ORIGIN OF THE AVALOKITESVARA OF POTALA

Lokesh Chandra

New Delhi

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 yogī (a Pāmśu-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 (Patalaka) 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-tzü-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 (ślo) answer"

Hsuan-tsang must have read in the Avatamsaka-sūtra about the earthly paradise of Avalokitesvara: "Patalaka is on the sea-side in the south, it has woods, and streams, and tanks, and is in fact a sort of earthly paradise. Buddhabhadrā (A.D. 420) calls Kuanyin's mountain Kuang-ming or 'Brilliance', which is usually given as the rendering for Malay, but a later translator, Śikṣānanda, transcribes the name Patalaka" (Watters 1905:2.231). Buddhabhadrā's rendering of Patala 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: pottige 'flaming, flame', pottisu 'to cause to burn with flame, to kindle, to light' pottu 'to begin to burn with flame, to be kindled, to catch fire, to flame', pottu '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 Iśvara (Śiva) and sometimes that of a Pāśupata yogin. In fact Śiva was metamorphosed into Avalokiteśvara. This is corroborated by the Nīlakanṭhaka and Nīlakanṭha-dhārani where Nīlakanṭha Lokesvara is an apotheosis of Śiva and Viṣṇu (Hari-Haṭṭa). The Nīlakanṭhaka 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 Nīlakanṭha-dhārani 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 Nīlakanṭha 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 AMOGHAVAJRA'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! sīri, sīri! 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 narakiḍhi 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'. Dhīrīṇi-rāja is rendered as 'I hold on. To Indra the creator'. Its correct Sanskrit is dhīrīṇi-rāja 'O Lore of the dhāraṇī (namely, Nilakaṇṭha Lokesvara)'. Vaṣa-vaṣam prasaya is done into English as 'Speak! speak! Directing'. Its Sanskrit reconstruction is viṣam viṣam prasaya 'destroy every poison (of the senses)'. Dhāraṇīna paśamanā svāhā is interpreted as 'of daring one, to the joyous, hail'. Its correct text would be [dehi me] darśanam/praharamaṇaya 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 ṛdaya-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. Namo āryāvalokitesvarāya, bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇikāya.
2. Om sarva-rabhya-śudhana dasya namoskṛta imo aryāvarukitesivaram dhava namo narakidhi.
3. Herima vadhaśame sarva athādu subham / ajeyam sarva-bhūtanama va-gama-vadudu //
4. Tadyathā /
Om / Avaloka lokatekarate/ ehya mahābodhisatva sarva sarva/ mala mala mama hṛdayam/ kuru kuru karma/ dhuru dhuru vajayate mahavajayate/ dhara dhara dhirini-rāya/ cala-cala mama vamara-muktele, ehe-ehe/ cinda cinda/ arṣam pracali/ vaṣa-vaṣam praśaya/ huru huru mara huru.
huru/ sara sara siri siri suru suru/ bodhiya bodhiya bodhaya bodhaya/ maitriya Narakindi dhaśīnāma/ paśamana svāhā/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/ siddhāyo-geśvakaraya svāhā/ Narakindi svāhā/
Maranara svāhā/ sirasamha mukhaya svāhā/
pamahāsiddhāya svāhā/ cakrasiddhāya svāhā/ padma-kastaya svāhā/ Narakindi vagaraya svāhā/ mabari sankaya svāhā.
5. Namo raraṇa-trayāya/ Namo aryāvarokitesvaraya bodbh 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 dharmaṇī which bears the Chinese
title: Yu chih man han mëng-kuhsi - fan ho-pi ta-tsæng oh'wan 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 dhårañī-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
mahākāruṇikāya/

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

hrdayam vartayisyāmi sarvārtha-sādhanām śubham/
ajeyam sarva-bhūtānām bhava-mārga-viśodhakam //

Tadyathā/

Om Ālokādhīpati lokātikrānta/ ehy-[ehi] mahābodhisattva
sarpa-sarpa/ smara/smara hṛdayam/ kuru-kuru karma/

dhuru-dhuru vijayate mahāvijayate dhara-dhara dhārini-
rāja/ cala-cala mama vimala-mūrte, ehi-ehi/ chinda-
chinda/ ārsa pracali/ viṣam-viṣam praṇāśaya/ hulu-hulu
smara hulu-hulu/ sara-sara siri-siri suru-suru/ bodhiya-
bodhiya bodhaya-bodhaya/ maitriya Nīlakaṇṭha [dehi me]
darsananm /

