The Barabuḍur

A Synopsis of Buddhism

Johan af Klint
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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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur is the largest Buddhist monument in the world – being built on Central Java during the late eighth century CE. The Barabudur 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 Mahākarmavibhanga Sūtra, the Lalitavistara, the Gandavyuha Sūtra, the Daśabhūmika Sūtra and the Bhadracari. In addition, the Barabudur seems also to have been influenced by ideas from the ensuing Indonesian esoteric text the Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, as well as by the esoteric Buddhist texts of the Mahāvairocana Sūtra, the Tattvapradīpa and the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 verses. The Barabudur 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 Barabudur is the lack of historical information. No dedicatory inscription has yet been found. The Barabudur was built during the Sailendra interregnum on Java. Their contacts with the Abhayagirivihāra on Sri Lanka 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 Barabudur, together with the Candi Mendut, are supposed to represent the Twin-mandala – thus representing the “non-duality” between “Truth” and “Wisdom”. Dharmakīya Mahāvairocana is in the center of both these Twin-mandalas symbolizing the amalavijnāna.

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

Keywords: Abhayaagirivihāra, Advayadhatu, bas-relief, Bhaṭṭāra Ḥyān, Buddhism, Buddha, Candi Mendut, Dharmakīya, Dharmagatagarbha, esoteric text, Mahāvairocana, Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan, Shingon, Śrāvakayāna, Vajrayāna.

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I am also grateful to the Margit & Rune Johansson’s Foundation, that made my visit to the Barabuqrur possible.

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### Abbreviations

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BKS</strong></td>
<td>Bhadrakalpika Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BAS</strong></td>
<td>Buddhāvataṃsaka Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DBS</strong></td>
<td>Daśabhūmika Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DĪP</strong></td>
<td>Dīpavaṃsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GVS</strong></td>
<td>Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>JM</strong></td>
<td>Jātakamāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KVA</strong></td>
<td>Kathāvattu-āṭṭhakathā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LV</strong></td>
<td>Lalitavistara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MV</strong></td>
<td>Mahāvaṃsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MKS</strong></td>
<td>Mahākarmavibhaṅga Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAS</strong></td>
<td>Maṇḍalāṣṭa Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MVS</strong></td>
<td>Mahāvairocana Sūtra (Chinese)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MVVS</strong></td>
<td>Maṇjuśrībhāṣitavāstuvidyāśāstra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PPS</strong></td>
<td>Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PPV</strong></td>
<td>Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PSS</strong></td>
<td>Pratyutpannasamādhi Sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SBP</strong></td>
<td>Samantabhadracarī Prāṇidhānagāthā Sūtra (or Bhadracarī)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHK</strong></td>
<td>Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHKA</strong></td>
<td>Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Advayāsādhana (or Advayāsādhana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SHKM</strong></td>
<td>Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan Mantranaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STTS</strong></td>
<td>Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha (or Tattvasaṃgraha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VAS</strong></td>
<td>Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra (Sanskrit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VAT</strong></td>
<td>Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Tantra (Tibetan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VST</strong></td>
<td>Vajraśekhara Tantra</td>
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Picture 1  The Barabudur from the air

Introduction and Aim

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

The Barabuurdhu is a monument presenting all of the main three Buddhist traditions - Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna. The concepts

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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, “Borobudur: Prayer in Stone”, 1990 (separate list).


3 śrāvakayāna is in this dissertation used as a generic term for the pre-Mahāyāna branches of Buddhism, except for the Mahāsāṃghika. 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 Barabuďur is assumed to be based, include inter alia the Gañḍavyūha Sūtra (the GVS), the Daśabhūmika Sūtra (the DBS), and the Bhadracarī (the SBP). These texts are included as important parts of the Buddāvatamsaka 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 Barabuďur. 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 Barabuďur. This raises the question of a potential relationship between the Barabuďur 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 Barabuďur has ever been found. The earliest extant main textual sources are dated several centuries after the foundation of the Barabuďur. 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 Barabuďur. However, the study of these texts constitutes an immense task, well beyond the capacity of any single scholar.

The main textual sources that presumably could enlarge our understanding of Buddhism at the Barabuďur would inter alia be:

- Javanese inscriptions;
- texts reproduced on the Barabuďur;

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- 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.

Early Buddhism on Java arrived with the trade contacts and with monks travelling to and from the Pallava kingdom in Southeast India and Śrī Lankā. 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.” In addition, we must keep in mind, that “in continuous flux of history nothing is fixed, neither facts nor interpretations.”

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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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 Barabuđur (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 Barabuđur – the Śailendras. In Section 3, the relationships between Java and Śrī Lanka 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 Lanka to Java. In Section 4, a presentation is made regarding the introduction of Buddhism on Java from Śrī Lanka 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 Barabudur 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 Kamahāyānīkan, 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”. We also want to prevent this PhD-dissertation from being based on any view on Buddhism that - in the

\[\text{[Note: The rest of the text continues here.]}\]
words of Drewes - may be regarded as "an assertion propped up by repetition".  

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 *pradaksīna* around the Barabuḍur. This analysis is presented in *Section 5.3*.

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• **Various potential Visual Forms of the Barabuđur**
  The Barabuđur 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 Barabuđur:
  * 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 Barabuđur as a prāsāda, a stūpa or a maṇḍala**
  A favourite issue among scholars seems to have been whether or not the Barabuđur 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 Barabuđur**
  Who do the various Buddha images on the Barabuđur represent? Scholars are still not in agreement as regards this matter, which is discussed in *Section 5.6*.

• **The Barabuđur and Huayan Buddhism, Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan and Chinese Buddhism as presented by Shingon Buddhism**
  Has the Barabuđur 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 Barabuđur as a Vajradhātu maṇḍala**
  Further to the aspects being presented in *Sections 5.5 & 5.7* above, we analyse whether the Barabuđur could be seen as a *maṇḍala* – and in particular as a *Vajradhātu maṇḍala*. See *Section 5.8*.

• **The Barabuđur and the Twin-maṇḍala concept**
  In *Section 5.9*, we concentrate on the question, whether the Barabuđur was meant to play a special role together with its surrounding temples – i.e. as a Twin-*maṇḍala* together with the *Cāṇḍi* 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.

![Map over Java](Source: Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 197)

The Barabuḍur is not a candi. It is not a temple, as no reliquary (peripih or in Jav. pripihi) has been found in the base (bhūrloka).

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12 The definition of the “candi” 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 candi 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 (peripih) is housed; (ii) an intermediate building element (bhūvar-loka) 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 candi thus consists of three architectural components (the base, the body and the roof) and their contents (a sacred deposit and a statue). The candi 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 (śvarloka).\footnote{Soekmono, 1981, p. 130.} The Barabudur is a monument and was built on the Kedu 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.\footnote{Historical records mention strong earthquakes in inter alia A.D. 1006, 1549, 1867. Voûte, 1973, p.115.} This is not far from the volcano Merapi (see \textit{Pictures 2 & 3}, respectively).

\textit{Picture 3} The volcano Merapi

The Barabudur 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).\footnote{Urubshurow, 1988, p. 260.} As

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

During the Central Java Period (c.a 570-927 CE) the \textit{caṇḍis} on Central Java were built with certain characteristics, such as (i) with \textit{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 \textit{kāla} head on top and a \textit{makara} head at the bottom; and (iv) they were usually constructed in complexes of \textit{caṇḍi} buildings.

\end{quote}


to the question, whether the Barabudur was a prāśāda, a stūpa or a maṇḍala, reference is made to Section 5.5. The Barabudur (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

The mountain range of Menoreh extends to the south of the Barabudur. According to the legend, this mountain range is said to represent the builder of the Barabudur - Gunadharma - 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

Other source: Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 79.

¹⁷ The silhouette of the Menoreh mountain range gives the impression of Gunadharma lying on his back with his face towards the sky and with his head in the east and his feet in the west.  
thus indicates, that the Keḍu plain is a sacred place from where an ascent to heaven may be made.  

![The Menoreh mountain ridge symbolizing Guṇḍadharma](source: Photo Johan af Klint)

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 ground level 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 Barabudur. The Gunung Tidar does indeed lie very close to the geographical center of Java.

In 1929, Stutterheim suggested – based on his studies of the Javanese esoteric and tantric Buddhist text the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan (the SHK) – that the Barabudur 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. Independently hereof von Heine-Geldern came to the same conclusion in 1930. Bernet Kempers

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20 Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 36-40.
21 von Heine-Geldern, 1930, pp. 74-75.
propagated the same view half a century later in 1981.\textsuperscript{22} However, the specific passage of the SHK, on which Stutterheim’s interpretation was based (Folio 48a), has subsequently been called into question.\textsuperscript{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 Lanka. 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.\textsuperscript{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 Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS), including the therein embraced Gandavyāha Sūtra (the GVS) and the Bhadracari (the SBP);

ii. the Mantranaya\textsuperscript{25} texts of the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS) and the Tatvaśamgraha (the STTS); and

iii. the local Javanese esoteric and tantric text the SHK.\textsuperscript{26}

Fontein, on the other hand, is adamant that the Barabuḍur was not influenced by Vajrayāna.\textsuperscript{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.).\textsuperscript{28} It

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), pp. 92-93.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Fontein, 2012, pp. 214-218.
\item \textsuperscript{25} For definition of “esoteric” and “ tantric” Buddhism, see Section 4.2.3, Note 778.
\item \textsuperscript{26} Mantranaya means ”Mantra System”.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Woodward, 1999, pp. 37 & 40.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Fontein, 2001, p. 90.
\end{itemize}
should be noted, though, that the site of the Barabuṇḍur was chosen with regard to existing Buddhist temples. The Candi Sewu (bodhisattva Mañjuśrī) was under construction, the Candi Kālasan (bodhisattva Tārā) was already in its second phase of construction, and the Candi Mendut had already been built – all being potential indications of esoteric Buddhism on Java (see Section 5.2.2).  

Woodward states that the Barabuṇḍur 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 Barabuṇḍur was based on a rather simple Mahāyāna philosophy. The succeeding reconstruction of the Barabuṇḍur around 810 CE should have been influenced by an esoteric form of philosophy, incorporating elements of tantrism. Although Woodward recognizes that the “Law of Cause and Effect” is central at the Barabuṇḍur, he is also of the opinion that the two Shingon mandalas – the Womb (Garbha) mandala representing the “cause” and the Diamond (Vajradhātu) mandala representing the “fruit” – may be represented on the Barabuṇḍur 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 Barabuṇḍur. In addition, Woodward proposes that the bas-reliefs on the monument from the Gandavyūha Sūtra and the Bhadracarī were based on the set of Sanskrit texts that the ruler of Udra (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).

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

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

31 Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 94.

Werner proposes that the Barabuurdur simultaneously reflected:

- **Hīnayāna** – 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 nīrmanakāya;

- **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 sambhogakāya; and

- **Vajrayāna** – which is illustrated by the Barabuurdur 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 Barabuurdur 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 Barabuurdur, 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 *Jītaka* and the *Avadāna* bas-reliefs;
3. Buddhāvataṃsaka by means of the *Ganḍavyūha Sūtra* and the *Bhadracarī* bas-reliefs;
4. *Mantranaya* by the focus on the 504 Buddha images in various *mudrās* (representing the Vajradhātu mahāmāyā).


35 The dates of the construction of the Barabuurdur 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:*

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

- 775-780 CE 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 mandala. 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 Barabudur was completed according to Dumarçay (see Picture 6).

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36 To be noted is, that Dumarçay in fact means that the Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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).

Hattori advocated in an indirect manner that the Barabuṣṭur 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 Barabuṣṭur 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.\(^{42}\)

\(^{39}\) Hattori, 2000, p. 22.

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

\(^{40}\) However, Soekmono’s view seems to have been based on a misunderstanding of Dumarçay.
Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 28-29

\(^{41}\) Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 27-29.

\(^{42}\) Klokke supports the view that the Barabuṣṭur 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 Barabuṣṭur are both decorated with spiralled-eyes (a
The present interest for the Barabuḍur was incited by the reconstruction 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. 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. 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 Pharaohs around 2700 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”.

later invention), this indicates that a reconstruction of those portions of the Barabuḍur had in fact taken place.
Hœnig, 1924, p. 47.
Hœnig, 1924, p. 42.
“Der Borobudur ist eine zusammengesetzte Form; eine Durchdringung zweier heterogener 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). 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. 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).

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.
been constructed within the lotus border of the lower terrace, as found by van Erp (see Picture 10).

In fact, Chihara means that the Barabudur 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), śīla (moral), kṣānti (endurance), vīrya (energy), dhyāna (meditation), and prajñā (wisdom).

Chihara, 1996, pp. 116-119 & 120.


\(^{49}\) 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), andupeksā (mental balance). These last four pāramitās differ from those of the BAS (see Note 50 below and Appendix IV, # 8.3, Notes 1646 & 1647).


galleries were also cut during this reconstruction phase of the Barabuṭur. 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. 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 Barabuṭur to ten stories – which may be seen as being in conformity with the change in Mahāyāna Buddhism on Java at that time.

In view of the ten-storied form of the Barabuṭur, 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). However, Hattori means that the ten-storied form of the Barabuṭur represents the ten successive phases of the development of the mind (the Jūjūshin-ron 十住心經) in Shingon Buddhism.

A vihāra was probably built in connection with the Barabuṭur. However, scholars are still uncertain as to where this vihāra was located. One alternative is on the hill north west of the monument. 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 pāramiṭās (skillful means), pranidhāna (promise), bala (power) and jñāna (knowledge). Instead, the last four “pāramiṭās” on the Barabuṭur bas-reliefs are the “four infinite virtues” (caityā pramāṇāṇā) – maitri (consideration), karunā (compassion), muditā (altruistic delight) andupekṣā (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 Barabuṭur, 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 mandala. The eighth stage corresponds to Tendai (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.
Southeast of the Barabudur 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).  

Given the above, it is not even known who built the Barabudur. Kandahjaya claims in Section 1.2 below, that the Kayumwungan (Karangtènah) inscription of 824 CE may be interpreted to name king Samaratunga as the founder of the Barabudur. Sundberg means, on the other hand, that the Wanua Tèngah III inscription may be interpreted to name Rakai Warak Dyah Manara (r. 802-827 CE) as the founder of the monument. Wiseman 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).

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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56 Sundberg, 2006 (b), pp. 120-124.
57 Wiseman 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”. This “Momentum of Multitude” expressed in the bas-reliefs and in the sculptures of the Barabuḍur, thus underlines the sacredness of the monument.

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

\[
\text{The Barabuḍur represents the Holy,}
\]
\[
\text{its descent into the Universe,}
\]
\[
\text{the Universe being persuaded, and}
\]
\[
\text{the ascent of Man.}
\]

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. The Barabuḍur may thus be seen as the spiritual tool – a yantra – which enables the devotee to meet with the Holy. 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 pradaksīna), the pilgrim meets increasingly subtle and soteriologically efficacious

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59 This “Momentum of Multitude” should not be confounded with the presentation of individual majestic adornments (alakāra) as part of the visualization meditation to reach a Buddha-field Buddhaksetra (see Section 5.3.1).
60 Bernet Kempers, 1981(b), p. 112.
manifestations of the Buddha – thus ritually encountering the Buddha, commemorating his qualities, and symbolically incorporating them. When he reaches the terrace area of the Barabudur, the pilgrim has himself literally moved on to higher levels.\textsuperscript{63}

That the \textit{\^{S}ailendras} would use this central and sacred place to have the Barabudur 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 Barabudur, the \textit{\^{S}ailendras} would also cement their own power position on Java (see Section 5.11).

\subsection*{1.2 The basis on which to understand the Barabudur}

de Casparis is convinced “that no interpretation of individual parts or aspects of the Barabudur can become fully meaningful except within the frame of a general conception”.\textsuperscript{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 Barabudur or the intentions of its architects”.\textsuperscript{65}

However, Kandahjaya is of the view that there exists one inscription that is related to the Barabudur – namely the Kayumwungan inscription of 824 CE, which de Casparis,\textsuperscript{66} Chandra\textsuperscript{67} and Sarkar\textsuperscript{68} have already analyzed and described.\textsuperscript{69} This inscription is another name for the Karangtênah inscription (see \textit{Appendix I}, \# 9).

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{63} Gifford, 2011, p. 21.  
\textit{Other source:} Gifford, 2004, p. 70-75.
\item \textsuperscript{64} de Casparis, 1981, p. 47.
\item \textsuperscript{65} Fontein, 1967, p. 147.
\item \textsuperscript{66} de Casparis, 1950, Vol. I, pp. 24-50.  
\item \textsuperscript{67} Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 226-230.
\item \textsuperscript{68} Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol I, pp. 64-75.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The Kayumwungan (Karangtēñah) inscription is a text, according to Kandahjaya, that in a thorough manner presents the Barabuḍur and its patrons (king Samaratuṅga and his daughter princess Prāmodavarddhani). 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 sanctuary 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 gunagana together with the name Sugata would describe the vihāra, which is to be inaugurated – as “the multitude of virtues of Sugata” (sugataguṇagana).72

Kandahjaya furthermore means, that the name Śrī Ghananātha mentioned in stanza 11 would be mathematically, as well as geometricaly, represented on the Barabuḍur. He arrives at this conclusion by referring to the Sanskrit word ghanā to mean “the cube of a number”. When we introduce the cube of three (3³ = 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.


72 As sugata is another denomination for Buddha Śākyamuni, we are here referring to “the multitude of virtues of Buddha Śākyamuni.
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...)
Sarkar’s translation is “... the assemblage of the virtues of Sugata.”
ing the Buddha statues on the Barabuḍur. For reference, please see the description of the paramaśāyikin 81 grid (9x9 grids) of the Garbha mūndala 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 journal75 his theory that the Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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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75 The Nederlands Indies, Old and New.

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. 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. This article was followed in 2003 by a publication released by the Gadjah Mada University and some French academic institutions. This thorough geological survey indicated that the area east of the Barabuḍur and around the Candi Pawon and the Candi 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, that the pre-historic lake - that apparently had existed in the area - had dried out long before the construction of the Barabuḍur. 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 Candi Mendut, the Candi Pawon and the Barabuḍur - as suggested by Brandes and as related by Krom.

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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 Université Denis-Diderot, 2003, Cracking the Code of Buddhist Cosmology through the Analysis of Holocene Paleoenvironmental Archives: A preliminary reconstruction of paleolake Borobudur (Java, Indonesia).


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

The Barabudur 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\(^3\); the galleries and the foundation were restored through the agency of the UNESCO in 1975-1983.\(^4\)

The Barabudur 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.\(^5\) It consists of:

- the circumferential ceremony platform (the “processional path”) concealing the “hidden base” reliefs;

\(^3\) van Erp later on published an architectural description of the Barabudur – thus accompanying the three portfolios of photographies 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.


\(^5\) Professor Parmono Atmadi at the Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta means that the temples in Old Matura 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 Barabudur to 41.81 meters. Long, 2009, p. 270. Other source: Vouite & 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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”.


Picture 12  The Barabudur from the air

The Barabuḍḍur 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 Vaiśāli 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 period. 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 Barabuḍḍur. 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 Barabuḍḍur 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 influential, as several stūpas in Kashmir, Bhutan, Tibet and Myanmar have resemblances to it - as has the Barabuḍḍur.

Another potential prototype for the Barabuḍḍur could have been the stūpa at Nandangārh (which is supposed to contain the ashes of Buddha Sākyamuni) – close to Bettiah in west Champārān 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 Barabuḍḍur is a square building with each side being 123 meters long and with a present height of 38.5 meters. Muhammad, 2005, p. 9.

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.\footnote{Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 92-94.}

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.\footnote{Chandra, 1995(c), p. 75.} 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
Gandavyūha 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 four-bodied 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 (pradaksīṇa)
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.\footnote{Wong, 2007, pp. 351-355.}

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.
\textit{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
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 Barabudur monument has lead to various theories of its inherent meaning. Foucher suggested already in 1905 that the Barabudur was a prāśāda (a multi-storied palace) with a stūpa on top (see Section 5.5.1). The building, that Foucher had in mind was probably the Lohapāśāda mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. The various levels of the prāśāda 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) voiced the same opinion - although their respective stūpa-prāśāda concept differed somewhat. Other scholars like Foucher (1909), Krom (1927) and Woodward (1981) advocated that the Barabudur would be a stūpa (see Section 5.5.2). Many scholars described the Barabudur as a mandala (see Section 5.5.3). Voûte & Long (2008) proposes similarities with the Vedic fire altar. The multitude of ideas is thus considerable.

Jordaan and Voûte claim that the architectural design for the megaprojects on Java (the Candi Loro Jonggran, the Candi Mendut, the

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92 The prāśāda is a stepped pyramid like a mountain – often symbolizing the cosmic Mount Meru. The prāśāda is a hollow structure. In ancient India, palaces were built like prāśādas. Snoddgrass, 2007, p. 238.

93 The Lohapāśāda (the “Brazen Palace”) got its name from its immense copper roof. It was a tower in Anurādhapura on Sri Lanka and was originally built in nine stories for monks in various stages (bhūmi) on the Path. It was built by king Duṭṭhadāsā (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 Duṭṭhadāsā, 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 Cūlavamsa as having restored the building. Mahāvamsa, XXVII, pp. 182-186.


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 background 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 - saṣṭragrhena - who was an expert in all sorts of work and who was ardent in making proportional measurements by means of a cord (sūtra) and a rod (danda). In addition, there was also the expert in stone carving - takṣaka - and the expert in decoration - vardhakhin. According to the Vāstuvidyā Śāstra (an auxiliary 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

97 Voûte, 2000, p. 318.
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, ...”  
100 See Section 1.1, Note 12.  
These levels of the monument could also be said to represent “earth” (bhūrloka), “atmosphere” (bhūvarloka) and “sky” (svarloka).
The Barabudur was built using well over one million blocks of stone – the majority of which were about 23 centimeters high (corresponding to one tala).\textsuperscript{102} The tala – the measure governing temple architecture – was derived from the dimensions of the human body.\textsuperscript{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 ("shiplapping") (see Picture 14). During the second construction phase, a building method from Sri Lanka 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

\textsuperscript{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 tala (22.9 centimeters). Reference may also be made to the work of Parmono Atmadi, \textit{Some architectural design principles of temples of Java}, Gadjah Mada Universitas Press, 1988, pp. 182-183.

\textsuperscript{103} The tala was seen as the length of the human face – from the hairline of the forehead to the tip of the chin. The tala 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 tala. Long, 2009, pp. 267-268.
notches of the stones on the next level). This technique was combined with the use of stone wedges.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{105}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.45\textwidth]{barabudur_building_blocks.jpg}
\caption{Barabuđur building blocks}
\end{figure}

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 architectural structure of the Barabuđur being “stressed” and weaker in certain parts.\textsuperscript{106} The annual rainfall is high – and may in “wet” years reach 3,000 mm – see the water sprout in Picture 26.\textsuperscript{107}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{104}] Voûte, 2000, pp.311-314.
\item[\textsuperscript{105}] Dumarçay, 1978, pp. 30-31.
\item[\textsuperscript{106}] The hill, on which the Barabuđur 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).
\item[\textsuperscript{107}] Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 89.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
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 1.5° – 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 1.5° to the west of the true north.\footnote{Voûte & Long, 2008, pp. 79-82. Other sources: Long, 2009, p. 66; Voûte, 2006, pp. 242-243.}

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).\footnote{Foucher, 1909, p. 41. Other sources: Fontein, 2001, p. 83; Krom, 1927, Vol. I, p. 1.}
Fontein proposed that the hermeneutics based on the principle of $\text{up\text{ā}ya kau\text{ś}ā\text{ly}a}$ ("skilful means") may have been used in the planning of the distribution of the 1,460 bas-reliefs on the Barabudur.\textsuperscript{110} The $\text{up\text{ā}ya kau\text{ś}ā\text{ly}a}$ is the ability to present dharma lessons in such a manner, as to maximize its effectiveness for various kinds of audiences.\textsuperscript{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 $\text{up\text{ā}ya kau\text{ś}ā\text{ly}a}$ is in fact a fundamental principle of the Mah\text{ā}y\text{ā}na hermeneutics.\textsuperscript{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: “Up\text{ā}ya 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.”\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{110} Fontein, 1967, p. 172.
\textsuperscript{111} Williams, 1999, p. 51.
\textsuperscript{112} Lopez, 1988, p. 50.
\textsuperscript{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 Barabuđur 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 Yosācīra-cittamātra tradition. The "Three Turnings of the Wheel" were supposed to have been (i) the Therosāvāda 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 Sandhinirmocana 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, Huiyuan, Liuqiu and Zongmi. The version by patriarch Fazang of the Huayan tradition organizes the teachings of the Buddha into five categories; namely (i) Hinayāna, (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.
Including the bas-reliefs of the “hidden base”, the bas-reliefs of the Barabudur 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

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1.4.1 The processional path and the “hidden base”

The processional path (pradaksināpatha) (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). Based on its moldings, the processional path may in fact have been completed only in the early tenth century CE, as suggested by Gifford and Williams. 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). In addition, the reason for the processional path may also have been to serve Śailendra’s political aims. 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. This inner level was borted to the

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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 Mahākarmavibhanga bas-reliefs. But that may be seen as “somewhat over-shooting the target”. Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 94-99.
122 Gifford supports the idea, that the processional path was added for structural reasons. Gifford, 2011, p. 172.
outer level by a low, latticed balustrade decorated with yakṣas.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{125}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{processional_path.png}
\caption{The processional path of the Barabudur}
\end{figure}

The two levels of the processional path (pradaksināpatha) are interrupted 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 (sinha)\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
\item See Note 149.
\item Nou & Frédéric, 1996, pp. 99-100.
\item The lion (sinha) – 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 everything.
\item Bosch, 1960, p. 140.
\end{itemize}
a *makāra* head. The *makāra* has its mouth open, in which sits a small lion (or a small human) with its left paw raised (see *Picture 21*).\

![Source: Photo Johan af Klint](source.jpg)

*Picture 20* Staircase ending as spiral scrolls

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 (*śinḥa*), 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 Barabuḍur in the N-S direction, respectively in the E-W direction, symbolize the six-monthly rising and descending phases of the sun-cycle.


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.


The “hidden base” consists of 160 bas-reliefs decorating the outside of the base of the Barabudur, but now “hidden” by the later addition of the processional path (pradaksināpatha). 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


The 160 bas-reliefs of the “hidden base” are believed by scholars to illustrate the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga Sūtra* (the *MKS*)\(^\text{130}\) – “Great Exposition of the Law of Karma” or the “Great Law of Cause and Effect”.

\(^{130}\) 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 Barabudur. 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.

Effect”. However, the MKS does not represent new philosophical perspectives, as all Buddhist traditions accept the importance of the Law of Cause and Effect. The specific text that guided the sculptors on the Barabudur is unknown. It may have been the Sanskrit text, that was translated into Chinese in 582 CE by Gautama Dharmaprajñā (T. 80). The MKS is presented on the Barabudur in two different manners – 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]”. 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.

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132 Fontein, 1989, p. 77.

133 Fontein means that this text is primarily based on one of two texts from the Chinese Tripitaka. The first text being the Sūtra on the Difference in Retribution of Actions as Expounded by the Buddha to Suka Mānava (Fó wéishōu jiā zhāngzhē shuò yēbāo chāibié 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 (Fēnbìé shàn è bāoyìng jīng) 分別善惡報應經（T. 81), which was translated into Chinese in 980 CE by the Kashmir monk Tiān Xizī 天息災.  

According to the Hōhōgin, 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”.  

136 Fontein, 1989, p. 78.
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

¹³⁷ Fontein, 1989, pp 15-68.
¹³⁹ Fontein, 1989, pp. 69-72, 75, 77.
Khotanese *Karmavibhaṅga* (Maggi 1995) ensure excellent opportunities for renewed efforts to identify additional bas-reliefs from the MKS on the “hidden base” of the Barabudur.\(^{140}\)

![Source: Photo Johan af Klint](Picture 25)

*Picture 25* The Barabudur – 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 Barabudur 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.


\(^{143}\) 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 Barabudur, 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 ghosts, 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 Barabuđur 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-

144 Gifford, 2011, p. 172.
spouts (makāras) at this level of the monument (see *Pictures 26-29*).

It is noteworthy, that the *yakṣas* are represented only on the outside wall of this lowest visible bas-relief level of the Barabudur, while the *apsaras* and the *gandharvas* appear on the outside walls on all levels of the monument. The *gandharvas* are constantly making offerings and performing music. These *yakṣas*, *apsaras* and *gandharvas* developed in Buddhism into the guardians of the *dharma* – the

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145 See Section 1.4.1, Notes 127 & 128.
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

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\text{dvārapāla (freestanding images, kneeling on one knee, wearing a heavy moustache, and holding a bulky club - as seen at the Candi 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 Barabudur seem to be depicted in this manner. Bosch, 1959, pp. 228 & 238-239; Bosch 1960, p. 132. Other source: Miksic, 1990, p. 57.}
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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 - pradaksina - 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 (pradakṣināpātha) 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.\textsuperscript{153}

\begin{center}
\textit{Picture 28}  \hspace{1cm} \textit{Apsara} with a lotus flower and with a flower pot
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\textit{Picture 29}  \hspace{1cm} \textit{Gandharva} with a lotus flower
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{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).

![Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on the outer wall](source: Photo Johan af Klint)

*Picture 30* Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on the outer wall

We may thus conclude, that the architects of the Barabuđur 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 Baraṇḍūr 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 (pradakṣīṇa) 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 of the balusters with the small lion in their mouths (see Pictures 31 & 32).

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Picture 31 Kāla head

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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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{157} This kāla head is called the “Face of Glory” (kṛttimukha). 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).\textsuperscript{158}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Picture32}
\caption{The eastern entrance gate of the Barabudur}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{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 elixir 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.


\textit{Other sources:} Miksic, 1990, p. 56; Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 311-313.

\textsuperscript{157} Kim, 2007, pp. 183-191.

\textsuperscript{158} Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 119.

The four galleries on the Barabuður 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 Barabuður). 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).\(^{159}\)

![Picture 33](image.png)

*Source: Chihara, 1996, p. 114*

*Picture 33*  The Barabuður seen from above

In analysing the bas-reliefs on the four galleries of the Barabuður, it may be important to note from the outset, that they are mostly hierarchical 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

\(^{159}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{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 – \textit{dharmacakrapravartana}.\textsuperscript{161} This story is presented in the 27 chapters of the \textit{Lalitavistara} (“The Unfolding of the Play”).\textsuperscript{162}

\begin{center}
\textit{Picture 34} The first gallery with its four rows of bas-reliefs
\end{center}

As indicated below, the underlying text for the 120 bas-reliefs of the Barabudur would probably have been the Sanskrit version of the text, that was the basis for the translation into Tibetan of the \textit{LV}.\textsuperscript{163} Bernet

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\textsuperscript{160} Brown, 2003, pp. 251-255.
\textsuperscript{161} Miksic, 1990, pp. 97-126.
\textsuperscript{162} For a summary of this text and the bas-reliefs, please refer to Krom (1974, pp. 1-131). The Buddha appears here in \textit{nirmānakāya}, in order to be appreciated by the non-enlightened beings in this world (see Section 1.4.5, Note 279).

The word \textit{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.
\textit{Other sources:} Hikata, 1981, pp. 112-113 (full list); Vaidya, 1958, pp. xi-xiii.

\textsuperscript{163} Pleyte showed in 1901 that the life of the Buddha, as presented on the first gallery, was based on the \textit{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. *Aṣṭasāhasrīkā Prajñāpāramitā*;
3. *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*;
4. *Surṇaṇaprabhāsā*;
5. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*;
6. *Daśabhūmaṇī*;
7. *Samādhiśri*;
8. *Saddharmapundarika*; and

\(^{165}\) The *Vaipulya Sūtras*, with their “Sudden Enlightenment”, paralleling the conceptualization of Enlightenment as a “Flash of Illumination”, are substantiated by the subsequent: *kṛyā tantras* – Buddha Amitābha (Infinite Light); *caryā tantras* & *yoga tantras* – Buddha Vairocana (Solar Light); and *anuttarayoga tantras* – Buddha Heruka (Oh Light).

\(^{166}\) 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*).

\(^{167}\) “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.

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 Barabudur 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). Could it have been the Sanskrit version referred to below by Vaidya?

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;
respectively. 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.

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.

![Image of Siddhārtha meets with his five ascetic friends](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  Pù yào jìng  普曜經  (translated by Dharmarakṣa).
T. 187  Fāng guǎngdà zhuàng yán jìng  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

![Picture 37](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

**Picture 37** The Wheel of Law and the two deers at the vihāra close to the Candi 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 Bodhgaya in Magadhā. While remaining seated under the Bodhi tree absorbed in the samādhi of oceanic reflection, Siddhārtha Gautama mentally ascended to the “Hall of Brightness” in the Akaniṣṭha heaven (see Picture 38), where he – in his saṃbhogakāya form – preached the immense 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


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

![Image of the "empty lotus cushion" at the end of the Lalitavistara bas-relief series on the Barsabur.](source: Photo Johan af Klint)

**Picture 38**  The “empty lotus cushion” at the end of the Lalitavistara bas-relief series on the Barabudur

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 Barabudur 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.  
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.\textsuperscript{178} For a further discussion on this mudrā-matter, please see Section 5.6.2.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Picture39.png}
\caption{Siddhārtha Gautama attains Enlightenment [in vitarka-mudrā]}
\end{figure}

These discrepancies seem to indicate that the iconography used on the Barabudur may not in detail be in accordance with the Buddhist conventional iconography.\textsuperscript{179} But such a statement regarding the iconography used on the Barabudur should be interpreted with utmost caution. By analyzing the Barabudur 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 disrupting bas-reliefs are found at three important junctions of the story; i.e. (i) when the bodhisattva descends from the Tusita 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

\textsuperscript{178} Fontein, 2012, pp. 19-20.
\textsuperscript{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

![Image of a bas-relief depicting Buddha](Source: Photo Johan af Klint)

**Picture 40** The Enlightened Siddhārtha 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 Tusiṣṭa, 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 Barabudur 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 monastery complex, although the latter is somewhat later in time than the Barabudur).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.
The lower level of bas-reliefs on the wall of the first gallery are avadāna stories. It starts off with the story of Prince Sudhana (the crown prince of North Pancala) and his beloved kinnārī 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.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

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 Barabuṣṭi - 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.

The avadāna stories illustrated various stories from Buddhist saints and bodhisattvas. The bas-reliefs illustrate stories from the Avadānajātaka, the Avadānakalpatāla and the Avadānasatāka. Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 126.

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 Barabuṣṭi.

Miksic, 1990, pp. 77-81.
(nirmānakāya), accompanied by common mortals and by the conspicuous absence of other bodhisattvas.185

![Source: Photo Johan af Klint](image)

Picture 42 The future Buddha Śākyamuni in his earlier life as king Śibi, 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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187 For an English translation of these stories, please see Karoche, 1989.
188 The Russian Buddhologist Sergēj 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 serie 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.

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

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.\footnote{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.}

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.\footnote{Miksic, 1990, pp. 71-96. \textit{Other sources}: Bernet Kempers, 1981(a), pp. 99-101; Hikata, 1981, pp. 106-117 & 125-126 (complete list).} Among these bas-reliefs, there are also images of conventional animals (see \textit{Picture 45}).

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{picture45.jpg}
\caption{Elephants and apes in the jātaka and avadāna bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur}
\end{figure}

Source: Photo Johan af Klint
The main purpose of the LV and the jātaka texts on the Barabuḍur is to illustrate the meaning of being a bodhisattva. 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”. 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.

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). The same purpose could be obtained by using a decoration of a Jewel Tree (ratnavṛksa) (see Picture 47).

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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/kinnaris, is used by the Barabuḍur sculptors to represent a Pure land or a buddhaksetra. This tree could also be a Jewel Tree (ratnavṛksa) (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.
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.\footnote{Klokke, 2006, pp. 56-57.}
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 pradaksinas in the galleries 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). 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). Thus, the 388 bas-reliefs of the GVS (“Entering the Realm of Ultimate Reality”) are portrayed on the walls of the second gallery,

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198 These ten pradaksinas 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 Barabudur may have been based on the number 110 or the number 55.


200 The Prajñā 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 - Barabudur: 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.\textsuperscript{202}

\begin{figure}[h]
  \centering
  \includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{image.png}
  \caption{The Buddha in an earlier life as an ape, offering himself in order to save the other apes - \textit{jātaka}}
  \label{fig:jatuka}
\end{figure}

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

\begin{footnote}
There is an apparent inconsistency between the number of visits to the \textit{kalyāṇamitrās} 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 \textit{kalyāṇamitrās} of the \textit{zjīn} and the \textit{sheng jīnfēn}, see this Section 1.4.4, Note 219 and Appendix III, # 4, Note 1460.

Regarding the number 110, see Note 224 below.
\end{footnote}


tantric elements (see Appendix III, # 4). The GVS constitutes the final part of the BAS (“Flower Garland Sūtra”) – 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.

Already prior to the construction of the Barabudur, various Sanskrit manuscripts were in circulation in other Buddhist countries of the particular texts, that guided the architects and sculptors of the Barabudur. 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). Fontein means, “that the sculptors, instead of

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204 The *Buddhāvatsasaka 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 Prajñā *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. Prajñā’s 40 folio version is de facto the GVS itself, including the *Bhadracarii* (see Appendix III, # 4 & 5, respectively).


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 Jiān bēi yìqié zhī dě jīng漸備一切智德經 (T. 285) by Dharmarakṣa; as *Shì zhù jīng十住經* (T. 286) by Kumārajīva; and as *Shì dì jīng十地經* (T. 287) by Śiladharmarāja (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.

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.”

As indicated below and as further elaborated in Section 5.11.2, the Gandavyūha Sūtra bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur may on purpose have been carved in such a manner, as to strengthen 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 and Gifford 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.

![Picture 50](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.
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.\textsuperscript{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 Prajñā translation into Chinese (see Appendix III, # 4). Or in the words of Fontein:

\begin{quote}
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 \textit{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 \textit{Gaṇḍavyūha}, in circulation in the Buddhist world during the 9th century, served as the source of inspiration for the sculptors of Borobuḍur.\textsuperscript{211}
\end{quote}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.4	extwidth]{source.png}
\caption*{\textit{Picture 51} Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī instructs Sudhana to visit the \textit{kalyāṇamitrasy}}
\end{figure}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{210} Fontein, 2012, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{211} Fontein, 2012, pp. 151-152.
\end{footnotesize}
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). In other words, by using the available tools of this world, one may accomplish Enlightenment. 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.

![Source: Photo Johan af Klint](Picture 52)

**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.


214 Fontein, 2012, p. 155 & Gómez’ view in *Note 227.*
the Jetavana grove (II-1) according to the introduction of the GVS. There he is requested to enter the samādhi called Simhavijrmbhita (“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 umā of the Buddha. The magnificent many-peaked palace (mahāvyāhe 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).

![Source: Photo Johan af Klint](image)

**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 nirmānakāya manifestations which the bodhisattvas in the Jetavana grove produce, are in fact the kalyāṇamitrās 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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Sudhana hereby indirectly commemorates the Buddha – thus acquiring merits and improving his karma.\(^{217}\)

Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is in the Gandavyūha 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 kūtāgāra by “snapping his fingers” (see Picture 53). In the kūtāgāra, 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 kalyāṇamitrás taught Sudhana both zifèn (one’s own experiences) and sheng jìnfèn (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 - kūtāgāra - for Sudhana.

The “snapping of the fingers” illustrated not only that the door to the kūtāgāra opened up, but also that Sudhana received Enlightenment. Prior to entering Buddha Vairocana’s kūtāgāra, Sudhana remembered all his experiences from his past lives in one single train of thought. But when Sudhana subsequently entered Buddha Vairocana’s kūtāgāra, he forgot all his past avadānas once and for all. Sudhana experienced an entire universe in the kūtāgāra encompassing other mutually interdependent kūtāgāras. All the kūtāgāras 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 kūtāgāra – four of which with his right hand raised in vitarka-mudrā. It should be underlined, that bodhisattva Maitreya did not physically enter the kūtāgāra together with Sudhana. It was only a vision of bodhisattva Maitreya, that Sudhana “saw” in the kūtāgāra. 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 kūtāgāra; 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

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

Sudhana inside the Vairocana kūṭāgāra decorated with bells

The GVS is presented on the Barabudur 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)
  (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).


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);  
• 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 Samantabhadra (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.  

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-uyāvala-mātrā-mṛgo-garbhā Mahākālā. Although it is bodhisattva Maitreya in his saṃbhoga-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 (sūnyatā). 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.

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 Barabuđur (see Picture 55).\(^{224}\)

![Picture 55](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 kāṇḍaḍātthu. 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


\(^{224}\) The number “110” is repeated frequently in the GVS. As seen above in Section 1.4.4, Note 219, Sudhana met with 110 kalyāṇamittas (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 Barabuđur also follows a 110-based distribution formula (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 Barabuđur had at their disposal, must have indicated the number 110 at one or several instances.

Fontein, 1967, pp. 6-14 & 120-121.


\(^{225}\) 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 (Ārūpadhātū) – 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 Barabudur, 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*).

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\(^{227}\) Other source:  Nattier, 2009, pp. 101 & 106.
\(^{228}\) Gómez is not only critical to the important role given to bodhisattva Samantabhadra on the Barabudur bas-reliefs (see Section 1.4.4, Note 219), but also to Sudhana’s gradual development into insight, as presented on the Barabudur 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 Barabudur overall stucture. According to Gómez, the Buddhist view is, namely, that insight and Enlightenment are obtained *instantaneously*.

\(^{228}\) Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 128.
On the wall of the fourth gallery, the Bhadracari (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

\(^{229}\) Bosch pursued the work initiated by Krom, and identified in 1922 the source of the final bas-reliefs on the fourth gallery as the Bhadracari. Gómez & Woodward, 1981, p. 4.

\(^{230}\) The full title of the Bhadracari (the SBP) is that of the Samantabhadracari Pranidhānaśāhā Śūtra. It is included as the last part of the Gaṇḍavyūha Śūtra 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 Chinese 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). Amoghavajra’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).


\(^{231}\) Gómez means, though, that the last verses of the GVS – the Bhadracari (the SBP) – is a later addition. The original text of the GVS would thus have ended with Sudhana’s return to Matjuśri. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has also proposed that opinion. Gómez, 1981, pp. 183-184 & notes 49-50 & van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1965, p. 408. Other source: Fontein, 2012, pp. 199-202.
conducts and vows of bodhisattva Samantabhadra (the *Samantabhadracarī* Praṇidhāna-gāthā 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur (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 *ājali-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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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.

From the nineteenth bas-relief (IV-19) onwards, bodhisattva Samantabhadra switches the role from a worshipper of the Puñca-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 pradaksina. 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.  

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. Undoubtedly stanzas # 57 and # 59 address Buddha Amitābha. 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).

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 pavilion in the western paradise of Amitābha - Sukhāvatī. The Buddha in bas-relief IV-50 is presented in dhyāna-mudrā. Referring to Krom, Kandahjaya claims that he represents Buddha Amitābha – although Krom is not that explicit. Kandahjaya means further that the last three bas-reliefs in the Bhadracari 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”. The problem is, however, that

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239 Fontein, 2000, p. 12.
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. These aspects thus weaken the case of Kandabjaya.

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 Barabudur - usually in the form of two kinnara/kinnārī under a wishing tree (kalpavrksa) guarding pots filled with treasures.

In conclusion, one ought to be cautious in assigning any extra important role to Buddha Amitābha on the Barabudur 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 destination, is illustrated by the fact, that the bas-reliefs are gradually including a larger number of Buddhas (see Picture 57). 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 Gandavyūha Sūtra on the second gallery and the last bas-reliefs on the second gallery (II-126 & II-128) prepare the devotee for the kūtāgāra of Vairocana on the third gallery (see page 91 above).

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243 Fontein, 2012, pp. 204-205.
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. 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 Barabuddur (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.

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Other source: Bernet Kempers, 1976, p. 135.

