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## Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* Inscriptions in Dali/Yunnan<sup>‡</sup>

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### 1. Introduction

Historically speaking, the southwest frontier of China has a unique, multicultural history not unlike Dunhuang, its north western counterpart, although it is far less understood and studied compared to the latter. From the Nanzhao Kingdom 南詔國 (737-902 CE) to the Dali Kingdom 大理國 (937-1253 CE, interregnum 1095-1096 CE), followed by a conglomerate of vassal states under the Mongol empire (1253-1381), the region remained independent from the dynastic Chinese empire for nearly eight centuries.<sup>1</sup> One of the unique features of the region during this period is its strong patronage to Buddhism at various levels of society. From the extant

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<sup>1</sup> On the general historical background of the Nanzhao Kingdom, including what preceded and followed, see Backus 1981: 3-23, 159-164; Hou LB 1972: 115 (alliance with Tibetans), 147-159 (relation with China); Tateishi 2003: 51-56.

sources, Yunnanese Buddhism appears to share features of esoteric Buddhism practiced in central China, Tibet, Pāla Kingdom in the Bengal region, Central Asia and possibly Southeast Asia, leading thus to various speculations in terms of its lineage and provenance.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, studies of this particular form of Buddhism, known locally as the religion of the Azhali 阿吒力 (from Sanskrit *ācārya*), practiced by the Bai ethnicity 白族, reveal features also unique to its own.<sup>3</sup> Among its legacies are architecture, ritual objects and paintings with often distinct features,<sup>4</sup> together with a large corpus of Sanskrit inscriptions and Buddhist manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> The latter, namely Yunnanese Sanskrit texts, had attracted scholarly attention since the 1920s;<sup>6</sup> Buddhist manuscripts in a variety of languages including Sanskrit have been rediscovered since the 1970s.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of various hypotheses, see Zhang XL 1999: 7, Li Y 2010: 16-18; Zhang HC 2011: 69-73; Sørensen 2011: 379-382. Among scholars who support the Indian-origin hypothesis are Pelliot 1904: 162, Sekiguchi 1966/1967, Mori 2004a/b; for Chinese-origin view, Liebhenthal 1955: 68, Matsumoto 1977/1978; Zhang XL 1999: 337, 339, 438-439, Tateishi 2003, Hou C 2006: 15; Li Y 2010: 18; for Tibetan-origin view, Xu 1979, 2005: 282; Fu 2003: 60. I thank Tateishi Kenji for providing me the Japanese references.

<sup>3</sup> For the most comprehensive study of Esoteric Buddhism in Yunnan, see Zhang XL 1999, Hou C 2008; Sørensen 2011 (see also Li DH 2000; Huang ZL and Zhang XL 2013: 1-6). For historical connection, between Tibet and Nanzhao, see Backus 1981: 24-63, Zhang X 1985a: 59. On the name “Azhali”, see Zhang XL 1999: 19-37, Li Y 2010: 18, fn. 40. On the Azhali religion and the legendary founder, the Indian monk Candragupta, see Zhang X 1985a: 59-62, Zhang XL 1999: 216-219. On unique features of its religious iconography and ritual objects, see Mori 2004/2005. On the Bai ethnicity in Dali Kingdom, see Zhang XL 1999: 4-10; Tateishi 2006.

<sup>4</sup> For studies on the twelfth-century Yunnanese scroll now kept in the Palace Museum in Taipei, see Chapin 1944; Sekiguchi 1966, 1967; Chapin & Soper 1970-1971; Matsumoto 1976; Li YM 1986; Huang and Zhang 2012: 1-4 (bibliography and summary). The scroll contains two Sanskrit inscriptions: a) *Duoxinbaochuang* – the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdayasūtra* similar to that of the Hōryūji ms.; b) *Huguobaochuang* – A combination of four *dhāraṇī*-s including: i) “*Renwang-huguo*” [*Vairocana-jprajñāpāramitā-dhāraṇī* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經咒; ii) *Mimi dazhangju* 秘密大章句 (T312); iii) Forty-two-lettered *Arapacana*; iv) *Cintāmaṇidhāraṇī* 如意寶珠陀羅尼 (T1402) (Zhang XL 1999: 378-379; Lin TK 2006: 225-270 [for decipherment]; Li Y 2010: 27-28).

<sup>5</sup> For a summary of all the major archeological discoveries in Yunnan since the 1950s, see Li KS 1991: 90-93, 2004: 49-51 (general); Zhang XL 1999: 124-131, Nie 2011: 1-6 (Buddhist manuscripts); Zhu 2012: 2-4 (Bai ethnicity).

<sup>6</sup> Finot 1925; Liebhenthal 1946, 1947, 1955; Sørensen 2011.

<sup>7</sup> Most notably artifacts including sculptures, ritual objects and manuscripts from Qianxunsi 千尋寺, Dali, dated 1000 CE (Qiu 1985: 125-130, Zhang XL 1999: 106-133).

importance of these textual materials has been pointed out by individual scholars in the past, though no systematic research has yet been conducted; furthermore, Chinese, Japanese, Western scholars have been largely oblivious of each others' research on this topic to this day.<sup>8</sup> The present study attempts to provide a comprehensive update on the scholarship on the subject, as well as to offer an analysis of one of the representative varieties of Sanskrit inscriptions found in the region, namely, the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, a magical Buddhist formula which was closely associated with the funerary practices of the region, and was widely popular during this period throughout other parts of Asia as well.<sup>9</sup>

## 2. Transmission of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* in Asia

Among the earliest modern scholars who took a philological interest in the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* were Max Müller and Bunyiu Nanjio, who in 1884 published a transcription of the text from a number of Chinese and Japanese sources, including the Hōryūji manuscript dated to the beginning of the eighth century. Müller and Nanjio's work was followed by a number of studies by Japanese scholars who attempted to classify the varieties of *dhāraṇī* extant from a purely philological viewpoint.<sup>10</sup> The *dhāraṇī*, as a religious expression, described by Müller as "miserable" and as "the lowest degradation of one of the most perfect religions," has since then largely escaped the attention of serious Buddhist scholars.<sup>11</sup> Studies from the past few decades, however, reveal the

<sup>8</sup> Part of the difficulty of the research on the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* is the massive amount of original materials, including the Sanskrit manuscripts (Yuyama 2000: 175). The importance of the Yunnan funerary steles had nonetheless been pointed out (Sørensen 2011: 386, 390 fn. 41; Huang 2015; *Zhongguo zongjiao xueshu wang* 2016). See §3.3 for the case of the rectangular Sanskrit funeral plaques. Among recent studies related to the use of Sanskrit in Yunnanese tombstones are two M.A. theses in Chinese on the topics of Yunnanese crematory tombstones (云南古代火葬墓研究) and Sanskrit materials in Nāgarī script in Yunnan (云南遗存城体梵文释读) that have been completed by Li Ping 李萍 (Yunnan University, 2010) and Zhang Wenjun 张文君 (Shaanxi Normal University, 2015) respectively, both of which I was unable to access.

<sup>9</sup> For a description of the use of Sanskrit and Sanskrit mantras and *dhāraṇī*-s in China, see Mak 2013b (historical), Mak 2013a (example of sinicization).

<sup>10</sup> See §3.2.

<sup>11</sup> Early comprehensive studies on the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* include Waddell 1912, 1914. Subsequently, notable studies on Yunnanese Buddhism from an art-historical perspective which touched on the *dhāraṇī* include Li LC 1982, Howard 1997.

significance of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* in the history of Buddhism across Asia from a variety of perspectives, historical, religious, ethnographical, art-historical, thus reviving a scholarly interest in the *dhāraṇī*, its rituals and functions.<sup>12</sup>

The *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* is transmitted as an independent text, as well as in expanded versions with accompanying narratives and rituals. A common motif around them is to avert evil rebirth, expiate sins, or bring about health and longevity.<sup>13</sup> The *dhāraṇī* is believed to be among the most popular *dhāraṇīs*, in China as well as other parts of Asia since the seventh century. Since the first Chinese translation *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼 was made by the Kashmiri monk Buddhapāli in 682 CE, the text was retranslated, with the *dhāraṇī* “re-transliterated,” in Chinese no less than twenty times,<sup>14</sup> including the version by Amoghavajra (T972), which was widely inscribed on Buddhist pillars across China, sometimes in combination with other *dhāraṇī*-s.<sup>15</sup> In 776 CE, Emperor Daizong 代宗 issued a decree that all Buddhist monks and nuns must recite the *dhāraṇī* twenty-one times daily (Liu 2008: 2). It is mainly through such Chinese accounts that we come to know of the early reception and transmission of the *dhāraṇī*. The Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* was translated and transcribed also in Tibetan and was the source of an

<sup>12</sup> For the most comprehensive study of the *dhāraṇī* as a major religious phenomenon in Chinese Buddhism, see Liu 1996, 2008; Kuo 2007: 1-39, 2014: 360-365; You L 2009: 216-223; Copp 2014: 141-196. Other studies which deal with different aspects of the *dhāraṇī* include: Misaki 1984: 115-126 (Dunhuang); Howard 1997: 33-72 (art-historical); Suzuki 1998/1999 (East Asian); Sasaki 2007a, 2007b: 129-130, 2008, 2009a, 2009b (philological); Skilling 2009: 32-36 (philological, Thai narrative); Yuyama 2014 (Sanskrit, philological); Unebe 2014/2015 (Thai narrative).

<sup>13</sup> For a description of the narrative, see Finot 1917: 74-76; Skilling 2009: 32ff, Liu 2008: 6-11.

