INDIA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA: CULTURAL DISCOURSES

Edited by
Anna L. Dallapiccola and Anila Verghese

Contents

Preface and Acknowledgements

In January 2015 a seminar entitled 'Cultural Dialogues between India and Southeast Asia from the 7th to the 16th Centuries' was held at the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Mumbai. This volume is the outcome of that stimulating seminar in which many eminent scholars on Southeast Asia participated. The present collection, consisting of twenty-four papers, includes not only those presented at this seminar but also others especially commissioned. Their topics focus on various countries of South and South East Asia as well as on a wide range of themes.

For the sake of convenience the essays have been arranged into six broad groups: General Themes; Syncretic Traditions and Cross-Cultural Influences; Architecture and Archaeology; Sculpture and Iconography; Non-Indic Literature, Performing Arts and Lifestyle; and Journeys through Cotton and Silk. However, these groupings are not strictly defined and there is much overlap between them.

In the first group of general essays there are three papers. The first two, namely those by Pierre-Yves Manguin and Robert Brown, address the issues that have been raised in the ongoing debate among scholars about the 'Indianisation' process in Southeast Asia. While Manguin throws new light on this subject, Brown addresses one specific theory relating to the development of similar themes and ideas in India and Southeast

Asia, namely that of 'Convergence', explaining the problems associated with it. In the third, John Whitmore convincingly demonstrates how on the eastern seaboard of mainland Southeast Asia the influences came both from India and from China.

The next group has essays that touch on the cross-cultural exchanges between India and contemporary cultures in Cambodia, Burma, Sri Lanka and Thailand. Ang Choulean highlights how the concepts of the 'Neak Ta' and *brah ling*, which are indigenous to Khmer culture, were the bridges for the adoption of the Indic *linga* into the Angkor region. The paper by Siyonn Sophearith examines how the role of the bull, the cow and the use of cow products rose to importance at a particular stage in Khmer history, and explores the role of Brahmins, some of whom had come from India, in the rituals connected with these. Hiram Woodward, in his exhaustive paper on "Image and Text in Eleventh-Century Burma", traces developments in temples, temple statuary, murals, Pali texts etc. at specific sites, such as the Nagayon and the Abeyadana, in Burma during this century tracing their connections with Pala India and other areas of contemporary Southeast Asia. Ashley Thompson's paper once again focuses on Cambodia discussing as it does the form, function and legends associated with the ritual candle-holder known as *babil* and other

objects that are related to it. The last paper in this group, namely that of Philip Friedrich, considers how changes to the social and political profile of Buddhist monks and patrons at the hinterland-court of Gampola in fourteenth-century Sri Lanka link with royal courts, Buddhist temples, and 'Brahmin' shrines at Sukhothai in present-day Thailand and the influences that were derived from 'Indian' cultural forms.

In the section on Archaeology and Architecture, the first two papers are related to archaeology and the latter two to architecture. The first paper in this group, namely the one by Im Sokrithy, studies urban settlements along the 'Royal Road' that radiated from the Angkor capital to provinces of the ancient Khmer Empire, analysing how far they fit in within the Indian concepts of urbanisation. Swapna Kothari does a case-study of the Archaeological Survey of India's interventions in the preservation of certain ancient Angkorian monuments within the context of 'heritage' and 'heritage management'; she also compares and contrasts the views and methods of the Indian and Cambodian teams engaged in heritage preservation in Cambodia. Swati Chemburkar compares and draws parallels between three Buddhist monuments, namely Kesariya in Bihar (India), Borobudur in Java (Indonesia) and Tabo in the Indian-Tibetan zone of the Spiti valley (India); she demonstrates how these three great monuments are *mandalic* in nature. The last paper, by Olivier Cunin, discusses three missing images from the famous temple of Banteay Srei, Cambodia, whose existence is known from an inscription on this temple and it tries to reconstruct what they must have looked like and hypothesises on where they could be today. As the paper is on missing sculptural pieces that were once located within

an architectural context in an exquisite Angkorian period temple, it has been included in this section, even though it deals with sculptures and tries to reconstruct the iconography of these three missing images.

The first paper in the section on Sculpture and Iconography, by Vasudha Narayanan, engages in an in-depth analysis of the 'Monument Visnuite', originally from Cambodia which takes the pride of place in the Musée Guimet, Paris. The author conclusively proves that while this magnificent sculpture can be compared to certain types of images in India and elsewhere, there is none in India that is quite like it. Nicolas Revire in the next paper traces the links of the *bhadrasana* images of Buddha of Java with Gandhara, Ajanta etc. Next, R. Mahalakshmi does a comparative study of Brahmanical imagery in early medieval Sri Lanka with those of Chola South India. Following this, Natasha Reichle explains the origins and describes the imagery of Rangda of Indonesia and compares this fierce female form with images of Durga found both in India and in Indonesia. Suchandra Ghosh's paper discusses votive clay tablets and miniature bronzes found in certain sites in Southeast Asia and she traces the origin and inspiration for these to Pala sites in Bihar, India, and the Chittagong area of present-day Bangladesh respectively.

In the fifth group we have the detailed paper by Kenneth Hall on knowledge networks and literary adaptations in fifteenth-century Java, with particular focus on the *kakawin* which drew inspiration from Indian epics, especially the *Mahabharata*; he examines how far the idea of the 'Sanskrit Cosmopolis' can be used to explain the spread and popularity of these literary forms. Jaclyn Wappel's paper explores the Indic roots of the gamelan and other musical

performances which were and continue to be very popular in Java and Bali. Ilicia Sprey's paper on the *wayang kulit* shadow theatre of Indonesia analyses not only the importance of this form of performance in Indonesian culture, but also explores its possible Indic roots. Helen Jessup describes some of the important symbols of power in Indonesia and their deep emotional impact on the rulers and their subjects. Susmita Basu Majumdar's paper on coinage highlights the origins and changes in early coinage of the region, with special reference to Burma and Thailand, tracing the roots of the symbols found on these coins to early coinage of India.

In the last group are two papers relating to textiles. Alexandra Green explores the use of Indian textile designs and motifs, with adaptations and changes, in Burmese wall paintings. The last paper, namely by Radhika Seshan, is on cotton trade and its importance in the Bay of Bengal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This volume, which contains papers covering a wide range of topics related to a number of countries of this region, would be a valuable addition to the corpus of works on South and Southeast Asia. It includes papers by very senior and eminent scholars of Southeast Asian studies as well as by younger researchers.

Diacritics have not been used in this volume, except when these occur in the title of books or papers and in quotations. The main reason for this is the fact that we are dealing with a large region with many indigenous languages as well as Sanskrit and Indic languages and to adopt a common system of diacritic marks that would cover all these would have been difficult. Besides that, this volume is aimed not just at the specialists, but also at the interested general reader. Spellings as per the system followed in the United Kingdom (and India) have been used.

