

# Uncovering the Meaning of the Hidden Base of Candi Borobudur

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR  
Borobudur, Magelang. 1<sup>st</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008



THE NATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTRE OF ARCHAEOLOGY  
THE AGENCY OF DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE AND TOURISM RESOURCES  
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND TOURISM  
2009

Copyright  
The National Research and Development Centre of Archaeology

ISBN 978-979-8041-53-2



**UNCOVERING THE MEANING OF THE HIDDEN  
BASE OF CANDI BOROBUDUR**

## **BOARD OF EDITORS**

### **Reponsible Person**

Director of The National Research and Development Centre of Archaeology

### **Chairperson and Member**

Dr. Endang Sri Hardiati

### **Secretary and Members**

Dra. Dwi Yani Yuniawati, M. Hum.

### **Members**

Prof. Ris. Dr. Truman Simanjuntak, APU.

Prof. Ris. Dra. Naniek Harkantiningsih, APU.

Drs. Sony Wibisono, MA, DEA.

Dr. Fadhila Arifin Azis

### **Associate Editors**

Dr. Titi Surti Nastiti

Dra. Aliza Diniasti

### **Managing Editors**

Joko Dermawan, SE.

Murnia Dewi

Nursiah

Tohari Ahmad

### **Address**

Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional

Jalan Raya Condut Pejaten No. 4 Pasar Minggu. Jakarta Selatan 12510 Indonesia

Telp. +62 21 7988171/ 7988131 Fax. +62 217988187

Website: <http://www.indoarchaeology.com>

E-mail: [redaksi\\_arkenas@yahoo.com](mailto:redaksi_arkenas@yahoo.com) / [arkenas3@arkenas.com](mailto:arkenas3@arkenas.com)

### **Production and Distribution**

PUSAT PENELITIAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN ARKEOLOGI NASIONAL .

(THE NATIONAL RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTRE OF ARCHEOLOGY

2009

## Foreword

This book, titled *Uncovering the Meaning of the Hidden Base of Candi Borobudur*, is the proceeding of a seminar of the same topic, which was held in Manohara Hotel, Borobudur, on 1<sup>st</sup> – 5<sup>th</sup> July 2008.

The International Seminar, which was attended by 50 participants from Indonesia and abroad, discussed various aspects of the hidden base of Candi Borobudur, including the reliefs that decorate it. The papers presented during the seminar can be classified into a number of topics, namely: History, Text, Religion, Aspect of Life depicted on the reliefs, and Photographs Documentation.

The topics of the papers supported our assumption that there are still a lot must be done to uncover the mysteries behind the hidden base of Candi Borobudur, among others regarding the texts that were used as guidance to make the reliefs. In addition, those papers expose more extensively the aspects depicted in the *Karmawibhangga* reliefs.

This seminar, which discussed about the reliefs on the hidden base, is very special because it revealed new facts such as the possibility of the use of other texts besides *Karmawibhangga* as guidance in portraying the scenes sculpted on the hidden base. The texts are *Lokaprajñapti* and *Vairocanabhisambodhi-Tantra*. Moreover, there are plenty of data presented about the interesting aspects of life portrayed on the reliefs, which show us how the Old Javanese communities expressed their creativities.

This proceeding also contains a paper submitted by Soeroso MP, which was not presented in the seminar because the author was ill. As for the paper of U Nyunt Han, it is printed with no editing, due to the fact that the editor was not able to contact him until the deadline.

We hope that this book will provide useful contribution to the

attempt of revealing the meaning of Candi Borobudur as a world heritage in general and Indonesian heritage in particular, especially in terms of Ancient Indonesian culture.



## LIST OF FIGURE

- Fig.2.1. Panels 0139, 0140 and 0143. Several of the 160 pictures where the loaded pots show wealth which was to be had as the effect of a good cause (deed) as MahakarmaVibhanga.
- Fig.2.2. From TimeLife Books History Series: "Light in the East", where 1. Al-Hakim mosque in Cairo, 2. El-Castillo in Mexico, 3. Kandariya Mahadeva Temple in India, 4. Jumieges Abbey Church in England, 5. Ying Xian Pagoda in China. Height of Rajarajeshwara Temple in South India is also shown.
- Fig.2.3. Kesariya Stupa in Vaishali, Bihar, India. Courtesy ASI
- Fig.3.1. Cakras on the soles of the Feet, Amarāvātī
- Fig.3.2. The birth story, Amaravātī
- Fig.3.3. The birth story, Borobudur
- Fig.3.4. & 3.5. A set of 3 seated Maitreyas
- Fig.3.6. A set of Maitreya 3, Candi Mendut, Java
- Fig.3.7. Buddharāja Maitreya in *pralambapadasana*, Nāgārjunakonda;
- Fig.3.8. The Caitya in Cave no 26, Ajanta;
- Fig.3.9. A set of Maitreya 3, Qibaotai
- Fig.3.10. The Descended Maitreya Amarāvātī (left)
- Fig.3.11. The Descended Maitreya Nāgārjunakonda (right)
- Fig.3.12. The recovered Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī by British Museum (left)
- Fig.3.13. The outlook of Chandi Borobudur, Java (right)
- Fig.3.14. A Buddharāja Maitreya descends to become a *cakravartin*
- Fig.3.15. Buddharāja Maitreya, Jakarta Museum (left)
- Fig.3.16. Buddharāja Maitreya, Java, Leiden (right)
- Fig.3.17. A Sealed up *caitya* on a relief of the Karmavibhanga
- Fig.3.18. The descended Buddharāja Maitreya (left)
- Fig.3.19. The descending Buddharāja Maitreya, Amarāvātī (right)
- Fig.3.20. The bell shape sealed up caitya

- Fig.3.21. An empty seat, Amaravātī
- Fig.3.22. An empty seat.
- Fig.3.23. Buddharāja Maitreya descended by means of a *caitya*
- Fig.3.24, 3.25, 3.26. The descended Buddharāja Maitreya
- Fig.3.28. A *cakravartin's* life, Amarāvātī (left)
- Fig.3.29. A *cakravartin's* life, Nāgārjunakonda (right)
- Fig.3.30 and 3.31. A *cakravartin* and his 7 treasures
- Fig.3.32 & 3.33. Bodhisattva image of Buddharāja Maitreya
- Fig.3.34. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, Dunhuang (left);
- Fig.3.35. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (right)
- Fig.3.36. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra
- Fig.3.37. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra with 9 Buddhas
- Fig.3.38. Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa (left);
- Fig.3.39. Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa (right)
- Fig.3.40. and 41. A set of Maitreya 3
- Fig.3.42. Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra standing on both sides of the gateway of a *caitya*
- Fig.3.43 & 3.44. The 7 Buddhas
- Fig.3.45. 9 Buddhas
- Fig.7.1. The plans of the vajrabhairawa Mandala and Borobudur
- Fig.7.2. Ballustrades in the form of *Makara* Tongues [My photo 2008].
- Fig.7.3. Female Figures Next To The *Jinas* On The Borobudur Galleries, my Photo 2008
- Fig.7.4. Sarvavid Mahāvairocana Mandala Tib Kunrig namparnagdze dkyil'khor
- Fig.7.5. Bronze *Vajra* Discovered Near Borobudur. (Kempers, 1976:18).
- Fig.7.6. Gyantse sku'bum, Tiziana Ciasullo 2003
- Fig.11.1. Borobudur's narrative bas-reliefs and their corresponding Buddhist texts.
- Fig.11.2. Diagram of the oval terraces of Borobudur
- Fig.12.1. Map of Myanmar showing the location of Sri-ksetra and Bagan

- Fig.12.3. Ancient Buddhist Stupas in Sri-Ksetra
- Fig.12.4. Atha-thana Scene from a Pyu votive tablet from Sri-Ksetra
- Fig.12.5. Buddha descent from Tavatimsa Heaven (from Sri-Ksetra, 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D) (left) Stone Buddha Image, Buddha being flanked by Indra and Brahma (from Yahandargu Temple in Sri-Ksetra) (right)
- Fig.12.6. Cover stone slab of a relic chamber bearing the relief figure of a Ceti flanked by Indra and Brahma (from Khin-ba mound, Sri-Ksetra) (left); Stone Buddha Image in relief flanked by Indra & Brahma (from East Zegu Temple, Sri-Ksetra) (5<sup>th</sup> century A.D) (right);
- Fig.12.7. A Stone Buddha Image flanked by Indra & Brahma, (from Laymyetnhar Temple, Sri-Ksetra) (5<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.8. Stone and Earthen ware Urns in Stupa shape (from Sri-Ksetra, 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.9. Panoramic View of Bagan ( 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D) About 3000 Buddhist monuments in different sizes and in various architectural designs
- Fig.12.10. Epigraphical Records of Bagan Stone Inscription describing about the curses of the donors
- Fig.12.11. Epigraphical Records of Bagan Stone Inscription mentioning the wishes of the donor ( 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.12. A Glazed Plaque depicting the figure of a Deva in the Heaven and the figures of Sinners in the hell (from Mingalar Ceti, Bagan. 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D) (left)  
The scene of a Deva in the Heaven and the sinners in the hell, depicted on a glazed Jataka plaque (from Dhammarajaka Ceti, Bagan-12<sup>th</sup> century A.D) (right)
- Fig.12.13. A terracotta Jataka Plaque depicting the sinners in "Pa tapana" hell and Aviji-hell (from East Phet-leik Ceti, 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.14. A terracotta Jataka Plaque depicting the sinners in "Tapana" hell. (from East Phet-leik Ceti, 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D)



- Fig.12.15. A terracotta Jataka Plaque depicting the sinners in "Tapana" hell. (from East Phet-leik Ceti, 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.16. A terracotta plaque depicting a Deva in the heaven (from East Phet-leik Ceti, Bagan. 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.17. The figures of Devatas depicted on the Jataka plaques (from Bagan, 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.18. The figure of a Deva in Candi Borobudur
- Fig.12.19. A wooden carving of Buddha descent from Tavatimsa heaven (Bagan Museum) 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D (left)
- Fig.12.20. The scene of Buddha descent from Tavatimsa heaven (from mural painting, Myingabar Gupyaug gyi Temple Bagan, 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D) (right)
- Fig.12.21. The figures of Devata as seen in Bagan mural painting
- Fig.12.22. The figures of Brahma and Devatas in stone sculptures Bagan period (12<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.23. The picture of sinner in the hell as seen in Bagan mural painting (12<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.12.24. The picture of sinner in the hell as seen in Bagan mural painting (12<sup>th</sup> century A.D)
- Fig.13.1. The location of the hidden panels shown in the cross section drawing of Candi Borobudur
- Fig.13.2. Shield-shaped roof (O30)
- Fig.13.3. Saddle-shaped roof (O65)
- Fig.13.4. The House in the Hell of Flames (O88)
- Fig.13.5. Shield-shaped roofed house, probably a buddhist monastery (O158)
- Fig.13.6. Building of two kinds of roof, surrounded by wooden fence (O47)
- Fig.13.7. The building with saddle-shaped roof (O119)
- Fig.13.8. Wooden fence in the village of Anggana, East Kalimantan
- Fig.13.9. Relief O129 and O38
- Fig.13.10. Relief O15 and O14
- Fig.13.11. Relief O116



- Fig.13.12. Relief O128 and O96
- Fig.13.13. Relief O10 and O6
- Fig.13.14. Relief O137 and O156
- Fig.13.15. Relief O11 – Garland, O102 – Antefixes and O127- Tassels
- Fig.13.16. Relief O144
- Fig.13.17. Relief O88 - Building in hell
- Fig.13.18. Relief O158 - Buddhist monastery
- Fig.13.19. Relief O30 - Vihara for the monks
- Fig.13.20. Relief O47 – The House for common buddhist followers
- Fig.13.21. Relief O65 – The house having round high poles, probably rice-barn
- Fig.13.22. Relief. O128 - Place for meeting with great persons
- Fig.13.23. Relief. O129 - Place for meeting for common people
- Fig.13.24. Relief O76 -Public building for common people (place for expound the doctrine of evil)
- Fig.13.25. Traditional houses of many regions in Indonesia as examples of Austronesian houses.
- Fig.13.26. Javanese Houses, with *senthong tengah* or *krobongan* as center.
- Fig.13.27. *Soko guru* (main columns in inner part of the house) as memory of supporting poles in earlier Javanese architecture (interpretation by Prof. Josef Prijotomo).
- Fig.14.1. Elevation of Candi Borobudur
- Fig.14.2. Ground-plan of Candi Borobudur
- Fig.14.3. Inscriptions on some relief panels, from Krom and Van Erp, 1920, I, pl.II.
- Fig.14.4. Relief 01, opening scene : killing and celebration of killing. RMV 3788-20
- Fig.14.5. Relief 02 : untimely death << boasting, admiring and sharing the fruits of killing. RMV 3788- 19.
- Fig.14.6. Relief 09: affluence and fulfilled family life <<. saving lives. RMV 3788-12.
- Fig.14.7. Relief 021: ugliness and deformity << malicious remarks and trouble-making whispers. RMV 3788-160.

- Fig.14.8. Relief 026: wealth and happiness << presenting gifts to ascetics. RMV 3788 – 155
- Fig.14.9. Relief 029 : beauty, affluence and fulfilment of sensual love << worshipping at the temple. RMV 3788- 152.
- Fig.14.10. Relief 031 : high rank, wealth and authority << presenting food to a monk. RMV 3788- 150.
- Fig.14.11. Relief 049: life of heavy toil and hardship<< jeering at persons worthy of respect. RMV 3788 – 132.
- Fig.14.12. Relief 072: life of luxury replete with wealth, servants and entertainment <<giving alms. RMV 3788- 109.
- Fig.14.13. Relief 073: life of extreme wealth, enjoying love, prestige and respect << distribution of gifts. RMV 3788- 108.
- Fig.14.14. Relief 080 : life as respected teacher << seeking wise company and wisdom. RMV 3788-101.
- Fig.14.15. Relief 086: punishments in hell<< cruelty to animals; retribution in hell << killing. RMV 3788-95.
- Fig.14.16. Relief 089: severe retribution in hell << matricide; punishment in hell << making soup of tortoise and fish. RMV 3788- 92.
- Fig.14.17. Relief 094: new birth in the world of *nagās* << offering alms to a venerable recluse; new birth in the world of *garuda* << revering a Bodhisattva-like being. RMV 3788-87.
- Fig.14.18. Relief 099: new birth as a king << looking after the need of holy men. RMV 3788- 82.
- Fig.14.19. Relief 0103: new birth in paradise << presenting necessities to the monks and the poor. RMV 3788-78.
- Fig.14.20. Relief 0105 : meditating in paradise. RMV 3788- 76.
- Fig.14.21. Relief 0141: royal gift of banners to a temple. RMV 3788- 40.
- Fig.14.22. Relief 0147 : paradise of Indra, the king of the gods. RMV 3788- 33.
- Fig.14.23. Relief 0159 : a king of kings (*cakravartin*). RMV 3788-22.
- Fig.14.24. Relief 0160, closing panel : paradise and beyond. RMV 3788-22.

- Fig.14.25. Mural painting, life of King Nemi, Wat Yai Indārāma, Chonburi, Thailand, early 19<sup>th</sup> century. From *Rattanakosin Painting* 1982, pl.74.
- Fig.14.26. Mural painting, life of King Nemi, Subodhārāma Rajamahāvihāra at Karagampitiya, Sri Lanka, 19<sup>th</sup> century. From Chutiwongs, Prematilleke and Silva 1990-2005, *Karagampitiya*, pl.22.
- Fig.14.27. The Wheel of Existence, Tibet. After Waddell 1895, facing p. 108.
- Fig.14.28. Painting on temple banner, Phra Malai visiting the other worlds, Wat Mahādhātu, Phetburi, Thailand, 19<sup>th</sup> century. From *Phra Bot* 2002, fig. 40.
- Fig.14.29. Mural painting showing the sacred Mahiyangana, Ridivihara Rajamahāvihāra, Sri Lanka, late 18<sup>th</sup> century. From Chutiwongs, Prematilleke and Silva 1990-2005, *Ridivihara*, pl. 15.
- Fig.15.1. Relief O143
- Fig.15.2. Relief O61
- Fig.15.3. Relief O22
- Fig.15.4. Relief O20
- Fig.15.5. Relief O2
- Fig.15.6. Relief O18
- Fig.15.6. Relief O10
- Fig.15.7. Relief O135
- Fig.15.8. Relief O4
- Fig.15.9. Relief O21
- Fig.15.10. Relief O149
- Fig.15.11. Relief O126
- Fig.15.1. Relief O104
- Fig.17.1. Bird-eye view of Borobudur
- Fig.17.2. (The south- east corners of the hidden base of Borobudur)
- Fig.17.3. Relief of Candi Borobudur
- Fig.17.4. Relief of Candi Borobudur

- Fig.17.5. Relief no.O5
- Fig.17.6. Relief no.O53
- Fig.17.7. Relief no.O102
- Fig.17.8. Relief no.O52
- Fig.17.9. Relief no.O149
- Fig.17.10. Dancing figures carved at the Prambanan temple (Indian style)
- Fig.18.1. Kassian Céphas. Inv.nr. 1001 5846. Relief O109.  
Courtesy of Tropenmuseum
- Fig.18.2. Kassian Céphas. Inv.nr. 1001 5880. Relief O144. Courtesy of Tropenmuseum
- Fig.18.3. Kassian Céphas. Inv.nr. 1001 5822. Relief O85.  
Courtesy of Tropenmuseum



# CONTENTS

Foreword

List of Figures

## CHAPTER I:

### History

1. Innovations at Borobudur  
*Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati*
2. Symbolic, Architectural or Metaphysical: Explanations for the Hidden Base of Borobudur  
*Dr. Gopal Kamal and Ritu Kamal*
3. A Re-investigation of the Nature of Candi Borobudur  
*Kathy Cheng Mei Ku*
4. Archaeological History of Candi Borobudur (Conservation Policy of the Borobudur Temple Cultural Landscape)  
*Soeroso MP, M. Hum*

## CHAPTER II:

### Text

5. Notes on the Tibetan Translation of Karmavibhanga and Reliefs on the Hidden Base of Borobudur  
*Prof. Emeritus Rimpoche Mynak R. Tulku*
6. Mahakarmavibhanga Sutra – A Brief Critical Analysis  
*Prof. Dr. K. Sankarnarayan*

## CHAPTER III:

### Religion

7. A Short Exploration of T.Y.S Lama Gangchen's Theories About

the Meaning of the Sacred Geometry and *Mandala* Symbolism of Candi Borobudur in the Light of Academic Scholarship on the Subject

*Caroline Gammon, MA.*

8. The Religious Atmosphere of the Karmawibhanga Reliefs of Borobudur

*Prof. Dr. Hariani Santiko*

9. The Hidden Base in the Cosmosophy of the Borobudur

*Prof. Lokesh Chandra*

10. The Hidden Base of Borobudur and Abhisambodhivairocana

*Manjushree Gupta*

11. Buddhism on the Period of Borobudur

*Prof. Dr. Noerhadi Magetsari*

12. The Belief of Heaven and Hell During-Early Historical Periods in Myanmar

*U Nyunt Han*

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **Aspects of life depicted on reliefs**

13. Vernacular Architecture on Mahakarmavibhanga Reliefs of Candi Borobudur

*Dr. Endang Sri Hardiati & Dr. Ir. Danang Priatmodjo*

14. The 'fruits of seeing' from the Hidden Base of Borobudur

*Nandana Chutiwongs, Ph. D*

15. Aesthetic Pleasure: Representation of Rasas on the Hidden Base of the Borobudur

*Dr. Nirmala Sharma*

16. Dress and Adornments as Reflection of Social Position in Ancient Java During the Ninth to Tenth Centuries

*Sri Soejatmi Satari*

17. Performing Arts in Ancient Java as Illustrated in the Reliefs on Borobudur

*Prof. Dr. Timbul Haryono*

## **CHAPTER V:**

### **Photographs Documentation**

18. Early photography in the Dutch East Indies: between art and objectivity

*Sadiah Boonstra*

Contributors

**CHAPTER I**  
**HISTORY**



1

## INNOVATIONS AT BOROBUDUR

by

**Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati**

The uniqueness of the Borobudur archaeological remain as we find it today (and popularly known as “Candi Borobudur”) suggests that there was an underlying genius of innovative ideas behind it during its time of planning and construction in the past. This paper attempts to explore and expose some indications of that innovative genius.

### **Visual Narrative of Karmavibhangga**

Somehow, the so-called “hidden base” of Borobudur could be understood in terms of its total integrated context of the whole structure of its “build environment”. The rendering of the text *Karmavibhangga* in a continuous row of reliefs is indeed only found at the Borobudur sanctuary. In such a format it is found nowhere else in the world. A number of 160 panels are found on the walls of the hidden base.

The specific structural scheme of this row of scenes in stone is that each panel consists of two parts: the left and the right side (from the spectator’s view), each with a separate scene, however both are interconnected. The first one, which is on the left, contains “the cause” scene, whereas the second scene on the right contains “the effect”, following the teachings of the *Karmavibhangga* regarding rewards for good deeds and punishments for bad deeds. Each panel is clearly demarcated by the ‘frame’ of the panel, whereas the separation between the left and the right scene within one panel is not demarcated by an

explicit line. There is only an imaginary line between the two scenes within one panel. This imaginary line might have the form of a tree, or two groups of people sitting or standing back to back, the line of their backs thus forming the imaginary separating line.

Since the *Karmavibhangga* is a didactic text that has no single story line with permanent characters, and seems to be meant as guidance for the population in general, so the sculptors possibly had a free reign to portray scenes with the model taken from real life in his social environment. It is in this aspect that this row of relief might have its significance as an 'information' on daily life in the time of Borobudur's conception and realisation. The forms of performing arts, both among the elites as well as among the commoners, the midwife's activity, the market scene, are among the spheres of activity that are 'reported' through the panels. In this respect the *Karmavibhangga* row of reliefs is the most prolific among other rows of reliefs in ancient Javanese temples.

## Build Structure

First of all can be mentioned that nowhere else has it been found a combination of stupa and terraced circumambulatory platforms like what we have at Borobudur. Moreover, the whole structure might be regarded as an integration of the *stūpa* concept and the terraced sanctuary. The last one being possibly inherited from the prehistoric period, functioning as a sanctuary to worship ancestors. Moreover, we found here at Borobudur a *combination* of circular and rectangular platforms. In terms of religious concepts and their physical-visual interpretations, there are two phenomena that can be indicated at Borobudur. The first is the physical-spatial interpretation of the concept of *bhūmi* and *dhatu* as it has been interpreted and exposed in the previous studies of J.G. de

Casparis, and the second one is regarding the pantheon and its placing within the structure of the sanctuary.

## The Pantheon

The last 'innovation we would like to point is the presence of the so-called "sixth *dhyānibuddha*" with the *vitarka mudrā* in front of his chest, found in all niches on the 6th terrace, which is the uppermost rectangular platform. The standart set of *dhyānibuddha* or *tathāgata* consists of five, spatially regarded as residing the five cardinal points of the compass. They are namely Vairocana at the center identified by the *dharmacakramudrā*, Akshobhya at the east identified by the *bhūmiśparsamudrā*, Ratnasambhava at the south identified by the *varamudrā*, Amitabha at the west identified by the *dhyānamudra*, and Amoghasiddha at the north identified by the *abhayamudra*. Indeed those five kinds of images with their respective hand gestures are found at the Borobudur sanctuary, in arrays facing their allocated points of the compass. Each of the four sides of the rectangular terraces, the second through the fifth platform, are housing the images of the four *dhyānibuddhas*, whereas the central *tathāgata* statues are put in the perforated *stupas* on the circular terraces, comprising the seventh to the ninth platform. However, a sixth deity, with a *vitarkamudra*, is found in the uppermost row of the rectangular terrace, which is also the sixth platform. Here we would like to propose an interpretation that this image represents Vajrasattva, by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya denominated as the sixth *dhyānibuddha*, that serves as the "priest" of the *tathāgatas*, following the Nepal Buddhists.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the attributes we find at Borobudur are at odds with the description of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Proposed in his book, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, Mainly Based on the Sadhanamala and Cognate Tantric Texts of Rituals, 1958, enlarged 1968. See page 74-75.



*Sādhana*mālā text. The text mentions that this deity holds the *vajra* and *ghantā* in his respective two hands. The statues and drawings of this deity in Nepal show that it is his right hand, put in front of his chest, that holds the *vajra*, and the *ghanta* is held by his left hand, put on his flexed thigh. The respective statues of Borobudur, however, hold no attributes but have the same hand positions: the right with a *vitarkamudra* in front of his chest, while the left hand put on his flexed thigh.

B. Bhattacharyya concludes, after an extensive survey of Buddhist texts and statues, that “the pantheon of the Northern Buddhists was not widely known before the 7th century AD”<sup>2</sup>. The aspect of “Northern Buddhism” he is referring is the concept of the five *dhyānibuddhas*. It can then be inferred that the concept of the “sixth *dhyānibuddha*” must originate in a later period. Borobudur might represent one of the earliest visual presentation of the whole developed concept of the *dhyānibuddha* system in Buddhist pantheon.

EDS, tlassinurat, 23.50, 30-6-2008

---

<sup>2</sup> Bhattacharyya, 1968: 41.



2

**SYMBOLIC, ARCHITECTURAL OR METAPHYSICAL:  
EXPLANATIONS FOR THE HIDDEN BASE OF  
BOROBUDUR**

by

Dr. Gopal Kamal and Ritu Kamal

**Introduction**

The hidden base at Borobudur, because of its unavailability to common people and scholars alike, has many panels (a total of 160) that have not yet been identified. The relationship to texts other than *Karma Vibhanga* needs to be tested in the circumstantial matrix of those times. The merchants and tradesmen carrying a mixed bag of folk and oral traditions from the Indian spiritual heritage served as the source of inspiration to the Indonesian sculptors and grand visualisers alike. But what was the mixed bag like? This needs to be explored further with the help of data from other regions of the world.

Some interesting examples from Cambodia are seen in the Terrace of the Elephants at Angkor Thom, as well as at Bayon. Here we also find several hidden panels, much like the hidden base at Borobudur. This paper will explore both structural and metaphorical explanations for this hidden panel phenomenon.

Buddhism has been a great harmonizer. It conformed to local traditions in every new place it arrived in. The eighth century saw a new synthesis of disparate ideas such as Mahayantra (Shingon) in Japan and Vajrayana (*San Hyan Kamahayanikan*) in Indonesia. What happened next? Visualization, execution of projects, *Pooja Pradakshina* on all levels?

What was available to the visualiser from texts and traditions shall be explored in this paper. Other traditions from India, which could have been available to other religions, shall also be pointed out. Heaven shall meet hell and get interpreted.

In our previous books, *Panch Kanya* and its sequel *Prapanch Kanya*, we have discussed the transformation of a text, say for example the Bhagvad Gita, when it is taken to another culture and language. We have tried to seek the modern equivalents of this phenomenon.

From the indications of Acharya Raghuvira about the Javanese text of the Gita in Indonesia, we have been able to weave a modern tale of some girls who are trying to locate the crux of the problem of transformation of 'articles' – texts, concepts and visualization from one language to another, from one culture to another. Modern analogues from the text of the God, i.e., genetics, have also been appropriated.

But why speak of all this in Borobudur?

Well, we shall try to look into the minds of *Gunadharma*, the architect of Borobudur, to decipher how the idealization of *Sumeru* was achieved by the great visualiser and conceptualised at Borobudur. In this journey we shall take the help of texts from all over the world: the 'absent' text of *MahaKarmaVibhanga*, works of Jan Fontein, Taisho Edition of the Chinese *Tripitaka*, another translation of the same text by Nanjio and some others. In the conceptualisations we shall also talk of an important text called *Nispanna Yogavali*.

*Borobudur* is also known as *Bhumi Sammbhara Bhudar*. *Gunadharma*, the visualiser of *Sammbhara Bhudhar* on the Bhumi of Java (*Yava Dvipa*), was steeped in Buddhist learning and other *vidyas*: *Punya*, *Jnana*, *Samatha* and *Vidarsana* are visually represented in his masterpiece. The bas-reliefs at Borobudur represent the text of *Karma Vibhanga*, *Lalit Vistar*, *Gandavyuha*, *Vajradhatu Vairochana*, *Jataka Katha*, *Avdans* and other allied texts.

The tradition of depiction of the stories of *jatakas* and *avadans* has been prevalent throughout the Indian subcontinent. The stories proliferate on panels in and around *stupas*. *Nagarjunakonda*, *Amaravati* in particular, has depictions of *jataka* stories. Identification of stories has not been problem in the Indian context. The panels have been viewed, analyzed by one and all.

## Texts

J. Fontein has presented a summary of the texts which could have been used by the sculptors of Borobudur. He opines that there was an Indonesian version of *MahaKarmaVibhanga*—a Buddhist Sanskrit text dealing with the consequence of good and bad acts. He has exhaustively given the versions of texts existing and tried to analyse the sculptors of the hidden base, group by group.

The idea that Borobudur is a *sumeru* is now fairly well established. The life and times of second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century need to be recreated, so that the problems that besieged the building of the Borobudur can be gauged.

For *Gunadharma*, the main source of inspiration was *KarmaVibhanga* (T80), which is now extant only in its Chinese translation, done by Gautam Dhamaprajna. But the supplementary texts which have been proposed by various authors are as follows:

*Anguttara-nikaya* 4.427, *Dasabhumaka* (ed. Rahder 26),  
*Lokaprajñapti-sastra*, *Karana-prajñapti-sastra* (*Cosmologie*  
*Bouddhique* 1914-18: 298, 325, 347).

The most popular text was the *Suka-sutra*. Also known as *KarmaVibhangga*, *Suka-Sutra* is the counterpart of the Pali name *Subha*. The *Suka-Sutra* was a widely prevalent text, being translated into Chinese four times, in the third, fifth, sixth and tenth centuries. The Chinese translations are enumerated below:



- (a) Anonymous translation done in 265-317 (T 78, Nj 611, K 701). Chinese: *Tou-t'iao ching* "Sutra spoken to Tou t'iao" Tou-t'iao is Todeyya the *brahmacharin* in his former birth.
- (b) Translation by Gunabhadra done during 435-443 (T 79, Nj 610, K 695) Chinese: *Ying-wu ching* "Sutra spoken to Suka (parrot)".
- (c) Translation by Gautama Dharmaprajna done in 582 (T 80, Nj 739, K 805) Chinese: *Yeh pao ch'a pieh ching* "Sutra on the different results of karma".
- (d) Translation by T'ien His-tsai done in 984 (T 81, Nj 783, K 1098). Chinese: *Fen pieh shan e pao ying ching* "Sutra on the explanation of the results of good and bad (*karmas*).” It was translated into Tibetan twice:
- (e) *Karma-vibhanga* by Jinamitra, Danasila, Munivarma, and Ye.ses.sde (Toh.338)
- (f) *Karma-vibhanga nama dharma-grantha*, by an unknown translator.

Two other important texts dealing with good and bad *karmas* are:

- (g) *Madhyamagama*, sutra 170, translated by Gautama Sanghadeva in 397-98 (T 26, Nj 542, K 648 p.217).
- (h) *Lokaprajñapti* (T 1644, Nj 1297, K 967), translated by Paramartha in 558 or 559. He also did the first translation of the *Abhidharma-kosa*. Chinese: *Li shih a-p'i-t'an lun* "Lokaprajñapti abhidharma-sastra". The illustrations of rebirths in hell resemble this text much more than the *Karma-vibhanga* (Fontein p.35).
- (i) *Vairochan Sutra*; the full name is *Vairochana Abhi Sambodghi Sutra*.

The last book which has been discussed relates to Vairochana. When we recreate the times and turbulences of the 8<sup>th</sup> century in nouveau-Buddhist world of Japan, Thailand, Cambodia and Tibet, we shall get an



idea of the vagaries of creating a new empire. This shall further inform our discussion of the rise of the Shailendras in Java.

### **Advances in Javanese Society: Empire Building**

For a while, in the eighth century, Java had been powerful enough to raid mainland territory, including Cambodia, the homeland of the Khmer people. At that time the Javanese capital had been in central Java, fairly remote from the sea and hence from convenient foreign trade. The rich volcanic soils of the island, abundantly watered by the monsoon, had yielded a surplus of rice, which was put to monumental ends: it fed armies of labourers who, in the eighth century, built many great temples including the vast Buddhist shrine of Borobudur in Java's central plain. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the seat of government was moved eastwards to gain proximity to the sea. Java's prosperity soared as a result of political changes in China, India and the Middle East, all of which led to increases in international trade. Java's rice was in demand but more avidly sought were cloves and nutmeg from the Moluccas-islands northeast of Java that fell within the Javanese sphere of influence.

The changes in Japanese society are evident in a description of a new capital. Stories from the reign of emperors Sommu and Kanna are narrated.

In Japan, emperor Shomu issued a rescript in A.D. 743 ordering the construction of the gigantic statue (*diabutsu*) of Vairocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in an awareness of its power, as an 'apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state' (Kobayashi 1975:22), as 'an especially valuable political and religious symbol' (Kobayashi 1975:25) to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels of a shared

awareness : it was a 'Grand National Temple'. When the old capital at Nara was abandoned and a new capital was established at Heian-kyo (modern Kyoto) in A.D. 794, the Toji temple was an integral part of the metropolitan masterplan. It was "intended to invoke the protection of the divinities and thereby to assure the peace and prosperity" (Sawa 1972:130) of the kingdom. It was placed in charge of Kobo-daishi himself, the great master who introduced Shingon Buddhism with its central deity of Vairochana. The temple was significantly termed Kyo-o-gokaku-ji 'temple for the protection of the state', which popularly came to be known as the *Toji* (*to*=east, *ji*=temple) as it was built on the east side of the city gate. The temples of Vairochana seem to have gained national dimensions as means of pre-empting threat to the security of the nation and securing protection of the head of the state.

And emperor Kammu's new capital is described as follows (Time-Life Books):

"In 793, an army of labourers began building a new capital to replace the old city of Nara as the seat of imperial government. Emperor Kammu and his noble advisers had ordered the move. The winds of change were beginning to blow, and Kammu, the 50<sup>th</sup> sovereign in a line that traced its divine right back a millennium to the sun goddess Amaterasu, was sailing before the gusts. He had abandoned Nara in a move against the Buddhists. The religion had been introduced into Japan in the sixth century, and the power of its adherents and grown so much that they were interfering with the conduct of government. The new capital, through only 48 kilometres away on the Yamato plain, would be largely free of the monasteries that had dominated the old capital. The city that rose by the Kamo River, on a plain with gentle hills and luxuriant forest, was designed for some 100,000 people-a masterpiece of urban planning. Although Chinese influence was fading, Heian-kyo, like Nara, was

based on the Chinese capital of Changan and was laid out down to the last intersection.”

During the period of 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century in Tibet, after the death of Srong-Btsan-Sgam-Po (650 AD), a period of aggressive military expansionism begins and lasts till the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Tibetans are in touch with their neighbours: the Chinese, the Turks, the Uighers, the Arabs and the Indians. *Padmasambhava*, the great Buddhist guru from Nalanda University successfully converts the people of the Trans-Himalayan lands and builds the first Tibetan monastery, called Samye, in 779 AD. The monastic life starts to flourish. *Vinay* (compassion) based monasticism and sutra-inspired traditions of Mahayana take a back seat as *Padmasambhava*'s mysticism and *tantra* gain importance.

In Cambodia, Jayavarman II (802-869 AD), claiming to have hailed from Java, rules at Indrapura and establishes three other capital cities at Amarendrapura, Hariharalaya and Mahendraparvat: fortress cities built in stone by the Khmers.

The turmoil of the time shall not be discussed further but a cursory glance on the histories of other countries in neighbourhood suggests that it was a time of great reversals. The might, reach and the strength of the Empire had to be demonstrated by conceptualizing and creating the biggest monument of the times. Hence was built 'Bara' of the 'Budur'. *Bara* is derived from *vihar* via Malay *biyara*. *Vihar* also has collateral from *Vahara* suggested by Dr. Lokesh Chandra as early as in 1979. *Budur* gets reference in Nagar Kṛitagama of Prapancha.

### **Advances in Javanese Society: Trade**

In order to explain the motives behind building something as unexpected as the hidden base at Borobudur, one needs to understand



what was happening in the Javanese society at large when the *mandala* was being constructed. Monetisation, trade and commerce, interactions amongst various different societies—Buddhist and non-Buddhist—were among some of the more important aspects of societal change and development in that period. Inscriptions on the *mandala* in Sanskrit and Javanese throw light on the ascendancy of the Shailendras, and their will to build an empire. This is perhaps where Vajrayana and the warrior god Vairochana and manifestations of the *mandalas* aided their plans of empire-building.

As the biggest monument of those times, Borobudur, is being built, black pepper becomes a major Javanese export. Poetry begins to flourish. King and nobility had rights over a portion of the harvests and over a certain amount of unpaid labour from each village. Kediri and Janggala were the only states where coinage of silver and gold as well as Chinese copper currency circulated throughout the land.

Penang-Gungen inscription [inscription shloka 29 from DN Thakur's book]

*...nij bala nigrihito vaishnugupte rupayiye...*

Elsewhere in South East Asia money was restricted to ports while taxes were calculated in terms of goods and labour, but in Java tax demands were expressed in terms of money. The currency of coins brings its own tensions. The moral policing was accomplished in the society by various means. One of these was the art of creating sculptures in temples as per Buddhist ethical practices followed in the Javanese culture and as per texts reported above, which were definitely in circulation.

There is extensive evidence to support the theory that Java was experiencing a large increase in trade and hence in goods available,



Fig.2.1. Panels 0139, 0140 and 0143. Several of the 160 pictures where the loaded pots show wealth which was to be had as the effect of a good cause (deed) as MahakarmaVibhanga.

and also perhaps in societal material greed. Two ship wrecks have been found and described in the 2007 William Willets lecture given by John Guy in 2007:

- i) Belitung (Tang) shipwreck cargo, and Arab *dhow* discovered in the West Java sea with a cargo of 60,000 artefacts—late



Tang Chinese ceramics, gold, silver—in all probability destined for the Persian Gulf market. A dated ceramic (826 CE) and associated coin evidence suggested that this vessel sailed in the second quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. This cargo represents the first evidence of a new phenomenon: large scale ceramic commodity trade from China.

- ii) The Intan cargo, excavated in the West Java Sea, is a mixed consignment of Chinese Five Dynasties ceramics, Chinese bronze mirrors, western Indonesian metal work and Islamic glass. Assigned on coinage evidence to mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, this cargo provides a unique insight into the nature of cosmopolitan trade in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in western Indonesia, at the of the Srivijayan power.

These quotes suggest that trade flourished in this period. Coins by the names of *Suvarna*, *Masa* and *Kupang* were in circulation and coins of various types have been discovered and described by historians. Java had an established monetary system, something which was not yet prevalent in many other parts of the world, especially in South East Asia.

To get an even better picture of the Javanese society at the beginning of the age of commerce, we can turn to Goeff Wade's paper on "An Earlier Age of Commerce in South-East Asia: 900-1300 CE". He gives evidence of use of coins, some of which have already been discussed here. There was an inflow of copper coins from China, but when that flow became uncertain, the Javanese minted their own coins called *pisis*, which were recognised by the regime as official currency. The presence of Javanese coins in parts as far off as Middle East shows the extensive trade networks that were at hand from 900 AD onwards.

Divine Campaigns (1100-1200)—an edited world history of the 20<sup>th</sup> century writes about Javanese society in later times:

“Anything from local land and houses to rice, tools and toys could be bought and sold for cash. Indeed most of Java’s considerable wealth was expended on consumer goods with Chinese porcelain being in especially high demand.... Java’s surpluses could buy foreign luxuries easily. [Later] Javanese religious feeling was no longer expressed in temple building, which virtually came to a standstill.”

### **Hidden Bases in Other Places: Why?**

Having gained a picture of the life and times of the Javanese society around the time of the construction of Borobudur, we can turn our attention to the hidden base itself. But before we discuss the hidden base at Borobudur, a wider view of temple architecture in South East Asia can be taken. Can we observe covered bases elsewhere in temples of the world? If so, why?

Why are “stone carvings of comparable subjects at the Terrace of Elephants in Angkor Thom” covered? Similar hidden imagery is found at Bayon in Cambodia and at Cula Pathom Cedi at Nakorn Pathom, Thailand. Though Angkor Thom and Bayon are separated in both time and space, they are contiguous temple structures. Fontein says that “later exploration and excavation of other South East Asian monuments have revealed that drastic changes of building plans, of which the hidden base the Borobudur is the best known example, are much more common than was known earlier”. Thus, quoting Piriya Krairiksh, the Chula Pathom Cedi in Thailand, with its hidden base, forms part of a larger South East Asian architectural tradition.

Fisher says of the Borobudur structures that “the lower base of the earthly realm of desire consists of a continuous frieze of illustrations of cause and effect.” The scenes are meant to emphasize the karmic results of one’s behaviour. Fisher, in his book *Buddhist Art*

and Architecture further discusses the hidden bases found in Angkor and Borobudur:

“...at Borobudur... this [lowest base] portion was covered by a second layer of stone, hiding the relief panels, with only a small section exposed for modern visitors. This second layer of stone may have been needed to support the enormous weight of the super-structure or could have been a part of a plan to symbolise the suppression of the world of desire. In later Khmer art, stone carvings of comparable subjects at the Terrace of Elephants in Angkor Thom, where structural reinforcement was not an issue, were also enclosed, suggesting a purpose beyond the structural. Similar hidden imagery is also found at Bayon.”

He goes on to support the symbolism point of view as an explanation for the existence of such hidden bases. There is one more temple where the reliefs have been covered, which as mentioned before, is in Thailand. Mention of this temple is found in Jan Fontein’s works.

### **Hidden Base in Candi Borobudur: Why?**

Do the hidden bases, in Borobudur or elsewhere, suggest any symbolism?

Opinions have been divided. One school opines that it was for some theoretical theological reasons that the reliefs were covered at the base. And the argument goes on to say that there are at least three other temples where similar hidden bases are seen. These temples do not have any architectural and foundational need to cover their bases.

Fontein’s book, “Cause and Effect in Ancient Java” discusses the Mahakarma Vibhanga and its correlation with the reliefs propounding on the absent Indonesian text. De Casparis discusses Fontein’s position as follows:

“With reference to the hidden base of Borobudur the author [Fontein] disagrees with the arguments given in support of



‘a symbolic motivation’ of its subsequent covering. It is true that neither of the two motives discussed there is wholly satisfactory. The same applies, however, even more strongly to the opposite view—purely technical considerations may account for this procedure, which is inefficient, as has been convincingly shown by Dumarçay.”

However, symbolism could be ascribed as the only explanation as to why the sculptures being covered for theological reasons as for the populace the scenes of *narka* and *svarga* and the punishments shown could not have been inappropriate.

The covering of the base could have been done for structural reasons: addition of the base was needed to make the structure strong. Borobudur is a hollow structure on a hill slope, and the architectural plans could have changed with time. After all, Borobudur was built over a period of almost sixty years [760 – 820 AD]. Royal ambition could have grown larger, as the Javanese society grew prosperous due to the afore mentioned trade, necessitating changes to allow the monument and its top four circular perambulations to be on an even grander scale. This would have increased the weight of the whole *Sambhar* to inappropriate levels. *Gunadharma* and his architects could have added an additional base to ensure the soundness of the structure.

It would require visits and calculations to determine whether the Terrace of the Elephants also had the same structural problems. Robert E. Fisher in “Buddhist Art and Architecture” suggests that there were none. But no reasons have been accorded.

Another avenue of study to decipher the meaning of the hidden base would be to determine whether the addition of the base was made contemporaneously, or was it added later? Several interesting studies have been conducted in Angkor to determine the exact age of the various temple structures. One remarkable study makes use of laterite samples from the rocks used to build the structures to establish the dates of the

different parts of the Angkor complex (Uchida 1999). Such studies, if carried out at Borobudur, could help us decided whether the hidden base was a part of the original structure. This would lend itself well to the symbolism argument. If the hidden base was added much later, perhaps it could be for structural reasons.

*Bumi Sambhar Bhoodhar* is a Vajrayana Mahamandal. Specificity of Vairochan as a warrior for stability and vigour of polity was augmented by adding the terrace. More so the times and turbulences required the new god Vairochan to be consecrated and venerated at various emergent societies of the times—Japan being one. Lokesh Chandra has shown the prevalence of the cult of Vairochan in other places of the world. It gave courage to the people and the Yoga related *acharyas* gave them inner peace. Heavenly peace had descended on Earth in those times.

Borobudur was the largest structure of its kind in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Various structures were being built around the world for upliftment of the spirit and to glorify the divine. But none were to surpass Borobudur in the sheer scale of ambition and execution. A figure demonstrates the various citadels of the spirit built at the turn of the millennium. These include the Al-Hakim mosque in Cairo, the Ying Xian pagoda in northern China, El-Castillo in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula, the Jumieges abbey church in England and the Kandariya Mahadeva temple in Khajuraho, India.

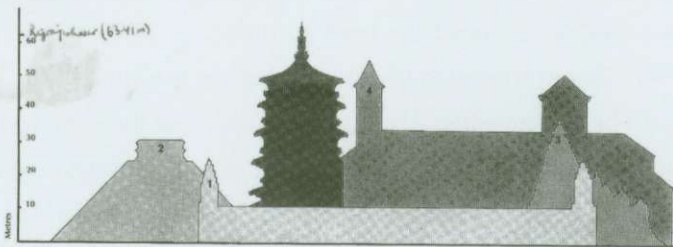


Fig.2.2. from TimeLife Books History Series: "Light in the East", where 1. Al-Hakim mosque in Cairo, 2. El-Castillo in Mexico, 3. Kandariya Mahadeva Temple in India, 4. Jumieges Abbey Church in England, 5. Ying Xian Pagoda in China. Height of Rajaraheshwara Temple in South India is also shown.



To discuss the status of architecture in India during the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, we make use of the following table (taken from “Architecture of the Indian Sub-continent”):

| Region of India | 8 <sup>th</sup> Century   | 9 <sup>th</sup> Century  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| North India     | Lakshana Devi wooden temple in Bharmaur. Stupa and monastery in Paraspora. Shankaracharya temple in Srinagar. Surya temple in Martand. Mahesha temple in Jagasik. Wooden temple in Chatrali   | Rock-cut Shiva Temple in Masrur<br>Rock-cut Buddhist statue in Murbek<br>Visveswara Temple in Bajavara<br>Avantiswamin Temple in Avantipur   |
| East India      | Vitall Deol temple in Bhubaneswar<br>Madakeshwar temple in Mukhalingam.<br>Somapura Vihar in Paharpur   | Siddeshwara Temple in Barakar<br>Stupa and temple in Udaygiri  |
| West India      | Hindu temple group and kund in Rodha. Hindu temple group in Osian<br>Mahavira temple in Osian. Fortress and palace groups in Chittorgarh  | Ghateshwar temple in Baroli<br>Kund (stepped tank) in Abhaneri   |
| Central India   | Kailasha temple in Ellora<br>Rajivalochana temple in Rajim. Teli temple in Gwalior. Dharmanath temple in Damnar. Hindu temple groups in Naresar   | Jain caves and temples in Ellora<br>Chaturbhuj temple in Gwalior<br>Kadarmal temple in Padpatri<br>Chaturmukha Mahadeva temple in Nachna Chausatt. Yogini temple in Khajuraho  |
| South India     | Shore temples in Mahabalipuram<br>Shiva cave temple in Kaviyur<br>Tarkaeshwar temple in Panamalai<br>Kailashnath temple in Kanchipuram<br>Ramalingeshwara temple in Satyavolu.<br>Hindu temple groups in Pattadakal.<br>Rock-cut temples in Garudamalai | Moovar Kovil in Kodumbalur<br>Vijayalaya Cholishwara temple in Narthmalai. Virattaneshwar temple in Tiruttani. Navalinga temple in Kukkanur. Kaleshwar temple in Aralaguppe. Bhoganandeshwara temple in Nandi. Jain temple in Pattadakal |
| General History | Arabian army of Umayya dynasty attacked Sind<br>Rashttrakuta dynasty comes to power<br>Vedantic philosopher Shankara becomes active   | The most prosperous period of the Pratihara dynasty in north India<br>Cholas defeated the Pallavas, rising again   |

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) recently conducted a study of an area known as Kesariya, which lies 30 miles north-west of the ancient city of Vaishali, in the Champaran region of India. Huiyen Tsang mentions Kesariya as being the place that the Buddha mentions

as the site of his reign in a previous life (Boddhisattva). In ASI's report on the excavation of the stupa found in Kesariya, it is stated that the structure found after excavation is a terraced circular Buddhist stupa of bricks laid in a very thin layer of mud, mortar and capped by a large cylindrical drum of solid brickwork. The circular base measures up to 123 metres in diameter and 386 in circumference. It rises up in six terraces. Each terrace up to the third rise contains rows of three cells at a regular interval with polygonal pattern adopted to fill up the gap between the groups of cells. On the fourth rise, smaller cells flank the central cell in groups of three. On the fifth rise, the number of cells is reduced to one instead of three because of paucity of space on the reduced perimeter. Possibly all the cells once contained stucco images of the Buddha, but the evidences are now available in a few cells only, owing to the fragile nature of the material used in their composition and their continuous exposure to the weathering agents. The excavations have revealed life size images of the Buddha found within the cells of the stupa, in various postures, most common being *padmasana*. The ASI report conjectures that after it was re-built in 6-7<sup>th</sup> century, the stupa stood at an approximate height of 150 feet above the surrounding land. Today it stands at a maximum height of 104 feet. Kesariya is in seismic zone IV and has suffered extensive collapses in the quake of 1934. Borobudur could have also experienced some seismic activity, as Java is volcanic and earthquake prone, being as part of Pacific "Ring of Fire".

Borobudur stands at a height of 103 feet today, and was probably higher when it was built. We can see several similarities between Kesariya and Borobudur, not in least in their height. In fact, Kesariya can be thought of as a prototype for Borobudur. But Borobudur was unique in its sheer magnitude, and one of the most advanced technological

achievements of the time. Given these facts, perhaps it is possible that the resultant structure surpassed the technology of those times, and required some architectural shoring up in the form of the addition of the hidden base to support the structure.

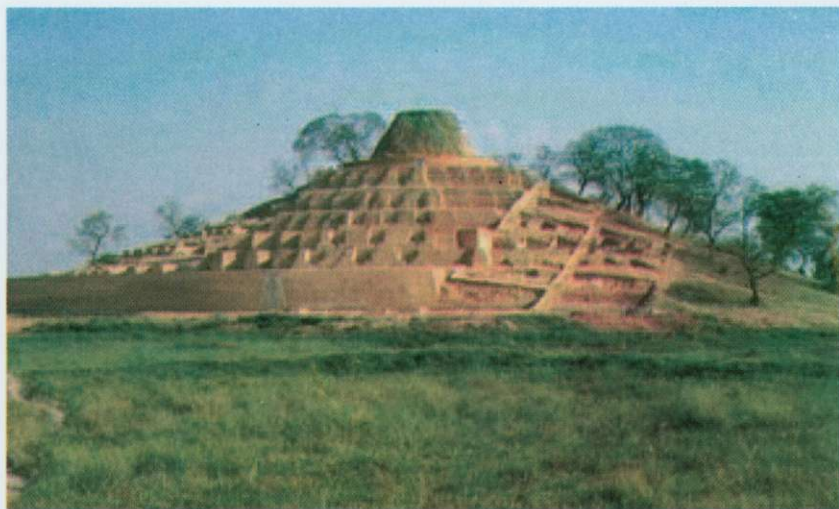


Fig.2.3.Kesariya Stupa in Vaishali, Bihar, India. Courtesy ASI

## Concluding Thoughts

Is it possible to have a glimpse of the future from the times of Borobudur? Societies in later times become yet more complex. Trade in goods and luxuries increases. No more monuments are built for spiritual quests. Perhaps it is possible that a later society, say in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, would not object if the panels on “cause and effect” are covered. Could they be sick of the scenes from *Karma-Vibhanga* with its clear, damning depiction of the consequences of greed? The upper perambulations and balustrades, with fewer unsettling sculptures, could have been left as is. But the hidden base shows too much: killing a bird gets you into one kind of hell, killing a man into another, and yet another and another.

There can be several reasons why a later society may have



wished to see the base covered up. It could be possible that the biggest structure of that contemporary world lacked proper support and foundation, and the reasons for covering up the base were architectural. This paper attempts to portray a society that was willing to allow the covering of the base to occur, for that the society no longer wished to confront the consequences of “bad” actions in such an unsubtle, pointed manner. If the Javanese of later centuries had not wished to part with depiction of the *KarmaVibhanga*, they would have made attempts to re-sculpture the base, or at least provide it with some ornamentation. The overall lack of beautification on hidden base leads us to conclude that hiding the base was either the goal of the exercise, or a welcome side-effect.

So why is there a hidden base at Borobudur?

Is this *prashna avyakrit*?

Is this question metaphysical? (In the sense of Karl Popper)

The Buddha was wont to say that some questions cannot be answered *per se*. Popper, too, labelled some problems as being metaphysical, and hence impossible to answer. Whether the base has been hidden for symbolic reasons or architectural cannot be fully determined until we can scientifically determine when the base was covered. Until then, we shall be groping.

*Tamso ma jyotiragamaya*

*[Lead us from darkness to light]*



## References and Bibliography

- de Casparis, J.G. 1984. *Review of Book I: The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java*. KNAW Amsterdam.
- Chandra, Lokesh. Various texts including *The Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism* (1979) and *Borobudur: A New Interpretation* (1980). Quotation of LC texts is as follows:
- K: Korean Tripitaka. Lewis R. Lancaster. *The Korean Buddhist Canon: a descriptive catalogue*, Berkeley, 1979, UC Press
- Levi: Sylvain Levi, *Maha-Karma-Vibhanga et Karma-vibhangopadesha*, Paris, 1932, Librairie Ernest Leroux
- Nj: Bunyiu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, 1883, Clarendon Press
- Suzuki: D.T. Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, 1930, George Routledge and Sons Ltd
- T: *Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripitaka*, ed. Takaksuku Junjiro and Watanabe Kaigyoku, Tokyo 1924-29
- Editors of Time-Life Books. 1989. *The Divine Campaigns: AD 1100-1200*. Time-Life Books.
- Fisher, Robert E. 1993. *Buddhist Art and Architecture*. Thames and London.
- Fontein, Jan. 1984. *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java*. KNAW Amsterdam.
- Freeman, Michael. 1993. *Angkor*. Asia Books.
- Indian Archaeology 1997-98-A Review pp.13-14
- Kamiyo, T. 1996. *Architecture in the Indian Sub-Continent* Architecture Autonomous.
- Krairiksh, Piriya. 1974. *Buddhist Folk Tales depicted at the Chula Pathom Cedi*. Bangkok: Prachanda Printing Press.

Thakur, DN. (Hindi). 2006. *Indonesia ke Sanskrit Shilalekh*. PDBN.

Uchida E. *et al.* *The Laterites of the Angkor Monuments, Cambodia*.

Wade, G. *An Earlier Age of Commerce in South-East Asia : 900-1300 CE*

3

## A RE-INVESTIGATION OF THE NATURE OF CANDI BOROBUDUR

by

Kathy Cheng Mei Ku

### 1. The History and Nature of the Caitya Worship

Scholars disagree about the nature of Candi Borobudur, for instance, whether it is a symbolic mountain of the Sailendra kingdom, a *stūpa* or a *mandala*.<sup>1</sup> I shall show that both architecturally and iconographically, it was a product of the *caitya* worship in Central Java. Among remains of the belief in the *caitya* worship in Java, Candi Borobudur is the most comprehensive. There are no written documents left behind to explain the nature of Candi Borobudur and other remains. However, I shall attempt to prove that Candi Borobudur was a *caitya* or a monument built to promote the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya, by using the relevant Chinese sources and the reliefs mainly found in the *caitya* sites in Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati of Andhra Pradesh as evidence. As we shall see, the reliefs in these two places are the most relevant and important remains of *caitya* worship.

The *caitya* worship was instituted by Nāgārjuna in Nāgārjunakonda as a political ideology for the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Satakarni around the beginning of the third century A.D. Besides describing the *caitya* worship in his political work the *Ratnāvalī*, Nagarjuna was also in charge of its implementation in the entire Deccan

---

<sup>1</sup> John Miksic, *Borobudur- Golden Tales of the Buddhas* (Singapore: Bamboo Publishing Ltd., 1990), pp. 45-52.

Plateau for Gautamīputra Sātakarni. The iconographical remains of the *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati demonstrate the *caitya* worship promoted by Nāgārjuna and the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya as stated in the *Verification Sūtra spoken by Bodhisattva Samatabhadra* (*Puxian Pusa shuo zhengming jing*, hereafter, the *Verification Sūtra*).<sup>2</sup>

The *caitya* worship is therefore also known as the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya. Nāgārjuna mentions the *caitya* worship 8 times in his short treatise the *Ratnāvalī*. For instance, he says:

- A. O King, you have to listen carefully/Now I shall tell you the truth/ You are endowed with 32 marks/Which will be able to adorn your body/The holy and respected “person” of the *caitya* /To whom you should make offerings constantly/On his hands and/or feet are the precious *cakras*/(By which) he will become a *cakravartin*.<sup>3</sup>
- B. The Buddha image and the *caitya*/(Should be placed) in the hall of the building and the temple/The more offerings to them the better/You should put them up with respect/The seated Buddha image on the precious lotus/Is subtle and excellent in looking/ Use all kinds of precious materials/For making the image of the Buddha.<sup>4</sup>

In the first (A) *gāthā* (verse), Nāgārjuna clearly mentions worshipping “the holy and respected person of the *caitya*”; instead of the relic of the Buddha or an empty *caitya*. According to a later esoteric text, the *Kalpa on the Yoga Observed by Bodhisattva Maitreya* (translated by Subhakarasiṃha during the Tang, hereafter, *Kalpa*) “the holy and respected person of the *caitya*” refers to “the *dharmakāya* of Buddha

<sup>2</sup> See Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, “Nagarjuna’s Political Philosophy and the Early Buddhist Art in Andhra Pradesh”, in K.J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies, ed., *Buddhist Culture in Asia-Unity in Diversity* (forthcoming); see also the *Verification Sutra spoken by Bodhisattva Samatabhadra* (*Puxian Pusa shuo zhengming jing*, hereafter, the *Verification Sutra*), Taisho 85 (T28T9).

<sup>3</sup> Paramartha of the Chen tr., *Ratnāvalī* (the *Baoxingwang lun*), Taisho, vol. 32 (T1656), p. 497b:

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 498b:



Maitreya”.<sup>5</sup> But why “the *dharmakāya* of Buddha Maitreya”? Nāgārjuna uses his *trikāya* theory to explain the rationale for this.

The most important idea conveyed by the *trikāya* theory is that a Buddha can have three different “bodies”. These are the *dharmakāya*, *sambhogakāya* and *nirmānakāya*. The *dharmakāya* or dharma-body of a Buddha is often considered equivalent to “Buddha nature” or Buddhahood. Thus, only an enlightened Buddha possesses the *dharmakāya*. The *Trikāya Stotra* describes the *dharmakāya* of a Buddha as “the perfection of wisdom which no simile can describe, no form that can be grasped, (it is just) like the empty sky.”<sup>6</sup> The *sambhogakāya* is translated as a “rewarded body” of a Buddha.<sup>7</sup> It is often said to be the body which a Buddha uses to preach the *Dharma*.<sup>8</sup> This body is said to be endowed with either 32 or 80 excellent marks of a Buddha.<sup>9</sup> The *nirmānakāya* is the incarnation or the transformed body of a Buddha. It is capable of assuming any form.<sup>10</sup> The Buddha’s *nirmānakāya* is said to be the body which he used to gain enlightenment under the Bodhi-tree.<sup>11</sup>

No matter which body he assumes, however, he remains the same Buddha. This means that a Buddha’s incarnation or *nirmanakāya* can take the form of a *cakravartin*. However, he is not an ordinary *cakravartin* since the body of this particular one is endowed with a Buddha’s *dharmakāya* and *sambhogakāya*. With this understanding, the *Ratnāvalī* says: “O King, you have to listen carefully/Now I shall

<sup>5</sup> Subhakarasiṃha of the Tang tr., *The Kalpa on the Yoga Observed by Bodhisattva Maitreya Taisho*, vol. 20 (T1141), p. 590a; see also the discussion of the text below.

<sup>6</sup> Faxian of the Song tr., *Trikaya Stotra*, *Taisho*, vol. 32 (T1678), p. 757b:

<sup>7</sup> William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Ch’eng Wen Publishing Company, 1970), p. 369b.

<sup>8</sup> Faxian of the Song tr., *Trikaya Stotra*, p. 757b:

<sup>9</sup> See the discussion below.

<sup>10</sup> William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 457b.

<sup>11</sup> Faxian of the Song tr., *Trikaya Stotra*, p. 757b:

tell you the truth/ You are endowed with 32 marks/Which will be able to adorn your body.” The *gāthā* stated above evidently shows that the king or *cakravartin* is endowed with the *dharmakāya* and the *sambhogakāya* of a Buddha.

In referring to the *dharmakāya* of Buddha Maitreya in the *caitya*, Nāgārjuna also states that “On his hands or feet is the precious mark of *cakra(s)*/(By which) he will become a *cakravartin*”. In other words, the *dharmakāya* of Buddha Maitreya will become a future *cakravartin*. This is consistent with Nāgārjuna’s theory of *trikāya*: the future *cakravartin* is the *nirmānakāya* of Buddha Maitreya. The *cakra(s)* on the hands or feet is therefore an important symbol of Buddha Maitreya becoming a *cakravartin* in the future. We find the symbol on the soles of the feet (*Buddhapāda*) in a number of figures unearthed from the site of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī. Knox has documented cases such as the plates nos. 60, 77, 78, 120 and 121 (Fig. 1) in his *Amarāvātī*.<sup>12</sup> They are also often depicted in front of empty seats on the stone slabs found in the same site.<sup>13</sup> The appearance of the symbol indicates that the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī is an important site for *caitya* worship or a site of the belief in the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya.

Many scholars have taken the empty seat, the *cakras* on the soles of the feet, and the Bodhi tree as symbols of the Buddha or his enlightenment. They even suggest that these symbols were used both before and after the human-formed Buddha image was created in the art history. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy is among them.<sup>14</sup>

At that time Maitreya tells Bodhisattva Samantabhadra: When

<sup>12</sup> See Robert Knox, *Amaravati, Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), p. 97, Plate no. 38; p. 120, Plate no. 60; p. 124, Plate no. 63; p. 150, Plate no. 77; p. 153, Plate no. 78; p. 178, Plate no. 20; p. 211, Plate no. 120; p. 213, Plate no. 121.

<sup>13</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>14</sup> Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1985), p. 45.

I descend I shall do so by the *cakrī stūpa* from the Tusita Paradise. I shall either descend from the sky, or well up from the ground of the Jambudvīpa, or come from the north, or from the east, or from the south or west, I can come from any of the four directions or from above or from the ground, it is indeed incredible. Bodhisattvas in ten directions like the sands of the Ganges and sentient beings by six different births cannot understand the wisdom of the Buddha. The Buddha says: It is only Bodhisattva Samantabhadra who understands the wisdom of the Buddha. Then the *cakrī stūpa* descends from the sky and sits on the ground of Jambudvīpa.<sup>15</sup>



Fig.3.1. Cakras on the soles of the Feet, Amarāvati

The cakravartinship of Buddha Maitreya is not conspicuously mentioned in the text. But from its description of the *cakravartin's* throne,<sup>16</sup> we know that Buddha Maitreya descends to Jambudvīpa to become a *cakravartin* by a *cakrī stūpa*. Most interestingly, the text also mentions that Nagarjuna is the savior in the heaven and on the earth.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that Nāgārjuna is either the founder or the promoter of the belief.

In his *Biographies of the Eminent Monks Who Traveled to the Western Region during the Tang* (hereafter, the *Biographies of Monks*) Yijing (653--713) informs us that a *caitya* is also called a “*cakrī stūpa* in Chinese”. Yijing mentions the term “*caitya*” in describing an architectural feature of Nālandā:

<sup>15</sup> The *Puxian Pusa shuo zhengming jin* (Verification Sutra spoken by Bodhisattva Samantabhadra), Taisho, vol. 85 (T2879), p. 1367:

<sup>16</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>17</sup> The *Verification Sutra*, p. 1366c: I sent Nagarjuna to remove the obstacles in the heaven and on the earth



From here to the south-western side, is a little *caitya*, more than one *zang* in height. This is the architecture where the Brahmin makes his inquiries by carrying a sparrow. This is (also) called the “*cakrī stūpa*” in Chinese.<sup>18</sup>

As the *Verification Sūtra* mentions that Buddha Maitreya descends to Jambudvīpa to become a *cakravartin* from Tusita paradise by means of a *cakrī stūpa*, we know that Nāgārjuna’s promotion of the *caitya* worship in fact promotes the belief in the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya.

Since Buddha Maitreya has both the identities of a Buddha and a *cakravartin*, he can therefore be called a Buddhārāja (he who is Buddha is *raja*), or a *cakravartin* (he who rules his kingdom with Buddhism or Buddhist belief). Thus, we can call the Buddhārāja of the *Verification Sūtra* “Buddhārāja Maitreya”. The *Verification Sūtra* also mentions that the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra (especially the latter) are the two most important assistants of Buddhārāja Maitreya.<sup>19</sup> They are therefore frequently depicted on the reliefs of *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī.

A *caitya* can have the same architectural structure as a *stūpa*. For instance, the structure of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī is like that of a *cakravartin*’s *stūpa* mentioned in the *Last Section of the Mahāparinirvana sūtra* (hereafter, the *Last Section*).

According to the *Last Section*, *stūpas* could be built for four kinds of holy people: a Buddha, a *pratyeka-buddha*, an *arhat* and a *cakravartin*. The *stūpa* of each is different, even though they share the name “the Seven Jeweled *Stūpa*”. This is the common name because all

<sup>18</sup> The Tripitaka Master Yijin, *The Biographies of the Eminent Monks Who Traveled to the Western Region during the Tang*, juan 2, Taisho, vol. 51 (T2066), p. 6b:

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1365a-b



four types contain the relics of these holy people together with the seven precious jewels. Each type has the same basic structure: a foundation, a dome, and a square platform on the dome with a pillar standing on it. The difference lies in the number of layers of golden plates hanging on the pillar: a Buddha's *stūpa* has thirteen layers, a *pratyeka-buddha*'s eleven, an *arhat*'s four, and none for a *cakravartin*'s.<sup>20</sup>

As the *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati do not have golden plates hanging on the pillars/spires and are like that of a *cakravartin*'s *stūpa*, the term "*cakrī stūpa*" mentioned in the *Verification Sūtra* is most likely derived from the term "*cakrī*". The "*cakrī*" is one of the seven treasures of a *cakravartin*<sup>21</sup> and is often considered to be a synonym of "*cakravartin*". Many Buddhist texts and sources say that when a *cakravartin* is about to ascend the throne, the treasure of *cakri* will appear in the sky.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the *cakrī* is considered as the most important symbol of a *cakravartin*.

However, a *caitya* can be built in any form of a *stūpa*, despite the fact that Nāgārjuna's design, i.e., the structure of a *cakravartin stūpa*, was often used as a standard structure of the *caitya* in India. The famous "*cakrī stūpa*" built by King Kaniska of the Late Kushān (c. 187-250) in Gandhāra, according to Chinese sources, has thirteen layers of golden plates attached to its pillar, and is like a Buddha's *stūpa*.<sup>23</sup>

Although the structure of a *caitya* can be the same as a *stūpa*, its nature and function is very different. Chinese scholar Lü Chen thus

<sup>20</sup> Ratnabhadra of the Tang tr, *The Last Section of the Mahāparinirvāna sūtra* Taisho, vol. 12, p. 903.

<sup>21</sup> See the explanation below.

<sup>22</sup> For instance, Xuanzang says, "When a *cakravartin* is about to ascend the throne, by virtue of his merit, the wheel treasure or *cakrī*, in response, will appear in the air." See Xuanzang and Bianji, *The Datang (Record of the Western Region of the Great Tang)*, juan 10, Taisho, vol. 51 (T2087), p. 869b.

<sup>23</sup> Yang Xuanzhi of the Northern Wei, *The Record of the Sangharamas in Luoyang*, vol. 5, Taisho, vol. 51(T2092), p. 1021.

distinguishes a *caitya* from a *stūpa*: unlike a *stūpa*, a *caitya* has no relics stored inside.<sup>24</sup> This difference is also mentioned in the *Fayuan Zhulin* a Buddhist Dictionary (compiled by Shi Daoshi of the Ximing temple in the Tang dynasty, 618-907).<sup>25</sup> Thus, we know why Nāgārjuna says that we have to worship the holy and respected “person” of the *caitya*: “The holy and respected ‘person’ of the *caitya* / To whom you should make offerings constantly.” Apparently Nagarjuna’s *caitya* worship is not the *stūpa* worship referred to by many scholars.<sup>26</sup> Instead, it is a worship of the image of Buddha/Buddharāja Maitreya of the *caitya*.

The *Verification Sūtra* must have been the most important work compiled for the promotion of the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya. It is a Dunhuang manuscript without the inscription of the name of author or translator and is regarded as apocryphal by a Chinese Buddhist catalogue compiled in the Sui dynasty (581-618), the *Zhong jing mulu*.<sup>27</sup> This is because certain lines were added to the text, especially in the period of Emperor Wu of the Liang (502-549). He had the text altered to promote the belief and to justify the construction of his images.<sup>28</sup> We see the importance of the *Verification Sūtra* also in the case of Empress Wu Zetian (623-705) of the Great Zhou (690-705). Soon after taking power from the Tang, she implemented the belief as her Buddhist political ideology. She ordered her religious consultant

<sup>24</sup> Lü Chen, *A Summary on the Origins of Indian Buddhism*, p. 30.

<sup>25</sup> Shi Daoshi of the Ximing temple compiled, *Fayuan Zhulin*, *Taisho*, vol. 53 (T 2122), p. 580b: The Buddha says: one can also build a *caitya*. A *stūpa* (as an architecture) contains relics, but a *caitya* does not ... On a *caitya* one can place a canopy (literally, baogai R ǎo for a precious cover) and the Buddha for making offering.

<sup>26</sup> See Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup> Monks and scholars for translations in the Sui compiled, *The Zhongjing mulu* (the *Catalogue of Buddhist Texts*), vol. 4, under the category of “wufen yiwei” (the apocryphal texts), *Taisho*, vol. 55 (2147), p.173b.

<sup>28</sup> The apocryphal nature of the *Verification Sutra* will be discussed in a future paper. Concerning about Emperor Wu of the Liang’s belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya, see Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, *The Buddharāja Image of Emperor Wu of the Liang*, in Alan K. L. Chan and Lo Yuet Keung ed., *World of Thought in Early Medieval China* (New York University Press, forthcoming).

Xue Huaiyi and other monk from the Divine City Luoyang to compile a political treatise called the *Dayun jingshu* (*Commentary on the Mahāmegha sūtra*) to be circulated throughout the state. Its composition was mostly based on the *Verification Sūtra*, especially where the image or the identity of Buddharāja Maitreya was concerned.<sup>29</sup>

There is good reason to believe that the *Verification Sūtra* was the basis upon which the images of Buddharāja Maitreya and the *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī were first constructed by Nāgārjuna. This is because the details of the artifacts in these places are correspondent to the text.<sup>30</sup> Nāgārjuna's political work the *Ratnāvalī* certainly lends support to the belief and also helps us to understand the nature of the artifacts. In other words, the *caitya* worship promoted by Nāgārjuna in both places was not the Maitreya belief as stated in the *Descent Sūtra of Buddha Maitreya* (hereafter, the *Descent Sūtra*),<sup>31</sup> but as stated in the *Verification Sūtra*.

The nature of the *Descent Sūtra* is different from the *Verification Sūtra* in that Buddha Maitreya does not have the identity of a *cakravartin*. Nevertheless, the events stated in it were often used to explain the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya in the *Verification Sūtra*. For instance, the birth story in the *Descent Sūtra* was often used to express the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya through a *caitya* or a *cakrī stūpa*. This birth story in the *Descent Sūtra* (more specifically, the *Descent Sūtra* translated by Yijing of the Tang) was depicted on a stone slab in the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī. Because the birth story of Buddha Maitreya in Yijing's translation is identical with that of the Buddha Shakyamuni, scholars such as Robert Knox are convinced that the

<sup>29</sup> See Cheng Mei Ku, *The Avatamsaka Buddharāja Tradition and Buddharāja Image of Wu Zetian in Cheng Mei Ku, From the Devaraja Tradition to the Buddharāja Tradition- Studies on the Buddhist Political Ideology Being Implemented in the Medieval China* (Taipei: Shangzhou Publication, 2003), pp. 240-248.

<sup>30</sup> See the discussion below.

<sup>31</sup> Dharmarakṣa of the Western Jin tr., *The Descent Sutra of Maitreya Taisho*, vol. 14 (T453).



Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī was a site for the *stūpa* worship or Buddha worship. This slab is collected by Knox in his plate no. 61 (Fig. 2).<sup>32</sup> The *Descent Sūtra* translated by Yijing says:

Mahāpurusha Maitreya/Having descended from the Tusita Heaven/To be conceived by the Madam/As his birth place/As she has conceived this holy one/She is contented in her 10 months (of pregnancy)/ Then this blessed mother/Goes to that subtle garden/Neither is she seated nor lying down/Having slowly stood up to touch the flower tree branch/She gives birth to the Holy One/At that time the most Holy One/Having been born from the right armpit of his mother/...He spontaneously takes a walk of seven steps...<sup>33</sup>



Fig.3.2. The birth story, Amarāvātī



Fig. 3.3. The birth story, Borobudur

We also see the birth story of Buddha Maitreya depicted on the second level in Candi Borobudur (Fig. 3). This has also been regarded as the birth story of the Buddha by scholars.<sup>34</sup>

In the *Descent Sūtra*, we also find the three descents of Buddha Maitreya to preach the *Dharma* to sentient beings. When Empress Wu Zetian promoted the belief in the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya, a set of 3 seated Maitreyas were depicted at the Moya sanfo kan at Longmen,

<sup>32</sup> Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, p. 119, Plate no. 61 is on p. 12

<sup>33</sup> The Tripitaka Master Yit'ing of the Tang tr., the *Descent Sutra of Maitreya* (*Foshuo Mile xiasheng chengfo jing*), Taisho, vol. 14 (T455), p. 426:

<sup>34</sup> John Miksic, *Borobudur-The Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, p.?

Luoyang.<sup>35</sup> Many sets of 3 seated Maitreyas are also depicted in Candi Borobudur, especially on the level 5 of the site. For instance, figures 4 and 5 below are from this level. In figure 4, a set of 3 seated Maitreyas is depicted in one row above four worshippers on the left side of an Indonesian style of *caitya*. This *caitya* houses a seated Maitreya showing that his descent by a *caitya* is related/relevant to the belief in the three descents of Buddha Maitreya. Figure 5 shows a similar set. These sets of 3 seated Maitreyas do not indicate the belief as stated in *Descent Sūtra*. Instead, they indicate the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya. It is possible that Nāgārjuna borrowed elements from the *Descent Sūtra* when establishing the belief in the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya.