<sup>14</sup> In chronological order, T968, 969, 967-1, 967-3, 971, 970, 972, 1803, 974E, 974D, 974C-1, 973-2, 967-2, 973-4, 974C-2, 974B-2, 974A, 978, 1320, 979. For description, see Sasaki 2007b: 130-131, Liu 2008: 11-19.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion on the factors which led to the widespread popularity of the *dhāraṇī*, see Liu 1998: 163-180. For epigraphical data, see Kuo 2014: 352-355 (280 specimens); Sasaki 2008: 43-51 (214 specimens). Somewhat surprisingly, no Chinese or Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* in Yunnan was noted in either Kuo or Suzuki's corpora. Recently Chinese scholars have called for a more serious effort in cataloguing the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* steles found across China (Xia 2015: 62). For studies on the *dhāraṇī* pillars in Yunnan, see Qu 1985b, Li Y 2010. For Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* objects in other parts of China, see Lin KT 2006: 255-288; Liu 2008: 152-159.

important genre of ritual known as *rNam-rgyal-ma*.<sup>16</sup> A Pali version titled *Uṇhissavijaya*, including just the narrative section without the *dhāraṇī*, is found in Southeast Asian sources, in Thai, Mon, Lao, Lanna, Tai Khün, and Khmer.<sup>17</sup>

Given the wide dissemination of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* throughout Asia since the seventh century, attested by the materials we have examined in our edition of the *dhāraṇī* proper, the Yunnanese transmission may thus be seen as an early offshoot of a religious movement which originated in India and gained great momentum during the second half of the millennium. What is striking about the Yunnanese materials is the quantity and variety of funerary objects associated with the *dhāraṇī*, suggesting the pervasiveness of the religious phenomenon within the kingdoms of Nanzhao and Dali, up to as late as the fifteenth century when the activities of the Azhali monk were still evident.

### 3. The Yunnanese Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* Inscriptions and the Pairi Daiza Collection of Funerary Objects

#### 3.1 The Sanskrit Text

An edition of the Yunnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* inscription is prepared in our study (Appendix A) based on specimens dated between the twelfth and fifteenth century. These specimens were first noted by Finot and Goloubew in 1925, and were studied together with other Sanskrit inscriptions by Liebenthal since the 1940s, by von Hinüber in 1989 and more recently by Lin in 2006.<sup>18</sup> Other specimens of the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* from manuscript and epigraphical sources outside Yunnan are

<sup>16</sup> The sDe-dge edition of the Tibetan *Tripitaka* contains five *Uṣṇīṣavijaya* texts in the Tantra division: T.594-598.

<sup>17</sup> Finot 1917: 74-76, Gabaude 1988: 246 (cited in von Hinüber 1989: 59), Skilling 2009: 32ff.

<sup>18</sup> The three specimens used in our edition are: (P) Pairi Daiza stele “O1” transcribed by the author (for the collection, see §3.3); (F) Dizangsi *dhāraṇī* pillar dated 1103-1252 (Finot & Goloubew 1925: 447-448); (L) Ming “crowned” tombstone from Dali dated 1450-1566 (Liebenthal 1955: 66-67). Transcriptions of two additional specimens reproduced in von Hinüber 1989 are not included in our edition since they are incomplete and their contents correspond largely to the other Yunnanese specimens. See also remarks in §3.2 and Lin TK 2006: 274-276. There are doubtless many other objects with the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* inscriptions such as those on funerary jars as in Sørensen 2011: 391 Figure 3.

collated in our edition.<sup>19</sup> Among the earliest manuscript sources from possibly the eighth century are the Hōryūji folios,<sup>20</sup> and a partially damaged Gilgit-Bamiyan manuscript (seven folios) containing the *dhāraṇī* recently discovered.<sup>21</sup> Other later manuscript sources include a Nepalese specimen<sup>22</sup> and Tibetan transcriptions from the Kanjur.<sup>23</sup> Inscriptional specimens of the *dhāraṇī* used in this edition include the Juyongguan 居庸關 inscription found near Beijing,<sup>24</sup> and the Asakusa 浅草 inscription found in Tokyo.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For a bibliographical review, see Tsukamoto 1989: 100-150. Indic manuscripts containing the *dhāraṇī* have been reported in collections around the world, although no systematic study has been made (Yuyama 2000:165).

<sup>20</sup> (**H**) in our edition, dated to c. 750 CE (Müller 1881: 9, also 1-16, 31-46, 90; the original manuscript 梵本心經並びに尊勝陀羅尼 is now kept in Tokyo National Museum; for dating, see also Higata 1934: 59). Another Japanese source we used here related possibly to (**H**) is (**J**) 佛頂尊聖陀羅尼, found in the collection of Siddham *dhāraṇī*-s by Jōgen 淨嚴 (普通真言藏 No.50, Inatani 1979:48-52; based likely on the original manuscript 訳経記-梵本心經および尊勝陀羅尼付属品 (1694 CE) now kept in the Tokyo National Museum; transcribed also by Takakusu (with var.) in Taishō 19.377).

<sup>21</sup> (**B**) in our edition, dated to c. 700 CE (Mezler 2007: 108-9). For dating, see Schopen 2012: 282.

<sup>22</sup> (**Y**) in our edition (Yuyama 2000: 170-171). Yuyama provided both a “faithful transliteration” as well as a reconstruction of the *dhāraṇī* based on his comparison with two fourteenth century inscriptions found in Juyongguan near Beijing (see below) and Gae-seong, Korea, and a Chinese transcription by Cixian 慈賢 preserved in the stone sūtra of Fangshan (Yuyama 2000: 165-175). The choice for comparison is unusual as Yuyama was apparently unaware of the earlier works by the European scholars, as well as the works on the classification of the *dhāraṇī* by Wogihara and Higata (see below).

<sup>23</sup> In this edition, we have collated two Tibetan specimens: (**S**) Tibetan Toh. 594, translated by Chos-kyi sde and Bari, sDe-dge edition 90.457-458, transcribed by Dylan Esler; (**T**) Tibetan Toh. 597, translated by Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi and Yeses sde, sDe-dge edition 90.487-488 (Suzuki 2007b: 134-149; Uebe 2015: 121; with mod. by Dylan Esler). Sanskrit reconstruction of the Chinese specimens is also possible but I have not included it. For comparative analysis on the Chinese and Tibetan specimens, see Hikata 1939 and Sasaki 2007b.

<sup>24</sup> The inscription, located fifty kilometers northwest of Beijing, dated after 1345 CE, contains the same *dhāraṇī* in six scripts (Rañjana Sanskrit, Tibetan, ‘Phags-pa, Uighur, Tangut and Chinese). In our edition, only the Sanskrit version in Rañjana script is used.

<sup>25</sup> In our edition, we have included five inscriptional specimens outside Yunnan: (**M**) An undated inscription from China collated with Amoghavajra’s Chinese transcription, dated post 774 CE (Müller 1881: 35-46 “Amoghavagra”); (**Q**) A Liao inscription

### 3.2 Relation between the Yunnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* and other versions of the *Dhāraṇī*

While an efficacious mantra in the larger Indian tradition is assumed to have only one correct version and way of enunciation, in the case of Buddhist *dhāraṇī*, each specimen from various corpora contains often unique features of its own due to a multiplicity of factors such as lineages of transmission, textual contamination, dialectal variants (e.g., ś, ṣ, s), scribal liberality, or simply errors.<sup>26</sup> In some cases, it is difficult to identify a definitive factor which resulted in the individual variants.<sup>27</sup> However, based on a structural comparison of some Sanskrit and Chinese specimens, Wogihara and Higata have identified two main groupings of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, with secondary subgroupings within each group.<sup>28</sup> The classification is based on the assumption of accretive development of the smallest *Urtext* A-1 to A-2, B-1 and eventually B-2. According to this classification (summarized as the Table 1 below), our Yunnanese specimens fall into group B-1-a and B-1-b. What is remarkable is that the Yunnanese materials largely represent a transition between Group A and B, leaning toward the latter.<sup>29</sup> Although the question

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erected by Zhimiao 志妙 dated 1107 CE (Müller 1881: 35-46 “Kī-miāo”); (R) A Henan inscription collated with Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese transcription, dated 1147 CE (Müller 1881:35-46 “Dharmaraksha”); (N) Juyongguan East Wall inscription transcribed by Nagao Gadjin 長尾雅人 and Ashikaga Atsūji 足利惇氏 (Murata 1957: 205); (A) Asakusa 浅草 Siddham inscription (Müller 1881: 35-46 “Asakusa text”).

<sup>26</sup> Concerning the large number of errors found in a number of specimens of the Yunnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, von Hinüber believed that they “seem to be due partly to the fact that the scribes wrote down their texts “phonetically;” that is, as they heard them recited...” (von Hinüber 1989: 56).

<sup>27</sup> One may thus argue against the usefulness of producing an apparatus in an edition where trivial variants are noted along with the important structural ones. What we attempt here is, at this initial stage, to report as accurately as possible what the sources present to us, and the readers can decide what the possibilities are in case they do not agree with our editorial choice of reading. Ideally, once we have a better grasp of the pedigree of the *dhāraṇī*, the trivial contaminants can be isolated, leaving only clean structural prototypes to illustrate the accretive features (tentatively summarized as “notable accretive features” in our table), and subsequently more complicated phenomena such as dialectal variants and cross-contamination.

<sup>28</sup> Wogihara 1912: 809-812; Higata 1939: 34-38; summary in Sasaki 2007b: 150-152.

