

A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE TRAILOKYA VAŚAṆKARABHUGMA LOKEŚVARA SĀDHANA IN THE SĀDHANAMĀLĀ

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I

The *Sādhanaṃālā/Sādhanasamuccaya* (*SM*) is one of the most important materials for the study of the Tantric Buddhist deities. B. Bhattacharyya edited the *SM* in 1925 (Vol. I) and 1928 (Vol. II). Since then, his edition has been regarded as the standard edition of the *SM*, which includes three hundred and twelve works. Although there are about forty manuscripts of the *SM* around the world, the edition is based on the only eight manuscripts which were available in those days. Sakuma [2002]: *Sādhanaṃālā: Avalokiteśvara Section, Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts* aimed at providing a critical edition for the Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara) section by using manuscripts not employed in the Bhattacharya edition.

First of all, I do appreciate the review of Sakuma [2002] written by Iain Sinclair [2004] who points out some issues to be taken into consideration. I would like to express my opinion on his view with gratitude. Although Sinclair shows his view on one of the sources included in the book, the book does not provide enough information to support his view. However, if I supplement new information on the historical background of the sources, it would be quite possible to enhance the probability of his view. Therefore, this paper will focus on this point. In addition, a corrigenda of Sakuma [2002] will be provided afterwards.

The critical edition of Sakuma [2002] includes two *Sādhanas* unrecorded in the *SM* of the Bhattacharyya edition. One of them is the *Trailokyavaśaṅkarabhugma Lokeśvara Sādhana* (T.L. *Sādhana*, Sakuma [2002:134-143, 262-267]). Sinclair pointed out the relationship between a Nepalese Lokeśvara and the deity focused on this

Sādhana as follows:

On reading this description, I was struck the deity's strong resemblance to the ancient Nepalese Lokeśvara icon known as Buṅgadyaḥ,¹ aka. Karuṇāmaya. Certainly the curious appellation bhugma suggests that this is precisely the figure embodied in the *sādhana*. If this reading proves to be correct, our *sādhana* should be evaluated as one of the earliest, most detailed sources for a deity that is crucial to Nepalese religious life. I should emphasize, however, that the identification of this form of Lokeśvara with Buṅgadyaḥ is highly tentative, and derives from a more or less cursory reading of the *sādhana* texts. (Sinclair [2004: 171-172])

The identification is most plausible in a scenario that has the cult of Buṅgadyaḥ preceding and inspiring the composition of the *Trailokyavaśaṅkarabhugma lokeśvara sādhana*. To propose such a scenario, we need some reliable dates. One of the earliest definite references to Buṅgadyaḥ is the Tibetan pilgrim Dharmasvāmin's² account of the deity's procession, which dates from c. 1230 CE. However, the terminus ante quem for the composition of *sādhana* 10.3 is unclear, since no dates are given for the witnesses used by Sakuma (...). (Sinclair [2004: 172(fn. 3)])

He presents the view that the *T.L. Sādhana* could be one of the earliest, most detailed sources for Buṅgadyaḥ (Bugma Lokeśvara).³ In order to enhance the probability of his view, we will provide information on the historical background of the *T.L. Sādhana*⁴ through examining references of the author of this work and iconographical resemblances between deities described in this

¹ The earliest form of the name (Buṅgadyaḥ) is Bugma Lokeśvara (Locke [1980: 328]). Buṅgadyaḥ is also called Bugama Lokeśvara (Locke [1980: 327-328]) as well as Rato Matsyendranāth (Locke [1980: 243]).

² He came to Nepal in A.D. 1226, and stayed for eight years under a spiritual guide at Svayambhūnāth (Locke [1980: 300]).

³ Sakuma [1999: 101, fn. (13)] points out the similarity between the names of Bugma Lokeśvara (Buṅgadyaḥ) and Trailokyavaśaṅkarabhugma Lokeśvara, but does not point out the possibility that this *Sādhana* could be one of the earliest sources on Buṅgadyaḥ.

