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The ‘Greatly Ferocious’ Spell (Mahāraudra-Nāma-Hrdaya): A Dhāraṇī Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur

Arlo Griffiths

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Arlo Griffiths. The ‘Greatly Ferocious’ Spell (Mahāraudra-Nāma-Hrdaya): A Dhāraṇī Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur. Kurt Tropper. *Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-Modern Buddhist World: Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference Held in Vienna, 14-15 Oct. 2011*, Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, pp.1 - 36, 2014, 978-3-902501-23-3. halshs-01958948

HAL Id: halshs-01958948

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-01958948>

Submitted on 15 Sep 2020

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**EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE
IN THE PRE-MODERN BUDDHIST WORLD**

Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference
Held in Vienna, 14-15 Oct. 2011

EDITED BY

KURT TROPPER

WIEN 2014

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

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THE 'GREATLY FEROCIOUS' SPELL
(*MAHĀRAUDRA-NĀMA-HṚDAYA*)

A dhāraṇī Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur¹

ARLO GRIFFITHS

During the preparations for the major restoration of Borobudur that was conducted from 1973 through 1983, excavations were carried out in different sectors surrounding the monument, as they became available for study after purchase of the lands. A “preliminary report” written in 1976 by leading Indonesian epigrapher Boechari, and published in 1982, is among the principal sources that we have on these excavations, which were regrettably carried out under generally rather unfavorable conditions.² One of the major finds at the time was the lead-bronze foil whose

¹ This paper could not have been written if Bambang Budi Utomo and Titi Surti Nastiti, archaeologists of the Indonesian National Center for Archaeology, Jakarta, had not so kindly shared photographs of the metal foil under discussion made during a mission of their institution to Borobudur in 2011. In preparing this study, I have benefited, through exchange of letters, from Lokesh Chandra’s magisterial knowledge of Buddhist literature and iconography; in August 2013 he kindly sent me a draft of the paper referred to below, and by the end of the year he sent me his book *Lord Śiva and Buddha in the Golden Isles* allowing me to refer to the final version of his article, published in that book, days before the final draft of mine was submitted for publication in the present volume. Ron Davidson, Shingo Eino, Rolf Giebel, Gergely Hidas, Péter-Dániel Szántó, Vincent Tournier, Klaus Wille and Yuko Yokochi have given comments and pointed me to sources that are inaccessible to me. I am grateful to all these colleagues.

² See Anom 2005: 150-163, which largely reproduces Boechari’s preliminary report and is also based on a limited number of other publications by Boechari himself, by Boechari in collaboration with Wiwin Djuwita & Heriyanti Ongkodharma,

Sanskrit inscription in Kawi script is the subject of this study. From Boechari's report, we learn the following about the circumstances of its discovery (1982: 92 [= 2012: 580]):

The area west of the temple was purchased in March 1974. Immediately trial excavations were undertaken. In a number of trenches were found formations of cut stones, brick and small river boulders, local potsherds, and Chinese ceramic sherds. In trench 35/III was recovered a rolled piece of lead-bronze, which later on turned out to be an inscription containing a kind of *dhāraṇī*. We include a transcription of it in this report. On this side, too, we could not make adequate archaeological investigations, since the area was immediately needed for the building of the storage rooms.

Boechari's transcription of the text was included on p. 94 of his report (= 2012: 585-586), and this is preceded by just a few remarks on its interpretation:

The lead-bronze inscription discovered on the plain west of the monument contains a very interesting text. But due to our very limited knowledge of Buddhism, we will leave its interpretation and also that of the shorter texts above transcribed³ to the experts. We only can note that the text is Buddhist, presumably from the Wajrayāna school of Buddhism, and that we find a reference to the building of a *mahāśāsana*, as well as to a location on a hill in the southern region (*dakṣiṇāpāthāsyaparvatasthala*). Does this text refer to the Borobudur? Unfortunately the script of the epigraph shows the irregularity and carelessness of the hands of the non-royal scribe. But from the general form of the characters it could not be older than the script on

as well as a report on pottery by Mundardjito. Boechari's preliminary report was recently republished among his collected papers (Boechari 2012: 575-586).

³ Boechari is referring here to two short *dhāraṇī* inscriptions on silver foil, which will not be treated in the present article. The recent publication of Boechari's collected papers (2012) contains photos of these two items (pp. 583-584).

the *stūpas*: it could be even a decade or two older (*sic*). (1982: 93 [= 2012: 583-585])

We shall return below to the contents of the inscription. As for the remark about its palaeographic dating, Boechari is alluding to inscribed miniature *stūpas* found during the excavations, about which he suggested that they “could not be younger than the second half of the ninth century A.D.” (1982: 93 [= 2012: 582]). Presumably the final sentence in the long citation above contains a slip of the pen, and Boechari’s intention was to say that the script on the lead-bronze foil “could be even a decade or two *younger*”. Boechari concludes his report with the crucial observation that “the chronological relation of these important finds with the Borobudur monument cannot yet be determined on account of the fact that their stratigraphic position could not be accurately recorded” (1982: 94 [= 2012: 586]). This means that the foil, although no doubt a document of great importance for the history of Buddhism in Indonesia – as I will try to show below –, cannot be used in any argument directly involving the underlying concept and the building of the monument in whose vicinity it was unearthed.⁴

I shall not make any attempt here to apply the palaeographic method to make a dating estimate for the inscription, because I have already tried to do so for another important Javanese *dhāraṇī* inscription (Crujisen, Griffiths & Klokke 2012, §4), without much success. I may just refer the reader to my discussion in another study (Griffiths 2014, §1) where I have mentioned the tilted shape of the *akṣara ma*, observed on the foil, as a feature that might be characteristic of the middle of the 9th century. A feature that is, to my knowledge, absolutely unique,⁵ is

⁴ Lokesh Chandra’s assertion (2013: 237) that this inscription “shows that the Borobudur was dedicated to the STTS [i.e., the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*; A.G.] whose central deity was Vajradhātu Vairocana and his ferocious counterpart was Trailokyavijaya” fails to take these archaeological facts into account.

⁵ This statement must be qualified in the sense that Sundanese script of West Java, whose earliest attestation belongs to the 13th or 14th century CE, shows the same subscript form of *virāma* under certain consonants, most notably *k*. See the

the placement of the *virāma* signs *below* rather than *above* their *akṣaras*. I suspect that this may be the result of influence of Siddhamāṭṛkā on the scribe's use of Kawi script.⁶ Although it seems a reasonable estimate, I do not share Boechari's confidence in the palaeographic attribution of the inscription to the 9th century, and would not wish to exclude the possibility that it dates to the 8th or the early 10th.

After Boechari's provisional edition of the inscription, it seems that it did not attract any scholarly attention at all until it was taken up just a few years ago by Hudaya Kandahjaya (2009), who brilliantly identified a parallel for the main *dhāraṇī* in a text preserved on Bali under the title *Navakampa*. This text, previously published by Lévi (1933: 80-81), was reedited by Goudriaan & Hooykaas (G&H) (1971: 314-316; text number 510). But Hudaya Kandahjaya's textual observations were hindered by the provisional nature of Boechari's edition; this also holds for the textual notes recently published by Lokesh Chandra (2013). The main purpose of this contribution, therefore, is to furnish a reliable edition, on a sounder philological basis than the provisional edition of Boechari, who had no knowledge of nor access to Buddhist Sanskrit literature. This will make it possible to evaluate more precisely the extent of the parallels between the *Navakampa* and our *dhāraṇī*.⁷

inscription of Kawali (de Casparis 1975, plate IXa, line 1). The reading adopted by de Casparis on p. 95 does not recognize the case of *k* (*k+virāma*), and indeed this palaeographic feature remains altogether unmentioned in his handbook.

