

# A *dhāraṇī* for each day of the week: The *saptavāra* tradition of the Newar Buddhists\*

Gudrun Bühnemann

University of Wisconsin-Madison

[gbuhnema@wisc.edu](mailto:gbuhnema@wisc.edu)

## Abstract

The paper discusses a group of *dhāraṇīs* associated with the seven days (*saptavāra*) of the week, with each *dhāraṇī* being recited on a specific day. The visual forms of the *dhāraṇīs* were represented in miniature paintings in manuscripts of the *saptavāra* texts and in wood-carvings on the struts of two Newar Buddhist monasteries in Kathmandu. The paper shows that even though two members of the *saptavāra* group were originally male, eventually all members came to be conceived of as feminine in Nepal. It further provides evidence that the group is likely to have become known in Nepal by at least the late sixteenth century.

**Keywords:** *Dhāraṇī*, *Saptavāra*, Newar Buddhism, Gaṇapatihṛdaya, Vajravīdāriṇī, Vajravīdāraṇa

The recitation of *dhāraṇīs* continues to be part of the religious practice of Newar Buddhists and to form part of the daily worship ritual in temples.<sup>1</sup> One group of *dhāraṇīs* is associated with the seven days (*saptavāra*) of the week,<sup>2</sup> with each *dhāraṇī* being recited on a specific day. The actual texts, occasionally termed *dhāraṇī-stotras* or *hṛdayas*, are mostly<sup>3</sup> linked as follows:

- \* Several sections of this paper draw on an earlier article (Bühnemann 2006) but the material has been thoroughly revised and updated. I would like to thank Gerd Mevissen for suggestions and Manik Bajracharya for providing a photograph. I would also like to thank Gerald Kozicz for helpful information.
- 1 For the text and an English translation of some *dhāraṇīs* recited during the daily *pūjā* in shrines in the Kathmandu Valley, see Sharkey 2001: 82, 301–02.
- 2 *Saptavāra* manuscripts are very widespread and must have been extant in every Newar Buddhist household at one time. They are found in many manuscript collections and are too numerous to be listed here. The recently published catalogue of the Danish Royal Library, Copenhagen, contains descriptions of five such manuscripts accompanied by colour reproductions of select miniature paintings (Buescher 2011, nos 18–20, 25, 26).
- 3 The peculiarity of manuscript 258 in the N.C. Mehta Gallery of the Gujarat Museum Society on the campus of the L.D. Institute of Indology in Ahmedabad is that Mārīcī and Parnaśavaṛī exchange positions. One would have to examine a large number of *saptavāra* manuscripts to determine whether this sequence is merely erroneous or represents a minor tradition.

**Text**

Vasudhārādhāraṇīstotra

(also known as Vasudhārānāmāṣṭottaraśatam,  
Vasudhārā's 108 names)<sup>4</sup>

Vajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī<sup>5</sup>

Gaṇapatihṛdaya<sup>6</sup>

Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī<sup>7</sup>

Paṛṇaśavarīdhāraṇī<sup>8</sup> or

Prajñāpāramitādhāraṇī<sup>9</sup>

Māricīdhāraṇī<sup>10</sup>

Grahamātrkādhāraṇī<sup>11</sup>

**Day of the week**

Ādityavāra (Sunday)

Somavāra (Monday)

Maṅgalavāra (Tuesday)

Budhavāra (Wednesday)

Brhaspativāra (Thursday)

Śukravāra (Friday)

Śanivāra (Saturday)

- 4 The text is published in *Dhīh* 3, 1987: 3–4 and 6, 1988: 1–2 from an unpublished collection of hymns (*stotra*) preserved in the Śāntarakṣita Library. It is also printed in *Bauddhastotrasaṃgraha*, pp. 220–21 [titled *Vasudhārā-nāma-dhāraṇīstotra*], in Mahendraratna Śākya (1994: 36–7) and Dharmarāj Bajrācārya (1997/1998: 1–5). Short extracts are printed in Bendall (1883: 66), and references to manuscripts are gathered in Tsukamoto et al. (1989: 117–8). This text differs from the long *Vasudhārādhāraṇīstotra*, a version of which is published in *Dhīh* 44, 2007: 129–47.
- 5 The text of this *dhāraṇī* is printed in Iwamoto 1937: 7, 2 ff. In the colophon it is called *Śrīvajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī-hṛdayopahṛdayaṃ mūlasūtram*. Another version is published in *Dhīh* 40, 2005: 159–64, from a collection titled *Dhāraṇyādisaṃgraha* (folios 144a–145a, 220b–222b of manuscript 1–335 in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, compared with the Tibetan translation). Another printed version of the text appears in Dharmarāj Bajrācārya 1997/1998: 6–11. Willson and Brauen (2000: 296) translate part of the Tibetan translation of the *dhāraṇī* into English. References to manuscripts can be found in Tsukamoto et al. 1989: 148–9.
- 6 The text was published in Iwamoto (1937: 10, 2–11) under the title *Gaṇapatihṛdaya*. For an English translation of the Sanskrit text, see Duquenne 1988: 344. Wilkinson (1991: 242) attempted an English rendering of the Tibetan translation of a text titled *Āryagaṇapatihṛdaya*, which is a shorter version of Iwamoto's text. The *dhāraṇī* is also printed in Dharmarāj Bajrācārya (1997/1998: 12–19). References to manuscripts of this text can be found in Tsukamoto et al. (1989: 119).
- 7 The text of this version of Uṣṇīṣavijayā's *dhāraṇī* is printed in Dharmarāj Bajrācārya 1997/1998: 20–24. For the text of the *dhāraṇī* (without the introductory and concluding sections) as reconstructed from one Nepalese *saptavāra* manuscript that was reprinted in Lokesh Chandra (1981, nos 332–6), see Yuyama 2000: 171–4. Yuyama has studied different versions of this *dhāraṇī*. For a somewhat similar version of the text, transliterated by Tz' u-hsien, see Yuyama 1997: 733–4. References to manuscripts can be found in Filliozat 1941: 55 (with a short extract of the text) and in Tsukamoto et al. 1989: 67, 101.
- 8 This *dhāraṇī* is printed in Dharmarāj Bajrācārya (1997/1998: 25–30); an extract from the text of this *dhāraṇī* appears in Filliozat 1941: 40; for manuscripts, see Tsukamoto et al. (1989: 140–41).
- 9 Gellner (1992: 359, note 39) and Kooij (1977: 63) have already noted that the two *dhāraṇīs* are interchangeable. Dharmarāj Bajrācārya (1997/1998) includes the text of both *dhāraṇīs*; the *Prajñāpāramitādhāraṇī* is printed on pp. 27–30. Manuscripts of this *dhāraṇī* are described in Tsukamoto et al. 1989: 95–6.
- 10 The text of this *dhāraṇī*, edited based on manuscript 3/589 (titled *Dhāraṇyādisaṃgraha*) in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, and compared with the Tibetan translation is printed in *Dhīh* 42, 2006: 155–8. For the text, see also Ashikaga 1960: 136–7 and Dharmarāj Bajrācārya 1997/1998: 31–4. For Māricī's *dhāraṇīs*, see Filliozat 1941: 55 and Tsukamoto et al. 1989: 93–5.
- 11 The text of Grahamātrkā's *dhāraṇī*, edited from manuscript 3/589 titled *Dhāraṇyādisaṃgraha* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu, and compared

