

ORIGIN OF THE AVALOKITESVARA OF POTALA

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I INTRODUCTION

Hsuan-tsang refers to Avalokiteśvara on the Potala in the following words (Beal 1884:2.233): "To the east of the Malaya mountains is Mount Po-ta-lo-kia (Potalaka). The passes of this mountain are very dangerous; its sides are precipitous, and its valleys rugged. On the top of the mountain is a lake; its waters are clear as a mirror. From a hollow proceeds a great river which encircles the mountain as it flows down twenty times and then enters the southern sea. By the side of the lake is a rock-palace of the Devas. Here Avalokiteśvara in coming and going takes his abode. Those who strongly desire to see this Bodhisattva do not regard their lives, but, crossing the water (fording the streams), climb the mountain forgetful of its difficulties and dangers: of those who make the attempt there are very few who reach the summit. But even of those who dwell below the mountain, if they earnestly pray and beg to behold the god, sometimes he appears as Tsz'-tsai-t'ien (Īśvara-deva), sometimes under the form of a yogi (a Pāmsu-pata); he addresses them with benevolent words and then they obtain their wishes according to their desires".

Watters (1905:2.229) summarises the above passage as follows: "In the south of the country near the sea was the Mo-lo-ya (Malaya) mountain, with lofty cliffs and ridges and

deep valleys and gullies, on which were sandal, camphor and other trees. To the east of this was Pu-ta-lo-ka (Putalaka) mountain with steep narrow paths over its cliffs and gorges in irregular confusion; on the top was a lake of clear water, whence issued a river which, on its way to the sea, flowed twenty times round the mountain. By the side of the lake was a stone Deva-palace frequented by Kuan-tzū-tsai P'usa. Devotees, risking life, brave water and mountain to see the P'usa, but only a few succeed in reaching the shrine. To the people at the foot of the mountain who pray for a sight of the P'usa he appears sometimes as a Pāśupata Tīrthika, or as Mahesvara, and consoles the suppliant with this *(sic)* answer"

Hsuan-tsang must have read in the Avatamsaka-sūtra about the earthly paradise of Avalokitesvara: "Potalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhahadra (A.D. 420) calls Kuanyin's mountain Kuang-ming or 'Brilliance', which is usually given as the rendering for Malaya, but a later translator, Śikshānanda, transcribes the name Potalaka" (Watters 1905:2.231). Buddhahadra's rendering of Potala is "Brilliance". It refers to its etymology: Tamil *pottu* (*potti-*) 'to light (as a fire)', Kota *pot-* (*poty-*) id., Kannada *pottu* n. 'flaming', *pottige* 'flaming, flame', Tulu *potta* 'hot, burning' (Burrow/Emeneau 1961:298 no. 3691). In Kannada analogous words are: *pöttige* 'flaming, flame', *pöttisu* 'to cause to burn with flame, to kindle, to light' *pöttu* 'to begin to burn with flame, to be kindled, to catch fire, to flame', *pöttu* '1. flaming, 2. the sun, 3. time' (Kittel 1894:1020). In ancient times the magnificence of the temple of Avalokiteśvara must have been resplendent and dazzling to the devotees who reached it after negotiating inaccessible cliffs and ravines: a transcendence beyond forbidding barriers.

In the above passage Avalokiteśvara at Potala sometimes take the form of Ísvara (Śiva) and sometimes that of a Pāśupata yogin. In fact Śiva was metamorphosed into Avalokiteśvara. This is corroborated by the Nīlakaṇṭhaka and Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī where Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara is an apotheosis of Śiva and Viṣṇu (Hari-Hara). The Nīlakaṇṭhaka was translated into Chinese by three masters in the seventh and early eighth century: by Chih-t'ung twice during A.D. 627-649 (T. 1057a and T. 1057b = Nj. 318), by Bhagavaddharma during A.D. 650-660 (T. 1059 and T. 1060 = Nj. 320), and by Bodhiruci in A.D. 709 (T. 1058 = Nj. 319).