⁶ For a survey of inscriptions of ancient Java in Siddhamāṭṛkā script, all Buddhist and in Sanskrit, see Griffiths, Revire & Sanyal 2013: 15-17. The normal script of ancient Java was Kawi, and it was used for all languages epigraphically attested on Java during the first millennium (Sanskrit, Old Javanese, Old Malay).

⁷ When I received the draft of his observations from the author and responded by informing him of my work towards a new edition, Lokesh Chandra's piece had already gone to the press and could not be modified. Since it is based on Boechari's reading, I refer to Lokesh Chandra (2013) only sparingly in the present contribution, limiting myself to his text-critical observations which are useful or in need of discussion.

The foil is presently preserved at the Borobudur Site Museum 'Mahakarmawibhangga', where excellent photos were taken in 2011 by Sugeng Riyanto during a visit by a team of the National Center of Archaeology. These photographs serve as the basis for the critical edition proposed below.

The text has reached us in rather bad condition. The foil on which it is inscribed is quite damaged, while the writing was irregular and careless to begin with, as already pointed out by Boechari.⁸ Moreover, it seems that the exemplar from which the scribe made his copy on metal must itself already have been heavily corrupt. Given these challenges, I have decided to present my edition in two stages. First, an edition which is basically diplomatic but does comprise restorations of lost or illegible syllables, which will be provided with extensive text-critical notes, in justification of my restorations and proposals for emendation. These are then reflected at the second stage in a restored text, which is the basis of my translation. For the sake of comparison, I reproduce the text of the *Navakampa* as part of stage one.

I have not been able to inspect the foil directly, but Titi Surti Nastiti kindly informs me that the dimensions of the lead-bronze foil are 45.5 cm in length × 2.3 cm in height. There seems to be a circular drawing of some sort on the left end of the *verso*, but the photographs at my disposal do not allow me to say anything significant about it. Regarding the original function of the foil, it is important to recall that Boechari reported it to have been unearthed in a rolled up state.⁹

⁸ However, when Boechari writes (as quoted above) "the script of the epigraph shows the irregularity and carelessness of the hands of the non-royal scribe", one may question whether the distinction between royal and non-royal scribes is the most pertinent here. Rather, it seems to be the fact that *dhāraṇī* inscriptions were not meant to be read but were written for magical purposes that is relevant. See Griffiths 2014 for other Indonesian examples of very carelessly written *dhāraṇī* inscriptions.

⁹ This is again a feature shared with other Indonesian *dhāraṇī* inscriptions (cf. Griffiths 2014).

Editorial conventions

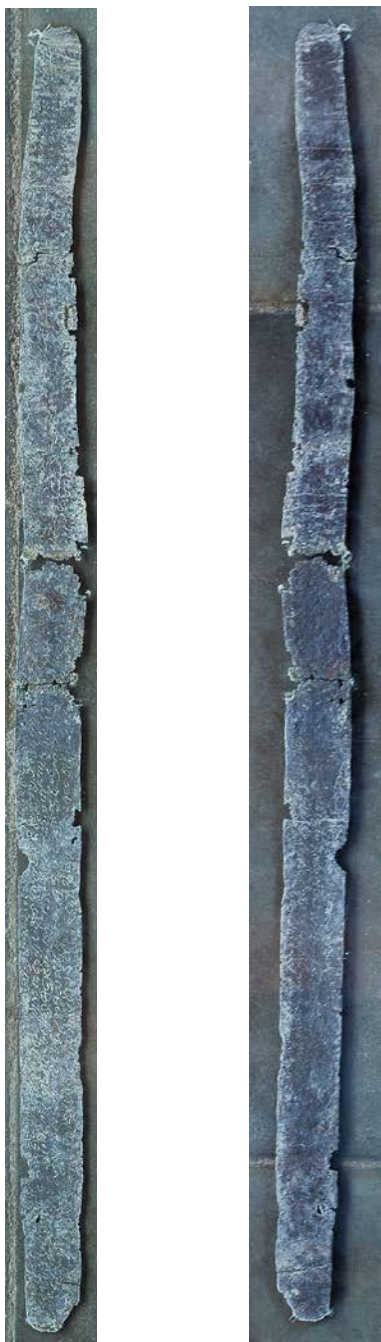
The text is initially edited line-by-line. I use the following editorial signs:

- x one illegible *akṣara*
- one completely lost *akṣara*
- the *virāma* sign
- precedes an independent (*akṣara*) vowel sign
- (...) graphic element(s) whose reading is visually uncertain
- [...] graphic element(s) wholly lost or wholly unreadable on the foil but restorable on the basis of philological considerations
- +...+ *akṣara*(s) added between two lines

The text on the lead-bronze foil

Recto

1. (namo) ratnatrayāyasya nama[ś] c(aṇḍa)vajrapānayasya mahāya-
[kṣa]senāpatisya namo bhagavat(o) [pra]tihatavalav[īr]yyavicitra-
vi(dyā)[dha]r(e)śavarasahasrasya (pr)_(ṇḍa)śāśaṅkarasya catu(r)-
bhujālankṛtaśarīrasyama[si]muśalaparaśupāśavajrajvalāgniḥ (vi)[bhī-]
2. saṅkasupasya (pa)tijaṭilājalasañcayavilamvitadakṣiṇapādāsya parvva-
tasthalatapaviniviṣṭavāmacaraṇasya na[mo] bhagavato mahāvajra[dha-
ra]sya mahārodran nama (h)ṛdayaṁ parama(dā)ruṇaṁ +sarvva+-
bh(ū)tagaṇa(vin)āśakaraṁ rodrakaraṁ traśabhaya-
3. vivādakaraṁ sarvvakammāsiddhikaraṁ siddhikaraṁ °avartayiśyaṁmi
tadyath(ā) ta bhoḥ bhoḥ rodra rodra kala kala kampa kampa gañja
gañja p(r)agañja praga(ñja) mardda mardda pramardda pramardda
pramardda hā hā hi hi hūm hūm rodraka x (lā)maṁ duṣṭagrahaṁ
ciñca(lā)ya haṣṭaci(ttam)
4. pāpacittaṁ kupitacittaṁ pravināśaya roruṣi pravināśaya rodraśvare-
ṇa traśaya rodravajre vajreṇa vidāraya (p)ra(hā)ṇamaṁpi pravināśa-



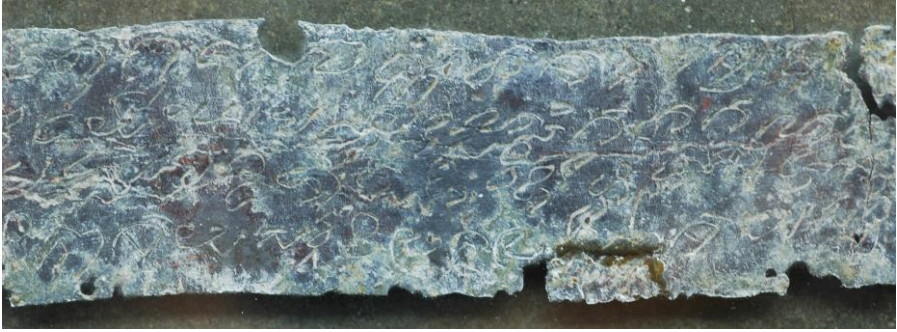
Figs 1, 2: *recto* (above) and *verso* (below) of the lead-bronze foil
(all photos 2011, by Sugeng Riyanto, National Center of Archaeology, Indonesia; reproduced by permission)



