

THE RAKṢĀ LITERATURE OF THE ŚRĀVAKAYĀNA*

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The Rakṣā Literature of the Śrāvakayāna

Introduction

In the present paper, I will discuss what I term the “*rakṣā* literature of the Śrāvakayāna”. I have chosen the term *rakṣā* — “protection” or more specifically “protective text” — because it occurs in both Sanskrit and Pali, the latter in the equivalent form *rakkhā*, as in the Sanskrit and Pali versions of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*.¹ In meaning it is no different from the well-known Pali term *paritta*, the use of which, however, seems restricted to Pali.² (In Sanskrit *paritrāṇa* occurs frequently as a synonym of *rakṣā*, but in the sense of the *protection sought or offered* rather than *protective text*. Other synonyms of *rakṣā* in the former sense include *gupti*, *parigraha*, *paripālana*, and *āvaraṇa* in Sanskrit,³ and *gutti* and *paritta* in Pali.⁴)

The *rakṣā* phenomenon was pan-Buddhist (and indeed pan-Indian), in that the invocation of protection against disease, calamity, and malignant spirits through the office of spiritual attainment, profession of truth, *mantras*, or deities was a practice widely resorted to by both the Śrāvaka- and Mahā-yānas.

The concept of *rakṣā* appears in various forms in Buddhist literature. The presence of the Buddha — who is described by such epithets as *akutobhaya*, “without fear from any quarter”,⁵ or *khemamṛkara*, “granter

¹ Sanskrit *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, 37.3 *āṭānāṭikam sūtram* *vidyām rakṣām*; Pali *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta*, *DN* (32) III 203.1 *āṭānāṭiyā rakkhā*.

² See *Jātaka* II 35.7, *imam parittam imam rakkham*. Cf. Lévi 1915, p. 20 and de Silva pp. 3–5.

³ *MhMVR(T)* 13.1, 15.2; *Mahāśītavatī* 2.9; *GM I* 56.10, in the common phrase *rakṣāvaraṇagupti*.

⁴ *Vin* II 110.6; *AN* II 72.27.

⁵ *Theragāthā* 510, *Therīgāthā* 333, etc.

of security"¹ — itself bestowed protection. In the *Sonadanda-sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, Soṇadanda says that "in whatever town or village the *śramaṇa* Gotama stays, non-humans do not harm the people of that town or village" (DN I 116.14, *samaṇo khalu bho gotamo yasmiṁ gāme vā nigame vā paṭivasati na tasmiṁ gāme vā nigame vā amanussā manusse viheṭhenti).² A similar statement is made in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*,³ and a similar idea occurs in the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga* in Tibetan and Chinese translation, where the presence of the Buddha is one of the protections against "zombies" or *vetādas*.⁴*

It is therefore no accident that in the earliest images of Mathurā, Gandhāra, Amarāvatī, and Nāgārjunakonḍa, the Buddha, whether seated or standing, is nearly always depicted in the *abhaya-mudrā*, the "gesture

¹ MNI 386.13.

² A close parallel occurs in the Chinese counterpart, no. 22 of the *Dīrghāgama* (95b12–14): "Moreover: whichever place the Śramaṇa Gautama reaches, the inhumans and demons would not dare to harass it". (Translation by K. Meisig, "Chung Tēh King — The Chinese Parallel to the Sonadanda-Sutta", in V.N. Jha (ed.), *Kalyāṇa-Mitta: Professor Hajime Nakamura Felicitation Volume*, Delhi, 1991, p. 54.)

³ *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 21.21 = D 558, *rgyud*, *pha*, 75a2.

⁴ *Vinayavibhaṅga*, Q 1032, 'dul ba, che, 128b5 foll; T 1442, Vol. 23. *Vetāda* is the preferred orthography of the Mūlasarvāstivādins: cf. *Saṅghabhedavastu* I, 175.6,7,10; II 238.24; R. Gnoli, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Śayanāsanavastu and the Adhikaraṇavastu*, Rome, 1978, p. 22.5,6,9. The same spelling occurs in non-Mūlasarvāstivādin texts: see references at *BHSD* 508a; *MhMVR*(T) 38.3, 42.10; *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 32.1,14; and the title *Saptavetāḍaka-nāma-dhāraṇī* in both the Peking (Q 351, Vol. 7, *rgyud*, *ba*, 231a7) and Stog Palace (Skorupski no. 574) editions of the *Kanjur*. See also *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* 55.6, 57.6, where *vetāda* is given as a variant. The preferred Pali spelling, at least in the Burmese and Siamese editions, is *vetāla*, rather than the *vetāla* of the *PTSD* (647a): see K. Meisig, *Das Śāmanyaphala-sūtra*, Wiesbaden, 1987, p. 216, note 13.

of dispelling fear".¹ (Indeed, the symbol of the open hand, which appears even earlier at Bhārhut along with the "aniconic" representation of the Buddha through his footprints, might also represent this *mudrā*).² In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature the hand of the *bodhisattva* or of the Buddha is called "bringing relief to the fearful" (*bhitānām āsvāsanakara*);³ the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, commenting on the walk (*caṅkrama*) of the Buddha, says "toujours il lève la main droite pour rassurer les êtres".⁴ While more complex *mudrās* were evolved over the centuries, the *abhaya-mudrā* never lost its popularity. With the course of time, certain revered images of the Buddha (or of *bodhisattvas*) were themselves held to confer protection.

The very act that defines a Buddhist is the "taking of refuge" (*śarana-gamana*) in the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha, and the formula of "triple refuge" opens virtually all Buddhist rites, including the recitation of *paritta*. A verse in the *Mahāsamaya-sutta* states that "they who go for refuge in the Buddha will not go to the lower realms: leaving behind their human form [at death], they swell the ranks of the gods" (*DN* II 255.3–5, *ye keci buddham saranam gatāse, na te gamissanti apāyam; pahāya mānusam deham devakāyam paripūressanti*).⁵

¹ See D.L. Snellgrove (ed.), *The Image of the Buddha*, Paris, 1978, p. 56 and pls. 29–32 (Mathurā); p. 61 and pls. 33(c), 34, and 35 (Gandhāra), p. 81 and pl. 46 (Nāgārjunakonḍa, Amarāvatī).

² See *The Image of the Buddha*, pl. 8, to be compared perhaps with pl. 51 from Amarāvatī.

³ *Saṅghabhedavastu* I 114 ult. Cf. also *Mahābala-sūtra* 22.9, 67.16.

⁴ *Mppś* V 2316; cf. also *Mppś* III 1345 and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, fasc. 1, pp. 20–21, *abhaya-dāna*.

⁵ An equivalent verse occurs in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Mahāsamāja-sūtra* in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and, with similar verses on the Dharma and the Saṅgha, in the *Sūkarikāvadāna* (*Divy* 195.26, 196.5).

Another type of protection is the result of spiritual practice: the *Mettānisamṣa-sutta*, a canonical *paritta*, for example, lists eleven benefits from the cultivation of friendliness.¹ In this paper I will deal with a further type, the protection that results from the recitation of certain texts, that is, protection through speech, the spoken word.

A distinguishing mark of the *rakṣā* literature is that it was actually *used* — that is, memorised and recited for specific purposes — by both monks and lay-followers, from a very early date. This is in contrast with the bulk of the canonical literature which would only have been studied by the assiduous few, mainly monk-scholars. *Rakṣā* texts would no doubt have been known by heart by the monks, and by some devout lay followers, as are the *paritta* of the Theravādins up to the present day. Thus the *rakṣā* literature contains texts which, from great antiquity, were regularly employed rather than simply preserved or transmitted. The only comparable classes of texts are the *Prātimokṣa-sūtras* and *Karmavākyas* — essential to the routine of the *bhikṣu-* and *bhikṣunī-saṅghas* — and, in a somewhat different sense, the tales of the *Jātakas* and *Avadānas*, told and retold in sermons up to the present day.²

When I speak of the “*rakṣā* literature of the Śrāvakayāna”, I refer here to four specific classes of texts:

- 1) the *paritta* of the Theravādins;
- 2) the *Mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins;
- 3) the *svasti-*, *svastyayana-*, or *mangala-gāthā* of various schools; and
- 4) certain texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* collections.³

¹ AN V 342.1–14. See also the eight benefits of *mettā* at AN IV 150–51.13, and cp. the similar passage incorporated into the *Megha-sūtra*, p. 294.

² I am grateful to Sally Mellick (Oxford) for pointing out the popular didactic use of the *Apadāna* literature.

³ The use of the plural “collections” will be made clear in the appropriate section.

But these classes are by no means watertight: the *paritta*, the *Mahāsūtras*, and the *Pañcarakṣā* contain *svastigāthā*, the *Pañcarakṣā* contain *paritta*, and so on. All four are traditional classifications of various schools, and I have adopted them as a convenient basis upon which to open my presentation of the *rakṣā* literature: an *upāya* which I hope will prove *kauśalya*. There may well have been other classes or categories; some of the manuscripts retrieved from the sands of Central Asia, for example, seem to be *rakṣā* collections.¹ We know next to nothing of the *rakṣā* literature of the Buddhist schools whose scriptures have not come down to us. The Mādhyamika scholar Bhavya (*circa* 500–70 A.C.?)² cites a passage from the *Vidyādharapiṭaka* of the Siddhārthas, whom he classifies in this case under the Mahāsāṃghikas.³ According to Candrakīrti (*circa* 600–50 A.C.),⁴ one of the seven *piṭakas* of the Pūrvaśailas and Aparaśailas — offshoots of the Mahāsāṃghikas — was a *Vidyādhara* (*rig 'dzin*) *Piṭaka*;⁵ according to Chi-tsang (549–623 A.C.) and Paramārtha (mid 6th century), one of the five *piṭakas* of the Dharmaguptakas was a “*piṭaka* of magic formulas”.⁶ According to Hsüan-tsang (first half of the 7th century), one of the five *piṭakas* of the

¹ See Ernst Waldschmidt, *Kleine Brāhmī-Schriftrolle*, Göttingen, 1959, for some possible examples.

² For Bhavya and his date, see Ruegg 1981 pp. 61–66.

³ *Tarkajvālā*, Q 5256, Vol. 96, *dbu ma, dza*, 190a6, D 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 175b1, *dge 'dun* (Q *slon*) *phal chen sde'i nañ tshan don grub pa rnam rig pa 'dzin pa'i sde snod*.

⁴ Ruegg 1981 p. 71.

⁵ Per K. Sorensen, *Candrakīrti, Triśaṇaṣaptati, the Septuagint on the Three Refuges*, Vienna, 1986, pp. 51–53 (vv. 57–58).

⁶ Paul Demiéville, “L’origine des sectes bouddhiques d’après Paramārtha”, in *Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques*, Vol. I, Brussels, 1932, p. 61. Demiéville translates “formules magiques”, and gives *dhāraṇī* and *mantra* as Sanskrit equivalents. Matsunaga 1977, p. 169, refers to a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* of the same school.

Mahāsāṃghikas was a *Mantra-piṭaka*.¹ I-ching (635–713 A.C.) mentions a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* in 100,000 ślokas;² the *Ādikarmapradīpa* cites a verse from a work of the same title.³ Such collections may well have included *rakṣās*, such as that cited from a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva (first part of 8th century).⁴ From all this we may conclude that by the 6th century (at the very latest) Śrāvaka schools of the Mahāsāṃghika fold — the Pūrvāśailas, Aparaśailas, and Siddhārthas — as well as the Dharmaguptakas transmitted a separate *piṭaka*, most probably devoted to *mantras* and spells, known as the *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*.⁵

In a broader sense, the *rakṣā* phenomenon permeates Buddhist literature in general, and cannot be restricted to certain classes of texts. In sections 5 to 7, I will discuss the characteristics of *rakṣā* as a literary phenomenon: its phraseology, and its connection with *mantra* and cults. Although my main topic is the *rakṣā* literature of the Śrāvakayāna, to

¹ Here I follow Lamotte, *Mppś* IV, 1862. Earlier works give the Sanskrit as *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*: see Samuel Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, [London, 1884] Delhi, 1981, II 164–65, and Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, [London, 1904–5] New Delhi, 1973, II 159–60.

² Latika Lahiri, *Chinese Monks in India*, Delhi, 1986, p. 65. I-ching also mentions a *Dhāraṇī-piṭaka*, pp. 64, 68. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I 77, “Biniya”.

³ Louis de La Vallée Poussin, “The Vidyādharapiṭaka”, *JRAS* 1895, pp. 433–36.

⁴ *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 142.12 (date from Ruegg 1981 p. 82). A part of the *mantra* (in both the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions) is in a Prakrit close to Pali: *namo sabba-sammasambuddhāṇam sijhantu me mantapadāḥ svāhā*. The *Vidyādhara-piṭaka* is also referred to in a work of Buddhaghosa preserved in the *Tanjur*: see Jeffrey Hopkins, *The Yoga of Tibet*, London, 1981, pp. 50–51 (the Tibetan is given at p. 254 as *rig 'dzin gyi sde snod*). See also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fascicle 4, p. 519.

⁵ It may be seen from the references given above that this term is attested in Sanskrit (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Ādikarmapradīpa*) and Tibetan, wherein *rig 'dzin* = *vidyādhara* (Bhavya, Candrakīrti, Buddhaghosa) cannot possibly be confused with *mantra* (*gsan snags*) or *dhāraṇī* (*gzuṇs*). There is some disagreement among scholars about the Sanskrit equivalents of the Chinese terms.

study what I have called a pan-Buddhist phenomenon in isolation would be misleading. In sections 8 and 9, I will therefore touch briefly on *rakṣā* and the Mahāyāna and Tantra. As an influential and popular movement, the *rakṣā* phenomenon should have found expression in the plastic arts. Section 10 will examine the archaeological evidence. Finally, section 11 will deal with the rites associated with *rakṣā*.

1. The *paritta* of the Theravādins¹

The *paritta* collections of the Theravādins are distinguished by the fact that they are used in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay-followers. As noted by Malalasekera, "the *Pirit Pota* ... forms part of the meagre library of every Sinhalese household".² Much the same is said for Burma by Mabel Bode: "to this day, [the *paritta* is] more widely known by the Burmese laity of all classes than any other Pali book".³ Wherever the

¹ The following is an assuredly incomplete bibliography on the *paritta* from the works available to me: E.W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1946, pp. 143–44; M.H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma*, [London, 1909] Rangoon, 1965, pp. 3–4; W. Geiger, *Pāli Literature and Language*, [Calcutta, 1943] Delhi, 1968, § 17; Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, history, and practices*, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 180–82; G.P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, Colombo, [1928] 1958, pp. 75–76; É. Lamotte, *Mppś IV*, 1860–61; K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature* (Jan Gonda (ed.), *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 173–74; Ven. Piyasilo, *Buddhist Prayer*, Petaling Jaya, 1990, esp. parts III and IV; Shway Yoe, *The Burman: His Life and Notions*, New York, 1963, pp. 397–98; Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, pp. 276–80; Phya Anuman Rajadhon, *Popular Buddhism in Siam and Other Essays on Thai Studies*, Bangkok, 1986, pp. 57–67; L. Renou, J. Filliozat, et al., *L'Inde Classique*, tome II, Hanoi 1953, §§ 1982, 2039; S.D. Saparamadu (ed.), *The Polonnaruva Period*, Dehiwala, 1973, p. 139; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, New York, [1933] 1972, pp. 80, 380, note 1, 381. Further references are found in Lily de Silva, pp. xi–xii.

² Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

Theravāda holds sway, the average monk may not know a great deal about the *Tipiṭaka*, but will be able to recite numerous chants from memory.

Although there is evidence of the use of *paritta* from an early date in the *Chronicles* and *Commentaries* of Sri Lanka, references are rather scanty, perhaps because as a popular phenomenon the *paritta* was taken for granted. Table 1 shows the earliest known lists of *paritta* titles: those of the *Milinda-pañha*¹ and the *Āṭṭhakathā* of Buddhaghosa (5th century).² Some of these lists vary somewhat in the modern Burmese, Siamese, and Singhalese printed editions. The *Visuddhimagga* and *Āṭṭhakathā* lists are given in connection with the definition of the “range of the Buddha’s authority” (*āñākkhetta*): one hundred thousand million universes within which the *parittas* are efficacious. There are three basic lists, with some variants in the different editions:³

- 1) Table 1.2.1–4: the four *parittas* “etc.” of the *Dīgha*-, *Majjhima*-, *Āṅguttara*- (*Ekanipāta*), and *Vibhaṅga* *Āṭṭhakathās*;
- 2) Table 1.3.1–2: the five *parittas* of the *Visuddhimagga* and *Samantapāśādikā*;
- 3) Table 1.4: the eight *parittas* of the *Mahāniddesa*- and *Āṅguttara*- (*Tikanipāta*) *Āṭṭhakathās*.

¹ The *Milinda-pañha* is a composite text, dating between the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and the 5th century A.C.: see K.R. Norman, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–13. The section in question comes from one of the later parts.

² I am grateful to Ven. Dhammānanda Mahāthera of Burma, now residing at Wat Tamao, Lampang, for many of these references and for information on the Burmese *paritta* tradition. Cf. his important article (in Thai) “On whether or not the chanting of *paritta* is *tiracchānavijjā*”, in Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 191–98.

