>78</sup> The names of these goddesses denote women from outcaste and tribal groups.<sup>79</sup> The occurrence of the positive effects of the *rakṣā mantras* is thus ascribed to goddesses invoked. Though the names of these goddesses vary slightly between different versions, the scribes or

<sup>78</sup> For *mantras* of the *Mahāgaṇapati-vidyā* invoking goddesses in a Śaiva context, see Sanderson 2007: 199f. n. 16.

<sup>79</sup> On the outcaste goddess Mātaṅgī, see Kinsley 1998: 209–222.



translators clearly drew on a common stock of female deities, which appear in the *mantras* of numerous *rakṣā* texts (see table below for quotations from a wide variety of *rakṣā* texts).

The names of the female deities invoked in the *mantras* of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* read:

SHT III 816 v3–4

*piśāci paṃnaśabharīḥ (śa)naśabhari piśā(c)i*

SI 2044 3v5

*(māta)ṅgī caṇḍi ghorī gandhārī corī caṇḍilī*

Taishō XXI 1362 at 882a15–17 and 882b27–28

*gaurī gandhari caṇḍali matamgi, śabari mahāśabari  
piśāci pārṇāśabari*

D 313 at 162b5–6 and 163b3–4

*gaurī, gandhārī, caṇḍālī, mātāṅgī, pukkāsī, bramhani, drāmiḍī, drāmiḍī,  
śabarī, śabarī, śabarī, mahāśabarī  
piśācī pārṇāśabari*

Table 18: Invocation of female deities.

Text	Quotation
<i>Ārya-avalokiteśvaramātānāma-dhāraṇī</i> (D 725 at 201b2)	<i>gau ri   gandha ri drā ma te mā tanggi   pukkā si   kaṣṭhā ya   mā tsaṇḍa lī</i>
<i>Ārya-cauravidhvansananāma-dhāraṇī</i> (D 629 at 67a6)	<i>gau ri   gandha ri   tsaṇḍa li   ma taṇ gi   pūkka si  </i>
<i>Ārya-drāviḍa-vidyā-rāja</i> (De 2009: 42)	<i>gau ri   gan dhā ri   tsaṇḍā li   mā tangi   [...] śavari śavari</i>
<i>Asilomapratīśara</i> (SHT I+IV 60 5r1–2, 8v1)	<i>namo ghorisya namo gandharisya</i>
<i>Ātīnātīka-sūtra</i> (Hoffmann 1987: 33, 35) (Skilling 1994: 511, 553)	<i>ghorī gandhārī corī caṇḍālī sopakke gau ri   gan dhā ri   ma taṇ gi   tsaṇḍa li</i>

Table 18 (continued)

Text	Quotation
<i>Bhadrakarātri-sūtra</i> (SHT III 816 v3–4) (SI 2044 3v5) (D 313 at 162b5)  (D 313 at 163b3–4)	<i>paṃnaśabharīḥ śanaśabhari piśāci mātaṅgī caṇḍi ghorī gandhāri cori caṇḍilī gauri, gandhāri, caṇḍālī, mātaṅgī, pukkasi, bramhani, drāmiḍī, drāmiḍī, śabari, piśācī pārṇaśabari</i>
<i>Mahābala-sūtra</i> (Bala 24.36f.)	<i>śa ba ri śa ba ri śa ba ri   ma taṅ gi   caṇ da li</i>
<i>Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavātī</i> (Hidas 2017: 467.1–2)	<i>gauri gandhāri caṇḍālī mātaṅgi</i>
<i>Mahāmāyūrī</i> (Takubo 1972: 18)	<i>mātaṅgi caṇḍali puruṣa nīci nīci nigauri gandhāre caṇḍali mātaṅgi mālini hili hili āgati gati gauri gandhāri</i>
<i>Mahāpratisarā</i> (Hidas 2012: 178)	<i>gauri caṇḍālī mātaṅgi varcasi sumati pukkasi śavari śāvari śaṅkari dramīḍī drāmiḍī raudriṇi</i>
<i>Megha-sūtra</i> (Bendall 1880: 306)	<i>jāṅgule pukkasi brahmaṇi mātaṅgi</i>
<i>Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa</i> (Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 83)	<i>ghori gandhāri sopakke</i>
<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra</i> (Vaidya 1960b: 234)	<i>gauri gandhāri caṇḍālī mātaṅgi pukkasi</i>
SHT III 846 r7	<i>śabari śābari śābari mātaṅgacaṇḍālī</i>

Female deities are represented in reliefs at the great *stūpas* at Bhārhut, Sāñcī, Bodh-Gayā, Amarāvātī, and other ancient sacred sites,<sup>80</sup> together with the Seven Buddhas, the Four Great Kings at the gateways in the four cardinal directions, *yakṣas*, and *nāgas*. These depictions presuppose a well-established – presumably oral – tradition and figurative prototypes by the end of the second century BCE, which eventually found their way into magical circles. These beings, which serve an apotropaic role, thus created a protective circle along the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* of the *stūpas*. Skilling convincingly concludes that “[t]he *stūpas* themselves imply the existence of a lore and liturgy which belongs in part to the *rakṣā* literature.”<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> See Willis 2016 for figures of protective goddesses from Amarāvātī.

<sup>81</sup> Skilling 1992: 163.

Many of the potent beings, who introduce magical formulas, are also believed to possess the power to provide protection. These beings are beseeched by the Buddhists through invocations and statements of homage, which became a central feature of *rakṣā mantras* and texts. The effectiveness of protective texts is thus ascribed to the beings invoked, including the Three Jewels, past Buddhas, female deities, and protectors, such as the Four Great Kings and Bodhisattvas.

#### 5.2.4 Who is protected?

By now, it is evident that *rakṣā* texts found widespread application among Buddhist practitioners since the earliest times. Yet, the question arises of what the texts themselves tell us about their audiences. For whom were the texts written, by whom were they to be used, and who actually employed them? Often, the recipient is not explicitly mentioned. Instead, protection is sought for all living beings as expressed in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. The Chinese text reads:

擁護諸眾生      令離病憂怖  
不祥及惡夢      險路常安隱

(Taishō XXI 1362 at 882b4–5)

All sentient beings are protected and cured. Should disease, grief, fear and misfortune come near, or in the case of an unwholesome dream and calamity, happiness will always be received.

The text of the Tibetan version reads:

*sems can thams cad srung shing sel | nad dang mya ngan 'jigs skye dang |*  
*rmi lam mi shis mya ngan du | brjod na dpal du byed par 'gyur |*

(D 313 at 163a4–5)

All sentient beings are protected and cured. If this is recited in times of disease, pain, fear of rebirth, and sorrow caused by inauspicious dreams, glory will arise.

The *Mahāpratisarā* refers to sons and daughters of good families,<sup>82</sup> Brahmins, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras,<sup>83</sup> monks and nuns, laymen and laywomen, kings and princes who should write down, memorise, and recite the spell:

*kaḥ punar vādo ya imāṃ mahāpratisarāṃ dhāraṇīm śrāddhaḥ kulaputro  
vā kuladuhitā vā bhikṣur vā bhikṣuṇī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā rājā vā  
rājaputro vā brāhmaṇo vā kṣatriyo vā tadanyo vā yaḥ kaścit sakṛc  
chroṣyati śrutvā ca mahatyā śraddhayā gauraveṇādhyāsayena likhiṣyati  
likhāpayiṣyati dhārayiṣyati vācayiṣyati tīvreṇa manasā bhāvayiṣyati  
parebhyas ca vistareṇa saṃprakāśayiṣyati*

(Hidas 2012: 185)

[T]he faithful son or daughter of good family, a monk or nun, a layman or laywoman, a king, a prince, a Brahmin or a Kshatriya or anybody else who once hears this Great Amulet *dhāraṇī* and having heard it writes it down, gets it written down, memorises it and recites it with great faith, respect and determination, meditates upon it with sharp mind and reveals it to others in detail.

(tr. Hidas 2012: 246f.)

The main purpose of one of the oldest Buddhist protective texts, the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra*, is to protect monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen living in remote areas meditating in the forest from the potential dangers of evil *yakṣas*. They are instructed to learn and memorize the spells of this discourse for their protection and well-being, as well as to overcome troubles and pacify fierce beings. The respective passage reads:

*santi bhadanta bhagavataḥ śrāvakā bhikṣavo bhikṣuṇya upāsakā upāsikā  
ye 'raṇyavanaprasthāni prāntāni śayanāsanāny adhyāvasanti | santi cātra  
vyāḍā yakṣā amanuṣyā naivāsikā ye bhagavatpravacane 'bhiprasannā  
anabhiprasannāś ca | [...] sādhu bhadanta bhagavataḥ śrāvakā bhikṣavo  
bhikṣuṇya upāsakā upāsikā idam evātānāṭikam sūtram vi(dyām rakṣām  
pādavandanīm vistareṇ)odgrhṇīyur (dhārayeyur ātmano guptaye rakṣāyai  
sukhasparśavihāratāyā anabhiprasannānām vyāḍānām yakṣā)ṇām*

<sup>82</sup> Hidas 2012: 128: *sahaśravaṇamātreṇāyaṃ mahābrāhmaṇa tasya kulaputrasya vā kuladuhitur vā sarvāpāpavinirmuktir bhavati*. “Great Brahṃā, merely upon hearing, this liberates the son or daughter of good family from all misdeeds” (tr. Hidas 2012: 213).

<sup>83</sup> Hidas 2012: 166: *brāhmaṇe īśvaro lekhyāḥ kṣatriyeṣu maheśvaraḥ | śūdreṣu sadā saumyaṃ cakrasvāminam ālikhet || vaiśyeṣu vaiśravaṇam indram caiva sureśvaram |* “For a Brahmin one should paint Īśvara, for a Kshatriya Maheśvara, For Shudras one should always paint the benevolent Cakrasvāmin, For Vaishyas one should paint Vaiśravaṇa and Indra, the Lord of the Devas” (tr. Hidas 2012: 237).

*amanuṣyāṇāṃ naivāsikānāṃ abhiprasā(dāyābhi)prasann(ā)nāṃ ca [bhū](yobhāyāya |)*

(Hoffmann [1939: 51–53] 1987: 35–37)

Es gibt, o Ehrwürdiger, Jünger des Erhabenen, Mönche und Nonnen, Laienanhänger und Laienanhängerinnen, die in Waldwildnissen gelegenen, einsamen Lagerstätten sich aufhalten. Und dort befinden sich böse Yakṣa-Ortsdämonen, die der Verkündigung des Erhabenen ergeben, und solche, die ihr nicht ergeben sind. [...] Gut mögen, o Ehrwürdiger, des Erhabenen Jünger, Mönche und Nonnen, Laienanhänger und Laienanhängerinnen dieses Ātānāṭika-Sūtras, (-Zauberformel, -Schutzzauber, -Fußverehrung in vollem Umfang) lernen (und behalten zu ihrem Schutze, zur Bewachung, zum Wohlsein und um die nicht ergebenen bösen) Yakṣa-Ortsdämonen zur Ergebenheit zu bringen wie um die ergebenen zu vermehren.

(tr. Hoffmann [1939: 96f.] 1987: 80f.)

This passage makes two points clear: what kinds of people need protection, and what they need protection against. First of all, the text was written for the fourfold Buddhist assembly, monks and nuns, lay men and lay women. For the second point, the Buddhist community needs to be protected when they are living in isolated places, the wilderness. This idea finds full correspondence in the *Dhvajāgra-sūtra*, which teaches monks dwelling in solitude how to evade fright, consternation, and anxiety. The *Dhvajāgra-sūtra* runs thus:

*sati vo bhikṣava araṇyagatānāṃ vā vṛkṣamūlagatānāṃ vā śūnyāgāra-gatānāṃ vā utpadyeta bhayaṃ vā chambitatvaṃ vā romaharṣo vā māṃ yūyaṃ tasmīṃ samaye ākārataḥ samanumarata | [...] māṃ vas tasmīṃ samaye ākārataḥ samanumaratām | yad utpatsyate bhayaṃ vā chambita-tvaṃ vā romaharṣo vā tat prahāsyate |*

(Waldschmidt [1959: 9f.] 1967c: 379f.)

Falls euch, ihr Mönche, wenn ihr in der Einöde weilt, am Fuße eines Baumes weilt oder in einem (menschen)leeren Hause weilt, Furcht, Entsetzen oder Schauern befällt, so erinnert euch zu dieser Zeit an mich, (meinen) Attributen nach, [...] Wenn ihr euch zu dieser Zeit an mich (meinen) Attributen nach erinnert, so wird, was an Furcht, Entsetzen oder Schauern euch befallen sollte, vergehen.

(tr. Waldschmidt [1959: 9f.] 1967c: 379f.)

Other protective texts, like the *Diśāsauvastika-sūtra* and the *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* I, are particularly designed for travelling merchants who set out on long and precarious journeys.<sup>84</sup> The verses of the *Diśāsauvastika* promise protection for travellers at any time, in whatever direction they might go. Therefore, the main body of the text is divided into four parts, each including invocations of divine beings who watch over the respective cardinal direction. The text thus establishes a protective circle. Two verses of the introductory blessing of the *Diśāsauvastika* also occur in different sets of verses in the *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* I (verses 3, 4),<sup>85</sup> the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* (verses 14, 15),<sup>86</sup> the *Mahāmāyūrī*,<sup>87</sup> the Chinese translation of the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (Taishō II 125 at 727b8–c2),<sup>88</sup> in a late Nepalese *Svasti-vākya* (verses 3, 4),<sup>89</sup> and twice in the *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* (verses 14, 15).<sup>90</sup> In the *Mahāvastu*, they are the verses two and three of the blessing pronounced by the Buddha upon the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika. The complete introductory blessing reads as follows:

*diśāṃ sauvatthikaṃ divyaṃ maṅgalyaṃ arthasādhakaṃ |*  
*yaṃ śrutvā sumanā sarve sarvārthāṃ sādhaiṣyatha ||*

*svasti vo dvipade bhotu svasti bhotu catuṣpade |*  
*svasti mārge vrajantānāṃ svasti pratyāgateṣu ca ||*

<sup>84</sup> For the role of merchants in Buddhism, see *Introduction: Road Map for Travelers* in Neelis 2011: 1–63.

<sup>85</sup> Skilling 1994a: 284: *khyed kyi rkang gnyis bde legs shing || khyed kyi rkang bzhi bde legs shog | khyed cag lam zhugs bde legs shing || phyir ldog pa na'ang bde legs shog | mtshan mo bde legs nyin bde legs || nyi ma'i gung la bde legs shing || khyed cag kun tu bde legs la || khyed la sdig pa ma 'byung shig ||*

<sup>86</sup> Skilling 1994a: 582: *rkang gnyis khyed cag bde legs shog | rkang bzhi khyed cag bde legs shog | khyed cag lam 'gro bde legs shog | phyir 'ong dag kyang bde legs shog | nyin mo bde legs mtshan bde legs || nyi ma'i gung la'ang bde legs shin || khyed cag kun tu bde legs shog | khyed cag sdig par ma gyur cig |*

<sup>87</sup> Takubo 1972: 14: *svasti vo dvipade bhotu | svasti vo 'stu catuṣpade | svasti mārgevrajaṭāṃ ca svasti pratyāgateṣu ca || svasti rātrau svasti divā svasti madhyāmdine sthite | sarvatra svasti vo bhotu mā caiṣā pāpam āgamat ||*

<sup>88</sup> For a translation of the verses, see Matsuda 2000: 24f.

<sup>89</sup> Skilling 1994a: 756: *svasti vo dvipade bhontu svasti vo 'stu catuṣpade | svasti vo vrajaṭāṃ mārge svasti pratyāgateṣu ca || svasti rātrau svasti divā svasti madhye dine sthite | sarvatra svasti vo bhontu mā caiṣāṃ pāpam āgamat ||*

<sup>90</sup> Skilling 1994a: 614f., 620: *svasti vo dvipade bhontu svasti vo 'stu catuṣpade | svasti vo vrajaṭāṃ mārge svasti pratyāgateṣu ca || svasti rātrau svasti divā svasti madhyāmdine sthite | sarvatra svasti vo bhontu mā caiṣāṃ pāpam āgamat ||*

*svasti rātrau svasti divā svasti madhyandine sthite |*  
*sarvatra svasti vo bhotu mā ca vo pāpam āgame ||*

*śirī vo dakṣiṇe skandhe śirī vāme pratiṣṭhitā |*  
*śirī vo aṃgamaṃgeṣu mālā va supraṭiṣṭhitā |*  
*bhadraṃ vo bhadraśirī vo vāṇijā bhadraṃ astu vo ||*

(Tournier 2016: 426)

The [four] directions are [respectively] propitious, heavenly, auspicious and profitable. Having heard that, o benevolent ones, you shall succeed in all matters.

May welfare be granted to you bipeds, may welfare be granted to [your] quadrupeds, welfare to [you] who set out on the road and welfare to [you] who return.

Welfare at night, welfare during the day and welfare at noon, may there always be welfare and may no evil occur to you.

[May] good fortune rest on your right shoulder, [may] good fortune rest on your left shoulder, [may] good fortune be well installed on all your limbs, like a garland. Prosperity to you, prosperity and good fortune to you, o merchants, may prosperity be yours.