The Nīlakaṇṭha-dhāraṇī was translated into Chinese by Vajrabodhi (worked A.D. 719-741, T. 1112), twice by his disciple Amoghavajra (worked A.D. 723-774, T. 1111, 1113b, and in the fourteenth century by Dhyānabhadra (worked A.D. 1326-1363, T. 1113a).

Twelve scrolls of Nīlakaṇṭha Lokesvara texts in Chinese have been found at Tun-huang (Giles 1957:105-106). Manuscript 3793 of the Stein Collection of Chinese scrolls from Tun-huang adds a note at the end: 'Translated at Khotan by the sramana Bhagavaddharma of Western India'. Here West means 'South India' as we have already pointed out in our article on Oḍḍiyāna (in print). It is notable that Bhagavaddharma accomplished the translation at Khotan. Nīlakandi for Nīlakantha in Amoghavajra's translation (T. 1113b), is a Central Asian form: Uigur nominative singular ending in i.

II AMOGHVAJRA'S VERSION

The version of Amoghavajra (T. 1113b) has been the most wide spread ever since it was written in the eighth century.

Its popularity has not waned to this day. Suzuki (1950:22-23) includes its English rendering as an essential part of the Zen repertoire of *sūtras*, "what the Zen monk reads before the Buddha in his daily service, where his thoughts move in his leisure hours" (*ibid.* 11):

Suzuki's Translation

DHĀRANĪ OF THE GREAT COMPASSIONATE ONE

Adoration to the Triple, Treasure!
Adoration to Avalokitesvara the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva
who is the great compassionate one!
Om, to the one who performs a leap beyond all fears!
Having adored him, may I enter into the heart of the blue-necked
one known as the noble adorable Avalokiteśvara. It means the
completing of all meaning, it is pure, it is that which makes
all beings victorious and cleanses the path of existence.
Thus:
Om, the seer, the world-transcending one!
O Hari the Mahābodhisattva!
All, all!
Defilement, defilement!
The earth, the earth!
It is the heart!
Do, do the work!
Hold fast, hold fast!
O great victor!
Hold on, hold on!
I hold on!
To Indra the creator!
Move, move, my defilement-free seal!
Come, come!
Hear, hear!
A joy springs up in me!
Speak, speak! Directing!
Hulu, hulu, mala, hulu, hulu, hile!
Sara, sara! siri, siri! suru, suru!
Be awakened, be awakened!
Have awakened, have awakened!
O merciful one, blue-necked one!
Of daring ones, to the joyous, hail!
To the successful one, hail!
To the great successful one, hail!
To the one who has attained mastery in the discipline, hail!
To the blue-necked one, hail!

To the boar-faced one, hail!
To the one with a lion's head and face, hail!
To the one who holds a weapon in his hand, hail!
To the one who holds a wheel in his hand, hail!
To the one who holds a lotus in his hand, hail!
To the blue-necked far-causing one, hail!
To the beneficent one referred to in this Dhāraṇī beginning
with "namah", hail!
Adoration to the triple Treasure!
Adoration to Avalokiteśvara!
Hail!
May these [prayers] be successful!
To this magical formula, hail!

