

Contribution

Dhāraṇī of Pure Radiance (VIŚUDDHA-PRABHĀ)

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THE Sanskrit title of the dhāraṇī of Pure Radiance (henceforth KR) from the Tibetan Kanjur is:

Raśmi-vimala-Viśuddha-prabhā-dhāraṇī
Rays immaculate Pure Radiance dhāraṇī

It can be translated as the ‘dhāraṇī of the Pure Radiance of the immaculate rays’ of Amitāyusa who is invoked in the first dhāraṇī.

The Khotanese reworded the title to convey its ritual function clearly, in lucid and unambiguous terms. It runs: *nirmala-vibhāsa-koṭi-pariśuddha-Sarvatathāgata-samast-āśā-pratiṣṭhita-mudrā*, ‘Meditation for consummating all one’s wishes by the supremely pure immaculate radiance of the Omnipotent Tathāgata’. The literal translation is: *nirmala* ‘immaculate’ + *vibhāsa* ‘radiance’ (= raśmi of the Skt. title) + *koṭi* ‘supreme’ (here it does not have a numerical denotation of ‘ten million’) + *pariśuddha* ‘pure’ + *Sarvatathāgata* ‘Omnipotent Tathāgata’ (*sarva* = omni-, it does not mean ‘all Tathāgatas’, and here refers to Amitāyusa of the first dhāraṇī) + *samasta* ‘all’ + *āśā* ‘wishes’ + *pratiṣṭhita* ‘consummating’ (the correct grammatical form should have been *pratiṣṭhāna*) + *mudrā* ‘meditation’.

The word *mudrā* has been an enigma for centuries. The Japanese Vajradhātu maṇḍala poses a semantic difficulty in the *Catur-mudrā-maṇḍala* 四印會 and *Eka-mudrā-maṇḍala* 一印會 where Chinese has rendered *mudrā* by *yin* ‘official seal, stamp’.¹ The first was explained as *catur-jñāna-mudrā* 四智印, symbols of four knowledges, and by abbreviation the name of this maṇḍala became ‘maṇḍala of four symbols’.² *Eka-mudrā* was interpreted as the *jñāna-muṣṭi-mudrā* 智拳印 of Vajradhātu-Vairocana. In both cases *yin* was taken to signify (not mean) *jñāna* ‘knowledge’.³

Mudrā has three meanings in Sanskrit:

- (i) A seal or material for sealing, e.g., a letter so that it is fully closed

and cannot be tampered with. The basic idea is to secure its confidential nature.

- (ii) Impression made by a seal as a symbol of authorization: as *rāja-mudrā* (in the Dhammapada commentary 1.21), *muddādhikaraṇa* ‘office of the Keeper of the Privy Seal’ in the Milindapañha 281. *Mudrā* would mean ‘ratified by a seal’. *Mudrā* means ‘authorization’ in the Mudrārākṣasa drama.
- (iii) Intertwining of the fingers in worship with an occult meaning and supernal efficacy, in Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha and Kāraṇḍavyūha (Monier-Williams Dictionary, henceforth MW⁴). Hand postures in dance.

Mudrā occurs only in the Khotanese title of the KR. This scroll had been commissioned for a high monk of the Gomaṭī Monastery as an efficacious ritual for him to attain the Supreme. *Mudrā* could have meant that this scroll is ‘ratified by a seal’. As 77 or 99 copies of a dhāraṇī had to be offered by the officiant, *mudrā* can also mean a ‘printed version’ from *mudraṇa* ‘printing’. A mantra could be printed by a wooden block 100,000 times for lakṣa-pūjā in India. So *mudrā* would mean a ‘printed version’. Another dhāraṇī in the Tibetan Kanjur is entitled *Ārya-Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya-guhyadhātu-karaṇḍa-mudrā nāma dhāraṇī*.⁵ The meaning of the word *mudrā* was not clear to the Tibetan translators Vidyākaraṇa and Devendrarakṣita, so they left it out in the Tibetan title even though it was a literal rendering. MW correctly translates the root *adhiṣṭhā* ‘to bless’ from Divyāvadāna.⁶

When a Sanskrit word defies a reasonable meaning, we can resort to NIA (New Indo-Aryan language) parallels. Hindi has the root *mūdanā* ‘to close, shut’ (esp. the eyes), which is derived from *mudrayati* by Turner in his *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*.⁷ He cites *mudrayati* ‘seals’ from the Harivaṃśa, Prakrit *muddei* ‘closes’, Assamese *mudiba* ‘to close (e.g., the eyes)’, Bengali *modā*, Oriya *mudibā*, Maithili *mūnab*, and Marathi *mūdhñē*. In Hindi *mūdnā* is used exclusively in concert with the eyes — *ākh mūdnā* ‘to close the eyes’ — and it cannot be used for shutting the door. Thus, *mudrā* is ‘closing the eyes in meditation’, or just ‘meditation’, and *mudrā-dhāraṇī* means a ‘dhāraṇī for meditation’. It fits the context perfectly.

Raśmi or rays are Viśvedevāḥ in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 3.9.2.6: रश्मयो ह्यस्य (सूर्यस्य) वशित्वे देवाः, 4.3.1.26 तस्य (सूर्यस्य) ये रश्मयस्ते वशित्वे देवाः, and in other passages. The rays are all the gods collectively. *Raśmi-vimala* of the Sanskrit title has been replaced by *vibhāsa*, a simpler word, and the sequence of adjective (*nirmala*)-noun (*vibhāsa*)

has been regularized. *Prabhā* of the Sanskrit title has been omitted as being a tautology. The Khotanese *nirmala-vibhāsa* is a paraphrase of *vimala-raśmi*. The supplementary *koṭi-pariśuddha* 'supremely purified' refers to Amitābha, which means Infinite (*amita*) light (*ābhā*), i.e., the Transcendent Sun. Jomyoji monastery at Nara has a pictorial depiction of the Formless Ultimate Buddha Body in a provisional form with 48 rays of light.⁸

Raśmi or supernal radiance was paramount in the perception of Khotan's identity. The Tibetan chronicle of Khotan entitled *Li.yul lun. bstan.pa* 'Prophecy of Khotan' begins with the myth of the drying up of Khotan, which had become a lake because of adharma, and its conversion to land by the rays (*raśmi*) of Śākyamuni. Mythicization is an expression of the sacred to impart it a trans-worldly reality, to endow it with extraordinary authority. The myth is the validation of religious life, like a temple that is of paramount importance in everyday social traditions.

The Chronicle says that Khotan had become land just when Buddha Kāśyapa appeared in the world (Em. 7), and its inhabitants followed Dharma. Later on, the Dharma of Kāśyapa declined, so also the Dharma of Khotan, and many sages (*ṛṣi*) left as evil persons treated them with contempt. The Nāgas were displeased by the false beliefs of the inhabitants, and they inundated the country, turning it into a lake. After a long time Śākyamuni flew to Khotan, sat on a lotus-throne seven palm-trees high above the lake (later on the great stupa of Hgum.tir came up here), and filled the country with his rays (*raśmi*). Three hundred and sixty-three lotuses arose from these rays. Lamps appeared on several lotuses. The rays collected together and did three *pradakṣiṇās* above the water and sank in the midst of water. Lord Śākyamuni ordered Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa to break up the lake. The lake was broken up by the mendicant staff of Śāriputra and the spear of Vaiśravaṇa. The Lord prophesied that Khotan would become a country, blessed it (*adhiṣṭhāna*), and appointed eight Mahāsattva Bodhisattvas to guard it. He remained absorbed in meditation for seven days and nights, and returned to Vaiśālī in India.

Gomasālagandha stupa with the relics of the four generations of Buddhas came up where Śākyamuni had sat on the lotus on the lake. Lord Śākyamuni preached the Candragarbha-sūtra on mount Gṛdhra-kūṭa in Rājagṛha and appointed guardians of various lands. Those appointed for Khotan made a solemn vow (*samaya*) in the presence of the Lord for its protection.