³ The titles given in the commentary on the *Āṭānāṭiya-sutta* (Table 1.5) occur in a different context, and are not discussed here.

Taken together, the *Atthakathā* lists give eight titles; when the *Āngulimāla-paritta* of the *Milinda-pañha* list is added, there are nine titles.

The *paritta* of the Theravādins exists today in a number of recensions. In Sri Lanka there is the *Catubhāṇavāra* or *Four Recitations*, current in a shorter recension of 22 texts and a longer recension of 29 texts.¹ The shorter recension must be the older of the two: Sri Lankan commentaries of the 12th and the 18th centuries know only the 22 texts,² and the extra seven of the longer version differ somewhat in order and contents in different editions. The *Samantapāśādikā* (5th century A.C.) mentions "four *bhāṇavāra* from the *suttanta*", but from the context probably does not refer to the *paritta* collection.³ The earliest definite reference to the four *Bhāṇavāra* that I am aware of is an inscription of Kassapa V, dated *circa* 929–39 A.C., from the Jetavana area in Anurādhapura.⁴ Another Sri Lankan collection contains nine texts, and is known in Sinhalese as *Piritnava-sūtraya*;⁵ the nine titles agree with those of the Siamese *Parittasankhepa* (see below).

¹ See L. de Silva, pp. 5–8; Helmer Smith, *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Epilegomena to Vol. I, Copenhagen, 1948, pp. 93*–95*; Maria Bidoli and Heinz Bechert, *Singhalesische Handschriften*, Teil 1, Wiesbaden, 1969, § 128, pp. 82–83 (the last named gives an extensive bibliography of printed and manuscript *paritta* collections).

² Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. III, fasc. 4, pp. 694–95, *catubhāṇavāra*.

³ Sp IV 788 ult. I am grateful to L.S. Cousins (Manchester) for this reference.

⁴ "Slab-inscription of Kassapa V", *Epigraphia Zeylanica* I, London, 1912, pp. 41–57. For further references from commentaries, chronicles, inscriptions, and Sinhala literature, see L. de Silva, pp. 16–22.

⁵ C.E. Godakumbura, *Catalogue of Ceylonese Manuscripts*, The Royal Library, Copenhagen, 1980, pp. 25–26. The collection is not otherwise mentioned in the literature I have consulted, and was not known to two senior Sinhalese monks whom I consulted in Penang. Its origins and current status remain to be determined.

In three of the 22 texts of the shorter *Catubhāṇavāra* — the *Khandhāparitta*, the *Dhajaggāparitta*, and the *Āṭānāṭiyasutta* — the Buddha himself recommends that they be used as *rakkhā*. Thus their use as such is very old. In another seven texts — the *Morāparitta*, the *Candāparitta*, the *Suriyāparitta*, the three *Bojjhaṅgaparittas*, and the *Girimānandāparitta* — protection is granted through the recitation of verses or the teachings of the Buddha, while the *Māṅgala-* and *Ratana-suttas* deal with *māṅgala* and *suvatthi*, the “positive side” of *rakṣā*. The (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins and other schools also used as *rakṣā* their own counterparts of the *Khandha-*, *Dhajagga-*, *Āṭānāṭiya-*, *Mora-*, and *Canda-parittas*, along with the *Māṅgala-* and *Ratana-suttas*.¹ This further establishes the antiquity of the *rakṣā* status of these texts.

A Burmese manuscript dated 1842 A.C. contains the shorter *Catubhāṇavāra* with one extra *sutta* to total 23 texts; otherwise the contents, order, and division into *bhāṇavāras* are the same as in the Sri Lankan recension.² The *Catubhāṇavāra* is not, however, recited or even generally known in Burma today, and its exact status in the past remains to be determined. The recitation of *paritta* is referred to in Pagan inscriptions.³ The standard collection used in Burma today consists of 11 texts called simply *Paritta* (or sometimes *Mahāparitta*), for which see Table 2A. All but three of the texts of this collection (nos. 1, 6, 11) are named in the *Milindapañha* and *Āṭṭhakathā* lists. The contents and order of the Burmese *Paritta* are closely related to the *paritta* list of the

¹ These will be discussed below under *Mahāsūtra*, *svastigāthā*, and *Pañcarakṣā*.

² Heinz Braun and Daw Tin Tin Myint, *Burmese Manuscripts*, part 2, Stuttgart, 1985, no. 352, pp. 173–75; the extra text, no. 20 of the manuscript, is entitled *Sammāsambuddhabojjhaṅgam*; according to the editors it is equivalent to *SN* V 81 foll. Since this is the only description of a Burmese *Catubhāṇavāra* that I have come across, I cannot say whether or not it is typical.

³ G.H. Luce, “Economic Life of the Early Burman”, in *Burma Research Society, Fiftieth Anniversary Publications No. 2*, Rangoon, 1960, p. 366 (originally published in the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* XXX.i, pp. 283–335).

Burmese printed edition of the *Milinda-pañha*; to what degree the one is derived from the other, or the two have mutually influenced each other, requires further research.¹ The *Sirimāngala-paritta*, a modern collection settled during the U Nu period, contains the 11 texts of the *Paritta*, to which it adds another 20 texts to make a total of 31, as shown in Table 2B. The last four are non-canonical, although three of them are styled *-sutta* in their titles and open with *evam me sutam*.²

The *paritta* tradition of Siam has parallels to both the Sri Lankan and Burmese traditions. As in Sri Lanka, in Siam there are two recensions of the *Catubhāṇavāra*. The longer Siamese *Catubhāṇavāra*, however, is equivalent to the older and shorter Sri Lankan recension of 22 texts; the shorter Siamese *Catubhāṇavāra* is an abridged version containing 17 texts. The division of the two Siamese recensions into recitations differs somewhat from that of the Sri Lankan version. Siam has two further recensions, the *Dvādasa-paritta* and the *Satta-paritta*. The former, also known as the *Mahārāja-paritta* or, in Thai, the *Sipsong Tamnan*, contains the first 11 texts of the Burmese *Paritta* plus the *Jaya-paritta*; the latter, also known as the *Cularāja-paritta* or *Jet Tamnan*, is an abridgement of the former and contains, according to the title, 7 texts.³ The contents of these collections are given in Tables 2C and 2D.

¹ The *Jinapañjara-gāthā* lists the seven titles of the *Chatthasaṅgīti Milindapañha*, but in a different order.

² *Sirimāngalaparitta* nos. 28–31.

³ Cf. Finot 1917 pp. 53–60; Kenneth E. Wells, *Thai Buddhism: Its Rites and Activities*, Bangkok, 1975, pp. 276–82. A list of the contents of the Siamese *Catubhāṇavāra* is given in the *Royal Chanting Book* p. 112. Most editions of the *Sattaparitta* give more than 7 texts (although Finot lists 7), and I am not certain which are the 7 of the title.

The *Parittasaṅkhepa*, most probably composed at Ayutthaya in the 17th–18th centuries, lists and comments on nine *parittas*:¹

1. *Maṅgala-sutta*
2. *Ratana-sutta*
3. *Metta-sutta*
4. *Khandha-paritta*
5. *Mora-paritta*
6. *Dhajagga-paritta*
7. *Ātānāṭiya-paritta*
8. *Āngulimālā-paritta*
9. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*.

The titles are the same as those of the Sri Lankan *Piritnava-sūtraya*.

For the study of the Siamese *paritta* tradition, the most important printed source is the *Royal Chanting Book*. This was compiled at the behest of King Rāma V (Chulalongkorn) by Phussadeva, later to be Supreme Patriarch, when he held the rank of Somdet Brahū Buddhaghoṣācārya. It was first published in Ratanakosin Era 99 / B.E. 2423 [1880], in an edition of 10,000 copies, and thus preceded the first printed edition of the *Tipiṭaka*, published in 2436 [1893], by thirteen years. Otherwise, there are numerous chanting books, large and small, such as the popular *Suat Mantabidhī*, published in various editions. It is worth noting that the common element in the Thai titles of chanting books is *manta*, usually in the form *suat manta*. *Suat manta* is also the common verb for “to chant”; *suat brahū paritta* refers to formal ceremonies with string and water, and is hence less common. In titles *paritta* is frequently “Sanskritised” as *paritra*, as in the *Cula-* and *Mahā-rājaparitra* of the *Royal Chanting Book*.

¹ Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Vivadhanākāra Varrnagatī sai Brah Suttantapiṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 491–500.

I have been unable to find any evidence for the date or place of origin of the Burmese *Paritta* or the Siamese *Dvādasā-* and *Satta-paritta* collections.¹

In all of these collections the canonical *paritta* texts are set within ancillary opening and closing verses (*paritta-parikamma*, etc.). A synoptic edition of these verses is a desideratum.

In addition to the *paritta* properly speaking, there exist in Pali numerous non-canonical texts, both prose and verse, of a protective nature. To my knowledge, only one of these has been edited or studied: the *Mahādibbamanta*.² The others have not yet been properly catalogued or even listed. In classifying this sort of extra-canonical literature, we might distinguish (A) apocryphal *sutta* texts, opening with the *evam me sutam* formula, and (B) *gāthā* or other texts recognised as having had an historical author, that make no claim to be *Buddhavacana* as such. Here I give a very preliminary list:

(A) Apocryphal *suttas*

1. *Ākāravatta-sutta* (or, more frequently, *-sūtra*);³

¹ Cf. L. de Silva pp. 7 and 14 for the term *mahapirit* or *mahāparitta* in Sri Lanka. According to H. Saddhatissa (*The Birth-Stories of the Ten Bodhisattas and the Dasabodhisattuppattikathā*, London, 1975, p. 37), the *Dvādasaparitta* was "presumably introduced to Ceylon by Siamese *theras* headed by Mahāthera Upāli who arrived in the island in 1753 A.C." This suggests that the origin of the *Dvādasaparitta* (and hence its abridgement, the *Satta-paritta*) is to be sought in Siam, or at least South-east Asia.

² Jaini 1965.

³ *Mahābrahuddhamanta* 21.2; O. von Hinüber, "The Pāli Manuscripts kept at The Siam Society, Bangkok, a Short Catalogue", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 75, 1987, no. 47, pp. 43–44. The text does not seem to be known in Burma.

2. *Dhāraṇa-paritta*;¹
3. *Chadisapāla-sutta*;²
4. *Cakkaparitta-sutta*;³
5. *Parimittajāla-sutta*.⁴

(B) *Gāthā* and other texts

1. *Atṭhavisati-paritta*⁵
2. *Jinapañjara-gāthā*;⁶
3. *Jayamaṅgala-gāthā*⁷
4. *Atṭhamamaṅgala-gāthā*;⁸
5. *Uppātasanti*;⁹
6. *Jaya-paritta*;¹⁰

¹ *Mahābrahuddhamanta* 20.8. Although the printed editions that I have seen do not open with *evam me sutam*, the latter half of the text is addressed to Ānanda. The text has apparently been recently introduced to Siam from Burma. Dhammānanda 1992 p. 441, *Āvenīkaguṇa*, gives the opening on the 18 āvenīkaguṇa, with a note on their Pali sources.

² *Sirimaṅgalaparitta* no. 28. This and the next two texts are not known in Siam.

³ *Sirimaṅgalaparitta* no. 29.

⁴ *Sirimaṅgalaparitta* no. 30.

⁵ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 39–40. On the evidence of an 11th century Thaton inscription, this is the earliest attested non-canonical *paritta*: see G.H. Luce, “The Advent of Buddhism to Burma”, in L. Cousins, A. Kunst, and K.R. Norman (ed.), *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I.B. Horner*, Dordrecht, 1974, p. 133. I am grateful to Lance Cousins for this reference.

⁶ A number of recensions have been discussed and edited by the present Supreme Patriarch of Siam, *Praḥvati Gāthājinapañjara*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986]. See also Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 199–201.

⁷ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 92–94 (*bāhum*).

⁸ Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 438–40.

⁹ *Sirimaṅgalaparitta* no. 31; Dhammānanda 1992 pp. 385–435. The text, believed to have been composed in Chiengmai, was reintroduced to Siam from Burma by Ven. Dhammānanda.

¹⁰ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 25–27 (*mahākāruṇiko nātho*).

7. *Ātānāṭiya-paritta*;¹
8. *Bojjhaṅga-paritta*;²
9. *Mahādibbamanta*;³
10. *Yot brahkaṇḍatratraipiṭaka*.⁴

A number of these, along with the *Gini-paritta*, which is not known in South-east Asia, are briefly described by Lily de Silva.⁵ The *Jinapañjara-gāthā*, the *Ākāravatta-sūtra*, the *Yot brahkaṇḍatratraipiṭaka*, the *Dhāraṇa-paritta*, and the *Uppātasanti* are especially popular in Siam, where they are published in the numerous collections of chants that are widely available.

Some of these texts, such as the *Ākāravatta-sūtra* and the *Yot brahkaṇḍatratraipiṭaka*, are expansions of the *iti pi so* formula, a key element of the ancient *Dhajagga-paritta*.⁶ Others, such as the *Mahādibbamanta*, the *Chadisapāla*, and *Uppātasanti*, derive their efficacy from lists of saints and deities, and thus resemble the canonical *Mahāsamaya-* and *Ātānāṭiya- Suttas*.

¹ I refer here to the text included in the Burmese *Paritta* (no. 8) and the Siamese *Satta-* and *Dvādasa-* *Parittas*, which consists of the opening verses of homage to the seven Buddhas of the *sutta* proper, plus a series of non-canonical verses: see *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 20–22 and 38–43 (the latter incorporating the *Āṭhavīsati-paritta*).

² The reference is to the text found in the Burmese *Paritta* (no. 10) and the Siamese *Satta-* and *Dvādasa-* *Parittas*, which is a verse summary of the canonical *Bojjhaṅga-suttas*: see *Royal Chanting Book* p. 23.

³ Jaini 1965.

⁴ *Mahābrahuddhamanta* 21.1.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8–11.

⁶ See also the short texts (some mixed with Thai) at *Mahābrahuddhamanta* 21.3; 22.2, 3, 5; 26.1–3), and Finot 1917 p. 58, *Sut Iti pi so*.

2. The *Mahāsūtras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins

As far as I know, *Mahāsūtra* as a technical term was applied to two collections of *sūtras*:

- (1) a group of eighteen *Mahāsūtras* listed in the *Vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins;
- (2) a group of six or eight *Mahāsūtras* listed in the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

These lists, lost in the original Sanskrit, have been preserved in Chinese and Tibetan translation. Both groups consist of *sūtras* extracted from the *Āgamas* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin tradition; most, but not all, are common to the *Āgamas* of the other early Buddhist schools.

The Sarvāstivādin list of eighteen *Mahāsūtras* (*Ta ching*) occurs in the fourth section, “On Keeping the Rains Retreat” (*An chü fa* = **Varṣāvāsadharma*), of the ninth chapter, “Seven Dharmas” (*Ch'i fa* = **Saptadharma*) of the *Vinaya* of that school as translated into Chinese by Puṇyatara and Kumārajīva between 399 and 413 A.C.¹ This is the only known occurrence of the Sarvāstivādin list of *Mahāsūtras*. I will not discuss them here since there is no evidence that they were used as *rakṣās*.² I will only note that the term *Mahāsūtra* must have been in vogue by the 4th century, and that two of the Sarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* (nos. 6 and 7, the *Āṭānāṭika* and *Mahāsamāja*) are classed as *paritta* by the Theravādins, and that five (no. 3, the *Pañcatraya*; no. 4, the

¹ T 1435, Vol. 23, 174b18; KBC 890.

² For the list, see A. Hirakawa, *A Study of the Vinaya-Piṭaka* (*Ritsuzō no Kenkyū*, in Japanese), Tokyo, 1960, pp. 779–80 and S. Sasaki, “The *Mahāsūtra* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda as listed in the IDan dkar ma Catalogue” (in Japanese), *Buddhist Studies* (*Bukkyō Kenkyū*), Hamamatsu, Vol. XV, Dec. 1985, p. 100.

Māyājāla; nos. 6 and 7; and no. 12, the *Bimbisāra*) are also classed as *Mahāsūtras* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin list of *Mahāsūtras* is found in the *Bhikṣu-Vinayavibhaṅga* in both Chinese and Tibetan translation and in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinayavibhaṅga* in Chinese translation only, in connection with the third *pārājikā*. The two Chinese lists (translated at the beginning of the 8th century), which are identical, give the titles of six *Mahāsūtras* (*Ta ching*);¹ the Tibetan list (translated c. 800 A.C.) gives the same six titles in the same order, plus two more to make a total of eight *Mahāsūtras* (*mDo chen po che ba*). I will give here the Tibetan list with equivalent Sanskrit titles:²

1. <i>Chuṇ nu stoṇ pa ñid</i>	<i>Cūdaśūnyatā</i>
2. <i>Chen po stoṇ pa ñid</i>	<i>Mahāśūnyatā</i>
3. <i>lÑa gsum pa</i>	<i>Pañcatraya</i>
4. <i>sGyu ma'i dra ba</i>	<i>Māyājāla</i>
5. <i>gZugs can sñiñ pos bsu ba</i>	<i>Bimbisārapratyudgamana</i>
6. <i>rGyal mtshan dam pa</i>	<i>Dhvajāgra</i>
7. <i>Kun tu rgyu ba dañ kun tu mi rgyu ba dañ mthun pa'i mdo</i>	<i>Āṭānāṭīya-sūtra</i> ³
8. <i>Dus pa chen po'i mdo</i>	<i>Mahāsamāja-sūtra</i>

Nine *Mahāsūtras* — the eight listed above, but with two *Dhvajāgra-sūtras* — were translated into Tibetan by Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, and Ye śes sde in about 800 A.C. Although Sanskrit fragments of six of these *sūtras* (nos. 3–8) have been recovered from Central Asia, and

¹ T 1442, Vol. 23, 662a28; T 1443, Vol. 23, 925c6.