Suzuki has used the Sanskrit text in Siddham script given alongside the Chinese transcription, as the basis for his translation. The Sanskrit is corrupt beyond recognition in certain cases: *dhava namo narakidhi herima*. Suzuki has taken 'O Hari' from another version. *Sarva sarva* 'all, all', is in fact *sarpa sarpa* 'descend descend'. *Mala mala* translated by Suzuki as 'defilement, defilement' should be *smara smara* 'bear in mind, bear in mind'. *Dhirīṇi-rāya* is rendered as 'I hold on. To Indra the creator'. Its correct Sanskrit is *dhāriṇi-rāja* 'O Lore of the dhāraṇī (namely, Nilakaṇṭha Lokeśvara)'. *Vaṣa-vaṣam prasaya* is done into English as 'Speak! speak! Directing'. Its Sanskrit reconstruction is *viṣam viṣam praṇāśaya* 'destroy every poison (of the senses)'. *Dhaṣiṇina paṣamana svāhā* is interpreted as 'of daring one, to the joyous, hail'. Its correct text would be [*dehi me*] *darśanaṁ/praharaṇāya svāhā* [appear [unto me]. To the over-looking Lord, hail'. Suzuki has missed not only the words of the dhāraṇī, but also its structure. The dhāraṇī can be divided into five parts: 1. initial salutation, 2. name of the Avalokiteśvara, 3. śloka enunciating merits of the hrdaya-dhāraṇī, 4. dhāraṇī commencing with the classical phrase *tadyathā*, 5. final salutation. It escaped the attention of Suzuki that the third part is a śloka.

Transcription 1: Siddham script of Chinese Tripiṭaka

The text as written in Siddham script in the Chinese Tripiṭaka (T. 1113b, 20.498-501) is transcribed below:

Namo Ratna-trayāya

1. Namō āryāvalokitesvarāya, bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇikāya.
2. Om sarva-rabhya-śudhana dasya namoskr̥ta imo aryāvarukitesivaram dhava namo narakidhi.
3. Herima vadhaṣame¹ sarva athādu subham / ajeyam sarva-bhūtanama va-gama-vadudu²//
4. Tadyathā /
Om / Avaloka³ lokatekarate/ ehya mahābodhisatva sarva sarva/ mala mala⁴ mama hṛdayam/ kuru kuru karma/ dhuru dhuru vajayate mahavajayate/ dhara dhara dhirini-rāya⁵/ cala-cala mama vamara-muktele⁶, ehe-ehe/ cinda cinda/ arṣam pracali/ vaṣa-vaṣam⁷ praśaya/ huru huru mara huru huru/ sara sara siri siri suru suru/ bodhiya bodhiya bodhaya bodhaya/ maitriya Narakindi dhaṣiṇina⁸ paṣamana svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddhāyogeśvakaraya svāhā/ Narakindi svāhā/ Maranara⁹ svāhā/ sirasamha-¹⁰ mukhāya svāhā/ pamahāsiddhāya¹¹ svāhā/ cakrasiddhāya¹² svāhā/ padmakastaya svāhā/ Narakindi vagaraya¹³ svāhā/ mabari sankaya svāhā.
5. Namō raratna-trayāya/ Namō aryāvarokiteśvaraya bodhi svāhā//

The above text can be corrected by a comparison with the version of Chih-t'ung (worked A.D. 627-649); which we find in the Ming edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka. All the Sanskrit texts occurring in the Ming Tripiṭaka were collected together by Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje and his assistants in 8+2 volumes of the quadrilingual collection of dhāraṇīs which bears the Chinese

title: *Yu chih man han mêng-ku hsi - fan ho-pi ta-tsang ch'uan chou*
(edited by the author in 22 volumes under the title *Sanskrit Texts from the Imperial Palace at Peking*, abbreviated to STP). The prime objective of the redactors of the quadrilingual dhāraṇī-collection was to restore the Sanskrit text to its appropriate accuracy with the help of Tibetan texts. It proved to be a remarkable effort at textual reconstruction undertaken as early as the first half of the 18th century.