- Eight Bodhisattvas: Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Maitreya, Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, Samantabhadra, Mahāsthāma, Bhaiṣajyarāja
- Vaiśravaṇa and Saṃjñāya the General of Yakṣas
- Princess Vimalaprabhā, the daughter of King Ajātaśatru, and Prince Vajrasena (brother and sister)
- Deva Aparājita, Ākāśacakṣus
- Devaputra Suvarṇamāla, Devaputra Susthiramati, Nāgarāja Gṛhāvatapta
- Devī Ankuśavatī, Devī Sthānavatī, Devī Hārītī

The entire legend is founded on the analogy of Kashmir being drained of its lakes by sage Kāśyapa, whose name survives in Ptolemy's designation of Kashmir as Kaspeiria. The close relations of Kashmir and Khotan are detailed in an earlier work by me.⁹

The Gomasālagandha stupa contained the relics of four generations of Buddhas. The four Buddhas are mentioned in the Mahāvastu 2.401.7: Krakucchanda, Kāśyapa, Konākamana, and Śākyamuni.¹⁰

Śākyamuni filled Khotan with his rays (*raśmi*), from which arose 363 lotuses on which appeared lamps. The word *raśmi* begins the names of Tathāgatas in the Gaṇḍavyūha, the last sūtra in the Avataṃsaka corpus. The two Chinese translations of the complete Avataṃsaka corpus were done by monks from Khotan: by Buddhahadra in 422 CE and by Śikṣānanda in 699 CE. The Sanskrit originals were also from Khotan. The Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā 1416.7 and Mahāvvyutpatti 519 have a samādhi called *raśmivimukta*. The supernal rays (*raśmi*) of Viṣṇu consecrating the sages can be seen in a sumptuously illustrated deluxe edition of the Bhagavad Gītā published by Srinivas Fine Arts P. Ltd. in 2015.

Lord Śākyamuni consecrating Khotan with his *raśmi* or radiance was to transmute it as a Buddhakṣetra with the accumulation of merit (*puṇyasambhāra*) and the collection of knowledge (*jñānasambhāra*). It was the vow (*praṇidhāna*) of Śākyamuni to endow the inhabitants of Khotan with all the Buddha-dharmas. In the intensity of love for their land, the people had named it Hvataṃna 'Our Land' from *hva* = Skt. *sva* 'self' + *tana* 'suffix of belonging'. The *raśmi* transformed Khotan into a *puṇyabhūmi*: (i) The land was created by the drying up of the lake as it was sluiced by Śāriputra and Vaiśravaṇa for the water to run out. (ii) The metropolis of Lṇa.lḍan and the fortress of Hu.ten came up where the rays emitted by Śākyamuni had collected together and sunk into the lake. The image of Rājagrāma Buddha came here flying

from India. (iii) The defense of the kingdom was ensured by Lord Śākyamuni by appointing guardians who have been named earlier in the article. (iv) Sites for the construction of 363 monasteries were 363 lotuses arisen from the rays, on which lamps appeared. (v) The Gomasālagandha was established where Śākyamuni had sat on the lake near River Sgo.ma. It had the relics of the Four Buddhas and the great image of Śākyamuni.

The 363 lotuses were to become monasteries. The lotus is innately divine and not contaminated by karmic faults. Nalanda was named after lotuses (*nāla*) blossoming in its ponds. To this day, the most sacred flowers for ikebana in Japan come from the Horyuji Monastery founded in 607 by Prince Shotoku. Thus, the lotuses were a perfect substratum for the monasteries that were to come after Buddhism had become the value system of the Land.

The *Chinese title* was simplified by its translator Mitrasena to 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Nj.380, T1024, K352, STP 8.198): Wu-kou (vimala) ching (viśuddha) kuang (prabhā) ta t'ō-lo-ni (mahā-dhāraṇī) ching (sūtra).

The *Tibetan title* is *Hphags.pa ḥod.zer dri.ma.med.pa.rnam.par.dag.paḥi ḥod ces.byā.baḥi.gzuñs*, an exact translation of the Sanskrit title.

The title is made clear by the first dhāraṇī. It reads: salutation to Lord Amitāyusa Tathāgata. Amitāyusa endows long life without cares, without ailments, and the plenitude of a hale and hearty span of life. He is parallel to Amitābha. He was invoked to cure the ill-health of a person in his terminal years and to go to the paradise of Amitābha on death. The light aspect of Amitābha is clear in the Sanskrit title which invokes the Pure Radiance (*viśuddha-prabhā*) of His immaculate rays (*raśmi-vimala*) to lead the devotee to Sukhāvātī. Rebirth in the Western Paradise of Sukhāvātī is emphasized four times in this sutra.¹¹

Divine Radiance has been the awesome dignity of Buddhist images in China: Nun Daoqiong made a golden image of Amitāyus in 438 CE. It “emitted a ray from between its eyebrows, shining brightly with a golden hue in the nunnery”. Clergy and lay people “came to pay their respects. Upon seeing the divine radiance, all were delighted and happy”.¹²

Alexander Coburn Soper cites several instances of the awesome power of the light emitted by relics in his *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*.¹³ K'ang Seng Hui found a relic in a phial, offered it to the King Sun Ch'üan (r. 222–52), and a “five-coloured flame shone dazzlingly above the phial. The King paid reverence and had a pagoda erected”.¹⁴

In 266, scholar-courtier Hsün Hsu made 12 gilded images at Loyang.

They emitted a great radiance, and large crowds came to pay homage.

In the Chin era (326–34), the Prefect Kao Li had a gilded image dug out of the bay with a Sanskrit inscription reading ‘made by the fourth daughter of King Aśoka’. It was installed at Ch’ang-kan-ssu. It emitted a light that filled the hall.¹⁵

Master Tai rose one night “to see a light over the temple, which blazed so brightly that he thought a fire had broken out”.¹⁶ The Buddha Hall shone and radiated light into the heavens. People came to show reverence.

A nun stationed at Ch’ang-an saw a purple light rising from a tree in 437 CE, and as she looked up she saw a miniature gilded image.¹⁷

A devout maiden made offerings to a miniature gilded image and wanted to continue as a nun. The parents made plans to get her married. She vowed to die rather than submit to their pressure. The image emitted a golden light that filled the whole village and the startled parents acceded.¹⁸

The Buddhānusmṛti-samādhi-sāgara-sūtra (*Kuan fo san-mei hai ching*) translated by Buddhahadra between 398 and 421 (Nj.431, T156, K402) says that meditation on the rays from the white tuft between the Buddha’s eyebrows from one to seven days lightens four types of sin. After seven weeks, one’s sins disappear wholly.¹⁹

The immeasurable luminosity of Buddhahood and universal radiance have been dominant in Buddhism, from Amitābha to Rocana (Jpn. Roshana) and to Vairocana of the Vajradhātu. *Svarga* ‘heaven’ means ‘the world of light’. *Svar* is ‘sun, sunshine, light, lustre’ in the Rigveda, Atharvaveda, Vājasaneyi-saṁhitā. The theme of radiance (*svar*) leading to heaven (*svarga*) by obviating all sins can be seen from the earliest ages of India down to Buddhism.

Solar symbolism. The title of the KR commences with *raśmi* which invokes the rays of the sun who is *raśmipati* ‘the lord of rays’, the divine protector in the Taittirīya-āraṇyaka (*āditya-raśmaya eva pātāro*). The synonyms of the sun are *raśmimālin* ‘encircled by rays’, *raśmimuca* ‘emitting rays’, *raśmivat* ‘having rays’. This KR is a hymn to the solar tradition, but it has been kept opaque to endow it with the profundity of mystery. Here *vimala* is not an adjective in the sense of ‘stainless, pure’ but a noun to signify the immaculacy of the rays of the Sun. The noun *vimala* is a mantra recited over weapons in the Rāmāyaṇa. Vi-mala is the im-maculate that exempts from sin, as is clear in dhāraṇī 2: *mala-viśodhani* (voc) for the imperative ‘please purify [my moral] impurities’, or in dhāraṇī 1: *sarva-pāpa-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe* ‘purify all my mental and physical sins’. The third word *viśuddha* is the qualifying adjective of

prabhā ‘radiance’, personified as the consort of the Sun in the Purāṇas. Thus, the title will mean ‘the Pure Radiance of the immaculate rays of the Sun’. The title was not clear to Tibetan translators, who rendered it literally without any declensional ending. The second part of the compound *viśuddha-prabhā* indicates that *raśmi-vimala* should be in the genitive case. The Indian theory of exegesis is ‘god’s love the cryptic’ (*parokṣa-priyāḥ devāḥ*). The enigmatic makes the KR a mystifying arcane.