Manuscripts containing these seven texts are often catalogued as *Grahamātrkādhāraṇī* because cataloguers recorded only the title in the colophon of the last of the seven texts.

The practice of reciting a specific *dhāraṇī* on a certain day of the week was briefly mentioned by David Gellner (1992: 127), who observed two decades ago that it was in a state of decline. It appears to be limited to Newar Buddhism and is undocumented in Indian manuscripts (Grönbold 2001: 373). The practice helps to integrate the recitation of religious texts, especially protective formulas, into the practitioner's everyday life. In a somewhat similar way, Newar Buddhists have linked the twelve Lokeśvaras (and Newar Hindus, the twelve forms of Nārāyaṇa) with the lunar months (Bühnemann 2012: 68–73, 150–51; 15–16; 155).

The process of assigning the seven *dhāraṇī* texts to the days of the week, which are presided over by specific planets, must have been accompanied by some speculation regarding possible astral connections, even though Günter Grönbold (2001: 375) rejects this notion. In fact, there is evidence that divinities were associated with all of the nine heavenly bodies, as the following list,<sup>12</sup> which is included in a book by Pandit Hemrāj Śākya (1991: 8), shows:

Heavenly body	Deity
Āditya	Vasu(n)dharā
Soma	Vajravidāriṇī
Maṅgala	Gaṇapati
Budha	Uṣṇīṣavijayā
Bṛhaspati	Dhvajāgrakeyūrī
Śukra	Māricī
Śani	Grahamātrkā
Rāhu	Paṇṣavarī
Ketu	Pratyāṅgirā

In this list it is Dhvajāgrakeyūrī who is associated with Bṛhaspati/Jupiter, not Paṇṣavarī or Prajñāpāramitā as before. It is unclear why the heavenly bodies are paired with these particular divinities, but the arrangement could imply that the divinities including Gaṇapati were considered female and assumed a function comparable to that of female consorts (*śakti*). In a similar manner, a diagram in a *pūjāvidhi* text pairs the mother goddesses (*mātrkā*) with eight heavenly bodies (in a tradition which excludes Ketu) (Pal and Bhattacharyya 1969: 32, 39–40).

---

with two Tibetan translations, is printed in *Dhīh* 39, 2005: 169–76. Another printed version of the text appears in Dharmarāj Bajrācārya (1997/1998: 35–43). Extracts of the text are printed in Mitra (1882 [1971]: 91–3; no. 816 B) and Filliozat (1941: 44), and manuscript material is described in Tsukamoto et al. 1989: 114–15.

12 The divinities' names and iconographic descriptions of them, in a different order and without being paired with the heavenly bodies, are found in Pandit Amṛtānanda's *Dharmakośasaṃgraha*, written in 1826 CE (fol. 43b.7–44b.1). The names are Vasundharā, Vajravidāriṇī (written Vajravidrāviṇī), Paṇṣavarī, Māricī (written Mārici), Dhvajāgrakeyūrī, Gaṇapatihṛdayā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Grahamātrkā and Pratyāṅgirā.

## Miniature paintings in manuscripts

Manuscripts of the *saptavāra* texts often contain miniature paintings illustrating the visual forms of the *dhāraṇīs*, one painting corresponding to each text. The iconography varies somewhat, since most texts do not include descriptions, while in addition Uṣṇīṣavijayā and others are known to have multiple forms.<sup>13</sup> In these manuscripts the days of the week on which the *dhāraṇī* texts are recited may be spelled in an abbreviated form in the margins. An example is manuscript 4/1483, labelled *Ādityādigrahamātrkādhāraṇī*, in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18), dated N.S. 763 (1642/43 CE), from which Figures 1 to 7 of this article are taken.

- 1) The first text in the manuscript is the *Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī*, to be recited on Sundays. Misled by the reference to *ādityavāra* (Sunday) in the margin, the Nepalese artist painted the Sun God (Figure 1) holding a lotus in each hand and seated on a green horse. But Vasudhārā is clearly seen as the first of the seven *dhāraṇīs*, for example, in a painting in manuscript 258 in storage at the N.C. Mehta Gallery of the Gujarat Museum Society (Bühnemann 2006: plate IX). The miniature shows the yellow-complexioned Vasudhārā seated on a lotus. The goddess has one head and six arms. She exhibits the gestures of veneration (*tathāgatavandanā*) and wish-granting (*varada*) with two of her right hands and holds a jewel in the third right hand. She carries a manuscript, ear of corn and a vase in her left hands.<sup>14</sup>
- 2) The *Vajravīdāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī* is recited on Mondays. The miniature painting shows a three-headed, twenty-armed Vajravīdāraṇā (Figure 2). In other manuscript paintings this lesser-known divinity (discussed in more detail below) is often portrayed with five heads and ten arms.



Figure 1. (Colour online) Sūrya (instead of Vasudhārā). Fol. 1, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahamātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.

13 I have discussed the iconography of the group of seven to some extent in an earlier article (Bühnemann 2006), taking their representations in manuscript 258 in the N.C. Mehta Gallery of the Gujarat Museum Society as a starting point. Gerd Mevissen has made a study of Grahamātrkā, the “Mother of the Heavenly Bodies” (Mevissen 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007).