Prahārāyamāṇāya svaha/ siddhāya svāhā/ mahāsiddhāya svāhā/
siddhayogīśvaraya svāhā/ Nilakaṇṭhāya svāhā/
varāha-mukhāya⁹ svāhā/ narasimha-mukhāya¹⁰ svāhā/
gadā-hastāya¹¹ svāhā/ cakra-hastāya¹² svāhā/ padma-
ḥastāya svāhā/
Nilakaṇṭha-pāṇḍarāya¹³ svāhā/ Mahātali-Saṅkarāya svāhā,

5. Namo ratna-trayāya/
Nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya svāhā/

Notes to both Transcriptions

1. STP. hridayam vartayiśami.
2. STP. has the correct text. ādu occurs elsewhere too as
   an expletive to slur over lacunae when words were
   forgotten.
3. STP. Āloka-adhipati: this reminds us a Buddhhabhadra
   (A.D. 420) who renders Potalaka the mountain of Avalo-
kiteśvara as Kuang-ming "Brilliance". The Avalokiteśvara
   of Potalaka was Ālokādhīpati or the Lord of Effulgence,
   and this phrase points to the fact that Nilakaṇṭha
   Lokesvara and the Avalokiteśvara of Potala are identical
4. STP. 1294 line 1 smrava hridayan.
5. STP. 1295 line 2 dharenadriśvara.
6. STP. 1295 line 3 vimalamūrte.
7. STP. 1298 line 1 dveṣa-visa-vināsanaḥ moha-visa-vināśanam.
8. STP. 1300 line 2 dadaḥi me darśana-kāmasya darśanāṁ/ praharāyamāna
    svāhā
9. STP 1300 line 4 parāḥamukhāya.
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
(oakra), lotus (padma) and conch (śāṅkha). In this light pāma has to be emended to gada and not to vajra.

12. STP. 1302 lines 3-4 oaktāyudharāya svāhā/ śāṅkha-śabdānībodhanāya svāhā. The śāṅkha 'conch' is missing in our text.

13. Hsuan-tsang says that Avalokitesvara at Potalaka sometimes appears as a yogin smeared with ashes. The word pāndarāya 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 Avalokitesvara, to You adoration, O Nilakantha.

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 Nilakantha appear unto me. To You who eyes us, hail. To the Great Siddha hail. To the Great Siddha in Yoga hail. To Nilakantha 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 Amoghaavajra. 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 Lokesvara 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, saṅkha-śabdanirghosana. 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 Narāyaṇa (Nārāyana-bala-rūpa). He is Hara-Hari (Hara-hare, vocative) and Māhapaḍma-ṇābha which is an epithet of Viṣṇu and also one of his 24 aspects (caturvineśati-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 (kroṇa-jaṭa-mukta). He is the Immutable Lord (niścāresvara = Sthāṇu or Sthāṇviśvara, an
epithet of Śiva). He wears a black serpent as the sacred thread (krṣṇa-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 (vīṣadhara) that he swallowed on its emergence from the churning of the ocean of milk that threatened the world with destruction (mahā-halāhala-vīṣa) and in consequence destroys the sinister poisons of passion (rāga), envy (avese), and delusion (mohā). The māhātthāhāvya of the dhāranī 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 रत्नाग्राय ।

नम ज्ञात्विवलिंक्तेश्वराय बौद्धिक्षाय महाकल्याय महाकाष्ठणकाय ।

तत्त्वा--

ॐ सर्व-बन्धन-चोदनकाराय सर्व-भव-समुद्रोख्येश्वराय कराय सर्व-च्याहिन विरामन कराय सर्व-हृद्यक्ष [व] - विनाशकाराय सर्व-भयोत्तरारकाराय तस्य नमस्कृतवा हरोः ज्ञात्विवलिंक्तेश्वराय तत नीलकण्ठ नाम वरम्य ।

हृद्य सर्वत्विवधामि सर्वर्रसिन्धुर ।

ज्ञेयं सर्व-भूतात्म भव-मार्ग-विद्वैधकुम ।।

तत्त्वा--

वाज्याक्षिणिति लौकातिकान्त एहि (यव. क्रान्ते रा) हरे महाबौद्धिक्ष, हे महाबौद्धिक्ष, हे प्रियावौद्धिक्ष, हे काळण्डक, स्मर हृद्यम । एहि हरे ज्ञात्विवलिंक्तेश्वराय । प्रथम-नैसर्गिकों विविद कालण्डक कूँ कूँ करन । सार्थसार्थविविधां ।