<sup>29</sup> The transitional character is further shown by some variants which do not fall neatly into the A/B grouping. An example would be the phrase *sat-pāramitā-paripūrāni sarva-tathāgata-māte daśa-bhūmi-pratisthite* which is characteristic of all group B specimens (Liebenthal 1955: 58-59). However, some parts of this phrase are missing in F, as well as in a specimen reported in von Hinüber 1989. While one cannot be

concerning the exact origin of these changes took place would require further examination, we can see that the variants in the Yunnanese specimens are distinct from both the earlier Chinese materials (A-1), as well as from the later Tibetan materials (B-2), dismantling the hypotheses that Yunnanese materials were simply imports from Tang China or Tibet.<sup>30</sup> If there is some historical truth in the biography of the Indian monk Candragupta, the legendary founder of the Azhali religion, who travelled through Tibet before reaching the kingdom of Nanzhao, it not impossible that these changes in the Minnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* were first introduced by the esoteric Buddhists in the Pāla Kingdom, before they were disseminated. Subsequent Indian development can be seen in first Nepalese, then in Tibetan materials. The latter had only minor effects on the later Yunnanese materials, but spread as far as central China since the Yuan Period as noted in the Juyongguan inscription (N).

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certain whether these are simply scribal mistakes or results of contamination with earlier specimens, all Yunnanese specimens largely contain features of of B-1-a. Liebenthal hypothesized that the Yunnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* was introduced by Dharmadeva, since the aforementioned phrase is, a) found in both the Yunnanese specimens and in Dharmadeva's transcription (T974 A, dated 973-1001 CE); b) not found in N (Liebenthal 1955: 58-61). The argument based on similarity appears to me unsound since the phrase is found in other sources such as RYST, as well as indeed N. The fact that Dharmdeva's version belongs also to group B, rather than A which all earlier Chinese transcriptions belong to, suggests that Dharmadeva's 法天 source could be ultimately common to other group B specimens.

<sup>30</sup> That is, unless one supposes that there were strands of esoteric Buddhism from Tang China or Tibet which survived in Yunnan but are no longer extant. There is, however, no evidence for such supposition.

**Table 1: Classification of Specimens of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* used in the Edition (Appendix A)**

Group	sub-group <sup>31</sup>	Dating (CE) <sup>32</sup>	Specimen	Notable accretive features (* irreconcilable)
A	1	679-865	BHMQ	§1.2 <u>viśodhaya</u> §1.4 <u>mām</u> §1.4 <u>vara</u> (except H) §2.6 <u>mudre</u> (except H)* §3.1 maṇi maṇi* (except B: maṇi mamaṇi =T969!)
	2	683-1191	AJ	§1.2 viśodhaya <u>viśodhaya</u> §1'.1 mahā-[m]antra-padai[h] §1'.3 <u>sat-pāramitā- paripūrani*</u> (except F) §1.3 sama- <u>sama</u> -* §3.1 maṇi maṇi <u>mahāmaṇi</u> §3.6 <u>śarīram</u> §3'.2 <u>me</u> §4.4 <u>vibuddhya vibuddhya</u>
B	1-a	1252	PF	§1.1 <u>sarva-trai...buddhāya</u> <u>te</u> <u>namah</u> §1.2 <u>śodhaya śodhaya</u> §1.3 <u>asama-sam</u> <sup>o*</sup> §1.4 <u>sarva-tathāgata-sugata-</u> §1'.1 mahā- <u>mudra</u> -mantra-padaiḥ §1'.2 <u>gagana-svabhāva-viśuddhe</u> §1'.3 <u>sarva-tathāgata-māte</u> §1'.3-4 <u>daśa-bhūmi-pratiṣṭhite</u> §2.6 <u>mudre mudre mahāmudre</u> §3.1 <u>muni muni mahāmuni</u>

<sup>31</sup> The subgroups A-1 and A-2 correspond to Higata's two subgroups. In Wogihara's tripartite division of A: 天, 地, 人, the transitional 地 lies between the two. The subgroups B-1 and B-2 correspond to the subgroups of both Wogihara and Higata. The subgroups B-1-a/b are created on the basis of the new variants identified in the Yunnanese materials.

<sup>32</sup> The dating here is based on the production of the specimen (Sasaki 2007b: 130-132), representing thus the *terminus ad quem* and an approximate period of circulation.

				§3.3 <u>he he</u> §3.3 <u>sphara sphara</u> §3.4 <u>śuddhe śuddhe</u> §3.4-5 <u>vajre vajre mahāvajre...</u> <u>vijaya-garbhe vajre</u> §3'.2 <u>mām</u> §4.4 <u>siddhya siddhya</u> §4.5 <u>mocaya mocaya vimocaya</u> <u>vimocaya</u>
	1-b	1566	L	§1.2 <u>om bhrūṃ</u>
	1-c	973-1001	RY	§1.2 <u>om bhrūṃ bhrūṃ bhrūṃ</u> §3.3 <u>om he he</u> §3.3 <u>sphara sphara spharaya</u> <u>spharaya</u> §3.4 <u>om śuddhe śuddhe</u> (except Y) §4.6 <u>samanta-raśmi</u> §4.7 <u>mahā-mudre mantrapad[aih]</u>
	2	1271-	NST	§1'.1 <u>mama āyuh sandhāraṇi</u> §3.4 <u>śuddhe śuddhe buddhe</u> <u>buddhe</u> §4.5 <u>mocaya mocaya vimocaya</u> <u>vimocaya before śodhaya</u>

### 3.3 The Pairi Daiza Collection

In a survey prepared by Mak and Vielle (Mak 2015), a total of 179 Yunnanese stone objects currently located in Pairi Daiza are catalogued.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> According to the owner of Pairi Daiza, the objects were said to be acquired from 2004 to 2008 through dealers in Lijiang, Kunming and Hong Kong. In an earlier dossier prepared by Vielle, the objects were described as “tablettes proviennent du Yunnan... [elles] ont été vendues par un habitant de Dali. Elles avaient été trouvées dans un rayon de 15 km, près des pagodes”. On the Pairi Daiza website (accessed 2016.7.1), the stele together with the tablets are described as, “[s]till not completely deciphered, they originated from the underground from lands in Yunnan. A local farmer, who did not know any better, started to break down his stables along with its foundation. An antique dealer from Hong Kong managed to save these pieces in the nick of time.” For reports on the investigation, see Devillers 2016.

In terms of the contents, the materials fall into five categories:<sup>34</sup> i) Stone stele with Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* inscription [O1]; ii) Rectangular stone tablet with Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* inscription, one Chinese character and optional Sanskrit *bīja* characters, together with human and animal figures [C, D, X1]; iii) Round stone boulders with or without Sanskrit *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* inscription and a four-armed figure [A1-39]; iv) Lotus-shaped maṇḍala with Sanskrit *bīja* characters; v) Miscellaneous tablets with Chinese inscription. The script of the Sanskrit inscription in all the specimens is identified as *nāgarī*.<sup>35</sup> The Pairi Daiza Collection turns out to be a unique collection of Yunnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* objects.<sup>36</sup>

### 3.3.1 Crowned Stele “O1”

The stone stele “O1” in the Pairi Daiza is the largest object in the collection (1030 mm L × 530 mm [crown 675 mm] W × 105 mm T) and is currently on display in a courtyard of “La cité des immortels”. It is composed of a semi-circular top part with inscribed figures and a rectangular bottom part with Sanskrit inscription, both chiselled from the same stone (Figure 1, 2). Similar objects have been found mainly in the cremation yards where the Bai ethnicity had settled, in particular in the Erhai 洱海 and Dianchi 滇池 regions of Yunnan, as well as in some parts of the Sichuan and Guizhou provinces.<sup>37</sup> Liebenthal was among the first

<sup>34</sup> In our survey, the objects are divided into six groups, based on their location in Pairi Daiza (A1-39, B1-32, C1-72, D1-6, E1-28, O1, X1). A comprehensive description of the collection will be given in the second part of the study.

<sup>35</sup> The script was identified by some to be *siddham*[*āṭṛkā*] (Liebenthal 1947: 1; von Hinüber 1989: 55; Salomon 1998: 160). From a paleographic point of view, it is a variety of Gupta scripts which situates between the *siddhamāṭṛkā* and *proto-śāradā* on the one hand, and the *devanāgarī* of the beginning of the eleventh century on the other (Salomon 1998: 39-41). From an East Asian paleographic point of view, the Sanskrit script used in China since the tenth century is distinct from the early *siddham* script, although it was still referred to by the Chinese as *Xitan* 悉曇 [=Siddham]; to avoid confusion, I have followed the usage of *nāgarī* 城體 (Lin TK 2006: 17-30 (with samples and comparison); *Shin bonji taikan* 2015: 671-672).

<sup>36</sup> Similar stone objects are known to Chinese and Western scholars and were studied as funerary relics of the Bai ethnicity (Sun 1955: 27-31, 1963: 338-339; Li JR 1960: 52-55; Li DH & Yang LM 1996: 28-33; Xie 2001: 62-67). For a discussion of the use of Sanskrit in funerary practices among Chinese, see Liu 2008: 187-198.