² *Vinayavibhaṅga*, Q 1032, 'dul ba, che, 129a5.

³ The title of this text is variously spelt: *Āṭānāṭīya* by the Mūlasarvāstivādins (in Tibetan transliteration), *Āṭānāṭīka* by the Sarvāstivādins (in Central Asian manuscripts), and *Āṭānāṭīya* by the Theravādins.

although parallel versions of seven of them (nos. 1, 2, 5, two *Dhvajāgras*, 7, 8) were translated into Chinese, only the Tibetan versions are specifically described as *Mahāsūtras* (*mDo chen po*) in their titles and colophons.

The Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation of the nine Tibetan *Mahāsūtras* is established by the *Vinayavibhaṅga* lists, by the fact that the leading translator, Jinamitra, is described in *Vinaya* colophons as a *vinayadharma* of that school, and by the fact that a contemporary royal edict forbade the translation of any Śrāvakayāna texts apart from those of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.¹

These nine *Mahāsūtras* were originally transmitted to Tibet as a group. In the “IDan (or IHan) dkar ma Palace Catalogue”, the oldest extant list of works translated into Tibetan, which dates to the early 9th century, they make up the eighth division, *mDo chen por gtogs pa*, “Category of Great Sūtras”.² In his *History of Buddhism* (*Chos 'byun*), completed in 1322 or 1323,³ Bu ston also lists the nine Tibetan titles together, but in a different order.⁴

¹ E. Obermiller, tr., *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston*, II. Part, Heidelberg, 1932, p. 197; Claus Vogel, “Bu-ston on the Schism of the Buddhist Church and on the Doctrinal Tendencies of Buddhist Scriptures”, in Heinz Bechert (ed.), *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hinayāna-Literatur*, part I, Göttingen, 1985, pp. 109–10. The correct Sanskrit should be Vogel’s Mūlasarvāstivādin (= Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 130b1, *gzi thams cad yod smra*) rather than Obermiller’s Sarvāstivādin. Cf. János Szerb, *Bu ston’s History of Buddhism in Tibet*, Vienna, 1990, p. 46.6 and note 8.

² Lalou 1953 pp. 324–25; S. Yoshimura, “The Denkar-Ma, an oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons”, Kyoto, 1950 [rep. 1974], p. 23. For the history and date of the IDan dkar ma Catalogue, see Lalou, pp. 313–17; G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, part 2, [Rome, 1958] Delhi, 1986, pp. 46 foll.; D. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, London, 1987, pp. 440–41.

³ D.S. Ruegg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che*, Rome, 1966, p. xvii.

⁴ Bu ston, Lhasa xylograph, ya, 144a4; S. Nishioka, ‘Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu Ston’s “History of Buddhism” (I)’, *Annual Report of the*

The evidence for the *rakṣā* status of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* is found in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* itself, where their recitation is recommended as a protection (*sruṇi ba* = *rakṣā*) against *vetāḍas* (*ro lañś*). The commentary by Vinītadeva, the *Vinayavibhaṅgapadavyākhyāna*, also translated about 800 A.C., states:¹

“*Mahāsūtra*” means of great fruit (*mahāphala*), because it overcomes opponents (*parapratvādin*) and because it overcomes dangerous *yakṣas*, etc.

Four of the *Mahāsūtras* have counterparts among the *paritta* of the Theravādins: the *Āṭānāṭīya*, the *Mahāsamāja*, and (various elements of) the two *Dhvajāgras*. The principle of selection of the other five is not clear to me.

One other text preserved in Tibetan translation bears the title *Mahāsūtra*: the (*Ārya*) *Vaiśālipraveśa-mahāsūtra*.² The translation, under the title ('Phags pa) *Yañś pa'i groñ khyer du 'jug pa'i mdo chen po*, was done by Surendrabodhi and Ye śes sde; since the latter collaborated with the translators of the nine *Mahāsūtras*, the translations were roughly contemporary. Its Mūlasarvāstivādin affiliation is shown by the fact that the entire *sūtra* is incorporated into the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the *Vinaya* of that school in both its Tibetan and Chinese versions.³

Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, The University of Tokyo, No. 4, 1980, nos. 11–19.

¹ Q 5616, 'dul ba'i 'grel pa, *vu*, 74b2.

² Q 142, 714, 978, translated by Léon Feer in *AMG* V, pp. 423–29. There is possibly one more, the *Mahāśītavana* (Q 180) of the Tibetan *Pañcarakṣā* collection; there are, however, difficulties with the title which can only be resolved by further research.

³ Q 1030, *Vinayavastu*, *sman gyi gži*, *bampo* 28, 'dul ba, *ge*, 42a1–45a4; T 1448, Vol. 24, 27b11–28b6.

The *Vaiśālipraveśa* consists of two parts. In the first, the Buddha and Ānanda travel to Vaiśālī; when they arrive, the Buddha tells Ānanda go to the city and recite certain *mantras* and verses. In the second part, Ānanda does the Buddha's bidding, repeating the *mantras* and verses in full. In the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, the events occur during the Buddha's last journey, in a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* expanded by the inclusion of long *jātakas* and *avadānas*; the description of the visit to Vaiśālī, ending with the pacification of the epidemic, resembles the setting of the **Ratna-sūtra* in the texts of other schools.¹ The status of the *Vaiśālipraveśa-mahāsūtra* as a *rakṣā* is clear from the fact that contains a long *mantra* and *svastigāthā* (see § 3), which cure the epidemic in that city, and from the fact that it is included under the title *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* in the Sanskrit *Pañcarakṣā* collection (see below, § 4).

From the foregoing we may conclude that ten *Mahāsūtras* were popular with the Mūlasarvāstivādins by at least the 8th century, and that these *Mahāsūtras* had *rakṣā* status.

3. The *svasti-gāthā* of various schools

The next category of *rakṣā* texts consists of sets of verses variously known as *svasti-*, *svastyayana-*, or *maṅgala-gāthā*,² or occasionally as

¹ As far as I know, there is no extant version of a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin **Ratna-sūtra*. Whether or not the *Vaiśālipraveśa* is in fact the **Ratna-sūtra* of that tradition remains to be seen. While the *Vaiśālipraveśa* has only one verse in common with the three extant **Ratna-sūtras*, and that a verse also found in other texts, it is difficult to believe that the Mūlasarvāstivādins would have two different accounts of the "miracle of Vaiśālī".

² For a Jaina text related to this type of *rakṣā* see Gustav Roth, "Notes on the *Pamca-namokkāra-parama-maṅgala* in Jaina Literature", in Heinz Bechert and Petra Kieffer-Pülz (ed.), *Indian Studies (Selected Papers) by Gustav Roth*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 129–46. I expect the tradition of some sort of *svasti-gāthā*

pranidhāna or *satyavāk*. For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to them as *svastigāthā*. They may be described as “verses of welfare, benediction, or blessing”; in a sense they are the positive side of the *rakṣā* coin — the promotion of welfare in contrast with protection against calamity.

The term *svastyayana*(-*gāthā*) is vouchsafed by the *Mahāvastu*, where it describes one of the most popular *parittas*, the *Ratana-sutta*.¹ The same text uses the term *sovattika* for the verses of benediction spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapusa and Bhallika.² *Svastyayana*, “well-being”, is one of the synonyms of *rakṣā* (in the sense of “protection” rather than “protective text”) in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and in the *Megha-sūtra*, and the *Ekādaśamukha*;³ in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* it occurs in conjunction with *paritrāṇa*.⁴ In the *Jātakamālā*, *svastyayana* is used in the sense of “protective charm” or “talisman”.⁵

The only extant collections of *svasti-gāthā* are found in Tibetan translation. The earliest list, of seven titles, occurs in the *lDan dkar ma Catalogue* of the early 9th century, wherein they make up a separate class, section XVIII, under the title *bKra śis kyi rnam grāns* = **Svastiparyāya*.⁶ In the existing recensions of the Tibetan canon, verse

must exist in the Brahmanical tradition, but have not seen any references. The concluding verse of *King Mahendra's Bhagavad-Ajuka* (ed., tr. Michael Lockwood and Vishnu Bhat, Madras, 1978, p. 114) may be described as a *svasti-gāthā*.

¹ *Mahāvastu* I 236.2, *svastyayanagāthām bhāṣati*; 236.10, *śrṇvantu svastyayanam jinena bhāṣitam*.

² *Mahāvastu* III 404.1 (= Senart 305.10). Cf. *BHSD* 606b, where this is the sole reference.

³ *MhMVR*(T) 13.2, 15.3, etc; *Megha-sūtra* 298.14; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM* I 36.2: in all three texts *svastyayana* is preceded by *śānti*, “peace”.

⁴ *Divy* 614.6, *paritrāṇam svastyayayam kuryāt*.

⁵ *Jātakamālā* VIII, *Maitribala*, vv. 7, 9, etc.; XIX, *Bisa*, v. 15.

⁶ Lalou 1953 p. 330.

texts of this type are grouped together at the end of the main divisions of the *Kanjur* and at the end of the *Tanjur*. In the Peking edition, for example, they occur at the end of the *Tantra* division (*rGyud*, Q Vol. 9) properly speaking,¹ at the end of the *Dhāraṇī Collection* (*gZuṇs 'dus*, Q Vol. 11), at the end of the *Vinaya* ('*Dul ba*, Q Vol. 45) — which in the Peking edition equals the end of the *Kanjur* — and at the end of the *Tanjur* (Q Vol. 150), preceding the *Catalogue* (*dKar chag*, Vol. 151). In all cases they perform their function as *svastigāthā*, benedictions or blessings at the conclusion of the meritorious work of compiling the *Tripiṭaka*. This is explained in the *Catalogue* (*dKar chag*) to the *Golden Tanjur*:²

“Now, in order to make fruitful the work that has [just been] completed [the copying of the *Tanjur*], the dedications (*bsno ba* = *pariṇamanā*), aspirations (*smon lam* = *pranidhāna*), and blessings (*bkra śis* = *maṅgala*) [follow]...”

Well-placed [here] are the forty-odd
dedications, aspirations, and verses of blessing
which when recited accomplish all aims
and promote welfare at all times.”

Out of the “forty-odd” texts, the *pariṇamanā* and *pranidhāna* (mostly extracted from *Mahāyāna* works) come first, followed by the *svasti-* and *maṅgala-gāthā*, which come at the end. I can give here only a few examples of the latter.³

¹ That is, not counting the three volumes of the “Old Tantras” (*rñiñ rgyud dza, va, ža*) or volume *za*.

² *Golden Tanjur*, Vol. 100, *dkar chag, tso*, 182b6–184a1. Similar passages are found in other editions of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*.

³ The following is based on the Peking edition of the *Kanjur* and *Tanjur*. For the Berlin manuscript *Kanjur*, see Hermann Beckh, *Verzeichnis der Tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, Erste Abteilung: Kanjur*

1. A complete extract of the verses of one of the *Mahāsūtras*, the *Vaiśālīpraveśa* (see above, § 2), which are described as *bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa* = *svastigāthā*.¹
2. Verses extracted from the *Mahāśāhasrapramardanī*, a *Pañcarakṣā* text (see below, § 4), equivalent to the *Ratana-sutta* of the Theravādin *Suttanipāta* and the parallel *svastyayana-gāthā* in the Lokottaravādin *Mahāśāṃghika Mahāvastu*, but differing in number of verses, order, and details.² The title describes them as *smon lam* = *prañidhāna*.
3. A set of two groups of verses extracted from another *Pañcarakṣā* text, the *Mahāmāyūri*.³ The first group deals with the Seven Buddhas and their *bodhi*-trees; the second consists of two verses common to the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* and to the *Vaiśālīpraveśa*, plus a third

(*Bkah-hgyur*), Berlin, 1914, p. 5 ('*dul ba*), pp. 132–33 (*rgyud*), p. 147 (*gzuṇs 'dus*); for the Derge *Kanjur* see Hakuju Ui *et al.*, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Canons*, Sendai, 1934, pp. 135–37 (*rgyud*), 178–80 (*gzuṇs 'dus*); for the Lithang *Kanjur*, see Jampa Samten Shastri and Jeremy Russell, "Notes on the Lithang Edition of the Tibetan *bKa*'-'*gyur*", in *The Tibet Journal*, Vol. XII, no. 3, autumn, 1987, Appendix III ('*dul ba*). Because different texts bear similar or identical titles, because the same text sometimes bears different titles in the different divisions of one edition, and because the titles are sometimes given in the colophon rather than at the head of the text, I am unable to give a complete concordance in this paper. Note that the "Them spangs ma" *Kanjurs* have only a few such texts at the end of the *Sūtra* (*mdo sde*) and *Tantra* (*rgyud*) divisions: see for example the Stog Palace *Kanjur*, Skorupski nos. 321–32 and 759–63.

¹ Q 439, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 1045, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5950, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

² *Stoṇ chen mo rab tu 'joms pa las gsuṇs pa'i smon lam*, Q 436, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 719, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*; Q 1043, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5951, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

³ *Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo las gsuṇs pa'i smon lam dan bden tshig*: Q 437, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 720, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*; Q 1044, Vol. 45, end of '*dul ba*'; Q 5953, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

satyavāk verse.¹ The title describes the verses as *pranidhāna* (*smon lam* = first set) and *satyavāk* (*bden tshig* = second set).

4. The *Devapariprcchā-maṅgalagāthā*,² parallel to the Pali *Maṅgalasutta*, another of the most popular *parittas*; since it differs in number and order of verses, it is the recension of another, as yet undetermined, school.

5. The *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*,³ according to the colophon an extract from the *Trapuśabhallikaparivarta* of the *Lalitavistara*.⁴ Similar verses, described as *sovatthika*, are found in the *Mahāvastu*.⁵ In both cases they are spoken by the Buddha to the merchants Trapuśa and Bhallika. The verses occur in the *Vinaya* of the Mahāśāṃghikas in Chinese translation, but in a different context.⁶ A fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript from Central Asia in the Pelliot collection also contains the verses, again addressed to the two merchants,⁷ and a parallel is found in Uighur.⁸ The stanzas invoke the blessings and protection of 28 *nakṣatras*, 32 *devakumārīs*,

¹ *MhMVR*(T) 13.17–14.3 and 14.15–15.1, respectively.

² *Lhas žus pa'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 442, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 721, Vol. 11, end of *gzunś 'dus*; Q 1053, Vol. 45, end of *'dul ba*; Q 5943, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*. Studied in French translation by Feer, compared with the Tibetan translation of a Theravādin version, in *AMG* V pp. 224–27.

³ *Śis par brjod pa'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 728, Vol. 11, end of *gzunś 'dus*; Q 1048, Vol. 45, end of *'dul ba*; Q 5949, *ño mtshar bstan bcos, mo*, 336b2–39a4, end of *Tanjur*.

⁴ Colophon, *mo*, 339a3; the translated verses indeed agree with those of the Tibetan *Lalitavistara*, Q 763, *mdo, ku*, 209a7–11a4, translated *circa* 800 A.C. by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarma, and Ye śes sde (for Sanskrit cf. *Lalitavistara* 282.3–85.8 = vv. 109–52).

⁵ *Mahāvastu* III 404.7–10.14 (vv. 7–51).

⁶ Bareau 1959 pp. 303–4. Bareau refers to T 1425, 500c–01b.

⁷ Pauly 1959 pp. 203–22.

⁸ Lore Sander, "Buddhist Literature in Central Asia", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fasc. 1, 1979, p. 61.

the Four Great Kings and their assemblies, and four *caityas*, in the sequence of the four quarters, and hence set up a protective circle.¹

Other texts bear similar titles:

6. *Svasti-gāthā*²
7. *Svastyayana-gāthā*³
8. *Pañcatathāgatamañgala-gāthā*⁴
9. *Ratnatrayamañgala-gāthā*⁵
10. *Mañgala-gāthā*⁶
11. *Ratnatrayasvastigāthā*⁷
12. *Rig gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*⁸
13. *Saṁs rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa.*⁹

Only two *svastigāthās* may be assigned a school with any certainty: the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-svastigāthā*, which occurs in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the

¹ For a summary of the verses in the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, and *Vinaya* see Bareau 1959 pp. 304–9.

² *Bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 440, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 772, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*.

³ *Bde legs su 'gyur ba'i tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 441, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 773, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*.

⁴ *De bzin gṣegs pa lha'i bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 445, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 726, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*; translated by Feer, *AMG* V p. 470.

⁵ *Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 447, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 729, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*; Q 5958, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

⁶ Q 449, etc.: see references in note 3 on p. 137.

⁷ *Dkon mchog gsum gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 450, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 5955, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*.