⁴ We cannot estimate the date of this *Sādhana* based on the manuscripts (K1, N2, BL2) which are listed in Sakuma [2002: 18]. They are not very old, and made of paper. There is a description of the date (Nepal Samvat 862 (A.D. 1742)) in the manuscript (K1) (Goshima and Noguchi [1983: no.119]), but it is doubtful whether it denotes the date of the manuscript or not (Shimoizumi [1981: 137]). The dates of N2 (Moriguchi [1989: no. 3-603]) and BL2 (Takaoka [1981: KA30]) are not found because of the lack of the colophons in the manuscripts.

Sādhana and deities⁵ drawn in a Nepalese illustrated manuscript.

II

We can find notable references for the author (Śūnyasamādhivajra/ Śūnyatāsamādhivajra)⁶ of this Sādhana in the *Blue Annals* (Roerich [1996]) as follows:

The name of Śūnyatāsamādhivajra (Tib. sTon ñid Tin (ñe) dzin rdo rje) is known as Devākaracandra's secret name. He belonged to the nobility of the great city of Ya 'gal (Yam 'gal, the southern half of Kathmandu),⁷ When he visited Vikramaśīla in India, he met Ratnaśrī, a Nepalese scholar, and studied the Saṃpūṭa and Hevajra Tantra under his guidance. After he came back to Nepal, he met Jinadatta⁸ (Tib. rGyal bas byin) who was a scholar from Be ta la (Vetala in India) and had been initiated in the system of Vajravārāhī (a deity of the Mother Tantra of the Anuttara-Yoga Tantra class) by lDoñ ñar ba,⁹ Being requested several times by Devākaracandra, Jinadatta initiated him. Devākaracandra went to Bodhgaya with Jinadatta and Puṇyākaraḥbhadra¹⁰ (Skt. Varendraruci, Tib. bSod nams 'byuñ gnas bzañ po/ Ha mu dkar po) and so on. Then Jinadatta set forth to Vetala, and Puṇyākaraḥbhadra went back to Nepal. Devākaracandra practiced meditation for six years and obtained special faculties (This is a summary of Roerich [1996: 392-394]).

Furthermore, he composed some works. For example, the *Blue Annals* (Roerich [1996: 394, 857]; Man [1998: 91]) refers to the following works as compositions written by Devākaracandra

⁵ Based on a name described in the Nepalese illustrated manuscript, the deities drawn in it are probably Buṅgadyaḥ and his attendants (See fn. 34 below).

⁶ "Śūnyasamādhivajra" appears in Sakuma [2002: 143, line 5], while "Śūnyatāsamādhivajra" appears in Sakuma [2002: 267, line 14].

⁷ Man [1998] identifies Ya 'gar with Yangal (Yaṅgala) in Kathmandu. Yaṅgala is the Newari name of a district in Kathmandu. For the first time, the name of Yaṅgala appears in a Nepalese manuscript of the Dharmaputrikā (A.D. 1069) (National Archives, III.393) (Petech [1984: 46, colophon (1)]; Slusser [1998: 89]). The name of Yaṅgala remains up to at least the mid-seventeenth century, but it has become less distinct (Slusser [1998: 90]). Yaṅgala lies southwest, extending south as far as Lagantole (Slusser [1998: 91, Map 7: d-10, n-8]).

⁸ He is also known as the Junior Painḍapātika (bSod ñoms pa) (Roerich [1996: 391]).

⁹ Information on Jinadatta is referred to in Roerich [1996: 391-392].

¹⁰ Puṇyākaraḥbhadra studied the Vārāhī Cycle under Devākaracandra (Roerich [1996: 396]; Man [1998: 92]).