Figs 3-5: *recto*, left side of the foil



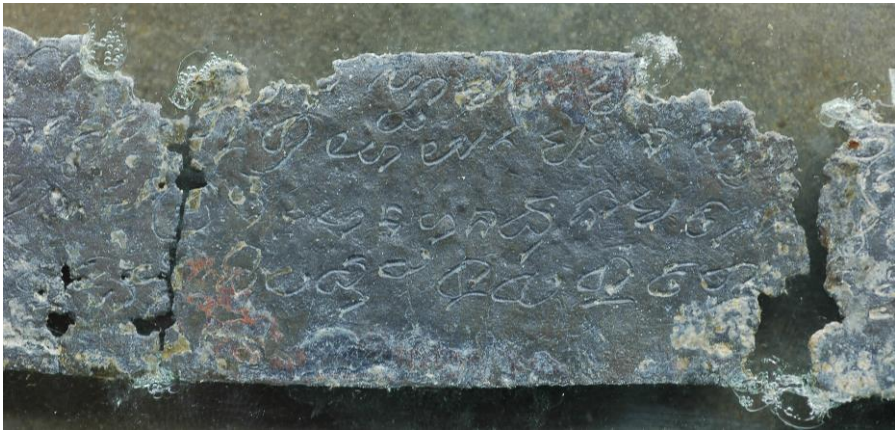
Figs 6-8: *recto*, central part of the foil



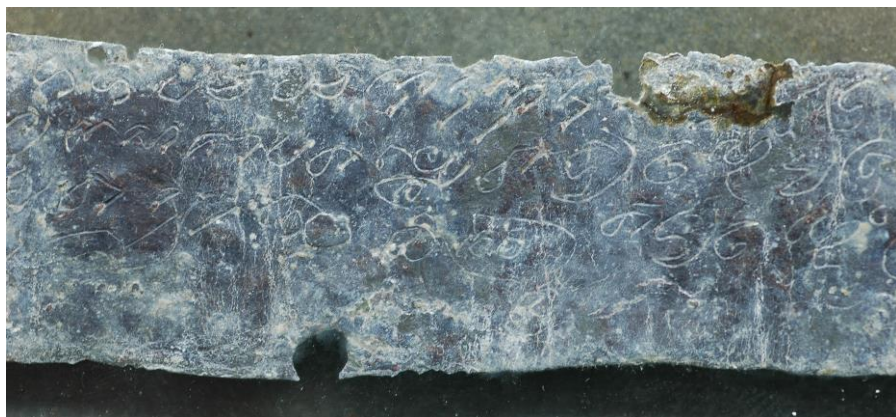
Figs 9-11: *recto*, right side of the foil



Figs 12-14: *verso*, left side of the foil



Figs 15-17: *verso*, central part of the foil



Figs 18-20: *verso*, right side of the foil



Fig. 21: *verso*, right extremity of the foil

- ya sarvvaśaton[·] pravināśaya sarvvaṁ vipran(·) pra(vinā)śaya sarvva-
 (vyādhi)n· pravināśaya sarvvaṁ rogon· ga pravinā-
5. [śaya sa]rvvaviṇāvināśayakanā pravināśaya sarvvadussavdān· pravi-
 nāśaya sarvvadurddama(tv)an· pra(vi)nāśaya devāsuraḡha(ru)ḡa[gan-
 dharva]yakṣakinaramahō[ragādīn·] pravināśa-

Verso

1. ya kampaya kampaya gañjaya gañjaya pragañjaya pragañjaya mardda
 mardda pramarda+ya+ pramardaya bhoḡ (bh)[oḡ caṇḡa ca]ṇḡa marā
 ma[rā pramattha] pramattha hana (hana dada) haha paca paca kuru
 kuru (mahāro)dra mahāviryya mahātita mahātojaḡ
2. mahāśāśaṇa kuru kuru vāda vāda va svavara svavara svavatu svavatu
 bhāvāmiho svāhā nāmo [ra]tnatrayāya namaḡ caṇḡa[va]l]rapāṇaye ma-
 hāyakṣasonāpataye tadyath(ā) °om ma °īḡ jaḡ svāhā
3. °om ma °īḡ jaḡ hana hanā vijaye jaḡ hana hana hi °ihi °ihā hām jaḡ
 svāhā °om (ma °ī)ḡ hana hana dhuna mathāna vidhvamśayettadadma

- °om x ta svāhā (tathā) tadyathā, °om tri(kā x °ākā) °ī(kāro) vicchet-
(pa)
4. x x x (na)n(d)āka(mākāvānākadhākakayaka) °om hana hana vijah
(j)oh svā(hā) ṭaki hūm jah jah hūm kiṭa h(ū)[m] ṭaki (dhum) kiṭa
dhu(m) °iya °ija (°i)_ḥ svāhā //¹⁰

Text of the *Navakampa* after Goudriaan & Hooykaas

Namo Ratna-trayāya svāhā, namaś Caṇḍa-vajra-pāṇi svāhā, mahā-yakṣa-
senā-pati svāhā, namo Bhagavate 'prati-hata-bala-vīrya-vidhi-trividya-
dhara-sahasra svāhā, catur-bhujalākṛti-śarīra svāhā, asi-musala-paraśu-
pāśa-vajrāgni-jvālātibhīṣaṇaka-rūpa svāhā, paśu-pati-jatijada-sañcaya-
vilambita-dakṣiṇa-pāda svāhā, sarva-niyantaka, tava viniṣṭha-vāma-
caraṇa-uṣṇīṣa svāhā, namo Bhagavate mahā-vajra-dhara svāhā, namo
Rudra, namo hṛdayaṃ, parama-dāruṇaṃ, sarva-bhūta-gaṇa-vinaya-
karaṃ, roṣāstrāśīviśādhah-karaṃ, sarva-karma-siddhi-karaṃ āvarta-
yisyāmi,

tad yathā: Bhoḥ bhoḥ vajra vajra kāla kāla karma karma, kampa
kampa bandha bandha marda marda haha hihi HUM HUM; raudrāti-
raudrānusāriṇaṃ imaṃ daṃstrāgra-caṇḍa-grahaṃ, mayi duṣṭa-cittaṃ
pravināśaya, raudra-dhūpena pravināśaya, raudra-vajreṇa pravināśaya,
Viṣṇuṃ pravināśaya, Brahmāṇaṃ pravināśaya, sarva-rogaṇ pravināśaya,
sarva-pāpān pravināśaya, sarva-devān pravināśaya, sarva-kleśān
pravināśaya, sarva-duṣṭa-cittān pravināśaya, sarva-vighnān pravināśaya,
sarva-vināyākān pravināśaya, sarva-kala-kali-kaluṣa-kalaha-vigraha-
vivādān pravināśaya, devāsura-garuḍa-gandharva-kinnara-mahōragādīn
pravināśaya; trāsaya trāsaya, kampa kampa, bandhaya bandhaya,
mardaya mardaya, caṇḍa caṇḍa, mara mara, hana hana, daha daha, kuru
kuru mahā-bala mahā-bala, mahā-vīrya mahā-vīrya, mahā-dīpta mahā-

¹⁰ Line 4 starts in the left margin, curving downwards; line 3 starts significantly further to the right than line 2, which in turn is further justified than line 1. In line 4, below *jah jah*, the word *svāhā* is legible. It is not clear whether it forms part of a fifth line or is to be inserted somewhere in line 4.

dīpta, mahā-tejaḥ mahā-tejaḥ, mahā-raudra mahā-raudra, mahā-śāsana mahā-śāsana, turu turu, dara dara, vara vara, sthāvara sthāvara,¹¹ svabhāvānta svabhāvānta, bhavāmike¹² HUṂ HUṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ SVĀHA.

Sprinkling formula:¹³

OM Ratna-trayāya Nava-kampāya namaḥ svāhā,

OM Bhagavatyai svāhā,

OM Bhoḥ Buddha Bhūmi-kampāya svāhā,

OM sarva-deva-sukha-pradānāya namaḥ svāhā,

OM HUṂ HUṂ PHAṬ PHAṬ parama-sukhāya namaḥ svāhā.