⁸ Q 446, Vol. 9, end of *rgyud*; Q 727, Vol. 11, end of *gzuṇs 'dus*; Q 5961, Vol. 150, end of *Tanjur*; translated by Feer, *AMG* V pp. 474–75. The title means “Verses of Blessing of the Three Families” (**Trikula / Kulatraya-maṅgalagāthā*).

⁹ Q 444, etc.: see references in note 4 on p. 137. The title means “Verses of Blessing (*maṅgalagāthā*) on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas”.

Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*, which is Mahāsāṃghika in two (most probably three) of its versions.¹

It is likely that at least some of the *svastigāthā* in the Tibetan *Tripiṭaka* belonged to the liturgy of the monks of the Mūlasarvāstivādin or other *nikāyas* in India. That is, they would have been recited in appropriate contexts — sickness or calamity, or *anumodanā* for *dāna* — just as their Pali counterparts are chanted by Theravādin monks up to the present day.² In the Mahāsāṃghika *Vinaya*, the *Āśīrvāda-gāthā* are presented as a model of the benediction to be given by monks to merchants who have made offerings.³ Examples of verse *abhyanumodanā* are found in the *Vinaya* and *Sūtra* literature of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins, where the stock formula is *atha bhagavān* (name of donor, genitive) *tad dānam anayā abhyanumodayā abhyanumodate*.⁴ Another formula is *bhagavatā...dakṣinā ādiṣṭā*.⁵ Some information about chanting in India in the late 7th century is supplied by I-ching; he does not, however,

¹ The *Mahāvastu*, the *Vinaya* in Chinese, and the *Lalitavistara*. On the basis of style, phraseology, and doctrine, the origins of the last named seem to me to lie more probably with the Mahāsāṃghikas than with the Sarvāstivādins. The common attribution of the text to the latter seems to rest on a sole Chinese reference to the titles of a number of biographies of the Buddha: see Samuel Beal, *The Romantic Legend of Śākyā Buddha*, [London, 1875] Delhi, 1985, pp. v–vi, 386–87.

² In terms of purpose — celebration of the merits of an act of giving — *anumodanā* is not strictly speaking a protection, *rakṣā*. But since the verses employed overlap the *rakṣā* literature (the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra* contains *abhyanumodanā* verses, some of which are elsewhere described as *svasti-gāthā*) and the Pali *anumodanā* are printed along with *paritta* and assorted *rakṣās* (see *Royal Chanting Book*, *anumodanā-vidhī*), it seems more convenient to study *abhyanumodanā* and *svastigāthā* together.

³ Bareau 1959 pp. 303–4.

⁴ See *Saṅghabheda-vastu* I 124.11–20; Ernst Waldschmidt, *Das Mahā-parinirvāṇasūtra*, [Berlin, 1950–51] Kyoto, 1986, §§ 6.11–14, 12.6–9, 26.29–30.

⁵ *Saṅghabheda-vastu* I 199.25–27.

mention any canonical texts by name.¹ I-ching's translator, Takakusu (p. 48), gives two Sanskrit terms: *dānagāthā* and *dakṣināgāthā*.²

As far as I know, only two of the *svastigāthā* mentioned above are currently recited by members of the Tibetan *saṃgha* (who are by ordination Mūlasarvāstivādin): the *Maṅgalagāthā* on the twelve acts of the Buddha, attributed to Nāgārjuna,³ and the *Maṅgalagāthā* on the Lineage of the Seven Buddhas.⁴ The school of these two texts is uncertain; since neither is overtly Mahāyānistic, they may be described as mainstream *svastigāthā*.

Though not described as such, the last verse of Vasubandhu's *Gāthāsamgraha* is a typical *svastigāthā*:⁵

¹ J. Takakusu, tr., *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*, [London, 1896] New Delhi, 1986, pp. 41–42, 46, 48–49, 152, 166. I-ching does say that he has translated such *gāthās*; Takakusu (p. 48 note 1) refers to the "Rules of Confession", Nanjio 1506 [= T 1903, KBC 1084]. Cf. *Hōbōgirin* I 93 foll. ("Bombai").

² See also Soothill and Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, [London, 1937] Delhi, 1977, pp. 285a, 330b.

³ *Bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 449, Vol. 9, *rgyud, tsha*, 321a8; Q 724, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ya*, 278b6; Q 5954, Vol. 150, *no mtshar bstan bcos, mo*, 343a; translated by Feer, *AMG* V pp. 471–74. The attribution of the text to *Slob dpon 'phags pa klu sgrub* is in Q 5954. The text is not mentioned in Chr. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, Copenhagen, 1982, pp. 11–17.

⁴ *Saṃs rgyas rabs bdun gyi bkra śis kyi tshigs su bcad pa*, Q 444, Vol. 9, *rgyud, tsha*, 319b; Q 725, Vol. 11, *rgyud, ya*, 280a3. Both this and the preceding text are translated in *The Sublime Path of the Victorious Ones*, Dharamsala, 1981, pp. 83–87.

⁵ A. Schiefner, "Über Vasubandhu's *Gāthāsamgraha*", *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St.-Pétersbourg, 1878, p. 566; Q 5603, Vol. 119, *mnon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 241a4–5; commentary, Q 5604, Vol. 119, *mnon pa'i bstan bcos, nu*, 285b1–86a4.

May the world be happy, may there be a good harvest;
 may grain be ample, may government be righteous;
 may all illness and harm disappear!

In his commentary Vasubandhu notes that the verse is a wish (*smon lam* = *prañidhāna*) for the absence of fear of various kinds of harm, which he describes in some detail.

I have not come across any examples of an equivalent Pali term — *sotthi-gāthā* or *sovatthi-gāthā*.¹ The numerous Pali chants — both canonical (such as the *Ratana-sutta*) and extra-canonical — that contain refrains like *etena saccavajjena suvatthi hotu* may, however, reasonably be classed as *sotthi-gāthā*. The title *maṅgala-gāthā* is common in Pali.²

¹ Table 1.1 shows that the Siamese edition of the *Milinda-pañha* includes a *Suvatthi-paritta*. Taking the other lists into account, this might be the *Ratana-sutta*, which has the refrain *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*. Cf. also PTSD 725b, *sotthikamma*, *sotthikāra*, *sotthivācaka*. In the *Suppāraka-jātaka* (Jātaka 463, Vol. IV 142) the *bodhisatta* performs an act of truth (for which see below, § 5) by reciting a verse over a bowl of water, after reflecting, “Apart from myself there is no one whatsoever able to save (*sotthibhāvam kātum*) these people: by means of an act of truth I will bring them to safety (*saccakiriyāya tesam sotthim karissāmi*).

² See the texts listed in § 1, pp. 122–23, and also Dhammānanda 1992 p. 440, *Sabbajayamaṅgala-gāthā*.

4. The *Pañcarakṣā* collections¹

The *Pañcarakṣā* or *Five Protections* were extremely popular in Northern India, Nepal, and Tibet, as may be seen from the numerous manuscripts kept in libraries around the world. Their study is complicated by the fact, belied by a general similarity of titles, that there exist (at least) two different collections, a Tibetan and a Sanskrit, which have only three texts in common: the study therefore involves seven rather than five texts.² Since the Tibetan versions were translated in about 800 A.C., and since the *lDan dkar ma Catalogue* treats them as a separate category under the title *gZuṅs chen po lha = Pañca-*

¹ For the present study I have used Takubo's edition of the *Mahāmāyūrī* in Sanskrit (*MhMVR(T)*). For the remaining Sanskrit versions, I originally had access only to the summaries in Rajendralala Mitra's *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, [1882] Indian reprint, 1981, pp. 164–69 and in M. Winternitz and A. Keith, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Vol. II, Oxford, 1905, pp. 257–59; I also made desultory attempts at the two late Nepalese manuscripts reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, New Delhi, 1981 (Śata-Piṭaka Series Vol. 267). Only when the paper was in its final draft did I receive (courtesy Dr. Paul Harrison) copies of Iwamoto's romanised editions of the Sanskrit versions of the *Mahāpratisarā*, *Mahāśāhasrapramardanī*, and *Mahāśītavatī*. For the Tibetan translations I have used the Derge (D) edition of the *Kanjur*. The present section summarises my "Note on the *Pañcarakṣā*", delivered at the 10th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Paris, July, 1991; the revised version of that paper, which I am preparing for publication, will give fuller bibliographical details.

² On the whole the *Pañcarakṣā* seem to have been rather neglected in the West since Lévi's work on the *Mahāmāyūrī* (Lévi 1915). The best modern discussion (with a comprehensive bibliography) is Pentti Aalto's "Prolegomena to an Edition of the *Pañcarakṣā*" (*Studia Orientalia* XIX:12, Helsinki, 1954, pp. 5–48); see also the introduction to the same scholar's edition of the Mongolian versions, *Qutut-tu Pañcarakṣā Kemekü Tabun Sakiyan Neretü Yeke Kölgen Sudur*, Wiesbaden, 1961, pp. 1–5. It seems to have been Aalto who first recognised that the Sanskrit and Tibetan collections are discrepant, at least for the *Mahāmantrānudharanī*: see the latter work, p. 1, note 1.

mahādhāraṇī,¹ the available evidence for the Tibetan collection is earlier than that for the North Indian-cum-Nepalese collection, which survives only in manuscripts from the 11th century on. Fragments of only two *Pañcarakṣā* texts, the *Mahāmāyūrī* and the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, have been found in Central Asia; fragments of the *Mahāpratisarā* were found in Gilgit.² The *Pañcarakṣā* was not transmitted as a collection in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, although there are independent translations, all, except for several versions of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, quite late.³ Table 3 shows the relationship between the two collections and independent Tibetan or Chinese translations, and *paritta* and other *rakṣā* texts. In the following summary of the contents of the seven texts, I will present them in the order of the table: the first three are similar in their Tibetan and Sanskrit versions, while the last four are grouped by their (similar) titles, 4a and 5a referring to the Tibetan versions, 4b and 5b to the Sanskrit.⁴

1. *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*

The *Mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī*,⁵ which is similar in its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, may be classed under Mahāyāna: the assembly includes

¹ Lalou 1953 § XIII, p. 327.

² Oskar von Hinüber, *Die Erforschung der Gilgit-Handschriften*, Göttingen, 1979, Anhang I, nos. 6, 15 and 17.

³ Aalto's statement ("Prolegomena", p. 7) that there are no Chinese translations of the "Mahāśītavānī and Mahāmantra-anudhārī" (his spellings) needs clarification. The *Mahāśītavatī* and *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* of the Sanskrit collection are both found in Chinese: out of the "Seven Rakṣā", only the Tibetan *Mahāśītavana* and *Mahāmantrānudharaṇī* have no Chinese (or surviving Sanskrit) counterparts.

⁴ The titles themselves pose difficulties. For the Sanskrit versions I have followed Iwamoto (see also the "internal list" at *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 41.7); for the Tibetan versions I have provisionally chosen what seems to me the most probable of the variant transcriptions given at the head of the Tibetan translations.

⁵ A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in *Pañcarakṣā* II, Kyoto, 1938.

a vast number of *bodhisattvas*, and there are references to *bodhicitta* and to the *Mahāyāna* itself. In addition to offering protection against a wide variety of ills, the *mantra* can confer enlightenment: in this it goes further than the other *Pañcarakṣā* texts, which only offer protection.

2. *Mahāmāyūrī*

The *Mahāmāyūrī* (also similar in Sanskrit and Tibetan) is the longest of the “seven *Rakṣās*”; it is a composite work, rather complex in stratigraphy.¹ The oldest layer and *raison d'être* is the account of the monk Svāti with its *mantra* and *jātaka*, parallel to that of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the *jātaka* parallel to the Pali *Morajātaka*. To this are added a verse found in the *Morajātaka* but not in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, verses on protection against snakes found in the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Upasena-sūtra* and the Pali *Vinaya* and *Khandhaparitta*, and verses common to the first *Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*, the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, and the *Vaiśālīpraveśa*. The list of *yakṣas* is close to that of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, and some of its phraseology must have been influenced by or drawn from a common source as that of that text.

Other elements include the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees; lists of *nāgas* and a variety of divine, daemonic, and supernatural beings; lists of rivers, mountains, *nakṣatras*, *grahas*, and “sages of the past”. A characteristically thorough summary of the contents was made by Lévi in 1915 (pp. 19–22), so I need not go into more detail here.

¹ In addition to Takubo's edition, there is that of S. Oldenburg, “Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī”, “Otryvki Kaṣgarskich i sanskritskich rukopisej iz sobranija N.F. Petrovskago, II, Otryvki iz Pañcarakṣā”, *Zapiski vostočnago otdelenija imperatorskago russkago archeologičeskago obščestva* 11 (1897–98), pp. 218–61. See also A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *The Bower Manuscript*, Calcutta, 1893–1912, pp. xciv–xcv, 222–40e, and *SHT* (I) 63, 375, 524, (V) 1459.

3. *Mahāśāhasrapramardanī*

The *Mahāśāhasrapramardanī*,¹ in both its Sanskrit and Tibetan versions, enshrines a complete **Ratna-sūtra*, concealed by a tangled overgrowth of *mantras* and long verses.² That this is its original kernel is clear from the narrative framework, which belongs to the “*Ratna-sūtra*-Vaiśālī miracle” tradition: the Buddha at Rājagrha, the calamity at Vaiśālī, and the assembly of deities (pp. 1–2); the Buddha’s departure for Vaiśālī, the offering of the divine umbrellas, the decoration of the route, and the *indrakīla* (pp. 21–23); the appeasement of the calamity (p. 29).

4. *Mahāśītavana / Mahāśītavatī*

4.a. The Tibetan *Mahāśītavana* in some ways resembles the *Ātānāṭikasūtra*. The title derives from the location, the Śītavana at Rājagrha. The structure and purpose of the *nidāna* — though not the actual phrasing — parallel that of the *Ātānāṭika*: both texts feature the Four Great Kings, who express concern for monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen dwelling in remote places, where they are threatened by spirits who have no faith in the Buddha. Only a few verses are common to the two texts. Like the Pali *Ātānāṭiya* (but not the Sanskrit, Tibetan, or Chinese versions), the *Mahāśītavana* gives at the opening a set of verses of homage to past Buddhas; the *Mahāśītavana* list of 17 Buddhas is almost identical to those of the *Mahāvastu*, the *Mahākaruṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*, and the Chinese *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra*.

4.b. The Sanskrit *Mahāśītavatī* is quite different.³ The Buddha imparts a long *mantra* to Rāhula, who has been harrassed by a miscellany of

¹ A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Iwamoto in *Pañcarakṣā I*, Kyoto, 1937. Fragments were also published by Oldenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–18, 261–64 (= Iwamoto pp. 35.2–37 penult.), and in *SHT* (III) 983, 1011.

² Iwamoto 24.24–26.22; in Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, the **Ratna-sūtra* occurs at *Manuscript A* 112.5 foll., *Manuscript B* 156.1 foll.

³ A romanised edition of the Sanskrit was published by Yutaka Iwamoto in *Kleinere Dhāraṇī Texte*, Kyoto, 1937.

malignant beings whilst dwelling in the Śītavana. The phraseology is typical of *rakṣā* literature, but otherwise the text does not have much in common with the other six *rakṣās*; furthermore, it is the only text of the seven that is entirely in prose. The Sanskrit title (and that of the Chinese translation¹) derives from the name of the *dhāraṇī* or *vidyā*.² A Tibetan translation, not classed under *Pañcarakṣā*, bears the title *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*, which in this version is the name of the *dhāraṇī*; otherwise the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions are quite close.

5. *Mahāmantrānudharaṇī* / *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*

5.a. As far as I have been able to determine, the *Mahāmantrānudharaṇī* of the Tibetan collection is not extant in Sanskrit or Chinese. The first two thirds of this text are taken up by a brief preamble, the *nidāna*, assorted *mantras*, and lists of *rākṣasīs*. The last third is extremely interesting: it contains material drawn from about ten sources, including verses common to the *Udānavarga* and the Sarvāstivādin and Mūlasarvāstivādin *Prātimokṣa-sūtras*, 26 lines of verse corresponding to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin *Candra-sūtra* (and thus parallel to the Pali *Canda-paritta*), and a series of *satyavāks* linked with a list of *agraśrāvakas* and of *agraprajñaptis*. The section may be described as a *paritta* collection or *paritta* extracts of an unknown school.

5.b. The *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* of the Sanskrit collection is completely different: it is none other than a recension of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra* discussed above (§ 2). The title derives from the name of the *mantra* as given in the Sanskrit *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*³ but not in the Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa*. Apart from this, and the fact that the Sanskrit omits verses 16 and 17 of the Tibetan, the two versions are very close.

¹ T 1392, KBC 1104.

² Iwamoto, pp. 2.8, 4.14, 5.15.

³ *Imāni mahāmantrānusāriṇīmantrapadāni*, in Lokesh Chandra, *Pañca-rakṣā*, A 236.4, 241.3, B 363.1, 370.1.