Transcription 2: Reconstructed Sanskrit Text

Herebelow is the reconstituted Sanskrit text with variant readings from STP. 5.1290-6.1304 which have been used for emendations:

/Namo Ratna-trayāya/

Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya
mahākārunikāya/

Om/ sarva-bhaya-śodhanāya tasya namaskṛtvā imu Āryāva-
lokiteśvara tava namo Nīlakaṇṭha/

hrdayam vartayiṣyāmi¹ sarvārtha-sādhanam śubham/
ajeyam sarva-bhūtānām bhava-mārga-viśodhakam²//

Tadyathā/

Om/ Ālokādhipati³ lokātikrānta/ ehy-[ehi] mahābodhisattva
sarpa-sarpa/ smara/smara⁴ hrdayam/ kuru-kuru karma/

dhuru-dhuru vijayate mahāvijayate/ dhara-dhara dhāriṇī-
rāja⁵ / cala-cala mama vimala-mūrtte⁶, ehi-ehi/ chinda-

chinda/ arsa pracali/ viṣam-viṣam⁷ praṇāśaya/ hulu-hulu
smara hulu-hulu/ sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru/ bodhiya-

bodhiya bodhaya-bodhaya/ maitriya Nīlakaṇṭha⁸ [dehi me]
darsanam⁸/

Praharāyamāṇāya svaha/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/

- siddhayogīśvarāya svāhā/ Nīlakaṇṭhāya svāhā/
 varāha-mukhāya⁹ svāhā/ narasimha-mukhāya¹⁰ svāhā/
 gadā-hastāya¹¹ svāhā/ cakra-hastāya¹² svāhā/ padma-
 hastāya svāhā/
 Nīlakaṇṭha-pāṇḍarāya¹³ svāhā/ Mahātali-Śaṅkarāya svāhā,
 5. Namo ratna-trayāya/
 Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya svāhā/

Notes to both Transcriptions

1. STP. *hridayam vartayisami*.
2. STP. has the correct text. *dudu* occurs elsewhere too as an expletive to slur over lacunae when words were forgotten.
3. STP. *Āloka-adhipati*: this reminds us a Buddhahadra (A.D. 420) who renders Potalaka the mountain of Avalokiteśvara as *Kuang-ming* "Brilliance". The Avalokiteśvara of Potalaka was Ālokādhipati or the Lord of Effulgence, and this phrase points to the fact that Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeshvara and the Avalokiteśvara of Potala are identical
4. STP. 1294 line 1 *smvara hridayan*.
5. STP. 1295 line 2 *dharenadriśvara*.
6. STP. 1295 line 3 *vimalamūrte*.
7. STP. 1298 line 1 *dveṣa-viṣa-vināśanam moha-viṣa-vināśanam*.
8. STP. 1300 line 2 *dadāhi me darśana-kāmasa darsanām/ praharāyamāna svāhā*
9. STP. 1300 line 4 *parāhamukhāya*.
10. STP. 1301 line 1 *narasihamukhāya*.
11. STP. 1301 line 2 *vajrahastāya*. In the Siddham of the Chinese text it is *pama* which can equally well be *gadā*. The dhāraṇī refers to Varāha and Narasimha, the two incarnations of Viṣṇu. The attributes that follow should also pertain to Viṣṇu: mace (*gadā*), discus

- (*śakra*), lotus (*padma*) and conch (*śaṅkha*). In this light *pama* has to be emended to *gaḍa* and not to *vajra*.
12. STP. 1302 lines 3-4 *cakrāyudharāya svāhā/ śaṅkha-śabda-nibodhanāya svāhā*. The *śaṅkha* 'conch!' is missing in our text.
13. Hsuan-tsang says that Avalokitesvara at Potalaka sometimes appears as a yogin smeared with ashes. The word *pāṇḍarāya* is an allusion to this attribute.