(tr. Tournier 2016: 434)

The *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra*, like the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* and *Ratnaketu-parivarta* from Gilgit, gives ritual instructions to seal the boundaries of the state, and thus provides protection of the state.<sup>91</sup> The respective passage reads:

*tena rāṣṭrasya sīmābandhayitukāmena susnātena triśuklabhuktena*  
*pañcāmiṣaparivarjitena sarvamānuṣa śikṣāpadaparigrhītena sarvasattva-*  
*samacittena vastrābharaṇayuktena grāmanagaranigama śṛṅgāṭakakulāny*  
*apa-gatasamkārakūṭāni kṛtvā madhyamāyām rājadhānyām puṣpāvakīrṇām*  
*dharāṇīm kṛtvā nānāgandhā dhūpayitavyāḥ | [...] divase divase caikavāraṃ*  
*vidyā āvartayitavyā | evaṃ rāṣṭraḥ parimocito bhaviṣyati |*

(Hidas 2013: 234f.)

He who wishes to seal the boundaries of the state, having bathed well, having taken the three white foods, having avoided the five ‘meaty’ foods, having taken up all the precepts, having generated equanimity towards all

<sup>91</sup> For more examples for the protection of the state or the ruling king from other texts, see Schopen 1978: 363–367.

beings, having put on [clean] clothes and ornaments, having cleared the heaps of rubbish in villages, towns, market-towns, crossways and residences and having scattered flowers on the ground in the middle of the royal capital, should burn various incense. [...] Each day this spell should be recited once. Thus the state will be saved.

(tr. Hidas 2013: 236f.)

The close relation between the Buddhist community and the ruling kings at Gilgit is also evident from the colophons of various manuscripts, in which they are mentioned as donors for whom protection will be granted. Donors' names of local rulers not only appear in colophons, but were also inserted into the *dhāraṇī* or protective formula itself. As von Hinüber demonstrated in this regard, one folio of a *dhāraṇī* (page 2305), which was – mistakenly as it seems – put into the *Samghāṭa-sūtra*, contains a *rakṣā* formula that leaves space for the later insertion of a donor's name: "This is a text kept in reserve and not yet used in a ritual of protection, because there is a space left blank where a name would be filled in: ... *rakṣa rakṣa mama* – blank – *sarvasatvānāṃ* ...".<sup>92</sup>

This assumption is further supported by the fact that in the case of two Gilgit manuscripts of the *Mahāpratisarā*, the donors' names were filled in by a different hand from that of the scribe of the main text (GBMFE page 1082, lines 4f.; page 1141, line 3).<sup>93</sup> This shows that it was widespread custom to copy a text and prefabricate manuscripts to be used in ritual practices for the protection and well-being of the manuscript's donor. The same phenomenon of inserted names in protective formulas and colophons written by another scribe can be seen in manuscripts from Central Asia and Nepal, the most illustrative being perhaps the *Daśabala-sūtra* (SHT I 507) described by Waldschmidt:

In den nächsten drei Reihen folgt eine Dhāraṇī, die sich ähnlich am Ende eines jeden Bala wiederholt. Nach bhavatu ist der Rest der ersten Reihe ausgelöscht, doch ist svāhā (in anderen Fällen auch yā svāhā) noch gut zu lesen. In der zweiten Reihe findet sich jedes Mal, von einer anderen Hand mit dem Pinsel und viel größer geschrieben, lālāvinyāyā svāhā, was offenbar die Berichtigung des Ausgelöschten in der vorigen Reihe geben

<sup>92</sup> Von Hinüber 2014: 80f. See also von Hinüber 1979, 1981, 2004.

<sup>93</sup> The formulas of the Gilgit manuscripts of the *Mahāpratisarā* with inserted names read e.g.: *rakṣa rakṣa mama Dinaśīnasya. ye mama Trailokadevisya ahitaiśīṇas teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ śarīraṃ jvālaya. svastir bhavatu mama Maṇikeasya. ye mama Śābyakhātunenasya ahitaiśīṇas. rakṣa rakṣa mama Vāyuphunasya* (Hidas 2012: 30 n. 22).



soll. Dann folgt mitten in einem größeren freien Raum vor Beginn des nächsten Bala: *mālyika svāhā*, was wieder in der zierlichen Schrift der ursprünglichen Teile der Handschrift geschrieben ist.<sup>94</sup>

The added word *lālāvinyāyā* most probably represents the name of the new owner of the manuscript. Hartmann and Wille pointed to an old Turk origin of this name.<sup>95</sup> Hartmann and Wille established the old Turk origin of another name, which appears in a scroll with various apotropaic texts (SHT I 499): *Vidyāsthānopama-sūtra: rakṣaṃ bhavatu | kutkāttuṃsasya svāhā ||*. The same holds true for the name found in a colophon of another text of the same scroll: *rakṣaṃ me bhagavati | mā[m]. [m]. mā kiccikkis\* nyāyabodhicittam*.<sup>96</sup>

To summarize, the recipients of protection and well-being can generally be assigned to two groups: the beneficiary mentioned in a *rakṣā* text and the actual user of a text, whose name has been inserted in the manuscripts' colophons or in the *mantra* itself. The audiences of *rakṣā* texts usually include sons and daughters of good families, the fourfold Buddhist assembly, and especially monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen living in remote areas in wilderness. Some texts are specifically designed for travelling merchants, or provide protection of the state. Historical textual witnesses show that a *rakṣā* text was not only employed once in a protective rite by the local rulers and people, but that manuscripts were prefabricated and even reused.

### 5.2.5 Ritual instructions

Throughout *rakṣā* literature we find numerous prescriptions on the employment of spells and the use of protective *sūtras* the recipient must follow in order to achieve the benefits given in the protective scriptures. These ritual instructions, especially popular in later, post-canonical compilations, became a characteristic component in ritual *rakṣā* practices. Protection and welfare are not only granted through mere recitation of *mantras* and *sūtras*, but the recipient should furthermore take up, preserve, reflect upon, and teach others the expositions of the scriptures.

<sup>94</sup> Waldschmidt [1932: 231] 1979: 35 n. 21.

<sup>95</sup> Hartmann/Wille 2010: 384 n. 56: „Lala‘ ist Bestandteil von alttürkischen Namen, und das in der nächsten Zeile folgende *mālyika* ist gewiß ebenfalls ein Eigenname.“

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Hartmann/Wille 2010: 383. More examples of donors' names can be found in the same place.

These kinds of directives can be found in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* where it is said that all sentient beings will be entirely protected, when one apprehends, recites, and teaches others the whole discourse including the prose narratives, as well as the verses and *mantras*. This passage reads in the Chinese version:

若有苾芻苾芻尼鄔波索迦鄔波斯迦及餘善男子善女人等。於此善夜經中。若一伽他若一句咒。讀誦受持供養尊重。明解其義為他演說。當知是人於一切時無諸災厄。亦無枉橫及諸衰惱

(Taishō XXI 1362 882a23–26)

If a monk, nun, lay man or lay woman as well as any son and daughter of good family etc. recites, memorizes, worships with respect and explains the meaning of the discourse, the verses, the prose and the *mantras* of the Discourse on an Auspicious Night to others, you should know that this person will never meet any misfortune, calamities and suffering.

A similar statement occurs in the Tibetan translation of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*:

*dge slong rigs kyi bu'am | rigs kyi bu mo gang la la zhig gis sems can thams  
cad rjes su bsrung ba'i phyir mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo sde 'di'i don  
dang | tshig dang | tshigs su bcad pa dang | 'gro lding ba'i sngags kyi gzhi  
'chang ngam | 'dzin tam | klog gam | yid la byed dam | kun chub par byed  
dam | gzhan dag la'ang rgya cher yang dag par ston na | de'i lus la mes mi  
tshugs par 'gyur |*

(D 313 at 162b7–163a2)

Monk, when any son of a good family, any daughter of a good family, in order to protect all sentient beings, holds, keeps, recites, concentrates on, masters, or even teaches others extensively, and in detail the meaning, the prose and the verses, and the *mantrapadas* of Drāmiḍa of this Discourse on an Auspicious Night, fire will not harm their bodies.

Other texts give even more extensive instructions on the ritual use of protective formulas. The preparation of potent objects, such as a knotted string of thread, a talisman, or an amulet containing a sheet of paper, birchbark, or cloth inscribed with *mantras*, as well as copying the text and turning it into a book, and the depositing of apotropaic objects as relics into *stūpas*, appear to be the most prominent practices mentioned in *rakṣā* texts. Other ritual uses prescribe the preparation of a *maṇḍala*,

the application of medicinal herbs, and the fastening of the spell on a flagstaff over a *caitya*, which should be worshipped and circumambulated.

The use of strings in ritual practices constitutes one major feature in the *paritta* ceremony of the Theravāda school. The monks hold on a white thread twisted around a pot of water while reciting *parittas*. The same thread is passed over to the laymen participating in the ritual.<sup>97</sup> The instruction passages in the *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī* guide the preparation of a knotted string of thread with the protective *mantra* recited into a knot, which should be worn on the forearm or around the neck.<sup>98</sup> Additionally, offerings of fragrances, flowers, or seals should be done to secure protection. The text of the *Mahā-daṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī* runs as follows:

*asyāṃ khalu rāhula mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī vidyāyāṃ antaśo 'ṣṭottaraśata-padānāṃ sūtraṃ granthiṃ baddhāyāṃ hastena dhāryamāṇāyāṃ kaṇṭhena dhāryamāṇāyāṃ samantād yojanaśatasya rakṣā kṛtā bhaviṣyati | gandhair vā puṣpair vā mudrābhir vā naiva manuṣyo vāmanuṣyo vābhibhaviṣyati | na viṣaṃ na śastraṃ na rogo na jvaro na prajvaro na vidyāmantro na vetāḍaḥ |*

(Hidas 2017: 472)

O Rāhula, if one [recites and] ties this Great Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī Spell of an altogether hundred-and-eight *padas* into a knot on a thread and [it is] worn around the forearm or the neck, protection will be established all around up to one hundred *yojanas*. By [offering] fragrances, flowers or seals neither humans nor non-humans will come near, [similarly] to poison, weapons, sickness, fever, high fever, spells, mantras and Vetālas.

(tr. Hidas 2017: 480)

Tying strings around the body also forms part of the ritual instruction of another protective *dhāraṇī*, the *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya-dhāraṇī*, where it is used to cure fever and to protect against demons:

<sup>97</sup> For a description of the *paritta* ceremony, see further Waldschmidt 1967a, and de Silva 1981.

<sup>98</sup> Hidas (2012: 33 n. 40.) points to further references to the preparation of protective threads. These appear in the *Mekhalā-dhāraṇī* (cf. Tripāṭhī 1981: 157), the *Hayagrīva-vidyā* (cf. Dutt 1939: 44.10), the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* (cf. Iwamoto 1937a: 41f.), and the *Mahāmāyūrī* (cf. Takubo 1972: 58).

*sarvajvareṣu sūtrakam bandhayitavyam | sarvavyādhiṣu ghr̥tam tailam  
udakam vā parijāpya dātavyam | kākhordacchedanam śastreṇa | rakṣā  
sūtreṇa | udarasūlena lavanodakam | viśanāśanam mṛttikayā udakena vā |  
cakṣuroge śvetasūtrakam karṇṇe bandhayitavyam |*

(Meisezahl 1962: 325)

A string must be tied for every kind of fever. For all diseases melted butter or sesame oil or water is to be used whilst reciting over them. The evil demons are to be killed with the sword; [white] thread will protect against them. Salted water is to be used for stomach-ache. Poisoning to be treated with argillaceous earth or with water. White thread is to be tied to the ear in case of sore eyes.

(tr. Meisezahl 1962: 298)

The same text also gives instructions for the application of medicinal herbs, and making a talisman (*maṇi*) out of them, which should be worn on the head or the upper arm. This talisman will bring about prosperity and avert misfortune. The passage in the *Amoghapāśaḥḍaya-dhāraṇī* reads:

*jayā vijayā | nākulī gandhanākulī | vāruṇī | abhayapāṇi | indrapāṇi |  
gandhapriyaṅgu | tagara cakrā | mahācakrā | viṣṇukrāntā | somarājī |  
sucandanā ceti | eṣāṃ yathāśambhavataḥ | aṣṭottaraśatavārāṇ parijāpya  
maṇim kṛtvā śīrasi bāhau vā dhārayitavyam | bālānām gale | nārīṇām  
vilagne | svayam paramasaubhāgyakaraṇam | alakṣmīpraśamanam  
putradañ ca || etena maṇinā bandhena sarvarakṣā kṛtā bhavati | viśāgnir  
nnākramati | viśakṛtam notpadyate | utpannā api na pīḍāñ janayiṣyanti |  
śīghram praśamayiṣyanti |*

(Meisezahl 1962: 326)

After having recited [the *Hṛdaya*] hundred-eight times over the medicinal herbs *jayā*, *vijayā*, *nākulī*, *gandhanākulī*, *cāriṇī*, *abhayapāṇi*, *indrapāṇi*, *gandhapriyaṅgu*, *tagara*, *cakrā*, *mahācakrā*, *viṣṇukrānta*, *somarājī* and *sunandā*, a talisman is to be made [from them] which must be put on the head or on the upper arm; boys [wear it] around the neck and girls around the waist. It will be the cause of great prosperity, elimination of misfortune and bestowing with children. When the talisman is worn, every possible protection is assured. Poison and fire shall not approach. Poisoning shall not occur, and if [such a case] were possible, it will be cured quickly.

(tr. Meisezahl 1962: 299)

The ritual instructions in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardana-sūtra* prescribe another way of using the protective formula. Having comprehended, memorised, recited, taught, and mastered it, one should write the *sūtra* down and turn it into a book:

*imaṃ bhadanta bhagavan mahāsāhasrapramardanaṃ sūtrarājaṃ sarva-grahapramocanīyaṃ buddhamudrādharmaparyāyaṃ yaḥ kaścic chikṣā-padaṃ parigrhītvā kāśāyadhārī udgrhya dhārayitvā vācayitvā deśayitvā paryavāpya likhitvā granthayitvā dhārayiṣyati tasya sarve iti bhayopadravopasargopāyāsā vairakalikalahavigraha bhaṇḍanavivādā yāvat paiśunyaḥ kūṣāṇḍa dharmā nābhikramiṣyanti | ajayaś ca bhaviṣyati sarvaviheṭhakebhyah |*

(Hidas 2013: 234)

Venerable Lord, whoever, having taken up the precepts and wearing a robe, retains this Crushing of the Great Thousand Sūtra King that liberates from all Grahas and that is a teaching with the seal of the Buddhas, having comprehended, memorised, recited, taught and mastered it and having written it down and made it into a book, to him no calamities, dangers, trouble, misfortune, irritations, hostility, discords, strifes, disputes, arguments, quarrels and even slanderous and unwholesome things will go near. He will be invincible by all those who injure.

(tr. Hidas 2013: 235f.)

The directive to write down the protective formula or *dhāraṇī* in book form (*dhāraṇīm pustake likhitvā*) is a prevalent element of a number of *rakṣā* texts, and can also be found in the *Ratnaketu-parivarta*:

*yaḥ kaścic bhagini rājā kṣatriyo mūrdhābhiṣikto janapadasthāmaprāpta imāṃ ratnaketudhāraṇīm pustake likhitvā dhārayiṣyati [...] anekāni ca devanāgayakṣagandharvakoṭīnayaśatasahasrāṇi tasya rājñah kṣatriyasya pṛṣṭhataḥ samanubaddhā rākṣānuguptaye sthāsyanti |*

(RKP 39)

Sister, whatsoever anointed kṣatriya king has obtained power over a people, and after having written in book form this *Ratnaketudhāraṇī* will preserve it [...]. And several koṭis of nayutas of hundreds of thousands of devas, nāgas, yakṣas, and gandharvas will continue to follow behind that anointed kṣatriya king for the sake of guarding and protecting him.

(tr. Schopen 1978: 364)

Similar prescriptions occur in a number of Mahāyāna sūtras. They are related to the predominance of the cult of books and their importance as objects of worship in these texts. Books function as sacred and powerful objects, and provide protection by their presence. This becomes clear from many textual evidences. Especially informative is the following passage from the *Abhisamayālaṃkāṛālokā-prajñā-pāramitāvyaḥkhyā* being a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.<sup>99</sup> This text does not only contain a long list of directives, but also the “escape clause” or limitations to its efficacy due to one’s past *karma* also common to some *rakṣā* texts. The respective passage reads:

*yatra khalu punaḥ Kauśika kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā imāṃ prajñā-pāramitāṃ likhitvā pustakagatāṃ kṛtvā pūjāpūrvaṅgamam sthāpayiṣyati pūjayiṣyati tatra Kauśika ye kecit Cāturmahārājakāyikeṣu deveṣu devaputrā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambodhau samprasthitās te ‘pi tatr’ āgantavyaṃ maṃsyante | te ‘pi tatr’ āgatyaināṃ prajñāpāramitāṃ pustakagatāṃ prekṣiṣyante vandiṣyante namaskariṣyanty udgrahīṣyanti dhārayiṣyanti vācayiṣyanti [...] tasya khalu punaḥ Kauśika kulaputra vā kuladuhitur vā grhaṃ vā layanaṃ vā prāsādo vā surakṣito bhaviṣyati | na ca tasya kaścid viheṭhako bhaviṣyati sthāpayitvā pūrvakarmavipākena ||*

(AA 254.8–19; 258.17–21)

Moreover, O Kauśika, wherever a son or daughter of good family, after having made it [i.e., the Perfection of Wisdom] into a book will – intending it above all for worship – set it up, will worship it, to that place, O Kauśika, all the sons of gods among the gods of the Four Great Kings who have set out for the most excellent, complete and perfect awakening will think they must come. Having come there they will gaze at it, will venerate it, render it honor, take it up, preserve it, recite [or read] it, etc. ... [then the same is said for a very long list of other categories of gods]. Moreover, Kauśika, the house, cell or mansion of that son or daughter of good family will come to be well protected, and there will be nothing that can harm him, except as a consequence of a previous action.