<sup>37</sup> Sun 1955: 30-31; Zhang XL 1999: 379; Zhu 2012: 31-35 (cremation practices). Recently, Li Y in his M.A. thesis (2010) conducted a research based on 210 of

modern scholars to identify the inscription to be *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, written in a manner similar to the 8.3 meter *Dhāraṇī* pillar reported by Finot in 1925, but much smaller in scale and personalized.<sup>38</sup> The centrepiece of the top part is a four-armed cross-legged figure on a lotus seat with both sets of arms in an *añjali* position, one above the head and the other in front of the chest, identified to be the female Buddhist deity *Uṣṇīṣavijayā*.<sup>39</sup> On each side of the pedestal is a phoenix figure in downward motion over a cloud. On the upper edge arranged in a semicircle are nine Sanskrit *bīja* characters in *nāgarī* script, each enclosed by a circle.<sup>40</sup> The central top *bīja* character reads *bhrūṃ*, which represents the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya* (the *dhāraṇī*) or *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* (the female deity). The bottom rectangular part begins with the auspicious cloud sign, followed by *om* and the text proper of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* (specimen “P” in Appendix A), written in a total of twenty-five lines.<sup>41</sup> The *nāgarī* letters, written from left to right, are placed in a grid incised for the purpose of alignment. On the eighteenth line, nine Chinese characters are given: 追為亡人楊根+神識, which identify the person to whom the stele was dedicated to as a certain Yang Gen +.<sup>42</sup>

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similar steles, dated from the Dali Kingdom to the modern era, found in Yunnan and in neighbouring regions.

<sup>38</sup> Finot and Goloubew 1925, Liebenthal 1955: 66-67. Similar objects have been reported also by von Hinüber 1989, Zhang XL 1999: 337, 379 and Lin TK 2006: 271-276.

<sup>39</sup> Called also in Chinese *namo foding zunsheng da fomu* 南無佛頂尊勝大佛母. Iconographically, the four-armed Yunnanese *Uṣṇīṣavijayā* appeared to be distinct from, for example, the Tibetan one which typically has three faces and six arms instead (Zhang XL 1999: 165; Mori 2004b: 23; *Bonji taikan* 2015: 381).

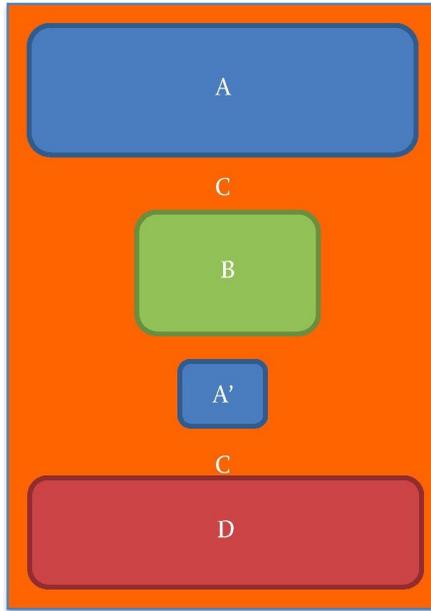
<sup>40</sup> The number of *bīja* letters in similar objects has been reported to range from six to eleven (Zhang XL 1999: 335-336, also 26, 505. Various theories have been proposed to identify the letters with the five or eight Buddhas (Li Y 2010: 38; *Bonji taikan* 2015: 381).

<sup>41</sup> Among the 210 *dhāraṇī* steles investigated by Li Y (2010: 34), some are reported to be accompanied by the Chinese text which often resembled the version made by Buddhapāli (T967). If this is the case, then the Sanskrit (Group B) and the Chinese (Group A) content may not match.

<sup>42</sup> Although the last character was damaged, the last name Yang belongs in fact to the largest clan among the Bai ethnicity, accounting to up to a third of its population. Furthermore, a number of well-known Azhali monks during the Yuan and Ming periods are known to belong to the Yang clan (Zhang XL 1999: 96-98, 219-227, *passim*).

### 3.3.2 Funeral tablet “C66”

The specimen C66 (505mm L × 395mm W × 90mm T) is among the most common objects in the collection, which number to over a hundred (Figure 3, 4) and are mounted on walls as decoration across different parts of Pairi Daiza. Similar objects have been reported although their inscription content and functions have not been completely clarified.<sup>43</sup> It is generally recognized to be a part of a six-sided stone receptacle (four rectangular tablets with top and bottom slabs), which



contained the cremated remains of the deceased.<sup>44</sup> All specimens are largely uniform in design, consisting of four parts in terms of its inscription content:

A: Three characters encircled. The central character in Chinese reads *jing* 淨. The left and right *bīja* characters read *traḥ* and *bhrūm*, in a manner similar to those in O1. In other specimens, sometimes up to four characters are found. The Chinese characters are the four “virtues” (*side* 四德): *chang* 常 (*nitya*, “permanence”), *le* 樂 (*sukha*, “happiness”), *wo* 我 (*ātman*, “self”), *jing* 淨 (*śubha*, “purity”), associated with a doctrine found in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The object was described by Liebenthal as parts of a stone coffin (Liebenthal 1955: 61, 67; Li JR 1960: 52-55; Lin TK 2006: 276-280). In 2010, a similar tablet was reported in Chinese news as possibly a relic from the Dali Kingdom (Xiao 2010), but was quickly dismissed by other “experts” and officials from the cultural heritage bureau as “very ordinary Sanskrit inscription from the Dali region” 大理地区十分普遍的明代梵文碑刻 and that as “cultural symbols,” the inscription of *Uṣṇiṣavijayādhāraṇī* requires no translation or decipherment (Wang 2010). The general neglect of “undeciphered” ethnic cultural objects led to what a reporter described as a tragic outflow of cultural treasures from Yunnan (Xiao 2011).

<sup>44</sup> Li JR 1960: 54-55; Zhang XL 1999: 32, 400; Wang 2010.

<sup>45</sup> This particular Mahāyāna reinterpretation of the original ancient Buddhist doctrines of *anītya* (impermanence), *duḥkha* (suffering), and *anātma* (non-self) and *aśubha* (impurity) is noted in also the *Tathāgathagarbha* tradition (瑜伽論 T 1579.30.616b).

A': Another *bīja* character *aḥ*, encircled. This additional *bīja* is optional in other specimens.

B: A male figure in Chinese costume holding an official or ceremonial plaque. In other specimens, there could be one or two human figures, male or female, dressed in Chinese costume, with varying headdresses and objects in hands.<sup>46</sup>

C: A portion (possibly a quarter) of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* nearly identical to that of O1 (“P”).

D: Three Chinese zodiac animals representing one of the four cardinals. In C66, the three animals “pig”, “mouse” and “ox” represent the earthly branches *hai* 亥, *zi* 子 and *chou* 丑, that is, collectively the direction north.<sup>47</sup>

#### 4. Conclusion

The extraordinary amount of artefacts bearing the Sanskrit inscription of the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* is a testimony of the Esoteric Buddhist tradition that once thrived in the Dali Kingdom and had a presence in certain parts of Yunnan up to the fifteenth century. The content of the Yunnanese specimens, dated from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, exhibits features distinct from the Sino-Indian/Chinese recensions. They contain some elements noted in the Nepalese and Tibetan recensions, though they are also distinct from the latter to the extent that they appear to represent an intermediate development of the *dhāraṇī* that lies between the early Sinitic and the later Nepali/Tibetan varieties. The funerary rituals associated with the *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* are a part of the larger picture of Yunnanese Esoteric Buddhism, whose practice and doctrine remain topics of ongoing research. A complete survey of all the Sanskrit materials will fill a lacuna in the current scholarship on the subject, and provide us a

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Beside these four characters, the four elements 地水火風 are sometimes found in written Azhali artefacts (Qiu 1985a: 129; Zhang XL 1999: 400).

<sup>46</sup> Liebenthal identified the figures as “star-gods” due to their similarity to the astral iconography depicted in the Karazi 火羅網圖 (Liebenthal 1955: 60-61, 60 fn. 50). Vielle pointed out to me that the figures are paired up specifically to one of the tablets in a set of four. Their identification will be a subject of another study.

<sup>47</sup> I thank Dr. Billy K.Y. Tang for the suggestion. Some scholars believe that the twelve zodiac animals or earthly branches correspond to twelve Buddhist deities, who would be invoked by the Azhali priest to empower the deceased during the funerary ritual (Yang YQ 1996: 34-38, cited in Zhang XL 1999: 399). According to Yang, this association is a unique feature of Yunnanese funerary rituals during the Yuan Period.

better understanding of the role and position of Yunnanese Esoteric Buddhism within the larger Esoteric movement in Buddhist Asia.

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## Appendix A

Versions used in this edition

### YUNNAN

- P Pairi Daiza stele “O1” (Mak transcription)  
 F Dizangsi 地藏寺 pagoda inscription dated 1103-1252 (Finot & Goloubew 1925)  
 L Ming “crowned” tombstone from Dali dated 1450-1566 (Liebenthal 1955)

### GROUP A

- B Gilgit-Bamiyan manuscript dated c.700? (Melzer 2007)  
 H Hōryūji 法隆寺 manuscript dated c.750? (Müller 1881)  
 M Undated inscription from China with Amoghavajra’s transcription, post 774 (Müller 1881)  
 Q Liao inscription erected by Zhimiao 志妙 dated 1107 (Müller 1881)  
 A Asakusa 浅草 Siddham inscription (Müller 1881); A\* inscription reading 佛頂尊聖陀羅尼 by Jōgen 淨嚴 (普通真言藏 No.50)  
 J 佛頂尊聖陀羅尼 by Jōgen 淨嚴 (普通真言藏 No.50)

### GROUP B

- R Henan inscription dated 1147 (Müller 1881)  
 Y Nepalese manuscript, undated (Yuyama 2000)  
 N Juyongguan 居庸關 East Wall inscription dated 1345 (Murata 1957:205)  
 S Tibetan Toh. 594 (sDe-dge)  
 T Tibetan Toh. 597 (sDe-dge)

### *Editorial remarks*

With the exception of P, which was transcribed directly from the original object by the author, all versions are based on published transcriptions, prepared often under different editorial policies. In the case when there is a choice of diplomatic vs. corrected edition, the former is adopted (e.g. of Y). While a diplomatic representation full of errors may be meaningless, our interest in the transmission and relation among the different editions requires us to preserve them as possible philological evidences. Sandhi and other general scribal quirks such as gemination, repetition sign (by the Indian numeral 2 or 3, see remark in von Hinüber 1989: 59 fn. 4) are not represented and are normalized to conventional standard. Lacunae (or indecipherable passages where akṣaras cannot be counted) and absence are distinguished by ∅ and - respectively. Elements which distinguish P from the “Group 1” varieties are indicated by wavy underlines. Elements which distinguish P from other “Group 2” varieties are indicated by underlines.