Out of the seven *Pañcarakṣā* texts, only one, the *Mahā-pratisarāvidyārājñī*, belongs to the Mahāyāna; the remaining six may be classed under the Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* literature.¹ (My assertion that these texts belong to the Śrāvakayāna is based on a literal reading of their contents. There is no doubt that they were [and are] used by practitioners of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The difference is one of context [and this may apply to other *rakṣā* texts]: if combined with preliminary rites involving the generation of the *bodhicitta*, they become Mahāyānist in application; if conjoined with further rites of initiation, entry into a *maṇḍala*, or the visualization of the *Pañcarakṣā* deities, they become Vajrayānist in application. Numerous *sādhanas* for the realization of these deities are found in Sanskrit and Tibetan, and the deities are depicted in illuminated manuscripts — North Indian, Nepalese, and Tibetan — of the *Pañcarakṣā*. They are not, however,

¹ To determine whether a text belongs to the Śrāvakayāna or Mahāyāna, I follow five guidelines: teacher, place, audience, doctrine, and goal. A Śrāvakayāna *sūtra* is (1) taught by Śākyamuni (or by other “historical” Buddhas of past or future) or by one of his disciples, (2) at one of the North Indian sites which he frequented, (3) to an audience of disciples; (4) its doctrine agrees with that of the *Āgama/Nikāya* tradition, and (5) its highest goal is arighthood. A Mahāyāna *sūtra* is (1) taught by Śākyamuni, by a “non-historical” Buddha such as Vairocana, or by a *bodhisattva*, (2) at one of the historical sites or on another plane of existence such as a distant universe or Buddhafield, (3) to an audience that includes *bodhisattvas*; it (4) teaches voidness and non-origination as in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, and (5) recommends to all the *bodhisattva* path aiming at full enlightenment. The last item entails vows (*pranidhāna*), the aspiration to enlightenment (*bodhicitta*), the prediction (*vyākaraṇa*), and the perfections (*pāramitā*) and levels (*bhūmi*) of a *bodhisattva* (see here R.E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta*, London, 1968, p. 187, and Candrakīrti as cited in Anthony K. Warder, “Original” Buddhism and Mahāyāna, Turin, 1983, p. 8). The *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* (34.12–20) does mention Akṣobhyarāja, Avalokiteśvara, and Amitābha, but since they play no role whatsoever in the *sūtra* they may be treated as one of its many elements drawn from popular lore. Since the same *sūtra* also lists all five *Pañcarakṣā* titles, it evidently continued to grow after the *Pañcarakṣā* group had come into being.

invoked or described in the *Pañcarakṣā* texts properly speaking, except insofar as their names correspond to those of the *mantras*.¹⁾

Of the six Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās*, the Sanskrit *Mahāśītavatī* (= Tibetan *Mahādaṇḍa-dhāraṇī*) does not contain any elements (apart from phraseology) common to the others, or to the *paritta*, *Mahāsūtras*, or *svastigāthā*: it is simply a *rakṣā mantra* with minimal narrative framework. The remaining five may be described as Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās* *par excellence*. 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 cults of past Buddhas, the Four Kings, and deities such as *yakṣas*, etc., common verses, and common phraseology. The manner in which the *parittas* are buried in such long lists of deities and supernormal beings may be compared with the *paritta* ceremony of Sri Lanka, which contains a long admonition listing similar deities, and can go on all night or for seven days.² If a collection of Sri Lankan *parittas* were published along with all such preliminaries, admonitions, ceremonies, and rites, in both contents and length it would resemble one of the composite *Pañcarakṣā* texts, minus, of course, the *mantras*.

5. *Rakṣā* phraseology

A certain phraseology characterises the *rakṣā* literature. One frequent element is the “profession of truth” (*satya-vāk*, *satyādhiṣṭhāna*). In Mūlasarvāstivādin literature we find *etena satyavākyena svasty ānandāya*

¹ The *Mahāmāyūrī* (Takubo, 37.17) does give the names of several *Pañcarakṣā* deities (without describing them as such) within a long list of deities: *mahā-pratisarāya svāhā*, *sītavanāya svāhā*, etc.

² L. de Silva, pp. 51–52.

bhikṣave in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, *anena satyena satyavākyena* in the *Prātiḥārya-sūtra*, and *tena me satyavākyena* in the *Upasena-sūtra*.¹ In Theravādin literature we have the refrain of the *Ratana-sutta*, *etena saccena suvatthi hotu*,² and similar phrases in numerous extra-canonical *paritta*. In Lokottaravādin literature there is the *etena satyena susvasti bhotu* of that school's version of the *Ratana-sutta*;³ the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* version of the same has *etena satyena ihāstu svasti*.⁴ The *Prajñāpāramitā* uses *anena satyena satyavacanena*.⁵

In the *Milindapañha*, King Milinda states that “by truth (*saccena*) truth-speakers (*saccavādino*) perform an act of truth (*saccakiriyañ katvā*), and cause rain to fall, put out fire, counteract poison, or perform various feats as required”.⁶ At the conclusion of his discussion of *saccakiriya*, Nāgasena says, “there is no aim at all that those established in the truth do not accomplish”.⁷ In the *Prajñāpāramitā* (loc. cit.) the success of an act of truth indicates that a bodhisattva has reached the irreversible stage. In the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* it is said that through *satyavāk* miracles (*prātiḥārya*) arise from relics.⁸

¹ *Divy* 613.9 and 154.25, and *Upasena-sūtra* (1) 41.2, respectively.

² *Sn* vv. 224–35; further examples and references are given by Burlingame (see note 3 on p. 146) p. 434.

³ *Mahāvastu* I 236.16 etc.

⁴ *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 25.1 etc.

⁵ *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (BST 4) 189.12–191.25; 247.10–16; Edward Conze, *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Aṣṭāśāsasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, Chapters 55 to 70, Rome, 1962, pp. 5.5–8.6; cf. also *Ratnaguṇasamcaya-gāthā* XX 23–24, XXI 1, in P.L. Vaidya (ed.), *Mahāyāna-sūtra-saṃgraha* Part I (BST 17), Darbhanga, 1961. See also *SHT* (VI) 1259.

⁶ *Milindapañha*, *Chatṭhasaṅgīti* edition, 124.8. *Milindapañha* 123–26 (= PTS ed. I 119–23) has a long discussion of *saccakiriya*.

⁷ *Milindapañha*, *Chatṭhasaṅgīti* edition, 126.19, *sacce ṭhitā na kiñci attham na vindanti*.

⁸ *The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. I, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1986, p. 474.15, *bden pa'i tshig gis riñ bsrel las cho 'phrul 'byuñ ba*.

The “profession of truth” goes beyond the *rakṣā* literature (though the boundary is not always clear) into the *jātakas*,¹ Buddhist drama,² and Indian literature in general: the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as well as vernacular folktales and Jaina literature.³ While in such cases the *satyavāk* is a narrative device — a specific act performed by a specific person with specific results — as a *rakṣā* properly speaking it is anonymous and generalised.

The *satyavāk* is sometimes combined with versions of the *agra-prajñapti* formula: examples occur in the *Prātihārya-sūtra*,⁴ the *Mahā-mantrānudharanī-sūtra*,⁵ and the (Ārya) *Sarvarogapraśamani-dhāraṇī*.⁶ Similarly, a non-canonical Pali text entitled *Parittakarana-pāṭha*

¹ See *Jātakamālā* II, XIV, XV, XVI, and Sitaram Roy (ed.), *Suvarṇavarnāvadāna*, Patna, 1971, §§ 159, 163–65, 201–02.

² Candragomin’s *Lokānandanāṭaka*, tr. Michael Hahn, *Joy for the World*, Berkeley, 1987, V 40 p. 130.

³ Cf. E.W. Burlingame, “The Act of Truth (*Saccakiriya*): A Hindu Spell and its Employment as a Psychic Motif in Hindu Fiction”, in *JRAS*, 1917, pp. 429–67; W. Norman Brown, “The Basis for the Hindu Act of Truth”, in *The Review of Religion*, Vol. V, no. 1, Nov. 1940, pp. 36–45; (same author) “The Metaphysics of the Truth Act (**Satyakriyā*)”, in *Mélanges d’Indianisme à la Mémoire de Louis Renou*, Paris, 1968, pp. 171–77; (same author) “Duty as Truth in Ancient India”, in Rosane Rocher (ed.), *India and Indology: Selected Articles by W. Norman Brown*, Delhi, 1978, pp. 102–19; Heinrich Lüders, “Die magische Kraft der Wahrheit im alten Indien”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 98 (Neue Folge Band 23), Leipzig, 1944, pp. 1–14; Alex Wayman, “The Hindu-Buddhist Rite of Truth — an Interpretation”, in Bhadriraju Krishnamurti (ed.), *Studies in Indian Linguistics (Professor M.B. Emeneau Śaṣṭipūrti Volume)*, Annamalainagar, 1968, pp. 365–69 (rep. in George R. Elder (ed.), *Buddhist Insight*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 391–97); Peter Khoroche, *Once the Buddha was a Monkey: Ārya Śūra’s Jātakamālā*, Chicago, 1989, p. 258 (note 6). (I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for promptly sending me copies of several of these articles.)

⁴ *Divy* 154.19 foll.

⁵ D 563, *rgyud 'bum, pha*, 155a4 foll.

⁶ Q 207, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 276a2 (tr. by Feer, *AMG* V, 462).

combines the prose of the *Aggappasāda-sutta* (AN II 34–35) with the verses of the *Ratana-sutta*.¹ *Satyavāk* phrases are also incorporated into *mantras*, which sometimes invoke the power of “truth-speakers” (*satyavādinām*).²

Other elements occur in connection with supernormal oremonic beings. Lists of such beings are often given first in male and then in female form:

yakkho vā yakkhiṇī vā yakkha-potako vā °potikā vā °mahāmatto vā °pārisajjo vā °pacāro vā;³

gandharvo vā gandharvī vā gandharvamahallako vā °mahallikā vā °potalako vā °potalikā vā °pāriṣado vā °pāriṣadī vā °pracaro vā °pracari vā;⁴

devo vā devā vā devaputro vā °duhitā vā °mahallako vā °mahallikā vā °pārṣado vā °pārṣadī vā;⁵

Similar lists occur in the *Laṅkāvatāra*-⁶ and *Mahābala-sūtras*.⁷

A stock phrase (or variants thereof) is used for the action of a malignant spirit who seeks an opportunity or chance to do harm: *avatāraprekṣy*

¹ *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 101–03; *Mahābrahbummanta* 12.5.3.

² *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*; *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM* I 67.5,6; 76.8.

³ *Ātānāṭiya* Pali, *DN* III 203.7: and so for *gandhabba*, *kumbhāṇḍa*, *nāga*.

⁴ *Ātānāṭika* Sanskrit, p. 59.7: and so for *piśāca*, p. 61, *kumbhāṇḍa*, p. 65, and so on.

⁵ *MhMVR(T)* 10.20 foll., in what is probably the longest such list, since it gives 20 different beings.

⁶ *Saddharmalaṅkāvatārasūtram* 106.11 foll.

⁷ *Mahābala-sūtra* 27.1 foll.

avatāragavesī, and fails or will fail to do so, *avatāram na lapsyate*.¹ There is a recurrent curse “may so-and-so’s head split into seven pieces”: *saptadhāsyā sphalen mūrdhā*.²

Common also is the “escape clause” which, after lauding the multiple and powerful effects of a *mantra* or other *rakṣā*, notes that it might not succeed “due to the fruition of past *karma*” (*varjayitvā paurāṇam karmavipākam*, or variants thereof), found, for example, in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*,³ the *Lalitavistara*,⁴ the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*,⁵ the *Mahāmantrānudharanī*,⁶ the *Pratyutpannabuddha-sammukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra*,⁷ the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*,⁸ and the *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-ekādaśamukha-nāma-dhāranī*.⁹ Bhavya

¹ *Āṭānāṭika* 59.13 etc.; *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* 233.31; *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* 28.13; *PraS* (I) 118.3.

² *Āṭānāṭika* 57.24; *Saddharmapuṇḍarikā* 235.10; *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 141.9; *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 37.7; *SHT* (III) 900, 903, 906, 984; *SHT* (VI) 1269, 1310. In Pali the phrase occurs in the *Canda-* and *Suriya-parittas* (*SN* I 50.33, 51.22), and at *DN* I 94.24, *MN* I 231.29, *Jātaka* V 92.8, *Sn* 983, 1026; see also *DN* I 143.13, III 13.28. Cf. A. Syrkin, “Notes on the Buddha’s Threats in the *Dīgha Nikāya*”, *JIABS* Vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 147–58. The curse also occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*: see William L. Smith, “Explaining the Inexplicable: Uses of the Curse in Rāma Literature”, in *Kalyāṇamitrārāgaṇam. Essays in Honour of Nils Simonsson*, Oslo, 1986, p. 264. The phrase (in the first person) was also used in oaths.

³ *Divy* 614.14.

⁴ *BST* 1, p. 318.5.

⁵ Iwamoto 41.4.

⁶ D 563, 154a4. The fifth section (*gnas skabs*) of Karmavajra’s (Las kyi Dorje’s) commentary to this *sūtra* is devoted entirely to this phrase, and contains a long citation of a *Karmavibhaṅga-sūtra*: D 2692, *rgyud, du*, 269a5–72a2.

⁷ Sanskrit in *PraS* (II) 298.4; Tibetan in *PraS* (I) 14D, p. 118.13, 24; 14J, v. 14 (p. 124.3).

⁸ *BST* 4, pp. 28.14, 19, 24; 38.21; 44.23. Cf. commentary in Padmanabh S. Jaini (ed.), *Sāratamā, A Pañjikā on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, Patna, 1979, p. 37.10–13.

⁹ Q 524, Vol. 11, 'a, 212b4 = *GM* I 36.4; translated by Feer, *AMG* V 434.

comments on the phrase in his *Tarkajvālā*.¹ The same idea — though not the exact phrase — is found in the *Milindapañha*: Nāgasena explains that *paritta* may not be take effect because of the obstruction (*āvaraṇa*) of *kamma*.² The extra-canonical Pali *Uṇhissavijaya* promises protection from death due to a variety of causes, “except for timely death” (*kālamāritam*), that is, “natural death” as determined by one’s karmic life-span.³

The escape clause is characteristic of only some (earlier ? Śrāvakayāna ?) *rakṣā* texts; others promise unqualified results. The *Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra* states that for one who copies the *sūtra* or causes it to be copied, the obstructions (*āvaraṇa*) of the five deeds of immediate retribution (*ānantarya karma*) and sins even as great as Mt. Meru will all be wiped clean.⁴

Other elements are long lists of diseases⁵ or calamities against which protection is offered.⁶ Another phrase refers to the marking of a (protective) boundary (*sīmābandha*).⁷

¹ D 3856, *dbu ma, dza*, 185b2, *ci'i phyir sñon gyi las kyi rnam par smin pa ni ma gtogs so žes bstan ce na ?...*

² *Milindapañha* (Chatthasaṅgīti ed.) 152–55, (PTS ed.) I 150–54.

³ *Mahābrahubbuddhamanta* p. 113.

⁴ Sten Konow, The *Aparimitāyuḥ Sūtra*, in A.F. Rudolf Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, [Oxford, 1916] Amsterdam, 1970, pp. 310–12. Cf. also *Sarvatathāgatādhīṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM I* 54–55

⁵ *MhMVR(T)* 4.2, etc.; *PraS* 14D; *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta* 29, *Cakkaparitta*, § 9.

⁶ *AN V* 342.1–14 (*Metta-sutta*); *Sīrimaṅgalaparitta*, *Parittaparikamma*, v. 9; *Megha-sūtra* 294; *Asṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* 38.7–15; *PraS* 14C, 14D; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM I* 37.5–11; *Sarvatathāgatādhīṣṭhāna-vyūha*, *GM I* 57.8–13.

⁷ *MhMVR(T)* 3.14, etc.; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* 56.14; *Hayagrīva-vidyā*, *GM I* 45.5.

6. *Rakṣā* and *mantra*

The sometimes confused relationship between *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* has been clarified by several scholars.¹ While the two terms might at times be synonymous, the latter has a much broader meaning: a faculty or facility in retaining or remembering the teaching of the Buddha(s), hence “retention” or “memory” (Lamotte’s *souvenance*). This is shown by the context in which it occurs in the Mahāyāna *sūtras* and the definitions given in the *śāstras*, which connect it with *smṛti*. The *Mahāprajñā-pāramitāśāstra* classifies *dhāraṇī* in *abhidharmic* terms under *dharmadhātu*, *dharma-yatana*, and *saṃskāra-skandha*: it is either “associated with mind” or “dissociated from mind” (*cittasamprayukta*, *cittaviprayukta*), impure or pure (*sāsrava*, *anāsrava*); it is formless or immaterial (*ārūpya*), invisible (*anidarśana*), non-resistant (*apratiṣṭha*), and knowable by mental-consciousness (*manovijñāna*).² Asaṅga gives a fourfold definition of the term; of these it is the third, *mantra-dhāraṇī*, with which I am concerned: “*mantra*-syllables for the appeasement of the calamities of beings (*mantrapadāni iti saṃśamanāya sattvānām*).³

¹ Especially valuable are Lamotte’s translation and notes at *Mppś* I 317–21 and 328, his long note at *Mppś* IV 1854–64 and the following translation (1864–69), and Braarvig 1985. Cf. also Edward Conze, *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom with the divisions of the Abhisamayālankāra*, Berkeley, 1975, p. 21; de Jong 1984 pp. 95–96, and Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–71. For *mantra*, see Alex Wayman, “The Significance of Mantras, from the Veda down to Buddhist Tantric Practice”, *The Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIX, 1975, pp. 65–89 (reprinted in *Buddhist Insight*, pp. 413–30); for *dhāraṇī*, see BHSD 284b, and *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. IV, fasc. 4, pp. 515–20.