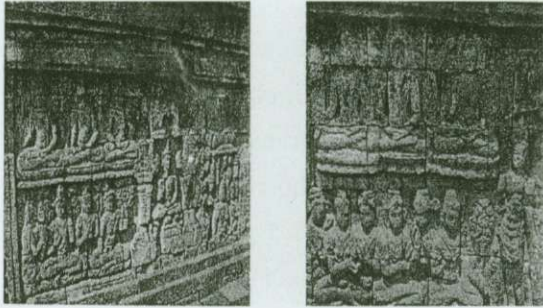


Fig.3.4 & 3.5. A set of 3 seated Maitreyas

## 2. The Spread of the Belief

### A. India and Sri Lanka

After Nāgārjuna's promotion of the *caitya* worship in the Deccan Plateau, the belief and its artistic motifs were transmitted to many places in India, e.g., Ajanta, Ellora, etc., and other parts of Asia. We notice that the belief was transmitted to Sri Lanka very early. The

<sup>35</sup> The "Moya sanfo kan means, "Three Buddhas' Niche at the Cliff Mo". See Longmen Relics Conservation Institute and Department of Archeology of Beijing University ed., *The Longmen Caves*, vol. 2, in *The Chinese Caves* (Beijing: Wenwu publisher, 1992), plate 54; See also Wen Yucheng "Datings on the Tang Caves in Longmen Caves", in *The Longmen Caves*, vol. 2, pp.201-202.

early Sri Lankan Buddhist artifacts such as the *Buddhapāda* (*cakras* on the soles of the feet), the five hooked *Nāgas*, the so-called “*yakṣiṇīs*” and Buddha heads that we also see in *caityas* of Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī were imported influences from these two places.<sup>36</sup> The Ceylonese scholar Senarat Paranavitana also mentions that since there is so much evidence that Sinhalese art was influenced by the Āndhra school, it would not be an exaggeration to say that it had established a branch in early Sri Lanka.<sup>37</sup> Thus it is evident that the belief was transmitted to Sri Lanka very early.

### B. Central Asia and China

The belief was also transmitted to Kyzil of Central Asia (presently Xinjiang province of China) as early as the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>38</sup> It was transmitted to Northern China around the same time.<sup>39</sup> We know that it was transmitted to Southern China much later, from the following. In his notes on the River Si, the Chinese historian Li Daoyuan writes, “The Nāgapuspa Temple is located on the western bank of River Si. Monk Faxian went on a distant journey to the Western Regions and traveled back east on the sea with a painting of the Nāgāpuspa (*Longhua tu*). The spread of this *dharma* in China began with Faxian”.<sup>40</sup> The “painting of the Nāgāpuspa” is mentioned in the *Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian*, (hereafter, the *Eminent Monk*

<sup>36</sup> Ulrich von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka* (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publication, 1990), pp. 74-75, Plate 7E; p. 72, Plate 6C; p. 78, Plate 9A.

<sup>37</sup> Senarat Paranavitana, *Art of the Ancient Sinhalese* (Colombo: Lake House Publication, 1971), p. 13.

<sup>38</sup> Subai, “Dating and Classifications on Some Kyzil Caves, in Subai, *Studies on Chinese Cave Temples* (Beijing: Wenwu Publication, 1996), p.35. According to Subai, the earliest caves in Kyzil might have been dug in the period between 310±80 and 360±80.

<sup>39</sup> See Cheng Mei Ku, “The Devaraja Traditions in Southeast Asia and in Shihu (334-349) of the Houzhao &M (319-352), in Cheng Mei Ku, *From the Devaraja Tradition to the Buddhārāja Tradition*, pp. 78-95.

<sup>40</sup> Li Daoyuan, *Shuijing Zhu*, annot. By Wang Guowei (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 1984), pp. 820-821.



*Faxian*). According to this text, Faxian stayed in Tāmaliptī (presently Tam-look)<sup>41</sup> for two years and there he had “a text written and a painting drawn”.<sup>42</sup> The same source also says that Faxian went to India in 400 and returned in 415.<sup>43</sup> Therefore, the belief was transmitted to the South in the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

Chinese archaeologist Su Bai suggests that the “painting of the Nāgāpuspa” depicts the Buddha Maitreya’s enlightenment under the Nāgapuspa tree/the bodhi tree.<sup>44</sup> Maitreya’s enlightenment under the Nāgāpuspa tree is indeed mentioned in the *Descent Sutra*.<sup>45</sup> However, this painting of the Nāgāpuspa should not be understood as expressing the belief of the *Descent Sutra*. Instead, it should be understood as expressing the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya. The term “the Nāgapuspa belief” had become a common expression for this latter belief in the South.<sup>46</sup> The implementations of this belief by Emperor Wu of the Liang and Empress Wu Zetian mentioned above are two well known cases in the history of China.

### C. Southeast Asia:

#### a. The Dvaravati

The same belief was also transmitted throughout Southeast Asia. For instance, it was transmitted to the Dvaravati (c. 6-11) in ancient Siam. The unearthed inscription of the title of the Dvaravati king “*Phra Srī Āriyamettrai*” is one of the most important evidence of the

<sup>41</sup> See discussion below.

<sup>42</sup> Faxian, *The Biography of the Eminent Monk Faxian*, Taisho, vol.51 (T2085), p.864c.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 857-866.

<sup>44</sup> Su Bai, An Investigation on the Buddhist images in the South, in Su Bai, *Studies on Chinese Cave Temples*, p.187.

<sup>45</sup> Dharmarakṣa of the Western Jin tr., *The Descent Sutra of Maitreya*, p. 422.

<sup>46</sup> See Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, *The Buddharaja Image of Emperor Wu of the Liang*, in Alan K. L. Chan and Lo Yuet Keung ed., *World of Thought in Early Medieval China* (New York University Press, forthcoming).

Dvaravati's implementation of the belief.<sup>47</sup> Empress Wu Zetian used a similar title "*Srī Āriya*" Emperor to refer to her Buddhārāja Maitreyaship while implementing the belief as her political ideology in the late 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>48</sup> According to the monk Fazang of this period, the title is understood as follows: The term "*Āriya*" refers to "*Āriya cakravartin*", and the term "*Srī*" refers to Buddha Maitreya.<sup>49</sup> Apparently, these imperial titles were indicators of Buddhārāja Maitreyaship.

### b. The Transmitting History of Java

Most evidently, Candi Borobudur and Candi Mendut were the two sites in Central Java that promoted *caitya* worship. Even before their establishment in the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D., it is probable that the belief was already brought into Java by Gunavarman in the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

Gunavarman was an Indian monk from Jibin (ancient Gandhāra). He traveled to Java from Sri Lanka around the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Not long after his arrival, the Javanese king Po-duo-jia suffered from a foot injury caused by an arrow in a war. Gunavarman healed the king's injury and won his trust and friendship. Showing respect and gratitude to Gunavarman, King Po-duo-jia decided to rule his kingdom with Buddhist belief. As a Buddhist *cakravartin*, he gave all his possessions to the poor and the people were ordered to abstain from killing. The people were also instructed to respect Gunavarman and even to receive the 5 precepts from him.<sup>50</sup> The Chinese sources do not

<sup>47</sup> Dhida Saraya, (Sri) *Dvaravati-The Initial Phase of Siam's History* (Bangkok: Muang Boran Publishing House, 1999), p. 204.

<sup>48</sup> Cheng Mei Ku, *The Avatamsaka Buddhārāja Tradition and Buddhārāja Image of Wu Zetian*, p. 238.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.237-239.

<sup>50</sup> Huiliao of the Liang, *The Biography of Gunavarman* in Huijiao, *The Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Taisho, vol. 50 (T2059), p. 340a.

say that Gunavarma helped King Po-duo-jia to implement the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya. However, we may surmise that Gunavarma did this from the fact that he was officially invited to China by Emperor Wen of the Song (424-453) and from his activities in the Song. We describe these below.

About 9 years after Faxian had brought the painting of Nāgapuspa back to the South, Emperor Wen of the Song decided to implement the belief as his political ideology. In the 9<sup>th</sup> month of the first year of the Yuanjia reign (424), the monks Huiguan and Huicong persuaded the emperor to send letters to the Javanese king and Gunavarma, respectively, inviting Gunavarma to China. Later, the monks Fachang, Daochong and Daojun etc., were despatched to bring Gunavarma to China.<sup>51</sup> Gunavarma arrived in 431.<sup>52</sup> Another Indian monk, Senghavarma also arrived in 433.<sup>53</sup> Both subsequently translated the *Suhrillekha* for the emperor.<sup>54</sup> The *Suhrilleka* was a letter sent by Nāgārjuna to King Śātavāhana persuading him to practice Buddhism and to implement the cakravartinship to rule his kingdom.

Gunavarma must have been an expert in promoting the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya. Otherwise, he would not have been invited by Emperor Wen of the Song to China. Besides translating the *Suhrilleka* for Emperor Wen, Gunavarma was also appointed by him to oversee the ritual of Bodhisattva *pratimoksa*. This is the most important ritual that initiates an emperor to become a *cakravartin* or a *Buddharāja*.<sup>55</sup> Soon after his arrival at the capital of the Song,

<sup>51</sup> Shi Zhisheng, The *Biography of Gunavarma*, in the *Kaiyuan shijiao mulu* (hereafter, *Kaiyuan lu*), *juan 5, Taisho*, vol. 55, p. 526c.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 526-527.

<sup>53</sup> Shi Zhisheng, The *Biography of Senghavarma*, in the *Kaiyuan lu*, p. 527c.

<sup>54</sup> Sanghavarma tr., *Suhrillekha (Quanfazhuwang yaojie)*, *Taisho*, vol. 32 (T1673), pp. 748a-751 a.

<sup>55</sup> See Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, *The Buddharaja Image of Emperor Wu of the Liang* (forthcoming).



Gunavarma was appointed to perform this ritual. But due to an internal revolt that erupted suddenly, Emperor Wen immediately dropped the idea of becoming a *cakravartin*/Buddharāja Maitreya.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, all this informs us that Gunavarma was an expert in the implementation of the belief and it is likely that he would have helped the Javanese king to promote it.

Gunavarma had probably gained his knowledge on the implementation of the belief from Sri Lanka, for the Chinese sources say that he had stayed and preached the *Dharma* in Sri Lanka for quite a while.<sup>57</sup> We can say that Gunavarma transmitted the belief to Java from Sri Lanka.

According to Samuel Beal, ancient Tāmaliptī (presently Tamlook, located at the mouth of the Hoogly of the east coast of India) used to be a very important port on the sea route with Java.<sup>58</sup> Tāmaliptī was the place where Faxian had “a text written and a painting drawn”.<sup>59</sup> It was also where Yijing translated Nāgārjuna’s *Suhrlleka*.<sup>60</sup> Thus, ancient Tāmaliptī must also have been an important place where the belief was promoted and from where it could have been transmitted to Java.

### 3. The Implementations of the Belief in Java

#### A. Candi Mendut

Judging from the archeological remains in Java, especially Central Java, many Javanese kings had implemented the belief to rule their kingdoms. For instance, Candi Mendut houses three huge seated figures in a caitya-like architecture: Buddharāja Maitreya seated in the

<sup>56</sup> *The Biography of Gunavarma, in the Biographies of Eminent Monks*, p. 340a.

<sup>57</sup> Huijiao of the Liang, *The Biography of Gunavarma*, p.

<sup>58</sup> Samuel Beal?

<sup>59</sup> See footnote 46.

<sup>60</sup> Yijing of the Great Tang, the *Suhrlleka*, *Taisho*, vol. 32, p. 751 b. Yijing’s translation was the third Chinese translation in the history of China.

posture of *pralambapādasana* in the center, and two Bodhisattvas, i.e., Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and Bodhisattva Vajrapani/ Samantabhadra, on his two sides (Fig. 6). This is an important example.

#### a. The Seated Posture in *Pralambapādasana*

Ever since Nāgārjuna's promotion of the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya in the Sātavāhana, the *caitya* housing the image of Buddha/Buddharāja Maitreya had become the most important symbol of the belief (see Fig. 8). This is despite the fact that the standard early *caityas* that circulated around the state did not have the images of Buddha/Buddharāja Maitreya depicted on their surfaces.<sup>61</sup> We notice that the seated posture in *pralambapādasana* or the European seated posture of Buddharāja are not frequently used in the remaining reliefs of *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda (Fig. 7) and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati (especially the latter). In both places, the posture in *dhyana* is basically used to indicate the seated image of Buddharāja Maitreya.<sup>62</sup> We don't know when the seated posture in *pralambapādasana* of Buddharāja Maitreya first appeared in the history of Buddhist art. But from the fact that this seated posture of Buddharāja Maitreya can also be found in Ajanta (fig. 8), Ellora, Aurangbad and Nasik caves in India and other parts of Asia after the early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.,<sup>63</sup> we may say that it had since then become the most characteristic seated posture of Buddharāja Maitreya.

<sup>61</sup> See Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, "Nagarjuna's Political Philosophy and the Early Buddhist Art in Andhra Pradesh", in K J Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies, ed., *Buddhist Culture in Asia-Unity in Diversity* (forthcoming).

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Faxian (returned to China in 415) brought the sutra and the painting, which was a seated image in *pralambapādasana* of Buddharāja Maitreya, back to the south of China in the early part of the 5th century A.D. See Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, "The Buddharāja Image of Emperor Wu of the Liang" (forthcoming).



Fig. 3.6. A set of Maitreya 3, Candi Mendut, Java

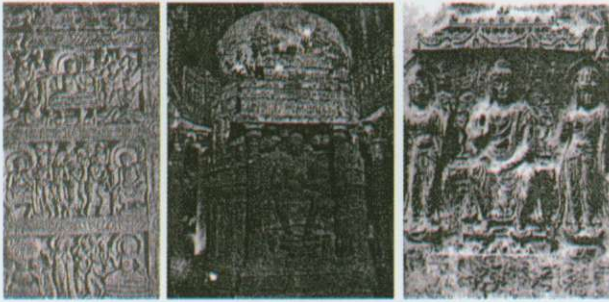


Fig. 3.7. Buddharāja Maitreya in *pralambapadasana*, Nāgārjunakonda;

Fig. 3.8. The Caitya in Cave no 26, Ajanta;

Fig.3.9. A set of Maitreya 3, Qibaotai

With reference to Empress Wu's implementation of the belief, many sets of Maitreya 3 (Buddharāja Maitreya in the center, Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapani/Samantabhadra on either side) are depicted in Longmen (the Leigutai), Dunhuang (cave no. 96) and in the ritual performed in the Qibaotai (literally, Building made of the seven jewels) in 703 (Fig. 9). We also see the set of Maitreya 3 constantly presented in Ajanta and Elllora. In the Ajanta caves (dug in the second half of 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), Buddharāja Maitreya is often in the *dhyana* seated posture. In the Ellora caves (dug around the 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), Buddharāja Maitreya is often in *pralambapādasana* posture. The set of Maitreya 3 must have derived from the most important three characters depicted in many stone slabs in *caityas* of Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī. There, we often see the descended Buddharāja Maitreya in the standing or seated (*dhyāna*) posture in the gateway of a *caitya*, with two Bodhisattvas on either side (Fig. 10, 11).



Earlier, I mentioned that Buddharāja Maitreya needs the help of the Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara to run his cakravartinship and at the same time to relieve the people's sufferings. The duty of these two Bodhisattvas is also mentioned in the *Verification Sūtra*:

The disciple of Buddha Amitāyus in the west is the compassionate Bodhisttva Avalokiteśvara. This Bodhisattva is the one who is able to relieve sufferings in Jambudvīpa. At that time the disciples of Buddha Wangming in the east are Mahāprajāpatī and Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. These two are able to benefit the religious practices and are also able to relieve sufferings of sentient beings. At that time Avalokiteśvara is born as an ordinary man, and Samantabhadra is born as an *upāsaka*. Both of them may emanate hundreds and thousands of bodies. This is also incredible.<sup>64</sup>



Fig. 3.10 The Descended Maitreya Amarāvātī (left)



Fig. 3.11 The Descended Maitreya Nāgārjunakonda (right)

From an inscription, many scholars have noted that the “great *stūpa*” at Amarāvātī is called “Mahācaitya”.<sup>65</sup> According to Robert Knox, its structure consisted of a huge, solid dome mounted on a cylindrical, drum-like platform (base), the whole surrounded by a great railing 59m (192ft) in diameter. The platform was elaborately decorated

<sup>64</sup> The *Verification Sūtra*, p.1365a:

<sup>65</sup> Akira Hirakawa, *The History of Indian Buddhism*, translated by Zhuang Kunmu (Taipei: Shangzhou Publisher, 2002), pp. 206-207.

with carved small *stūpas* on limestone slabs (Fig.12).<sup>66</sup> These small *stūpas* themselves were similar in structure to the Mahācaitya, and in this regard, they may also be called *caityas*.

The belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya expressed on the reliefs of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati was mainly depicted on the drum slabs attached to the lower part of the dome and the base of the architecture. The design of these drum slabs is similar in structure: a *caitya* depicted as the main body of each slab, taking up almost all the space on the slab. Above each *caitya* are *devas* and dwarfs paying respect to the *caitya*. The components of each *caitya* are also on the lower part of the dome and the base. The main components of these small *caityas* are: (1) Five *ayaka* pillars standing in one row above the gateway of each small *caitya* on the slabs. (2) The panel of the gateway of each *caitya* is the most important place for depicting its subject matter.<sup>67</sup> Any topic, such as the descending Buddharāja, the descended Buddharāja, the empty seat, the *caitya* on the throne, or *cakras* on the soles of the feet may convey the belief represented by each *caitya*.<sup>68</sup> (3) Two pairs of seated lions symbolizing regality are on different levels on both the upper sides of the gateway panel on each *caitya*. (4) Two big panels on both the lower sides of the gateway usually have a man and a dwarf in the right panel, while a man, a dwarf and a woman are in the left panel on each *caitya*. (5) While the upper part of the dome of each *caitya* is decorated with symbols and decorations, the lower part of the *caitya* is filled up with both the images of a *cakravartin*

<sup>66</sup> Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, p. 23.

<sup>67</sup> I don't agree with what K. S. Subramanian says about the gateways of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati: "The gateways of the *ndhra stūpas* were not important as those of Sanchi, either from their size or from the sculptural standpoint." See K. S. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in South India*, p. 18.

<sup>68</sup> See discussion below.

and Buddhārāja/Buddha Maitreya.<sup>69</sup> In this regard, the contents of each small *caitya* on the surface of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī are more or less the same.

Conclusively speaking, the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī is an architecture with a design of “*caityas* on a *caitya*”. This is also the characteristic design of Candi Borobudur (Fig.13). Both have many *caityas* built on the main *caitya* and also have reliefs depicting the contents of the belief on the lower parts of their structures.

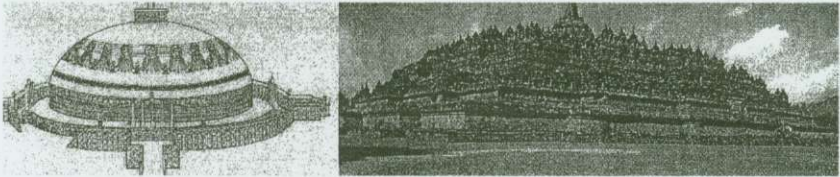


Fig. 3.12. The recovered Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī by British Museum (left)

Fig. 3.13. The outlook of Chandi Borobudur, Java (right)

The two panels referred to in (4) above are where the two Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara are depicted. We do not know why in most of the *caityas* on the slabs, a dwarf is also depicted with these two Bodhisattvas. However, we do know that the woman who is often depicted on the left panel only, either seated or standing, is Mahāprājapatī. According to the *Verification Sūtra*, Mahāprājapatī and Bodhisattva Samantabhadra are the disciples of Buddha Wangming in the east. Mahāprājapatī was the aunt of the Buddha, and it was she who founded the female Sangha. The man standing next to her is Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, while the man standing in the right panel is Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Both are often dressed like ordinary men-according to the text, they are either an ordinary man or an *upāsaka*, a layman.

Vajrapani and Samantabhadra are often identified as the same Bodhisattva in the history of the Vajrayana. Amoghavajra (705-774)

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*



mentions these two being the same Bodhisattva in his translation of the *Renwang huguo banruoboluomiduojing tuoluoni niansong yigui* (*The Kalpa on the Prajñāparamita Sutra Dharani for Cakravartin to Protect His Country*).<sup>70</sup> But Nāgārjuna takes them as two different persons.<sup>71</sup> However, the Bodhisattva image is seen to carry a *vajra* with one hand in both Ajanta and Ellora caves, and he must have been regarded as the same person by the designers of these two caves.

Iconographically speaking, the three huge figures housed in Candi Mendut is a set of Maitreya 3. Not only is the central Buddha in the most characteristic seated posture of Buddhārāja Maitreya, the *pralambapādasana*, the image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is also identifiable. A small Buddha image worn by Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara on his crown is the most important symbol of this Bodhisattva's iconography.

## b. The Makara Chair

We notice that a Buddhārāja Maitreya's image was often depicted being seated on a *makara* chair. Cases like this are seen in the occurrences of the Buddhārāja Maitreyas in Candi Mendut; seated in the *caitya* of cave no. 26, Ajanta; and in the set of Maitreya 3 made in 703 for the ritual of Qibaotai (mentioned above). According to John Miksic, the *makara* is a mythical beast with an elephant's trunk, parrot's beak and a fish tail, and appears often as an artistic motif in both Hindu and Buddhist temples in India and Java.<sup>72</sup> Although Miksic mentions frequencies of the appearance of the *makara* in India and Java, he does not tell us the meaning of this mythical beast. We get the answer from the *Verification Sūtra* which mentions the *makara chair*:

<sup>70</sup> See Amoghavajra of the Tang tr., *The Renwang huguo banruoboluomiduojing tuoluoni niansong yigui* (*The Kalpa on the Prajñāparamitā Sūtra Dharani for Cakravartin to Protect His Country*), Taisho, vol. 8 (T246), p. 843b-c.

<sup>71</sup> Nāgārjuna, *The Mahāpranidhānoutpāda-gāthā* (*Gāthā on Making the Great Vow*), Taisho, vol. 32 (T1676), p. 756c.

<sup>72</sup> John Miksic, *Borobudur- Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, p. 57.

Above the throne of the *cakravartin*, there are heavenly music of all kinds, the music of the bamboo pipe, the flute... The lion and the elephant, the *fenghuang* and the *qilin*.<sup>73</sup>

“The lion and the elephant, the “*fenghuang* and the *qilin*” is actually a detailed description of the decorations of a *cakravartin*’s throne. Both “the lion and the elephant” (either standing or lying down) often decorate the underside of the arms of a throne. The “*fenghuang* and the *qilin*” are Chinese mythical beasts. The former is a bird-like phoenix with bird’s beak, while the latter looks like a lion, but with fish scales on the body. Thus, according to the above lines, the throne of a *cakravartin* is decorated with lions, elephants and *makaras*, since the “*fenghuang* and the *qilin*” refer to a *makara*’s bird beak and its fish body. The so-called “*makara*’s chair” evidently refers to the throne of a *cakravartin*. In this regard, the images of Buddhārāja Maitreya were also identified as the images of *cakravartins* by their *makara* thrones.

In the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati, an interesting relief with a peculiar depiction conveys the belief that a Buddhārāja Maitreya descends to become a *cakravartin*. Knox’s plate no. 27 (Fig 14) is called “the Relic-casket of the Buddha Worshipped by Nāgarājas (snake-kings)”.<sup>74</sup> This so-called “Relic-casket of the Buddha” is, in fact, a *caitya* sitting on a *makara* throne which is surrounded by men and women in joyous mood. Some of them are looking at the *caitya*, some seem to be talking about it, and some are worshipping it. Three seven-hooked Nāgarājas stand behind the throne guarding the *caitya*. Among them, two carry the white whisks as a regal sign.<sup>75</sup> This throne is decorated with two “*makara*’s heads” fixed onto the upper ends of

<sup>73</sup> The Verification sūtra, p. 1367:

<sup>74</sup> Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, pp. 84-85, Plate no. 27.

<sup>75</sup> See discussion below.



its back, and with two lions standing under the arms. This depiction most evidently indicates that a Buddharāja Maitreya is descending to become a *cakravartin*.

Fig. 3.14. A Buddharāja Maitreya descends to become a *cakravartin*

We don't know why the two Bodhisattvas housed in Candi Mendut are also depicted sitting on the *makara* thrones. It might be that the Javanese thought that these two Bodhisattvas also participated in the *cakravartin*'s work of the Buddharāja Maitreya in Jambudvīpa.

The archaeological remains of Java show that the belief had been implemented in Java for a long time, for many artifacts, such as the images of Buddharaja Maitreya in *pralambapādasana* have been unearthed in the area (Fig. 15). Among these archaeological remains, we also constantly find the *makara* thrones with images of Buddharaja Maitreya. (Fig.16).



Fig. 3.15. Buddharāja Maitreya, Jakarta Museum (left)

Fig. 3.16. Buddharāja Maitreya, Java, Leiden (right)



## B. Candi Borobudur

Earlier, I mentioned that the architectural structure of Candi Borobudur is very similar to that of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī in that both have the design of “*caityas* built on a *caitya*”. That is, small *caityas* are built or depicted on the surface of a main *caitya*. Although their architectural structure is the same, the styles or forms of their *caityas* are different. In Candi Borobudur, the styles of small *caityas* depicted on the reliefs are quite consistent but they don’t look like the main structural body. It could be that later refurbishments had changed the original form/shape of the main body.

The building style of the small *caityas* on Borobudur does not have the dome and the cylindrical base of the *caityas* seen in Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī. Instead, they are multi-dimensional, with a multi-angled foundation and a chamber-like structure sitting on the foundation. There are also many small mushroom-like structures on the top of each *caitya*.

The contents of each small *caitya* on the surface of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī are more or less the same. Each *caitya* consists of two topics: (1) the descent of Buddha/Buddharāja Maitreya, and (2) the life or activities of a *cakravartin*. These are also the two main topics depicted on the reliefs of Candi Borobudur.

### (1) The Topic on the Descent of Buddha/ Buddharaja Maitreya

#### a. The Sealed up Caityas

There are two types of *caitya* depicted at the site of Borobudur. The type of *caitya* that we see on the reliefs of the site is sometimes depicted as being sealed up and sometimes to contain inside it a seated image of Buddha Maitreya/Bodhisattva Maitreya. For instance, on the reliefs of the hidden foot of Borobudur, or the “Karmavibhanga

reliefs" (collected in the *Hidden Foot of Borobudur* edited by Rudi Badil/ Nurhadi Rangkuti), most *caityas* are depicted as sealed up with worshippers around it (Fig. 17).<sup>76</sup> This type of *caitya* is also often found on the reliefs at other levels in Borobudur. Their frequent appearances show that *caitya* worship was intensively promoted when Borobudur was being built.



Fig. 3.17. A Sealed up *caitya* on a relief of the Karmavibhangga

A sealed up *caitya* is often depicted with a Buddha standing next to it to show that he is either about to land by the *caitya* or has already landed. Such depictions are found in both Borobudur and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī. For instance, in figure 18 from Borobudur, we see a sealed up *caitya* on one side of a relief and a Buddharāja Maitreya on the other side to show that he has just come down. A somewhat similar depiction is found in the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī. A sealed up *caitya* is on one side of a relief with a descending Buddharāja Maitreya on the other side. The latter shows clearly that the Buddharāja Maitreya is still descending by means of the *caitya*, for he is still floating in the air (Fig. 19). Knox explains the depiction as the Buddha's visit to his birth place during which he performs a miracle of levitation.<sup>77</sup> This interpretation is doubtful. These similar depictions not only show that

<sup>76</sup> Rudi Badil/Nurhadi Rangkuti ed., *The Hidden Foot of Borobudur*, picture edited by Gatot Ghautama, and translated by Tri Soekirman/Asri Poeraatmadja (Jakarta: PT Midas Surya Grafindo, 1992), p.25, plate 152, p. 27, plate 141, p. 57, plate 124, p. 72, plate 100, p.85, plate 103, p. 92, plate 24, p. 149, plate 40, p. 151, plate 155.

<sup>77</sup> Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, pp. 93-94, Plate no. 36 (inner face).

the same *caitya* worship was promoted in both places. They also tell us that the depiction method of the belief at Borobudur was influenced by that of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī.



Fig. 3.18. The descended Buddharāja Maitreya (left)

Fig. 3.19. The descending Buddharāja Maitreya, Amarāvātī (right)

Another type of the sealed up *caitya* at Borobudur is seen on the upper levels of the architecture. This type of *caitya* has a bell-shape structure. Each houses a seated Buddha image. Except for one at the top which is completely sealed up, the rest of them have the hollow check-shaped or diamond-shaped patterns on their surfaces (Fig. 20).

The artists of both the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī and Borobudur apparently used the sealed up *caitya* to convey the idea that the people have not met the Buddharāja Maitreya yet or that they expect his descent. To convey this expectation, the artists in both places also used symbols such as *Buddhapāda*, the Bodhi tree and the empty seat.

### The Empty Seat

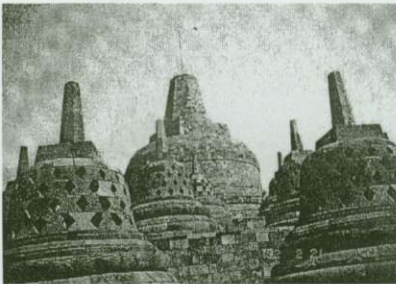


Fig.3.20. The bell shape sealed up *caitya*

The empty seats are often depicted on the remains of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī and the *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda. These must convey the message just mentioned, namely, the expectation of Buddha Maitreya's descent. Knox's plate nos. 38 and 60 are two evident



examples. In plate no. 60 (Fig 21)<sup>78</sup> there is a big empty seat with a back rest that has a checked pattern. Before the empty seat is a pair of *cakras* on the soles of the feet. Behind this seat is a set of three mushroom-like canopies, a tall one in the centre and two short ones at the sides. Behind the canopies is a Bodhi tree. Next to the Bodhi tree are flying *devas* paying respect to the empty seat. The empty seat is surrounded by people sitting or kneeling on the floor with hands folded, in expectation of Buddha Maitreya's descent. The depiction of the Bodhi tree here corresponds to the belief stated in the *Descent Sūtra* where Buddha Maitreya is said to have gained his enlightenment under the Bodhi tree or the Nāgapuspa tree.<sup>79</sup> As the Nagapuspa tree had become a very important symbol for the belief in Buddharāja Maitreya's descent, the plate cannot have the interpretation given by Knox, as "the enlightenment of the Buddha".<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the pair of *cakras* on the soles of the feet (*Buddhapāda*) placed in front of the empty seat also clearly indicates that Buddharāja Maitreya will descend to become a *cakravartin*.



Fig. 3. 21. An empty seat, Amaravātī



Fig. 3. 22. An empty seat.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p?

<sup>79</sup> Dharmarakṣa of the Western Jin tr., *The Descent Sūtra*, p.421 c.

<sup>80</sup> Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, p?

We also see many empty seats depicted on the reliefs in Borobudur. For instance, on the level depicting the birth story of Buddha Maitreya, we find at least two cases. In one of these, an empty seat is on one side of the relief and a standing Buddha Maitreya is on the other side. This indicates that Buddha Maitreya will descend to take the empty seat or a Makara throne to become a *cakravartin*. The empty seat is also seen on other levels of Borobudur. For instance, on level 5, an empty seat is depicted in the center of a relief. This empty seat is worshipped by people on both of its sides. On the left and above the worshippers, a *cakravartin* or Buddharāja Maitreya is sitting in a descending *caitya* indicating that he is going to take the seat (Fig. 22).

Again, the depictions of the empty seats on the reliefs of Borobudur show that it shares the same method as the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati to express the same belief.

#### **b. The Caitya with the image of Buddharāja Maitreya**

The reliefs of the Mahācaitya at Amarāvati and in Nāgārjunakonda depicted a seated or a standing Buddha image in a small *caitya* to show the belief that a Buddharāja Maitreya had already descended (see Figs 10 and 11). In Borobudur, we only see the seated image of Buddharāja Maitreya to express the same belief. There is one such instance on a relief in the hidden foot of Borobudur (Fig. 23).



Fig. 3.23. Buddharāja Maitreya descended by means of a *caitya*

Similar depictions are seen at different levels of Borobudur. For instance, on the level 3 of the Candi (Fig. 24). To indicate that the

descended Buddhārāja Maitreya is a *Buddhārāja* or a *cakravartin*, we also see at the same level a descended Buddhārāja Maitreya sitting on a *makara* throne in a *caitya* (Fig. 25). Often, the descended Buddhārāja Maitreya's identity is also indicated by his sitting on a lion's throne under the Nāgapuspa tree (Fig. 26).



Fig. 3.24, 25, 26 The descended Buddhārāja Maitreya

## (2) The Topic on the Life and Activities of A *Cakravartin*

The *Vajrasekhara - ekāksara - buddhoshnisha - cakravartin dhyāna-kalpa* (translated by Amoghavajra, 705-774, as hereafter, *Vajrasekhara*) mentions three seated postures of a *cakravartin*: (1) Legs crossed at the ankles, (2) One leg pendent, (3) One knee straight.<sup>81</sup> The first two are commonly seen in Gandhāra Buddhist art. Scholars identify them, respectively, as the seated postures of “Bodhisattva Maitreya” and the “Meditative Bodhisattva”. The third is not actually seated, but in a standing posture with one leg crossed up and placed on the standing leg. This is found on a relief at level 4 in Borobudur (Fig. 27).<sup>82</sup> These postures, especially the second one, i.e., one leg pendent,

<sup>81</sup> Amoghavajra of the Tang tr., *Vajrasekhara-ekaksara-buddhoshnisha-cakravartin-dhyāna-kalpa*, Taisho, vol.19 (T957), p.326: “To be seated like the former one which has two legs completely crossed up (in the posture of meditation)/or to be seated like a *cakravartin*/To be seated with two legs crossed at ankles or one leg pendent or one knee straight [are of] the three seated postures of a *cakravartin*.”

<sup>82</sup> For the detailed discussion of these three postures of a *cakravartin*, see Kathy Cheng Mei Ku, *The Nature of Gandhāra Buddhist Art in Dharma and Abhidharma* (Mumbai: Somaiya Publications Pvt. Ltd., 2007), pp. 286-287.





Fig. 3.27. A *cakravartin*'s standing image

allow us to identify the image of a *cakravartin* in the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī, and the *caityas* in Nāgārjunakonda and Candi Borobudur.

The seated posture with one leg pendent in Nāgārjunakonda and

the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī is different from those commonly found in Gandhāran art. In the latter, the right leg is often crossed up by being placed over the pendent left leg. In the former, the pendent or hanging leg touches a small stool on the floor and the other leg is lifted up to rest perpendicularly on the seat. The lower register of the plate no. 62 in Knox's book is a very distinctive example of this (Fig. 28).<sup>83</sup> Besides the seated *cakravartin*, the seven treasures of a *cakravartin* are also depicted on the same relief: (1) the woman, (2) the *Moni* jewel/the minister in charge of soldiers, (3) the *cakrī* (wheel), (4) the elephant, (5) the horse, (6) the chief minister, and (7) the minister in charge of treasures.<sup>84</sup> Given these distinctive symbols of a *cakravartin*, the lower register of this plate is an illustration of the life of a *cakravartin* in the court.



Fig. 3.28. A *cakravartin*'s life, Amarāvātī (left)

Fig. 3.29. A *cakravartin*'s life, Nāgārjunakonda (right)

<sup>83</sup> Robert Knox, *Amaravati*, pp. 122-123, Plate no. 62.

<sup>84</sup> The seven treasures of a *cakravartin* are mentioned in many Mahayana Buddhist texts. For instance, these 7 treasures are also mentioned in the *Descent Sutra*, see Dharmarakṣa of the Western Jin tr., *The Descent Sutra of Buddha Maitreya*, T. 453, p. 421 a.

The woman standing behind the *cakravartin* holding an umbrella-like canopy could be an attendant. The canopy is also an important symbol of a *cakravartin*. The *Sutra Spoken on the Kingship (Cakravartinship) for Devaputra (Cakravartin) Jinaprabha* (hereafter, *Devaputra*) mentions that a Guan-ding-da-wang or a *cakravartin* who has received the ritual of *abhisekha* has five treasures: (1) the wonderful pearl-like hair pin, (2) white canopy, (3) white fly whisk, (4) precious shoes, (5) precious sword.<sup>85</sup> Of these five, the white canopy and white fly whisk often appear on the *cakravartin* reliefs of these places.

Similar depictions of the court life of a *cakravartin* are also found in the artifacts of Nagarjunakonda. For instance, in plate nos. 2, 4 (Fig. 29), 6, 8, 9, and 10 in K. Rama's *Buddhist Art of Nāgārjunakonda*, we find similar seated postures and images.<sup>86</sup> In plate nos. 2, 4, 6, 9 and 10, we also find two attendants carrying two white whisks behind the *cakravartin*.<sup>87</sup> The similarities of the depictions of a *cakravartin's* images and his court activities in the remaining reliefs of Nāgārjunakonda and the Mahācaitya at Amarāvātī confirm that the same belief was implemented in both places.

We also see *cakravartins* and their 7 treasures depicted on the reliefs in Borobudur. Beside the 7 treasures, other treasures of a *cakravartin* such as the white canopy and white fly whisk are also depicted. Most interestingly, some *cakravartins* on the reliefs of Borobudur are seated with "one leg pendent", too. This occurs, for instance, on a relief at the hidden foot. The *cakravartin* is seated with "one leg pendent" and surrounded by his 7 treasures, i.e. the elephant,

<sup>85</sup> Yijing of the Tang, FgA-1~ tr., *The Sutra Spoken on the Kingship for Devaputra Jinaprabha Taisho*, vol. 15 (T593), P. 125b:

<sup>86</sup> K. Rama, *Buddhist Art of Nagarjunakonda* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1995), Plate nos. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, etc.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate nos. 2, 4, 6, 9, 10, etc.

the horse, the lady, the *cakra* and three other ministers (Fig.30).<sup>88</sup> Similar depictions are also on the reliefs at the other levels of the site (Fig. 31).

But not every *cakravartin's* seated posture is "one leg pendent". We see a different seated posture in a relief at the hidden foot of the site. This *cakarvartin* has both legs crossed and tied up with a belt. He is seated on a low bench with three ladies and is surrounded by his 7 treasures and other people of the court.<sup>89</sup>

The frequent appearance of the *cakravartin's* image at Borobudur shows that the *cakravartinship* is also an important topic that was conveyed. It is apparent that the method depicting a *cakravartin's* image was adopted from Nāgārjunakonda and Amarāvati.



Fig 3.30 and 3.31. A *cakravartin* and his 7 treasures

### (3) The Other Major Depictions in Borobudur

Although the belief in *cakravartinship* is very important, the subject matter of Borobudur is not just simply the *cakravartinship*. What Borobudur wants to convey is the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya as stated mainly in the *Verification Sūtra*. Since the *Verification Sūtra* is the most important text that Borobudur used to depict its reliefs, the images and beliefs stated in the text are repeatedly depicted. These images include the three most important figures, viz., Buddharāja Maitreya, Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, and

<sup>88</sup> Nurhadi Rangkuti, *The Hidden Foot of Borobudur*, p. 29, plate 159.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28, plate 132.



Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and images of the relevant Buddhas, such as 7 Buddhas, 9 Buddhas and 3 Buddhas, etc. In order to present a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of Borobudur, we still have to say something about these images.

#### a. The Bodhisattva Image of Buddhārāja Maitreya

I have already discussed the Buddha images of Buddhārāja Maitreya depicted at the site. But these Buddha images are not what the designers of Borobudur really wanted to show. In other words, instead of promoting the Buddha images of Buddhārāja Maitreya, their real intention was to promote the Bodhisattva images of Buddhārāja Maitreya.

After Nāgārjuna promoted the *caitya* worship in South India, the belief was transmitted throughout Asia. In the course of the development of the belief, an esoteric text mentioned earlier, the *Kalpa on the Yoga Observed by Bodhisattva Maitreya*, was composed based on the belief established by Nagarjuna. This text describes Bodhisattva Maitreya's practice of Yoga for the attainment of *mahasiddhi*. Both the beliefs in the descent of Buddha Maitreya (stated in the *Descent sūtra*) and of Buddhārāja Maitreya (stated in the *Verification sūtra*) are mentioned.<sup>90</sup> In other words, the Bodhisattva Maitreya mentioned in the *Kalpa* has the same identity as the Buddha/Buddhārāja Maitreya of both these other texts. The *Kalpa* describes the characteristic motif of Bodhisattva Maitreya:

In the centre is placed the main image of Bodhisattva Maitreya whose crown is adorned with five Buddhas. His left hand holds a lotus flower upon which there is a *stupa of dharmadhatu mudrā*. His right hand shows a *dharmacakra mudra*. He is seated with his legs crossed up ...<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Subhakarasiṃha of the Tang tr., *The Kalpa on the Yoga Observed by Bodhisattva Maitreya*, p. 599a.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 595c

The icon of the “*stupa of dharmadhatu mudra*” as described must be of significance, or else it would not be placed on the lotus flower held by the Bodhisattva Maitreya with his left hand. It must be the icon of the *caitya* that Nāgārjuna promoted in the period of the Sātavāhana’s rule of the Deccan. This icon of the *caitya* had become the most important characteristic symbol of the belief in the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya. Since Bodhisattva Maitreya and Buddha Maitreya share the same identity in the *Descent Sūtra of Maitreya* and the *Ascent Sūtra of Maitreya*,<sup>92</sup> it is unsurprising that the *Kalpa* also describes the method of making the image of Buddha Maitreya. For instance, it thus describes making the votive image of the *dharmamudrā* of Buddha Maitreya and the icon of the *stūpa* by sand:

Making the image of the *dharmamudrā* of the Buddha and the icon of the *stūpa* by sand definitely makes one obtain *mahāsiddhi* (therefore) don’t stop doing it. The method of making the image of the *stūpamudrā* should be like that of the *stūpa* made in the west, where the image of the *dharmākaya of the Buddha* is placed.<sup>93</sup>

The last statement in this passage means that the image depicted in the *stūpa* or the *caitya* is the *dharmakāya* of Buddha Maitreya. This is consistent with what Nāgārjuna has said in his work. As the icon of the *stūpamudrā* / *stūpa of dharmadhatu mudrā* (the *caitya*) is the most important symbol established in this belief, we therefore know that those Bodhisattvas with the icons of the *caitya* on their crowns depicted at level 4 of Borobudur are the Bodhisattva images of

<sup>92</sup> See Upāsaka Juqu Jingsheng of the Song tr., *The Ascent Sutra of Maitreya*, Taisho, vol. 14 (T. 452), p.420a: Thus, Bodhisattva Maitreya will preach *dharmā* to numerous *devas* day and night in Tusita Paradise and will enlighten them accordingly ... then he will descend to Jambudvīpa as what the *Descent Sūtra of Maitreya* says. This means when Maitreya preaches in Tusita paradise he is Bodhisattva, while he descends to Jambudvīpa, he is an enlightened Buddha.

<sup>93</sup> Subhakarasiṃha of the Tang tr., *The Kalpa*, p. 599b.

Buddharāja Maitreya (Figs. 32 and 33). These Bodhisattva images of Buddharāja Maitreya are often seen sitting in *caityas* and appear often at the level 4 of Borobudur. This indicates that the image of Buddharāja Maitreya of the time when this level of Borobudur was built was the image of Bodhisattva Maitreya. This Bodhisattva image of Buddharāja Maitreya must have been the image of the then current king of Java.

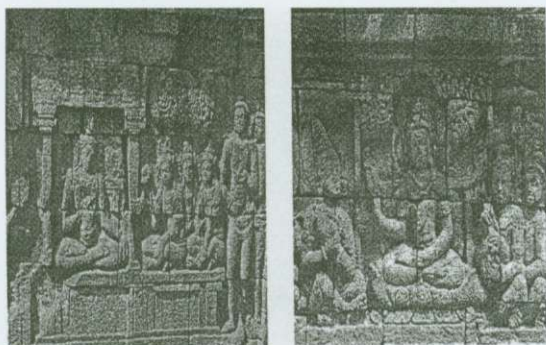


Fig. 3.32 & 3.33. Bodhisattva image of Buddharāja Maitreya

#### **b. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra and Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara**

Both the Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara are the most important assistants of Buddharāja Maitreya stated in the *Verification Sūtra*. Their images are therefore frequently depicted at the higher levels of Borobudur. The image of Samantabhadra appears more often than that of Avalokiteśvara, for the *Verification Sūtra* says that the former is regarded as the only Bodhisattva who understands the wisdom of the Buddha (Maitreya).<sup>94</sup> In Dunhuang, we find a Bodhisattva carrying a flower stem with three flower buds growing on the top. This Bodhisattva has the name “Puxian pusa” or “Bodhisattva Samantabhadra” written on his side (Fig. 34). We therefore identify

<sup>94</sup> See footnote 15.



the Bodhisattva who also carries a flower stem with three flower buds in Borobudur as Samantabhadra (Fig. 35). The Verification Sūtra also says that both Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Avalokiteśvara, but especially the former, had knelt down to receive/ the belief from the Buddha.<sup>95</sup> We therefore take the figure who kneels down to listen to the dharma preaching in Borobudur as Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Fig.36). As the *Verification Sūtra* is spoken/promoted by Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, his image is also often depicted together with other Buddhas promoted by the same text (Fig. 37):



Fig. 3.34. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, Dunhuang (left); Fig. 3.35. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (right)

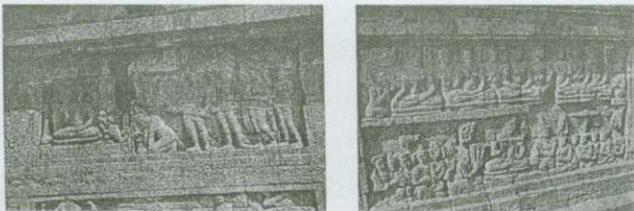


Fig. 3.36. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra

Fig. 3.37. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra with 9 Buddhas

The role that Bodhisattva Avatokiteśvara plays in the Verification Sūtra is less important, therefore his image does not appear as often as that of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. He appears several times at

<sup>95</sup> The *Verification Sūtra*, p. 1364c.

level 3, where he takes the guise of either the 4-armed Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa (Fig. 38) or the 6-armed Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa (Fig. 39).

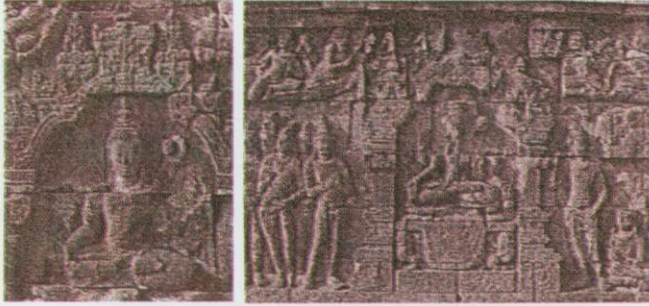


Fig. 3.38. Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa (left);  
Fig. 3.39. Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa (right)

### c. The Set of Maitreya 3

The three major figures of the *Verification Sūtra* also appear frequently in a set of Maitreya 3, as we see in the case of Candi Mendut. The central Buddha of the set of Maitreya 3 at Borobudur is not depicted in *pralambapādasana*. Instead, he is consistently depicted in the *dhyāna* posture (Fig. 40). Borobudur also often depicts the images of two Bodhisattvas in the standing posture (Fig. 41). A relief of the set of Maitreya 3 depicted at level 4 shows the two Bodhisattvas standing on both sides of the gateway of a *caitya* (Fig. 42). This depiction again shows the influence of Nāgārjunakonda and Amarāvātī.

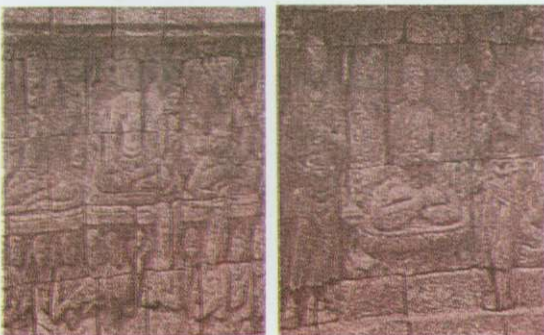


Fig. 3.40. and 3.41. A set  
of Maitreya 3

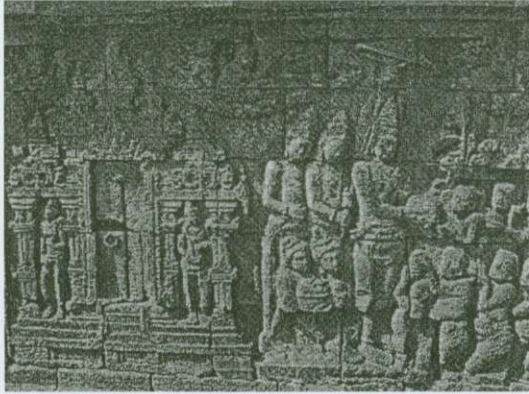


Fig. 3.42. Avalokiteśvara and Samantabhadra standing on both sides of the gateway of a *caitya*

#### d. 7 Buddhas

The *Verification Sūtra* twice mentions the names of 7 Buddhas. But each time, a different set of names is mentioned. On the first occasion, the text says that the 7 Buddhas are the saviors of sentient beings. When their names are called upon, these 7 Buddhas will straightaway heed the voices of the sentient beings and deliver them from suffering pain and torments in sickness, when being threatened by a great fire or a valley full of tigers and wolfs, when facing danger while traveling or when they are on the water.<sup>96</sup> On the second occasion, the text says that the belief in the descent of Buddhārāja Maitreya is preached by the 7 Buddhas.<sup>97</sup> As the 7 Buddhas are an important part of the belief, they also appear frequently on the reliefs of Borobudur (Figs. 43, 44). Again, this is important evidence of the fact that the depictions of the reliefs of Borobudur are based on the *Verification Sūtra*.

<sup>96</sup> The *Verification sūtra*, p.1363b.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1364c.



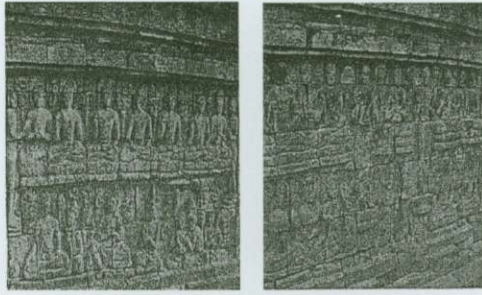


Fig. 3.43 & 3.44. The 7 Buddhas

### e. 9 Buddhas

The *Verification Sūtra* says that if sentient beings do not want to encounter unnatural death and 8 kinds of misfortune,<sup>98</sup> they should call upon the names of 9 Buddhas who will straightaway heed their voices, and all shall gain deliverance. In this case, the 9 Buddhas are also considered to be an important part of the belief advocated by the *Verification Sūtra*. This is why the images of 9 Buddhas are depicted repeatedly on the reliefs of Borobudur (Fig.37 and Fig. 45 ).

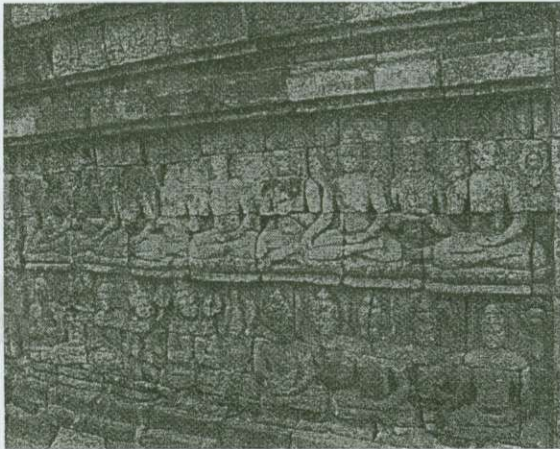


Fig. 3.45. 9 Buddhas

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1363b

## Conclusion

Architecturally and iconographically, Candi Borobudur is a product of the *caitya* worship or the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya first established and promoted by Nāgārjuna and the Sātavāhana king in South India around the beginning of the third century A.D. Although Borobudur shows some influences from Nāgārjunakonda and Amarāvātī in its architectural structure and iconographical design, its designers created their own Javanese styles of *caitya* that are not seen elsewhere in Asia. Iconographically, Borobudur presents many detailed depictions of the esoteric beliefs prevailing in Asia at that time. For instance, there are the esoteric images of Avalokiteśvara Amoghapāśa and the Bodhisattva image of Buddharāja Maitreya. Borobudur also demonstrates its unique Javanese interpretations of the beliefs and figures stated in the *Verification Sūtra*. For instance, the image and the role of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra is very much emphasized and is depicted in many styles not seen elsewhere. Bodhisattva Samantabhadra's image and role is basically depicted also in sites such as Nāgārjunakonda, Amarāvātī, Ajanta and Ellora. Although these sites promote the same belief, however, their depiction of the image of the Bodhisattva is very mechanical, he is always standing by one side of Buddharāja Maitreya.

We note that most of the depictions on the reliefs in Borobudur are based on the *Verification Sūtra*. The depictions on the major reliefs of the upper levels are obviously based on the text. The same is true of the depictions on many reliefs at the hidden foot. The depictions of the reliefs at the hidden foot might have been used as a visual demonstration of the state policy on the *caitya* worship at that time. The reliefs consist of the promotion of the *caitya* worship, the belief in the descent of Buddharāja Maitreya, the cakravartinship implemented

at that time and some relevant religious practices related to the policy, such as making offerings of food and clothings to monks and forbidding killing such as fishing, etc.

Certainly some depictions on some reliefs are based on other relevant texts as well. For instance, the birth story of Buddha Maitreya is depicted based on the *Descent Sūtra of Buddha Maitreya* translated by Yijing. Certain other depictions are still unidentifiable. For instance, the images of 5 Buddhas appear quite frequently at the site. The belief of 5 Buddhas is neither mentioned in the *Verification Sūtra* nor in the *Descent Sūtra of Buddha Maitreya*. The depictions on such reliefs must have been based on other sources. Nevertheless, I have tried to show that Borobudur certainly was one of the most important monuments ever created in the history for the *caitya* worship.



**ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY OF CANDI  
BOROBUDUR  
(Conservation Policy of the Borobudur Temple Cultural  
Landscape)  
by  
Soeroso MP, M.Hum**

**I. Introduction**

Indonesia is a rich country compared to other ASEAN member states, especially in archaeological heritages. Among others, there are Prambanan Temple Compound, Sangiran Early-Man Site, and Borobudur Temple Compound that has been listed by UNESCO as the World Cultural Heritages.

Borobudur Temple, which has been stood in good condition for over than 12 centuries, has been a loyal witness of the country's history. The Borobudur, a great and mighty temple, is one of Indonesian masterpieces, which has been declared as the World Cultural Heritage and being listed in 1991 by UNESCO under the number C592. Since 1814 preservation efforts like cleaning, conservation, and restoration have been conducted on the temple, involving local, national, and international parties. One of the pioneers is Theodore van Erp, a Dutch engineer, who has done restoration and reconstruction on the temple since 1906 up to 1911. Later a huge restoration project has been executed in 1973 to 1983 by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, supported by UNESCO.

After the restoration the temple of Borobudur has developed to be one of the famous tourism destinations under the management of *PT. Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan, dan Ratu Boko* (Tourism

Parks of Borobudur, Prambanan, and Ratu Boko Ltd) and the Office for Conservation of Candi Borobudur has the responsibility for the maintenance and conservation of the temple. One of the benefits of Borobudur becoming a tourism destination is that it has a significant effect on the economy of the people from the surrounding places, although it also creates new problems on its preservation. That is why the President of the Republic of Indonesia, during his speech on Borobudur Inauguration, stated that “the initiation ceremony of the Borobudur Temple after restoration is not our final task, but the beginning of our responsibility to manage and preserve the temple to be much more sturdy and long-lasting”.

Realizing that the threat to Borobudur Temple is not only to the monument but also to the community at large, in 2004 the Ministry of Culture and Tourism established a Steering Committee and an Organizing Committee to execute the “Restoration of Candi Prambanan Phase II”. These committees had the obligation to develop the whole element of community to actively preserve the Borobudur region, which has been degraded. Many activities to restore the socio-cultural environment have been implemented accordingly but still new problems emerged, like shopping street, Jagat Java (Souvenir shop centre), etc.

In facing the problem, the Directorate General of Historical and Archaeological Remains has initiated review and evaluation of the Master Plan of Borobudur Temple. This action was considered a preliminary step to set up further planning of preservation and management in broader scale, which is appropriate for the sake of the local community nowadays and in the future. The main targets of this action are as follows:

- (a) To review the Master Plan of Borobudur Temple, which has been designed by JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency, its implementation, and its appropriateness with the present situation;

- (b) To compile inputs and its possibilities to do revision or reformulation of new Master Plan of Borobudur Site Management in term of preservation.

The main aspects of study are:

- (a) Policy of preservation and utilization;
- (b) Space structuring;
- (c) Legal forms;
- (d) Management organization;
- (e) Visitor management;
- (f) Services and society development.

## **II. The Main Problems**

Many researches and social mappings that have been carried out in Borobudur region show that the problems on Borobudur Temple are related to its management affairs and are caused by problems in conceptual and practical levels. On the conceptual level, there are differentiations of value, knowledge, perception, and benefit in understanding the temple; while on the practical level there are various problems that are related to legal aspect, landscape, social behavior, and architectural aspect.

### **2.1 Differentiations of Value, Knowledge, Perception, and Importance**

1. In terms of appreciation, the values and norms of all stakeholders of the Borobudur Temple vary based on their socio-cultural backgrounds.
  - a) **Academicians.** The revealing of the Borobudur Temple in 1814 was more based on scientific reasons. History shows that researchers and antiquarians in the past played an important role in bringing scientific values through objectivity and rationality. With such values, Borobudur was only viewed as a dead monument and no longer has cultural connection with the local community.



- b) **Local Community.** In general the local community has traditional cultural values and considers Borobudur as part of its culture, as seen on how they perform their traditional life and activities like what they have done for generations. Disappointment among the local people arose when their spiritual commitment that has been existed from generation to generation was suddenly cut-off by the establishment of a private company called *PT. Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan, dan Ratu Boko*,
- c) **Government.** Basically the government follows values from legal, formal, and bureaucracy points of view, which urge it to consider Borobudur a dead monument and to control its management. In this sense, the government would be the only decision-maker for Borobudur's utilization. The decision to change the name National Archaeological Park into Borobudur Tourism Park with Presidential Decree Number 1 of 1992 shows the government's position, which views Borobudur merely as a tourism object rather than a cultural heritage.
- d) **Urban Society.** In general, people from outside Borobudur region, who work in informal sector, were only focused on how to get bigger profit.
- e) They become traders that do not care about law and local traditions. By understanding this matter, we can at least know why all the traders in Zone 2 are very difficult to manage, and disharmony will emerge among the local society and newcomers.
- f) **World Community.** The world community recognizes Borobudur as the World Cultural Heritage. This achievement can be gained because the values of the world community (which is

represented by UNESCO World Heritage Committee) can accept its cultural diversity and uniqueness. Borobudur is viewed as one of the masterpieces of humankind, which should be preserved to avoid human culture impoverishment. This value encourages them to pay attention to the authenticity and the integrity of the existing elements of Borobudur - both the monument and its surroundings - as well as its community. Thus the idea of keeping Borobudur region optimally emerges.

- g) Visitors.** Most visitors of the Borobudur Temple are tourists, because the temple is always promoted as a tourism object. Tourism program in the area is developed in line with mass-tourism pattern, in which tourists always look for entertainment rather than having an experience of improving their quality of life. Their major demands are: easiness, comfort, and low-cost. Due to their various backgrounds, it is understandable that they have less respect on the temple's value.
- 2. The knowledge of all the stakeholders of the Borobudur Temple varies, even though all related to the meaning of the temple, goal of preservation, and its management. It is caused by big gaps on their educational background.**

  - a) The local community.** Based on researches more than 20 years ago, the level of knowledge, skill, and creativity of the local people never developed whereas visitors have higher level of education. This condition makes the local people have difficulties to filter the outside influence, and therefore they have cultural shock that causes many social problems.
  - b) Management.** It has been realized that all parties involved in

the management do not have enough knowledge on the goal, principles, and procedure in preserving the Borobudur Temple, particularly regarding its status as the World Cultural Heritage. This differentiation eventually leads to confusion in the management of the temple and its surroundings.

- c) **Visitors.** The visitors of the Borobudur Temple come from various places, cultural backgrounds, and education levels. In other words, they have different knowledge about the Borobudur Temple and different targets of its preservation. This condition makes it difficult to find ways to synchronize visitors' need and preservation effort.
3. The different perceptions among stakeholders have its impact on the preservation and management attitude, particularly on ownership and religion.
- a) **Ownership.** The Borobudur Temple was found as ruins with no indication about who the heir of its owner is, so that the ownership and control are in the hands of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. On the other hand, the local people felt that the temple has been existed for a long time at their village and become part of their life. Therefore they have a cultural emotion with the Borobudur Temple and thus feel that they are entitled to get more benefit from it than the newcomers.
  - b) **Preservation.** There are different perceptions on the goal of preservation between two institutions that deal with Borobudur's management. The Office for the Conservation of Candi Borobudur has a perception of preserving the temple in its truly sense; while the Tourism Park Ltd has a perception of preserving it to get benefit from it. The eagerness to optimize the temple as a tourism object would end up in the construction of various facilities



not in accordance to the value of the temple, like Bird Park, MURI Museum, Ship Museum, and Hotel.

- c) **Social Responsibility.** People would assume that the company that has the authority to manage and utilize the temple should have social responsibility to develop the welfare of the surrounding people. Unfortunately, the income gained from Borobudur's utilization has been used for other areas, and only a small part of it is used for developing the Borobudur area.
- d) **Significance.** It is understandable that Borobudur area attracts many parties to get benefit from it, of course for their own interests. *Jagad Jawa*, Shopping Street, and the relocation of street traders are samples of those interests. The most recent issue is the sanctification of the main stupa of the Borobudur Temple from all tourism activities.
- e) **Science.** Borobudur Temple is an important cultural resource for science and knowledge. There are many aspects of life in the past that can be revealed from this 9<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist monument. This makes many scientists and scholars observe Borobudur as an area for the development of science, technology, and art. But then, is it wise to close it for common people to use the temple as a resource to optimize their quality of life?
- f) **Culture.** Local people see Borobudur as their cultural asset; thus the purpose of preserving it is more aimed at accommodating their traditions and cultural binding with the temple. Meanwhile, some parties consider Borobudur Temple one of Indonesian cultural identities, which should not be 'sacrificed' to the interests that have negative impacts on the cultural resource.
- g) **Tourism.** As a world cultural heritage, the Borobudur Temple attracts many tourists. Up to now, interests related to tourism only lead to mass tourism, which activities are only to satisfy visitors

rather than to maintain the cultural resource. The measurement of success is based only on the amount of visitors. This condition encourages tourism manager to attract more tourists without taking into account the negative impact on the cultural resource.

- h) **Economy.** As a tourism attraction, the Borobudur Temple has a potency to become an economic resource. The government, private sector, and local community would like to use the temple as the centre of economic activity. Exploitation of the temple has changed the main concept of preservation towards profit-making. Finally, the development planning has no longer binding with the temple value, as shown by the building of a bird park, museums, and a hotel too close to the temple.
- i) **Preservation.** As an old monument and a world cultural heritage, the Borobudur Temple must be preserved. The important values and physical condition of the temple should not be degraded. In that case, all activities that have potency to threat the values, authenticity, and integrity of the temple should be avoided. For some reasons, this important goal cannot be achieved. The orientation of making Borobudur a mass tourism destination and economic resource has no doubt degraded the temple values. Among the causes is the lack of measurement to control tourists' attitudes (vandalism, climbing the temple, etc.) and traders' unethical manner, (following visitors).

The differentiation of values, knowledge, perception, and interest regarding Borobudur Temple has been accumulated, and there has not been any solution to solve the problem. This will end up in more damage on Borobudur Temple.

### **III. Problem Solving Preservation**

Preservation concept is important in Borobudur temple management. Many studies conducted on Borobudur show that the temple greatly influences the social life of the communities within and outside the Borobudur area. Based on archaeological evidences, since Borobudur was built, it had been functioned as a gathering place. And now Borobudur still serves as the central point in the development of the area. Unfortunately, space in Borobudur becomes limited while living expectation becomes higher. Not many people realize the impact they face. People seldom think that there is a strong correlation between progress of development and degradation of cultural resource preservation.

Below are several items of preservation concept to consider in managing and preserving the Borobudur Temple and its entire area to create harmony.

#### **1. Shift of Paradigm**

It should be admitted that up to now preservation effort on cultural heritage is only focused on the object. The final task of restoration is merely to bring the original form back without thinking on its utilization. It is no wonder that although many archaeological heritages have been restored, there is still no visitor.

Recently UNESCO actively promotes the shift of paradigm on archaeological heritage preservation. In the beginning, many cultural sources have been formatted and determined using 3P formula (Princes, Priests, and Politicians). Now it has been developed into 4P formula (Princes, Priests, Politicians, and People).



## **2. Holistic Development Concept**

Holistic development concept strengthens the synergy between human and nature (Borobudur and its surroundings), so policy-making should always consider the whole environmental aspect. To protect the environment and the interests of human welfare, a specific space that is managed in holistic manner is needed, which consists of space unity, thing, energy, circumstances, and human life including people and their attitudes that will influence living sustainability.

As a consequence, the management of Borobudur Temple area cannot be implemented partially or by sectors, or only stereotypically for the temple, but should be implemented in connection with related sectors. It needs an integral effort - which consists of arrangement, utilization, development, conservation, restoration, and control - that involves participation of the entire community. It should use holistic approach (which is an ecological paradigm), which puts its stress on: (1) building relationship between scientific engineering and ethics; (2) synergy and integral relationship between human and the monument (in this case the Borobudur Temple) and its surroundings; (3) decision making that taking into account value, cultural, economical, and other aspects equally.

## **IV. Conclusion**

### **1. Return to the First Concept of Borobudur Foundation**

Considering the various aspects of development and problems nowadays, the concept of development and utilization of a region must be brought back to the first significant value, which is as an education centre. In present assumption, the Borobudur region could be

considered a centre of social education in conjunction to the society as well as a laboratory to study the phenomena of the Borobudur's nature, including its geological, geomorphological, and astronomical aspects. The studies of science and technology could be developed into small and medium enterprises in the villages around the Borobudur Temple and would lead to the benefit to all sectors without any friction and conflict, especially to the temple.

In the level of philosophy, the shape of the Borobudur Temple with the entire stories, and its relation to other temples including all villages around Borobudur can be considered a *Mandala*. If *Mandala* means to return to the first essence as the constellation of concentric circles, in which certain points become the centre of power, then in reality the Borobudur region has a potency to be developed with Borobudur Temple as the centre of excellence. This way, the target of arrangement in frame of preservation and utilization of the Borobudur Temple, including its surroundings, could accommodate all interests for:

1. living monument - as an education centre (to understand the culture)
2. preservation-based tourism park
3. centre of study (to understand various fields of science)
4. re-establishment of emotional relationship between the local community and its surroundings and Borobudur as one inseparable ecosystem
5. confirmation of Borobudur environmental value as an integral unity between the physical and non-physical environments (temple, human life, culture, and natural environment)

## **2. Development of New Paradigm of Preservation Principles**

The protection principles of the Borobudur region by zoning as an aspect of space arrangement are as follows:

- Region controlling principle, which guarantees its function and performance in physical, social, and economical terms. In zoning context, the region is divided into two areas - the protected core area and the buffer area - each with its own spatial management control.
- For protected zone the controlling concept should be firmly implemented, while for buffer zone the possibility of change is negotiable, for instance intensive mechanism and dynamic mixed land-uses.
- Space arrangement sustainability concept, with reference to equilibrium of three binding elements: ecology, eco-culture, and eco-economy. Ecology is human life-resources, eco-culture stresses on integration between living organism and its surroundings, and eco-economy stresses on economical development that always pays attention to ecology in term of fulfilling the present life without threatens the future generations. The three elements are also reflected on the space arrangement with focus on bio-geophysical, socio-cultural, and economic life nowadays and in the future.
- Zoning implementation in the region only differs in the protected core and the buffer zones in broader terms. Strict control in the core zone is a must. Lax (lenient) control in the buffer zone makes possible the formulation of the development dynamics of economy and community.
- Zoning arrangement is based on the protection aspect of the temple and its region and also on environment - eco-region of the Borobudur region. The zone is divided into:



- zone 1 and 2 as the core zone
- zone 1 (the same as the zone 1 made by JICA)
- zone 2, which consists of zone 2 A that functions as a park (the land is state-owned) and zone 2B with the ancient lake (now a rice field area) as its boundary

### **3. Community-Based and Sustainability-Based Development and Utilization**

The principles of development and utilization of Borobudur region are as follows:

- Sustainability
- Preservation for people
- Tools for education development
- Trail of civilization - development
- Development of node points outside of the Borobudur Temple as new potency that will be of benefit to the Borobudur region with its mandala and certain powers at its cardinal directions
- Mixed land-uses for area outside the core zone but still within the measurement control
- Tourism development based on cultural-tourism economical, and social
- Community development, in principal, is an activity among people in the community - which proceeds systematically, well-planned, and targeted to improve the social and economical conditions as well as living quality - in harmony with the development of infra-structure.

**CHAPTER II**  
**TEXT**

**NOTES ON THE TIBETAN TRANSLATION OF  
KARMAVIBHANGGA AND RELIEFS ON THE HIDDEN  
BASE OF BOROBUDUR**

by

**Prof. Emeritus Rimpoché Mynak R. Tulku**

First of all I must thank the National Research and Development Centre of Archaeology, Department of Culture and Tourism, Government of Indonesia for inviting me to participate in this International Seminar: *Uncovering the Meaning of the Hidden Base of Candi Borobudur*. I also would like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Engelsman and the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, for providing funds to cover my air ticket from Bhutan to Indonesia. My appreciations to Ms Titi Surti Nastiti of the organizing Committee and my friend Dr. Nandana Chutiwongs for all their hard work in communicating with me on all the matters relating to the conference, since electronic communications between Bhutan and Indonesia are not all that easy.

When the common Buddhists of Tibet, Bhutan and the other Himalayan countries view Borobudur, one of the most magnificent and intriguing monuments of the Buddhist world, in reality or in pictures, it immediately appears to them as any Buddhist Stupa, a symbol of veneration for the propagation of the Buddha Dharma. It also represents the thought of the Enlightened Buddha, enshrining the holy remains of the Buddha and any other important masters. It is a place for pilgrimage to earn merit. For monks and scholars it also represents a visual image of Buddhist cosmology. The various structural stages as seen



at the Borobudur monument represent the three levels in a Buddhist system of cosmology: the world of Desire, (*Karmadatu/Dokham*, the world of Form without desire (*Rupadatu/Zugkham*) and the ultimate World of Formlessness ( *Arupadatu /Zugmed Kham*), as explained in the Abhidharma Kosha. It has been a tradition in Buddhism since its beginnings to build Stupas for the veneration of the master. Every pious Buddhist tried to contribute whatever he could; the poor came forward with their offer of skills and labour, in various Buddhist countries, while the rich and the scholars contributed materials and advice on the construction. The Mahachaitya (Great Stupa) at Amaravati in India is one of the earliest, believed to be built in the 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. The Great Stupa at Gyantse in Tibet, built in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with its multi-storied structure, represents various deities of Mahayana Buddhism.

*Mandalas* are often described as cosmoplans in both the external sense, as a diagram of a cosmos or blue print of a deity's celestial palace, and in the internal sense, as a guide to the psycho-physical practices of an adherent. Fundamentally, however, *mandalas* represent manifestations of specific divinities in the cosmos and as the cosmos. As such, they are seen as sacred places which, by their presence in the world, remind a viewer of the immanence of sanctity in the universe and its potential in himself. *Mandalas* thereby assist the practitioner's progress to ward enlightenment.

When one looks at drawing or ruins of the Great Stupa in Armavati, Borobudur in Java and the Great Stupa of Gyantse in Tibet, one finds similarities in structure but differences in decoration and the arrangement of the images and in broader shapes suggest the local influence and imagination of the builders.

The importance of the Diamond World Mandala in early Esoteric Buddhism had led many to associate the tradition with

Borobudur. Esoteric Buddhism was known in Indonesia when Borobudur was constructed. According to historical records, Sumatra was one of the most famous centers for the study of Tantrayana or Vajra Yana (Diamond Path) Buddhism. Monks from around the world, including Amoghavajra and Atisha (982-1054), a seminal figure in the development and spread of Buddhism in Tibet, studied there.

One of the most famous and well recorded Stupas built in a *Manadala* form is the Shri Dayanakataka Stupa in Amaravati. This Stupa is referred to in many places in classical literature. It is believed that the Buddha himself established this Stupa for the benefit of the future generations, so they could see and learn about the concept of the *Mandala* of Kalachakra, which can be explained, externally, as a teaching in universal understanding, and internally as a means to understand the structure of the movement to Buddhahood. Although, very few Himalayan scholars visited the actual Amaravati stupa before it fall into parts, nevertheless they re-structured the *Stupa Mandala* on the basis of recorded literature, and it closely resembles that of Borobudur. One example is a very detailed painting of this famous *Mandala* painted in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, preserved in a monastery in Paro, Bhutan. Painted on the basis of the writings of Buston (1290-1364) a great scholar of Tibet who was also responsible for such compilations of The Buddha's teaching in Tibetan as the Kanjur and the Tenjur. When we look at the painting and the photographs of Borobudur, we can see some of the similarities. Moreover, anyone who is familiar with all the meanings of the various stages of the *Mandala Stupa* will find it easier to understand the meanings and symbolism of Borobudur.

### **Some thoughts on the Tibetan text of Karmavibhanga.**

As I have never visited Indonesia and the world famous

Borobudur, my contribution to the Seminar will be limited to some of the information on the Tibetan translation of *Karmavibhangga* (*Las Nampar Byedpa in Tibetan*).

There has been a lot of research and work carried out on the hidden base reliefs of Borobudur, which record some of the meanings explained by The Buddha on the Law of Cause and Effect in the book titled *Karmavibhangga*. As Borobudur, was built around 800 AD, its builders based their reliefs of the original Sanskrit texts or on Chinese translations of *Karmavibhangga*. The translation of major Buddhist texts into Tibetan started only in the later part of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

*Karmavibhangga*, a text on The Law of Cause and Effect, was recorded in the Sutra division of the *Kagyur* (the words of The Buddha). The text of *Karmavibhangga* is found in different volumes in the Sutra division of the *Kagyur* (the words of the Buddha) in various editions of the *Kagyur*. There are several editions of *Kagyur* in the Tibetan language, printed in different Buddhist countries.

