

The meaning of *kr̥tya-kākhorda-mantra-vetāḍa*

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In the *Nagaropamasūtra* we find two occurrences of the *dvandva* compound *kr̥tya-kākhorda-mantra-vetāḍa*¹, both in the context of a kind of spell or conjuration (NagSū II.11,25):

J. H.,

yaḥ kaś cin māriṣa idaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ [or: *i(dam Na)garopamaṃ vyākaraṇaṃ*]
uddeksyati ... saḥ ahinā na daṃkṣyati viṣaṃ kāye na tariṣyati śāstraṃ na kra-
miṣyati nodakena kālaṃ kariṣyati agninā na daṃkṣyati rājāno 'pi na prasa-
hīṣyaṃti ... gādhabandhanabaddho 'pi mokṣyati [or: *mucciṣyati*] *āsannāsamā-*
gato 'pi abhyavakāśagato bhaviṣyati sarve ca kr̥tyakākhorda-mantravetāḍa (sic
in all mss.) *prativigamiṣyaṃti sarve ca bhūtagaṇā na vihethayiṣyaṃti*

vised

DANIEL BOUCHER translates as follows:

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“Whosoever, Good Sir, will set forth ... this exposition [or: this *Nagaropama-vyākaraṇa*], he will not be bitten by snakes, nor will poison work in his body, nor will weapons have effect (against him), nor will he drown, nor will he be burned by fire, nor will kings suppress him, ... even when he is bound by tight fetters, he will be freed; even when he is encroached upon (by others) he will be unconstrained; and all *sorceries, maledictions, curses, and demonic arts* will be neutralized;”

verse,

ward,

The same compound is found in a similar context in the *Buddhabalādhānaprātihāryavikurvāṇanirdeśa-Sūtra*², unfortunately in that part of the text which is preserved in Tibetan translation only. There we read P vol. 34, p. 193-5-5-7:

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l. by

chos kyi rnam graṅs 'di ... yaṅ dag par bstan na des yon tan chen po brgyad
thob par 'gyur te | ... | gaṅ dag 'jig rten na nad daṅ gnod pa de dag de la
thams cad kyi thams cad du mi 'byuṅ ba daṅ | gaṅ 'jig rten na gnod sbyin daṅ
| 'byuṅ po daṅ | śa za mdaṅs 'phrog pa de dag thams cad byams pa la gnas
par 'gyur ba daṅ | gaṅ dag gśed byed (Skt. *kr̥tya*) *daṅ | byad* (Skt. *kākhorda*)
daṅ | śnags (Skt. *mantra*) *daṅ | ro laṅs* (Skt. *vetāḍa*) *gžan gyi gnod pa de dag*
de'i lus la gnod par mi 'gyur ba daṅ |

¹ This compound may be divided into two parallel word groups of two members of a waxing number of syllables: *kr̥tya-kākhorda* (=2+3) and *mantra-vetāḍa* (=2+3). Cf. O. VON HINÜBER, *Untersuchungen zur Mündlichkeit früher mittelindischer Texte der Buddhisten* (Untersuchungen zur Sprachgeschichte und Handschriftenkunde des Pāli III), Stuttgart 1994 (AAWL 1994, Nr. 5), pp. 15 ff.

² Cf. the Sanskrit fragments along with the Tibetan translation in GREGORY SCHOPEN, “The five leaves of the *Buddhabalādhānaprātihāryavikurvāṇanirdeśa-Sūtra* found at Gilgit”, *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 5 (1978), pp. 319-336.

“(Whosoever) ... will set forth ... this *dharmaparyāya*, he will obtain the eight great acquirements: Whatever diseases and injuries exist in the world they never will affect (him). All Yakṣas, Bhūtas, Piśācas and Apasmāras³ in the world will be kindly disposed (towards him). All Kṛtyas, Kākhordas, Mantras and Vetālas, who (or: which) harm others will not harm his body.”

G. SCHOPEN translates the compound under discussion (Bhgsū p. 261):

“which are the sorceries (kṛtya), the kākhordas, the mantras, the vetāḍas which harm others, they will not harm his body.”