(tr. Schopen 2010: 49)

<sup>99</sup> On the book as sacred object in Mahāyāna sūtras, see Schopen 2010. Other examples quoted there include the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā*, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* from Gilgit, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra*, the *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*, and the *Sarvadharmaguṇavyūharāja-sūtra* and *Buddhabalādhāna-prātihāryavikurvāṇanirdeśa-sūtra* both from Gilgit.

Yet, *dhāraṇī*s should not only be written down in book form, but also carried on the body, and tied around the neck, as it becomes clear from the instruction passage in the Tibetan translation of the *Sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśodhanī-dhāraṇī*:

*rtag tu bzlas brjod byas na las gcig tu brgyud pa thams cad rnam par dag  
par 'gyur ro | ... lus la 'chang ngam glegs bam la bris nas mgul du thogs te  
'chang na de la dus ma yin par 'chi ba rnams gtan du 'byung bar mi 'gyur  
ro |*

(after Schopen 2012: 283)

If one recites the *dhāraṇī* constantly the whole series of his past acts would be purified/cleansed ... If one carries it on his person or if, having written it in a book and tying it around his neck, he wears it, for him the untimely death would never occur.

(tr. Schopen 2012: 283)

Although it is not quite clear from this passage whether only the *mantra*, which merely takes up a single line, or the whole *sūtra*, which takes up less than both sides of one folio should be written down into a book, it is obvious that the term *glegs bam* (Tib. for “book, leaves gathered between boards”) here, judging from the very short length of either possibility, refers to something much more like a portable booklet or amulet. This amulet is then to be worn around the neck. A similar injunction to write down the *sūtra* and to tie it around the body can be found in the Tibetan *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*:

*gang gis bris te skyes pa dang. bud med lus la btags na ni | skal pa bzang  
dang gzi brjid dang | de yi dpal yang skye bar 'gyur |*

(D 313 at 163a 4–5)

Whoever writes it down, man or woman, if he or she ties it around the body, good fortune, splendour and glory will arise for them.

The practice of wearing a string of thread or an amulet around the body is well attested in ritual practices of various traditions, and was already deeply rooted in Brahmanical contexts before it entered Buddhist circles. Thus, the use of protective

threads or amulets is first attested in texts like the *Atharvaveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*.<sup>100</sup>

It is not known when exactly the amulet use became an integral part of Buddhist protective rituals. In Gandhāra we find depictions of Bodhisattvas wearing a thread with small boxes presumably containing amulets as early as the second century CE.<sup>101</sup> It is evident from textual finds from Central Asia, like the *Asilomapratīśara* (SHT I+IV 60) and *Mahāpratisarā*, that the amulet cult was fully developed by the middle of the first millennium.<sup>102</sup> The *Mahāpratisarā* seems to be the most popular text incorporating this cult saying that its *mantra* together with other illustrations and ornaments should be painted on birchbark or cloth with bezoar or saffron and, enclosed in an amulet, worn around the neck or arm.<sup>103</sup>

Archaeological finds prove that at least some of the above-mentioned ritual prescriptions of *rakṣā* texts were carried out in the late medieval period, and became a very popular cult and widespread practice, especially in Central Asia and China. In 1944, archaeologists discovered a tomb in Chengdu, China and excavated a skeleton wearing a silver armlet on the upper right arm. This armlet turned out to be an amulet containing the *dhāraṇī* of the *Mahāpratisarā* in Sanskrit and in Chinese translation

<sup>100</sup> In his article *On Dhāraṇī and Pratisarā*, Sen (1965: 68) quotes an example extracted from the *Atharva-saṃhitā* 8.5: *ayaṃ pratisaro maṇir vīro vīrāya badhyate* “This mighty, magically potent amulet is tied for the protection of the mighty man.”

<sup>101</sup> For a study on Bodhisattva images from Gandhāra carrying a string of charm boxes, see Pal 2006: 101–103.

<sup>102</sup> References to the use of amulets with an inscribed spell occur in the *Vijayavatī-pratyāṅgirā-dhāraṇī* (cf. Waddell 1914: 93), the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-buddhakṣetra-sandarśana-vyūha* (cf. Dutt 1939: 74.15), and the *Ārya-sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣasitātapatrā-nāmāparājītā-pratyāṅgirā-mahāvidyārājīṇī* (cf. Samten/Pandey 2002: 153.16–18) (references borrowed from Hidas 2012: 34 n. 40). Fragment 38 of a manuscript from Turfan, described and transliterated by Hartmann/Wille (2010), mentions birchbark or cloth as writing material for *rakṣā* texts. Hartmann and Wille cite some selected passages, which show the use of protective formulas as amulets (2010: 385f. Anhang III: Belege für Birkenrinde als Material für Rakṣā). These passages include: the *Mahāmāyūrī* (cf. Takubo 1972: 129.22–130.2), the *Mahāpratisarā* (cf. Hidas 2012: 164.5), the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Mmk(V) 35.5–7), the *Ratna-mālāvadāna* (cf. Takahata 1954: 448.33–449.2), and an unidentified fragment edited in SHT VII: 269. See also the entry on amulets in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* (Malalasekera et al. 1961–1965, Vol. I, fasc. 3: 493–502) for the use of protective amulets in China, Japan, Tibet, and Śrī Lāṅkā.

<sup>103</sup> The *Mahāpratisarāvidyāvidhi*, an auxiliary text of the *Mahāpratisarā*, is a ritual manual describing how to prepare a protective circle (Skt. [*rakṣā*] *cakra*) or amulet of the *Mahāpratisarā*. For a critical edition and translation of this text, see Hidas 2010.



of the eighth century.<sup>104</sup> In the following years more amulets from Dunhuang inscribed with the *Mahāpratisarā*- as well as the *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* came to light.<sup>105</sup> Two tenth century woodblock prints from the Mogao Caves, Dunhuang dedicated to Avalokiteśvara and Amitābha, were evidently produced to serve as amulets. These xylographs contain spells in Sanskrit written in Siddham characters and Chinese inscriptions giving the titles of the spells and descriptions of benefits and instructions for their use. They must have been folded, wrapped, and worn on the body.<sup>106</sup>

Another ritual instruction can be found in a set of five *dhāraṇīs*, which prescribe to deposit the entire text or the *mantra* passage into *stūpas* or images as relics. Four of these texts are mentioned in Rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan's (1147–1216) manual on the four different types of relics to be deposited in *stūpas*, *Arga'i cho ga dang rab tu gnas pa don gsal ba*. The four *dhāraṇīs*, the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya*, the *Vimaloṣṇīṣa*, the *Guhyadhātukaraṇḍa*, and the *Bodhigarbhālāṅkāralakṣa*, along with the *Pratītyasamutpāda* classified as a group called the “Five Great *Dhāraṇīs*”, represent the fourth kind of relics, the relics of the *dharmakāya*. The fifth *dhāraṇī*, which is not mentioned by the manual, is the *\*Rāsmivimalaviśuddhāprabhā-dhāraṇī*.<sup>107</sup> The passage on the *dharmakāya* relics reads as follows:

The present topic is the method of inserting relics and so forth into *stūpas* so that they abide there. In general, there are four types of relics: 1. bodily relics, 2. bodily relics which are like mustard seeds, 3. hairs and nails, which are called relics of the garb, 4. *dhāraṇīs*, which are called relics of *dharmakāya*. The relics of *dharmakāya* are the five *dhāraṇīs* taught to be placed in *stūpas*: *Uṣṇīṣavijaya*, *Vimaloṣṇīṣa*, *Guhyadhātukaraṇḍa*, *Bodhigarbhālāṅkāralakṣa*, *Pratītyasamutpāda*. Furthermore, the lamas taught that

<sup>104</sup> For a closer description of this amulet sheet, see Drège 1999, and Copp 2014: 59–63.

<sup>105</sup> For an amulet inscribed with Tibetan letters, see Lalou 1936. For more amulet sheets inscribed with the *Mahāpratisarā* in Central and East Asia, see Copp 2008a, and Tsiang 2010: 218–238. For *Mahāpratisarā maṇḍalas* depicting the *Mahāpratisara* deity surrounded by the *Mahāpratisarā mantra* from Dunhuang, see Sørensen 1991–92: 295–298.

<sup>106</sup> The instruction part in Chinese of one of the xylographs reads in translation: “[...] The four assemblies are universally encouraged to keep and wear this [amulet] to create a karmic basis [for a good fortune] and it is also avowed that they [will] ascend together to the true and eternal wonderful fruit” (tr. Hidas 2014:113).

<sup>107</sup> It is widespread custom to inscribe these six *dhāraṇīs* on *tsha tshas* (clay impressions) to be inserted inside *stūpas*, shrines, and sacred sites all over the Asian Buddhist world. Cf. Namgyal Lama 2013.

writing mantras endowed with blessings that appear in the tantras and sūtras and inserting them so as to abide [in stūpas] would [produce] immeasurable merit and great blessings.<sup>108</sup>

It is clear from rich evidence that the instructions were actually put into practice, and that the way these texts were used is precisely in agreement with their teachings. Thus, the four *dhāraṇīs* were discovered installed in *stūpas* or images all over the Indian subcontinent and throughout the Buddhist world.

The *Vimaloṣṇīṣa* formula was stamped on a small clay tablet enclosed in a terracotta image of the Buddha, unearthed from a *stūpa* at Paharpur, Bangladesh. The same *dhāraṇī* was also discovered on birchbark strips in a *stūpa* at Gilgit,<sup>109</sup> and on seals from Bodh-Gayā and Śrāvastī.<sup>110</sup> In Ratnagiri it was found on the back of an image of the Bodhisattva Lokeśvara. Mitra reads the inscribed *dhāraṇī* in the following form:

*om straiyadhve sarvvatathāgataḥṛdayagarbhe jvala dharmmadhātugarbhe  
saṃbhara āyūṃ saṃśodhaya pāpaṃ sarvvatathāgatasamantoṣṇīṣa vimala-  
viśuddhe svāhā.*

(after D. Mitra 1981: 104)

The *dhāraṇī* of the *Guhyadhātukaraṇḍa* was engraved on six granite tablets in northeastern Nāgarī dating to the ninth century found to the southeast of the northern Dagoba at the ancient site of Abhayagiriya in Śrī Laṅkā. Though the Sanskrit version seems to be lost, there is a Tibetan translation of it, which explains the benefits from depositing a copy of this text in a *stūpa* as follows:

Vajrapāṇi then says: ‘If, O Blessed One, someone made a copy of this text and put it into a *stūpa*, what root of merit would be produced?’ The Buddha answers by saying that ‘if someone made a copy of it and put it into a *stūpa*, that *stūpa* would become a *stūpa* of the relics of the ‘essence’ of *vajra* of all *Tathāgatas* [...], it would become a *stūpa* of ninety nine

<sup>108</sup> Bentor 1995: 256. These texts, or at least some of them, were oftentimes transmitted together, which can be seen from a multiple-text manuscript from the Pelliot Collection of Tibetan manuscripts (PT 350) from Dunhuang, which contains the following *dhāraṇīs*: the *Bodhi-garbhālaṃkāralakṣa-dhāraṇī*, the *Āryoṣṇīṣavimāla-dhāraṇī*, and the *Pratītyasamutpāda-hṛdaya* followed by a *mantra*. All of these texts open with a similar phrase, an instruction to place the entire text either in a shrine or a *stūpa* (cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1994).

<sup>109</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 2004: 14–16, nos. 4a, 4b, 4c.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Lawson 1985: 709.

millions of *Tathāgatas*, etc. (113–4–5ff.), and that if someone did *pūjā* to that *stūpa* he would become ‘irreversible’ from awakening, be freed from rebirths in the hells, be protected from malignant *nāgas*, frost, hail, poison, animals, and disease and sickness. The same benefits would result if the text were put into an image.<sup>111</sup>

Extracts from the *Bodhigarbhāḥlakṣa-dhāraṇī* were found inscribed on a stone slab from Cuttack, Orissa and on terracotta tablets from Nālandā, dating probably from the sixth to about the ninth centuries.<sup>112</sup> Further stamps with the *Bodhi* come from Śrāvastī, Ratnagiri, Kashmir, Hund, and Qunduz.<sup>113</sup> The inscription on the Cuttack stone with the instruction to write down the *dhāraṇī* and to deposit it in a *stūpa* reads as follows:

*yaḥ kaścid bhikṣur vā bhikṣuṇī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā | anyo vā yaḥ  
kaś[c]i[t] śrāddhaḥ kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā [i]māṃ dhāraṇī[m]  
[i]kh[i]tvā 'bhya[m]tara[m] prakṣīpya caitya[m] [kari]ṣyati | tenaikena  
caityena kṛtena lakṣam tathāgatacaityānāṃ kṛtaṃ bhavati |*

(Schopen [1985] 2005: 328)

Whatsoever monk or nun or layman or woman, or whatsoever other devout son or daughter of good family, after having written this *Dhāraṇī*, after having deposited it inside, will make a *caitya*, by that single *caitya* being made a hundred thousand *caityas* of the Tathāgata are (in effect) made.

(tr. Schopen [1985] 2005: 329)

After the translation of the *\*Rāsmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī* into Chinese in 704 CE (Taishō IXX 1024: *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing*) and its transmission to the Korean peninsula, the *sūtra* as well as its individual *dhāraṇīs* were enshrined in a number of *stūpas* throughout Korea, China, and Japan during the eighth century. The *dhāraṇī* was also found in several Sanskrit inscriptions from Yunnan.<sup>114</sup> The text instructs people, devout practitioners as well as kings and rulers, to copy the *sūtra* and deposit it into the *stūpa*'s central pillar and around the four sides. By

<sup>111</sup> Schopen 1982: 104.

<sup>112</sup> The text of this *dhāraṇī* was first published by A. Ghosh in 1941–42, yet unidentified. In 1985, Schopen located this text as “an incomplete Sanskrit version of a short and virtually unknown text preserved in the various Kanjurs under the Tibetan title *Byang chub kyi snying po'i rgyan 'bum gyi gzungs*” (Schopen [1985] 2005: 314).

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Strauch 2009: 38–40 for a list of all inscribed objects with the text of the *Bodhi*.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Liebenthal 1947: 23f.

drawing upon the *dhāraṇī*'s power, the *sūtra* then offers protection from dangers of the everyday life as well as protection of the state. The oldest extant printed version of the \**Raśmivimalaviśuddhaprabhā-dhāraṇī* is a woodblock print found in the *Śākyamuni Stūpa* at Pulguk Monastery in Kyongju, South Korea in 1966, a *stūpa* constructed in 751 CE.<sup>115</sup>

In many cases the effects of *rakṣā* texts do not automatically occur through the mere recitation of *mantras* and adherence to other protective devices. *Rakṣā* scriptures give a number of ritual instructions on *rakṣā* practices on the employment of spells and the use of protective *sūtras*. In order to achieve the benefits listed in a text, the recipient should take up, preserve, reflect upon, and teach others the *sūtra*. Further instructions include the preparation of potent objects such as a knotted string of thread, a talisman, or an amulet containing a *mantra*, as well as copying the text and turning it into a book, and the depositing of apotropaic objects as relics into *stūpas*. Epigraphical and archaeological finds prove that the ritual prescriptions of *rakṣā* texts were actually put into practice by the Buddhist community and found widespread application all over the Indian subcontinent and throughout the Buddhist world. The amulet sheets, seals, and inscribed objects found in *stūpas* and images suggest a complex history of Buddhist religious practices in which short *dhāraṇīs* with ritual prescriptions and instructions on how to employ the formulas took over an important role as a substantial part of Buddhism as a practiced religion. *Rakṣā* texts and later *dhāraṇīs* became the primary source for apotropaic practices rather than the canonical scriptures.

### 5.2.6 The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings

Another *rakṣā* element is the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings, which occurs in the SI manuscript, as well as in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* in slightly different readings (see table below).

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<sup>115</sup> Cf. Tsiang 2010: 207–213. For a study of this text and its central role as ritual guidebook and cultic object in medieval Sinitic Buddhism, see McBride 2011.

Table 19: The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings as preserved in the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*.