Translation of Reconstructed Sanskrit Text

Adoration the Triple Gem

1. Adoration the noble Avalokitesvara, bodhisattva, mahāsattva, the Great Compassionate One.
2. Om. Having paid adoration to One who Dispels all Fears, O noble Avalokiteśvara, to You adoration, O Nīlakaṇṭha.
3. I shall enunciate the 'heart' dhāraṇī which ensures all purposes, is pure and invincible for all beings, and which purifies the path of existence.
4. Thus:
Om. Lord of Effulgence, the World-Transcending One.
Come, come, great bodhisattva, descend, descend. Bear in mind my heart-dhāraṇī. Do do the work. Hold fast, oh Victor, oh Great Victor. Hold on, hold on, oh Lord of the Dhāraṇī. Move, move oh my immaculate image, come come. Destroy every poison.
Quick, bear in mind, quick, quick, Descend, descend, descend descend, descend descend. Being enlightened, being enlightened enlighten me, enlighten me. Oh merciful Nīlakaṇṭha appear unto me. To You who eyes us, hail.
To the Great Siddha hail. To the Great Siddha in Yoga hail. To Nīlakaṇṭha hail. To the Boar-faced One hail.
To One with the Face of Narasimha hail. To One who bears

the mace in His hand, hail. To the Holder of cakra in His hand, hail. To One who Sports a Lotus in His hand, hail. To Nīlakaṇṭha smeared [with ashes], hail. To the mighty Śaṅkara hail.

5. Adoration to the Triple Gem. Adoration to the noble Avalokiteśvara bodhisattva, hail.

III CHIH-T'UNG'S VERSION

Now we shall take up Rol-paḥi-rdo-rje's reconstruction (STP. 5.1290-6.1304) of the Nīlakaṇṭhaka as transcribed by Chih-t'ung during A.D. 627-649 (Nj. 318, T. 1057b). This version is different and longer than that of Amoghavajra. The words *ehi hare* (*hare* is the vocative of Hari) and *ehi hara* are of crucial importance, as they are certain indications that the Potala image was a syncretic icon of Hari (Viṣṇu) and Hara (Śiva). Hari-hara Lokeshvara is one of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara in the Macchandar Vahal at Kathmandu in Nepal (Bhattacharyya 1958:429 no. 84). The following characteristics allude to Hari: *padma-hasta*, *vajra-hasta*, *cakrayudhadhara*, *saṅkhaśabdaniṅghosana*. These are the attributes held in the four hands of Viṣṇu, except *vajra* which replaces *gadā*. He has the faces of two incarnations of Viṣṇu: *Varāha-mukha*, *MahāVarāha-mukha*, *Narasimha-mukha*, *MahāNarasimha-mukha*. He has the prowess of Nārāyaṇa (*Nārāyaṇa-bala-rūpa*). He is Hara-Hari (*Hara-hare*, vocative) and Māhapadma-nābha which is an epithet of Viṣṇu and also one of his 24 aspects (*caturviniśati-miti*, Liebert 1976:204). He is standing on a lotus (*padma-sthita*).

The very title of the dhāraṇī refers to Nīlakaṇṭha, which is an epithet of Śiva. He is invoked as Hara (*ehi Hara*). His diadem is his black matted locks (*kṛṣṇa-jatā-mukuta*). He is the Immutable Lord (*niścaraśvara* = *Sthāṇu* or *Sthāṇviśvara*, an

epithet of Śiva). He wears a black serpent as the sacred thread (*kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavīta*). He is the Destroyer of the three cities (*Tripuradahana*, an epithet of the violent manifestation of Śiva, Liebert 1976:304). He holds the dreadful poison (*viṣadhara*) that he swallowed on its emergence from the churning of the ocean of milk that threatened the world with destruction (*mahā-halāhala-viṣa*) and in consequence destroys the sinister poisons of passion (*vāga*), envy (*dveṣa*), and delusion (*moha*). The *mahāṭṭahāsyā* of the *dhāraṇī* refers to the fury of His laughter, which is unique to Him. *Siddha-yogīśvara* is again an epithet of Śiva.