The seventh dhāraṇī in the Chinese sutra begins with a salutation to *sapta-saptati* ‘seventy-seven’ in the Siddham script. The Tibetan text is quite different. It was changed by Atiśa. *Sapta-saptati* seems to be an error for *Saptasapti* which means Sun in the Mahābhārata and kāvyas. The Sun protects all life: *ya eṣa tapaty eṣa hīdam sarvaṃ gopāyati* (ŚBr.14.1.4.9) ‘the one who shines protects all this’. The Sun is the soul of all the gods (*Sūryo vai sarveṣāṃ devānām ātmā* ŚBr.14.3.2.9). May the Sun protect me from all divine danger (*sūryo mā divyābhyo nāṣṭrābhyah pātu* PBr.1.3.2.). The Sun is life (*prāṇa-ādityah*, PBr.16.13.2). The Sun absolves from sin (*asau vā ādityah pāpmano ’pahantā*, ŚBr.13.8.1.11). The common adage is that the Sun is the ‘soul’ of the moving as well as of stationary life, that is the totality of beings (*sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuśaś ca*).

The Jinxian caitya commissioned by a high official of the T’ang Dynasty for his departed wife in 722 CE has **seven cakras** on the top. The Rigveda speaks of the *Sapta-cakra*. *Raśmi* in the title can be compared to *Saptaraśmi* of the Rigveda meaning Sun. Seven is a solar number. The Sun is called *Saptāśva* ‘having seven horses’ in the Rigveda, *Saptasapti* in the Mahābhārata (*sapta* seven, *sapti* horse), and *Saptaraśmi* ‘having seven rays’ in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda. The light of the Sun has seven colours: vibgyor (violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange, and red).

The KR has seven dhāraṇīs, in allusion to ‘seven’ as the solar number. Prof. Duan Qing says that the Khotanese manuscript consists of 12 sheets of paper affixed together to form an elongated sheet of paper about 5 meters long.²⁰ A copy of the Chinese text printed on 12 sheets of paper (of 751 CE) was found in the Sukgatap caitya of the Bulguksa monastery of Korea. If connected they would measure 6.43 meters in length.²¹ The number of sheets as 12 is significant. Twelve is a solar number. It represents the 12 Ādityas in allusion to the Sun in the 12 Signs of the Zodiac. Ten sūktas of the Rigveda are devoted to the Ādityas. Their functions are to ward off disease and distress (RV 8.18.10) and to bestow long life (RV 10.37.7–8), offspring (RV 5.82.4), and

prosperity (RV 10.35.11). Āditya-hṛdaya in the Rāmāyaṇa is a hymn to the Sun to annul all wrong actions, fill one with happiness, and bestow victory in battle.

Vedic words: *mantra*, *raśmi*, *kalpa*. Prof. Duan observes that the Khotanese version calls the dhāraṇīs *mantras*, which is a Vedic word.²² *Raśmi* in the title also comes from the Rigvedic *Saptaraśmi* meaning ‘Sun’. Khotan had a tradition of enhancing the transfinite quality of Buddhist and secular traditions by supplementing them with Hindu (tīrthika) elements. King Vijayajaya became the God of Silk with four hands like Viṣṇu, holding implements of silk manufacture (DVII.6 in the British Museum). Maheśvara appears on the reverse of his votive panel DVIII.6 in the British Museum to enhance its sanctity. Gaṇeśa from Endere in the British Museum (1907, 1111.143, E.ii.1) holds implements of silk manufacture:

weaver’s comb	axe
silk ball	radish

Silk was a major export of Khotan and its continued prosperity had to be ensured by Hindu deities. Inscribed carpets from Shanpula–Khotan depict legends of Krishna.

The title Kalparāja itself represents the ṣaḍaṅga or six disciplines auxiliary to the Veda. The six vedāṅgas²³ are 1) *śikṣā* ‘the science of proper pronunciation’ to ensure euphony of the mantras, 2) *chandas* ‘metrics’, 3) *vyākaraṇa* ‘grammar’, 4) *nirukta* ‘explanation of difficult Vedic words’, 5) *jyotiṣa* ‘astronomy’ to find out the most auspicious days for sacrifices, and 6) *kalpa* ‘ceremonial’. The first and second are to ensure the correct recitation of the Veda, the third and fourth its understanding, the fifth and sixth its proper employment. They are alluded to by Manu 3.184. *Kalpa* is the most crucial of the six vedāṅgas as it prescribes the rules of ritual. The Khotanese text is not simply a *kalpa* but a *kalpa-rāja*, i.e., a supreme ritual.

There are **seven dhāraṇīs** in the Chinese version, which was translated in 704 CE, while the Tibetan version has six, as the second dhāraṇī for the column is missing. In Tibetan they are called mantras (Tib. *snags*). They were corrected by Atiśa (980/90–1055) and Ḥbrom. ston. Lcañ.skya Qutuytu Lalitavajra (1717–86) corrected them in the Chinese version in his quadrilingual encyclopaedia of all the Sanskrit dhāraṇīs in the Ming Chinese Tripiṭaka entitled *Yü chih man han meng ku hsi fan ho pi ta tsang ch’üan chou*.²⁴

All the seven dhāraṇīs invoke *viśuddha-prabhā* ‘Pure Radiance’ with

a feminine vocative, e.g., *āyur-viśodhane* (dh.1) ‘O You who purify life [of sins]’. She is the epiphany of the Omnipotent Tathāgata Amitāyusa. The worshipper invokes Her in the imperative mood, e.g., *sara-sara* ‘hasten, hasten’ to bless me. At times the vocative stands for the imperative, e.g., *āyur-pālani* (short ‘i for vocative) means ‘grant me a long life’, *adhiṣṭhite* ‘You the blessed one’ stands for ‘please bless me’. The plural forms are majestic plurals for dignity and have no numerical connotation, e.g., *koṭi* (ten million), *nayuta* (myriad), *sahasra* (thousand) in mantra 4 are hyperbole to indicate the immense magnification of the effectiveness of the mantra. The KR became widespread, because it had dhāraṇīs for averting evil. In the words of Pāṇini 5.1.111 vārttika 3 it as a *śāntivācana* of the *punyāha-vācanādi-gaṇa*.

Viśuddha-prabhā ‘Pure Radiance’ is a **deification** of the *raśmi* which have been invoked since the Vedic period: *Raśmi-pavitra* ‘purified with rays’ occurs in the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa. She is invoked in the first five dhāraṇīs in the vocative case. She is immaculately pure, redeems all sins, and commutes all physical ailments and mental afflictions.

dhāraṇī 1: *sarva-pāp-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe* ‘purified of all sins and physical ailments’

dhāraṇī 2: *nirmala-viśuddhe* ‘immaculately pure’

dhāraṇī 3: *mala-viśodhani* ‘repairer of the damaged (*mala*) pagoda’

dhāraṇī 4: *sarv-āvaraṇa-viśodhani* ‘who purifies all mental afflictions’
vipula-nirmale ‘immensely immaculate’

sarva-pāpa-viśodhani ‘redeems all sins’

dhāraṇī 5: *vipula-vimale* ‘immensely immaculate’

Personification of concepts is a conspicuous element in the Purāṇas, Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, and other texts, e.g., Kriyā ‘Religious Action’ is personified as a daughter of Dakṣa and wife of Dharma in the Mahābhārata 1.2578, Harivaṁśa 12452, and Bhāgavata-purāṇa (MW). Darpa ‘Pride’ is a son of Adharma in the Vāyu-purāṇa 1.7.26 and Bhāgavata-purāṇa 4.1.51 (MW). Smaya ‘Smile’ is the son of Dharma and Puṣṭi in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa (MW).