SI 2044 3v1–2	Taishō XXI 1362 at 882a9–10	D 313 at 162b2–3
<i>sukhinaḥ sarve satvā hi sarve satvā nirāmayāḥ sarve bhadrāṇi paśyaṃtu ma kaś cit pāpam agamaḥ</i>	常願諸有情 離苦獲安樂 不造諸惡業 恒修於眾善	<i>sems can kun dang srog chags kun   'byung po kun dang thams cad kyang   bde ba 'ba' zhig grub gyur te   thams cad nyon mongs med par shog   thams cad bzang po mthong gyur te   gang yang sdig par ma gyur cig   </i>
May all beings be happy, may all beings be healthy. May they all experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anybody.	May all sentient beings always be free from afflictions and attain happiness. May no evil whatsoever befall. May they always experience auspiciousness.	May all sentient beings, all living beings, and all <i>bhūtas</i> , everyone, only attain happiness. May they all be free from afflictive emotions. May they all experience auspiciousness. Whosoever may he not fall into evil.

The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings became a popular verse for protection and blessing, and enjoyed widespread popularity from the Indian subcontinent to Central Asia, and even spread as far as Indonesia, as can be seen from numerous text examples and inscriptions. The verse can be found twice in the Tibetan translation of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, in the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* and its parallel the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. It also appears in the *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*, the Sanskrit counterpart of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa*, preserved in a Nepalese manuscript, and in the *Nityakarmapūjāvidhi*. In the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Upasena-sūtra* and its Pāli parallel, the *Khanda-paritta*, and in the Bower Manuscript, the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings comes after the four *maitrī* verses against snakebite.<sup>116</sup> (See table 20 below for the readings of the verse for the welfare of all beings in the aforementioned sources.)

<sup>116</sup> For the *maitrī* verses against snakebite, see chapter 1.5.1 of the present work.

Table 20: The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings in other sources.

<i>Vaiśālīpraveśa- mahāsūtra</i> (Skilling 1994a: 602)	<i>Mahāmantrānusārinī</i> (Skilling 1994a: 620)	<i>Mahāmāyūrī</i> (Takubo 1972: 6)	<i>Upasena-sūtra</i> (Waldschmidt [1957] 1967b: 40)	<i>Khanda-paritta</i> (AN II 73.4f.)	Bower Manuscript (Hoernle 1897: 225)
<i>sens can kun dang srog chags kun    'byung po kun dang khyed cag kun   </i>	<i>sarve satvāḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve bhūtās ca kevalāḥ sarve vai sukhinah santu sarve santu nirāmayāḥ sarve bhadraṇi paśyantu mā kaścit pāpam āgamat</i>	<i>sarve satvāḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve bhūtās ca kevalāḥ sarve vai sukhinah santu sarve santu nirāmayāḥ sarve bhadraṇi paśyantu mā kaścit pāpam āgamatu</i>	<i>sarve satvāḥ sarve prāṇāḥ sarve bhūtās ca kevalāḥ sukhinaḥ sarve satvā hi sarve satvā nirāmayāḥ sarve bhadraṇi paśyantu mā caiśāṃ pāpam āgamat</i>	<i>sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā</i>	<i>sarve satvā sukho bhontu sarve bhontu anāmayā sarve bhadraṇi paśyaṇtu mā kaścha pāpam āchare</i>
May all sentient beings, all breathing beings, All living beings, and all of you Know naught but happiness. May all illness be banished; May all see the auspiciousness; May no evil whatso'er befall.	All sentient beings, all living beings, all <i>bhūtas</i> , everyone. May they all be happy, may they all be healthy. May they experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anyone.	All sentient beings, all living beings, all <i>bhūtas</i> , everyone. May they all be happy, may they all be healthy. May they experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anyone.	May all beings be happy, may all beings be healthy. May they all experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anyone.	May all beings, all living things, all creatures, everyone, meet with good fortune; may nothing bad come to anyone.	May all beings enjoy happiness, may all enjoy health; may all experience pleasure, and may no one practice sin.
(tr. Skilling 1997a: 596)				(tr. Bodhi 2012: 455)	(tr. Hoernle 1897: 229)

Parts of the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings can also be found on inscribed tablets from Maisūru, Karṇāṭaka, and Java, Indonesia.<sup>117</sup> A stone tablet from Ḍambaḷ, in the Dhārṇwāḍ District, Mysore (Karṇāṭaka), bearing an image of Tārā, carries a lengthy inscription, written in Old-Kannāḍa language, dating to Śaka era 1017, which corresponds to 1095–96 CE. It records the existence of two Buddhist *vihāras* at Ḍambaḷ in the eleventh century, which were built by Jain merchants of that region, and accounts certain grants to these two *vihāras*. Round the top of the stone there are three verses in Sanskrit comprising the stanza for welfare (verse 2).<sup>118</sup> These verses read:

*Asarbbabhāvena yadṛcchheyā vā parānuvṛttyāvichikitsyā vā ye tvān  
namaśyaṃti munīndrabhadraṃ te śyāṃmarīṃ saṃpadam āpnuvanti ||*

*Sarbbe satvās sarbbe prāṇāḥ sarbbe bhūtās ca kevalāḥ sarbbe vai sukhinaḥ  
santu sarbe santu nirāmayāḥ ||*

*Pāthaspārthivavahniṣūgapavanaprakhyātābhītyākulāprāṇatrāṇavidhāna-  
labdhakaruṇavyāpārachintātūrā prodyattaṣkarasindhusindhuraravivāḷādi-  
saṃkāpahā tārā tūrṇṇavīṭṇṇavāmchhitaphaḷā pāyāt sadā saṃgamaṃ ||*

(Fleet 1881: 187)

Those who do reverence to thee, who are propitious to Munīndras, – (*even though it be*) with imperfect faith, or spasmodically, or from imitation of others, or through mistake, – obtain the good fortune of becoming Śambaras.

May all sentient beings, and all (*who have*) souls, and all who are mere existing beings, – verily may all of them be happy, and all be free from illness!

May (*the goddess*) Tārā, – who is anxiously busied with her exercise of tenderness entailed by preserving (*persons possessed of*) souls who are distressed by the notorious fear of water and kings and volumes of fire and wind; who takes away the dread of bold thieves and oceans and elephants and lions and snakes, etc.; and who quickly confers the rewards that are desired, – always preserve Saṃgama!

(tr. Fleet 1881: 198f.)

<sup>117</sup> These inscriptions are mentioned in Skilling 1997a: 596.

<sup>118</sup> For a description of the stone tablet, as well as a reading and translation of the entire inscription, see Fleet 1881: 185–190, and for corrections, see Burgess 1881: 273f.

Another inscription from Indonesia attests the widespread popularity of the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings. Eleven inscribed gold plates are kept in the National Museum in Jakarta, Indonesia.<sup>119</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have any information on how they got there and where they came from. De Casparis, who published a first reading and translation of these inscriptions in 1956, came to the conclusion that the plates most likely come from Indonesia itself. He defines the script as “a transitional phase between the Pallava script and the Old Javanese script of the oldest period”,<sup>120</sup> which he dates between 650 and 800 CE. These plates were probably deposited as relics in *stūpas* or temples.

The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings occurs twice on two different plates (plates c and j) together with the *ajñānāc cīyate karma* verse, a verse that is only known in Southeast Asian inscriptions and can so far not be traced in any Indian Buddhist text,<sup>121</sup> and the *ye dharmā hetu* formula, though in different order on both plates. The verses run as follows:

*rūpinas*<sup>122</sup> *sarvvasattvā hi sarvve santu nirāmanāḥ*  
*sarvve bhadrāṇi paśyanti mā kaścit pāpam āgamat ||*

*ajñānāc cīyate karma janmanāḥ karma kāraṇaḥ* (sic: read *kāraṇam*)  
*jñānān na cīyate karma karmābhāvat na jāyante* (sic: read *jāyate*) ||

*ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgata uvāca*  
*teṣāñ ca yo nirodhaḥ evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ||*

(De Casparis 1956: 113)

May all beings be happy, may all beings be healthy.

May they all experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anyone.

*Karma* is accumulated because of ignorance, *karma* is the cause of rebirth.

Through wisdom *karma* is not accumulated, in the absence of *karma* one is not reborn.

Of those phenomena that arise from a cause, the Tathāgata told their cause and their cessation. Thus the great ascetic proclaimed.

<sup>119</sup> For a description of these plates and their inscriptions, see Skilling 2015: 31–36.

<sup>120</sup> De Casparis 1956: 49.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Skilling 2015: 18.

<sup>122</sup> We would expect *sukhinaḥ* for *rūpinaḥ*.





## 6 Appendix

### 6.1 The Pāli *suttas*

#### 6.1.1 Text and translation of MN 131

##### Bhaddekarattasuttaṃ<sup>1</sup>

Evaṃ me suttaṃ: Ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. Bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum. Bhagavā etad avoca: Bhaddekarattassa vo, bhikkhave, uddesaṇ ca vibhaṅgaṇ ca desissāmi. Taṃ suṇātha manasi karotha. Bhāsisissāmīti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum. Bhagavā etad avoca:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,  
Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattaṇ ca anāgataṃ.

Paccuppannaṇ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati,  
Asaṃhāraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.

Ajj’ eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?  
Na hi no saṅgaraṃ tena mahāsenena maccunā.

Evaṃ viharim ātāpim ahorattam atanditaṃ,  
Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Kathaṇ ca, bhikkhave, atītaṃ anvāgaceti: evarūpo ahoṣiṃ atītam addhānaṃ ti tattha nandim samanvāneti. Evaṃ vedano ahoṣiṃ atītam addhānaṃ ti tattha nandim samanvāneti. Evaṃ sañño ahoṣiṃ atītamaddhānanti tattha nandim samanvāneti. Evaṃ saṅkhāro ahoṣiṃ atītamaddhānanti tattha nandim samanvāneti. Evaṃ viññāṇo ahoṣiṃ atītam addhānaṃ ti tattha nandim samanvāneti. Evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, atītaṃ anvāgaceti.

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<sup>1</sup> MN 131 at MN III 187–189.

Kathañ ca, bhikkhave, atītaṃ nānvāgameti: evarūpo ahoṣiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ vedano ahoṣiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ sañño ahoṣiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ saṅkhāro ahoṣiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ viññāṇo ahoṣiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, atītaṃ nānvāgameti.

Kathañ ca, bhikkhave, anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati: evarūpo siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ samanvāneti. Evaṃ vedano siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ samanvāneti. Evaṃ sañño siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ samanvāneti. Evaṃ saṅkhāro siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ samanvāneti. Evaṃ viññāṇo siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ samanvāneti. Evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati.

Kathañ ca, bhikkhave, anāgataṃ nappaṭikaṅkhati: evarūpo siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ vedano siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ sañño siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ saṅkhāro siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ viññāṇo siyaṃ anāgataṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha naṇḍiṃ na samanvāneti. Evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, anāgataṃ nappaṭikaṅkhati.

Kathañ ca, bhikkhave, paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati: idha, bhikkhave, assutavā puthujjano ariyānaṃ adassāvī ariyadhammassa akovido ariyadhamme avinīto sappurisānaṃ adassāvī sappurisdhammassa akovido sappurisdhamme avinīto rūpaṃ attato samanupassati, rūpavantaṃ vā attānaṃ, attani vā rūpaṃ, rūpasmiṃ vā attānaṃ. Vedanaṃ attato samanupassati, vedanāvantaṃ vā attānaṃ, attani vā vedanaṃ, vedanāya vā attānaṃ. Saññaṃ attato samanupassati, saññāvantaṃ vā attānaṃ, attani vā saññaṃ, saññāya vā attānaṃ. Saṅkhāre attato samanupassati, saṅkhāravantaṃ vā attānaṃ, attani vā saṅkhāre, saṅkhāresu vā attānaṃ. Viññāṇaṃ attato samanupassati, viññāṇavantaṃ vā attānaṃ, attani vā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇasmiṃ vā attānaṃ. Evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati.

Kathañ ca, bhikkhave, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati: idha, bhikkhave, sutavā ariyasāvako ariyānaṃ dassāvī ariyadhammassa kovido ariyadhamme vinīto sappurisānaṃ dassāvī sappurisdhammassa kovido sappurisdhamme vinīto na rūpaṃ attato samanupassati. Na rūpavantaṃ vā attānaṃ, na attani vā rūpaṃ, na rūpasmiṃ vā attānaṃ. Na vedanaṃ attato samanupassati, vedanāvantaṃ vā attānaṃ,

na attani vā vedanaṃ, na vedanāya vā attānaṃ. Na saññaṃ attato samanupassati, na saññāvantam vā attānaṃ, na attani vā saññaṃ, na saññāya vā attānaṃ. Na saṅkhāre attato samanupassati, na saṅkhāravantam vā attānaṃ, na attani vā saṅkhāre, na saṅkhāresu vā attānaṃ. Na viññānaṃ attato samanupassati, na viññānavantam vā attānaṃ, na attati vā na viññānaṃ, na viññānasmim vā attānaṃ. Evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,  
Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattañ ca anāgataṃ.

Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati,  
Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.

Ajj’ eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?  
Na hi no saṅgaraṃ tena mahāsenena maccunā.

Evaṃ vihāriṃ ātāpiṃ ahorattam atanditaṃ,  
Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Bhaddekarattassa vo, bhikkhave, uddesañ ca vibhaṅgañ ca desissāmi ti iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttan ti.

Idam avoca bhagavā. Attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.

Bhaddekarattasuttaṃ paṭhamam

## One Fine Night<sup>2</sup>

So I have heard. At one time the Buddha was staying near Sāvaththī in Jeta’s Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s monastery. There the Buddha addressed the mendicants: “Mendicants!” “Venerable sir,” they replied. The Buddha said this: “I shall teach you the passage for recitation and the analysis of One Fine Night. Listen and pay close attention, I will speak.” “Yes, sir,” they replied. The Buddha said this:

“Don’t run back to the past, don’t hope for the future.  
What’s past is left behind; the future has not arrived;  
and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.  
Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

<sup>2</sup> Tr. Bhikkhu Sujato 2018: <https://suttacentral.net/mn131/en/sujato> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

Today's the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!  
For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this,  
tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.

And how do you run back to the past? You muster delight there, thinking: 'I had such form in the past.' ... 'I had such feeling ... perception ... choice ... consciousness in the past.' That's how you run back to the past.

And how do you not run back to the past? You don't muster delight there, thinking: 'I had such form in the past.' ... 'I had such feeling ... perception ... choice ... consciousness in the past.' That's how you don't run back to the past.

And how do you hope for the future? You muster delight there, thinking: 'May I have such form in the future.' ... 'May I have such feeling ... perception ... choice ... consciousness in the future.' That's how you hope for the future.

And how do you not hope for the future? You don't muster delight there, thinking: 'May I have such form in the future.' ... 'May I have such feeling ... perception ... choice ... consciousness in the future.' That's how you don't hope for the future.

And how do you falter amid presently arisen phenomena? It's when an uneducated ordinary person has not seen the noble ones, and is neither skilled nor trained in the teaching of the noble ones. They've not seen good persons, and are neither skilled nor trained in the teaching of the good persons. They regard form as self, self as having form, form in self, or self in form. They regard feeling ... perception ... choices ... consciousness as self, self as having consciousness, consciousness in self, or self in consciousness. That's how you falter amid presently arisen phenomena.

And how do you not falter amid presently arisen phenomena? It's when an educated noble disciple has seen the noble ones, and is skilled and trained in the teaching of the noble ones. They've seen good persons, and are skilled and trained in the teaching of the good persons. They don't regard form as self, self as having form, form in self, or self in form. They don't regard feeling ... perception ... choices ... consciousness as self, self as having consciousness, consciousness in self, or self in consciousness. That's how you don't falter amid presently arisen phenomena.

Don't run back to the past, don't hope for the future.

What's past is left behind; the future has not arrived;

and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.

Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

Today's the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!

For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this,  
tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.

And that's what I meant when I said: 'I shall teach you the passage for recitation and the analysis of One Fine Night.'"

That is what the Buddha said. Satisfied, the mendicants were happy with what the Buddha said.

### 6.1.2 Text and translation of MN 132

#### Ānandabhaddekarattasuttaṃ<sup>3</sup>

Evaṃ me suttaṃ: ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā ānando upatṭhānasālayaṃ bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandasseti. Samādapeti samuttejeti sampahaṃseti bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca bhāsati?

Atha kho bhagavā sāyaṇhasamayaṃ patisallānā vuṭṭhito yena upatṭhānasālā ten' upasaṃkhami. Upasaṃkhamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi: Ko nu kho, bhikkhave, upatṭhānasālāyaṃ bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandasseti samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca abhāsīti?

Āyasmā, bhante, ānando upatṭhānasālāyaṃ bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandasseti samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca abhāsīti.

Atha kho bhagavā āyasmantaṃ ānandaṃ āmantesi: Yathā kathaṃ pana tvaṃ, ānanda, bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandasseti samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca abhāsīti?

Evaṃ kho ahaṃ, bhante, bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandassesim samādapesim samuttejesim sampahaṃsesim bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca abhāsim:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappatīkaṅkhe anāgataṃ,

Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattaṃ ca anāgataṃ.

Paccuppannaṃ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati,

Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā-m-anubrūhaye.

Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ; ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?

Na hi no saṃgamaṃ tena mahāsenena maccunā.

Evaṃ viharim ātāpim ahorattaṃ atanditaṃ,

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Kathaṃ c', āvuso, atītaṃ anvāgameti: Evarūpo ahosiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha nandim samanvāneti. Evaṃvedano ahosiṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ ti tattha nandim

<sup>3</sup> MN 132 at MN III 189–191.

samanvāneti. ... (*as in foregoing sutta*) ... Evaṃ kho, āvuso, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,

... (*etc. as above*) ...