14 See Bühnemann (2006: 47) for a discussion of the goddess’s iconography.



Figure 2. (Colour online) Vajravīdāraṇī. Fol. 4, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahaṃātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.



Figure 3. (Colour online) Gaṇapati. Fol. 8, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahaṃātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.



Figure 4. (Colour online) Uṣṇīṣavijayā. Fol. 11, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahaṃātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.

3) The third text is the *Gaṇapatihṛdaya* (also written as *Gaṇapatihṛdayā*), literally “heart *mantra* of Gaṇapati”, to be recited on Tuesdays. The miniature painting (Figure 3) shows a six-armed Gaṇapati, with each foot on a rat. The deity is clearly male,<sup>15</sup> an issue I will return to later.

15 In Bühnemann (2006: 36–7) I assumed, following one informant’s suggestion, that the presence of small flags in the headgear indicated that the divinity is female. This assumption has turned out not to be valid in all cases and the Gaṇapati is in fact a male form.



Figure 5. (Colour online) Prajñāpāramitā. Fol. 13, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahamātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.



Figure 6. (Colour online) Mārīcī. Fol. 19, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahamātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.



Figure 7. (Colour online) Grahamātrkā. Fol. 22, manuscript 4/1483 titled *Ādityādigrahamātrkādhāraṇī* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu (Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project, reel no. B 107/18). Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.

- 4) The *Uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī* is the fourth text in the group and is recited on Wednesdays (Figure 4). The miniature shows a three-headed, eight-armed goddess seated on a lotus.
- 5) The fifth text, to be recited on Thursdays, is either the *Parnaśavarīdhāraṇī* or the *Prajñāpāramitādhāraṇī*. Our manuscript portrays a four-armed Prajñāpāramitā (Figure 5) seated on a double lotus. Parnaśavarī is seen in

a painting in manuscript 258 in storage at the N.C. Mehta Gallery of the Gujarat Museum Society (Bühnemann 2006: plate XIV). The miniature portrays a three-headed, six-armed benevolent goddess. Parnaśavarī, “the woman of the Śavara (also written Śabara) (tribe) with a leaf (*parṇa*) (garment)”, is a goddess known in both Buddhism and Hinduism.

- 6) The sixth *dhāraṇī* is that of Māricī and is recited on Fridays. The three-headed goddess is seated in a chariot pulled by five pigs (Figure 6).
- 7) The last *dhāraṇī*, to be recited on Saturdays, teaches the *mantras* of the nine heavenly bodies and is called Grahamāṭṛkā, the mother of planets, also known as Navagrahamāṭṛkā in other sources. The goddess appears relatively late in the Buddhist pantheon. She is first described in Jagaddarpaṇa’s *c.* twelfth-century *Kriyāsamuccaya*, and the oldest visual representation dates from the twelfth/thirteenth century (Mevisen 2006: 66, 69). The divinity has three heads and six arms. The upper pair of hands holds a *vajra* and lotus, and the one below an arrow and bow, while the main pair displays the *dharmacakra*- or *vyākhyānamudrā* (Figure 7). The iconography corresponds roughly to type 2 as classified by Mevisen (2006: 67–9), dating back to the second quarter of the fifteenth century.

## Representations in woodcarvings

Representations of the seven members of the group are also found as woodcarvings on the struts of two Newar Buddhist monasteries (*vihāra*) in Kathmandu.

- a) One set is found in the seventeenth-century Chuṣyā Bahāl, also called Guṇākara(mahā)vihāra, and has been documented by Kooij (1977: 60–66)<sup>16</sup> and Bajracharya (2004);<sup>17</sup> photographs of the struts are also reproduced in Kooij 1978: plates XLV–XLV; and
- b) Another set is found in the *c.* late-sixteenth-century Khuñ Bahāl,<sup>18</sup> also known as Pinchē Bahāl, Manijū Bahāl or Jāmbūnadavana Vihāra in Wotu (Vaṭu/Baṭu) Tole. Modern versions of the name include Pīcche Bahāl and Pūrṇabuddhamahāvihāra. The struts of this *vihāra* are not as well preserved as those in Chuṣyā Bahāl, and the arms of several of the wooden figures have broken off.

In contrast to the more complex iconographic forms represented in manuscript paintings, most of the divinities on the wooden struts are merely one-headed and two-armed and stand with crossed legs under a bough of leaves or reach up into the crown of a tree.

Karel van Kooij (1977: 82) assumed that the entire iconographic programme of Chuṣyā Bahāl was determined by some collection of *dhāraṇīs* and had a

16 Four struts were stolen on January 10, 2001 and subsequently replaced.

17 For a recent discussion of the history and architectural configuration of this Bahāl, see Gutschow 2011, 2: 738–45.

18 Kooij (1977: 60) erroneously calls the monastery “Chun”-Bahāl. For this Bahāl, see Locke 1985: 249, no. 47 and 352–6; see also Pruscha 1975, 2: 51. Inscriptional evidence dates the Bahāl to 1591 CE (Locke 1985: 352).

protective function. He further speculated that the act of moving around in the courtyard while reciting the names of the divinities whose names are inscribed on the struts and making offerings to them was possibly believed to yield the same result as the recitation of the *dhāraṇī* texts, namely protection. I am not convinced that this was the case, because the struts are positioned high up below the roof and out of the practitioner's normal range of sight, and do not easily allow for the inscriptions to be read or for offerings to be placed before the divinities. I would assume that the struts with the figures of the divinities were installed for protective purposes, following prescriptions in ritual manuals dealing with the construction and consecration (*pratiṣṭhā*) of monasteries.

## The question of gender

All members of the group came to be conceived of as feminine in Nepal. Already Brian Hodgson (1874 [1972]: 19) characterizes the “Saptavāradhāraṇī” as “an account of the seven Devīs (Buddha Saktis) called Vasundharā, Vajra Vidārinī, Ganapati Hridayā, Ushnisha Vijayā, Parna Savarī, Marīchi, Graha Mātrikā, together with their Vīja mantras”. Here the terms *devī* and *buddhaśakti* clearly indicate a feminine gender. The word *buddhaśakti* is often used in popular speech in Nepal instead of *prajñā*.<sup>19</sup> The use of both terms would also suggest that the seven goddesses were paired with Buddhas.