Anna L. Dallapiccola and
Anila Verghese

April 2017

List of Abbreviations

AM: Asia Maior

APSARA: Authority for the Protection and Management of the Angkor and the Region of Siem Reap

ARASC: Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of Ceylon

ARSIE: Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy

ASI: Archaeological Survey of India

BEFEO: Bulletin de l'École française d'Extreme-Orient

BTLV: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

BKI: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies

CRAI: Centre De Recherche En Architecture Et Ingénierie

EFEO: École française d'Extrême-Orient

ICSBA: International Centre for Study of Bengal Art

ISEAS: Institute for South Asian Studies, Singapore

Is.I.A.O: Istituto Italiano di Studi per l'Africa e l'Oriente

JASB: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

JBRS: Journal of the Burma Research Society

JCBRAS: Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

JESHO: Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JMBRAS: Journal of Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society

JSEAS: Journal of Southeast Asian Studies

JSS: Journal of the Siam Society

KITLV: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

KNAW: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen

RFSG: Records of Fort St. George

SDPS: Sarvadurgatiparishodhana

SII: South Indian Inscriptions

SPAFA: SEAMEO (Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organisation) Project in Archaeology and Fine Arts

STTS: Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha

TAASA: The Asian Art Society of Australia

TBG: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde

TT: Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư

VOC: Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company)

11

Visualising the Buddhist *Mandala*: Kesariya, Borobudur and Tabo
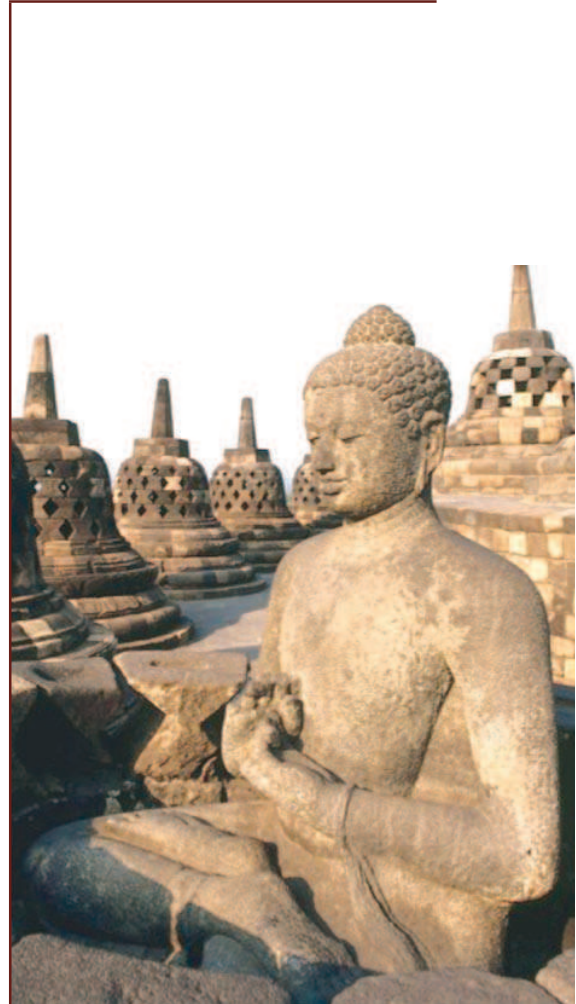
Swati Chemburkar

Visualising the Buddhist *Mandala*: Kesariya, Borobudur and Tabo

Introduction

There were occasions for the direct transfer of Southeast Asian Buddhist developments to India, and there is evidence of at least two specific moments when this occurred. Both instances provide opportunities for a range of interpretative analyses.[1]

Hiram Woodward, in his *Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship*, singles out the moment when Balaputra, an exiled scion of Shailendra dynasty, the builders of Borobudur in central Java, established a monastery at Nalanda, Bihar in 850 or 860 CE.[2] A verse inscribed on a small *stupa* at this monastery is taken from the *Bhadracharipranidhana (Vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra)*. The same text forms the basis of the ninth century reliefs of the topmost gallery at Borobudur.[3] To Woodward, this suggests that either the verse found in Nalanda indicates the concepts embodied in the great *stupa* in Central Java were well known in Nalanda, or that Balaputra's monastery brought to Nalanda new emphasis from abroad. Deciding between these possibilities is not easy.

The new emphasis in design that one sees at Borobudur is the arrangement of deities in a circular *mandalic* fashion with certain numerological configurations of life size Buddha figures in the external niches of the monument. The circular arrangement of deities on the upper

three terraces of Borobudur is a characteristic of the *yogini-tantra*s that developed at Nalanda in the late eighth early ninth centuries.[4] The *stupa* is remarkable for its intriguing architectural design and iconographic conception that achieves a paradigm shift from *stupa* to *mandala*. Borobudur's distinctive architecture has still been debated. It appears novel, for other massive *stupa* structures of similar or earlier date are in ruin or unexcavated. Scholars have often looked at Indian prototypes in the ruined *stupa* of Nandangarh[5] and the partially excavated *stupa* of Kesariya[6] in Bihar. Yet recent restoration underway at Kesariya suggests a stronger architectural linkage between northern India and Java and thus tends towards the first Woodward hypothesis that the key concepts embodied in Borobudur possibly had some earlier currency in Bihar.

The second historical moment of immediate contact between Southeast Asian Buddhism and India, that Woodward alludes to, came two centuries later. In 1012 CE, the Indian Buddhist monk Atisha went to live in 'Shrivijaya' to study Buddhism under Dharmakirti. He was born in Bengal as Chandragarbha and was given the Buddhist name Dipamkarasrijana when he entered the *sangha*. After initiation into *yogini-tantra*s he was renamed as Atisha. He studied for twelve years in the maritime federation known as 'Shrivijaya' and then carried up to Tibet the oldest surviving 'Shrivijayan' Buddhist commentary *Durbodhaloka* (*Illuminating the Unfathomable*), composed by his teacher Dharmakirti.[7] This text, extant only in its Tibetan translation, says that it was written "in the city of Srivijaya in Suvarṇadvipa" under the patronage of the Shailendra monarch Chudamanivarman.[8] Besides this text, certain concepts regarding inner

and outer *mandala*s were picked up by Atisha during his 'Shrivijayan' sojourn and possibly carried to Tibet.[9]

In the surviving Buddhist temples of India, Tabo in Himachal displays a complete sculptural *mandala* of life size clay figures of the *Vajradhatu mandala* deities. Atisha visited Tabo in 1042 CE when the monastery was undergoing major renovation.[10] An exactly contemporaneous set of *Vajradhatu mandala* bronzes survive from East Java[11] and gold sheets of an earlier century inscribing the deities of the *mandala* were found at the Sumatran site of Muara Jambi.[12]

The murals of Tabo and Borobudur both illustrate the wanderings of the pilgrim Sudhana in the *Gandhavyuhasutra* and the sacred space of the two monuments is arranged on similar principles.

This paper therefore analyses the architectural space of Kesariya in east Champaran, Bihar, India (c. seventh-eighth century CE), Borobudur in Central Java, Indonesia (c. eighth-ninth century CE) and the main temple of Tabo monastery (founded in 996 CE) in the Indo-Tibetan sphere, Spiti valley, India. It addresses the question of similarities between the three monuments and reflects on whether a particular type of architectural form, which had its origin in the eighth century, was promulgated by the cross-cultural exchanges of religious teachers?