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Evaṃ kho ahaṃ, bhante, bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandassesim samādapesim samuttejesim sampahaṃsesim bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca abhāsin ti.

Sādhū sādhū, ānanda, sādhū kho tvaṃ, ānanda, bhikkhū dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesī samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca abhāsī.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Kathaṃ c'. ānanda, atītaṃ anvāgameti? –pe– Evaṃ kho, ānanda, atītaṃ anvāgameti.

Kathaṃ c'. ānanda, atītā nānvāgameti? –pe– Evaṃ kho, ānanda, atitaṃ nānvāgameti.

Kathaṃ c'. ānanda, anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati? –pe– Evaṃ kho, ānanda, anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati.

Kathaṃ c'. ānanda, anāgataṃ nappaṭikaṅkhati? –pe– Evaṃ kho, ānanda, anāgataṃ na paṭikaṅkhati.

Kathaṃ c'. ānanda, paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati? –pe– Evaṃ kho, ānanda, paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati.

Kathaṃ c'. ānanda, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati? –pe– Evaṃ kho, ānanda, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Idam avoca bhagavā. Attamano āyasmā ānando bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandīti.

Ānandabhaddekarattasuttaṃ dutiyaṃ



### Ānanda and One Fine Night<sup>4</sup>

So I have heard. At one time the Buddha was staying near Sāvathī in Jeta's Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's monastery. Now at that time Venerable Ānanda was educating, encouraging, firing up, and inspiring the mendicants in the assembly hall with a Dhamma talk on the topic of the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night.

Then in the late afternoon, the Buddha came out of retreat, went to the assembly hall, where he sat on the seat spread out, and addressed the mendicants: "Who was inspiring the mendicants with a talk on the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night?"

"It was Venerable Ānanda, sir."

Then the Buddha said to Venerable Ānanda: "But in what way were you inspiring the mendicants with a talk on the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night?"

"I was doing so in this way, sir," replied Ānanda. (*And he went on to repeat the verses and analysis as in the previous discourse, MN 131.*)

"That's how I was inspiring the mendicants with a talk on the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night."

"Good, good, Ānanda. It's good that you were inspiring the mendicants with a talk on the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night." (*And the Buddha repeated the verses and analysis once more.*)

That is what the Buddha said. Satisfied, Venerable Ānanda was happy with what the Buddha said.

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<sup>4</sup> Tr. Bhikkhu Sujato 2018: <https://suttacentral.net/mn132/en/sujato> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

### 6.1.3 Text and translation of MN 133

#### Mahakaccānabhaddekarattasuttam<sup>5</sup>

Evam me sutam: Ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati tapodārāme. Atha kho āyasmā samiddhi rattiyaṃ paccūsasamayaṃ paccuṭṭhāya yena tapodo ten' upasaṃkami. Gattāni parisiñcituṃ. Tapode gattāni parisiñcivā paccuttarivā ekacīvaro aṭṭhāsi gattāni pubbāpayamāno. Atha kho aññatarā devatā abhikkantāya rattiyaṃ abhikkantavaṇṇā kevalakappaṃ tapodaṃ obhāsetvā yen' āyasmā samiddhi, ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ uthitā kho sā devatā āyasmantaṃ samiddhiṃ etad avoca:

Dhāresi tvaṃ, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ cāti?

Na kho ahaṃ, āvuso, dhāremi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ cā. Tvaṃ pan', āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ cāti?

Ahaṃ pi kho, bhikkhu, na dhāremi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Dhāresi pana tvaṃ, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti?

Na kho ahaṃ, āvuso, dhāremi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā. Tvaṃ pan', āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti?

Ahaṃ pi kho, bhikkhu, na dhāremi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā. Ugaṇhāhi tvaṃ, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Pariyāpuṇāhi tvaṃ, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Atthasaṃhito, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddeso ca vibhaṅgo ca ādibrahmacariyako ti. Idam avoca sā devatā. Idam vatvā tath' ev' antaradhāyi.

Atha kho āyasmā samiddhi tassā rattiyaṃ accayena yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami. Upasaṃkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā samiddhi bhagavantaṃ etad avoca. Idhāhaṃ, bhante, rattiyaṃ paccūsasamayaṃ paccuṭṭhāya yena tapodo ten' upasaṃkammaṃ gattāni parisiñcituṃ. Tapode gattāni parisiñcivā paccuttarivā ekacīvaro aṭṭhāsiṃ gattāni pubbāpayamāno. Atha kho, bhante, aññatarā devatā abhikkantāya rattiyaṃ ... (*etc. as above*) ... ādibrahmacariyako ti. Idam avoca, bhante, sā devatā. Idam vatvā tath' ev' antaradhāyi.

Sādhu me, bhante, bhagavā bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca desetūti.

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<sup>5</sup> MN 133 at MN III 192–199.

Tena hi, bhikkhu, suṇāhi, sādhukaṃ manasikarohi, bhāssissāmīti.

Evam bhante ti kho āyasmā samiddhi bhagavato paccassosi. Bhagavā etada voca:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,  
Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattaṃ ca anāgataṃ.

Paccuppannaṃ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati,  
Asaṃhāraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā-m-anubrūhaye.

Ajj’ eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ; ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?  
Na hi no saṃgamaṃ tena mahāsenena maccunā.

Evam vihāriṃ ātāpiṃ ahorattaṃ atanditaṃ,  
Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Idam avoca bhagavā. Idaṃ vatvā sugato uttāy’ āsanā vihāraṃ pāvisi. Atha kho tesam bhikkhūnaṃ acirapakkantassa bhagavato etad ahosi: ‘Idaṃ kho no, āvuso, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitvā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā uttāy’ āsanā vihāraṃ pavittṭho.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,  
... (etc. as above) ...

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Ko nu kho imassa bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa vitthārena atthaṃ vibhajeyyāti? Atha kho tesam bhikkhūnaṃ etad ahosi: Ayaṃ kho āyasmā mahākaccāno satthu c’ eva saṃvaṇṇito sambhāvito ca viññūnaṃ sabrahmacārīnaṃ. Pahoti c’ āyasmā mahākaccāno imassa bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa vitthārena atthaṃ vibhajituṃ. Yan nūna mayaṃ yen’ āyasmā mahākaccāno ten’ upasaṃkameyyāma. Upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ mahākaccānaṃ etam atthaṃ paṭipuccheyyāmāti?

Atha kho te bhikkhū yen’ āyasmā mahākaccāno ten’ upasaṅkameyyāma. Upasaṅkamitvā āyasmatā mahākaccānena saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu. Sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vitisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho te bhikkhū āyasmantaṃ mahākaccānaṃ etad avoca: idaṃ kho no, āvuso kaccāna, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitvā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā uttāy’ āsanā vihāraṃ pavittṭho:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Tesaṃ no, āvuso kaccāna, amhākaṃ acirapakkantassa bhagavato etad ahoṣi: 'Idaṃ kho no, āvuso, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitivā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā uttḥāy' āsanā vihāraṃ pavittḥo.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Ko nu kho imassa bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa vitthārena atthaṃ vibhajeyyāti. Tesaṃ no, āvuso kaccāna, amhākaṃ etad ahoṣi: 'Ayaṃ kho āyasmā mahākaccāno satthu c' eva saṃvaṇṇito, sambhāvito ca viññūnaṃ sabrahmacārīnaṃ, pahoti cāyasmā mahākaccāno imassa bhagavatā ... paṭipuccheyyāmāti? Vibhajat' āyasmā mahākaccāno ti.

Seyyathāpi, āvuso, puriso sārattiko sāragesī sārapiyesanañ caramāno mahato rukkhassa titṭhato sāravato atikkamm' eva mūlaṃ atikkamma khandhaṃ sākḥāpalāse sāraṃ pariyesitabbaṃ maññeyya. Evaṃ sampadam idaṃ. Āyasmantānaṃ satthari sammukhībhute taṃ bhagavantaṃ atisitvā amhe etam atthaṃ paṭipucchitabbaṃ maññetha. So h', āvuso, bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti passaṃ passati cakkhubhūto ñāṇabhūto dhammabhūto brahmabhūto vattā pavattā atthassa ninnetā amatassa dātā dhammassāmi tathāgato. So c' eva pan' etassa kālo hoti yaṃ bhagavantaṃ yeva etam atthaṃ paṭipuccheyyātha. Yathā vo bhagavā byākareyya, tathā naṃ dhāreyyāthāti.

Addhā, 'vuso kaccāna, bhagavā jānaṃ jānāti ... kālo hoti yaṃ bhagavantaṃ etam atthaṃ paṭipuccheyyāma. Yathā no bhagavā byākareyya, tathā naṃ dhāreyyāma. Api c' āyasmā mahākaccāno satthu c' eva saṃvaṇṇito sambhāvito ca viññūnaṃ sabrahmacārīnaṃ. Pahoti c' āyasmā mahākaccāno imassa bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa vitthārena atthaṃ vibhajituṃ. Vibhajat' āyasmā mahākaccāno agarukaritvā ti.

Tena h', āvuso, suṇātha sādhukaṃ manas karoṭha, bhāsissāmīti.

Evaṃ āvuso ti kho te bhikkhū āyasmato mahākaccānassa paccassosum. Āyasmā mahākaccāno etad avoca:

Yaṃ kho no, āvuso, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitivā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā uttḥāy' āsanā vihāraṃ pavittḥo:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Imassa kho ahaṃ, āvuso, bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa, evaṃ vitthārena atthaṃ ājānāmi.

Kathaṃ c', āvuso, atītaṃ anvāgaceti? Iti me cakkhuṃ ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti rūpā ti tattha chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa tad abhinandati. Tad abhinandanto atītaṃ anvāgaceti. Iti me sotaṃ ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti saddo ti –pe–. Iti me ghānaṃ ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti ghāndhā ti –pe–. Iti me jivhā ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti rasā ti –pe–. Iti me kāyo ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti me phoṭṭhabbā ti –pe–. Iti me mano ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti dhammā ti chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa tad abhinandati. Tad abhinandanto atītaṃ anvāgaceti. Evaṃ kho, āvuso, atītaṃ anvāgaceti.

Kathaṃ c', āvuso, atītaṃ nānvāgaceti? Iti me cakkhuṃ ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti rūpā ti na tattha chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Na chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa na tad abhinandati. Na tad abhinandanto atītaṃ nānvāgaceti. Iti me sotaṃ ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti me saddā ti –pe–. Iti me ghānaṃ ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti gandhā ti –pe–. Iti me jivhā ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti rasā ti –pe–. Iti me kāyo ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti me phoṭṭhabbā ti –pe–. Iti me mano ahosi atītaṃ addhānaṃ iti dhammā ti na tattha chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Na chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa na tad abhinandati. Na tad abhinandanto atītaṃ nānvāgaceti. Evaṃ kho, āvuso, atītaṃ nānvāgaceti.

Kathaṃ c', āvuso, anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati? Iti me cakkhuṃ siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti rūpā ti appaṭiladdhassa paṭilābhāya cittaṃ paṇidahati. Cetaso paṇidhānapaccayā tad abhinandati. Tad abhinandanto anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati. Iti me sotaṃ siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti saddā ti –pe–. Iti me ghānaṃ siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti gandhā ti –pe–. Iti me jivhā siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti rasā ti –pe–. Iti me kāyo siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti phoṭṭhabbā ti –pe–. Iti me mano siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti dhammā ti appaṭiladdhassa paṭilābhāya cittaṃ paṇidahati. Cetaso paṇidhānapaccayā tad abhinandati. Tad abhinandanto anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati. Evaṃ kho, āvuso, anāgataṃ paṭikaṅkhati.

Kathaṃ c', āvuso, anāgataṃ na paṭikaṅkhati? Iti me cakkhuṃ siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti rūpā ti appaṭiladdhassa paṭilābhāya cittaṃ na paṇidahati. Cetaso appaṇidhānapaccayā na tad abhinandati. Na tad abhinandanto anāgataṃ na

paṭikaṅkhati. Iti me sotam ... Iti me mano siyā anāgataṃ addhānaṃ iti dhammā ti appaṭiladdhassa paṭilābhāya cittaṃ na paṇidahati. Cetaso appaṇidhānapaccayā na tad abhinandati. Na tad abhinandanto anāgataṃ na paṭikaṅkhati. Evaṃ kho, āvuso, anāgataṃ na paṭikaṅkhati.

Kathañ c', āvuso, paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati? Yañ c', āvuso, cakkhum yeva ca rūpā ubhayam etaṃ paccuppannānaṃ, tasmim yeva paccuppanne chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa tad abhinandati. Tad abhinandanto paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati. Yañ c', āvuso, sotam yeva ca saddā –pe–. Yañ c', āvuso, ghānaṃ yeva ca gandhā –pe–. Yā c', āvuso, jivhā yeva ca rasā –pe–. Yo c', āvuso, kāyo yeva ca phoṭṭhabbā –pe–. Yo c', āvuso, mano yeva ca dhammā ubhayam etaṃ paccuppannaṃ ... paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati. Evaṃ kho, āvuso, paccuppannesu dhammesu saṃhīrati.

Kathañ c', āvuso, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati? Yañ c', āvuso, cakkhum, yeva ca rūpā ubhayam etaṃ paccuppannaṃ, tasmim yeva paccuppanne na chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Na chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa na tad abhinandati. Na tad abhinandanto paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati. Yañ c', āvuso, sotam yeva ca saddā –pe–. Yañ c', āvuso, ghānaṃ yeva ca gandhā –pe–. Yā c', āvuso, jivhā yeva ca rasā –pe–. Yo c', āvuso, kāyo yeva ca phoṭṭhabbā –pe–. Yo c', āvuso, mano yeva ca dhammā ubhayam etaṃ paccuppannaṃ, tasmim yeva paccuppanne na chandarāgapatiḥbaddhaṃ hoti viññāṇaṃ. Na chandarāgapatiḥbaddhattā viññāṇassa na tad abhinandati. Na tad abhinandanto paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati. Evaṃ kho, āvuso, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati.

Yaṃ kho no, āvuso, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitvā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā utthāy' āsanā vihāraṃ pavittṭho:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Imassa kho 'haṃ, āvuso, bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa evaṃ vitthārena atthaṃ ājānāmi. Ākaṅkhamānā ca pana tumhe, āyasmanto, bhagavantaṃ yeva upasaṃkamitvā etaṃ atthaṃ paṭipuccheyyātha. Yathā vo bhagavā byākaroti tathā naṃ dhāreyyāthāti.

Atha kho te bhikkhū āyasmato mahākaccānassa bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy' āsanā yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamaṃsu upasaṃkamitvā bhagavantaṃ

abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdīṃsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho te bhikkhū bhagavantaṃ etad avocum: Yaṃ kho no, bhante, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitvā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā utthāy’ āsanā vihāraṃ pavittḥo:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Tesaṃ no, bhante, amhākaṃ acirapakkantassa bhagavato etad ahoṣi: ‘Idaṃ kho no, āvuso, bhagavā saṃkhittena uddesaṃ uddisitvā vitthārena atthaṃ avibhajitvā vihāraṃ pavittḥo:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,

... (*etc. as above*) ...

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Ko nu kho imassa bhagavatā saṃkhittena uddesassa uddiṭṭhassa vitthārena atthaṃ avibhattassa vitthārena atthaṃ vibhajeyyāti? Tesaṃ no, bhante, amhākaṃ etad ahoṣi: Ayaṃ kho, āvuso, mahākaccāno satthu c’ eva saṃvaṇṇito ... etaṃ atthaṃ paṭipuccheyyāmāti. Atha kho mayaṃ, bhante, yen’ āyasmā mahākaccāno ten’ upasaṃkamimha. Upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ mahākaccānaṃ etaṃ atthaṃ paṭipucchimha. Tesaṃ no, bhante, āyasmatā mahākaccānena imehi ākārehi imehi padehi imehi byañjanehi attho vibhatto ti.

Paṇḍito bhikkhave mahākaccāno mahāpaṇṇo bhikkhave mahākaccāno. Mañ ce pi tumhe, bhikkhave, etaṃ atthaṃ paṭipuccheyyātha, ahaṃ pi taṃ evaṃ evaṃ byākareyyaṃ yathā taṃ mahākaccānena byākataṃ. Eso c’ eva tassa attho evañ ca naṃ dhārethāti.

Idaṃ avoca bhagavā. Attamaṇā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.

Mahākaccānabhaddekarattasuttaṃ tatiyaṃ.

## Mahākaccāna and One Fine Night<sup>6</sup>

So I have heard. At one time the Buddha was staying near Rājagaha in the Hot Springs Monastery. Then Venerable Samiddhi rose at the crack of dawn and went to

<sup>6</sup> Tr. Bhikkhu Sujato 2018: <https://suttacentral.net/mn133/en/sujato> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

the hot springs to bathe. When he had bathed and emerged from the water he stood in one robe drying himself. Then, late at night, a glorious deity, lighting up the entire hot springs, went up to Samiddhi, stood to one side, and said to Samiddhi:

“Mendicant, do you remember the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night?”