### A. Vajravidāraṇā

As noted above, the text to be recited on Mondays is the *Vajravidāraṇā-nāma-dhāraṇī*. Although the two versions of the printed text are preceded by an invocation of (Bhagavatī) Vajravidāraṇā, not found in all manuscripts from Nepal, the *dhāraṇī* itself does not mention such a goddess. It addresses the male divinities Vajrapāṇi (the lord of the Yakṣas) and Caṇḍavajrapāṇi, and further invokes Vajravidāraṇa and Caṇḍavajrakrodha.

A male deity Vajravidāraṇa is attested in a number of textual and visual sources, and a considerable amount of material on both fierce and occasionally benevolent forms is found in Lokesh Chandra's *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* (1999–2005, 14: 4205–11). Vajravidāraṇa is a form of Vajrapāṇi that frequently features a double *vajra* (or multi-pronged *vajra*) in the right hand and a bell in the left. He is represented, for instance, in the Great Stūpa of Gyantse (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 78, 256 and plate 40) with these hand-held attributes. But as a member of the *saptavāra* group in Nepal, the divinity is clearly considered female. The feminine form of the name also appears as Vajravidāraṇī in the titles of several *sādhana* texts in Tibetan.<sup>20</sup>

19 Bangdel (1999: 88, n. 52) confirms that in Nepal the term *śakti* or *buddhaśakti* is a popular reference to Buddhist goddesses, although the more formal Buddhist term, *prajñā*, is generally preferred by ritual specialists. The Vamśāvalī of Padmagiri (Hasrat 1970: 17), for example, refers to the consorts of the Tathāgatas, such as Locanā, Māmakī and the others, as *buddhaśaktis*.

20 Their titles are listed in Lo Bue and Ricca 1990: 109, 124. The form of the name Vajravidāraṇī appears (erroneously?) as no. 352 of the eighteenth-century pantheon Chu Fo P'u-sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan. The pantheon has been reproduced by several scholars; see, for example, Walravens 1981: 276 and Lokesh Chandra and Bunce 2002: 712.



A few variants of the feminine form of the name have been transmitted. Along with Vajravīdāraṇā and the form Vajravīdāraṇī, the variant Vajravīdāriṇī appears. Pandit Amṛtānanda, describing the iconography of the goddess in his *Dharmakośasamgraha* written in 1826 CE, refers to her once as Vajravīdāriṇī (fol. 43b.7) and later uses the name Vajravīdāriṇī (fol. 67b.6). (The *dhāraṇī* text published in *Dhīḥ* 40, 2005: 161, 7–8 lists the epithet *vidrāvaṇakara* twice.) The pandit's description is as follows (fol. 43b.7–8):

*vajravīdāriṇī paṃcamukhi daśabhujā dakṣe amkuśa khaḍgaśara vajravarada vāme pāśa carma dhanu dhvajā abhaya pratyālīḍhāsana*  
Vajravīdāriṇī (for Vajravīdāriṇī) has five heads (and) ten arms. In the right (hands she holds) a goad, sword, arrow, *vajra* (and displays) the wish-granting (gesture); in the left (hands she holds) a noose, shield (*carman*), bow, banner (and displays the gesture of) protection. She is standing in *pratyālīḍha*.

Based on Amṛtānanda's text, Lokesh Chandra describes a five-headed, ten-armed form of the goddess under the entry Vajravīdāriṇī (1999–2005: 14: 4212). On the same page, under the entry Vajravīdāraṇī, he lists the two-armed form represented on an inscribed wooden strut of Chuṣyā Bahāl.

A painting in manuscript 258 in storage at the N.C. Mehta Gallery of the Gujarat Museum Society (Bühnemann 2006: plate X) conforms to most aspects of this description. The miniature shows the red-complexioned Vajravīdāriṇī on a lotus in the act of stepping to her right. The goddess has five heads (coloured white, yellow, red, blue and green) and ten arms. She holds the attributes listed in Pandit Amṛtānanda's description except that an axe replaces the banner. The goddess's female breasts are clearly discernible.

## B. Gaṇapatihṛdayā

The Gaṇapatihṛdayā, which is the *dhāraṇī* text recited on Tuesday, teaches several *mantras*, referred to as heart *mantras* of Gaṇapati. These invoke aspects of the deity, including Mahāgaṇapati, Gaṇapati, Gaṇādhipa, Gaṇeśvara and Gaṇapūjita. There is no reference to a female divinity called Gaṇapatihṛdayā, but the text is corrupt in many places.<sup>21</sup> Miniature paintings which accompany the *dhāraṇī* text in manuscripts show the regular iconography of a male Gaṇapati.<sup>22</sup> Based on manuscript evidence, Tsukamoto et al. (1989: 67) include the male Gaṇapatihṛdaya among the deities of the *saptavāra* group.<sup>23</sup> Karel van Kooij (1977: fig. 32) takes the word Gaṇapati inscribed below the figure on a

21 Thus we read: *yaḥ kaścid ānanda imāni [sic] gaṇapatihṛdayā-nāma-dhāraṇī dhārayiṣyanti [sic]* instead of *yaḥ kaścit kulaputra ānanda imāni gaṇapatihṛdayāni dhārayiṣyati* (Iwamoto 1937: 10, 9–10).

22 See, for example, the illustrated manuscript from Nepal reproduced in Lokesh Chandra (1981, no. 266) and the illustrated nineteenth-century manuscript from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Cod. sanscr. 423 = Janert and Poti 1985: 947–8, no. 2865; also described by Grönbold in Dachs et al. 1978: 171.

23 See also Mitra 1882 [1971]: 289–90, no. B 5, where the following names are listed: Vasundharā, Vajravīdāraṇa, Gaṇapatihṛdaya, Uṣṇīsavijaya [sic], Marīcī, Parnaśavarī, Grahamāṭṛkā, followed by Dhvajāgrakeyūrī, the five Rakṣās and others. In this list the



Figure 8. (Colour online) Gaṇapati. Wooden strut in Chuṣyā Bahāl, Kathmandu. Photo courtesy of Gudrun Bühnemann.

wooden strut of Chuṣyā Bahāl (Figure 8) as a short form of Gaṇapatiḥṛdayā. However, the figure does not exhibit female characteristics. Likewise, the Gaṇapati on the wooden strut in Khuñ Bahāl (Figure 9) is male.