Other source: Gifford, 2004, pp. 11-12;
Both the GVS and the SBP qualify according to Fontein as a dharmasarīra, 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 Barabudur; viz.

- There does not seem to exist any obvious precedents in south, central and Southeast Asia for the GVS bas-reliefs on the Barabudur – particularly those on the third and fourth galleries;
- The bas-reliefs of the GVS on the Barabudur 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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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 kūtāgāra is furthermore presented on no less than 124 bas-reliefs.
Other source: Östo, 2008, pp. 125-126 (List of the kalyaṇamitras).
• 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).  

The various series of bas-reliefs on the Barabuñur 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. 

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249 The Barabuñur architects consequently assigned 110 bas-reliefs to the Sudhana pilgrimage (i) from his taking leave of bodhisattva Manjusri to his arrival to the Buddha Vairocana’s kāṭāgāra; 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 kāṭāgāra (see in this Section 1.4.4, Notes 219 & 224 above).

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

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”. 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 mandala. An excellent historical review of the deve-

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Cleary, 1993, p. 163.

The Pañca-Tathāgatas have by early scholars (Conze, et.al.) erroneously been denominated the five Jina Buddhas or the five Dhyāni Buddhas – a status that sometimes still recurs.

This view is confirmed by Astley-Kristensen.

Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 33 n. 146.

The Pañca-Tathāgatas are presented in the Vajradhātu mandala 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 nirvāṇa and samsāra; namely

Vairocana           center           white           form  (rūpa);
Aksobhya            east             blue            consciousness (vīśhāna);
Ratnasambhava       south            yellow          sensation (vedanā);
Amitābha            west             red             discernment (samjñā);
Amoghasiddhi        north            green           volition (samskāra);

development of the view of these Pañca-Tathāgatas has been delivered by van Lohuizen-de Leeuw. 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 explicitly in a table form from Buddhhabhadra (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. The importance of specifying the series, in which a particular Tathāgata occurs, is thus stressed – in order to prevent ambiguity (see Section 5.6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Series</th>
<th>Tathāgata</th>
<th>Ākāśabhyu</th>
<th>Rāmaketu</th>
<th>Anātīyas</th>
<th>Dundubhīvara</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Savarnag_CB_nitta</td>
<td>Tathāgata</td>
<td>Ākāśabhyu</td>
<td>Rāmaketu</td>
<td>Anātīyas</td>
<td>Dundubhīvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amogasānī</td>
<td>Tathāgata</td>
<td>Ākāśabhyu</td>
<td>Rāmaketu</td>
<td>Anātīyas</td>
<td>Dundubhīvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garbhādhu</td>
<td>Tathāgata</td>
<td>Ākāśabhyu</td>
<td>Rāmaketu</td>
<td>Anātīyas</td>
<td>Dundubhīvara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vajradhātu</td>
<td>Tathāgata</td>
<td>Ākāśabhyu</td>
<td>Rāmaketu</td>
<td>Anātīyas</td>
<td>Dundubhīvara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Garbhā mandala and the Vajradhātu mandala are presented in the analysis section.

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 Barabar houses one and the same Pañca-Tathāgata ruling over one and the same cardinal direction and presenting one and the same mudrā; namely:

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).
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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These four Buddhas – together with Buddha Vairocana – constitute the Pañca-Tathāgatas 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
Aksobhya
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 Barabudur 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

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 Hunting-ton,263 Krom,264 Segai265 and Snodgrass266);

• Buddha Śākyamuni (Boeles, Huntington, and Werner);
• bodhisattva Samantabhadra or Samantabhadra-Vajradhāra (Gómez, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Nou & Frédéric, Toganoo and Woodward).

Fontein claims that on the Barabuṣṭur 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 (la-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”. This would also

263 Huntington, 1994, p. 143.
264 Krom, 1927, II, p. 152.
265 Segai, 1995, p. 95.
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 bodhyagrīmudrā. 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 bodhisattva – 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 Pañcaka-Tathāgata” (i.e. the Buddha on top of the wall of the fourth gallery on the Barabuṣṭur) – 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).

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 kutāgāra 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 bodhyagri-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 denomiating 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.


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 Śīṃhaviṃbhita (the samādhi called “the Lion’s Yawn”). Cleary, 1989(a), p. 14.

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.


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. 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). 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). Buddha Vairocana represents

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279 In order to explain the concept of the transcendent Buddha, Mahāyāna Buddhism introduced the concept that the Buddha may have different bodies (kāya) – namely:

(i) the earthly “Body of Transformation” (nirmanakāya) in which [the sambhogakāya form of] Buddha Śākyamuni appeared on earth for 80 years during the fifth century BCE. The sambhogakāya form of the Buddha thus descended on earth in the form of nirmanakāya 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” (sambhogakāya) 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 Enlightenment. The sambhogakāya is the form in which the Buddha appears by skilful means (upāya kauśalya) in order to assist the advanced practitioners of the Path (i.e. those who themselves are close to being a Buddha). Sometimes the Buddhas in their sambhogakāya form descend temporarily on earth in their form of nirmanakāya. It is a boundless and infinite body, being based on the earlier good merits of the Tathāgata. It is the subtle personification of the dharmakāya. This body has a beginning, but no end. It was from this body that the Ekāyānavāda (the doctrine of the only vehicle) was preached in the form of the Saṃskṛta-sūtra and the Bodhisattvāsūtra sutra; 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 dharmakāya is the “real body” of the Buddha. It is the underlying identity of the sambhogakāya and of the nirmanakāya. 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” (svabhāvikakāya), which together with the dharm-
an infinitely continuing entity (continuum), usually known as the sambhogakāya (“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 (“Transformation 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). The Buddha represented there, should in fact always be Buddha Vairocana. Huntington, however, identified this Buddha in vitarka-mudrā as Buddha Ākyamuni/Vairocana preaching the MVS. The 64 images of Buddha Śākyamuni/Vairocana are deemed to represent the 64 world systems in which Buddha Vairocana is teaching the dharma. 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 Barabu ur. The Buddha images on the Barabu ur could be seen to have been organized in accordance herewith – i.e. with regard to the Bhatāra 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 Barabu ur, as well as the angular positions of the Candi Pawon and

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kāya constituted the “Real Essence” of the Buddha, and which also is empty (śānyatā). The svabhāvikakāya 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.


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.


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.


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 further 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
*Bhadra Kalpa*. In the *Bhadra Kalpa Sūtra* (Toh 94) of the Tibetan
Buddhist canon – the *Kanjur* – illustrations of all the “Thousand
*Bhadra Kalpa* 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 *Vajra Dhātu mandala* (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 *pradakṣīṇa* 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 *dharm*. 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.

![Stupa decorations around the niches of the second to the fourth galleries](image)

*Source: Krom & van Erp, 1931, Vol III*

*Picture 62*  
*Stūpa decorations 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*). The niches are,  

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Voûte presents the astronomical fact, that at the time of the construction of the Barabudur (at latitude 7.608° South) during the early ninth century CE, the sun rose on the exact Mount Merapi-Barabudur 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 nevertheless it highlights the number “108”.


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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 bodhisattva was sitting on the Lion-throne in his beautiful double *ratnavyāha*-pavillion in *Tuṣita*. He was carried in his double *ratnavyāha*-pavillion by 110 thousand *koṭis* of gods and descended to this world, where he entered the womb of his mother (queen Mahāmāya) from her right side — the double *ratnavyāha*-pavillion, et.al. The point being, 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 Barabudur, and according to the *LV*, the bodhisattva descends in his divine shape in his double *ratnavyāha*-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** *Ratina* 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 terrestrial *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.


287 The *Mānuṣī* Buddhas are the eight Buddhas of the present aeon (*kalpa*). Five *Mānuṣī* Buddhas have preceded Buddha Śākyamuni in the present *kalpa* - namely Buddha Prabhūtaratna, Buddha Dipankara, Buddha Krakucchadra, Buddha Kanakamuni and Buddha Kāsyapa. 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 *Mānuṣī* Buddhas.


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 terrestrial “Buddhas of the Past”.289

The Buddhavamsa (“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 causal connection and calculable time.291 In the vast time frame of the Buddhavamsa, no fewer than twentyfive (25) Buddhas are deemed to have existed and offered the sentient beings a model for overcoming samsāra.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 pradakṣīna 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.
290  The Buddhavamsa is the earliest Pāli vamsa. It was written in India – not on Śrī Lāṅkā - 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.
293  See Note 285 above.
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 elixir of immortality (amṛta). Two bearded men are shown in this decoration. Voûte & Long\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{296}

\textsuperscript{295} Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 177.

\textsuperscript{296} A monk or a yogin is believed to be able to obtain this supernatio nal 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.  
\textit{Other sources:} Davidson, 2002, pp. 198 & 203-204; Sundberg, 2004, p. 113 n.30.
Now the pilgrim enters an entirely new realm – the climax of the previous story of the GVS. 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 kātāgāra (while he on the third gallery only was a visitor to this kātāgāra). 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”.  

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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).

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 anda is bell-shaped, surmounted by a
square harmika and an octagonal 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 Barabudur

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 Barabudur might


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 Barabudur, would thus constitute an architectonic transcription of the stūpas depicted on the body of Vairocana in the Avatāmśaka 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.


The entire Barabudur 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). The 72 latticed stūpas are also believed to symbolize the magical buildings (kūṭāgāra) referred to in the Čandavyāha Sūtra. Furthermore, these 72 latticed stūpas may be regarded as representing the 72 elements of existence (i.e. the conditioned dharmas) according to the Abhidharmakośa. 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 Barabudur. This aspect will be further elaborated in Section 5.7.1.

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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Woodward, 1981(b), p.47
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](image)

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

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\(^{305}\) When the system of the five Paśca Tathāgatas is increased to a sixfold system, it is customary in some Mahāyāna traditions to exalt Buddha Vairocana – the central Paśca-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 dharmacakrā-mudrā.


\(^{306}\) Shingon Buddhism in Japan differentiates between two separate dharmakāya – “hont-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 mandala – exemplified by the Ngañjuk 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.

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


bhogakāya forms sitting in their respective buddhaksetras (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 kūtāgāra and in the mandala design. Cleary means that these 72 Buddha images are all presented in the same dharmacakramudrā, 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 Barabudur 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 Mūlamādiyamakakārikā.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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³¹³ See Section 1.4.4, Note 224 & Section 1.4.5, Note 285.
³¹⁴ Miśic, 1990, p. 50.
³¹⁵ Frédéric, 1996, p. 114.
The pinnacle (yaštī) 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. The anda of the stūpa is embellished with a stone decoration in form of a flower ribbon (see Picture 72).

The top part of the Barabuđur 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 Barabuđur (see *Section 1.1, Pictures 8, 9 & 10 and Picture 73 below*).  

An “unfinished” Buddha statue in bhūmisparśa-mudrā was found in a man-made hole in the anda of the central stūpa. It was not until 1853, when it was found and initially reported by Wilse. Krom refused to accept the originality of this sculpture and believed that it has been placed there during the nineteenth century. Frédéric embraces the theory that the central stūpa was originally empty. So does Hattori, who also states that the Barabuđur 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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*Other sources*: Parmentier, 1924, pp. 612-614; Parmentier, 1929, pp. 264-265.  
“unfinished” Buddha was according to Hattori never part of the monument (see Sections 5.6.1 & 5.8).\footnote{Hattori, 2000, pp. 25-28.}

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 Vajra-dhātu mandala – Buddha Vairocana and the 36 deities).\footnote{Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 175-179.} Other source: Chandra, 1995(c), pp. 86-87.

Like the Ngaijk bronzes (see Picture 74), they were brought to the ādhāra only when needed – as they were to the Candi Mendut and the Candi 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.

\textbf{Picture 74} A portable Ngaijk bronze figure

Soekmono has, however, come across a Javanese account from early nineteenth century stating that a visitor to the Barabuḍur saw the...
“unfinished” Buddha in the central stūpa. Huntington considers that it is Buddha Śākyamuni in dharmadhātu – i.e. Buddha Vairocana. 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. 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 Barabudur 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 sambhogakāya (“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 esoteric picture of Buddha Akṣobhya. 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 Barabudur. But Cornelius, Raffles and others, who visited the Barabudur between 1814-1850 CE did not report having found any “unfinished” Buddha statue on the terraces or in the main stūpa of the Barabudur. 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.


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 Barabuḍr - 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 Vajrabhairava - was placed in the hollow space in the anḍa of the central stūpa of the Barabuḍr. It has been suggested by several scholars, that Dyah Bilaputra 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 Barabuḍr - 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 Barabuḍr. 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

329 In Section 4.2.4, we are informed that the 81 square caṇḍita plan (the paramaśāyikin) of the Citarakarmaśāstra fitted well on the terrace section of the Barabuḍr. 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 Barabuḍr, it would mean that the “unfinished” Buddha image should not have had a place in the central stūpa.


Mus presented the view, that the answer to who the Buddhas in the latticed stūpas could be, is found in the Lotus Sūtra (Saddharmapuṇḍarika 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 Lattikāvatāra 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.\textsuperscript{331} Various scholars have arrived at the conclusion, that the Barabuḍuṛ 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 (yaśī), together with the parasols (chattras) and other decorations. However, other scholars were opposed to this theory.\textsuperscript{332} Furthermore, in Section 5.3.4 we are discussing the suggestion, that this proposed structure may have taken the form of a vaṭalāge.

As indicated above, the various Buddhas on the Barabuḍuṛ 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.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{picture75.jpg}
\caption{Tibetan Vajrayāna monks chanting at the Barabuḍuṛ}
\label{picture75}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{331} Lessing & Wayman, 1968, pp. 27, 29 & 35.
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).

![Zen nuns meditating on the terrace area of the Barabuḍur](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 Barabudur 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.

*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.

1.5.1 The Candi Mendut

The Candi Mendut (see Picture 78) was built prior to the Barabuṣur. The Karangtēnah inscription of 824 CE (Śaka 746) (see Appendix I, # 9) names it on line 21 as “venuvanā-bhikhyam ... jinamandiram”.³³⁵ The Candi Mendut may have been the original site of the stone of Karangtēnah.

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 śrīmadvenuvanābhikhyam = vidhyā jinamandiram yat = punyam = āptam = etena daśad = āśnitu saugatam

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

The Venuvanamandiram (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.

The name “Mendut” means “to expand”, which corresponds to “vaipulya”. This name and the Kêlurak 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).

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

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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 Lankā with the Abhayagiriwijāsins already during the third century CE. As Sakar has indicated, there was an epithet in the Kêlurak 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.


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.
The entrance staircase of the Candi 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 raksā-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 Candi Mendut, is that a line extrapolated northwestwards from the entrance of the Candi Mendut would intersect with the SW-NE diagonal line of the Barabudur 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. In case this proposal holds true, the kālathūṭhuka 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 mukara may symbolize the sun. In consequence herewith, the entrance and the staircase of the Candi Mendut faces the winter solstice – as suggested by Long.

The outside of the staircase wings are decorated with bas-reliefs from the Pañca Tantra, Hitopadesa 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 kālathūṭhuka – 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.

The outside of the Candi 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)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{346}

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

\textsuperscript{345} As the gandharva symbolizes "progeny", their presence on the outside sub-basement of the Candi Mendut may be meant to ensure the perpetuation of the Śailendra dynasty. Chandra, 2009, p. xvi-xvii.

\textsuperscript{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 Kamahāyānīkan* (the SHK) – (see Appendix II, # 1.2). These 37 bas-reliefs on the *Candi 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*).

![Bodhisattva Vajrapāni](https://example.com/vajrapani.jpg)

*Source:* Photo Johan af Klint

*Picture 82*   Bodhisattva Vajrapāni

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

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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 *Candi 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.


*Other sources:*   Chandra, 2009, p. xxi;   Chandra, 1995(d), p. 399 & 401.
The eight bodhisattvas (see Picture 82) are listed below. This MAS (T. 486) – together with the caryā tantrā Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS) (T. 848) and the yoga tantrā Tattvasamgraha (the STTS) (T. 865) – were all introduced in China by Śubhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra during the early part of the eighth century CE (see Section 4.2.5).

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 sidewall (i.e. on the opposite side to that of the entrance of the Candi Mendut) Mahākārunika 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 pradaksīṇa starting from the main entrance:

- Sarvanirvāṇavīṣkambhinī: Bodhisattva to Buddha Amoghasiddhi
- Maitreya: Bodhisattva to Buddha Amoghasiddhi
- Samantabhadra: Bodhisattva to Buddha Vairocana
- Kṣitigarbha: Bodhisattva to Buddha Ratnasambhava
- Vajrapāṇi: Bodhisattva to Buddha Akṣobhya
- Mājusrī: Bodhisattva to Buddha Akṣobhya
- Akāśagarbha: Bodhisattva to Buddha Ratnasambhava
- Avalokiteśvara: Bodhisattva to Buddha Amītābha


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 *dharma-cakra-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 discrepancies 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.

![The Jewel Tree (*ratnavyaha*) at the Candi Mendut](source: Photo Johan af Klint)

**Picture 84** The Jewel Tree (*ratnavyaha*) at the Candi Mendut

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\(^{351}\) Long, 2011, p. 5; Long, 2009, pp. 125-149.  
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 Candi Mendut (see Picture 84). This fabulous Jewel tree (ratnavṛkṣa) is a heavenly tree in the LV (# 11.2) and in the Karandavyūha (# 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 Candi Mendut is covered by 100 bas-reliefs all-in-all.

The roof of the Candi 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 Candi 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 kinnari perching on the branches. Beneath the ratnavṛkṣa stand three full treasure pots with stoppers. A couple in royal attire and lotuses353 in their hands are kneeling (see Picture 84).

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 Pāṇcika. These bas-reliefs support the continued wealth and succession of the Śailendras, as well as the continued stabilization of the country.\textsuperscript{354}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{picture86}
\caption{Buddha Mahāvairocana in the Candi Mendut}
\end{figure}

The central cella of the Candi Mendut contains three of the finest Javanese sculptures – all on seats in the form of double-petalled lotuses. These sculptures probably represent Buddha Mahāvairocana\textsuperscript{355} in

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{354} Long, 2009, pp. 49-54.

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

\textsuperscript{355} Buddha Mahāvairocana could here have been presented as Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. Abhisambuddha 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 \textbf{not} regarded as the “historical” Buddha Śākyamuni.
\end{flushleft}
dharmacakra-mudrā in the centre (see Picture 86), flanked by bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in varada-mudrā to the left (see Picture 87) and bodhisattva Vajrapāni in vitarka-mudrā to the right (see Picture 88). Incidentally, this positioning corresponds to the design of the Garbha mandala and the Genzu Matrix mandala in Shingon Buddhism (see Appendix IV, # 8.2).357

356 Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is in Sanskrit texts also referred to as bodhisattva Padmapāni (“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 (Abhisambuddha Vairocana) flanked by bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) and bodhisattva Vajrapāni. Given the bhadrāsana seating posture of the main Buddha in the Candi Mendut, Chandra has since been convinced that this statue represents the future Buddha – bodhisattva Maitreya (see Appendix II, # 1.4, the Ratnatraya).

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 nirmanakāya Buddha with the saṃbhogakāya Buddha and with the dharmakāya Buddha. In Mahāyana Buddhism, Buddha Śākyamuni in dharmadhātu is in other words identical with Abhisambuddha 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.\footnote{358}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Picture 88} Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi at the Cāndī Mendut
\end{center}

In addition, the walls of the central cella have four nisches, in which sculptures of the other four Tathāgatas may have been placed.\footnote{359} Close

\footnotetext[358]{See also Note 355 above.}

\footnotetext[359]{However, Chandra presented the idea, that these four nisches contained images of bodhisattvas, 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.}
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 (Vārānasi). 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 Abhisambuddha 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 aksaras (gates of all dharmas) – the 49 aksaras of the full alphabet; the 37 aksaras (32 letters plus 5 letters of the Sanskrit alphabet); and the 100 aksaras (the 25 consonants multiplied by four – i.e. by a, ā, aṁ and aļi). By applying these letters on various parts of the body, the body becomes a stūpa-prāsāda – or according to the Vairocanābhisambodhi Sūtra (the VAS), it becomes a dharma-mandalā. The 37 aksaras may also form a circle, which may be put in motion by meditation. In any event, one may question whether or not it is a coincidence, that the Candi Mendut has 49 stūpas on the roof; a band of 37 bas-reliefs along the base of the cela and the vestibule; and a total 100 bas-reliefs on the outside walls.

The three large images in the cella of Buddha Śākyamuni (as Abhisambuddha Mahāvairocana), bodhisattva Padmapīṇī (Avalokiteśvara) and bodhisattva Vajrapīṇī; the empty nitches in the cella walls for the other four Tathāgatas; the eight bodhisattvas 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” (bodhipaksyadharmā) 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

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.
The Candi 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 Candi 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 Candi Mendut, exemplified by the above Picture 89.
1.5.2 The Candi Pawon

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

\(^{362}\) Bernet Kempers, 1959, p. 41.
\(^{363}\) Other source: Chandra, 1995(e), p. 35.

Other source: Chandra, 1995(e), p. 35.
The Candi Pawon consists of a single cella, which now is empty. Formerly it housed one central image and two smaller images in singular niches in the side walls. The outer walls of the Candi Pawon are decorated 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.\footnote{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 absolutely certain of their original colour. As indicated in Section 1.5.1, the blue lotus (upala) 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 indication of bodhisattva Samantabhadra (see Picture 119 in Section 5.6.1). Long, 2009, pp. 76-77.}
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 *kinnari/kinnara* pair – which is an indication for a Pure land (see Picture 92).

\(^{365}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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 Paîca-Tathāgata? The multitude of indications of wealth in the decorations, led van Erp and other scholars to believe that the Candi Pawon was dedicated to Kuvera – the god of wealth. Krom, however disputed this view.\textsuperscript{367}

The alternate name for the Candi 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.\textsuperscript{368} In the “mudrās of the four rites” (Shidōinzu) of the Shingon tradition in Japan, these four rites are:

- The preliminary ceremony of the 18 steps (jūhachidō);
- Vajradhātu (Kongōkai);
- Garbhadhātu (Taizōkai); and
- Homa to Fudō (Acala).\textsuperscript{369}

The word “pawon” means in modern Javanese “kitchen”.\textsuperscript{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 Candi Pawon – the Brajanalan – may well signify “the place of the royal fire” (Sanskrit: rājānāla). In accordance herewith, the Candi Pawon has

\textsuperscript{366} These images are also to be found around the portals of the fourth gallery of the Barabudur (see Sections 1.4.6 & 5.4.3).
\textsuperscript{369} Chandra, 1995(e), p. 36.
narrow openings on the upper part of the body of the building, indicating potential exits for the smoke of the fire rituals (homa).  

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 Chandi Pawon – may have been performed with an occasional aim.  

The cremation of the deceased Śailendra king could have taken place at the Chandi Pawon.  

We learn from the above, that according to some scholars the Chandi Pawon (Acala) and the Chandi Mendut (Garbha mandala) may both be classified as being close to the caryā tantras, while the Barabudur may be regarded as a Vajradhātu mandala, and thus being close to the yoga tantras.  

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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 (vaśikarana);  
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 mandala – 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-Barbudur 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 Barabudur and the Candi Mendut

Many scholars have advocated the hypothesis of a Processional Road between the Barabudur, the Candi Pawon and – after having crossed the Progo River – the Candi 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 Candi 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 Barabudur (i.e. not from the center of the monument) a line to the center of the Candi Mendut would also pass right over the center of the Candi Pawon, as well as right over the Candi 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

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Latitude*</th>
<th>Longitude*</th>
<th>Dist. to Barabudur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barabudur</td>
<td>7 36 28.3 S</td>
<td>110 12 13.45 E</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candi Pawon</td>
<td>7 36 22.0 S</td>
<td>110 13 10.25 E</td>
<td>1,749 m.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candi Mendut</td>
<td>7 36 17.2 S</td>
<td>110 13 48.05 E</td>
<td>2,916 m.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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 Barabudur→the *Candi* Pawon→the *Candi* Mendut do not in fact lie in a straight line. The azimuth angle between the line connecting the centers of the Barabudur and of the *Candi* Pawon and the line connecting the centers of the Barabudur and of the *Candi* Mendut amounts to 17 minutes of arc. In early April during the construction period of the Barabudur (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 Barabudur and of the *Candi* 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".\(^{377}\)

\(^{377}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{381} The Chinese

\textsuperscript{378} Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 251.
\textsuperscript{379} Schaffer, 1996, pp. 11-12.
\textsuperscript{380} Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{381} Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 277-278.

annals mention the visits by the Malayans from the Kunlun islands in the south.  

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. The travels on the “Silk Road” from Chang’ an in China, around the Taklamakan desert, to the various ports of the Mediterranean 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. Buddhism became the predominant religion among traders and artisans.

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Around the first century CE, a Central Asian people – the Yuezhi – conquered the land areas along the “Silk Road” and established eventually the Kuśāṇa kingdom. This political unrest along the Silk Road led to the start-up of maritime trade between southern China and India via present Vietnam (Linyi387 and Funan388). From Funan390 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 millennium CE.394

From India, ships started to cross the Bay of Bengal along the 10º Channel395 for the Kra Peninsula (Khuan Lukpad), where the cargo was transhipped over land to Khao Sam Kaoe 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 Fúnnán 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 “bnum”, 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” - Fúnnán 府南. Originally Buddhist, Funan became Hindu during the fifth century CE. See Section 2.3.2, Note 497.
393 Ray, 1994, pp. 119-120.
394 Acri, 2019, p. 50.
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. 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. 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.

An embassy from Yediebo (Yavadvīpa which is Sanskrit for Java) visited China already in 132 CE according to the Chinese annals.

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.\textsuperscript{401} They may have made stop-overs in harbours in Borneo or in Linyi (pre-Champa) on the east coast of current Vietnam.\textsuperscript{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 Lanka and dated to the fourth and the sixth centuries CE.\textsuperscript{403} The pressure on Funan from the rising Champa kingdom increased over time and resulted in a dynastic crises during the fifth century CE.\textsuperscript{404} During the sixth century CE the history of Funan was finished.\textsuperscript{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 Ikṣvāku 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 Sòng\textsuperscript{406} (420–479 CE) and Nan Qi\textsuperscript{407} (479–502 CE). Buddhism (and to some extent Jainism)

\textsuperscript{401} Hall, 1985, pp. 39 & 42.
\textsuperscript{402} \textit{Yēpōtī} 耶婆提
\textsuperscript{403} de Casparis & Mabbett, 1999, p. 291.
\textsuperscript{404} Hall, 1985, pp. 69-75.
\textsuperscript{405} William McNeill (\textit{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.
\textsuperscript{406} \textit{Liu Sòng} 刘宋
\textsuperscript{407} \textit{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 Dipaṅkara) - that *Śrāvakajyāna* 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.\textsuperscript{408} The trading avenues were instrumental in transferring the Buddhist tenet to China and to Southeast Asia (see Sections 2.1.2 & 4.1).\textsuperscript{409} During the early fifth century CE south Sumatra grew further into a “favoured coast line” in the Strait of Malacca.\textsuperscript{410} Kantoli took over as a trading centre from Koying in south Sumatra, strengthened by the spice trade over the Java Sea.\textsuperscript{411} Kantoli sent several embassies with tributes to the Chinese emperor during the period of 441-563 CE.\textsuperscript{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 Tārūmaṇagara Hindu-Buddhist kingdom on northwestern Java,\textsuperscript{413} from where trade seems to have been conducted during the previous centuries.\textsuperscript{414} King Pūrṇavarman compared himself in Sanskrit inscrip-

\textsuperscript{408} de Casparis & Mabbett, 1999, p. 293.
\textsuperscript{409} Bosch, 1961(b), p. 12.
\textsuperscript{410} Wisseman Christie, 1995, p. 253.
\textsuperscript{411} The main spices were clove, nutmeg and mace. Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 259.
\textsuperscript{412} Hall, 1995, pp. 39-41 (For subsequent embassises to China, see Section 2.3.2, Note 517)
\textsuperscript{413} Voûte & Long, 2008, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{414} Very little is known of the Hindu-Buddhist realm on northwestern Java prior to the seventh century CE. Earlier, scholars believed that the Tārūmaṇagara 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. The Tārumānagara (Dharma city) was part of a larger cultural sphere, encompassing western Java and southern Sumatra – the so-called Sundanese area.

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 – a harbour on the north coast of central Java – and Holotan in the delta of the Tārum river (close to present-day Jakarta). Heling took in fact over the trading activities from western Java (Banda). In his research, Wheatley found that there was a three-year interruption 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 couplled with the ensuing tsunami.

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The Hindu temple - Candi Cangkuang - discovered in 2002 at Bojongmenje, Cangkuang Rancakeke 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 Dieng plateau. Voûte, 2006, pp. 214-217.

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. Wiseman Christie, 1995, pp. 257-259.

Voûte, 2006, p. 216.

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 dispute this, as it was denoted “Po-ling” in the biography of the monk Jñānabhadrā compiled in 988 CE. Chandra, 1995(b), p. 209 & Iwamoto, 1981, p. 85.

In Chinese Hélīng 河陵 (Buddhist Java).


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.

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 Srivijaya 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 Candi Gedong Songo on Mount Ungaran and the temples on the Dieng 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 Śaṅjaya);
- 928-c:a 1500 CE the East Java Period (East Java, Singasari, Majapahit).425

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423 Voûte, 2000, pp. 327-331.

424 More specifically, Chihara means that the temples of the Dieng 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 Dieng 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.

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, in addition to the conventional staple products. This self-created demand took the form of luxury goods and of the Buddhist “Seven Treasures”. 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).

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”;
- 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 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;

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427 The “Seven Treasures” expressed originally the Buddhist view of the seven components of the early state – cakra (the wheel/government), hasin (the elephant/monarch), aśva (the horse/monarch), mani (the jewel), sri (the queen), gahapati (the treasurer) and purāṇyaka (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 suvana (gold), rūpya (silver), vaidūryā (lapis lazuli), sphāṭikā (crystal), muktā (pearl), lohitikā (red coral) and musāragalva (agate).
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 saṃsāra (the Milindapañha, 41 dilemma). The Mahāsanghika 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).
Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara developed into the patron saint of the seafarers and of the travelling traders.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Viśṇu. 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 (rājaguruh). In this position the Śaiva guru could empower and legitimate the ruling monarch by granting him Śaiva initiation. The

\textsuperscript{431} Liu, 1988, pp. 174-182. 
\textit{Other source:} Acri, 2016(a), p. 10.

\textsuperscript{432} Ray, 1994, pp. 8 & 124. 
\textit{Other source:} Assavavirulhakarn, 2010, pp. 185-186.

\textsuperscript{433} Hall, 1995, p. 21. 
king then was incorporated as a third kind of Śaiva initiate between the śādhaka – 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).

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.

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 Kēdah 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.
Srivijaya 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 Srivijaya 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.\textsuperscript{436}

\begin{center}
\textbf{Picture 96} Puntadewa temple on the Dieng plateau
\end{center}

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 Dieng plateau and the Gedong Songo group – are entirely Śaiva (see \textit{Picture 96})\textsuperscript{437}. The temple complexes

\textsuperscript{436} Miksic, 2016, pp.253-260.
\textit{Other Source}: Skilling, 2007, p. 97.

\textsuperscript{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). Their prototypes were, according to Chihara and Voûte, the Pañcaratha temples of Mahābalipuram in South India, constructed during the Pallava dynasty. The temple complex on the Dièng plateau was named after some of the Pāṇḍava heroes of the Mahābhārata. However, these names seems to have been given to them centuries after the constructions of the temples. The exception is the Candi 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. 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.

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 distinct periods - the Candi Arjuna, the Candi Semar, the Candi Srikandi and the Candi Gatokaca to have been built during the period late seventh century to 730 CE and the Candi Pun-tadeva, the Candi Sembrodo and the Candi Bhīma to have been built during the period 730-780 CE.


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.


440 Some of the temples on the Dièng Plateau were named after some of the five Pāṇḍava brothers of the Indian epic Mahābhārata - Yudhiṣṭhīra, 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”.


441 Hall, 1995, p. 63.

442 Dumarçay, 1986, p. 16.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{445}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Ray, 1994, p. 160.
\item Ray, 1994, p. 200.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Śri Lāṇkā. 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{449} Our knowledge about Śrīvijaya is based primarily on Chinese sources and on a few inscriptions in southeast Sumatra. Śrīvijaya is called Shilifoqi\textsuperscript{450} in the Chinese annals. The founder of Śrīvijaya was mentioned for the first

\textsuperscript{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”.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{448} See Section 2.1.1, Note 420.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{450} Shìlìfóqí in pinyin 室利佛齐

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.\footnote{Hall, 1995, pp. 47-49.}

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\footnote{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.} and by oaths\footnote{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 acāryābhiseka ritual of the Sang Hyang Kamahyānikan 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.} 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.\footnote{Hall, 1995, pp. 47-49.} Some scholars see Śrīvijaya as a loose association of trading posts.\footnote{Mabbett, 1977, p. 154.} This rather flexible form of organization was probably one of the reasons for the long duration of the trade dominance of Śrīvijaya.\footnote{Wisseman Christie, 1995, pp. 264-268.}

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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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.
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kingdom of central Java (for some time under the reign of the Śailendras) was on its part dependent on Śrīvijaya for trade aspects, as their own trading station in Heling had been outcompeted by Śrīvijaya. This was the background to the symbiotic relationship between the Śailendras of Java and Śrīvijaya on Sumatra.

The Śrīvijayan king called himself, therefore, the “Lord of the Mountain” – an epithet that we will come across again with the Śailendra dynasty on Java (the “Lord of the Hill”), as well as with the kings of Funan (kurung bnam - “King of the Mountain”).

On the basis hereof, Cœdès proposed a historical connection between the kingdoms of Funan and Śailendra. Chandra, Sastri and Sarkar 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.

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).

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.


461 In Sanskrit, “saila” means inter alia ”mountain” or ”cliff”.

See Section 2.1.1, Note 390 & Section 2.3.2, Note 497.

463 Cœdès, 1964, p. 74; Cœdès, 1934, p. 70.


Other source: Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 210-212.

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 Dharmakirti 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 Śrīvijaya” – meaning that the Śailendras were “King of kings”. It should thus have been Rakai Paṇākaraṇa, who raided the Thai-Malay Peninsula and took control over Śrīvijaya. He was the Śailendra king mentioned on the Ligor stele of

469 Wolters, 1986, pp. 1-5.
470 Soekmono, 1956, p. 97.
473 See Section 2.2 above, Note 449.
475 Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. x.
Jordaan and Colless herewith explained the temporary cessation of Śrīvijaya’s embassies to China. 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.

After the formal expulsion of Dyah Bālaputra from Java in 854 CE, he became king in Śrīvijaya and head of the Three Vijaya (Sanfoqi). The Chinese called it Sanfoqi, as it entailed the tripartite coalition of Kēdah, Jambi and Palembang.

On eastern Java strong trading stations developed around the Brantas river (see Section 2.1.1). Ultimately this increased trade competition led to a series of clashes between the Javanese (then ruled by the Śaṅjayas) 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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478 “The tripartite Buddhist coalition”; in Chinese Sānfoqi 三佛齐
479 Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 137-140.
attacked and decimated Śrīvijaya in 1025 CE.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{482} The Buddhist model of kingship was that of the cakravartin – the Wheel turning king – who should rule under rājadhāma.\textsuperscript{483} Except for Java’s coast in the north and northwest (Heling and Holotan), there existed not many town-like centres in early Java.\textsuperscript{484} The Matarām realm on Central Java (\textit{wanua}) was from the outset rather small – originally encompassing only the Kedu plateau surrounded by the Dièng mountains in the west and the Merapi volcano in the east.\textsuperscript{485} Subsequently it became more expansive and came to encompass also the Prambanan area and the area as far north as Semarang.\textsuperscript{486}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{480} Hall, 1985, pp. 112-113 & 121. \\
\textit{Other source:} Bocchari, 1979, p. 480.
\end{flushright}

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\textsuperscript{481} Taylor, 1999, pp. 174-176. \\
\textit{Other source:} Hall, 1995, pp. 67-73;
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\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{482} Fox, 1986, pp. 316 & 325.
\end{flushright}

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\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{484} Hall, 1999, pp. 202-203. \\
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\textsuperscript{486} Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 17.
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Matarām was in fact based on the network between the central government and the villages.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{489} 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).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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;\textsuperscript{491} it culminated by the Buddhist temples in the Prambanan area (e.g. the Candī Sewu and the Buddhist Barabudur monument and its associated temples. It ended with the Hindu temple complex at Prambanan (the Candī 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.\textsuperscript{492} The religious leaders on Java

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{487} de Casparis, 1986, p. 61.
\item \textsuperscript{488} Ras, 2001, pp. 373-374.
\item \textsuperscript{489} Wissemann Christie, 1986, pp. 67-69 & 84-86.
\item \textsuperscript{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 remain 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 śādras 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 Candī Sewu, the Candī Plaosan, the Candī Loro Jonggrang and the Barabudur. Hall, 1985, pp. 126-127.
\item \textsuperscript{491} Voûte, 2006, p. 217.
\item \textsuperscript{492} Hall, 1999, pp. 203-207.
\end{itemize}
enjoyed lesser power, than the corresponding religious leaders had in the *sangha* on Śrī Laṅkā.\textsuperscript{493}

The history of Java during the period late sixth to early tenth centuries CE – i.e. during the “Central Java Period”\textsuperscript{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 parallel. On the Dièng Plateau the Śaivas built some temples during the eighth century CE. The earliest extant inscription in which the Śaṅjayas were mentioned in Central Java is the Caṅgal inscription of 732 CE. The Śailendras (Buddhists) came to power during the mid-eighth century. The Śaṅjayas resumed the power during early ninth century. Dyah 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 Airilagga established the “new Mataram”.

Given that the Barabudur 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.\textsuperscript{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 Barabudur.\textsuperscript{496}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{493} de Casparis, 1986, p. 59-60.
\item \textsuperscript{494} The duration of the “Central Java Period” is during the period 570-927 CE. See *Section 1.1, Note 12*.
\item \textsuperscript{495} The Śailendra period of the Mataram realm is indicated to be 778-824 CE by Klokke and to be 746-827 CE by Wiseman Christie. Klokke, 2009, p. 113 & Wiseman Christie, 2001, pp. 34-35.
\item Klokke indicated, though, a few years earlier that the period would be 778-832 CE. Klokke, 2006, pp. 51-52.
\item \textsuperscript{496} Voûte, 2006, p. 226.
\item Other source: Degroot, 2009, pp. 9 & 14-17.
\end{itemize}
The substantial power base of the Śailendras is exemplified in Section 5.10.2.

The Śailendra dynasty is mentioned in a Buddhist context in a few inscriptions, such as the inscriptions of Kālasan from 778 CE (Śaka 700); of Kēlurak from 782 CE (Śaka 704); of Abhayagirivihāra at Ratubaka from 792/793 CE (Śaka 714/715); of Karangtēṇah 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 — also known as siddhamātrkā. The exception is the Karangtēṇah 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. In addition, there are two other inscriptions made by the ensuing Śaiva dynasty and written in Old Javanese — namely the Mantyāsi and the Wanua Tengah III 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 Barabudur 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).


500 de Casparis sees in these inscriptions a successive transfer of power between the Śailendras and the Śaiva dynasties as follows: The Kālasan inscription (778 CE) indicates that the Śailendras dominates over the Śaiva; the Karangtēṇah inscription (824 CE) has a Sanskrit portion (which was written by the Śailendras) and a portion in Old Javanese (which was written by the Śaiva); the Gaṇḍasuri inscription (832 CE) was written in Old Javanese and the Śaivas 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 Śaivas.


The vihāra of Pikatan played a decisive role in maintaining Buddhism on central Java. The Wanua Tengah III inscription lists the names of the regents in connection with a sima gift to this vihāra. Rakai Panangkaran established the sima. Rakai Warak Dyoh Manṣā withdrew them. The tasks of the sima 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 sima 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 (Kālāsan, Kēlurak, Ratuabka and Karangtēnah) 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 Mantyāśih 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 Dyah-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 Jordaan507) argues for three simulta-

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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[ar]ajyāṁ; (iii) Watak: indicating the place from which the ruler derives; (iv) Dyah: 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).

503 Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 237-238.


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 (Saṅjaya 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).

neous dynasties. In addition, conflicting views have been voiced by other scholars, such as Boechari, Damais, Klokke, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Poerbatjaraka and Soeleiman. They are all of the opinion that there existed only one dynasty with two branches. Kim, Sundberg, Wisseman Christie and Zakharov also seem to support this view. The Śailendra and the Śaṅjaya 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 Barabuḍru was constructed.

The relevant Śailendra kings of interest as regards the Barabuḍru are:

- **Rakai Panangkaran** (r. 746-784 CE);
- **Rakai Panaraban** (r. 784-803 CE);
- **Rakai Warak Dyah Manara** (r. 802-827 CE); and
- **Dyah 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 (siddhamātrka); (ii) the promotion of Buddhism as the most important religion; (iii) the sudden building spree of Mahāyāna Buddhist architectural art; (iv)
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 Dyah 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 Poluqiesi518 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. Sundberg521 is, therefore, openly critical to - in his view - the sometimes unfounded theories of Wiseman Christie.522

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516 In Chinese Zhànbiē 占碑。
Javanese and Sumatran embassies to China (also indicating the names in Chinese): 
Hēlíng 河陵 (Buddhist Java – Religious center) 640, 648, 666; Shìlǐfóqí 室利佛齐 (Buddhist Sumatra) 670-673, 716, 720, 724, 742; Kolo (Guālā 瓜拉) (Kèdāh) 742-759; 
Hēlíng (Buddhist Java – Political center) 767-770, 813, 815, 818; Shēpō 夔婆 (Hindu Java) 820, 831, 839, 860-873; Zhànbiē 占碑 (Jambi) 852, 871; Sānfóqí 三佛齐 904, 960. 
518 In Chinese Pōlūqîēsī 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 Śrīvijaya 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. 
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.
The wealth accumulated by means of the close trading relationship between Śrivijaya and the Šailendras 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 Šailendra 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 Candi Kālasan, the Candi Sewu, the Candi Sari, the Candi Mendut, the Candi Pawon, the Barabudur, and others; and
- **A brief period** – the reign of Rakai Garung,\(^{524}\) during which period were built temples such as the Candi Ngawèn, the Candi Plaosan Kidul, the Candi 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 Śrivijaya and Šailendra were fairly close with intermarriages. Sarkar and other scholars, on the other hand, presented the view, that the Šailendra and the Śrivijaya 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 Śrivijaya trade empire. That the kingdoms of Central Java relied on various alliances – often cemented by marriages – seems to be generally accepted as a fact.


\(^{524}\) Princess Prāmodavarddhāni was probably married to Rakai Garung, and Rakai Pikatan was their son.


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 Plaosan 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.


\(^{525}\) Please note that Klokke dates the construction of the Ngawèn temple to a period later than Joanna Williams has dated it.


the honour of bodhisattva Tārā.\textsuperscript{526} The Kēlurak inscription from 782 CE (Śaka 704) refers to the inauguration of a statue of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in an unknown location – although the \textit{Candi} Sewu has been suggested.\textsuperscript{527} The \textit{Candi} Sewu inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714) might present the completion of the \textit{Candi} Sewu complex\textsuperscript{528} – having been enlarged and changed from a Mañjuśrigaṇha temple to a temple in honour of the \textit{Pañca-Tathāgatas}. However, Kim disputes this hypothesis.\textsuperscript{529} Klokke, on the other hand, questions that the Kēlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) and the Mañjuśrigaṇha inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714) have anything to do with the \textit{Candi} Sewu.\textsuperscript{530} The Ratubaka inscription from 792-793 CE (Śaka 714-715) describes the \textit{Abhayagiri-vihāra}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Appendix I, # 14}), the king of the Śailendra dynasty is called Śrīvīravairimathana (“The illustrious destroyer of brave foes”) and \textit{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 Kēlurak stele of 782 CE (see \textit{Appendix I, # 4}).

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Appendix I, # 4}).


\textsuperscript{527} Kim, 2007, p. 170.

