The Barabuḍur

A Synopsis of Buddhism

Johan af Klint

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Abstract

The aim of this PhD-dissertation is – on the one hand – to present in a critical and comprehensive manner an update of recent findings among Western scholars regarding the Barabuḍur monument and its illustrations of various Buddhist traditions, and – on the other hand – to throw some light on some of the outstanding issues regarding this monument. Focus has been laid on the religious aspects with a view of ascertaining which forms of Buddhism are most prominently represented on the monument.

The Barabuḍur is the largest Buddhist monument in the world – being built on Central Java during the late eighth century CE. The Barabuḍur is constructed in four successively higher galleries with an area on top with three round terraces. The terraces encompass 72 latticed *stūpas,* each containing Buddha Vairocana in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. A large *stūpa* is in the center. Each side of the squarely built monument is at the ground level around 123 meters. The height of the monument is believed to originally have been 41.81 meters. The walls and the balustrades of the galleries encompass 1,460 bas-reliefs representing various *sūtras*, such as the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga Sūtra,* the *Lalitavistara,* the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra,* the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* and the *Bhadracarī.* In addition, the Barabuḍur seems also to have been influenced by ideas from the ensuing Indonesian *esoteric* text the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,* as well as by the *esoteric* Buddhist texts of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra,* the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and the *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 verses.* The Barabuḍur thus presents aspects from the main three Buddhist traditions – the *Śrāvakayāna,* the *Mahāyāna* and an early *esoteric* form of the *Vajrayāna.*

The main problem in studying the Barabuḍur is the lack of historical information. No dedicatory inscription has yet been found. The Barabuḍur was built during the Śailendra interregnum on Java. Their contacts with the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā and with the Pāla dynasty in Bengal, indicate that some early form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism existed on Java during the eighth century CE. In addition, some concepts from the *esoteric* Buddhism developed by the Three Monks in China during this period could well also have been introduced on Java.

The Barabuḍur, together with the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, are supposed to represent the Twin-*maṇḍala* – thus representing the "non-duality" between "Truth" and "Wisdom". *Dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana is in the center of both these Twin-*maṇḍalas* symbolizing the *amalavijñāna.*

In conclusion, the Barabuḍur may be regarded as a holy monument, where the Buddha is present, and where the devotee may be taught directly by the Buddha.

Keywords: *Abhayagirivihāra, Advayasādhana, bas-relief, Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha, Buddha, Huayan, latticed stūpa, maṇḍala, Mantranaya, Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan, Shingon, śūnyatā, tathāgathagarbha.*

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All-in-one and One-in-all
Ultimate Reality

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Appendices

Abbreviations

BKS	Bhadrakalpika Sūtra
BAS	Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra
DBS	Daśabhūmika Sūtra
DĪP	Dīpavaṃsa
GVS	Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra
JM	Jātakamāla
KVA	Kathāvattu-aṭṭhakathā
LV	Lalitavistara
MV	Mahāvaṃsa
MKS	Mahākarmavibhaṅga Sūtra
MAS	Maṇḍalāṣṭa Sūtra
MVS	Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Chinese)
MVVS	Mañjuśrībhāṣitavāstuvidyāśāstra
PPS	Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra
PPV	Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses
PSS	Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra
SBP	Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagāthā Sūtra (or Bhadracarī)

SHK	Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan
SHKA	Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Advayasādhana (or Advayasādhana)
SHKM	Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya
STTS	Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha (or Tattvasaṃgraha)
VAS	Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra (Sanskrit)
VAT	Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Tantra (Tibetan)
VST	Vajraśekhara Tantra

SOUTH-EAST ASIA, INDIA AND CHINA

(To illustrate early contacts)

MILES
0   500   1000

Hall, 1995, p. xxxii.
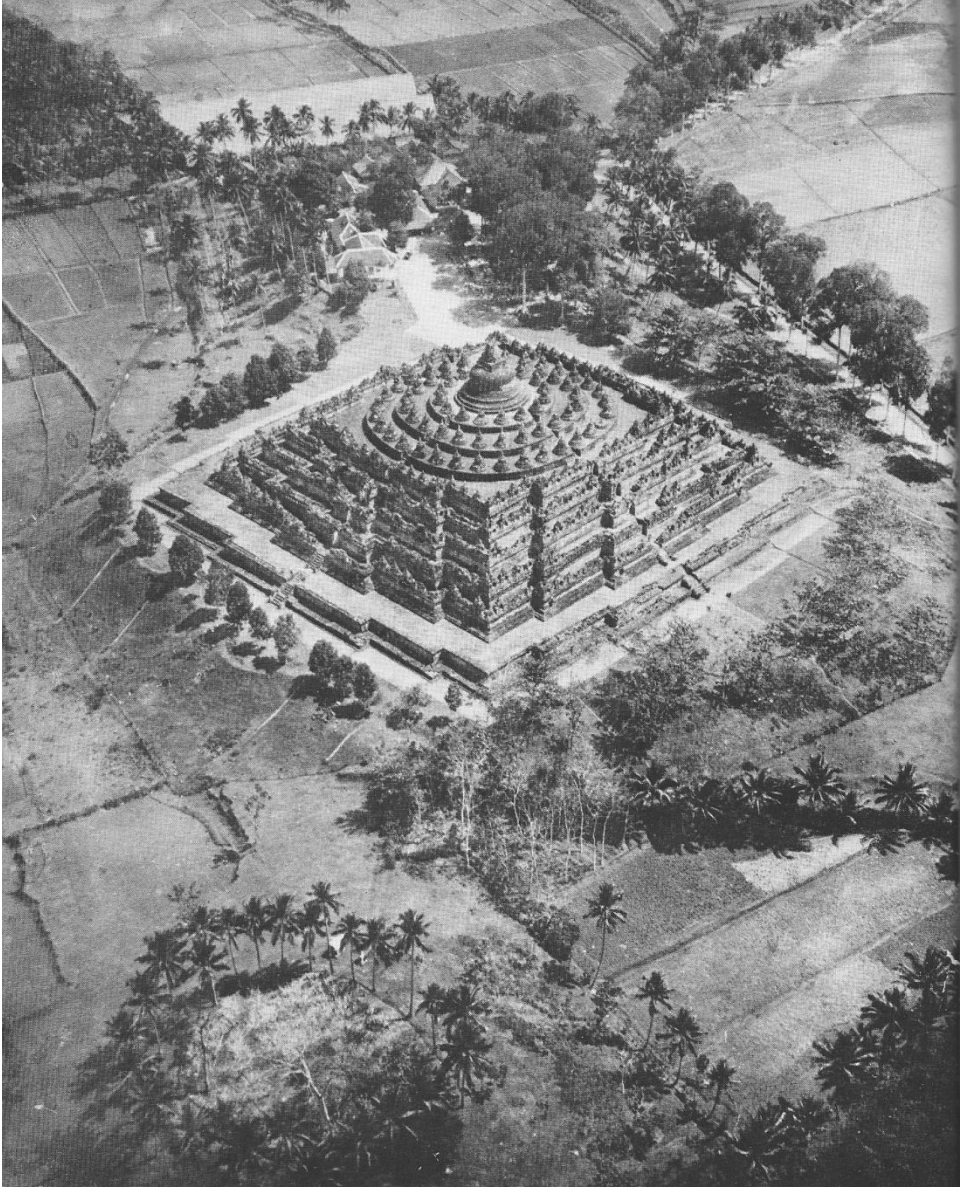
Picture 1   The Barabuḍur from the air

Introduction and Aim

The Barabuḍur (see ***Picture 1***) is a well researched and documented Buddhist monument on Java in Indonesia.[1] Despite being so well researched and documented, scholars have yet to reach a general agreement as regards the fundamental message that the Barabuḍur is supposed to convey. According to Fontein "any attempt at a more general interpretation of the Barabuḍur invariably leads us into the domain of hypotheses and speculation"[2] - aspects, which we are careful to avoid in this dissertation.

The Barabuḍur is a monument presenting all of the main three Buddhist traditions - *Śrāvakayāna*,[3] *Mahāyāna*[4] and *Vajrayāna*[5]. The concepts

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[1]   Some of the main standard works about the Barabuḍur are:

N.J. Krom	*Barabuḍur, Archaeological Description*, 1927;
Paul Mus	*Barabuḍur: Esquisse d'une Histoire du Bouddhism*, 1935;
A.J. Bernet Kempers,	*Ageless Borobudur*, 1976 (1960);
C. Srivaramamurti	*Le stūpa du Barabuḍur*, 1961;
Jan Fontein	*The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*, 1967;
R. Soekmono	*Chandi Borobudur: A Monument of Mankind,*1976;
Luis Gómez &	
Hiram J. Woodward, Jr.	*Barabuḍur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, 1981;
Jacques Dumarçay	*The Temples of Java*, 1986;
John N. Miksic	*Barabuḍur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, 1990.

For a relatively complete bibliography prior to 1935, see Mus, 1935, pp. 10-106. A reasonably complete bibliography up until 1990 is to be found in Soekmono, de Casparis and Dumarçay, "*Borobuḍur: Prayer in Stone",* 1990 (separate list).

[2]   Fontein, 1967, p. 173.

[3]   *Śrāvakayāna* is in this dissertation used as a generic term for the pre-Mahayāna branches of Buddhism, except for the Mahāsāṅghikas. *Śrāvakayāna* thus encompasses the old form of *Theravāda*. *Śrāvakayāna* means the "vehicle of the listeners". For further details - see the Glossary and Gethin, 2012, p. 58.
Theravāda is in this dissertation mainly used in its modern form (see *Section 3.1*, the Glossary and Gethin, 2012, pp. 56-57).

[4]   *Mahāyāna* is a form of Buddhism that uses the bodhisattva practice. It is referred to in this dissertation in a form, as described in *Section 3.1* and in the Glossary.

[5]   *Vajrayāna* is a form of Buddhism that is composed of *esoteric* and *tantric* forms of Buddhism. For definition, see *Sections 3.1 and 4.2.3*, as well as the Glossary.

of bodhisattvas and *Tathāgatas* are incorporated in the monument. The main texts, on which the Barabuḍur is assumed to be based, include inter alia the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*), the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (the *DBS*), and the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*). These texts are included as important parts of the *Buddāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*) – the main *sūtra* of the Buddhist *Huayan* tradition in China. This raises the question of a potential closer relationship between the *Huayan* tradition in China and the Barabuḍur. In addition, the ideas behind the *esoteric* Buddhist texts of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*), the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*), the *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses* (the *PPV*) (the *Rishukyō*) and the Indonesian *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) seem also to have exerted influences on the Barabuḍur. This raises the question of a potential relationship between the Barabuḍur and the Chinese *esoteric* Buddhism – in addition to the obvious contacts between India and Java.

Nonetheless, several questions concerning this monument seem to arise from time-to-time and remain unanswered up until today. The main reason hereto is the scarcity of written extant sources. This is partly due to the fact that no court records have been found from the Śailendra period – the harshness of the tropical climate has prevented any manuscripts from surviving from the late eighth century CE. In addition, no dedicatory inscription of the Barabuḍur has ever been found. The earliest extant main textual sources are dated several centuries *after* the foundation of the Barabuḍur. Furthermore, the illustrations of various texts on the bas-reliefs seem to have been affected by local views, which has not facilitated the interpretation by Western scholars. In addition, a surge of various *esoteric* Buddhist literature was written in Chinese in particular during the eighth-ninth centuries CE. With the expansion of the maritime Silk Route between China and India, some of these ideas could well have reached Java and influenced the structure and decorations of the Barabuḍur. However, the study of these texts constitutes an immense task, well beyond the capacity of any single scholar.[6]

The main textual sources that presumably could enlarge our understanding of Buddhism at the Barabuḍur would inter alia be:
- Javanese inscriptions;
- texts reproduced on the Barabuḍur;

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[6]   Lancaster, 1981, p. 197.
        Other source: Brown, 2003, p. 258; Gifford, 2011, p. 7.

- works about and traditions concerning iconography preserved in India, Tibet and Japan;
- Indian (Sanskrit and Pāli) texts, as well as Chinese translations and commentaries concerning doctrines, that might approach those made concrete at the Barabuḍur.[7]

Early Buddhism on Java arrived with the trade contacts and with monks travelling to and from the Pallava kingdom in Southeast India and Śrī Laṅkā. Later on, Javanese contacts were close with the Pāla kingdom. Buddhism in India during these periods was well documented and was of essential importance for the development of Buddhismen on Java.

The *esoteric* form of Buddhism introduced in China by the Three Monks during the eighth century CE became also of importance to the Barabuḍur. However, during the mid-ninth century CE Buddhism in China met with harsher times as a result of the Emperor´s *ukases.* The Buddhist documentation became then seriously weakened – if not entirely exterminated. But prior thereto, these *esoteric* movements and texts had been introduced in Korea and Japan, where they are well documented. This is the reason, why we to some extent have based ourself on *Shingon* Buddhism, in order to obtain a picture of what *esoteric* Buddhism in China entailed during the time of the planning and construction of the Barabuḍur.

In order to appreciate the various religious and trading aspects referred to in this PhD-dissertation, it would perhaps facilitate if one regarded the "Maritime Asia" (see the map on page 9) not as being constituted of defined regions, but conceptualized it "as a fluid space characterized by sociocultural dynamics and environmental factors spanning across discrete histories and geographies."[8] In addition, we must keep in mind, that "in continuous flux of history nothing is fixed, neither facts nor interpretations."[9]

The aim of this PhD-dissertation is – on the one hand – to present in a critical and comprehensive manner an update of recent findings among Western scholars regarding the Barabuḍur monument and its illustrations of the various Buddhist traditions, and – on the other

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[7] Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 10.

[8] Acri, 2019, p. 51.

[9] Mayor, 1994, p. v.

hand – to endeavour to throw some light on some of the outstanding issues regarding this monument. Focus will be on the religious aspects with a view of ascertaining which forms of Buddhism are most prominently represented on the monument.

This PhD-dissertation is based on various sources published up until the end of 2019.

The disposition of this PhD-dissertation starts with a presentation of the Barabuḍur (*Section 1*). Thereafter follows a presentation of some general background aspects relevant to the monument (*Sections 2-4*). In *Section 2*, emphasis has been given to the trade aspects for transfer of ideas and people. Presentation has also been made of the kingdoms of Śrīvijaya and Matarām, with due concentration to the builders of the Barabuḍur – the Śailendras. In *Section 3*, the relationships between Java and Śrī Laṅkā during the Śailendra period (ca 746-829 CE) are presented, with a view of obtaining a picture of the kind of Buddhism that later on was transferred from Śrī Laṅkā to Java. In *Section 4*, a presentation is made regarding the introduction of Buddhism on Java from Śrī Laṅkā and India, on the one hand, as well as from China as a result of the thoughts of the Three Monks, on the other hand.

Finally, an attempt is made in *Section 5* to understand some identified outstanding topics relating to the Barabuḍur and the messages that they convey. In order to substantiate the discussion and analysis in the dissertation and to make it more focused, four *Appendices* have been included, presenting the background details of various relevant documents and of three religious movements (the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, *Huayan* and *Shingon*).

The background aspects (*Sections 2-4*) are vital, so as to prevent an overconfident use of terms that have grown out of changing historical backgrounds. **Stringent definitions** have also been presented. We thus want to prevent the intellectual fallacy of seeing Buddhism as an object of academic study that - according to Skilling - "has been parceled into tidy packages".[10] We also want to prevent this PhD-dissertation from being based on any view on Buddhism that - in the

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[10] Skilling, 2012, pp. xxi-xxii.

words of Drewes - may be regarded as "an assertion propped up by repetition".[11]

In order to facilitate the reading, **references** have been made in the text to other parts of this PhD-dissertation, where the topic in question has previously been discussed. All Sanskrit names and terms are written in *italics* – as are Pāli words and words in other languages. The main Sanskrit and Pāli words are listed in the separate **Glossary of Technical Terms** at the end of the dissertation. The Chinese names are written in *pinyin.* In order to ensure clarity, the first time that a Chinese name is mentioned in the text, its Chinese characters are also presented together with the relevant tones in the *pinyin* text.

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The analytical aspects of this PhD-dissertation are concentrated to one separate section – *Section 5 "Attempts to understand the Barabuḍur"*. The discussions in this analytical section have been concentrated to ten chosen main areas of interest, as follows:

- *Buddhist aspects*
  This analysis hinges mainly on the relationship between Buddhism and Śaivism. In addition, an aspect in the *SHK*, as well as an aspect in the *LV* are brought to light. This analysis is presented in *Section 5.2.*

- *Approach to Interpret the Barabuḍur*
  The analysis is based primarily on the bas-reliefs and on the images of the monument, as experienced during the *pradakṣiṇa* around the Barabuḍur. This analysis is presented in *Section 5.3.*

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[11]   Drewes, 2010(a), p. 57.

- *Various potential Visual Forms of the Barabuḍur*

  The Barabuḍur has in the literature been deemed to illustrate various visual aspects. Some of these have been presented in *Section 5.4*, such as whether the Barabuḍur:

    * represents the Mount Meru and the three *dhātus?* (5.4.1);
    * represents the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva? (5.4.2);
    * illustrates the meaning of the bearded figures? (5.4.3).

- *The Barabuḍur as a prāsāda, a stūpa or a maṇḍala*

  A favourite issue among scholars seems to have been whether or not the Barabuḍur may be regarded to represent a *prāsāda*, a *stūpa* or a *maṇḍala*? These issues are analysed in *Section 5.5*.

- *The Sculptural Images on the Barabuḍur*

  Who do the various Buddha images on the Barabuḍur represent? Scholars are still not in agreement as regards this matter, which is discussed in *Section 5.6*.

- *The Barabuḍur and Huayan Buddhism, Sang Hyang Kamahāyā-nikan and Chinese Buddhism as presented by Shingon Buddhism*

  Has the Barabuḍur been influenced by *Huayan* Buddhism, by the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and/or by *Shingon* Buddhism? These questions have been enjoying the interest of scholars for a long time. We endeavor to throw some light on these important topics in *Section 5.7*.

- *The Barabuḍur as a Vajradhātu maṇḍala*

  Further to the aspects being presented in *Sections 5.5 & 5.7* above, we analyse whether the Barabuḍur could be seen as a *maṇḍala* – and in particular as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. See *Section 5.8*.

- *The Barabuḍur and the Twin-maṇḍala concept*

  In *Section 5.9*, we concentrate on the question, whether the Barabuḍur was meant to play a special role together with its surrounding temples – i.e. as a Twin-*maṇḍala* together with the *Caṇḍi* Mendut. This would then underscore the historical influences from Buddhism in China.

- *The Śailendras and Historical aspects*

  From where did the Śailendras originate? How were they capable of financing their immense construction spree on Central Java? What was the Śailendra´s relationship to Śrīvijaya? These questions are discussed in *Section 5.10.*

- *The Barabuḍur and the Śailendra kingship*

  What was the Śailendra relationship to the Barabuḍur? Was a ceremonial ritual elaborated around the Barabuḍur with the Śailendras involved? These and other questions are discussed in *Section 5.11.*

1 The Barabuḍur

1.1 *Background*

In order to properly read and understand a religious monument, one has to lay considerable stress on religious rituals and practices at the time of the use of the monument. Even though a specific text or the structure and the decorations of the monument in question may lead us in our analysis, the most important aspect is to understand what the human individuals meant with a religious monument at the time in question.

Source: Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 197

Picture 2   Map over Java

The Barabuḍur is not a *caṇḍi*.[12] It is not a temple, as no reliquary (*peripīh* or in Jav. *pripih*) has been found in the base (*bhūrloka*).

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[12]   The definition of the "*caṇḍi*" is that of a temple or "the meeting place of the worshipper and the worshipped" (a sanctum). Formerly, though, it was a place where the ashes of the king were maintained. The *caṇḍi* usually takes the form of three sections – (i) a rectangular base (*bhūrloka*) placed on a grid of squares and with a hole in the ground, where the reliquary (*peripīh*) is housed; (ii) an intermediate building element (*bhūvarloka*) with a room in which a statue is enthroned; and (iii) a solid roof (*svarloka*) constructed like a stepped pyramid of three re-entrant terraces with a pinnacle on top. The *caṇḍi* thus consists of three architectural components (the base, the body and the roof) and their contents (a sacred deposit and a statue). The *caṇḍi* may thus be seen as representing the Universe – with the phenomenal world; the world of the purified; and the

Furthermore, it lacks the central room for a statue in the intermediate building element (*bhūvarloka*), as well as a solid roof (*svarloka*).[13] The Barabuḍur is a monument and was built on the Keḍu plain in central southern Java – northwest of Yogyakarta. The monument is situated in a major earthquake zone, which follows the Indian Ocean coasts of Sumatra and Java.[14] This is not far from the vulcano Merapi (see *Pictures 2 & 3*, respectively).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 3   The vulcano Merapi

The Barabuḍur was built as (i) a complex symbol (symbolizing the Buddhist universe), as well as (ii) a ritual object (encompassing the Buddhist teaching for those, who used it as a religious symbol).[15] As

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abode of the gods. The three horizontal spheres of the Universe are kept together by a vertical axis (*axis mundi*) in the form of the stem of the cosmic tree or of the cosmic mountain (the Mount Meru). Above the *caṇḍi* there are 28 heavens. Under the *caṇḍi* there are 7 hells.

During the Central Java Period (c:a 570-927 CE) the *caṇḍis* on Central Java were built with certain characteristics, such as (i) with *kāla-makara* ornaments around the entrances; (ii) the end stones of the staircase wings formed in a "S-shape"; (iii) the staircase wings are decorated with a *kāla* head on top and a *makara* head at the bottom; and (iv) they were usually constructed in complexes of *caṇḍi* buildings.
Soekmono, 1981, pp. 129-130.
Other sources: Bernet Kempers, 1981(b), p. 117; Chandra, 2000, pp. 131-133 & 136; Chihara, 1996, p. 99; Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, pp. 28-29; Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 19-20.

[13]   Soekmono, 1981, p. 130.

[14]   Historical records mention strong earthquakes in inter alia A.D. 1006, 1549, 1867. Voûte, 1973, p.115.

[15]   Urubshurow, 1988, p. 260.

to the question, whether the Barabuḍur was a *prāsāda*, a *stūpa* or a *maṇḍala*, reference is made to *Section 5.5*. The Barabuḍur (see ***Picture 4***) was built close to the confluence of the rivers Elo and Progo – symbolically representing the junction in India of the rivers the Ganga (Ganges) and the Yamuna (Jumna). From a religious point of view, this is an important place. The holy power is namely believed to be doubled at the place where two rivers meet.[16]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 4   The Barabuḍur from afar

The mountain range of Menoreh extends to the south of the Barabuḍur. According to the legend, this mountain range is said to represent the builder of the Barabuḍur - Guṇadharma - who remains lying guarding his monument (see ***Picture 5***).[17] The local legends also refer this silhouette to some Hindu god. The mountain range of Menoreh

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[16]   Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 21-22.
       Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 79.

[17]   The silhouette of the Menoreh mountain range gives the impression of Guṇadharma lying on his back with his face towards the sky and with his head in the east and his feet in the west.
       N.J. Krom, 1927, Vol. I, p. 26.

thus indicates, that the Keḍu plain is a sacred place from where an ascent to heaven may be made.[18]

Picture 5   The Menoreh mountain ridge symbolizing Guṇadharma

The importance of the area is further substantiated by the legend of the "Nail of the world". According to this legend, the Hindu gods tore off one of the mountain tops of their cosmic residence on the Mount Meru. They carried it to Java, where they pierced it through the island and thus fixed Java to the centre of the world. What remains above groundlevel of this "Nail of the world" is supposed to be the small mountain hill Gunung Tidar close to Magelang some twelve kilometers north of the Barabuḍur. The Gunung Tidar does indeed lie very close to the geographical center of Java.[19]

In 1929, Stutterheim suggested – based on his studies of the Javanese *esoteric* and *tantric* Buddhist text the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) – that the Barabuḍur may be regarded as representing a tripartite world structure. This Buddhist tripartite world structure was supposed to consist of the three Buddhist spheres of the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu*.[20] Independently hereof von Heine-Geldern came to the same conclusion in 1930.[21] Bernet Kempers

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[18]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 83.

[19]   Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 22.
Other sources: Voûte, 1973, p. 114; Voûte, 2006, p. 243;   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 83; Werner, 2005, p. 31.

[20]   Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 36-40.

[21]   von Heine-Geldern, 1930, pp. 74-75.

propagated the same view half a century later in 1981.[22] However, the specific passage of the *SHK*, on which Stutterheim´s interpretation was based (Folio 48a), has subsequently been called into question.[23] This matter will be further discussed in *Section 5.4.1*.

According to Bernet Kempers, the Barabuḍur would never have been constructed as the complex monument, that it is today, without a profound knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. By the end of the seventh century CE, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism started to "compete" with *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism in the western parts of the Southeast Asian archipelago. The Buddhist influences were then primarily from India and Śrī Laṅkā. Around the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur, *esoteric* Buddhism was introduced on Central Java from China. The form of *tantric* Buddhism, that was subsequently developed in Tibet (i.e. *anuttarayoga*), is proposed never to have stricken root on Java.[24]

The texts, on which the Barabuḍur is based, are still subject to discussions among scholars. Woodward is of the opinion, that the textual base of the Barabuḍur may be multifaceted, and comprise such scriptures as:

i.   the *Mahāyāna* scripture of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*), including the therein embraced *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) and the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*);
ii.   the *Mantranaya*[25] texts of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*); and
iii.   the local Javanese *esoteric* and *tantric* text the *SHK*.[26]

Fontein, on the other hand, is adamant that the Barabuḍur was not influenced by *Vajrayāna*.[27] Also Snellgrove means that the Barabuḍur is a *Mahāyāna* monument without any *esoteric* signs (such as *vajras*, feminine partners attending the bodhisattvas, *dvārapālas*, etc.).[28] It

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[22]   Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), pp. 92-93.

[23]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 214-218.
        Other sorces: Hattori, 2000, p. 26; Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 73; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 138.

[24]   For definition of "*esoteric*" and "*tantric*" Buddhism, see *Section 4.2.3, Note 778*.

[25]   *Mantranaya* means "*Mantra* System".
        Wallace, 2011, p. 96.

[26]   Woodward, 1999, pp. 37 & 40.

[27]   Fontein, 2001, p. 90.

[28]   Snellgrove, 1996, p. 481.

should be noted, though, that the site of the Barabuḍur was chosen with regard to existing Buddhist temples. The *Caṇḍi* Sewu (bodhisattva Mañjuśrī) was under construction, the *Caṇḍi* Kālasan (bodhisattva Tārā) was already in its second phase of construction, and the *Caṇḍi* Mendut had already been built – all being potential indications of *esoteric* Buddhism on Java (see *Section 5.2.2*).[29]

Woodward states that the Barabuḍur reliefs are not *esoteric*, although he admits that Buddhists following *Mantranaya* (see *Section 4.2.3.1*) were seen to have been active in the vicinity of the monument. Snellgrove and other scholars mean that the original plan of the Barabuḍur was based on a rather simple *Mahāyāna* philosophy.[30] The succeeding reconstruction of the Barabuḍur around 810 CE should have been influenced by an *esoteric* form of philosophy, incorporating elements of *tantrism*.[31] Although Woodward recognizes that the "Law of Cause and Effect" is central at the Barabuḍur, he is also of the opinion that the two *Shingon maṇḍalas* – the Womb (*Garbha*) *maṇḍala* representing the "cause" and the Diamond (*Vajradhātu*) *maṇḍala* representing the "fruit" – may be represented on the Barabuḍur by the galleries and the open terraces, respectively. A deeper knowledge of Buddhist texts and traditions conserved in Tibet, China and Japan may give a more profound understanding of the purpose of the Barabuḍur. In addition, Woodward proposes that the bas-reliefs on the monument from the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Bhadracarī* were based on the set of Sanskrit texts that the ruler of Uḍra (Orissa) presented to the emperor of China in 795 CE. Prajña translated these texts into Chinese in 796-798 CE. These texts were, according to Woodward, introduced on Java either by the Javanese monk Bianhong, or directly from Orissa (See *Section 4.2.5* and *Appendix III, # 4*).[32]

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[29]   As regards *esoteric* elements on Java, see the Kālasan inscription of 778 CE (*Appendix I, # 4*) and the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE (*Appendix I, # 5*).

[30]   Snellgrove states that the design of the Barabuḍur corresponds with "… our conception of a *maṇḍala*, but there is nothing remotely *tantric* about this particular lay-out, and we are still far removed from the complexities of the later *Vajradhātumaṇḍala*." Snellgrove goes on to claim "… that the later *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* was developed from just such a relatively simple-*maṇḍala* pattern as we have here."
       Snellgrove, 1996, p. 481.

[31]   Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 94.

[32]   Woodward, 2009, pp. 26-27.
       Other source: Woodward, 1981 (b), pp. 43-46.

Werner proposes that the Barabuḍur simultaneously reflected:

- *Hīnayāna*[33] - with the life of the Buddha as a starting point for meditative concentration. The meditational vision of the "historical" Buddha is on the level of *nirmāṇakāya*;
- *Mahāyāna* – with the presentation on the monument of the three "bodies" of the Buddha (*trikāya*). The meditational vision of the Buddha is one of truth on the level of *saṃbhogakāya*; and
- *Vajrayāna* – which is illustrated by the Barabuḍur being expressed as a *maṇḍala*, enabling the devotee hereby to enter the *Vajrayāna* spiritual universe in a transcendental manner and above the notion of *tantric* polarity. Buddha Vairocana in the latticed *stūpas* should thus represent the Ādibuddha and the absolute truth on the level of *dharmakāya* (see *Sections 5.2.3 & 5.6.5*).[34]

The exact dates of the construction of the Barabuḍur are uncertain.[35] Dumarçay studied the monument during the UNESCO restorations in 1975-1983. Already in 1973, he developed a five-phased construction scheme for the Barabuḍur, starting in 775 CE and lasting for 75

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[33] Ought to be *Śrāvakayāna.*

[34] Werner, 2005, pp. 91-95.

Chandra postulates the same thought, but presents it in four groups; viz.
1. *Śrāvakayāna* by means of the *Karmavibhaṅga* bas-reliefs of the "Hidden base";
2. *Pāramitāyāna* by means of the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jātaka* and the *Avadāna* bas-reliefs;
3. *Buddhāvataṃsaka* by means of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Bhadracarī* bas-
. reliefs;
4. *Mantranaya* by the focus on the 504 Buddha images in various *mudrās* (representing
. the *Vajradhātu mahāmaṇḍala*).

Chandra, 1998, pp. 234-235 & Chandra, 1995(c), p. 81.

[35] The dates of the construction of the Barabuḍur varies between scholars, such as:
Bernet Kempers dates it to around 800 CE; de Casparis dates it to "the first forty years of the eighth century CE"; Chihara dates it to 790-860 CE; Kim dates it to 775-825 CE; Klokke dates it to 780-830 CE; Krom dates it to the second half of the eighth century CE; van Lohuizen-de Leeuw dates it to the last quarter of the eighth and the first quarter of the ninth century CE; Miksic dates it to around 760-830 CE; Sundberg dates it to around 800-835 CE; while Joanna Williams dates it to around 795-855 CE.

The respective sources to the above datings are:
Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 45; Bernet Kempers, 1973, p. 53; Bernet Kempers, 1976, p. 15; de Casparis, 1981, p. 62; Chihara, 1981, 143-144; Chihara, 1996, p. 121; Kim, 2007, pp. 20 & 116; Klokke, 1995, p. 192; Krom, 1927, Vol. I, p. 25; van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1981, p. 21; van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1980, p. 277; Miksic, 1990, p. 25; Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 13; Sundberg, 2006 (b), pp. 100-101 & 119-120; Williams, 1981, p. 39.

years – including the changes of plans.[36] Voûte & Long have simplified Dumarçay´s findings to a construction plan in three (3) main phases, the *beginnings* of which were:

- 775-780 CE[37] when the oblong top of the mountain was levelled, so as to better suit the square monument. This was the reason for the ensuing troubles, as the monument came to rest partly on rock, partly on filled in areas. During this first phase, the base and the two first galleries were constructed in the form of a stepped (terraced) pyramid. Based on models from the Pallava dynasty in South India, various perspective effects were used, so as to make the construction seem larger and higher. The outside walls were, however, still undecorated;
- 790-795 CE when the construction of the immense central *stūpa* was initiated. During this construction phase, part of the northern side collapsed under the weight of the huge central *stūpa*;
- 810 CE when the construction plan was altered to that of a *maṇḍala*. The Buddhist influences had by that time changed in character. The new construction required an elite among the monks and the aristocrates. Around 830 CE new construction techniques were introduced from India. The three circular terraces were built with their latticed *stūpas* and the central *stūpa*. The balustrade of the first gallery was modified. The first level of the processional path was constructed. Around 850 CE the Barabuḍur was completed according to Dumarçay[38] (see *Picture 6*).

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[36] To be noted is, that Dumarçay in fact means that the Barabuḍur was started in 775 CE by the Sañjaya dynasty as a huge Hindu stepped (terraced) pyramid and not as a Buddhist *stūpa*. Subsequent to their political take over, the Śailendras were assumed to have used the Hindu base structure of the monument for their Buddhist superstructure. This hypothesis may be based on Hindu architectural models. In addition, it would imply that the Śailendras were only involved in the last two construction phases of the Barabuḍur indicated above. Furthermore, this hypothesis would require an alteration of the dating of the hegemonies of the Sañjaya and of the Śailendra dynasties on Central Java, as it is generally believed that the apex of the Śailendra reign would have occurred during the period 746-829 CE (see *Section 2.3.2*). This interesting hypothesis needs to be substantiated by further research – in particular as regards the time aspect.
Dumarçay, 1998, p. 64 and fig. 37 & 38.
Other sources: Dumarçay, 1986, p. 30; Miksic, 1990, pp. 25-28 & 46.

[37] The Kālasan inscription of 778 CE (bodhisattva Tārā) may indicate that *esoteric* Buddhism may have been introduced on Central Java already at that time – (see *Appendix I, # 4*).

[38] Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 4-5 & 22-28.
Other sources: Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, pp. 152-155; Vôute, 2000, pp. 304-305; Vôute & Long, 2008, pp. 150-152.
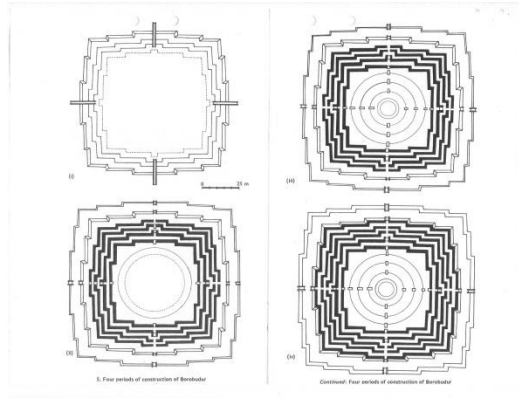
Source: Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 26-27

Picture 6   The Barabuḍur construction phases

Hattori advocated in an indirect manner that the Barabuḍur was built and completed in one phase.[39] This view was also held by Mus and Soekmono.[40] It also seems to have been advocated by Kandahjaya.[41] However, these hypotheses have been negated by the investigations made during the recent restoration in 1975-1983 of the Barabuḍur under the aegis of the UNESCO (see ***Picture 7***). We now know that the monument has been redesigned at several instances during the course of its construction - the processional path was added, the balustrade on the first gallery was expanded, gateways and staircases were altered, etc. Klokke has for instance shown - based on the decorations of the monument - that some portions have been rebuilt.[42]

However, Kandahjaya insists that the Karangtĕṅah inscription of 824 CE may be interpreted to state in *stanza* 11, that the Barabuḍur was consecrated on 26 May 824 CE (see *Section 1.2* and *Appendix I, # 9*).

[39]   Hattori, 2000, p. 22.

Chihara, on the other hand, means that this is obviously not so - the Barabuḍur was ***not*** constructed according to ***one*** consistent plan – but on several ***successive*** plans.
Chihara, 1996, p. 116.

[40]   However, Soekmono´s view seems to have been based on a misunderstanding of Dumarçay.
Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 28-29
Other Source: Soekmono, 1981, pp. 130-131.

[41]   Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 27-29.

[42]   Klokke supports the view that the Barabuḍur construction plan was subsequently altered. Klokke claims that as the *kālas* and the *makāras* on the porches on the first gallery and on the fourth balustrade of the Barabuḍur are both decorated with spiralled-eyes (a

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 7   The commemoration stone of the UNESCO
                restoration of the Barabuḍur 1975-1983

The present interest for the Barabuḍur was incited by the recon-
struction works of the terrace area by van Erp during 1907-1911. In
this connection, the Dutch architect Hœnig came to the conclusion in
1924 from his desk analysis of the Barabuḍur, that it would originally
have been meant to take the form of a multistoried temple on top of
the nine storied monument.[43] The Barabuḍur should thus have taken
the form - Prasat-Prang - similar to those of the Khmer temples being
built a few centuries later, for instance resembling the Phnom
Bakheng.[44] But his desk analysis made Hœnig finally realize, that the
base of the monument would not have held the weight of the
construction with a hugh central *stūpa* on top. A change of plans
would thus unfortunately have been necessary - corresponding to the
historical case of the so called "bent" pyramid of Pharao Snofru (4th
dynasty in Egypt of the Pharaos around 2 700 BCE). According to
Hœnig, the Barabuḍur was re-built, therefore, in smaller proportions
than those originally conceived. The stepped (terraced) base was
limited to the present four galleries. The structure on top adopted the
form of a *stūpa*. The mixture of the "Khmer temple style" of the
stepped base with the Lankese style of the *stūpa*, made Hœnig call the
Barabuḍur "a bastard".[45]

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later invention), this indicates that a reconstruction of those portions of the Barabuḍur
had in fact taken place.
Klokke, 2006, pp. 55-57.

[43]   Hœnig, 1924, p. 47.

[44]   Hœnig, 1924, p. 42.

[45]   "Der Borobudur ist eine zusammengesetze Form; eine Durchdringung zweier hetero-
gener Baugedanken; kein Torso, zwar aber ein Bastard. Denn die Vereinigung von

During van Erp´s restoration works of the terraces in 1907-1911, he found that the border of the lower terrace had in fact originally assumed the form of molded lotus leaves – contrary to the vertical construction of today (see *Picture 19*). [46] Based hereon, Hœnig proposed a theory that the Barabuḍur had consisted of a high-rised *stūpa* on a multi-tiered base. Parmentier discarded this and disputed Hœnig´s hypothesis. Parmentier suggested that the Barabuḍur was originally designed to house a huge Lankese style half-dome shaped *stūpa* on top – giving more harmony to the overall architectural layout.[47] Both Hœnig´s and Parmentier´s suggestions disclaimed the originally existence of the terraces on the open area of the Barabuḍur (see *Pictures 8 & 9*).
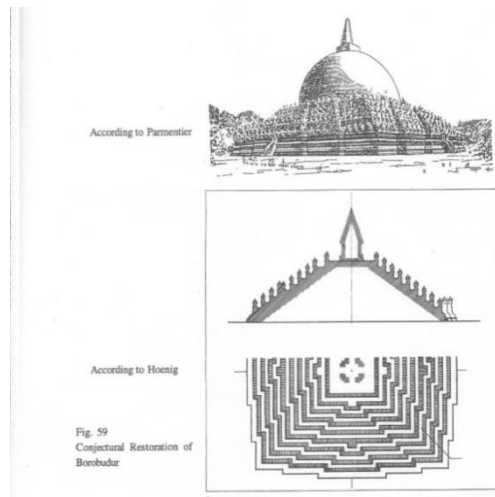
Source: Chihara, 1996, p. 117.

Pictures 8 & 9 Parmentier´s and Hœnig´s versions of the Barabuḍur

Chihara supports the theory of the Barabuḍur having originally been planned with a large central *stūpa*, but unlike Parmentier´s half-dome shaped structure, it would assume a Burmese bell-shaped form matching that of the present *stūpa*. And furthermore it would have

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Prang und Stupa bedeutet im khmerisch-mataramanschen Sinne eine Stilwidrigkeit." Hœnig, 1924, p. 52.

[46] Chihara, 1996, pp. 115-117.

[47] Parmentier, 1924, pp. 612-614.
Other source: Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 23-27; Parmentier, 1929, pp. 264-272.

been constructed within the lotus border of the lower terrace, as found by van Erp (see *Picture 10*).
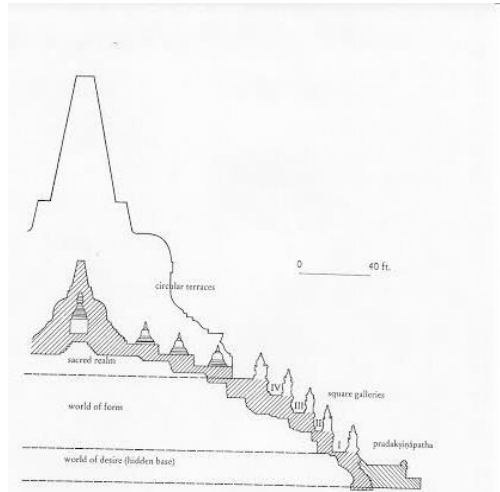
Source: Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 25.

Picture 10 Chihara´s suggested huge *stūpa*

In fact, Chihara means that the Barabuḍur was first built in accordance with the prototype of the six (6) Perfections (*ṣaṭpāramitās*) - i.e. with six levels including the immense *stūpa* – all in conformity with the prevalent *Mahāyāna* Buddhism on Java at that time.[48] As the base partly collapsed under the weight of the huge *stūpa*, the monument was supposed to have been rebuilt in accordance with the model of the ten (10) Perfections (*daśapāramitās*), at which time the bas-reliefs were cut out.[49] The bas-reliefs of the second to the fourth

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[48] According to Kats and Iwamoto, the prevalent form of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism on Central Java during the eighth century CE was only stressing the six *pāramitās*: i.e. *dāna* (generosity), *śila* (moral), *kṣānti* (endurance), *vīrya* (energy), *dhyāna* (meditation), and *prajñā* (wisdom).
Chihara, 1996, pp. 116-119 & 120.
Other sources: Chihara, 1981, p. 141; Kats, 1910, pp. 34-42.

[49] Chihara, Kats and Iwamoto are of the opinion that the four remaining *pāramitās* were introduced on Central Java at a later stage. Together with the earlier six (6) *pāramitās*, one now obtained the entire set of the ten (10) *pāramitās* of the bodhisattva. These four remaining *pāramitās* are *maitri* (consideration), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (altruistic delight), and *upekṣā* (mental balance). These last four *pāramitās* differ from those of the *BAS* (see *Note 50* below and *Appendix IV, # 8.3, Notes 1646 & 1647*).
Chihara, 1981, pp. 141-142 & Kats, 1910, pp. 34-42.
Other source: Ishii, 1991, p. 161.

galleries were also cut during this reconstruction phase of the Barabuḍur. Some scholars interpreted these bas-reliefs to elucidate a change in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism on Java and that these bas-reliefs would constitute proof that at least part of the *SHK* was known on Java at that time.[50] The addition of the 104 Buddha images in the niches on the balustrade of the first gallery also seems to confirm the expansion of the Barabuḍur to ten stories – which may be seen as being in conformity with the change in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism on Java at that time.[51]

In view of the ten-storied form of the Barabuḍur, some scholars have proposed that the bas-reliefs should instead represent the "Ten Stages of the bodhisattva" – the *DBS* (see *Section 5.4.2 & Appendix III, # 6*).[52] However, Hattori means that the ten-storied form of the Barabuḍur represents the ten successive phases of the development of the mind (the *Jûjûshin-ron* 十住心經) in *Shingon* Buddhism.[53]

A *vihāra* was probably built in connection with the Barabuḍur. However, scholars are still uncertain as to where this *vihāra* was located. One alternative is on the hill north west of the monument.[54] Nevertheless no remains exist of this *vihāra*. The only indication of the *vihāra* is its supposed corner stone – in a modern version (see ***Picture 11***).

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[50]   Chihara points out that the last four of the ten *pāramitās* on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur differ from the four *pāramitās* expressed in the *BAS* – i.e. *upāya* (skillful means), *praṇidhāna* (promise), *bala* (power) and *jñāna* (knowledge). Instead, the last four "*pāramitās*" on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs are the "four infinite virtues" (*catvāry apramāṇāni*) – *maitri* (consideration), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (altruistic delight) and *upekṣā* (mental balance) - that were in accordance with early Buddhist traditions. These were also documented in the the *SHK*. In conclusion, in time for the reconstruction works of the Barabuḍur, the builders adapted the decorations of the monument to those of the recent development within the religious thought on Java. ***The SHK – or part thereof - may thus have been known on Java by that time.***
See *Appendix II, Note 1249.*
Chihara, 1996, pp. 120-121.

[51]   Voûte, 2000, p. 310.

[52]   Voûte, 2000, p. 324.

[53]   The gradual ascending of mind closely represents the standing form of the *maṇḍala*. The eighth stage corresponds to Tendaī (Heaven) and the ninth stage corresponds to Kegon.The treatises on the tenth stage call it the "*nine revealed ten hidden*", i.e. the visible nine levels and the utmost profoundly *esoteric* one.
Hattori, 2000, p. 28.

[54]   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1981, p. 16.

Picture 11   The supposed corner stone of the
                    Barabuḍur *vihāra*

Southeast of the Barabuḍur almost 2,400 small unburnt clay *stūpas* have been found, as well as more than 250 clay votive tablets with stamped images of a sitting Buddha, or of bodhisattva Tārā, or of 3, 4 or 5 *stūpas.* These finds could indicate the existence of a popular Buddhism, existing side-by-side with the official Buddhism of the royal court (see *Section 4.2.1*).[55]

Given the above, it is not even known who built the Barabuḍur. Kandahjaya claims in *Section 1.2* below, that the Kayumwungan (Karang-těṅah) inscription of 824 CE may be interpreted to name king Samara-tuṅga as the founder of the Barabuḍur. Sundberg means, on the other hand, that the Wanua Těngah III inscription may be interpreted to name *Rakai* Warak *Dyaḥ* Manara (r. 802-827 CE) as the founder of the monument.[56] Wisseman Christie is of the opinion, that both individuals mentioned above are one and the same person (see *Appendix I, # 9 & 16 & Section 2.3.2*, respectively).[57]

During the eighth-ninth centuries CE the focus on numbers and quantities is believed not to have been uncommon on Java. According to Bernet Kempers, one way of expressing the concept of "the Holy" - i.e. the sacred - was inter alia by means of the so called "Momentum

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[55]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 106.

[56]   Sundberg, 2006 (b), pp. 120-124.

[57]   Wisseman Christie, 2001, p. 35.
        Other source: Kim, 2007, pp. 219-221.

of Multitude" (i.e. repetition of similar symbols). Stunning the spectator by presenting similar symbolic "arguments" in an endless repetition, one obtained an essential aspect of religious symbolism. For the Javanese at that time, endless repetitions meant, namely, "without end", "without age", "infinity" – i.e. "the Holy".[58] This "Momentum of Multitude" expressed in the bas-reliefs and in the sculptures of the Barabuḍur, thus underlines the sacredness of the monument.[59]

Bernet Kempers states that the Barabuḍur represents the meeting of the "Holy with Mankind". Thus:

> *The Barabuḍur represents the Holy,*
> *its descent into the Universe,*
> *the Universe being pervaded, and*
> *the ascent of Man.*[60]

Of interest may be Bernet Kempers´ proposal that the Barabuḍur represents the macro-mystery (i.e. the "descent of the Holy"), as well as the micro-mystery (i.e. the "ascent of Man"). According to Bernet Kempers, "descent of the Holy" on the Barabuḍur (i.e. the contact between the Ultimate Reality and our world) is represented by the descent of the multiple manifestations of already Enlightened Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* and in the niches, while the "ascent of Man" is represented by the life and former births of the Buddha, and by the observance by the pilgrim of the guidance of Sudhana – both being illustrated on the bas-reliefs.[61] The Barabuḍur may thus be seen as the spiritual tool – a *yantra* – which enables the devotee to meet with the Holy.[62] But why then are the Buddha images in the niches best observed from the outside when approaching the Barabuḍur or from the processional path? The answer to this question may be dual – first of all, the Buddha images in the niches are complemented with the Buddha images on the bas-reliefs, inter alia in the *jātaka* tales. Secondly, by following the circumambulation route (the *pradakṣiṇa*), the pilgrim meets increasingly subtle and soteriologically efficacious

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[58] Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 92.

[59] This "Momentum of Multitude" should not be confounded with the presentation of individual majestic adornments (*alaṃkāra*) as part of the visualization meditation to reach a Buddha-field *Buddhakṣetra* (see *Section 5.3.1*).

[60] Bernet Kempers, 1981(b), p. 112.

[61] Bernet Kempers, 1981(b), pp. 111-112 & 116.

[62] Bernet Kempers, 1981(b), p. 117.

manifestations of the Buddha – thus ritually encountering the Buddha, commemorating his qualities, and symbolically incorporating them. When he reaches the terrace area of the Barabuḍur, the pilgrim has himself literally moved on to higher levels.[63]

That the Śailendras would use this central and sacred place to have the Barabuḍur built is thus quite conceivable. They would namely hereby ensure a place, where they could "physically" meet with the Buddha already in this life. In addition, by building the Barabuḍur, the Śailendras would also cement their own power position on Java (see *Section 5.11*).

1.2   *The basis on which to understand the Barabuḍur*

de Casparis is convinced "that no interpretation of individual parts or aspects of the Barabuḍur can become fully meaningful except within the frame of a general conception".[64] Fontein agreed herewith, but insisted that the main stumbling block is "the absence of inscriptions and other texts which describe the building of the Barabuḍur or the intentions of its architects".[65]

However, Kandahjaya is of the view that there exists one inscription that is related to the Barabuḍur – namely the Kayumwungan inscription of 824 CE, which de Casparis,[66] Chandra[67] and Sarkar[68] have already analyzed and described.[69] This inscription is another name for the Karangtěṅah inscription (see *Appendix I, # 9*).

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[63]   Gifford, 2011, p. 21.
Other source: Gifford, 2004, p. 70-75.

[64]   de Casparis, 1981, p. 47.

[65]   Fontein, 1967, p. 147.

[66]   de Casparis, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 24-50.
Other source: de Casparis, 1981, p. 60.

[67]   Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 226-230.

[68]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol I, pp. 64-75.

[69]   Kandahjaya´s revised translation of the Kayumwungan was based on de Casparis´, Chandra´s and Sarkar´s referred to ground works. A summary of Kandahjaya´s translation is presented on pages 130-131 in his PhD dissertation.
Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 116 & 130-131.

The Kayumwungan (Karangtĕṅah) inscription is a text, according to Kandahjaya, that in a thorough manner presents the Barabuḍur and its patrons (king Samaratuṅga and his daughter princess Prāmoda-varddhanī). Instead of the originally intended large *stūpa* to be built on top of the balustrades, the architectural plan was suddenly altered (under vivid discussions – *stanza* 6) to that of the present, in which the three circular terraces and the 72 latticed *stūpas* constitute the spokes of "an altar formed like a wheel" (i.e. the Buddhist Wheel of Law – *stanza* 8). The sanctury is described as "a piece of the orb of the moon" atop "an elevated altar adorned with balustrades" (*vedi*)[70], which the king [Samaratuṅga] ascends and which is "brilliant and pleasing to the mind" (*stanza* 12). According to *stanza* 11, the monument was consecrated on 26 May 824 CE.[71]

According to Kandahjaya, the compound in *stanza* 15 of the Sanskrit word *guṇagaṇa* together with the name Sugata would describe the *vihāra*, which is to be inaugurated – as "the multitude of virtues of Sugata" (*sugataguṇagaṇa*).[72]

Kandahjaya furthermore means, that the name Śrī Ghananātha mentioned in *stanza* 11 would be mathematically, as well as geometrically, represented on the Barabuḍur. He arrives at this conclusion by referring to the Sanskrit word *ghana* to mean "the cube of a number". When we introduce the cube of three (3^3 = 27) to Amoghavajra´s grid formula for the construction of the *Garbha maṇḍala* (27x27 grids), then Kandahjaya means that one arrives at an underlying scheme for plac-

[70] Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 133.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(b), p. 229;
Prasanna Kumar Acharya, *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, New Dehli, 1979, pp. 471-474;
N.J. Krom and Th. van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabuḍur*, Martinus Nijhof, The Hague, 1920-1931, hand drawings in volume 2 of their portfolios.

[71] Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 113-142.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 45-46; Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 225, 227-229; Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 70.

[72] As *sugata* is another denomination for Buddha Śākyamuni, we are here referring to "the multitude of virtues of Buddha Śākyamuni.
Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 128-129.

A few slightly differing translations are noted:
de Casparis translates it as "being possessed with Sugata´s previously existing virtues" (... vervuld van de Deugden der Sugata´s voortbestaan…)
de Casparis, 1950, Vol. I, p. 47.
Sarkar´s translation is "… the assemblage of the virtues of Sugata."
Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, p. 71.

ing the Buddha statues on the Barabuḍur. For reference, please see the description of the *paramaśāyikin* 81 grid (9x9 grids) of the *Garbha maṇḍala* in *Section 4.2.4 & Appendix IV, # 8.2.* However, Kandahjaya´s mathematical reasoning leave in other instances some obscurities to be explained.[73]

According to Kandahjaya, the Kayumwungan inscription describes a monument that is not only in conformity with the Barabuḍur. In fact, he means that this inscription may be considered "the consecration manifesto of Borobudur".[74] It has not been deemed necessary to pursue this matter further in this dissertation.

1.3 The surrounding lake

Nieuwenkamp presented in a series of articles during 1931-1932 in a Dutch monthly journal[75] his theory that the Barabuḍur should have been surrounded by water and like a "lotus flower arisen out of the lake, on which the new-born Buddha was seated". Nieuwenkamp saw the Barabuḍur as a stylized white lotus throne, built in anticipation to house the next coming Buddha – Buddha Maitreya.[76]

This proposed theory was considerably criticized by scholars of that time – with van Erp in the lead. He called it "Nieuwenkamp´s greatest blunder". The heated debate, that this hypothesis lead to, resulted in various excavations being conducted in 1937, 1966, 1969 and 1972.

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[73]   Kandahjaya, 2009, p. 13;   Kandahjaya, 1995, pp. 28-30 & 38-40.

[74]   Kandahjaya, 2009, p. 1.

[75]   *The Nederlands Indies, Old and New.*

[76]   Soekmono, 1981, p. 132.
   Other sources: Forman, 1980, p. 12; Mus, 1935, pp. 34-36; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 21;   Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 236-238;   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 101; Voûte, 2006, pp. 247-249.

   Similarities may be noted with the Swayambhunath *Stūpa* in the Valley of Kathmandu in Nepal. According to the mythology, the valley should have been a large lake. The "self-sprung" Buddha Swayambhu should here have presented himself on a large lotus in the middle of the lake. However, Buddha Maitreya was supposed to have drained the lake by cutting the surrounding mountains with a blow of the sword. The lotus was supposed to have landed on atop of a hill, where the *stūpa* was subsequently built. (regards to the PhD-student Hedda Jansson, who addressed my interest hereto).
   Encyclopedia Britannica.

These excavations did not result in any positive facts supporting this theory.[77] The analysis of various soil samples from the 1972 excavations of the Barabuḍur hill and of the plain south of the monument conducted by Dumarçay and Thanikaimoni did not result in any finds of pollen or spores from plants, that grow in aquatic environments. In 1985-1986 Voûte and the geomorphologist Nossin conducted further field research in the area and found traces of a pre-historic lake, that had dried out several thousand years ago. An article was published in 2000 in the Journal of Volcanology and Geothermal Research, by 18 authors arguing in favour of the hypothesis of a lake around the Barabuḍur.[78] This article was followed in 2003 by a publication released by the Gadjah Mada University and some French academic institutions.[79] This thorough geological survey indicated that the area east of the Barabuḍur and around the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and the *Caṇḍi* Mendut had been covered by water during historical times up until the eleventh or twelfth centuries CE. The water surface varied of course substantially towards the end of the period - expanding periodically during the rainy seasons. This publication lead Dumarçay to reiterate in the 2003 edition of the journal Archipel,[80] that the pre-historic lake - that apparently had existed in the area - had dried out long before the construction of the Barabuḍur.[81] Thus opinion still stands against opinion, as regards this matter!

This theory gives rise to an obvious question of how it affects the proposed Processional Road between the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and the Barabuḍur - as suggested by Brandes and as related by Krom.[82]

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[77] However, Soekmono´s study in 1969 did not preclude that an artificial lake had existed between the Barabuḍur and a village to the west thereof named "Sa-brang-rw", which means "other side of the swamp" (the Javanese "rw" means "swamp" or "marsh"). Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 101.

[78] Newhall and 17 other co-authors, 2000, pp. 9-50.

[79] The Gadjah Mada University, the Université Panthéon-Sorbonne, the Laboratoire de Géographie Physique and the Univerité Denis-Diderot, 2003, *Cracking the Code of Buddhist Cosmology through the Analysis of Holocene Paleoenvironmental Archives: A preliminary reconstruction of paleolake Borobudur (Java, Indonesia)*.

[80] Dumarçay, 2003, p. 24.

[81] Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 100-105.

[82] Krom, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above, is thus that further field work may be warranted prior to a final conclusion may be drawn regarding this theory.

1.4   Architectural structure

The European knowledge of the Barabuḍur was the result of the English temporary sovereignty in Indonesia during 1811-1816. Governor Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was informed about the Barabuḍur in January 1814. He dispatched forthwith the engineer Cornelius to the Barabuḍur, in order to clear the monument and to prepare plans for its restoration. Siegburgh depicted the Barabuḍur in the late 1830s and made a substantial amount of notes. He discovered the "unfinished Buddha" in the central stūpa.

The Barabuḍur has been restored on several occasions – Ijzermann performed a repair work on the monument in 1885; the terrace area was restored in 1907-1911 under van Erp[83]; the galleries and the foundation were restored through the agency of the UNESCO in 1975-1983.[84]

The Barabuḍur is a square building. At the base, each side has a length of some 123 meters. The monument has today a height of some 38.5 meters.[85] It consists of:
- the circumferential ceremony platform (the "processional path") concealing the "hidden base" reliefs;

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[83]   van Erp later on published an architectural description of the Barabuḍur – thus accompaning the three portfolios of photographs and architectural drawings that he made during the restoration project 1907-1911 – van Erp, T., 1931, *Beschrijving van Barabudur*; *Bouwkundige Beschrijving*, vol I-III, , ´s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff.

[84]   Anom, 2005, pp. 1-288.
Other sources: Fontein, 2012, p. 2;   Gifford, 2011, p. 4;   Gifford, 2004, pp. 4-5; Gómez & Woodward, 1981, pp. 1-2.   Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 1;   Krom, 1927, vol. I, pp. 32-33;   Miksic, 1990, p. 17;   Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, pp. 25-27.

[85]   Professor Parmono Atmadi at the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta means that the temples in Old Matarām were built fulfilling a relationship of the "feet", the "body" and the "head" of the building according to the formula 4:6:9. In accordance herewith, professor Atmadi defined the original height of the Barabuḍur to 41.81 meters. Long, 2009, p. 270.
Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 170-171.

- the four "closed" circumferential galleries mounting on the sides in a zig-zag form giving the pilgrim the impression of a labyrinth. The galleries represent the human world and the human viewpoint; and
- the open area with the three "round" terraces, their latticed *stūpas*, and with the central *stūpa* in the middle. This part of the monument represents the ideal world and the viewpoint of the Buddha.

The interpretation of these three parts of the Barabuḍur and their potential symbolic likeness to the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu*, respectively, is discussed in *Section 5.4.1*.

One flight of stairs leads on each side of the Barabuḍur from the processional path, through the four galleries, up to the open terrace area (see *Picture 12*). The entrances of these staircases on the processional path are each guarded by a pair of lions (see *Picture 147*). The pair of lions in front of the flight of stairs on the western side of the monument are somewhat larger, than those in the other cardinal points – as "west" is usually regarded as the direction to the "netherworld".[86]

Source: Miksic, 1990, p. 40.

Picture 12   The Barabuḍur from the air

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[86] Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 111-113.
Other sources: Gifford, 2011, pp. 5-7; Gifford, 2004, pp. 6-14; Przyluski, 1936, pp. 252-253; Soekmono, 1981, pp. 131-132; Soekmono, 1976, pp. 14-15; Woodward, 1999, pp. 34-36; Woodward, 1981 (b), pp. 40-48.

The Barabuḍur seems to be a Javanese variant of an Indian *stūpa*, the prototype of which could have been the *stūpa* at Kesariya in Bihar, where Lord Buddha handed his begging bowl to his followers from Vaiśālī on his way to Kuśinagara (prior to his *parinirvāṇa*). The round five terraced *stūpa* at Kesariya was built in honour hereof, most likely during several phases. The last original construction phase was probably shortly after the mega-catastroph 535-536 CE (see *Section 2.1.1*) during the late Gupta period. King Harṣa (ca. 606-647) - the first great post-Gupta king in the region - is supposed to have expanded the *stūpa*. The mound was also under modification throughout the Pāla pariod. The period between the Gupta dynasty (320-550 CE) and the Pāla dynasty (750-c.1160 CE) was a transitional period of art. Sculptures became an integral part of the monument (e.g. in separate niches) and were no longer mere decorations. The *stūpa* at Kesariya is basically of the same size, as that of the Barabuḍur.[87] The *stūpa* at Kesariya was built by king Bena, who felt obliged to confirm his *cakravartin* kingship. Some 200 years later, the Śailendra king might have felt the same need building the Barabuḍur in order to confirm his *cakravartin* kingship. In any event, the circular mountain *stūpa* at Kesariya - with its five terraces and large external Buddha statues in niches - must have been quite influencial, as several *stūpas* in Kashmir, Bhutan, Tibet and Myanmar have resemblances to it - as has the Barabuḍur.[88]

Another potential prototype for the Barabuḍur could have been the *stūpa* at Nandangārh (which is supposed to contain the ashes of Buddha Śākyamuni) – close to Bettiah in west Champāran district of Bihar in northern India. It was probably built some time during the fifth century CE. The architectural plan of the monument indicates a *maṇḍala* motive similar to those of the *thangkas* of Nepal and Tibet. The Aśoka pillar stands nearby the *stūpa*.

Close to the Gyantse Kumbum ("Of Ten Thousand Clouds") monument in Tibet of 1427 CE, there are 73 small structures that the

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[87]   The round Kesariya *stūpa* has a diameter of 123 meters and a height of 37.5 meters. The Barabuḍur is a square building with each side being 123 meters long and with a present height of 38.5 meters.
Muhammad, 2005, p. 9.

[88]   See *Section 5.5.2, Note 1043.*
Chemburkar, 2016, pp. 193-199.
Other sources: Long, 2009, pp. 187-191; Voûte, 2006, pp. 236-238.

pilgrim must pass on his way to higher levels. Likewise, the Shwedagon *pagoda* in Yangon, Myanmar from the sixth to tenth centuries CE, is surrounded by 72 smaller buildings, each containing a small Buddha statue.[89]

The Tabo monastery complex in Himachal Pradesh in western India was founded in 996 CE. The main temple was consecrated to Buddha Vairocana. The entire Tabo complex was surrounded by a wall with 108 *stūpas*.[90] The walls of the *maṇḍala* hall of the central temple are on the inside decorated in three levels, all dating from the eleventh century CE. Seen clockwise from the entrance in the middle of the east wall, the lowest level of the inside wall presents murals of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) and murals of the *Lalitavistara* (the *LV*). The middle level of the inside wall is decorated with sculptured images of 32 deities from the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – to which should be added the fourbodied image of Buddha Mahāvairocana in front of the image of Buddha Vairocana in the cella (i.e. 37 images in total). On the upper level of the inside wall, the murals present the Buddhas of the Ten Directions together with their respective entourages. In conducting the ritual performance and circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) along the inside wall, the devotee is deemed to enter the *maṇḍala* and to unite with the deities residing therein. By performing this symbolic pilgrimage and reflecting on Siddhārtha Gautama and Sudhana (see *Sections 1.4.3 and 1.4.4*), the devotee is thus believed to have reached a higher level of consciousness.[91]

Similarities with the rituals, presumed to have been conducted at the Barabuḍur, are obvious in the Tabo monastery complex, as are the decorations and image programmes of these monuments. Likewise, similarities with the Barabuḍur´s architectural structure seems to be found at the *stūpa* of Kesariya, at the Nandangārh *stūpa*, at the Gyantse Kumbum monument and at the Shwedagon *pagoda* complex. ***Corresponding ideas were thus probably in circulation in Tibet and northern India, as well as in Southeast Asia during the latter half of the first millenium CE.*** Although one may conclude in retrospect, that ***the base plan of the Barabuḍur would not seem to be unique,*** one

[89] Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 92-94.

[90] Chandra, 1995(c), p. 75.

[91] Wong, 2007, pp. 351-355.

would nevertheless have to conclude that it probably was an early version of a new concept – if not in fact the original version itself.

The characteristic structure of the Barabuḍur monument has lead to various theories of its inherent meaning. Foucher suggested already in 1905 that the Barabuḍur was a *prāsāda* (a multi-storied palace)[92] with a *stūpa* on top (see *Section 5.5.1*). The building, that Foucher had in mind was probably the Lohapāsāda mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[93] The various levels of the *prāsāda* should correspond to the different stages (*bhūmi*) of the Path or symbolize the first seven steps of Gautama Śākyamuni. Hoenig (1924), Coomaraswamy (1927), Przyluski (1936), de Casparis (1950) and Bosch (1961) followed suit. The pilgrim passed from one level of galleries to the next level of galleries through an entrance in the form of a *kāla* head - symbolizing the spiritual transferral from one spiritual dimension to another (see *Section 1.4.3*). Stutterheim (1929) and Mus (1935)[94] voiced the same opinion - although their respective *stūpa-prāsāda* concept differed somewhat. Other scholars like Foucher (1909), Krom (1927) and Woodward (1981) advocated that the Barabuḍur would be a *stūpa* (see *Section 5.5.2*). Many scholars described the Barabuḍur as a *maṇḍala* (see *Section 5.5.3*). Voûte & Long (2008) proposes similarities with the *Vedic* fire altar.[95] The multitude of ideas is thus considerable.

Jordaan[96] and Voûte[97] claim that the architectural design for the megaprojects on Java (the *Caṇḍi* Loro Jonggran, the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, the

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[92]   The *prāsāda* is a stepped pyramid like a mountain – often symbolizing the cosmic Mount Meru. The *prāsāda* is a hollow structure. In ancient India, palaces were built like *prāsādas*.
Snodgrass, 2007, p. 238.

[93]   The Lohapāsāda (the "Brazen Palace") got its name from its immense copper roof. It was a tower in Anurādhapura on Śrī Laṅkā and was originally built in nine stories for monks in various stages (*bhumi*) on the Path. It was built by king Duṭṭhagāmanī (r. 161-137 BCE) upon the prophesy of Thera Mahinda (the son of emperor Aśoka). But after being burned down shortly after the death of king Duṭṭhagāmanī, it was rebuilt in only seven stories. King Sena II (r. 853-887 CE) and king Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153-1186 CE) are later on mentioned in the *Cūlavaṃsa* as having restored the building.
Mahāvaṃsa, XXVII, pp. 182-186.
Other sources: Cūlavaṃsa, 51.69-72, p. 153;   Cūlavaṃsa 78.96-105, pp. 113-114; Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 7;   Gunawardana, 1979, pp. 8-9, 61 & 201.

[94]   Mus, 1935, p. 114.

[95]   Gómez & Woodward, 1981, pp. 6-8.
Others sources: Mus, 1935, vol. 1, 105-106 & 524;   Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 16, 21, 31 & 69-72;   Stutterheim, 1956, p. 35;   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 171.

[96]   Jordaan, 1998, p.233.

Barabuḍur, etc.) might originally in fact have been prepared in the Indian monasteries like Nālandā. As a consequence hereof, and as we learned above, the Barabuḍur should not have been an entire Javanese creation, despite the substantial amount of work invested by thousands of Javanese artisans and labourers.

Kramrisch based her analysis on the previous Hindu back-ground on Java. Based hereon, one may assume, that the organization for building the Barabuḍur (and other temples on Central Java) was led by a main architect - *sthapati* - who was well versed in all traditional sciences, including mathematics and the *Purāṇas*. He may have had one main assistant/disciple - *sūtragrahin* - who was an expert in all sorts of work and who was ardent in making proportional mea-surements by means of a cord (*sūtra*) and a rod (*daṇḍa*). In addition, there was also the expert in stone carving - *takṣaka* - and the expert in decoration - *vardhakin*. According to the *Vāstuvidyā Śāstra* (an auxi-liary part of the *Vedas*), a monument could only be built under the supervision of these four experts. In case this organization proved to be true, it would indeed lead one to believe that the Barabuḍur was built on the basis of knowledge in Indian architecture (see *Section 4.2.4*).[98]

The temple architects in Old Java built their temples on three distinct levels in accordance with Indian prototypes.[99] These three levels are called the "foot" (*bhūrloka*), the "body" (*bhūvarloka*) and the "head" (*svarloka*) of the monument (see **Picture 13**).[100] In Old Java these three levels were represented in the relationships 4:6:9. The Barabuḍur is constructed in accordance with these relationships on a vertical basis.[101]

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[97] Voûte, 2000, p. 318.

[98] Kramrisch, 1996, Vol. I, p. 10.
Other sources: Long, 2009, pp.269-270; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 150.

[99] According to Kramrisch "The builder and the building are one; the building is a test of the health and probity of the builder, his "alter ego", his second body; if the building be a sacred one - a temple - this second body is his sacrificial body born from a second birth, …"
Kramrisch, 1996, Vol. I, p. 52.

[100] See *Section 1.1, Note 12*.
These levels of the monument could also be said to represent "earth" (*bhūrloka*), "at-mosphere" (*bhūvarloka*) and "sky" (*svarloka*).

[101] Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 170-172.
Other source: Long, 2009, p. 270.

Picture 13   The three levels of the Old Javanese temples – based
on an example from the Dièng plateau

The Barabuḍur was built using well over one million blocks of stone –
the majority of which were about 23 centimeter high (corresponding
to one *tāla*).[102] The *tāla* – the measure governing temple architecture –
was derived from the dimensions of the human body.[103] The blocks of
stone were cut and joined together without cement. During the first
phase of the construction (see *Section 1.1*), the stones were cut with
extruding and receding angles and fitted like a mosaic ("shiplap-
ping") (see **Picture 14**). During the second construction phase, a
building method from Śrī Laṅkā was used. Wedges were hammered
at intervals between the stones, pushing the stones towards the
corners of the building. This increased the compressional stress and
held the stones in place. Finally during the third construction phase, a
more advanced building technique was used with slightly curved
horizontal joints between the various layers of stones (i.e. the vertical
extrusions on the upper surface of some stones locking into the

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[102]   According to the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, the architects on Central Java
during the eighth and ninth centuries CE used a unit of measurement called a *tāla* (22,9
centimeters). Reference may also be made to the work of Parmono Atmadi, *Some arch-
tectural design principles of temples of Java*, Gadjah Mada Universitas Press, 1988, pp.
182-183.

[103]   The *tāla* was seen as the length of the human face – from the hairline of the forehead to
the tip of the chin. The *tāla* was also defined as the maximum distance between the tips
of the thumb and of the middle finger when the hand is stretched out to the maximum.
Other bodily measures were also regarded as a *tāla*.
Long, 2009, pp. 267-268.

notches of the stones on the next level). This technique was combined with the use of stone wedges.[104] The sculptures and the bas-reliefs were cut, when the stones were in place. From the outset, the entire monument was probably covered with two layers of stucco plaster, which was painted in gaudy colours.[105]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 14   Barabuḍur building blocks

As already indicated in *Section 1.1*, the monument was built partly directly on the hill rock, partly on a refilled area on top of the hill rock (see *Picture 15*). This fairly unstable foundation may be one of the reasons for the serious collapse of part of the base under the weight of the originally conceived immense *stūpa*, while under construction. Subsequent subsidences in the base of the monument have resulted in the archtectural structure of the Barabuḍur being "stressed" and weaker in certain parts.[106] The annual rainfall is high – and may in "wet" years reach 3,000 mm – see the water sprout in *Picture 26*.[107]

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[104]   Voûte, 2000, pp.311-314.

[105]   Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 30-31.

[106]   The hill, on which the Barabuḍur is built, is artificial. The mountain crest extends in a NW-SE direction. However, the monument rests only on the mountain in its NW corner. The balance of the foundation rests on an artificial refill (see *Picture 15*).
Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 89.
Other sources: Voûte, 1973, pp. 114-115; Bernet Kempers, 1976, p. 12;   Chihara, 1981, p. 140;   Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 27-29.
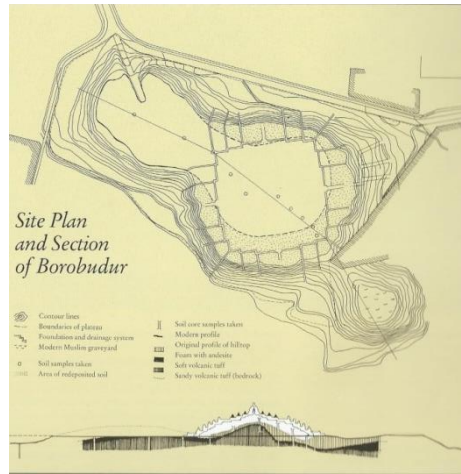
[107]   Voûte, 1973, p. 115.

Picture 15 The Barabuḍur Site Plan

The Barabuḍur is situated in the tropics at the latitude of 7.608° South. The Barabuḍur was constructed in accordance with the cardinal points. Today, however, its north-south axis deviates to the west of the true north by some 1.5º – a fact that had already been noted by Krom, Bernet Kempers and van Erp. Voûte and Long explain this fact that by the eighth century CE (i) the Pole star barely peaked above the northern horizon, as seen from the place of the Barabuḍur and (ii) the "pointer" of the constellation Ursa Major was located 1.5º to the west of the true north.[108]

The Barabuḍur was built in such a manner that the terraces and their latticed *stūpas* – as well as the central *stūpa* - are not seen from the base of the monument. The change in architectural set-up after the collapse of part of the base during the second building phase (see *Section 1.1*), makes the monument presently look from afar like a "cake, that has not risen" (see *Picture 16*).[109]

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[108] Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 79-82.
Other sources: Long, 2009, p. 66; Voûte, 2006, pp. 242-243.

[109] Foucher, 1909, p. 41.
Other sources: Fontein, 2001, p. 83; Krom, 1927, Vol. I, p. 1.

Picture 16   The Barabuḍur – Whole side view

Fontein proposed that the hermeneutics based on the principle of *upāya kauśalya* ("skilful means") may have been used in the planning of the distribution of the 1,460 bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur.[110] The *upāya kauśalya* is the ability to present *dharma* lessons in such a manner, as to maximize its effectiveness for various kinds of audiences.[111] However, this may lead to a situation, whereunder *dharma* lessons being composed for one kind of audience, may be appreciated by another kind of audience as "ultimately false but provisionally true". The *upāya kauśalya* is in fact a fundamental principle of the *Mahāyāna* hermeneutics.[112] Although all the texts were accepted as the genuine words of the Buddha or of advanced bodhisattvas, they were, however, classified on the basis of their proximity to – or distance from – the Ultimate Truth.

Later on, this same principle was used in classifying various teachings of Buddhism. In the words of Lopez: "*Upāya* does not …simply provide the basis for a hermeneutics of accommodation, but also establishes one of appropriation and control, for to declare a teaching to be expedient is to declare knowledge of the Buddha´s intention and, hence, his final view."[113]

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[110]   Fontein, 1967, p. 172.

[111]   Williams, 1999, p. 51.

[112]   Lopez, 1988, p. 50.

[113]   Lopez, 1988, p. 55.

Historically, two methods of classification of the development of Buddhism elaborated, as follows:

- the Indian version with the "Three Turnings of the Wheel";[114] and
- the Chinese version with various systems of the *pànjiào*.[115]

However, the obvious weaknesses with both these methods, have lead to the fact that they are not readily used any longer by Western scholars.[116]

It would at first glance seem, that the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs would have been organized in accordance herewith (See *Picture 17*). But as we shall learn in *Section 5.3*, this presumption may not hold entirely true on a detailed level.

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[114] The concept of the "Three Turnings of the Wheel" was originally developed by the *Yogācāra-cittamātra* tradition. The "Three Turnings of the Wheel" were supposed to have been (i) the *Theravāda* teaching starting with Buddha Śākyamuni´s sermon in the Deer Park at Vāraṇāsī; (ii) the provisional *Mahāyāna* teaching of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature; and (iii) the superior and final *Mahāyāna* teaching of the *Saṁdhinirmocana Sūtra*. This concept seems partly based on former misunderstandings on the part of Western scholars – and propped up by repetition.

[115] The Chinese *pànjiào* 判教 classifications come in various versions – such as the ones by Zhanran, Zhiyan, Fazang, Huikuan, Huikuang, Huiyuan, Liuqiu and Zongmi. The version by patriarch Fazang of the *Huayan* tradition organizes the teachings of the Buddha into five categories; namely (i) *Hīnayāna*, (ii) the elementary *Mahāyāna*, (iii) the advanced *Mahāyāna*, (iv) the sudden teaching, and (v) the perfect teaching. The latter is only found in the base *sūtra* of the *Huayan nikāya* – i.e. the *BAS*. (see *Appendix III, # 3*).

[116] The "Three Turnings of the Wheel" method seems to be based on the view that the mentioned parts of Buddhism developed neatly one-after-the-other, while in fact there probably was an overlapping in time between the various parts.

The *pànjiào* method seems to favour a specific form of Buddhism, depending on who composed it.
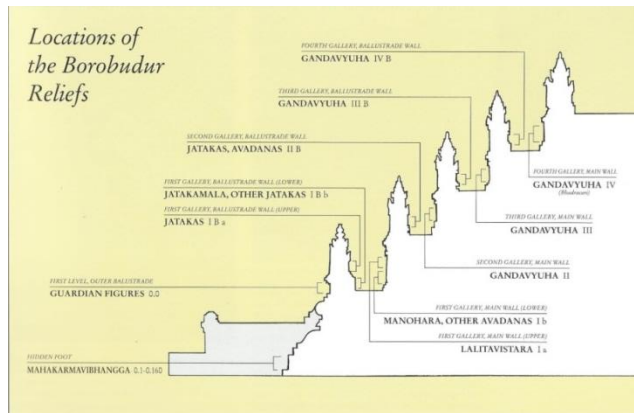
Source: Miksic, 1990, p. 43.

Picture 17   Locations on the Barabuḍur of the bas-reliefs

Including the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base", the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur makes up a total of 1,460 bas-reliefs (i.e. 365 bas-reliefs on each side of the monument) – with a total length of some 2,500 meters.[117]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 18   The Barabuḍur´s eastern entrance with the processional path and the outside of the first balustrade

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[117]   Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 92.
        Other sources: Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 1; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 102.

1.4.1   The processional path and the "hidden base"

The processional path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) (see *Picture 18*) was added to the monument during the third construction phase. This was perhaps done in three phases, as suggested by Chihara (see *Picture 19*).[118] Based on its moldings, the processional path may in fact have been completed only in the early tenth century CE, as suggested by Gifford[119] and Williams.[120]

Part of the building had collapsed during the second phase of construction under the weight of the originally conceived huge *stūpa*. The processional path was then added, as an extra support, so as to ensure the stability of the structure (see *Picture 19*).[121] In addition, the reason for the processional path may also have been to serve Śailendras political aims.[122] This processional path was built in two levels – the outer, lower level being 2.35 meters wide. The inner, higher level have a width of 6.75 meters.[123] This inner level was borded to the

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[118]   Chihara, 1981, pp. 137 & 141.

[119]   Gifford, 2004, p. 7.

[120]   Williams, 1981, pp. 30, 34 & 39.

[121]   According to van Erp, Mus, Soekmono and Stutterheim. However, other scholars like Marchal believe that this processional path was built specifically in order to hide the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* bas-reliefs. But that may be seen as "somewhat over-shooting the target".
Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 94-99.

Gifford supports the idea, that the processional path was added for structural reasons. Gifford, 2011, p. 172.

[122]   Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 27-29.

[123]   Dumarçay, 1978, p. 32.

outer level by a low, latticed balustrade decorated with *yakṣas*.[124] These *yakṣas* were supposed to defend the *stūpa* and the pilgrims. Only few remains of this low balustrade exist today in the northwestern corner of the monument.[125]
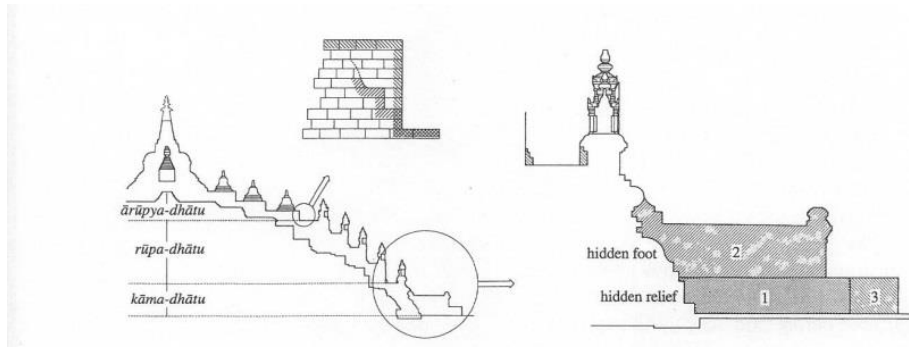
Picture 19   The processional path of the Barabuḍur

The two levels of the processional path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) are inter-rupted in the middle in the four cardinal points by stairways (see *Picture 20*). Where these stairways extend above the level of the platforms, they have a banister on either side. On top of the banister, a lion´s (*siṁha*)[126] head is seen disgorging the handrail. The handrail ends at the bottom of the stairs in a spiral scroll (see *Picture 20*) or in

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[124] See *Note 149*.

[125] Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 99-100.

[126] The lion (*siṁha*) – of all the animals – had the closest relationship to Agni (the god of fire). Agni - with his iron teeth and enormous jaws – was with his flames devouring eve-rything.
Bosch, 1960, p. 140.

a *makāra* head. The *makāra*[127] has its mouth open, in which sits a small lion (or a small human) with its left pawn raised (see ***Picture 21***).[128]

Picture 20   Staircase ending as spiral scrolls

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[127]   Dumarçay, 1978, p. 32.

In the Indian astronomy, the heavenly *makāra* corresponds to the constellation of Capricorn in our signs of the Zodiac. The sun rises in the constellation of Capricorn at the time of the midwinter solstice – and the small lion in the mouth of the *makāra* may here represent the new-born sun. The great lion´s head (*siṁha*), that swallows the tail of the *makāra*, corresponds to the constellation of the Lion, in which the sun rises at the time of the summer solstice. Voûte & Long are therefore of the opinion that the flight of stairs on the Baraḅuḍur in the N-S direction, respectively in the E-W direction, symbolize the six-monthly rising and descending phases of the sun-cycle.
Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 119.

[128]   The *makāra*, as well as the serpent (*nāga*), represents water. The *makāra* is pictured with elements taken from crocodiles, elephants, serpents, fishes, parrots and antelopes. In Sanskrit texts "ocean" is termed *makārālaya* – "the abode of *makāras*". Like the Chinese dragon and the Indian *nāga*, the *makāra* also symbolizes the rainbow – which on Java is believed to be a two-headed creature reaching from the Indian Ocean to the Java Sea. In both oceans water is sucked in and then released as rain from the apex of the rainbow – i.e. right over Java. In addition, the *makāra* represents the energy exercised from desire, including the sexual desire.
Kim, 2007, pp. 180-182.
Other sources: Bosch, 1960, p. 33; Miksic, 1990, p. 57; Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 292-295; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 118.

Picture 21 Staircase ending as a *makāra* head with a
small human in the mouth.

The "hidden base" consists of 160 bas-reliefs decorating the outside of
the base of the Barabuḍur, but now "hidden" by the later addition of
the processional path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*). These bas-reliefs were first
rediscovered in 1885 (by Ijzermann) during a repair work of the
monument. Once the repair work was completed in 1891 and the bas-
reliefs had been photographed, these bas-reliefs were once again
covered up. During the Second World War, the Japanese uncovered
and studied the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" and left four bas-
reliefs in the south-east corner of the monument uncovered (see
Pictures 22-25).[129]

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[129] Fontein, 1989, pp. 7-8.
Other sources: Bernet Kempers, 1981 (a), p. 97; Gifford, 2004, pp. 6-8; Hikata,
1981, p. 105; Miksic, 1990, p. 65; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 114.

Picture 22   The "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur

Picture 23   The "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur

The 160 bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" are believed by scholars to illustrate the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga Sūtra* (the *MKS*) [130] – "Great Exposition of the Law of Karma" or the "Great Law of Cause and

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[130]   Lévi visited Java in 1928. This led to a remarkable discovery, which he published in 1932. Lévi had namely in Nepal six years earlier (1922) come across a Sanskrit manuscript from 1411 CE (plus another poorly preserved but independent manuscript) – both dealing with the Law of Cause and Effect – the *MKS*. Lévi connected this first mentioned text with the "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur. Back in Paris, Lévi identified two Chinese versions, two Tibetan translations and a number of Kuchan fragments of the *MKS*. Subsequently, Krom presented a detailed study of this Nepalese manuscript in 1933.
Fontein, 1989, p. 10.
Other sources: Fontein, 2012, p. 4;   Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 4.

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Effect".[131] However, the *MKS* does not represent new philosophical perspectives, as all Buddhist traditions accept the importance of the Law of Cause and Effect.[132] The specific text that guided the sculptors on the Barabuḍur is unknown. It may have been the Sanskrit text, that was translated into Chinese in 582 CE by Gautama Dharmaprajñā (T. 80).[133] The *MKS* is presented on the Barabuḍur in two different manners[134] – i.e. initially, the successive series illustrated on the bas-reliefs are presenting "Which actions [plural], that lead to a specific type of effect [singular]". These bas-reliefs are followed up with bas-reliefs presenting successive series showing "Which action [singular], that result in a specific variation of effects [plural]".[135] Good actions lead in other words to a good response – and vice versa ("cause and effect"). The aim of the *MKS* was the rebirth of the devotee in heaven – ***not*** his reaching *nirvāṇa*.[136]

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[131]   Miksic, 1990, pp. 65-67.
         Other source: Fontein, 2001, pp. 87-88; Voûte & Long, 2008, pp.114-118.

[132]   Fontein, 1989, p. 77.

[133]   Fontein means that this text is primarily based on one of two texts from the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. The first text being the *Sūtra on the Difference in Retribution of Actions as Expounded by the Buddha to Śuka Mānava* (*Fó wéishōu jiā zhǎngzhě shuō yèbào chābié jīng*) 佛為首枷長者說業報差別經 (T. 80), which was translated into Chinese in 582 CE by Chutan Fazhi (Gautama Dharmaprajñā). The second text is the *Sūtra on the Difference in Retribution between Good and Evil* (*Fēnbié shàn è bàoyìng jīng*) 分別善惡報應經 (T. 81), which was translated into Chinese in 980 CE by the Kashmir monk Tiān Xizāi 天息災.
         Fontein, 1989, pp. 12-13.

         According to the *Hōbōgirin*, the first mentioned text (T. 80) was written by Paramārtha. Paramārtha was an Indian monk, who was born around 499 CE in Ujjain and who died in China around 569 CE.
         Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 124.

[134]   Bernet Kempers, 1981 (a), pp. 96-98.

[135]   These last-mentioned actions, that lead to "a variation of effects", only seem to apply to "good actions".
         Fontein, 1989, p. 55.

[136]   Fontein, 1989, p. 78.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 24   The Barabuḍur – the "hidden base"

Fontein has in detail presented the individual 160 bas-reliefs and the actions (physical, as well as mental), on which they are based.[137] Voûte & Long state that these bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" are believed to be only loosely based on the *MKS*, as merely 23 of the total 160 bas-reliefs may be directly referred the *MKS*. The balancing 137 bas-reliefs should either be based on secondary texts or on local Javanese interpretations, as claimed by le Bonheur. [138] Fontein, however, refutes this strongly. He states that there is no reason any longer to accept le Bonheur´s hypothesis that the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" would have more than one text as a basis. He claims that the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur only illustrate one text – the *MKS*. But on the other hand, we do not know which version of the *MKS* it was, that guided the sculptors of the Barabuḍur. The discrepancies only reveal various differences between the *MKS*, as it has been preserved in Nepal, and the version that guided the sculptors of the Barabuḍur.

Fontein suggests that the versions of the manuscript that guided the sculptors of the Barabuḍur were simpler and more systematic versions – resembling the Chinese translations. The discrepancies referred to above may thus be explained by later interpolation not yet having been included in the *MKS*. Both Krom and Fontein believe that the sculptors of the Barabuḍur were true to the manuscript in their possession and did not edit it.[139] The recent new editions of the Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts (Kudo 2004) and the translation of the

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[137]   Fontein, 1989, pp 15-68.
         Other source: Hikata, 1981, pp. 107-111 (full list).

[138]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 115.

[139]   Fontein, 1989, pp. 69-72, 75, 77.

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Khotanese *Karmavibhaṅga* (Maggi 1995) ensure excellent opportunities for renewed efforts to identify additional bas-reliefs from the *MKS* on the "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur.[140]

Picture 25   The Barabuḍur – the "hidden base"

Some 40 of these bas-reliefs on the "hidden base" have brief instructions to the artisans noted above the bas-relief in question. The text seems to have been in Sanskrit, written in Kawi script, having been cut in the second half of the eighth century CE.[141]

This would indicate that the Barabuḍur may have been built around 800 CE.[142]

According to Bernet Kempers these bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" represent sacred texts, that have continued to be "permanently recited and activated" – regardless of whether or not they are seen or are out-of-sight.[143]

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[140]   Fontein, 2012, p. 12.

[141]   The Kawi script reminds of the script, which was used by the Pallava dynasty in south India during the seventh century CE. The Kawi script was widely used on Java during the eighth and ninth centuries CE.
Hikata, 1981, pp. 106-107.
Other sources: Dumarçay, 1978, p. 32; Krom, 1927, Vol. I, p. 25.

[142]   Krom, 1927, Vol. I, pp. 25-26.
Other sources: Gifford, 2004, p. 8; Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 3; Hikata, 1981, p. 107.

[143]   Bernet Kempers, 1976, pp. 87-90 & 129.

Referring to *Section 1.4*, *Note 117* Voûte & Long also state that when one adds the 160 bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" to the other bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur, we arrive at a total of 1,460 bas-reliefs – or 365 bas-reliefs on each of the four sides of the monument (i.e. one per each day of the year).
Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 117.

The workings of *karma*, as illustrated on the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base", may be regarded as the most elementary message of the Buddha. To illustrate this, the "cosmological" Buddha image in the Freer Collection (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC) is illustrated with a figure judging recently deceased individuals on the left-hand side of the robe of the Buddha figure. The torments of condemned individuals in various hells is presented on the lower hem of the undergarments of the Buddha figure. The right side of the Buddha´s robe is decorated with images of individuals reborn as animals, as hungry gosts, as human beings and as gods. In conclusion, this may be seen as representing the interpenetration of the Buddha and the universe – i.e. the body of the Buddha is the world, and the world is the body of the Buddha.[144]

1.4.2   Decorations on the outside walls
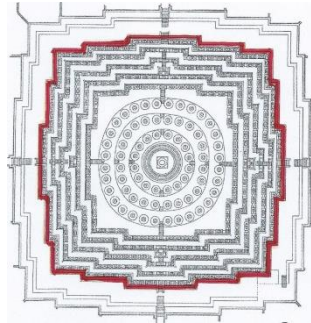
The outsides of the balustrades of the first gallery of the Barabuḍur are decorated on each side with 108 bas-reliefs. On each outside of the balustrade, these bas-reliefs illustrate 24 *yakṣas* (12 good and 12 evil *yakṣas*), each accompanied by two beautiful women, (i.e. 48 standing women - *apsaras*), 24 young men or heavenly musicians (*gandharvas*), and 6 vases filled with flowers in close proximity to the six   water-

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[144]   Gifford, 2011, p. 172.

spouts (*makāras*)[145] at this level of the monument (see **Pictures 26-29**).[146]

Picture 26 The Barabuḍur – waterspout in the form
of a *makāra*

It is noteworthy, that the *yakṣas* are represented only on the outside wall of this lowest visible bas-relief level of the Barabuḍur, while the *apsaras* and the *gandharvas* appear on the outside walls on all levels of the monument.[147] The *gandharvas* are constantly making offerings and performing music. [148] These *yakṣas*, [149] *apsaras* [150] and *gandharvas* [151]

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[145]   See *Section 1.4.1, Notes 127 & 128*.

[146]   The number 24 is associated with the lunar year (the 24 half-moons), while the number 108 symbolizes sacred time cycles of longer durations.
The number 108 constitutes a sacred number in Buddhism – see *Section 1.4.5, Note 285*.
Long, 2009, pp. 303-304.
Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 200-202.

[147]   Long, 2009, p. 311.

[148]   Shinohara, 2003, p. 75.

[149]   The *yakṣas* are semi-divine beings. *Yakṣas* constitute a broad class of nature-spirits, who are caretakers of the natural treasures hidden in the earth – thus symbolizing the elemental earth forces. They are in close relation to the aquatic elements and to the *makāras*. The *yakṣas* are only of secondary importance in the hierarchy of the deities. They live in forests and are usually benevolent – although they sometimes may be hostile to men. The *yakṣas* developed in Buddhism into the guardians of the *dharma* – the

symbolize the heavenly beings, that live on the slopes of the Mount Meru.[152]

Picture 27 *Yakṣa* and two attending women

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dvārapāla (freestanding images, kneeling on one knee, wearing a heavy moustache, and holding a bulky club - as seen at the *Caṇḍī* Sewu) (see *Appendix I, # 6, Picture 132*). Vasubandhu enumerated in the *Abhidharmakośa* various classes of beings, living on the slopes of the Mount Meru. One of these groups of beings was that of the *yakṣas* – being "always drunk" and often dancing. The *yakṣas* on the outside wall of the first balustrade on the Barabuḍur seem to be depicted in this manner. Bosch, 1959, pp. 228 & 238-239; Bosch 1960, p. 132.
Other source: Miksic, 1990, p. 57.

[150] The *apsaras* are celestial nymphs, who dispense love, dance and music to those reborn in Indra´s heaven. The etymological meaning of the word *apsara* is probably "moving in the waters" – but then in the celestial waters or in the clouds.
Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 230.
Other source: Long, 2009, p. 306.

[151] The *gandharvas* are associated with clouds and are said to nuture on fragrances and incense. The *gandharvas* seek out the wombs of women and are considered to constitute a necessary element at the moment of conception. In *Vedic* hymns, the *gandharva* is regarded to compete with the groom for the wife during the wedding night. The *gandharva* symbolizes progeny. On the temples of Central Java, the *gandharvas* are often illustrated with a halo – sometimes making them hard to distinguish from the bodhisattvas. Cuevas describes a number of Tibetan rituals performed at the deathbed, in which the deceased is given a name and traits of the *gandharva*.
Cuevas, 2008, p. 30;
Other source: Long, 2009, p. 307.

[152] Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 120.

These bas-reliefs (and originally the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base") were the only bas-reliefs seen by the pilgrim from the ground level. During his circumambulation on the ground level around the monument clockwise - *pradakṣiṇa* - the pilgrim was supposed to have cleaned his mind and to have fully understood the meaning of all these bas-reliefs. When the pilgrim had obtained full knowledge of the *MKS*, he was deemed to be prepared to pursue further development by climbing the stairs from the processional path (*pradakṣiṇāpatha*) on the east side of the monument - thus entering the first gallery by the doorway. He would then be conscious of the fact that he was entering a holy mountain - on his aspiration for Enlightenment.[153]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 28   *Apsara* with a lotus flower and with a flower pot

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 29   *Gandharva* with a lotus flower

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[153]   Miksic, 1990, p. 67.

Among these mundane bas-reliefs on the outside of the balustrade of the first gallery, we also find some inserted bas-reliefs of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara – representing that the redemption is always close at hand (see *Picture 30*).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 30 Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on
the outer wall

We may thus conclude, that the architects of the Barabuḍur obviously desired the pilgrim to experience a successive introduction into the Buddhist thought – starting already at the ground level of the monument. After having seen the decorations on the outside wall, the pilgrim would then experience:

- the *MKS* on the "hidden base" illustrating the manner in which the **Karmic Law operates** - i.e. the ground rules of the Law of Cause and Effect; followed by
- the *jātakas* and the *avadānas* on the first gallery, which render the **practical applications** hereof; and
- the life of the Buddha in the *LV* on the first gallery, which illustrates that the bodhisattva´s *karma* - having **accumulated good karma** from innumerable previous lives - finally blossomed in full effect.[154]

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[154]   Fontein, 1989, p. 79.

1.4.3 The bas-reliefs of the First Gallery
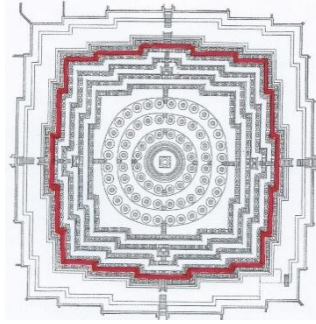
The Barabuḍur is properly approached from the east and entered by the eastern stairway – although the monument may be entered by means of any of the four stairways in the cardinal directions. The correct entrance for the pilgrim is thus through the eastern stairway. The adequate procession (*pradakṣiṇa*) of the pilgrim is clockwise round the galleries (i.e. with his right shoulder always towards the monument). The entrance of each gallery from the flight of stairs in all four cardinal points, are all expressed as a gateway in the form of a *kāla* head, which is in the process of devouring the *makāras*[155] of the banisters with the small lion in their mouths (see ***Pictures 31 & 32***).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 31   *Kāla* head

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[155]   See *Section 1.4.1, Notes 127 & 128.*

The *kāla* head symbolizes time. Hanging from the upper jaw of the *kāla* are a pair of strings of jewels, symbolizing the elixir of immortality (*amṛta*).[156] The constellation of the *kāla-makāra* was used very often on Central Java during the period 780-850 CE – particularly in connection with entrances. The character of this motive changed on Java to a rather friendly appearance with flower motives above the head.[157] This *kāla* head is called the "Face of Glory" (*kīrttimukha*). It is believed to symbolically swallow each and every pilgrim that enters the monument – thus symbolizing the pilgrim´s death and spiritual rebirth into a succeeding state (see *Picture 32*).[158]
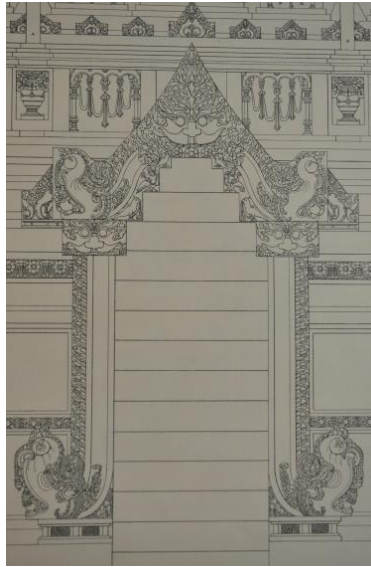
Picture 32   The eastern entrance gate of the Barabudur

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[156]   Rāhu is the demon of the Eclipses. Rāhu´s head symbolizes the ascending node of the moon´s orbit, while his body (Ketu) severed from his head symbolizes the descending node of the moon.

According to the legend, the gods were churning the ocean in order to make the elexir of immortality (*amṛta*). Rāhu – the demon of the Eclipses - then stole some of it and started to taste it. When Viṣṇu was made observant of this fact by the Sun and the Moon, he struck Rāhu with a sword and severed his head from its lower jaw. As Rāhu (*Kāla*) already had tasted some drops of the elixir, his head did not die. It is always illustrated without a lower jaw.
Kim, 2007, pp. 179-180.
Other sources: Miksic, 1990, p. 56; Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 311-313.

[157]   Kim, 2007, pp. 183-191.

[158]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 119.
Other sources: Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 102; Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 305-312.

The four galleries on the Barabuḍur circumvent the monument at a level one above the other. The galleries consist of the retaining wall of the ensuing gallery and the balustrade, stopping the view from the outside. The balustrade of the first gallery was built in connection with the construction of the processional path (i.e. during the third phase of the construction of the Barabuḍur). The pilgrim has only free sight of the sky above. The galleries are each built in a zigzag form – thus creating numerous right-angle turns. The general impression given to the practitioner is that of walking in a labyrinth (see *Picture 33*).[159]
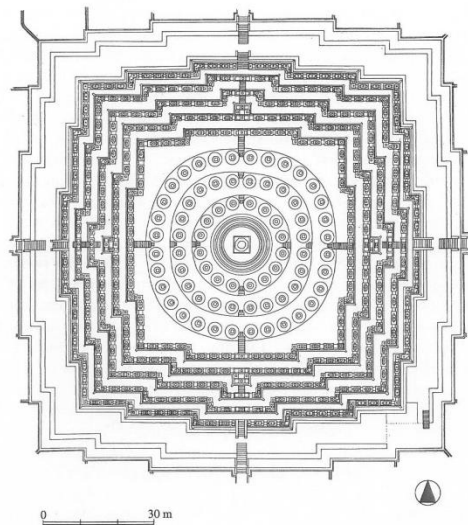
Source: Chihara, 1996, p. 114

Picture 33   The Barabuḍur seen from above

In analysing the bas-reliefs on the four galleries of the Barabuḍur, it may be important to note from the outset, that they are mostly hierarcial of nature. Although the persons illustrated are mostly of the same size, the important persons are placed inside a structure or on a somewhat higher level than the ordinary persons. In addition, the important persons are often associated with a large number of retainers. The natural surroundings are in the bas-reliefs illustrated

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[159]   Miksic, 1990, pp. 40-42.
        Other sources: Gifford, 2004, p. 9;   Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 100.

with artificial constructions, such as celestial trees, enormous pots and *stūpas* in various forms.[160]

The first gallery has two rows of bas-reliefs on the wall, as well as two rows of bas-reliefs on the balustrade; i.e. four rows in total (see *Picture 34*). The bas-reliefs of the upper row on the wall illustrate the story of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni in 120 bas-reliefs from his birth to his sermon in the Deer Park in Benares – *dharmacakrapravartana*.[161] This story is presented in the 27 chapters of the *Lalitavistara* ("The Unfolding of the Play").[162]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 34   The first gallery with its four rows of bas-reliefs

As indicated below, the underlying text for the 120 bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur would probably have been the Sanskrit version of the text, that was the basis for the translation into Tibetan of the *LV*.[163] Bernet

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[160]   Brown, 2003, pp. 251-255.

[161]   Miksic, 1990, pp. 97-126.

[162]   For a summary of this text and the bas-reliefs, please refer to Krom (1974, pp. 1-131). The Buddha appears here in *nirmāṇakāya*, in order to be appreciated by the non-enlightened beings in this world (see *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*).

The word *lalita* stands for "playful" or "playful movement". The text may thus be regarded as "an account (*vistara*) of Buddha´s play (*lalita*).
Chandra, 1987, p. 3.
Other sources: Hikata, 1981, pp. 112-113 (full list);   Vaidya, 1958, pp. xi-xiii.

[163]   Pleyte showed in 1901 that the life of the Buddha, as presented on the first gallery, was based on the *LV*.
Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 4.

Kempers and Chandra both claim that this text is one of the nine great *Vaipulya Sūtras*.[164] The *Vaipulya* class of Buddhist texts are early Mahāyāna and were particularly concerned with "Sudden Enlightenment" (as opposed to the "Successive Enlightenment") and with Light[165], as well as with the meaning of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni and why he attained *parinirvāṇa*.[166]

It is thus noteworthy, that the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur comprise three *Vaipulya Sūtras* – namely the *LV*, the *GVS* and the *DBS*. On the other hand, Renou and Filliozat suggest that the *LV* was originally a text in Middle Indic, which was subsequently Sanskritized by the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* upon their adoption of the text.[167] Fontein expresses doubt, that a Buddhist tradition should adopt such a fundamental text from another Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless, Fontein states that Chinese sources also claim that the *LV* is a product of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*.[168] But according to Fontein, the choice of the *LV* to be illustrated on the Barabuḍur – albeit with some discrepancies from the Sanskrit version of that text and with lack of emphasize on

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[164] The nine main Mahāyāna Buddhist texts in Nepal known as the basic *Vaipulya Sūtras* are:
    1. Lalitavistara;
    2. Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā;
    3. Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra;
    4. Survarṇaprabhāsa;
    5. Laṅkāvatārasūtra;
    6. Daśabhūmika;
    7. Samādhirāja;
    8. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka; and
    9. Tathāgataguhyaka.
Chandra, 1987, pp. 14-15.

[165] The *Vaipulya Sūtras*, with their "Sudden Enlightenment", paralleling the conceptualization of Enlightenment as a "Flash of Illumination", are substantiated by the subsequent:
    kriyā tantras –   Buddha Amitābha (Infinite Light);
    caryā tantras & yoga tantras –   Buddha Vairocana (Solar Light); and
    anuttarayoga tantras –   Buddha Heruka (Oh Light).
Chandra, 1987, p. 10.

[166] According to the Chinese pilgrim Yijing, who visited Sumatra in the end of the seventh century, another version of "The Life of Buddha" was at that time widely read in India and in Indonesia – namely Aśvaghosa's *Buddhacarita* ("The Acts of the Buddha") from the second century CE. This text was, however, not one of the major Mahāyāna texts (i.e. not a *Vaipulya Sūtra*).
Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 98.
Other sources: Chandra, 1987, pp. 3 & 9; Miksic, 1990, p. 97; Voûte, 2000, p. 306.

[167] "Dès lors, il apparaît que le texte original était en Sanskrit mixte ou même en moyen-indien et qu´il a été sanskritisé à son adaption par le Mahāyāna, …".
Renou & Filliozat, 1953, p. 368.

[168] Fontein, 1981, p. 105.

nirvāṇa in the text - would indicate a special form of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism prevalent on Java at that time. In this early-*Mahāyāna* Buddhism there was a shift from focusing on entering *nirvāṇa* to achieving the proper conduct of the bodhisattva and to the attainment of supreme Enlightenment. According to Fontain, the text used by the sculptors of the Barabuḍur would thus probably have been an earlier version of the *LV*, prior to the *LV* finding its final form as a *Mahāyāna Sūtra* (see ***Pictures 35 & 36***).[169] Could it have been the Sanskrit version referred to below by Vaidya?

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 35   Queen Māyā dreams about the white six-tusked elephant on lotus flowers

This is in line with the view of Vaidya, who edited the Sanskrit version of the *LV* published in 1958. Like Bernet Kempers and Chandra, Vaidya was also of the opinion that the *LV* is one of the nine Nepalese *Āgamas*, styled as a *Vaipulya Sūtra*. Vaidya meant that the text belonged to the *[Mūla]Sarvāstivāda Nikāya*, prior to being enlarged in the spirit of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. Furthermore, Vaidya states that the *LV* must have been in existence already during the first or second centuries CE – at the time of the composition of the *Mahāyāna Sūtras* in general.

Two translations from Sanskrit to Chinese of the *LV* were made in the early fourth century CE (T. 186) by Dharmarakṣa (~230-304 CE) and during the Tang dynasty (618-906 CE) by Divākara (T. 187),

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[169]   Fontein, 2012, p. 224;
Other sources: Fontein, 1989, p. 78; Fontein, 1981, p. 105; Fontein, 1967, p. 170.

respectively.[170] These are relatively brief texts. Consequently, Vaidya meant that doubt may be raised, as to whether these texts may be regarded as proper translations of the *LV*. Vaidya was more confident of the Tibetan translation (*Mdo-Sde* of Kanjur, vol. 95, folios 1-216), which was translated during the ninth century CE. The underlying Sanskrit text of this Tibetan translation of the *LV* - or an earlier version of this Sanskrit text - would thus probably have been available to the artists of the Barabuḍur.[171]

As we have seen above in *Section 1.4* regarding the Tabo monastery complex, the artists of northern India seemed to have been well acquainted with the content of the *LV*. Although the Tabo monastery complex is some two hundred years later than the Barabuḍur, it would not seem undue to assume, that the artists on the Barabuḍur would also have been well acquainted with the contents of the *LV*. They may in fact have used a Sanskrit text - similar to that, on which the Tibetan translation was based - as a background text for the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur. But unfortunately, this text does not seem to be extant today.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 36   Siddhārtha meets with his five ascetic friends

Krom conducted a study of the *LV* bas-reliefs on the first gallery of the Barabuḍur. Of the various listed discrepancies between the bas-reliefs and the text, Krom noted inter alia that the conventional

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[170]   T. 186 *Pŭ yào jīng* 普曜經   (translated by Dharmarakṣa).
        T. 187 *Fāng guāngdà zhuāng yán jīng* 方廣大莊嚴經   (translated by Divākara).

[171]   Vaidya, 1958, pp. ix-xii.

illustration of the First Sermon – i.e. the Wheel of the Law (*dharmacakra*) flanked by the two deers – was lacking in the last bas-relief (Ia-120) of the *LV* (see **Picture 37**).[172]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 37   The Wheel of Law and the two deers at the *vihāra* close to the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

By omitting the deers from the bas-relief Ia-120, this bas-relief became less site-specific. This is exemplified by the prologue of the *BAS*, in which it is stated that Siddhārtha Gautama received his Enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree in Bodhgayā in Magadha. While remaining seated under the Bodhi tree absorbed in the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection,[173] Siddhārtha Gautama mentally ascended to the "Hall of Brightness" in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven (see **Picture 38**),[174] where he – in his *saṃbhogakāya* form[175] – preached the immence *BAS* only to those bodhisattvas, who possessed the supernatural powers of the Ten Stages – and thus became a Buddha. The *Tathāgata* then descended to his worldly body (*nirmāṇakāya*). Later on, the *Tathāgata* held his First

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[172]   Krom, 1927, vol. I, p. 228.
Other sources: Fontein, 2012, p. 19;   Krom, 1974, p. 130.

[173]   In the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection (Jap. *hai-in san-mei*), all phenomena are viewed in a totalistic vision in a harmonious and dynamic interrelation – just as if the entire universe was reflected on the surface of the ocean.
Gregory, 1991, pp. 154-155.

[174]   Sivaramamurti, 1961, p. 51 & Plate XXVIII, # 1.

[175]   See *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*.

Sermon in the Deer Park close to Benares (Vāraṇāsī), where he was Turning the Wheel of Law – and thus formally became Buddha Śākyamuni.[176]

Picture 38   The "empty lotus cushion" at the end of the *Lalitavistara* bas-relief series on the Barabuḍur

Krom further noticed in this bas-relief (Ia-120) that Buddha Śākyamuni was presented in *vitarka-mudrā* - thus not in the conventional *dharmacakra-mudrā*. To be noted is also that the Buddha in the first bas-relief of the *GVS* serie (II-1) sits in *vitarka-mudrā*. This is not in conformity with the conventional concept of the five *Pañca Tathāgatas*. [177] But according to Fontein, it may be seen as a

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[176]   See *Section 5.3.1, Note 1013*.

[177]   Krom, 1974, p. 130.
Other source: Fontein, 2012, p. 17.

Of interest to note, is also that on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs the bodhisattvas from the Ten Directions (II-4-6 & II-8-13) worshipping the Buddha in the Jetavana grove all sit in *vitarka-mudrā*, with exception for the bodhisattva from the North (II-7), who is presented in *dharmacakra-mudrā*.
Fontein, 2012, pp. 22-24.

harmonious transition between the *LV* and the *GVS*, on the one hand, and between the bas-reliefs of the first and the second galleries, on the other.[178] For a further discussion on this *mudrā*-matter, please see *Section 5.6.2.*

Picture 39   Siddhārtha Gautama attains Enlightenment
[in *vitarka-mudrā*]

These discrepancies seem to indicate that the iconography used on the Barabuḍur may not in detail be in accordance with the Buddhist conventional iconography.[179] But such a statement regarding the iconography used on the Barabuḍur should be interpreted with utmost caution. By analyzing the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs from a visual point of view, Gifford noticed that the overwhelming majority of the *LV* bas-relief series are narrative. In three instances, this narrative series of bas-reliefs is broken by some [semi]iconic bas-reliefs presenting the bodhisattva-cum-Buddha more in a "state", than in an "action". These three disruptive bas-reliefs are found at three important junctions of the story; i.e. (i) when the bodhisattva descends from the *Tuṣita* heaven to be born as Siddhārtha Gautama (Ia-12); (ii) when Siddhārtha Gautama attains Enlightenment (Ia-93-99) (see *Picture 39*); and (iii) when the Enlightened Gautama teaches the *dharma* for the first time and becomes a Buddha (Ia-120) (see *Picture 40*). These disrupting bas-reliefs may be deemed to give us a glimpse of the

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[178]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 19-20.

[179]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 17-20.

Ultimate Reality - i.e. of the *dharmakāya*. The Buddha´s *nirmāṇakāya* is thus an illusion - it is time-bound.[180]

Picture 40   The Enlightened Siddhārta Gautama preaches in *vitarka-mudrā*

Given the above, the *LV* may be seen to illustrate a story when the *dharmakāya* Buddha descends on earth in the form of *nirmāṇakāya* – i.e. in a "human" form that we may apprehend. As the Buddha already existed in the heaven of *Tuṣita*, the *LV* does give us a picture of an **already** Enlightened Buddha. But for us sentient beings, Siddhārtha Gautama´s development into an Enlightened being may be regarded as a model for salvation – i.e. a model for the salvation of the unenlightened beings.

To be noted is also that some of the bas-reliefs of the *LV* on the Barabuḍur tally with corresponding bas-reliefs on monuments in India – proving that Java had contacts with India at that time (see *Section 1.4* regarding the Tabo monatery complex, although the latter is somewhat later in time than the Barabuḍur).[181]

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[180]   See *section 5.2.4, Note 1001 and Section 5.3.1, Note 1014.*
Gifford, 2011, pp. 61-63.

[181]   Miksic, 1990, pp. 97-100.   .

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The lower level of bas-reliefs on the wall of the first gallery are *avadāna* stories.[182] It starts off with the story of Prince Sudhana (the crown prince of North Pancala)[183] and his beloved *kinnarī* Manoharā (see **Picture 41**). These twenty bas-reliefs (Ib 1-20) are found on the main wall in a prominent place directly underneath the *LV* bas-reliefs.[184]

Picture 41   Prince Sudhana finds Manoharā´s ring
               in the water bowl

This prominent place may be ascribed to the fact, that the Śailendra king - the founder of the Barabuḍur - may see himself to be represented by Prince Sudhana (see *Section 5.11*). The pre-*Mahāyāna* character of most *avadānas* on the bas-reliefs is - according to Fontein - indicated by the fact that the future Buddha Śākyamuni on these bas-reliefs is still being portayed as a bodhisattva in his "human" form

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[182]   The *avadāna* stories illustrated various stories from Buddhist saints and bodhisattvas. The bas-reliefs illustrate stories from the *Avadānajātaka*, the *Avadānakalpalatā* and the *Avadānaśataka*.
Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 126.

[183]   This Prince Sudhana is the crown prince of North Pancala. He is thus an entirely different person from the pilgrim Sudhana, who we meet in the *GVS* bas-reliefs on the second to fourth galleries of the Barabuḍur.

[184]   Miksic, 1990, pp. 77-81.

(*nirmāṇakāya*), accompanied by common mortals and by the conspicuous absence of other bodhisattvas.[185]

Picture 42   The future Buddha Śākyamuni in his earlier life as king Sibī, who cuts his own flesh to save the dove from the falcon

The two rows of bas-reliefs on the balustrade are from the 500 former lives of Buddha Śākyamuni,[186] as illustrated in the *Jātakamāla* (the *JM*)[187] ("Garland of Birth Stories")[188] and in other *jātakas* (see **Pictures 42-44**).[189]

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185   Fontein, 1981, p. 106.

186   Kinney, Klokke & Kieven, 2003, pp. 20-21.

187   For an English translation of these stories, please see Karoche, 1989.

188   The Russian Buddhologist Sergĕj Oldenburg identified in 1895 the source of some of the *jātaka* bas-reliefs as the *Jātakamāla.*
       Gómez & Woodward, 1981, pp. 3-4.

189   The *Jātakamāla* (the *JM*) was written down by Ārya Śūra in the fourth century CE. 135 of the bas-reliefs in the *JM s*erie on the balustrade of the first gallery of the Barabuḍur have so far been identified, as having their models based on the Ārya Śūra edition. In fact, the *JM* is the only text, that has sofar been identified with these stories and that has these stories arranged in the same order, as that of the Barabuḍur. In addition, the bas-reliefs on the upper row of the balustrade on the first gallery have been cut at a later stage and are of a lower quality. They were perhaps cut during the third phase of the Barabuḍur construction in connection with the covering up of the bas-reliefs of the *MKS* or the "hidden base".
       Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 124-126.
       Other sources: Fontain, 1981, p. 106; Gifford, 2004, p. 10; Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p.111.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 43 The future Buddha Śākyamuni in his earlier life as a Kinnara together with his wife as a Kinnarī

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 44 The future Buddha Śākyamuni in his earlier life as a bodhisattva meeting with the jealous giants

The *jātaka* stories presented on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs represent a textual tradition that is similar to that, which guided the painters of the Ajaṇṭā in India and of the Qizil in Xinjiang in China – i.e. the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* tradition.[190]

On the Barabuḍur, the *jātaka* and the *avadāna* stories are presented on 720 bas-reliefs all-in-all – i.e. 500 bas-reliefs on the balustrade of the first gallery and 120 bas-reliefs on the main wall of the first gallery, as well as on 100 bas-reliefs on the balustrade of the second gallery.[191] Among these bas-reliefs, there are also images of conventional animals (see **Picture 45**).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 45   Elephants and apes in the *jātaka* and *avadāna* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur

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[190] Fontain claims that the stories of the previous births, as presented in the *jātakas* and the *avadānas*, have their roots in two or three collections of such stories. The authors of the *Mahāvastu* and of the *Divyāvadāna* borrowed heavily from the *Mahāsāṃghika* and from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda*.
Fontain, 1981, pp 102-103.

[191] Miksic, 1990, pp. 71-96.
Other sources: Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), pp. 99-101;   Hikata, 1981, pp. 106-117 & 125-126 (complete list).

The main purpose of the *LV* and the *jātaka* texts on the Barabuḍur is to illustrate the meaning of being a bodhisattva.[192] Fontein means that the *jātaka* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur may be seen as visual commentaries to the *MKS* bas-reliefs of the "hidden base".[193] Brown elaborates further and proposes that the *jātaka* images constitute an integral component of the monument, and by means hereof thus ensures the presence of the Buddha in the monument.[194]

On the panels above the bas-reliefs of the wall, there are some triangular flower decorations. Like the triangular *gunungan* (the mountain) that the *guru dalang* uses in the Javanese *wayang kulit* (shadow play), these triangular flower decorations symbolize the end of a time period and the start of a new time period (see ***Picture 46***).[195] The same purpose could be obtained by using a decoration of a Jewel Tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) (see ***Picture 47***).[196]

Source: Holt, 1967, p. 135

Picture 46 A *gunungan* used in *Wayang kulit*

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[192] Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 99.

[193] Fontein, 1981, p. 104.

[194] Brown, 1997, p.100.

[195] On each of the four sides of the Barabuḍur, one finds 354 such triangular flower decorations – i.e. one for each "unit of time" (*kāla*) of the lunar year.
Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 120 & 124.

[196] The Tree of Life, shadowed by a *cakra* on a pole and flanked by the *kinnara/kinnarīs*, is used by the Barabuḍur sculptors to represent a Pure land or a *buddhakṣetra*. This tree could also be a Jewel Tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) (see *Picture 84*) decorated with the "Seven Treasures" (see *Section 2.1.2, Note 427*).
Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p.100.
Other source: Sivaramamurti, 1961, pp. 66-67 & Plate XXXIX, # 1-3.

Picture 47 The Jewel Tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*)

The main stories of the bas-reliefs are intermittently interrupted by "pillars" with floral decorations (see ***Picture 48***). On some pillars the tip of the largest scroll curls inwards – which, according to Klokke, is an indication of an older type of decoration.[197]

Picture 48 Pillar with floral decorations

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[197]   Klokke, 2006, pp. 56-57.

1.4.4 The bas-reliefs of the Second, Third and Fourth Galleries
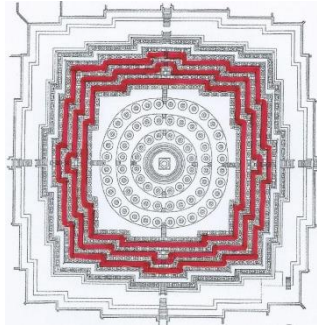
These galleries only have one row of bas-reliefs on the walls and one row of bas-reliefs on the balustrades. In all of the four galleries, this makes up of a total of ten rows of bas-reliefs. The pilgrim must in other words make ten *pradakṣiṇas* in the galleries[198] prior to reaching the open terraces on top of the monument – the number ten being one of the "great numbers" in Buddhism.

On the balustrade of the second gallery, the *jātaka/avadāna* bas-reliefs are completed (100 panels) (see *Picture 49*).[199] The balance of the galleries are decorated with 460 bas-reliefs from the *GVS* (388 bas-reliefs) and the *Bhadrācārīpranidhāna* (72 bas-reliefs) (see *Appendix III, # 4 & 5*).[200] Thus, the 388 bas-reliefs of the *GVS* ("Entering the Realm of Ultimate Reality")[201] are portrayed on the walls of the second gallery,

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[198] These ten *pradakṣiṇas* corresponds to a walk of a distance of some 2.5 kilometers.

[199] Together with the 120 bas-reliefs of *jātakas* and *avadānas* on the lower part of the wall of the first gallery, these 100 bas-reliefs of the balustrade of the second gallery amount altogether to 220 bas-reliefs – i.e. twice the number 110 or four times the number 55. This may indicate, that the original design of the Barabuḍur may have been based on the number 110 or the number 55.
Fontein, 2012, p 154.

[200] The Prajña translation of the *GVS Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 293).

[201] Krom identified in the 1920 the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) as the source to the bas-reliefs in inter alia the second gallery, which was confirmed in the English translation in 1927 of his work - *Barabuḍur: An Archaeological Description*. Bosch presented in 1929 his conclusion that the *GVS* was the inspiration for all the bas-reliefs of the third gallery and on the balustrade of the fourth gallery ("De beteekenis der reliefs van de Derde en

on the walls and the balustrades of the third gallery and on the balustrades of the fourth gallery.[202]

Picture 49   The Buddha in an earlier life as an ape, offering himself in order to save the other apes - *Jātaka*

The *GVS* is probably a text with roots from South India and composed sometime during the first centuries CE with certain *proto-*

Vierde gaanderij van Borobudur", *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1929, Weltevreden, 1930, pp 179-243). Due to the Dutch language, Hikata had not studied Bosch´s conclusions. Nevertheless, he advocated in his publication in 1960, that the reason for a larger number of bas-reliefs of the illustrated visits, than the actual number of *kalyāṇamitras,* was that the *GVS* was illustrated twice and that the illustrations were subject to "misplacements of the reliefs" or "mistakes". Frédéric adopted this erroneous view (Nou & Frédéric, 1994). Fontein (1967) and Cleary (1989) continued the studies of Sudhana´s visits to the *kalyāṇamitras* in the *GVS*. Other recent studies are presented in Fontein (2012). Fontein, 2012, pp. 2, 8-9.
Other sources: Gifford, 2004, p. 10; Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 4; Hikata, 1960, pp. 1-9 (+ full list).

[202]   There is an apparent inconsistency between the number of visits to the *kalyāṇamitras* as described in the manuscripts and the larger number of visits presented on the bas-reliefs. According to Fontein, Bosch noticed that the number of bas-reliefs in the second gallery devoted to the meeting between Sudhana and Maitreya amount to 110 bas-reliefs. It was obvious to both Bosch and Levi, that the number of bas-reliefs had been manipulated, so as to arrive at the number 110 – or as Levi puts it "seulement pour remplir le nombre". Fontein, 2012, pp. 5-6.

As regards the teachings by the 55 *kalyāṇamitras* of the *zìfèn* and the *sheng jìnfèn*, see this *Section 1.4.4, Note 219* and *Appendix III, # 4, Note 1460*.
Regarding the number 110, see *Note 224* below.

tantric elements (see *Appendix III, # 4*).[203] The *GVS* constitutes the final part of the *BAS* ("Flower Garland Sūtra")[204] – the main *sūtra* of the Chinese Buddhist *Huayan* tradition. The *GVS* is perhaps the grandest drama of the Buddhist canon. It is assumed to summarize the *BAS*.[205]

Already prior to the construction of the Barabuḍur, various Sanskrit manuscripts were in circulation in other Buddhist countries of the particular texts, that guided the architects and sculptors of the Barabuḍur. Some of these texts showed over time corresponding weaknesses – such as lacunae and inadvertently transported pages, as well as wrongly copied texts. One should be open-minded, therefore, in finding some discrepancies between the text and the corresponding bas-relief on the Barabudur. Fontein means that these flaws may not necessarily be due to the sculptors´ mistakes (as Hikata claims); neither may they be due to a lack of understanding of the content of the text or to carelessness on part of the sculptors (as Krom and Bosch presumed); nor to deliberate liberties on part of the sculptors (as Gómez suggested).[206] Fontein means, "that the sculptors, instead of

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[203]   Gómez, 1967, pp. xxxix, lxviii, & lxxiv.
        Other source: Fontein, 1967, p. 3.

[204]   The *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* was translated into Chinese three times –
        (i)   the 60-fascicle from 418-420 CE by Buddhabhadra *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng*
        .   大方廣佛華嚴經   (T. 278);
        (ii)   the 80-fascicle version from 695-699 CE by the monk Śikṣānanda *Dàfāng guāng*
        .   *fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經   (T. 279); and
        (iii) the 40-fascicle version from 796-798 CE by the Kashmir monk Prajña *Dàfāng*
        .   *guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經   (T. 293) (see *Appendix III, # 3*).

        The the *GVS* is part of the 60- and the 80-fascicle versions of the *BAS*. Prajña´s 40 folio version is de facto the *GVS* itself , including the *Bhadracarī* (see *Appendix III, # 4 & 5*, respectively).
        Fontein, 2012, pp. 13-14.
        Other sources: Fontein, 1967, pp. 3-5; Gómez, 1967, pp. xxiii-xxviii.

[205]   The *BAS* is itself a rather complex text. It presents a scheme of 52 stages of Enlightenment in five or six ranks – one of which is the bodhisattva´s Ten Stages to Enlightenment – the *DBS*. One of the aspects taught by the *DBS* is, that "all together form a single totality, while each are distinct elements of that totality". This important *sūtra* was used in introducing the complex teaching of the *BAS* in China. In fact, the *DBS* was translated five times into Chinese – three times as a separate *sūtra* of its own as *Jiàn bèi yīqiè zhì dé jīng* 漸備一切智德經 (T. 285) by Dharmarakṣa; as *Shí zhù jīng* 十住經 (T. 286) by Kumārajīva; and as *Shí dì jīng* 十地經 (T. 287) by Śīladharma (see *Appendix III, # 6*). The *DBS* and the *GVS* are still extant in Sanskrit.
        Cleary, 1993, pp. 40-42.
        Other source: Cleary, 1989 (b), p. 3.

[206]   Fontein, 2012, p. 14.

being ignorant, careless or inclined to take liberties with their text, may have succeeded, much more than they have been given credit for, in capturing the spirit and the true intention of a text often lacking the kind of content that lent itself well to being rendered visually in stone."[207]

As indicated below and as further elaborated in *Section 5.11.2*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur may on purpose have been carved in such a manner, as to strenghthen the "foreign" Śailendra monarch in his capacity as a *cakravartin*. The Śailendra king seems to have been meant to be identical to Sudhana. This may be the reason for Sudhana being dressed in royal attire, being shadowed in bas-relief II-92 by a *cakra* (the sign of a *cakravartin*), having a royal entourage and in some bas-reliefs being accompanied by armed soldiers (see *Picture 50*). Fontein[208] and Gifford[209] both claim that these aspects are not indications of any mistakes, misunderstandings or deliberate liberties, but of a conscious and deliberate approach by the Śailendras.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 50   Sudhana in royal attire travelling in a
               carrying chair and with royal escort (II-92)

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[207]   Fontein, 2000, p. 9.

[208]   Fontein, 1967, pp. 136 & 148.

[209]   Gifford, 2011, pp. 175-176.

The texts *MKS*, the *LV* and the *GVS* may all have been fully developed and have assumed their respective shapes prior to the construction of the Barabuḍur. As indicated in *Section 5.7.1*, the concluding *stanzas* in the *SBP* - which extol Buddha Amitābha – may constitute later additions. This view would thus explain the absence of Buddha Amitābha on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur.[210]

The closest resemblance between the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur of the *GVS* would – according to Fontein – be the two Sanskrit manuscripts in Paris (on which Bosch based his analysis) and the Prajña translation into Chinese (see *Appendix III, # 4*). Or in the words of Fontein:

> In the present state of our knowledge of the text, we cannot give a definitive answer to the question of the affiliation of the Borobuḍur version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*. Based upon the reliefs that have been identified with certainty to date, our first impression is that the Borobuḍur text represented a version that is posterior to Buddhabhadra´s Chinese translation (T. 278) and the Sanskrit texts of Suzuki and Vaidya, and closer to both Prajñā´s later translation (T. 293) and the Parisian Sanskrit manuscripts. The chronology of the translations and the 9th century date for the Borobuḍur suggest the likelihood that a relative recent, already expanded version of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, in circulation in the Buddhist world during the 9th century, served as the source of inspiration for the sculptors of Borobuḍur.[211]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 51   Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī instructs
                 Sudhana to visit the *kalyāṇamitras*

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[210]   Fontein, 2012, p. 150.

[211]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 151-152.

The *GVS* teaches the **successive** development of Enlightenment of a layman – illustrated by means of the tale of Sudhana´s pilgrimage (see below). None of Sudhana´s teachers - *kalyāṇamitra* - claim to hold the whole truth (see **Picture 51**). None of them tries to bind Sudhana to a specific teaching. They are not organized in a formal hierarchy. They only know of each other through their own achievements. Each of the *kalyāṇamitras* only gives Sudhana one little piece of the truth, over which he ponders and successively binds together into the Path to Enlightenment (see **Picture 52**).[212] In other words, **by using the available tools of this world, one may accomplish Enlightenment**.[213] Fontein disputes this view, however. He means that the accumulated effect of the learned advice of all the *kalyāṇamitras* may lead to a **sudden Enlightenment** instead of a successive development to this end.[214]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 52   Sudhana visiting a *kalyāṇamitra*

The reference in the beginning of the *GVS* to Buddha Śākyamuni is a reference to the cosmic Buddha Śākyamuni – not to the historical Buddha. It refers to the Exalted Being (Śākyamuni), who resides in

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[212]   See *Appendix III, # 4.*

In *exoteric* Buddhism it takes a bodhisattva three *kalpas* (i.e three incalculable aeons) to progress through the 52 stages before he attains Enlightenment. Sudhana´s progress via his 52 *kalyāṇamitras* should be regarded in this respect.
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 634.

[213]   Cleary (a), 1989, pp. 1 & 3.
Other source: Cleary, 1989 (b), p. 5.

[214]   Fontein, 2012, p. 155 & Gómez´ view in *Note 227.*

the Jetavana grove (II-1) according to the introduction of the *GVS*.[215] There he is requested to enter the *samādhi* called *Siṁhavijṛmbhita* ("the Lion´s Yawn Samādhi") (II-3). This was a world-illuminating manifestation. The Ten Quarters of cosmos were illuminated by the light shining forth from the *ūrṇā* of the Buddha. The magnificent many-peaked palace (*mahāvyūhe kūṭāgāra*) became boundlessly vast, so as to encompass not only the entire Jetavana grove, but also all the *buddhakṣetras* in cosmos. The Buddha thus purified and transformed the Jetavana grove into a Buddha-field. The Buddha pervaded all worlds with one body. He displayed all phenomena in a single atom, etc. A lot of other miracles also appeared (see *Appendix III, # 4*).[216]

Picture 53　　　Bodhisattva Maitreya opens Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* by snapping his fingers

Although the *GVS* is not explicit on this matter, it has nevertheless been suggested, that the *nirmāṇakāya* manifestations which the bodhisattvas in the Jetavana grove produce, are in fact the *kalyāṇamitras* that Sudhana subsequently meets in the text. Sudhana clearly learns part of the *dharma* from each of the *kalyāṇamitra* – the so called "Good Friend". But the bas-reliefs seem to focus more on the devotional aspects, than on the doctrine. This is important to note, as

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215　Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 102.

216　Fontein, 2012, pp. 17-25.

Sudhana hereby indirectly commemorates the Buddha – thus acquiring merits and improving his *karma*.[217]

Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* bas-reliefs (IIA-102) shown with six arms – being an indication that *esoteric* Buddhism was present on Java at that time.[218] Most *Mahāyāna* texts present various Buddhas or bodhisattvas. Not the *GVS*, in which the main character is the young man Sudhana ("Good Wealth").[219]

Bodhisattva Maitreya opened Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* by "snapping his fingers" (see ***Picture 53***). In the *kūṭāgāra*, Sudhana saw

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[217]   Gifford, 2011, pp. 170-171.

[218]   Hikata, 1981, pp. 122-123 & 118-121 (complete list).

[219]   When Sudhana was born, the family received tremendous wealth – symbolizing his tremendous wealth of merit acquired in previous births and his extraordinary spiritual capacities. Sudhana was the son of a merchant. He sought to acquire great knowledge. In so doing he met with 52 bodhisattvas and learned human Masters (*kalyāṇamitra*), who came from all walks of life. In addition, Sudhana was instructed by bodhisattvas Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya – making the number 55 in total. As the 55 *kalyāṇamitras* taught Sudhana both *zìfèn* 自分 (one´s own experiences) and *sheng jìnfèn* 勝進分 (the course of conduct – *caryā-mārga* - further advanced), they are counted twice – making up the number 110. This view was advanced by the *Huayan* patriarch Fazang (643-712 CE). On the reliefs on the third gallery, Sudhana´s meeting with bodhisattva Maitreya – the next Buddha – is illustrated. By snapping his fingers, bodhisattva Maitreya opened up Buddha Vairocana´s miraculous palace - *kūṭāgāra* - for Sudhana.

The "snapping of the fingers" illustrated not only that the door to the *kūṭāgāra* opened up, but also that Sudhana received Enlightenment. Prior to entering Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*, Sudhana remembered all his experiences from his past lives in one single train of thought. But when Sudhana subsequently entered Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*, he forgot all his past *avadānas* once and for all. Sudhana experienced an entire universe in the *kūṭāgāra* encompassing other mutually interdependent *kūṭāgāras*. All the *kūṭāgāras* were mutually interdependent. Sudhana found that he could be simultaneously present in all of them. There was no difference in space or in time – past, present and future were one.

Bodhisattva Maitreya appeared eleven times in the *kūṭāgāra* – four of which with his right hand raised in *vitarka-mudrā*. It should be underlined, that bodhisattva Maitreya did not physically enter the *kūṭāgāra* together with Sudhana. It was only a vision of bodhisattva Maitreya, that Sudhana "saw" in the *kūṭāgāra*. Bodhisattva Maitreya then illustrated for Sudhana, by means of a series of miracles, the true virtues of a bodhisattva. Maitreya finally released Sudhana from his enchantment by means of "snapping his fingers" once again; letting him out of the *kūṭāgāra*; and requesting him to go and see bodhisattva Mañjuśrī once more. In so doing, Sudhana passed 110 towns prior to finally arriving at the town Sumanamukha. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī stretched out his hand to Sudhana from a distance of 110 *yojanas*. Sudhana suddenly attained perfection of the Ten Stages of Knowledge ("*Daśapāramitā*").

the decorations of the *kūṭāgāra*, as well as experiencing miracles of "mutual interdependence", etc. (see ***Picture 54***).

Picture 54   Sudhana inside the Vairocana *kūṭāgāra* decorated with bells

The *GVS* is presented on the Barabuḍur in accordance with the following disposition:

- Second gallery - main wall (128 bas-reliefs)
  Prologue (15 bas-reliefs);
  Sudhana´s two consecutive sets of illustrations of the pilgrimage - departing from Mañjuśrī (II-16) to his arrival at Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* (II-126)[220] (110 bas-reliefs);

Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, in the presence of Buddha Vairocana, then touched Sudhana on the head with his right hand, simultaneously holding in his left hand a lotus with three buds. The four Buddhas in the four *mudrās*, symbolizing the four directions, subsequently appeared. Sudhana obtained Enlightenment (*bodhi*).
Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 102-103.
Other sources: Cleary, 1994, pp. 349-387; Cleary, 1993, pp. 1489 ff. & 1545-1624; Fontein, 2012, p. 6, 69-88 & 154-155; Fontein, 1967, pp. 14, 116-146; Gifford, 2004, pp. 10-11 & 359; Hikata, 1981, pp. 117-125 (complete list); Miksic, 1990, pp. 129-144; Vaidya, 1960, pp. x-xi.

[220] On bas-relief II-73 ("half way" between Sudhana´s two rounds of pilgrimage as illustrated on bas-reliefs II-16 to II-126), we find the procession of divinities walking in the clouds, which is a reference to Sudhana´s visit to the first *kalyāṇamitra* of the second round of visits - *bhikṣu* Supratisthita (IV) . This suggests that the intention of the builders was from the start to divide the space of the second wall equally between Sudhana´s two consecutive pilgrimages. Reference is made to the various alternative methods of separating stories and various time aspects, as indicated in *Section 1.4.3, Notes 195-196*. Fontein, 2012, p. 153.

Sudhana´s arrival to Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*
(3 bas-reliefs as a "preview" of what lies ahead);[221]
- Third gallery (176 bas-reliefs)
    main wall - Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*
    (88 bas-reliefs);
    balustrade - Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*
    (88 bas-reliefs);
- Fourth gallery (156 bas-reliefs)
    balustrade – Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* and meeting
    with the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Samanta-
    bhadra (84 bas-reliefs);
    main wall - *Bhadracarī* (72 bas-reliefs).

In the *GVS*, about 85% of the text is concentrated to Sudhana´s path to the Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*.[222] However, on the Barabuḍur the emphasis is the contrary - the prologue and the pilgrimage of Sudhana is illustrated on 125 bas-reliefs (some 28% of the space allocated to the *GVS*), while the remaining 335 bas-reliefs reflect scenes that occur after Sudhana had reached Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*, as well as Sudhana´s meetings with the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. These later bas-reliefs

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[221] Please note, that the *kūṭāgāra* referred to here is "Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*". But as Buddha Vairocana all through the *BAS* and its component texts remains mute – despite being central and mentally existent – the role to introduce the *kūṭāgāra* to Sudhana has in the *GVS* been assigned to bodhisattva Maitreya. In some instances, this *kūṭāgāra* is referred to, therefore, as "Maitreya´s *kūṭāgāra*", which may seem somewhat confounding.

It should be noted, though, that it is in fact Buddha Vairocana who is ultimately responsible for emanating this purified Buddha-field. Its full name is *Vairocana-vyūha-alaṃkāra-garbho Mahākūṭāgāra*. Although it is bodhisattva Maitreya in his *saṃbhogakāya* form, who shows Sudhana all the wonders, it is Buddha Vairocana in his *dharmakāya* form, who is in the background and who performs all the miracles. Buddha Vairocana in his *dharmakāya* form may not be perceived or illustrated.
Gifford, 2011, p.97.