“No, reverend, I do not. Do you?”

“I also do not. But do you remember just the verses on One Fine Night?”

“I do not. Do you?”

“I also do not. Learn the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night, mendicant, memorize it, and remember it. It is beneficial and relates to the fundamentals of the spiritual life.” That’s what that deity said, before vanishing right there.

Then, when the night had passed, Samiddhi went to the Buddha, bowed, sat down to one side, and told him what had happened. Then he added:

“Sir, please teach me the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine night.”

“Well then, mendicant, listen and pay close attention, I will speak.”

“Yes, sir,” Samiddhi replied. The Buddha said this:

“Don’t run back to the past, don’t hope for the future.

What’s past is left behind; the future has not arrived;

and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.

Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

Today’s the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!

For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

The peaceful sage explained it’s those who keenly meditate like this,

tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.”

That is what the Buddha said. When he had spoken, the Holy One got up from his seat and entered his dwelling. Soon after the Buddha left, those mendicants considered: “The Buddha gave this brief passage for recitation, then entered his dwelling without explaining the meaning in detail. ...



Who can explain in detail the meaning of this brief summary given by the Buddha?" Then those mendicants thought: "This Venerable Mahākaccāna is praised by the Buddha and esteemed by his sensible spiritual companions. He is capable of explaining in detail the meaning of this brief passage for recitation given by the Buddha. Let's go to him, and ask him about this matter."

Then those mendicants went to Mahākaccāna, and exchanged greetings with him. When the greetings and polite conversation were over, they sat down to one side. They told him what had happened, and said: "May Venerable Mahākaccāna please explain this."

"Reverends, suppose there was a person in need of heartwood. And while wandering in search of heartwood he'd come across a large tree standing with heartwood. But he'd pass over the roots and trunk, imagining that the heartwood should be sought in the branches and leaves. Such is the consequence for the venerables. Though you were face to face with the Buddha, you passed him by, imagining that you should ask me about this matter. For he is the Buddha, who knows and sees. He is vision, he is knowledge, he is the truth, he is supreme. He is the teacher, the proclaimer, the elucidator of meaning, the bestower of the deathless, the lord of truth, the Realized One. That was the time to approach the Buddha and ask about this matter. You should have remembered it in line with the Buddha's answer."

"Certainly he is the Buddha, who knows and sees. He is vision, he is knowledge, he is the truth, he is supreme. He is the teacher, the proclaimer, the elucidator of meaning, the bestower of the deathless, the lord of truth, the Realized One. That was the time to approach the Buddha and ask about this matter. We should have remembered it in line with the Buddha's answer. Still, Venerable Mahākaccāna is praised by the Buddha and esteemed by his sensible spiritual companions. He is capable of explaining in detail the meaning of this brief passage for recitation given by the Buddha. Please explain this, if it's no trouble."

"Well then, reverends, listen and pay close attention, I will speak."

"Yes, reverend," they replied. Venerable Mahākaccāna said this:

"Reverends, the Buddha gave this brief passage for recitation, then entered his dwelling without explaining the meaning in detail:

Don't run back to the past, don't hope for the future.

What's past is left behind; the future has not arrived;

and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.

Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

Today's the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!

For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this,  
tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.

And this is how I understand the detailed meaning of this passage for recitation.

And how do you run back to the past? Consciousness gets tied up there with desire and lust, thinking: 'In the past I had such eyes and such sights.' So you take pleasure in that, and that's when you run back to the past. Consciousness gets tied up there with desire and lust, thinking: 'In the past I had such ears and such sounds ... such a nose and such smells ... such a tongue and such tastes ... such a body and such touches ... such a mind and such thoughts.' So you take pleasure in that, and that's when you run back to the past. That's how you run back to the past.

And how do you not run back to the past? Consciousness doesn't get tied up there with desire and lust, thinking: 'In the past I had such eyes and such sights.' So you don't take pleasure in that, and that's when you no longer run back to the past. Consciousness doesn't get tied up there with desire and lust, thinking: 'In the past I had such ears and such sounds ... such a nose and such smells ... such a tongue and such tastes ... such a body and such touches ... such a mind and such thoughts.' So you don't take pleasure in that, and that's when you no longer run back to the past. That's how you don't run back to the past.

And how do you hope for the future? The heart is set on getting what it does not have, thinking: 'May I have such eyes and such sights in the future.' So you take pleasure in that, and that's when you hope for the future. The heart is set on getting what it does not have, thinking: 'May I have such ears and such sounds ... such a nose and such smells ... such a tongue and such tastes ... such a body and such touches ... such a mind and such thoughts in the future.' So you take pleasure in that, and that's when you hope for the future. That's how you hope for the future.

And how do you not hope for the future? The heart is not set on getting what it does not have, thinking: 'May I have such eyes and such sights in the future.' So you don't take pleasure in that, and that's when you no longer hope for the future. The heart is not set on getting what it does not have, thinking: 'May I have such ears and

such sounds ... such a nose and such smells ... such a tongue and such tastes ... such a body and such touches ... such a mind and such thoughts in the future.’ So you don’t take pleasure in that, and that’s when you no longer hope for the future. That’s how you don’t hope for the future.

And how do you falter amid presently arisen phenomena? Both the eye and sights are presently arisen. If consciousness gets tied up there in the present with desire and lust, you take pleasure in that, and that’s when you falter amid presently arisen phenomena. Both the ear and sounds ... nose and smells ... tongue and tastes ... body and touches ... mind and thoughts are presently arisen. If consciousness gets tied up there in the present with desire and lust, you take pleasure in that, and that’s when you falter amid presently arisen phenomena. That’s how you falter amid presently arisen phenomena.

And how do you not falter amid presently arisen phenomena? Both the eye and sights are presently arisen. If consciousness doesn’t get tied up there in the present with desire and lust, you don’t take pleasure in that, and that’s when you no longer falter amid presently arisen phenomena. Both the ear and sounds ... nose and smells ... tongue and tastes ... body and touches ... mind and thoughts are presently arisen. If consciousness doesn’t get tied up there in the present with desire and lust, you don’t take pleasure in that, and that’s when you no longer falter amid presently arisen phenomena. That’s how you don’t falter amid presently arisen phenomena.

This is how I understand the detailed meaning of that brief passage for recitation given by the Buddha.

If you wish, you may go to the Buddha and ask him about this. You should remember it in line with the Buddha’s answer.”

“Yes, reverend,” said those mendicants, approving and agreeing with what Mahākaccāna said. Then they rose from their seats and went to the Buddha, bowed, sat down to one side, and told him what had happened, adding:

“Mahākaccāna clearly explained the meaning to us in this manner, with these words and phrases.”

“Mahākaccāna is astute, mendicants, he has great wisdom. If you came to me and asked this question, I would answer it in exactly the same way as Mahākaccāna. That is what it means, and that’s how you should remember it.”

That is what the Buddha said. Satisfied, the mendicants were happy with what the Buddha said.

### 6.1.4 Text and translation of MN 134

#### Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekarattasuttaṃ<sup>7</sup>

Evam me sutam: Ekam samayaṃ bhagavā sāvattiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā lomasakaṅgiyo sakkesu viharati kapilavatthusmiṃ nigrodhārāme. Atha kho candano devaputto abhikkantāya rattiyaṃ abhikkantavaṇṇo kevalakappaṃ nigrodhārāmaṃ obhāsetvā yen' āyasmā lomasakaṅgiyo ten' upasaṃkami. Upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ t̥hito kho candano devaputto āyasmantaṃ lomasakaṅgiyaṃ etad avoca: Dhāresi tvam, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ cāti?

Na kho aham, āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Tvam pan', āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ cāti?

Aham pi kho, bhikkhu, na dhāresi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Dhāresi pana tvam, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti?

Na kho aham, āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā. Tvam pan' āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti?

Dhāresi kho 'ham, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti. Yathā kathaṃ pana tvam, āvuso, dhāresi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā ti?

Ekamidaṃ, bhikkhu samayaṃ bhagavā devesu tāvatimsesu viharati pāricchattakamūle paṇḍukambalasilāyaṃ. Tatra bhagavā devānaṃ tāvatimsānaṃ bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca ābhāsi:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ,

Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ, appattaṃ ca anāgataṃ.

Paccuppannaṃ ca yo dhammaṃ tattha tattha vipassati,

Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkappaṃ taṃ vidvā-m-anubrūhaye.

Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ; ko jaṇṇā maraṇaṃ suve?

Na hi no saṃgamaṃ tena mahāsenena maccunā.

Evam vihāriṃ ātāpiṃ ahorattam atanditaṃ,

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

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<sup>7</sup> MN 134 at MN III 199–202.

Evaṃ kho ahaṃ, bhikkhu, dhāremi bhaddekarattiyo gāthā. Uggaṇhāhi tvam, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Pariyāpuṇāhi tvam, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Dhārehi tvam, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Atthasaṃhito, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddeso ca vibhaṅgo ca ādibrahmacariyako ti. Idam avoca candano devaputto. Idam vatvā tatth' ev' antaradhāyi.

Atha kho āyasmā lomasakaṅgiyo tassā rattiya accayena senāsanaṃ saṃsāmetvā pattacivaraṃ ādāya yena sāvatti tena cārikaṃ pakkāmi. Anupubbena cārikaṃ caramāno yena sāvatti jetavanaṃ anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāmo yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami. Upasaṃkamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā lomasakaṅgiyo bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

Ekamidaṃ, bhante, samayaṃ sakkesu viharāmi kapilavattusmiṃ nigrodhārāme. Atha kho, bhante, aññataro devaputto abhikkantāya rattiya abhikkantavaṇṇo kevalakappaṃ nigrodhārāmaṃ obhāsetvā yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkami. Upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. Ekamantaṃ tthito kho, bhante, so devaputto maṃ etad avoca: 'dhāresi tvam, bhikkhu, bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ cāti? Evaṃ vutte ahaṃ, bhante taṃ devaputtaṃ etad avocaṃ: 'Na kho ahaṃ, āvuso, dhāremi bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca. Tvam pan', āvuso dhāresi ... vibhaṅgo ca ādibrahmacariyako ti. Idam avoca so, bhante, devaputto, idaṃ vatvā tatth' ev' antaradhāyi. Sādhu me, bhante, bhagavā bhaddekarattassa uddesaṃ ca vibhaṅgaṃ ca desetūti.

Jānāsi pana tvam ,bhikkhu, taṃ devaputtan ti?

Na kho ahaṃ, bhante, jānāmi taṃ devaputtan ti.

Candano nāma' eso, bhikkhu, devaputto. Candano, bhikkhu, devaputto atthikatvā manasikatvā sabbaṃ cetaso samannāharitvā ohitasoto dhammaṃ suṇāti. Tena hi, bhikkhu, suṇāhi sādhukaṃ manasikarohi, bhāsisāmi ti. Evaṃ bhante ti kho āyasmā lomasakaṅgiyo bhagavato paccassosi. Bhagavā etad avoca:

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, nappatīkaṃkhe anāgataṃ,  
... (etc. as above) ...

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Kathaṃ ca, bhikkhu, atītaṃ anvāgameti? Evaṃrūpo ahoṣiṃ ... atītaṃ nānvāgameti.

Kathaṃ ca, bhikkhu, anāgataṃ paṭīkaṃkhati? ... (as in No. 131) Evaṃ kho bhikkhu, paccuppannesu dhammesu na saṃhīrati.

Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya, –pe–

Taṃ ve bhaddekarotto ti santo ācikkhate munīti.

Idam avoca bhagavā. Attamano āyasmā lomasakaṅgiyo bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandīti.

Lomasakaṅgiyabhaddekaratta uttaṃ catutthaṃ.

### Lomasakaṅgiya and One Fine Night<sup>8</sup>

So I have heard. At one time the Buddha was staying near Sāvattī in Jeta’s Grove, Anāthapiṇḍika’s monastery. Now at that time Venerable Lomasakaṅgiya was staying in the Sakyan country at Kapilavatthu in the Banyan Tree Monastery. Then, late at night, the glorious god Candana, lighting up the entire Banyan Tree Monastery, went up to the Venerable Lomasakaṅgiya, and stood to one side. Standing to one side, he said to Lomasakaṅgiya: “Mendicant, do you remember the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night?”

“No, reverend, I do not. Do you?”

“I also do not. But do you remember just the verses on One Fine Night?”

“I do not. Do you?”

“I do.” “How do you remember the verses on One Fine Night?”

“This one time, the Buddha was staying among the gods of the Thirty-Three at the root of the Shady Orchard Tree on the stone spread with a cream rug. There he taught the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night to the gods of the Thirty-Three:

Don’t run back to the past, don’t hope for the future.

What’s past is left behind; the future has not arrived;

and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.

Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

Today’s the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!

For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

<sup>8</sup> Tr. Bhikkhu Sujato 2018: <https://suttacentral.net/mn134/en/sujato> (last retrieved on 20.11.2010).

The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this,  
tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.

That's how I remember the verses of One Fine Night. Learn the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine Night, mendicant, memorize it, and remember it. It is beneficial and relates to the fundamentals of the spiritual life." That's what the god Candana said before vanishing right there.

Then Lomasakaṅgiya set his lodgings in order and, taking his bowl and robe, set out for Sāvattṥī. Eventually he came to Sāvattṥī and Jeta's Grove. He went up to the Buddha, bowed, sat down to one side, and told him what had happened. Then he added:

"Sir, please teach me the recitation passage and analysis of One Fine night."

"But mendicant, do you know that god?"

"I do not, sir."

"That god was named Candana. Candana pays heed, pays attention, engages wholeheartedly, and lends an ear to the teaching. Well then, mendicant, listen and pay close attention, I will speak." "Yes, sir," Lomasakaṅgiya replied. The Buddha said this:

"Don't run back to the past, don't hope for the future.

What's past is left behind; the future has not arrived;

and phenomena in the present are clearly seen in every case.

Knowing this, foster it – unfaltering, unshakable.

Today's the day to keenly work – who knows, tomorrow may bring death!

For there is no bargain to be struck with Death and his mighty hordes.

The peaceful sage explained it's those who keenly meditate like this,  
tireless all night and day, who truly have that one fine night.

And how do you run back to the past? ..." (*And the Buddha repeated the analysis as in MN 131.*)

That is what the Buddha said. Satisfied, Venerable Lomasakaṅgiya was happy with what the Buddha said.



## 6.2 The Sanskrit texts

### 6.2.1 SHT III 816

Folio 1

[1.] siddham e(vaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān śrāva)sty(āṃ) viharat(i)  
sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme

[2.] tatra bh(agavān bhikṣūn āmantrayati sma) (...~6...) śṛṇutha<sup>9</sup> bhikṣava<sup>10</sup> sādhu  
ca suṣṭhu ca manasīkuruta{ṃ} bhāṣayiṣyāma{h}s tṛ(bhir dharmaiḥ sampannaḥ)  
(...~5...) bhikṣu<sup>11</sup> bhadragarātrīya<sup>12</sup> ity avidhīyate<sup>13</sup> | kadames<sup>14</sup> tṛbhiḥ udītaṃ<sup>15</sup>  
nama(s)e (...~7...) .ṣ. . . . . taḥ

[3.] pratyutpannā<sup>16</sup> ca {ye} ddharme<sup>17</sup> tatra tatra vipaśakaḥ<sup>18</sup>

asaṃhārya vikalpasthaḥ vidvas<sup>19</sup> taṃ (nāvamanyate

sam)ṛddhyate<sup>20</sup> |

adyeva kuryyam<sup>21</sup> ādaptam<sup>22</sup> | ko jāne<sup>23</sup> maraṇam{n} hi (śv)o

.ai .i +

[4.] namo ārya tha . . . . ku jarasya (...~8...) | tadyathā ace vice kuce sarve duṣṭā<sup>24</sup>  
sthabhām(i)<sup>25</sup> . . + .u .ṭ. śam āgachamda svāhā tā ka namo (...~7...) namo

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<sup>9</sup> Read: *śṛṇuta*.

<sup>10</sup> Read: *bhikṣavaḥ*.

<sup>11</sup> Read: *bhikṣo*.

<sup>12</sup> Read: *bhadragarātrīya*.

<sup>13</sup> Read: *avidhīyate*.

<sup>14</sup> Read: *katamais*.

<sup>15</sup> Read: *uditam*.

<sup>16</sup> Read: *pratyutpannāṃś*.

<sup>17</sup> Read: *dharmāṃs*.

<sup>18</sup> Read: *vipaśyakaḥ*.

<sup>19</sup> Read: *vikalpastho vidvāṃs*.

<sup>20</sup> Read: *saṃṛddhyate*.

<sup>21</sup> Read: *kuryāt*.

<sup>22</sup> Read: *ādaptam*. Cf. BHSD 91/2 for *ātaptakārin*: “*ātapta* as hyper-Skt. for Pali *ātappa*”.

<sup>23</sup> Read: *jānīyāt*.

dharmasya namo saṃghasya namo saptānā samyaksaṃbuddhānā<sup>26</sup>  
 saśrāvakaṣaṃghānāṃ ni (...~15...) (sa)mṛdhyatu tadyathā piśāci paṃnaśabharīḥ<sup>27</sup>  
 (śa)naśabharī<sup>28</sup> piśā(c)i (...~17...) iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi svāhā | cha . . . ji . .  
 (...~21...) hma māṃ jitaḥ mā iṣṭaṃ jā .i . . ṃ

## Fragment 1

Recto

Verso

(1) ++ . . . .v.