As DANIEL BOUCHER remarks⁴ “the referents of these terms are not entirely clear”. It is not quite sure, whether the terms denote beings or special kinds of charm. Not all of them are well documented in both meanings. D. BOUCHER and G. SCHOPEN favoured the latter interpretation. In the present paper the four expressions of the compound *kṛtya-kākhorda-mantra-vetāḍa* will be examined in detail.

According to MW *s.v.* *kṛtya* and BHS *s.v.* *kṛtya*, (1), the masculine *kṛtya* denotes “a kind of demon or evil spirit” and the feminine *kṛtyā* “a magic, enchantment” as well as personified “a kind of female evil spirit, a sorceress”. Whereas the term *kṛtyā* f. occurs since the R̥gveda, *kṛtya* m. in the meaning “demon, evil spirit” appears in Buddhist sources only. In the dictionaries we do not find any evidence for *kṛtya* m. or n. in the meaning of “magic, enchantment”. The meaning “a kind of demon or evil spirit” of m. *kṛtya* is applicable in the following list of demons that occurs in an incantation (Saddhp 398.1–2)⁵:

*tadyathā yakṣo vā rākṣaso vā pūtano vā kṛtyo vā kumbhāṇḍo vā preto vāvatāra-
prekṣy avatāragaveṣy avatāraṃ na lapsyata iti*

[Saddhp(Bu) p. 239]: “que ce soit un Yakcha, un Rākchasa, un Putana, un Kṛtiya, un Kumbhāṇḍa, un Preta; si un de ces êtres cherche ou épie l’occasion de les surprendre, il ne pourra la saisir.”

In Saddhp 401.4–402.1 we find an even longer list of such demons:

*imam śīrṣam samāruhya mā kaś cid drohī bhavatu dharmabhāṇakānām yakṣo
vā rākṣaso vā preto vā piśāco vā pūtano vā kṛtyo vā vetāḍo vā kumbhāṇḍo vā
stabdho vomārako vostārako vāpasmārako vā yakṣakṛtyo vāmanuṣyakṛtyo vā
manuṣyakṛtyo vā ekāhiko vā dvaitīyako vā traitīyako vā caturthako vā nityajva-
ro vā viṣamajvaro vāntaśaḥ svapnāntaragatasyāpi strīrūpāṇi vā puruṣarūpāṇi vā
dāraakarūpāṇi vā dārikārūpāṇi vā viheṭhām kuryur nedam sthānam vidyate*

[Saddhp(Bu) p.240]: “Qu’aucune créature, se plaçant sur leur tête, ne puisse blesser de tels interprètes de la loi, que ce soit un Yakcha ... un Bhūta, un Kṛtiya, un Vetāla, ... un Yakchakṛtiya, un Kṛtiya n’appartenant pas à l’espèce

³ Cf. LC p. 1226, *s.v.* *mdaṅs ’phrog pa*.

⁴ Cf. NagSū p. 99, n. 29): “the referents of these terms are not entirely clear. ... SCHOPEN has shown that the terms *kākhorda* and *vetāḍa*, though often and sometimes appropriately taken as ‘demons’ and ‘zombies’, perhaps more typically refer to magical procedures which turn people into such beings.” See G. SCHOPEN, Bhgsū, pp. 256–262 for a very detailed discussion on these terms.

⁵ Cf. a similar list in Saddhp 474.8–10.

humaine, un Asurakr̥tya, ... un Nityadjvara; enfin, si même des formes de femmes, d'hommes ou de filles lui apparaissant pendant son sommeil, veulent lui nuire, que cela ne puisse avoir lieu."

We see, that E. BURNOUF interprets all terms from *yakṣa* to *nityajvaro* as names of spirits. The same interpretation is found in H. KERN's translation⁶:

"No one shall overpower and hurt such preachers: no goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, sorcerer, spectre, gnome; no spirit causing epilepsy, no sorcerer of goblin race, no sorcerer of not human race, no sorcerer of human race; no sorcerer producing tertian ague, quartian ague, quotidian ague. Even if in his dreams he has visions of women, men, boys or girls, it shall be impossible that they hurt him."