Visits to the three monuments have uncovered evidence not only of parallel developments but also exchanges of architectural ideas. These linkages suggest a need for a scholarship to examine the architectural and compositional interactions between South and Southeast Asia and comparative analysis of architectural models that have common textual and ritual basis.

Comparing Kesariya and Borobudur

The aerial photographs of the huge brick structure at Kesariya have a distinct, almost circular *mandala* form resembling the more squared terraces of Borobudur (Figs. 11.1 and 11.2). Kesariya's terraces, with large external Buddhas in niches, have no known precedent and are a marked departure from the smooth hemispherical *stupa*s of Sanchi, Bharut and Amaravati.

Kesariya's six half-excavated concentric terraces, beneath what was originally a high and bulbous *stupa*, are built on a natural hill, like Borobudur. The four lower terraces of Kesariya are more circular than those of Borobudur, but close examination reveals the upper two terraces to be square – resembling an inverted combination of square and circular terraces found on Borobudur. Like Borobudur, Kesariya's design combines three elements: natural hill, *stupa* and *mandala*. Both monuments present themselves to the viewer as horizontally somewhat flattened. Anyone standing at the base of either monument cannot see the crowning *stupa* on top. Much like the *stupa* of Borobudur, Kesariya has rows of chambers on each terrace at regular intervals holding a life size Buddha statue (Figs. 11.3 and 11.4). Above the fifth terrace rises the *stupa* to a height of 9.38 metres and 22 metres in diameter. The exposed terraced structure of the monument measures 123 metres in diameter and 37.5 in height.[13] The length and height of Borobudur are almost the same.

On the top fifth terrace of Kesariya, just below the *stupa*, there is a single brick chamber facing each cardinal direction that establishes a four-fold structure of the monument.[14] The highest excavated chamber on the eastern side contains an image in *bhumisparshamudra* of Akshobhya Buddha. We await further excavation to discover which images faced the other cardinal directions. The highest level of Borobudur, top three circular terraces, houses seventy-two Buddhas (in combination of 16+24+32) in small latticed *stupa*s displaying *dharmachakramudra* of Vairochana.

The fourth terrace of Kesariya has triple chambers facing the cardinal directions and the lower three terraces in addition have triple brick chambers facing the sub-cardinal directions. All the chambers have a raised platform to house a Buddha image. The entire monument from the fifth terrace to the lowermost terrace would have housed (4+4+8+8+8 = 32) brick chambers and would have once contained (4x1+4x3+8x3+8x3+8x3 = 88) Buddha statues.[15] Figure 11.5 shows the Buddhas from the top level of the monument to the bottom level, based on the ASI report of 1999-2000. It assumes symmetry in the unexcavated sections. The excavated chambers at Kesariya show a combination of statues in *bhumisparsha* (of Akshobya) and *dhyani mudra* (of Amitabha) on the same side, whereas Borobudur houses four Jina Buddhas, displaying their respective *mudra*s on the four sides of the monument. The total number of Buddhas in the niches at Borobudur is of course much higher than at Kesariya but both monuments generate a certain number grid and circular arrangement of Buddha figures in their architecture indicating the new emphasis in the design of a *stupa*.

The upper two terraces of Kesariya are connected by an 80 centimetres wide staircase in the southwest corner that is concealed within the polygonal designs between the chambers.[16] Since the excavations are not yet complete, it is difficult to determine the number and exact nature of the staircase(s). Borobudur is connected from the ground level to the topmost *stupa* by

Fig. 11.1: Aerial view of Kesariya *stupa* (Courtesy Yves Guichand)

Fig. 11.2: Model of Borobudur *stupa* kept at the site museum

Fig. 11.3: Kesariya east elevation with brick niches housing life size Amitabha and Akshobya Buddhas

Fig. 11.4: Borobudur east elevation with stone niches housing life size Akshobhya Buddhas

a set of four staircases, rising from the middle of each side.

The circumambulatory paths on all the terraces at Kesariya are today devoid of reliefs but there is enough space to have housed them. Whether there were any narratives in stucco, plaster or paint is impossible to determine from the present archaeological evidence. Borobudur is of course renowned for its kilometres of carved stone reliefs, which were originally finely plastered and presumably painted.

At Kesariya there are three brick chambers on the eastern side as seen in Figure 11.5, beyond the base of the lowest terrace and rammed earth base. Due to the incomplete excavation, it is not yet possible to ascertain whether they were part of the *stupa* structure, but their alignment and size suggests they were. They seem to be later additions to the main structure and may indicate another terrace below the lowermost terrace much like the hidden foot of Borobudur. This hypothesis can only be tested by further excavation.

The excavators have unearthed a number of finely carved bricks with geometrical patterns and *kirtimukha*s (faces of glory), tiles, vases and many small red earthenware ritual pots with lids, spouts and sprinkler heads that are presumed to have been used in consecrations. The scale of Kesariya seems to imply that it was part of a large ceremonial centre, but its relationship to a dynastic centre is so far unknown. The ruined structures around Kesariya suggest it
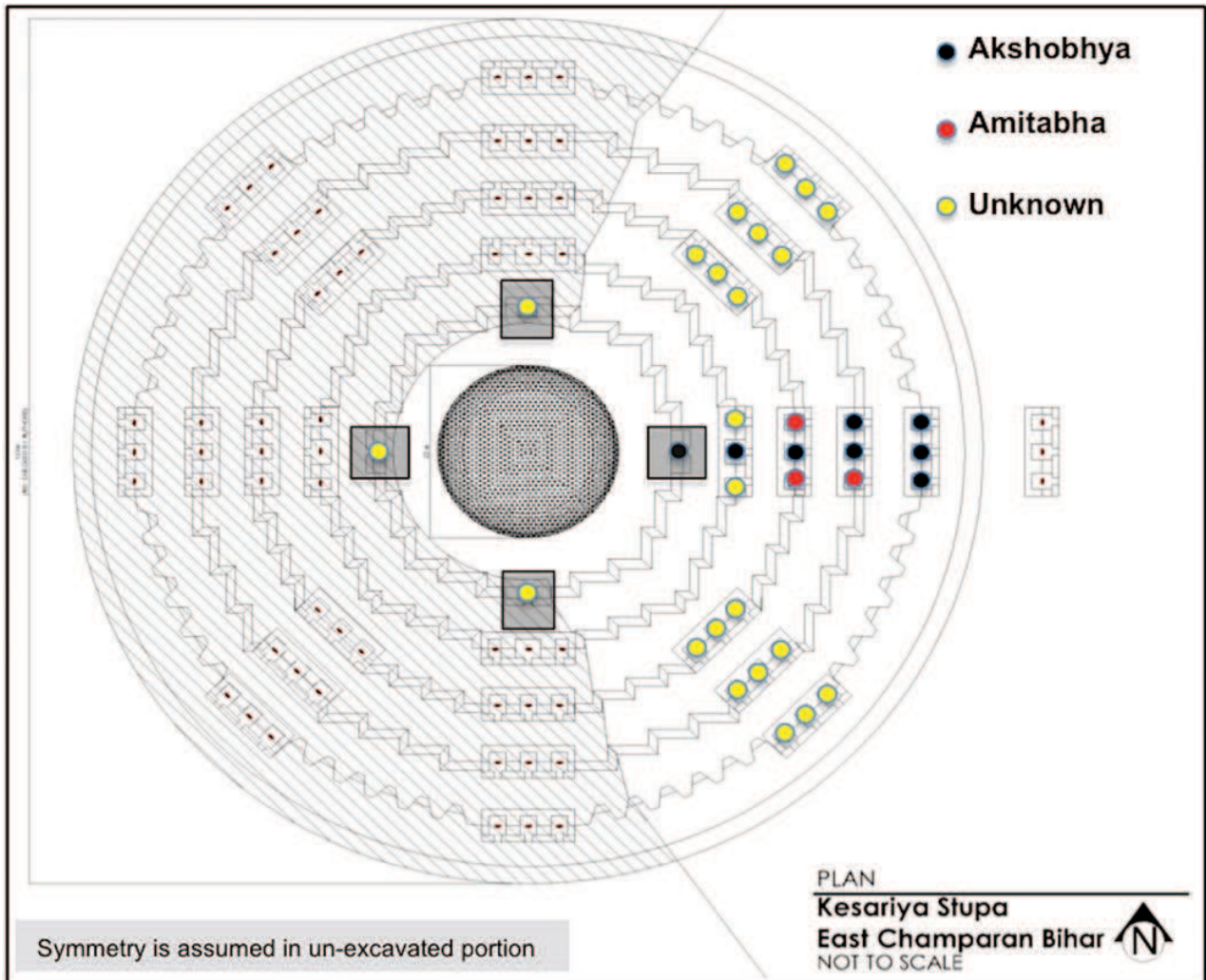
Fig. 11.5: Kesariya *stupa*: probable arrangement of Buddhas in the exposed and restored brick chambers. Only basic dimensions are provided in the drawing.