(1)

(2) . . atha bhaga

(2) + narāḥ kāla

(3) + kāḥ baṃndhamā

(3) . . dusvapnaṃ la

(4) ++ .i ++

(4) + + + + . . . .

## Fragment 2

Recto

Verso

(1) [t](a)[d]y(a)[th](ā) [v].[n].[v].[r].[n]. +

(1) dh[ā]rayiṣyati : sa[s]. . . +

(2) ra te : hīnamadyama tā . .

(2) mṛtānāṃ ca : bhadragar(t)r(īya)

(3) .āḥ yat kaścid bhikṣa[vo] ++

(3) ? [ca] sā saḥ na [k]ālena

---

<sup>24</sup> Read: *duṣṭāṇ*.

<sup>25</sup> Read: *sthambhāmi*.

<sup>26</sup> Read: *saptānāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhānāṃ*.

<sup>27</sup> Read: *parṇaśabari*.

<sup>28</sup> Read: *śanaśabari*.

## 6.2.2 SI 2004

Folio 1, 3, 4

[1.] (evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye) bhagava<sup>29</sup> rājagṛh(e) viharati  
gr̥ddhra(kūṭe)<sup>30</sup> (...~7...)

[2.] (...~12...) sya anyatarāya caṇḍalikaya<sup>31</sup> ka (...~13...) (āyusmān ā)nānda  
bhagava<sup>32</sup> anusmarati ayo<sup>33</sup> me bhadante (...~7...) (me bha)dante sugata<sup>34</sup> tat  
trātāro<sup>35</sup> me bhadante bhagava<sup>36</sup> trātāro me bhadante su(gatas trātāro) (...~4...) .ā  
āyusmān ānanda atiriva<sup>37</sup> paridevamāna anyatarāya caṇ(ḍalikāya) (...~5...) kṛtam  
abhūṣi<sup>38</sup> dṛṣṭvā ca punar bhagava<sup>39</sup> āyusmān ananda amandreti bh(ayāmy aham)  
(...~5...) kakkhorddasya<sup>40</sup> bhayāmy ahaṃ bhadante bhagava<sup>41</sup> kakkhorddasya<sup>42</sup>  
bhayāmy a(ha)ṃ (...~8...) (āyuṣ)mānanda<sup>43</sup> mā bhayāhi kakkhorddasya<sup>44</sup>  
udgṛhṇānand(a) (...~14...) .ā punā<sup>45</sup> hitaṃ bhaviṣyati cāturṇṇaṃ pari(ṣ)ā(nāṃ)  
(...~16...) arthaya<sup>46</sup> hitāya sukhāya saryathī(daṃ) (...~6...)

[3.] (...~12...) .m. tu (...~29...) tvī .ṛtā mantrayate sma tṛbhīr dharmāi<sup>47</sup>  
sa(mpannaḥ bhikṣo bhadrakrarātrīya ity u)cyate katamai(s) tribhiḥ

[3.1.] atitaṃ<sup>48</sup> nānāvagamay(e)d<sup>49</sup> (na cākāṃkṣed<sup>50</sup> anāgataṃ)

<sup>29</sup> Read: BHS *bhagavā*, Skt. *bhagavān*.

<sup>30</sup> Read: *gr̥dhrakūṭe*.

<sup>31</sup> Read: *caṇḍālikāya* (MIA oblique cases: instr., abl., dat., gen., loc. sg. f.).

<sup>32</sup> Read: BHS *bhagavaṃ*, Skt. *bhagavantam*.

<sup>33</sup> Read: *ayaṃ*.

<sup>34</sup> Read: *sugata*.

<sup>35</sup> Read: BHS *trātāro*, Skt. *trātā*.

<sup>36</sup> Read: *bhagavān*.

<sup>37</sup> Read: BHS *atiriva*, Skt. *atīva*.

<sup>38</sup> Read: BHS *abhūṣi*, Skt. *abhūt*.

<sup>39</sup> Read: BHS *bhagavaṃ*, Skt. *bhagavantam*.

<sup>40</sup> Read: *kākhordasya*.

<sup>41</sup> Read: *bhagavan*.

<sup>42</sup> Read: *kākhordasya*.

<sup>43</sup> Read: *āyusman ānanda*.

<sup>44</sup> Read: *kākhordasya*.

<sup>45</sup> Read: *punar*.

<sup>46</sup> Read: *arthāya*.

<sup>47</sup> Read: *dharmāiḥ*.

<sup>48</sup> Read: *atītaṃ*.

yad atitaṃ<sup>51</sup> niruddhaṃ tad asaṃprāptam anāgatam  
 pratyutpannāṃś ca ye<sup>52</sup> dharmā(ṃs tatra tatra vipaśyakaḥ  
 a)saṃhārya vikalpāṃś ca vidvāṃs tān nāvamanyate |  
 adyaiva kuryād ātaptam ko (vidyān maraṇam hi śvas)  
 .. dā |

na hi vaḥ saṃgani<sup>53</sup> tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā |

[3.2.] sukhinaḥ sarvā satvā<sup>54</sup> hi (sarve sattvā nirā)mayā<sup>55</sup> |  
 sarve bhadraṇi paśyaṃtu ma<sup>56</sup> kaścit pāpam agamaḥ<sup>57</sup>

[3.3.] viharante ca .. ā (...4...)  
 × × (bha)drakarātrīyaḥ sadaiva munir abravīt |

[4.] tadyathā (...~15...) mu kāśe atīte anāgate pratyutpanne b. .e (...~14...)  
 (mātaṇ)gī caṇḍi ghorī gandhāri cori caṇḍilī (...~25...) .r. . . . .y. . . i  
 (...~24...) .t. . .

[5.] nānvāgamed<sup>58</sup> atītaṃ {n} tu na cākāṃkṣed<sup>59</sup> anā(gatam  
 yad atītaṃ niruddhaṃ tad asaṃprāptam anāga)tam |  
 pratyutpannāṃś ca ye<sup>60</sup> dharmāṃs tatra tatra vipaśya(kaḥ  
 asaṃhārya vikalp(ā)ṃś ca vidvāś<sup>61</sup> tān nāvamanyate |  
 adyeva<sup>62</sup> kuryād ātaptam ko vidyā<sup>63</sup> maraṇa(ṃ hi śvas  
 na hi vaḥ saṃgani<sup>64</sup>) tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā |

49 Read: anvāgamayet.

50 Read: cakāṅkṣed.

51 Read: atītaṃ.

52 Read: yān.

53 Read: saṃgaram.

54 Read: sarve sattvā.

55 Read: nirāmayāḥ.

56 Read: mā.

57 Read: āgamat.

58 Read: nānvāgacched. The form anvāgamet follows the caus. opt. form anvāgamayet in 3r3.

59 Read: cakāṅkṣed.

60 Read: yān.

61 Read: vidvāṃs.

62 Read: adyaiva.

63 Read: vidyān.

[6.] idam avocad bhagavān āptamanas<sup>65</sup> te bhikṣavo bha(gavato bhāṣitam a)bhinandam<sup>66</sup>

[7.] atha bhagavān asya bhadraakarātrīyasya sūtrasya sarvasatvānugra(hāya)<sup>67</sup> (...~5...) (mantra)padād<sup>68</sup> bhāṣate sma | saryyathīva<sup>69</sup> | vaṃtini vāriṇi gandhamartanḍe mani[n]i .i (...~11...) [l]i + . . gi sara rakte hīnamadhyamadhāriṇi maholani d. (...~17...)

kaścid bhikṣavo dasya<sup>70</sup> bhadraakarātrīya(sya sūtrasya) (...~18...) .ṃ . . . . .  
yiṣ[y]ati grāha[y]i(syati) (...~8...)

## Folio 2

× × × × ti vet(ā)ḍa<sup>71</sup> y. × kṛtya bhaviṣyati |

sa × × × ∪ — — × × × × ∪ — ∪ ×

× dagn(i) putrās catv(ā)ro viṣahomās ca triṇśati<sup>72</sup> |

kāka × × ∪ — — × × × × ∪ saptat(i) |

sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanī<sup>73</sup> hanti prayogenāpi nityaśa

× × × × ∪ — .āra triṇśat pratisarās(a)taṃ |

sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanīm hanti prayogenāpi (nityaśa)

× × × × ∪ taṃ śīrṣaṃ grīva<sup>74</sup> me āyasīkṛtaṃ

jīhyā<sup>75</sup> gila<sup>76</sup> pravāḍasya vajrasya hṛdayaṃ ∪ ×

<sup>64</sup> Read: *saṃgaram*

<sup>65</sup> Read: BHS *āptamanasas*, Skt. *āttamanasas*.

<sup>66</sup> Read: *abhyanandam*.

<sup>67</sup> Read: *sarvasattvānugrahāya*.

<sup>68</sup> Read: *mantrapadam*.

<sup>69</sup> Read: *saryathīdam*.

<sup>70</sup> Read: *tasya*.

<sup>71</sup> Read: BHS *vetāḍa*, Skt. *vetāla*. The preferred spelling of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is *vetāḍa*. Cf. Skilling 1992: 111 n. 4.

<sup>72</sup> Read: *triṇśati*.

<sup>73</sup> Read: *ghātanīm*.

<sup>74</sup> Read: *grīvaṃ*.

<sup>75</sup> Read: *jīhvām*.

× × × × kṛto vastir jaṅghorū ratnadhāmayau |

pāḍau me khaḍgasamghātau evaṃ caiva(ṃ) ∪ – ∪ ×

× × ṇā nirmi(taś) c(ā)haṃ yo me kurya<sup>77</sup> dvipade catuṣpade |

āsane śa(yane) – × × × × × ∪ – ∪ ×

× × × × ∪ .ā kṣetre śmaśāneṣv<sup>78</sup> atha catvare |

tasya putreṣu – – × × × × × ∪ – ∪ ×

(...~6...) rt.ā . . sya rakṣaṃ bhavatu | yamāya (...~17...) mama gauś (ca)r(a)tu rtā  
tasya dveṣṭi s. (...~9...)

<sup>76</sup> Read: *galam*.

<sup>77</sup> Read: *kuryād*.

<sup>78</sup> Read: *śmaśāneṣv*.

### 6.3 The Chinese text Taishō XXI 1362

- p0881c02(00) || No. 1362<sup>79</sup>  
 p0881c03(00) || 佛說善夜經一卷  
 p0881c04(00) ||  
 p0881c05(00) || 唐三藏法師義淨奉 制譯  
 p0881c06(00) || 如是我聞。一時薄伽梵。在王舍城竹林園所。  
 p0881c07(00) || 去斯不遠有一苾芻住溫泉側。  
 p0881c08(05) || 時有一天顏貌端嚴光明殊妙。過初夜分詣苾芻所。  
 p0881c09(02) || 彼天威光周圓赫奕。悉皆照耀普遍溫泉。  
 p0881c10(02) || 合掌禮敬在一面坐。白苾芻言大德。  
 p0881c11(05) || 仁頗先聞善夜經不。苾芻答曰我未曾聞如是經典。  
 p0881c12(02) || 復問天言仁先知不。天曰我亦不知。  
 p0881c13(05) || 苾芻曰誰有知者。天曰無上慈父在竹林園。  
 p0881c14(05) || 仁今可往詣彼請問。如佛所說當奉行之。  
 p0881c15(06) || 說是語已忽然不現。時彼苾芻至天曉已。  
 p0881c16(07) || 詣世尊所頂禮雙足。在一面立白言世尊。昨夜有天過初更後。  
 p0881c17(00) || 來詣我所。光明照耀周遍溫泉。而問我言。  
 p0881c18(00) || 仁頗先聞善夜經不。我言未聞。  
 p0881c19(05) || 我問彼天仁先知不。答言不知。我復問言誰有知者。  
 p0881c20(02) || 彼言無上慈父在竹林園。仁可往問。  
 p0881c21(05) || 如佛所說當奉行之。說是語已忽然不現。  
 p0881c22(06) || 我緣斯事故來至此請問世尊。佛告苾芻汝識彼天不。  
 p0881c23(02) || 答言不識。  
 p0881c24(15) || 汝今當知彼是三十三天勝妙天子威德大將名曰栴檀。為欲利益  
 諸眾生故。  
 p0881c25(02) || 來覺悟汝問是經名。時彼苾芻復白佛言。  
 p0881c26(03) || 世尊我今願聞善夜經典。唯願世尊哀愍為說。  
 p0881c27(02) || 爾時世尊告苾芻言。此善夜經具大功德。  
 p0881c28(03) || 若有聞者能斷煩惱速證菩提。汝應諦聽善極作意。  
 p0881c29(00) || 吾當為說。過去諸法不應追念。  
 p0882a01(05) || 未來諸法亦不希求。現在諸法勿生染著。  
 p0882a02(06) || 如是行者名真解脫。爾時世尊即說頌曰。

<sup>79</sup> The Chinese text is provided by the *SAT Daizōkyō Text Database*: <http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT2012/T1362.html> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

- p0882a03(00) || 過去不應念 未來不希求  
 p0882a04(00) || 於現在時中 皆如法觀察  
 p0882a05(00) || 妄想心難遣 智人應善觀  
 p0882a06(00) || 宜可速勤修 焉知至明日  
 p0882a07(00) || 由彼死王眾 與汝鎮相隨  
 p0882a08(00) || 是故我牟尼 善夜經今說  
 p0882a09(00) || 常願諸有情 離苦獲安樂  
 p0882a10(00) || 不造諸惡業 恒修於眾善  
 p0882a11(00) || 爾時世尊為欲利益一切眾生。  
 p0882a12(05) || 令於長夜得安隱樂離諸障惱。於生生處增長善根。  
 p0882a13(02) || 常遇三寶不墮惡趣。復更說此陀羅尼曰。  
 p0882a14(00) || 怛姪他 毘尼婆(引)喇爾 跋陀摩單滯 摩  
 p0882a15(00) || 膩爾擻擻擻 瞿里健陀里 旃茶里摩登  
 p0882a16(00) || 祇(上)薩囉爛帝 莫呼刺膩攝鉢利 斫羯囉  
 p0882a17(00) || 婆(引)枳 攝伐里莫訶攝伐里 步精揭(巨列)  
 p0882a18(00) || 爾 爾弭爾名揭爾 訖栗多(引) 爾 莎(引)訶  
 p0882a19(00) || (引)僧拽體(天移)曇(去) 頹[口\*束\*頁]伽帝 捺囉伽帝  
 p0882a20(00) || 謗蘇迦波(引)裔 劫布得(都洛) 迦波(引)裔  
 p0882a21(00) || 答布檀泥(去)莎訶  
 p0882a22(00) ||  
 p0882a23(17) || 若有苾芻苾芻尼鄒波索迦鄒波斯迦及餘善男子善女人等。於此  
 善夜經中。  
 p0882a24(04) || 若一伽他若一句咒。讀誦受持供養尊重。  
 p0882a25(05) || 明解其義為他演說。當知是人於一切時無諸災厄。  
 p0882a26(02) || 亦無枉橫及諸衰惱。能知過去七生之事。  
 p0882a27(03) || 亦不忘失大菩提心。決定能趣涅槃正道。  
 p0882a28(04) || 若有善男子善女人。受持讀誦此善夜經者。  
 p0882a29(04) || 於未來世所生之處。必定當得宿住之智。  
 p0882b01(05) || 常受尊貴安隱快樂。復說頌曰。  
 p0882b02(00) || 此人一切時 無有枉橫事  
 p0882b03(00) || 由造順時業 永離非時死  
 p0882b04(00) || 擁護諸眾生 令離病憂怖  
 p0882b05(00) || 不祥及惡夢 險路常安隱  
 p0882b06(00) || 若男子女人 戴持此經者  
 p0882b07(00) || 具相人敬重 所願皆圓滿  
 p0882b08(00) || 若於身語意 所有諸不善



p0882b09(00) || 由此經威力 終無有惡報  
 p0882b10(00) || 若水火王賊 雷電毒害等  
 p0882b11(00) || 怨家戰諍時 念經皆得脫  
 p0882b12(00) || 又復有明咒 若能讀誦者  
 p0882b13(00) || 於一切時中 長善滅諸惡  
 p0882b14(00) || 即說咒曰。  
 p0882b15(00) || 怛姪他 爾弭尼民達哩 室哩盧迦(引) 盧  
 p0882b16(00) || 枳爾 室哩輸攞陀唎爾 惡矩比 姪哩底  
 p0882b17(00) || 奴麗 矩都軍底 矩都屈此 雞唼底矩比  
 p0882b18(00) || 爾 擁護擁護我某甲於一切恐怖處 於一  
 p0882b19(00) || 切疾病苦痛處 於一切憂愁相惱處於一切  
 p0882b20(00) || 毒蟲毒藥處 於一切鬼魅厭禱處 於一切  
 p0882b21(00) || 王賊水火處 於一切猛獸驚怖處 於一切  
 p0882b22(00) || 謗讟言訟處 於一切怨家鬥諍處 於一切  
 p0882b23(00) || 身意惡業處 所有語業四過處 於一切厄  
 p0882b24(00) || 難危亡處 并執金剛神 常衛護我某甲  
 p0882b25(00) || 并諸眷屬莎(引)訶(引)  
 p0882b26(00) || 復說咒曰。  
 p0882b27(00) || 怛姪他 呬里呬里弭里弭里 畢舍脂  
 p0882b28(00) || 鉢拏 攝伐里止里莎訶  
 p0882b29(00) || 爾時世尊說是經已。時彼苾芻及諸大眾。  
 p0882c01(01) || 人天八部諸鬼神等皆大歡喜信受奉行。  
 p0882c02(00) || 佛說善夜經

## 6.4 Index of Chinese characters

The following index of Chinese characters used to express the mantric syllables of the Chinese *Bhadrakārātrī-sūtra* was prepared in order to attempt a reconstruction of the underlying Indic sound substance of the Chinese *mantras*. I want to stress, however, that every reconstruction of the Indic version cannot be considered as the definite original Indic reading, but more as a suggestion, one possible reading of the underlying Indic sound substance.