Since *kr̥tya* "sorcerer" was already mentioned before, *yakṣakr̥tyo vāmanuṣyakr̥tyo vā manuṣyakr̥tyo* could have a different meaning and perhaps be translated as "evil done by a Yakṣa, or by a not human, or by a human being" or — assuming that *kr̥tya* "sorcerer" might be the personified *kr̥tya* "magic, enchantment"⁷ — even as "magic of a Yakṣa, or of a not human, or of a human". The words *ekāhiko vā dvaitīyako vā traitīyako vā caturthako vā nityajvaro vā viṣamajvaro* could be interpreted as "fever of one day, or of two days ... perpetual fever, or dangerous fever". This translation seems to be supported by the Chinese and Tibetan translations as well as by a similar text in the Bower Ms.

Some of the Sanskrit terms⁸ are missing in the Chinese version of Kumārajīva (Taishō No. 262) and the concepts *ekāhiko* etc. are interpreted by him as diseases. Cf. LEON HURVITZ's translation⁹:

"... or *kr̥tya*, or *vetāla*, or *ghaṇṭa*, or *omāraka*, or *apasmāraka* or *yakṣakr̥tya* [various types of demons], or human *kr̥tya*, or fever, whether of one day, or two days, or of three days, or of four days, or of as many as seven days, or perpetual fever, or anyone in the form of a man, or of a woman, or of a boy, or of a girl, even in a dream: let none of these harm them!"

The Tibetan translation of the relevant lines reads as follows¹⁰:

... *gśed byed dam* | *ro laṅs sam* | *reṅs pa'am* | *gnon po'am* | *brjed byed kyi*
gzugs sam | *gnod sbyin gyis byas pa'am* | *mis byas pa'am* | *mi ma yin pas*

⁶ *The Saddharma-puṇḍarīka or The Lotus of the True Law*. Transl. by H. KERN, Oxford 1884 (SBE 21), p. 374.

⁷ Cf. *kr̥tyakā* f. "an enchantress, witch".

⁸ These are *ostārika*, *amanuṣyakr̥tya*, *piśāca*, *kumbhāṇḍa*. Cf. LEON HURVITZ, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, Transl. from the Chinese of Kumārajīva, New York 1976, p. 323 with n. 24-27.

⁹ LEON HURVITZ, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, Transl. from the Chinese of Kumārajīva, New York 1976, p. 323. Cf. the translations of: MARGARETE VON BORSIG, *Lotus-Sūtra. Sūtra von der Lotosblume des wunderbaren Gesetzes*. Nach dem chinesischen Text von Kumārajīva, Gerlingen 1992, p. 374; BURTON WATSON, *The Lotus Sutra*, New York 1993, p. 310; TSUGUNARI KUBO and AKIRA YUYAMA, *The Lotus Sūtra*, Transl. from the Chinese of Kumārajīva, Numata Centre 1993 (BDK English Tripiṭaka 13-I), p. 323 f.

¹⁰ Cf. *Dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po zes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, in: *sDe-dge-Edition of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Taipei Edition*. Editor-in-Chief A. W. BARBER, Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc. 1991, vol. 11, no. 113, p. 128/296/148 b5-7.

*byas pa'am | rims nad ñin gcig pa'am | ñin gñis pa'am | ñin gsum pa'am |
ñin bži pa'am | rtag pa'i rims sam | ...*

“... or evil spirit (*kr̥tya*), or zombie (*vetāla*), or Stabdha, or Ustāraka, or Apasmāraka, or (evil) done by a Yakṣa, or by a man, or by a not human, or a disease of one day, of two days, of three days, of four days or perpetual fever ...”.

In the Tibetan version the noun *kr̥tya* as simplex is rendered *gśed byed* “evil spirit” and as the second member of the compounds *yakṣa*°, *manuṣya*° and *amanuṣya-kr̥tya* as *gnod sbyin gyis, mis, mi ma yin pas byas pa* “done by a Yakṣa, a man, a not human”.

An even longer list of demons and evils is met with in an incantation in the Bower Ms.¹¹ from which I quote three lines (fol. 1 v6-2 r2):

... skandagrahāto unmādagrahāto cchāyāgrahāto apasmāragrahāto ostārakagrahāto (leaf 2) kr̥tyakarmanā kakkhordokirana-vetādaciccapreṣaka-durbhukta-duccharddata-ducchāya-opra + + + + + + + + vadhūtāto jvarād ekāhikadvētyakatraitīyakāc cāturthakāsaptāhikād ardhmāsikāmāsikād ...