was part of a *vihara* or a temple monastery,[17] where senior monks would have performed their daily rituals.

Borobudur is aligned with a small fire ritual temple called Chandi Pawon and the regal Chandi Mendut, forming a state ceremonial centre of the Shailendra kingdom extended over three kilometres and presumably at the centre of a large city.[18] Archaeological finds made in a five-kilometre radius of Borobudur, indicate a large monastic complex.[19]

Beginning of a new style in *stupa* architecture

Dating the Kesariya monument has hardly begun. The structure that is only partly visible today, suggests there were various stages of construction and the sheer size implies that it was funded by royal resources at each stage.[20] The small Licchavi *stupa* of Kesariya mentioned in the Chinese records was possibly expanded by King Harsha.[21] He patronised several monastic buildings along with thousand *stupa*s, each over

100 feet high.[22] Gupta and late Gupta period bricks from the seventh century were found on the slopes of the *stupa*.[23] The site remained active in later centuries:

> The recent excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India at this site have discovered a Pala period stupa dating from the eighth century. The excavations have revealed the terraces of the stupa, with *Pradakshina Path*, which follows the pattern of those reported from Paharpur in East Bengal and Nandangarh [in east Champaran]. The stupa has been found with several [life size] stucco figures of Lord Buddha in *bhumisparsa* posture in the cells provided all over the terraces.[24]

A late Pala period structure was added to the *stupa* summit in the eighth century but the exact nature of the construction is as yet very difficult to determine.[25] The Palas inherited the territory that was previously ruled by Harsha and the later Guptas.[26] Champaran, the site of Kesariya *stupa*, played a significant role during the Pala period when massive *stupa* sites were constructed.[27]

The development of a crowning *stupa* over four-fold symmetry at Kesariya along with the radiating chapels housing Buddha's images is in line with the feature that was developed later during the Pala period.[28] The heartland of the Palas, namely northeast India, became the most significant international centre of Buddhist learning and was the major source of teachers, authoritative texts and Buddhist iconography.[29] The political and military ambition of the Pala king Dharmapala (reign c. 775-815 CE) was matched by unprecedented generosity to Buddhist establishments that provided a platform for generating texts, sacred art and architecture.

Apart from its soteriological religious function the Buddhist temple or *stupa* in this period became a political statement. According to my knowledge, Kesariya, with its new *stupa-mandala* model, marks a crucial post-Gupta and pre-Pala shift in monumental architecture.

Textual developments, *mandala* model and the world wide web of monks

The natural place to look for an answer to the four-fold symmetry of a *stupa* with certain numerical configurations of Buddha images is the Buddhist textual corpus. The earliest references to four Buddhas of the four directions occur in the *sutra*s such as *Suvarnaprabhasasutra* of the fifth century.[30] This scheme occurs in many more *sutra*s over the next couple of centuries, building the iconography of the five Jina Buddhas. The five-Buddha family becomes the dominant organising structure in the eighth century *Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha* (*STTS*), the root text of *yoga-tantra*.[31] Certain numerical configurations also occur in the late eighth century text *Samvarodayatantra* describing the course of the moon and the sun with respect to the astronomical body and the human body. Ultimate reality, which is attained through the human body, is then identified with the universe and the *mandala* deities in the text.[32] The Buddha groupings (4+12+24 at Kesariya) and (16+24+36 at Borobudur) might be suggestive of this textual source.

Along with these textual and architectural developments, the new political concept that emerged around the eighth to tenth centuries was *samanta* feudalism, where vassal kings paid homage to the king at the centre in the same

way as the directional Jina Buddhas to the central Buddha.[33] The pro-Buddhist Pala dynasty came to power in the late eighth century and went on building major Buddhist monasteries in north-eastern India and Bengal. "It was the only major Buddhist state in the otherwise totally Hindu world of India at the time."[34]

Pala Buddhism became a new bridge that fostered dialogue between the Chinese and Indian courts. The prominent Indian and Chinese travellers in this period played a crucial role in transmitting the new religious thoughts through texts, icons and drawings carried by them.[35] The biography of the Japanese monk Ennin notes how the five esoteric Buddha images of the Jinge monastery on mount Wutai were modelled after the Nalanda images by Amoghvajra in the eighth century.[36] John Guy has traced around twenty late Pala-Sena period architectural models of Mahabodhi temple that were dispersed from eastern India to Nepal, Tibet, Arakan and Myanmar.[37]

A strong Buddhist network of several Indian, Chinese, Japanese and Javanese monks played a crucial role in the circulation of certain concepts in the connected Buddhist world of India, China, Java and Sumatra. Monks such as Subhakarasimha (637-735), Vajrabodhi (670-741), Amoghavajra (705-774), Huikuo (746-805), Kukai (774-835), Saicho (767-822) and Bianhong were all well versed in the teachings of *STTS*. From their high positions in the courts it seems safe to assume that these leading monks promoted specific texts[38] and adapted them to ritual practices that required appropriate architecture.