The index is arranged according to the occurrence of the Chinese characters in the three *mantras*. Every character is listed with its serial number including the number of the radical and the additional strokes according to the *Kāngxī zìdiǎn* (康熙字典),<sup>80</sup> followed by the number under which the character can be found in Karlgren's *Analytic Dictionary* (1923). Characters missing in this dictionary were completed, where possible, with the help of Karlgren's article entitled *Prononciation ancienne de caractères chinois figurant dans les transcription bouddhiques* (1918–1919). The next column gives the Middle Chinese reconstructions developed by Baxter and Sagart according to their table of *Old Chinese Reconstructions* (2014). The subsequent listing represents the historical phonetics in Early Middle Chinese of Pulleyblank's *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation* (1991), which is followed by the Sanskrit equivalents to the Chinese characters given in Rosenberg's *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism According to Material Preserved in Japan and China. Part 1 Vocabulary* (1916). The next column displays Chen's Devanāgarī counterparts to some Chinese characters in the appendix to the article *Vowel Length in Middle Chinese Based on Buddhist Sanskrit Transliteration* (2003). The final Indic reconstruction results from a comparison of the phonetic transcriptions of the Chinese characters with the Tibetan reading of the *Bhadrakarātrī-mantras*.

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<sup>80</sup> This information is derived from the Unihan database: <http://www.unicode.org/charts/unihan.html> (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

Table 21: Index of Chinese characters used in the *Bhadrakarātrī* mantras.

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
<i>Mantra 1</i>							
怛	61:5	966	tat	tat	t, tt, ta, tā	tā, tat	tad
姪	38:6	1214		drit			ya
他	9:3	223	tha	t <sup>h</sup> a	tī, tī, di, dhi, te, ci	tā, thā	thā
毘	81:5	714		bji	pi, bi, bhi, bhī, vi, vī, ve, vai	pī, bhī, vī	bi
尼	44:2	659	nejX	nri	ṇī, ṇi, ni, ne, na, nya, nai	ṇī, nī	ni
婆(引)	38:8	753	ba	ba	ba, bā, bha, bhā, bh, va, pa, pha	pā, bā, bhā, vā	bhā
喇	30:9	=刺 509	lat	lat	ra, r(ṇa)		ra
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ṇi, ni	nī	ṇi
跋	157:5	750		pa', pi <sup>h</sup>	pa, va, bā, ba, bha	bhā, vā	bud
柁	75:5	1011		da'	dha, da		dha
摩	64:11	593		ma	ma, mā, ba, mu	ma, mā	ma
單	30:9	968	dzyen	tan	ta(n)		tāna
滯	85:11	962	drjejH	driaj <sup>h</sup>			dhe
摩	64:11	593		ma	ma, mā, ba, mu	ma, mā	ma
膩	130:12	9	nrijH	nri <sup>h</sup>	ni, ṇi, nī, ṇe	ṇī	ni
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ṇi, ni		ṇi
擻	64:10	=致 1214		tri <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, tī, tē, t'ai		tī
擻	64:10	=致 1214		tri <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, tī, tē, t'ai		tī
擻	64:10	=致 1214		tri <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, tī, tē, t'ai		tī
擻	64:10	=致 1214		tri <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, tī, tē, t'ai		tī
瞿	109:13	490	gju	kuš <sup>h</sup> , guš	gu, go, gho, gau, kau, ku		gau
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ṛ, r		ri

Table 21 (*continued*)

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
健	9:9	373		gian <sup>h</sup>	kan, gan, gān, gha(n), ga	kān, gān	gan
陀	170:5	1011		da	da, dā, ḍā, dha, ta, tha, ṭya, dhyā, dyā, dhya	ḍā, tā, tī, thā, dā, dī, dhā	dha
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ṛ, r		ri
旃	70:6	965		teian	can, cān, cī(n), tyā	cī	caṇ
茶	140:6	1322		drai, dre:	ḍa, dā, dha, dhyā, ṭa, da		ḍa
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ṛ, r		li
摩	64:11	593		ma	ma, mā, ba, mu	ma, mā	ma
登	105:7	982	tong	təŋ	tañ, dan, ta		taṃ
祇 (上)	113:4	=只 1213	gjie	gjiḍ, gji; teiā, tei	gi, ghi, gī, khyā, khyā, ge, ghe, je, k	gī	gi
薩	140:14	1167		sat	sa, sā, sar	ṣā, śā, sā	sa
囉	30:19	569		la	la, lā, ra	rā, lā, vā	ra
爛	86:17	=闌 372	lanH	lan <sup>h</sup>	lan, ra(n)		lam
帝	50:6	986	tejH	tej <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, te, ḍe	tī, dī	ṭe
莫	140:7	638	mak	mak, mō <sup>h</sup>	ma, mu	mā	ma
呼	30:5	85	xu	xo	hu, hū, ho	hū	ho
刺	18:7	509	lat	lat	la, ra	rā	la
膩	130:12	9	nrijH	nri <sup>h</sup>	ni, nī, nī, ṇe	ṇī	na
攝	64:18	667	syep	eiap	śa, śya		śa
鉢	121:5	707		pat	pa, pā		ba
利	18:5	527	lijH	li <sup>h</sup>	li, lī, le, rī, ri, ra		ri
斫	69:5	883	tsyak	teiak	ca		ca
羯	123:9	73		kiat	ka, gha		k
囉	30:19	569		la	la, lā, ra	rā, lā, vā	ra
婆(引)	38:8	753	ba	ba	ba, bā, bha, bhā, bh, va, pa, pha	pā, bā, bhā, vā, sā	pā
枳	75:5	1213		teiā, tei'	ki, ke, di		ti
攝	64:18	667	syep	eiap	śa, śya		śa

Table 21 (*continued*)

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
伐	9:4	16	bjot	buat	va, bha	pā, vā	ba
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		ri
莫	140:7	638	mak	mak, mɔ <sup>h</sup>	ma, mu	mā	ma
訶	149:5	414	xa	xa	ha, hā, ga, ka, khā, hī	hā	hā
攝	64:18	667	syep	ɕiap	śa, śya		śa
伐	9:4	16	bjot	buat	va, bha	pā, vā	ba
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		ri
步	77:3	759	buH	bo <sup>h</sup>	bu, bhū, ba	bū, bhū	bhu
精	119:8	=青 874	tsjeng	tsiajŋ			cid
揭 (巨列)	64:9	73	gjet	kiat, kiat, k <sup>h</sup> iaj <sup>h</sup>	gā, ga, ka		gi
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ni, ni	nī	ni
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ni, ni	nī	ni
弭	57:6	11	mjieX	mjiǎ', mji'	mī, me	mī	mi
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ni, ni	nī	ni
名	30:3	633	mjieng	mjiājŋ			mīng
揭	64:9	73	gjet	kiat, kiat, k <sup>h</sup> iaj <sup>h</sup>	gā, ga, ka		gi
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ni, ni	nī	ni
訖	149:3	332	xj+jH	kit	k, k(ɾ)		ki
栗	75:6	531	lit	lit	li, ɾ		li
多(引)	36:3	1006	ta	ta	ta, ʈa, tu, tya, tyā, da, dha, t		tā
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ni, ni	nī	ni
莎(引)	140:7	846		swa	svā		svā
訶(引)	149:5	414	xa	xa	ha, hā, ga, ka, khā, hī	hā	hā
<i>Mantra 2</i>							
僧	9:12	1047		səŋ	sañ, siṃ, san, sam,	sāṃ	saṃ
拽	64:6	188		jiat	ya, ye		ye
體 (天移)	188:13	538	thejX	t <sup>h</sup> ej'	thi		thi

Table 21 (*continued*)

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
曇 (去)	72:12	t'an, d'âm		dəm, dam	da, ta, dha, dum		dha
頰	181:6		'at	ʔat	a, ā	ā	a
[口*束* 頁]							ra
伽	9:5	342		gia; ga, gā, gha, ghā	kā, ka, ga, gā, gha, khyā	ga, gā, gha, ghā, kā, dā	kā
帝	50:6	986	tejH	tej <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, te, ɖe	tī, dī	ɖe
捺	64:8	649		na <sup>h</sup> , na <sup>h</sup>	na, nā	nā	na
囉	30:19	569		la	la, lā, ra	rā, lā, vā	ra
伽	9:5	342		gia; ga, gā, gha, ghā	kā, ka, ga, gā, gha, khyā	ga, gā, gha, ghā, kā, dā	kā
帝	50:6	986	tejH	tej <sup>h</sup>	tī, tī, te, ɖe	tī, dī	ɖe
謗	149:10	=謗 25	pangH	paŋ <sup>h</sup>			bam
蘇	140:16	823	su	sɔ	su, sū, so, sú, sa	su, sū	su
迦	162:5	342		kia; ka, kā	ka, kā, ga, gā, gha, kya	ka, kā, khā, gā	ka
波(引)	85:5	753	pa	pa	pa, pā, ba, va, vā, po	pa, pā, bhā, vā	pā
裔	145:7	185	yejH	jiaj <sup>h</sup>	ye		yi
劫	19:5	491	kjaep	kiap	ka	kā	ka
布	50:2	758	puH	pɔ <sup>h</sup>	pu, pū, bhū, po	pū	po
得 (都 洛)	60:8	980	tok	tək	ta, ɬa		ta
迦	162:5	342		kia; ka, kā	ka, kā, ga, gā, gha, kya	ka, kā, khā, gā	ka
波(引)	85:5	753	pa	pa	pa, pā, ba, va, vā, po	pa, pā, bhā, vā	pā
裔	145:7	185	yejH	jiaj <sup>h</sup>	ye		yi
答	118:6	955	top	təp, tap	ta	tā	ta
布	50:2	758	puH	pɔ <sup>h</sup>	pu, pū, bhū, po	pū	po
檀	75:13	967		dan	dan, daŋ, da(n), dā(n), dha(n),	dā, dhān	dha

Table 21 (*continued*)

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
					dha(n)		
泥 (去)	85:5	659	nej	nɛj	ni, ne		ne
莎	140:7	846		swa	svā		svā
訶	149:5	414	xa	xa	ha, hā, ga, ka, khā, hī	hā	hā
<i>Mantra 3</i>							
怛	61:5	966	tat	tat	t, tt, ta, tā	tā, tat	ta
姪	38:6	1214		drit			dya
他	9:3	223	tha	t <sup>h</sup> a	tī, tī, di, dhi, te, ci	tā, thā	thā
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ṇi, ni	nī	ni
弭	57:6	11	mjieX	mjiš', mji'	mī, me	mī	mī
尼	44:2	659	nejX	nri	nī, ṇi, ni, ne, na, nya, nai	ṇī, nī	ni
民	83:1	629	mjin	mjin	min, bi(n)		min
達	162:9	957	dat	dat, t <sup>h</sup> at	ta, da, dā, dha	tā, dā	dha
哩	30:7	=里 529		lī', li'	ri, ṛ, r	rī	ri
窒	116:6	387	trit	trit			t
哩	30:7	=里 529		lī', li'	ri, ṛ, r	rī	ri
盧	108:11	579		lo	lo, ro, ru, lu, rū		lo
迦(引)	162:5	342		kia; ka, kā	ka, kā, ga, gā, gha, kya	ka, kā, khā, gā	kā
盧	108:11	579		lo	lo, ro, ru, lu, rū		lo
枳	75:5	1213		teiā, tei'	ki, ke, dī		ka
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ṇi, ni	nī	ni
窒	116:6	387	trit	trit			t
哩	30:7	=里 529		lī', li'	ri, ṛ, r	rī	ri
輸	159:9	1327	syu	euš	śu, śo, śo	śū	śū
攞	64:19	569		la	la, ra, ro		la
陀	170:5	1011		da	da, dā, dā, dha, ta, tha, tya, dhyā, dyā, dhya	dā, tā, tī, thā, dā, dī, dhā	dha
唎	30:7	527		lī <sup>h</sup>	li, lī, le, rī, ri, ra	rī	ra
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ṇi, ni	nī	ṇi

Table 21 (*continued*)

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
惡	61:8	209	'uH	ʔak, ʔɔ, ʔɔ <sup>h</sup>	a, ɸ		a
矩	111:5	483	kjuX	kuǎ'	ku, kū, kau, gho	kū	ku
比	81:0	714	pjijX	bji	pi, pī, bhi, vi	pī	pi
姪	38:6	1214		drit			ti
哩	30:7	=里 529		lí', lí'	ri, ṛ, r	rī	ri
底	53:5	984	tejX	teǵ'	tí, tī, dhi	ḍī, tī	tí
奴	38:2	674	nu	nɔ	nu, no		ni
麗	198:8	540	lejH	liǎ, li, lej <sup>h</sup>	li, re, rā		li
矩	111:5	483	kjuX	kuǎ'	ku, kū, kau, gho	kū	kud
都	163:8	1187	tu	tɔ	tu, tū, ʈu	tū	to
軍	159:2	508	kjun	kun	kuṇ		kuṇ
底	53:5	984	tejX	teǵ'	tí, tī, dhi	ḍī, tī	to
矩	111:5	483	kjuX	kuǎ'	ku, kū, kau, gho	kū	kud
都	163:8	1187	tu	tɔ	tu, tū, ʈu	tū	to
屈	44:5	493	khjut	k <sup>h</sup> ut	ku, gu		ku
此	77:2	714	tshjeX	ts <sup>h</sup> iǎ', ts <sup>h</sup> i'			pi
雞	172:10	ki, kiāi	kej	kɛǵ	ke, kī		ku
唎	30:10	=栗 531		lit	rī, (ḍī)r, ṛ		r
底	53:5	984	tejX	teǵ'	tí, tī, dhi	ḍī, tī	tí
矩	111:5	483	kjuX	kuǎ'	ku, kū, kau, gho	kū	ku
比	81:0	714	pjijX	bji	pi, pī, bhi, vi	pī	pi
儻	9:14	=你 14		ni'	ṇi, ni	nī	ni
<i>Mantra 4</i>							
恒	61:5	966	tat	tat	t, tt, ta, tā	tā, tat	ta
姪	38:6	1214		drit			dya
他	9:3	223	tha	t <sup>h</sup> a	tí, ʈi, di, dhi, te, ci	tā, thā	thā
咽	30:5	=四 809		si <sup>h</sup>	hi, ha, i		hi
里	166:0	529	liX	lí', lí'	ri, ṛ, r		li
咽	30:5	=四 809		si <sup>h</sup>	hi, ha, i		hi



Table 21 (*continued*)

Character	Serial number	Karlgren	Baxter-Sagart	Pulleyblank	Rosenberg	Chen	*Indic
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		li
弭	57:6	11	mjieX	mjiǎ', mji'	mī, me	mī	mi
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		li
弭	57:6	11	mjieX	mjiǎ', mji'	mī, me	mī	mi
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		li
畢	102:6	718	pjit	pjit	pi, vi, pe		pi
舍	135:2	863	syaeX	ɕia', ɕia <sup>h</sup>	śa, śā, ʂa, śva, śi, śya, ʂya	cā, śā, śām, sā	śā
脂	130:6	=旨 1215	tsyij	tei	=旨 ci, ca	cī	ci
鉢	121:5	707		pat			pā
拏	64:5	674	nrae	nrai, ne:	ṇa, ṇya, nā, ṇe, ḍa		ṇā
攝	64:18	667	syep	ɕiap	śa, śya		śa
伐	9:4	16	bjot	buat	va, bha	pā, vā	ba
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		ri
止	77:0	1211	tsyiX	tei', tei'			ci
里	166:0	529	liX	li', li'	ri, ɾ, r		li
莎	140:7	846		swa	svā		svā
訶	149:5	414	xa	xa	ha, hā, ga, ka, khā, hī	hā	hā

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This book examines the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, an important representative of early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature, and thereby contributes to the investigation of this literary genre. This work ultimately presents an edition, partial reconstruction, and translation of the two extant Sanskrit manuscripts found in Central Asia, as well as a critical edition and translation of the Tibetan version of this text. Special focus is also given to the Chinese and Tibetan variants of the *mantras*. Moreover, it highlights specific *rakṣā* elements, formal features, and linguistic and semantic patterns of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. These are crucial for the understanding of the peculiarities of its language, as well as its textual development and classification among *rakṣā* literature.

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