Cf. A. F. R. HOERNLE’s translation in the Bower Ms., p. 227:

“... from seizure by Skanda, from seizure by mania, from seizure by unnatural change in appearance, from seizure by epilepsy, from seizure by the evil eye¹², from the exercise of witchcraft, from destruction by *kakkhorda*, from injury by *Vetālas* that attend at burning-places, from bad food, bad vomiting, bad appearance, from fever, such as comes on every day or every second day or every third day or every fourth day or every seventh day ...”.

Thus C. F. R. HOERNLE interprets *kr̥tya* as “witchcraft”, *kakkhorda* as a magical performance¹³ and the *Vetādas* as “a kind of demon”¹⁴. As the protective spells in SHT¹⁵ this text of the Bower Ms. too is written in an orthographically and linguistically very faulty Sanskrit. The quoted passage has a very close parallel in Asiloma’s protective spell of SHT IV 60. There we read in fol. 6 r3-4: *kr̥tyakarmanā | kakkhordavaitādagrahato |* “from the exercise of witchcraft, from the seizure of *Kakkhorda* and *Vetāda* spells” or “from the action of sorcerers, from the seizure of *Kakkhorda* and *Vaitāda* demons”. The latter translation seems to be less likely, if one considers the word *vaitāda* which has the literal meaning “relating to the *Vetādas*” and, therefore, could be rendered “spell performed by a *Vetāda*”. In SHT IV 60 fol. 5 v6 we find the verse lines *karomi pratiśedhanam | kr̥tyavaitāda-prayogaḥ (sic)* “I perform the act of prevention by the recitations (or employment) of charms and *Vetāda* spells”.

¹¹ Cf. Bower Ms., Pt. VI, Plates XLIXf., fol. 1, v4 to fol. 2, r4.

¹² This is the tentative translation of *ostārakagrahāto*; cf. *loc. cit.*, n. 6.

¹³ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 227, n. 8 and the General Sanskrit Index, p. 256, s. v. *Kakkhorda* “a kind of black magic”.

¹⁴ Cf. *op. cit.*, General Sanskrit Index, p. 325, s. v. *Vetāda*.

¹⁵ Cf. LORE SANDER’s remark in SHT IV 60, p. 272, n. 2.

For the term *kr̥tya* we have only one more instance, i.e. the epithet *sarvakr̥tya-kākhordavināsanī* “destroyer of all sorcerers and evil demons/enchantments and magics” of Śrīmahādevī in the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*¹⁶. From these examples we can conclude that the usage of the word *kr̥tya* is ambivalent and that it might denote a “magic, charm, enchantment” or its male personification a “sorcerer or magician”.

The word *kākhorda* which appears in the forms *kakkhorda*¹⁷, *kharkhoda*¹⁸, *khakhorda* and *khārkoṭa* seems to be of Iranian origine¹⁹. It denotes “a kind of magic; a curse or malediction”²⁰ as well as “an evil spirit, magician”²¹. Usually the context contains some magic spell or conjuration. In addition to the quotations above mentioned the concept *kākhorda* is met with in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (GBM(FacEd), Pt. 5, Fol. 141 b 6–7):

tasya kaś cid abhaiṣajyam avakiret kākhordam vā kuryāt* agnikhadām vopānāmayec chastreṇa vā dadyād viṣeṇa vā dadyād udakena vā cchorayet sarvaṃ tasya na kramiṣyati*

G. SCHOPEN quotes this passage in Bhgsū, p. 259; cf. his rendering:

“whosoever would sprinkle a drug on him, or would make/perform a *kākhorda*²², or would lead him into a pit of fire, or would strike him with a sword, or would present him with poison, or would throw him into water — none of these will approach him.”