[222] According to the *GVS*, Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* is a chamber of immeasurable dimensions, where Sudhana found hundreds of thousands similar *kūṭāgāras*, each consisting of hundreds of thousands world systems. The vastness of the Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* has been presented on bas-reliefs III-20-28 & III-31-39, which should be read as a **unit** – not as a sequence. Each *kūṭāgāra* is reflected on all the other *kūṭāgāras*, and vice versa (like "Indra´s Net"). Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* is a cosmic *vihāra*, which is inhabited by enlightened bodhisattvas, who know the true nature of the *kūṭāgāra* – namely the *dharmadhātu* and its ultimate liberating truth in form of its emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Within the *dharmadhātu* is contained the immeasurable realms of all world systems (*lokadhātu*). The worldly realms (*lokadhātu*) are thus part of the *dharmadhātu* – i.e. *saṃsāra* within *nirvāṇa*.
Gómez, 1981, pp. 175-176 & 181.

correspond to some 15% of the text, but are illustrated on some 72% of the space.[223]

As indicated in this *Section 1.4.4*, the number "110" is reflected in the 388 bas-reliefs of the *GVS* on the Barabuḍur (see ***Picture 55***).[224]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 55   Sudhana travels to bodhisattva Mañjuśrī via 110 towns (symbolized by the four Buddhas)

Bodhisattva Maitreya´s appearance in Brahmaloka is presented on a bas-relief (III-67), which is clearly separated by a staircase from the Six Heavens of *kāmadhātu*. The sculptors have here indicated the separation between the Sphere of Desire from that of the Sphere of Form. [225] In addition, the *asuras* on bas-relief III-68 head the

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[223]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 10-11 & 163.

[224]   The number "110" is repeated frequently in the *GVS*. As seen above in *Section 1.4.4, Note 219*, Sudhana met with 110 *kalyāṇamitras* (55x2=110). He passed 110 towns and residences on his way to bodhisattva Mañjuśrī - symbolizing his belief in the principles, that he had practiced. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī stretched his arm over 110 *yojanas* toward Sudhana, symbolizing that Sudhana had passed the cause and effect of the "Five Classes", as well as of the "Ten steps of the Faith" (5x10x2=100+10=110). Sudhana passes 110 towns on his way to visit bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The number 110 is obvious of importance and is believed to refer to "great numbers".

In addition, the distribution of the *GVS* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur also follows a 110-based distribution fomula (see *Section 1.4.4, Notes 199 & 202*).

This would lead us to believe, that the copy of the *GVS*, which the builders of the Barabuḍur had at their disposal, must have indicated the number 110 at one or several instances.

Fontein, 1967, pp. 6-14 & 120-121.
Other sources: Cleary, 1993, pp. 1567 &1545-1627; Hikata, 1981, p. 122.

[225]   Above the Mount Meru there are six (6) heavens of the World of Desire (*Kāmadhātu*), eighteen (18) heavens of the World of Form (*Rūpadhātu*) and four (4) heavens of the Formless World (*Ārūpadhātu*) – thus twenty-eight (28) heavens all-in-all.

representation of the lower states of rebirth. This would indicate that the *asuras* were part of that category.[226]

It is bodhisattva Samantabhadra, who is given the task of granting Sudhana the highest wisdom.[227] In the *GVS*, Sudhana is presented as a young boy, who wanders in solitude. On the bas-reliefs of Barabuḍur, however, he is depicted as a young man of high status, who travels together with his escort (see *Picture 50*). The purpose is perhaps to express Sudhana as the Śailendra prince.[228]

The *GVS* bas-reliefs end de facto with bodhisattva Samantabhadra laying his right hand on Sudhana´s head (IVB-82) (see *Picture 56*). However, two additional bas-reliefs follow with two *Tathāgatas*. They may be meant as a preview for things to come – in the same manner as we have seen in the bas-reliefs I-120 & II-1 (i.e. the preparation for the *GVS*) and in the bas-reliefs II-126 & II-128 and III-1 (i.e. the preparation for the *kūṭāgāra*).

The lowest heaven of the World of Desire is the heaven of the Four Celestial Kings (*Caturmahārājakāyika*), which is placed on the slopes of the Mount Meru. On the summit of the Mount Meru is the heaven of the 33 Gods (*Trāyastriṃśa*), ruled by Indra. Jointly, these two heavens are called the heavens of the Earth-Dwelling Gods. The four remaining heavens of the World of Desire are the heavens of the Sky-Dwelling Gods. Nattier, 2009, pp. 103-105 & 115.

The four Heavens of the Sky-Dwelling Gods are: (i) the Heaven of Time (*Yama*); the Heaven of Contentment (*Tuṣita*) where bodhisattva Maitreya – the future Buddha – resides: (iii) the Heaven of Joyful Transformations (*Nirmāṇarati*); and (iv) the heaven of Free Transformations by Others (*Paranirmitaśarvartin*). Kloetzli, 1983, p. 3.

[226] Fontein, 2012, p. 217.
Other source: Nattier, 2009, pp. 101 & 106.

[227] Gómez is not only critical to the important role given to bodhisattva Samantabhadra on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs (see *Section 1.4.4, Note 219*), but also to Sudhana´s *gradual* development into insight, as presented on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs. Gómez believes that this aspect was not included in the original Sanskrit version of the *GVS*, but that this was a subsequent Chinese addition to the text. Gómez states that this aspect was introduced by *Huayan* monks, in order to fit in with the Barabuḍur overall stucture. According to Gómez, the Buddhist view is, namely, that insight and Enlightenment are obtained *instantaneously*.
Gómez, 1981, p. 180.

[228] Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 128.

Picture 56   Bodhisattva Samantabhadra lays
his right hand on Sudhana´s head

On the wall of the fourth gallery, the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*)[229] (see
Appendix III, # 5) is presented in 72 panels. The *SBP* constitutes the
final portion of the *GVS*, as well as the final text of the *BAS*.[230] The
entire universe of the *SBP* is composed of an innumerable mutually
dependent phenomena, which all seek to portray the Buddha. In
order to understand this universe, one ought to fulfill the Ten Vows
of bodhisattva Samantabhadra ("The Universal Good"). [231] These

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[229]   Bosch pursued the work initiated by Krom, and identified in 1922 the source of the final
bas-reliefs on the fourth gallery as the *Bhadracarī*.
Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 4.

[230]   The full title of the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*) is that of the *Samantabhadracarī
Praṇidhānagāthā Sūtra*. It is included as the last part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and in
the Chinese translation of 796-798 CE – i.e. Prajñā´s translation of *Huayan jing* of 40-
fascicles (T. 293). It is, however, not included in the older Chinese translations (T. 278
Huayan jing of 60-fascicles and T. 279 *Huayan jing* of 80-fascicles) (see *Appendix III, #
3*). Originally, the *SBP* was composed as an independent text and was translated to Chi-
nese in 418-420 CE by Buddhabhadra (T. 296). During the Tang dynasty, in 763-779
CE Amoghavajra made a further translation (T. 297) (see *Appendix III, # 5*). Amoghava-
jra´s Chinese translation seems to be the closest one to the Sanskrit original. This latter
translation has thereafter often been used. It has been translated into English by Thomas
Cleary   (1987).
Bernet Kempers, 1976, pp. 120-127 & 140-141.
Other source: Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 379-394;   Hikata, 1981, p. 124 and 126 (complete
list);   Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 169-172;   Vaidya, 1960, pp. 420-436 (Sanskrit).

[231]   Gómez means, though, that the last verses of the *GVS* – the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*) – is a
later addition. The original text of the *GVS* would thus have ended with Sudhana´s re-
turn to Mañjuśrī. van Lohiuzen-de Leeuw has also proposed that opinion.
Gómez, 1981, pp. 183-184 & notes 49-50   &   van Lohiuzen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 408.
Other source: Fontein, 2012, pp. 199-202.

conducts and vows of bodhisattva Samantabhadra (the *Samanta-bhadracarī Praṇidhānagāthā Sūtra*) – which often are referred to as the 40th chapter of the *BAS* – consist of 62 *stanzas*, which may be divided into three different parts: viz.

stanzas 1-15	praise of all Buddhas;
stanzas 16-47	extol bodhisattva Samantabhadra´s vows;
stanzas 48-62	eulogize of Buddha Amitābha.[232]

As noted above, the *SBP* consists of 62 *stanzas*, of which the last 14 *stanzas* (i.e. # 48-62) constitute the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha. The *SBP* is presented on the main wall of the fourth gallery on the Barabuḍur in 72 bas-reliefs – i.e. not on a one-to-one basis. Kandahjaya has suggested to solve this riddle by suggesting that "one verse may be represented by one or more panels, and one panel may represent one or more verses".[233] This complex method would seem to confuse the reader and to make his arguments less probable. Fontein, on the other hand, presented each bas-relief separately together with the appropriate *stanza*. In order to emphasize the importance of an aspect, separate details from a single *stanza* could be illustrated on a number of bas-reliefs – thus making the text fill all the bas-reliefs.[234]

The first eighteen bas-reliefs on the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur (IV 1-18), illustrate bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the act of paying homage to the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* represented on these bas-reliefs. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra is seen here in six of the eighteen bas-reliefs with his hands in *añjali-mudrā.* On other bas-reliefs he offers flowers (IV-1), holds a conch (IV-7), etc. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra was in other words regarded as the person, who recites the first ten *stanzas* of the *Bhadracarī* .[235]

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[232] Fontein, 2012, pp. 171-172.
Other sources: Fontein, 1967, pp. 4, 116-117; Hikata, 1981, pp. 121 & 124-125 (complete list); Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 164.

[233] Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 182.

[234] The *Bhadracarī stanzas* 5 & 6 are for example illustrated on eleven consecutive bas-reliefs (IV5 – IV15) and *stanza* 18 on nine consecutive bas-reliefs (IV30 – IV 38). Fontein, 2012, pp. 171-198 & 206.

[235] Fontein, 2012. p. 203.

From the nineteenth bas-relief (IV-19) onwards, bodhisattva Sam-antabhadra switches the role from a worshipper of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*, to a saintly person. Sudhana now takes his place on the right hand side of each bas-relief – i.e. the first part of each bas-relief one sees during the *pradakṣiṇa*. According to Fontein, this strongly suggests that the sculptors of the bas-reliefs meant that the pilgrim now should identify himself with Sudhana – the pilgrim thus becomes the person who recites the vows in following the conduct of bodhisattva Samantabhadra.[236]

Having practiced and fulfilled the conducts and vows of bodhisattva Samantabhadra, the devotee may – according to the full text of the *SBP* – soon be reborn in the Pure land of Buddha Amitābha – the *Sukhāvatī*.[237] Undoubtedly *stanzas* # 57 and # 59 address Buddha Amitābha.[238] But according to Fontein, the *stanzas* # 48-62 – the eulogy of Amitābha – are not illustrated on the bas-reliefs on the wall of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur. The lack of the last eighteen *stanzas* of the *SBP* text on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur, may – according to Fontein – simply be ascribed to the fact that the sculptors on the Barabuḍur probably used a text, that resembled the earliest available version – i.e. the version translated into Chinese by Buddhabhadra – which only consisted of forty-four *stanzas* and thus excluded the eulogy of the Buddha Amitābha (see *Appendix III, # 5*).[239]

Bas-relief IV-52 presents a peacock on top of the pavilion, housing bodhisattva Samantabhadra. As the peacock is the mount of the Buddha Amitābha, Kandahjaya takes this for representing the pavi-lion in the western paradise of Amitābha - *Sukhāvatī*. The Buddha in bas-relief IV-50 is presented in *dhyāna-mudrā*. Referring to Krom,[240] Kandahjaya claims that he represents Buddha Amitābha – although Krom is not that explicit. Kandahjaya means further that the last three bas-reliefs in the *Bhadracarī* series represent *stanza* # 62 with Buddha Amitābha in the middle and wishing that "the whole world now can go to the excellent city of Amitābha".[241] The problem is, however, that

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[236] Fontein, 2012, pp. 203-204.

[237] Gifford, 2004, pp. 260-262.

[238] Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 164.

[239] Fontein, 2000, p. 12.

[240] Krom, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 109.

[241] Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 242.

the referred to Buddha is presented in *dharmacakra-mudrā* - the *mudrā* of the Buddha Vairocana. In addition, Buddha Amitābha is mostly alone, when he represents the western paradise *Sukhāvatī* - and does not usually share the space with other Buddhas.[242] These aspects thus weaken the case of Kandahjaya.

According to Fontein, Buddha Amitābha does not play a significant role in either the *GVS* or in the *SBP* . Likewise, the desire to be reborn in Buddha Amitābha´s *Sukhāvatī* is not mentioned elsewhere in these two texts. Instead, the wish of the devotee is to be reborn in heaven – rather than in the western paradise *Sukhāvatī*. This is indicated on several places on the Barabuḍur – usually in the form of two *kinnara/kinnarī* under a wishing tree (*kalpavṛkṣa*) guarding pots filled with treasures.[243]

In conclusion, one ought to be cautious in assigning any extra impor-tant role to Buddha Amitābha on the Barabuḍur other than that of Buddha Amitābha being one of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* – and then he is supposed to be presented in *dyāna-mudrā* (see **Picture 60**).

An indication that the pilgrim now is getting closer to his final desti-nation, is illustrated by the fact, that the bas-reliefs are gradually including a larger number of Buddhas (see **Picture 57**).[244] Perhaps this constitutes a manner in which to prepare the pilgrim for the exposure to the larger number of Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* on the terraces – corresponding to the manner in which the last bas-relief of the first gallery (I-120) prepares the pilgrim for the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* on the second gallery and the last bas-reliefs on the second gallery (II-126 & II-128) prepare the devotee for the *kūṭāgāra* of Vairocana on the third gallery (see page 91 above).

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[242]   Fontein, 2012, p. 205.

[243]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 204-205.

[244]   Miksic, Magetsari, Fontein, Haryono & Setiadi, 2010, pp. 128-132.

Picture 57 The Buddhas of the Ten Directions, together with their respective bodhisattva (only six Buddhas are illustrated here)

The *SBP* refers to various categories of Buddhas such as "the Buddhas of the Ten Quarters in the Three Epochs" (see ***Pictures 57 & 58***). The *SBP* bas-relief series is completed with reference to the endless Buddha Territories – depicted by the 32 Buddhas.[245] The Buddhas in the "Ten Directions" are illustrated with ten Buddhas. Five Buddhas refer to all *Pañca-Tathāgatas* – in accordance with the Buddhas of the Barabuḍur (see *Section 5.6.1*). The "Three Ages" are illustrated with three Buddhas. The importance of bodhisattva Samantabhadra in this series of bas-reliefs (he is depicted in 60 of the 72 bas-reliefs) is due to the fact, that he was the one who presented the highest wisdom to Sudhana. In addition, bodhisattva Samantabhadra is regarded as the last Buddha to arrive to this world in the future, and as the one who obtains his Buddhahood only when all other living beings have received their Enlightenment.[246]

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[245] Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 103.
Other source: Bernet Kempers, 1976, p. 135.

[246] Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 128.
Other source: Gifford, 2004, pp. 11-12;

Picture 58   The Buddhas of the Ten Directions congratulate
and welcome Sudhana, who has attained Enlighten-
ment and who has sworn the Samantabhadra Vows

Both the *GVS* and the *SBP* qualify according to Fontein as a
dharmaśarīra, as they both in an abbreviated manner sum up the much
larger teachings by the Buddha.[247]

Fontein arrives at some interesting conclusions regarding the 460 bas-
relief presentation of the *GVS* (including the *Bhadracarī*) on the
Barabuḍur; viz.

- There does not seem to exist any obvious precedents in south,
  central and Southeast Asia for the *GVS* bas-reliefs on the Ba-
  rabuḍur – particularly those on the third and fourth galleries;
- The bas-reliefs of the *GVS* on the Barabuḍur are presented in a
  manner that does emphasize certain aspects of the text;[248]
- The number 110 is mentioned four times in the *GVS*, which
  indicates the importance of that number;[249] and

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[247]   Fontein, 2001, pp. 88-89.
Other source: Gómez, 1981, p. 182.

[248]   As indicated earlier in this *Section 1.4.4, Notes 222 & 223*, roughly 85% of the text is
illustrated on only some 28% of the wall space set aside for the *GVS* (i.e. 125 bas-reliefs
on the second main wall). Correspondingly, some 15% of the text is presented on some
72% of the set-aside wall space (i.e. 335 bas-reliefs on the third and fourth galleries).
Sudhana´s visit to Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* is furthermore presented on no less
than 124 bas-reliefs.
Fontein, 2012, pp. 10-11.
Other source: Osto, 2008, pp. 125-126 (List of the *kalyāṇamitras*).

- No palm leaf manuscripts could have survived for any particular length of time in the tough monsoon climate of Java. With exception for the few stone inscriptions extant on Java, the documented sources may thus only be found in surviving manuscripts of Indian, Nepalese or central Asian origins - albeit with all the risks inherent from centuries of copying (accretions, lacunae, misplaced leafs and other errors).[250]

The various series of bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur may be seen to reflect different redemption horizons; viz.
- the *LV* - together with the *jātakas* and the *avadānas* - illustrate the pilgrimage of the bodhisattva (the future Buddha Śākyamuni) through ***several eons*** in search for Buddhahood;
- the *GVS* presents Sudhana´s pilgrimage during only ***one lifetime***; and
- the *SBP* illustrates the possibility for an ***immediate*** Enlightenment.[251]

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[249] The Barabuḍur architects consequently assigned 110 bas-reliefs to the Sudhana pilgrimage (i) from his taking leave of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī to his arrival to the Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*; and (ii) for Sudhana´s visit to bodhisattva Samantabhadra. In addition, that number was used twice for (iii) Sudhana´s visit to bodhisattva Maitreya and to Buddha Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* (see in this *Section 1.4.4, Notes 219 & 224* above).

[250] Fontein, 2012, pp. 9-12 & 164.

[251] Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 280.

1.4.5 The Buddhas of the Barabuḍur
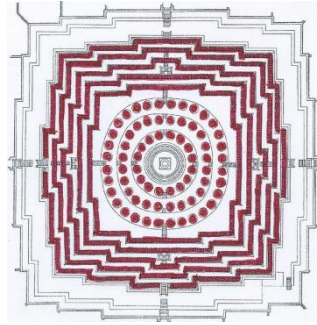
According to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, there exists an infinite number of Buddhas on the Path to Enlightenment (*bodhi*). These Buddhas exist both simultaneously and successively in worlds that were multiplied in infinite space – i.e. "in lands numerous as atoms in the cosmos".[252] These Buddhas are illustrated on the Barabuḍur, as presented in the following.

On top of the first balustrade and on top of the walls of the first three galleries are constructed niches for the purpose of housing a Buddha in each niche. Some scholars classify them as the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[253] An excellent historical review of the deve-

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[252]   Cleary, 1993, p. 163.

[253]   The *Pañca-Tathāgatas* have by early scholars (Conze, et.al.) erroneously been denominated the five *Jina* Buddhas or the five *Dhyānī* Buddhas – a status that sometimes still recurs.
Snodgrass, 2007, p. 135.
This view is confirmed by Astley-Kristensen.
Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 33 n. 146.

The *Pañca-Tathāgatas* are presented in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* of the *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. They are regarded as much more significant than the historical Buddha Śākyamuni and his predecessors. These five Buddhas each represent a direction, a colour and a *skandha* – thus expressing the doctrine of non-duality of *nirvāna* and *saṃsāra*; namely

Vairocana	center	white	form	(*rūpa*);
Akṣobhya	east	blue	consciousness	(*vilñāna*)
Ratnasambhava	south	yellow	sensation	(*vedanā*)
Amitābha	west	red	discernment	(*saṃjñā*)
Amoghasiddhi	north	green	volition	(*saṃskāra*)

Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 135-136 & 288.
Other sources: Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 181-185; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 128-140.

lopment of the view of these *Pañca-Tathāgatas* has been delivered by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.[254] It should be noted, though, that although the number of the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas* has remained constant, their names, placements and features have varied in different textual traditions over time. Chandra has presented this explicitely in a table form from Buddhabhadra (early fifth century CE) to Amoghavajra in mid-eighth century (see ***Picture 59***). He concludes that, as regards the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas*, we have not to take it as the system, but as ***a system*** among many, in a multiplicity of contexts.[255] The importance of specifying the series, in which a particular *Tathāgata* occurs, is thus stressed – in order to prevent ambiguity (see *Section 5.6*).

	centre	east	south	west	north
Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra *Buddha-dhyāna-samādhi sāgara-sūtra	Tathāgata	Akṣobhya	Ratnaketu	Amitāyus	Dundubhisvara
Amoghapāśa-sūtra 9th chapter 22nd chapter	Śākyamuni Vairocana	Akṣobhya Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhava Ratnasambhava	Amitāyus Lokeśvararāja	Lokanātha Amoghasiddhi
*Ekākṣara-buddhoṣṇīṣa-cakravarti-sūtra	Śākyamuni	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Akṣobhya
Garbhadhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Ratnaketu	Saṁkusumitarāja	Amitābha	Divya-dundubhi-megha-nirghoṣa
Vajradhātu maṇḍala	Mahāvairocana	Akṣobhya	Ratnasambhva or Amitāyus	Lokeśvararāja	Amoghasiddhi

Source: Chandra, 1995(c), p. 78

Picture 59   Various series of Buddhas or *Tathāgatas*

The *mudrās* and the cardinal points of the various Buddhas in the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* are presented in the analysis section.[256]

The niches referred to above, were 92 on each of the four sides of the monument – i.e. 368 niches in total. According to those favouring the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* theory, each of the 92 niches on each side of the Barabuḍur houses one and the same *Pañca-Tathāgata* ruling over one and the same cardinal direction and presenting one and the same *mudrā*;[257] namely:

[254]   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, pp. 392-398.

[255]   Chandra, 1995(c), pp. 78-81.

[256]   See *Section 5.8, Note 1127*.

[257]   However, in the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddha theory each of the 368 niches contain an individual and separate Buddha with his own name (see *Section 5.6.3*).

- Buddha Akṣobhya ("Unshakable") in the east; invoking "the earth to bear witness"; in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*;
- Buddha Ratnasambhava ("Jewel Birth") in the south; giving blessing; in *varada-mudrā*;
- Buddha Amitābha ("Infinite Light") in the west; in meditation; in *dhyāna-mudrā*;
- Buddha Amoghasiddhi ("Almighty Conqueror") in the north; fearlessness; in *abhaya-mudrā*.[258]

To these should be added Buddha Vairocana in the center. He sits in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. These five Buddhas constitute together the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. They are presented on the ensuing page (see **Picture 60**).

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[258] Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 30.

These four Buddhas – together with Buddha Vairocana – constitute the *Pañca-Tathā-gatas* as indicated in the Old Javanese text the *SHK* (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*).

Buddha
Amoghasiddhi
in *abhaya-mudrā*

Buddha
Amitābha
in *dhyāna-mudrā*
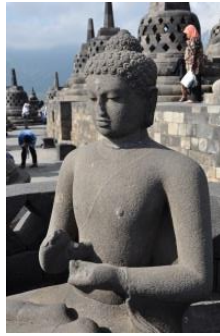
Buddha
Vairocana
in *dharmacakra-mudrā*

Buddha
Akṣobhya
in *bhūmisparśa-
mūdra*

Buddha
Ratnasambhava
in *varada-mudrā*

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 60 The *Pañca-Tathāgatas*

On the walls of the upper galleries of the Barabuḍur between the niches with the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*, some graceful *apsaras* and *gandharvas* may be seen – indicating that the monument is modelled "after the vault of heaven". The *MVS* states in Chapter 2, verse 23:

> *My Dharma is fully enlightened. It arises from the sky.*
> *Foolish beings, who range in wayward imagination,*
> *do not know it.*[259]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 61   The Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā* in one of the 64 niches on the wall of the fourth gallery

On top of the wall of the fourth gallery, there are 64 niches all along the four sides of the wall. In these niches are housed one and the same Buddha in the "preaching" *vitarka-mudrā* – i.e. this Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā* faces all the four cardinal directions (see *Picture 61*). This Buddha has by different scholars been identified as various Buddhas, such as:

- Buddha Vairocana (Chihara,[260] Fontein,[261] Hattori,[262] Huntington,[263] Krom,[264] Segai[265] and Snodgrass[266]);[267]

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[259]   Wayman & Tajima, 1998, p. 350.

[260]   Chihara, 1996, pp. 127-128.

- Buddha Śākyamuni (Boeles,[268] Huntington,[269] and Werner[270]);
- bodhisattva Samantabhadra or Samantabhadra-Vajradhāra (Gómez, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Nou & Frédéric, Toganoo and Woodward).[271]

Fontein claims that on the Barabuḍur *dharmacakra-mudrā* and *vitarka-mudrā* do not seem to have been used fully in accordance with the conventional use of the Buddhist iconography (see *Section 5.6.2*). In the last bas-relief of the *LV* (Ia-120) and the first bas-relief of the *GVS* (II-1), the Buddha is illustrated in *vitarka-mudrā*, instead of the conventional *dharmacakra-mudrā* of Buddha Vairocana. The same is the case for the Buddha images on top of the wall of the fourth gallery. According to Fontein, these Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* suggest that these Buddhas were thought to "reside in a transitional level of spiritual development, in which they have already transcended any difference in orientation". [272] This would also

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[261] Fontein, 2012, p. 18.

[262] Hattori, 2000, p. 24.

[263] Huntington, 1994, p. 143.

[264] Krom, 1927, II, p. 152.

[265] Segai, 1995, p. 95.

[266] Snodgrass, 2007, p. 235.

[267] But noteworthy is that Buddha Vairocana is **never** represented in *vitarka-mudrā*. He is **always** depicted in either of *dharmacakra-mudrā*, of *dhyāna-mudrā,* or of *bodhyagrī-mudrā*.   Chandra, 1995(c), p. 80.
Other source: van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 394.

[268] Boeles, 1985, pp. 3-7 & 32.

[269] Huntington, 1994, p. 143.

[270] Werner, 2005, pp. 94-95.

[271] Vajradhāra is an active manifestation of Vajrasattva, who in this case is bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The joining of Vajradhāra-Vajrasattva is a common trait of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism (see *Section 5.2.3, Note 991 & Appendix IV, # 4, Note 1553*).
Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 6;
Other source: Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 31.

There is a close relationship between Buddha Vairocana and his *sambhogakāya* bodhi-sattva – bodhisattva Samantabhadra (who also represents the *sambhogakāya* form of Buddha Vairocana). When Buddha Vairocana was raised to the position of Ādibuddha, even his *sambhogakāya* form (bodhisattva Samantabhadra) was raised to the level of "the central *Pañca-Tathāgatas* " (i.e. the Buddha on top of the wall of the fourth gallery on the Barabuḍur) – according to van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and Nou & Frédéric.
van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 414-416 &   Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 164 & 184.
Other source: Toganoo, 1982, Vol. 5, p. 6 (Sanskrit).

[272] Fontein, 2012, pp. 17-18.

constitute a smooth transition to the Buddhas in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in the latticed *stūpas* on the terraces.

Based on his study of the *STTS*, Ishii states that *stanzas* 32-34 of the *STTS* presents this fifth Buddha as Buddha Śākyamuni - being one with Buddha Vairocana.[273] That Buddha Śākyamuni faces the four directions, Ishii means is to ascribe to the fact that when Siddhārtha Gautama took his seat in the *kūṭāgāra* on top of the Mount Meru in order to attain Buddhahood, he did so in a manner "facing all four directions". Although subsection 6 of the *STTS* indicates that the Buddha was in a *bodhyagrī-mudrā* at this instance, he is nevertheless expressed here in a *vitarka-mudrā* - probably so as to conform with the last bas-relief of the *LV* (Ia-120) and to confirm that Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni were one.[274]

The reluctance among scholars to assign *vitarka-mudrā* to bodhisattva Samantabhadra, has lead to denominating the Buddhas on top of the wall of the fourth gallery, as well as Buddhas in the 72 latticed *stūpas* on the terraces, as both being Buddha Vairocana.[275] Soekmono proposes that (i) it is Buddha Vairocana as Vajradhāra, who from the wall of the fourth gallery in *vitarka-mudrā* surveys the spread of *dharma*, while (ii) Buddha Vairocana in the form of Vajrasattva preserves the *dharma* in an indirect manner from the latticed *stūpas* in *dharmacakra-mudrā*.[276] Le Bonheur believes the Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* to be

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[273] Ishii, 1991, p. 155

See also *Section 1.5.1, Note 355* and *Section 5.6.4, Note 1093*.

[274] Ishii, 1991, pp. 155-156.

It is noteworthy, though, that the various translations of the *GVS* seem to be mute as regards the *mudrā* of the Buddha when he enters the *Siṃhavijṛmbhita* (the *samādhi* called "the Lion´s Yawn").
Cleary, 1989(a), p. 14.
Other sources: Cleary, 1993, p. 1138; Doi, 1978, p. 79; Ehman, 1977, p. 119, Osto, 2008, p. 51.

However, Fontein states that the Buddha then is in a meditative pose - indicating a *dyana-mudrā*? According to Fontein, this is the only bas-relief (II-3) of the prologue of the *GVS*, in which the Buddha is presented in a meditative pose.
Fontein, 2012, p. 22.

Please see also *Appendix IV, # 1.4, Note 1321* where it is indicated in the *SHKA* that Buddha Śākyamuni should here be the transcendent Buddha Śākyamuni – not the "historical" Buddha Śākyamuni.

[275] Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 6.
Other source: Fontein, 1967, p. 167.

[276] Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 30.

Buddha Vairocana, while the Buddhas on the terraces (in *dharma-cakra-mudrā* in the latticed *stūpas*) should be Buddha Mahāvairocana – a name sometimes given to Ādibuddha.[277] Krom was of the view, that the Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* were Ādibuddha – but in the form of Vajrasattva in his appearance as Vajradhāra (see *Section 4.2.3.2*).[278] Scholars are in other words not yet in agreement who the Buddha is on top of the wall of the fourth gallery.

Within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, the idea has been expressed that Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni are not separate Buddhas. They are always seen as one and the same identity – but presented in different bodies (*kāya*).[279] Buddha Vairocana represents

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[277] Le Bonheur, 1971, pp. 48-50.

[278] Krom, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 154-155.

[279] In order to explain the concept of the transcendent Buddha, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism intro-duced the concept that the Buddha may have different bodies (*kāya*) – namely:

(i) the **earthly** "Body of Transformation" (*nirmāṇakāya*) in which [the *saṃbhogakāya* form of] Buddha Śākyamuni appeared on earth for 80 years during the fifth century BCE. The *saṃbhogakāya* form of the Buddha thus descended on earth in the form of *nirmāṇakāya* out of compassion in response to the needs of the sentient beings. This he did through the use of skilful means (*upāya kauśalya*). Buddha Śākyamuni had thus a beginning and an end. He preached *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism for the *śrāvakas* and for the *pratyekabuddhas*, as well as *Mahāyāna* Buddhism for the lower classes of the bodhisattvas;

(ii) the **cosmic** "Body of Bliss or Enjoyment" (*saṃbhogakāya*) in which the Buddhas spend countless aeons teaching in their respective Pure land (*buddhakṣetra*). In the Pure land (*buddhakṣetra*) the conditions are optimal for attaining Enlighten-ment. The *saṃboghakāya* is the form in which the Buddha appears by skilful means (*upāya kauśalya*) in order to assist the advanced practioners of the Path (i.e. those who themselves are close to being a Buddha). Sometimes the Buddhas in their *saṃboghakāya* form descend temporarily on earth in their form of *nirmānakāya*. It is a boundless and infinite body, being based on the earlier good merits of the *Tathāgata*. It is the subtle personification of the *dharmakā*ya. This body has a beginning, but no end. It was from this body that the *Ekayānavāda* (the doctrine of the only vehicle) was preached in the form of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*; and

(iii) the "**Body of Essence**" "Body of Law" (*dharmakāya*), which is "Thatness" – the primordial element, on which everything is based. This body is identical with the Reality and is therefore without a beginning, as well as without an end. The *dhar-makāya* is the "real body" of the Buddha. It is the underlying identity of the *saṃb hogakāya* and of the *nirmānakāya*. In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism it is believed, that the Buddha does not perform any activity at all in his *dharmakāya* form. However, *Vajrayāna* Buddhism claims that the *dharmakāya* form of the Buddha (Buddha Mahāvairocana) actively preached the *dharma*.

In order to complete the picture, Asaṅga presented in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* from the fourth century CE a fourth body;

(iv) the **Buddha's "own being"** (*svābhāvikakāya*), which together with the *dharma-*

an infinitely continuing entity (continuum), usually known as the *saṃbhogakāya* ("Body of the Bliss") or occasionally as the *dharmakāya* ("Body of the Law"). Buddha Śākyamuni is the transformation in our epoch of the *dharmakāya* of Buddha Vairocana into the corporeal existence, called either *rūpakāya* ("Body of the Form") or *nirmāṇakāya* ("Tranformation Body").

The top of the wall of the fourth gallery is believed by some scholars to represent the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven on top of the the World of Form (*Rūpadhātu*).[280] The Buddha represented there, should in fact always be Buddha Vairocana. Huntington, however, identified this Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā* as Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana preaching the *MVS*.[281] The 64 images of Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana are deemed to represent the 64 world systems in which Buddha Vairocana is teaching the *dharma*.[282] This matter will be further discussed in *Section 5.6.1.*

In the *esoteric* Javanese *Mahāyāna* text – the *SHK* – references are made to six types of Buddha images, comprising the 504 Buddhas presented on the Barabuḍur. The Buddha images on the Barabuḍur could be seen to have been organized in accordance herewith – i.e. with regard to the *Bḥaṭāra Hyang* Buddha, who is the personification of the Absolute Reality (*Divarūpa*) (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*). This analysis would explain the various kinds of Buddhas on the Barabuḍur, as well as the angular positions of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and

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kāya constituted the "Real Essence" of the Buddha, and which also is empty (*śūnyatā*). The *svābhāvikakāya* is in the *Kālacakra* equalized with Ādibuddha.

Contrary to *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism, *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism thus assume, that a number of Buddhas may exist simultaneously on different levels.

Griffiths, 1994, pp. 87-91, 127-136 & 147-149.
Other sources: Gifford, 2011, pp. 36-37; Huntington, 1994, pp. 135-136;
Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 175 & 187-190; Suzuki, 2000, pp. 308-311;
Tajima, 1998, pp. 243-244.

[280] See *Section 1.4.4, Note 225.*
Kandahjaya, 1995, p. 40.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, 104-107.

[281] Huntington, 1994, pp. 134-139, 141-146.

Please note, that this is in direct contradiction to the view of inter alia Getty and van Lohuizen-de Leeuw.
Getty, 1962, p. 29 & van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 394.

[282] Huntington, 1994, p. 143.

the *Caṇḍi* Mendut. This matter will be presented and discussed in *Section 5.6.1*.

Scholars have rather recently become aware of some verses at the end of the Chinese translations of the *GVS*, that do not seem to have an equivalent in the published editions of the Sanskrit text. Gómez discovered in these verses references to six or seven Buddhas. This matter will be futher discussed in *Section 5.6.1*. In case that there is some merit in this observation, it may be detrimental to the theory of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* on the Barabuḍur.

It takes three *kalpas* (three incalculable aeons) for the bodhisattva to attain Enlightenment by way of the 52 stages of the bodhisattva.[283] In each *kalpa* "Thousand Buddhas" appear. The three *kalpas* are those of the past, the present and the future. The present *kalpa* is called the *Bhadrakalpa*. In the *Bhadrakalpika Sūtra* (Toh 94) of the Tibetan Buddhist canon – the *Kanjur* – illustrations of all the "Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas" are made. As indicated in *Section 5.6.3* below, we are informed that the Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas may also be seen to be represented on the Barabuḍur in the *mudrās* corresponding to those of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. Would this stengthen the case of the Barabuḍur being a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (see *Section 5.8*)?[284]

As concluded from the above reasoning, the proper identification of the Buddhas on the Barabuḍur is still under continued debate.

That makes up a total of 432 Buddhas in the niches on top of the five balustrades – i.e. 108 Buddhas on each side of the monument. The number "108" is a "sacred" number thoughout the Indian civilization and signifies "victory" (*jaya*).[285]

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[283] See *Section 1.4.4, Note 212*.

[284] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 634-636.
Other sources: Chandra, 1979(a), pp. 48-50; Chandra, 1995(c), pp. 81-83.

[285] The number 108 is a "sacred" number in Buddhism. It symbolizes victory (*jaya*) according to Indian numerology. *Ja* stands for "1". *Ya* denominates "8". The "0" does not count. So 108 is as important as 1008 – the latter is equal to the number of Buddhas, one passes during the *pradakṣiṇa* up and down the Barabuḍur (i.e. 504 x 2 = 1008). The number 108 – *jaya* – may refer to the number of Buddhas on each side of the Barabuḍur, and thus being a reminder of the victorious Buddhist *dharma*. The Buddhist rosaries are made up of 54 beads, which should be retraced once one cycle is completed (i.e. 54 x 2 = 108).
Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 75-76.

Each of these niches is decorated with small *stūpas* (see **Picture 62**). So are also the areas on top of the balustrades between the niches.
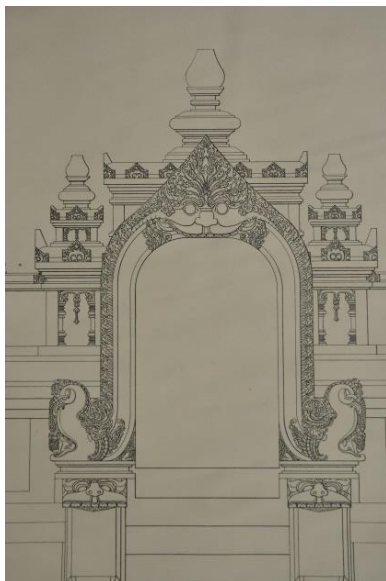
Picture 62   *Stūpa d*ecorations around the niches of the second to the fourth galleries

The only exception is the first balustrade, where the niches instead are decorated with *ratnas* (jewels) (see **Picture 63**).[286] The niches are,

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Voûte presents the astronomical fact, that at the time of the construction of the Bara-buḍur (at latitude 7.608° South) during the early ninth century CE, the sun rose on the exact Mount Merapi-Barabuḍur line 54 days from either side of the summer solstice; i.e. on 26 April and on 11 August 807 CE. He also noted that the stairways on each side of the monument "divided" each side in two halves decorated with 54 Buddha images on both halves. However, this 54-54 split may have been a mere coincidence, but neverthe-less it highlights the number "108".
Voûte, 2005, pp. 243-245.

[286] When Buddha Śākyamuni still was a bodhisattva in the *Tuṣita* heaven, he decided to descend to earth and preach for mankind. According to the *LV* (*stanzas* 1-14), the bodhi-sattva was sitting on the Lion-throne in his beautiful double *ratnavyūha*-pavillion in *Tuṣita*. He was carried in his double *ratnavyūha*-pavillion by 110 thousand *koṭis* of gods and descended to this world, where he entered the womb of his mother (queen Mahāmāyā) from her right side – the double *ratnavyūha*-pavillion, et.al. The point be-ing, that the indestructible ***ratna should isolate the bodhisattva from worldly impurities.***

At Amarāvati, the bodhisattva is supposed already on his decent from the *Tuṣita* heaven to have taken the form of a six-tusked white elephant. But at the Barabuḍur, and accord-ing to the *LV*, the bodhisattva descends in his divine shape in his double *ratnavyūha*-pavillion and takes the form of the white six-tusked elephant just prior to entering his mother´s womb. For the implication of this, see *Section 5.2.4.*

furthermore, decorated with heads of the *makara* – which from the second gallery are being supported by small dwarfs. These dwarfs are lacking, though, from the decorations on the top of the first gallery.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 63   *Ratna* decoration of the niches of the
balustrade of the first gallery

The reason for this change in decoration may according to Stutterheim be based on the fact that the cosmic Buddhas - presented elsewhere on the monument - are on the first balustrade represented by their respective terrestial *Mānuṣī* Buddha, that presides over successive world ages in our present aeon (*kalpa*).[287] These *Mānuṣī* Buddhas act as the spiritual agents (in their respective *nirmāṇakāya* form) in

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Krom, 1974, pp. 1-19.
Other sources: Kandahjaya, 1995, p. 50; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 100-102.

[287]   The *Mānuṣī* Buddhas are the eight Buddhas of the present aeon (*kalpa*). Five *Manuṣī* Buddhas have preceded Buddha Śākyamuni in the present *kalpa* - namely Buddha Prabhūtaratna, Buddha Dīpaṅkara, Buddha Krakucchadra, Buddha Kanakamuni and Buddha Kāśyapa. Bodhisattva Maitreya is supposed to be the coming Buddha. The last Buddha to descend to earth is anticipated to be bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Together with Buddha Śākyamuni, they all constitute the eight *Manuṣī* Buddhas.
Snodgrass, 2007, p. 131.

The *Tathāgata* of the current world age is Buddha Amitābha; his *Mānuṣī*-Buddha emanation is Buddha Śākyamuni; and his *Mānuṣī*-bodhisattva emanation is bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.
Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 70

this world (*kāmadhātu*) of their respective cosmic Buddha.[288] Long goes one step further and claims that these *Mānuṣī* Buddhas represent the depictions of the extinct terrestial "Buddhas of the Past".[289]

The *Buddhavaṃsa* ("The successive lifes of the Buddhas")[290] present inter alia time as "calculable" (*sankheyya*) and "unfathomable" (*acintiya*) – in the latter of which time-place may not be conceived only in terms of causul connection and calculable time.[291] In the vast time frame of the *Buddhavaṃsa*, no fewer than twentyfive (25) Buddhas are deemed to have existed and offered the sentient beings a model for overcoming *saṃsāra*.[292]

Chihara found during the restoration work of the Barabuḍur in 1975-1983, that the 104 Buddha images in the niches on the balustrade of the first gallery were not there from the outset, but had been added during a later construction phase. According to Chihara, these 104 Buddha images were probably added during the third construction phase, which started in 810 CE (see *Section 1.1*). During this construction phase, the Barabuḍur construction plan was altered from that of the huge *stūpa* to that of a *maṇḍala*. This is an important observation. Without these 104 Buddha images the number interpretations would lack a clear relationship to the numerology of the *maṇḍalas*. These 104 Buddha images were perhaps added, so as to arrive at 504 Buddha images in total on the Barabuḍur. On his *pradakṣiṇa* up and down the monument, the pilgrim would thus pass "1008" Buddha images – a sacred Buddhist number signifying the "victory (*jaya*) of the pilgrim over his own desires and passions".[293] One may assume, therefore, that the construction plans of the Barabuḍur were altered during this third construction phase, as a result of the Barabuḍur being transformed into a *maṇḍala* – a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[294]

[288]   Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 59-60.

[289]   Long, 2009, p. 315.
         Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 133-138 & 140.

[290]   The *Buddhavaṃsa* is the earliest Pāli *vaṃsa*. It was written in India – not on Śrī Laṅkā - probably during the second or first century CE.
         Walters, 2000, p. 101.

[291]   The concept of the Einstein/Minkowski warped "time-space" of modern physics springs to mind.

[292]   Walters, 2000, pp. 101-103 & 108.

[293]   See *Note 285* above.

[294]   Chihara, 1996, pp. 117, 121-122 and Nou& Frédéric, 1996, pp. 25-27.

1.4.6   The terraces and the Buddhas in the latticed stūpas
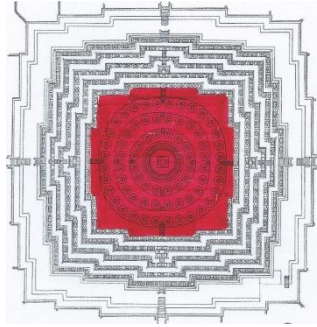
Ascending from the fourth gallery, the pilgrim enters the open terrace area through the eastern gateway, which has the form of a *kāla* head (see **Picture 64**). The *kāla* head symbolizes time. Hanging from the upper jaw of the *kāla* head are a pair of strings of jewels, symbolizing the elexir of immortality (*amṛta*). Two bearded men are shown in this decoration. Voûte & Long[295] see them as holy men (*ṛṣis*), while Sundberg favours that these bearded lintel figures represent *siddhas*, who have gained the supernatural power of *khecari* – the *siddhi* of flight (see *Section 5.4.3*).[296]

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[295]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 177.

[296]   A monk or a *yogin* is believed to be able to obtain this supernational power of flight (*khecari*) by means of attracting a non-human (supposedly a female tree-spirit – a *yakṣī*) in the forest and copulate with the same.
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 168-170.
Other sources: Davidson, 2002, pp. 198 & 203-204;   Sundberg, 2004, p. 113 n.30.

Picture 64   The entrance gate to the terrace area
of the Barabuḍur

Now the pilgrim enters an entirely new realm – the climax of the pre-
vious story of the *GVS*.[297] This terrace area is entirely open to the sky
(see *Picture 65*). The fifth balustrade encloses this open area and is
undecorated on its inside, as is the entire terrace area in principle. The
pilgrim may now be seen as the inhabitant of Buddha Vairocana´s
kūṭāgāra (while he on the third gallery only was a visitor to this
kūṭāgāra). The open terrace area may by some scholars be regarded as
illustrating *dharmadhātu* where the doctrine of the Buddha is
elaborated. The open terrace area is the Ultimate Truth – which is
"nothing and everything at the same time".[298]

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[297]   Fontein, 2012, p. 231.

[298]   Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 31.
Other sources: Woodward, 2009, p. 28;   Woodward, 1999, pp. 36 & 38;   Woodward,
1981 (a), p. 129;   Woodward, 1981 (b), p. 47.

Picture 65   The terrace area of the Barabuḍur as
               the "Ultimate Truth"

In the middle of this open area, three circular terraces with successively smaller diameters are constructed on top of each other – with the large central *stūpa* in the middle (see ***Picture 66***).

Picture 66   The terrace area of the Barabuḍur with the
               central *stūpa* and the latticed *stūpas*

The first two terraces are not perfectly round. Placed upon them are small *stūpas*, which are hollow and consist of a stone lattice with diamond-shaped openings. The *aṇḍa* is bell-shaped, surmounted by a

square *harmika* and an octogonal spire (*yaṣṭi*). In each latticed *stūpa*, there is housed a sitting Buddha statue in *dharmacakra-mudrā* ("Turning the Weel of the Dharma *mudrā*"). 32 such latticed *stūpas* are placed on the lowest terrace, and 24 latticed *stūpas* on the middle terrace.[299] On the upper terrace – which is perfectly circular – are placed 16 somewhat smaller latticed *stūpas* with geometric openings in the stone lattice in the form of squares. Their *harmikas* are in octagonal form, as are their spires (*yaṣṭi*) (see ***Picture 67***).[300]

Picture 67   Diamond-shaped och square-shaped lattice-work of the *stūpas* on the terraces of the Barabuḍur

All the 72 latticed *stūpas* were probably originally gilded and thus reflecting one another – symbolizing the "mutual identity" and "mutual penetration", as illustrated in the "Indra´s Net" (see *Appendix III, # 2.3*).[301] This may indicate, that the builders of the Barabuḍur might

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[299]   Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 35-36.
Other sources: Gifford, 2004, pp. 13-14; Miksic, 1990, p. 44; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 107-109.

[300]   According to Chandra, these various forms (square, triangle, diamond-shaped lozenge, and octagonal) and the form of the *stūpa* were painted on the body of Buddha Vairocana of the Khotan tradition. These 72 latticed *stūpas* of the Barabuḍur, would thus constitute an architectonic transcription of the *stūpas* depicted on the body of Vairocana in the Avataṃsaka tradition in Khotan.
Chandra, 1987, p. 53; Voûte, 2000, p. 307.

The Cosmic Buddha image (Buddha Mahāvairocana) from the Sui dynasty (589-618 CE) in China in Musée Guimet in Paris is an example hereof.
Auboyer, 1975, pp. 107 & 112.

[301]   Gómez, 1981, p. 179.
Other source: Woodward, 2009, p. 28 & 1981 (b), p. 44; Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 45.

The entire Barabuḍur was originally covered with a thin coat of stucco. One does not know, however, whether the monument also was painted. Likewise, concrete evidence is lacking substantiating that the latticed *stūpas* would have been gilded. But if so, various

have been familiar with the "Mirror Hall" as expressed by the *Huayan* patriarc Fazang (643-712 CE). This "Mirror Hall" illustrates Totality in the *dharmadhātu* - or in other words "***All-in-one and One in all***" (see *Appendix III, # 2.5*).[302] The 72 latticed *stūpas* are also believed to symbolize the magical buildings (*kūṭāgāra*) referred to in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*.[303] Furthermore, these 72 latticed *stūpas* may be regarded as representing the 72 elements of existence (i.e. the conditioned *dharmas*) according to the *Abhidharmakośa*.[304] Against this background and in allusion to the similarity to Indra´s Net, one may rightfully pose the question, whether the *Huayan* doctrine was known on Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. This aspect will be further elaborated in *Section 5.7.1*.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 68   A Buddha head on the Barabuḍur

According to van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, the Buddhas in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in these 72 latticed *stūpas* are Buddha Vairocana ("The Lord of the *stūpa*"), also named Buddha Mahāvairocana – which would be in accordance with the form of Buddhism found in Tibet, Nepal and

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Buddhist meanings would have been pulled together beautifully. Woodward, 1981(b), p.47

[302]   Woodward, 2009, p. 28.

[303]   Fontein, 2012, pp. 235-236.

[304]   Woodward, 1999, p. 36.
        Other source: Woodward, 1981(b), pp. 43-44.

Japan (see *Picture 68*).[305] Ishii was more specific and stated that these 72 Buddha images were in fact Buddha Mahāvairocana in "*kajishin*" appearance in *Shingon*.[306] These latticed *stūpas* are suggested by some scholars to represent formlessness (*arūpadhātu*).[307] This takes on a successive state, as the Buddhas on the two lower terraces are slightly more visible by means of the somewhat larger diamond-shaped lattice-work of their respective *stūpa* (see *Picture 69*). The *stūpas* of the uppermost terrace, on the other hand, cover the sight of the Buddhas inside to a larger degree because of their more dense square-shaped lattice-work. These latter *stūpas* may thus be regarded as approximating to the final "ineffable" state of the summit *stūpa*.[308]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 69   A Buddha made visible in the latticed *stūpas* on the two lower terraces of the Barabuḍur

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[305]   When the system of the five *Pañca Tathāgatas* is increased to a sixfold system, it is customary in some *Mahāyāna* traditions to exalt Buddha Vairocana – the central *Pañca-Tathāgata* – to this highest sixth position and then name him Buddha Mahāvairocana. Krom´s suggestion of Buddha Vajrasattva may herewith be regarded as "dead" – particularly as Buddha Vajrasattva is never presented in *dharmacakra-mudrā.*
         van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 405.

[306]   *Shingon* Buddhism in Japan differentiates between two separate *dharmakāya* – *"hon-chishin"* (*dharma*) and *"kajishin"* (the visual body).
         Ishii, 1991, p. 153

[307]   Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 185.

[308]   Snellgrove, 1996, p. 482.

Other scholars – like Snodgrass – claim that the Total Knowledge of the Ādibuddha (see *Section 4.2.3.2*) consists of 37 facets. Each of these facets are personified as the 37 divinities in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – exemplified by the *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes (see *Section 4.2.3.1*). Based on Toganoo, Snodgrass claims that the central of Total Knowledge facets is itself divisible 36-fold, which together with the Self-Nature Body make up the number 37.[309] According to Snodgrass, each of these 36 divisions of Knowledge has two aspects: a subjective aspect, which is attributed to its visualization in the meditational process (*kanshō*); and an objective aspect, which is its true form (*jissō*).[310] The 72 images of the Buddha Vairocana in the latticed *stūpas* may thus be seen to symbolize various forms of the Total Knowledge of Ādibuddha Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva – as seen by the meditating subjects, on the one hand, and by the Buddhas themselves, on the other.[311] The suggestions by scholars are thus manifold.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 70 A Buddha in a latticed *stūpa* on the Barabuḍur

The Buddha images in the latticed *stūpas* could also be seen to represent the multiplicity of the Buddhas throughout cosmos in their *sam-*

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[309]   *Funbetsushōikyō* (Jap.), Taishō Vol. 18, No 870, p. 291; quoted by Toganoo, Shoun, 1971, *Rishukyō no Kenkyū* (Jap.) ("A Study of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*"), Koyasan, p. 479; as referred to in Snodgrass, 2007, p. 148.

[310]   Japanese-English Buddhist Dictionary, 1965, Daitō Shuppansha, Tōkyō, p, 140; as referred to in Snodgrass, 2007, p. 148. Please refer also to *Note 306* above.

[311]   Snodgrass, 2007, p. 148.

bhogakāya forms sitting in their respective *buddhakṣetras* (purified Buddha-fields), exemplified by the opening chapter of the *GVS* (see ***Picture 70***). But one may also argue that the 72 nearly identical Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* indicate the tension between unity and multiplicity inherent in the *kūṭāgāra* and in the *maṇḍala* design. Cleary means that these 72 Buddha images are all presented in the same *dharmacakra-mudrā*, in order to illustrate that they "dwell in the state of non-duality of one Buddha and all Buddhas" (see *Section 5.6.4 & Appendix III, # 2.5 & # 4*).[312]

Some scholars voice the opinion that the Barabuḍur was planned and constructed in conformity with certain "sacred" numbers, such as 8, 9, 108, 1008, etc. Some of these aspects have briefly been touched upon above.[313]

The large central *stūpa* is entirely closed, with two empty chambers inside – one above the other. No relics have been found in them.[314] Frédéric means that these empty chambers represent "voidness" (*śūnyatā*), which Nāgārjuna has presented in the *Mūlamādhyamaka-kārikā*.[315] Hattori voices the opinion that these empty chambers in the *stūpa* manifest the Buddha´s transformation into Universe – i.e. Light and Emptiness.[316]

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[312]   Cleary, 1989(a), p. 331.

[313]   See *Section 1.4.4, Note 224 & Section 1.4.5, Note 285.*

[314]   Miksic, 1990, p. 50.

[315]   Frédéric, 1996, p. 114.

[316]   Hattori, 2000, p. 26.
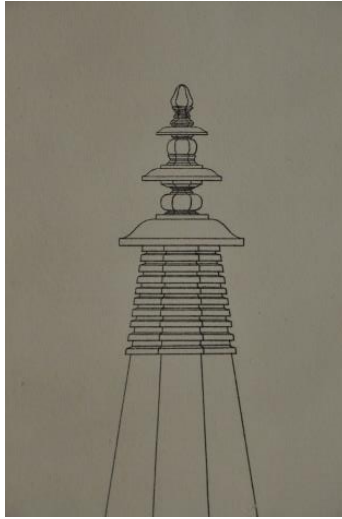
Picture 71   The top of the pinnacle (*yaṣṭī*)

The pinnacle (*yaṣṭī*) of the central *stūpa* has been suggested to be octagonal, ending in nine horizontal incisions and three parasols on top (see ***Picture 71***). However, scholars had varying views on this matter.[317] The *aṇḍa* of the *stūpa* is embellished with a stone decoration in form of a flower ribbon (see ***Picture 72***).

Picture 72   Decorative ribbon on the central *stūpa*
of the Barabuḍur

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[317]   Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 48;   Frédéric, 1965, p. 160.

The top part of the Barabuḍur has a large lotus pedestal, now buried underneath the first circular terrace (see *Picture 19*). As indicated in *Section 1.1*, it is believed by some scholars, that this lotus pedestal was originally meant as the base of the very large *stūpa*, which originally was intended to have crowned the Barabuḍur (see *Section 1.1*, *Pictures 8, 9 & 10* and *Picture 73* below).[318]
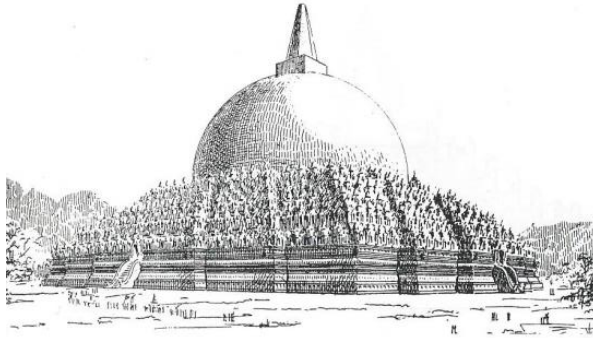
Picture 73 Parmentier´s vision of the original Barabuḍur

An "unfinished" Buddha statue in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* was found in a man-made hole in the *aṇḍa* of the central *stūpa*.[319] It was not until 1853, when it was found and initially reported by Wilsen.[320] Krom refused to accept the originality of this sculpture and believed that it has been placed there during the nineteenth century.[321] Frédéric embraces the theory that the central *stūpa* was originally empty.[322] So does Hattori, who also states that the Barabuḍur presently encompasses 504 Buddhas – a number that is evenly divided with "9". The number "9" – or the square of three – is a number of the highest order in Buddhism, and symbolizes the Absolute Being. However, this relationship would not work with the addition of the "unfinished" Buddha, as the number then would be 505. In other words, the

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[318]   Chihara, 1981, pp. 137 & 140.
         Other sources: Parmentier, 1924, pp. 612-614; Parmentier, 1929, pp. 264-265.

[319]   Gifford, 2004, p. 14.

[320]   Soekmono, 2001, pp. 480-483.
         Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 140-143.

[321]   Krom, 1927, vol. II, p. 165-169.

[322]   Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 114.

"unfinished" Buddha was according to Hattori never part of the monument (see *Sections 5.6.1 & 5.8*).[323]

Chandra alludes in this discussion to two aspects in the *esoteric* Buddhist rituals: (i) the generation/construction of the residence of the deities (*ādhārotpatti*); and (ii) the evocation of the deities to take residence therein (*ādheya*). The *ādhāra* was a fixed and permanent construction in stone (e.g. the Barabuḍur), while the *ādheya* were small portable images in precious metals (e.g. the 37 deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – Buddha Vairocana and the 36 deities).[324] Like the *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes (see **Picture 74**), they were brought to the *ādhāra* only when needed – as they were to the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Caṇḍi* Sewu (see *Sections 1.5.1 & 1.5.2*). There was in other words no need for an "unfinished" Buddha in the main *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 74 A portable *Ṅgañjuk* bronze figure

Soekmono has, however, come across a Javanese account from early nineteenth century stating that a visitor to the Barabuḍur saw the

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[323] Hattori, 2000, pp. 25-28.

[324] Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 175-179.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(c), pp. 86-87.

"unfinished" Buddha in the central stūpa.[325] Huntington considers that it is Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmadhātu* – i.e. Buddha Vairocana.[326] However, in Stutterheim´s opinion the Buddha in the central *stūpa* was purposely made in an "unfinished" form and was, according to the *SHK*, the Ādibuddha.[327] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw mentioned – without taking a stand – that according to a sevenfold system in Tibet, the two *esoteric* Buddhas Vajradhāra and Vajrasattva occupy the position above the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. This would indicate that the Barabuḍur may in this case have represented a sevenfold Buddhist tradition with the two highest Buddhas partly or entirely invisible (see *Section 5.6.1*).

Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw also mentioned that in some traditions of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, Vajrasattva is seen as the spiritual son of Buddha Akṣobhya in his *saṃbhogakāya* ("Bliss Body") and as such the leader of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. With a picture of Buddha Akṣobhya in his headdress, Vajrasattva would in this sevenfold system be regarded as Ādibuddha – the highest Principle – in the form of the *esotric* picture of Buddha Akṣobhya.[328] de Casparis did not regard the "unfinished" Buddha to symbolize Ādibuddha. Mus did not take side in this discussion between Foucher, Krom and Stutterheim. This "unfinished" Buddha has lead to various exchanges of view between scholars, and is yet to find a proper solution (see *Section 5.6.1*). Of

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[325] The immense hand written manuscript "Serat Centhini" of more than 3,500 folios is probably from sometime around 1814-1830 CE. It relates the journeys on Java by Mas Cebolang and his friends. They are supposed to have found an "unfinished" Buddha statue on top of the Barabuḍur. But Cornelius, Raffles and others, who visited the Barabuḍur between 1814-1850 CE did not report having found any "unfinished" Buddha statue on the terraces or in the main *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur. The first person to report having found this "unfinished" Buddha statue was Wilsen in 1853. Hoepermans related in 1864 the tales of the local population having hauled a Buddha statue from the ground level and placed it into the main *stūpa*, where van Erp subsequently conveniently happened to find it in 1907 CE.
Soekmono, 2001, pp. 479-483.

[326] Huntington means that Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni are not separate Buddhas, but are always an identity even when they are, for didactic and/or grammatical purposes, discussed independently (see *Section 5.6.4*). In correspondence herewith, Huntington identifies the "unfinished" Buddha image in the central *stūpa* as Buddha Śākyamuni of *dharmadhātu*, the Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* as Buddha Vairocana, and the Buddhas in the niches of the wall of the forth gallery as Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana.
Huntington, 1994, pp. 138-144 & 146.

[327] Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 58-62.

[328] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 402.
Other source: Getty, 1962, p. 5.

interest is also, that the central core (the *brāhmikapāda*) of the *paramaśāyikin* 81 square grid-system - which could have constituted the basis for the planning of the re-worked summit of the Barabuḍur - indicates that there should **not** be any images in the space of the central *stūpa*.[329] If so, the reason for having the "unfinished" Buddha image there falls by the wayside.

As indicated in *Section 2.3.3* below, Sarkar suggested that the palladium of the Śailendra dynasty – the golden image of Buddha Vajradhāra – was placed in the hollow space in the *aṇḍa* of the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur. It has been suggested by several scholars, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was supposed to have retrieved this palladium and to have brought it with him to Śrīvijaya, upon his expulsion from Java in 854 CE.

There are in other words 72 (32+24+16) stone latticed *stūpas* on the three terraces of the Barabuḍur – each with one Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā*. These *Tathāgatas* are partly hidden in the latticed *stūpas*, indicating that they are only indirectly involved in the "world" portrayed in the galleries below on the Barabuḍur. The *dharmacakra-mudrā* of these Buddhas has led some scholars to conclude that these 72 Buddhas represent a cosmic Buddha. These Buddhas may in other words be identified as Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmadhātu* – i.e. Buddha Vairocana (see *Section 5.6.4*).[330]

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[329] In *Section 4.2.4*, we are informed that the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan (the *paramaśāyikin*) of the *Citrakarmaśāstra* fitted well on the terrace section of the Barabuḍur. In addition, the 9 central squares (the *brāhmikapāda*) of the *paramaśāyikin* were meant not to contain any images. In case this was to apply to the Barabuḍur, it would mean that the "unfinished" Buddha image should not have had a place in the central *stūpa*.

[330] Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 130-131.

Mus presented the view, that the answer to who the Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* could be, is found in the Lotus *Sūtra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*) – an early *Mahāyāna* text. Mus, 1935, pp. 103 ff.

However, Miksic states that Mus never completed his study and gave no reason supporting that the purpose of the round terraces were to depict the Lotus *Sūtra*. Boeles elaborated on Mus´ idea further and arrived at the conclusion – based on the Lotus *Sūtra* and on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* - that the Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* would be the cosmic Buddha, in the form of Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmadhātu*. The reasons for this conclusion being (i) that Buddha Vairocana is not mentioned in these two *sūtras*, and (ii) that the central Buddha in both these *sūtras* is Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmadhātu*. Boeles, 1985, pp. 7-9.
Other sources: Hattori, 2000, p. 25; Miksic, 1990, pp. 53-55.

Other scholar have professed different opinions as to the identity of the 72 Buddha images on the open terraces, such as: bodhisattva Vajrasattva (Krom, 1927, p. 158); Bud-

In the Buddhist cosmos, the Mount Meru had a pavilion (*kūṭāgāra*) on top, from where inter alia *yoga tantras* were preached. [331] Various scholars have arrived at the conclusion, that the Barabuḍur was earlier housing a *kūṭāgāra* on the open terraces. This *kūṭāgāra* was believed to have been built in wood and to have been secured to the monument in the numerous horizontal incisions of the pinnacle (*yaṣṭī*), together with the parasols (*chattras*) and other decorations. However, other scholars were opposed to this theory.[332] Furthermore, in *Section 5.3.4* we are discussing the suggestion, that this proposed structure may have taken the form of a *vaṭadāge.*

As indicated above, the various Buddhas on the Barabuḍur have during the past century been subject to substantial interest from the international academic community. The suggestions have been many and varied. The discussions have been open and sometimes animated. Despite this, a common view is yet to be agreed upon. Against this background, we have endeavoured in *Section 5.6* to present a more comprehensive presentation of the matter.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

| **Picture 75** | Tibetan *Vajrayāna* monks chanting at the Barabuḍur |

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dha Śākyamuni (Iwamoto, 1973, p. 289 according to Ishii, 1991, p. 152); and Buddha Vairocana (Chandra, 1980(a), p. 24).

[331] Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 27, 29 & 35.

[332] Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 48.
Other source: Frédéric, 1965, p. 160.

Nevertheless, the Barabuḍur remains in our time a sacred Buddhist monument. It is thus a "living" Buddhist monument (see **Picture 75**). The Vesak celebrations are conducted here at the full moon in May every year. Meanwhile, the Barabuḍur still attracts attention from various Buddhist traditions – for rituals (see **Picture 76**).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 76   *Zen* nuns meditating on the terrace
                   area of the Barabuḍur

1.5   The Caṇḍi Mendut and the Caṇḍi Pawon

Some scholars have proposed, that the Barabuḍur would constitute one integrated complex with the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Caṇḍi* Pawon.[333] The three buildings lie on a straight line (only 2,916 meters of length) from the top of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, over the top of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon to the eastern entrance of the Barabuḍur complex (see **Picture 77**). This is in accordance with the fictitious local tale of a "now vanished" Processional Road bordered by a supposed walled construction with niches between these three buildings.[334]

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[333]   de Casparis, 1950, p. 204.

[334]   Long, 2009, pp. 66-68 & 223.
         Other source: Moens, 1951, p. 329.

Albeit the potential interest of the concept of the Processional Road, it must be emphasized that no scientific investigation has yet proven its previous existence – which means that we must presently regard the Processional Road as entirely fictitious.
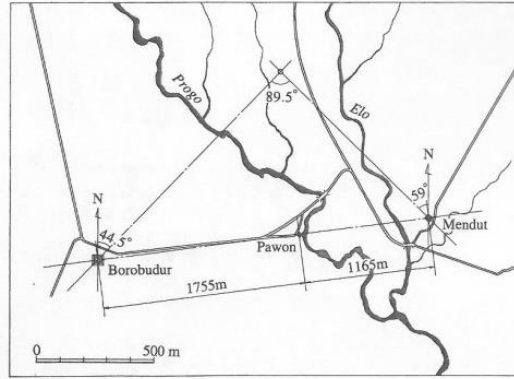
Source: Chihara, 1996, p. 129

Picture 77   Map over the alignments Barabuḍur→Pawon→Mendut

1.5.1   The Caṇḍi Mendut

The *Caṇḍi* Mendut (see ***Picture 78***) was built prior to the Barabuḍur. The Karangtĕṅah inscription of 824 CE (Śaka 746) (see *Appendix I, # 9*) names it on line 21 as "*veṇuvanā-bhikhyam … jinamandiraṃ*".[335] The *Caṇḍi* Mendut may have been the original site of the stone of Karangtĕṅah.

Chihara and Voûte both point out, though, that neither careful investigations on the ground level, nor air photos have revealed any traces of such a Processional Road. Chihara, 1996, pp. 125 & 127;   Voûte, 2000, p. 326.

[335]   *śrīmadveṇuvanābhikhyam = vidhāya jinamandiraṃ yat = puṇyam = āptam = etena daśad = āpnotu saugatam*

With the merit that he acquired by building the temple of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas [Jina]* which is given the name beautiful *Veṇuvana* (Bamboo forest), may he (the king) attain Sugatahood ten-fold.   Sarkar, 1971, vol 1, pp. 67 & 70.

The *Veṇuvanamandiraṃ* (Bamboo Grove Temple) is the name of the famous retreat in North India, where Buddha Śākyamuni formally resided during the rainy seasons. de Casparis, 1950, pp. 24-50, 184-188 & 204.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(e), p.32 ;   Voûte, 2006, p. 224.

Picture 78   The *Caṇḍi* Mendut

The name "Mendut" means "to expand", which corresponds to "*vaipulya*". This name and the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) indicate the presence of *Vaipulya* adherents on Java during the reign of the Śailendras already during the eighth century CE (see *Appendix I, # 5*).[336]

The basement of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut measures approximately 20 meters by 20 meters – in addition to which one has to add the entrance stairway (see **Picture 79**). [337] Basing himself on the indigenous Javanese *pranatamangsa* calender, Long proposes that the twin sun-zenith passages that occur on Java every solar year may be expressed dimensionally at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut. However, this view may be regarded as somewhat too extreme.[338] The entrances of both the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Caṇḍi* Pawon are namely not facing east, as is customary on Central Java. Instead their entrances are facing northwest.[339]

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[336]   As indicated in *Sections 1.4.3 and 3.2* below, the *Vaipulya* adherents were found in South India and on Śrī Laṅkā with the *Abhayagirivihāsins* already during the third century CE. As Sakar has indicated, there was an epithet in the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) (see *Appendix I, # 5*) as follows: *vaipulya-vipra-tialena*. This ought according to Devi Singhal confirm the presence of the *Vaipulya* adherents on Java during the reign of the Śailendras already in the eighth century CE.
Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 373 & Sarkar, 1971, Vol. I, pp. 41-48.

[337]   Long, 2009, p. 275.

[338]   Long, 2009, pp. 276-277.

[339]   According to Moens, the "respective headings of Pawon and Mendut produce angles of 73° (287° W) and 58.5° (301.5° W) with respect to the North line".
Moens, 1951, p. 329.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 79 The entrance staircase of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

The 15 step staircase of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut has a banister railing on each side starting on top with each a stylized lion head,[340] from which emerges the serpentine body of the *makāra* (see **Picture 79**). The head of the *makāras* are each supported by a squatting *rakṣa*-guardian, who holds in each hand the stem of an *utpala*.[341] In the open mouth of the *makāra* head sits a small lion. Each lion and each *makāra* body seem to align to the crescent moon bas-relief at the back side of the cella. Long, proposes that the *kīrttimukha*[342] - the "Face of Glory" - should be

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The reason for this deviation from the orientation found on other temples on Central Java, could well be that, when the headings of these temples are extended to the horizon, they effectively bracket the area, in which the northern zodiac constellations had set during the time, when these two temples were built and were in use.
Long, 2009, p. 224.

Another reason for the northwestern direction of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, is that a line extrapolated northwestwards from the entrance of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut would intersect with the SW-NE diagonal line of the Barabuḍur monument in a right angle on the land between the Progo River and the Elo River (see *Picture 77*). Chihara and Iwamoto believe that this point of intersection locates the *kraton* of the Śailendras.
Chihara, 1996, p. 129 & Iwamoto, 1981, p. 88.

[340] Could these stylized lion heads instead be *kāla* heads – rendering possible a *kīrttimukha* (see below)?

[341] *Utpala* has several meanings in Sanskrit – one of which is "the Blue Lotus" (*Nymphae caerulea*). The "Blue Lotus" is the sign of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (see below, *Section 5.6.1, Picture 119* and *Appendix I, # 5, Note 1190*).

[342] Please note, that a *kīrttimukha* has *kāla* heads (not lion heads) on top, swallowing the *makāra* body.

the Sun Door or the northernmost limit of the sun during the year.[343] In case this proposal holds true, the *kīrttimukha* would thus be signified by stylized *kāla* heads (not lion heads) on top of each banister. The two squatting *rakṣa*-guardians may furthermore represent the two nodes along the moon´s orbit, where solar and lunar eclipses always occur. The two small lions in the mouth of the *makāra* may symbolize the sun. In consequence herewith, the entrance and the staircase of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut faces the winter solstice – as suggested by Long.[344]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

| ***Picture 80*** | Decorations on the outside of the entrance staircase to the *Caṇḍi* Mendut |

The outside of the staircase wings are decorated with bas-reliefs from the *Pañca Tantra*, *Hitopadeśa* and the *Jātakamāla* (see ***Picture 80***). Again, the purpose of these bas-reliefs may be seen as strengthening the position of the Śailendra dynasty – as the animal stories of the *Pañca Tantra* are meant to teach the princes statecraft.

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[343] We learned in *Section 1.4.3*, that the meaning of the *kīrttimukha* – the "Face of Glory" – was to symbolically swallow each and every pilgrim that enters the monument – thus symbolizing the pilgrim´s death and spiritual rebirth into a succeeding state.

[344] Long, 2009, pp. 246-249 & 276-277.

Picture 81 Decoration along the outside sub-basement
of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (probably a *gandharva*)

The outside of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut starts with 51 bas-reliefs along the
sub-basement with either (i) a male figure without a halo or pedestal
support and with scrolls of vegetation as a background (see *Picture
81*), or (ii) with a floral tapestry as a divisional element. These male
figures represent according to Chandra the *gandharvas* (see *Section
1.4.2*)[345] The bas-relief # 3 illustrates a monkey, referring to the army
of Lord Rāma and his forceful forest tribes of monkeys (*vānara*). The
mongoose of bas-relief # 49 represents prosperity and imperial
treasury. The last bas-relief (# 51) illustrates a *garuda* – the mount of
Lord Viṣṇu – as the Śailendra kings were also viewed as incarnations
of Lord Viṣṇu.[346]

The outside of the cella building along the base of the raised ambula-
tory and the vestibule are decorated with 37 bas-reliefs (31 bas-reliefs

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[345]   As the *gandharva* symbolizes "progeny", their precence on the outside sub-basement of
the *Caṇḍi* Mendut may be meant to ensure the perpetuation of the Śailendra dynasty.
Chandra, 2009, p. xvi-xvii.

[346]   Long, 2009, pp. 1-19.

plus 6 flower-decorated short sides) with floral scroll backgrounds. They present illustrations from the *Pañca Tantra* and from the *Jātakamāla*, which correspond to the structure of the "Wheel of Letters" of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) – (see *Appendix II, # 1.2*). These 37 bas-reliefs on the *Caṇḍi* Mendut suggest a possible link with the 37 principles important for the aspiration to Enlightenment, which in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism are called the "Wings to Enlightenment" (*bodhipaksyadharma*).[347]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 82   Bodhisattva Vajrapāni

On the outside of the building, there are also sculptures in the corners from the *Maṇḍalāṣṭa Sūtra* (the *MAS*) (the Eightfold *Maṇḍala* with the

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[347]   In the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta* of the Pāli Canon, the Buddha is quoted summarizing the 37 principles, that he regards of special importance in the aspiration for Enlightenment. These 37 bas-reliefs on the *Caṇḍi* Mendut may give the pilgrim an opportunity of setting the "Circle of Letters" in motion. In addition, in the interior of the cella there are 37 stone courses above the chamber floor – thus perhaps signifying the 37 letters both "outside and inside the *prasāda*", as suggested in the *SHK*. Regarding the "Circle of Letters", see *Appendix II, # 1.2*.
Long, 2011, p. 3;   Long, 2009, pp. 19-37, 109-110 & 113-124.
Other sources: Chandra, 2009, p. xxi;   Chandra, 1995(d), p. 399 & 401.

eight bodhisattvas) (T. 486).[348] The eight bodhisattvas (see **Picture 82**) are listed below.[349] This *MAS* (T. 486) – together with the *caryā tantra Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) (T. 848) and the *yoga tantra Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) (T. 865) – were all introduced in China by Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra during the early part of the eighth century CE (see *Section 4.2.5*).[350]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 83   The four-armed bodhisattva Tārā or bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā

Large bas-reliefs are covering the sidewalls. On the southeastern side-wall (i.e. on the opposite side to that of the entrance of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut) Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara is illustrated. The north-

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[348]   As indicated in *Section 4.1*, Puṇyodana brought this text to China by the mid-seventh century C.E.

[349]   The eight bodhisattvas are in order as seen during the *pradakṣiṇa* starting from the main entrance:

Sarvanirvāṇaviṣkambhin	Bodhisattva to Buddha Amoghasiddhi
Maitreya	Bodhisattva to Buddha Amoghasiddhi
Samantabhadra	Bodhisattva to Buddha Vairocana
Kṣitigarbha	Bodhisattva to Buddha Ratnasambhava
Vajrapāni	Bodhisattva to Buddha Akṣobhya
Mañjuśrī	Bodhisattva to Buddha Akṣobhya
Akāśagarbha	Bodhisattva to Buddha Ratnasambhava
Avalokiteśvara	Bodhisattva to Buddha Amitābha

Long, 2011, p. 4.

[350]   Nihom, 1998, pp. 250-251.
Other sources: Hikata, 1965, pp. 14-15; Devi Singal & Chandra, 1995(b), pp.124-125.

eastern and the southwestern sidewalls represent dawn and twilight, respectively. This is illustrated with lotuses (*padma*), which open up during day-time, and blue lotuses (*utpala*), which open only at night. Based on this, some scholars believe that the main female deity on the north-eastern wall may represent bodhisattva Cundā - the prolonger of life and the mother of innumerable Buddhas. One may note, though, that her principal hand-pair is not presented in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in front of her breast and that some items in her hands differ somewhat from what is customary for bodhisattva Cundā. Likewise, the main female deity on the southwestern wall may be bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā or bodhisattva Tārā. As in the case of bodhisattva Cundā, some discrepances are noted with respect to bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā or bodhisattva Tārā regarding the *mudrā* aspect. Noteworthy is, though, that the favourite flower of bodhisattva Tārā - the blue lotus (*utpala*) - is indicated on this large bas-relief (see ***Picture 83***).[351] In summary, uncertainty still prevails as to the specific identity of these two female deities.

Picture 84   The Jewel Tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

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[351]   Long, 2011, p. 5; Long, 2009, pp. 125-149.
    Other sources: Chandra, 2009, p. xxi; Chandra, 1995(e), pp. 34-35; Chihara, 1996, p. 126; Devi Singhal, 1991, 378-379; Woodward, 2004, pp. 337-338.

    See Section 4.2.3.2, Note 839.

The Jewel tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) – representing unprecedented affluence – constitute background illustrations to these deities and elsewhere on the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (see **Picture 84**). This fabulous Jewel tree (*ratna-vṛkṣa*) is a heavenly tree in the *LV* (# 11.2) and in the *Karaṇḍavyūha* (# 17.14). This sign of affluence is common in various Buddhist Pure lands – and may here also be ascribed to the euphoria of wealth accumulated by the Śailendras by means of their transnational trade. The outside of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut is covered by 100 bas-reliefs all-in-all.

The roof of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut is believed to have been built in three levels, decorated with 48 small *stūpas*. The roof ends on top with a platform, which houses a larger *stūpa*. The roof of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut is thus decorated with 49 *stūpas*.[352]

The vestibule to the central cella is on the inside decorated with several bas-reliefs. On each side of the vestibule a Jewel tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) is illustrated with a *kinnara* and a *kinnarī* perching on the branches. Beneath the *ratnavṛkṣa* stand three full treasure pots with stoppers. A couple in royal attire and lotuses[353] in their hands are kneeling (see **Picture 84**).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 85   Goddess Hārītī with her many children

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[352]   Long, 2009, pp. 62-64.

[353]   Could it be *utpalas* (blue lotuses)?

Another bas-relief in the vestibule illustrates the goddess Hārītī with her many children (see *Picture 85*) – the goddess of wealth. Opposite her on the other side of the vestibule is a bas-relief illustrating her husband Pāñcika. These bas-reliefs support the continued wealth and succession of the Śailendras, as well as the continued stabilization of the country.[354]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 86　　　Buddha Mahāvairocana in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

The central cella of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut contains three of the finest Javanese sculptures – all on seats in the form of double-petalled lotuses. These sculptures probably represent Buddha Mahāvairocana[355] in

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[354]　Long, 2009, pp. 49-54.
　　　Other source:　Chandra, 2009, pp. xix-xx.

　　　Reichle means, however, that Pāñcika and Hārītī represent the desire by the monkhood for material wellbeing that enables them to pusue their religious aims in peace.
　　　Reichle, 2016, pp. 226 & 235.

[355]　Buddha Mahāvairocana could here have been presented as Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana). See also *Section 1.4.5, Note 273; Section 5.6.1; Section 5.6.4, Note 1093; Section 5.6.5.*

　　　In the *SHK* in *Section 5.7.2, Note 1107* and in *Appendix II, # 1.4, Note 1321 & 1322,* Buddha Śākyamuni is in this role *not* regarded as the "historical" Buddha Śākyamuni.

dharmacakra-mudrā in the centre (see **Picture 86**), flanked by bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[356] in *varada-mudrā* to the left (see **Picture 87**) and bodhisattva Vajrapāni in *vitarka-mudrā* to the right (see **Picture 88**). Incidently, this positioning corresponds to the design of the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala* in *Shingon* Buddhism (see *Appendix IV, # 8.2*).[357]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint
Picture 87   Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

Whether the central Buddha should be viewed as Buddha Mahā-vairocana or as Buddha Śākyamuni must be assessed based on the

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[356]   Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is in Sanskrit texts also referred to as bodhisattva Padmapāṇi ("Holder of the Lotus") or as bodhisattva Lokeśvara ("Lord of the World").

[357]   The scholars are uncertain, though, as to the exact identity of these three statues.Chandra means that they represent the three deities in the *Ratnatraya* of the *Advayasādhana* (*SHKA*) in the *SHK* – i.e. Buddha Śākyamuni (*Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana) flanked by bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. Given the *bhadrāsana* seating posture of the main Buddha in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, Chandra has since been convinced that this statue represents the future Buddha – bodhisattva Maitreya (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*, the *Ratnatraya*)

Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 412-413 & 416;   Chandra, 2009, pp. xx-xxii. *Other sources*: Chihara, 1996, p. 126;   Long, 2009, pp. 151 & 197.

view of these two Buddhas. We have learned in *Section 1.4.5*, that in the *Mahāyana* soteriology, the main principle was the identity of the *nirmāṇakāya* Buddha with the *saṃbhogakāya* Buddha and with the *dharmakāya* Buddha. In *Mahāyana* Buddhism, Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmadhātu* is in other words identical with *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana (see *Section 5.6.4*). However, in *Shingon* Buddhism the roles were switched. Here Buddha Vairocana was regarded as identical with Buddha Śākyamuni´s *saṃbhogakāya*. But they were nevertheless regarded as identical.[358]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 88   Bodhisattva Vajrapāni at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

In addition, the walls of the central cella have four nisches, in which sculptures of the other four *Tathāgatas* may have been placed.[359] Close

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[358]   See also *Note 355* above.

[359]   However, Chandra presented the idea, that these four nisches contained images of bo-dhisattvas, not of *Tathāgatas*. Groneman and Krom had earlier voiced the idea, that these nisches were built only for the purpose of holding artificial lightening.
Chandra, 2009, pp. xx-xi.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(e), pp. 34-35; Devi Singhal, 1991, pp. 378-379; Long, 2009, pp. xv, 59-60 & 190; Moens, 1951, p. 409.

to the Buddha image there is a small bas-relief depicting the "Wheel of the Dharma between Two Deers" - representing Buddha Śākyamuni´s First Sermon in the Deer Park close to Benares (Vārāṇasī). The representation of this image at the adjacent *vihāra* was illustrated in **Picture 37**. This may imply that the central image would be Buddha Śākyamuni in *dharmadhātu* - identical with the *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana (see *Section 5.6.4*) – which then would conform to the set-up of the *Ratnatraya* of the *SHK* (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*).

The *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) in the *SHK* (see *Appendix II, # 1.2*) presents three groups of *akṣaras* (gates of all *dharmas*) – the 49 *akṣaras* of the full alphabet; the 37 *akṣaras* (32 letters plus 5 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet); and the 100 *akṣaras* (the 25 consonants multiplied by four – i.e. by *a, ā, aṃ* and *aḥ*). By applying these letters on various parts of the body, the body becomes a *stūpa-prāsāda* – or according to the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (the *VAS*), it becomes a *dharma-maṇḍala*. The 37 *akṣaras* may also form a circle, which may be put in motion by meditation.[360] In any event, one may question whether or not it is a coincidence, that the *Caṇḍi* Mendut has **49** *stūpas* on the roof; a band of **37** bas-reliefs along the base of the cella and the vestibule; and a total **100** bas-reliefs on the outside walls.

The three large images in the cella of Buddha Śākyamuni (as *Abhisaṃbuddha* Mahāvairocana), bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi; the empty nisches in the cella walls for the other four *Tathāgatas*; the eight boddhisattvas on the outside; the three large bas-reliefs of the substratum of bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Cundā and Prajñāpāramitā or Tārā; and the 37 bas-reliefs of the "wings to Enlightenment" (*bodhipakṣyadharma*) do all correspond to the Japanese *Shingon* graphic representation of the *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala*. But as we have seen above, the positioning of these three images also corresponds to the design of the *Garbha maṇḍala*.[361]

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[360] *Appendix II, # 1.2*
   Other source: Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 395-402 and Long, 2009, pp. 111-114..

   Chandra has translated *stanza* 48b of the *SHKA* as follows:
   "The above letters, 37 in number, are all *advaya* in essence. They attack *kleśas*. They are configured as a circle. In the body they are the *stūpa*, outside they are the *prāsāda*, in the head of this *stūpa-prāsāda* body is the dwelling of the Supreme Buddha in *samādhi* posture".
   Chandra, 1995(d), p. 401.

[361] See *Section 5.9* and *Appendix IV, # 8.2.*

Picture 89   Preparation for a ceremony in the
            Caṇḍi Mendut

The *Caṇḍi* Mendut continues to this date to be incorporated in the Javanese society and to play an active role in the local society. This is confirmed by the active Buddhist environment around the *Caṇḍi* Mendut exemplified by the monks of the near-by Buddhist *vihāra* and by the scholastic studies that they perform. In addition, various ceremonies are conducted in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, exemplified by the above **Picture 89**.

1.5.2 The *Caṇḍi Pawon*

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 90   The *Caṇḍi* Pawon

The middle structure – the *Caṇḍi* Pawon – lies (according to *Section 1.5.3, Note 375)* some 1,749 meters from the Barabuḍur and some 1,167 meters from the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (see ***Picture 90***). The *Caṇḍi* Pawon is also called the Brajanalan and is often regarded as the "porch-temple" to the Barabuḍur.[362] The *Caṇḍi* Pawon is quite a small temple. Its outer dimensions measure only some 6.2 meters by 6.2 meters. Like the Barabuḍur and the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, the *Caṇḍi* Pawon was also built in accordance with the solar year. Its exterior *pradakṣiṇa* path measures 141.75 *tāla*, which corresponds to the number of days between the two yearly solar zenith passages. Like the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, its entrance phases northwest (287° W).[363]

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[362]   Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 41.
      Other source: Chandra, 1995(e), p. 35.

[363]   See *Section 1.5.1, Note 339*.

Picture 91 Female deity on the outside
wall of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon

The *Caṇḍi* Pawon consists of a single cella, which now is empty. For-merly it housed one central image and two smaller images in singular niches in the side walls. The outer walls of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon are deco-rated with images of bodhisattvas on the side walls and goddesses on the front and back walls (see *Picture 91*). All these figures are depicted in royal attire, with halos and with a lotus in one hand.[364]

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[364] These lotuses are believed to have originally been red or blue in colour. But as some of these lotuses are damaged and as the colour painting has vanished, one may not be abso-lutely certain of their original colour. As indicated in *Section 1.5.1*, the blue lotus (*ut-pala*) represents twilight/night and it mostly represented in an unopen form. The other lotuses (*padma*) are usually represented with open blossoms. In any event, the male is deemed to hold this red or blue lotus in his left hand, and the female in her right hand. In her left hand, the female holds a stem, that ends in **three [lotus] buds** or jewels – an in-dication of bodhisattva Samantabhadra (see *Picture 119 in Section 5.6.1*).
Long, 2009, pp. 76-77.

Picture 92   The Jewel Tree, flower pot and smoke holes at the *Caṇḍi* Pawon

The large panels on the side walls and on the back wall illustrate on their upper section a large vase filled with flowers and flanked on each side by small rectangular openings. There below is illustrated in each bas-relief a beautiful Jewel tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*),[365] covered by a parasol, with filled jewel pots on the ground and flanked by a *kinnarī/kinnara* pair – which is an indication for a Pure land (see *Picture 92*).

Picture 93   The entrance gate of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon

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[365]   The Jewel tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) is decorated with the "Seven Treasures" – see *Section 2.1.2, Note 427*.

On the front side in the NW, a staircase of eleven steps leads the pilgrim to the front entrance (see **Picture 93**). The sidewalls of the staircase are decorated with scenes showing pilgrims paying homage to wishing trees. The railings of the staircase end up in a *makara* head. A *kāla* head frames the entrance with two dwarfs bestowing riches from their treasure sacks on all pilgrims entering the cella.[366] The roof is decorated with four small *stūpas* and one large central *stūpa* (see **Picture 90**). Could these five *stūpas* be an indication of *Pañca-Tathāgata*? The multitude of indications of wealth in the decorations, led van Erp and other scholars to believe that the *Caṇḍi* Pawon was dedicated to Kuvera – the god of wealth. Krom, however disputed this view.[367]

The alternate name for the *Caṇḍi* Pawon – the Brajanalan – is based on the name Vajrānala, who is associated with fire (*anala*). In fact Vajrānala (or Acala) was the presiding deity of *homa* (fire offering). Fire offering rituals have their origins from the *Vedic Soma* sacrifice. Fire offering rituals have in fact been adopted by and become a distinctive characteristic of *Shingon* Buddhism and of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism.[368] In the "mudrās of the four rites" (*Shidōinzu*) of the *Shingon* tradition in Japan, these four rites are:

- The prelimary ceremony of the 18 steps (*jūhachidō*);
- Vajradhātu (Kongōkai);
- Garbhadhātu (Taizōkai); and
- *Homa* to Fudō (Acala).[369]

The word "pawon" means in modern Javanese "kitchen".[370] de Casparis interpreted its original meaning to be "a place where ashes are deposited" – perhaps indicating the "royal cremation". In his view, de Casparis proposed that the alternative name of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon – the Brajanalan – may well signify "the place of the royal fire" (Sanskrit: *rājānala*). In accordance herewith, the *Caṇḍi* Pawon has

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[366] These images are also to be found around the portals of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur (see *Sections 1.4.6 & 5.4.3*).

[367] Long, 2009, pp. 69-80.
Other sources: Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 41; Krom, 1927, p. 19; Voûte, 2006, p. 225.

[368] Long, 2009, p. 233; Snodgrass, 2007, p. 355.

[369] Chandra, 1995(e), p. 36.

[370] de Casparis, 1950, p. 203.
Other source: Long, 2009, p. 69.

narrow openings on the upper part of the body of the building, indicating potential exits for the smoke of the fire rituals (*homa*).[371]

The sacrifice in the fourth rite in the Shingon tradition – the *homa* rite – symbolizes the offering by the Buddhas in the four directions of the Diamond World to Buddha Mahāvairocana, to the six *pāramitā* bodhisattvas and to the four bodhisattvas of Attraction. *Esoteric Buddhism* distinguishes between two *homa* rites – the "principal" interior *homa* (Jap. *nai-goma*) and the "physical" exterior *homa* (Jap. *ge-goma*). The interior *homa* rite is practiced in the mind and symbolizes the Fire of Knowledge that burns away the hindrances to Enlightenment – i.e. burns away the *karma* and the passions. In the external *homa* rite, on the other hand, the *sādhaka* is believed to perform his role by building an altar, by kindling a fire, and by making an offering (i.e. burning milkwood, the five grains, and other materials) to purify the three evils (greed, hatred and delusion). The external *homa* – as having been conducted in the *Chaṇḍi* Pawon – may have been performed with an occasional aim.[372] The cremation of the deceased Śailendra king could have taken place at the *Caṇḍi* Pawon.

We learn from the above, that according to some scholars the *Caṇḍi* Pawon (*Acala*) and the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (*Garbha maṇḍala*) may both be classified as being close to the *caryā tantras*, while the Barabuḍur may be regarded as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, and thus being close to the *yoga tantras*.[373]

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[371]   The Sanskrit word *homa* means "to pour into the fire". In Sino-Japanese, it is usually transliterated as *goma* – one meaning of the character *go* is "to protect" (from the three poisons and from the ten evils); the meaning of the character *ma* is "to clean, to wipe". The *homa* ritual refers thus to the wiping "away of the layers of the sins of *saṃsāra* effected by performing these rituals".
de Casparis, 1950, p. 203.
Other sources: Long, 2009, p. 233;   Snodgrass, 1997, p. 82.

[372]   The six types of *homa* rituals are:
1. The ritual for preventing calamities (*śāntika*);
2. The ritual for increasing benefits (*pāuṣṭika*);
3. The ritual of subjugation (*abhicāraka*);
4. The ritual of hook-summons;
5. The ritual of reverence and love (*vaśīkarana*);
6. The ritual for the prolongation of life.

Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 82-86.

[373]   Of interest may also be the fact, that in the Tibetan tradition, the basic text of the *Garbha maṇḍala* – the *Mahāvairocana Tantra* (Toh. 494) – is in the *Kanjur* immediately followed by the *Acalakalpa* (Toh. 495).
Chandra, 1995(e), p.37.

In addition, the Mendut-Pawon-Barbuḍur complex may also be seen as having been built in order to sanction and stabilize the Śailendra dynasty. This aspect will be further dealt with in the analytical section (see *Section 5.11*).

1.5.3 The Processional Road between the Barabuḍur and the Caṇḍi Mendut

Many scholars have advocated the hypothesis of a Processional Road between the Barabuḍur, the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and – after having crossed the Progo River – the *Caṇḍi* Mendut.

However, both Chihara and Voûte disclaim this theory. They mean that no aerial photographs has shown any traces of the paving of such a road. No traces of any bordering structures have either been found. The lack of any traces are confirmed by terrain investigations. On the contrary, Voûte points out that traces have recently been found of what appears to be the groundplan of a fourth building opposite the *Caṇḍi* Pawon on the other bank of the Progo River close to the Bajong village.[374]

But Long found that from the east entrance of the Barabuḍur (i.e. not from the center of the monument) a line to the center of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut would also pass right over the center of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon, as well as right over the *Caṇḍi* Bajong on the other side of the Progo River.[375] According to Long, this very specific circumstance may suggest that this line indicates the supposed Processional Road that some scholars have assumed the builders were believed to have laid

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[374] Chihara, 1996, pp. 125 & 127.
Other source: Voûte, 2006, p. 225.

[375] Use the Moveable Type Scripts http://www.movable-type.co.uk/scripts/latlong.html Entering the latitude and the longitude for two places, one may calculate the distance between the two places by a mere click on "Calculate Distance". Clicking further on "See it on a Map", one gains access to the relevant Google Maps view.

	Latitude*	Longitude*	Dist. to Barabuḍur
Barabuḍur	7 36 28.3 S	110 12 13.45 E	-
Caṇḍi Pawon	7 36 22.0 S	110 13 10.25 E	1,749 m.
Caṇḍi Mendut	7 36 17.2 S	110 13 48.05 E	2,916 m.

* The latitude and the longitude are denominated in degrees, minutes and seconds)

Long, 2009, pp. 66-67 & 250. See also *Picture 77*.

out for the pilgrims to approach these temples and monuments.[376] As indicated above, there does not exist any concrete evidence supporting this Processional Road.

Long found, as indicated above, that the *centers* of the Barabuḍur→ the *Caṇḍi* Pawon→the *Caṇḍi* Mendut do not in fact lie in a straight line. The azimuth angle between the line connecting the centers of the Barabuḍur and of the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and the line connecting the centers of the Barabuḍur and of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut amounts to 17 minutes of arc. In early April during the construction period of the Barabuḍur (i.e. late eighth to early ninth centuries CE), the sun rose between these two lines extended to the horizon. At this sunrise, the line connecting the centers of the Barabuḍur and of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut was supposed to have hit the zodiac constellation Aries (the Ram). According to the Indian astronomers this was the very point on the sky, where all the planets were supposed to be in alignment at the start of each and every "World Age".[377]

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[376]   Long, 2009, pp. 66-69.
        Other source: Krom, 1927, p. 15.

[377]   Voûte, 2006, pp. 245-246.

2 Background - Trade Relations and Historical Aspects

2.1 Trade Relations

2.1.1 Trade Historical background

During the period ***500-200 BCE*** an increased trading activity seemed to have occurred in the maritime regions of the Strait of Malacca and of the Java Sea.[378] The trade activities developed as the engine of the economic development – complementing the dominating agricultural base. None of the involved countries in Southeast Asia were particularly strong or dominating. Trade was conducted by Malayans and by Indonesians over substantial distances (see ***Picture 94***).[379] Due to the vertical ascension and descension of some of the stars on the night sky in the tropics near the equator, the tropical seafarers were able to develop navigation by means of the stars long before the Europeans. The tropical seafarers were thus in this manner able to navigate and trade in tropical waters over almost 60% of the globe (from Madagascar in the west to the islands of South Pacific in the east).[380] The exchange of merchandise was coupled with exchange of ideas and information. The main trading commodities were minerals, spices, medical plants, sandal wood, etc. Luxury goods (glass & stone pearls from India, Sa-Huynh-Kalanay ceramics from Vietnam and Dongson ceremony bronze drums from northern Vietnam) were traded in order to still the needs of the local elites.[381] The Chinese

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[378]   Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 251.

[379]   Schaffer, 1996, pp. 11-12.

[380]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 9.

[381]   Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 277-278.
        Other source: Legge, 1999, p. 3; Ray, 2001, pp. 408-409; Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 10-11.

annals mention the visits by the Malayans from the Kunlun[382] islands in the south.[383]

Source: Schaffer, 1996, p. 6

Picture 94   Southeast Asia superimposed on Europe.

During the period ***200 BCE-300 CE*** the structure of the trade changed. Vietnam was invaded and incorporated in the Chinese Han empire, with negative implications for the exports of bronze wares from Vietnam. India was affected by the Roman demand for luxury wares, such as silk, which had to be imported from China.[384] The travels on the "Silk Road" from Chang´an in China, around the Taklamakan desert, to the various ports of the Mediteranean Sea took more than a year. These travels would not have been possible without the various "connecting points" such as Merv, Kashgar, Kucha, Turfan and Dunhuang.[385] Buddhism became the predominant religion among traders and artisans.[386]

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[382]   Kunlun is in Chinese *Kūnlún* 昆仑
      According to Sarkar *Kunlun* means *Kaliṅga*.
      Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 251.
      Kūnlún 昆仑 also represents the mythological mountain of Chinese belief.

[383]   Hall, 1995, p. 9.

[384]   Wisseman Christie, 1995, pp. 251-252 & 278-279.

[385]   Hattori, 2000, pp. 20-21.

[386]   Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 252.

Around the first century CE, a Central Asian people – the Yuezhi – conquered the land areas along the "Silk Road" and established eventually the Kuṣāṇa kingdom. This political unrest along the Silk Road led to the start-up of maritime trade between southern China and India via present Vietnam (Linyi[387] and Funan[388]).[389] From Funan[390] on the southern Mekong delta the route continued to India via the Kra Peninsula.[391] The maritime trade changed character during this period from prestige goods, to goods of a more general nature (provisions, metals, textiles, etc.).[392] According to the Chinese annals, the ships from Kunlun were about 50 meters long, built according to the "lashed-lug" technique and able to carry several hundred persons.[393]

Naturally, the overland and the maritime Silk Roads were fundamentally interlinked and complementary. Present academic research indicate, however, that the maritime Silk Road became dominant in the transfer of Buddhist tenent and monks from the early centuries of the first millenium CE.[394]

From India, ships started to cross the Bay of Bengal along the 10° Channel[395] for the Kra Peninsula (Khuan Lukpad), where the cargo was transhipped over land to Khao Sam Kaeo and reloaded for shipment to Funan (Óc-eo).[396] Here the ships had to await the change in the trade winds to a proper southwest direction, at which time the ships set sails again for the southern Chinese coast – sometimes via Linyi (pre-Champa). The reverse order prevailed for the trade between China and India.

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[387] *Línyì* 林邑

[388] *Fūnán* 府南

[389] Hall, 1985, p. 38.

[390] Funan is regarded as the first "state" in Southeast Asia. The name of Funan is said to derive from the khmer word "*phnom*" or *"bnam"*, which means "mountain". Their kings are called *kurung bnam* ("Kings of the Mountain"). However, translated from Chinese, "Fu-nan" could mean "the Capital in the South" - *Fūnán* 府南. Originally Buddhist, Funan became Hindu during the fifth century CE. See *Section 2.3.2, Note 497*.

[391] Schaffer, 1996, pp. 18-20.

[392] Ray, 2001, pp. 411-413;   Ray, 1994, p. 97.

[393] Ray, 1994, pp. 119-120.

[394] Acri, 2019, p. 50.

[395] Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 247.

[396] Ray, 1994, pp. 104-107.

Due to the trade winds, a return trip from India to China and back to India could not be conducted within a single year. As the ships at that time were incapable of sailing windward (i.e. to tack), they had thus to stop over in Funan - as well as in Canton - awaiting favourable "open" trade winds (as the ships could only sail in a following wind). As it could take up to six months for the trade winds to alter to the proper direction, the crews were land-locked for up to half a year at a time and had to be housed and fed (see *Picture 95*). This proved no problem in Canton.[397] Neither was it of any problem in Funan, with its abundance of land, as well as rice from the paddy fields in the lower Mekong delta. Based on these facts of nature, Funan developed into a rich and important trading centre during the second and third centuries CE and reached its apex in the fourth century CE. [398] Meanwhile during the second and third centuries CE another trade route developed in the Java Sea with Koying on southern Sumatra as a centre. In addition, goods were also transported from Koying to Funan in order to connect with the established international trade routes.[399]

An embassy from Yediebo (Yavadvīpa which is Sanskrit for Java) visited China already in 132 CE according to the Chinese annals.[400]
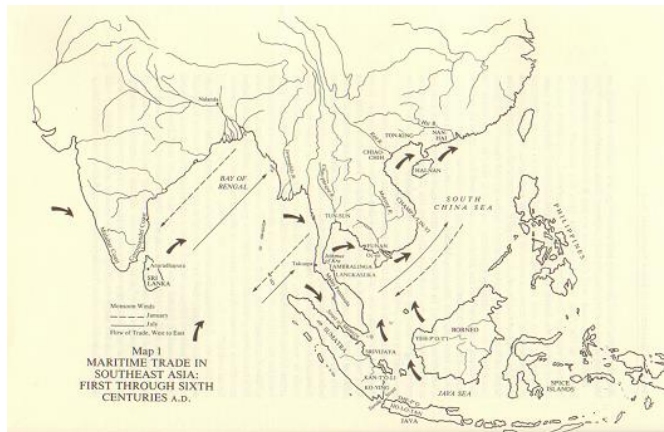
Source: Hall, 1985, p. 6

Picture 95 Maritime trade in Southeast Asia: 1st – 6th centuries CE

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[397] *Guāngzhōu* 广州

[398] Hall, 1999, pp. 192-194;

[399] Hall, 1985, p. 21.

[400] Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 201.

During the period ***300-600 CE*** the influences from India increased in Southeast Asia. This was due to several reasons, such as the increased demand from India of new products and new sources of supply. The trade with the crumbling Roman Empire decreased and was disrupted. Buddhism as a religion came to dominate in the region and among the traders. After the collapse of Western Chin (265-316 CE), the demand from China was temporarily circumscribed. The Malayans came to dominate the trade between Southeast Asia and China and started during the fourth century to sail through the Strait of Malacca – thus bypassing Funan on their way to Canton.[401] They may have made stop-overs in harbours in Borneo or in Linyi (pre-Champa) on the east coast of current Vietnam.[402] Buddha statues reflecting a style of the prototype found in Amarāvatī (Āndhra Pradesh) were found in Dongduong on the coast of central Vietnam. But these statues were probably manufactured in Anurādhapura on Śrī Laṅkā and dated to the fourth and the sixth centuries CE.[403] The pressure on Funan from the rising Champa kingdom increased over time and resulted in a dynastic crises during the fifth century CE.[404] During the sixth century CE the history of Funan was finished.[405]

The Pallava dynasty (330-880 CE) in India came to power during the fourth century CE and seems to have taken over the trade with Southeast Asia from the Īkṣvāku dynasty of the Kṛṣṇa Valley. The sea routes obtained a further stimulation because of the political unrest along the "Silk Road" during the Northern Wei dynasty in the fourth-fifth centuries CE. The maritime trade with China was also facilitated by the two Buddhist dynasties in the south – Liu Song[406] (420-479 CE) and Nan Qi[407] (479-502 CE). Buddhism (and to some extent Jainism)

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[401]   Hall, 1985, pp. 39 & 42.

[402]   *Yèpótí* 耶婆提

[403]   de Casparis & Mabbett, 1999, p. 291.

[404]   Hall, 1985, pp. 69-75.

[405]   William McNeill (*Plagues and Peoples*, 1976) proposes that the plague, which at this time (541~700 CE) ravaged in the Mediterranean countries, had originally come from India. Schaffer leads on from there and proposes that the plague may also have been spread from India to Funan. If so, the plague may be a further reason for the fall of Funan. But where is the documentation substantiating this proposal?   .
Schaffer, 1996, p. 35.

[406]   *Liú Sòng* 刘宋

[407]   *Nán Qí* 南齐

dominated among the traders. They legitimized their activities by performing Hindu rites and extending gifts to the *brahmans*.

The inscriptions on gold plates from Maungun near Prome (Myanmar) are datable to the seventh century CE. These Pāli inscriptions constitute the first evidence of *Theravāda* Buddhism in Southeast Asia. However, the art in Pyu (Myanmar) seems to indicate - with its statues of different bodhisattvas (like Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya) and Buddhas (like Dīpaṅkara) - that *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism in those early days existed in Myanmar side-by-side with *Mahāyāna* Buddhism – as was also the case in the rest of Southeast Asia.[408] The trading avenues were instrumental in transferring the Buddhist tenet to China and to Southeast Asia (see *Sections 2.1.2 & 4.1*).[409] During the early fifth century CE south Sumatra grew further into a "favoured coast line" in the Strait of Malacca.[410] Kantoli took over as a trading centre from Koying in south Sumatra, strengthened by the spice trade over the Java Sea.[411] Kantoli sent several embassies with tributes to the Chinese emperor during the period of 441-563 CE.[412]

The earliest inscriptions on Java are five inscriptions from the fifth century CE. They were written in Sanskrit in Pallava script. They seem all to have been written by king Pūrṇavarman of the Tārumā-nagara Hindu-Buddhist kingdom on northwestern Java,[413] from where trade seems to have been conducted during the previous centuries.[414] King Pūrṇavarman compared himself in Sanskrit inscrip-

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[408]   de Casparis & Mabbett, 1999, p. 293.

[409]   Bosch, 1961(b), p. 12.

[410]   Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 253.

[411]   The main spices were clove, nutmeg and mace.
    Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 259.

[412]   Hall, 1995, pp. 39-41 (For subsequent embassies to China, see *Section 2.3.2, Note 517*)

[413]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 13.

[414]   Very little is known of the Hindu-Buddhist realm on northwestern Java prior to the seventh century CE. Earlier, scholars believed that the Tārumānagara kingdom was Vedic. But the excavations at the Batujaya site in Karawang regency in 2003, proved that this large Batujaya complex (5 square kilometers in total) was built in the fifth and the sixth centuries. The numerous votive tablets (clay pieces with inscriptions and Buddha pictures – used in prayers) and votive *stūpas* found on the site, indicate the Buddhist background of the Batujaya complex. The *Pañca-Tathāgata* temple in this temple complex was probably originally built in the form of a *stūpa*, as early as the second to the fourth centuries CE.

tions in Pallava script with the Hindu god Viṣṇu.[415] Tārumānagara (*Dharma* city) was part of a larger cultural sphere, encompassing western Java and southern Sumatra – the so called Sundanese area.[416]

The Chinese annals mention that Chinese travellers on their journeys to Funan during the third century CE visited Sitiao on central Java. During the fifth century CE they frequented Heling[417] – a harbour on the north coast of central Java – and Holotan in the delta of the Tārum river (close to present day Jakarta).[418] Heling took in fact over the trading activities from western Java (Banda).[419] In his research, Wheatley found that there was a three year interuption of annual Malay state tribute missions to China in 537-539 CE. This coincides with the sudden fall of the Tārumānagara. It could very well have been caused by an immense volcanic eruption on an island in the Sunda Strait in 535-536 CE. Such an immense *plinian*[420] coupled with the ensuing *tsunami*

The Hindu temple - *Caṇḍi* Cangkuang - discovered in 2002 at Bojongmenje, Cangkuang Rancaekeke southeast of Bandung on western Java, was probably built around the sixth to the seventh centuries CE. In other words, it may have been instrumental in closing the gap to the construction of the Hindu temple area on the Dièng plateau.
Voûte, 2006, pp. 214-217.

[415]　Maxwell, 2007, pp. 79-80.

Pūrṇavarman´s footprints (indicating the footprints of Viṣṇu) and the footprints of Pūrṇavarman´s war elephant (alluding to Indra´s elephant) were illustrated in these inscriptions.
Wisseman Christie, 1995, pp. 257-259.

[416]　Voûte, 2006, p. 216.

[417]　Heling has generally been admitted to be the Chinese transcription (Ko-ling) for Kaliṅga – the region of Kaliṅga south of the valley of the river Kṛṣṇā in India. However, both Chandra and Iwamoto disputes this, as it was denoted "Po-ling" in the biography of the monk Jñānabhadra compiled in 988 CE.
Chandra, 1995(b), p. 209 & Iwamoto, 1981, p. 85.

In Chinese *Hēlíng* 河陵 (Buddhist Java).

[418]　Hall. 1999, pp. 202-203.

[419]　In the seventh century, Heling sent three missions to the Chinese emperor – the first mission in 640 CE. In the eighth and ninth centuries, this was followed up with further seven missions (see *Section 2.3.2, Note 517*).

Chandra, 1995(b), p. 209.
Other source:　Wolters, 1967, p. 214.

Heling should also according to Wolters have sent tribute missions to the Chinese emperor in 666-669 CE, while Chihara believes that it was Tārumā.
Chihara, 1996, p. 86 & Wolters, 1986, p. 34.

[420]　*Plinian* is a geological technical term describing eruptions during which magmatic gases and fragmented magma are released from a vent at high velocity.

would indeed have been devastating. It was recorded in the Chinese "History of the Southern Dynasties".[421]

During the period ***600-1000 CE*** small states in Southeast Asia were absorbed into larger and more complex units. The history of Funan was finished during the sixth century CE. The trade routes between India and China now passed through the Strait of Malacca. Heling came under the influence of Śrīvijaya during the late seventh century CE and developed into an important Buddhist center.[422] From the middle of the eighth century CE Arab merchants had made entry on the sea trade from the Middle East to China (see *Section 4.1*).

The trading harbours during the Central Java Period (570-927 CE) were in particular Bergota (close to Semarang) and Medang Kemulan at the estuary of the Lusi River – both on the central north coast of Java. The Gedong Songo temple complex on the east slope of the Ungaran mountain lies close to Bergota and is also dated from the eighth century CE.[423] The "Nine Temples" at the *Caṇḍi* Gedong Songo on Mount Ungaran and the temples on the Dièng plateau are both indications of a Javanese civilization having struck roots there during the eighth century CE – based on Śaiva influences.[424]

By and large, the historical development on Java is usually presented in three distinct periods, with the first two periods overlapping; viz.

c:a 400-700 CE	the early period (Tārumānagara, Heling, etc.);
c:a 570-927 CE	the Central Java Period (Matarām, Śailendra and Sañjaya);
928-c:a 1500 CE	the East Java Period (East Java, Singasari, Majapahit)[425]

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[421]   Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 14-18.
       Other sources: Voûte, 2006, pp. 217-221;   Wheatley, 1961, p. 118.

[422]   Wisseman Christie, 1995, pp. 263 & 272-274.

[423]   Voûte, 2000, pp. 327-331.

[424]   More specifically, Chihara means that the temples of the Dièng plateau had as their prototypes the Pañcaratha of the Mahābalipuram. The Pañcaratha – considered to have been founded in 630-680 CE – had in their structural details clearly preserved traces of techniques used in timber construction. But as the temples on the Dièng plateau have no traces of any such techniques of timber construction, Chihara dates them half a century after the Pañcaratha – i.e. to around 680-780 CE (see also *Note 438* below). Chihara, 1996, p. 110.

[425]   Kinney, Klokke & Kieven, 2003, p. 21.

2.1.2 Buddhism & Trade

According to Liu, trade between India and China during the period 1-600 CE was to a large extent based on a self-created demand,[426] in addition to the convential staple products. This self-created demand took the form of luxury goods and of the Buddhist "Seven Treasures".[427] Buddhism developed into an essential basis for trade. But on the other hand, trade was also fundamental for the spread of Buddhism in China and Southeast Asia (see *Sections 2.1 & 4.1*)[428]

That Buddhism and trade developed into such symbiotic roles, may be ascribed to a few facts, such as:
- Buddhism was the only religion at that time, which organized itself in the form of a *saṅgha*;
- By organizing the *uposatha* ceremony every fortnight, a relationship was formed between the laymen and the *saṅgha*, at the same time as the laymen were led to accept the moral "eight precepts";[429]
- Buddhist *vihāras* were established on strategic places along the trade routes and, where they could furnish information, as well as specialist services (writing, etc.). The *saṅgha* would also here support the "trade diaspora", by supplying such vital services as storage facilities, credits, etc.;
- The meaning of *dāna* was altered from "gift" to "recompense", as it increased the status of the donating layman;[430]

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[426] Liu, 1988, pp. 178-180.

[427] The "Seven Treasures" expressed originally the Buddhist view of the seven components of the early **state** – *cakra* (the wheel/government), *hastin* (the elephant/monarch), *aśva* (the horse/monarch), *mani* (the jewel), *stri* (the queen), *gahapati* (the treasurer) and *pariṇāyaka* (the minister). Later on these "Seven Treasures" started to symbolize the best **substances** in this and in other worlds. They were represented as decorations in various Pure Lands and in various heavens (like the Treasure Trees decorated with the Seven Treasures). According to the *Mahāvastu* the "Seven Treasures" became *suvaṇa* (gold), *rūpya* (silver), *vaiḍūryā* (lapis lazuli), *sphāṭika* (crystal), *muktā* (pearl), *lohitikā* (red corall) and *musāragalva* (agate).
Liu, 1988, pp. 92-102.

[428] Bosch, 1961(b), p. 12.

[429] Dutt, 1962, p. 104.

[430] The non-canonical texts extended over time the element of "recompense" of the *dāna* also to include deliverance from old age and *saṁsāra* (the *Milindapañha*, 41 dilemma). The *Mahāsaṅghika* developed this train of thought further also to encompass wealth and even equality with the gods, if one arranged for a *stūpa* to be built (the *Mahāvastu* II:363-397)
Ray, 1994, p. 128.

- Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara developed into the patron saint of the seafarers and of the travelling traders.[431]

As earlier indicated, Buddhism was developed during a rather transforming phase in the history of India – i.e. when the urban centres were developed and when the trade routes on land and at sea expanded (see *Section 2.1.1*). In fact, this state of affairs benefitted the further development of Buddhism. Around half of the members of the early *saṅgha* came from the dominating castes and from the rich families.[432]

In retrospect, it would seem that the Buddhists made two main errors, that over time may have weakened their position; viz.

i. the Buddhists did not from the outset develop ritual ceremonies to match those of the *bhakti* movement of the Hindus; and

ii. within the Buddhist *saṅgha* there seemed to have grown successively over time an attitude away from the laymen (reflecting the success of the *saṅgha* in its expansion into central Asia, Śrī Laṅkā, as well as all over the Indian subcontinent).

This lead to the fact that the *Pāśupata* Śaiva tradition started to take over the channels of communications on the Deccan along the trading routes from around the third-fourth centuries CE. Hinduism revived in India during the Gupta dynasty (320-550 CE), which also stimulated the interest for Śaivism.[433] This was the time when temples dedicated to Śiva started to be constructed in Southeast Asia. The Buddha was from this time regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. During the fourth century CE, Śaivism dominated in the various capitals of the lower Mekong delta.

The success of Śaivism was, according to Sanderson, primarily the fact that Śaiva *gurus* were holding the position of royal preceptor (*rājaguruḥ*). In this position the Śaiva *guru* could empower and legitimate the ruling monarch by granting him Śaiva initiation. The

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[431]   Liu, 1988, pp. 174-182.
       Other source: Acri, 2016(a), p. 10.

[432]   Ray, 1994, pp. 8 & 124.
       Other source: Assavavirulhakarn, 2010, pp. 185-186.

[433]   Hall, 1995, p. 21.
       Other source: Ray, 1994, pp. 9-10.

king then was incorporated as a third kind of Śaiva initiate between the *sādhaka* – a specialist in *mantra* rituals – and the *guru*. While the latter two were consecrated for pure Śaiva functions, the monarch was consecrated to take up office as the "head of [the brahmanical social order of] the caste-classes and the religious disciplines" (*varṇā-śramaguruḥ*).[434]

Although the monarch seemed to accept the role as guardian of the Brahmanic order, their personal religious commitment generally centered around Buddhism or other religions. In addition to spreading the monarchical model of government, Śaivism also promoted the land-owning temples, the proliferation of new urban centers, the expansion of the agrarian base and the assimilation of the population from all four caste-classes (*varṇa*). These aspects were, according to Sanderson, the main reasons for the success of Śaivism during the early medieval time.[435]

Therefore, one should not be surprised to find Buddhist monks and Śaiva *gurus* represented at the royal courts simultaneously – the Buddhist monks devoting themselves primarily to the philosophical matters of religion, while the *brahmans* (the Śaiva *gurus*) were primarily in charge of the rituals and the various ceremonies. It was not until the development of *Vajrayāna* – inter alia as a result of Śaiva influences on *Mahāyāna* – that the Buddhist monks could compete with the *brahmans* also in matters of physical rituals and ceremonies. Although the above reasoning primarily pertains to the Indian sub-continent, the question arises to what extent it would also be applicable on Sumatra and Java.

It may also be of interest to mention, that the religions came to assume ***political interests*** from the royal families. In order to strengthen his own position, the Chinese emperor – as an example - sent various monks abroad in order for them to return with copies of texts from the latest development of various religions (see *Section 5.2.2*).

The Buddhagupta inscription and other remains in Kĕdah indicate that Buddhism was well integrated in the Malay culture long before

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[434]   Sanderson, 2009, pp. 254-255.

[435]   Sanderson, 2009, pp. 252-301.

Śrīvijaya was established. In fact, recent archaeological data indicate that Buddhism was more popular than Hinduism on Sumatra and on the Malay Peninsula during the Classical period (4th-14th century CE). Although Śrīvijaya may not be regarded as the wellspring of Buddhism in the Malay culture, it may nevertheless be regarded as a fertile ground for the subsequent development of *esoteric* Buddhism. The recently found several icons (including *vajras*) substantiate this matter. The Sumatran Buddhism was thus **not** a mere copy of Buddhism from Pāla and other Indian forms – it was in fact a local product.[436]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 96   Puntadewa temple on the Dièng plateau

In the Indianized states on northern Java, there are no archaeological remains of temples prior to the fifth century CE. The early temple complexes of central Java – the Dièng plateau and the Gedong Songo group – are entirely Śaiva (see *Picture 96*)[437]. The temple complexes

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[436]   Miksic, 2016, pp.253-260.
      Other Source: Skilling, 2007, p. 97.

[437]   Voûte, 1973, p.114.

on the Dièng plateau (Place of the Ancestors) are dated to the eighth century CE (i.e. around 680-780 CE). [438] Their prototypes were, according to Chihara and Voûte, the Pañcaratha temples of Mahābalipuram in South India, constructed during the Pallava dynasty. [439] The temple complex on the Dièng plateau was named after some of the Pāṇḍava heros of the Mahābhārata. [440] However, these names seems to have been given to them centuries after the constructions of the temples. [441] The exception is the *Caṇḍi* Bhīma – built during the later Dièng period of ±730-780 CE (see *Picture 97*)– and with an architectural model supposed to be found in Bhubaneswar, Orissa. [442] The Gedong Songo Group on Mount Ungaran on northern Java, close to the Matarām harbour of Bergota (near Semarang), was dated by Chihara also to the later Dièng period. [443]

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[438]   Chihara dates them to ±680-780 CE. Voûte dates them from the late seventh century to 730 CE. Williams dates them to 730-765 CE. Dumarçay dates them in two distict periods - the *Caṇḍi* Arjuna, the *Caṇḍi* Semar , the *Caṇḍi* Srikandi and the *Caṇḍi* Gatokaca to have been built during the period late seventh century to 730 CE and the *Caṇḍi* Puntadeva, the *Caṇḍi* Sembrodo and the *Caṇḍi* Bhīma to have been built during the period 730-780 CE.
Chihara, 1996, pp. 110-112;   Dumarçay, 1986, pp. 9-14;   Voûte, 2006, p. 222 & 2000, p. 304;   Williams, 1981, p. 39.

Sundberg seems to question a dating to the late seventh century CE, as this is evidenced only by a brief inscription in allegedly Pallava script. This script is dated to around 650 CE. But this metal inscription has not been seen for many years.
Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 101-102.

[439]   Chihara, 1996, pp. 110;   Voûte, 2000, p. 304.

[440]   Some of the temples on the Dièng Plateau were named after some of the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Indian epic Mahābhārata - Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna. However, the youngest brothers - Nakula and Sahadeva - were not endowed with a separate temple in the Arjuna complex. Bhīma and his Pāṇḍava brothers are the "protectors and preservers of society".
Geertz, 1960, pp. 269-275.

[441]   Hall, 1995, p. 63.

[442]   Dumarçay, 1986, p. 16.

[443]   Chihara, 1996, pp. 110-112.

Picture 97   The Bhīma temple on the Dièng plateau

To be noted is thus that by the sixth century CE certain forms of craftsmanship with origin in India (brick fabrication, masonry, pearl fabrication, writing, etc.) started to be seen in Southeast Asia. This transferral of know-how is nothing that individual *brahmans* may take credit for. On the contrary, it is probably the results of collective efforts on part of traders, missionaries and specialists, who had arrived from India via the maritime routes.[444] Based on the importance that Buddhism obviously played for the merchant network, it would not be deemed as too farfetched to conclude that the merchant network played an important role in the spread of Buddhism in Southeast Asia and in east Asia (see *Section 4.1*).

In conclusion, the maritime contacts between India, Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia were in full swing by around the sixth century CE and brought with it a considerable cultural luggage.[445]

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[444]   Ray, 1994, p. 160.

[445]   Ray, 1994, p. 200.

2.2 The Śrīvijaya maritime imperium (c. 600-1200 CE)

As we shall see in the following, Śrīvijaya played a fundamental role for the developments on Java during the Śailendra dynasty. Some comments may be appropriate, therefore, regarding the Śrīvijaya maritime imperium.

Śrīvijaya[446] was established in the present day Palembang area on southern Sumatra as a trading station. International trade had already been conducted from this region during the preceding two hundreds years.[447] With the weakening and the ensuing fall of Funan in the Mekong delta, Kantoli on the southern coast of Sumatra established direct sealinks with China during the fifth century CE. Prior thereto, trade from Kantoli had been conducted with India and Śrī Laṅkā. The rapid emergence on the scene of Śrīvijaya may, according to Voûte, be ascribed to the eruption in 535-536 CE of a submarine volcano in the Sunda Strait.[448] Śrīvijaya sent several tribute missions to the emperor in China during the period 670-742 CE and between 960 and the latter part of the eleventh century CE.[449] Our knowledge about Śrīvijaya is based primarily on Chinese sources and on a few inscriptions in southeast Sumatra. Śrīvijaya is called *Shilifoqi*[450] in the Chinese annals. The founder of Śrīvijaya was mentioned for the first

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[446] According to Schaffer, "Śrīvijaya" is Sanskrit and would mean "Large victory". Schaffer, 1996, p. 38.

In a philological sense, "Śrīvijaya" could also be interpreted as "Important victory" or as "Sacred victory".

[447] Some scholars believe that there existed a powerful Sumatran empire – Zābag – controlling both sides of the Malaccan Straits. Śrīvijaya should have been a vasall state to Zābag. Majumdar was of the opinion that Zābag was situated at Chaiya close to Ligor on the Malacca peninsula. Other scholars meant that Zābag was another name for Java. Wolters, 1979, pp. 7-8.

[448] See *Section 2.1.1, Note 420*.

[449] Wolters, 1979, pp. 14-15.

See *Section 2.3.2, Note 517*.

It is notable that Śrīvijaya´s tribute missions to China stopped in 742 CE in connection with the coming into power of the Śailendras on central Java. Soeleiman, 1981, p. 79.

[450] *Shìlìfóqí* in *pinyin* 室利佛齐
Shih-li-fo-chî in Wade-Giles as transcribed in Chinese from the Sanskrit *Śrīvijaya*.
Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. xvii & 1.

time in an inscription from 683 CE (in old Malay – not Sanskrit - and with a South Indian script), when he led an army unit of some 20.000 men against his archrival – the Jambi-Malāyu settlement further north of Śrīvijaya. Śrīvijaya came to dominate the Strait of Malacca, including the trading centre Ligor on the east coast of the Malay peninsula.[451]

Śrīvijaya was in fact composed of three different parts: (i) the city-like centre, which was reigned by the king personally; (ii) the upland of the Musi river valley, which was ruled by means of profit-sharing[452] and by oaths[453] as to obedience and loyalty to the king; and (iii) the dominance of the harbours of the rival cities and thereby indirectly also of their respective uplands.[454] Some scholars see Śrīvijaya as a loose association of trading posts.[455] This rather flexible form of organization was probably one of the reasons for the long duration of the trade dominance of Śrīvijaya.[456]

The upland of Śrīvijaya was rather fertile, but the yield from these farmlands was by far not enough for the provisions necessary to feed all the seamen during their half yearly stays in Śrīvijaya awaiting the trade winds to change to an appropriate direction. Śrīvijaya was dependent, therefore, on imports of rice from Java. The Matarām

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[451] Hall, 1995, pp. 47-49.

[452] The loyalty to the king remained intact as long as the profits continued to "roll in" and the "profit sharing" system was effective. But when times became harsher, the loyalty was called into question and the population then returned to piracy. In addition, the essence of the Śrīvijaya society was centered in the royal *kraton*. In case the *kraton* would be conquered, the society would fall like a house of cards. This was in fact what happened in 1025 CE as a result of the attack by the Cola king.
Hall, 1985, pp. 101-103.

But what finally ended the dominance of Śrīvijaya, was the presence in the Malacca Strait of the Chinese. See the end of this *Section 2.2*.

[453] The oath took the form of the "water oath". While giving the oath, the subject drank the amassed water, that had been poured over the head of the *nāga*. The resemblance of these rites with the *esoteric* initiation rites in form of the "water oath" in the *ācāryābhiṣeka* ritual of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (*SHKM*) is apparent (see *Appendix II, # 1.1*). In fact Kenneth Hall is of the opinion that this is an indication of *esoteric* belief in Śrīvijaya.
Hall, 1985, pp. 81-90.

[454] Schaffer, 1996, pp. 46-48.
Other source: Hall, 1999, pp. 197-202.

[455] Mabbett, 1977, p. 154.

[456] Wisseman Christie, 1995, pp. 264-268.

kingdom of central Java (for some time under the reign of the Śailendras) was on its part dependent on Śrīvijaya for trade aspects,[457] as their own trading station in Heling had been outcompeted by Śrīvijaya.[458] This was the background to the symbiotic relationship between the Śailendras of Java and Śrīvijaya on Sumatra.[459]

The Śrīvijayan king called himself, therefore, the "Lord of the Mountain"[460] – an epithet that we will come across again with the Śailendra[461] dynasty on Java (the "Lord of the Hill"), as well as with the kings of Funan (*kurung bnam* - "King of the Mountain").[462]

On the basis hereof, Cœdès proposed a historical connection between the kingdoms of Funan and Śailendra.[463] Chandra[464], Sastri and Sarkar[465] are all in agreement that this epitet the "Lord of the Hill" should derive its origin from the Āndhra Pradesh region in south India – namely from the mountain range locality of Śrīśailam. Zakharov means, however, with reference to Mount Meru, that the use of the epithet of "Lord of the Hill" by the Śailendras was to increase their power and to claim leadership in a symbolic universe.[466] The Barabuḍur should be viewed in this manner.

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[457] The ships portrayed on the relief panels of the Barabuḍur may very likely represent Śrīvijayan vessels of an ocean-going type (see *Picture 98*).
Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 254.

[458] However, Iwamoto states the opposite view – namely that Śrīvijaya had several colonies on the north coast of Java. The *esoteric* form of Buddhism should already then have been prevalent in these colonies. These colonies should later on have been denominated Heling. [Iwamoto went on from there and stated wrongly, that Heling during the middle of the eighth century CE should have got momentum and conquered Śrīvijaya on Sumatra and Matarām on Java.]
Iwamoto, 1981, pp. 87-88.

[459] See the aspect of the "Double kingdom" in *Sections 2.3.2 & 5.10.2*.

[460] Hall, 1999, pp. 197-198.

[461] In Sanskrit, "saila" means inter alia "mountain" or "cliff".

[462] Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 26.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1950, pp. 169-175 & 202-203; Wolters, 1979, pp. 7-8.
See *Section 2.1.1, Note 390 & Section 2.3.2, Note 497*.

[463] Cœdès, 1964, p. 74; Cœdès, 1934, p. 70.

[464] Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 205-207.

[465] Sarkar, 1985(a), pp. 326-330.
Other source: Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 210-212.

[466] Zakharov, 2012, p. 26.

Śrīvijaya was from early times a centre dominated by *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. According to recent research, Sumatra and Śrīvijaya was in the seventh century CE also a fertile ground for *Mantranaya* Buddhism.[467] Although the Śrīvijaya empire may not present any monuments comparable to the Barabuḍur or the Angkor Wat, it nevertheless maintained during four centuries a university of great reputation – almost rivalling the university at Nālandā.[468] Yijing lived in Śrīvijaya during 671-672 CE and from the latter half of the 680s to 695 CE.[469] Yijing translated in Śrīvijaya several Sanskrit texts to Chinese.[470] Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra are said to have met in Śrīvijaya in 719 CE before leaving for China.[471] Atiśa studied in Śrīvijaya under Dharmakīrti during the period 1011-1023 CE, prior to going to Tibet and reforming the Tibetan form of Buddhism in 1042 CE.[472]

Stutterheim was of the opinion that the Śailendras were of Javanese origin and that they conquered Śrīvijaya during the mid-eighth century CE. This theory would be in conformity with the sudden intermission of Śrīvijaya´s embassies to China, referred to above.[473] But Stutterheim´s theory lacks profound data supporting this theory.[474] However, Jordaan and Colless concluded in their substantial study of the Śailendras and Śrīvijaya, that Śrīvijaya was an "allied kingdom of the Śailendras, who were the true 'great kings' (*mahārāja*) of the Malay-Indonesian archipelago".[475] They meant that the relations between Sumatra and Java were in "symbiosis". Jordaan and Colless translated the term *Śrīvijayendrarāja* on the Ligor stele of 775 CE as "King over the lords of Śrivijaya" – meaning that the Śailendras were "King of kings". It should thus have been Rakai Paṇaṃkaraṇa, who raided the Thai-Malay Peninsula and took control over Śrīvijaya. He was the Śailendra king mentioned on the Ligor stele of

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[467]   Woodward, 2004, p. 336.

[468]   Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 253.

[469]   Wolters, 1986, pp. 1-5.

[470]   Soekmono, 1956, p. 97.

[471]   Lancaster, 1981, p. 196.

[472]   Hall, 1995, p. 67.
        Other source: Snellgrove, 2002, p. 45.

[473]   See *Section 2.2 above, Note 449*.

[474]   Zakharov, 2012, pp. 20-21.

[475]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. x.

775 CE.[476] Jordaan and Colless herewith explained the temporary cessation of Śrīvijaya´s embassies to China.[477] The dual inter-relationship between Śrīvijaya (the wealth accumulator by means of trade) and Java (the political centre and the rice producer) will be further discussed in *Section 5.10*.

Picture 98   Javanese commercial vessel presented on the Barabuḍur

After the formal expulsion of *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra from Java in 854 CE, he became king in Śrīvijaya and head of the Three Vijaya (*Sanfoqi*).[478] The Chinese called it *Sanfoqi*, as it entailed the tripartite coalition of Kĕdah, Jambi and Palembang.[479]

On eastern Java strong trading stations developed around the Brantes river (see *Section 2.1.1*). Ultimately this increased trade competition led to a series of clashes between the Javanese (then ruled by the Śañjayas) and Śrīvijaya (then ruled by the Śailendras) during 925, 928-929, 990-1007 CE, etc. Finally the Chola dynasty from east India settled the matter, when the Śrīvijaya ruler became hardhanded against the Indian traders in Śrīvijaya. The Chola king Rājendra

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[476]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 55-57.

[477]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 67-69.

[478]   "The tripartite Buddhist coalition"; in Chinese *Sānfóqí* 三佛齐

[479]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 137-140.

attacked and decimated Śrīvijaya in 1025 CE.[480] The Śailendra king was taken as a prisoner. But what really broke Śrīvijaya in the end, was the increasing presence of the Chinese in the area. During the beginning of the tenth century CE, the Chinese arrived with the purpose of defending its trading vessels from pirate attacks. But during the South Song Dynasty (1127-1279 CE), the substantial presence of the Chinese led Śrīvijaya into losing its monopoly on the trade through the Strait of Malacca. Other local harbours were instead established on northern Sumatra receiving the Chinese.[481]

2.3   The Matarām kingdoms and the Śailendras

2.3.1   The Matarām Kingdoms of Central Java (570-927 CE)

Matarām – or Central Java – encompassed several important polities already by 570 CE – i.e. well prior to the establishment of Śrīvijaya. The Old Javanese Kingship system was entirely Austronesian.[482] The Buddhist model of kingship was that of the *cakravartin* – the Wheel turning king – who should rule under *rājadharma*.[483] Except for Java´s coast in the north and northwest (Heling and Holotan), there existed not many town-like centres in early Java.[484] The Matarām realm on Central Java (*wanua*) was from the outset rather small – originally encompassing only the Keḍu plateau surrounded by the Dièng mountains in the west and the Merapi volcano in the east. [485] Subsequently it became more expansive and came to encompass also the Prambanan area and the area as far north as Semarang.[486]

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[480]   Hall, 1985, pp. 112-113 & 121.
Other source: Boechari, 1979, p. 480.

[481]   Taylor, 1999, pp. 174-176.
Other source: Hall, 1995, pp. 67-73;

[482]   Fox, 1986, pp. 316 & 325.

[483]   Zimmermann, 2000, p.178 & Zimmermann, 2006, p. 217.

[484]   Hall, 1999, pp. 202-203.
Other source: Degroot, 2009, pp. 13-14.

[485]   Wisseman Christie, 2001, p. 33; Wissermann Christie, 1991, pp. 25 & 31-32.

[486]   Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 17.

Matarām was in fact based on the network between the central government and the villages.[487] Needless to say, the holding together of this network necessitated good communications, as well as a prominent-cum-sacred role of the royal family – with the necessary ceremonies adhered hereto.[488] According to Wisseman Christie, the Matarām state was like a *negara* state à la Bali (i.e. a state with a strong center, where the ruler governed by attraction rather than compulsion and where the ceremonies were of importance in order to maintain the "sacred" role of the ruler).[489]

In fact it was during the heydays of Śrīvijaya that Central Java experienced a construction boom without precedent from late seventh century until the middle of the tenth century CE.[490] It started with a Hindu temple complex on the Dièng Plateau (Place of the Ancestors) high in the northern mountains during the late seventh century CE; [491] it culminated by the Buddhist temples in the Prambanan area (e.g. the *Caṇḍi* Sewu) *and* by the Buddhist Barabuḍur monument and its associated temples. It ended with the Hindu temple complex at Prambanan (the *Caṇḍi* Loro Jonggran) in the tenth century CE. The temples and the monuments served as centres, where the king could stipulate his spiritual superiority and his connection with the deities in question and with higher knowledge – performed by means of rituals and state ceremonies conducted by Hindu *brahmans* or Buddhist *bhikṣus*.[492] The religious leaders on Java

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[487]   de Casparis, 1986, p. 61.

[488]   Ras, 2001, pp. 373-374.

[489]   Wissemann Christie, 1986, pp. 67-69 & 84-86.

[490]   The purpose of this construction endeavour was for the Śailendra king to enable him to be in direct contact with the Buddha, as well as to strengthen his power base and to re-main in power. These construction efforts were executed on the basis of a considerable support from the local *rakrayān* to the *mahārāja*. The regional leaders supported these endeavours by sending slaves and *śūdras* to the building sites. As this building spree was conducted on a seasonal basis, during which the women assumed the duties on the fields, it could be performed without any substantial exhaustion of the society. Temples and monuments built in this manner were inter alia the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan, the *Caṇḍi* Loro Jonggrang and the Barabuḍur.
Hall, 1985, pp. 126-127.
Other source: Boechari, 1979, pp. 482-483;   Hall, 1999, p. 224.

[491]   Voûte, 2006, p. 217.
Other sources: Geertz, 1960, pp. 269-275;   .

[492]   Hall, 1999, pp. 203-207.

enjoyed lesser power, than the corresponding religious leaders had in the *saṅgha* on Śrī Laṅkā.[493]

The history of Java during the period late sixth to early tenth centuries CE – i.e. during the "Central Java Period"[494] - is not very clear – mainly due to the lack of inscriptions and textual sources. In addition, the kingdoms were generally small and often reigned in parallell. On the Dièng Plateau the Śaivas built some temples during the eighth century CE. The earliest extant inscription in which the Śañjayas were mentioned in Central Java is the Caṅgal inscription of 732 CE. The Śailendras (Buddhists) came to power during the mid-eighth century. The Śañjayas resumed the power during early ninth century. *Dyaḥ* Balitung (Buddhist) assumed power at the very end of the ninth century. The capital was moved to East Java sometime during the period 920-928 CE, where Airlagga established the "new Matarām".

Given that the Barabuḍur was constructed during the Buddhist Śailendra period (746-829 CE), we will limit our comments below to that period.

2.3.2   The Śailendras (746-829 CE)

The Śailendras were only one of the royal lineages of Central Java. The Śailendras dominated the scene and reached their apex during the period 746-829 CE.[495] It was during this period, that many of the numerous Buddhist monuments, now known to have existed, were built – one of which is the Barabuḍur.[496]

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[493]   de Casparis, 1986, p. 59-60.

[494]   The duration of the "Central Java Period" is during the period 570-927 CE.
See *Section 1.1, Note 12*.

[495]   The Śailendra period of the Matarām realm is indicated to be 778-824 CE by Klokke and to be 746-827 CE by Wisseman Christie.
Klokke, 2009, p. 113 & Wisseman Christie, 2001, pp. 34-35.

Klokke indicated, though, a few years earlier that the period would be 778-832 CE. Klokke, 2006, pp. 51-52.

[496]   Voûte, 2006, p. 226.
Other source: Degroot, 2009, pp. 9 & 14-17.

The substantial power base of the Śailendras is exemplified in *Section 5.10.2*.