Hyperbole. The dhāraṇīs speak of *koṭi* ‘ten million’, *nayuta* ‘myriad’, *śatasahasra* ‘hundred thousand’, and ‘countless like the sands of the Gaṅgā river’ (*Gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-sama* in dh.5, 6). The high numbers are the magnitude of spiritual efficacy and not arithmetical numbers. The Immense is life (*prāṇo vai virāt*). It is a hyperbole. *Koṭi* is *hyakuman* in Japanese. *Trayastrimśat-koṭi* deities are specified in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa 4.5.7.2 as: 8 Vasus + 11 Rudras + 12 Ādityas + 2 Heaven and

Earth. They are supreme (*koṭi*) because they anoint Indra for paramount rule in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa. Prof. Soekmono of Indonesia asked me at the International Oriental Conference at Ann Arbor, Michigan, how King Mūlavarmān (ca. 400 CE) could donate 20,000 cows to Brāhmaṇas as stated in his *yūpa* inscription III. Java could not have had so many cows in the fourth century. I replied that the high numbers are an exaggeration. He must have donated 20 cows of a high pedigree and *sahasra* ‘thousand’ means ‘of the highest breed’.

The invocations of the *dhāraṇīs* can be better understood by the sevenfold classification of *anuttara pūjā* or forms of supreme worship in the Dharmasaṅgraha, translated into Chinese by Dānapāla in 985 CE (K1124): *vandanā* (salutation), *pūjanā* (worship), *pāpa-deśanā* (confession of sin), *anumodanā* (gratification), *adhyeṣanā* (request for blessing), *bodhicittotpāda* (awakening of the Bodhi mind), *pariṇāmanā* (maturation). The Cambridge manuscript has only five forms, while two other manuscripts have six forms.²⁵

Empress Wu (r. 684–705) came from a pious Buddhist family and was a patron of the Buddhists. She came to the throne in 684 and by 691 Buddhism became the state religion. During 677–78 there was a major fiscal crisis. In 687, most of north China was undergoing famine. In 689, a white stone was discovered in the Lo River bearing the prophecy, ‘A Sage Mother shall come to rule Mankind, and her imperium shall bring Eternal Prosperity’. A grand celebration for its veneration took place in 689. In 692, Empress Wu’s army crushed a Tibetan invasion and established a protectorate at Kucha. She busied herself with Buddhism and added ‘Maitreya the peerless, Golden Wheel’ to her title. Golden Wheel means the Supreme Cakravartin. The years from 695 to 699 were plagued with the border raids of the Northern Turks, defeat of a large Chinese army only 200 miles from Ch’ang-an by the Tibetan minister Mgar Khri-ḥbriñ, rebellion by the Khitan, the crusade of the Khitans to depose the Empress, plunder of the border prefectures by the Turkish ruler Qapaghan, conspiracy of Liu Ssu-li to seize the throne, and an atmosphere of dread at the court. Cintāmaṇi (wrongly reconstructed as Ratnacinta) was invited to China to translate Sanskrit texts on Cintāmaṇi Lokeśvara. He was hailed as a kṣatriya of the royal caste. The Empress sent a special envoy to Khotan to bring the Avatamsaka corpus, whose translation extended over five long years and the Empress herself took part in the translation. The main deity of the Avatamsaka is Rocana (Jpn. Roshana) or Sun. Rocana of Bhagavaddharma’s translation became Vairocana in Śikṣānanda which is translated as the Great Sun in Chinese.

The most effective talisman of KR had been brought to China by Prajñādevendra six years before the Avataṃsaka corpus. The Empress became seriously ill in early 699. Śikṣānanda made its first translation in 700 for her recovery. As soon as the translation was completed it disappeared, probably whisked away by the detractors of the Empress. A team for its translation was set up a second time under Mitrasena (not Mitraśānta) who had come from Tukhāra 10 years earlier in 690 and was working at Ch'ang-an. He completed the translation by 704 (K352, T2152:369c26).

The restoration of the name to Mitraśānta (?) has been influenced by that of another Indian monk Chi-yu. It means, Śāntimitra 'friend of quietitude' (*chi* 'quiet, solitary'²⁶ + *yu* 'friend'²⁷). Chi-yu reflects the Chinese phrase 友道 'friendly to Tao, loving the doctrine or the truth e.g., of Confucius'. The name Mi-t'o-sien is a transcription of Mitrasena. *Mitra* is the Sun God and *sena* is a suffix for the names of the warrior class of kṣatriyas. It means a kṣatriya blessed by the invincible Mitra or Mithra Invictus. Mitrasena occurs in the dictionary of MW as the name of a Buddhist. Being of the royal caste he was respected by the Empress. When he personally presented the KR to her, she rewarded him lavishly and granted him permission to come and to leave China at will. She had been seriously ill from 703. She felt relieved when the translation of the KR by Mitrasena in 704 made it possible to perform its special rites to lead her to the Western Paradise of Sukhāvātī, when she passed away. She died in 705 at the age of 82.

Empress Koken (r. 749–58, 764–69) suffered from depression. On the advice of her cousin Fujiwara-Nakamaro she abdicated the throne in 758. Monk Ganjin founded the Toshodaiji monastery under her patronage in 759, with Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara as its main deity. The monastery was to be a blessing for her return to the throne. The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara was and is invoked for protection in all hazards in the Nīlakaṇṭhaka dhāraṇī of Bhagavadharma (T1060). In the version of Amoghavajra (T1056), the dhāraṇī says: bring the state under my control, including all the kingdoms (*śiḡhram vaśam me rāṣṭram sarājakaṃ kuru*²⁸).

The Empress was introduced to a handsome young monk Dokyo. He nursed her to a miraculous recovery. The rites of the KR were performed during this period of loss of power for her to overcome her depression and return to the throne. The rites became famous as *hyakuman-todarani*. A hundred million copies were printed as per the fourth dhāraṇī, which enjoins 99 million copies. The phrase should be analyzed as *hyakuman + todarani*: hyaku 'hundred', man 'ten thousand' which is

hyperbole, and *todarani* the ‘dhāraṇī for insertion in the *to/ stupa*’. The word ‘stupa’ goes with dhāraṇī and not with *hyakuman*. The extant sheet of Empress Koken is the second dhāraṇī to eliminate all sins and to lead to enlightenment. The Empress’s cousin disliked the monk. He led a rebellion but was killed. The Empress returned to the throne in 764 and ruled till 769.

The *hyakuman todarani* of the Empress were taken as an arithmetical number and not as a hyperbole. The hyperbolic numbers were to highlight the multifold efficacy of the dhāraṇīs. The high numbers are the magnitude of the spiritual. Life is immensity (*prāṇo vai virāṭ*). The Empress understood *hyakuman* as the number and had one million dhāraṇīs printed and one million tiny wooden pagodas crafted to store them. In Chinese, 100 replaces 99 copies as it confirms to the rectitude of ideographic stylistics. Several thousand copies of the dhāraṇī are still preserved at the Horyūji monastery.

Seven dhāraṇīs of the KR

Dhāraṇī 1 is called *mūla-mantra* (*ṛtsa.baḥi śnags*) in Tibetan
namo saptasaptatibhyaḥ | samyak-sambuddha-koṭīnām | pariśuddha-
mānasa-vāk-citta-pratiṣṭhitānām |
namo bhagavate amitāyusasya tathāgatasya |
om tathāgata-śuddhe āyur-viśodhani saṃhara-saṃhara |
Sarvatathāgata-vīrya-baleṇa pratisaṃhara āyu | smara-smara
Sarvatathāgata-samayam | bodhi-bodhi budhya vibudhya bodhaya-
bodhaya | sarva-pāpa-āvaraṇa-viśuddhe vigata-mara-bhayam
subuddha-buddhe | hulu hulu svāhā |

Salutation to the Seventy-seven of the Supreme (*koṭi*) Perfectly Enlightened Ones, worshipped with purity of the mind, speech, and conscience.

Salutation to Lord Amitāyusa Tathāgata.

Om. You purified by the Tathāgata, purify my life, sustain [me]. Sustain [my] life by virtue of the powers of the Omnipotent Tathāgata (i.e., Amitāyusa). Think of the vow of the Omnipotent Tathāgata. You the Enlightenment, being enlightened, enlighten me. You are purified of all sins and ailments, make me devoid of the dread of death and supremely enlightened. Hasten, hasten, svāhā.