In BHSD *s. v. kākhorda* the word is rendered “an evil demon”. In Śiṅṅ 192.7–8 several treatises are mentioned, among them also *kākhordaśāstrāṇi* which according to F. EDGERTON should be interpreted as “books on devil-lore” and not as “books on charms for procuring death”. The translation “an evil demon” does not fit well in some quotations, where the sense is at least ambiguous. In those cases where *kākhorda* is something “made”, “performed” or “employed” it seems to be the name of a certain kind of evil charm or malediction, e.g. in the quotation from *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* 214.6f. [chapter 30 vs. 14]: *vetāla-mantra tha kakhorda sadā prayuktā ghātārtha teṣa ripavaḥ stimitā bhavanti* | “Vetāla-charms (or as *dvandva* compound: Vetāla-spells and charms) and Kākhorda (*m. c.* kakhorda) are always employed (or: recited) with the purpose of killing. Their enemies will grow stiff.” In *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* 450.25 the compound *sarvabhūtagrahaḥ jyotiṣāpasmāra-kākhorda-vetālapraṭiṣṭhāneṣu*²³ might be translated “in all kinds of resistance against spirits, Graha demons, Jyotiṣa magics, Apasmāra demons, Kākhorda demons and zombies”.

¹⁶ Cf. A. C. BANERJI “Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇam”, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. NALINAKSHA DUTT, vol. I, Srinagar 1939, p. 100.9.

¹⁷ Cf. SHT III 906 c [= NagSū p. 73] v3; 909 b [= NagSū p. 74] v5.

¹⁸ Cf. Mayrhofer, Wb, *s. v.*

¹⁹ T. BURROW, “Iranian words in the Kharoṣṭhi documents II”, *Journal of the School of Oriental Studies* 7 (1933–35), pp. 780f.

²⁰ Cf. Mayrhofer, Wb, *s. v. kharkhoda-* and G. SCHOPEN, *IJJ* 19 (1977), p. 141.

²¹ Cf. BHSD *s. v. kākhorda*.

²² Cf. E. CONZE, *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom with the Divisions of the Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, Berkeley 1975, p. 229: “work devil-lore on him”; see also G. SCHOPEN’s review on this book in *IJJ* 19 (1977), pp. 135–152 and specially p. 141 for the translation of *kākhorda*.

²³ The compound is quoted from the edition of P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1960 (BST no. 5), p. 354.20; BHSD has *kākhorda-vetāda-pratighāteṣu*.

In Suv(B) four occurrences of *kākhorda* have to be mentioned. Both meanings could be applied here. Suv(B) 55.16 *sarvagrahanakṣatrajanmamaranapīḍā ... sarvakākhordavetālāḥ praśamaṃ yāsyanti* “All sufferings from planets, stars, birth and death ... and all Kākhorda and Vetāla will be allayed.” Cf. Suv(B) 57.6 *sarvakākhordavetālān praśamiṣyāmi* and the verse Suv(B) 84 vs. 12 *grahanakṣatrapīḍā ca kākhordagrahadāruṇā | ... bhonti parānmukhāḥ* “The sufferings from planets and stars and the dreadfulness of Kākhordas and Graha demons ... will take to flight.” In Suv(tib) I 80.8; 83.15; 122.4 *kākhorda* is rendered *byad* and defined by J. NOBEL as “böser Dämon”²⁴. In Suv(tib) I 4.27, which corresponds to Suv(B) 2.12 *kākhordadaruṇagrahaiḥ* “by Kākhordas and dreadful Graha demons”, we find *byad stems*, which H. A. JÄSCHKE, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, s. v. explains as “imprecation, malediction”. The same Tibetan concept is used in Bhgsū [10], the Sanskrit text of which is found on p. 49:

*tasya śatrusya nāmaṃ vā śarīrapratimāṃ vā kṛtvā tatra ghoravidyāṃ sādhayanti
kākhordavetādaprayogena jīvitāntarāyaṃ vā śarīravinaśaṃ vā kartukāmā*

The Tibetan text reads as follows (p. 90):

*dgra bo de'i miñ nas brjod pa 'am | gzugs byas nas der rig śnags drag po
sgrub ciñ | byad stems dan | ro lañs kyi sbyor bas srog gi bar chad bya ba dan
| lus rnam par gzig par 'dod pa la gañ dag gis*

G. SCHOPEN renders this passage (p. 256):

“Having made the name or a likeness of the body of their enemy, they then bring into effect terrible spells, desiring to cause by means of (a) *kākhorda* or *vetāḍa* an impediment to his life or the destruction of his body.”