(Śūnyatāsamādhivajra): (1) the *Žal gñis ma che ba*¹¹ (the Peking edition no. 2259, the sDe dge edition no. 1551), (2) the *Šes rab ye šes gsal ba*¹² (P no. 3070, D no. 2226), (3) the *bDag med ma'i mñon par rtogs pa*¹³ (P no. 2442, D no. 1312), (4) the *sPyan ma'i ñan soñ yoñs su sbyoñ ba*¹⁴ (P no. 2771, D no. 1907), (5) the *Kye'i rdo rje dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga*¹⁵ (P no. 2391, D no. 1262), (6) the *bLa ma rgyad pa'i rim pa* (sic.)¹⁶ (P no. 4539, D no. 3716) and (7) the *Don gsal ma che ba*. In addition to these works, we can find at least four works which are not mentioned in the *Blue Annals*: (8) the *Phyag na rdo rje gos sñon po can gyi sgrub pa'i thabs*¹⁷ (P no. 3710, D no. 2886), (9) the *Ye šes dbab pa žes bya ba*¹⁸ (P no. 2261, D no. 1553), (10) the *gŠin rje gśed nag po gdoñ drug pa'i 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs žes bya ba*¹⁹ (P. no. 2870, D. no. 2015) and (11) the *'Jig rten gsum po dbaṅ du byed pa'i 'phags pa bhu gma'i sgrub thabs* (P no. 4257, D no. 3436). Among these compositions, work (11) (the translation of the *T.L. Sādhana*) is the only one devoted to Lokeśvara. Furthermore, while work (10) is devoted to a deity belonging to the Father Tantras of the Anuttara-Yoga Tantra class, works (3) and (5) are dedicated to deities (Nairātmā and Heruka) belonging to the Mother Tantras of the Anuttara-Yoga Tantra class.

Based on the evidence that Devākaracandra was initiated in the system of Vajravārāhī and that he composed the works devoted to the

11 Skt. *Śrītatvajñānasiddhi*. The title is the *dPal de kho na ñi ye šes grub pa* in P and D. P and D list the author's name as sToñ ñid tiñ ñe 'dzin (Śūnyatāsamādhi).

12 Skt. *Prajñājñānaprakāśa*. P and D list the author's name as Devacandra.

13 Skt. *Nairātmakopadeśanāma*. The title is the *bDag me ma'i man ñag ces bya ba* in P and D. P and D list the author's name as Tiñ ñe 'dzin rdo rje (Samādhivajra).

14 In P and D, the title is the *dPal ñan soñ thams cad yoñs su sbyoñ (D, sbyaṅ) ba'i rgyud las phyuñ ba spyān ma'i ñan soñ sbyoñ ba'i cho ga* (*Śrisarvadurgatipariśodhanatantrorodhṛta-(D, -tantrād udbhūta-* instead of *-tantrorodhṛta-)locanādurgatisodhanavidhi*). P and D list the author's name as sToñ ñid tiñ ñe 'dzin rdo rje (Śūnyatāsamādhivajra). This work belongs to the Yoga Tantra class.

15 In P and D, the title is the *dPal he ru ka'i man ñag rañ byin kyi brlabs pa'i rim pa žes bya ba* (*Śrīherukopadeśasvādhiṣṭhānakramanāma*). P lists the author's name as Tiñ ñe 'dzin rdo rje (Samādhivajra), while D lists it as sToñ pa ñid tiñ ñe 'dzin rdo rje (Śūnyatāsamādhivajra).

16 In P and D, the title is the *bLa ma brgyud pa'i rim pa'i man ñag ces bya ba* (*Guruparam-parakramopadeśanāma*). Although the *Blue Annals* (Roerich [1996: 857]) lists the author's name as Devākaracandra, P and D list it as Vajrapāṇi.

17 Skt. *Nīlāmaradharavajrapāṇisādhana*. P and D list the author's name as sToñ ñid tiñ ñe 'dzin rdo rje (Śūnyatāsamādhivajra).

18 Skt. *Jñānāveśanāma*. P and D list the author's name as sToñ ñid tiñ ñe 'dzin (Śūnyatāsamādhi).

19 Skt. *Kṛṣṇayamārimukhaśaṭcakrasāadhananāma*. P and D list the author's name as Devākara-candra.

deities belonging to the Mother Tantras, it can be considered that Devākaracandra was a Tantric Yogin who mainly followed the system of the Mother Tantras.

On the other hand, Man [1998: 91] estimates the period of Devākaracandra based on references of the *Blue Annals*. According to this work, Devākaracandra was also one of the disciples of the so-called “Four Great Ones”²⁰ of Maitrīpa (Skt. Advayavajra/Advadhūtipa/Maitrīpāda)²¹ who was born in the year of the Sheep (A.D. 1007) or the Dog (A.D. 1010), and passed away at the age of seventy-eight (Roerich [1996: 841-842]). Furthermore, Puṇyākara-bhadra was a disciple of Devākaracandra, and contemporary with him, and Puṇyākara-bhadra’s direct disciple, dPyal Kun dga rdo rje,²² was a teacher of Cog ro chos kyi rgyal mtshan who was born in A.D. 1108.²³ Based on these facts, Man [1998: 91] estimates A.D. 1030 to 1130 as the approximate period of Devākaracandra.