The Śailendra dynasty[497] is mentioned in a Buddhist context in a few inscriptions, such as the inscriptions of Kālasan from 778 CE (Śaka 700); of Kĕlurak from 782 CE (Śaka 704); of Abhayagirivihāra at Ratubaka from 792/793 CE (Śaka 714/715); of Karangtĕṅah from 824 CE (Śaka 746) and of Ratubaka from 856-857 CE (Śaka 778-779). All these inscriptions are from Central Java, written in Sanskrit and with a *Brāhmī* script[498] – also known as *siddhamātṛkā*.[499] The exception is the Karangtĕṅah inscription, which is bilingual and also includes a portion written in Old Javanese – presumably a sign of Śailendras declining power base on Java by that time. These inscriptions were composed by the king himself or by his relatives.[500] In addition, there are two other inscriptions made by the ensuing Śañjaya dynasty and written in Old Javanese – namely the Mantyāsiḥ I and the Wanua Tĕngah III[501] inscriptions, which both were written by the *Rakai* Balitung in 907 and 908 CE, respectively. Furthermore, there are two inscriptions outside of Java mentioning the Śailendras – i.e. the Ligor stele in southern Thailand from 775 CE and the inscription in

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[497] Śailendra is Sanskrit and means the "Lord of the Hill". As indicated in *Sections 2.1.1, Note 390; Section 2.2, Note 460;* and *Section 5.10.2* the identical terminology of the king was also used in Funan and in Śrīvijaya. In addition, the Barabuḍur was built as representing the Buddhist cosmos in the form of the Mount Meru.

[498] The *Brāhmī* script is an early Indian script that was used by king Aśoka already during the third century BCE. The *Brāhmī* script is the basis for a number of script systems in the entire Indian cultural sphere – including Southeast Asia (see *Appendix I, # 2, Note 1184*).

[499] Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 26.

[500] de Casparis sees in these inscriptions a successive transfer of power between the Śailendras and the Sañjayas as follows: The Kālasan inscription (778 CE) indicates that the Śailendras dominates over the Sañjayas; the Karangtĕṅah inscription (824 CE) has a Sanskrit portion (which was written by the Śailendras) and a portion in Old Javanese (which was written by the Sañjayas); the Gaṇḍasuli inscription (832 CE) was written in Old Javanese and the Sañjayas boost being in power over large areas of Java; and finally the Ratubaka inscriptions (856-857 CE) confirmed the change-over of power to the Sañjayas.
de Casparis, 1950, p. 201.

[501] The *vihāra* of Pikatan played a decisive role in maintaining Buddhism on central Java. The Wanua Tĕngah III inscription lists the names of the regents in connection with a *sīma* gift to this *vihāra*. *Rakai* Panangkaran established the *sīma*. *Rakai* Warak *Dyaḥ* Manāra withdrew them. The tasks of the *sīma* gifts were reinstated again by *Rakai* Garung, etc. In principle, the Śailendra kings and *Rakai* Balitung were Buddhists and supported these gifts – while the other regents were Śaiva and recalled the *sīma* gifts.
Klokke, 2009, pp. 115-116.

Nālandā in the northeast of India from around 843-850 CE (see *Appendix I, # 14*).

However, the names of the kings seem to vary between the different inscriptions – a somewhat confounding aspect. Wisseman Christie explains this by stating that the earlier Sanskrit inscriptions (Kālasan, Kělurak, Ratubaka and Karangtěṇah) were written by the king himself or by his relatives, and they used the holy name of the king. The inscriptions in Old Javanese – the Mantyāsiḥ I (907 CE) and the Wanua Tengah III (908 CE) inscriptions – were written by the ensuing dynasty and they used either of the *Rakai*-name, the *Dyaḥ*-name or the posthumous name of the king.[502]

The historical reigns of Central Java is still rather uncertain. Chandra proposes that there in fact never was a specific "Śailendra period" on Java, but that several small kingdoms existed simultaneously.[503] de Casparis means, however, that there existed simultaneously two dynasties – one of which may have been Buddhist with a foreign origin. This view is based on Krom´s theory of 1923 and 1931 and on Naerssens´ theory of 1947.[504] This hypothesis seems also to have been accepted by Dumarçay and Soekmono,[505] as well as by Iwamoto and Voûte.[506] Bosch (supported by Jordaan[507]) argues for three simulta-

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[502] Klokke, 2009, p. 115.
Other source: Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 15.

Not only did the deceased receive a new name after he had passed away, he could also bear several different titles during the lifetime, such as: (i) *Śrī mahārāja*: the "royal" title; (ii) *Rakai* or *Rake*: the shortened version of *rak[a]r[a]yān*; (iii) *Watak*: indicating the place from which the ruler derives; (iv) *Dyaḥ*: personal epitet (royal rank); (v) *Pu* or *Mpu*: personal epitet (learned or appreciated person); (vi) *Śrī*: personal epitet (Sanskrit for power or happiness); (vii) Personal name (in Sanskrit or in Old Javanese); (viii) Coronation name (a long *abhiṣeka* name in Sanskrit).
Wisseman Christie, 2001, pp. 26-28.

[503] Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 237-238.

[504] de Casparis, 1956, pp. 293-297; de Casparis, 1950, pp. 85-86.

[505] Soekmono, de Casparis & Dumarçay, 1990, p. 14.

[506] Iwamoto for instance supports Naerssens and de Casparis in promoting the idea of two simultaneous dynasties on Java – the house of the Śailendra (Buddhist) and the house of the Matarām (Sañjaya dynasty, which was Hindu). Voûte also supports the idea of two Javanese kingdoms in close proximity to one another. Voûte distinguishes, though, between the "Old Matarām" (the ancient Hinduized state of Central Java) from the Islamic state of Matarām (1579-1755 CE).
Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 26.

[507] Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 38; Jordaan, 1999, pp. 72-73.

neous dynasties. In addition, conflicting views have been voiced by other scholars, such as Boechari, Damais, Klokke,[508] Kusen, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw,[509] Poerbatjaraka and Soeleiman.[510] They are all of the opinion that there existed only *one dynasty with two branches*. Kim,[511] Sundberg,[512] Wisseman Christie[513] and Zakharov[514] also seem to support this view. The Śailendra and the Śañjaya families nevertheless seemed to live in a certain harmony with each other.

Be that as it may. These comments only stress the fact that our knowledge of the history of Java during 600-900 CE is still rather uncertain. Based on these somewhat diverging sources, we have, nevertheless, endeavoured to elaborate the Matarām history on Java during the Buddhist Śailendra reign, when the Barabuḍur was constructed.

The relevant Śailendra kings of interest as regards the Barabuḍur are:
- *Rakai* Panangkaran (r. 746-784 CE);
- *Rakai* Panaraban (r. 784-803 CE);
- *Rakai* Warak *Dyaḥ* Manara (r. 802-827 CE); and
- *Dyaḥ* Gula (r. 827-829 CE).

We do not even know the origin of the Śailendras – whether they were of Javanese or of foreign origin. The foreign provenance of the Śailendras seems to be favoured, being substantiated by a number of exogenous changes that suddenly took place on Java during the Śailendra rule. These indicative aspects are inter alia (i) the introduction of a new *Brāhmī* script called the Pre-Nāgarī (*siddhamātṛka*);[515] (ii) the promotion of Buddhism as the most important religion; (iii) the sudden building spree of *Mahāyāna* Buddhist architectural art; (iv)

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[508]   Klokke, 2009, pp. 114-116.

[509]   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1981, p. 20.

[510]   Soeleiman, 1981, pp. 76 & 80.

[511]   Kim, 2007, p. 16.

[512]   Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 111-113.
        Other sources: Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 35;   Sundberg, 2003, p. 176.

        In fact, Sundberg means that "no native Javanese account accommodates an explanation of the 'two-dynasties' theory".
        Sundberg, 2011, p. 144, Note 2.

[513]   Wisseman Christie, 2001, p. 34.

[514]   Zakharov, 2012, p. 19.

[515]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 26.

the issuance of the silver Sandalwood-Flower coins; (v) the introduction of the *mahārāja* title; (vi) the move of the capital "to the East" (Poluqiesi); (vi) the sudden interruption of embassies to China from Śrīvijaya in 742 CE and their resumption from Sumatra in 852 CE and in 871 CE – from Jambi,[516] where *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra initially settled after his expulsion from Java (see *Section 2.3.3*). Meanwhile the tributary missions to China were made from Heling (Buddhist Java).[517]

The years 746-829 CE constituted a period of considerable political activity on the part of the Matarām rulers – locally as well as on the international scene. The country expanded geographically and included most of the West and Central Java (including the northern and northwestern coastline of Java, the Progo valley, the Opak valley surrounding the volcano Merapi, and up the Solo river on the southeast of Merapi). The capital was moved eastward to Poluqiesi[518] between the years 746-755 CE.[519] Matarām became one of the main participants in the Asiatic maritime trade – thus capitalizing on the well founded commercial network of Heling.[520] Sundberg means, however, that the paucity of inscriptions from this period makes the analysis of the Javanese history difficult and extremely uncertain. Sundberg[521] is, therefore, openly critical to - in his view - the sometimes unfounded theories of Wisseman Christie.[522]

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[516] In Chinese *Zhànbēi* 占碑。

[517] Jordaan, 2006, pp. 6-7.

Javanese and Sumatran embassies to China (also indicating the names in Chinese):
Hēlíng 河陵 (Buddhist Java – Religious center) 640, 648, 666; *Shìlìfóqí* 室利佛齐 (Buddhist Sumatra) 670-673, 716, 720, 724, 742; *Kolo* (*Guālā* 瓜拉) (Kědah) 742-759; *Hēlíng* (Buddhist Java – Political center) 767-770, 813, 815, 818; *Shēpó* 奢婆 (Hindu Java) 820, 831, 839, 860-873; *Zhànbēi* 占碑 (Jambi) 852, 871; *Sānfóqí* 三佛齐 904, 960.
Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 67.

[518] In Chinese *Pōlùqiēsī* 坡鹿切丝。

[519] The Śailendras seem from the seventh century CE onwards to have dominated not only West Java, but also Matarām on Central Java and Śrivijaya on Sumatra. In addition, they may also have moved the capital eastwards to Poluqiesi – but still remaining in Central Java. This is known from the Chinese chronicles.
Iwamoto, 1981, pp. 86-89.
Other sources: Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 24; Zakharov, 2012, p. 17.

[520] See *Section 2.1.1, Note 419*.
Heling may be Chinese for Kaliṅga (see *Section 2.1.1, Note 417*).

[521] Sundberg, 2006(a), pp. 1, 19 & 35.

[522] Wisseman Christie, 2001, pp. 35-36.

The wealth accumulated by means of the close trading relationsship between Śrīvijaya and the Śailendras on Java, lay the foundation for the considerable construction efforts of Buddhist temples and monuments.[523] In addition to the mere religious aspects, the purpose of this building spree was also for each Śailendra generation to accumulate spiritual merit and thereby to strengthen its political base. This endeavour involved not only the construction of several new buildings (temples, monuments, *vihāras*, etc.), but also major renovation and modification efforts. Klokke means that these Buddhist construction efforts were executed during two main periods:

- *A long period* – the reigns of *Rakai* Panangkaran and *Rakai* Panaraban, during which period were built the *Caṇḍi* Kālasan, the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, the *Caṇḍi* Sari, the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, the *Caṇḍi* Pawon, the Barabuḍur, and others; and
- *A brief period* – the reign of *Rakai* Garung,[524] during which period were built temples such as the *Caṇḍi* Ngawèn, the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Kidul, the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor and others.[525]

The first inscription mentioning the building of a Buddhist temple is the Kālasan inscription from 778 CE (Śaka 700). This Kālasan inscription mentioned the building of a temple and monastery in Kālasan to

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[523]   de Casparis was of the opinion, that the contacts between the royal houses of Śrīvijaya and Śailendra were fairly close with intermarriages. Sarkar and other scholars, on the other hand, presented the view, that the Śailendra and the Śrīvijaya monarchs belonged to the same family from the start. This would, according to Sarkar, explain the manner in which this vast Javanese temple building spree was financed – i.e. by the resources of the Śrīvijaya trade empire. That the kingdoms of Central Java relied on various alliances – often cemented by marriages – seems to be generally accepted as a fact.
de Casparis, 1950, p. 202; Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 216-220; Hall, 1999, p. 207.

[524]   Princess Prāmodavarddhanī was probably married to *Rakai* Garung, and *Rakai* Pikatan was their son.
Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 42.

Based on the presumably wrong background information by Boechari and Teeuw, Klokke has nevertheless arrived at the "right" conclusion, that it was not *Rakai* Pikatan, who built the Plaoson Lor. Instead it must have been *Rakai* Garung, who was the proper builder of this temple complex. Also Sundberg seems reluctantly to subscribe to this theory. An odd conclusion from de Casparis´ previous assumption has herewith been straightened out and erased.
Klokke, 2009, pp. 117-118 & Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 36.

[525]   Please note that Klokke dates the construction of the Ngawèn temple to a period later than Joanna Williams has dated it.
Klokke, 2009, p. 116.
Other source: Klokke, 2006, p. 51; Williams, 1981, p. 39.

the honour of bodhisattva Tārā.[526] The Kělurak inscription from 782 CE (Śaka 704) refers to the inauguration of a statue of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in an unknown location – although the *Caṇḍi* Sewu has been suggested.[527] The *Caṇḍi* Sewu inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714) might present the completion of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu complex[528] – having been enlarged and changed from a Mañjuśrīgṛha temple to a temple in honour of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. However, Kim disputes this hypothesis.[529] Klokke, on the other hand, questions that the Kělurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) and the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714) have anything to do with the *Caṇḍi* Sewu.[530] The Ratubaka inscription from 792-793 CE (Śaka 714-715) describes the *Abhayagirivihāra*.[531] *Vajrayāna* Buddhism would in other words seem to have been present on Java at this time.

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In the Nālandā inscription (see *Appendix I, # 14*), the king of the Śailendra dynasty is called *Śrīvīravairimathana* ("The illustrious destroyer of brave foes") and *Yavabhūmipāla* ("King of Java"). He is identical with the corresponding person mentioned on side B of the Ligor (Chaiya) stele of 755 CE and of the Śailendra ruler in the Kālasan stele of 778 CE and of the Kělurak stele of 782 CE (see *Appen-*

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[526] Iwamoto and Chandra are of the opinion that the king mentioned in the Kālasan inscription of 778 CE (Śaka 700) – *Rakai* Panangkaran – is **not** the first Śailendra king, but a subdued vassal king (see *Appendix I, # 4*).
Iwamoto, 1981, pp. 83-84 & Chandra, 1995(b), p. 217.

[527] Kim, 2007, p. 170.

Based on bodhisattva Mañjuśrī´s *Vaipulya* teachings, Chandra may be interpreted to mean that the Kělurak inscription from 782 CE (Śaka 704) instead refers to the building and to the inauguration of a Mañjughoṣa/Mañjuśrī statue at the *Abhayagirivihāra* in Ratubaka (see *Section 3.2 & Appendix I, # 5*).
Chandra, 1995 (b), pp. 218-219.

[528] Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 106-109.

[529] Kim, 2007, p. 170.

[530] Klokke claims instead that the Mañjuśrī statue was in fact installed in the *Caṇḍi* Lumbung or in the *Caṇḍi* Bubrah – not in the *Caṇḍi* Sewu. She basis her opinion on several architectonical motifs, as well as that the documented enlargement of this importance was performed by a person lower in rank than the king (In case the text refers to the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, it must have been the king, who performed the enlargement of this important *Caṇḍi*).
Klokke, 2006, pp. 53-58.

[531] See *Section 3.2*.

dix I, # 3, 4 and 5, respectively). This is probably *Rakai* Panangkaran (746-784 CE) – the "Killer" king.

The Śailendra king is supposed to have made an alliance with the Buddhist king of Śrīvijaya, which was sealed by the marriage between the Śailendra prince Samaratuṅga and princess Tārā from Śrīvijaya. Out of this marriage was born *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra (the king of Suvarnadvīpa in the Nālandā inscription) and princess Pramodavardhanī (Śrī Kahulunan). Princess Pramodavardhanī married *Śañjaya Rakai* Garung, out of which marriage was born *Rakai* Pikatan (see **Picture 99**). [532]
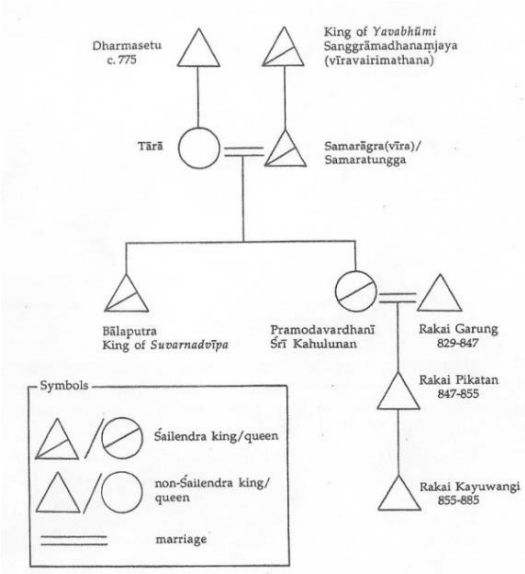
Source: Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 42

Picture 99   *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra´s and Princess Pramodavardhanī´s proposed pedigrees

With the assistance of the king of Śrīvijaya, the Śailendras extended their power over Java and intermarried with the Śañjayas. Marrying a royal princess was namely a sure way for a foreigner to gain access to land holdings and to the use local manpower – which otherwise were

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[532]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 43-44.
Other source: Teeuw, 2001, pp. 526-527.
Please note, that *Rakai* Garung came to power only in 829 CE after the demise of *Dyaḥ* Gula in that same year.

out of reach for a foreigner. However, these matrimonial alliances remain unverified.[533]

This theory is interesting from various points of views, as it explains why the Śailendras were not included with their Sanskrit names in the Mantyāsiḥ I inscription and in the Wanua Těngah III inscription. It further explains the hold that the Śailendras had on the agricultural production on Central Java and on the international trade routes through the Strait of Malacca – cemented by the "Double Kingdom of Palembang and Central Java" – which was necessary for the wealth accumulations required by the temple building endeavours. The foreign origin of the Śailendras and their intermarriages with the Śañjayas may also explain why *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra and his entourage were allowed to leave the country after the aborted coup in 854 CE, and not being killed or forced into a state as vassals.

2.3.3   *Dyaḥ Bālaputras expulsion in 854 CE*

In 829 CE, the Śañjaya ruler - *Rakai* Garung - made his Śailendra predecessor - *Dyaḥ* Gula - disappear from the scene only within a brief period in power. According to Sundberg, *Dyaḥ* Gula may have reigned some 1.5 years and may have died by accident or by natural causes (his predecessors reigned for long periods of time, which means that *Dyaḥ* Gula ascended the throne relatively late in life).[534]

As seen in *Section 2.3.2*, *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was probably the son of the Śailendra king Samaratuṅga and queen Tārā of the Śrīvijayan royal house. *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra would thus have been brother to princess Prāmodavardhanī, who married to *Rakai* Garung from the Śañjaya family, with whom she begot *Rakai* Pikatan.[535] *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra had reasons, therefore, to claim back the throne – because the power had

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[533]   Jordaan, 2006, pp. 7-18.

[534]   Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 23.

[535]   Iwamoto, 1981, pp. 84-85.
However, Wisseman Christie was of the opinion, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was the son of *Dyaḥ* Gula, which Sundberg deems it highly unlikely.
Sundberg, 2006(a), pp. 26 & 30.

now "unrightly" swung over to the Śañjaya dynasty by means of a marriage.[536]

It is understandable, therefore, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra opposed *Rakai* Pikatan and entrenched himself on the Ratubaka plateau. Prior to having fully strengthened his defence lines, *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was overran by *Rakai* Walaing[537] and driven out of the country in 854 CE – a year prior to the decease of *Rakai* Pikatan.[538] *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra returned to Śrīvijaya where he may have been the king.[539]

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[536] Please note, that Sarkar was of the opinion, that the Śailendra and the Śrīvijaya monarchies were related from the outset.
Sarkar, 1985 (b), pp. 217-220.

[537] The identity of *Rakai* Walaing is uncertain, however. His personal name was written as *Pu* Kumbhayoni (an euphemism for Agastya – the *guru* of Śiva). He is supposed to have come from Halu – a state, that had earlier been conquered by Matarām. He is thought to have been married into the Śañjaya dynasty. *Rakai* Walaing is mentioned in six Sanskrit inscriptions of 856 CE in Ratubaka and in the Old Javanese inscription of 863 CE from Wukiran. One of the Sanskrit inscriptions refers to *Rakai* Walaing as a king – although he is not included in any of the Mantyāsiḥ I or the Wanua Tĕngah III inscriptions. Uncertainty thus prevails.
Wisseman Christie, 2001, pp. 41-42

Sundberg is very critical to Wisseman Christie´s analysis, which he deems lacks proper documentation. Sundberg is of the opinion that *Pu* Kumbhayoni was of royal blood – although he never claimed the title of king for himself on Central Java. Instead *Rakai* Walaing *pu* Kumbhayoni was a king from Western Java in the land of Sunda. He was a friend of the ensuing Śañjaya king – *Rakai* Kayuwangi *Dyaḥ* Lokapāla – and should have acted as the commander of the forces that beat *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra at Ratubaka. The importance of *Rakai* Walaing *pu* Kumbhayoni is documented by the mentioning of him in the above seven inscriptions from 856-863 CE.
Sundberg, 2006(a), pp. 30-31; Sundberg, 2011, p. 152, Note 19.

Zakharov goes one step further and claims that *Rakai* Walaing *Pu* Kumbhayoni belonged to another royal family. This should, according to Zakharov, constitute a proof that there were several ruling royal families on Java at that time.
Zakharov, 2012, p. 18.

[538] The Nālandā inscription (see *Appendix I, # 14*) indicates that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra by means of his mother Tārā (Śrī Kahulunan) was related to Somakula (the **Lunar dynasty**, which bases its divine origin from the Moon, that rests in the hair of Śiva). In addition, *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra is in this Nālandā inscription compared to Skanda the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. The third Ratubaka inscription states that king Kumbhayoni (Rakai Walaing) was born in Somakula (the Lunar dynasty). Finally, the Ratubaka inscription of 856 CE indicates a friendly relationship between king Kumbhayoni and *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra. The relationship between the two royal houses of Śañjaya and Śailendra may have been closer than earlier indicated – although not outright friendly.
Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 230-237.

[539] *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra could in fact very well have been made a king of Śrīvijaya due to (i) his family relations, and (ii) his legitimate claims on the granary of Java.
de Casparis, 1956, pp. 295-296.
Other source: Soeleiman, 1981, p. 82.

It is generally acknowledged among scholars, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra should have taken with him the palladium of the Śailendra dynasty – the golden image of Vajradhāra - which was proposed to have been placed in the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur (see *Section 1.4.6*).[540] *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was an ardent Buddhist and made inter alia a donation for a new monastery in Nālandā in northeast India – in conjunction with King Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar.[541] The Nālandā inscription of around 843-850 CE refers to him as an important ruler of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula (*Suvarṇadvīpa*)[542] and as a grandson to a great ruler on Java - presumably *Rakai* Panangkaran (r. 746-784 CE).[543]

As presented in *Appendix I, # 14*, the dates of the reigns of various kings in the Pāla dynasty have recently been revised. This has resulted in an earlier dating of the Nālandā inscription by well over a decade. *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra would also have served as a king in Sumatra already during his father´s reign. As the Nālandā inscription now is dated to sometime around 843-850 CE at the latest, this implies that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra initiated his political overtures towards the Pālas in India prior to his intervention in Central Java in 854 CE, and that he did this in his capacity as the king of *Suvarṇadvīpa*.[544]

As earlier indicated, the historical sources as regards the Śailendra history are limited. In addition, the original scholarly edifice was built on unstable grounds and filled with errors and unproven hypothesises. This makes it nessesary on part of the reader to be very wary and cautious, when taking part of this material. Nevertheless, in the text above a serious effort has been made to "tack between the shoals" and to indicate divergent opinions in separate footnotes.

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[540] Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 226-227.

[541] Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 253.

[542] Suvarṇadvīpa means "The Island of Gold".
Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 248.

[543] We have learnt above, that the Mantyāsiḥ I inscription and the Wanua Tengah III inscription do not include any Sanskrit names of members from the Śailendra dynasty, as they seem to be of foreign origin.
Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 38.

Wisseman Christie must thus have made a mistake in this respect.
Wisseman Christie, 2001, p. 41 in Note 522.

[544] Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 30-34.

In case there are some truths in these aspects, this text would shed new light not only on the fact that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was allowed to leave Java as a free man, but also on his rapid acceptance on Sumatra as such, and in Śrīvijaya specifically.

2.3.4 The Śailendra political system

According to Kulke, the early kingdoms with their delicate power balance between the central authority of primus inter pares, on the one hand, and the centrifugal political position of the local societies, on the other hand (the *negara* state presented in *Section 2.3.1*), was the dominating social structure in Southeast Asia during the first millennium CE.[545]

On Java, the elevated position of the king was presented in a specific form. The Śailendras were the first lineage in insular Southeast Asia to use the title "*Mahārāja*" ("King of kings").[546] In addition, the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor are both surrounded by small temples – called *Caṇḍi* Perwara - 240 and 174, respectively. These *Caṇḍi* Perwaras were donated by the king and by local dignitaries (i.e. representatives of the higher echelons of the then existing society). The central temples seemed already at that time to have assumed the role of the additional power instrument of the monarchy.[547]

The building of temples and the performances of various religious ceremonies seemed for the Śailendras to be two important activities by which the fragile social structure of the *negara*-state (referred to in *Section 2.3.1*) could be maintained.[548]

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[545]   Kulke, 1986, pp. 1-8.
    Other source: Gifford, 2011, pp. 173-174.

[546]   Gifford, 2004, p. 352.

[547]   Kulke, 1986, pp. 14-15.

[548]   Hall, 1985, pp. 115-118.

2.3.5   *The decline of the Śailendra dynasty*

One does not know with any certainty the reasons for the decline and collapse of the Śailendra dynasty. Their reign only lasted for well over a century – but the effect on society was considerable. The Śailendras left behind cultural monuments, which are extant up to present time. But the question still remains why the Śailendra dynasty so suddenly left the scene on Java and why the capital was moved to East Java. It could naturally have been the effect of several reasons, some components of which could have been:

i.   the silting up of the northern coastline of Java and of the main harbours (Bergota and Medang Kamulan) of the Old Matarām polity. This led to an economic starvation on Java as a result of the suspension of vital international trade; e.g. the export of the rise deliveries, on which Śrīvijaya and the "Double Kingdom" were based;

ii. a successive decline of the influence of India due to an increasing preference for local Javanese traditions. This was evidenced in the arts and architecture of later East Javanese kingdoms;

iii. sudden volcanic eruptions. Although Java is situated within a major tectonic earthquake zone, no huge volcanic eruptions of a strength comparable to the Tambora or the Krakatao eruptions seems to have occurred during historical times;

iv. the Vartanyan outbreak of poisonous liquid and gaseous compounds.[549]

Voûte made a note of the fact, that the entire Yogyakarta area – including the Prambanan area and the Barabuḍur area – are located within a tectonic earthquake zone, that follows the Indian Ocean coastlines of Java and Sumatra. Several fault lines cross this area. One fault line passes through the so-called Bantul graben in the vicinity of the Prambanan temple areas (Loro Jonggrang, *Caṇḍi* Sewu and others) and the western part of the Ratubaka plateau (which by many scholars is believed to have been the royal *kraton* of Old Matarām). Another faultline passes the mountains of Merapi and Marbabu close to the Barabuḍur.[550]

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[549]   Voûte, 2006, pp. 228-233.

[550]   Voûte, 2006, p. 229.

According to the Vartanyan theory, poisonous gas and liquid chemicals could seep out of the ground from fractured systems underground in such geological active areas. Such gases and liquids could well be toxic and/or have hallucinatory effects. This is one potential reason – according to Voûte – why Central Java was evacuated and the capital was moved to East Java around 928 CE, where king Airlangga established the "new Matarām" of East Java.[551]

The Buddhist Śailendra thus finally lost the power base of Central Java to the Hindu Śañjaya around the middle of the ninth century CE.

2.4 Concluding remarks

Maritime trade seemed to have taken place in the regions of the Strait of Malacca and the Java Sea already from early CE – originally crossing the Kra Peninsula at Khuan Lukpad. For trade between India and China, the maritime trade developed as an alternative to the trade routes along the "Silk Road" on land. Funan on the southern Mekong delta arose as the main trading center on the maritime trade routes from India to China – Canton. The traders were mainly Buddhists. The dominance of Funan met with an abrupt ending, when the cargo vessels took the route via the Strait of Malacca in the sixth century CE.

Śrīvijaya in the Strait of Malacca then developed as the main trading centre. The Śrīvijaya maritime imperium was dominant from mid-seventh century to 1025 CE, when the forces of the Chola dynasty invaded Śrīvijaya and weakened its trading dominance.

Śrīvijaya developed into a Buddhist centre. From the seventh century CE and for the ensuing four centuries Śrīvijaya maintained a Buddhist university of substantial reputation – almost rivalling that of Nālandā. *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was dominant, as well as *Mantranaya*

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[551] The "sweet smell" produced by venting at Delphi, may well have been toxic gases giving hallucinatory effects. This may explain the peculiar behavour of the Delphic Oracle. The Vartanyan theory may thus be substantiated.
Hale, de Boer, Chanton & Spiller, 2003, pp. 57-63.
Other source: Voûte, 2006, p 231.

Buddhism. Yijing studied in Śrīvijaya for ten years at the end of the seventh century CE. Vajrabodhi is said to have met Amoghavajra there, prior to setting off for China. Atiśa studied in Śrīvijaya during the early eleventh century CE before heading for Tibet in 1042 CE.

On Java, the lack of inscriptions and textual sources makes its history during the early eighth to the end of the ninth century CE rather unclear. Nevertheless, during this period the Central Java area experienced a construction boom without precedent – of Buddhist, as well as of Hindu, monuments and temples. These monuments were often located in the middle of wet-rice cultivating areas. The immense undertaking, that these constructions entailed, could only have been financed out of the wealth accumulated from international trade. The relationships between Java and Śrīvijaya were therefore of utmost importance.

During the Śailendra period 746-829 CE, the state was formed with a strong centre, where the rulers governed by attraction and where ceremonies were important in order to maintain the "sacred" role of the ruler. The temples played an important role in housing these ceremonies of the Śailendra "theater state". The small temples donated by local dignitaries - the *Caṇḍi* Perwaras - around the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor seem also to substantiate such a social structure.

However, the scarcity of textual sources have resulted in a situation, whereunder there still exists a variety of unanswered questions, as regards the Matarām kingdoms and the various relations within and between the Śañjaya and the Śailendra families. We are still not certain about the origin of the Śailendras and the number of dynasties on Central Java during the Matarām period. Several theories, having developed during the past century, have been presented in this PhD-dissertation as a background information. The variety of suggested solutions are apparent. Likewise is the lack of a factual basis for some of these hypothesises. Naturally, it hinges on the apparent scarcity of textual sources.

Of the presented theories, it would seem that the Śailendras most probably were of foreign origin. Why should they otherwise not have been included with their complete Sanskrit names on the important inscriptions of the Mantyāsiḥ I (see *Appendix I, # 15*) and the Wanua Tĕngah III (see *Appendix I, # 16*)? The various exogenous changes that

suddenly took place on Java during the Śailendra rule, also seem to indicate such a foreign origin - e.g. the introduction of Buddhism; the introduction of a new script based on the *Brāhmī* script; the introduction of the title *Mahārāja*; the move of the capital (Poluqiesi) eastwards and the initiation of a sudden building spree of Buddhist architectural art.

The theory, that the Śailendra ruler mentioned in the Nālandā inscription and on side B of the Ligor stele (see *Appendix I, # 14 & # 3,* respectively) should have made an alliance with the Buddhist king of Śrīvijaya, is very interesting and warrants further scholarly attention. This alliance should have been sealed, namely, by the marriage of the Śailendra prince Samaratuṅga with the Śrīvijaya princess Tārā (Śrī Kahulunan). Out of this marriage should have been born *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra (the king of *Suvarnadvīpa* in the Nālandā inscription) and princess Pramodavardhanī. *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra and princess Pramoda-vardhanī would thus be brother and sister. This theory would also explain why *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was welcomed to Śrīvijaya with open arms upon his expulsion from Java in 854 CE. In addition, this theory would substantiate the existence of the so called "Double Kingdom of Śrīvijaya and Central Java". That the Śailendras, as a result of this alliance, would be kings in both Śrīvijaya and on Java would explain the background to the Śailendras having access to the wealth accumulations made possible by the international trade through the Strait of Malacca – a wealth accumulation required by their temple building endeavours.

The Śailendras probably also intermarried into the Śañjaya royal family. In view of the foreign background of the Śailendras, these intermarriages would have been required for them to gain access to land properties and for using the required local work force. In addition, their intermarriages with the Śañjayas may also explain why *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra and his entourage were allowed to leave Java in 854 CE, and not being killed or forced into a state as vassals. However, these matrimonial alliances remain unverified.

Even if these theories are mostly mere hypothesises, they nevertheless give us a potenial picture of how the train of thoughts may have developed within the Javanese society at the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. However, further evidence is warranted, if the Śailendra riddle should be documented and solved. Unfortunately, it remains today as unsolved, as it has ever been.

3 Buddhism and Indonesia´s relationship with Śrī Laṅkā and the Abhayagirivihāra

3.1 Buddhism in a "nutshell"

By means of the Buddhist Dharma, the *bikhṣus* endeavour to raise the moral standards of society and to teach people to live rational and sensible lives. It encompasses insights into the existential and spiritual problems that people encounter, as well as gives them guidance in their efforts to cross the ocean of suffering. In a "nutshell" – Buddhist practices focus on the resolution of the problem of human suffering.[552]

The soteriological (salvation) aspect of Buddhism is rather specific. According to Buddhism, we are given the "tools" and are directed towards the "goal". Then it is up to ourselves to strive for arriving at that "goal". Man is in other words "his own Master". There is no higher being or power to fall back on – there is no God. It is up to oneself to form one´s own destiny. As Buddha Śākyamuni said "You should do your own work, for the *Tathāgatas* only teach the Path".[553]

Few strict historical facts exist concerning the life of Buddha Śākyamuni ("Sage of the Śākyas") ("the Buddha").[554] He was said to be born as Siddhārtha Gautama – being the son of the local king Śuddhodana – a *rāja* – in Kapilavastu close to the Indian-Nepalese border. As an Enlightened Buddha, he is said to have spent the three months of the rain-retreats (*vassa*) in a sheltered spot in the forest near Benares (Vārāṇasī). [555] According to unanimous tradition, Buddha

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[552] Gethin, 1998, pp. 39.
Other source: Lamotte, 1988, p. 47.

[553] The *Dhammapada*, 1954. XX. 276, p. 68.

[554] The Buddha means "the Enlightened" or "the Awakened".
Basham, 1959, p. 256.

Śākyamuni lived for eighty years around 500 BCE – but we do not know the exact years. That´s all we know in principle![556]

Buddha Śākyamuni taught that everything is **impermanent** (*anitya*).[557] By basing himself on the **Four Noble Truths** (*āryasatya*),[558] he proved that everything is **suffering** (*duḥkha*), and proposed a way out of it – the *āryāṣṭāṅgamārga* (the **Eightfold Noble Path**).[559] But according to Buddha Śākyamuni, the superior sacrifice was the destruction of the illusion of a self. By basing the analysis on the **Five aggregates** (*skandha*),[560] Buddha Śākyamuni taught the doctrine of *anātman* (**without a Self**),[561] which holds that the eternal soul of the *brahmans* is a mere illusion.[562] Furthermore, Buddha Śākyamuni proved that everything is **empty** (*śūnyatā*);[563] that everthing is being based on

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[555] The *Veṇuvanamandiraṃ* (Bamboo Grove Temple) is the name of the famous retreat in north India, where Buddha Śākyamuni formally resided during the rainy seasons.
de Casparis, 1950, pp. 24-50, 184-188 & 204.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(e), p.32 ; Voûte, 2006, p. 224.

On the seventh rain-retreat after his Enlightenment, Buddha Śākyamuni has been proposed to have spent the time in the Trayastriṃśa abode teaching the Dharma. The *Mahāvihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā claims that Buddha Śākyamuni taught the *Abhidharma* to his mother in the Trayastriṃśa abode. Although these are well known stories about Buddha Śākyamuni, these stories may be regarded to be somewhat aprocryphal. Skilling, 2008, pp. 37-60.

[556] Hirakawa, 1998, p. 21.
Other sources: Gethin, 1998, p. 14; Gombrich, 1992, p. 243-244, 254-255 & 258-259; Jerryson, 2010, p. 10; Prebish, 2008, pp. 1-21; Rahula, 1996, pp. 453-456.

[557] Lamotte, 1988, p. 27.

[558] See the Glossary – the *āryasatya* and the Four Noble Truths.
The Pāli version may be found in the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, p. 10.
The Sanskrit version may be found in the *Mahāvastu*, III, pp. 322-326.

[559] See the Glossary – the *Eightfold Noble Path*.

[560] See the Glossary – the *aggregates* and Gethin, 1986, pp. 35-53.

[561] See the Glossary - *anātman* and Collins, 1999. pp. 4-5 and 87-143;   Rahula, 2000, pp. 51-66.

[562] Buddha Śākyamuni´s teaching differs in a considerable manner from the Brāmaṇic belief. The Brāhmaṇic ultimate goal is *mokṣa* – the complete liberation of the soul (*ātman*) from endless cycles of physical existences in the *saṃsāra* cycles. *Mokṣa* takes place when the *ātman* has become totally pure and merges with *Brahman* (the eternal, omnipresent and omniscient universal soul). Buddha Śākyamuni, on the other hand, was of the opinion that the Brāmaṇic concept of *ātman* was an illusion. Buddha Śākyamuni taught the doctrine of *anātman* (no-Self; no-Soul).

[563] Chang, 1971, pp. 64-74.
Other sources: Conze, 1973, p. 142; Snodgrass, 2007, p. 87.

"*cause-and-effect*";[564] that everything is *relative, non-dual, mutually interdependent* and constantly being subject to *change*,[565] as illustrated in the ***Dependent Origination*** (*pratītyasamutpāda*).[566]

The Buddhist community was based on ***dual aspects*** – the monastic community (the *saṅgha*) and the laity. The lay support of the *saṅgha* enabled the Buddhist monks (*bhikṣu*) to practice spiritual life. The *saṅgha* and the laity were thus ***interdependent*** and reinforced each other. The *saṅgha* is unthinkable without the lay support – at the same time as Buddhism is unthinkable without the *saṅgha*.[567] The Buddhist *saṅgha* is constituted by a number of monasteries (*vihāra*), which operate independently from each other without a formal supervisory authority. Decisions within the individual *vihāra* are taken on the basis of majority votes.[568]

The Non-Canonical Buddhist Council in Pāṭaliputra in 267 BCE ended in a split of the *saṅgha* – a *saṃghabheda*. Out of this split, some eighteen (18) individual traditions (*nikāya*)[569] sprung forth over time –

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[564] The "cause-and-effect" is presented in the *Karmavibhaṅgha Sūtra*, which is illustrated on the "Hidden base" of the Barabuḍur (see *Section 1.4.1*).

[565] The *Vinaya Piṭaka*, pp. 20-21.
Other source: Lamotte, 1988, p. 27.

[566] See the Glossary - *Dependent Origination*.
For a general presentation of these Buddhist aspects, see *Appendix III, # 2*.

[567] Jainism, with its closer relationship between the monastic order and the laity, is still present in India.
Bechert & Gombrich, 1998, pp. 44-45.
Other sources: Bechert, 1970, pp. 761-778; Gethin, 1998, pp. 91-92 & 94; Lamotte, 1988, pp 53-65; Skilling, 2012, p. xv.

[568] Skilling, 2012, p. xiv.

[569] A *nikāya* is defined as a group of monks (*bhikkhu*), who mutually acknowledge the validity of their ordination (*upasampadā*) and - staying within the same bounderies (*sīmā*) - may commonly perform *vinyakarmas*.
Bechert, 1993, p. 12.
Other source: Skilling, 2012, pp. xxiv-xxv.

To be noted is that the number eighteen (18) is only an ideal number. The number could fluctuate over time and become fewer, as well as more; i.e. up to 26 *nikāyas.* By around the sixth century CE, the north Indian monastecism came to be dominated by four *nikāyas – Stavira, Mahāsaṅghika, Sarvāstivāda* and *Sāṃmitīya.* This domination lasted until the demise on the Indian subcontinent of Buddhist monasticism.
Gethin, 2012, pp. 50-52.
Other source: Skilling, 2004, p. 142.

Staviras on *Śrī Laṅkā* would consist of the three *nikāyas Mahāvihāra, Abhayagirivihāra* and *Jetavanavihāra.*
Gethin, 2012, p. 52.

six (6) within *Mahāsaṅghika* and twelve (12) within *Śrāvakayāna*.[570] These 18 *nikāyas* were individual monastic lineages, with their own philosophical and ritual traditions. They had basically an identical *vinaya*.[571] The last mentioned twelve *nikāyas* differed mostly in the interpretation of some details in the *Abhidhamma*. According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*,[572] some further six (6) additional *nikāyas* were subsequently developed within *Śrāvakayāna*, as well as the two additional *nikāyas* on Śrī Laṅkā (*Abhayagirivihāra* and *Jetavanavihāra*) - i.e. 26 *nikāyas* all-in-all.

Theravāda means "the Doctrine of the Elders". The word "the Elders" (*thera*) refers here to the 500 *arhats* meeting at the First Buddhist council in Rājagṛha shortly after the passing away of Buddha Śākyamuni. The purpose of *Theravāda* Buddhism is to sustain the life of the *sāsana*[573] by restoring a pure ordination lineage.[574] The salvation aspect in *Theravāda* Buddhism is limited to **a few chosen** (*arhats*).

The **Mahāyāna sūtras** started to emerge by the beginning of the Christian era. These **Mahāyāna** *sūtras* presented themselves as being teachings directly from the Buddha and started with the words

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[570]   Out of these eighteen "schools" only three are extant today; namely *Dharmaguptakas* in East Asian, *Mūlasarvāstivādins* in Tibet and Mongolia, and *Theravādins* on Śrī Laṅkā and in Southeast Asia.
Gethin, 2012, p. 2.

Aśoka´s son Mahīnda introduced the original *Theravāda* Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā around 200 BCE and had the *Mahāvihāra* monestary built on the Mihintale hill in Anurādhapura.
Hattori, 2000, p. 29.

[571]   The "splitting of the *saṅgha*" refers thus to matters of monastic discipline, because the validity of any *vinayakarma* depends on the validity of the ordination rites (*upasapardā*) and the completeness of the *bhikkhus* within the *sīmā* during the performance of the particular ecclesiastic act.
Bechert, 1982, p. 65.

[572]   Mahāvaṃsa V 1-13, pp. 26-27.

[573]   *Sāsana* (Pāli) - *Śāsana* (Sanskrit) is defined as Buddhism in a wider sense – a whole religion; a phenomenon in history – not just a doctrine.
Gombrich, 1996, p. 3.

[574]   Skilling, 2009, p. 64.
Other source: Perreira, 2012, p. 466.

Gethin is, however, somewhat more vague in the sense that he sees "the commentaries (*aṭṭhakathā*) as containing **both** an original exposition – that of the earliest "teachers" (namely the 500 *arhats* present at the First Buddhist council) - **as well as** a subsequent body of opinions deriving from various individual elders.
Gethin, 2012, p. 9 & 47-48.

"Thus, I have heard…". In these scriptures it was advocated, that they represented a superior path of practice leading to a superior understanding. They were produced during a period of some six or seven centuries – the first of which may date back as early as the first century BCE.[575] The aim of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism goes beyond that of *Theravāda* Buddhism, in the sence that it offers salvation for ***all sentinent beings*** – not only for the few chosen (*arhats*) like in the *Theravāda* tradition.

Vajrayāna Buddhism encompasses the *esoteric* form of Buddhism (*Mantranaya*) and the *tantric* form of Buddhism (*Tantrism*). They both evolved out of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, perhaps with roots in the code of the *Mahāsaṅghika* tradition. *Vajrayāna* Buddhism was initiated around the mid-seventh centuries CE[576] with influences from the then current Hinduistic trains of thought. The overwhelming majority of *esoteric* Buddhist literature was composed during a mere four hundred year period – i.e. from mid-seventh to mid-eleventh centuries CE. *Vajrayāna* Buddhism constitutes a further broadening of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhist concept of offering full Enlightenment not only to ***all sentinent beings, but also within one lifetime***.[577]

The terms *Hīnayāna*, *Theravāda*, *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* derives from the formal scholarship in the West.[578] Under these circumstances, by "wrapping" Buddhism into "neat parcels" using these categories, we

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[575]   Gethin, 1998, pp. 56-57 & 224-225.
Other sources: Drewes, 2010(b), pp. 71-72;   Gombrich, 1990, p. 30.

[576]   However, Wedemeyer means that the identification of new Chinese documents seems to indicate, that an initiatory ritual structure was already in place during the fifth century CE. In addition, Tajima dates the initial forms of *esoteric* Buddhism to the sixth century CE. Williams & Tribe mean that Zhiqian translated into Chinese some *kriyā* texts already from the third century CE.
Tajima, 1998, p. 215 & Wedemeyer, 2013, p. 212 n. 21 & Williams & Tribe, 2003, pp. 194 & 271, n. 5.

[577]   Williams, 1999, p. 186.
Other sources: Bechert, 1981(a), p. 130;   Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 222;   Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 196.

[578]   "… the Buddhism that largely concerned European scholars was a historical projection derived exclusively from manuscripts and blockprints …",
Lopez, 1995, p. 7.

Hīnayāna did not exist as a separate term during the early centuries of Buddhism. It would seem to have been used by the *Mahāyāna* Buddhists with a view of downgrading and stigmatizing the "other side" – as well as to ameliorate their own self-esteem.
Skilling, 2004, p. 142.

only create a **false certainty** of defined terms in an otherwise changing and uncertain world. This false certainty was further strengthened by the frequent **repetitions** of the terms in Western scholarly texts.[579] The importance of properly defining various aspects in the analysis of Buddhism is thus emphasized.

The Three Refuges – the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *saṅgha* - express briefly the constitution of Buddhism. These three aspects are also called the "Three Jewels" – *Triratna*.[580]

> *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*
> *Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*
> *Saṅghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*[581]

3.2 Indonesia´s relationship with Śrī Laṅkā and the Abhayagirvihāra

In *Section 2.1.2* we were informed that the maritime contacts between Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia were in full swing by around the sixth century CE and brought with it a considerable cultural luggage.[582] In analysing the subject of this chapter, one must keep in mind that south India and Śrī Laṅkā have over historical times belonged to one inseparable cultural unit – Maritime Asia.[583] The regions of Pallava

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[579]   Wedemeyer, 2013, p. 4.

[580]   It is not within the scope of this dissertation to discuss the "Three Jewels" – *Triratna* - in further details. Interested parties may be referred, therefore, to such sources as Gethin, R., 1998, *The Foundation of Buddhism*; Griffith, P., 1994, *On Being Buddha: The Classical Doctrine of Buddhahood*; Hirakawa, A., 1998, *A History of Indian Buddhism: From Śākyamuni to Early Mahāyāna*; Lamotte, É., 1988, *History of Indian Buddhism: From the Origines to the Śaka Era*; and Rahula, W., 2000, *What the Buddha Taught*.

[581]   The Three Refuges are repeted three times kneeling in front of the Buddha.
          I go to the Buddha as my refuge;
          I go to the Dhamma as my refuge;
          I go to the Saṅgha as my refuge.

[582]   Ray, 1994, p. 200.
          Other source: Assavavirulhakarn, 2010, p. 187.

[583]   Acri, 2019, pp. 41-42 & 51.

south India, Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia could in fact be denominated "a veritable cultural triangle from the seventh into the ninth century".[584]

The Chinese monk Xuanzang (602-664 CE) left for India in 629 CE. His "Travel Records" – *Buddhist Records of the Western World*[585] – give a detailed picture of Indian Buddhism in the seventh century CE. Of his study of 99 areas with doctrinal affiliations, *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism dominated in 60 areas, with the *Sarvāstivādin* tradition and the *Sammatīya* tradition being the two strongest. In addition, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was said to dominate in 24 areas. Finally, in 15 areas both *Śrāvakayāna* and *Mahāyāna* teachings were followed.[586] From the above, one may conclude that *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism seemed to enjoy a dominant position in India during the first half of the seventh century CE.

Innovative concepts of early Indian *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhists could have developed among the small Buddhist groups in South India. Some monks of these traditions - e.g. the *Mahiṃsāsakas* - could have introduced these innovative concepts to Śrī Laṅkā. The same may apply to early Indian *Mahāyāna* groups. In the fertile grounds of Śrī Laṅkā, with its loose connections between the various *vihāras*, these ideas further developed and were later on "re-exported" to India - e.g. to Nāgārjunakoṇḍa in Āndhra Pradesh.[587] The *sīhaḷa vihāre*[588] mentioned in the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription of the third century CE,

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The Sinhalese king Mānavarman had for instance spent a long exile in the south Indian court at Kāñcī, where he served as a general to the Pallava king Narasiṃhavarman II. King Mānavarman (r. 684-718 CE) owed his kingdom – the second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty - to the Pallava army. In addition, king Mānavarman´s three sons and successors on the throne on Śrī Laṅkā - Aggabodhi V (r. 718-724 CE), Kassapa III (r. 724-730 CE) and Mahinda I (r. 730-733 CE) – were all born in Kāñcī and spent their formative years in the court of Narasiṃhavarman II. King Mānavarman´s reign coincided with Vajrabodhi´s seven years sojourn in the Pallava kingdom and on Śrī Laṅkā. The ensuing king Aggabodhi VI (733-772 CE) reigned during Amoghavajra´s text-retrieving mission (741-746 CE) to Śrī Laṅkā.
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 146.

[584]   Holt, 1991, p. 82.

[585]   *Dà táng xīyù qì*   大唐西域圯記   (T. 2087).

[586]   Hirakawa, 1998, p. 121.

[587]   Cousins, 2012, pp. 120-122.

[588]   *sīhaḷa vihāre bodhirukkhapāsādo* ("edifice (housing) the Bodhi Tree at the Sīhaḷa monastery")
Gunawardana, 2005, p. 60.

seems to indicate that a monastery would have been built by someone from the Sīhaḷa kingdom and/or for the use of monks from that kingdom.[589] While the Sīhaḷa monastery in fact existed on the right bank of the river Kṛṣṇa at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, one must realize that also other Buddhist *nikāyas* were present at that site.[590] In addition, it may be of interest to note, that the three Lankese *Sthāvira nikāyas* and their supporters did not regard the religious community in Nāgārjunakoṇḍa as an isolated effort.[591]

According to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription, the *Śrāvakayāna* monks from "Tambapaṃṇa" (Śrī Laṅkā)[592] were known to have had relations with the Buddhist community in the Āndhra region already during the third century CE. The three Lankese *Sthāvira nikāyas* (*Mahāvihāra*, *Abhayagirivihāra* and *Jetavanavihāra*) constituted in fact an integral part of a much larger Buddhist community.[593]

The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang claimed in his "Travel Records", that Lankese monks following "the *Sthāviras* and the *Mahāyāna* teachings" [i.e. *Abhayagirivāsins*] controlled the Sinhalese *vihāra* at Bodhgayā.[594] The interchange both ways of religious concepts between Śrī Laṅkā and the Pallava dynasty in Kāñcīpuram, Tamil Nadu during the fourth century onwards is undisputed by the scholars (see *Section 4.2.3.1*).

During the first centuries CE, northwest India was a patchwork of different religions. The *Sarvāstivāda nikāya* played an important role in this area of India in spreading Buddhism – particularly in Mathurā. But they were not alone there. In fact, the *Sarvāstivāda nikāya* did share the area with other *Stavira nikāyas* and *Mahāyāna nikāyas*.[595]

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[589] Please compare *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra´s corresponding donation as expressed in the Devapāla Nālandā inscription of the 840:s CE (see *Section 2.3.3 & Appendix I, # 14*) .

[590] Gunawardana, 2005, p. 61.

[591] Gunawardana, 2005, pp. 60-64 & 70.

[592] *theriyā tambapaṃṇakā* ("religieux from Tambapaṃṇa, who followed the traditions of *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism").
Gunawardana, 2005, p. 59.

[593] Gunawardana, 2005, pp. 60 & 70.

[594] Hirakawa, 1998, p. 121.
Other source: Cousins, 2012, pp. 114-117.

[595] Strong, 1983, p. 36.

Now it is time to ascertain what the result of this background might entail.

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The introduction of Pāli language and texts in Southeast Asia was instrumental in promoting *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism. The Buddhist community on medieval Śrī Laṅkā prior to the twelfth century CE was characterized by three *Theravāda* traditions – all three jointly making up the *Sthāvira nikāya*; viz.

- *Mahāvihāra* in Anurādhapura, which also referred to themselves as the authentic *Theravādins*.[596] The *Mahāvihāra* was established during the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (r. 250-210 BCE).[597] Much of their scriptures were in Pāli;

- *Abhayagirivihāra*[598] in Anurādhapura – the so called Northern Monastery (*Uttaravihāra*). The *Abhayagirivihāra* was the first breakaway fraction on Śrī Laṅkā from the *Mahāvihāra*. King Vaṭṭagāmiṇī Abhaya (r. 89-77 BCE) had the *Abhayagirivihāra* built in Anurādhapura and offered it to Mahātissa Thera.[599] They housed the most venerated relics of Śrī Laṅkā - the Buddha Śākyamuni´s Tooth Relic and Alms Bowl Relic.[600] *Abhayagirivāsins* belonged to the *Theravāda* tradition; and

- *Jetavanavihāra* in Anurādhapura – the so called Southern Monastery (*Dakkhiṇavihāra*). The *Jetavanavihāra* was established during the reign of king Mahāsena I – 274-301 CE).[601] They belonged to the *Theravāda* tradition.[602]

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[596]   See *Section 3.1.*

[597]   Powell, 2018, p. 5.
Other source: Gombrich, 1998, p. 32.

[598]   *Abhaya* = fearless;   *giri* = mountain;   i.e. the monastery of Mount Fearlessness.
Chandra, 1993, p. 10.

[599]   It is also denominated the *Dhammarucika* tradition.
Chandawimala, 2016, p. 29, 219.
Other source: Gombrich, 1998, pp. 34-35.

[600]   The *Abhayagiri pāṃśukūlikas* are also said to have superintended such relic sites as Thūpārāma (the Collarbone Relic), Tiriyāy (the Hair Relic) and Mahānettapādika (the presumed Eye Relic).
Sundberg, 2014, p. 151-152, n. 146.

[601]   It is also called the *Sāgaliya* tradition.
Mahāvaṃsa V 13c-d, p. 27.
Other sources: Bechert, 1993, p. 11; Cousins, 2012, pp. 77-80; Gethin, 2012, p. 47; Gombrich, 1998, p. 35.

These three traditions seemed to have existed side-by-side on Śrī Laṅkā. They did in other words not seem to have represented various provincial interests.[603] Gunawardana suggests, though, that the three *nikāyas* may have represented the *saṅgha* only in a conventional sense. If so, this would explain the rather peaceful separation of various *nikāyas* and of various traditions from them.[604]

The *Abhayagirivihāra* and the *Mahāvihāra* differed mainly on some *vinaya* grounds.[605] Chandra claimed that the *Abhayagirivāsins* rejected the fifth book (the *Parivāra*) in the *Theravāda vinaya*.[606] Referring to the *Samantapāsādikā*, Cousins claims that these two *vinayas* only differed in the interpretation of a single phrase, which Cousins means is only "like a gloss".[607] The *Abhayagirivāsins* seemed indeed to be in the same fold as the *Śrāvakayānas*, which is also indicated in the *Mahāvihāra Cūlavaṃsa*.[608]

The *Abhayagiri nikāya* - and subsequently also the *Jetavana nikāya* - were open to new ideas from India and from *Mahāyāna* Buddhism (e.g. *Vaipulyavāda* and *Yogācāra*) and from *esoteric* Buddhist ideas.[609] Representatives from such other Indian Buddhist traditions were invited to take up residence in the *Abhayagirivihāra*. The *Mahā-vihāravāsins*, though, rejected such influences. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang noted during his travels in India in early seventh century

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The establishment of a second *Abhayagirivihāra* – *Dakkhiṇavihāra* – was also mentioned (*Dīpavaṃsa* XIX 14-19 and *Mahāvaṃsa* XXXIII 88, p. 236). *Dakkhiṇavāsins* subsequently split from *Abhayagirivāsins* and went to live in the newly contructed *Jeta-vanavihāra* (*Mahāvaṃsa* XXXVI 110-XXXVII 39, pp. 264-270).

[602]   Cousins, 2012, pp. 68-69.
      Other source: Bechert, 1993, p. 11; Walters, 2000, p. 123..

[603]   Gunawardana, 1979, p. 49.

[604]   Gunawardana, 1979, p. 51

[605]   Chandra, 1986, p. 39.

[606]   Basing himself on H.G.A. van Zeyst, 1961, "*Abhayagirivāsins*", *Encyclopedia of Bud-dhism*, Vol. 1 (ed. G.P. Malalasekera), Colombo (Government Press, Ceylon), p. 28, Chandra claimed that the *Abhayagirivāsins* rejected the fifth book (the *Parivāra*) in the *Theravāda vinaya*.
      Chandra, 1979(b), p. 268.

[607]   Cousins, 2012, p. 83 and *Samantapāsādikā* 583.
      Other source: Bechert, 1993, p. 14;

[608]   Gethin, 2012, p. 49.

[609]   Chandra, 1987, p. 20-29 & Chandra, 1986, p. 53.

CE that "the *Mahāvihāravāsins* reject the *Mahāyāna* and practice the *Hīnayāna*, while the *Abhayagirivihāravāsins* study both *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* teachings and propagate the *Tripiṭaka*."[610] The canonical texts of these three Lankese *nikāyas* - *Sthāviras* - were all in Pāli.[611]

The *Abhayagirivihāra* was organized into 4 different institutions or *mulās* - *Uttaramūla*, *Kāpāramūla*, *Vādumūla* and *Mahānettapāsādamūla*. These *mūlas* were run as affiliated institutions, but had their own administrative systems.[612] The *Abhayagiri* temples were well organized with a management committee of 8 persons and an administrative set-up of 66 different works – i.e. 74 persons all-in-all.[613]

According to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Abhayagirivihāra* was established without any split – in fact, it is thought as the culmination of a preconceived plan.[614] The split should have occurred subsequently, when the monk Mahātissa was expelled from the *Mahāvihāra* on *vinaya* grounds and together with his pupils took refuge in the *Abhayagirivihāra*. This should thus have initiated the formal split between the *Abhayagirivāsins* and the *Mahāvāsins*. From now on, the *Mahāvihāra* stated that they – and only they – represented the authentic *Theravāda*, a statement on which the *Abhayagirivāsins* had some views, as they also regarded themselves as heirs of the Mahinda-Laṅkā lineage and thus belonged to *Theravāda*.[615]

Yijing (635-713 CE) was the first of the Chinese monks travelling in India and in Southeast Asia that reported on three Lankese traditions.

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[610] Please note that the quote from Xuanzhang here mentions the name of the scriptures in *Sanskrit* (*Tripiṭaka*), while they ought to have been indicated in *Pāli* (*Tipiṭaka*), as *Pāli* was the ligua franca on Śrī Laṅkā in those days.
Hirakawa, 1998, p. 121.
Other source: Taisho 51:934b; Walters, 2000, p. 122.

[611] Bechert, 1993, p. 13.
Other source: Gunawardana, 1979, p. 347.

[612] Chandawimala, 20016, p.87.

[613] Chandwimala, 2016, pp. 89-93.

[614] Chandawimala, 2016, p. 219.

[615] *Mahāvaṃsa* XXXIII 78-83. P. 235; XXXIII 93-98, pp. 236-237; XXXVII, 95 ff.
Other source: Gethin, 2012, pp. 47-49.

There seems to exist some uncertainty, as to who exactly this *bhikkhu* Mahātissa was – i.e. the same person, on whom the king vested the responsibility of the *Abhayagirivihāra*, or some other *bhikkhu* – see Gethin, 2012, p. 48, n. 99.

He and other external sources would suggest that the breach between the *Mahāvihāra* and the *Abhayagirivihāra* took place sometime during the third century CE – as opposed to the traditional view of a separation movement during the first century BC. Likewise, referring to the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, Cousins ventures to suggest that the *Jetavana* tradition did not separate from the *Abhayagiri* tradition until late in the fifth century CE.[616]

But one should be aware, that the *nikāya* formation in India and on Śrī Laṅkā was more complex than this simple model leads us to believe. Subdivisions were frequently based on disagreements of points of the *vinaya*, on liberating efforts on part of forest hermitages, etc.[617] Naturally, with the passing of time these three traditions altered in domination throughout the history of Śrī Laṅkā, briefly as follows:

- Up until the mid-seventh century CE *Śrāvakayāna*, *Mahāyāna* and *esoteric* Buddhism seemed to exist in parallel on Śrī Laṅkā;[618]
- With the return of king Mānavarman in 684 CE[619] up until the invasion by the *Pāṇḍyas* and the sacking of Anurādhapura under Sena I around 840:s CE,[620] the *Abhayagirivihāra* was in a favoured position on Śrī Laṅkā.[621] *Esoteric* Buddhism also seemed to have existed on Śrī Laṅkā during this period.[622]

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[616]   Cousins, 2012, pp. 69-71

[617]   Gombrich, 1996, p. 159.
Other source: Gethin, 2012, pp. 55-56.

[618]   This is indicated by the admixture of *esoteric* and *exoteric* Buddhist images found in the cache under the double-platformed *padhānaghara* (meditational platform) at Tiriyāy. A bilinear inscription in Pallava-Grantha is found on a boulder close to Tiriyāy, indicating that the rock was engraved in the 23rd regnal year of king Aggabodhi VI (r. 733-772). Sundberg, 2014, pp. 119 & 120, Note 21.

[619]   See *Section 3.2, Note 583*. King Mānavarman reigned 684-718 CE and Sena I during 834-854 CE.

[620]   Professor Ranawella dates the sacking of Anurādhapura to somewhere 839-845 CE. Sundberg, 2014, p. 129, Note 51.

[621]   The *Abhayagirivihāra* was believed to comprehend some elements of *esoteric* spells. Examples hereof are for instance Amoghavajra´s expressed **Buddhanetradhāraṇī*, which is said to have saved the ship, on which he was travelling, from foundering. In addition, Amoghavajra was thought to have made it possible for emperor Suzong to crush the An Lushan rebellion in 763 CE by expressing various *dhāraṇīs* and spells (see *Section 4.2.5*). It is furthermore believed that the *Abhayagirivihāra* assisted king Mānavarman to return to Śrī Laṅkā.
Sundberg, 2014, pp. 79 & 119.

- The *Pāṇḍya* invasion undermined the position of *esoteric* Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā. With the accession of Sena II (r. 854-888 CE), *Theravāda* was back in favour. The dominance of *Theravāda* on Śrī Laṅkā may to a large extent be based on Sena II´s successful beating of the *Pāṇḍyas* in 862 CE, the sacking of Mathura and the retreaval of the Sinhalese treasures earlier lost to the *Pāṇḍyas*;[623]
- Despite Sena II´s "royal reforms" and his withholding of royal support, the *Abhayagirivihāra* managed to survive on Śrī Laṅkā until king Parākramabāhu I´s "purification and unification process of the *saṅgha*" in 1164-1165 CE, when the *Abhayagiri nikāya* and the *Jetavana nikāya* ceased to exist in the sense of Buddhist ecclesiastic law. The *Mahāvihāra nikāya* continued thereafter as the sole lineage of *Theravāda* Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā.[624]

The *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā was the first university type Buddhist monastic education institute. It was established much earlier than the Nālandā (founded around the mid-fifth century CE) and the Vikaramaśīlā (founded in the eighth century CE), as well as other ancient Buddhist universities in India.[625]

The *Vajrayāna* Buddhism greatly influenced the Lankese Buddhism – particularly the *Abhayagirivihāra* during the "late Anurādhapura period".[626] Along with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) (T. 848)[627] and its corpus and ritual texts, the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha Sūtra* (the *STTS*)[628] formed the foundation of *esoteric* Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā, as well as in other parts of the Indian Peninsula and in the Far

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[622] The Vajrapāṇi statue found at Ratnakaravva was dated to 750-850 CE.
Deegalle, 1999, p. 351.

[623] Sundberg, 2016, pp. 360-361; Sundberg, 2014, p. 80; Walters, 2000, pp. 132-135.

[624] Bechert, 1993, p. 16.
Other sources: Gethin, 2012, p. 49; Skilling, 2012, p. xiv; Sundberg, 2014, pp. 82-86;
Walters, 2000, pp. 141-146.

[625] Chandawimala, 2016, p. 221.

[626] The "late Anurādhapura period" lasted from king Mānavarman (r. 684-718 CE) to king Vijayabāhu I (r. 1055-1110 CE), when the latter reclaimed Poḷonnaruwa from the Cholas in 1070 CE and established Poḷonnaruwa as the new capital.
Powell, 2018, pp. 6-7.

[627] See *Appendix IV, # 5.*

[628] See *Appendix IV, # 6.*

East. The concept of "*Vajrayāna*" is mentioned for the first time in the *STTS*.[629] The *STTS* was composed in south India during the mid-seventh century and was codified by the late eighth century. It is the seminal text of the *yoga tantra* class.[630] It consists of 26 chapters, grouped into five main sections (*samayas*). The *Vajradhātumahā-maṇḍala* with its 37 deities is presented in Chapter 1 of the *STTS*.[631] It constitutes the southern version of the text and is the text, that Amoghavajra introduced into China (T. 865).[632]

The *esoteric* Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā was also influenced by the *Mañjuśrībhāṣitavāstuvidyāśāstra* (the *MVVS*).[633] Its first book – the *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* – covers the construction and the consecration of Buddhist monasteries. The five main buildings of the monastery are to be placed in accordance with the *upapīṭha-maṇḍala* which transforms the monastery into a sacred space.[634] The *caitya* is no longer a funeral mound, housing the funeral remains of the Buddha. Rather it is the realms of the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas* (the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala*).[635]

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[629] Powell, 2018, pp. 7-8, 11.

[630] Giebel, 2001, p. 7; Weinberger 2003, pp. 27-34.

[631] Some of the 37 deities of the *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* are represented on the "Anurādhapura copper plate", which proves that the *STTS* was circulated not only in the *Abhayagiri-vihāra*, but also at its affiliated branches, such as Vijayārāma.
Chandawimala, 2016, p. 223.

[632] Giebel, 2001, pp. 5-6; Weinberger, 2003, pp. 40-43; 69-73.

In Chapter 2 of the *STTS*, the all female *Vajraguhyavajramaṇḍala* with its 29 deities is presented. It constitutes the Northern version of the text (preserved in a ninth/tenth-century Nepalese manuscript).
Weinberger 2003, pp. 55-56;   Powell, 2018, pp 11, 15, 18-19 & 25.

The *Abhayagirivihāra* is credited to have created the *mantras* of the Four Outer Goddesses of the *Vajraguhyadhātumaṇḍala*.
Chandrawimala, 2016, pp. 222-223.

[633] The *Mañjuśrībhāṣitavāstuvidyāśāstra* (the *MVVS*) is a *śilpa śāstra* – or treatise - organized into two books (*śāstras*) and seventeen chapters (*adhyāyas*). The *MVVS* is written in Sanskrit using Sinhalese script, covering 60 palm leaves front and back. It encompassed 1,600 *ślokas.*The two books of the *MVVS* are (i) the *Vāstuvidyāśāstra* – which covers the construction and the consecration of Buddhist monasteries, and (ii) the *Citrakarmaśāstra,* which is the manual for the fabrication and consecration of Buddhist statues (Reference is also made to *Section 4.2.4*).
Marasinghe, 1989, pp. v-vii.

[634] The five main structures (*pañcāvāsa*) of the monastery are: the *caitya*, the image hall, the *Bodhi* tree shrine, the *prāsāda* (residential hall) and the lecture hall (*sabhā*).
Powell, 2018, pp. 31-32, 40.

[635] Powell, 2018, pp. 40, 60.

Based on the *STTS´s Vajradhātumaṇḍala,* consecration rituals (*pratiṣṭhā*) were performed transforming Buddhist *stūpas* into *Vajradhātu-maṇḍalas*, i.e. into abodes of 99 million *Tathāgatas.* The consecration rituals made the *stūpa* and the *maṇḍala* to be transformed into a sacred ground – thus guaranteeing prosperity for the monastery in question.[636] Correspondingly, an *abhiṣeka* ritual is illustrated on the Barabuḍur.[637]

Just as the ritual practices of the *STTS* transform one´s ordinary body, speech and mind into the *vajra* body, speech and mind of the Buddha, the ritual practices of the *MVVS* transform the ordinary world of *saṃsāra* into the enlightened world of the *maṇḍala.[638]*

During the seventh to the ninth centuries CE, monks from Southeast Asia, China and Tibet visited the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā in order to familiarize themselves with the form of Buddhism developed there – and to return with copies of Buddhist scriptures. Amoghavajra is an example hereof.[639]

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In presenting Buddhism over such long periods of time, one must keep in mind that the *vinaya* lineage de facto developed and altered in character. The monasteries (*vihāras*) became economic institutions of substantial wealth. [640] The above "unhealthy" development led to some "unrest" within the *saṅgha* on Śrī Laṅka. Various groups of "Wilderness monks" sprung forth during this process, such as:

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[636]   Powell, 2018, pp. 32-33.

[637]   On the Borobuḍur, there is a bas-relief with the Buddha receiving consecrations with running water from two water pots by two devotees, together with many devotees, who were represented holding various offering objects.
Chandawimala, 2016, p. 100.

See also the *Buddhābhiṣeka Hā Nānumara Maṅgalyaya* by Wickramagamage, 2002.

[638]   Powell, 2018, pp. 87-88.

[639]   Walters, 2000, p.124.
Other sources: Acri, 2016(a), p. 17; Sundberg and Giebel, 2011, p. 148

[640]   Gunawardana, 1979, p. 86.

- *"**Forest dwelling monks**"* (*āraññavasin*), which are ascetic monks primarily of the *Mahāvihāra*.[641] These *Theravāda* monks were initially mentioned only as late as under Kassapa IV (r. 898-914). In any event, there does not seem to exist any information proposing that the *āraññavasins* also should have belonged to the *Abhayagiri nikāya* or to the *Jetavana nikāya*;[642]
- *"**Rag-wearing monks**"*, which fall into two categories – (i) an orthodox Pāli reading *paṃsukūlika* group of the *Theravāda Mahāvihāra*, and (ii) an *esoteric* Sanskrit reading *pāṃśukūlika* group of the *Abhayagirivihāra*.[643]

As regards the *esoteric* Sanskrit reading *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhaya-girivihāra*, they were known on Śrī Laṅkā from the second century CE. The *pāṃśukūlikas* reached their prominence under the various kings during the period seventh to ninth century CE – i.e. from king Māna-varma to king Sena I.[644] It is said that king Mānavarman (r. 684-718 CE) built a hermitage for them at Thūpārāma.[645] King Sena I (r. 846-866) built the large monastery at Ritigala for the *pāṃśukūlikas*.[646] He also built a separate kitchen in the *Abhayagirivihāra* for the *pāṃśukūlikas*.[647] The *pāṃśukūlika* meditation platforms were of a special "double-platform" design. The *pāṃśukūlika* were esteemed for their knowledge and for their mastery of the doctrine.[648] Within the *Abhayagirivihāra*, the *pāṃśukūlikas* were entrusted with the custody of the relics on Śrī Laṅkā.[649]

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[641] These *Mahāvihāra* monks were generally described as "Lamps among the elders". Walters, 2000, p. 138.
Other source: Wijesuriya, 1998, p. 147.

[642] Gunawardana, 1979, p. 45.

[643] Sundberg, 2014, p. 52.

[644] Wijesuriya, 1998, p. 143 and Sundberg, 2014, p. 89.

[645] Gunawardana, 1979. p. 41.
Other source: Wijesuriya, 1998, p. 144.

[646] Wijesuriya, 1998, pp. 36 & 145.

[647] Wijesuriya, 1998, p. 145.

[648] See *Section 3.2, Note 677*.
Sundberg, 2014, p. 91.

[649] These relics were the Tooth Relic, the Hair Relic, the Alms Bowl Relic, the supposed Eye Relic and the Collarbone Relic – the latter which was housed in the Thūpārāma, where the *stūpa* was converted into a roofed *vaṭadāge* (which Sundberg suggests could have been the referred to *Iron Stūpa*).
Sundberg, 2014, p. 89 & 149, n. 132.

Another aspect specific to the Lankese Buddhism, is their construc-
tions of a *vaṭadāge* superstructure covering a *stūpa* (see *Section 5.3.4*).
These *vaṭadāge* structures may be described as a roof supported by
pillars to the ground (see **Picture 111**). The *vaṭadāge* structure was
supposed to legitimizing *esoteric* Buddhism by illustrating the legend
of the South Indian Iron *Stūpa*.[650] There are remains of twelve *vaṭadāge*
constructions on Śrī Laṅkā[651], the first one being built by king
Lambakaṇṇa (r. 65-109 CE) in Vasabha at the Thūpārāma.[652]

The *vaṭadāge* superstructures transformed antique relic *stūpas* into
esoteric Buddhist Iron *Stūpas*. The interior of the Iron *Stūpa* could well
be seen as a description of the interior corridor of a *vaṭadāge*.[653] The
vaṭadāge structures were seen to be permeable and to contain hidden
spiritual treasures.[654]

According to Amoghavajra, the South Indian Iron *Stūpa* served as the
custodial depository of the seminal *Vajroṣnīṣa* text – ultimately being
found by Nāgārjuna. Kūkai, on the other hand, paid more importance
to the *abhiṣeka* aspect from Vajrasattva to Nāgārjuna.[655] The Iron *Stūpa*
was thus transmuted from a repository of the sacred text, to the locus
of a primordial ritual – with the Iron *Stūpa* being identified as Mahā-
vairocana´s Universal Palace of the Mind.[656]

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[650]   For a description of the Iron *Stūpa*, please see Abé, 1999, pp. 220-225; *Appendix IV, Note 1564*.

[651]   *Vaṭadāge* structures have been found in Anurādhapura at the Thūpārāma, Laṅkārāma, Toluvila and Vessagiri – as well as elsewhere on Śrī Laṅkā at Mihintale, Tiriyāy, At-tanagalla, Sigiriya, Virandagoda, Rajangana, Mänikdena and Devundara.
Miksic, 2016, p. 354 N. 9.
Other source: Sundberg, 2018, p. 257.

[652]   Sundberg, 2017, pp. 60-67 & 135-139.

[653]   Orzech, 1995, p. 317.

[654]   Sundberg, 2017, p. 149.

[655]   Kukai´s version of the Iron *Stūpa* paid more importance to the seminal conferral aspect –i.e. the face-to-face *abhiṣeka* aspect Vajrasattva→Nāgājuna→Nāgajñāna→Vajrabodhi.

[656]   Abé, 1999, 220-222.
Other source: Sundberg, 2017, pp. 141-143.

The *vaṭadāge* structures were not only attractive to *esoteric* Buddhists, but were in fact implicated in their *esoteric* beliefs.[657]

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When the *Abhayagirivihāra* was at its prime, the Śailendras approched them in 790 CE and invited the *pāṃśukūlikas* to Java (see *Section 4.1*). After the fall of Sena I in 854 CE, times became tougher for the *Abhayagirivihāra.* During 874 CE – i.e. the twentieth year of the reign of king Sena II (r. 854-888 CE) – the *pāṃśukūlikas* left the *Abhayagirivihāra* in protest in order to form a sect (*gaṇāhesuṃ*) of their own elsewhere on the island.[658]

The *Mahāvihāra nikāya* no doubt represented the conservative wing of Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā, while the *Abhayagirivihāra nikāya* seems to a larger extent to have been open to various influences arriving from the Indian subcontinent. But to what extent, is in fact still uncertain. The Chola invasions in the tenth and the eleventh centuries CE resulted in the destruction of many valuable *Abhayagirivihāra nikāya* texts and images.[659] Although some *Abhayagirivihāra* texts had already prior thereto left Śrī Laṅkā for India, China and Southeast Asia (see the Three Monks in *Section 4.2.5*), the fact that the *Mahāvihāra nikāya* subsequently prevailed over and absorbed the *Abhayagirivihāra nikāya* in the twelfth century CE made the endeavours to recuperate lost *Abhayagirivihāra* scriptures **not** come to fruitition. We must in other words realize, that the present picture of the *Abhayagirivihāra nikāya* is based primarily on the sources of the *Mahāvihāra nikāya* and on the picture that they desired future man to assume. The *Cūḷavaṃsa* has specifically avoided informing about *esoteric* Buddhism on Śrī Laṅkā during the second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty – i.e. from Mānavarman to Sena I. Most of chapter 47 in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* dealing with this period is

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[657]   Sundberg, 2017, p. 135; Sundberg, 2015, p. 121, Note 37 & 150, Note 134.

[658]   Bechert, 1993, p. 12.
Other source: Gunawardana, 1979, pp. 41 & 51 & Wijesuriya, 1998, p. 146.

The reason for this protest in 874 CE by the *Abhayagiri pāṃśukūlikas* were inter alia Sena II´s (i) shift to the more traditional Pāli Buddhism of the *Mahāvihāra*, (ii) to some disputes regarding the *vinaya,* and (iii) to the shift of the custody of the Buddhist relics from the *Abhayagirivihāra* to the *Mahāvihāra*.
Sundberg, 2014, p. 92; and Walters, 2000, pp. 134-135.

[659]   Hirakawa, 1998, pp. 125-126.

lacking.[660] Results from recent academic research of historical remnants on Śrī Laṅkā - particularily the research at twelve Śrī Laṅkān *vaṭadāge* sites - seems to have rendered envidence regarding the Śrī Laṅkān *esoteric* Buddhist phase.[661]

The various aspects of the *Abhayagirivihāra* should in other words be interpreted with this in mind. We must thus accept, that "the victor writes the history!"

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The horizons of the relationships between Buddhist sacred places and the life of the Buddha appeared to expand.[662] A form of Buddhism based on Pāli is known to have existed in Pyu and Mon areas (Myanmar) by this time – having derived directly or indirectly from Śrī Laṅkā.[663] The influences of the *Abhayagirivihāra* expanded into India and into Southeast Asia.[664] They reached the area of present day Cambodia by the beginning of the sixth century CE. The monk Saṅghapāla is known in 505 CE to have translated the *Vimuttimagga* to Chinese – a Pāli text of the *Abhayagirivihāra* of Śrī Laṅkā. This translation work took place in Funan. The teachings of the Lankese *Abhayagirivihāra* may in other words have been introduced to China via Funan.[665] Given the contacts between Java and Funan, it may perhaps also be conceivable to presume that the teachings of the *Abhayagirivihāra* may have been introduced on Java via Funan – as a complement to the direct contacts between Śrī Laṅkā and Java.

The *Abhayagiri* inscription at Ratubaka on Java of 792/793 CE (Śaka 714/715) (see *Appendix I, # 7*) is in Sanskrit and in an early form of the *Brāhmī* script. The inscription indicates that there existed a cultural exchange between Java and Śrī Laṅkā during the Śailendra period (ca 746-829 CE).[666] Basing himself on Gray,[667] Sundberg proposed the idea

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[660]   Sundberg, 2018, pp. 193-200.

[661]   Sundberg, 2017, pp. 4-5.

[662]   Shinohara, 2003, p. 97.

[663]   Cousins, 2012, p. 116.

[664]   Sundberg, 2014, pp. 79 & 94.

[665]   Gunawardana, 2005, pp. 72 & 77.

[666]   Voûte, 2006, p. 223.
        Other sources: Soekmono, 1995, p. 54; Woodward, 2009, pp. 25-26.

that this inscription proves that Java had direct contacts with the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* in Anurādhapura on north-central Śrī Laṅkā. The contacts with the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* would, according to Sundberg, explain the introduction of *esoteric* and *yoga tantras* by the *pāṃśukūlikas* to Java (see *Section 4.2.3*) and to Southeast Asia.[668]

Sundberg further claims that the Śailendras had "hand-picked" these *pāṃśukūlikas* from Śrī Laṅkā. These monks were not ordinary monks living in the "wilderness". Ratubaka was no "wilderness", but an elaborated contruction on a flattened hill top. These monks were in fact especially chosen high-caliber masters of *yoga* techniques and skilled commentators of the doctrines of these *esoteric* Buddhist texts, which they themselves may have taken part in generating (see *Section 5.2.1* for an explanation of the supposed contacts between the *pāṃśukūlikas* and the Śaiva ascetics). Sundberg goes a step further and states that the *pāṃśukūlikas* had a putative acquaintance with the transgressive *advaya* doctrines,[669] and – like the *siddhas* – were dreaded for their arcane power.[670] When the *Abhayagirivihāra* was at its prime, these *pāṃśukūlikas* were invited to go to Java,.[671] This would mean,

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Hattori mentions that a scroll dug up at the ruins of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā shows the groundplan of a lotus-like *stūpa*, which is believed to represent the Bara-buḍur. The Buddha images dug up at the same place had also great resemblance to those of the Barabuḍur.
Hattori, 2000, p. 34.

[667] Gray, 2001, pp. 204 ff.

[668] Gray arrived at the conclusion that the *yoginī tantras* must at least have been parallell with the *yoga tantras* – rather than followed them.
Gray, 2001, pp. 411ff.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1961, p. 245; Sundberg, 2014, pp. 79 & 94; Sundberg, 2004, pp. 95-96.

[669] In these transgressive *advaya* doctrines, the devotee endeavoured - by introducing impure elements in their *esoteric* rituals - to rise above the duality between ritual purity and impurity.

[670] During his 741-746 CE text-retrieving trip to Śrī Laṅkā, Amoghavajra received his texts from the *Abhayagirivihāra* – probably also from the *pāṃśukūlikas*. The recent finds at Tiriyāy would seem to support this. Some of these texts were transgressive. Amoghava-jra was said to minimize knowledge of their more unchaste aspects.
Sundberg, 2014, pp. 108, 110 & 178, n. 229 & 230.

[671] The *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* were probably instrumental in assisting king Mānavarman to return to Śrī Laṅkā in 684 CE and were therefore enjoying considerable royal support. China had sent Amoghavajra on his text-retrieving mission to Śrī Laṅkā in 741-746 CE. The king of Tibet invited the celebrated scholar Buddhaguhya to join his

that the Śailendras may have been acquainted with these *esoteric* and *yoga tantras* half a century after Amoghavajra collected them on his text-retrieving mission to Śrī Laṅkā 741-746 CE. These *esoteric* and *yoga tantras* may thus have been known on Java by the time the Barabuḍur was being planned and constructed.[672]

Sundberg substantiates his theory with the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* by referring to the bearded *siddhas* (see **Picture 116**) on the lintels of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and on its 240 *Caṇḍi* Perwaras; on at least two of the five *Pañca-Tathāgata* temples at the *Caṇḍi* Ngawen; on the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and on the reliefs of the Barabuḍur. These bearded figures are presented among clouds, or in flight, or in levitation. On the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and on its *Caṇḍi* Perwaras, as well as on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs, these bearded figures share space with the heavenly *devas*. They have their hair tied back in a topknot. They wear an *upavīta* cord, earrings and jeweled bracelets.[673] Sundberg eventually favours that these bearded lintel figures represent *siddhas*, who have gained the supernatural power of *khecari* – the *siddhi* of flight (see *Section 5.4.3*).[674]

According to Chandra, the Śailendras were followers of *Vajrayāna*.[675] The *Abhayagiri* inscription indicates that it was king Dharmmottuṅgadewa[676] who had the monastery erected and who named it after

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court at about the same time. And now – around 790 CE - the Śailendra king invited the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* to come and live in Java.
Sundberg, 2014, pp. 93-94 & 153, Note 149;   Sundberg, 2016, pp. 359-360.

[672]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 160-162 & 210, Note 140.

[673]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 165.
Corresponding images are also presented on Hindu temples in India from the same time period.

[674]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 168-170.
Other source: Sundberg, 2004, p. 114, Note 30.

[675]   Chandra, 1995(a), p. 20.
Stutterheim seems to be of the view, that the Śailendras were *Vajradhāra* Buddhists (see *Section 5.2.3*).
de Casparis, 1981, pp. 48-49.

[676]   The interpretation of the name of king Dharmmottuṅgadewa varies between different scholars. de Casparis (1950) means that it was the *abhiṣeka* of king Panangkaran (Viṣṇu of the Ligor charter), while he a decade thereafter (1961) means that it referred to king Samaratuṅga. Sarkar on the other hand was of the view that it referred to the successor king - king Panaraban - who according to the Wanua Těngah III inscription started his reign in 784 CE. In this latter case, Dharmmottuṅgadewa would be the *abhiṣeka* name of Panaraban. Degroot and Sundberg mean that the king was named Dharmmottuṅgadewa.

the well-known monastery on Śrī Laṅkā – the *Abhayagirivihāra.* The similarities of the Ratubaka *pendopo* and the *padhānaghara parivena* ("the western monasteries") of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā are eloquent.[677] Sarkar means that the *Abhayagirivihāra* at Ratubaka was built by the monks coming from Śrī Laṅkā.[678] The monks in Ratubaka seem to have been "learned scholars" (see *Appendix I, # 7*). As their brethren in the main monastery of Anurādhapura on Śrī Laṅkā, the monks at Ratubaka were thought to have been open to various *Mahāyāna* aspects – inter alia the cult of the bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara).[679]

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What was the real reason for the Śailendras to invitate these *esoteric pāṃśukūlika* monks of the far away *Abhayagirirvihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā to come and live on Java?

The Śailendras, recently in power on Central Java, might have deemed it appropriate from a political point of view to see a Buddhist

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de Casparis, 1950, p. 199 & de Casparis, 1961, p. 245 & Degroot, 2006, p. 63 & Sarkar, 1971, vol. I, p. 48ii & Sundberg, 2004, pp. 116-117.

[677] The *padhānaghara parivena* meditation temples on Śrī Laṅkā - also called *Tapovana* ("ascetic grove") - were situated some two kilometers west of the *Abhayagirivihāra.* The word *padhānaghara* is made up by the Pāli terms "*padhāna*" and "*ghara*", meaning "house" of "meditation". They were composed of two stone platforms (one for lodging and one for meditation practices), united by a narrow stone bridge and the entire complex being surrounded by a stone wall, with entrances from north, east and south. These structures all lacked decoration – with exception for the urinal, which was elaboratedly decorated to represent a palace! This spirit of contempt was not appreciated by the Śailendras.The Ratubaka *pendopo* building was originally built and subsequently amended in order to suit the needs of the Sinhalese monks. In its final design, it shows a similar structure to that of the *padhānaghara parivena* on Śrī Laṅkā, although with a few smaller differences; e.g. the Ratubaka *pendopo* is built along the north-south axis (while most Sinhalese *padhānaghara parivenas* are constructed along the east-west axis); the Javanese meditation platform is smaller than that meant for lodging, while the Sinhalese platforms are of corresponding sizes; both Javanese platforms bear traces of columns, while such traces are only noted on the lodging platforms in Śrī Laṅkā; the locations of entrances in the enclosure wall differ – the Ratubaka *pendopo* enclosure wall having entrances from north, west and south; etc.
Degroot, 2006, pp. 60-65 & Wijesuriya, 1998, pp. 149-154.
Other sources: Miksic, 1993, pp. 26-28;   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 159-160; Sundberg, 2004, pp. 95-102; Sundberg, 2014, p. 111; Wijesuriya, 1998, pp. 10-14.

[678] Sarkar, 1971, vol. I, p. 48 (ii).

[679] Hirakawa, 1998, p. 121 and Taisho 51: 934b.

vihāra being established on Ratubaka. It has been suggested, namely, that Ratubaka may have been the *kraton* of the Śañjayas and to have housed the palladium of the early Matarām kingdom (the *liṅga*).[680] Therefore, it would have been in the interest of the Śailendras to invite some monks from the *Abhayagirivihāra* to settle down there.

In addition to the obvious political point of view mentioned above (i.e. to bully the Śañjayas), the answer may be that these Sinhalese monks were regarded as the foremost disseminators of *esoteric* and *yoga tantras* during the medieval Buddhist period.[681] They were masters of *esoteric* rituals and were in possession of an extensive library of *tantras*.[682] In return for performing the necessary rituals supporting and safeguarding the Javanese state and for attending to the needs of the Javanese king, they were offered the premier location of Ratubaka.

As indicated above, this theory is supported by the fact that the *pendopo* was rebuilt in order to suit Sinhalese taste and needs. In addition, *Rakai* Panaraban (r. 784-803 CE), during whose reign the *Abhayagirivihāra* at Ratubaka was constructed, had inscribed his name in the interior loop of one of the letters of a Buddhist *tantric mantra* that was written on a gold leaf, which was shaped like a *vajra* (see *Appendix I, # 8*).[683] According to Sundberg, the brief *mantra* on the gold foil is a *hṛdaya* (the personal spell of a deity). This *hṛdaya* is found in the second part of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) – the root *tantra* (*mūla tantra*) of the *yoga tantras*.[684] The important aspect here is the very choice of *mantra* by *Rakai* Panaraban - *Oṃ ṭakī huṃ jaḥsvāhā*.[685] The

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[680]   Degroot, 2006, p. 71.
    Other source: Ras, 2001, p. 385.

[681]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 159-160 & 208-210; Note 140.

[682]   The history of the *Abhayagirivihāra*, as we know it today, is based on *Mahāvihāra* sources. Given this, the extent of the *esoteric* inclination of the *Abhayavasins* should, therefore, be interpreted with caution.

[683]   Sundberg, 2004, pp. 116-117.

[684]   The *STTS* introduces a new form of *esoteric* Buddhism, based on the healing power of the *vajra* and the importance of a ritual consecration on the path to Enlightenment.

[685]   This is the *mantra* used by bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in the tale of *Trailokyavijaya*, when he summoned Maheśvara (Śiva) and the other Hindu deities to the Adamantine Jeweled Palace at the peak of the Mount Meru. Here they were requested to convert to Buddhism and to take refuge in the Buddha, in the *dharma* and in the *saṅgha*. All did so, except for Maheśvara, who subsequently was humiliated, killed and ultimately reborn as the *Tathāgata Bhasmeśvaranirghoṣa* ("Soundless Lord of Ashes").
    Sundberg, 2003, pp. 167-169.

choice of this *mantra* seems to indicate a tension between Buddhists and Śaivas.

Furthermore, the *Abhayagiri* inscription of 792-793 CE (Śaka 714-715) - found beside the *pendopo* lodging platform - confirms that the *Abhayagirivihāra* was inaugurated in that year and was meant for the Sinhalese monks that were "trained in the sayings of discipline of the best of *Jinas*" (see *Appendix I, # 7*).[686]

The *Abhayagiri* inscription of 792-793 CE states that the form of Buddhism, that was practiced on the Ratubaka plateau at that time was *Mahāyāna* Buddhism with the temple dedicated to bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in his *mahākāruṇika* aspect.[687] A large statue of Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara) would have been raised at the *Abhayagirivihāra* of Siṁhala at the Ratubaka,[688] although no remnants of such a statue or of its base platform has ever been found there.[689]

In the opinion of Chandra, the *Abhayagirivihāra* at the Ratubaka was a *vihāra* with inter alia the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya* class of Buddhist texts (see *Section 1.4.3*) and with Mañjughoṣa/Mañjuśrī as the central deity.[690] The *Vaipulya* tradition was in particular concerned with "Sudden Enlightenment" and with "Light", which started with Buddha Amitābha ("Infinite Light"). Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is the reciter of the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya Sūtras*.[691] According to the Lotus *sūtra* (the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*), it is only bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who may explain the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (the new *Vaipulyayāna* path) that the Buddha preached.[692]

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[686] de Casparis, 1961, p. 245.
Other source: Sarkar, 1971, p. 48(vi); Sundberg, 2004, p. 96

[687] de Casparis, 1950, pp. 14 & 16.
Other sources: Chandra, 1979(b), p. 268; Chandra, 1995(a), pp. 20-21; Degroot, 2006, p. 63; Gunawardana, 2001, pp. 145-146; Klokke, 2009, p. 127.

[688] Chandra, 1995(b), p. 219.

[689] Sundberg, 2014, p. 97.

[690] Chandra, 1995(b), p. 219.

[691] These *sūtras* are nine in numbers. They might have formed part of the *Vaipulyapiṭaka* of the *Vaipulyavādins* referred to in the *Nikāyasaṅgraha* 32. These nine *sūtras* are presented in *Section 1.4.3, Note 164*.
Chandra, 1995(a), p. 19.
Other source: Chandra, 1987, pp. 14-15; Chandra, 1979(b), p. 278.

[692] To be noted is thus, that because of his ability to present the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, bodhisattva Mañjughoṣa/Mañjuśrī is deemed to be superior to bodhisattva Padmapāṇi

The South Indian monk Vajrabodhi spent some time in the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā prior to going to China – as did also Amoghavajra subsequently.[693] On his way to China, Vajrabodhi made a stop-over in Śrīvijaya in 718 CE. Here he disseminated the early form of *esoteric* Buddhism. According to Sarkar, *esoteric* Buddhism of the nascent Śrīvijayan kingdom came either directly from the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī valley or from the school of Kāñcī-Negapatam.[694] Vajrabodhi is said to have met with Amoghavajra in Śrīvijaya. Prior to moving on to China in 719 CE, they are both said to have visited Java, where Vajrabodhi introduced *esoteric* Buddhism (see *Section 4.2.5*).

Remains of a pillar has recently been found in the Ratubaka area with flower and animal motives. The animals are the elephant, the horse, the peacock, the garuḍa and the lion.[695] Similar pillars may earlier have supported a hall that could have sheltered an image of Buddha Vairocana – but no remains thereof has been found.[696]

In summary, one may conclude, that it is likely, that the monks from the *Abhayagirivihāra* would have travelled to Java and there established the *vihāra* at the Ratubaka.

In 856-857 CE (Śaka 778-779), the six Hindu inscriptions on the Ratubaka ("Ratubaka a-f") (see *Appendix I, # 12*) were written in Sanskrit in *Brāhmī* script. According to de Casparis, *Rakai* Pikatan of the Śañjaya dynasty (or Kumbhayoni[697]) did raise three *liṅgas* on the

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Avalokiteśvara (even though the latter bears the picture of Buddha Amitābha in his forehead).
Chandra, 1995(a), pp. 20-21.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 218-219.

[693] Chandra, 1979(b), pp. 270-271.

Sundberg means, however, that this *vihāra* was another one – the *Abhayarājavihāra* – the name of which the Chinese had misunderstood during the translation process. Sundberg, 2004, p. 109.

[694] Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 215-216.

[695] In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism these animals represent the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* as follows: Akṣobhya (elephant), Ratnasambhava (horse), Amitābha (peacock), Amoghasiddhi (*garuḍa*) and Vairocana (lion).

[696] Degroot, 2006, p. 65.

[697] The person behind the name Kumbhayoni is much debated. de Casparis believed that it was *Rakai* Pikatan. Wisseman Christie is of the opinion that it was his successor – *Rakai* Lokapāla or a third person – Walaing (see *Section 2.3.3, Note 537*). Sundberg means that he was of royal birth from Western Java.
Degroot, 2006, p. 69; Sundberg, 2016, pp. 362-363.

Ratubaka plateau, as a witness of his victory over *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra of the Śailendra dynasty. Hereby it was meant that the "wheel had turned one full circle". The Ratubaka would hereby be assured to remain Hindu and not be a centre for a further revolt in the future. This is a very important aspect, as the Ratubaka was said to house the palladium of the Matarām kingdom (the *liṅga*).[698]

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[698] de Casparis, 1956, pp. 244-247, 280-281, 289-299.
Other sources: *Appendix I, # 12.*

4 The Introduction of Buddhism into Indonesia

4.1 The introduction of Śrāvakyāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna

Unfortunately, extant scriptures are in principle lacking covering the religious situation on Java during the seventh century CE. One has, therefore, by and large to rely on indirect sources. Of interest is thus that during the first three centuries CE, a profound change occurred in the maritime trade in the Asian waters. Based on recently acquired knowledge concerning navigation, coupled with the knowledge of how to make use of the trade winds, one was now able to pass over open sea. Śrī Laṅkā, with its strategic position in the Indian Ocean and the Southeast Asian coast of the Indian subcontinent, came to play the role of transito harbours for the trade between Europe and the Far East.[699] Naturally, this also had a bearing on the development of Buddhism in the area.[700]

The increased exchange of goods and thoughts in the Southeast Asian and east Asian hemispheres are documented by inter alia Roman coins and Roman oil lamps (dated to the first hundred years CE) found in Óc-eo, the harbour town of the kingdom of Funan. Two monks from Funan are also reported to have travelled to China in order to translate Buddhist texts to Chinese. During the end of the fourth century CE a large statue of the Buddha was cast in Anurādhapura on Śrī Laṅkā and was transported to Nanjing in China together with some ten Buddhist texts via Óc-eo. The Chinese annals record the arrival to China of several monks and art treasures from Śrī Laṅkā during the the fifth century CE.[701] In *Section 3.2*, we learned

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[699] Gunawardhana, 2001, pp. 135-136.

[700] Kinney, Klokke & Kieven, 2003, p. 17.

[701] Gunawardhana, 2001, pp. 138-144.

of the Pāli text *Vimuttimagga* having been translated in Funan to Chinese in the year of 505 CE. In addition, the Buddha statue at Dongduong (Champa) could according to Groslier and Dupont well have been cast in Amarāvatī (Āndhra Pradesh) or in Anurādhapura on Śrī Laṅkā. This indicates a rather important transfer of people and artifacts in Southeast Asia by this period, as well as the early propagation of Buddhism in the region.[702] Gunawardana proposes – based on a theory by Dupont – that the various statues in Southeast Asia from Amarāvartī (Āndhra Pradesh) and from Anurādhapura (Śrī Laṅkā) would indicate that ***Buddhism was not introduced into Southeast Asia directly from Śrī Laṅkā, but from several centres simultaneously and interphasing – one centre of which was Śrīvijaya.***[703]

In *Sections 2.1.1* and *2.1.2* was presented the fundamental role played by Buddhism for the merchant network up to the fifth century CE (when Brahmanism enjoyed an upswing during the Gupta period – 320-550 CE). The Buddhist *vihāras* in their strategic positions along the trade routes, offered not only shelter for the merchants, but also services in writing, finance, medicine, etc. The trade was originally in luxury goods, the demand for which was upheld by the Buddhist value norms.[704] Later on more common goods were traded. The concept of *dāna* did with the flow of time change its character from "gift" to "compensation". Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara developed into the patron saint of the seafarers, traders and travellers. The open trade routes allowed for Buddhist monks to travel long distances freely. Local kings and heads of societies in Southeast Asia invited Buddhist monks and Hindu *brahmans* to their courts. Local Southeast Asian Buddhist monks made pilgrimages to India and Śrī Laṅkā and returned to their native countries with new ideas and with Buddhist texts. This was made possible by the network and the contacts of the traders. ***The Buddhist doctrine was thus spread in Southeast Asia by Buddhist monks – not by traders - along the trade routes.***

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[702] Dupont, 1959, pp. 633-634 & Groslier, 1962, pp. 50-51.
Other sources: Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 31; de Casparis & Mabbett, 1999, p. 291; Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 54.

[703] Gunawardhana, 2005, p. 77; Gunawardhana, 2001, pp. 151-152.

[704] See for instance the Buddhist "Seven Treasures" in *Section 2.1.2, Note 427.*
Other sources: Assavavirulhakarn, 2010, pp. 45 & 186.

After the fall of the Gupta dynasty in 550 CE, the position of Buddhism was considerably eroded. Simultaneously with the development of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, Brahmanic tradition in India was developed into Hinduism. Buddhism was influenced by these new Hinduistic trains of thought and started around the mid-seventh centuries CE[705] to develop into *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. In South India, the Pallava dynasty (330-880 CE) exerted strong cultural and political influence on Śrī Laṅkā during the late seventh to well into the ninth centuries CE.[706] Despite the fact that the Pallava kings remained faithful to Śiva, they nevertheless allowed a diversity of religious belief to flourish in their kingdom – without sponsoring them. As regards Buddhism, we know from Lü Xiang´s biography of Vajrabodhi (see *Section 4.2.5*) that Vajrabodhi was taught an early form of the "Eighteen Assemblies"; i.e. the *Sarvatathāgatatattva-saṃgraha* (the *STTS*) (see *Appendix IV, # 6*) by Nāgajñāna[707] at Kāñcī during the early eighth century CE.[708] Sanderson means that already in this early form of the *STTS*, we see in fact ***the assimilation of Śākta Śaiva concepts – a matter characteristic of esoteric Buddhism.*** The Buddha takes for instance a state of possession (*āveśa*) of the devotees at the time of their initiation – a feature alien to the antecedent Buddhism, but the hall-mark of the *Śaiva Kaula* system and *Śaiva Siddhantic*.[709] In parallel hereto, Gray[710] and Sundberg[711] suggest that the Śaiva concepts were introduced into the Buddhist *esoteric* texts by means of the monks of the forest renunciant traditions (e.g. the *pāṃśukūlikas*). ***These two matters will be further addressed in Section 5.2.***

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[705] See *Section 3.1, Note 576* and *Section 4.2.3, Note 778*.   .

[706] See *Section 3.2, Note 583*.

[707] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 155 & 158.

[708] The second retrieval of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) was made thirty years later by Amoghavajra, when he visited Anurādhapura during his text-retrieving trip in 741-746 CE (see *Section 4.2.5*). According to Sundberg, it is "redolent of an origination in an *esoteric* Śaiva context".
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 155.

[709] Sanderson, 2009, p. 133.
Other sources: Sanderson, 1995, p. 88;   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 154-155. (For *Śaivism* see Sanderson, 1990, pp. 128-172).

[710] Gray, 2001, pp. 204 ff.

[711] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 158-159 & 196.

From the middle of the eighth century CE Arab merchants had made their appearance on the sea trade from the Middle East to Indonesia and China. Arab and Persian seafarers established several ports along the sea routes from India to China. Merchants allied with Buddhist institutions would no longer be necessary for the trade between Bengal and Indonesia.[712] Nevertheless, the *Indian influences on Java in the eighth century CE seem to have been more predominant and profound than would the influences from China*.

Generally speaking, *esoteric* Buddhism coexisted in Maritime Asia with *Mahāyana* and *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism. During the eighth century, it gained momentum into what came to be denominated the "*Tantric* Turn". Experiencing a decline in royal support from medioninth century, *esoteric Buddhism declined in Maritime Asia and China, only to pick up momentum again during the eleventh century* and remaining strong for the ensuing two hundred years.[713]

Although the traces on Java of influences from *esoteric* Buddhism during the late eighth and early ninth centuries were much thinner than they were in China,[714] we have reason to believe that *esoteric* Buddhist contacts were made by the Javanese also directly with China (see *Section 5.7.3*). During the beginning of the tenth century CE, the Chinese started to trade in a big way on their own keels – although the initial vessels arriving to the Strait of Malacca came with the purpose of "defending its trading vessels from pirate attacks". *During the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279 CE), the substantial presence of the Chinese on the marine trade routes led to the fall of Śrīvijaya* and to the establishment of other harbours in the Strait of Malacca.[715]

In any event, Hinduism and Śaivism seemed to have been dominant on Central Java and in Malang on East Java up until the mid-eighth century CE. This may inter alia be documented by the Caṅgal inscription (Magelan in the Keḍu province on Central Java) dated 732 CE (Śaka 654) (see *Appendix I, # 2*). *Hinduism and the Śiva cult may thus*

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[712]   Davidson, 2002, p. 82.
        Other source: Ray, 1994, pp. 1-7 & 9.

[713]   Acri, 2016(a), pp. 7-8.

[714]   Gifford, 2011, pp. 7-12 and *Section 4.2.3, Note 778*.

[715]   Taylor, 1999, pp. 174-176.
        Other source: Hall, 1995, pp. 70-73.

have been the first Indian religions to strike root in the Javanese soil.
This is documented by king Pūrṇavarman of the Tārumā realm of
western Java during the fifth century CE and from the temples on the
Dièng plateau from the eighth century CE (see *Section 2.1.1*). These
latter temples were Śaiva temples, having been built in a style
reminiscent of the Pallava style from South India.[716] Hinduism was
introduced in the archipelago by priests, using the existing trade
routes.[717] *Hinduism was followed by Śrāvakayāna Buddhism -
particularly of the Mūlasarvāstivāda tradition* (see below).
Mahāyāna Buddhism followed suit shortly thereafter, as is indicated
below.[718]

When studying the history of Buddhism on Java, one should keep in
mind that various Buddhist ideas and traditions were presented and
introduced over time, without necessarily discarding the older Budd-
hist traditions. All these traditions were regarded by the Buddhist
community - *Buddhaśāsana* - as "the teaching of the Buddha" –
Buddhavacana - with roots back at least to emperor Aśoka, if not all the
way to Buddha Śākyamuni. In addition, religious beliefs of local or of
Indian origins could be present on Java side-by-side with the
Buddhist traditions.[719] *Various Buddhist nikāyas, as well as various
local and Indian religious traditions, could in other words
simultaneously be present on Java.*

The increased mobility offered by the maritime trade, resulted inter
alia in visits to India, Śrī Laṅkā and Southeast Asia by the Chinese
pilgrim *Faxian* (337-c. 422 CE) during 399-414 CE.[720] He reported the
existence in India of *Śrāvakayāna* monasteries, *Mahāyāna* monasteries
and monasteries where *Śrāvakayāna* and *Mahāyāna* monks lived
together. In 414 CE, Faxian boarded a ship on Śrī Laṅkā and traversed

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[716] Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 208.

[717] Dumarçay, 1978, p. 18.

[718] Hikata, 1965, p.p. 8-9.
Other source: Sarkar, 1967, p. 637.

[719] Jordaan, 2000, pp. 121-122.

[720] The pilgrim Faxian of the early fifth century CE should not be confounded with the
monk Faxian of Indian origin, who arrived to China in 980 CE. As a Master at the Impe-
rial Translation Bureau, the monk Faxian translated several important texts, such as *The
Sino-Japanese Tantric Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (Amoghavajra´s Version) – The
Rishukyō* - (T.VIII/244: 786b-824a, 7 juan) in c:a 999 CE.
(see *Appendix IV, # 7*).

the Bay of Bengal. His ship with over 200 men onboard is recorded to have almost shipwrecked. Faxian arrived, though, finally in *Yavadvīpa* (Java)[721] – which may have been the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Tārumānagara on Western Java (see *Section 2.1.1*). He had to remain for five months on Java awaiting suitable trade winds for his return trip to China. Faxian was disappointed of what he experienced in the form of religious activities on Java – where he saw "… various forms of error and Brāhmaṇism are flourishing, while Buddhism in it is not worth speaking of."[722] Finally, after crossing the Bay of Siam, Faxian safely arrived in China.[723]

It is stated in Chinese sources already in 424 CE that Buddhism had spread throughout Shepo (Hindu Java).[724] The missionary was a prince from Kashmir - **Guṇavarman** (367-431 CE).[725] He arrived to Java from Śrī Laṅkā either 422 or 423 CE and left one year later (424 CE) for Linyi (pre-Champa) and for China, where he died seven years later.[726] Originally a *Sarvāstivādin* monk in Kashmir, he finally converted in China to the *Mahāyāna* tradition.[727] He translated to Chinese a text of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* tradition.[728] Other forms of *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism must also have been existing in certain parts of Java up until the Heling realm was competed out by Śrīvijaya during the seventh century CE – such as *Theravāda, Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya, Saṃmitīya nikāya* and *Sthāviravāda nikāya*. Against this background, one may assume that ***at this time Śrāvakayāna Buddhism was the prevailing form of Buddhism on Java***.[729] Buddhism

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[721] Ensink, 1978, p. 178.

[722] Legge, 1965, p. 113.
Other sources: Beal, 1964, p. 169; Giles, 1923, p. 78; Sarkar, 1967, p. 637; I-tsing, 1966, p. xlviii.

[723] Legge, 1965, pp. 111-118.
Other sources: Beal, 1964, pp. 171-172; Giles, 1923, pp. 1-81; Hirakawa, 1998, pp. 120-121.

[724] In Chinese *Shēpó* 奢婆。

[725] Bechert, 1981(b), p. 10.
Other source: Kandahjaya, 2016, p. 85.

[726] Ensink, 1978, pp. 178-179.

[727] Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 46.

[728] Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 211.
Other source: Sarkar, 1967, p. 638.

[729] Soekmono, 1956, p. 96.

and Hinduism seem at that time to have existed friendly side-by-side.[730]

The Javanese envoy *Achato* delivered in 515 CE a letter from his king to the emperor of the Liang-dynasty in China. According to this letter, the "Three Treasures" were worshiped on Java.[731]

The Chinese pilgrim *Xuanzang* (602-664 CE) went to India in 629 CE (see *Section 3.2*). Xuanzang visited Kāñcī during 640 CE, where it is said that he met some *Abhayagirivāsins* that had fled Śrī Laṅkā after the decease of king Silāmeghavaṇṇa (r. 619-628 CE).[732] Xuanzang never got to Śrī Laṅkā, nor to Southeast Asia for that matter.[733]

Heling on northern Java (see *Section 2.1.1*) developed into a centre for Buddhist studies, with local religious experts. The Chinese pilgrim *Huining* arrived to Heling in 665 CE on his route to India. Together with the native scholar Jñānabhadra, who followed the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* tradition, Huining translated in Heling some *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhist texts during three years (665-668 CE).[734]

Buddhism flourished in Indonesia during the seventh century CE. *Puṇyodana* from central India was one of the travelling monks. He arrived in China 655 CE. He was, however, not well received in China and left for Kunlun (Southeast Asia) the following year. He returned to China with a copy of the *Maṇḍalāṣṭa Sūtra* (the *MAS*) ("The Eightfold Maṇḍala Sūtra) *Shī zī zhuang yán wáng pū sà qĩng wèn jĩng* 師子莊嚴王菩薩請聞經 (T. 486), describing the worship of the eight bodhisattvas in the form of a *maṇḍala* of eight circles on a square base. These eight bodhisattvas became important in Central Java. This motive is found on the exterior wall of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (*see Section 1.5.1*). It is also illustrated on the interior wall of the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor in the form of the Buddha surrounded by eight bodhisattvas.[735]

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[730] Bechert, 1981(b), p. 10.
Other source: Soebadio, 1971, p. 61.

[731] The "Three Treasures" are (i) the Buddha, (ii) the *dharma*, and (iii) the *saṅgha*.

[732] Hirakawa, 1998, pp. 121-122.

[733] Chandra, 1979(b), pp. 270-271.

[734] Ensink, 1978, p. 179.
Other sources: Iwamoto, 1981, p. 85; Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 57-58; Sarkar, 1967, p. 638.

[735] Woodward, 2004, pp. 336-337.

The Tulang Tuwo inscription (684 CE) from the Palembang area (Sumatra) is written in Old Malay with several Sanskrit loanwords – the latters are mostly terms that apply to the Perfection Path Buddhism.[736] The use of the word *kalyāṇamitra* (good friend) leads the thought to Sudhana´s 52 teachers in the *GVS*, which was illustrated a good century later on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur. The Tulang Tuwo inscription also includes the term "*mahāsattva vajraśarīra*", which Cœdès thought to be *tantric*.[737] An early *Mantranaya* text - the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* - includes the term *vajrakāyaśarīra* ("having a body made of *vajra*").[738] Woodward ventures the idea, that this *sūtra* may have been known on Sumatra.[739] The Kota Kapur inscription (686 CE) from the Bangka Island[740] and the Telaga Batu inscription (seventh century CE) from south Sumatra[741] both suggest the use of magical powers (e.g. the use of both *mantra* and *yantra* as instruments of war). To sum up – **both Perfection Path Buddhism and Mantranaya Buddhism seem to have been prevalent on Sumatra during the late seventh century CE.**

The Chinese pilgrim **Yijing** (635-713 CE) spent six months in Śrīvijaya and two months in Malāyu (Jambi) on his way to India in 671 CE. On his return trip to China, Yijing spent ten years in Śrīvijaya (685-695 CE), where he translated Buddhist scriptures to Chinese. According to Yijing, the foremost Buddhist master in Indonesia at that time was Śākyakīrti. At that time *Theravāda*, as well as *Mahāyāna*, were prevalent in Śrīvijaya. Yijing found that three different *Śrāvakayāna*

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[736] Of the Ten *Pāramitās*, special references are made to the third (*kṣānti*, patience), the fourth (*virya*, energy), and the sixth (*prajñā*, wisdom). Words as *bodhicitta* (Mind of Enlightenment) and *kalyānamitra* (good friend) are also mentioned.
Woodward, 2004, p. 335.

[737] " … le *vajraçarīra,* "le corps de diamant". Ceci nous transporte en plein tàntrisme…."
Cœdès, 1930, p. 55.

[738] Studholme, 2002, pp. 108 & 140.
The dating of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* is uncertain. Dutt dates it to around the fourth century CE. Studholme dates it to well in advance of 630 CE, when the script used became obsolete.
Studholme, 2002, p. 12.

For a definition of *Mantranaya*, see *Section 4.2.3.1*.

[739] Woodward, 2004, pp. 335-336.

[740] Cœdès, 1930, p. 48.

[741] de Casparis, 1956, pp. 32, 34 & 41.

Buddhist traditions[742] and *Mahāsaṅghika* (the Great Assembly) were already introduced on Java, Sumatra and some neighbouring islands. Among the *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhist traditions, *Mūlasarvastivāda* was in dominance.[743] *Sthaviravāda* is the Sanskrit designation for the members of *Theravāda*. The *Theravāda* canon – the *Tipiṭaka* – was written in Pāli. The canon of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya*,[744] which also flourished in Magadha (central India), was written in Sanskrit. Based hereon, Yijing came to the (wrong) conclusion that Buddhism on Java and Sumatra arrived from north or east India – not from south India or from Śrī Laṅkā. Yijing also erraneously meant that the form of *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism in the Indonesian archipelago "mostly adhered to *Hīnayāna* practices followed in the Sanskrit texts of the canon".[745]

Yijing mentioned in his travel diary that the distinction between *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was at that time not very distinct – both observed the 252 precepts and lived according to the Four Noble Truths.[746] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw means, however, that *Theravāda* Buddhism was the prevailing form of Buddhism on Java until the end of the seventh century CE. However, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism quickly rose in importance during that century. The *Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* was studied in the archipelago as an authoritative text already during the visit of Yijing.[747] From the eighth century CE onwards, one does not seem to hear of *Theravāda* Buddhism on Java any longer. According to van Lohuizen-de Leeuw,

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[742] The three *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhist traditions are (i) *Sthaviravāda* (the Elders); (ii) (*Mūla*)*sarvāstivāda* (the Universal Existence School); and (iii) *Sammitīya* (the Universally Esteemed).
I-tsing, 1966, pp. xxiii-xxv.

[743] Ensink, 1978, p. 179;
Other sources: Bechert, 1981(a), pp. 129-130; Kandahjaya, 2004, p. 58.

[744] *Mūlasarvsativāda nikāya* is often described as being composed of four subdivisions; i.e. *Mūlasarvāstivāda*, *Dharmagupta*, *Mahīśāsaka* and *Kāśyapīya*.
I-tsing, 1966, p. xxiv.
Other source: Sarkar, 1985 (b), p. 224.

[745] Sarkar, 1985 (b), p. 224.

[746] Yijings diary is called "A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago" *Nán hāi jì guī nèi fā chuán* 南海寄歸内法傳 (T. 2125).
Hirakawa, 1998, p. 122.

[747] Chandra, 1995(d), p. 338.

this means that the Buddhist monuments on Java were constructed under the direction of *Mahāyāna* builders.[748]

Some local inscriptions (see *Appendix 1*) indicate that *esoteric* Buddhism (see *Section 4.2.3, Note 778*) was introduced on Java by the end of the eighth century CE. In fact, both Sumatra and Java are believed to have been important places for the development of the *esoteric* cults of bodhisattva Tārā, and of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; viz.

- the ***Kālasan*** inscription (778 CE) referring to the *esoteric* boddhisattva Tārā;[749]
- the ***Kelurak*** inscription (782 CE) is called the first true *esoteric* inscription. It describes the installation of a Mañjughoṣa (bodhisattva Mañjuśrī)[750] statue by the *guru* Kumāraghoṣa from Gauḍī in Bengal;
- the ***Caṇḍi Sewu*** inscription (792 CE), which describes the enlargement of a Mañjuśrīgṛha; and
- the ***Ratubaka*** inscription (792 CE), which gives evidence of contacts with the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā.[751]

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[748]   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1980, p. 277.

[749]   Bodhisattva Tārā is considered as a *śakti* (companion) of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. She was born in a blue lotus out of the tears of Avalokiteśvara. In Tibetan Buddhism, Tārā multiplied into 21 different Tārās. The most common are the white Tārā and the green Tārā. They are symbolized by the white full-blown lotus and the blue half-open lotus, respectively. In Japanese *Mahāyāna*, Tārā assumed the rank of a bodhisattva (combining both aspects - white and blue - of the Tibetan Tārā). In *esoteric* Buddhism, there are at least five differently coloured Tārās, being the *śaktis* of the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas*.
Frédéric, 1995, pp. 180-183.
Other source: Williams, 1999, pp. 236-238.

[750]   Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī symbolizes transcendent wisdom (*prajñā*) and is represented both in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and in *esoteric* Buddhism. The supremacy of Mañjuśrī is stated repetedly in the *esoteric Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. He is part of both the *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. He is represented sitting on a lotus holding a blue lotus or the sword of wisdom vertically in his right hand and a book (the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*) in his left hand.
Frédéric, 1995, pp. 192-196.
Other sources: Williams, 1999, pp 238-241.

[751]   The important role in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism by bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is based on his close indentification with the *Prajñāpāramitā* (the Perfection of Wisdom) doctrine (everything is empty - *śūnyatā*). In *esoteric* Buddhism, bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is identified as a Buddha, who out of compassion assumes the form of a bodhisattva, in order to assist the sentient beings to attain Enlightenment.
Weinstein, 2009, pp. 80-83.
Other source: Iwamoto, 1981, p. 83; Mabbett, 1986, p. 297; Woodward, 2004, pp. 340-342.

The presence of *esoteric* Buddhism on Java could be indicated by the various Buddhas in the main *caṇḍis,* such as bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the *Caṇḍi* Sewu or in the *Caṇḍi* Lumbung; the *Ratnatraya* (Buddha Śākyamuni as Abhisaṃbuddha Mahāvairocana and bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāni) in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut; Buddha Vairocana on the Barabuḍur; and bodhisattva Tārā in the *Caṇḍi* Kālasan.[752]

The introduction of *Mantranaya* – i.e. *esoteric* Buddhism - on Java (see *Sections 4.2.3, Note 778 and Section 4.2.3.1*) is also presented by the following physical finds; viz.

- the ***Caṇḍi Gumpung*** collection consists of 20 small gold sheets found in Muaro Jambi (Sumatra) and dated from the mid-ninth century CE with the inscribed names of the deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*;[753]
- the ***Ṅgañjuk*** bronzes (90 bronze images) were found in 1913 at the *Caṇḍi* Rějo close to Ṅgañjuk in Kediri on East Java. They are dated to the last quarter of the tenth century CE. They represent almost the entire set-up of deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala.* Some of these images were fitted with small gold plaquettes, indicating that they had been consecrated as divine;[754]
- the ***Surocolo*** bronzes found close to Yogyakarta on Central Java are dated to the early tenth century CE.[755] They could represent either (i) Vajrasattva surrounded by 16 female deities, or (ii) Hevajra and some of his entourage.[756]

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[752] As indicated in the above footnotes, bodhisattva Tārā and bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are represented in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, as well as in *esoteric* Buddhism.

[753] Nihom, 1998, p. 245.

[754] Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke, 1988, p. 35.
Other source: Chandra, 1979(a), p. 20.

Both Krom and Bosch studied them. Bosch proposed in 1929 that they represented the 37 main deities and other deities in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala.*
Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(a), pp. 97-120.

[755] Chandra and Devi Singhal both date the Surocolo bronzes to the reign of Siṇḍok, who reigned 929-947 CE.
Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(b), p. 124.

Lunsingh and Klokke dates the Surocolo bronzes to the late tenth century CE – i.e. to just after the *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes.
Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke, 1988, p. 32.

[756] The problems here are though (i) that the *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes include the drummer Mukuṇḍā, who does not belong to the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, and (ii) that the *Hevajra tantra* probably did not arrive to Java until after Atīśa had arrived to Śrīvijaya in 1011 CE. Atīśa had then already been introduced in the *Hevajra tantra*.
Woodward, 2004, pp. 343-345.

In addition hereto, one should of course also mention the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) (see *Appendix II, # 1.1*). This Indonesian *Mantranaya* text is dated to the early tenth century CE – with some underlying ideas probably known already as early as the Śailendra era.

At the time of the Sañjayas in the early eighth century CE, the concept of *Trimūrti* (the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā) was probably already accepted. By the time of the Śailendras (late eight and early ninth centuries CE) the concept of Buddha Mahāvairocana - as representing Absolute Reality - was introduced by means of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*). Buddha Vajrapāṇi commands the three Hindu gods in the *Trimūrti* – i.e. the story of the *Trailokyavijaya* (see *Section 5.2.1 & Appendix IV, # 6*). As indicated in the Kĕlurak inscription, the Śailendra kings were quick to convert to this *esoteric* Buddhism, as it would entail a greater cosmic power, than what the *Trimūrti* could offer.[757]

Java and Śrīvijaya (Sumatra) developed into centres, where Buddhist studies were conducted. The Śrivijaya colonies on western Java developed into small polities, which united into a small country called Heling. Heling proper came under Buddhist influences from Śrīvijaya during the latter part of the seventh century CE (see *Section 2.1.1*).[758] Heling developed into a Buddhist centre. The Chinese pilgrim Huining is said to have stayed and studied in Heling.[759] Several Indian

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[757] *Stanzas* 7-17 of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) – a *yoga tantric* text of the *Mantranaya* – states that Buddha Mahāvairocana represents Absolute Reality and dwells in the heart of the *Sarvatathāgatas* (all the Buddhas). Absolute Reality pervades the entire space and includes all phenomena and reality. Gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā were all the embodiment of Buddha Mahāvairocana.

In the Kĕlurak inscription (see *Appendix I, # 5*), we find a description indicating Absolute Reality (but with bodhisattva Mañjuśrī instead of Buddha Mahāvairocana):
> *ayaṃ sa vajradhṛk śrīmān brahmā viṣṇur maheśvaraḥ /*
> *sarvadevamayaḥ svāmī mañjuvāg iti gīyate //*
(He, the Wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; He is full of all gods and is praised as Mañjuvāk).

Ishii, 1991, pp. 153-154.
Other source: Sarkar, 1971, vol. I, *stanza* 15, pp. 44-45.

[758] *Esoteric* Buddhism was according to Iwamoto introduced and flourished on Java already during this period – a statement that is undocumented.
Iwamoto,1981, pp. 87-88.

[759] Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 224.

teachers and Chinese pilgrims visited Java during the ninth and tenth centuries CE.

Śrivijaya developed into a Buddhist center. Wuxing is said to have visited Śrivijaya prior to giving Yixing the Sanskrit manuscript of the *MVS* (see *Appendix IV, # 5*). As mentioned above, Yijing spent ten years there (685-695 CE). According to Tibetan sources, Atiśa spent some 12 years (1011-1023 CE) in Suvarnadvīpa (Sumatra) - i.e. in Śrīvijaya - studying Buddhism and *tantra* under the master Dharma-kīrti, prior to going to Nepal and Tibet in the eleventh century CE (1042 CE).[760] Atīśa may have been part of transmitting Buddhist ideas from Indonesia to India; e.g. Vajravarman´s commentary *Sundarā-laṃkāra-nāma* .[761]

Indonesian Buddhists, architechts and artists visited India, where they were influenced by Indian religious and architectural aspects and art. The Central Javanese art could not have been developed without a background in earlier Buddhist traditions. *The Barabuḍur could not have been built, without a thorough knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures*.[762]

Two aspects are conspicuous – namely:
- From the time when Guṇavarman left Java for China in the early fifth century CE to the middle of the seventh century CE, not much is known about Buddhism in Indonesia – i.e. *tempo-rary lack of information*. But when Heling (part of northern Central Java) emerged as a place of trading, Heling emerged at the same time as a centre for Buddhist learning. Some scholars in Heling were interested in *Śrāvakayāna* studies, of which the main canonical texts were translated by Yijing upon his return to China;
- The *rapidity* with which Buddhism in its various forms was introduced by the end of the seventh century CE. At the time of Yijing, *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism was the major form of Bud-dhism in Indonesia – with the *Mūlasarvāstivāda nikāya* as the dominant tradition. But only a century after Yijing´s return to

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[760] Woodward, 2004, p. 347.
Other source: Miksic, 2016, p. 262.

[761] Wayman, 1981, pp. 140-142.
Other sources: Miksic, 2016, p. 262;   Nihom, 1994, p. 72 n. 192.

[762] Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 95.

China, the main form of Buddhism on Java had altered to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and *esoteric* Buddhism. The two inscriptions of Tulang Tuwo of 684 CE (Śaka 606) and the Kĕdukan Bukit of 683 CE (Śaka 605) – both from Palembang - are indications hereof.[763]

Mantranaya seems in other words to have been present on Sumatra and Java almost simultaneously with the Pālas coming into power in Bengal during the mid-eighth century – the physical finds on Java, albeit, being of somewhat later dates.

Bosch bases his argument for the rapid introduction of Buddhism into the Indonesian archipelago by stressing that the devotees converted and **became** Buddhists, while the Hindus were **born** into that faith (i.e. the spread of Buddhism could be performed by only a limited number of missionary monks, while Hinduism required a substantial number of Hindu immigrants). A further reason that slowed the introduction of Hinduism in Indonesia, was the fact, that it was primarily the *esoteric* form of Hinduism that was introduced – the *Śaivasiddhānta* – which is spread based on the relationship between the master and his disciple.[764]

4.2   The Contents of Buddhism on Java

Attempts to decide on the content of Buddhist teaching that prevailed on Java at the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur, has been made more difficult by the fact that no Buddhist texts from that time exists any longer on Java – only a limited number of inscriptions are extant.[765]

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[763]   Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 224-225.

[764]   Bosch, 1961(b), pp. 15-17.

[765]   Lancaster, 1981, p. 195.

4.2.1 *Śrāvakayāna Buddhism*

As we understand, *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism flourished in Indonesia during the latter part of the seventh century CE – being represented by the three different *Śrāvakayāna* traditions with *Mūlasarvāstivāda* (the Universal Existence) in dominance and with *Sthāviravāda*[766] (the Elders) and *Saṃmitīya* (the Universally Esteemed) in lesser positions. In addition, *Mahāsaṅghika* Buddhism was also present on Java at that time. We do not know the detailed forms of the three *Śrāvakayāna* traditions, but for the fact that some of the early traditional teachings of Buddhism on Sumatra (Śrīvijaya) and on Java assimilated over time some of the *Mahāyāna* ideas (e.g. *Mūlasarvāstivāda*).[767]

Furthermore, one should be observant of the fact that the influences from Śrī Laṅkā to Indonesia were not necessarily *Theravāda* Buddhism, as *Mahāyāna* Buddhism had started to influence Śrī Laṅkā already by the second century CE[768] – with the first forms of *esoteric* Buddhism being developed during the Pallava dynasty (330-880 CE) in south India. In addition, Nālandā and Vikramaśīla in northern India developed into cultural and religious centers. *Esoteric* and *tantric* Buddhism were developed there, respectively. Java had documented contacts with Nālandā during this time. In conclusion, ***the expansion of Buddhism was a more complex process, than a mere flow of contacts from India and south Asia to Southeast Asia.***

4.2.2 *Mahāyāna Buddhism*

As scholars have so intensively discussed whether only *Śrāvakayāna* and *Mahayāna* Buddhism were present on Java at the time of the

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[766] "The Elders" is in Sanskrit *Sthāvira*, and in Pāli *Thera*.

[767] Ensink, 1978, p. 179:
Other source: Snellgrove, 2002, pp. 305-306.

The original twelve (12) *Śrāvakayāna* traditions and the original six (6) *Mahāsaṅghika* traditions were classified into the above mentioned form by Yijing when he visited India in 673 CE. The basic rule of all Buddhist monastic life is adherents to the *vinaya*. There was never a special *vinaya* for the *Mahāyāna* monks. The Tibetan traditions have for instance been regulated over the centuries by the *vinaya* of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* tradition. I-tsing, 1966, pp. xxiii-xxiv.
Other source: Gethin, 2012, p. 58, and *Section 3.1, Notes 569, 570 & 571*.

[768] Gunawardana, 2001, p. 144.

construction of the Barabuḍur (780-830 CE), it has been deemed of interest to give some comments hereto.

Klokke claims that Buddhism on Java during the Śailendra reign was *Mahāyāna* Buddhism – *esoteric* [and *tantric*] Buddhist texts should according to Klokke have started to show up in Java only during mid- or late ninth century CE.[769]

Prior thereto, she means that the dominant form of Buddhism on Java should have been *Mahāyāna*.[770]

Klokke also states that the various underlying texts for the Barabuḍur would all have been *Śrāvakayāna* and *Mahāyāna* texts,[771] and not *esoteric* texts.[772] In addition, the *GVS* would probably have been the version that was translated to Chinese by Prajñā in 798-799 CE (see *Appendix III, # 4*) – i.e. a free-standing Sanskrit text, not having been part of the *BAS*.

Klokke goes on in her analysis to state, that the Javanese inscriptions from the time of the Śailendra dynasty did not mention the five transcendent Buddhas – either individually or as a group. Vairocana should have been mentioned for the first time in the copperplates of Kañcana of 860 CE (Śaka 782). [773] Thus the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur should not have illustrated the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. Klokke considers that all this would substantiate her conclusions:

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[769] Klokke, 1995, p. 201.
However, it should be noted, that Klokke seems to equalize "*tantric* Buddhism" with "*Vajrayāna* Buddhism" – i.e. with *esoteric* Buddhism **and** with *tantric* Buddhism. This makes her reasoning sometimes difficult to follow.
Klokke, 1995, p. 196.

For reference to this statement, please see *Section 4.2.3, Note 778.*

[770] Klokke, 1995, p. 198.
Other scholars expressing the same view, are inter alia de Casparis, Degroot, Fontein, Lunsingh Scheurleer & Snellgrove.

[771] The texts referred to are:

Śrāvakayāna and *Mahāyāna*	*Jātaka* and *Avadāna*
Mahāyāna	*Mahākarmavibhaṅga, Jātakamāla, Lalitavistara, Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and *Bhadracarī.*

[772] Klokke, 1995, p. 199.

[773] Sarkar, 1971, Vol. I, pp. 135 & 144.

i. that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism would have been the prevailing religion on Java during the construction period of the Barabuḍur (c:a 780-830 CE);

ii. that *esoteric* Buddhism would have increased on Java only from mid-ninth century CE onwards;

iii. that the decline in new temples after mid-ninth century CE would be explained by a shift away from "the building" of *karma* (e.g. construction of new *stūpas*) to a concentration on individual salvation by means of *esoteric* practices and meditation.[774]

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Some arguments against these views, would perhaps be appropriate as follows:

- that the Kālasan (778 CE), the Kĕlurak (782 CE) and the Mañjuśrīgṛha (792 CE) inscriptions center around the bodhisattvas Tārā and Mañjuśrī, respectively (see *Appendix I, # 4, 5 & 6*). Both bodhisattva Tārā and bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are represented in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, as well as in *esoteric* Buddhism.[775]

- The Buddhas in some of the four *mudrās* characterising the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* have been found as separate images close to the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, the *Caṇḍi* Kālasan and the *Caṇḍi* Ngawen.

- Southeast of the Barabuḍur almost 2,400 small unburnt clay *stūpas* have been found, as well as more than 250 clay votive tablets with stamped images of a sitting Buddha, of bodhisattva Tārā, or of 3, 4 or 5 *stūpas.* These finds could indicate the existence of a popular Buddhism, prevailing side-by-side with the official Buddhism of the royal court.[776]

- Bosch proposed that the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, after its reconstruction in 792 CE to a cruciform groundplan surrounded by 240 additional shrines (*Caṇḍi* Perwara), was adjusted to a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala.*[777]

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[774] Klokke, 1995, pp. 200-201.

[775] See *Section 4.1, Notes 749, 750 & 751.*

[776] Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 106.

[777] Bosch, 1961(a), pp. 124-126.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(f), pp. 22-38; Voûte, 2006, p. 223; Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 33-34.

- The panteon at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut is identical to that of the *Garbha maṇḍala*. In addition, the *Maṇḍalāsta Sūtra* (the *MAS*) the *Eightfold Maṇḍala Sūtra* is illustrated on the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (see *Section 1.5.1*).
- Finally, the inscriptions at Tulang Tuwo (684 CE) at Palembang, at Kota Kapur (686 CE) on the Bangka Island and at Telaga Batu (seventh century CE) on South Sumatra indicate not only the presence of Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitā-yāna*) in the Indonesian archipelago, but also elements of *Mantranaya* Buddhism (see *Section 4.1*).

In addition hereto, it may also be recognized that some of the relevant *Mahāyāna* texts seems to have included some elements of "*Proto-Tantrism"*. They also seem to have contained some political elements, reflecting the power structure of society (see *Section 5.2.2*).

***All these aspects indicate that various forms of Buddhism, including Mantranaya, seemed to have existed on Java during the Śailendra reign** – which is also confirmed in *Section 4.2.3* below. Klocke´s above claim may thus have to be somewhat adjusted.*

4.2.3   *Vajrayāna Buddhism*

Vajrayāna Buddhism[778] is considered to represent the ultimate form of development of Indian Buddism. Its main concern is with ritual and

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[778]   *Vajrayāna* means the *vajra*-vehicle, being made up of *vajra* = "diamond" or "thunder-bolt" and *yāna* = vehicle. *Vajrayāna* comes in two main forms - **esoteric** Buddhism (including *Mantranaya*) and **tantric** Buddhism. They are here briefly defined as:

- **esoteric Buddhism** is a **dualistic** form of Buddhism. The disciple is required to experience a special initiation ritual, as a condition to performing the ritual practices. The body of secret pratices are passed on from the master (*guru* or *vajrācārya*) to the disciple. The master/disciple relationship is highlighted. *Esoteric* Buddhism was primarily developed and conducted within the walls of the monasteries. Elaborate rites involving sacred formulas (*mantra*) were developed for attaining worldly powers, as well as Enlightenment, and for leading the disciple into the worlds of the divine (the *maṇḍala*). The visualized could there be worshiped. Within *esoteric* Buddhism, one may discern a clear divergence between two forms of **dualism**; viz. pure and impure rituals, on the one hand, and the practitioner and the deity, on the other. Attention is thus paid to maintaining **ritual purity** both within and without the rituals. The deity usually relates to the practitioner as his **interlocutor**. In some instances, though, the practitioner may in a ritual/meditative

meditative practices. It offers full ***Enlightenment to all sentient beings within one lifetime***. *Vajrayāna* Buddhism evolved out of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and developed into two forms – *esoteric* Buddhism and *tantric* Buddhism. The major portion of the *Vajrayāna* texts were composed during the period mid-seventh to mid-eleventh centuries CE. However, *tantric* elements made themselves felt in the *sūtras* up until the thirteenth century CE. The *yogini tantras* seem to have started being composed only by the end of the eighth century CE. [779] *Vajrayāna* Buddhism did, however, not develop into one comprehensive tradition, as it had two different bases – *Mādhyamaka* [780] and *Yogācāra-cittamātra*. [781] The Chinese monk Yijing

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practice temporarily adopt the identity of the divinity. *Esoteric* Buddhism thus follows the ***"Cause-Path"*** – i.e. obtaining Enlightenment by following the classical bodhisattva path. *Esoteric* Buddhism is based on the *kriyā tantras* (action *tantras*) and on the *caryā tantras* (performance *tantras*); and

- ***tantric Buddhism***, which is thoroughly ***non-dualistic***. *Tantric* Buddhism developed in two different forms – the "institutional" form developed within the monasteries, and the "*siddha*" form, developed by the *siddhas* living outside of the monasteries on the margins of society. *Tantric* Buddhism makes use of the sound and of the sacred formulas (*mantra*), as well as of the ritual of entering into the circle of the divinities (the *maṇḍala*). In these rituals, the distinction between the divinity and the practitioner is entirely broken down – as is the distinction between purity and impurity. The deity takes possession (ā*veśa*) of the practitioner and becomes a ***unity*** with him (*non-dual*). The transgression of purity rules, and of other more central Buddhist dictates, are advocated – thus making them antinomian. *Tantric* Buddhists follow the "***Result-Path***", in which they perceive themselves by means of visualization and other techniques as fully Enlightened. *Tantric* Buddhism is based on the *yoga tantras* (*yoga tantras*) and on the *anuttarayoga tantra* (supreme *yoga tantras*).

  Wedemeyer, 2013, pp. 9-10 & 171-173.

  Other sources: Davidson, 2002, pp. 114-115; Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 220; Woodward, 2004, pp. 329-330.

[779] Davidson, 2002, pp. 117-118.

[780] Nagarjuna´s magnus opus *Mūla-Mādhyamaka-Kārikā* presents a middleway between nihilism and eternalism. The essence of *Mādhyamaka* may be summarized as ”everything is empty and is void of an inherent existence of its own”. In addition, *Mādhyamaka* states that all sentient beings contain a "seed of Buddhahood" (i.e. *tathāgatagarbha*).

[781] According to *Yogācāra-cittamātra* tradition ("Mind-only") the world in which we live - *saṃsāra* – may be explained in its entirety as the work of mind (i.e. everything is an illusion).
Suzuki, 2000, pp. 169-175 & 241-248.

The *Mādhyamaka* and the *Yogācāra-cittamātra* traditions may lead our thoughts into the Quantum Physics.

confirmed this, when he returned to China in 695 CE after a twenty years visit to India.[782]

Esoteric Buddhism is thought to have been developed in south India.[783] *Mantranaya* refers to an institutional *esoterism*, which developed in the monasteries, and represented a new development from the earlier *Mahāyāna* Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitāyāna*).[784] The excellent fit of the *Mahāyāna* Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitāyāna*) with the *esoteric Mantranaya* Buddhism is illustrated on the Barabuḍur,[785] the upper terraces of which represent the *Dharmadhātu*.[786] These two forms of Buddhism were subsequently introduced on Śrī Laṅkā and on Sumatra. On Sumatra, they were mentioned for the first time on the Talang Tuwo inscription (684 CE) close to Palembang.[787]

However, with the *Pāṇḍya* invasion of Śrī Laṅkā around 840 CE (see *Section 3.2*), some leading monks felt obliged to migrate north to Orissa – and subsequently on to Bihar and to Bengal.

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[782] See Yijing´s *Nan Hai ki Kouei tchouan* (Vol. I, Taishō # 2125)
Tajima, 1998, pp. 215-216.