Text-critical commentary

- ¹¹ *ratnatrayāyasya nama[ś] c(aṇḍa)vajrapānayisya* ◇ the first word seems to be a contamination of the dative form °*trayāya* with the genitive form °*trayasya*. A subscript *c* still seems discernible under the *ś* which is lost, so one may safely restore *namaś ca*°. The rest of the restoration follows from the parallel in *verso*, line 2, and from several occurrences of the formula *namo ratnatrayāya namaś caṇḍa-vajrapānaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye* in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (see Giebel 2001) and other early Buddhist tantric texts (e.g., the *Amṛta-kunḍalivīnāyakabandhadhāraṇī* [Giebel 2012: 190-192]; see also the *Sarvanāgānām Hṛdaya* of the *Meghasūtra* [Bendall 1880: 308]). The form *vajrapānayisya* (read *vajrapāṇayisya*), just like *ratnatrayāyasya*, is a contamination of standard Sanskrit *vajrapānaye* with the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (BHS) form *vajrapāṇisya* (Edgerton 1953, vol. I, §10.79). The following *mahāyakṣasenāpatisya* is a ‘regular’ BHS

¹¹ Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1972: 315, n. 13: “thus PVTg; others *smavara smavara*.”

¹² The edition has *bhavānike*, but it is reported that this is a reading/emendation of Sylvain Lévi, while the manuscripts read °*mike* or °*mame*. I choose the former reading as being closer to our inscription.

¹³ This is apparently found in only one of the six manuscripts collated by G&H.

form. Gergely Hidas has pointed out to me that the same opening formula is found with another kind of BHS form right after the end of the Gilgit manuscript of the *Hayagrīvidyā*; cf. the reading recently published by von Hinüber (2014: 104): *namo ratnatrāyāya: namaś caṇḍavajrapāṇāye mahāyakṣasenāpaye (!). tadyathā ugrāya svāhā || atiūgrāya. svāhā || ugrapriyāya svāhā || [ati]ūgrapriyāya svāhā ||*, etc. This, in turn, is partly parallel to Taishō 21.1243 (as rendered in Bischoff 1956: 81), but there the opening is grammatically normalized. Finally, Péter-Dániel Szántó reports to me that in the Tibetan canon (Tōhoku 746), the (*Mahā*)*Vidyottamā* has more than a hundred occurrences of *vajrapāṇisya*, several times in conjunction with *mahāyakṣasenāpatīsyā*.

^{r1} *namo bhagavat(o)* ◇ this opening, with *genitivus pro dativo* (rather than *namo bhagavate*), is surprisingly rare. I have found it in the invocation formulae of Buddhist Prakrit inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh, notably the famous site Nagarjunakonda (see Mirashi 1981, inscriptions 29 and 32; J.Ph. Vogel, *Epigraphia Indica* 20, 1929-30: 16-25; *idem*, *Epigraphia Indica* 31, 1931-32: 62). In transmitted (Buddhist) texts, it is found in the *Mahāmāyūrī* (ed. Takubo 1972: 44, l. 15-16: *namo bhagavataḥ* alongside *namo bhagavate*). Rolf Giebel informs me that in Chinese transliteration he has found both *namo bhagavato buddhasya* and *namo buddhasya bhagavato*, as well as several examples of *namo ... tathāgatasya* (cf. Giebel 2002: 755[34]-754[35]).

^{r1} [*pra*]*tihatavalav[ī]ryavicitravi(dyā)[dha]r(e)śavarasahasrasya* ◇ understand '*pratīhata*'. Partially able to support this with reference to NK, I restore °*vicitravidyādhareśvarasahasrasya*. Our text is certainly better than *vidhitrividyādharasahasra* in NK (all sources have *vidvā*, emended by G&H). The presence of *e* in *r(e)* is not entirely certain; if it is assumed to be absent, we obtain °*vidyādharaśvarasahasrasya*, but this is not a likely reading because no other cases of the juxtaposition of *vidyādhara* and *śavara* can be found anywhere. On the other hand, while *vidyādhareśa* as well as *vidyādhareśvara*

are fairly well attested compounds in Sanskrit literature, they are hardly attested in Buddhist sources.

- ^{r1} (pra)_(ṇḍa)śāśaṅakarasya ◇ the reading is very uncertain for the first few syllables. If my reading is correct, one may restore *pracaṇḍaśāśaṅakarasya* (and then correct *ṇa* to *na*); *pracaṇḍaśāsana* is attested in line 23 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III, revised ed. 1981: 213), but seems a bit out of context here, unless *pracaṇḍaśāsanakara* can be an allusion to the *mudrā* of the deity being addressed here.
- ^{r1} °śarīrasyama[si]muśalaparaśupāśa° ◇ we can read °śarīrasya asi°, for *-m-* here serves as hiatus breaker; *asimusalaparaśupāśa* is a fixed set of attributes assigned to wrathful figures in more than one Buddhist scripture (cf. *Susiddhikarasūtra*, transl. Giebel 2001: 132, *mantra* nr. 10; *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, ed. Gaṇapati Sāstrī 1922: 15, ll. 26-27; *Guhyasamājatantra*, *mantra* before 14.12, ed. Matsunaga 1978: 62).
- ^{r1} °vajrajvalāgniḥ ◇ emend °vajrajvālāgni or °vajrajvālāgnibhiḥ. The compound *vajrajvālāgni* appears to be found only in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha* (STTS) and dependent texts. In the STTS itself it is found in two passages: *athāsmiṇ viniḥṣṭamātre vajrapāṇihṛdayavajrāt sa eva bhagavān vajradharāḥ samantajvālāgarbhāḥ sabhrukuṭibhrūbhaṅgakuñcitalalāṭavikaṭadamaṣṭrākarālamukhāḥ vajrāṅkuśakośapāśādivajrajvālāgni* *pradīptapraharaṇavyagrakarāḥ anekavidhavarṇālamkāravicitraveśadharāḥ vajrapāṇivigrahāḥ viniścaritvā* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 326, §651-652); *tatreḍam sarvatathāgatākarṣaṇahṛdayam bhavati | om vajrajvālāgni* *pradīptākarṣaya sarvatathāgatān mahāvajrasamaya hūm jah* | (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 388, §860). It is also found in a text related to the STTS brought to Japan by Kūkai, and transmitted in Japan under the title *Daisanmaya Shinjitsu Ippyakuhachi Myōsan* ‘Eulogy in One Hundred and Eight Names of the “Truth of the Great Pledge”.’ In Giebel’s edition of this text (2012: 207), the fifth verse reads: *rāgavāṇa mahādīpta vajrajvālāgnisannibha | ṛṣṭisaukhya mahādraṣṭar mahāmadana manmatha* ||.

- ^{r1-2} (vi)[bhī]saṅakāsupasya ◊ the reading is uncertain for the first two syllables; if it is correct, then emend *vibhīsaṅakarūpasya*, following NK except with regard to the syllable *vi*.
- ^{r2} (pa)tijaṭilājala° ◊ emend *paśupatijaṭilājaṭā°* (partly following NK), and, at the end of the long compound, emend °*pādasya*.
- ^{r2} *parvvatasthalatapa°* ◊ Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235) convincingly proposes to emend this to *pārvaṭīstanadvaya°*, with reference to a passage from the STTS, which in his edition (Lokesh Chandra 1987: 59) reads: *athaivam ukte vajrapāṇir mahābodhisatvo mahādevaṃ vāmapādākrāntaṃ kṛtvā, dakṣiṇena comā[yāḥ stanau pīḍa]yann idaṃ svahṛdayam udājahāra om vajrāviśa hanaya traṭ ||*. This corresponds in Horiuchi's edition (1983, vol. I: 347, §726) to: *athaivam ukte vajrapāṇir mahābodhisattvo mahādevaṃ vāmapādākrāntaṃ kṛtvā, dakṣiṇena comā[devīm ākrama]yann, idaṃ hṛdayam udājahāra om vajrāviśa hana pātraṃ traṭ*.
- ^{r2} *mahārodran nama (h)ṛdayaṃ* ◊ Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235) proposes to emend this to *ahaṃ idaṃ nāma-hṛdayam*. Comparing such a parallel as *ebhyo namaskṛtvā āryāvalokiteśvaramukhodgīrṇam amoghapāśa(rājam) nāma hṛdayaṃ tathāgatasaṃmukhaṃ bhāṣitaṃ mahātāṃ parśanmadhye 'ham idānīm āvartayiṣye* in the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* (reconstructed text based on ed. Meisezahl 1962: 321), it seems better to remain more faithful to the available reading, and to emend either *ahaṃ raudraṃ nāma hṛdayaṃ* or, still closer, *mahāraudraṃ nāma hṛdayaṃ*. Recalling the clear case of hiatus breaking *-m-* that we observed in l. 1, so that *mahā°*, too, could easily stand for *-m-ahaṃ*, the former option might at first sight seem viable. But *mahāraudra* is a well-attested term, occurring for instance twice in the account of the subjugation of Maheśvara by Vajrapāṇi/Trailokyavijaya in the STTS: *atha bhagavān vajrapāṇir mahābodhisattvaḥ punar api mahādevam āhūyaivam āha na pratipa[dyasi] duṣṭasattva, mamājñāṃ kartum iti | atha mahādevo vajrasattvavacanam upaśrutya, kupitaś caṇḍībhūtas tathāpatita eva punar api mahāraudrarūpatāṃ darśayann evam āha | maraṇam apy utsahāmi, na ca tavājñāṃ kariṣyāmīti |* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 345-346, §717-719); *atha*