Some manuscripts of the *dhāraṇī* text use the feminine dative of the noun Gaṇapatiḥṛdayā in their initial invocation *āryagaṇapatiḥṛdayāyai namaḥ*, while others invoke the male Gaṇapatiḥṛdaya with the formula *āryagaṇapatiḥṛdayāya namaḥ*. The feminine form Gaṇapatiḥṛdayā appears occasionally also in the colophons of the text. In both instances it can be understood as modifying the feminine noun *dhāraṇī*: *iti gaṇapatiḥṛdayādhāraṇī samāptā*.<sup>24</sup> In some texts the masculine and feminine forms alternate.

---

masculine gender is assigned not only to Gaṇapatiḥṛdaya and Vajravidāraṇa but also to Uṣṇīṣavijayā.

24 See, for example, Lokesh Chandra 1981, nos. 272, 2 and 331, 1.



Figure 9. (Colour online) Gaṇapati. Wooden strut in Pinchē Bahāl, Kathmandu. Photo courtesy of Manik Bajracharya.

When did the concept of a female Gaṇapatihṛdayā develop? It is well known that Brian Hodgson collected information and material from his informant Pandit Amṛtānanda (see further below). The pandit lists “Gaṇapatihṛdayādevī” as one of the *saptavāra* divinities in his *Dharmakośasamgraha* (fol. 67b.5–7).<sup>25</sup> The final component, *-devī*, clearly shows the female gender of the divinity. The iconographic description of the goddess called Gaṇapatihṛdayā (fol. 44a.4–5) appears in the context of a group of nine goddesses whose function is unclear, listed as Vasundharā, Vajravidāriṇī (written Vajravidrāviṇī), Parṇaśavarī, Mārīcī (written Mārīci), Dhvajāgrakeyūrī, Gaṇapatihṛdayā, Uṣṇīsavijayā, Grahamāṭṛkā and Pratyāṅgirā. The description is as follows:

25 See Amṛtānanda’s *Dharmakośasamgraha*, fol. 67b.5–7:

*saptavāradhāraṇī tantradhāraṇī, vasundharādevī vajravidāriṇīdevī gaṇapatihṛdayādevī uṣṇīsavijayādevī parṇaśavarīdevī mārīcīdevī grahamāṭṛkādevī, saptānām devīnām dhāraṇīsamgrahatvāt, saptavāradhāraṇīdeva[m]devīvarṇanam vaktā. ...*

*gaṇapatihṛdayā ekamukha dvibhujā varada abhaya nṛtyāsana*. The paṇḍit's characteristic "stenographic" text, frequently lacking case endings, can be translated as: "Gaṇapatihṛdayā: one head, two arms, wish-granting, protection, dancing pose". Here the name Gaṇapatihṛdayā is clearly feminine in gender.

Based on the *Dharmakośasaṃgraha*, whose text he improved by adding case endings as he thought fit, Benoytosh Bhattacharyya (1924: 157–8)<sup>26</sup> incorporated Gaṇapatihṛdayā into the Buddhist pantheon he described in his widely known *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. The description in the first edition of the book contains the following rather short paragraphs which include a description and a reference to a manuscript painting:

Like Gaṇapati himself Gaṇapatihṛdayā, who, in all probability, is his Śakti, does not bear any image of a Dhyānī Buddha. She is described in the work as: [158]:

"Gaṇapatihṛdayā ekamukhā dvibhujā varadā abhayā nṛtyāsana." *Dharmakośasaṃgraha*, Fol. 43.

"Gaṇapatihṛdayā is one-faced, two-armed, exhibits the Varada and the Abhaya poses, and a dancing attitude."

The miniature, (Plate XLII,d) however, does not tally with the above description. In this miniature she has sixteen arms and one face. The symbols, beings [sic] indistinct, cannot be recognised in all details.

The second paragraph, addressing the iconography in the miniature painting, was not included in the second edition of Bhattacharyya's book.

Many authors of iconographic handbooks and studies adopted B. Bhattacharyya's description of or reference to the goddess Gaṇapatihṛdayā, including D.C. Bhattacharyya 1974: 9–10 and 1978: 20; Agrawala 1978: 2, 33–4; Mallmann 1975: 167; Getty 1936: 37; Grönbold 1984: 353; Kirfel 1948: 64; Liebert 1976: 89; Nagar 1989: 119; and Kooij 1977: 61, note 49. However, Mallmann (1975: 167) was careful to note that the description of Gaṇapatihṛdayā in the *Dharmakośasaṃgraha* does not specify the deity's complexion, the presence of an elephant head or a presiding Tathāgata. She added (1975: 167, n. 6), that the Nepalese painting reproduced in B. Bhattacharyya's book (from the collection of W.Y. Evans-Wentz<sup>27</sup>) does not correspond with the description cited from the *Dharmakośasaṃgraha* but shows the regular iconography of (a male) Gaṇapati, as found, for example, in manuscript Sanscrit 1814 in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. The illustration in Bhattacharyya's book, which does not correspond with the *Dharmakośasaṃgraha*'s description, shows a multiple-armed dancing Gaṇapati. This form appears to be the twelve-armed dancing (male) Gaṇapati known from Buddhist iconography and described in Bühnemann 1994: 201–04,<sup>28</sup> and not a sixteen-armed female

26 See also the second revised edition (Bhattacharyya 1958: 349) for a similar description.

27 The painting is also reproduced in Sharma 1979: plate 34 and there labelled Gaṇapatihṛdayā.

28 For this identification, see also Bhattacharyya (1995: 68), who attributes it to Getty. Getty, however, seems to refer to a different Nepalese painting (1936: plate 1b, labelled Gaṇapati-Heramba). Getty (1936: 37), referring to Mitra 1882 [1971]: 87–88, no. 816

Gaṇapati as B. Bhattacharyya states, since female features cannot be discerned. The only reason why the painting was identified as Gaṇapatihṛdayā was apparently that it was found in a manuscript with the *dhāraṇīs* devoted to the *saptavāra* deities.