The full text of Chih-t'ung reads:

नमो रत्नत्रयाय ।

नम आयाविलोक्तेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय ।

तथ्या--

ॐ सर्व-बन्धन-च्छेदनकराय सर्व-भव-समुद्रोच्छोषण कराय सर्व-व्याधि-प्रशमन कराय सर्व-ईत्युपद्र [व] - विनाशनकराय सर्व-भयौत्तारणकराय तस्य नमस्कृत्वा इदौ आयाविलोक्तेश्वराय तव नीलकण्ठ नाम वरम् ।

हृदयं वेर्तयिष्यामि स्वार्थ-साधनं शुभम् ।

अजयं सर्व-भूतानां भव-मार्ग-विशोधकम् ॥

तथ्या--

आलौकाधिपति लोकातिक्रान्त रहि (ny1. क्रान्ते रा) हरे महाबोधिसत्त्व, हे महाबोधिसत्त्व, हे प्रिय बोधिसत्त्व, हे कारुणिक, स्मर हृदयम् । रहि हर आयाविलोक्तेश्वराय । परम-मैत्रो-चित्त कारुणिक कुरु कुरु कर्म । साध्य साध्य विधां । देहि देहि मे पजरं । गमं गम विहंगम सिद्ध-योगीश्वर । ध्रु ध्रु । विजयन्ति

महाविजयन्ति । धर धर धारणीन्द्रेश्वर (ny1. धरान्द्रिश्वर) । चल चल विमलमूर्ते
 आर्याविलोक्तेश्वर जिन कृष्ण-जटा-मुकुट ए (ny1. मुकुटे) । अलंकृतशरीर लम्ब प्रलम्ब
 विलम्ब महासिद्धविद्याधर । बल बल महाबल । मल्ल (ny1. मल) मल्लमल्ल (ny1.
 मलमल) महामल्ल (ny1. 'मल) । चल चल महाचल । कृष्ण-वर्ण कृष्ण-यदा कृष्ण-पाश ।
 निर्गच्छन । हे पद्महस्त । चर चर निश्चरेश्वर । कृष्ण-स [र्ष] - कृत-यज्ञोपवीत एहि
 हे । महावराहमुख त्रिपुर-वहनेश्वर नारायण-बल-रू [प] विषधर ए (ny1. 'धरि) ।
 हे नीलकण्ठ एह्येहि महा-हलाहल-विष-निर्जित लोकस्य राग-विष-विनाशन द्वेष-
 विष-विनाशन मोह-विष-विनाशन निमोदान हलु हलु । राहुला राहुला । हर-हेर
 (ny1. हलाहरे) महापद्मनाभ । सर सर सिरि सिरि सु सु । बुद्ध्य बुद्ध्य बोध्य
 बोध्य । बोधयामि ते नीलकण्ठ । एत्येहि पद्म-स्थित (ny1. पाम) नरसिंहमुख (ny1.
 मचा) । हस हस । सुम्ब मुम्ब महाट्टहास्यं । एत्येहि मी मी महासिद्धयोगेश्वर ।
 मण मण वाच । साध्य साध्य सविधान् । स्मर स्मर तान् । भगवन्त लोक [ते]
 पलोका तान् तथागतानां । ददाहि मे दर्शनकामस् [य] दर्शनं । प्रहरायमाण स्वाहा ।
 सिद्धाय स्वाहा । सिद्धयोगेश्वराय स्वाहा । नीलकण्ठाय स्वाहा । वराहमुखाय
 स्वाहा । महावरा[ह] मुखाय स्वाहा । नरसिंहमुखाय स्वाहा । महानरसिंहमुखाय
 स्वाहा । वज्रहस्ताय स्वाहा । महावज्रहस्ताय स्वाहा । सिद्ध-विद्याधराय स्वाहा ।
 महासिद्ध-विद्याधराय स्वाहा । पद्महस्ताय स्वाहा । महापद्महस्ताय स्वाहा । कृष्ण-
 सर्प-कृत-यज्ञोपवीताय स्वाहा । महामणि (ny1. °माली) मुकुटधराय स्वाहा ।
 चक्रायुध[ध]राय स्वाहा । शंखशब्द निबोधनाय स्वाहा । वाम-[र]कन्ध-देश-स्थित-
 कृष्णाजिनाय स्वाहा । वाम-हस्त-व्याघ्र चर्म-निवासनाय स्वाहा । लोकेश्वराय
 स्वाहा । महालोकेश्वराय स्वाहा । सर्व-सिद्धेश्वराय स्वाहा । रदा रदा मां स्वाहा ।