Order of variants follows the general principle of likeness, i.e., variants which resemble the selected reading are grouped together, followed by those which bear less resemblance. In case when the principle of likeness cannot be applied, the variants appear in the order of editions described above. For the sake of convenience, within each variant reading, the sigla are ordered in the following order: i) Yunnan editions PFL; ii) Remaining editions in alphabetical order.

## Dali Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī

- 1 §1 <sup>[1]</sup> @ namo bhagavate sarva-trailokya-prativīṣṭāya buddhā<sup>[2]</sup>ya te namaḥ  
 2 / tadyathā / om̃ śodhaya śodhaya viśudhaya viśudhaya mo<sup>[3]</sup>caya mocaya  
 3 vimocaya vimocaya asama-sama-samantāvabhāsa-spha<sup>[4]</sup>raṇa-gati-gagana-svabhāva-  
 4 viśuddhe / abhiṣīncatu māṃ sa<sup>[5]</sup>rva-tathāgata-sugata-vara-vacanāmṛtābhiṣekair

1 @ PL, @ om̃ F, [a] om̃ N, om̃ S, om̃ A\*TRY, -  
 A<sup>m</sup>BHJMQ. @ = beginning sign

1 namo bhagavate Σ, namo bhāgavati Q, namo  
 bhagavate Y, namas H

1 sarva Σ, - ABHJM

1 prativīṣṭāya Σ, °ṣṭāya S, °ṣṭāya PFH

1 te PFLNTY, bhagavate AMR, +[ga]vate B,  
 bhāgavati Q, bhāgavate HJST

1 namaḥ PFLNRSTY, - ABHJMQ

2 tadyathā Σ, tādya Q

2 om̃ PFABHJMQ, om̃ bhrūṃ L, om̃ bhrūṃ bhrūṃ  
 bhrūṃ NRSTY

2 śodhaya śodhaya LNRST, śodhaya Y, sodhaya  
 sodhaya P, suddhaya suddhaya F, - ABHJMQ

2 viśudhaya viśudhaya L, visudhaya 2 P, visodhaya F,  
 viśodhaya viśodhaya NRST, viśodhaya 2 Y,  
 viśodhaya ʘ (twice) A<sup>m</sup>, viśodhaya viśodhaya J,  
 viśodhaya MQ, viśodhaya H, - B

2 mocaya mocaya L, mo[ca]ya 2 P, māṃdhaya  
 māṃdhaya F, - Σ

3 vimocaya vimocaya L, vimocaya 2 P, visodhaya  
 visodhaya F, - Σ

3 asama-sama PFL, sama 2 A, asama NRST, a Y,  
 sama BJM, sāma Q, - H

3 samantāvabhāsa Σ, samantavabhāsa F,  
 samantāvabhāsa R, sāmātāvabhāsa Q

3 sphaṇa Σ, s[pha]++ P, sphaṇā Q, Ø B

3 gagana PFMNRT, gagaṇa Y, gahanā L, gahana  
 AHMJ, gahāna Q, Ø B

3 svabhāva Σ, svābhāva Q, svabhava R

4 viśuddhe PAJNTRY, visuddhe F, viśuddha L,  
 śuddhe HM, śuddhi Q, Ø B

4 abhiṣīncatu Σ, abhiṣīncatu F, abhiṣīncantu LNRT,  
 abhiṣīṃ<caṃ/can>tu Y, abhiṣīṇca QM, abhiṣīṇca  
 B

4 māṃ Σ, māṃ PJ, - B

4 sarva LFNTYR, sa+ P, - ABHMJQ

4 tathāgata PNTR, tathāgatā LF, tathāgatā SY, -  
 ABHJMQ

4 sugata Σ, sugatā L, suganta Q

4 vara Σ, <vara> Y, - BH

4 vacanāmṛtābhiṣekair N, vacanamṛtābhiṣeker P,  
 vacanamṛtābhiṣekair F, vacanamṛtābhiṣekair L,  
 vacanā amṛtābhiṣaikaiḥ B, vacana amṛta abhiṣekair  
 S, vacana amṛta abhiṣekair T, vacana  
 amṛtābhiṣaikai AH, vacana amṛtābhiṣaikai J,  
 vacanāmṛtābhiṣeka M, vacana amṛtābhiṣikai Q,  
 vacanamṛtābhiṣekair R

1 N begins with om̃ bhrūṃ svāhā, T begins with namo ratnatrayāya, Y begins with namo buddhāya, A begins with namaḥ ssvavajñāya

1 mahā-<sup>[6]</sup> mudra-mantra-padañ / āhara āhara āyuh-saṃdhāraṇi śodhaya śodhaya  
2 <sup>[7]</sup> gagana-viśuddhe uṣṇiṣa-vijaya-pariśuddhe sahasra-raśmi-saṃ<sup>[8]</sup> codite sarva-  
3 tathāgatāvalokani saṭ-pāramitā-paripū<sup>[9]</sup> rani sarva-tathāgata-māte daśa-bhūmi-  
4 pratiśṭhite sarva-<sup>[10]</sup> tathāgata-hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite /

5  
6 §2 mudre mudre mahā-mudre <sup>[11]</sup> vajra-kāya-saṃghātana-pariśuddhe  
7 sarva-karmāvaraṇa-pari<sup>[12]</sup> śuddhe pratinivartaya āyur-viśuddhe sarva-tathāgata-  
8 samayā<sup>[13]</sup> dhiṣṭhite /

- 1 mahā-mudra-mantra-padañ LTY,  
mahā-dramantrapadañ P,  
mahāmudrāmantrapadañ FNRS, mahāvantrapadañ  
AJ, - BHMQ
- 1 āhara āhara LMNT, āhara 2 PA, āhara F, oṃ āhara  
āhara R, oṃ āhara 2 Y, āhara āhara J, āhara āhara  
Q, harā harā H, ā++++ B
- 1 āyuh-saṃdhāraṇi emend., āyuh-saṃdhāraṇi P,  
āyuh-sandharipi F, āyuh-<h>-saṃdhāraṇi Y,  
āyuh-sandharipi L, āyuh-sandharāṇi R,  
mamāyuh-sandharāṇi N, mama āyur sandharāṇi  
ST, āyusandharāṇi AMHT, āyuh-saṃtāraṇe J,  
āyusādhāraṇi Q, Ø B
- 1 śodhaya śodhaya H, śodhaya 2 PA, śodhaya M,  
soddhaya sodhaya sodhaya F, śodhaya śādhaya Q,  
sādhaya sādhyaya L, śodhaya śodhaya viśodhaya  
viśodhaya NTR, śodhaya 2 viśodhaya 2 Y,  
...śodhaya B, śodhaya śodhaya J
- 2 gagana-viśuddhe ABMJQ, +gaviśuddhe P,  
°viśuddhe F, gaganāviśuddhe L,  
gagana-svabhāva-viśuddhe NTR,  
gagaṇa-svabhāva-viśuddhe Y, °viśuddhe H
- 2 uṣṇiṣa-vijaya-pariśuddhe NTR,  
uṣṇiṣavijayaparśodde P, uṣṇiṣavijayapariśuddhe  
FY, uṣṇiṣa° L, uṣṇiṣavijayaśuddhe BJ, °viśuddhe  
AMQ, °viśuddhe H
- 2 sahasra-raśmi Σ, sahasra° PQ, °rasmi FYHST, Ø B
- 2 saṃcodite Σ, saṃ+dite P, sa[ñco]dite F, saṃcodite  
M, +codite B, saṃcūdite A, saṃsudite J, saṃcoditi  
Q
- 3 tathāgatāvalokani PL, tathāgatāvalokini NTRY,  
°āvarūkani A, °āvarūkane J, tathāgatā MQ, - FH,  
Ø B
- 3 saṭ-pāramitā-paripūraṇi NJRSTY, saṭ-parāmitā° L,  
ṣaṭpārami+pa<pa>ani P, °puraṇi A, - FBHMQ
- 3 sarva-tathāgata-māte FLNSTR, °tathāgatā-mate P,  
°mātra Y, - ABHMQJ
- 3 daśa-bhūmi LNSTRY, dasabhūmi PF, - ABHMQJ
- 4 pratiśṭhite PFLNSTRY, - ABHMQJ
- 4 tathāgata FLNSTRYH, tathāgatā APJR, Ø B, - MQ
- 4 hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite NA,  
hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite P,  
hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite F,  
hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite L,  
hṛdaya-adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite ST,  
hṛdaya<dhiṣṭhānā>dhiṣṭhite svāhā Y, mama  
hṛdaya° R, +ṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita B,  
hrilayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita J, dhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita MQ,  
dhiṣṭhita H
- 6 mudre mudre FLNST, mudre 2 P, mudre BMQ,  
oṃ mudre mudre R, oṃ mudre 2 Y, - AFJ
- 6 mahā-mudre Σ, mahāmu+ P, mudre H, - BMQ
- 6 vajra-kāya Σ, +<jra>kaya P, kaya Q
- 6 saṃghātana-pariśuddhe emend.,  
saṃghannapariśuddhe P, saṃghatanapariśuddhe F,  
saṃghātana-pariśuddhe L, saṃghātana-pariśuddhe  
MNSTR, sa<ṃ>[hatana-pariśuddhe] Y,  
saṃghātaśuddhe B, saṃghatanaviśuddhe A,  
saṃghatanaviśuddhe J, saṃghatanasuddhe H,  
saṃghātanaśuddhe M, sāhātanaśuddhe Q
- 7 sarva-karmāvaraṇa PFLNR, sarva-karma-āvaraṇa  
ST, °vara[ṇa] Y, sarvāvaraṇa ABH, sarvāvaraṇa  
MQ, sarvāvaraṇa J
- 7 pariśuddhe L, [pa]riśuddhe Y, paśodde P,  
pariśuddhe F, viśuddhe BMNQRST,  
bhayadurgatipariśuddhe AJ, viśuddhe H
- 7 pratinivartaya āyur-viśuddhe emend.,  
pratinivartayayorviśodde P,  
pratinivartayayurviśuddhe F, pratinivartāya  
āyur-viśuddhe L, pratinivartaya  
mamāyur-viśuddhe N, pratinivartaya mama  
āyur-viśuddhe ST, pratinivartaya mama  
āyur-viśuddhe R, pratiniva[rtā]nāya viśuddhe Y,  
pratinivarta++++dhe B, pratinivartaya āyusuddhe  
H, pratinivartaya āyuhśuddhe J, pratinivartaya  
āyusuddhe AM, pratinivartāya āyusuddhe Q
- 7 sarva-tathāgata PNSTY, sarva-tathāgatā L,  
sarva-bhāve gatā F, - Σ
- 8 samayādhiṣṭhite ABHM, sama<yā>dhiṣṭhiti P,  
samayādhiṣṭhite L, °ṣṭhiti Q,  
samayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite F,  
samayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite N,  
samaya-adhiṣṭhāna-idhiṣṭhite S,  
samaya-adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite T,  
samayā<dhiṣṭhānā>dhiṣṭhite svāhā L,  
samayādhiṣṭhite J, mahāsamayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite  
R