The devotee invokes the Goddess [Pure Radiance] to absolve him of all sins, to take away the apprehension of death, and to endow him with a long life.

The Chinese text has a salutation to *saptasaptati* ‘seventy-seven’, while Tibetan to ‘seven’. Originally it might have been *namo Saptasaptibhyaḥ* ‘salutation to *Saptasapti*’ or ‘Sun’ as Amitāyusa is a solar deity. *Saptasapti* was not understood by the writer of the KR and he substituted it by the numerical for 77. *Saptasapti* means ‘having seven horses’ and is the name of the Sun in the Mahābhārata. It is a synonym of Saptāśva ‘Sun’ in the Rīgveda.

Sarvatathāgata does not mean ‘all Tathāgatas’ but ‘Omnipotent Tathāgata’, the prime Tathāgata of KR, namely Amitāyusa.

Āvaraṇa are mental afflictions and *nīvaraṇa* are physical ailments, like *ādhi* and *vyādhi*.

Where the **Tibetan differs** from the Chinese:

namaḥ saptānām samyak-sambuddha-koṭīnām pariśuddhena manasā abhyarcita- pratiṣṭhītānām |

namo bhagavate Amitāyusasya Tathāgatasya |

om Sarvatathāgata-śuddhe, āyur-viśodhani saṁhara-saṁhara | Sarvatathāgata-vīrya-balena pratisaṁhara āyuh sara-sara | Sarvatathāgata-samaye bodhi-bodhi buddhya-buddhya bodhaya bodhaya mama sarva-pāpam | āvaraṇa-viśuddhe vigata-maraṇa-bhayaṁ subuddhe buddhe huru huru svāhā |

Salutation to the seven Supreme (*koṭi*) Enlightened Ones worshipped with a pure mind for being blessed.

Salutation to Lord Amitāyusa Tathāgata.

O You empowered by the Omnipotent Tathāgata, purify my life. Enhance it (i.e., life). Enhance life with the mighty powers of the Omnipotent Tathāgata. Come Come. You the vow of the Omnipotent Tathāgata absolve me of all my sins. Deliver me from all mental afflictions (*āvaraṇa*), take away the dread of death. You the enlightening one, hasten, hasten. Svāhā.

The devotee prays for being delivered of all mental afflictions, for being absolved of all sins, and for taking away of apprehensions of death.

Pratiṣṭhita is for *adhiṣṭhita* ‘to be blessed’: MW translates *adhiṣṭhā* ‘to bless’.

Dhāraṇī 2 is for the pillar (*yaṣṭi*). It is not found in Tibetan.

Om Sarvatathāgata-vipula-yaṣṭi maṇi-kanaka-rajata-vibhūṣita-yaṣṭi dhuru-dhuru | samantāvalokite sara-sara |

pāpa-viśodhani | bodhani sambodhani | pravara-yaṣṭi-vare maṇi-tuṣṭe

Dhāraṇī 1(1)

7 南謨颯哆颯怛底 顛以 8 弊 毘也反 反 弊 脣聲 三藐三 9 佛陀俱胝喃 奴暗 10 反

nan na mo mah sa sap duo ta sa sap da ta di ti
 bi bhyah bi bh ye ya
 san sam miao myak san sam
 fo bud tuo dha ju ko zhi ti nan nām

鉢唎戍 輪聿反 下同 陀摩捺娑 12 薄 去聲 引 13 質多鉢唎底瑟恥哆喃

bo pa li ri shu su
 tuo dha mo mā na na suo sa
 bo vā[k]
 zhi ci duo ta bo pa li ri di ti se } sthi
 chi duo tā nan nām

南謨 14 薄 伽跋 15 底阿彌多喻殺寫恒他揭怛寫 唵 引聲 怛他揭多戍第

nan na mo mo bo bha ga ga ba va di te e a mi mi duo tā yu yu sha sa xie sya heng ta ta thā jie ga ta ta xie sya an om da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta shu su di dhe

阿喻毘輸達儻 僧嗽 16 呵葛 反 羅僧嗽 17 羅

a ā yu(r) pi vi shu so da dha ni ni seng sañ he ha lu ra seng sañ he ha lu ra

薩婆怛他揭多 毘囉耶跋麗娜

sa sa[r] po vā da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta pi vā lo ri ya ya ba ba li le na

Dhāraṇī 1(2)

鉢 18 刺底僧嗽囉阿喻 薩麼囉薩麼囉

bo p-
la
ra
di
ti
seng
sarn
he
ha
luo
ra
a
ā
yu
yu
sa
s-
mo
ma
luo
ra
sa
s-
mo
ma
luo
ra

薩婆怛他揭多三昧焰 菩提菩提

sa
sa[r]
po
va
da
ta
ta
thā
jie
ga
duo
ta
san
sa
mei
ma
yan
yam
pu
bo
ti
dhi
pu
bo
ti
dhi

勃地 毘勃地 菩馱也菩馱也

bo
bu
da
dhya
pi
vi
bo
bu
de
dhya
pu
bo
duo
dha
ye
ya
pu
bo
duo
dha
ye
ya

下 亭也反
同 毘勃地

19 薩婆播波引 阿伐喇拏上 毘戍第 毘揭多末羅珮焰

sa
sa[r]
po
va
bo
pā
bo
pa
a
ā
fa
va
la
ra
na
na
pi
vi
shu
śu
di
dhe
pi
vi
jie
ga
duo
ta
mo
ma
luo
ra
pei
bha
yan
yam

蘇勃馱 20 勃第 虎 21 嚕虎 * 嚕莎 22 引訶 * 引

so
su
bo
bu
dao
ddha
bo
bu[d]
di
dhe
hu
hu
lu
lu
hu
hu
lu
lu
suo
svā
he
hā

huru | nirmala- viśuddhe hūm hūm svāhā |

Om. O magnificent (*vipula*) *yaṣṭi* of the Omnipotent Tathāgata (i.e., Amitāyusa), decorated with gems, gold, and silver, bestow your care, keep watch everywhere, please come, come.

Purify me of my sins and enlighten me. You the exalted *yaṣṭi*, brilliant (?) with gems, hasten. Homage to you the Immaculately Pure.

dhuru dhuru ‘sustain’ is from the root *dhṛ*, like *dhuram-dhara* ‘helping another out of need’ from Hitopadeśa (MW).

The second dhāraṇī was printed in a million copies by Empress Koken around 770 CE. The Khotanese version calls it the mantra for the *dhvaja* and it has to be placed in the *dhvaja*.²⁹ The Chinese version calls *dhvaja* a multi-cakra-shaped pillar.

Yaṣṭi, *cakra*, *dhvaja*, *yūpa-yaṣṭi*, *dharmarāja* are technical architectural terms and must be studied in comparison with Tibetan texts on the construction and symbolism of the stupa. Tucci cites and translates two Tibetan works: Bde.bar.gśegs.paḥi sku.gzugs.kyi tshad.kyi rab.tu.byed.pa yid.bzhin.gyi.nor.bu and Vaiḍūrya.g.yaḥ.sel (folio 290b6–).³⁰ Mark E. Long has discussed the architecture of the stupa in Indonesia.³¹ The Kriyāsaṅgraha of Kuladatta, whose earliest manuscript is dated Saṁvat 336 which corresponds to 1216 CE, was transcribed and translated in ‘Étude sur le stūpa dans l’Inde ancienne’ by Mireille Bénisti.³² The KR will have to be retranslated in comparison with these and other works.