The four-fold symmetry of Kesariya that is observed in the later Pala monasteries of Vikramshila, Somapura and Mainamati, eventually travelled across southern seas

to central Java during Shailendra period. The four-fold structure of these monasteries recalls the pentad of Jina Buddhas as described in the seminal *yoga-tantra* text *STTS*, where Vairochana is placed in the centre and four Jina Buddhas occupy cardinal directions.[39] The apex of the pentad takes the form of the unifying sun Buddha Vairochana when he becomes fully awakened as Buddha. He then draws in a number of personages and consecrates them with names and positions in the *mandala*.[40] The *Vajradhatu mandala* of basic thirty-seven deities described in the *STTS*[41] found its way into the architecture as a concrete arrangement of deities, on a basic four-fold or eightfold model. Akshobhya and his attendants in the east, Ratnasambhava in the south, Amitabha in the west and Amoghasiddhi in the north made up a *mandalic* arrangement around Vairochana or Maha Vairochana (Fig. 11.6). This pentad and the attendant deities
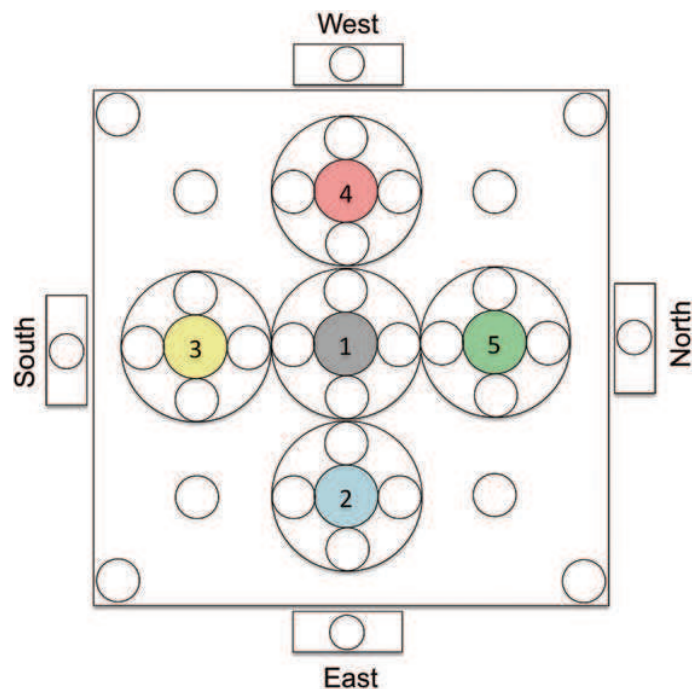
Fig. 11.6: Vajradhatu *mandala* of basic 37 deities according to *Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha* (structure adapted from the PhD dissertation of Do-Kyun Kwon, SOAS, London, 2002)

demarcating respective Buddha fields and 1000 Buddhas of *Bhadrakalpa* found prominent places in architecture.[42]

Borobudur and Buddhism of Shailendra

Borobudur constructs this four-fold Buddha system along with the supreme Buddha Vairochana in its architecture. We don't know which images were housed in the top four cardinal niches of Kesariya except Akshobhya, but it is possible that it will eventually be shown by archaeologists to embody the four-fold Buddha system. There are enough common elements in the architecture of both the monuments at present to indicate the use of a common theme (Figs. 11.7 and 11.8).

Several scholars have argued about Borobudur being a *mandala* although no specific *mandala* of deities has yet been identified.[43] In spite of

the general agreement about the identity of the four directional Jinas at Borobudur, there is no *mandala* in which Jinas appear in multiples. A *dharani* with close inter-textual connections to the *STTS*, engraved on a foil was excavated near Borobudur.[44] Borobudur definitely houses a hierarchical organisation along with the basic elements of the *Vajradhatu mandala* structure in its architecture.

Under the Shailendras in the eighth-ninth centuries, Javanese architecture changed rapidly to embody the *mandala* system. Chandi Sewu underwent an enlargement in a cruciform structure, probably to represent the *Vajradhatu mandala*.[45] Two important architectural changes that occurred in Central Javanese temples during the Shailendra period were the transformation from a square to cruciform plan and inclusion of four separate rooms[46] presumably to follow the

Fig. 11.7: Kesariya plan showing the overall layout of the structure
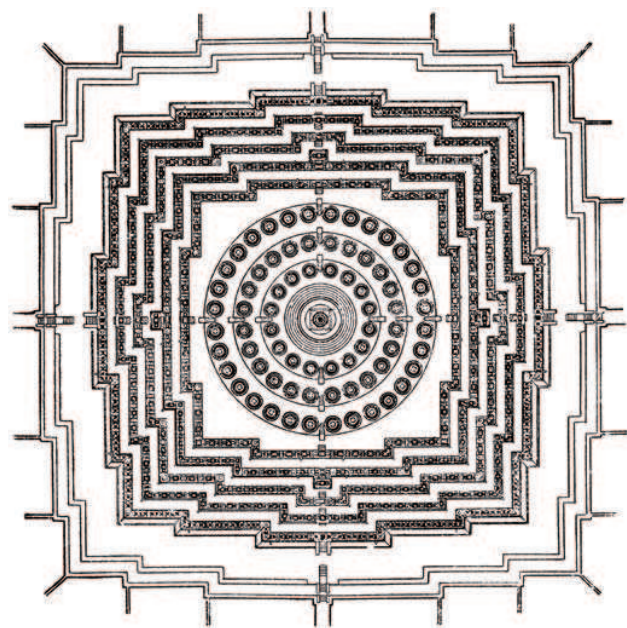
Fig. 11.8: Borobudur plan. Image Kern Institute collection, Leiden University Library (adapted from Marg Vol. IX, no. 4, September 1956, p 66)

four-fold structure of the Pala monuments that began at Kesariya. Some textual material derived from *STTS* was found serving to demarcate the ground plans of Central Javanese Buddhist monuments.[47] Pala-Shailendra connections have been well established in Indian epigraphy and there is enough evidence of the impact of Pala style upon Javanese bronzes during this period.[48] Based on the tenth-century Intan shipwreck cargo (ritual bronzes and many *vajra*s), found off the Sumatran coast, John Miksic has hinted at the possibility of the Nalanda-Java-Sumatra connections.[49]

Just a century later we see a perfect knowledge of the *yoga-tantra*s in Java in the Nganjuk and Surocolo bronzes (last quarter of the tenth century or later) exhibiting deities of Vajrasattva and Hevajra *mandala*s.[50] The Vajradhatu *mandala* deities of Chandi Gumpung and the frequent appearance of *vajra* motif and reliefs of masked dancers at Padang Lawas, Sumatra, displaying many similarities with Nepal and Tibet give us some idea of the Buddhism practiced in Java/ Sumatra post Borobudur, during the time of Atisha.[51] The Buddhist traditions would have flourished post Borobudur as Atisha went to Shrivijaya from India in search of certain Buddhist practices.