1 §3 muni muni mahā-muni vimuni vimuni mahā-vimuni ma<sup>[16]</sup>ti mati  
 2 mamati mahā-mamati sumati tathā<sup>[15]</sup>tā-bhūta-koṭi-parisuddhe visphuṭa-  
 3 bodhi-śuddhe / he he jaya jaya<sup>[16]</sup> vijaya vijaya smara smara sphara sphara-  
 4 sarva-buddhādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite śu<sup>[17]</sup>ddhe śuddhe vajre vajre mahā-vajre  
 5 suvajre vajra-garbhe jaya-garbhe<sup>[18]</sup> vijaya-garbhe vajre / vajraṃ bhavatu mama  
 6 [name here]<sup>[19]</sup> śarīraṃ / sarva-sattvānāṃ ca kāya-parisuddhe bhavatu/

- 1 muni muni FLNTR, muni 2 PY, maṇi mamaṇi B, maṇi maṇi JMQ, maṇi ४ A, maṇi maṇi H  
 1 mahā-muni PFLNTRY, mahāmaṇi AJ, - BMQH  
 1 vimuni vimuni mahā-vimuni PFLNTR, vimuni <2> mahā-vimuni Y, - ABHMQJ  
 1 mati mati FLNTR, mati 2 PL, - ABHMQJ  
 2 mamati mahā-mamati sumati L, mahā-mamati mamate mahā-mamati sumat P, namati mahāmati sumati F, mahā-mati mamati sumati NTY, mahāmati mamati mahāmamati sumati R, - ABHMQJ  
 2 tathā FTHJ, tathāgata PY, tadyatā L, tathāta QR, tathatā AMNB  
 2 koṭi Σ, koṭi F, kroṭi P  
 2 parisuddhe Σ, pasuddhe P, parisuddhe F, °suddhe H, parisuddha L  
 2 visphuṭa Σ, visphurita Y, visphuṭ P, visphoṭa J  
 3 bodhi FP, buddhi ANBHJS, buddhe TRY, śuddhi L, badhi MQ  
 3 śuddhe Σ, viśuddhe Y, suddhe FPH  
 3 he he PFLNST, om he he RY, - ABHMQJ  
 3 jaya jaya Σ, jaya 2 PA, jaya jaya B, jaya L, jāya jāya M  
 3 vijaya vijaya Σ, vijaya 2 PA, vijāya vijāya M, vijayā Y, - H  
 3 smara smara Σ, smara 2 P, smara ४ A, smara H  
 3 sphara sphara FL, sphara 2 P, sphara sphara sphāraya sphāraya NST, sphara sphara spharaya spharaya R, sma smara sma sma sphāraya 2 Y, - ABHMQJ  
 4 buddhādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite N, buddha-adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite ST, °dhiṣṭhādhiṣṭe P, °dhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita F, °dhiṣṭhinadhiṣṭhite L, °dhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhiti R, buddhā(nām)dhiṣṭhānā(m)dhiṣṭhi-<i>te svāhā Y, °dhiṣṭhita ABH, °dhiṣṭita J, °dhiṣṭhiti MQ  
 4 śuddhe śuddhe emend., suddhe suddhe FL, su<ddhi> 2 P, om śuddhe śuddhe R, śuddhe śuddhe buddhe NST, om śuddhe 2 buddhe 2 Y, śuddhe ABJQ, suddhe H, - M  
 4 vajre vajre Σ, ma{va?}j<r>e Y, vajre 2 P, vajri vajra Q, vajri B, vajre H, vajri AJ  
 4 mahā-vajre PFNSTR, mahāvaj<r>e Y, mahavajre L, - ABHJMQ  
 5 suvajre PLNSTR, suvaj<r>e Y, suvaj[re] F, - ABHJMQ  
 5 vajra-garbhe Σ, vaj<r>a-garbhe Y, vajrā° AJ, - Q  
 5 jaya-garbhe FNTRY, jaya-garbhi P, jaya-garbha L, - ABHJMQ  
 5 vijaya-garbhe F, vijaya+rbhi P, vijaya-garbha L, vijaya-garbhe vajra-jvāla-garbhe vajrōdbhave vajra-sambhave N, vijaya-garbhe vajra-jvāla-garbhe vajra-udbhava vajra-sambhave ST, vijaya-garbhe vajra-jvāla-garbhe vajrondbhava vajra-sambhave R, vijaya-garbhe vaj<r>a-jvāsā[jvāla?]-garbhe vaj<r>odbhave vaj<r>odbhave sarva-<va>j<r>a-sambhave Y, garbhe Q, - ABHJM  
 5 vajre PL, vajre vajriṇi S, vajre vajriṇi NT, vajre vajreṇi R, vaj<r>iṇi Y, - ABFHJMQ  
 5 vajraṃ Σ, vaj<r>a-stambha Y, vajrāṃ J, vajrā M  
 5 bhavatu Σ, bhavantu RS, <bha>va<n>tu Y, bhavato P, mbhavatu J  
 5-6 mama [name here] L, mama 追為亡人楊根 + 神識 P, mama 稱行者名 J, mama doayagasya B (see Schopen 2012:282), mama AFHMNQSTY  
 6 śarīraṃ LNTRY, sarīraṃ AF, śarīraṃ P, carīraṃ シャリラン J, - BHMJQ  
 6 sattvānāṃ ca Σ., satvānā<n̄ca> P, satvanān ca F, satvanān ca L, sattvānāṃ B  
 6 parisuddhe emend., ka<ya>yaśuddhe P, parisuddhe F, parisuddher L, parisuddhes car R, parivīśuddhir N, parisuddhir ST, pariśu<ddhir> Y, viśuddhe BMQ, parivīśuddhe A, parivīśuddhe HJ  
 6 bhavatu PFLNT, bhavantu RSY, - ABHJMQ

1 FNTRY begins §3 with om

1 <sup>[20]</sup>me sadā sarva-gati-parisuddhiś ca / sarva-sattva-samāśvāsā<sup>[20]</sup> dhiṣṭhite  
2 sarva-tathāgatās ca mām samāśvā<sup>[22]</sup> sayantu /

3  
4 §4 buddhya buddhya siddhya siddhya buddhāya buddhāya vibuddhāya  
5 vibuddhāya śodha<sup>[23]</sup> ya śodhaya viśodhaya viśodhaya mocaya mocaya vimocaya  
6 vimocaya samanta-pa<sup>[24]</sup> riśuddhe sarva-tathāgata-hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite  
7 mahā-mu<sup>[25]</sup> dre svāhā //