Here it may be important to give some information on the *Kagyur* and its different editions. The *Sde dge* edition of *Kagyur*, which runs to over 100 volumes, contains 1115 texts on 65,420 Tibetan folios (450,000 lines, 25 million words). The Tibetan translation of *Karmavibhangga* is text 338 in the Sutra division. Many of the editions, such as the Urga (Mongolia) *Kajur*, lists this text in Volume No. 72, text No. 338, while in the Peking Edition, kept in the library of the Otani University in Japan and reprinted in 1957, the text is found in volume No. 39, text No. 1005. In the Nyingma Edition, printed in the United States, which is based on the Derge Edition, this text is found in Vol. No. 27 and text No. 338.

The Lhasa Edition, however, contains two texts under the same title, *Karmavibhangga*, in Vol. No. La (19) of the Sutra section. The



first book titled *Karmavibhangga* is found from page No. 425, back side to 455, front side, and the second text with the same title runs from page 455, back side, to 490 back side. Although the two texts have the same title, they contain different explanations. *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java*, by Jan Fontein (1989) gives a translation of the book in which the Buddha's preaching of this Sutra to Suka, the Brahmin boy is described in detail. This translation gives some of the ten multiple types of actions that result, for all beings, in various types of rebirth, which results are recorded in the text explained to Suka. In the Tibetan translation, these types of action are explained by the Buddha to a Brahmin's son, Netso.

Examining the two different texts with same title, *Karmavibhangga*, found in the Lhasa edition it is interesting to see that the two texts were the Buddha's preaching of the same text to different Brahmin boys. The first text reads a story which led Buddha to teach *Karmavibhangga* Sutra to the Brahmin Boy Netso and the second text was taught to Brahmin boy Suka as a question and answer. The second text is in all the editions of *Kagyur* but the first text is only found in Lhasa edition. The subject- The Law of Cause and Effect explained by Buddha is similar in both the text but the wordings are different in nature.

The event which led the Buddha to preach on The Cause and Effect in the first text is interesting. I will give just a short translation of the first few lines of the text which led Buddha to explain *Karmavibhangga* the Law and Cause Effect according to Buddhism to the Brahmin boy Netso.

While Buddha was residing in Jeta Grove in Sravasti one morning after putting on his lower and upper robes, he took his begging bowl and set out for his daily alms round in the local town. Going from

one to another house in sequence, Buddha approached the house of Brahmin boy Netso, the son of Touteya. A dog by the name of Dung was sitting on a seat covered with white cloth and eating rice broth with meat. When he saw the Buddha at the door, the dog barked at the Buddha, and the Buddha said to the dog that he was not gentle with this words. The dog became unhappy and got off the seat and crawled under it. When the master of the dog, the Brahmin boy Netso, returned for the day and saw his dog hiding under the seat, he asked his family what they had said to the dog. They replied saying, "Lord! We have not said anything to the dog, but Goutama the monk came for his alms," and they told him what happened. The boy Netso was very annoyed and set out for place where the Buddha was residing. While at the Jeta Grove, the Buddha was teaching hundreds of his disciples, and when Buddha saw that the Brahmin's son Netso was approaching with anger, he said to his disciples that if the boy dies with this anger he will reborn in hell because of his anger at a master. There is an 8 stanza composition on this event by a Bhikkhu.

After arriving to the place where Buddha was teaching his disciples, the son of the Brahmin, to make others happy conducted normally courteous discussions; he sat to one side and asked Buddha, "Have you visited my house?" "Yes, I did," replied the Buddha. "Did you say anything to my dog?" The Buddha related the events that lead him to the house and the words he said to the dog, and other details that took place while he visited his house. In reply, the son of the Brahmin, Netso, addressed the Buddha by his name, "Goutama! Do you know what the past life of this dog is?" He repeated the question three times. The Buddha said. "Keep quite and don't ask this question, as it will make you unhappy. But since you repeated the question three times, I will tell you. Your father is reborn as this dog in your house."

In reply, the son said it cannot be, because while his father was alive he made many offerings and fire ceremonies and should have been born in the celestial palace of Brahman. The Buddha said, "Your father is born as a dog because of his pride in doing all the ceremonies and other offerings. If you do not believe me, go back and ask the dog to sit on the seat, and if he does, ask him to eat food prepared with meat and rice. If he eats, ask him to show me the things that you could not hand over to me."

Netso, the Brahmin's son, returned to the house and carried out the Buddha's instructions. The dog followed all the instructions and took him to an old house site where he dug in a place where he found gold and other items. Netso was overjoyed with the findings and returned to the place where the Buddha was residing. Then he said to the Buddha, "I have some more questions to ask you, if I may." The Buddha agreed and he asked questions which the Buddha explained in ten explanations each.

The second text with the same title contains more questions on the Law of Cause and Effect, explained to Suka. At the end of the both texts the boys with different names are referred to as the son of the same Brahmin, which lead to further research about these two texts, in which it was asked whether they referred to the same person by two names or to two different persons. This can only be done by cross checking with original Sanskrit text/texts of the *Karmavibhangga* and with its Chinese translations.

The Tibetan *Kagyur* contains several other texts on the same theme but with different titles, such as *Karmavibhangga Nama Dharmagrandha* and *Karmasataka*. It has been a common practise in the Himalayan Buddhist countries to paint Wheel of Life in the entrance of temples and monasteries to show the chief cause and affect of all



living beings. The Wheel of Life, therefore, illustrates in a popular way the essence of the Buddha's teachings, of earthly suffering, its origin and cause, the cessation or prevention of misery, and the path to the cessation of earthly suffering. The walls of the temples are normally decorated with paintings of Buddhas, Buddhisttas and other deities, along with life stories of the Buddha as described in texts like *Lalitavistara* and *Avatamsaka Sutra*. Although the text of *Karmavibhangga* is translated along with many other texts on the Law of Cause and Effect as taught by the Buddha, there is no recorded painting of this. One can learn about these teachings in the form of illustrations from the reliefs of Borobudur, which will be a great instrument to convey the message of the Law and Cause Effect to the common people who are not well versed in the texts but can understand from the illustrations. One day, we may have the resources and means to copy the Borobudur reliefs and reproduce them in the local art styles and materials to convey these teachings in physical form that can be simply understood by all who desire to learn. This was, probably, the original inspiration of the builders of Borobudur.

## MAHAKARMAVIBHANGGA SUTRA – A BRIEF CRITICAL ANALYSIS

by

Prof. Dr. K. Sankarnarayan

The Buddha's teaching on *kamma* (*karma*) has an important place in the doctrinal foundations of Buddhism. The nature of its moral efficacy is essential to Buddhist philosophy and practice.

The Buddha's doctrine on *kamma* has metaphysical implications, but these must be understood through textual analysis that takes into account the context of the Buddha's discourses. Culture, language, myth, social life and religious rivalries all play a **part in** the composition of the text, both with regard to what is said and how it is said.

The Buddha's expositions on *kamma* was unique as the cause of 'perennial movement' (*samsara*) due to *pratityasamutpada*, (cause and effect), and an endless cycle of death and rebirth governed by *kamma* resulting in *kamma vipaka*.

In the Pali *Majjhimanikaya*, we have both *Culakammavibhangasutta* and *Mahakammavibhangasutta*. In the earlier, it was the conversation between the young Brahmin Subha<sup>1</sup>, Todeyya's son with the Lord Buddha at Savatthi at Jetavana and in the later it was the discussion between Potali's son<sup>2</sup> with venerable Samiddhi at Rajagaha at Venuvana.

While analyzing this concept of Buddha's *kamma* and

---

<sup>1</sup> *Culakammavibhangasutta, Majjhimanikaya (VRI Pultication)*, pp.250-255.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahakammavibhangasutta, Majjhimanikaya*, pp.256-263

*kammavipaka*, the new edition of *Karmavibhanggasutra*<sup>3</sup> based on the two MS (A&B) preserved in Nepalese Archive drew my attention. Sylvain Levi has edited and published a book entitled 'Mahakarmavibhangga (MKV) and *Karmavibhanggopadesa* (KVO) on the basis of Nepalese manuscripts using the hand written copies prepared by Hemaraj Sharman.<sup>4</sup>

### ***Mahakarmavibhanggasutra***

Prof. Yamada Ryujo while reviewing Levi's book, made a survey of all versions of this text, classified them into several groups and called them collectively *Oumu-kyo ichi rui* (Sukasutra)-class<sup>5</sup>

Later Yamada published a bibliographical work on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature titled *Bongo butten no shobunken*<sup>6</sup> (Bibliographies on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature) which he devoted a small section to *MKV*.<sup>7</sup>

C.B.Tripathi published his study on the *KVU*, especially in reference to the texts in the Turfan collection: *Catuspadasutra*, *Mahaparinirvanasutra*, and *Mahasamajiyasutra*. Compared the quotations in the *MKV* with texts, and he concludes that "the citations of *KVU* echo very faintly - in one case not even this - the wordings of the Berlin editions, which belong to the school of Sarvastivada.<sup>8</sup> He suggests a possibility of the *KVU* ( and the *MKV*) belonging to the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya school; it is based on the German translation and Chinese materials.

<sup>3</sup> Noriyuki Kudo (ed.), *The Karmavibhanga, Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* VII, The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, Tokyo 2004, MS-A & MS-B.

<sup>4</sup> Narthang edition no.323

<sup>5</sup> Yamada Ryujo(1935), cf. Noriyuki Kudo

<sup>6</sup> Noriyuki, *op.cit.* p.viii

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Oumu-kyo ichi rui, pp. 39 -41

<sup>8</sup> Turfan manuscripts, English summary by C.B. Tripathy, 1966, pp.219



Walter Simon critically analyzed *Karmavibhangga* in the Manuscript (MS) Kanjur of the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> His achievement is epoch making because he finds the third translation of the *Karmavibhangga* which according to him, “reflects an earlier Sanskrit original than Levi’s text”. This version has two striking features:

1. there are no quotations which explain the law of *karma* ;
2. it has an introductory story which is not contained in either of the Tibetan translations used by Levi, and the *udessa* which is missing from one of the Tibetan texts. Owing to this research we have three Tibetan versions of the *Karmavibhangga* (KI), probably each reflecting different stages of the transmission of the text.<sup>10</sup>

Namikawa Takayashi published his studies on the *Mahakarmavibhangga*.<sup>11</sup> He compared the text *Mahakarmavibhangga* with extant-parallels in Pali, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. In 1984a, some of the quotations in *MKV*, especially those from *sutras* and *vinayas*, are compared with the extant parallels in Sanskrit, Pali Tibetan and Chinese.<sup>12</sup> As a result, he concludes that the quotations in the *MKV* had not been taken from the texts belonging to the Sarvastivadins and Mahisasakas. Two articles<sup>13</sup> deal with the *Cakravartisutra*<sup>14</sup> and its related text, which is quoted in the *MKV* four times under the different

<sup>9</sup> A Note on the Tibetan Version of the “Karmavibhanga” Preserved in the MS Kanjur of the British Museum, Walter Simon, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 33, No. 1, In Honour of Sir Harold Bailey (1970), pp. 161-166

<sup>10</sup> Noriyuki, *op.cit.* p. ix

<sup>11</sup> 1984a-c; 1985a-b; cf. Noriyuki, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> *Karmavibhanga* fragments in Khotanese, a Middle Iranian language, version does not correspond to any of the known versions of the texts, including the Central Asian ones (Sanskrit, Sogdian, Tocharia).

<sup>13</sup> Namikawa Takayashi, *op.cit.* 1984b and 1985a.

<sup>14</sup> In the *KV*, ed. by Levi, the name of the *Cakravartisutra* including the *Cakravartirajasutravibhanga* appears a total four times.

titles<sup>15</sup>. Compared with other parallels, he draws the conclusion that these four passages are quoted from three different version of the *Cakravartisutra* and they might have been included in the *Abhidharma-basket* of a certain school which possessed this *MKV*<sup>16</sup>.

In the last paper published by Namikawa<sup>17</sup> classifies almost all the versions of the *MKV* into two categories; one is called class -1, consisting of the Pali text and the four Chinese translations; the other is class -2, containing the *MKV*, the Tibetan translations, and two other Chinese translations. Further, he discusses the mutual relationships among the texts within each class. Finally, he reaches the conclusion that *MKY* belongs to the *Sammitiyas* (*Vastiputriyas*).

In 1995, Mauro Maggi<sup>18</sup> published the Khotanese version of *Karmavibhangga* covering all Khotanese fragments of *KV*. According to him, this text is not identical with any of the other known versions of the text.<sup>19</sup> It does not include the quotations at all; the order of the sections differ from that of the Sanskrit text and contained the introductory tale as preserved in *MKV*.

### The title *Karmavibhangga*

The title *Karmavibhangga* is more appropriate than the title *Mahakarmavibhangga* because:

1. The name *Mahakarmavibhangga* appears in the colophon of the MS (A) which consists of the two documents. At the place where

<sup>15</sup> Noriyuki, *op. cit.* pp. 262; Namikawa suggests that judging from their contents each of the four quotations reflects a different stage of the development of this *sutra*.

<sup>16</sup> *The Karmavibhangga*, ed. by Noriyuki, *op.cit.* p.263, *abhidarkasayuktesu / mahakarmavibhanggo nanah samaptah//*

<sup>17</sup> Namikawa, *op. cit.* 1984c.

<sup>18</sup> A Note on the Tibetan Version of the *Karmavibhangga* Preserved in the MS Kanjur of the British Museum, Walter Simon, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, cf. Noriyuki, *op. cit.*, p.x.

the *Mahakarmavibhangga* ends, there is neither a colophon nor the closing phrase which is usually found at the end of the text in a MS;

2. The MS (B) preserves only the text of *Mahakarmavibhangga*; in the colophon it reads : *karmavibhangasutram samaptam*. Apparently , this text does not have a formula which appears in many cases at the end of the *sutra*. There is no evidence to call it a *sutra* or not. What is confirmed by this colophon is that the two manuscripts have two different names due to unknown reason;
3. at the beginning of the Tibetan translations , we have the title in both Sanskrit and in Tibetan as *Karmavibhangga*.

### **The Episode of Mittavinda<sup>20</sup>/ Maitrakanyaka<sup>21</sup>/ Maitrayajna<sup>22</sup>**

Before I focus on the story of Maitrayajna as in *Karmavibhangga*<sup>23</sup> I would like to brief the other versions of this story.

The story of Maitrakanyaka is unquestionably old, and has survived in a number of versions which vary considerably in detail. The main outline of the story in the *Avadanasataka*, which is closely related to the versions in the *Divyavadana*, the *Avadanakalpalata* of Ksemendra and the *Bhadrakalpavadana*<sup>24</sup>

A rich merchant, Mitra, for a long time had no children who

<sup>20</sup>Pali *Vassalajataka* / *Syamajataka* No.540; *Karmavibhanga*, *op.cit.* pp 108.

<sup>21</sup>*Divyavadana*, No.38- *Maitrakanyakavadana*, *Avadanasataka*, No.36.

<sup>22</sup>*Karmavibhanga*, Noriyuki (ed), *op.cit.* pp.88-120

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Avadanasataka* xxxvi; *Divyavadana* xxxviii; *Avadanakalpalata* xcii (not 24 as quoted by Dines Anderson and Sylvain Levi; the mistake goes back to Feer, JAI 878,161) *Bibl.Ind.edil*841; *Badrakalpavadana*, xxviii, Cambridge University Library, Add MS 1411,f.225b; The last of these is as yet unpublished, but adds nothing of significance for our present purpose. The version of the *Avadanasataka* is the oldest of this group, and is either the source (or the principal source) of the others, or is very closely related to the source. For detailed studies of the subject see L. Feer, *Maitrakanyaka-Mittavindaka la piete filiale*, JA 1878,360-443; J.S. Speyer, *De koopman, die tegen zijne moeder misdreef*; Een op den Boro Boedoer afgebeeld Jataka; Since the story is well known , I give only the points relevant to the variation.



survive childhood; and he is advised that if he gives a girl's name to the next son to be born to him, the child would live ( *yadi te putro jayate , tasya darika -nama sthapayitavyam , evam asau cirajivi bhavisyati* ) After the child's birth the relatives say, 'This boy is the son of Mitra ( *mitrasya putrah* , as being equivalent to *maitrah* ) and is a girl ( *kanyaca* ) therefore his name be Maitrakanyaka'.

After the father's death at sea, the mother tries to keep the boy in ignorance of his father's profession and he engaged in several humbler occupations. In the end he discovers that his father was a sea -going merchant, and he determines to go to sea himself. When his mother tries to retain him, falling at his feet, he kicks her on the head, and runs off. He is shipwrecked, and reaching dry land, visits a number of miraculous cities, in each of which he sports with divine damsels, whose number in each successive city increases in geometrical progression, corresponding to a similar progression in his earnings in his earlier successive occupations. In each of the cities the nymphs try to restrain him from going further to the south.

Finally he reaches an iron city, where he finds a man bearing on his head a blazing iron wheel. This is the punishment for one who has struck his mother , and the wheel then leaves its previous incumbent , and settles on the head of Maitrakanyaka, who will have to bear it until relieved in due course by a sinner. But Maitrakanyaka being in fact the Bodhisattva , resolves out of pity for his fellow creatures to bear the wheel for all eternity, rather than allow another to suffer it; the merit of this resolve at once frees him from the wheel.

The story of Pali *Jataka*<sup>25</sup>, is based on the jealousy, greedy and pleasure seeking nature of a monk towards the other serene monk, resulted in his becoming the victim of bearing the wheel ...

The story in KV, is closer to that of the *Avadanasataka*<sup>26</sup> KV, besides narrating the result of committing sin , also includes in detail the

---

<sup>25</sup> Mittavindajataka, 82.

<sup>26</sup> Avadanasataka, No.36.

## Conclusion

It is to be noted that a long reference rather frequent reference of one story is unusual in *Karmavibhangga*: it covers almost 7 folios out of a total of 61 folios of the MS (A). We cannot explain exactly why and with what intention the author / compiler of this text included this story. In the Pali original, the Buddha emphasizes on ethical character as *kamma* is one's own heir<sup>36</sup>... Even though this reference is not a direct quotation from the original, it is neither a mere summary of the story nor a partial extract. Almost all the episodes of Maitrayajna (Maitrakanyaka) that he had to inevitably experience due to his bad actions are mentioned and in some cases the story in KV narrates the details which show discrepancies in comparison to the other versions. Therefore, there might have been a particular intention to introduce such a long quotation / reference in the KV, especially in this section which deals with the act of going abroad without the consent of one's parents or later in this section, without the consent of one's teacher.<sup>37</sup>

*Ath 'assa mātā bahum vilapitvā ure battam thāpetvāsantāpam upadhārenti "puttasa me santāpao pavattat'eva visavegena visāñitam āpanno bhavissati, nibbisabhāvatthāya c'assa saccakiriyam karissāmīti" cintetvā saccakiriyam akāsi.... Evam mātārā sattahi gāthahi saccakiriyāya katāya Sāmo parivattitvā nipajji. Ath'assa pitā "jīvati me putto, aham pi 'ssa saccakiriyam karissāmīti" that'eva syam kari, iti Mahāsattassa nīrogatā mātāpitunnam cakkhupatilābho aruḥuggamanā devatāanubhāvena tesam catunnam pi assame pākaōabhāvo cā 'ti sabbam ekakkhane ahosi...."*<sup>38</sup>

As we know, in the above text quoted here, there is no mention that by his word of *pranidhana* he can be reborn wherever he wants. What seems to be close to this content Syamaka / Sama was shot by a poisoned arrow

<sup>36</sup> Culakamma, *op.cit.* p.250.

<sup>37</sup> Pali *Vinaya* i.25.24 - *na upajjayam anupucca gamo pavisitabbo, na susanam gantabbam, na disa pakkamitabba.*

<sup>38</sup> Pali *jataka* - *Syamajataka* No. 540, pp. 91-93.

and affected by the poison, his made a solemn declaration (*saccakiriya*) to save his life. Owing to their true was able to recover. Although this content does not match our KV in this is exactly referred to in 32b.

*Bodhisattvaavadanakalpata*<sup>39</sup>

*Nītau tatas tena saritsamīpamadvipdīpe vyaśane nimagnau /  
Hastena samprśya sutam śarāptam tadhāvidhāu iva petatus tau /(33)  
Kasmād akmād guruvatsalo 'pi vrddhāv anāthau pitarau tvam andhau /  
Tyaktvā divam gaccasi utraleti gāṇham pariśvajya tam ūcatus tau // 34 //  
Ārādhitau bhaktisaparyayaiva nirvyajam āvām gurudaivatena /  
Tvayāgnihoṭrābhiraṭena putra satyena tenāstu bhavān viśalyah //35 //  
Ity uktamātre karuṇārtisatyav opapanne vacane gurubhyām /  
Śakraḥ samabhyetya sudhāprase ir ajīvayan nirvivaram kumāram // 36 //*<sup>40</sup>

This one narrates the story in order to explain why the pupil should not go to another village / region and so on without teacher's permission. The way of introducing this story to emphasis that the monks should not go outside without his / her *acarya* or *upadhyaya* is prescribed in almost in all Vinaya texts.

*Na upajjhayaṃ anzipuccha gamo pavisitabbo, na susaṇṇaṃ gantabbam , na disa*

*Pakkamitabba*.<sup>41</sup>

As much the *karma* and *karma vipaka* with reference to *akusala karma* is discussed in KV, *karmavipaka* of *kusala karma* is also discussed at length.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>39</sup> BAK, No. 101.

<sup>40</sup> *Majjhimanikaya*, *Dhanjanisutta* IL 184-196.

<sup>41</sup> *Pali Vinaya* I.25.24 (I.50).

<sup>42</sup> Noriyuki *op.cit.*, p.106 ,138;



*Yadi asti ... kincit punyaphalam, pradanena va szlena\_va brahmacryena va  
Pativrtatvena va tena punyaphalena... ....ma kincit papam bhavatu  
Tena ca ... sivam asit //  
Idam karma yena samanvagatah purvamsca pascatah .sukhito bhavati //*

**CHAPTER III**  
**RELIGION**

**A SHORT EXPLORATION OF T.Y.S LAMA GANGCHEN'S  
THEORIES ABOUT THE MEANING OF THE SACRED  
GEOMETRY AND *MANDALA* SYMBOLISM OF CANDI  
BOROBUDUR IN THE LIGHT OF ACADEMIC SCHOLARSHIP  
ON THE SUBJECT**

by

**Caroline Gammon, MA.**

**Introduction**

Lama Gangchen's theories are the result of his 19 trips to Borobudur, plus his study of the b Ka'gyur, bsTan-'gyur and the Van Erp photographic study. Most of the information in this dissertation about his ideas are based on personal communications between 1993-2008. In summary his ideas are:

1. Borobudur is the apogee of Central Javan Buddhist culture - and combines elements from Sarvastivāda, Mahāyāna and Mantrayāna, as well as astrology and sacred architecture. It shows the path to both the ordained and the laity. The *Srāvakayāna* - *Mahāyāna* aspect and the *mantrayana* aspects of Borobudur are equally important, one does not supercede the other.
2. The 5 galleries show the 5 Mahāyāna paths (*marga*).
3. The *Karmavibhanga*, *Jātakas*, *Avadānas* and *Lalitavistara* bas-reliefs show a pilgrim's progress to personal liberation, *nirvana*, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Bhadracarī* bas-reliefs, the stages of the path of a Mahāyāna *bodhisattva*.
4. During the construction of Borobudur which took 3 generations,



there was a change in thought and the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* level was covered up to create a *mantrayana maṇḍala*.

5. The 432 Buddhas statues on the sides are in the East, Akṣobhya, South Ratnasambhava, West Amitabhha, North Amoghasiddhi, and on the fifth terrace Vairocana.
6. Sitting next to each one of these Buddhas is a female consort- as in a *yogatantra maṇḍala*.
7. Borobudur does not correspond exactly to any known *maṇḍala* as it is a generic *maṇḍala* upon which one can impute and practice any *yoga* or *mahānuttārāyogatantra* practice.
8. The main *stūpa* represents enlightenment and Vajrasattva.
9. Atiśa the founder of the bKa'gdamspa tradition, spent 12 years studying in Sumatra (Srivijaya) with Dharmakirti. His teaching contains elements from both India and Sumatra. There are several similar monuments to Borobudur in Tibet such as the Gyantse sku'bum. He may have brought the terraced *stūpa* concept to Tibet.

### 1a. The Hidden Base of Borobudur

It was covered up by 12,750 cubic meters of stone, perhaps for structural reasons, as the original monument was showing signs of subsidence (Soekmono 1976:18). It rains torrentially in Borobudur for 6 months of the year. The monumen had to be completely rebuilt and restored by UNESCO between 1968-1991 to stop it collapsing.<sup>1</sup>

H. Parmentier, the French architectural archeologist suggested that the builders wanted to erect one huge central *stūpa*, but because of structural

---

<sup>1</sup>[http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL\\_ID=32553&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.phpURL_ID=32553&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)

problems they had to change the design to 3 rings of *stūpas*, and build the galleries as buttress walls, and so Borobudur took its present form. (1976:39)

Stutterheim suggested the enlarged foot represented a *cakravalā* (the ring of mountains) around the base of Mt. Meru (Moens 1950:25) - but this can't be right as there are 7 rings of mountains around Mt. Meru in Buddhist cosmology, not one, as can be seen from the *Superaḡa jātaka*, (bas reliefs 53-55, first gallery balustrade upper level) - and in Pāli *Jātaka* 463, no.14 in the *Jātakamāla* of Āryaśūra.

Moens (1950:25) suggested the Sailendras changed their ideas during construction, and so the extended base was built to hide the *Karmavibhaḡa* reliefs - and to create a *cankrama* (processional walkway) for the Sailendra 'Bharabhuḡḡa' monarchs. *Lalitavistārā* bas-relief 100, first gallery, shows the Buddha after enlightenment, walking across the 1000 million worlds and then returns to the *bodhimāṇḡa* (Krom 1974: 111). But one could go and come back from Mendut 3km. in the East if one wanted to make a *cankrama* without putting 12000 meters of stone around the *Candi*. Best reason people don't like suffering and pain so cover we like no more suff but not cause.

Lama Gangchen suggested that there was a philosophical change of heart between two generations of Sailendras and they altered the plan to also represent a *maṇḡala*. As he is unable to read any Western languages, his ideas are his own, based on his interpretation of his Tibetan tradition and meditaton tradition.

### 1b.The Symbolic Meaning of the Galleries and Terraces

Lama Gangchen says the 5 terraces represent the 5 Mahāyāna paths of preparation, accumulation, seeing, meditation and no-more learning and the 5 terraces and the extended base represent the 6

*bodhisattva* perfections. He says the extended base is the first *bhūmi* and *bodhisattva* perfection, galleries V is the perfection of wisdom, the 3 rings of *stupas* represent the 7, 8th and 9th *bhūmis* and the central *stūpa* represents enlightenment, the 10' *bhūmi*. The square galleries represent the path while one has not seen reality directly, and the circular galleries, represent *maha Ārya's* transcendental experience. Lama Gangchen, in 1993 said Borobudur's *cupola*, *harmika* and spire of the central *stūpa*, represent the 11, 12<sup>th</sup>, and 13<sup>th</sup> *tantric bodhisattva-bhūmis*.

### 1c. Who Are the 6 Buddhas of Borobudur?

A comparison of the images from the Van Erp survey and the *Iconography of Nepalese Buddhism*, shows the similarity of the Buddhas in the East with Aksobhya, South with Ratnasambhava, West with Amitabha, and those in the North with Amoghasiddhi. This was first suggested by Humbolt in 1836 and is the general scholastic opinion. The identity of the 64 Buddhas on the 5th gallery, and the 72 *stūpa* Buddhas is more mysterious. They show respectively the *vitarka mudrā* and what is considered to be a variation of the *dharmacakra mudrā*.

Toganoo Shoun in 1930 suggested the following identification after studying the Chinese commentaries on the proto-tantric *Mahāvairocana* sutra and *Adhyardhasatika prajñāpāramitā*. Professor van Lohuizen de Leeuw independently had the same idea in 1965. (G&W 1981:6) Their conclusion was:

| East     | South          | West     | North        | Centre                   | 72 Stūpas                         | Central Buddha       |
|----------|----------------|----------|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| Aksobhya | Ratna-Sambhava | Amitābha | Amoga-siddhi | Samantabhadra-Vajradhara | Vairocana, 72 stūpas = 72 dharmas | Akṣobhya Vajrasattva |

Soekmono (1976:8 and 37) thought the 5 *dhyāni* Buddhas were emanations of the AdiBuddha represented by the large central *stūpa*. In



*yogatantra*, the 5 *dhyāni* (Skt.) or concentration Buddhas represent the qualities of a Buddha. The Ādi-Buddha is the primordial Buddha of the Indian Tathāgatagarbha schools and later the Tibetan Nyingmapa and Jonangpa (*Kālacakra* based) schools.

|                      | East       | South          | West      | North         | Zenith        | 72 Stūpas |
|----------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|-----------|
| <i>Dhyāni</i> Buddha | Aksobhya   | Ratna-Sambhava | Amitābha  | Amogha-siddhi | Vairocana     | Vairocana |
| <i>Bodhisattva</i>   | Vajrapani  | Viśvapani      | Avalokita | Ratnapani     | Samantabhadra |           |
| <i>Manusi</i> Buddha | Kanakamuni | Maitreya       | Śakyamuni | Kāyśapa       | Krakuchchanda |           |

Toganoo Shoun (Snodgrass 1992:131 and 141) said that the Borobudur Buddhas are the 5 *jinas* of a *Vajradhatu mandala*, i.e. the 5 *jinas* with Vairocana in the centre as in image 74.

Lama Gangchen like Soekmono (personal communication) said that the 5 ‘Supreme Healers’ (*jinas*) of Borobudur are the Buddhas of a *yogatantra mandala*.

| East     | South         | West     | North        | Centre    | 72 Stūpas |
|----------|---------------|----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Akṣobhya | Ratnasambhava | Amitabha | Amoghasiddhi | Vairocana | Vairocana |

I think that Humbolt, Shoun and Gangchen are correct and that the Buddhas of Borobudur are the *pancatathāgatas plus* a transcendent Vairocana.

### 1d. The Unfinished Buddha Statue

In 1842, Hartman the Dutch Administrator of the Kedu plain found in the relic chamber of the main *stūpa* what is now called the ‘unfinished Buddha statue’, whose authenticity and meaning is still being debated. Soekmono (1976:38) said it couldn’t represent the Ādi-Buddha

as it is imperfect (unlike the Adi-Buddha) so it shouldn't be there. Gangchen and Gyatso (1993) agree with Soekmono's interpretation. Govinda (1976:70) said it represented the Ādi-Buddha emerging from *sunyatā*, in a similar way that the Ādi-Buddha Vajradhara is at the top of the Gyantse sku'bum (See Section 3f). Gangchen thinks that originally if there was an Adi-Buddha statue in the main *stupa* it would have been made of gold and this was probably stolen long ago. Hartman found a large hole in the side of the main *stūpa*. If we look at the rest of the Borobudur images, there is no way an incomplete and damaged statue would have been used to represent enlightenment or the Ādi-Buddha. It was placed there by non-Buddhists. The texts in the *bsTan-gyur* on how to fill *stūpas* say that only the finest and highest quality images and materials can be placed inside.

### 1e. What Do The 3 Circles of *Stūpas* Represent?

Govinda (1976:70) suggested the climb up through the galleries represented the 60 stages of spiritual development as one progresses up through the desire, form and formless realms with their 15 world planes and 30 classes of beings. He said Tibetan style *stūpas*, the Gyantse sku'bum, and Borobudur are all symbolically similar. He thought the rings of 32, 24 and 16 *stūpas* represented multiples of the noble eightfold path (4x8, 3x8 and 2x8) and that the central *stūpa* represented the Ādi-Buddha.

Snodgrass (1992:147) suggested that the 72 Buddhas represent the 72 aspects of Vairocana in the material world. In the *Vajradhātu mandala*, Aksobhya is in the centre, representing mental consciousness, so Aksobhya and the 72 Vairocanas represent the nonduality of mind and phenomenon and are the body of the Adi-Buddha Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva. He also said (1992:148) there are 72 *stūpas* because the Adi-Buddha has 37 aspects of total knowledge, represented by the 37 deities of the *vajradhātu mandala*. 37 can be divided into 36 (the Buddha's

qualities) and 1, the Self Nature Body of the Buddha. The 36 qualities have both a subjective aspect and an objective aspect, which makes 72 (36 x2). However, this doesn't explain the 1/16/24/32 arrangement of the upper *stūpas*.

Gangchen, Gyatso, and Wangchuk suggested that the 3 circles of 32, 24 and 16 *stūpas* could represent the practices of 32 deity *Guhyasamāja*, *Cakrasamvara* (24 holy places) and 17 deity *Vajrabhairava* (represented by the 16 *stūpas* plus the central *stupa*), the 3 main *tantric sadhanas* performed within their own dGelugpa tradition. *Guhyasamāja* is a father *tantra*, *Cakrasamvara* a mother *tantra* and *Vajrabhairava* a union or non-dual *tantra* combining aspects of both the father and mother *tantras*.

At the present, little historical data is available about the origin of these *tantras*, although *Guhyasamāja* is thought to have appeared the earliest, approximately around 350 CE, *Cakrasamvara* approximately 750 CE, and *Vajrabhairava* in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

Whether these *tantras* were known to the builders of Borobudur is another matter.

In conclusion, the galleries, circular *stūpa* galleries, and the six *jinas* seem to show a pilgrims progress up through the levels of the Mahāyāna path, mixed together with Mantrayāna proto *tantric* symbolism which will be examined in the next chapter.

## 2a. Does Borobudur Have the Geometry of A *Mandala*?

The Borobudur *mandala* theory has been propounded by Stutterheim (1929), Togano Shoun (1930), Rowland (1953), Govinda (1976), Wayman (1986), Lama Gangchen, Gyatso and Wangchuk (1993). Comparison of the plans of the *Vajrabhairava Mandala* and Borobudur. (Idea from Geshe Yeshe Wangchuk)

---

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.tantraworks.com/yama.html>



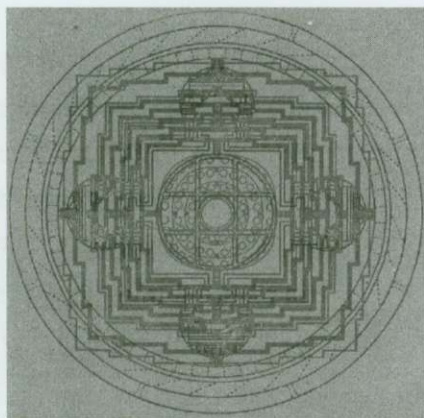


Fig.7.1. The plans of the Vajrabhairava Mandala and Borobudur

Tibetan lamas are trained in *mandala* construction. In 1993 Geshe Yeshe Wangchuk, some monks and I used a ball of string, some wooden pegs and chalk, the same way sand *mandalas* are drawn, to see if Borobudur had similar proportions to a *Vajrabhairava mandala*. It did! Across the doors are 4 units and across the *candi* (to the edge of the Mus Blockage) is 108, just as in the Tibetan tradition. In image 35 you can see the results. I think this is pretty conclusive proof that Borobudur is a *mandala*. But what kind is it?

Wayman thought that Borobudur's design was an indigenous Javanese idea based on Vajravarman's five ways of classifying *mandalas*. (G&W1981:146-7). Snodgrass (1992:126) suggested that the *stūpas* on the roofs of *Candis* Pawon, Sewu, Mendut and Kalasan are also arranged in *mandala* patterns. He says (1992:129) that *mandalas* are not exclusively *tantric*. Lama Gangchen disagrees with him saying that in Pagan, Burma and Srilanka where there are *mandala* type terraced *stūpas*, Mantrayāna was originally present alongside the Theravada, and was responsible for these monuments, but it died out in these regions.

## 2b. Does Borobudur Have the Architectural Details of A *Mandala*?

### Stairways and Doorways

The main entrance of Borobudur is the east side as the 120 *Lalitavistara* bas-reliefs start on the left of the east door and turn clockwise around the monument, finishing to it's right. This is a common feature of all Buddhist monuments and is not exclusively *tantric*. In *tantric mandalas* the world axis is symbolized by a double *vajra*. The stairways and banisters in the four directions going up into the Borobudur represent the 4 ends of the *vajras*. The banisters are decorated with *makara* heads with open mouths and long curling tongues. A *makara* is a mythological sea monster, and the prongs of five pointed *vajras* are made of *makara* heads and tongues. Lama Gangchen observed that these could be seen on the stairways leading up into Borobudur. These can also be seen on image below of the *Sarvavidmahāvairocana mandala* which in my opinion, based on the evidence in this dissertation is very probably what the second generation of Sailendra's intended Borobudur to represent.

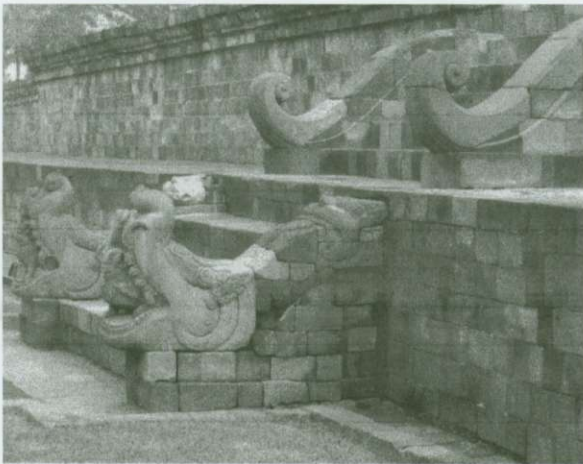


Fig.7.2. Balustrades in the form of *Makara* Tongues [My photo 2008].

## 2c. Is Borobudur A Yogatantra Mandala?

Snodgrass and Toganoo Shoun (Snodgrass 1982:141) suggested there is a similarity between Borobudur and a *yogatantra mandala*, so let's assess their claim.

The *Sang hyang kamahāyanikan mantrayāna*, 42 Sanskrit verses translated into old Javanese, and the only surviving example of a Javanese *yogatantra* text, was identified by de Jong as mainly consisting of 22 verses of the *Mahāvairocana-bhisambodhi tantra* and 17 verses (in a different order) of the *Sriparamādyā tantra* (P120).<sup>3</sup> There are two different versions of this *tantra* in the *bKa''gyur*, the P119/Toh 487 and P120/ Toh 488.<sup>4</sup> Boeles, Moens, Potts, Klokke, Mus said the earliest sections of the *SHKM* are from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and are the earliest known or surviving Javanese *tantric* text. Comparing it against dGelug *yogatantra* initiations, it seems to be an incomplete text with only the *vajra* master initiation, the final part of a *yogatantra* initiation. While the *SHKM* is later than Borobudur, it shows that *yogatantras* were practiced in Indonesia, thus supporting Gangchen's statements that his tradition contains similar [*yoga*]*tantra* practices to those of Javanese Buddhism. The 77th song of the Javanese *nagarakrtagama* manuscript from 1365 CE also says that 'Budur' was a sanctuary of a Buddhist Vajradhara sect. (Soekmono 1976:13)

Rinchen Sangbo, the 'Great Translator', was one of the only two survivors of the 21 youths sent by the Tibetan King Yeshe b to Kashmir to learn Sanskrit and bring Buddhist texts. He returned to Tibet with the *Sriparamādyā tantra*, and told the king about Atiāa, who invited the *paṇḍita* to Tibet.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Weinberger 2003:131

<sup>4</sup> Dalai 2005:37 note b

<sup>5</sup> Dhargyey, *The Life of Atiāa* 1982

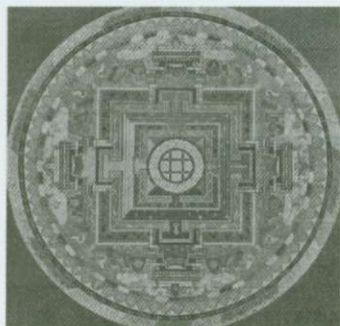




Fig.7.3. Female Figures Next To The *Jinas* On The Borobudur Galleries,  
my Photo 2008

One fact which strangely seems to have been ignored by almost every scholar who has worked on Borobudur is that next to each of the 108 Conqueror Buddha (*jina*) on each side of the *candi* is a smaller female counterpart. Whether it is a Buddha, bodhisattva or offering goddess is difficult to say for sure. De Casparis says (G&W 1981:50) that the *SHKM* 62a says ‘yogishvara will not find lord Buddha unless he finds the Buddha’s embodiment in the 4 goddesses.’ But that iconographically there is nothing to suggest 4 element goddesses on Borobudur. This shows that one only sees what one wants to! Lama Gangchen says these are female Buddha *yogatantra* consorts. In image 43 you can see these female figures. If they were in union, Borobudur would be a *mahānuttārāyogatantra maṇḍala*.

Fig.7.4. Sarvavid  
Mahāvairocana Mandala  
Tib. Kunrig namparnagdze  
dkyil’khor<sup>6</sup>



<sup>6</sup> [http://www.benchen.org.pl/gallerynew/view\\_photo.php?set\\_albumName=MandalezklasztoruBencien&id=KunRigNamparnagdze\\_mandala](http://www.benchen.org.pl/gallerynew/view_photo.php?set_albumName=MandalezklasztoruBencien&id=KunRigNamparnagdze_mandala)

This *mandala* is very reminiscent of Borobudur, note the entrances with *vajras* in the form of *makara* heads and tongues, the various levels, the same *jina* arrangement as Borobudur and the circle of 16 deities around the central one (Vairocana, the white colour in the centre).

In his thesis summary, Weinberger says that the *Manifest Enlightenment of Vairocana* was created around 630-640 CE and was retroactively classified as tantric Mature Indian *tantra* started with the composition of the *Compendium of Principles* in the last quarter of the 7th century. This was the first text with a *mandala* with Vairocana in the centre and the other 4 *jinas* in the cardinal directions. It says that Sakyamuni attained enlightenment by realizing the 5 manifest enlightenments of the 5 *jinas*. Weinberger says (2003:201) that this is a *vajradhātu* or *vajra* element *mandala*. In East Asia *yogatantra* remained the principal form of *tantra*, whereas in India [and Tibet], over time the *yogatantras* were displaced by the *mahāyoga* and *yogini tantras*. Borobudur seems to reflect the earlier understanding of *tantra*.

Beer (1999:153) says that in *yogatantra*, when Vairocana is one the five Buddhas he has the *dharmacakra mudrā*, (representing the teaching of the four noble truths), but when he appears as the Adi-Buddha he shows the *bodhyāṅgni mudrā* of the Lord of the five families, (representing the five Buddha-wisdoms). Thus, although other Buddhas can have the *dharmacakra mudrā*, all the facts show that the *stūpa* Buddhas could be Vairocanas - which is also Gangchen's identification.

In 1974 during the UNESCO restoration, a 1.9 cm bronze five-pointed *vajra* was unearthed at Borobudur. Other *vajras*, dated from the 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> centuries have been found in Central Java such as the 26cm. *vajra* now in the National Museum of Jakarta.<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> VKI, katalog nummern 27, JNM

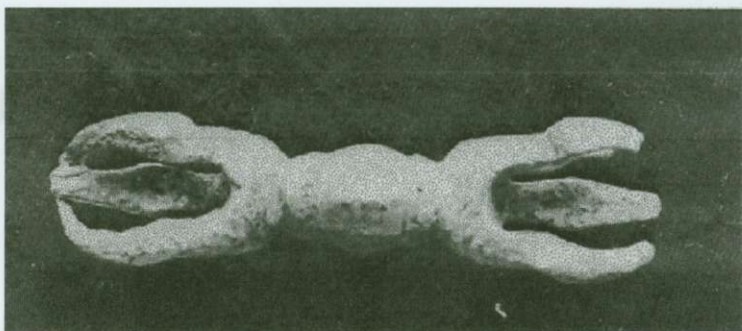


Fig.7.5. Bronze *Vajra* Discovered Near Borobudur. (Kempers, 1976:18).

If not a single *vajra* had been found then one might start to agree with De Casparis and Klokke who don't think that Borobudur has any *tantric* elements (G&W1981:50). The Borobudur *vajra* indicates that at the very least, pre-Vajrayana *tantric* practitioners visited Borobudur after its construction. Keeping a *vajra* is one the four commitments (*samayas*) of Buddha Aksobhya. Perhaps the Borobudur *vajra* was lost by a *yogin* on pilgrimage. Most of the *vajras* represented on Borobudur are what are known as wrathful *vajras*, probably descended from the lightning rod held by the Hindu *deva* Indra.

## 2d. Is Borobudur A *Mandala* Related to the *Tantras* Used in Shingon Buddhism?

Snodgrass, Toganoo Shoun and Lokesh Chandra suggested that Borobudur might be a *Vajradhātu yogatantra mandala* (Snodgrass 1992: 141), of the same type used in Shingon.

Could something like Chen-yen, Chinese *tantric* Buddhism, and the basis of Shingon, have been practiced in 8<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> century Java? In the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, after the Northern land route across Central Asia became too dangerous, Indian Buddhist missionaries like I-ching and Varjrabodhi, went to China along the Southern sea-route, blown



by the monsoon winds and stopping off in Sumatra. (Rambach 1979:7) Vajrabodhi ordained at Nālandā in India in 681. As an adult, he traveled to Sri Lanka where he met his disciple Amoghavajra. They traveled together to Sumatra and then China, bringing with them the *Mahāvairocana sūtra*. (1979:20) Vajrabodhi came to be looked on as the fifth patriarch of Shingon, and Amogavajra the sixth. Lancaster suggests (1981:195) that the *tantric* section of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Chinese canon is the best place to reconstruct Javanese *tantric* Buddhism. By 759 CE the practice of the *Mahāvairocana sūtra* was established in Japan (1979:14). The second half of the eighth century was the heyday of both Nālandā, and of esoteric Buddhism in China. (1979:20). Indian, Chinese and Javanese *tantrism* in this period was right-handed (where sexual imagery is only indicated via symbolism), whereas the later Tibetan tradition was influenced by left handed *tantra* from Vikramasila monastery in Bengal, and also by Shaktism and so had overt sexual imagery (1979:22).

Rambach points out (1979:36) that to the South of Kyoto is 5 tiered Daigo-ji pagoda, built in 951 which contains *Garbhadhātu* and *Varjadhātu mandalas*. These were first brought to Japan by Kukai in 806 and represent the relative and absolute manifestations of Mahāvairocana. There is a similarity between the *Garbhadhātu mandala* and Borobudur.

Wayman (1981:149) noted that while Vajravarman's explanations of the 5 types of *mandalas* are different from the explanations of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism, but they are similar to those of Shingon Buddhism. According to him, Vajravarman's receptacle *mandala* of Mt. Meru and the fruition *mandala* of the *dharmakāya* are *Vajradhātu mandalas*, whereas the fruition *mandala* of the *sambhogakāya* is a *Garbhadhātu mandala* (1981:149).

Albert le Bonheur suggested that the 5<sup>th</sup> level Buddhas in the

*vitarka mudrā* could be Vairocana and those in the *stupas* with the *dharmacakra mudrā* could be Mahāvairocana- who is often identified with the Adi-Buddha. (G&W 1981:6) I think this is a reasonable suggestion. The *mudrās* of the Borobudur Buddhas and those of the 2 Shingon *mandalas* are not identical, but there are strong similarities- perhaps with continual recopying the *mudrās* were slightly altered over time?

### Is Borobudur A *Yogatantra Mandala*?

There are numerous indications that it could be. Wayman said that the arrangement of Aksobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha and Amoghasiddhi in the four cardinal directions, and Vairocana in the centre, shows that Borobudur is a *yogatantra mandala* and I would tend to agree with him.

Klokke (chapter XIV, IIEAS Yearbook 1995) disagrees with the Borobudur *mandala* theory as no known *yoga* or highest *yogatantra mandala* has circles of 32, 24 and 16 deities around the central figure. I checked through all known Tibetan and Shingon *mandalas* to be sure, and she's right. However Borobudur could be a composite Mahayana and *yogatantra mandala*. She also points out that no *mandala* has 6 or possibly 7 *jinas*- this is not true, *kālacakra* has 6 *jinas* and the 7' unfinished Buddha is possibly inauthentic. I think Indian *yogatantras* like the *Sarvavid mahāvairocana tantra* were taken by missionaries to Java, China and then onto Japan, so there is a definite link between Borobudur and the Shingon *mandalas*.

### 3a. Did the Tibetan Lamas know about Borobudur before 1959?

The Tibetans since the 8<sup>th</sup> century had access via their *bKa'gyurs* to the *sutras* represented on Borobudur and the *yogatantras*, and since

the 9<sup>th</sup> -10<sup>th</sup> century onwards to the *mahānuttārayogatantras*. Tsultrim Kelsang Khangkar', *History of Buddhism in India* shows that the lamas know the history of Indian *yogatantra* in the 7<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Tibetan historical knowledge about Java is limited to the travels of Atiśa (982-1054)<sup>8</sup> to neighboring Sumatra (Srivijaya) in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The young scholars that were sent to India to study Buddhism and Sanskrit between the 8<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries got as far as Nālandā, where in 860 a hostel for Srivijayan *bhiksus* was inaugurated, so tales of Borobudur and Javanese Buddhism may have possibly reached Tibet.

### 3b. Atiśa's Travels to Srivijaya and Tibet

From *The Life of Atiśa* by Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey p.5:

At that time, the most famous master holding the complete teachings on how to develop bodhichitta was Dharmamati, the Sublime Teacher from Suvarnadvīpa, the Golden Isle. Thus, with a group of 125 learned bhikshus, Atiśa set off on a ship of merchants bound for the Golden Isle, modern Sumatra.

Meanwhile, this Sublime Teacher from the Golden Isle had heard of the arrival from India of the learned scholar and his mendicant companions on their spiritual quest. He assembled his own community of bhikshus for the welcome and when Atiśa arrived, they performed together many formal ceremonies auspicious for the future. He also presented Atiśa with a Buddha statue and predicted that one day he would tame the minds of the people of the northern Land of Snow.

Atiśa stayed in the Golden Isle for twelve years, avidly training with this master. First, he studied A Filigree of Realizations (*mNgon-rtogs rgyan*, Skt. *Abhisamayalamkāra*) the Triumphant Maitreya's guideline instructions for fathoming the Omniscient One's Sutras of Far-reaching Discriminating Awareness (*Sher-phyin-gyi-mdo*, Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*). He then gradually received the full teachings on extensive behavior from the lineage of Maitreya and Asanga, as well as those of the special lineage on exchanging selfishness for concern

---

<sup>8</sup> Life of Atiśa, Dargyey page 1



with others, which the bodhisattva Shantideva, a spiritual son of the Triumphant, had received directly from the ennobling, impeccable *Mañjuśrī* himself. After Atisha gained, through these methods, a full-realization of a bodhichitta aim, he returned to India at the age of forty-five and resided thereafter mostly at the sequestered monastic university of Vikramashila.

Atīśa who according to the above account studied the Mahāyāna in Srivijaya, not *tantra*, established a Golden Isle (Ser-ling) temple at Tholing, Ngari, Western Tibet.<sup>9</sup> However since his youth he was an accomplished *tantric yogin*. As Balaputra, the last builder of Borobudur became the ruler of Srivijaya in 832 (Hall 1985:111) the last year Atīśa was there,<sup>10</sup> so it is possible that Atīśa heard about Borobudur, and so it's architectural ideas could have been taken to Tibet by him and have later influenced the building of the Gyantse and the other sku'bums. Indeed Ngari, Gyantse, Trophul and Shigatse are all in the region of Western Central Tibet that Atīśa visited although all these date from after his death.

*Lhabab stūpa* means 'the descent from heaven *stūpa*' commemorating the return of the Buddha from Tusita, where he had been teaching *dharma* to his mother. Note the 4 stairways going up into the central *cupola* and 5 levels reminiscent of Borobudur. The *stūpa* before reconstruction can be seen at Govinda 1976:2.

Wayman suggests that Vajravarman's commentary to the *Sarvadurgatiparisodhana tantra* in the Peking *bsTan*-'gyur translated by Rinchen Zangpo was probably studied by Atīśa in Srivijaya and then introduced into Tibet by him.<sup>11</sup> (See Section 1d. above). Wayman notes that the quotations and explanations are very different from other

<sup>9</sup> *The Dromton Itinerary* by Dromtonpa (1005-1064), translated by Helmut Eimer in 1974

<sup>10</sup> Dhargey, he ordained as a monk aged 21 in 1008 CE.

<sup>11</sup> Wayman, G&W 1981:154

*yogatantra* commentaries in the Indo-Tibetan tradition and concludes it must have been composed in Srivijaya, not India.

B.R.Chatterji, in his article 'Jo Atīśa in Serling and Tholing'<sup>12</sup> says that in the 11<sup>th</sup> century at Srivijayapura, Malaya, Achārya Dharmakirti composed a commentary on the *Abhisamayalamkāra*, which was translated into Tibetan by Jo Atīśa. He mentions the existence of an 11<sup>th</sup> century Tibetan manuscript with a picture of Dipankara (Atisa) in Yavadvīpa which meant both Sumatra and Java.

### 3f. A Comparison Between Borobudur and Gyantse sku'bum

I visited the Gyantse sku'bum together with Lama Gangchen in 1994, 2000, and 2001. The sku'bum (100,000 Buddhas) or *Tib bdebar gshegs pa'i chos sku'i mchod rten mthong grol chenmo bkrashis pa* "The Auspicious Great *Stūpa* of the *Dharmakaya* which liberates Merely By Seeing it", and the surrounding *dpal'khor-chosde*, the Glorious Blissful *Dharma Maṇḍala* were built between 1427 -1439 by Rabtan Kunzang, the Prince of Gyantse.

### Where Did Its Design Come From?

In India, big terrace *stūpas* were constructed at Nalanda, Paharpur, and Antichak from the end of the Gupta period (5<sup>th</sup> century) and throughout the Pala period. There are several other large terrace *stūpas* in Asia.

- Gāndhāra/Taxila in the Swat Valley, Pakistan (2<sup>nd</sup> -5<sup>th</sup> centuries).
- Rawak *stūpa*, near the Turfan Oasis, Central Asia.
- Syrkup *stūpa* near Turfan is similar to the Gyantse sku'bum.
- Boudanath *stūpa* Katmandu, Nepal

Bu-ston, the founder of Jonang school, and the greatest Tibetan expert on

---

<sup>12</sup> *Bulletin of Tibetology* vol 3 no.3 p21

*Kālacakra*, visited Gyantse in 1357 after having constructed a similar sku'bum in Western Tibet. (See Image 67.) The Gyantse sku'bum was designed in 1436 by Vanaratna of Svayambhu in Nepal, a great *kālacakra* scholar (ReLB 1993:26-28).

- From the 13th century onwards several big terraced stupas were built in Greater Tibet: Changspa *Stūpa* Leh, Ladakh
- Tshal Gungthang, Amdo Tibet (12th century).
- Trophul *stūpa* near Shigatse, Central Tibet, built by Trophul Lotsawa.
- Jonang *stūpa*, 14<sup>th</sup> century, near Śākya, Central Tibet, restored in the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Tārānatha.
- sNarhang *stūpa*, 14th century, near Shigatse, destroyed in the Cultural Revolution.
- Gyantse sku'bum, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Central Tibet (1993:36).
- rGyang Bummoche, 15<sup>th</sup> century Śākya, Central Tibet.
- mThong-grol chenmo of bJamspa gling, built after 1472, Central Tibet. (1993:39).

Perhaps the Tibetans, having heard about the great *stūpas* of India, were trying to create something similar in their homeland? Or perhaps Atīśa brought the plan from Yavadvipa? All these *sku'bums* are considered to be *kālacakra stūpas* by the Tibetans, in which the 5 levels represent the body, speech and mind, wisdom and great bliss *maṇḍalas*.



Fig.7.6. Gyantse sku'bum,  
Tiziana Ciasullo 2003



Gyantse General Plan, Ricca e Lo Bue (1993:40):

As one can see the ground plan is practically identical to Borobudur. Snodgrass, Tucci, Govinda, Gangchen, and Gyatso have noted the similarity between the plans of Borobudur and the Gyantse sku'bum in Western Tibet. Their plans are similar but their elevations are different. The sku'bum has 5 levels and a central *harmika* that you can walk up through which corresponds to a statement from the *SHKM*. Snodgrass thought that was the original design of Borobudur before structural considerations got in the way (Snodgrass 1992:148) and forced a redesign of the top with the 3 circular galleries and a crowning *stūpa* replacing a huge central *stūpa* with a *Vajradhātu mandala* inside. He said (1992:145) that according to Shoun the arrangement of images at Borobudur is similar to the Tibetan and Nepalese *Ādi-Buddha stūpas* which are *Vajradhātu mandalas* focused on Samantabhadra-Vajrasattva e.g. Gyantse sku'bum - except that the sku'bum is not a *Vajradhātu mandala* but a composite *maṇḍala* representing all 14 classes of *tantra*, and in which the *Vajradhātu mandalas* are on the 3<sup>rd</sup> level.

**sKubum first story** (ReLB 1993:48-51) - *caryātantras* with a *kriyātantra mahāvairocanaabhisambodhi mandala* in one chapel.

**sKu'bum second story** - mainly *caryatantras*

**sKu'bum third story** - (ReLB 1993:49) - root<sup>13</sup> and explanatory *yogatantras* in which Vairocana emanates the other 4 *jinas* who are in chapels in the four directions (like Borobudur).

**Spire uWer chapel** - the topmost chapel is dedicated to the *Ādi-Buddha Vajradhara* and the masters of the *Kālacakra* lineage, not as Snodgrass suggests (1992:149) to Samantabhadra Vajrasattva.

---

<sup>13</sup> *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.

The badly damaged Trulphul sku'bum near Shigatse is the one most similar to Borobudur as one circumambulates it on the outside, not the inside. He says (personal communication) that the *sku'bum* and Borobudur are later and earlier branches of the same (Indian) source, and that Atīśa while in Sumatra may have come into contact with Javanese *tantric* ideas. Perhaps the schools of Tibetan Buddhism closer to the *yogatantra* represented by Borobudur are the earlier Kadampa, Nyingmapa and the defunct Jonangpa (*Kālacakra*) schools. The dGelug tradition does not agree with the idea of the *tathāgatagarbha* for example, but they do practice *yogatantras*.

Gangchen's ideas are controversial within his dGelugpa lineage, as the dGelugpa hierarchy are conservative, following strictly the ideas of their monastic predecessors, and do not generally value spiritual innovation. However some masters, like Geshe Lobsang Tendar, who was considered the greatest expert on *tantra* of his generation supported Gangchen's innovation.

## Conclusion

Based on the evidence presented above, I think that Borobudur was originally built to represent the Mahāyāna path but was remodeled during construction to be a *yogatantra mandala* and may perhaps also function as a generic *mandala* on which many meditation systems can be imputed.

My opinion is that Borobudur was constructed in two phases:

**Phase 1 :** The construction had 10 levels, the (now) hidden base, 5 galleries and 3 rings of stupas around the central one. I think the builders wanted to symbolize the 5 Mahāyāna paths and the 10 *bodhisattva-bhūmis*. At this stage Borobudur was around 100 m across (10 x 10). Perhaps originally the 32, 24 and 16 *stūpas* represented the Lotus *sūtra* as Mus suggested.

## Phase 2 :

During the second generation of building, *yogatantra* arrived in Java and King Samāratunga and his architects modified the design to fit the 108-unit scheme of a *yogatantra mandala*. This may have coincided with the need to reinforce the monument structurally, or the bas-reliefs of the *Mahākarmavibhangga* level may have been covered as the new king didn't like them. As a result Borobudur now has a diameter of 123m or 108 proportional units. I think this modification is why Borobudur is so hard to interpret as it is a mix of symbolism from different Buddhist traditions.

In conclusion I think that Lama Gangchen's theories add weight to the ideas of Sttuterheim, Wayman, Govinda, Shoun, Snodgrass, and Long about Borobudur being a *yogatantra mandala*, and it's similarity with the *sku'bums* and Ādi-Buddha stupas of Tibet and are worth adding to the collection of Borobudur theories presently available. I think the *mandala* closest to Borobudur is the *Sarvavid mahāvairocana mandala*. The earlier traditions of *yogatantras* of Tibetan Buddhism, the Chinese *Chen-Yen* and Japanese *Shingon* schools also seem to have strong links with Borobudur.



## Bibliography

- Dondrub Dorje, 1999. *dkyil 'khor thig tsa The Creation of Mandalas* Delhi, Dharma Activity.
- H.H the Dalai Lama, Dzong-ka-ba and Hopkins J., 2005, *Yoga Tantra, Paths to Magical Feats*, Snowlion.
- Geshe Ngawang Dhargyey, Sharpa Tulku (translator), Alex Berzin (editor) second edition 2003. *The Life of Atisa*, LTWA.
- Gomez, Luis O. and Woodward Jr Hiram W. (editors). 1981. *Barabudur, History and Significance of A Buddhist Monument* Berkley Buddhist Studies Series.
- Klokke M.J., 1995. 'Borobudur, A Mandala? A Contextual Approach to the Function and Meaning of Borobudur', Chapter XIV, *International Institute for East Asian Studies Yearbook*, Leiden University, Netherlands.
- Lama Anagarika Govinda, 1976. *Psycho-cosmic Symbolism of the Buddhist Stupa*, Dharma Publishing.
- Lama Gangchen T.Y.S., 1993. *Ngalso Tantric Self Healing 2, Inner World Peace Method Linking This World to Shambhala*, LGPP, Milan, Italy.
- Rambach P. 1979. *The Art of Japanese Tantrism* Geneva, Skira.
- Soekmono, R. 1976. *Candi Borobudur, A Monument of Mankind* Paris, UNESCO press.
- Snodgrass A. 1982. *The Symbolism of the Stupa*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass.
- Rica F. and Lo Bue E., 1993. *The Great Stupa of Gyantse*, London, Serinda.
- bSod nams rgya mtsho and Tachikawa M. 1989. *The Ngor Mandalas of Tibet*, The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies.

- Śākya M.B.,1994. *The Iconography of Nepalese Buddhism*, Buddha Dharma Education Association Inc, BuddhaNet e-book Library.
- Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre, *The Derge bKa'gyur* on CD
- Tsultrim Kelsang Khangkar, 1988. On *The History Of The Buddhist Doctrine In India Written For The Modern Layman (The New Blue Annals)* part 2, Japan, Tibetan Buddhist Culture Association Minamida.
- Verlag, Philipp and Von Zabern. first edition 1995. *Versunkene Konigreiche Indonesiens*, Hildesheim.
- Weinberger, 2003. *The Significance of Yogatantra and the Compendium of Principles (Tattvasamgraha Tantra) within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet*, PHD dissertation, University of Virginia.

## **THE RELIGIOUS ATMOSPHERE OF THE KARMAWIBHANGGA RELIEFS OF BOROBUDUR**

by

**Prof. Dr. Hariani Santiko**

### **I. Introduction**

Borobudur is built on and around a small hill on the Kedu plain in Central Java. It is one of the remarkable Buddhist monument because of its size, its sculptural and its decorative richness. It was supposed build by the Sailendra dynasty in the year 800 AD.

There is a total of 1460 narratives reliefs depicted on the wall and the inside of balustrade of the four galleries with an additional 1212 decorative reliefs. There are also many Buddha statues on the monument (Soekmono 1976:20-38).

In 1885 a group of researchers conducted by J.W.Ijzerman rediscovered beautiful reliefs at the base of the monument. The series of reliefs is not visible as it is surrounded by the broad base. A whole row of reliefs, altogether 160 reliefs, were rediscovered after years of being hidden away. Five years they dismantled all the processional path, revealing altogether 160 panels of reliefs. Before the stones were placed back in their original place, each relief in 1890-1891 was photographed by Kassian Céphas. Only part of the South-east corner is dismantled for visitors to see small part of the Karmavibhangga.

N.J. Krom (1920), Sylvain Lévi (1931) and later Jan Fontein (1989) identified the reliefs which represent the Karmavibhangga, one of the many sermons attributed to the Buddha himself deals with the Law of Cause and Effect, the Karmic Law. Lévi connected the reliefs



with the Mahakarmavibhangga texts from Nepal and Tibet. As for Jan Fontein, he compares the Karmavibhangga reliefs with the Chinese Tripitaka text the Yeh-pao ch'a-pieh-ching (Fontein 1989).

This Karmavibhangga, *karma* means action or deeds, while *wibhangga* is a wave or flow, so the Karmavibhangga signifies the flow of man's life as well as in the hereafter. Thus, fate is determined by one's actions (*karma*). The Law of Karma, or the Law of Cause and Effect, is considered applicable to everyone, whether king, aristocrat, priest or commoner. The text which is illustrated by 160 reliefs giving example on the working of *karma*, the propitious results of meritorious deeds as well as the negative results of wick actions and attitudes are depicted. The first 117 panels show various actions producing one and the same result, while the remaining panels, from panels 118 up to 160, demonstrate the many results that can follow from one kind of act. For instance a wick activity/deed has many results i.e. leading a short life, rebirth as animals, as ghosts, has painful diseases, the pains in hell, as for the praiseworthy activity led to a happy life, the leasure of heaven etcetera (Fontein 1989).

Another important thing from the Karmavibhangga reliefs are the information on everyday life, including the religious life led by the Old-Javanese people. About 50 panels are showing the activities of the clergies, i.e. the *bhiksus*, the *r̥sis* (ascetics) and other sages, some of them are probably the Sivait brahmins. In this paper I will try to describe several reliefs in connection with religious activities especially in relation with those mentioned clergies, and comparing with other data from outside Borobudur, the archaeological data as well as the textual data.

## II. The Religious activities in the Karmavibhangga

The Karmavibhangga is one of many sermons attributed to the Buddha himself depicted on the wall of candi Borobudur to remind the Buddhist pilgrims of the important spiritual knowledge, the Law

of Cause and Effect. However, the episodes on the stone panels are based on everyday life of ancient Java in the ninth and tenth century AD (Bernet Kempers 1976:235-279, 237). There are about 50 panels supposed showing the religious activities with figures of clergies on it. However, the clergies which are depicted on the panels, surprisingly, not only the Buddhist monks or the *bhiksus*, but also the brahmins (Sivait?) and some of them should be ascetics (*rsis*). The panels showing the Buddhist monks about 18 in numbers. They are pictured with a bald head, having a robe open on the right shoulder, holding a beggar-bowl and sometimes a walking stick and a rosary. However, there are reliefs of bald headed person wearing robes etcetera, but they have mustache or earrings (f.i. panel no. 073), so I don't consider those persons as *bhiksus*. The characteristics of a Buddhist monk was written by Santideva in his *Sarasamucaya* (Magetsari 1997:112).

Besides Buddhist monks, there are other sages, however I have difficulty to identify them, especially to distinguish between the *rsis* (ascetics/*śramanas*) and the Sivait brahmins. By comparing with reliefs of *rsis* from East-Javanese temples (candis), I am sure that the *rsis* should be pictured wearing turban, or a kind of *jatamakuta*<sup>1</sup>, sometimes wearing earrings, bracelets, anklets, and clad in robes, a rosary in their hands. Before embarking on the subject of religious activities of the Old-Javanese people, it would be useful to know who the *rsis* actually were. As understood in India, the *rsis* were a group of priests with a remarkable knowledge who were, according to myths, "Brahma's children". *Rsis* were known in groups of seven to ten or twelve, but of these groups the group of seven (*sapta rsis*) was considered the most important. The *sapta rsis* appeared in every *Manvantara*<sup>2</sup> always with different members. The present *sapta rsi*

<sup>1</sup> *Jatamakuta*, the state of hair is done like a head-dress

<sup>2</sup> *Manvantara*, according to the Hindu mythology, each world-cycle is sub-divided into four yugas or world ages: Kṛtayuga, Dvāparayuga, Tṛtayuga and Kaliyuga. One thousand Mahayugas constitute a single day of Brahma or a single *kalpa*. Every *kalpa* is subdivided into fourteen *Manvantaras* means "Manu intervals" The present period is called the interval of Manu *Vaivasvata*.

consists of Kasyapa, Atri, Vasistha, Visvamitra, Gautama, Jamadagni and Bharadvaja.

In Java, the term *rsi* had a rather different meaning from the current India. In the written sources, i.e. inscriptions, and the literary works such as the kakawin Ramayana (IXth century), kakawin Sutasoma and Arjunawijaya, both from Majapahit period, the following figures were indicated with the word *rsi*: (1) Mythical figures, such as Marici, Narada, Pulastya, Kasyapa, Bharadwaja, etc., (2) Those leading the third stage of life, the *wanaprastha*, and the fourth stage, i.e. the *sanyasin* or *bhiksuka*<sup>3</sup>, by isolating themselves, leading an ascetic life in remote places, on the mountain slopes or in the wilderness. They were clad in bark (*walkala*), hence they were known as *walkaladhara* or *walkali* means “clad in bark-cloth” (Santiko 1996:241-242).<sup>4</sup>

*Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*, an Old-Javanese Buddhist text from about tenth century, mentions a resi-Buddha (a Buddhist *rsi*). According to the text, a resi-Buddha should clad in bark-cloth, with other accessories (?), chewing sandalwood, and a rosary in his hands (Magetsari 1989:113-114). Are they the “bhiksuka” mentioned in the inscriptions? However, the *rsis* in the second meaning as ascetic, are differentiated with the ordinary person who retreat for a time being to isolated places to practice asceticism. For example Arjuna in the kakawin Arjunawiwaha, he is doing asceticism but he is not a *rsi* only a *tapasa*, because he has not led the *wanaprastha* stage of life yet. Probably these kind of ascetics (*tapasas*) are also depicted on the Karmawibhangga relief. Apart from the *bhiksus*, the *rsis* and the *tapasas*, there are also

<sup>3</sup> *Catur asrama* is four stages of life leading by the Hindus during their life-time, i.e. *brahmacharya*, *grhastha*, *wanaprastha* and *sanyasin*. In Old Javanese inscriptions, the *sanyasin* stage of life also called *bhiksuka*.

<sup>4</sup> In the kakawin Ramayana sarga IV:19 is mentioned that the ascetics wear bark-cloth, and Rama and Laksmana wear bark-cloth pleasantly (*pada santosa rikang kulit kayu*).



the Sivait brahmins or *dwija* in charge of education (*dang acarya*), to become a *purohita*, or as a *rsi* (*siddharsi*), etc.<sup>5</sup> There are many reliefs of these brahmins, they tie the hair or making a knot or coil of hair on top of their heads, or let the hair left in matted condition, like the hair of Siva as a yogin. They also have mustache, beard, using assesories such as earrings, bracelets, anklets, wearing *upavita*, many of brahmins holding parasols. When they sit, some of them using the drum-shaped seat (*vetrasana*), (Fontein 1989:67).

The choice of the sages in every scene is interesting. The reliefs of *bhiksus* many of them are related to get donation (*dana*), giving lesson to disciples, doing discussion and meditation. There are examples on donation, i.e. the distribution of food and beverage to a monk on panel 012, distributing of clothing (panel 026), people offering flower and holy water to a *bhiksu* seated inside a building (panel 031). The building on panel 031 is to bear resemblance to candi Sari and candi Plaosan, Central Java (Jan Fontein 1989:25). Panel 069 showing three *bhiksus* sit on a pedestal in front of many people who give them many things. Another panels no. 0115 four seated monks receiving various gifts from six or seven persons, panel 0116 also the offering of numerous gifts to a monk. Again panel no. 0148 shows two holy men who are being served a beverage from a spouted jar.

Nearly the same activities also connected with other sage, i.e. to the *rsis* and the brahmins, however the frequency of the scene are different. For instance there are 10 panels on *rsis* (panels 016, 026, 028, 052, 066, 083, 0104, 0110, 0160), and nearly all of them (8 panels) on giving lesson or advise about something we find on panel 016,

---

<sup>5</sup> From Airlangga's inscriptions and in later period the *rsis* were mentioned together with other religious groups. Sometimes in group of three (*tripaksa*) i.e. *rsi-saiwa-sogata*, or group of four (*catur dwija*) i.e. *rsi-saiwa-sogata-mahabrahmana*.

026, 028, 052, 066, 083. In the Ramayana kakawin (IXth Century) this kind of *rsis* are known as Maharesi or Mahamuni, well known to be adept in all *agama* and *sastra*, and have knowledge of all kinds of offering (*tumoli ri yajna kabeh*). They live in a *patapan* in remote places (Santoso 1980).<sup>6</sup>

As for the panels on the brahmins are 29 in number, and a lot of reliefs about giving alms, and some of them on giving lesson or information (Fontein 1989).<sup>7</sup>

According to Buddhist teachings, giving alms (*dana*) to the monks, also to other holy men or to the poor is one of the *six paramitas* which form *mahamarga*, leading to the achievement of *Mahabodhi*. Some of the stones above the reliefs we found inscriptions depicted on it, for instance above the panel 0127 is written *chattradana* means "gift of a parasol", it represents the gift of a parasol to a seated brahmin. The relief no. 0135 illustrates the donation of clothes to a brahmin seated beneath a parasol. The inscription above is *vastradana*, means "gift of clothes" (Fontein 1989:61). Another short inscription about *dana*, found above relief no. 0138 is *bhajanadana*, means "gives of a vessel". The relief depicted six people sit in front of 3 brahmins, and two of them give something (*bhajana*?) to the brahmins. There are still two short inscription about *dana*, i.e. *puspadana* means "gift of flower" above the relief no. 0152 and *maladana* above no. 0154 means "gift of a bouquet". There are many types of merit to be gain from the donations of many things mentioned above and also some other things. So if we look at the reliefs, we see someone give a bell (*ghanta*), food and beverage, a banner etcetera (Fontein 1989: 59)

<sup>6</sup> Patapan is a place where someone isolated himself for doing tapa.

<sup>7</sup> In counting the number of brahmins I also compare with the data compiled by Meta Wijaya in his Under-graduate tesis on Agamawan from Karmawibhanga relief (1998).

Beside giving alms there are scenes of the act of learning or exchanging ideas (discussion) between a Buddhist monk and a *rsi*, where the monk is explaining about the content of a the Holy Book (*pustaka*). There are another series of panels showing pictures of a ceremony of worship in front of a temple (*caitya*). Another panel shows a man sitting cross-legged with his hands in a worshipful position, and four persons carrying flags or banner with brief inscription "*pataka*". Also the scenes of hell as a result of torturing and killing animals, torturing and killing another person, doing a terrible crime etc. (Fontain 1989:34).