Another Nepalese painting identified as “Gaṇapatihṛdayā (Śakti-Gaṇapati)” was published by D.C. Bhattacharyya (1980: fig. 25).<sup>29</sup> It shows a four-armed seated deity whose iconography does not correspond with that of the dancing two-armed form described in the *Dharmakośasamgraha*. This miniature can be identified as belonging to manuscript 10741 (“A number of *Dhāraṇīs* with illustrations”) in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata, dating from 1843 CE. The image does not exhibit any female features. As before, the reason why the painting was labelled Gaṇapatihṛdayā is that it accompanies the text of the *Gaṇapatihṛdayadhāraṇī*, which in the manuscript begins with the invocation *namo bhagavatyai āryagaṇapatihṛdayāyai*.

The text of the *dhāraṇī* printed in a devotional booklet (Dharmarāj Bajrācārya 1997/1998: 12–19), begins with the same invocation as the manuscript from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Kolkata. However, the *dhyāna* verses prefixed to the text of the *dhāraṇī* describe the male Gaṇapati.

The *dhāraṇī* in manuscript Cod. sanscr. 423, preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, fol. 11b, invokes a male Gaṇapati, while the colophon names the text as *gaṇapatihṛdayā-(nāma)-dhāraṇī*. The form Gaṇapatihṛdayā here modifies the feminine noun *dhāraṇī*. The miniature on fol. 11b shows an eight-armed male Gaṇapati, not a female form as Grönbold (2001: 373) assumes. Sharma (1979: 48) quotes Lokesh Chandra as having informed him that Gaṇapatihṛdayā is mentioned in the Hevajratāntra. However, as Lokesh Chandra<sup>30</sup> communicated to me, no such reference appears in the Tantra. Singh (1968: 208) reproduces a seventeenth-century painting from the Taleju Bhavani Temple in Nepal and identifies the divinity as Gaṇapatihṛdayā, Gaṇapati’s *śakti* (1968: 218). However, no female features are discernible in the painting and the name Gaṇapatihṛdayā is not inscribed. Van Ham (2011: 108) reproduces a blue female “Ganapatihṛdaya” found on the outer part of a version of the Trailokyavijayamaṇḍala painted on the wall of Vairocana Temple II (c. 12th to 13th century?) at the village of Mangyu in Ladakh. The divinity, riding a mouse, appears below a white male Gaṇapati seated on a ram. The divinity is clearly female but the name Gaṇapatihṛdayā is not inscribed.<sup>31</sup> A few female forms of Gaṇeśa are also known from other traditions. A Brahmanical goddess Vināyakī/Gaṇeśvarī is described by Agrawala 1978,

A, erroneously states that the *mantra* text contains an iconographic description of the red, twelve-armed dancing Gaṇapati. The description of the twelve-armed deity is not found in the *dhāraṇī* but in *Sādhanamālā* no. 37. The text of this *sādhana* is re-edited in Bühnemann 1994: 205–06.

29 See also the description in D.C. Bhattacharyya 1980: 34 and in Sharma 1979: 41–2 with illustration 35.

30 Written communication by Lokesh Chandra, dated 18 June 2002.

31 It is not known whether this version of the *maṇḍala* corresponds to a description in a text. Vajravarman’s commentary (preserved only in Tibetan) on a version of the *maṇḍala* as taught in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* pairs Gaṇapati with “Camuī” (likely for

and an (East Asian) Buddhist Vināyakī in Sanford (1991: 315–16 and 325–6). However, the conception of these goddesses is different and none of them is a personification of Gaṇapati's heart *mantras*.

It thus appears that when the text teaching the heart *mantras* of Gaṇapati, the Gaṇapatihṛdaya, was incorporated into the group of seven *dhāraṇīs*, the deity's gender was assimilated to that of the other members of the group. The grammatically feminine gender of the word *dhāraṇī* must have played a major role in this process. So far no representation of a Gaṇapati with female characteristics has been found in manuscript illustrations of the *saptavāra* group, and the wooden struts of the two monasteries in Kathmandu each bear a male Gaṇapati. It seems, then, that the goddess Gaṇapatihṛdayā had no significance outside the *saptavāra* group, and even as a member of that group she was recognized by only a few individuals.

## Conclusion

Thus it is likely that the gender of Vajravidāraṇa and Gaṇapati, as personifications of two of the seven *dhāraṇīs*, was changed to feminine, although this does not correspond with the gender of the divinities invoked in the *dhāraṇī* texts themselves. Cases of gender change of divinities, however, are not uncommon. Hidas notes, for example, that the originally male gender of Pratisarā (Hidas 2003: 266; 2007: 187–8), Mahāsāhasrapramardanī (Hidas 2012) and Mahāśītavātī (Hidas forthcoming) was probably changed into a feminine one.

The assimilation of the gender of Vajravidāraṇa and Gaṇapati allowed for the uniform feminine gender of all seven divinities in the group. It further enabled a pairing of the seven divinities, with the heavenly bodies presiding over the weekdays, in the manner in which Tantric traditions pair female with male deities.

Gerd Mevissen (2004: 59; 2006: 76, 91–2) has already noted that three of the deities in the *saptavāra* group, namely Vasudhārā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā and Grahamāṭṛkā, appear together in certain Buddhist *maṇḍalas*. He has further observed that chapels of the Great Stūpa of Gyantse are dedicated to five of the deities who feature in the *saptavāra* group, namely Vasudhārā, Uṣṇīṣavijayā, Mārīcī, Paṇṣaṣavarī and Grahamāṭṛkā, although they do not yet form a group. The chapels of these five divinities are all located on the first storey of the Great Stūpa (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 224 = fig. A). In addition, a chapel of the male Vajravidāraṇa is located on the second storey, directly above the chapel of Grahamāṭṛkā (Ricca and Lo Bue 1993: 78, 256, plate 40 and 246 = fig. B). Thus six of the seven divinities appear as solitary forms in chapels in the Great Stūpa. Moreover, Dhvajāgrakeyūrā (who appeared as Dhvajāgrakeyūrī earlier in a list reproduced from Pandit Hemrāj Śākya's book) and the Pañcarakṣā goddesses (whose *dhāraṇīs* are often combined with those of the *saptavāra* deities in manuscripts) are represented nearby. Since the construction of the Great Stūpa (for whose art work Newar artists

---

Cāmuṇḍī), see Skorupski's translation of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, p. 60, n. 52.

were also employed) dates from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, we can perhaps assume that the *saptavāra* group of divinities became popular only after that date. If the dating of the struts in Kathmandu's Khuñ Bahāl is accurate, the group was known in Nepal by at least the late sixteenth century.