[783] But some scholars do in fact regard King Indrabhūti (678-717 CE) of Uddiyāna of the Swat district in the Khyber district (Pakistan) as the founder of *esoteric* Buddhism. King Indrabhūti is asserted to have been the father of Padmasaṃbhava, who went to Tibet around 747 CE and there formed the *rNying-ma-pa* tradition. King Indrabhūti is alledgely the author of various Buddhist texts – e.g. the *Jnānasiddhi*.
Kiyota, 1978, p. 16.

[784] The difference between Perfection Path (*Pāramitāyāna*) *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and *Mantranaya* Buddhism, is primarily that the latter form of Buddhism is *esoteric*. By emphasizing rituals (e.g. entering in a circle of divinities - *maṇḍala*) and reciting sacred formulas (*mantra*), **one may according to Mantranaya Buddhism attain Buddhahood in a lifetime**.
Ishii, 1991, p. 161.
Other source: Woodward, 2004, p. 330.

[785] On the topmost gallery on the Barabuḍur the series of reliefs end with the *Six Characteristics,* which is the last section of the *DBS* (which itself culminates the *GVS*).
Woodward, 2004, p. 338.

According to Orlando, the *DBS* was a favourite text of Amoghavajra.
Orlando, 1981, pp. 133 & 137. (see *Sections 4.2.5 & Appendix III, # 6*).

[786] The *Dharmdhātu*, where the fundamental aspects of existence are perceived as the Buddhas perceive them, is essential in the thinking of both the *DBS*, as well as in the *MVS*.
Woodward, 2004, p. 338.

[787] Sharroch & Bunker, 2016, p. 242.
Other source: Miksic, 2016, p. 256.

Vajrayāna Buddhist thoughts were thus developed in primarily the following two centres in northern India; viz.

- Nālandā in Bihar was founded during the fifth century CE (i.e. during the Gupta period). In Nālandā *esoteric* Buddhism was developed as a further development of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and based on the *vinaya*; and
- Vikramaśīla in Bihar was founded by the Pāla king Dharmapada (r. c:a 770-810 CE) during the eighth century CE. In Vikramaśīla *tantric* Buddhism was developed towards the end of the eighth century CE. It was later on developed into the "left-handed" *tantric* Buddhism with its sexual features (see below).[788]

The doctrines of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism seem to have reached Tibet later on with influences both from China and India. In addition, the Tibetan form of Buddhism – *tantric* Buddhism – is regarded to have had its roots primarily from Vikramaśīla. The *esoteric* Buddhism in China, in Japan and on Java was based almost entirely on doctrines from Nālandā. The differences between the various forms of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism in the last mentioned countries and in Tibet are thus profound and fundamental.[789]

From the end of the eighth century CE, *tantric* Buddhism adopted a sexo-yogic practice, that gave *Vajrayāna* Buddhism a distinct profile. The development of *tantric* Buddhism in these later phases, i.e. supreme *yoga* (*anuttarayoga*), was due to the need to legitimize the practice of the *siddhas*, who were no longer bound by the monastic institutions. These wandering *siddhas* were free to marry and beget children. [790] However, it is believed, that the supreme *yoga*

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[788] Tajima, 1998, p. 218.

These *Vajrayāna* Buddhist centers were both immense undertakings. The *esoteric* monastery of **Nālandā** would, according to the Chinese scholar Xuanzang - who visited the premises during the early part of the seventh century CE - house around 10,000 *Mahāyāna* monks and visitors and in excess of 1,000 learned scholars. The *tantric* monastery of **Vikramaśīla** encompassed 108 shrines spread over more than 100 acres. This monastery housed some 160 monks holding the position of *Paṇḍitas* and around 1,000 monks in permanent residence.
Sanderson, 2009, pp. 98-100.

[789] Tajima, 1998, p. 218.

[790] Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 74, Note 16.

(*anuttarayoga*) never reached Java in a substantial manner during the building period of the Barabuḍur.[791]

The relationship of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal with the Śailendra dynasty on Java was pronounced – highlighted by *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra´s donation of a new monastery in Nālandā in the mid-ninth century CE together with king Devapāladeva of the Pāla dynasty – the Nālandā inscription of around 843-850 CE (see *Appendix I, # 14* and *Section 2.3.3*).

The existence of Śaivism on Central Java up until the middle of the eighth century CE is documented by the Caṅgal inscription (732 CE) in Magelan in the Keḍu province. The Caṅgal inscription (see *Appendix I, # 2*) was written in Sanskrit and with Pallava-Grantha script. It presents the return from south India of king Saṃnah and his son – king Sañjaya – in order to take over the rule of Java after the collapse of Heling.[792]

4.2.3.1   The esoteric form of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Indonesia

Vajrayāna Buddhism in its early *esoteric* form - *Mantranaya*[793] - was introduced in Indonesia sometime during the early eighth century CE. *Mantranaya*[794] is a collective name for *esoteric* Buddhism, which has its roots in the philosophies of *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra cittamatra*. As indicated in the name, *mantras* were used in *esoteric*

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[791]   Weinberger, 2003, pp. 1-2, 29-34 & 331.

[792]   Hikata, 1965, pp. 8-9.

[793]   *Mantranaya* means ”*Mantra* System”.
Wallace, 2011, p. 96.

[794]   In academic discussions of *esoteric* Buddhism, *Mantrayāna* is often used in preference to *Mantranaya* – "the Path (*naya*) of *Mantras*". But "*Mantrayāna*" – "the Vehicle of Protective Spells" - does not appear in texts until after the term *Vajrayāna* appeared. In addition, it seems that "*Mantrayāna*" might probably have been modelled on *Vajrayāna*. *Esoteric* Buddhism is thus not a third "*yāna*" distinctive from *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. However, *Vajrayāna* – being composed of *esoteric* **and** *tantric* Buddhism – may be regarded as this third "*yāna*".

Against this background, *Mantranaya* has become the appropriate term to describe the self-perception of *esoteric* pre-*tantric* Buddhism.
Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 271, n. 8.
Other source: de Jong, 1984, p. 93.

practice.[795] *Mantranaya* is regarded by some western scholars as being placed squarely within the *Mahāyāna* framework of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and universal compassion (*karuṇā*). This conforms with the definition in the *Advayavajra* that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism is composed of *Pāramitānaya* ("the Path of Perfections") and of *Mantranaya*. Buddhaguhya (eighth century CE) made the same distinction.[796]

To be specific, *Mantranaya* is used in this dissertation as the comprehensive term for *esoteric* Buddhism.

The main concern of *Mantranaya* is with ritual and meditative practices. The rituals are performed by means of the *maṇḍala* (magic circle), the *mantra* (sacred verse, formula, word or syllable), the *mudrā* (symbolic gesture), the *abhiṣeka* (consecration ritual), the *dhāraṇī* (sacred formula)[797], etc.[798] To be noted, though, is that corresponding ritual elements are being used in *tantric* Buddhism.[799]

The aim of *Mantranaya* is to assist the disciple to obtain worldly powers, as well as to attain Enlightenment. These worldly powers could be obtained by performing various rituals and by casting various

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[795] Although *mantras* have often been regarded as the hallmark of *esoteric* Buddhism, scholars are now convinced that *mantras* are also found in some early materials – including *vinaya* - though they are absent from Pāli texts.
Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, p. 79.
Other source: Davidson, 2009, p. 113.

[796] de Jong, 1984, pp. 92-93.
Other sources: Sarkar, 1967, p. 642; Snellgrove, 2002, 433; Williams & Tribe, 2003, pp. 196-197 & 220.

Although Woodward makes the same distinction between the *Pāramitānaya*, on the one hand, and the form of Buddhism using *maṇḍalas* and *mantras*, on the other, he denominates the latter *Mantrayāna*.
Woodward, 2004, p. 330.

[797] *Dhāraṇīs* are syllables/letters that are codings of the entire Buddhist Path, of Buddhist scriptures or of specific elements of the Buddhist doctrine. *Dhāraṇīs* are also *mantras* as codings of specific powers for the **destruction** of psychologically unwholesome states and of the consequences of *karma* as well as codings of specific powers for **protection** from negative experiences (e.g. illness, dangers, droughts and floods).
Davidson, 2009, pp. 117-120 & 141-142 (see the Glossary).

[798] Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 195-197.
Other sources: Snellgrove, 2002, pp. 118, 122, 198, 433; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 72.

Wulff defines *Mantrānaya* as "the secret teaching of the Javanese Buddhism" ("*Mantrānaya* ist die geheimslehre des javanischen buddhismus").
Wulff, 1935, p. 8.

[799] Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 223.

"spells". *Mantras* may in this context be used to obtain four worldly aims: **pacifying**, **prospering**, **subjugating** or **destroying**. *Mantranaya* was an efficacious manner, in which to obtain these worldly goals.[800]

Mantranaya could also assist the disciple to **attain Enlightenment**. By using various *mantras* – called seed-*mantras* – a *maṇḍala* and its deities were generated. By the subsequent use of so called heart-*mantras*, the disciple was assisted in contemplating the deity (in *esoteric* Buddhism), or in performing various functions as the deity (in *tantric* Buddhism).[801]

After the fall of the Gupta dynasty in 550 CE, the rise of *Mantranaya* was assisted by the institutional duress that emerged. Militant Śaivism became increasingly powerful. The guilds and the international trade routes were negatively affected. Institutional Buddhism contracted into regions of strength. *Esoteric* Buddhism developed quickly in ritual form and ideological substance. The monks saw themselves as rulers in their spiritual states. The support from the newly empowered fiefdoms increased simultaneously with the weakening support from the merchants.[802] Although this may be true in India, scholars are of the opinion that only the merchant network had the capacity and the resources of sustaining the Javanese contacts with Bengal and Śrī Laṅkā. This was indeed necessary for the introduction of the *Mantranaya* on Java in the 780s and 790s CE.[803]

The main *Mantranaya* texts may primarily be said to be the *MVS* (T. 848) (*caryā tantra*) and the *STTS* (T. 865) (*yoga tantra*).[804] In addition, one also have to enclose among these important *Mantranaya* texts the *MAS* (T. 486) (the Eightfold *Maṇḍala* with the eight bodhisattvas).[805]

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[800]   Williams & Tribe, 2003, pp. 220 & 223.

[801]   Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 224.

[802]   Davidson, 2002, pp. 82-83 & 167-168.

[803]   Woodward, 2004, p. 353.

[804]   Nihom, 1998, pp. 250-251.
        Other source: Woodward, 2007, p. 6.

[805]   As indicated in *Section 4.1*, Puṇyodana brought this text to China by the mid-seventh century CE.

        Caṇḍi Mendut is decorated on the outside walls with these eight Bodhisattvas, as presented in *Section 1.5.1*.
        Woodward, 2004, p. 337.

These were the same texts that were introduced in China by Śubhakarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra during the early part of the eighth century CE (see *Section 4.2.5*).[806]

Esoteric Buddhism on Central Java is documented by inter alia bodhisattva Tārā in the Kālasan inscription of 778 CE (see *Appendix I, # 4*) and by bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the Kělurak inscription of 782 CE (see *Appendix I, # 5*). In addition, there may also have existed an enormous statue of Avalokiteśvara at the *Abhayagirivihāra* at Ratubaka.[807] As indicated in *Section 4.1*, the bodhisattvas Tārā and Mañjuśrī were prevalent in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, as well as in *esoteric* Buddhism. By means of *esoteric* ceremonies, the Buddhists strengthened their relations with the king and with the aristocracy. *Esoteric* Buddhists were now in a position to conduct some of the rituals, that earlier were confined only to the Śaiva *gurus*.[808] This form of Buddhism may have been introduced on Java by the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā (see *Section 5.2.1*).[809]

This form of *esoteric* Buddhism was based on the great compassion (*karuṇā*) and on the great wisdom (*prajñā*) of the Buddha.[810] It is originated from a fervent desire to subsume and enlighten as many non-Buddhists as possible to the great compassion of the Buddha. The Kělurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) presents a rather explicit *esoteric* tenor (see *Appendix I, # 5*).

The *Vaipulya* tradition was concerned with the "Sudden Enlighten-ment" and with "Light"– starting with Buddha Amitābha "Infinite Light".[811] Lokeśvara (bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) had the image of Buddha Amitābha on his forehead. But it was only bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the reciter of the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtras*) who was capable of clearing away any doubt on the *saddharma* – i.e. the

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[806]   Chandra claims that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra visited Java in order to spread *Man-tranaya* on their way to China from Śrīvijaya in 718 CE.
Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 124-125.
Other source: Hikata, 1965, pp. 14-15.

[807]   Chandra, 1995(b), p. 219.

[808]   Sanderson, 2009, pp. 126 & 133.

[809]   Gray, 2001, p. 204ff. & Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 158-159 & 196.

[810]   See *Section 4.2.3.2, Note 839*.

[811]   See *Section 1.4.3, Note 165*.

Vaipulya sūtras – that the Buddha now teaches. Because hereof bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was deemed to be superior to bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, with the result that the above mentioned statue was erased. Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the bodhisattva of wisdom) was in the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE called Vajradhāra. (see *Appendix I, # 5*).

According to Hikata, this *Vaipulya* tradition is neither a compromise with Hinduism, nor does it lack any fundamental Buddhist principles.[812] Bernet Kempers agrees with Hikata that it was an early form of *esoteric* Buddhism that was introduced on Central Java.[813] Moens had also surmised that the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* (T. 848) and a form of *Mantranaya* Buddhism were known on Central Java prior to the construction of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and the Barabuḍur.[814] Based on the *Caṇḍi* Sewu inscription of 792 CE (see *Appendix I, # 6*) - which recorded an enlargement of a Mañjuśrīgṛha – van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has proven that the Kĕlurak inscription also adheres to the *Caṇḍi* Sewu.[815] Bosch indicated already in 1961, that the *Caṇḍi* Sewu[816] was restructured in 792 CE as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. He also suggested, that the so called *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes (see *Section 4.1*) represent the 37 central deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. According to Bosch, this would be in conformity with the Indonesian texts the *Nāgabāyu Sūtra* and the *Buddhakalpa*.[817]

Yoga tantra, being illustrated by means of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*,[818] was at that time well established in the Pallava dynasty in south India. Vajrabodhi should in India have studied this early form of *yoga*

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[812] Hikata, 1965, p. 15.

[813] Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), p. 93.

[814] Moens, 1951, p. 409.
Other source: Long, 2009, p. 190.

[815] van Lohuizen - de Leeuw, 1981, p. 19.

It should be noted, that Sundberg is very critical to the commonly accepted interpretation of the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription of 792 CE. Sundberg means that this inscription adheres to the completion of the original *Caṇḍi* Sewu – not to the completion of its restructuring.
Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 106-109.

[816] "*Caṇḍi* Sewu" means "the Thousand Temples"
Bosch, 1961(a), p. 130.

[817] Bosch, 1961(a), pp. 114 & 125-130.

[818] As presented in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha Sūtra* (the *STTS*). .
Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(a), p. 98.

tantra. On his travel to China via Śrīviyaja, he should have brought with him from Kāñchīpuram in south India a copy each of the enormous *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) and of the *Vajraśekhara Tantra* (the *VST*) (Toh. 480) – the first of which he is supposed to have lost in a storm at sea (see *Appendix IV, # 6*). During 717-718 CE Vajrabodhi was supposed to have visited Java and there "planted the first seeds" of early *yoga tantra* (see *Section 4.2.5*). Basing himself on inter alia the Kĕlurak inscription (see *Appendix I, # 5*) and on Bianhong´s studies in China, Sundberg proposed that texts of both the *caryā tantra* and the *yoga tantra* classes were known on Java by the mid-eighth century CE.[819] He was also of the opinion that there are no strong reasons why the constituent *stanzas* of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* were not known on Java by the time the Śailendras came in power.[820] The *anuttarayoga tantras*, on the other hand, did supposedly not reach Java in any substantial manner – which is in conformity with the *esoteric* Buddhist influences from China.[821] As regards the *esoteric* Buddhist influences directly from China, please see *Section 5.7.3*. Bosch proposed that the niches in the halls of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu would have been decorated with bronze figures like those found at *Ṅgañjuk*.[822] However, Woodward opposes this latter theory.[823] Finally, in 1985 20 gold leaves were found in the *Caṇḍi* Gumpung[824] in Maura Jambi on Sumatra. These goldplates were

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[819] Sundberg, 2003, pp. 180-182.
Other source: Sundberg, 2004, pp. 113-114 & Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 102-103.

The *caryā tantras* being based on the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi* (T. 848) and being represented by the *Garbha maṇḍala* with Buddha Vairocana in the center in *dhyāna-mudrā* (see *Appendix IV, # 5*).The *yoga tantras* being based on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) (T. 866 & T. 865) and being represented by the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* with Buddha Vairocana in the center in *bodhyagrī-mudrā* (see *Appendix IV, # 6*).

[820] Sundberg, 2003, p. 182.

[821] The *anuttarayoga tantras* never exerted any significant impact in China or in Japan. The reason being, that they did not seem to conform to the Chinese state of mind. On the other hand, the early versions of the *esoteric* corpus (the *STTS*, the *MVS,* and other) seem to have struck root and flourished in China during the eighth century CE. This early *esoteric* corpus was never replaced in China or in Japan by the subsequently developed *tantric* texts. The *anuttarayoga tantras* would thus not have been introduced on Java in a marked manner from China or from Japan.

[822] Bosch, 1961(a), pp. 123-128.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(f), p. 29.

[823] Woodward, 2004, pp. 340-341.

[824] 20 small gold leaves were found under the pillars of the *Caṇḍi* Gumpung close to Maura Jambi on Sumatra. The names of the deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* were written on these gold leaves in Kawi – an Old Javanese language from the middle of the the ninth

ingraved with the names of 22 deities, which Boechari interprets as belonging to the deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (see *Appendix IV*, # 8.3).

Woodward mentions the Ratubaka inscription of 792 CE as an indication of the existence of *Mantranaya* on Java at that time. This should have been a result of the contacts of Javanese Buddhists with the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā and with Amoghavajra, who stayed in this *vihāra* during the 740s CE. This would mean, that one of the sources of the *esoteric* thought of *Mantranaya* on Java may have been Śrī Laṅkā. According to Woodward this would indicate that some of the constituent *stanzas* of the *SHKM* may have been known on Java by 792 CE.[825]

Finally, Woodward mentions that the gold leaves from the *Caṇḍi* Gumpung[826] and the bronze images from *Ṅgañjuk* mentioning the deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* both indicate that the *STTS* and the *MVS* were known on Java by the ninth century CE. The *Surocolo* bronzes[827] represent a *maṇḍala* of the so called "*Prajñāpārāmitā in 150 Verses*" (the *PPV*),[828] which circulated already in the eighth century CE. The *PPV* is one of the base texts of the *SHKM*. The *Ṅgañjuk* and the *Surocolo* bronzes are both dated to the late tenth century CE (see **Pictures 100 & 101**).[829]

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century CE.
Woodward, 2004, p. 344.

[825] Woodward, 2004, p. 341.

[826] Nihom proposes, though, that the main *esoteric* Buddhistic influences in Indonesia would have occurred **prior** to the composition of the *STTS* immediately before the beginning of the eighth century CE. The finds at the *Caṇḍi* Gumpung seem to confirm this. Nihom means that the *Caṇḍi* Gumpung finds would indicate a *maṇḍala* more like the *Trilokavijayamahā Maṇḍala*, as it is described in the *Vajraśekhara Tantra*. Nihom, 1998, pp. 245-251.

[827] The 22 bronze images were found at Surocolo in 1976. They represent Vajrasattva surrounded by 4 female *vajriṇī* (symbolizing desire, touching, love and pride), 8 offering goddesses and 4 female gatekeepers. They should represent the *maṇḍala* of the *PPV* (see *Appendix IV, # 7*) included in the *SHKM*. The remaining 5 images (not a complete set) should represent the *Hevajra maṇḍala* – a fundamental *yoginī tantra*.
Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 121-147.
Other source: Woodward, 2004, p. 344.

[828] The so called "*Prajñāpārāmitā in 150 Verses*" (the *PPV*) is another denomination of the Sanskrit *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (or the *Rishukyō* in Japanese) (see *Appendix IV, # 7*).

[829] Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke, 1988, pp 32 & 35.
Other source: Woodward, 2004, p. 345.
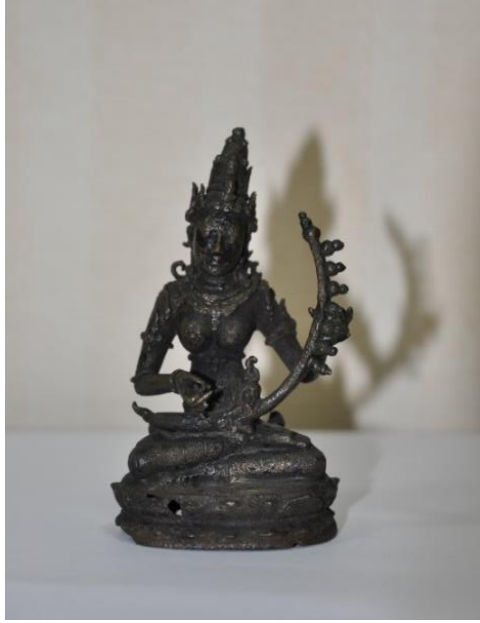
Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 100   Vajragīti - *Ṅgañjuk* bronze

The foregoing presentation indicates, that ***an early form of yoga tantra may well have been introduced in Indonesia by the early eighth century CE.*** As indicated in *Section 4.2.5*, Vajrabodhi stayed in Śrīviyaja in early eighth century CE and probably visited Java in this connection – having brought with him an early form of the enormous **Vajraśekara Sūtra* and of the *Vajraśekhara Tantra* (the *VST*). Javanese monks may well have met with Amoghavajra in the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā in the 740s CE. Amoghavajra visited at least Śrīviyaja during his ensuing text-collection trip to south India and Śrī Laṅkā in 741-746 CE, when he brought inter alia the later version of the **Vajraśekara Sūtra* to China. The reconstruction of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu seems to indicate that the ***Vajradhātu maṇḍala was known on Java by the end of the ninth century CE.***[830] The *Abhayagiri* inscription at Ratubaka of 792 CE presents a close exchange of thoughts with Śrī Laṅkā and could mean that the constituent *stanzas* of the ***SHKM were***

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[830]   To be noted is, though, that the bronze figures found at *Ṅgañjuk* are dated almost a century later, when the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* may have been more generally accepted on Java.

known on Java already by that time.[831] Of interest is also, that the *anuttarayoga tantras* do not seem to have been introduced on Java in a general manner.

Picture 101   Vajrānkusa - *Ṅgañjuk* bronze

4.2.3.2   *The Ādibuddha and the tantric character of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Indonesia*

In the beginning of the Pāla dynasty (c:a 750-1160 CE) the concept of Ādibuddha [832] was developed by the monks of Nālandā. [833] This

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[831]   The *Surocolo* bronzes represent the *maṇḍala* associated with the *PPV* (see *Appendix IV, # 7*) – a text circulating in the eighth century CE and which was one of the base texts of the *SHKM*.
Woodward, 2004, p. 344.

[832]   According to Nāropa, the word "*ādi*" means "ohne Anfang und ohne Ende" (i.e. "without beginning, without end").
Grönbold, 1992, p. 125.
Other source: Hammar, 2005, p. 95.

[833]   Nāropa wrote the famous *stanza* about the "… *Paramādibuddha* ..." over the door to the monastery in Nālandā, in order to cause debate and so as to have new ideas accepted during this phase of development:

concept of Ādibuddha may have a bearing on our interpretation of the Barabuḍur.

The Pālas were of non-Brahmanic and non-*kṣatriyan* background. They supported *tantric* Buddhism that was introduced from Orissa. The form, that *Vajrayāna* Buddhism developed in Bengal, was much influenced by Brahmanic trains of thought. The Vikramaśilā university was during the latter part of the eighth century CE developed into a centre for *Vajrayāna* studies by monks from China, Nepal, Śrīvijaya and Tibet.[834]

The concept of Ādibuddha encompassed several meanings, such as:
- the creator;[835]
- the personalization of *dharmakāya* (the last reality of the Enlightenment) and the progenitor of the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas* ("*Paramādibuddha*" – i.e. the highest primordial Buddha);[836]
- as a sixth Buddha in his role as the highest Buddha in *svābhāvikakāya*;[837]
- Ādibuddha of the *Kālacakra* tradition.[838]

Therefore, those who do not know the *Paramādibuddha*, do not know the *Nāmasaṅgīti*. Those who do not know the *Nāmasaṅgīti*, do not know the *jñānakāya* of *Vajradhāra*. Those who do not know the *jñānakāya* of *Vajradhāra*, do not know the *Mantrayāna*. Those who do not know the *Mantrayāna* are all in and of *saṃsāra*, separated from the path of *Bhagavāt Vajradhāra*.

Thus the *Paramādibuddha* should be taught by excellent gurus and listened to by excellent disciples, who strive for liberation.

Hammar, 2005, p. 74-75.

[834] Kiyota, 1978, p. 17.

[835] Brian H. Hodgson presented already in 1828, while he was living in Nepal, the concept of Ādibuddha as a creator god (*īśvara*), who reigned over the metaphysical five *Tathāgatas* and who had its origin in the "void" (*śūnyatā*).
Hammar, 2005, p. 88.
Other source: Grönbold, 1992, p. 117.

[836] *Paramādibuddha/Ādibuddha* is characterized as being non-dual; being the unchanging bliss; being the progenitor of the Buddhas; possessing the three bodies; knowing the three times; being without origination and annihilation; being with aspects though without aspects; and being omniscient.

Please note, that in the *Kālacakra*, *Paramādibuddha* is **not** regarded as the creator of the Buddhas.
Hammar, 2005, p. 99.

[837] Please note that the pure consciousness (the **svābhāvikakāya**) is here defined as a separate body (*kāya*), which may be the origin of the *dharmakāya* (see *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*).
Bagoes Mantra, 1991, pp. 201-203.

Contrary to Hikata[839], Sarkar implies that the form of Buddhism prevalent on Java during the reign of the Śailendras would have been the *tantric* form of *Vajrayāna* – in the form as developed in Bengal during the Pāla dynasty.[840] Krom was of the opinion that Vajrasattva[841] was not only known in Buddhism of Java, but that he also held an important position in this respect on Java.[842] Sundberg states that literature of the *yoga tantra* class was known during the early phases of the history of Central Java; i.e. probably from mid-eighth century CE. (see Bianhong in *Section 4.2.5*).[843] Kiyota is more specific and suggests that this form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism was the form that arose from the monastery of Vikramaśīla instead of from the monastery of Nālandā.[844] Wayman proposes that the various quotations of the *Vairocanā-*

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[838] Grönbold, 1992, p. 118.
       Other source: Grönbold, 1995, pp. 46-47; Tucci, 1934-1935, P. 341; Wallace, 2001, p. 18; Wayman, 1985, pp. 3-5.

[839] Hikata means that the increased influence from *śakti* worship within Hinduism resulted on Central Java in an increased worship of:

- bodhisattva Tārā, who during this time period represented the great **compassion** of the Buddha (much like the maternal love); and

- bodhisattvas Prajñā and Cundā, who during this time period represented the great **wisdom** and the personification of a spell of the Buddha (like the very womb, that gives birth to other Buddhas).

In the Barabuḍur area, bodhisattvas Prajñā and Cundā accompanied the standing eight-armed bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on the outside ornamentation of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut. Since Cundā´s spell is presented in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha Sūtra* as a promulgation to obtaining wisdom, it may be conceivable that this early *Mantranaya* text had played a role at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (See *Section 1.5.1*).

Hikata, 1965, p. 15.
Other sources: Bernet Kempers, 1976, p. 224; Studholme, 2002, pp. 58-59; Woodward, 2004, p. 337.

[840] Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 231.

[841] From the outset, we would like to emphasize that we hereinafter view Vajradhāra, Vajrapāṇi and Vajrasattva as bodhisattvas. This is in conformity with inter alia Giebel, 2005, p. 299 and Grönbold, 1992, p. 131. It is acknowledged, though, that the denomination of these three deities remain somewhat uncertain. Some scholars denominate Vajradhāra as a Buddha (Getty, 1962, pp. 3-4 and Hammar, 2005, p. 92) and Vajrasattva as a Buddha (Getty, 1962, pp. 4-6). However, Vajrapāṇi seems to be seen as a bodhisattva by most scholars (Getty, 1962, pp. 48-51). As it is not within this dissertation to analyze this matter, we will hereinafter mention Vajradhāra, Vajrapāṇi and Vajrasattva without any prior denomination (see also *Appendix IV, # 5, Note 1553*).

[842] Krom, 1927, Vol. II, pp. 157-158.

[843] Sundberg, 2003, pp. 180-182.
       Other source: Sundberg, 2006 (b), pp. 102-103.

[844] Kiyota, 1978, p. 18-19.

bhisaṃbodhi Tantra (the *VAT*) in some of the *stanzas* of the *SHKM* are an indication that the *VAT* has contributed to the spread of *tantric* Buddhism on Java.[845]

During the reign of the second king of the Pāla dynasty – king Dharmapāla (770-810 CE) – this cult of Vajradhāra (Ādibuddha) became the most predominant feature of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. Simultaneously herewith *Rakai* Warak *Dyaḥ* Manara[846] (802-827 CE) reigned on central Java as the third Śailendra king. Contacts between the dynasties of Pāla (Bengal) and Śailendra (Java) are indicated by the fact that Pāla inscriptions from eastern India and Śailendra´s Pre-Nāgarī script are very similar. Sarkar accepts Goris´ proposal that the *Kamahāyānikan* and the Vajradhāra sections of the *SHKM* in folio A (see *Appendix II, # 1.1*) belong to the oldest stratum of texts during the Śailendra period. All these aspects lead, according to Sarkar, to the presumption that the Vajradhāra cult was introduced on Java by the last quarter of the eighth century CE.[847] Ādibuddha is mentioned in the *SHKM* – but only in the version translated to Indonesian and in the commentaries (but not in the original Kawi-text).[848] Bosch proposed already in 1920 that the *stūpa* on the Barabuḍur belonged to the Vajradhāra cult of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism (see *Section 5.2.3*).[849] Sarkar continued from there and proposed that the "missing" Buddha statue in the *stūpa* of Barabuḍur, would have been a golden image of Vajradhāra, which also served as the palladium of the Śailendra dynasty. If so, it was probably taken by *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra when he left Java for Śrīvijaya on Sumatra in 854 CE. (see *Section 2.3.3*).[850]

Vajrasattva[851] is a later addition to the Buddhist pantheon.[852] Sometimes Vajrasattva is identified with Vajradhāra – and thus equals the

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[845]   Wayman, 1998, p. 19.

[846]   He is probably also denominated king Samaratuṅga. However, the Ratubaka inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714) names him Dharmottuṅgadewa.

[847]   Sarkar, 1985(b). p. 227.

[848]   Grönbold, 1992, p. 133.

[849]   *Not. Bat. Genoot.*, 1920, pp.52ff ; or *TBG* 67, 1927, pp 173ff as referred to by Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 227.

[850]   Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 226-227.

[851]   Vajrasattva is pictured as sitting on a lotus with a *vajra* in his right hand lifted to his breast and a *ghanta* in his left hand supported on his left hip. (See *Appendix II, # 1.1* & the Ādibuddha model in *Section 5.6.1*).
Getty, 1962, p. 5.

Ādibuddha.[853] Krom illustrated the close relationship between Vajrasattva and Vajradhāra, as Vajrasattva being the "vicepresident" and Vajradhāra the "president" of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* – with Vajrasattva also assuming the role of Ādibuddha.[854] The close relationship between Vajrasattva, on the one hand, and the *vajra* and *ghaṇṭa* (bell), on the other, is mentioned in the *SHKM*.[855] He is also occasionally identified as one of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* – usually Buddha Akṣobhya. Getty and Waddell see Vajrasattva as "the spiritual son of the Buddha Akṣobhya" and the head of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*.[856] Ādibuddha is thought to be represented by the *esoteric* form of Buddha Akṣobhya – thus Vajrasattva should also be Ādibuddha, which the *Svābhāvika* tradition in Nepal regards him as being (see ***Picture 102***).[857]

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[852]   According to van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and Bhattacharyya, the Vajrasattva concept was not developed until the first half of the tenth century CE. This would in fact be in conformity with the suggested development of the *SHK*, in which Vajradhāra and Vajrasattva are mentioned only in the later versions.
Bhattacharyya, 1989, p. 127 & van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 404.

[853]   See *Appendix IV, # 5, Note 1553.*

[854]   Krom, 1927, Vol. II, p. 154.

[855]   Kats, 1910, *stanzas* 13a-14a, pp. 20-21 & 74-76.
Other sources: van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 403; Wulff, 1935, *stanzas* 11-12, pp. 22-23.

[856]   Vajrasattva usually has an image of Buddha Akṣobhya in his headset.   .
van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 402.
Other sources: Getty, 1962, p. 5 (Not mentioned in the 1914 edition); Waddell, 1974, p. 352.

[857]   The *Svābhāvika* Buddhism illustrates Vajrasattva symbolically on a lotus flower of precious jewels at the centre of universe (i.e. on top of Mount Meru) above which arises the moon crescent. In the middle of the lotus flower, Buddha Vajrasattva is sitting in the form of a *liṅga*-shaped flame (= the sign of Ādibuddha). The moon crescent and the *liṅga*-shaped flame may be likened to a trident. Then this picture is equal to the special emblem of the *Svābhāvika* tradition in Nepal.
Getty, 1962, pp. 4-6.
Other source: Frédéric, 1995, pp. 147-148.

Source: Getty, 1962, p. 5

Picture 102   Vajrasattva according to the *Svābhāvika nikāya*, Nepal

Ādibuddha reigning over the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* is represented by different Buddhas and bodhisattvas in various Buddhist traditions – such as Buddha Vairocana in Korea and Japan; Vajrasattva in China; Vajradhāra by the reformed *lāmas* (*Gelug-pa* and *Kagyu-pa*); bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Buddha Vairocana´s spiritual son) by the unreformed *lāmas* in Nepal and Tibet (*Nyingma-pa*), as well as in India and on Śrī Laṅkā.[858] In fact, bodhisattva Samantabhadra was worshipped as "the Master of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*" on Śrī Laṅkā during the eighth and ninth centuries CE - i.e. at the time when the Barabuḍur was built and when the Ratubaka inscription of 792-793 CE was carved - indicating close religious contacts between Java and Śrī Laṅkā.[859]

The above description indicates that **there may exist a transcendent concept beyond the existing world, which is called Ādibuddha.** The fourth body of the Buddha – the *svābhāvikakāya* – may also be associated with the pure, unchanging mind, which is beyond everything. Thus the *svābhāvikakāya* is beyond *prajñā* and *upāya* – wisdom and method.[860]

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As indicated below in *Section 5.2.3*, the *Vajradhāra* (Ādibuddha) cult developed early on in Bengal. Furthermore, we have also seen that the Śailendras had close contacts with the Pāla dynasty. Would it be possible to assume, that the *Vajradhāra* (Ādibuddha) cult could have been introduced on Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur? The mentioning in the *SHKM* of Ādibuddha and of the

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[858]   Vajradhāra later developed in Tibet as Ādibuddha of the *Gelug-pa* tradition ("Yellow Hats"), while Vajrasattva became Ādibuddha of the *Karma-pa* tradition ("Red Hats"). In China Ādibuddha was expressed as Vajrasattva. In Japan and Korea, Ādibuddha was addressed as Vairocana. On Java, Ādibuddha may be described as "*advaya*", as mentioned in the *SHK* in *Appendix II, # 1.2*
Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 228.
Other sources: Davidson, 1981, p. 4; Frédéric, 1995, p. 148; Getty, 1914, pp. 3-4; van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 402; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 176; Stein, 1972, pp. 72 & 76.

[859]   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, pp. 408-412.
Other source: Wadell, 1974, pp. 130-131.

[860]   Hammar, 2005, p. 201 and *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*.

advaya concept in the *SHKA* seems to indicate that this was the case. The Buddhas on the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur are by some scholars regarded to represent Ādibuddha – the question is only in which form. This seems to indicate that **early tantric Vajrayāna Buddhism may have been introduced on Java during the latter part of the eighth century CE.**

4.2.4 The Barabuḍur and the Indian architectural influences

As indicated in *Section 3.2*, early Buddhism was in its formative stages influenced by some Brahmanic and Hindu traditions.

As regards the construction of buildings, one of the important texts is the *Mayamatam,* which is part of the Śaiva *Āgamic* literary tradition. The *Mayamatam* comprehensively presents the *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala,*[861] which in India is regarded as the symbolic fundament of the Hindu temples. The *Mayamatam* derives from the early ninth to late twelfth centuries CE and has its roots from south India – probably from the Tamil area.[862]

Another important architectural treaty is the *Mānasāra* also from south India. It has been dated to the Gupta period (320-550 CE) – although this early date has been called in question by some scholars. The *Mānasāra* is the most complete of all the texts dealing with Indian architecture and iconography.[863]

The *Mañjuśrībhāṣitvāstuvidyā Śāstra*[864] (the *MVVS*) is written in Sanskrit in a Sinhalese script. The *MVVS* is probably the most

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[861]   Dagens, 1994, Vol. I, pp. 47-49 (*Stanzas* 47b-56).

[862]   Dagens, 1994, Vol. I, pp. xl & xliii.
Other source: Jayasuriya, Prematilleke & Silva, 1995, p. 16.

[863]   Dagens, 1994, Vol. I, pp. xliv-xlv.
Other source: Jayasuriya, Prematilleke & Silva, 1995, p. 16.

[864]   Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is the bodhisattva of Wisdom.

In the colophones of the various chapters, the palm-leaf manuscript is given various names. When the text applies to Buddhist architecture, the text is called *MVVS* (Chapter 1) and *Mañjuśrībhāṣitavāstu Śāstra* (Chapters 2 & 3). When the text refers to Buddhist iconography, the text is called *Mañjuśrībhāṣita Citrakarma Śāstra* (Chapters 4 onwards). Jayasuriya, Prematilleke & Silva, 1995, p. 3.

complete *Mahāyāna* architectural treatise extant today.[865] It is the only *śilpa* text that has so far been discovered and which deals exclusively with the construction of Buddhist *vihāras* and temples, as well as with the forming of Buddhist clay images. Its first three chapters present various Buddhist rituals and procedures applicable in the planning and in the construction of buildings. These first three chapters are collectively called the *Vāstuvidyā Śāstra.* The remaining parts pertain mainly to Buddhist iconography and are called the *Citrakarma Śāstra.*[866]

The *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala* has in India governed the construction of Hindu buildings such as temples, palaces and residences. The *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala* takes the form of a square, which is divided in a grid net of different squares. The grid of squares may differ for different *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍalas.* The main purpose of the grid of squares is to enable the builder of the temple to properly construct the cella, on the one hand, and to place the images of the deities in their proper places in the sanctum, on the other.

Some of the most frequent grids of squares used for the architectural plans on Java during the Central Javanese period are presented below in *Picture 103*:

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[865]   See *Section 1.4* and *Note 633*.

[866]   Jayasuriya, Prematilleke & Silva, 1995, pp. 4-5.
    Other sources: Long, 2009, p. 89;   Marasinghe, 1991, p. xi & xvii.

<div align="center">

Picture 103
Various grids of squares used in some architectural plans
of Central Java

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No of Squares	Name	Temple deigns on Central Java	Citations [867]
9 (3x3)	*pīṭha*	*Caṇḍi* Pawon (roof)	MM, Vol I, p. 41
49 (7x7)	*sthaṇḍila*	*Caṇḍi* Mendut (roof) *Caṇḍi* Sewu (main temple)	CKS, 7.70-7.78
81 (9x9)	*parama-śāyikin*	Caṇḍi Mendut (bld & sanctum) Barabuḍur (summit) Prambanan (inner court)	MM, Vol I, pp. xlix, 49
361 (19x19)	*ganhita*	*Caṇḍi* Prambanan Barabuḍur (overall)[868]	MM, Vol I, p. 39

In the *Citrakarma Śāstra* [CKS 7.29-7.39] the *paramaśāyikin* – the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan – is presented (see **Picture 104**). As mentioned above, the main purpose of the grid-system was to obtain a framework in the sanctum, wherein the positions of the main deity images could be placed. The 32 squares in the outmost tier (the *paiśācapāda*) all around the grid-system is where the ghosts and goblins live. The next tier of 24 squares (the *mānuṣapāda*) is where the humans reside and the third tier of 16 squares (the *daivikapāda*) is the quarter of the divine beings. The inner core of 9 squares (the *brāhmikapāda*) is the quarter of the Supreme Being. Usually, the *brāhmikapāda* is left empty, enabling the devotees to approach the images.[869] The main image was usually installed towards the rear of the *daivikapāda* with the images of the bodhisattvas behind him. The *Bodhi*-tree was usually placed behind the Buddha image.[870]

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[867] MM = *Mayāmātam*; CKS = *Citrakarma Śāstra*

[868] Kramisch, 1996 Vol. I, pp. 86-88.
Other sources: Long, 2009, p. 82; Marasinghe, 1991, p. xxiii.

[869] Long, 2011, pp. 2 & 10.

[870] Kramrisch, 1996, p. 60.
Other source: Marasinghe, 1991, p. xxiii-xxiv & CKS 7.29-7.39.
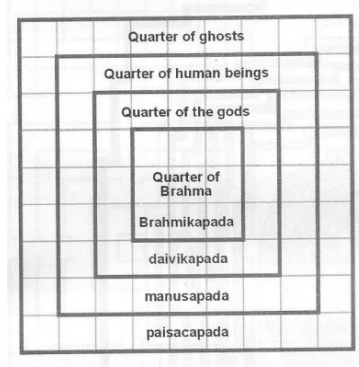
Source: Long, 2009, p. 93

Picture 104 The *paramaśāyikin caṇḍita*

When the *paramaśāyikin* – the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan – is applied to the summit of the Barabuḍur (see **Picture 105**), one finds an interesting fit. The 16 latticed *stūpas* of the inner terrace would presumably represent the *daivikapāda*, while the 24 and the 32 latticed *stūpas* of the outer two terraces would presumably represent the *mānuspāda* and the *paiśācapāda*, respectively. In addition, the *Citrakarma Śāstra* states that the central nine squares – the *brāhmikapāda* – should not contain any images.[871] This aspect would thus indicate, that no Buddha image should have been originally planned to have been installed in the central *stūpa* – i.e. the so called "unfinished" Buddha image would originally not have been present on the Barabuḍur (see *Sections 1.4.6 & 5.6.1*). Futhermore, it leads one to believe that the *Mahāyāna* Buddhist architects would have been aware of and followed some of the Śaiva *Siddhānta* practices and rituals used by the temple builders in South India and expressed in such texts as the *Mayamamatam* and the *Mānasāra*.[872]

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[871] Long, 2011, p. 2.

[872] Long, 2009, pp. 92-94.
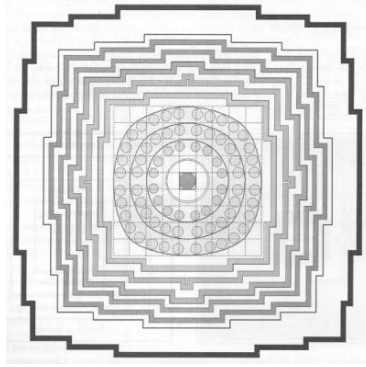
Picture 105   The *paramaśāyikin caṇḍita* plan applied
to the summit of the Barabuḍur

As referred to in ***Picture 106***, the 361 squares (19x19) of the *ganhita* grid system fits well with the overall construction of the Barabuḍur. The *ganhita* grid system ensures a correspondence between the Barabuḍur design and the four "Quarters" – i.e. the *brāhmikapāda* corresponds to the nine central squares of the central *stūpa*; the *daivikapāda* corresponds to the squares of the 72 latticed *stūpas*; the *mānuṣapāda* corresponds to the basreliefs of the past lives of the Buddha and the pilgrimage of Sudhana; and the *paiśācapāda* corresponds to the base of the monument, including the "hidden base".[873]
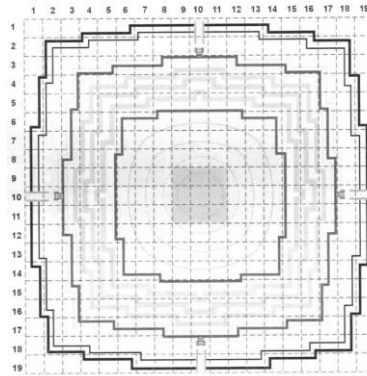
Picture 106   The *ganhita caṇḍita* plan applied to
the Barabuḍur

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[873]   Long also means that the 19x19 *ganhita* grid system constitutes the layout plan for the Prambanan temple complex (Long, 2009, p. 83 Fig. 118).
Long, 2011, p. 2.

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In conclusion, we have in this *Section 4.2.4* experienced an interesting **background to the potential use of the various grid systems used in the construction of temples and monuments on Central Java.** These grid systems are expressed in the Śaiva-Siddhānist text Mayāmātam. We have also seen how the Mahāyāna architectural text – the *MVVS* – assimilated some of the Śaiva Siddhānta concepts. This is particularly of interest, as the *MVVS* seems in the later Matarām period to have been a central text of the architecture on Central Java.

Noteworthy is also the presentation in the *Citrakarma Śāstra* of the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan – the *paramaśāyikin* – which may be traced back to the Śaiva *Siddhānta* text – the *Mayamatam*.

The *Citrakarma Śāstra* states that the central nine squares (the *brāhmikapāda*) of the *paramaśāyikin* - the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan - should not contain any images. This aspect would thus indicate, that no Buddha image - including the "unfinished" Buddha - should originally have been planned to have been installed in the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur.

The *paramaśāyikin maṇḍala* – the *Vāstupuruṣa maṇḍala* with its 81 squares – was subsequently reworked by Amoghavajra and became the basis for the *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala* of *Shingon* Buddhism in Japan (see *Appendix IV, # 8.2*). The close fit of the *paramaśāyikin maṇḍala* to the design of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut building and sanctum may indicate that **the Caṇḍi Mendut represents the Garbha maṇḍala.**

The *ganhita maṇḍala* with its 361 squares seems to fit nicely with the overall construction of the Barabuḍur – as do the 81 squares of the *paramaśāyikin maṇḍala* with the terrace area of the Barabuḍur. The grid system of the latter tallies perfectly with the 72 latticed *stūpas* and their disposition on the three terraces (32, 24 & 16).

Furthermore, we find references in the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* (the *VAS*) to *homa* rituals – which leads the train of thoughts to the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and the *homa* rituals, that may have been performed there (see *Section 1.5.2*).

These correspondences would seem to indicate that the builders of the Barabuḍur may have been influenced by Indian traditions.

However, in order to suggest that some early concepts from the *MVVS* could have been circulating on Java already by the early ninth century CE, one would seem to need further tangible documentary evidence. The *MVVS* subsequently introduced on Java the definition of *caṇḍita* (*caṇḍi* in Javanese). But more plausible would be the application of concepts from the Mānasāra and/or the Mayamatam. These two texts are part of the Śaiva *Āgama* literary tradition. Given the presence of Śaivism on Central Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur, *we may well believe that the Mahāyāna Buddhist architects were aware of and may have followed some of the Śaiva Siddhānta practices and rituals used by the temple builders in south India.*

4.2.5 Esoteric Buddhism in China - the Three Monks (Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra)

The religious history in China since the end of the Han-dynasty (220 CE) has been characterized by the struggle for the favour of the emperor. The counterparts in this struggle were representatives of Buddhism, as the "new foreign" religion, on the one hand, and Daoism and Confucianism, on the other. This power-struggle led to the two persecutions of Buddhism in 446 CE and 574-577 CE, respectively. During the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE) this tension continued unabatedly.[874]

During the Tang period, China was flooded with religious ideas. The *Pure Land* and the *Zhenyan* (*mantra*) forms of Buddhism are examples hereof. The three first Tang emperors favoured Daoism at the expense of Buddhism. But under the empress Wu Zetian 武则天 (r. 684-705 CE) and her son emperor Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 705-710 CE), *Mahāyāna* Buddhism was elevated in favour – much as a result of the Huayan patriarch Fazang´s 法藏 dialogues with empress Wu Zetian (see *Appendix III*). Although the ensuing emperors may have been positively inclined to Buddhism as such, they nevertheless conducted

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[874] Ch´en, 1973, pp 57-58, 73-79 & 121-209; Wright, 1971, pp. 42-68.

a policy of limiting the extreme power base and wealth of the *saṅgha* and locking it in under the cognizance of the state.[875]

It was not until the eighth century CE, that *esoteric* Buddhism was introduced in China in a comprehensive manner by the Three Monks – Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. It then reached its peak. Śubhākarasiṃha lay the foundation stone with his tenet according to the *caryā tantra* - the *MVS*. Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra followed up with the *yoga tantra* - the *STTS*. To be noted is, that the Three Monks did neither desire to break with prevailing forms of Buddhist doctrine or ritual, nor did they want to establish a new teaching.[876]

Esoteric Buddhism received acceptance and acknowledgement in China starting with emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756 CE) – but only after his initial anti-Buddhist policies were discontinued.[877] Emperor Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756-762 CE) contiued this accommodating policy. But the ensuing An Lushan 安禄山 revolt (755-763 CE) dealt a blow not only to the state, but also to the religion. On the religious side, the uncontrolled ordinations (*abhiṣeka*) of monks and nuns, that had been implemented in order to finance the war against the An Lushan rebels, substantially weakened the quality of the monks and nuns. The *saṅgha* was thus negatively affected. Amoghavajra responded to these disturbances by focusing on the *esoteric* rituals.

The following Tang emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779 CE) became an ardent Buddhist and allowed Amoghavajra to propagate his Mañjuśrī (*Wénshū*) cult.[878] The ensuing emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779-805 CE)

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[875] Orzech, 2011(c), p. 275; Sørensen, 2011(b), pp. 294-296 & 302-303; Weinstein, 2009, pp. 37-51.

[876] Sharf, 2002, pp. 277-278.

[877] This change of mind on the part of the emperor Xuanzong was partly due to the similarities between *esoteric* Buddhism and Daoism of their various ideas and practices. Chen, 2011, pp.289-290.

[878] The prominent role of Mañjuśrī (Ch. *Wénshū* 文殊) in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism is based on the close identification with the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Wisdom) doctrine - everything is empty (*śūnyatā*). In *esoteric* Buddhism, Mañjuśrī (*Wénshū*) is identified as a Buddha, who out of compassion assumes the role of a bodhisattva and assists living beings to attain Enlightenment.
Weinstein, 2009, pp. 80-83.
Other source: Wayman, 1985, pp. 36-41.

was the last Tang emperor to allocate vast resources for the translation of Buddhist texts (e.g. Prajñā´s translations).[879]

Esoteric Buddhism enjoyed a strong position within the Tang dynasty up until the mid-ninth century CE. With emperor Wenzong 文宗 (r. 826-840) the pendulum had swung to the opposite direction for Buddhism. Times became harsher for the *esoteric* Buddhists. The ensuing emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840-846 CE) issued various *ukases* – the last one in 845 CE, when all the assets of the Buddhist temples should be confiscated and all the monks and nuns under 40 years of age should become laymen/laywomen again.[880] But the real "kiss of death" was delivered by the effects of Huang Chao´s (黄巢) nine-year civil war, which ended in 884 CE.[881]

In summary, one may state that the effects of the the work of the Three Monks (Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra) were:
- that large bodies of the then circulating Buddhist texts in South India were translated into Chinese, together with their commentaries and ritual manuals;
- that *mantric* rituals were arranged in comprehensive systems, as exemplified by the *MVS* and the *STTS*;
- that numerous divinities, and the practices associated with them, were introduced;[882]
- that the work of Amoghavajra during the reign of emperor Daizong resulted in an institutional development of the religion (e.g. altars for *abhiṣeka* rituals were erected in various monasteries);
- that these endeavours gave a substantial prestige to *esoteric* Buddhism on a national level, as well as on an international level.[883]

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[879] Copp, 2011, p. 360.

[880] Weinstein, 2009, pp. 106-133.
       Other source: Orlando, 1981, pp. 36-37.

[881] The earlier mentioned persecutions of Buddhism were largely limited to northern China – Northern Wei (446 CE) and Northern Chou (574-577 CE). Buddhism in southern China was then left untouched. The Tang persecutions, on the other hand, were carried out throughout the entire country.

[882] Sørensen, 2011(a), pp. 90-132.

[883] Chen, 2011, p. 293.
       Other source: Orzech, 2011(c), pp. 265-266.

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Śubhākarasiṃha (636-735 CE) (Chinese *Shànwúwèi* 善無畏)[884] came from Magadha in central India and is thought to have been a descendent of Buddha Śākyamuni´s uncle, Amṛtodana. His father was king Buddhakara of Odra (Orissa), whom he succeeded. But Śubhākarasiṃha abdicated in favour of his elder brother. He studied *dhāraṇī, yoga* and the Three Secrets[885] under the "800 year old" monk Dharmagupta in Nālandā. Śubhākarasiṃha donated the palladium of his family – the "Sacred Pearl"[886] – to the monastery of Nālandā in order to constitute the "third eye" of the large Buddha statue. Śubhākarasiṃha is said to have led part of his life in a manner reminiscent of the Sinhalese *pāṃśukūlika* monks of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā (see *Section 3.2*).[887]

Śubhākarasiṃha came to China in 716 CE via Kashmir, Uḍḍiyāna and Tibet at the age of almost eighty years. In the *Huayan* temple in Luoyang he translated various Buddhist texts together with Yixing 一行.[888] Together with Yixing and Baoyue , Śubhākarasiṃha translated in 724-725 CE a summary of the essentials of the huge "Sūtra of the

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[884] *Shàn* 善 = wise; *Wú wèi* 無畏 = fearless (San. *abhya*).
      Chandra, 1993, p. 10.

[885] The Three Secrets (or the Triple Mysteries) in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism are (i) *kāyaguhya* (the mystery of the body), (ii) *vāgguhya* (the mystery of the speech) and (iii) *manoguhya* (mystery of the the mind). *Appendix IV, # 2, Note 1515.*

[886] It is said of this "Sacred Pearl" that "*By day it was like the moon, at night it was like the sun*". The moon represents in Indian terminology a "good person", who does not "dazzle" others.
      Chou, 1945, pp. 251-255 & 267.

[887] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 167 & 214 n.167.
      Other source: Chou, 1945, p. 258.

[888] Giebel means that it is the Chinese monk Yixing (683-727 CE) – not Yijing (635-713 CE), as is often referred to by other scholars (see *Note 889*).
      Giebel, 2005, p. xvi.

      Yixing (683-727 CE) was born in Zhang Sui in Henan province. Yixing is said to have been the first prominent Chinese during the reign of Xuanzong (r. 712-756 CE) to have been exposed to the innovative secret Buddhist teachings. Yixing is also famous as a scientist, a mathematician and an astronomer. He assisted Śubhākarasiṃha in translating the *MVS* (T. 848). His main own work, was his *Commentary on Mahāvairocana Becoming a Buddha   Dá pí lú zhē nà chéng fójīng shū* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (T. 1796) in twenty rolls.
      Keyworth, 2011, pp. 342-343.

Great Vairocana" (the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra*)   *Dà pí lú zhē nà chéng fó shén biàn jiāchí jīng*   大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經   (T. 848).[889] This *sūtra* was said to be in 100.000 *stanzas.* It constitutes one of the basic texts of *esoteric* Buddhism (see *Appendix IV, # 5* and the text below).[890]

Śubhākarasiṃha also translated the *Sūpóhū tóngzi qǐngwèn jīng*   蘇婆 呼童 子請聞經   (T. 895) and the *Sū xīde jié luó jīng*   蘇悉地羯羅經 (T. 893) – which Chou states constitute the complete *vinaya* of the *Dhāraṇī* tradition.[891] The *Taishō Daizōkyō* lists him as the translator/ /author of sixteen additional texts.[892] He died in 735 CE at the age of 99 years (in his 80th religious year as a monk).[893]

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[889]   This copy of the *MVS* (T. 848) was probably the one that Yijing (635-713 CE) obtained directly from Wuxing – maybe in Śrīvijaya in 672 CE (see comments below). After spending 25 years in India and in Southeast Asia, Yijing returned to China in 695 CE. de Jong, 1974, pp. 479-481.
Other sources: Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 374; Orlando, 1981, p. 9; Wayman & Tajima, 1998, pp. 240-241.

This may be a mix-up of persons. Giebel confirms that Yixing (683-727 CE) assisted Śubhākarasiṃha in the translation to Chinese of the *Mahāvairocanābhsaṃbodhi Sūtra*, on the basis of the manuscript, that the Chinese monk Wuxing sent to China some decades earlier. However, Yijing (635-713 CE) **may** have received the manuscript of the *Mahāvairocanaabhsaṃbodhi Sūtra* from Wuxing, as he had just started his long travel in India and in Southeast Asia at that time. But this would then have been in the early phase of his travelling spree, as Wuxing died in India in 674 CE. **But** Yijing could not have been the person assisting Śubhākarasiṃha in the translation to Chinese of the manuscript, as this translation took place 724-725 CE – well over a decade after the demise of Yijing.
Giebel, 2005, p. xvi.

[890]   Wayman suggested that the *Mahāvairocanābhsaṃbodhi Sūtra* orginially had been composed by a *brāhmaṇa*, who later on converted to Buddhism. Wayman is basing his hypothesis on the "Homa chapter", which includes the fire offering (*homa*).
Wayman & Tajima, 1998, p. 8.
Other source: Long, 2009, p. 94.

[891]   Chou, 1945, p. 266.

[892]   Pinte, 2011, pp. 339-341.

[893]   Chou, 1945, pp. 269-270.

Vajrabodhi (670-741 CE)[894] (Chinese *Jīngāngzhì* 金剛智) was – according to his lay disciple Lü Xiang – the third son of king Īśānavarman, the *kṣatriya* king of a kingdom in central India.[895] Vajrabodhi was ordained a monk in Nālandā at the age of 10 years, where he during five years studied grammatical treatises under Śāntijñāna.[896] Thereafter he went to western India, where he for four years studied the treaties of Dharmakīrti. At the age of 20 years, Vajrabodhi obtained full ordination as a monk at the Nālandā monastery. Here he studied for six years the *vinaya* of the 12 *Śrāvakayāna* traditions and the 6 *Mahāsāṅghika* traditions. At the age of twentyeight years, he studied the *yoga* treaties under Jinabhadra in Kapilavastu. When he was thirtyone, Vajrabodhi went to south India, where he for seven years studied for Nāgajñāna.[897] It is noteworthy that no special *vihāra* is

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[894]   Strickmann notably states that Vajrabodhi lived between 662-732 CE, which is about a decade earlier.
Strickmann, 1996, p. 213.

[895]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 133-134.

The biography of Vajrabodhi by Lü Xiang (probably composed sometime between 757-765 CE – i.e. within some twenty years of the death of Vajrabodhi) is followed by the epitaph of Hunlunweng, whose biography of Vajrabodhi is compatible with that of Lü Xiang. However, the Song-era portrait of Vajrabodhi produced by the monk **Zanning, contain several discrepancies** as regards the life of Vajrabodhi. In the Zanning biography, Vajrabodhi is said to originate from Malayakuṭa in south India close to the mountain of Potalaka, where the palace of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was said to be situated. The father of Vajrabodhi was also said to have been a *brahman*. The details of Vajrabodhi´s studies in various places differs in Zanning´s biography from that of Lü Xiang. Furthermore, the death of Vajrabodhi in Zanning´s biography differs by a decade from that indicated by Lü Xiang and Hunlunweng. Because he was later on recommended to the Chinese emperor by general Mizhunna from the Pallava kingdom, Vajrabodhi has subsequently been mistakenly assumed to have originated from south India.
Chou, 1945, pp. 272-275, 273 n.5.
Other sources: Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 134, 140-143 & 184 n.61.

[896]   Orzech claims, however, that Vajrabodhi was ordained a monk at the age of sixteen years. In addition, Orzech voices the opinion, that Vajrabodhi studied the *STTS* – the latest teaching by that time – under the teacher Śāntijñāna (i.e. not the grammatical treatises). The discrepances may be explained by the fact, that Orzech bases himself on Zanning´s biography of Vajrabodhi.
Orzech, 2011(a), p. 346.

[897]   According to Sundberg and Kuijp, the Tibetan Nāgabodhi – an *esoteric* preceptor of an age reputed to be seven centuries – is also said to have been a disciple of Nāgārjuna. However, this Tibetan Nāgabodhi, should not be confounded with the Indian master, that the Chinese identified with Longzhi. In 821 CE, Kūkai commissioned a portrait of the third patriarch - Longzhi in Chinese. This portrait has since been lodged in the Tōji monastery in Tokyo. The name spelled in ineptly Siddham indicates his name to be Nāgajñāna.
van der Kuijp, 2007, pp.1005, 1009-1013.
Other source: Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 179-180.

mentioned in connection with Nāgajñāna, despite Vajrabodhi´s seven years together with him. This may lead one to believe, that Nāgajñāna was a *pśṃāukūlika* (ragwearing monk) or a wandering ascetic like a *siddha* (see *Section 5.2.1*).[898] The texts studied here included inter alia the *sūtra* of the *Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle*,[899] Buddha Vairocana´s *dhāraiṇ* teachings,[900] various *Mahāyāna sūtras*, and treaties on the five sciences. Vajrabodhi received initiation (*abhiṣeka*) into the Five Divisions.[901] He mastered all different principles of teaching.[902]

Vajrabodhi visited Śrī Laṅkā, where he in the south of the country (the kingdom of Rohaṇa) close to the sea at the temple of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is said to have received metaphysical experiences. Vajrabodhi is there claimed to have saved a withering banyan tree by means of his fasting and rituals. Subsequent hereto, bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was supposed to have told Vajrabodhi that his studies now have been completed. Vajrabodhi then persuaded the king of Rohaṇa to leave *Theravāda* and to adopt Vajrabodhi´s version of *Mahāyāna*. [903] Thereupon bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is asserted to have told him to go to Siṃhala and there give homage to the Buddha´s tooth and to subsequently climb Mount Laṅkā (Adam´s Peak), where he was to pay homage to the Buddha´s right footprint.[904] After a year in Śrī Laṅkā, Vajrabodhi returned to south India in order to bid farewell, as he had decided to go to China. The Pallava king dispatched the general Mizhunna to accompany Vajrabodhi – together with a Sanskrit copy of the *Mahāprajāñpāramitā Sūtra* and various other gifts to the Tang emperor. They sailed via Śrī Laṅkā to

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[898]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 160.

[899]   Probably a version of the *Tattvasaṃgraha Sūtra* (the *STTS*).
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 180.

[900]   Probably the teachings of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (the *VAS*).
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 181.

[901]   The *maṇḍala* of the Five Divisions is based on the fact, that the Five Divisions are represented by the Five Families (*kula*) - Tathāgata, Vajra, Ratna, Padma and Karma.
Chou, 1945, p. 284, Note 64.

[902]   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 134-135.

[903]   Sharrock & Bunker, 2016, p. 240.
Other sources: Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 146.

[904]   The *rNying-ma-pa* tradition holds that many of their early scriptures – in particular their early *esoteric* scriptures – were first revealed on Śrī Laṅkā, and there particularly at the Adam´s peak.
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 129, 135-138, 170-172.

Śrīvijaya, where they had to stay for five months, awaiting suitable trade winds. Close to southern China the ship met with a terrible storm in 716 CE and is said to have been saved from wrecking, because of Vajrabodhi´s recital of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*.[905] Vajrabodhi is asserted to have lost the original copy of the "one-hundred-thousand-verse" text the *STTS*, which was alleged to have been thrown over board by the paniced crew (see *Appendix IV, # 6*).[906] Vajrabodhi then obviously parted company with general Mizhunna[907] and spent three years travelling to various countries (more than 20 countries has been claimed) in Southeast Asia – one of which is said to have been Java.[908] Given his recent visit to Śrī Laṅkā, Vajrabodhi must have been in a position on Java to have planted the first seeds of *esoteric* Buddhism during his stay there in 717 or 718 CE.[909] This could be one of the explanations for the rapid development of Buddhism on Java during the subsequent reign of the Śailendras.

Finally – after almost being shipwrecked again – he reached Canton by sea in 719 CE. He was invited by the Tang emperor to the Eastern Capital (Luoyang),[910] where he arrived in 720 CE. Vajrabodhi was later on installed in the Zisheng Temple and subsequently in the

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[905] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 138-139.

[906] It is noteworthy that Lü Xiang does not mention this loss in his biography of Vajra-bodhi. Perhaps Vajrabodhi was too embarrassed to mention it. Or he thought it too im-polite, to mention to anybody else but to Amoghavajra, that he was not in possession of the major text of the tradition of his doctrine. Or, as is indicated in the main text below, he had never been in possession of this text.
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 147-148 & 188-190 n.80-85.
Other sources: Chou, 1945, p. 275 n.19;   Lehnert, 2011, p. 353;   Orzech, 1995, p. 317;

[907] Sundberg notices that Lü Xiang´s biography only mentions four laymen by name – one being the name of general Mizhunna (the others being three kings – Vajrabodhi´s father - king Īśānavarman; the Pallava sponsor - king Narasiṃhapotavarman; and the Sinhalese admirer of Varjabodhi – king Śrīśīla). The reason for this must, according to Sundberg, have been the important role that general Mizhunna came to play at the Tang court. Sundberg means inter alia that general Mizhunna parted company with Vajrabodhi after the first hardship at sea, and continued on to China, where he promoted Vajrabodhi and made possible the "statesmanlike" welcome reception that Vajrabodhi received when he finally arrived in Canton (Guāngzhōu 广州) in 719 CE.
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 143-145.

[908] Chou, 1945, pp 321-322, App. "M".
Other sources: Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 124-125;   Hikata, 1965, p. 9;
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 139 & 151.

[909] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 153.
Other sources: Chou, 1945, p. 322, App. "M";   Devi Sighal, 1991, p. 382.

[910] *Luòyáng* 洛阳

Jianfu Seminary[911] – both in the Western Capital (Chang´an).[912] In both temples, he had an altar erected in order to serve in the *abhiṣeka* ceremonies. Vajrabodhi was indefatigable in his efforts to convey *esoteric* Buddhism. He introduced the "Twin-*maṇḍalas*" (the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*) in China.[913] Among his famous disciples, we find the Chan monk Yixing (683-727 CE). From 723 CE, Vajrabodhi translated texts in the above two temples – starting with four texts in seven rolls – which in 730 CE were entered into the *Kaiyuan Catalogue of Buddhist Teachings*.[914] From 731 CE, he continued his translations of a number of texts – some twentyfour texts all in all.[915] Vajrabodhi focused on texts related to *yoga* teaching, *dhāraṇī* texts

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[911] The Zisheng Temple was the temple where the famous monk-pilgrim-translator Xuanzang (602-664 CE) was lodged. The Jianfu Seminary was the temple where a translation office had been set up for Yijing (635-713 CE).
Orzech, 2011(a), p. 346.

[912] *Chang´an* 長安

[913] Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 382.

[914] The mere fact that Vajrabodhi could immediately translate these mentioned texts, which were introduced in the *Kaiyuan Catalogue*, would perhaps be an indication of the fact that Vajrabodhi did not loose all his scriptures in the 716 CE tempest. These texts are:
* *Jīngāng dīng yújiā zhōng luè chū niànsòng jīng* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經
    T. 866, 18.223c (4 rolls);
* *Qī jù zhī fù mū zhūn tí dàmíng tuó luó ní jīng* 七俱胝副母准提大明陀羅尼經
    T. 1075, 20.173a (1 roll);
* *Guān zìzài rúyì lún púsà yújiā fǎyào* 觀自在如意輪菩薩瑜伽法要
    T. 1087, 20.211c (1 roll); and
* *Jīngāng dīng jīng mànshū shìlì púsà wū zì xīn tuóluóní pǐn* 金剛頂經曼殊室利菩薩
    五字心陀羅尼品 T. 1173, 20.710a (1 roll).
The first text (T. 866) is a brief summary of the central practices of the *STTS*. The last text (T. 1173) is an extract from the *STTS* that details a rite for summoning Mañjuśrī.
Orzech, 2011(a), pp. 348-349.
Other source: Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 183, n.52 & 189, n. 82.

[915] *Ritual for Practicing the Samādhi of Vairocana in the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Sūtra* (*Jīngāng dīng jīng yújiā xiūxí pí lú zhē nà sān mó dì fā* 金剛頂經瑜伽修習毗盧遮那三摩地法) T. 876, 18.326c

Spell Text of the Great Body of the Bodhisattva Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara (*Qiān shǒu qiān yān guānshìyīn púsà dà shēn zhòu běn* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩大身呪本) T. 1062A, 20.113c

Spell Text of the Heart Dhāraṇī of the Vast, Perfect, and Unobstructed Great Compassion of the Bodhisattva Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara (*Qiān shǒu qiān yān guān zìzài púsà guāngdà yuánmán wú ài dà bēi xīn túo luó ní zhòu běn* 千手千眼觀自在菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼呪本) T. 1061, 20.112a

Secret Ritual of the Dhāraṇīs of the Messenger Acala (*Bùdòng shǐzhě tuóluóní bìmì fā* 不動使者陀羅尼秘密法) T. 1202, 21.23a

Orzech, 2011(a), p. 349.
Other source: Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp.140 & 183, n. 55.

centering on a particular deity, and ritual manuals. He is also said to have translated the *Qijudi Tuoluoni* and the *Yuqie Niansun Fa* – the latter text being an abridged version of the first of the eighteen chapters of the *STTS,* according to Vajrabodhi. [916] Based on the legend, the text of 100.000 *ślokas* was obtained from the "Iron *stūpa*" in South India (see *Appendix IV, # 6*).[917] In 741 CE, Vajrabodhi died at the age of 71 years (in his 51st religious years as a monk).[918]

However, according to Sundberg, Vajrabodhi was perhaps not qualified to receive the full version of the *yoga tantra* the *STTS* and was not fully initiated (*abhiṣeka*) in the *STTS* tenet. Therefore, he should have sent Amoghavajra to Śrī Laṅkā, in order for Amoghavajra to receive full initiation from *ācārya* Samantabhadra and to receive a full version of the *STTS*. This meant that Vajrabodhi was not in a possession of the full version of the *STTS*. Whether he in fact lost it, which he claimed to have done in a storm during his initial attempt in 716 CE to reach China, is still an open question. In any event, this was prior to his meeting with Amoghavajra in 718 CE. It would also mean, that his ensuing preaching in China was only based on an abbreviated form of the *STTS*, from related texts such as the *MVS*, from his memory, as well as from his vivid imagination.[919]

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[916] This translation of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) by Vajrabodhi has so many discrepancies vis-à-vis all other versions – including the one that Amoghavajra later on brought back from Śrī Laṅkā - that it is deemed to have taken on the nature of more like a manual for ritual practices (*sādhana*) – T. 866.   .
Ishii, 1991, p. 151.
Other source: Chou, 1995, p. 281; Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p.147.

[917] According to Shingon tradition in Japan, this "Iron *stūpa*" is merely a metaphor referring to one´s own body.
Chou, 1945, p. 281.

[918] Chou, 1945, pp. 272-284.
Other sources: Orlando, 1981, p. 9; Orzech, 2011(a), p. 347;   Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 140.

[919] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 147-148.
Other source: Ishii, 1991, pp.157-158.

According to Sundberg, Vajrabodhi was a "lonely wolf" without any particular master or promoter. During his visit to Śrī Laṅkā, he stayed for half a year in the *Abhayarāja vihāra* ("The *vihāra* of the Fearless King"). During the translation process, the Chinese are believed to have mistaken this name for the *Abhayagirivihāra*.
Sundberg, 2004, pp. 107-108, n. 15.   .

Amoghavajra (ca 705-774 CE)[920] (Chinese *Bùkōngjīngāng* 不空金剛). He was born of a *brahman* family in the north of India. As his father died when Amoghavajra was still a child, he was brought up in his mother´s home close to Samarkand. She is said to have been of Sogdian origin.[921] According to Yuan Zhao (719-800 CE), Amoghavajra travelled with his maternal uncle to Wuwei in the Kansu province and to Java. At the age of 14 years,[922] he was supposed to have met with Vajrabodhi on Java in 718 CE and then to have become his disciple.[923]

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[920] The dates of Amoghavajras life are somewhat uncertain. The last time he was mentioned in the Chinese annals is "the tenth moon of 778 CE".
Chou, 1945, p. 301.

[921] Please note, that although the above heritage of Amoghavajra is the one most accepted among Western scholars, there are also some other versions from historical accounts.
Yang, 2018, pp. 163-180.

[922] At the age of 13 years on the basis of our western way of reckoning.

[923] Zhao Qian and Feixi both state, however, in their respective biographies of Amoghavajra, that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met in **Chang´an** during 718 CE. Probably both Zhao Qian and Feixi wanted to "white wash" their Master Amoghavajra and avoid having him connected with his uncle´s merchant activities. Trading was at that time traditionally held in contempt.
Chou, 1945, pp. 321-322.

In the epitaph of Amoghavajra, it is stated that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met originally in Chang´an, when the latter was 15 years of age. Another "white washing"?
Hikata, 1965, p. 9.

Weinstein mentions that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met in Chang´an in 719 CE, when Amoghavajra was 14 years of age. Orlando and Woodward both claim that Amoghavajra travelled with his uncle through central Asia, arriving in China in modern-day Gansu Province.
Orlando, 1981, pp. 136 & 161 & Weinstein, 2009, p. 56 & Woodward, 2004, p. 339.

For all these references, please note, though, that Vajrabodhi did not arrive in Chang´an until 721 CE!

Other scholars claim that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met in Indonesia (*Śrīvijaya*) in 718 CE.
e.g. Chandra, 1995(a), p. 13, Chandra, 1987, p. 47 & Yang, 2018, pp. 24-25.

Yaunzhao´s bibliography of Amoghavajra (T. 55.881a15) is regarded, however, by both Chou and Sundberg as the most reliable. This would mean that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met for the first time on **Java** during 717 or 718 CE. Hikata seems to confirm this. However, Chou is though rather ambivalent and unclear. He indicates on page 276, that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met [for the first time] in Chang´an in 720 CE. On page 285, Chou mentions that Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra met in China when Amoghavajra was there with his uncle on a business trip and Amoghavajra was then 15 years of age. Finally, in Appendix M he mentions that they probably met on Java. One wonders indeed, whether this ambivalence on part of Chou is based on "political" reasons.
Chou, 1945, pp. 276, 285 & 321-322;
Other sources: Hikata, 1965, p. 9; Lehnert, 2011, p. 351; Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 189 n.83; Sundberg, 2003, p. 181; Voûte, 2000, p. 320.

Amoghavajra was given an extraordinary learning capacity. At the age of 20 years he was ordained a monk in *Sarvāstivādin* Buddhism. Vajrabodhi was said to have acknowledged in a dream Amoghavajra´s worthiness to receive the *dharma*. As it was already late in Vajrabodhi´s life, he forthwith consecrated Amoghavajra in the practice of the *STTS* and of the *MVS*, and taught him inter alia the *abhiṣeka* method of the Five Divisions,[924] fire offering (*homa*) rites, the rites of the *ācārya* (teacher) and the manuals of the *siddhi*.[925]

Amoghavajra travelled after Vajrabodhi´s funeral in 741 CE on a boat from Kunlun to Śrī Laṅkā via Kaliṅga. Amoghavajra is said to have been taught in Śrī Laṅkā the *Mahākaruṇāgarbhadhātu maṇḍala* in the *MVS* by the *esoteric* master *ācārya* Samantabhadra. *Ācārya* Samantabhadra is also supposed to have given Amoghavajra *abhiṣeka* in the *Abhayagirivihāra* in Śrī Laṅkā.[926] He was furthermore supposed to have been instructed the "Method in One Hundred Thousand *Gāthās*" by the legendary *esoteric* master Nāgābodhi.[927] This enormous text of 100.000 *gāthās* - the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng* (the **Vajraśekara Sūtra*) - was supposed to consist of 18 Assemblies. This immense text is not extant today. Amoghavajra´s translation (T. 865)[928] only encompasses

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[924] See Section 4.2.5, *Note 901*.

[925] Lehnert, 2011, p. 351.
Other sources: Hattori, 2000, p. 30; Orzech, 2011(b), p. 319. (T. 2056.50:292c8-11).

In Wickramagamage´s book of 2002 - *Buddhābhiṣeka Hā Nānumara Maṅgalyaya*, Taranji Prints, Maharagama, Śrī Laṅkā – it is mentioned, that one bas-relief on the Barabuḍur depicts the consecration of the Buddha by two devotees with water pots and with many devotees holding various offering objects.
Chandawimala, 2016, p. 100.

[926] Chandawimala, 2016, p. 99.
Other sources: Acri, 2016(a), p. 17; Chou, 1945, p. 285; Sundberg and Giebel, 2011. P. 148; Sundberg, 2016, pp. 357-358.

[927] Nāgābodhi is said to have instructed Vajrabodhi during the visit of the latter to Śrī Laṅkā prior to arriving to Śrīvijaya around 717-718 CE (see Vajrabodhi above). Nāgābodhi is also mentioned as Śubhākarasiṃhas *esoteric* master Dharmagupta in Nālandā. Nāgābodhi is recognized as the fourth patriarch of the Sino-Japanese *esoteric* tradition. Furthermore, Nāgābodhi and *ācārya* Samantabhadra are mentioned to have been one and the same person. But as *ācārya* Samantabhadra is not mentioned in the will of Amoghavajra, he may have been fictitious. And according to Sundberg, one finds in the biography of Nāgābodhi references to the *Abhayagirivihāra* in Ratubaka on Java, as well as to the *Abhayagirivihāra* at Anurādhapura on Śrī Laṅkā.
Sundberg, 2004, pp. 108-109.
Other sources: Orlando, 1981, pp. 108-109 # 8; Tajima, 1998, p. 228.

[928] Chinese *Jīngāng dǐng yīqiè rúlái zhēnshí shè dàchéng xiàn zhèng dà jiào wáng jīng* 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 865); or in abbreviated terms in Japanese

the first chapter of the first Assembly of the *Vajraśekara Sūtra* . The *STTS* is one of the three basic texts of *Shingon* Buddhism (see *Appendix IV, # 5, 6 & 7*).

It is uncertain if Amoghavajra stopped over on Java on his return trip to China in 746 CE. In any event, he brought back with him to China in excess of 500 *sūtras* and commentaries on Buddhist texts – mostly of *esoteric* nature. One of these texts was the *STTS*. The *STTS* is, according to Chandra, a "*samayayoga*" text, the purpose of which is to let the practioner be identified with Buddha Vairocana of the *vajradhātu*, by swearing *samaya* the "water oath" (see *Appendix IV, # 6*). In 753 CE, Amoghavajra was commanded by the emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712-756 CE) to go to Wuwei in the Kansu province, where he in the Daxingshan monastery[929] had the *STTS* translated.[930] Amoghavajra translated or was responsible for the translation during his lifetime of 120 fascicles and 77 texts.[931] His translations may fall into three categories (i) translations and redactions of *sūtras* and related chapters; (ii) ritual manuals and arrangements for ritual needs; and (iii) tracts and commentaries by Amoghavajra.[932] Nevertheless, his translations of the *STTS* (T. 865), of the *Adnyardhaśatikā* (T. 243)[933] and his redaction of the "*Renwang jing*" (T. 246)[934] were fundamental for the subsequent spread of the doctrine in China.[935]

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the *Kongōchō-gyō* and in Sanskrit the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) (T. 865). Giebel, 2001, p. 6.

[929]   It was from this temple, that Amoghavajra in secret could direct and advise the emperor during the An Lushan uprising regarding the recapture of the capital. Lehnert, 2011, p. 352.

[930]   As indicated above, Amoghavajra did only translate into Chinese the first chapter of the first Assembly of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. As the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* consisted of 18 Assemblies, Amoghavajra´s translation (T. 865) was in fact quite limited. Amoghavajra´s version of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* was a later version than that, which Vajrabodhi was supposed to have received in 715 CE (see *Appendix IV, # 6*). Weinberger, 2003, pp. 29-34.

[931]   Amoghavajra had the assistance of several monks in his translation endeavours. Some of these monks came from Kuchea, Kashgar, Samarkand and Tashkent, which may be read from their names – Liyan, Huilin, Kang & Shi, respectively. Chou, 1945, pp. 329-330.

Strickmann means, however, that the major portion of the texts are not direct translations, but mere adaptions of existing texts in order to make them compatible with Amoghavajra´s favoured ritual system. Strickmann, 1996, pp. 80-81 & 259-260.

[932]   Lehnert, 2011, p. 357.

[933]   *Dàlè jīngāng bù kōng zhēn shí sān mó yé jīng*   大樂金剛不空眞實三麽耶經 (T. 243).

Amoghavajra resided in the Daxingshan monastery during the hight of the An Lushan rebellion 755-763 CE. From there he informed the imperial forces of the activities of the rebells. This devasting rebellion led to an imminent decline of Buddhist institutions. Amoghavajra responded to this situation by using *esoteric* rituals, together with the role as the *ācārya*, in monopolizing the three basic functions of religious authority – i.e. (i) the transmission of the doctrine; (ii) the execution of rituals; and (iii) the mediator between the divine forces and the imperial sovereignty. Amoghavajra introduced a large repertoire of purificatory and apotropic rituals and liturgy for control of the weather and of celestial phenomena; for prolongation of the life of the emperor; for salvation of the dynastic ancestors; and for state protection. Amoghavajra received from the emperor the most prestigious reward that a monk could receive – the purple robe.[936] This honour represented in fact the double function of monk and official. Amoghavajra had thus the right to participate in the government assemblies, as well as having access to the imperial chapel and to the Government Hall.[937]

Amoghavajra "retranslated" the apocryphal *Scripture on Perfect Insight for Humane Kings* (*Renwang jing*) (T. 246), which thereafter contained a "grand ritual of state protection". This scripture was subsequently forced to be carried ahead of the emperor whenever he left the palace. In 767 CE, Amoghavajra initiated the ordination of thirty-seven monks[938] for repeated rituals with the aim of "establishing the state as a field of merit". As a response to Amoghavajra´s strengthening the imperial house, the emperor Daizong was in turn

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[934] *Rénwáng hù guó bōré bōluómi duō jīng* 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經   (T. 246).

[935] Lehnert, 2011, pp. 357-358.

[936] Specially Advanced Probationary Chief Minister of the Court of the State Ceremonial (*Tèjìn shì hónglúqīng* 特進試鴻臚卿).
Chen, 2010, p. 164.

[937] Lehnert, 2011, pp. 352-354.

As indicated above in this *Section 4.2.5*, two aspects were of paramount importance for the spread of *esoteric* Buddhism in China during the Tang dynasty; namely (i) Amoghavajra´s "cemented" position in the government and in *esoteric* Buddhism, as well as (ii) the construction of areas (with altars) for consecration (*abhiṣeka*) not only in various temples, but also in some imperial chapels.

[938] These thirty-seven monks alluded to the thirty-seven deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. The rituals of the monks were supposed to emulate the "cosmocracy" of Buddha Vairocana.

obliged to protect the *dharma* by various measures (tax exemptions of the monasteries, etc.).[939] In fact, Amoghavajra´s unparalleled level of institutional patronage under emperors Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756-762) and Daizong 代宗 (r. 762-779) constituted an important base, from which he could develop an "orthodox" form of Buddhism based on the *STTS* and the *MVS* and could finance the substantial translations of these texts.*[940]*

Amoghavajra tried to guide *esoteric* Buddhism closer to the main track of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism – inter alia by using the Mañjuśrī (*Wénshū*) cult.[941] In 766 CE, emperor Daizong had – upon the request of Amoghavajra – the Golden Pavilion (Ch. *Jinge)* built on Mount Wutai, a temple promoting the cult of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In 772 CE Amoghavajra succeeded in having emperor Daizong issue a proclamation to the effect, that bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (*Wénshū*) should be worshipped as the guardian of all the temples in the country. A statue of Mañjuśrī in a small chapel (*Wénshū Yuan*) should in other words be installed in all monasteries and nunneries. (referring to Java - see *Section 4.2.3.1 & Appendix I, # 6*).[942]

Amoghavajra bequeathed to the emperor his *esoteric* ritual items, that he earlier had received from Vajrabodhi. Amoghavajra died in the middle of a meditation, while lying down with the head in the east and the face facing north, in his 70th year (in his 50th religious year as a monk).[943]

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[939] Lenhnert, 2011, pp. 352-356.

[940] Orzech, 2011(b), p. 318.
Other source: Yang, 2018, pp. 45-62 & 120-160.

[941] See this *Section 4.2.5, Note 878.*
Other source: Wayman, 1985, pp. 3-9.

[942] Yang, 2018, pp. 4, 63-76, 150-154.
Other source: Lehnert, 2011, p. 356.

The worship of Mañjuśrī on Java is presented in the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704). Mañjuśrī was originally instituted on the *Caṇḍi* Sewu (see *Appendix I, # 5*).

[943] Chou, 1945, p. 301.

For more detailed information about Amoghavajra and his work, please see Chou, 1945, pp. 284-332 and Orlando, 1981, pp. 1-222.

Huilang (? -781 CE) shouldered the responsibilities after the demise of Amoghavarja. But also Huilang died shortly thereafter.[944] However, one of the main problems for Amoghavajra´s disciples was the seemingly unsystematic body of technical texts, that he left behind.[945] They were difficult to translate into a manner accessible to the Buddhist laity. This may have been one main reason, for the weakening of Amoghavajra´s teachings after his passing away in 774 CE.

Another important monk was *Huiguo* (746-805 CE), who assumed Amoghavajra´s responsibilities after the decease of Huilang. Based on substantial support from emperor Daizong, Huiguo developed the Qinglong monastery into the new main centre of *esoteric* Buddhism in Chang´an[946] – the "Nālandā of China".[947] He entered this monastery already at the age of 9 years. He was fully ordained at the age of 20 years. Amoghavajra initiated Huiguo in the *STTS*, the secret *mudrās*, etc.[948] Most of Huiguo´s disciples were initiated in either the *MVS* or the *STTS*. Only Yiming and Kūkai were instructed in both.[949]

The Japanese monk *Kūkai* (*Kōbō Daishi*)[950] (774-835 CE) was a disciple of Huiguo.[951] Before his death, Huiguo conferred on Kūkai the mastership of the teachings of both the great *maṇḍalas* – the Womb (*Garbha*) *maṇḍala* and the Diamond (*Vajradhātu*) *maṇḍala*. When Kūkai returned to Japan, he instituted *Shingon* Buddhism (see *Appendix IV*).

In addition to Kūkai, Huiguo had several other foreign disciples. In fact, several Javanese monks would seem to have travelled to China for studies.[952] One of these foreign disciples from Java was *Bianhong*

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[944] Perhaps already in 778 or in early 779 CE.
Orlando, 1981, p. 35.

Orzech believes, however, that Huilang may have died in 781 CE.
Orzech, 2011(b), p. 321.

[945] Lehnert, 2011, p. 354.

[946] Orzech, 2011(b), pp. 322-323.

[947] Orlando, 1981, pp. 35-36.

[948] Chou, 1945, p. 329.

[949] Abé, 1999, p. 505, n. 78.

[950] Kūkai´s name in Chinese is "*Kōnghǎi*" 空海.

[951] Hattori, 2000, p. 35.

[952] Woodward, 2009, p. 27.

from Heling on Java. Prior to approaching Huiguo, Bianhong had studied *esoteric* texts on Java and in Chang´an. Huiguo initiated him in the *Garbha maṇḍala* – but not in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. This may indicate, that either Bianhong was not regarded by Huiguo as suitable for the *Vajradhātu* tenet, or else he was bestowed in it by some other *ācārya,* having been a disciple of Amoghavajra.[953] Sundberg suggests, though, that Bianhong might have been initiated in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* prior to joining Huiguo.[954]

Bianhong´s study of *esoteric* texts on Java prior to leaving for China in 780 CE seems to indicate that Buddhist *caryā tantras* and *yoga tantras* were known on Java prior to that date. Both Sundberg[955] and Woodward[956] are of this opinion. It is not known whether Bianhong ever returned to Java,[957] although Kandahjaya seems to imply this without further evidence.[958]

Although it is uncertain whether or not Bianhong ever returned to Java, Woodward nevertheless suggests that Bianhong could well have been involved in transmitting the *GVS* and the *SBP* texts to Java. These texts would then have been copies of Prajna´s translated versions in 796-798 CE of the *GVS* and the *SBP*, which were given in 795 CE as a gift from the ruler in Uḍra (Orissa) to the emperor of China (see *Appendix III, # 4*).[959]

<p style="text-align:center">--------- o O o ---------</p>

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[953]   Sinclair, 2016, p. 33.

[954]   Sundberg, 2004, p. 114 n. 29.
Other source: Kandahjaya, 2016, p. 100.

[955]   Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 102-103.

[956]   Woodward, 2009, p. 25;   Woodward, 2004, p. 339.

[957]   Woodward, 2009, p. 25.
Other source: Sinclair, 2016, p. 35.

[958]   Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 165 & 251.

[959]   An alternative is, naturally, that these *GVS* and *SBP* texts could have reached Java directly from Orissa – without any Chinese involvement what so ever.
Woodward, 2009, p. 27.

In summary, the importance of the Three Monks in transferring *esoteric* Buddhist thoughts and texts to Southeast Asia and to China in particular, is paramount and must be underlined. Śubhākarasiṃha introduced in China the *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (the *MVS*) – one of the main texts of *Shingon* Buddhism in Japan. The *Garbha maṇḍala* (see *Appendix IV, # 8.2*) is based on the *MVS*. Varjabodhi is said to have brought with him from Śrī Laṅkā a copy of an early version of the hugh *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, which he claimed to have lost at sea on his way to China.

Amoghavajra went back to India and Śrī Lanka in 741 CE and returned a couple of years later to China with over 500 Buddhist texts. He brought to China the new version of the enormous *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. His translation of the first chapter of the first Assembly is called the the *STTS*. On this text the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is based (see *Appendix IV, # 8.3*). Amoghavajra was also well versed in the *MVS*.

Amoghavajra managed to complete his endeavor to establish *esoteric* Buddhism in East Asia. Based on the characteristics of *esoteric* Buddhism that he promoted, Amoghavajra succeeded in ascertaining necessary support from the imperial house; obtaining an eminent position in society; making *esoteric* Buddhism institutionalized; and controlling the spread of *esoteric* Buddhism in Tang China by means of the *abhiṣeka* rituals. After Amoghavajra´s death, *esoteric* Buddhism in China met with harsher times, which climaxed during emperor Wuzong´s reign and with his various *ukases* – the most prominent one of 845 CE.

Luckily, one of Amoghavajra´s disciples - Huiguo - was the teacher of Kōbō Daichi (Kūkai), who returned to Japan and founded *Shingon* Buddhism, in which the doctrine of *esoteric* Buddhism, as presented by the Three Monks, was further developed and documented. This aspect will be further elaborated in *Section 5.7.2*.

4.3 Concluding remarks regarding the religions on Java during the seventh to ninth centuries CE

Buddhism would seem to have spread in Southeast Asia by Buddhist monks, using the trade routes. As indicated in *Section 2.1.2*, Buddhism played a fundamental role in indirectly supporting the built-up and the maintenance of merchant networks. These monks were not necessarily only monks from India and Śrī Laṅkā, but were probably also local Southeast Asian monks, who made pilgrimages to India and Śrī Laṅkā, returning to their native countries with new ideas and with Buddhist texts. That this was the case also with local monks from Java is a fact. Bianhong is a later example of a Javanese monk, who went to China around 780 CE to study *esoteric* Buddhism under Huiguo.

The Buddhist influences into Southeast Asia did probably come from several centres simultaneously and interphased. Śrī Laṅkā and south India were thus not the only sources. We know that Śrīvijaya on Sumatra later on came to play a major role for the development of Buddhism on Java.

In any event, Hinduism, especially in the form of Śaivism, seemed to be the first Indian religion to shoot roots in the Javanese soil. This is documented by the Chinese pilgrim Faxian´s visit to king Pūrṇavarman of the Tārumā realm of West Java around 414 CE. Faxian notes that "Brahmanism is flourishing, while Buddhism is not worth mentioning". The existence of Hinduism and of the Śaiva cult on Java is also documented by the temples on the Dièng plateau on northwestern Java. These temples - built in a manner reminiscent of the Pallava style - date from around the eighth century CE. The dominance of Śaivism on Central Java up until mid-eighth century CE is confirmed by the Caṅgal inscription of 732 CE. It was cut in Sanskrit with Pallava script. It presents the return of king Saṃnah and his son – king Śañjaya – from southern India in order to reign over Java after the fall of west Java. At the *Caṇḍi* Gunung Wukir he inaugurated a small Hindu temple containing a Śiva *liṅga* - a *Jyotirliṅga* of a kind then prevalent at Śrīśailam in India.

Śrāvakayāna **Buddhism** seems to have arrived to Java quite early on and to have flourished in certain parts of Java until the Heling realm was competed out by Śrīvijaya during the latter part of the seventh

century CE. The dominant tradition was probably the *Mūlasarvāsti-vāda* tradition, with the *Sthāviravāda*[960] tradition playing a lesser role. Guṇavarman confirmed this during his visit to Java only ten years after Faxian. Guṇavarman also expressed the opinion that Buddhists and Hindus existed friendly side-by-side on Java during the first half of the fifth century CE. Heling on the northwestern part of Java developed into a centre for Buddhist studies – inter alia under the native *Mūlasarvāstivādin* scholar Jñānabhadra. The Chinese pilgrim Huining is reported to have visited him during 655-658 CE and with him translated some *Śrāvakayāna* texts.

Meanwhile, **Mahāyāna Buddhism** also made rapid inroads in the Indonesian archipelago during the seventh century CE. From the eighth century CE onwards *Mahāyāna* Buddhism seems to have enjoyed a stronger position on Java than *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism – i.e. at the time when the Barabuḍur was being planned and constructed. Buddhist influences came during this period in particular from south Asia (the Pallava realm) and from Śrī Laṅkā. But one must not forget, that Śaivism continued to hold a firm grip on individuals in the reigning classes.

As presented in *Section 4.1*, Buddhism with *esoteric* taints had already been introduced on Sumatra by the seventh century CE. The monk Puṇyodana visited Indonesia (probably Śrīvijaya) by the mid-seventh century CE, where he taught *esoteric* Buddhist concepts. He subsequently introduced the *Maṇḍalāṣṭa Sūtra* (the *MAS*) (T. 486, "*The Eightfold Maṇḍala Sūtra*") in China. The eight bodhisattvas of this *sūtra* were later on to decorate the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor on Java. In the *Tulang Tuwo* inscription (684 CE) in Palembang area a form of Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitāyāna*) is presented. In the *Kota Kapur* inscription (686 CE) on the Bangka Island and in the *Telaga Batu* inscription (seventh century CE) on south Sumatra the use of *mantra* is indicated. Sumatra and Śrīvijaya were during the seventh and eighth centuries CE fertile grounds for *Mantranaya* Buddhism. Yijing, who lived in Śrīvijaya during 685-695 CE, claimed that the *Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* was studied in the Indonesian archipelago as an authoritative text already during the late seventh century CE.

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[960] As indicated in *Section 3.1*, *Sthāvira* Buddhism is a generic term for various early *Śrāvakayāna* forms of Buddhism - and eventually the comprehensive term for the three major *nikāyas* on Śrī Laṅkā - *Mahāvihāra, Abhayagirivihāra* and *Jetavanavihāra*.

Thera is Pāli and means "the Elders". In Sanskrit, the same term is called *Sthāvira*.

Vajrabodhi passed by in 719 CE before going on to China and might have introduced *yoga tantra*. Atiśa studied in Śrīvijaya under Dharmakīrti during 1011-1023 CE prior to going to Tibet.

***Mantranaya* Buddhism** (i.e. the *esoteric* way of *mantras*) was introduced on Java from Śrī Laṅkā and from south India. The cultural exchange during the Śailendra period (746-829 CE) between Java, on the one hand, and Śrī Laṅkā and south India (the Pallava realm c:a 330-880 CE), on the other hand, is indicated in the *Abhayagiri* inscription of 792/793 CE (Śaka 714/715) (see *Appendix I, # 7*). The forms of Buddhism introduced by these monks from south India, were (i) Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitāyāna*) and (ii) the form of *Mantranaya* Buddhism, which already was prevalent on Sumatra. This *Mantranaya* concept was further developed in east India during the Pāla dynasty (750-c.1160 CE) from the mid-eighth century CE onwards. In this respect, the monastery of Nālandā in north India played a vital role. Here *esoteric* Buddhism was further developed being based on *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and on the *vinaya*. It was from Nālandā that these further developed *Mantranaya* concepts were spread to China and to Southeast Asia – e.g. to Śrīvijaya and to Java.

The *Ṅgañjuk* bronze images together with the niches of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu would seem to indicate that *yoga tantra* – with its *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – had been introduced on Java. These *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes also indicate that the *Tattvasaṃgraha Sūtra* (the *STTS*), the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) and the *Maṇḍalasta Sūtra* (the *MAS*) were all known on Java by the tenth century CE. In addition, the *Surocolo* bronzes indicate that they represent a *maṇḍala* of the *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses* (the *PPV*), which is a base text of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*). Some constituent verses of the *SHKM* could - according to some scholars - thus have been known on Java already by the 790´s CE.

A more ***tantric* form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism** was developed in Bengal during the period of the Pāla dynasty (c:a 750-c.1160 CE) – particularily in the Vikramaśīla monastery. The contacts between the the Pāla dynasty in Bengal and the Śailendra dynasty on Java during late eighth and early ninth centuries CE seem to be proven, on the one hand, by the close resemblance between the Pāla script and the *Brāhmī* script of the Śailendras, and by the installation of various

bodhisattvas in some Javanese temples, on the other hand.[961] The Nālandā copper plate is another sign of these close contacts. The preparatory study on Java of *esoteric* Buddhist texts by the Javanese monk Bianhong prior to leaving for China in 780 CE, would seem to indicate that texts from the *caryā tantra* and the *yoga tantra* classes were known on Java already by the end of the eighth century CE. In addition, it is noteworthy that a large statue of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in his *mahākāruṇika* aspect seems to have been installed on the Ratubaka.

The Barabuḍur has been suggested to have belonged to the *Vajra-dhāra cult*.[962] In the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) of the *SHK*, the transcendent concept of *advaya* (non-duality) was introduced – which may be seen as a form of Ādibuddha.[963] This fourth body of the Buddha in the *svābhāvikakāya*,[964] may thus be associated with the pure, unchanging mind beyond everything – beyond *prajñā* (wisdom) and *upāya* (method).

It should be noted, though, that some scholars (e.g. Fontein and Klokke) claim, that Buddhism on Java during the Śailendra reign was a rather pure form of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. In their opinion, *esoteric Vajrayāna* texts should only have started to show up on Java during the early tenth century CE. However, the aspects presented above seem to indicate an introduction on Java of *esoteric* Buddhism already by late the eighth century CE – albeit in conflict with the view of those scholars.

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[961] Bodhisattva Tārā was for instance installed in the *Caṇḍi* Kālasan (the Kālasan inscription of 778 CE); bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was installed in the *Caṇḍi* Sewu (the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 and the Mañjuśrī inscription of 792 CE); bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara) was installed in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut; etc. (see *Appendix I, # 4, 5 & 6*).

[962] Bosch proposed this already in 1920. Sarkar means also that the "missing" Buddha of the Barabuḍur would in fact have been a golden image of Buddha Vajradhāra, which served as the palladium of the Śailendras. In fact, *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra is supposed to have brought this image with him upon his expulsion to Śrīvijaya on Sumatra (see *Section 2.3.3*).

[963] See the end of *Section 4.2.3.2*, as well as *Section 5.2.3*.

During the eighth and the ninth centuries CE – when the Barabuḍur was planned and constructed – bodhisattva Samantabhadra was on Śrī Laṅkā worshipped as "The Master of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*". As we have seen on the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur, the pilgrim Sudhana was finally initiated by bodhisattva Samantabhadra (the "Vow to Samantabhadra") (see *Section 1.4.4, Note 219*).

[964] See *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*.

Futhermore, some scholars are of the opinion that *esoteric* Buddhism and Śaivism developed almost simultaneously in east India. It is likely, therefore, that *esoteric* Buddhism and Śaivism influenced each other – and that the adaption of their respective concepts went both ways. This may also have occured on Java, which could be one reason for the exceptionally substantial degree of tolerance on Java between these two religions. The Ratubaka plateau from the end of the eighth century CE could be seen as the counterpart to Śrīśailam in India.

It is thus conceivable, that *Vajrayāna* Buddhism in its *esoteric* form existed on Java side by side with Śaivism during the Matarām period (570-927 CE). But after 928 CE, when the court moved to East Java, syncretism on Java developed further into regarding the king as the "incarnation of Buddha-Śiva". This was confirmed on the "Calcutta" stone inscription of Airlangga (c:a 1010-1050 CE) and during the Singhasari (1222-1292 CE) and the Majapahit (1293-c:a 1500 CE) periods. But scholars still differ in the opinion of how deep this syncretism in fact was. In Mpu Tantular´s work *Kakawin Sutasoma* the following statement is presented – "*The Buddha and Śiva are different but one*" (*bhinneka tunggal ika*). This statement constitutes the official motto of the modern state of Indonesia.

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In conclusion, we may point out that various forms of Buddhism – *Śrāvakayāna Buddhism, Mahāyāna Buddhism and esoteric forms of Vajrayāna Buddhism – all seem to have been introduced on Java within a brief period of time and to have been present there during the Śailendra dynasty, when the Barabuḍur was planned and constructed in the eighth and ninth centuries CE.*

5 Attempts to understand the Barabuḍur

5.1 The Analytical model and the Main problems

As indicated in the "*Introduction and Aim*" of this dissertation, the purpose of the dissertation is two-fold, namely:

- to present an update of recent findings among Western scholars regarding the Barabuḍur monument; and
- to throw some light on some of the outstanding issues regarding the monument.

In the first four chapters above, it has been my endeavour to fullfil the first aim, i.e. to present various differing views along with some visual aspects of the monument. Now is the time to fullfil to second aim; i.e. to throw light on some outstanding issuses regarding the monument.

In analysing a sacred object, one must appreciate that the object in the words of Eliade "*becomes something else, yet it continues to remain itself*".[965] The sacred sculpture or the sacred monument are not adored as a sculpture or a monument. They are worshipped because they are *hierophanies*, because they illustrate something that is no longer a sculpture or a monument "*but the sacred, the ganz andere*".[966]

In alluding to "Indra´s Net" of the *Huayan* tradition – where the studied symbol may be said to contain and be identified with all other symbolic constructs – "we compare or contrast two expressions of a symbol not in order to reduce them to a single, pre-existing expression, but in order to discover the **process** whereby a structure is likely to assume enriched meanings".[967]

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[965] Eliade, 1987, p. 12.

[966] Eliade, 1987, p. 12.

[967] Eliade & Kitagawa, 1959, p. 97.

In studying the symbolic meaning of a monument, one must not only confine the analysis to the visual or spatial symbols. The symbolic constructs inherent in the myth, the ritual and the doctrine must also be taken into consideration; viz.

- the *myth* may be said to be a symbol expressed in a narrative or verbal form and represents "the deepest knowledge man has".[968] The myth "reveals more profoundly than any rational experience ever could, the actual presence of the divinity which transcends all attributes and reconciles all contraries".[969] To speak, therefore, of the Buddha´s life as a "myth", may not be regarded as depreciatory, but more as a confirmation of its "timeless significance".[970] As Coomaraswamy states, "a myth is true now, or it was never true at all";[971]

- the *ritual* expresses the symbolic content by words and gestures. Every rite encompasses a symbolic meaning, as it is a repetition of the sacred actions described in the myths. The ritual is thus the symbol "put into action";

- the *doctrine*, which in Buddhism is expressed in the *sūtras* and in the commentaries, is also symbolic, and may be regarded as a mere means (*upāya*) for the individual to reach understanding of the Realm of Reality.[972]

In order to properly understand and to construe a religious monument, one must emphasize the actual rituals and the values that the human beings *in those historical days* attached to these practices. In addition, it would be of essence to understand in what manner they perceived the monument. Gifford stresses this by claiming that the ritual circumambulation - the *pradakṣiṇa* - gives us a new dimension. The visual rhetoric obtained by means of the movement in the *pradakṣiṇa* connects the text with the picture and with the mere practice.[973]

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[968] Coomaraswamy, 1946, p. 122, Note 4 referring to *Das Verloren Paradies* by Edgar Dacqué, Munich, 1938.

[969] Eliade, 1958, p. 419.

[970] Coomaraswamy, 1946, p. 164.

[971] Coomaraswamy, 1946, p. 232, Note 4.

[972] Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 6-7.

[973] Gifford, 2004, p. 41.
Other source: Perrieira, 2012, p. 461.

In order to understand the *stūpa* and other Buddhist monuments, we must apprehend the Indian view, that the **symbol has both a horisontal and a vertical reference**, that both are inherent in the symbol and that both are truly infinite. This means in reality that the symbol is an "open" concept, not being limited by various definitions. The meaning of the symbol lies inherent in it – not being confined by the human mind. As Eliade expressed it "A religious symbol conveys its message even if it is no longer *consciously* understood in every part. For a symbol speaks to the whole human being and not only to the intelligence".[974]

The Barabuḍur is a well decorated monument. The image may be a **reminder of a story** that we already know. In this case the purpose of the image is to teach *Buddhist morality*. The image may also be meant as an **icon**. In this case it serves the purpose of conceptually identifying the Buddha with the monument – i.e. making the *monument sacred*. The sacredness of the monument may also be obtained by encasing in the monument a relic of either the Buddha´s corporeal body, or of the *dharma* (a *sūtra* or a *mantra*) – thus making the monument into a *stūpa*.[975] As regards the Barabuḍur, it does not seem to contain any physical relics and may, therefore, not be regarded as a *stūpa* in the above sense of the word. However, the Barbuḍur is a sacred place, as its decorations are seen not only to teach Buddhist morality, but also to conceptually locate the presence of the Buddha to the monument.

One of the main problems encountered in the analysis of the Barabuḍur is **the scarcity of written sources** locally on Java and in Southeast Asia. The tropical climate played havoc with the scriptures written on palm leaves and on other biological material. As regards the study of the introduction of Buddhism into Southeast Asia and Java, as well as the study of the Śailendras and the Barabuḍur, scholars have sofar in principle been confined to the limited amount of inscriptions hewn in local stone steles. These have been presented by de Casparis in *Prasati Indonesia* (1950 & 1956) and by Sarkar in *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java* (1971 & 1972). In addition to these inscriptions and a few recently discovered inscriptions, the scholars are in principle confined to Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan sources.

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[974]   Eliade, 1987, p. 129.

[975]   Brown, 1997, p. 98.

Other aspects that may make the analysis of the background of the Barabuḍur somewhat cumbersome are the facts that (i) the sources of the ***Buddhist ideas altered over time***; that (ii) the content of the Buddhist ideas altered with the development of new Buddhist traditions; and that (iii) new Buddhist ideas and traditions were introduced and added, without necessarily discarding any of the old Buddhist traditions. All these traditions were - and still are today - namely regarded by the Buddhists as "the teaching of the Buddha" - the *Buddhavacana* - with roots back at least to emperor Aśoka, if not all the way to the Buddha Śākyamuni. On Central Java during the Śailendra reign, a multitude of sources were reflected in a multitude of Buddhist traditions.

When studying the history of Buddhism on Java, one should in other words keep in mind that various Buddhist traditions could be present on Java ***simultaneously.*** In addition, one should keep in mind that religious beliefs of local or Indian origins could also be present there side-by-side with the Buddhist traditions.

Huntington has defined the Barabuḍur as being:

> …nothing less than a reification of the concept
> of universal totality of Buddhahood as defined
> by the Avataṃsaka ….[976]

Even though the Barabuḍur has already been substantially studied, various aspects are still unclear and unresolved by the scholars. It has been deemed advantageous, therefore, to bring some of these unresolved issues once again up in the light, although the dissertation thereby runs the risk of being regarded as somewhat woolly. I trust, though, that the reader appreciates that due academic endeavours have been applied in all instances.

In this *Section 5* - "Attempts to understand the Barabuḍur" - ten specific areas of importance have been focused on, briefly as follows:
  - i.   Buddhist aspects;
  - ii.   Approach to interpret the Barabuḍur;
  - iii.   Various potential visual forms of the Barabuḍur;
  - iv.   The Barabuḍur as a *prāsāda*, a *stūpa* or a *maṇḍala*;

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[976]   Huntington, 1994, p. 149.

v.   The sculptural images on the Barabuḍur;
vi.   The Barabuḍur and *Huayan* Buddhism, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and Chinese Buddhism as presented by *Shingon* Buddhism;
vii.   The Barabuḍur as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*;
viii.   The Barabuḍur and the Twin-*maṇḍala* concept;
ix.   The Śailendras and historical aspects; and
x.   The Barabuḍur and the Śailendra kingship.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 107   *Gandharva* as an interspersing picture at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

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5.2   Buddhist aspects

In this Section, four Buddhist aspects relevant to the Barabuḍur are briefly presented, as follows:

- Buddhism and Śaivism;
- The introduction of Buddhism on Java;
- The Vajradhāra cult; and
- The Buddha´s descent on earth.

5.2.1   Buddhism and Śaivism

As presented in *Sections 3.2 & 4.1*, *Vajrayāna* Buddhism (*esoteric* and *tantric* Buddhism) grew out of the *Mahāyana* context – not as a sudden rebellious movement, but more as successive sets of ideas based on the views of indivual monks (*bhikṣus*) or of holy men. This process resembles that of the adaption and the further processing of *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism by *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. *Vajrayāna* Buddhism developed at a time of unrest in the Indian society – the Gupta dynasty had fallen and Hinduism developed out of Brahmanic traditions. The Hindu gods thrived at the expense of the Buddhist deities. Militant Śaivism developed. Śaiva kings replaced Buddhist kings on the Deccan. In order to survive in spite of reduced economic support, institutional Buddhism withdrew to regions, where they still could exert some power. Buddhist monasteries developed into substantial landowners, housed in defensive premises. Nevertheless, the dating of the successive development of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism is associated with a substantial amount of uncertainty. A majority of *esoteric Vajrayāna* texts are deemed to have been written during the mere four hundred year period of the mid-seventh to the mid-eleventh centuries CE (*tantric sūtras* were composed up until the thirteenth century CE). Being based on two different philosophic sources – *Mādhyamaka* [977] and *Yogācāra-cittamatra* [978] – *Vajrayāna*

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[977]   See *Section 4.2.3, Note 780.*

[978]   See *Section 4.2.3, Note 781.*

Buddhism never developed into one comprehensive doctrine tradition.[979]

In *Section 3.2*, we learned that the Pallava cultural and political influence on Śrī Laṅkā was quite strong during the late seventh to well into the ninth centuries CE. Despite the fact that the Pallava kings remained faithful to Śiva, they nevertheless allowed a diversity of religious belief to flourish in their kingdom. The *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) developed in South India. There seemed to have been some interchange of ideas in this religious maelstrom between Buddhism and Śaivism. The early form of **the STTS would have assimilated some Śākta Śaiva concepts.**

We were also informed in *Section 3.2* that **Śaiva concepts may have been introduced** into the Buddhist *esoteric* texts by means of the so called **pāṃśukūlikas.**

Let us see, what we may make out of these two statements!

I.   *Assimilation in Buddhism of Śākta Śaiva concepts*

The parallel presence of Śaivism and Buddhism in south India during the Pallava dynasty lead to a mutual exchange of ideas and thoughts between the two religions. There seems in fact to have been quite an extensive exchange of ideas – going both ways.

We learned in *Section 4.1* of some profound Buddhist influences on Śaivism on Java. In the Śaiva *Jñānasiddhānta*, the "Highest Reality" is characterized by the Buddhist concept "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*). Likewise, we find in the Śaiva text *Kuñjarakarṇa* a statement placing the Buddha on equal footing with Śiva – "*Kami Śiva kami Buddha*". This may indicate, that the "Highest Reality" is identified with Śiva, as well as with the Buddha. In the two Śaiva texts the *Kuñjarakarṇa* and the *Arjunavijaya*, the divine pentads of Śaivism and of the [*Pāśutpata*] *Ṛṣi* tradition both seem to be equated with the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. But it should be noted, that both these two Śaiva texts are dated from the Majapahit period (1293-c.1500 CE) – i.e well after the Barabuḍur was constructed in the ninth century CE.

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[979]   The same applies naturally also for *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

Esoteric Buddhism is deemed to have been developed by means of adapting to and of adopting various Śaiva concepts. The **initiation** (*abhiṣeka*) of the candidate in front of a *maṇḍala,* with the central deity already installed therein, is one example hereof. The candidate turns his back to the *maṇḍala* and throws a flower over his shoulder on to the *maṇḍala.* The candidate is introduced to the lineage of the particular Buddha, on whom the flower falls in the *maṇḍala*.

Another Śaiva concept adopted by Buddhism was that of **possession** (*āveśa*) indicated in *Sections 4.1*. The devotee is deemed during the initiation process to have been transformed into a "vessel" capable of receiving, channeling and actualizing the divine energy of the Buddha. The effect of this possession (*āveśa*) is inter alia, that supernatural knowledge arises in the devotee, making him aware of all matters in the past, present and future. The first time, that the aspect of possession (*āveśa*) is mentioned in a Buddhist text, is in the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*). This possession (*āveśa*) by the deity of the devotee was alien to antecendent Buddhism, but is characteristic of *tantric* Buddhism – and was the hallmark of the *Śaiva Kaula* and *Śaiva Siddhantic* initiation systems. Liberation is here defined as arising from a state of possession (*āveśa*) of the qualities of the deity.

As indicated in *Section 4.2.5* and in *Appendix IV, # 6*, the *STTS* existed in a brief version already by the end of the seventh century CE. Vajrabodhi was supposed to have received a copy of this early version. In this early version of the *STTS*, one may notice the beginning of a process of assimilation of *Śākta Śaiva* concepts. Sanderson states this assimilation to take the form of "language, practices, iconography, and concepts that would become ever more comprehensive throughout the rest of the *Mantranaya´s* creativity".[980]

As we learned in *Section 2.1.2,* the failure of Buddhism to develop proper ritual ceremonies to match those of the Hindus, was one of the reasons for the Hindu revival in India during the Gupta dynasty (320-550 CE). It was in fact not until the development of *Vajrayāna* – inter alia as a result of Śaiva influences on *Mahāyāna* – that the Buddhist monks could "compete" with the *brahmans* also in matters of rituals and ceremonies. Buddhist *esoteric* ceremonies were in other words developed by the assimilations of various Śaiva aspects. These *esoteric*

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[980]   Sanderson, 2009, p. 133.

ceremonies were instrumental in producing supernatural effects, such as controlling nature (e.g. creating rain), averting danger, etc. The *esoteric* ceremonies were also used for consecration of monasteries, temple images, manuscripts of sacred texts, etc. As indicated in *Section 5.11.1*, the tangible benefits of these *esoteric* ceremonies were supposed to have strengthened the relationsship of the Buddhists with their Javanese royal patrons and with the aristocracy.

In addition, it may not be entirely undue to assume, that the assimilation of some *Śākta Śaiva* language, practices and iconography in the *STTS* may have been executed with a view of ameliorating the relationship with the Śaiva community and perhaps even enticing some of Śaiva devotees to Buddhism. On Java this kind of Buddhism took the form of *Mantranaya - esoteric* Buddhism. *Mantranaya* was mentioned for the first time in an Old Javanese tract from the ninth century CE.

Unlike the situation in China and Tibet, the Buddhists on Java lived side-by-side with the Śaivas. The situation between them were sometimes being peaceful, sometimes being more strained and even hostile. During the Śailendra reign on Central Java in 746-829 CE, indications are sometimes of a rather strained relationship. In *Appendix IV, # 6*, we are presented with the *Trailokyavijaya* story in the *STTS*, in which Śiva is forcefully subjugated by bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. The *Trailokyavijaya* story, with the compelled conversion to Buddhism by Śiva, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and by all the other Śaiva deities, must have been hard for the Śaiva community to "swallow". In addition, *Rakai* Panaraban (r. 784-803 CE) made a forceful stand against the Śaivas by inscribing his own name in the *hṛdaya*[981] on the golden leaf found at Ratubaka (see *Appendix I, # 8*).

But the other side of the coin is of a more positive attitude on Java between Buddhism and Śaivism. We were advised in *Section 2.3.3*, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra in the Nālandā inscription (*Appendix I, # 14*) was referred to as "Skanda" – the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. In *Section 2.3.2*, we were informed that the Buddhist princess Prāmodavardhanī married the Śaiva prince Garung. In addition, we were told that the switchovers between Buddhist and Śaiva reigns on Java were perfor-

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[981] The *hṛdaya* mentioned here is the spell, that bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi used in calling-cum-forcing Maheśvara (Śiva) and his entourage to the Adamantine Jeweled Palace on the peak of the Mount Meru in order to convert them to Buddhism.

med without destruction of the temples of the losing part. The Kĕlu-rak inscription of 782 CE (see *Appendix I, # 5*) presents bodhisattva Mañjuśrī as bodhisattva Vajradhāra with all the devas (including Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu) inherent in him.[982] Likewise in the *Gaṇḍa-vyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur, Sudhana visits Śiva as one of his *kalyāṇamitras*. In order to stress the point, he does this not only once – but twice (II-48 and II-104). This is quite remarkable. The Barabuḍur is the only Buddhist monument on Java where Śiva has been illustrated as a carved image.

A further indication of contacts with Hinduism is presented on bas-relief (II-24) of the Barabuḍur. Sudhana visited here *Ṛṣi* Bhīsmottara-nirghosa (IX) as one of his *kalyāṇamitras*. We meet this bearded *ṛṣi* with his braided hair once again in bas-relief II-81, where he together with Sudhana witnesses the appearance of the *Tathāgatas* of the Ten Directions.

We have learned in *Section 4.2.4*, that the *Mahāyāna* architects of the Barabuḍur could very well have been aware of and followed some of the *Śaiva Siddhantic* practices and rituals used by the temple builders in south India, expressed in such texts as the *Mayamāmātam* and the *Mānasāra*.

In conclusion there seems to have existed substantial evidence of a ***continued interchange of ideas and practices between the contemporary esoteric Buddhist and Śaiva communities*** – which would indicate that the influences were mutual. This is the background to *esoteric* Buddhism on Java.

II.   *Introduction by siddhas and pāṃśukūlikas of Śaiva concepts to esoteric Buddhist texts*

The Buddhist "Perfected" (*siddhas*) [983] were not bound to any monastery. But there are very good reasons to believe that the transgressive (*siddha*) communities were from the start entirely

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[982]   Please note the similarity to the epistemological evolution from *jñāna* in folios 52a-54a of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, where it is clearly stated that the trinity of Śiva-Brahmā-Viṣṇu emanates from Buddha Vairocana (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*).

[983]   Davidson, 2002, pp. 3 & 114.

integrated with the non-transgressive *esoteric* Buddhist (institutional) communities. They may well have been educated Buddhist monks or religious laymen, who purposely choose the ritual observance of the non-dualist traditions – "The Practice". However, they may have been intimately aware of and tacitly have accepted the traditions of the dualistic concepts.[984]

The Buddhist *siddhas* do not seem to have appeared until the first part of the eighth century CE and disappeared around six centuries later. They operated primarily in northern India and in Nepal. They arose out of different levels of society and castes. The *siddha* movement appears to have been developed parallel to that of the forest dwelling monks (*pāṃśukūlika*) – i.e. independently of the monasteries. The substantial number of *siddhas* having been expelled from the monasteries due to their antinomian behavior would seem to substantiate this matter.[985]

Although their numbers were few, their impact was substantial. The aim of the *siddha* was inter alia to obtain supernatural powers (*siddhi*) in various manners, so as to enable him to conquer and control the sorcerer (*vidhyādhara*) and even the gods, by means of whom the ruler reigned. This would be arrived at by magical rites in cremation grounds, various potions of love and offering rites. This tradition is thus built on the concepts of domination and control – for the benefit of the individual *siddha* (not necessarily for the benefit of society). The Buddhist *siddhas* developed radical meditative techniques, coupled with a powerful, erotic and destructive language. The Buddhist *siddhas* had contacts with their Śaiva brothers and were influenced by them in a Śaiva direction[986] - although the influence may have gone both ways.

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[984] Wedemeyer, 2013, pp. 171-173.

Within *esoteric* Buddhism, there are two forms of "*dualism*" – that between pure and impure and that between divine and practioners
Wedemeyer, 2013, p. 10.

[985] Gray, 2001, p. 204 ff.
Other sources: Harrison, 2003, p. 142; Harrison, 1995, p. 65; Harrison, 1987, p. 76.

[986] Davidson, 2002, pp. 170-172, 233-234 & 237-238.

In this connection, it may be worth mentioning Grays´s hypothesis that the Buddhist forest renunciant tradition[987] served as a bridge, by which Śaiva religious aspects were channelled into *esoteric* Buddhist texts. As indicated in *Section 3.2*, these monks of the forest renunciant traditions are inter alia the *pāṃśukūlika.* The monks of the forest renunciant tradition and the Śaiva ascetics were supposed to have lived side-by-side in the charnel grounds on the edges of society.

This theory seems to be substantiated by the cache of *esoteric* Buddhist statues found at Tiriyāy on the northeast coast of Śrī Laṅkā in 1983. Images have been found of inter alia bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya in animal hides and with the sacred cord *yajñopavīta* across their chests. Among these *esoteric* Buddhist statues have also been found some bodhisattva statues of ascetic character. In addition, this cache was found under a paving stone of a ruined meditation hall with the double meditation platform (like the *pendopo* of the Ratubaka on Java) – characteristic of the Western Temples of the *pāṃśukūlikas* monks of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā.[988]

As indicated in *Section 5.4.3*, the bearded figures on the lintels of the gateways on the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur – as well as on the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and its 240 Perwara shrines, et.al. – are probably *siddhas*.

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Although the proposed theory by Gray and by Sundberg entails some aspects of pronounced interest, we must keep in mind that it sofar remains **undocumented** – being based **mostly on circumstantial evidences**. It is primarily based on the numerous stories of *siddhas* having been expelled from the monasteries due to their antinomian behavior. Nevertheless, it may be noted, that the cache of *esoteric* Buddhist statues found at Tiriyāy may lead some credence to this hypothesis.

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[987] These monks should not be confounded with the so called forest dwelling monks (*āraññavāsin*), who were ascetic monks primarily of the *Mahāvihāra*.

[988] Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 159-160 & 203-204, Note 133.

In summary, it may seem adequate from the above to suggest that the Buddhist "Perfected" (*siddhas*) and **the Abhayagiri *pāṃśukūlikas* were instrumental in exchanging views with Śaiva ascetics.** Some of these aspects were later on believed to have been incorporated in Buddhist *esoteric* texts. In addition, the *pendopo* at the Ratubaka on Java was given the form typical of the Western Temples of the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā, a fact that may imply that **their views were introduced in the Śailendra society**.

Likewise, we may conclude that Śailendras´ contacts with the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra*, as well as with the Pāla dynasty in Bengal (see *Sections 4.2.3.1 & 4.2.3.2*), were likely to indicate that some form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism may well have existed on Java during the early part of the eighth century CE and that **yoga tantras were introduced on Java** by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur.

5.2.2   The introduction of Buddhism on Java

The aspect of the introduction of Buddhism on Java has been treated in *Section 4*. A brief summary of the religions on Java during the seventh-ninth centuries CE was presented in *Section 4.3*. Let us confine ourself here to conclude that *Mantranaya* and some form of *esoteric* elements seem to have existed in Buddhism on Java during the Śailendra reign.

Due to the tough tropical climate on Java, extant documents proving our conclusions are conspicuously absent. Only a few inscriptions are at our disposal. We are obliged, therefore, to base our views primarily on circumstantial evidences. Some of these circumstantial evidences are:

i. the inscriptions at Tulang Tuwo (684 CE) at Palembang, at Kota Kapur (686 CE) on the Bangka Island and at Telaga Batu (seventh century CE) on South Sumatra all indicate the presence of Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitāyāna*) and *Mantranaya* Buddhism in the Indonesian archipelago;

ii. the *Maṇḍalāṣṭa Sūtra* (the *MAS*) (the Eightfold Maṇḍala – T. 486), which the monk Puṇyodana introduced in Indonesia by mid-seventh century CE. The Eight bodhisattvas have subsequently

been illustrated on the decorations of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and of the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor;

iii. the Kālasan (778 CE), the Kĕlurak (782 CE) and the Mañjuśrī-gṛha (792 CE) inscriptions, wherein bodhisattva Tārā and bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are in focus (see *Appendix I, # 4, 5 & 6* respectively);[989]

iv. the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, which received a cruciform groundplan after its reconstruction in 792 CE – together with the 240 surrounding Perwara shrines – thus giving it the form of a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*;

v. the panteon of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (Buddha Vairocana, bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇī) which is in conformity with the *Garbha maṇḍala*;

vi. the illustration on the Barabuḍur of the Buddhist cosmos in the form of a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*; and

vii. the introduction of the *advaya* (non-dual) concept in the *Advaya-sādhana* (the *SHKA*) of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (*SHK*) as a form of the Ādibuddha (see *Appendix II, # 1.2*).

As indicated in *Section 3.2*, **the Mahāyāna Vaipulya tradition**[990] **became important on Central Java.** The Abhayagiri inscription of 792-793 CE (see *Appendix I, # 7*) is dedicated to **bodhisattva Padmapāṇi/Avalokiteśvara in his mahākāruṇika aspect**. Furthermore, there is proposed to have existed a hugh statue of bodhisattva Padmapāṇi in the *Abhayagirivihāra* at Ratubaka. The *Abhayagirivāsins* followed the *Vaipulyavāda* tradition. However, according to the Lotus *sūtra* (the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*), it is only bodhisattva Mañjuśrī that may explain the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (the new *Vaipulyayāna* path) that the Buddha preached. Therefore, bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is deemed to be superior to Padmapāṇi/Avalokiteśvara (even though the latter bears the picture of Buddha Amitābha in his forehead). *This highlights the importance of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī´s presence on Java* (see the *Mañjuśrīgṛha - Caṇḍi* Sewu - inscription in *Appendix I, # 6*). It also indicates a change in the Buddhist tenet on Java by the end of the eighth century CE.

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[989] See *Section 5.2.2, Notes 749, 750 & 751.*

[990] The *Mahāyāna* cult of light – starting with Buddha Amitābha ("Infinite Light"). See *Section 1.4.3, Notes 164 & 165.*

The *Vaipulya Mahāyāna* scriptures do contain some aspects, that may be regarded as "**proto-tantric**". This we have explained for instance as regards the *GVS* (see *Appendix III, # 4*).

In addition, these *Vaipulya Mahāyāna* scriptures would seem to encompass some **power-based and political aspects**. This may be illustrated with the Ādibuddha being "senior" to the other Buddhas. In order to strengthen his own political position, the Chinese emperor may thus have sent Amoghavajra to Śrī Laṅkā, so as to enable him to return to China with the latest version of the *STTS* and with other religious texts. This may also be the reason why the Japanese emperor sent Kukai to China in order to study the *MVS* and the *STTS*. Political aspects may presumably also be one of the reasons, why the Chinese emperor allowed Amoghavajra to introduce the *Wénshū* cult in China in a substantial manner (see *Section 4.2.5*).

The introduction of Mantranaya Buddhism on Java sometime by early eighth century CE, availed the *esoteric* monks to conduct some of the rituals and spells, that earlier were confined only to the Śaiva *gurus*. The aims of these rituals and spells were to obtain worldly powers, as well as to attain Enlightenment (see *Section 4.2.3*). By means of these ceremonies, the Buddhists strengthened their relations with the Śailendra king and with the Matarām aristocracy.

5.2.3   The Vajradhāra cult

As indicated in *Section 4.2.3.2*, the *Vajradhāra* (Ādibuddha) cult became a dominant feature of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism during the reign of the second king of the Pāla dynasty in India. This was simultaneously with the reign of king *Rakai* Warak *Dyaḥ* Manara on Java (802-827 CE). Given the close contacts between the Śailendras on Java and the Pāla kings in Bengal, the *Vajradhāra cult* was introduced on Java, as proven by *Vajradhāra´s* central position in the *Ṅgañjuk bronzes* (see **Picture 108**). Even though the *Ṅgañjuk bronzes* are dated from the tenth century CE, it may not be deemed entirely unlikely that the *Vajradhāra cult* had been introduced on Java by the time of the reconstruction phase of the Barabuḍur.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 108 Vajradhāra - *Ṅgañjuk bronze*

Vajradhāra ("Vajraholder")[991] is depicted in dark blue colour and is adorned and bears attributes. He is usually represented holding a *vajra* in his right hand and a bell (*ghaṇṭa*) in his left hand – both arms being crossed over his chest.[992] He is regarded as the *tantric* form of Buddha Śākyamuni. Vajradhāra is also regarded as the supernatural equivalent to bodhisattva Samantabhadra,[993] whom he gradually displaced in the evolution of Buddhism in India.[994] Vajradhāra is also considered the main Buddha in one of the six classes of *Father tantras.* This all indicates that the Vajradhāra cult is *tantric* (see *Appendix IV, # 5*).

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[991]   As noted already in *Section 1.4.5, Note 271, Section 4.2.3.2, Note 841 & Appendix IV, # 4, Note 1553*, we would like to emphasize that we hereinafter view Vajradhāra, Vajra-pāṇi and Vajrasattva as bodhisattvas.

[992]   Please note the somewhat different *mudrā* in *Picture 108.*

[993]   As indicated above, Vajradhāra is represented as adorned, while bodhsattva Samanta-bhadra is presented as unadorned.

[994]   To be noted is, furthermore, that the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) indicates that bodhisattva Mañjughosa/Mañjuśrī was mentioned as a *Vajradhṛk* – i.e. Vajradhāra.

Vajradhāra is regarded by the *Gelug-pa* and the *Kagyu-pa* traditions in Tibet as Ādibuddha (the primordial Buddha – i.e. the *dharmakāya* Buddha). Achieving the "state of Vajradhāra" thus represents "complete realisation".[995]

Vajradhāra is mentioned in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (folio A) – see *Appendix II, # 1 & 1.1*. The *SHKM* presents the concept of Ādibuddha, but only in the version translated into Indonesian – not in the original Kawi text. Although the general view is that the *SHKM* was compiled during early tenth century CE, some scholars state that it would nevertheless not be deemed unrealistic that the Sanskrit text and some constitutional *stanzas* of the *SHK* were known on Java during the Śailendra time.[996]

Bosch proposed already in 1920, that the *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur reflected the reverence of *Vajradhāra* within *Vajrayāna* Buddhism.[997] This supports the hypothesis that the palladium of the Śailendra dynasty – the golden image of Vajradhāra – would have been housed in the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur. This would be deemed acceptable only if this golden *Vajradhara* sculpture is regarded to represent the palladium of the Śailendras and not another Buddha on the monument – as we may in the latter case namely obtain a number of Buddhas on the monumnet (505 Buddhas) that is not divisible with "9".[998] In any event, the existence of monasteries in Indonesia venerating *Vajradhāra* (*kabajradharan*) have been documented some half-a-millenium years later.[999]

Given the existence of the constitutional *stanzas* of the *SHK* during the time of the Śailendras, the mentioning of Ādibuddha in the *SHKM* seems to indicate that *Vajradhāra* was revered on Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. This raises an interesting question, as regards the 64 Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on the walls of the fourth gallery. These Buddha images are by some scholars regarded as bodhisattva Samantabhadra. This is in line with the increased importance given to Samantabhadra by the early ninth

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[995]   See *Section 4.2.3.2, Note 858.*

[996]   See *Appendix II, # 1, Note 1247.*

[997]   *Not. Bat. Genoot.*, 1920, pp. 52ff.; or *TBG* 67, 1927, pp. 173ff.

[998]   See *Section 1.4.6, Note 323.*

[999]   The Indonesian text *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (1365 CE), *stanza* 62.1.

century CE (see *Section 1.4.4*). Other scholars, on the other hand, were reluctant to assign the *vitarka-mudrā* to Samantabhadra. They advocated instead that these 64 images represent the ultimate primordial Buddha – Buddha Vajradhāra, who would then have been expressed in *vitarka-mudrā*, which causes us a problem.[1000] This matter is further discussed in *Section 5.6.1*.

We, on the other hand, propose that it is **Buddha Śākyamuni, who would be the Buddha in vitarka-mudrā** on top of the wall of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur (see *Section 5.6.5*) .

5.2.4   The Buddha´s descent to earth

According to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, "the Buddha was already the Buddha".[1001] He was in other words from the beginning complete, supreme and all-embracing. He had no need to develop further. He was the *dharmakāya* Buddha – the Body of Essence, that may neither be seen, nor visualized. But he could transform himself into various other bodies, that could be apprehended by beings in various stages of inner development. As *saṃbhogakāya* – Body of Bliss or Enjoyment – the Buddha created and lived in his purified Buddha-field (*Buddhak-ṣetra*). In the *Tuṣita* heaven, he decided to descend on earth in order to assist the sentient beings. This is illustrated as the first bas-relief of the *Lalitavistara* series on the Barabuḍur (see **Picture 109**). The activities of the Buddha in our human world was performed in the *nirmāṇakāya* – i.e. the Body of Transformation.[1002]

[1000]   Vajradhāra is regarded as Ādibuddha by the *Gelug-pa* and the *Kagyu-pa* traditions in Tibetan Buddhism. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra was assigned this role by the *Nyingma-pa*. Further information is presented in *Section 5.6.1*.

[1001]   Griffiths, 1994, p. 92, & 95-97.

[1002]   See *Section 5.3.2, Note 1016*.
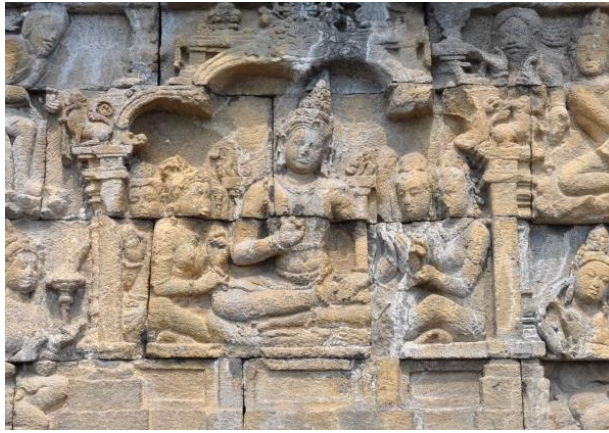
Picture 109   The Buddha in *sambhogakāya* form in
vitarka-mudrā in the *Tuṣita* heaven
deciding to descend on earth (Ia-1)

These above-mentioned *Mahāyāna* aspects of the Buddha have been presented in the *Lalitavistara* (the *LV*) bas-reliefs on the Barabudur, in the following manners:

- Ia-12 The Buddha in *sambhogakāya* descends from the *Tuṣita* heaven into Queen Māyā´s womb as the "Buddha-to-be". He is here illustrated as an adult bodhisattva, sitting in meditation in *dhyāna-mudrā* on the *Śrīgarbha* [1003] in the "double walled *ratnavyūha* palace", which was carried together with fans, parasols, etc. by 110 thousand deities from the *Tuṣita* heaven;[1004]

- Ia-13 Queen Māyā´s prophetic dream of conceiving Siddhārtha Gautama. The bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") appears in the left hand corner of the bas-relief as a white six-tusked elephant floating on the clouds (see ***Picture 35***);

- Ia-14 The bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") is, after the conception, illustrated in Queen Māyā´s womb as an adult sitting on a lotus cushion inside the "double walled *ratnavyūha* palace" and being worshiped by the bodhi-sattvas and deities.[1005]

[1003]   The Glorious Embryo Throne.

[1004]   Krom, 1974, pp. 13-14, and plate 12.

[1005]   Gifford, 2011, pp. 64-66.

The points of interest here are that in bas-relief Ia-12 the bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") descends as a human being – i.e. not in the form of a white six-tusked elephant, as described in the *Theravāda* sources.[1006] In addition, he descends sitting on his throne in the palace. The palace takes the form of having two walls. The purpose of this "double walled [*ratnavyūha*] palace", as well as its constitution of *ratna* (jewels), would be to shield the bodhisattva from any pollution. Also to be noted is that the bodhisattva does not descend by himself, but is carried in his palace by a multitude of deities.

In bas-relief Ia-13, the bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") has altered in appearance to that in conformity with the *LV* – i.e. a white six-tusked elephant.

In bas-relief Ia-14, we see the bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") not as a small child, but as a fullgrown adult, sitting in Queen Māyā´s womb in his "double walled *ratnavyūha* palace" and being worshiped by other bodhisattvas and deities. Once again, the purpose of the lotus cushion and the "double walled *ratnavyūha* palace" is to shield the bodhisattva from the polutions of this world.

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What do we make out of this?

The purpose of these three iconic bas-reliefs is probably to convey to the unenlightened pilgrim that ***the bodhisattva in the Tuṣita heaven*** and in the womb of Queen Māyā ***was already an Enlightened Buddha***.

One may also assume that by creating this entire scenario by means of *upāya kauśalya* the point made would be that ***the nirmāṇakāya of the bodhisattva was but an illusion***.

[1006]   On the Amarāvatī bas-reliefs the bodhisattva is already here presented as a white elephant.
Krom, 1974, p. 14.

In other words, it was the view of a Buddha from a *Sarvāstivāda* text that was conveyed here – with influences from early *Mahāyāna*.

One also gets the feeling, that the bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") by means of these three bas-reliefs opened the window ajar for the unenlightened beings to apprehend **a glimpse of the Ultimate Reality** (*dharmakāya*).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 110   Silk Floral design from Sogdian as an interspercing picture at the Barabuḍur[1007]

[1007]   Woodward, 1977, p. 233.

5.3 Approach to interpret the Barabuḍur

An encounter with a monument is a ritual-architectural event. The monument does not only turn to the mind of the visitor, but also to his body. The fact is, that the visitor interacts physically with the monument in approaching it, circumambulating it, ascending and descending it, etc. In addition, the monument is often built in durable material – thus enduring in time. With the passing of time, we must be open to the fact, that our response to the religious images on the monument, may be different from the responses that the devotees had centuries earlier.

The Barabuḍur is a kind of monument. A monument is a memorial of someone or of something in the past. But the Barabuḍur may be seen also to focus on the present. Although the Barabuḍur with its galleries and terraces shares the ritual, commemorative and epideictic characteristics of a monument, we may already have observed that the commemorative aspects of the third and the fourth galleries of the Barabuḍur are only towards "existing" individuals – not towards deceased beings. In this aspect, the Barabuḍur may be regarded as the antithesis of a funeral monument, stressing the *Mahāyāna* under-standing of *stūpas* as a representive of Buddha Śākyamuni´s gnosis, rather than of his *parinirvāṇa.*

In this Section, we will give some comments to the following aspects:
- The bas-reliefs of the galleries;
- Comparison between the Buddha images and the bas-reliefs;
- The *pradakṣiṇa*;
- Potential *Vaṭadāge* structure.

5.3.1 The bas-reliefs on the galleries

The bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur are intended as supports for medita-tion. As indicated in *Sections 1.4.3 and 1.4.4*, these bas-reliefs are pre-sented in a lace-like manner, limiting the view of the pilgrim to the section in his immediate proximity, thus facilitating his focus and meditation on the specific bas-relief just in front of him.