### **III. The archaeological remains from the surrounding area of Borobudur**

In Desember 1975-January 1976, I joined the excavation of candi Bowongan about radius 3 kilometres of candi Borobudur together with the team from Univerity of Gajahmada, University of Udayana and University of Indonesia. Candi Bowongan is a Sivait temple made of bricks<sup>8</sup>. Beside doing excavation, we also had special program i.e making survey to the area inside the radius 5 kilometres surrounding the Borobudur, to study the sites reported by R.D.M.Verbeek (1899) and Krom (1914). We still be able to detect 30 sites<sup>9</sup>, and surprisingly from the remains we know the temples are Sivait. Except candi Pawon, candi Mendut and candi Ngawen, which are Buddhist, candi Borobudur formerly was surrounded by Sivait temples! From the archaeological remains, those temples should be small in size and nearly all of them are made of bricks and built near a river (Laporan 1975). An example

---

<sup>8</sup> Candi Bowongan is a Sivait temple made of bricks. In the excavation in 1975 we find the remains of the foundation of the temple, including 2 yonis.

<sup>9</sup> In 1973 I made survey around the Borobudur temple in radius 10 kilometres. I was accompanied by Mr.Romli. We also tried to trace the sites reports by Verbeek and Krom.



is the site Dipan, the remains of small temple made of andesit but a Mahakala (?) statue is made of terracotta<sup>10</sup>. The remains of the candi Dipan is found about 1 kilometre from candi Borobudur. To look at the size and the material they used, these temples probably belonged to the *wataks* and the *wanuas*.

#### IV. Conclusion

The Karmavibhangga relief contains valuable information on the religious belief and duties of the day. Candi Borobudur is a Buddhist temple, however the sculptors (the *silpins*) depicted not only the Buddhist monks but also the *rsis* (ascetics) and Sivait brahmins on the panels. Surprisingly, the number of the Sivait brahmins are twice in number of the *bhiksus*. Eventhough the Karmawibhanga text does not silent about brahmins, for instance it is mentioned someone has to respect the *brahmanas* and *srawanas* in order have a rebirth as a person from upper classes, but the number of brahmin reliefs are surprising. Also from the reliefs we see that the Buddhist monks, the *rsis* and the Sivait brahmins have the same activities, giving lessons or advise, receiving *danas* (the alms), meditations etc.

From comparative study with the archaeological remains surrounding the Borobudur, I conclude that the ordinary people should had not the same religion with their king or the royal family. Here I have evidence that the Sailendra king and probably his family converted to Buddhism, but the lower functions (the head of *wataks*, *wanuas* etc) and the people were Sivait. They built Sivait temples to worship god Siva.

---

<sup>10</sup> Besides Mahakala statue, we also found from the site Dipan two antefixes also made from terracotta.

## Bibliography

- Bernet Kempers, A.J. 1976. *Ageless Borobudur, Buddhist Mystery in Stone*. Servire Wassenaar
- Fontein, Jan. 1989. *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java*.
- Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen Verhandelingen Afdeeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 140.
- Krom, N.J. 1914. "Inventaris der Hindoe-Oudheden", *ROD*
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1920. *Beschrijving van Barabudur*. I. *Archaeologische Beschrijving*
- Levi, Silvain. 1932. *Mahakarmavibhanga (La Grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhangopadesa (Discussion sur le Maha Karmavibhanga)* Paris.
- Magetsari, Nurhadi. 1997. *Candi Borobudur (Rekonstruksi Agama dan Filsafatnya)*. Depok, FSUI.
- Santiko, Hariani. 1974. *Archaeological Remains surrounding candi Borobudur In radius 10 kilometres*. Proyek Pemugaran candi Borobudur (Unpublished)
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992. "Karmawibhanga, Rahasia dari Jawa Kuna ( Karmawibhanga The Secrets of Ancient Java), In *Rahasia di Kaki Borobudur*. Katalis
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1996. Religious Life of rsis in the Majapahit Era". *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1996*. Proceedings of the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists. Leiden 2-6 September 1996.
- Santoso, Suwito. 1980. *Ramayana Kakawin* 3 vols. Issued under the auspices of the of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore and the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi
- Soekmono 1976. *Chandi Borobudur*. Paris, the Unesco Press
- Verbeek, RDM. 1894. "Oudheden van Java", *VBG XLVI*

## **THE HIDDEN BASE IN THE COSMOSOPHY OF THE BOROBUDUR**

by

**Prof. Lokesh Chandra**

### **1. Borobudur is the homeland of my heart.**

It is the thought image and enduring symbol of Gunadharma, its architect according to the oral tradition of Indonesia. Gunadharma sleeps across the Menoreh mountain as a silhouette of the splendor of the majestic poetry of the graceful heritage of his Land. The special texture of the landscape and the monumental Sumeru are the tone and tune of his mind. He unites meaning and beauty in his symbolic virtuosity in the living and sacred mystery from which history is born. During the last three months I have been trying to unravel his concepts, his cosmosophy and his aesthetic order. During this span of time a feeling has dawned on me that 1200 years ago I should have been his disciple, participating in the conception, design and execution of the holy Sumeru. Beauty, cultural and more-than-cultural, longs within us in the infinite of unknowing. Under every deep, a lower deep opens. Gunadharma was a genius who harmonized philosophic, architectonic and artistic ideas, in a grand creativity of integrating several textual traditions. He was eclectic as well as synchronic in his binary paradigm of visual profundity enshrined in the aesthetics of a monumental wonder. He was following a time-honored Buddhist tradition of multiple-level teachings of a number of texts culminating in a new system.



## 2. The conceptual framework of the Borobudur.

It has so far been interpreted in terms of three perceptions:

(i) The Borobudur was supposed to be a *stupa*. But it is a Sumeru topped by a *stupa* on the highest level.

(ii) Its system has been interpreted in the context of the *Tridhātu*: *kāmadhātu*, *rūpadhātu* and *ārūpyadhātu*, as found in the *Abhidharma-kosa*. The *kāmadhātu* has six planes of existence: hell, animals, ghosts (*preta*), *asura*, men (*manuṣya*) and gods (*deva*). The *rūpadhātu* has four *dhyānabhūmis*, while the *ārūpyadhātu* is inhabited by *arūpāvacara* gods (Matsunaga p.55). The reliefs, the architecture of the whole sanctum, and the large 504 statues of the Buddhas bear no relation to *Abhidharma*. The hidden base too does not indicate that the *Tridhātu* system is implied in the conceptualisation of the Borobudur.

The *Tridhātu* are the *dhyāna-bhūmis*, which are the fourth *sambhāra* of *vidarsana* in the *Lalitavistara*. The Borobudur is a representation of the Four *Sambhāras* (see para 4)

(iii) So far it was taken for granted that *single texts* were used in the illustrated reliefs. The possibility of commentaries, ritual manuals, or congeneric works to supplement the details never arose.

## 3. Multiple-level paradigms.

Jan Fontein points out that “the text that guided the sculptors of Borobudur defies precise classification” (p.73). Fontein poses the question: “What it was that attracted the monks of Borobudur to these texts (i.e. *Gandavyuha* and the *Bhadracarī*) for such elaborate illustration on their monument” (p.77). Fontein notes “that the text followed by the sculptors of Borobudur deviated considerably from the text that *Paramārtha* translated” (p.42). The text translated by *Paramārtha* is the

Lokaprajñapti. The master sculptor of the Borobudur was choosing from different texts, as well as introducing innovations.

The monocentric approach of Western religious thought has conditioned the interpretation of the Borobudur in terms of a single source, namely, the Abhidharma system of the *Tridhātu* or three realms. In Buddhism, on the other hand, the idea of harmonizing various traditions or texts, was a common phenomenon. The earlier traditions were seen as steps leading to the final position that was being espoused. The need of conforming to local taboos also gave new configurations, e.g. the nine-square Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in Sino-Japanese Buddhism is due to the crucial role of nine in Chinese perceptions: the imperial palace has nine halls, the celestial sphere has nine divisions, Peking was termed 'nine wards'. Kobo Daishi (AD 774-835) the founder of Mantrayāna (Shingon) in Japan, speaks of the Ten Stages of Spiritual Development: Confucianism, Taoism, Shinto, Brahmanism, Śrāvakayāna, Way of the Pratyekabuddhas, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, and Avatamsaka, culminating in Mantrayāna. It was a grand synthesis of the 'Sea of Dharma', as well as of existing religion and philosophy. In Indonesia itself, the Saṅgha Kamahayanikan (SHK) presents a new classification into *Mahāmārga*, *Paramamārga*, and *Mahāguhya*. *Mahāmārga*: six *pāramitās*, four *brahmavihāras*, ten *pāramitās*, Five *Devīs*. *Mahāguhya*: four kinds of *yoga*, four *bhāvanā*, four *āryasatya*, ten *pāramitās* (see details in my edition of the SHK in the *Cultural Horizons of India* 4.295-434).

#### 4. System of Four Sambhāras.

Gunadharma the visualiser of the Borobudur was a thinker of the marvelous in a sweep of sacred sutras and in his images of the grandeur of form and symbol. He discovered his own essence in

the symmetry of the profound and the beautiful, in the immersion of the human and divine. He created a new paradigm to integrate the multiple *sutras*, on the basis of the four *sambhāras* in Lalitavistara 35.12f: *punya-sambhāra*, *jñāna-sambhāra*, *śamatha-sambhāra* and *vidarśanā-sambhāra*. The visual representation of the four *sambhāras* can be tabulated as follows:

| sambhāra     | monument   | reliefs of   | Vairocana             |
|--------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| vidarśanā-s. | Sky<br>open stupa  | none   | Vajradhatu-V.         |
| śamatha-s.   | latticed stupas<br>fourth gallery<br>second, third & fourth galleries                | Lalitavistara<br>Bhadracarī<br>Gaṇḍavyūha                      | Durgatipariśodhana V. |
| jñāna-s.     | first gallery Ib, IIB<br>first gallery Ia<br>first & second galleries IBa,<br>b, IIB | Avadānas<br>Lalitavistara<br>Jātakas                           |                       |
| punya-s.     | hidden base  | Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantra<br>Lokaprajñapti<br>Karma-vibhanga | Abhisambodhi-V.       |

The four *Sambhāras* have been represented in a binary paradigm of two categories: (i) the substratum texts specified in the third column, and (ii) the ascending sanctification of three epiphanies of Vairocana. The first category is represented by relief to iconize the first three *sambhāras*, while the second category is the overall architectonics of the Sumeru and its component elements, the 504 large statues of the directional Buddhas, culminating in the *vidarśanā-sambhāra* of the open sky leading to the visualisation of the Vajradhātu-Vairocana in the once over *kutagara* (unfortunately now closed as a stupa).

The hidden base in composite vision where Karma-vibhanga texts, Lokaprajñapti and the Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantra (VAT) confluence in an intriguing harmony. The 160 reliefs of the hidden base represent, inter alia, the 160 interactive minds of the VAT, while 60 of its reliefs with *yogapattas* are the 60 minds of the same *tantra*.



The Borobudur was a multifunctional sanctum to eliminate the apprehended conflict ultimately leading to the expulsion of the Śailendras from Java in about 850 AD (Casparis 1956), a temenos of imperial glory and splendor of the Śailendra kings, and a symbol of the nation state of Indonesia like the Nara Daibutsu of Japan. It was the *uttuṅga-saila* or olympus of Indonesia in the words of the inscription of the Śailendra king Samaratunga.

The conceptual framework of the Borobudur though based on the four *sambhāras* is a visual representation of various texts. They are meant to be a preparation for *vidarśanā*. The *vidarśanā* is an ascending model of the spiritual realm of Vairocana in three epiphanies: Abhisambodhi Vairocana, Durgati-pariśodhana Vairocana, culminating in the Vajradhātu-Vairocana.

The Bodhisattva has to finish cleansing the paths with transcendental wisdom and skillful means (*prajñopāya*), has to accumulate all the preparatory material (*sambhāra*), has to equip himself with vows, and so on. He is as detached as the sky, and descends upon all objects as if upon an empty space (Suzuki 1930:227). The *sambhāras* are the moral provisions on a plane which surpasses the state of non-outflowings where they have hitherto remained (*ib.* 361). The different texts on karma-vibhanga deal with the realization of *punya*. *Jñāna* is transcendental knowledge as distinct from *viññāna* 'practical knowledge'. *Śamatha* or tranquilisation is the art of keeping the mind serene and undisturbed, while *vidarśanā* is meditation on the highest. Beginning with the qualitative involvement with actions in life (Karma-vibhanga), the *sādhaka* ascends to the supramundane vibrations of *vidarśanā*.

## 5. The hidden base is the puṇyasambhāra:

Good and bad deeds and their effects. What is the relevance of

the Karmavibhaṅga as the substratum of the Borobudur. The vices of conduct and evil actions lead to hell, while one advanced in virtue can be born in a happy place in heaven. The symbols of moral obligations became dominant in Buddhism in the Siṅgālovāda-suttanta and it is regarded as the source of Emperor Asoka's *dhamma*. Hajime Nakamura has shown the importance of this *sutra* in modern Burmese Buddhism (*Shakuson no Kotoba*, Tokyo 1960: 244-45). Four Chinese translations of this *sutra* are extant: translated by An Shih-kao in AD 148-170 (T 16, K 656), translated by Dharmarakṣa in AD 301 (T 17, K 718), translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva in AD 397-98 (T 26, K 648) in the Madhyamāgama corpus, and by Buddhayaśas in AD 413 (T 1, K 647) in the Dīrghāgama. The central position of morality for lay persons is important in the history of Buddhism. It was the first step to lead to the second level of spiritual steps leading to Bodhi. To cite from a Pali text:

“*Karmas* (deeds) are one's own, beings are heirs to deeds, deeds are the matrix, deeds the kin, deeds the arbiters. Deed divides beings, that is to say by lowness and excellence”: thus says the Culla-kamma-vibhaṅga-sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya (Homer 1977:3:253).

It is also called Subhasutta, as it was delivered to Subha the son of Todeyya the brahmin priest of King Prasenajit. Todeyya was born as a dog in his own house and he barked at the Buddha when he was visiting Subha. The Buddha identified the dog to Subha by getting it to find a treasure he had hidden as a man.

The Pali passage reads: *kamma-ssakā, māṇava, sattā, kamma-dāyādā kamma-yonī kamma-bandhū-kamma-paṭisaraṇā/kammam satte vibhajati yad idariti hana-ppanatatayati*. The reliefs on the base of the Borobudur reflect this binary character of rebirths in lower (*hana*) and higher (*ppanata*) classes.

## 6. Guṇadharma followed several texts in the hidden reliefs.

His main sources seem to have been the various recensions of

the Karma-vibhaṅga, Lokaprajñapti, and Vairocanābhisambodhisūtra, for details and to enhance the visual impact.

Several Buddhist *sūtras* are devoted to the good and bad karmas, e.g. Anguttara-nikāya 4.427, Daśabhūmaka (ed. Rahder 26), Lokaprajñapti-śāstra, Kāraṇa-prajñapti-śāstra (*Cosmologie bouddhique* 1914-18: 298, 325, 347). The most popular text was the Śuka-sūtra, also known as Karma-vibhaṅga. Śuka is the counterpart of the Pali name Subha = Śubha. The Śuka-sūtra was a widely prevalent text, being translated into Chinese four times, in the third, fifth, sixth and tenth centuries. The Chinese translations are enumerated below:

- (a) Anonymous translation done in 265-317 (T 78, Nj 611, K 701). Chin. *Tou-t'iao ching* "Sutra spoken to Tou t'iao" Tou-t'iao is Todeyya the *brahmacarin* in his former birth.
- (b) Translation by Gunabhadra done during 435-443 (T 79, Nj 610, K 695) Chin. *Ying-wu ching* "Sutra spoken to Suka (parrot)".
- (c) Translation by Gautama Dharmaprajna done in 582 (T 80, Nj 739, K 805) Chin. *Yeh pao ch'a pieh ching* "Sutra on the different results of *karma*".
- (d) Translation by T'ien Hsi-tsai done in 984 (T 81, Nj 783, K 1098). Chin. *Fen pieh shan e pao ying ching* "Sutra on the explanation of the results of good and bad (*karmas*)".

It was translated into Tibetan twice:

- (e) Karma-vibhaṅga by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Munivarmā, and Ye.śes. sde (Toh. 338)
- (f) Karma-vibhaṅga nāma dharma-grantha, by an unknown translator.

Two other important texts dealing with good and bad *karmas* are:

- (g) Madhyamāgama, sūtra 170, translated by Gautama Saṅghadeva in 397-98 (T 26, Nj 542, K 648 p.217).



- (h) Lokaprajñapti (T 1644, Nj 1297, K 967), translated by Paramārtha in 558 or 559. He also did the first translation of the Abhidharma-kośa. Chin. Li shih a-p'i-t'an lun "Lokaprajñapti abhidharma-śāstra". The illustrations of rebirths in hell resemble this text much more than the Karma-vibhaṅga (Fontein p.35).

## 7. Lokaprajñapti.

The recent studies of Jan Fontein prove that the sequence of the reliefs does not correspond to the Sanskrit version of the Mahākarma-vibhaṅga. Instead the reliefs are closer to Gautama Dharmaprajña's version (c), while the details of certain reliefs go along with the Lokaprajñapti. Prof. Ryūshō Hikata correlates the following panels to the Lokaprajñapti:

86-89 Eight great hells.

90-92 Kukūla, Kunapa (90), Kṣuradhara, Ayaḥ-śālmālī-vana (91), Asipatra-vana, Kṣāranadī (92). They are from sixteen hells (Mahāvvyutpatti nos. 4929-4944, taken from ch. 11 of the Abhidharmakośa-śāstra).

93-96 Birth in six *durgati*: birds, animals, garudas, nāgas, pretas, asuras.

97-100 Birth in *sadgati*: manusya

101-108 Birth in *sadgati*: devas in Kāmāvacara and Rūpāvacara lokas

123-160 represent Lokaprajñapti ch. 62-71

Hikata says that there are no reliefs for ch. 23-26 and 40-58. The Lokaprajñapti seems to have been a supplementary source for details. The details of hells in reliefs 86-92 are closer to this text than to the Karma-vibhaṅga (Fontein p.35).

The six *yonis* of the *karma* system are different from the six meditational states of the Abhidharma. W.F. Stutterheim had suggested that the hidden base symbolizes the *Kāmadhātu* (*Studies*

in *Indonesian Archaeology*, 1956:37). The *Kāmadhātu* is not a subterranean infernal abode, as would be implied by the hidden base. All the three realms are not horizontal existences in geographical areas, but are psychological states. Nichiren stresses the inner nature of these realms. “As to the question of where exactly Hell and the Buddha exist, one *sutra* reads that Hell exists underground and another *sutra* says that the Buddha is in the west. However, closer examination reveals that both exist in our five-foot body”.

“What are these realms, then”? Ordered from the least to the most desirable, they are **Hell**-a condition of despair in which one is completely overwhelmed by suffering; **Hunger**- a state dominated by deluded desire that can never be satisfied, **Animality**- an instinctual state of fearing the strong and bullying the weak; **Anger**- a state characterized by an unrestrained competitive urge to surpass and dominate others and often a pretence of being good and wise. These four states are referred to as the Four Evil Paths because of the destructive negativity that marks them.

“Continuing, **Humanity** is a tranquil state marked by the ability to reason and make calm judgements. While fundamental to our identity as humans, this state can also represent a fragile balance that yields to one of the lower states when confronted with negative conditions. **Rapture** is a state of joy typically experienced when desire is fulfilled or suffering escaped. The worlds thus far are sometimes grouped together as the Six Lower Worlds”. (Chandra, Lokesh, 2000:2.555)

The *Rūpavācara devas* dwell in the *Rūpadhātu* which represents four stages of meditation or *dhyāna-bhūmis*. The four *dhyāna-bhūmis* are detailed in the Abhidharma-kośa (T vol.29 p.412). The *Tridhātu* are not cosmological locations in the universe. We can term them cosmosophical notions and practices.

After having realised the *deva-yoni* one becomes divinised, is one with the spiritual planes, and transcends into the realm of essences. *Devo bhūtvā devam arcayet* having deified one may worship the divine. The *sādhaka* has shed all the vices and virtues and is now ready to undertake the spiritual states, conducive to his *sadhand*. In Śaiva terminology his *śivakaraṇa* has been completed, i.e. he is one with Śiva. The term *śivakaraṇa* is found in Bali to the present.

By virtue of the power of meditation and ritual the *sādhaka* transcends the three realms (*Tridhātu*) of the Abhidharma; the realm of desires and cravings (*kāmadhātu*), the realm of phenomena (*rūpadhātu*), and the formless realm of the spirit (*ārūpyadhātu*). He is freed from all thought of matter and from the limitations of matter. These realms are states of mind in which one dwells by achieving the corresponding meditation (*The Soka Gakkai Dictionary of Buddhism* 2002:824).

The six *yonis* of the *punya-sambhāra* as depicted on the hidden base to represent the genre of Karma-vibhaṅga, have to be contradistinguished from the *Tridhātu* of the Abhidharma which are the steps leading to deification and thence to the *dhyāna-bhūmis* culminating in the *Akaṇiṣṭha* heaven of Vairocana.

### 8. Vairocanādbhisambodhi-tantra (VAT) and the hidden reliefs.

The 160 reliefs of the hidden base have 60 reliefs of persons sitting tied with a *yogapatta*. These 60 relate to the 60 stages of an impure mind which have to be transcended to realise the Bodhi mind (*bodhi-citta*, Mammitzsch 1991:35). Tajima (Wayman 1993:261) calls them “errant hearts”. The Buddha enumerates to Vajrapani the characteristic signs of these 60 hearts, and explains them one by one, e.g. “What is the heart of greed? It is that which attaches itself to tainted (impure) *dharmas*.” The good heart improves little by little, as it is beset by sixty



bad impulses which jeopardise this improvement and which should be gotten rid of (Tajima p.296). The sixty minds have been expressed sometimes by similes, e.g. dog (29) means: "joyful about things even though they are meagre" in the rendering by Hodge, or "to feel satisfied with little that is received" in the translation of Yamamoto. Some of the categories are clearly specific and may help us to identify the reliefs. The names of animals may be identified: cat 28, chameleon 47, crow 28, dog 29, garuda 30, lion 36, mouse 31, owl 37, serpent 17. Scenes of dance 33, drum 34 and song 32 can provide clues. Natural phenomena are also not difficult to be correlated to the reliefs: cloud 53, field 54, fire 44, ocean 58, pool 24, river 23, Sumeru 57, well 24. Dancing girl in relief 72 represents the 33rd mind of dance which thinks that one will cause others to be aroused by one's various accomplishments. Fontein thought that the dancing girl was added to provide diversion. The VAT has to be studied in details along with its commentaries in Tibetan and Chinese translations of Sanskrit originals and native exegesis to provide a key to the reliefs.

The following stages out of the sixty can be seen in the reliefs: stage 16 asura: relief 86, 17; serpent: 94, 22; farmer: 65, 122, 23; river: 92, 118, 24; pool: 9, 147, 25; well: 90, 28; cat: 105, 29; dog: 4, 22, 53, 86, 87, 88, 92, 30; garuda: 94, 31; mouse 65, 87, 32; song: 125, 151, 33; dance: 72, 149, 34; drum (turya): 1, 52, 35; house: 119, 36; lion: 105, 37; owl: 4, 38; crow: 12, 41, 86, 105, 118, 40; thorn: 87, 92, 43; water: 30, 90, 44; fire: 2, 88, 89, 90, 109, 110, 47; chameleon: 118, 50; poison: 14, 18, 51; noose: 9, 49, 52; shackles: 113, 53; cloud 66, 118, 56; razor: 86, 87, 91, 58; ocean: 109, 59; hole: 87.

The sixty reliefs with the yogapaṭṭa are: 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 20, 27, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 56, 59, 62, 64, 68, 69, 70, 72, 74, 94, 96, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 111, 113,

115, 117, 124, 125, 126, 127, 130, 132, 133, 134, 136, 144, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 156.

The 160 hearts are obtained by multiplying the five basic defilements (*mūlakleśa*) five times by two ( $5 \times 2^5$ ). The five basic defilements are *rāga* (covetousness), *pratigha* (anger), *moha* (stupidity), *māna* (conceit) and *vicikitsā* (doubt). Thus: 5 basic defilements  $\times 2^5 = 160$  defiled hearts (Tajima 1993: 284 n.351). The five basic defilements arise from nescience (*avidyā*) according to the commentary (Tajima p.285 n.351). When the 160 kinds of the defiled mind of sentient beings are transcended, vast merits will be produced (Yamamoto 199: 5) Wayman (1992: 43) says: one transcends the three eons of the 160 mundane minds by arousing the supramundane mind". He has translated *kalpa* as 'eons'. *Kalpa* does not mean 'period of time', but is 'erroneous attachment' in esoteric Buddhism (see Yamamoto 199: 9, Hodge 452). The correct translation will be: "If one transcends the three errant mundane attachments (*laukikalpa*), then the supramundane heart (*lokottara-citta*) is born". (Tajima p.264, n.352 and 353 on p.285).

It seems that the hidden reliefs represent more the *citta* of the VAT, rather than the *karma* of the Karma-vibhaṅga and allied texts. Or they represent the conflation of two distinctive concepts that have been brought together into a composite visual whole.

The famous Buddhist text of Indonesia, the Sañ Hyai Kamahāyānikan (SHK), begins with the VAT. Fifteen stanzas of the VAT are found in the SHK (Chandra 1995: 4.295ff). Sino-Japanese Mantrayāna (Jap. Shingon) was founded by Śubhākarasimha (637-735), Vajrabodhi (671-741), and Amoghavajra (705-774). Vajrabodhi went from India to Srilanka and thence to Śrīvijaya. There he met Amoghavajra who became his disciple. He arrived in China in 719 from Śrīvijaya. The major texts of Shingon are: VAT, Sarva-tathāgata-

tattva-saṅgraha, Jāpasūtra and Nayasūtra. Stanzas from the Jāpasūtra and Nayasūtra are cited in the Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan. It is likely that the Sanskrit originals of these texts were taken from Indonesia by Vajrabodhi. The SHK is a collection of Mantrayāna texts and it has a short Saṅ Hyaṅ Nāgabāyusutra in Sanskrit devoted to the Five Tathāgatas of the Vajradhatu system. The OJ text Kalpabuddha also gives the attributes of the Five Tathāgatas (Bosch 1961: 131-133). Nāgabāyu in the title is a corrupt form of Nāgāhvaya, another appellation of Nāgārjuna. He is the first of the Eight Patriarchs of Shingon: Nāgārjuna, his disciple Nāgabodhi, Śubhākara-simha (637-735), Vajrabodhi (671-741), Amoghavajra (705-774), I-tsing (683-727), Hui-kuo (746-805), Kobo Daishi (774-835). Shingon shows a close connection with Indonesian texts. Indonesia must have been a major centre of Mantrayāna with a vibrant academic tradition, accompanied by the splendour of architectonic grandeur. Amoghavajra taught the Vajradhātu to six chief disciples among whom was Hui-ch'ao of Silla (Korea). Hui-ch'ao had also been a disciple of Vajrabodhi. Amoghavajra had several foreign disciples such as Pien hung of Java. (Yi-liang 1945: 8.329). Japasutra is a major text of Shingon that deals with rites of *maṇḍalas*, performing *abhiṣeka*, and *homa*. "It is the only text where the ceremony of *abhiṣeka* is treated in detail" (Yi-liang p.281 n.47). It was translated by Vajrabodhi (T 866) who had studied it under Nāgabodhi a disciple of Nāgārjuna. It is cited frequently in the SHK. Six statues of the early 10th century pertaining to the *maṇḍala* of Vajrasattva of the Nayasūtra were found in Surocolo in 1976 (Fontein 1990: 224-226). The Nayasūtra is recited thrice every day in Japan in the morning, at noon and in the evening. It is a daily recitation in the Shingon temples. The Mantrayāna practices of Indonesia seem to have influenced the developments in East Asia, as evidenced by the close parallels between the SHK and Borobudur and



the living denomination of Shingon. Mantrayāna did not have erotic elements and hence the chaste iconography of the Borobudur. The Borobudur is a sanctum of Mantrayāna with the aniconic presence of Vairocana on three levels: on the hidden base, in the latticed stupas, and in the overall configuration of the sanctum.

### 9. Durgati-pariśodhana Vairocana.

The 72 images of the Buddhas in the latticed stupas represent the removal of the 72 *samskṛta dharmas*. A verse in the Lalitavistara 195.12 says: *dr̥ṣṭi-jālam uddharī samskṛtātaḥ* “Those will have removed the net of wrong views from the conditional(state of existence)”. The number of 72 and the lattice (*jāla*) evoke association with the 72 latticed stupas. The word *samskṛta* is applied to Sāmadhi and the like by the imperfect teacher Rudraka in Lalitavistara 244.2: *samskṛtānām sāsṛavānām.... dhyāna-samādhi-samāpattinām* (Edgerton 1953: 543a). W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous. (1937: 421a) interpret the Chinese term for *samskṛta* as “active, phenomenal, causally produced, characterized by birth, existence, change and death”. To obviate these phenomenal states was the way of the Bodhisattva. It is no wonder that Guṇadharmā adopted this concept. He was steeped in the Lalitavistara which had a profound impact on his vision and its visual representation. The Buddhas in the latticed stupas are in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, which pertains to Mahāvairocana (Niṣpannayogāvalī, maṇḍala 22 on p.66f) of the Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-tantra for the ‘elimination of all evil destinies’. Lack of any depiction of *nirvana* on the Borobudur (Fontein 1989:78) confirms that the Lalitavistara, which concludes with the Enlightenment of Lord Buddha instead of his *nirvana*, was a ‘guiding text’ for the sanctum. The Sumeru topped by an open stupa, the *mudrās* of the Four Buddhas of the Directions, and the total of 504 Buddhas-all relate to the Vajradhātu, as I have shown in my earlier writings.

**10. Vajradhatu-Vairocana** sits in a *kūṭāgāra* on Mount Sumeru located in a sanctified space according to the Niṣpanna-yogāvalī (p.44: *vajradhātu-maṇḍale vajrapañjar-odare ... sumerūpari kūṭāgāram / tasya madhye simhopari ... bhagavān Vairocanah*). The architecture of the Borobudur is a terraced Sumeru with four entrances in the four directions. The Karangtengah Inscription of Saka 746 (= 26th May 824 AD according to Damais) refers to it as *uttuṅga-śailastha-śūro* in line 2, and as *meru* in line 23. The statues of *mandalas* have been found in the hamlet of Surocolo. Surocolo means the “Mountain of the Gods”. It is a synonym of Sumeru.

The Borobudur was topped by a stupa which was open when discovered. The opening was large enough for persons to enter this *kūṭāgāra* for worship. The first rays of the rising sun must have touched the Vairocana enshrined in the open *kūṭāgāra*, unfortunately closed in the reconstruction by Van Erp and now by the Unesco. Prof. Rolf A. Stein has clearly pointed out that the open stupa represents the *vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (*L'Annuaire du College de France* 76.530). The Thousand Buddhas (504x2) are directional Buddhas well-known in the *Vajradhātu-mandala* in Japan as the East Buddha, South Buddha, West Buddha and North Buddha.

The *Tridhātu* (*Kāma*-, *Rūpa*-, and *Ārūpya*-) or Three Realms have thirtytwo meditative states. They are detailed in my *Cultural Horizons of India* 7: 235-237).

1-4 Four unhappy states (*durgati*)

5-11 Seven happy states (*sugati*)

12-28 *Rūpadhātu*: first *dhyāna* (12-14), second *dhyāna* (15-17), third *dhyāna* (18-20), fourth *dhyāna* (21-28)

29-32 *Ārūpyadhātu*: fifth to eighth *dhyāna*.

The first eleven states are the inner nature of meditational stages, which has been explained earlier in para 7. The *Tridhātu* was not to be and is not represented iconically at the Borobudur as has been interpreted

thus far. The VAT 2.23 says: "My Dharma is fully enlightened. It arises from the sky." The sky was the locus of meditation, and the *Tridhātu* was envisioned in the *dhyānas*.

**11. The Kayumwungan stone inscription** of the Śailendra King Samaratuṅga dated 746 Śaka (=824 AD) refers to the main image of the Borobudur as *uttuṅga-śaila-stha-śūrah* 'Sura on the *uttuṅga-śaila*'. The king pays obeisance to this image with a devoted mind. *Sura* 'Hero' refers to Vairocana as Śākyasimha (Lion of the Śākyas) and not as Śākyamuni (Sage of the Śākyas). The Niṣpannayogāvalī (p.66) calls Vairocana as Śākyasimha: *Śrī-śākyasimho bhagavān mahāvairocanaḥ*. *Uttuṅga-śaila* refers to the Borobudur as the Sumeru. The word *uttuṅga* or *tuṅga* 'exalted' occurs in the imperial names of Indonesia, and the lofty Sumeru of the Borobudur is the might and glory of the Śailendra kings. The last stanza 15 refers to Meru being replete with statues (*samākrānta-mūrtiś ca meruḥ*) The present tense of *praṇamati* 'salutes' shows that King Samaratuṅga was the benefactor. The inscription refers to the mighty prowess (st. 7) of the King who vanquished many rulers. He had a most beloved daughter, endowed with royal qualities and virtues, feminine grace, and compassionate ... She was a paragon of beauty, and her name Prāmodavardhanī was indicative of her exceptional qualities as one who ever bestows joy. She constructed a temple (*jinālaya* in st. 8, *mandira* in st.11, *jinamandira* in st.13) in the village wherein she sanctified (*prātiṣṭhipat*) the images of her late husband (*śrī-ghananātha*) and of her father-inlaw (*arya*, st.11). This temple rivalled the glory of the Veṇuvana monastery built by King Bimbisāra as an offering to Śākyamuni Buddha. It was a major centre of the activities of Lord Buddha. The final stanza 15 prays that this monastery (*vihāra*) endure so long as the *devas* reside on Meru.



The temple was to commemorate the deceased husband and father-in-law of the Princess, and a monastery was established to spread the noble Dharma. The two represented the two *sambhāras*: the temple was to accumulate merit by religious rites (*puṇya-sambhāra*), and the monastery with young and old (*vrddha*, *taruna* in st.13) monks was to spread knowledge of the Dharma (*jñāna-sambhāra*). St.3 actually points out the promotion of the two *sambhāras* (*mahājñāna-puṇya-prasūti*). The sanctum and monastery were constructed out of devotion (*bhakti*, st.3) and affection (*prītyā*) so that the noble Dharma can be the prime medicine for worldly ailments (st.2). The next stanza 3 reiterates the endless sorrows afflicting the world. The following st.4 speaks of the mighty compassion (*karuṇām ... garīyasīm*) that will accrue to afflicted beings who follow the way of the Buddha. The inscription seems to point out that a new temple as well as a monastery with outstanding scholars was established to help the faithful devotees as well as those dedicated to higher learning. It was done in the sacred precincts of the Borobudur, to find solace against personal loss of the Princess as well as to make it a centre of academic excellence.

## **12. Borobudur as a symbol of the nation state of Indonesia.**

The preponderance of the reliefs of the Gaṇḍavyūha and the clear implication of Vairocana 'The Great Sun' on three levels, invites an astounding comparison with the Nara Daibutsu or Colossus of Roshana (Skt. Rocana) dedicated in 752 by Emperor Shomu of Japan. In 743 Emperor Shomu issued a rescript ordering the construction of the colossus of Rocana, 16 metres in height, at the Todaiji monastery in his attempt to unify the nation in its awareness of power, as an "apt symbol of the emperor as the controlling head of the state" (Kobayashi 1975:22). It was to consolidate the sovereignty of the nation in a

harmony of the emperor and his people on the deeper spiritual levels: "sagely within, kingly without." It was a Grand National Temple.

Rocana is the supreme deity or *abhyucca-deva* of the Gaṇḍavyūha 443.9 whose colossi were an overpowering visual presence in any sanctum. The Northern Wei dynasty ruled China from 386 to 550. They were the T'o-pa tribe, one of the 'Five Barbarians' (Hsüan-chih, 1984:113 n.288). They captured the old capital Loyang in 440 and became the most powerful state in East Asia, and ruled the whole of North China. They received tribute missions even from India (Eberhard, 1955:152). To legitimise their rule the Wei emperors commissioned T'an-yao to excavate the Yün-kang caves near the capital, with a colossus of Rocana in five caves for the benefit of the first five emperors: T'ai-tsu 386-408, T'ai-tsung 409-423, Shih-tsu 424-452, Kung-tsung, Kao-tsung 452-465. The statues were to the bodily proportions of the emperors. The colossi of Yun-kang were a new phenomenon that took Chinese literati by surprise and gave a solid legitimation to the Northern Wei as a highly advanced culture.

The colossi of Yün-kang are reminiscent of Bamiyan in conception and execution. Kekaya, who collaborated with T'an-yao in planning the caves was from the NW. and he must have borne glowing accounts of the Bamiyan colossi, so that T'an-yao was inspired to recreate them on Chinese soil, true to his name 'Gau-tama's (T'an) glory (yao)'. The colossi of Bamiyan represent the Abhyucca-deva of the Gaṇḍavyūha as I have shown in "Buddhist colossi and the Avatamsaka Sutras" (*Cultural Horizons of India* 6.32-51).

Empress Wu Tse-t'ien had the Avatamsaka-sutras translated anew by Śikṣānanda in 695-699. A special envoy was sent to Khotan for the Sanskrit text and she took part in the translation. It was to offset the Confucian standpoint that there can be no empress. In the preface to the

Avatamsaka written by herself in 699 she was happy to have received the prophecies of Lord Buddha. The memorial presented by the translators of the Avatamsaka sutra on the completion of the translation, on the 5th November 699, the Concept of Wu Chao Cakravartin and Bodhisattva was confirmed. The signatories to the memorial included I-tsing who had recently returned from India, Bodhiruci, and monk Cintāmaṇi from Kāśmīr who belonged to the *ksatriya* caste. The specific mention of his *ksatriya* caste was to parallel the Confucian mandarins.

The Sokkuram Cave in Korea is also an Avatamsaka sanctum. It was built during the reign of Kyōng dōk who decreed Avatamsaka to be the State Scripture. The ruling class in Korea and then in Japan saw an analogy between the Avatamsaka and the State. Sokkuram defends the Eastern Sea.

Likewise, to the Śailendra kings Borobudur must have been an (i) act of faith or ritual, (ii) a grand olympus for meditation, (iii) an outstanding seat of learning, as well as (iv) the sanctification and legitimation of the state, in the person of the king as the keeper of the value system. The political dimension of the Borobudur can be seen in the conflation of the Avatamsaka with the three manifestations of Vairocana in the covered base, in the latticed stupas, and in the open stupa at the top. Both Rocana and Vairocana mean 'Sun'. Buddha is the only founder of a religion who is of royal blood. Asvaghosa in the very first stanza of the Buddhacarita 1.1 says: "there was a king of the unconquerable Sakyas, Suddhodana by name, of the race of Ikṣvaku and the peer of Ikṣvaku in might" (E.H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita*, Part II p. 1). Thus Buddha belonged to the Solar Dynasty (*sūrya-vamśa*) of the Ikṣvākus whose most distinguished descendant was Lord Rāma of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Śākyamuni became Amitabha 'Transcendent Sun' (*amit-ābha*). His



mount is a peacock. The Peacock Throne of Iran recalls the association of Amitābha with imperium.

The hidden base of the Borobudur incorporates the 60 and 160 minds of the Vairocanābhisambodhi-tantra in its 160 reliefs with 60 persons tied with a *yogapaṭṭa*. The latticed stupas have 72 statues of Durgati-pariśodhana Vairocana in the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. The entire monument enshrines various elements of Vajradhātu-Vairocana, who holds a *cakra* in his Sarvavid manifestation (Clark 1937: 2.114). The *cakra* represents a *cakravartin*, a universal emperor. The other name of Vajradhātu-Vairocana is Ekākṣara Cakravartin. Amoghavajra (705-774) wrote a manual for invoking Ekaksara Uṣṇīśa-cakravartī (T.19.322). A polychrome wooden statue, 75.6cm high of the 12th century, can be seen at the Chusonji monastery (Fukuyama 1976:28 p1.22 in color). We may make a special note that Amoghavajra was in Java: the vast Buddhist ecumene was in constant interaction and Java stood above all at that time with its most magnificent monuments of Mantrayāna. The rites of Sarvavid continued down to the 14th century. The Nāgarakṛtāgama describes the final *śraddha* ceremony of the Rājapatnī in 1362, and says (64.3) that the worship of Sarvajña was conducted by Buddhist monks versed in the *tantras* and in drawing *maṇḍalas*. This passage has not been understood in its precise connotation either by Th. Pigeaud, or by Zoetmulder (*OJ-English Dictionary* p.1700: *sarwajñapūjā* "worship of the Omniscient?"). Sarvajña is a synonym of Sarvavid Vairocana who holds the *cakra* of a *cakravartin*. The Kayumwuṇan inscription of the Śailendra King Samaratuṅga speaks of the *uttuṅgaśśailastha-Śūra* which points to Śūra (=Vairocana) as being seated on the lofty *Śaila* 'mount' of the Borobudur. The word *Śaila* is highly significant in that it refers to the Śailendras. The lofty *Śaila* of the Borobudur was a symbol of the vast imperium of the Śailendras and was a national monument

representing the political might, economic affluence and intellectual glory of the Indonesian state in the 8-9<sup>th</sup> centuries. We have a similar instance of the Guge kingdom which erected the Tabo monastery as a "lamp of the kingdom" in the 10-11<sup>th</sup> century. The main temple of Tabo has the paintings of Lalitavistara and Gaṇḍavyūha, and the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in three-dimensional statues.

There was always a close nexus between the Gaṇḍavyūha and Mantrayāna. When Kobo Daishi was to leave for Japan after having completed the study and practice of Mantrayāna teachings, his Indian teacher Prājña gave him Sanskrit manuscripts and Chinese translations of the Avatamsakasūtra (Gaṇḍavyūha), and Saṭ-pāramitā-sūtra, as well as other Sanskrit manuscripts for the wellbeing of the people (Hakeda 1972: 149). Rocana in Buddhahadra's Chinese translation of the Avatamsaka done in AD 422 becomes Vairocana in the Chinese version of Śikṣānanda completed in AD 699. The term Rocana occurs again in Prajña's rendering of the Gaṇḍavyūha done in 798.

The Avatamsaka-sūtras were composed in the NW of India, and the earliest Chinese translation of an Avatamsaka text is the Ramyaka-sūtra (Chinese: Lo-mo-chia ching, T 294) translated by Āryasthira in 388-407 (K 102). It is the Gaṇḍavyūha. It is so termed as arose in Ramyaka which is the modern Lamghan Valley of Afghanistan. The Tacharians were present in this area. Tocharian is an Italo-Celtic language. Its images of royal power were naturally influenced by the Western Classical models. The most famous colossus was the bronze statue of the Sun-God Helios, 105 feet high, made from melted down weapons of a defeated enemy. It stood astride the entrance to the harbour of Rhodes till AD 653, when it was destroyed by the Arabs and the broken up metal totalled 900 camel loads. The Greater Colossus of Bamiyan, 175 feet high, surpassed all by being thirty times life-size ( $5.83 \times 30 = 175$  ft.) Thus Rocana of the

Gaṇḍavyūha and Vairocana translated in Sino-Japanese as Dainichi “Great Sun” represent the Solar Dynasty, the Śailendras in the case of Indonesia.

### Conclusion.

- (i). We have taken Guṇadharmas as one who conceived and concretised the Sumeru and reliefs of the Borobudur in the harmony of several Buddhist texts.
- (ii). He was following the Buddhist tradition of a multiple-level development, culminating in the *sutra* espoused.
- (iii). The hidden base is the substratum, as *karma* is the foundation of all spiritual attainments:
  - (a) The common level offers to the householder the hope of a better future life in heaven due to good *karmas*, in place of *nirvana* offered to the monastic order. The ritual of worshipping gods was replaced by moral ethics.
  - (b) The second level are the steps leading to Bodhi.
- (iv). The main source of Guṇadharmas for the hidden base was the version of the Karmavibhaṅga now extant only in its Chinese translation by Gautama Dharmaprajña (T 80). He supplemented it by other texts.
- (v). Hitherto the identification of the entire complex of the Borobudur has been according to the *Tridhātu* system of the Abhidharma. It does not accord with the various components of the Borobudur.
- (vi). Guṇadharmas has followed the quaternary system of the four *sambhāras* of the Lalitavistara. The hidden base represents the ethics that ensues from good *karmas*. It is the *puṇyasambhāra*. The reliefs of the jātakas and life of Lord Buddha are the steps leading to Bodhi. They are the *jñāna-sambhāra*. The 54 *kalyanamitras*



of the Gaṇḍavyūha are the dimension of *samathasambhara*. The Sumeru or architectural structure and the 504 sculptures of the Buddhas relate to Vajradhātu-Vairocana. They are the *vidarśanā-sambhāra*.

**Literature Cited**

- Bosch, F. D. K., 1961. *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*.
- Chandra, Lokesh, 2000. *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography*.
- Clark, Walter Eugene, 1937. *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press.
- Eberhard, Wolfram, 1955. *A History of China*.
- Fontein, Jan, 1989. *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java*, Amsterdam.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1990. *The Sculpture of Indonesia*.
- Fukuyama, KNAW, 1976. *Toshio Heian Temples: Byodo-in and Chuson-ji*, Tokyo (Heibonsha), New York, Weatherhill.
- Hsüan-chih, Yong, 1984. *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*.
- Hakeda, Yoshito S., 1972. *Kukai: Major Works*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- Hodge, Stephen, 2003. *The Mahā-Vairocana-ābhisambodhi-tantra*, New York, Routledge Curzon.
- Lancaster, Lewis R., 1979. *The Korean Buddhist Canon: a descriptive catalogue*, Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Lévi, Sylvain, 1932. *Mahā-karma-vibhāṅga et Karma vibhāṅgopadeśa*, Paris, Librairie Ernest Leroux.
- Matsunaga, Alicia, 1969. *The Buddhist Philosophy of Assimilation: the historical development of the honji-suijaku theory*, Tokyo.
- Tuttle, Charles E., Co. Nj Bunyiu, Nanjio, 1883. *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Soothill, W.E. and L. Hodous, 1937. *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*.

- Suzuki, D.T., 1930. *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, London, George Routledge & Sons Ltd.
- Takakusu, Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyōku (eds.), 1924-29. *Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka*, Tokyo.
- Wayman, Alex, 1992. *The Enlightenment of Vairocana*, New Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Yamamoto, Chikyo, 1990. *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, New Delhi, Aditya Prakashan.
- Yi-Liang, Chou, 1945. "Tantrism in China", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*.



## THE HIDDEN BASE OF BOROBUDUR AND ABHISAMBODHIVAIROCANA

by

Manjushree Gupta

### Part I. The Reliefs

#### General

Borobudur is an unparalleled monument in celebration of the *Resplendent Sun*, within and without, conceived and concretized by a poet, thinker and architect Guṇadharmā. Though Guṇadharmā is remembered by tradition and in folk tales, the Dutch scholar N.J. Krom thought that since Guṇadharmā is a pure Sanskrit name these legends might actually be based on some historical figure. Javanese folk tales typically present figures that bear the names of local, rather than Indian characters. Voûte further surmises that the as yet anonymous, exceptionally gifted master builder responsible for the third main construction phase of Borobudur was none other than the mythical Guṇadharmā, a monk from the Abhayagiri monastery.

Paul Mus asserts that it is a double monument. There is an internal monument which is a picture gallery illustrating the Mahāyānist doctrine. Equally, there is an external monument expressing the Buddhist symbolic cosmology. In terms of the vertical horizon, he is describing *a formatting of the mind* (the lessons in stone) paralleled by a formatting of the cosmos *maṇḍala*, a book contained inside a symbol. Further in the words of Pardy, "Borobudur is the finished expression of an idea and was conceived as built; exemplifying a very precise religious symbolism".

Also, as to the purpose of the monument we are told, "The Borobudur symbolizing the *vajradhātu maṇḍala* of the Tattvasaṅgraha was intended to consecrate and stabilize the cakravartin sovereignty of the Śailendras and the Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra was the basis for the *dhāraṇī* on the protection of the realm (LC.iv.p.84, Nakamura 1976:79)".

## Introduction

Studies on the hidden base of Borobudur have so far established that the text illustrated on the reliefs is one that deals with the *Law of cause and effect*: the Kārmic Law. The pioneering contribution in this direction was made by Krom in 1920, who had successfully determined the meaning of a number of reliefs, even without the text at his disposal. His contribution was followed by that of Sylvain Lévi in 1928, who wrote, 'I still recall our emotion when, by comparing the photographs of the sculptures with the Chinese Text of Karmavibhaṅga, we found the identity of the subjects established in a most brilliant manner. The Borobudur had revealed one of its last secrets'.

Fontein writes, 'Although the Chinese Tripiṭaka contains a number of different texts dealing with Kārmic retribution, only two of these appear to be loosely related to the Karmavibhaṅga that Lévi found in Nepal. The first of the Chinese translations is the *Sūtra on the Difference in Retribution of Actions as expounded by the Buddha to Śuka Mānava or Fo-shuo Shou-chia Ch'ang-che Yeh-pao Ch'a-pieh-ching* (T.80). It was translated into Chinese in A.D. 582 by Ch'u-t'an Fa-chih or Gautama Dharmaprajña, the son of Prajñāruci. The second Chinese translation is the *Sūtra on the Difference in Retribution between Good and Evil or Fen-pieh Shan-wo Pao-ying-ching* (T.81). It was translated by the monk T'ien Hsi Tsai. He was a native of Kashmir who arrived in China in A.D. 980.

The first of these two translations (T.80) appear to have been based upon an Indian text that is closest to the version that guided the sculptors of Borobudur. Fontein there fore chose the same for his translation and the assiduous study of the reliefs of the hidden base of Borobudur. This paper is indebted to Fontein's research.

Another significant contribution in recent times is made by Japanese scholar Prof. Ryūshō Hikata (1981.p.105-127) who finds correlation of the reliefs to the text of *Lokotthanābhidharma-śāstra*, *Li-shih A-p'it'an-lun* (T.1644) translated by Paramārtha of Ujjayinī in AD 558. Paramārtha was also the first to translate *Abhidharmkośa* by Vasubandhu (499-569), a work with which *Li-shih A-p'i-t'an-lun* has many features in common.

The text of *The Sogdian Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Good and Evil* (Toh 338, 339) was discovered by Paul Pelliot in Tunhuang, and translated by Robert Gauthiot. Fontein writes 'The same is useful in understanding the types of hell that are not found in any other texts and has provided some useful correlations between *Causes and Effects*'. The reliefs accounted by Hikata are 86-160. It gives an abstract outline of the fall into hell resulting from one's accumulated *karma*' (LC.IV.p.76). (See master chart given at the end of the article.)

### **The Reliefs and the Yoga Paṭṭas**

The 160 reliefs of the hidden base were designed and detailed meticulously, largely within textual parameters. The reliefs do not present a continuous story rather each panel depicts a complete illustration of cause and effect. The pictorial narrative in stone comes alive with the scenes of daily life; a panorama of Samsāra; the endless cycle of birth and death, complete with the pains of hell and bliss of heaven. Through the stillness, the images talk to you.



Amidst the narrative is a conspicuous presence of men with a folded knee tied to the body with a *Yoga-Paṭṭa*; in semblance of transcendental meditative Yoga. The subtle suggestion of the accompanied feminine is unmistakable, which otherwise is a predominant and pronounced aspect of Tantric representations. I started to count the mystic reliefs and as I got closer to the sixtieth, my elation was not any lesser than that of Sylvain Lévi! The number of reliefs portraying these symbolic figures is sixty out of a total number of one hundred and sixty reliefs.

| Section | Scene  | Reliefs<br>section- wise | Following reliefs<br>feature the Yoga<br>Paṭṭas |
|---------|--|--------------------------|---|
| 2       | Rebirth of long duration                                   | 6 - 12                   | 9.10.11   |
| 4       | Rebirth of few diseases                                    | 16 - 20                  | 17.18.20(2)                                     |
| 6       | Rebirth of pleasing appearance                             | 26-33                    | 27.31.32.33.                                    |
| 7       | Rebirth of low prestige                                    | 34 - 39                  | 36.37.39  |
| 8       | Rebirth of high prestige                                   | 40 - 47                  | 40(2).41.42<br>43.44.45.47                      |
| 9       | Rebirth of lower classes                                   | 48 - 43                  | 50.52.53  |
| 10      | Rebirth of higher classes                                  | 54 - 59                  | 56.59   |
| 11      | Rebirth of having few possessions                          | 60-65                    | 62.64(2)  |
| 12      | Rebirth of having many possessions                         | 66-73                    | 68.69.70.72                                     |
| 13      | Rebirth having false knowledge                             | 74 - 78                  | 74  |
| 16      | Rebirth as a domestic animal                               | 93 94                    | 94  |
| 18      | Rebirth among asuras                                       | 96                       | 96  |
| 19      | Rebirth among manuṣya                                      | 97 - 100                 | 98(2).100                                       |
| 20-22   | a) Rebirth in the heavens of the sphere of desire          | 101-102                  | 101.102.103                                     |
|         | b) Rebirth in the heavens of the sphere of form            | 103-104                  |   |
|         | c) Rebirth in the heavens of the sphere of formlessness    | 105                      |   |
| 23-26   | Four acts  | 106 - 108                | 106   |
| 34      | First happiness then sorrow                                | 111                      | 111(3)  |
| 36      | Person being happy in the beginning as well as afterwards. | 113-114                  | 113   |
| 37      | Person suffering in the beginning and later                |                          |   |

|    |  |         |             |
|----|--|---------|-------------|
| 38 | Poor yet generous                                  | 115-117 | 115.117     |
| 65 | Homage to statuary                                 | 124-126 | 124.125.126 |
| 66 | Donation of a parasol                              | 127-130 | 127.130     |
| 68 | Donation of a bell                                 | 131-134 | 132.133.134 |
| 69 | Donation of clothes                                | 135-137 | 136         |
| 71 | Donation of i) food and ii) beverage               | 144-149 | 144.148.149 |
| 72 | Gift of a sandal                                   | 150-151 | 150         |
| 73 | i) Flower ii) Garland iii) Incense                 | 152-154 | 153         |
| 74 | i).vetrāsana ii) añjali iii) Refuge<br>iv) vehicle | 156-160 | 154.156     |

**This feature is categorically not part of the scenes depicting:**

15. Rebirth in hells: Reliefs: 86-92.

16. Rebirth as a domestic animal: Relief: 93, with the exception of relief 94.

17. Rebirth among hungry Ghosts pretas: Relief: 95.

27. Full length 28. Half length, 29. Short length; of an infernal existence: Reliefs: 109-110.

53-63 and 64: Negative and Positive; external retribution: Reliefs: 118-123.

The presence of *Yoga-Paṭṭa* is deliberate is more than obvious, but is also symbolic of Yoga-tantra and inturn of conflation of texts. Within the meticulous architectonics, the '60' and '160' had become the magic numbers, giving the impetus to unravel the yet larger dimension of the hidden base, that transcreates the sacred harmony of the monument as a whole. The answer lies in an intuitive perspective of Abhisambodhi Vairocana as the quintessence of the reliefs of the hidden base.

## The Parallels

One is compelled to highlight here on a possible relationship between Borobudur and Candi Sewu. (Bunce p.148. *The Iconography of Architectural Plans*. Courtesy:Jeffrey Sundberg). In this context Mark Long conveyed “It is interesting that the complex divisions place **160** shrines in its outermost yard and **72** in its innermost yard (Candi Sewu). The core and container similarities with Borobudur are indeed most interesting” (9th Dec’08). He elaborates “of the **160** shrines in the outer part of the yard, 79 provide no data on the number of images they originally held, for which I assigned a value of 1 each. Out of the 72 shrines located in the inner core of the yard, data is missing for 14 shrines, for which I likewise had assigned a value of 1 each. If we assume that the average number of sculptures per shrine found in the parts of the complex for which we do have data is similar for the 93 shrines for we do not have data (i.e., through averaging at 2,088 images per shrine: 307/147) then Candi Sewu would have had 307+194.2 images or 501.2 in total. In other words, the number of statues found at Candi Sewu would have closely matched what is found at Borobudur (**504 Buddhas**). I am mentioning this because I had previously pointed out to you the possible significance of the 160 shrines at Sewu with respect to your Borobudur research and it seems likely that Candi Sewu had a larger number in common with Borobudur. It is also noteworthy that all 33 images unearthed at Candi Sewu were of the Tathagatas of the Cardinal directions and they were found at shrines located throughout the complex” (17th March 2009).

During the late seventh century, some Indonesian islands were an important centre of Vajrayāna (EH,1999: LC 1987 and 1995 and SS. 1991). The Tamil Siddhas are a religious order of mystics found in the southern part of India, whose origins can be traced back to the eighth



century. They formed a distinctive part of a larger movement which spread throughout South Asia, from Sri Lanka in the South to Tibet in the north between the seventh and eleventh centuries (Layne Little. anjaneya@ix.netcom.com).

Kukai met a monk from Central Java who came to China in CE 780 for the purpose of being initiated into the Garbhadhatu Tradition. Kukai tells us that even prior to his arrival in Cha'ng-an Bianhong had been, 'versed to some extent in the secret doctrine of Esoteric Buddhism while he was yet in his native land and attained to some degree the power of Esoteric Buddhism'. Bianhong had initially set out for the subcontinent. But while on the way, he was informed that the master of esoteric teachings Amoghavajra had carried the tradition to China and that his successor Huikou was initiating students to the Great Law of Garbha in Ch'ang-an. (CV and ML: Hudaya Kandahjaya: *A study of the Origin and Significance of Borobudur*. P.94-95 ).

The prevalence of *caryā-tantras* in Indonesia is proven by SHK. Following the pioneering work of Wogihara Unrai and Sakai Shiro, Prof. De Jong (1974:465-482) has demonstrated beyond doubt that the verses of SHK i.e. 1-5 ab, 6-9, 16-18, 20-22 are from Mahāvairocanaḥśambodhi-Sūtra (T 848, Nj 530, Toh 494) (LC. iv.p.32 and 50-51). With ref. to SHK, Krom writes, 'In treating the *śīla* and *vīrya-pāramitā* it is related consecutively what must be done by *kāya*, *vāk* and *citta*'. The Sañ Hyān Kamahāyānikan speaks of the *tantra bajradhātu*. The mention of Bajradhātviśvari the consort of Vajradhātu-Vairocana establishes the vogue of the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala in Java (LC. iv.p.46). The identification of the Borobudur as the Vajradhātu-maṇḍala did not gain ground for several factors, for instance: Multi-level teachings harmonizing in the Vajradhātu of the Yogatantras was not realized. It was known to Kōbō-daishi, who formalized them into ten stages of

spiritual progress. The Vaipulya Sūtras evolved for a millenium, and their most developed texts are named tantras. Borobudur represents the crucial stage of multi-level teachings' (LC.iv.p.46).

## Part II The Comparables

Karmavibhaṅga's role in the hidden base has received its due recognition. Fontein's research and Hikata's account in particular, underline the contribution of Lokaprajñapti as well. With the symbolic numerical significance of 60 and 160 and the categorical feature of the Yoga-Paṭṭas, the super-integrality of Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra comes to the fore. In the stratum of the hidden base, Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra with its distinguished profundity envelops the contiguous layers of Karmavibhaṅga and Lokaprajñapti. As a result the hidden base synthesizes three paradigms:

*Lay Paradigm: karmavibhaṅga*

*Abhidharma Paradigm: Lokaprajñapti*

*Mantrayāna Paradigm: Abhisambodhivairocana*

Vairocana here is the Abhisambodhi-Vairocana in contradistinction to the Vajradhātu-vairocana.

It becomes imperative therefore to understand the illustrations of Karmavibhaṅga and Lokaprajñapti in correlation to Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra or vice-versa. Though one observes tangible correlations, yet there are inadequacies without grasping the mindscape of *Abhisambodhivairocana*, of which the psycho-cosmic constructs are beyond depiction as the open sky. The reliefs are intended as supports to display the purpose *prajñāna* of the meditative system of *Abhisambodhivairocana*.

The text in the translation of Yamamoto says, 'He manifests the seat of bodhi. He meditates on everything in the *maṇḍala* so it is called *Yogāsana*' (CY.p.79). This is indicative of Yoga as the sentient beings' path of Oneness with Enlightenment. Which is 'to find the bonds of be-

ing from non-being' in the words of *Rgveda sato baṇdhum asati niravindan* (LC.VII.p.231). In an effort to demonstrate that macrocosm is reflected within the microcosm, Tantra emphasizes that the universe, in all its totality, is contained within the body of the individual.

### The 60 and 160 Minds

The idea of one hundred and sixty minds is located at the pivot of the whole theoretical system of the Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra. Ch.1. introduces the theory of mind as mundane *laukika* and supra-mundane *lokottara*. In the Tibetan version the title of the first chapter is *Sems kyi khyad par rim par phye ba*. Skt: *Cittaviśeṣa paṭala*. On the other hand the unrevised longer commentary of Buddhaguhya gives the title *Sems kyi rygud rim par phye ba*. Skt: *Cittasamtāna-paṭala* or *Cittasamtati-paṭala*? Implying 'continuation of mind' or Streams of consciousness.

The text explains how consecutively the *One Hundred and Sixty Minds* are achieved by multiplying the five fundamental passions *kleśa*. The five fundamental defilements *mūla-kleśas* are: (i) covetousness *rāga* (ii) anger *pratigha* (iii) stupidity *moha* or *mūḍha* (iv) pride or conceit *māna* (v) doubt *viciktsā*. They arise from nescience *avidyā* says the commentary (RT.p.284-5).

The Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra gives only the first five factors of 60 for combining 160. The B. Comm. indicates a solution; starting with 60 divided first by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and so on. Based on which Wayman arrived at a solution as follows:

| No. of minds combined | Resultant no. of minds |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1                     | 60                     |
| 2                     | 30                     |
| 3                     | 20                     |
| 4                     | 15                     |
| 5                     | 12                     |



|    |    |
|----|----|
| 6  | 10 |
| 10 | 6  |
| 15 | 4  |
| 20 | 3  |

Wayman explains: Sixty Minds contribute to 160 streams of consciousness *citta-samtāna*. These Sixty Minds are of four kinds: defiled *kliṣṭa*, virtuous *kuśala*, un-virtuous *akuśala*, and un-determinate *avyākṛta*. By a combination and permutation of these minds there could be a predominance of *defiled natures* or *virtuous natures*.

Alternatively if we divide each of these one hundred and sixty minds into nine classes according to their qualities of superior, medium or inferior, the number of inflictions total up to 80,000. If we divide more minutely, they become innumerable (PW).

| Stephen Hodge   | Yamamoto  | A. Wayman                 |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| Attachment: recourse to religion with desire  | Covetous: adapts itself to tinged <i>dharmas</i>        | Desire <i>rāga</i>        |
| Non-attachment: recourse to religion devoid of desire                               | Non-covetous: adapts itself to un-tinged <i>dharmas</i> | Aversion <i>virāga</i>    |
| Hatred: recourse to religion with aversion  | Angry: adapts itself to angry <i>dharmas</i>            | Hatred <i>dveṣa</i>       |
| Friendliness: recourse to religion with friendliness                                | Predilection: adapts itself to predilection, exercises  | Love <i>maītri</i>        |
| Stupidity: recourse to religion lacking reflection                                  | Foolish : performs deeds without reflection             | Delusion <i>moha</i>      |
| Intelligence: recourse to religion with greater and greater understanding           | Cleverness: superior and excellent <i>dharmas</i>       | Insight <i>prajñā</i>     |
| Decisiveness: acts in accordance with orders and injunctions                        | Conformity : To follow teachings of a respectful master | Decision <i>nirṇaya</i>   |
| Doubt: recourse to religion without doubt regarding whatever is definitely reliable | Doubtful : remains always irresolute                    | Doubt <i>vicikitsā</i>    |
| Darkness: that which has thoughts of uncertainty above that which is inconvertible  | Darkness: In doubt when there is none                   | Darkness <i>andhakāra</i> |
| Clarity: that which acts with certainty about that which is incontrovertible        | Clear: inconsiderate when there is no reason to doubt   | Light <i>āloka</i>        |

|  |  |                                  |
|--|--|----------------------------------|
| Gathering: that which makes the many one   | Accumulation: to reduce what is immeasurable to one                                      | Condensing <i>saṃgraha</i>       |
| Dissent: that which is at odds with oneself  | Combatant: tendency to decide by yes or no   | Strife <i>kalaha</i>             |
| Disputation: that which is mutually antagonistic (to others)                                 | Struggling: hesitates between yes or no  | Disputation <i>vivāda</i>        |
| Agreement: that which considers oneself allied because of similarity                         | With out struggle: discards ones own opinion and agrees with the opinion of the opponent | Non-disputation <i>nirvivāda</i> |
| God: that which gives rise to arrogant thoughts about oneself according to one's inclination | <i>Deva</i> : it is to think that one can realize anything as one thinks                 | Deity <i>deva</i>                |
| <i>Asura</i> : that which delights in <i>samsara</i>   | <i>Asura</i> : a mind that wants to remain in <i>samsara</i>                             | Demi-god <i>asura</i>            |
| <i>Naga</i> : that which thinks of getting great wealth                                      | <i>Naga</i> : a mind that wants to get immense property                                  | Serpent <i>nāga</i>              |
| Man: that which thinks of one's own advantage  | Human being: It is absorbed in giving advantage to others                                | Man <i>nara</i>                  |
| Woman: that which has recourse to religion just for pleasure                                 | Woman: It adapts itself to <i>dharma</i> of lust   | Woman <i>strī</i>                |
| <i>Īśvara</i> : that which arrogantly thinks that everything is as imagined by oneself       | <i>Īśvara</i> : everything should be as one desires                                      | <i>Īśvara</i> :                  |
| Merchant: that which hoards and increases the value of things and then later on uses them    | Merchant : apt to gather to distribute later   | Merchant <i>vāṇija</i>           |
| Farmer: that which seeks to hear many things and to attend to them later                     | Farmer : first to listen widely to advice then to gain the harvest later                 | Farmer <i>kṛṣaka</i>             |
| River: that which has recourse to religion (not) relying on the two extremes                 | River : adapts itself to <i>dharma</i> s that is apt to be supported by two banks        | River <i>nadi</i>                |
| Pond: that which has recourse to religion with greed   | Reservoir: apt to be thirsty without being satisfied                                     | Pool <i>vilva</i>                |
| Well: that which thinks that what is shallow is profound                                     | Well : so deep that it cannot be measured  | Well <i>kūpa</i>                 |
| Guard: that which thinks that oneself is correct and others are wrong                        | Protection : Ones action is true other's erroneous                                       | Protection <i>parirakṣita</i>    |
| Avarice: that which uses things for oneself and not to give to others                        | Miser : think of oneself and not give anything to others.                                | Avarice <i>mātsarya</i>          |

|   |   |                       |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| Cat: that which has recourse to religion advancing in leaps                                   | Raccoon dog: apt to advance first stealthily and then fast                                | Cat <i>mārjara</i>    |
| Dog: that which is joyful about things even though they are meager                            | Dog : feel satisfied with little that is received   | Dog <i>kukkura</i>    |
| Garuda: that which has recourse to religion with partiality                                   | Garuda : to proceed with all his power  | Garuda <i>garuḍa</i>  |
| Rat: that which thinks of cutting all restraints  | Rat : to think only to gnaw bonds   | Mouse <i>mūsa</i>     |
| Song: that which thinks one will attract beings by songs of various melodies                  | Song : to charm sentient beings   | Song <i>gīta</i>      |
| Dance: that which thinks one will cause others to be aroused by one's various accomplishments | Dance: wish to ascend to manifest a miracle   | Dance <i>nṛtya</i>    |
| Music: that which thinks one shall beat the fire of dharma                                    | Drum beater: to beat drum of dharma and by practice an exercise to awaken sentient beings | Drum <i>tūrya</i>     |
| House: that which has recourse to religion in order to protect one's body                     | House : to think to protect oneself by discipline   | House <i>grha</i>     |
| Lion: that which has recourse (to religion) by excelling over all                             | Lion: to perform anything with out timidity   | Lion <i>simha</i>     |
| Owl: that which always thinks of the night  | Owl: to meditate always in the dark night   | Owl <i>ulūka</i>      |
| Crow: that which thinks of everything with fear   | Crow: think with fear in all circumstances  | Crow <i>kāka</i>      |
| <i>Rāksasa</i> : that which brings about evil from good                                       | <i>Rāksasa</i> : to produce evil in good dharma   | Demon <i>rāksasa</i>  |
| Thorn: that which has regrets about everything  | Thorn : produces remorse in every thing   | Thorn <i>kaṇṭaka</i>  |
| Underground realm: that which thinks of benefits under the ground                             | Cave: to aspire to stay in a caves (of <i>asura</i> , <i>nagas</i> to enjoy)              | Abyss <i>nāgaloka</i> |
| Wind: that which roams about everywhere in everything   | Wind : has the nature to pervade every where and be elevated                              | Wind <i>vāyu</i>      |
| Water: that which practices in order to wash away all evil attitudes                          | Water : to wash all the bad <i>dharma</i> s   | Water <i>jala</i>     |



## Lakṣaṇas of the 60 Minds

At open spaces on the top titles for the scene are written in Kawi. Some of the inscriptions are legible and aid direct or indirect interpretations (LC.iv.p.76-7):

- i) Relief no. 0121a. *Abhidhyā*: Fontein has written covetousness (1) and Hikata writes avarice (27).

The 8<sup>th</sup> evil reads: Covetousness makes all plants and grain produce only small seeds (Fontein).

Compare this with mind number 1 which says: Desire *rāga*: Attachment: recourse to religion with desire (SH).

Covetous: Adapts itself to tinged *dharmas* (CY).

Also compare with mind number 27: *mātsarya* Avarice: That which uses things for oneself and not to give to others (SH). Who uses things for oneself and does not give to others (CY).

- ii) Relief no. 0121c. *Vyāpāda*: Fontein writes violence and Hikata has written wrath.

The 9<sup>th</sup> evil reads: Violence makes trees produce fruit that is bitter (Fontein).

Compare this with mind number 3: Hatred *dveṣa*: Recourse to religion with aversion (SH). Angry: Adapts itself to angry *dharmas* (CY).

- iii) Relief no. 122 *Mithyādrṣṭi*: Bernet Kempers has written: False views or heresy attaching undue importance to worldly affairs bears bitter fruits.

The 10<sup>th</sup> evil reads: Heresy makes all plants not bear fruit and the harvests are slim (Fontein).

Compare this with mind number 48: Shield *phalaka*: Which has recourse (to one religion) and rejects other wholesome ones (SH). Complies with *dharmas* according to ones capacity and rejects other good *dharmas* (CY).

- iv) Relief no. 42. *Mudra of Mahāsamkalpa*.

compare this with mind number 7: Decision *Nirṇaya*.

For some of the other tangible lakṣaṇas of the minds, check relief numbers: (03) *Uppapatti* (04) Noose, Dog and Owl (024) Hatred and anger (039) Song (052) Drum (065) Field (066) Clouds (077) Dance (087) Hole and Rat (092) River (0118) Chameleon (0122) Farmer and wind (0147) Pond.

### What is noteworthy is:

- i) Relief no.094: None of the texts of Karmavibhaṅga offer an explanation for the portrayal of Garuḍa and Nāga.

This sections accounted for as part of Lokaprajñapti (Hikata).

Mind no.30; Garuḍa: Which has recourse to religion with partiality (SH). To proceed with all his power (CY).

Mind no.17; Nāga: Which thinks of getting great wealth (SH). That wants to get immense property (CY).

- ii) Relief no. 0111 is the only one of a woman in *Yoga paṭṭa*:

Mind no. 19; Woman: has recourse to religion just for pleasure (SH). Adapts itself to dharma of lust (CY).

- iii) Relief no. 0113 is the only case where the *Yoga paṭṭa* is tied around both legs corresponding to:

Mind no 52; Fetters: Inclination to remain immobile with the two legs.

- iv) Relief no. 119 is the only one depicting an obvious and symbolic house not related to the context (Fontein)

Mind no. 35; House: That which has recourse to religion in order to protect ones body (SH). To think to protect oneself by discipline (CY).

### Eight Stages in contrast to the 60 minds

The eight stages are comparable to the section of Donations 65-74 (Fontein): reliefs 0124-0160.

As also to the Offerings mentioned ahead.

Also Point No. 8 herewith is comparable to section 34-41 on happiness and sorrow, rich and poor (Fontein):

Reliefs 0111-0117.

When beings in *Samsāra* who are solely enmeshed by a particular belief in self through attachment to the self etc. are tormented by the three kinds of suffering, the idea of the *dharma* causes them to generate the eight minds such as fasting and so forth (SH.p.451).

The successive forms of the heart in the superior point of view of Mahāyāna are the great secret of the Buddhas. When the 160 kinds of the defiled minds of sentient beings are transcended then are born in him immense merits. Their natures are eternally firm. So one will know the birth of the *bodhi*, which is as immeasurable as space immaculate and eternally stable. The *dharma*s cannot disturb it. From the moment of its origin it is tranquil and has no form. In it one may realize immeasurable knowledge; and in it *samyaksambodhi* may manifest itself. The observances of offering practices, external and internal, proceed from this initial arousal of the Heart of Bodhi' (CY.p.4-5) (RT.p.258-9).

The growing realization of the innate Bodhi mind is described in the form of eight stages and contrasted to sixty stages of the impure mind (UM.p.35). An ordinary man, foolish like a child, who is trans-migratory since time without beginning is attached to the name of the self and the possession of the self, distinguishes limitless appropriation of himself. Ordinary men and foolish boys are just like a ram. It happens for them to have the idea of *dharma* one time by chance.

- 1) They think a little bit of it, are joyous and then often practice it. This is the production of the first seed.
- 2) Then by this reason they make donations to their parents, to their



- male and female relatives on six days of abstinence. This is the second stage of the germ.
- 3) Then they donate to those who are not their relatives. This is the third stage, the stem.
  - 4) Next they donate to men of capacity and of virtue. This is the fourth stage, leafage.
  - 5) Next they donate with pleasure to men of art and venerable old men. This is the fourth stage, florescence.
  - 6) Next they adore them with affectionate donations. This is the sixth stage, the fruition.
  - 7) If they are born next in the world of gods by practicing discipline, it is the seventh stage, the harvest of seeds.
  - 8) When one transmigrates in the world of birth and death, one will come to hear *words* in the place of a good friend *kalyānamitra*: This is divinity, a great divinity who bestows all the pleasures. If one venerates them: Īśvara, Sūrya, Kubera, Kāma, Agni, Garuḍa, Nāgas, Rsis etc. with sincerity all his wishes will be fulfilled. Hearing such speech, he is joyous in mind and worships them with pious respect and practices obedience. This is called the eighth mind of a child who has no fear in the transmigration of birth and death of an ordinary man like a foolish child. This is the eighth stage, the heart of a child.

If one follows elevated teachings, one produces the wisdom to aspire to deliverance. He establishes discrimination in vacancy. He knows vacancy and knows *Nirvāṇa*. A *mantra-yogin* understands vacancy and discards the view of permanence and the view of total annihilation (CY.p.5-6).

### Three Kalpas

The traditional three *kalpas* during which Buddha-hood is at-

tained are interpreted as three layers of mistaken ideas hiding the *bodhi* mind which have to be transcended before the unenlightened dualism between Ego and *bodhi* mind is overcome and their essential oneness is realized (UM.p.35).