Therefore, if the author of the *T.L. Sādhana* was Devākaracandra (Śūnyatāsamādhivajra) who is mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, this *Sādhana* should have been composed in that estimated period.

Apart from this view, it might be possible that the author of the *T.L. Sādhana* was not Devākaracandra who is mentioned in the *Blue Annals*. If we suppose this case, the date of this work must be verified from a different view than what is presented above. Therefore, we will provide the approximate date of the *T.L. Sādhana* through examining the date of the Tibetan translation, the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*²⁴ which includes this *Sādhana* (P no. 4257, D no. 3436).

The colophon to this Tibetan translation is interpreted by Bühnemann [1994: 15] as follows:

Pandit Gautamaśrī brought the Sanskrit manuscript of this collection to Sa skya Monastery. It was revised by Kīrticandra and translated under Dharmapālarakṣita’s auspices by *deśāntarayogin* Grags pa rgyal mtshan. The translation was

²⁰ Roerich [1996: 842]

²¹ Maitrīpa has different names (Saigusa [1987: 16-17]).

²² dPyal Kun dga rdo rje also studied under Devākaracandra (Roerich [1996: 394]; Man [1998: 119]).

²³ Cog ro chos kyi rgyal mtshan was born in the year of the Earth-Male-Mouse in Lower Khams (Roerich [1996: 386]; Man [1998: 92]). He studied the Vajravārāhi Cycle under dPyal (lo) Kun dga’ rdo rje (Roerich [1996: 386]).

²⁴ For the date of this translation and the translator of it, Bühnemann [1994: 15-16] arranges former studies in order, and explains them.

completed on the third day (of the bright half) of the twelfth month of the Year of the Bird at the monastery Chu mig (rdzin) kha.²⁵

As the date of completing the translation, Meisezahl [1980: 158, 164, fn14] suggests A.D. 1190 (Earth-Bird), A.D. 1202 (Iron-Bird) and A.D. 1214 (Water-Bird). He regards the translator of the Tibetan translation, Grags pa rgyal mtshan as Sa skya pa rje btsun Grags pa rgyal mtshan (A.D. 1147-1216), who is mentioned in the *Blue Annals*.²⁶

On the other hand, Okuyama [1988: 889] proposes A.D. 1286 as the appropriate date of the Tibetan translation. He regards the translator of it, Grags pa rgyal mtshan as Grags pa rgyal mtshan of Yar kluñs (Yar kluñs lo tsā ba),²⁷ who lived between the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteen century.²⁸ And he takes notice of the references that the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* was translated under “Dharmapālarakṣita’s auspices”, and it was completed in “the Year of the Bird”. According to the *Blue Annals*, the period of Dharmapālarakṣita is A.D. 1268 to 1287,²⁹ Okuyama points out that the Year of the Bird occurred twice during this period. One was in A.D. 1274 (Water-Bird) and the other was in 1286 (Wood-Bird). The former is the date when he was only six years old, and the latter is the date after he occupied the chair of the Sa skya pa. Therefore, the latter is regarded as the proper date by Okuyama.

As the date of completing the Tibetan translation, we will accept A.D. 1286 estimated by Okuyama, which seems more persuasive than the dates proposed by Meisezahl. Based on the colophon of the Tibetan translation, we can consider that the *T.L. Sādhana* was, at the

25 According to Bühnemann [1994: 15, fn. 24], this colophon was written at the end of the lHa so so'i sgrub pa'i thabs rgya mtsho (Skt. **Devāntarasādhanaśāgara*), which forms part three of the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho* [P. Vol. 81, Du, 335a3-5].