As indicated in *Section 1.1*, the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur seem to be based on the *Śrāvakayāna,* on the *Pāramitāyāna,* on the *Buddhā-vataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*) and on the *Mantranaya*. These four systems are represented on the Barabuḍur as follows:

Genre	Reliefs	Text	Wall
Śrāvakayāna	160	*Karmavibhaṅga*	Hidden base
Pāramitāyāna	120	*Lalitavistara*	Ia
Pāramitāyāna	120	*Jātakamālā*	Ib
Pāramitāyāna	600	*Avadāna*	IBa-b, IIB
Buddhāvataṃsaka	388	*Gaṇḍavyūha*	II, III, IIIB, IVB
Buddhāvataṃsaka	<u>72</u>	*Bhadracarī*	IV
	1.460		

The Buddhas	Images	Text	Wall
Mantranaya	**504**	STTS	All around

Thus, the various bas-reliefs on the "hidden base" and in the various galleries of the Barabuḍur seem to indicate a spiritual ascension of the pilgrim for each higher level on the monument.

The interpretation of the Barabuḍur in the past has to a large extent been centered around an analysis of the **Buddha images**. In recent years some scholars such as Fontein, Gifford and Klokke have stated that the monument must be viewed in it is entirety – i.e. the interpretation of the Barabuḍur must also include an assessment of the ***bas-reliefs on the galleries***. In this latter aspect, some scholars like Krom[1008] and Miksic[1009] have claimed that the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs are "narrative" and should be "read". Fontein is cautiously leaning the other way, indicating that the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur are intended as illustrative backgrounds to narrative descriptions. [1010] Brown[1011] and Gifford[1012], on the other hand, are of the opinion that some of the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs are not narrative and should thus not be "read" – but are "iconic". The purpose of these "iconic" bas-reliefs is to have the devotee get involved and ultimately become one with the Buddha.

[1008]   Krom, 1974, p. viii.

[1009]   Miksic, 1990, p. 61.

[1010]   Fontein, 1967, p. 157.

[1011]   Brown, 1997, p. 98 & 98, n.86.

[1012]   Gifford introduces in this respect the term "panoramic art".
        Gifford, 2011, pp. 48-52, 75-76 & 81-82.

Based on Gifford´s work "Buddhist Practice and Visual Culture" (2011), *narrative art* (images and/or pictures) may be defined as follows:

(i)   more than one event of the story are presented;
(ii)   in a spacial sequence;
(iii)   in conformity with the temporal sequence of the story; and
(iv)   as a self-contained composition (i.e. without requiring the viewer to participate).

Iconic art, on the other hand, may be defined as images and/or pictures that:

.   (i)   are often in a single form; and
(ii)   requiring the involvement of the viewer (i.e. not being self-contained).

The figure in an iconic picture ignores his surroundings and stares squarely at the viewer outside of the picture, in order to catch his interest. The temporal aspect is not highlighted. Neither are the spacial aspects.

In analyzing the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur, it is apparent that the bas-reliefs on the "hidden base", the bas-reliefs on the balustrade and on the main wall of the first gallery are all mainly narrative – as are some bas-reliefs on the second gallery. Contrary hereto, the iconic presentations of some of the bas-reliefs on the balustrades and on the main walls of the third to the fourth galleries are striking. The question arises what meaning this may entail?

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As indicated in *Section 1.4.3*, the overwhelming majority of the *Lalita-vistara* bas-relief series is narrative in character (see *Section 5.2.4 & Picture 109*). However, in three instances, this narrative series of bas-reliefs is broken by some semi-iconic bas-reliefs presenting the bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") more in a "state", than in an "action". In these three bas-reliefs the bodhisattva (the "Buddha-to-be") views the devotee in the gallery directly "face on", with the

purpose of inviting him to get involved in the course of events. These three disrupted bas-reliefs are found at three important junctions of the story; i.e.

    i.   when the bodhisattva **descends from the Tuṣita heaven** to be born as Siddhārtha Gautama. Here he sits in *dhyāna-mudrā* (Ia-12);

    ii.   when Siddhārtha Gautama **is tested by Māra and attains Enlightenment**. Here he sits in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (Ia-93-98). But when he replies to Samantakusuma, the Enlightened Siddhārtha Gautama changes his posture to *abhaya-mudrā* (Ia-99); and

    iii.   when the Enlightened Siddhārtha Gautama **teaches the First Sermon**, he sets the "*Wheel of Dharma*" in motion and thus becomes Buddha Śākyamuni.[1013] He is then illustrated in *vitarka-mudrā* (Ia-120).

As indicated in *Section 5.2.4*, the purpose of presenting the bodhisattva as a full grown man in his descent from the *Tuṣita* heaven to be born as Siddhārtha Gautama (Ia-12), was presumably to illustrate that the bodhisattva in *saṃbhogakāya* already was an Enlightened Buddha. ***The bodhisattva is thus supposed to be fully Enlightened prior to being born onto this world.*** Though he is already Enlightened, the bodhisattva will nevertheless descend to earth and act here in his

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[1013] Please note that the exact time, when Siddhārtha Gautama becomes a full-fledged Buddha seems to vary somewhat. In the text above, it seems to mean to be at the time when **he sets the "Wheel of Dharma" in motion**. In the *LV* text, Siddhārtha Gautama becomes a full-fledged Buddha at the time, when **he attains Enlightenment** (Krom, 1974, p. 107). But according to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism (the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*), Siddhārtha Gautama was supposed to have left his physical body (*nirmāṇakāya*) upon attaining Enlightenment and to have ascended in his *saṃbhogakāya* to the **Akaniṣṭha heaven on top of the rūpadhātu, where he was initiated as a complete Buddha.** Thereupon he descended again to his worldly body (*nirmāṇakāya*) - Buddha Śākayamuni. But according to the *BAS*, Siddhārtha Gautama was supposed – immediately upon his Enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree in Bodhgayā in Magadha - to have **ascended in his saṃbhogakāya to the Akaniṣṭha heaven, where he taught the Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra in the "Hall of Brightness"** for those bodhisattvas that possessed the supernatural powers of the Ten Stages – and thus became a Buddha. He then descends to his physical body (*nirmāṇakāya*) under the *Bodhi* tree. Later on, the *Tathāgata* holds his First Sermon in the deer Park close to Benares (Vārāṇāsī), where he was Turning the *Wheel of Dharma* – and thus formally became Buddha Śākyamuni.

Ishii states that Siddhārtha Gautama faced the four directions when he took his seat in the *kūṭāgāra* on top of the Mount Meru in order to attain Buddhahood (see *Section 1.4.5*, and the text to *Note 274*).

The above conflicting views are apparent. But it is not within the scope of this dissertation to analyze this matter further.

nirmāṇakāya form, for the benefit of the sentient beings. The *nirmāṇakāya* of the bodhisattva was thus a **mere illusion.**

When Siddhārtha Gautama attains Enlightenment (Ia-96), it is in fact the *nirmāṇakāya* of an already Enlightened bodhisattva (i.e. a Buddha) that attains Enlightenment for the benefit of sentient beings.[1014] Siddhārtha Gautama was supposed then to have left his physical body (*nirmāṇakāya*) upon attaining Enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree (see *Section 1.4.3*, **Picture 39**) and to have ascended in his *saṃbhogakāya* to the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven on top of the *rūpadhātu*, where he was initiated as a complete Buddha. Thereupon, he was supposed to have descended again - as a Buddha - to his worldly body (*nirmāṇakāya*). Why this cumbersome ritual? Was it perhaps to indicate, that the Buddha could take on *multiple forms*, in *multiple worlds*?

When the *Tathāgata* preaches the First Sermon (Ia-120), he sets the "*Wheel of Dharma*" in motion. According to the *BAS*, this is the time, when *Tathāgata* formally became Buddha Śākyamuni. If so, is this the reason why the sculptors of the Barabuḍur presented him in *vitarka-mudrā prior to the First Sermon* – and not in *dharmacakra-mudrā*?

Of interest is also to recall, that the *LV* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur (see *Section 1.4.3*) end with Siddhārtha Gautama in *vitarka-mudrā* in **Picture 39**, he attains Enlightenment and in **Picture 40**, he preaches after having been Enlightened. In the *BAS* the First Sermon was supposed to have been held in the Deer Park close to Benares (Vāraṇāsī). All these aspects would seem to indicate, that the construction of the Barabuḍur was at least partly influenced by an early form of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

In summary and as referred to in *Section 5.2.4*, these three bas-reliefs may be deemed to give us *a glimpse of the "Realm of Reality" – i.e. of the dharmakāya*. They may also be regarded as illustrating the **multiple forms that the Buddha could assume in multiple worlds.** Finally, they may convey to us the mere fact, that the Buddha´s *nirmāṇakāya* should be regarded as **an illusion** – as it was time-bound.

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[1014]   See this *Section 5.3.1, Note 1001.*

In summary, the bas-reliefs on the various levels of the Barabuḍur differ as to form and purpose; viz.

- The bas-reliefs on the "hidden base" and on the first gallery are predominately **narrative** in character, although some of the *jātaka* reliefs may be seen as iconic. As indicated above, the images in some of the *LV* bas-reliefs also take on an iconic character. But disregarding these exceptions, the purpose of the narrative bas-reliefs on the "hidden base" and on the first gallery is to make the Buddha present on the monument in a temporal sense. The bas-reliefs make the devotee recollect the story of the Buddha. These bas-reliefs also encourage a ritual, whereunder they should be viewed during the movement of the *pradakṣiṇa*. The bodily movement is to join the mental commemoration of the Buddha. The devotee contemplates the temporal model of salvation during the ritual. The focus of the ritual worship is Buddha Vairocana´s *nirmāṇakāya;*
- The bas-reliefs of the third and the fourth galleries are mostly **iconic** in character. They present a model of salvation that is primarily spatial. By having the devotee meditate and enter a purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*), it is believed that the devotee may pursue the bodhisattva Path much earlier and more effectively. The focus of the ritual worship is Buddha Vairocana´s *saṃbhogakāya.*

The bas-reliefs on the third and the fourth galleries of the Barabuḍur describe the *kūṭāgāra*. As indicated in *Section 1.4.4*, well over half of the *GVS* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur are describing the *kūṭāgāra*. The *kūṭāgāra* is a purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) – i.e. a Pure land. The purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) has been created out of the wisdom and compassion of a *saṃbhogakāya* Buddha. The *saṃbhogakāya* Buddha is also believed to have transferred a vast store of his merits to his *buddhakṣetra*.

The purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) is an optimal environment for attaining Enlightenment. All things pertaining to Buddhist practice is present in the purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*). It has also been purified of gross mental and physical impediments. **By entering the purified Buddha-field (buddhakṣetra), the devotee meets with the Buddha face-to-face.** Here the devotee overcomes the temporal

aspect and is liberated from the fear of *saṃsāra*. **He is empowered to pursue the bodhisattva Path much earlier and more effectively.**

One manner, in which one could enter the Pure land, was by intense visualized meditation called *buddhānusmṛti* – "recollection of the Buddha(s)". By visualizing certain major adornments (*alaṃkāra*) of the Pure land one at the time, and by subsequently mentally building up a complex totality based on these adornments, the devotee is believed to be able to enter the purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*). The devotee will then enjoy the fruits of the encounter with the Buddha of the purified Buddha-field (*buddhakṣetra*) by hearing the *dharma* being preached directly by the Buddha. This is the reason, why certain majestic adornments (*alaṃkāra*) of the *kūṭāgāra* were expressed on the third gallery bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur in long pictural sequences.[1015] **By means of visualization meditation, the devotee was supposed to establish a three-dimensional environment of the kūṭāgāra, in which he was present – thus reaching his goal!**

5.3.2   *Comparison between the Buddha images and the bas-reliefs*

Raising our eyes from the bas-reliefs, we should now analyze to what extent – if at all – *the Buddha images and the bas-reliefs* on the Barabuḍur are congruent. They ought, namely, be in conformity with each other on the various levels of the monument – both as regards *kāya* and other aspects. Let us see how this fits!

The descent of the Buddha onto the Barabuḍur illustrates how the Buddha pervades the world, offering access to the *dharma* and thus making salvation possible. This descent of the Buddha on the Bara-

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[1015]   Examples of such pictural sequences are for instance the adornments within the *kūṭāgāra*, that Sudhana admires (III 20 – III 39). On the balustrade of the third gallery one may find a corresponding pictural series from the miraculous Lotus pond (IIIB 33 – IIIB 50). A corresponding pictural sequence from a Wish-granting tree (*kalpavṛkṣa*) may be found on the balustrade of the fourth gallery (IVB 73- IVB 75).

To be noted is the fact that this Wish-granting tree (*kalpavṛkṣa*) is a symbol for the *bodhi* tree that grows in the "Land of Supreme Bliss" (*Sukhāvatī*) – the Pure land of Buddha Amitābha. As we have read in *Section 1.4.4*, Buddha Amitābha ought not to have been presented on the Barabuḍur. In order to avoid a potential conflict of views, the tree could instead be regarded as a "Jewel Tree" (*ratnavṛkṣa*) as per *Section 1.5.2*.

buḍur may briefly be described as the Buddha descending in several successive phases.

We may regard the Buddha initially to emerge in the central *stūpa* in the nondescribable form of ***dharmakāya***.[1016]

He thereupon appears in iconic form in the multiple Buddha images thoughout the monument. The Buddha appears in the latticed *stūpas* as the unifying principle that is non-dual with the ***saṃbhogakāya*** Buddhas in the multiple *buddhakṣetras* throughout the cosmos. This is in full conformity with the Buddhas appearing in the Jetavana grove, as described in the prologue of the *GVS* and as the Buddhas appearing in the world systems atop of the Mount Meru.

The *saṃbhogakāya* Buddha is seen in the 64 niches on top of the main wall of the fourth gallery, from where he subsequently descends and is illustrated on the main wall bas-reliefs as bodhisattva Samanta-bhadra instructing Sudhana. The descent continues to the third gallery, where he is exemplified as bodhisattva Maitreya in the *kūṭāgāra* – i.e. the purified Buddha-field conducive to the pursuit of Enlightenment.

From here on, the descent of the Buddha continues to the second gallery, where he is presented as the *kalyāṇamitras*. Here the Buddha appears for the first time in ***nirmāṇakāya***. Thereupon the Buddha descends to the first gallery, where he appears in the *LV* bas-reliefs on

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[1016]   The Buddha assumes three different bodies (*trikāya*); namely

Dharmakāya (the Body of the Law), which symbolized the absolute knowledge and the true essence of the Buddha, without giving it a personality or a historical existence. This body represents the pure; the lack of craving; the spiritual in *nirvāṇa*;

Sambhogakāya (the Body of the Bliss), which the Buddha assumes based on his accumulated *karma*. The *Sambhogakāya* symbolizes the combination of the wisdom of the Buddhas with the nature of the bodhisattvas of wisdom; and

Nirmāṇakāya (the Transformation Body) is the temporary body, that the Buddha may assume in order to assist other living beings – like Buddha Śākyamuni did as a mortal and with practical experiences.
(For details, see *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*)

the main wall as Buddha Śākyamuni – the temporally bound *nirmāṇakāya*. In the *jātaka* bas-reliefs the Buddha is presented in his various appearances during the past eons. This conforms once again with the presence of the Buddha on the Barabuḍur.

Finally, we arrive at the "hidden base" where the presence of the Buddha is not immediately noticed. But referring to the example with the Freer cosmological Buddha (see *Section 1.4.1*), the bas-reliefs of the "hidden base" present the Buddha in an elementary manner. This apperance is understandable to those individuals that perceive morality only in terms of rewards and punishments.

Given the above, we thus may conclude, that *the Buddha images and the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur seem to be in full conformity with the various body presentations (kāyas) of the Buddha*. In addition, we may also conclude that the Buddha images in the niches on the balustrade of the first gallery must be in *nirmāṇakāya* – which tallies with Stutterheim´s suggested *Mānuṣi* Buddhas, as presented in *Section 1.4.5*. Finally, we may also note, that these *nirmāṇakāya* images of the Buddha are on the Barabuḍur presented on the first and second galleries – i.e. in a place that also is in conformity with the slopes of Mount Meru (see *Section 5.4.1*).

5.3.3   The Pradakṣiṇa and the organization of the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur

A circumambulation of a monument - *pradakṣiṇa* - takes place as a clockwise movement around the monument with the right shoulder of the pilgrim towards the monument. But on the Barabuḍur, we have bas-reliefs on galleries on different levels of the monument, as well as bas-reliefs on the walls and on the balustrades of each gallery. Let us see, how that influences the *pradaṣiṇa*.

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Proposals have been made by various scholars, that the "hidden base" and each of the galleries on the Barabuḍur present a separate teaching, which is superior to the ones below it, but inferior to the ones above it. One level on the Barabuḍur would thus equal one teaching and one teaching equals one text.

This suggestion seems to work for **the walls** of the "hidden base" and of the first two galleries where the following texts are presented one for each level – the *MKS*, the *LV*, and the beginning of the *GVS*. But as we know from *Section 1.4.3*, the walls on the first gallery contains two rows of bas-reliefs – various *jātakas* and *avadānas* on the lower row and the *LV* on the upper row. Were the architects of the Barabuḍur indicating one or two teachings here?

In case we also include **the balustrades**, the logic of this suggested classification becomes substantially diluted. As we know from *Sections 1.4.3 and 1.4.4* these balustrades are decorated with various bas-reliefs of *jātakas* and *avadānas* – two rows on the balustrade of the first gallery and one row on the balustrade of the second gallery.

When we turn to the third gallery, the bas-reliefs on both the walls and the balustrades are from the same text – the *GVS*. The above rule "both…and" now changes to "either…or" – namely *either* one level equals one teaching *or* one teaching equals one text. This means that the devotee may *either* view the bas-reliefs in the order, in which they appear in the text, *or* perform a consistently ordered formal *pradakṣiṇa* (see below) – but not both.

One may inquire, whether the last mentioned problem of the *GVS* text in the bas-reliefs on the various galleries of the Barabuḍur, may be solved, if we regard the individual bas-reliefs to be based on **various units of the GVS text**, which each could be construed as a separate teaching. In such a case, this would warrant that the *GVS* is represented on separate galleries of the Barabuḍur. On the second gallery the bas-reliefs presents Sudhana meeting with various *kalyāṇamitras*. On both the wall and the balustrade of the third gallery, the bas-reliefs present Sudhana together with bodhisattva Maitreya in the *kūṭāgāra* of Buddha Vairocana.[1017] Finally, on the bas-reliefs of the balustrade of the fourth gallery, Sudhana is seen together with the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjuśri and Samantabhadra. This may lead one to realize the various phases of the spiritual development of Sudhana.

[1017] As elsewhere in the *GVS*, Buddha Vairocana is invisibly present in his *dharmakāya* form and remains quite. Here it is bodhisattva Maitreya that formally communicates with Sudhana.

The problem is, however, that Sudhana´s meeting with bodhisattva Maitreya is presented on bas-reliefs on three different levels-cum-galleries. In addition, Sudhana´s meetings with bodhisattva Maitreya and bodhisattva Samantabhadra are presented on the same gallery on the Barabuḍur. Thus, as has been presented in *Section 1.4.4*, even if the *GVS* may be clearly divided into various sections, it may not help us in understanding the hierarchical design of the Barabudur, as the architects seem to have organized the illustrations of the text in a different manner.

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Fontein noted this problem early on. From the second gallery, he claims that it is not clear in which order the bas-reliefs on the balustrades and the walls should be viewed. Following the text of the *GVS* and the *SBP* the sequence would seem to be: second gallery main wall → third gallery main wall → third gallery balustrade → fourth gallery balustrade → forth gallery main wall. This route seems to be strange. Fontein noticed that the smooth transitions (i.e. Ia 120 → II 1 and II 128 → III 1) would indicate that the bas-reliefs of the intermediate balustrades may not be included.[1018]

In addition, we know from *Section 1.1*, that the balustrade on the first gallery seems to have been completed only during the third construction phase of the Barabudur. It could, therefore, not have been part of the original *pradakṣiṇa* scheme. In addition, the bas-reliefs on the balustrades are usually smaller in size than those on the main walls. Furthermore, they were placed at lower levels – awkward for the devotee to see and worship.

Given the above observations, Gifford proposes that the formal *pradakṣiṇa* on the Barabuḍur galleries would only contain the bas-reliefs of the main walls of the second to the fourth galleries viewed as a continuous series.[1019] Instead of slavishly following the text of the *GVS* and the *SBP*, as illustrated on the main walls and on the balustrades of the Barabuḍur, one could restrict oneself to following the order indicated only on the main walls by the meditative visualization practice for "assisting" and "offering" - a consistently ordered formal *pradakṣiṇa*.

[1018]   See *Section 1.4.3, Note 178 & Section 5.6.2.*

[1019]   Gifford, 2011, pp. 139-146.

This view is inter alia based on the interpretation, that the visualization meditational practice of "assisting" (i.e. assisting the sentient beings in *saṃsāra*) terminates with the last bas-relief of the main wall of the third gallery. The visualization practice of "offering" (i.e. offering to the cosmic Buddhas) starts with the first bas-relief on the main wall of the fourth gallery. The intermediary bas-relief for this transition is thought to be the last bas-relief on the main wall of the third gallery (III-88). In this bas-relief Sudhana is seen kneeling with his hands folded (*añjali-mudrā*) making the vow of bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Bodhisattva Maitreya is also seen in this bas-relief standing in *añjali-mudrā*. In the first bas-relief of the main wall of the fourth gallery (IV-1) bodhisattva Samantrabhadra is seen in *añjali-mudrā* in devotion to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions.[1020]

By performing the *pradakṣiṇa* along the walls of the four galleries of the Barabuḍur,[1021] the devotee may be seen as performing a walking version of the visualization meditation at ever higher mental levels.

On the main wall of the third gallery some bas-reliefs have been inserted (III 8-19), which apparently are not a proper part of the text. But they convey predictions of the visits of Sudhana to the bodhisattvas Maitreya and Samantabhadra.[1022] Perhaps they were inserted in this early portion of the text as a compensation for the above proposed exclusion of the text. If so, it would indicate a remarkable foresight of the sculptors and pin-point that they were not slavishly following the text.

The main problem with this suggested "consistently ordered formal *pradakṣiṇa*" is, that the bas-reliefs of the balustrades of the third and the fourth galleries are "left out".[1023] These "left out" bas-reliefs are namely of substantial importance.

[1020] This intermediary bas-relief (III-88) would seem to play a similar role as the "travelling scenes" of the *GVS* bas-reliefs referred to in *Section 1.4.4* – i.e. a transition to a new phase.

[1021] The implication of such a procedure would thus indicate, that the *Mahāyāna* teachings of the *GVS* would be a continuation of the *Śrāvakayāna* teachings of the *LV* – albeit at a higher level.

[1022] These bas-reliefs (III 8-19) could be deemed to refer to bodhisattva Maitreya´s predictions of Sudhana´s future visits (see Bosch, 1930, pp. 223-303).

[1023] These bas-reliefs encompass such important sequences, as the miraculous Lotus pond, Maitreya´s pervasion of time, Maitreyas performed miracles for Sudhana in the

In addition, it may be noteworthy, that one of the "left out" bas-reliefs on the balustrade of the fourth gallery (IVB-39), was the one, where bodhisattva Maitreya released Sudhana from the *kūṭāgāra* by snapping his fingers a second time. The implication of this exclusion may well be that the devotee should be regarded as remaining in the purified Buddha-field.

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In *Section 1.4* the proposal was presented that the hermeneutics based on the principle of *upāya kauśalya* may instead have been used in the planning of the distribution of the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur.[1024] Although all the texts were accepted as the genuine words of the Buddha or of the advanced bodhisattvas, they were, nevertheless, classified on the basis of their proximity to – or distance from – the Ultimate Truth. Later on, this same principle was used in classifying various teachings of Buddhism. This applies in particular to the various Chinese methods of classification denominated the *pànjiào* 判教.[1025]

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As indicated in this *Section 5.3.3*, the consistently ordered formal *pradakṣiṇa* would require that the devotee only looks over his right shoulder and thus only regards the bas-reliefs on the main walls of the four galleries on the Barabuḍur. The smaller bas-reliefs on the balustrades of the second, third and fourth galleries would, however, not be viewed during this *pradakṣiṇa* process. As already presented above, this exclusion of important bas-reliefs constitutes a

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kūṭāgāra, his release of Sudhana out of the *kūṭāgāra*, Sudhana´s second visit to Maitreya, and Sudhana´s visit to Samantabhadra prior to making his vow.

[1024] The *upāya kauśalya* ("skilful means") is the ability to present *dharma* lessons in such a manner, as to maximize its effectiveness for various kinds of audiences. However, this may lead to the fact that *dharma* lessons being composed for one kind of audience, may be appreciated by another kind of audience as "ultimately false but provisionally true". In fact, this may be regarded as a fundamental principle of the *Mahāyāna* hermeneutics.

[1025] The Chinese *pànjiào* 判教 classifications come in various versions – such as by Zhan-ran, Zhiyan, Fazang, Huikuan, Huikuang, Huiyuan, Liujiu, and Congmi (see *Appendix III, # 2, Note 1342*).

The *Shingon* version, as presented by Kūkai, consisted of three (3) pre-Buddhist and seven (7) Buddhist stages – i.e. ten (10) stages in total (see *Appendix IV, # 1, Note 1507*).

fundamental weakness in this consistently ordered formal *pradakṣiṇa* process. The question, that remains outstanding, is in our view whether or not the "extra" bas-reliefs added on the wall of the third gallery (III 8-19) would be sufficient in correcting this deficiency?

However, the differences in size and in the "hanging" of the bas-reliefs on the walls and on the balustrades are intriguing. The following two fundamental questions still remain unanswered among the scholars:

- Should the bas-reliefs on the balustrades be regarded as mere informational "back-ups" to the bas-reliefs on the walls?
- Should only the bas-reliefs on the walls of the galleries be viewed during the *pradakṣiṇa* practice?

A method, that seems to solve our encountered problems and that makes the above two questions redundant, would be if the distribution of the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur was based on the principle of *upāya kauśala*.

In this *Section 5.3.3*, we have endeavoured to present various views in what manner the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur could be seen to have been organized. It is apparent, though, that the scholars are still far from having adapted a unified view on this matter. ***The obvious important conclusion reached is that the bas-reliefs on the main walls and on the balustrades of the four galleries do not seem to be in conformity with a conventional pradakṣiṇa practice.***

5.3.4   Potential Vaṭadāge structure

After becoming a complete Buddha, the Buddha performed four kinds of marvels (*prātihārya*).[1026] With the single apparition (*nirmita*) of a four faced Buddha Vairocana, he is supposed to have proceeded to the summit of the Mount Meru and to have there pronounced the fundamental *yoga tantra* – the *STTS*.

[1026]   The four kinds of marvels (*prātihārya*) are Blessing (*adhiṣṭhāna*); Initiation (*abhiṣeka*); Wondrous Act (*karma*) and Profound Concentration (*samādhi*).

As indicated in *Section 1.4.6*, some scholars have proposed that the Mount Meru had on its summit a pavilion (*kūṭāgāra*), where Buddha Vairocana was sitting preaching the *Vajroṣṇīṣa* texts. They meant that such a pavillion (*kūṭāgāra*) also would have been installed on the Barabuḍur. This wooden building should thus have been erected on the open terrace area of the Barabuḍur. This non-substantiated proposal has, however, not met with acceptance from other scholars.

In addition, the idea that a *vaṭadāge* would have been built on the terrace area of the Barabuḍur may seem doubtful.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint
Picture 111 Vaṭadāge

The *vaṭadāge* is a superstructure that was built over and sheathing a *stūpa.* The *vaṭadāge* was supported by pillars. The superstructures of the *vaṭadāge* transformed antique relic *stūpas* into *esoteric* Buddhist Iron *Stūpas.*[1027] A *vaṭadāge* on the Barabuḍur would thus have transformed its main *stūpa* into an *esoteric* Buddhist Iron *Stūpa*, identified as Mahāvairocana´s Universal Palace of the Mind.

Such a *vaṭadāge* would presumably have been a wooden construction, which since long would have vanished. Like the *vaṭadāge* constructions on Śrī Laṅkā (remnants of at least twelve such structures remain today),[1028] such a *vaṭadāge* construction on the Barabuḍur would most

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[1027] For a description of the Iron *Stūpa*, please see *Section 3.2, Note 650* and *Appendix IV, # 6, Note 1564.*

[1028] See *Section 3.2, Note 651.*

likely also have been supported by pillars, presumably having been made of wood.

During the UNESCO restoration project of the Barabuḍur in 1975-1983, no basement supports for these *vaṭadāge* pillars were found according to the Barabuḍur Conservation & Management Office on Java.[1029] During 1907-1911, the Barabuḍur terrace area was restored by a Dutch team headed by Theodoor van Erp. Unfortunately, all of Theodoor van Erp´s scholarly material (books, manuscripts, drawings, photographs, etc.) with respect to his restoration of the Barabuḍur terraces, were lost in the British accidental bombing on 3 March 1945 of his residence in the Bezuidenhout quarter of the Hague. His grandson Guus van Erp is thus not in a possession of any material, that may elucidate this matter.[1030]

In Volume III of the *Beschrijving van Barabuḍur* (1931) by Krom and van Erp, most photographs of the terrace area were photographed after the restorations had been performed. However, some photographs are presented of the second terrace prior to it being restored. On these photographs no specific indications could be noted of any basements for such *vaṭadāge* pillars.

Given the above, we thus deem it unlikely that a vaṭadāge was built on the Barabuḍur.

5.3.5 Concluding remarks

In viewing the Barabuḍur in its entirety – i.e. the bas-reliefs as well as the images – we may reach a few concluding observations as follows:

The Buddha is present on the Barabuḍur – thus making the monument sacred. This is exemplified by the various *jātaka* bas-reliefs, by the various bas-reliefs from the *LV*, from the *GVS* and from the *SBP*, as well as by the multitude of the Buddha images.

[1029] Personal e-mail correspondence with Panggah Ardi of the Barabuḍur conservation & management office on Java on 25 November to 9 December 2019.

[1030] Personal e-mail of 23 December 2019 from Mr A.J.Th. (Guus) van Erp

The Buddha is present on the Barabuḍur in a **multilocational manner** in the form of *nirmāṇakāya, saṃbhoghakāya* and of an indicated *dharmakāya.*

The **commemoration of the Buddha varies in form thoughout the monument.** On the first and the second galleries, the devotee is encouraged to have the physical and mental acts join forces in the commemoration of the Buddha. This is obtained by viewing the narrative bas-reliefs with the physical movement during the *pradakṣiṇa.* With exception for the bas-reliefs referring to the prologue of the *GVS* (II-1 – II-15), the devotee meets on these first two galleries only with the Buddha in his **nirmāṇakāya** form. The Buddha is thus presented in *nirmāṇakāya* in the form of the *kalyāṇamitras.*

On the third gallery, the devotee is believed to be able to enter the purified Buddha-field in form of the *kūṭāgāra* of Buddha Vairocana. This he may do by performing the mind-based method of visualized meditation. Here bodhisattva Maitreya in **saṃbhogakāya** performs various miracles, which Sudhana perceives to occur inside the *kūṭāgāra* – although in fact bodhisattva Maitreya remains outside of the *kūṭāgāra.* The purpose of these actions is to illustrate for Sudhana how the advanced bodhisattvas indicate their compassionate generosity and multilocate in various *nirmāṇakāyas* for the benefit of sentient beings thoughout cosmos (III-40 – III-75). These multilocations pervade space, as well as time.

On the fourth gallery, the devotee may by means of visualized meditation be aware of how the advanced bodhisattvas show their devotional generosity by multilocating into a *saṃbhogakāya* form and worshipping the various *saṃbhogakāya* Buddhas in the different purified Buddha-fields throughout cosmos – occasionally illustrated as the ten *daśadigbuddhas* (e.g. IV-1).

On the third gallery, the devotee thus contemplates "assisting" those needed in *saṃsāra.* On the fourth gallery he contemplates "offering" to the cosmic Buddhas. Panel III-88 is believed to constitute the "intermediary" panel to these bas-relief series in line with what we have identified elsewhere.[1031]

[1031] Comparison could be made to other "intermediary" bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur, such as the bas-relief I-120 being the "intermediary" between the *LV* and the *GVS* bas-relief series. Likewise, the last bas-reliefs on the second gallery (II-126 – II-128) prepared the

Likewise, some scholars have also suggested that the last two bas-reliefs on gallery four (IV-71 & IV-72) should indicate **an introduction to the open terraces** in the form of bodhisattva Samantabhadra´s and Sudhana´s entry into the *buddhakṣetra* of Buddha Amitābha – the *Sukhāvatī*. Although the last *stanzas* of the *Bhadracarī* present an eulogy to Buddha Amitābha, it has been questioned whether these *stanzas* are illustrated on the Barabuḍur (see *Appendix III, # 5*).

The Buddha images in the latticed *stūpas* may be seen as iconic representations of the presented Buddhas. The latticed *stūpas* could in line herewith represent their respective *buddhakṣetra*. The latticed *stūpas* are symbolic with **emptiness**. These latticed *stūpas* with their Buddha images may thus be seen as the **saṃbhogakāya form of the various Buddhas from the buddhakṣetra in the Ten Directions** – as presented in the prologue to the *GVS*.

Although we have no written extant records to substantiate the thought, the Barabuḍur may nevertheless be seen to have been designed in a manner that combines the merit-making with the cultivation of wisdom. On the terraces of the Barabuḍur, rituals could be performed that unite devotional generosity towards the Buddhas of the Ten Directions with the contemplation of emptiness, as the final stage of the *buddhānusmṛti*. As a result of these rituals, the devotee could be seen to **assume the form of advanced bodhisattvas**.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 112   Elephants and apes (as an interspersing bas-relief)

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devotee for the *kūṭāgāra* bas-reliefs of the third gallery. See also *Section 1.4.4, pp. 91 & 95* and *Section 5.6.2.*

5.4   Various potential Visual Forms of the Barabuḍur

5.4.1   The Barabuḍur illustrating the Mount Meru and the three dhātus

The Mount Meru is the Cosmic Montain, being represented with four realms on its slopes and with a fifth level on top. *Yaksas*, *apsaras* and *ghandarvas* were believed to live on the lower slopes of the Mount Meru.

Source: Unspecified book about the Barabuḍur

Picture 113   The Buddhist cosmology – with the
                   Mount Meru and with the 7 hells
                   and the 28 heavens

The Buddhist cosmology organizes the cosmos in three spheres – the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu* with their 28 heavens all-in-all. The *kāmadhātu* – the Sphere of Desire - encompasses all lower states of rebirth, as well as the six lower heavens. The first of these heavens (*Caturmahārājika*) encloses the upper part of the Mount Meru, while the second heaven (*Trāyastriṁśa*) – the abode of Śakra (Indra) – rests on top of the Mount Meru. The remaining four heavens of the *kāmadhātu* are to be found high above the top of the Mount Meru and reach all the way up to the 18 heavens of the Sphere of Form (*rūpadhātu*). Thereabove one finds the four heavens of the

Sphere of Formlessness (*ārūpadhātu*) – the specific location of which naturally is non-definable.

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The Barabuḍur has certain characteristics that may well be said to represent the Mount Meru. This is illustrated by the four entrance stairways of the Barabuḍur, which correspond to the four sides of the Mount Meru; by the five levels of the monument (i.e. the four galleries and the open terrace area), which correspond to the five levels of the Mount Meru; by its three round terraces, which correspond to the ground structure of the *kūṭāgāra* on top of the Mount Meru, etc.

As we learnt in *Section 1.4.2*, *yaksas*, *apsaras* (see **Picture 114**) and *gandharvas* were illustrated on the outside wall of the first balustrade. This suggests that the first balustrade may symbolically be associated with the lower slopes of the Mount Meru.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 114 *Apsara* with doves

As indicated in *Section 1.4.6*, the Mount Meru is said to have had a pavilion (*kūṭāgāra*) on top. Various scholars have in line herewith arrived at the conclusion, that the Barabuḍur was earlier housing a wooden *kūṭāgāra* on the open terraces. However, we have not found any proof, substantiating that this should be true (see *Section 5.3.4*).

In *Section 2.2* we were informed of the Śailendras seeing themselves as "Lords of the Mountain". The *Abhayagiri* inscription at Ratubaka of 792 CE (see *Appendix I, # 7*) refers to the central mountain Sumeru and to the [surrounding] ocean in a manner that leads the thought to Neuwenkamp´s description of a "Lotus flower arisen out of the lake, on which the new-born Buddha was seated" (see *Section 1.3*).

In fact, the Barabuḍur may be regarded in some manner to represent the Buddhist cosmos in the form of the Mount Meru in the middle of the water of the Cakravāla, and with the latticed *stūpas* lying on top of the Mount Meru. Already in 1884, Kern pursued this idea and compared the Barabuḍḍur to a sanctuary in the form of Meru.[1032]

As indicated in *Section 1.1*, Stutterheim suggested in 1929 – based on his studies of the Javanese *esoteric* Buddhist text the *SHK* – that the Barabuḍur may be regarded as representing a tripartite world structure; i.e. the three Buddhist spheres of the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu*. Independently hereof, von Heine-Geldern arrived at the same conclusion in 1930. Bernet Kempers propagated the same view half a century later in 1981. The suggestion being, that:

- the *Karmavibhanga* reliefs of the "hidden base" were identified with the Sphere of Desire (*kāmadhātu*);
- the four galleries were identified with the Sphere of Form (*rūpadhātu*); and
- the circular terraces were identified with the Sphere of Formlessness (*ārūpadhātu*).

However, the specific passage of the *SHK*, on which Stutterheim´s interpretation was based (Folio 48b), has subsequently been called into question. Nevertheless, Stutterheim´s suggestion has over time assumed the role of a stated fact. This may probably partly be due to its simplicity and partly be due to the fact, that it may constitute the Buddhist counterpart to the Hindu division of their temples into three parts – the base (*bhūrloka,* Sphere of the Mortals); the cella and the body of the temple (*bhūvarlok*a, Sphere of the Purified); and the superstructure of the temple (*svarloka,* Sphere of the Gods).

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[1032]   Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 9.

However, Stutterheim´s suggestion may be regarded as an oversimplification and utterly wrong for inter alia the following reasons:

- the Javanese were in fact quite flexible in illustrating various aspects on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs. They did not seem to locate "hell" to the subterranean grounds. In some texts, hell was located in the southwestern part of Jambudvīpa. Hell scenes were thus not confined to the Hidden base of the Barabuḍur, but were also illustrated where the underlying texts so express it (e.g. III-69 and IVB-78). Likewise, illustrations of heaven are not only confined to the higher galleries (e.g. III-60 to III-67 and IVB-67), but also to the hidden base (e.g. O-101 to O-105);
- Stutterheim´s mistake was that he assumed that the Buddhist cosmos could be expressed as single units and be confined to various parts of the Mount Meru. His view was to regard the *kāmadhātu* as a single unit and to equate it with the "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur. But according to the Buddhists, the *kāmadhātu* is a multi-layered succession of levels, including not only the Mount Meru, but also the six heavens on the Mount Meru and above it;
- the psycho-cosmic systems of meditation of the *Abhidharma-kośa* - the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu* - are not regarded as horizontal existences one above the other, but as **psychological states**. The movement back and forth between these spheres is in other words free. *Dhyāna* is the means with which these movements may be executed; and
- Stutterheim´s claim is fundamentally wrong. The reason being, that the sphere of the *dharmadhātu*[1033] may not be identified with the sphere of Formlessness (*ārūpadhātu*). This point of view is also in conformity with the *Theravāda* Buddhist concept of *nirvāṇa*, which is not connected with any particular *dhātu*. In addition, the goal of the bodhisattva lies in the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism outside of all *dhātus*. The Barabuḍur may thus **not** be regarded as a rendering of the three *dhātus*.

[1033] The realm of the *dharmadhātu* represents the Totality of Reality as seen by the enlightened Bodhisattva. It is the true nature of all *dharmas*.
Gómez, 1981, p. 180.

Stutterheim' s mistake to assume that the Buddhist cosmos may be regarded as single units represented on various parts of the Mount Meru, did indeed influence his view of the Barbuḍur. If anything, this view underlines the importance for the scholar to keep an open mind in his analysis of various matters.

Krom and Stutterheim have been criticized by their fellow scholars for endeavouring to force their respective interpretation of the Barabuḍur to fit their pre-concieved models. With respect to their prominent status within the scolastic community, these views may unfortunately have retarded the understanding of the Barabuḍur.

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The above would seem to indicate that the Barabuḍur may not have been meant to represent the three spheres of the Buddhist cosmos in a manner as suggested by Stutterheim. These three spheres are not single units one above the other as Stutterheim suggested, but multi-layered successions of levels according to the Buddhist cosmos. On reflection, what would the logic be in transferring down the slopes of Mount Meru – here represented as the Barabuḍur – two of the spheres (*ārūpadhātu* & *rūpadhātu*) of the Buddhist cosmos, that are housed far above the summit of Mount Meru?

But as psychological states, the three spheres of the Buddhist cosmos could be regarded to be represented on the Barabuḍur. The mind of the devotee could then be regarded as having the potentiality of moving back and forth between the spheres.

In brief, it would not be unlikely to assume that the Barabuḍur, close to the geographical centre of Java, may have played the role of a religious center, where the Śailendras by means of various ceremonies cemented their political power. In this respect, the Barabuḍur assumed some features of the Mount Meru, in order to conform to this local belief.

5.4.2 *The Barabuḍur representing the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva*

While the *GVS* presents the successive steps of the sentient being to Enlightenment, the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (the *DBS*) presents the Ten Stages (*daśabhūmi*) to Enlightenment of the bodhisattva (see *Appendix III, # 6*).

It would seem to be quite obvious to regard the successive levels of the Barabuḍur, to represent various stages of development on the Path towards Enlightenment. The development of the pilgrim Sudhana in the *GVS* would seem to indicate that each next level of the Barabuḍur would lead the pilgrim into a higher level of consciousness and with less attachment to worldly aspects. Could this also be expressed in terms of the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva?

The first scholar to venture this approach was the buddhologist Friedmann. de Casparis adopted this idea and further developed the same, while elaborating on the original name of the Barabuḍur as *Kamūlān I Bhūmisambhārabhūdara* – i.e. "The Mountain of Accumulation [of Virtue] on the [Ten] Stages [of the bodhisattva]" (see *Appendix I, # 10*).[1034] Neither Friedmann, nor de Casparis would seem to have realized, though, that their respective hypothesis – i.e. that the various levels of the Barabuḍur would symbolically correspond to the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva - had a reference in the bas-reliefs of the *GVS* on the Barabuḍur.

Neither did in fact Gómez, who ardently disputed the hypothesis of a relationship between the various levels of the Barabuḍur, on the one hand, and the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva, on the other (see *Appendix III, # 6*). Gómez even claimed that "The system of stages which purportedly is presented in the *GVS* is nowhere to be found in the Sanskrit text of the *GVS*."[1035] But here Gómez is wrong, according to Fontein, who claims that *daśabhūmi* is mentioned several times in both the Sanskrit text, as well as in the three Chinese translations.

In fact, when pilgrim Sudhana visited his sixteenth *kalyāṇamitra* – the *dharma* merchant Ratnacūḍa – he was lead by Ratnacūḍa to the ten-

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[1034] The term *kamūlān* is interpreted by de Casparis as meaning "a building symbolizing the origin of a royal dynasty" – refering here to the Śailendras´ "Lord of the Mountain" (see *Sections 2.1.1, Note 390; 2.2, Note 466; 2.3.2, Note 497; & 5.10.1*).

[1035] Gómez, 1981, p. 180.

storied residence of the latter. As presented in *Appendix III, # 4*, on the first four floors food was distributed, garments were given away and jewels were donated to the palace ladies, respectively. On the fifth floor the bodhisattvas lived, who had attained the fifth of the Ten Stages. On the sixth, seventh, eighth and the ninth floors, the bodhisattvas lived, who had reached the corresponding levels of the Ten Stages. On the tenth floor, Sudhana saw inter alia the *dharma* wheel of all the Buddhas, assembly circles of all the Buddha-fields, spheres of miracles of all the Buddha *dharmas*, oceans of vows for skill in the course of the production of every extensive thought (of Enlightenment) of all the *Tathāgatas*.

As indicated in *Appendix III, # 6,* the *DBS* is inter alia based on the Six Characteristics, meaning that although the individual elements are part of one and the same Totality, they would need to co-operate with the other elements in order to form the Totality – i.e. the multitude forms the unity.

This Sudhana´s visit to the *dharma* merchant Ratnacūda is illustrated in bas-relief II-31 on the Barabuḍur. While the first four stories seem to illustrate the Perfection of Giving (*dānapāramitā*), the next five stories clearly indicate a progression towards wisdom and detachment. One may thus conclude with Fontein, that the correspondence of each level of the Barabuḍur with a specific *bhūmi* is a theory that finds substantial support in the *GVS*. The builders of the Barabuḍur may thus have been familiar with the concept of the Ten Stages of the the bodhisattva – the *DBS*.

As seen in *Section 1.1*, ideas have also been proposed that it was not the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva – the *DBS* – that were illustrated on the Barabuḍur, but the Ten Perfections (*daśapāramitā*). However, some scholars deem this fairly unlikely. But it may nevertheless be of interest to note, that the Ten Stages of the bodhisattvas (*daśabhūmika*) and the Ten Perfections (*daśapāramitā*) do seem sometimes to be mentioned in the same breath in the *GVS*. An example hereof is the text referring to bas-relief III-78, where bodhisattva Maitreya "praised all who had fulfilled all [Ten] Perfections."[1036]

[1036]   *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* T. 293, 832b, 21.

The structural ten-level appreciation of the Barabuḍur has by some scholars been regarded as proving that both the *daśabhūmika* and the *daśapāramitā* aspects were illustrated on the Barabuḍur. This suggestion would seem, though, to stretch the matter somewhat too far. In order to arrive at these ten levels (see ***Picture 115***), one also has to include among the "levels"(i) the "hidden base" or the processional path, (ii) the base platform of the open area on top of the monument, on which the three round terraces are lying, as well as (iii) the central *stūpa*. Then – and only then – may one together with (iv) the four galleries and (v) the three round terraces, arrive at ten different levels on the Barabuḍur! ***Although the daśabhūmika and the daśapāramitā may each be illustrated on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur, to use the structural ten-level appreciation of the monument to substantiate this matter may, however, be regarded as somewhat farfetched!***
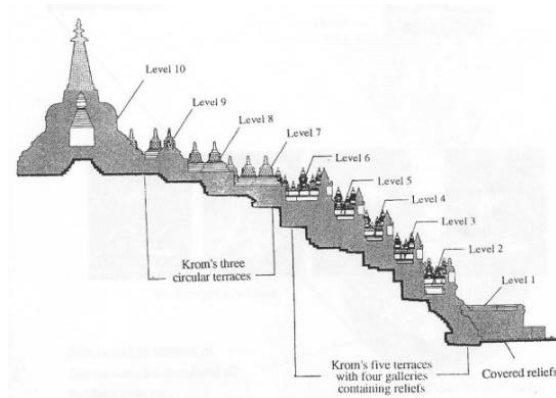
Picture 115   The ten levels of the Barabuḍur

5.4.3   *The Barabuḍur illustrating the meaning of the bearded figures*

As indicated in *Sections 1.4.6 & 3.2*, there are references to some bearded figures on the lintels of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and on its 240 *Caṇḍi* Perwaras; on at least two of the *Pañca-Tathāgata* temples at the *Caṇḍi* Ngawen; on the *Caṇḍi* Pawon and on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur. These bearded figures (see ***Pictures 40 & 116***) are presented among clouds, or in flight, or in levitation. On the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and its *Caṇḍi* Perwaras, as well as on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs, these bearded

figures share space with the heavenly *devas*. They have their hair tied back in a topknot. They wear an *upavīta* cord, earrings and jeweled bracelets.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 116 The bearded figure at the entrance gate to the terrace area of the Barabuḍur

In *Appendix IV, # 1*, we learned that Kūkai – the founder of *Shingon* Buddhism in Japan - was quite emphatic that the monks should stand firmly on their own "two legs" and hold on to both the *exoteric vinaya* precepts (the monastic regulations) and the *esoteric* precepts of *samaya śīla* (the moral guidelines).[1037] In fact, the *Shingon* monk was first initiated in the *vinaya*, prior to being initiated in the *śīla*. According to Kūkai, the moral guidelines of the *śīla* and the monastic regulations of the *vinaya* constitute a complement to each other with the result of furthering the training of the practitioners.

As further indicated in *Appendix IV, # 1*, Saichō - the founder of *Tendai nikāya* in Japan - advocated an opposite way by suggesting the elimination of the *vinaya* law and substituting it by a *Mahāyāna śīla* (the "bodhisattva precepts").

[1037] *Vinayas* (Chin. *lü* 律; Jap. *ritsu*) are externally ***imposed rules***, which are aimed at regulating the everyday conduct of the monks and the nuns i.e. the monastic law. *Śīlas* (Chin. *jiè* 戒*;* Jap. *kai*) are ***voluntary*** acts that avoid evil and cultivate the good. The *śīlas* thus express the moral principles applicable to both the clergy and the laity.

Based hereon, it has been suggested, that these unshaven and untonsured lintel figures could be adept monks of these specific *Mahāyāna samaya śīla* precepts. The reason being, that these precepts did not require the shaving of the head of the disciple. But that Saichō´s controversial ideas would have reached Java in the form of monks following these specific *Mahāyāna samaya śīla* precepts has to our knowledge not been documented. In addition, the abundant decorations on these lintel figures, as well as their shared space with the *devas*, tend to weaken this case.

Although these unshaven and untonsured lintel figures might have been monks belonging to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism or to some form of *esoteric* Buddhism, *we do not believe that they were monks following these specific Mahāyāna samaya śīla precepts.*

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The suggestion, that the unshaven and untonsured lintel figures on the gateway of the fourth gallery would represent "holy men" *(ṛṣis)*, seems to be an undocumented suggestion. But as the lintel figures wear *yajñopavīta*, it would seem that they may have been *brahmans*. Also *ṛṣis* are usually pictured in this manner. Sudhana visits *Ṛṣi* Bhīsmottaranirghosa (IX) in bas-relief II-24. *Ṛṣi* Bhīsmottaranirghosa is there recognized by his braided hair. He wears a simple loincloth and bears no adornments. This is contrary to the untonsured lintel figures on the gateway of the fourth gallery, who have their hair tied back in a topknot and who are decorated with bracelets, ear rings and an *upavīta* cord. Nevertheless, it should be noted, that *"holy men" (ṛṣis) were during this time period in high esteem in the society on Java.*

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The idea, that these bearded figures on the lintel of some of the Javanese temples and on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur would illustrate *the Buddhist "Perfected" (siddha),* is intriguing. These bearded lintel figures could well represent *siddhas,* who have gained the supernatural power of *khecari* – the *siddha* of flight.[1038]

[1038]   See *Section 1.4.6, Note 296*.

But it is worth noting, that the *siddhas* appeared in Indian traditions also as mythological beings – i.e. outside of the *esoteric* groups. So, their presence on the Barabuḍur does not necessarily mean that *esoteric* Buddhism was present on Java by the ninth century CE.

The bearded figures on the lintels to the gateways of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur are presented with rather substantial moustaches. May this be a sign of foreign origin?

They are also seen in the act of showering blossoms on the devotees that are passing through the gateway on their Path to the final level of the terraces. May these blossoms be regarded as coming from the Jewel pots under the Jewel tree (*ratnavṛkṣa*) shadowed by a parasol – **indicating that the devotee approaches a Pure land?** These bearded figures replaces namely on the gateways of the fourth gallery the *kinnaras* on the gateway lintels of the other galleries. We have already come across this symbolism at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and at the *Caṇḍi* Pawon (see *Sections 1.5.1 & 1.5.2*).

In conclusion, we see these bearded figures on the upper part of the gates to the open terrace area from the fourth gallery as **Buddhist "Perfected" (siddha) introducing the devotees into the Pure land of the open terraces.**

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 117   The Buddha at the *Caṇḍi* Ngawen in *varada-mudrā*

5.5 The Barabuḍur as a prāsāda, a stūpa, or a maṇḍala?

When describing the building of the Barabuḍur, one seems to tread on uncertain grounds. The Barabuḍur has in the literature been described by various scholars alternatively as a *prāsāda*, as a *stūpa*, as the cosmic Mount Meru, or as a *maṇḍala*. Each of these images has some merits of its own. An increasing number of scholars have started to acknowledge that the monument may be multivalent. The question is thus, whether the Barabuḍur is either, neither or a combination of the above images.

One may really question why the Barabuḍur should be restrained only to having one meaning. Why could it not have different meanings depending on from which of different aspects it was viewed? For instance, why could it not be viewed as a *prāsāda* when viewed as a presentation of various stages of spiritual development? Why could it not be regarded as a *stūpa* when viewed as a sacred monument in memory of the Buddha´s life? Why could it not be regarded as a *maṇḍala* when viewed as an encouragement for the pilgrim to follow the Path?

An effort is made below to elucidate these matters.

5.5.1 Is the Barabuḍur a prāsāda?

The *prāsāda* is a palace/temple taking the form of a stepped pyramid like a mountain. The *prāsāda* often symbolizes the cosmic Mount Meru. The *prāsāda* is hollow inside. It could either house a ruler, in which case it assumes the role of a "palace". It could also house a deity, in which case it takes the form of a "temple". The *prāsāda* could consist of different numbers of "terraces".[1039]

As seen in *Section 1.4*, Foucher (1905) was the first to suggest that the Barabuḍur could to be alikened to a *prāsāda*, on which a *stūpa* has been planted. The building, that Foucher had in mind was probably

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[1039] Two of the most famous *prāsādas* on Śrī Laṅkā are the *Loha Mahāpāsāda* of *Mahāvihāra* and the *Ratnapāsāda* of *Abhayagirivihāra* – both in Anurādhapura. (See *Section 1.4, Note 93*).

the *Lohapāsāda* on Śrī Laṅkā mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The *Loha-pāsāda* had nine stories. Hoenig (1924), Coomaraswamy (1927) and Mus (1935) followed suit. So did Bosch in 1961 when he described the Barabuḍur as a stepped pyramid (*prāsāda*) topped by the huge closed *stūpa* on the highest terrace.

The *Sattabhūmakapāsāda* is a "seven-storied pavilion", which is often referred to in Pāli scriptures. The monument would thus symbolize the first seven steps of Gautama Śākyamuni. Przyluski (1936) suggested that a truer interpretation of the *Mahāyāna* texts would be that it represented the first seven stages (*bhūmi*) of the Path to Enlightenment by the bodhisattva.

de Casparis (1950) suggested that the Barabuḍur symbolizes the Tenfold Path of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (the *DBS*). The pilgrim passed from one level of galleries to the next level of galleries through an entrance in the form of a *kāla* head, symbolizing the spiritual transferral from one spiritual dimension to another (see *Section 1.4.3*). But as we have seen in *Section 5.4.3*, this tenfold presentation of the physical construction of the Barabuḍur in order to aliken it to the Tenfold Path of the bodhisattvas seems to us a little farfetched.

The endeavours to interpret the *prāsāda* aspect of the Barabuḍur have thus lead to quite different results.

As indicated in the following *Section 5.5.2*, no relics of Buddha Śākyamuni or of the *dharma* has ever been found in the Barabuḍur. Despite its terrased base structure and despite the bas-reliefs and sculptures decorating the outside of the monument, ***its solid structure may make it somewhat questionable to classify the Barabuḍur as a proper prāsāda.***

5.5.2   Is the Barabuḍur a stūpa?

Based on the unique silhouette of the Barabuḍur, art historians have in the past believed that the monument was originally built as a *stūpa*. Generally speaking, the *stūpa* concept could be regarded to represent the Buddha or the Buddhist doctrine.[1040] But one should realize, that

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[1040]   Woodward, 1993, p. 71.

the stand-alone *stūpa* structure mostly played a supporting function on Central Java during its Classical Period. During this period, the *stūpa* was either decorating the roof-tops of the temples (e.g. the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Chaṇḍi* Pawon) or served as a satellite shrine (the *Chaṇḍi* Perwara) to the larger temple complexes (e.g. the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor and the *Chaṇḍi* Sewu).[1041]

As indicated in *Section 1.4*, the first scholar to propose that the Barabuḍur would be a *stūpa* is Foucher, who in 1909 obviously had changed his mind (see *Section 5.5.1*). Krom advocated the same view in 1927.[1042] Woodward followed suit in 1981. The fact that the central *stūpa* arises from a multi-tiered squarish base, leads the scholars to conclude that the Barabuḍur may be seen as a Javanese variant of an Indian *stūpa* – the prototype of which may be the *stūpa* at Kesariya or at Nandangārh.[1043]

Stutterheim emphasized the Indonesian character of the Barabuḍur. Referring to the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*), Stutterheim came to the conclusion that the human body, conceived as a microcosmos, was equated with a *stūpa-prāsāda* or more precisely in the words of Kats "a *stūpa* outside and a *prāsāda* inside".[1044] Applying this concept on the Barabuḍur, Stutterheim arrived at a *prāsāda* with a *stūpa* on top. In case the *prāsāda* should be inside, the *aṇḍa* of the *stūpa* would have to be the sky.[1045] Wulff meant, however, that Stutterheims

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[1041]   Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 169.

[1042]   Krom, 1927, Vol I, pp. 8-11.

[1043]   The early Indian *stūpas* like the Sāñcī and the Bhārhut were mostly round and dome-shaped. The pilgrim walked clock-wise around it on the special path (*pradakṣiṇapatha*). The *stūpas* in North India usually had a square base and tended to be built more on height. This height aspect was later on accentuated in the Chinese and the Japanese *pagodas* – as well as in the Burmese *chedi* and the Thai *that*. The *stūpa* at the Nandangārh close to the birthplace of the Buddha Śākyamuni (at Lumbini near the town of Kapilavastu) – although in ruins – gives the impression of a fairly low profile and a multi-facetted plan with 28 corners at the base and a round structure on the top – see *Section 1.4, Note 88*.
Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 89-92.

Please note, that "28" is an important number – the Buddhist cosmos consists of 28 heavens. This may be the background to the Nandangārh multifaceted plan.

[1044]   *SHK* Folio 47b   "dat zich als een prāsāda voordoet"   Kats, 1910, pp. 102-103.
SHK Folio 48b   "Dit lichaam heft stūpa´s van buiten en prāsāda´s van binnen" Kats, 1910, p. 104.

[1045]   Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 34-36.

translation was gramatically incorrect and impossible.[1046] Mus on the other hand, came to the conclusion in 1935 that, seen from a vertical point of view, the *stūpa* encloses the galleries (i.e. the entire monument – base, galleries and the top – is dome-like). The Barabuḍur *stūpa* thus encloses the *prāsāda* – all in conformity with the *SHK* "a *stūpa* outside and a *prāsāda* inside".[1047]

The suggestions of the Barabuḍur as a *stūpa* are not entirely straight forward. They need to be commented upon. Some questions that may arise are such as:

- First of all, the construction of the Barabuḍur may seem to be more square, than round. In addition it is "slightly disproportionate". Foucher referred to it "as a cake, that has not risen".[1048] Soekmono expressed the view that it is quite possible for a *stūpa* to be erected on a multiple base, "but hardly in such a way that it is wholly dwarfed in size and importance by that base".[1049] In order to rectify this aspect, Parmentier suggested that the design of the Barabuḍur was originally planned to include a hugh *stūpa* on the terraces (see **Picture 8**). This was a purely speculative theory. Woodward advocated a mental larger *stūpa*, while Mus saw the entire monument as a large *stūpa* (see *Section 1.1*).

- Secondly, the ritual circumambulations - *pradakṣiṇa* - in the galleries of the Barabuḍur are designed primarily to present the relief panels – not the *stūpa*. But compared to the *pradakṣiṇa* of the old Indian *stūpas* at Sāñcī and at Bhārhut, the devotee at the Barabuḍur is unaware of the *stūpa* until he enters the open terrace area. At the mentioned Indian *stūpas*, on the contrary, the presence of the *stūpa* is overwhelming throughout the *pradakṣiṇa*. In addition, all the relief sculptures on the cross-bars of the *toraṇas* at the Sāñcī

[1046] Wulff, 1935, pp. 5 & 70-72.

[1047] Although Mus adopted Stutterheim´s suggestion that the Barabuḍur reflected a dual aspect in form of a *stūpa-prāsāda*, Mus viewed the dual aspect in a somewhat different manner. Even if it is indicated in the *SHK* that the human body is "externally a *stūpa*, internally a *prāsāda*", Mus viewed the Barabuḍur as externally being a *stūpa* (albeit somewhat flat), but internally a "monde clos" – i.e. a closed world, where one only experiences one´s own level.
Mus, 1935, pp. 90, 104-106 & 524.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1981, pp. 48-52; Gifford, 2004, pp. 48-49; Gómez & Woodward, 1981, pp. 6-8; Snodgrass, 2007, p. 362; Soekmono, 1981, pp. 132-134.

[1048] See Section 1.4, Note 109.

[1049] Soekmono, 1976, p. 16.

stūpa are not clearly visible from the ground, while the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur are properly placed for meditational purposes;

- Thirdly, at the Barabuḍur, three of the galleries depict scenes from the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) - a text which is not represented at any of the other medieval Indian *stūpas*; and

- Fourthly, the *pradakṣiṇa* pathway at the Barabuḍur is designed in a lace-like manner and at several levels. The pilgrim is only aware of the little section in his immediate proximity – thus facilitating his meditation of the bas-reliefs just in front of him.

As indicated in *Section 1.4.3*, it is quite obvious that one may lean at viewing the purpose of the bas-reliefs and their presentation in the zig-zag pattern of the galleries, as being tailor-made for meditational purposes. Perhaps one may from the above also draw the conclusions that the *pradakṣiṇa* pathway at the Barabuḍur is not only more elaborate than those of the Sāñcī *stūpa* and the Bhārhut *stūpa*, but also expresses a profound knowledge of the *Mahāyāna* doctrine.

No relic of Buddha Śākyamuni or of the *dharma* in a written text has been found in the Barabuḍur. The "guilded" latticed *stūpas* on the terraces may resemble Indra´s Net. The great number of Buddha images distributed over the entire monument ensures the presence of the Buddha. These aspects make the monument *sacred.* In addition, the bas-reliefs from the *Lalitavistara* (the *LV*), illustrating the life on earth of the historical Buddha, supports the memorial aspect of the monument. ***These aspects may all constitute reasons to regard the Barabuḍur as a stūpa – albeit in a limited manner.***

5.5.3   Is the Barabuḍur a maṇḍala?

As referred to in *Sections 1.1 & 1.4*, the Barabuḍur has by many scholars[1050] been described as a *maṇḍala*.[1051] Mostly this view was based on

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[1050]   These scholars include inter alia Chandra, 1980(a), pp. 1-41;   Huntington, 1994, pp. 133-153;   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, pp. 389-416;   Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 141-152;   Stutterheim, 1929, pp. 3-90;   Wayman, 1981, pp. 139-172;   Zimmer, 1926, pp. 94-100.

Although most western scholars seem to assign this proposal to Heinrich Zimmer in his *Kunstform und Yoga im Indischen Kultbild* (1926), Fontein quite rightly pointed out that

the fact, that the geometrical configuration of the Barabuḍur from above gives the impression of a two-dimensional plan of a *maṇḍala*.

There are many varieties of *maṇḍalas*. The principle of the *maṇḍalas* expresses "the perfection of the *buddhaverse*".[1052] The *maṇḍala* may also be understood to represent the palace of the Akaniṣṭha heaven, where Siddhārtha Gautama was initiated as a complete Buddha.[1053] One type – the "palace-architecture" *maṇḍala* common in Tibet and Nepal – has often been mentioned in connection with the Barabuḍur. It consists of "an inner circle containing a principal diety (or dieties), enclosed in a multilevel square with openings at the four cardinal directions."[1054] Seen from the air, the Barabuḍur with the central *stūpa*, with the three round terraces, the surrounding galleries and the four stairways gives the impression of such a "palace-architecture" *maṇḍala* – i.e. a *puramaṇḍala*.

The *maṇḍala* with its hierartic constitution may not only be regarded as a religious construction, but also as a ***manifestation of power***. As presented in the Hall of Eight Petals[1055] and in the *Karma* Assembly[1056] Buddha Vairocana sits in the middle with the other four *Pañca-Tathāgatas* sitting around him, representing his personal features. Around them, we also appreciate various constellations of other bodhisattvas and deities.

Several scholars have noticed that the *mudrās* of the Buddhas in the niches in the four directions of the Barabuḍur correspond to the *mudrās* of the Buddhas in the four directions of the *Pañca-Tathāgata*

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this theory had already been proposed by Ōmura Seigai in 1924 and Ijiri Susumu in 1923-1924.   Fontein, 2012, pp. 231-232.

[1051]   The origin of ritual diagrams (*maṇḍala*) in India predates Buddhism. But the geometric matrices indicating a holy "sphere" inhabited by a deity – i.e. a map of the cosmic order – was accepted only quite late in the history of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

In the Chinese context, the use of the *maṇḍala* (*màntuóluó* 曼陀羅) goes back to the sixth century CE. However, in the early texts the denomination *tán* 檀 (i.e. "altar") was used indicating that the specific *maṇḍala* was placed on an elevated platform. Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, pp. 81-83.

[1052]   Thurman, 1997, p. 128.

[1053]   Wayman, 1973, p. 91.

[1054]   Leidy, 1997, pp. 17-18.

[1055]   See *Appendix IV, # 8.2*

[1056]   See *Appendix IV, # 8.3.*

maṇḍala (see *Section 1.4.5*). In the centre of these *Pañca-Tathāgata*, one finds Buddha Vairocana in *dharmacakra-mudrā* - the same *mudrā* as have the Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* on the Barabuḍur. Some scholars have assumed, therefore, that the Buddha statues on the Barabuḍur are identical with the *Pañca-Tathāgata*, and that the monument itself is a version of the *Pañca-Tathāgata maṇḍala*.

Gifford concentrated her analysis primarily on the bas-reliefs of the galleries – instead of on the various Buddha images. She focused herewith on the bas-reliefs presenting the *GVS*. Gifford suggested that the bas-reliefs – as manifestations in a *maṇḍala* configuration – are also related to the living Buddha. They are thus eligible for the focus during the *pradakṣiṇa*.[1057]

In fact, the *GVS* opens up by stating (i) how the Buddha sits in deep concentration (*samādhi*) at the entrance of the Jetavana grove in Śrāvastī, (ii) performing illumination and other miraculous powers (*prātihārya*), (iii) being honoured by the Buddhas of the Ten Directions (*daśadigbuddhas*), and (iv) transforming the Jetavana grove into a Pure land (*buddhakṣetra*). These four steps are called "the miracle of the Buddha's pervasion of all worlds with one body"(see *Appendix III, # 4*). To be noted, though, is the paradox that although the Buddhas are all unified in one body that pervades all worlds, they remain differentiated as non-dual distinct bodies – as well as retaining the ability of being present at different cosmic locations simultaneously.[1058] The explanation hereof is that the Buddha is both "transcendent and immanent".[1059]

Given the above, the Buddha in the Jetavana grove and the Buddhas of the Ten Directions thus form a basic *maṇḍala* with only one "layer" of non-dual emanation.[1060] But the *GVS* goes further than that and presents a complex *maṇḍala* also encompassing various bodhisattva *nirmāṇakāyas*. Just prior to the bodhisattvas are about to emanate in their *nirmāṇakāya* manifestations, the Buddha in the Jetavana grove

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[1057]   Gifford, 2011, p. 46.

[1058]   Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 16-21.
Other source: Gifford, 2011, p. 39.

[1059]   The transcendent aspect of the Buddha is the *dharmakāya*, which - according to the *trikāya* theory – constitutes the underlying unity of all immanent *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* manifestations.

[1060]   Gifford, 2011, p. 40.

emits a beam of light from his *ūrṇā* illuminating the cosmos. The bodhisattvas then realize that all the manifestations are ultimately non-dual with the Buddha *dharmakāya* and that he is Buddha Vairocana.[1061] The *maṇḍala* that the *GVS* presents by means of the Buddha´s *samādhi* contains multiple Buddha figures emanating in their *sambhogakāya* forms together with the five thousand bodhisattvas in their *nirmāṇakāya* forms and the proxy manifestations that they in turn generate (See *Appendix III, # 4*).

In view of the purpose of the Barabuḍur to encourage the pilgrim to follow the Path, it would not seem inappropriate to compare the Barabuḍur with a "palace-architecture" *puramaṇḍala*. The numbers of various kinds of Buddhas presented on the Barabuḍur are discussed in *Section 5.8*. From this discussion, some *maṇḍala* alternatives will be sorted out.

The Barabuḍur may thus be seen as a maṇḍala. However, this view by some scholars would seem to rest primarily on circumstantial evidences. And furthermore, the question is which form of *maṇḍala*. This matter will be discussed further in *Section 5.8*.

5.5.4   Concluding remarks

It is thus obvious from the above, that one may not neatly characte-rize the Barabuḍur as a clearcut *prāsāda, stūpa* or *maṇḍala*. **However, depending on from which viewpoint the monument is regarded, the Barabuḍur may be regarded as either of theses three alternatives**. This may in fact have been the idea of the architects all along. One could well believe that the architects hereby desired to amplify the magical forces of the monument, on the same principle as the powers of two rivers are said to double at the point of their confluence.

In regarding the Barabuḍur as a maṇḍala – the question arises, though, what kind of *maṇḍala.* For further references, please see *Section 5.8*.

[1061]   Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 44-45.
   Other source: Gifford, 2011, pp. 40-42.

Picture 118   Face of a bas-relief image on the Barabuḍur

5.6   The Sculptural Images on the Barabuḍur

This Section deals with various sculptural images on the Barabuḍur. Aspects treated are inter alia:

- The various number of Buddhas;
- The *mudrā* aspect;
- The Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas;
- The identity of the Buddhas.

5.6.1   *Five, six or seven kinds of Buddhas*

Several theories have been elaborated by scholars as to the meaning of the various Buddha images on the Barabuḍur. Four of these alternative theories are presented below and are summarized in the table of *Picture 123* at the end of this *Section 5.6*.

The Pañca-Tathāgata model

As presented in *Section 1.4.5*, a common opinion among scholars is that the Buddhas on the Barabuḍur are the ***Pañca-Tathāgata* –** with Buddha Vairocana in the centre in the latticed *stūpas*. On each side of

the monument, it is believed that we find Buddha Akṣobhya in the east, Buddha Ratnasambhava in the south, Buddha Amitābha in the west and Buddha Amoghasiddhi in the north. The problem with the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery was believed to have been solved by identifying them as Buddha Vairocana or as Buddha Śākyamuni (the *saṃbhogakāya* form of *dharmakāya* Vairocana) or as bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The problem with the "unfinished" Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* in the central *stūpa* was believed to have been solved by claiming that it was placed there independently at a later date.[1062] So on balance, scholars believe that there were in fact only five different kinds of Buddhas on the Barabuḍur.

This may very well be so, but this theory is not in conformity with the hypothesis that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra would – after his abortive coup in 854 CE – have taken the Śailendra palladium and brought it to Śrīvijaya (see *Section 2.3.3*). The Śailendra palladium was supposed to have been a golden image of Vajradhāra. This palladium was assumed to have been deposited and housed in the interior of the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur. Should this indicate that Vajradhāra was also part of the Buddha set-up of the Barabuḍur? Perhaps the discussion below about the "Ādibuddha model" may elucidate us on this matter.

However, as has also been indicated in *Section 1.4.5*, one does not have one single system of the "five Buddhas". The system of the so called *Pañca-Tathāgata* has changed substantially over time. While studying a specific case, it is thus first of all imperative to clearly specify the specific series to which a particular *Tathāgata* belong. Of interest is also to note, that the systems of the *Pañca-Tathāgata* in the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* show considerable discrepancies.[1063]

The five Buddhas of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* are the so called *Pañca-Tathāgata*.

[1062] As stated in *Section 4.2.4*, the placement of the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan – the *paramaśāyikin* – over the terrace area of the Barabuḍur would mean that the inner core of the 9 squares – the *brāhmikapāda* – would fit in the place of the central *stūpa*. As no deities should be in the area of the *brāhmikapāda*, this would indicate that the so called "unfinished" Buddha image would not have been in the central *stūpa* from the outset.

[1063] See *Section 5.8, Note 1127*.

In the table of **Picture 123** at the end of this *Section 5.6*, we see that bodhisattva Samantabhadra is regarded in the "***Pañca-Tathāgata Model***" as the image, to be placed in the 64 niches on the top of the wall of the fourth gallery. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra is regarded as the last Buddha to descend in our world in the future. He is also regarded as the *saṃbhogakāya* aspect of Buddha Vairocana and follows in the development of the latter (see *Section 1.4.5*). The importance of bodhisattva Samantabhadra was inter alia underlined by Sudhana´s vow to him in the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*). In addition, the "three pronged lotus bud" – the criterion of bodhisattva Samanta-bhadra – was dominant in the royal *Caṇḍi* Perwara at the *Caṇḍi* Sewu (see **Picture 119**).[1064]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 119   The "Three-pronged lotus bud" with niches for images in the royal *Caṇḍi* Perwara at the *Caṇḍi* Sewu – i.e. the criterion of bodhisattva Samantabhadra.

Consequently, it may thus not be deemed as inappropriate to believe that, when Buddha Vairocana was raised to occupy the 72 latticed *stūpas* on the terraces of the Barabuḍur, bodhisattva Samantabhadra may also have been raised to fill the 64 niches on top of the wall of

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[1064]   Correspondingly, the blue lotus is the criterion of Buddha Mañjuśrī – see *Appendix I, # 5, Note 1190*.

the fourth gallery. In fact, bodhisattva Samantabhadra was during the eigth and ninth centuries CE worshiped on Śrī Laṅkā as "The Master of the *Pañca-Tathāgata*".[1065] Given the close relationship between Śrī Laṅkā and Indonesia during this time period, it would not seem undue to assume that these 64 Buddha images could have been bodhisattva Samantabhadra – [i.e. in his form as Ādibuddha].

But the reluctance to assign the *vitarka-mudrā* to bodhisattva Samanta-bhadra seems to have been quite deep-rooted among some scholars. The Buddhas in the 64 niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery, as well as the Buddhas in the 72 latticed *stūpas* on the terraces, have consequently by these scholars been proposed as **both** being Buddha Vairocana. Other scholars have proposed that (i) they are Buddha Vairocana as Vajradhāra, who from the wall of the fourth gallery in *vitarka-mudrā* surveys the spread of *dharma*, while (ii) they are Buddha Vairocana in the form of Vajrasattva, who in *dharmacakra-mudrā* preserves the *dharma* in an indirect manner from the latticed *stūpas*.[1066]

Based on *stanzas* 32-34 of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*), some scho-lars have proposed that the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery would be Buddha Śākyamuni (encompassing Buddha Vairocana).[1067] That Buddha Śākyamuni faces the four directions, is ascribed to the fact that when he, as the *Tathāgata*, took his seat in the *kūṭāgāra* on top of Mount Meru in order to attain Buddhahood, he did so in a manner "facing all four directions".[1068]

This suggested version with Buddha Śākyamuni in *vitarka-mudrā* as the 64 Buddha images in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery warrants further analysis. We know that the *Tathāgata*, after having attained Enlightenment and prior to preaching the *dharma* in the First Sermon setting the *Dharma Wheel* in motion (i.e. prior to be-coming Śākyamuni Buddha), was presented in *vitarka-mudrā*. On the Barabuḍur, Siddhārtha Gautama was thus illustrated in *vitarka- mudrā*

[1065]   See *Section 4.3, Note 963.*

[1066]   See *Section 1.4.5.*

[1067]   See *Section 1.4.5.*

[1068]   See *Section 5.3.1, Note 1013.*

in the last bas-relief of the *Lalitavistara* (the *LV*) series (Ia-120).[1069] The 64 Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery may well represent Siddhārtha Gautama at the moment when he becomes Buddha Śākyamuni, i.e. when he preaches the *dharma* during the First Sermon to the world setting the *Dharma Wheel* in motion (i.e. sitting in the preaching *vitarka-mudrā* facing all cardinal directions).

Another aspect is the view that Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni share the same identity. This is in conformity with the essence of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhist soteriological main principle, namely the **identity** of the *nirmāṇakāya* Buddha with the *saṃbhogakāya* Buddha and the *dharmakāya* Buddha. Thus Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni are not separat Buddhas. They are always seen as one and the same identity – but are presented in different bodies (*kāya*) (see *Section 5.6.4*).

The above discussion leads one to believe, that the Buddhas represented on the Barabuḍur would be the ***Pañca-Tathāgata***. The 64 Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery, would be ***Buddha Śākyamuni*** (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana).[1070] This proposal is in conformity with one of the main principles of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism – i.e. the **identity** of the Buddha in his three different *kayā*-forms. Furthermore, this view is also in conformity with *stanzas* 32-34 of the *STTS*. We favour this proposal. (see the table in ***Picture 123***, at the end of this *Section 5.6*).[1071]

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[1069] See *Section 1.4.3, Picture 39*.

[1070] Nonetheless, we are obliged to note, that some scholars have suggested, that these 64 images represent bodhisattva Samantabhadra (i.e. the *saṃbhogakāya* form of the *dharmakāya* Vairocana).

[1071] It should be noted, though, that the above *Pañca-Tathāgata* model does not preclude the golden image of Vajradhāra to have been housed inside the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur. But it must then be emphasized, that this could **not** have been done on the basis that this golden image represented Vajradhāra. Too many deities would then be represented on the Barabuḍur. In addition, this would violate the sacred voidness of the central core (the *brāhmikapāda*) (see *Sections 1.4.6 & 4.2.4*). But if the golden image of Vajradhāra was only regarded as the ***palladium*** of the Śailendra dynasty, it would not violate the above restrictions.

The Ādibuddha model

The *"Ādibuddha model"* consisting of five Buddhas and two bodhisattvas has also been suggested. This system would have been originated with the concept of Ādibuddha, who was believed to have been the originator of the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas* and to have reigned over them. Ādibuddha was the "Highest Principle" and symbolized inter alia emptiness (*śūnyatā*). When Ādibuddha was presented in his human form, he was called Vajradhāra (see *Section 5.2.3*).[1072] He could either be presented sitting alone with the *vajra* in his right hand and the bell (*ghaṇṭa*) in his left hand – both hands crossed over his chest. Other presentations illustrated him in *yab-yum* with his female consort – bodhisattva Prajñāpāramitā. Vajradhāra then representing the highest reality (*śūnyatā*) and Prajñāpāramitā representing compassion (*karuṇā*) – merging with *śūnyatā*. Duality become in other words non-duality. *Everything is one!*

Contacts between the Śailendras on Java and the Pāla dynasty in Bengal were well established by the end of the eighth century CE. This was the time when the cult of Vajradhāra (Ādibuddha) developed into a predominate feature of *tantric* Buddhism. Some scholars claim that some of the Vajradhāra sections in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) in folio A (see *Appendix II, # 1.1*) were available to the Śailendras – at least in a version translated into Indonesian. This was also the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. Consequently, it has been proposed that the Barabuḍur belonged to the Vajradhāra cult of *tantric Vajrayāna* Buddhism. We have in *Section 5.2.3* repudiated this proposal.

From here emanates the idea, that the "unfinished" Buddha in the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur would have been the golden image of Vajradhāra, which also served as the palladium of the Śailendra dynasty. Consequently, *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra is deemed to have brought this golden image of Vajradhāra with him to Śrīvijaya after his aborted coup on Java in 854 CE.

Vajrasattva was a later addition to the Buddhist panteon. Vajrasattva is also regarded as being Ādibuddha – as are other Buddhist deities in various Buddhist traditions.[1073]

[1072] As already indicated in *Section 4.2.3.2, Note 841*, we would like to emphasize that we view Vajradhāra, Vajrapāṇi and Vajrasattva as bodhisattvas.

[1073] See *Section 4.2.3.2, Note 852*.

This "Ādibuddha model" [1074] could have been represented on the Barabuḍur in accordance with the table of *Picture 123* at the end of this *Section 5.6*. In this constellation, Vajradhāra would assume the role of Ādibuddha and be housed inside the central *stūpa*. He might then have been presented as being outside of and above the *trikāya* (the three bodies) system. In accordance with the later developed *Kālacakra* Buddhism, he might then have adopted the fourth *kāya* form – the *svābhāvikakāya* – which represents the Buddha´s "own being" or his "Real Essence". [1075] Vajrasattva would take the position in the latticed *stūpas*, and Buddha Vairocana would assume the place on top of the wall of the fourth gallery. This is in line with the concept in *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism that a number of Buddhas may exist simultaneously on various levels and in various *kāyas*. This hypothesis supports the theory of the Śailendra palladium – the golden Vajradhāra – having been housed in the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur.

However, once again *the mudrā aspect causes a problem* with this proposed set-up. As presented above, Vajrasattva is not usually presented in *dharmacakra-mudrā.* As we were informed in *Section 1.4.5*, Buddha Vairocana is not illustrated in *vitarka-mudrā*. These statements of fact would presumably *take the sting out of this hypothesis*.

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The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan model
A system of *six (6) kinds of Buddhas* making up all the 504 Buddhas on the Barabuḍur has also been proposed. As seen in *Appendix II, # 1.4*, the epistemological evolution, as expressed in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*), would indicate six (6) kinds of Buddhas. Following the iconic level of knowledge - *sākārajñāna* - the various Buddha images on the Barabuḍur, may be arranged in accordance with the *Picture 120* below, as suggested by Chihara. [1076]

[1074] According to the terminology used elsewhere in this dissertation, the model should properly be called the "*Pañca-Tathāgata* and two bodhisattvas model".

[1075] See *Section 1.4.5, Note 279.*

[1076] Chihara, 1996, p. 127.
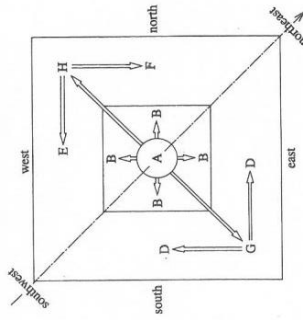
Picture 120 The *sākārajñāna* version of arranging the
Buddha images on the Barabuḍur

According to the *SHK*, the *sākārajñāna* level of knowledge perceives two levels of Buddhist deities – the *Ratnatraya* and the *Pañca-Tathāgata*. As presented in *Appendix II, # 1.4*, the *Ratnatraya* is composed of three deities, who may be arranged on the Barabuḍur as follows (see **Picture 120**) – Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana) in the middle (A); from the right side of whom emanates bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (G); and from the left side of whom emanates bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (H). The *Pañca-Tathāgata* consists of the five Buddhas. Out of the mouth of Buddha Śākyamuni emerges thus Buddha Vairocana (B). From bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara appear both Buddha Akṣobhya (C) and Buddha Ratnasambhava (D). From bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi emerge Buddha Amitābha (E) and Buddha Amoghasiddhi (F).

Based on the above arrangement and as illustrated in **Picture 120** above, one could easily divide the Barabuḍur into two halves along the diagonal line SW-NE – making the NE corner the front of the monument. The east and south sides of the Barabuḍur would thus contain Buddha Akṣobhya and Buddha Ratnasambhava (both emanating out of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) and together constitute the right side of the monument. The left side of the Barabuḍur would contain Buddha Amitābha (on the west side) and Buddha Amoghasiddhi (on the north side) – both emerging from bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. However, some questionmarks may be raised to this genealogy.[1077]

[1077] As noted in Section 1.4.5, there seems to be some questions as to this suggested background description. Vajrapāṇi and Buddha Akṣobhya both belong to the *Vajra* family (*Vajrakula*). They would thus most likely be connected. Likewise, bodhisattva Lokeśvara and Buddha Amitābha both belong to the *Padma* family (*Padmakula*) and should therefore be connected. In other words, it would seem more likely, that Buddha

This theory would mean that the *Ratnatraya* would be indirectly represented on the Barabuḍur in the form of Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana) in the center, accompanied by bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on the right, and by bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi on the left. This would be consistent with the *SHK* and with the statues in the cella of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut. This theory is based on the hypothesis, that the *SHK* or part thereof – at least in an earlier version – might have been known on Java by the end of the eighth century CE.

Simultaneously, this theory would also mean that the *Pañca-Tathāgata* would be present on the Barabuḍur. As Buddha Vairocana would be in the center of the *Pañca-Tathāgata*, this would mean that he would be housed in the 64 niches around the top of the wall of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur, with each of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* represented in the niches of one side of the monument, respectively.

In order to complete this theory, it would consequently mean, that Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana) would be the Buddha in the latticed *stūpas* on the terraces of the Barabuḍur.

The 504 Buddha images on the Barabuḍur may be summarized in six categories, as presented in the table of ***Picture 121***.

Location \ Direction Faced		East	South	West	North	Total
Square Terraces	Niches of main wall of base	C 26	D 26	E 26	F 26	104
	Niches of 1st gallery	C 26	D 26	E 26	F 26	104
	Niches of 2nd gallery	C 22	D 22	E 22	F 22	88
	Niches of 3rd gallery	C 18	D 18	E 18	F 18	72
	Niches of 4th gallery	B 16	B 16	B 16	B 16	64
Round Terraces	Stūpa on 1st round terrace	A 32				72
	Stūpa on 2nd round terrace	A 24				
	Stūpa on 3rd round terrace	A 16				
Total		A:72 + B:64 + C:92 + D:92 + E:92 + F:92				504

Table 6   Arrangement of Buddha Images at Borobudur

Type	Name of Buddha	Mudrā
A	Śākyamuni	dharmacakra-mudrā
B	Vairocana	vitarka-mudrā
C	Akṣobhya	bhūmisparśa-mudrā
D	Ratnasambhava	varada-mudrā
E	Amitābha	dhyāna-mudrā
F	Amoghasiddhi	abhaya-mudrā

Table 7   Buddha Images of Borobudur

Source: Chihara, 1996, p. 128

Picture 121   The position of various Buddhas on the Barabuḍur

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Akṣobhya would emanate from Vajrapāṇi, and Buddha Amitābha from bodhisattva Lokeśvara (see also *Appendix II, # 1.4, Note 1326*).

The positions of the various Buddhas on the Barabuḍur according to this *Six (6) Buddha hypothesis* – the so called "*Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Model*" - are presented in the table of *Picture 123* at the end of this *Section 5.6*. However, this hypothesis may be put in question for the following reasons. First of all, we learned above[1078] that the epistemological evolution, as expressed in the *SHK*, does not seem to be in conformity with the genealogy (the *kula*) of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. Secondly, this hypothesis does not seem to be in conformity with the *mudrā* aspect of Buddha Vairocana. As was already stated,[1079] Buddha Vairocana is always presented in either *dharmacakra-mudrā, dhyāna-mudrā* or *bodhyagrī-mudrā.* Buddha Vairocana should never be depicted in *vitarka-mudrā.*

Based on these two reasons, this presented *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Model* encompassing six kinds of Buddhas, may be deemed to contain certain deficiences.

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The Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra model
In his research concerning the source of the bas-reliefs on the main wall of the fourth gallery, Gómez noticed that some verses in the last section of the Chinese translations of the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) were not in complete conformity with the published editions of the Sanskrit text. This passage occurs in all three Chinese translations with minor differences – i.e. Buddhabhadra´s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278), Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version of 699 CE (T. 279) and Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version of 798 CE (T. 293). In Prajñā´s translation (T. 293) this passage directly precedes his translation of the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*). Gómez discovered in these *stanzas* references to a set of *six or seven Buddhas* – as in conformity with the various kinds of Buddhas on the Barabuḍur. The only major discrepancy between the text and the monument is that there are no images of bodhisattvas on the open terraces. Gómez presented his findings as a note in his article "Observations on the Role of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in the Design of Barabuḍur".[1080]

[1078]   See *Section 5.6.1, Note 1077.*

[1079]   See *Section 1.4.5, Note 267.*

[1080]   Gómez, 1981, p. 194, n. 54.

Cleary´s English translation is primarily based on Śikṣānanda´s Chinese translation – "the 80-Fascicle version" (T. 279). The *SBP* was lacking in this version. Cleary replaced the above verses referred to by Gómez by a translation of the *SBP*. Doi, however, gave a full translation into German also of these *stanzas*.[1081]

Based on the Sanskrit names as reconstructed by Gómez from the Chinese names, the German verses of Doi seem to present the following Buddhas:

Buddha Vairocana, the "All-Enlightened" (*All-Erhellend*) turning the Wheel of Dharma;

Buddha Bhadraśrī, the "Leader of Wisdom" (*Weisheitshaupt*), together with his bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*Allgemein-Weiser*) from the Buddha land the "Wonderful Virtue of the Lotus flower" (*Wunderbare Tugend der Lotus-Blume*);

Buddha Amitābha, the "Limitless Beaming of Light and Length of Life" (*Grenzenlose Strahlung und Lebensdauer*), together with his bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, the "All-seeing" (*All-Schauend*);

Buddha Akṣobhya, the "Steadfast" (*Unerschütterlich*), together with his bodhisattva Gandhahastī, the "Fragrance of the Wonderful Elephant" (*Elefant des herrlichen Duftes*);

Buddha Candramati (?), the "Lunar Wisdom" (*Mondesweisheit*), together with his bodhisattva Vajraketu (or Vajradhvaja), the "Golden Banner" (*Goldenes Banner*);

Buddha Sūryagarbha, the "Treasury of the Sun" (*Sonnenschatz-kammer*), together with his bodhisattva Jñānābhiṣikta (or Murdhābhiṣikta), the "Baptism of Wisdom" (*Taufe der Weisheit*);

Buddha Vajramahāprabha (?), together with his bodhisattva Jñānadhvaja.[1082]

Buddha Vajramahāprabha was mentioned in the Chinese *GVS* translations executed by Śikṣānanda (T. 279) and Prajñā (T. 293). However, he was not mentioned in the translation by Buddhabhadra (T. 278). In this translation, it was only indicated that "in all the worlds of the Ten Directions, all the Buddhas were radiating a bright light, turning the Wheel of the Law …".[1083]

[1081]   Doi, 1978, pp. 457-458.

[1082]   Doi, 1978, p. 458.
         Other source: Gómez, 1981, p. 194, n. 54.

[1083]   Fontein, 2012, p. 238.

In Fontein´s presentation of this matter, [1084] one may draw the conclusions from these Chinese *stanzas* as follows:

- A system of six or seven *Tathāgatas* emerges (instead of the conventional *Pañca-Tathāgatas*);
- Three of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* (Vairocana, Amitābha and Akṣobhya) are included in this expanded group of *Tathāgatas*. Buddha Ratnasambhava and Buddha Amoghasiddhi would seem to have been replaced by Buddhas of other names;[1085]
- The "unfinished" Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* could be the Buddha referred to in *stanza* 2 (i.e. Buddha Vairocana).[1086]

Although these *stanzas* are not specific as to the *mudrā* aspect, Fontein means that *stanza* 8 ("all the Buddhas … turning the Wheel of the Law") could well refer to the Buddhas in *dharmacakra-mudrā* inside the latticed *stūpas*. Likewise *stanza* 1 ("The *Tathāgatas* preach the Law on their behalf") could well refer to the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery. Finally Fontein means that *stanza* 2 ("The Buddha Vairocana … achieved Supreme Perfect Enlighenment") refers to the unfinished Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*.[1087]

This hypothesis contains some aspects of interest. It enables Buddha Vairocana to be placed in the latticed *stūpas*. It may also clarify which Buddha that assumes *vitarka-mudrā*. It may furthermore give an answer to the question of whether the "unfinished" Buddha has subsequently in fact been placed in the interior of the central *stūpa*. If

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[1084] Fontein, 2012, pp. 237-239.

[1085] When *kalyānamitra* Muktaka (VI) describes in the *GVS* his vision of the Buddhas, five *Tathāgatas* appear. Three of them are *Pañca-Tathāgatas* (Vairocana, Amitābha and Akṣobhya). But here they are not accompanied by the other two *Pañca-Tathāgatas* (Ratnasambhava and Amoghasiddhi), but by the *Tathāgatas* Simha and Candrabuddha. Fontein, 2012, p. 238.

[1086] In *Section 4.2.4* and in this *Section 5.6.1, Note 1062*, we were informed that the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan (the *paramaśāyikin*) of the *Citrakarma Śāstra* fitted well on the terrace section of the Barabuḍur. In addition, the 9 central squares (the *brāhmikapāda*) of the *paramaśāyikin* were meant not to contain any images. In case this was to apply to the Barabuḍur, it would mean that the "unfinished" Buddha image should not have had a place in the central *stūpa*.

[1087] This statement raises the question, whether it is appropriate to present Buddha Vairocana in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (see *Section 1.4.5, Note 267*).

so, it may also give a clue, as to who this Buddha was (see the table in **Picture 123** at the end of this *Section 5.6*).

But the weakness of this hypothesis is, though, that the eight *stanzas* at the end of *the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra do neither assign any mudrās, nor any specific cardinal directions, to these Buddhas.* This means, that we are not in a position to properly physically place these Buddhas on the Barabuḍur. In addition, the last of these seven Buddhas - Buddha Vajramahāprabha - was not mentioned in Buddhabhadra´s version (T. 278) of the *GVS.* So, the question marks are obvious!

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In conclusion and as indicated above, there seems to be some weaknesses connected with all of the the above hypotheses. In addition to their individual problems, a common weakness centers around the *mudrā* aspect – as indicated in the table of **Picture 123** at the end of this *Section 5.6*.

In my view, one of the hypotheses as regards the Barabuḍur would warrant special interest. Of the various suggested models, this is the one that I favour. This hypothesis is briefly:

- The concept of the ***Pañca-Tathāgatas***, with Buddha Vairocana in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in the latticed *stūpas*. The 64 images in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on the top of the wall of the fourth gallery being **Buddha Śākyamuni (Abhisaṃbuddha Vairocana)** teaching the *dharma* to the world in his First Sermon – setting the *Wheel of Dharma* in motion.[1088] The four Buddhas and the thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas being housed in the niches on the balustrades of the galleries (see *Section 5.7.3*). ***No Buddha is believed to have been housed in the central stūpa.*** Nothing should prevent the Śailendras palladium – the golden Vajradhāra – from being housed there,

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[1088]   In case it is assumed to be bodhisattva Samantabhadra, we would run into a problem as regards the *mudrā* aspect.

but then only confined to its role as a palladium.[1089] This *Pañca-Tathāgata* model would furthermore be in conformity to the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (see *Section 5.8*) as regards the Barabuḍur.

It should be emphasized, though, that this proposal is nothing but a hypothesis. It has been elaborated out of the various scholarly analyses presented above. It may thus only be regarded as a seriously proposed suggestion.

However, further analysis of this suggested structure would seem to lie outside of the framework of this dissertation. Nevertheless, it is hoped, that it warrants further research by the scholar community.

5.6.2   The Dharmacakra-mudrā and the Vitarka-mudrā aspects

As indicated in *Sections 1.4.3-1.4.6*, the Buddha images on the Barabuḍur present six (6) different *mudrās*. The immediate reaction is, that these six *mudrās* do not seem to be entirely in conformity with the *Pañca-Tathāgata* concept of five (5) Buddhas. Let us see what this may entail.

The Buddha is on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs presented in *vitarka-mudrā* (see **Picture 122**) in the last bas-relief of the *LV* series (Ia-120) and on the first bas-relief of the *GVS* series (II-1). The bodhisattvas from the various directions (except those from the North) worshipping the Buddha in the Epilogue of the *GVS* (II-4-6 & II-8-13) are shown with their right hand in *vitarka-mudrā*. In the *kūṭāgāra*, Maitreya appears seated in a building eleven times – four of which with his right hand raised in *vitarka-mudrā*. In addition, in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery, the 64 Buddha images facing the four cardinal directions are illustrated in *vitarka-mudrā*. In all these instances, one would have expected the Buddha to be presented in *dharmacakra-mudrā*.

[1089]   The Śailendra palladium (the golden image of Vajradhāra) has thus no formal place on the Barabuḍur as a Buddhist deity - i.e. the Ādibuddha model would not seem applicable.
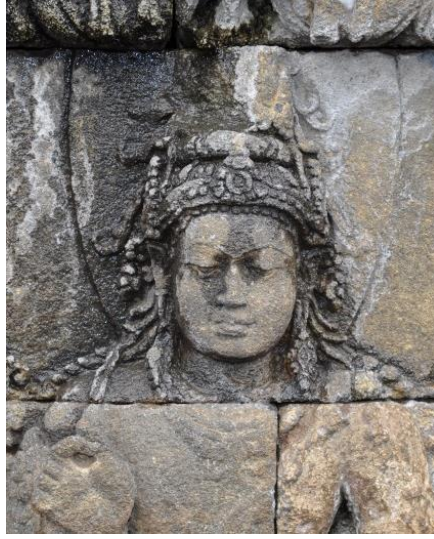
Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 122   The Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā*

As we have seen in *Section 1.4.4*, the "travel scenes" in the *GVS* bas-reliefs – in addition to strengthening the political position of the Śailendras – also seem to indicate a fundamental change in the aim of the particular bas-relief series. The purpose of the "abnormality" of the *vitarka-mudrā* and the *dharmacakra-mudrā* could well be deemed to have corresponding functions, as follows:

i.   The last bas-relief of the *LV* series (Ia-120) illustrates Buddha Śākyamuni´s First Sermon in the Deer Park in Benares (Vāraṇāsī). Of interest is that this bas-relief lacks the important image of the two deers surrounding the *Wheel of the Dharma* (*dharmacakra*). By omitting this image in the last bas-relief (Ia-120) of the *LV*, the sculptors have probably purposely rendered the scene less site-specific.

ii.   With the identical *mudrās* (i.e. *vitarka-mudrā*) in the end of the *LV* and the beginning of the *GVS* bas-reliefs (Ia-120 and II-1, respectively), the sculptors would seem to desire to emphasize the immediate chronological connection between the *LV* and the *GVS*. A harmonious transition between the first and the second galleries was thus created.

iii.   As regards the 64 Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery, the question is whether this is meant to indicate a new individual sixth Buddha. As we already know, the *Pañca-Tathāgata* system consists of five Buddhas, with Buddha Vairocana in the centre – in most cases illustrated in *dharmacakra-mudrā.* The 64 Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* might have been purposely placed on this high level of the monument illustrating that these Buddha images had reached a high level of spiritual development, where they had transcended any difference in orientation (see *Section 1.4.5*). This image could thus be seen as Buddha Śākyamuni in his form as *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana. Alternatively, it could also represent bodhisattva Samantabhadra, who is not only close to Buddha Vairocana, but who also is considered to be the last Buddha to descend on earth in the future. The uniformity of the *vitarka-mudrā* of these 64 Buddha images, could furthermore be seen as a smooth transition to the images of Buddha Vairocana in *dharmacakra-mudrā* in the latticed *stūpas* on the terraces. From these points of view, Buddha Śākyamuni would seem to fit better in the picture, than would bodhisattva Samantabhadra[1090] – or even the proposal of Buddha Vairocana for this position (see *Section 5.6.4* below).

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As indicated earlier,[1091] these 64 Buddha images in *vitarka-mudrā* have – based on *stanzas* 32-34 of the *STTS* - been illustrated as Buddha Śākyamuni, when he took his seat of *Siṃhāsana* in the *kūṭāgāra* on top of the Mount Meru facing all four directions. Buddha Śākyamuni was here to attain full Buddhahood as a *Sarvatathāgata*.

The extraordinary importance of the *BAS* is high-lighted in *Appendix III, # 3*. Based hereon, it may well be questioned, whether a representation of the Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery may be in conformity with the contents of the

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[1090] As we have learned above in *Section 5.6.1*, some scholars have serious problems with assigning the *vitarka-mudrā* to bodhisattva Samantabhadra.

[1091] See *Section 1.4.5, Note 274*.

GVS. According to our research, the *GVS* is mute on the *mudrā* of the Buddha.[1092] Nevertheless, the Buddha is illustrated on the Barabuḍur in *vitarka-mudrā* in the first bas-relief of the *GVS* series (II-1). ***The sculptors of the Barabuḍur might have deemed it improper to illustrate the Buddha in dharmacakra-mudrā prior to Siddhārtha Gautama having attained full Buddhahood as a Sarvatathāgata in the kūṭāgāra on top of Mount Meru and prior to he having descended on earth as a Tathāgata and delivered the First Sermon (i.e. the first Turning of the Wheel of Dharma)***. So, if this holds true, the sculptors of the Barabuḍur would have choosen "the second best alternative" – the *vitarka-mudrā*.

From the above, one may deduce that ***the six different mudrās used on the Barabuḍur may not de facto be in conflict with the concept of the Pañca-Tathāgatas.*** In other words, we may not solely from the use of the six *mudrās* assume that the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas* per se are not presented on the monument. Although we should keep an open mind in endeavouring to find a solution to this aspect, we must refrain from the tendency of desiring to accommodate a predefined solution. The above conclusions must, therefore, be taken with "a grain of salt".

Nevertheless, the above examples are also good illustrations of the possible fact, that the sculptors of the Barabuḍur gave shape to the bas-reliefs and to the images in a manner that was not in exact concurrence with the strict conventions of standard Buddhist iconography. In other words, they seemed to have enjoyed a certain amount of artistic freedom.

5.6.3   The Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas

We learned in *Section 1.4.5*, that the bodhisattva requires three *kalpas* (three incalculable aeons) to progess through his 52 stages prior to attaining Enlightenment. Our present *kalpa* is called *Bhadrakalpa*. In each *kalpa* Thousand Buddhas appear.

[1092]   See *Section 1.4.5, Note 274*.

In the *Bhadrakalpika Sūtra* (the *BKS*) (Toh 94) of the Tibetan Buddhist canon – the *Kanjur* – illustrations of all the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas are made with their names and *mudrās*. All are presented in separate *stanzas*. These Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas are presented with *mudrās* in the following order – *dharmacakra-mudrā, bhūmisparśa-mudrā, varada-mudrā, dhyāna-mudrā,* and *abhaya-mudrā.* In the *BKS*, the Buddhas with this *mudrā* sequence are repeated 200 times, until all the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas have been presented. As noted, the order of these *mudrās* is in the same sequence as those of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* - Mahāvairocana, Akṣob-hya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Incidentally, this is the same order, as the *mūdras* of the Buddhas on the Barabuḍur. But one should not regard these *mudrās* as replicas of those of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. Each of the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas is a separate indivual with a name of his own – although his respective *mudrā* is identical to that of one of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*.

The importance of the *BKS* (which describes the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas) is substantiated by its placement in the Tibetan Buddhist canon - the *Kanjur* - prior to the *LV* (i.e. the presentation of the biography of Buddha Śākyamuni). On the Barabuḍur, the *LV* may be seen to be presented together with the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas (i.e. the 504 Buddhas of the monument).

Given the 504 Buddha images illustrated on the Barabuḍur, one could perhaps reduce that number with the four visible *Pañca-Tathāgatas* and with Buddha Vairocana (who anyhow may not be presented in a visible form). This "corrected" series would then be composed of 500 visible Buddha images. If so, the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas could be seen to be represented during the *pradakṣiṇa* up and down the monument (i.e. 500 x 2). This would seem to be in adherance with the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* aspect (see *Section 5.8*).

The problem with this "number exercise" is, though, that the 504 Buddhas on the Barabuḍur include the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* on top of the wall of the fourth gallery. To be noted is also that the *vitarka-mudrā* is not included as one of the five listed *mudrās* in the *BKS* (Toh. 94).

In conclusion, the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas may be deemed to be represented on the Barabuḍur as indicated by the 504 Buddha ima-ges, in case that the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* would not cause a

problem regarding the above "number exercise". As indicated in *Section 5.6.2*, *vitarka-mudrā* may plainly have been regarded as a simpler form of *dharmacakra-mudrā*. In *Section 5.8*, we will be informed, that the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* on top of the wall of the fourth gallery are supposed to be included in the "container" aspect (the *la* aspect) of the *maṇḍala-concept*. We trust herewith to have indicated that the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas may be considered to be represented on the Barabuḍur.

Alternatively, one could assume, that the mere diversity of Buddha images on the Barabuḍur may as such illustrate the presence on the monument of the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas.

The Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas are comprised in only one *maṇḍala* of the 132 *maṇḍalas* listed in the *Rgyud-sde kun-btus* – i.e. in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. As indicated in *Appendix IV, # 8.3* and in *Section 5.8*, **this may constitute an indication, albeit a weak one, of an interrelationship between the Vajradhātu maṇḍala and the Barabuḍur.**

5.6.4   The identity of the Buddhas

As indicated in *Section 1.4.5*, the idea has been expressed within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism that Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni are not separat Buddhas. They are seen as one and the same identity – but presented in different bodies (*kāya*).[1093] Buddha Vairocana represents an infinitely continuing entity (continuum), usually known as *saṃbhogakāya* ("Body of the Bliss") or occasionally *dharmakāya* ("Body of the Law"). The "historical" Buddha Śākyamuni is the transformation in our epoch of *dharmakāya* Vairocana. This corporeal existence of Buddha Vairocana is called either *rūpakāya* ("Body of the Form") or *nirmāṇakāya* ("Transformation Body"). The essence of the *Mahāyāna* Buddhist soteriological main principle is, namely, the

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[1093]   See Section *1.4.5, Note 279* and *Section 1.5.1, Note 355*.

Please note, that in the *Advayasādhana* (*SHKA*) of the *Sang Hyang Kamhāyānikan* (*SHK*) Buddha Śākayamuni is *not* our "historical" Buddha, but the transcendent Buddha (*Abhisaṃbuddha Vairocana*) – see *Appendix II, # 1.4, Notes 1321 & 1322*.

identity of *nirmāṇakāya* Buddha with *saṃbhogakāya* Buddha and *dharmakāya* Buddha.

Thus the "historical" nirmāṇakāya Śākyamuni is deemed to be identical to dharmakāya Vairocana – Abhisaṃbuddha. In fact, Buddha Vairocana without Buddha Śākyamuni cannot exist. Buddha Mahāvairocana is the "historical" Buddha Śākyamuni, idealized in *dharmakāya*, who "neither is born, nor dies".

In the *BAS*, Buddha Vairocana is seen as **non-dual** with all other Buddha and bodhisattva manifestations (see the *trikāya* theory).[1094]

But in order to become a Manifest Complete Buddha (*Abhisaṃbuddha*), the bodhisattva had to pass a series of development phases, which differ for various schools; e.g.

i. *The Śrāvaka tradition*
After developing the thought of Enlightenment in front of the "transcendent" *Tathāgata Śākyamuni*, the bodhisattva spend 100 aeons (*kalpa*) preparing, prior to being born Siddhārtha Gautama. At the age of 35 years, he became manifestly, completely Enlightened (*Abhisaṃbuddha*);

ii. *The Pāramitā tradition*
The bodhisattva completed the first aeon on the path of training. The second aeon he spent on the first to the seventh Stages (*bhūmi*). The third aeon he spent on the eighth, ninth and tenth Stages (*bhūmi*). Thereupon the Buddhas of the Ten Directions conferred upon him in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven the initiation (*abhiṣeka*) of great light, and he became manifestly, completely Enlightened (*Abhisaṃbuddha*);

iii. *The Yoga tradition*
All the Buddhas of the Ten Directions conferred on the bodhisattva the Five Knowledges (*Abhisaṃbodhi*) – the last of which is the essence of Buddha Vairocana (the *dharmadhātujñāna*). Thereupon, he became manifestly, completely Enlightened (*Abhisaṃbuddha*).[1095]

Given this, Buddha Vairocana may be regarded – as presented in the *BAS* – as the unknowable, transcendent Buddha, that pervades the

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[1094] See *Section 1.4.5, Note 279.*

[1095] Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 17-35; *Section 5.3.1, Note 1013.*

universe. In the *MVS*, he is regarded as the progenitor of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. Buddha Vairocana may thus be regarded as the progenitor of Totality. Buddha Śākyamuni, on the other hand, is the visible Buddha, preaching the *dharma*. But as Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni are deemed to be identical, could not also Buddha Śākyamuni be regarded as the progenitor of Totality?

5.6.5 Concluding reflections

In this *Section 5.6*, some models have been introduced regarding the various Buddha images represented on the Barabuḍur. Of these models, the "*Pañca-Tathāgata* model" does seem to warrant special interest.

As regards the "*Pañca-Tathāgata* model", the Buddha on top of the wall of the fourth gallery in *vitarka-mudrā* has by some scholars been suggested to be bodhisattva Samantabhadra (the *saṃbhogakāya* form of Buddha Vairocana). This is of interest, as bodhisattva Samanta-bhadra was by the end of the eighth century CE worshipped by *Mahāyāna* Buddhists on Śrī Laṅkā as the "Lord of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*". The Abhayagiri inscription of 792 CE (see *Appendix I, # 7*) indicates an ongoing relationship between Śrī Laṅkā and Java. In addition, boddhisattva Samantabhadra/Vajradhāra was during the period of the spiring Pāla dynasty developed into Ādibuddha (see *Section 4.2.3.2*). But the *mudrā* aspect constitutes a problem for this alternative.

However, in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism the idea was also developed of the identity between Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Śākyamuni. The historical *nirmāṇakāya* Śākyamuni is deemed to be identical to the *dharmakāya* Vairocana – *Abhisaṃbuddha* (see *Section 5.6.4*). Based hereon, it is proposed that in **the "*Pañca-Tathāgata* model" it would be Buddha Śākyamuni, who is the Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā*** on top of the wall of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur. His presentation there in 64 images would also be in conformity with his taking the seat of *Siṃhāsana* in the *kūṭāgāra* on top of the Mount Meru in order to attain full Buddhahood as a *Sarvatathāgata*. In accordance with *stanzas* 32-34 of the *STTS*, he there took the seat, so as to "face every direction". In addition, in this "*Pañca-Tathāgata* model" Buddha Vairocana could also be seen as the Buddha illustrated in the latticed *stūpas* in his

saṃbhogakāya form. **This alternative is in fact the alternative supported in this dissertation.**

As indicated in *Section 2.3.3*, the Śailendra palladium – the golden Vajradhāra – was supposed to have been housed in the central *stūpa*. Of our various proposed models, only the "Ādibuddha model" (with its five Buddhas and two bodhisattvas) would enable this to occur. But as has been indicated in *Section 5.6.1*, *we see no principal hindrance to this golden Vajradhāra image having been housed inside the central stūpa of the Barabuḍur – but then only if it is restricted to being the palladium of the Śailendras.*

The *Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas* may also be seen to be represented on the Barabuḍur in case that the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* on top of the fourth gallery would not constiture a problem (see *Section 5.6.3*). If so, this would not be in conflict if the Barabuḍur was to be regarded as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.

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Picture 123
The Buddha images on the Barabuḍur
Various "Models"

	The Pañca Tathāgata Model	The Ādibuddha Model	The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Model	The Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra Model
Central stūpa	-	Vajradhāra 2)	-	(?)
Latticed stūpas	Vairocana	Vajrasattva	Śākyamuni	Vairocana
Wall of gallery IV	Samantabhadra 1)	Vairocana 3)	Vairocana 3)	(?)
Wall of galleries I-III & Ballustrade I	Four *Pañca Tathāgatas*	Four *Pañca Tathāgatas*	Four *Pañca Tathāgatas*	Akṣobhya, Amitābha and (?) (?)
Summary	5 Buddhas & 1 bodhisattva	5 Buddhas & 2 bodhisattvas	6 Buddhas	6-7 Buddhas
Comments	1) or Śākyamuni as *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana	2) Śailendra palladium 3) Vairocana may not sit in *vitarka-mudrā*	3) Vairocana may not sit in *vitarka-mudrā*	(?) Uncertain which of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* Buddhas

Picture 124   *Apsaras* (separating picture)

5.7 The Barabuḍur and Huayan Buddhism, the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan & Chinese Buddhism as presented by Shingon Buddhism

5.7.1 The Barabuḍur and Huayan Buddhism

As indicated in *Appendix III, # 1,* the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*) became the principal scripture of the *Huayan nikāya* in China. The *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS)* is the 39th book in this *sūtra*. The question arises, whether the obvious use of the *GVS* as a model for the main bas-reliefs on the II-IV galleries of the Barabuḍur, was based on this text in its form as the 39th book in the *BAS* or as a freestanding text? In case that the former alternative would be the answer, would that then also mean that *Huayan Buddhism* as a doctrine was accepted on Java? In other words, was *Huayan nikāya* introduced on Java?

What is important to keep in mind in endeavouring to answer these questions, is that *Huayan Buddhism* is the result of a considerable "Si-nification" – i.e. the original Indian materials were transformed into a form conducive to the Chinese taste. In addition, one may note that al-though the architects of the Barabuḍur must have had access to

some version(s) of the *GVS*, the problem is that no version hereof is extant on Java – despite having been translated into Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan (see *Appendix III, # 4*).

One of these potential versions is the one translated into Chinese by Prajñā in 798 CE (T. 293). This version comprises the "vow of Saman-tabhadra" – the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*) (see *Appendix III, # 5*). This translation of the *GVS* by Prajñā conforms thus neatly with the version presented on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur – a fact that has been substantiated by Kandahjaya.

As indicated in *Appendix III, # 4*, the *GVS* was also circulated as an independent text in India and China – in addition to being comprised in the *BAS*. The *GVS* was studied in Nālandā during the seventh and eighth centuries CE and formed in fact part of the monastic curriculum not only in Nālandā. The *GVS* would thus have been studied and have been interpreted as part of the "doctrinal digests" – i.e. Buddhist treatises (*śāstra*) composed in Sanskrit during the third to the ninth centuries CE.

What is also important to note, is that in India the *GVS* did not seem to have been the base for a separate Buddhist *nikāya*. Although the *GVS* was probably not the subject of independent Indian commentaries, it was nevertheless referred to and quoted in various Indian scholarly texts.

As earlier presented in *Section 2.3.3*, the Śailendras maintained close contacts with Nālandā in India, one of the greatest centres of Budd-hist learning at that time. The Javanese monks, who studied there, would most certainly have read Indian Buddhist scholarly texts. In addition, monks from the Śrī Laṅkese *Abhayagirivihāra* had establish-ed a corresponding monastery at Ratubaka on Java, which took on an ecumenical approach including the study of *Māhāyana* texts. Most likely, they continued the tradition of its Śrī Laṅkese predecessors of attracting visiting monks from Tibet and South Asia – thus being conversant with various interpretations found in the "doctrinal digests". It is quite natural, therefore, that the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur of the *GVS* present vivid tales of the miraculous powers of the Buddha and of the advanced bodhisattvas.

The Śailendras seemed to have kept contacts with China somewhat on an "armslength basis". In any event, these contacts could not be deemed as close, as those with India. Four aspects of particular interest stand out in this respect; namely:

- that even though some Javanese monks did in fact go to China in order to study, like Bianhong (see *Section 4.2.5*), many more monks chose the Indian studying centres – like Nālandā;
- that they probably read texts in Sanskrit. We know that their inscriptions were only made in Sanskrit in a *Brāhmī* script;
- *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra had a monastery built in Nālandā for the Javanese monks (see *Appendix I, # 14*);
- that the traces, which the Chinese *esoteric* Masters left on Java, were much thinner than those, which they left in China.

As indicated in *Section 4.1*, the above aspects may lead one to realize that **Indian influences on Java during the eighth century CE were more predominant and profound than were the Chinese influences.** In addition, Klokke and Woodward have independently suggested (see *Section 4.2.2*), that the *GVS* text underlying the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur would have been a free-standing Sanskrit text. This particular free-standing text would thus not have been included in the *BAS* and would thus not have been formally part of *Huayan* Buddhism. However, Gòmez disputes this view, and states that Sudhana´s gradual development into insight, as presented on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs, is contrary to the conventional **sudden insight**. Gómez believes that this gradual insight was not included in the original Sanskrit version of the *GVS*, but that this was a subsequent Chinese addition to the text. Gómez believes that this aspect was introduced by *Huayan* monks, in order to fit in with the Barabuḍur overall stucture.[1096] The conclusion to be drawn is, thus, that scholars still have different views as to the origin of the version of the *GVS,* which was the base text for the architects of the Barabuḍur. It could have been a Sanskrit text, or it could have been a Chinese text – perhaps related to *Huayan* Buddhism. In any event, *we are still uncertain as to whether the Huayan nikāya as such was widely accepted on Java during early ninth century CE.*

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[1096]   *Section 1.4.4, Note 227.*

Even though *Huayan* Buddhism may not have been exported to Java in the form of a proper *nikāya*, certain aspects of the *Huayan* doctrine may nevertheless have found their way to the Indonesian archipelago. Examples hereof may be the ideas of "mutual identity" and "mutual penetration".

As we see in *Appendix III, # 2.4*, the doctrine of the Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) is of great importance in *Huayan* Buddhism. In fact, a deep understanding of this doctrine is a necessary precondition for entering the Path to Enlightenment. The further one penetrates into the Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), the more spiritual progress does one make. It is both an inward journey and a journey upward the galleries of the Barabuḍur. When he arrives at the terraces, the pilgrim has not only obtained a true understanding of the Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*), but he has also "cast off" the weight of past deeds.

In *Section 5.4.1*, we concluded that the Barabuḍur could only be regarded as representing the various *dhātus*, if we could regard the various *dhātus* as psychological states, with free movements between them – and not as horizontal existences one above the other. Given this, some scholars regard the terraces on the Barabuḍur to symbolize *dharmadhātu*. The latticed *stūpas* are assumed to have been gilded – thus mirroring not only each other, as in "Indra´s Net", but also the devotee performing his rituals in front of them.[1097] Having a presentiment of the Buddha inside these gilded latticed *stūpas*, the pilgrim was believed to have been granted a Buddha-nature.

As indicated in *Section 1.4.6*, these gilded latticed *stūpas* show similarities with "Indra´s Net" of the *Huayan* patriarch Fazang (643-712 CE). Both "Indra´s Net" and the "Mirror Hall" present, in the words of Fazang in his discussion with empress Wu Zetian, some important aspects of *Huayan* Buddhism; namely

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[1097]   See *Section 1.4.6, Note 301*.

> Your majesty, this is a demonstration of Totality in the *dharmadhātu*….. The principle of interpenetration and containment is clearly shown….. We see an example of one in all and all in one – the mystery of *realm embracing realm ad infinitum* is thus revealed. The principle of the *simultaneous arising of different realms* is so obvious here, that no explanation is necessary…..[1098]

As indicated in *Appendix III, # 3*, various Sanskrit texts of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* family are seen to have been circulated independently in Central Asia during the sixth century CE. We may, therefore, not reject out of hand the possibility that another text outside of the *BAS* may have been the basis for the design of the terrace area of the Barabuḍur.

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From the above, we may conclude that **several questions still remain open** to be answered and to be substantiated by documentary evidence, as regards the relationship between the Barabuḍur and *Huayan nikāya* in China. An attempt is made below to address a few of these issues; viz.

I. *Was the construction of the Barabuḍur based on the Huayan doctrine?*

In answering this question, one has to keep apart the doctrine, on the one hand, from the *nikāya*, on the other.

As indicated in *Appendix III*, the *Huayan* **doctrine** is quite disparate and all-embracing. It seems in China to comprise the main ideas and concepts of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism from the end of the sixth century CE to the middle of the ninth century CE (see *Appendix III, # 1*). We do not know when the *Huayan* doctrine (or part thereof) was introduced on Java. In *Section 4.1*, we were informed that by the end of the seventh century CE, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism quickly rose in importance on Java.

[1098] Chang, 1971, p. 24.
Other source: Woodward, 1981(a), pp. 128-129.

From this standpoint, it would be natural to see these doctrines reflected on the Barabuḍur monument – and follow the spiritual progress of the pilgrim on his inward journey upwards the galleries of the Barabuḍur. We read in *Section 1.4.6*, that the 72 latticed *stūpas* on the open terraces could be seen to reflect the concepts of "mutual penetration" and "mutual identity". This was illustrated by the *Huayan* patriarch Fazang´s examples with "Indra´s Net" and with the "Mirror Hall".[1099] These examples illustrate Totality in *dharmadhātu* (Absolute Reality), which pervades the entire space and encompasses every phenomena and reality. According to the Samantabhadra Vows, the pilgrim has "bodies as numerous as the dust particles in the earth" and that these bodies are one and the same with the equally numerous Buddhas.[1100] This is illustrated by the phrase
"One in all and All in one".

In *Section 1.4.6*, we further learned, that the 72 latticed *stūpas* could be regarded as representing the purified Buddha-fields (*buddhakṣetra*) of the Buddhas from the Ten Directions. These Buddhas of the Ten Directions are deemed to have assembled in the Jetavana grove, as indicated in the prologue to the *GVS*. Likewise, the 72 latticed *stūpas* are also believed to symbolize the various *kūṭāgāras* that Sudhana observed in the *kūṭāgāra* of Buddha Vairocana.[1101] Finally, when the pilgrim approaches the guilded latticed *stūpas*, he sees on each latticed *stūpa* mingled reflections of other latticed *stūpas*, Buddhas and the pilgrim himself. It is possible, that he then feels having obtained a Buddha-nature.

The above examples may well indicate that some aspects of the **Huayan doctrine was known on Java** by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. But they do **not** prove that the Barabuḍur would have been **constructed based on the Huayan doctrine**. We have merely indicated that some of the *Mahāyāna* ideas and concepts of that time have been represented on the monument.

[1099] The multitudes of the *kūṭāgāras* appreciated by Sudhana in the *kūṭāgāra* of the Buddha Vairocana - as presented in the *GVS* - are believed to represent the concept of "mutual penetration". The fact that Sudhana experienced himself to be present in all these various *kūṭāgāras* simultaneously is, regarded to represent the concept of "mutual identity" (see *Appendix III, # 4*).

[1100] Woodward, 1981(b), p. 47.

[1101] See *Section 1.4.4, Note 222*.

As to the *Huayan nikāya*, **no** document has to our knowledge yet been found indicating the physical **presence on Java of a Huayan vihāra**.

However, if any further proven similarities between the Barabuḍur and the *BAS* would appear, we should be open to reevaluating our position, in case these findings would indicate a stronger identity between *Huayan* Buddhism and the form of Buddhism prevailing on Java during the Śailendra time.

II. Was the Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra the base text of the Barabuḍur design?

Here we have only indications, on which to base our view – no concrete evidence.

Various ideas and concepts included in the **Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra** (the *BAS*) do seem to have been presented on the Barabuḍur. We may from this assume that the *Huayan* doctrine, or part thereof, must have been known to the Barabuḍur architects. However, this does not necessarily mean that the *BAS* was the base-text for the architects of the Barabuḍur. The *BAS* is a collection of texts, that represents a systematic summary of the main ideas and concepts within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. During the fifth to eighth centuries CE the *BAS* was translated into Chinese (see *Appendix III, # 3*).[1102] Some Sanskrit texts of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* family are seen to have circulated independently in Central Asia during the sixth century CE. Some of these ideas and concepts may thus have been conveyed to the architects of the Barabuḍur from other texts free-standing from the *BAS*. However, we presently lack extant copies of those texts. Due to these weaknesses, we are still not in a position to state whether the *BAS* would have been the base-text of the monument.

As indicated in *Section 1.1*, the Barabuḍur was originally constructed based on the concept of the first six of the Ten *pāramitās*. When the reconstruction of the monument started around 810 CE, the four remaining *pāramitās* were added. The bas-reliefs then decorated on the outside of the monument were complemented with these four

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[1102] During the period late second century CE to early fourth century CE texts were translated from Sanskrit into Chinese containing some aspects later on found also in the *BAS* (see *Appendix III, # 3*). However, these Sanskrit texts are not extant today.

remaining *pāramitās* – thus making the illustrated set of ten *pāramitās* complete. To be noted is, however, that these four last *pāramitās* on the Barabuḍur do differ from the four last *pāramitās*, which are expressed in the *BAS*.[1103] The four last *pāramitās* illustrated on the Barabuḍur are the "four infinite virtues" (*catvāry apramāṇāni*). This Buddhist concept was in accordance with early Buddhist traditions. It is also documented in the *SHK*. What this indicates, is that the builders of the Barabuḍur might not have adapted the decorations of the monument to the documents expressed in the *BAS*, but rather in a manner conducive to the recent development within the religious thought on Java.

We also learned in *Section 1.4.3* and *Appendix III, # 3*, that the prologue of the *BAS* states that Siddhārtha Gautama received his Enlightenment while sitting under the *Bodhi*-tree in Bodhgayā in Magadha and then to have preached the entire *BAS*.[1104] On the other hand, in *Appendix III, # 4* we learned that the prologue of the *GVS* states that the Buddha was present in the Jetavana grove in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in Śrāvastī together with five thousand bodhisattvas, five hundred *śrāvakas* and *lokendras* and the *saṃbhogakāya* Buddhas from the purified Buddhafields (*buddhakṣetras*) in the Ten Directions. Upon request from his entourage, the Buddha then entered the *Siṃhavijṛmbhita* (the Lion´s Yawn *Samādhi*).

Both these Assemblies would seem to have as a specific purpose to impose one of the texts as more important than the other. Even if the prologue in the *GVS* would have been a later addition to this *sūtra*, as some scholars believe, this would not dilute the tensions between the two *sūtras*.[1105] In the following portion of this chapter, we discuss the weaknesses apparent in the Sanskrit, as well as in the Chinese, versions of the *GVS*. Accepting these weaknesses, an independent Sanskrit text could well be a contender as a base-text. In fact, could a copy of the Sanskrit text, that the king of Uḍra (Orissa) donated to the emperor of China in 795 CE, and which Prajñā translated in 798 CE as

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[1103]   See *Section 1.1 Notes 49 and 50* and *Appendix IV, # 8.3 Notes 1646 & 1647*.

[1104]   While remaining seated under the *Bodhi*-tree absorbed in the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection, Siddhārtha Gautama is supposed to have mentally ascended to the "Hall of Brightness" in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven, where he – in his *saṃbhogakāya* form – is regarded to have preached the immense *BAS* only to those bodhisattvas, who possessed the supernatural powers of the Ten Stages – and then became a Buddha.

[1105]   See *Appendix III, # 4, Notes 1443 & 1444*.

part of his 40-fascicle version (T. 293), constitute the base-text of the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs?

We may thus conclude, that the Barabuḍur seems to have been designed based on **several sources**, such as the *MKS*, the *LV*, etc. The bas-reliefs on the galleries II-IV from the *GVS* may have been based on free-standing Sanskrit texts or as the *GVS* included in Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version of the *BAS*. But we have found **no proof** that a certain version of the **Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra could have been used as one of the base texts** for the general design of the monument – neither Buddhabhadra´s 60-fascicle version, nor Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version.

III. *Which was the text underlying the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur of the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra and of the Bhadracarī?*

The fact is, that we do not know. The builders of the Barabuḍur could have used an altogether separate version of the *GVS* and of the *SBP*. None of these versions used by the builders of the Barabuḍur are extant today.

As indicated in *Appendix III, # 4*, the *GVS* is extant in several Sanskrit manuscripts, in three Chinese and in several Tibetan translations. In *Appendix III, # 4*, it is also mentioned that the last sections of the three Chinese translations of the *GVS* were not in complete conformity with the published editions of the Sanskrit texts. As these sections present a number of Buddhas in conformity with those of the Barabuḍur, this would seem to favour one of the Chinese versions as a base-text for the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs – instead of a free-standing Sanskrit text.

Of the three **Chinese translations** of the *GVS*, the Buddhabhadra´s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278) of the *BAS* did not comprise the *SBP*. Neither did Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version of 699 CE (T. 279) of the *BAS*. However, the *SBP* was included in Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version of 798 CE (T. 293) of the *BAS*. In fact, in Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version the above referred to passage at the end of the *GVS* presenting the number of Buddhas, directly preceeds Prajñā´s translation of the *Bhadracarī*. In other words, of the three Chinese versions of the *BAS* only that by Prajñā did encompass both the *GVS* and the *SBP* - the latter as a full text (see below).

In *Appendix III, # 5*, the *SBP* is presented as a 62 *stanza* text. The last 14 *stanzas* (*stanzas* 48-62) are an eulogy of Buddha Amitābha, who will save all who hear or recite these *stanzas*. The point is, however, that Buddha Amitābha does not play any significant role in either the *GVS* or the *SBP*. Consequently, the last 14 *stanzas* of the *SBP* with the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha were not illustrated on the wall of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur.

As we learn in *Appendix III, # 5*, some scholars claim that these 14 *stanzas* - the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha – constitute a later addition to the *SBP.* This text addition must, however, have taken place prior to Amoghavajra´s translation of the text in 763 CE, as Amoghavajra´s translation was of the complete *SBP*, including these 14 *stanzas.* As this took place decades in advance of the construction of the Barabuḍur, it would seem questionable that the sculptors of the Barabuḍur would have used a base-text composed of the *GVS* with an "abbreviated" version of the *SBP* attached thereto – as suggested by some scholars.

Based on the above, Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version of 798 CE   *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 293) may be regarded as a good alternative for a base-text of the *GVS* and of the *SBP* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur. However, as has been presented above, the eulogi of the Buddha Amitābha (i.e. the last 14 *stanzas* of the *SBP*) have not been illustrated on the Barabuḍur main wall of the fourth gallery. So, a deliberate omission by the Barabuḍur architects of these 14 *stanzas* would have to be accepted, as a precondition to our acceptance of Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version for this purpose. If so, Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version would then seem to be a good contender. But would this really be appropriate to conceive?

We learn in *Appendix III, # 4 and 5*, that both the *GVS* and the *SBP* circulated **in India as independent Sanskrit texts –** i.e. texts free-standing from the *BAS*. It would thus not be improbable to assume that the underlying original text for the architects of the Barabuḍur would have been one of these independently circulating texts. Given Śailendras´ close relationships with the Indian subcontinent, some merit could well be seen for this alternative. But one would then have to accept the omission in these Sanskrit free-standing texts of the final portion in the *GVS*.

Accepting this omission and as earlier indicated, could this independent Sanskrit text in fact have been the copy, that the king of Uḍra (Orissa) donated to the emperor of China in 795 CE, and which Prajñā translated in 798 CE as his 40-Fascicle version (T. 293)? This may very well be so, but as no Sanskrit version of this text is extant today, we do not know for sure.

In conclusion, we still **do not know with certainty** on which base-texts the *GVS* and the *SBP* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur rest. The main contenders would seem to be (i) an independent Sanskrit text (in combination with the *SBP*) or (ii) Prajñā´s 40-fascicle Chinese version. Of these two alternatives, no independent Sanskrit text is extant today. So, we are not in a position to examine and analyze it. Prajñā´s 40-fascicle Chinese version, on the other hand, would seem to be the most complete version. For *esoteric* Buddhist influences directly from China during the Tang dynasty, please see *Section 4.2.5*. In both cases, we must accept, though, that the Barabuḍur architects deliberately choose, for one reason or another, **not to present on the bas-reliefs the last 14 stanzas of the SBP** (i.e. the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha).

5.7.2   The Barabuḍur, the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan and Chinese Buddhism as presented by Shingon Buddhism

In the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) (folios 52a-54a) of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*), Kats presented the *SHK* epistemological evolution (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*). Here "*Divārūpa*" is assumed to represent the Absolute Reality. In the *SHK*, the relationship between the Absolute Reality and its personification is expressed as "Holy *Divārūpa* is Lord Buddha by name".[1106] Ishii takes this to mean that the Absolute Reality (*Divārūpa*) was personified as the *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha.

In the *SHK* epistemological evolution, as described in *Appendix II, # 1.4*, the deities are presented in two interconnected groups – the "*Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya*"[1107] and the "*Bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*".[1108] The

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[1106]   *Sang Hyang Diwarūpa sira bhaṭāra hyang Buddha ngaran ira.*
Kats, 1910, p. 48, Note 6.

[1107]   The *Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya* is also called the "Lords of the Three Jewels". They consist of Buddha Śākyamuni (*Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana), bodhisattva Varjapāṇi and bodhisattva Lokeśvara (see *Section 1.5.1, Note 357*).

three deities in the *Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya* are identical to the main deities in the cella of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut. The Buddhas in the *Bhaṭāra Pañca Tathāgata* are identical to those of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*). In the *SHK*, *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha is seen to integrate both the *Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya* and the *Bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*. Based hereon, Ishii proposes that two different kinds of *maṇḍala* existed in Old Java – i.e. the *Garbha maṇḍala* based on the *MVS* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* based on the *STTS*.

From the above, we may draw the conclusion that *Divārūpa* may in Old Java have been the interpretation of Absolute Reality – a role that Buddha Mahāvairocana shouldered in the *STTS*.[1109] Based hereon, Ishii came to the conclusion, that the Barabuḍur and the Old Javanese *esoteric* Buddhism of the *SHK* both have the same origin – namely the *STTS*.[1110]

In folios 45b and 46a of the *SHKA* – as described in *Appendix IV, # 8* - the concepts of "*sang hyang advaya*" and "*sang hyang advayajñāna*" are presented. According to Devi Singhal, the *SHKA* concept *advaya* refers to the Body of the Law of Reason (*tattvadharmakāya*) of the *Garbha maṇḍala*. Correspondingly, the *SHKA* concept *advayajñāna* refers to the Body of the Law of Knowledge (*jñānadharmakāya*) of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. Presented in this manner - namely that Truth and Wisdom are non-dual - vital aspects of both the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* may be seen to be incorporated in the *SHK*.

As presented in *Appendix II, # 1*, some early constituent parts of the *SHK* and the Old Javanese commentaries may have been known on Java by the time of the reconstruction phase of the Barabuḍur. This view is based on the fact, that the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs contain the last four of the ten *pāramitās* in the form of the "four infinite virtues" (*catvāry apramāṇāni*). This Buddhist concept was in accordance with

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In the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan in *Appendix II, # 1.4, Note 1321 & 1322*, Buddha Śākyamuni is in this role ***not*** regarded as the "historical" Buddha Śākyamuni.

[1108] The *Bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata* is also called the "*Pañca-Tathāgatas*" and consists of Buddha Vairocana, Buddha Akṣobhya, Buddha Ratnasambhava, Buddha Amitābha and Buddha Amoghasiddhi (see *Section 5.6.1*).

[1109] See *Section 4.1, Note 757* and *Appendix IV, # 6*.

[1110] Ishii, 1991, pp. 160-161.

early Buddhist traditions. It is also documented in the *SHK*, and differ from the last four of the ten *pāramitās* of the *BAS*.[1111]

The *SHK* presents an integrated set of *esoteric* teachings in order to enable the pilgrim to attain the ultimate goal of Buddhism. This set encompasses the four steps presented in *Appendix II, # 1.3* – the *Mahāmārga* (the great path), the *Paramamārga* (the supreme path), the *Mahāguhya* (the great secret) and the *Paramaguhya* (the supreme secret). This set of *esoteric* teachings may be regarded to be indicated in the design and symbolism of the Barabuḍur – i.e. the broad terrace base; the the corridors; the circular terraces with the perforated *stūpas;* and the central *stūpa,* respectively.

Although the *SHK* may not have been formally written until early tenth century, some of its constituent thoughts may nevertheless have been known during the Śailendra reigns – and may subsequently have been influencing the design of the Barabuḍur.

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In *Shingon* Buddhism the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* are denominated the "Twin-*maṇḍalas*". Buddha Vairocana in his *dharmakāya* form is in the centre of both the Twin-*maṇḍalas*. In the *Garbha maṇḍala* he is referred to as being in the *tattvadharmakāya* and sits in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. In the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* he is referred to as being in the *jñānadharmakāya* and sits in the *mudrā* of the First Seal Knowledge (see *Appendix IV, # 8*). "*They are two, yet they are not two*" – alluding to one of the most important *Shingon* principles.

These Twin-*maṇḍalas* are, furthermore, in *Shingon* Buddhism not considered to be different from each other. On the contrary, they are regarded not only as complementing each other – but also as not being able to exit independently from each other. Based on *Appendix II, # 1.4*, we read that Ishii suggests that on Java these two *maṇḍalas* were (i) the *Garbha maṇḍala* based on the *MVS*, and (ii) the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* based on the *STTS*. Ishii further states, that on Java, the Twin-*maṇḍalas* were supposed to be integrated by the *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha. This *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha – the essence of the Buddha – is

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[1111]   See *Section 1.1 Notes 49 & 50* and *Appendix III, # 8.3 Notes 1646 & 1647.*

the personification of the Absolute Reality (the *Divārūpa*). However, Ishii did not give any documentary evidence as a basis for these proposals. We must, therefore, construe these suggestions with "a grain of salt".

In *Shingon nikāya*, the temples are facing south – the area of light. When performing his services, the *Shingon* monk faces the altar in the north. He then has the Twin-*maṇḍalas* on both sides – the *Garbha maṇḍala* to his right (i.e. to the east) and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* to his left (i.e. to the west) – see *Appendix IV, # 8.1*. To be noted is thus, that the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the Barabuḍur have geographical locations in full correspondence to the above. Between them is placed the *Caṇḍi* Pawon, which is dedicated to the *homa* god Vajrānala. This is in conformity with the *Shingon* temples, in which special halls have been constructed for fire offering rituals – but here again, the evidence is only circumstantial.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 125   Interspersing pillar with floral decorations on the Baraburḍur

5.7.3   Concluding reflections

We know from *Section 1.4*, that the structure of and the decorations on the Barabuḍur are based on a multitude of Buddhist texts from *Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna* and *esoteric* Buddhism. We have in *Section 5.7.1* focused on potential *Mahāyāna* influences on the Barabuḍur from the *Huayan* tradition in China, which was active during the seventh-ninth centuries CE – i.e. during the period of the planning and of the construction of the Barabuḍur. Some thoughts have also been given in *Section 5.7.2* to potential influences on the Barabuḍur from *esoteric* Buddhism – both in the form of the Javanese document *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) and from philosophical sources from China, which also constitute the base of *Shingon* Buddhism in Japan.

The reason why the potential influences from the **Huayan tradition** have been looked into, is that its main text – the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*) – comprises inter alia the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) and the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*), which both are abundantly illustated on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs. As presented in *Section 5.7.1*, we arrived at some conclusions, such as:

i.   that **the Huayan nikāya may not have been physically present on Java** in the form of a *vihāra* during late eighth to early ninth century CE;

ii.   that **the BAS was probably not the underlying text of the Barabuḍur.** However, given that the Javanese monks were studying in China, one may not entirely rule out that some parts of the *BAS* could have been influential to the monument in its planning and construction phases;

iii.   that **the GVS and the SBP may probably have been   known   to the builders of the Barabuḍur as free standing texts** – whether of Indian or Chinese origin is, however, questionable.

We have also given some thoughts as to the potential influence on the Barabuḍur by some of the concepts expressed in the *esoteric* Javanese text, the **Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan** (the *SHK*). Although the *SHK* may not have been formally completed in a written Sanskrit form prior to the early tenth century CE, some of the ideas expressed in the *SHK* may, nevertheless, have circulated freely prior thereto (see *Appendix II*). The aspects of main interest to us here are:

- that *Divārūpa* is assumed to represent the Absolute Reality, which personified took the form of *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha a role that Buddha Mahāvairocana assumed in the *STTS*;
- that the deities in the two interconnected groups of the *SHK* epistemological evolution are identical to the main deities of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (*Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya*) and of the Barabuḍur (*Bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*);
- that this could be an indication of the existence on Java of the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*;
- that some scholars have proposed that the concept *advaya* in the *SHKA* corresponds to the *tattvadharmakāya* (the Body Law of Reason of the *Garbha maṇḍala*), and that the concept *advayajñāna* in the *SHKA* corresponds to *jñānadharmakāya* (the Body Law of Knowledge of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*); and
- that the *STTS* could have been one of the original sources to both the Barabuḍur and to the *SHK*.