The esoteric doctrine interprets *kalpa* in the sense of erroneous attachment and is peculiar to the Tantra; which admits of the possibility of becoming a Buddha quickly and in course of this present life. Three *kalpas* here refer to (i) gross *sthūla* (ii) subtle *sūkṣma* (iii) very subtle *prasūkṣma* (RT.p.285).

‘If one transcends the three erroneous mundane attachments then the supra-mundane mind will arise. In this way a *mantra-yogin* understands that only *skandhas*: rūpa, vedanā, saṃjñā, saṃskāra, vijñāna, exist and that the self ātman does not exist. But he cannot advance in the practice caused by the six organs of sense, the six objects and the six spheres of notions. Then he eradicates the stump of deeds karma and passion *kleśa* and the twelve causes and effects produced from the seeds of ignorance. The supra-mundane mind stays in the *skandha*, achieves wisdom and then attains detachment from *skandhas*. To experience the sphere of absolute tranquility in this way, it is the so called supra-mundane mind. He who will avoid the succession of eight minds that are conformable or non-conformable as well as the nets of *karma* and *kleśa* will arrive at the practice of Yoga **exceeding one kalpa**.

There is also the practice of Mahāyāna. The *mantra-yogin* produces in oneself a mind that has no object and recognizes the non-existence of the self in the *dharma*s. Reason being, in former days such *yogins* examined the *ālaya* of the *skandha* and understood that the true nature of the *dharma* is similar to illusion, heat waves, shadow, echo, a circle of fire produced by a turned torch and mirage. If he abandons non-self in this way and understands that the mind is supreme and in-

dependent, and that the mind itself is without production primordially, because a man can attain neither the former limit nor the future limit of the mind. One who has caught the true nature of his mind in this way, may, with practice of Yoga, **transcend the second kalpa.**

*Śūnyatā* does not belong to the sense organs and objective domain. All the Buddha-*dharma*s that are equal to space and are limitless arise by it in succession. Which is to say, 'after the destruction of the seeds of *karma* and of life which the *kleśas* of the 160 hearts constitute under their subtle aspect (the third category of erroneous attachment), the sprouts of the tree of Buddha infinite as space, appear once again in a series (RT.p.288). They pass the phenomenal world *saṃskṛta* and non-phenomenal world *asaṃskṛta*. The supreme mind that has no essential nature *svabhāva* is thereby produced. Buddha said that such an initial mind is the cause of becoming the Buddha. While leaning on karma and kleśa, the Yogin may be delivered from it. When liberated, these cease to be obstacles and become virtuosity of the *bodhicitta*. The world will devote to him a cult and constantly present offerings.

And then the *mantra-yogin* attains the stage of the deed of profound belief and observes the three minds; cause *hetu*, root *mūla* and the ultimate *niṣṭhā*. The ten earths are made to correspond to the Threefold Formula. The First Earth corresponds to the expression, 'the heart of the bodhi is the first cause. The Second to Seventh corresponds to 'The great compassion is the root'; and the Three Last Earths correspond to the third, 'the means of liberation is the outcome.

He meditates the four expedients (*catvāri saṃgrahavastūni*: *dāna*, *priyavādītā*, *arthacaryā* and *saṃānārthatā* with limitless wisdom *prajñāpāramitā* of persuading sentient beings. The stage of profound belief is absolute, immeasurable and inconceivable. It achieves the ten minds and gives rise to limitless wisdom. It is with this limitless wisdom



that they obtain all my doctrine. Therefore the wise men should meditate on the stage of profound belief as directed towards omniscience. Having so meditated, **he transcends the third kalpa**. He transcends this stage of profound belief and after having penetrated this stage one surpasses the subtle category of the 160 cittas which are marked by defilements *sūkṣmakalpa* and constitute the third *kalpa* and attains the highest of the four expedients i.e. Buddhahood, which transcends even *Adhimukticaryā* (CY.p.9-10) (RT.p.265-6) (RT.p.289).

B.Comm. says that in general there are two kinds of praxis *caryā* through the gate of *mantra* namely ‘accomplished’ *siddha* and ‘pledged’ *samaya*. The *siddha* belongs to the nature of mind and of body of persons on the *Adhimukticaryā-bhūmi* and of those on advanced stages of the bodhisattva (ten) *bhūmis*. The ‘pledged’ kind is again of two kinds, with dull faculty and with keen faculty. Ones with dull faculty focus on mundane void-ness, and advance to non-self of personality *pudgala-nairātmya*, but mistakenly conceive the personal aggregates *skandha* as existing even for three eons. Eventually they realize the non-self of *dharma*s where the *skandha*s, etc. are like illusions and mirages, and attain the *Adhimukticaryā-bhūmi*. The one of keen faculties from the outset realizes the non-self of both *pudgala* and *dharma*s, and enters upon the *Adhimukticaryā-bhūmi* i.e. the supramundane mind of constructed morality *saṃskṛta-śīla* (AW.p.44).

### Six States of Non-Fear

The Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra relates the three *kalpas* to the six stages of fearlessness. Whereas the doctrine of the three *kalpas* relates to an objective progress to the cutting away of the false tenets, the doctrine of the six stages of fearlessness relates to a subjective attainment of states of mental tranquility. Fearlessness is not merely an

absence of fear, but refers to a total regeneration of the being. The first *kalpa* corresponds to the first four stages of fearlessness; the second *kalpa* is the fifth stage of fearlessness; and the third *kalpa* is the sixth stage (AS.p.195-6).

The attainments of the six fearless states culminate in the fearlessness of the quality of self nature:

- i) When an ordinary man foolish *mudha* as a child performs many good deeds and breaks bad deeds, he will get Non-Fear of goodness. 'One, who is plunged into evil but has re-awakened to moral good by practice of the five prohibitions and the ten goods actions, is capable of avoiding the sorrows and evil destinies and of gaining peace. For the faithful this consists of penetrating into the *maṇḍala* and undertaking the observance of Triple Mystery'.
- ii) when he knows him just as he really is, he will get Non-Fear of the body. 'Meditating on the impurity of his body, the worldly being gives up the attachment of 'I' and has no more sentiment of fear, he has become a *Śrāvaka* and by practice of the Triple Mystery Triguhya comes to see the divinity with the eyes of the heart'.
- iii) When he recognizes that the body is composed of *skandhas* and he discards the image of the body regarded as a visible figure, he will get the Non-Fear of non-self. 'Knowing that his body is a momentary combination of the five personal aggregates *pancaskandha-samudāya*, the *Śrāvaka* conceives of the absence of all human personality, the vacuity of *pudgala*. He becomes an *arhat*. By the exercise of Yoga the faithful follower meditates upon the unconditional nature of his heart, and comes to destroy the attachment to and the pride in his 'I' *ahaṃ*.
- iv) When he breaks the conception of the *skandhas* and yet stays in the objectivism of many things, he will get the Non-Fear of the *dhar-*

*mas*. The *arhat* conceives a part of the vacuity of the *dharmas* of the five personal aggregates. He becomes a *Pratyekabuddha*. The faithful follower understands the independent non-existence of all the forms which present themselves in the course of the exercise of the Three Mysteries. These forms appear to him like the reflection of the moon on the waters.

- v) When he breaks the conception of the *dharmas* and stays in the absence of all objectivism, he will get the Non- Fear of the inexistence of the self in many *dharmas*. 'Upon realizing that the triple world is nothing but the Heart, that outside the Heart there is not a single independent *dharma* and that own heart itself is void, one becomes a Bodhisattva. The faithful follower knows that all the forms he perceives in *Yoga* are aspects of his own heart and he gains mastery over his heart.
- vi) All the *skandhas*, *dhātus*, *āyatanas*, the appropriator and the appropriated, the self, the life as well as the *dharmas* and absence of objects are vacant and have no essential nature. If such wisdom of *śūnyatā* is produced, the *yogin* will get the Non-Fear of the equality of the proper nature of all *dharmas*. Understanding that all *dharmas* are produced by sequences of *cause and effect*, that all possess this same nature of being without own-nature, the Bodhisattva grasps the equality of all *dharmas* and thus complies with the doctrine of 'Single Vehicle' *ekayānavāda*. The faithful follower realizes the veritable aspect of the Pure Heart of *bodhi* which is as immaculate as space. He will attain full enlightenment only after his entry into the Ten Earths' (CY.p.10) (UM.p.35) (RT.p.307-8).

### Ten Stages of Mind:

The six states of fearlessness correspond to the ten stages of mind.



1. Fearlessness of Virtue: First, Second and Third stage of mind.
2. Fearlessness of the Body: Fourth stage of mind.
3. Fearlessness of Non-self: *id*
4. Fearlessness of *Dharmas*: Fifth stage of mind.
5. Fearlessness of the Non-self of the *Dharmas*: Sixth and Seventh stage of mind.
6. Fearless of the identity of the *Dharmas*: Eighth, Ninth and Tenth stage of mind.

As mentioned in the VAS, 'the 'ten Stations' are incomparable, infinite and inconceivable and are not successive but in immediate simultaneity'. The ten stations identify the Tathāgatas virtues, which are in an instantaneous identity and inseparability. They are the horizontal unfolding of the virtues of Buddhahood. According to an alternate version of the doctrine, the First Station is the virtue of the Buddha's own. Realization and the remaining stations are the various aspects of his virtue of converting others (AS.p.198-9).

### Disciplines:

*Vairocanaḥśambodhi-Sūtra* Ch.18 is comparable to section 1-14 of *Karmavibhaṅga* (Fontein) on Reliefs O2-O85.

A) The ten ways of good conduct.

- 1) Bodhisattvas observe the discipline of not depriving life, abandon the sword and stick, have no will to kill and protect lives of others as their own lives until the end of their lives.
- 2) A bodhisattva should keep the discipline of not taking what is not given. Should not be a miser and accumulate things. He should give gifts (of *dharma*) in order to stay away from this miserliness. If the Bodhisattva raises covetousness, he will lose the *bodhi-citta* and will transgress the *vinaya* of *asamkhyeya* (non-action).

- 3) A bodhisattva should never arouse lustful passion on another's wife, on his own wife, on women of his own class and on prostitutes.
- 4) He should keep the discipline of not telling a lie even if it were for the sake of his life.
- 5) Not uttering harsh words
- 6) Not to indulge in back-biting. If the sentient being has his opinion let him dwell in it.
- 7) Not engaging in idle talk.
- 8) He should observe the discipline of non-covetousness. He should not arouse attachment.
- 9) He should practice perseverance and should not be attached to anger or rejoicing. He should not have malice..
- 10) Not having wrong views or heretic views. Should not deny the rule of cause and effect, practice the right view, be afraid of the future, should have no damage, no evil, no flattery. He should have a definite mind and a definite faith in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.

**B) Five disciplines of family life**

- 1) Not to take life.
- 2) Not to steal.
- 3) Not to tell lies.
- 4) Not to commit adultery
- 5) Not hold wrong views.

**C) Four kinds of root crimes not to be transgressed even for giving life.**

- 1) Slandering the *dharma*.
- 2) Abandoning the *bodhi-citta*.
- 3) To be miserly in teaching the *dharma*.
- 4) Harming creatures. (CY.p.150-3)

## Adornments and Offerings

In Chapter II on accessories to approach a *maṇḍala*, offerings are comparable to section of donations of the relief nos.0124-0160.

The sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Gate of Meditation represent a series of offerings made by Mahāvairocana to the four Buddhas and by the four Buddhas to Mahāvairocana. Each of the sixteen Bodhisattvas of the Meditation Gate embodies an aspect of the virtue of one of the four Buddhas, which that Buddha, as an act of veneration and homage, offers to Mahāvairocana. Receiving these offerings Mahāvairocana's virtue is enhanced and he returns the increased offerings to the Buddhas. By this process of reciprocal offering the Buddhas and Mahāvairocana augment each other's virtue. The exchange of offerings is an exchange of light. Mahāvairocana, the source of Light of Wisdom, shines upon the four Buddhas, irradiating them with splendor. They in turn, reflect this light back to its source.... In this way the Light of Wisdom shines back and forth between the Great Sun and his Qualities with ever increasing brilliance'.

In response to the offerings by the Buddhas, Mahāvairocana emanates four Bodhisattvas called 'Inner Offerings Bodhisattvas' who occupy positions inside the diamond circle of the *maṇḍala* because they relate to the inward aspects of the body and mind. The four Buddhas reciprocate by emanating the four 'Outer Offerings Bodhisattvas', who sit in the four corners outside the diamond circle and pertain to aspects which lie outside the body and mind of the *sādhaka* (AS.p.620-23).

There are two types of offerings based on the distinction of the internal and external offerings: There are four types of internal offerings: (i) *Mantras* (ii) *Mudrās* (iii) Having actualized the *bodhicitta* recite the *gaganganja vidyā*. This is the third offering as part of the mental offerings (iv) Then comes the fourth i.e. accomplishment of-



fering *pratipatti-pūjā* characterized by repeated cultivation of kindness and compassion towards all beings (SH.p.498).

Having created a mind of abundance arouses his *bodhi* mind and focuses it on all Tathāgatas. He then forms the 'All Buddha *Samādhi mudrā*' of *Dharmadhātu*, *Dharmacakra* and *Samaya*, through which his compassion-focused mind is aroused and white rays are generated. This is followed by the *Śantika homa* ritual which causes separation from all transgressions, employing the metaphor of the fire burning away all transgressions. This is the ritual of attaining the mind of '*Mahākaruṇā Samādhi*'.

The external offerings are seven fold (i) Flower, garlands; joy (ii) Fragrance and offering praise (iii) Food, fruits and drink. (iv) Lamp; illumination (v) Painted banners and canopies, bells (vi) Treasure vases filled with medicinal treasures, fragrant water, wondrous lotuses (vii) Clothes.

And further it is said: (i) When the *Homa* is over, the disciple will donate amongst other treasures an elephant, a horse, a carriage, to his *ācārya* with joy and deep gratitude. (ii) All Buddhas have said that such are meritorious fields. It is in order to give advantage to all sentient beings. One will get great merit by donating to the Saṅgha. Inexhaustible resources will be produced. One, who donates to the Saṅgha, donates to meritorious men. One should rejoice by giving good dishes to the priests (CY.p.32-3) (UM.p.40).

Offering signifies a symbolic identity:

Canopy: *guru* of three realms.

Banner: victory over Māras.

Adornments: marvelous action of compassion.

Umbrella: mind of enlightenment.

Yak tail: marvelous action.

Tassels: compassion.

Food: benefit and morality of body.

Sixteen golden flasks: *mudrā* of *Dharmadhātu*.

Five flasks filled with the water of the five formulas: knowledge of the five families.

Lamp: insight.

Bali: compassion.

Food and drink: food for the Gods.

Buddhaguhya's commentary on the *Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana* (as cited by Wayman 1973:92f) explicitly states that adornment is to clarify the apperception of inner symbols (LC.vii.p.234).

### Three Samayas

Transcending the limits of time and space and attaining the truly natural state means to be in the world of no distinctions and of equality. This is the state of the threefold *samaya*: First, the *bodhi* mind is aroused; second, true wisdom is generated and is separated from the net of inexhaustible distinctions; third, the *samaya* of the turning of the compassionate self nature with the exception of one who does not want to accomplish the *dharma*, one who is idle, one who speaks useless things, one who has no creed, one who accumulates fortune. They should not do two things: Drink wines and lie on bed (UM.p.59) (CY.p.164).

Buddhaguhya qualifies them as the entering mind, the abiding mind, the arising mind (SH.p.373). In the traditional exegesis the word *samaya* has four meanings: identity, Original Vow, removal of hindrances and surprise awakening; the power to awaken beings from their sleep of ignorance (AS.p.50-51).

### Part III The Caryā Tantra

This tantra is the discourse *abhidhāna*, the subject matter *abhidheya* is the intrinsically existent *maṇḍala*. As for its purpose *prayojana*, one propitiates one's tutelary deity *adhidevatā* by the practice of the *sādhana* as per the Tantra and then accomplishes the signs of success. Following on from that the *prayojana* should be understood as the attainment of supreme All-knowing by the excellent Awareness of the Buddha Vairocana' (SH.p.44).

The three Arrays of Vairocana's Inexhaustible *body Ghaṇavyūha*; *kāya*, *vāk*, *citta*, which were revealed also benefits pure beings such as Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. Bhagavat revealed them as perfect means in order that they might understand the intrinsic nature. Those who are impure such as sages, humans, gods, *asuras*, *gandharvas* and so forth do not have the capability of seeing the nature of the three Arrays as they are in themselves, therefore they are transformed into the perceptual forms of the *mantras*, *mudrās* and *maṇḍalas* of the three Arrays, and taught in this *tantra* in order to help those beings (SH.p.471-2).

The Sūtra describes therefore the salvation of all creatures through skillful means which have the production of *bodhicitta* as their *primary cause*. This practice will lead to the attainment of the fruit of this *bodhicitta*; the realization of the innate jewel of the pure *bodhi* mind. The practice is described in terms of three mysteries which allow the practitioner to focus on Vairocana by imitating His Body *kāya* through *mudrās*, His speech *vāk* and His Mind *citta* by entering into His *Samādhi* (UM.p35). The text reads, 'the essence of his teachings is summed up in a three fold formula, 'the mind of Enlightenment *bodhicitta* is the cause, the great compassion *Mahākaruṇā* the root, the expedient *upāya* the means' (CY.p.3).

The text reads, 'All the acts of the speech, all the acts of the



mind of Vairocana are the declaration of the *dharma* of the words of *mantrayāna* in all places and at all times in the world of sentient beings. He manifests himself in the form of Vajradhara, Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, Bodhisattva Padmapāṇī and others, and declares the pure words of *Mantrayāna* in the ten directions. This is in order to give rise to the first *Bodhicitta* and to proceed gradually to the tenth *bhūmi* until finally to attain Buddhahood in this existence. The bad germs of longevity whose birth caused by the acts in the categories of sentient beings are eradicated and good germs are reborn'. (CY.p.2).

'The *dharma*s are far removed from discrimination and all delusions. I will realize the utmost enlightenment like space. The fools are malicious and illusive and are attached to the domain. Their desire for time, place, and aspect are covered with ignorance. I preach in accordance with them with an expedient in order to deliver them. In fact there is no time nor place, nor action nor actor. All the *dharma*s stay only in the true form.

Many sentient beings are covered with foolish love, they desire good and bad forms of deeds *karma* made by the views of permanence of total annihilation and of the time and places in forms, they desire the result because they are dark and blind, so they cannot understand this way. So I preach this *dharma* following them in order to deliver them' (CY.p.15).

'The hindrances are produced by one's own mind in consequence of the stinginess in former times. To curtail following them and to remove their *causes*, the bodhi mind should be kept in focus. Meditate on the *bodhicitta* in order to remove the cause and to remove the delusion that is produced by the mind. The *Yogin* will get rid of many failures' (CY.p.43)

## Samādhi

If the Bodhisattva practices, he will obtain the *Samādhi* that removes all hindrances. He will have five sorts of supernatural wisdom, limitless words, sounds, *dhāraṇīs* and will know the mind and practice of sentient beings. He will be protected by the Buddhas, will be free from passion in the *cycles of birth and death*, will not be tired in taking pains for the sake of sentient beings of the *dharmadhātu* and will accomplish the morality of the pure mind of Bodhi. He will be free from the mind that denies the doctrine of cause and effect. Bodhisattva who is free from all the hindrances *kleśa* and passions has the power of firm conviction and will accomplish Buddha *dharmas*. To say in short, a man and woman of good family will be able to realize all these limitless merits (CY.p.4)

The Buddha told the *śūnyatā* of all, and the *Samādhi* of Enlightenment. The mind is realized by *Samādhi*. It is not obtained from outside world. Such domain is in the *dhyāna* of all the Tathāgatas. It is called *Mahāśūnyatā* that fulfills complete omniscience. Krom writes, ‘another description of the *Samādhis* in SHK mentions five different sorts of breathing, that are named after the five Dhyāni-Buddhas’.

Bhagavat Vairocana met all other Buddhas. He announced the various means of *Samādhi* for the Śrāvakas, Pratyekabuddhas and Bodhisattvas. On that occasion he equiposed himself in the *Samādhi* called ‘the impetus by dint of a single stream of consciousness with all the Tathāgatas united. The way of the *Samādhi* in which the Buddha, Bodhisattva, Pratyekabuddha, Śrāvaka destroy many failures have the true advantage, while the way of the *mantra-dharma* that belongs to the divinities and the world was preached by the valiant one for giving transient benefit to the sentient beings.

The descriptions of the *Samādhi* way of the Buddhas, Bodhisattva, Śrāvaka, Pratyeka and Deva are as follows:

- i) The Buddha *Samādhi* is called the Enlightenment of the Original Unborn State. Transcending the way of words and being separated from all internal and external causes, the wisdom of knowing the truth is born. This wisdom is the *dharma* of the self conscious Buddha, 'The Bodhisattva who will be a Buddha in the next birth will reside in the *Samādhi* way of the Buddha-bhūmi. He dwells in the condition of the conduct and stays firmly in the status of the Buddha'.
- ii) The *Samādhi* of Bodhisattva is that of having attained all *dharma*, of being separated from (the chain of) births and of knowing that all is illusion, 'The way of *Samādhi* of the bodhisattva who is free in the eighth *bhūmi* does not get all the *dharma*s, but is away from the birth of existence and knows that all is illusive'.
- iii) The Śrāvaka reside in the realm of internal causes and are conscious of (the need for) removing the aspects of birth and death, 'Śrāvakas dwell in the position of relative causes and know birth and death and remove the two extremities. They have the wisdom of observance and they can get the cause of practicing in reverse order'.
- iv) The Pratyeka understand the nature of Cause and Effect and reside in the *dharma* of no words. Turning the wheel of no words they attain the *Samādhi* of extreme obliteration of words, 'Pratyekabuddha observes the Cause and Effect and dwells in the *dharma* of non-speaking'.
- v) The *Samādhi* of the world i.e. of the Devas, is that of the realm of Cause and Karma, of Birth and Death. Those who reside there belong to the Deva realm, 'The people of the world know that the Cause and Effect and the deed are produced or are annihilated and they depend on outer *atman* (Brahmā or Maheśvara), then the *Samādhi* of vacancy is produced, called *Samādhi* of the World' (CY.p.26-8) (UM.p.39) (AW.p.130).



Vairocana observes the assembly with eyes that are trained to have compassion. He dwells in the Amṛtasamādh in regarding the world of sentient being. 'The Buddha then preached, by this *Samādhī*, the *vidyā* that has the power of non-hindrance in all the three worlds' (CY.p.85).

## Maṇḍalas

The three *kalpas*, the six stages of fearlessness and the ten stages of mind all relate to the layers of the Matrix Maṇḍala. These layers of the *maṇḍala* are manifested for the sake of beings at various levels of spiritual progress. This is to view the *maṇḍala* as the expression of an inward progress, proceeding through progressive stages from the periphery to the centre (AS.p.199).

The Maṇḍala of Mahāvairocana's Dharma Body has four aspects, termed the 'four Maṇḍalas'. (i) The Tathāgata's Dharma Body is a *Mahā-maṇḍala* of the universe of forms composed of the six elements (ii) *Samayamaṇḍala*, the Dharma Body made up of the universe of symbolic forms (iii) *Dharma-maṇḍala* comprising all the sounds of the universe (iv) *Karma-maṇḍala* composed of all the actions of the world. Each of the four representations depicts Mahāvairocana as Sun at the pivot of the universe, surrounded by his virtues and qualities personified as Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Gods. He is at once the axis and the area of the maṇḍala. The four maṇḍalas are 'Unified, Merged, Interpenetrating and Mutually pervading' (AS.p.23-7).

'The region of mind is called the *maṇḍala*. If one knows that the region of the mind is the basis of the *mantra* (pure *bodhicitta*), one will attain the effect. Many existences are discriminated. All of them are produced in the mind. When one obtains the decisive mind one gets ecstasy; the immaculate ninth mind' (CY.p.83). The Sūtra provides

details about how this absolute state is to be attained and deals with the practices leading up to the realization of the mysterious world of Mahāvairocana. It is in this context that the first *maṇḍalas* are revealed that appear as locus for and as guiding structure enabling the acolyte to experience the shimpenkaji of Mahāvairocana; efficacious grace of the divine transformation i.e. the realization of Buddhahood in this existence (UM.p.35-6).

He preached the *dharma* that accomplishes omniscience by practicing the *maṇḍala*, 'He realized the *Mahākarunodbhava Samādhi*. A body of Tathāgathas appeared from each of the members of Bhagavān. From the first beginning of the Mind of Enlightenment up to the Tenth Bhūmi, he went all over ten directions for the sake of many sentient beings and returned to the original status of the *Buddha-kāya* and again entered the original status' (CY.p.13). 'He explains the 'mind transcending supernatural *dharma* world' and the Mahākarunā- Garbhodbhava-mahāmaṇḍala-rāja, who has bodily attained this all *dharma*-world. This is the world where all wisdoms have been satisfied; that is, 'this world is manifested from the body of Tathāgata and it is therefore the world which will ultimately *cause* everything to return to the body of Tathāgata' (UM.p.36).

### Universal Seal of Knowledge

The seal of Universal Knowledge is a triangle, the shape associated with the element of fire, representing the Fire of Knowledge that engenders Awakening by burning away illusion and the three hindrances of Lust, Anger and Ignorance. In the Genzu Maṇḍala, the apex of the triangle points upwards, but Śubhākarasimha says it should be the other way around. Some scholars suggest that both directions are complementary: the upward pointing triangle is the Fire that burns away the hindrances in the upper worlds as far as the Heaven of the 'Final Limit of Form *akaniṣṭha*. Śubhākarasimha counters this with:

downward pointing triangle is the Fire which burns away the passions down to the Uninterrupted Hell Avīci, the lowest of the realms in the World of Desire. Others say the former refers to Self Benefit and the latter to Benefit Others.

Buddhaguhya's explanation of the Seal as per its description in the text is, 'the triangle and the two nimbuses represent the Tathāgata's three bodies as three aspects of the Fire of Knowledge: the two bands of light emanating from the triangle represent the Sambhogakāya and Nirmāṇakāya while the triangle itself is the Dharmakāya. The syllable **am** at the apex of the triangle equates the Void Point and signifies that when the Fire of Knowledge burns away the hindrances the *sādhaka* enters the Void. It also signifies that Knowledge, which is the Mind of the Tathāgata, is Void (AS.p.253-4).

### Mudrās

Krom writes, 'In his hand the exercise of The Law becomes the practice of the *Yoga* (LC.iv.p.47). The hand gestures *mudrās* in the rite are the sign of interpenetration of the *yogins* body with all phenomena and with the Dharma body of the Tathāgata. The *mudrā* is invested with the power and authority and authenticity of the Tathāgata. It is also an immutable and irreversible resolution. The *mudrā* is an external sign of the virtue and power of the inner Realization and of the Original Vow... whereby it functions to aid beings to the Awakening. The *mudrā* while retaining its ontological distinction as a sign wholly subsumes what it signifies. The symbol and the signified are discrete yet merged in identity (AS.p.42-3).

### Mantras:

Listen carefully to the mind of the *mantras*. The power of the *mantra* is incomparable. It is as powerful as Śakyasiṃha, the savior of



the world, who vanquished the army of Māra so ferocious and so powerful. Make accomplishment with such wisdom and expedient and acquire omniscience. A *mantra-yogin* should have compassion and spread the mind of Enlightenment (CY.p.14).

The *mantras* and their efficacious power is naturally generated entities, are transcending entities. Because they transcend *Samādhi* they are explained as being generated by most profound and supernatural causes. This means that the *mantra* path will not be cut off if one follows one's own supernatural *dharma* nature. By spreading the sound everywhere, all will be purified. Like the pure mind they dwell in the stage of lofty mind. Their afterattainment in the stage of practice arising from *karma* and deeds confers the lofty fruit (UM.p.45) (AW.p.134).

The various aspects of the *mantras* are divided into four kinds: (i) *usnā* (ii) wrathful (iii) tranquil (iv) and all-desires fulfilling *mantras* (UM.p.39). The *Mantras* are as pure as the gate of the *dharma-dhātu* in the Mahākaruṇodbhava-maṇḍala-rāja-samaya, which give indestructible, innate mystic benediction to the Vajradharas and the Bodhisattvas and are explained in two parts (i) The *mantras* (ii) The seed syllables (CY.p.43) (UM.p.44).

Consequently if all *mantras* are received (i) the three worlds will be transcended (ii) all actions will arise (iii) supernatural fruits be attained (iv) all *susiddhi* will be attained (v) the incorruptible world will be attained (UM.p.40). The text reads, 'The *Samādhi of mantrayāna* transcends the three worlds and is immaculate like space.

If a *yogin* considers the supreme and true voice, the *mantra* and the form of *mantra*, he will attain the invincible position (CY.p.30); Vairocana dwelt in the *Samādhi* of the pure and sublime depository that is the dependence of freedom from obstacles in the three worlds and the dependence of the effect of the marvelous benediction of the

Tathāgata. At the same time he issued marks of inexhaustible words in the inexhaustible world of *samāpatti* (*dhyāna*) He issued one voice in four places by dint of the power of the *dharmadhātu*, unequal power, the belief in *samyak-sambodhi*, a *mantra* that pervades everywhere and is equal to space' (CY.p.73).

Residing in the compassionate mind, the *mantra* of avoiding calamities is recited. After completing the *homa* ritual, the being granted closeness *mudrā* is performed. Then it is followed by the *abhiṣeka*. Having gained a thorough understanding of the *mantra* aspect and having his *pūjā* mind made abundant, the *Samādhi* mind is received. Having burnt away all dust through the *homa* ritual and having his compassionate mind caused to be born; he is now truly the practitioner of the Victorious Mantra. He will also attain the *maṇḍala* world and is now ready to receive *abhiṣeka* of being granted the bodily experience of his identity with Vairocana. After completing the *abhiṣeka*, the acolyte has attained the mind of Mahāvairocana. He has now attained the firm belief that he is Vairocana (UM.p.40-41).

The text reads, 'the *mantras* both pull the acolyte into the *Maṇḍala* and protect his body and mind, through the act of *pūjā* he also becomes one with the Tathāgata's body and mind. The result is that the shell of nowisdom is removed, freedom from impurities is attained, and the *dharma* wheel is turned. This shows the opening of the *mantra* path'. The acolyte receives the four injunctions of holding firmly to the bodhi mind. They are those of (i) should never abandon the *bodhicitta* in all *dharma*s (ii) should not forsake the mind of enlightenment (iii) should not grudge all the *Dharma*s (iv) and not do anything that has no advantage to sentient beings (CY.p.34) (UM.p.41).

## Manifestation of Siddhi

The mind of Omniscience is immaculate like space and has no *svabhāva*. It gives various kinds of skilful knowledge because it is always vacant by its *svabhāva*, for the relative connection of Cause and Effect *pratītyasamutpāda* is very profound and inconceivable. It proceeds marvelously for a very long time and according to aspiration (CY.p.72).

The Tathāgatas, Samyak-saṃbuddhas are well versed in the *upāya-pāramitā*. They know that all the discriminations are vacant in their original quality. Because of the power of *upāya-pāramitā* they manifest phenomenal elements in the non-phenomenal elements. They pervade the *dharmadhātu* by manifesting for the sake of sentient beings adapting one by one. The Tathāgatas let them see the dharma and let them dwell in pleasance and let them arouse joy or obtain long life (CY.p.76). *Dharmadhātu* is the *samyak saṃbodhi* of all Tathāgatas. It is called marvelous domain. Therefore many bodhisattvas who perform the deed of the bodhisattvas in Mantrayāna will be versed in the indivisible and indestructible *dharmadhātu* (CY.p.77). Though the Tathāgata transcends time and space, actions and *dharma* as well as non-*dharma*, he can give the formula of *siddhi*, and the deed of *mantra* will be produced. Therefore the omniscience and the ultimate result of the Tathāgata-siddhi are the most excellent word. That should be accomplished (CY.p.82).

There is a *dharma* that is admired in the Vinaya preached by the Tathāgata. If good men know penitence will see such a *dharma*, they will produce two things: not to do what is not to be done and to be admired by many. Again there are two things; to attain what was not attained and that they can be together with the Buddhas and the bodhisattvas. Another two are; to dwell in *śīla* and to be born among men and gods. If a *yogin* looks at a *maṇḍala*, he is sanctified by the sacred ones



and attains the true word, raises the *bodhicitta*. He has deep creed and mercy, is not covetous, dwells in subjugation of passion, discriminates what is produced out of Causes, observes the discipline, dwells well in the moral precepts *sikṣāpada*, is versed in expedients, is courageous, knows the proper time and improper time, performs donations, has no fear in mind, carries on the rite of *mantras*, masters the true meaning of the *mantras*, always wishes for *dhyāna*, and wishes to accomplish.

There is a *vidyā* that gives:

- i) Satisfaction in *kāmadhātu*, infatuates the sons of gods who practice all the desires, and gives various laughter and merriment, enjoyment of many kinds in *Paranirmitavaśavartin*, who dominates others by magical manifestations (AW.p.169).
- ii) Just as there is a *vidyā* that produces excellent intention in Maheśvara, and benefits sentient beings in three thousand worlds. There is a *vidyā* that works miracle of all the enjoyment to give to the divinities of Śuddhāvāsa.
- iii) Just as a *mantra* of magic manifests various gardens, forests and personages, just as a *mantra* of Asuras produces illusions, and magic in the world removes poison, affliction of extreme cold in hell and heat. Just as the *mantra* of Mātālī gives illness and calamity to sentient beings, the worldly magic removes cold and heat and changes fire and produces coolness.
- iv) Such merit of *mantra* is naturally produced because of miraculous benediction. The merit of the *mantra* does not surpass *Samādhi* and because it is produced from the Profound and Inconceivable Causes, one should abide by the marvelous quality of the *dharma*s and not allow Mantrayāna to perish (CY.p.72-3).

‘Endeavour to practice for ever the mantra and the mind of the

Buddhas, have pure mind in order to get rid of selfishness. Contemplate the place of the sound and recite the *mantra* with concentration, and perform the *Samādhi* in the first *bhūmi* to satisfy form. When one reaches the first *bhūmi* one will be free from doubt. Take the one mind. Put the mind (the *mantra* of the sacred one) in the mind (the pure mind of the *yogin*) Then the *yogin* will realize the purest sentence, he is stabilized immobile and without dirt. He does not discriminate just as a mirror, and is very subtle in representing. From the second to the seventh *bhūmi*, make offerings of fragrance and flowers and thereby benefit manifold kinds of sentient beings. Forsake attachment to the profit in the position of the expedient i.e. the eighth to the tenth *bhūmi*. He is free in thinking in Yoga (CY.p.74-5).

Further it is stated: (i) He wishes to give happiness and satisfies hopes of all sentient beings without obstacles (ii) He will get rid forever of all sufferings of animals who eat each other (iii) He will give sufficient food for many hungry *pretas* (iv) He will remove by the power of his merit the pains and poisons of many kinds from which beings in hell suffer (v) Perform the rite of *siddhi* to the *Triratna*; *Buddha*, *Dharma*, *Sangha*. ... The body and mind will have no hindrance (vi) Meditate and recite the *mantras*, the body and mind will be purified (vii) can live for eons (viii) will be adored by king and others (CY.p.75-7).

The *yogins* of *mantrayāna* can have many marvels and dwell in many words of illusion. Then all the sufferings due to ignorance in the past without commencement will be removed because of *samhitā* on the part of the *yogin*. If he meditates on the *anuttara bodhicitta* in his mind, he will always be immaculate in the pure and impure result according to the reason that as a pure lotus flower that comes out of the mud, because he has the deed of *Mantrayāna* (CY.p.78). The illusionary *mantras* are explained to be the power of Indra's *mantras*

(AW.p.169). If the Mahāyānist takes the drug he will wander in space, He will have longevity and great prestige. He will be free in life and death. He will go on the summit of the world and will manifest various forms. Such is called accomplishment (siddhi) and non-discrimination (siddhi in non-form) by discriminated drugs (CY.p.76). Various phases of phantasmagoria are manifested according to the facts of species of the *nirmāṇakāya*. The four elements; earth, water, fire and wind are taken and are stabilized in the king of mind: the formless *dharmakāya* of the letter 'A' (CY.p.78).

Vairocana, equipped in the *vajravikrīḍitasamādhi* that defeats Māra, preached the following formula like *vajra* that conquers Māras and delivers from the six nodes of existence *gati* and accomplishes *sarvajñāna*; *a, vi, ra, hum, kham*' (CY.p.78). 'These syllables correspond to the seed syllables of the five elements, namely earth, water, fire, wind, space respectively (RT.p.317). The sequence of the five letters gives merits such as the disease due to *karmas* accumulated in the past will be cured; he will get rid of many obstacles and poison. He will get immeasurable life and will manifest particular person, will get rid of evils, ceases disaster, all sins and crimes even the five capital sins will be recompensed without distinction of status. The *yogin* performs the *saṃhitā* well and removes sin. Such deeds should be done in the circle of fire of wisdom (CY.p.80).

The power of the *mantras* is the means *upāya* with three degrees of ranking: Superior, middling and inferior. To illustrate one of these: The inferior ranking is the power of *mantras* that create poison, fever, death, due to the *sapt mātṛkās* (going with Indra, Brahmā etc.). They drink the blood (of demons) falling (before touching the blood touches the earth) caused by reason of sword and pacify the demonic *asuras*'. Tajima admits the sixth syllable going with *vijñāna* is HUM.



Kukai identifies HUM with wind. The pure *Vijñāna* (freed from darkness) need not destroy demons with HUM. Wayman explains, 'If he desires the highest *siddhi*, he has no pride, he has no HUM, because there are no demons to chase away (AW.p.169,185).

Buddhaguhya enumerates four perfections, 'defeating of Māras is 'perfection of elimination *prahāṇasampat*'; the ability like a *vajra* to manifest without impediment is 'perfection of strength' *bala-sampat*'; liberating from the six destinies is 'perfection of others' aim' *parārtha-sampat*'; the perfection of omniscient knowledge *sarvajñajñāna* is 'perfection of knowledge' *jñāna-sampat* (AW.p.74).

#### Part IV The Abhisambodhi

At the heart of the enterprise is the realization of the *prajñā śūnyatā*. This realization is based on the middle path which views phenomena as truth and as a characteristic variant of the mantra school, holds that *kleśa* become *bodhi* and that Buddhahood is attained in this very body. This state of Buddhahood is not entry into a *passive state of nirvana*; the enlightened state embodied by Mahāvairocana is an *active state* of reaching out in compassion to all creatures so that they find their way back to their innate bodhi mind i.e. Enlightened State.

The Sūtra describes this state as Omniscience *sarvajña* (wisdom of all wisdom, 'issai-chi chi), the state of fully self conscious enlightenment which, personalized as Mahāvairocana, reveals this truth to the assembly of enlightened beings in response to questions from Vajrapāṇi, e.g. "will Vairocana Buddha reveal the body of Śrāvaka or Pratyekabuddha or Bodhisattva, Brahma or Narāyaṇa, Vaisravaṇa or Mahāroga, human being or nonhuman being, speaking the speech of each of the above mentioned beings or in various attitudes?" (CY.p.2) (UM.p.34).

At the very moment of the realization of the Perfect Enlightenment (SH. p. 471), the manifestation of Enlightenment which pervades all the vast realms of the world and with the appearance of Vairocana's extensive Body, Speech and Mind, in the semblance of all beings and non-beings as appropriate to the lot of those beings.

### Samyak Sambodhi

Buddhaghya identifies *samyaksambodhi* with *sarvajñajñāna* and follows it with the three stipulations of Cause, Root and *upāya* (AW.p.2). The perceptual form (manifestation) has three aspects based on the categories of its cause, intrinsic nature *svabhāva* and result. Of those, its cause is twofold by the distinct categories of the two types of cause; the direct and indirect causes. The indirect cause should be known through the four categories of *samādhis*. The direct cause is Perfect Enlightenment *sambuddha* and the *dharmakāya* (SH.p.472). The text mentions the occasion when the Awareness of Perfect Enlightenment is realized, 'he sat in the core of enlightenment *bodhimāṇḍala*, was victorious over the four Māraṣ through prior realization of the five membered *Samādhi of the Great Hero* and then he attained Perfect Enlightenment' the Cause of the fact could not be obtained. The Cause has no quality and the Effect does not exist. In this way the deed is not born because those three i.e. Fact, Cause, Effect have no qualities (CY.p.81) (SH.p.460).

The mind has not the same nature as Kāma-dhātu or as Rūpa-dhātu or as Arūpa-dhātu. Enlightenment is to know one's own mind as it really is. Supreme and Right Enlightenment *anuttara samyak-sambodhi* cannot be attained by intellect. Bodhi has no form. Dharmas have no form. They have the form of space (CY.p.3). *Samyaksambuddhas* in the past, many Bhagavāns in the future and in the present eons are en-

gaged in profiting sentient beings. Such sages understand the marvelous *dharma* of Mantrayāna, are diligent and brave and acquire omniscience. They reside in the formless Enlightenment (CY.p.14).

### Abhisambodhi Vairocana

*Mahā-Vairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvita-ādhiṣṭhāna*: *Vairocanābhisambodhi* means the Manifest Enlightenment *Abhisambodhi* of Vairocana. *Vikurvitaādhiṣṭhāna* means the empowerment materialized in the inexhaustible Body, inexhaustible Speech, and inexhaustible mind, by means of *maṇḍalas*, *mantras* and *mudrās* (SH.p.44). The first significance of the name Mahāvairocana is the *boundless splendor of the Tathāgata's Insight*; the second significance, *the infinity of his compassion*; and the third, *the immutability and permanence of his nature* (RT.p.248-9).

For innumerable hundred thousand *koṭi nayuta kalpas* the Tathāgata accumulated and performed the true words, the four truths, the four *smṛtyupasthāna*, the four *rddhipāda*, the ten powers of the Tathāgata, the six *pāramitās*: *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, *dhyāna*, *jñāna*, the seven constituents of Enlightenment, the four *brahmaviharas*, the eighteen excellent characteristics peculiar to the Buddha. Vairocana Buddha elucidated the doctrine of Mantrayāna according to the kinds of many sentient beings, by the omniscience *sarvajñāna* of many Tathāgatas, by the wisdom of their own merit, wisdom of their vows, by the power of benediction of all *dharmadhātus*, in accordance with the capacity of many sentient beings (CY.p.29).

The section where the *Samādhi* of the Valiant Hero *vajravikrīḍita-samādhi* is taught says, 'formerly I was seated in the *bodhi-maṇḍala* and conquered the four Māras: *kleśa*, *mṛtyu*, *deva* and *skandha* (CY.p.155), and removed the fear of sentient beings with a valiant voice. Brahma and other divinities rejoiced and applauded. Many people of the world called me the Great Valiant. I realized that my mind



was not born and that I have surpassed the domain of speech and many failures and thereby obtained deliverance and I was far from relative causes (he is separated from three evils: *rāga*, *dveṣa*, *moha* (CY.p.133). I know that vacancy is equal to space. The wisdom of the true phase was born. I got rid of all darkness. So I am really without dirt. Many ways are only an idea and a name. So also is the form of Buddha'. He preaches with the letters in order that the Buddha delivers the world with his miraculous benediction (CY.p.27) (SH.p.460).

Prior to displaying Perfect Enlightenment, Bhagavat went to the *Ghaṇavyūha-Buddhakṣetra* and entered the core of enlightenment located there. Then being encouraged by all the Buddhas, he transformed himself into the body of a Buddha by the 'five part application to Perfect Enlightenment' and went to the top of Mount Sumeru. Then he helped the Gods who are active in the Realms of Desire and Form and restrained hostile beings by generating the *Vajradhātu Maṇḍala* and so forth. Having also come to Jambudvīpa, he entered the core of Enlightenment and explained the *mantra* method (SH.p.461). In his work on the fundamentals of the *tantras*, Mkhas.grub.rje says, 'After completing his five *Abhisambodhi*, he became *Samyak-sambuddha* Mahāvairocana, proceeded to the summit of Mount Sumeru and proclaimed the *Yoga-tantras*, i.e. the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Further, 'Vairocana dwelling in the *Akaniṣṭha* Heaven does not proceed elsewhere because he is *Sambhogakāya* possessing the *five certainties*. But with the magical apparition *nirmita* of a Vairocana *Nirmāṇa-kāya* having four heads, he proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and took his place in the caved palace *kūṭāgāra* of precious thunderbolts' (LC.iv.p.65, 69: Lessing and Wayman. 1968). Tajima writes, 'Vairocana assumes the form of Vajrasattva to convert beings by means of the Good Doctrine *Saddharma* (Tajima 1959:207-8). He is *Vajra*, the indivisible and *Sattva* the

quintessence of the Three; *Kāya*, *Vāk* and *Citta* (LC.iv.p.144 and 139) (LC.iv.p.69: Moens 1960: 386).

It is further explained, 'Those who reside in the *Ghaṇavyūha-Buddhākṣetra* and see with the Eye of Awareness that the realms of beings are tormented by the burning fire of the three kinds of suffering. Generating the resolute mind of an extremely compassionate mother, they think, 'this realm of beings is clearly unable to separate itself from the three kinds of suffering without the full perfection of the *Vajra* Array of the Inexhaustible *Kāya*, *Vāk* and *Citta*, but because that full perfection will not come about without the attainment of Enlightenment, I shall sit in the core of Enlightenment and actualize the Light of Awareness *jñāna-āloka* which is free from the hostile hordes of concepts and without any foundations for the predispositions that result in conceptual proliferations, which is the supreme truly Perfect Enlightenment in nature. Then having actualized that, through the force of my previous aspirations, these *Vajra* Arrays of Body, speech and Mind will arise, whose sole end is to satisfy beings according to their lot'. He transforms himself solely for the accomplishment of that intention and attains the four modes of embodiment i.e *Dharma-kāya*, *Sambhoga-kāya*, *Nirmāṇa-kāya* and *Abhisambodhi-Kāya* (SH.p.461-2

In the *Fuhoden* of Kobo Daishi we read: 'The three Bodies of *Dharma*, *Sambhoga* and *Nirmāṇa* are the different functions of the same substance. Thus Śākyamuni in *Nirmāṇakāya* and Vairocana in *Dharmakāya* are identical. Vairocana without Śākyamuni cannot exist. The *Dharmakāya* is the body of *Dharma* of eternal reality which Śākyamuni took hold of at the time of his Enlightenment. To explain this body of the *Dharma* according to the esoteric doctrine, three formulas are appealed to:

- 1) It is the Enlightenment of the Buddhas by one and another and belongs exclusively to the domain of the Buddhas.

- 2) The body of the *Dharma* being eternal, it is Mahāvairocana, himself eternal, who explains this *Dharma*.
- 3) According to the Dainichikyo and the Kongochogyo, the explanation of the *Dharma* is recorded in the eternal copy which exists in the *dharma*-manner.
- 4) In short, Mahāvairocana is the historical Buddha idealized in *Dharmakāya* ‘which neither is born nor dies’ (RT.p.249-50).

The aspect of peerless Mahāvairocana, which initially appears by virtue of *Dharmakāya*, at such times as when he is revealing himself to the great Bodhisattvas with *pure mental streams*, by means of manifesting the *Sambhoga-kāya* and the *Nirmāṇa-kāya*, is the *Abhisambodhi-kāya* of the Bhagavat. Because the core of Enlightenment is always manifested, thus to those who are to be trained, it is called *Abhisambodhi-kāya*. As for its characteristics, the text says, ‘Great Bodhisattvas such as Samantabhadra then saw the Bhagavat who had entered the most excellent core of Enlightenment (SH.p.463).

Those Bodhisattvas who strive to be perfectly enlightened with regards to the continuum of reality are upheld by Bhagavat Vairocana in this universe of world systems adorned with a lotus base matrix, with its ocean of species’. Here is a reference to the *Kusuma-tala-garbha-alamkāra-lokadhātu*; this realm is said to be manifested by virtue of the Bhagavat Vairocana’s previous aspirations and practices. Beneath this realm is the wind *maṇḍala*, upon which lies an ocean of fragrant water, amidst lies a vast lotus. This world system is located in the heart of this lotus. Around this are countless other world systems arranged in twenty tiers, seeming to form a great jeweled web. Bhagavat Vairocana also manifests himself in this universe, causing beings to attain enlightenment. What are depicted are the ten pure Buddha fields with Ghaṇavyūha at its centre, equivalent to the Great *Akaṇiṣṭha* Realm. ‘The last state



of *Akaniṣṭha*, the 28th is the culmination of *Rūpadhātu*, the realm of subtle form. *Akaniṣṭha* means the most subtle state, ultimate subtlety *kaniṣṭha* that cannot be surpassed. Vairocana dwells in the *Akaniṣṭha* heaven. He is the culmination of *Yoga-Tantras*' (LC.vii.p.237). On the other hand, it is of relevance that Buddhaguhya identifies this with the Saha Universe, which is what we ourselves inhabit. For if we accept the view that the *Kusuma-tala-garbha-alaṃkāra* universe is manifested by Bhagavat Vairocana, then our own universe to which it is equivalent, is also manifested by Him (SH.p.351-2 and 556).

## Conclusion

C. Voûte and M. Long's book titled *Borobudur: Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha*, draws our attention to the Ratu Boko inscription in a reinterpretation based on a number of sources including De Casparis, L. Chandra and Sarkar. Interestingly, there couldn't be a more *befitting tribute here for the Abhisambodhi Vairocana of the hidden base of Borobudur*, 'I pay homage to the Sambuddha, who is the Sumeru of vigorous qualities, who empowers through his awe inspiring knowledge, whose deep caves are profound wisdom, whose rocks are the lofty traditions, whose shining metals glitter with good word, whose cascading streams are love, and whose forests are the mindful concentrations, that are unshaken by tempests of the eight worldly qualities. I pay homage to the fires of the Good Faith, which consumes the errant beliefs of the heretics, like frightened bulls they flee his majesty, which in an instant can reduce to ashes an accumulation of wrongful views and considerations, while consuming a multiplicity of attachments, as it immolates all bonds of slavery. I praise the immaculate ocean of supreme virtues, whose *makaras* are the multitude of those in training, as well as those who are beyond all training. Whose only sound is the Void and, whose

only taste is liberation; whose rich deposits are the gems of His Good words, which form a veritable lake of modesty that is invigorated by the swift flow of rivers, of deliberation over esoteric teachings, and is bounded by immaculate shores of worship (CV and ML.p.97-8).

Sitting on a vacant landscape in the Dawn of Serenity, Enraptured in Transcendence, the *Sādhaka* envisioned the all encompassing Immensity of Mahāvairocana. The vision culminating in Borobudur made this Luminous Immensity literal, *ad infinitum*. Representing the Buddhist cosmosophy and the nature of mind, Guṇadharmā etched Karmavibhaṅga and Lokaprajñāpti for their thought provoking narrative potential and social relevance, **but** endowed with the mindscape of Abhisambodhi Vairocana. Draped in an open sky of compassion, from within; the syllables echo, the *mudrās* sway, the Enlightened Mind adorns the *maṇḍala* and śūnyatā pervades.

### Fact file of Vairocanābhisambodhi-Sūtra

- a) Sanskrit title: *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-vikurvitādhisthāna-vaipulya-sutrendrarāja nāma dharma-paryāya.*
- b) Translated in the Ta-fu-hsien monastery at Tung-fu.
- c) Chinese title: *Ta-p'i-lu-che-na ch'eng-fo shen-pien chia-ch'ih ching*
- d) In Japanese pronunciation it reads: *Daibirushana-jōbutsu-jimben-kaji-kyō. T. 848*
- e) This title was translated by Nanjio as *Sūtra on Mahāvairocana's becoming Buddha and the Supernatural Formula called Yugandhara, N.530.*
- f) The terms can be clarified with the help of the Sanskrit title preserved in the Tibetan Kanjur.

Becoming Buddha *jōbutsu* = *Abhisambodhi*

Supernatural formula *jimben = vikurvita*.

*yugandhara* (lit. adding-holding) *kaji = adhiṣṭhāna*

- g) The Tibetan translation was done by Śīlendrabadhi and Dpal-brTsegs under the title: *Rnap-par-snañ-mdzadchen- po mñon-par-rdzogs-par-byañ-chub-pa rnam-par-sprul-pa byin-gyis-rlob-pa śin-tu-rgyas-pa mdo-sdehi dbañ-poñi rgyal-po zhes-bya-bañi chos-kyi-rnam-graṇis*.
- h) It is noteworthy that the enlightenment of Vairocana is Abhisambodhi with the prefix abhi in the sense of intensifying action implied in the basic word bodhi. It denotes the highest Enlightenment. Abhisambodhi is specifically applied to Vairocana of the Caryā-tantras (according to the Gelukpas). He is the *Abhisambodhi- Vairocana in contradistinction to the Vajradhātu-vairocana*.
- i) The reconstruction of the Chinese *Hung-kuang-hsien-yao-p'u-ti-fo* as Vairocana Abhisambodhi by Walter Eugene Clark (*Two Lamaistic Pantheons* 1937:II.150/5M5) has to be corrected to Abhisambodhi-Vairocana. In the Sino-Japanese tradition the new term Garbhadhātu-Vairocana was coined for him (Chandra, Preface, Yamamoto).
- j) A major commentary by Buddhaghūya was written in 760 and is preserved in Tibetan. Manifestation Vikurvita refers to the display with playful ease *vikrīḍita* (SH.p.450).

## Abbreviations:

|                       |                              |                             |                     |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| AS: Adrian Snodgrass  | AW: Alex Wayman              | CV: Ceasar Voûte            | CY: Chikyo Yamamoto |
| EH: Eiji Hattori      | ML: Mark Long                | PW: Paul Williams           | RT: Ryūjun Tajima   |
| SH: Stephen Hodge     | SHK: Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan; | SS: Sudarshana Devi Singhal |                     |
| UM: Ulrich Mammitzsch |                              |                             |                     |



## Literature Cited

- Bunce, F. W., 2002. *The Iconography of Architectural Plans*. New Delhi. D.K. Printworld Ltd.
- Chandra, Lokesh, 1995. *Cultural Horizons of India*. Vol. IV. New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1998. *Cultural Horizons of India*. Vol. VII. New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Fontein, Jan, 1989. *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java*. North Holland, Amsterdam. New York. Tokyo. Oxford.
- Hikata, Ryūshō, 1981. *Buddhist scripture and the Wall Reliefs of Borobudur*. *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chandi*. Tokyo. Kyodo News Enterprise.
- Hodge, Stephen, 2003. *The Mahā-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra*. New York. Routledge Curzon.
- Krom, N. J. *The Saṃ Hyaṃ Kamahāyānikan. An Old Javanese Mantrayāna Buddhist Catechism. From Borobudur: An Archaeological Description*.
- Lévi, Sylvain, 1931. *The Karmavibhaṅga illustrated in the sculptures of the buried basement of the Borobudur*. Annual Bibliography of Indian archeology (ABIA) for the year 1929. Leyden. E.J. Brill. Ltd.
- Mammitzsch, Ulrich H.R. 1991. *Evolution of The Garbhadhātu Maṇḍala*. New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Mus, Paul, 1935. *Barabudur. Esquisse d'une histoire du bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*. 2 Vols. Hanoï-Paris. BEFEO.

- Pardy, Richard, 2001. *The Stūpa: Environment of the vertical horizon*.  
Université du Québec à Montreal.
- Snodgrass, Adrian, 1988. *The Matrix and Diamond World Maṇḍalas in Shingon Buddhism*. New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Voûte, Caesar, 2000. *Religious, cultural and political developments during the Hindu-Buddhist period in Central and East Java - relations with India and Srilanka - human actors and geological processes and event: In Society and Culture in Southeast Asia. Continuities and Changes*. Ed. by Lokesha Chandra. New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.
- Voûte, C and Mark Long. *Borobudur: Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha*. New Delhi. D.K. Printworld Ltd.
- Wayman, Alex, 1973. *The Buddhist Tantras*. New York (Samuel Weiser)
- Wayman, A and R. Tajima, 1992. Alex Wayman Book I Study of *Vairocanābhisambodhi Tantra*.  
R.Tajima. Book II. *Study of the Mahāvairocana-Sūtra*.  
*The Enlightenment of Vairocana*. New Delhi. Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
- Williams, Paul, 2005. (Ed). *Buddhism: Critical Concepts in Religious Studies*. London. Routledge.
- Yamamoto, Chikyo Tr. 1990. *Mahāvairocana-Sūtra* translated into English from *Ta-p'i-lu-che-na ch'eng-fo shen-pien chia-ch'ih ching*; The Chinese version of Śubhākarasimha and I-hsing (A.D.725). New Delhi. International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan.

| Reliefs   | Fontein KV/ LP   | Hikata LP<br>Read in injunction with<br>Fontein. | Yoga Paṭṭa                         | Lakṣanas of<br>60 minds  |
|---|--|--|------------------------------------|--|
| <b>Contemporary<br/>life<br/>Relief: 1</b>                            |  |  |                                    |  |
| <b>1.<br/>Rebirth of short<br/>duration<br/>Reliefs: 2-5</b>          | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To kill living beings with one's own hand.</li> <li>2. To instigate killing by others.</li> <li>3. To praise killing.</li> <li>4. To rejoice in seeing others kill.</li> <li>5. To wish for death of a person one hates.</li> <li>6. To rejoice at the death of a person one hates.</li> <li>7. To cause others to have an abortion.</li> <li>8. To exhort others to commit an abortion.</li> <li>9. To found temples where living beings are slaughtered.</li> <li>10. To incite others to fight and harm one another.</li> </ol>   |  |                                    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. 34. <i>tūrya</i> Drum</li> <li>2. 44. <i>anala</i> Fire</li> <li>3. 60. <i>upapatti</i></li> <li>4. 51. <i>pāśa</i> Noose</li> <li>29. <i>kukkura</i> Dog</li> <li>37. <i>ulūka</i> Owl</li> <li>5.12. <i>kalaha</i> Strife</li> <li>3. <i>dveṣa</i> Hatred/ Anger</li> <li>48. <i>phalaka</i> Shield</li> </ol> |
| <b>2.<br/>Rebirth of long<br/>duration<br/>Reliefs: 6-12</b>          | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Not to kill living beings with one's own hand.</li> <li>2. To persuade others to not to kill.</li> <li>3. To praise the renouncing of killing.</li> <li>4. To rejoice when others renounce killing.</li> <li>5. To seek the release of those condemned.</li> <li>7. To comfort those afraid to die.</li> <li>8. Pity those who are suffering.</li> <li>9. To be moved by great compassion for those in distress.</li> <li>10. To provide drink and food for all living beings.</li> </ol>  |  | <b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br>9.10.11      | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>9.</li> <li>51. <i>pāśa</i> Noose</li> <li>24. <i>vilva</i> Pond</li> <li>46. <i>āvila</i> Slush</li> <li>45. <i>panka</i> Mud</li> <li>10.</li> <li>12. <i>kalaha</i> Strife</li> <li>3. <i>dveṣa</i> Hatred/ Anger</li> <li>12. 38. <i>kāka</i> Crow.</li> </ol>  |
| <b>3.<br/>Rebirth of<br/>frequent<br/>diseases<br/>Reliefs: 13-15</b> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To take pleasure in slapping and beating all living beings.</li> <li>2. To exhort others to beat.</li> <li>3. To praise the beating of others.</li> <li>4. To rejoice when others are being beaten.</li> <li>5. To vex and disturb one's parents and aggravate them.</li> <li>6. To vex and disturb the wise and holy.</li> <li>7. To greatly enjoy the suffering and sickness of others.</li> <li>8. To deplore the recovery of the sick.</li> <li>9. To give ineffective medicine to the sick.</li> <li>10. To eat again before the food eaten previous night is digested.</li> </ol>                      |  |                                    | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14.</li> <li>50. <i>viṣa</i> Poison (medicine?)</li> </ol>  |
| <b>4.<br/>Rebirth of few<br/>diseases<br/>Reliefs: 16-20</b>          | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To deplore the slapping and beating of others.</li> <li>2. To persuade others not to beat.</li> <li>3. To praise non violence.</li> <li>4. To rejoice seeing others renounce slapping and beating.</li> <li>5. To honor one's parents and help the sick.</li> <li>6. To assist the wise and holy and to look after them when they are sick.</li> <li>7. To rejoice when others recuperate.</li> <li>8. To provide effective medicine for the sick and persuade others to do the same.</li> <li>9. To be moved by compassion for those sick.</li> <li>10. To observe moderation in food and drink.</li> </ol> |  | <b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br>17.18.20 (2) | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>18.</li> <li>50. <i>viṣa</i> Poison (medicine?)</li> <li>20.</li> <li>5. <i>moha</i> Delusion</li> <li>19. <i>strī</i> Woman</li> </ol>   |



|  |   |  |  |  |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| <p>5.<br/><b>Rebirth of ugly appearance.</b><br/>Reliefs: 21-25<br/>Inscr:<br/>21. Virūpa x2.</p>  | <p>1.To frequently act in anger.<br/>2.To frequently harbor resentment.<br/>3.To be insincere in one's dealings with others.<br/>4.To vex and disturb all living beings.<br/>5.To treat one's parents without love and respect.<br/>6.To be disrespectful towards the wise and holy.<br/>7.To seize by violence the property and means of livelihood of the wise and holy.<br/>8.To destroy the lamps of stūpas and temples.<br/>9.To ridicule and despise ugly beings.<br/>10.To habitually practice bad behavior of similar type.</p>   |  |  | <p>22.<br/>29. <i>kukkura</i> Dog.<br/>24.<br/>3. <i>dveṣa</i><br/>Hatred/anger<br/>25.<br/>3. <i>dveṣa</i> Hatred/anger</p> |
| <p>6.<br/><b>Rebirth of pleasing appearance.</b><br/>Reliefs: 26-33</p>  | <p>1.Never to glare at anyone in anger.<br/>2.To distribute clothing.<br/>3.To love and respect one's parents<br/>4.To honor and revere the wise and holy.<br/>5.To decorate stūpas of Buddha with plaster.<br/>6.To sweep clean temple halls.<br/>7.To sweep clean the monk's quarters.<br/>8.To sweep clean stūpas of Buddha.<br/>9.When seeing ugly beings, not to ridicule them, but to treat them with respect.<br/>10.When seeing people of pleasing appearance, to understand the karmic cause of their attractiveness.</p>  |  | <p><i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br/>27.31.32.33.</p>                 | <p>30.<br/>43. <i>jala</i> Water.<br/>32.<br/>4. <i>maṭṭrī</i><br/>friendliness</p>  |
| <p>7.<br/><b>Rebirth of low prestige.</b><br/>Reliefs: 34-39</p>   | <p>1.To be jealous of all living beings.<br/>2.To grudge others their good fortune.<br/>3.To delight in other people's misfortune.<br/>4.To be jealous when others are praised.<br/>5.To rejoice when others are disgraced.<br/>6.To withdraw from the Thought of Enlightenment and to destroy Buddhist icons.<br/>7.To hold one's parents and wise and holy men in low esteem.<br/>8.To persuade others to practice a course of action that will result in a rebirth of low prestige.<br/>9.To prevent others from practicing a course of action that will result in a rebirth of high prestige.<br/>10.To despise people of low prestige.</p>   |  | <p><i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br/>36.37.39</p>                     | <p>34.<br/>1. <i>rāga</i> Covetousness<br/>39.<br/>32. <i>gīta</i> Song</p>  |
| <p>8.<br/><b>Rebirth of high prestige</b><br/>Reliefs: 40-47<br/>Inscr.<br/>43. <i>maheśākhyah</i><br/>Misc.<br/>42.<br/>Mudrā:<br/>mahāsamkalpa</p> | <p>1.Not to be jealous of other living beings.<br/>2.To rejoice at the good fortune of other people.<br/>3.To commiserate with other people's misfortune.<br/>4.To rejoice when others are praised.<br/>5.To regret when others are disgraced.<br/>6.To awaken the Thought of Enlightenment, to commiserate Buddhist icons and to make offerings of canopies and umbrellas.<br/>7.To hold one's parents, the wise and the holy in high esteem, to serve and welcome them<br/>8.To persuade people to abandon a course that results in a rebirth of low prestige.<br/>9.To persuade people to practice a course that results in a rebirth of high prestige.<br/>10.To refrain from despising people of low prestige.</p> |  | <p><i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br/>40(2).41.42.<br/>43.44.45.47</p> | <p>41.<br/>38. <i>kāka</i> Crow<br/>42.<br/>7. <i>nirṇaya</i> Decision<br/>47.<br/>26. <i>parirakṣita</i><br/>Protection</p> |

|  |  |                                    |  |
|--|--|------------------------------------|--|
| 9.<br><b>Rebirth of lower classes</b><br>Reliefs: 48-53            | 1. Not to respect one's father.<br>2. Not to respect one's mother.<br>3. Not to respect the śramanas.<br>4. Not to respect the brahmanas<br>5. To lack respect for one's elders.<br>6. Not to respect and pay homage to one's teachers.<br>7. Not to respectfully welcome one's elders and ask them to be seated.<br>8. Not to follow the instructions and admonitions of one's parents.<br>9. Not to accept the teachings of the wise and holy.<br>10. To despise those belonging to the lower classes.                                 | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>50.52.53.    | 49.<br>51. pāśa Noose<br>52.<br>12. vivāda Dispute<br>34. tūrya Drum<br>53.<br>32. gīta Song<br>29. kukkura Dog  |
| 10.<br><b>Rebirth of higher classes</b><br>Reliefs: 54-59          | 1. To respect one's father.<br>2. To respect one's mother.<br>3. To respect the sramanas.<br>4. To respect the Brahmanas.<br>5. To respect and protect one's elders.<br>6. To respect and one's teachers.<br>7. To respectfully welcome one's elders and ask them to be seated.<br>8. To follow the instructions of one's parents.<br>9. To accept the teachings of the wise and holy.<br>10. Not to despise those belonging to the lower classes.   | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>56.59.       | 54.<br>19. strī Woman<br>55.<br>14. nirvivāda Nondisputation<br>57.<br>4. maitrī Friendliness<br>59.<br>4. maitrī Friendliness<br>61.<br>49. vipryāsa Astray |
| 11.<br><b>Rebirth of having few possessions</b><br>Reliefs: 60-65  | 1. To steal.<br>2. To incite others to steal.<br>3. To praise stealing.<br>4. To rejoice in theft by others.<br>5. To reduce and take away the means of livelihood of one's parents.<br>6. To take away the possessions of the wise and holy.<br>7. To regret the good fortune of others<br>8. To obstruct the good fortune of others and put obstacles in their way.<br>9. Not to rejoice and follow their example when others practice benevolence.<br>10. When there is famine not to pity the victims, but to rejoice in their fate. | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>62.64(2)     | 65.<br>54. (Paddy) Field<br>31. mūṣa Rats<br>22. kṛṣaka Farmer   |
| 12.<br><b>Rebirth of having many possessions</b><br>Reliefs: 66-73 | 1. To renounce stealing.<br>2. Urging others to not steal.<br>3. To praise people who do not steal.<br>4. To rejoice seeing others renounce theft.<br>5. To help one's parents and contribute to their livelihood.<br>6. To provide for the needs of the holy and wise.<br>7. To rejoice in the good fortune of others.<br>8. To assist others in seeking advantage.<br>9. To rejoice at the sight of others gladly practicing Benevolence.<br>10. To be moved by compassion at the sight of the victims of famine.                      | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>68.69.70.72. | 66.<br>53. megha Clouds<br>67.<br>21. vāṇija Merchant<br>18. nara Man<br>72.<br>33. nṛtya Dance  |
| 13.<br><b>Rebirth having false knowledge</b><br>Reliefs: 74-78     | 1. An inability to seek the instructions of wise men, sramanas, and brahmanas.<br>2. To expound the doctrine of evil.<br>3. An inability to receive instructions in the True Law and put it to practice.<br>4. To praise erroneous methods and consider them correct.  | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>74.          | 74.<br>5. moha Delusion<br>75.<br>9. andhakāra Darkness  |

|   |  |   |  |  |
|---|--|---|--|--|
|   | <p>5.To be reluctant to expound the True Law.<br/>6.To associate with those having false knowledge.<br/>7.To keep distance from those having correct knowledge.<br/>8.To praise erroneous views.<br/>9.To reject correct views<br/>10.To despise the foolish and evil.</p>   |   |  | <p>78.<br/>27.mātsarya<br/>Avarice<br/>9.andhakāra<br/>Darkness</p>  |
| <p>14.<br/>Rebirth having true knowledge<br/>Reliefs: 79-85</p> | <p>1.Ability to seek the instructions of wise men, sramanas and Brahmans.<br/>2.To expound the doctrine of virtue.<br/>3.To receive instructions in the True Law and put it to practice.<br/>4.To praise and encourage those preaching correct methods.<br/>5.To take delight in expounding the True Law.<br/>6.To associate with men of true wisdom.<br/>7.To uphold and preserve the True Law.<br/>8.To practice with devotion and become one who has heard much.<br/>9.To disassociate oneself with erroneous views<br/>10.Not to feel disdain for those who are foolish or evil.</p> |   |  | <p>82.<br/>6.prajñā Insight<br/>83.<br/>16.asura? Demi-God<br/>85.<br/>15.20.<br/>Deva / Išvara Deity<br/>10.āloka Light</p>   |
| <p>15.<br/>Rebirth in naraka<br/>Reliefs: 86-92</p>             | <p>T.1644; <i>Li-shih A-p'i-t'an-lun Lokotthanābhīdharma-śāstra. The Sogdian sūtra of the causes and effects of good and evil.</i><br/>1.A heinous physical crime.<br/>2.A heinous oral crime.<br/>3.A heinous thought crime.<br/>4.An action resulting from the view that death ends life.<br/>5. An action resulting from the view that human entity is eternal.<br/>6.The heresy of Non Causality<br/>7. The heresy of Inaction<br/>8.The denial of the Law of Cause and Effect.<br/>9.The extreme view of annihilation.<br/>10.Ingratitude.</p>                                      | <p>86.Saṅjīva<br/>Kāla-sūtra<br/>87.<br/>Saṁghāta.<br/>Raurava .<br/>88.<br/>Mahāraurava.<br/>Tapana.<br/>89.<br/>Pratāpana<br/>Avici.<br/>90-92:Utsada hells<br/>90.<br/>Kukula<br/>kūṇapa<br/>91.<br/>Kṣuradhārāmārga.<br/>Ayahśālmātvana.<br/>92.<br/>Asipattravana.<br/>Kṣaranadi</p> |  | <p>41.nāgaloka<br/>abyss/hell<br/>86.<br/>12.kalaha Strife .<br/>39.rākṣasa Demon<br/>38.kāka Crow<br/>29.kukkura Dog<br/>56.kṣura Razor<br/>87.<br/>40.kaṇṭaka Thorn<br/>29.kukkura Dog<br/>31.mūsa Rats<br/>59.chhidra Hole<br/>56.kṣuraRazor<br/>88.<br/>21.vāṇija Merchant<br/>29.kukkura Dog<br/>44.anala Fire<br/>89.<br/>44.anala Fire<br/>3.dveṣa Hatred<br/>90.<br/>25.kūpa Well<br/>24.vilva Pond<br/>46.āvila slush<br/>45.paṇka Mud<br/>44.anala Fire<br/>43.jala water<br/>91.<br/>56.kṣuraRazor<br/>92.<br/>18.nara Man<br/>19.srī Woman<br/>29.kukkura Dog<br/>4.kaṇṭaka Thorns<br/>23.nadi River</p> |