² *Mppś* I 317. Cf. also the definition in Corrado Pensa, *L’Abhisamayālamkāravrtti di Ārya-vimuktisena*, Rome, 1967, pp. 101–02.

³ Cf. *Mppś* IV 1857–59 and Braarvig 1985 pp. 19–20. The latter’s suggestion that *dhāraṇī* in the compound *mantra-dhāraṇī* does not itself mean a spell, but rather a facility in retaining or remembering spells, and his translation “retaining a formula in the mind” are quite apt.

As far as I have been able to determine, *mantra* (or *mantrapada*), along with *rakṣā* and *vidyā*, is the preferred term in *rakṣā* literature, at least in the main texts studied here, none of which employ the word *dhāraṇī* (except in titles).¹ Scholars often use the two words interchangeably; it would be more accurate, however, to use the word actually employed in the text under consideration.² Since *mantra* is the general term of preference in the *rakṣā* literature dealt with here, I will use that term.

For present purposes, I would like to classify *mantras* into two types: protective *mantras* (the *mantra-dhāraṇī* of Asaṅga) and — for want of a better term — spiritual *mantras*. Protective or *rakṣā* *mantras* are recited for worldly or mundane ends: to ward off calamity, disease, or malignant beings, and to promote welfare. The *mantras* of the Śrāvakayāna and of the early Mahāyāna *sūtras* belong to this category. At an uncertain date, but, on the evidence of the Wu dynasty translation of the *Anantamukha-nirhāradhāraṇī*,³ not later than the second century A.C., *mantras* were given a spiritual application: their recitation not only granted protection and welfare, but could lead to enlightenment (*bodhi*) itself. They became associated with symbolic hand-gestures (*mudrā*), complex rites (*vidhi*, *kalpa*), consecrations (*abhiṣeka*), *maṇḍalas*, and visualization. These are the *mantras* of some Mahāyāna *sūtras* and of the Vajrayāna. In the

¹ The term *dhāraṇīmantrapada* occurs in the *Megha-sūtra*, p. 298.11. *Vijjā* in the sense of spell or charm occurs in the Pali Canon, where several spells are mentioned by name: see *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. IV, fasc. 1, "Charms", pp. 130–34. For this and other terms, see David L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors*, London, 1987, pp. 122, 141–44.

² Waldschmidt, for example, describes the *mantras* of the Tibetan *Mahāsamāja* as *Dhāraṇīs*, although the text describes them as *mantrapada* (*gsaṅ sñags kyi tshig*): E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke Buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem Zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon (Kleinere Sanskrit-texte*, Heft IV), Leipzig, 1932, p. 197.

³ See below, p. 164.

present paper, I am only concerned with the first type, protective or *rakṣā mantras*.

Mantras are most commonly introduced by *tadyathā*, but also by *syādyathedam*.¹ Of the *Pañcarakṣā* texts, the *Mahāsāhasrapramardani*² and the *Mahāśītavana* use *syādyathedam*;³ the *Mahāmantrānudharanī* uses *syādyathedan* once, but otherwise *tadyathā*; the other texts use *tadyathā*. The *Sarvatathāgatādhīṣṭhāna-vyūha* uses *samyathid[am]* (GM I 71.9; some Central Asian Sanskrit fragments have *saryathidam*;⁴ the Tibetan translation of the *Hastiratnadharmamyeti* (?) has *satya thedan* (?).⁵ Khotanese versions of the *Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī* introduce the *dhāraṇī-mantra* with *syādathidam*, *syādathedam*, and *syād yathyidam*.⁶ (Edgerton notes the forms *sayyathidam* and *sadyathidam* for the *Mahāvastu* only;⁷ the related *sayyathāpi* (and *samyathāpi*) *nāma* occurs in the *Lokottaravādin Bhikṣuṇī Vinaya*.⁸ In the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the form *samyathedam* occurs.⁹ In none of these cases are the phrases connected with *mantras*.) The Pali *Mahādibbamanta* and *Sut Catuvik* introduce their *mantras* with *seyyathidam*.¹⁰

¹ Pauly 1959 pp. 216, 225.

² Iwamoto, 4.21, 5.8, etc.

³ D 562, 140b1, etc.; in Tibetan usually transliterated as *syādyathedan*. See also *Dharmasāgara-nāma-dhāraṇī*, Q 310, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 84a3 and *passim* = D 654, *rgyud, ba*, 146b7.

⁴ So transcribed at *SHT* (III) 842, R3; 900, V1.

⁵ Christopher Wilkinson, “The Tantric Gaṇeśa Texts Preserved in the Tibetan Canon”, in Robert L. Brown (ed.), *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*, State University of New York, 1991, p. 271. I have not been able to consult the original.

⁶ Inagaki 1987 p. 314.

⁷ *BHSD* 582b.

⁸ Gustav Roth, *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya: Manual of Discipline for Buddhist Nuns* (TSWS Vol. XII), Patna, 1970, index, p. 399.

⁹ *MhMVR(T)* 44.19.

¹⁰ Jaini 1965 p. 67.38; Finot 1917 p. 59.

Mantras conclude with *svāhā* in Sanskrit or *svāhāya* (or *svāhāyya*) in Pali.¹ In Tibetan translations text between *tadyathā* and *svāhā* is usually transliterated rather than translated.

Mantras include both unintelligible and intelligible elements. The former include phrases like *hulu hulu*,² *hili hili*,³ *mili mili*,⁴ or *hili mil*⁵ — *hile mile*⁶ — *ili mili*⁷ — *iti miți*,⁸ common to a number of texts. The ubiquitous *hulu hulu* is one of the earliest attested *mantras*, since it occurs in Lokakṣema's Chinese version of the *Drumakinnārarājapariprcchā*, translated between 168 and 172 A.C.;⁹ it is also one of the most widespread since it occurs in South-east Asian Pali texts. Though unintelligible, the phrases are not arbitrary (nor the “gibberish” nor the “mumbo jumbo” of earlier scholars), and they are explained in the commentaries. (According to Asaṅga, *mantras* are indeed “without meaning”, but in the sense that all *dharma*s are without meaning.¹⁰) The

¹ Jaini 1965 p. 67.39.

² *Āṭānāṭika* 74.22 (Tib.); *MhMVR*(T) 4.15, 17; 30 ult.; 31.12; *Mahābalasūtra* 24.7; *Saptavetādaka-dhāraṇī* (Feer, *AMG* V) 456; *rGyal ba'i bla ma'i gzuṇs*, Q 488, Vol. 11, *rgyud*, *ba*, 85a8. For Pali occurrences, see below. See *phuluphulu* in *BHSD* 397a for the term in a non-mantric context, which possibly gives a clue to its meaning.

³ *Āṭānāṭika* 74.22 (Tib.); *MhMVR*(T) 4.18; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 56.16; 58.1,2,4; *SHT* (III) 90 V2; *rGyal ba'i bla ma'i gzuṇs* 85a8.

⁴ *MhMVR*(T) 4.18, 9.10; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *Vidyādharapitaka* (*Śikṣāsamuccaya* 142.15).

⁶ *Āṭānāṭika* 74.7 (Tib.).

⁷ *Āṭānāṭika* 54.22; *MhMVR*(T) 9.13; *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-mātā-nāma-dhāraṇī*, Q 534, *rgyud*, 'a, 239a2; *Ekādaśamukha*, *GM* I 39.12, 40.16.

⁸ *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, cit. at *Mppś* IV 1858.1.

⁹ T 624, *KBC* 129; I am grateful to Paul Harrison (letter of 22 January, 1992) for this information. The “*hulu*” *mantra* also occurs in the later Tibetan translation, Q 824, *mdo*, *pu*, 327b5 (section [15G] in Harrison's forthcoming edition). For Lokakṣema, see E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China*, Leiden, 1972, pp. 35–36.

¹⁰ *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in *Mppś* IV 1858–59; Braarvig 1985 p. 20.

(fragmentary) Uighur version of the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra* gives a Uighur “translation” of the *mantras*, accompanied by interlinear Sanskrit glosses.¹ The interpretations are in terms of Sarvāstivādin *abhidharma* categories — the sixteen aspects (*ākāra*) of the Four Truths, the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), etc. — but this must be the work of later scholiasts. In his *Tarkajvālā*, Bhavya offers a spirited defence of the “*dhāraṇīs, mantras, and vidyās*” of the Mahāyāna. He denies that they are meaningless, noting that “*vidyās* for the most part teach the six perfections (*pāramitā*), the truths of the noble (*ārya-satya*), and the states that conduce to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*)...”. “The unintelligible syllables of spells (*vidyā-pada*) are taught in the supermundane (*lokottara*) language, or in the languages of gods, *nāgas*, or *yakṣas*, etc.”² The purpose of some of the recurrent phrases may perhaps be determined from their context when a sufficient number of examples have been collected. Unfortunately, the dictionaries or indexes that I know of do not list *mantra* elements.³

Among the intelligible phrases are expressions of homage (*namas*) to Buddha(s) and other *āryas* or to the Three Gems (*triratna*), which are treated as a part of the *mantra*: in Tibetan versions, for example, they are not translated.⁴ The *dhāraṇī* of the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*⁵

¹ Dieter Maue, “Sanskrit-uigurische Fragmente des Āṭānāṭikasūtra und des Āṭānāṭihṛdaya”, *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher, Neue Folge*, Band 5, Wiesbaden, 1985, pp. 98–122. I am grateful to Dr. Lore Sander for this reference.

² D 183a6 foll., Q 199b2 foll.

³ See Edgerton’s remarks at BHSD 284b. While the *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden* (Göttingen) does not record *mantras*, a card index is kept (personal communication from Dr. Siglinde Dietz, 1991).

⁴ Cf. the Jaina *Pamca-namokkāra-parama-maṅgala* (Roth, p. 130), which pays homage to five kinds of saints (*arhats, siddhas, ācāryas, upadhyāyas*, and “all *sādhus* in the world”) and is described as “the first *maṅgala* among all the *maṅgalas*”.

⁵ Q 306, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 73b4 foll.

contains *satya-vāk* or *paritta*-like phrases: *buddhasatyena*, *dharmasatyena*, *saṃghasatyena*, *satyavādinām-satyena*; *buddhasatyē mātikrama*, etc., as do *mantras* in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and *Megha-sūtras*, and the *Sarvatathāgatādhīṣṭhāna-vyūha*.¹ The (Ārya) Pratītya-samutpādahṛdaya consists simply of the ye dharmā verse in Tibetan and Sanskrit, followed by the statement “when this hṛdaya is recited once, all sins (pāpa) will be purified”, and so on.² Other intelligible phrases in the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*, the *Mahābala-sūtra*, the *Hayagrīva-vidyā*, and other texts are commands or admonishments: *jambhaya*, *stambhaya*, *mohaya*, *hana*, *daha*, *paca*, *matha*, *pramatha*.

It is noteworthy that certain common elements appear in the *mantras* of a wide variety of texts — of the Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, and Vajrayāna — and that some of these, usually found in association, invoke the names of female deities. Examples include *gauri*, *gandhāri*, *caṇḍāli*, and *mātāṅgi*, which occur in the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*,³ the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*,⁴ the *Mahāmāyūrī*,⁵ the *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*,⁶ the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*,⁷ the *Mahābala-sūtra*,⁸ the *Ārya-avalokiteśvara-mātā-nāma-dhāraṇī*,⁹ the *Cauravidhvansana-dhāraṇī*,¹⁰ the Central Asian *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa*,¹¹ and an unidentified Central Asian Sanskrit fragment.¹² It is

¹ *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* 58.3; *Megha-sūtra* 300.13 foll., 306.3 foll.; *GMI* 56.4–7.

² Q 222, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 301b7–02a2.

³ *Āṭānāṭika* 54.24 (Tibetan); 68.9 (Tibetan); 69.8 (Sanskrit).

⁴ Q 979 (Vol. 39), *mdo, śu*, 172a4.

⁵ *MhMVR(T)* 18.16.

⁶ Q 308, Vol. 7, *rgyud, ba*, 77a1, 7.

⁷ *BST* 6, ch. 21, p. 234.19.

⁸ *Mahābala-sūtra* 24.36, 39.

⁹ Q 534, Vol. 11, *rgyud, 'a*, 239a2.

¹⁰ Q 214, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 278b4; cf. also Q 454, Vol. 9, [rñiñ] *rgyud, va*, 101a6.

¹¹ *SHT* (II) 176, Bl. 21 R5.

¹² *SHT* (III) 846, V7.

clear that for these and other recurrent phrases (*hulu hulu, ili mili*, and so on) the texts drew on a common pool of *mantra* elements.

To whom are the Buddhist *mantras* addressed? In some cases, such as that of the long *mantra* of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, they are spoken to malignant spirits, after invoking the power or grace of the Buddha, *pratyekabuddhas*, *āryas*, and various deities. In some cases, such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, they seem to invoke goddesses. In other cases, but probably not in the Śrāvakayāna *rakṣas*, they are addressed to a specific deity, such as Avalokiteśvara in the *Hayagrīva-vidyā* and *Ekādaśamukha* or the goddess Dhvajāgrakeyūra in the *Dhvajāgrakeyūra-dhāraṇī*. A complete answer can only be made after further research.

No inventory has yet been made of the *mantras* found in (Mūla) Sarvāstivādin texts.¹ Those that I know of are as follows:

- 1) the *mantra* of the *Vaiśālīpraveśa-sūtra*, which is essentially the same in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, the independent Tibetan *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*, and the Nepalese Sanskrit *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī*. It is probably the longest Mūlasarvāstivādin *mantra*;
- 2) the *Mahāmāyūrī-mantra* of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinaya*, as preserved both in Sanskrit and in Tibetan translation. In an expanded form, it also occurs in the *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*;²
- 3) the 9 *mantras* of the *Ātānāṭīya-mahāsūtra* as preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translation. The Central Asian Sanskrit recension, the

¹ Cf. *Mppś* IV 1860 for a brief notice.

² N. Dutt, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. III part 1, [Srinagar, 1947] Delhi, 1984, p. 287.1-7; Tibetan translation in 'dul ba, ne, 46b7; *MhMVR(T)* 8.15-9.1.

Āṭānāṭika-sūtra, probably contained the same *mantras* at the same places, and at least 3 additional *mantras*;

- 4) the 19 *mantras* given in a prose “appendix” to the *Mahāsamājā-mahāsūtra* as preserved in Tibetan translation only;
- 5) the ṣadakṣarī *vidyā* of the *Śārdūlakarnāvadāna*;¹
- 6) the *mantras* of the Sanskrit *Upasena-sūtra* from Central Asia,² its Tibetan version as incorporated into the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Vinayavibhaṅga*,³ and its Chinese version in the *Samyuktāgama*;⁴
- 7) (probably) the *mantras* of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* as preserved in Tibetan.⁵

This incomplete list is sufficient to show that *mantras* were fully accepted by the Mūlasarvāstivādins.

I do not believe that any true *mantras* are found in the canon of the Theravādins, which seems to have been closed before the influence of the *mantra* movement could be felt. *Mantras* are found in later extra-canonical *paritta* texts: the *Yot brahkaṇḍatratraipiṭaka* (*hulū* 3; *vitti* 3; *mitti* 2; *citti* 2; *vatti* 2), the *Mahādibbamanta* (*hulu* 3),⁶ the *Dhāraṇaparitta* (*illi milli tilli atilli*),⁷ the *Sut Catuvik* (*hulu* 2),⁸ and the *Giniparitta* (*citti*, *vitti*, etc.),⁹ ending in *svāhāy(y)a*. That such *mantras* belonged not only to popular literature but were also accepted by at least

¹ *Divy* 613.26; Q 313 (Vol. 7), (*Ārya-)*Ṣadakṣarī-*vidyā* (‘*phags pa yi ge drug pa’i rig snags*) is based on / extracted from the *Śārdūlakarnāvadāna*.

² *Upasena-sūtra* (1); *Upasena-sūtra* (2) pp. 239–44.

³ Q 1032, Vol. 42, ‘*dul ba, che*, 113a7.

⁴ *Tsa a-han-ching*, *Sūtra* 252: see *Upasena-sūtra* (2) pp. 239–44; *Mppś* IV 1860.

⁵ Q 599 (*gzuṇis ’dus*); Q 979 (*mdo*). Cf. *SHT* (III) 816 for Sanskrit fragments of the *sūtra*.

⁶ Jaini 1965 p. 67.38.

⁷ *Mahābrahuddhamanta* 20.8.

⁸ Finot 1917 p. 59.