maheśvaraḥ sakalatrailokyādhipatyatayā svajñānavasītayā ca bhagavato vajrapāṇeḥ saṁdarśanārtham mahācaṇḍakrodhatām mahābhairavarūpatām mahājvālotsrjanatām mahāraudrāṭṭhāsātām sahagaṇaiḥ saṁdarśayann evam āha | (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 332, §675). The term is also attested as a name of Mañjuśrī, here identified with Vajrapāṇi, in verse 40 of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṁgīti*, in its section on the Vajradhātumaṇḍala: *mahābhavādrisaṁbhettā mahāvajradharo ghaṇaḥ | mahākrūro mahāraudro mahābhayabhayaṅkaraḥ* || (Davidson 1981: 18 [n. 52], 23, 52). Most importantly, the same term also occurs on the *verso* of our foil (line 1). I therefore restore *mahāraudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ*.

^{r2} *rodrakaraṁ* ◇ Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235) proposes to emend this to *raudrākāraṁ*.

^{r2-3} *trāsabhaya-* ◇ correct *trāsabhaya-*. Cf. *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 14.38-39 (ed. Skjaervø 2004, vol. I: 272): *yakṣasātasahasrebhiḥ ṛddhimantair mahābalaiḥ | teṣāṁ rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti sarvatrāsabhayeṣu ca || vajrapāṇiś ca yakṣendraḥ pañcayakṣasātaiḥ api | sarvebhīr bodhisattvebhis teṣāṁ rakṣāṁ kariṣyanti ||*.

^{r3} *sarvakammāsiddhikaraṁ siddhikaraṁ* ◇ one expects here *sarvakarmasiddhikaraṁ*, and no repetition (cf. NK). The shape of *mmā* suggests a misreading for *rmma*; on the *verso*, in line 4, the *akṣara* read as *mā* likewise probably stands for an original *rma*. The expression *sarvakarmasiddhi* seems to be typical of the STTS (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 68-69, §118; 462-463, §1127; 606, §1448; vol. II: 17, §1526; 33, §2737). It is never found more than once in any other Buddhist text that I am aware of.

^{r3} *°avartayiśyaṁmi* ◇ correct *āvartayiśyāmi* (cf. NK).

^{r3} *tadyathā ta* ◇ the syllable *ta* needs to be deleted (cf. NK).

^{r3} *pramardda pramardda pramardda* ◇ one expects only one repetition of this word.

^{r3} *rodraka x (lā)maṁ* ◇ instead of *lā*, one might conceivably read *°e*, but this does not help to make sense out of this difficult sequence, apparently without direct parallel in NK.

- ^{r3} *ciñca(lā)ya haṣṭaci(ttam) ◇ emend cañcalāya duṣṭacittam?* I very hesitantly suggest that *cañcalāya* might be imperative to a denominative of *cañcala* (cf. *cañcalita*). For the expression *duṣṭacitta*, and for the whole segment from *duṣṭagraham* through *kupitacittam*, cf. the following passage from the *Sitātapatrādhāraṇī* (ed. Ngawang Samten & Pandey 2002: 152): *ye kecin mama sarvasattvānām ca duṣṭā duṣṭacittā raudrā raudracittā pāpāḥ pāpacittāḥ kupitāḥ kupitacittā amitrā amitracittā | ete mama sarvasattvānām ca rakṣām kurvantu jīvantu varṣaśataṃ paśyantu śaradām śatam | ye kecid yakṣagrahāḥ, ... | pāpacittāḥ, duṣṭacittāḥ, raudracittāḥ, devagrahāḥ, ..., sarvagrahāḥ |*.
- ^{r3} *kala kala ◇ it is perhaps not necessary to follow NK and emend kāla kāla*, for *kala kala* is attested as such in the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī*: *om kala 2 kili 2 kulu 2 mahāśuddhasattvāya svāhā | devatāsamśodhanamantraḥ* (ed. Meisezahl 1962: 321).
- ^{r3} *hi hi ◇ emend hī hī*. Cf. again the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī*: *mahāpaśupativeśadhara | dhara 2 dhiri 2 dhuru 2 tara 2 sara 2 cara 2 para 2 vara 2 mara 2 lara 2 hara 2 hā hā | hī hī hū hū | omkāra brahmaveśadhara | dhara 2 dhiri 2 dhuru 2 ...* (ed. Meisezahl 1962: 322). Cf. also *Sādhanamālā* 271 (ed. Bhattacharya 1925: 541).
- ^{r4} *roruṣi pravināśaya rodraśvareṇa traśaya rodravajre vajreṇa ◇ emend raudrarūpeṇa pravināśaya raudrasvareṇa trāsaya rodravajreṇa*. Cf. NK *raudra-dhūpeṇa pravināśaya, raudra-vajreṇa pravināśaya*. Cf. also *mahāraudrarūpatām* in a STTS passage quoted above (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 345, §718).
- ^{r4} *(p)ra(hā)ṇamāṃpi ◇ the reading is a bit uncertain; it seems that an emendation such as sarvapāpam* (cf. NK *sarvapāpān*) cannot be avoided, unless one is to emend *brahmāṇam* (cf. NK).
- ^{r4} *sarvvaśaton[.] ◇ emend sarvaśatrūn*, after NK.
- ^{r4} *sarvvaṃ vipran(.) ◇ emend sarvaviḥnān*, after NK.
- ^{r4} *sarvvaṃ rogon· (ga) ◇ emend sarvarogān*, after NK, suppressing the intrusive syllable tentatively read here as *ga*.
- ^{r5} *[sa]rvvaviṇāvināśayakanā pravināśaya ◇ emend sarvavināyakān pravināśaya*, after NK.