# Uncovering the Meaning of the Hidden Base of Candi Borobudur

|  |  |   |                                   |  |
|--|--|---|-----------------------------------|--|
| 16.<br><b>Rebirth as a domestic animal</b><br>Relief: 93   | 1.A physical crime of medium severity.<br>2.An oral crime of medium severity.<br>3.A thought crime of medium severity.<br>4.All crimes resulting from the illusion klesa of consciousness.<br>5. All crimes resulting from the illusion of scorn.<br>6. All crimes resulting from the illusion of folly.<br>7.To revile all living beings<br>8.To vex and harm all living beings.<br>9.To make offerings of impure things.<br>10.To practice debauchery.   | 93.<br><i>Birds</i><br><i>Four legged animals</i>   |                                   |  |
| Relief: 94   |  | 94.<br><i>Garuḍa</i><br><i>Nāga</i>   | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>94.         | 94.<br>30. <i>Garuḍa</i><br>17. <i>nāga</i> Serpent  |
| 17.<br><b>Rebirth among hungry Ghosts Pretas.</b><br>Relief: 95.   | 1.A minor physical crime.<br>2.A minor oral crime.<br>3.A minor thought crime.<br>4. Deeds resulting from evil greed.<br>5.Deeds resulting from evil greed.<br>6.Envy.<br>7.To deny the Law of Cause and Effect.<br>8.To die while still deeply attached to worldly possessions<br>9.To die from starvation.<br>10. To die from thirst.  | 95.<br><i>Pretas in Yamaloka</i>  |                                   |  |
| 18.<br><b>Rebirth among Asuras</b><br>Relief: 96   | 1.An insignificant physical crime.<br>2.An insignificant oral crime.<br>3.An insignificant thought crime.<br>4. Boastfulness and insolence.<br>5.Arrogance.<br>6.Increased arrogance<br>7.Great arrogance.<br>8.Vicious arrogance.<br>9.Extreme arrogance.<br>10.The root of virtue, produced by good actions, applied to an existence in the realm of the Asuras.   | 96.<br><i>Asura</i>   | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>96.         | 96.<br>16. <i>asura</i> Demi-God   |
| 19.<br><b>Rebirth among manuṣya</b><br>Reliefs: 97-100   | 1.Not to kill.<br>2.Not to steal.<br>3.Not to indulge in vicious and lewd behavior.<br>4.Not to lie.<br>5.Not to speak with levity.<br>6.Not to speak with a forked tongue.<br>7.Not to slander.<br>8.Not to covet.<br>9.Not to give way to anger.<br>10.Not to hold heretic views.  | 97-100.<br><i>Various humans</i>  | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>98(2).100   | 99.<br>11. <i>saṃgraha</i>   |
| 20-22<br>1)Rebirth in the heavens of desire<br>2)Rebirth in the heavens of the sphere of form<br>3)Rebirth in the heavens of the sphere of formlessness<br>Reliefs:<br>101-102.<br>103-104.<br>105.<br>Misc.<br>Four meditations | 1.Ten Good Deeds practiced completely.<br>2.The Ten Good Deeds practiced harmoniously into one's thought.<br>3.The four types of action:<br>i.To pass through all levels of thought of material form and to eliminate opposing thoughts; to enter into the state of concentration of thought on vacuity.<br>ii.To pass through all stages of concentration on vacuity and enter into the state of concentration of thought on perception.<br>iii.To pass through all stages of concentration on perception and enter into the state of concentration on the immaterial.<br>iv.To pass through all stages of concentration on the immaterial and to enter the stage of thought where there is neither consciousness nor nonconsciousness. | 101-108.<br><i>Kāṃāvacara-loka and the karma of Rūpāvacara-loka.</i><br><i>The text mentions the Ariṇpadhatu which cannot be concretized in reliefs. Hence we find no reliefs. Chapter 23-26 on effects of karmas, completed or not completed Hence no reliefs.</i> | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>101.102.103 | 102.<br>32. <i>gīta</i> Song<br>104.<br>2. <i>virāga</i> Aversion<br>15.20.<br><i>Deva/Isvara</i> Deity<br>105.<br>28. <i>mārjara</i> Cat<br>36. <i>simha</i> Lion<br>38. <i>kāka</i> Crow |

|  |  |   |   |  |
|--|--|---|---|--|
| <p>23-26<br/>Four acts.<br/>Reliefs: 106-108<br/>Misc.<br/>T.80: 23-25 a text that resembles the paragraphs 30-32 of the Sanskrit text T.81.<br/>26: T.80 is the logical counterpart of rebirth in the border region; rebirth in the middle kingdom.</p> | <p>23.1.<br/>Acts committed but not compounded.<br/>24.1.<br/>Acts not committed yet compounded by bad intentions.<br/>25.1.<br/>Acts both committed and compounded.<br/>26.1.<br/>Acts neither committed nor compounded because they all occur while the person performing these acts is asleep.</p>  |   | <p><i>Yoga Patta:</i><br/>106.</p>            |  |
| <p>27.<br/>Full length of an infernal existence<br/>28.<br/>Half length of an infernal existence .<br/>29.<br/>short length of an infernal existence<br/>Reliefs: 109-110<br/>Misc:<br/>109.Yama?</p>  | <p>27.1.<br/>After having committed acts for which the retribution is rebirth in hell. One feels neither shamenor remorse, one does not turn away from them in revulsion, and in one's heart there is no fear. On the contrary, one rejoices and does not repent and again, commits aggravated evil.<br/>28.1.<br/>One has committed acts for which the retribution is a rebirth in hell, but after accumulating and accomplishing such acts one begins to fear, one feels shame and remorse and one turns away from them in revulsion, one repents and rejects one's actions and does not compound them. As a result one falls in hell but because one shows remorse one spends only half an infernal existence.<br/>29.1.<br/>One has committed acts for which the retribution is a rebirth in hell, but one is already filled with fear, one has developed increased faith, one's heart is filled with shame and remorse, one detests evil and rejects it, one feels genuine repentance and never commits another such act.</p> | <p>109-110.<br/><i>Depict the course of the human soul that has fallen into hell. It remains there until the end of existence of the soul itself. It departs from hell-bound course on its way there, or it is able to emerge again immediately after its fall.</i></p> |   | <p>109.<br/>58.samudra Ocean<br/>55.lavana Salt<br/>44.anala Fire<br/>41.nāgaloka Abyss<br/>110.<br/>44.anala Fire<br/>41.nāgaloka Abyss</p> |
| <p>34.<br/>First happiness then sorrow<br/>Relief: 111</p>   | <p>34.1.<br/>Someone is glad to perform, at the behest of others, an act of charity, but this dedication to charity is not firm and later he regrets having been benevolent. When as a result of Dependant Origination he is reborn among mankind, he is at first rich and happy, but later ends up being poor and suffering. This is called first happiness then sorrow.</p>  |   | <p><i>Yoga Patta:</i><br/>111(1+1+ woman)</p> | <p>111. .<br/>8.vicikitsā Doubt</p>  |
| <p>35.<br/>First sorrow then happiness<br/>Relief: 112</p>   | <p>35.1.<br/>Someone under the guidance of others holds back when asked to perform a minor act of charity. However, after having performed an act of charity he rejoices and never has any regrets. When as a result of Dependant Origination he is reborn among mankind, he is at first poor and suffering, but later ends up being rich and happy. This is called first sorrow then happiness.</p>   |   |   |  |
| <p>37.<br/>Person being happy in the beginning as well as afterwards.<br/>36.<br/>Person suffering in the beginning and later.<br/>Reliefs: 113-114</p>  | <p>37.1.<br/>Someone approaches Good Teachers for instruction and is persuaded to perform acts of charity, in which he rejoices, after which he performs even more acts of charity. When, as a result of Dependant Origination he is reborn among mankind, he is rich and happy at first as well as rich and happy afterwards.</p>   |   | <p><i>Yoga Patta:</i><br/>113.</p>            | <p>113.<br/>52.nigaḍa Shackles:<br/>With both legs tied.</p>   |

|  |   |   |                                |   |
|--|---|---|--------------------------------|---|
|  | 36.1.<br>Someone stays far from kalyāna-mitras Good Teachers and seeks no instruction or guidance and cannot even perform the slightest act of charity. When, as a result of Dependant Origination he is reborn among mankind, he is at first poor and suffering, but ends up later being poor and suffering as well. This is called suffering before and afterwards.   |   |                                |   |
| 38.<br>Poor yet generous.<br>Reliefs: 115-117  | 38.1.<br>Although someone has first repeatedly practiced charity, he has yet to reach the Field of Merit. Transmigrating again into the world of men, the retribution, as a result of his inability to reach the Field of Merit, is slightly inferior. Because he has trained himself to give, he will still practice charity even though he is born among the poor. 115-117.<br><i>We find people who become rich but who share none of their riches with others; those who do share with others; and the poor who are so because of the rich who will not share with them.</i>  |   | <i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br>115.117. |   |
| 39.<br>Rich and niggardly.<br>Reliefs: 115-117   | 1. Someone has never practiced charity, but, after meeting a Good Teacher, once briefly performed an act of charity and attained the Field of Merit. Because of this achievement he will obtain all the necessities of life, but because he has not trained himself to practice charity, he will be rich and niggardly.   |   |                                |   |
| 40.<br>Rich and generous.<br>Reliefs: 115-117  | 1. Someone has met a good teacher and has frequently practiced charity, thus reaching the Field of Merit. As a result of Dependent Origination he becomes a person of great wealth and riches, but also capable of charity.   |   |                                |   |
| 41.<br>Poor and niggardly<br>Reliefs: 115-117  | 1. Someone has kept good teachers at a distance and has not sought guidance from others. He is incapable of practicing charity. As a result of Dependent Origination he is reborn among the poor and destitute, but he is also niggardly.   |   |                                | 117.<br>27. <i>mātsarya</i><br>Avarice  |
| 53-63.<br>Negative external retribution<br>Reliefs: 118-122<br>Inse.<br>121.<br><i>abhidhyā</i><br>covetousness.<br><i>vyāpāda</i> violence<br>122.<br><i>mithyādrṣṭi</i><br>False views or heresy attaching undue importance to worldly affairs bears bitter fruits.<br>Misc.<br>118. <i>pranatighata</i> | An external retribution is caused when<br>1. Committing murder which turns the whole earth brackish and all herbs and plants of their strength.<br>2. By stealing one causes frost, hail and swarms of insects to destroy the crops and to bring about famine.<br>3. By committing adultery one brings about evil rainstorms and blowing dust.<br>4. By lying one affects external things, making them all melodramatic.<br>5. By duplicity one affects the entire environment, high and low become uneven, causing lofty precipices and deep canyons to appear that cut the trees to stumps.<br>6. Using rough speech produces the external retribution that makes everything rough, harsh and impossible to touch.<br>7. Speaking with levity makes plants, trees and dense forests grow sharp and pointed limbs and branches.<br>8. Covetousness makes all plants and grain produce only small seeds.<br>9. Violence makes all trees produce fruit that is bitter<br>10. Heresy makes all plants not bear fruit and the harvests are slim. | 118.<br><i>Fisherman, hunters and poor people.</i><br>119.<br><i>Unknown.</i><br>120.<br><i>Not complete.</i><br><i>No relief for chapters 40-58 of the text.</i><br>121.<br><i>Open spaces at the top where titles for the scene are written in Kawi.</i><br><i>Some of the titles are legible. Panel 121 Avarice and wrath.</i><br>122. |                                | 118.<br>23. <i>nadi</i> River<br>38. <i>kāka</i> Crow<br>47. <i>varṇarūpa</i><br>Chameleon<br>42. <i>megha</i> Clouds<br>119.<br>35. <i>grha</i> House<br>121.<br>27. Avarice<br>3. <i>wrath</i><br>122.<br>22. <i>kṛṣaka</i> Farmer<br>54. <i>kṣetra</i> Field<br>42. <i>vāyu</i> Wind |



|  |   |   |  |  |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| <p>64.<br/><b>Positive external retribution</b><br/><b>Relief: 123</b><br/><b>Insc.</b><br/><i>kuśala</i></p>  | <p>1.If someone performs the Ten Good Deeds he produces an effect different from the above mentioned calamities and one should know that one will then obtain the ten positive external retributions.</p>   | <p>123-160.<br/>Represent chapters 62-71(end of Lokaprajñapti).</p> |  |  |
| <p>65.<br/><b>Homage to statuary</b><br/><b>Reliefs: 124-126</b><br/><b>Insc.</b><br/>124.<br/><i>caityavandana.</i><br/><i>suvarṇavarṇa.</i> 1<br/>25.<br/><i>śusvara.</i><br/>126.<br/><i>svarga.</i><br/><b>Misc.</b><br/>125.<br/><i>Mahaujaskasavadhā</i><br/><i>ā-na</i></p>                               | <p>1.One will obtain a beautiful complexion and a melodious voice.<br/>2.Others will believe and obey every word one speaks.<br/>3.In company one will not be feared<br/>4.One will be loved and protected by Heavenly Beings.<br/>5.One will become a person of status and means.<br/>6.One will be sought out by persons of high status.<br/>7.One will be close to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.<br/>8.One will enjoy great happiness.<br/>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br/>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.</p>  |   | <p><b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br/>124.125.126.</p> | <p>125.<br/>32. <i>gīta</i> Song</p>                     |
| <p>66.<br/><b>Donation of a parasol</b><br/><b>Chatra-dāna</b><br/><b>Reliefs: 127-130</b><br/><b>Insc.</b><br/>127.<br/><i>chatra-dāna.</i><br/><i>Nirūpataptakāya</i><br/><i>citta.</i><br/>128.<br/><i>maheśakhyasa</i><br/><i>mavadhāna.</i><br/>129.<br/><i>cakravartī.</i><br/>130.<br/><i>svarga.</i></p> | <p>1.One will be reborn as a canopy of the world, protecting all living beings.<br/>2.In body and heart suffering will be appeased and one will leave anxiety behind.<br/>3.One will be treated with honor and respect by all and none will dare despise one.<br/>4.One will become a person of great prestige and status.<br/>5.One will associate closely with Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and persons of great virtue as if they were one's own family.<br/>6.One will continually be reborn as a Universal Ruler.<br/>7.One will continually be reborn as a Leader practicing Good Deeds<br/>8.One will enjoy great happiness.<br/>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br/>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.</p> |   | <p><b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br/>127.130.</p>     | <p>129.<br/>15.20.<br/><i>Deva/ Isvara</i><br/>Deity</p> |
| <p>68.<br/><b>Donation of a bell</b><br/><b>Reliefs: 131-134</b><br/><b>Insc.</b><br/>131.<br/><i>ghantā</i><br/><i>maheśakhyasa</i><br/><i>samavadhāna</i><br/>132.<br/><i>cakravartī</i><br/>133.<br/><i>purvābhijñā</i><br/>134.<br/><i>bhogī.</i><br/><i>svarga.</i></p>                                     | <p>1.One will be gifted with a clear voice.<br/>2.One will become a person of great renown<br/>3.One will have knowledge of one's previous birth.<br/>4.The words that one utters will be respected by all.<br/>5.One will always have a parasol as an attribute of dignity.<br/>6.One will have splendid gems as personal adornment.<br/>7.One's manner will be grave and sedate and all who see it will rejoice.<br/>8.One will enjoy great happiness.<br/>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br/>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.</p>   |   | <p><b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br/>132.133.134.</p> |  |
| <p>69.<br/><b>Donation of clothes</b><br/><b>Reliefs: 135-137</b><br/><b>Insc.</b><br/>135.<br/><i>vastradāna</i><br/><i>prāsādika</i><br/>137.<br/><i>svarga</i></p>  | <p>1.One's mien will be grave and sedate.<br/>2.One's skin will be soft and smooth<br/>3.Dust and dirt will not cling to one's body.<br/>4.In one's rebirths one will always have an abundance of splendid clothes.<br/>5.One will have fine bed sheets to cover one's body.<br/>6.One will always be modest and submissive.<br/>7.One will be treated with love and respect.<br/>8.One will always have great wealth.<br/>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br/>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.</p>   |   | <p><b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br/>136.</p>         |  |

|   |  |                                    |   |  |
|---|--|------------------------------------|---|--|
| 70.<br><b>Donation of vessels</b><br><b>Reliefs: 138-140</b><br><b>Insc.</b><br>138.<br><i>bhājanadāna</i><br><i>Kuśaladharmā</i><br><i>bhājana</i><br>140.<br><i>svarga</i>  | 1.Upon rebirth one will like a vessel.<br>2.One will obtain the good dharmas flowing into it.<br>3.One will never suffer from thirst.<br>4.When one is thirsty and thinks of water, a stream will immediately spring forth<br>5.Upon death one will never be born in the realm of pretas<br>6.One will obtain marvelous vessels.<br>7.One will always be distant from Evil Friends.<br>8.One will enjoy great happiness.<br>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.  |                                    |   |  |
| 67.<br><b>Donation of banners</b><br><b>Reliefs: 141-143</b><br><b>Insc.</b><br>141.<br><i>patākā.</i><br>142.<br><i>adhyabhogī.</i>  | 1.Upon rebirth one will be like a banner. Kings and Ministers of State, one's family friends and sages all will pay one homage.<br>2.One will freely associate with the very wealthy and one will amass great treasures.<br>3.One's good reputation will spread widely<br>4.One will be of grave and sedate appearance and one's life will be long.<br>5.In future rebirths one will practice charity with firm resolve.<br>6.One will be of great renown.<br>7.One will have great status and virtue.<br>8.One will be born in upper classes.<br>9.When the body decays and life comes to an end one will be reborn in Heaven.<br>10.One will soon enter Nirvana. |                                    |   |  |
| 71.<br><b>Donation of i)food and ii)beverage</b><br><b>Reliefs: 144-149</b><br><b>Insc.</b><br>144.<br><i>bhojana</i><br>147.<br><i>svarga</i><br>148.<br><i>panā(ka)</i>   | 1.One will have a (long) life.<br>2.One will have a beautiful complexion.<br>3.One will be strong.<br>4.One will obtain peacefulness without hindrance or arguments.<br>5.One will be without fear.<br>6.Never negligent, one will be respected by all gatherings.<br>7.At gatherings, one will be loved by all.<br>8.One will enjoy great happiness.<br>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.   | <b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br>144.148.149. | 147.<br>24.vilva (Lotus)<br>Pond<br>46.āvila Slush<br>45.panka Mud<br>148.<br>43.jala Water<br>149.<br>33.nṛtya Dance |  |
| 72.<br><b>Gift of a sandal</b><br><b>Reliefs: 150-151</b><br><b>Insc.</b><br>150<br><i>upānat</i><br><i>vāhanāvaiḥkalya</i>   | 1.One will always have splendid vehicles<br>2.One's feet will be planted firmly on ground.<br>3.One's feet and legs will be soft and supple.<br>4.Even when going a long distance, one will feel light and strong.<br>5.One's body will never feel exhausted.<br>6.Wherever one goes one's feet will never be hurt by thorns or shards.<br>7.One will have supernatural power.<br>8.One will always receive gifts.<br>9.Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br>10.One will soon enter Nirvana.  | <b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br>150.         | 151.<br>32.gīta Song  |  |
| 73.<br><b>i)Flower ii) Garland iii) Incense</b><br><b>Reliefs: 152-154</b><br><b>Insc.</b><br>152.<br><i>pūspadāna</i><br><i>svarga</i><br>153.<br><i>Gandha</i><br><i>Svarga</i><br>154.<br><i>mālādāna</i><br><i>bhogī</i><br><i>svarga</i> |  | <b>Yoga Paṭṭa:</b><br>153.         |   |  |

|   |  |  |  |   |
|---|--|--|--|---|
| <p>74.<br/>i) lamp<br/>Relief: 155</p>  | <p>1. One will illuminate the world like lamp.<br/>2. In successive rebirths one's physical eye will not decline.<br/>3. One will obtain divine sight.<br/>4. One will obtain wisdom, discernment in the Laws of good and evil.<br/>5. One will eliminate the Great Darkness.<br/>6. One will obtain illuminating insight.<br/>7. While going through the chain of rebirths one will never be in deepest darkness.<br/>8. One will enjoy great happiness.<br/>9. Upon death one will be reborn in Heaven.<br/>10. One will soon enter Nirvana.</p> |  |  | <p>155.<br/>10. <i>āloka</i> Light</p>                |
| <p>i) <i>vetrāsana</i><br/>ii) <i>añjali</i><br/>iii) Refuge<br/>iv) vehicle<br/>Reliefs: 156-160<br/>Inscr.<br/>157.<br/><i>Añjali</i></p> |  |  | <p><i>Yoga Paṭṭa:</i><br/>154.156.</p> | <p>158.<br/>26. <i>parirakṣita</i><br/>Protection</p> |

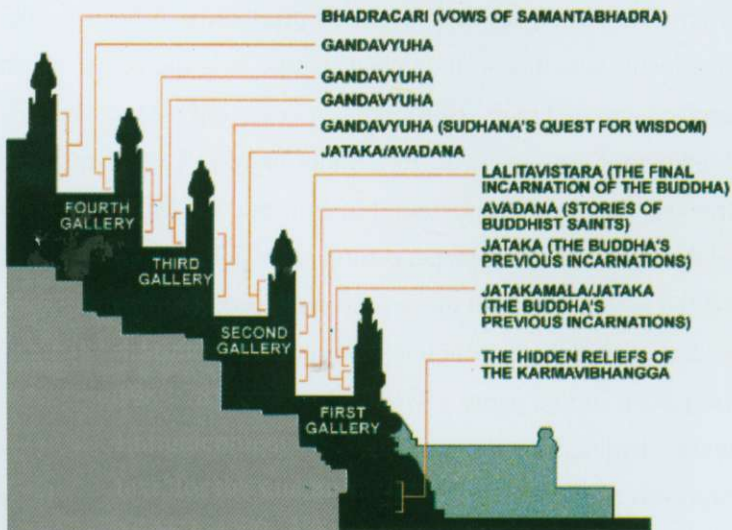


## BUDDHISM ON THE PERIOD OF BOROBUDUR

by

**Prof. Dr. Noerhadi Magetsari**

Borobudur is generally admired for its grandeur, architecturally as well as artistically. This article will explore Borobudur from another angle, particularly from religious point of view, hoping that another wonder would be able to be revealed. Unfortunately studies on Buddhism from this period are hard to conduct due to lack of the availability of textual data. Consequently, the study should rely on material remains, and Borobudur would be one of them. This is made possible by the nature of the temple itself. As we all aware of, Borobudur Temple is decorated with reliefs along its galleries, the scenes of which are engraved on its walls as well as on its balustrades.



Source: Borobudur tv.

Fig.11.1. Borobudur's narrative bas-reliefs and their corresponding Buddhist texts.

Fortunately, these reliefs portray stories which are taken from various scriptures, and they have been in general successfully identified. Since there is no new research that can be utilized, this paper will rely mostly to the study of previous researchers, such as Krom and Stutterheim. They have been successful in identifying the reliefs as depicting scenes from *Mahakarmavibhanga*, *Jatakamala*, *Lalitavistara*, *Gandavyuha* and *Bhadracari* scriptures respectively. By their studies although textual remains are not available, by way of comparative studies, we can at least trace the religious background of Borobudur.

In order to study the monuments thoroughly we have to do that by two approaches. The first one is by identifying all the reliefs depicted along the walls and balustrades of the galleries of the square parts of the monument by means of comparing the depicted stories with the existing *sutras*, which has actually been done. After that with analysing the statues which are placed in the niches on the balustrades and in the stupas of the round terraces. The second approach is analysing Borobudur as an entity. Our problem will be then the kind of Buddhism, which school or what pantheon is there. As our former researchers have shown, Borobudur reveals only Mahayana School of Buddhism. Some of them, like Stutterheim (1956), mentioned that Tantrayana character is also found in Borobudur. Unfortunately he did not elaborate his statement pertaining to which part of Borobudur is connected to which school of Tantrayana. Consequently the problem to what kind of Buddhism which is manifested as Borobudur is still open to discussion. In this paper I would like to analyze the selection of the scriptures depicted as reliefs as well as its arrangements. In addition to that a reconstruction of what kind of Buddhism that had been followed during that period will also be attempted.

## **Previous researches**

The study of Borobudur, which has been conducted for almost a century by different scholars provides us with useful information on how research was conducted, the methods applied and reviews of its strengths and weaknesses. This information will be of benefit as a compass that leads our study to a proper approach, and as a guide that will reduce the chance of falling into the same methodological pitfalls.

Krom (1927) and Van Erp (1931) are the first researchers who published a complete description of Borobudur. The two researchers published their descriptions into a two volumes monographic work. Krom being an archaeologist wrote the first volume and described the monument from the archaeological perspectives, where as van Erp who is an architect had done it from the architectural point of view. These two monographs are particularly important due to the fact that they are supported with complete photographs of Borobudur. Since they are printed in 1927 and 1931, those photographs may serve as recorded information of the better conditions of the reliefs and statues some 60 years ago. Soekmono (1978) and Dumarçay (1978) issued a more recent description. Soekmono again describes it from an archaeological perspective and Dumarçay from architectural one. In his study, Dumarçay who was one of the experts assigned to the save guarding Borobudur project, identified the traces of five phases of development with the last being the one that we have it now.

Among the works resulting from those long studies is the monograph of Borobudur by Krom (1920). It was first published in Dutch, followed by a translation into English (1927). In this monograph, he initiates the method of comparative textual studies as a means to the identification of the reliefs of Borobudur. His successful attempt is published as *The Life of Buddha on the Stupa of Borobudur* according



to the *Lalitavistara Text* (1925), followed by his study on the text and relief of *Mahakarmavibhanga* (1933). Separate studies on the other reliefs were then conducted by Sylvain Lévi on the *Mahakarmavibhanga* (1931), Bosch on *Bhadracarī* (1930 and 1938), Fontein on *Gandavyuha* (1967). It is from these scholars that the reliefs of Borobudur are now definitely identified as the representations of *Mahakarmavibhanga*, *Lalitavistara*, *Jataka*, *Gandavyuha*, and *Bhadracarī*, which are schematized by Fontein (1967:156) as follows:

|                   |  |   |
|-------------------|--|---|
| Series 0          | 1 – 160<br>Covered base  | scenes from Karmavibhanga                                       |
| Series I          | a 1 – 120<br>(main wall, first gallery upper register)                           | scenes from Lalitavistara (the Life of Buddha)                  |
| Series I          | b 1 – 120<br>(Main wall first gallery lower register)                            | Avadana and Jataka (textual source unidentified)                |
| Series I          | B a 1 – 372<br>1 – 135<br>136 – 372<br>(balustrade first gallery lower register) | Avadana and Jataka<br>Jatakamala<br>textual source unidentified |
| Series II         | 1 – 128  | Gandavyuha  |
| Series II         | B 1 – 100<br>(balustrade second gallery)   | Avadana and Jataka (textual source unidentified)                |
| Series III and IV |  | Bhadracarī  |

A study on Borobudur as an entity has also been done by other archaeologists. Structurally Stutterheim, by referring to *Sang Hyang Kamahayanikan*, identified three parts each of which he explained as representing three spheres (*dhatu*), namely the sphere of desire (*kama-dhatu*) corresponding to the covered base, the sphere of form (*rupa-dhatu*) corresponding to the galleries, and the sphere of formlessness (*arupa-dhatu*) corresponding to the oval terraces. He describes the function of the subsequent stages as follows:

“Persons who wished to mortify desires, mounted the steps of the monument where the stone ring around the base kept them out of touch with those acts and thoughts which might result in rebirth in one of the five *gatis*, went to one of the reliefs placed in the *rupa-dhatu*, meditated on it in the manner and according to the school of the monks of Borobudur, rose after completed *samadhi* and went on to the next representation, gradually mounting in spiritual perfection, until they had reached the sphere of formlessness, the *arupa-dhatu*, where- beside their detachment from *kama*- they also attained deliverance from *rupa*. (Stutterheim, 1956:45).

The other discussion of the theoretical division of Borobudur related to the stages of spiritual development concerns the work of Mus (1932 – 1934). He offers the explanation that the Borobudur is a magic model of the universe. The covered base represents the worldly and material sphere which mundanely influence human being. The first step in entering the Path of the Bodhisattva means to go beyond this influence. Hence covering it up symbolizes deliverance from the material world. Further, the galleries, the terraces, and the main stupa symbolize steps of supra-sensitive Reality.

De Casparis (1950) has yet offered another explanation. He interpreted the galleries and oval terraces of Borobudur form ten stories that relates to the ten stages of Bodhisattva path as has been explained in one of the Sutras *Dasabhumika Sutra*. He came to this interpretation after studying the inscription of Sri Kahulunan, dated 842 A.D., which mentions a temple called *Kamulan i bhumisambhara*, which he identifies with the Borobudur. He based his assumption upon the meaning of *bhumi*, which in architectural terms means “storeys” which is thus related to the form of Borobudur; and the other meaning of *bhumi* as it is understood in the *Abhisamayalankara*, the ten *bhumi* of Bodhisattva.

Further he reconstructs the name Borobudur by adding the word *bhudara* to the *Bhumisambhara*, so that it becomes *Bhumisambharabhudara*, as the original name of Borobudur. He then proceeded to explain the first *bhumi*, the *Pramudita*, which emphasises the practice of the *dana paramita* in the Bodhisattva's efforts to annihilate his *klesa*. He correlates the practice of *dana paramita* with different sentences inscribed above some reliefs among the *Mahakarmavibhanga* series. Some of the sentences are related to the *dana*, some others to *klesa* (number 121 – 122).

In order to attain Buddhahood a Bodhisattva should follow the ten stages of a bodhisattva path. Up to the seven stages, a bodhisattva may still have the consequences being reborn according to his *karma*. If he is successful in his former life to accumulate merits, than he will be reborn as the highest form of birth, namely a human being. A human being is considered as the highest form of birth because it is in this form only that one can attain Buddhahood. On the other hand if one should fail, instead of accumulating merits he did forbidden deeds, he will be reborn as low form of life like animal or demon. It was also taught that obtaining a human being form of birth is comparable to the difficulties of finding a needle in the ocean. However the Bodhisattva who has reached the seventh stage and upwards has had successfully freed himself from the binding of his *karma*. Accordingly he can choose his form of life according to his liking which is always directed to the well being of all creatures. Consequently all his deeds do not have any trace to his rebirth, because he does not create any *karma*, without having the necessity of accumulating merit or bothering any sin.

Woodward Jr. (1981), another researcher, suggested another explanation. He examines Borobudur from the Shingon Buddhism of Japan point of view. The world, according to this sect, consists of



two realms, the real and the ideal one. In practice these two worlds are projected as two *mandalas*, the *mandala* of the realm of *garbha* and the *mandala* of the realm of *vajra* respectively. The first mentioned *mandala* serves as the foundation of the second one. He concludes that Borobudur is a *mandala* and accordingly serves as a manifestation of *garbha-dhatu* and *vajra-dhatu mandala* altogether. Being the cause *garbha-dhatu mandala* is manifested as the base, the square terraces of Borobudur. On the other hand the *vajra-dhatu mandala* is projected as the round terraces.

### The Karma bondage Part

As has been mentioned earlier relief scenes were depicted at the hidden or covered foot of Borobudur. In order to identify the relief scenes the reading of *Mahakarmavibhanga*, which was written in Sanskrit and edited by Levi (1929) was then compared to the archaeological description of Krom (1933). From this comparison the scenes could be revealed that the depicted stories followed the Sanskrit text of *Mahakarmavibhanga*.

| Location                           | Number of Reliefs | The Story | The Sutras         |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| the wall of the foot of the Temple | 0 - 120           | on karma  | Mahakarma vibhanga |

If it is seen from Mahayana's point of view, the stories taken from the *Mahakarmavibhanga* reveal the law of cause and effect relationships (*karma*). Every human deed, whether it is beneficial or evil, have direct impacts to the actors. If the deeds are beneficial to others, then the actor will accumulate merits, on the other hands if the deeds are evil the consequences will be then that the actor will be burdened by his *karma*. Based on this view, Mahayana differentiated two kinds

of human being, namely common people and bodhisattva. Is not been based on social status or caste, but on the karma of the people, because according to Buddhism every human being has the same opportunity to reach Buddhahood.

Commoners are those whose existences are still trapped in their karma, as has been depicted by the story of *Mahakarmavibhanga* in the hidden foot. In these scenes the relationships of the cause and its effects are very clearly exhibited. Thus it could be safely concluded that the hidden foot of Borobudur represents the deeds of common people who are still orienting their life to themselves and consequently are bound to earthly needs, instead of to Buddhahood as it should be.

### **The Bodhisattva Part**

Another reliefs scenes that were engraved along the walls of the square terraced galleries following the structure of the square terraced part. The first gallery is decorated with reliefs taken from the story of the life of Buddha before he reached the stage of Buddhahood, the *Lalitavistara*. Further on, the scenes depicted could only be recognized groups of stories originated from the *Jataka* and *Avadana* stories. A more accurate identification is not feasible. These two scriptures are again telling us about beneficial activities of Bodhisattvas, without revealing any further information about to which accurate scripture do the episodes of the scenes belong. Consequently it is only a small number of the scenes that could be traced back to the known famous work of Aryasura, the *Jatakamala*.

What does the depiction of the bodhisattva's beneficial deeds may mean. Bodhisattvas on the other hand, have freed themselves from the law of cause and effect. Their stage could be obtained by means of always orienting their activities towards the benefit of other people,

and by so doing they can eradicate their selfishness. In order to do so bodhisattvas are even ready to sacrifice themselves if it is needed to, as relief scenes depicting the life of Bodhisattvas, the Buddha before reaching Buddhahood, taken from *Lalitavistara*, *Avadana* and *Jataka* show it. Hence the bodhisattva stage is started from the first terrace of Borobudur. It has been said earlier, following the *Dasabhumika Sutra*, that there have been ten stages which a bodhisattva should overcome before he could reach the Buddha stage. However it is still unclear to which bodhisattva's stage the first terrace relates to: the first or the seventh *bhumi*. Supposed it relates to bodhisattva from the first to the seventh *bhumi*, the different forms of birth obtained by the bodhisattvas, which are still bonded by his *karma*, should be depicted in a systematic and orderly way, namely from the lowest higher up. On the other hand should it reflect the seventh stage, those forms of birth are taken by the bodhisattvas themselves according to the call of his duty in earth, and are not the result of his former deeds.

| First Gallery              | Reliefs' Number | The Stories                 | The Sutras                            |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| The walls upper part       | 1 - 120         | the stories of Buddha       | <b>Lalitavistara</b>                  |
| lower part                 | 1 - 120         | the stories of bodhisattvas | <b>Avadana and Jataka</b>             |
| The balustrades upper part | 1 - 135         | <i>ibidem</i>               | <b>Jatakamala, Avadana and Jataka</b> |
| lower part                 | 1 - 128         | <i>ibidem</i>               | <b>Avadana and Jataka</b>             |

From the first gallery onwards, the relief scenes represent stories from *Lalitavistara*, *Avadana* and *Jataka*. The first scenes depicting Buddha stories following the *Lalitavistara* scheme commence the story. Eventually if we take this first story into account and observe



the scenes that followed, in depicting the various forms of births, the architect of Borobudur did not organize it in a systematic gradual way, but put the lowest birth side by side with high one. It seems that he purposely showed us that the different forms of births taken by those bodhisattvas are determined by the call of their duties to be performed on earth, namely helping and saving other creatures, and not out of his *karma*. Buddhism postulates that for every cause there is an effect. Consequently, good actions generate good effects and on the other hand wrongful actions generate bad results. This karmic effect will eventually play out if not in this life then in a future existence. The capacity of having a *karmic* free forms of birth is the privileges of the bodhisattva from the seventh *bhumi* and up. It is only the bodhisattva of this stage that has the privilege of choosing the form of his future existence, as it is shown the scenes representing *Jataka*, *Avadana* and *Lalitavistara*. In these scenes, the Bodhisattva took his existence as animals, like tiger, bird, deer etc. To an ordinary bodhisattva these forms of birth serve as consequences of his former life which naturally a bad one, since animals are lower form of existence than human being.

In view of this concept, it is understandable that the reliefs of *Mahakarma vibhanga* of the foot of Borobudur is covered since the following reliefs are depiction of Bodhisattva who has freed himself from his karma. Symbolically his karma has been buried or covered.

### **The Yogacara Part**

It should be noted that actually Yogacara School is a school of thought in Mahayana school of Buddhism. Accordingly it is purposely separated from Mahayana for the sake of convenience in discussing the matter, and to avoid biases in the discussion on doctrine with that of philosophy.

The efforts to identify a school of philosophy in a monument are not an easy one. Structurally, however, we reached to the second galleries upwards which was decorated with relief scenes taken from the last part of *Avatamsaka Sutra*, which is the Sutra of the Yogacara School of thought, the *Gandavyuha* and *Bhadracari*. Just as the Gandavyuha narrative panels provide the concluding section of Borobudur's bas-reliefs, the text of this Mahayana Buddhist scripture serves as the concluding chapter of *Avatamsaka Sutra* (the Flower Garland *Sutra*). In Japan, for instance, this sutra continues to be regarded as the apogee of Buddhist thought, sentiment, and experience.

At Borobudur, the story of the historical Buddha called the Sakyamuni is completed in just 120 relief panels. The monument's presentation of the Gandavyuha, however, occupies a total of 460 relief panels--one visible indication of the high regard that Borobudur's builders had for this particular text.

The depiction of *Bhadracari* symbolizes a higher spiritual stage. At this stage the emphasis of the teaching is put philosophically on the importance of realizing and then achieving Supreme Knowledge (*jnana*). Another aspect that is also being stressed is the belief that Supreme Knowledge, which is an irreplaceable vehicle to Buddhahood, may be achieved only by means of yoga. This teaching is parallel to the Yogacara School of Philosophy by Dignaga. In the relief-scenes, the efforts of attaining Supreme Knowledge is personified in the personality of Sudhana a devoted disciple of yoga.

| Galleries                                   | Reliefs' number    | The Stories  | Sutras                                     |
|---|--------------------|--|--|
| Second story<br>the wall<br>the ballustrade | 1 - 128<br>1 - 100 | the pilgrimage of Sudhana<br>the stories of Buddha in his former life as Bodhisattva | <b>Gandavyuha</b><br><b>Jataka/Avadana</b> |
| Third story<br>the wall<br>the ballustrade  | 1 - 88<br>1 - 88   | the pilgrimage of Sudhana  | <b>Gandavyuha</b>                          |
| Fourth story<br>the wall<br>the ballustrade | 1 - 84<br>1 - 72   | ibidem<br>yogic experiences of Sudhana   | <b>Gandavyuha</b><br><b>Bhadracari</b>     |

## The Tantrayana Part

Former researchers on Borobudur have successfully identified all the reliefs of the monument. Accordingly we have had already known the general themes of the stories as well as the purpose of their depiction as reliefs scenes. Unfortunately, a critical analysis on the statues beyond their iconographically identification as the five Tathagatas. If we again apply the comparative textual method, then we come across the *Guhyasamaja* text. *Guhyasamaja* is actually belonged to Tantrayana School of Buddhism which assist the disciple of attaining Buddhahood during one's own lifetime. Therefore it is understandable that the Five Tathagatas are placed at the top of the balustrades and at the oval terraces of Borobudur. The first four Tathagatas are located in niches on top of the balustrades of the first four galleries, facing to the four directions: Aksobhya to the east, Ratnasambhava to the south, Amitabha to the west, and Amoghasiddhi to the north. On top of the balustrade of the fifth gallery is Vairocana facing to all four directions.

These five Tathagatas form a pantheon by the name of Panca Tathagata (the Five Tathagata), the cult of which is described, as mentioned above, in one of the oldest Tantric scripture, the *Guhyasamajatantra*.

| Location   | Tathagata     | Mudra              | Number of statues   |
|--|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| western side niches on the balustrade of the 1st, 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> galleries  | Aksobhya      | <i>bhumisparsa</i> | 26, 26, 22, 18 (92) |
| southern side niches on the balustrade of the 1st, 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> galleries | Ratnasambhava | <i>vara</i>        | 26, 26, 22, 18 (92) |
| western side niches on the balustrade of the 1st, 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> galleries  | Amitabha      | <i>dhyana</i>      | 26, 26, 22, 18 (92) |
| northern side niches on the balustrade of the 1st, 2 <sup>nd</sup> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 4 <sup>th</sup> galleries | Amoghasiddhi  | <i>abhaya</i>      | 26, 26, 22, 18 (92) |
| niches on the four sides of the balustrade of the 5 <sup>th</sup> galleries                                      | Vairocana     | <i>vitarka</i>     | 16 x 4 = 64         |



In view of the above frame of reference, in Borobudur the Tantrayana part may be identified, following the *Guhyasamajatantra* School which emphasizes the cult to the Tathagatas, as being represented by the Tathagatas statues. Accordingly, the yoga which is introduced through the depiction of Gandavyuha and Bhadracari as representation of Yogacara School of Philosophy, is the *anuttara yoga tantra* according to the *Guhyasamaja* School of Tantrayana.

In addition to the Five Tathagata, Borobudur has another Tathagata within the stupas on the three oval terraces, under the main great stupa. These stupas are hollowed and perforated so that the statues of the Tathagatas, although they are placed inside the stupas, they may still be seen from the outside. Since they are situated on and around the oval terraces, these sixth Tathagatas are also facing to all directions.

Below is a diagram showing the oval terrace of Borobudur in which perforated stupas are placed. Inside the stupas statues of Tathagata with *dharma cakra parvatana mudra* are found. By placing statues of Tathagata with his *mudra* indicates that in Borobudur, as the consequence of the seventh vow of Samantabhadra as a Bodhisattva as it is narrated in *Bhadracari* Part of *Avatamsaka Sutra*, the emphasis is put on teaching the *dharma* instead of entering the *Parinirvana* which is symbolizes as the stupa. It may also explain why the statues of the Tathagata are placed inside the perforated stupa.

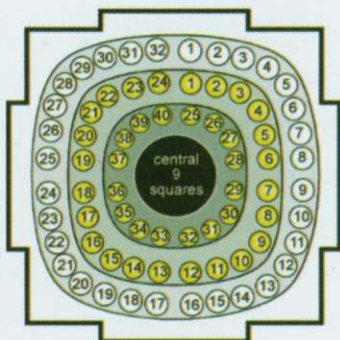


Fig.11.2. Diagram of the oval terraces of Borobudur  
Source: Borobudur tv.

It may mean that a Bodhisattva, upon achieving Buddhahood, takes any existence even animals as it is shown in the reliefs of the lower part of the square terraces, in order to helping other creatures to free themselves from karmic bondage. In Borobudur the freedom from karmic bondage is symbolize by covering the relief scenes signifying the force of the Law of Karma.

## **Conclusion**

It is apparent that the Buddhism of Borobudur, if I may say so, is a unique combination of Mahayana and Tantrayana. This is not a conceptual or philosophical combination only but is also an integrated doctrinal teaching. Moreover it may also serves as a guide how to putting the whole teaching into practice. Up to the present, in textual as well as in concrete form, Mahayana and Tantrayana schools of Buddhism are separately treated. It is therefore, the integration of Mahayana and Tantrayana teaching by means of Yogacara School of philosophy as linkage, is not found anywhere else.

Another unique aspect of Borobudur is the selection of the stories depicted as reliefs and the way the scenes are put into order. Up to the present, the selection of the scriptures and its arrangement into an integrated piece within a single monument is still being considered to be the smoothest example. The selection of these scriptures itself, however, has been largely commented. One of them is that the architect of Borobudur, in order to enable creating such a wonderful piece of work, in addition to his mastery of Buddhism, should also be provided with huge and complete library collection under his privilege.

As has been described although very briefly, the structure of Borobudur, based on its different stories depicted as relief scenes, consisted of five parts:

1. The hidden foot with reliefs carving of *Mahakarmavibhanga*, representing common people who are bonded under the law of cause and effect. Most probably, this foot is covered because of the status of the temple as the temple of the seventh stage Bodhisattva only.
2. The first gallery of the first square terrace with reliefs scenes depicting *Lalitavistara*, *Avadana* and *Jataka*, symbolizing the beneficial deeds of the seventh stage Bodhisattva. Accordingly, it could also be argued as representing the practice of Mahayana stage. In its relation to Tantrayana, Mahayana path it takes the position as a preparatory means, which should be mastered before one is permitted to pursue the Tantrayana path.
3. The second to fifth galleries symbolizing the philosophical background and the practice of yoga. Yoga itself is considered as the most powerful means for obtaining Supreme Knowledge, which in its part serves as the cause to the attainment of Buddhahood. In the galleries, these concepts are manifested by the efforts of Sudhana following the doctrine as it is described in the last part of *Avatamsaka Sutra*. Eventually Sutra belongs to the scripture of Mahayana school of Buddhism, and in this case the Sutra serves as the scripture of Yogacara School of Thought which is still flourished in at least Japan.  
In its relation to Mahayana and Tantrayana paths, Yogacara School of Thought serves as a link between the two, meaning that the attainment of Buddhahood according to the Borobudur School of Buddhism should be attained by *jnana* by means of yoga.
4. Then we reach the final stage, the Tantrayana represented by the Five Tathagatas of the square terraces and Vajradhara on the round terraces.
5. The top of the top is the main stupa, symbolizing Buddhahood.



From this short account on Borobudur above, it becomes clear that Borobudur from the beginning it was designed and prepared for the high level of bodhisattva, i.e. the seventh to the tenth *bhumi*. This notion is also supported by the report of the excavation in south western lower part of the Borobudur yard. This excavation exposed multitude votive-clay tablets which are imprinted with Bodhisattva figures and *stupa* as well as *stupika*. If we may follow the Tibetan tradition, the laymen were not allowed to enter the main temple but be given tablets to deposit them in a specially provided place at the outskirts of the temple. Based on this analogy we may be save to conclude that the archaeological finding of tablets indicates that this was the place where the laymen were paying tribute to Buddha, as they were not allowed to go further, as is the case with Tibet.

## Bibliography

- de Casparis, J.G. 1950. *Inscripties uit de Cailendra Tijd*. Bandung.
- Dumarcay, J. 1978. *Borobudur*. Kuala Lumpur. Mus
- Fontein, J. 1967. *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana*. The Hague and Paris.
- Krom, N.J. 1927. *Archaeological description*. The Hague.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Het Karmavibhanga op Barabudur", in *MKNAWL* 76 serie B no.8.
- Levi, S. 1929. "The Karmavibhanga illustrated in the buried basement of the Borobudur", in *ABIA*, Vol. IV.
- Mus, P. 1932. "Borobudur, les origine du stupa et la transmigration, essai d'archeologie religieuse comparee", in *Bulletin de l'École Françaises d'Extrême Orient*. Paris
- Soekmono, R. 1978. *Candi Borobudur*. Jakarta.
- Stutterheim, W.F. 1956. "Borobudur, Name, Form, and Meaning, in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*. The Hague.
- Van Erp, Th. 1931. *Beschrijving van Borobudur*. 's-Gravenhage.
- Woodward Jr, H.W. 1981. "Borobudur and the Mirrorlike Mind", in *Archaeology*, vol. 34. No. 6.

## THE BELIEF OF HEAVEN AND HELL DURING –EARLY HISTORICAL PERIODS IN MYANMAR

by  
U Nyunt Han

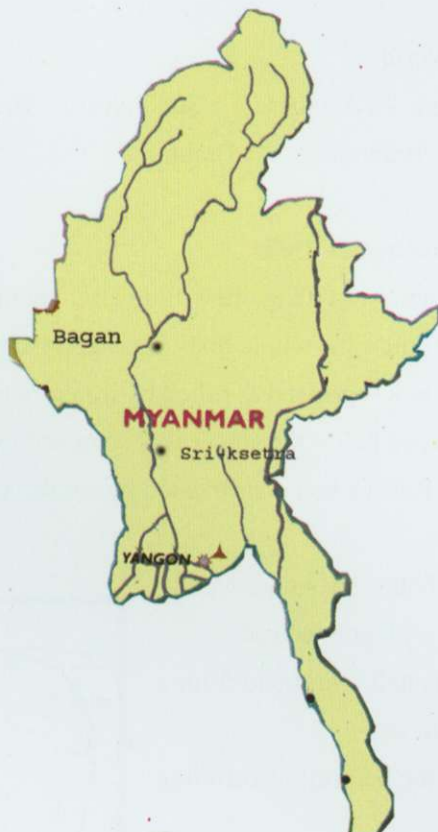


Fig.12.1. Map of Myanmar showing the location of Sri-ksetra and Bagan

About Heaven and Hell as mentioned in Myanmar Buddhist texts:

○ The three world

. Karma                  Rupa                  Ah-Rupa



### Thirty one Realms:

#### \* Twenty Realm of Brahma

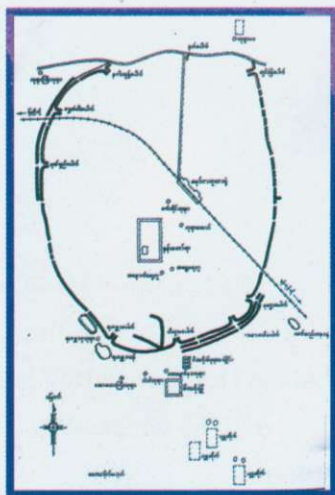
- Six Heavens of Devatas
- One Realm of Human being
- Four Realm of Apaya (trouble & woe)
- (ngaye=hell, tirican = animal, pyitta = suffering ghosts)
- asura)

#### .Four Brahma World:

|      |         |          |            |        |
|------|---------|----------|------------|--------|
| Rupa | Ah-Rupa | Asinnasa | Suddhavasa | Brahma |
|      |         | Brahma   | Brahma     |        |

- Eight Realms of Hell
  - Sinjiva hell = reviving one killing after another
  - Kalasut hell = the whole body was chopped into piece
  - Singata hell = pressed & rolled by iron mountain
  - Jala Rorova hell = the sinner was scorched by fire
  - Dhuma Roruva hell = suffocated by smoke and + screaming for help
  - Tapana hell = the sinner was pierced with pointed rod
  - Patapana hell = dropped from mountain top
- \* Avici hell = the hell full of suffering and woe

Fig.12.2. Map of Sri-ksetra  
ancient city (4<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> cen: AD)



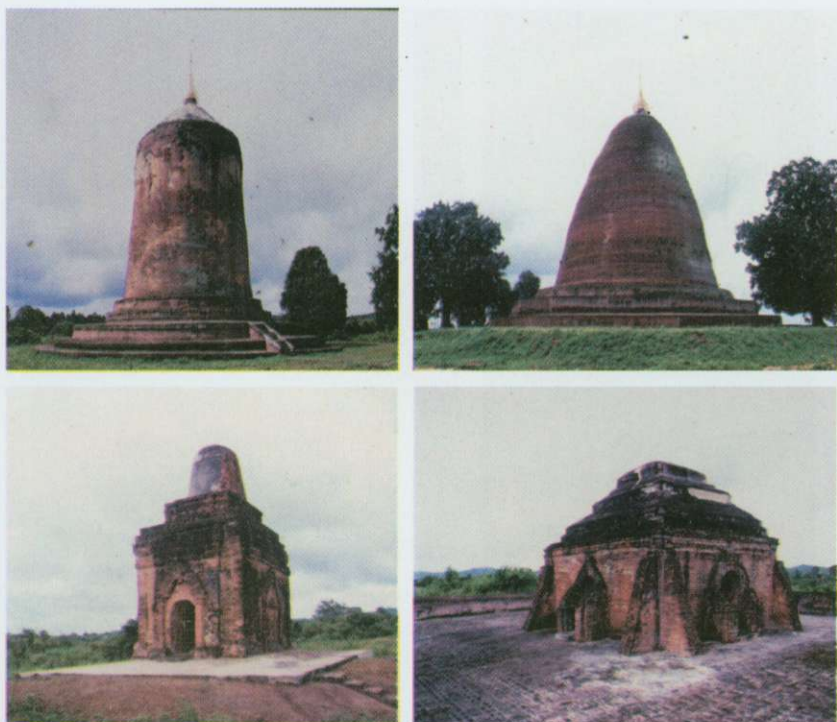


Fig.12.3: Ancient Buddhist Stupas in Sri-Ksetra



Fig.12.4. Atha-thana Scene from a Pyu votive tablet from Sri-Ksetra



Fig.12.5. Buddha descent from Tavatimsa Heaven (from Sri-Ksetra, 5<sup>th</sup> cen: AD) (left)  
Stone Buddha Image, Buddha being flanked by Indra and Brahma (from Yahandargu  
Temple in Sri-Ksetra) (right)



Fig.12.6. Cover stone slab of a relic chamber bearing the relief figure of a Ceti flanked  
by Indra and Brahma (from Khin-ba mound , Sri-Ksetra) (left); Stone Buddha Image  
in relief flanked by Indra & Brahma (from East Zegu Temple,Sri-Ksetra) (5<sup>th</sup> century  
AD) (right);



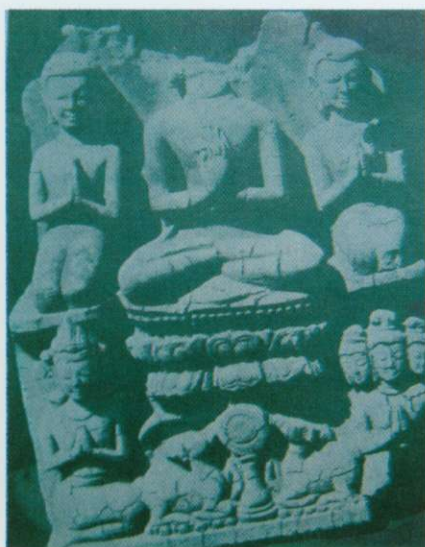


Fig.12.7. A Stone Buddha Image flanked by Indra & Brahma, (from Laymyethnar Temple, Sri-Ksetra) (5<sup>th</sup> century AD)



Fig.12.8. Stone and Earthen ware Urns in Stupa shape (from Sri-Ksetra, 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D)



Fig.12.9. Panoramic View of Bagan ( 11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D)  
About 3000 Buddhist monuments in different sizes and in various architectural designs



Fig.12.10. Epigraphical Records of Bagan Stone Inscription describing about the  
curses of the donors

Extracts of some curses by the donors in Bagan stone inscriptions

- Those who destroyed his meritorious deeds

May suffer in various hells :

- May suffer in four kinds of “apaya”
- May never become human and never worship various enlightened Buddhas
- May suffer in sinjo-hell, kalasut-hell, singata-hell, tapana-hell
- Patapana-hell, aviji-hell, roruva-hell, maha-roruva hell.
- May always suffer in aviji-hell, may he be underneath the
- Aviji-hell
- May he be scorched in the hell.

Curses in Bagan Stone inscription :

- May his life time will be very short in this present life (BE513=1151)
- May he become “Pyitta” ( suffering gost) and never worship the enlightened Buddha (BE564=1202)
- May the person who destroy my meritorious deeds be suffered in Sinjo hell, Kalasut hell, Singata hell, Tapana hell, Patapana hell, Aviji hell, Roruva hell, Maha Roruva hell (BE 585=1223)
- \* May the person be my relatives, my husband’s relatives or other people be suffered in aviji hell forever. (BE.584=1222).
- \* May he be lying underneath the stone slab measuring sixty days walking distance in thickness and length and breadth also measuring sixty days walking distance (BE 569=AD 1207).

Stone inscription of king Nataung-myar (BE.569 = AD 1207):

- May the person who destroy my meritorious deeds be suffered in Sinjo hell (human year 9million=1 day in hell)



- Kalasut hell(human year 36million=1day in hell)
- Tapana hell (human year 144million=1day in hell)
- Patapana hell (human year 576million=1 day in hell)
- Singata hell (human year 234 million=1day in hell)
- Roruva hell (human year 9216million=1day in hell)
- Maha-Roruva hell (human year 36864 million=1day in hell)
- Aviji hell (human year 147456 million= 1day in hell )



Fig.12.11. Epigraphical Records of Bagan Stone Inscription mentioning the wishes of the donor ( 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D)

May the person who support and look after my meritorious deeds be long live in this present life.

- be rich and prosperous in this life
- May attain Nirvana in the future life
- May all the Indra, Brahma and Devas bless and look after him

\*May he reach Tusita heaven and worship Arimetteya Buddha together with me.



Fig.12.12. A Glazed Plaque depicting the figure of a Deva in the Heaven and the figures of Sinners in the hell (from Mingalar Ceti,Bagan. 12<sup>th</sup> cen : A.D) (left)  
The scene of a Deva in the Heaven and the sinners in the hell ,depicted on a glazed Jataka plaque (from Dhamma-rajaka Ceti,Bagan-12<sup>th</sup> cen:A.D) (right)

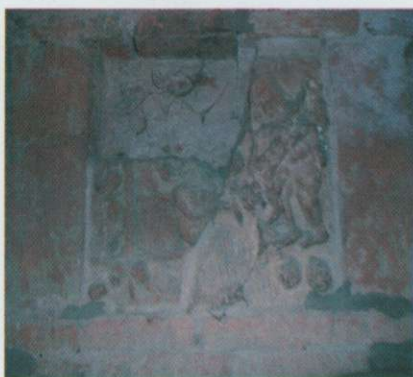
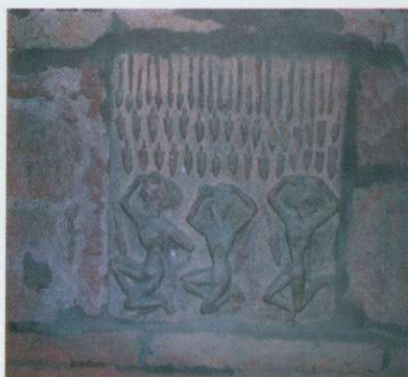


Fig.12.13. A terra-cotta Jataka Plaque depicting the sinners in "Pa tapana" hell and Aviji-hell (from East Phet-leik Ceti,11<sup>th</sup> cen:A.D)

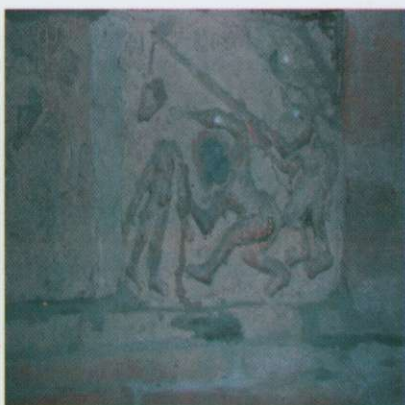


Fig.12.14. A terra-cotta Jataka Plaque depicting the sinners in "Tapana" hell. (from East Phet-leik Ceti,11<sup>th</sup> cen:A.D)



Fig.12. 15.A terra-cotta Jataka Plaque depicting the sinners in "Tapana" hell. (from East Phet-leik Ceti, 11<sup>th</sup> cen:A.D)



Fig.12. 16. A terracotta plaque depicting a Deva in the heaven (from East Phet-leik Ceti, Bagan. 11<sup>th</sup> cen:A.D)



Fig.12. 17. The figures of Devatas depicted on the Jataka plaques (from Bagan, 12<sup>th</sup> cen:A.D)

Mingala Ceti

Dhamma

rajaka Ceti





Fig.12. 18. The figure of a Deva in Candi Borobudur



Fig.12. 19. A wooden carving of Buddha descent from Tavatimsa heaven ( Bagan Museum) 12<sup>th</sup> cen. AD (left)

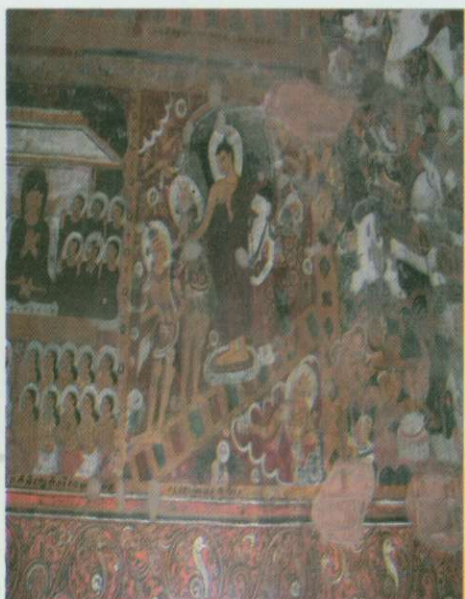


Fig.12. 20. The scene of Buddha descent from Tavatimsa heaven (from mural painting, Myingabar Gupyaug gyi Temple Bagan, 12<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D) (right)



Fig.12. 21. The figures of Devata as seen in Bagan mural painting





Fig.12. 22. The figures of Brahma and Devatas in stone sculptures Bagan period (12<sup>th</sup> cen: AD)



Fig.12.23. The picture of sinner in the hell as seen in Bagan mural painting (12<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D)





Fig.12. 24.The picture of sinner in the hell as seen in Bagan mural painting (12<sup>th</sup> cen. A.D)

### **Conclusion :**

- o According to Myanmar chronicles Buddhism was introduced and flourished in Myanmar since the life-time of Gautama Buddha.
- \* According to archaeological evidences Buddhism was found to be flourished in early historic Pyu ancient cities such as Beikthano, Sri-ksetra, Hanlin Maimao from 4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century AD upto 10<sup>th</sup> century AD.
- \* Buddhism reach its zenith during Bagan period (11<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century AD.
- \* The people in those days believed in the law of Karma if a person did good actions (meritorious deeds) in his life he will reach to heaven in his future life.
- o But if a person did bad actions and committed any sin in this life,

he will be suffering in eight hells or he will become “Pyitta”(the suffering ghost) in his future life.

- \* This belief of Heaven and Hell was evidently reflected in the Buddhistic sculptures and mural paintings which can be found inside the Buddhist temples at Pyu ancient cities and Bagan ancient city.
- \* These depiction of Heaven and Hell scenes were based on 550 Jataka stories of Budha’s life.

**CHAPTER IV**  
**ASPECTS OF LIFE DEPICTED ON**  
**RELIEFS**



**VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE ON  
MAHAKARMAVIBHANGGA RELIEFS ON  
THE HIDDEN BASE OF CANDI BOROBUDUR**

by

**Dr. Endang Sri Hardiati & Dr. Ir. Danang Priatmodjo**

**Introduction**

Panels of reliefs with the depiction of Mahakarmavibhangga text have got a unique place in Candi Borobudur. They are mounted on the walls of the chandi base in a position that are permanently hidden below the processional path. Apart from our curiosity about the mysterious placement of the panels, it is interesting to discuss about the stories and features depicted on the reliefs.

Although depicting a narrative story of an Indian text, it seems that the sculptors of the Karmavibhangga reliefs used local natural environment as their models. We can see on the reliefs the representation of vernacular architecture of the Indonesian Archipelago. This kind of architecture belongs to the Austronesian tradition that has not been influenced by India.

The Austronesian architecture spread over a part of Asia mainland, Southeast Asian Archipelago (including Indonesian Archipelago), Micronesia, and Melanesia. Even as far as Madagascar we still find the same kind of architecture. We can notice on the reliefs the specific character of that kind of architecture, which is the raising foundation of the poles so that the floor lies high up from the surface; either houses or canopies are all on high poles. This kind of architecture is called *rumah panggung*.

## **The hidden base of Candi Borobudur**

The so-called hidden base of Candi Borobudur is actually the original base of the candi. The base has a perfect profile, and on the panels at the lower part of the base are a series of panels. For still uncertain reason, the base was covered by sixteen layers of stones, which are  $\pm$  6 metres wide, forming an open corridor (processional path) that surrounds the candi.

The hidden base was accidentally found by a Dutch architect, J.W. Ijzerman, in 1885 when he walked along the path surrounding the chandi and saw that there was a wall's profile that continues under the surrounding path. Curious, Ijzerman suggested dismantling part of the path. The result was the discovery of reliefs decorating the panels at the lower part of the candi, which was initially the base of the candi. There is an assumption that the original base was covered due to change of design while the candi was being built (Fontein 1989: 7), which caused it to be permanently hidden under the processional path. But until now the real reason has not been revealed whether it was related to construction or religious purposes.

After the discovery, five years later, the processional path was gradually dismantled. Before it was covered again, each opened part was photographed by Kassian Céphas, a Javanese court photographer. There are all 160 panels of reliefs. With the finishing of photographing the panels, all of the reliefs can only be seen from the documents made by Céphas during 1890 – 1891. This condition changed in 1943 when a Japanese government official ordered to dismantle the southeast corner of the base of the Borobudur to prove the truth of people's story about the existence of reliefs depicting scenes of hell. It revealed reliefs No. O21, O22, and part of O23. However, because the stones were not well-documented, this corner could not be perfectly covered again.

Therefore until now the corner is exposed and an access was made toward it (Fontein 1989: 8).

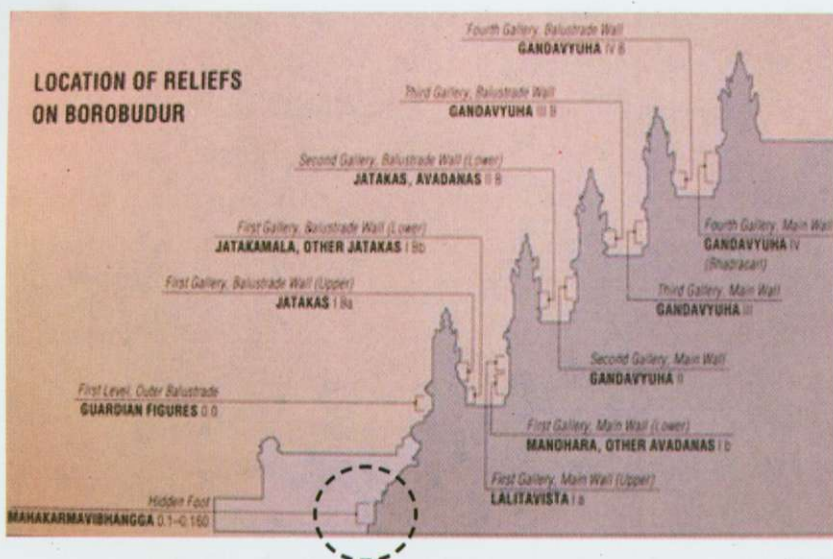


Fig.13.1 The location of the hidden panels shown in the cross section drawing of Candi Borobudur

Because of the permanently covered reliefs, our knowledge about them is only based on the photographs taken by Kassian Céphas. The entire photographs has been published in the book *Beschrijving van Borobudur* (Krom 1920). There is only one set of the original negatives of Céphas' photographs (two numbers are missing), which is kept at Tropen Museum in Amsterdam.

This paper is indebted to the work of Jan Fontein, *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java* (1989).

## Reliefs on the original foot of Candi Borobudur

At the lower part of the covered base were sculpted rows of reliefs, which amount is 160 panels. Each panel measures 2 x 0.67 m. Some of them bear inscriptions at the upper border of the panel. The inscriptions



are written using Old Javanese script and Sanskrit language. Experts agree that those inscriptions were guidelines for the sculptors and not captions for those who see the reliefs. It is assumed that they were obliterated after all the reliefs were sculpted (Fontein 1989: 74).

N.J. Krom is of the opinion that the reliefs on the hidden base are related to the Law of Cause and Effect or the Karmic Law (Law of Karma) (Krom 1920). Furthermore Sylvain Lévi recognizes similarities between some of the reliefs to the Mahā-Karmavibhangga text, both the one in Sanskrit and those in Chinese, Tibetan, and Kucha (Fontein 1989: 10). Jan Fontein's research confirms that the Chinese translation version, Taishō Tripitaka (T80) titled Fo-shuo Shou-chia Ch'ang-che Yeh-pao Ch'a-pieh-ching, is the closest to the text used by the sculptors of Candi Borobudur. Besides T80 there is another text in Chinese, titled Fen-pieh Shan-wo Pao-ying-ching (T81), that also contributes in explaining some Karmavibhangga reliefs (Fontein 1989: 13).

Although we have not known which Karmavibhangga text that was used as a reference in sculpting reliefs at Borobudur, it seems as though experts concur that the reliefs on the hidden base of Borobudur depict only the Karmavibhangga text (Fontein 1989: 69).

Karmavibhangga is one of the Buddhist texts, which explains the Karmic Law. The initial part (about 1/3 part of the text) mentions 10 types of activities that cause one effect, for instance 10 behaviours that cause someone to reborn as a long-lived person. The final part of the text mentions 10 types of effects resulted from one cause, such as 10 effects of a person who bequeaths an umbrella (in the inscription it is called *chatradana*). In the Sanskrit text there is a prologue explaining why the Buddha teaches about human behaviours and the effects of those behaviours. The prologue is not found in the reliefs.

As previously mentioned, the Karmavibhangga reliefs at Borobudur despite depicting a text from India, seem to use local environment as the

model for the architecture, vegetations, clothes/dresses, and jewelries in the reliefs, indicating that they represent local situations.

### **The architecture depicted on Karmavibhangga reliefs**

From the panels of Karmavibhangga reliefs we can observe that there were two types of structures, namely sacred buildings (shrines, temples) and profane ones (houses). The profane structures shows the characteristic of vernacular Austronesian architecture, which is using high poles or *rumah panggung* (pilotis).

The vernacular architecture depicted on the Karmavibhangga reliefs consists of two types, which are houses and canopies; both use high poles, which are typical for the indigenous architecture of the archipelago, as part of the Austronesian architecture.

The roofs of the houses can be distinguished into two types, namely shield-shaped and saddle-shaped.



Fig. 13.2. Shield-shaped roof (O30)



Fig. 13.3. Saddle-shaped roof (O65)

### **Shield-Shaped Roofs**

Shield-shaped roofs are shown on reliefs number O30, O47, O88, O89, and O158.

On relief number O30 at the right there is a shield-shaped roofed house, below which many people were depicted carrying tools such as a hammer. This relief probably depicts one of the human behaviours which effect is reincarnation as people with pleasing appearance. The behaviour is decorating the stupa of the Buddha with plaster. However

in this relief there is no stupa; instead, there is a house, probably a vihara (Buddhist monastery).

There are two types of roofs sculpted in relief number O47. According to Fontein (Fontein 1989:28) the best explanation of this relief is based on T81 that mentioned “to devoutly venerate the Three Treasures” as one of the Cause that results in a rebirth as a person of high prestige. It seems that the Sangha (Buddhist order) was selected to represent the Three Treasures in this relief. The building with shield-shaped roof in this relief is probably a residence of Buddhist monks, the member of *sangha*.

Relief number O88 considered dealing with rebirth in hell (Fontein 1989: 39-40) the left part of the relief depicting a house engulfed in flames, probably representation of Hell of Flames (*Tapana*). It is interesting to notice that the house has decoration on top of its shield-shaped roof.



Fig.13.4. The House in the Hell of Flames (O88)

Relief no. O89 also deals with rebirth in hell (Fontein, *ibid*). On the left part of the relief one can see a man about to kill an female victim, this is no doubt illustrates matricide. The effect for this cause is punishment in Avici Hell, the worst of all kind of hell. On this relief only part of the house is shown in a scene of Avici Hell. This house has no roof decoration, unlike the house in the Hell of Flames.



Relief number O158 shows a shield-shaped roofed house with high roof decoration and antefixes at the lower part of the roof. According to Fontein (Fontein 1989; 67-68) this relief illustrates a donation that is not mentioned in T80 but appears in T81 and Sanskrit text, that is the gift of a refuge. T81 mentioned a Buddhist monastery in connection with refuge, probably the monastery what is shown on the relief.



Fig.13.5. Shield-shaped roofed house, probably a buddhist monastery (O158)

From the architectural point of view, the shield-shaped roof gives the impression of a soared high building. This character is agree with the religious buildings that always have dominant vertical components. So we consider the houses having shield-shaped roofs are related to religious purposes.

### **Saddle-Shaped Roof**



Fig.13.6. Building of two kinds of roof, surrounded by wooden fence (O47)



Fig.13.7. The building with saddle-shaped roof (O119)

Saddle-shaped roofs can be found in reliefs O47, O65, and O119. In relief number O47 buildings using both types of roof are depicted in a compound, which are surrounded by a wooden fence. One of the building which has saddle-shaped roof is probably the house for common Buddhist followers. It presumed that this relief illustrates the monks and the common Buddhist followers as the members of the *Sangha*, and each group has its own kind of house.

The relief also illustrates the wooden fence surround the buildings. It is interesting to notice that similar type of wooden fence can still be found until now in Java and Kalimantan. It gives one more evidence that the sculptors used local environment as the model to portray the narrative text. Another relief that also depicting the wooden fence is relief no. O103.



Fig.13.8. Wooden fences in the village of Anggana, East Kalimantan

The saddle-shaped roof in relief O47 is very similar to the traditional architecture of North Sumatera (of the Batak ethnic people) and of Toraja (South Sulawesi).

Relief no.O65 depicts a building which has a saddle-shaped roof, stands on round high poles. According to the text one can presume that the men seated in that house (probably a rice-barn) are the victims of the famine, indicating by the destroying of rice-plants by the rats as illustrated on their left (Fontein 1989: 31). Nowadays in some places in Indonesia (a.o. West Java, Sulawesi) one can still find the round poles used for the rice-barn.

The saddle-shaped roof is also depicted in relief no.O119. Fontein explained the left part of relief no.O119 as the representation of adultery, but the effect of this evil which is untimely storms of rain and dust is not illustrated (Fontein 1989: 53). But if we observe thoroughly, the trees above the house are about slanted. Could it be presumed as the result of the blowing by the wind? (Fig.13.7) The house itself looks as the house of common people.

Based on those representations of saddle-shaped roofed houses, it can be proposed that the saddle-shaped roofs are used for the non-religious buildings.

## **Canopy**

Canopy is an open building, which has roof but no walls. The Karmavibhanga reliefs illustrate canopies in a great amount of quantities. There are about 80 reliefs that show several kinds of canopies. Compared with the representation of houses that are depicted only in 8 reliefs, the illustrations of canopies are abundant, although only reach a half of the total reliefs.

The roof of the canopies have more varied form. There are six types



observable, namely bell-shaped, saddle-shaped, shield-shaped, flat, curved, and dented. The roofs sometimes are enriched with decoration, on top of the roof or hanging at the lower part of the roof. There are at least three kinds of decoration, that are garlands, antefixes, and tassels. In one of the reliefs, no.O36, is shown the canopy which has two tiered roofs.

It is still unclear whether those different shapes of roofs and decorations related to social position. But probably the much reached decorated canopies were used by high-rank people. It seems that special types of canopies' roofs, such as dented and curved, are always used by noble people.

### **Several types of Canopies' roofs**

#### **1. Bell-shaped**



Fig.13.9. Relief O129 and O38

#### **2. Saddle-shaped**



Fig.13.10. Relief O15 and O14

### 3. Shield-shaped



Fig.13.11. Relief O116

### 4. Flat



Fig.13.12. Relief O128 and O96

### 5. Curved



Fig.13.13. Relief O10 and O6

### 5. Dented



Fig.13.14. Relief O137 and O156

An interesting fact is the use of the space under the canopies for storing things like caskets, jars, and *beseks* (bamboo-woven container

that are still used in Java and Bali up to now to store food or other stuff). Although there is another way of placing the containers as seen in relief no. O34. Here one can see several small jars are placed in a shelf.

### **The Decoration of the Canopies' roofs**



Fig.13.15 . Relief O11 – Garland, O102 – Antefixes and O127- Tassels

### **There are also features of making use the spaces under the floor**



Fig.13.16 . Relief O144

### **Analyses on the architecture in Karmavibhangga reliefs**

Based on its function, the vernacular architecture on Borobudur reliefs can be categorized into three types, building for religious purposes (such as vihara/monastery), houses (non religious purposes), and public buildings.

Each type has its own characteristic represented in the reliefs, those are:



- Building for religious purposes are depicted having shield-shaped roof; this type of roof is similar to dome-shaped roof that are commonly used in religious building.
- Houses are depicted having saddle-shaped roof; this type of roof can still be found in the traditional architectures of several places in Indonesia.
- Public building are depicted in form of canopies with various shapes of roofs

### **Religious Buildings**

Fig.13.17. Relief O88 -  
Building in hell



Fig.13.18. Relief O158 -  
Buddhist monastery



Fig.13.19. Relief O30 -  
Vihara for the monks



## Houses

Fig.13.20. Relief O47 –  
The House for common  
buddhist followers

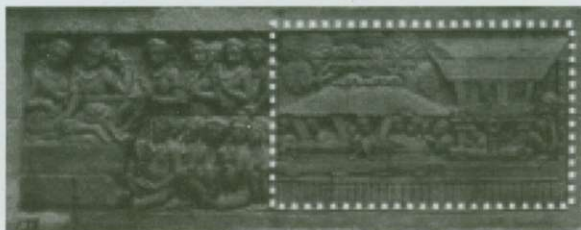


Fig.13.21. Relief O65 –  
The house having round  
high poles, probably  
rice-barn



## Public (open) building

Fig.13.22. Relief. O128  
- Place for meeting with  
great persons



Fig.13.23. Relief. O129  
- Place for meeting



Fig.13.24. Relief O76  
-Public building for  
common people (place  
for expound the doctrine  
of evil)



## **Austronesian house**

For Austronesians, a house is not merely a dwelling. It contains symbolic meanings that reflect many ideas of a culture. A house can be a copy of cosmos, a sacred place for the ancestors, a physical representation of certain group's identity, or expression of social status (R.P. Soejono, 2002). Symbolic meanings are generally represented in building's orientation, number and sizes of building's elements, roof shape, and ornaments applied in the building.

Among the general features of Austronesian houses are:

- rectangular plan
- raised floor on wooden poles (pilotis)
- elongated roof-ridge
- leaf or grass roof-top

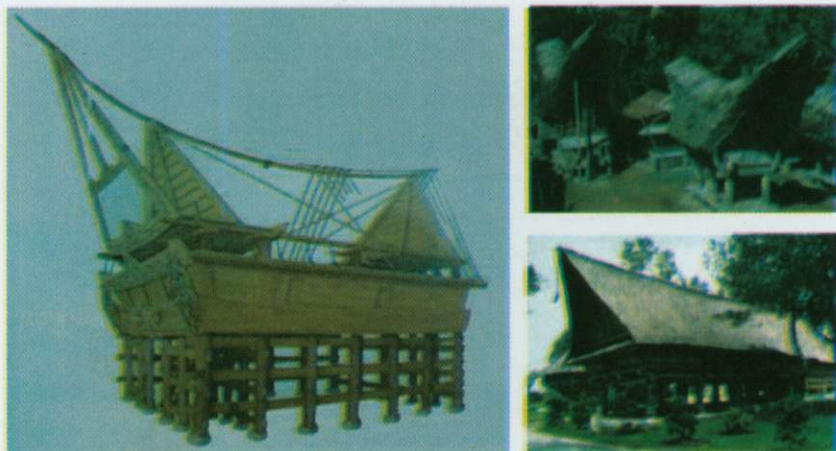


Fig.13.25. Traditional houses of many regions in Indonesia as examples of Austronesian houses.