A second mention of *kākhorda* is made in *Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra* [20] where it occurs in a list of eight kinds of untimely death [Bhgsū p. 66 and 261]: *aṣṭamaṃ akālamaraṇaṃ ye viśakākhordavetādaprayogena maranti* “The eighth untimely death is: those who die through the employment of poison, *kākhordas* and *vetāḍas*.” Both times the definition “evil charm, malediction” would fit better than “evil demon”.

In *Ratnaketu-parivarta*²⁵ 168 we learn about the effects of the recitation of a certain magical formula:

*tāṃś ca sarvān rāṣṭrakuṭumbadevanāgayakṣakaṭapūtanasaṃkṣobhāṃ sarvacan-
drasūryagrahanakṣatradanḍaviśaśastrakākhordasaṃkṣobhāṃ ... praśameyuh*

Cf. G. SCHOPEN's rendering (Bhgsū, p. 260):

“and all the disturbances from the devas, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, and *kaṭapūtanas* of the kingdom and household, all disturbances from planets and stars, sun and moon, civil authority, poison, arms and *kākhordas* ... they would allay.”

In *Saṅghāṭasūtra*²⁶ § 31 we read about the issue of continual worship of the Sūtra:

²⁴ Cf. Suv(tib) II 148 s. v. *byad*.

²⁵ *Ratnaketu-parivarta*, ed. and annotated by Y. KURUMIYA, Kyoto 1978. Cf. the quotation in Bhgsū, p. 260.

²⁶ GIOTTO CANEVASCINI, *The Khotanese Saṅghāṭasūtra*, A critical edition, Wiesbaden 1993 (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 14).

6. *na sa Sarvaśūra śastreṇa kālaṃ kariṣyati, na viṣeṇa kālaṃ kariṣyati, 7. kākhordam cāsyas na kramiṣyati;*

“6. and, Sarvaśūra, it will not (be the case ... that) he will lose (his) life by the sword and (he will) not (lose his life) by poison, 7. and no one will be able to cast an evil spell over him;”

In the *Asilomāpratisara* fragment in SHT IV 60 fol. 7 v7 the phrase *kakkhordda-cchedanam karomi* “I accomplish the destroying (or: removing) of the Kākhordas” and in fol. 8 v5 the term *kakkhordddacchedane* are met with. Also in these cases the rendering the “evil magic; curse, malediction” would be preferable. Thus we see that very often the exact meaning of the term *kākhorda* is doubtful and alternates between “evil spirit, magician” and “evil magic, curse malediction”, an ambiguity which might be intentional.

Although the word *mantra* usually denotes “a magical formula, incantation, charm, spell”²⁷, sometimes it might be personified²⁸ as “demon of the magical formulas, charmer”. However, the latter meaning does not occur in Buddhist texts. In words like *mantrapada* “magical word”²⁹ and *dhāraṇīmantrapada* “talismanic charm words” or “words of dhāraṇīs and mantras”³⁰ the definition “magical formula, incantation, charm, spell” is even emphasized.

vetāda, the fourth member of the compound, is found more often in the form *vetāla* and is defined as “a demon occupying a dead body”³¹ or “a kind of demon, ghost, spirit, goblin, vampire”³². The word’s derivation is doubtful. Its Tibetan equivalent is *ro laṅs*³³ meaning literally “risen corpse”. The meaning “demon” seems appropriate in the epithet given to Avalokiteśvara by Yama in *Kāraṇḍavyūha*³⁴ 263.9 *yakṣarākṣasabhūtapretavetāladākinikuṣmāṇḍāpasmārasamtrāsana-kara* “he who causes trembling with fear among the Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Bhūta, Preta, Vetāla, Dākinī, Kuṣmāṇḍa and Apasmāra”. In most of the quotations treated above the meaning of *vetāla* is as ambiguous as that of *kr̥tya* or *kākhorda* in combination with which the term appears. To those citations the following verse from Saddhp 450.3–4 may be added³⁵:

mantrabalavidyaaṣadhī bhūtavetāla śarīranāśanāḥ |
smarato Avalokiteśvaram tena gacchanti yataḥ pravartitāḥ ||

“Spells, bala charms, incantations and drugs, Bhūtas and Vetālas which destroy the body - from recollecting Avalokiteśvara they go there whence they origina-

²⁷ Cf. Saddhp 372.4–5 *ye kecil laukikā lokavyavahārā bhāṣyāṇi vā mantrā vā; 402.5 ya imam mantra śrutvā vs.*

²⁸ Cf. MW s. v.