- ^{r5} *sarvavadurddama(tv)an·* ◇ I hesitantly assume that *sarvavadurdamatvam* is intended. This phrase has no parallel in NK, and the presumed expression is not found elsewhere.
- ^{r5} °*maho[ragādīn·]* ◇ that this restoration must be made is clear from comparison with NK, although it seems rather doubtful from remaining traces of *akṣaras* that this is precisely how the text was originally written down on the foil.
- ^{r5-v1} Comparison with NK suggests that a repeated *trāsaya* must, at some stage of transmission, have been lost between *pravināsaya* and *kampaya kampaya*. It is possible that the first readable sign *ya* at the beginning of line v1 is in fact the final syllable of *trāsaya*, and that any trace of syllables *ya trāsaya trāsa* has been lost to its left. But given the position where lines 2 and 3 begin, it is unlikely that such a significant number of further syllables would have stood at the beginning of line 1.
- ^{v1} *marā marā* ◇ emend *mara mara*. Cf. STTS *atha vajrapāṇiḥ punar ap[īmam svadharmasamaya] abhāṣat | om̐ hana hana huṃ phaṭ | atha vajragarbhaḥ sva[dharma]samaya abhāṣat || om̐ hara hara huṃ phaṭ | atha vajranetraḥ.....[sva]dharmasamaya abhāṣat | om̐ **ma-ra mara** huṃ phaṭ | atha vajraviśvaḥ svadharmasamaya abhāṣat | om̐ kuru kuru huṃ phaṭ | atha vajravidyottamaḥ svadharmasamaya abhāṣat | om̐ huṃ huṃ phaṭ* | (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 569, §1376-1380).
- ^{v1} *hana (hana dada) haha* ◇ emend *hana hana daha daha*.
- ^{v1} *mahātita* ◇ I emend *mahādīpta*, following NK, whose reading is supported by verse 5 of the *Daisanmaya Shinjitsu Ippyakuhachi Myōsan*, cited above. Another possibility would be to emend *mahātīkṣṇa*. Cf. *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra: vajrapāṇir mahāpāṇir vajravāṇaḥ suvedhakaḥ | vajratīkṣṇo **mahātīkṣṇo** mahāmahān mahodadhīḥ* || (ed. Skorupski 1983: 298).
- ^{v1} *mahātojaḥ* ◇ emend *mahātejaḥ*. Cf. the same passage of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra: vajratejo **mahātejo** jvālāprabhayamāntakṛt | vajraghoro mahāghoro ghanaprabho mahāghanaḥ* || (ed. Skorupski 1983: 298).

- ^{v2} *mahāsāsana* ◇ read *mahāsāsana*. This word does not seem to be attested as such in Buddhist literature, but in the opening of chapter 13 of the *Guhyasamājatantra* we read: *atha bhagavantaḥ sarvatathā-gatā jñānavajrāgracāriṇaḥ sarvasattvārthasambhūtā bodhisattvās ca dhīmantaḥ praṇīpatya mahāsāstāraṃ munim sattvārthavajriṇaṃ pū-jāsamayattvajñam vajraghoṣam udīrayan* (ed. Matsunaga 1978: 44).
- ^{v2} *vāda vāda* ◇ emend *vada vada* (cf. NK *vara vara*), a sequence found repeatedly in the STTS (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. 1: 392, §877; vol. II: 48, §1634; 202, §2093), while *vāda vāda* seems unattested elsewhere.
- ^{v2} *va svavara svavara* ◇ the *va* is superfluous; as for the remaining syllables, one could emend *sthāvara sthāvara*, after NK, but it must be noted that in that text too, the reading *sthāvara sthāvara* is only supported by some of the sources, the other ones reported by G&H reading *smavara smavara*, which is substantially closer to our reading, but equally obscure; moreover, *sthāvara sthāvara* is never attested in any similar *dhāraṇīs* known to me. One might therefore prefer a more radical emendation, like *smara smara* or even *smara smara va-ra vara*. But the matter seems to be too uncertain to justify any particular modification to the text as it stands (besides removal of *va*).
- ^{v2} *svavatu svavatu* ◇ I hesitantly propose to emend *śṛṇvatu śṛṇvatu*. Edgerton 1953, vol. I: 140, §28.6, records the BHS form *śṛṇvati* built on the analogy of the regular 3pl form *śṛṇvanti* and lists his textual sources attesting the stem-form *śṛṇva-* in §43, on p. 234. One of his sources was the *Mahāvastu*, from which one occurrence of the indicative form *śṛṇvati* is cited, although this form is attested four times in Senart's edition (1882-1897, vol. II: 108 [prose]; vol. III: 82-83 [2×] and 361-362 [prose]). The fundamental manuscript designated as "Sa", which was not collated by Senart, does not support any of the four occurrences of *śṛṇvati* in the edition: it reads regular *śṛṇoti* throughout (Yuyama 2001, vol. I: fol. 146r2, 296r2 and 397v2). Edgerton does not mention at all the imperative form *śṛṇvatu* which is found three times in Senart's edition of the same text, in a single stanza that is repeated three times. Senart reads the hemistich in

question as follows: *śṛṇvatu bhavān prayojanam yaṁ asmākam iha gamanāye*. For its attestation at vol. I, p. 152, l. 9 and 226, l. 3, the manuscripts collated by Senart give *śṛṇvantu*, which he emends to *śṛṇvatu*. The collocation *śṛṇvatu bhavān* first suggested to me the emendation of our inscription proposed here. However, the manuscript “Sa” (Yuyama 2001, fol. 43v4 and 63v6) shows the regular form *śṛṇotu*. For the attestation at vol. II, p. 29, l. 6, the two manuscripts collated by Senart apparently read *śṛṇu*, again emended by Senart. Here “Sa” reads *śṛṇuta* (fol. 122v6). The manuscript transmission of the *Mahāvastu* thus gives no support whatsoever to the existence of an imper. form *śṛṇvatu*, but it must be recognized that *śṛṇotu* and *śṛṇoti* are not metrically acceptable readings in at least two of the mentioned contexts which are in verse, and hence Senart’s emendations are likely to be correct despite lack of explicit manuscript support. The only explicit attestation of the form *śṛṇvatu* that I can cite in support of my emendation is found in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra*, in the following verse quarter: *guṇā[m]ś ca śṛṇvatv abhiśraddadheta* (ed. Dutt 1939: 63; ed. Cohen 2010: 221).¹⁴

^{v2} *bhāvāmiho* ◇ emend *bhavān iha*. Cf., despite uncertainty of reading, the collocation *śṛṇvatu bhavān* in the *Mahāvastu* stanza whose text-critical problem I have just presented. NK reads *bhavāmike*.

^{v2} *nāmo* ◇ emend *namo*.

^{v2} *mahāyakṣasonāpataye* ◇ emend *mahāyakṣasenāpataye*.

^{v3} *hana hana dhuna mathāna vidhvamśayettadadma* ◇ the final *akṣaras*, whose reading is perhaps not totally certain, might be emended after a *mantra* preserved in Chinese transliteration in the *Susiddhikarasūtra* (retransliterated in Giebel 2001: 148) *namo vajrāya, hūm hana dhuna matha vidhvamsayotsārāya phaṭ*. To stay somewhat closer

¹⁴ On the extraordinary importance of the manuscript designated as “Sa”, see Tournier 2012. The readings of this manuscript have been provided to me by Vincent Tournier on the basis of Yuyama’s facsimile edition, which is not accessible to me. Likewise, Vincent Tournier has checked for me the reading *śṛṇvatu* in the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānavyūhasūtra* based on the facsimile edition of the Gilgit manuscripts.

to the text as our foil transmits it, *utsādaya* might be chosen as an alternative reading. Cf. *Mañjuśriyamūlakalpa*, chapter 37 (ed. Gaṇapati Sâstrî 1922: 413, ll. 18-21): *om namo apratihatatathāgatoṣṇīṣāyā anavalokitamūrdhni cakravarti hūm̐ jvala jvala dhaka dhaka dhuna dhuna vidhuna trāsaya mārayotsādaya hana hana am̐ am̐ aḥ aḥ kaḥ kaḥ prom̐khini prom̐khini kuṇḍalini aparājītāstradhāriṇi*¹⁵ *hūm̐ phaṭ*; and chapter 54 (p. 662, ll. 22-23): *om hana hana sarvabhayān sādāyotsādaya trāsaya moṭaya chinda bhinda jvala jvala hūm̐ hūm̐ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*. The form *mathāna* can be explained as a perfectly regular 2sg imperative form, of the class IX present *mathnāti*, although in this register of language (as in the above citation from the *Susiddhikarasūtra*) we expect the form *matha*.