Based on bodhisattva Mañjuśrī’s \textit{Vaipulya} teachings, Chandra may be interpreted to mean that the Kēlurak inscription from 782 CE (Śaka 704) instead refers to the building and to the inauguration of a MañjuśrīMañjuśrī statue at the \textit{Abhayagiri-vihāra} in Ratubaka (see \textit{Section 3.2} & \textit{Appendix I, # 3}).


\textsuperscript{528} Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 106-109.

\textsuperscript{529} Kim, 2007, p. 170.

\textsuperscript{530} Klokke claims instead that the Mañjuśrī statue was in fact installed in the \textit{Candi} Lum-bung or in the \textit{Candi} Bubrah – not in the \textit{Candi} Sewu. She bases 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 \textit{Candi} Sewu, it must have been the king, who performed the enlargement of this important \textit{Candi}).


\textsuperscript{531} See \textit{Section 3.2}.
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 Dyah Bālaputra (the king of Suvarnadvipa 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).

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

Source: Jordaan & Colless, 2009, p. 42

Picture 99  Dyah Bālaputra’s and Princess Pramodavardhanī’s proposed pedigrees

532 Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 43-44.


Please note, that Rakai Garung came to power only in 829 CE after the demise of Dyah Gula in that same year.
out of reach for a foreigner. However, these matrimonial alliances remain unverified.\footnote{Jordaan, 2006, pp. 7-18.}

This theory is interesting from various points of views, as it explains why the Šailendras were not included with their Sanskrit names in the Mantyāśīh I inscription and in the Wanua Tēngah III inscription. It further explains the hold that the Šailendras 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 Šailendras and their intermarriages with the Šañjayas 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.

\section*{2.3.3 Dyaḥ Bālaputras expulsion in 854 CE}

In 829 CE, the Šañjaya ruler - Rakai Garung - made his Šailendra 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).\footnote{Sundberg, 2006(a), p. 23.}

As seen in Section 2.3.2, Dyaḥ Bālaputra was probably the son of the Šailendra king Samaratuṅga and queen Tārā of the Šrivijayan royal house. Dyaḥ Bālaputra would thus have been brother to princess Prāmodavardhāṇī, who married to Rakai Garung from the Šañjaya family, with whom she begot Rakai Pikatan.\footnote{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.} Dyaḥ Bālaputra had reasons, therefore, to claim back the throne – because the power had
now “unrightly” swung over to the Šaṅjaya dynasty by means of a marriage.\textsuperscript{536}

It is understandable, therefore, that Dyah Bālaputra opposed Rakai Pikatan and entrenched himself on the Ratubaka plateau. Prior to having fully strengthened his defence lines, Dyah Bālaputra was overrun by Rakai Walaing\textsuperscript{537} and driven out of the country in 854 CE – a year prior to the decease of Rakai Pikatan.\textsuperscript{538} Dyah Bālaputra returned to Śrīvijaya where he may have been the king.\textsuperscript{539}

\textsuperscript{536} Please note, that Sarkar was of the opinion, that the Sailendra and the Śrīvijaya monarchies were related from the outset. Sarkar, 1985 (b), pp. 217-220.

\textsuperscript{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 Šaṅjaya 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 Mantyāsi I or the Wanua Tengah 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 Šaṅjaya king – Rakai Kayuwangi Dyah Lokaśāla – and should have acted as the commander of the forces that beat Dyah 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.

\textsuperscript{538} The Nālandā inscription (see Appendix I, # 14) indicates that Dyah 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, Dyah 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 Dyah Bālaputra. The relationship between the two royal houses of Šaṅjaya and Sailendra may have been closer than earlier indicated – although not outright friendly. Chandra, 1995(b), pp. 230-237.

\textsuperscript{539} Dyah 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 Dyah 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).\(^{540}\) Dyah 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 (Suvarnadvīpa)\(^{542}\) 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. Dyah 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 Dyah 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 Suvarnadvīpa.\(^{544}\)

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 hypotheses. This makes it necessary 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.

\(^{541}\) Sarkar, 1985(c), p. 253.
\(^{543}\) We have learnt above, that the Mantyāśīh 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 Dyah Balaputra 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 Candi Sewu and the Candi Plaosan Lor are both surrounded by small temples – called Candi Perwara - 240 and 174, respectively. These Candi 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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547 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 Mataram 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 Śrivijaya 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 Krakatoa 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 Barabudur 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, Candi 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 Mataram). Another faultline passes the mountains of Merapi and Marbabu close to the Barabudur.\(^{550}\)

\(^{549}\) 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 Śaṅjayā 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

\(^{551}\) The “sweet smell” produced by venting at Delphi, may well have been toxic gases giving hallucinatory effects. This may explain the peculiar behaviour of the Delphic Oracle. The Vartanyan theory may thus be substantiated.

\(^{551}\) Hale, de Boer, Chanton & Spiller, 2003, pp. 57-63.

\(^{551}\) 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 Candi Perwaras - around the Candi Sewu and the Candi 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 Saṅjaya 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 hypotheses. 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 Mantyāśiḥ I (see Appendix I, # 15) and the Wanua Têngah 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 Samaratuṇga with the Śrīvijaya princess Tarā (Śri Kahulunan). Out of this marriage should have been born Dyah Bālaputra (the king of Suvarnavēpa in the Nālandā inscription) and princess Pramodavardhani. Dyah Bālaputra and princess Pramodavardhani would thus be brother and sister. This theory would also explain why Dyah 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 Śaṅjaya 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 Śaṅjayas may also explain why Dyah 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 hypotheses, they nevertheless give us a potential 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 "bhikkhus" 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

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.  
\(^555\)
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 (āryaśatya),558 he proved that everything is suffering (duḥkha), and proposed a way out of it – the āryaṣṭāṅgamārga (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 everything is being based on

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555 The Veṇuvanamanandiram (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 Lanka 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 apocryphal. Skilling, 2008, pp. 37-60.


557 Lamotte, 1988, p. 27. See the Glossary – the āryasatya and the Four Noble Truths. The Pāli version may be found in the Vinaya Pīṭaka, I, p. 10. The Sanskrit version may be found in the Mahāvastu, III, pp. 322-326.

558 See the Glossary – the Eightfold Noble Path.

559 See the Glossary – the aggregates and Gethin, 1986, pp. 35-53.

560 See the Glossary - anātman and Collins, 1999, pp. 4-5 and 87-143; Rahula, 2000, pp. 51-66.

561 Buddha Śākyamuni’s teaching differs in a considerable manner from the Brāmanic belief. The Brāmanic 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 Brāhma (the eternal, omnipresent and omniscient universal soul). But Buddha Śākyamuni on the other hand, was of the opinion that the Brāmanic concept of ātman was an illusion. Buddha Śākyamuni taught the doctrine of anātman (no-Self; no-Soul).

“cause-and-effect”,564 that everything is relative, non-dual, mutually interdependent and constantly being subject to change,564 as illustrated in the Dependent Origination (pratityasamutpāda).565

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 (bhikkhu) 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 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.

The Non-Canonical Buddhist Council in Pataliputra in 267 BCE ended in a split of the saṅgha – a saṅghabheda. 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 Karmavibhaṅga Sūtra, which is illustrated on the “Hidden base” of the Barabuḍḍu (see Section 1.4.1).


566 See the Glossary - Dependent Origination. For a general presentation of these Buddhist aspects, see Appendix III, # 2.


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 boundaries (simā) - 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, Mahāsanghika, Sarvāstivāda and Sāmmitiya. 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 Śri Lankā 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 Mahāvamsa,572 some further six (6) additional nikāyas were subsequently developed within Śrāvakayāna, as well as the two additional nikāyas on Śrī Lankā (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 sāsana573 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 Lankā and in Southeast Asia. Gethin, 2012, p. 2.

571 Aśoka’s son Mahinda introduced the original Theravāda Buddhism on Śrī Lankā around 200 BCE and had the Mahāvihāra monastery built on the Mihintale hill in Anurādhapura. Hattori, 2000, p. 29.

572 The “splitting of the sangha” 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 simā during the performance of the particular ecclesiastic act. Bechert, 1982, p. 65.

573 Sāsana (Pāli) - Sāsana (Sanskrit) is defined as Buddhism in a wider sense – a whole religion; a phenomenon in history – not just a doctrine. Gombrich, 1996, p. 3.


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. The aim of Mahāyāna Buddhism goes beyond that of Theravāda Buddhism, in the sense that it offers salvation for all sentient 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 Mahāsanghika tradition. Vajrayāna Buddhism was initiated around the mid-seventh centuries CE 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 sentient beings, but also within one lifetime.

The terms Hinayāna, Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna derives from the formal scholarship in the West. Under these circumstances, by “wrapping” Buddhism into “neat parcels” using these categories, we

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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.

577 Williams, 1999, p. 186.

578 “… the Buddhism that largely concerned European scholars was a historical projection derived exclusively from manuscripts and blockprints …”, Lopez, 1995, p. 7.

Hinayāna 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.
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*.\(^{580}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Buddham saranām gacchāmi} \\
\text{Dhammam saranām gacchāmi} \\
\text{Saṅgham saranām gacchāmi}^{581}
\end{align*}
\]

### 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

\(^{579}\) Wedemeyer, 2013, p. 4.


\(^{581}\) The Three Refuges are repeated three times kneeling in front of the Buddha.

\[\text{I go to the Buddha as my refuge;}\]
\[\text{I go to the Dhamma as my refuge;}\]
\[\text{I go to the Saṅgha as my refuge.}\]

\(^{582}\) Ray, 1994, p. 200.


\(^{583}\) 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 Mahimsāsakas - 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 Nāgarjunakonda in Andhra Pradesh. 587 The *sihala vihāra*588
mentioned in the Nāgarjunakaṇḍa inscription of the third century CE,

The Sinhalese king Mānavarman had for instance spent a long exile in the south Indian
court at Kāśi, where he served as a general to the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II.
King Mānavarman (r. 684-718 CE) owed his kingdom – the second Lambakana 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 Kāśi and spent their formative years in the
court of Narasimhavarman II. King Mānavarman’s reign coincided with Va-
jarabodhī’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 tōng xīyuè qì* 大唐西域紀記 (T. 2087).
587 Cousins, 2012, pp. 120-122.
588 *sihala vihāra bodhirukkhapāsādo* (“edifice (housing) the Bodhi Tree at the Sihala mon-
astery”) Gunawardana, 2005, p. 60.

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seems to indicate that a monastery would have been built by someone from the Sihala kingdom and/or for the use of monks from that kingdom.\footnote{Gunawardana, 2005, p. 61.} While the Sihala monastery in fact existed on the right bank of the river Krśna at Nāgārjunakonda, one must realize that also other Buddhist \textit{nikāyas} were present at that site.\footnote{Gunawardana, 2005, pp. 60-64 & 70.} In addition, it may be of interest to note, that the three Lankese \textit{Sthāvira nikāyas} and their supporters did not regard the religious community in Nāgārjunakonda as an isolated effort.\footnote{Gunawardana, 2005, p. 59.}

According to the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscription, the \textit{Śrāvakayāna} monks from "Tambapaṇa" (Śrī Laṅkā)\footnote{theriyā tambapaṇakā ("religieux from Tambapaṇa, who followed the traditions of Śrāvakayāna Buddhism"). Gunawardana, 2005, p. 59.} were known to have had relations with the Buddhist community in the Āndhra region already during the third century CE. The three Lankese \textit{Sthāvira nikāyas} (Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri-vihāra and Jetavanavihāra) constituted in fact an integral part of a much larger Buddhist community.\footnote{Gunawardana, 2005, pp. 60 & 70.}

The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang claimed in his "Travel Records", that Lankese monks following "the \textit{Sthāvira} and the \textit{Mahā}yāna teachings" [i.e. \textit{Abhayagiri-vivāsa}] controlled the Sinhalese \textit{vihāra} at Bodh-gaya.\footnote{Hirakawa, 1998, p. 121. \textit{Other source:} Cousins, 2012, pp. 114-117.} The interchange both ways of religious concepts between Śrī Laṅkā and the Pallava dynasty in Kāñcipuram, Tamil Nadu during the fourth century onwards is undisputed by the scholars (see \textit{Section 4.2.3.1}).

During the first centuries CE, northwest India was a patchwork of different religions. The \textit{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 \textit{Sarvāstivāda nikāya} did share the area with other \textit{Stavira nikāyas} and \textit{Mahāyāna nikāyas}.\footnote{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. The Mahāvihāra was established during the reign of Devānampiya Tissa (r. 250-210 BCE). Much of their scriptures were in Pāli;

- **Abhayagirivihāra** in Anurādhapura – the so called Northern Monastery (Uttaravihāra). The Abhayagirivihāra was the first breakaway fraction on Śrī Laṅkā from the Mahāvihāra. King Vaṭṭagāminī Abhaya (r. 89-77 BCE) had the Abhayagirivihāra built in Anurādhapura and offered it to Mahātissa Thera. They housed the most venerated relics of Śrī Laṅkā - the Buddha Śākyamuni’s Tooth Relic and Alms Bowl Relic. **Abhayagirivāsins** belonged to the Theravāda tradition; and

- **Jetavanavihāra** in Anurādhapura – the so called Southern Monastery (Dakkhina vihāra). The Jetavanavihāra was established during the reign of king Mahāsena I – 274-301 CE). They belonged to the Theravāda tradition.

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596 See Section 3.1.
597 Powell, 2018, p. 5.
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.
600 The Abhayagiri pāṁśukālikas 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.
These three traditions seemed to have existed side-by-side on Śrī Lanka. They did in other words not seem to have represented various provincial interests.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{604}

The Abhayagirivihāra and the Mahāvihāra differed mainly on some vinaya grounds.\textsuperscript{605} Chandra claimed that the Abhayagirivāsins rejected the fifth book (the Parivāra) in the Theravāda vinaya.\textsuperscript{606} Referring to the Samantapāśādikā, Cousins claims that these two vinayas only differed in the interpretation of a single phrase, which Cousins means is only “like a gloss”.\textsuperscript{607} The Abhayagirivāsins seemed indeed to be in the same fold as the Śrāvakayānas, which is also indicated in the Mahāvihāra Cūlavamsa.\textsuperscript{608}

The Abhayagiri nikāya - and subsequently also the Jetavana nikāya - were open to new ideas from India and from Mahāyāna Buddhism (e.g. Vaiśṇavīdīa and Yoģācāra) and from esoteric Buddhist ideas.\textsuperscript{609} Representatives from such other Indian Buddhist traditions were invited to take up residence in the Abhayagirivihāra. The Mahāvihāravāsins, though, rejected such influences. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang noted during his travels in India in early seventh century...
CE that “the Mahāvihāra-vāsins reject the Mahāyāna and practice the Hinayāna, while the Abhayagiri-vihāravāsins study both Hinayāna and Mahāyāna teachings and propagate the Tripiṭaka.” The canonical texts of these three Lankese nikāyas – Sthāviras – were all in Pāli. The Abhayagiri-vihāra was organized into 4 different institutions or mulās – Uttaramūla, Kapāramūla, Vādumūla and Mahānettapāsādamūla. These mulās were run as affiliated institutions, but had their own administrative systems. 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.

According to the Mahāvamsa, the Abhayagiri-vihāra was established without any split – in fact, it is thought as the culmination of a preconceived plan. 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 Abhayagiri-vihāra. This should thus have initiated the formal split between the Abhayagiri-vāsins and the Mahāvāsin. From now on, the Mahāvihāra stated that they – and only they – represented the authentic Theravāda, a statement on which the Abhayagiri-vāsins had some views, as they also regarded themselves as heirs of the Mahinda-Lankā lineage and thus belonged to Theravāda.

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 (Tripiṭaka), as Pāli was the ligua franca on Śrī Lanka in those days.

611 Other source: Taisho 51:934b; Walters, 2000, p. 122.


613 Other source: Gunawardana, 1979, p. 347.

614 Chandawimala, 2016, p. 87.


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 Abhayagiri-vihāra, 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 Abhayagiri vihāra 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 Cūlavamsa, 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 CE619 up until the invasion by the Pāṇḍyās and the sacking of Anurādhapura under Sena I around 840 CE,620 the Abhayagiri vihāra 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
618 This is indicated by the admixture of esoteric and exoteric Buddhist images found in the cache under the double-platformed padhānagāra (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 Abhayagiri vihāra was believed to comprehend some elements of esoteric spells. Examples hereof are for instance Amoghavajra’s expressed *Buddhanetradhārāni, 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 dhāranis and spells (see Section 4.2.5). It is furthermore believed that the Abhayagiri vihāra 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 retrieval of the Sinhalese treasures earlier lost to the Pāṇḍyas;623

• Despite Sena II’s “royal reforms” and his withholding of royal support, the Abhayagiri vihāra managed to survive on Śrī Laṅkā until king Parākramabāhu I’s “purification and unification process of the sangha” 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 Abhayagiri vihāra on Śrī Laṅkā was the first university type Buddhist monastic education institute. It was established much earlier than the Nalanda (founded around the mid-fifth century CE) and the Vikarama (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 Abhayagiri vihāra during the “late Anurādhapura period”.626 Along with the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS) (T. 848)627 and its corpus and ritual texts, the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṅgraha 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 Vajrapāni statue found at Ratnakaravva was dated to 750-850 CE. Deegalle, 1999, p. 351.
624 Bechert, 1993, p. 16.
625 Other sources: Gethin, 2012, p. 49; Skilling, 2012, p. xiv; Sundberg, 2014, pp. 82-86; Walters, 2000, pp. 141-146.
626 Chandawimala, 2016, p. 221.
627 The “late Anurādhapura period” lasted from king Māṅavarman (r. 684-718 CE) to king Vijayabahu I (r. 1055-1110 CE), when the latter reclaimed Polonnaruwa from the Cholas in 1070 CE and established Polonnaruwa as the new capital. Powell, 2018, pp. 6-7.
628 See Appendix IV, # 5.
629 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 (samaṣyas). The Vajradhātumahā-mandala 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 Mañjuśrībhāṣītavāstuvidyāśāstra (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-mandala 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 Vajradhātumandala).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 Vajradhātumandala 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 Vijayarāma. Chandrawimala, 2016, p. 223.
In Chapter 2 of the STTS, the all female Vajraguhavajramandala with its 29 deities is presented. It constitutes the Northern version of the text (preserved in a ninth/tenth-century Nepalese manuscript).
The Abhayagiriśivihāra is credited to have created the mantras of the Four Outer Godesses of the Vajraguhabhātumandala.
Chandrawimala, 2016, pp. 222-223.
633 The Mañjuśrībhāṣītavāstuvidyāśāstra (the MVVS) is a śilpa śāstra – or treatise - organized into two books (śāstras) and seventeen chapters (adyāvās). The MVVS is written in Sanskrit using Sinhalese script, covering 60 palm leaves front and back. It encompassed 1,600 slokas. 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).
634 The five main structures (pañcāvāsa) of the monastery are: the caitya, the image hall, the Bodhi tree shrine, the prāśāda (residential hall) and the lecture hall (sabhā).
Powell, 2018, pp. 31-32, 40.
635 Powell, 2018, pp. 40, 60.
Based on the STTS’s Vajradhātumandala, consecration rituals (pratiṣṭhā) were performed transforming Buddhist stūpas into Vajradhātumandalas, i.e. into abodes of 99 million Tathāgatas. The consecration rituals made the stūpa and the mandala 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 samsāra into the enlightened world of the mandala.\(^638\)

During the seventh to the ninth centuries CE, monks from Southeast Asia, China and Tibet visited the Abhayagiri vihāra 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.\(^639\)

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 Laṅkā. Various groups of “Wilderness monks” sprung forth during this process, such as:

\(^{636}\) 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 Buddhābhīṣeka Ḥā Nānumara Maṅgalya 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 pamsukālika group of the Theravāda Mahāvihāra, and (ii) an esoteric Sanskrit reading pāṃśukālika group of the Abhayagirivihāra.643

As regards the esoteric Sanskrit reading pāṃśukālikas of the Abhayagirivihāra, they were known on Śrī Laṅkā from the second century CE. The pāṃśukālikas reached their prominence under the various kings during the period seventh to ninth century CE – i.e. from king Mānavarman to king Sena I.644 It is said that king Mānavarman (r. 684-718 CE) built a hermitage for them at Thīpama.645 King Sena I (r. 846-866) built the large monastery at Ritigala for the pāṃśukālikas.646 He also built a separate kitchen in the Abhayagirivihāra for the pāṃśukālikas.647 The pāṃśukālika meditation platforms were of a special “double-platform” design. The pāṃśukālika were esteemed for their knowledge and for their mastery of the doctrine.648 Within the Abhayagirivihāra, the pāṃśukālikas 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.
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 vajatadāge (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 constructions of a vaṭādāge superstructure covering a stūpa (see Section 5.3.4). These vaṭādāge structures may be described as a roof supported by pillars to the ground (see Picture 111). The vaṭādāge structure was supposed to legitimizing esoteric Buddhism by illustrating the legend of the South Indian Iron Stūpa.650 There are remains of twelve vaṭādāge constructions on Śrī Laṅkā651, the first one being built by king Lambakaṇṭha (r. 65-109 CE) in Vasabha at the Thūpārāma.652

The vaṭādāge 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 vaṭādāge.653 The vaṭādāge 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 Vajroṣṇīṣa 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 Mahāvairocana’s Universal Palace of the Mind.656

650 For a description of the Iron Stūpa, please see Abé, 1999, pp. 220-225; Appendix IV, Note 1564.
651 Vaṭādāge structures have been found in Anurādhapura at the Thūpārāma, Laṅkārāma, Toluviḷa and Vessagiri – as well as elsewhere on Śrī Laṅkā at Mihintale, Tīrīyā, At-tanagalla, Sīgirīya, Virandagoda, Rajangana, Mānikdena and Devundara. Miksic, 2016, p. 354 N. 9. Other source: Sundberg, 2018, p. 257.
654 Sundberg, 2017, p. 149.
655 Kūkai’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.
The vaṭadāge structures were not only attractive to esoteric Buddhists, but were in fact implicated in their esoteric beliefs.657

When the Abhayagirivihāra was at its prime, the Śailendras approached them in 790 CE and invited the pāṃśukālikas 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 pāṃśukālikas left the Abhayagirivihāra in protest in order to form a sect (gaṇāhēsūṁ) of their own elsewhere on the island.658

The Mahāvihāra nikāya no doubt represented the conservative wing of Buddhism on Śrī Lankā, 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 Lankā 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 fruition. 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 Čulavaṃsa has specifically avoided informing about esoteric Buddhism on Śrī Lankā during the second Lambakaṇṭha dynasty – i.e. from Mānavarman to Sena I. Most of chapter 47 in the Čulavaṃsa dealing with this period is

657 Sundberg, 2017, p. 135; Sundberg, 2015, p. 121, Note 37 & 150, Note 134.
The reason for this protest in 874 CE by the Abhayagiri pāṃśukālikas were inter alia Sena II’s (i) shift to the more traditional Pāḷi 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. 
lacking.\textsuperscript{660} Results from recent academic research of historical remnants on Śrī Laṅkā - particularly the research at twelve Śrī Laṅkā \textit{vaṭadāge} sites - seems to have rendered evidence regarding the Śrī Laṅkān esoteric Buddhist phase.\textsuperscript{661}

The various aspects of the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{663} The influences of the \textit{Abhayagirivihāra} expanded into India and into Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Vimuttimagga} to Chinese – a Pāli text of the \textit{Abhayagirivihāra} of Śrī Laṅkā. This translation work took place in Funan. The teachings of the Lankese \textit{Abhayagirivihāra} may in other words have been introduced to China via Funan.\textsuperscript{665} Given the contacts between Java and Funan, it may perhaps also be conceivable to presume that the teachings of the \textit{Abhayagirivihāra} may have been introduced on Java via Funan – as a complement to the direct contacts between Śrī Laṅkā and Java.

The \textit{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 \textit{Brāhmī} script. The inscription indicates that there existed a cultural exchange between Java and Śrī Laṅkā during the Śailendra period (ca 746-829 CE).\textsuperscript{666} Basing himself on Gray,\textsuperscript{667} Sundberg proposed the idea

\textsuperscript{660} Sundberg, 2018, pp. 193-200.
\textsuperscript{661} Sundberg, 2017, pp. 4-5.
\textsuperscript{662} Shinohara, 2003, p. 97.
\textsuperscript{663} Cousins, 2012, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{664} Sundberg, 2014, pp. 79 & 94.
\textsuperscript{665} Gunawardana, 2005, pp. 72 & 77.
\textsuperscript{666} Voûte, 2006, p. 223.
that this inscription proves that Java had direct contacts with the pāṃśukālikas of the Abhayagirivihāra in Anurādhapura on north-central Śrī Laṅkā. The contacts with the pāṃśukālikas of the Abhayagirivihāra would, according to Sundberg, explain the introduction of esoteric and yoga tantras by the pāṃśukālikas to Java (see Section 4.2.3) and to Southeast Asia.\textsuperscript{668}

Sundberg further claims that the Śailendras had “hand-picked” these pāṃśukālikas 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 pāṃśukālikas and the Śaiva ascetics). Sundberg goes a step further and states that the pāṃśukālikas had a putative acquaintance with the transgressive advaya doctrines,\textsuperscript{669} and – like the siddhas – were dreaded for their arcane power.\textsuperscript{670} When the Abhayagirivihāra was at its prime, these pāṃśukālikas were invited to go to Java.\textsuperscript{671} This would mean,
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 Lanka 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.  

Sundberg substantiates his theory with the pāṃśukālikas of the Abhayagiri vihāra by referring to the bearded siddhas (see Picture 116) on the lintels of the Candi Sewu and on its 240 Candi Perwaras; on at least two of the five Pañca-Tathāgata temples at the Candi Ngawen; on the Candi Pawon and on the reliefs of the Barabuḍur. These bearded figures are presented among clouds, or in flight, or in levitation. On the Candi Sewu and on its Candi 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 upavita cord, earrings and jeweled bracelets. 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).

According to Chandra, the Śailendras were followers of Vajrayāna. The Abhayagiri inscription indicates that it was king Dharmmottuṇḍagadewa who had the monastery erected and who named it after court at about the same time. And now – around 790 CE - the Śailendra king invited the pāṃśukālikas of the Abhayagiri vihāra to come and live in Java.


Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 160-162 & 210, Note 140.

Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 165. Corresponding images are also presented on Hindu temples in India from the same time period.


Chandra, 1995(a), p. 20. Stutterheim seems to be of the view, that the Śailendras were Vajradhāra Buddhists (see Section 5.2.3).


The interpretation of the name of king Dharmmottuṇḍagadewa varies between different scholars. de Casparis (1950) means that it was the abhiśeka of king Panangkaran (Vishnu of the Ligor charter), while he a decade thereafter (1961) means that it referred to king Sumaratungga. Sarkar on the other hand was of the view that it referred to the successor king - king Panaraban - who according to the Wanua Tēngah III inscription started his reign in 784 CE. In this latter case, Dharmmottuṇḍagadewa would be the abhiśeka name of Panaraban. Degroot and Sundberg mean that the king was named Dharmmottuṇḍagadewa.
the well-known monastery on Śrī Laṅkā – the Abhayagirivihāra. The similarities of the Ratubaka pendopo and the padhāṇaghara parivena ("the western monasteries") of the Abhayagirivihāra on Śrī Laṅkā are eloquent. Sarkar means that the Abhayagirivihāra at Ratubaka was built by the monks coming from Śrī Laṅkā. 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).

What was the real reason for the Śailendras to invite these esoteric pāṃśūkālika monks of the far away Abhayagirivihāra 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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The padhāṇaghara parivena meditation temples on Śrī Laṅkā - also called Tapovana ("ascetic grove") - were situated some two kilometers west of the Abhayagirivihāra. The word padhāṇaghara 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 elaborately 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 padhāṇaghara 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 padhāṇaghara 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.


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vihāra being established on Ratubaka. It has been suggested, namely, that Ratubaka may have been the kraton of the Śaṅjayas 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 Śaṅjayas), 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 Tattvasamgraha (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 - Oṁ ūkī hūṃ jāhsvāhā.685 The

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.
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 Bhasmevaranirghoṣa (“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 Abhayagiri vihāra 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 Padmapāli (Avalokiteśvara) would have been raised at the Abhayagiri vihāra of Sinhala 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 Abhayagiri vihāra at the Ratubaka was a vihāra with inter alia the Mahāyāna Vaipulya class of Buddhist texts (see Section 1.4.3) and with Mañjughoṣa/Maṇjuśrī 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 Saddharmapundarika Sūtra), it is only bodhisattva Mañjuśrī who may explain the Saddharmapundarika (the new Vaipulyayāna path) that the Buddha preached.692
The South Indian monk Vajrabodhi spent some time in the Abhayagirivihāra on Śri Laikā prior to going to China – as did also Amoghavajra subsequently. 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-Godāvari valley or from the school of Kānci-Negapatam. 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. Similar pillars may earlier have supported a hall that could have sheltered an image of Buddha Vairocana – but no remains thereof has been found.

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 Śrījaya dynasty (or Kumbhayoni697) did raise three liṅgas on the

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696 The person behind the name Kumbhayoni is much debated. de Casparis believed that it was Rakai Pikatan. Wiseman 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.

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Ratubaka plateau, as a witness of his victory over Dyah 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 īṅgā).698

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Other sources: Appendix I, # 12.
4 The Introduction of Buddhism into Indonesia

4.1 The introduction of Śrāvakāya, 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. Naturally, this also had a bearing on the development of Buddhism in the area.

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. In Section 3.2, we learned

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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 Amarāvati (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 Amarāvarti (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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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\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Lū Xiang’s biography of Vajrabodhi (see Section 4.2.5) that Vajrabodhi was taught an early form of the “Eighteen Assemblies”\textsuperscript{707} i.e. the Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha (the STTS) (see Appendix IV, # 6) by Nāgajñāna\textsuperscript{708} at Kāñci during the early eighth century CE.\textsuperscript{709} 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 (āvesā) 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.\textsuperscript{710} In parallel hereto, Gray\textsuperscript{711} and Sundberg\textsuperscript{711} suggest that the Saiva concepts were introduced into the Buddhist esoteric texts by means of the monks of the forest renunciant traditions (e.g. the pāminsukālikas). These two matters will be further addressed in Section 5.2.

\textsuperscript{705} See Section 3.1, Note 576 and Section 4.2.3, Note 778.

\textsuperscript{706} See Section 3.2, Note 583.

\textsuperscript{707} Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 155 & 158.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{709} Sanderson, 2009, p. 133.


\textsuperscript{710} Gray, 2001, pp. 204 ff.

\textsuperscript{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. 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 Śrāvakāyāna Buddhism. During the eighth century, it gained momentum into what came to be denominated the “Tantric Turn”. Experiencing a decline in royal support from mediernineth 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.

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, 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.

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 Cāgal 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

712 Davidson, 2002, p. 82. 
713 Acri, 2016(a), pp. 7-8.
714 Gifford, 2011, pp. 7-12 and Section 4.2.3, Note 778.
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 Pûrṇavarman 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 Mālasarvāstivāda 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 Buddhist traditions. All these traditions were regarded by the Buddhist community - Buddhāsāsana - 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, Śri Lanka 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 Śri Lanka and traversed

716 Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 208.
719 Jordaen, 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 Imperial 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 ca 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) — 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.” 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 Śri Lanka 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 Mālasarvāstivāda 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, Mālasarvāstivāda nikāya, Saṃmitiya nikāya and Sthāviraṇavāda nikāya. Against this background, one may assume that at this time Śrāvakayāna Buddhism was the prevailing form of Buddhism on Java.729 Buddhism

724 In Chinese Shēpō 奢婆.
    Other source: Kandahjaya, 2016, p. 85.
728 Nou & Frédéric, 1996, p. 211.
729 Soekmono, 1956, p. 96.
and Hinduism seem at that time to have existed friendly side-by-side.\footnote{Bechert, 1981(b), p. 10. Other source: Soebadio, 1971, p. 61.}

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.\footnote{The “Three Treasures” are (i) the Buddha, (ii) the dharma, and (iii) the saṅgha.}

The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (602-664 CE) went to India in 629 CE (see Section 3.2). Xuanzang visited Kācṣi during 640 CE, where it is said that he met some Abhayagiriśiṁsins that had fled Śrī Lanka after the decease of king Silameghavanṇa (r. 619-628 CE).\footnote{Hirakawa, 1998, pp. 121-122.} Xuanzang never got to Śrī Lanka, nor to Southeast Asia for that matter.\footnote{Chandra, 1979(b), pp. 270-271.}

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).\footnote{Ensink, 1978, p. 179. Other sources: Iwamoto, 1981, p. 85; Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 57-58; Sarkar, 1967, p. 638.}

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 Mandalāśa Śātra (the MAS) (“The Eightfold Maṇḍala Śātra”) Shī zì zhuang yán wàng pū sā qīng wén jīng 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 Candi Mendut (see Section 1.5.1). It is also illustrated on the interior wall of the Candi Plaosan Lor in the form of the Buddha surrounded by eight bodhisattvas.\footnote{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. The use of the word kalyānamitra (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 Barabudur. The Tulang Tuwo inscription also includes the term “mahāsattva vajraśarīra”, which Cœdès thought to be tantric. An early Mantranaya text - the Kārandavyūha Sūtra - includes the term vajrakāśarīra (“having a body made of vajra”). Woodward ventures the idea, that this sūtra may have been known on Sumatra. The Kota Kapur inscription (686 CE) from the Bangka Island and the Telaga Batu inscription (seventh century CE) from south Sumatra 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 Śākyakirti. At that time Theravāda, as well as Mahāyāna, were prevalent in Śrīvijaya. Yijing found that three different Śrāvakayāna

736 Of the Ten Pāramitās, special references are made to the third (ksānti, 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 vajracaritra, “le corps de diamant“.” Ceci nous transporte en plein tantrisme….” Cœdès, 1930, p. 55.

738 Studholme, 2002, pp. 108 & 140. The dating of the Kārandavyūha 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.


740 Cœdès, 1930, p. 48.

741 de Casparis, 1956, pp. 32, 34 & 41.
Buddhist traditions \(^{742}\) and *Mahāsanghika* (the Great Assembly) were already introduced on Java, Sumatra and some neighbouring islands. Among the *Śrāvakajñāna* Buddhist traditions, *Mūlasrāvastivāda* 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 *Mūlasrāvastivāda 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 Lanka. Yijing also erraneously meant that the form of *Śrāvakajñāna* Buddhism in the Indonesian archipelago “mostly adhered to *Hinayāna* practices followed in the Sanskrit texts of the canon”.\(^ {745}\)

Yijing mentioned in his travel diary that the distinction between *Śrāvakajñāna* 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 *Śrāvakajñāna* Buddhist traditions are (i) *Sthaviravāda* (the Elders); (ii) (*Mūla*)srāvastivāda (the Universal Existence School); and (iii) *Summitiyya* (the Universally Esteemed).

\(^ {743}\) Ensink, 1978, p. 179;  
*Other sources*: Bechert, 1981(a), pp. 129-130;  

\(^ {744}\) *Mūlasrāvastivāda nikāya* is often described as being composed of four subdivisions; i.e. *Mūlasrāvastivāda*, Dharmagupta, Mahiśāsaka and Kāśyapa.  

\(^ {745}\) Sarkar, 1985 (b), p. 224.

\(^ {746}\) Yijing’s diary is called “A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago” *Nán hǎi jì guì nèi fā chuán* 南海寄歸內法傳 (T. 2125).  

\(^ {747}\) Chandra, 1995(d), p. 338.
this means that the Buddhist monuments on Java were constructed under the direction of Mahāyāna builders.\footnote{van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1980, p. 277.}

Some local inscriptions (see Appendix I) 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 bodhisattva Tārā\footnote{Williams, 1999, pp. 236-238.};
- the Kelurak inscription (782 CE) is called the first true esoteric inscription. It describes the installation of a Mañjuśrī (bodhisattva Mañjuśrī)\footnote{Williams, 1999, pp 238-241.} statue by the guru Kumāraghoṣa from Gauḍā in Bengal;
- the Candi Sewu inscription (792 CE), which describes the enlargement of a Mañjuśrīgrīha; and
- the Ratubaka inscription (792 CE), which gives evidence of contacts with the Abhayagiriśīlāra on Śrī Laṅkā.\footnote{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 - sūnyatā). 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.}  

\footnote{Frédéric, 1995, pp. 180-183. Other source: Williams, 1999, pp. 236-238.}

\footnote{Frédéric, 1995, pp. 192-196. Other sources: Williams, 1999, pp 238-241.}

\footnote{Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is considered as a sakti (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 saktis of the five Pañcika-Tathāgatas. Frédéric, 1995, pp. 180-183. Other source: Williams, 1999, pp. 236-238.}
The presence of esoteric Buddhism on Java could be indicated by the various Buddhas in the main candis, such as bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in the Candi Sewu or in the Candi Lumbung; the Ratnaratya (Buddha Śākyamuni as Abhisambuddha Mahāvairocana and bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāni) in the Candi Mendut; Buddha Vairocana on the Barabudur; and bodhisattva Tārā in the Candi Kālasan.\textsuperscript{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 Candi 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 mandala;\textsuperscript{753}
- the Ǹgańjuk bronzes (90 bronze images) were found in 1913 at the Candi Rĕjo close to Ǹgańjuk 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 mandala. Some of these images were fitted with small gold plaquettes, indicating that they had been consecrated as divine;\textsuperscript{754}
- the Surocolo bronzes found close to Yogyakarta on Central Java are dated to the early tenth century CE. They could represent either (i) Vajrasattva surrounded by 16 female deities, or (ii) Hevajra and some of his entourage.\textsuperscript{755}

\textsuperscript{752} As indicated in the above footnotes, bodhisattva Tārā and bodhisattva Mañjuśrī are represented in Mahāyāna Buddhism, as well as in esoteric Buddhism.

\textsuperscript{753} Nihom, 1998, p. 245.

\textsuperscript{754} Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke, 1988, p. 35. \textit{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 mandala. Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(a), pp. 97-120.

\textsuperscript{755} Chandra and Devi Singhal both date the Surocolo bronzes to the reign of Siṅdok, 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 Ǹgańjuk bronzes. Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke, 1988, p. 32.

\textsuperscript{756} The problems here are though (i) that the Ǹgańjuk bronzes include the drummer Mukundā, who does not belong to the Vajradhātu mandala, and (ii) that the Hevajra tantra probably did not arrive to Java until after Atiśa had arrived to Śrīvijaya in 1011 CE. Atiśa 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 Saṅjayas 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 eighth 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 Kēlurak 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 Śrīvijaya 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 Hui-ning is said to have stayed and studied in Heling.⁷⁵⁹ Several Indian

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 Kēlurak inscription (see Appendix I, # 5), we find a description indicating Absolute Reality (but with bodhisattva Mañjuśrī instead of Buddha Mahāvairocana):

ayam sa vajradhāry śrimān brahmā viṣṇur maheśvaraḥ /
sarvadēvamayaḥ svāmī mañjuvāg īti giyate //

(He, the Wielder of Vajra, the auspicious one, is Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara; He is full of all gods and is praised as Mañjuvāg).  

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.

teachers and Chinese pilgrims visited Java during the ninth and tenth centuries CE.

Śrīvijaya developed into a Buddhist center. Wuxing is said to have visited Śrīvijaya 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-kirti, prior to going to Nepal and Tibet in the eleventh century CE (1042 CE). Atiśa may have been part of transmitting Buddhist ideas from Indonesia to India; e.g. Vajravarman’s commentary *Sundarā-laṁkāra-nāma*.

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 Barabuḷudur could not have been built, without a thorough knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures.*

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. *temporary 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 Buddhism in Indonesia – with the *Mūlarāṣṭravāstivādā nīkāya* as the dominant tradition. But only a century after Yijing’s return to

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*Other source:* Miksic, 2016, p. 262.  
*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 Kėdukan 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 *Saivasiddhānta* – 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 Barabudur, 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.\(^{765}\)

\(^{763}\) Sarkar, 1985(b), pp. 224-225.

\(^{764}\) Bosch, 1961(b), pp. 15-17.

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 Mālasarvāstivāda (the Universal Existence) in dominance and with Sthāviravāda⁷⁶⁶ (the Elders) and Sammitiṣṭha (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. Mālasarvāstivāda).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 CE⁷⁶⁸ – 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 Mahāyāna 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:

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 Mālasarvāstivāda 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 Barabuḍuṛ (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 Barabuḍuṛ 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 transcendental Buddhas – either individually or as a group. Vairocana should have been mentioned for the first time in the copperplates of Kaṇcana of 860 CE (Śaka 782).\(^{(773)}\) Thus the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍuṛ should not have illustrated the five Pañca-Tathāgatas.

Klokke considers that all this would substantiate her conclusions:

\(^{(769)}\) 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.


For reference to this statement, please see Section 4.2.3, Note 778.

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
- Mahāyāna
- Jātaka and Avadāna
- Mahākarmavibhāṅga, Jātakamāla,
- Lālitaśīla, Gaṇḍavyūha Śūtra and Bhadracarī.

\(^{(772)}\) Klokke, 1995, p. 199.

i. that *Mahāyāna* Buddhism would have been the prevailing
religion on Java during the construction period of the
Barabudur (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* prac-
tices and meditation.\(^774\)

Some arguments against these views, would perhaps be appropriate
as follows:

- that the Kālasan (778 CE), the Kēlurak (782 CE) and the
Maṇjuśrīghra (792 CE) inscriptions center around the bodhi-
sattvas Tārā and Maṇjuśrī, respectively (see Appendix I, # 4, 5 & 6). Both bodhisattva Tārā and bodhisattva Maṇjuśrī 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 *Candi* Sewu, the *Candi* Kālasan and the *Candi* Ngawen.

- Southeast of the Barabudur 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 bodhi-
sattva 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 *Candi* Sewu, after its reconstruction in
792 CE to a cruciform groundplan surrounded by 240 additio-
nal shrines (*Candi* 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 Mandalāṭa 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 Sailendra 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 is considered to represent the ultimate form of development of Indian Buddhism. Its main concern is with ritual and

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 practices 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. Vajrayāna Buddhism did, however, not develop into one comprehensive tradition, as it had two different bases – Mādhyamaka and Yogācāra-cittamātra. The Chinese monk Yijing 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 deities (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 (āveśa) 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.


780 Nagarjuna’s magnum 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. tathāgataagarbha).

781 According to Yogācāra-cittamātra tradition (“Mind-only”) the world in which we live - sansāra – may be explained in its entirety as the work of mind (i.e. everything is an illusion).


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.\textsuperscript{782}

\textit{Esoteric Buddhism} is thought to have been developed in south India.\textsuperscript{783} \textit{Mantranaya} refers to an institutional \textit{esoterism}, which developed in the monasteries, and represented a new development from the earlier \textit{Mahāyāna} Perfection Path Buddhism (\textit{Pāramitāyāna}).\textsuperscript{784} The excellent fit of the \textit{Mahāyāna} Perfection Path Buddhism (\textit{Pāramitāyāna}) with the \textit{esoteric Mantranaya} Buddhism is illustrated on the Barabuḍuṛ,\textsuperscript{785} the upper terraces of which represent the \textit{Dharmadhātu}.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{787}

However, with the \textit{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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\textsuperscript{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 \textit{esoteric} Buddhism. King Indrabhūti is asserted to have been the father of Padmasambhava, who went to Tibet around 747 CE and there formed the \textit{rNying-ma-pa} tradition. King Indrabhūti is allegedly the author of various Buddhist texts – e.g. the \textit{Jñānāsiddhi}. Kiyota, 1978, p. 16.

\textsuperscript{784} The difference between \textit{Perfection Path} (\textit{Pāramitāyāna}) \textit{Mahāyāna} Buddhism and \textit{Mantranaya} Buddhism, is primarily that the latter form of Buddhism is \textit{esoteric}. By emphasizing rituals (e.g. entering in a circle of divinities - \textit{mandala}) and reciting sacred formulas (\textit{mantra}), \textit{one may according to Mantranaya Buddhism attain Buddhahood in a lifetime}. Ishii, 1991, p. 161. \textit{Other source:} Woodward, 2004, p. 330.