²⁹ Cf. Suv(B) 56.4 (vs. 4); 56.15 (vs. 8).

³⁰ Cf. BHSD s. v. *dhāraṇī*; Saddhp 396.3; 398.3; 399.9; 400.1; 401.1/2.

³¹ Cf. Mayrhofer, Wb, s. v.

³² Cf. MW, s. v.

³³ Cf. DAVID SEYFORTH RUEGG, Review on: “A. W. MACDONALD, *Matériaux pour l’étude de la littérature populaire tibétaine*, I ... Paris 1967”, *IJ* 14 (1972), pp. 137–140.

³⁴ *Avalokiteśvaraguna-Kāraṇḍavyūha* in: *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Samgraha* Pt. 1, ed. by P. L. VAIDYA (BST no. 17), pp. 258–308.

³⁵ Cf. Bhgsū p. 260.

ted.”

In this context the definitions of Bhūtas and Vetālas which in most cases denote “ghosts and zombies” are not quite clear. One might assume that they too designate some kind of spell.³⁶ The translation “magic art of revivifying a corpse” or “Vetāda spells or magics” is corroborated by the word *vaitāda* in the passage of SHT IV 60 which was quoted above and by Buddhaghosa’s commentary on Pāli *vetāla*, for which Buddhaghosa gives two explanations. This comment is found in *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*³⁷ I 84 (on *Dīghanikāya* I 6): *Vetālan ti ghanatālam, mantena matasarīrutthāpanan ti pi eke* “Vetāla is the beating of cymbals³⁸; some take it to be raising the dead by magic charms.” The latter definition is obviously the Skt. *vaitāda*, *vaitāla* “Vetāla magics, spells”, the derivative from Skt. *vetāla*, *vetāda*. It is related with Skt. *vaitālika* “one who is possessed by a Vetāla; the worshipper of a Vetāla; a magician, conjurer” and *vaitālīya* mfn. “relating to the Vetālas”. On account of these citations and by taking into consideration a middle Indic influence on Skt. *vetāda*, *vetāla*³⁹ one should extend the definition of *vetāla* from “demon occupying a dead body” to “magic art of revivifying a corpse” or “Vetāda spells or magics” in some of the quotations above mentioned.

At last, we should examine the verb *prati-vi-gam* “to be dispersed, become scattered, vanish” which in the *Nagaropamasūtra* is used with the compound *krtya-kākhorda-mantra-vetāda*. It seems to occur in Buddhist texts only. BHSD s.v. *prativigacchati* has the following entries: Śikṣ 248.10 *abhūtvā bhavati* (scil. *ādhyātmikas tejodhātur*) *bhūtvā ca prativigacchati* “after not having been (the internal element fire) comes into being, after having been it vanishes”. Divy 573.4 *tasya yāsau drṣṭiḥ ... sā prativigatā* “his wrong opinion ... has vanished”. Avś I 163.12 *yo ’bhūd rūpamaḍaḥ sa prativigataḥ* “her conceit of her beauty had vanished”. In the Sanskrit fragments from the Turfan Finds we have only two more occurrences in addition to NagSū II 11,25. In CPS 28f.12 and g.6 we read *yat tat (syā)d* [or *tad abhūd*] *unmadgumātram vā prati(bhānamā)tram vā tat sarvaṃ prativiga(mi)syati* [or *prativig(a)t(am abhūt)*] “Whatever remains (or: remained) of arrogance or whatever remains (or: remained) of self-confidence, all that shall vanish (or: has vanished).” In SHT V 1318 c A2 we find the phrase (*yo sau*) *madyamaḍaḥ sa prativigataḥ* “Whatever intoxication there had been, that had vanished”. From these references we can draw the conclusion that *prativigam* seems to be used only with abstract things or emotions and not with living beings.