Prof. Duan describes the pagoda as being in two portions: the bottom part and above it the column (*yaṣṭi*) built of stone in seven layers.³³ The terms can be clarified in accord with the prescription in the KR and in the Sanskrit dhāraṇīs. The hollow square room at the bottom is a *stūpa-prāsāda* or stupa palace, a term in the Old Javanese Saṅhya Kamahāyānikan 55.23. The column above it is called *yaṣṭi* in the dhāraṇī. The Tibetan term is *srog.śiṅ*, which is a translation of *yaṣṭi* in the Mahāvīyutpatti 7064. *Srog.śiṅ* is the equivalent of *yūpa* in the Tibetan Amarakośa (342.169, 179.18): *yūpa* is a sacrificial pillar in the Rīgveda. The column represents the function of a *yūpa*. *Srog.śiṅ* also means a pole in a stūpa. The duration of life depended on the *srog.śiṅ* ‘life-tree’. In Chinese it is termed *xiang-lun-cheng* ‘multi-cakra pillar’. In Khotanese it is *daśa*, which is Sanskrit *dhvaja*. *Dhvaja* is a technical architectural term and does not mean a ‘banner’. It has been rendered as ‘a house situated to the east of any object’ (V.S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*), or as ‘a place prepared in a peculiar way for building’ by MW (522a), who cites it as a lexical word. Hemacandra

says that *dhvaja* is a house in the east (*pūrva-diśo grham*). The compound *dhvaja-grha* occurs in Hemacandra. The *dhvaja* has seven *cakras*, being dedicated to the solar deity Amitāyus. Sun rays have seven colours. Cakra is the wheel of the Sun's chariot in the Rigveda. In the Yājñavalkya-smṛti 1.265 *cakra* means 'sovereignty, realm' as the wheels of a monarch's chariot roll over his dominions. In the pagoda of Empress Shotoku they are rounds but are square in the Chinese pagoda of the princess. In India, maṇḍalas were round, but they became square in China, as the imperial metropolis was rectangular.

The Khotanese version says that the second dhāraṇī was the 'mantra of the *dhvaja*', or 'the mantra dwelling in the *dhvaja*'. *Dhvaja-yaṣṭi* means 'flag staff' in Manu and Mahābhārata. The *dhvaja* has also been called *damarāśa* in Khotanese. It is Dharmarāja or Yama the God of Death. The KR was enunciated by Lord Buddha to Kapilacaṇḍa who was on the verge of death. Prof. Duan has rightly pointed out that the KR was efficacious for increasing lifespan in this existence and for attaining paradise in the trans-life. Empress Wu had fallen seriously ill in 703 and its rites were performed in 704 to lead her to the Western Paradise. The Empress passed away in 705. The KR was primarily a terminal rite in the final decade of life, and it could not have been the *spiritus movens* for the spread of stupa worship. Worship of the stūpa goes back to the lifetime of Lord Buddha himself. He gave his hair and nail pairings to two merchants from Bactria and instructed them in the way of making a stūpa for worship. They made this stupa at Asitañjana, the capital of Bactria, and Hsüan-tsang visited its ruins.

Dhāraṇī 3 is for the renovation of the pillar.

Om Sarvatathāgata-mala-viśodhani skanda | vilepana-vare pratisaṃskara |

tathāgata-dhātu-dhare dhara-dhara | sandhara-sandhara | Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhite svāhā |

Om, you who repair the damages [to the pagoda of] the Omnipotent Tathāgata, leap forth. You the excellent restorer, repair it.

You who conserve the relics of the Tathāgata, safeguard them. Homage to you empowered by the Omnipotent Tathāgata.

The word *mala* in this context refers to the ruined condition of the pagoda that requires repairs.

Pratisaṃskāra is repair, restoration of ruined buildings in the Divyāvadāna, Karmavācanā, and other texts, e.g., *sphuṭita-pratisaṃskāraḥ kṛtaḥ* in Divy 23.11.

Dhāraṇī 2(1)

④ 薩囉薩 sa sa
 囉播跋 ⑤ 囉播跋 lo ra
 尾輸達尼 ⑥ 尾輸達尼 wei vi
 菩達尼三菩 pu bo
 dha ni ni san sam
 pu bo

曳瑟掇 ye ya
 se ṣ □ ti
 杜嚕杜嚕 du dhu
 lu ru du dhu
 lu ru
 三曼哆 san sa
 man duo tā
 ③ 尾嚕吉帝 wei va
 lu lo ji ki di te

同反下 末尼羯諾迦 ② 曷喇折哆 ② 毘菩瑟哆
 mo ma ni ni jie ka nuo na jia ka he □ la ra zhe ja duo ta pi vi pu bhā se ṣi duo ta

唵引 an om
 薩婆怛他揭多毘補羅曳 ① 熱反 瑟掇几竹
 sa sa[r] po va da ta ta thā jie ga duo ta pi vi bu pu lo la ya se ṣ-zhu ti

Dhāraṇī 2(2)

引
訶 he
ha

誓 shi
□

鵲 gu
嚙 hu
止 lu
囉 zhi
* ni
上 lu
r

末 mo
羅 ma
毘 lu
毘 la
戍 pi
第 vi
shu
di
dhe

吽 hong
引 hūm

吽 8
莎 hong
hūm
sue
svā

達 da
尼 dha
ni
ni

鉢 bo
囉 p-
luo
ra

上 7
伐 fa
囉 va
* luo
ra

上
曳 ye
瑟 ya
擿 se
伐 ş-
□
ti
fa
va
li
ra

末 mo
尼 ma
脫 ni
ni
tuo
□

The Tibetan version is:

*Om Sarvatathāgata-mala-viśodhani rūḍha-bale pratisaṁkara |
tathāgata-dhātu-dhare dhara-dhara | saṁdhara-saṁdhara |
Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite svāhā |*

Om, you repair the damages [of the stupa] of the Omnipotent Tathāgata, restore [the damaged pagoda] with your enhanced power. You conserve the relics (*dhātu*) of the Tathāgata, safeguard them. Homage to you empowered by the blessings of the Omnipotent Tathāgata.

Adhiṣṭhāna means ‘blessing’. It is common in Mongolian as *adistid* ‘blessing’. It has been misunderstood, e.g., by R.E. Emmerick in his *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan*: “At a time when the Li country had been a lake the Buddha Śākyamuni, in order to prophesy its becoming a country, and to control it (*adhiṣṭāna*) ... soared down from the sky.”³⁴ Lord Śākyamuni flew to Khotan to bless the country, and not to control it.

Dhāraṇī 4 is for the sanctification of the pillar.³⁵ The Bodhisattva Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin enunciated this dhāraṇī.

*namo bhagavate nava-navatīnām samyak-sambuddha-koṭi-nayuta-
śata-sahasrānām |*

*namaḥ Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhine bodhisattvāya |
om dhuru-dhuru sarv-āvaraṇa-viśodhani Sarvatathāgata-āyur-pālani |
vipula-nirmale sarva-siddhā[n] namaskṛtvā vara-vara |
sarva-sattv-āvalokini hūm | sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhini sarva-pāpa-
viśodhani svāhā |*

Salutation to the Bhavagān of 99 million supreme (*koṭi*) Perfectly Enlightened Ones.

Salutation to the Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin Bodhisattva.

Om. Sustain [all your activities], you who purify all mental afflictions, and who grant life [by the grace of] the Omnipotent Tathāgata.

You the Immense Immaculate grant all the perfections.

Hūm to you who care (*avalokini*) for all sentient beings: keep away all physical ailments (*nīvaraṇa*), redeem all sins. Svāhā.

Bhagavān is Amitāyusa who is invoked by the singular dative form *bhagavate*.

The number of copies of the dhāraṇīs to be deposited in the canopy is 99.³⁶ This number is specified in three dhāraṇīs (nos. 4, 5, 6). The number 99 is to preclude hundred. Hundred years are the full span of life in the Rigveda, Atharvaveda (*śata-śārada*, *śatāyus*, *śatasāyana*), and the entire Indian tradition. Hundred copies would be inauspicious as denoting the end of the lifespan.

Dhāraṇī 3

達 da
dha

* 囉 lu
ra

薩 sa
sa(r)
婆 po
怛 va
他 da
揭 ta
多 tā
jie
ga
duo
ta

阿 a
地 de
瑟 dhi
恥 se
帝 chi
莎 di
te
su
svā

引 he
訶 hā

他 tā
揭 jie
多 ga
duo
怛 ta
都 dhā
達 dou
都 tu
達 da
麗 dha

麗 li
re

達 da
囉 dha
達 lu
囉 ra
達 da
囉 dha
囉 lu
ra

珊 shan
達 sam
da
dha

14 囉 lu
ra
珊 shan
san

陀 tuo
da
鞞 bing
vi

11 梨 li
鉢 le
娜 bo
伐 pa
伐 na
囉 ta
va
li
re

鉢 bo
p-

12 囉 lu
ra
底 di
僧 ti
塞 seng
迦 sai
迦 s-
迦 jia
囉 ka
lu
ra

怛 da
ta

唵 an
om
引

薩 sa
婆 sa[r]
怛 po
他 va
揭 da
多 ta
tā
jie
ga
duo
ta

末 mo
囉 lu
毘 lo
輸 la
達 pi
尼 vi
shu
so
da
dha
ni
ni

9

10 鍵 jian
skan

Sarva-siddhā[n] is a wrong reading of *sarva-siddhīn* ‘all the perfections’. *Vara-vara* means ‘grant me’. The *varada-mudrā* is for granting boons.