\textsuperscript{785} On the topmost gallery on the Barabuḍuṛ the series of reliefs end with the \textit{Six Characteristics}, which is the last section of the \textit{DBS} (which itself culminates the \textit{GVS}). Woodward, 2004, p. 338.

According to Orlando, the \textit{DBS} was a favourite text of Amoghavajra. Orlando, 1981, pp. 133 & 137. (see Sections 4.2.5 & Appendix III, # 6).

\textsuperscript{786} The \textit{Dharmadhātu}, where the fundamental aspects of existence are perceived as the Buddhas perceive them, is essential in the thinking of both the \textit{DBS}, as well as in the \textit{MVS}. Woodward, 2004, p. 338.

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

- Vikramaśila in Bihar was founded by the Pāla king Dharmapāda (r. ca 770-810 CE) during the eighth century CE. In Vikramaśila 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 Vikramaśila. 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


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 Vikramaśila encompassed 108 shrines spread over more than 100 acres. This monastery housed some 160 monks holding the position of Paññās and around 1,000 monks in permanent residence. Sanderson, 2009, pp. 98-100.


(anuttarayoga) never reached Java in a substantial manner during the building period of the Barabudur.\footnote{Weinberger, 2003, pp. 1-2, 29-34 & 331.}

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 Kedu 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 Saññah and his son – king Sañjayā - in order to take over the rule of Java after the collapse of Heling.\footnote{Hikata, 1965, pp. 8-9.}

\textbf{4.2.3.1 The esoteric form of Vajrayāna Buddhism in Indonesia}

\textit{Vajrayāna} Buddhism in its early esoteric form - \textit{Mantranaya}\footnote{Mantranaya means ”Mantra System”. Wallace, 2011, p. 96.} - was introduced in Indonesia sometime during the early eighth century CE. \textit{Mantranaya}\footnote{In academic discussions of esoteric Buddhism, \textit{Mantrayāna} is often used in preference to \textit{Mantranaya} – “the Path (naya) of Mantras”. But “\textit{Mantrayāna}” – “the Vehicle of Protective Spells” - does not appear in texts until after the term \textit{Vajrayāna} appeared. In addition, it seems that “\textit{Mantrayāna}” might probably have been modelled on \textit{Vajrayāna}. \textit{Esoteric Buddhism} is thus not a third “\textit{yāna}” distinctive from \textit{Śrāvakayāna} Buddhism and \textit{Mahāyāna} Buddhism. However, \textit{Vajrayāna} – being composed of esoteric and tantric Buddhism – may be regarded as this third “\textit{yāna}”. Against this background, \textit{Mantranaya} has become the appropriate term to describe the self-perception of esoteric pre-tantric Buddhism.\cite{Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 271, n. 8. Other source: de Jong, 1984, p. 93.} is a collective name for esoteric Buddhism, which has its roots in the philosophies of Mādhyyamika and Yogācāra cittamatra. As indicated in the name, mantras were used in esoteric
practice.\textsuperscript{795} *Mantranaya* is regarded by some western scholars as being placed squarely within the Mahāyāna framework of emptiness (śānyāta) and universal compassion (karunā). 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.\textsuperscript{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 *mandala* (magic circle), the *mantra* (sacred verse, formula, word or syllable), the *mudrā* (symbolic gesture), the *abhisekā* (consecration ritual), the *dhāraṇī* (sacred formula)\textsuperscript{797}, etc.\textsuperscript{798} To be noted, though, is that corresponding ritual elements are being used in tantric Buddhism.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.


Although Woodward makes the same distinction between the *Pāramitānaya*, on the one hand, and the form of Buddhism using *mandalas* and *mantras*, on the other, he designates the latter *Mantrayāna*. Woodward, 2004, p. 330.

\textsuperscript{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).


Wulff defines *Mantrānaya* as "the secret teaching of the Javanese Buddhism" ("*Mantrānaya* ist die geheimslehre des javanischen buddhismus"). Wulff, 1935, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{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.  

Mantranaya could also assist the disciple to attain Enlightenment. By using various mantras – called seed-mantras – a mandala 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).  

After the fall of the Gupta dynasty in 550 CE, the rise of Mantranaya was assisted by the institutional duress that emerged. Militant Šaivism 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. 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 Lanka. This was indeed necessary for the introduction of the Mantranaya on Java in the 780s and 790s CE.  

The main Mantranaya texts may primarily be said to be the MVS (T. 848) (caryā tantra) and the STTS (T. 865) (yoga tantra). In addition, one also have to enclose among these important Mantranaya texts the MAS (T. 486) (the Eightfold Mandala with the eight bodhisattvas).

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800 Williams & Tribe, 2003, pp. 220 & 223.
801 Williams & Tribe, 2003, p. 224.
805 As indicated in Section 4.1, Punyodana brought this text to China by the mid-seventh century CE.

Candi 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 Śubhakarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra during the early part of the eighth century CE (see Section 4.2.5).

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 Kēlurak inscription of 782 CE (see Appendix I, # 5). In addition, there may also have existed an enormous statue of Avalokiteśvara at the Abhayagiriśvāra at Ratubaka. 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. This form of Buddhism may have been introduced on Java by the pāṇiṣṭukālikas of the Abhayagiriśvāra on Śrī Lanka (see Section 5.2.1).

This form of esoteric Buddhism was based on the great compassion (karunā) and on the great wisdom (prajñā) of the Buddha. It originated from a fervent desire to subsume and enlighten as many non-Buddhists as possible to the great compassion of the Buddha. The Kēlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) presents a rather explicit esoteric tenor (see Appendix I, # 5).

The Vaipulya tradition was concerned with the “Sudden Enlightenment” and with “Light” - starting with Buddha Amitābha “Infinite Light”. Lokeśvara (bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara) had the image of Buddha Amitābha on his forehead. But it was only bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (the reciter of the Mahāyāna Vaipulya śūtras) who was capable of clearing away any doubt on the saddharma - i.e. the

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808 Sanderson, 2009, pp. 126 & 133.
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 Kêlurak 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. Bernet Kempers agrees with Hikata that it was an early form of esoteric Buddhism that was introduced on Central Java. 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 Candi Mendut, the Candi Pawon and the Barabudur. Based on the Candi Sewu inscription of 792 CE (see Appendix I, # 6) - which recorded an enlargement of a Mañjuśrīgaha – van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has proven that the Kêlurak inscription also adheres to the Candi Sewu. Bosch indicated already in 1961, that the Candi Sewu was restructured in 792 CE as a Vajradhātu maṇḍala. He also suggested, that the so called Ngañjuk 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.

Yoga tantra, being illustrated by means of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala, 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.
814 Moens, 1951, p. 409.  
It should be noted, that Sundberg is very critical to the commonly accepted interpretation of the Mañjuśrīgaha inscription of 792 CE. Sundberg means that this inscription adheres to the completion of the original Candi Sewu – not to the completion of its restructuring. Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 106-109.
816 “Candi Sewu” means “the Thousand Temples” Bosch, 1961(a), p. 130.
817 Bosch, 1961(a), pp. 114 & 125-130.
818 As presented in the Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha Sūtra (the STTS). Devi Singhal & Chandra, 1995(a), p. 98.
tantra. On his travel to China via Śrīvijaya, he should have brought with him from Kañchipuram 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 Kêlurak 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 Kamahāyanikan 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 Candi Sewu would have been decorated with bronze figures like those found at Nganjuk.\(^{822}\) However, Woodward opposes this latter theory.\(^{823}\) Finally, in 1985 20 gold leaves were found in the Candi Gumpung\(^{824}\) in Maura Jambi on Sumatra. These goldplates were

\(^{819}\) Sundberg, 2003, pp. 180-182.


The caryā tantras being based on the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi (T. 848) and being represented by the Garbha mandala with Buddha Vairocana in the center in dhyāna-mudrā (see Appendix IV, # 5). The yoga tantras being based on the Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṅgrahā (the STTS) (T. 866 & T. 865) and being represented by the Vajradhātu mandala 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.


\(^{824}\) 20 small gold leaves were found under the pillars of the Candi Gumpung close to Maura Jambi on Sumatra. The names of the deities of the Vajradhātu mandala were written on these gold leaves in Kawi – an Old Javanese language from the middle of the the ninth
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 Abhayagiri Vihāra on Śrī Lanka 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 Lanka. 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 Candi Gumpung826 and the bronze images from Nganjuk mentioning the deities of the Vajradhātu mandala both indicate that the STTS and the MVS were known on Java by the ninth century CE. The Surocolo bronzes827 represent a mandala of the so called “Prajñāpāramitā 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 Nganjuk and the Surocolo bronzes are both dated to the late tenth century CE (see Pictures 100 & 101).829

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827 Nihom proposes, though, that the main esoteric Buddhist 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 Candi Gumpung seem to confirm this. Nihom means that the Candi Gumpung finds would indicate a mandala more like the Trilokavijayamahā Mandalā, as it is described in the Vajraśekhara Tantra. Nihom, 1998, pp. 245-251.

828 The so called “Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses” (the PPV) is another denomination of the Sanskrit Adhyaśaṅkhyā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (or the Rishukyō in Japanese) (see Appendix IV, # 7).

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 Śrīvijaya 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 Lanka in the 740s CE. Amoghavajra visited at least Śrīvijaya during his ensuing text-collection trip to south India and Śrī Lanka in 741-746 CE, when he brought inter alia the later version of the *Vajraśekara Sūtra* to China. The reconstruction of the Cāndi Sewu seems to indicate that the *Vajradhātu mandala* was known on Java by the end of the ninth century CE. The Abhayagiri inscription at Ratubaka of 792 CE presents a close exchange of thoughts with Śrī Lanka 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  Nyāñjuk are dated almost a century later, when the Vajradhātu mandala may have been more generally accepted on Java.
known on Java already by that time. Of interest is also, that the anuttarayoga tantras do not seem to have been introduced on Java in a general manner.

Source: Photo Johan af Klint

**Picture 101** Vajrānkusa - Ngāñjuk 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 was developed by the monks of Nālandā. This

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831 The Surocolo bronzes represent the mandala 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.

832 According to Nāropa, the word “ādi” means “ohne Anfang und ohne Ende” (i.e. “without beginning, without end”).
*Other source:* Hammar, 2005, p. 95.

833 Nāropa wrote the famous stanza about the “… Paramādibuddha …” over the door to the monastery in Nālandă, 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 Barabudur.

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 Paśca-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 Nāmasaṅgiti. Those who do not know the Nāmasaṅgiti, do not know the jhānakāya of Vajradhāra. Those who do not know the jhānakāya of Vajradhāra, do not know the Mantrayāna. Those who do not know the Mantrayāna are all in and of samsāra, separated from the path of Bhagavat 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.

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” (śānyatā).
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-out aspects; and being omniscient.
Please note, that in the Kālacakra, Paramādibuddha is not regarded as the creator of the Buddhas.
837 Please note that the pure consciousness (the svābhāvikakāya) is here defined as a separate body (kūya), which may be the origin of the dharmakāya (see Section 1.4.5, Note 279).
Contrary to Hikata, 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. Krom was of the opinion that Vajrasattva was not only known in Buddhism of Java, but that he also held an important position in this respect on Java. 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). Kiyota is more specific and suggests that this form of Vajrayāna Buddhism was the form that arose from the monastery of Vikrama instead of from the monastery of Nālandā. Wayman proposes that the various quotations of the Vairocanā-

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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 Candi 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 Candi Mendut (See Section 1.5.1).


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).


bhisanibodhi 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 Dyah Manara846 (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-Nāgari script are very similar. Sarkar accepts Goris’ proposal that the Kamahāyānīkan 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur, 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 Dyah Bālaputra when he left Java for Śrīvijaya on Sumatra in 854 CE. (see Section 2.3.3).850

Vajrasattva851 is a later addition to the Buddhist pantheon.852 Sometimes Vajrasattva is identified with Vajradhāra – and thus equals the

846 He is probably also denominated king Samaratunga. However, the Ratubaka inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714) names him Dharmottugadewa.
848 Grönbold, 1992, p. 133.
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 ghlanța (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). $^{857}$

$^{852}$ 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.


$^{857}$ 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 linga-shaped flame (= the sign of Ādibuddha). The moon crescent and the linga-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

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Ä dibuddha reigning over the Paça-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 Śri Laṅkā. In fact, bodhisattva Samantabhadra was worshipped as “the Master of the Paça-Tathāgatas” on Śri Laṅkā during the eighth and ninth centuries CE - i.e. at the time when the Barabuṣur was built and when the Ratubaka inscription of 792-793 CE was carved - indicating close religious contacts between Java and Śri Laṅkā.

The above description indicates that there may exist a transcendent concept beyond the existing world, which is called Ä dibuddha. The fourth body of the Buddha – the svabhāvikakāya – may also be associated with the pure, unchanging mind, which is beyond everything. Thus the svabhāvikakāya is beyond prajñā and upāya – wisdom and method.

As indicated below in Section 5.2.3, the Vajradhāra (Ä dibuddha) 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 (Ä dibuddha) cult could have been introduced on Java by the time of the construction of the Barabuṣur? The mentioning in the SHKM of Ä dibuddha and of the

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Vajradhāra later developed in Tibet as Ä dibuddha of the Gelug-pa tradition (“Yellow Hats”), while Vajrasattva became Ä dibuddha of the Karma-pa tradition (“Red Hats”). In China Ä dibuddha was expressed as Vajrasattva. In Japan and Korea, Ä dibuddha was addressed as Vairocana. On Java, Ä dibuddha may be described as “advaya”, as mentioned in the SHK in Appendix II, # 1.2


Hammar, 2005, p. 201 and Section 1.4.5, Note 279.
The Buddhas on the fourth gallery of the Barabu ur 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 Barabu ur 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 mandala, 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.

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.

The Mañjuśrībhāṣīṭavāstuvidyā Śāstra (the MVVS) is written in Sanskrit in a Sinhalese script. The MVVS is probably the most

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 Mañjuśrībhāṣīṭavāstu Śāstra (Chapters 2 & 3). When the text refers to Buddhist iconography, the text is called Mañjuśrībhāṣīṭa Cārakarma Śāstra (Chapters 4 onwards). Jayasuriya, Prematilleke & Silva, 1995, p. 3.
complete Mahāyāna architectural treatise extant today. 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.

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.  
### Various grids of squares used in some architectural plans of Central Java

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of Squares</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Temple design on Central Java</th>
<th>Citations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 (3x3)</td>
<td>pitha</td>
<td>Candi Pawon (roof)</td>
<td>MM, Vol I, p. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 (7x7)</td>
<td>sthanḍila</td>
<td>Candi Mendut (roof)</td>
<td>CKS, 7.70-7.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Candi Sewu (main temple)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81 (9x9)</td>
<td>parama-śāyikin</td>
<td>Candi Mendut (bld &amp; sanctum)</td>
<td>MM, Vol I, pp. xlix, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barabuḍur (summit)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prambanan (inner court)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>361 (19x19)</td>
<td>gāṅhita</td>
<td>Candi Prambanan</td>
<td>MM, Vol I, p. 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Barabuḍur (overall)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the *Citrakarma Śāstra* [CKS 7.29-7.39] the *parama-śāyikin* - the 81 square *candita* 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 *paiśīcācapāda*) all around the grid-system is where the ghosts and goblins live. The next tier of 24 squares (the *māṇusāpāda*) is where the humans reside and the third tier of 16 squares (the *daivikāpāda*) is the quarter of the divine beings. The inner core of 9 squares (the *brāhmikāpāda*) is the quarter of the Supreme Being. Usually, the *brāhmikāpāda* is left empty, enabling the devotees to approach the images. The main image was usually installed towards the rear of the *daivikāpāda* with the images of the bodhisattvas behind him. The *Bodhī*-tree was usually placed behind the Buddha image.

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867 MM = *Mayāmātam*; CKS = *Citrakarma Śāstra*
869 Kramisch, 1996, p. 60.
870 Kramisch, 1996, p. 60.

*Other sources:* Long, 2009, p. 82; Marasinghe, 1991, p. xxiii.

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When the *paramaśāyikin* – the 81 square *caṇḍita* plan – is applied to the summit of the Barabudur (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 *paiśācápāda*, 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 Barabudur (see *Sections 1.4.6 & 5.6.1*). Furthermore, 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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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 paśācapāda corresponds to the base of the monument, including the “hidden base”.873
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-Siddhānīst text Mayamātam. 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.

Noteeworthy is also the presentation in the Citrakarma Śāstra of the 81 square cāndita 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 brāhma-kapāda) of the paramaśāyikin - the 81 square cāndita 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 Vāṣṭupuruṣa maṇḍala with its 81 squares - was subsequently reworked by Amoghavajra and became the basis for the Genzu Maṇḍala of Shingon Buddhism in Japan (see Appendix IV, # 8.2). The close fit of the paramaśāyikin maṇḍala to the design of the Cāḍi Mendut building and sanctum may indicate that the Cāḍi 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 Vairocanābhīṣambodhi Sūtra (the VAS) to homa rituals – which leads the train of thoughts to the Cāḍi 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 Barabudur 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 candita (candi 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 Agama literary tradition. Given the presence of Śaivism on Central Java by the time of the construction of the Barabudur, 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 (Śubhākarasimha, 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

a policy of limiting the extreme power base and wealth of the saṅgha and locking it in under the cognizance of the state.\textsuperscript{875}

It was not until the eighth century CE, that \textit{esoteric} Buddhism was introduced in China in a comprehensive manner by the Three Monks – Śubhākarasimha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra. It then reached its peak. Śubhākarasimha lay the foundation stone with his tenet according to the \textit{caryā tantra} - the \textit{MVS}. Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra followed up with the \textit{yoga tantra} - the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{876}

\textit{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.\textsuperscript{877} Emperor Suzong 肃宗 (r. 756-762 CE) continued 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 (\textit{abhiṣekā}) 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 \textit{saṅgha} was thus negatively affected. Amoghavajra responded to these disturbances by focusing on the \textit{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.\textsuperscript{878} The ensuing emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779-805 CE)

\begin{itemize}
  \item Sharf, 2002, pp. 277-278.
  \item This change of mind on the part of the emperor Xuanzong was partly due to the similarities between \textit{esoteric} Buddhism and Daoism of their various ideas and practices.
  \item The prominent role of Mañjuśrī (Ch. Wénshū 文殊) in Mahāyāna Buddhism is based on the close identification with the \textit{Prajñāpāramitā} (Perfection of Wisdom) doctrine - everything is empty (śūnyatā). In \textit{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.
\end{itemize}
was the last Tang emperor to allocate vast resources for the translation of Buddhist texts (e.g. Prajñā’s translations).  

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.  

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.  

In summary, one may state that the effects of the the work of the Three Monks (Śubhākarasinha, 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;  
- 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.

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879  Copp, 2011, p. 360.  
     *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.
Śubhākarasimha (636-735 CE) (Chinese Shànwwùwèi 善無畏) came from Magadha in central India and is thought to have been a descendent of Buddha Śakyamuni’s uncle, Amṛtodana. His father was king Buddhakara of Odra (Orissa), whom he succeeded. But Śubhākarasimha abdicated in favour of his elder brother. He studied dhāraṇī, yoga and the Three Secrets under the “800 year old” monk Dharmagupta in Nālandā. Śubhākarasimha donated the palladium of his family – the “Sacred Pearl” – to the monastery of Nālandā in order to constitute the “third eye” of the large Buddha statue. Śubhākarasimha is said to have led part of his life in a manner reminiscent of the Sinhalese pāṃśūkālika monks of the Abhayagirivihāra on Śrī Laṅkā (see Section 3.2).

Śubhākarasimha came to China in 716 CE via Kashmir, Udāiyāna and Tibet at the age of almost eighty years. In the Huayan temple in Luoyang he translated various Buddhist texts together with Yixing. Together with Yixing and Baoyue, Śubhākarasimha translated in 724-725 CE a summary of the essentials of the huge "Sūtra of the

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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.
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 Śubhākarasimha in translating the MVS (T. 848). His main own work, was his Commentary on Mahāvairocana Becoming a Buddha 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (T. 1796) in twenty rolls. Keyworth, 2011, pp. 342-343.
Great Vairocana” (the Mahāvairocana-bhisa-bodhi Sūtra)  

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

Śubhākarasimha also translated the Sūpūña tōngzi qīngwèn jīng 蘇婆呼童子請問經 (T. 895) and the Sū xiè jié lùo 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

889 This copy of the MVŚ (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. 

This may be a mix-up of persons. Giebel confirms that Yixing (683-727 CE) assisted Subhākarasimha in the translation to Chinese of the Mahāvairocana-bhisa-bodhi 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 Mahāvairocana-bhisa-bodhi 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 Subhākarasimha 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 Mahāvairocana-bhisa-bodhi Sūtra orginally 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).

Other source: Long, 2009, p. 94.

891 Chou, 1945, p. 266.


893 Chou, 1945, pp. 269-270.
Vajrabodhi (670-741 CE) was – according to his lay disciple Lü Xiang – the third son of king Isānavarman, the ksatriya king of a kingdom in central India. Vajrabodhi was ordained a monk in Nālandā at the age of 10 years, where he during five years studied grammatical treatises under Śāntijāna. Thereafter he went to western India, where he for four years studied the treaties of Dharmakirti. 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 Jinabhadrā in Kapilavastu. When he was thirtyone, Vajrabodhi went to south India, where he for seven years studied for Nāgajāna. 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 Malaya 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 Śāntijāna (i.e. not the grammatical treatises). The discrepancies may be explained by the fact, that Orzech bases himself on Zanning’s biography of Vajrabodhi.

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 Nāgājūna. However, this Tibetan Nāgabodhi, should not be confounded with the Indian master, that the Chinese identified with Longzhī. In 821 CE, Kūkai commissioned a portrait of the third patriarch - Longzhī 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 Nāgajihana.
mentioned in connection with Nāgajāna, despite Vajrabodhi’s seven years together with him. This may lead one to believe, that Nāgajāna was a pāṃśūkūlika (ragwearing monk) or a wandering ascetic like a siddha (see Section 5.2.1). The texts studied here included inter alia the sūtra of the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle, Buddha Vairocanā’s dhāraṇī teachings, various Mahāyāna sūtras, and treaties on the five sciences. Vajrabodhi received initiation (abhiṣeka) into the Five Divisions. He mastered all different principles of teaching.

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. Thereupon bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is asserted to have told him to go to Śimhala 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. After a year in Śrī Lankā, 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 Mahāprajāpāramitā Sūtra and various other gifts to the Tang emperor. They sailed via Śrī Laṅkā to

899 Probably a version of the Tattvasamgraha Sūtra (the STTS).
900 Probably the teachings of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi Sūtra (the VAS).
Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 181.
901 The mandala 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.
Other sources: Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, p. 146.
904 The rdzigs-ma-pa tradition holds that many of their early scriptures – in particular their early esoteric scriptures – were first revealed on Śrī Lankā, and there particularly at the Adam’s peak.
Srīvijaya, 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 *Mahāpratisarādharāni*. 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 panicked crew (see *Appendix IV*, # 6). Vajrabodhi then obviously parted company with general Mizhunna 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. 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. 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), 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 Vajrabodhi. Perhaps Vajrabodhi was too embarrassed to mention it. Or he thought it too impolite, 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 Isānavarman; the Pallava sponsor - king Narasimhapotavarman; and the Sinhalese admirer of Varjabodhi – king Śrīśilā). 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 (Guangzhōu 广州) in 719 CE. Sundberg & Giebel, 2011, pp. 143-145.


910 Luòyáng 洛阳
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-mandalas” (the *Garbhā mandala* and the *Vajradhātu mandala*) in China. 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*. From 731 CE, he continued his translations of a number of texts – some twenty-four texts all in all. Vajrabodhi focused on texts related to *yoga* teaching, *dārāṇī* 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).

912 Chang’an 長安


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 lose all his scriptures in the 716 CE tempest. These texts are:

* **Jìngāng dīng yā jiā zhōng lù yüè niàng qíng** 金刚顶瑜伽中略出念诵经
  T. 866, 18.223c (4 rolls);

* **Qí jiù chí fā mà zhàn tì dàmáng tuō lù ni jìng** 七俱胝副母准提大明陀罗尼经
  T. 1075, 20.173a (1 roll);

* **Jìngāng dīng jìng mǎnshì shí bō pù sà wǔ zǐ xīn tuōluóní pīn** 金刚顶经曼殊室利菩萨五字心陀罗尼品
  T. 1087, 20.211c (1 roll); and

* **Jìngāng dīng jìng jìng jìng mánshù shí bō pù sà wǔ zǐ xīn tuōluóní pīn** 金刚顶经曼殊室利菩萨五字心陀罗尼品
  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.

915 Ritual for Practicing the Samādhī of Vairocana in the Yoga of the Adamantine Pinnacle Sūtra (Jìngāng dīng jìng yā jiā xīn xīn qiū lù zhě nà shān mò dì fā 金刚顶经瑜伽修習毗卢遮那三摩地法) T. 876, 18.320c

**Spell Text of the Great Body of the Bodhisattva Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara** (Qīn shǒu qiān yǎn guānshìyín pùsà dā 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** (Qīn shǒu qiān yǎn guān zǐzì pùsà guāngyǒng yuánmán wéi āi dā bēi xīn tuō lù ni zhōu 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 shǐzhē tuōluóní bǐmǐ fǎ 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 *slokas* 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* *STTS* and was not fully initiated (*abhiṣeka*) in the *STTS* tenet. Therefore, he should have sent Amoghavajra to Śrī Lanka, 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 Lanka - 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.


According to Sundberg, Vajrabodhi was a “lonely wolf” without any particular master or promoter. During his visit to Śrī Lanka, 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) (Chinese Bùkōngjìngāng 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. 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, he was supposed to have met with Vajrabodhi on Java in 718 CE and then to have become his disciple.

The dates of Amoghavajra’s life are somewhat uncertain. The last time he was mentioned in the Chinese annals is “the tenth moon of 778 CE”.

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.

At the age of 13 years on the basis of our western way of reckoning.

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.

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.

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.


Yuanzhao’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.

Amoghavajra was given an extraordinary learning capacity. At the age of 20 years he was ordained a monk in Sarvāstivadīn 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, fire offering (homa) rites, the rites of the ācārya (teacher) and the manuals of the siddhi.

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 mandala 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. He was furthermore supposed to have been instructed the “Method in One Hundred Thousand Gāthās” by the legendary esoteric master Nāgābodhi. This enormous text of 100,000 gāthās - the jīngāng dīng jīng (the *Vajraśekara Sūtra) - was supposed to consist of 18 Assemblies. This immense text is not extant today. Amoghavajra’s translation (T. 865) only encompasses

924 See Section 4.2.5, Note 901.

925 Lehnert, 2011, p. 351.


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 Subhākarasimhas 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.


928 Chinese jīngāng dīng yì qiè rúlái zhènhū shè dāchéng xiǎn zhēng dà jiào wáng jīng 金刚顶一切如来真实摄大乘现证大教王经 (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 practitioner 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 (r. 712-756 CE) to go to Wuwei in the Kansu province, where he in the Daxingshan monastery had the STTS translated. Amoghavajra translated or was responsible for the translation during his lifetime of 120 fascicles and 77 texts. 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. Nevertheless, his translations of the STTS (T. 865), of the Adnyardhāti (T. 243) and his redaction of the "Renwang jīng" (T. 246) were fundamental for the subsequent spread of the doctrine in China.

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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 Kucha, Kashgar, Samarkand and Tashkent, which may be read from their names – Liyan, Huilin, Kang & Shi, respectively.


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 大樂金剛不空眞實三麽耶經 (T. 243).
Amoghavajra resided in the Daxingshan monastery during the height of the An Lushan rebellion 755-763 CE. From there he informed the imperial forces of the activities of the rebels. This devastating rebellion led to an imminent decline of Buddhist institutions. Amoghavajra responded to this situation by using esoteric rituals, together with the role as an 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. 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.

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 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 bōluòmí duó jìng 仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經 (T. 246).
936 Specially Advanced Probationary Chief Minister of the Court of the State Ceremonial (Tèjìn shì hónglúqíng 特進試鴻臚卿).
938 These thirty-seven monks alluded to the thirty-seven deities of the Vajradhutu mandala. 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.). In fact, Amoghavajra’s unparalleled level of institutional patronage under emperors Suzong (r. 756-762) and Daizong (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.

Amoghavajra tried to guide esoteric Buddhism closer to the main track of Mahāyāna Buddhism – inter alia by using the Mañjuśrī (Wēnshū) cult. 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 (Wēnshū) should be worshipped as the guardian of all the temples in the country. A statue of Mañjuśrī in a small chapel (Wēnshū Yuan) should in other words be installed in all monasteries and nunneries. (referring to Java - see Section 4.2.3.1 & Appendix I, # 6).

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).
Huilang (？ -781 CE) shouldered the responsibilities after the demise of Amoghavarja. But also Huilang died shortly thereafter. However, one of the main problems for Amoghavajra’s disciples was the seemingly unsystematic body of technical texts, that he left behind. 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 – the “Nālandā of China”.

He entered this monastery already at the age of 9 years. He was fully ordained at the age of 20 years. Amoghavajra initiated Huigu in the STTS, the secret mudrās, etc. Most of Huigu’s disciples were initiated in either the MVS or the STTS. Only Yiming and Kūkai were instructed in both.

The Japanese monk Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) (774-835 CE) was a disciple of Huiguo. Before his death, Huiguo conferred on Kūkai the mastership of the teachings of both the great mandalas – the Womb (Garbha) mandala and the Diamond (Vajradhātu) mandala. 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. 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.
945 Lehnert, 2011, p. 354.
946 Orzech, 2011(b), pp. 322-323.
948 Chou, 1945, p. 329.
949 Abé, 1999, p. 505, n. 78.
950 Kūkai’s name in Chinese is “Kōnghai” 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 mandala* – but not in the *Vajradhātu mandala*. 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.\footnote{Sinclair, 2016, p. 33.} Sundberg suggests, though, that Bianhong might have been initiated in the *Vajradhātu mandala* prior to joining Huiguo.\footnote{Sundberg, 2004, p. 114 n. 29.}

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\footnote{Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 102-103.} and Woodward\footnote{Woodward, 2009, p. 25; Woodward, 2004, p. 339.} are of this opinion. It is not known whether Bianhong ever returned to Java,\footnote{Woodward, 2009, p. 25.} although Kandahjaya seems to imply this without further evidence.\footnote{Other source: Sinclair, 2016, p. 35.}

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 Udra (Orissa) to the emperor of China (see Appendix III, # 4).\footnote{Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 165 & 251.}

\footnote{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.}

\footnote{Sinclair, 2016, p. 33.}
\footnote{Sundberg, 2004, p. 114 n. 29.}
\footnote{Other source: Kandahjaya, 2016, p. 100.}
\footnote{Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 102-103.}
\footnote{Woodward, 2009, p. 25.}
\footnote{Other source: Sinclair, 2016, p. 35.}
\footnote{Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 165 & 251.}
\footnote{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. Šubhākarasimha introduced in China the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi 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. Varjabadhi 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 Sañnah and his son - king Sañjaya – from southern India in order to reign over Java after the fall of west Java. At the *Candi* Gunung Wukir he inaugurated a small Hindu temple containing a Śiva *linga* - a *jyotirlinga* 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 Mālasarvāsti-vāda tradition, with the Sthāviravāda\textsuperscript{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 Mālasarvāstivādin scholar Jānabhadra. 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 Barabuḍḍur was being planned and constructed. Buddhist influences came during this period in particular from south Asia (the Pallava realm) and from Śrī Lāṅkā. 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 Mandalāśa Sūtra (the MAS) (T. 486, “The Eightfold Mandalā Sūtra”) in China. The eight bodhisattvas of this sūtra were later on to decorate the Cāndi Mendut and the Cāndi Plaosan Lor on Java. In the Tulang Tuwoo 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.

\textsuperscript{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 Lāṅkā - 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-eight 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 ṇgaṇ[juk bronze images together with the niches of the Cāndi Sewu would seem to indicate that yoga tantra – with its Vajradhātu mandala – had been introduced on Java. These ṇgaṇ[juk bronzes also indicate that the Tatvasamgraha 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 mandala of the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (the PPV), which is a base text of the Sang Hyang Kanahāyānikan 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 (ca 750-c.1160 CE) – particularly 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. The Nalanda 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 mahākārūnika aspect seems to have been installed on the Ratubaka.

The Barabuḍur has been suggested to have belonged to the Vajradhāra cult. 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. This fourth body of the Buddha in the svābhāvikakāya, 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 Kelurak inscription of 782 and the Mañjuśrī inscription of 792 CE); bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Lokeshvara) 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, Dyah 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 Samantabhadrā was on Śrī Lanka 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 Samantabhadrā (the “Vow to Samantabhadrā”) (see Section 1.4.4, Note 219).

964 See Section 1.4.5, Note 279.
Furthermore, 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 occurred 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 Barabuştur

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 Barabuştur 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 fulfill the first aim, i.e. to present various differenting views along with some visual aspects of the monument. Now is the time to fulfill the second aim; i.e. to throw light on some outstanding issues 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”. 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”.

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”.

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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”. 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”. 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”. As Coomaraswamy states, “a myth is true now, or it was never true at all”,

- 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.

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 *pradaksīna* - gives us a new dimension. The visual rhetoric obtained by means of the movement in the *pradaksīna* connects the text with the picture and with the mere practice.

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968 Coomaraswamy, 1946, p. 122, Note 4 referring to *Das Verloren Paradies* by Edgar Ducqué, Munich, 1938.
969 Eliade, 1958, p. 419.
970 Coomaraswamy, 1946, p. 164.
*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 horizontal 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.”

The Barabuṇḍur 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. As regards the Barabuṇḍur, 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 Barbuṇḍur 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 Barabuṇḍur 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 Barabuṇḍur, 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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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 Avataṃśaka ….\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{enumerate}
  \item Buddhist aspects;
  \item Approach to interpret the Barabuḍur;
  \item Various potential visual forms of the Barabuḍur;
  \item The Barabuḍur as a prāsāda, a stūpa or a maṇḍala;
\end{enumerate}

\textsuperscript{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 mandala;
viii. The Barabuḍur and the Twin-mandala 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 Candi Mendut
5.2 Buddhist aspects

In this Section, four Buddhist aspects relevant to the Barabudur 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 individual 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

977 See Section 4.2.3, Note 780.
978 See Section 4.2.3, Note 781.
Buddhism never developed into one comprehensive doctrine tradition.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Tattvasamgraha} (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 \textit{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 \textit{pāṃśukūlikas}.

Let us see, what we may make out of these two statements!

\section{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 \textit{Jñānasiddhānta}, the “Highest Reality” is characterized by the Buddhist concept “emptiness” (\textit{sānyatā}). Likewise, we find in the Śaiva text \textit{Kuñjarakarna} 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 \textit{Kuñjarakarna} and the \textit{Arjunaśāstra}, the divine pentads of Śaivism and of the [Pāśupatā] \textit{Ṛṣi} tradition both seem to be equated with the \textit{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 Barabuḍḍur was constructed in the ninth century CE.

\textsuperscript{979} The same applies naturally also for \textit{Mahāyāna} Buddhism.
Esoteric Buddhism is deemed to have been developed by means of adapting to and of adopting various Śaiva concepts. The initiation (abhiseka) of the candidate in front of a mandala, with the central deity already installed therein, is one example hereof. The candidate turns his back to the mandala and throws a flower over his shoulder on to the mandala. The candidate is introduced to the lineage of the particular Buddha, on whom the flower falls in the mandala.

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 Tatvamśa-graha (the STTS). This possession (āveśa) by the deity of the devotee was alien to antecedent 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. Vajrābodhi 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

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 relationship 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 Vajrapāni. 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 *hrdaya* 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 *Dyah Bālaputra* in the Nālandā inscription (*Appendix I, # 14*) was referred to as “Skanda” – the son of Śiva and Pārvati. 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 hrdaya* mentioned here is the spell, that bodhisattva Vajrapāni used in calling-cum-forc ing Mahēśvara (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 Kēlu-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. Likewise in the Gauda-vyāha Sūtra (the GVS) bas-reliefs on the Barabudur, Sudhana visits Śiva as one of his kalyāṇamitrās. In order to stress the point, he does this not only once – but twice (II-48 and II-104). This is quite remarkable. The Barabudur 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 Barabudur. Sudhana visited here Rṣi Bhīsmottaranirghosa (IX) as one of his kalyāṇamitrās. We meet this bearded Rṣi 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 Barabudur could very well have been aware of and followed some of the Śaiva Siddhantīc practices and rituals used by the temple builders in south India, expressed in such texts as the Mayamānātam 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 pāṃṣukālikas of Śaiva concepts to esoteric Buddhist texts**

The Buddhist “Perfected” (siddhas) 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.\textsuperscript{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 (pāṃśukūlīka) — 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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{986} — although the influence may have gone both ways.

\textsuperscript{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 practitioners

Wedemeyer, 2013, p. 10.

\textsuperscript{985} Gray, 2001, p. 204 ff.


\textsuperscript{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 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 pāṃśukālika. 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 Śri Laṅkā in 1983. Images have been found of inter alia bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya in animal hides and with the sacred cord yajnopavita 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 pāṃśukālikas monks of the Abhayagirivihāra on Śri Laṅkā.

As indicated in Section 5.4.3, the bearded figures on the lintels of the gateways on the fourth gallery of the Barabuṇḍur – as well as on the Candi Sewu and its 240 Perwara shrines, et.al. – are probably siddhas.

Although the proposed theory by Gray and by Sundberg entails some aspects of pronounced interest, we must keep in mind that it so far 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.

987 These monks should not be confounded with the so called forest dwelling monks (āraṇāhavāsin), 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 Maṇḍalāśṭa 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 Candi Mendut and of the Candi Plaosan Lor;

iii. the Kālásan (778 CE), the Kēturak (782 CE) and the Mañjūśrīghra (792 CE) inscriptions, wherein bodhisattva Tārā and bodhisattva Mañjūśrī are in focus (see Appendix I, # 4, 5 & 6 respectively),

iv. the Candi 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 mandala;

v. the panteon of the Candi Mendut (Buddha Vairocana, bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāni) which is in conformity with the Garbhā mandala;

vi. the illustration on the Barabu ur of the Buddhist cosmos in the form of a Vajradhātu mandala; and

vii. the introduction of the advaya (non-dual) concept in the Advayasādhanā (the SHKA) of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyāṇīkan (SHK) as a form of the Ādibuddha (see Appendix II, # 1.2).

As indicated in Section 3.2, the Mahāyāna Vaipulya tradition became important on Central Java. The Abhayagiri inscription of 792-793 CE (see Appendix I, # 7) is dedicated to bodhisattva Padmapāṇi/Avalokiteśvara in his mahākāruṇīka aspect. Furthermore, there is proposed to have existed a huge 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 Mañjūśrī that may explain the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (the new Vaipulyayāna path) that the Buddha preached. Therefore, bodhisattva Mañjūśrī 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 Mañjūśrī’s presence on Java (see the Mañjūśrīghra - Candi 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 Wēnshū 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 Dyah 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 Ngānjuk bronzes (see Picture 108). Even though the Ngānjuk 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.
Vajradhāra ("Vajraholder")\textsuperscript{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 (ghanta) in his left hand – both arms being crossed over his chest.\textsuperscript{992} He is regarded as the tantric form of Buddha Śākyamuni. Vajradhāra is also regarded as the supernatural equivalent to bodhisattva Samantabhadra,\textsuperscript{993} whom he gradually displaced in the evolution of Buddhism in India.\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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, Vajrapāṇi and Vajrasattva as bodhisattvas.

\textsuperscript{992} Please note the somewhat different mudrā in Picture 108.

\textsuperscript{993} As indicated above, Vajradhāra is represented as adorned, while bodhisattva Samantabhadra is presented as unadorned.

\textsuperscript{994} To be noted is, furthermore, that the Kēlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704) indicates that bodhisattva Mañjūṣhri was mentioned as a Vajradhāra – 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 Kamahāyānīkan Mantranāya (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 Barabuḍḍur 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 Barabuḍḍur. 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 monument (505 Buddhas) that is not divisible with “9”.998 In any event, the existence of monasteries in Indonesia venerating Vajradhāra (kabajradhara) have been documented some half-a-billion 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 Barabuḍḍur. 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

995 See Section 4.2.3.2, Note 858.
996 See Appendix II, # 1, Note 1247.
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. 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 Barabuṇḍur (see Section 5.6.5).

### 5.2.4 The Buddha’s descent to earth

According to Mahāyāna Buddhism, “the Buddha was already the Buddha”. 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 *sambhogakāya* – Body of Bliss or Enjoyment – the Buddha created and lived in his purified Buddha-field (*Buddhakṣetra*). 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 Barabuṇḍur (see Picture 109). The activities of the Buddha in our human world was performed in the *nirmāṇakāya* – i.e. the Body of Transformation.

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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.


1002 See Section 5.3.2, Note 1016.
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 Śrīgarha in the “double walled *ratnavyāha* palace”, which was carried together with fans, parasols, etc. by 110 thousand deities from the Tuṣita heaven.\(^\text{1004}\)

- 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 *ratnavyāha* palace” and being worshiped by the bodhisattvas and deities.\(^\text{1005}\)

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\(^{1003}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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 [ratnacyāha] 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 ratnacyāha palace” and being worshiped by other bodhisattvas and deities. Once again, the purpose of the lotus cushion and the “double walled ratnacyāha palace” is to shield the bodhisattva from the polutions of this world.

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\textit{What do we make out of this?}

The purpose of these three iconic bas-reliefs is probably to convey to the unenlightened pilgrim that \textit{the bodhisattva in the Tusita heaven} and in the womb of Queen Māyā \textit{was already an Enlightened Buddha}.

One may also assume that by creating this entire scenario by means of \textit{upāya kausālya} the point made would be that \textit{the nirmāṇakāya of the bodhisattva was but an illusion}.

\textsuperscript{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 interspersing picture at the Barabudur

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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 understanding of stūpas as a representative 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 pradaksīna;
- Potential Vaṭadāge structure.

5.3.1 The bas-reliefs on the galleries

The bas-reliefs of the Barabuḍur are intended as supports for meditation. As indicated in Sections 1.4.3 and 1.4.4, these bas-reliefs are presented 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 Śrāvakāyāna, on the Pāramitāyāna, on the Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS) and on the Mantranaya. These four systems are represented on the Barabuḍur as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Reliefs</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Wall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Śrāvakāyāna</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Karmavibhaṅga</td>
<td>Hidden base</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāramitāyāna</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>Lalitavistara</td>
<td>Ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāramitāyāna</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>Jātakamālā</td>
<td>Ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pāramitāyāna</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>Avadāna</td>
<td>IBa-b, IIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhāvatamsaka</td>
<td>388</td>
<td>Gandavayāha</td>
<td>II, III, IIB, IVB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhāvatamsaka</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Bhadracar</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Buddhas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Wall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>504</td>
<td>STTS</td>
<td>All around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 and Miksic 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. Brown and Gifford, 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.
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?

As indicated in Section 1.4.3, the overwhelming majority of the Lalitavistara 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 dhīyaṇa-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. 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 Lankāvatāra Sūtra), Siddhārtha Gautama was supposed to have left his physical body (nirmānakāya) upon attaining Enlightenment and to have ascended in his saṃbhogakāya to the Akaniṣṭha heaven on top of the rāpadhātu, where he was initiated as a complete Buddha. Thereupon he descended again to his worldly body (nirmānakāya) - Buddha Śākyamuni. 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 Buddhāvatamsaka 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 (nirmānakāya) under the Bodhi tree. Later on, the Tathāgata holds his First Sermon in the deer Park close to Benares (Vārānāsī), 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 kāṭāgāra 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.

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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. 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 sambhogakāya 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur (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 (Vāraṇāsi). All these aspects would seem to indicate, that the construction of the Barabudur 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 pradaksīna. 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 (buddhaksetra), 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 sambhogakāya.