Comparing Borobudur and Tabo

Moving from these massive monuments in brick and volcanic rock to the modest mud architecture of Tabo brings no similarity in external form (Fig. 11.9). But despite the disparate geography and outward appearance, Borobudur and Tabo have much in common, for they share a common religious philosophy, a sacred geometry and fusion of the *mandala* with an architectural space.[52]

The main temple of the Tabo monastery was founded in 996 CE by King Ye-shes'-od under the religious supervision of Rin-chen-bzan-po.[53] The king enjoyed launching missionary campaigns throughout the Indo-Tibetan sphere, with the help of his preceptor Rin-chen-bzan-po, commonly known as the Great Translator. The latter translated the *STTS* text to introduce the Vairochana *mandala* into the monasteries such as Tabo and Alchi.

Like the three distinct vertical structural levels of Borobudur and Kesariya that comprise of square and circular terraces with a crowning *stupa*, the main temple (*gtsug-lag-khang*) of Tabo comprises of three horizontal levels : an entry hall (*sgo-khang*), an assembly hall (*'du-khang*) housing three-dimensional *Vajradhatu mandala* deities[54] and a cella (*dri-gtsang-khang*) surrounded by an ambulatory path (*skor-lam*).

The entrances of the assembly hall of Tabo are protected by the guardian deities in the same manner as the four entrances of Borobudur by *kala* heads. In a *mandala*, humans seeking enlightenment must move symbolically from the violent and unconscious periphery towards the sacred centre. The arrangement of narrative reliefs at Borobudur is based on the ascending thematic order from 'world of desire' to 'world of consciousness' to 'ultimate reality', guiding the adept from the foot of the structure to the topmost central *stupa* of the supreme Buddha. To absorb all the doctrines, texts and concepts embedded in the reliefs, adepts had to circumambulate the monument ten times in a clockwise direction. While doing so, adepts are sanctified by the presence of Buddha icons in the balustraded niches of the upper gallery. At Tabo too, after crossing the entry hall, a practitioner circumambulates horizontally, along

Fig. 11.9: Tabo Monastery overall layout showing the modest mud structure in the central courtyard

the narrative murals of the assembly hall and moves towards the ambulatory and cella, into the realm of fully developed Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s. While circumambulating, life size clay images of the Buddhas, suspended on the walls of the assembly hall around one metre height from the floor bless a practitioner.

Traditionally the practitioner would circumambulate at least three times around the main Vairochana image. In Tabo he progresses through the spiritual geography of the mandala and simultaneously identifies with

the spiritual pilgrimage accomplished in the narratives, first by Sudhana and then by Siddhartha, the Buddha Sakyamuni. Thus through meditation and ritual circumambulation he performs a symbolic pilgrimage, which also leads to successively higher levels of consciousness.[55]

While physically moving through the space of these two monuments, a practitioner literally activates the narrative and experiences the dynamic space of the *mandala*.[56]

The square terraces of Borobudur house the directional Jina Buddhas along with the seventy-two Vairochanas of the top three circular terraces, thus forming the core pentad at the heart of the *Vajradhatu mandala*.[57] At Tabo, the rectangular plan of the assembly hall is an unusual shape for a *mandala*, but by organising the space of the hall in four directional quarters and placing the directional Buddhas in each quarter, the builder overcomes the lack of symmetry of the *mandala* (Fig. 11.10).

The supreme Buddha Vairochana of the *Vajradhatu Mandala* at Borobudur and Tabo

The central Vairochana at Tabo is placed at the back of the assembly hall to allow for daily rituals and the congregation of monks. The

Vairochana sculpture is unique in consisting of four separate, complete and identical human bodies seated back to back and facing the cardinal directions. This aspect of the *sarvavid* 'all-seeing' Vairochana is conventionally represented with four faces above a single body. The off-centre placement of Vairochana is a deviation from the textual *mandala*s. Borobudur too, with seventy-two Vairochanas, in *dharmacakra* or wheel-turning *mudra*, seated in bell-shaped, latticed *stupika*s arranged around a large central *stupa* on three circular terraces is utterly unique. Here the symbolic centre of the *mandala* has also been shifted from the actual centre of the monument. There is also an emphasis in each case on the multiple Vairochanas emerging from the centre and radiating across the whole *mandala*. Around the
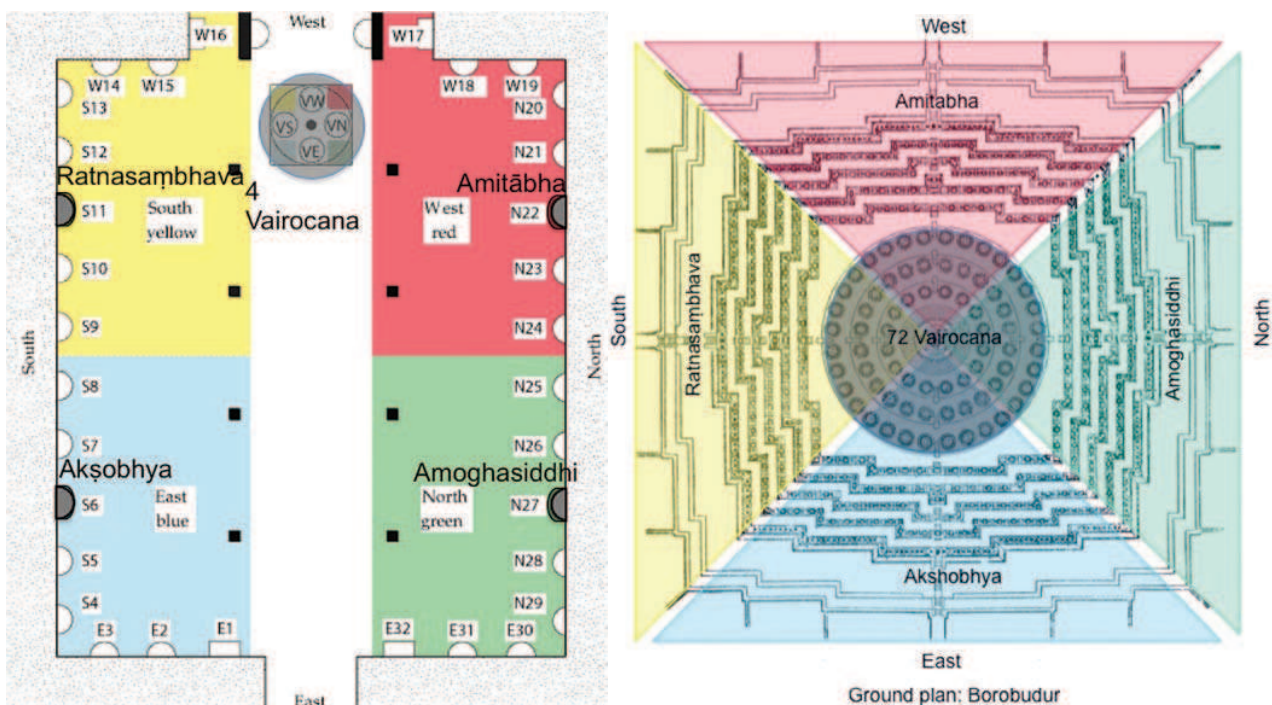

Fig. 11.10: Tabo assembly hall plan and Borobudur plan: arrangement of sacred space
(Tabo plan by Christian Luczantis; Copyright Christian Luczantis – http://www.luczanits.net/sites/Tabo/
TaboMandalaQuarters.html; Borobudur plan adapted from an undated drawing in the Kern Institute collection,
Leiden University Library, GD 14 1472)