8  
9 §5 uṣṇīṣa-vijayā nāma dhāraṇī samāptam iti//

- 1 me sadā PFLNTR, me <sadā> Y, me sada P, me  
saddha R, sadā me ST, me mama Y, - ABHJMQ  
1 FLNT, <sadā> Y, sada P, saddha R, - ABHJMQ  
1 sarva-gati-parisuddhiś NTRY, °suddheś P, °suddhe  
F, °suddheś L, °suddhe ABJM, °suddhe H, - Q  
1 ca PLNTRY, - ABFHJMQ  
1 sarvasattvasamāśvāsādhiṣṭhite emend.,  
sarvasatvasamāśvāsādhiṣṭhite P,  
°sattvasamāśvāsādhiṣṭhite L,  
sarvasatvasamāśvāsādhiṣṭhite F, - NS, samantāna  
mocaya mocaya adhiṣṭhāna T,  
sarva-tathāgata-hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite Y,  
sarvatathāgatāsamaśvāsādhiṣṭhite B, - R, AHJMQ  
place this phrase at the end of §3:  
sarvatathāgatāsamaśvāsādhiṣṭhite A,  
sarvatathāgatāsamaśvāsādhiṣṭhite H,  
sarvatathāgatāsamaśvāsādhiṣṭhite J,  
sarvatathāgata-samāśvāsādhiṣṭhite M,  
sarvatathāgata-samaśvāsādhiṣṭhite Q  
2 sarva-tathāgatās ca FLNSTY, °gatās<tena> P,  
°gatās ca AJR, °gata MQ, - BH  
2 mām FLNST, maṃ P, me AJ, - BHMQR  
2 samāśvāsāyantu NSTRY, samāśvāsāyantu P,  
samāśvāsāyantu F, samāśvāsāyantu L,  
samāśvāsāyantu A, samāśvāsāyantu J, samāśva M,  
samaśca Q, - BH  
4 buddhya buddhya Σ, budhya 2 PA, bodhya 2 F, oṃ  
buddhe 2, budhya budhya BH  
4 siddhya siddhya LNSTR, siddhya 2 Y, sidhya 2 P,  
sidhya sidhya F, vibuddhya J, vibuddhya 2 A, -  
BHMQR  
4 buddhāya buddhāya F, buddhāya 2 P, buddhāya  
buddhāya buddhāya buddhāya L, bodhāya bodhāya  
MQ, bodhaya bodhaya NSTJR, bodhaya 2 A,  
bodhaya H, - B  
4-5 vibuddhāya vibuddhāya F, vibuddhāya 2 PA,  
vibuddhāya vibuddhāya vibuddhāya vibuddhāya L,  
vibodhaya vibodhaya NSTRJ, vibodhaya <2> Y,  
vibodhaya BH, - MQ  
5 śodhaya śodhaya emend., sodhaya 2 P, soddhāya  
soddhāya F, sāddhāya sāddhāya sāddhāya sāddhāya  
L, sodhaya H, mocaya mocaya vimocaya vimocaya  
śodhaya śodhaya NSTR, mocaya 2 vimocaya 2  
śodhaya 2 Y, - ABJMQ  
5 viśodhaya viśodhaya NSTR, viśodhaya 2 Y,  
viśodhaya 2 P, visoddhāya F, viśuddhaya  
viśuddhaya viśuddhaya viśuddhaya L, viśodhaya  
sarvakarmavaraṇāni sama H, - ABJMQ  
5 mocaya mocaya F, mocaya 2 P, mocaya mocaya  
mocaya mocaya L, - ABHJMQY. NSTR places  
mocaya mocaya vimocaya vimocaya before śodhaya  
5-6 vimocaya vimocaya PL, vimocaya F, - ABHJMQ  
6 samanta Σ, samantān mocaya mocaya  
samantaraśmi N, samantān mocaya 2  
samanta-rasmi Y, samantarasmi T, samantā  
mocaya mocaya samantarasmi S, samanta mocaya  
mocaya samantaraśmi R, samantā A, samāta Q  
6 pariśuddhe Σ, pa++ P, parasmita-pariśuddhiṃ Y,  
°suddhe FH, °suddhi L  
6 tathāgata MNQRTY, tathāgatā ABFHJLMPS  
6 hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite FAN,  
hṛdaya-adhiṣṭhāna-adhiṣṭhite ST,  
hṛdayādhiṣṭhānā(m)dhiṣṭhite Y,  
hṛdayadhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite P,  
hṛdayadhiṣṭhina-adhiṣṭhite L,  
hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita J, mamahṛdayā° R,  
dhiṣṭhite M, dhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita Q,  
dhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite BH  
7 mahāmudre AFJMQ, mahāmu<dr?> P,  
mahā-mudra L, mudre mudre mahā-mudre  
mahā-mudrā-mantra-pade N, mudre mudre  
mahāmudre mahāmudrā mantrapadaiḥ ST, oṃ  
mudre mudre mahāmudre mantrapade R, oṃ  
mudre 2 <mahā-mudre>  
mahā-mudrā-mantra-padaiḥ Y, - BH  
7 svāhā Σ, <svā>+ P  
9 uṣṇīṣa-vijayā nāma dhāraṇī samāptam iti F,  
<uṣṇīṣa>vijaya namaḥ dhāraṇī samāpatam iti + P,  
uṣṇīṣā-vijaya nama dhāraṇī samāpatam iti L, ārya  
uṣṇīṣavijaya nama dhāraṇī samāptam A,  
āryoṣṇīṣavijaya nāma dhāraṇī mahāmudre samāptā  
R, āryya-u[ṣṇī]ṣa-vijayā nāma dhāraṇī  
parisamāptam Y, - BHJMNQST

9 L has in addition: oṃ sarva-tathāgata-hṛdayādhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhita // oṃ bhrūṃ svāhā //

## Appendix B

English translation of the Dali *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* (Incantation of the Most Victorious Diadem of Buddha)<sup>48</sup>

- §1. Homage to the blessed one. Homage to you, the Buddha most excellent in all three worlds. Thus it is said: Om! Purify, purify! Completely purify, completely purify! Liberate, liberate! Completely liberate, completely liberate! You, incomparable (*asamasama-*), completely pure one, having the pervasive (*spharāna-*) nature of light ubiquitous in the [six] modes of existences of living beings (*gati-*) and the sky, consecrate me with the teaching of the great seal (*mahāmudra-*) and the mantra, the consecration with the nectar (*amṛta-*) of the best teachings of all Tathāgatas and Sugatas. Take away, take away [calamities], you, the one who holds life together (*āyuh-samdhāraṇi*)! Purify, purify! You, pure as the sky, completely purified by the Victorious Diadem. You, who are infused with thousand rays, who have the downward looking power (*-avalokani*) of all Tathāgatas, who have completely fulfilled the Six *Pāramitās*, the mother (*\*-māte*) of all Tathāgatas, who are established in the Ten *Bhūmis* and empowered by the empowerment (*-adhiṣṭhānādhiṣṭhite*) of the hearts of all Tathāgatas!
- §2. You, seal, seal, the great seal, perfectly pure like the union of the adamantine body (*vajra-kāya-samghātana-*), completely purified from all impediments of [past] karma, turn back [my life against undesirable rebirth], you who are the complete purity of life, you who are empowered by the oaths (*samaya-*) of all the Tathāgatas.
- §3. Sage, sage, great sage, perfect sage, perfect sage, great perfect sage; wisdom, wisdom, wisdom of Ma[njuśrī] (*mamati?*), great wisdom, excellent wisdom; you who are pure like the absolute reality (*tathatā-bhūta-koṭi-*) and purified by penetrative wisdom (*visphuṭa-bodhi-*), *he, he*, be victorious, victorious! Be the most victorious, be the most victorious! Remember, remember! Penetrate, penetrate (*sphara*)! You, who are empowered by the empowerment of all Buddhas! Pure one, pure one! You, diamond, diamond, the great diamond, the excellent diamond, the womb of diamond (*vajra-garbhe*), the womb of victory, the womb of the greatest victory! May my body [name of person] become like a diamond. And let there be complete purification of the bodies of all living beings! And

<sup>48</sup> For earlier translations of other versions of the *dhāraṇī*, see Müller 1881: 22-26 (H/J), Murata 1957: 343-344 (N). (Also Suzuki's – but not original)

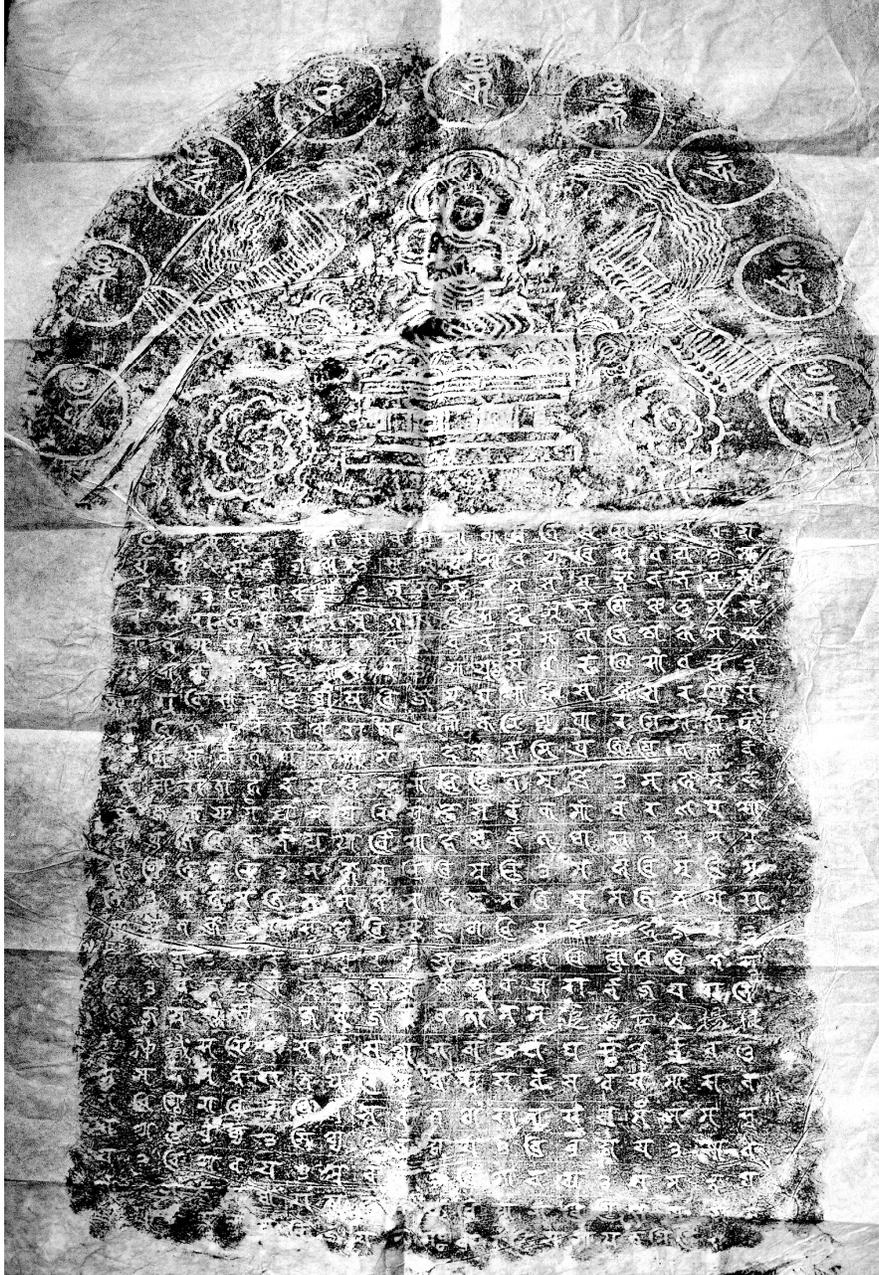
let there be complete purification for me at all times and in all modes of existence! You, who are empowered for the relief (-*samāśvāsa*-) of all beings! And may all Tathāgatas relieve me [from suffering]!