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 (buddhaksetra) – i.e. a Pure land. The purified Buddha-field (buddhaksetra) has been created out of the wisdom and compassion of a sambhogakāya Buddha. The sambhogakāya Buddha is also believed to have transferred a vast store of his merits to his buddhaksetra.

The purified Buddha-field (buddhaksetra) is an optimal environment for attaining Enlightenment. All things pertaining to Buddhist practice is present in the purified Buddha-field (buddhaksetra). It has also been purified of gross mental and physical impediments. By entering the purified Buddha-field (buddhaksetra), the devotee meets with the Buddha face-to-face. Here the devotee overcomes the temporal
aspect and is liberated from the fear of samsāra. 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 buddhānusmrītī – “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 Barabudur in long pictural sequences. 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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 (kalpavrśkṣa) 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 (kalpavrśkṣa) is a symbol for the bodhi tree that grows in the “Land of Supreme Bliss” (Sukhāvati) – 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 Barabudur. 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.
buḍḍur 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.\textsuperscript{1016}

He thereupon appears in iconic form in the multiple Buddha images throughout the monument. The Buddha appears in the latticed stūpas as the unifying principle that is non-dual with the sambhogakāya Buddhas in the multiple buddhaksetras 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 sambhogakāya 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 kāṭāgāra – 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 kalyāṇamitrās. 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

\textsuperscript{1016} The Buddha assumes three different bodies (trikāya); namely

\emph{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 \textit{nirvāṇa};

\emph{Sambhogakāya} (the Body of the Bliss), which the Buddha assumes based on his accumulated \textit{karma}. The Sambhogakāya symbolizes the combination of the wisdom of the Buddhas with the nature of the bodhisattvas of wisdom; and

\emph{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 \textit{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 appearance 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 Pradaksīṇa and the organization of the bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur

A circumambulation of a monument - pradaksīna - 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 pradaśīna.

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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 pradaksīṇa (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 kalyāṇamitrās. 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. Finally, on the bas-reliefs of the balustrade of the fourth gallery, Sudhana is seen together with the bodhisattvas Maitreya, Maṇjuśrī and Samantabhadra. This may lead one to realize the various phases of the spiritual development of Sudhana.

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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 Barabudur. 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.

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.  

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 pradaksīna 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 pradaksīna on the Barabudur galleries would only contain the bas-reliefs of the main walls of the second to the fourth galleries viewed as a continuous series. Instead of slavishly following the text of the GVS and the SBP, as illustrated on the main walls and on the balustrades of the Barabudur, 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 pradaksīna.

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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 samsāra) 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 (aṅjali-mudrā) making the vow of bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Bodhisattva Maitreya is also seen in this bas-relief standing in aṅjali-mudrā. In the first bas-relief of the main wall of the fourth gallery (IV-1) bodhisattva Samantabhadra is seen in aṅjali-mudrā in devotion to the Buddhas of the Ten Directions.\textsuperscript{1020}

By performing the pradaksīna along the walls of the four galleries of the Barabudur,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 pradaksīna” is, that the bas-reliefs of the balustrades of the third and the fourth galleries are “left out”.\textsuperscript{1023} These “left out” bas-reliefs are of substantial importance.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 kūtāgāra 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. 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 pāṇjūo 判教.

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As indicated in this Section 5.3.3, the consistently ordered formal pradakṣīna 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 pradakṣīna process. As already presented above, this exclusion of important bas-reliefs constitutes a

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The upāya kauśalya (“skillful 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.

The Chinese pāṇjūo 判教 classifications come in various versions – such as by Zhanran, 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).

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kūtāgāra, his release of Sudhana out of the kūtāgāra, Sudhana’s second visit to Maitreya, and Sudhana’s visit to Samantabhadra prior to making his vow.

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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 Vatadāge structure

After becoming a complete Buddha, the Buddha performed four kinds of marvels (prāthīhārya).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 (prāthīhārya) are Blessing (adhiśṭāna); Initiation (abhiseka); 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 pavilion (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 vaṭādāge would have been built on the terrace area of the Barabuḍur may seem doubtful.

![Source: Photo Johan af Klint](Image)  
**Picture III**  
Vaṭādāge

The vaṭādāge is a superstructure that was built over and sheathing a stūpa. The vaṭādāge was supported by pillars. The superstructures of the vaṭādāge transformed antique relic stūpas into esoteric Buddhist Iron Stūpas.¹⁰²⁷ A vaṭādāge on the Barabuḍur would thus have transformed its main stūpa into an esoteric Buddhist Iron Stūpa, identified as Mahāvairocanā’s Universal Palace of the Mind.

Such a vaṭādāge would presumably have been a wooden construction, which since long would have vanished. Like the vaṭādāge constructions on Śri Laṅkā (remnants of at least twelve such structures remain today),¹⁰²⁸ such a vaṭādāge construction on the Barabuḍur would most

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 Barabudur in 1975-1983, no basement supports for these *vaṭadāge* pillars were found according to the Barabudur Conservation & Management Office on Java.1029 During 1907-1911, the Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur* (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 Barabudur.*

### 5.3.5 Concluding remarks

In viewing the Barabudur 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 Barabudur* – 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.

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1029 Personal e-mail correspondence with Panggah Ardi of the Barabudur 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 Barabudur in a **multilocational manner** in the form of *nirmāṇakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and of an indicated *dharmakāya*.

The **commemoration of the Buddha varies in form throughout 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 *pradaksīna*. 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 *kālayānmitras*.

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 *sambhogakāya* 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 throughout 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 *sambhogakāya* form and worshipping the various *sambhogakāya* Buddhhas in the different purified Buddha-fields throughout cosmos – occasionally illustrated as the ten *daśadīgbuddhas* (e.g. IV-1).

On the third gallery, the devotee thus contemplates “assisting” those needed in *samsāra*. On the fourth gallery he contemplates “offering” to the cosmic Buddhhas. Panel III-88 is believed to constitute the “intermediary” panel to these bas-relief series in line with what we have identified elsewhere.1031

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1031 Comparison could be made to other “intermediary” bas-reliefs on the Barabudur, 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 Bhadracāri 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.
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 Mountain, 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 (Trāyastriṃśā) – 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.

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.

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 Barabuḍur 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 (bhūvarloka, Sphere of the Purified); and the superstructure of the temple (sva[r]loka, Sphere of the Gods).

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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 Jambudvipa. 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 kāmaddhātu as a single unit and to equate it with the “hidden base” of the Barabuḍur. But according to the Buddhists, the kāmaddhātu 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-kosā - the kāmaddhātu, 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 dharmaddhātu 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.

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1033 The realm of the dharmaddhātu represents the Totality of Reality as seen by the enlightened Bodhisattva. It is the true nature of all dharmas.

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 Barabudur. 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur.

The above would seem to indicate that the Barabudur 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 Barabudur – two of the spheres (ārāpadhātu & rāpadhātu) 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 Barabudur. 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 Barabudur, 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 Barabudur 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 Śūtra (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 Kamulān I Bhāmisambhārabhādara – 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 Ratnačūḍa – he was lead by Ratnačūḍa to the ten-

1034 The term kamulān 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).

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 Ratnaçūda 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 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.”

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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!

Source: Krom, 1927, III, pl. 26

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 Candi Sewu and on its 240 Candi Perwaras; on at least two of the Pañca-Tathāgata temples at the Candi Ngawen; on the Candi 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 Candi Sewu and its Candi 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 *upavita* cord, earrings and jeweled bracelets.

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 šīla* (the moral guidelines). In fact, the *Shingon* monk was first initiated in the *vinaya*, prior to being initiated in the *šīla*. According to Kūkai, the moral guidelines of the *šīla* 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 šīla* (the “bodhisattva precepts”).

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Vinayas (Chin. *lü* 僥; 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. Šīlas (Chin. *jiè* 戒; Jap. *kai*) are voluntary acts that avoid evil and cultivate the good. The šīlas 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.

The suggestion, that the unshaven and untonsured lintel figures on the gateway of the fourth gallery would represent “holy men” (ṛṣīs), seems to be an undocumented suggestion. But as the lintel figures wear yajñapavīṭa, it would seem that they may have been brāhmans. Also ṛṣīs are usually pictured in this manner. Sudhana visits Rṣī Bhīsmottaranirghosa (IX) in bas-relief II-24. Rṣī 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 upavīṭa cord. Nevertheless, it should be noted, that “holy men” (ṛṣīs) were during this time period in high esteem in the society on Java.

The idea, that these bearded figures on the lintel of some of the Java­nese temples and on the bas-reliefs of the Barabudur 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 (*rātvacakra*) 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 Barabuṇḍur as a prāśāda, a stūpa, or a maṇḍala?

When describing the building of the Barabuṇḍur, one seems to tread on uncertain grounds. The Barabuṇḍur has in the literature been described by various scholars alternatively as a prāśāda, 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 Barabuṇḍur is either, neither or a combination of the above images.

One may really question why the Barabuṇḍur 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 prāśāda 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 Barabuṇḍur a prāśāda?

The prāśāda is a palace/temple taking the form of a stepped pyramid like a mountain. The prāśāda often symbolizes the cosmic Mount Meru. The prāśāda 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 prāśāda could consist of different numbers of “terraces”.

As seen in Section 1.4, Foucher (1905) was the first to suggest that the Barabuṇḍur could to be alikened to a prāśāda, 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 prāśādas on Śrī Lanka are the Loha Mahāpāṇḍita of Mahāvihāra and the Ratnapāṇḍita of Abhayagirivihāra – both in Anurādhapura. (See Section 1.4, Note 93).
the Lohapāsāda on Śrī Laṅkā mentioned in the Mahāvamsa. The Lohapāsāda had nine stories. Hoenig (1924), Coomaraswamy (1927) and Mus (1935) followed suit. So did Bosch in 1961 when he described the Barabudur as a stepped pyramid (prāśāda) topped by the huge closed stūpa on the highest terrace.

The Sattabhāmakapāsāda 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur in order to aliken it to the Tenfold Path of the bodhisattvas seems to us a little farfetched.

The endeavours to interpret the prāśāda aspect of the Barabudur 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 Barabudur. 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 Barabudur as a proper prāśāda.

5.5.2 Is the Barabudur a stūpa?

Based on the unique silhouette of the Barabudur, 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. But one should realize, that

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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 Candi Sewu, the Candi Mendut and the Chandi Pawon) or served as a satellite shrine (the Chandi Perwara) to the larger temple complexes (e.g. the Candi Plaosan Lor and the Chandi Sewu).1041

As indicated in Section 1.4, the first scholar to propose that the Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur. 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-prāśāda or more precisely in the words of Kats “a stūpa outside and a prāśāda inside”.1044 Applying this concept on the Barabudur, Stutterheim arrived at a prāśāda with a stūpa on top. In case the prāśāda should be inside, the āṅga of the stūpa would have to be the sky.1045 Wulff meant, however, that Stutterheims

1042 Krom, 1927, Vol I, pp. 8-11.
1043 The early Indian stūpas like the Sānci and the Bhārhat were mostly round and dome-shaped. The pilgrim walked clock-wise around it on the special path (pradaksinapatha). 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 pa-godas – 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 Ka-pilavastu) – although in ruins – gives the impression of a fairly low profile and a multifaceted plan with 28 corners at the base and a round structure on the top – see Section 1.4, Note 88.
1044 SHK Folio 47b “dat zich als een prāśāda voordoet” Kats, 1910, pp. 102-103. SHK Folio 48b “Dit lichaam heft stūpa’s van buiten en prāśāda’s van binnen” Kats, 1910, p. 104.
1045 Stutterheim, 1956, pp. 34-36.
translation was grammatically incorrect and impossible. 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 prāśāda – all in conformity with the SHK “a stūpa outside and a prāśāda inside”.

The suggestions of the Barabuḍur as a stūpa are not entirely straightforward. 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”. 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”. In order to rectify this aspect, Parmentier suggested that the design of the Barabuḍur was originally planned to include a huge 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 - pradaksīṇa - in the galleries of the Barabuḍur are designed primarily to present the relief panels – not the stūpa. But compared to the pradaksīṇa of the old Indian stūpas at Sāñci and at Bhārhat, 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 pradaksīṇa. In addition, all the relief sculptures on the cross-bars of the toraṇas at the Sāñci

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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-prāśāda, 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 prāśāda”, 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.


1048 See Section 1.4, Note 109.

1049 Soekmono, 1976, p. 16.
**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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\(^{1051}\) 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 Barabučur from above gives the impression of a two-dimensional plan of a mandala.

There are many varieties of mandalas. The principle of the mandalas expresses “the perfection of the buddhaverse”. The mandala may also be understood to represent the palace of the Akaništha heaven, where Siddhārtha Gautama was initiated as a complete Buddha. One type – the “palace-architecture” mandala common in Tibet and Nepal – has often been mentioned in connection with the Barabudur. It consists of “an inner circle containing a principal deity (or dieties), enclosed in a multilevel square with openings at the four cardinal directions.”

Seen from the air, the Barabučur with the central stūpa, with the three round terraces, the surrounding galleries and the four stairways gives the impression of such a “palace-architecture” mandala – i.e. a puramandala.

The mandala with its hierarctic 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 and in the Karma Assembly 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 Barabučur correspond to the mudrās of the Buddhas in the four directions of the Pañca-Tathāgata.

\[\text{this theory had already been proposed by Ōmura Seigai in 1924 and Ijiri Susumu in 1923-1924.} \]
\[\text{Fontein, 2012, pp. 231-232.} \]

\[\text{1051} \quad \text{The origin of ritual diagrams (mandala) in India predates Buddhism. But the geometric matrices indicating a holy “sphere” inhabited by a deity – i.e. a map of the cosmic order – was accepted only quite late in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism.} \]

\[\text{In the Chinese context, the use of the mandala (màntuóluó 曼陀羅) goes back to the sixth century CE. However, in the early texts the denomination tān 檔 (i.e. “altar”) was used indicating that the specific mandala was placed on an elevated platform.} \]
\[\text{Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, pp. 81-83.} \]

\[\text{1052} \quad \text{Thurman, 1997, p. 128.} \]
\[\text{1053} \quad \text{Wayman, 1973, p. 91.} \]
\[\text{1054} \quad \text{Leidy, 1997, pp. 17-18.} \]
\[\text{1055} \quad \text{See Appendix IV, # 8.2} \]
\[\text{1056} \quad \text{See Appendix IV, # 8.3.} \]
maṇḍala (see Section 1.4.5). In the centre of these Pañca-Tathāgata, one finds Buddha Vairocana in dharmakāra-mudrā - the same mudrā as have the Buddhas in the latticed stūpas on the Barabudur. Some scholars have assumed, therefore, that the Buddha statues on the Barabudur 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 pradakṣīṇa.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 (prātiṣṭhāya), (iii) being honoured by the Buddhas of the Ten Directions (daśādīg buddhas), and (iv) transforming the Jetavana grove into a Pure land (buddhaksetra). 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

1057 Gifford, 2011, p. 46.
1058 Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 16-21.
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.
emits a beam of light from his ārṇā 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. The mandala 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” puruṣaṇḍala. The numbers of various kinds of Buddhas presented on the Barabuḍur are discussed in Section 5.8. From this discussion, some mandala 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 characterize the Barabuḍur as a clearcut prāśāda, stūpa or maṇḍala. However, depending on from which viewpoint the monument is regarded, the Barabuḍur may be regarded as either of these 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.

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1061 Cleary, 1989(a), pp. 44-45.
Other source: Gifford, 2011, pp. 40-42.
5.6 The Sculptural Images on the Barabuṣṭur

This Section deals with various sculptural images on the Barabuṣṭur. 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 Barabuṣṭur. 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 Barabuṣṭur 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 Amītābha 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 sambhogakāya form of dharmakāya Vairocana) or as bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The problem with the “unfinished” Buddha in bhūmisparsa-mudrā in the central stūpa was believed to have been solved by claiming that it was placed there independently at a later date. So on balance, scholars believe that there were in fact only five different kinds of Buddhas on the Barabudur.

This may very well be so, but this theory is not in conformity with the hypothesis that Dyah 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 Barabudur. Should this indicate that Vajradhāra was also part of the Buddha set-up of the Barabudur? 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.

The five Buddhas of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala are the so called Pañca-Tathāgata.

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1062 As stated in Section 4.2.4, the placement of the 81 square caṇḍita plan – the para-maṇḍāyikin – over the terrace area of the Barabudur 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 *sambhogakāya* 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 *Bhadracari* (the *SBP*). In addition, the “three pronged lotus bud” – the criterion of bodhisattva Samantabhadra – was dominant in the royal *Candi Perwara* at the *Candi Sewu* (see *Picture 119*).\(^{1064}\)

![Picture 119](https://example.com/picture119.jpg)

*Source*: Photo Johan af Klint

*Picture 119* The “Three-pronged lotus bud” with niches for images in the royal *Candi Perwara* at the *Candi 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 Barabudur, bodhisattva Samantabhadra may also have been raised to fill the 64 niches on top of the wall of

\(^{1064}\) 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 eighth and ninth centuries CE worshiped on Śrī Laṅkā as “The Master of the Pañcā-Tathāgata”.\textsuperscript{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 Samantabhadra 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 darmacakra-mudrā preserves the dharma in an indirect manner from the latticed stūpas.\textsuperscript{1066}

Based on stanzas 32-34 of the Tattvasamgraha (the STTS), some scholars 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).\textsuperscript{1067} That Buddha Śākyamuni faces the four directions, is ascribed to the fact that when he, as the Tathāgata, took his seat in the kūtāgāra on top of Mount Meru in order to attain Buddhahood, he did so in a manner “facing all four directions”.\textsuperscript{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 becoming Śākyamuni Buddha), was presented in vitarka-mudrā. On the Barabuṣṇur, Siddhārtha Gautama was thus illustrated in vitarka-mudrā

\textsuperscript{1065} See Section 4.3, Note 963.
\textsuperscript{1066} See Section 1.4.5.
\textsuperscript{1067} See Section 1.4.5.
\textsuperscript{1068} See Section 5.3.1, Note 1013.
in the last bas-relief of the Lalitavistara (the LV) series (Ia-120). 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 Šākyamuni, 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 Šākyamuni share the same identity. This is in conformity with the essence of the Mahāyāna Buddhist soteriological main principle, namely the identity of the nirmānakāya Buddha with the sambhogakāya Buddha and the dharmakāya Buddha. Thus Buddha Vairocana and Buddha Šākyamuni are not separate 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 Barabuṣur would be the Paśca-Tathāgata. The 64 Buddha images in vitarka-mudrā in the niches on top of the wall of the fourth gallery, would be Buddha Šākyamuni (i.e. Abhisambuddha Vairocana). 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 kāya-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).

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 sambhogakāya form of the dharmakāya Vairocana).

1071 It should be noted, though, that the above Paśca-Tathāgata model does not preclude the golden image of Vajradhāra to have been housed inside the central stūpa of the Barabudur. 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 Barabudur. 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 Sailendra 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 (ghanta) 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 (karunā) – 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 Kamahāyāni-kan 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 Barabudur. Consequently, it has been proposed that the Barabudur 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 Barabudur would have been the golden image of Vajradhāra, which also served as the palladium of the Śailendra dynasty. Consequently, Dyah 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

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1072 As already indicated in Section 4.2.3.2, Note 841, we would like to emphasize that we view Vajradhāra, Vajrapāni and Vajrasattva as bodhisattvas.

1073 See Section 4.2.3.2, Note 852.
This “Ādibuddha model”\textsuperscript{1074} could have been represented on the Barabuḍur in accordance with the table of \textbf{Picture 123} at the end of this \textit{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 svabhāvikakāya – which represents the Buddha’s “own being” or his “Real Essence”.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Mahāyāna} and \textit{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 \textit{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.

\textit{The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan model}

A system of \textit{six (6) kinds of Buddhas} making up all the 504 Buddhas on the Barabuḍur has also been proposed. As seen in \textit{Appendix II}, \# 1.4, the epistemological evolution, as expressed in the \textit{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 Barabudur, may be arranged in accordance with the \textbf{Picture 120} below, as suggested by Chihara.\textsuperscript{1076}

\textsuperscript{1074} According to the terminology used elsewhere in this dissertation, the model should properly be called the “\textit{Paśca-Tathāgata and two bodhisattvas model}”.

\textsuperscript{1075} See \textit{Section 1.4.5, Note 279}.

\textsuperscript{1076} Chihara, 1996, p. 127.
According to the SHK, the sākārajñāna level of knowledge perceives two levels of Buddhist deities – the Ratnāraya and the Pañca-Tathāgata. As presented in Appendix II, # 1.4, the Ratnāraya is composed of three deities, who may be arranged on the Barabuḍur as follows (see Picture 120) – Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. Abhisambuddha 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

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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 Barabudur in the form of Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. Abhisambuddha 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 Candi 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 Barabudur. 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 Barabudur, 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. Abhisambuddha Vairocana) would be the Buddha in the latticed stūpas on the terraces of the Barabudur.

The 504 Buddha images on the Barabudur may be summarized in six categories, as presented in the table of Picture 121.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Direction</th>
<th>East</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>West</th>
<th>North</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Square Tenement</td>
<td>Niches of 1st gallery</td>
<td>C26</td>
<td>D26</td>
<td>E26</td>
<td>F26</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niches of 2nd gallery</td>
<td>C32</td>
<td>D32</td>
<td>E32</td>
<td>F32</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Round Tenement</td>
<td>Niches of 3rd gallery</td>
<td>C18</td>
<td>D18</td>
<td>E18</td>
<td>F18</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niches of 6th gallery</td>
<td>B16</td>
<td>B16</td>
<td>B16</td>
<td>B16</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niches on 1st round terrace</td>
<td>A16</td>
<td>F16</td>
<td>F16</td>
<td>F16</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niches on 2nd round terrace</td>
<td>A22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Niches on 3rd round terrace</td>
<td>A24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Arrangement of Buddha Images at Borobudur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Name of Buddha</th>
<th>Module</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Śākyamuni</td>
<td>dharma-wardhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td>vihara-wardhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Aksobhya</td>
<td>dravya-wardhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Ratnasambhava</td>
<td>sakti-wardhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Amithāba</td>
<td>akṣara-wardhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>atithi-wardhi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Buddha Images of Borobudur

Source: Chihara, 1996, p. 128

Picture 121  The position of various Buddhas on the Barabudur

Aksobhya 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 Kama-

hāyānikan 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\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{1079} Buddha Vairocana is always presented in either dharmacakra-mudrā, dhyāna-mudrā or bodhyagrī-mudrā. Buddha Vairo-

cana should never be depicted in vitarka-mudrā.

Based on these two reasons, this presented Sang Hyang Kamahāyā-

nikan Model encompassing six kinds of Buddhas, may be deemed to contain certain deficiencies.

\textbf{The Gandavyūha 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 \textit{Gandavyūha 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. Buddhhabhadra’s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278), Śiksānanda’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 Bhadracari (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 Gandavyūha in the Design of Barabuḍur”.\textsuperscript{1080}

\textsuperscript{1078} See Section 5.6.1, Note 1077.
\textsuperscript{1079} See Section 1.4.5, Note 267.
\textsuperscript{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 Bhadrārī**, 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 Gandhahasti, the “Fragrance of the Wonderful Elephant” (*Elefant des herrlichen Duftes*);
- **Buddha Candramatī (?)**, the “Lunar Wisdom” (*Mondesweisheit*), together with his bodhisattva Vajraketu (or Vajradhvaja), the “Golden Banner” (*Goldenes Banner*);
- **Buddha Śāryagarbha**, the “Treasury of the Sun” (*Sonnenschatzkammer*), 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 Buddhhabhadra (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 …”.\(^{1083}\)

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\(^{1083}\) Fontein, 2012, p. 238.
In Fontein’s presentation of this matter, 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;
- The “unfinished” Buddha in bhūmisparśa-mudrā could be the Buddha referred to in stanza 2 (i.e. Buddha Vairocana).

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 Enlightenment”) refers to the unfinished Buddha in bhūmisparśa-mudrā.

This hypothesis contains some aspects of interest. It enables Buddha Vairocana to be placed in the latticed stūpa. 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.

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1085 When kalyāṇamitra 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 Candrabuddhi. 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 candita plan (the paramaśāyikin) of the Citrakarma Sāstra fitted well on the terrace section of the Barabaḍūr. 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 Barabaḍūr, 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 Gaṇḍavyūḥa 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 Barabuḍḍur. In addition, the last of these seven Buddhas - Buddha Vajramahāprabha - was not mentioned in Buddhhabhadra’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 Barabuḍḍur 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 dharmacakramudrā in the latticed stūpas. The 64 images in vītarka-mudrā in the niches on the top of the wall of the fourth gallery being Buddha Śākyamuni (Abhisambuddha Vairocana) teaching the dharma to the world in his First Sermon – setting the Wheel of Dharma in motion. 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 Šailendras palladium – the golden Vajradhāra – from being housed there,

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. This Pañca-Tathāgata model would furthermore be in conformity to the Vajradhātu mandala (see Section 5.8) as regards the Barābudur.

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 Barābudur 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 Barābudur 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 kātāgāra, 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.

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1089 The Śailendra palladium (the golden image of Vajradhāra) has thus no formal place on the Barābudur as a Buddhist deity - i.e. the Ādibuddha model would not seem applicable.
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 (Vāra-nāsi). 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 *Abhisambuddha* 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).

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 *Śimhāsana* in the *kūṭāgāra* on top of the Mount Meru facing all four directions. Buddha Śākyamuni was here to attain full Buddhahood as a *Sarvātathāgata*.

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.
According to our research, the GVS is mute on the mudrā of the Buddha. 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 kāṭākṣa 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 chosen “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 progress through his 52 stages prior to attaining Enlightenment. Our present kalpa is called Bhadrakalpa. In each kalpa Thousand Buddhas appear.

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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, Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddhi. Incidentally, this is the same order, as the mudrās of the Buddhas on the Barabuḍr. But one should not regard these mudrās as replicas of those of the Pañca-Tathāgatas. Each of the Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas is a separate individual 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 Barabuḍr, 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 Barabuḍr, 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 adherence with the Vajradhātu maṇḍala aspect (see Section 5.8).

The problem with this “number exercise” is, though, that the 504 Buddhas on the Barabuḍr 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 Barabuḍr as indicated by the 504 Buddha images, 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 separate Buddhas. They are seen as one and the same identity – but presented in different bodies (kāya).¹⁰⁹¹ Buddha Vairocana represents an infinitely continuing entity (continuum), usually known as sambhogakāya (“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 rāpakāya (“Body of the Form”) or nirmānakāya (“Transformation Body”). The essence of the Mahāyāna Buddhist soteriological main principle is, namely, the

¹⁰⁹¹ 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 Kambhāyānikan (SHK) Buddha Sākyamuni is not our “historical” Buddha, but the transcendent Buddha (Abhisambuddha 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 – Abhisambuddha. 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 (Abhisambuddha), 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 (Abhisambuddha);

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 (bhumi). The third aeon he spent on the eighth, ninth and tenth Stages (bhumi). 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 (Abhisambuddha);

iii. The Yoga tradition
   All the Buddhas of the Ten Directions conferred on the bodhisattva the Five Knowledges (Abhisambodhi) – the last of which is the essence of Buddha Vairocana (the dharmadhātuññāna). Thereupon, he became manifestly, completely Enlightened (Abhisambuddha).1095

Given this, Buddha Vairocana may be regarded – as presented in the BAS – as the unknowable, transcendent Buddha, that pervades the

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 Vajradhatu mandala. 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 Barabudur. 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 sambhogakāya form of Buddha Vairocana). This is of interest, as bodhisattva Samantabhadra was by the end of the eighth century CE worshipped by Mahāyāna Buddhists on Śrī Lankā as the “Lord of the Pañca-Tathāgatas”. The Abhayagiri inscription of 792 CE (see Appendix I, # 7) indicates an ongoing relationship between Śrī Lankā and Java. In addition, bodhisattva 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 nirmanakāya Śākyamuni is deemed to be identical to the dharmakāya Vairocana – Abhisambuddha (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 Barabudur. His presentation there in 64 images would also be in conformity with his taking the seat of Simhāsana 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
sāmbhoga-kāya form. This alternative is in fact the alternative supported in this dissertation.

As indicated in Section 2.3.3, the Śailendra palladium – the golden Vajrānātha – 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 Vajrānātha image having been housed inside the central stūpa of the Barabuḍḍur – 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 Barabuḍḍur in case that the 64 Buddhas in vitarka-mudrā on top of the fourth gallery would not constitute a problem (see Section 5.6.3). If so, this would not be in conflict if the Barabuḍḍur was to be regarded as a Vajraḥatu maṇḍala.
### Picture 123

**The Buddha images on the Barabudur**

**Various “Models”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The Pañca Tathāgata Model</th>
<th>The Ādi-buddha Model</th>
<th>The Sang Hyang Kamalāyā- nikan Model</th>
<th>The Gaṇḍa-vyūha Sūtra Model</th>
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<td>Vajradhāra 2)</td>
<td>Šākyamuni</td>
<td>(?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Latticed stūpas</td>
<td>Vairocana</td>
<td>Vajrasattva</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vairocana</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wall of gallery</td>
<td>Samantabhadra 1)</td>
<td>Vairocana 3)</td>
<td>Vairocana 3)</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wall of galle-</td>
<td>Four Pañca Tathāgatas</td>
<td>Four Pañca Tathāgatas</td>
<td>Four Pañca Tathāgatas</td>
<td>Akṣobhya, Amitābha and (?)</td>
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<td>ries I-III</td>
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<td>&amp; Ballustrade I</td>
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<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>5 Buddhas &amp; 1 bodhisattva</td>
<td>5 Buddhas &amp; 2 bodhi- sattvas</td>
<td>6 Buddhas</td>
<td>6-7 Buddhas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Comments**

1) or Šākyamuni as Abhisambuddha

2) Šailendra palladium

3) Vairocana may not sit in vitarka- mudrā

(?) Uncertain which of the Gaṇḍa-vyūha Buddhas

Vairocana may not sit in vitarka-mudrā
5.7 The Barabudur and Huayan Buddhism, the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan & Chinese Buddhism as presented by Shingon Buddhism

5.7.1 The Barabudur and Huayan Buddhism

As indicated in Appendix III, # 1, the Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS) became the principal scripture of the Huayan nikāya in China. The Gāndavyūha 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 Barabudur, 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 although the architects of the Barabudur 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 Samanta-bhadra” – the Bhadracari (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 Kandahjayā.

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 Buddhist 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 Lankese Abhayagiri vihāra had established a corresponding monastery at Ratubaka on Java, which took on an ecumenical approach including the study of Mahāyana texts. Most likely, they continued the tradition of its Śrī Lankese 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 “arms-length 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;
- Dyah 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, Gómêz 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. Gómêz 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. Gómêz believes that this aspect was introduced by Huayan monks, in order to fit in with the Barabuḍur overall structure. 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...

As indicated in Appendix III, # 3, various Sanskrit texts of the Buddhāvatamsaka 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.

From this standpoint, it would be natural to see these doctrines reflected on the Barabudur monument – and follow the spiritual progress of the pilgrim on his inward journey upwards the galleries of the Barabudur. 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”. 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. 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. 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 Barabudur. But they do not prove that the Barabudur 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.

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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).


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 Barabudur 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 Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra the base text of the Barabudur design?

Here we have only indications, on which to base our view — no concrete evidence.

Various ideas and concepts included in the Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS) do seem to have been presented on the Barabudur. We may from this assume that the Huayan doctrine, or part thereof, must have been known to the Barabudur architects. However, this does not necessarily mean that the BAS was the base-text for the architects of the Barabudur. 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).\footnote{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.} Some Sanskrit texts of the Buddhāvatamsaka 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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
remaining pāramitās – thus making the illustrated set of ten pāramitās complete. To be noted is, however, that these four last pāramitās on the Barabudur do differ from the four last pāramitās, which are expressed in the BAS. The four last pāramitās illustrated on the Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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. 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 lokendraś and the sambhogakāya Buddhas from the purified Buddhafields (buddhakṣetras) in the Ten Directions. Upon request from his entourage, the Buddha then entered the Simhavijñāmbhita (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. 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 Udra (Orissa) donated to the emperor of China in 795 CE, and which Prajñā translated in 798 CE as

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 sambhogakāya 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 Buddhāvatamsaka 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 precedes 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 Barabuṇḍur.

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 Barabuṇḍur, it would seem questionable that the sculptors of the Barabuṇḍur 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 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 Barabuṇḍur. However, as has been presented above, the eulogy of the Buddha Amitābha (i.e. the last 14 stanzas of the SBP) have not been illustrated on the Barabuṇḍur main wall of the fourth gallery. So, a deliberate omission by the Barabuṇḍur 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 Barabuṇḍur 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 Udra (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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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 Amitābhā).

5.7.2 The Barabudur, the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkān and Chinese Buddhism as presented by Shingon Buddhism

In the Advayasādhanā (the SHKA) (folios 52a-54a) of the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkān (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”. Ishii takes this to mean that the Absolute Reality (Divārūpa) was personified as the Bhaṭṭāra Hyang Buddha.

In the SHK epistemological evolution, as described in Appendix II, # 1.4, the deities are presented in two interconnected groups – the “Bhaṭṭāra Ratnatreya” and the “Bhaṭṭāra Paṇca-Tathāgata”. The


1107 The Bhaṭṭāra Ratnatreya is also called the “Lords of the Three Jewels”. They consist of Buddha Śākyamuni (Abhissambuddha Vairocana), bodhisattva Varjapāṇi and bodhisattva Lokeśvara (see Section 1.5.1, Note 357).
three deities in the Bhaṭṭāra Ratna-traya are identical to the main deities in the cella of the Candi Mendut. The Buddhas in the Bhaṭṭāra Paṇca Tathāgata are identical to those of the Paṇca-Tathāgatas of the Tatva-samgraha (the STTS). In the SHK, Bhaṭṭāra Hyang Buddha is seen to integrate both the Bhaṭṭāra Ratna-traya and the Bhaṭṭāra Paṇca-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 Vajra-dhātu maṇḍala based on the STTS.

From the above, we may draw the conclusion that Divārā may in Old Java have been the interpretation of Absolute Reality – a role that Buddha Mahāvairocana shouldered in the STTS. 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.

In the Sang Hyang Kamahyānīkan in Appendix II, # 1.4, Note 1321 & 1322, Buddha Śākyamuni is in this role not regarded as the “historical” Buddha Śākyamuni.

The Bhaṭṭāra Paṇca-Tathāgata is also called the “Paṇca-Tathāgatas” and consists of Buddha Vairocana, Buddha Aksobhya, Buddha Ratnasambhava, Buddha Amitābha and Buddha Amoghasiddhi (see Section 5.6.1).

See Section 4.1, Note 757 and Appendix IV, # 6.

early Buddhist traditions. It is also documented in the SHK, and differ from the last four of the ten pāramiṭās of the BAS.\textsuperscript{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 Mahāguhyā (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 tattvadharmaṇalakāya 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 Bhairava Hyang Buddha. This Bhairava Hyang Buddha – the essence of the Buddha – is

\textsuperscript{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-mandalas on both sides – the Garbha mandala to his right (i.e. to the east) and the Vajradhātu mandala to his left (i.e. to the west) – see Appendix IV, # 8.1. To be noted is thus, that the Candi Mendut and the Barabudur have geographical locations in full correspondence to the above. Between them is placed the Candi 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 Baraburūtur
5.7.3 Concluding reflections

We know from Section 1.4, that the structure of and the decorations on the Barabudur are based on a multitude of Buddhist texts from Sravakayana, Mahayana and esoteric Buddhism. We have in Section 5.7.1 focused on potential Mahayana influences on the Barabudur 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 Barabudur. Some thoughts have also been given in Section 5.7.2 to potential influences on the Barabudur from esoteric Buddhism – both in the form of the Javanese document Sang Hyang Kamahayaniyan (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 Buddhavatamsaka Sutra (the BAS) – comprises inter alia the Gandavyuha Sutra (the GVS) and the Bhadracari (the SBP), which both are abundantly illustrated on the Barabudur bas-reliefs. As presented in Section 5.7.1, we arrived at some conclusions, such as:

i. that the Huayan nikaya may not have been physically present on Java in the form of a vihara during late eighth to early ninth century CE;
ii. that the BAS was probably not the underlying text of the Barabudur. 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur by some of the concepts expressed in the esoteric Javanese text, the Sang Hyang Kamahayaniyan (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 Bhaṭṭāra 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 Candi Mendut (Bhaṭṭāra Ratnaṭraya) and of the Barabudur (Bhaṭṭāra Paṭca-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 lattvadharmakāya (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 Barabudur 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-mandala” 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-mandala” tradition.\footnote{Orzech, 2011(b), pp. 315-316, 320-327; Orzech, 2006, pp. 45-46 & 70}

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\footnote{T. 905; T. 906 and T. 907.} were spuriously ascribed to Śubhakarasiṃha. 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.\footnote{Chen, 2010, pp. 1-2 & 209-215; Chen, 2009, pp. 5-13 & 253; Chen, 1998, p. 24.} 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.\footnote{Chen, 2009, pp. 15, 111-112 & 245-249.} Likewise, the monk Zhihuilun (? -875/876 CE) has been ascribed two ritual manuals,\footnote{T. 1246 and T. 1275.} which Orzech regards highly unlikely. Instead he sees them as “elements of elite Tang esoteric traditions into the broader current of Chinese Buddhism."\footnote{Orzech, 2011(b), p. 335.} 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.
5.8 The Barabudur as a Vajradhatu mandala

The mandala may be described to be constituted of two parts - manda (the core) and la (the container). On the Barabudur, (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 mandala may be seen as representing the four-sided palace (kūtāgāra) of the Akaniṣṭha heaven. The mandala 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 ādha - this is illustrated by the sacred statues/images – the ādheya.

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 mandala, which may be regarded as a mesocosm – mediating between the universal macrocosm and the individual microcosm. At every level, the mandala 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 mandala; e.g. the “seed mantra” (bijamāṇtra) 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 sambhogakāya 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 sambhogakāya 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 mandala; 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 mandala, 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.\textsuperscript{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 mandala in order to make this possible?

Already in 1924, Ōmura Seigai proclaimed that the Barabuḍur was a mandala.\textsuperscript{1122} Seigai even proposed that the Barabuḍur should house the “Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas”. The monument must therefore be in the form of a Vajradhātu mandala, as this was the only form of mandala that is identified with the “Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas”.\textsuperscript{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 mandala is regarded as the residence (ādhāra) of the deities (ādheya). The presence of the Buddhas on the Barabuḍur is illustrated by their images, a fact which makes the

\textsuperscript{1121} See Section 4.2.3, Note 778.
\textsuperscript{1122} See Section 5.5.3, Note 1050.
\textsuperscript{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 Ngātjug 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,

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 huge 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).\textsuperscript{1125}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{vajradhata_mandala.png}
\caption{The Vajradhātu mandala}
\end{figure}

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 mandala.\textsuperscript{1126} Of the 132 different kinds of mandalas presented in the Rgyud-sde kun-btus, the Vajradhātu mandala is the only mandala encompassing the Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas. By means of the Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas, the Vajradhātu manḍala thus becomes a Mahāmanḍala.

Another aspect connecting the Vajradhātu mandala to the Barabuḍur, is the fact that the mudrās of the five Tathāgatas in the Vajradhātu manḍala 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 manḍala and in the Garbha

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{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 manḍala encompasses 1,061 deities.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{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 Paśca-Tathāgatas and that the 64 Buddhas in viśāka-mudrā would not cause a problem to this “number exercise”. On his way up and down the monument, the pilgrim then sees “Thousand Buddhas”.
\end{flushright}
mandala are given in the footnote. Based on the cardinal directions and the mudrās, it is clear that a conformity may be observed between the Buddhas of the Vajradhātu mandala and those of the Barabudur (leaving out the Buddhas in vitarka-mudrā on the wall of the fourth gallery).

As stated in Sections 4.1 & 4.3, the Ānugāmī bronzes together with the niches in the Candi Sewu seem to indicate that the Vajradhātu mandala 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 mandala is composed of altogether 1,461 divinities. On the Barabudur, 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 bodhimanda on the summit of Mount Meru is supposed to have a lay-out corresponding to the Vajradhātu mandala. 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 mandala. The five roof peaks could also correspond to the the five vimokṣa circles of this mandala.

Finally, in Section 4.2.2 we were informed that the purpose of the reconstruction of the Candi Sewu in 792 CE to a cruciform groundplan surrounded by 240 additional shrines (the Candi Perwaras), could very well have been to adjust it from a Mañjuśrīgarha to a Vajradhātu mandala. The construction of a Vajradhātu mandala in form of a “palace-architecture” mandala - i.e. a puramandala - close to the Barabudur would indeed be intriguing per se.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mudrā</th>
<th>Vajradhātu mandala</th>
<th>Garbha mandala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dharmacakra-mudrā</td>
<td>Mahāvairocana (C)</td>
<td>Mahāvairocana (C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhumisparśa-mudrā</td>
<td>Akṣobhya (E)</td>
<td>Divyadundubhi (N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varada-mudrā</td>
<td>Ratnasambhava (S)</td>
<td>Ratnaketu (E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhvāna-mudrā</td>
<td>Amitābha (W)</td>
<td>Amitāyus (W)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abhayā-mudrā</td>
<td>Amoghasiddhi (N)</td>
<td>Sanikusumitarāja (S)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Incidentally, it was from here that the Buddha Mahāvairocana was supposed to have preached the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra and revealed the Vajradhātu mandala.
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 Barabuṣṭur 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 Cāṇḍi Mendut

5.9 The Barabuṣṭur 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 Mahāvairocanā. Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana is the personification of Suchness - Tathatā 真如 (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” -
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 (lǐ zhì bù èr).

This important non-duality concept is expressed in the Twin-mandala in the form of:

- the Matrix Mandala (the Garbha mandala) 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 Mandala (the Vajradhātu mandala) 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 mandalas thus represent a layout, that illustrates the secret doctrine – the integration and the “non-duality” between “Truth” and “Wisdom”. These Twin-mandalas 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 mandala he sits in the meditation mūdra (dharmadhātu-dhyāna-mūdra) and in the Vajradhātu mandala he carries out the mūdra of the First Seal Knowledge (jñāna-muṣṭi-mūdra). Tathāgata Mahāvairocana may thus be said to encompass the eight-fold embodiment of Ādibuddha; viz. five from the

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The comparative aspects could thus either be “Principle and Knowledge” or “Truth and Wisdom”.

1130 This meditation mūdra symbolizes the “horizontal identity” of the Truth and of the physical phenomenons (see Appendix IV, # 8.1, Note 1631).

1131 This mūdra 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.\textsuperscript{1132} The Buddha here symbolizes the amalavijñāna.\textsuperscript{1133}

But on Java, these Twin-mandalas were supposed to be integrated by the Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha - the personification of the Absolute Reality (the Divāraṇa). The Bhaṭāra Hyang Buddha was thus supposed to have existed in the Nirakārajñāna - i.e. above the Ratnāraya (as illustrated in the Candi Mendut) and the Paṇca Tathāgata (as presented on the Barabuḍur).\textsuperscript{1134}

In Section 1.5.1 it was claimed that the Candi Mendut may represent the Garbhā mandala. The basis for this claim was inter alia that the decoration of the Candi Mendut together with its images (Buddha Vairocana,\textsuperscript{1135} bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara\textsuperscript{1136} and bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, the four Tathāgatas and the eight bodhisattvas) do all correspond to the Shingon graphic representation of the Genzū Garbhakō-dhātu mandala. In addition, we learned in Section 4.2.4, that the close fit of the paramaśāyikin mandala to the design of the Candi Mendut, which might indicate that the Candi Mendut represents the Genzū Garbhakō-dhātu mandala.