The Tibetan version runs:

namo bhagavate nava-navatīnām samyak-sambuddha-koṭi-nayuta-śatasahasrāṇām |

namaḥ Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhine bodhisattvāya |

om turu-turu³⁷ mama sarva-āvaraṇa-viśodhani Sarvatathāgata-āyur-pālani |

vipula-nirmale sarva-siddhīn namaskṛtvā³⁸ vara-vara-sarva-satva-avalokini | om sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhini mama sarva-pāpa-viśodhanam³⁹ kuru svāhā |

Salutation to the Bhagavān of 99 million supreme (*koṭi*) Perfectly Enlightened Ones.

Salutation to the Sarva-nīvaraṇa-viṣkambhin Bodhisattva.

Hasten (*turu*) to purify all my mental afflictions, to grant me life [by the grace of] the Omnipotent Tathāgata,

O Immense Immaculate, grant (*vara*) all the perfections,

You who care for all sentient beings, keep away all physical ailments, redeem me of all my sins, Svāhā.

Dhāraṇī 5 is to be recited during the worship of the consecrated pillar.⁴⁰

namo navanavatīnām tathāgata-koṭinām gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-samānām

om vipula-vimale pravare jina-vare sara-sara |

sarvatathāgata-dhātu-garbha-saty-ādhiṣṭhite svāhā |

āgata-toṣaṇi svāhā | sarva-deva-nivaha-□□□□-adhiṣṭhāna-samaye svāhā |

Salutation to the 99 supreme (*koṭi*) Tathāgatas who are as numerous as the sands of the River Gaṅgā.

Hasten. You the Immense Immaculate, the preeminent, the chosen of the Jinas.

Homage to You who are the quintessence (*garbha*) of the relics of the Omnipotent Tathāgata and empowered thereby.

Homage to You who bring joy. Homage to You the symbol of the empowerment of all the classes of deities.

By this dhāraṇī the devotee seeks blessings of *viśuddha-prabhā* to bring joy (*toṣaṇi*).

Dhāraṇī 4(1)

na na
mo mo
bo bo
bha ga
ga fa
fa va
va di
di te
te na
na po
po va
va na
na fa
fa va
va di
di tī
nān
nām

南謨薄伽伐帝納婆納伐底喃
三藐三佛陀

ju ko
zhi
ṭi na
na na
yu yu
duo duo
ta she
sa duo
ta suo
sa ha
ha sa
s-
luo
rā
nan
nām
nan
na
mo mo
sa sa[r]
po va

俱胝那庾多設多索訶薩
羅引南謨薩婆

nī nī
fa fa
va va
luo ra
ra na
na

爾伐囉拏
去聲
毘瑟劍鼻
引
菩提薩埵也

pī vī
se
ṣ-
jian
kam
bi
bhi

nī nī
ne
pu bo
ti dhi
sa sa[t]
duo tvā
ye ya

an om

唵引

du dhu
lu ru
du dhu
lu ru

觀嚕觀嚕

sa sa[r]
pa va
a ā
fa va
luo ra
ra na
na pi
vi shu
śo da
dha ni
ni

薩婆阿伐囉拏毘戍達尼

Dhāraṇī 4(2)

sa sa[r]
po va da ta thā
jie ga duo ta mo ā?
yu yu bo pā
la la ni ni pi vi bu pu li la yi nir

薩婆怛他揭多摩庾播 ①
唎尼毘布麗昵

mo ma li le sa sa[r]
po va xi si tuo dha nan na mo ma su s-qi k-li r di tva ba va luo ra ba va luo ra

末 ③
麗薩婆悉陀南摩塞訖栗帝跋 * 羅跋囉

sa sa[r] po va sa sa duo tvā fu va lu lo jie ki ni ni hong hūm sa sa[r] po va ni nī fa va luo ra

薩婆薩埵 ④
縛盧羯尼 吽 * 引
薩婆尼伐囉

na na pi vi se s- jian kam pi bhi ni ni sa sa[r] po va bo pā bo pa pi vi shao śo da dha ni ni

拏上聲
毘瑟劍毘 ⑤
泥 薩婆播波毘燒達尼

suo svā he hā

⑥
莎訶 ⑦
引

The Tibetan version reads:

*om vipula-vimale pravare jina-vare sara-sara |
sarvatathāgata-dhātu-garbhe adhiṣṭhite svāhā |
āyata-toṣaṇi svāhā | sarva-deva-nivaha-yavi buddha-adhiṣṭhāna-
samaye svāhā |*

Dhāraṇī 6 is the concluding rite (*visarjana*) of bidding farewell (*cala*) to *viśuddha-prabhā*. Its meaning is not clear. Perhaps it was intended to be a mystic camouflage.

*namaḥ nava-navatīnām tathāgata-gaṅgā-nadī-vālukā-koṭi-nayuta-
śatasahasrānām |*

om bāvari cāraṇi cari mori gauri cala | vare svāhā |

Salutation to the 99 million supreme (*koṭi*) Tathāgatas who are as many as the sands of the Gaṅgā river.

Om, Fantastic One (*bāvari*), Celestial Musician, Young Maiden, my Fair One, farewell (*cala*). Homage to you the Supreme (*vare*).

This dhāraṇī bids farewell to the goddess *viśuddha-prabhā*. It is technically termed the rite of *visarjana*. As vocatives, all the epithets end in a short *i*. *Bāvari* is ‘crazy, wayward’ in Hindi *Cāraṇī* is a ‘female celestial singer’ in *Bālarāmāyaṇa* (MW). It corresponds to *Gītā* ‘Goddess of Music’ in the *Sarvatathāgata-tattva-saṅgraha*. *Cari* means ‘a young woman’ in Sanskrit lexicon (MW). *Mori* is a NIA word for ‘my’ instead of Sanskrit *mama*. *Cala* is an imperative from the root *cal* ‘to walk away, to leave’.

The Tibetan text reads:

*namaḥ nava-navatīnām Tathāgata-gaṅgā-nadī-vālukānām koṭi-
niyuta-śatasahasrānām |*

om bobori | cariṇi cari | mori gori cala vāri svāhā |

The dhāraṇī should have read: *namaḥ nava-navatīnām gaṅgā-nadī-
vālukānām Tathāgata-koṭi-niyuta-śatasahasrānām |*

It is confused in both the Chinese and Tibetan versions.

Dhāraṇī 7 is a mahādhāraṇī, which is given at the end of the Chinese text in Siddham script. It has minor variations from the first dhāraṇī.

*namo saptasaptatibhyaḥ samyak-sambuddha-koṭinām pariśuddha-
mānasa-vā[k]-citta-pratiṣṭhitānām |*

namo bhagavataḥ amitāyusasya tathāgatasya |

*om tathāgata-śuddhe āyur-viśodhani saṁhara-saṁhara |
Sarvatathāgata-vīrya-bale pratisaṁhara āyu | smara-smara
Sarvatathāgata-samayaṁ | bodhi-bodhi budhya vibudhya bodhaya-*

Dhāraṇī 5(1)

婆 he
 怛 da
 他 ta
 揭 tā
 多 jie
 馱 ga
 都 duo
 揭 ta
 鞞 dhā
 薩 dou
 底 tu
 丁 jie
 耶 ga
 反 bing
 地 sa
 瑟 di
 恥 sa
 帝 tyā?