As regards the **esoteric form of Buddhism in China**, it reached its apex during the life time of Amoghavajra and was a result of the work of the Three Monks. It was further developed by the ensuing three-to-four generations of monks in China. In fact, it would seem, that **there existed a profound dialogue between Chinese and foreign monks during this transformative period**. During the historical maelstroms around the mid-ninth century CE, a lot of the documentation of *esoteric* Buddhism in China vanished. In contrast to the rich documentation of Amoghavajra, the documentations of his followers are much weaker (see *Section 4.2.5*). In fact, regarding the late Tang *esoteric* Buddhism, we seem to a large extent obliged to rely on the accounts of Japanese pilgrims and to sources originating in Japan – i.e. not of Chinese provenance. With the exception for the main Chinese texts presented in *Appendixes III and IV*, we seem to be restricted to the readily available *Shingon* and *Tendai* documentary sources, in order to learn more in detail about *esoteric* Buddhism in China during the eighth to ninth centuries CE. This is the background to our analysis in *Section 5.7.2* above.

However, it would seem prudent to express a few **words of warning**, as regards these comparisons. Japanese scholars have expressed perplexion to the apparent absence in Chinese sources of the self-conscious *esoteric* Buddhism, that Kūkai claimed to have been consecrated by Huiguo.

Although the *Shingon* texts are extant today and quite detailed, they must be studied with caution. Modern scholars are of the opinion, that some of these texts have been designed to segregate the *MVS* and the *STTS* from the larger *mantric* and *Mahāyāna* contexts for purposes of sectarian legitimation. In view hereof, the Japanese attempts to locate the origin of the Japanese "Twin-*maṇḍala*" concept to either Amoghavajra or Huilang must be viewed with caution. Although late Tang Buddhism may be regarded to have used ritual elements from both these ritual cycles, it may not necessarily have been in the form of the *Shingon* "Twin-*maṇḍala*" tradition.[1112]

In addition, the strife between *Shingon* and *Tendai* for hegemony in Japan, that blossomed up after the demise of Kūkai, led inter alia to the fabrication of various texts in order to suit specific sectarian purposes. For example, three late Tang *siddhi* texts[1113] were spuriously ascribed to Śubhākarasiṃha. These three *siddhi* texts have subsequently been proven to have been Japanese (*Tendai*) fabrications composed to legitimate the *mantra* practice in the ninth century, as used by Saichō´s lineage.[1114] In addition, Saichō´s disciples are said to have forged a couple of texts, in order to "authenticate" the "dharma transmission certificate" (*fuhōmon*) of Saichō and of the *esoteric* Buddhist teachings ascribed to their Master.[1115] Likewise, the monk Zhihui-lun (? -875/876 CE) has been ascribed two ritual manuals,[1116] which Orzech regards highly unlikely. Instead he sees them as "elements of elite Tang esoteric traditions into the broader current of Chinese Buddhism."[1117] Against this background, one must be open to the idea that other works referring to the inventories of Japanese pilgrims may have a Japanese origin, rather than a Chinese extraction.

[1112] Orzech, 2011(b), pp. 315-316, 320-327; Orzech, 2006, pp. 45-46 & 70

[1113] T. 905; T. 906 and T. 907.

[1114] Chen, 2010, pp. 1-2 & 209-215; Chen, 2009, pp. 5-13 & 253; Chen, 1998, p. 24.

[1115] Chen, 2009, pp. 15, 111-112 & 245-249.

[1116] T. 1246 and T. 1275.

[1117] Orzech, 2011(b), p. 335.

5.8   The Barabuḍur as a Vajradhātu maṇḍala

The *maṇḍala* may be described to be constituted of two parts - *maṇḍa* (the core) and *la* (the container).[1118] On the Barabuḍur, (i) the "core" would be the terraces with their 72 latticed *stūpas* together with the central *stūpa*, while (ii) the "container" would be the four galleries and the Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā*. The purpose of the "container" (i.e. the bas-reliefs on the galleries, etc.) would be to encourage the pilgrims to follow the Path.

The *maṇḍala* may be seen as representing the four-sided palace (*kūṭā-gāra*) of the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven.[1119] The *maṇḍala* is regarded as the divine residence of the deities – the *ādhāra*. This residence is sacred when the deities reside therein. The residing deities are called *ādheya*. There exists a symbiotic relationship between these parties (like the mirror and the object reflected) in the form of *ādhāra-ādheya-bhāva*. In this symbiotic relationship, the individual parties are mutually dependent on each other – one may not be without the other. On the architectural monument – the *ādhara* – this is illustrated by the sacred statues/images – the *ādheya*.[1120]

The purpose of *yoga tantra* rituals is to bring forth the Buddha-nature within the devotees (see *Section 4.2.3*). This aim may be reached by the use of the Buddhist *maṇḍala,* which may be regarded as a mesocosm – mediating between the universal macrocosm and the individual microcosm. At every level, the *maṇḍala* is a template - an energy grid – by means of which the human being may interact with the divine and thereby experience reality from a superhuman perspective.

Often the Buddhist *yoga tantra* practice uses various media in combination with the matrix of energy flows of the *maṇḍala*; e.*g.* the "seed mantra" (*bīja-mantra*) of the deity (corresponding to the energy level

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[1118]   This is of course not a true etymological definition. Instead, it should be regarded as a form of interpretation of the word, in order to give it a deeper meaning.

[1119]   It was here that Siddhārtha Gautama in his *saṃbhogakāya* form was initiated as the Complete Buddha according to the *Mahāyāna* tradition (see *Section 5.3.1, Note 1013*). As indicated in *Appendix III, # 3*, it was also in his *saṃbhogakāya* form, that Siddhārtha Gautama in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven preached the *BAS* to the bodhisattvas of the Tenth Stage – and then became a Buddha.

[1120]   Chandra, 1995(c), p. 57.

of the deity); the practitioner´s hand position (*mudrā*) rendering the energy level of the deity; *mantras* inscribed in the *maṇḍala*; *mantras* infused in water or other fluids; etc.

By using these acoustic, photic, solid and fluid media in connection with the matrix of energy flows of the *maṇḍala*, the practitioner is believed to be transformed into a higher and more divine being until he reaches the Buddha at the center – with whom he enters into immediate proximity (*esoteric* dual Buddhism) or with whom he identifies by embodying the energy of the Buddha (*tantric* non-dual Buddhism) in the form of *āveśa*.[1121]

The similarities to the Barabuḍur are apparent.

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The Barabuḍur was built around the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries CE by a Śailendra king in order to expose his belief in the Buddha and to strengthen his own power-base. The Barabuḍur was constructed in such a manner, as to enable the pilgrim to reach higher spiritual levels the higher up, that he climbed the monument. The question arose whether the Barabuḍur would assume the form of a *maṇḍala* in order to make this possible?

Already in 1924, Ōmura Seigai proclaimed that the Barabuḍur was a *maṇḍala*.[1122] Seigai even proposed that the Barabuḍur should house the "Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas". The monument must therefore be in the form of a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, as this was the only form of *maṇḍala* that is identified with the "Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas".[1123]

As presented in *Section 4.2.3*, there are indications that would lead us to believe that *caryā tantra*, as well as *yoga tantra*, had been introduced on Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. We have also seen in this *Section 5.8* that a *maṇḍala* is regarded as the residence (*ādhāya*) of the deities (*ādheya*). The presence of the Buddhas on the Barabuḍur is illustrated by their images, a fact which makes the

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[1121] See *Section 4.2.3, Note 778.*

[1122] See *Section 5.5.3, Note 1050.*

[1123] See *Section 5.6.3.*

monument sacred. In addition, we learn from *Appendix IV, # 8.3* of the composition of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.

Given the above, one may easily tend to identify the Barabuḍur as illustrating the Buddhist cosmos in the form of a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala.*

The Total Knowledge of Ādibuddha is supposed to consist of 37 facets – i.e. 36 qualities of the Buddha together with his Self-Nature Body (*dharmakāya*). Each of these facets are personified as the 37 divinities in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – which are illustrated by the *Ṅgañjuk bronzes* (see *Section 4.2.3.1*). The 72 images of Buddha Vairocana in the latticed *stūpas* should thus symbolize the 36 facets of the Total Knowledge of Ādibuddha Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva – as seen from the aspects (i) of the Buddha as the meditating subject or (ii) of the Buddha himself (see *Section 1.4.6*). Snodgrass thus claims that the 72 Buddha Vairocana in the latticed *stūpas* on the terraces of the Barabuḍur – together with Buddha Akṣobhya - form the Diamond World *maṇḍala* (*Vajradhātu maṇḍala*).[1124]

The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is composed of nine independent Assembly *maṇḍalas*. Of these, the central *maṇḍala* is called the *Karma* Assembly (or the "Perfected Body Assembly") (see *Appendix IV, # 8.3* and **Picture 144**). The mission of its 37 deities in the center of this *Karma* Assembly *maṇḍala* is, on the one hand, to **reveal the "invisible" Buddha** – Buddha Mahāvairocana. On the other hand, the purpose of these 37 deities is to enable the body of the devotee **to assume with the body of Buddha Mahāvairocana** (*āveśa*).

The *Karma* Assembly *maṇḍala* is made up of three squares surrounding the *vajra* circle with its five Buddhas in their respective *vimokṣa* (liberation) circle. The *Karma* Assembly *maṇḍala* have 37 main deities,

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[1124]   Snodgrass agrees herewith with both van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and Nou & Frédéric that the Javanese *stūpa* has the same symbolic significance, as the *stūpa* supported on square terraces in Tibet and Nepal (see *Section 1.4.6*). But in Tibet and Nepal, the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is contained within the *stūpa* dome. On the Barabuḍur, however, the hugh *stūpa* dome is fragmented into one central *stūpa*, surrounded by 72 latticed *stūpas*. The meaning remains the same, however. The single *Vajradhātu stūpa* in Tibet and Nepal and the 73 *stūpas* (72 latticed *stūpa* plus the central *stūpa*) on the Barabuḍur equally symbolizes the Nature-Ocean of Ādibuddha Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva. Snodgrass, 2007, p. 148.

to which are added the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas of the second square (see ***Picture 126***).[1125]
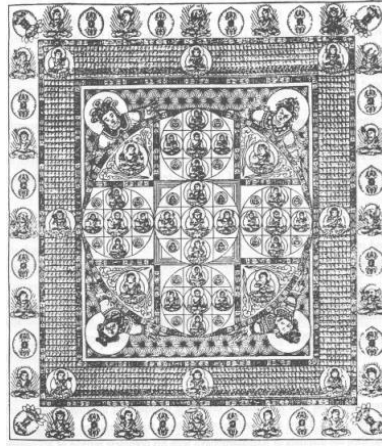
Picture 126   The *Vajradhāthu maṇḍala*

As indicated in *Appendix IV, # 8.3* and *Section 5.6.3*, these Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas constitute in fact one of the main aspects substantiating that the Barabuḍur is representing a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1126] Of the 132 different kinds of *maṇḍalas* presented in the *Rgyud-sde kun-btus*, the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is the only *maṇḍala* encompassing the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas. By means of the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas, the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* thus becomes a *Mahāmaṇḍala*.

Another aspect connecting the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* to the Barabuḍur, is the fact that the *mudrās* of the five *Tathāgatas* in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* correspond to those of the Buddhas of the Barabuḍur. Based on the information presented in *Section 1.4.5*, a comparison of the *mudrās* of the five *Tathāgatas* in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* and in the *Garbha*

[1125] Please note that the 4 *mahādevas* of the first square and the 20 guardians of the third square are not included in this computation. With these deities included, the *Karma* Assembly *maṇḍala* encompasses 1,061 deities.

[1126] Please note, that in *Section 5.6.3* it has been explained that the 504 Buddha images on the Barabuḍur must first be reduced by the four visible *Pañca-Tathāgatas* and that the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* would not cause aproblem to this "number exercise". On his way up and down the monument, the pilgrim then sees "Thousand Buddhas".

maṇḍala are given in the footnote.[1127] Based on the cardinal directions and the *mudrās*, it is clear that a conformity may be observed between the Buddhas of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* and those of the Barabuḍur (leaving out the Buddhas in *vitarka-mudrā* on the wall of the fourth gallery).

As stated in *Sections 4.1 & 4.3*, the *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes together with the niches in the *Caṇḍi* Sewu seem to indicate that the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* with its 37 central deities would have been introduced on Java at least by the tenth century CE – if not slightly earlier.

Furthermore, we also read in *Appendix IV, # 8.3*, that the nine Assemblies of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is composed of altogether 1,461 divinities. On the Barabuḍur, we encounter a total of 1,460 bas-reliefs. This "number exercise" would seem, though, to be a mere coincidence.

In addition, we learn in *Appendix IV, # 8.3* and *Picture 146*, that the Jewel *Stūpa* within the *bodhimaṇḍa* on the summit of Mount Meru is supposed to have a lay-out corresponding to the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1128] The Jewel *Stūpa* is said to have eight columns and five roof peaks. The eight columns could thus correspond to the eight *vajras* tangential to the *vimokṣa* circles in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. The five roof peaks could also correspond to the the five *vimokṣa* circles of this *maṇḍala*.

Finally, in *Section 4.2.2* we were informed that the purpose of the reconstruction of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu in 792 CE to a cruciform groundplan surrounded by 240 additional shrines (the *Caṇḍi* Perwaras), could very well have been to adjust it from a *Mañjuśrīgṛha* to a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. The construction of a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* in form of a "palace-architecture" *maṇḍala* - i.e. a *puramaṇḍala* - close to the Barabuḍur would indeed be intriguing per se.

[1127]

Mudrā	*Vajradhātu maṇḍala*	*Garbha maṇḍala*
Dharmacakra-mudrā	Mahāvairocana (C)	Mahāvairocana (C)
Bhūmisparśa-mudrā	Akṣobhya (E)	Divyadundubhi (N)
Varada-mudrā	Ratnasambhava (S)	Ratnaketu (E)
Dhyāna-mudrā	Amitābha (W)	Amitāyus (W)
Abhaya-mudrā	Amoghasiddhi (N)	Saṁkusumitarāja (S)

[1128] Incidentally, it was from here that the Buddha Mahāvairocana was supposed to have preached the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* and revealed the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.

Given the above and given *Section 5.5.3* and *Appendix IV, # 8.3* there would seem to be several aspects leading up to the view, that the **Barabuḍur well could have been constructed to represent a maṇḍala – and then in particular a Vajradhātu maṇḍala.** But we must stress, though, that these aspects are only of coincidental nature. We are not aware of any text that documents this hypothesis.

Source: Johan af Klint

Picture 127   Interdispersing decoration on the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

5.9   The Barabuḍur and the Twin-maṇḍala concept

As indicated in *Appendix IV, # 8*, a *maṇḍala* is the visual presentation of the universe in its Totality – i.e. *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana. *Dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana is the personification of Suchness - *Tathatā* 眞如 (*zhēn rú*), which is represented by the Six Elements - 六大 (*liù dà*).

The first five elements are called "Truth" - 理 *lǐ* - and the sixth element is called "Knowledge that understands the Truth" –

i.e. "Wisdom" 智 *zhì*.[1129] The two – "the Known and the Knower" – are inseparable – the one may not be interpreted without the other. This has been expressed in *Shingon* Buddhism as:

"Truth and Wisdom do not make two"
理智不二 (*lĩ zhì bù èr*).

This important non-duality concept is expressed in the Twin-*maṇḍalas* in the form of:

- the *Matrix Maṇḍala* (the *Garbha maṇḍala*) represents "the Truth" *lĩ* 理 (i.e. the "Principle" of the *dharma* body of Buddha Mahāvairocana, which is equal with the five Elements of the Form). It presents the Reality in the world of phenomena, as it is created by the *dharma*; and
- the *Diamond World Maṇḍala* (the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*) represents the "Wisdom" *zhì* 智 (i.e. the "Knowledge, that understands the Truth"). It presents the Reality, as it is hidden in the world of the Buddhas – in the not-created world.

These two *maṇḍalas* thus represent a layout, that illustrates the secret doctrine – the integration and the "non-duality" between "Truth" and "Wisdom". These Twin-*maṇḍalas* thus complement each other and none of them could exist independently of the other.

Tathāgata Mahāvairocana of the *dharmakāya* is in the center of both Twin-*mandalas* – in the *Garbha maṇḍala* he sits in the meditation *mūdra* (*dharmadhātu-dhyāna-mudrā*) [1130] and in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* he carries out the *mūdra* of the First Seal Knowledge (*jñāna-muṣṭi-mudrā*).[1131] *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana may thus be said to encompass the eight-fold embodiment of Ādibuddha; viz. five from the

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[1129] Please note, that the Chinese character "*lĩ*" – 理 – means both "*Principle*" and "*Truth*". The Chinese character "*zhì*" – 智 – means "*Wisdom*", while the related character "*zhĩ*" – 知 – means "*Knowledge*".

The comparative aspects could thus either be "***Principle* and *Knowledge***" or "***Truth* and *Wisdom***".

[1130] This meditation *mudrā* symbolizes the "horizontal identity" of the Truth and of the psysical phenomenons (see *Appendix IV, # 8.1, Note 1631*).

[1131] This *mudrā* of the First Seal Knowledge symbolizes the non-duality between Truth and Wisdom (see *Appendix IV, # 8.1, Note 1632*).

vajradhātu and three from the *garbhadhātu*.[1132] The Buddha here symbolizes the *amalavijñāna*.[1133]

But on Java, these Twin-*maṇḍalas* were supposed to be integrated by the *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha - the personification of the Absolute Reality (the *Divārūpa*). The *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha was thus supposed to have existed in the *Nirakārajñāna* - i.e. above the *Ratnatraya* (as illustrated in the *Caṇḍi* Mendut) and the *Pañca Tathāgata* (as presented on the Barabuḍur).[1134]

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In *Section 1.5.1* it was claimed that the *Caṇḍi* Mendut may represent the *Garbha maṇḍala*. The basis for this claim was inter alia that the decoration of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut together with its images (Buddha Vairocana,[1135] bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[1136] and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, the four *Tathāgatas* and the eight bodhisattvas) do all correspond to the *Shingon* graphic representation of the *Genzu Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala*. In addition, we learned in *Section 4.2.4*, that the close fit of the *paramaśāyikin maṇḍala* to the design of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut, which might indicate that the *Caṇḍi* Mendut represents the *Genzu Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala*.

In *Section 5.8*, the view was presented that the Barabuḍur would represent the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1137] This statement was based inter alia on the fact that of the 132 different kinds of *maṇḍalas* presented in the *Rgyud-sde kun-btus*, the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* was the only *maṇḍala*

[1132]   See *Appendix IV, # 2, Note 1509*.

[1133]   For further references as regards this entire *Section 5.9*, see *Appendix IV, # 8*.

[1134]   See *Appendix II, # 1.4, Pictures 136 & 137*.

[1135]   Buddha Vairocana could here have been presented as Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana). See the *Ratnatraya* discussion (the *SHK*) in *Section 5.7.2, Note 1107*.

[1136]   Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is in Sanskrit texts also referred to as bodhisattva Padmapāṇi ("Holder of the Lotus") or as bodhisattva Lokeśvara ("Lord of the World").

[1137]   Please note, that Wayman suggests in *Section 5.5.3*, that the Barabuḍur contains the *Matrix maṇḍala* of compassion (or a variety of the *Karuṇāgarbha maṇḍala*) in the form of the "container" (i.e. the bas-reliefs on the galleries, etc.) *as well as* the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (the "core") in the form of the 72 latticed *stūpas* together with the central *stūpa*. **The Barabuḍur would thus contain both Twin-maṇḍalas**.

encompassing the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas. The Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas (indicated on the Barabuḍur by the 504 Buddha images seen twice during the *pradakṣiṇ*a) are in fact one of the main aspects substantiating that the Barabuḍur represents the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.

In *Section 5.8* and in *Appendix IV, # 8.3* it is proclaimed that the Jewel *Stūpa* (*kūṭāgāra*) has a design similar to that of the *Karma* Assembly of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala,* i.e. the five roof peaks of the Jewel *Stūpa* correspond to the the five *vimokṣa* circles of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – symbolizing the Knowledges of the five Buddhas of the Diamond (*Vajra*) World, the "Kings of the Heart" (*xīn wáng* 心王). The eight *vajras* of the Jewel *Stūpa* symbolize the eight types of consciousness, corresponding to the eight petals of the lotus dais of the Matrix (*Garbha*) World (see *Picture 143*). ***This denotes an interpenetration of the Matrix World of Principle with the Diamond World of Knowledge.***

The two *maṇḍalas* thus complement each other. They represent two aspects of Reality.[1138] The *Garbha maṇḍala* - the *maṇḍala* of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut in the east - represents the *dharma* body of Principle (*lǐ* 理) of Buddha Mahāvairocana. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* - the *maṇḍala* of the Barabuḍur in the west - represents the *dharma* body of Wisdom (*zhì* 智) of Buddha Mahāvairocana. With the fire offering rites in between at the *Caṇḍi* Pawon, the secret doctrine is revealed – "Principle" and "Wisdom" are integrated - "*They are two, yet they are not two*". ***Duality becomes non-duality.***

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The reason for remaining in this chapter so long with these Twin-*maṇḍalas* – the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* - is that they explain jointly Buddha Mahāvairocana and his relation to man. These two *maṇḍalas* represent namely, the realization that the eternal Buddha (Buddha Mahāvairocana) is within the body of the believer in the form of a *bodhicitta* (Buddha-nature). By referring to this *bodhicitta*, the *dharma* may be communicated to the devotee ***directly by the dharmakāya Mahāvairocana.***

[1138]   For further details, see *Appendix IV, # 8 & 8.1.*

Garbha means "womb" (embryo & storage). The *Garbha maṇḍala* is based on the *MVS*. It is also called the Matrix *maṇḍala* with reference to its construction in 81 squares.[1139] The *Garbha maṇḍala* symbolizes the "Principle" (*lǐ* 理) of *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana, which is illustrated by the first five of the Six Elements. The *Garbha maṇḍala* also illustrates the central theme of the *MVS* – the *bodhicitta*, the compassion (*karuṇā*) and the skilful means (*upāya kauśalya*).

The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is based on the *STTS*. *Vajra* means "thunder-bolt" and symbolizes the instructable and overwhelming truth. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* represents the sixth Element – i.e. the "Wisdom" (*zhì* 智) that understands the Principle. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* consists of nine (9) Assembly *maṇḍalas*. The *Karma* Assembly is the central *maṇḍala* of these nine Assembly *maṇḍalas*. It constitutes the support for meditations, which leads to "perfection of Buddhahood in the Body" – i.e. the unobstructedly interpenetration of the body of the Buddha with the body of the devotee (*āveśa*).

Given the above, we may conclude:
- that the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* complement each other; and
- that the Barabuḍur comprises elements that confirms ***both*** with the *Garbha maṇḍala* (the latticed *stūpas* on the terrace area) ***and*** with the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (the Buddha images).[1140]

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The question that may be raised in this context, is whether the *esoteric* form of Buddhism prevaling on Central Java during the eighth and ninth centuries CE would be identical to or influenced by the *esoteric* form of Buddhism found in China or in Japan at that time period? Let us see what answers this relevant question may invoke.

[1139] See *Appendix IV, # 8.2.*

These 81 squares may be organized in three bands or levels, that surround the center. These three layers with their respective 32, 24 and 16 squares, correspond to the three levels of latticed *stūpas* on the three terraces of the Barabuḍur. One may in other words state, that the *Garbha maṇḍala* may also be seen to be represented on the Barabuḍur.

[1140] Please note, that the fact that the Barabuḍur may contain elements from both Twin-*maṇḍalas* may also be described in different manners (see this *Section 5.9, Note 1137*).

We have been informed from the previous texts of this dissertation, inter alia, that:

- the Barabuḍur may be seen to comprise conformities **both** with the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (the Buddha images) **and** with the *Garbhamaṇḍala* (the latticed *stūpas*)[1141]

- the decorations on the outside of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut correspond to the *Shingon* graphic representation of the *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala* – as do the three main images in the central cella of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (see *Section 1.5.1*);

- the Barabuḍur as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* and the *Caṇḍi* Mendut as a *Garbha maṇḍala* are both, according to the cardinal points, situated in conformity with the those of a *Shingon* temple (see *Section 5.7.2*).

In addition, we have learned in *Section 5.7.3* that the *esoteric* form of Buddhism, which developed in China, lost ground in China during the ninth century CE, while it simultaneously developed on firm grounds in Japan in the form of *Shingon* and *Tendai* Buddhism.

We have furthermore been adviced in *Section 2.1.1*, that the trading routes between Japan, China and Java were in full swing during this period. In addition, in *Sections 2.2 & 2.3.2* we were presented with the Śailendra concept of a "Double Kingdom" encompassing a trading operation of a substantial size. The control of the sea by means of the "Double Kingdom" made possible considerable exchanges of views and ideas between the Buddhist monks of the Far East.

What do we make out of this?

To be noted is also, that in folios 45b and 46a of the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*), the concept of "*sang hyang advaya*" is presented as the Body of the Law of Principle (*tattvadharmakāya*) of the *Garbha maṇḍala*. Correspondingly, the concept of the "*sang hyang advayajñāna*" is presented as the Body of the Law of Knowledge (*jñānadharmakāya*) of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1142] As presented in *Appendix II, # 1.2*, some scholars are of the

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[1141]   See *Section 5.9, Note 1137.*

[1142]   This refers to one of the most important principles within *Shingon* Buddhism – namely, "Innate Reason [Truth] and Wisdom do not make two" 理智不二 (*lǐ zhì bù èr*). See *Section 5.7.2 & Section 5.9, Note 1129.*

opinion, that at least some early parts of the *SHK* and its underlying ideas may have been known on Java by the time of the reconstruction of the Barabuḍur. If so, the main question would seem to be whether the introductions on Java of these "*SHK* concepts" were transmitted to Java (i) *directly* from India, or (ii) whether they were introduced on Java *directly* from China in the form of the texts that the Three Monks had obtained in India and translated into Chinese – i. e. the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848), the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (T. 865) and the *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses* (T. 243). The former of these mentioned texts was translated to Chinese in 724-725 CE by Śubhākarasiṃha. The latter two were translated by Amoghavajra into Chinese in 754 CE and 768-770 CE, respectively – See *Appendix IV, # 5, 6 & 7.*

We know from *Appendix IV, # 1 & 8*, that both Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi spent their formative years studying in Nālandā, where they most probably came across some *esoteric* ideas and texts. The Diamond-realm line and the Matrix-realm line of *esoteric* Buddhism were probably introduced in China from India during the mid-Tang period. In China *esoteric* Buddhism was further developed by the Three Monks. In fact, we learned in *Section 4.2.5*, that from the mid-eighth century CE the Tang Buddhist institutions were unparalleled in transmitting *esoteric* Buddhism.

Turning the page, we know that *esoteric* Buddhism was known on Java during the early ninth century CE. The Javanese disciple Bianhong from Heling on Java, studied *esoteric* texts on Java, **prior** to going to China. Like Kūkai, Bianhong was a disciple of Huiguo, who assumed Amoghavajra´s responsibilities after the decease of Huilang. Prior to Huiguo´s passing in 805 CE, he conferred on Kūkai[1143] the mastership of the teachings of both the Twin-*maṇḍalas* – the Womb (*Garbha*) *maṇḍala* and the Diamond (*Vajradhātu*) *maṇḍala* (see *Section 4.2.5*).

The Twin-*maṇḍalas* were thus known and studied in China by early ninth century CE – as were the underlying texts the *MVS* and the

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Likewise, we learned in *Appendix IV, # 8, Note 1613*, that the Chinese characters could be read either as **Principle** and **Knowledge**, or as **Truth** and **Wisdom**. *Other source:* Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 376.

[1143] Please note, that Huiguo passed on **both** these important teachings to a **foreigner** (Kūkai). Would the reason be, that Huiguo had premonitions about harder times to come in China?

STTS. As mentioned in *Section 4.2.5*, Bianhong was initiated in the Womb (*Garbha*) *maṇḍala* by Huiguo. It is not known, whether Bianhong ever went back to Java. However, it is also assumed, that Bianhong was not the only Javanese disciple studying in China by that time.

Given the Occam´s Razor theory, it may not be deemed unrealistic to assume that *some of these esoteric concepts were introduced on Java directly from China.*

From the above, we may conclude, that there are indeed a multiplicity of questions open. The answers may lie hidden in documentary sources, yet to be discovered. But given this, the main conclusions that may be drawn from this Section could well be:

   i.   The fundamental aspect "Truth and Wisdom do not make two" is expressed in the Twin-*maṇḍalas* in the form of:
- the Matrix (*Garbha*) *maṇḍala* (symbolizing "Truth"); and
- the Diamond (*Vajradhātu*) *maṇḍala* (symbolizing "Wisdom").

  ii. This would mean, that the Twin-*maṇḍalas* complement each other and that none of them may exist without the other, albeit they are based on two different texts – the *MVS* and the *STTS*.

 iii. *Tathāgatha* Mahāvairocana of the *dharmakāya* is in the center of both these Twin-*maṇḍalas* – but in different *mudrās*.

 iv. On Java, these Twin-*maṇḍalas* were supposed to be integrated by *Bhaṭāra* Hyang Buddha.

  v. The *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the Barabuḍur may each be seen as representing the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, respectively. Together, they thus constitute the Twin-*maṇḍala* and thus illustrate that "duality becomes non-duality".

 vi. The Barabuḍur comprises elements from both the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – thus making the Buddha present on the monument for us to meet and communicate with.

 vii. Some early parts of the *SHK* could well have been present on Java during the Śailendra time.

viii. The concepts of the Twin-*maṇḍalas* and their underlying texts – the *MVS* and the *STTS* – could well have been introduced to Java from China.

5.10 The Śailendras and historical aspects

An extraordinary building spree on Central Java of Buddhist and Hindu monuments and temples during the period of the Matarām Kingdoms of Central Java (570-927 CE) has been presented above in *Sections 1 & 2.3*. The question arises forthwith how these immence undertakings could have been realized and from where the required financial resources were secured.

This was also a period of remarkable changes in the Central Javanese society. Buddhism was introduced in the Indonesian archipelago, as was the *Brāhmī* script.

This period also seemed to be coincidental with the brief, but intense reign of the Śailendra dynasty (746-829 CE).

What common points of interest could be derived from these aspects – if any?

5.10.1 The Śailendra origin

The question has been raised as to the origin of the Śailendras – i.e. whether they were of Javanese or foreign origin. Several theories have been proposed during the past decades, which have painted a rather disparate and sometimes a rather confusing picture. And still, the origin of the Śailendra dynasty is not yet definitely ascertained.

The earlier theories were affected by the views, that the western scholars may have carried with them to the field, representing the colonial powers. Prior to World War II, it was generally acknowledged among international scholars that the Śailendras were of a foreign origin. The Śailendras were seen having come from the *Indian* Sub-continent – either directly or indirectly via Sumatra or Cambodia (Funan).[1144]

With growing sense of nationalism and political freedom from the colonial powers, the theories developed after World War II seemed to

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[1144] "The Capital in the South" - *Fūnán* 府南 (see *Section 2.3.2*).

have taken on more nationalistic traits and given more active roles to the local parties. It was against this background, that the hypothesis of the *Javanese* origin of the Śailendra dynasty developed and became generally accepted.

Now the pendulum seems to have swung back again to that of an *Indian* background. The views of Jordaan & Colless have been presented in *Section 2.3.2*. Both Sarkar (1985) and Chandra (1994) expressed rather fictitious proposals that the Śailendras had their origin in Śrīśailam in the lower Kṛṣṇa valley in Āndhra Pradesh, where they should have ruled as "Lords of the Hill". Cœdès hypothesis of a North Indian emigration to Funan in Cambodia, which after the collapse of the local *Bnam* kingdom moved south-wards to Java, is but a variation of this Indian origin.

These various theories were made possible by the apparent lack of written sources. However, some inscriptions have fairly recently been found and shed new light on this historical background. In this context, the Nālandā inscription, the Mantyāsi I inscription and the Wanua Těngah III inscription are of particular importance (see *Appendix I, # 14, 15 & 16*, respectively). The Wanua Těngah III inscription was found as late as 1983 CE.

Against this background, and in order to sort things out and to obtain a clearer picture of all these various theories, one may beneficially list them in a table form. As the Śailendra dynasty is in focus, it would also be of interest to have this table reflect the political relationship between Java and Sumatra. Three categories of this political relation-ship immediately spring to mind – such as (i) a tense and hostile relationship; (ii) a friendly relationship; and finally (iii) Java and Sumatra living on a neutral basis side-by-side.

Jordaan & Colless have summarized these studies in the illustrative table in *Picture 128* below:

Origin of Śailendra dynasty	Relationship between Central Java and Sumatra (Śrīvijaya), c. 775-850		
	Rivalry and conquest	Alliance and co-operation	Separate and neutral
Sumatra	1 Coedès (1918; 1930) Krom (1919) Vogel (1919)	2 Snellgrove (2000) Totton (2002)	3
Java	4 Stutterheim (1929) Poerbatjaraka (1952) Wagner (1959) Boechari (1966) Slametmuljana (1981)	5 Krom (1938a) Bosch (1941a) De Casparis (1990)	6 Nilakanta Sastri (1940) D.G.E. Hall (1964a) K.R. Hall (1992) Wolters (1967) Wisseman Christie (1995)
Cambodia	7 Coedès (1934)	8 De Casparis (1950; 1956) Coedès (1959; 1968)	9 Colless (1970a)
India	10 Majumdar (1933, 1937) Quaritch Wales (1935) Sarkar (1985)	11 Jordaan (1999c) Jordaan & Colless (2003)	12 Chandra (1994) Van Naerssen and De Iongh (1977)

Source: Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 128

Picture 128 List over various theories concerning the relationship between Central Java and Śrīvijaya

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The origin of the Śailendras is not known with any higher degree of certainty. However, recent theories depict them to have been of *foreign nature,* being former rulers of a proposed dynasty in eastern India.[1145] The Śailendras should subsequently have lived in the northern part of the Thai-Malay Peninsula. One does not know for how long and where exactly, but the opinion has been raised that it may have been close to Chaiya or Ligor – or even as far south as Kĕdah.

That the Śailendras were of a foreign origin seems to be confirmed by the fact, that they were not included with their original Sanskrit names and titles in the reignal presentations of the Mantyāsiḥ I and the Wanua Tĕngah III inscriptions (see *Appendix I, # 15 & 16*, respectively).

[1145] The Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Kṛṣṇa valley, which existed at the time of the rising Pallava dynasty.

The rather sudden introduction of various foreign elements on Central Java in the eighth and ninth centuries CE, may be regarded as an indication of the arrival on Central Java of rulers with a foreign background. Although the introduction of these new elements on Central Java may not per se prove the specific area of origin of the new rulers, they may nonetheless be an indication of their Indian origin as such. Some of these foreign elements are as follows:

Buddhism was promoted as the most important religion during the Śailendra reign (see *Section 4.2*). *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism flourished in Indonesia during the latter part of the seventh century CE. *Mahāyana* Buddhism and the early form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism seem to have been introduced on Java by early eighth century CE. This is indicated in the Kālasan inscription of 778 CE and in the Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE. In fact, these latter Buddhist traditions seem to have been predominant on Java during the Śailendra reign (c:a 746-829 CE). At the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur, all three Buddhist *nikāyas* were thus represented and flourished on Java.

Architectural art had a definite bearing from India. This is apparent on the various *caṇḍi* constructions on the Dièng plateau, in the Keḍu valley and in the Prambanan area. As indicated in *Sections 1.1 & 4.2.4*, the Barabuḍur was probably constructed in accordance with Indian methods. Its reconstruction in early ninth century CE was executed with new Indian building techniques.

Mahārāja was introduced as a title during the Śailendra period. The *Mahārāja* was the "*Rāja* of the other *rājas*" or in our terminology the "King of kings". It is noteworthy, that the Śailendras did not use the local titles, such as *Rakai*.

The *Brāhmī script* is a script that was introduced in certain places on Sumatra and Central Java (see *Section 2.3.2*). Most of the old inscriptions on Sumatra and Java were chiselled in Old Javanese, which also applied to the inscriptions by the Śañjaya family. Of interest to note, though, is that the inscriptions by the Śailendra family were written in Sanskrit with the *Brāhmī* script (also known as *siddhamātṛkā*).

Despite the interesting aspects of various hypotheses regarding the physical origin of the Śailendras, we should not forget that these aspects are but hypotheses. As such they are not based on any signi-

ficant documentary evidence. In essence, we are thus still not certain (i) from where exactly the Śailendras originated, (ii) when they parted India for Southeast Asia or (iii) which way they finally took before reaching Central Java. Although the theories are interesting, some documentary evidence are warranted in order to enable us to arrive at a final conclusion.

5.10.2 The Śailendra reign on Java and the Double Kingdom

The Śailendra king - Śrī Sanggrāmadhanaṃjaya - was supposed to have made an alliance with the Buddhist king of Śrīvijaya - king Dharmasetu, who became his "younger brother". This alliance was sealed by the marriage between the Śailendra prince Samaratuṅga and princess Tārā from Śrīvijaya. Out of this marriage were born *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra (the king of *Suvarnadvīpa* in the Nālandā inscription)[1146] and princess Prāmodavardhanī (Śrī Kahulunan). The latter subsequently married *Rakai* Garung of the Śañjaya dynasty on Java. This hypothesis explains the good relations between the Śailendras on Java and the kingdom of Śrivijaya. It also explains the inscription on Side B of the Ligor (Chaiya) stele (see *Appendix I, # 3*), where the Śailendra king referred to himself as *Śrīvijayendrarāja* (the "King over the lords of Śrīvijaya").

The Śailendras should now (i.e. mid-eighth century CE) have extended their power also to include Java – with the assistance of the king of Śrīvijaya. That it managed to retain the power base on Java, may partly be ascribed to intermarriages with the Śañjaya dynasty – which enabled them to gain legal access to and ownership of land properties and to use the local manpower. However, this aspect remains unverified to date.

The ***power base*** of the Śailendra´s is exemplified by their denomination as "Lords of the Hill"[1147] and by the various *Caṇḍi* Perwaras around *Caṇḍi* Sewu and *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor.[1148] In addition, the Kālasan inscription describes how the Śailendras defeated the second king

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[1146] See *Appendix I, # 14.*

[1147] See *Section 2.3.2, Note 497*.

[1148] See *Section 5.11.1.*

(*Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa) of the Hindu branch of the Matarām kingdom and forced him to construct the Tālā temple and to grant a village for its upkeep.[1149] Finally, the various descriptions of Sudhana in royal attire in the bas-reliefs regarding the *GVS* on the Barabuḍur also signifies this,[1150] as well as the Processional Path around the monument.[1151]

According to this theory, the Śailendra dynasty now had control over Java, Sumatra - including Śrīvijaya and the Malay Peninsula. This was the *Śailendra Interregnum on Java* – c:a 746-829 CE. They had in other words control of the fertile soils of Java, as well as of the Javanese work force, at the same time, as they were in control of the lucrative trade routes through the Strait of Malacca. This organisational set-up lay the foundation for an impressive build-up of wealth.

An analysis of the Ligor (Chaiya) stele (775 CE) and of the Nālandā inscription (~ 850 CE) (*Appendix I, # 3 & 14*, respectively) brings forth the facts that there existed a friendly co-existence between Central Java and Śrīvijaya during the period 746-829 CE. It also presents the alliance between these two polities, cemented by the marriage between king Samaratuṅga of the Śailendra family and princess Tārā of the Lunar house in Śrīvijaya.

But how does one succeed in reigning such a vast and disparate polity? One alternative could be the concept of "***Double Kingdom***", as referred to in *Section 2.3.2*. Based on an alliance between *Yavabhūmi* (Java) and of *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula), the so called "Double Kingdom" was established. The former kingdom - *Yavadbhūmi* - would in this constellation have been the ceremonial and sacred centre of the Śailendra empire, as well as its agricultural base.

The relationship with Śrīvijaya was thus probably quite close. It is in fact likely, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra may have reigned as a viceroy in Śrīvijaya by the mid-ninth century CE.[1152] The recently revised dating

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[1149]   See *Appendix I, # 4* "The Kālasan inscription of 778 CE (Śaka 700)".

[1150]   See *Picture 50 in Section 1.4.4.*

[1151]   See *Section 1.4.1.*

[1152]   It is interesting to note, that both Krom and de Casparis have identified this "double empire" (*dubbele Śailendra-rijk*) and *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra´s claim to the throne of Śrīvijaya

of the Nālandā inscription indicates that it was issued sometime between 843-850 CE. *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was therein mentioned as king in *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Sumatra – including Śrīvijaya – and part of the Malay Peninsula), which indicates that he was viceroy in Śrīvijaya at that time.[1153] As seen in *Section 2.3.3, Dyaḥ* Bālaputra´s position in Śrīvijaya and his relationship to the Śailendras are still based on fairly uncertain grounds and need to be further verified.

5.10.3   The generation of required financial resources

As earlier indicated, the Śailendra Interregnum (c:a 746-829 CE) on Java entailed a frenetic building spree of various Buddhist and Hindu temples and monuments on Central Java – an activity, which required enormous financial and other resources. The question is how and from where these resources were secured?

It is of importance to note, that under the hypothesis of the Śailendra Interregnum on Java, the Śailendras should have been in power over a vast and strategic tripartite geographical area composed of:

i.   the Malay Peninsula - with the trading station Kĕdah;

ii.   Sumatra - with the trading stations Jambi/Malayu and Śrīvijaya/Palembang; and

iii.   Java – with both the political capital and the religious center.

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because of his "important territorial claims". It is noteworthy that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra presents himself in the Nālandā inscription as a suzerain of *Suvarṇadvīpa*, whose father and grandfather were kings of *Yavadvīpa*.
de Casparis, 1956, pp. 295 n. 65 & 296 n. 66; & Krom, 1974, p. vii.

[1153] Please note, that I am not too specific here. The relationship between *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra and Princess Prāmodavarddhanī is somewhat uncertain. Jordaan & Colless state that they were brother and sister (see *Section 2.3.2, Picture 99*); Iwamoto means that Princess Prāmodavarddhanī was the aunt to *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra (Iwamoto, 1981, p. 88); Wisseman Christie proposes that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra was the son of *Dyaḥ* Gula (Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 30). As this aspect is not of paramount importance for the matter under discussion, I have refrained from endeavouring sorting out this aspect any further. Jordaan´s & Colless´ suggested theory has therefore been accepted as a general background. Of importance is, though, that *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra (i) claimed his right to both Śrīvijaya *on Sumatra* and to the Śailendra realm on Java, and (ii) that he saw the latter "slip away" to the Śañjayas.

As described in *Section 2.1*, trade was during this period a substantial capital generator. And during the time of the Śailendra Interregnum on Java, the marine trade between India and China had altered its routes and passed almost entirely via the Strait of Malacca. The trade was dominated by the trade winds, resulting in long lead-times in the harbours. The demand for food supplies for the "stranded" crews was predominant. In addition, the valuable cargo of the commercial vessels attracted pirates, who from time to time were a substantial curse.

As mentioned above, the Śailendras have been suggested to have organized its polity in the form of a "Double Kingdom", where Java was the political and religious centre, with Śrivijaya taking control of the trading role in the Strait of Malacca. Java played the role of the granary of these trading ports. The volcanic soil of Central Java was fertile. Based on professional water management, these soils produced crops of various sorts and in an abundance that made them available for exports. The Śailendras must have had a fleet of its own in the ports of northern Java for transporting these provisions to the trading stations in the Strait of Malacca. Examples of such ships are illustrated on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur (see *Section 2.2* and *Picture 98*). They must have been armoured as a defence against the pirates. The Śailendras may also have had some "men-of-war" in order to defend this important life-line and the trading stations in the Strait of Malacca. This assumption is, however, unverified to date.

Given the supposed dual function as a supplier of necessary provisions to the trading stations in the Strait of Malacca, and as a defender of these trading stations, the Śailendras are assumed to have managed to build up and to support a "trading machine" that generated enormous financial surpluses, which were channelled on to Java. Out of this affluence, the Buddhist and the Hindu temples and monuments on Java should have been financed.

5.10.4   The tribute missions to China

As indicated in *Section 2.3.2*, the tribute embassies from Śrīvijaya[1154] stopped abruptly in 742 CE. They were never to resume again. In-

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[1154]   *Shìlìfóqí* 室利佛齐 (Buddhist Sumatra).

stead they were replaced by the tribute embassies from Heling.[1155] The tribute missions to China were sent from Heling in 767 CE and continued with some intervals until 818 CE. These tribute missions may be regarded as reflecting fairly well the Śailendra "alliance" with Śrīvijaya and with the subsequent Śailendra Interregnum on Java.[1156]

The shift in power on Central Java to the Śañjaya family during the first quarter of the ninth century CE, is also reflected in the tribute missions to China. Missions from Heling (Buddhist Java) stopped in 818 CE and were replaced by missions from Shepo (Hindu Java)[1157] in 820 CE and continued with intervals to 873 CE. The expulsion of *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra from Java in 854 CE and the problems, that are presently recorded indentifying the new Śailendra capital on Sumatra, were also reflected in these tribute missions to China. The first two missions were from Jambi[1158] in 852 CE[1159] and 871 CE. The ensuing recorded missions were from Sanfoqi[1160] in 904 and 960 CE.

The Śailendra king later moved to Kĕdah, where he stayed to around 1025 CE, when the Chola king Rājendra launched a naval attack against the the Malay Peninsula (including Kĕdah) and Sumatra (including Jambi/Malayu and Śrīvijaya). As recorded in *Section 2.1.1*, this Chola raid severely affected the trading stations in the Strait of Malacca. But what really crushed Śrīvijaya and the other trading stations in the Strait of Malacca, was the Chinese arrival in this area during the South Song Dynasty (1127-1279 CE).

[1155] *Hēlíng* 河陵 (Buddhist Java)

[1156] Please note, that according to the Chinese annals, there arrived three tribute missions in China from Heling (Buddhist Java) during the seventh century CE (i.e. in 640, 648 and 666 CE). These missions originated, thus, from the Buddhist settlements and scholarly centers of the north coast of Java.

The various missions to China from Java and Sumatra have been listed in *Section 2.3.2, Note 517*.

[1157] *Shēpó* 奢婆 (Hindu Java).

[1158] *Zhànbēi* 占碑 (Jambi).

[1159] Please note, that this mission was sent prior to *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra´s aborted *coup-d´etat* in 854 CE. This may constitute an indication of his position as a viceroy in Śrīvijaya at that date.

[1160] *Sānfóqí* 三佛齐 (The Three Vijayas).

5.10.5 Summary comments on the history of the Śailendras

The Śailendras may be supposed to have had a *foreign origin*. This may inter alia be regarded as being confirmed by the fact that the original Sanskrit names and titles of the Śailendra kings were not included in the Wanua Těngah III inscription (see *Appendix I, # 16*). The overall academic consenus is that the Śailendras originated from the Indian Sub-continent. But uncertainty still prevails as to from what part exactly and when. In any case, no archaeological findings exist to substantiate this theory.

Prior to arriving to Java, the Śailendras are supposed to have entered into a *strategic alliance* – the so called "*Double Kingdom*" with the Buddhist royalty in Śrīvijaya. This alliance could be indirectly deduced from the Ligor (Chaiya) stele (see *Appendix I, # 3*) and from the Nālandā inscription (see *Appendix I, # 14*). The alliance with Śrīvijaya enabled the Śailendras to build up and maintain a "*trading machine*" that generated financial resources of unprecedented quantities. This was the fundamental basis for and explanation of the ensuing building spree on Java, which inter alia included the construction of the Barabuḍur.

The Śailendra *power base* being exemplified by their denomination as "Lords of the Hill", by the various *Caṇḍi* Perwaras, by the construction of the Tālā temple at Kālasan and by Sudhana´s royal attire on various bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur, as well as the Processional Path around the monument.

The Śailendras enjoyed an *Interreignum on Java* during the period 746-829 CE. The Śailendras´ presence on Java may be derived from inter alia the Kālasan inscription and the Kělurak inscription (see *Appendix I, # 4 & 5*, respectively). This Interregnum on Java was probably based on *intermarriages* with the Śañjaya family, so as to enable the Śailendras legal access to and ownership of land properties and the use of the local labour force. Although this is undocumented, the Śailendras and the Śañjayas seemed to have lived in a rather peaceful co-existence during this Interregnum period on Java – their religious and material differences notwithstanding.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized, though, that the above statements only constitute a hypothesis – a theory that is merely partly

substantiated by documentation. It warrants, therefore, further interest and consideration.

Picture 129   Devotion of two round *stūpas* on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs

5.11 The Barabuḍur and the Śailendra kingship

5.11.1 The Śailendra management

The Śailendras introduced on Java the *Negara* form of government. This form of government was based on a delicate balance between the force of power, on the one hand, and the accommodating policies, on the other. This *Negara* form of government was centered around a benevolent king, the power of whom rested to a large extent in various ceremonies and rituals in order to maintain the "sacred" role of the ruler – a "theatre state".

In this Negara-state on Java, the palatial residence of the king – the *kraton* – was placed in the middle of the state. Surrounding this strong political centre, one finds smaller kingdoms or clusters of villages under some authority. On Central Java, the purpose of these

smaller polities was in particular to secure the irrigation water-management. The Śailendra king was here the *Mahārāja* (the "King of kings"). This may be illustrated in the *Caṇḍi* Sewu and in the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan Lor, where both temples are surrounded by 240 and 174 smaller temples ("*Caṇḍi* Perwara"), respectively. On a religious basis, these *Caṇḍi* Perwaras represented the Thousand *Bhadrakalpa* Buddhas. On a social basis, these *Caṇḍi* Perwaras were donated by the king and by the dignitaries in the Śailendra society. On the part of the latter, these donations were a token for their submission to the Śailendra rule.

The Śrī Kahulunan inscription of 842 CE (see *Appendix I, # 10*) refers to the Barabuḍur as the *kamūlān* of the Śailendras – i.e. the building symbolising the origin of the "Lord of the Mountain". In the Karangtěṅah inscription of 824 CE (see *Appendix I, # 9*) the invocation in the first *stanza* is noticeably addressed to the founder of the Śailendra dynasty ("the Lord of the Mountain") at the moment that he attains Buddhahood. This indicates the close relationship between the Śailendras and the Barabuḍur.

The society on Java during the Śailendra period (746-829 CE) was held together, *partly* by law and force (e.g. taxies being levied and collected), *partly* by an accommodating policy (e.g. the king´s regular visits to various parts of the reign). This latter aspect is indicated in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur (see *Section 1.4.4*), where Sudhana is illustrated not as the lonely young man in accordance with the *sūtra* text, but as a mature man in royal attire and with a royal attendance. Naturally, the purpose was probably to imply affinity with the Śailendra king. In bas-relief II-92, Sudhana is shown being shadowed by an attendent with a "*cakra*" on top of a stick – this being the sign of a *cakravartin*. In addition, Sudhana is represented on four bas-reliefs (II-34, II-42, II-46 and II-54) as travelling with foot soldiers, on a horse, in a chariot and on an elephant (see **Picture 130**) – which corresponds to the four divisions of the traditional Indian army. These bas-reliefs may reflect the royal processions by the Śailendra king in the various local smaller polities of his *Negara* state.[1161]

[1161]   We have also seen in *Section 1.4.4*, that these "travelling scenes" may be viewed as indicators of a fundamental change in the bas-relief story.

Picture 130   Sudhana travels on an elephant (II-54)

The bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur may well be viewed as a conscious and deliberate approach by the Śailendras to identify themselves with Sudhana and thus to use these bas-reliefs to further strengthen their own position. ***The Śailedras may thus not only have built the Barabuḍur as a religious monument – but also as a political manifestation of their own power position.***

The Barabuḍur was built with a view of playing a vital role in these ceremonial respects. The purpose of the Twin-maṇḍalas – as represented by the Barabuḍur (the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*) and by the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (the *Garbha maṇḍala*) – was to protect the realm of the Śailendras, as well as the Śailendra *cakravartin* sovereignty.[1162]

The Śailendra kings sought in other words to ensure loyalty of their subordinates partly by economic strings, partly by enhancing their social prestige. But the most important aspect in this respect is the view of the Śailendra dynasty as a *divine kingship*, and what positive spin offs this could imply for the entourage of the Śailendra king.

The Śailendra king thus endeavoured to reign his fragile *Negara*-state by ascertaining harmony between the political *maṇḍala* and the religious *maṇḍala*.

[1162]   See also *Section 5.11.2* below.

5.11.2   *Divine kingship and ceremonial aspects*

In his capacity as a **divine king**, the Śailendra king **represented the Buddha**, upon whose holy *dharma* he had founded his worldly role as a *cakravartin*. He was not the Buddha. The Buddha did not incarnate in him. The king was a mere magical instrument – a pivot between the Buddha and the kingdom of the Śailendras.[1163]

The king was proclaimed to be a *nirmāṇakāya* representation of a bodhisattva of the tenth (*bhūmi*) with access to a Pure land. The king was supposed to have assumed a position among the *sambhogakāya* Buddhas. As such, he would have had **special access to the soteriological powers of the cosmic Buddhas** – for the benefit of his subjects. In this capacity, the king obtained paramount prestige.[1164]

In *Section 5.7.2*, we encountered several indications, that *esoteric* Buddhism would seem to have been known on Java at the time of the Śailendra reign. Particularly with reference to the Twin-*maṇḍalas*, these contacts would have seemed to have come directly from China. The position of the Śailendra king as a *cakravartin* was important in order to ensure his power base in the Matarām kingdom. The Śailendras most probably participated in several ceremonies – some on the Barabuḍur strenghthening their *cakravartin* position.[1165]

[1163]   Le roi n´est pas le Buddha, .… Le Buddha ne s´incarne pas en lui, …. Le roi est seulement un instrument magique qui met son royaume en contact avec le Maïtre disparu.
Mus, 1935, p. *91.

White, however, proposes that the king is being regarded as "the microcosmic godhead incarnate".
White, 2000, p. 25.

Likewise, Moens state that the Śailendra king was the "incarnation" of the Supreme Being, although being referred to as its "emanation".
Moens, 2007(1951), p. 68.

[1164]   The similarities with the status of the Thai king is apparent, as well as with the status of the H.H. Dalai Lama. The H.H. Dalai Lama is regarded to be the *nirmāṇakāya* incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

[1165]   Kūkai introduced in Japan the annual *Shingon* service of the *esoteric Mishuhō* (see *Appendix IV, # 1*) ritual in order to ensure that the emperor became and remained a *cakravartin*. The *Mishuhō* was an annual *esoteric* service conducted at the imperial palace in Japan and with an aim of bestowing upon the emperor exceptional merit. In fact the ultimate goal was to make the emperor a *cakravartin* – thus superceding the Confucian characterization of the emperor as the Son of Heaven.
Abé, 1999, pp. 64-65.

An aspect of substantial importance is that the introduction of *Mantranaya* Buddhism on Java by the latter portion of the eighth century CE, availed the *esoteric* monks to conduct some of the rituals, that earlier were confined only to the Śaiva *gurus*. The aims of these rituals and spells were to obtain worldly powers, as well as to attain Enlightenment (see *Section 4.1*). By means of these ceremonies, the Buddhists strengthened their relationships with the Śailendra king and with the Matarām aristocracy.

In addition, it may not be too far-fetched to assume that the Śailendras had the Barabuḍur built as a sacred building with the Buddha present in the monument. During the period from the *parinirvāṇa* of Buddha Śākyamuni to the arrival of Buddha Maitreya, it is believed in *Theravāda* Buddhism that no Buddha is present on earth. By means of the Barabuḍur, the Śailendras could nevertheless ensure to have a place, where the Buddha is believed to be present, and where they could physically meet with the Buddha, give their vows and start on their own individual bodhisattva Path already during this existing life. Thus, they did not have to await the descent of Buddha Maitreya to this earth, in order to start off on their respective bodhisattva Path. ***The Śailendras could in other words have had the Barabuḍur constructed for redemption purposes.***

5.11.3 Summary comments

The Śailendra king was regarded as a *cakravartin* – representing the Buddha. In this capacity, he was a divine king – having access to the powers of the Buddha. This was the basis for the prestige, that he encountered. But a considerable amount of ceremonies and rituals were required in order to reinforce and preserve this role of the king.

We learned in *Sections 2.3.1 & 2.3.5* that the Śailendras were presumed to have introduced on Java a form of a political state, the *Negara*-form of government with the benevolent king in the centre. This form of government may be described as a political *maṇḍala* (with the Śailendra monarch in the middle). This kind of society was held together partly by force, partly by an accommodating policy. The

Śailendra king was thus required to conduct a balancing act, in order to remain in power. In order to strengthen his position and to maintain his "sacred" role, the Śailendra king endeavoured to have this political *maṇḍala* unite with the religious *maṇḍala* (with the Buddha Vairocana in the centre). The fulfillment of such a goal required various ceremonies and rituals.

In addition, the Barabuḍur could also have been built as a "sacred" place with the Buddha present, thus enabling the Śailendras to meet with the Buddha already in this life, and give his vows and start on his bodhisattva Path already during this lifecycle.

It is against this background, that one should view the Barabuḍur. The Barabuḍur was probably built not only as a religious monument, but also as a place where various ceremonies and rituals could be held, substantiating the "sacred" role of the Śailendra king and thereby strengthening the power position of the Śailendras. Being close to the monarch, was thus supposed to have been benefitial to the compatriot already during this life.

In this respect, a few questions immediately spring to mind as regards these aspects – aspects that warrant futher research:

- The Barabuḍur was probably the scene for annual regular rituals. Which were they?
- Did the Barabuḍur house the dynastic reincarnation rituals, whereunder the Śailendra crown prince assumed the role as the new *cakravartin* after his deceased father?
- On his *pradakṣiṇa* on the various galleries of the Barabuḍur, did the Śailendra monarch see himself being identified with Sudhana – examples of which we have seen indicated on the bas-reliefs (i.e. the "travelling scenes")?
- Was the Śailendra king supposed to have become an advanced bodhisattva, who was capable of generating *nirmāṇakāyas*?
- Was the deceased king cremated at the *Caṇḍi* Pawon?

In fact, virtually nothing is known about the ceremonial aspects in the kingdom of Old Matarām. Therefore, a lot of questions still remain to be answered regarding the potential ceremonial aspects as regards the Śailendras and the Barabuḍur.

Hopefully, this attempt will give incentives for scholars to give this matter some further thought.

Picture 131   Faces from the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur

6   Concluding Remarks

As indicated in the "*Introduction and Aim*", the aim of this PhD-dissertation is:

   i.   on the one hand – to present in a critical and comprehensive manner an update of recent findings among Western scholars regarding the Barabuḍur monument and its illustrations of various Buddhist traditions; and

   ii.   on the other hand – to endeavour to throw some light on some of the outstanding issues regarding the monument.

In order to present an adequate background to the analysis in *Section 5*, I have given a detailed description of the Barabuḍur, as well as its two nearby temples the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Caṇḍi* Pawon. Thereupon follows a presentation of the builders of the Barabuḍur – the Śailendras – and their "Double Kingdom", through which the necessary financial resources for the construction of the monument were created by means of international trade. Finally, the introduction of Buddhism into Indonesia was discussed, as well as the Javanese contacts with Śrī Laṅkā.

As the dissertation thus encompasses some outstanding issues regarding the Barabuḍur, the underlying material addressed is rather substantial. In order to facilitate for the reader, I have made a point of making proper ***definitions*** and of presenting various ***cross-references***. In addition, some factual background information has been presented in the ***Appendices***. I have also presented a ***Glossary*** of the most common terms. The reader may thus be guided to relevant background information regarding the specific aspect in question.

In order to present the Barabuḍur in a more complete manner, I have taken the liberty of enclosing several ***photographs*** in the dissertation. Although the result hereof is a more voluminous text, it is my hope that these pictures will complement the text and give the dissertation a more informative content and a "lighter" presentation – thus making it easier to read for the reader.

Let us now see, what aspects that have emerged.

6.1   Some experienced problems

In order to get a feeling for how the view of the Barabuḍur has evolved over time, I have studied material going back a few decades – some going back to the early 1900s. In so doing one sometimes encounters *erroneous views* in the sources studied – views that have subsequently been corrected by later scholars. In addition, some scholars have insisted on making their erroneous pre-conceived models to fit their respective interpretation of the Barabuḍur. Given the reputable status of these later scholars, these non-academic views have lead to considerable delays in the interpretation of the Barabuḍur. Naturally, both these aspects have affected the presentation and the analysis of the Barabuḍur, which I trust are properly reflected in the dissertation.

Another aspect elucidated in the dissertation are the semantic misunderstandings that in the past have arisen between scholars due to the *lack of proper definitions*. Being concerned hereof, I have made serious attempts in defining various aspects in the dissertation in clear terms.

A major problem has of course been the *lack of historical information* regarding the Barabuḍur. A dedicatory inscription of the Barabuḍur has yet been found. The earlier manuscripts from the ninth century have all succumbed in the harsh climate of the tropics. The earliest extant sources regarding the Barabuḍur are in most cases dated several centuries *after* the foundation of the monument – and are then limited to a few stone inscriptions on Java and in South-East Asia. Some complementary commentaries may primarily be found in Chinese, Indian, Japanese and Tibetan sources.

The lack of background information as regards the Barabuḍur has entailed that *several aspects are still unclear* regarding the monument – and are still even disputed among scholars. Some of these unclear issues have been presented in *Section 5* and will be referred to below.

6.2   Recent findings among Western scholars

The Buddhist "Perfected" (*siddhas*) and the *Abhayagiri pāṃśukūlikas* seem to have been instrumental in *exchanging views* with the *Śaiva* ascetics. Some of these aspects were later on believed to have been

introduced on Java by means of the *Mantranaya* Buddhism and to have been incorporated in Buddhist *esoteric* texts such as the *STTS*.

Hinduism and Śaivism seem to have been dominant on Central Java up until mid-eighth century CE. As regards the various forms of Buddhism, ***Śrāvakayāna*** Buddhism seems to have been the prevailing form on Java already from the fifth century. Heling on northern Java developed into a Buddhist center.

Both Perfection Path Buddhism (*Pāramitāyāna*) and *Mantranaya* Buddhism seem to have been present on Sumatra during the late seventh century CE – in order to subsequently spread to Java. ***Mahāyāna*** Buddhism quickly rose in importance on Java during the seventh century CE. From the eighth century onwards, one does not seem to hear of *Theravāda* Buddhism any more.

The Śailendras´ contacts with the *pāṃśukūlikas* of the *Abhayagirivihāra* and with the Pāla dynasty in Bengal indicate that some form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism existed on Java by early eighth century CE. The *esoteric **Mantranaya*** was introduced on Java by this time. ***Yoga*** *tantras* had been introduced on Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuḍur. This seems to be substantiated by various inscriptions from the late eighth century CE such as the inscriptions from Kālasan, Kĕlurak, Sewu and Ratubaka.

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The Śailendras carried through an interreignum on Java during the period 746-829 CE. One does not know from where they originate – but still debate whether they are of Javanese or foreign heritage. They made a strategic alliance with the Buddhist royalty in Śrīvijaya – the so called "Double Kingdom". With them, the Śailendras established a trading machine that inter alia generated the financial resources necessary for the immences construction spree on Central Java – including the Barabuḍur. The Śailendras were regarded as divine kings. The Śailendras built the Barabuḍur as a religious monument for redemption purposes, where they could be in direct contact with the Buddha already during their life time. In addition, the Barabuḍur was also built to play a role in the ceremonial aspects necessary to protect and strengthen the Śailendra *cakravartin* sovereignty.

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The Buddha is represented in *images* on the Barabuḍur in a multilocational manner – well in conformity with the bas-reliefs. He was already an Enlightened Buddha prior to descending on earth with a view of giving the devotee a glimpse of the Ultimate Reality.

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The interpretation of the Barabuḍur has in the past primarily been based on the analysis of the Buddha images. However, the interpretation of the Barabuḍur must also encompass an assessment of the *bas-reliefs* in the galleries. The bas-reliefs on the "hidden base" and on the first gallery are mostly *narrative* in character with the purpose of making the Buddha present on the monument in a temporal sense – thus making the Barabuḍur sacred. On the third and the fourth galleries the bas-reliefs are often of an *iconic* nature. They present a model of salvation, that is primarily spatial. The purpose of these iconic bas-reliefs is to get the devotee involved and to make him ultimately become one with the Buddha.

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The Barabuḍur may well be said to represent the *Mount Meru* – the Cosmic Mountain with its four realms on the slopes and with a fifth level on top. Of the 28 heavens of the Buddhist cosmos, the first two heavens are regarded as being situated on the upper slopes and on the top of the Mount Meru, respectively. Viewed from a psychological point of view, the three spheres (*dhātus*) of the Buddhist cosmos – the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu* – may be regarded to be represented on the Barabuḍur.

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The Ten Stages to Enlightenment of the bodhisattva (*daśabhūmika*), as well as the Ten Perfections (*daśapāramitā*), may well be regarded to have been properly illustrated on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur. But to use the structural ten-level appreciation of the monument to substantiate this matter, would seem to be somewhat farfetched.

6.3   Some outstanding issues regarding the Barabuḍur

By performing the circumambulation - *pradakṣiṇa* – clockwise along the four galleries of the Barabuḍur with the right shoulder towards the monument, the devotee is seen as performing a walking version of the visualization meditation at ever higher mental levels. The problem is, however, that this form of *pradakṣiṇa* would leave out some fundamental texts of the *GVS* and of the *SBP*, as illustrated on the bas-reliefs on the balustrades. It may be noteworthy, that the scholars are still far from having adopted a unified view on this matter.

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The *Ṅgañjuk* bronzes indicate that the **Vajradhāra (Ādibuddha)** cult was introduced on Java at least by the tenth century CE. But the Kēlurak inscription of 782 CE indicate that the *Vajradhāra* cult was known on Java already by the later part of the eighth century CE. Some scholars propose that Ādibuddha may have been represented on the Barabuḍur in form of the 64 Buddha images on top of the fourth gallery wall – a statement that we oppose. Although the Śailendras kept their palladium – the golden image of *Vajradhāra* – in the central *stūpa* of the Barabuḍur, no formal proof has been found indicating that the Barabuḍur monument should include elements of the *tantric Vajradhāra* cult. This aspect is thus still open for discussions between scholars.

6.4   Religious influences from abroad and from the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan

The structure and the decorations of the Barabuḍur are based on a multitude of Buddhist texts from *Śrāvakayāna*, *Mahāyāna* and *Vajrayāna*.

The main text of the **Huayan tradition** – a Chinese *Mahāyāna* tradition from the seventh-ninth centuries CE – is the voluminous *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*). Two scriptures therein, that are abundantly illustrated on the Barabuḍur, are the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) and the *Bhadracarī* (the *SBP*).

As the *BAS* includes inter alia the *GVS* and the *SBP*, the question has arisen whether influences from the *Huayan* tradition are reflected on the Barabuḍur. However, we have not found any proof that the *Huayan nikāya* would have been physically present on Java during late eighth to early ninth century CE.

During this period several Javanese monks were studying in India and in China. We are still open to the fact that the above Javanese monks could have studied some portions of the *BAS* in China, which could ultimately have been introduced on Java and could have been influential in the planning and construction of the monument.

The *GVS* has been found to contain some *proto-tantric* elements.

In addition, the *GVS* and the *SBP* could well have been known to the builders of the Barabuḍur as free standing texts – either of Indian or Chinese origin. This is still an open question for the scholars.

In conclusion, we have no proof that the *BAS* should have been the main text in the planning and construction of the Barabuḍur.

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Although the *esoteric* Javanese text – the **Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan** (the *SHK*) – was not completed in written Sanskrit form until the early tenth century CE, we are lead to believe that some of the ideas expressed therein were freely circulating prior thereto. Of special interest with respect to the Barabuḍur could well be:

- that the Absolute Reality in the *SHK* took the form of *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha, a role that Buddha Mahāvairocana assumed in the *STTS*;
- that the deities in the two interconnected groups of the *SHK* epistemological evolution are identical to the main deities of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (*Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya*) and of the Barabuḍur (*Bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*);
- that this could be an indication of the existence on Java during the late eighth century CE of the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*; and
- that the *STTS* could have been one of the original sources to both the Barabuḍur and to the *SHK*.

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Religious influences from India have been strong during the history of Central Java. The contacts of the Śailendras with the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā and with the Pāla dynasty in Bengal indicate that some form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism existed on Java during the eighth century CE.

The **esoteric form of Buddhism in China** reached its apex during the period of the Three Monks in the eighth century CE. It may not be unrealistic to assume, that some *esoteric* Buddhist concepts were introduced on Java during this time directly from China.

However, the maelstroms in China around mid-ninth century CE resulted in the destruction of a considerable amount of *esoteric* Buddhist texts. But some of the Chinese *esoteric* Buddhist ideas were prior thereto introduced in Korea and Japan. In order to learn some details of *esoteric* Buddhism in China during these periods, one has, therefore, to rely on Japanese sources (*Shingon* and/or *Tendai*). But these sources must be studied with caution, as some of these Japanese texts seem to have been fabricated in order to suit specific sectarian purposes – e.g. to segregate the *MVS* and the *STTS* from the larger *mantric* and *Mahāyana* contexts.

6.5   The Twin-Maṇḍala concept

The Barabuḍur has in the past been likened to **various forms of buildings** – e.g. a *prāsāda*, a *stūpa* or a *maṇḍala*. Of these various forms of buildings, we consider the Barabuḍur to be primarily a *maṇḍala*, and as such a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* illustrating the Buddhist cosmos.

Of the various models devised for the Barabuḍur, we support the "*Pañca-Tathāgata model*" with Buddha Śākyamuni in *vitarka-mudrā* on top of the wall of the fourth gallery. This enables Buddha Vairocana to be the one illustrated in the latticed *stūpas* in his *saṃboghakāya* form.

The mission of the 37 deities in the *Karma* Assembly *maṇḍala* in the center of of this *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is, on the one hand, to reveal the "invisible" Buddha – Buddha Mahāvairocana – and on the other hand, to enable the body of the devotee to associate with Buddha Mahāvairocana (*āveśa*).

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Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana is the personification of Suchness (*Tathatā*) – which is represented by "Truth" and "Wisdom". The *Garbha maṇḍala* represents "Truth" and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* represents "Wisdom". These two *maṇḍalas* – the **Twin-maṇḍala** - complement each other and may not exist independently from each other. Together they represent the "non-duality" between "Truth" and "Wisdom". *Dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana is in the center of both these Twin-*maṇḍalas* and symbolizes the *amalavijñāna*.

On Java, the *Caṇḍi* Mendut is deemed to represent the *Garbha maṇḍala*, while the Barabuḍur is viewed to illustrate the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – and the *Caṇḍi* Pawon is seen as the place of the complementing *homa* ritual. The *Garbha maṇḍala* is based on the *MVS*, while the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is based on the *STTS*.

These Twin-*maṇḍalas* present the fact that Buddha Mahāvairocana is within the devotee in the form of **bodhicitta** (Buddha-nature) – and as such the *dharma* may be communicated to the devotee **directly** by *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana.

6.6   The Buddha and the Barabuḍur

Siddhārtha Gautama was according to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism "already an Enlightened Buddha", when he descended on earth in order to assist the unenlightened beings and to give the devotees a glimpse of the Ultimate Reality (*dharmakāya*).

Upon attaining Enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree, Siddhārtha Gautama was supposed to have left his physical body (*nirmāṇakāya*) and ascended in his *saṃbhogakāya* to the Akaniṣṭha heaven on top of the *rūpadhātu,* where he - "facing all four directions" - was initiated as a complete Buddha.

Descending again in his physical body (*nirmāṇakāya*) he subsequently held his First Sermon and then formally became Buddha Śākyamuni. This may in fact be represented by the 64 Buddhas in *vitarka mudrā* in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallary of the Barabuḍur. Prior to becoming Buddha Śākyamuni, the *Tathāgata* was illustrated in *vitarka mudrā* - only thereafter was he expressed in *dharmacakra-mudrā.*

The Barabuḍur is a *maṇḍala* – a combination of a squares and circles. In fact, the Barabuḍur may be seen to contain both Twin-*maṇḍalas* - the *Garbha maṇḍala* in the form of the bas-reliefs in the galleries (the "container" element) and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* in the form of the 72 latticed *stūpas* together with the central *stūpa* (the "core" element).

Various Buddhist movements are in fact illustrated on the Barabuḍur.

In conclusion, the Barabuḍur may be regarded as a holy monument, where the Buddha is present, and where the devotees may be taught directly by the Buddha.

Appendices

Appendix I - The underlying inscriptions

1   *The Eleven Gold Plates of 650-800 CE (Śaka 572-722)*

The Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) is engraved in Sanskrit on eleven gold plates. The script seems to be a version in the transitional phase between the Pallava script and the Old Javanese script. The engravings are deemed to have been made between 650-800 CE. Based on his palaeographic analysis, de Casparis meant that the text could well have been based on a manuscript written some centuries earlier. Although the discovery site of the gold plates is unknown, de Casparis concluded from his research, that these gold plates may originate from Śrīvijaya or from the Śailendra realm on Central Java.[1166]

The eleven gold plates were probably intended as relics in one of the larger Indonesian Buddhist temples. According to de Casparis, the text on these gold plates adhered to *Mādhyamika* Buddhism or to some early *Mahāyāna* tradition close thereto. He was quite clear, however, that in his analysis he could not identify any explicit and distinctive features in these gold plates from *Yogācāra-cittamātra* Buddhism.[1167]

The entire *Pratītyasamutpāda Sūtra*, with its *Vibhaṅga*, was inscribed on two of the gold plates. The *Vibhaṅga* scripture was probably of the *Sarvāstivādin nikāya*, which Guṇavarman introduced on Java during the early 420:s CE. On six of the gold plates, some deeper aspects of the Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) were quoted from an *Upadeśa* scripture available to the inscriber. Of the last three gold plates,[1168] two gold plates contained some Buddhist formula (*mantra*).

[1166]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 47-59.

[1167]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 103 & 105.

[1168]   The first eight gold plates were of the size 25.5 x 9.5 cm. The last three gold plates were somewhat smaller in size (21.0 x 6.5cm).
de Casparis, 1956, p. 47.

The third smaller gold plate did not contain any *akṣaras*. Instead it was engraved on either side with various figures. de Casparis interpreted these figures to represent some symbols of meditation, common in older *Mahāyāna* and in *esoteric* Buddhism.[1169]

A complete transcription and translation of the text on the gold plates has been given by de Casparis.[1170]

[1169] de Casparis, 1956, pp. 47-48, 57 & 106-107.

[1170] de Casparis, 1956, pp. 107-167.

2　　*The Caṅgal inscription of 732 CE (Śaka 654)*[1171]

The Caṅgal inscription from Magelan in the Keḍu province is the first inscription, that we know, which mentions king Śañjaya. It was cut in Sanskrit with the Pallava-Grantha script.[1172] It presents the return of *Ratu* Saṃnah and his son – *Ratu* Śañjaya – from southern India in order to reign over Java after the fall of West Java. At the *Caṇḍi* Gunung Wukir he inaugurated a small Hindu temple containing a Śiva *liṅga* - a *Jyotirliṅga* of a kind then prevalent at Śrīśailam (see *Section 5.10.1*). This inscription is from a time, when the power was being transferred from a *Śaiva* regime to a Buddhist dynasty.[1173]

Long has found that the erection of this *liṅga* took place on the 6th of October 732 CE – a day when there was a solar zenith passage.[1174]

A complete transcription and translation of the Caṅgal inscription has been given by Sarkar.[1175]

[1171]　The Śaka calender starts the reckoning from the date of accession of king Kaniṣka of the Kuṣāṇa empire. The Kuṣāna kingdom extended over northern India, Pakistan and part of present Afghanistan during the first centuries CE. The capital was the cultural centre Peshāwār. The Buddhist art schools in Gandhāra and Mathurā flourished. King Kaniṣka convened a council in Kaśmīr, where all the Buddhist writings of that time were subjected to a general revision and were given learned commentaries. The definite date of the accession of King Kaniṣka is uncertain. The originally proposed date is 78 CE – although Lamotte and other scholars now postpone king Kaniṣka´s accession to the second century CE.
Lamotte, 1988, pp. 585-586 & 657

　　The *Śaka dating* thus starts with the *year 78 CE as year zero* – i.e. the originally proposed year of accession of king Kaniṣka. For that reason all Śaka datings are *78 years younger* than are the datings of our Gregorian calender.

　　The Śaka dating was earlier used in India (up to 1957), in Indochina and in Indonesia. Britannica Online Encyclopedia www.britannica.com/print/topic/518603　2012-12-01 23:33

[1172]　Sarkar and Kern mean that this Pallava-Grantha script "has also been used in the Hanh Khiei inscription of Cambodia and in the Uruvalli copper-plates of the Pallavas".
Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol 1, p. 16.

[1173]　Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 15-16.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 205-207; Hikata, 1965, p. 8; Iwamoto, 1981, p. 83; van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, 1981, p. 17; Ras, 2001, p. 384; Soeleiman, 1981, p. 76.

[1174]　Long, 2009, p. 257.

[1175]　Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 17-24.

3   The Ligor (Chaiya) stele of 775 CE (Śaka 697)

The first inscription that mentions a Śailendra king is the stele at Ligor (Chaiya) in the kingdom of Tambralingga – a tributary state to Śrīvijaya. The Śailendras were here indicated as Buddhists. Ligor was an important trading centre with China. The Ligor inscription was cut in Sanskrit with "Early Kawi" script in an essentially cursive hand.[1176] Side A of the Ligor (Chaiya) stele is dated to 775 CE and derives from a king of Śrīvijaya. Side B of the stele was probably written by king Viṣṇu of Śailendra (who may have been the first Śailendra king - *Rakai* Panangkaran) sometime between 778-782 CE.[1177]

The reference to the king as *Śrīvijayendrarāja* should be interpreted as the "King over the lords of Śrīvijaya", as suggested by Stutterheim already in 1929.[1178] King Viṣṇu of Śailendra bore the imperial title *rājādhirāja.* He had just conquered his enemies and was resplendent like the sun by his own might. However, he must obviously have exceeded his authority, as his writing was stopped only after four lines by the monks and by local representatives of Śrīvijaya.[1179]

A translation of the text of the Ligor stele is presented by Long.[1180]

[1176] Long, 2014, p. 3.

[1177] Jordaan & Colless mean, however, that this Ligor (Chaiya) stele was raised in 775 CE by the conquering Śailendra ruler on his return trip from a successful campaign in 774 CE in Indochina – more specifically to Cambodja and Champa. He would have arrived here with the combined fleets of Java and Sumatra.
Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 86.

[1178] Cœdès suggested in 1918, that the interpretation should read "King of the Śrīvijaya".
Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 55-56.

[1179] Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 213-214.
Other sources: Damais, 1968, pp. 356-357; Mabbett, 1986, p. 297; Sarkar, 1985(a), p. 324; Zakharov, 2012, p. 6.
Please note, that Iwamoto dates the Ligor inscription to 755 CE (Śaka 677)
Iwamoto, 1981, p. 86.

 Bosch suggested already in 1941 ("De inscriptie van Ligor", *TBG* 81, pp. 26-38) that the Ligor inscription should be a single text, which should be read from the side B. Zakharov seems to agree with this assumption.
Zakharov, 2012, pp. 6-7.

[1180] Long, 2014, pp. 20-28.

4   *The Kālasan inscription of 778 CE (Śaka 700)*

The first inscription mentioning the building of a Buddhist temple on Java is the Kālasan inscription of 778 CE. This inscription mentions the building of a temple and a monastery in honour of bodhisattva Tārā[1181] in the vicinity of the village Kālasan.

The builder was *Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa. Some uncertainty prevails over his personality. Some scholars[1182] believe that *Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa was the second king of the Hindu branch of the Matarām kingdom, who was forced by the Śailendras to make these constructions and to grant a village for the up-keep of these sancturies. Other scholars[1183] believe, however, that *Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa was a member of the Śailendra dynasty.

The Kālasan inscription was cut in Sanskrit in the Indian script termed *Brāhmī* - indicating that contacts with the Pāla dynasty in Bengal were already at this stage active.[1184]

[1181]   Bodhisattva Tārā is the female counterpart to bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Lokeśvara – "Lord of the World"). She is said to have been born out of tears that the compassionate Avalokiteśvara shead, when he saw the miseries that the living beings experienced. Like bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, bodhisattva Tārā assisted the sailors and merchants. Her name means "to sail across". Tārā may also mean "star" – i.e. a navigational "beacon". Bodhisattva Tārā is presumed to have had a unchaste relationship with the *gandharva* Soma (the Moon).
Long, 2009, pp. 320-323.
Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 26-27.

[1182]   Lokesh Chandra, Yutaka Iwamoto, Georges Cœdès, Roy E. Jordaan, F.H. van Naerssen, Jean Philippe Vogel, and others.

[1183]   Nicolaas Krom, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, and others.

[1184]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 34-40.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1950, pp. 100-101;   Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 214-217;   Chihara, 1996, p. 94;   Iwamoto, 1981, pp. 83-84;   Mabbett, 1986, p. 297;   Sundberg, 2009, p. 347;   Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 26 & 28;   Zakharov, 2012, pp. 2-4.

Brāhmī is a form of script – probably with an Aramaic background – with its roots traced back to the 8th or 7th century BC. Among the many descendents of *Brāhmī* are Devanāgarī (used for Sanskrit, Hindi and other Indian languages), the Bengali and the Gujarati scripts, as well as those of the Dravidian languages.

The script of *Brāhmī* has been used in the below inscriptions from Kālasan, Kĕlurak, Abhayagiri, Ratubaka and Plaosan. There is a slight difference in form in the *Brāhmīc* script used in these inscriptions. In the Kĕlurak and in the Plaosan inscriptions, the *Brāhmīc* script does not show any significant differences from the script of *Brāhmī* used by the Pāla dynasty in Bengal and Bihar. In the other mentioned inscriptions, the *Brāhmīc* script indicates some odd forms.

As stated in *stanza* 3, the Tārā temple at Kālasan was built by "venerable monks (*bhikṣu*) who knew the Great Vehicle of Disciple".[1185] This may refer to monks of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism or some form of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism.[1186]

A complete transcription and translation of the Kālasan inscription has been given by Sarkar[1187] and by Long.[1188]

Encyclopaedia Britannica
Other source: de Casparis, 1956, p. 176 & de Casparis, 1950, pp. 13 sqq.

Both Chandra and Iwamoto mean that *Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa was **not** identical with the first king of the Śailendra dynasty – *Rakai* Panangkaran (see *Section 2.3.2*). On the contrary, *Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa is suggested in fact to have been a Hindu king of the Śañjaya branch, who was defeated by the Śailendras when he endeavoured to advance into Central Java across the Opak river. As a consequence hereof, *Rakai* Paṇaṁkaraṇa was forced (i) to retreat east of the Opak river; (ii) to build a temple to bodhisattva Tārā, as well as a monastery for the Buddhist monks; and (iii) to donate a village for the maintenance of these sanctuaries – all on his own territory.
Chandra, 1995(b), p. 217 & Iwamoto, 1981, pp. 83-84.

Jordaan corroborates this theory, as the construction work of the Tārā temple in Kālasan needed the involvement of two rulers. The Śailendras – as **foreigners** – were namely **not** entitled to dispose of local land or of local manpower (see *Section 2.3.2*).
Jordaan, 2006, p. 9.
Other source: Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 45 n. 1.

[1185]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, p. 36 & 37.

[1186]   Abé, 1999, pp. 50-55.
Other source: Sundberg, 2004, p. 114 n. 30.

[1187]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 35-40.

[1188]   Long, 2014, pp. 61-68.

5 *The Kĕlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704)*

The Kĕlurak inscription was found on the Prambanan plain in the vicinity of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu. It was cut in Sanskrit in the Indian script of *Brāhmī* and records the installation of a statue of bodhisattva Mañjughoṣa (= Mañjuśrī).[1189]

The famous *guru* Kumāraghoṣa from Gauḍīvīpa or from West Bengal was to install the image of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who holds a blue lotus[1190] in one hand (*ślokas* 7 & 11). He was said to well versed in the *Vaipulya* lore *(śloka* 2). Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the bodhisattva of wisdom) is in *śloka* 15 called a *Vajradhṛk* – i.e. Vajradhāra. Being supreme, all the *devas* (Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and others), as well as the *triratna* (the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*), are assumed to be inherent in him. This was stated, so as to facilitate the acceptance by the local Javanese of the Buddhist doctrine.[1191]

The *Vaipulya* tradition was a developed cult of the light – starting with Buddha Amitābha "Infinite Light". Homage was paid to Lokeśvara (bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) with the image of Buddha Amitābha in his forehead. But it was only bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the reciter of the *Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtras*) who was capable of clearing away any doubt on the *saddharma* – i.e. the new *Vaipulyayāna* Path – that the Buddha teached. Because hereof bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was deemed to be superior to bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.[1192]

[1189] The exact place of the installation of the statue of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is uncertain. Sarkar and Voûte & Long (Sarkar, 1971, Vol. I, pp. 41-48 & Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 33-34) seem to favour the *Caṇḍi* Sewu, while Iwamoto and Mabbett (Iwamoto, 1981, p. 83 & Mabbett, 1986, p. 297) are mute on the matter. Chandra (Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 218-224) seems to favour the *Abhayagirivihāra* in Ratubaka. The uncertainty seems to be prevalent. What is known, however, is that the *Caṇḍi* Sewu was originally constructed for bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Only a decade after the inauguration, the *Caṇḍi* Sewu was reconstructed in 792 CE to house the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*. Bosch is said to have suggested that the *Caṇḍi* Sewu was rebuilt in accordance with the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* – i.e. with Buddha Vairocana as the central deity (Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 34).

[1190] The "blue lotus" is regarded as the attribute of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. As we have seen in *Section 1.5.1, Note 341*, the blue lotus (*utpala*) opens up only during the night. The *utpala* is also regarded as the attribute of bodhisattva Tārā. The convential lotus (*padma*) opens up during daytime. As we have seen in *Section 5.6.1, Picture 119*, the three-pronged lotus buds are regarded as the attribute of bodhisattva Samantabhadra.

[1191] Chandra, 1995 (b), pp. 218-224.
Other source: Woodward, 2004, p. 340.

[1192] See *Section 1.4.3, Note 165*.

Accordingly, the statue of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī was regarded as superior to the existing "radiant" statue of bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara – which was subsequently erased.

The Kĕlurak inscription proves that contacts existed at that time between Java and Bengal. It indicates, furthermore, some potential syncretic character of Javanese Buddhism.[1193]

In the epistemological evolution as stipulated in the *SHK* (folios 52a-54a of the *SHKA*) the trinity of Īśvara-Brahmā-Viṣṇu emanates out of Buddha Vairocana (see *Appendix II, # 1.4*).

A complete transcription and translation of the Kĕlurak inscription has been given by Sarkar[1194] and Long.[1195]

[1193] Sarkar, 1971, vol. I, pp. 41-48.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1950, pp. 102-103;   Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 218-224; Zakharov, 2012, pp. 4-5.

[1194] Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 42-48.

[1195] Long, 2014, pp. 87-96.

6 The Mañjuśrīgŗha (Caṇḍi Sewu) inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714)

The discovery of the Mañjuśrīgŗha (*Caṇḍi* Sewu) inscription in 1960 was first reported by Boechari in 1966. The full transcription of the stone inscription was made public only as late as 1992 by Boechari and Kusen, respectively. The Mañjuśrīgŗha inscription records the enlargement of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu.[1196]

Sundberg claims, however, that Boechari had misconstrued the text. According to Sundberg, the Mañjuśrīgŗha inscription implies the completion - not the enlargement - of the Sewu temple.[1197]

The five buildings of the *Caṇḍi* Sewu were combined to form a single structure with a cruciform ground plan. It is surrounded by 240 smaller shrines (the *Caṇḍi* Perwaras) in five (5) distinctive tiers and by an outer wall with two hugh temple guardians (*dvārapāla*) protecting each wall entrance - see *Picture 132*.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 132   Dvārapāla at the *Caṇḍi* Sewu

[1196]   van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1981, pp. 19-20.
Other source: Chemburkar, 2016, pp. 207-208;   Voûte, 2006, p. 223.

[1197]   Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 106-109

7 The Abhayagiri inscription at Ratubaka of 792-793 CE (Śaka 714-715)

The Abhayagiri inscription at Ratubaka was cut in Sanskrit in the script of *Brāhmī*. This inscription indicates contacts with Śrī Laṅkā, East India and with the Pāla dynasty of Bengal.

The inscription is extant in five fragments, which together constitute around a third of the complete text. The inscription consists of 18 lines of writing – most of them not very legible. On lines 14 & 15 the word "Śailendra" is mentioned. The name of the king is a puzzle. Some scholars believe that it was king Dharmatuṅgadeva that is mentioned. de Casparis means that it was the *abhiseka* name of *Rakai* Panangkaran (Viṣṇu of the Ligor charter or Indra of the Kĕlurak charter). However, Sarkar is in favour of the succeeding *Rakai* Panaraban. Other scholars believe that the mentioned king is king Samaratuṅga.[1198]

The inscription indicates that the *Abhayagirivihāra* was inaugurated at Ratubaka in 792 CE (Śaka 714). According to Sarkar the monastery was erected by monks from Śrī Laṅkā. Sundberg supports this view (see *Sections 3.2 & 4.2.3.1*).[1199]

Part of the seventh *stanza* reads:
> *…jinavaravinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānāṃ … <ya> tīnām*
> *abhayagirivihāraḥ kāritaḥ siṃhalānāṃ…,*

which Sakar translated as:
> *The people of Ceylon have erected the monastery called Abhayagirivihāra according to the sayings of the Vinaya (monastic discipline) of the exalted Jina for the learned scholars.*[1200]

[1198] Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 48 (i & ii).
King Dharmatuṅgadeva was favoured by de Casparis. Later on de Casparis changed his mind in favour of king Samaratuṅga, which presently also is the view of Sundberg (see the Notes below).

[1199] Sundberg, 2004, pp. 116-117.

[1200] Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 48 (iv & vi).
The meaning of *Jina* equals here the *Pañca Tathāgatas*.

However, de Casparis voiced the opinion, that it could well have been Indonesian *Mahāyāna* monks, that built the monastery, after having visited the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā and having been impressed by the *Vetulla* monks there.[1201]

The Abhayagiri inscription is dedicated to bodhisattva Padma-pāṇi/Avalokiteśvara in his *Mahākāruṇika* aspect. Futhermore, the inscription indicates that a cultural exchange between Java and Śrī Laṅkā existed during the Śailendra period (746-829 CE). The Abhayagiri inscription was written in a *Vajrayāna* environment, with references to the central mountain Sumeru and to the ocean.[1202]

Four *ślokas* and some other fragments of the Abhayagiri inscription have been transcribed and translated by Sarkar[1203] and Long.[1204]

[1201] de Casparis, 1950, pp. 24-50, 105-107 & 184-188; de Casparis, 1961, pp. 241-248; *Other sources*: Chandra, 1979(b), pp. 282-283; Degroot, 2006, p. 63; Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, p. 48 (ii); Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 20 n. 29; Sundberg, 2009, pp. 337 & 347; Voûte, 2006, p. 223; Zakharov, 2012, p. 5.

[1202] Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, p. 48 (ii). *Other sources*: de Casparis, 1950, pp. 24-50, 105-107 & 184-188; de Casparis, 1961, pp. 241-248; Chandra, 1979(b), pp. 282-283; Chandra, 1986, p. 38; Degroot, 2006, p. 63; Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 20 n. 29; Sundberg, 2009, pp. 337 & 347; Voûte, 2006, p. 223; Zakharov, 2012, p. 5.

[1203] Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 48 (iii-vii).

[1204] Long, 2014, pp. 143-150.

8   The Buddhist mantra from the Ratubaka plateau

The gold foil[1205] in the form of a double trapezoid was found during the Second World War on the Ratubaka plateau – close to the great entrance gate. The gold foil is tentatively dated to the period 784-803 CE – i.e. the reign of *Rakai* Panaraban. It is inscribed in Kawi script – a *Brāhmīc* script - on both sides with a *mantra*:

<div align="center">

oṃ ṭakī hūṃ jaḥ svāhā

</div>

This *mantra* is a variant of the *hṛdaya* – the personal "quintessence" *mantra* of bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. The *hṛdaya* is the spell, that bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi used in calling-cum-forcing Maheśvara (Śiva) and his entourage to the Adamantine Jeweled Palace on the peak of the Mount Meru. In the story of *Trailokyavijaya*, they were then forcefully converted to Buddhism (see *Appendix IV, # 6*).

Of importance to note, is though that the two words "*Panarabwan khanipas*" have been inscribed in the enlarged "dots" of the two "i:s" in the *hṛdaya*. The meaning of *khanipas* could well be *Rakai* Panaraban´s metaphysical belief. The essence of these two inscribed words would thus be, that *Rakai* Panaraban hereby has inscribed his name in this important *mantra* – thus making him part thereof.

It could be argued, though, if these inscriptions were simply meant as a protection of Panaraban in appreciation for his sponsoring of something belonging to the western compound.[1206]

But the lack of any title in front of Panaraban may be regarded as suspicious. The association of *Panarabwan* on the gold leaf found at the Ratubaka plateau with *Rakai* Panaraban noted in the Wanua Těngah III iscription, should thus be handled with care.[1207]

After having been duly recorded and copied, the physical gold leaf has unfortunately subsequently been lost.

[1205]   Sundberg, 2003, pp. 163-188.
Other source: Acri, 2016(b), 324.

[1206]   Long, 2014, p. 162.

[1207]   Degroot, 2006, p. 66.

9   *The Karangtĕṅah inscription of 824 CE (Śaka 746)*

The Karangtĕṅah inscription is dated to 824 CE (Śaka 746) and consists of five fragments. It is bilingual with one part in Sanskrit and the other part in Old Javanese. These bilingual inscriptions are rare in Indonesia. Only two other bilingual inscriptions have been found sofar in Indonesia. However, in south India and in the Hindu areas of Southeast Asia these bilingual inscriptions are not uncommon.

In the Sanskrit portion of the Karangtĕṅah inscription the Śailendra princes, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and the temples are glorified. King Samaratuṅga and princess Prāmodavardhanī (see *Section 2.3.2*) are mentioned here. In *stanza* 9, she is presented to "shine brightly".[1208] However, the portion in Old Javanese prose deals entirely with grants of religious domains for the up-keep of the sancturies. The vassal king *Rakarayān* Patapān (also named *Pu* Palar)[1209] is mentioned in this portion.[1210]

According to Chandra, the Sanskrit portion of this stele relates to Samaratuṅga´s beloved daughter, whose husband had died prematurely. In commemoration of the latter and in order to beseech the Highest Buddha for mercy, the princess had erected (i) a *jinālaya stūpa*, (ii) a temple and (iii) a monastery. The building of the *jinālaya stūpa* and the temple is *puṇyasambhāra* (virtue equipment). The spread of the tenet is also required by means of the activities of the monks - *jñānasambhāra* (knowledge equipment). The combination of these two *sambhāra* may lead to Enlightenment. The princess procured both – she arranged the monastery for the monks, who could enable the laypersons to reach Buddhahood (*saugatam padam*) in the briefest of

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[1208] Radiance is an indispensable condition for kingship. The presentation of princess Prāmodavardhanī in this manner, may be an indication of a diminished political influence of the Śailendras.
Long, 2014, p. 212.

[1209] As the foreign Śailendras were not entitled to acquire local land and use local manpower, king Samaratuṅga and princess Prāmodavardhanī needed *Rakai* Patapān in these respects.
Jordaan, 2006, p. 9.

[1210] Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 64-65.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1950, pp. 38 & 199-200; Zakharov, 2012, pp. 5-6.

time (*tūrṇam eva*). The Sanskrit version ends by describing the *vihāra* as "the assemblage of virtues of *Sugata*" (*sugataguṇagaṇa*).[1211]

The spires of the temples were regarded as cosmological mountains. They arose from a square base (*vedi*) with deep niches. These temples may be seen all over Java – like the Arjuna temple on the Dièng plateau (see **Picture 133**).[1212]

A complete transcription and translation of the Karangtĕṅah inscription has been given by Sarkar[1213] and by Long.[1214]

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 133   Arjuna temple on the Dièng plateau

[1211]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, p.65-67 & 71.
The corresponding – slightly differing – translations by de Casparis and by Kandahjaya are presented in Section 1.2.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 226-230;   Zakharov, 2012, p. 6.

[1212]   Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 128-129.

[1213]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 65-75.

[1214]   Long , 2014, pp. 183-193.

10 The Śrī Kahulunan inscription of 842 CE (Śaka 764)

The Śrī Kahulunan inscription describes how Śrī Kahulunan [1215] donates a number of rice fields to a foundation - Kamūlān in Bhūmisambhāra - i.e. the Barabuḍur. The full name is the *Bhūmisambhārabhūdhara*, which de Casparis has interpreted to mean "The Mountain of Accumulation [of Virtue] on the [Ten] Stages [of the bodhisattva]". [1216] Chihara critizes this view, as the text mentions neither the number "ten", nor the various "bodhisattvas". [1217] The Śrī Kahulunan inscription may thus be seen as a continuation of the Karangtěṅah inscription, as it ascertains the continued operation of the monument (the Barabuḍur).

de Casparis is of the view that the *kamūlan* is a building, from which the royal family derives. [1218] He also proposes that "*Bhūmisambhāra*" is a village name. [1219] Chandra protests to these theories and claims that "*kamūlan*" simply means "temple" and "*bhumisambhāra*" means "a town of rich Buddhist merchants". [1220]

The Śrī Kahulunan inscription is inscribed on one side in 33 lines of semilegible Old Javanese script. According to de Casparis, this Old Javanese script symbolizes a weakning position of the Śailendra dynasty (see *Section 2.3.3*). [1221]

[1215] While de Casparis claims that Śrī Kahulunan is the queen (i.e. Princess Prāmoda-varddhanī of Śailendra), the Wanua Těngah III inscription indicates that Śrī Kahalunan was the **Queen Mother** (i.e. the mother of Princess Prāmodavarddhanī).

[1216] de Casparis, 1950, pp. 164-170 & 202-203 & de Casparis, 1981, p. 61.
Other sources: Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, p. 109, n. 78.

[1217] In addition, the bodhisattvas should perform a series of perfections (*pāramitā*), which according to Kats and Iwamoto ought to be at least six in number. Later on they may follow up with four additional perfections (*pāramitā*) – thus making the total number to ten (see *Sections 1.1, Note 49 & Appendix IX, # 8.3, Notes 1646 & 1647*).
Chihara, 1981, p. 140.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), 351-369; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 65 & 69.

[1218] Please recall that "Śailendra" means "the Lord of the Mountain" and it is to this meaning that the Karangtěṅah inscription refers (see *Section 2.3.2*).

[1219] de Casparis, 1950, pp.73-95, 107-109, 160-175 & 200-203.

[1220] Chandra, 1995(b), p. 225;

[1221] de Casparis, 1950, pp. 200-201.

A complete transcription and translation of the Śrī Kahulunan in-scription has been given by Sarkar.[1222]

[1222]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 102-111.

11   The Caṇḍi Plaosan inscription of 850 CE (Śaka 772)

The dating of the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan inscription is rather uncertain. It has tentatively been dated to sometime around 850 CE. It was cut in Sanskrit in a *Brāhmīc* script, that is similar to the script of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal and Bihar. de Casparis noted that *bhakti* (devotion) and different forms of *pūjā* (worship) were mentioned. Nevertheless, de Casparis means the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan inscription illustrates a *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism.[1223]

Caṇḍi Plaosan was said to have been visited by people from Gurjaradeśa, which refers either to Gujarat in Western India – the Valabhī domain of the Maitrika kings - or to the kingdom of Gurjara Pratihāras in central north India.[1224]

A complete transcription and translation of the *Caṇḍi* Plaosan inscription has been given by Sarkar[1225] and Long.[1226]

[1223]   de Casparis, 1950, pp. 103-105 & 116-118;   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 175-177 & 191; *Other source:* Chandra, 1995(b), p. 239.

[1224]   Chemburkar, 2016, p. 208. *Other source:* de Casparis, 1956, pp. 188-189 & 202.

[1225]   Sarkar, 1971-72, Vol. I, pp. 48(viii-xvi).

[1226]   Long, 2014, pp. 239-257.

12   *The Ratubaka inscriptions of 856-857 CE (Śaka 778-779)*

The six Hindu Ratubaka inscriptions of 856-857 CE (Śaka 778-779) are all in Sanskrit and variously in *Brāhmī* script and in Old Javanese script. They treat the victory by *Rakai* Pikatan over *Dyāḥ* Bālaputra 854 CE and the subsequent raising of three *liṅgas* on the Ratubaka plateau.

The victory marks the reinstatement of Śiva on Central Java. The raisings of the three *liṅgas* were supposed to ensure that Ratubaka would not be a centre for further revolts in the future. The importance of this aspect is mirrored by the fact that Ratubaka is said to house the palladium (the *liṅga*) of the Matarām kingdom.[1227]

A transcription and translation of the Ratubaka inscriptions (a-c) has been given by de Casparis.[1228]

[1227]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 244-269.
Other sources: Damais, 1968, p. 464; Degroot, 2006, pp. 68-69; Ras, 2001, p. 385; Soeleiman, 1981, p. 76.

[1228]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 269-279.

13 A metrical Old Javanese inscription of 856 CE (Śaka 778)

The site where this stele once stood is unknown. It is inscribed on both sides – with a script in *Brāhmī* on the backside and in Old Javanese on the front side. Besides constituting the oldest dated specimen of Old Javanese poetry, the stele also contains important Javanese historical data from the ninth century CE. The stele is dated to 856 CE.[1229]

King Kumbhayoni, Jātiningrat and *Rakai* Pikatan were – according to de Casparis – one and the same person. Upon descending from the throne in favour of king Kayuwaṅi in 856 CE, *Rakai* Pikatan was supposed to have erected the three *liṅgas* on the Ratubaka plateau in commemoration of the victory over *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra (i.e. the victory of the Śañjya dynasty over the Śailendra dynasty). The tension between *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra and *Rakai* Pikatan / Kumbhayoni was alikened to Mahādeva´s power struggle with Tripura. The three *liṅgas* on the Ratubaka plateau were supposed to protect this area from future revolts and unrest.[1230]

However, the personal name of *Rakai* Walaing was written as *Pu* Kumbhayoni. This has led modern scholars to view *Rakai* Walaing as identical to *Pu* Kumbhayoni. In addition, *Rakai* Walaing *Pu* Kumbhayoni was a king from western Java in the land of Sunda. In conclusion, the identity of *Rakai* Walaing is still uncertain.[1231]

A transcription and translation of the metrical Old Javanese inscription of 856 CE has been given by de Casparis.[1232]

[1229]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 280-281.

[1230]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 289-299.

[1231]   See *Section 2.3.3, Note 537.*

[1232]   de Casparis, 1956, pp. 311-330.

14   *The Devapāla Nālandā copper plate of around 843-850 CE (around Śaka 765-772)*

The Nālandā copper plate of king Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal is one of the most important sources of early Indonesian history. The inscription does not mention any date, other than the 35ᵗʰ regnal year of king Devapāla. As recent updated chronologies of the Pāla dynasty dates the coronation of king Devapāla to somewhere between 808-812 CE , this would mean that the Nālandā copper plate should be dated to sometime *around 843-850 CE*,[1233] instead of the conventional date of 860-870 CE, as suggested by de Casparis.[1234]

The inscription states that king Bālaputra (i.e. *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra) built a Buddhist monastery (*vihāra*) in Nālandā. The Javanese monks, who studied there, would most certainly have read Indian Buddhist scholastic texts.[1235]

The Nālandā inscription gives a geneologic presentation of the Śailendra family, as a background to the donation of the Nālandā monastery. King Bālaputra was the "great king of kings" – *adhipamahārāja*. He was king in *Suvarṇadvīpa* (Sumatra - including Śrīvijaya – and part of the Malay Peninsula) and belonged to the Śailendra family of Java – being the grandson of a king of *Yavabhūmi* (Java), who was the "ornament of the Śailendra dynasty,… whose name conforms to *Śrīvīravairimathana* " ("the illustrious Destroyer of brave foes") (*stanza* 24). "He had a son" (*stanza* 27) who was married to Tārā … " the daughter of the great king Dharmasetu from the Lunar Race (*Somavaṃśa*)" (*stanza* 30).

The capital of Java was indicated to be Kalaśapura (Kālasan) – where is housed the temple of bodhisattva Tārā. This indicates that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and *esoteric* Buddhism flourished on Java during the reigns of the Śailendras from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth centuries CE.

[1233]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 32-34 & 50.
Other source: Long, 2014, p. 37; Zakharov, 2012, p. 7.

[1234]   de Casparis, 1956, p. 297.

[1235]   de Casparis & Mabbett, 1999, p. 320.

Chandra is of the opinion that the relationship between the Buddhist Bālaputra and the Śaiva king Kumbhayoni was not entirely hostile, as both had their roots in the Lunar dynasty.[1236]

[1236] See *Section 2.3.3, Note 538.*

de Casparis, 1950, pp. 109-111 & 201-202.
Other sources: de Casparis, 1956, p. 297; Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 230-236; Hikata, 1965, p. 13; Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 40-43; Zakharov, 2012, pp. 7-8.

15 *The Mantyāsiḥ I inscription of 907 CE (Śaka 829)*

This inscription on copper plates was engraved in Old Javanese script by *Rakai* Watukura *Dyāḥ* Balitung in 907 CE. The inscription is a chronological list of thirteen names all-in-all both from the Śañjaya family (from Śañjaya in 732 CE to *Rakai* Kayuwangi in 885 CE) and from the Śailendra family.

It is a sketchy list of ancestral kings and leaders of the Matarām realm, lacking a proper dating. But it gives a fair indication of the individuals involved.[1237]

de Casparis was of the opinion that these two families started to intermarry. The names are rather complex matters. Not only did the deceased receive a new name after he had passed away, he could also bear several different titles during his lifetime.[1238]

As regards the names on the list, please see *Appendix I, # 16, Table 1.*

A transcription and translation of the inscription has been made by Sarkar.[1239]

[1237]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. II, p. 64.

[1238]   See *Section 2.3.2, Note 502*.

[1239]   Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. II, pp. 65-81.

16 The Wanua Těngah III inscription of 908 CE (Śaka 830)

The Wanua Těngah III inscription was made by *Rakai* Watukura *Dyaḥ* Balitung in 908 CE. It is a *sīma* (sacred border) charter encompassing the rice fields (*sawah*) that over historical times were given to and reclaimed from the Buddhist monastery in Pikatan. In so doing, the Wanua Těngah III inscription presents a detailed list of rulers with proper dates. The *sīma* to the monastery in Pikatan played an important role in the history of Java during the period from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the tenth centuries CE. The Wanua Těngah III inscription claims that there only existed one dynasty on Central Java – the Matarām dynasty – which continued to reign on Java during the East Javanese period. According to this Wanua Těngah III inscription, the Śailendra dynasty was thus only one branch of the Matarām dynasty.[1240]

The Wanua Těngah III inscription was discovered as late as 1983. It was engraved in Old Javanese. As it gave a complete list of Javanese kings for the period 746-908 CE, it complemented the Mantyāsiḥ I inscription (see *Table 1*). Boechari (1989, 1990), Kusen (1988, 1994) and Wisseman Christie (2001) all assumed that Central Java was during this period ruled by one dynasty – the Matarām – which consisted of two branches – Śañjayas and Śailendras.

The view of Jordaan & Colless is, however, that Central Java during this period was ruled by three dynasties – (i) the local Javanese line presented in the Mantyāsiḥ I and in the Wanua Těngah III inscriptions; (ii) the Śaiva line of *Rakai* Patapān and (iii) the Buddhist Śailendra line. The two last mentioned dynasties would both have been of foreign origin, and therefore not eligible for inclusion on these lists with their original names [in Sanskrit]. It would thus be futile to attempt to identify the Śailendra rulers with these two lists.[1241] For further details on the matter, please see *Section 5.10.1* above.

[1240] Wisseman Christie, 2001, pp. 29-31.
  Other source: Kim, 2007, pp. 16 & 217.

[1241] Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 38.
  Other source: Jordaan, 2006, pp. 5-6.

Table 1
The Mantyāsiḥ I and the Wanua Těngah III inscriptions

Mantyāsiḥ I inscription (907 CE)	Wanua Těngah III inscription (908 CE)
Rakai Mātaram Sang Ratu Śañjaya	*Rahyangta* i Hāra
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panangkaran	*Rakai* Panangkaran (746-784 CE)
.	
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panunggalan	*Rakai* Panaraban (784-803 CE)
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Warak	*Rakai* Warak *Dyaḥ* Manara (803-827 CE)
-	*Dyaḥ* Gula (827-829 CE)
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Garung	*Rakai* Garung (829-847 CE)
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Pikatan	*Rakai* Pikatan *Dyaḥ* Saladū (847-855 CE)
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi	*Rakai* Kayuwangi *Dyaḥ* Lokapāla (855-885 CE)
-	*Dyaḥ* Tagwas (885 CE)
-	*Rakai* Panumwangan *Dyaḥ* Dewendra (885-887 CE)
-	*Rakai* Gurunwangi *Dyaḥ* Bhadra (887 CE)
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watuhumalang	*Rakai* Wungkal Humalang *Dyaḥ* Jěbang (894-898 CE)
Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watukura	*Rakai* Watukura *Dyaḥ* Balitung (898-)
-	*Dyaḥ* Balitung[1242]

[1242]   Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 37.

Appendix II - The Sang Hyang Kamahāyā-nikan

1   *The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*

The *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) was found by Kats to be composed in three different versions – "A", "B" & "C"[1243] – of which version "A" is regarded as the basic one.[1244] Version "A" is regarded by Goris and Chandra to be the oldest version of the three. Version "A" was probably not written before the reign of king Siṇdok of east Java (924-947 CE), although the Old Javanese commentaries to the Sanskrit version may well have existed already during the reign of the Śailendras.[1245] Moens saw the *SHK* as an Old Javanese *esoteric Yogācārin* catechism, the oldest portions of which may be traced back to the reign of the Śailendras.[1246] Sundberg goes even further and states that there is no strong reason why the constituent verses of the *SHK* were not known by the time of Rakai Panaraban (784-803 CE) – i.e. more than one century and a half before king Siṇdok.[1247] Based on some newly identified sources, Kandahjaya ventures to suggest that

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[1243] Version "A" consists of 65 folios ("leaves"), which contain the four (4) texts presented below. Version "B" is made up of 27 folios presenting the *Advayasādhana*. Version "C" consists of 45 folios and is by Goris explained as a later revision of version "A". Versions "B" and "C" seem to have been copied from the same original.
Chandra, 1995 (d), pp. 328-330.

[1244] Cakranegara had already in 1885 "cleaned" the manuscript from Old Javanese text portions. Luckily, Dr. Brandes had them preserved in Leiden, where Katz had the opportunity of analysing them.
Kats, 1910, p. 5 n. 1.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 328.

[1245] Goris, 1926, p. 156.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 331; von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 462; Kandahjaya, 2009, p. 2; Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 227.

[1246] Moens, 1951, p. 353.

[1247] Sundberg, 2003, p. 182.

the *SHK* should have been compiled no later than the 8th century.[1248] To be noted is, that the scholars would seem to be somewhat in agreement as to the dating of the *SHK* in written form, but to differ as to the length of time that the ideas and concepts had circulated freely and were discussed prior to being written in a document that has survived to our time.

In *Section 5.7.2*, we learnt that the Buddhist images in the cella of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut would be in conformity with the *Ratnatraya* (see this *Appendix II, # 1.4*). In addition, we learnt in *Section 1.5.1* of the eight bodhisattvas decorating the outer corners of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut building. We were furthermore informed in *Section 1.5.1* of the correspondence between the decorations of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the three versions of *akṣaras* (37, 49 and 100 signs, respectively), as presented in the *SHK*. As will be seen below in this *Appendix II, # 1.1*, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) is believed to be based on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) and on the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (the *PPV*) (in Japanese the *Rishukyō*). We know furthermore, that these Sanskrit texts (*tantras* although they are referred to as *sūtras*) were translated into Chinese by the mid-eighth century CE (see *Appendix IV, # 5 and 7*). Naturally, one could assume that these free-standing Sanskrit texts could well have influenced the Barabuḍur architects – either directly or by means of Javanese contacts with China. In *Section 4.2.5*, we learnt about the open communications between China and Java during this time. But it may also be assumed, that the tenets expressed in these two documents already had found their way to an early version of the *SHK*. If so, the above aspects could well be an indication of the fact that the *SHK* – or some earlier portion of it – was known on Central Java by the end of the eighth century CE.

Chihara points out that the last four of the Ten *pāramitās* on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur differ from the last four *pāramitās* expressed in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*). On the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs the last four "*pāramitās*" are the "four infinite virtues" (*catvāry apramāṇāni*), which is in accordance with early Buddhist traditions and which is also documented in the *SHK*. This decoration may thus be seen to reflect the relevant development within the religious

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[1248]   Kandahjaya even suggests that the *SHK* teachings well could have their roots from the Buddhist logician Dignāga (480-540 CE).
Kandahjaya, 2016, pp. 68-84, 111-112.

thought on Java at the time of the Barabuḍur´s construction and to open the question whether some constituent verses of the *SHK* were known on Java by that time?[1249]

The *SHK* is a *Vajrayāna* scripture.[1250] Miksic claims that the *SHK* combines ideas from *tantra* texts of the second and the third levels.[1251] The *SHK* is based on version "A" referred to above. It contains 65 folios ("leaves"), all of which are numbered. These 65 folios make up four different texts, as follows:

	Folios
• *Sang Hyang Pamutus*	Nos. 1-8b.
• *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya*	Nos. 8b-25a.
• *Advayasādhana*	Nos. 25a-62a.
• *Śavavidhāna*, according to the Buddhists	Nos. 62a-65.

The two middle texts dealt with here constitute the *SHK*, which combine the instructions and rites from both *caryā tantra* and *yoga tantra*; i.e.:

> • The **Mantranaya** (the *SHKM*)[1252] (Folios Nos. 8b-25a), which is an *esoteric Vajrayāna* text based on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*

[1249]   Chihara, 1996, pp. 120-121; *Section 1.1, Note 50.*

[1250]   Sarkar indicates, though, that the *SHK* would not be free "from Śaiva tinge" – which seems to be substantiated in *Section 5.2.1*. Chandra means, however, that the references to Śiva are only of analogical nature. There should according to Chandra be no syncretic tendencies in the *SHK*. The *SHK* should be a pure *Vajrayāna* work (see *Section 4.2.3*). Chandra, 1995(d), p. 331.
Other source: Ishii, 1991, p. 151.

[1251]   Miksic, 1990, p. 27.
Sakai confirms this and states that the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) also encompasses some aspects from the *anuttarayoga tantras*.

[1252]   The *Mantranaya* aspect of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) – i.e. the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) - has been studied in Europe and in Japan by Kats (1910), with editions made by Kern (1910),   Speyer (1913) and Unrai (1915) – the latter who identified a correlation between 15 *stanzas* of the *SHKM* and the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* (the *VAS*) (T. 848). The studies continued with Goris (1926), Wulff (1935), von Glasenapp (1936, 1938 & 1952/1953) and Shirō (1950) – the latter who traced the last 17 *stanzas* (i.e. *stanzas* # 26-42) to a Sanskrit text. This San-skrit text – the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (the *PPV*) (T. 243) (see *Appendix IV, # 7*) - is translated to Chinese, Tibetan and Khotanese. Wulff retranslated certain important portions of the *SHKM* in 1935. de Jong summarized all these views in his arti-cle "Notes on the Sources and the text of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya" of 1974. Thereafter Kazuko published his work in 1992, in which he saw correlations be-tween some *stanzas* of the *SHKM* and Vajrabodhi´s *Jāpa Sūtra* (T. 866).   .
de Jong, 1974, pp. 465-468.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 295-296; von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 462; Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 220.

(the *MVS*) (*stanzas* 1-22) [1253] and the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (*stanzas* 26-42).[1254] The *MVS* is a *caryā tantra,* while the *PPV* is regarded as a *yoga tantra.*[1255] The *SHKM* is an *esoteric* text of 42 *stanzas* in Sanskrit[1256] and commentaries in Old Javanese. The *SHKM* is used during *initiation rites* for obtaining power to perform meditation

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[1253] The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) (T. 848) is a Chinese text based on the Sankrit text the *Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra* (the *VAS*) (T. 848). It deals with the preparations for the construction of the *maṇḍala* and the performance of the *abhiṣeka* rites. It is one of the most important texts of *Shingon* tradition in Japan. Sarkar leaves out *stanzas* 10-15 and 19 without further explanations. The *MVS* (T. 848) was translated into Chinese by Śubhākarasiṁha and Yixing in 724-725 CE (see *Sections 4.2.5 & Appendix IV, # 5*).

As regards the "controversal" *stanzas* 23-25, their contents have not been indicated to derive from the *MVS* (see *Appendix II, # 1.1*) – see also *Notes 1285 & 1286* below. de Jong, 1974, pp. 467-469.
Other sources: Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 374; Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 227; Wayman & Tajima, 1998, p. 241; Weinberger, 2003, p. 131.

[1254] The Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (the *PPV*) (T. 243) is a Sanskrit text called the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 243). The Tibetan version is entitled the *Śrīparamādyamantrakal Pakhaṇḍa*. In the Japanese version it is called the *Rishukyō* - or the *Naya Sūtra* (see *Appendix IV, #7*). The *PPV* was translated into Chinese in six extant versions (T. 220, 240, 241, 242, 243 and 244). Amoghavajra´s translation is registered as T. 243 being executed in 768-770 CE. The last translation into Chinese (T. 244) was conducted by Faxian in 999 CE (i.e. *not* the travelling monk Faxian of the fourth century CE – see *Section 4.1*). de Jong mistakenly indicates that this should have been the first translation to Chinese. The translation into Tibetan was performed a few years later by the Indian monk Mantrakalaśa. The Japanese version of this Sanskrit text (*Rishukyō*) is one of the base texts of *Shingon* Buddhism (see *Appendix IV, # 7*).
Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 18-19;
Other sources: Bechert, 1981(a), p. 133; Chandra, 1980(b), p. 304; de Jong, 1974, pp. 467, 469 & 481-482; Sarkar, 1985 (b), p. 227.

[1255] Chandra and Devi Singhal claim that the *PPV* (T. 243) – i.e. the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 243) - is a *yoga tantra* (see *Appendix IV, # 7*).
Chandra, 1995(e), p. 33 & Devi Singhal, 1991, pp. 374-375.
Other sources: Chandra, 1980 (b), p. 304;   Wayman, 1998, p. 99.

To be noted is, though, that Chandra in his article "Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan: Mantranaya", denoted the *PPV* (T. 243) – i.e. the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 243) - to be a *caryā tantra*.
Chandra 1995(d), p. 332;

Sakai claims, however, that the *PPV* (T. 243) – i.e. the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 243) - according to Tibetan commentaries may be seen to belong even to the *anuttarayoga* group, as it deals with the idea of the "Great Bliss" (*mahāsukha*).
de Jong, 1974, pp. 467-468.

[1256] *Stanzas* Nos. 23, 24 & 25 are missing in de Jong´s translation of the *SHKM*. These *stanzas* are included, however, in Kats´ and Wulff´s respective translation of the *SHKM*. The importance of these "left out" *stanzas* is briefly mentioned at the end of this *Appendix II, # 1.1*.   .
de Jong, 1974, pp. 469 & 473 & Kats, 1910, pp. 82-83 & Wulff, 1935, pp. 27-29.

(*samādhi*).[1257] It opens up with the *mantra* "*Oṃ Aḥ Huṃ*". The significance of this *mantra* is that the initiate represents simultaneously (i) the *vajra* trinity of Body (*kāya*), Word (*mantra*) and Thought (*citta*); (ii) the trinity of the Buddha, *dharma* and *saṅgha*; (iii) the *Ratnatraya* (Śākyamuni, Lokeśvara and Vajrapāṇi) (see this *Appendix II, # 1.4*);[1258] and

- The ***Advayasādhana*** (the *SHKA*) (Folios Nos 25a-62a),[1259] constitutes the entire version "B" mentioned above with references to folios Nos 25a-62a of the version "A". The *SHKA* is a *tantric* text for a supervisor (***ādikarmika***), who is practicing the Ten *Pāramitās.* The *ādikarmika* is devoted to the *yoga tantras.*[1260] The *SHKA* is the meditation to realize the *tantric* concept of "non-duality" (*advaya*), in which the *Pāramitānaya* and the *Mantranaya* are not two, but one - i.e. *Mahāyāna* is one.[1261]

According to the *Advayavajra*, *Mahāyāna* Buddhism consists of two main traditions; i.e.:

- ***Pāramitānaya***, which requires merits (*puṇya*) and wisdom (*jñāna*) in order to attain Buddhahood. This is obtained by practicing the Ten *Pāramitās*. It takes several life-cycles to obtain Buddhahood; and
- ***Mantranaya***, by means of which Buddhahood is reached within one life-cycle. Buddhahood is attained by the use of *mantras* and of mental concentration. *Mantranaya* is the *esoteric* form of *Mahāyāna* as indicated in *Section 4.2.3.1*[1262]

[1257] Chandra, 1995(d), p. 295.

[1258] Wulff, 1935, pp. 15-16 & 37-38.
Other sources: von Glasenapp, 1980, pp. 462 & 468; de Jong, 1974, p. 465.

[1259] According to Bechert, there exists a close relationship between the presented tradition in this text and the Barabuḍur.
Bechert, 1981(a), p. 132-133.

[1260] Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 332 & 344.
The concept of the Buddha is presented in the *SHKA* in four forms: (i) the transcendent Buddha (i.e. Vajrasattva, Vajradhāra or Vairocana); (ii) each of the five *Pañca-Tathāgatas*; (iii) the historical Buddha Śākyamuni; and (iv) the Highest Buddha (i.e. the Ādibuddha).
Chandra, 1995(d), p. 415.

[1261] Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 295 & 332.

[1262] Ishii, 1991, p. 161.

As indicated in this *Appendix II, # 1.3*, the textual portions of the *SHK* – the *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) and the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) – complement each other and constitute together various elements in the four steps to Enlightenment; viz.

- *Mahāmārga*;
- *Paramamārga*;
- *Mahāguhya*;
- *Paramaguhya*.

This classification derives from the *SHK* itself. The first two steps present "the Path" (*mārga*), while the latter two steps present the "*esoteric* realisation" (*guhya*). For further details, see below.

The *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) and the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) are briefly presented below, prior to an explanation of the manner, in which they work together.

1.1   The Mantranaya (the SHKM)

The *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) is a text to be recited in the course of a consecration (*abhiṣeka*) ritual. The purpose of the consecration (*abhiṣeka*) ritual is to make the practitioner eligible to attain Enlightenment. By means of the *abhiṣeka*, the initiated becomes regarded as a Buddha. Of special interest for us is the obvious correspondence between the initiation ritual in connection with the *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) and the intiation rituals of the *Shingon* (*Tōmitsu*) and the *Tendai* (*Taimitsu*) traditions in Japan (see *Appendix IV, # 4*).[1263]

The *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) has been difficult to date – like the case of most *esoteric* texts. Modern scholars tend to lean, though, at a date of the early tenth century CE, although the opinions have varied to a dating as late as from the fifteenth century CE.[1264] de Casparis and Miksic pinpoint the text to the reign of king Siṇḍok (around 929-947 CE).[1265] Furthermore, one does not know where the *SHKM* was com-

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[1263]   von Glasenapp, 1980, pp. 463-464.

[1264]   Chandra, 1995(d), p. 331.
Other sources: Ensink, 1978, p. 181;   von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 462;   Ishii, 1991, p. 151;   de Jong, 1974, p. 477;   Kats, 1910, p. 9;   Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 227;   Weinberger, 2003, p. 131;   Wulff, 1935, p. 9.

[1265]   de Casparis, 1981, p. 48;   Miksic, 1990, p. 23.

piled – in India, outside of India or on Java (although Gonda and Sarkar both seem to favour the Indian origin).[1266] The text is not extant in Sanskrit, but is partly extant in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Woodward means that the compilation of the *SHKM* dates from the ninth to the eleventh centuries CE, and that the Sanskrit texts could have been known on Java prior thereto.[1267]

The *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) would seem to be based on the two above mentioned *tantras* – the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) (T. 848)[1268] in *stanzas* 1-22[1269] and the *PPV* (T. 243) - i.e. the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 244)[1270] - in *stanzas* 26-42.[1271] Woodward has elaborated these sources further.[1272] Chandra states that the *Mantranaya* (the *SHKM*) would be based on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (T. 848),[1273] the *Jāpa Sūtra* (T. 866)[1274] and on the *Naya Sūtra* (T. 244).

[1266] Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 227.
Other source: de Jong, 1974, p. 482.

[1267] Woodward, 2004, p. 339.

[1268] However, Wayman has located 18 *stanzas* in Chapter II of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Tantra* (the *VAT*) (P. 126) that have retained their Sanskrit form by means of quotations. Some of these *stanzas* have also been found in the *SHKM*. These latter are: the *VAT*:II 57, 58, 59, 60, 229, 230, 234, 235, and 236 have been quoted in the *SHKM stanzas* # 6, 7, 8, 9, 16, 17 20, 21, and 22, respectively. Wayman refers to other *stanzas* that were not included in the *Kriyāsaṃgraha* set of the *VAT* Chapter II, but which nevertheless have been quoted in the *SHKM*.
Wayman & Tajima, 1998, p. 18-20.

[1269] See *Note 1253*.

[1270] Wayman states that this is the Sanskrit title of the Chinese version. The most important of the Chinese versions was the one translated by Amoghavajra (T. 243). A set of *stanzas* from the Amoghavajra version is quoted in the *SHKM* after the quoted *stanzas* from the *VAT* according to the previous Note.
Woodward claims, though, that the source of the above mentioned *stanzas* 26-42 is *not* the Amoghavarja translation (T. 243), *but* the Chinese version by Faxian of the *Naya Sūtra* (T. 244), dating from about 999 CE.
Woodward, 2004, p. 339.
Other source: Chandra, 1986, p. 52.

[1271] See *Note 1254*.

[1272] Woodward means that the underlying texts to the *SHKM* would include the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848) (15 *stanzas*), the *Jāpa Sūtra* (T. 866) (14 *stanza*s), the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra*, the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* and the 150 *stanza Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 244). The *Jāpa Sūtra* is the text that Vajrabodhi translated into Chinese in 723 CE (T. 866) - supposedly being a section of the long *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra*), which he is said to have lost in a storm on his way to China.
Woodward, 2004, p. 339.

[1273] Translated by Śubhākarasiṃha to Chinese in 725 CE (together with the two Chinese scholars Baoyue and Yixing). This may have been the copy of Wujing, that Yijing ob-

Chandra and Woodward are in other words in agreement on these three main sources, although Woodward also proposes some additional sources. Wayman and other scholars claim, though, that the relevant *Naya Sūtra* is the one translated by Amoghavajra (T. 243)[1275]

The *Mantranaya* (the *SKHM*) is a brief ritual text to be used during the *ācāryābhiṣeka*.[1276] It is a rite of consecration (*abhiṣeka*)[1277] in order to empower the practicer to accomplish meditation (*samādhi*). By means of the *abhiṣeka*, the initiated is regarded as a Buddha. The 42 *stanzas* of the *abhiṣeka* ritual in the *SHKM* is composed of three phases;

    i.   the individual to be initiated is prepared by means of tuition (*stanzas* 1-9);

    ii.   followed by the sacred rituals of the *abhiṣeka* (*stanzas* 10-20); and

    iii.   presents the teachings after the consecration (*stanzas* 21-42).

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tained directly from Wujing either in Nālandā in 685 CE or in Śrīvijaya during Yijing´s residence there in 671 or 685-695 CE.
de Jong, 1974, pp. 478 & 481.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 299; Chou, 1945, pp. 265-266;

[1274]   Translated to Chinese by Vajrabodhi in 723 CE.
Chandra, 1995(d), p. 298.

[1275]   The *Naya Sūtra* (T. 243 & T. 244) represents the *yoga tantras* from the *prajñā* point of view. The *Jāpa Sūtra* (T. 866) represents the *yoga tantras* from the *upāya* point of view. Chandra, 1995(d), p. 296.

According to Devi Singhal, the *Naya Sūtra* (T. 243) represents the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 243) in Japan – as translated by Amoghavajra. However, Faxian also translated the *Naya Sūtra* (T. 244) in 999 CE (see also *Note 1276*) Devi Sighal, 1991, p. 375.

[1276]   This *ācāryābhiṣeka* is the last of the six **Jarconsecrations**. It is performed with water and with the *vajra*. The initiated swears a "water oath" – i.e. a commitment (*samaya*) as a bodhisattva to assist all living beings to attain Enlightenment. The consequences of not living up to this "water oath" is described at the end of this *Appendix II, # 1.1*.
von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 463.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 309; Kvaerne, 1975, p. 94; Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 73.

[1277]   Although the consecration ritual (*abhiṣeka*) is a ritual common to all *tantric* movements, it may be of interest to note, that the consecration ritual (*abhiṣeka*) in the *anuttarayoga* in fact consists of four different rituals, the first of which is the so called **Jarconsecration** (*kalaśābhiṣeka*). The *Jarconsecration* consists itself of six different consecrations, the last of which is the master ritual (*ācāryābhiṣeka*), which also is described in the *SHKM*. The *MVS* describes the *Jarconsecration* only briefly, while the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (T. 243) does so in great detail.
von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 463.
Other source: de Jong, 1974, pp. 467-468; Kvaerne, 1975, pp. 94-98.

The initiation would then be performed both by means of the Outer *Tantra* - the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra* (T. 848) - as well as by means of the Inner *Tantra* - the *Naya Sūtra* (T. 243).[1278] These two *tantras*[1279] give full efficacy to the initiation.

The *SHKM* also propagates a potential "syncretic" aspect, in so far as it is stated that:

<div align="center">

Buddha tunggal lavan Śiva.[1280]

</div>

Sarkar and de Casparis mean that the *SHKM* presents a Vajradhāra aspect within the *Vajrayāna* tradition - that is at least similar to the *Vajrayāna* tradition prevalent in Bengal during the rules of the early Pāla monarchs (see *Section 4.2.3.2*). This reasoning is inter alia based on the references to Vajrasattva in *stanzas* 12 and 13; to the goal of the Great Bliss (*mahāsukha*) referred to in *stanza* 27; to the references of an *ācārya* in *stanzas* 32, 33 and 35; to the drawing of magical circles (*maṇḍalas*) referred to in *stanzas* 14 and 26; etc.[1281]

According to von Glasenapp, the *SHKM* is a *śāktic* text.[1282] The importance of the Trinity - *vajra, ghaṇṭa* and *mudrā* - is presented in *stanzas* 11 and 32 of the *SHKM*. The *vajra* symbolizes the male aspect and the method (*upāya*), while the *ghaṇṭa* symbolizes the female aspect and the wisdom (*prajñā*). *Mudrā* may also symbolize the consecrated female aspect. In *stanza* 29 of the *SHKM*, a pure *śāktic* aspect is presented in the sense that the word "*bodhicitta*" is equalled to sperm and

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[1278] I.e. the *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (the *Rishukyō*).

[1279] These two *tantras* are in their respective titles still called "*sūtra*".

[1280] "The Buddha is one with Śiva"
Sarkar, 1967, p. 644.
Other sources: Hikata, 1965, p. 11; Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 212; Sarkar, 1985(b), p. 226; Soeleiman, 1981, p. 80.

Chandra, on the other hand, is of the opinion, that that the *SHK* is a pure *Vajrayāna* text and that there are no syncretic tendencies on Java between Buddhism and Śaivism. Chandra, 1995(d), p. 331.

[1281] de Casparis, 1981, pp. 48-49; Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 228-229.

[1282] *Śākti* means "energy". It symbolizes the energy, that arises by means of the contact with the female counterpart in *yab-yum*. *Śākti* is the name of a Hindu goddess. Hikata means that the existing form of *esoteric* Buddhism on Java had already by the middle of the tenth century CE been influenced by the *śākti* tradition – i.e. the *tantric* form of Buddhism (see *Section 4.2.3*).
Hikata, 1965, p. 32.

the word "*mudrā*" to woman. The request "*bodhicittam-tvayātyājyam*" means that one retains the semen during a "sacral love delight".[1283]

All the above views would seem to indicate that the *SHKM* had a *tantric* touch.

In case one breaks the sworn wateroath (*samaya*) referred to above,[1284] *stanza* 10 of the *SHKM* states that the holy water will turn against the initiated and annihilate him:

> *Oṃ bajrodaka, oṃ aḥ huṃ;*
> *idaṃ te nārakaṃ vāri samayātikramād dahet;*
> *samayarakṣaṇāt siddhhyai siddhaṃ vajrāmṛtodakam.*[1285]

In *stanza* 25 of the *SHKM* it is stated that those who are breaking their holy oath (*samaya*) should be killed in order to conserve the tenet (*śāsana*) of the Buddha, as an institution:

> *Ye cānye samayadviṣṭāḥ samayabhraṣṭā ye janāḥ*
> *māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena buddhaśāsanapālane.*[1286]

[1283] von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 465.

[1284] See this *Appendix II, # 1.1, Notes 1276 & 1277.*

[1285] "Bei Übertretung des Paktes [*samaya*] würde Dich dieses als Höllenwasser verbrennnen, durch Einhaltung des Paktes [*samaya*] aber wird es heiliges Unsterblichkeitswasser zur Vollendung."

"In case you break the agreement/oath (*samaya*), the Holy Water will turn against you as water from Hell and annihilate you. In case you fulfill the agreement/oath (*samaya*), the Holy Water will turn into a perfect immortality elixir."

Wulff, 1935, p. 21.
Other sources: von Glansenapp, 1980, p. 463; Kats, 1910, p. 20.

[1286] "Die anderen Menschen aber, die dem Pakt [*samaya*] feind sind und den Pakt [*samaya*] brechen, sind in Erhaltung die Buddhalehre geflissentlich zu töten, auf dass Buddhas Wort besteht."

"The other individuals, who are against the agreement/oath (*samaya*) and who break it, are deliberately to be killed in order to keep the Buddhaśāsana intact.".

Wulff, 1935, p. 29.
Other sources: von Glasenapp, 1980, p. 473; Kats, 1910, p. 25.

The analysis of Gethin, seems to indicate the decisive intention "leading to the killing of a living can ever be other than unwholesome."
Gethin, 2004, pp. 189-190.

Furthermore, it should be noted, that the sources of the *stanzas* 23-26 have not been indicated to be based on either of the two main texts - the *MVS* or the *PPV*. May the reason perhaps be ascribed to the above referred to statement in *stanza* 25?[1287]

1.2   The Advayasādhana (the SHKA)

The *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) is a *tantric* text for the supervisor (*ādikarmika*), who is practicing the Ten *Pāramitās*. *Advaya* representing "non-duality" and "integration, fusion and harmony" is the focal point of the *SHKA*.[1288] It integrates the dualities of knowledge and of *yoga* into the non-duality of *advaya*. In the same manner the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) and the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) are supposed to be non-dual. Kūkai (Kōbō Daichi) – the founder of *Shingon* Buddhism – also meant that the body of principle and the body of wisdom are not two – but one.

This is indicated by his statement:

> *That which realizes is Wisdom (zhì* 智*) and*
> *that which is to be realized is Principle (lī* 理*).*[1289]

Put in another way, one has to fulfil the seven *samādhis* in order to obtain *advaya* (non-duality). Only *sādhana* (*tantric* practice) – without *prajñā* (wisdom) – is like the mind of an unborn baby. When the devotee makes an empowerment of himself by using the *mudrās* of the *Tathāgata*, he becomes assimilated to the body of the *dharmadhātu* Buddha, according to Chapter IX of the *MVS*.[1290]

[1287]   "Buddhism and violence" is an aspect that rather recently has been subject to academic interest. Jerryson & Juergensmeyer, 2010, *Buddhist Warfare* and Zimmermann, 2006, *Buddhism and Violence* are two recent publications on the matter. However, this dissertation, is limited only to state *stanza* 25 of the *SHKM* and its content in general.

[1288]   "Non-duality" is not only one of the corner stones of *tantric* Buddhism, but also of some *Mahāyāna* traditions, such as *Huayan* Buddhism (see *Appendix III*).

[1289]   This alludes to one of the most important *Shingon* principles "Truth and Wisdom do not make two" 理智不二   (*lī zhì bù èr*), which also is expressed by the inseparability and complement of the Twin-*maṇḍalas* (see *Appendix IV, # 8 & Section 5.9*).
Tajima 1959 as translated by Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 30.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 378-379,   Klokke, 1993, p.131.

[1290]   Wayman & Tajima, 1998, p. 319.

But according to Stutterheim, one has to start with "equalizing the body with a *stūpa*."[1291] The body of the *yogi* is correlated to the sanctuary and to the Sanskrit alphabet. The letters correspond to various parts of the body. The Sanskrit alphabet also symbolizes a *stūpa*. According to the *SHKA*, it is by means of the letters (*akṣara* = "Gates of all dharmas") that the human body – conceived as a microcosmos - "becomes" a *stūpa-prāsāda* ("externally a *stūpa*, internally a *prāsāda*").[1292] According to the *MVS*, there are three enumerations of *akṣaras*: (i) the complete alphabet of 49 *akṣaras*, (ii) the 37 *akṣaras*, and (iii) the 100 *akṣaras*.[1293]

The 32 letters of the 37 *akṣaras* are placed on the various parts of the body in accordance with Chapter 17 of the *MVS*. When this has been done, the body is converted to a *Dharmadhātu maṇḍala*.[1294] The *SHKA*, however, enumerates the complete alphabet of 49 *akṣaras*. In addition, the *SHKA* places these 49 *akṣaras* on other parts of the body, than what is prescribed in Chapter 17 of the *MVS*.[1295] The *SHKA* and the *MVS* thus differ considerably.

But as indicated in *Section 1.5.1*, the importance of the three enumerations of *akṣaras* as regards the *Caṇḍi* Mendut has been pointed out. The *Caṇḍi* Mendut has 49 *stūpas* on the roof, a band of 37 bas-reliefs along the base of the cella and the vestibule, and a total 100 bas-reliefs on the outside walls. Is this a mere coincidence? Or is the purpose hereof to convert the *Caṇḍi* Mendut into a *Dharmadhātu maṇḍala*? In any event, one may ask oneself whether this constitutes an indication

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[1291]   Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 34-35.

[1292]   The "*stūpa-prāsāda*" is the homonymic synonym for "*kūṭāgāra*" (*stūpa=kūṭa* and *prāsāda=āgāra*). The concept of *stūpa-prāsāda* is mentioned three times in the *SHKA* – in folios 47b, 48a and 48b. The thought is that the pilgrim turns into a *stūpa-prasāda*, in which the Supreme Buddha takes possession (*āveśa*).
de Casparis, 1981, pp. 48-52.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 395-402; Kandahjaya, 2009, p. 10; Kats, 1910, pp. 53-54; Long, 2009, p. 112; Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 34-35 .

[1293]   The 49 *akṣaras* is constituted of the 16 vowels, the 25 consonants, the 4 semivowels and the 4 sibilants of the Sanskrit alphabet.
The 37 *akṣaras* are 32 letters and 5 sibilants of the Sanskrit alphabet.
The 100 *akṣaras* are the 25 consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet multiplied by the four *a*, *ā*, *aṁ* and *aḥ*.
Chandra, 1995(d), 399-400.