नमो भगवते आर्याविलोक्तेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय ।
 सिध्यन्तु मे मन्त्रपदानि स्वाहा ।

IV CONCLUSIONS

1. *Nilakanṭha* *Lokesvara* and *Potalaka Avalokitesvara* are both an epiphany of *Hari-Hara*. In all probability the two are identical.

2. The epithet *Ālokātikrānta* 'He who transcends Effulgence' supports the hypothesis that *Nilakanṭha* is the *Lokesvara* at *Potalaka*. *Potalaka* is rendered into Chinese by *Buddhabhadra* as "Brilliance" (*āloka*).

3. *Nilakanṭha Lokesvara* has the attributes of *Śiva* and at the end of the *dhārāṇi* he is lauded as one who holds the four implements carried by *Viṣṇu* in his four hands: *śankha*, *chakra*, *gada* and *padma*. It reminds one of the syncretism of *Hari-Hara* images.

4. The *Dalai Lamas*, the *Rulers of Tibet*, are reincarnations of the *Avalokiteśvara* who resides on the *Potala*. The palace of the *Dalai Lamas* at *Lhasa* is in fact designated *Potala*. The aspect of *Avalokiteśvara* as the *Sovereign Head of State*, stems from *Viṣṇu*. A *King on earth* is an incarnation of *Viṣṇu*.

5. The image at *Potalaka* symbolised the syncretism of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*, and in its later development when *Buddhism* became dominant it became *Avalokiteśvara*. An important fact for the convergence of *Śaivism*, *Vaiṣṇavism* and *Buddhism*. A spot once sanctified remained sacrosanct, while externals underwent change.

6. The text of the *dhārāṇi* in *Chih-t'ung's* version is longer and has crucial details: *kṛṣṇa-sarpa-kṛta-yajñopavitāya svāhā* / ... *vāma-kandha-deśa-sthita-kṛṣṇajināya svāhā* / (STP.6.1302-3).

• 18 Origin

So also other versions preserve variations of consequence. A detailed study of all the Chinese translations of the dhāraṇī along with their descriptive text in Chinese giving directions for its use, is essential to trace the impregnation of Buddhism by Śaiva/Vaiṣṇava elements and the emergence of syncretic trends in the Tantras. The dates of the Chinese translations can help to define the chronology of philosophical development in India.

7. Nīlakandi in Amoghavajra's version is an Uigur form, which he must have employed by force of habit. This tiny but subtle and crucial nuance is decisive in confirming the view that he hailed from Samarkand.

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APPENDIX

AMOGHVAJRA'S TRANSLITERATION, from the Taisho edition
of the Chinese Tripitaka (it excludes the
Chinese text).

1850

1850

1850

1850

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1850

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AMOGHAVAJRA'S TRANSLITERATION
from the Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka
(it excludes the Chinese text)

No. 1113B [cf. Nos. 1111-1113A]