26 “The third (son) the Venerable Grags pa rgyal mtshan was born in the year of the Fire-Female-Hare (me mo yos, A.D. 1147), when his father was 56. In his 26th year, he occupied the chair beginning from the Water-Dragon year (chu ‘brug, A.D. 1172). He died at the age of 70 in the year of the Fire-Male-Mouse (me mo byi ba, A.D. 1216)” (Roerich [1996: 211]).

27 Naodou [1968: 205]; Bühnemann [1994: 16, fn. 29].

28 Naudou [1968: 204]; Meisezahl [1967: 483]; Bühnemann [1994: 15].

29 The son of Phyag na, Dharmapālarakṣita was born in the year of the Earth-Male-Dragon (sa pho ‘brug, A.D. 1268) ten months after Phyag na’s death. At the age of 20, in the year of the Fire-Female-Hog (me mo phag, A.D. 1287), he died. He occupied the chair (of Sa skya) for seven years, from the year of the Iron-Serpent (lcags sbrul, A.D. 1281) till the year of the Fire-Female-Hog (me mo phag, A.D. 1287) (Roerich [1996: 212-213]). Inaba [1964: 116-120] estimates the date of his birth as A.D. 1268, the date of his inauguration as A.D. 1282, the date of his retirement as A.D. 1286 (indistinct), and the date of his death as A.D. 1287.

latest, probably composed by the end of the thirteenth century.

III

In order to know the relationship between the *T.L. Sādhana* and Buṅgadyaḥ, we need to take notice of their iconographical resemblances. However, the image of Buṅgadyaḥ preserved at the temple today gives us little iconographical information except for the red color because the legs and arms were rather crudely made.³⁰ So, we will pay attention to a figure³¹ of Lokeśvara which was drawn in the Nepalese illustrated manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*³² (A.D. 1071).³³ In this manuscript, the name of the Lokeśvara is described as “Nepāle Vugama (Bugama)³⁴ Lokeśvaraḥ”. Depending on this script, this figure is probably the deity of Buṅgadyaḥ (Bugama Lokeśvara/ Bugma Lokeśvara) in Nepal. Now I will explain the resemblance between the figures of the deities described in the *T.L. Sādhana* and the figures of Lokeśvara and his attendants drawn in the Nepalese illustrated manuscript.

In this manuscript, Lokeśvara stands in the center of a picture and has one head and two hands. He is red and displays the gesture of conferring boons (varada) in his right hand, and holds a lotus flower in his left hand. Green and red goddesses sit on his right side, and white and yellow goddesses sit on his left side (Foucher [1900: 207-208, pl. IV, 1]; Slusser [1998: pl. 594]). All of them have one head and two hands which are clasped in front of their chests (añjali) and are kneeling toward Lokeśvara.

On the other hand, the *Sādhana* provides iconographical features of Lokeśvara as follows:³⁵

30 The standing image is about three feet high, and is plastered over every year with clay and painted red. The legs and arms appear to be clay moulded over some sort of framework (Locke [1980: 254]).

31 Foucher [1900: pl. IV, 1]; Slusser [1998: figure 594]. Foucher [1900: 33] mentions the paintings in that Nepalese manuscript were completed before the end of the eleventh century (Slusser [1998: 369, fn. 98]).

32 This palm leaf manuscript (Ms. A.15) is preserved at the Library of Asiatic Society, Calcutta (Foucher [1900: 27]).

33 N.S. 191 (Foucher [1900: 28]; Petech [1984: 47, colophon (3)]).

34 In Nepalese script, “v” also indicates the script of “b”. The script “Nepāle Vugama” means “the village of Buṅgamati in Nepal” (Foucher [1900: 100, fn. 1, 207]). The village of Buṅgamati lies some three miles south of Patan (Locke [1980: 328]), and is a place where Buṅgadyaḥ has been worshipped up to now.

35 The renderings in Sanskrit and Tibetan translation are included in (5.2) of Sakuma [2002: 136-137, 263-264].

(...) [Bhugma Lokeśvara] stands on even feet³⁶ in a lotus and the moon, and [He] is graceful,³⁷ endowed with a sapphire, [luminous red] like lightning and coral, destroying mistakes, having a face like a full-blown lotus,³⁸ having two big eyes like water-lilies, graced with eyebrows like a bow, having divine matted hair adorned with a series of pearls,³⁹ and decorated with divine clothes. [He] accomplishes the act for the sake of the sentient beings⁴⁰ by [radiating] a net of red color twisted and rising in front [of the deity]. [He] is spreading out a red full-blown lotus⁴¹ and holding⁴² [it] in his left hand. [He] is intelligent and confers boons with his right hand⁴³ (...)