In Section 5.8, the view was presented that the Barabuḍur would represent the Vajradhātu mandala.\textsuperscript{1137} This statement was based inter alia on the fact that of the 132 different kinds of mandalas presented in the Rgyud-sde kun-btus, the Vajradhātu mandala was the only mandala

\textsuperscript{1132} See Appendix IV, # 2, Note 1509.
\textsuperscript{1133} For further references as regards this entire Section 5.9, see Appendix IV, # 8.
\textsuperscript{1134} See Appendix II, # 1.4, Pictures 136 & 137.
\textsuperscript{1135} Buddha Vairocana could here have been presented as Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. Abhisambuddha Vairocana). See the Ratnāraya discussion (the SHK) in Section 5.7.2, Note 1107.
\textsuperscript{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”).
\textsuperscript{1137} Please note, that Wayman suggests in Section 5.5.3, that the Barabuḍur contains the Matrix mandala of compassion (or a variety of the Karunāgarbha mandala) in the form of the “container” (i.e. the bas-reliefs on the galleries, etc.) as well as the Vajradhātu mandala (the “core”) in the form of the 72 latticed stūpas together with the central stūpa. The Barabuḍur would thus contain both Twin-mandalas.
encompassing the Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas. The Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas (indicated on the Barabuḍur by the 504 Buddha images seen twice during the pradaksīna) 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 wénɡ 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.

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. The Garbha maṇḍala symbolizes the “Principle” (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 (karunā) 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” (智) that understands the Principle. The Vajradhātu maṇḍala consists of nine (9) Assembly mandalas. 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 (āveśā).

Given the above, we may conclude:

- that the Garbha maṇḍala and the Vajradhātu maṇḍala complement each other; and
- that the Barabudur comprises elements that confirms both with the Garbha mandala (the latticed stūpas on the terrace area) and with the Vajradhātu maṇḍala (the Buddha images).1140

The question that may be raised in this context, is whether the esoteric form of Buddhism prevailing 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.

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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 Barabudur. One may in other words state, that the Garbha maṇḍala may also be seen to be represented on the Barabudur.

1140 Please note, that the fact that the Barabudur may contain elements from both Twin-mandalas 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 Barabudur may be seen to comprise conformities both with the Vajradhātu mandala (the Buddha images) and with the Garbhamaṇḍala (the latticed stūpas)\(^{1141}\)
- the decorations on the outside of the Candi Mendut correspond to the Shingon graphic representation of the Genzu Matrix mandala – as do the three main images in the central cella of the Candi Mendut (see Section 1.5.1);
- the Barabudur as a Vajradhātu mandala and the Candi 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 advised 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 Sailendra 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

\(^{1141}\) 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 (lì 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 Barabuḍḍur. If so, the main question would seem to be whether the introductions on Java of these “SHK concepts” were transmitted to Java 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 Tattwasamgraha (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 Subhākarasimha. 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 Subhākarasimha 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 the mastership of the teachings of both the Twin-маṇḍалas – the Womb (Garbha) маṇḍala and the Diamond (Vajradhātu) маṇḍala (see Section 4.2.5).

The Twin-маṇḍala were thus known and studied in China by early ninth century CE – as were the underlying texts the MVS and the

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.

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) mandala 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-mandalas in the form of:
   - the Matrix (Garbha) mandala (symbolizing “Truth”); and
   - the Diamond (Vajradhātu) mandala (symbolizing “Wisdom”).

ii. This would mean, that the Twin-mandalas 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-mandalas – but in different mudrās.

iv. On Java, these Twin-mandalas were supposed to be integrated by Bhaṭṭaṛa Hyang Buddha.

v. The Candī Mendut and the Barabuḍur may each be seen as representing the Garbha mandala and the Vajradhātu mandala, respectively. Together, they thus constitute the Twin-mandala and thus illustrate that “duality becomes non-duality”.

vi. The Barabuḍur comprises elements from both the Garbha mandala and the Vajradhātu mandala – 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-mandalas 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 immense 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

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 Sailendra 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 Sailendras had their origin in Śrīśailam in the lower Kṛṣṇa valley in Andhra 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 Bnám kingdom moved southwards 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 Têngah III inscription are of particular importance (see Appendix I, #14, 15 & 16, respectively). The Wanua Têngah 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 Sailendra 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 relationship 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:
The origin of the Śailendras is not known with any higher degree of certainty. However, recent theories depict them to have been of \textit{foreign nature}, being former rulers of a proposed dynasty in eastern India.\textsuperscript{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 Kēdah.

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 Mantyāśih I and the Wanua Tēngah III inscriptions (see \textit{Appendix I, \# 15} \& \textit{16}, respectively).

\textsuperscript{1145} The Ikṣvāku dynasty of the Kṛṣṇa valley, which existed at the time of the rising Pālava 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*). Śrāvakāyāna 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 Kēlurak 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 Barabudur, 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 *candi* constructions on the Dieng plateau, in the Kedu valley and in the Prambanan area. As indicated in *Sections 1.1 & 4.2.4*, the Barabudur 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 Sañjaya 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 *siddhamātykā*).

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-
significant 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 - Śri Sanggrāmadhananjaya - was supposed to have made an alliance with the Buddhist king of Śrivijaya - king Dharmasetu, who became his “younger brother”. This alliance was sealed by the marriage between the Śailendra prince Samaratuṅga and princess Tārā from Śrivijaya. Out of this marriage were born Dyah Bālaputra (the king of Śwarnadvīpa in the Nālandā inscription) and princess Prāmodavadhāni (Śri Kahulunan). The latter subsequently married Rakai Garung of the Śāñjaya 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 Śrīvijayendraśrāja (the “King over the lords of Śrivijaya”).

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 Śrivijaya. That it managed to retain the power base on Java, may partly be ascribed to intermarriages with the Śāñjaya 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” and by the various Candi Perwaras around Candi Sewu and Candi Plaosan Lor. 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 Paṇāṅkaṇa) of the Hindu branch of the Matarām kingdom and forced him to construct the Tālā temple and to grant a village for its upkeep. Finally, the various descriptions of Sudhana in royal attire in the bas-reliefs regarding the GVS on the Barabudur also signifies this, as well as the Processional Path around the monument.

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 – ca 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 Samaratuṇga of the Śailendra family and princess Tarā 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 - Yavadvīmi - 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 Dyah Bālaputra may have reigned as a viceroy in Śrīvijaya by the mid-ninth century CE. 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 Dyah Bālaputra’s claim to the throne of Śrīvijaya.
of the Nālandā inscription indicates that it was issued sometime between 843-850 CE. Dyah Bālaputra was therein mentioned as king in Suvarnadvīpa (Sumatra – including Śrivijaya – and part of the Malay Peninsula), which indicates that he was viceroy in Śrivijaya at that time.1153 As seen in Section 2.3.3, Dyah Bālaputra’s position in Śrivijaya 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 (ca 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 Kēdah;

ii. Sumatra - with the trading stations Jambi/Malayu and Śrivijaya/Palembang; and

iii. Java – with both the political capital and the religious center.

because of his “important territorial claims”. It is noteworthy that Dyah Bālaputra presents himself in the Nālandā inscription as a suzerain of Suvarnadvīpa, 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 Dyah Bālaputra and Princess Prāmodavarddhani is somewhat uncertain. Jordaan & Colless state that they were brother and sister (see Section 2.3.2, Picture 99); Iwamoto means that Princess Prāmodavarddhani was the aunt to Dyah Bālaputra (Iwamoto, 1981, p. 88); Wiseman Christie proposes that Dyah Bālaputra was the son of Dyah 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 Dyah Bālaputra (i) claimed his right to both Śrivijaya on Sumatra and to the Śailendra realm on Java, and (ii) that he saw the latter “slip away” to the Śaṅjayas.

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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 Barabudur (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 Śrivijaya\textsuperscript{1154} stopped abruptly in 742 CE. They were never to resume again. In-

\textsuperscript{1154} Shìlìfóqí 室利佛齐 (Buddhist Sumatra).
stead they were replaced by the tribute embassies from Heling. 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 Sailendra “alliance” with Śrīvijaya and with the subsequent Sailendra Interregnum on Java.

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) in 820 CE and continued with intervals to 873 CE. The expulsion of Dyah 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 in 852 CE and 871 CE. The ensuing recorded missions were from Sanfoqi in 904 and 960 CE.

The Śailendra king later moved to Kēdah, where he stayed to around 1025 CE, when the Chola king Rājendra launched a naval attack against the the Malay Peninsula (including Kēdah) 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).

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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 *Shēpō* 奢婆 (Hindu Java).

1158 *Zhānbī* 占碑 (Jambi).

1159 Please note, that this mission was sent prior to Dyah 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 *Sānfōqī* 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 Tèngah III inscription (see Appendix I, # 16). The overall academic consensus 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 Candi 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 Interreign on Java during the period 746-829 CE. The Śailendras’ presence on Java may be derived from inter alia the Kālasan inscription and the Kèlurak inscription (see Appendix I, # 4 & 5, respectively). This Interregnum on Java was probably based on internarrriages with the Śaṅjayas 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 Śaṅjayas 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](source: Photo Johan af Klint)

**Picture 129** Devotion of two round stūpas on the Barabuṇḍur bas-reliefs

### 5.11 The Barabuṇḍur 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 Candi Sewu and in the Candi Plaosan Lor, where both temples are surrounded by 240 and 174 smaller temples (“Candi Perwara”), respectively. On a religious basis, these Candi Perwaras represented the Thousand Bhadrakalpa Buddhas. On a social basis, these Candi 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 Karangtēnāh 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. taxes 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 Gaṇḍavyūhā 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 attendant 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

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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.
The bas-reliefs of the Barabudur 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 Śailendras may thus not only have built the Barabudur as a religious monument—but also as a political manifestation of their own power position.

*The Barabudur was built with a view of playing a vital role in these ceremonial respects.* The purpose of the Twin-maṇḍalas—as represented by the Barabudur (the Vajradhātu maṇḍala) and by the Candi Mendut (the Garbhā 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.\textsuperscript{1163}

The king was proclaimed to be a *nirmānakāya* 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.\textsuperscript{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-\textit{mandalas}, 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 Barabudur strengthening their *cakravartin* position.\textsuperscript{1165}

\textsuperscript{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 Maître 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”.

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 *nirmānakāya* incarnation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

\textsuperscript{1164} 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 Man-tranaya 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 Barabuḍṛur 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 Barabuḍṛur, 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 Barabuḍṛur 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 mandala (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 *mandala* unite with the religious *mandala* (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 beneficial to the compatriot already during this life.

In this respect, a few questions immediately spring to mind as regards these aspects – aspects that warrant further 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 *pradaksīna* 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 *nirmānakāyas*?
- Was the deceased king cremated at the *Cāṇḍi* 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 Barabudur

*Source:* Photo Johan af Klint
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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur, as well as its two nearby temples the Candi Mendut and the Candi Pawon. Thereupon follows a presentation of the builders of the Barabudur – the Sailendras – 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 Barabudur, 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 Barabudur 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, Śrēvakayāna 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 pāṃśukālikas 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 Barabudur. This seems to be substantiated by various inscriptions from the late eighth century CE such as the inscriptions from Kālasan, Kēlurak, Sewu and Ratubaka.

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 immens construction spree on Central Java – including the Barabudur. The Śailendras were regarded as divine kings. The Śailendras built the Barabudur 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 Barabudur was also built to play a role in the ceremonial aspects necessary to protect and strengthen the Śailendra cakravartin sovereignty.
The Buddha is represented in *images* on the Barabudur in a multi-localational 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 Barabudur has in the past primarily been based on the analysis of the Buddha images. However, the interpretation of the Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur 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 *kānadhātu*, the *rūpadhātu* and the *ārūpadhātu* — may be regarded to be represented on the Barabudur.

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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 Barabudur. 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 - pradaksīna - 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 pradaksīna 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 Ngājuk 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 Buddhāvatamsaka 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 Barabudur. 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur.

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Although the esoteric Javanese text – the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan (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 Barabudur 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 Ratnapraya) and of the Barabudur (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 Barabudur 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 Abhayagiri-rivihāra on Śri Lanka 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-Manḍala concept

The Barabuḍur has in the past been likened to various forms of buildings – e.g. a prāsāda, a stūpa or a manḍala. Of these various forms of buildings, we consider the Barabuḍur to be primarily a manḍala, and as such a Vajradhātu manḍala illustrating the Buddhist cosmos.

Of the various models devised for the Barabuḍur, we support the “Pañca-Tathāgata model” with Buddha Śākyamuni in viṭarka-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 samābogha-kāya form.

The mission of the 37 deities in the Karma Assembly manḍala in the center of of this Vajradhātu manḍala 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 (āvesa).
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 Candi Mendut is deemed to represent the Garbha maṇḍala, while the Barabudur is viewed to illustrate the Vajradhātu maṇḍala – and the Candi 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 Barabudur

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 (nirvīnaka) 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 (nirvīnaka) 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 Barabudur. Prior to becoming Buddha Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata was illustrated in vitarka mudrā - only thereafter was he expressed in dharmacakra-mudrā.

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The Barabuḍur is a *mandala* – a combination of squares and circles. In fact, the Barabuḍur may be seen to contain both Twin- *mandalas* - the *Garbha mandala* in the form of the bas-reliefs in the galleries (the “container” element) and the *Vajradhātu mandala* 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 (pratityasamutpāda) 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 Gunavarman introduced on Java during the early 420:s CE. On six of the gold plates, some deeper aspects of the Dependent Origination (pratityasamutpāda) 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.\textsuperscript{1169}

A complete transcription and translation of the text on the gold plates has been given by de Casparis.\textsuperscript{1170}

\textsuperscript{1169} de Casparis, 1956, pp. 47-48, 57 & 106-107.
\textsuperscript{1170} de Casparis, 1956, pp. 107-167.
2  The Caṅgal inscription of 732 CE (Śaka 654)¹¹⁷¹

The Caṅgal inscription from Magelarn in the Keḍu province is the first inscription, that we know, which mentions king Śaṅjayā. It was cut in Sanskrit with the Pallava-Grantha script.¹¹⁷² It presents the return of Ratu Saṁnah and his son – Ratu Śaṅjayā – from southern India in order to reign over Java after the fall of West Java. At the Candi Gunung Wukir he inaugurated a small Hindu temple containing a Śiva linga - a jyoṭirlīnga 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 linga 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 calendar starts the reckoning from the date of accession of king Kaniska of the Kuśāna empire. The Kuśāna kingdom extended over northern India, Pakistan and part of present Afghanistan during the first centuries CE. The capital was the cultural centre Peshawar. The Buddhist art schools in Gandhāra and Mathurā flourished. King Kaniska 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 Kaniska is uncertain. The originally proposed date is 78 CE – although Lamotte and other scholars now postpone king Kaniska’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 Kaniska. For that reason all Śaka datings are 78 years younger than are the datings of our Gregorian calendar.

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 I, p. 16.


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. 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.

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. King Viṣṇu of Śailendra bore the imperial title rājadhirāja. 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.

A translation of the text of the Ligor stele is presented by Long.

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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 Coës suggested in 1918, that the interpretation should read ”King of the Śrīvijaya”. Jordaan & Colless, 2009, pp. 55-56.
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 in the vicinity of the village Kālasan.

The builder was Rakai Paṇānkaraṇa. Some uncertainty prevails over his personality. Some scholars believe that Rakai Paṇānkaraṇa 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 sanctuaries. Other scholars believe, however, that Rakai Paṇānkaraṇa 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.

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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 shed, 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 an unchaste relationship with the gandharva Soma (the Moon).


Lokesh Chandra, Yutaka Iwamoto, Georges Cœdès, Roy E. Jordaan, F.H. van Naerssen, Jean Philippe Vogel, and others.

Nicolaas Krom, K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, and others.


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 descendants 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, Kēlurak, Abhayagiri, Ratubaka and Plaosan. There is a slight difference in form in the Brāhmī script used in these inscriptions. In the Kēlurak and in the Plaosan inscriptions, the Brāhmic script does not show any significant differences from the script of Brāhmī used by the Pāla dynasty in Bengal and Bihār. In the other mentioned inscriptions, the Brāhmic 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”. This may refer to monks of Mahāyāna Buddhism or some form of Vajrayāna Buddhism.

A complete transcription and translation of the Kālasan inscription has been given by Sarkar and by Long.
The Kēlurak inscription of 782 CE (Śaka 704)

The Kēlurak inscription was found on the Prambanan plain in the vicinity of the Candi Sewu. It was cut in Sanskrit in the Indian script of Brāhmī and records the installation of a statue of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī (= Mañjuśrī).1189

The famous guru Kumāraghoṇa from Gauḍīvīpa or from West Bengal was to install the image of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, who holds a blue lotus1190 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 Vajradhāra – 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 Vaipulayāna 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 Candi 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 Abhayagiriśrīhāra in Ratubaka. The uncertainty seems to be prevalent. What is known, however, is that the Candi Sewu was originally constructed for bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Only a decade after the inauguration, the Candi Sewu was reconstructed in 792 CE to house the Pañca-Tathāgatas. Bosch is said to have suggested that the Candi Sewu was rebuilt in accordance with the Vajraḥātū mandala – 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 (upāla) opens up only during the night. The upāla is also regarded as the attribute of bodhisattva Tārā. The conventional 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.


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 Avalokitešvara – which was subsequently erased.

The Kēlurak inscription proves that contacts existed at that time between Java and Bengal. It indicates, furthermore, some potential syncretic character of Javanese Buddhism.

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 Kēlurak inscription has been given by Sarkar and Long.

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1195 Long, 2014, pp. 87-96.
The Mañjuśrīgrha (Candi Sewu) inscription of 792 CE (Śaka 714)

The discovery of the Mañjuśrīgrha (Candi 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 Mañjuśrīgrha inscription records the enlargement of the Candi Sewu.\footnote{van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1981, pp. 19-20. Other source: Chemburkar, 2016, pp. 207-208; Voûte, 2006, p. 223.}

Sundberg claims, however, that Boechari had misconstrued the text. According to Sundberg, the Mañjuśrīgrha inscription implies the completion - not the enlargement - of the Sewu temple.\footnote{Sundberg, 2006(b), pp. 106-109}

The five buildings of the Candi Sewu were combined to form a single structure with a cruciform ground plan. It is surrounded by 240 smaller shrines (the Candi Perwaras) in five (5) distinctive tiers and by an outer wall with two huge temple guardians (dvārapāla) protecting each wall entrance - see \textit{Picture 132}.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{Picture132.png}
\caption{Dvārapāla at the Candi Sewu}
\end{figure}

\textit{Source:} Photo Johan af Klint
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 Brāhmi. This inscription indicates contacts with Śrī Lāṅkā, 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 Kēlurak 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 Lāṅkā. Sundberg supports this view (see Sections 3.2 & 4.2.3.1).¹¹⁹⁹

Part of the seventh stanza reads:

...jinavaravinayoktaḥ śiksītaṁ ... <ya> tīṇaṁ
abhayagirivihāraḥ kāritaḥ simhalānaṁ...,

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


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).


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 Abhayagiri vihāra on Śrī Laṅkā and having been impressed by the Vetulla monks there.\footnote{de Casparis, 1950, pp. 24-50, 105-107 & 184-188; de Casparis, 1961, pp. 241-248; \textit{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.}


Four ślokas and some other fragments of the Abhayagiri inscription have been transcribed and translated by Sarkar\footnote{Sarkar, 1971-1972, Vol. I, pp. 48 (iii-vii).} and Long.\footnote{Long, 2014, pp. 143-150.}
The Buddhist mantra from the Ratubaka plateau

The gold foil 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 Brahmic script - on both sides with a mantra:

\[ \text{om tākā hūṃ jāh svāhā} \]

This mantra is a variant of the \text{hṛdaya} – the personal “quintessence” mantra of bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. The \text{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 \text{Trailokyavijaya}, they were then forcefully converted to Buddhism (see Appendix IV, # 6).

Of importance to note, is though that the two words “\text{Panarabwan khanipas}” have been inscribed in the enlarged “dots” of the two “i:s” in the \text{hṛdaya}. The meaning of \text{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.  

But the lack of any title in front of Panaraban may be regarded as suspicious. The association of \text{Panarabwan} on the gold leaf found at the Ratubaka plateau with Rakai Panaraban noted in the Wanua Tēngah III inscription, should thus be handled with care.

After having been duly recorded and copied, the physical gold leaf has unfortunately subsequently been lost.

\[ ^{1205} \text{Sundberg, 2003, pp. 163-188.} \]
\[ ^{1206} \text{Long, 2014, p. 162.} \]
\[ ^{1207} \text{Degroot, 2006, p. 66.} \]
The Karangtĕñah inscription of 824 CE (Śaka 746)

The Karangtĕñah 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 so far 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 Karangtĕñah inscription the Śailendra princes, Mahāyāna Buddhism and the temples are glorified. King Samaratuṅga and princess Prāmodavardhānī (see Section 2.3.2) are mentioned here. In stanza 9, she is presented to “shine brightly”. However, the portion in Old Javanese prose deals entirely with grants of religious domains for the upkeep of the sanctuaries. The vassal king Rakarayān Patapān (also named Pu Palar) is mentioned in this portion.

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 punyasambhāra (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 Prāmodavardhānī in this manner, may be an indication of a diminished political influence of the Śailendras.

1209 As the foreign Śailendras were not entitled to acquire local land and use local manpower, king Samaratuṅga and princess Prāmodavardhānī needed Rakai Patapān in these respects.

time \((\text{tārnam eva})\). The Sanskrit version ends by describing the vihāra as “the assemblage of virtues of Sugata” \((\text{sugata} \text{gu} \text{na})\).\(^{1211}\)

The spires of the temples were regarded as cosmological mountains. They arose from a square base \((\text{vedi})\) with deep niches. These temples may be seen all over Java – like the Arjuna temple on the Dieng plateau (see Picture 133).\(^{1212}\)

A complete transcription and translation of the Karangtēnah inscription has been given by Sarkar\(^{1213}\) and by Long.\(^{1214}\)

![Picture 133 Arjuna temple on the Dieng plateau](Source: Photo Johan af Klint)

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The corresponding – slightly differing – translations by de Casparis and by Kandahjaya are presented in Section 1.2.


\(^{1212}\) Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 128-129.


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 Bhūmisambhārabhūḍhara, which de Casparis has interpreted to mean “The Mountain of Accumulation [of Virtue] on the [Ten] Stages [of the bodhisattva]”\(^{1216}\). Chihara criticizes 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 Karangtēnah inscription, as it ascertains the continued operation of the monument (the Barabuḍur).

de Casparis is of the view that the kamūlān 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 “kamūlān” simply means “temple” and “bhūmisambhāra” 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 weakening position of the Śailendra dynasty (see Section 2.3.3)\(^{1221}\).

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\(^{1215}\) While de Casparis claims that Śrī Kahulunan is the queen (i.e. Princess Prāmodavardhāni of Śailendra), the Wana Tēngah III inscription indicates that Śrī Kahulunan was the Queen Mother (i.e. the mother of Princess Prāmodavardhāni).


\(^{1217}\) 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 Karangtēnah 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 inscription has been given by Sarkar.\textsuperscript{1222}

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 Mahā-yāna 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 Maitrīka kings - or to the kingdom of Gurjara Pratiharas in central north India.1224

A complete transcription and translation of the Caṇḍi Plaosan inscription has been given by Sarkar1225 and Long.1226

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 Dyāh Bālaputra 854 CE and the subsequent raising of three lingas on the Ratubaka plateau.

The victory marks the reinstatement of Śiva on Central Java. The raisings of the three lingas 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 linga) of the Mataram 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.


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 Kayuwāni in 856 CE, Rakai Pikatan was supposed to have erected the three śīlas on the Ratubaka plateau in commemoration of the victory over Dyah Bālaputra (i.e. the victory of the Sājīja dynasty over the Śailendra dynasty). The tension between Dyah Bālaputra and Rakai Pikatan/Kumbhayoni was allikened to Mahādeva’s power struggle with Tripura. The three śīlas 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.\(^{1232}\)

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1230 de Casparis, 1956, pp. 289-299.
1231 See Section 2.3.3, Note 537.
1232 de Casparis, 1956, pp. 311-330.
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, instead of the conventional date of 860-870 CE, as suggested by de Casparis.

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.

The Nālandā inscription gives a geneologic presentation of the Šailendra family, as a background to the donation of the Nālandā monastery. King Bālaputra was the “great king of kings” – adhipāmahārāja. He was king in Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra - including Śrīvijaya - and part of the Malay Peninsula) and belonged to the Šailendra family of Java – being the grandson of a king of Yavabhūmi (Java), who was the “ornament of the Šailendra dynasty,… whose name conforms to Śrīviravairimathana “ (“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 (Soniavamśa)” (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 Šailendras from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth centuries CE.

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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.\footnote{See Section 2.3.3, Note 538.}

15  The Mantyāsih I inscription of 907 CE  
(Śaka 829)

This inscription on copper plates was engraved in Old Javanese script by Rakai Watukura Dyāh Balitung in 907 CE. The inscription is a chronological list of thirteen names all-in-all both from the Śaṅjaya family (from Śaṅjaya 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

¹²３８ See Section 2.3.2, Note 502.
The Wanua Têngah III inscription of 908 CE (Śaka 830)

The Wanua Têngah III inscription was made by Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung in 908 CE. It is a sîma (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 Têngah III inscription presents a detailed list of rulers with proper dates. The sîma 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 Têngah III inscription claims that there only existed one dynasty on Central Java – the Matarâm dynasty – which continued to reign on Java during the East Javanese period. According to this Wanua Têngah III inscription, the Śailendra dynasty was thus only one branch of the Matarâm dynasty.¹²⁴⁰

The Wanua Têngah 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 Mantyâsi 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 Matarâm – which consisted of two branches – Śaijayas 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 Mantyâsi I and in the Wanua Têngah III inscriptions; (ii) the Śaiva line of Rakai Patapân 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.

Table 1
The Mantyāsiḥ I and the Wanua Tēngah III inscriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mantyāsiḥ I inscription (907 CE)</th>
<th>Wanua Tēngah III inscription (908 CE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rakai Mātaram Sang Ratu Śañjaya</td>
<td>Rahyangta i Hāra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panangkaran</td>
<td>Rakai Panangkaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(746-784 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panunggalan</td>
<td>Rakai Panaraban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(784-803 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Warak</td>
<td>Rakai Warak Dyah Manara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(803-827 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dyah Gula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(827-829 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Garung</td>
<td>Rakai Garung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(829-847 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Pikatan</td>
<td>Rakai Pikatan Dyah Salaḍū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(847-855 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Kayuwangi</td>
<td>Rakai Kayuwangi Dyah Lokapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(855-885 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dyah Tagwas (885 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rakai Panumwangan Dyah Dewendra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(885-887 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rakai Gurunwangi Dyah Bhadra (887 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watuhumalang</td>
<td>Rakai Wungkal Humalang Dyah Jēbang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(894-898 CE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Watukura</td>
<td>Rakai Watukura Dyah Baling (898-) Dyah Balitung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan

The Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan (the SHK) was found by Kats to be composed in three different versions – “A”, “B” & “C” – of which version “A” is regarded as the basic one. 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 Sindok 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. 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. 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 Sindok. Based on some newly identified sources, Kandahjaya ventures to suggest that

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1 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 Advayasūdhāna. 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.

2 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. Katz, 1910, p. 5 n. 1. Other source: Chandra, 1995(d), p. 328.


4 Moens, 1951, p. 353.

5 Sundberg, 2003, p. 182.
the SHK should have been compiled no later than the 8th century.\textsuperscript{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 Candi Mendut would be in conformity with the Ratnāraya (see this Appendix II, # 1.4). In addition, we learnt in Section 1.5.1 of the correspondence between the decorations of the Candi Mendut building. We were furthermore informed in Section 1.5.1 of the eight bodhisattvas decorating the outer corners of the Candi Mendut building. We were furthermore informed in Section 1.5.1 of the correspondence between the decorations of the Candi Mendut and the three versions of aksaras (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 Kamahyānikan Mantranaya (the SHKM) is believed to be based on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS) and on the Adhhyādhaśatikā 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 Barabudur 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 Barabudur differ from the last four pāramitās expressed in the Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS). On the Barabudur bas-reliefs the last four “pāramitās” are the “four infinite virtues” (catvāry apramānāni), 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

\textsuperscript{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 Barabudur’s construction and to open the question whether some constituent verses of the SHK were known on Java by that time?\textsuperscript{1249}

The SHK is a Vajrayana scripture.\textsuperscript{1250} Miksic claims that the SHK combines ideas from tantra texts of the second and the third levels.\textsuperscript{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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folios</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sang Hyang Pamutus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang Hyang Kamahayani Mantranaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advayasadhana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savavidhana, according to the Buddhists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two middle texts dealt with here constitute the SHK, which combine the instructions and rites from both caryå tantra and yoga tantra; i.e.:

- The Mantranaya (the SHKM)\textsuperscript{1252} (Folios Nos. 8b-25a), which is an esoteric Vajrayana text based on the Mahâvairocana Sûtra

\textsuperscript{1249} Chihara, 1996, pp. 120-121; Section 1.1, Note 50.

\textsuperscript{1250} Sarkar indicates, though, that the SHK would not be free “from Šaiva tinge” – which seems to be substantiated in Section 5.2.1. Chandra means, however, that the references to Siva are only of analogical nature. There should according to Chandra be no syncretic tendencies in the SHK. The SHK should be a pure Vajrayana work (see Section 4.2.3).

\textsuperscript{1251} Chandra, 1995(d), p. 331.

\textsuperscript{1252} Miksic, 1990, p. 27.

Sakai confirms this and states that the Advayasadhana (the SHKA) also encompasses some aspects from the anuttarayoga tantras.

\textsuperscript{1252} The Mantranaya aspect of the Sang Hyang Kamahayani (the SHK) – i.e. the Sang Hyang Kamahayani 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 Vairocanabhisambodhi Sûtra (the VAS) (T. 848). The studies continued with Goris (1926), Wulff (1935), von Glasenapp (1936, 1938 & 1952/1953) and Shirô (1950) – the latter who traced the last 17 stanzas (i.e. stanzas # 26-42) to a Sanskrit text. This Sanskrit text – the Adhyârdhaâtikâ Prajñâpâramitâ Sûtra (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 article “Notes on the Sources and the text of the Sang Hyang Kamahayâna Mantranaya” of 1974. Thereafter Kazuko published his work in 1992, in which he saw correlations between some stanzas of the SHKM and Vajrabodhi’s Jâpa Sûtra (T. 866).
(the MVS) (stanzas 1-22) \(^{1253}\) and the Adhyāśatikā 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 and commentaries in Old Javanese. The SHKM is used during initiation rites for obtaining power to perform meditation.

As regards the “controversial” 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. \(^{1254}\)


The Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (the PPV) (T. 243) is a Sanskrit text called the Adhyāśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (T. 243). The Tibetan version is entitled the Śrīparamādyamantrakal Pakha. In the Japanese version it is called the Rishukyô - or the Naya Sutra (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 Mantrakala. The Japanese version of this Sanskrit text (Rishukyô) is one of the base texts of Shingon Buddhism (see Appendix IV, # 7).


Chandra and Devi Singhal claim that the PPV (T. 243) – i.e. the Adhyāśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (T. 243) - is a yoga tantra (see Appendix IV, # 7).


To be noted is, though, that Chandra in his article “Saḥ Hyaṇa Kamahāyāṇika: Mantra-naya”, denoted the PPV (T. 243) – i.e. the Adhyāśatikā 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 Adhyāśatikā 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.

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.

It opens up with the mantra “Om Ah Hum”. 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 Ratnāraya (Śākyamuni, Lokesvara and Vajrapāni) (see this Appendix II, # 1.4); and

- The Advayasādhana (the SHKA) (Folios Nos 25a-62a), 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. 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.

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

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1259 According to Bechert, there exists a close relationship between the presented tradition in this text and the Barabudur.  
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).  
1261 Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 295 & 332.  
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;
- Mahāguhyā;
- 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” (guhyā). 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 (abhiśeka) ritual. The purpose of the consecration (abhiśeka) ritual is to make the practitioner eligible to attain Enlightenment. By means of the abhiśeka, 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 initiation 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 Śrīdok (around 929-947 CE).1265 Furthermore, one does not know where the SHKM was com-

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1264 Chandra, 1995(d), p. 331.

piled – in India, outside of India or on Java (although Gonda and Sarkar both seem to favour the Indian origin). 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.

The Mantranaya (the SHKM) would seem to be based on the two above mentioned tantras – the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS) (T. 848) in stanzas 1-22 and the PPV (T. 243) - i.e. the Adhyārđhaśātikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (T. 244) - in stanzas 26-42. Woodward has elaborated these sources further. Chandra states that the Mantranaya (the SHKM) would be based on the Vairocanābhisa bodhi Sutra (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 Kriyāsa graha set of the VAT Chapter II, but which nevertheless have been quoted in the SHKM.


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 Amoghavajra translation (T. 243), but the Chinese version by Faxian of the Naya Sūtra (T. 244), dating from about 999 CE.


Woodward means that the underlying texts to the SHKM would include the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (T. 848) (15 stanzas), the Jāpa Sūtra (T. 866) (14 stanzas), the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana Tantra, the Kriyāśāṅgrahapāliṣṭikā and the 150 stanza Adhyārđhaśātikā 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 Sarvatathāgatātvasamgraha (the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra), which he is said to have lost in a storm on his way to China.


Translated by Śubhākaraśiriha to Chinese in 725 CE (together with the two Chinese scholars Baoyue and Yixing). This may have been the copy of Wujiang, 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).

The Mantranaya (the SKHM) is a brief ritual text to be used during the ācāryābhiṣeka. It is a rite of consecration (abhiṣekā) in order to empower the practitioner to accomplish meditation (samādhi). By means of the abhiṣekā, the initiated is regarded as a Buddha. The 42 stanzas of the abhiṣekā 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 abhiṣekā (stanzas 10-20); and

iii. presents the teachings after the consecration (stanzas 21-42).

Translated to Chinese by Vajrabodhi in 723 CE.

Chandra, 1995(d), p. 298.

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 Adhyāyābhāsatā 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.

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.


Although the consecration ritual (abhiṣekā) is a ritual common to all tantric movements, it may be of interest to note, that the consecration ritual (abhiṣekā) in the anuttarayogā 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 Adhyāyābhaśatā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (T. 243) does so in great detail.

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 Nāya Sūtra (T. 243). These two tantras1278 give full efficacy to the initiation.

The SHKM also propagates a potential “syncretic” aspect, in so far as it is stated that:

_Buddha tunggal lavan Šiva._1280

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 Vajrasatva in stanzas 12 and 13; to the goal of the Great Bliss (mahāsākāra) referred to in stanza 27; to the references of an ācārya in stanzas 32, 33 and 35; to the drawing of magical circles (māṇḍalas) 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, ghanṭa and mudrā - is presented in stanzas 11 and 32 of the SHKM. The vajra symbolizes the male aspect and the method (upāya), while the ghanṭa 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 Adhyārdhaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (the Rishukyō).
1279 These two tantras are in their respective titles still called “sūtra”.
1280 “The Buddha is one with Šiva”

Chandra, on the other hand, is of the opinion, 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.

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”.

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, stanza 10 of the SHKM states that the holy water will turn against the initiated and annihilate him:

Om bajroda, om ah hum;  
idan te nārakaṁ vāri samayātikramād dahet;  
samayaraksanāt Siddhiyāt Siddham vajrānrtrodakam.  

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 (sāsana) of the Buddha, as an institution:

Ye cānye samayadviṣṭāḥ samayabhraṣṭā yevanāḥ  
māraṇīyāḥ prayatnena buddhasāsanasānādevane.  

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1284 See this Appendix II, # 1.1, Notes 1276 & 1277.  
1285 “Bei Übertretung des Paktes [samaya] würde Dich dieses als Höllenwasser verbrennen,  
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.”  
1286 “Die anderen Menschen aber, die dem Pakt [samaya] feind sind und den Pakt [sama-  
aya] brechen, sind in Erhaltung die Buddhalehre geflissentlich zu töten, auf dass Budd-  
has 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 Buddhāsāsana intact.”.  
Wulff, 1935, p. 29.  

The analysis of Gethin, seems to indicate the decisive intention “leading to the killing of  
a living can ever be other than unwholesome.”  
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?  

1.2 The Advayasādhana (the SHKA)

The Advayasādhana (the SHKA) is a tantric text for the supervisor (ādikarmika), who is practicing the Ten Parāmitās. Advaya representing “non-duality” and “integration, fusion and harmony” is the focal point of the SHKA. 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 Tattvasamgraha (the STTS) are supposed to be non-dual. Kūkai (Kōbō Daichī) – 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 (lǐ 理).

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.

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 (lǐ zhì bù èr), which also is expressed by the inseparability and complement of the Twin-mandalas (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.

But according to Stutterheim, one has to start with “equalizing the body with a stūpa.” 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 (aṅkāra = “Gates of all dharmas”) that the human body – conceived as a microcosmos – “becomes” a stūpa-prāśāda (“externally a stūpa, internally a pṛāśāda”). According to the MVS, there are three enumerations of aṅkaras: (i) the complete alphabet of 49 aṅkaras, (ii) the 37 aṅkaras, and (iii) the 100 aṅkaras.

The 32 letters of the 37 aṅkaras 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 mandala. The SHKA, however, enumerates the complete alphabet of 49 aṅkaras. In addition, the SHKA places these 49 aṅkaras on other parts of the body, than what is prescribed in Chapter 17 of the MVS. The SHKA and the MVS thus differ considerably.

But as indicated in Section 1.5.1, the importance of the three enumerations of aṅkaras as regards the Candi Mendut has been pointed out. The Candi 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 Candi Mendut into a Dharmadhātu mandala? 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-prāśāda" is the homonymic synonym for “kūṭāgāra” (stūpa=kūta and prāśāda=āgāra). The concept of stūpa-prāśāda is mentioned three times in the SHKA – in folios 47b, 48a and 48b. The thought is that the pilgrim turns into a stūpa-prāśāda, in which the Supreme Buddha takes possession (āveśā).
1295 Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 396-402.
that an early version of the SHK or part thereof was known to the builders of the Candi 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 (anuvyaṇāṇa) may be obtained by contemplating on the five nasal sounds. According to Amoghavajra’s version of the Avatamsakasūtrasaracakrakalpa, 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).

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 prāśāda; in the head of this stūpa-prāśāda body is the dwelling of the Supreme Buddha in samādhi posture.

Source: Long, 2009, p. 114

Picture 134 The Wheel of Letters

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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.\textsuperscript{1299} The preparatory phase of the SHKA – i.e. the three Folios 25a, 25b & 26a – are also included.\textsuperscript{1300}

Paramamārga

Paramamārga (Folios 27a-39a) constitutes the performance on the “Path”, which is carried out by means of the Ten Pāramitās.\textsuperscript{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 ādvaya-jñāna by means of a study of the tantras and of the philosophy of the non-duality; (ii) to practice ādvaya-yoga (ah-ah) and meditation on the Buddha (buddhānusmaraṇa); and (iii) the harmonisation (ādvaya) of the ādvaya-jñāna and the ādvaya-yoga. 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 Divārā, (ii) in Ratnatraya and (iii) in statues, scrolls and stūpas.\textsuperscript{1302}

Having completed the Mahāguhya, the believer continues to the Paramaguhya phase in order to obtain siddhi. This step may be attained by

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1300} See Note 1287 above.

\textsuperscript{1301} The Ten Pāramitās are presented in Section 1.1, Notes 48 & 49 and in Appendix IV, # 8.3, Note 1647.

means of yogādhāra, which is to be likened to advaya in the form of:

- advaya with its inhaling breath - Ām - that pervades the entire body, which then obtains “the mind illuminated like the sun” (smritisūrya) and with its exhaling breath - Āh - that expire out of the body and makes “the mind tranquil like the moon” (sāntacandra). The Ām-Āh is called the divine advaya and represents the father by virtue of Bhaṭṭāra Buddha; and

- advayajñāna which is the jñāna that knows and meditates over the formless aspects. This divine advayajñāna represents the goddess Bhaṭṭāra Prajñāpāramitā (the mother element of Bhaṭṭāra Buddha).

When smritisūrya and sāntacandra exist simultaneously, advayajñāna is created. When advaya and advayajñāna exist simultaneously they create together the Divarīpa (see Picture 135). The Divarīpa is no god. The mind illuminated like the sun. The mind tranquil like the moon. Referring to Gonda, Ensink proposes that “…the Divarīpa 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.

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, ādāna, āloka and ārya. Chandra referred here to Chatterjee’s definitions, 1962, p. 219.

1304 “Advaya” is mentioned in several places of the Advayasādhana (the SHKA) as a genetic term for “non-duality”, such as advayayoga (folio 46b); Ām-Āh (folio 42-46); advayajñāna (folio 42-46); ājī advaya (folio 43a); advayāsāstra (folio 43b), etc.


1306 The mind illuminated like the sun.

1307 The mind tranquil like the moon.

1308 Referring to Gonda, Ensink proposes that “…the Divarīpa 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 Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BĀS) 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 vision 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 *Manūṣi* Buddha Dipankara.\[^{1313}\]

\[\text{Picture 135} \quad \text{The *Divārūpa*’s constitution}\]

In Section 5.7.2 we are informed about some potential similarities between the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan* (the *SHK*) and Shingon Buddhism. In folios 45b and 46a of the *SHK* the concepts of “*sang hyang*...\[^{1310}\]

\[^{1310}\] 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.

\[^{1312}\] Kats, 1910, p. 166.

\[^{1313}\] The *Manūṣi* Buddhas are the previous Buddhas in the present *kalpa*. They could in various constellations amount to four, five, seven or eight in number. The four most commonly mentioned are Prabhūtaratna, Dipanikara, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa. 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 *Manūṣi* Buddhas “crystallize time in a space figuration” (see Section 1.4.5, Note 287).

\[^{1314}\] Frédéric, 1995, pp. 116-118.

\[^{1315}\] Other source: Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 131-134.
advaya” and “sang hyang advayajñāna” are presented.\textsuperscript{1314} Referring to the fundamental principle of Shingon Buddhism that “Truth and Wisdom do not make two”,\textsuperscript{1315} Tajima means that the Twin-mandalas complement each other and may not exist independently from each other.\textsuperscript{1316} Devi Singhal leads on from there and proposes that the SHK may be seen to encompass both the Twin-mandalas.\textsuperscript{1317} On Java, they were seen by Ishii to be integrated by the Bhaṭṭāra Hyang Buddha\textsuperscript{1318} (see this Appendix II, # 1.4).

\subsection*{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.\textsuperscript{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

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{Aniconic} and formless (nirākāra), in which case his embodiment of Divārūpa takes the form of Bhaṭṭāra Buddha;
  \item \textbf{Ikonic} (sākāra), where he is regarded as the transcendental Buddha Śākyamuni. Together with bodhisattva Lokeśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāni they constitute the Ratnatraya;
  \item \textbf{Ikonic} (sākāra), where he assumes the form of Buddha Vairocana. He is in this appearance seen together with the other four Pañca-Tathāgatas; and
\end{itemize}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{1314} Kats, 1910, pp. 51-52.
  \item \textsuperscript{1315} 理智不二 (lǐ zhì bù èr)
  \item \textsuperscript{1316} Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 45.
  \item \textsuperscript{1317} Devi Singhal, 1991, p. 377.
  \item \textsuperscript{1318} Ishii, 1991, pp. 158-159.
  \item \textsuperscript{1319} Chandra, 1995(d), 417.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
- **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):

- **Nirākārajānā** - When regarded at the level of nirākāra-jānā, the embodiment of the Divārūpa takes the form of Bhūtāra Buddha.\(^\text{1320}\)
- **Sākārajānā** - When Bhūtāra Buddha is worshipped in the sākārajānā, he is called the transcendent Buddha Śākyamuni\(^\text{1321}\) (i.e. Abhisambuddha Vairocana)\(^\text{1322}\) – the Teacher of all gods;
- Out of Buddha Śākyamuni’s right side comes forth bodhisattva Lokeśvara in dhyāna-mudrā, and from Buddha Śākyamuni’s left side springs forth bodhisattva Vajrapāni in bhūṣparśa-mudrā. These three constitute together the Ratnatraya, which originates from the Garbha mandala.\(^\text{1324}\)

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\(^{1320}\) 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 transcendent Buddha (Abhisambuddha Vairocana), whose acolytes are bodhisattva Lokeśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāni. 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 Barabu.ur (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 mandalas of Buddha Vairocana emanate. The main deity is Abhisambuddha Vairocana of the Garbha mandala and Buddha Vairocana of the Vajradhātu mandala. 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 mandala. 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 karunā (compassion), punya (virtue) and bhakti (devotion).\textsuperscript{1325}

- From the mouth of Buddha Śākyamuni emanates Buddha Vairocana. From bodhisattva Lokeśvara emerge Buddha Aksobhya and Buddha Ratnasambhava. From bodhisattva Vajrapāni appear Buddha Amitābha and Buddha Amoghasiddhi. They are the Pañca-Tathāgatas, and derive from the Vajradhātu maṇḍala.\textsuperscript{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);\textsuperscript{1327}

- Vāhyakajñāna - in this external and ritual phase, the various sacred aspects are visualized as images, scrolls, stūpas, etc.