⁹ L. de Silva, p. 10.

some scholars is shown by the fact that the anonymous author of the (Ayutthaya-period) *Buddhapādamaṅgala* introduces the *mantra* “*hulū hulū hulū svāhāya*” into his commentary, and explains it in turn.¹ The term *dhāraṇī* is rare in Pali,² where it only occurs in extra-canonical texts such as the *Gini Paritta*.³ The term *dhāraṇā* occurs in the sense of *dhāraṇī* in the title and text of the *Dhāraṇā-paritta*.⁴ The author of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra*, who is well versed in the tradition of at least the Sarvāstivādins, notes that *dhāraṇīs* are not found in the system of the Śrāvakas, but allows that “lesser *dhāraṇīs*” can be obtained by universal monarchs, *rāṣṭras*, and others.⁵

I have not seen any *mantras* in available Lokottaravādin literature. I have shown above, however, that the Mahāsāṃghikas are reported to have had a *Mantra-piṭaka* and the Siddhārthas, Pūrvaśailas, and Aparaśailas a *Vidyādhara-piṭaka*, none of which are extant. The Dharmaguptakas are said to have had a similar *piṭaka*, of which the Sanskrit title is uncertain, and their *Vinaya* describes the joint recitation of the *Arapacana* syllabary by monks and laymen.⁶

¹ Supaphan Na Bangchang, *Vivadhanākāra Varrṇagatī sai Brahma Suttantapiṭaka ti Daeng nai Pradeśa Thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 296–97.

² It is not listed in the *Pali Text Society Dictionary* or the *Pāli Tipiṭakam Concordance*. Other forms derived from the same root are used in the sense of retention or memory of the teaching of the Buddha: see *Mppś* IV 1854 and Braarvig 1985 p. 21.

³ L. de Silva, p. 10.

⁴ *Mahābrahmbuddhamanta* 20.8, *imam dhāraṇam amitam asamam*. At *Vinaya* IV 305.27 the phrase *dhāraṇam pariyāpuṇāti* is immediately followed by *guttatthāya parittam pariyāpuṇāti*, but the meaning is obscure. I am grateful to Prof. Oskar von Hinüber for this reference.

⁵ *Mppś* I 328, IV 1876–77.

⁶ Sylvain Lévi, “Sur la Récitation Primitive des Textes Bouddhiques”, JA, May–June 1915, pp. 439–40; Étienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1976, p. 549; *Mppś* IV 1866–68; *Hōbōgirin* Vol. I 34 (“Arahashana”), Vol. VI 565 foll. (“Da”); E. Conze, *The Large Sutra* …, p. 21, note 118.

7. The *rakṣā* literature and cults

The *rakṣā* literature was strongly influenced by popular cults, both Buddhist and pre- or non-Buddhist. The former include the cults of the Seven Buddhas¹ and their trees,² of past Buddhas,³ of *pratyekabuddhas*,⁴ and of śrāvakas.⁵ The latter include the cults of the Four Great Kings;⁶ of *yakṣas*⁷ (including the 28 *yakṣasenāpati*, frequently mentioned), *nāgas*, and the whole inventory of divine or daemonic beings in the *Mahāmāyūrī*, and of female goddesses as shown in both verse lists⁸ and in the *mantras* that invoke the goddess under various epithets.

It is noteworthy that one of the longest and most influential of the Śrāvakayāna *rakṣās*, the *Āṭānāṭika-sūtra*, is introduced and spoken by the Great King Vaiśravaṇa: the next day the Buddha repeats it to the monks, and recommends that they master it. This seems to be a device to “convert” a non-Buddhist text by giving it the sanction of the Buddha. In the *Jātakamālā* (XXXIII, *Mahiṣa*), a *yakṣa* gives a *rakṣā* to the bodhisattva in his birth as a buffalo.

¹ *MhMVR*(T) pp. 13, 43–45, 56–57; *Āṭānāṭiya* Pali, *DN* III 195.27–96.10.

² *MhMVR*(T) p. 13.

³ *Mahāśītavana*, D 562, 138b7 foll.; *Āṭīhavīsati-paritta*; *Āṭānāṭiya-paritta*, *Royal Chanting Book* pp. 20, 38–39.

⁴ *Isigili-sutta*, *MN* 116 (note the concluding admonition *vandatha*, following the list of *paccekabuddhas*), classed as a *paritta* in some *Āṭīhakathā* lists (Table 1.4) and the *Catubhāṇavāra*.

⁵ *Mahāmantrānudharaṇi*, D 563, 155a7 foll.; *Jinapañjara-gāthā*.

⁶ *Āṭānāṭika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *MhMVR*(T) pp. 15 foll., 46, *Mahāśītavana*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, chapter 21; *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, chapter 7.

⁷ *Āṭānāṭika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *MhMVR*, *Mahāśītavana*.

⁸ *Āṭānāṭika*, *Mahāsamāja*, *Mahāmāyūrī*, *Āśīrvāda-gāthā*.

8. *Rakṣā* and the *Mahāyāna*

The *rakṣā* movement, with all its characteristic phraseology, *mantras*, and association with cults, influenced the composition of many *Mahāyāna sūtras*. A number of examples have already been cited. Chapter 21 of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the *Dhāraṇīparivarta*, contains *rakṣā mantras* spoken by Vaiśravaṇa and Virūḍhaka, by *rākṣasīs*, and by *bodhisattvas*. Chapter 9 of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, which bears the same title as the preceding, contains *rakṣā mantras* delivered by the Buddhas of the three times.¹ The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* (which is classed under *Tantra* in some *Kanjurs*) contains several long chapters on protection. Chapter 3 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* extols protections and other benefits derived from the *Prajñāpāramitā*, which it describes as a *vidyā*, though no *mantra* is given. Chapter 14 of the *Pratyutpanna-buddha-saṃmukhāvasthita-samādhi-sūtra* and Chapter 27 (the last) of the *Lalitavistara* deal with the protection granted to those who preserve the *sūtras*. Shorter *rakṣā* passages occur in the *Bhadralokapīka-sūtra*² and the *Śūramgamasamādhi-sūtra*,³ and no doubt in many other *sūtras* of the *Mahāyāna*. Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* devotes several pages to *rakṣā mantras*.⁴

At an uncertain date the great and voluminous *Mahāyāna sūtras* were themselves condensed into *mantras* or *dhāraṇīs*, often of only a few lines: various *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, from the recension in 100,000

¹ This chapter is not found in the Sung dynasty translation, done in 443 A.C., but is found in the Wei version of about 70 years later: see Jikido Takasaki, "Analysis of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. In Search of its Original Form", in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980, p. 340.

² *The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. I, Dharma Publishing, Berkeley, 1986, pp. 56–57.

³ É. Lamotte, *La Concentration de la Marche Héroïque (Śūramgamasamādhisūtra)*, Brussels, 1975, p. 271.

⁴ *Śikṣāsamuccaya* 138.14–42.15.

ślokas down, the *Samādhirāja*, and the *Lalitavistara*.¹ The *Avatāmsaka*, six volumes in Tibetan translation, was reduced to a *dhāraṇī* less than one line in length: “by retaining this, the Ārya *Avatāmsaka* will be retained”.² Hsüan-tsang used the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya* as a *rakṣā* to ward off “all sorts of demon shapes and strange goblins” in the deserts of Central Asia; “whenever he was in danger, it was to this [text] alone that he trusted for his safety and deliverance”.³

9. Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* literature and the Tantra

Śrāvakayāna *rakṣā* texts classed under *Tantra* (*rGyud*) in the *Kanjur* include the following:

1. *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra*
2. *Āṭānāṭiya-mahāsūtra*
3. *Vaiśālīpraveśa-mahāsūtra*
4. *Ṣaḍakṣarī-vidyā*
5. *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*
6. *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī*
7. *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī-sūtra*
8. *Mahāśitavana-sūtra*
9. *Mahāmantrānudharanī-sūtra*.
10. *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*.

Numbers 1 to 4, and most probably 5, belong to the Mūlasarvāstivādin tradition. The affiliation of the *Pañcarakṣā* texts (numbers 6 to 10), all of which are highly composite, is not clear. All ten are classed under

¹ Cf. Q 271 to 284. For the *Prajñāpāramitā*, see Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1978, pp. 86–87.

² Q 279, Vol. 7, *rgyud, pha*, 310b8–11a2.

³ Samuel Beal, *The Life of Huien-tsang by the Shaman Hwui Li*, [London, 1911] New Delhi, 1973, pp. 21–22.

Kriyā-tantra (Bya ba'i rgyud), the lowest of the four classes of Tantra. In addition, many of the short *dhāraṇī* texts — often connected with Indra, Brahma, *yakṣas*, and the Four Great Kings — included in *Kriyā-tantra* show no Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna influence, and may be described as Śrāvakayāna *rakṣas*. Among those translated by Feer, these include the *Sapta-vetādaka-dhāraṇī*, the *Sarvarogapraśamani-dhāraṇī*, the *Jvarapraśamani-dhāraṇī*, and the *Aksirogapraśamani-sūtra*.¹

10. Archaeological evidence for the *rakṣā* literature

Apart from the famous list of *dhammapaliyāya* of the Aśokan inscription (which does not include any *rakṣas*), the only aspects of early Buddhism for which we have concrete evidence are the life of Śākyamuni Buddha along with the related *jātakas*, the cult of the Seven Buddhas and their trees, and the cults of the Four Great Kings, Indra, *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, and goddesses. These are represented in relief on those encyclopaedias in stone, the gateways and railings of Bhārhut, Bodh Gayā, Sāñchī, and other scattered sites. The cults of *yakṣas* and *nāgas* are also represented by the massive free-standing stone figures found in the regions of Patna, Mathurā, Bhubaneswar, and elsewhere; the cult of female deities is well-represented at numerous sites.

Since Bhārhut dates from about 100 B.C., and since the stone reliefs presuppose well-established (presumably oral) traditions as well as figurative prototypes, whether in wood or painted on cloth or other materials, we may say that the elements listed above go back to at least the second century B.C. It is noteworthy that some of them — for example the descent from *Trayaśtrīmīśa*, depicted at both Bhārhut and Sāñchī — are paracanonical for at least the Theravādin tradition.

¹ *AMG* V 453–66.

These early monuments can only be understood in the light of such texts as one of the greatest *rakṣās*, the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra*. What did monks, nuns, and lay-followers do when they visited the early *stūpas*? I do not think they wandered about aimlessly, silently staring, like the modern tourist. Rather, they would have performed deliberate circumambulations, and, when making offerings, would have recited verses of homage: to the Buddhas along with their trees, to the Four Great Kings, and other deities — if not the exact verses preserved in extant texts, then certainly their prototypes. The *stūpas* themselves imply the existence of a lore and liturgy which belongs in part to the *rakṣā* literature.

The railings with their gateways functioned as an outer protective *maṇḍala* around the *stūpa*. At Bhārhut the Four Great Kings (the three surviving pillar reliefs identified by inscriptions) stood guard at the four cardinal points; similarly, the verses on the Kings and their retinues in texts such as the *Ātānāṭika-sūtra* (in all versions), and the verses on the *nakṣatras*, *devakumārīs*, and Kings in the *Āśīrvādagāthā* follow the traditional clockwise *pradakṣinā*, so that their recitation would invoke a “magic circle” of protection. I have noted above that the open palms that sometimes adorn the early reliefs might signify the *abhaya-mudrā*. The concept of *svasti* or *maṅgala* is strongly represented in the various auspicious signs that adorn almost every relief: the *svastika*, the *śrīvatsa*, the conch, the sunshade, and so on. The cult of the Seven Buddhas was well established by the time of the Bhārhut and Sāñchī *stūpas*, where they are represented aniconically by their trees. Verses of homage to these, and perhaps other past Buddhas — the prototype of the verses of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, the *Mahāśītavāna*, and the Pali *Ātānāṭiya* — must have been current by that time.

Literary evidence, such as a Chinese version of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvādāna* (for the Śrāvakayāna) and the *Drumakinnārarāja-pariprcchā* (for the

Mahāyāna) shows that protective *mantras* were in vogue by the 2nd century A.C.¹ In the **Jātaka-sūtra* (*Sheng ching*) translated by Dharmarakṣa in 285 A.C., “magic spells for averting the influence of thieves, evil spirits, and demons are explained by the Buddha”.² Indeed, since the Wu dynasty Chinese translation of the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* proves that *mantras* had already gained a spiritual application by the same period,³ it seems safe to conclude that *rakṣā mantras* were employed by the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier. The available archaeological and literary evidence suggests that the heyday of the *rakṣā* movement was from the second century B.C. to the third century A.C. During this period the cults described above flourished in India (including here regions of present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan, as well as parts of Central Asia). By the third century the influence of the popular cults diminished (although they still persist in rural India), to be progressively eclipsed by the more sophisticated cults of *bodhisattvas*

¹ *Divy*, Appendix A, p. 657. The reference is to the **Mātaṅgī-sūtra*, translated into Chinese in 230 A.C.: see T 1300, *KBC* 766, and M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, [1933] New York, 1972, pp. 286–87. In the early third and the fourth centuries, a number of *mantra* texts were rendered into Chinese by various translators: see Chou Yi-liang, “Tantrism in China”, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 8, 1944–45, pp. 242–43, Matsunaga 1977 pp. 169–70, and *Upasena-sūtra* (2) p. 238. For the interesting figure of the “*dhāraṇī* master” Śrīmitra, who translated three “collections of spells”, moved in court circles in the early decade of the 4th century at Chien’ang, and was the first known person to have had a *caitya* built for him at the order of the Emperor, see Zürcher, *op. cit.*, 103–04.

² Matsunaga 1977 p. 169; the reference is to T 154, *KBC* 799.

³ Inagaki 1987: the Wu version was translated between 223 and 253 A.C. (p. 24); the *mantras* of that version are shown in the comparative table of the *mantra*, pp. 310–52. For this *sūtra*, see also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, fasc. 4, pp. 548–50. For an early date for the origins of “Tantra”, see Matsunaga 1977, de Jong 1984, and John C. Huntington, “Note on a Chinese Text Demonstrating the Earliness of Tantra”, *JIABS* Vol. 10, no. 2, 1987, pp. 88–98. For a detailed bibliography of Japanese and other studies on *mantra* and Tantra, early and late, see Hajime Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes*, Hirakata, 1980, Chapter VI, Esoteric Buddhism.

for the Buddhists, and of deities such as Viṣṇu and Śiva for the Hindus. Both in India and abroad, certain cults, such as those of Indra, Brahma, and the Four Great Kings, gained a literary and iconographical longevity, which has allowed them to survive up to the present day in the Buddhist world.

11. Rite and ritual

I stated at the outset that a hallmark of the *rakṣā* literature in general is that the texts were actually employed in the day-to-day life of both monks and lay followers. For the *paritta*, there is no need to give any evidence: wherever Theravādin Buddhism is established, the recitation of *paritta* is a regular practice. A detailed description of the *paritta* rites of Sri Lanka has been provided by Lily de Silva in the study frequently referred to.

Several of the early *rakṣā* texts contain internal information about their purpose and use. In the *Dhvajāgra-sūtra* the Buddha recommends the recollection of the Buddha, or the Dharma and the Samgha, to monks beset by fear when in the jungle or in lonely places. In the *Āṭanāṭika-sūtra*, Vaiśravaṇa delivers the protection to be learned by “the disciples of the Lord — monks, nuns, laymen, and laywomen — who dwell in lonely places” for their own security and protection against malignant non-humans; the next day the Buddha repeats the protection to the monks, and recommends that they learn it. In each case it is not the whole *sūtra* in its current form that was to be recited, but only certain parts; at a later date, however, the whole text would have undoubtedly been recited, as is the case with the corresponding Pali *parittas*.

I have not been able to uncover much information about how the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* were used. The *Vinayavibhaṅga* passage mentions their recitation as a protection against *vetāda*, without further

detail (although it does mention a number of alternate *rakṣās*). The commentary thereupon describes the function of the *Mahāsūtras*, but says nothing about how, on what occasions, or by whom, they were to be used. The only information about their ritual use is found in the “appendix” to the Tibetan version of the *Mahāsamāja*, which is not found in the Pali, Sanskrit, or Chinese versions. There the Four Great Kings recommend the recitation of the *sūtra*, along with their own *mantras*, over a thread (*sūtra*) or over (a vessel containing) water, and then tying knots in the string or sprinkling the water. The most detailed rites are given by the Buddha himself, who delivers further *mantras*. Here there are references to fasting; to specific days of the lunar cycle; to the recitation of the *mantra* 100 or 108 times while holding and knotting a thread; and to the marking of a boundary (*sīmā*).

The *Samantapāśādikā* (5th century) refers to the use of thread and water in *paritta* ritual (*parittodaka, parittasutta*),¹ as does the *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, which de Silva dates to the 4th or 5th century.² The commentary on the *Ratana-sutta* (5th century) states that Ānanda sprinkled water from the Buddha’s alms-bowl as he went through Vesālī reciting the *sutta*.³ In the *Suppāraka-jātaka* the *bodhisatta* performs an act of truth (*saccakiriya*) holding a bowl full of water (*pūṇṇapāti*).⁴ A detailed description of a *paritta* rite is given in the commentary to the *Ātānāṭiya-sutta*.⁵ Interesting information about ritual practices connected with the *upoṣadha* ceremony in India and the “Islands of the Southern Sea” in the 7th century is supplied by I-ching. There is much

¹ *Chāṭṭhasaṅgīti* ed. I 577 (ref. from Dhammadāna 1992 p. 193).

² L. de Silva, p. 16.

³ L. de Silva, p. 17.

⁴ *Jātaka* 463, Vol. IV, p. 142.