## References

- Agrawala, P.K. 1978. *Goddess Vināyakī: The Female Gaṇeśa*. Varanasi.
- Ashikaga, A. 1960. "Marishiten-Darani no Bonpon. On the Sanskrit text of Ārya-mārīcī-nāma-dhāraṇī", (in Japanese) in Planning committee for the commemoration of Dr. Gishō Nakano's seventieth birthday (ed.), *Nakano-Kyōju Koki-Kinen Ronbunshū. Studies in Indology and Buddhology Presented in Honour of Professor Gishō Nakano on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*. Koyasan, 135–43.
- Bajrācārya see Dharmarāj Bajrācārya
- Bajracharya, Y.R. 2004. *The Gunakar Mahavihar (Chhusya Baha)*. Kathmandu.
- Bangdel, D. 1999. *Manifesting the Maṇḍala: A Study of the Core Iconographic Program of Newar Buddhist Monasteries in Nepal*. PhD dissertation, Ohio State University.
- Bauddhastotrasaṃgraha. 1994. *Bauddhastotrasaṃgraha*, edited by Janardan Shastri Pandey. Delhi.
- Bendall, C. 1883. *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhattacharya, G. 1995. "The dual role of Ganesh in the Buddhist art of South Asia", in P. Pal (ed.), *Ganesh, the Benevolent*. Bombay, 65–80.
- Bhattacharyya, B. 1924. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography Mainly Based on the Sādhnamālā and Cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals*. London.
- Bhattacharyya, B. 1958. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography Mainly Based on the Sādhnamālā and Cognate Tāntric Texts of Rituals*. Second revised ed. Calcutta.
- Bhattacharyya, D.C. 1974. *Tantric Buddhist Iconographic Sources*. New Delhi.
- Bhattacharyya, D.C. 1978. *Studies in Buddhist Iconography*. New Delhi.
- Bhattacharyya, D.C. 1980. *Iconology of Composite Images*. New Delhi.
- Buescher, H. 2011. *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts: Early Acquisitions and the Nepal Collection*. Copenhagen.
- Bühnemann, G. 1994. "Two forms of Gaṇapati in the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 38: 201–11.
- Bühnemann, G. 2006. "Tantric deities in an illustrated Dhāraṇī manuscript from Nepal", in A. Gail et al. (eds), *Script and Image: Papers on Art and Epigraphy*. (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July, 2003, volume 11.1.) Delhi, 29–64.
- Bühnemann, G. 2012. *The Life of the Buddha: Buddhist and Śaiva Iconography and Visual Narratives in Artists' Sketchbooks from Nepal*. Lumbini.
- Dachs, K. et al. 1978. *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: Erwerbungen aus drei Jahrzehnten 1948–1978: Abendländische und orientalische Handschriften, Inkunabeln und seltene Drucke, Noten und Landkarten, Ausstellung April–Juli 1978*. Wiesbaden.
- Dharmakośasaṃgraha. (1). *Dharmakośasaṃgraha*, by Amṛtānanda. Manuscript no. 8055 in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta. Reproduced by Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1973. [For a description of this manuscript, written in 1826 CE on the request of Brian H. Hodgson, see Shāstri 1917: no. 119 [8055], 191–3.]

- Dharmakośasaṃgraha (2). *Paṃ. Amṛtānandako Dharmakośa-Saṅgraha (bauddha padāvalīko mūrtiko paribhāṣā)*. Edited by Mukundarāj Arjyāl. Kāṭhmāḍaṃ, 2002.
- Dharmarāj Bajrācārya (ed.) 1997/1998. *Saptavāra Grahamātrkā Pustakam*. Yala.
- Duquenne, R. 1988. “Gaṇapati rituals in Chinese”, *Bulletin de l'École française d'extrême orient* 77: 321–54.
- Filliozat, J. 1941. *Catalogue du Fonds Sanscrit. Fascicule I – N° 1 à 165*. Paris.
- Gellner, D.N. 1992. *Monk, Householder, and Tantric Priest: Newar Buddhism and Its Hierarchy of Ritual*. Cambridge.
- Getty, A. 1936. *Gaṇeśa: A Monograph of the Elephant-Faced God*. Oxford.
- Grönbold, G. 1984. “Die Mythologie des indischen Buddhismus”, in H.W. Haussig (ed.), *Götter und Mythen des indischen Subkontinent*. Stuttgart, 285–508.
- Grönbold, G. 2001. “‘Saptavāra’: A Dhāraṇī collection from Nepal”, in R. Torella (ed.), *Le Parole e i Marmi: Studi in Onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70° Compleanno*, 2 vols. Rome, 369–75.
- Gutschow, N. 2011. *Architecture of the Newars: A History of Building Typologies and Details in Nepal*. 3 vols. Chicago.
- Ham, P. van. 2011. *Heavenly Himalayas: The Murals of Mangyu and other Discoveries in Ladakh*. Munich.
- Hasrat B.J. (ed.). 1970. *History of Nepal as Told by Its Own and Contemporary Chronicles*. Hoshiarpur.
- Hemrāj Śākya. 1991. *Bauddha vidhikatham jamkuyā. Saṃkṣipta paricaya*. Yala.
- Hidas, G. 2003. “Preliminary notes on the Mahāpratisarā Mahāvidyārājñī, a Buddhist protective text from the Pañcarakṣā-collection”, *Berliner Indologische Studien* 15/16/17: 263–84.
- Hidas, G. 2007. “Remarks on the use of the Dhāraṇīs and Mantras of the Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī”, in C. Dezsö (ed.), *Indian Languages and Texts through the Ages: Essays of Hungarian Indologists in Honour of Prof. Csaba Tóttóssy*. Delhi, 185–207.
- Hidas, G. 2012. “Rituals in the Mahāsāhasrapramardanasūtra”, in N. Mirnig et al. (eds), *Pushpika: Tracing Ancient India through Texts and Traditions. Contributions to Current Research in Indology*, vol 1. Oxford, 225–40.
- Hidas, G. Forthcoming. *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī-Śītavati: An Apotropaic Scripture of the Buddhist Mantranaya. Introduction, Critical Edition and Annotated Translation*.
- Hodgson, B.H. 1874 (1972). *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of Those Countries. Corrected and Augmented Edition of Two Earlier Collections of Essays. . . With a Supplement of Additions and Corrections From the Author's Copy*. Edited by M.P. Saha and with Other Additions, Omitted in the Former Edition. Amsterdam.
- Iwamoto Y. (ed.) 1937. *Kleinere Dhāraṇī Texte*. Kyoto.
- Janert, K.L. and N.N. Poti. 1985. *Indische Handschriften*. Teil 7. Wiesbaden.
- Kirfel, W. 1948. *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit: Archäologisch-ethnologischer Streifzug durch die Ikonographie der Religionen*. Bonn.
- Kooij, K.R. van. 1977. “The iconography of the Buddhist wood-carvings in a Newar monastery in Kathmandu (Chuṣya-Bāhā)”, *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 1: 39–82.
- Kooij, K.R. van. 1978. *Religion in Nepal*. Leiden.
- Liebert, G. 1976. *Iconographic Dictionary of the Indian Religions: Hinduism – Buddhism – Jainism*. Leiden.