This figure is similar to the one of Lokeśvara which is drawn in the illustrated manuscript stated above. Both figures are red and confer boons in their right hands, and hold lotus flowers in their left hands. Although this type of form is common in Avalokiteśvaras of India and Nepal,⁴⁴ the color red is not always common in Avalokiteśvaras in this form. It is because the color white is often found in Avalokiteśvaras in this form as well.⁴⁵

³⁶ The rendering follows a variant “samapadaṃ” (K1, BL2) (Sakuma [2002: 136, fn. (25)]).

³⁷ Based on the Tibetan translation “rol zñ”, we read “lānitya” (K1, BL2) as “lālityaṃ”.

³⁸ This rendering follows the Tibetan translation, “padma rgyas pa’i źal mña”. The Sanskrit rendering “prospfullapadmānanam” (BL2) seems to be a misprint of “prodhaphullapadmānanam”.

³⁹ The Sanskrit rendering is “muktādāma^{vibhūmitā}surajātān” (BL2, N2). However if we do not correct the underlined parts, this rendering cannot be interpreted. The Tibetan translation is “ral pa mdzes śiñ mu tig chun pos rnam rgyan”. This interprets “-vibhūmita-” as “rnam rgyan”, and “-jātān” as “ral pa”. So, we read the Sanskrit rendering as “muktādāma^{vibhū}śitāsurajātāṃ”.

⁴⁰ Based on the Tibetan translation, “phun tshogs sems can don”, we read the Sanskrit rendering, “satvārthasamāpādakaṃ” (K1) as “satvārthasamāpādanam”.

⁴¹ Based on the Tibetan translation, “padma dmar po rnam par rgyas pa”, we read the Sanskrit rendering, “pravikāśipadmam aruṇa” (K1, BL2) as “pravikāśipadmam aruṇam”.

⁴² This rendering follows the Tibetan translation “rnam par bsnams gyur pa”. The Sanskrit rendering “hastalaśan” seems to be a misprint of “hasatalasan (trifling in [his] hand)”.

⁴³ The literal translation is “(...) confers the best [things] of all classes plentifully with his right hand”. This rendering follows the Tibetan translation “phyag g’yas nas ni rnam pa kun gyi mchog ni rab tu stsol bar mdzad”. The Sanskrit rendering is “savyadāśnāsanāsad” (K1). This might be a misprint of “savyadaksīnasāsanāntam (the offering is occurring in the opposite of the left [hand], that is the right [hand])”.

⁴⁴ For example, these gestures and possessions can be found in figures of Lokanātha and Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara described in Sādhana (Bhattacharyya ed. nos. 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 26) of the SM, and found in sculptures or paintings of India [Mallmann 1948: VIII (a), (c), (d)] and Nepal (Bangdel [1995: 110 (Sec. 12, 1), 111 (Sec. 12, 5), 135 (Sec. 26, 3), 151 (Sec. 33, 6)]; Kreijger [1999: 77 (pl. 25)]).

⁴⁵ For example, the color of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara is white (Bhattacharyya nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26). And Seto Matsyendranāth (Avalokiteśvara) enshrined at the temple of Jana Baha (Seto Matsyendranāth) in the Kathmandu Valley confers boons in his right hand, and shows the pose

Further, we can find resemblances in the attendants as well as Lokeśvara. The *T.L. Sādhana* continues to describe as follows:

(...) [A practitioner] should meditate that four seeds (*bīja*), *lām*, *mām*, *pām*, *tām*, which are white (*śukla*), dark-colored (*asita*), red (*rakta*) and yellow (*pīta*), exist in [discs of] the sun appearing at the corners of the southeast and so on,⁴⁶ (...) Goddesses [produced from these seeds] put on various ornaments, best clothes and swinging earrings made of jewels. Locanā stays⁴⁷ in the middle of a lotus at the southeast [corner]. [She] is of brilliant color like jasmine (flower), two-handed and calm. Māmakī stays in the middle of a lotus at the southwest [corner]. [She] has a figure like beautiful sapphire⁴⁸ and compassion. Pāṇḍalā stays in the middle of a lotus at the northwest [corner]. [She] has sunrays produced from a lotus, and delights. Tārā stays in the middle of a lotus at the northeast [corner]. [She] is of golden color and calm. [A practitioner] should meditate [these goddesses]. They kneel [to Lokeśvara] and have almond eyes, two big bulged breasts,⁴⁹ and grace pinched-in waists. With dignity and honor, the amorous lower half of the body is wide and the limbs are excellent,⁵⁰ [They] clasp their hands in front of their chests, being suitable for a venerable person, having beautiful hair in curl⁵¹ (...).

As the four goddesses (Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍalā, Tārā)⁵² accompany Lokeśvara described in this *Sādhana*, we can interpret this Lokeśvara as integrating the female energy of these consorts. The similar figures to these goddesses can be found in the previously

adopted for holding the stem of a lotus flower in his left hand. This image is a white and plastered figure (Locke [1980: 144]).

⁴⁶ The renderings in Sanskrit and Tibetan translation are included in (5.4) of Sakuma [2002: 138, 264].

⁴⁷ We read the Sanskrit rendering, “madhyāsti” (K1, BL2, N2) as “madhye’sti”. The same correction as this is made in the same renderings mentioned below.

⁴⁸ We read the Sanskrit renderings, “snigdhendranīlāpratimām” (K1, BL2) and “snigdhendranīlāpatimām” (N2) as “snigdhendranīlāpratimām”.

⁴⁹ Based on the Tibetan translation, “nu ma zuñ dag mtho”, we read the Sanskrit rendering, “pīṇonahastanayugās” (K1, BL2) as “pīṇonahastanayugās”.

⁵⁰ This rendering follows the Tibetan translation, “gus pa ñan bcas rol pa’i sku smad rgyas śiñ yan lag mchog” The Sanskrit rendering is “līlānvitā gurunitā svadarāvarāṅgī” (K1, BL2).

⁵¹ The renderings in Sanskrit and Tibetan translation are included in (5.5) of Sakuma [2002: 138-139, 264-265].

⁵² These goddesses are also known as consorts of the four Buddhas (Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Amoghasiddhi) (Bhattacharyya [1968a: 49-56]).

mentioned illustrated manuscript as well. They clasp their hands in front of their chests and kneel toward Lokeśvara in the same way as the figures described in this *Sādhana*. But names of the goddesses are not written in this illustrated manuscript.

Furthermore, the four colors (white, dark-colored, red, yellow) of the seeds (bīja) producing the four goddesses (Locanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍalā, Tārā) in this *Sādhana* are similar to the four colors (white, green, red, yellow) of the goddesses drawn in that illustrated manuscript. Moreover, the colors of the goddesses in that illustrated manuscript are somewhat similar to the colors of the goddesses in this *Sādhana*. For example, the brilliant color like jasmine (Locanā) can correspond to the white color of a goddess in that illustrated manuscript. But the color of sapphire (Māmakī) does not correspond to green.⁵³ The color of sunrays produced from a lotus (Pāṇḍalā) can correspond to red. The color of gold (Tārā) can correspond to yellow.

Although there are several differences, we can find some iconographical resemblances between the *T.L. Sādhana* and that illustrated manuscript in respect to the combination of deities (Lokeśvara and four goddesses) and their forms and colors.⁵⁴ This evidence suggests that this *Sādhana* would have been composed probably under the influence of the cult of Buṅgadyaḥ which would have existed in Nepal until the end of the eleventh century.⁵⁵

IV

Finally, we will sum up major points of what has been discussed. If the author of this *Sādhana* was Devākaracandra (Śūnyatāsamādhi-vajra) who is mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, we can assume the

⁵³ The color of sapphire is usually deep-blue.