⁵ L. de Silva, pp. 17–18.

in common with the *paritta* rituals described by de Silva (including the overfeeding of the monks and the offering of betel-nut).¹

Brief rites are given at the end of the Sanskrit *Mahāmāyūrī* and the Tibetan *Mahāśītavana*. A number of rites are described in the *Mahāsāhasrapramardanī*, where they are spoken by the Four Great Kings, Brahma, and Vaiśravana.² The “Chapter on Sarasvati” in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* describes several rites.³ Other texts in the *Tantra* section of the *Kanjur* refer to recitation of *mantras* over thread and the tying of knots.⁴ The spiritually charged thread and water⁵ are common not only to the *paritta* but also to Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna rituals, and no doubt belong to early pan-Indian magical or protective rites. Matsunaga has given a chronological account of texts containing ritual elements translated into Chinese, starting with the first half of the third century.⁶ There is clearly a great deal to be learned here from Chinese sources.

The texts also recommend that *rakṣas* be written down, on paper or cloth, and tied as amulets to parts of the body or to standards (the latter in battle) or deposited in *stūpas*. This aspect awaits further exploration.⁷

¹ J. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, chapter IX. For a note on “the habit of chewing betel” in the *Avadāna* literature see J.S. Speyer, *Avadānaśataka*, Vol. II, [1906–09] repr. Osnabrück, 1970, pp. xxxv–xxxvi.

² Iwamoto 30–31, 36–37, 38, respectively.

³ BST 8, chapter 8.

⁴ Cf. Feer, *AMG* V 455–57, 464, 466. See *SHT* (III) 842, R5–6; *Divy* 614.13 (*Śārdūlakarnāvadāna*), *sūtrena baddhena*.

⁵ Cf. *Śikṣasamuccaya* 140.18, *abhimantritenā jalena*.

⁶ Matsunaga 1977 pp. 171–74.

⁷ See *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* Vol. I, fasc. 3, pp. 493–502 (“Amulet”). For Khmer and Siamese practices, see Catherine Bechetti, *Le Mystère dans les Lettres, Étude sur les yantra bouddhiques du Cambodge et de la Thaïlande*, Bangkok, 1991.

Conclusions

Rakṣās, in one form or another, are an integral part of mainstream Buddhism. The present paper came into being as a result of my work on a critical edition of the Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* as preserved in Tibetan translation. In the course of my research, I discovered that the *Mahāsūtras* were themselves employed as *rakṣās*, and uncovered the numerous cross-references that led me to conclude that the *rakṣā* phenomenon was extremely influential in early Buddhism. The *paritta* of the Theravādins, the *Mahāsūtras*, *rakṣās*, and *mantras* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the *svastigāthā*, *rakṣās*, and *mantras* of these and other schools of both the Śrāvaka- and Mahā-yānas were not independent or isolated developments. The chanting of certain auspicious verses or texts for protection against disease and malignant spirits and for the promotion of welfare was no doubt a “pan-nikāya” practice, common to all branches of the *saṃgha* from an early date; indeed, on the internal evidence of texts like the *Dhvajāgra* and *Āṭanāṭika Sūtras*, the practice should predate the early schisms. The two *sūtras* just referred to are both *parittas* and *Mahāsūtras*; the *Ratana-sutta* is a *paritta*, a *svastigāthā*, and the key element of a *Pañcarakṣā* text. In some schools or communities the practice of *rakṣā* developed further with the use of *mantras* or *vidyās*, by the beginning of the Common Era at the very latest.

The *Āṭanāṭika-sūtra* seems to have been the prototype of much of the phraseology, and some of the verses, of the Buddhist *rakṣā* literature (when one considers that the *sūtra* would have been memorised by members of the *saṃgha* from an early date, this is not surprising); but this very phraseology and some of the verses were clearly adopted and adapted from contemporary popular magical and cult traditions. The prototype for at least some of the *svastigāthās* may well have been the *Ratana-sutta*. The Buddhist *mantras* derived some of their efficacy from

intelligible elements such as expressions of homage (*namas*) invoking the power of the Buddha(s), other *āryas* and deities, and the Triple Gem (*triratna*), and from the “profession of truth” (*satyavāk*). These were combined with unintelligible phrases; the origin and precise significance of these remain obscure, but it is clear that the texts drew on a common stock of elements, perhaps again from popular magical lore. In all cases the oral tradition, seamless in comparison with the written text, would have played a significant role in the permeation of Buddhist literature with such *rakṣā* and *mantra* phrases.

By definition the *rakṣā* literature is devoted to worldly ends: protection against physical or material threats, and promotion of physical and material well-being. Many of the texts, however, presuppose a certain level of spiritual development for the recitation to be efficacious, in particular the practice of loving-kindness: *maitrī* or *mettā*. And for all Buddhists, of whatever *nikāya* or *yāna*, the ultimate *rakṣā* was always *nirvāna*, described in the early texts as a refuge (*tāna*, *lena*, and so on).

The *rakṣā* literature is a vast topic: in its broader sense, it involves the study of the entire corpus of Buddhist literature in all of its languages. In this paper I have only been able to give an outline, a rough sketch of the *rakṣā* elephant as glimpsed here and there in the profuse jungle of Buddhist literature. Many questions remain to be considered. Who or what offers protection, and through what mechanism? How can past Buddhas offer protection? To what degree does the protection depend on the supplicant, to what degree on the reciter, to what degree on the beings invoked? I hope other scholars will contribute to this somewhat neglected field of research.

Bibliographical Note

References to Pali texts are to the editions of the Pali Text Society (PTS), with standard abbreviations, unless otherwise noted. References to Tibetan texts are by catalogue numbers of the Peking (Q) (in most cases) and Derge (D) (for the *Pañcarakṣā*) editions; Peking volume numbers refer to the volumes of the reprint edition and not to the original *potis*. Chinese texts are cited by Taishō (T) and Korean Buddhist Canon (*KBC*) catalogue numbers; information about dates of translation is derived from the latter.

Abbreviations

AMG V	Léon Feer, <i>Fragments extraits du Kandjour, Annales du Musée Guimet</i> , Vol. V, Paris, 1883
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i> , Vol. II, <i>Dictionary</i> , [New Haven, 1953] Delhi, 1972
BST	Buddhist Sanskrit Text series, Darbhanga
D	Derge (sDe dge) edition of the Tibetan Canon
Divy	E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, <i>The Divyāvadāna</i> , rep. Delhi, 1987
GMI	Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), <i>Gilgit Manuscripts</i> , Vol. I, [Srinagar, 1939] Delhi, 1984.
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
KBC	L.R. Lancaster, <i>The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue</i> , Berkeley, 1979 (reference by catalogue number)
Q	Peking (Qianlong) edition of the Tibetan Canon
PraS (I)	Paul Harrison (ed.), <i>The Tibetan Text of the Pratyutpanna-Buddha-Saṃmukhāvasthita-Samādhī-Sūtra</i> , Tokyo, 1978

PraS (II)	Paul Harrison (tr.), <i>The Samādhi of Direct Encounter with the Buddhas of the Present</i> , Tokyo, 1990
MhMVR(T)	Shūyo Takubo (ed.), <i>Ārya-Mahā-Māyūrī Vidyā-Rājñī</i> , Tokyo, 1972
Mppś	Étienne Lamotte, <i>Le Traité de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse de Nāgārjuna</i> , Louvain, 1949–80
SHT	Ernst Waldschmidt <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-Funden</i> , Wiesbaden, 1965–
T	Taishō edition of the Chinese <i>Tripiṭaka</i> (reference by catalogue number)

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Table 1: Early paritta lists¹1. *Milinda-pañha*

PTS 150.27	ChS 152.20	Mm 206.14
1. Ratana-s	1. Ratana-s	1. Khandha-p
2. Khandha-p	2. Metta-s	2. Suvatthi-p
3. Mora-p	3. Khandha-p	3. Mora-p
4. Dhajagga-p	4. Mora-p	4. Dhajagga-p
5. Ātānātiya-p	5. Dhajagga-p	5. Ātānātiya-p
6. Āngulimālā-p	6. Ātānātiya-p	— —
— —	7. Āngulimālā-p	— —

1.2.1. *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī* (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on *Sampasādanīya-s*)

ChS [III] 81.10; Mm III 109.5; PTS III 897.28

1. Ātānātiya-p²
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p

— ādi

¹ In the table, *-s* = *-sutta*, *-p* = *-paritta*. PTS refers to the romanized editions of the Pali Text Society, London; HOS to the romanized ed. of the *Visuddhimagga* in the Harvard Oriental Series; ChS to the Burmese script *Chatthañsaṅgīti* editions, Rangoon, Mm to the Thai script editions published by Mahāmakaṭa Press, Bangkok (consulted as accessible).

² ChS and PTS omit *-paritta* here only.

1.2.2. Papañcasūdanī (Majjhimanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on Bahudhātuka-s)

ChS [IV] 79.19; PTS IV 114.6	Mm III 522.11
1. Āṭānāṭiya-	1. Āṭānāṭiya-p
2. Mora-p	2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p	3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p	4. Ratana-p
— ādi	5. Metta-p
	— ādi

1.2.3. Manorathapūraṇī (Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭhakathā, Ekanipāta, on aṭṭhāna)³

ChS [I] 358; PTS II 9.23
1. Āṭānāṭiya-p
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ratana-p
— ādi

1.2.4. Sammohavinodanī (Vibhaṅga-aṭṭhakathā)

ChS 411.27; Nalanda ed. 434.14; PTS 430.33
1. Āṭānāṭiya-
2. Mora-p
3. Dhajagga-p ⁴
4. Ratana-p
— ādi

³ The same list occurs at Mp IV (PTS) 114.

⁴ Nalanda and PTS omit *-paritta*.

1.3.1. Visuddhimagga

ChS II 44.15; HOS 349.21; PTS Mm II 258.20

414.24;

1. Ratana-s	1. Ratana-p
2. Khandha-p	2. Khandha-p
3. Dhajagga-p	3. Dhajagga-p
4. Ātānāṭiya-p	4. Ātānāṭiya-p
5. Mora-p	5. Mora-p

1.3.2. Samantapāsādikā I, Verañjakañḍavaññanā⁵

ChS 129.10; PTS I 159.31

Mm I 178.7

1. Ratana-p	1. Ratana-p
2. Khandha-p	2. Metta-p
3. Dhajagga-p	3. Khandha-p
4. Ātānāṭiya-p	4. Dhajagga-p
5. Mora-p	5. Ātānāṭiya-p
— —	6. Mora-p

1.4. Mahāniddesa-aṭṭhakathā (Tuvaṭaka-s)

ChS 336.26; Mm II 92.6; PTS II 383.5

Manorathapūraṇī (Tikanipāta)

ChS II 210.27; PTS II 342.1

1. Ātānāṭiya-p
2. Isigili-p
3. Dhajagga-p
4. Bojjhaṅga-p
5. Khandha-p
6. Mora-p
7. Metta-p
8. Ratana-p

⁵ The list of the Chinese version agrees with ChS, except that the Ātānāṭiya is called *sutta* rather than *paritta* (but it would be interesting to know the Chinese term rendered here as *paritta*): P. V. Bapat and A. Hirakawa, *Shan-Chien-P'i - P'o-Sha, A Chinese Version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā*, Poona, 1970, p. 116. The same list occurs at Patis-a (PTS) 367.35.

**1.5. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā on
Āṭānāṭiya-sutta)**

ChS [III] 150.23; Mm III 201.20; PTS III 969.15

1. Āṭānāṭiya-s
2. Metta-s
3. Dhajagga-s
4. Ratana-s

Table 2: Paritta, Sirimāngalaparitta, Dvādasaparitta, and Sattaparitta

A. Paritta	B. Sirimāngalaparitta	C. Dvādasaparitta	D. Sattaparitta
1. Mangala-sutta	1. Maingala-sutta	1. Maingala-sutta	1. Maingala-sutta
2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta	2. Ratana-sutta
3. Metta-sutta	3. Karanīyametta-sutta	3. Karanīyametta-sutta	3. Karanīyametta-sutta
4. Khandha-sutta	4. Khandha-paritta	4. Khandha-paritta	4. Khandha-paritta
5. Mora-sutta	5. Mora-paritta	5. Mora-paritta	5. Mora-paritta
6. Vatī-sutta	6. Vatī-paritta	—	—
7. Dhajagga-sutta	7. Dhajagga-paritta	6. Dhajagga-paritta	6. Dhajagga-paritta
8. Ātānātiya-sutta	8. Ātānātiya-paritta	7. Ātānātiya-paritta	7. Ātānātiya-paritta
9. Āngulimāla-sutta	9. Āngulimāla-paritta	8. Āngulimāla-paritta	8. Āngulimāla-paritta
10. Bojjhangā-sutta	10. Bojjhangā-paritta	9. Bojjhangā-paritta	9. Bojjhangā-paritta
11. Pubbanha-sutta*	11. Pubbanha-sutta*	11. Abhaya-paritta*	11. Abhaya-paritta*
—	—	12. Jaya-paritta	12. Jaya-paritta
	13. Sammāparibhājanīya-sutta	13. Sammāparibhājanīya-sutta	—
	14. Purābheda-sutta	14. Purābheda-sutta	—
	15. Kalahavivāda-sutta	15. Kalahavivāda-sutta	—
	16. Cūlabyūha-sutta	16. Cūlabyūha-sutta	—
	17. Mahābūha-sutta	17. Mahābūha-sutta	—
	18. Tuvatāka-sutta	18. Tuvatāka-sutta	—

* = same text under different titles

19. Mahā-āññātiya-sutta
20. Abhinha-sutta
21. Dhammacakkappavattana-sutta
22. Anattalakkhaṇa-sutta
23. Dhammapadapāli
24. Mahāsatipatthāna-sutta
25. Paññānapāli paccayuddesa
26. Paññānapāli paccayaniddesa
27. Brahmajāla-sutta
28. Chādisāpāla-sutta
29. Cakkaparitta-sutta
30. Parimittajāla-sutta
31. Uppātasanti

Table 3: The seven *Pañcarakṣā* in relation to other *rakṣā* and *paritta* texts

			Parallels
A.	Mahāyāna		
(1)	<i>Mahāpratisarā-vidyārājī</i> = <i>Rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'brai ba chen mo</i>		<i>None traced</i>
Sanskrit:	Iwamoto, Chandra		
Tibetan:	D 561, Q 179		
Chinese:	tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C. T 1154, KBC 454, tr. Ratnacinta, 693 A.C. T 1153, KBC 1349, tr. Amoghavajra, 8th cent.		
B.	Śrāvakayāna^a		
(2)	<i>Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājī</i> = <i>Rig snags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo</i>		* <i>Māyūrī-jātaka</i> / <i>Mora-jātaka</i> <i>Ātānātiya-sūtra</i> / <i>Ātānātiya-sutta</i> <i>Upasena-sūtra</i> / <i>Khanda-paritta</i>
Sanskrit:	Oldenburg, Takubo, Chandra		
Tibetan:	D 559, Q 178		
	tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye šes sde, ca. 800 A.C.		
Chinese:	6 translations between 317 and 907 (see Aalto 1954 p. 7)		

(3)	<i>Mahāśāhasrapramardanī-nāma-mahāvāṇasūtra</i> = <i>sToṇi chen po rab tu 'joms pa žes bya ba'i mdo</i>	* <i>Ratna-sūtra / Ratana-sutta</i>
Sanskrit:	Iwamoto, Chandra	
Tibetan:	D 558, Q 177 tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. g'Zon nu dpal	
Chinese:	T 999, KBC 1096, tr. Dānapāla, 983 A.C.	
(4A)	<i>Mahāśīlavana</i> = <i>bSił ba'i tshal chen mo</i>	Cp. <i>Āśānātika-sūtra / Āśānātiya-sūtra</i>
Sanskrit:	not extant	
Tibetan:	D 562, Q 180 tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.; rev. g'Zon nu dpal	
Chinese:	none	<i>None traced</i>
(4B)	<i>Mahāśītavatī-vidyārājī</i>	
Sanskrit:	Iwamoto, Chandra	
Tibetan:	<i>Mahādāṇḍadharanī</i> , <i>Be con chen po žes bya ba'i gzun</i> D 606, Q 308, tr. Jinamitra, Dānaśila, Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.	
Chinese:	T 1392, KBC 1104, tr. Fa-t'ien, 984 A.C.	

					<i>Candra-sūtra / Canda-paritta</i>
					<i>Uḍānavarga, Prātimokṣa-sūtra</i>
					<i>satyavāk, agraprajñapti</i>
(5A)	<i>Mahāmantrānudharanī</i>				
	= <i>gSañ śīags chen mo rjes su 'dzin pa'i mdo</i>				
Sanskrit:	not extant				
Tibetan:	D 563, Q 181				
	tr. Śilendrabodhi, Jñānasiddhi, Śākyaprabha,				
	Ye śes sde, ca. 800 A.C.				
Chinese:	none				
(5B)	<i>Mahāmantrānusārīṇī</i>				<i>Vaisālīpravesa-mahāsūtra / Ratana-</i>
					<i>sūtra</i>
					<i>[gSañ śīags kyi rjes su 'brañ ba chen mo]¹</i>
Sanskrit:	Chandra				
Tibetan:	none				
Chinese:	T 1048, KBC 1102, tr. Fa-t'ien, 984 A.C.				

¹ Tibetan title cited in D 558, *rgnud 'bum, pha*, 86a5.