- Lo Bue, E. and F. Ricca. 1990. *Gyantse Revisited*. Florence.
- Locke, J.K. 1985. *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal: A Survey of the Bāhās and Bahīs of the Kathmandu Valley*. Kathmandu.
- Lokesh Chandra (ed.). 1981. *Kāraṇḍavyūha and Other Texts: Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal Reproduced from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira*. New Delhi: Jayyed Press.
- Lokesh Chandra. 1999–2005. *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography*. 15 vols. New Delhi.
- Lokesh Chandra and F.W. Bunce. 2002. *The Tibetan Iconography of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Other Deities: A Unique Pantheon*. New Delhi.
- Mahendraratna Śākya. 1994. *Vasundharā devī chagū adhyayan: A Study of Vasundhara Devi*. Lalitpur.
- Mallmann, M.-Th. de. 1975. *Introduction à l'iconographie du tântrisme bouddhique*. Paris.
- Mevissen, G.J.R. 2004. "Die früheste Darstellung der Grahamātrkā: Buchmalerei aus Nepal", *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift (Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für indo-asiatische Kunst Berlin)* 8: 47–62.
- Mevissen, G.J.R. 2005. "Ladies and planets. Images of female deities accompanied by Graha figures", in C. Jarrige and V. Lefèvre (eds), *South Asian Archaeology 2001. Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists, Held in Collège de France, Paris, 2-6 July, 2001. Volume II: Historical Archaeology and Art History*. Paris, 579–88.
- Mevissen, G.J.R. 2006. "Iconography of Grahamātrkā", in A.J. Gail et al. (eds), *Script and Image: Papers on Art and Epigraphy (Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference held in Helsinki, Finland, 13–18 July 2003, volume 11.1.)* Delhi, 65–98.
- Mevissen, G.J.R. 2007. "Images of Buddhist goddesses accompanied by astral deities", in G. Bhattacharya et al. (eds), *Kalhār (White Water-Lily): Studies in Art, Iconography, Architecture and Archaeology of India and Bangladesh (Professor Enamul Haque Felicitation Volume)*. New Delhi, 154–201.
- Mitra, R.L. 1882 (1971). *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. Calcutta.
- Nagar, S.L. 1989. *Composite Deities in Indian Art and Literature*. Delhi.
- Pal, P. and D.C. Bhattacharyya. 1969. *The Astral Divinities of Nepal*. Varanasi.
- Pruscha C. (ed.). 1975. *Kathmandu Valley: The Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage: A Protective Inventory. Prepared by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in Collaboration with the United Nations and Unesco*. 2 vols. Vienna.
- Ricca, F. and E. Lo Bue. 1993. *The Great Stupa of Gyantse: A Complete Tibetan Pantheon of the Fifteenth Century*. London.
- Sādhnamālā*. 1925–28. Edited by B. Bhattacharyya. 2 vols. Baroda.
- Śākya see Hemrāj Śākya, Mahendraratna Śākya.
- Sanford, J.H. 1991. "Literary aspects of Japan's dual-Gaṇeśa cult", in R. L. Brown (ed.), *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*. Albany, 287–335.
- Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra. 1983. *The Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra: Elimination of All Evil Destinies*. Sanskrit and Tibetan Texts with Introduction, English Translation and Notes by T. Skorupski. Delhi.
- Sharkey, G. 2001. *Buddhist Daily Ritual: The Nitya Puja in Kathmandu Valley Shrines*. Bangkok.
- Sharma, B.N. 1979. *Iconography of Vaināyākī*. New Delhi.
- Shāstri, H.P. 1917. *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Volume I: Buddhist Manuscripts*. Calcutta.

- Singh, M. 1968. *Himalayan Art: Wall-Painting and Sculpture in Ladakh, Lahaul and Spiti, the Siwalik Ranges, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan*. Greenwich, Connecticut.
- Tsukamoto, K., Y. Matsunaga and H. Isoda. 1989. *Bongo Butten no Kenkyū IV: Mikkyō Kyoten Hen (A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature. Volume 4: The Buddhist Tantra)* (in Japanese). Kyoto.
- Walravens, H. 1981. *Buddhist Literature of the Manchus: A Catalogue of the Manchu Holdings in the Raghu Vira Collection at the International Academy of Indian Culture*. New Delhi.
- Wilkinson, C. 1991. “The tantric Gaṇeśa: texts preserved in the Tibetan canon”, in R. L. Brown (ed.), *Ganesh: Studies of an Asian God*. Albany, 235–75.
- Willson M. and M. Brauen 2000. (ed.). *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Paintings of the Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthoñ ba don ldan)*. Translated by M. Willson. Introduced by M. Brauen. Boston.
- Yuyama, A. 1997. “The Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī transliterated by Tz’u-hsien”, in P. Kieffer-Pülz and J.-U. Hartmann (eds), *Bauddhavidyāsudhākaṛaḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Swisttal-Odendorf, 729–42.
- Yuyama, A. 2000. “An Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī text from Nepal”, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999*. Tokyo, 165–75.