⁵⁴ These iconographical resemblances are not always common. Although the form of the Lokeśvara described in the *T.L. Sādhana* is common in Avalokiteśvaras of India and Nepal (See fn. 44 above), the combination of deities and their forms and colors described in the *T.L. Sādhana* are not always common in them. For example, the iconography described in this *Sādhana* is not mentioned in the other *Sādhana*s of Avalokiteśvara which are included in the *SM* [Sakuma 2002]. Furthermore, this iconography cannot be found in the following Indian and Nepalese images of Avalokiteśvara which has the common form and is accompanied by his attendants: nos. 6, 9, 19, 21 (pl. V, 3 in Foucher [1900]), 26, 28 (pl. IV, 4), 44 (pl. V, 1), 54, 57, 59, 60 in the Catalogue of the miniatures and inscriptions of Ms. Add.1643, Cambridge [Foucher 1900: 189-206], nos. 7, 9, 24 (pl. V, 2) in the Catalogue of the miniatures and inscriptions of Ms. A. 15, Calcutta [Foucher 1900: 207-214], Foucher [1900: fig. 12], Mallmann [1948: pl. IV (b), pl. VIII (c), pl. XIV (c), (d), pl. XV], Bhattacharyya [1968a: figs. 103, 104], Huntington [1984: figs. 75, 104, 123, 137, 138, 221, 237, 243], Bautze-Picron [1998: pls. 49, 50], Bangdel [1995: 110 (Sec. 12, 1), 135 (Sec. 26, 3), 151 (Sec. 33, 6)], and Kreijger [1999: 77 (pl. 25)].

⁵⁵ See fn. 31 above.

historical background of the *T.L. Sādhana* as follows: The author was Nepalese and belonged to the nobility of the great city of Ya 'gal (the southern half of Kathmandu). On his religious aspect, he was a Tantric Yogin who mainly followed the system of the Mother Tantras. By his religious inspiration, he would have composed the *Sādhana* dedicated to Buṅgadyaḥ probably under the influence of the cult of this deity which would have existed in Nepal until the end of the eleventh century. The date of the composition of this work should be during his estimated period (ca. A.D. 1030-1130). On the other hand, even if the author of the *T.L. Sādhana* was not Devākaracandra who is mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, we may say this work was, at the latest, probably composed by the end of the thirteenth century (A.D. 1286).

Although we cannot provide perfect verification for Sinclair's view that the *T.L. Sādhana* could be one of the earliest and most detailed sources for Buṅgadyaḥ, we should be able to enhance the probability of his view to a certain extent by what has been discussed above.

From ancient days to now, Buṅgadyaḥ (Bugma Lokeśvara) has been one of the most popular Buddhist deities in the Kathmandu Valley. Therefore, this paper is expected to be a basic contribution to further investigation into the cult of Buddhist deities and *Sādhana* in Nepal as well as in India.

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Corrigenda to Sakuma [2002]: *Sāadhanamālā: Avalokiteśvara Section Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts*, Asian Iconography Series III, Delhi: Adroit Publishers:

- p. 34, line 5: "cānavarataniḥsaradanantakiraṇājāla-" →
"cānavarataniḥsaradanantakiraṇājāla-"
- p. 41, line 10: Delete from the text "syāt/¹ iha sarva eva² sattvā³ rāgadveṣa-
mohāśayāḥ/⁴ tathāhi". The same renderings are repeated on the next
page.
- p. 56, line 2: asaṃśliṣṭā⁸ → asaṃśliṣṭā⁸
- p. 66, line 1: "prajñāpyate⁷" → "(⁷)prajñāpya te⁷)"
- p. 67, fn. 16: "TO1 and BL2 add. /. TO2, TO4 tadvarṇa-; TO3, K1 tadvarṇa-
bhujānvitaṃ/;" →
"B, N1 tadvadvarṇam bhujānvitaṃ; TO1, TO3, K1, BL2
tadvarṇabhujānvitaṃ/; TO2, TO4 tadvarṇabhujānvitaṃ/;"
- p. 69, line 6: "//āryaśaḍakṣarīmahāvidyāsāadhanam²⁵" → "//āryaśaḍakṣarī-
mahāvidyāsāadhanam²⁵ samāptam/²⁶"
- p. 277, line 1: Bibliography → Bibliography

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