§4. Awaken, awaken! Accomplish, accomplish (*siddhya*)! Cause [others] to awaken, cause [others] to awaken! Cause [others] to completely awaken, cause [others] to completely awaken! Purify, purify! Completely purify, completely purify! Liberate, liberate! Completely liberate, completely liberate! You, who are completely purified by the universal [rays], who are empowered by the empowerment of the hearts of all Tathāgatas! You, great seal, svāhā!

§5. Here ends the dhāraṇī called the Most Victorious Diadem.



**Figure 1**



**Figure 2**

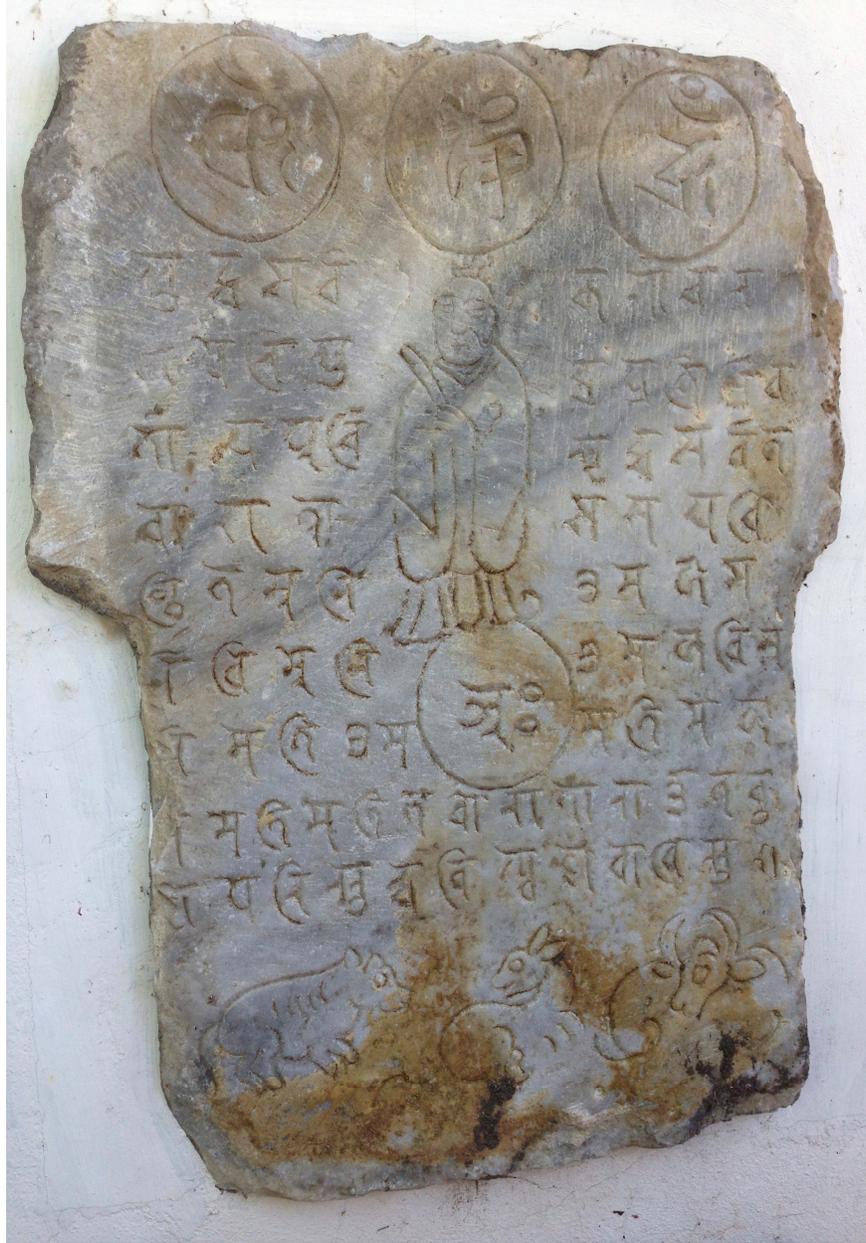


Figure 3

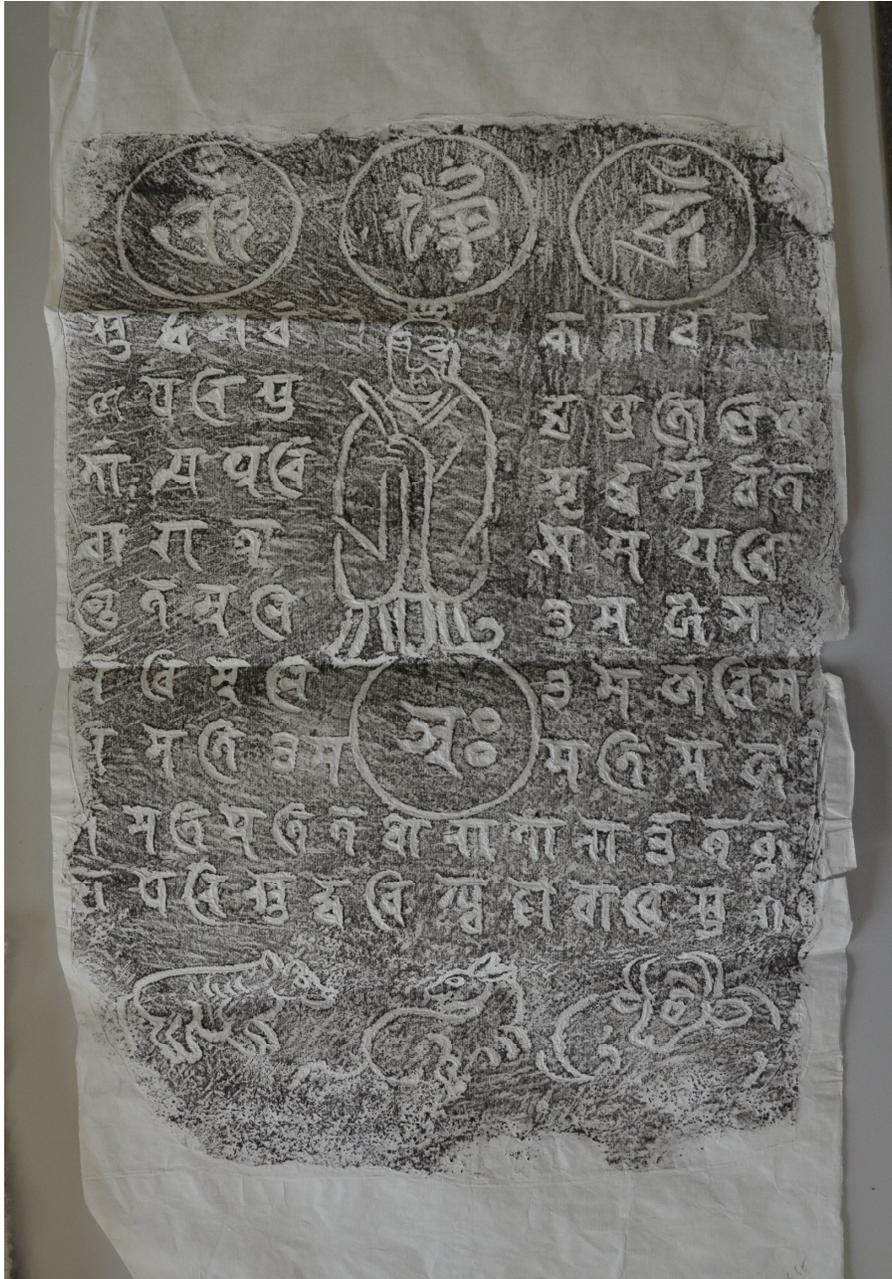


Figure 4