^{v4} A number of *akṣaras* may have become illegible at the beginning of this line. The sequence *kamā* no doubt stands for *karma* (cf. *recto*, line 3: *kammā*). I am unable to make sense of the following nine *akṣaras*. The remainder of the line, from *om* onwards, mainly comprises a sequence of *bīja mantras* for which I have found no precise parallels, except for the sequence *ṭaki hūm̐ jaḥ*, which I have discussed elsewhere (Griffiths 2014, §7). The element *kiṭa* seems to be an inversion of *ṭaki*; the element *dhuṃ* (if the readings are correct) is unusual in Buddhist *mantras* and might perhaps be based on a misunderstanding of the *sandhi* in the following STTS verse: *praty-ālīḍham̐ samāsthāya vajrāveśaprayogataḥ | kṣaṇād dhum̐kāramā-treṇa sarvam āveśāyē jagat |* (ed. Horiuchi 1983, vol. I: 402, §916).

Reconstructed text

Syllables I am unable to reconstruct with any confidence are marked by an underscore (_).

[1.] namo ratnatrayāyasya namaś caṇḍavajrapānāyisyā mahāyakṣa-
nāpatisyā

¹⁵ Ed. *aparajitāstradhāriṇi*.

namo bhagavato 'pratihatabalavīryavicitravidyādhareśvarasahasras-
ya___śāśanakarasya caturbhujālankṛtaśarīrasya asimuśalaparaśupāsavaj-
rajvālāgnivibhīṣaṇakarūpasya paśupatijaṭilājalasañcayavilambitadakṣiṇa-
pādasya pārvatīstanadvayaviniviṣṭavāmacaraṇasya

namo bhagavato mahāvajradharasya mahāraudraṁ nāma hṛdayaṁ
paramadāruṇaṁ sarvabhūtagaṇavināśakaraṁ raudrākāraṁ trāsabhaya-
vivādakaraṁ sarvakarmasiddhikaram āvartayiṣyāmi

tadyathā

bhoḥ bhoḥ raudra raudra kala kala kampa kampa gañja gañja pra-
gañja pragañja marda marda pramarda pramarda hā hā hī hī hūm hūm
raudra___maṁ duṣṭagrahaṁ cañcalāya duṣṭacittaṁ pāpacittaṁ kupita-
cittaṁ pravināśaya raudrarūpeṇa pravināśaya raudrasvareṇa trāsaya
raudravajreṇa vidāraya sarvapāpaṁ pravināśaya sarvaśatrūn pravināśa-
ya sarvaviḥnān pravināśaya sarvavyādhīn pravināśaya sarvarogān sar-
vavināyakaṁ pravināśaya sarvaduḥśabdān pravināśaya sarvadurdama-
tvaṁ pravināśaya devāsuragaruḍagandharvayakṣakimnaramahoragādīn
pravināśaya trāsaya trāsaya kampaya kampaya gañjaya gañjaya pra-
gañjaya pragañjaya marda marda pramardaya pramardaya bhoḥ bhoḥ
caṇḍa caṇḍa mara mara pramatha pramatha hana hana daha daha paca
paca kuru kuru mahāraudra mahāvīrya mahādīpta mahātejaḥ mahāśāśana
kuru kuru vada vada svavara svavara śṛṇvatu śṛṇvatu bhavān iha svāhā

[2.] namo ratnatrayāya namaḥ caṇḍavajrapāṇaye mahāyakṣasenāpataye
tadyathā

om ma īḥ jaḥ svāhā

om ma īḥ jaḥ hana hana vijaye jaḥ hana hana hi ihi ihā hām jaḥ svāhā

om ma īḥ hana hana dhuna mathāna vidhvaṁśayotsādaya om _ta
svāhā

tathā tadyathā

om tri _____ cchet _____

om hana hana vijaḥ joḥ svāhā

ṭaki hūm jaḥ jaḥ hūm kiṭa hūm ṭaki dhūm kiṭa dhūm iya ija i_h svāhā

Translation

[1.] Homage to the Triple Jewel (Buddha, Dharma, Saṅgha)! Homage to the fierce Vajrapāṇi, the great general of the Yakṣas!

Homage to the Lord, who has (a host of) a thousand supreme magicians (*vidyādhareśvara*) of irresistible power and might, who has hands ... teaching, who has a body adorned with four arms, who is of terrible appearance due to (his bearing) sword, club, axe, snare, cudgel (*vajra*), and flaming fire, whose right foot hangs down over the heap of twisted locks of Paśupati (Śiva), whose left foot is placed on the pair of breasts of Pārvatī!

Homage to the Lord, the great Cudgel-bearer!

I shall recite the Heart named Mahāraudra ('Greatly Ferocious'), extremely violent, that causes the destruction of all of (Śiva's) Bhūtas and Gaṇas, of ferocious form, that causes terror, fear and conflict, that causes the success of all undertakings!

[It is] like this:

Ho! Ho! Ferocious one, ferocious one! Soft one, soft one! Tremble, tremble! Sound, sound! Resound, Resound! Crush, crush! Crush down, crush down! HĀ, HĀ, HĪ, HĪ, HŪM, HŪM! O ferocious ... chase away the evil seizure! Destroy the evil thought, the bad thought, the angry thought! Destroy with your ferocious form, frighten with your ferocious sound, disperse with your ferocious cudgel! Destroy all evil, destroy all enemies, destroy all obstacles, destroy all diseases, destroy all illnesses, destroy all Vināyakas, destroy all those who have bad words, destroy all those who have bad thoughts, destroy the Devas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Gandharvas, Yakṣas, Kinnaras, Great Serpents, etc. Frighten, frighten! Cause to tremble, cause to tremble! Cause to sound, cause to sound! Cause to resound, cause to resound! Crush, crush! Crush down, crush down!

Ho! Ho! Fierce one, fierce one! Kill, kill! Tear, tear! Slay, slay! Burn, burn! Cook, cook! Act, act! Greatly ferocious one, greatly heroic one, greatly fiery one, one of great fire, one of great teaching! Act, act! Speak, speak! *Svavara svavara*(?!). Listen, listen here, your honor! Hail!

[2.] Homage to the Triple Jewel! Homage to the fierce Vajrapāṇi, the great general of the Yakṣas!

[It is] like this:

OM. MA ĪḤ JAḤ. Hail!

OM. MA ĪḤ JAḤ. Slay, slay! Victorious one! JAḤ. Slay, Slay! HI, IHI IHĀ HĀM JAḤ. Hail!

OM. MA ĪḤ. Slay, slay! Shake! Crush! Agitate! Destroy! Annihilate!

OM. ... Hail!

So also like this:

(a *mantra* that is not sufficiently well preserved to be rendered here)

OM. Slay, slay! VIJAḤ. JOḤ. Hail!

ṬAKI HŪM JAḤ JAḤ HŪM KIṬA HŪM ṬAKI DHUM KIṬA DHUM IYA IJA ... Hail!

Analysis

The contents of the *dhāraṇī* suggest that the foil on which it was engraved may have held some protective function, but whether it functioned as an amulet, for personal use, or rather as a *dharma*-relic, inserted into some architectural context, cannot be determined. The inscription comprises two texts, both opening with an invocation to the Triple Jewel and Caṇḍavajrapāṇi as Mahāyākṣasenāpati. It seems that these two texts were not originally composed together and the distinction between them is underlined by the fact that the invocations of the first are in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, whereas those of the second are in standard Sanskrit.

The first and principal *dhāraṇī* inscribed on the foil bore the title *mahāraudra-nāma-hṛdaya*, The ‘Greatly Ferocious’ Spell, with *hṛdaya* standing as a common equivalent to the term *dhāraṇī*. It comprises an opening invocation, followed by an extended invocation enumerating the attributes of the deity being invoked, i.e., Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, followed by a performative statement of the title and purpose of the *dhāraṇī* and finally the text of the *dhāraṇī* proper, this last portion being introduced by *tadyathā* and terminated by *svāhā*.