[1294]   Wayman & Tajima, 1998, pp. 177 & 324.

[1295]   Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 396-402.
Other sources: Long, 2009, pp. 111-113.

that an early version of the *SHK* or part thereof was known to the builders of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut?

The pilgrim may obtain the 32 principal characteristics of the Buddha (*mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*) by meditating on the 32 *akṣaras*. Likewise the 80 secondary marks of the Buddha (*anuvyañjana*) may be obtained by contemplating on the five nasal sounds.[1296] According to Amoghavajra´s version of the *Avataṃsakasūtrākṣaracakrakalpa*, the letters may be formed in a circle (see **Picture 134**) and the pilgrim may "set the Wheel of Letters in motion" by contemplating on them in a circular order (see *Section 1.5.1*).[1297]

Source: Long, 2009, p. 114

Picture 134   The Wheel of Letters
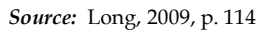
According to the *SHKA* of the *SHK*, the 37 *akṣaras* may be seen to correlate to the *kāmadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *arūpadhātu* on folio 48a. In folio 48b, these 37 *akṣaras* are - according to Chandra´s translation - all *advaya* in essence. They attack *kleśas*. They are configured as a circle. In the body they are the *stūpa*; outside they are the *prāsāda*; in the head of this *stūpa-prāsāda* body is the dwelling of the Supreme Buddha in *samādhi* posture.[1298]

[1296]   Wayman & Tajima, 1998, p. 328.

[1297]   Wayman & Tajima, 1998, pp. 319-320.
Other sources: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 399-402; Long, 2011, p. 4; Long, 2009, p. 114.

[1298]   Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 400-401.

1.3   The Four Steps to Enlightenment

The two textual portions of the *SHK* – the *SHKM* and the *SHKA* – complement each other and constitute together the various elements in the four steps to Enlightenment; i.e.

Mahāmārga
   This is the initiation process to the "Path", which consists of the entire *SHKM* – i.e. Folios 8b-24b.[1299] The preparatory phase of the *SHKA* – i.e. the three Folios 25a, 25b & 26a – are also included.[1300]

Paramamārga
   Paramamārga (Folios 27a-39a) constitutes the performance on the "Path", which is carried out by means of the Ten *Pāramitās*.[1301]

Mahāguhya
   Mahāguhya – "The Large Secret" (Folios 40a-41b) is the *esoteric* realisation, which is performed by means of *yoga* (mental concentration), *bhāvanā* (meditation), *caturāryasatya* (the Four Noble Truths)
.   and the Ten *Pāramitās.*

Paramaguhya
   Paramaguhya – the Highest Secret (Folios 41b-62a) is the final phase (the *tantric* realization) – when one visualizes the Supreme Buddha (*Mahāviśeṣa*). In order to reach this goal, one needs (i) to reach the *advayajñāna* by means of a study of the *tantras* and of the philosophy of the non-duality; (ii) to practice *advayayoga* (*aṁ-aḥ*) and meditation on the Buddha (*buddhānusmaraṇa*); and (iii) the harmonisation (*advaya*) of the *advayajñāna* and the *advayayoga*. In order to reach Buddhahood, one has to meditate on the Buddha in the three levels, which correspond to (i) *Nirākārajñāna*, (ii) *Sākārajñāna* & (iii) *Vāhyakajñāna*; i.e. (i) in *Divārūpa*, (ii) in *Ratnatraya* and (iii) in statues, scrolls and *stūpas*.[1302]

Having completed the *Mahāguhya*, the believer continues to the *Paramaguhya* phase in order to obtain *siddhi*. This step may be attained by

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[1299] Please note that in the introductory table and text in this *Appendix II, # 1.2*, the *SHKM* is presented to end at folio 25a.

[1300] See *Note 1287* above.

[1301] The Ten *Pāramitās* are presented in *Section 1.1, Notes 48 & 49* and in *Appendix IV, # 8.3, Note 1647*.

[1302] Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 332-336.
Other source: Ishii, 1991, p. 161.

means of *yogādhāra*,[1303] which is to be likened to *advaya*[1304] in the form of:

- *advaya* with its inhaling breath – *Āṁ* – that pervades the entire body, which then obtains "the mind illuminated like the sun" (*smṛtisūrya*) and with its exhaling breath - *Āḥ* - that expire out of the body and makes "the mind tranquil like the moon" (*śāntacandra*). The *Āṁ-Āḥ* is called the divine *advaya* and represents the father by virtue of *Bhaṭāra* Buddha; and
- *advayajñāna* which is the *jñāna* that knows and meditates over the formless aspects. This divine *advayajñāna* represents the goddess *Bharālī Prajñāpāramitā* (the mother element of *Bhaṭāra* Buddha).[1305]

When *smṛtisūrya*[1306] and *śāntacandra*[1307] exist simultanelously, *advayajñāna* is created. When *advaya* and *advayajñāna* exist simultaneously they create together the *Divārūpa* (see **Picture 135**). The *Divārūpa* is no god.[1308] The *Divārūpa* is the intense light that is experienced during *yoga*.[1309] This intense light surpasses the radiance of the moon (*candra*)

[1303] According to Chandra, *yogādhāra* is the first of the five phases (*yogabhūmi*) in the chain of development – i.e. *ādharā*, *ādhāna*, *ādarśa*, *āloka* and *āśrya*.
Chandra referred here to Chatterjee´s definitions, 1962, p. 219.
Chandra, 1995(d), p. 375.

[1304] *"Advaya"* is mentioned in several places of the *Advayasādhana* (the *SHKA*) as a genetic term for "non-duality", such as *advayayoga* (folio 46b); *Āṁ-Āḥ* (folio 42-46); *advayajñāna* (folio 42-46); *aji advaya* (folio 43a); *advayaśāstra* (folio 43b), etc.

[1305] Chandra, 1995(d), p. 374-375.

[1306] The mind illuminated like the sun.

[1307] The mind tranquil like the moon.

[1308] Referring to Gonda, Ensink proposes that "…the *Divarūpa* in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and the Śivabuddha in the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* are said to be identical with the Supreme Being…".
Ensink, 1978, pp. 190-191.

[1309] This radiance may also be compared to the "clear light" (*´od-gsal*) that we come across in the Tibetan Book of the Dead (*Bar-do thos-grol*). During the first phase (Day 1) the "clear light" (*´od-gsal*) is according to the *Buddhāvataṁsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*) emitted by the bodhisattva Samantabhadra and the mental principle of the deceased may be reborn in *dharmakāya* in case he "recognizes" that intense light. During the second phase (Days 1-4), the "clear light" (*´od-gsal*) is less intense and the mental principle of the deceased may be reborn in *sambhogakāya* in case he "recognizes" that light. This "clear light" (*´od-gsal*) originates as a vison of the moon, the sun, the twilight, and the cloudless sky – **compared** with *sūrya* and *candra*. During the third phase (Days 5-18) the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* and other gods appear in friendly and wrathful appearances. In case the mental principle of the deceased "recognizes" this less intense "clear light" (*´od-gsal*), he may be reborn in one of the Pure lands of the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*.
Lauf, 1989, pp. 89-95, 105-109, 114-127, 139-154.

and of the sun (*sūrya*). As a radiance, the *Divārūpa* may be likened to the Supreme Buddha – *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha – i.e. Buddha Vairocana, who is the effulgence (*rocana*).[1310] Grönbold indicates that this could well be likened to Ādibuddha (see *Section 4.2.3.2*).[1311] Kats tried in vain[1312] to indentify the *Divārūpa* with the "Creator of Light" – the *Manuṣi* Buddha Dīpaṅkara.[1313]
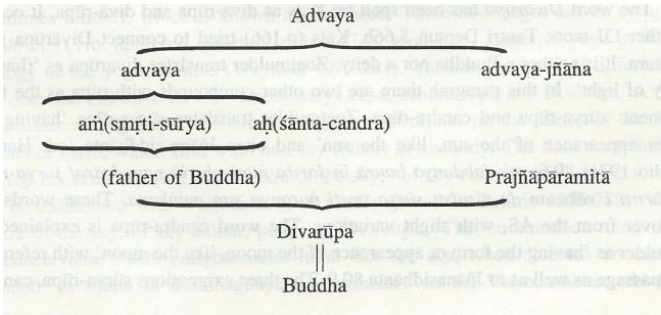
Picture 135   The *Divārūpa´s* constitution

In *Section 5.7.2* we are informed about some potential similarities between the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*) and *Shingon* Buddhism. In folios 45b and 46a of the *SHK* the concepts of "*sang hyang*

Other sources: Back, 1979, pp. 23-24; Chandra, 1995(b), p. 385; Dargyay, 1991, pp. 25, 49, 94-104; Evans-Wentz, 1995, pp. 87-91, 189-224, 235-262, 311; Fremantle & Trungpa, 2000, pp. 4, 9-21; Gyatso, 2002, p. 32; Hirakawa, 1998, p. 175; Thurman, 1994, pp. 120-158.

[1310] Chandra, 1995 (d), p. 385.

[1311] Grönbold indicates that although Ādibuddha is not mentioned in the Kawi text of the *SHK*, Ādibuddha is mentioned in the Indonesian translation and in the commentaries. He is mentioned here as a "God" (*tuhan*) or as the "Absolute" (*absolut*). According to Grönbold, this is well in coordination with the view of Bechert.
Grönbold, 1992, p. 133.
Other source: Kats, 1910, pp. 57 & 165.

[1312] Kats, 1910, p. 166.

[1313] The *Manuṣi* Buddhas are the previous Buddhas in the present *kalpa*. They could in various constallations amount to four, five, seven or eight in number. The four most commonly mentioned are Prabhūtaratna, Dīpaṅkara, Kanakamuni and Kāṣyapa. They are often arranged in the four directions of the *stūpa*. By each representing one specific age of the world, as well as one direction, these *Manuṣi* Buddhas "crystallize time in a space figuration" (see *Section 1.4.5, Note 287*).
Frédéric, 1995, pp. 116-118.
Other source: Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 131-134.

advaya" and "*sang hyang advayajñāna*"are presented.[1314] Referring to the fundamental principle of *Shingon* Buddhism that "Truth and Wisdom do not make two",[1315] Tajima means that the Twin-*maṇḍalas* complement each other and may not exist independently from each other.[1316] Devi Singhal leads on from there and proposes that the *SHK* may be seen to encompass both the Twin-*maṇḍalas*.[1317] On Java, they were seen by Ishii to be integrated by the *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha[1318] (see this *Appendix II, # 1.4*).

1.4   The Epistemological Evolution

Kats presented the epistemological evolution from *jñāna* in folios 52a-54a of the *SHKA*. Chandra claims, though, that Kats failed to grasp that the genesis is based on *yoga* (meditation), *jñāna* (knowledge) and *upacāra* (ritual) – or *nirākārajñāna, sākārajñāna* and *vāhyakajñāna* (as is stated above in the presentation of the "*Paramaguhya*") – and as illustrated in **Picture 136** below.[1319]

Chandra makes a point of the term "the Buddha" being used in folio 52b of the *SHKA* in the sense of "the Supreme Being" from the knowledge (*jñāna*) point of view. On this knowledge (*jñāna*) basis, the Buddha/Supreme Being may be comprehended on the below levels – namely

- *Aniconic* and formless (*nirākāra*), in which case his embodiment of *Divārūpa* takes the form of *Bhaṭāra* Buddha;
- *Ikonic* (*sākāra*), where he is regarded as the transcendental Buddha Śākyamuni. Together with bodhisattva Lokeśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi they constitute the *Ratnatraya*;
- *Ikonic* (*sākāra*), where he assumes the form of Buddha Vairocana. He is in this appearance seen together with the other four *Pañca-Tathāgatas*; and

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[1314] Kats, 1910, pp. 51-52.

[1315] 理智不二 (*lǐ zhì bù èr*)

[1316] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 45.

[1317] Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 377.

[1318] Ishii, 1991, pp. 158-159.

[1319] Chandra, 1995(d), 417.

- *External perception* (*vāhyaka*), whereunder the Buddha takes the form of images, scrolls, etc. As the *vāhyaka* is excluded in *yoga*, this aspect is not further commented upon in the following.

Kats´ epistemological evolution - as altered according to Chandra´s above referred to levels - may be described as (see ***Picture 136*** below):
- ***Nirākārajñāna*** - When regarded at the level of *nirākāra-jñāna*, the embodiment of the *Divārūpa* takes the form of *Bhaṭāra* Buddha;[1320]
- ***Sākārajñāna*** - When *Bhaṭāra* Buddha is worshipped in the *sākārajñāna*, he is called the transcendent Buddha Śākyamuni[1321] (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana)[1322] – the Teacher of all gods;[1323]
- Out of Buddha Śākyamuni´s right side comes forth bodhisattva Lokeśvara in *dhyāna-mudrā*, and from Buddha Śākyamuni´s left side springs forth bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi in *bhūḥsparśa-mudrā*. These three constitute together the *Ratnatraya,* which originates from the *Garbha maṇḍala.*[1324]

[1320] The *SHKA* folio 52b as described by Kats.
Kats, 1910, p. 108.

[1321] In the *SHKA*, Buddha Śākyamuni is **not** the historical Buddha, but the transcent Buddha (*Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana), whose acrolytes are bodhisattva Lokeśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. This *Ratnatraya* is presented in the cella of the *Caṇḍi* Mendut (see *Section 1.5.1*) and may also be the manner in which the Buddhas are organized on the Barabuḍur (see *Section 1.4.5* and the last paragraph of this *Appendix II, # 1.4*). This view is confirmed by Taijima, who refers to a section in the *Fuhōden* by Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai), in which it is stated that "The three Bodies of *dharma, saṃbhoga*, and *nirmāṇa* are the different functions of the same substance".
Fuhōden, ed. *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*, p. 2a8 as presented in Wayman & Tajima, 1992, p. 249.
Thus Buddha Śākyamuni in *nirmāṇakāya* and Buddha Vairocana in *dharmakāya* are identical. Buddha Vairocana without Buddha Śākyamuni cannot exist. Buddha Mahāvairocana is the historical Buddha idealized in *dharmakāya* who "neither is born, nor dies" (see *Section 5.6.4*).
Wayman & Tajima, 1992, pp. 249-250.

[1322] The *SHKA* folio 52b as described by Kats.
Kats, 1910, p. 108.

[1323] The *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) (T. 848) states in Chapter 2, *stanza* 23: "My Dharma is fully enlightened. It arises from the sky…". *Divārūpa* is this sky. It is the innermost being in *yogic* meditation. From *Divārūpa*, the deities of the two *maṇḍalas* of Buddha Vairocana emanate. The main deity is *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana of the *Garbha maṇḍala* and Buddha Vairocana of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala.*
Wayman & Tajima, 1992, p. 350.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 417.

[1324] Chandra claims, however, that the origin may in fact be from the *Dharmadhātu maṇḍala*. He bases his claim on the fact that the colours of the three gods in the

They represent Buddha-*dharma-saṅgha*. Their essence (*tattva*) are *kāya* (body), *vāk* (speech) and *citta* (mind). Their conduct (*śīla*) is *karuṇā* (compassion), *puṇya* (virtue) and *bhakti* (devotion);[1325]

- From the mouth of Buddha Śākyamuni emanates Buddha Vairocana. From bodhisattva Lokeśvara emerge Buddha Akṣobhya and Buddha Ratnasambhava. From bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi appear Buddha Amitābha and Buddha Amoghasiddhi. They are the *Pañca-Tathāgatas*, and derive from the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1326]

- From the omniscient Buddha Vairocana appears the Trinity of Īśvara-Brahmā-Viṣṇu. They are commissioned by Buddha Vairocana to pervade the three worlds and their essence in order to ascertain the welfare of beings, while Buddha Vairocana continues to create all living beings (creatures and plants);[1327]

- ***Vāhyakajñāna*** - in this external and ritual phase, the various sacred aspects are visualized as images, scrolls, *stūpas*, etc.

Ratnatraya do not tally with those of the *Garbha maṇḍala*.
Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 335 & 413.

[1325] The *SHKA* folio 53a, as described by Kats.
Kats, 1910, p. 108.

[1326] The *SHKA* folio 52ab.
Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 335 & 416.
Other sources: Ishii, 1991, p. 158; Kats, 1910, p. 109.

NB. However, Chandra means in the previous discussion that Buddha Amitābha and Buddha Ratnasambhava should derive from bodhisattva Lokeśvara, while Buddha Akṣobhya and Buddha Amoghasiddhi should derive from bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. According to Ishii, this may well be so, as bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi should be connected with Buddha Akṣobhya, since they both belong to the *Vajrakula* (*Vajra* family). Likewise bodhisattva Lokeśvara and Buddha Amitābha both belong to the *Padmakula* (*Padma* family) (see also *Section 5.6.1,* The SHK model, *Note 1077*) .
Chandra,1995(d), p. 413 & Ishii, 1991, p. 158.

[1327] The *SHKA* folio 53b.
Chandra, 1995(d), p. 418.
Other source: Kats, 1910, p. 109.

NB. The similarities with the *STTS* are here obvious, as Mahāvairocana is there regarded as the Absolute Reality and encompasses all other gods.
Ishii, 1991, p. 153.

BUDDHA as The Supreme Being can be visualised in three ways:			
1. nirākāra-jñāna (yoga)	Sūryarūpa (aṁ)	DIVĀRŪPA (Bhaṭāra Buddha) ↓	Candrarūpa (aḥ)
2a. sākāra-jñāna (Ratnatraya)	right Lokeśvara ↓	ŚĀKYAMUNI ——— ↓	left Vajrapāṇi] Ratnatraya
2b. sākāra-jñāna (Pañca-Tathāgata)	Akṣobhya Ratnasambhava	VAIROCANA	Amitābha Amoghasiddhi] Pañca-Tathāgata
	Creation of the three worlds, five elements, gods and beings		
3. vāhyaka-jñāna	visualisation of images, scrolls, stūpas by external rites.		

Source: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 416

Picture 136   Buddhist epistemological evolution

The *SHK* thus presents a succession from *Divārūpa* above down via *Ratnatraya* and *Pañca-Tathāgatas*, to *Pañceśvara* and *Brahmarṣi*, and finally comprising all beings and *devatā*. [1328] This is an obvious structure of power. The *Ratnatraya* (Lords of the Three Jewels) is thus composed of the transcendent Buddha Śākyamuni (*Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana), bodhisattva Lokeśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. The *Pañca-Tathāgatas* are Buddha Vairocana, Buddha Akṣobhya, Buddha Ratnasambhava, Buddha Amitābha and Buddha Amoghasiddhi. The simultaneous existence of these two groups – *Ratnatraya* (three *kula*) and *Pañca-Tathāgata* (five *kula*) – would suggest according to Ishii that there existed two different kinds of *maṇḍalas* in Old Java. Ishii suggests that these two *maṇḍalas* were (i) the *Garbha maṇḍala* based on the *MVS*, and (ii) the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* based on the *STTS*. However, Ishii did not give any documentary evidence as a basis for this proposal. Nevertheless, it may be of interest to note, that in *Shingon* Buddhism these two *maṇḍalas* are not considered to be different from each other. On Java, they were supposed to be integrated by *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha. This *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha – the essence of the Buddha – is the personification of the Absolute Reality (*Divārūpa*) (see **Picture 137**).[1329]

[1328]   Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 335-336.
Other source: Ishii, 1991, p. 158.

[1329]   Ishii, 1991, pp. 158-159 (see also *Section 5.9*).

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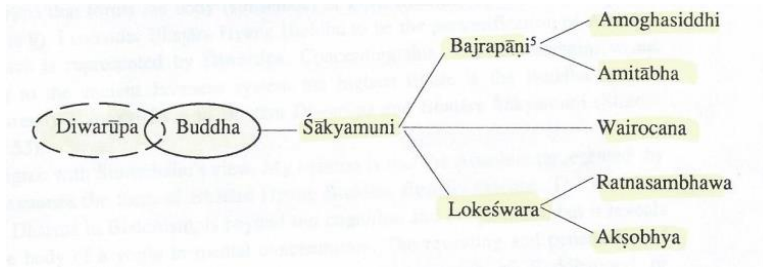
Picture 137   Buddhist Epistemological evolution

The Absolute Reality is represented in the *SHK* by *Divārūpa* and in the *STTS* by Buddha Mahāvairocana. In Old Java, *Divārūpa* would thus seem to have been the interpretation of Buddha Mahāvairocana of the *STTS*. Furthermore, the Buddha essence (dwelt in the hearts of the *sarvatathāgatas*) is represented in the *SHK* by *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha and in the *STTS* by Buddha Mahāvairocana. Ishii draws here the conclusion, that "it is certain that both the Barabuḍur and the Old Javanese esoteric Buddhism of the *SHK* have the same origin, namely the *Tattvasaṃgraha*".[1330] Please note, that this statement by Ishii was presented without any concrete documentary evidence.

Of the three levels of meditation on the Buddha (*Buddhānusmaraṇa*) in the *Paramaguhya* phase, the middle one – the *Sākārajñāna* – is of special interest to us. Here the *Ratnatraya*, its iconography and its correlations emanate. Iconographically it is represented by Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisaṃbuddha* Vairocana) in the centre, bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) to the right and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi to the left. This is exactly the sculptural set up inside the *Caṇḍi* Mendut.[1331]   It might also have been the manner in which the Buddhas on the Barabuḍur have been organized (see *Sections 1.4.5 & 5.6.1*). Noteworthy is though, that this set-up of bodhisattva Lokeśvara→Buddha Śākyamuni→bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi was to be found in *esoteric* Buddhism in India during this period.

[1330]   Ishii, 1991, pp. 159-161.

[1331]   See *Section 1.5.1, Note 357*.

The seed syllable (*bija*) (*Picture 138*) of Buddha Vairocana is ĀṀḤ (Āṁ & Āḥ)[1332] - indicating that Buddha Vairocana has reached the highest phase of development – being transposited into the Void and *nirvāṇa*.

Picture 138   The seed syllable of Buddha Vairocana

[1332] "Āṁ" indicates "awakening". With the addition of the Void point, the meaning changes to indicate, that the potentiality of Awakening contained in the *bodhicitta* has been actualized by transposition into the Void. "Āḥ" indicates the entry into *nirvāṇa*. With the addition of the *nirvāṇa* points, the meaning is altered to mean that the *bodhicitta* has been fully attained by an "expiration". "Āṁḥ" thus indicates that the individual has reached the highest phase of development – transposited into the Void and *nirvāṇa*. Snodgrass, 1997, p. 741.

Regarding the "divine *advaya*" expressed as Āṁ-Āḥ, please see the presentation of the concept of "*advaya*" in connection with *Picture 135* above.

Appendix III - Huayan Buddhism

1   *Background*

Huayan Buddhism was one of the main Chinese *nikāyas* with its "days of glory" concentrated to the seventh-ninth centuries CE during the Sui (581-618 CE) and the Tang (618-907 CE) dynasties. It should be noted, however, that *Huayan* Buddhism lacked a proper institutional background. This impaired the strength of *Huayan* Buddhism to withstand external influences – a fact that became apparent later on in its history. Nevertheless, *Huayan* Buddhism was part of the Chinese *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, which was characterized by laying great emphasize on the study of specific scriptures (e.g. *sūtras*).

Huayan Buddhism is regarded as the culmination of doctrinal development in medieval Chinese Buddhism.[1333]

The underlying scripture of *Huayan* Buddhism is the *Mahāvaipulya-buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (Chinese *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng*),[1334] which illustrates the world seen through the eyes of the Buddha. The Buddha is here the transcendent Buddha – Buddha Vairocana. *Huayan* Buddhism introduced some concepts, which are unique for this Buddhist *nikāya* - inter alia "mutual identity" and "mutual penetration".[1335]

> The miracles shown in a single hair,
> Even if told of by all the Buddhas
> For innumerable eons,
> Could not be completely defined.[1336]

[1333] Poceski, 1966, 341-342.

[1334] The various translations into Chinese and their Taishō numbers are presented below in this *Appendix III, # 3*.

[1335] Williams, 1999, pp. 116-128.

[1336] Cleary, 1993, p. 175.

The *Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *Buddāvataṃsaka Sūtra*) (the *BAS*) represents a systematic summary of the main ideas and concepts within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. These ideas and concepts were developed during the initial centuries of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. The *BAS* is deemed to be a heterogeneous work – *a collection of texts*, some of which circulated separately.[1337] Some of these texts embrace some "*Proto-Tantric*" elements (see *Sectione 5.2.2*). Like *Mahāyāna* Buddhism in general, *Huayan nikāya* offers potential salvation for all living beings.

Huayan tradition developed in China out of a truly new apprehension of Buddhism, which was first clearly achieved during the period between the reunification of the country in 589 CE and the An Lushan rebellion in 755-763 CE. *Huayan* Buddhism was the result of a considerable "Sinification" – i.e. the Indian materials were transformed into a form conducive to the Chinese taste and mind.[1338] *Huayan* tradition may best be understood as an instance of conceptual change within the religious tradition.[1339]

2   *The Essence of Huayan Buddhism*

Huayan means "flower garland" and is Chinese for the Sanskrit *Avataṃsaka*. The *BAS* ("Legion of the Buddhas") is according to the *Sarvāstivāda* tradition a miracle of multitude. The Buddha illustrates himself in a number of Buddhas, who each sits on a lotus flower. All these new Buddhas multiply themselves in a similar manner, until they reach the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven. This miracle is presented in a section of the *BAS* called *bhadraśrī*. Only the Buddha may perform this miracle.[1340]

Huayan nikāya in China was developed by its successive patriarchs. But at the time of the first four patriarchs, there was neither any

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[1337]   Nattier, 2005, p. 323.
        Other source: Gómez, 1994, p. 160-161.

[1338]   Ch´en, 1973, pp. 313-320.

[1339]   Gimello, 1976, pp. 1-2.

[1340]   Ōtake, 2007, pp. 89-90.

notion of a separate *Huayan* tradition, nor of independent patriarchs.[1341] The patriarchs were: viz.

- **Dushun** (557-640 CE), who was responsible for the paradigmatic change of the concept "form-vs-emptiness" for the concept "phenomenon-vs-principle". His main work was "*On the Meditation of Dharmadhātu*". He is said to have been able to perform miracles;

- **Zhiyan** (602-668 CE) introduced several concepts, such as the *dharmadhātu*, the Dependent Origination, the classification of the teachings (*pànjiào* 判教)[1342], etc. His most important work was "*The Ten Mysteries in One Vehicle of Huayan*". He was the teacher of Ūisang, who later on transmitted the *BAS* to Korea, from where it was subsequently transferred to Japan;

- **Fazang** (643-712 CE), who formulated the *Huayan* philosophy. His work "*Commentary on the Heart Sūtra*" was most appreciated by his contemporaries. His frequent presentations of various aspects of the *BAS* to Empress Wu, cemented *Huayan nikāya* in China;

- **Huiyuan** (ca 673-743 CE) was a student of Fazang, but criticized Fazang for his inclusion of the sudden teaching (*tūránjiào* 突然教) in his taxonomy of teachings.[1343]

- **Chengguan** (738-839 CE), who tried to introduce *Huayan nikāya* to other Buddhist traditions and Chinese lines of thought. His main opus was "*The Great Exegesis of the Huayan Sūtra*". He was regarded as the incarnation of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; and

- **Zongmi** (780-841 CE), who after studying the Classical Works of Confucius, became the pupil of Chengguan and continued the work of the latter. He wrote a number of works on the contemporary situation of Buddhism in Tang China – including critical analysis of *Huayan nikāya* and

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[1341] Poceski, 1966, p. 342.

[1342] The Chinese *pànjiào* 判教 classifications come in various versions – such as by Chanyan, Zhiyi, Fazang, Huiguan, Huiyuan, Liuqiu, and Zongmi. The version by patriarch Fazang of the *Huayan nikāya* organized the teachings of Buddha into five categories; namely (i) *Hīnayāna*, (ii) elementary *Mahāyāna*, (iii) advanced *Mahāyāna*, (iv) sudden teaching, and (v) perfect teaching. The latter is only to be found in the base *sūtra* of *Huayan nikāya* – i.e. the *BAS*.
Gregory, 1991, pp. 111-115, 128 & 134.

[1343] Poceski, 1966, p. 343.

Chan nikāya. Zongmi wrote several scriptural exegeses. One of his most appreciated works, was the "*Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity*", written sometime between 828 and 835 CE.[1344]

One of the main roles of the three first *Huayan* patriarchs was to make *Huayan nikāya* free from the historical decendency of the northern Wei Buddhism and to strenghthen *Huayan nikāya* vis-à-vis the advancing northern and southern *Chan* traditions.[1345]

The fundamental tenet of *Huayan* Buddhism centers around the cause and effect of the Universal Principle, according to which all dharmas should have arisen simultaneously. The universe (*dharmadhātu*) should thus have been created by the universe itself.[1346] The cosmos (*dharmadhātu*) of *Huayan nikāya* is in other words a universe, which is self-creating, self-fulfilling and self-defining.[1347]

Huayan Buddhism does not concern itself with the mere process of creation. The cosmos of *Huayan nikāya* is a world, that has already been created. It is there – it is a fact! What the *BAS* presents, is what this world looks like through the eyes of Buddha Vairocana and in what manner it does function.

The *BAS* and its incorporated *GVS* present a cosmos (*dharmadhātu*) as it really is and operates. It is a world, in which everything:

- exists without time, creator or purpose. It is a cosmos, that is given – without a god. All *dharmas* were created simultaneously;
- lacks a hierarchy. There is no centre. If a centre would exist, it would then exist everywhere;
- exists by means of our own mind (*citta*) – i.e. it is a mere illusion;

[1344] Hamar, 2007, pp. xv-xvi.
Other sources: Chang, 1971, pp. 231-240; Ch´en, 1973, pp. 314-316.

[1345] Aramaki, 2007, pp. 169-187.

[1346] Ch´en, 1973, p. 316.

[1347] Cook, 1977, p. 3.

Please note the similitudes with modern cosmology; e.g. the quantum physics (see for instance Lothar Schäfer, *Infinite Potential*, Deepak Chopra Books, New York, 2013) and the multi-universe theory (as hypothized and explained by Professor Max Tegmark, *Our Mathematical Universe*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 2014).

- is empty (*śūnya*) and without an inherent existence (*svabhāva-śūnyatā*);
- has a Buddha-nature (*tathāgatagarba*) of its own;
- is identical with everything else;
- is mutually penetrating and inherent in everything else;
- is mutually interrelated (*pratītyasamutpāda*) in a cause-and-effect relationship;
- may be expressed in form of a Totality – i.e. everything is expressed from a total point of view.[1348]

One of the conclusions that may be drawn from these doctrines, is inter alia that each individual entity constitutes the entire cause for the existence of the Totality – at the same time as the Totality is the cause of the existence of each individual entity – i.e."universality is established on the basis of particularity – particularity is established on the basis of universality". What influences a separate entity in this vast universe, also influences every other individual entity. The annihilation of one unit, leads to the annihilation of the entire universe.[1349] Or presented in another manner – in case an individual practises a certain Buddhist tradition, he simultaneously practices all other Buddhist traditions. The essential aspect is thus the specific network of relationships between various individual entities – not the separate entity as such.[1350]

The view of Totality in *Huayan nikāya* implies that each individual entity penetrates and encompasses all other entities. This leads to the conclusion that "the entire universe is included in a single grain of sand".

In this *Huayan* view of Totality, each cell in each living being has been given its existence from all other cells – and will in its own right give life to all other cells. We may not act, without influencing the whole.

[1348] Cook, 1977, pp. 1-19.

[1349] Cook, 1977, pp. 2-4.
Please note the similarities to the Mach Principle in the modern physics.

In natural science no aspect may be annihilated. It may change to another form or energy – but it may not be annihilated. In case a single atom is annihilated, the entire universe collapses – i.e. everything is interconnected and interdependent.

[1350] Cook, 1977, pp. 1-19; Wei, 2007, 189-194.

We are all made up of "the dust of the space". The entire universe is one single flow – a process. Everything belongs together.

2.1 Emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and Emptiness of a Self (*svabhāva-śūnyatā*)

As is illustrated in the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature everything is empty, as everything (i) is under constant change and (ii) is the result of the Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). That something is empty (*śūnya*), means here that it is lacking an inherent existence (*niḥsvab-hāva*) and is without an essence of its own (*anātman*).[1351] A synopsis of the voluminous *Prajñāpāramitā* literature is presented in the small (only 262 words long) "Heart Sūtra", which claims that everything is empty (*śūnya*) – even the *dharmas*:

> Here, O Śāriputra,
> form is emptiness, and the very emptiness is form,
> emptiness does not differ from form, nor does form
> differ from emptiness;
> whatever is form, that is emptiness, whatever is
> emptiness, that is form.
> The same is true of feelings, perceptions, impulses
> and consciousness.[1352]

The doctrine of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) should not be interpreted as an attempt to undermine the *dharma*-theory, in the form that it has been elaborated in the *Abhidharma*. The *śūnyatā*-theory encompasses all Buddhist theories. Everything is empty (*śūnya*) – even the *dharma*.[1353] To imagine a *dharma* to exist on its own merits, is like trying to catch the reflection of the moon on the water surface. The moon is there, but still it is not there. In case we stretch out to catch it, we find nothing to hold on to – but risk getting wet.

When we understand that change only exists and that we are part of it ourselves, the surrounding world will loose in value and impor-

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[1351]   Williams, 1999, p. 46.

[1352]   Conze, 1973, p. 142.

[1353]   Conze, 1962, p. 222.
         Other source: Lamotte, 1981, Vol. I, pp. 357-387 & 364.

tance. When this happens, values of higher dignities arise for us on the unselfish Path of Buddhahood.[1354]

2.2   *Tathāgatagarbha*

Tathāgatagarbha means "the womb of Budhahood".[1355] All sentient beings contain *tathāgatagarbha*.[1356] The aim of the Buddha should thus be sought within ourselves. We all carry this potential within us as a "seed". In order for the "seed" to grow, we need to nurture it. It is a mere potential, which may be hindered in its development by external moral and intellectual weaknesses (*kleśa*). When these pollutions are annihilated, the potential arises again in all its glory and purity.

Huayan Buddhism goes one step further and states that everything – living beings, as well as non-living items – do not only possess Buddha-nature, but de facto *is* *tathāgatagarbha*. Buddha-nature is in other words no longer a mere potential. It is already there under our conta-minated coating. Peel away this polluted coating, and Buddha-nature appears in all its purity and brightness:

> The Buddha-body is ungraspable;
> Unborn, uncreated,
> It appears in accord with beings,
> Equanimous as empty space.[1357]

Huayan Buddhism – like *Chan* Buddhism – advocates the "sudden" enlightenment. Buddha-nature does already exist in each living being. Coupled with the *Huayan* Buddhism principles of "mutual identity" and of "mutual penetration", we appreciate that Buddha-nature already exists in the bodhisattva on his first step on the Path to Enlightenment.[1358]

[1354]   Cook, 1977, p. 44.

[1355]   La doctrine du *tathāgatagarbha*, "l'Embryon de Tathāgata".
Ruegg, 1969, p. 31.

[1356]   Ruegg, 1969, pp. 4, 279 & 330.

[1357]   Cleary, 1993, p. 175.

[1358]   Cook, 1977, pp. 44-55.

2.3   *Mutual identity and mutual penetration*

These aspects are the foremost of *Huayan* Buddhism. According to the
third *Huayan* patriarch – Fazang – all things are **mutually identical**
(as described above in the "Heart Sūtra") and do exist only by means
of a complex network of **mutual penetration** (as described below in
the *pratītyasamutpāda*).[1359] Fazang illustrated this by the examples of
the "Hall of Mirrors"[1360] and by "Indra´s Net".

The aspect of **mutual identity** implies that no single item or pheno-
menon may have an inherent existence of its own. Nothing may exist
by itself, but requires the presence of everything else to define what it
is. It is here that Fazang bases himself on his influences from "*Awake-
ning of Faith in the Mahāyāna*".[1361] By showing in the example of the

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[1359]   Wei denominates these two aspects jointly as "the perfect interfusion" (*yanrong*).
Wei, 2007, pp. 189-194.

[1360]   At the time of the completion of the translation into Chinese of Śikṣānanda´s 80-Fascicle
version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (T. 279) in 699 CE (see this *Appendix III, # 3*),
Fazang had several learned discussions with empress Wu Zetian 武则天 (r. 684-705 CE)
As a result hereof, Fazang had the "Hall of Mirrors" built in the *Huayan* Zhongnanshan
monastery outside of Xian. The "Hall of Mirrors" was a room with mirrors covering the
entire four walls, the floor and the ceiling, respectively. An illuminated Buddha image
was positioned in the centre of this space.There Fazang showed empress Wu the infinite
reflections in each mirror of all the other mirrors with the Buddha image. Fazang hereby
illustrated several aspects, such as (i) the principle of containment and interpenetration,
and (ii) the principle of the simultaneous arising of different realms. In addition, Fazang
placed a crystal ball in his hand, in which all the mirror walls and their reflections were
seen. Fazang illustrated hereby (iii) the principle of non-obstruction of space (i.e. the
small space containing the large space and the large space containing the small space
"*One in all and All in one*").
Chang, 1971, pp. 22-24.
Other source: Hamar, 2007, p. xi.

[1361]   The "*Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*" (in Sanskrit **Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda
Śāstra* or in Chinese *Dàshèng qĭ xìn lùn* 大乘起信論) (T. 1666) and (T. 1667) was orig-
inally composed in Chinese around 534 CE. The "*Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*"
claims that the doctrine of Buddha-essence is a **cosmological** theory – an explanation of
the true nature of cosmos. The "*Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*", however, states
that *tathāgatagarbha* is the Mind of the sentient beings and that this Mind comprises in
itself all states of beings of the phenomenal and the transcendental world. According to
Fazang "Absolute and phenomena are not differentiated in essence, they include each
other, for the One Mind is the essence of both." *Tathāgatagarbha* is thus believed to
constitute the substratum of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. This view has lead several Sino-
Japanese traditions to believe that *tathāgatagarbha* is included not only in the sentient
beings, but also in all matters from the vegetable and mineral kingdoms.

However, according to Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, *tathāgatagarbha* is the **soteriological**
aspect of the Buddha-essence theory, the gist of which is that Buddha-essence (*tathā-
gatagarbha*) is within all sentient beings. That is the fundamental aspect, which enables
the sentient beings to become Enlighthened.
Williams, 1999, pp. 109-112.

"Ten coins" that each coin may be regarded as both existing and empty, Fazang proved that they are identical. The aspect of mutual identity may be illustrated by the maxim of the "Heart Sūtra" – "*emptiness is form, form is emptiness*".[1362]

According to Fazang, the tenet of **mutual penetration** was presented by Buddha Śākyamuni during the second week after his Enlightenment, when he was sitting in deep "Ocean-wide" concentration - *sāgara-mudrā samādhi*. It was in this *samādhi*, that Buddha Śākyamuni experienced the entire universe as a single living organism with identical and mutually penetrating parts. Fazang teaches that *Huayan* tradition – being based on this *samādhi* – is the most complete and true form of the teaching of the Buddha.[1363]

In the earlier given example of the "Ten coins", the comparison was of a static nature – i.e. all *dharmas* were mutually identical by being empty, as well as by containing existence. But when the *dharmas* are analyzed in their dynamic nature, they are seen as mutually penetrating one another (the *dharma* may namely simultaneously contain power or lack power, depending on whether it was the reason for another *dharma*, or the result of another *dharma*). Each item or phenomenon contains qualities of all other items or phenomenons. This mutual penetration may be illustrated by the doctrine of the Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). As indicated above, Fazang illustrated this with the examples of "Indra´s Net" and the "Hall of Mirrors".[1364]

[1362] Chang, 1971, p. 121-124.
Other source: Cook, 1977, pp. 64-66.

In **exoteric** Buddhism, *dharma* is seen to be in a continuous movement and change. Therefore, *dharmas* are regarded as empty (*śūnya*) and without an inherent existence (*niḥsvabhāva*). **Esoteric** Buddhism, however, accepts that everything is constantly fluctuating and changing, but refuses to see them as unreal. Instead *esoteric* Buddhism claims that emptiness and the physical world are two aspects of "reality" as *Form may not exist without emptiness, and emptiness may not exist without form.* Snodgrass, 1997, p. 12.

Compare with *Section 4.2.3, Note 778*.

[1363] Cook, 1977, p. 73.

[1364] Cook, 1977, pp. 68-69.
Other source: Chang, 1971, p. 121-124.

These two characteristic aspects of *Huayan* Buddhism - the mutual identity and the mutual penetration - lead up to the view expressed in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* in the following *stanza*:

> In a single atom there can be
> untold lotus worlds;
> In each lotus world
> are untold Chief of Goodness Buddhas,
> Pervading the entire cosmos
> and every atom therein.[1365]

2.4 *Dependent Origination*

In *Huayan* Buddhism, the doctrine of the Dependent Origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*)[1366] is of great importance. In fact, a deep understanding of this doctrine is a necessary precondition for entering the Path to attaining Enlightenment. The *Huayan* patriarch Dushun (558—640 CE) is quoted to have said "When one [the pilgrim] penetrates deeply into dependent-arising, he cuts off all erroneous views; no more will he be bound by habitual thoughts of being or non-being."[1367]

The Dependent Origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) presumes that things lack inherent existences (*niḥsvabhāva*) and are without an essence of their own (*anātman*). Yet, they exist provisionally, as they are created on interactions by various causal factors. As indicated by the patriarch Dushun above, the focus in *Huayan* Buddhism on causality, shifts away from the "form-vs-emptiness" aspect of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, towards the "phenomenon-vs-principle" aspect (see *Appendix IV, # 8*).

Meditating on the essence of the Dependent Origination (*Pratītyasamutpāda*) and on the aspects of the lack of inherent existences (*niḥsvabhāva*) and on the lack of an essence of one´s own (*anātman*), one finds that (i) each phenomenon is determined by all the phenomena of which it is part, and (ii) likewise the totality is determined by each phenomenon that it comprises. "All phenomena

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[1365]   Cleary, 1993, p. 902.

[1366]   See the Glossary.

[1367]   Chang, 1971, p. 137.

are thus interdependent and interpenetrate without hindrance, and yet each one of them retains its distinct identity."[1368]

2.5   *Totality and Non-obstruction*

Buddhahood may in summary be described as the concept of ***Totality*** (i.e. the all-embracing aspect of Buddhahood) and ***Non-obstruction*** (i.e. the total liberation from all attachments).

The universe is seen to consist of different worlds (realms) with different terms of references (i.e. what is true in one world, may not be true in another world).[1369] Concepts like "existence" and "non-existence" are only meaningful if they are defined within the borders of one (single) world. *Huayan* Buddhism regards the surroundings from the perspective of Totality – i.e. repudiating every aspect of the concepts "definition and attachment". The Buddha "sees" all the different worlds simultaneously – i.e. which are mutually penetrating each other. Each aspect in the universe is simultaneously a "mirror" (reflecting all other aspects) and a "picture" (being reflected by all other aspects), as illustrated by "Indra´s Net".[1370]

In Totality the larger universes include the smaller ones ("realms-embracing-realms"), while simultaneously the smaller universes comprice the larger ones – "***All-in-one and One-in-all***". Time lacks significance in Totality, where all actions from the past, present and future are joined in the "eternal present".[1371] Totality is inaccessable prior to one having let loose all attachments, and one having understood the truth of non-self (*anātman*); of emptiness (*śūnyatā*); of emptiness of self (*svabhāva-śūnyatā*); of Buddha-nature (*tathāgata-garba*); of mutual identity; of mutual penetration; of dependent

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[1368]   Poceski, 1966, pp. 346-347.

[1369]   Please note, that this view corresponds well with the "multi-universe" concept of modern astronomy, as for instance presented in Professor Max Tegmark, *Our Mathematical Universe*, Alfred A Knopf, New York, 2014.

[1370]   Chang, 1971, pp. 124-126.

[1371]   Vetter, 2004, pp. 65-66.
    Other sources: Chang, 1971, pp. 22-24;   Gimello, 1976, p. 43.

origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*), and of cause-and-effect. [1372] This is illustrated in the *BAS* as follows:

> On a point the size of the tip of a single fine hair
> Are unspeakably many Universally Goods;
> The same is true of all points
> All throughout the cosmos. [1373]

3 The Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra

Huayan Buddhism[1374] is based on the scripture *Mahāvaipulyabuddhā-vataṃsaka Sūtra*[1375] (the *BAS*) (Chin. *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經),[1376] which is a *Vaipulya Sūtra*.[1377] Siddhārtha Gautama is supposed to have preached this *sūtra* directly upon receiving his Enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree in Bodhgayā in Magadha. [1378]

[1372] Chang, 1971, pp. 18-21.

[1373] Cleary, 1993, p. 892.

[1374] The Chinese translation of *avataṃsaka* (garland) is *huayan* (flower garland).
Hua = flower; *yan* = garland
Chandra, 1993, p. 14.

[1375] The meaning of the *Mahavaipulyabuddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (the *BAS*) is "the efflorescense (*avataṃsaka*) of the *Mahāvaipulya Sūtras*".
Chandra, 1993, p. 14

[1376] The classification & number of the various translation of this *sūtra* will be indicated below.

[1377] See Section 1.4.3, Note 164.
Chandra, 1987, pp. 16 & 30.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(c), p. 73.

[1378] Doi, 1978, p. 13.
Other source: Cleary, 1993, p. 55.

But as the *śrāvakas* did not understand the *BAS* when Siddhārtha Gautama first taught it upon his Enlightenment, the *sūtra* was considered as an *esoteric* teaching, as were the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra.*
McBride, 2004, p. 337.

Gómez states in his writing of the *BAS* that "throughout the *Avataṃsaka* Buddha Śākyamuni is the central figure. Yet Buddha Vairocana is constantly in the background, either as the source of the power and virtue of all Buddhas and bodhisattvas, or as the former Buddha of mythical time." Or to present it in other words – Buddha Vairocana is the name used, when reference is made specifically to Buddha´s *dharmakāya.* Buddha Vairocana is **non-dual** with all Buddha and bodhisattva manifestations (see the *trikāya* theory in *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*).
Gómez, 1994, p. 162

While remaining seated under the *Bodhi* tree absorbed in the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection (*sāgara-mudrā samādhi*)[1379] Siddhārtha Gautama mentally ascended to the "Hall of Brightness" in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven, where he - in his *saṃbhogakāya* form - preached the *sūtra* only to those bodhisattvas who possessed the supernatural powers of the Ten Stages - and thus became a Buddha. This was in other words done prior to the *Tathāgata´s* First Sermon in the Deer Park close to Benares (Vāraṇāsī), where he was Turning of the *Wheel of the Dharma* – and thus formally became Buddha Śākyamuni.[1380]

This voluminous *sūtra* (exceeding 1,500 pages in Thomas Cleary´s translation to English) is regarded as the highest teaching according to the *Huayan* classification (*pànjiào* 判教). The *BAS* is written in a manner whereunder Buddha Vairocana remains silent – he does not preach.[1381] It is instead the numerous bodhisattvas, who speak on

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Of interest to be noted is the fact, that Buddha Śākyamuni is supposed towards the end of his life to have preached the *Saddarmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra* (the so called *Lotus Sūtra*) (*Miāo fā liánhuá jīng* 秒法蓮華經) (T. 262). The *Lotus Sūtra* is the basic *sūtra* of the *Tiantai nikāya*. Efforts were made in China to harmonize the views of the *Huayan nikāya* and the *Tiantai nikāya*.
Fontein, 2012, p. 236.

[1379] In the *samādhi* of oceanic reflection (Jap. *hai-in san-mei*), all phenomena are viewed in a totalistic vision in a harmonious and dynamic interrelation – just as if the entire universe was reflected on the surface of the ocean.
Gregory, 1991, pp. 154-155.

[1380] See *Section 5.3.1, Note 1013*.
Tajima, 1998, pp. 245-246.
Other sources: Fontein, 2012, p. 19; Ōtake, 2007, p. 94.

Huntington means, however, that the various presentations of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* and the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* were as follows:
Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana presented the *BAS* in *dharmadhātu*; and
Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana presented the main texts of the *MVS*-cycle in the heaven of *Akaniṣṭha* (please note the difference to the above main text)
Huntington, 1994, p. 148.

Fontein means that this is the reason for the *Tathāgata* being represented on a number of places on the Barabuḍur bas-reliefs in *vitarka mudrā* (i.e. not in the conventional *dharmacakra-mudrā*) (see *Sections 1.4.5, Note 272, Section 5.6.2 & Section 6.6*).
Fontein, 2012, p. 19.

[1381] Chandra proposed that the earliest representations of *rocana* were presented in the *BAS*, which later on were to evolve into Vairocana of the *yogatantras*. Madeleine Paul-David stated that the *BAS* iconography of *rocana* should have first appeared at Khotan, passed on to Kuca (Kizil Cave), then to have appeared in cave # 425/P.135 of Donghuang (early sixth century CE).
Chandra, 1995(c), pp. 72-73.

Paul-David continues to describe a Chinese image from the Sui dynasty (589-618 CE) at the Musée Guimet: "The right hand makes the gesture of *abhayamudrā*; the left hand,

behalf of the Buddha and who praise him. Buddha Vairocana thus becomes the object and the theme of the sermon - he becomes in other words the origin of the sermon and its foundation. Buddha Vairocana is not, as in other *sūtras*, the subject of the sermon. The *BAS* may be regarded, therefore, more as an internal dialogue of Buddha Vairocana with himself. Thus Doi claims that the *BAS* is the most excellent of *sūtras*, "because there is nothing else besides the holy Buddha".[1382]

This important *sūtra* has been decisive for the further development of Buddhism in East Asia. It gave rise to *Huayan* Buddhism in China, to *Hwaŏm* Buddhism in Korea and to *Kegon* Buddhism in Japan.[1383] Its title is somewhat ambigious, though. It could be interpreted as either "Discourse Describing the Buddha´s (Flower) Garlands" or as "Discourse Describing Garlands (interconnected series) of the Buddhas".[1384]

The *BAS* is recognized as a visionary text, presenting a summary of the deepest meaning of Buddhist thought. In Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version, there are 39 "discourses" delivered to 8 different "assemblies" in 7 locations. Following the Chinese tradition, one may propose a unifying theme for each of the eight assemblies – thus making the *BAS* a complete map of Buddhist thought.[1385] ***It portrays***

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that of *varadamudrā*. On the front of the cloak are modeled the sun, the moon, two *apsaras*, Mount Meru (formed of a rock beaten by waves and born by interlaced dragons), a Buddhist sanctuary, and scenes of hell. On the back, which is flatter, other personages modeled in relief evoke the Six Ways (the damned, preta, wild animals, asura, humans, and Buddha), as well as Kṣitigarbha (King of Hell) sitting on the throne. The theme is borrowed from the Avataṃsaka Sūtra which makes Vairocana the master of all the universe."
Auboyer, 1975, pp. 107 & 112.

[1382] "Das Kegon-Sūtra ist in solcher Gestalt eigentlich das Selbstgespräch und der Selbstausdruck des heiligen Buddha….. "Predigt aus dem goldenen Munde Buddhas", weil es hier nichts anderes als den heiligen Buddha gibt."
Doi, 1978, p. 12.

[1383] Hamar, 2007, p. xiii.

[1384] Gómez, 1994, p. 160.

[1385] The seven locations consists of three in this world (Bodh Gaya, Hall of All-pervading Light and Jetavana) and four in the heavenly realms (Mount Sumeru, Yama´s Palace, *Tuṣita* Heaven and *Akaniṣṭha* Heaven).

The eight assemblies in these seven locations stipulate that:

(1) The Buddha at the moment of Enlightenment is one with Buddha Vairocana (Books 1-5);

the cosmos as it is seen by the Buddha. The emphasis is changed to the Buddha´s attainment of Enlightenment, from his entering into *nirvāṇa* – all in conformity with the early *Mahāyāna* tradition.[1386] In line herewith, the *BAS* gives a detailed description of the development of the bodhisattva from entering the Path to when he obtains Enlightenment and becomes a Buddha (see *DBS in Appendix III, # 6).*[1387]

The *BAS* seems to have been inspired by other *Mahāyāna* texts and encompasses such concepts as "emptiness" (*śūnyatā*), "dependent origination" (*pratītyasamutpāda*), "Mind-Only" (*cittamātra*), etc. Some of the main aspects characteristic of *Huayan* Buddhism are presented, such as "mutual identity" and "mutual interpenetration".[1388] In the *GVS* (see this *Appendix III, # 4*) bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samanta-bhadra seem to play the roles of the two foremost spiritual leaders (*kalyāṇamitras*). This seems also to be in accordance with the entire *BAS.* Based on these two aspects, Ryōshū Takamine deemed – as presented by Fontein - this to indicate that the *BAS* in fact is an amalgamation of two sets of texts, for which each of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and bodhisattva Samantabhadra have been the major advocate, respectively.[1389]

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(2) The Four Noble Truths form the basis for the bodhisattva´s practice and liberation (Books 6-12);

(3) The bodhisattva´s Ten Abodes (Books 13-18);

(4) The bodhisattva´s Ten types of conduct (*caryā*) (Books 19-22), with the Ten Perfections (*pāramitās*) presented in Book 21. The seventh of these Ten Perfections is the "skillful means" (*upāya kauśalya*), which is seen as the "practice of non-attachment";

(5) The Ten dedications of merit (Books 23-25);

(6) The Ten stages of the bodhisattva (Books 26-37);

(7) Summary of the Themes in 3-5 above (Book 38);

(8) The bodhisattva´s career and inconceivable liberation (Book 39).

   Gómez, 1994, pp. 163-168.

[1386] Fontein, 2010, p. 123.

[1387] Williams, 1999, p. 121.

[1388] Gethin, 1998, p. 226.

[1389] Fontein, 1967, p. 21.

According to the legend, it was Nāgārjuna (the founder of the *Mād-hyamika* philosophy during the second century CE), who retrieved the *BAS* from the palace of the *nāgas*.[1390] In this palace, the *nāgas* watched over three versions of the *BAS*, which the Chinese exegetes denominate the upper (*shàng* 上), the middle (*zhōng* 中) and the lower (*xià* 下) *sūtras*. These were immense texts. The lower (*xià*) *sūtra* comprised of 100,000 *ślokas*[1391] in 48 chapters. In order to give mankind a chance to comprehend it, Nāgārjuna is said to have brought back only this "briefest" version.[1392]

The original Sanskrit text of the *BAS* is not extant.[1393] As a collection, the *BAS* is known only from Tibetan and Chinese catalogues and canons and from references in Khotanese and other sources. The various texts in Sanskrit of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* family seem to have circulated independently in India from the fourth to the ninth centuries CE. These Sanskrit texts seem also to have circulated indeptly in central Asia in the sixth century CE and to have been referred to in the neighbouring regions of India and Tibet. With exception for the *DBS* and the *GVS*, which were important texts in India and Nepal, the other texts of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* family started to loose ground in the eighth and ninth centuries CE and eventually ceased to be copied.[1394]

[1390] The similarity of this legend, to the legend of the so called "Iron *Stūpa*" from South India is obvious (see *Appendix IV, # 6, Note 1564*)

[1391] *Śloka* is defined as a group of 32 syllables. It is often synonymous with the term "*stanza*" or "verse".
Gómez, 1967, p. xxv.

[1392] Please note, though, that the 80-fascicle version referred to below, consists of only 39 chapters – the last chapter being the *GVS*.
Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 139-140.

[1393] According to Nattier, no complete version of the *BAS* is in fact extant in any Indian language.
Nattier, 2005, p. 323.

[1394] Skilling & Saerji, 2013, pp. 193 & 211.

In the early Tibetan registers (the *Phang thang ma* and the *Lhan dkar ma*) these *Buddhāvataṃsaka* texts were treated as autonomous texts with their own titles and concluding colophons. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka* was here treated as a category or as a separate class of texts, under which several titles were grouped. The importance of these texts were underlined by the fact, that the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* texts in these early Tibetan registers were presented as the second section – directly after the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Shes phyin*). It is notable, though, that in the present extant *Kanjur*, these texts have lost their independence and have been compiled as individual chapters in the *BAS*. It is unclear, though, when and why this merger took place.
Skilling & Saerji, 2013, p. 197.

During the period between the late second century CE and the early fourth century CE, a number of Chinese translations were produced containing some aspects later found in the voluminous *BAS*. Nattier puts our attention to four of these early translations; namely:

- Lokakṣema translated in 179-189 CE the *Fó shuō dōu shā jīng* 佛說兜沙經 (T. 280);
- Zhi Qian translated during 222-228 CE the text *Fó shuō púsà běn yèjīng* 佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281). This translation overlaps in considerable parts with Lokakṣema´s above mentioned translation.[1395]
- The *Zhū púsà qiú fó běn yèjīng* 諸菩薩求佛本業經 (T. 282), an "orphaned scripture", which somehow became separated from its parent text and thus lacked references to its translator. The subsequent cataloguers of Chinese texts "corrected" this weakness and assigned the text to the Chinese layman Nie Daozhen (late 3rd – early 4th century CE); and
- The *Pūsà shí zhù xíngdào pīn* 菩薩十住行道品 (T. 283) – another "orphaned scripture", which was subsequently assigned to the Yuezhi translator monk Dharmarakṣa (265-309 CE).

Nattier presents the opinions, (i) that the two orphaned scriptures T. 282 and T. 283 were in fact both translated by Lokakṣema during 179-189 CE in connection with the translation of the *Fó shuō dōu shā jīng* (T. 280); and (ii) that these three texts constituted one and the same text – the *Fó shuō dōu shā jīng*.[1396]

The importance of Nattier´s conclusion that we now have two scriptures – Zhi Qian´s *Fó shuō púsà běn yèjīng* (T. 281) and Lokakṣema´s reassembled *Fó shuō dōu shā jīng* (T. 280 together with T. 282 and T. 283) – is of considerable importance. According to Nattier, they prove "the existence in India no later than the 2nd century CE of an integral scripture corresponding to part of what is contained in the voluminous *Huayan jīng*".[1397] What Nattier thus indicates to prove, is that these two texts do in fact constitute evidence of the existence of a

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[1395] Nattier, 2007, pp. 110-113.
Other source: Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 142-144.

[1396] Nattier, 2005, pp. 324-335.

[1397] Nattier, 2005, p. 335.

common text – a "*proto-Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*" – out of which the immense *BAS* eventually grew.

According to Ōnishi, the *BAS* was based on several Sanskrit texts from the outset. Ōtake supports this view, and means that the *BAS* is made up of seven (7) different *sūtras*. Hamar presents the view, that it was Buddhabhadra – and later on Śikṣānanda – who compiled their respective version of the *BAS* from a number of free-standing *sūtras*.[1398] Nattier seems to confirm this view by voicing the opinion that a dozen brief Chinese translations corresponding to portions of the immense *BAS* were made during the period ranging over the Han dynasty to the Song dynasty (T. 280-297). [1399] However, the commentaries of the second *Huayan nikāya* patriarch – Zhiyan (602-668 CE) – on a Sanskrit manuscript (which exceeded 37,000 *ślokas*) that he found in the Dacien monastery[1400], seem to indicate that the Sanskrit text may from the outset have been in the form of one text.

The origin of the *BAS* is also put into question. According to Ōtake, the above mentioned seven (7) *sūtras* were compiled in India to the *BAS*.[1401] Nattier´s above findings also point in the direction of an Indian origin of the *BAS* and to the simultaneous circulation in India and in China of parts of the text in more than one version.[1402] Other scholars are of the opinion, though, that the compilation took place in central Asia – more precisely in the region of Khotan.[1403] As indicated below, the Sanskrit versions to the first two translations into Chinese of the *BAS* were brought to China from Khotan.[1404] Skilling & Saerji disputes this, meaning that it would be tantamount to proposing a central Asian origin of the hybrid Sanskrit. They mean instead, that the prose sections are in "Buddhist hybrid prose" and the *stanza*

[1398] Hamar, 2007(a), p. 151.

[1399] Nattier, 2005, p. 323.

[1400] Dacien 大慈恩 monastery.

[1401] Ōtake, 2007, pp. 105-106.

[1402] Nattier, 2005, p. 335.

[1403] Gómez, 1994, p. 161.
       Other source: Fontein, 1967, p. 3.

[1404] Hamar, 2007(a), p. 151.
       Other source: Williams, 1999, p. 121.

sections are in the "*gāthā* language" or "Buddhist Sanskrit verse".[1405] In other words, this matter still remains uncertain. Nevertheless, Zhi Faling seems to have brought with him to China from Khotan a number of *sūtras*, one of which Buddhabhadra later translated in China as the *BAS* (T. 278).[1406]

As mentioned above, no Sanskrit version of the "complete" *BAS* has survived.[1407] Three "complete" versions have survived, though – two in Chinese[1408] and one in Tibetan – in the following extant versions:

- The first Sanskrit manuscript (composed of 36,000 *ślokas*)[1409] was brought from Khotan[1410] to Chang´an by Zhi Faling. It was translated into Chinese by the monk **Buddhabhadra** (359-429 CE) from Kashmir during **418-420 CE**. This is the so called 60-fascicle version *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 278). However, originally it only comprised of 50 fascicles. It is composed of 34 chapters – the last of which is the *GVS*;[1411]
- **Śikṣānanda** brought back to Chang´an from Khotan the second Sanskrit manuscript (consisting of 45,000 *ślokas*)[1412] on the order of the empress Wu Zedian. He translated this manuscript into Chinese with the assistance of inter alia the famous

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[1405] "Buddhist hybrid prose" is a particular Sanskritized literary language that draws heavily on a Prakritic substratum.
Skilling & Saerji, 2013, p. 211.

[1406] Nattier, 2007, pp. 112-113.
Other source: Sangharakshita, 1985, p. 221-222.

[1407] Only three individual texts in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* have survived until today in their original Sanskrit form – i.e. the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagāthā Sūtra*.

[1408] Please note, that the translation into Chinese by Prajñā only constitutes the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Bhadracarī* - i.e. it is not a "complete" version of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*.

[1409] As indicated above, this "Sanskrit manuscript" may not yet have been formally compiled into the *BAS*, but may have consisted of several free-standing *sūtras*.
Hamar, 2007(a), p. 151.

[1410] Khotan – a Central Asian kingdom – was at that time an important centre of Buddhism based on the *BAS*.
Fontein, 2012, p. 13.

[1411] Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 147-149.
Other source: Fontein, 1967, pp. 3-4; Goméz, 1967, p. xxv.

[1412] As indicated above, this "Sanskrit manuscript" may not yet have been formally compiled into the *BAS*, but may have consisted of several free-standing *sūtras*.
Hamar, 2007(a), p. 151.

pilgrims Bodhiruci (dead 727 CE) and Yijing (635-713 CE) and the third *Huayan* patriarch Fazang[1413] during ***695-699 CE***. This is the so called 80-fascicle version *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 279), which encompasses 39 chapters - the last of which is the *GVS*;[1414]

- *Prajñā*[1415] - the Kashmiri monk - translated into Chinese the Sanskrit manuscript that king Śubhakaradeva of Orissa had sent in 795 CE to the Chinese Emperor Dezong (r. 779-805 CE). Prajñā was assisted in his translation work by the fourth *Huayan* patriarch Chengguan. This so called 40-fascicle version *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 293) was translated into Chinese during ***796-798 CE***. It is in fact the complete *GVS* with the *SBP* attached to it, which thus complements the 60-fascicle and the 80-fascicle versions.[1416]
- During the first quarter of the ***ninth century*** CE the two Indian scholars Jinamitra and Surendrabodhi translated the *BAS* into Tibetan, which still is extant (P. 761).[1417]
  This work consists of 45 chapters and 39,030 *ślokas*.[1418]

[1413] When Fazang – with the assistance of the monk Divākara – rechecked the entire text, they found a missing passage of the text at the beginning of the 80ᵗʰ fascicle of the *BAS* – which they corrected. This missing passage of the text was probably due to a misplacement of a single palm leaf in the original Indian Sanskrit manuscript.

A corresponding mistake was found in the Buddhabhadra version of the *GVS* (see this *Appendix III, # 4, Note 1439*).
Fontein, 2012, pp. 13-14.

[1414] Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 149-150.
Other source: Fontein, 1967, p. 4; Gómez, 1967, pp. xxvi-xxvii.

This 80-fascicle version, is the one that was translated into English by Thomas Cleary – *The Flower Ornament Scripture: A Translation of the Avatamsaka Sutra*, 1993 (1984).

[1415] "Prajñā" means wisdom. Sometimes it has also been transliterated as "Prajña" (meaning "wise").
Copp, 2011, p. 360.

[1416] The 40-fascicle version includes also "The Vow of Samantabhadra" (Sanskrit *Bhadracarī-praṇidhānarāja-gāthā*; Chinese *Púxián xíngyuàn pīn* 菩賢行願品). This text was originally translated by Buddhabhadra as a separate text *Wénshū shī lī fāyuàn jīng* 文殊師利發願經 (T. 296) and by Amoghavajra in a fuller version *Pú xián púsà xíng yuàn zàn* 普賢菩薩行願讚 (T. 297). Prajñā seems to have adopted Amoghavajra´s change of the title – see this *Appendix III, # 4*.
Hamar, 2007 (a), p. 150.
Other source: Fontein, 2012, p. 14; Fontein, 1967, p. 4; Gómez, 1967, pp.xxvii-xxxi.

[1417] They were assisited in this translation by the Tibetan master-editor Ye-shes-sde. The title of this translation is *Sangs-rgyas phal-po-che zhes bya-ba shin-tu rgyas-pa chen-po'i mdo* (P. 761).

Zhiyan translated into Chinese the 44 headings of the above mentioned Sanskrit manuscript, that he found in the Dacien monastery.[1419] The differences in the number of headings between the various Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *BAS* may inter alia be ascribed to variances in their contents. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* portion of Buddhabhadra´s 60-fascicle version lacked nine sections. Similarily, the part between Sudhana´s meeting with bodhisattvas Maiteya and Samantabhadra, in which bodhisattva Mañjuśrī touches Sudhana´s head from a distance, was also missing in Buddhabhadra´s version. These lacking sections were added to the translation of the 60-fascicle version during the Song dynasty (960-1279 CE). Likewise, in Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version the portion where bodhisattva Mañjuśrī touches Sudhana´s head was missing. However, the third *Huayan* patriarch Fazang (643-712 CE) added this missing part to the translation. The Tibetan translation includes two chapters,[1420] which are entirely lacking in all of the Chinese versions. Finally the chapter of the "Ten Concentrations" is only found in the 80-fascicle version and in the Tibetan translation. In other words, the Sanskrit and the Tibetan versions do seem similar.[1421]

Based on the above, Hamar suggests that the 80-fascicle version constitutes the third stage of development of the *BAS*. In conformity herewith, the Tibetan version, which includes two more chapters than all the other versions, may represent the fourth and final stage of development of the *BAS*.

4   *The Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*

The *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (the *GVS*) – "Entry into the Realm of Reality"[1422] – is the 39th book of the *BAS*. The *GVS* is one of the nine *Āgamas* of

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[1418] Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 153-155.
        Other sources: Gómez, 1967, pp. xxxi-xxxii;

[1419] Hamar, 2007(a), pp 151-152 & 156.

[1420] Chapter 11 *The Garlands of Tathāgata* and Chapter 32 *The Speech by Samantabhadra*.

[1421] Hamar, 2007(a), p. 156.

[1422] As translated by Thomas Cleary in 1987.
        Cleary, 1989(a), p. 1.

Buddhism in Nepal.[1423] It is probably the most important epos of the entire Buddhist canon. It relates the various steps in the development to Enlightenment by a human being (the boy Sudhana)[1424]. The *GVS* is regarded as the brief summary of the *BAS*.[1425] The *GVS* belongs to the *pāramitānaya* form of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.[1426]

The *GVS* views the world **through the eyes of the Buddha**. Everything lacks inherent existence - all is Mind. The Mind is all-penetrating. The *GVS* claims that the basis for all phenomena is that all things lack an inherent existence coupled with a pure and untainted awareness (*amalacitta*). The world as seen by the Buddhas - the *dharmadhātu* - is one of infinite interpenetration. Inside everything is everything else.[1427]

Warder seems to view the *GVS* as "a literary masterpiece, the most readable of all the *Mahāyāna sūtras* and almost the only one organised as a balanced work of art on an effective plan. In fact, it is a highly imaginative religious novel, though it opens in the manner of a *sūtra*."[1428] Osto expresses a similar view.[1429]

The *GVS* is extant today in Sanskrit. Fontein believes that the text emanates from the first centuries CE and that it is of south Indian origin,[1430] as it was mentioned by Nāgārjuna from the second century CE in his work *Dàzhì dù lùn* 大智度論 - *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Śāstra* (T. 1509).[1431] Sudhana started his pilgrimage in southern India and the spiritual leaders (*kalyāṇamitras*) from south India played a decisive role in the *GVS*.[1432] Gómez suggests that the *GVS* was composed no

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[1423] Vaidya, 1960, p. vii.

[1424] While the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* presents the Path to Enlightenment by a **human** being, the *Daśabhumika Sūtra*, on the other hand, presents the Ten Stages of the **bodhisattva´s** Path to Enlightenment.

[1425] Fontein, 2012, p. 1.

[1426] Ishii, 1991, p. 161.

[1427] Vetter, 2004, pp. 65-66.
Other source: Williams, 1999, pp. 120-124.

[1428] Warder, 1980, p. 424.

[1429] Osto, 2008, p. 34.

[1430] Fontein, 1967, p. 3.

[1431] Hamar, 2007, p. 141.

[1432] Fontein, 2012, p. 27.

later than the second half of the third century CE.[1433] Osto means that the *GVS* is of south Indian origin probably from around 0-400 CE.[1434] However, Lamotte disputes this. He is of the opinion that the *GVS* was composed by a monk from northern India of the *Sarvāstivāda nikāya* during the fourth century CE.[1435] In any event, the original Sanskrit versions seem to have arrived to China from Khotan in Central Asia – rather than from India.[1436]

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The *GVS* is preserved in several Sanskrit manuscripts, in three Chinese and in several Tibetan translations.[1437] It has also been circulated as a separate text – both in India and in China. But in the Chinese context one usually refers to it as the final part of the various translations of the *BAS*[1438] – i.e. Buddhabhadra´s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278)[1439], Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version of 699 CE (T. 279)

[1433]   Gómez, 1967, p. lxviii.

[1434]   Osto, 2008, p. 120.

[1435]   Lamotte, 1981, Vol. III, pp. 72-77.

[1436]   McMahan, 2002, p. 113.
    Other source: Williams, 1999, pp. 120-121.

    Sarvāstivādin nikāya played an important role in spreading Buddhism in northwest In-dia, particularly in the Mathurā area. It should be emphasized, however, that *Sarvāstivādin nikāya* did share the geographical area with other *Śrāvakayāna nikāyas* and *Mahāyana nikāyas.* In fact, northwest India was a patchwork of different religions during the first centuries CE.
    Strong, 1983, p. 36.

[1437]   The comments below on the *GVS* are primarily based on the English translation of the Sanskrit version (the Vaidya edition) by Ehman (1977); on the German translation of the Chinese Śikṣānanda version (the 80-fascicle version; T. 279) as translated by Doi (1978); and on the English translation of the Chinese Śikṣānanda version (the 80-fascicle version; T. 279) as translated by Cleary (1993).

[1438]   Gethin, 1998, p. 226.

[1439]   As indicated in *Appendix III, # 3*, the monks Divākara (613-688 CE) and Dharmagupta found over two hundred years later in 680 CE that a gap of considerable length existed in Buddhabhadra´s version of the *GVS* – i.e. from Sudhana´s visit to Queen Māyā to his arrival at the Vairocana *kūṭāgāra* and to bodhisattva Maitreya. The reason for this miss-ing text was probably not an oversight by Buddhabhadra. Instead the manuscript at the disposal of Buddhabhadra probably lacked this portion of the text (i.e. due to the loss of some bundles of palm leafs). In any event, Divākara and Dharmagupta took the initiative of translating this missing portion from some other texts and simply inserted it in the 60-fascicle version (T. 278).
    Fontein, 2012, p. 13.

and Prajñā´s 40-fascicle version of 798 CE[1440] (T. 293). [1441] This last mentioned translation is basically the complete *GVS*, including the *SBP* ("The Vow of Samantabhadra").[1442] It is the only Chinese translation that includes the *SBP* and it is the only one that occurs as an individual text – not being part of the *BAS*.[1443] This indicates that the "Vows of Samantabhadra" may have been considered as part of at least some of the Indian versions of the text by the end of the eighth century CE. In surveying the various Chinese translations, one finds that the *GVS* has been subject to a certain expansion over time.[1444] As indicated above, Woodward proposes that the *GVS-SBP* bas-reliefs on the monument were based on the set of texts that the ruler of Uḍra (Orissa) presented to the emperor of China in 795 CE. [1445] Prajña translated these texts in 796-798 CE. [1446] According to Woodward, these texts should subsequently have been introduced on Java either by a Javanese monk such as Bianhong, or directly from Orissa.[1447] The

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[1440] *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 293).

[1441] It should be noted, that Prajña´s translation (T. 293) comprises a lengthy conversation between bodhisattva Mañjuśrī and Sudhana. This conversation deviates substantially from the Sanskrit texts and from the other Chinese translations. Cleary means that this passage and some other passages in Prajña´s translation is due to some additions made by Prajña and his assistants.
Cleary, 1989(a), 395-401.

Fontein disputes Cleary´s hypothesis and means the Barabuḍur architects could well have had access to an earlier Indian version of the *GVS*.
Fontein, 2012, p. 136.

[1442] Fontein, 2012, pp. 1 & 14.
Other sources: Gifford, 2011, p. 8; Hamar, 2007(a), p. 150; Karunatillake, 1966, Vol 2, pp. 435-436; Klokke, 1995, p. 199.

[1443] The two earlier Chinese translations of the *GVS* – i.e. Buddhabhadra´s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278) and Śikṣānanda´s 80-fascicle version of 699 CE (T. 279) – are part of the *BAS*. The base texts of these two Chinese translations arrived to China over land via the **Silk Route**. They probably had their origin in Khotan – which was a center for a kind of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, that had the *BAS* as their base text. In China, this form of Buddhism later developed into *Huayan* Buddhism. Prajña´s 40-fascicle version of 798 CE (T. 293), on the other hand, probably had its origin in Orissa. Its transfer to China may have gone via the **sea route** passing by the the Indonesian archipelago (Śrīvijaya).
Woodward, 2009, pp. 26-27.
Other source: Klokke, 1995, p. 199.

[1444] Osto, 2009, p. 167.

[1445] Woodward, 2009, p. 27.
Other source: Gifford, 2011, pp. 7-8.

[1446] Karunatillake, 1966, Vol. 2, pp. 365-366.

[1447] Woodward, 2009, p. 27.

inclusion of the *SBP* may thus suggest a relationship with the Barabuḍur.

This translation of the *GVS* by Prajñā conforms neatly with the version presented on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur – a fact that has been substantiated by Kandahjaya.[1448] Kandahjaya´s method of allowing this is based on his view, that "one panel may absorb more than one verse and one verse may be assigned and displayed across several panels".

The prologue describes the Buddha seated in Śrāvastī in a magnificent many-peaked palace (*mahāvyūhe kūṭāgāra*) in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada in the Jetavana grove. The Buddha was seated in the Assembly of five thousand bodhisattvas led by bodhisattva Samantabhadra and bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, five hundred *śrāvakas* and *lokendras* (world rulers, who have served the past Buddhas). Upon their request, the Buddha entered the *samādhi* called *Siṁhavijṛmbhita* ("the Lion´s Yawn Samādhi"). This was a world-illumining manifestation. The Ten Quarters of cosmos were illuminated by the light shining forth from the *urṇā* of the Buddha. A lot of other miracles also appeared. The magnificent many-peaked palace (*mahāvyūhe kūṭāgāra*)[1449] became quickly boundlessly vast, so as to encompass not only the entire Jetavana grove, but also all *buddhakṣetras* in cosmos. Precious stones covered the floor, flowers were showered over the Assembly. The Buddha pervaded all worlds with one body. He displayed all phenomena in a single atom, etc. The Jetavana grove was thus purified as a *buddhakṣetra*. The Buddhas of the various *buddhakṣetras* in the Ten Quarters of cosmos multilocated into the Jetavana grove as *śaṃbhoghakāya* bodhisattvas. They gave homage to the Buddha and performed miracles of their own. All these miracles were apprehended by the bodhisattvas and by the *lokendras* – but not by the *śrāvakas* surrounding the seat of the Buddha. To be noted is that Buddha Vairocana remained silent throughout this entire prologue.[1450]

[1448] Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 169-257.

[1449] A comparison with the "inflation phase" of our universe at 10^{-32} seconds from the so called Big Bang seems intriguing.

[1450] Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 11-27.
Other sources: Auboyer, 1975, pp. 107 & 112; Ehman, 1977, pp. 43-71; Fontein, 2012, pp. 17-24; Fontein, 1967, pp. 5-6; Gifford, 2011, p. 39.

Vetter has presented the view that the prologue to the *GVS* was attached at a later stage in order to give the entire text a proper setting as a *sūtra*. Substantiating this view, Vetter claims that Chapters 1-2 and 56 are not really a part of the Sudhana story,[1451] and that these chapters were added to the *GVS* at a later stage.[1452] Vetter makes a point of the increasing role paid by bodhisattva Samantabhadra in Chapters 1-2 & 56 – at the "expense" of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. In Chapter 56, bodhisattva Mañjuśrī does not even play a part.[1453] Other later additions to the *GVS* could, according to Vetter, well have been Sudhana´s second visit to bodhisattva Mañjuśrī; his final visit to bodhisattva Samantabhadra; and the *SBP*, in which Buddha Amitābha is eulogized. Vetter also states that the actual story of Sudhana constitutes a text that has successively developed over time to the one we know of today.[1454]

As indicated above, the *GVS* was circulated as an independent text in India and China. The *GVS* was studied in Nālandā during the seventh and eighth centuries CE and formed in fact part of the monastic curriculum not only in Nālandā.[1455] In the words of Griffith, the *GVS* would thus have been studied and interpreted as part of the "doctrinal digest" – i.e. Buddhist treatises (*śāstra*) composed in Sanskrit during the third to the ninth centuries CE.[1456]

What is important to note, though, is that in India the *GVS* did not seem to have been the basis for a separate *nikāya*. It was nevertheless

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[1451] "… die Kapitel 1-2 und 56, die nicht direkt zu Sudhana Geschichte gehören." Vetter, 2004, p. 75.

[1452] "… Soviel zu den wahrscheinlich etwas später dem ursprünglichen Konzept hinzugefügten Kapiteln 1-2 und 56." Vetter, 2004, p. 77.

[1453] "… Und im abschliessenden Kapitel 56 kommt Mañjuśrī überhaupt nicht mehr vor." Vetter, 2004, p. 77.

[1454] Vetter, 2004, pp. 63-78. Fontein, 2012, pp. 149-150;   Vaidya, 1960, p. x.

[1455] McMahan, 2002, pp. 113-114.

[1456] Griffith defines the Buddhist *śāstra* as "an ordered set of descriptive and injunctive sentences, together with arguments to ground and defend them, taken to give systematic and authoritative expression to Buddhist doctrine, …. Its functions are both pedagogical and soteriological: that is, it teaches those who need teaching; provides religious training for those, who need that; ….. It does all this through the medium of natural-language sentences." Griffth, 1994, pp. xviii, 27-30 & 134

referred to and quoted in various Indian scholastic texts.[1457] It may be seen to combine various doctrines common to both the *Mādhyamika* Buddhism, as well as the *Yogācāra* Buddhism. Even strong elements of the Pure land doctrine, practice and imagery seem to be included in the *GVS*.[1458]

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These aspects are presented in the *GVS* in the form of a prologue followed by the pilgrimage of the boy Sudhana "Good Wealth".[1459] In his search for Enlightenment, Sudhana was sent on a journey in India by bodhisattva Mañjuśrī - the personification of "wisdom". During this journey, Sudhana met in successive order with 52 spiritual leaders (*kalyāṇamitra*) in addition to bodhisattvas Maitreya, Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra (i.e. 55 *kalyāṇamitras* all in all – or half of the important number 110).[1460] These *kalyāṇamitras* are arranged hierarchically according to their spiritual power. Buddha Vairocana is thus the "king of the *Dharma* realm", with the bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra acting as his "chief ministers" and bodhisattva Maitreya as his "crown prince".[1461]

During his pilgrimage to various spiritual leaders (*kalyāṇamitra*) – see below – Sudhana came to witness several miraculous visions. These visions had a common denominator – they multiplied themselves ad infinitum. He advanced gradually in spiritual growth. The *kalyāṇamitras* were a motley crowd of different individuals from all levels of society. They were not organized in any particular hierarchy. None of them claimed to know the whole truth. Each of them taught Sudhana

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[1457] Gómez, 1967, xxxiv-xxxvii.

[1458] McMahan, 2002, p. 114.

[1459] "Good Wealth" here refers to Sudhana´s high spiritual status from his previous "roots of merit" (*kuśulamūla*) or past good deeds (*puṇya*).
Osto, 2008, p. 119.

[1460] In China and Japan, the number of Sudhana´s visits to the *kalyāṇamitras* is traditionally given as 53. But if one counts the visit to Śrīsambhava and his sister Śrīmatī as two and the two visists to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī as two, one arrives at the number of 55 visits.
Fontein, 2012, p. 6.
Other source: Osto, 2008, pp. 125-126 (list of the *kalyāṇamitras*).

As the 55 *kalyāṇamitras* taught Sudhana both *zìfèn* (one´s own experiences) and *sheng jìnfèn* (the course of conduct – *caryā-mārga* - further advanced), they are counted twice – making up the holy number 110 (see *Section 1.4.4, Notes 202 & 219*).

[1461] Osto, 2008, p. 118.

their experience of the five classes[1462], prior to sending him off to the ensuing *kalyāṇamitra*.

In fact, when pilgrim Sudhana visited his sixteenth *kalyāṇamitra* – the *dharma* merchant Ratnacūḍa – he was lead by Ratnacūḍa to the ten-storied residence of the latter. On the first four floors food was distributed, garments and jewelry was given away and jewels were donated to the palace ladies, respectively. On the fifth floor the bodhisattvas lived, who had attained the fifth of the Ten Stages. On the sixth, seventh, eighth and the ninth floors, the bodhisattvas lived, who had reached the corresponding levels of the Ten Stages. On the tenth floor, Sudhana saw "masses of vows for the discipline of all beings, sounds of the *dharma* wheel of all Buddhas, assembly circles of all Buddha fields, spheres of miracles of all Buddha *dharmas*, oceans of vows for skill in the course of the production of every extensive thoughts (of Enlightenment) of all the *Tathāgatas*."[1463]

This Sudhana´s visit to the *dharma* merchant Ratnacūḍa is illustrated in bas-relief II-31 on the Barabuḍur. While the first four stories seem to illustrate the Perfection of Giving (*dānapāramitā*), the next five stories clearly indicate a progression towards wisdom and detachment. One may thus conclude with Fontein, that the correspondence of each level of the Barabuḍur with a specific *bhūmi* is a theory that finds substantial support in the *GVS*.[1464]

As seen below, these visionary miracles seem to occur in coordination with important milestones of Sudhana´s pilgrimage. When Sudhana enters Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra*[1465] (i.e. also denominated Maitreya´s palace), he visualizes innumerable other *kūṭāgāras* existing without obstructing each other – and he found himself being in all these *kūṭāgāras* simultaneously. Correponding **miracle of multitude** also occurs,

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[1462]   The five classes are (i) the Ten Abodes, (ii) the Ten Practices, (iii) the Ten Dedications, (iv) the Ten Stages, and (v) the Ten Practices of the Universal Good.

[1463]   Ehman, 1977, 197-201.
Other source: Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 114-116.

[1464]   Fontein, 2012, p. 214.

[1465]   Its full name is the *Vairocanavyūhālaṃkāragarbhamahākūṭāgāra* meaning "the great high storied abode in which are contained the ornaments of the manifestation of Vairocana".
Gómez, 1981, p.174.

during Sudhana´s initial meeting with bodhisattva Samantabhadra. These miracles of multitude are symbolic of the *GVS*.[1466]

Eventually, Sudhana met with bodhisattva Maitreya – the next Buddha – who made a sound by snapping his fingers[1467], thus opening Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* and letting Sudhana enter. Here Sudhana experienced:

- an infinitely vast space (representing the ***infinity of the realm of knowledge***);
- everything decorated with precious stones and materials (representing the ***value of kindness and wisdom***);
- hundreds of thousands of similar towers (*kūṭāgāras*), which - while preserving their respective individual existence - offered no obstruction to all the rest (representing ***mutual penetration in different worlds***);
- Sudhana found himself being present in all these *kūṭāgāras* simultaneously (representing ***mutual identity***); and
- saw countless miracles being performed by bodhisattva Maitreya in the past, present and future (representing the ***erasement of all time concepts***).[1468]

Bodhisattva Maitreya then snapped his fingers again and let Sudhana out of the *kūṭāgāra*, whereupon he was given to know the essence of true Thusness. Thereupon Sudhana was returned to the starting point of his pilgrimage[1469] – namely bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. The latter stretched over 110 leagues and transmitted to Sudhana an infinite memory and knowledge by laying his right hand on Sudhana´s head.[1470]

[1466]   Cleary, 1993, pp.1489ff.
Other sources: Fontein, 2012, pp. 230-231; [Prajñā (T. 293) 840b, 21]; Vetter, 2004, p.74.

[1467]   Snapping his fingers means "dismissing material sense" and making a sound means "stirring awake" – i.e. when the material sense is removed and the attachment is gone, the door of knowledge spontaneously opens – i.e. Sudhana attains Enlightenment. Cleary, 1993, p. 1624.

[1468]   Cleary, 1993, pp. 1489 ff. & 1545-1624.
Other sources: Fontein, 2012, pp. 77-101; Sangharakshita, 1985, pp. 229-231; Vetter, 2004, p. 74; Williams, 1999, p. 125.

[1469]   This circle of events symbolizes, that the ultimate ***effect*** is the same as the ***cause***. Cleary, 1993, p. 1625.

[1470]   The "110 leagues" symbolize having passed through the causes and effects of the five ranks. "Laying the hand on Sudhanas head" symbolizes mutual identification of cause

After establishing Sudhana in his own place, bodhisattva Mañjuśrī disappeared.[1471]

The number 110 is a crucial number in Buddhism. As seen in *Section 1.4.4*, this number has also been instrumental in the presentation of the bas-reliefs of the *GVS* on the Barabuḍur. In the *GVS* this number 110 is mentioned at least three times; viz.

- in Maitreya´s lengthy praise of Sudhana in which he mentioned that Sudhana upon instruction by Mañjūsri, visited altogether 110 *kalyānamitras* (T. 278, 772b, 8);
- after having taken leave of Maitreya, Sudhana passed through 110 cities on his way to the city of Sumanamukha (T. 279, 439b, 10;   T. 293, 836c, 17); and
- during Sudhana´s second visit to Mañjuśrī, the latter stretches out his right hand from a distance of 110 leagues (*yojanas*) in order to touch Sudhana´s forehead (T. 293, 836c, 20).[1472]

Sudhana now saw bodhisattva Samantabhadra – the "Universally Good" sitting on a jewel lotus in front of Buddha Vairocana. From each tip of hair of Samantabhadra innumerable beams of light streamed out into inumberable worlds relieving innumerble sufferings. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra extended his right hand and layed it on Sudhana´s head (as did all Samantabhadras in front of every Buddha in every atom of every world of the Ten Directions) – thereby giving Sudhana as many concentrations, as atoms in all the Buddha fields (*buddhakṣetra*).[1473]

Sudhana then obtained the ocean of practical Vows of Samantabhadra, equal to the Universal Good and equal to the Buddhas – filling all worlds with one body.[1474]

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and effect.
Cleary, 1993, p. 1625.

[1471] This illustrates that after having reached Buddhahood, one is not different from previously as an ordinary mortal.
Cleary, 1993, p. 1626.

[1472] Fontein, 2012, p.10.

[1473] This illustrates the eternal Buddhahood of the real universe and its eternal practice of Universal Good.
Cleary, 1993, p. 1626.
Other source: Vetter, 2004, p. 75.

[1474] Cleary, 1993, p. 1627.

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A number of aspects in the *GVS* - although not genuinely *tantric* - resemble Buddhist *tantra*. Given this, the *GVS* may be regarded as a textual link between *Mahāyāna* Buddhism and *tantric* Buddhism.

The elements in the *GVS*, that gives a *tantric* resemblance, are inter alia the following:
- subsequently to Buddha Vairocana´s transformation of his peaked dwelling in the Jeta Grove – as presented in the beginning of the *GVS* – the bodhisattvas appear and set up their respective jewelled *kūṭāgāras* around Buddha Vairocana in the form of a three-dimensional *maṇḍala;*
- the eight Night Goddesses, that Sudhana subsequently meet, are placed around him in a circular manner resembling a *maṇḍala;*
- as the 52 spiritual guides (*kalyānamitra*) that Sudhana meets are the primary source of Enlightenment, their instructions should not be questioned, as their authority is absolute; and
- access to the esoteric and sexual yoga teachings of the courtesan Vasumitrā, who Sudhana meets in the *GVS*, is only available to pilgrims, who have reached an advance spiritual development.[1475]

5   *The Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagātā Sūtra*

The *Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagāthā Sūtra* - or the *Bhadracarī* for short (the *SBP*) - consists of 62 *stanzas*. It is also called "The Vow of Samantabhadra". The *SBP* is composed of three parts; viz.
- all Buddhas of the universe are praised (*stanzas* 1-15);
- the *Praṇidhāna* - the pious vows to follow the exemplary conduct of bodhisattva Samantabhadra (*stanzas* 16-47);
- the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha, who will save all who hear or recite these *stanzas* (*stanzas* 48-62).[1476]

[1475]   Osto, 2009, pp. 169-176.

[1476]   Fontein, 1967, p. 4 and *Section 1.4.4, p. 90 ff.*

The *SBP* was originally a separate text circulating independently. By the time of Prajñá´s translation in 798 CE (see below), the *SBP* was appended as the last portion of the *GVS*. This is reflected in the below chronology.

The *SBP* was brought to China together with the Sanskrit originals of the *BAS* that Zhi Faling transported to Chang´an in the early fifth century CE. **Buddhabhadra** regarded the *SBP* as a text separate from the *GVS*. His translation to Chinese in **418-420 CE** is called *Wénshū shīlì fāyuàn jīng* 文殊師利發願經 (T. 296). It consists of forty-four *stanzas*. It did **not** include the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha.[1477]

The second translation of the *SBP* to Chinese was performed by the *esoteric* master **Amoghavajra** in **763-779 CE**. This translation includes the passage of praise of Buddha Amitābha. Even Amoghavajra seemed to regard the *SBP* as a separate text. He changed the name of the text and called it *Púxián púsà xíngyuàn zàn* 普賢菩薩行願讚 (T. 297).[1478]

The third translation of the *SBP* to Chinese in **796-798 CE** was performed by **Prajñā.** He included the *SBP* as the last text in the *GVS* and called it *Dàfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (T. 293). Here the poem was preceded by a prose translation, to which it paraphrased. Prajñā adopted the name of the text given by Amoghavajra. Prajñā´s translation includes the third part of the text – the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha.[1479]

The translation to Tibetan (P. 716) may be found in the *Rgyud* (*tantra*) section of *Bka'gyur*. It includes the eulogy of the Buddha Amitābha.[1480]

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[1477] Fontein, 2012, p. 200.
Other source: Gómez, 1981, p. 184; Hamar, 2007(a), p. 150.

[1478] Fontein, 2012, p. 200.
Other source: Gómez, 1981, p. 184; Hamar, 2007(a), p. 150.

[1479] Fontein, 2012, p. 14 & 200.
Other source: Fontein, 1967, p. 5; Hamar, 2007(a). p. 150.

[1480] "The King of the Prayer of Outstanding Acts" (*'Phags-pa bzang-po spyod-pa'i smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*).
Hamar, 2007(a), p. 155.

As noted above, the *SBP* consists of 62 *stanzas*, of which the last 14 *stanzas* (i.e. # 48-62) constitute the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha. As a free text, the *SBP* developed successively over time. In view hereof, some scholars have voiced the opinion that these 14 *stanzas* - the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha - constitute a later addition to the text. In view of the above chronology, this addition must then have taken place ***prior*** to Amoghavajra´s translation of the text in 763 CE.[1481]

Kandahjaya has suggested that in sculpturing the *SBP* bas-reliefs, the Barabuḍur artists used a text version similar to those of Amoghavajra or Prajñā - or both.[1482] This would in other words mean, that the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha would have been included in the *SBP* text. Fontein, on the other hand, arrived at the conclusion that a shorter version – i.e. excluding the eulogy of Buddha Amitābha – had been added to the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and was used by the Barabuḍur artists. Fontein means that this version was similar to – but not identical with – Buddhabhadra´s translation of 420 CE. This proposal is based on Bosch´s earlier endeavours (1938), and seems to warrant further reflections.[1483]

It should be noted that bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the *SBP* refers to himself in third person and sings his own praise. This is a rather unusual feature. But Doī has found the same practice in the *GVS*. He writes: "We should note the rare case that the bodhisattva "Allgemein-Weiser" [Samantabhadra] speaks here of himself, as if he was another person. The name the bodhisattva "Allgemein-Weiser" [Samantabhadra] has a double meaning, i.e. that of a personal name and that of a generic term". [1484]

[1481] Fontein, 2012, p. 200.
Other source: Gómez, 1981, p. 183.

[1482] Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 175-176.

[1483] Fontein, 2012, p. 201.

[1484] "Man beachte die seltsame Tatsache, dass hier Bodhisattva "Allgemein-Weiser" von sich selbst wie von einer anderen Person erzält. Bodhisattva "Allgemein-Weiser" hat den Doppelcharakter, den Charakter eines Eigennamens und den Charakter eines Gattungsnamens."
Doi, 1978, p. 457.

6   *The Daśabhūmika Sūtra*

The *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (the *DBS*) is an important text in the Buddhist doctrine. The *DBS* is deemed to be of such an importance, that it was in fact during a period of five hundred years translated into Chinese no less than five times - thrice as a freestanding *sūtra*[1485] - i.e. as *Jiàn bèi yīqiè zhì dé jīng* 漸備一切智德經 (T. 285) by Dharmarakṣa; as *Shí zhù jīng* 十住經 (T. 286) by Kumārajīva; and as *Shí dì jīng* 十地經 (T. 287) by Śīladharma. It presents the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva´s Path to Enlightenment.[1486] The first translation to Chinese took place during the third century CE. The *DBS* is also translated into Japanese, Mongolian and Tibetan, as well as other languages.[1487]

The *DBS* is incorporated in the *BAS* as Book 26. The *DBS* predates the original *BAS*.[1488] Together with the *GVS* and the *SBP*, the *DBS* is probably the only book in the *BAS*, that is still extant in Sanskrit.[1489]

Through the Ten Stages[1490] presented in the *DBS*, one follows the bodhisattva´s Path to Enlightenment - from the moment of his decision to enter this Path, all the way up to and including his Enlightenment. The method advocated in the *DBS* is based on two fundamental principles; namely

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[1485]   Cleary, 1993, p. 40.

[1486]   Williams, 1999, p. 120.

[1487]   Vaidya, 1967, p. 1.

[1488]   Ōtake, 2007, p. 106.

[1489]   Hamar, 2007(a). p. 141.

   However, Skilling and Saerji denominate it a "Buddhist hybrid prose" and a "Buddhist Sanskrit verse" (see *Appendix III, # 3, Note 1405*).
   Skilling & Saerji, 2013, p. 211.

[1490]   The Ten Stages (*bhūmi*) of the bodhisattva on his way to Enlightenment – as described in the *DBS* – are each correlated with a different perfection. This may be the reason why the scheme of six perfections were expanded to ten (see *Section 1.1 Notes 49 & 50 & Appendix IV, # 8.3, Notes 1646 & 1647*). The ten *bhūmis*, according to the *DBS*, are called (i) the Joyous Stage (*pramuditā*); (ii) the Immaculate or Pure (*vimalā*); (iii) the Luminous (*prahākarī*); (iv) the Ignited or Radiant (*ariṣmatī*); (v) the Difficult to conquer (*sudurjayā*); (vi) the Approaching (*abhimukhī*); (vii) the Gone Afar (*dūraṅgamā*); (viii) the Immovable Stage (*acalā*); (ix) the Good Intelligence (*sādhumatī*); and (x) the Cloud of Dharma (*dharmameghā*).
   Vaidya, 1967, pp. 1-23.
   Other sources: Cleary, 1993, pp. 40-42 & 695-811; Williams, 1999, pp. 204-214.

- The balance between the work in this world, on the one hand, and the world-transcending practices, on the other; and

- The concept of the "Six Characteristics"[1491]. This is one of the most fundamental concept in the philosophy of the *Hua-yan*. In connection with these "Ten Stages to Enlighten-ment", the concept of the "Six Characteristics" means that "*everything constitutes one single Totality, while each single part remains a distinct element in this Totality*".[1492] The individual elements are thus part of one and the same Totality. But alone, they are incapable of forming the Totality.

  Likewise, they are separately imperfect without the support and co-operation from the other elements. Applied to the Vow of Samantabhadra, *all efforts of every individual are jointly forming the "body" of Samantabhadra*. The multi-tude forms the unity. No single individual may perform the entire task – the support of his colleagues are necessary, and vice versa.[1493]

This matter has been discussed in *Section 5.4.2*, wherein it is recognized, that it would seem likely that the builders of the Barabuḍur were familiar with the concept of the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva – the *DBS*. However, we reached the conclusion that it may be regarded as somewhat farfetched to use the structural ten-level build-up of the monument to substantiate this matter.

[1491] The "Six Characteristics" are (i) totality; (ii) distinction; (iii) sameness; (iv) difference; (v) formation; and (vi) disintegration – see the *Glossary*.
Cleary, 1993, p. 41.

[1492] Cleary, 1993, p. 41.

[1493] Cleary, 1993, pp. 40-42.

Appendix IV - Shingon Buddhism

1   *Background*

The reason why we present some aspects of *Shingon* Buddhism in this dissertation is, that *Shingon* Buddism in Japan of today present the *MVS* and the *STTS* and their *maṇḍalas* in a more stringent manner, than one may find in extant Buddhist texts in China. As indicated in *Section 4.2.5*, these *sūtras* were not entirely in conformity with Chinese taste. But they had a direct bearing on the Barabuḍur and on Buddhism on Java by the ninth century CE.

As indicated in the "Introduction and Aim" of this dissertation, the religious persecutions in China during the mid-ninth century CE resulted in substantial annihilation of Buddhist scriptures. But the documentation in Japan regarding these aspects is complete.

Shingon, which means "True Word", may be a translation of a Sanskrit *mantra*.[1494] The main texts of *Shingon* Buddhism are primarily constituted of three *sūtras* and two *śāstras*; namely[1495]

[1494]   Snodgrass defines the "True Word" (*Shingon*) also to be synonymous with the word *dhāraṇī*. As a *dhāraṇī* or as a *mantra*, the interpretation may be either "the thought (*man*) that liberates (*tra*)" or "a container (*tra*) of thought (*man*)". The *mantras* should thus contain the thoughts of the *Tathāgata´s dharma.* But the "True Word" (*Shingon*) goes futher than that. The "True Word" (*Shingon*) should namely also mean "the *dharma* preached by the *dharmakāya* of *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana; it thus contains within itself the entire doctrine".
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 45.
Other source: Anesaki, 1975, pp. 128-129; Unno, 2004, p. 4.

[1495]   In abbreviated Japanese, the below mentioned texts are called:
The *MVS* (T. 848) transl. by Śubhakarasiṃa   *Dainichikyō;*
The *STTS* (T. 865) transl. by Amoghavajra   *Kongōchōgyō*;
The *STTS* (T. 866) transl. by Vajrabodhi   *Ryakushutsukyo;*
The *STTS* (T. 882) transl. by Dānapāla   *Kyōōgyō;*
The *PPV*   *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses* (T. 243)
        transl. by Amoghavajra   *Rishukyō;*
The *Bodhicitta Śāstra* (T. 1661) transl. by Nāgārjuna   *Bodaishinron;*
The *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*
        (T. 1668) transl. by Nāgārjuna   *Shakumakaenron*

- the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) – *Dà pí lú zhē nà chéng fó shén biàn jiāchí jīng* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (T. 848) – translated by Śubhakarasiṃa. The *MVS* is believed to have been developed and composed on the Kathiawar peninsula in western India around the mid-seventh century CE[1496];
- the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) - *Jīngāng dǐng yīqiè rúlái zhēnshí shè dàchéng xiàn zhèng dà jiào wáng jīng* 金剛頂一切來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 865) - translated by Amoghavajra; *Jīngāng dǐng yújiā zhōngluè chū niànsòng jīng* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. 866) - translated by Vajrabodhi; and *Yīqiè rúlái zhēnshí shè dàchéng xiàn zhèng sānmèi dà jiào wáng jīng* 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 (T. 882),[1497] - translated by Dānapāla. The *STTS* is believed to have been composed in south India during the late seventh century CE;
- the *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses* (the *PPV*) – *Dàlè jīngāng bùkōng zhēnshí sānmóyé jīng* 大樂金剛不空眞實三麼耶經 (T. 243) - translated by Amoghavajra; and
- the *Bodhicitta Śāstra* - *Pú tí xīn lí xiāng lùn* 菩提心離相論 (T. 1661) and the *Commentary on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna* - *Shí mó hē yān lùn* 釋摩訶衍論 (T. 1668) - both texts ascribed to Nāgārjuna.[1498]

[1496] See this *Appendix IV, # 5, Note 1538* and *Appendix IV, # 6, Note 1564*.
Wayman dates it, though, to the mid-sixth century CE and coming from the Mahārāshtra region in the western part of central India.
Wayman, 1998, pp. 8, 11-13, 354.

[1497] The complete name of which is the *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-mahāyānābji-samaya-mahākalparāja-sūtra* (the *STTS*)

[1498] Kiyota, 1978, p. 28.

However, Tajima has expanded the main literature list of the *Shingon nikāya* also to include the following three texts:

- The *Kōngōburōkaku-issai-yuga-yugikyō - Jīngāng fēng loúgé yīqiè yújiā yúqí jīng* 金剛峯樓閣一切瑜伽瑜祇經 (T. 867) – translated by Vajrabodhi. The Japanese abbreviation is *Yugikyō*;
- The *Soshicchikarakyō - Sū xīde jié luójīng* 蘇悉地羯羅經 (T. 893) – translated by Śubhakarasiṃha. The Japanese abbreviation is *Soshicchikyō*; and
- The *Kongochō-yugachū-hotsu-anokutara-sammyaku-sambodai-shinron* – *Jīngāng dǐng yújiā zhōng fā ā nòu duō luó sān miǎo sān pútí xīn lún* 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 (T. 1665) – translated by Amoghavajra. The Japanese abbreviation is *Bodaishinron*.

Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 29.

The above three *sūtras* were introduced in China during the eighth century CE by Śubhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, respectively. However, the ideas proposed by these three *sūtras* did not seem to suit the Chinese mind. Consequently, they did not shoot as deep roots in the Chinese soil, as they did in Japan. Nevertheless, these three *sūtras* constituted in east Asia the three basic texts of *esoteric* Buddhism. [1499] The *Rishukyō* (i.e. the *Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses*) is of special interest in so far, as (i) the text is brief and allowing itself to be read in a short period of time, although (ii) it still contains the main thoughts of the *Shingon* doctrine and (iii) it constitutes a fusion of the *esoteric* thoughts of the *MVS* and of the *STTS*. For these reasons, the *Rishukyō* lends itself to be included in religious *Shingon* rituals. [1500]

Kūkai (Chinese *Kōnghǎi* 空海) was posthumously also named Kōbō Daishi (774-835 CE). [1501] Kūkai was the founder of the *Shingon nikāya* of *esoteric* Buddhism in Japan. He was born in the Sanuki province on the island of Shikoku. His family belonged to an aristocratic house in decline. At the age of eighteen, he entered a governmental college, with the aim of becoming a bureaucrat. But he soon abandoned this academic career and became a Buddhist monk.

In 804 CE Kūkai sailed – as a government-sponsored student – with an official Japanese embassy to Tang China. In Chang´an he met with the monk Huiguo (746-805 CE), who was well versed in *esoteric* rituals. Kūkai ended up studying the *STTS* and the *MVS* for Huiguo in the Jinglong monastry in Chang´an. Kūkai was initiated (*abhiṣeka*) by Huiguo in both these texts. Huiguo had earlier studied the *STTS* directly under Amoghavajra and the *MVS* for one of Śubhākarasiṃa´s pupils – Xuanchao. After the passing away of Huiguo in 805 CE, Kūkai returned to Japan, reaching the southern island of Kyūshū in 806 CE. He systemized the teachings and the practices of inter alia the *STTS* and the *MVS* and established *Shingon* Buddhism. In 809 CE, he

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[1499] Giebel, 2005, p. xv.

[1500] Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 1-2 & 29.
For details on the *MVS*, on the *STTS* and on the *Rishukyō*, please see this *Appendix IV, # 5, 6 & 7*, respectively.

[1501] "Kūkai" means "Ocean of Emptiness". "Kōbō Daishi" means "Great Master of the Vast Dharma". However, this latter title was conferred on him by the emperor Daigo only in the year of 921 CE (i.e. long after his death in 835 CE).
Unno, 2004, p. 7.

arrived in Kyoto, where he took residence at the Jingoji temple on the outskirts of Kyoto. He rapidly rose in rank.

In 819 CE Kūkai initiated the construction of a monastic centre on the Mount Kōya. *Shingon nikāya* was founded, the *esoteric* element of which is called *Tōmitsu*. In 823 CE, Kūkai was presented with the Tōji temple ("The Temple in the East") in Kyoto, which became the centre of the *Shingon nikāya*.

During their respective formative years, both Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi studied at Nālandā. Basing himself in particular on this aspect, Tajima arrives at the conclusion that *Shingon nikāya* has its roots from the Nālandā tradition – as opposed to the ideas developed at the Vikramaśīla (see *Section 4.2.3*).[1502]

In *Shingon* Buddhism, the three bodies of *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* are different functions of the same substance. Thus, Buddha Śākyamuni in *nirmāṇakāya* and Buddha Vairocana in *dharmakāya* are identical. Buddha Vairocana may not exist without Buddha Śākyamuni and vice versa. Buddha Mahāvairocana is according to *Shingon* Buddhism the historical Buddha Śākyamuni in an idealized form in *dharmakāya* – who "neither is born, nor dies".[1503]

As earlier indicated, western scholars distinguish between two aspects within *Vajrayāna* Buddhism[1504]; viz.

- *esoteric* Buddhism, which is Buddha Vairocana´s teaching from his *dharmakāya*.[1505] This *esoteric* teaching is dualistic. It is based on *kriyā* and *caryā tantras*, as well as on the *MVS* (T. 848) and on the *STTS* (T. 865); and

- *tantric* Buddhism, which is thoroughly non-dualistic. *Tantric* Buddhism is based on the *yoga tantras* and on the *anuttarayoga tantras* (supreme *yoga tantras*).[1506]

[1502] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 22.

[1503] Tajima, 1998, pp. 249-250.

[1504] See *Section 4.2.3, Note 778*.

[1505] Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) means that *exoteric* Buddhism was revealed by *nirmāṇakāya* Buddha (Śākyamuni), while *esoteric* and *tantric* Buddhism was revealed by *dharmakāya* Buddha (Mahāvairocana).
Tinsley, 2011, p. 704.
Other source: Wedemeyer, 2013, p. 93.

[1506] Tajima, 1998, p. 219.

Shingon Buddhism - a *mantra* tradition - constitutes according to Kūkai the tenth and final class of the Chinese classification system (*pànjiào* 判教)[1507]. *Shingon nikāya* is the "secret doctrine" (*mikkyō*) of the *mantra* tradition. It is classified as *esoteric* Buddhism. It seeks to illustrate the *dharmakāya* world of the Mahāvairocana.[1508]

Kūkai´s (Kōbō Daishi) classification above, is reflected on the Barabuḍur. The various sculptural elements on the monument express a common basic model of the Buddhist thought (without a mutual relationsship), which successively leads up to the *vajradhātu* of Vairocana - i.e. the bas-reliefs of the *Karmavibhaṅga*, the *Lalitavistara*, the *Jātakamāla*, the *Avadāna*, the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*, and the *Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhāna*, ultimately culminating in the *STTS*.

[1507]   Kūkai presented the *Shingon* version of the classification system of the religious mind in the *Hizōhōyaku* ("The Precious Key to the Secret Treasury") (Taishō, Volume 77, # 2426), which was composed sometime around 830 CE. It was a summary in three fascicles of the larger ten fascicles text *Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron* ("Treatise on the Ten Stages of the Mind as a Secret Maṇḍala"). The ten stages of this classification is further divided into three pre-Buddhist and seven Buddhist stages. The three pre-Buddhist stages are:
(i)   the stage of ordinary people driven by uncontrolled desire;
(ii)   those who observe basic individual and social ethics (like Confucianism
.   and Buddhist precepts for the laity);
(iii)   those, who worship gods in order to be reborn in heaven (like Daoists
.   and Hindus).

These three stages are followed by seven Buddhist stages; namely
(iv)   the stage of *śrāvaka*;
(v)   the stage of *pratyekabuddha*;
(vi)   the stage of *Yogācāra* (*Hossō*) Buddhism;
(vii)   the stage of *Mādhyamika* (*Sanron*) Buddhism;
(viii) the stage of the *Tiantai* (*Tendai*) Buddhism;
(ix)   the stage of *Huayan* (*Kegon*) Buddhism; and
(x)   the *esoteric* Buddhism.

These seven stages may also be classified into *Śrāvakayāna* (iv and v), *Mahāyāna* (vi-ix), and *Vajrayāna* (x). In the *Huayan pànjiào* 判教 classification of patriarch Fazang, *Huayan* Buddhism occupies the top fifth stage (see *Appendix III, # 2, Note 1342*).
Giebel, 2004, pp. 10-11 & 135-215.
Other sources: Abé, 1999, p. 62;   Chandra, 1987, pp. 30-31;   Chandra, 1995(c), pp. 73-74;   Chandra & Sharma, 2012, pp. 226-230.

[1508]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 55-56.

2   *The Shingon Doctrine*

The aim of *Shingon* Buddhism is **the integration of the individual
with the cosmic Buddha (dharmakāya Mahāvairocana)**.[1509] Kūkai has
summed up this aim "to attain [the state of] the Buddha with this
body" already in this life[1510] with his famous four character statement:

<div align="center">

jí shēn chéng fó
即身成佛.[1511]

</div>

In Sanskrit, "Vairocana" means "the sun" or the "intense light". The
insight (*prajñā*) of the *Tathāgata* penetrates the entire universe. In case
we realize our identity with the Mahāvairocana, the Pure Heart of
bhodi in us (i) will break the passions of ignorance; (ii) will ripen into
the fruit of the *bodhi*; and (iii) will remain unmoved aimlessly. This
threefold significance of the name Mahāvairocana sums up the essen-
ce of *Shingon* doctrine.[1512]

Based on the Commentary on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahā-
yāna - *Shí mó hē yān lùn* 釋摩訶衍論 (T. 1668), Kūkai developed the
concept of **the Three Universals** - the *sānyè* 三業 - i.e. the framework
in which he presented the doctrine of *Shingon nikāya*. The reason
being, that everything that exists has a substance; whatever has a
substance has a form; and whatever has a form has utility. The Three
Universals in *esoteric* Buddhism are thus (i) Substance, (ii) Form, and
(iii) Action.

[1509]   In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, Buddha represents the ultimate principle of cosmic unity,
which is illustrated with the four *kāyas* (see *Section 1.4.5, Note 279*).   In *Shingon* Bud-
dhism, it is taught that *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana of the *dharmakāya* has two embodi-
ments – the *garbhadhātu* (the three matrix elements) and the *vajradhātu* (the five thun-
der elements). In both groups, *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana is the most important being.
Shingon Buddhism may thus be said to promote the eight-fold embodiment of Ādibud-
dha Mahāvairocana (Jap. *Dainichi Nyorai*); viz. five from the *vajradhātu* and three from
the *garbhadhātu*.
Bagoes Mantra, 1991, pp. 201-204.

[1510]   Please note the difference between having as an aim to ultimately "become a Buddha"
and letting "the Buddha possess you" (*āveśa*). The latter aspect - (*āveśa*) – is part of the
definition of *tantric* Buddhism. *Shingon* Buddhism is *esoteric*.

[1511]   "in this body" – *jí shēn* 即身 (Jap. *sokushin*).
"attainment of the state of the Buddha" - *chéng fó* 成佛 (Jap. *jōbutsu*).
Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 245.

[1512]   Tajima, 1998, pp. 248-249.

Based on the concept of the Three Universals, Kūkai summarized *Shingon* doctrine as follows: *the Six Elements*[1513] correspond to Substance; *the Four Maṇḍalas*[1514] correspond to Form; and *the Triple Mystery*[1515] corresponds to Action. In a "nut shell", the Three Universals may be seen to contain the fundamental aspects of the *Shingon* doctrine.[1516]

From the above, we may realize that the essence of the *Shingon* doctrine is to **attain the state of the Buddha** in this life. All sentient beings have in them the *bodhicitta* - the perfection of all the virtues of the Buddha. This is discussed in the *MVS* and is presented in the *Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala*. The manner, by which this is realized, is discussed in the *STTS* and illustrated in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. This complementary aspect of the Twin-*maṇḍalas* is further presented in this *Appendix IV, # 8*.

The main characteristics of *Shingon* Buddhism are:
- the use of the concept "**mutual penetration**" between the adamantine world of Suchness and the world of Phenomena – i.e. the body of the Buddha is the bodies of all beings, and the bodies of all beings are the body of the Buddha. The absolute and the relative are in other words nondual;
- the use of **rituals** as the most effective form of attaining Enlightenment – being performed inter alia by means of the

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[1513] The Six Elements – earth, water, fire, wind/air, ether and consciousness – are briefly presented in this *Appendix IV, # 3* and in *Note 1520* below.

[1514] The Four *Maṇḍalas* are presented in this *Appendix IV, # 8*.

[1515] The Triple Mystery (*triguhya*) is the mystery of the Body (*kāyaguhya*), the mystery of the Speech (*vāgguhya*) and the mystery of the Thought (*manoguhya*) (see *Section 4.2.5, Note 885*).

The Triple Mystery of the Buddha encompasses the entire universe – the total life of the universe is the "Mystery of the Body" of the Buddha; all the sounds in the universe constitute the "Mystery of the Speech" of the Buddha; and all manifestations of reason in the universe are regarded as the "Mystery of the Thought" of the Buddha.

In case the *Shingon* devotee in all sincerity will perform the Triple Mystery – i.e. by performing the *mudrā* of the divinity with his hands; by uttering the *mantra* of the divinity; and by concentrating in his mind and heart on the *samādhi* of the divinity – then the devotee may **become one with the divinity**. This is the mystery and the grace of the Triple Mystery.

[1516] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 234 & 243-248.

two *maṇḍalas* – the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*; and

- the belief of the **bodhicitta** inherent in the individual. However, this Buddha-nature is contaminated with *kleśa* – which has to be ceaned off.[1517]

The main **path** to attain Buddhahood while still living in this world, is according to *Shingon* Buddhism to perform the "meditation over the body of the five forms" (see this *Appendix IV, # 3*). This is one of the most important rituals within *esoteric* Buddhism. It is a secret technique and an important path to attaining complete Buddhahood – thus reaching Enlightenment. Complete Buddhahood in the body is presented by the "Perfected Body Assembly" – the central *maṇḍala* in the *maṇḍala* of the Diamond world.[1518]

According to *Shingon nikāya*, Enlightenment is not the aim – the aim is the accomplishment (the "action"). Wisdom (*prajñā*) is knowledge of the doctrine – compassion (*karuṇā*) is practical accomplishment. The doctrine thus lays the foundation for the practice of the bodhisattva – and this very accomplishment expresses the complete understanding. According to *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, Enlightenment of oneself, is Enlightenment of others.[1519]

3   The identity of the Buddha and the Shingon *stūpa*

Shingon nikāya identifies the living being, the Buddha, the *dharma*, the cosmos and the *stūpa*. This is expressed in the doctrine of the Six Elements.[1520] All things come into existence by Dependent Origination

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[1517]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 105-106; Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 14-33 & 59.
    As regards the "mutual penetration", please see the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (*Appendix III, # 6*) and the therein referred to "Six Characteristics" (*Note 1491*).

[1518]   Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 77-81.

[1519]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 33 & 48-50.

[1520]   The Six Elements is constituted of (i) the Consciousness and of (ii) the five Elements. The five Elements are Earth (yellow, cube, south), Water (white, circle, centre), Fire (red, triangle, east), Air (black, semicircle, north), and Space (blue, jewel-formed, west). Consciousness (which may not be physically represented), is nevertheless part of the other five Elements – as *rūpa* (form) and *citta* (mind) are non-dual.
    Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 372-374.

from the Six Elements. The Six Elements are according to *Shingon* Buddhism mutually interpenetrating, all-pervading, unified and merged. Thus there is a total interfusion of all things. Body and mind of the Buddha are fused with the world. The body of the Buddha is the body of cosmos and called "the *Dharma*-body of the Six Elements".[1521]

Placed above each other, the first Five Elements constitute the "*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*" (see **Picture 139**). Usually the seed syllables of the Five Elements - *a, va, ra, ha & kha* - are painted on the front face of the "*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*" on the section representing their respective element. On the backside of the "*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*" the single syllable *vaṃ*[1522] is painted over all the five components of the *stūpa*. This "*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*"[1523] indicates the **non-duality** of the physical phenomena (*rūpa*) and of the Mind (*citta*). Together, the Five Elements thus embody implicitly the Sixth Element - consciousness.[1524]

The seed syllables of the Five Elements - *a, va, ra, ha & kha* - constitute the *mantra* of the *Tathāgata* Vairocana in *tattvadharmakāya* in the *Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala*.[1525] These seed syllables also constitute the *bījas* of the central Buddhas in the *Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala*, as well as in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1526] The sixth syllable - *vaṃ* - constitutes the *bīja* of *Tathāgata* Vairocana in *jñānadharmakāya* in the *Vajradhātu*

[1521] Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 372-373.

[1522] The syllable *hūṃ* indicates the consciousness of the unenlightened being, while the syllable *vaṃ* represents the consciousness of the being fully Enlightened. Snodgrass, 2007, p. 373.

[1523] Within *Shingon* Buddhism two examples of the"*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*" may be used with one in an upright position and one in a turned around position – but with the basement of both united (see this *Appendix IV, # 8, Picture 140*). This so called "*Gorin five-story Stūpa*" symbolises within *Shingon* Buddhism the relationship of the *Tathatā*, the Twin- *maṇḍalas* and the *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana.

[1524] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 252.

[1525] The *Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala* is in this dissertation also abbreviated as "the *Garbha maṇḍala*".
See *Appendix IV, # 8.2*

[1526]
Syllable	*Mahākaruṇāgarbha maṇḍala*	*Vajradhātu maṇḍala*
a	Divyadundubhimeghanirghoṣa	Amoghasiddhi
va	Amitābha	Amitābha
ra	Saṃkusamitarāja	Ratnasambhava
ha	Ratnaketu	Akṣobhya
kha	Mahāvairocana	Mahāvairocana

See *Appendix IV, # 8.2 and 8.3*

maṇḍala. Thus, the "*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*" symbolizes the non-duality of the *Vajradhātu dharma* and the *Garbha dharma*; as well as the non-duality of the unenlightened (symbolized of Vajrasattva with *bīja hūṃ*) and of the Buddha (with *bīja vaṃ*).[1527]

When the *Shingon* devotee meditates on one of the five individual parts of the "*Stūpa of the Five Cakras*", he assumes each of the *cakras* to be placed on various parts of his body. By contemplating the "*Five Cakras*" on his body, he may ultimately attain a stage where he is assimilated with *Tathāgata* Vairocana.[1528]

Picture 139   *Stūpa of the Five Cakras*

4   The initiation rituals

The initiation rituals (*abhiṣeka*) of *Shingon nikāya* in Japan shows close conformity with the corresponding aspects of the Javanese text the *SHKM*.

The earliest extant text encompassing the transmission of *esoteric* Buddhist authority from one person to another, is the *Consecration Scripture* (*Guàndǐngjīng* 灌頂經) (T. 1331).[1529]

[1527]   Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 252.

[1528]   Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 251.

[1529]   Davidson, 2011, p. 74.

The *abhiṣeka* was a gateway ceremony in *esoteric* Buddhism, being performed by an authorized individual. The rituals encompassed the use of *maṇḍalas, mudrās, mantras, dhāraṇīs* and *homa* rites. The ceremony was conducted by a consecrated master (*ācārya*), who conveyed on the candidate the "teachings" and finally pronouncing him enabled to conduct these rites himself.[1530]

The *maṇḍala* had first to be properly prepared by the master (*ācārya*) – the ground having been consecrated, the *maṇḍala* being divided into a number of "altars" (*vedi* or *yuàn* 院) for the respective Buddhas, etc. Finally, a *homa* rite was performed, in order to invoke the Buddhas. The preparation of the candidate included sprinkling him with water from a special vase (*kalaśa*). The candidate was blindfolded and lead to the *maṇḍala.* This means that his physical eyes were closed, but his spiritual eyes were supposed to be open. The *samaya* vows (*sānmèiyé jiè* 三昧耶戒) were wispered in his ears, as he prepared to enter the *maṇḍala*. The candidate then threw a flower onto the *maṇḍala*. The Buddha, on which the flower fell, was thought to become his patron, as regards his attempts on attaining Enlightenment. On the ensuing day, the initiate begun the process of learning to visualize the deities of the *maṇḍala*.[1531]

As symbols of his higher dignity, the individual is successively given various implements in his hands.[1532]

It is the integrated use of the **Triple Mystery** – i.e. the **body** (*mudrā*), the **speech** (*mantra*) and the **mind** (visualization of the *maṇḍala*) – that empowers and transforms. Buddha´s power is seen to be produced

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[1530]   These *abhiṣeka* rites are considerable different from the vows of the bodhisattva in the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, which could be declared by means of the process of visualization – with or without the bodhisattva present.
Davidson, 2011, p. 71.

[1531]   Davidson, 2011, p. 74.
Other source: Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, p. 85.

[1532]   These implements could be:

- a golden spatula (*śalāka*), symbolizing the opening of the eyes (the *SHKM* # 16);
- a mirror as symbol of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) (the *SHKM* # 17-18);
- a *vajra* symbolizing the insight/wisdom (*prajñā*) (the *SHKM* # 19);
- a *cakra*, meaning that the individual should set the Wheel in motion (the *SHKM* # 20);
  a *śaṅkha* (conch) representing the spreading of the word (the *SHKM* # 20).

when properly deployed by the disciple. The *Garbha maṇḍala* is seen as the birthplace of the Buddhas. The relationship between the generative imagery, the *mantra* and the *maṇḍala* is nowhere else as evident. The *abhiṣeka* ritual process may thus be seen in this framework to be a technology for the reproduction of Buddhas.[1533]

The *abhiṣeka* rites of *esoteric* Buddhism could during the Tang period endure during two-three days. Subsequently, they became more complex. During the Song dynasty, some rituals could in fact have lasted over decades – punctuated over time.[1534]

The initiation rites in *Shingon* Buddhism takes the form of praising the monk, who stands hidden behind the altar – representing the spiritual body of the intitiated individual as a future Buddha.[1535]

The similarities between the *Shingon* ritual and the Javanese text – the *SHKM* – are indeed apparent!

5   *The Mahāvairocana Sūtra*

According to the legend, the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*)– *Dà pí lú zhē nà chéng fó shén biàn jiāchí jīng* 大屁盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (T. 848) - the *sūtra* of the "bright light" - was transmitted in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven[1536] by *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana to the bodhisattva Vajrasattva.[1537] The latter kept it within himself for "several hundred years" before he sealed it in the "Iron *Stūpa*" in southern India.[1538] It is

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[1533]   Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, pp. 86-88.

[1534]   Davidson, 2011, p. 75.

[1535]   von Glasenapp, 1980, pp. 463-464.
Other source: Wulf, 1935, pp. 24-26.

[1536]   Tajima, 1998, p. 246.

[1537]   Huntington means that it was Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana that presented the *Mahāvairocana* text-cycle.
Huntington, 1994, p. 148.

It was thus **not** the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, who presented this *sūtra*.
Giebel, 2005, pp. xvii-xviii.

[1538]   See this *Appendix IV, # 6, Note 1564.*

supposed to have been found there later on by Nāgārjuna. This is of course an entirely fictitious legend. But in a deeper *esoteric* sense, the "Iron Stūpa" could – according to *Shingon nikāya* - be seen as the body of the devotee.[1539] The body of the believer would thus contain the 10,000 *dharmas* and unite all qualities (*guṇa*).

It is assumed that the *MVS* was written some time during the middle of the seventh century CE. It was classified as a **caryā tantra** (i.e. a "performance tantra") in India and Tibet.[1540] The Chinese monk Yijing (635-713 CE), who visitied India and Śrīvijaya during the period 671 and 685-695 CE (see *Section 4.1*), indicated that the *MVS* came into existence in the realm of Lātā on the Kāthiāwār peninsula in western India.[1541] In any event, the *MVS* was studied in Nālandā - the centre of *esoteric* Buddhism in northeastern India. From Nālandā, the *MVS* was probably introduced to south India. Whether or not it was introduced on Śrī Laṅkā is not clear.[1542]

The *MVS* is still extant in Tibetan (P. 126) and in Chinese (T. 848) – but not in Sanskrit. Its full name – based on the Chinese and in particular the Tibetan translations – would correspond to the title *Mahāvairocanābhisaṃbodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulyasūtrendrarāja-nāma-dharmaparyāya*[1543] (Chin. *Daji jing* for short; Jap. *Dainichikyō*). Śubhākarasiṃha and his Chinese disciple Yixing presented the *sūtra*

[1539]   Tajima, 1998, p. 240.

[1540]   Giebel, 2005. p. xvi.
To be noted is, that one has retained the word "*sūtra*" in the name of the *MVS*, albeit it is a "*tantra*".

[1541]   Wayman is of the opinion, though, that the text – in its *sūtra* form (the *MVS*) and in its *tantra* form (the *VAT*) - was composed during the mid-sixth century CE in Mahārāshtra in the western part of central India. According to Wayman, the *homa* chapter and the deities mentioned in the text indicate this early date. Wayman further means that the composer may well have been a *brahman* converted to Buddhism, who was a follower of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇī.
Wayman, 1998, pp. 8-12.

[1542]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 19 & 21-22.

[1543]   Sylvain Levi´s translation into French of the name reads in English "Topic of the Dharma called King Indra of the large Sūtras with the marvelous Transformations of Mahāvairocana as a blessed basis".
Wayman´s translation differs somewhat "Tantra about the manifest Enlightenment of Vairocana, and about the empowerment materialized".
Giebel spells the name with two minor variations from the above. His translation of the name is "Scripture of the Enlightenment, Supernatural Transformations, and Empowerment of Mahāvairocana"
Giebel, 2005, p. xv;   Tajima, 1998, p. 235;   Wayman, 1998, p. 1.

in their translation of the massive "*Commentaries of the Mahāvairocana Sūtra*"(T. 1796). They subsequently translated the *sūtra* into Chinese during 724-725 CE (T. 848).[1544] The Chinese version of the text is called the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*), while the Tibetan version is called *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Tantra* (the *VAT*). Given the *Shingon* context, the text below is primarily based on the *MVS* version.[1545]

The Sanskrit version may have been introduced to China from Valabhī in the Gujarat region.[1546] The Chinese version of the *MVS* contains 36 chapters in seven books or fascicles. The last five chapters (Fascicle VII) are "offering rites", which originally were a separate text. Both Śubhākarasiṃha and Vajrabodhi attached these five chapters as Fascicle VII to the *MVS*. Consequently, Fascicle VII is excluded from the Tibetan translation. In addition, four chapters are in the *VAT* combined into two chapters. The *VAT* consists thus of 29 chapters.[1547]

The *MVS* is organized around three *kula* ("families"): the Buddha (*fó* 佛), Lotus (*liánhuá* 蓮華) and Vajra (*jīngāng* 金剛). The *MVS* gives detailed instructions to the initiate for becoming a cosmic Buddha.[1548]

The *MVS* consists of two parts – the doctrine (Fascicle I) and the accomplishment of the doctrine (Fascicle II-VI), to which is added Fascicle VII (see above). Its main message is "Find the truth in your own heart" – i.e. the true nature of the *dharma*, is identical to that of the heart.[1549] All sentinent beings have thus a *bodhicitta*.[1550]

[1544] de Jong, 1974, p. 478; Orzech, 2011(c), p. 276.

de Jong proposes that the *MVS* was based on two Sanskrit texts – i.e. the copy found by Wuxing and brought to China after his death by the end of the seventh century CE **and** the copy supposed to have been brought to China by Śubhākarasiṃha. Tajima means, however, that Śubhākarasiṃha did not bring a separate copy to China and thus translated the Wuxing version.
de Jong, 1974, pp. 479-480; Tajima, 1998, pp. 240-241.

[1545] Giebel, 2005, p. xvi.
Other sources: Kiyota, 1978, pp. 19 & 22; Orlando, 1981, p. 9; Tajima, 1998, pp. 235-236.

[1546] Valabhī was a great center of learning – rivalling Nālandā.
Wayman, 1998, pp. 15-16.

[1547] Wayman, 1998, pp. 20-27.
Other source: Giebel, 2005, p. xvi; Tajima, 1998, p. 221.

[1548] Orzech, 2011(c), p. 276.

[1549] Tajima, 1998, pp. 222-224.

[1550] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 44.

In Fascicle I the "Law of the Equality of the Triple Mysteries" is explained – i.e. the body (*mudrā*), the speech (*mantra*) and the mind (*contemplation*) are equal and constitute the gate of entry. It is by means of these **Triple Mysteries**[1551] that the empowerment of *sambhogakāya* is arrived at. This empowerment of *sambhogakāya* is the omnipresent body of the Buddha Vairocana (which equals the body of Equality of the devotee). The true nature of the devotee does not differ from that of the Buddha. It is only the defilements of the devotee, that make him loose sight hereof. By practicing the Triple Mysteries, the devotee may annihilate his defilements and perceive the Buddha (*bodhicitta*) within him (see this *Appendix IV*, # 2).[1552]

The narrative part of the *MVS* may be seen as a discussion between Vajrapāṇi[1553] ("*Vajra*-in-Hand") and *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana. Vajrapāṇi admires "the knowledge of the omniscience" of the Buddha and inquired about its cause, root and result. *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana answered that (i) the heart of the *bodhi*-mind (**bodhicitta**) is its cause, (ii) the great compassion (**karuṇā**) is its root, and (iii) the "skillful means" (**upāya kauśalya**) its result. This is the so called **Triple Formula**, which sums up the doctrine of the Buddha.[1554]

Chapter 1 then continues with discussing the *bodhicitta* in its aspects of (i) aspiration for Enlightenment, on the one hand, and (ii) the mind, whose intrinsic nature is Enlightenment, on the other.[1555]

The balance of the *sūtra* (Chapters 2-36) explains the ways of various practices in applying the principle expressed in Fascicle I. These

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[1551]   See this *Appendix IV, # 4, Note 1533.*

[1552]   Tajima, 1998, pp. 294-295.

[1553]   "**Vajradhāra**" (*vajra*-holder) is a denomination given to beings involved in *esoteric* practices. Their counterparts in *Mahāyāna* Buddhism are the bodhisattvas. Vajradhāra is also used as an alternative name for **Vajrapāṇi** (*Vajra*-in-Hand) – a bodhisattva, who in *esoteric* Buddhism is identified with Vajrasattva. **Vajrasattva** (Adamantine Being) is a bodhisattva, who is associated with the awakening of the aspiration for Enlightenment (*bodhicitta* or *bodhi*-mind). In the *MVS* he is usually referred to as the "Lord of Mysteries" and plays the role of the interlocutor of Buddha Mahāvairocana (see also *Section 4.2.3.2, Note 841*).
Giebel, 2005, p. 299.
Other source: Wayman, 1985, p. 25.

[1554]   Tajima, 1998, pp. 296-298.
Other source: Giebel, 2005, pp. xvii-xviii & 5-6.

[1555]   Giebel, 2005, pp. 6-18.

include such *esoteric* aspects as initiation rites, *mantra* recitations, *mudrās* and construction of a *maṇḍala*. The last fascicle (Fascicle VII) comprises the "offering rites" in five chapters. All the chapters 2-36 are presented by Giebel and Tajima.[1556]

The *MVS* describes the *Garbha* (Matrix) *Maṇḍala*.[1557] This is done in three forms with their deities represented (i) by their physical forms (Chapter 2); by their seed-syllables (Chapter 8); and by their symbolic objects (Chapter 11).[1558] The central theme of the *MVS* is that of the **Triple Formula** described above.[1559]

Briefly, the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) may be seen to codify the cosmic order. By means of the **Triple Mysteries** (*sān mì* 三蜜), the initiate ritually replicates the body, the speech and the mind of Buddha Mahāvairocana. By means of the *abhiṣeka* rituals the intiate becomes one with Buddha Mahāvairocana.

In other words, the initiate does **not** "practice" a teaching expressed by Buddha Śākyamuni – the initiate **becomes** Buddha Mahāvairocana.[1560]

6 The Tattvasaṃgraha – the STTS

Like the *MVS*, the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) was also according to the legend transmitted in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven [1561] by *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana to bodhisattva Vajrasattva.[1562] Like the *MVS*, bodhisattva Vajrasattva kept the

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[1556] Tajima, 1998, pp. 221-222 & 311-333.
Other source: Giebel, 2005, pp. 19-226 & 227-277.

[1557] The full name of the "Matrix *Maṇḍala*" is *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava maṇḍala* (*Maṇḍala* of Birth from the Matrix of Great Compassion).
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 129.

[1558] Giebel, 2005, p. xviii.

[1559] Kiyota, 1978, pp. 85-86.

[1560] Orzech, 2011(c), pp. 277-278.

[1561] Tajima, 1998, p. 246.

[1562] Also in this case, it was **not** the historical Buddha Śākyamuni, who presented this *sūtra*. The **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* lineage is supposed to encompass Buddha Mahā-

Vajraśekhara Sūtra within himself for "several hundred years" prior to sealing it in the "Iron *Stūpa*"[1563] in South India. It is supposed to have been found there later on by Nāgārjuna.[1564]

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vairocana→Vajrasattva→Nāgārjuna→Nāgabodhi→Vajrabodhi→Amoghavajra.
van der Kuijp, 2007, p. 1007.
Other sources: Orzech, 2011(b), p. 317; Wedemeyer, 2013, pp. 92-93.

In the biography of the Yan Ying (T. 860b10) of 781 CE, it is stated that "from Vairocana to the monk [Amoghavajra] are a total of six "petals"" (*fán liùyè yī* 凡六業矣).
Orzech, 2006, pp. 53 & 56.

[1563] The account of the "Iron *Stūpa*" is found in "Instructions on the Gate to the Teaching of the Secret Heart of the Great Yoga of the Scripture of the Diamond Crown" - *Jīngāng dīng jīng dà yújiā bímì xīndì fāmén yìjué* 金剛頂經大瑜伽秘密心地法門義訣 (T. 1798.39:808a19-b28).

[1564] The legend of the Iron *Stūpa* is supposed to present the origin of *esoteric* Buddhism and the "reappearance" of its key texts – the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (T. 848) and the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (the outline of which is found in T. 869 – "The Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies").
Orzech, 1995, p. 314.

In addition, the legend of the Iron *Stūpa* reflects the process of initiation into the *maṇḍalas* of *esoteric* Buddhism. The devotee regards his or her entry into the *maṇḍala* as an entry into the "Iron *Stūpa*". This is performed with the assistance of the Master in the form of consecration (*abhiṣeka*).
Orzech, 1995, p. 315.

The **Iron *Stūpa*** is a legend, created by the sacred power of Buddha Mahāvairocana. Naturally, this legend is entirely ficticious. According to the legend, the Iron *Stūpa* is assumed to be a real *stūpa* in south India (Amaravāti) or the *vaṭadāge* (roofed *stūpa*) at Thūpārāma on Śrī Laṅkā (see *Section 3.2, Note 651*). Reciting the *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana´s *dhāraṇī*, Nāgārjuna is said to have circumvented (*pradakṣiṇa*) the Iron *Stūpa* during seven days, whereafter he threw seven mustard seeds on the entrance door of the *stūpa*. The door opened and let Nāgārjuna perceive an interior filled with light, flowers, jewels, incense and *sūtra* chanting. Upon eliminating the wrathful guardians, Nāgārjuna entered the Iron *Stūpa* (which illustrates the realization of his *bodhicitta* and the revelation of his inherent Buddha-nature). The mustard seeds that he threw on the entrance gate, symbolizes the seeds of the *bodhicitta*. The entrance gate of the Iron *Stūpa* symbolizes the three fundamental defilements (*kleśa*) – greed, hatred and delusion. According to Vajrabodhi, Nāgārjuna studied the immense *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* during several days in the Iron *Stūpa* under the supervision of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. When Nāgārjuna finally exited the Iron *Stūpa*, he wrote down all the *ślokas* that he had learned. According to Amoghavajra, Nāgārjuna wrote down inter alia the entire *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* in 100.000 *ślokas*.
Orzech, 1995, pp. 314-317.
Other sources: Orzech, 2006, p. 51; Wedemeyer, 2013, pp. 91-92.

It is noteworthy that Vajrabodhi did not mention that Nāgārjuna should also have read the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (the *MVS*) in the Iron *Stūpa*. However, Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) was of the opinion that Nāgārjuna also should have read this *sūtra* in the Iron *Stūpa*, as the two principles of *esoteric* Buddhism – the Matrix section of the *MVS* and the Diamond section of the *STTS* – correspond to "Principle" and "Knowledge", respectively, and they are "non-dual". It is thus unthinkable that these two non-separable aspects of the Mahāvairocana would be separate. In addition, Kūkai also meant that the *stūpa* represented the *samaya* form of Buddha Mahāvairocana in the Matrix world, as well as in the Diamond world. The entrance by Nāgārjuna into the Iron *Stūpa* represents an attain-

Like the legend concerning the *MVS*, the legend of the Iron *Stūpa* regarding the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* is thus only fictitious.

As fictitious would also be the *Shingon* version, whereunder Siddhārtha Gautama upon his Enlightenment under the *Bodhi*-tree ascended to the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven, where he by the cosmic Buddhas was given *abhiṣeka* in the "fivefold wisdom". He then realized his identity with *Tathāgata* Vajradhāra, proceeded to construct the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, transforming himself to Buddha Mahāvairocana and emanating the other four Buddhas.[1565]

This hugh scriptural corpus, collectively known as *Jīngāng dīng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*),[1566] is supposed to contain the preachings of the Buddha at 18 different ceremonies (Assemblies) – presented in four main sections, including all in all 100.000 *stanzas*.[1567] Thereto is added the commentarial litera-

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ment of these two worlds.
Orzech, 1995, pp. 316-317;

Referring to the lineage of the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, as presented in *Note 1562*, the Iron *Stūpa* symbolizes the *dharma* body of Buddha Mahāvairocana, who personifies the perfected Buddhahood. Vajrasattva symbolizes Buddhahood as the *bodhicitta* (i.e. the Enlightenment that lies innate but unrealized in the mind of each sentient being). Against this background, the revelation of the *esoteric* doctrine by Buddha Mahāvairocana to Vajrasattva, symbolizes "the transmission of Buddhahood from its state of eternal immutability within the *Tathāgata´s* Mind to the innermost core of the mind of each being, where it lies concealed until uncovered by practice of meditational rituals." (Snodgrass, 1997, p. 112). The Iron *Stūpa* may in other words be regarded as "The Buddha-*stūpa* in the Mind".
Snodgrass, 2007, p. 376.
Other source: Tajima, 1998, p. 246.