## **Javanese house**

Rooted from the Austronesians, a Javanese house basically contains characteristics similar to those of an Austronesian house. For



the Javanese, a house is a miniature of cosmos. It has got a center and duality (Tjahjono, 1988). The center of a house is the most sacred place, called *senhong tengah* (in ordinary house) or *krobongan* (in higher status house). This sacred room is devoted to *Dewi Sri* (goddess of rice crop). The house is facing to the South and arranged in North-South axis.

The duality is found in rooms that are symmetrically arranged in left and right side of the axis, as well as pavilions in both sides, called *gandhok kiwa* and *gandhok tengen*. Other duality is found in *pendhapa* (light, open) and *dalem ageng* (dark, closed).

### Javanese House

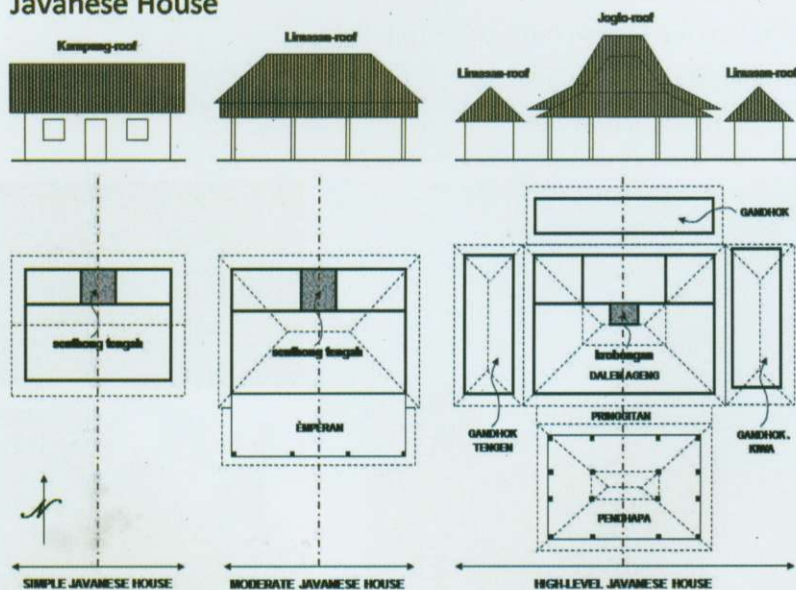
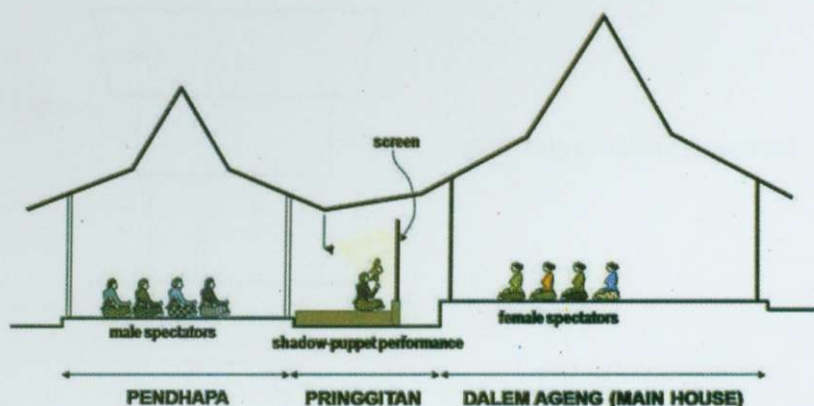


Fig.13.26. Javanese houses, with *senhong tengah* or *krobongan* as center.



Duality between *pendhapa* (light, open) and *dalem ageng* (dark, closed) in high-level Javanese house.

### Relating architecture on Mahakarmavibhangga reliefs to Javanese architecture

Two building elements that can reveal similarity and difference between vernacular architecture of Mahakarmavibhangga and Javanese architecture are roof and floor:

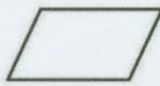
#### Mahakarmavibhangga reliefs



pyramidal and dome for religious buildings

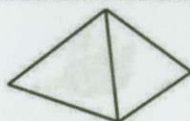


elongated roof for houses

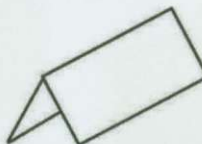


plain roof for public buildings

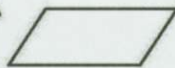
#### Javanese architecture



tajug roof for temple, mosque and tomb



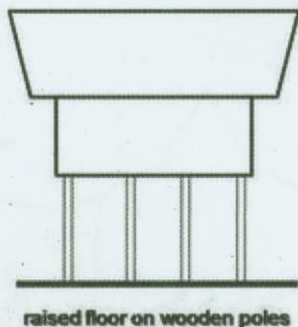
kampung roof for houses



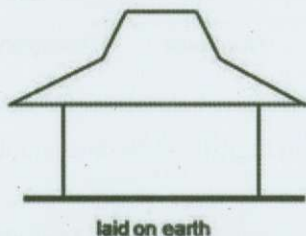
plain roof for emperan/pringgitan

Here can be seen that all roof forms found in reliefs of Mahakarmavibhangga are known in Javanese architecture, except dome as roof for religious building.

**Mahakarmavibhangga reliefs**



**Javanese architecture**



The most significant difference between Javanese architecture in the period of the construction of Candi Borobudur and later Javanese architecture as we have known today is in the floor. The first is raised and lies on wooden poles, while the latter is laid on earth. However, the memory of poles as supporting element of floor as been adopted by later Javanese architecture in the form of *soko guru* (main columns) in *joglo* house.

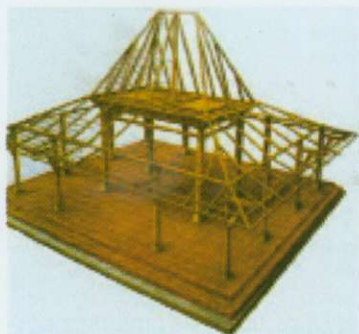


Fig.13.27. *Soko guru* (main columns in inner part of the house) as memory of supporting poles in earlier Javanese architecture (interpretation by Prof. Josef Prijotomo).



## **Another mystery**

As we have known today, traditional houses in many regions of Indonesia (Aceh, Batak, Minangkabau, Kalimantan, Toraja, Minahasa, etc.) are still reflecting the characteristics of Austronesian architecture. It becomes a mystery, why Javanese architecture – as applied in houses in Central Java and East Java – has left the “Austronesian rules”. The reliefs of Borobudur have shown that Javanese architecture was following that rules. The questions are when and why Javanese houses were not built with floor supported by poles anymore.

Many architects argue that growth of urbanity as a reason was not enough, since many other regions were also urbanized rapidly. There is a speculation offered by an expert in Javanese architecture – Prof. Josef Prijotomo – that the radical change in construction rules of Javanese house can only be “ordered” by a powerful ruler. It is possible that Sultan Agung, a great ruler of Mataram in 17<sup>th</sup> century – who took an effective control on Central and East Java – has ordered the “remodeling” of Javanese house. Further research is needed to uncover this mystery.

## **Conclusion**

From above description and analysis can be concluded that vernacular architecture depicted on Mahakarmavibhangga reliefs of Chandi Borobudur is an evident of types of Javanese architecture applied in the period Borobudur’s construction (9<sup>th</sup> century), which reflect the practice of Austronesian architecture. Many building types are still practiced today, except a radical change: the absence of raised floor supported by wooden poles. As a memory, the poles are then transformed as the main columns of the house. We need to conduct further study to find explanation about this transformation.

## Bibliography

- Fontein, J., 1989. *The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java. Verhand. Kon. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, dl. 140. Amsterdam*
- Galestin, Theodoor Paul. 1936. *Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche Tempelreliefs*, Batavia: 's-Gravenhage.
- Krom, N.J., 1920. *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, 's-Gravenhage : Martinus Nijhoff.
- Lévi, Sylvain, 1932. *Maha-Karmavibhanga (La Grande Classification des Actes) et Karmavibhangopadesa (Discussion sur le Maha Karmavibhanga)*, Paris.
- Prijotomo, Josef .1992. *Ideas and Forms of Javanese Architecture*, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Soejono, R.P., 2002. "Hubungan Austronesia-Indonesia" in Gunawan Tjahjono (ed.), *Indonesian Heritage: Arsitektur*, Jakarta: Buku Antar Bangsa – Grolier International.
- Tjahjono, Gunawan, 1998. *Cosmos, Center and duality in Javanese Architectural Tradition: The Symbolic Dimensions of House Shapes in Kota Gede and Surroundings*, PhD dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 2002. (ed). *Indonesian Heritage: Arsitektur*, Jakarta: Buku Antar Bangsa – Grolier International.

## THE 'FRUITS OF SEEING' FROM THE HIDDEN BASE OF BOROBUDUR

by

Nandana Chutiwongs

### Preamble

There still are mysteries in connection with Borobudur, including many regarding its enigmatic covered lowest base (Fig.1). Much have certainly been explained, but by far not yet enough. The present international seminar would hopefully draw attention of scholars to look again, to see what more can we learn from this set of reliefs, which are no longer visible and therefore tend to be overlooked. The base and its sculptured panels can no longer be seen besides a small fraction of the whole, but the original negatives of the only set of photographs ever made of them are still preserved <sup>1</sup>, and there still are many excellent sets of prints in existence <sup>2</sup>. This series of sculptured images has much to tell us about the culture and the living condition in one of the most important periods in the history of Java, and of Indonesia on the whole <sup>3</sup>.

Most of the relief panels have been explained and discussed by painstaking efforts of many scholars in the past <sup>4</sup>. The tenor and contents of the depicted stories are known. The general outline of the narratives follows textual descriptions, such as are largely found in an

---

<sup>1</sup> See also paper presented at this seminar by Sadiah Boonstra.

<sup>2</sup> See also Gallery Exhibition on 'The Hidden base of Borobudur/De Verborgen Voet van Borobudur, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. February – September 2008.

<sup>3</sup> See also Bernet Kempers 1976: 235-279, and papers presented at this Seminar by Sri Soejatmi Satari and Endang Sri Hardiati Sukatno.

<sup>4</sup> Krom and Van Erp 1920; Krom 1933; Lévi 1931; 1932; Le Bonheur 1968; Bernet Kempers 1976; Hikata 1981; Fontein 1989.



Indian Buddhist text, known by its original title as *Karmavibhangga* or *Mahakarmavibhangga*. Of this, only some later Sanskrit versions and translations in Chinese, Tibetan and other Asian languages still exist besides some related stories told in Pali literature <sup>5</sup>. Many passages from the different versions and translations of the text have been quoted and correlated to the sculptured depictions by scholars. And yet, not all available literary expositions can explain all the sculptured panels, while the reliefs themselves can truly give us more information than what has been known to date.

This paper will present a few remarks, summed up from the result of my observations on this set of reliefs.

### **The inscriptions**

Short inscriptions have been found on the hidden base. Many have been deciphered, read and translated, sometimes with difference in opinion <sup>6</sup>. Practically all which have been deciphered turn out to be instructions to specify the types of scene that were to be made. More information are expected to be forthcoming from this seminar.

All the inscribed words that have so far been read, are in Sanskrit, but these were written in the local script such as was used in most of the Śailendras inscriptions of the time, using occasionally local spellings of the words, such as the term '*svarga/swargga*', written many times with a double *ga* (see Fig.3). The person who has given these instructions - obviously the chief designer of the series - was probably one of the early Indian preceptors of the Śailendras. We know from many inscriptions that eminent *gurus* from India served at the courts of the

---

<sup>5</sup> Pelliot & Gauthiot 1926-1928 ; Lévi 1932; Krom 1933; Zieg 1938 ; Malalasekera 1960, II: 207-215; Hikata 1981; Nakamura 1986: 112; Fontein 1989: 13-68. See also paper presented at this seminar by the Most Venerable Mynak Tulku Rimpoche.

<sup>6</sup> Krom and Van Erp 1920, vol.I: 48-52; Hikata 1981: 106-112; Fontein 1989: 74.

Śailendras and the Sanjayas <sup>7</sup>, as well as in those of East Java in later times <sup>8</sup>. It was probably this personage, acting as the first priest-designer and chief architect (*acarya*) of the Śailendras' sacred foundations, who had given these instructions, but the person or persons who wrote them down were definitely local, being possibly the supervisors whose task was presumably not unlike the traditional Indian *sūtradhara*, receiving command from the chief architect to pass on to the team of sculptors. These artisans and their supervisors, as their works have told us, were well-trained in the classical art style of the Śailendras, which for some centuries had dominant influences over a large part of the archipelago, covering Sumatra, Java, Malaysia and Southern Thailand.

We may infer from these inscriptions that already at that time when this component of Borobudur was built, i.e. probably between 778 and 792 AD <sup>9</sup>, the knowledge of Sanskrit, the priestly language of India, had already begun to spread in a wider circle beyond the court and the priestly institutions, on its way to become absorbed by local Javanese culture in general. We know that many Sanskrit words have become part of Indonesian vocabulary in the same way it has happened in many other Asian countries, but what is most interesting here is that the use of local spellings for some Sanskrit words suggests that the process of Javanese modification of new cultural elements from India has already begun at this relatively early time in history, possibly before or during the last decade of the 8<sup>th</sup> century – the time when this part of the monument could have been constructed. Prof. De Casparis, nevertheless, compares the script of these inscriptions with that of the Karang Těngah inscription of the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century <sup>10</sup>.

---

<sup>7</sup> Chhabra 1965: 26-34; Coedès 1968: 89; Sarkar 1971, I: 37-38, 41-48; Soekmono 1995: 54-55, 68.

<sup>8</sup> See Kern 1907: 159-170; Bosch 1920: 501.

<sup>9</sup> Dumarçay 1978: 21-36, 67.

<sup>10</sup> De Casparis 1975: 32.

These writings form one of the very few tangible evidence of the dynamics of the local culture of Java, which had not merely absorbed elements from imported Indian culture, but also modified and adapted these to its own usage. This evidently happened everywhere in all countries that came under the impact of Indian culture, forming part of a long process in history that extends into the present. These inscriptions on the hidden base, nevertheless, tell us that the dynamics of the local culture had already begun to assert themselves in Central Java early in the days of the heavily Indianized Śailendra period.

### The architect-designer and his designs

The general story-line as known from the different versions of the *Karmavibhangga* has been condensed, restructured and recast by the priestly designer of Borobudur. This is evidently not only to comply with the available space at the monument (Fig.2), counting 160 panels in all on its four faces, but also to fill these up with story-telling scenes that had to be properly distributed graphically, with their contents specified to produce the most effective display of the underlying messages through the mediation, co-operation and artistic talents of the working team.

The first (Fig.4) and the last (Fig. 24) panels of the series duly followed the first and the last stanzas of the *Karmavibhangga* text, but selections and emphases had been made of the verses and stanzas in between <sup>11</sup>. The architect -designer maintained the general story-line of the *Karmavibhangga*, based on a parallelism of cause and result, with the total structure of alternating scenes of action and result generally grouped into series of bad deeds (*akuśala*) followed by those of good deeds (*kuśala*). The series began with an unfolding and

---

<sup>11</sup> See also Bernet Kempers 1976: 90; Fontein 1989: 69-81.



demonstration of the worst of all crimes, followed by those showing bad deeds of less severity, then switched over to scenes of good deeds and their rewards, followed by a quick recapitulation of this alternating pattern, and finally ended up with concentration on the essentials, with emphasis on good deeds and their rewards. The rhythm of the scenes expressed a dramatic outburst at the beginning (no.01) (Fig.4), slowed down to balanced and steady movements (nos. 02-085) (Figs. 5-14), then became quickened and intensified (nos.086-0121) (Figs. 15-20), to eventually calm down once again to even and emphatic repetitions (nos.0122 -0158) (Figs. 21, 22), and ultimately reached a subsequent rest and stillness at the end (nos.0159-0160) (Figs. 23, 24). If one could follow the sequence of the panels from no.01 to no.0160 in the proper clockwise order, as having been numbered and published by Krom in 1920 (see Fig. 2), one would certainly see and feel such a pre-planned structure and intended rhythm.

The priest-designer followed the story and the guidelines of the texts, but at the same time ingeniously co-ordinated and composed his own presentation, in the same way the producer of a play envisages and stages his own production to achieve the anticipated results.

### The written sources

The architect-designer must have had access to other literary sources besides the *Karmavibhanga*. This has been agreed on by all researchers. Many scenes, such as those revealing the other worlds of existence in the universe, find parallel descriptions in the *Abhidharmakośa* of Vasubandhu, as stated by Hikata and Fontein <sup>12</sup>. Nevertheless, a depiction of the world of the *garudas* (Fig.17) among those of other semi-divine beings, appears to have been inspired by some

---

<sup>12</sup> Hikata 1981; Fontein 1989.

other sources, such as those favoured by the early Theravāda traditions which remain current in Myanmar and Thailand to-day. In such systems, the world of the *garudas* is located in the fabulous Simbalivana Wood of the Red Cotton-Trees, standing at the foot of the world mountain Meru and bordering on the subterranean world of the *nāgas* <sup>13</sup>. It is conceived of as one of the good worlds (*sugati*), which, according to the priestly designer of this set of reliefs, can be attained by such good deeds as revering and worshipping persons of true knowledge and purity, as exemplified by the scene of action unfolded to the extreme right of the same relief (Fig.17), in which the worshipped personage holds a lotus attribute and bears physical traits typical of purified beings.

The priest-designer had made use of other sources than the Abhidharmakośa, but not necessarily those of the Theravādas, because we also find *garudas* featuring as a class of semi-divine beings in the tales of the *Mahāvastu* <sup>14</sup>, and in the reliefs on the third and fourth galleries of the Borobudur, illustrating the Mahāyāna texts of the *Gandavyūha* (e.g. relief IIIB 42) and *Bhadracarī* (e.g. reliefs IV 35-IV 38) <sup>15</sup>.

More Indian texts, namely the *Lalitavistara*, the *Lokaprajñapti*, the *Avatamśakasūtra* and the *Vairocanasambodhi Tantra*, have now been quoted at the present seminar as additional inspiring sources for this series of reliefs at Borobudur <sup>16</sup>.

### Convention, modification, re-modelling, and interpolation

The traditional and conventional language of symbols, common

<sup>13</sup> See Spence Hardy 1967: 37, 44; Coedès et Archaimbault 1973; *Traibhumikatha* 1983 : 24-25; Quaritch Wales 1977: 49.

<sup>14</sup> *Mahāvastu*, I: 165, 295.

<sup>15</sup> Bosch 1938; Fontein 1967; Bernet Kempers 1976: 121-141.

<sup>16</sup> See papers presented at this seminar by Prof. Kalpakam Sankarnarayan and Prof. Lokesh Chandra.

in Buddhist and Hindu visual art, had been applied in profusion, especially in the scenes depicting religious or mythological subjects. In Fig.17 we recognize the sitting stance of the kings of the *garudas* and *nāgas*, being based on the majestic *mahārajalīlāsana* posture of Indian iconography. Furthermore, conventional hand-poses, based on the *varamudrā*, *abhayamudrā*, *vitarkamudrā*, *añjalimudrā*, and other attitudes of deference, had also been drawn from the common repertory of the Buddhist/Hindu language of symbols. Nevertheless, we notice an obvious relaxation of the rigid Indian rules of imagery for the sake of balance and to create a more suitable composition for the sculptured scenarios. The use of the left hand for the gestures prescribed by the Indian rules to be exclusively performed by the right hand, had become permissible, while the meanings of many conventional hand-poses had also become extended in many instances. The *varamudra* shown with open palm can now mean either giving or receiving, or even asking for charity, and in many cases the one gesture can indicate both giving (to supplicants) and receiving (from servants and admirers) (see Fig.13). The use of the *vitarkamudra* for teaching, for expounding the doctrine and for intellectual discussion, is also often extended to suggest friendly addressing, as well as a conversation in general (see Fig.14). The *abhayamudra* - the traditional gesture for protection and reassurance - had been used at times for the opposites, to mean rejection and forbidding. In addition to these conventional gestures borrowed from ancient Indian tradition, we also encounter an extensive use of spontaneous and natural body language to achieve more meaningful and more lively expressions<sup>17</sup>. The sculptors appear to have been given a wide range of freedom to apply their creative reasoning and artistic ingenuity when it was not the matter of strictly religious principles.

---

<sup>17</sup> See also Fontein 1989: 85-101



Other conventional items of physical appearance and dress, such as the sober attire and the matted locks of ascetics, rich and sumptuous ornaments of kings and princes, as well as inanimate objects, e.g. boxes and pots of treasure, bundles of cloths, and large vessels for plenty of food and drink, were also used to indicate the way of life as well as the material wealth and physical comfort of the subjects. A *kamandalu* - the spouted jar and typical water-container used by ascetics, frequently in combination with a simple umbrella - tells us of the users' profession or way of life (See Fig. 14). Vases of lotus flowers often appeared in scenes of auspicious gatherings, suggesting purified atmosphere as well as the dynamics and successful outcome of the occasions. Proper kinds of offerings for respectful persons and institutions, e.g. flowers, garlands, incense, fragrant powder scented oil, repeatedly seen in scenes of reverence and worship, remain part of the traditional culture of Indonesia to the present day.

Animated components, such as birds and animals, were also applied alongside tell-tale inanimate objects to suggest the atmosphere of the places, e.g. relaxing and peaceful, or wild and turbulent with violent actions (see Figs. 6, 15).

Conventional scenarios of happiness, such as is considered sublime in the World of Desire, were constantly applied to wealthy households (Figs. 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13), royal courts (Figs. 18, 23) and paradise (Figs. 22, 24)). These scenes would have been inspired to a large extent by early Indian narrative reliefs and paintings, such as found in abundance at Bharhut, Sāñcī, Amāravatī, Nāgārjunikonda and Ajantā. A standard formula, nevertheless, had been evolved in Java, as shown in this series and in other sets of reliefs at Borobudur. In these, we see the idealized features of Happiness (*bhoga*) - conventionally expressed in terms of wealth and well-being in all conceivable aspects

of life in the sphere of desires - being summed up and re-moulded into standard depictions of wealthy and happy households, replete with luxuries that ensure good and comfortable living, much sensual delights and entertainment, fulfilled love and complete family life (Figs.6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13). Happiness is further shown enhanced and intensified by pleasant physical appearance, prestigious birth and high intelligence, authority, fame and praises, admiration and respect from others (Fig.14). Idealized court scenes (see Fig.18) are largely an elaboration of the standard depictions of wealthy householders, now enriched with more items of luxury, more wealth and more authority. These include standards bearing royal insignias standing besides extra large containers of treasures, and occasionally the presence of a royal chaplain. Representations of the king of kings, or the World Conquerer (*cakravartin*) (see Fig. 23) - conceptually and visually based on ancient Indian models - are further enriched by the *saptaratna*, the traditional and characteristic possessions of the kings of kings.

Visual revelations of paradise in the Sphere of Desires (*kāmadhātu/kāmaloka*) are largely enriched versions of the theme of sublime happiness conceivable on earth, shown with more resplendent physical forms and magnified material wealth and comfort, and are specially marked by a fabulous wishing tree that grants all desires. In these we observe the same manifold revelations of happiness, including a beautiful appearance, the fulfilment of sensual love in the embrace of lady companions, physical comfort as shown by servants holding flywhisk and presenting perfumes and fragrant flowers, plus extreme great wealth expressed in the display of sumptuous residence and ornate throne, jewels, pearl-strings and gem-studded crown hanging in abundance on the wishing tree. Large and full pots of treasures crowd the base of this fabulous growth, on top of which reposes an ornate parasol

- symbol of kingship, great honour and authority, further enhanced with more symbols of heavenly enjoyments, shown in the presence of celestial musicians (*gandharvas*), and fairy-like *kinnaras* - talented musicians and dancers who also are paragons of eternal conjugal love and faithfulness (see Figs. 22, 24). All traditional symbols of material wealth and happiness have their far origins in the early art of India <sup>18</sup>, but are here assembled and remoulded into a compact and delightful standard formula of the wishing tree (*kalpatāru*), which motif appears in practically every scene of heavens in the Sphere of Desires at Borobudur.

Depictions of the paradise and its inhabitants are usually conventional, standardized, impersonal and repetitive, and yet there are exceptions. In a number of scenes showing paradise and celestial beings, we come across a particular type of enthroned figures, distinguished from the other inhabitants of heavens especially by corpulent body and extra-opulent look, being frequently attended by H semi-divine *yaksa* and *yaksinis* (e.g. reliefs nos. 0 83, 0 143, 0 160) (Fig. 24). Such figures show many characteristic iconic traits of Kubera, the God of wealth, who, according to certain Buddhist traditions, reigns in his sumptuous paradise called Alakamanda on the slope of the cosmic mountain. The priestly designer obviously had a good repertory of knowledge of Buddhist art and iconography, through which he enriched this set of reliefs by occasionally giving them deeper or more specific meanings than those imparted to him by the main guiding texts alone.

Another testimony of such an extensive store of knowledge can be found reflected in another scene of paradise as depicted in Fig. 22. The celestial inhabitants - in this case a handsome god and his four elegant wives - are shown strolling in their paradise which is marked

---

<sup>18</sup> See Coomaraswamy 1938, II: 13-71; Bosch 1960: 101-228.



with the usual theme of a wishing tree. Nevertheless, the surroundings look like a pleasure park enclosing fabulous flowering trees and a beautiful lotus pond, centred round a magnificent building which has an appearance of a stone temple of the Śailendras style of Central Java, positioned against the outlines of a rock, over which expand the leafy branches of a big tree. Many features observed in this relief recall the descriptions of the *Trayastrimśika/Tāvātimsaka* heaven of Indra, the king of the gods, said to be situated on the summit of the cosmic Mountain Meru. The most distinctive landmarks of this paradise consist of the magnificent *Nandanāvana* garden, the wondrous never-fading *puskariṇī* (lotus pond), the fabulous and much coveted *Parichattaka* wishing tree, and last but not least, the sacred shrine containing the crest-jewel (*cūdāmani /culāmani*) of Prince Siddhārtha, discarded by him on the day he entered the religious life. This was received by the gods who took it to be enshrined for worship in the paradise of Indra<sup>19</sup>. It is quite possible that the male god *cum* the leader of the group in this case was meant to represent Indra, the Lord of this paradise himself, known in literature to have four beautiful wives who accompanied him through many past lives<sup>20</sup>.

Such allusions to the god of wealth Kubera and to the paradise of Indra, would have been special interpolations made by the priest-designer of this set of reliefs. No references to such themes have been found in any version of the *Karmavibhaṅga*.

The hell scenes, dramatic and depicted with amazingly variant and precise details of punishment and torture meted out for each particular type of crime, appear to be most closely related to such descriptions as are preserved in the *Mahāvastu* and certain Chinese translations

<sup>19</sup> See also Chutiwongs 2008b.

<sup>20</sup> Malalasekera 1960, I: 76-83; II: 647-648; Cowell 1969, I: 76-83.

of the *Karmavibhangga* <sup>21</sup>, as well as in some Theravāda literature, including the *Jāta* Book of the Pali Canon <sup>22</sup> and the *Traibhūmikathā* of Thailand <sup>23</sup>.

### **Repetitive scenarios**

Scenes of donation are numerous, since the acts of Charity (*dāna*), which constitute the main emphasis of the *Karmavibhangga* text, had been faithfully and plentifully made manifest in this set of reliefs. It is quite true that these scenes and scenarios appear repetitive, and are often critically referred to as monotonous, redundant and superfluous.

Repetition, first of all, has its own merit, besides being a traditional and time-honoured method for learning and memorizing facts. One must not overlook a common practice among the Buddhists and Hindus, of repeating sacred words or syllables time and again to activate energy or to achieve the one-pointedness state of mind. Likewise, we also know the practice of repeating and re-creating sacred forms or visions, such as those forming the themes of the 'Thousand Buddhas', 'Thousand *lingas*' and 'Thousand Visnus', upon which constant repetitions would have produced similar effects<sup>24</sup>. Such repetitions of words or themes also help to impress the same message time and again on the mind, to subsequently activate it with built up energy, or to bring it to concentration and absolute peace. One can well imagine that the acts of envisioning and contemplating on scenes of charity time and again could keep the mind constantly focused on this most significant type of merit.

---

<sup>21</sup> *Mahāvastu*, I: 6-21; Hikata 1981: 106-112; Fontein 1989: 35.

<sup>22</sup> See Cowell 1969, V: 53-67, 123-125

<sup>23</sup> *Traibhūmikathā* 1983 : 6-20

<sup>24</sup> See Zwalf 1985: 224, 225, 268 (nos. 328, 329, 391); Chutiwongs 2002: 240.

Nevertheless, a closer observation of these seemingly repetitive scenarios of donation and reward reveals that these actually contain variations and probably have an additional message to impart to observant spectators. The donors and performers of all meritorious actions belonged to different social groups, so were the recipients of alms, respect and offerings, as can be seen from their dresses and other associated details. The donors were shown as rich as well as poor or in between, as high as well as low in social rank, while the offerings they present differed according to their status and financial means. Recipients were also of a different variety, being monks, *brahmins*, other types of holy men, as well as mendicants, beggars and other needy or less fortunate human beings. In some (Fig.10), the donors seem to have been well-to-do commoners, while the recipient was a Buddhist monk. In another instance (Fig.8), the donors wear rich garments indicative of a high or even royal rank, and the recipients were a group of holy men who may or may not have been *brahmin* priests.

An important message which can be drawn from these seemingly repetitive scenes now seems quite clear, that generosity and charity (*dāna*) - the most characteristic type of Buddhist merit emphasized by the *Karmavibhanga* texts and by this series of sculpture - is not confined to any class/type of beings, nor measured by the quantities or the material values of the gift. Large or small, the subsequent rewards of these and of all other good deeds are essentially the same, expressed in terms of material gain and heaven as well as of spiritual merit that builds up the path to *nirvāna*.

Moreover, we may include here another remark that such depictions of many types of holy man who were considered worthy of respect and gift, reflect a remarkable degree of religious tolerance. These scenes may or may not reflect the true situation at and around



Borobudur during the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but at least they announce the ideological religious norm professed by the Śailendras, expressed in figurative visual terms at their key- religious foundation : Borobudur.

### The thought of *nirvāṇa*

Throughout the *Karmavibhangga* text, and throughout this entire series of sculptured panels, the rewards are repeatedly and consistently specified. The performers of good deeds '*will enjoy happiness (in life), upon death will attain heaven and will subsequently enter nirvana*'<sup>25</sup>.

Graphic and visual depictions of Happiness (*bhoga/ atibhoga*) and Heaven (*svarga/swargga*) , were repeatedly made visible in this set of reliefs by the display of rich surroundings and celestial glory, but how could *nirvāṇa* be depicted ?

Going through these seemingly repetitive reliefs, we notice a regular occurrence of certain details which must have been purposefully inserted by their designer. Surprisingly, most of the chief characters of the scenes of reward both in human world and in heaven, wear a *yogapatta*, a conventional Indian item usually and specifically applied to religious figures, or to persons absorbed in religious contemplation. In several reliefs of this series, we see rich householders, kings and even nimbate gods wearing this accessory for meditation when they are shown in the middle of exuberance, great wealth and overwhelming sensual enjoyments (see Figs. 6, 11, 12, 19). This could have been an instilled message of the priestly designer to reflect the thought of spiritual liberation that should be the goal of all lives, to be kept aglow in the mind at all times and in all circumstances<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> See Lévi 1932: 145-150; Krom 1933: 46-59; Fontein 1989: 55-67.

<sup>26</sup> Different interpretations regarding the use of the *yogapatta* have been suggested by Prof. Lokesh Chandra and Manjushree Gupta in their papers presented at this seminar

In support of this supposition, we may also draw attention to the body attitude of many figures of rich man, prince, king, and god, when sitting enthroned amidst sumptuous wealth, and being entertained, venerated and adored by others – they deliberately turn their face away from all these. The panels illustrated in Figs. 12 and 19 are only a few examples of the many ‘turning away from pleasure’ scenes, in this set of reliefs.

There also seem to be more allusions to *nirvāna*. Sumptuous buildings imitating the ornate temple style of the Śailendras, appeared in many instances as part of scenes of everyday life on human plane (Fig.12), as well as of life in heaven (Fig.19). These structures were certainly meant to represent Buddhist temples which conceptually functioned as the seat of spiritual upliftment and of the ultimate *nirvāna*, to be distinguished from buildings in light materials for residential purposes. We believe that they are there to represent the thought of *nirvana*, that must be the ultimate goal of life, not to forget even when enjoying extreme worldly happiness or the bliss of paradise. Many chief persons of these scenes also deliberately turned their face away from the phenomena of sensual delights and transient heavenly glory, towards a temple which was standing nearby (Fig.19). This supposed message of *nirvāna* - repeatedly and consistently emphasized by the *Karmavibhangga* and carried out in pictorial terms by the designer and the sculptors of Borobudur - becomes even clearer through the designer's insertion of figures of meditating monks and ascetics among the scenes of paradise among the scenes which are generally believed to depict the heavens of the *Rūpadhātu* sphere (reliefs nos. 0103-0108). The four meditating monk-like figures in Fig. 20 most probably represent the four stages of meditation in the *Rūpadhātu* that would bring one up to the higher sphere of Formlessness (*Arūpadhātu*) as advised by the *Karmavibhangga* <sup>27</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Krom 1933: 29; Fontein 1989: 45-46.

No depiction of the ethereal *Arūpadhātu* itself has been found in these relief, since it is only natural that one cannot visualize that which is formless and undefinable. The last and concluding panel of the series on the Hidden Base (Fig.24) contains another scene of paradise, replete with its treasures and enjoyments, followed by a scenario of four meditating recluses. The ultimate message of the *Karmavibhangga* appears to be most clearly underlined, that Paradise - the highest reward to be expected in the Sphere of Desire - is definitely not the ultimate goal of the believers. The following step to be taken, is to isolate oneself from the palatial sphere of sensual delights and everything it stands for, to go to meditate in a quiet place, to acquire more knowledge and true wisdom which would build up new steps towards *nirvana*, as explicitly underlined by the last stanza of the *Karmavibhangga* <sup>28</sup>.

If one would follow the sequence in clockwise direction from panel 1 to 160 (see Fig.2), one would come back to the stairway on the eastern side which was obviously meant to serve as the main ascent up the monument. From this lowest base, now covered but not completely obliterated, a pilgrim would be expected to climb up the steps to what has now become the first gallery of Borobudur, to reach the purified level of the World of Desire, namely the world of the Bodhisattvas – the beings whose mind has become purified and is now bent entirely on *bodhi* (Enlightenment). Having left behind them and below them all confusions and chaos of ordinary human life, the pilgrims ascend the more purified worlds, visually unfolded on the upper levels of Borobudur.

Such a journey through the various spheres of life reminds us of the quest of King Nemi, as told in lengthy details in the Nemi Jātaka of the Theravāda Buddhists. Nemi, a great and perfect king in

---

<sup>28</sup> Lévi 1932: 150-151; Krom 1933: 60-61.



possession of all the best of the human world and all its pleasures, was taken by the gods to hells and heavens to observe the conditions of life in these worlds. Wisely and subsequently, he decided to leave all these behind, to isolate himself from the alternating joy and sorrow of human existence, from the hells of darkness and miseries and the resplendent but transient heavens, to set his mind resolutely on the path to *Nirvāna*. When illustrating Nemi Jātaka, temple paintings of Myanmar, Thailand and Sri Lanka frequently show similar scenes of heavens and hell such as exemplified in Fig.25. It is remarkable that the series of 19<sup>th</sup> century wall paintings at Karagampitiya in Southern Sri Lanka (Chutiwongs, Prematilleke and Silva, *Karagampitiya* , pls.13-23) (Fig.26) contains in particular many depictions of action and result which are remarkably close in their manner of depiction to those shown in this set of sculptured panels at Borobudur.

### **The encasement of the reliefs**

All these and more suggest that the priest-designer of the reliefs had performed quite an admirable and successful task, to convey the messages of the *Karmavibhangga* – an indisputably major text which must have been held in high esteem by the Buddhists all over the world – through figurative forms. He had successfully followed the guidelines of this edifying text, while modifying and filling up the story-line with his own admirable perceptions, visions and judgement. This must have been a successful operation which had evidently been approved and carried out almost to completion, but then the operation ceased, and the entire base together with all its reliefs were covered, enclosed and hidden within a new base.

What could have happened ?

Many theories and conjectures have been put forwards. These can be summed up in two trends of thought, whether the base was covered for technical structural/architectural reasons, or for conceptual/religious reasons. My own study has led me to a conjecture in favour of the religious motivations.

Much have been said about the religiously or conceptually 'unsuitable' features of this set of reliefs in relations to Buddhist thinking, as well as in the eyes of the later priest-architect of Borobudur, who must have been the one who gave order for the encasement of the old base. Stutterheim<sup>29</sup> has put his fingers on the violent nature of the many hell scenes, with their many gruesome forms of severe punishment, ghastly and elaborately unfolded in front of the spectators' eyes (see Figs. 15,16). It is true that the quantity/ratio of such revelations of violence is in an even-handed balance with happy scenes of good deeds and their fabulous rewards, thus forming a fair balance between the show of the negatives and that of the positives<sup>30</sup>. And yet, we notice that the 'positive' scenes of rewards are rather stereotypical and quite cursory unfolded, usually without any specification or distinguished detail, in contrast with those elaborate depictions of the retributions in the hells. The *Karmavibhanga* itself actually gives only cursory references to the rebirth in hells without further specifications. Vivid, dramatic and variant descriptions of the many types of hells were obviously drawn by the priest-designer from other sources. The emphasis of his intent and his presentation did appear to lie heavily and more purposefully on such violent 'negative' and gruesome scenes.

It is true that these scenes of torture and suffering tell us of the facts of life in accordance with the true conviction of the Buddhists

---

<sup>29</sup> Stutterheim 1956.

<sup>30</sup> See Fontein 1989: 70.

- those hard and unpleasant facts which are part of the immutable law of cause and result. And yet, we can reason further that these pertain to the negative side of the ultimate truth - the unwholesome side that diligent practitioners should not concentrate upon. It has always been a common practice among Buddhists and Hindus to constantly direct their thought and their mind to positive matters that will bring good results for spiritual progress and final liberation. Hell scenes usually form part of visual depictions of Buddhist cosmology only when these explain the complete geography of the universe, but are rarely included in designs made for spiritual upliftment on which worshippers are meant to focus upon. Parallel examples of diagrams for progressive meditation and contemplation can be found almost everywhere, e.g. in the ritual art of Tibet <sup>31</sup>, as well as in the auspicious patterns which we find engraved or painted on Southeast Asian depictions of the foot-symbols of the Buddha. Examples of the Buddha's foot-symbol from Thailand and Myanmar frequently reveal in such schematic and systematic diagrams, the auspicious and positive components of the universe, generally defined as *mangala* (auspicious features), which are believed to assemble on the foot-soles of the Master. Sculptured depictions of such symbols represent objects of worship, regularly installed for veneration in a shrine of their own in Thai and Burmese temple complexes <sup>32</sup>. In Myanmar of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries and beyond, paintings of a pair of such sacred foot-marks often adorn the summit of the vault that expands over the worshipping hall, to symbolically shower down blessings upon the believers <sup>33</sup>. From Thailand, we have a.o. inscriptions explaining the purpose of the making and dedication of such foot-symbols of the Buddha, e.g. 'for the good progress (*hitaya*)

<sup>31</sup> See for example Waddell 1895: facing p. 78.

<sup>32</sup> See Chutiwongs 1990a and 1990b.

<sup>33</sup> See Chutiwongs 1990b: figs. 24 and 25.



and spiritual happiness (*sukhaya*) of the venerable monks'<sup>34</sup> On such visual designs to generate the upliftment and purification of the mind, only elements of the good worlds (*sugati*), namely the human world , the six heavens of the Sphere of Desire (*kāmadhātu*), and the sixteen higher heavens of the *Rūpadhātu* are depicted, and nothing at all from the darker, lower and unhappy worlds of the animals, the hungry ghosts and the hells.

A similar concept, based on the auspicious features (*mangalas/sarvamangalas*) which will bring good tiding, prosperity and success, is also found visually depicted and elaborated many times in the reliefs on the third and fourth galleries of Borobudur itself (a.o. reliefs III 51-III 77; IV B 1- IV B17). While the texts repeatedly refer to 'all dominions of the universe' where the grace and compassion of the Buddha and the redeeming force of Buddhahood extend , no visual depictions of the unhappy worlds of hells were represented on the upper galleries of Borobudur<sup>35</sup>.

This trend of thought and practice, favoured by the Buddhists in general, probably applies to the set-up of Borobudur which was obviously not primarily meant to give lessons in Buddhist cosmology or to educate the general public. Buddhist *stūpas* and temples are, as a rule, open to all, and Borobudur itself would have also been opened to all those who came to worship under the supervision of the monks who had their residences close to the monument. But in practice, it is probable that the mass would have come there only on special occasions, such as at festivals or annual or other commemorative celebrations, to bring their offerings and to worship. They would receive blessings and insurance of merit, then dispersed in the same way we see today at

<sup>34</sup> *Corpus of Inscriptions* 1991, vol.7: 53-58.

<sup>35</sup> See Bosch 1938; Bernet Kempers 1976: 121-141.

sacred places. Only serious practitioners, such as pilgrims and monks, would have stayed on for more prayers or meditation <sup>36</sup>.

The set up of Borobudur indeed conforms to that of diagrams for contemplation and meditation, which conventionally exclude 'negative' elements of evil thought and deeds, of mistakes and violence – those non-beneficial elements that would only gather like dusts of defilement to cloud and weigh down the mind on its upwards surge to purity and Salvation.

The second feature that could have made this set of reliefs 'unsuitable' and 'unwholesome' in the eyes of the new priest-architect of Borobudur is its opening scene (Fig.4). Not only that there is no visual depiction of the usual conventional auspicious opening, such as we usually find in sacred texts, to worship and invoke the blessing of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas <sup>37</sup>, this series of reliefs begins with an explosion of extremely violent deeds, of killing and taking lives of the innocence, accompanied by a joyful but completely misplaced celebration at that very place of killing. Such cannot be considered auspicious either to the founder nor to the users of the sacred monument. Buddhists, Hindus and other ancient belief systems attach much importance to the auspicious opening of any enterprise, considering it the first step towards success and smooth as well as prosperous undertaking. This violent opening scene would have shocked or at least disturbed the new priestly advisor of the Śailendras, who succeeded the first designer to take charge of their later building activities including the final phase of Borobudur.

Finally, we refer to the last feature that may have been

---

<sup>36</sup>Current practices in many countries, see also Chutiwongs and Prematilleke 1995: 9.

<sup>37</sup>See a.o. *Mahāvastu* I: 1; *Buddhacarita*, *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, *Vajracchedikā*, *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*, in *Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts* 1968; Emmerick 1970.

considered 'unsuitable' by the new priest-designer of Borobudur. Both the sculptured panels and the major text that inspired them, the *Karmavibhangga*, breathe out an ancient Buddhist principle which is still strongly adhered to by orthodox Theravāda Buddhists. In all the hell scenes of torment and suffering (Figs. 15,16), the victims are entirely on their own, mercilessly and helplessly punished by their very own past deeds. This feature followed the *Karmavibhangga*, which text contains no references whatsoever to the tenet of Universal Love and Compassion as condensed and crystallized in *Bodhisattva* worship – the main characteristic of the Mahāyāna religion. The same orthodox trend of strict self-reliance is reflected in all panels dealing with suffering and punishments. In hells and in the unhappy worlds of the hungry ghosts and the animals, all the sufferers are entirely on their own, unconditionally punished by the inevitable consequences of their own past deeds. This projection and clear revelation of absolute self-reliance would have clashed uncomfortably with the spirits of the Mahāyāna, the religion of the Śāilendras, centred as it were round the worship of the *Bodhisattva* Saviours and *Tārā* Saviouresses, as testified by their monuments and inscriptions<sup>38</sup>, and as being repeatedly and consistently unfolded in all manners on the first, second, third and fourth galleries of Borobudur itself. The usual Mahāyāna way of depicting such scenes of torment and suffering would have been to add an image of the Saviour, either in the form of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva, to tell the believers that the redeeming force of the good doctrine is everywhere, effective in the happy worlds as well as in the darkest and the most miserable of all hells (Fig. 27). Theravāda practitioners of the later times, were also inclined to make certain exceptions to this severe and orthodox law of self-help, by devising a figure of an enlightened disciple of the Buddha

<sup>38</sup> See De Casparis 1950; 1956; 1961; Dumarçay 1978; Soekmono 1995.



called Maliyathera or Phra Malai, who would have visited heavens and hells, especially to bring some relief and redeeming messages to the sufferers in the infernal worlds <sup>39</sup> (Fig.28).

The belief in the presence of the Buddha and of his blessings in the six worlds of transmigration is expressed a.o. in such Mahāyāna texts as the *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra*<sup>40</sup> and in the doctrine that probably formed the basis of Tibetan Buddhism <sup>41</sup>. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Bhadracarī*, visually unfolded on the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> galleries of Borobudur, also constantly underline the concept of ‘the Buddhas of all Dominions’, as being present in all spheres of life. Furthermore, Maitreya - the next Buddha- sets examples for all Buddhas of the future including Samantabhadra and Sudhana who play important roles in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Bhadracarī* depicted on these upper terraces, to preach and to save living beings of all kinds and of all forms, high and low, good and wicked, happy and miserable, in all the six dominions, in the ten quarters and the three time spans of the universe <sup>42</sup> (see a.o. reliefs nos. III 67-III 76; IV 2 –IV 72). The severe principle of self-help, strongly underlined in this set of reliefs, would not have been found suitable for the Mahāyāna teachings as professed in 9<sup>th</sup> century Java.

There seem to have been many ‘unsuitable’ aspects of this set of reliefs in the eyes of the new priest-designer of Borobudur. Certain changes in religious perception could have been expected to take place during the many decades involved in the construction of Borobudur. The Śailendras’ inscriptions, dating from 778 AD to the first half of the

<sup>39</sup> Denis 1965; Chutiwongs 2008a.

<sup>40</sup> See Emmerick 1970: 18.

<sup>41</sup> See underlying concepts in Tibetan Book of the Dead, see Evan-Wentz 1936; Fremantle and Chogyam Trungpa 1975.

<sup>42</sup> See note 35.

9<sup>th</sup> century, contain unmistakable indications of new religious trends that entered their world during this period. One or more of the later *gurus*, acting as chief architect-designers of the Śailendras' sacred foundations, must have been responsible for the change of plan at Borobudur, and likewise to the encasement of its original base. The decision to remove this series had obviously been taken before the base was entirely finished, possibly simultaneously with the making of the new structural plan for the monument, which includes a new design for all its terraces. This, according to Dumarçay would have taken place around 792 AD <sup>43</sup>.

A support to our theory to argue for religious motivations for the encasement of the original base can be found in the 1890/1891 photographs made of the now hidden reliefs. Looking at the images preserved in these photographs, it occurs to us that there had been distinctively systematic and careful efforts to delete the sculptured reliefs figure by figure and panel by panel at different sections of the monument (the most heavily damaged panels are in the western section of the southern side ( reliefs nos. 045, 046, 049 and more). Indications of such extraordinary efforts for removal are clearly seen in many of Céphas' photographs such as shown in Fig.11. Most of the figures and their sculptured background appear to have been removed with much concentrated intention and care approaching respect, not at all in consonance with actions one would expect from iconoclasts. It is unlikely that such were acts of vandalism, viciously carried out during the very short period when the base had been exposed. Old report tell us that the reliefs had been uncovered section by section to be photographed, then covered up immediately again afterwards <sup>44</sup>. Obviously, there

---

<sup>43</sup> Dumarçay 1978: 21-36, 67.

<sup>44</sup> IJzerman 1881; Van Erp 1929; Suhamir 1948, Bernet Kempers 1976: 70-77.

had been no time nor opportunity for vandalism to attack the panels. Archaeological works were also going on at that time at and around Borobudur, so that that the monument would have been under constant supervision of the Archaeological Service and their dedicated officers. It stands to reason that any attempt to delete the sculptured scenes must have been made **before** the new architect-designer decided to encase the entire lower base altogether within the new terrace that formed part of the new structural design of Borobudur.

The main purpose was obviously to blot out this conceptually 'unsuitable' series from the visions of the on-lookers. The operation would have begun by having the components of the scenes chiselled away part by part. This rash and uncommon decision - actually and essentially involving a destruction, even partly, of a religious monument - was evidently terminated after sometime, to be replaced by a more proper method of renovation and remodelling sacred monuments, namely, **to enclose the old structure within a new shell**. Such encasement, if properly done, is not considered sinful destruction, but, on the contrary, can be seen as an act of merit. This has been a common practice of the Buddhists since the ancient times, in India, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Kambuja and Thailand <sup>45</sup>. Fig.29 shows an X-ray image of Mahiyangana, one of the earliest *stūpas* believed to have been built in Sri Lanka at the site where the Buddha himself landed during his lifetime, recorded to have been embellished, renovated and enlarged many times through the centuries. A similar device was also evidently applied to at least two other sacred monuments of the Śailendras in Java: Candi Kalasan and Candi Mendut, where archaeologists have found a brick construction presumably dating from about 778 AD, being enclosed in another structure of stone, built around it some decades later <sup>46</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> For example see Boisselier 1966: 118-120; Quaritch Wales 1969: 34-38.

<sup>46</sup> See description in Bernet Kempers 1976: 214-215; Dumarçay 1978: 36.



The damaged panels and their photographic images from 1890-1891 thus tell their story, which is to be interpreted in favour of religious motivations and ideological changes to encase the original base including - or rather because of - its 'unsuitable' and 'unhappy' sculptured components. There could have been technical and structural changes during the many decades of the building operations, but no architectural requirements would have been the primary reasons for the base to be covered in such manner. Had structural re-inforcement been the primary concern or a dire necessity, there would have been no need to waste time nor labour to carefully scrape away the sculptured scenes first before encasing them forever in a shell of stone.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Badil, R./N.Rangkuti, Jakarta 1989. *Rahasia di kaki Borobudur, The Hidden Foot of Borobudur*, Jakarta.
- Bernet Kempers, A.J. 1955. Borobudur's Verborgen Voet, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, vol.111, pp. 215-235.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1976. *Ageless Borobudur*, Wassenaar : Servire.
- Boisselier, J.1966. *Le Cambodge*, Manuel d'archéologie d'Extrême-Orient. 1ere partie, Tome I, Paris: éd. A. et J. Picard et Cie.
- Le Bonheur, A.1968. Quelques images des bas-reliefs ensevelis du Barrabudur, *Arts Asiatiques*, tome XVIII. pp.119-168.
- Bosch, F.D.K.1920. Het Aksobhya-beeld van Gondang Lor, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia/'s-Gravenhage, vol.59, pp.498-528.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1938. De Bhadracarī afgebeeld op den hoofdmuur der vierde gaanderij van den Baraboedoer, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, vol.97, pp. 241-294.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1960. *The Golden Germ*, An Introduction to Indian Symbolism, The Hague.
- Buddhist Mahāyāna Texts*, 1968. Sacred Book of the East, vol.49, repr., Delhi Motilal Banarsidass.
- De Casparis, J.G.1950. *Prasasti Indonesia I : Inscriptie uit de Śailendra-Tijd*, Thesis, Bandung.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1956. *Prasasti Indonesia II*, Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A.D., Bandung : Dinas purbakala Republik Indonesia.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1961. New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and

- Ceylon in Ancient Times, *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 24, pp. 241-248.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1975. *Indonesian Palaeography, A History of Writing in Indonesia from the Beginnings to c. A.D. 1500*, Handbuch der Orientalistik, Leiden/Koln : Brill.
- Chhabra, B.Ch. 1965. *Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture During Pallava Rule*, Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal.
- Chutiwongs, N. 1990a. The Buddha's Footprints. A preliminary Study, in *Ancient Ceylon*, no.10, pp.59-116.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1990b. *Buddha's Footprints in South and Southeast Asia* (in Thai), Bangkok : Muang Boran Publication.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2002. *The Iconography of Avalokiteśvara in Mainland South-East Asia*, revised ed., New Delhi : Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008a. An *Arhat* in the Other Worlds, Paper presented to the International Conference on Buddhism in Asia: Unity in Diversity, K.J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies, Mumbai 10-13 January.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008b. A Relic Shrine in Paradise, in *Felicitation Volume Roland Silva*, ed. Nandana Chutiwongs and Nimal de Silva, Colombo: Central Cultural Fund, pp. 37-47.
- Chutiwongs, N. and L. Prematilleke, 1995. Buddhist Icons: Image, Shrine and Ritual, in *The Heritage of Sri Lankan Bronze Sculpture*, Colombo: Department of National Museums, pp.4-10.
- Chutiwongs, N., L. Prematilleke & R. Silva, 2005. *Karagampitiya, Ridiyihara*, 2 volumes in the series : Paintings of Sri Lanka, Monographs published by the Archaeological Department of Sri Lanka & Central Cultural Fund, Colombo, 1990-2005.
- Coedès, G. 1968. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, Honolulu : East-West Centre.



- Coedès, G. et C. Archaimbault.1973. *Les Trois Mondes (Traibhūmi Brah R'van)*, Publication Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, vl. 89, Paris.
- Coomaraswamy, A.K.1971. *Yaksas*, repr. ed., 2 vols., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Corpus of Inscriptions* (in Thai), 1991. Bangkok: National Committee for Publications of Historical Documents, vol.7.
- Cowell, E.B. (ed.).1969. *The Jātakas, or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births*, translated from the Pali by various hands, London: Pali Text Society, repr. ed.
- Denis, E.1965. L'origine cingalaise du P'rah Malay, *Felicitaton Volumes of Southeast Asian Studies presented to H.H. Prince Dhaninivat on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*, Bangkok: Siam Society, Vol.II, pp. 329-338.
- Dumarçay, J.1978. *Borobudur*, Oxford etc.: Oxford University Press.
- Emmerick, R.E.1970. *The Sutra of Golden Light*, Being a Translation of the *Suvarṇabhasottamasūtra*, London : Luzac & Co.
- Van Erp, Th.1929. De Ommanteling van Barabudur's Oorspronkelijke Voet, *Feestbundel Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap*, I, Weltevreden, pp. 120-160.
- Evans-Wentz, W.Y.1936. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, or the After-Death experiences on the Bardo Plane, according to Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English Rendering, London: Oxford University Press, 2nd impression.
- Fontein, J. 1967. The Pilgrimage of Sudhana, A Study of the Gandavyūha illustrations in China, Japan and Java, The Hague/Paris: Mouton & Co.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1989. *The Law of Cause and Effect in ancient Java*, Verhandeling Kon. Ned. Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Deel 140, Amsterdam etc.

- Fremantle, F. and Chogyam Trungpa.1975. *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, A new translation with commentary, London: Shambala.
- Hikata, R.1981. Buddhist Scripture and the Wall Reliefs of Borobudur, *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chandi Borobudur*, Tokyo, pp.105-127.
- Kern, H.1907. De Wij-inscriptie op het Amoghapaca-beeld van Padang Tjandi (Batang Hari-districten), *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia- 's- Gravenhage, vol.49, pp. 159-170.
- Krom, N.J. 1933. *Het Karmawibhangga op Borobudur*, Mededeling der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, dl.76, Amsterdam.
- Krom, N.J. en T. van Erp.1920. *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, Archaeologisch Onderzoek in Nederlandsch-Indie, 2 dl. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Lévi , S.1931. The Karmavibhanga illustrated in the sculpture of the buried basement of the Barabudur, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Leiden, pp.1-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1932. *Mahā-Karmavibhanga (La grande classification des actes) et Karmavibhangopadeśa (Discussion sur le Māha Karmavibhanga)* Paris.
- The Mahāvastu*, 1949. translated from the Buddhist Sanskrit by J.J. Jones, 3 vols., Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol.XVI, London : Luzac & Company, Ltd.pp. 6-46,
- Malalasekera, G.P.1960.*Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, London : PaliText Society, 2 vols.
- Nakamura, H.1986.Indian Buddhism, A Survey with bibliographical Notes, *Buddhist Tradition Series*, vol.I, ed. A. Wayman, Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass.

- Pelliot P. et Gauthiot R.1926- 1928. *Le Sutra des causes et des effets*, Transcription, traduction, commentaires et Index, Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale, 2 fascicules, Paris.
- (Sogdian Ms. Tun Huang + translation Chinese text, vol.I : 2 :1 (1926) ; Index 1 :2 :2 (1928).
- Phra Bot (in Thai)*, 2002. Handbook of an exhibition on the occasion of Thai Cultural Heritage Preservation, National Gallery of the National Museum, Bangkok, B.E. 2545.
- Quaritch Wales, H.G.1969. *Dvaravati*, The Earliest Kingdom of Siam (6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), London: Bernard Quaritch.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1977. *The Universe around them*, Cosmology and Cosmic Renewal in Indianized South-east Asia, London : A. Probsthain.
- Rattanakosin Painting (in Thai)* 1982, Bangkok : Committee for the Celebration of 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Bangkok, B.E. 2525 (1982).
- Sarkar, H.B.1971. *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java (Corpus Inscriptionum Javanicarum) (up to 928 A.D.)*, 2 vols., Calcutta : K.L. Mukhopadhyay.
- Sieg, E., 1938. Die Kutschischen Karmavibhanga-Texte der Bibliothéque Nationale in Paris, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 65, 1-2.
- Soekmono, R.1995. *The Javanese Candi*, Function and Meaning, Leiden/New York/Koln : Brill.
- Spence Hardy, R.1967. *A Manual of Buddhism*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. Vol.LVI, First Indian edition, Delhi.
- Stutterheim, W.F.1956. Chandi Barabudur, in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Translation Series, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, pp. 1-62.



Suhamir, 1948. Verslag van de werkzaamheden van de voormalige bouwkundige Afdeling van de Oudheidkundige Dienst van 8 Maart 1942 tot 19 December 1948, *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, pp. 23-24.

*Traibhumikatha or Traibhum Phra Ruang* (in Thai), 1983. New edition, National Library, Fine Arts Department of Thailand, 3<sup>rd</sup> Printing, Bangkok.

Waddell, L.A. 1895. *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, London : W.H. Allen & Co.

IJzerman, J.W. 1886. Iets over de Oorspronkelijke Voet van Borobudur, *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Batavia- 's- Gravenhage, vol.31, pp.261-269.

Zwalf, W. 1985. *Buddhism. Art and Faith*, London: British Museum Publications.

## FIGURES

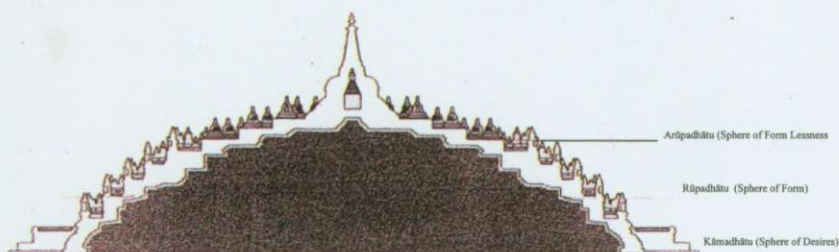


Fig.14.1.Elevation of Candi Borobudur



Fig.14.2.Ground-plan of Candi Borobudur

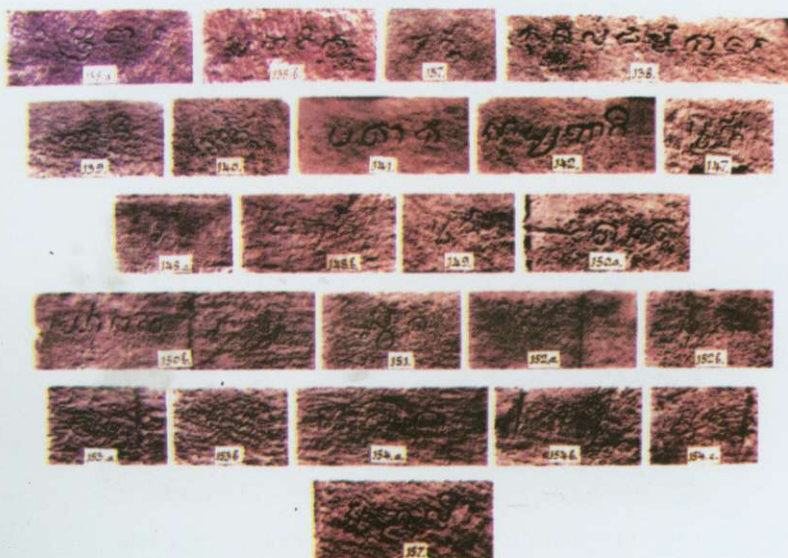


Fig. 14.3. Inscriptions on some relief panels, from Krom and Van Erp, 1920, I, pl.II.



Fig.14.4. Relief 01, opening scene : killing and celebration of killing. RMV 3788-20



Fig.14.5. Relief 02 : untimely death << boasting, admiring and sharing the fruits of killing. RMV 3788- 19.



Fig. 14.6. Relief 09: affluence and fulfilled family life  
<< saving lives. RMV 3788-12.



Fig. 14.7. Relief 021: ugliness and deformity << malicious remarks and trouble-making whispers. RMV 3788-160.





Fig. 14.8. Relief 026: wealth and happiness << presenting gifts to ascetics. RMV 3788 – 155



Fig. 14.9. Relief 029 : beauty, affluence and fulfilment of sensual love << worshipping at the temple. RMV 3788- 152.



Fig. 14.10. Relief 031 : high rank, wealth and authority << presenting food to a monk. RMV 3788- 150.



Fig. 14.11. Relief 049: life of heavy toil and hardship<< jeering at persons worthy of respect. RMV 3788 – 132.



Fig. 14.12. Relief 072: life of luxury replete with wealth, servants and entertainment << giving alms. RMV 3788- 109.



Fig. 14.13. Relief 073: life of extreme wealth, enjoying love, prestige and respect << distribution of gifts. RMV 3788- 108.



Fig. 14.14. Relief 080 : life as respected teacher << seeking wise company and wisdom. RMV 3788-101.



Fig. 14.15. Relief 086: punishments in hell<< cruelty to animals; retribution in hell << killing. RMV 3788-95.



Fig. 14.16. Relief 089: severe retribution in hell << matricide; punishment in hell << making soup of tortoise and fish. RMV 3788- 92.



Fig. 14.17. Relief 094: new birth in the world of *nagās* << offering alms to a venerable recluse; new birth in the world of *garuda* << revering a Bodhisattva-like being. RMV 3788-87.



Fig. 14.18. Relief 0 99: new birth as a king << looking after the need of holy men. RMV 3788- 82.



Fig. 14.19. Relief 0103: new birth in paradise << presenting necessities to the monks and the poor. RMV 3788-78.





Fig. 14.20. Relief 0105 : meditating in paradise.  
RMV 3788- 76.



Fig. 14.21. Relief 0141: royal gift of banners to a temple.  
RMV 3788- 40.



Fig. 14.22. Relief 0147 : paradise of Indra, the king of the gods.  
RMV 3788- 33.



Fig. 14.23. Relief 0159 : a king of kings (*cakravartin*).  
RMV 3788-22.



Fig. 14.24. Relief 0160, closing panel : paradise and beyond.  
RMV 3788-22.

Fig. 14.25. Mural painting, life  
of King Nemi, Wat Yai Indārāma,  
Chonburi, Thailand, early 19<sup>th</sup>  
century. From *Rattanakosin*  
*Painting* 1982, pl.74.



Fig. 14.26. Mural painting, life of King Nemi, Subodhārāma Rajamahāvihāra at  
Karagampitiya, Sri Lanka, 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
From Chutiwongs, Prematilleke and Silva 1990-2005, *Karagampitiya*, pl.22.

Fig. 14.27. The Wheel of Existence, Tibet.  
After Waddell 1895, facing p. 108.

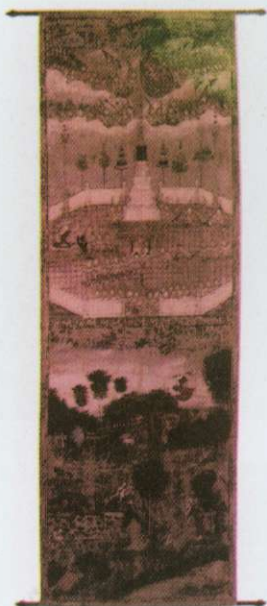
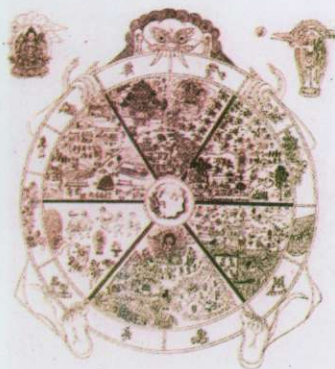


Fig. 14.28. Painting on temple banner,  
Phra Malai visiting the other worlds, Wat  
Mahādhātu, Phetburi, Thailand, 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
From *Phra Bot* 2002, fig. 40.

Fig. 14.29. Mural painting showing the sacred  
Mahiyangana, Ridivihara Rajamahāvihāra, Sri  
Lanka, late 18<sup>th</sup> century.  
From Chutiwongs, Prematilleke and Silva  
1990-2005, *Ridivihara*, pl. 15.





## AESTHETIC PLEASURE: REPRESENTATION OF *RASAS* ON THE HIDDEN BASE OF THE BOROBUDUR

by

Dr. Nirmala Sharma

Borobudur is the *līlā* of the Lalitavistara where the manifestation of the divine, the light of gnosis plays with *rasa* of the realm of aesthesis. Aesthetic experience is the very twin of the 'savour of the divine' (*brahmāsvādāna*). Contemplative experience is the operation of the attracting power of beauty, the rapture of spontaneity. The *rasa* or flavor of the chosen support of contemplation permeates the body and mind. "Art is a statement informed by ideal beauty" in the *Sahitya-darpana*. Statement is the body, and *rasa* is the soul of the work. There is ideal beauty and relative loveliness, whence arises self-identification with spiritual activity. Ideal beauty or *rasa* is tasted in pure aesthetic experience of transcendent delight beyond the aspect seen. In the Classical tradition, *kāvya* or statement informed by *rasa* is distinguished from *itihāsa* or merely verital statement. *Natya* or dance exhibiting a theme is distinct from *nṛtta* or pure rhythmical movements. Classical works of art were intended to be expressions of an end that is over and beyond the fact of expression (*Sāhitya-darpana* 5.1)

The *rasas* played an important role in the performing arts and poetic compositions of Indonesia. They were not recognized as such, as the Old Javanese work *Nawaratna* was related to courtly behavior and had nothing to do with the *rasas*. It befuddled the interpretation of the term in its aesthetic context. The *rasas* have been constantly referred to in OJ literature. The *Adiparwa* of the *Mahābhārata*, which can be dated to the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century on the basis of the colophon of the

Wirātaparwa, refers to the Performances of elegant female dancers perfect in *rasa nāṭya* (H.H Juynboll, *Ādiparwa*, 1906:202, Phalgunadi 1990:291). The term *rasa nāṭya* ‘rasa of nāṭya’ is the analytical OJ sequence of the Sanskrit compound *nāṭya-rasa*.

The 12<sup>th</sup> century narrative poem Sumanasāntaka written by Mpu Monaguna 145.1 (Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 1974:305) speaks of the *nawa-natya* of a poet (*kawi*). While the references in the Nagarakrtagama are to nine modes of expression of the dancer, here they refer to that of the poet. The Sumanasāntaka 181.3 concludes: “In the Nandana grove ends the Sumanasāntaka story in *Raghu[wamśa]*. It was rendered into Old Javanese in kakawin form and offered to His Majesty as a gift of holy water”. This *kavya* is based on Kālidāsa’s magnum opus *Raghuvamśa*. It reminds us of Viśvanātha who says that rasas constitute the very essence of poetry (*vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam*) in his *Sāhitya-darpana*.

The *nawa-nāṭya* are referred to in the Nagarakrtagama, composed by Rakawi Prapanca of Majapahit in 1365 AD. They formed part of the annual court festival during the Majapahit period. Canto 91.8 speaks of the merriments in *nawa-natya* that overwhelmed the audience with emotion. Two *rasas*, *hāsya* ‘farce’ and *karunā* ‘pathos’ are named. “Alteration of pathos and buffoonery is characteristic of Javanese dramatic art”. Th. Pigeaud (*Java in the Fourteenth Century* 1962:4.326) discards Kern’s emendation *nawanāṭya* ‘Nine Dances’ as “superfluous” and renders it as “Nine Physiognomies”. He thinks that it refers to the OJ text of *Nawanāṭya*, which has nothing to do with dance. Stuart Robson (*Deśawarnana* by Mpu Prapanca, Leiden, 1995:147) understood the term correctly for the first time, as the nine sentiments of Sanskrit. We may note here that the compound *nawa-nāṭya-rasa* occurs in the characteristic attributes of Hevajra of the Heruka family in the *Nispanna-yogāvalī* (p.20) of Abhayākara Gupta who lived during the

reign of Pala king Ramapala who flourished in AD 1084-1130. Hevajra is dancing the nine dramatic rasas (*nava-nāṭya-rasaih...nrtyan*).

The hidden reliefs of the Borobudur have some of the finest expressions of the *rasas* where the Mind and Form is resolved in its complex symbolism. So far the theory of *rasa* could not be recognized in Old Javanese texts. P.J. Zoetmulder in his *Old-Javanese-English Dictionary* (1982) says: “*nawanaṭya* derivation doubtful: connection with *nāṭya* mimic representation, dramatic art?” Th. Pigeaud (*Java in the Fourteenth Century* 4.326) says: that “Kern’s emendation *Nawanaṭya*, Nine Dances, is to be discarded as superfluous”. The clearest and entirely unambiguous statement about the *rasas* comes from the very first work of Old-Javanese literature, titled *Chandakarana*, written under orders of Śrī Mahārāja Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty. Krom (1924:203) dates it around the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The Borobudur is also a sanctum of the same period. The Śailendras were creating the *omphalos* of their impirium in giving an identity to Indonesia in splendid architectural symbols, and by giving rise to a Classical idiom of Old Javanese by the composition of the *Chandakarana*. It is a treatise on the ‘Art of Writing Poetry’, a comprehensive manual comprising several elements, including alliteration, prosody, rhetorics, synonyms, homonyms for *double entendre*, and an Old Javanese rendering of the *Amaramālā*. This Sailendra text has a short excursus on the nine *rasas*. It is cited below from Prof. Lokesh Chandra’s edition of the text (in his *Cultural Horizons of India* 6.180-181).

#### NINE RASAS

śṛṅgāra-vīra-bībhatsā raudra-hāsyā-bhayānakāh/  
karuṇa-ādbhuta-śāntās ca nava nāṭya-rasā ime//  
śṛṅgāra ṇaranya mujārākna karasikan ya dhana saka-srakeṇin  
konan-unan śabda rarasa rum kāmīrasa/  
vīra ṇaranya apran umujarakēn kavanin/  
bībhatsa ṇaranya umujarakēn karami-ramih apacēh/



*raudra* naranya umujaraknañ moha, katatakut/  
*hāsyā* naranya umujarakēn kaguyu-guyu, paḍa karaṇa hāsyā  
papacēhan duli goḍok pēñcul/  
*bhayānaka* naranya umujarakēn kavdi-vdi karērēs bhaya kabhaya/  
*karuṇa* naranya ujar amarna saka-ton saka-reno mandadyaken  
santa-citta kavlas arēp asih/  
*adbhuta* naranya umujarakēn kagiri-giri āścarya/  
*śānta* naranya upaśama n somya/ iti navanaṭi//  
*krūra* naranya umujaraknañ karoharohan///O///

*śṛṅgāra* expresses delights of love, it is the richness, the full fragrance(*srak*) of longing(*inīn*), yearning, in words reflecting(*rarasa*)<sup>17</sup> on loveliness of the erotic sentiment.

*vīra* is fighting to express heroism.

*bībhatsa* expresses fun and hilariousness.

*raudra* expresses confusion and the terrific.

*hāsyā* expresses merriment, which causes one to laugh hilariously, in the full abandon, aplop, and in a blunt manner without bothering for decorum.

*bhayānaka* expresses frightfulness, awesomeness and dread.

*karuṇā* expresses to describe all that is seen and heard so that the mind is calm, sympathetic and prepares for compassion.

*adbhuta* expresses awe and surprise.

*śānta* is peace and benevolence.

*krūra* expresses panic.

These are the nine rasas.

The stanza preceding the above passage to introduce soulful diction (*bhāsaprāna*) or *lenkāra* (Skt. *alamkāra* ‘rhetorics’) terms the *rasas nāṭya* in the metrical stanza, while they are called *rasa* and *navanaṭi* in the Old Javanese commentary in prose. The passage cited above has: *nava-nāṭya-rasāh*. They are appropriately so-called because the *rasa* school was founded by Bharata the author of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Bharata 6.15 reckons eight *rasas*, and same add *śānta* (Kane, *The Sāhityadarpana*, Bombay 1923:cxlviii). The nine *rasas* are:

*śṛṅgāra-hāsyā karuṇa-raudra-vīra-bhayānakāḥ/  
bībhatsa-adbhuta-śāntau cety-astau nāṭye rasāḥ smṛtāḥ//*

The *rasas* are usually eight but sometimes *sānta rasa* is added, thus making the total number nine. Sometimes a tenth *vatsalya rasa* is also added. *Rasas* are more or less a necessary factor of every poetic composition, but according to *Visvanātha* the author of *Sahitya-darpana*, they contribute to the very essence of poetry, *vakyam rasātmakam kāvyam*.

The *rasa* is viewed as a pleasant sentiment belonging to the spectator whose dormant emotions, derived from experience or inherited instincts, are evoked by reading or watching an ideal impersonalized form of joy or sorrow, a mental condition in which the reader/spectator identifies oneself.

The Śailendra monarch Srī Mahārāja Jitendra commissioned the Chandakarana as a major project for the creation of Indonesia's cultural persona. It is interesting to note that these nine *rasas* find expression in the reliefs of the Borobudur which is a Śailendra epiphany *par excellence*. This paper intends to identify the several expressions of *rasas* in the reliefs of the hidden base. *Rasa* is the aesthesis of the spiritual. They seem to be evocatively expressed even though good and evil *karmas* were being depicted. The bliss of life or its negation supply the *raison d'être* for the depiction of the *rasas*, to heighten the good or evil of the *karmas*. The intensity of the depiction of *rasas* made the qualitative impact of the deed done more effective. The *rasas* contributed to a sharp contrast between the penury or plenitude of the action. The *rasas* were a psychic supplement to evoke the response of the viewer, to the gravity of his karma or its grace. In this paper we highlight the visual effects of the different *rasas* as concomitants of the didactics of the *karma* theory.