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\textit{Ratnātraya do not tally with those of the Garbha maṇḍala.}

Chandra, 1995(d), pp. 335 & 413.

\textsuperscript{1325} The SHKA folio 53a, as described by Kats. Kats, 1910, p. 108.

\textsuperscript{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 Aksobhya and Buddha Amoghasiddhi should derive from bodhisattva Vajrapāni. According to Ishii, this may well be so, as bodhisattva Vajrapāni should be connected with Buddha Aksobhya, 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.


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.
The SHK thus presents a succession from Divārūpa above down via Ratnatraya and Pañca-Tathāgatas, to Pañcesvara and Brahmārshi, and finally comprising all beings and devatā. This is an obvious structure of power. The Ratnatraya (Lords of the Three Jewels) is thus composed of the transcendent Buddha Sākyamuni (Abhisambuddha Vairocana), bodhisattva Lokeśvara and bodhisattva Vajrapāni. 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 mandalas in Old Java. Ishii suggests that these two mandalas were (i) the Garbha mandala based on the MVS, and (ii) the Vajradhātu mandala 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 mandalas are not considered to be different from each other. On Java, they were supposed to be integrated by Bhata Hwang Buddha. This Bhata Hwang Buddha – the essence of the Buddha – is the personification of the Absolute Reality (Divārūpa) (see Picture 137).
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 (dwell in the hearts of the *sarvaṭathāgatas*) is represented in the *SHK* by *Bhūtāra Hyang* Buddha and in the *STTS* by Buddha Mahāvairocana. Ishii draws here the conclusion, that “it is certain that both the Barabudur and the Old Javanese esoteric Buddhism of the *SHK* have the same origin, namely the *Tattvasamgraha*”.\(^{1330}\) Please note, that this statement by Ishii was presented without any concrete documentary evidence.

Of the three levels of meditation on the Buddha (*Buddhanusmrana*) in the *Paramaguhya* phase, the middle one – the *Sākārajāna* – is of special interest to us. Here the *Ratnatraya*, its iconography and its correlations emanate. Iconographically it is represented by Buddha Śākyamuni (i.e. *Abhisambuddha* Vairocana) in the centre, bodhisattva Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) to the right and bodhisattva Vajrapāni to the left. This is exactly the sculptural set up inside the *Candi* Mendut.\(^{1331}\) It might also have been the manner in which the Buddhas on the Barabudur have been organized (see Sections 1.4.5 & 5.6.1). Noteworthy is though, that this set-up of bodhisattva Lokeśvara→Buddha Śākyamuni→bodhisattva Vajrapāni 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 (bijā) (Picture 138) of Buddha Vairocana is ĀṂḤ (Āṁ & Āḥ)\(^{1332}\) - indicating that Buddha Vairocana has reached the highest phase of development - being transposited into the Void and nirvāṇa.

Source: Stevens, 1981, p. 59

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”. “Āṁh” thus indicates that the individual has reached the highest phase of development – transposited into the Void and nirvāṇa.


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 Mahāvibuddhvatamsaka 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

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 *Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvatamsaka Sūtra* (the *Buddhāvatamsaka 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. Some of these texts embrace some “Proto-Tantric” elements (see Section 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. *Huayan* tradition may best be understood as an instance of conceptual change within the religious tradition.

## 2 The Essence of Huayan Buddhism

*Huayan* means “flower garland” and is Chinese for the Sanskrit *Ava-tamsaka*. 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 *Akanisṭha* heaven. This miracle is presented in a section of the BAS called *bhadraśri*. Only the Buddha may perform this miracle.

*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.


1340 Ōtake, 2007, pp. 89-90.
notion of a separate Huayan tradition, nor of independent patriarchs. 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 Üsang, 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 Sûtra” 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 (tūrānjiào 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 Sûtra”. 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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1342 The Chinese pànjiào  判教 classifications come in various versions – such as by Chan-yan, 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) Hinayāna, (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.

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.\textsuperscript{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 strengthen Huayan nikāya vis-à-vis the advancing northern and southern Chan traditions.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1346} The cosmos (dharmadhātu) of Huayan nikāya is in other words a universe, which is self-creating, self-fulfilling and self-defining.\textsuperscript{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;

\textsuperscript{1344} Hamar, 2007, pp. xv-xvi.  
\textsuperscript{1345} Aramaki, 2007, pp. 169-187.  
\textsuperscript{1346} Ch’en, 1973, p. 316.  
\textsuperscript{1347} Cook, 1977, p. 3.

Please note the similitudes with modern cosmology; e.g. the quantum physics (see for instance Lothar Schäfer, \textit{Infinite Potential}, Deepak Chopra Books, New York, 2013) and the multi-universe theory (as hypothized and explained by Professor Max Tegmark, \textit{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 (pratityasamutpāda) 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1348} Cook, 1977, pp. 1-19.
\textsuperscript{1349} Cook, 1977, pp. 2-4.
\textsuperscript{1350} 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.

\textsuperscript{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 Prajñāparamitā literature everything is empty, as everything (i) is under constant change and (ii) is the result of the Dependent Origination (pratityasamutpāda). That something is empty (śūnya), means here that it is lacking an inherent existence (nihsvabhāva) and is without an essence of its own (anatman). A synopsis of the voluminous Prajñāparamitā 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.

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. 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 lose in value and impor-

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1351 Williams, 1999, p. 46.
1353 Conze, 1962, p. 222.

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 contaminated 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.
1357 Cleary, 1993, p. 175.
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 Sutra”) and do exist only by means of a complex network of mutual penetration (as described below in the pratityasamutpāda). Fazang illustrated this by the examples of the “Hall of Mirrors” and by “Indra’s Net”.

The aspect of mutual identity implies that no single item or phenomenon 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 “Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna”.

Fazang illustrated this by the examples of the “Hall of Mirrors” and by “Indra’s Net”. 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”).


The “Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna” (in Sanskrit *Mahāyānaśraddhopāda Sūtra or in Chinese Dāshèng qīxīn lùn) was originally 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 samsāra and nirvāṇa. This view has led 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 kingdom.

However, according to Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, tathāgatagarbha is the soteriological aspect of the Buddha-essence theory, the gist of which is that Buddha-essence (tathāgatagarbha) is within all sentient beings. That is the fundamental aspect, which enables the sentient beings to become Enlightened.
“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”.

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.

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 phenonmens. 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”.

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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). Exoteric Buddhism, however, accepts that everything is constantly fluctuating and changing, but refuses to see them as unreal. Instead exoteric 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.

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 *Buddhāvatamsaka 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.”

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). 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”.

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”. Totality is inaccessible 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 (lāthāgata-garba); of mutual identity; of mutual penetration; of dependent

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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.


origination (pratitya-samutpāda), and of cause-and-effect. 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.

3 The Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra

Huayan Buddhism is based on the scripture Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS) (Chin. Dìfāng guāng fó huá yán jīng 廣佛華嚴經), which is a Vaipulya Sūtra. Siddhārtha Gautama is supposed to have preached this sūtra directly upon receiving his Enlightenment under the Bodhi tree in Bodhgayā in Magadha.

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1372 Chang, 1971, pp. 18-21.
1374 The Chinese translation of avatamsaka (garland) is huayan (flower garland).
Hua = flower; yan = garland
1375 The meaning of the Mahāvaipulyabuddhāvatamsaka Sūtra (the BAS) is “the efflorescence (avatamsaka) 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.
Other source: Chandra, 1995(c), p. 73.
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.
Gómez states in his writing of the BAS that “throughout the Avatamsaka Buddha Śākyamuni is the central figureYet 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 dharmakīya. Buddha Vairocana is non-dual with all Buddha and bodhisattva manifestations (see the trikīya 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) Siddhārtha Gautama mentally ascended to the “Hall of Brightness” in the Akaniśṭha heaven, where he - in his sambhogakāya 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 (Vāraṇāsi), where he was Turning of the Wheel of the Dharma – and thus formally became Buddha Śākyamuni.

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 (pāṇjūo 判教). The BAS is written in a manner whereunder Buddha Vairocana remains silent – he does not preach. It is instead the numerous bodhisattvas, who speak on of his life to have preached the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra (the so called Lotus Sūtra) (Miǎo fǎ túnhuā jǐng 秒法蓮華經) (T. 262). The Lotus Sūtra is the basic sūtra of the Tiantai nikāya and the Tiantai nikāya.


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.


Huntington means, however, that the various presentations of the Buddhāvataṃśaka 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 Akaniśṭha (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 Barabudur 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”.  

This important sūtra has been decisive for the further development of Buddhism in East Asia. It gave rise to Huayan Buddhism in China, to Hwaom Buddhism in Korea and to Kegon Buddhism in Japan. Its title is somewhat ambiguous, though. It could be interpreted as either “Discourse Describing the Buddha’s (Flower) Garlands” or as “Discourse Describing Garlands (interconnected series) of the Buddhas”.  

The BAS is recognized as a visionary text, presenting a summary of the deepest meaning of Buddhist thought. In Śiksānanda’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. It portrays that of varadāmudrā. 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 Ksitigarbha (King of Hell) sitting on the throne. The theme is borrowed from the Avatamsaka 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.”


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 Akanishta 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. 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).

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”. In the GVS (see this Appendix III, # 4) bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Samantabhadra seem to play the roles of the two foremost spiritual leaders (kalyāṇamitrās). 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.

(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 kausālā), 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).


1387 Williams, 1999, p. 121.
According to the legend, it was Nāgārjuna (the founder of the Mādhyamika philosophy during the second century CE), who retrieved the BAS from the palace of the nāgas. 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 in 48 chapters. In order to give mankind a chance to comprehend it, Nāgārjuna is said to have brought back only this “briefest” version.

The original Sanskrit text of the BAS is not extant. 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 Buddhāvatamsaka family seem to have circulated independently in India from the fourth to the ninth centuries CE. These Sanskrit texts seem also to have circulated independently 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 Buddhāvatamsaka family started to lose ground in the eighth and ninth centuries CE and eventually ceased to be copied.

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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 “stan-za” 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 Phung thang ma and the Lhan dkar ma) these Buddhāvatamsaka texts were treated as autonomous texts with their own titles and concluding colophons. The Buddhāvatamsaka 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 Buddhāvatamsaka 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 jìng* 佛說兜沙經 (T. 280);
- Zhi Qian translated during 222-228 CE the text *Fó shuō púsà bēn yē jìng* 佛說菩薩本業經 (T. 281). This translation overlaps in considerable parts with Lokakṣema’s above mentioned translation.
- The *Zhū púsā qiú fó bēn yē jìng* 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 *Púsà 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 jìng* (T. 280); and (ii) that these three texts constituted one and the same text – the *Fó shuō dōu shā jìng*.

The importance of Nattier’s conclusion that we now have two scriptures – Zhi Qian’s *Fó shuō púsà bēn yē jìng* (T. 281) and Lokakṣema’s reassembled *Fó shuō dōu shā jìng* (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 jìng*”. 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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Other source: Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 142-144.  
1396 Nattier, 2005, pp. 324-335.  
1397 Nattier, 2005, p. 335.
common text – a “proto-Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra” – out of which the immense BAS eventually grew.

According to Ōnishi, the BAS was based on several Sanskrit texts from the outset. Ōtaka supports this view, and means that the BAS is made up of seven (7) different sūtras. Hamar presents the view, that it was Buddhahadra – and later on Śīkṣānanda – who compiled their respective version of the BAS from a number of free-standing sūtras. 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). 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, 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 Ōtaka, the above mentioned seven (7) sūtras were compiled in India to the BAS. 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. Other scholars are of the opinion, though, that the compilation took place in central Asia – more precisely in the region of Khotan. As indicated below, the Sanskrit versions to the first two translations into Chinese of the BAS were brought to China from Khotan. 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

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1399 Nattier, 2005, p. 323.
1400 Dacien 大慈恩 monastery.
1402 Nattier, 2005, p. 335.
    Other source: Fontein, 1967, p. 3.
    Other source: Williams, 1999, p. 121.
sections are in the “gāthā language” or “Buddhist Sanskrit verse”. 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).

As mentioned above, no Sanskrit version of the “complete” BAS has survived. Three “complete” versions have survived, though – two in Chinese and one in Tibetan – in the following extant versions:

- The first Sanskrit manuscript (composed of 36,000 ślokas) was brought from Khotan 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
- Śīkṣānanda brought back to Chang’an from Khotan the second Sanskrit manuscript (consisting of 45,000 ślokas) 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.


1407 Only three individual texts in the Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra have survived until today in their original Sanskrit form – i.e. the Daśabhūmika Sūtra, the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra and the Samantabhadracarit Prajñāhānagāthā Sūtra.

1408 Please note, that the translation into Chinese by Prajñā only constitutes the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra and the Bhadracarit - i.e. it is not a “complete” version of the Buddhāvatamsaka 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.\(^{1418}\)

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\(^{1413}\) 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 Buddhahadra version of the GVS (see this Appendix III, # 4, Note 1439).


\(^{1414}\) Hamar, 2007(a), pp. 149-150.


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 Bhadracari-pranidhānāraja-gāthā; Chinese Púxián xíngyuán pǐn 菩賢行願品). This text was originally translated by Buddhahadra as a separate text Wénshū shì lǐ fāyuàn jīng 文殊師利發願經 (T. 296) and by Amoghavajra in a fuller version Pú xián pǔsà xíngyuán zán 菩賢菩薩行願贊 (T. 297). Prajñā seems to have adopted Amoghavajra’s change of the title – see this Appendix III, # 4.

Hamar, 2007 (a), p. 150.


\(^{1417}\) They were assisted in this translation by the Tibetan master-editor Ye-shes-sde. The title of this translation is Sangs-gryas phal-po-che phies 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. 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 Gandavyūha portion of Buddhhabhadra’s 60-fascicle version lacked nine sections. Similarly, 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 Buddhhabhadra’s version. These lacking sections were added to the translation of the 60-fascicle version during the Song dynasty (960-1279 CE). Likewise, in Śiksānanda’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, 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.

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 Gandavyūha Sūtra

The Gandavyūha Sūtra (the GVS) – “Entry into the Realm of Reality” – is the 39th book of the BAS. The GVS is one of the nine Agamas of

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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.  
Buddhism in Nepal. 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). The GVS is regarded as the brief summary of the BAS. The GVS belongs to the pāramitānaya form of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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 (analačitta). The world as seen by the Buddhas - the dharmadhātu - is one of infinite interpenetration. Inside everything is everything else.

Warde 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.” Osto expresses a similar view.

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, as it was mentioned by Nāgārjuna from the second century CE in his work Dàzhì dù lùn 大智度論 - Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sāstra (T. 1509). Sudhana started his pilgrimage in southern India and the spiritual leaders (kalyāṇamitras) from south India played a decisive role in the GVS. Gómez suggests that the GVS was composed no

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1424 While the Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtra presents the Path to Enlightenment by a human being, the Daśabhūmika Sūtra, on the other hand, presents the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva’s Path to Enlightenment.
1429 Osto, 2008, p. 34.
1430 Fontein, 1967, p. 3.
1432 Fontein, 2012, p. 27.
later than the second half of the third century CE. Osto means that the GVS is of south Indian origin probably from around 0-400 CE. 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. In any event, the original Sanskrit versions seem to have arrived to China from Khotan in Central Asia – rather than from India.

The GVS is preserved in several Sanskrit manuscripts, in three Chinese and in several Tibetan translations. 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 – i.e. Buddhabhadra’s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278), Śūkṣāṇanda’s 80-fascicle version of 699 CE (T. 279).

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1434 Osto, 2008, p. 120.

Sarvāstivādin nikāya played an important role in spreading Buddhism in northwest India, particularly in the Mathurā area. It should be emphasized, however, that Sarvāstivādin nikāya did share the geographical area with other Śrāvakāyāna nikāyas and Mahāyana nikāyas. In fact, northwest India was a patchwork of different religions during the first centuries CE.

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 Śūkṣāṇanda version (the 80-fascicle version; T. 279) as translated by Doi (1978); and on the English translation of the Chinese Śūkṣāṇanda version (the 80-fascicle version; T. 279) as translated by Cleary (1993).


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 missing 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 leaves). 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).

and Prajinâ’s 40-fascicle version of 798 CE\textsuperscript{1440} (T. 293).\textsuperscript{1441} This last mentioned translation is basically the complete GVS, including the SBP (“The Vow of Samantabhadra”).\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 Udra (Orissa) presented to the emperor of China in 795 CE.\textsuperscript{1445} Prajinâ translated these texts in 796-798 CE.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1447} The

\textsuperscript{1440} 大方广佛华严经 (T. 293).

\textsuperscript{1441} It should be noted, that Prajinâ’s translation (T. 293) comprises a lengthy conversation between bodhisattva Mahûsri 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 Prajinâ’s translation is due to some additions made by Prajinâ and his assistants. Cleary, 1989(a), 395-401.

Fontein disputes Cleary’s hypothesis and means the Barabudur architects could well have had access to an earlier Indian version of the GVS.


\textsuperscript{1442} Fontein, 2012, pp. 1 & 14.


\textsuperscript{1443} The two earlier Chinese translations of the GVS – i.e. Buddhabhadra’s 60-fascicle version of 420 CE (T. 278) and Siksânanda’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 Mahayâna Buddhism, that had the BAS as their base text. In China, this form of Buddhism later developed into Huayan Buddhism. Prajinâ’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 (Srivijaya).


\textsuperscript{1444} Osto, 2009, p. 167.

\textsuperscript{1445} Woodward, 2009, p. 27.

\textit{Other source:} Gifford, 2011, pp. 7-8.


\textsuperscript{1447} Woodward, 2009, p. 27.
inclusion of the SBP may thus suggest a relationship with the Barabuṣṭr.

This translation of the GVS by Prajñā conforms neatly with the version presented on the bas-reliefs of the Barabuṣṭr – 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 lokendrastr (world rulers, who have served the past Buddhas). Upon their request, the Buddha entered the sansādhi called Siṃhavijyāmbhita (“the Lion’s Yawn Sansādhi”). This was a world-illuminating 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) became quickly boundlessly vast¹⁴⁴⁹, 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 sambhogakāya bodhisattvas. They gave homage to the Buddha and performed miracles of their own. All these miracles were apprehended by the bodhisattvas and by the lokendrastra – 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

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.

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, and that these chapters were added to the GVS at a later stage. 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. 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.

As indicated above, the GVS was circulated as an independent text in India and China. The GVS was studied in Nalanda during the seventh and eighth centuries CE and formed in fact part of the monastic curriculum not only in Nalanda. 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.

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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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.” Griffith, 1994, pp. xviii, 27-30 & 134
referred to and quoted in various Indian scholastic texts.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1458}

These aspects are presented in the GVS in the form of a prologue followed by the pilgrimage of the boy Sudhana “Good Wealth”.\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{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”.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{1457} Gómez, 1967, xxxiv-xxxvii.
\textsuperscript{1458} McMahan, 2002, p. 114.
\textsuperscript{1459} “Good Wealth” here refers to Sudhana’s high spiritual status from his previous “roots of merit” (kusūlaṁāla) or past good deeds (puṇya).
\textsuperscript{1460} Osto, 2008, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{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 Śrīmati as two and the two visits to the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī as two, one arrives at the number of 55 visits.
\textsuperscript{1461} Osto, 2008, p. 118.
their experience of the five classes\textsuperscript{1462}, prior to sending him off to the ensuing \textit{kalyāṇamitra}.

In fact, when pilgrim Sudhana visited his sixteenth \textit{kalyāṇamitra} – the \textit{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 \textit{dharma} wheel of all Buddhas, assembly circles of all Buddha fields, spheres of miracles of all Buddha \textit{dharmas}, oceans of vows for skill in the course of the production of every extensive thoughts (of Enlightenment) of all the \textit{Tathāgatas}.”\textsuperscript{1463}

This Sudhana’s visit to the \textit{dharma} merchant Ratnacūḍa is illustrated in bas-relief II-31 on the Barabudur. While the first four stories seem to illustrate the Perfection of Giving (\textit{dānāpāramitā}), 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 Barabudur with a specific \textit{bhūmi} is a theory that finds substantial support in the GVS.\textsuperscript{1464}

As seen below, these visionary miracles seem to occur in coordination with important milestones of Sudhana’s pilgrimage. When Sudhana enters Vairocana’s \textit{kūṭāgarā}\textsuperscript{1465} (i.e. also denominated Maitreya’s palace), he visualizes innumerable other \textit{kūṭāgaras} existing without obstructing each other – and he found himself being in all these \textit{kūṭāgaras} simultaneously. Corresponding \textit{miracle of multitude} also occurs,

\begin{footnote}
\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1463} Ehman, 1977, 197-201. 

\textsuperscript{1464} Fontein, 2012, p. 214.

\textsuperscript{1465} Its full name is the \textit{Vairocanavāhālanakāraśarhamahākūṭāgarā} meaning “the great high storied abode in which are contained the ornaments of the manifestation of Vairocana”. Gómez, 1981, p.174.
\end{footnote}
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 fingers1467, 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 erasure 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 pilgrimage1469 – 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

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1466 Cleary, 1993, pp.1489ff.
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.
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 Barabudur. 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 Mañjūśrī, visited altogether 110 kalyāṇamitrās (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 innumerable worlds relieving innumerable sufferings. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra extended his right hand and laid 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 (buddhaksetra).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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1471 This illustrates that after having reached Buddhahood, one is not different from previously as an ordinary mortal.


1473 This illustrates the eternal Buddhahood of the real universe and its eternal practice of Universal Good.

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 (kalyāṇamitra) 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 Vasumitra, who Sudhana meets in the GVS, is only available to pilgrims, who have reached an advance spiritual development. 1475

5 The Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagātā Śūtra

The Samantabhadracarī Praṇidhānagātā Śūtra - 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

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 Prajñā’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 shìlì 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 普賢菩薩行願讃 (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

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.\textsuperscript{1481}

Kandahjaya has suggested that in sculpturing the SBP bas-reliefs, the Barabudur artists used a text version similar to those of Amoghavajra or Prajñā - or both.\textsuperscript{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 Gaṅgāvatāraya Sūtra and was used by the Barabudur artists. Fontein means that this version was similar to - but not identical with - Buddhahabdra’s translation of 420 CE. This proposal is based on Bosch’s earlier endeavours (1938), and seems to warrant further reflections.\textsuperscript{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 Doi 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”.\textsuperscript{1484}

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[1482]{Kandahjaya, 2004, pp. 175-176.}
\footnotetext[1483]{Fontein, 2012, p. 201.}
\end{footnotes}
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 - i.e. as Jiàn bèi yīqì zhì dé jíng 渐备一切智德經 (T. 285) by Dharmarakṣa; as Shì zhù jíng 十住經 (T. 286) by Kumārajīva; and as Shì dì jíng 十地經 (T. 287) by Śīladharma. It presents the Ten Stages of the bodhisattva’s Path to Enlightenment. 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.

The DBS is incorporated in the BAS as Book 26. The DBS predates the original BAS. Together with the GVS and the SBP, the DBS is probably the only book in the BAS that is still extant in Sanskrit.

Through the Ten Stages 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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1486 Williams, 1999, p. 120.
1488 Ōtake, 2007, p. 106.

However, Skilling and Saerji denominate it a “Buddhist hybrid prose” and a “Buddhist Sanskrit verse” (see Appendix III, # 3, Note 1405).

1486 Williams, 1999, p. 120.

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”\textsuperscript{1491}. This is one of the most fundamental concept in the philosophy of the Huayan. In connection with these “Ten Stages to Enlightenment”, the concept of the “Six Characteristics” means that “everything constitutes one single Totality, while each single part remains a distinct element in this Totality”\textsuperscript{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 multitude forms the unity. No single individual may perform the entire task – the support of his colleagues are necessary, and vice versa.\textsuperscript{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 Barabudur 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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1492} Cleary, 1993, p. 41.

\textsuperscript{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 Buddhism in Japan of today present the MVS and the STTS and their mandalas 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 Barabuḍḍr 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. The main texts of Shingon Buddhism are primarily constituted of three sūtras and two sāstras; namely.

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1494 Snodgrass defines the “True Word” (Shingon) also to be synonymous with the word dhārani. As a dhārani 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 further than that. The “True Word” (Shingon) should namely also mean “the dharma preached by the dharma-ya of Tathāgata Mahāvairocana; it thus contains within itself the entire doctrine”. Snodgrass, 1997, p. 45.

1495 In abbreviated Japanese, the below mentioned texts are called:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translator</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The MVS (T. 848)</td>
<td>Śubhakarasaṅga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The STTS (T. 865)</td>
<td>Amoghavajra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The STTS (T. 866)</td>
<td>Vajrabodhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The STTS (T. 882)</td>
<td>Dānapāla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The PPV Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (T. 243)</td>
<td>Amoghavajra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bodhicitta Sāstra (T. 1661)</td>
<td>Nāgārjuna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Commentary on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna (T. 1668)</td>
<td>Nāgārjuna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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- the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS) – 大毘盧遮那成佛神変加持經 (T. 848) – translated by Subhakarasima. The MVS is believed to have been developed and composed on the Kathiawar peninsula in western India around the mid-seventh century CE¹⁴⁹⁶;

- the Tatvasaṃgraha (the STTS) - 金剛頂一切如來眞實攝大乘現證大教王經 (T. 865) - translated by Amoghavajra; 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. 866) – translated by Vajrabodhi; and

- the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses (the PPV) – 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (T. 865) - translated by Amoghavajra; and


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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 Mahārāṣṭra region in the western part of central India. Wayman, 1998, pp. 8, 11-13, 354.

¹⁴⁹⁷ The complete name of which is the Sarva-tath āgata-tattva-saṃgraha-mahāyāna-bhūtadharma-satya-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:


Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 29.
The above three śūtras were introduced in China during the eighth century CE by Subhākarasiṃha, Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, respectively. However, the ideas proposed by these three śūtras 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 śūtras constituted in east Asia the three basic texts of *esoteric* Buddhism. 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.

Kūkai (Chinese *Kōnglài 空海*) was posthumously also named Kōbō Daishi (774-835 CE). 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 monastery 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 Subhākarasiṃha’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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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 nikōya 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 nikōya.

During their respective formative years, both Śubhākarasimha and Vajrabodhi studied at Nālandā. Basing himself in particular on this aspect, Tajima arrives at the conclusion that Shingon nikōya 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 Buddhism1504; 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.
1504 See Section 4.2.3, Note 778.
1505 Kōbō Daishi (Kūkai) means that esoteric 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.
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 relationship), which successively leads up to the vajradhātu of Vairocana - i.e. the bas-reliefs of the Karmavibhāṅga, the Lalitavistara, the Jātakamāla, the Avadāna, the Gandavyūha Sūtra, and the Samantabhadracarī Prāṇidhāna, 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 Mandala”). 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 śrāvakā;
(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 classification of patriarch Fazang, Huayan Buddhism occupies the top fifth stage (see Appendix III, #2, Note 1342).


\(^{1508}\) 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). Kūkai has summed up this aim “to attain [the state of] the Buddha with this body” already in this life with his famous four character statement:

\[ jì shēn chéng fó \]
即身成佛

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 bodhi 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 essence of Shingon doctrine.

Based on the Commentary on the Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna - Shí mó hē yān lùn 釋摩訶衍論 (T. 1668), Kūkai developed the concept of the Three Universals - the sānye 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.

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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 Buddhism, it is taught that Tathāgata Mahāvairocana of the dharmakāya has two embodiments – the garbhadhātu (the three matrix elements) and the vajradhātu (the five thunder elements). In both groups, Tathāgata Mahāvairocana is the most important being. Shingon Buddhism may thus be said to promote the eight-fold embodiment of Adibuddha 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.


Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 245.

Based on the concept of the Three Universals, Kôkai summarized Shingon doctrine as follows: the **Six Elements** correspond to Substance; the **Four Mañdalas** correspond to Form; and the **Triple Mystery** corresponds to Action. In a “nut shell”, the Three Universals may be seen to contain the fundamental aspects of the Shingon doctrine.

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 *Mahākārṇāgarbhā 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 non-dual;
- 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 Mañdalas are presented in this Appendix IV, # 8.

1515 The Triple Mystery (trīguhya) 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.

two *mandalas* - the *Garbha mandala* and the *Vajradhūtu mandala*; and

- the belief of the *bodhicitta* inherent in the individual. However, this Buddha-nature is contaminated with *kleśa* - which has to be ceaned off.\textsuperscript{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 *mandala* in the *mandala* of the Diamond world.\textsuperscript{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 (*karunā*) 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1520} All things come into existence by Dependent Origination


As regards the "mutual penetration", please see the *Daśabhāmikā Sūtra* (*Appendix III, # 6*) and the therein referred to "Six Characteristics" (*Note 1491*).

\textsuperscript{1518} Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 77-81.

\textsuperscript{1519} Kiyota, 1978, pp. 33 & 48-50.

\textsuperscript{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 *rupa* (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”.\textsuperscript{1521}

Placed above each other, the first Five Elements constitute the “\textit{Stūpa of the Five Cakras}” (see \textbf{Picture 139}). Usually the seed syllables of the Five Elements - a, va, ra, ha & kha - are painted on the front face of the “\textit{Stūpa of the Five Cakras}” on the section representing their respective element. On the backside of the “\textit{Stūpa of the Five Cakras}” the single syllable \textit{vam}\textsuperscript{1522} is painted over all the five components of the \textit{stūpa}. This “\textit{Stūpa of the Five Cakras}”\textsuperscript{1523} indicates the \textit{non-duality} of the physical phenomena (\textit{rupa}) and of the Mind (\textit{citta}). Together, the Five Elements thus embody implicitly the Sixth Element - consciousness.\textsuperscript{1524}

The seed syllables of the Five Elements - a, va, ra, ha & kha - constitute the \textit{mantra} of the \textit{Tathāgata Vairocana in tattvadharmakāya} in the \textit{Mahākarunāgarbha mandala}.\textsuperscript{1525} These seed syllables also constitute the \textit{bijas} of the central Buddhas in the \textit{Mahākarunāgarbha mandala}, as well as in the \textit{Vajradhātu mandala}.\textsuperscript{1526} The sixth syllable - \textit{vam} - constitutes the \textit{bij} of Tathāgata Vairocana in \textit{jnānadharmakāya} in the \textit{Vajradhātu mandala}.

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Syllable} & \textbf{Mahākarunāgarbha mandala} & \textbf{Vajradhātu mandala} \\
\hline
\textit{a} & Divyadundayābhimeghanirghosa & Amoghasiddhi \\
\textit{va} & Amitābha & Amitābha \\
\textit{ra} & Sāmkusamitarāja & Ratnasambhava \\
\textit{ha} & Ratnaketu & Aksobhya \\
\textit{kha} & Mahāvairocana & Mahāvairocana \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{1521} Snodgrass, 2007, pp. 372-373.

\textsuperscript{1522} The syllable \textit{hūm} indicates the consciousness of the unenlightened being, while the syllable \textit{vam} represents the consciousness of the being fully Enlightened. Snodgrass, 2007, p. 373.

\textsuperscript{1523} Within Shingon Buddhism two examples of the “\textit{Stūpa of the Five Cakras}” may be used with one in an upright position and one in a turned around position – but with the base-ment of both united (see this Appendix IV, \# 8, Picture 140). This so called “\textit{Gorin five-story Stūpa}” symbolises within Shingon Buddhism the relationship of the Tathātā, the Twin-\textit{mandalas} and the dharmakāya Mahāvairocana.

\textsuperscript{1524} Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 252.

\textsuperscript{1525} The \textit{Mahākarunāgarbha mandala} is in this dissertation also abbreviated as “the \textit{Garbha mandala}”. See Appendix IV, \# 8.2

\textsuperscript{1526} See Appendix IV, \# 8.2 and 8.3
The "Stūpa of the Five Cakras" symbolizes the non-duality of the Vajradhātu dhamma and the Garbha dhamma; as well as the non-duality of the unenlightened (symbolized of Vajrasattva with bija hum) and of the Buddha (with bija vam).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

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 (Guàndìngjing 灌頂經) (T. 1331).1529

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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, dhārāṇīs 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.\textsuperscript{1530}

The mandala had first to be properly prepared by the master (ācārya) – the ground having been consecrated, the mandala being divided into a number of “altars” (vedi or ยวัน 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 (kalāsa). The candidate was blindfolded and lead to the mandala. This means that his physical eyes were closed, but his spiritual eyes were supposed to be open. The samaya vows (साम्येये jiè 三昧耶戒) were whispered in his ears, as he prepared to enter the mandala. 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 mandala.\textsuperscript{1531}

As symbols of his higher dignity, the individual is successively given various implements in his hands.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1531} Davidson, 2011, p. 74.

\textit{Other source:} Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, p. 85.

\textsuperscript{1532} These implements could be:

- a golden spatula (jalāka), 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 sūṅkha (conch) representing the spreading of the word (the SHKM # 20).
when properly deployed by the disciple. The Garbha mandala is seen as the birthplace of the Buddhas. The relationship between the generative imagery, the mantra and the mandala 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 initiated 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 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (T. 848) - the sūtra of the “bright light” - was transmitted in the Akanishtha heaven1536 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

1533 Orzech & Sørensen, 2011, pp. 86-88.
1534 Davidson, 2011, p. 75.
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 (*guna*).

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 visited 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 Latā on the Kāthiawār 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 *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulyasūtrendra-rāja-nāma-dharma-parāja*\(^{1543}\) (Chin. *Daji jing* for short; Jap. *Dainichikyō*). Śubhākarasimha and his Chinese disciple Yixing presented the *sūtra*


\(^{1540}\) 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 Mahārāṣṭra 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.


\(^{1543}\) 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).154 The Chinese version of the text is called the Mahāvairocana Sūtra (the MVS), while the Tibetan version is called Vairocanaabhisambodhi 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 Valabhi 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 Śubhākaraśīṁha 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 sentient beings have thus a bodhicitta.1550


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 Śubhākaraśīṁha. Tajima means, however, that Śubhākaraśīṁha did not bring a separate copy to China and thus translated the Wuxing version.


1545 Giebel, 2005, p. xvi.


1546 Valabhi was a great center of learning – rivalling Nālandā.


1548 Orzech, 2011(c), p. 276.


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 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).\textsuperscript{1552}

The narrative part of the MVS may be seen as a discussion between Vajrapāṇi (“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 kausālya) its result. This is the so called Triple Formula, which sums up the doctrine of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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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\textsuperscript{1551} See this Appendix IV, # 4, Note 1533.

\textsuperscript{1552} Tajima, 1998, pp. 294-295.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textit{Other source:} Wayman, 1985, p. 25.

\textsuperscript{1554} Tajima, 1998, pp. 296-298.


\textsuperscript{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 ni 三蜜), the initiate ritually replicates the body, the speech and the mind of Buddha Mahāvairocana. By means of the abhiṣeka rituals the initiate 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 heaven¹⁵⁶¹ by Tathāgata Mahāvairocana to bodhisattva Vajrasattva.¹⁵⁶² Like the MVS, bodhisattva Vajrasattva kept the

¹⁵⁵⁷ The full name of the "Matrix Maṇḍala" is Mahākāraṇāgarbhodhava maṇḍala (Maṇḍala of Birth from the Matrix of Great Compassion).  
¹⁵⁵⁸ Snodgrass, 1997, p. 129.  
¹⁵⁶¹ Orzech, 2011(c), pp. 277-278.  
¹⁵⁶³ 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” in South India. It is supposed to have been found there later on by Nāgārjuna.


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”” (fan liüê yì 凡六叶矣).

Orzech, 2006, pp. 53 & 56.


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”).


In addition, the legend of the Iron Stūpa reflects the process of initiation into the mandalas of esoteric Buddhism. The devotee regards his or her entry into the mandala as an entry into the “Iron Stūpa”. This is performed with the assistance of the Master in the form of consecration (abhiṣeka).


The Iron Stūpa is a legend, created by the sacred power of Buddha Mahāvairocana. Naturally, this legend is entirely fictitious. According to the legend, the Iron Stūpa is assumed to be a real stūpa in south India (Amaravati) or the vatadāge (roofed stūpa) at Thūpārāma on Śrī Lankā (see Section 3.2, Note 651). Reciting the Tathāgata Mahāvairocana’s dhārāni, Nāgārjuna is said to have circumvented (pradākṣītā) 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 śaṭṭra 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.


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 Vajradhātu, proceeding to construct the Vajradhātu mandala, transforming himself to Buddha Mahāvairocana and emanating the other four Buddhas.1565

This huge 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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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 “composition” or “compilation” 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 huge Jīngāng dīng jīng (the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra or the Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture).
Amoghavajra visited south India and Sīri Lankā 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 *Jīngāṅg dīng jīng* (the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*) by king Aggabodhi VI (r. 741-781 CE) of Sīri Lankā — perhaps without the commentary texts *Uttara Tantra* and *Uttarottara Tantra*. The text brought back to China by Amoghavajra was probably of a later development phase, than the corresponding text brought back by Vajrabodhi.

In his “Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies” (T. 869), Amoghavajra presented the hugh work of the Eighteen Assemblies of the *Jīngāṅg dīng jīng* (the *Vajraśekhara Sūtra* or the *Adamantine Pinnacle Scripture*). 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


However, some scholars dispute the fact that the entire *Jīngāṅg dīng 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.

Vajrabodhi had thus access only to an abridged version consisting of 4,000 stanzas called the *Jīngāṅg dīng yājià zhòng lùè niànsòng jīng* 金刚顶瑜伽中略出念诵经, which he subsequently translated as T. 866.

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 *Jīngāṅg dīng 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.

The full name of the “Outline of the Eighteen Assemblies” is *Jīngāṅg dīng jīng yá jià shí bā hé zhì gài* 金剛頂瑜伽十八盒指歸 (T. 869).

The eighteen various Assemblies were presented by Amoghavajra to belong to the following cycles:
the logical progression referred to in the previous footnote. 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). 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 Tripitaka. 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.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assemblies 1-4</th>
<th>belonging to the Sarvatathāgataatattvasamgraha (the STTS), the Vajraśekhara Tantra and the Trailokyavijaya;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assembly 5</td>
<td>belonging to the Lausākotparavijaya Tantra(?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assemblies 6-9</td>
<td>belonging to the Śrīparamādyā cycle and the Samāyagya Tantra;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assemblies 10-14</td>
<td>are probably interrelated and based on the Mahāsamaya Tantra;</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assembly 15</td>
<td>belonging to the Guhyasamāja Tantra;</td>
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<td>Assembly 16</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assembly 17</td>
<td>may link with the works of the 16th Assembly;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assembly 18</td>
<td>is the last Assembly prior to becoming a siddha.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Other source:* Snodgrass, 1997, p. 559.


Eastman means that the Māyājāla Tantra of the Tibetan rNiṅ-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-ade bco-brgyad.


1574
1575
As indicated above\textsuperscript{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-samgraha-mahāyānābhisamayā-mahākalparāja-sūtra.\textsuperscript{1577} However, it is mostly referred to in its simpler title of the Sarvatathāgatatattvasamgraha (Compendium of the Truth of All the Tathāgatas) - or in the abbreviated form of the Tattvasamgraha (the STTS). For clarity, this abbreviated form - the STTS - is forthwith used throughout this Appendix IV and elsewhere in this dissertation.\textsuperscript{1578}

The original Sanskrit text is available in several editions.\textsuperscript{1579} In addition, 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 Tripitaka; viz.

- Vajrabodhi’s translation from around 723 CE in four fascicles Jingāṅg dīng yuǎnjiā zhōng lùè chu niùsòng jǐng 金刚顶瑜伽中略出念诵经 (T. 866);
- Amoghavajra’s translation around 754 CE in three fascicles Jingāṅg dīng yuǎì rúlái zhēnshí shè dàchéng xiàn zhèng dà jiào

\textsuperscript{1576} See Appendix IV, # 6, Note 1567.

\textsuperscript{1577} Based on Amoghavajra’s Chinese translation (T. 865), the title means ”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”.

Giebel, 2001, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{1578} The STTS is also known by its abbreviated titles in Chinese as “Jīngāng dīng jǐng” 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 references, see Note 1567 above.

The *Vajraśekhara [mahāgubyayoga] Tantra is also the name of an explanatory tantra (P. 113 & Toh. 480) of the STTS.


\textsuperscript{1579} Giebel, 2001, p. 107.
The STTS belongs to the Mantranaya and is a yoga tantra. It represents in fact a basic text of the yoga tantras. The STTS describes the Diamond World mandala. It is assumed to be the esoteric version of the BAS. It was probably composed in south India during the latter part of the seventh century CE – being completed towards the mid-eighth century CE. As Vajrabodhi studied in south India and is said to have been the one, who brought a copy of the STTS 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 transmitted to China and Tibet.

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.

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1582 Giebel, 2001, p. 5. 


1584 Sanderson, 2009, p. 133. 
However, Giebel dates the completion of the text to around the end of the eighth century CE. 

1585 As part of the hugh text – the *Vajraśekara Sūtra* cycle.


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 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-daikyōgyō shiki*\(^{1590}\) (T. 2225).\(^{1591}\)

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 dìng dà jiào wáng jīng sì jì* 金刚頂大教王經死記.  

\(^{1591}\) Ennin (794-864 CE) of *Tendai nikāya* also made a translation to Japanese of Amoghavajra’s translation to Chinese of the *Tattvasamgraha* (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-daikyōgyō sho* (T. 2223).  

\(^{1592}\) These five families are represented by the following Buddhas - Mahāvairocana, Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava 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. 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 (dharma dhātuv); 
- 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 (jambūdeva). The second samādhi relates the generation of the 37 deities of the Vajradhātu manḍala. The scene is set on the summit of Mount Me-ru. 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 Mahāvairo- 
ocana”;
- 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 (nāmaśṭaśata), 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, 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),

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 conversion was effected first after he had been killed and resurrected as Tathāgata Bhasmevaranirghosya (Soundless Lord of Ashes). Sundberg, 2003, pp. 167-170.
which are necessary in performing various rituals in connection with the Great Mandala “Adamantine Realm”;\textsuperscript{1596} 
• The text ends with the presentation of various rules.\textsuperscript{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 mandalas with the Great Mandala “Adamantine Realm” (Vajradhātu Mahāmanḍala) and with its 37 deities as the centre piece.\textsuperscript{1598}

7 The Rishukyō - the Prajñāpāramitā in 150 Verses

The Adhyātyāsāvatīkā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra (Skt 150) is generally regarded 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 fundamental texts in Shingon nikūya.\textsuperscript{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. However, two of the Chinese and two of the Tibetan versions are longer than the customary 150 ślokas of the text.\textsuperscript{1600}

\begin{itemize}
\item The four types of seals are (i) the Great Seal (mahā-mudrā) – the images of the deities in their physical form in the Great Mandala; (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) representing the verbal counterparts of the deities in the form of incantatory formulae (mantra) or a seed-syllable (bijā); (iv) the Karma Seals (karma-mudrā), which symbolizes the activities of each deity. Giebel, 2001, p. 11.
\item Giebel, 2001, pp. 8-11.
\item Powell, 2018, pp. 10-11.
\item 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.
\item These various versions of the Rishukyō are briefly presented in Astley-Kristensen, 1991, pp. 8-22.
\item 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-
\end{itemize}
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 Đàlè jìngāng bùkōng zhēnshí sānmōyé jìng 大樂金剛不空眞實三昧耶經 (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 Đàlè jìngāng bùkōng zhēnshí sānmōyé jìng banruo bōluómì duōlǐ qìshí 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 duōlǐ qì jìng dà lè bù kōng sānméi zhēnshí jìngāng sà duō púsà dēng yǐshì wù shēng dà duàn tī zhēnshí sà duō jìngāng jìng 這部般若波羅蜜多理趣經大樂金剛不空三昧眞實金剛薩埵菩薩等一十七聖曼荼羅義述 (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 samādhīs of the seventeen “Holy Ones” in the manḍala indicated in the title. Around the central figure - bodhisattva Vajrasattva\(^ {1603}\) – there are four groups, each with four

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1601 Demieville, 1934, p. 97.