³⁶ In *Saṅghabhedavastu* (ed. by R. GNOLI, Roma 1977–78) II 238 we find in a series of possibilities of *tiryagvidyāmithyājīva* “wrong livelihood through pseudo-sciences” among other dubious medical treatments *vetādārdhahavetādaṃ vā prayojayanti*, Tib. *ro laṅs daṅ | ro laṅs phyed kyi sbyor ba ste*.

³⁷ *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, *Buddhaghosa’s Commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya*, Pt. 1, ed. by T. W. RHYS DAVIDS and J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, London 1886 (PTS).

³⁸ This explanation is derived from Skt. *vitāla* “(in music) breaking time”, *vitālī* “an instrument for beating time” and is related with Skt. *vaitālika* “a bard, panegyrist of a king” and *vaitālīya* n. “a kind of metre”. Cf. PTSD s.v. *vetāla* “... refers to some magic art. The proper meaning of the word was already unknown when Buddhaghosa ... explained it as *ghana-tālam*”.

³⁹ Instead of *vaitāda*, *vaitāla*. Cf. RATNA CHANDRA, *An Illustrated Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary*, Dhanmandi 1923–33, s.v. *vetālī* “A magic by which dead things appear as living”.

All four members of the compound *kr̥tya-kākhorda-mantra-vetāḍa* are ambiguous with respect to their meaning, because they denote either a kind of spell, charm or incantation or a demon or sorcerer personifying this spell, charm or incantation. Thus the compound might be translated "sorcerers, magicians, charmers and zombies" or "sorceries, magics, charms and demonic arts". If the ambiguous meaning is not intended from the beginning, the correct interpretation is disclosed from the context only. In NagSū II.11,25 the verb *prativigam* "to be dispersed, become scattered, vanish" is used with the compound. This verb occurs - at least in Buddhist texts - mainly in conjunction with abstract words or mental objects and never with persons. Therefore, in this case, the definition of *kr̥tya-kākhorda-mantra-vetāḍa* should be "sorceries, magics, charms and demonic arts" which agrees well with the context.

List of Abbreviations

For the abbreviations used in this article see HEINZ BECHERT (ed.), *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*, Göttingen 1990 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 3). In addition the following abbreviations have been used:

Bhgsū = GREGORY SCHOPEN, *The Bhaisajyaguru-Sūtra and The Buddhism of Gilgit*, [unpubl.] Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University 1978.

Bower Ms. = *The Bower Manuscript: Facsimile Leaves, Nagari Transcript, Romanised Transliteration and English Transl.*, ed. by A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, Calcutta 1893-1912 (Archaeological Survey of India).

NagSū = G. BONGARD-LEVIN, D. BOUCHER, T. FUKITA, and K. WILLE, "The Nagropamasūtra: An Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama. A Transliteration, Reconstruction, and Translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts", *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III*, Bearbeitet von G. BONGARD-LEVIN, D. BOUCHER et al., Göttingen 1996 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 6).

P = *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition* (repr.), ed. D. T. SUZUKI, 168 vols., Tokyo, Kyoto 1955-1961. The *Buddhabalādhānaprātihāryavikurvāṇanirdeśa-sūtra* is contained in vol. 34, no. 853, pp.189-4-7 to 195-3-4.

Saddhp(Bu) = [*Saddharmapundarīka*] *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, traduit du Sanscrit par E. BURNOUF, Paris 1852 (réimprimé 1973).

SHT = *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*. Hrsg. von E. WALDSCHMIDT u.a., T. I ff., Wiesbaden 1965ff. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland X, 1 ff.).

Suv(B) = *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, ed. by S. BAGCHI, Darbhanga 1967 (BST no. 8).

Suv(tib) = *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, Die tibetischen Übersetzungen*, hrsg. von JOHANNES NOBEL, Bd. 1: Die tibetischen Übersetzungen, Bd. 2: Wörterbuch Tibetisch-Deutsch-Sanskrit, Leiden 1944–1950.

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