This is followed by another *dhāraṇī* that does not show any clear connection with the principal text, except being addressed to the same deity Caṇḍavajrapāṇi. It is also structurally different, comprising besides the simple invocation nothing but sequences of *mantras*, with a much higher ratio of untranslatable *bīja* syllables vis-à-vis translatable elements, including mantric imperatives,¹⁶ than we saw in the first *dhāraṇī*. This second text apparently comprises two *mantra* sections, each opening with *tadyathā*, and each being built up of sequences opened with *om* and terminated with *svāhā*. But the text is too damaged to allow certainty about its original structure.

Despite these differences, the two texts are bound together by their reliance on a variety of elements characteristic of the cycle of the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṅgraha*: terminology, *bīja mantras* and the figure Vajrapāṇi, here called Caṇḍavajrapāṇi.

It is only for the first text that we know a parallel elsewhere in the Buddhist world. It has not been possible to confirm Hudaya Kandahjaya's suggestion of a connection with the early Buddhist *tantra* entitled *Susiddhikarasūtra*, lost in Sanskrit but transmitted in Tibetan and Chinese.¹⁷ Uniquely, the parallel for our first *dhāraṇī* comes not from South, Central or East Asia, but from the Buddhist tradition of Indonesia itself. It is the *Navakampa* of Balinese tradition whose correspondence with the Borobudur lead-bronze foil was discovered by Hudaya Kandahjaya. Indeed, my new edition reveals the correspondence with the *Navakampa* to have been more extensive than could be made out relying only on Boechari's provisional reading. The second text has no parallel in the *Navakampa*, and the sprinkling formula of the *Navakampa* conversely has no parallel among our two texts. Still, it seems possible that there is at least a structural parallelism between the *Navakampa* and our combination of two texts: our second text may have served a

¹⁶ Cf. Meisezahl 1962: 269.

¹⁷ This is also the implicit conclusion of Lokesh Chandra (2013: 236): "The word *siddhikara* in *sarva-siddhi-karam* is a general statement and need not be tied to the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*."

specific ritual function as the sprinkling formula of the *Navakampa* presumably did.¹⁸ Although the entire text corresponding to the principal *dhāraṇī* is known under the title *Navakampa* in the Balinese tradition, it is only this sprinkling formula that contains the actual expression *nava-kampa*, which, being unattested in our version of the *dhāraṇī*, cannot be assumed to have an original connection with it.¹⁹

The *Navakampa* shows clear signs of having undergone a long history of transmission, with insertion of certain extraneous elements (e.g., the names of Hindu deities) and the near or even total loss of original ones, most notably the deformation of the title *mahāraudraṃ nāma hṛdayaṃ* into *namo rudra namo hṛdayaṃ*.²⁰ However, our foil too shows clear signs of errors in copying (e.g., r2: °*supasya* for °*rūpasya*; r3 and v4: *m(m)ā* for *rm(m)a*). In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that its copy of the two texts is tremendously corrupt. The availability of the parallel for the first text in the *Navakampa* provides a partially effective means to mend the textual problems, but to the extent that the *Nava-kampa* has itself suffered in transmission, we must rely on other philological evidence to restore the text on the foil to comprehensible form. Indeed, the necessary interventions are sometimes quite drastic. To conclude this contribution, I wish to highlight one problem that I have not been able to resolve.

¹⁸ From the sources at my disposal (Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: 168 and Hooykaas 1973: 112-113), I am unable to form a picture of how and when this sprinkling formula would have been applied in ritual context.

¹⁹ For this reason, I feel that Lokesh Chandra (2013: 233) is going beyond the bounds of what the evidence permits us to affirm when he states: “Nava-kampa is a Balinese reconstruction of Bhava-kampa, wherein Bhava means ‘the world, existence’ and stands for Trailokya or Trailokyavijaya.”

²⁰ Note also the genitive endings *-sya* in the first text of our foil being represented as *svāhā* in the *Navakampa*. Cf. Goudriaan & Hooykaas 1971: 8, item 12, on the development *-sya* > *-sva* that is frequently encountered in Balinese mss. of Sanskrit texts. See also the editors’ note 1 on p. 316 observing the problems posed by *svāhā*.

The interplay of philological and iconographical problems

I have proposed in the preceding paragraph on the basis of correspondences of terminology, of *bīja mantras* and the concentration on the figure called Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, that our *dhāraṇīs* are related to the cycle of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*. This means that the deity whose characteristics are listed in the extended invocation of the first text may be identified as the figure known as Trailokyavijaya in later Buddhist iconographical sources in Sanskrit (such as those used by de Mallmann 1975: 381-382).²¹ In order to avoid the problem of anachronism between Indian statuary and relevant Sanskrit sources, Robert Linrothe in his study of Buddhist tantric iconography makes use of contemporary texts preserved in the Chinese canon. With regard to one such text, Tai-shō 21.1209, translated by Amoghavajra between 771 and 774 CE, Linrothe writes (1999: 190):

The combination of specific descriptions and parallel functions in accord with those found in the *STTS* makes it clear that the four-headed, eight-armed Trailokyavijaya standing in *pratyālīḍha* on Maheśvara and Umādevā (*sic*) is the hero of the second section of the *STTS*. It is important to clarify this, because the text itself nearly always calls him Vajrapāṇi, despite the fact that Trailokyavijaya is the name of the entire section and the *maṇḍala*. Iyanaga has noted this anomaly in the text, and he cited different textual evidence to demonstrate that Trailokyavijaya was understood as the form of Vajrapāṇi who subjugates Maheśvara.²²

The indications of our text correspond in a loose manner with the textual and sculptural material studied by Linrothe, but the damage to the

²¹ This is also Lokesh Chandra's conclusion (2013: 235 and *passim*), although he does not pay attention to the fact that this name as such does not occur in the text engraved on our foil, calling it simply the "Borobudur inscription of Trailokyavijaya".

²² Linrothe refers here in a note to Iyanaga 1985: 725-727, n. 5.

foil in line 1 precludes the possibility of establishing with certainty what gesture, which attributes and how many heads are assigned to the deity. Perhaps it is necessary to go against the unanimous evidence of our foil and the NK and to emend something like *asimuśalaparaśu-pāśadharasya vajra*^o. But if the preceding element (with ^o*karasya*) indicated a *mudrā*, it is hard to escape the impression that the text assigns more features than could be accommodated in the four hands that the deity is explicitly stated to have. This number of hands suggests that we are in any case dealing with an iconographic form not so far attested in the Indonesian sculptural record, which has yielded four bronze images identifiable as Trailokyavijaya, all of them eight-handed and four-headed.²³

A major discrepancy between the iconography transmitted by our *dhāraṇī* and the known sculptural corpus all over the Buddhist world lies in the fact that the deity is here said to have his right foot placed on Paśupati (Śiva), while his left foot is placed on Pārvatī's chest. All sculptural representations of Trailokyavijaya known to me show the opposite placement of the deity's feet.²⁴ One could of course alter the assignment of left and right feet as transmitted unanimously both on our foil and in the *Navakampa*, but it seems better to remain prudent, and to leave open the possibility that we are dealing with an iconographic variant not yet attested in the art-historical literature, rather than assuming that the text itself is in error here.²⁵

²³ See the discussion and images published by Pleyte (1901 and 1902) under the name "Vajrapāṇi as Dharmapāla". The images in question are Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (Leiden) 1403/1760 and 1630/5; Museum Nasional (Jakarta) 655a; British Museum (London) 1859, 1228.94. See also Juynboll 1909: 94 with exhaustive references to 19th-century publications.

²⁴ Thus also the textual sources referred to by Lokesh Chandra (2013: 235), who does not note the contrary indication in our inscription.

²⁵ For another example of such discrepancy between texts and sculptures, see Hidas 2003: 280 (and cf. Crujisen, Griffiths & Klokke 2012).

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