The Japanese term risha – as well as the Sanskrit term naya and the Tibetan term tschul – mean “to lead”. Risha 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)*.

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). It constitutes a minute analysis of each section of Amoghavajra’s Rishukyō - being mainly based on Amoghavajra’s Rishushaku.

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.

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 lǐ 理 and zhì 智 are presented. The former innate principle lǐ being realized, by means of the latter active principle zhì seeking and penetrating the former lǐ – 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 samadhi, is illustrated.


\[1605\] In Chinese Zhēnshí jīng wěn jù 真實經文句 (T. 2237)

\[1606\] Astley-Kristensen, 1991, p. 17.

\[1607\] de Jong, 1974, pp. 467-468.

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 mandala 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).

In the Path to Enlightenment, Buddha Mahāvairocana sometimes assumes the form of Vajrasattva. Together, they contain all aspect of Enlightenment.

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 Mandalas, which are composed of the Six Elements. Depending on the manner, in which they present the dharmas, the Four Mandalas 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;

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 mandala*, that presents the action or the gestures of the divinities.\(^{1612}\)

*Dharmakāya* Mahāvairocana is the personification of Suchness - Tathatā 真如 (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.\(^{1613}\) 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 (lǐ zhì bù èr).

This important concept of non-duality is expressed in the Twin-**mandalas** as follows - the *Matrix Mandala* (the *Garbha mandala*) graphically expressing the Truth - 理 lǐ - (i.e. the complete identity of all dharmas) and the *Diamond World Mandala* (the *Vajradhātu mandala*) expressing the Knowledge, that understands the Truth - i.e. Wisdom (智 zhì). These two mandalas 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 *Garbh[kośadhātu] mandala* (the “Known”);\(^{1615}\) and the *Vajradhātu mandala* (the “Knower”);\(^{1616}\) and

iii. the *dharma[kāya* Mahāvairocana (the unity between the “Known” and the “Knower”).

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The comparative aspects could thus either be “Principle and Knowledge” or “Truth and Wisdom”.


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”.
The two mandalas are pictorial illustrations of the two aspects of Reality; viz

- **the Matrix Maṇḍala** (the Garbha maṇḍala) represents “the Truth” it 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 mandalas thus represent a layout, that illustrates the secret doctrine – the integration between “Truth” and “Wisdom”. Following from above, these two mandalas are complementary and inseparable – the one may not be interpreted without the other.\(^{1618}\)

\[\text{Source: Kiyota, 1978, p. 82}\]

\[\text{Picture 140} \quad \text{The Gorin Five-story Stūpa – the gorin-jōshin}\]

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\(^{1617}\) Or “Principle” and “Knowledge”.

\(^{1618}\) Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 124 & 141.

Similarities with some thoughts of Shingon Buddhism seem to be apparent in the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan (the SHK). In Shingon Buddhism, Buddha Vairocana in dharmākāya is in the centre of both “Twin-mandals”. In the Garbha mandala he is referred to as being in the tattvadharmākāya. In the Vajradhātu mandala he is referred to as being in the jñānadhammakāya.\(^{1619}\) In the SHK, the concepts of “sang hyang advaya” and “sang hyang advajñāna” 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 advajñāna of the SHK pertains to the Shingon position that the Vajradhātu is jñānadhammakāya – 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-mandals, 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 mandala.\(^{1622}\) In addition, the central quarter of the Garbha mandala 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” (xin wàng 心王). Buddha Mahāvairocana in the center of the mandala symbolises the amalaviññāna.

But as the amalaviññāna is the sum of all the other eight “notations”, the four “satellite” Buddhas are regarded as “the particular personifications of amalaviññāna and resume in the unique Buddha Vairo-

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\(^{1619}\) Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 45.

\(^{1620}\) Kats, 1910, pp. 51-52 & 101.


\(^{1622}\) This seems to be confirmed in the Mkhas-grub-rje, where the Buddha obtained the Five Knowledges in the Five Abhisambodhis – each of these Abhisambodhis pertaining to one of the five Pañca Tathāgatās.

\(^{1623}\) A list of these nine “notations”, as well as of the syllables, and their corresponding Buddha has been elaborated.
Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 60.
cana”. Against this background, it has been proposed that the SHK may be seen to encompass concepts inherent in both the Garbha mandala, as well as the Vajradhātu mandala.

8.1 The relationship between the Twin-mandalas

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-mandalas - the Matrix mandala (the Garbha mandala) and the Diamond World mandala (the Vajradhātu mandala). Snodgrass has made a presentation of these relationships. Let us see what some of the most important findings are:

- the Garbha mandala is viewed from the point of view of the sentient beings, while the Vajradhātu mandala is viewed from the point of view of the Buddhas;
- the Garbha mandala symbolizes the “container” of the cosmos, while the Vajradhātu mandala expresses the undestructable Wisdom (the vajra);
- the Garbha mandala represents the mandala of “the Cause” (i.e. the three steps of spiritual development), while the Vajradhātu mandala illustrates “the Effect” (i.e. the “fruit” of Buddhism);
- the Garbha mandala (in the east) represents the beginning and the origin (the rising sun) - i.e. Buddha Mahāvairocana or the awakening bodhicitta. The Vajradhātu mandala in the west

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1624 Chandra & Sharma, 2012, p. 59. See also Note 1309 regarding Buddha Vairocana’s eightfold embodiment as Ādibuddha Mahāvairocana (3 from the Garbhadhātu and 5 from the Vajradhātu).


1626 This section is mainly based on Adrian Snodgrass, 1997, The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas 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.


represents the completion (the setting sun) - i.e. the attainment of Buddhahood.  

It should also be pointed out, that Tathāgata Mahāvairocana performs two different mudrās in the Twin-mandalas; namely

- In the central “mansion” of the Matrix mandala (the Garbha mandala), he performs the meditation mudrā (dharmadhātu-dhyāna-mudrā), which symbolises the “horizontal identity” of the Truth and of the physical phenomenons;

- In the Diamond World mandala (the Vajradhātu mandala), 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.

8.2 The Garbha mandala

Garbha means “womb” (embryo & storage). This “womb” mandala is also called the Matrix mandala, being based on the MVS. Regarding the build-up of the Matrix mandala, see below.

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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 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 mandala is “Mahākarunā-garbhadhāva-mandala” meaning “Mandala 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 (mahākarunā).  
Snodgrass, 1997, p. 129  

1634 For a comprehensive presentation of the Garbha mandala, the reader is also recommended to study Dr Ryūjun Tajima’s presentation, which has been translated from
Based on the “three questions” (Tripada) referred to in the Mahāvairocana Sūtra, Śubhakarasinīha interpreted the Garbha mandala as representing the three stages of development of Buddhahood. According to Śubhakarasinīha, this was illustrated by the threefold development of either the foetus, or the lotus. Amoghavajra, on the other hand, saw the Garbha mandala as the embodiment of “Triple Mysteries” of the Tathāgata which also are called the “Three Inexhaustible Decorations”.

In accordance with the Mahāvairocana Sūtra, the Matrix mandala consists of 418 deities. The Matrix mandala 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. Incidentally, 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 Barabudur (see Picture 141 and Pictures 104 & 105 in Section 4.2.4).

Source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 176

Picture 141  The square net-work of the Garbhakṣaṇādhītu mandala

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French into English by Lokesh Chandra and Nirmala Sharma.

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.

The mystery of the “body” (the mandala presented innumerable Buddhas); the mystery of the “word” (the mandala presented an infinite number of preachings of the dharma); and the mystery of the “mind” (the mandala presented innumerable promises derived from the great compassion - karunā).


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 Genzū Matrix maṇḍala (“the revealed painting of the Matrix maṇḍala”). The Genzū Matrix maṇḍala seems to stand on its own feet. No concrete proof seems to exist indicating the Genzū Matrix maṇḍala would constitute a compromise between Śubhākarasinha’s version and Amoghavajra’s version of the maṇḍala. The Genzū 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).

![Figure 1. The twelve halls of the Garbha mandala](image)

**Source:** Kiyota, 1978, p. 85

**Picture 142** The Amoghavajra’s version of the Garbha maṇḍala

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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 exerption (see Picture 143).\textsuperscript{1639}

\[\text{\small Source: Kiyota, 1978, p. 88}\]

\textbf{Picture 143}  \hspace{1em}  The Hall of the Eight Petals

The Garbha mandala 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 (karunā) and the skilful means (upaśāya kauśalya).\textsuperscript{1640}


\[\text{\small \textsuperscript{1639} The four Buddhas are Ratnaketu, Samkṣumitarāja, Amitābha and Divyadundubhime-ganirghosa. The four Bodhisattvas and their represented activities are: Samantabhadr (the awakening bodhicitta); Mañjuśrī (the practicising prajñā); Avalokiteśvara (the reaching of the bodhi); Maitreya (the reaching of nirvāṇa). Kiyota, 1978, pp. 88-90. Other source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 207.}\]

8.3 The Vajradhātu maṇḍala

Vajra means “thunderbolt” and symbolizes the instructable and overwhelming 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).\(^{1643}\)

![Diagram of the Vajradhātu maṇḍala](source.png)

*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.

1642 The fictitious background to the Vajradhātu maṇḍala has been presented in this Appendix IV, # 6.


*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).\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 circles 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.\textsuperscript{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 (jnānas) and their respective bodhisattvas represent the implementation (practice) of these knowledges.\textsuperscript{1647}

\begin{itemize}
\item These Buddhas are Mahāvairocana in the centre circle; Akṣobhya in the eastern circle; Ratnasambhava in the circle in the south; Amitābha (Amitāyus) in the western circle; and Amoghāsiddhi in the circle of the north.
\item The last four pāramitās are maitri (consideration), karuṇā (compassion), muditā (altruistic delight), and upekṣā (mental balance), which refer to the “four infinite virtues” (catvāry apramāṇānti). They are inter alia expressed in the SHK and illustrated on the Barabudur (but they are not presented in the BAS) (see Section 1.1, Notes 49 & 50).
\item Snodgrass means, however, that the four pāramitā bodhisattvas represent the four last supporting pāramitās – see Note 1647 below.
\item 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 (pratirūpā), power (bala) and knowledge (jñāna). These are the Ten Pāramitās as expressed in the BAS.
\item Other sources: Kiyota, 1978, pp. 96-98; Snodgrass, 1997, pp. 576-578.
\end{itemize}
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, the four samgraha bodhisattvas (virtue embracing) 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 (karunā) derived from wisdom (prajñā) and composedness (samtādhi). In the third square, the 20 guardians are classified in five heavens and are housed in the four cardinal quarters.¹⁶⁴⁹

¹⁶⁴⁸ Chandra stressed that of the 132 Tibetan mandalas presented in the Rgyud-sde kun-htus only the Vajradhātu mandala encompasses the Thousand bhadrakalpa Buddhas. In the Vajradhātu mandala, they are housed in the middle square of the Karma Assembly. Chandra, 1995(c), p.81.


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 *samgraha* bodhisattvas – collectively 37 deities. Their mission is to reveal the “secret” of the Buddha – Buddha Mahāvairocana.

The *Vajradhātu maṇḍala* is laid out in the Jewel *Stūpa* within the *bodhi-maṇḍa* 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*. The Jewel *Stūpa* is said to have eight columns and five roof peaks (see *Picture 146*). The eight columns correspond to the eight *vajra* 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 *daīś* 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*.

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1650 Please note, that the 4 *mahādevas* and the 20 guardians are not included in this group.

1651 Snodgrass, 1997, p. 578.


Source: Snodgrass, 1997, p. 574

*Picture 146*  The Jewel *Stūpa*
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;

**The Naya Assembly**

is the realm of Vajrasattva, representing *bodhicitta*. Here the *kleśas* are eliminated in order to awaken *bodhicitta*;

**The Trailokyavijayakarma Assembly**

*Trailokyavijayarāja* (the incarnation of Vajrasattva) subdues the Three defilements (hate, greed and delusion);

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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 Trailokyavijayaraja’s Assembly vow (to enlighten all beings).\textsuperscript{1657}

The Vajradhātu maṇḍala is a graphic illustration of how the Buddhas and their supporting bodhisattvas go about in enlightening all beings.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{1659}

\section{Conclusion}

Shingon nikkyō (“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

\textsuperscript{1657} Kiyota, 1978, pp. 100-102.

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{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 *triguhyā* meditation - i.e. "instant Buddha".\(^{1660}\)

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Glossary of Technical Terms

A.

abhāya-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”).

Abhisambuddha - the stage of a “Manifest Complete Buddha”, who has obtained the Five Knowledges (Abhisaṃbodhi); the transcendental 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.

ādārśa-jñāna - the post-parārτti pure consciousness of the bodhicitta or the Buddha-nature; Mirror-like Knowledge.

ādhiṇa - deep attention, meditation of the Buddha’s taught verbal knowledge.

ādhiṇa - 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.

ādārśa - resting of consciousness in its own essence; mirror.

ādhāroṭṭṭiti - the residence of the deities.

ādheya - the deities, who take residence in the ādhāra.

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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 “Abhisambuddha” 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;
- saṁjñā the perception, which represents the cognitive function;
- sanaskāra the volition, which represents the personality; and
- vijñāna the consciousness, which explains the continuity of experience.

Sāṃyutta Nikāya III. pp. 59-60.

ahimsa - “Noninjury”; the doctrine of noninjury and nonviolence.

Akanistha - the highest heaven in the rūpadhātu. In Mahāyāna Buddhism, this heaven is where all the bodhisattvas dwell.

aksara - Sanskrit alphabet; letters; “Gates of all dharmas”; undestructable; imperishable.

Aksobhya - “Unshakable”; in esoteric Buddhism, Aksobhya 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 Barabudur.

akusala - bad; unskillful; unwholesome.
alaṃkāra - major adornments.
ālayavijnāna – “the store consciousness”; which contains the dormant pure seeds of the bodhicitta, as well as the defiled seeds from discriminative cognition.
āloka – correct vision of things, as they really are; enlightenment; knowledge.
amalacitta - a pure and untainted awareness.
amalavijnāna - 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 Barabudur.
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 elixir 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.
anda - “egg” and the denomination of the dome of the stūpa.
anitya - “impermanent”.
aṇjali-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.
anucyaṇa - the 80 secondary marks of the Buddha.
apsara - celestial nymph, who dispenses love, dance and music.
āraṇāvāsin - 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 Samyaksamānta Buddha.
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.
Asanga - the founder of Yogācāra nikāya in the fourth century CE.
Aśoka - the Indian emperor and patron of Buddhism. Aśoka reigned in Pātaliputra 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.
asva - horse/monarch in the “Seven Treasures”.
asvattha - pīpal tree (ficus religiosa); Bodhi tree; Tree of Awakening.
atman/attā - the individual “self”.
āṭṭhakathā - 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.
avadhūti - 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.
Avatamsaka - a denomination for the vast Buddhavatamsaka Sūtra (T. 278, 279 or 293).
āveṣa - 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.
bhadracari - “Excellent Conduct”; as expressed in the perfect vow of a bodhisattva as taught by the bodhisattva Samantabhadra in the Samantabhadracari Prāṇidhāna (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.
Bhaqavān - “the Blessed One”; “the Lord”; i.e. the Buddha.
bhakti - “devotion” or “partaking”; devotionalism in Indian religions.
bhṛṭāra - “Lord” or “Master”; used primarily for sages in the late Mahāyāna and in esoteric Buddhism.
bhūva - “being”; “becoming”; an emotional approach to the divine in Hinduism.
bhavāgra - “the limit of the real”.
bhūvanā - “(mental/spiritual) development”; Buddhist meditation.
bhikṣu/bhikkhu - an ordained male Buddhist monk.
bhikṣunī/bhikkhunī - an ordained female Buddhist nun.
bhukti - “enjoyment”; pleasure as a goal of practice in tantric Hinduism.
bhūmi - “stage”; “level” in Buddhism.
bhūmîsparyā-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.
bija - “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.
bodhimanda - the enclosure or mandala, 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” (bodhipakṣya).

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.

bodhyagṛi-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 varṇas 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 paramāśāyik 81 square candita 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 Lanka during the fifth century CE.

buddhakāya - the Buddha body.

buddhaksetra - the Buddha-field or Pure land.

buddhānusmarana 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 Tipitakas.

Buddhāvatamsaka – the tenet of the Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra.

Buddhayāna – the vehicle of practice resulting in Buddhahood. It encompasses all characteristics of Ekajña. In Shingon Buddhism, it refers to the universal realm and sphere of the dharmakāya 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.

cāndāli - “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”.

cāndita (Jav.) - temple, especially one with funeral or memorial associations.

cāṇḍita - one of the seven kinds of nine-storeyed buildings in the Mañjuśrīvāstuvidyāśāstra.

candra - the moon.

Canton - in Chinese Guǎngzhōu "广州"

caryā tantra - “Performance tantra”; one of the four classes of Buddhist tantric texts.

caturāryastra - the Four Noble Truths.

catvāry apramāṇāni - the “four infinite virtues”; i.e. maitri (consideration), karunā (compassion), muditā (altruistic delight) and upeksā (mental balance).

cetiya - Pāli for caitya.

chatravali - “Garland of Parasols”; a series of discs that rise like honorary parasols over the dome of a stūpa.

cchedi - 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.

daharasankrama - 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 candita grid-system.
dākinī - female “sky walker”.
dāna - ”offering” or “generosity”; one of the Ten pāramitās.
dānapāramitā - the perfection of giving.
dānavā - demon.
danda - a rod.
daśabhāmi - the purpose of the Ten dasabhāmi stages is to realize the union of Self-enlightenment and the Enlightenment of others.
Daśabhumika - is a Mahāyāna Sūtra presenting the Ten bhūmi. This sūtra is included in the vast Buddhāvatsamsaka Sūtra.
daśadigbuddhas - the Buddhas of the Ten Directions.
daśapāramitā - the Ten Perfections - i.e. dāna (generosity), śīla (moral), ksānti (endurance), viरya (energy), dhyāna (meditation), prajñā (wisdom), upāya (skillful means), prajñādhāna (promise), bala (power) and jñāna (knowledge).
Dependent Origination - the Buddhist doctrine of causality (pratitya-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 - samskāra; →
* mind - vijñāna; →
* name & form - nāma-rūpa; →
* the six senses - āyatana; →
* contact - sparśa; →
* feeling - vedanā; →
* craving - trṣnā; →
* clinging to - upādāna; →
* creation - bhava; →
* birth - jīti; →
* old age & death -jarā-marāṇa →
deva - “Shining One”; a celestial deity.
dhārani - an esoteric formula or a magical verse used in esoteric Buddhism. Dhārani is a vehicle for the storage of previously experienced information and scriptures, that could be interpreted as memory. Dhārani 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 worldly 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 (triṃkas), 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).
dharmamāṇḍala - it is a characterization of the esoteric Buddhist relationship between words, letters and sound and their potential for expressing doctrinal truth.
dharmasārīra - 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/fhāna - “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.
dirghasaṅkrama - the Buddha Śākyamuni’s “long sacred walk” at Bodhagāya.
Divārāpa - “intense light”; the Supreme Buddha - Bhāṣāra 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 epithet (royal rank).

E.

Eightfold Noble Path (āryaṣṭāṅgamārga) - 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 (Abhisambodhi): i.e.
* “mirror-like knowledge” (ādārśa-jñāna)
  [Aksobhya];
* “equality knowledge” (samantā-jñāna)
  [Rānasambhava];
* “discriminative knowledge” (pratyaveksaṇa-jñāna)
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 Mandalas

- Mahābhāta mandala mandala of elements;
- Samaya-mandala mandala of attributes;
- Dharma-mandala mandala of letter-symbols;
- Karma-mandala mandala of actions.

Four Noble Truths (āryasatya) read:

All is suffering (dukkha);
Suffering is caused by "thirst" (trṣṇā);
Suffering may be ended by extinguishing the "thirst" and reaching the state of nirvāṇa;
One path – the Eightfold Noble Path (āryaṭṭhaṅkamāṇḍgā) - leads to nirvāṇa.

Funan - "Capital in the South" (in Chinese Fūnán 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.

ganāhesum - 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 incense. 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.
Ganḍavyūha Sūtra - an important sūtra, also being part of the vast Buddhācāramasaka Sūtra. The Ganḍavyūha Sūtra presents the pilgrimage of Sudhana, which – together with the Vow of Samantrabhādara in the Bhadracari – are presented on the bas-reliefs on the second to the fourth galleries of the Barabudur.

ganhitā - the 361 grid-system (19x19) of the Mayānātām.
garbha - “womb”, “interior” or “embryo”.
garbhaṅkośa - “womb”; “embryo” & “storage”.
Garbha mandala - one of the two fundamental mandalas of Shingon Buddhism. This maṇḍala symbolizes the “Principle” or the “Truth” (lǐ 理).
Garruda - 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 mandala - a Shingon descriptive term meaning “iconographic maṇḍala”, or the “revealed painting of the Matrix maṇḍala”.
ghanḍā - bell.
Gorin Five-story stūpa (Jap. gorin jōshin) - the Shingon stūpa of the Six Elements.
grāmavāsins - village-dwellers.
guha - heart; temple; cave.
gulhyā - esoteric realization; “mystery”.
gūṇa - quality.
gunagana - multitude of virtues.
guru - a religious Master, from whom one receives initiation and consecration.
gurū 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 (yaṣṭi) holding the parasols (chatrāvalī).
hastin - elephant/monarch in the “Seven Treasures”.
hāṭha 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 - 河陵.

Hinayāna - “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.

hrdaya - “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 mandala (the Karma Assembly) of the Vajradhātu mandala. 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.
jnāna - the “gnosis” or “knowledge” that results from the final Enlightenment. Jnāna is one of the Ten pāramitās.

Jyotirlinga - Linga of Light; one of twelve Mallikārjuna Lingas 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 adhiśāna 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 kirttimukha).

kala - ritual vase.

kalpa - aon; a long period of time.

kalpaṇḍuṣṭa - a Wish-granting tree - usually with pots filled with treasures at the roots and guarded by kinnaras.

kalyāṇamitra - “Good friend”; spiritual guide.

kāmādiḥ - “Realm of Desire” (lowest of the three dhatus).

kamiṣlā - “root”; beginning, place of beginning.

kānḍhō (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.

Karmavibhāṅga - 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 Karmavibhāṅga is presented in detail on the “hidden base” of the Barabudur.

karunā - “compassion” or “sympathy”; one of the four catvāry apramāṇāni.

kāya - body.

Kēdah - 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 adhisthāna 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/kinnari - a mythological creature – half-human/half-bird – who is believed to form part of the troops of the heavenly musicians. The kinnaras/kinnaris are illustrated on the bas-reliefs of the Barabudur, the Candi Mendut and the Candi Pawon.

Kirtistambha - victory tower; the tower at the entrance of the Abhayagirivihāra at Ratubaka on Java.

Kirttimukha - 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 temple (śatadvāra).

Kunlun - the Chinese name for “Kaliṇga” 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 mandala. In the Gāndavyūha Sūtra reliefs on the Barabudur, Vairocana’s kūṭāgāra may be seen to symbolize the universe.
L.

ladita or lalita - stands for “playful” or “playful movement”.
Lalitavistara - a Buddhist text narrating the life of the historical Buddha Śakyamuni 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).
linga - 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 corall 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. samsāra within nirvāṇa.
lokenātras - world rulers, who have served the past Buddhas.
Lokottaravāda - an important part of Mahāsāṃghika 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 extreme views.
Mahāgūhya - 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”.
mahāpuruṣalakṣana - 32 principal characteristics of a “great man” such as the Buddha.
mahārāja - great king.
mahāsāmi - patriarch.
Mahāsāṃghika - “The Great Assembly”; Mahāsāṃghika is the generic term for the 6 nikāyas defined at the split up of the saṅgha (samghabheda) at the non-canonical council in Pāṭaliputra 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 Mahāvairocana is seen as the source of all truths and Enlightenment. In this context, Buddha Vairocana is also seen in esoteric Buddhism as Adibuddha, from whom emanate the five jīna Buddhhas.

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).

Maitreyā - 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.

makāralaya - the abode of makāras.

manahkarma - is the “mind” (consciousness) action in the tantric Buddhist trikarma theory. It is by means of the adhīṣṭhāna 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”.

maṇju “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 manḍala). 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.

Mānuṣi 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 puraṁaśāyikin 81 square candita 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 samsāra cycle).

muditā - "[altruistic] delight": one of the four catvāry apramānāni.

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”.

554
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.
naksatra - the mark of the 28 stations (“residences”) of the monthly lunar cycle.
naya - the Path.
nayaprajñā - the “guiding principle-insight”.
negarā - 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.
nihśevabhāva - 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 (upasampada) and - staying within the same boundaries (sīmā) – may commonly perform vinayakarmas.
nirākāra - aniconic and formless.
nirākārajñāna - the “knowledge” level of formless presentation (of the deities).
nirmanaṇkāya - Buddhahood in its human manifestation.
nirmanānarati - the Heaven of Joyful Transformations.
nirmita - apparation.
nirvāṇa/nibbāna - “the unconditioned”; the extinction of the fires of greed, hatred & delusion; 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 Abhaya-girivihāra 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.

paśīcapāda - the outmost tier (32 squares), where the ghosts and goblins live, of the paramaśāyikin 81 square candita grid-system.

Pāli - a middle Indian language; a literary form of Prakrit; the oldest source language of Buddhism.

pāṃsukūrika - the esoteric Sanskrit reading monks of the Abhayagirivihāra.

Pañcajīna maṇḍala - the maṇḍala of the five Jina Buddhhas.

Pañca-Tathāgatas - the five Jina Buddhhas.

Panjiao - the classification of the “Buddhist thought” – i.e. of the various Buddhist traditions (nikāya). Pāṇjiao (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] Buddhhas; possessing the three bodies; knowing the three times; being without origination and annihilation; being with aspects though without aspects; and being omniscient (see also “Abhisambuddha” and “Ādibuddha”).

Paramaguhya – the Highest Secret.

Paramamārga - the Highest Path.

paramārthasatya - the Ultimate Truth.

paramaśāyikin - the 81 square candita grid-system (9x9) of the Mayāmātan.

pāramitā - “perfection” or “the highest virtues of the bodhisattva”.

Originally, these pāramitas were six in number, subsequently to be increased to ten. They must all be simultaneously perfected for attaining Enlightenment.

Pāramitāyāna - the Perfection vehicle.

parināyaka - minister in the “Seven Treasures”.

Paramirimitaśāvarin - the Heaven of Free Transformations.

parinirvāna/parinibbhāna - the final death of a Buddha or an ārhat.

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.

piṭha - nine-square grid (3x3) of the Mayāmātan; seat; base; pedestal.

Poluqiesi - the capital of the Śailendras; (Chin.) Pōlùqìěsī 坡鹿切丝.
posada - see uposatha.
pradaksīna - circumambulation or “clockwise” ritual route.
pradaksināpatha - 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.
pratidhāna - “promise”; one of the Ten pāramitās.
prasāda - 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).
prasadā - i.e. a ritual left-hand circumambulation [of a monument].
prāthīrya - The four kinds of marvel, which consists of Blessing (adhiṣṭhāna); Initiation (abhiṣeka); Wonderous Act (karma); and Profound Concentration (samādhi).
prātimokṣa/pratimokkha - 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.
pratisthā - consecration ritual of a cult object or of a place of cult.
pratītyasamutpāda - the Dependent Origination (see above).
Pratyekabuddha/Pacekkabuddha - “The Buddha for oneself”; a hermit, who has attained Enlightenment and nirvāṇa for himself and by himself.
prayātpanna-paramādhi - 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.
pūnya/puṇṇa - “virtue” or “merit”; auspicious and fortunate karma.
purāṇa - a script, which is included in the Hindu smṛiti – written by Vyasa towards the end of Dvapara Yuga (the third Hindu age).
The Purāṇa treats cosmology, dharma, karma, reincarnation, etc.
putana - a demoness (rakṣasī).
R.
rāja - a king.
rājaguru - royal preceptor.
rājānala - “the place of the royal fire”.
rājini - queen.
Rakai (Jav.) - an abbreviated form of rakṣaṇa-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 Barabudur.
Ratnatraya - the upper of the two “heavens” in the SHK epistemological evolution - consisting of the Buddha Śākyamuni, the bodhisattva Lokeśvara and the bodhisattva Vajrapāni.
ratna-yaśa - The Jewel tree, representing unprecedented affluence.
ratnayāha - an array of jewels; a denomintation for the “double walled ratnayāha 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 lǐ (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”.
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.
Sakti - “energy”; the energy of the female consort.
Sāla - spatula.
Sāmađhi - “concentration”; the culmination of the meditative process.
Sāngraha - virtue embracing; attraction.
Samantabhadra - a celestial bodhisattva and an attendant to Buddha Vairocana. In Chinese esoteric Buddhism and in Shingon Buddhism he is regarded as an embodiment of innate Buddhahood - iconographically a bodhisattva, but metaphysically indistinguishable from a Buddha. In Tibetan Rnyi-na-pa the dharmakāya-Samantabhadra is Ādibuddha. On the Barabudur, Samantabhadra plays a significant role and is illustrated with a branch of three lotus-buds.
Sāmaṇḍha/samatha - calm, tranquility.
Samaya - “commitment” & “coming together”; the concurrence of the absolute with its symbolic counterparts.
Samayamandala - one mandala in the Shingon Four mandala theory, which together constitute a doctrinal representation to portray the Six Elements theory in four different aspects. By skillful means (upāya kausālya) the samayamandala 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.
Sambhojakāya - “body of bliss”; the Buddha’s spiritual body, in which he preaches to the assembled bodhisattvas.
Sanghabheda - the split up of the saṅgha - exemplified by the saṅghabhedha at the non-canonical council in Pātaliputra in 267 BCE.
Sangiti - Buddhist council.
Sajñā - perception; one of the five skandhas (see aggregate).
Samkhāra - all conditioned things.
Sammittiya - an important Śrāvakayāna tradition.
samnyāsin - renouncer.
samsāra - the cycle of transmigration, which denotes the perpetual repetition of birth and death in the three realms and in the six destinies.
samskāra - volition; one of the five skandhas (see aggregate).
samtāna - stream of consciousness.
samortisatya - conventional truth.
Samyaksambuddha - a Buddha, who decides to teach other sentient beings the truth, that they have discovered (e.g. Buddha Śākyamuni).
Sanfōqi - the Three Vijaya; the tripartite Buddhist coalition (Kēdah, Jambi and Palembang) headed by Dyah Bālaputra after 854 CE. (Chin.) Sānfōqí 三佛齐。
saṅgha - the Buddhist monastic order of monks and nuns.
saṅkhya - conch.
Sanskrit - a classical language in South Asia, which belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European languages.
saṅtacandra - the mind tranquil like the moon.
sārīra - "body"; the bodily relics of a Buddha.
Sarvāstivāda - an important Śrāvakayāna tradition, renowned for its voluminous Abhidharma. The greater part of its canon (originally in Sanskrit) is presently preserved only in Chinese translation.
sarvutathāgatas - all the Buddhas.
sāsana - religion as an institution.
sāstra - a commentarial or exegetical manual, as distinct from “the word of the Buddha" contained in the sūtras.
saṭādāvāra - tapering pyramidal temple with “hundred doors”.
saṭpāramitās - the Six Perfections - i.e. dāna (generosity), śīla (moral), kṣīnti (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.) Shépó 妍婆。
Shilifoqi - Buddhist Sumatra; Śrīvijaya; (Chin.) Shífóqí 塔利佛齐.
Shingon - “True Word”; the Sino-Japanese nikōya of esoteric Buddhism.
siddha - “perfected being”; an esoteric practitioner, who has realized embodied liberation.
siddhamātrkā - a text in Sanskrit and in Pre-Nāgarī script.
siddhi - perfection, magical power; success; talent.
sīla/sīla - “conduct”, “ethics” or “moral”; one of the Ten pāramitās.
sīnā - sacred boundary (e.g. around a vihāra).
siṉha - lion.
Simhavijrmbhita - 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 “stanzā” or “verse”.
smṛtisūrya - the mind illuminated like the sun.
sokushin jōbutsu (Jap.) - the realization of the successful practitioner 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.
sphātiṣa - crystal in the “Seven Treasures”.
śramaṇa - a non-Vedic Indian renunciate ascetic; a “wandering ascetic”.

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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 (saṅghabhedā) at the non-canonical council in Pāalitaputra 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 Shilifōqi 室利佛齐．

śrūta - scriptural learning.

sthānālīla - Fortynine-square grid (7x7) of the Citrakarma Śāstra.

Sthāvira - 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.

strī - queen in the “Seven Treasures”.

Sudhana - the leading person in the Gandavyūha Śūtra.

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 Paradise.

sūkta - hymn; “that which is well spoken”.

śāṇyata/suññatā - “emptiness”; a Buddhist spiritual term symbolizing the ultimate nature of things.

suparna - 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/Tipitaka.

sūtragrahin - the main assistant/disciple to the Indian architect (sthapati).

suvarna - gold in the “Seven Treasures”.

Suvarṇadeśīpa - Sanskrit for Sumatra.
svabhāva - "own-being"; the essential nature of something.
Svābhāvikī - a Buddhist tradition in Nepal.
svābhāvikakāya - Buddha's "own being", which together with the
dharmakāya constitutes the "Real Essence" 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 (āvesā) 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 devel-
oped as part of Vajrayāna. Tantric Buddhism follows the "Result-
Path" and is based on yoga tantras and anuttarayoga tantras.
Tantrism - see "tantric" Buddhism.
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 ("thuness").
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 specifically, 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 (samghabheda) at the non-canonical council in Pātalitaputra 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 Lāṅkā 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.

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.

toraya - “gateway”; the symbolic gateways on each of the four sides of the mandala.

Trailokyavijaya - the famous story in Vajrayāna Buddhism of the taming of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and his entourage by the bodhi-sattva Vajrapāni.

triguhyā - 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 triguhyā 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 maṇahkarma, respectively. This triad of characteristics should be united with the triguhya by means of the adhīṣṭhāna (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 sambhogakāya or “Body of the Bliss”; (iii) as the human manifestation in the form of nirvānakāya 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 kaushalya).

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 (maṇoguhya).

Triple Refuge - is taking refuge (tīṣarana) 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/Tuṣita - 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.
upacāra - ritual.

Upamisads - a set of sacred Brahmanic texts included in the Veda.

upāsaka - a male lay follower.

upāsampadā - a Buddhist rite of higher ordination, by which a novice becomes a monk (bikkhu).

upāsīka - a female lay follower.

upavītā - a sacred cord, worn across the chest by Brahmīns.

upāya kausālaya - "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 posada) 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.

ārṇā - 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.

Vākyaka - external perception.

Vāhyakajñāna - the “knowledge” level, in which the various sacred aspects are visualized in material (rūpa) forms as images, scrolls, stūpas, etc.

Vaiṣādīr̥gyā - lapis lazuli in the “Seven Treasures”.

Vaiśāpya - The Vaiśāpya (Pāli Vetulla) texts are mainly concerned with the Sudden Enlightenment and the centrality of Light.

Vairocana - “sunlight”; in the Buddhāvatamsaka 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 mandala and the Vajradhātu mandala.
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-legs-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 synonymous with Vajrasattva.

Vajradhātu mandala - is one of the two main mandalas in Shingon Buddhism. This mandala symbolizes the “Knower” or the “Wisdom” (zhi 智).

Vajrasattva - “vajra essence”; Vajrasattva is a later addition to the Buddhist pantheon. 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 Barabudur are illustrated in varada-mudrā.

vardhakīn - 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 vaśīyas (farmers and traders) and the śūdras (the non-Arya servants).

varṇāśrama-guruḥ - “head of the caste-classes and the religious disciplines”.

vastu - the “residence”.

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vastu  -  the “residence”.

vastu  -  the “residence”.
Vasubandhu – an Indian Buddhist philosopher from the fourth century CE. He was one of the founders of the Yogacāra 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.
vedā - feeling; one of the five skandhas (see aggregate).
vedī - 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.
vijnāna - consciousness; one of the five skandhas (see aggregate).
vijnapti-mātratā - is the Yogacāra 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 vijnapti-mātratā signifies the deluded mind, which may only produce false discrimination because of ignorance of the Buddha-nature.
vinokṣa - “liberation”; freedom or release from suffering and delusion.
vinaya - the first of the three collections, constituting the Tripitaka. The vinaya primarily presents the monastic code.
vipasyanā/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 samsāra) 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 Barabudur 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 from the phenomenal world.
Yavadvīpa - Sanskrit for Java.
yasti - “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. Yèpōtí 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. ādhipa, 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.
Zhānbei - Jambi; (Chin. Zhànbei 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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The Barabuḍur: A Synopsis of Buddhism
Sammanfattning på svenska av vissa aspekter
September 2021
Johan af Klint

Monumentet Barabuḍur


Galleriernas väggar och balustrader omfattar 1.460 basreliefer från olika sūtras – såsom Mahākārnavaḥhangā Śātra (MKS), Lalitavistara (LV), Gāndavyūha Śātra (GVS), Dvaśabhumika Śātra (DBS) och Samantabhadracarī Pramāṇdhānagātā Śātra (SBP). Därutöver tycks Barabuḍur även ha influerats av idéer från den påföljande esoteriska indonesiska skriften Sang Hyang Kāmāyikalīkā (SHK), liksom av de esoteriska buddhistiska skrifterna Mahāvairocanā Śātra (MVS), Sarvatathāgatattvavamsgrahā Śātra (STTS) och Prajnāpāramitā i 150 Verser (PPV). Barabuḍur omfattar således aspekter från de tre huvudsakliga buddhistiska traditionerna - Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna och en tidig esoterisk form av Vajrayāna.


Några synpunkter från västerländska forskare

De buddhistiska siddhas och de lankesiska pāṃśukūlikas från Abhayagiri-vihāra tycks ha varit avgörande i utbytet av synpunkter med de saivismiska 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. Śrāvakāyāna 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 Lankā med Abhayagirivihāras pāṇāsākalikas 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 Barabudur.


Skulpturerna på Barabudur presenterar Buddha ur en flerdimensionell synvinkel – väl i överensstämmelse med basrelieverna. Tathāgatāna ansågs nämligen redan vara en upplyst Buddha innan han beslöjt sig för att nedstiga till jorden, för att där ge de troende en glimt av den Ultimata Realiteten (dharma-akāya).
Barabu’dur 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 - Kāmaddhātu, Rūpaddha’tu och Ārupaddhātu – anses vara representerade på Barabu’dur.

Några utestående aspekter beträffande Barabu’dur


Religiösa influenser på Barabu’dur

Barabu’durs struktur och dekorationer är baserade på ett flertal buddhistiska texter från Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna och Vajrayāna.
Buddhacatomsakasātra (BAS) är huvudtexten för Huayan - den kinesiska Mahāyānatraditionen från six-till-åttahundratalen e.Kr. Den volumnösa BAS innehåller bl.a. de två texterna Gandavyūhasūtra (GVS) och Bhadracarī (SBP).

Baserat härpå har frågeställningen ställts om influenser från Huayan kan ha påverkat Barabudurs 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 Barabudurs konstruktion.

Noterbart är att GVS även inkluderar vissa proto-tantriska aspekter.

Texterna GVS och SBP kunde dock mycket väl ha varit kända för Barabudurs byggnästare 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 Barabudur.

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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 Barabudur; nämligen:

- att SHKs Absoluta Realitet antog formen av Bhaṭṭāra Hyang Buddha, en roll som Buddha Mahāvairocana återgav i STTS;
- att gudomarna i de två interrelaterade grupperna i SHKs religiösa utveckling är identiska med gudomarna i Candi Mendut (Bhaṭṭāra Ratnaprana) och i Barabudur (Bhaṭṭāra Pañcika-Tathāgata);
- att detta kunde vara en indikation på att Garbhamandala och Vajradhātumandala hade blivit introducerade på Java under sena sjuhundratalet e.Kr.;
- att STTS kunde ha varit en av de ursprungliga källorna för såväl Barabudur, som för SHK.

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De religiösa influenser från Indien var starka under Centralas historia. Sailendras kontakter med Abhayagiriivihāra på Śrī Lanka och med Pāla-dynastin i Bengalen indikerar att någon form av Varjayāna buddhismen existerade på Java under sjuhundratalet e.Kr.
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.

Tvillingmandalan

Barabudur har historiskt sett liknats vid olika former av byggnader – t.ex. en präzäda, en stūpa eller en mandala. Av dessa olika förslag, anser vi att Barabudur framförallt kan liknas vid en mandala, och då specifikt en Vajradhūtumandala illustrerande det buddhistiska kosmos.

Av de olika föreslagna modellerna för Barabudur, förordrar 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 samboghakāya, som återfinns i varje genombruten stūpa.

Uppdraget för de 37 gudomarna i Karma Assembly mandalan i Vajradhūtumandalan 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” (Tathāta) – vilket representeras av ”Sanning” och ”Visdom”. Garbhāmāndala representerar ”Sanning” och Vajradhūtumandala representerar ”Visdom”. Dessa två mandalar - Tvillingmandalorna - 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 Tvillingmandalar och symboliserar amalavijñāna.

På Java antages Cāndi Mendut representera Garbhāmāndala, medan Barabudur anses illustrera Vajradhūtumandala och Cāndi Pawon däremellan utgöra det ställe där homa ritualen begås. Garbhāmāndala är baserad på MVS, medan Vajradhūtumandala är baserad på STTS.
Dessa Tvillingmandalor presenterar det faktum att Buddha Mahāvairocana finns inne i den troende individen i form av bodhicitta (Buddhanatur) - och på detta sätt kan dharna communiceras direkt till den troende av dharmakāya Mahāvairocana.

**Buddha och Barabuđur**

Siddhārtha Gautama var enligt Mahāyana buddhismen "redan en upplyst Buddha", när han steg ned på jorden för att bistå de upplysta 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 (nirmānakāya) och ha stigit upp i sin saṃbhogakāya till Akanisṭha himlen högst upp i rupadhātu, där han - "seende i alla fyra riktningarna" - blev initierad som en fullvårdig Buddha.

Nederstigande igen till sin fysiska kropp (nirmānakāya) 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 Barabuđurs fjärde galleri. Innan Tathāgata formellt blev Buddha Śākyamuni, presenteras han på Barabuđur i vitarkamudrā. Därefter presenterades han i dharmacakramudrā.

Barabuđur är en mandala – en kombination av kvadrater och cirklar. Barabuđur kan de facto anses omfatta båda Tvillingmandalor - Garbhamaṇḍala i form av galleriernas basreliefer ("behållaren") och Vajradhātumandala i form av de 72 genombrutna stūporna tillsammans med den centrala stūpan ("kärnan").

Olika buddhistiska rörelser finns m.a.o. illusterade på Barabuđur.

Sammanfattningsvis kan Barabuđur anses vara ett heligt monument, i vilket Buddha är närvarande, och där den troende kan erhålla Läran direkt från Buddha.

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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 Kamahāyāṇikan.

The bas-reliefs on the Barabuḍur are based on several scriptures, such as the Lalitavistara, the Gāṇḍavyūha Sūtra and the Bhadracari. 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.