鉢 bo
 囉 p-
 伐 lu
 麗 ra
 市 fa
 那 va
 上 li
 伐 re
 麗 shi
 薩 ji
 囉 na
 薩 na
 囉 fa
 薩 va
 囉 li
 薩 re
 囉 sa
 薩 lu
 囉 ra
 薩 sa
 囉 sa
 薩 lu
 囉 ra
 薩 sa
 囉 sa[r]

捺 na
 地 na
 婆 de
 廬 dī
 迦 po
 三 vā
 摩 lu
 喃 lu
 引 jia
 引 kā
 引 san
 引 sa
 引 mo
 引 mā
 引 nan
 引 nām
 唵 an
 引 om
 毘 pi
 補 vi
 麗 bu
 毘 pu
 末 lo
 麗 la
 麗 pi
 麗 vi
 麗 mo
 麗 li
 麗 le

南 na
 謨 na
 納 mo
 婆 na
 納 na
 伐 po
 底 va
 喃 na
 怛 na
 他 fa
 揭 va
 多 di
 俱 tī
 胝 nan
 喃 nām
 他 da
 揭 ta
 多 tā
 俱 jie
 胝 ga
 喃 duo
 他 ta
 揭 ju
 多 ko
 俱 zhi
 胝 tī
 喃 nan
 彌 jiang
 伽 gañ
 ga
 gā

Dhāraṇī 5(2)

*
上
三摩也莎引訶
san sa mo ma ye ye suo svā he hā

婆提婆那婆
po va ti de po va na ni po va
16
阿耶弭
a ye □ mi □

勃陀阿地瑟佗那
bo □ tuo □ a a de dhi se ṣ-cha thā na na

14
薩引訶
sa svā he hā
阿引
a □
15
那夷我反
na □
咄都飯尼莎引訶
duo □ dou to fan sa ni ni suo svā he hā
薩
sa sa

Dhāraṇī 6

nan
na
mo
mah
na
na
po
va
na
na
fa
va
di
tī
nan
nām
da
ta
ta
thā
jie
ga
duo
ta

南謨納婆納伐底喃怛他揭多

jiang
gan
ga
gā
na
na
de
di

① 苾伽捺地

po
vā
lu
lu
jia
kā

婆盧迦

ju
ko
zhi
ti
na
na
yu
duo
ta
she
sa
duo
ta
suo
sa
he
ha
sa
s-
luo
rā
nan
nām

俱胝那庾多設多索訶薩囉喃

an
om

唵

bu
bā
bu
va
li
ri

引
普怖哩

zhe
ca
li
ra
ni
ni

折里尼

zhe
ca
li
ri
miu
mo

折哩慕

li
ri
hu
gau
li
ri

哩忽哩

she
ca

社

luo
la
ba
va

② 邏跋

li
re
suo
svā

③ 上
哩莎

he
hā

引訶

bodhaya | *sarva-satvānām sarva-pāpāvaraṇa-viśuddhe vigata-mara-bhaya* | *subuddha-buddhe huru-huru svāhā* |

It pays homage to 77 of the supreme (*koṭi*) Perfectly Enlightened Ones who have been consecrated by pure mind, speech, and devotion. The reading is clearly *sapta-saptati* and Lord Buddha enjoins the brāhmaṇa to make 77 copies of this efficacious dhāraṇī. It seems that this simplified reading (*lectio simplicior*) replaced *Saptasapti*, whose meaning ‘Sun’ was not understood by the writer of the KR. *smara-smara* signifies ‘be mindful to grant me Bodhi’: Take away the fear of death (*mara-bhaya*) of all beings.

The Tibetan version of the last dhāraṇī is more prolix.

Namas traiyadhvikānām Sarvatathāgatānām | *om bhuvi bhavān vare vacaṭau* | *culu culu* | *dhara-dhara* | *Sarvatathāgata-dhātu-dhare padmagarbhe jayavare acale smara tathāgata-dharmacakra-pravartana[m]* | *vajrabodhi-maṇḍ-ālaṅkāra-alaṅkṛte Sarvatathāgata-adhiṣṭhite bodhaya-bodhaya* | *bodhani-bodhani* | *budhya-budhya* | *sambodhani sambodhaya* | *cala cala* | *calantu sarv-āvaraṇāni* | *sarva-pāpa-vigate* | *huru huru* | *sarva-śoka-vigate* | *Sarvatathāgata-hṛdaya-vajriṇi* | *sambhava-sambhava* | *Sarvatathāgata-guhya-dhāraṇī-mudre* | *buddha subuddha Sarvatathāgat-ādhiṣṭhite* | *dhātugarbhe svāhā* | *samayādhiṣṭhite svāhā* | *Sarvatathāgata-hṛdaya-dhātu-mudre svāhā* | *supraṭiṣṭhita-stūpe tathāgat-ādhiṣṭhite hūm hūm svāhā* | *om Sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa-dhātu-mudraṇi* | *Sarvatathāgata-dharmadhātu-vibhūṣita adhiṣṭhite huru huru* | *hūm hūm svāhā* |

Notes

- ¹ Herbet Allen Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary, second edition* (Shanghai: n.p., 1912); 卍 *yin* is the 13,282th character.
- ² Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma, *Niṣpanna-yogāvalī* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2015), 211.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 214.
- ⁴ Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European languages* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1899).
- ⁵ Daisetz T. Suzuki, ed., *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking edition* (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1962), no. 508.
- ⁶ Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1310.
- ⁷ Ralph Lilley Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 588.
- ⁸ Joji Okazaki, *Pure Land Buddhist Painting* (Tokyo: Kodansha Intl. and Shibundo, 1977), 171, fig. 179.

- ⁹ Lokesh Chandra, *Buddhist Heritage of Central Asia* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2020), 28–32.
- ¹⁰ Details in, Lokesh Chandra, *Embedded Narratives of Buddhism* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2019), 41–5.
- ¹¹ Richard D. McBride II, ‘Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy: The “Great Dhāraṇī on Immaculately Pure Light” in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism’, *Journal of Korean Religions* 2, no. 1 (2011): 40.
- ¹² Shi Baochang, ‘Biographies of Buddhist Nuns’, in *Lives of Great Monks and Nuns* (Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2002), 76 V93.
- ¹³ Alexander Coburn Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1959).
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 5–6.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 189.
- ²⁰ Duan Qing, ‘*Kalparāja-sūtra* and Pagoda Worship’, *The Journal of Oriental Studies* 30 (2020): 102.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*, 111.
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ MW, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1016.
- ²⁴ Lokesh Chandra, *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking* (New Delhi: Arya Bharati Mudranalaya, 1966:8), 1989–99.
- ²⁵ Kenjiu Kasawara, *The Dharma-Samgraha: An Ancient Collection of Buddhist Technical Terms* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 3.
- ²⁶ Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, 931th character.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 13,429th character.
- ²⁸ Lokesh Chandra, *The Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1988), 268; 273.
- ²⁹ Duan, ‘*Kalparāja-sūtra* and Pagoda Worship’, 112.
- ³⁰ Giuseppe Tucci, *Stupa: Art, Architectonics and Symbolism (Indo-Tibetica I)* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988), 113.
- ³¹ Mark E. Long, *Voices from the Mountain: The Śailendra Inscriptions Discovered in Central Java and the Malay Peninsula* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2014), 215f, 337
- ³² Mireille Bénisti, ‘Étude sur le stūpa dans l’Inde ancienne’, *Bulletin de l’École française d’Extrême-Orient* 50, no. 1 (1960): 37–116.
- ³³ Duan, ‘*Kalparāja-sūtra* and Pagoda Worship’.
- ³⁴ R.E. Emmerick, *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 3.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 106.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.
- ³⁷ *туру-туру* ‘hasten, hasten’ from the root *tvar*.
- ³⁸ *sarva-siddhi* (so in Tib.) *namaskṛtvā* is not clear.
- ³⁹ Tib. °*viśodhani*. The anusvāra on top has been misread as the vowel sign °i.
- ⁴⁰ Duan, ‘*Kalparāja-sūtra* and Pagoda Worship’, 106.

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Lokesh Chandra is Director of the International Academy of Indian Culture. He is a prominent scholar of Buddhism, Vedic scriptures, and Indian arts. While having studied more than 20 languages including Sanskrit and Pali, he has to his credit 615 works and text editions. The *Satapitaka* (Hundred Baskets of Teachings), a major compilation of Asian Buddhist arts, literature, and history, is being edited by him.