Vairochanas, sculptures of the four directional Buddhas of the Vajradhatu *mandala*: Akshobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitabha, Amoghasiddhi form the key component of the *mandala* in each temple (Fig. 11.11). At Tabo, the four directional Jina Buddhas are differentiated by their respective colours and slightly larger size than the other deities of the *mandala*. The entire assemblage makes up a configuration of thirty-three of the thirty-seven main deities of the *Vajradhatu mandala*. The *mandala* of Borobudur, on the other hand, only incorporates the four directional Jinas, multiplied by hundred and eight life size images of each on the four sides of the pyramid. Lokesh Chandra prefers a more complex exegesis and claims the five hundred and four Buddha figures housed on the terraces of Borobudur are not, in fact, the five Jinas but are morphological types that represent the thousand Buddhas of the *Vajradhatu mandala* through their symbolic doubling (504x2=1008).[58] He contends the presence of the one thousand Buddhas is the distinguishing feature of the *Vajradhatu mandala* among the *yoga-tantra*s.[59] The inside wall of the ambulatory at Tabo depicts the hierarchy of the *bodhisattva*s, Mahabodhisattvas and thousand Buddhas of *Bhadrakalpa*.[60]

Both Tabo and Borobudur went through at least two phases of construction activity but the original iconography of both the monuments were based on the *Vajradhatu mandala*.[61] The later phase evidently expanded the original concept.

Despite the differences between these monuments, Deborah Klimburg–Salter sees a significant parallel in theory and practice at Borobudur and Tabo:

> The existence of Borobudur in Java is particularly interesting from our point of view for several reasons - 1) we have the fusion of the *Vajradhatu* maṇḍala with an architectural space 2) the elements of the iconographic program are the same as those at Tabo: the *Vajradhatu* maṇḍala, and the narratives from the *Gandavyuha* and the life of the Buddha.[62]

The lack of symmetry in the Tabo assembly hall and unconventional and incomplete set of the *mandala* deities at both the monuments must be acknowledged. However, enough of the fundamental elements of the *mandala* are present to indicate a conscious choice by the patrons. Java and Spiti were well grounded in the *STTS* and other *yoga-tantra*s.

Fig. 11.11: The *STTS* pentad of Tabo and Borobudur

Gandavyuha Sutra: **Narrative programme of the two monuments**

The entire iconography programme of the assembly hall and cella at Tabo, including the story of the pilgrim Sudhana is from the second phase, in the eleventh century.[63] Tabo and Borobudur both house the narrative stories in an identical manner between the lower and upper registers of the respective walls of the monuments. The main focus of the narratives is the *Gandavyuha* of the *Avatamsakasutra*, especially the last chapter of its *sutra*, the *Vows of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra*. At Borobudur, this text has been accorded far more space than the other narratives' reliefs. The *sutra* describes Sudhana's spiritual journey in search of the ultimate reality. The story comprises Sudhana's journey in search of enlightenment to see a number of *kalyanmitra* or good friends, who offer him spiritual advice. The journey ends when Sudhana attains a vision of the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra and realises that his own nature and those of all the Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s are, in fact, one and infinitely interpenetrate one another. The *sutra* concludes with Samantabhadra reciting verses known as *Bhadrachari*. Even though, at Borobudur, contrary to the text, special attention is paid to Sudhana's encounters with the future Buddha Maitreya and the compassionate *bodhisattva* Avalokiteshvara, Samantabhadra and Manjushri play the major roles.[64]

In the assembly hall of Tabo, the murals are organised along the lower registers of the wall in a more or less horizontal progression clockwise from the east wall of the entrance till the western wall of the ambulatory entrance. On the other side of the entrance of the ambulatory, the west wall bears narrative murals from *Lalitavistara*, a text that is also important to Borobudur. The upper register of the wall depicts several Buddha realms including that of the ten directional Buddhas and their *bodhisattva* attendants. Several extracts from the Tibetan version of the *Gandavyuha* are inserted and correspond, though not precisely, with the narrative murals.[65] The *Gandavyuha* stretches over four hundred and sixty panels of the bas-reliefs of Borobudur,[66] whereas in Tabo, the spiritual journey of Sudhana is compressed in fifty-six mural panels. At both the monuments, the emphasis is on Sudhana's encounters with Manjushri and eventually his conclusive interactions with Samantabhadra. It is Samantabhadra's direction of the pilgrim that is accorded the place of honour on the highest level of narrative reliefs at Borobudur. The last few reliefs of the top gallery are difficult to understand but they depict Sudhana, sitting beside Samantabhadra with a halo suggesting he has reached the state of an advanced Bodhisattvahood (Fig. 11.12).

At Tabo, the narrative murals continue inside the ambulatory path of the cella. Some scenes are easily recognised and some have explanatory texts, but as at Borobudur many are difficult to interpret. Christian Luczanits says of these reliefs:

> Principally, the ambulatory narrative is very similar to that of Sudhana, with its protagonist wearing the same dress and apparently also journeying from one teacher, commonly a Buddha or Bodhisattva, to the next. The scenes are set against cloud-like mountains or within simplified architecture, as is also typical for the Sudhana narrative. However, the protagonist is now invariably crowned, as if Sudhana would have retained an exalted spiritual state after receiving blessings from Samantabhadra under the eyes of Vairochana in the last scene of the assembly hall narrative.[67] (Fig. 11.13)

Fig 11.12: Borobudur gallery IV-53. Samantabhadra with his three-stemmed flower is elevated to the Buddhahood as he sits on the lotus cushion and Sudhana is seen with a halo around him.

The Sacred centre : Borobudur and Tabo

The cella of the Tabo monastery main temple houses the original images of the Buddha seated on a double lotus cushion on a lion throne against the wall. The *bodhisattva*s Avalokiteshvara/ Padmapani and Vajrapani/Vajrasattva stand beside the central figure on the south and north walls respectively (Fig. 11.14). The central Buddha has been interpreted as both Vairochana and Amitabha. Giuseppe Tucci identified the central figure as Amitabha because he is painted red and is seated in his *dhyanamudra* position.[68] Deborah Klimburg-Salter however disputes this, saying it is Vairochana because of the lion vehicle and

because he is seen in Dunhuang and Ropa caves with his hands in this position holding an upright wheel of the law.[69] If we accept the central Buddha as Vairochana, then an unanswered question arises about two Vairochanas, one in the cella and the other in the assembly hall. The unusual presence of the two Vairochana images in the main temple may possibly be attributed to the eleventh century temple renovation, which incorporated elements of the original artistic programme with the new one.[70]

The question of two Vairochanas arises even at Borobudur. The 64 Buddha images seated in the *vitarkamudra* on the topmost square terrace

Fig 11.13: The protagonist offers himself to the *bodhisattva*.
The arrangement of the story is very similar to the Borobudur narrative. Here the protagonist is depicted wearing a crown instead of a halo. Tabo ambulatory, North wall (Photo : Jaroslav Poncar – TaboA_JP84_606)

balustrade have been called Vairochana[71] and/or Samantabhadra.[72] If these images are assumed to be Vairochana, then like Tabo, this puts forward the question of identification of the partly visible Vairochana like images in *dharmacakramudra* in the seventy-two perforated *stupika*s on the circular terraces. It is conceivable that at both Tabo and Borobudur, the sixth Buddha is a representation of Vajrasattva of the *yogini-tantra*, as claimed by the UNESCO restorers in panels at the base of the monument.