The Iron *Stūpa* may thus be regarded as "the *stūpa* of the Dharma World (*dharmadhātu-stūpa*), created as an illusion by the divine power of Buddha Mahāvairocana and used by Nāgārjuna as an object of meditation in order to gain the knowledge of the Universal Dharma World."
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 113.

[1565] Abé, 1999, pp. 144-146.

[1566] The meaning of the *Jīngāng dīng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) is "*The Adamantine Pinnacle: The Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings*".

[1567] This *Jīngāng dīng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) is not extant today. The only information, that we have of this scripture, arrives from an "inventory" – or rather a "compilation" or "composition" according to modern scholars – of the scripture by Amoghavajra (T. 869). It is a mere inventory of the eighteen *esoteric* works, which together are believed to constitute the hugh *Jīngāng dīng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*).

ture as the *Uttara Tantra* (Continuation *Tantra*) and the *Uttarottara* Tantra (Continuation of the Continuation *Tantra*).[1568]

Amoghavajra visited south India and Śrī Laṅkā during his text-retrieving mission in 741-746 CE after the decease of his Master Vajrabodhi in 741 CE. Amoghavajra is said to have received the entire text of the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) by king Aggabodhi VI (r. 741-781 CE) of Śrī Laṅkā – perhaps without the commentary texts *Uttara Tantra* and *Uttarottara Tantra*.[1569] The text brought back to China by Amoghavajra was probably of a later development phase, than the corresponding text brought back by Vajrabodhi.[1570]

In his "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869),[1571] Amoghavajra presented the hugh work of the Eighteen Assemblies of the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*).[1572] Some scholars claim, that Amoghavajra did not follow the base text properly in his "translation", but composed the text in accordance with his own ideas – thereby enabling him to present it in

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Giebel, 1995, p. 107-109.
Other sources: Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 6; Snodgrass, 1997, p. 559.

[1568] Giebel, 2001, pp. 6-7.

[1569] However, some scholars dispute the fact that the entire *Jīngāng dǐng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) should have been developed in its final Sanskrit form by the time of Vajrabodhi and even by the time of Amoghavajra. Perhaps Amoghavajra only had the background text to the *STTS* (the first Assembly) to work with as a complete text, and the text of the other seventeen Assemblies took the form of mere ritual manuals.
Giebel, 1995, pp. 110 &114.
Other source: Orlando, 1981, pp. 10-12; Weinberger, 2003, p. 30.

[1570] As indicated in *Section 4.2.5*, Vajrabodhi claimed to have brought with him from India both an extended version and an abridged version of the *Jīngāng dǐng jīng* (the **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*). But he is supposed to have lost this extended version of 100,000 *stanzas* in a storm at sea prior to reaching China. Vajrabodhi had thus access only to an abridged version consisting of 4,000 *stanzas* called the *Jīngāng dǐng yújiā zhōng luè chū niànsòng jīng* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經, which he subsequently translated as T. 866.
Giebel, 1995, p. 110-111.
Other source: Weinberger, 2003, p. 30.

[1571] The full name of the "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" is *Jīngāng dǐng jīng yú jiā shí bā hé zhī guī* 金剛頂經瑜枷十八盒指歸 (T. 869).

[1572] The eigtheen various Assemblies were presented by Amoghavajra to belong to the following cycles:

the logical progression referred to in the previous footnote.[1573] In this "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869) Amoghavajra only made a summary of the contents of these Eighteen Assemblies. These eighteen texts constitute together the *Vajraśekara Sūtra* cycle. Amoghavajra´s version of the *STTS* (T. 865) constitutes only **the first chapter of the first Assembly of the *Vajraśekara Sūtra.*** The importance of this scripture is indicated by the fact that it comprises around half of the "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869). The summaries of the other seventeen Assembly works - probably only little more than ritual manuals - comprise the other half of the "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869).[1574] Amoghavajra may have died, when he had just finished the "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869), of which part - but not the contents of the "Assemblies" - is included in the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*. Given the dominant size of the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*, it may thus not have been unnatural for Amoghavajra to have terminated his translation in the place that he did.[1575]

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Assemblies 1-4	belonging to the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*), the *Vajraśekhara Tantra* and the *Trailokyavijaya*;
Assembly 5	belonging to the *Laukikalokottaravajra Tantra*(?);
Assemblies 6-9	belonging to the *Śrīparamādya* cycle and the *Samāyoga Tantra*;
Assemblies 10-14	are probably interrelated and based on the *Mahāsamaya Tantra*;
Assembly 15	belonging to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*;
Assembly 16	beloning to the *Advayasamatāvijaya*;
Assembly 17	may link with the works of the 16th Assembly;
Assembly 18	is the last Assembly prior to becoming a *siddha*.

Giebel, 1995, pp. 112-114 & 198-199.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 559.

[1574] Giebel, 1995, pp. 108-109 & 112-114.
Other sources: Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 6 n. 9; Snodgrass, 1997, p. 559; Weinberger, 2003, p. 30.

Eastman means that the *Māyājāla Tantra* of the Tibetan *rÑiṅ-ma-pa* tradition is identical to Amoghavajra´s "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869). The *Māyājāla Tantra* consists of eighteen texts. It is known in Tibet as the *'Gyu-'phrul 'draba' I rgyud-sde bco-brgyad.*
Eastman, 1981, p. XXVI:96.

[1575] Giebel, 2001, p. 8.

As indicated above[1576], the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* is not extant today as a complete text - if it in fact ever has existed. We may only come across it in the form of Amoghavajra´s brief presentation of its 18 Assemblies - the "Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies" (T. 869). In addition, the First Assembly is extant in the form of a Sanskrit text.

The complete name of the Sanskrit text of the First Assembly is *Sarva-tathāgata-tattva-saṃgraha-mahāyānābhisamaya-mahākalparāja-sūtra.*[1577] However, it is mostly referred to in its simpler title of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Compendium of the Truth of All the *Tathāgatas*) - or in the abbreviated form of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*). For clarity, this abbreviated form - the *STTS* - is forthwith used throughout this *Appendix IV* and elsewhere in this disser-tation.[1578]

The original Sanskrit text is available in several editions.[1579] In addi-tion, there exists a Tibetan translation from the early eleventh century CE by Śraddhākaravarma and Rin-chen bzang-po (P. 112). Three Chinese translations of the *STTS* are included in the Chinese Tripiṭaka; viz.
- Vajrabodhi´s translation from around 723 CE in four fasci-cles *Jīngāng dīng yújiā zhōng luè chū niànsòng jīng* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. 866);
- Amoghavajra´s translation around 754 CE in three fascicles *Jīngāng dīng yīqiè rúlái zhēnshí shè dàchéng xiàn zhèng dà jiào*

[1576] See *Appendix IV, # 6, Note 1567*.

[1577] Based on Amoghavajra´s Chinese translation (T. 865), the title means "The Compendi-um of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas and the Realization of the Great Vehicle, Being the Scripture of the Great King of Teachings".
Giebel, 2001, p. 5.

[1578] The *STTS* is also known by its abbreviated titles in Chinese as "*Jīngāng dīng jīng*" or in Japanese as "*Kongōchōkyō*" (T. 865).

In Sanskrit, as well as in English, the *STTS* (T. 865) is sometimes erroneously referred to as the "*Vajraśekara Sutra*" and the "*Adamantine Pinnacle Sūtra*", respectively. This is really unfortunate, as these denominations open up for confusion with the hugh text the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra*. The *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* is supposed to have been found in the Iron *Stūpa* by Nāgārjuna – of which the *STTS* only constitute a part. For further refer-ences, see *Note 1567* above.

The *Vajraśekhara* [*mahāguhyayoga*] *Tantra* is also the name of an explanatory *tantra* (P. 113 & Toh. 480) of the *STTS*.
Giebel, 2001, pp. 6 & 8.

[1579] Giebel, 2001, p. 107.

wáng jīng 金剛頂一切來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 865); and

- Dānapāla´s translation from 1015 CE in thirty fascicles *Yīqiè rúlái zhēnshí shè dàchéng xiàn zhèng sānmèi dà jiào wáng jīng* 一切如來眞實攝大乘現證三昧大教王經 (T. 882).[1580]

The *STTS* belongs to the *Mantranaya* and is a **yoga tantra**.[1581] It represents in fact a basic text of the *yoga tantras*.[1582] The *STTS* describes the Diamond World *maṇḍala*. It is assumed to be the *esoteric* version of the *BAS*.[1583] It was probably composed in south India during the latter part of the seventh century CE – being completed towards the mid-eighth century CE.[1584] As Vajrabodhi studied in south India and is said to have been the one, who brought a copy of the *STTS*[1585] to China in 720 CE, one may safely assume that this *sūtra* was popular in south India during the early eighth century CE. It was subsequently introduced in Orissa and in western India, prior to being transmit-ted to China and Tibet.[1586]

Vajrabodhi´s translation of the *STTS* (T. 866) has by some scholars been regarded as "somewhat primitive". It is probably only based on an abridged version of the **Vajraśekara Sūtra* cycle. It comprises of some 4,000 *stanzas*. It is not a translation, but more an attempt to introduce the eighteen Assembly system of the **Vajraśekara Sūtra* cycle.[1587]

[1580] Giebel, 2001, p. 6.
Other sources: Ishii, 1991, p. 151; Kiyota, 1978, p. 23.

[1581] Ishii, 1991, p. 161.

[1582] Giebel, 2001, p. 5.
Other source: Giebel, 1995, p. 109.

[1583] Wayman, 1998, p. 14.

[1584] Sanderson, 2009, p. 133.
Other sources: Ishii, 1991, p. 151; Sharrock & Bunker, 2016, p. 239; Weinberger, 2003, pp. 1 &28-35;

However, Giebel dates the completion of the text to around the end of the eighth century CE.
Giebel, 2001, pp. 6-7.

[1585] As part of the hugh text – the **Vajraśekara Sūtra* cycle.

[1586] Kiyota, 1978, p. 24.

[1587] Giebel, 2001, p. 7.
Other sources: Giebel, 1995, pp. 110-111; Weinberger, 2003, p. 9.

As indicated above, Amoghavajra´s translation of the *STTS* (T. 865) is quite limited. It encompasses only the first chapter of the first Assembly of the **Vajraśekara Sūtra* . But his translated portions of the the main scripture follow closely those of the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions.[1588]

The Dānapāla translation (T. 882) is the only Chinese translation of the complete *STTS* – i.e. of the first Assembly of the **Vajraśekara Sūtra* cycle. This eleventh century CE text follows closely the extant Sanskrit and Tibetan scriptures.[1589]

There exists in Japanese a complete word-for-word commentary on Amoghavajra´s Chinese translation of the *STTS* (T. 865) by Donjaku (1674-1742 CE) of the *Shingon nikāya*. This commentary comprises nineteen fascicles and is denominated in Japanese *Kongōchō-daikyōō-gyō shiki*[1590] (T. 2225).[1591]

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The *STTS* describes a world of Enlightenment in the form of the Assembly of the five Buddhas. The *STTS* presents a comprehensive system, accessible only by the rituals in connection with *abhiṣeka*. Unlike the *MVS,* the *STTS* is organized around the five *kula* ("families") - Tathāgata, Lotus, Vajra, Ratna and Karma.[1592] The *sūtra* explains that all sentient beings innate contain in them the Knowledge (*jñāna*).[1593] The *STTS* also describes the manner, in which

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[1588] Giebel, 2001, p. 7.
Other source: Giebel, 1995, p. 113.

[1589] Weinberger, 2003, p. 10.

[1590] In Chinese, the text (T. 2225) is called *Jīngāng dǐng dà jiào wáng jīng sī jì* 金剛頂大教王經死記。

[1591] Ennin (794-864 CE) of *Tendai nikāya* also made a translation to Japanese of Amoghavajra´s translation to Chinese of the *Tattvasaṃgraha* (the *STTS*) (T. 865). But Ennin´s translation into Japanese only comprises the first two fascicles of Amoghavajra´s version – as the content of the third fascicle should not be divulged to the uninitiated. Ennin´s version encompasses seven fascicles and is called the *Kongōchō-daikyōō-gyō sho* (T. 2223).
Giebel, 2001, pp. 7-8.

[1592] These five families are represented by the the following Buddhas - Mahāvairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Ratnasaṃbhava and Amoghasiddhi.
Orzech, 2011(c), p. 279.

[1593] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 44.

this world of Enlightenment may be realized by means of the five stages of meditation. [1594] More specifically, the *STTS* is composed as follows:

- An introduction that sets the scene and that also describes the nature of Mahāvairocana - equitable with the *dharma* body (*dharmakāya*) - as the essence of all *Tathāgatas* and the essence of the *dharma* realm (*dharmadhātu*);
- The main text starts with a description of the three *samādhis*, which are characteristic of *yoga tantras*. The first *samādhi* may be seen as an *esoteric* presentation of Buddha Śākyamuni´s own Enlightenment (in the form of bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddhi) in our world (*Jambūdvīpa*). The second *samādhi* relates the generation of the 37 deities of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. The scene is set on the summit of Mount Meru. The third *samādhi* concerns the empowerment of the Assembly of deities. These three *samādhis* thus explain "the means for attaining [the state of] Vairocana and Mahāvairocana";
- The next portion of the main text deals with the rites of initiations starting with the invocation of Buddha Vairocana by means of the 108 names (*nāmāṣṭaśata*), who expounds the Great *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala* (*Mahāmaṇḍala*) and the rites associated therewith. This portion of the main text starts with the story of the *Trailokyavijaya*,[1595] and ends with the rites of the teacher in the *maṇḍala* and the manner in which he is to initiate the disciple;
- The ensuing portion of the main text concentrates on the teaching of the disciple – having now been initiated – how to obtain various types of "success" (*siddhi*). He is also taught the four varieties of "seal-knowledges" (*mudrājñāna*),

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[1594] Kiyota, 1978, p. 23.

[1595] As already explained in *Section 5.2.1*, the *Trailokyavijaya* is the famous story of the taming of Maheśvara (Śiva) and his entourage. This legend is one of the most important tales in *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. Briefly, Vajrapāṇi – Lord of all the *Tathāgatas* and the Universal Ruler – called Maheśvara (Śiva), Indra, Brahma and all the Hindu *devas* to the Adamantine Jeweled Palace at the peak of Mount Meru, where they were converted to Buddhism. Śiva´s convertion was effected first after he had been killed and resurrected as *Tathāgata Bhasmeśvaranirghoṣa* (Soundless Lord of Ashes).
Sundberg, 2003, pp. 167-170.

which are necessary in performing various rituals in con-
nection with the Great *Maṇḍala* "Adamantine Realm";[1596]

- The text ends with the presentation of various rules.[1597]

The *STTS* is composed of five Sections (*samaya*) with 26 Chapters all-
in-all. As indicated in this *Appendix IV, # 8*, the *STTS* presents a set-up
various *maṇḍalas* with the Great *Maṇḍala* "Adamantine Realm"
(*Vajradhātu Mahāmaṇḍala*) and with its 37 deities as the centre piece.[1598]

7   *The Rishukyō - the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses*

The *Adhyardhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Skt 150) is generally regar-
ded as the orginal text of the "*Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses*" (the *PPV*).
In Japan, it is referred to as the *Rishukyō* – being one of the fundamen-
tal texts in *Shingon nikāya*.[1599] This text presently exists in the form of a
Sanskrit-Khotanese fragment, three Tibetan versions and six Chinese
texts (T. 220, 240, 241, 242, 243 and 244) – ten versions all-in-all. How-
ever, two of the Chinese and two of the Tibetan versions are longer
than the customary 150 *ślokas* of the text.[1600]

[1596] The four types of seals are (i) the Great Seal (*mahā-mudrā*) – the images of the deities in
their physical form in the Great *Maṇḍala*; (ii) the *Samaya* Seals (*samaya-mudrā*) – the
mudrās representing both "fusing" (*samaya*) of the deity and the practitioner, and the
pledges (*samaya*) of the individual deities; (iii) the *Dharma* Seals (*dharma-mudrā*) rep-
resenting the verbal counterparts of the deities in the form of incantatory formulae (*man-
tra*) or a seed-syllable (*bija*); (iv) the *Karma* Seals (*karma-mudrā*), which symbolizes
the activities of each deity.
Giebel, 2001, p. 11.

[1597] Giebel, 2001, pp. 8-11.

[1598] Powell, 2018, pp. 10-11.

[1599] The *Rishukyō* is customarily said to constitute the sixth of the eighteen Assemblies of
the vast *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (Jap. *Kongōchōkyō*).
Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 6, n. 9.

[1600] These various versions of the *Rishukyō* are briefly presented in Astley-Kristensen, 1991,
pp. 8-22.

One of the extended versions is T. 244, which was translated into Chinese by Faxian in
999 CE. Faxian should not be confounded with the Chinese travelling monk Faxian
(329-422 CE) (see *Section 4.1*). The monk Faxian, who translated T. 244, was also
called Tianxicai or Hōken (in Japanese). He was a monk from Kashmir, who arrived in
China in 980 CE, received his name "Faxian" in 987 CE. He became Master of the Im-

The version mostly used in the Far-East and by *Shingon nikāya*, is the version translated by Amoghavajra in 768-770 CE (T. 243) and his two commentaries hereto (T. 1003 and T. 1004). It is this version that is also denominated the *Naya Sūtra* (T. 243), as it conveys the "guiding principle-insight" - the *nayaprajñā* - i.e. an insight, which may form the guiding principle of the religious practice of the devotee.[1601]

The version translated by Amoghavajra in 768-770 CE is called *Dàlè jīngāng bùkōng zhēnshí sānmóyé jīng* 大樂金剛不空眞實三麼耶經 (T. 243). This version is brief enough, so as to enabling it to be recited in its entirety during religious ceremonies – while it still comprises an adequate philosophical content. In addition to co-ordinating ritual and symbolic meanings, it also displays ritual guidelines. Finally, the *esoteric* additions to the text are so well integrated, that the *Prajñā-pāramitā* and the *tantra* aspects are presented harmoniously side-by-side.[1602]

Amoghavajra composed two commentaries to this text prior to his decease in 774 CE. The first commentary was *Dàlè jīngāng bùkōng zhēnshí sānmòyé jīng banruo bōluómì duōlǐ qùshí* 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經般若波羅蜜多理趣釋 (T. 1003), which deals with the entire text. This commentary is also called the *Rishushaku*. The second commentary was *Banruo bōluómì duōlī qù jīng dà lè bù kōng sānmèi zhēnshí jīngāng sà duǒ púsà děng yīshìqī sheng dà màntúluó yì shù* 般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵菩薩等一十七聖大曼荼羅義述 (T. 1004). This latter commentary is said to have been retrieved from the thirteenth Assembly in the vast **Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (the *Kongōchōkyō*). These commentaries center around the seventeen Epithets of Purity presented in the first chapter of the *Rishukyō*. These Epithets of Purity are explained with reference to the *samādhis* of the seventeen "Holy Ones" in the *maṇḍala* indicated in the title. Around the central figure – bodhisattva Vajrasattva[1603] – there are four groups, each with four

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perial Translation Bureau and died on the 4th of September 1000 CE.
Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 18-19.

[1601] Demieville, 1934, p. 97.

The Japanese term *rishu* – as well as the Sanskrit term *naya* and the Tibetan term *tschul* – mean "to lead". *Rishu* is herewith translated as "the guiding principle". .
Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 27.

[1602] Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 15.

[1603] See *Section 4.2.3.2, Note 853* and *Appendix IV, # 5, Note 1553*.

bodhisattvas – thus making up the seventeen "Holy Ones". All these seventeen deities derived from the vast *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* (the *Kongōchōkyō*).[1604]

Another traditional commentary of the *Rishukyō*, is the one made by Kūkai (774-835 CE) - the founder of *Shingon nikāya*. It is called in Japanese *Shinjitsukyōmonku* (T. 2237).[1605] It constitutes a minute analysis of each section of Amoghavajra´s *Rishukyō* - being mainly based on Amoghavajra´s *Rishushaku*.[1606]

The *Rishukyō* complements the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (see this *Appendix IV, # 5*). The Jar-consecration (see *Appendix II, # 1.1*) is described only briefly in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* - a *caryā tantra*. In the *Rishukyō*, on the other hand, the Jar-consecration is described in detail. The Tibetan commentaries classifies the *Rishukyō*, therefore, as a *yoga tantra*. But as it is one of the principal texts presenting the Great Bliss (*mahāsukha*) in detail, it may also be considered an *anuttarayoga* text.[1607]

The popularity of the *Rishukyō* is based on the fact that the text not only expresses concepts of the *esoteric* Thunderbolt (*vajra*) teaching, but also contains concepts that relate to the Womb (*garbha*) teaching. Three examples hereof may be given. Firstly, in the opening Assembly of the *Rishukyō*, Buddha Mahāvairocana sits in the posture of the *MVS*, while the balance of the indications are from the *STTS*. Secondly, in the following two chapters (Chapters I and II), the exoteric teachings of the *lĩ* 理 and *zhì* 智 are presented. The former innate principle *lĩ* being realized, by means of the latter active principle *zhì* seeking and penetrating the former *lĩ* – thus creating non-duality (see *Appendix IV, # 8*). This aspect is illustrated by the sexual act. In *esoteric* terms, the *Rishukyō* thus states that the sexual passions is the pure stage of the bodhisattva. Thirdly, in the last chapter (Chapter XVII) the consummate attainment of the Adamantine Being (Vajrasattva), abiding in his fourfold *samādhi*, is illustrated.[1608]

[1604] Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 16-1, 21-23 & 24-27 (List of other Japanese researchers).

[1605] In Chinese *Zhēnshí jīng wénjù* 眞實經文句 (T. 2237)

[1606] Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 17.

[1607] de Jong, 1974, pp. 467-468.

[1608] Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 28 & 32-33.

The *Dharma* Gate of the Great Bliss (Chapter I) is regarded as the beginning of the Enlightenment process, while the Gate of the Profound Mystery (Chapter XVII) is regarded as its culmination. In the *maṇḍala* of the Five Mysteries, Vajrasattva assumes (i) desire, (ii) touching, (iii) love and (iv) pride as the practice of the vow in one single body. Vajrasattva is thus regarded as the unitary summation of all the virtues that arise on the Path. This is the principal teaching of the *Rishukyō*. It is often represented by Vajrasattva, together with the Four Andamantine Consorts, presented on the same lotus *daïs* (symbolizing Liberation by means of Great Compassion), which is supported by the lunar disc (symbolizing Great Wisdom).[1609]

In the Path to Enlightenment, Buddha Mahāvairocana sometimes assumes the form of Vajrasattva. Together, they contain all aspect of Enlightenment.[1610]

8   The Garbha maṇḍala and the Vajradhātu maṇḍala

A *maṇḍala* is the visual representation of *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana. It represents the universe in its Totality. The *maṇḍalas* are classified in four main types – the Four *Maṇḍalas*, which are composed of the Six Elements.[1611] Depending on the manner, in which they present the *dharmas*, the Four *Maṇḍalas* are briefly:

i.   The *Mahābhūta maṇḍala*, that presents the hierarchy of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. They also constitute the complete body of the Buddha – the "Universality";

ii.   The *Samaya maṇḍala*, that presents the *mudrās* and the attributes of the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas;

iii.   The *Dharma maṇḍala*, that gives the name of the *mantra* of the divinities, their *samādhi* and the signification of their *sūtra*;

[1609]   Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 167-168.

[1610]   Astley-kristensen, 1991, p. 172.

[1611]   The Six Elements are: the five material forms (*rūpa* - earth, water, fire, wind and space) and the consciousness (*vijñāna*). See also *Appendix IV, # 3, Note 1520*.
       Wayman, 1998, p. 159.

iv.   The *Karma maṇḍala*, that presents the action or the gestures of the divinities.[1612]

Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana is the personification of Suchness - *Tathatā* 眞如 (*zhēn rú*), which is represented by the Six Elements - 六大 (*liù dà*). The first five elements are called "Truth" - 理 *lĭ* - and the sixth element is called "Knowledge that understands the Truth" - i.e."Wisdom" 智 *zhì*.[1613] The two - "the Known and the Knower" - are inseparable. One of the most important *Shingon* principles is:

"Truth and Wisdom do not make two"
理智不二 (*lĭ zhì bù èr*).

This important concept of non-duality is expressed in the Twin-*maṇḍalas* as follows – the *Matrix Maṇḍala* (the *Garbha maṇḍala*) graphically expressing the Truth - 理 *lĭ* - (i.e. the complete identity of all *dharmas*) and the *Diamond World Maṇḍala* (the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*) expressing the Knowledge, that understands the Truth - i.e. Wisdom (智 *zhì*). These two *maṇḍalas* thus complement each other and present the "innate reason-knowledge" of Buddha Mahāvairocana from various standpoints.[1614]

In *Shingon* Buddhism, the "*Gorin five-story stūpa*" – the *gorin-jōshin* – (see **Picture 140** below) symbolizes three aspects, as follows:
  i.   *Tathatā* or "Suchness" (the six elements);
  ii.   the *Garbha*[*kośadhātu*] *maṇḍala* (the "Known"); [1615] and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* (the "Knower");[1616] and
  iii. the *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana (the unity between the "Known" and the "Knower").

[1612]   Lessing & Wayman, 1968, p. 225.
Other Source: Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 242.

[1613]   Please note, that the Chinese character "*lĭ*" – 理 – means both "*Principle*" and "*Truth*". The Chinese character "*zhì*" – 智 – means "*Wisdom*", while the related character "*zhī*" – 知 – means "*Knowledge*".

The comparative aspects could thus either be "**Principle** and **Knowledge**" or "**Truth and Wisdom**".

[1614]   Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 30.

[1615]   As indicated in *Note 1613* above, it may be regarded as "*Truth*" or "*Principle*".

[1616]   As indicated in *Note 1613* above, it may also be seen as "*Wisdom*" or "*Knowledge*".
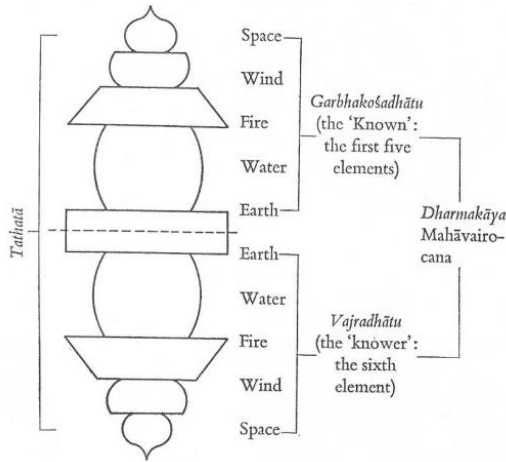
Picture 140   The *Gorin Five-story Stūpa* – the *gorin-jōshin*

The two *maṇḍalas* are pictorial illustrations of the two aspects of Reality; viz

- **the Matrix Maṇḍala** (the *Garbha maṇḍala*) represents "the Truth" *lǐ* 理 (i.e. the "Principle" of the *dharma* body of Buddha Mahāvairocana, which is equal with the five Elements of the Form). It presents the Reality in the world of phenomena, as it is created by the *dharma*; and

- **the Diamond World Maṇḍala** (the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*) represents the "Wisdom" *zhì* 智 (i.e. the "Knowledge, that understands the Truth"). It presents the Reality, as it is hidden in the world of the Buddhas – in the not-created world.

These two *maṇḍalas* thus represent a layout, that illustrates the secret doctrine – the integration between "Truth" and "Wisdom".[1617] Following from above, these two *maṇḍalas* are complementary and inseparable – the one may not be interpreted without the other.[1618]

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[1617]   Or "Principle" and "Knowledge".

[1618]   Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 124 & 141.
Other sources: Kiyota, 1978, pp. 81-83;   Tajima, 1998, p. 227.

Similarities with some thoughts of *Shingon* Buddhism seem to be apparent in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (the *SHK*). In *Shingon* Buddhism, Buddha Vairocana in *dharmakāya* is in the centre of both "Twin-*maṇḍalas*". In the *Garbha maṇḍala* he is referred to as being in the *tattvadharmakāya*. In the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* he is referred to as being in the *jñānadharmakāya*.[1619] In the *SHK*, the concepts of "*sang hyang advaya*" and "*sang hyang advayajñāna*" are presented in folios 45b and 46a.[1620] Devi Singhal concludes that the *advaya* of the *SHK* pertains to the *Shingon* position that *Garbhadhātu* is *tattvadharmakāya* – i.e. the Body of the Law of Reason. She further states that the *advayajñāna* of the *SHK* pertains to the *Shingon* position that the *Vajradhātu* is *jñānadharmakāya* – i.e. the Body of the Law of Knowledge.[1621] This refers to one of the most important principles within *Shingon* Buddhism, as already presented above – namely that Truth and Wisdom are non-dual. In terms of the Twin-*maṇḍalas*, this would then mean that they complement each other and none of them could exist independently of the other – as presented above.

The Knowledges of the *SHK* are said to pertain to the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1622] In addition, the central quarter of the *Garbha maṇḍala* with its five Buddhas and four bodhisattvas represent the five senses and the four mental consciousnesses – all nine "notations"[1623] jointly referred to as the "Kings of the Heart" (*xīn wáng* 心王). Buddha Mahāvairocana in the center of the *maṇḍala* symbolises the *amalavijñāna*.

But as the *amalavijñāna* is the sum of all the other eight "notations", the four "satellite" Buddhas are regarded as "the particular personifications of *amalavijñāna* and resume in the unique Buddha Vairo-

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[1619] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 45.

[1620] Kats, 1910, pp. 51-52 & 101.

[1621] Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 376.

[1622] This seems to be confirmed in the *Mkhas-grub-rje*, where the Buddha obtained the Five Knowledges in the Five *Abhisaṃbodhis* – each of these *Abhisaṃbodhis* pertaining to one of the five *Pañca Tathāgatas*.
Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 29-35.

[1623] A list of these nine "notations", as well as of the syllables, and their corresponding Buddha has been elaborated.
Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 60.
Other source: Devi Shingal, 1991, pp. 376-377.

cana".[1624] Against this background, it has been proposed that the *SHK* may be seen to encompass concepts inherent in both the *Garbha maṇḍala*, as well as the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. [1625]

8.1 The relationship between the Twin-maṇḍalas

In *esoteric* Buddhism, the practice and the doctrine are both essential and of equal importance. They are like the two wheels of the chariot - they complement each other and work together. They may thus not be separated. As noted above, this also applies to the Twin-*maṇḍalas* - the *Matrix maṇḍala* (the *Garbha maṇḍala*) and the *Diamond World maṇḍala* (the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*). Snodgrass has made a presentation of these relationships.[1626] Let us see what some of the most important findings are:

- the *Garbha maṇḍala* is viewed from the point of view of the sentient beings, while the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is viewed from the point of view of the Buddhas;[1627]
- the *Garbha maṇḍala* symbolizes the "container" of the cosmos, while the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* expresses the undestructable Wisdom (the *vajra*);[1628]
- the *Garbha maṇḍala* represents the *maṇḍala* of "the Cause" (i.e. the three steps of spiritual development), while the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* illustrates "the Effect" (i.e. the "fruit" of Buddhahood);[1629]
- the *Garbha maṇḍala* (in the east) represents the beginning and the origin (the rising sun) – i.e. Buddha Mahāvairocana or the awakening *bodhicitta*. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* in the west

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[1624] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 59.
See also *Note 1509* regarding Buddha Vairocana´s eightfold embodiment as Ādibuddha Mahāvairocana (3 from the *Garbhadhātu* and 5 from the *Vajradhātu*).

[1625] Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 377.

[1626] This section is mainly based on Adrian Snodgrass, 1997, *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*. Snodgrass´ reasoning would seem to be mainly based on the *MVS* (T. 848) and on the *STTS* (T. 865).
Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 124-141.

[1627] Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 45.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 125-127.

[1628] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 130-132.

[1629] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 135-136.

represents the completion (the setting sun) - i.e. the attainment of Buddhahood.[1630]

It should also be pointed out, that *Tathāgata* Mahāvairocana performs two different *mudrās* in the Twin-*maṇḍalas*; namely

- In the central "mansion" of the *Matrix maṇḍala* (the *Garbha maṇḍala*), he performs the meditation *mudrā* (*dharmadhātu-dhyāna-mudrā*), which symbolises the "horizontal identity" of the Truth and of the physical phenomenons;[1631] and
- In the *Diamond World maṇḍala* (the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*), he carries out the *mudrā* of the First Seal Knowledge (*jñāna-muṣṭi-mudrā*), which symbolizes the non-duality between Truth and Wisdom, as well as the non-duality between the Buddhas and the sentient beings.[1632]

8.2   The Garbha maṇḍala

Garbha means "womb" (embryo & storage). This "womb" *maṇḍala* is also called the *Matrix maṇḍala*,[1633] being based on the *MVS*. Regarding the build-up of the *Matrix maṇḍala*, see below.[1634]

[1630] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 136-137.
Other source: ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 37.

[1631] In the *dhyāna mudrā*, the fingers on the right hand symbolize the five elements of the world of the Buddha, while the fingers on the left hand symbolize the five elements of the world of the sentient beings - the two hands lying together (with the right hand lying above the left hand) thus represent the ***non-duality*** between the Buddha and the living beings. The thumbs symbolizes "space" and their raised position represents the unhindered ***mutual penetration*** of the space of the **Buddha** and of the space of the ***sentient beings.***

[1632] In the *mudrā* of the First Seal Knowledge, the fingers of the left hand symbolize the Principle (i.e. the five elements) and the five Knowledges of the Matrix world, which are inherent in the sentient beings. The fingers of the right hand represent the Principle (the the five elements) and the five Knowledges of the Diamond world, which must be cultivated in order to be understood. The two hands together, thus symbolize the ***non-duality*** of the **Truth** (the five *rūpa* elements) and of the **Wisdom** in the Matrix world, as well as in the Diamond world.

[1633] The full name of the *Matrix maṇḍala* is "*Mahākaruṇā-garbhodbhava-maṇḍala*" meaning "*Maṇḍala* of Birth from the Matrix of Great Compassion" – i.e. the birth of the Buddha from the Matrix, occasioned by the practices of Great Compassion (*mahākaruṇā*).
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 129
Other source: ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 37.

[1634] For a comprehensive presentation of the *Garbha maṇḍala*, the reader is also recommended to study Dr Ryūjun Tajima´s presentation, which has been translated from

Based on the "three questions" (*Tripada*)[1635] referred to in the *Mahā-vairocana Sūtra*, Śubhākarasiṁha interpreted the *Garbha maṇḍala* as representing the three stages of development of Buddhahood. According to Śubhākarasiṁha, this was illustrated by the threefold development of either the foetus, or the lotus. Amoghavajra, on the other hand, saw the *Garbha maṇḍala* as the embodiment of "Triple Mysteries"[1636] of the *Tathāgata* which also are called the "Three Inexhaustible Decorations".[1637]

In accordance with the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the *Matrix maṇḍala* consists of 418 deities. The *Matrix maṇḍala* is constructed by dividing the square in three equal divisions in both directions – thus creating nine squares. These nine squares are then each to be divided into three equal divisions – creating 81 squares. These 81 squares may be organized in three bands or levels, that surround the center. Incidently, these three layers with their 32, 24 and 16 small squares reminds us about the three levels of the latticed *stūpas* on the three terraces of the Barabuḍur (see **Picture 141** and **Pictures 104 & 105** in *Section 4.2.4*).
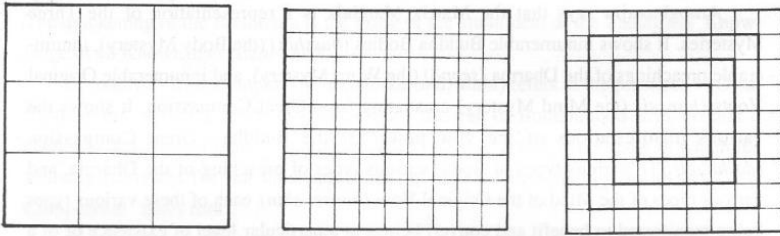
Picture 141 The square net-work of the *Garbhakośadhātu maṇḍala*

French into English by Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma.
Chandra & Sharma, 2012, pp. 47-167.

[1635] The *Tripada* are Vajrasattva´s three questions to Buddha Mahāvairocana referring to what is (i) the reason for, (ii) the root of and (iii) the final aim with the all-embracing wisdom of the *Tathāgata*.

[1636] The mystery of the "***body***" (the *maṇḍala* presented innumerable Buddhas); the mystery of the "***word***" (the *maṇḍala* presented an infinite number of preachings of the *dharma*); and the mystery of the "***mind***" (the *maṇḍala* presented innumerable promises derived from the great compassion - *karuṇā*).
Tajima, 1998, p. 245.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 41-48.

[1637] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 171-175.

The different interpretations of the *Garbha maṇḍala* lead to slightly different compositions of the *Matrix maṇḍala*. The version of the *maṇḍala* most common in *Shingon* Buddhism is called the *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala* ("the revealed painting of the *Matrix maṇḍala*"). The *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala* seems to stand on its own feet. No concrete proof seems to exist indicating the *Genzu Matrix maṇḍala* would constitute a compromise between Śubhākarasiṁha´s version and Amoghavajra´s version of the *maṇḍala*. The *Genzu* version of the *Garbha maṇḍala* alikens that of Amoghavajra and consists of the Hall of the Eight Petals (the central part), which is encircled by three rows of halls in the south and in the north and four rows of halls in the east and in the west (see ***Picture 142***).[1638]
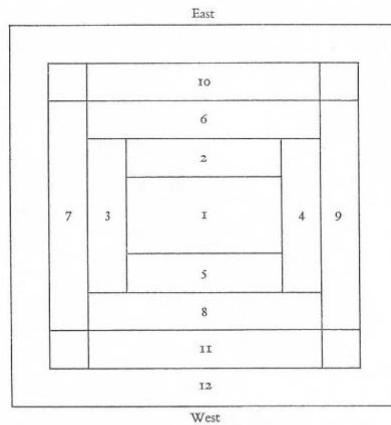

Figure 1. The twelve halls of the *Garbhakośadhātu* Assembly. 1) Eight Petals (Hachiyō-in), nine deities; 2) All-knowledge (Henchi-in), seven deities; 3) Avalokiteśvara (Kannon-in), thirty seven deities; 4) Vajrapāṇi (Kongoshu-in), thirty seven deities; 5) Vidyādharas (Jimyō-in), five deities; 6) Śākyamuni (Shaka-in), thirty nine deities; 7) Kṣitigarbha (Jizō-in), nine deities; 8) Ākāśagarbha (Kokuzō-in), twenty eight deities; 9) Sarvanivāraṇa-viṣkambhī (Jogaishō-in), nine deities; 10) Mañjuśrī (Monju-in), twenty five deities; 11) Susiddhi (Soshitchi-in), eight deities; 12) Exterior Vajras (Kongōgaibu-in), two hundred and five deities.

Source: Kiyota, 1978, p. 85

Picture 142   The Amorghavajra´s version of the *Garbha maṇḍala*

[1638] The twelve halls of the *Garbha maṇḍala* are as follows: 1) Hall of the Eight Petals - 9 dieties; 2) Hall of All-Knowledge – 7 deities; 3) Hall of Avalokiteśvara – 37 deities; 4) Hall of Vajrapāṇi – 37 deities; 5) Hall of Vidhyādharas – 5 deities; 6) Hall of Śākyamuni – 39 deities; 7) Hall of Kṣitigarbha – 9 deities; 8) Hall of Ākāśagarbha – 28 deities; 9) Hall of Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhī - 9 deities; 10) Hall of Mañjuśrī - 25 deities; 11) Hall of Susiddhi – 8 deities; 12) Hall of Exterior Vajras – 205 deities. This adds in other words up to 418 deities in total.
Kiyota, 1978, pp. 83-87.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 183-186.

The Hall of the Eight Petals consists of nine deities – with Buddha Mahāvairocana in the center, surrounded by four Buddhas in four cardinal points and by four bodhisattvas in between. The four Buddhas symbolize the attributes of Buddha Mahāvairocana. The unison of the five Buddhas represents the Realm of Enlightenment. The four bodhisattvas illustrate different levels of excerption (see *Picture 143*).[1639]
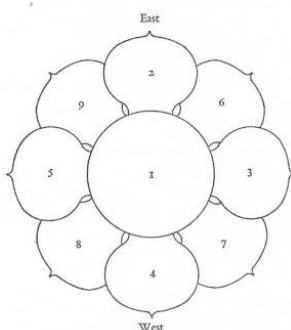
Figure 2. The nine deities of the Hall of the Eight Petals. Buddhas (who represent the realm of enlightenment): 1) Mahāvairocana, center; 2) Ratnaketu, east; 3) Saṃkusumitarāja, south; 4) Amitā-bha, west; 5) Divyadundubhimega-nirghoṣa, north. *Bodhisattvas* (who represent the stages of practice): 6) Samantabhadra; 7) Mañjuśrī; 8) Avalokiteśvara; 9) Maitreya.

Source: Kiyota, 1978, p. 88

Picture 143 The Hall of the Eight Petals

The *Garbha maṇḍala* symbolizes the first five of the Six Elements. It also illustrates the central theme of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* – the Triple Formula of the *bodhicitta*, the compassion (*karuṇā*) and the skilful means (*upāya kauśalya*).[1640]

[1639] The four Buddhas are Ratnaketu, Saṃkusumitarāja, Amitābha and Divyadundubhime-ganirghoṣa. The four Bodhisattvas and their represented activities are: Samantabhadra (the awakening *bodhicitta*); Mañjuśrī (the practicising *prajñā*); Avalokiteśvara (the reaching of the *bodhi*); Maitreya (the reaching of *nirvāṇa*).
Kiyota, 1978, pp. 88-90.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 207.

[1640] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 124 & 126-127.
Other source: Kiyota, 1978, pp. 92-93.

8.3   The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*

Vajra means "thunderbolt" and symbolizes the instructable and over-whelming truth. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is based on the *STTS*. The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* represents the sixth of the Six Elements – i.e. the Knowledge of the Truth.[1641]

The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* consists of nine (9) Assembly *maṇḍalas* with altogether 1.461[1642] deities in accordance with the following figure (see **Picture 144**).[1643]

Four Seals Assembly	One Seal Assembly	Naya Assembly
Offerings Assembly	Perfected Body Assembly	Trailokyavijaya Assembly
Subtle Assembly	Samaya Assembly	Trailokyavijaya Samaya Assembly

Source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 556

Picture 144   The nine Assembly *maṇḍalas*
of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*

The *Karma* Assembly is the central *maṇḍala*. It is also called the "Perfected Body Assembly", as it constitutes the support for meditations

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[1641]   For a comprehensive presentation of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*, the reader is also recommended to study Dr Ryūjun Tajima´s presentation, which has been translated from French into English by Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma.
Chandra & Sharma, 2012, pp. 168-224.

The fictitious background to the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* has been presented in this *Appendix IV, # 6*.

[1642]   The number of deities in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is almost identical to the 1460 bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur.

[1643]   Kiyota, 1978, p. 93.
Other source: ten Grotenhuis, 1999, p. 38.

which lead to the "perfection of Buddhahood in the Body" – i.e. the unobstructedly interpenetration by the body of the Buddha with the body of all sentient beings (see **Picture 145**). This is a fundamental aspect in *Shingon nikāya* (see this *Appendix IV, # 2*). This *Karma* Assembly consists of 1.061 images, including the 1000 Buddhas from the age of virtues (*bhadrakalpa*) (see *Sections 1.4.5 & 5.6.3*).[1644]

It consists of the large *vajra* circle (the Diamond Circle), in which one finds the five (5) smaller circles – the *vimokṣa* (liberation) circles. Each *vimokṣa* circle contains one Buddha[1645] and four supporting bodhisattvas – who each sits in a separate small circle (the Moon Circle). These *vimokṣa* circles have eight *vajras* tangential to their inner parts – the Eight Columns. Within the large *vajra* circle and between the four *vimokṣa* cicles are positioned the four "inner" *pūjā* bodhisattvas. Buddha Mahāvairocana is surrounded by four *pāramitā* bodhisattvas (*Vajra, Ratna, Dharma* and *Karma*). These bodhisattvas represent the four last supporting *pāramitās*.[1646] Mahāvairocana is ubiquitous. The other Buddhas are his attributes. They are each surrounded by four great bodhisattvas. The five Buddhas in the *Karma* assembly represent the five knowledges (*jñānas*) and their respective bodhisattvas represent the implementation (practice) of these knowledges.[1647]

[1644] Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 14 & 576.

[1645] These Buddhas are Mahāvairocana in the centre circle; Akṣobhya in the eastern circle; Ratnasambhava in the circle in the south; Amitāyus (Amitābha) in the western circle; and Amoghasiddhi in the circle of the north.

[1646] The last four *pāramitās* are *maitri* (consideration), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (altruistic delight), and *upekṣā* (mental balance), which refer to the "four infinite virtues" (*catvāry apramāṇāni*). They are inter alia expressed in the *SHK* and illustrated on the Barabuḍur (but they are not presented in the *BAS*) (see *Section 1.1, Notes 49 & 50*). Ishii, 1991, p. 161.

Snodgrass means, however, that the four *pāramitā* bodhisattvas represent the the four last supporting *pāramitā* – see *Note 1647* below.
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 576.

[1647] *Pāramitā* means "perfection". The ten *pāramitās* consists of the six qualities and the four supporting *pāramitās*. The six qualities are: generosity (*dāna*), moral (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), attempt (*virya*), meditation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*). The four supporting *pāramitās* are: skillful means (*upāya*), promise (*praṇidhāna*), power (*bala*) and knowledge (*jñāna*). These are the Ten *Pāramitās* as expressed in the *BAS*. Ishii, 1991, p. 161.
Other sources: Kiyota, 1978, pp. 96-98; Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 576-578.
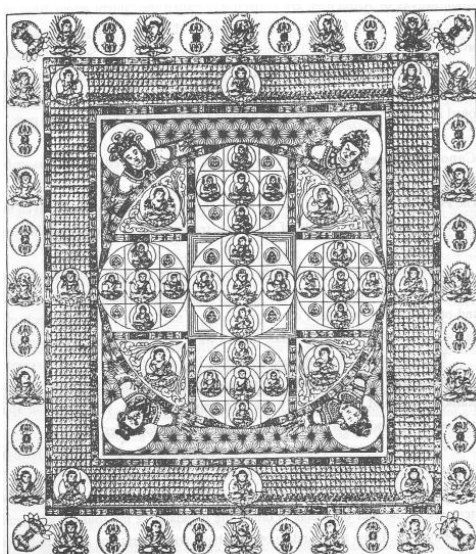
Picture 145 The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*

The *vajra* circle is enclosed by three (3) squares. In the first square (the inner square) one finds the four *mahādeva* (the four gods of the Elements – earth, water, wind and fire) supporting the *vajra* circle. The fifth Element – space – is represented by the *vajra* circle itself. The sixth Element – mind – is represented by the entire assembly. The second (middle) square contains the Thousand *bhadrakalpa* Buddhas,[1648] the four *saṃgraha* bodhisattvas (virtue embrasing) in the gates in the cardinal directions, and the four "external" *pūjā* bodhisattvas in the four corners. These eight bodhisattvas are called "the eight supporting pillars". The aim of all these deities in the second square is to give mankind enlightenment by means of compassion (*karuṇā*) derived from wisdom (*prajñā*) and composedness (*samādhi*). In the third square, the 20 guardians are classified in five heavens and are housed in the four cardinal quaters.[1649]

[1648] Chandra stressed that of the 132 Tibetan *maṇḍalas* presented in the *Rgyud-sde kun-btus* only the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* encompasses the Thousand *bhadrakalpa* Buddhas. In the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala,* they are housed in the middle square of the *Karma* Assembly. Chandra, 1995(c), p.81.

[1649] Kiyota, 1978, pp. 98-99.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 576.

The *Karma* Assembly constitutes the basis of all other Assemblies in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. It consists of 5 Buddhas, 4 *pāramitā* bodhisattvas, 16 great bodhisattvas, 8 *pūjā* bodhisattvas and 4 *saṃgraha* bodhisattvas – collectively 37 deities.[1650] Their mission is to reveal the "secret" of the Buddha – Buddha Mahāvairocana.[1651]

The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is laid out in the Jewel *Stūpa* within the *bodhimaṇḍa* on the summit of the Mount Meru (see *Section 5.4.1*). It is from here that Buddha Mahāvairocana revealed and built the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1652] The Jewel *Stūpa* is said to have eight columns and five roof peaks (see ***Picture 146***). The eight columns correspond to the eight *vajras* tangential to the *vimokṣa* circles and the five roof peaks correspond to the the five *vimokṣa* circles in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. In the Jewel *Stūpa*, the Matrix (*Garbha*) World of Principle and the Diamond (*Vajra*) World of Knowledge interpenetrate: the eight columns represent the eight types of consciousness, corresponding to the eight petals of the lotus *daïs* of the Matrix (*Garbha*) World; and the five roof peaks represent the five Knowledges of the five Buddhas of the Diamond (*Vajra*) World. Thus the Jewel *Stūpa* has a lay out similar to that of the *Karma* Assembly in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.[1653]
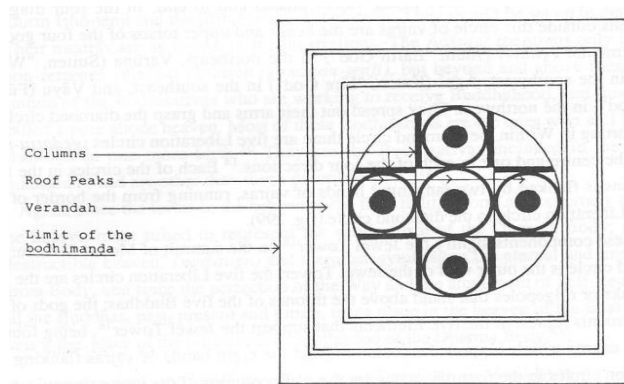
Source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 574

Picture 146   The Jewel *Stūpa*

[1650]   Please note, that the 4 *mahādevas* and the 20 guardians are not included in this group.

[1651]   Snodgrass, 1997, p. 578.
         Other source: Kiyota, 1978, p. 100.

[1652]   Abé, 1999, p.144.

[1653]   Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 574-575.
         Other source: Snodgrass, 2007, p. 259.

The other eight "Assemblies" in the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* are briefly:

The Samaya Assembly	73 Buddhas, the bodhisattvas and guardians in *samaya* forms describing the Buddha´s vow to enlighten all beings;
The Sūkṣma Assembly	73 deities of the *Samaya* Assembly in their antropomorph form sitting in trident *vajras*, indicating that they embody the Buddhas´ subtle and adamant wisdom employed to enlighten all beings;
The Pūjā Assembly	73 deities as above, but with an iconography expressing offerings (*pūjā*) in the form of a vow of a specific method to enlighten all beings;
The Four Mudrā Assembly	13 deities collect the attributes of the four previous Assemblies;
The One Mudrā Assembly	synthesizes the four previous Assemblies, thus representing the realm of *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana[1654];
The Naya Assembly	is the realm of *Vajrasattva*, representing *bodhicitta*. Here the *kleśas* are eliminated in order to awaken *bodhicitta*;[1655]
The Trailokyavijayakarma Assembly	*Trailokyavijayarāja*[1656] (the incarnation of *Vajrasattva*) subdues the Three defilements (hate, greed and delution);

[1654] The first four Assemblies represent **specific** attributes of Buddha Mahāvairocana. The fifth Assembly collected the four assemblies into one. The One Mudrā Assembly **synthesizes** the four attributes of Buddha Mahāvairocana. This aspect of "four-assemblies-into-one" is the *Shingon* way of expressing that **all things are of Mahāvairocana and from Mahāvairocana emerge all things.**
Kiyota, 1978, p. 101.
Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 698.

[1655] "*Naya Assembly*" means the "Assembly of the Guiding Principle", as it illustrates Vajrasattva embodying the principle of identity between passion and awakening. The realization of this principle leads to the attainment of Buddhahood. Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 705-706.

[1656] The *Trailokyavijaya Vidyārāja* is the destructive and wrathful aspect of the *dharma* body of Buddha Mahāvairocana, which he assumes when he is to annihilate evil beings. Here he equates the transformation of Vajrasattva.
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 719.

| The *Trailokyavijayasamaya* | describes *Trailokyavijayarāja´s* |
| *Assembly* | vow (to enlighten all beings).[1657] |

The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is a graphic illustration of how the Buddhas and their supporting bodhisattvas go about in enlightening all beings.[1658] The manner in which this has been described above follow the "effect-to-cause" process (i.e. from the Buddha in the *Karma* Assembly to man in the *Trailokyavijayasamaya* Assembly). This process may, however, also be executed in the reverse order (man-to-the Buddha) adhering to the "cause-to-effect" principle, by starting in the *Trailokyavijayasamaya* Assembly and ending up in the *Karma* Assembly.[1659]

9   Conclusion

Shingon mikkyō ("the secret doctrine") is according to Kiyota both a *mantra* tradition and a *maṇḍala* tradition. According to Kūkai, "The *maṇḍala* is the body of the secret teaching". The entire *Shingon* doctrine is contained in the "Twin-*maṇḍalas*" – the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. These two *maṇḍalas* explain together Buddha Mahāvairocana and his relation to man. This is achieved by jointly representing the six elements; identifying the marks of *tathatā*; personifying them into various forms of Enlightening bodies; assigning special *mudrās* to them; etc. These two *maṇḍalas* represent the *Shingon* ideal – namely, the realization that the eternal Buddha – **Buddha Mahāvairocana – is within the body of the devotee in the form of bodhicitta (Buddha-nature)**. By referring to this "the Buddha-in-me" and "I-in-the Buddha", the *Shingon* tenet teaches that the **dharma may be communicated to the devotee directly by dharmakāya Mahāvairocana.** By means of the *Sokushin jōbutsugi*, *Shingon*

[1657]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 100-102.
    Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 664-727.

[1658]   The bodhisattvas support Buddha Mahāvairocana by representing the attributes of Buddha Mahāvairocana through compassion. In the last two Assemblies they represent Buddha Mahāvairocana by means of compassionate anger. This method resembles somewhat the various deities, who the deceased confronts in the subsequent phases of the *Bar-do thos-grol chen-mo* (The Tibetan Book of the Dead).

[1659]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 102-103.

Buddhism describes how the identity of man with the Buddha may be realized instantaneously through the practice of the *triguhya* meditation – i.e. "instant Buddha".[1660]

Picture 147   The lion guarding the Barabuḍur entrance

[1660]   Kiyota, 1978, pp. 104, 125-127.

Glossary of Technical Terms¹⁶⁶¹

A.

abhaya-mudrā - "Fearlessness *mudrā*"; the right hand is held with the palm facing down and the fingers point up. The *mudrā* of the the Buddhas in the niches on the north side of the Barabuḍur.

Abhidharma/Abhidhamma - "higher teaching"; one of the main divisions of the Buddhist Canon – the *Tripiṭaka/Tipiṭaka*.

abhisaṃbodhi - "Knowledge", "Perfect Enlightenment" (see the "Five Knowledges").

Abhisaṃbuddha - the stage of a "Manifest Complete Buddha", who has obtained the Five Knowledges (*Abhisaṃbodhi*); the transcendal Buddha; the Buddha of the highest Enlightenment; the Perfectly Illuminated Buddha (see also "*Ādibuddha*" and "*Paramādibuddha*").

abhiṣeka - "Initiation" or "anointing" – that transforms the novice into a monk, or the heir apparent into the royal sovereign.

ācārya - "Master", "Preceptor" or "Teacher" of sacred or secret doctrines and practices.

ādarśa-jñāna - the post-*parāvṛtti* pure consciousness of the bodhicitta or the Buddha-nature; Mirror-like Knowledge.

ādhāna – deep attention, meditation of the Buddha´s taught verbal knowledge.

ādhāra - a fixed and permanent construction for the deities to reside in (e.g. the Barabuḍur).
- the reception of the verbal knowledge, taught by the Buddha.

ādarśa – resting of consciousness in its own essence; mirror.

ādhārotpatti - the residence of the deities.

ādheya - the deities, who take residence in the *ādhāra*.

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¹⁶⁶¹ The Glossary is mainly based on Monier-Williams (1960), as well as some secondary literature, such as Gethin, 1998, pp. 318-322; Gómez & Woodward, 1981, pp. 229-246; Kiyota, 1978, pp. 159-178; Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 352-382; and White, 2000, pp. 625-634.

adhiṣṭhāna - "Blessing"; the *Vajrayāna* (*esoteric* and *tantric*) Buddhist theory of doctrine and practice, in which the mystical power of *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana is regarded as the universal source of Enlightenment; basis; foundation; decision; promise.

Ādibuddha - "the Primal Buddha"; a cosmological concept denoting a Buddha, who is both the primal source of Reality, as well as the ultimate goal and motive of Enlightenment. It is a term particularly of late *tantra* (e.g. the *Kalacakra Tantra* and the Nepalese *Vajrayāna*).

The Ādibuddha is the unoriginated pure light of emptiness. He represents the Highest Principle. When the Ādibuddha is represented in human form, he is denominated Vajradhāra. Out of the Ādibuddha emanate the five *Jina* Buddhas, the five skandhas, the five *jñānas*, etc. (see also "*Abhisaṃbuddha*" and "*Paramādibuddha*").

ādikarmika - supervisor.

advaya - "non-dualism"; the philosophical position that "all is one".

advayajñāna - the *jñāna* that knows and meditates over the formless aspects and "non-dualism".

Āgama - an organization of the *Sūtra Piṭaka* into four collections. These *Āgama* texts were translated into Chinese, but originated from different Buddhist *nikāyas*.

aggregate (*skandha/khandha*) - the five aggregates that together constitute a living being. The five aggregates (*skandhas*) are:

rūpa	the material form, which is the function of identification;
vedanā	the feeling, which represents the emotional aspects;
saṃjñā	the perception, which represents the cognitive function;
saṃskāra	the volition, which represents the personality; and
vijñāna	the consciousness, which explains the continuity of experience.

Saṃyutta Nikāya III, pp. 59-60.   .

ahimsa - "Noninjury"; the doctrine of noninjury and nonviolence.

Akaniṣṭha - the highest heaven in the *rūpadhātu*. In *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, this heaven is where all the bodhisattvas dwell.

akṣara - Sanskrit alphabet; letters; "Gates of all *dharmas*"; undestructable; imperishable.

Akṣobhya - "Unshakable"; in *esoteric* Buddhism, Akṣobhya is regarded as the second Buddha among the *Jina* Buddhas. He is believed to be represented as the Buddha in the niches on the east side of the Barabuḍur.

akuśala/akusala - bad; unskillful; unwholesome.

alaṃkāra - major adornments.

ālayavijñāna – "the store consciousness"; which contains the dormant pure seeds of the bodhicitta, as well as the defiled seeds from discriminative cognition.

āloka – correct visionof things, as they really are; enlightenment; knowledge.

amalacitta - a pure and untainted awareness.

amalavijñāna - taintless consciousness.

amānta - a script similar to that of the Pallavas.

Amitābha - "Infinite Light"; in the *esoteric* tradition, he is the *Jina* Buddha of the west. His Buddha field (*buddhakṣetra*) is called *Sukhāvatī* ("Land of Bliss") and is situated to the west in our world system. Subsequently, he is regarded to be the Buddha in the niches of the west side of the Barabuḍur.

Amoghasiddhi - "Almighty Conqueror"; in the *esoteric* tradition, he is often referred to as the fifth *Jina* Buddha with a position to the north. Consequently, he is regarded as the Buddha in the niches on the north side of the Barabuḍur.

amṛta - "non-death"; the elexir of immortality.

anāgāmin - "non-returner"; one who has attained the third stage in the realization of *nirvāṇa*.

Ānanda - the Buddha Śākyamuni´s cousin and attendant. Ānanda was one of Buddha Śākyamuni´s principal disciples.

anātman/anattā - "No Self"; the Buddhist denial of a permanent and substantial self.

aṇḍa - "egg" and the denomination of the dome of the *stūpa*.

anitya - "impermanent".

añjali-mudrā - the gesture of respect and greeting. The two hands are held in front of the chest with the palms together and the fingers straight pointing upwards.

anutpāda (*akāra-anutpāda*) - non-arising, non-creation or non-birth.

anuttarayoga - the "Supreme *Yoga*" in *tantric* Buddhism.

anuvyañjana - the 80 secondary marks of the Buddha.

apsara - celestial nymph, who dispenses love, dance and music.

āraññavāsin - forest or wilderness dwelling *Mahāvihāra* monks.

arhat/arahat - a "worthy"; an awakened Buddhist saint; an individual, who achieves liberation as a result of listening to the teachings of a *Samyaksaṃbuddha*.

ārūpadhātu - the Realm of Formlessness (the highest of the three *dhātus*).

āryasatya - the Four Noble Truths.

āryāṣṭāṅgamārga - the Eightfold Noble Path.

āsana - "seated position" during meditation.

Asaṅga - the founder of *Yogācāra nikāya* in the fourth century CE.

Aśoka - the Indian emperor and patron of Buddhism. Aśoka reigned in Pāṭaliputra in Magadha around 268-231 BCE.

āśraya - retracting of the *Ālaya*; base; foundation.

asura - powerful, superhuman demigods in the Hindu and Buddhist mythology. The *asuras* compete for power with the more benevolent *devas*.

aśva - horse/monarch in the "Seven Treasures".

aśvattha - *pīpal* tree (*ficus religiosa*); *Bodhi* tree; Tree of Awakening.

ātman/attā - the individual "self".

aṭṭhakathā - a primary Pāli commentary to a text of the Buddhist canon.

axis mundi - central verticle pole or Axis of the World; could take the form of the stem of the cosmic tree or of the cosmic mountain.

avadāna - secular stories of sacred persons as a genre in Buddhist literature. The purpose of the *avadānas* is to illustrate the laws of *karma*.

avadhūtī - the female energy, that according to *tantric* Buddhism rises up from the lower abdomen to the heart or the cranial vault, where it merges or "melts" with the subtle male principle.

Avataṃsaka - a denomination for the vast *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* (T. 278, 279 or 293).

āveśa - state of possession by the deity in the devotee.

avidyā - "ignorance"; a general term as the sentient beings are unable to fully understand the Buddhist truth.

āyatana - the twelve "sense fields"; i.e. the six senses and their respective field of operation – e.g. eye-sight, ear-sound, etc. .

B.

bala - "power"; one of the ten *pāramitās*.

bardo (Tibetan) - "Liminal passage" or "the intermediate state"; i.e. the state of consciousness in the course of migration between death and rebirth.

bhadracarī - "Excellent Conduct"; as expressed in the perfect vow of a bodhisattva as taught by the bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the *Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhāna* (T. 296, 297, 293 & P. 716).

bhadrakalpa - a Buddhist measure of time; the *bhadrakalpa* is the present era, in which the Thousand Buddhas of wisdom are said to exist.

bhadrāsana - "western" seating posture with one or two feet on the ground.

bhadraśrī - the Buddha miracle of multiplying himself.

Bhagavān - "the Blessed One"; "the Lord"; i.e. the Buddha.

bhakti - "devotion" or "partaking"; devotionalism in Indian religions.

bhaṭāra - "Lord" or "Master"; used primarily for sages in the late Mahāyāna and in *esoteric* Buddhism.

bhāva - "being;" "becoming"; an emotional approach to the divine in Hinduism.

bhavāgra - "the limit of the real".

bhāvanā - "(mental/spiritual) development"; Buddhist meditation.

bhikṣu/bhikkhu - an ordained male Buddhist monk.

bhikṣuṇī/bhikkhunī - an ordained female Buddhist nun.

bhukti - "enjoyment"; pleasure as a goal of practice in *tantric* Hinduism.

bhūmi - "stage"; "level" in Buddhism.

bhūmisparśa-mudrā - "Touching-the-earth-mudrā"; the right hand rests on the folded right knee with the palm facing down and the fingers pointing down, as if they were to touch the ground.

bhūrloka - the "base" of the Indian temple structures.

bhūvarloka - the "intermediary portion" of the Indian temple structures.

bīja - "seed"; the seminal essence of sacred *tantric* ceremonies.

bodhi - "Enlightenment"; the Enlightenment of a Buddha or the primary goal of a bodhisattva, who gives up aspirations to *nirvāṇa*, in order to attain Enlightenment and to assist other sentient beings in their striving to *nirvāṇa*. *Bodhi* may in other words be seen as Buddhahood without departure from the world of transmigration.

Bodhi-tree - the tree, under which Siddhārtha Gautama attained Enlightenment.

bodhicitta - "the Mind of Enlightenment"; the concept expressing the aspirations to Enlightenment of a perfect Buddha; the Buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings.

bodhimaṇḍa - the enclosure or *maṇḍala*, in which the main worshipped object is installed and the ritual is conducted. It is the place, where the *sādhaka* attains the perfection of Buddhahood.

bodhipaksyadharma - the 37 principles important for the aspiration to Enlightenment. They are referred to as the "wings to Enlightenment" (*bodhipaksya*).

bodhisattva/bodhisatta - "One Who Possesses the Essence of Enlightenment"; i.e. a Buddha-to-be, who is fully Enlightened, but who remains in the world in order to assist other sentient beings to attain Enlightenment and reach *nirvāṇa*.

bodhyagrī-mudrā - one of the three *mudrās*, in which Buddha Vairocana is represented.

Brahmā - "the Creator" within the Hindu Gods Trinity and in Buddhist mythology.

Brahman - "the Absolute Reality"; the eternal essence and the universal soul in Hindu metaphysics.

brahman or brahmin - the highest ranked social group (*brāhmaṇa*) of the four *varnas* in Hindu India.

Brahmanism - an ancient Indian religious tradition based on the *Vedas*.

Brāhmī - is regarded as the forerunner of most writing systems found in use in south Asia (with exception for in particular the Indus script of the third millenium BCE). The *Brāhmī* script has probably an Aramaic background. It was fully developed during the third century BCE and was used for the "Aśoka rock-cut edicts" (250-232 BCE) in north-central India (see also Appendix I, # 4).

brāhmikapāda - the central core (9 squares) being the quarter of the Supreme Being of the *paramaśāyikin* 81 square *caṇḍita* grid-system.

Buddha - "the Enlightened One".

Buddhaghosa - the compiler and author of Pāli commentarial and exegetical works associated with *Śrāvakayāna* Buddhism. Buddhaghosa lived and worked in South India and on Śrī Laṅkā during the fifth century CE.

buddhakāya - the Buddha body.

buddhakṣetra - the Buddha-field or Pure land.

buddhānusmaraṇa and *buddhānusmṛti* - three levels of meditation on the Buddha; intense visualized meditation; "recollection of the the Buddha(s)".

Buddhaśāsana - Buddhism as an institutional tradition and a social community.

Buddhavacana – "The Word of the Buddha", i.e. the teachings that the
Buddha gave from his own mouth, and which were recollected
by his disciples and recorded in the *Tipiṭakas.*

Buddhāvataṃsaka - the tenet of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra.*

Buddhayāna - the vehicle of practice resulting in Buddhahood. It
encompasses all characteristics of *Ekayāna*. In *Shingon* Budd-
hism, it refers to the universal realm and sphere of the *dharma-
kāya* Mahāvairocana.

C.

caitya - a permanent Buddhist structure or carved space into the
rock bluffs holding a *stūpa*; place of worship.

cakra - "Circle" or "Wheel"; one of the seven energy centres in the
yogic body; in the *esoteric* Buddhism of East Asian, the circle is a
geometric form representing one of the five elements.

cakravartin - "Wheel-turner"; a universal monarch, who protects
Buddhism.

cāṇḍālī - "Female outcast"; the idealized *tantric* consort; the female
"red" energy that elevates from the lower abdomen in order to
melt in the cranial vault with the male "white element".

caṇḍi (Jav.) - temple, especially one with funeral or memorial
associations.

caṇḍita - one of the seven kinds of nine-storeyed buildings in the
Mañjuśrīvāstuvidyaśāstra.

candra - the moon.

Canton - in Chinese *Guāngzhōu* 广州

caryā tantra - "Performance tantra"; one of the four classes of Bud-
dhist *tantric* texts.

caturāryasatya - the Four Noble Truths.

catvāry apramāṇāni - the "four infinite virtues"; i.e. *maitri* (conside-
ration), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (altruistic delight) and
upekṣā (mental balance).

cetiya - Pāli for caitya.

chattrāvalī - "Garland of Parasols"; a series of discs that rise like
honorary parasols over the dome of a *stūpa*.

chedi - a Burmese stūpa.

citta - "mind".

cittamātra - the *Yogācāra* doctrinal concept of "Mind-only".
All phenomena and events are in other words of the mind and
from the mind (i.e. an illusion).

D.

daharasaṅkrama - The Buddha´s "short sacral walk" between the eastern and the western oceans; brief or short passage.

daivikapāda - the third tier of 16 squares (the quarter of the divine beings) of the *paramaśāyikin* 81 square *caṇḍita* grid-system.

ḍākiṇī - female "sky walker".

dāna - "offering" or "generosity"; one of the Ten *pāramitās*.

dānapāramitā - the perfection of giving.

dānava - demon.

daṇḍa - a rod.

daśabhūmi - the purpose of the Ten *daśabhūmi* stages is to realize the union of Self-enlightenment and the Enlightenment of others.

Daśabhumika - is a *Mahāyāna Sūtra* presenting the Ten *bhūmī*. This *sūtra* is included in the vast *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*.

daśadigbuddhas - the Buddhas of the Ten Directions.

daśapāramitā - the Ten Perfections - i.e. *dāna* (generosity), *śila* (moral), *kṣānti* (endurance), *vīrya* (energy), *dhyāna* (meditation), *prajñā* (wisdom), *upāya* (skillful means), *praṇidhāna* (promise), *bala* (power) and *jñāna* (knowledge).

Dependent Origination - the Buddhist doctrine of causality (*pratītya-samutpāda/paṭiccasamuppāda*). The Dependent Origination consists of twelve elements, that are all (i) relative, (ii) mutually interdependent, and (iii) conditioned on each other – i.e. another form of "no-Self" (*anātman*, Pāli *anattā*).

The twelve elements of the Dependent Origination are:

* ignorance	- *avidyā*;	→
* formations	- *saṃskāra*;	→
* mind	- *vijñāna*;	→
* name & form	- *nāma-rūpa*;	→
* the six senses	- *āyatana*;	→
* contact	- *sparśa*;	→
* feeling	- *vedanā*;	→
* craving	- *tṛṣṇā*;	→
* clinging to	- *upādāna*;	→
* creation	- *bhava*;	→
* birth	- *jāti*;	→
* old age & death	-*jarā-maraṇa*	→

deva - "Shining One"; a celestial deity.

dhāraṇī - an esoteric formula or a magical verse used in *esoteric* Buddhism. *Dhāraṇī* is a vehicle for the storage of previously experienced information and scriptures, that could be interpreted as memory. *Dhāraṇī* is a vehicle for the sonic power of *mantras* and are ritually efficacious.

dharma/dhamma - the Teaching of the Buddha; the underlying Law of Reality.

dharmacakra-mudrā - "Turning-the-Wheel-of-the-Dharma-*mudrā*"; This *mudrā* usually represents the Buddha preaching [his First Sermon]. In this *mudrā*, both hands are held in front of the chest, with the right hand slightly above the left hand, and the fingers being curved (several variants exist). The Buddhas in the latticed *stūpas* on the terraces of the Barabuḍur are all presented in this *mudrā*.

dharmadhātu - the Absolute Reality experienced in Enlightenment. It is deemed to be the spiritual counterpart to the wordly sphere. It is the ontological level of the true nature (*dharmatā*) of all dharmas, thus the underlying Reality behind worldly illusion.

dharmakāya - one of the three aspects (*trikāyas*), which characterize the concept of the Buddha within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. The *dharmakāya* is the embodiment of the highest Buddhist truth – the *dharmabody* - which is the absolute and unconditioned Buddha-nature (*tathatā*).

dharmamaṇḍala - it is a characterization of the *esoteric* Buddhist relationship between words, letters and sound and their potential for expressing doctrinal truth.

dharmaśarīra - a text containing a brief version of the essence of the body of the *dharma*.

dhātu - "Level"; "sphere"; "realm", etc.; the space or sphere of absolute Reality.

dhyāna/jhāna - "meditation" or "contemplation"; one of the Ten pāramitās.

dhyāna-mudrā - "meditation *mudrā*"; the right hand rests in the left hand with both palms up and the thumbs touching each other. The Buddhas in the niches of the west side of the Barabuḍur sit in dhyāna-mudrā.

dīrghasaṅkrama - the Buddha Śākyamuni´s "long sacred walk" at Bodhgayā.

Divārūpa - "intense light"; the Supreme Buddha - *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha – i.e. the Buddha Vairocana (the "effulgence").

duḥkha/dukkha - "Suffering" or "pain"; the central tenet of the first of the four Noble Truths – that existence is suffering.

dvārapāla (Jav.) - temple guardians.

Dyaḥ (Jav.) - personal epitet (royal rank).

E.

Eightfold Noble Path (*āryāṣṭāṅgamārga*) - encompasses cultivating eight "right" aspects; viz
* right views,
* right thought,
* right speech,
* right conduct,
* right livelihood,
* right effort,
* right mindfulness, and
* right concentration.

ekakṣaṇa - one instant.

Ekayāna - or "the One"; it is the cumulative doctrinal theme of later *Mahāyāna* Buddhism, popular in China and Japan. As a doctrine, it totally asserts the Buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings. As a practice, it assumes all previous methods and disciplines of both *Theravāda* and *Mahāyāna* Buddhism.

Ekajātipratibuddha - a Buddha bound to one more birth.

elements - the five *rūpa* (form) Elements plus the non-describable *citta* (consciousness, mind) (see "Six Elements" below).

esoteric Buddhism - is passed on from the master (*guru*) to the disciple. *Esoteric* Buddhism is dualistic. The deity usually plays the role of the interlocutor of the practitioner. *Esoteric* Buddhism follows the "Cause-Path" - the devotee seeks to obtain Enlightenment by following the bodhisattva´s path. *Esoteric* Buddhism is based on *kriyā tantras*, *caryā tantras* and some *yoga tantras*.

F.

Five Knowledges (*pañca-jñānani*)
The Five Knowledges represent the five aspects of the *Tathāgata´s* all-inclusive Knowledge (*Abhisaṃbodhi*): i.e.
* "mirror-like knowledge" (*ādarśa-jñāna*) [Akṣobhya];
* "equality knowledge" (*samantā-jñāna*) [Ratnasaṃbhava];
* "discriminative knowledge" (*pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna*)

[Amitābha];
* "knowledge of the procedure of duty" (*kṛtyānuṣṭhā-najñāna*) [Amoghasiddhi];
* "*dharma*-realm knowledge" (*dharmadhātu-jñāna*) [Vairocana].

Five Precepts - The Five Precepts for the laity are that they should refrain from:

* harming living creatures;
* taking what is not given;
* sexual misconduct;
* false speech;
* intoxicants that cause heedlessness.

Four Maṇḍalas
* *Mahābhūta maṇḍala*   *maṇḍala* of elements;
* *Samaya-maṇḍala*   *maṇḍala* of attributes;
* *Dharma-maṇḍala*   *maṇḍala* of letter-symbols;
* *Karma-maṇḍala*   *maṇḍala* of actions.

Four Noble Truths (*āryasatya*) read:

All is suffering (*duḥkha*);
Suffering is caused by "thirst" (*tṛṣṇā*);
Suffering may be ended by extinguishing the "thirst"
  and reaching the state of *nirvāṇa*;
One path – the Eightfold Noble Path (*āryaaṭṭaṅgamāgga*) -
  leads to *nirvāṇa*.

The Saṃyutta Nikāya III, p.135
(in an abbreviated form)

Funan - "Capital in the South" (in Chinese Fũnán 府南) – a kingdom in mainland South-East Asia around the Mekong delta. Funan could also be based on the Khmer word "*phnom*" or "*bnam*" meaning "mountain".

G.

gahapati - treasurer in the "Seven Treasures"; also layperson.
gaṇāhesuṃ - a sect.
gandharva - heavenly musician. The *gandharvas* are one of the lowest–ranking *devas* in the Buddhist cosmology. They can fly in the air. They are associated with trees and flowers and nourish on fragrance and inscence. The *gandharva* is also regarded as a being in a liminal state between death and rebirth, whose presence is obligatory for the woman, when she is conceived. The *gandharva* is in other words a sign for progeny.

Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra - an important *sūtra*, also being part of the vast *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra*. The *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* presents the pilgrimage of Sudhana, which – together with the Vow of Samantrabhadra in the *Bhadracarī* - are presented on the bas-reliefs on the second to the fourth galleries of the Barabuḍur.

ganhita - the 361 grid-system (19x19) of the *Mayāmātam*.

garbha - "womb", "interior" or "embryo".

garbhakośa - "womb"; "embryo" & "storage".

Garbha maṇḍala - one of the two fundamental *maṇḍalas* of *Shingon* Buddhism. This *maṇḍala* symbolizes the "Principle" or the "Truth" (*lĩ* 理).

Garuda – the mount of Lord Viṣṇu.

gāthā - *stanza*; verse.

gati - the traditional Buddhist hierarchy of sentient beings within the three realms of desire, form and non-form.

Genzu Matrix maṇḍala - a *Shingon* descriptive term meaning "iconographic *maṇḍala*", or the "revealed painting of the *Matrix maṇḍala*".

ghaṇṭa - bell.

Gorin Five-story stūpa (Jap. *gorin jōshin*) - the Shingon stūpa of the Six Elements.

grāmavāsins - village-dwellers.

guhā - heart; temple; cave.

guhya - *esoteric* realization; "mystery".

guṇa - quality.

guṇagaṇa - multitude of virtues.

guru - a religious Master, from whom one receives initiation and consecration.

guru dalang (Jav.) - the reciter of the Javanese *wayang kulit*.

gunungan (Jav.) - the mountain.

H.

harmikā - "the pavilion"; the square/rectangular construction which rests on top of the dome of the *stūpa*. From here arises the post (*yaṣṭī*) holding the parasols (*chattrāvalī*).

hastin - elephant/monarch in the "Seven Treasures".

haṭha yoga - body of *yogic* practice that combines posture, breath control, seals and locks, as a mean of bodily immortality and supernatural powers.

Heling - a Buddhist city state on the north coast of Central Java during the fifth century CE. Heling (Buddhist Java) may be the Chinese transcription for *Kaliṅga* - Hēlíng 河陵。

Hīnayāna - "The Lesser Vehicle" – a pejorative term used to describe early Indian Buddhist traditions based on Pāli and early Canonical texts.

homa - "Fire offering"; in *esoteric* Buddhism, there are five types of *homa* rites – for the goals of protection, increase, subjugation, subordination and acquisition.

honchishin (Jap.) - dharma.

hṛdaya - "Heart"; "interior"; or "core"; a personal spell of a deity.

I.

Indra´s Net - this is the fabled weapon of Indra (*Indrajāla*). With the *Indrajāla*, Indra is said to be able to create illusions, with which he confounded his enemies. The *Huayan* patriarch Fazang illustrated the concepts of "mutual identity" and "mutual penetration" by means of *Indra´s Net* with a jewel in each interstice, and every single jewel reflecting all the other jewels in the *Indrajāla*.

Īśvara - Lord; creator god.

J.

jakyō (Jap.) - heresy.

Jambudvīpa - the "rose-apple tree" continent in Buddhist cosmology, where the Buddhas are born. It also denotes the Indian subcontinent.

jātaka - "birth story"; a specific genre of Buddhist literature, in which the Buddha´s previous lives are presented.

Jātakamālā - a collection of *avadāna* and *jātaka* stories attributed to *Ārya Śūra* of the fourth century CE.

jaya - "victory".

Jina - "Victor" or "Conqueror"; an epitet for any Buddha. The five *Jina* Buddhas are the *Pañca-Tathāgatas* in the center *maṇḍala* (the *Karma Assembly*) of the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. The *Jina* Buddhas represent the five victories over Mārā. Each *Jina* Buddha precides over a distinct time cycle, during which he is embodied to us a *Mānuṣī*-Buddha.

jinālaya - a *stūpa* [in Nepal] with four Buddhas in the four directions.

jissō (Jap.) - true form.

jñāna - the "gnosis" or "knowledge" that results from the final En-
lightenment. *Jñāna* is one of the Ten *pāramitās.*

Jyotirliṅga - Liṅga of Light; one of twelve *Mallikārjuna Liṅgas* in the
Śrīśailam mountains in South India.

K.

Kaji-jōbutsu (Jap.) - One of the three categories of the *Shingon*
"instant Buddhahood" theories. It denotes, that the successful
realization of the sentient being as the Buddha, requires the
adhiṣṭhāna integration of *triguhya* and *trikāya.*

kajishin (Jap.) - the visual body.

kakawin - poetic metres used in Old Java (e.g. the poem *Kakawin
Sutasoma*).

kāla - time (as represented by the demon of the Eclipses - Rāhu –
whose head became immortal – see *Section 1.4.2, Note 156* and
kīrttimukha).

kalaśa - ritual vase.

kalpa - aeon; a long period of time.

kalpavṛkṣa - a Wish-granting tree – usually with pots filled with treas-
ures at the roots and guarded by *kinnaras.*

kalyāṇamitra - "Good friend"; spiritual guide.

kāmadhātu - "Realm of Desire" (lowest of the three *dhātus*).

kamūlān - "root"; beginning, place of beginning.

kanshō (Jap.) - meditational process.

kāpālika - "Skull-bearer"; the skull as a begging bowl, in imitation
of the *tantric* deity Bhairava.

karma/kamma - "Wonderous Act", good and bad actions of body,
speech and mind, whose pleasant and unpleasant results are
experienced in this and subsequent lives; ethically relevant act.

Karmavibhaṅga - a Sanskrit text by the *Sarvāstivāda* tradition, in
which are described the specific *karmic* results associated with
each type of moral and immoral action. The *Karmavibhaṅga* is
presented in detail on the "hidden base" of the Barabuḍur.

karuṇā - "compassion" or "sympathy"; one of the four *catvāry
apramāṇāni.*

kāya - body.

Kĕdah - trading post in the Malacca Strait; Kolo; in Chinese
Guālā 瓜拉。

Kegon (Jap.) - *Huayan nikāya.*

Kendoku-jōbutsu (Jap.) - one of the three categories of the *Shingon* "instant Buddhahood" theory. It denotes, that the successful *adhiṣṭhāna* practice of the body, speech and mind, is the complete revelation of Buddha-nature (*bodhicitta*) as inherent in sentient beings.

kengyō - a descriptive term used in *Shingon* Buddhism to contrast its superior (*esoteric*) texts, doctrine and practice, from those texts, doctrines and practice of all other Buddhist traditions.

khecari - one, who has the power of supernatural flight.

kinnara/kinnarī - a mythological creature – half-human/half-bird – who is believed to form part of the troops of the heavenly musicians. The *kinnaras/kinnarīs* are illustrated on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur, the *Caṇḍi* Mendut and the *Caṇḍi* Pawon.

kīrtistambha - victory tower; the tower at the entrance of the *Abhaya-girivihāra* at Ratubaka on Java.

kīrttimukha - the "Face of Glory"; the *kāla* head of the *kālamakara* entrance gate.

kleśa - is a mental stage, that clouds the mind and manifests in unwholesome action(s).

koṭi - "end" or "goal".

kraton - the royal residence.

kriyā tantra - "action tantra"; one of the four classes of *tantra*.

kṣānti - "endurance"; one of the Ten *pāramitās.*

kṣatriya - the warrior *varna*.

kula - "family" or "clan"; a tantric lineage leading back to a divine pantheon with a supreme deity in the centre.

kumbha - "pot" or "jar"; sometimes denominated for the dome of the *stūpa*.

kumbum - a tapering pyramidal tempel (*śatadvāra*).

Kunlun - the Chinese name for "Kaliṅga" or "the Southern Islands"; it is also believed in China to represent the Chinese mythological mountain; in Chinese *Kūnlún* 昆仑。

kuśala/kusala - good; skillful; or wholesome.

kūṭāgāra - a building with a multi-tiered roof; or the outer enclosure of a three-dimensional *maṇḍala*. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* reliefs on the Barabuḍur, Vairocana´s *kūṭāgāra* may be seen to symbolize the universe.

L.

laḍita or *lalita* - stands for "playful" or "playful movement".

Lalitavistara - a Buddhist text narrating the life of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni from his descent into the womb of Māyā, to his First Sermon. The *Lalitavistara* was previously probable part of the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya*, but is today only used in the *Mahāyāna* traditions. It is presented on the Barabuḍur in the bas-reliefs on the main wall of the first gallery.

lāma - a *tantric guru* in Tibetan Buddhism (Tib. *bla ma*).

liṅga - the phallic image, by which the Hindu god Śiva is iconographically represented.

Linyi - a port on the coast of Vietnam (Chin. *Línyì* 林邑).

lohitikā - red coral in the "Seven Treasures".

lokadhātu - the sphere of the three realms or *dhātus*. It may thus be interpreted as any one of the countless world systems in Buddhist cosmology. The worldly realms (*lokadhātu*) are thus part of *dharmadhātu* – i.e. *saṃsāra* within *nirvāṇa*.

lokendras - world rulers, who have served the past Buddhas.

Lokotaravāda - an important part of *Mahāsāṅghika* Buddhism, presenting many proto-*Mahāyāna* aspects, such as the conception of "supramundane" (*lokottara*) Buddhas.

M.

Mādhyamika - one of the two main philosophical traditions within *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. It was founded by Nāgārjuna. Its basic doctrinal position is the "Middle Path" – i.e. the negation of all forms of exteme views.

Mahāguhya – the Large Secret.

Mahāmaṇḍala - one *maṇḍala* of the *Shingon* Four *Maṇḍala* Theory, which jointly portray the Six Elements theory in terms of four different aspects.

Mahāmārga - initiation process to the "Path".

mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa - 32 principal characteristics of a "great man" such as the Buddha.

mahārāja - great king.

mahāsāmi - patriarch.

Mahāsāṅghika - "The Great Assembly"; *Mahāsāṅghika* is the generic term for the 6 *nikāyas* defined at the split up of the *saṅgha* (*saṃghabheda*) at the non-canonical council in Pāṭalitaputra in 267 BCE.

Mahāsukha - "The Great Bliss"; the union of male and female energies in *tantric* doctrines.

Mahāvairocana - the idealization of the principles of *esoteric* Buddhist doctrine in the context of *dharmakāya*; i.e. the *dharmakāya* Mahā-vairocana is seen as the source of all truths and Enlightenment. In this context, Buddha Vairocana is also seen in *esoteric* Buddhism as Ādibuddha, from whom emanate the five *Jina* Buddhas.

Mahāvairocana Sūtra - one of the basic *esoteric* texts of Chinese Buddhism and of *Shingon* Buddhism.

Mahāviśeṣa - the Supreme Buddha.

mahāvyūhe - many-peaked; like in many-peaked palace (*mahāvyūhe kūṭāgāra*).

Mahāyāna - "The Great Vehicle"; the self-complimentary term used to describe the subsequent developments of Indian, Chinese and Japanese Buddhism based upon the bodhisattva practice.

Mahoraga - one of Bhaiṣajyaguru´s twelve warriors (could be a *yakṣa* or a titan).

Maitreya - is regarded as "the future Buddha", who in due course is to succeed the Buddha Śākyamuni in this world. Meanwhile, he resides in *Tuṣita* Heaven as one of the celestial bodhisattvas.

maitri - "consideration"; "friendliness"; one of the four *catvāry apramāṇāni.*

makāra - mystical aquatic monster, prominent as a motif in Indian and Javanese architecture.

makārālaya – the abode of *makāra*s.

manaḥkarma - is the "mind" (consciousness) action in the *tantric* Buddhist *trikarma* theory. It is by means of the *adhiṣṭhāna* practice of *yoga,* that the union between the practioner and the Buddha is effected.

maṇḍala - a ritual or meditational devise used in *Vajrayāna* (*esoteric* and *tantric*) Buddhism. It is an idealized circular model of cosmos, with the source of cosmic or temporal power located in the center and with lesser power or energies radiating outward towards the periphery. These powers or energies may be represented by various deities.

maṇḍala state - an unstable "circle of kings" in a territory without fixed borders and where each state was an independent polity with its own centre and court.

mani - jewel in the "Seven Treasures".

mañju - "smooth".

Mañjuśrī - symbolizes the perfection of wisdom. He is one of the celestial bodhisattvas and is usually illustrated holding in his hands a sword and a book – representing the Prajñāpāramitā.

manas - the mind.

mantra - sacred formula. The *mantra* is used to lead the disciple into the world of the divine (the *maṇḍala*). *Mantras* are also used in *tantric* Buddhism for this same reason. In addition, *mantras* are used in *tantric* Buddhism as a charm, incantation or spell in identifying with the deity in question.

Mantranaya - "the *mantra*-path"; the *esoteric* Buddhist discipline and practice, which inter alia utilizes the sound expression of *mantras*.

Mānuṣī Buddha - is a Buddha that has been born in this world, as the spiritual agent of a cosmic Buddha – e.g. Buddha Śākyamuni and his predecessors.

mānuṣapāda - the second tier (24 squares), where the humans reside, of the *paramaśāyikin* 81 square *caṇḍita* grid-system.

Māra - "the death bringer"; the spirit of passion and evil – representing the three evils or poisons of greed, hate & delusion. He has the roles of a malevolent Cupid and of a fearful tempter. He rules over the entire sphere of desire (*kāmadhātu*).

mārga - "path" or system of religious practice which leads to liberation from delusion and suffering.

marma - the "vulnerable points" of a building.

Meru - in Indian cosmology, Meru is the mountain in the center of the world.

mikkyō (Jap.) - the "secret teaching" or *esoteric* Buddhism.

mokṣa - "release" or "liberation" in Hinduism from rebirth into the cycle of suffering existences (the *saṃsāra* cycle).

muditā - "[altruistic] delight"; one of the four *catvāry apramāṇāni*.

mudrā - "seal"; a hand gesture either as a traditional hand posture of a Buddha in an iconographic representation, or as a symbolic posture and movement of the hands in ritual practice.

muktā - pearl in the "Seven Treasures".

mūla - "basic" or "root".

mūla tantra - root tantra.

Mūlasarvāstivāda - "original *Sarvāstivāda*"; a sub-tradition of the Sarvāstivāda, which is extant today mainly in Tibet and Mongolia.

mūrti - an image of a deity, executed in some material.

musāragalva - agate in the "Seven Treasures".

N.

nāga - a serpent, who watches over the wealth of the ocean and the underworld. The *nāgas* dwell at the bottom of rivers, lakes and the sea. In Buddhist texts, they are generally benevolent.

Nāgārjuna - an Indian philosopher, who founded the *Mādhyamika* tradition during the second century CE.

nakṣatra - the mark of the 28 stations ("residences") of the monthly lunar cycle.

naya - the Path.

nayaprajñā - the "guiding principle-insight".

negara - a state with a strong center, where the ruler governed by attraction rather than compulsion and where the ceremonies were of importance in order to maintain the "sacred" role of the ruler.

neyārtha - a view, that needs further interpretation.

niḥsvabhāva - lack of an inherent existence.

nikāya - "volume" (Pāli) or "collection, group, class" (Sanskrit); a division of the *Sūtra Piṭaka* section of the Buddhist canon.
A *nikāya* is also defined as a group of monks (*bhikkhu*), who mutually acknowledge the validity of their ordination (*upasampadā*) and - staying within the same bounderies (*sīmā*) – may commonly perform *vinayakarmas.*

nirākāra - aniconic and formless.

nirākārajñāna - the "knowledge" level of formless presentation (of the deities).

nirmāṇakāya - Buddhahood in its human manifestation.

nirmāṇarati - the Heaven of Joyful Transformations.

nirmita - apparation.

nirvāṇa/nibbāna - "the unconditioned"; the extinction of the fires of greed, hatred & delution; the ultimate goal of Buddhist practice.

nītārtha - a view which is explicitely stated (i.e. needs no further explanations).

P.

padhānaghara parivena - the "the western monasteries" of the *Abhayagirivihāra* on Śrī Laṅkā.

padma - lotus.

pagoda - a tiered tower, in odd number of levels, with multiple eaves. The architectural form of the *pagoda* originated in East Asia, as a variety of a *stūpa*. Like the *stūpa*, the *pagoda* is also meant to house sacred relics.

paiśācapāda - the outmost tier (32 squares), where the ghosts and goblins live, of the *paramaśāyikin* 81 square *caṇḍita* grid-system.

Pāli – a middle Indian language; a literary form of Prakrit; the oldest source language of Buddhism.

pāṃśukūlika - the *esoteric* Sanskrit reading monks of the *Abhaya-girivihāra*.

Pañcajina maṇḍala - the *maṇḍala* of the five *Jina* Buddhas.

Pañca-Tathāgatas - the five *Jina* Buddhas.

Panjiao - the classification of the "Buddhist thought" – i.e. of the various Buddhist traditions (*nikāya*). *Pànjiào* (Chin.) 判教.

Paramādibuddha - the highest primordial Buddha; as such, he is characterized as being non-dual; being the unchanging bliss; being the progenitor of the [*Jina*] Buddhas; possessing the three bodies; knowing the three times; being without origination and annihilation; being with aspects though without aspects; and being omniscient (see also "*Abhisaṃbuddha*" and "*Ādibuddha*").

Paramaguhya – the Highest Secret.

Paramamārga - the Highest Path.

paramārthasatya - the Ultimate Truth.

paramaśāyikin - the 81 square *caṇḍita* grid-system (9x9) of the *Mayā-mātam*.

pāramitā - "perfection" or "the highest virtues of the bodhisattva". Originally, these *pāramitās* were six in number, subsequently to be increased to ten. They must all be simultaneously perfected for attaining Enlightenment.

Pāramitāyāna - the Perfection vehicle.

pariṇāyaka - minister in the "Seven Treasures".

Paranirmitavaśavartin - the Heaven of Free Transformations.

parinirvāṇa/parinibbhāna - the final death of a Buddha or an *arhat*.

pendopo - meditational platform.

peripīh - reliquary.

perwara - small shrines surrounding a temple.

piśāca - man-eating demon.

piṭaka - a "basket" of scriptures, originally recorded from oral traditions in the first century BCE.

pīṭha - nine-square grid (3x3) of the *Mayāmātam*; seat; base; pedestal.

Poluqiesi - the capital of the Śailendras; (Chin.) *Pōlùqiēsī* 坡鹿切丝.

poṣada - see *uposatha*.

pradakṣiṇa - circumambulation or "clockwise" ritual route.

pradakṣiṇāpatha - the processional path.

prajñā/paññā - "wisdom"; insight into the true nature of Reality; one of the Ten *pāramitās*.

Prajñāpāramitā - the "Perfection of wisdom"; the female embodiment of wisdom; a class of *Mahāyāna* Buddhist literature.

Prākrit – a collective reference to the Middle Indo-Aryan languages.

praṇidhāna - "promise"; one of the Ten *pāramitās*.

prāsāda - a stepped (terraced) building, which is hollow inside. In ancient India, it was the denomination for a temple (residence of a deity) or a palace (residence of a ruler).

prasavya - i.e. a ritual left-hand circumambulation [of a monument].

prātihārya - The four kinds of marvel, which consists of Blessing (*adhiṣṭhāna*); Initiation (*abhiṣeka*); Wonderous Act (*karma*); and Profound Concentration (*samādhi*).

prātimokṣa/pāṭimokkha - the Buddhist monastic rules contained in the *Vinaya*. For the *Theravāda*, these monastic rules amount to 227 in number. Other *nikāyas* may have up to 258 *prātimokṣa* rules.

pratiṣṭhā - consecration ritual of a cult object or of a place of cult.

pratītyasamutpāda - the Dependent Origination (see above).

Pratyekabuddha/Paccekabuddha - "The Buddha for oneself"; a hermit, who has attained Enlightenment and *nirvāṇa* for himself and by himself.

prayutpannasamādhi - a form of meditation, whereunder one may obtain knowledge directly from a Buddha.

precepts - rules of conduct. For the laity these rules could in number amount to 5, 8 or 10 *precepts* (see "the Five Precepts"). The monks and the nuns in the Buddhist *saṅgha* have 227-258 *prātimokṣa precepts* to adhere to.

preta - hungry spirits.

Pu - personal Javanese epitet (learned or appreciated person).

pūjā - worship, veneration and homage.

puṇya/puñña - "virtue" or "merit"; auspicious and fortunate *karma*.

puramaṇḍala - a "palace-architecture" *maṇḍala*.

Purāṇa - a script, which is included in the Hindu *smriti* – written by Vyasa towards the end of *Dvapara Yuga* (the third Hindu age). The *Purāṇa* treats cosmology, *dharma, karma,* reincarnation, etc.

putana - a demoness (*rakṣasi*).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 148   *Ratnavṛkṣa* at the *Caṇḍi* Mendut

R.

rāja - a king.

rājaguruḥ - royal preceptor.

rājānala - "the place of the royal fire".

rājñī - queen.

Rakai (Jav.) - an abbreviated form of *rak[a]r[a]yān.*

rakṣasa - a motley group of man-eating demons in Hindu mythology.

ratna - jewel.

Ratnasambhava - "Jewel Birth"; an important Buddha in *esoteric* Buddhism, illustrated in *varada-mudrā.* The Buddha Ratnasambhava is illustrated in the niches on the south side of the Barabuḍur.

Ratnatraya - the upper of the two "heavens" in the *SHK* epistemological evolution – consisting of the Buddha Śākyamuni, the bodhisattva Lokeśvara and the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi.

ratnavṛkṣa - The Jewel tree, representing unprecedented affluence.

ratnavyūha - an array of jewels; a denomination for the "double walled *ratnavyūha* palace" in which the bodhisattva descended on earth.

Rigu-jōbutsu (Jap.) - one of the three categories of *Shingon* "instant Buddhahood" theory. It denotes, that man is really a Buddha, as he encompasses *lĭ* 理 (*bodhicitta*).

rocana - the "effulgence".

ṛṣis - ancient sages; *vedic* Aryan seer.

rūpa - "form" or "matter"; one of the five *skandhas* (see *aggregate*).

rūpadhātu - the Realm of Form (the second of the three *dhātus*).

rūpakāya - the Body of Form.

rūpya - silver in the "Seven Treasures".

S.

sādhaka – an initiate striving to attain *siddhi*.

sādhana - tantric practice.

sāgara-mudrā - "ocean reflection" *mudrā*.

sakadāgāmi - "Once-returner"; one who has attained the second stage on the Path to *nirvāṇa*.

sākāra - ikonic.

sākārajñāna - the "knowledge" level, where the deities are presented in transcendental form.

śakti - "energy"; the energy of the female consort.

śalāka - spatula.

samādhi - "concentration"; the culmination of the meditative process.

saṃgraha - virtue embrasing; attraction.

Samantabhadra - a celestial bodhisattva and an attendant to Buddha Vairocana. In Chinese *esoteric* Buddhism and in *Shingon* Buddhism he is regarded as an embodyment of innate Buddha-hood – iconographically a bodhisattva, but metaphysically indistinguishable from a Buddha. In Tibetan *Rnyiṅ-ma-pa* the *dharmakāya*-Samantabhadra is Ādibuddha. On the Barabuḍur, Samantabhadra plays a significant role and is illustrated with a branch of three lotus-buds.

śamatha/samatha - calm, tranquility.

samaya - "commitment" & "coming together"; the concurrence of the absolute with its symbolic counterparts.

samayamaṇḍala - one *maṇḍala* in the *Shingon* Four *maṇḍala* theory, which together constitute a doctrinal representation to portray the Six Elements theory in four different aspects. By skillful means (*upāya kauśalya*) the *samayamaṇḍala* shows the varieties of attitudes and methods, which must be the true talent of the bodhisattva in attempting to enlighten all sentient beings.

sambhāra - equipment.

saṃbhogakāya - "body of bliss"; the Buddha´s spiritual body, in which he preaches to the assembled boddhisattvas.

saṃghabheda - the split up of the *saṅgha* – exemplified by the *saṃgha-bheda* at the non-canonical council in Pāṭaliputra in 267 BCE.

saṃgīti - Buddhist council.

saṃjñā - perception; one of the five *skandhas* (see *aggregate*).

saṃkhāra - all conditioned things.

Sammitīya - an important *Śrāvakayāna* tradition.

saṃnyāsin - renouncer.

saṃsāra - the cycle of transmigration, which denotes the perpetual repetition of birth and death in the three realms and in the six destinies.

saṃskāra - volition; one of the five *skandhas* (see *aggregate*).

saṃtāna - stream of consciousness.

saṃvṛtisatya - conventional truth.

Samyaksaṃbuddha - a Buddha, who decides to teach other sentient beings the truth, that they have discovered (e.g. Buddha Śākyamuni).

Sanfoqi - the Three Vijaya; the tripartite Buddhist coalition (Kĕdah, Jambi and Palembang) headed by *Dyaḥ* Bālaputra after 854 CE. (Chin.) *Sānfóqí* 三佛齐。

saṅgha - the Buddhist monastic order of monks and nuns.

śaṅkha - conch.

Sanskrit - a classical language in South Asia, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European languages.

śāntacandra - the mind tranquil like the moon.

śarīra - "body"; the bodily relics of a Buddha.

Sarvāstivāda - an important *Śrāvakayāna* tradition, reknowned for its voluminous *Abhidharma*. The greater part of its canon (originally in Sanskrit) is presently preserved only in Chinese translation.

sarvatathāgatas - all the Buddhas.

śāsana - religion as an institution.

śāstra - a commentarial or exegetical manual, as distinct from "the word of the Buddha" contained in the *sūtras*.

śatadvāra – tapering pyramidal temple with "hundred doors".

ṣaṭpāramitās - the Six Perfections - i.e. *dāna* (generosity), *śila* (moral), *kṣānti* (endurance), *vīrya* (energy), *dhyāna* (meditation), and *prajñā* (wisdom).

Sautrāntika - "a follower of the *sūtra*"; a Buddhist tradition, which denied the authority of the *Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma*.

Seven Treasures - were originally regarded as the seven components of the society. Later on it developed into the seven treasures of various worlds (see *Section 2.1.2, Note 424*).

Shepo - Hindu Java; (Chin.) *Shēpó* 奢婆。

Shilifoqi - Buddhist Sumatra; Śrīvijaya; (Chin.) *Shìlìfóqí* 室利佛齐.

Shingon - "True Word"; the Sino-Japanese *nikāya* of *esoteric* Buddhism.

siddha - "perfected being"; an *esoteric* practitioner, who has realized embodied liberation.

siddhamātṛkā - a text in Sanskrit and in Pre-Nāgarī script.

siddhi - perfection, magical power; success; talent.

śīla/sīla - "conduct", "ethics" or "moral"; one of the Ten *pāramitās.*

sīmā - sacred boundary (e.g. around a *vihāra*).

siṁha - lion.

Siṁhavijṛmbhita - the Lion´s Yawn *Samādhi.*

Six Characteristics of the Huayan nikāya -

(i)	universality	-	*zong*
(ii)	particularity	-	*bie*
(iii)	identity	-	*tong*
(iv)	difference	-	*yi*
(v)	integration	-	*cheng*
(vi)	disintegration	-	*huai*

Six Elements - the Six Elements are constituted of:

    * the Five *rūpa* (form) Elements:

      * Earth (yellow, cube, south);

      * Water (white, circle, centre);

      * Fire (red, triangle, east);

      * Air (black, semicircle, north);

      * Space (blue, jewel-formed, west); and of

    * the Consciousness or mind (*citta*), which may not be physically represented. But the Consciousness is part of the other Five Elements.

    The Six Elements thus illustrate that *rūpa* (form) and *citta* (mind) are **non-dual** – as illustrated in the *Gorin stūpa.*

skandha - the five categories, in which all the constituents of personality may be divided (see "aggregates" above).

skillful means - see "upāya kauśalya".

śloka - a metre consisting of a group of 32 syllables - often synonymous with the term "*stanza*" or "verse".

smṛtisūrya - the mind illuminated like the sun.

sokushin jōbutsu (Jap.) - the realization of the successful pratitioner to obtain the *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana within the body – which is different from *āveśa.*

sotāpanna - "Stream-Entrant"; one who has attained the first stage in the realization of *nirvāṇa.*

sphāṭika - crystal in the "Seven Treasures".

śramaṇa - a non-Vedic Indian renunciate ascetic; a "wandering ascetic".

śrāvaka/sāvaka - "listener"; a person, who seeks his own Enlightenment under a spiritual preceptor.

Śrāvakayāna - the "vehicle of the listeners". *Śrāvakayāna* is the generic term for 12 of the 18 *nikāyas* defined at the split up of the *saṅgha* (*saṃghabheda*) at the non-canonical council in Pāṭalitaputra in 267 BCE; i.e. the pre-Mahāyāna branches of Buddhism, except for the Mahāsāṅghikas.

Śrī - personal epitet (Sanskrit for "glory", "power" or "happiness").

Śrīśailam – a mountain chain in Andhra Pradesh of south India, where *Vajrayāna* Buddhism is said to have been conducted.

Śrīvijaya - the trading center on southern Sumatra, close to present-day Palembang. Śrīvijaya is Sanskrit and means "Large Victory". In Chinese it is called *Shìlìfóqí* 室利佛齐。

śruta - scriptural learning.

sthaṇḍila - Fortynine-square grid (7x7) of the *Citrakarma Śāstra*.

Sthavira - the generic term for the three *nikāyas* on Śrī Laṅkā - the Mahāvihāra, the Abhayagirivihāra and the Jetavanavihāra.

sthapati - main Indian architect for a building project.

stūpa - originally a Buddhist funerary monument in the shape of a dome, containing the relic of the Buddha or some other object of veneration. Subsequently developed into a meditational support, symbolizing the formless body of the Buddha and the essential structure of cosmos.

stri - queen in the "Seven Treasures".

Sudhana - the leading person in the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra*.

śūdra - the lowest in rank of the traditional four *varnas*.

Sugata – an epithet for Gautama Buddha.

Sukhāvatī - the Pure land of the Buddha Amitābha – also called the Western Paradice.

sūkta - hymn; "that which is well spoken".

śūnyatā/suññatā - "emptiness"; a Buddhist spiritual term symbolizing the ultimate nature of things.

suparṇa - *garudas* or "Fairwings".

sūrya - sun.

sūtra/sutta - "cord" or "thread of discourse"; a text containing a discourse attributed to the Buddha; one of the three main parts of the *Tripiṭaka/Tipiṭaka*.

sūtragrahin - the main assistant/disciple to the Indian architect (*sthapati*).

suvarna - gold in the "Seven Treasures".

Suvarṇadvīpa - Sanskrit for Sumatra.

svabhāva - "own-being"; the essential nature of something.

Svābhāvika - a Buddhist tradition in Nepal.

svābhāvikakāya - Buddha's "own being", which together with the
dharmakāya constitutes the "Real Essece" of the Buddha.

svarloka - the "solid roof" of the Indian temple buildings.

Svayambhū - "self-evolved", not created by anybody else; the Hindu
god of creation.

T.

Taimitsu (Jap.) - branch of the Japanese *esoteric* Buddhism, to which
Tendai nikāya belongs.

Taishō - New Edition of the Buddhist Canon Compiled during the
Taishō Era (Jap.) *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō.*

takṣaka - an expert in stone carving.

tāla - a Javanese architectural measure of some 23 centimeter.

tantra - "thread", "loom"; a text expounding the *tantric* Buddhist
teachings.

tantric Buddhism - is thoroughly non-dualistic. The deity takes
possession (*āveśa*) of the practitioner and becomes a unity with
him. *Tantric* Buddhism arose out of *Mahāyāna* Buddhism in the
second half of the first millennium CE and ultimately develo-
ped as part of *Vajrayāna*. *Tantric* Buddhism follows the "Result-
Path" and is based on *yoga tantras* and *anuttarayoga tantras*.

Tantrism - see "*tantric*" Buddism.

tapas - internal heat generated by means of yogic practice.

Tapovana - "ascetic grove".

Tathāgata - an epithet for a perfectly Enlightened being. The term is
of uncertain etymology. It is usually not translated. But if so,
the most frequent rendering is "thus-come" or "thus-gone",
indicating that it refers to the deeper mysteries of Buddhahood
and to the encounter with True Reality - *tathatā* ("thusness").

tathāgatagarbha - the Buddha-nature (the seed of Buddhahood) in all
sentient beings.

tathatā - The *Mahāyāna* conception of True Reality, which underlies
all phenomenal discrimination. This Buddhist truth is inex-
pressible. However, when attempts are made to express it in
English, it is made in the vague and ineffable term of thusness".

tattva - "truth", "reality" or "essence"; i.e. the truth of Buddhist doc-
trine and practice.

Ten Directions - symbolizes "everywhere"; "in all directions". More specificly, it is denominated E, S, W, N, NE, SE, SW, NW, Nadir and Zenith.

Ten Perfections - see "daśapāramitā" above.

Ten Stages - see "daśabhūmi" above.

that - a Thai *stūpa*.

Theravāda - the generic term for the "Tradition of the Elders", based on the Pāli Tipiṭaka. Albeit it was one of the 12 *nikāyas* defined at the split up of the *saṅgha* (*saṃghabheda*) at the non-canonical council in Pāṭalitaputra in 267 BCE (see *Śrāvakayāna* above), we however define and use in this dissertation the concept of *Theravāda* in its modern concept. It is extant today mainly on Śrī Laṅkā and in South-East Asia.

Three Ages - the past, the present and the future.

Three Defilements (*kleśa*) - greed, hatred and delusion.

Three Secrets - kāyaguhya, vāgguhya and manoguhya (see "Triple Mysteries").

Three Treasures - the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *saṅgha*.

Three Universals - substance, form and action.

ṭīkā - a subcommentary to the Buddhist texts.

Tipiṭaka (Pāli) - "three baskets"; the three basic collections - the *Vinaya,* the *Sūtra* and the *Abhidharma* - of the Buddhist canon.

Tōmitsu (Jap.) - branch of the *esoteric* Japanese Buddhism, to which *Shingon nikāya* belongs.

toraṇa - "gateway"; the symbolic gateways on each of the four sides of the *maṇḍala*.

Trailokyavijaya - the famous story in *Vajrayāna* Buddhism of the taming of Maheśvara (Śiva) and his entourage by the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi.

triguhya - the three *tantric* Buddhist "secret teaching practices of the Buddha", revealed by means of the functions of body, voice and mind of *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana. The *triguhya* refers to the Triple Mysteries (*kāyaguhya, vāgguhya and manoguhya*) which are characterizations of Buddha Mahāvairocana. They parallel the three *trikarma* of sentient beings. These two parallel triads of characteristics are to be united by means of *adhiṣṭhāna* (see above).

trikarma - the three *tantric* Buddhist practices of man theory, revealed by means of the functions of the human body, voice and mind in *kāyakarma, vākkarma* and *manaḥkarma*, respectively. This triad of characteristics should be united with the *triguhya* by means of the *adhiṣṭhāna* (see above).

trikāya - the "three bodies of the Buddha", i.e. Buddhahood (i) as the Absolute and as the pure essence of Truth (*dharma*) in the form of *dharmakāya* ("Body of the Law"); (ii) as manifested before the assembly of Bodhsattvas in the spiritual form of *saṃbhogakāya* or "Body of the Bliss"; (iii) as the human manifestation in the form of *nirmāṇakāya* or "Transformation Body" (see *Section 1.4.5, Note 276*).

Trimūrti - the Hindu Trinity – i.e. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Tripada - Vajrasattva´s three questions to the Buddha Mahāvairocana referring to (i) the reason for, (ii) the root of, and (iii) the aim with the all-embracing wisdom of the *Tathāgata*.

Tripiṭaka (Sanskrit) - Buddhist canon (see "*Tipiṭaka*").

Triple Formula -
    (i)   the cause - the heart of the *Bodhi*-mind (*bodhicitta*);
    (ii) the root – the great compassion (*karuṇā*); and
    (iii) the result – the "skillful means" (*upāya kauśalya*).

Triple Mystery - the Triple Mystery (*triguhya*) is:
    (i)   the mystery of the Body (*kāyaguhya*);
    (ii) the mystery of the Speech (*vāgguhya*); and
    (iii) the mystery of the Thought (*manoguhya*).

Triple Refuge - is taking refuge (*tisarana*) in the "Three Jewels" (*Triratna*) - the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *saṅgha*.

Triratna - the Buddha, the *dharma* and the *saṅgha* (the "Three Jewels").

triyāna - the *Mahāyāna* Buddhist practice of the three vehicles – the *Śrāvaka*, the *Pratyekabuddha* and the bodhisattvas.

Tuṣita/Tusita - the heaven of the "contended"; i.e. the fourth of the six heavens of *kāmadhātu*. It was in the heaven of *Tuṣita* where the bodhisattva awaited his appropriate time to descend on earth and to become Buddha Śākyamuni. Bodhisattva Maitreya presently awaits here his appropriate time to descend in our world.

U.

upacāra - ritual.

Upaniṣads - a set of sacred Brahmanic texts included in the *Veda*.

upāsaka - a male lay follower.

upasampadā - a Buddhist rite of higher ordination, by which a novice becomes a monk (*bikkhu*).

upāsika - a female lay follower.

upavīta - a sacred cord, worn across the chest by *Brahmins*.

upāya kauśalya - "skillful means" (Chin. *fāngbiàn* 方便); i.e. "the means of reaching what is to be reached"; the various devices ("skill in means") used to enlighten sentient beings trapped in the existence of suffering; one of the Ten *pāramitās*.

upekṣā - "mental balance"; one of the four *catvāry apramāṇāni*.

uposatha - (or *poṣada*) is a fortnightly ceremony during the days of the new and full moons. The rules (*precepts*) that constitute the *prātimokṣa* are recited. Any breaches are also confessed.

ūrṇā - an auspicious mark in the forehead of the Buddha (in the form of a spiral or a circular dot). It symbolizes vision into the divine world; i.e. the ability to see past our mundane world.

utpala - blossom of the Blue Lotus (*Nymphaea caerulea*); *utpala* has also other meanings such as water-lily, a medicinal plant, etc. The blossom of the Blue Lotus (*utpala*) only opens up during night-time. It is the symbol of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.

Uttaravihāra - the so called Northern Monastery (*Abhayagiri-vihāra*) in Anurādhapura.

V.

vāg - speech (= *vāk*).

vāhyaka - external perception.

Vāhyakajñāna – the "knowledge" level, in which the various sacred aspects are visualized in material (*rūpa*) forms as images, scrolls, *stūpas*, etc.

vaiḍūryā - lapis lazuli in the "Seven Treasures".

Vaipulya - The *Vaipulya* (Pāli *Vetulla*) texts are mainly concerned with the Sudden Enlightenment and the centrality of Light.

Vairocana - "sunlight"; in the *Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra* he is the supreme Buddha in our world system. In *Vajrayāna* mythology, he is sometimes denominated Ādibuddha. Buddha Mahāvairocana occupies the central position in both the *Garbha maṇḍala* and the *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*.

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vajra - "diamond"; in *Vajrayāna* Buddhism, the *vajra* is a ritual object symbolizing the power of wisdom to annihilate attachment and to cut through delusion. The *vajra* thus represents a double function – i.e. the durability and immutability (hardness) of the Absolute, as well as the cutting power of wisdom.

vajrācārya - "master"; *guru*; hierophant.

Vajradhāra - "he, who holds the *vajra*"; Vajradhāra is Ādibuddha in the *Bka´-rgyud-pa* and the *Dge-lugs-pa* traditions in Tibet. He is seen as the *tantric* form of Buddha Śākyamuni. Vajradhāra is considered to be an expression of Buddhahood itself as a single person, as well as in *yab-yum* forms. When Ādibuddha is represented in human form, he is denominated Vajradhāra. Sometimes, he is synonomous with Vajrasattva.

Vajradhātu maṇḍala - is one of the two main *maṇḍalas* in *Shingon* Buddhism. This *maṇḍala* symbolizes the "Knower" or the "Wisdom" (*zhì* 智).

Vajrasattva - "*vajra* essence"; Vajrasattva is a later addition to the Buddhist panteon. Sometimes Vajrasattva is identified with Vajradhāra – thus also equaling the Ādibuddha. He is also occasionally seen as the "spiritual son of the Buddha Akṣobhya".

*Vajraśekhara Sūtra - or the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture (T. 869).

Vajrayāna - "the vehicle of *vajra*"; *Vajrayāna* Buddhism may be regarded to be constituted by two different traditions – i.e. the *esoteric* Buddhism (*Mantranaya*) and the *tantric* Buddhism (*Tantrism*).

vāk - speech (= *vāg*).

vānara - the monkey army of Lord Rāma and his forceful forest tribes.

varada-mudrā - is a *mudrā* where the right hand is placed on the right knee of the sitting being, with the palm facing up. The Buddhas in the niches on the south side of the Barabuḍur are illustrated in varada-mudrā.

vardhakin - an expert in decoration.

varṇa - social class in Hindu India; there were four *varṇas* – namely the *brāhmaṇas* (teachers of the *Vedic* tradition), the *kṣatriyas* (warriors and rulers), the *vaiśyas* (farmers and traders) and the *śūdras* (the *non-Ārya* servants).

varṇāśramaguruḥ - "head of the caste-classes and the religious disciplines".

vastu - the "residence".

V*asubandhu* – an Indian Buddhist philosopher from the fourth century CE. He was one of the founders of the *Yogācāra cittamatra* tradition. His master work *Abhidharmakośa* is to this day the primary source of knowledge of the "*Srāvaka*" or *non-Mahāyāna* philosophy among Tibetan and East Asian Buddhist traditions.

vaṭadāge - circular protective encasements around a *stūpa*.

Veda - the large corpus of sacred Brahmanic texts, consisting of the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda*, the *Samaveda* and the *Atharvaveda*.

vedanā - feeling; one of the five *skandhas* (see *aggregate*).

vedi - square base on top of a temple (altar).

Vetulla - see "*Vaipulya*" (Sanskrit).

vidhyādhara - sorcerer.

vidyā - "esoteric wisdom, knowledge"; in *tantric* Buddhism, it also represents the female consort of the male practitioner.

vihāra - "monastery"; dwelling place for monks.

vijñāna - consciousness; one of the five *skandhas* (see *aggregate*).

vijñapti-mātratā - is the *Yogācāra* doctrine that all phenomena and events are of the mind and from the mind ("consciousness-only"). In contrast to the *citta-mātra* concept of "consciousness-only", the *vijñapti-mātratā* signifies the deluded mind, which may only produce false discrimination because of ignorance of the Buddha-nature.

vimokṣa - "liberation"; freedom or release from suffering and delusion.

vinaya - the first of the three collections, constituting the *Tripiṭaka*. The *vinaya* primarily presents the monastic code.

vipaśyanā/vipassanā - "insight"; one of two main types of Buddhist meditation.

vīrya - "energy"; one of the Ten *pāramitās*.

vistara - "an account".

visualization meditation - a meditational practice combining the elements of "assisting" (i.e. assisting the sentient beings in *saṃsāra*) with that of "offering" (i.e. offering to the cosmic Buddhas).

vitarka-mudrā - "argumentation *mudrā*"; in this *mudrā*, the tip of the thumb on the right hand touches the tip of the index finger, with the palm facing the front. The 64 Buddhas in the niches on the wall of the fourth gallery of the Barabuḍur are presented in *vitarka-mudrā*. This is one of the *mudrās* signifying preaching.

W.

wayang kulit (Jav.) - shadow play.

Y.

Yab-yum (Tib.) - "father-mother"; deities in sexual union.

yajñopavita - the sacred thread, worn across the chest and resting on one´s left shoulder.

yakṣa - a class of nature-spirits.; spectres. The *yakṣas* are caretakers of the natural treasures hidden in the earth.

yakṣī - a class of female beings, often in the form of voluptuous and dangerous tree-spirits with supernatural powers.

yama - death; bring death to one´s alter ego.

yantra - "instrument of restraint"; a meditational or magical devise (including symmetric geometrical designs) used in *tantrism* to control and subdue his own mind, demonic beings and elements fron the phenomenal world.

Yavadvīpa - Sanskrit for Java.

yaṣṭī - "pole" or "pillar"; the central pillar of the *stūpa*, arising from the top of the dome and holding the "parasols".

Yepoti - Sanskrit for Borneo (Chin. *Yèpótí* 耶婆提).

yoga - mental concentration.

Yogācāra - "yoga practice"; one of the two major philosophical traditions of Indian *Mahāyāna* Buddhism. The *Yogācāra-cittamātra* tradition ("Mind only") was developed in the early fourth century CE by Asaṅgha and Vasubandhu.

yogādhāra - the first of the five phases (*yogabhūmi*) in the chain of development – i.e. *ādhāra, ādhāna, ādarśa, āloka* and *āśrya*.

yoga tantra - "*yoga tantra*"; one of the four classes of *Vajrayāna* Buddhism.

yogi - the practitioner of *yoga*.

yoginī - a fierce, powerful and often sexually alluring female demigod and the human sorceress who imitate and is identified with her.

yojana - league; measure of length.

yoni - the female sexual organ; the womb.

Z.

Zābag - Java.

Zhanbei - Jambi; (Chin. *Zhànbēi* 占碑).

Zhenyan - mantra.
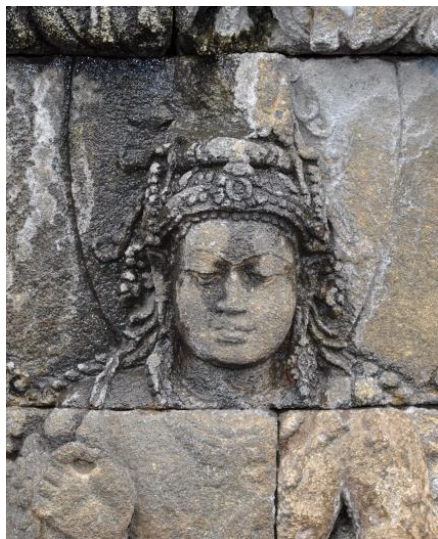
Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 149   The Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā*
(here as a separating bas-relief)

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Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Buddha Vairocana in a latticed *stūpa*

The Barabuḍur: A Synopsis of Buddhism
Sammanfattning på svenska av vissa aspekter
September 2021
Johan af Klint

Monumentet Barabuḍur

Barabuḍur är ett stort buddhistiskt monument, som byggdes på Centrala Java nordväst om Yogyakarta av Śailendra dynastin från omkring 775 till 830 e.Kr. Barabuḍur byggdes i fyra succesivt högre gallerier med en öppen area högst upp med tre runda terrasser. På terrasserna återfinns 72 genombrutna *stūpor,* var och en innehållande en staty av Buddha Vairocana sittande i *dharmacakramudrā*. Centralt på terrasserna står en stor solid *stupā*. Varje sida av denna fyrkantiga byggnad mäter på marknivå omkring 123 meter. Ursprungligen uppges Barabuḍur ha varit 41,81 meter högt.

Galleriernas väggar och balustrader omfattar 1.460 basreliefer från olika *sūtror* – såsom *Mahākarmavibhaṅga Sūtra* (*MKS*), *Lalitavistara* (*LV*), *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* (*GVS*), *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* (*DBS*) och *Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagātā Sūtra* (*SBP*). Därutöver tycks Barabuḍur även ha influerats av idéer från den påföljande *esoteriska* indonesiska skriften *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (*SHK*), liksom av de *esoteriska* buddhistiska skrifterna *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*MVS*), *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha Sūtra* (*STTS*) och *Prajñāpāramitā i 150 Verser* (*PPV*). Barabuḍur omfattar således aspekter från de tre huvudsakliga buddhistiska traditionerna - *Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna* och en tidig *esoterisk* form av *Vajrayāna*.

Det huvudsakliga problemet i analysen av Barabuḍur har varit avsaknaden av historisk information. Ingen ursprunglig dedikationsinskrift av Barabuḍur har ännu återfunnits. De tidiga handskrifterna från åttahundratalet e.Kr. har alla förkommit i det tropiska klimatet. De tidigaste existerande texterna beträffande Barabuḍur är daterade flera århundraden efter monumentets byggnation – och då begränsade till några få inskriptioner i sten från Java och Sydostasien. Ett ytterligare problem har varit bristen på konkreta definitioner hos vissa akademiska forskare.

Några synpunkter från västerländska forskare

De buddhistiska *siddhas* och de lankesiska *pāṃśukūlikas* från *Abhayagirivihāra* tycks ha varit avgörande i utbytet av synpunkter med de *śaivistiska* asketerna. Vissa av dessa aspekter synes sedermera ha introducerats på Java genom *Mantranaya* buddhismen.

Hinduismen och Śaivismen tycks ha dominerat på Centrala Java fram till medio sjuhundratalet e.Kr. *Śrāvakayāna* buddhismen synes ha varit den dominerande buddhistiska formen på Java redan från fyrahundratalet e.Kr. Heling på norra Java utvecklades till ett buddhistiskt centrum.

Såväl *Pāramitāyāna,* som *Mantranaya* buddhismen tycks ha varit etablerade på Sumatra under det sena sexhundratalet e.Kr. – för att sedermera spridas till Java. *Mahāyāna* buddhismen blev under sexhundratalet e.Kr. allt mer betydelsefull på Java. Från sjuhundratalet e.Kr. tycks man ej längre höra talas om *Theravāda* buddhismen på Java.

Śailendras kontakter på Śrī Laṅkā med *Abhayagirivihāras pśṃaukūlikas* och med Pāla dynastin i Bengalien indikerar att någon form av *Vajrayāna* buddhismen kan ha existerat på Java under tidiga sjuhundratalet e.Kr. Den *esoteriska Mantranaya* buddhismen introducerades på Java under denna tid. *Yoga tantror* tycks ha introducerats på Java omkring tiden för byggandet av Barabuḍur.

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Śailendras hade sitt interregnum på Centrala Java under perioden 746-829 e.Kr. Man vet ej varifrån de kom, men antar att de hade ett utländskt ursprung. De ingick en strategisk allians med de buddhistiska härskarna i Śrīvijaya – det så kallade "Dubbla Kungadömet". Genom denna allians etablerade Śailendra-dynastin en handelsorganisation, som genererade de erforderliga finansiella resurserna för genomförandet av de enorma byggnationsprojekten på Java av olika tempel och monument – inklusive Barabuḍur. Śailendra-kungarna ansågs vara gudomliga. Śailendra byggde Barabuḍur som ett frälsningens monument, i vilket de redan under sin egen tidsålder kunde erhålla direkta kontakter med Buddha. Dessutom byggde de Barabuḍur för att monumentet skulle spela en roll ur ceremoniell synvinkel och därmed stärka och försvara Śailendras roll som *cakravartin.*

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Tolkningen av Barabuḍur har tidigare primärt baserats på analysen av Buddha skulpturerna. Men tolkning av Barabuḍur bör även omfatta en analys av monumentets 1.460 basreliefer. Basrelieferna i den "gömda basen" och på det första galleriet är till sin karaktär primärt beskrivande, med syfte att göra Buddha närvarande ur tidsmässig synvinkel – och därmed göra monumentet heligt. Basrelieferna på de tredje och fjärde gallerierna har ofta en ikonisk utformning med rumslig karaktär. Syftet med dessa ikoniska basreliefer är att få den troende pilgrimen involverad och få honom att i slutändan bli ett med Buddha.

Skulpturerna på Barabuḍur presenterar Buddha ur en flerdimensionell synvinkel – väl i överensstämmelse med basrelieferna. *Tathāgatan* ansågs nämligen redan vara en upplyst Buddha innan han beslöt sig för att nedstiga till jorden, för att där ge de troende en glimt av den Ultimata Realiteten (*dharmakāya*).

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Barabuḍur kan mycket väl anses representera Berget Meru – det kosmiska berget med dess fyra riken på sluttningen och med ett femte rike på toppen. Av det buddhistiska kosmos 28 himmelriken, anses de första två himmelrikena befinna sig respektive på Berget Merus övre sluttningar och på dess topp. Baserat på en psykologisk bas, kan det buddhistiska kosmos tre sfärer - *Kāmadhātu, Rūpadhātu* och *Ārūpadhātu* – anses vara representerade på Barabuḍur.

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Bodhisattvans Tio Steg till Upplysning (*daśabhūmika*) och de Tio Perfektionerna (*daśapāramitā*) kan mycket väl anses ha illustrerats på Barabuḍur. Men att nyttja monumentets strukturella tio nivåer för att underbygga denna hypotes, synes gå lite väl långt.

Några utestående aspekter beträffande Barabuḍur

Genom att gå runt Barabuḍurs fyra gallerier - *pradakṣiṇa* - med höger axel närmast monumentet, anses den troende utföra en gående version den visuella meditationen på allt högre mentala nivåer. Problemet är emellertid, att detta utförande av *pradakṣiṇa* utelämnar några fundamentala basreliefer på galleriernas balustrader illustrerande textavsnitt från *GVS* och *SBP*. Detta är allvarligt. Dessutom är forskarna långt från överens hur *pradakṣiṇor* av Barabuḍur skall utföras.

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Bronsstatyerna från *Ṅgañjuk* indikerar att *Vajradhāra* (*Ādibuddha*) kulten hade introducerats på Java redan under niohundratalet e.Kr. Men enligt Kĕlurak-inskriptionen från 782 e.Kr., skulle *Vajradhāra* kulten vara känd på Java redan under sjuhundratalet e.Kr. Några forskare hävdar att *Ādibuddha* kan ha representerats på Barabuḍur i form av den 64 Buddha skulpturerna i nischerna på toppen av det fjärde galleriets vägg – en ståndpunkt, mot vilken vi opponerar. Även om Śailendras bevarade sin släktsymbol – den gyllene skulpturen av *Vajradhāra* – i Barabuḍurs centrala *stūpa,* har inget bevis hittills återfunnits indikerande att Barabuḍur monumentet skulle inkludera element från den *tantriska Vajradhāra* kulten. Denna aspekt är fortfarande öppen för diskussion mellan forskare.

Religiösa influenser på Barabuḍur

Barabuḍurs struktur och dekorationer är baserade på ett flertal buddhistiska texter från *Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna* och *Vajrayāna.*

Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra (*BAS*) är huvudtexten för *Huayan* - den kinesiska *Mahāyānatraditionen* från sex-till-åttahundratalen e.Kr. Den volumniösa *BAS* innehåller bl.a. de två texterna *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (*GVS*) och *Bhadracarī* (*SBP*).

Baserat härpå har frågeställningen ställts om influenser från *Huayan* kan ha påverkat Barabuḍurs utformning. I vår analys har vi dock inte funnit bevis för att *Huayan nikāya* skulle ha varit fysiskt representerad på Java under sena sjuhundratalet till tidiga åttahundratalet e.Kr.

Under denna period studerade emellertid ett flertal javanesiska munkar i Indien och i Kina. Vi är fortfarande öppna för att dessa javanesiska munkar skulle i Kina ha studerat delar av *BAS*. Denna kunskap kunde slutligen ha överförts till Java och kunde ha influerat Barabuḍurs konstruktion.

Noterbart är att *GVS* även inkluderar vissa *proto-tantriska* aspekter.

Texterna *GVS* och *SBP* kunde dock mycket väl ha varit kända för Barabuḍurs byggmästare i formen av fristående texter – endera av indisk härkomst eller av kinesisk. Detta är fortfarande en öppen fråga för forskarna.

Sammanfattningsvis har vi inga konkreta bevis för att *BAS* skulle ha varit en av huvudtexterna i planeringen och konstruktionen av Barabuḍur.

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Även om den *esoteriska* javanesiska texten *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (*SHK*) inte var skriven på sanskrit förrän under tidiga niohundratalet e.Kr., så har forskare framfört att vissa av idéerna uttryckta däri skulle ha kunnat cirkulerat dessförinnan. Följande aspekter kunde vara av speciellt intresse rörande Barabuḍur; nämligen

- att *SHK*s Absoluta Realitet antog formen av *Bhaṭāra Hyang* Buddha, en roll som Buddha Mahāvairocana åtager sig i *STTS*;
- att gudomarna i de två interrelaterade grupperna i *SHK*s religiösa utveckling är identiska med gudomarna i *Caṇḍi* Mendut (*Bhaṭāra Ratnatraya*) och i Barabuḍur (*Bhaṭāra Pañca-Tathāgata*);
- att detta kunde vara en indikation på att *Garbhamaṇḍala* och *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* hade blivit introducerade på Java under sena sjuhundratalet e.Kr.;
- att *STTS* kunde ha varit en av de ursprungliga källorna för såväl Barabuḍur, som för *SHK*.

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De religiösa influenserna från Indien var starka under Centrala Javas historia. Śailendras kontakter med *Abhayagirivihāra* på Śrī Laṅkā och med Pāla-dynastin i Bengalen indikerar att någon form av *Varjayāna* buddhismen existerade på Java under sjuhundratalet e.Kr.

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Den *esoteriska* buddhismen i Kina nådde sin höjdpunkt under de Tre Munkarnas period på sjuhundratalet e.Kr. Det bör därför inte ses som alltför orealistiskt att några *esoteriska* buddhistiska aspekter skulle kunna ha introducerats på Java under denna tid direkt från Kina.

Men malströmmen i Kina under medio-åttahundratalet e.Kr. resulterade i förintelsen av ansenligt *esoteriskt* buddhistiskt material. Vissa av de kinesiska *esoteriska* idéerna hade dock dessförinnan introducerats till Korea och Japan. För att förstå och kunna tolka buddhismen i Kina under denna period, är man därför tvungen att i stor utsträckning förlita sig på koreanska eller japanska källor (exempelvis på *Shingon* texter). Men ett varningens finger reses här, emedan de akademiska forskarna har under senare tid kommit fram till att vissa av de japanska texterna har fabricerats i avsikt att sammanfalla med sekteristiska önskemål – t.ex. att hålla *MVS* och *STTS* åtskilda från de större *Mantranaya* och *Mahāyāna* texterna.

Tvillingmaṇḍalan

Barabuḍur har historiskt sett liknats vid olika former av byggnader – t.ex. en *prāsāda*, en *stūpa* eller en *maṇḍala*. Av dessa olika förslag, anser vi att Barabuḍur framförallt kan liknas vid en *maṇḍala*, och då specifikt en *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* illusterande det buddhistiska kosmos.

Av de olika föreslagna modellerna för Barabuḍur, förordar vi *Pañca-Tathāgata* modellen med Buddha Śakyamuni i *vitarkamudrā* överst på det fjärde galleriets vägg. Detta möjliggör för Buddha Vairocana att vara den staty i *saṃboghakāya*, som återfinns i varje genombruten *stūpa*.

Uppdraget för de 37 gudomarna i *Karma* Assembly maṇḍalan i *Vajradhātumaṇḍalan* är, å ena sidan att uppenbara den "osynliga" Buddhan – Buddha Mahāvairocana – och å andra sidan att möjliggöra för den troende att gå upp i Mahāvairocana (*āveśa*).

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Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana är personifieringen av "Sådanhet" (*Tathatā*) – vilket representeras av "Sanning" och "Visdom". *Garbhamaṇḍala* representerar "Sanning" och *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* representerar "Visdom". Dessa två *maṇḍalor - Tvillingmaṇḍalorna* – kompletterar varandra och kan inte existera utan varandra. Tillsammans representerar de "icke-dualiteten" mellan "Sanning" och "Visdom". *Dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana sitter i mitten av båda dessa *Tvillingmaṇḍalor* och symboliserar *amalavijñāna*.

På Java antages *Caṇḍi* Mendut representera *Garbhamaṇḍala,* medan Barabuḍur anses illustrera *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* och *Caṇḍi* Pawon däremellan utgöra det ställe där *homa* ritualen begås. *Garbhamaṇḍala* är baserad på *MVS,* medan *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* är baserad på *STTS*.

Dessa *Tvillingmaṇḍalor* presenterar det faktum att Buddha Mahāvairocana finns inne i den troende individen i form av *bodhicitta* (Buddhanatur) – och på detta sätt kan *dharma* kommuniceras direkt till den troende av *dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana.

Buddha och Barabuḍur

Siddhārtha Gautama var enligt *Mahāyana* buddhismen "redan en upplyst Buddha", när han steg ned på jorden för att bistå de oupplysta varelserna och för att ge de troende en glimt av den Ultimata Realiteten (*dharmakāya*).

Efter att ha uppnått upplysning under *Bodhi*-trädet, antogs Siddhārtha Gautama har lämnat sin fysiska kropp (*nirmāṇakāya*) och ha stigit upp i sin *saṃbhogakāya* till Akaniṣṭha himlen högst upp i *rupadhātu,* där han – "seende i alla fyra riktningarna" – blev initierad som en fullvärdig Buddha.

Nederstigande igen till sin fysiska kropp (*nirmāṇakāya*) höll han senare sin Första Predikan och blev då formellt Buddha Śākyamuni. Detta kan de facto representeras av de 64 Buddhorna i *vitarkamudrā* i nischerna högst upp på väggarna till Barabuḍurs fjärde galleri. Innan *Tathāgata* formellt blev Buddha Śākyamuni, presenteras han på Barabuḍur i *vitarkamudrā.* Därefter presenterades han i *dharmacakramudrā.*

Barabuḍur är en *maṇḍala* – en kombination av kvadrater och cirklar. Barabuḍur kan de facto anses omfatta båda *Tvillingmaṇḍalorna* - *Garbhamaṇḍala* i form av galleriernas basreliefer ("behållaren") och *Vajradhātumaṇḍala* i form av de 72 genombrutna *stūporna* tillsammans med den centrala *stūpan* ("kärnan").

Olika buddhistiska rörelser finns m.a.o. illustrerade på Barabuḍur.

Sammanfattningsvis kan Barabuḍur anses vara ett heligt monument, i vilket Buddha är närvarande, och där den troende kan erhålla Läran direkt från Buddha.

All in One and One in All
Ultimate Reality

In this dissertation, Johan af Klint presents the Barabuḍur monument on Central Java and analyses its significant role. The important trade historical aspects are given due interest. The Śailendras – the builders of the Barabuḍur – are appropriately presented. As the Barabuḍur to a large extent is based on various religious aspects, the introduction process of Buddhism into Indonesia has been given relevant attention.

The religious influences from India were strong during the Central Java Period. *Śrāvakayāna* and *Mahāyāna* were introduced early on. *Esoteric Mantranaya* was introduced during the eighth century CE by the Lankese monks from the *Abhayagirivihāra.* Some *esoteric* Buddhist concepts may also have been introduced from China. Finally, the Barabuḍur could have been influenced by some ideas expressed in the forthcoming local *esoteric* text – the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan.*

The bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur are based on several scriptures, such as the *Lalitavistara,* the *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Bhadracarī.* The Buddha images on the Barabuḍur may represent various models – the most likely is probably the *Pañca-Tathāgata* model.

In conclusion, the Barabuḍur may be regarded as a holy monument, where the Buddha is present, and where the devotees may be taught directly by the Buddha.

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