大慈大悲救苦觀世音自在王
菩薩廣大圓滿無礙自在青頸
大悲心陀羅尼

大廣智不空譯

南無喝囉怛那哆羅夜哪一

南無阿唎哪二

是如意輪菩薩本身到此誦在心

婆盧羯帝爍鉢囉哪三

娑訶囉囉囉

菩提薩哆婆哪四

摩訶薩 垂婆 哪五

摩訶薩 垂婆 哪五

摩訶迦 嚧呢 迦 哪六

摩訶迦 嚧呢 迦 哪六

唵七

唵七

薩 播 囉 罰 曳 八

薩 播 囉 罰 曳 八

數 恒 那 恒 寫 九

南 無 悉 吉 唎 埤 伊 蒙 阿 喇 耶 十

南 無 悉 吉 唎 埤 伊 蒙 阿 喇 耶 十

婆 嚧 吉 帝 室 佛 楞 馱 婆 十 一

南 無 那 囉 嚧 囉 十 二

南 無 那 囉 嚧 囉 十 二

南 無 那 囉 嚧 囉 十 二

阿 遊 孕 十 五

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

薩 婆 阿 陀 頭 輸 朋 十 四

阿 波 盧 醯 盧 迦 帝 十 九

阿 波 盧 醯 盧 迦 帝 十 九

迦 羅 帝 二 十

▽ 五

夷醯喇二十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

摩訶菩薩埵二十

マ ㄥ ㄥ

薩婆薩婆三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

摩羅摩羅摩醯喇馱孕二十四

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

俱噓俱噓羯蒙二十五

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

度噓度噓罰闍耶帝六十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

摩訶罰闍耶帝二十七

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

陀羅陀羅八十

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

地利尼二十九

マ ㄥ

囉耶三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

遮囉遮囉三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ

摩弟子某甲受持

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

罰摩羅三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ

穆帝囉三十

マ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

伊醯移醯三十四

ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ ㄥ

室那室那三十五

阿 囉 參 佛 羅 舍 利 三 十 六

阿 羅 參 佛 羅 舍 利 三 十 六

罰 沙 罰 參 佛 羅 舍 耶 三 十 七

罰 沙 罰 參 佛 羅 舍 耶 三 十 七

呼 噓 呼 噓 麼 羅 三 十 八

呼 噓 呼 噓 麼 羅 三 十 八

呼 噓 醞 喇 三 十 九

呼 噓 醞 喇 三 十 九 同 上

沙 囉 沙 囉 四 十

沙 囉 沙 囉 四 十

悉 喇 悉 喇 一 十 蘇 噓 蘇 噓 二 十

悉 喇 悉 喇 一 十 蘇 噓 蘇 噓 二 十

菩 提 哪 菩 提 哪 三 十

菩 提 哪 菩 提 哪 三 十

彌 帝 喇 耶 四 十 五

彌 帝 喇 耶 四 十 五

那 囉 謹 堀 四 十 六

那 囉 謹 堀 四 十 六

他 喇 瑟 尼 那 波 夜 摩 那 四 十 七

他 喇 瑟 尼 那 波 夜 摩 那 四 十 七

婆 婆 訶 四 十 八 悉 陀 夜 四 十 九

婆 婆 訶 四 十 八 悉 陀 夜 四 十 九

婆 婆 訶 五 十 摩 訶 悉 陀 夜 娑 婆 訶

婆 婆 訶 五 十 摩 訶 悉 陀 夜 娑 婆 訶

悉 陀 訶 五 十

悉 陀 訶 五 十

悉 陀 訶 五 十

悉 陀 訶 五 十

室幡伽羅耶娑婆訶三五十

那羅謹堀五十五

娑婆訶六十

摩囉那

那羅謹堀同上

娑婆訶六十

摩囉那

囉七十

娑婆訶同上

悉囉僧阿穆佉耶九十

娑婆訶同上

悉囉僧阿穆佉耶九十

娑婆訶同上

婆摩訶悉陀六十一

娑婆訶同上

婆摩訶悉陀六十一

娑婆訶同上

者吉囉阿悉陀六十

娑婆訶同上

者吉囉阿悉陀六十

娑婆訶同上

者吉囉阿悉陀六十

娑婆訶同上

婆摩羯悉哆六十

婆摩羯悉哆六十

娑婆訶同上

娑婆訶同上

那羅謹堀同上

那羅謹堀同上

摩婆喇勝羯六十

摩婆喇勝羯六十

南無喝囉怛那多囉七十

南無阿唎耶七十

南無阿唎耶七十

南無阿唎耶七十

囉耶七十

善提娑婆訶

青頸觀音陀羅尼一卷

青頸大悲心印