## ŚRĠGĀRA RASA

*Śrġgāra*: eros, the erotic sentiment. *Śrġgā* 'peak' indicates the peak of love. *Śrġgāra* is developed with highborn characters as its subjects. The love of low-born characters is regarded as begetting an illusion of eros: *Śrġgārābhāsa*. It tops the list of sentiments, as it is most relishable and universal. It is described as the king of sentiments. A courteous and magnanimous youth and high-born young maiden are its objects. Its consequents include knitting of eyebrows, side glances etc. All accessories except disaster, death, idleness and disgust go with it. Its basic urge is physical love (*rati*). So far the reliefs have been taken in the context of the Karmavibhanga but we see a strong element of *śrġgāra* in them.

Relief O143. In its center the *śrġgāra rasa* is represented by a princely person with four female figures in an amorous position. The depiction is laid in heaven with kinnaras, ladies in waiting and beautiful attendants.



Fig.15.1.Relief O143

Relief O160. On the right is a lover with arms around his consort.

Relief O92 depicts a couple on the right standing in a charming posture with arms passionately across each other. They appear unaffected by the surrounding disturbances.



Relief O119 has on its right an irresistible lover.

Relief O35. Seated under the tree in the centre of the relief is the eloquent concupiscence of a couple.

Relief O137. Seated in the centre is a princely figure in amorous dalliance with three women, beautiful attendants, musicians, kinnaras and plenty of wealth and *kalpavṛkṣa* the tree of life.

Relief O61 has the *rasa* strongly felt by the women in a beautiful garden surrounded by a fence on the right. She strikes a pose that evokes *śṛṅgāra rasa*, while the couple seated under the tree in the center arouse a similar feeling.



Fig.15.2.Relief O61

## HĀSYA RASA

The basic expression in the *hāsyā rasa* is laughter. Its basic instinct is laughing and merriment. Its excitants are distortion of speech, queer actions, dress, appearance etc. Its stimulating object is a humorous character. Sleep, illness, ridicule etc, constitute its accessories. Its consequents are: smile, winking etc. It is of three types: (i) superior or the laugh of noble characters, (ii) mediocre or the laugh of ordinary people, and (iii) inferior i.e., the laugh of mean or vulgar characters. The first type of people indulge in a suppressed or evident smile, the second in a sweet sounding laugh either soft or loud, and the last category express it in the form of a guffaw or a roaring laugh.

Relief O92 depicts a man being chased up a tree by the fright of a barking dog. Another person standing also adds to his fear. The scene creates a *hāsya* element. To add to it, the Li-shih A-p'i-t'an-lun mentions the tree as a sword leaf tree (*asipattravana*). The long thorns of the tree turn downwards when the man (victim) tries to climb them and turn upwards when he tries to come down.

Relief O39 depicts a street musician and a very unappealing dancer, as two figures are seated on the ground and others express laughter at the sight.

Relief O22 depicts an ugly old woman with a child as she is subjected to laughter by four youths who ridicule her. The *hāsya* element is depicted by the youths in different postures.



Fig.15.3.Relief O22

Relief O20 depicts brahmans drinking and dancing, and below the tussle of misbehaviour with a woman is depicted. The dancing postures evoke *hāsya rasa*.



Fig.15.4.Relief O20



## KARUṆA RASA

The *karuṇa rasa* is a result of *soka*-mourning and is produced by the relevant *vibhāvas*, *anubhāvas* and *vyabhicāribhāvas*. The *vyabhicāri* or the transitory states are stupor, discouragement, weakness, depression, indolence, fainting, sickness, distraction etc.

*Karuṇa vipralambha* is a state of separation in which the loved one passes for the time being but is ultimately revived. On the passing away of a loved person the survivor loses hope of reunion and suffers acute distress and grief. The sentiment is a queer mixture of eros and pathos.

There are a number of reliefs that depict *karuṇa rasa*: e.g. relief O11 in which the sick person has three relatives besides him, the cemetery with children's corpses in relief O4, and relief O3 with the dying person on the right, in the center and also left. People surrounding him express *soka* and the whole relief evokes *karuṇa rasa*

Relief O2 on left depicts the death of a child. The relatives surrounding the mother holding the dead child in the lap creates *karuṇa rasa*.



Fig.15.5.Relief O2

Relief O18 on the right depicts *karuṇa rasa* where a sick man is attended by his near and dear ones. The complete atmosphere shows little or no hope for the sick man.





Fig.15.6.Relief O18

## RAUDRA RASA

*Raudra*: is the furious, the sentiment of ferocity, developed from the basic instinct of wrath (*krodha*). Its stimulating objects are the enemy and his activities. Fighting, blows etc are the excitants. Knitting of the eyebrows, biting the lower lips, raising up arms, shaking the fists, brandishing of weapons, ferocious looks etc., are its manifestations. Grimness, agitation, infatuation, unconsciousness etc constitute its accessories.

Relief O87 depicts *raudra rasa* whose basic instinct is anger. In this relief a man is beating another with a large stick, while an elephant with a rider is attacking another man.

Relief O10. Three men attack three persons with sticks in their hands. One of the attacked has fallen down. The complete scene depicts wrath and element of *raudra rasa*.



Fig.15.6.Relief O10

## VĪRA RASA

*Vīra* or hero are of three types on the basis of *vibhāva*, *ānubhāva* and *vyabhicāri- bhāva*: Those giving *dāna* (gift) are *dānavīra*, those combating the enemy are *yuddhavīra*, and those who have compassion (*dayā*) are *dayāvīra*. *Danavīra* is distinguished by valour and joy. He gives away profuse wealth as gifts and looks pleased. *Yuddhavīra* is very energetic, well built and pleasing. The *dayāvīra* is firm in mind, provides protection to the afflicted and is in the habit of comforting others.

Its basic instinct of zest, zeal or enthusiasm is aroused in a magnanimous heart. Its stimulating object is the adversary, a hostile person or situation. The activity of this adversary serves as its excitant. Its consequent appears in the form of a search for allies or means of success. Courage, pride, thoughtfulness, recollection, deduction, horripilation etc represent its accessories.

Relief O140 left: depicts a *dānavīra* giving *dāna* to people seated on the ground.

Relief O138 again depicts again the element of *vīra rasa* wherein *dāna* is being given by the person on the right.

Relief O158 illustrates the gift of refuge.

Relief O132 depicts a monarch donating various gifts.

Relief O101 depicts a *vīra* giving gifts on the right of the panel.

Relief O135 depicts donation of clothes (*vastradāna*).



Fig.15.7.Relief O135

Relief O2 depicts the element of *vīra rasa* where the hunter describes his experiences to an audience, one of whom praises by his raised hands, while other engrossed listeners are seated below.

Relief O36 on left depicts two *dānavīra*.

## BHAYĀNAKA RASA

Relief O40. *Bhayānaka* is the sentiment of terror. Its basic urge is fright or terror (*bhaya*) and its cause or object is anything that is terrific or fearful. Disgust, agitation, unconsciousness, piteousness, distress, fatigue, suspicion, confusion, death etc are its accessories.

The elements of *bhayānaka rasa* can be observed in a large number of reliefs. The reason is they depict several heaven and hell scenes.

Relief O4 depicts the slaying of a human by two men who hold flat swords while the man lies still and seated on the ground. On the left is a cemetery with corpses of two children, skulls and bones. The complete depiction is replete with fear and hence strongly depicts *bhayānaka rasa*.



Fig.15.8.Relief O4

Relief O5 has warriors in combat with fearful spectators and a lady with a dead child depict the *bhayānaka rasa*.

The left of relief 92 depicts a combat between men who are



chasing people with swords into a river filled with horror and filth which constitute another element of *bhayānaka rasa*.

Relief O91 has a horrifying scene wherein the grasses are like blades and the trees have sword leaves. The blades of grass cutting into the already tortured bodies and the sword-like leaves thrown over the men are a *bhayānaka element*.

Relief O89. One of the extreme cases of *bhayānaka rasa* can be observed in this relief. It depicts men being thrown by their heads into fire, an innocent women being slayed. Men in a boiling cauldron with guards who do not allow them to escape and lastly two men preparing fish and turtle stew.

In relief O88, the tongue of a man is being crushed with a red-hot iron. A man slapping a couple and a dog biting and chasing a man who is entering a house engulfed in flames is an extreme depiction of *bhayānaka rasa*.

The depiction of the *bhayānaka rasa* can also be observed in reliefs no O86, O87, O90, O32.

## **BĪBHATSA RASA**

*Bībhatsa* or the sentiment of disgust or abhorrence is one of the nine sentiments in poetry. Disgust (*jugupsā*) is its basic urge. Mahākāla presides over it. Stink, blood, flesh, fat etc. constitute its causes. Insects hovering over or fallen into the above represent its excitants. Its consequents are spitting or vomiting, turning away in disgust, or closing down the eyes etc. Unconsciousness, distress, sickness, fatigue, death etc. form its accessories. It occupies a subordinate place, playing second fiddle to terror, ferocity, pathos or quietude. It is contrary to the sentiments of love and heroism.

Relief O109. The hell scenes depict the elements of *bībhatsa rasa* as in this relief, men are being boiled in a cauldron possibly of oil with a guard on the left to prevent their escape.

Relief O95 depicts *bībhatsa rasa* in a powerful way. It illustrates a hungry ghost (*preta*) with a bloated belly, prominent rib-cage and raised up hair that arouse *bībhatsa rasa* in all its ferocity.

Relief O87 gives a strong feeling of the *bībhatsa rasa*. On the left is a man beating another with a large stick, a man smoking out animals and other creatures through the roof or a hole. People are being chased by a dog and an elephant. The scene is full of disgust and as such evokes *bībhatsa rasa*.

Relief O74 also depicts scenes of disgust and has an element of *bībhatsa rasa*. A man is turning his back to an enthroned teacher. A man is spearing a pig, while another man is not allowing a woman to give offerings to a brahmin.

Relief O13 evokes *bībhatsa* element in its depiction of kicking, beating and slapping. Death of an enemy, abortion, a dying child, rebirth of short duration, are depicted in relief 3 and strongly arouse *bībhatsa rasa*.

Relief O60 depicts a man snatching the belongings of another who holds them clasped under his left arm. This disgusting act evokes *bībhatsa rasa*.

Relief O21 depicts the disgusting ugly figures on the left and in the centre to evoke *bībhatsa rasa*.



Fig.15.9.Relief O21

Relief O22. The gathering of people with ugly appearances in this relief creates a disgusting feeling and certainly arouses *bībhatsa rasa*.

## ADBHUTA RASA

*Adbhuta rasa*: wonder or astonishment (*vismaya*) is its basic impulse. Anything that is wonderful, astonishing and supernatural constitutes its stimulating object. Stupor, perspiration, horripilation, hoarseness, confusion, widened eyes etc. represent its consequents. Agitation, excitement, confusion, ecstasy, attempt to guess etc. are its accessories.

There are a number of reliefs that depict *adbhuta* scenes in the hidden base. Relief O139 is a wonderful illustration which has a large number of figures. The inscription mentions *svargga*, the depiction of heaven. It illustrates a wealthy man whose riches are depicted by a number of pots containing wealth. He is accompanied by four wives and twentyfive attendants. The complete picture is beautiful in its richness and evokes the *adbhuta rasa*.

Relief O149 is again a fascinating illustration. It represents a wealthy man with two wives and plenty of wealth depicted by pots in the front of him. On the left are two huge pots, a beautiful *kalpavṛksha* and *kinnaras* who symbolise heaven. The man seems to enjoy dance and music being performed by a charming danceuse depicted in a striking pose and musicians playing musical instruments. There is also a temple and two attendants. The complete picture evokes *adbhuta rasa*.





Fig.15.10.Relief O149

Relief O147 is another striking view of the *adbhuta*, wherein bewitching young girls are sporting with a wealthy young man. A temple, a lotus pond, a *kalpavrksha*, wealth pots and *kinnaras*, all go to show that the scene is laid in heaven.

Relief O148 is a depiction of *adbhuta* rasa in its pleasing and wonderful portrayal wherein the entire atmosphere is of good deeds and hence the scene is of heaven. A wealthy person is sporting with four wives, surrounded by a train of attendants, as he is making offerings to two holy men in gratitude to divine providence.

Relief O126 pertains to *adbhuta* rasa in a beautiful depiction of *svarga* or heaven. In the center is a *kalpavrksha* encircled by pots of wealth that are guarded by *kinnaras*. On the left is a fortunate man with two wives, attended upon by a chourie-bearer and a host of orderlies. On the right is another wealthy person with three wives, engaged in a lively discussion with people who have come to visit him.



Fig.15.11.Relief O126

The scene in the left of relief 0102 shows heaven, that evokes *adbhuta rasa* by its rich surroundings: a *kalpavṛksha*, pots of wealth, *kinnara* and *kinnari*, musicians and the attendants serving a wealthy man with three wives and the blessings being offered by a holy man.

Elements of *adbhuta rasa* can also be observed in relief numbers O101, O130, O136 and some others.

## ŚĀNTĀ RASA

*Śāntā* is spiritual quietude, serenity and calm. Bharata mentions in his *Natyasastra*, renunciation or detachment (*nirveda*) as its basic. Visvanātha regards *sama* or the freedom from passions as the basic urge. Magnanimous and righteous persons are its rightful subjects, and the futility of the transitory world is the object that stimulates it. Its excitants are sacred hermitages, holy places, rivers and attractive forests. Horripilation is its main consequent, while its accessories are detachment, ecstasy, meditation, restraint, etc before attaining actual salvation. Unlike compassionate heroism, it is free from any trace of egotism. All types of heroism, save the martial, can fall within its range. The same can be said about the emotion of the Divine, which is free from egotism. Martial heroism, eros, ferocity and humour are contrary to it.

Relief O105 depicts *śāntā rasa* in which four figures are in meditation. The relief creates an ambience of peace and tranquility.

Relief O42 also generates *śāntā rasa* especially by the five monks on the right who are listening to the sermon of a teacher. With their eyes closed and their hands clasped, they are in unison with the teacher.

If there is peace in the reliefs of Borobudur, the complete picture is dominated by a feeling of *śāntā*, and if there is disturbance, it is total disharmony.

Relief O104 has an element of *śāntā* on the left, while the complete relief is pervaded by a feeling of *śāntā*, as the depictions on the right are also of a quiet nature, where offerings are being made to people who are perhaps priests.



Fig.15.12.Relief O104

Reliefs O16, O79,O103, and O55 also depict *śāntā rasa*.

Aesthetic enjoyment implies no contradiction. It is a fresh manner of visualizing. It is the power capable of removing the thick layer of mental stupor occupying our consciousness. Sunk in his own being, the spectator forgets everything. There wells up in him that inflow of inborn pleasure in which the yogi finds his satisfaction. The artistic images of *rasa* at Borobudur are the restoration of the spiritual journey beyond their decorative or functional values.



## LITERATURE CITED

- Chandra, Lokesh. 1997. *Cultural Horizons of India*, New Delhi.
- De S.K. 1963. *Sanskrit Poetics as a Study of Aesthetics*. Oxford University Press, Bombay.
- Fokker.A.A.1938.*Wirātaparwa*, opnieuw uitgegeven, vertaald en toegelicht, The Hague.
- Juynboll H.H.1906. *Ādiparwa: Oudjavaansch prozageschrift*. The Hague.
- Kane P.V. 1923. *Sāhitya-darpana*, Bombay.
- Nagendra. 1987. *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Poetics*. B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi.
- Phalgunadi, I Gusti Putu, 1990. *Indonesian Mahābhārata: Ādiparwa*, New Delhi.
- Pigeaud, Th.G.Th., 1960-63. *Java in the Fourteenth Century*, vols. 1-5, The Hague.
- Raniero,Gnoli. 1956. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, Serie Orientale Roma XI.
- Robson, Stuart, 1995. *Desawarnana by Mpu Prapanca*, Leiden.
- Sumanasāntaka*, romanized copy of Cod. Kirtya no. 612, Singaraja (Bali).
- Vijayan, K., 1981, *Rasārnavasudhākara*. Aatira Publications, Kerala.
- Zoetmulder, P.J. 1974. *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature*, The Hague.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 1982. *Old Javanese-English Dictionary*, Parts 1,2, The Hague.

## **DRESS AND ADORNMENTS AS REFLECTION OF SOCIAL POSITION IN ANCIENT JAVA DURING THE NINTH TO TENTH CENTURIES**

by

**Sri Soejatmi Satari**

### **Introduction**

The hidden base of the Buddhist temple of Borobudur reveals an amazing view of the early life in the ninth to the tenth centuries. The first researcher who discovered and revealed the hidden base was the Dutch architect, J.W. Yzerman, chairman of the *Archaeologische Vereniging* in 1855. One hundred and sixty panels of relief were opened.

Five years later, a Javanese former photographer of the kraton of Yogyakarta took pictures of each panel (Fontein 1989; Rangkuti 1989, 169-170). It is N.J. Krom, with van Erp's illustrations that eternalize the relief for further research, especially when the existing reliefs have undergone some deterioration.

According to A.J. Bernet Kempers, 85 percent of the *Karmavibhaṅga* relief reflected ancient Java (Rangkuti 1989, 81), depicting daily life. Not only the nature, people depicted show typical Javanese posture, body size and countenance. Only a few are depicted with high posture and a large nose.

Pigeaud divided the old Javanese society into four classes, the class of power, the religious people, common people, and servants owned by the men of power -so they don't have a special class (Pigeaud 1960, III). The caste system in Java in ancient times

was according to Casparis (1954, 44-47) not as stern as in India. He divided the old Javanese society into three parts:

1. people of the villagers
2. the king and his family, and his group
3. the religious people, including priests, bhiksus and their serving people.

And the last group, they --live separately, not in groups--are the traders, vendors, clothes dyers, goldsmiths, kris-makers, musicians.

On the relief of Karmawibhangga, next to the above-mentioned social groups, we have also scenes depicting the heaven with its special characteristics, like the *kalpataru* and the *kinnara-kinnari*.

In this occasion we will limit our concentration to the social groups or persons who belong to the most richly dressed and adorned next to the less flamboyant ones and the common folk with their interesting life. The surroundings and the people belonging to them play a role in their condition and status.

1. the *cakravartti*
2. the other kings, nobles and rich men
3. the common people will be taken as a sample.

### **The *Cakravartti***

*Cakravartti* means 'the bearer of the wheel', is an epithet of Visnu (Gonda 1954, 165), and a universal monarch is also called *cakravartti* as written in some panels of the Karmawibhangga relief.

Four jewels (Krom, Mededelingen, p 261) or four traditional regalia (J. Fontein, 1989) are the tokens of a *cakravartti* i.e, a *ratna*, a *cakra*, an elephant, and a horse, among the large amounts of the followers.



Next to these four jewels are other regal emblems that should be owned by a *cakravartti* as well as other kings, for instance a *camara* (yak's tail) hold by a *camaradharini*, a sunshade or a *chattra* hold by a *chattradhara* (male) or *chattradharini* (female), *dhwaja* (banner), a *pataka* (banner which is carried during a procession), a peacock plumes umbrella, a fan made of peacock plumes, and a door guardian (*dauvarika*) who used to hold a sword (Sivaramamurti 1961, 21-25, pl VVII). Only one or two of these royal emblems carved on the Karmavibhangga. A nobleman has also the right to keep a *camaradharini*.

We will show where some *cakravartti* scenes from Karmavibhangga 0129. The monarch and his spouse are sitting in a dais, covered with a canopy. The identification is confirmed in the inscription *cakravartti*. Each of them is complemented with a halo or a *sirascakra* signifying that they are going to enjoy the rebirth in heaven, as shown by the panel on the right side. A princess sitting nearby is not surrounded by a halo around her head.

Above the elephant and the horse standing behind the dais are the jewel and *cakra*. A royal umbrella is placed behind the animals. At the left side a *camaradharini* is sitting on a lower seat near the queen. The royal pair and the princess are richly dressed, for instance by a crown, *ratna kundala* earrings (Sivaramamurti, VIII, 9), armlets (in Javanese term, *kelatbahu*), bracelets, and anklets (Jv: *binggel*). Heidi Hinzler is right in her opinion (Kal, Wilhelmina H [ed], 1991, 27-38), that status, rank and power are linked to a person's outward appearance. In a palace, servants who are shown in public, should also wear fine clothes, causing pleasure to the onlookers (Pigeaud, 1960, III, 7).

The head is considered as the most sacred part of the body in the east. Since the ancient times people could observe the difference

of the social status by looking at the hairstyle and the head adornment. A *camaradharini* wears a hair knot and a low cover encircling her head. Next to old texts like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, H Hinzler also suggested to study jewelleries, headdresses etc. from leather puppets. These will give more information than the Indian sources (627-638), and make also comparisons with the dress and adornments of statues. This is in accordance with Bernet Kempers' view that 85 percent of the Karmavibhanga are based on old Javanese text and tradition, including the dress and adornments.

The Indonesian archaeologists in describing statues or reliefs have applied terms taken from traditional dancers.

The royal family is surrounded by female servants at the left side, and male servants at the right side. Another royal umbrella complemented the royal emblems. Both the king and the princess stretch their left arms downwards, and put the palm of their hands on their thighs, some other put them on the floor. This is a gesture of taking a rest, which in Javanese is called *seduwo* gesture. At the earlier period this *seduwo* gesture is taken by a man as well as a woman. In later period, like shown by a relief from Panataran, this *seduwo* is a specific gesture by a woman, as a token of a female gracefulness (see Bernet Kempers, 1976, *Ageless Borobudur*, pl 198), and is shown also by female dancers.

Another *cakravartti* scene is shown by 0132; a monarch is sitting, flanked by his two spouses. A *camaradharini* while holding a *camara*, is leaning against the second spouse. They sit in a dais, covered with a canopy. Another *camaradharini* is standing before the royal family. She holds the *camara* in her right hand, while her left hand is holding a flower. Female servants are sitting on the ground. A *cakra* and a jewel are above the servants, followed by a royal

umbrella and peacock plumes umbrella. On the right side are the male servants, the elephant wearing a low diadem (Javanese, *jamang*) and bell around its neck, next to a horse and a royal umbrella. The jewel and cakra are shown above them. Male servants are sitting on the ground. The royal family wear complete adornments, like a crown, ears and body ornaments. The *camaradharinis* wear almost the same ornaments, except that their heads are decorated with hair buns .

0159. A monarch is sitting on a long seat with a wall in the background. He is flanked by his two spouses. The three wear the same rich adornments. The lady in the left holds a lotus flower in her hand. Two ladies (?) each sitting on a seat lower than that of the king, holding a stem of flower. Each lady is wearing a *jamang* and a *jata mukuta*. Two *camaradharinis* are standing between the royal group and the official or sisters of the king. Male guards, one holding a sword, are sitting on both sides. From the two jewels, only the cakra is left. At the right end stands an elephant wearing a *jamang* and a horse. It is amazing that *none* of the *cakravarti* is sitting on a throne, but only on dais, with the whole family including a servant.

0150. Shows a royal procession of a king on a palanquin, carried by eight men, led by a horse and an elephant. Unlike the other reliefs, the elephant is plain while the horse wears a richly decorated necklace. The king is sitting with the left knee tied up with scarf to his waist. He holds a flower in his right hand. He is richly dressed with a low crown, ear pendants, a necklace with a broad printed part in the middle, pearl bracelets and anklets.

Between the eight carriers walk two dwarfs (Bernet Kempers, 1976, pl 196), with a plain hair bun and ear ornaments, knee length-trousers, tied up with double strings. Based on inscriptions dwarfs are



imported from Africa. They are supposed to improve the power of a king. Until shortly dwarfs are kept by kings in the Muslim period to heighten the lively sphere when special occasions are kept.

072. A moderate nobleman, based on the *camaradharini* and the peacock plumes fan, or a rich merchant when we consider the hair bun on each side of his head, is watching a dance performer accompanied by musicians in his house. He is sitting on a seat with his left foot tied to his waist with a scarf. All his servants are flat-headed with a hair bun behind their head. The dancer has also a plain head adornment. She wears a *kalung* hanging between her breasts (D Paul 1978, 313). An ankle length long cloth and a thick middle part at the back, between her legs. She holds a dance scarf in Javanese called *sampur* or *sonder*.

According to Edi Sedyawati, when the classical Indian dance started to be known in Central Java, the original dance is already practised. The Javanese dance mixed well with the soft Indian dance (Rangkuti 1989, 87).

The last picture (0116) is about a commoner and his wife with no sign of special rank in society. He offers gift to a monk, and later on to a Brahmana (Fontein 1989, 51). These double good deeds give him a rebirth as a person both rich and generous. The most interesting thing is shown by the head ornament of both of them in the form of a diadem or *jamang* which has exactly the same form worn by a traditional *serimpi*-dancer.

Compared to the above-mentioned groups of people, the low groups of common people are more lively exposed on the Karmavibhanga reliefs. Based on their appearance, the lowest class of people, like fisherman and servants of the noble or rich man but

who are working in closed area, like a kitchen, most of them are males, wear only loin clothes and no adornment. But on further investigation, we know that they have holes in their ear-lobes. They seem to wear ear ornaments on special days, like visiting temples and paying homage to officials, and change their *dhoti* into a knee-length trousers. The women are always clad in ankle-length dress or *kain*. We should pay our attention to the scarf which is worn or used by all layers of society:

1. scarf worn by *rsis* or rulers to sit on a dais, folds one of the knees and ties it around the waist by way of scarf as a token of taking a rest.
2. a long scarf, tied up around the hips in a sloping way and for a man tied up a buckle (0 113). Especially for ladies it gives a graceful impression.
3. a long scarf as an attribute for female dancers, but nowadays for male dancers also. It is called *sampur* or *sonder*.
4. scarf for common people, to carry their children, in the reliefs it is done by the husband, while the wife carries a bundle on her head (the Balinese way). The scarf is here called *selendang*. The wife puts her *selendang* on her left shoulder.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Badil, Rudi, dan Rangkuti N., (eds). 1989. *Rahasia di Kaki Borobudur, the Hidden Foot of Borobudur*. Jakarta, Katalis.
- Bernet Kempers, AJ. 1976. "Buddhist Mystery in Stone," "Decay and Restoration," "Mendut and Pawon", "Folk Life in Ancient Java," in *Ageless Borobudur*. Servire, Wassenaar.
- De Casparis, JG. 1954. Sedikit tentang Golongan-golongan di Dalam Masyarakat Jawa Kuna. *Amerta*, 2: 44-47.
- Fontein, Jan. 1989. "The Law of Cause and Effect in Ancient Java," *Verhandelingen Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 140*. North Holland, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York/Tokyo, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
- Gonda, J. 1954. *Aspects of Early Visnuism*. Utrecht, NVA Oosthoek's Mitgevers Mij.
- Kal, Wilhelmina H. 1991. (ed). *Precious Metals in Early SoutheastAsia, Proceedings of the Second Seminar on Gold Studies*. Royal Tropical Institute, Tropenmuseum.
- Krom, NJ. 1933. *Het Karmavibhanga op Borobudur*, Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen. Afdeling Letterkunde, Del 76, Serie B. Amsterdam, Uitgave van de NV Noord-Hollandse Uitgevens Maatschappij.
- Paul, Debjani. 1978. "Deity or Deified King? Reflections on A Unique Waisnavite Sculpture from Java," *Artibus Asiae*, Vol XL Separatum.
- Pigeaud, Th. G. 1960-1963. *Java in the Fourteenth Century*.
- Sivaramamurti, 1960. *C. Le Stupa du Barabudur*. Presses Universitaires de France.



## PERFORMING ARTS IN ANCIENT JAVA AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE RELIEFS ON BOROBUDUR

by

Prof. Dr. Timbul Haryono

To begin with, it might be appropriate to first introduce some features of the Borobudur ancient monument. The aerial view posted below show the structure of the whole Buddhist stupa-sanctuary, consisting of ten concentric levels. It is the six rectangular lower levels of the construction that contain rows of narrative reliefs, with different stories on it. The picture on the right shows the so-called “hidden base” of the sanctuary that contains the visual interpretation of the *Karmavibhangga* text. The next illustrations are scenes from different parts of the sanctuary that contain depictions of performances.



Fig.17.1. Bird-eye view of Borobudur

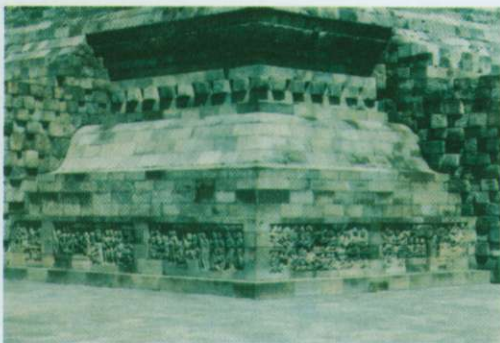


Fig.17.2. The south- east corners of the hidden base of Borobudur

Several reliefs which represent some kind of performing arts:



Fig.17.3. Relief of Candi Borobudur



Fig.17.4. Relief of Candi Borobudur



Fig.17.5. Relief no.05



Fig.17.6. Relief no.053



Fig.17.7. Relief no.O102



Fig.17.8. Relief no.O52



Fig.17.9. Relief no.O149

To review those pictures, different kinds of performances can be identified, namely as follows:

- (1) on the top row of the picture heavenly beings are playing different kinds of musical instrument, such as drums (conical as well as barrel-vaulted), and a stringed instrument of the lute type;
- (2) two dancers are dancing in unison, to the accompaniments of



several musical instruments, consisting of a set of three barrel-vaulted drums, cymbals (?) and possibly hand claps and singing; the aim of the dancing and music making seems to be to allure the meditating Buddha;

- (3) a dance depicting fighting scene, done by four male dancers with 'aggressive' movements, each dancer holding a shield and a sword-like weapon in their hands; some of the audience seem to give specific enthusiastic reactions to the show;
- (4) this panel consists of two scenes, in both of them there is a depiction of a performance; on the right hand side there is a lute (or zither?) player that possibly accompany a soft-style dancer, while on the left hand side there are three (or five?) performers, each of them making music in different ways: using a pair of percussive 'sticks', clapping hands, an indistinctly depicted instrument, and blowing a mouth organ; the mouth organ is of the type of a *kedire* of the Dayak people of Borneo;
- (5) this panel shows music making in the centre of the scene, by a solo lute player attended by two *kinnaras* (half bird heavenly beings); the lute has a very long body (handle and resonator);
- (6) this panel depicts a street performance on its left hand side; on the scene there is one cymbal player, one drum player, an acrobat carrying a big log on his mouth, and a female dancer showing a standard classical style dance pose;
- (7) this last example of a performing scene shows one female dancer showing a standard classical style, while the two sitting musicians accompany her with a pair of cymbals and a 'pot drum'.

## Supporting Inscriptional Data on Performances

Inscriptions from the 9<sup>th</sup> and beginning 10<sup>th</sup> century AD do have some information on performing arts, namely regarding the terms to denominate certain professions in the field of performing arts. Quotes from the inscriptions and some commentary on them are as follows.

### (a) *Wukajana Inscription* (9<sup>th</sup> century AD)

**Text:**    *hinyunakĕn*  
              *tontonan*  
              *mamidu sang tangkil hyang*  
              *si nalu macarita bhima kumara mangigel kicaka*  
              *sijaluk macarita Ramayana*  
              *mamirus mabanyol si mungmuk*  
              *si galigi mawayang buatt hyang*

### Comments:

It can be identified from the above mentioned quote the kinds of professions, or special abilities, in performing arts, namely:

- \* *mamidu*            = singer
- \* *macarita*           = story teller
- \* *mangingĕl*        = dancer
- \* *mabanyol*        = jester, joker
- \* *mawayang*       = puppeteer

The quoted text indicates more specifically that the whole list of performances is called *tontonan*, which means “something to be seen”; two stories were presented through narration on the respective occasion, namely the story of Rama and that of Bhima. The story of “Bhima

kumara" (= the youthful Bhima) is mentioned in a breath with "mangigĕl Kicaka" (= to dance Kicaka). In fact we know from the *Mahābhārata* story that Kicaka is conquered by Bhima. Therefore, it might mean that narrative performance about the young Bhima was accompanied by a dance of Kicaka before he is slain by Bhima. One more note should be given on the predicate "*buatt hyang*" for "*mawayang*", which means that in this special case the *wayang* (puppet) performance was dedicated to the god (*hyang*, which may mean any deity, or the deified ancestors).

**(b) Poh Inscription** (9<sup>th</sup> century AD)

**Text:** (II.b.5) .... *rara mabhramana tinonton sikarigna sidarini*  
*muang sirumpuk muang wĕrĕh-wĕrehnya sijaway si*  
*baryut...*

**Comments:**

In this quote all the performers are called by name, and the article "si" before their names indicates that they belong to the lower class, which might mean that they were local performers. The words "*rara mabhramana tinonton*" which means "a maiden to be seen (performing) from place to place" indicates that she belongs to the type of travelling performers, or also called *menmen* in other texts. In this case they are accompanied by their *wĕrĕh* (young man, adolescence), the role of which is still unclear.

**(c) Kuti Inscription** (9<sup>th</sup> century AD)

**Text:** ... *hanapuk warahan kecaka tarimba hatapukan haringgit*  
*abanyol salahantan parabyapara samangilala drbya haji...*

**Comments:**

In this part it is indicated about the kinds of performers mentioned, that their business should not be intruded by other parties, especially in this



case the whole group of the *mangilala dr̥bya haji* (the king's revenue collectors). Another possibility of meaning for this quote is that all performers mentioned here are members of the *mangilala dr̥wya haji*. P.J. Zoetmulder, however, in his *Old Javanese — English Dictionary*, 1982 (page 2203, under the entry of *warahari*) has the opinion that *warahan* (and others, such as: *widu mangidung*, *tuhapadahi*, etc.) belongs to the *watēk i jro*, or *mangilala dr̥wya haji* group of professionals. This group belongs to the king's administration. That would mean that they make their living by giving their services to the king or the kingdom. The kinds of performer mentioned here are:

- (1) *hanapuk warahan* (performer wearing mask, possibly accompanied by dialogues or narratives that are educational in its purpose);
- (2) *kecaka* (possibly refers to a particular kind of a dance, as suggested by Zoetmulder, in 1982:862; see under *kicaka*),
- (3) *tarimba* (?);
- (4) *hatapukan* (mask performer);
- (5) *haringgit* (puppet theatre performer); and
- (6) *abanyol salahan* (possibly jester or joker making use of controversies of meanings and gestures).

**(d) Panggumulan Inscription (902 AD)**

**Text:** ... *samangkana inigēlakēn hana mapadahi marēgang si  
catu rama ni kriya mabrēkuk si wira....*

**Comments:**

The articles in front of names is again *si*, indicating that the persons mentioned are from the village community. This quote suggests that

dancing is done: *samangkana inigēlakēn* (= “at that moment they do the dancing”), “with the presence of (*hand*) the musicians that play the drum (*mapadahi*) and the cymbals (*marēgang*) respectively. It might mean that the drum player and the cymbal player accompany the dancing.

Those are selected quotations from inscriptions of the more or less Borobudur era. A further survey on ancient Javanese inscriptions would give us a longer list of musical instruments. Following the basic classification of musical instruments can be mentioned the following names found in inscriptions.

**(a) idiophones:**

*tuwung, curing, rēgang, brēkuk, kangsi, ganding, bungkul*

**(b) membranophones:**

*padahi/pataha/padaha, muraba/murawa, mrdangga/mrdala, kēndang, bahiri, panawa*

**(c) aerophones:**

*kahala, śangkha, suling, bangsa/wangsi/vamsi*

**(d) chordophones**

*wina, lawuwina, rawanahasta, makinarawina*

A general word for music in Old Javanese is *tabēh-tabēhan*, which actually mean specifically music coming out from percussion instruments. No word for music in a very general sense has come to light yet. For musical instrument in general the term used was *wāditra* or *wādatra*.

## General Notes on Performing Art

Based on the data as has been noted earlier, it can be concluded

that at the beginning of the ninth century AD various kinds of performing art had been widely known in Javanese society. It can be classified into two categories, the performing art for the high class and for the lower class. Related to this matter, in the twelve century AD it was mentioned in the inscription about '*agěnding i haji*' and '*agěnding ambaran*' and also '*awayang i haji*' and '*awayang ambaran*'. The first group refers to artists of the palace (king - *haji*) as the group of '*watěk i jro*' and '*sang mangilala drwya haji*'. '*Agěnding i haji*' means 'musician of the palace' while '*awayang i haji*' means 'puppeteer or *dalang* of the palace' (*dalang kraton*). The second group is under the term '*ambaran*' means artists of outside of the palace who did the performance at the village. In the modern Javanese word is '*ambarang*' or '*mbarang*'. The name of the artists preseded by '*si*' clearly refers to name of villager of the lower class. It is of great interest that some inscriptions mentioned a performance termed as '*menmen*' that might be '*ngamen*' in modern Javanese word.

The musical instruments carved on Borobudur relief can also be classified into two group, that is, local musical instrument (Javanese musical instrument) such as *curing*, *brekuk*, *bungkuk*, *tuwung*. Most of the local musical instruments are played by village artists. One of the scene showing that the performance was performed at the market. The other group is Indian musical instruments as it is known from its name such as '*vina ravanahasta*' (string instrument in the form of the hand of Ravana) and '*lawuwina*'. The relief shows that the Indian musical instruments might be used for religious performance at the temple or stupa.

In the period of Borobudur wayang is just at the beginning in its form and it is not clear what did it looked like. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century (the East Javanese period) it is little bit clear that wayang is made of leather and carved. The book *Arjunawiwaha kakawin* (Old Javanese)



mentioned '*walulang inukir*' (leather which is carved) *molah angucap*. The popular story is about Bima, the second brother of the Five Pandawa. It seems likely that the performance of wayang was functioned as ritual performance in ancestor worship as it is said in the inscription '*mawayang buatt hyang*' (performance of wayang for the ancestor).

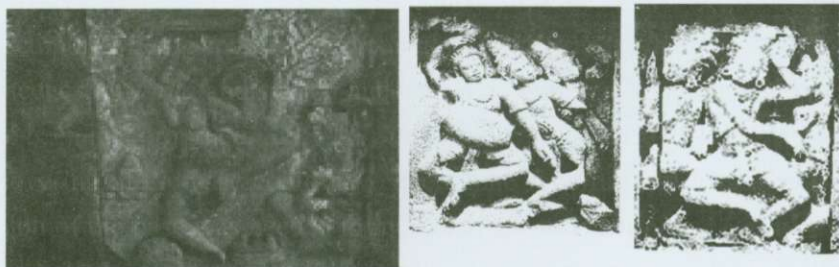


Fig.17.10. Dancing figures carved at the Prambanan temple (Indian style)

## REFERENCES

- Boechari. 1985/1986. *Prasasti Koleksi Museum nasional Jilid I*. Jakarta: Proyek Pengembangan Museum Nasional.
- Haryono, Timbul. 1985. Instrumen Gamelan dalam Relief Candi di Jawa. Dalam Soedarsono dkk (ed.) *Pengaruh India, Islam dan Barat dalam Proses Pembentukan Kebudayaan Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Proyek Javanologi.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. *Seni Pertunjukan dan Seni Rupa dalam Perspektif Arkeologi*. Surakarta: ISI Press Solo.
- Kunst, Jaap. 1968. *Hindu-Javanese Musical Instruments*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- Krom. N.J. *Borobudur*.
- Kunst, Jaap. 1973. *Music in java Its History, Its Theory and Its Technique*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- Sedyawati, Edi. 1985 Pengaruh India pada Kesenian Jawa: Suatu Tinjauan Proses Akulturasi. Dalam Soedarsono dkk (ed.) *Pengaruh India, Islam dan Barat dalam Proses Pembentukan Kebudayaan Jawa*. Yogyakarta: Proyek Javanologi.
- Surti Nastiti, Titi. 1982. *Tiga Prasasti dari Masa Balitung*. Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional.

**CHAPTER V**  
**PHOTOGRAPHS DOCUMENTATION**



## **EARLY PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE DUTCH EAST INDIES: BETWEEN ART AND OBJECTIVITY**

by

Sadijah Boonstra

### **Introduction**

Until 1885 the hidden base was a well-kept secret of Borobudur. Just a few years later in 1890 -1891 the hidden base was laid bare to reveal its reliefs to the world, for once. To save the images on the reliefs for posterity Kassian Céphas (1844-1912) made one photograph of each relief. In addition he made four photographs to give an impression of how the base is attached to Borobudur. In 1929 Th. Van Erp (1874-1958) gave the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, the 160 original collodion negatives made by Céphas of the hidden base. The four photographs that give an overall impression were not included. Over the past hundred years, two negatives did not survive for unknown reasons. This means that still 158 original collodion negatives of the reliefs of the hidden base remain in the collection of Tropenmuseum.

To have the original collodion negatives made by Céphas in the collection is a great privilege. The experience of holding the remaining negatives feels like holding a genuine treasure. It raises the awareness of their uniqueness as the only original sources of the hidden base. The clichés are the only remains of the one moment in history the hidden base was laid bare in its entirety to be photographed. Without these negatives no reproductions could have been made, and study of the hidden base would have been impossible. If a negative shatters into pieces on the ground, a unique witness of the hidden base will be lost forever.

Taking the original collodion negatives as a starting-point

many basic questions arise. How was photography valued in Dutch East Indies in the nineteenth century and how does that reflect on contemporary study of the hidden base? What was Céphas' place in it? How did Céphas manage to make immaculate photographs, which was by no means an easy job under difficult tropical circumstances? What happened to the photographs and the original negatives? With questions like these in mind this paper deals with early photography in the Dutch East Indies with a focus on archaeology in general and on the Borobudur specifically.

### **Photographic experimentation and archaeology**

The interest in archaeology had become common in the whole of Europe since Napoleon's military and scientific expedition into Egypt around 1800. The focus lay on antiquities in the Near East, Greece and Italy, but also led to an interest in antiquities in other areas.<sup>1</sup> In the Dutch East Indies, the Dutch government had been active in the archaeological field since 1805 with a concentration on the remains of Hindu-Javanese culture in Java.<sup>2</sup>

Since economic interest dominated the Dutch presence in the East Indies, consequently, there was hardly any concern for the population and their contemporary culture. The image of the culture and of the political organisation of the indigenous people was negative. Colonised people were regarded as 'weaker' and 'morally lower' and stood in contrast with the European self-image. The colonizers tried to reinforce this negative image by drawing a distinction between the great achievements of Hindu-Javanese culture and what was regarded as the low level of contemporary indigenous culture.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Theuns and Asser: 99.

<sup>2</sup> Groeneveld: 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*: 20.

Due to the growth of archaeological interest, the demand for detailed knowledge of antiquities and art treasures increased immensely both in Europe and the colonies.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Stamford Raffles' *The history of Java* (1817) contained schematic engravings of antiquities and fine aquatints of ruined temples, but since then nothing of any importance had been published which was enlivened with detailed illustrations of Javanese antiquities.

The invention of photography promised a good alternative. In 1839 Louis Daguerre developed a chemical process to affix an image to a light-sensitive surface. The daguerreotype produced a direct positive image on a silver-coated plate. The image could not be reproduced unless it was copied onto another surface.<sup>5</sup> Immediately, photography was considered as so quick and accurate that no drawing could surpass the authenticity of photographs. The objectivity of this French invention seemed an extremely useful technique for archaeological research, since it could reproduce the temples of Egypt and hieroglyphics without forgetting a single detail.<sup>6</sup> The use of natural light, the 'sun picture' or 'pencil of nature' as photography was also termed, allowed the world to reveal its truthfulness in pictures.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the new technique enabled scientists, students, and art lovers to study and compare antiquities and objects of art without having actually seen them.<sup>8</sup>

The Dutch Ministry of Colonies was exceptionally early in giving a photographic assignment to the army health officer Jurriaan Munnich (1817-1865) in 1840. He was sent to 'test and employ photography in our tropical regions'.<sup>9</sup> To this end he had to make daguerreotypes of buildings and antiquities. Under tropical

<sup>4</sup> Theuns and Asser: 99.

<sup>5</sup> Williams: 168-169.

<sup>6</sup> Theuns and Asser: 99.

<sup>7</sup> Ryan: 54.

<sup>8</sup> Groeneveld: 15-16

<sup>9</sup> Adams: 10; Groeneveld: 16.



circumstances the daguerreotype process is very difficult to execute, since the process is extremely sensitive to moisture and temperature. Munnich published an article about his photographic experiments in *De Koptist* in 1842. Due to the difficult circumstances of photographing the result of sixty-four photographs was rather disappointing.<sup>10</sup>

Instead, the assignment was given to the German Adolph Schaefer, another daguerreotypist, who worked in The Hague in 1843.<sup>11</sup> Schaefer offered the Dutch government to supply photographs in return for a free passage to Batavia and an allowance for the first months. Schaefer received a large sum of money to buy new equipment and to visit Daguerre himself for some first-hand information in Paris. He departed for the Dutch East Indies with ten wooden crates and forty-nine cans with chemicals and silver plates.<sup>12</sup>

In 1844 Schaefer arrived in Batavia and was ordered to photograph the statues in the collections of Hindu-Javanese sculptures of the Batavian Society of Art and Sciences (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen). The Society was in charge of care, research and conservation of antiquities in the Dutch East Indies. Schaefer demanded 120 to 130 guilders per negative, whereas prices of ten to fifteen guilders were usual in Europe. The government regarded his prices as much too high and it was decided to pay Schaefer a total of 800 guilders. After this assignment, he took photographs of the archaeological objects of the Society.<sup>13</sup>

The year thereafter he departed from Batavia to photograph Borobudur where he was the first ever to make photographs (fifty-eight

---

<sup>10</sup> Moeshart: 21.

<sup>11</sup> Groeneveld: 16.

<sup>12</sup> Moeshart: 21.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*.

daguerreotypes) of the monument.<sup>14</sup> Schaefer experienced the same difficulties as Munnich due to tropical circumstances. The preparation of the plates was very difficult and there was no suitable darkroom in the house that was set-aside for him. Wind and dust could enter the traditional open building freely. Taking the picture was maybe even more difficult. Due to the narrow corridors of the Borobudur, he could not get sufficient distance of the reliefs to get them in their entirety on a single photograph. He was forced to take two overlapping photographs of the reliefs covering several plates, which was a rather expensive method and did not meet scientific standards. He envisaged needing four or five years, and 4000 to 5000 plates to get all the reliefs photographed. Schaeffer was willing to undertake this massive task the condition that he would be paid 150,000 guilders in monthly instalments during the work. This was a huge sum for that period and beyond the financial capacities of the colonial government. Therefore, the governor general suspended the effort.<sup>15</sup>

In a certain way photography one of the many reproduction techniques emerging in the nineteenth century, promising exceptional possibilities.<sup>16</sup> But the early photographic experiments did not progress beyond the odd illustration as production costs were out of all proportion. Photography promised to be a cheaper alternative, but the promise could not be met in the experimental period. Therefore after 1845 photographic initiatives temporarily came to a standstill in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>17</sup> The government harked back to the more traditional graphic technique. F.C. Wilsen (1813-1889), an officer of the Royal

<sup>14</sup> Munnich's fifty-eight daguerreotypes remain in the collection of the Prentenkabinet in Leiden, the Netherlands.

<sup>15</sup> Adams: 10; Groeneveld: 16; Moeshart: 22.

<sup>16</sup> Theuns and Asser: 95.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*: 99-101.

Engineers, was commissioned to make drawings of Borobudur and all the reliefs in 1848. With the help of an assistant he drew 988 reliefs on 476 sheets in four years. The drawings show many inaccuracies and additions, on account of which they were not considered suitable for scientific study. Nevertheless, in 1873 a publication of his work was prepared by the director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, Conrad Leemans (1809-1893).<sup>18</sup>

### **Photography as art**

From about the 1860's onwards, significant progress was made in the technical aspects of the photo-procédé. The collodion or wet-plate glass process made photography less complicated and much faster, and reproduction possible. This brought about an increase in the use of photography. By now, the technique was widely used for documenting ancient treasures and archaeological findings. Egypt in particular was popular among steadily growing numbers of scholars and adventurous travellers.<sup>19</sup> In the 1860s the English organised an 'archaeological survey' in India for which photography was used. For reasons of prestige the Dutch government did not want to stay behind.<sup>20</sup>

In 1862 the Dutch government and the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, launched a new archaeology policy. A scientifically trained antiquities expert had to undertake an inventory tour to see, describe and comment on Hindu-Javanese antiquities. Photographs should be taken of the foremost examples of ancient Javanese culture so that these could be made available 'for the entire scientific world'.<sup>21</sup> The antiquities expert was found in Jan Frederik Gerrit Brumund (1814-1863), who had to make the inventory and decide which antiquities

<sup>18</sup> Adams: 10; Groeneveld: 16.

<sup>19</sup> Theuns and Asser: 99.

<sup>20</sup> Groeneveld: 20.

<sup>21</sup> Theuns and Asser: 39.



should be photographed. A photographer was harder to find.

Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905), photographer and theatre maker delivered a beautiful set of photographs of Borobudur and the Prambanan temple complex to the Society. These photographs, taken on a trip with governor-general Sloet van de Beele, convinced the Society of his photographic and artistic abilities. The next year, the Society agreed with Van Kinsbergen that he would deliver around 300 photographs of the foremost Javanese antiquities within three years. Every month, Van Kinsbergen would send six prints of new negatives to the Society. The Society would pay him 37.500 guilders. This enormous sum of money indicates that photography still could not fulfil the promise of being a cheap alternative for drawings.<sup>22</sup>

Van Kinsbergen could take his photographs of the antiquities entirely according to his own technical and artistic insights. In 1863 he started his assignment, and finished it four years later. The Society was highly pleased with the result and gave Van Kinsbergen another commission to make a series of photographs of Borobudur.<sup>23</sup> He had a clear-cut photographic task: only the finest and best preserved bas-reliefs had to be photographed. In 1873 Van Kinsbergen took up the huge challenge of photographing Borobudur. But before he could set to his task, the temple had to be cleared from rubbish, for which he got extensive help from the resident of Kedu. It took an army of forced labourers several months to clear and clean the Borobudur. And then, the artist faced a new challenge.<sup>24</sup>

As mentioned, taking photographs in the tropics was a difficult task, especially while traveling. By the 1870's the technological development of the collodion process may have been more or less standardized – as far as one could speak of 'standardized' in the

<sup>22</sup> Groeneveld: 18-20, Theuns and Asser: 41.

<sup>23</sup> Groeneveld: 18-20.

<sup>24</sup> Theuns and Asser: 73.

nineteenth century – but in the tropics a photographer's knowledge of chemistry and optics was extremely put to the test. The atmospheric conditions had a major impact on the chemicals and the camera. The high temperatures dried the collodion so fast that the sensitivity to light declined dramatically. Consequently, the photographer had to work so quickly that there was barely time to check the compositions properly.<sup>25</sup>

These difficulties are very well illustrated by Thomas Pryce, a British amateur photographer, in an article in *Tijdschrift voor Photographie* in 1865. 'The heat, sometimes almost intolerable, the dust, the glare, the non-actinic quality of the light; the slight but constant wind, which keeps almost every leaf in motion, the dense and dark foliage, all produce difficulties, for the surmounting of which no ordinary amount of patience and perseverance is required. Add to these the expense and difficulty of procuring good chemicals, and the dampness of the atmosphere, which seems to delight in damaging everything to which it has access, and some idea may be formed of the troubles which have to be contended with'.<sup>26</sup>

However, it was not only the tropical circumstances that frustrated Van Kinsbergen's work. As Schaefer did years earlier, Van Kinsbergen experienced the narrowness of the corridors of Borobudur, which limited his choice of objects far more than he wished. He was only able to photograph entire reliefs on corners or directly in front of steps. To avoid the narrowness of the corridors and to be able to position his camera at such a distance that he could get two reliefs on a single negative, he constructed a special scaffold. Due to these troubles and his personality the work progressed slowly. Sometimes it took him ten days to make one photograph.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*: 105.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*; Pryce, 1865: 83. Zie ook Pryce: 1864.

<sup>27</sup> Groeneveld: 18-20.

Van Kinsbergen strived for the most beautiful photographic depictions of the reliefs he could possibly make. In order to achieve this he first cleaned all the selected reliefs and sculptures. He removed the dark, grey and greeny moss deposit from the reliefs using a brush from coconut palm, and clay from the surrounding area. He also tried to restore them to some extent as far as available materials allowed.<sup>28</sup>

Van Kinsbergen took sixty-five photographs of the Borobudur in total, but his choice of objects does not give an accurate impression of the temple, since several crucial photographs are missing. For instance, he did not take long shots in galleries to give an impression of the narrowness of the corridors. However, we must concur with the Batavian Society's conclusion, 'in all reasonableness we could not expect anything more from him'.<sup>29</sup> In 1875 later twelve copies of his album on the Borobudur were published, each containing forty photographs.<sup>30</sup>

In all his photographs of Javanese antiquities Van Kinsbergen tried to capture a sense of monumentality. As far as the situation allowed he sought for a view-point that showed off the characteristic form of the building, sculpture or artefact. He often photographed temples and large objects from a low angle to create a low horizon, which caused the objects to stand out against the background. The viewer had to be given a good idea of the size and volume of an object, but he never used people to give a sense of scale, although this is a tried and tested method in photography. For instance, in the 1890's, Kassian Céphas (1844-1912) often depicted himself and his son Sem amid the ruins of the Prambanan temple complex and the Borobudur.<sup>31</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Theuns and Asser: 75.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*: 77; Adams: 10-11.

<sup>30</sup> Adams: 10-11.

<sup>31</sup> Theuns and Asser: 109- 111.



Van Kinsbergen creatively used the environment with its trees, bushes and streams to enliven his compositions. He placed a screen behind a sculpture to isolate it from its environment when he wanted to emphasize the form and character. He also occasionally resorted to a pitch-black background that was to become his trademark, by removing the layer of emulsion on the negative.<sup>32</sup> Often, Van Kinsbergen worked with images that filled the entire picture or were simplified in order to do justice to details of the reliefs on richly decorated temples. Possibly, he sometimes chose a lens with a slightly wider angle that enabled him to creep up close to the subject while retaining a large depth of field. In contrast to the attention he paid to achieve this monumentality stand the few overall views he took of the places he visited.<sup>33</sup> In Van Kinsbergen's approach, each photograph he made had to be a small work of art. Although the early believe in photography lay in its objectivity, the techniques Van Kinsbergen used for archaeological assignments had little to do with scholarly execution.<sup>34</sup>

Van Kinsbergen's approach was both celebrated and criticized. His work was appreciated for his recognition of the beauty of ancient Javanese art. He photographed what he liked without a desire to convey to the viewer an overall impression of the monuments and sculptures. The power of his images lay in his artistic approach. In *De Gids* G.P. Rouffaer, expert on Java, praised the 'everlasting joy' of his work, 'The triumph of art – as photography can be!'<sup>35</sup> Leemans, director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, criticized Van Kinsbergen's use of light and shade. Van Kinsbergen used direct sunlight to give depth and liveliness to the sculpture he photographed. The few photographs he took in the shadow have a greater flatness about them. The

---

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*: 111.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*: 109- 111.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*: 115.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*: 115.

contrasting and dramatic use of available light makes his photographs interesting, but also less useable for scientific research. According to Leemans: 'In many [pictures] the contrast between light and shade is too strong, so that the details of the original have become virtually unrecognisable. In general that shrill sharp distinction between black and white creates an unpleasant effect.'<sup>36</sup>

There were also other photographers of antiquities, which resulted in quite a considerable production of archaeological photographs. Although the general public showed little interest in them, the colonial government gave large assignments in the field of archaeology to maintain the uneven power balance in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>37</sup>

### **Photography as permanent record for posterity**

An important photographer of antiquities in the Dutch East Indies after Van Kinsbergen is Kassian Céphas (1844-1912). According to Fontein, followed by Theuns and Asser, it seems likely that Céphas started his career as a photographer in the studio of Van Kinsbergen, since he is the only photographer who is known to have lived in Yogyakarta at the time.<sup>38</sup> However, Knaap believes that court photographer S.W. Camerik (1830-1897) trained Céphas between 1861 and 1871. Céphas was probably appointed court painter and photographer to Sultan's Hamengkubuwana VII in Yogyakarta as early as 1871. He received this appointment through the intervention of his friend, Isaac Groneman (1832-1912), court physician to the same Sultan.<sup>39</sup>

Céphas' name was first mentioned in 1884. In that year Céphas took sixteen photograms for a book written by Groneman on court rituals,

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*: 113.

<sup>37</sup> Groeneveld: 20.

<sup>38</sup> Fontein: 46.

<sup>39</sup> Knaap: 7.

dances and regalia. A few years later, in 1888, Groneman published another book *In den Kedaton te Jogjakarta* that described the religious festivals and the ceremonial pageants and parades held in the *keraton*. With this publication, Groneman hoped to create interest in this aspect of 'Oriental' culture among the audience in the Netherlands. Again, Céphas provided the photographic record that constituted the principal value of these publications. The documentation that Céphas was able to provide of the ceremonies performed in the *keraton* is virtually unique and a valuable source of late-nineteenth century Javanese cultural history.<sup>40</sup> As a court photographer he needed the Sultan's permission for such extracurricular activities; it was always requested and invariably granted. With the Sultan's permission, Céphas made a set of more than sixteen pictures of Hindu-Javanese dance scenes. This was the first time that Céphas' work appeared for a wider public. High reproduction costs, however, forced the writer and publishers to limit the publication to 16 collotypes only in a special portfolio.<sup>41</sup>

Céphas always tried to keep up with new developments and the many technical advances in the field of photography. In 1886, he bought a camera for 'photographic instantanee', which could take a picture in 1/400<sup>th</sup> of a second. Before that time, people being photographed had to remain still for a few moments, which sometimes proved rather difficult. Céphas wanted to make photographs of several sites in town with the new camera and sell large-size prints of them to the public for one guilder each. A few months later, the editor of the local newspaper stated that Céphas' 'photographic instantanee' could compete with the best photographic works from Europe. His work began to be regularly purchased as farewell presents for members of the local European elite

---

<sup>40</sup> Fontein: 46.

<sup>41</sup> Knaap: 15.



when they left Yogyakarta for another place in the Archipelago or for Europe.<sup>42</sup>

The period 1889-1890 seems to have been a busy time for Céphas. From 1873 the colonial government had less money for systematic archaeological research because the Aceh war had broken out in that year. Thereupon many private initiatives developed. In 1885 the Union for Antiquities, Linguistics, Geography and Ethnography or Vereeniging voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Archaeological Union or Archaeologische Vereeniging) privately financed excavations of antiquities. It was founded in Yogyakarta by railway engineer Dr Ir J.W. IJzerman (1851-1932) and the earlier mentioned Groneman.<sup>43</sup> In the period 1889-1890 the Archeological Union started activities aimed at the study and preservation of the ancient monuments of Hindu-Javanese civilization in Central Java. The excavation and photographing of the temple complex at Prambanan had high priority, and became their best-known undertaking. In 1890 the colonial government made 3000 guilders available for the completion of the work. Céphas was the photographer of the project, and made in 1889 and 1890 within three months sixty-four photographs of the temples Prambanan and Candi Siva on instructions of Groneman.<sup>44</sup>

Céphas's photographs constitute the most significant part of the publication of Groneman's *Candi Prambanan in Central Java After the Excavation*, which was not published until 1893. The result of Céphas's work is an extremely accurate and comprehensive record. It turned out to be of considerable documentary value to the restorers of the temples and their reliefs.<sup>45</sup> Céphas' son Sem drew ground-plans and

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*: 15-16.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*: 31.

<sup>44</sup> Groeneveld: 31; Fontein: 46.

<sup>45</sup> Groeneveld: 31; Fontein: 46.

profiles of the buildings.<sup>46</sup> Afterwards, Rouffaer, who had praised Van Kinsbergen, criticized Céphas's work. According to Rouffaer Céphas had shown 'a lack of good taste' and had 'not given himself enough time to particularly represent certain things of exceptional beauty. The sixty-four photographs lack clarity, character and strength. Céphas has reduced photography to an ordinary mechanical craft'.<sup>47</sup>

The already famous Borobudur was also high on the agenda of the Archaeological Union. In 1885 the first chairman of the Union, IJzerman, discovered accidentally the hidden base of Borobudur. He expected that 300 reliefs with explanatory inscriptions were buried under the ground.<sup>48</sup> Once the base was opened in 1890, this proved to be an overestimation. However, IJzerman immediately recognized the value of his discovery and pleaded for research of the hidden base. He also had ideas about the manner in which this research should be carried out: "A narrow trench could immediately lead to this goal; the stones can be removed along several meters length and be put back in place after the work is carried out."<sup>49</sup>

The Union under the chairmanship of Groneman, who was IJzerman's successor since 1886, requested the colonial government to finance the uncovering and photographing of all the reliefs in phases. The request was not granted, but in the Netherlands the Minister of Colonies was prepared to finance this plan and made 9000 guilders available on his budget of 1890.<sup>50</sup>

Because of the valuable record Céphas provided for the Prambanan temple complex, the Union commissioned him to take photographs of all the reliefs within six months in 1890. It was agreed that he would make fifteen prints of each negative that were to be

<sup>46</sup> Knaap: 16.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*: 25.

<sup>48</sup> IJzerman: 261.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibidem*: 267-268.

<sup>50</sup> Krom and Van Erp: 101; Knaap: 16.

distributed as indicated by the Union. The Batavian Society of Art and Sciences would take care of the clichés Céphas would make.<sup>51</sup> A few years earlier Céphas had calculated that about 300 photographs would be needed for the project. It would take half an hour to shoot each picture and develop the glass negative. The technique used for the negatives was the dry gelatine process, which became widely available after 1880. This technology made use of dry plates that could be prepared beforehand. It was calculated that an assignment would take 150 hours or thirty days of five hours. Céphas' price for the production was ten guilders. Based on this calculation, it seems that Céphas received about one-third of the project's total subsidy.<sup>52</sup>

The work commenced and was carried out in accordance with IJzerman's ideas; a narrow trench was made, which was broad enough for Céphas to make his photographs. After he shot his pictures – one photograph of each relief-, the trench was closed and a new one was made.<sup>53</sup> Céphas made 164 photographs in total of the hidden base: 160 of the reliefs and four photographs that give a general impression of the hidden base. The 164 clichés were packed in seven wooden boxes and handed over to the Society.<sup>54</sup>

The strength of Céphas' images lies in the objectivity of the records he made of monuments, antiquities, court nobility and ceremonial life in the *keraton*. He strived for a faithful, meticulous and complete record in his photographic work. Céphas was conscientious and fully aware of the importance of permanent records to posterity. Therefore he captured the images of the reliefs without interpreting them. The nature of his photographs of the hidden base is objective

<sup>51</sup> Not. Bat. Gen. 7 October 1890, pp. 100-1.

<sup>52</sup> Knaap: 16.

<sup>53</sup> Bernet Kempers: 225.

<sup>54</sup> Not. Bat. Gen. 3 September 1891, pp. 74.



and accurate. Looking at the images of the hidden base brings about an experience of having-actually-been-there.

The fifteen sets of photographs Céphas made were distributed; they changed hands, found a use, a meaning and a value through their circulation in scientific and social networks. The photographs circulated mainly to discover the content of the images on the reliefs. Prof. J.H.C. Kern (1833-1917) started research, and used Céphas' photographs to decipher the Sanskrit inscriptions on the reliefs in 1895. In 1911 Dr Th. Van Erp (1874-1958) made enlargements of the photographs and sent part of those to Kern for reconsideration. This resulted in the discovery of ten new inscriptions and a better reading of twelve others. N.J. Krom (1883-1945) published the entire series thirty years later in collotype in the standard work on the Borobudur, 1920-1931. In 1929, the French orientalist and indologist Sylvain Lévi (1863-1935) ascertained that the reliefs on the hidden base depicted the Mahakarmawibhangga. In 1933, Krom published an extensive analysis in Dutch of the Mahakarmawibhangga on the reliefs of the hidden base. These studies have never been challenged as the basis for contemporary knowledge and interpretation of the hidden base.

On January 6, 1929, the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam got a precious gift from the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Netherlands Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology) through Van Erp: Céphas' 160 original glass negatives of the reliefs of the hidden base of Borobudur, but not the four that give a general impression of the base. Nowadays the Tropenmuseum has 158 collodion negatives of the reliefs of the hidden base in its collection.<sup>55</sup> 153 of them are original negatives, five are reproduction negatives<sup>56</sup>, and two did not

---

<sup>55</sup> Inventory numbers 1001 5739 – 1001 5895

<sup>56</sup> Reproduction negatives of reliefs O3, O4, O5, O19, O150 with inventory numbers respectively 10015741, 10015742, 10015743, 10015757, 10015886.

survive the times for unknown reasons (reliefs O68 en O160). The Tropenmuseum also has three sets of photographs. Two sets are prints of the whole negative and the other set are excisions of the reliefs. The sets of photographs are unfortunately incomplete, but the main focus of the museum is the preservation of the original glass negatives, since they are the originals.

The glass negatives measure 18 cm by 24 cm. Every single negative is wrapped in acid-free paper and in sets of 15 them stowed in acid-free boxes. The boxes with the negatives are stored in a cooled storage room with a constant temperature. The condition of the negatives after 120 years varies from good to excellent. Curiously, no one ever comes to the museum to study the treasure of the original negatives. This is probably caused by the earlier mentioned standard work on Borobudur by Krom and Van Erp. Most scholars, who study the hidden base use the collotypes from their publication. However, those collotypes are only excisions of the original negatives. Because they show only a part of the original negatives, they offer only the image on the reliefs to be studied. Already from the beginning the process of signification focused on the content of the images depicted on the reliefs and the inscriptions inscribed above them. This emphasis in research still exists, and may be reinforced by studying the excisions only.

Obviously, the value of Céphas' record for our understanding of the reliefs and the time in which they were made cannot be disputed. However, the value of the photographs cannot and must not be limited to the scientific content of the images he captured. What is left out is the immediate environment of the hidden base in which they are embedded. This environment is partly shaped by Céphas himself. For instance, on some clichés a cloth is visible on the ground. This could tell us something about Céphas working methods and 19<sup>th</sup> century photography.



Fig.18.1. Kassian Céphas. Inv.nr.  
1001 5846. Relief O109.  
Courtesy of Tropenmuseum

Furthermore, all negatives show that Céphas took great care that possible shadows would not interfere with the images on the relief. A good example is Relief O144. This asked for great technical care and patience.



Fig.18.2. Kassian Céphas. Inv.  
nr. 1001 5880. Relief O144.  
Courtesy of Tropenmuseum

For each relief Céphas had calculated which hour of the day was the opportune moment to take the photograph. It took him half an hour to take the photograph and make a print. Sometimes a photograph is taken under a slight angle, probably caused by the limited distance to the relief. Most of the time, Céphas managed to get the angle right by means of cautiously choosing the right lens. All in all, his 164 razor sharp photographs of the hidden base demonstrate a thorough knowledge of early photographic techniques in the Dutch East Indies.

But, there is more to see. For example, several numbers are visible on the negatives. Céphas put numbers to the left corner of the reliefs: a letter, followed by a number.





Fig.18.3. *Kassian Céphas*. Inv.nr. 1001 5822. Relief O85.

*Courtesy of Tropenmuseum*

They do not correspond with the numbers Krom and Van Erp ascribed to the reliefs. It is unknown what they indicate. Also white numbers appear on the prints that are written with a black pen on the negatives that are invisible on the prints in Krom and Van Erp. This means series of prints exist without those white numbers. They must have been added in some later phase. When and why they were added is unknown and therefore we do not know with what they correspond.

Most of the elements that can be found on the negatives raise questions. It also shows that Céphas' images have accrued and are still able to accrue value as objects of themselves. Therefore, the value and meaning of Céphas's work lies not only in the content of the images he made. The original negatives are objects in themselves as well. Their meaning is also inscribed in the way they are used and their trajectory. From a historical and museological point of view it would be worthwhile to study the way in which Céphas' photographs were collected, how they were used and how they ended up in the places they currently remain in. Through these trajectories the human

transactions and actions that enliven them can be interpreted. To this end re-thinking the negatives in terms of their historical refiguring is necessary. Experimentation with new technologies in those studies should be used to fully discover the many possibilities they provide. New technologies already make the negatives and photographs much more accessible. They might also open up new approaches or perspectives. Envision a three-dimensional virtual version of the hidden base in which we would be able to walk around. Like we are able to walk around physically in Borobudur. Who knows what we would encounter and experience? New technologies will help us to discover and enter new approaches. This will enable us to appreciate and fully understand the meaning of Céphas' record of the hidden base.

## Literature

- Adams, R. (1990) *Borobudur in Photographs – Past and Present. Photographs in Dutch Collections*. Leiden: Leiden University Press.
- Bernet Kempers, A.J. 1955. 'Borobudur's verborgen voet' in: *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde* vol. 111. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Fontein, J. 1991. 'Kassian Céphas. A Pioneer of Indonesian Photography' in: *Toward Independence. A Century of Indonesia Photographed*. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.
- Groeneveld, A. 1989. 'Fotografie ten bate van de wetenschap. Inventarisatie van het land en de bevolking 1839-1920', pp. 15-49, in: Liane van der Linden, Anneke Groeneveld, Ineke Zweers and Steven Wachlin, *Toekang portret; 100 jaar fotografie in Nederlands Indië 1839-1939*. Amsterdam: Fragment, Rotterdam: Museum voor Volkenkunde.
- IJzerman, J.W. 1886. 'Iets over de oorspronkelijke voet van Boro Boedoer' in: *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 1886, vol. 31, pp. 261-269. Batavia: Albrecht & Co., S-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Knaap, G. 1999. *Céphas, Yogyakarta. Photography in the service of the Sultan*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Krom, N.J. and T. van Erp. 1920. *Beschrijving van Barabudur*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Krom, N.J. and T. van Erp. 1931. *Beschrijving van Barabudur*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Moeshart, H.J. 1991. 'Adolf Schaefer and Borobudur' In: *Toward Independence. A Century of Indonesia Photographed*. San Francisco: The Friends of Photography.



- Notulen van de algemeene en bestuursvergaderingen van Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 28 & 29. Batavia: Albrecht.
- Pryce, T. 1864. 'Photography in India' in: *The photographic News* (7 October): 484-5, (14 October): 497-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1865. 'Photographie in Indië (Java)' in: *Tijdschrift voor Photographie* 2: 83-7.
- Ryan, J.R. 1995. 'Imperial landscapes: photography, geography and British overseas exploration, 1858-1872', pp. 53-79, In: Morag Bell, Robin Butlin, Michael Heffernan, *Geography and imperialism 1820-1940*. Manchester / New York: Manchester University Press.
- Theuns - de Boer, G. and S. Asser 2005. *Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905). Fotopionier en theatermaker in Nederlands-Indië*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Williams, C. 1998. 'A Nineteenth-Century Photographer: Francis Frith', pp. 168-178, in: Paul Starkey, Janet Starkey, *Travellers in Egypt*. London / New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers.

## **Appendix: Inventory of negatives and prints of the hidden base in the Netherlands**

### **Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam**

Inv.nr. 1001 5739 – 1001 5895

157 Collodion negatives

18x24 cm

Provenance : Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Van  
Erp

Inv.nr. 1002 5895

Collodion negative

18x24 cm

Provenance : Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Van  
Erp

Inv.nr. 1001 5654

Title : Boroboedoer. Reliëf 39 van de bedolven voet. Troepje  
musiceerende bedelaars bij het huis v.e. rijk man  
(instrumenten: 3 mondorgels, handgeklap, rinkelnappen,  
rasphoutje en houten "grelot"-gong).

Reproduction negative

9x12 cm

Provenance : unknown

Inv.nr. 1001 5657

Title : Barabudur (O 149). Danseres m/begeleitend orkestje  
(Kinnara met staafcither, slagkelkje, bekkens en pot-trom).  
(Bedolven voet)

Reproduction negative

9x12 cm

Provenance : Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia

Inv.nr. 1001 5662

Title : Boroboedoer (147) kinnara's van welke één met staafcither.  
(Bedolven voet)

Reproduction negative

9x12 cm

Provenance : Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia

Inv.nr. 1001 5664

Title : Detail van reliëf 105 op den "Bedolven Voet" van Borobudur

Reproduction negative

9x12 cm

Provenance: Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia

Inv.nr. 1001 5665

Title : Detail van reliëf 117 op den "Bedolven Voet" van Borobudur

Reproduction negative

9x12 cm

Provenance : Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia.

Inv.nr. 1001 5666

Title : Een niet voleindigd reliëf voetstuk Boroboedoer

Reproduction negative

9x12 cm

Provenance : unknown

Inv.nr. Album 1211

Gelatin printing-out paper

18x24 cm

Provenance : Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia

Inv.nr. Album 1642

Gelatin printing-out paper

18x24 cm

Provenance : Oudheidkundige Dienst, Batavia; N.J. Krom

Six unregistered (incomplete) series of prints

Provenance: unknown

<http://collectie.tropenmuseum.nl>

### **Instituut Kern, Leiden**

164 Albumen prints (unregistered)

18x24 cm

Provenance: collection Baka

164 Albumen prints (unregistered)

Excisions

Provenance: collection Baka

Album (unregistered)

164 albumen prints

Excisions



Provenance: officially property of Rijkmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden  
<http://www.instituutkern.leidenuniv.nl>

**Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden**

Inv.nr. Album 535

164 Albumen prints

10x22 cm

Provenance: unknown

Album 762

164 Albumen prints

18x24 cm

Provenance: Bibliotheek van H.M. de Koningin

Inv.nr. 27974 – 28082

Albumen prints

18x24 cm

Provenance: Rappard, Den Haag, 1982

<http://www.kitlv.nl>

## CONTRIBUTORS

**Caroline Gammon, MA.**

University of Sunderland, UK

**Dr. Ir. Danang Priatmodjo**

Dean, Faculty of Technology, Tarumanegara University, Indonesia

**Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati**

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia

**Dr. Endang Sri Hardiati**

Researcher of the National Research and Development Center for Archaeology, Indonesia

**Dr. Gopal Kamal and Ritu Kamal**

Commissioner of Income Tax, New Delhi XIV, India

**Prof. Dr. Hariani Santiko**

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia

**Kathy Cheng Mei Ku**

Hongkong University of Science and Technology

**Prof. Lokesh Chandra**

International Academy of Indian Culture, India

**Dr. Manjushree Gupta**

International Academy of Indian Culture, India

**Prof. Emeritus Rimpoche Mynak R. Tulku**

The National Library of Bhutan

**Dr. Nandana Chutiwongs**

Retired Curator, National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden

**Dr. Nirmala Sharma**

Director, Amity School of Fine Arts, Amity University New Delhi  
(India).

**Prof. Dr. Noerhadi Magetsari**

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, University of  
Indonesia

**Sadiah Boonstra, MA**

Tropenmuseum, The Netherlands

**Prof. Dr. K. Sankarnarayan**

K.J. Somaiya Centre for Buddhist Studies, India

**Sri Soejatmi Satari**

Retired Researcher of the National Research and Development Center  
of Archaeology, Indonesia, passed away on August, 3 2009

**Soeroso MP, M. Hum.**

Director, of Heritage Property, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism

**Prof. Dr. Timbul Haryono**

Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities, Gadjah Mada  
University, Yogyakarta

**U Nyunt Han**

SPAFA, Myanmar