देह केहि मै परवर। गम्ग गम विहंगग सिंह-यौगीस्वर। कूँ कूँ। विजयन्ति
महाविज्ञानन्ति। यह यह धारणी-द्वार (ny1. धरान्न्द्रव)। चल चल विस्मयनी  
वायविलोकितक्रवर जिन कृष्णा-गजा-पुक्ते र (ny1. पुक्ते)। अल्पक्षी तरो लच्छ प्रलय- 
विश्व महासिद्धिविभाग। चल चल महाचल। मल्ल (ny1. मल्ल) मल्लमल्ल (ny1. 
मल्लमल्ल) महामल्ल (ny1. मल्ल)। चल चल महाकाल। कृष्णा-वर्ण कृष्णा-गता कृष्णा-पाश। 
विशेष। है पूलकमश्त। चल चल निःश्रेष्टम। कृष्णा-स [पै] - कृष्ण-वशोपवीत रहि है। 
महावराहपुल विपुर-कहेवर नारायण-बल-र [प] विश्वधर र (ny1. धरि)। 
है नींकन्ध शुद्धीहि महा-पलहल-विष-निरक्ष राज-विष-विनाशन देव- 
विष-विनाशन मोह-विष-विनाशन निमोदान हुए हुए। राहुला राहुला। हर-हर- 
(ny1. हरहरे) महापद्मनाथ। सर सर सिरि सिरि सज सज। इत्यादि बोधक 
श्रृंग। बोधमिति न नींकन्ध। श्चैव फूम-स्तित (ny1. पाम) नरसिंहमुख (ny1. 
मुख)। तस हृद। सुन्ध पुच महाकौटहास्य। श्चैव हि मो मो महासिद्धविगितकर। 
पण मण वधाय। सीध्य साध्य सविधानं। स्मर स्मर तांगु। मववत्त लोक [टै] 
पलीका तांगु त्यागतानां। ददाहि मे दर्शनकाम्य [य]दस्मं। प्राराधणाः स्वाहा। 
सिद्धाय स्वाहा। सिद्धायीशताय स्वाहा। नींकन्धताय स्वाहा। वराहमुखाय 
स्वाहा। महावर[ह] मुसाय स्वाहा। नरसिंहमुखाय स्वाहा। महानरसिंहमुखाय 
स्वाहा। कृष्णस्ताय स्वाहा। महाकौटस्ताय स्वाहा। सिद्धायायायाय स्वाहा। 
हासिद्ध-विषायाय स्वाहा। पुमस्ताय स्वाहा। महापुष्पस्ताय स्वाहा। कृष्णा- 
श्री-कृष्णायाय स्वाहा। महामण्ड (ny1. भानी) पुनःपराय स्वाहा। 
कातुष्ट्र[ण] राय स्वाहा। शंकखव्य निबोद्धाय स्वाहा। वाम-[र]कन्ध-देश-स्तित- 
कृष्णाजनाय स्वाहा। वाम-हस्त-व्याय वर्म-निबोद्धाय स्वाहा। लोकेश्वराय 
स्वाहा। महालोकेश्वराय स्वाहा। सर्व-सिद्धायाय स्वाहा। रसा रसा मां स्वाहा। 

नमः महाते बायविलोकितक्रवर बोधिशत्वाती महासिद्धताय महाकृष्णमयाय। 
सिद्धान्तमे मन्नरप्रदानम् स्वाहा।
IV CONCLUSIONS

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

2. The epithet Alokātikranta 'He who transcends Effulgence' supports the hypothesis that Nilakantha is the Lokeśvara at Potalaka. Potalaka is rendered into Chinese by Buddhahadra as "Brilliance" (āloka).

3. Nilakantha Lokeśvara 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: kankha, chakra, gadā 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: krya-sarpa-kṛta-yaśnopavitāyā svāhā / ... vāma-kanda-daśa-sthita-kṛṣṇājīnāya svāhā / (STP.6.1302-3).
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. Nīlakandī 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.
LITERATURE CITED

Beal 1884

Bhattacharyya 1958

Burrow, Emeneau 1961

Giles 1957

Kittel 1894

Liebert 1976

Lokesh Chandra 1977

STP.

Suzuki 1950

Watters 1905
APPENDIX

AMOGHVAJRA'S TRANSLITERATION, from the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka (it excludes the Chinese text).
大慈大悲救苦觀世音自在王
菩萨广大圆满无碍自在青

大悲心陀罗尼

广智不空译

是如意轮菩萨本身到此誦在心

南无阿唎耶

婆卢羯帝烁钵囉

菩提萨埵婆那就是

No. 1113 B (c.f. No. 1111-1112A)
阿罗参佛罗舍利三

苏律参佛罗舍耶三十

呼 дог呼 дог罗三

呼 дог呼 дог三十九

呼 дог呼 дог同上

悉咧悉咧四十

悉蜥四十

悉蜥悉蜥

悉蜥

悉蜥

他咧瑟尼那波夜摩那七十

婆婆词五十

婆婆词法语

悉陀夜

婆婆词

悉陀夜

婆婆词

悉陀夜