Avalokiteshvara and Vajrapani accompany the main Buddha in the cella at Tabo. At Borobudur, the debate of the findings from the main *stupa* is not fully resolved.[73] A small four-armed Avalokiteshvara bronze was found from the main *stupa* of Borobudur and now kept in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde).[74] There are unconfirmed sources mentioning a gold Buddha statue from the main *stupa* of Borobudur.[75] If it were the case, then like Tabo, Borobudur too would have possibly had a bronze triad placed at the sacred centre of the monument. The presence of a triad is seen in the iconography of Chandi Mendut with the central Buddha, flanked by Avalokiteshvara and Vajrapani much like that of the Tabo cella. No one has succeeded in determining the last few reliefs of Borobudur's fourth gallery

Fig. 11.14: Tabo main cella with triad of Avalokiteshvara, Vairochana/ Amitabaha, Vajrapani

In (Fig. 11.15) we see Sudhana sitting beside Samantabhadra below Amitabha's western paradise. Amitabha, sitting in *dhyanamudra*, is unusually accompanied by Vajrapani as well as his own *bodhisattva* Avalokiteshvara, showing an uncanny resemblance to the cella triad of Tabo.

The standing *bodhisattva*s at Tabo display similar *mudra*s to the *bodhisattva*s seated in the Borobudur panel.

The sculptural and iconography programme of Tabo and Borobudur show several common features and support the arguments for seeing the *Vajaradhatu mandala* embodied in the architecture of both.

Experiencing a *Mandala*

The architectural designs of Tabo and Borobudur imply that sacred art requires activation through ritual movement in order to validate their religious and political messages. The architectonic *mandala*s need to be experienced through spatial movement that is vertical in the case of Borobudur and horizontal in the case of Tabo. Geri Malandra sees a *mandala* is a cosmic diagram in painting,

Fig. 11.15: Borobudur gallery-IV-50 top register relief with depiction of Avalokiteshvara, Vairochana/ Amitabha, Vajrapani. Sudhana is seen with a halo besides Samantabhadra, who is not yet elevated to the Buddhahood as revealed by the absence of the lotus cushion.

sculpture, or architecture that is transformed to embody supernatural power by adept movements in rituals.

The conception of the mandala as a diagram is extended into visualisation of concrete architectural space, and was transformed into actual temple architecture and sculpture. The universe in the mandala is thus described and represented as a palace and, at the same time, the mandala as a whole is conceived as being located in *kutagara*, a three-

storied caved palace resting on the top of mount Sumeru….such mandalas as these include layers, or galleries in which reside numerous manifestations of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and other deities.[76]

Many questions remain open. Did Atisha play any role in the iconographic program of Tabo? Did he introduce anything from Shrivijayan soil? Though in her exhaustive study of Tabo, Deborah Klimburg-Salter argued that the Tabo chapel was finished before Atisha's arrival, however, Christian Luczanits maintains that

the renovation phase of Tabo is indebted to the commentary of Anandagarbha on *STTS*.[77] This is the same commentary that is invoked as the source of Nganjuk bronzes from the same period in East Java.[78]

Conclusions

This paper underlines a paradigm shift in architecture from *stupa* to *mandala* at the ritual centre of the royal Buddhist sphere. The *mandalic* architecture of Kesariya, Borobudur and Tabo with central supreme deity and subordinate deities reflects the political structure of *samanta* feudalism. The *mandala* model thus provided a metaphor for earthly governance in a perceived celestial order. It contributed to spiritual enlightenment as laid out in texts and two-dimensional *mandala* paintings but also employed a sacred model for realisation of political ideology.[79]

Since many of the teachings associated with the *Vajradhatu mandala* were oral, secret and esoteric, it is difficult to determine how these monuments were actually used in ritual. One possible example for our understanding is the narrative of the king Indrabhuti receiving the hidden scriptures in the important commentary of *Prajnaparamita Nayasatapanchashatika* (*150 Line Perfection of Insight*). It provides insight into the preaching and practice of the esoteric scriptures. The narrative shows how the royal chief priest divided up the court of princes, princesses and ministers and placed each member on a *mandala* board. This is then revealed as the physical enactment of the *Vajradhatu mandala* derived from the *STTS* by the members of the court.[80]

For the Palas of north-eastern India, the Shailendras of Central Java and the royal Lamas of Spiti, the *mandala* designated levels of hierarchy for organising the political and social landscapes of their kingdoms. This comparative study of three structures presents a body of findings, in support of seeing Indian and Southeast Asian connections and the need of this type of study in understanding the travel of architectonic ideas across geographical boundaries during eighth to twelfth centuries. This brief encounter with the three key monuments of north-eastern India, Indonesia and the Himalayas, remains but a cursory attempt to paint a connected Buddhist world of maritime Asia that linked up with the Himalayas.

While attempting to weave the scattered strands of uniform concepts floating around the connected Buddhist world, the paper leads to the question of what must have been the key characteristics of these monuments that were not contained by political boundaries nor constrained by time for future research.

Acknowledgements

End notes and References

1   Woodward H., "Review: Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 35, no. 2, 2004, pp 346-7.

2   Sastri, H. provided the text of inscription in "The Nalanda Copper-plate of Devapaladeva", *Epigraphia Indica*, 17, 1923-24, pp 310-327; and in *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Archaeological Survey of India (ASI), Delhi, 1942, p 95.

3   Schopen, G., offered the translation of the text, "A verse from the *Bhadracharipranidhana* in a 10th century inscription found at Nalanda", J*ournal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 12, 1989, pp 149-157. See also Woodward, H., "The life of the Buddha in the Pala monastic environment", *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 48, 1990, pp 15-17.

4   Davidson, R., *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: a Social History of the Tantric Movement*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 2004, pp 118, 302.

5   For the detailed account of Nandangarh *stupa*, see van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E., "South-East Asian Architecture and the Stupa of Nandangarh', *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. 19, no. 3/4, 1956, pp 279-290.

6   Based on the overall measurements and the architecture, Voûte, C. and Long, M., have observed the similarities and differences between Kesariya and Borobudur in *Borobudur: Pyramid of the cosmic Buddha*, D. K. Printworld, New Delhi, 2008, pp 187-191.

7   Chattopadhyaya, A., *Atīśa and Tibet: Life and works of Dipamkara Srijana in relation to the history and religion of Tibet with Tibetan sources*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1996, pp 84-95; Skilling, P., "Geographies of Intertextuality: Buddhist Literature in pre-modern Siam", *Aséanie*, 19, 2007, p 94.

8   Schoterman, J. A., *Indonesische Sporen in Tibet*, Brill, Leiden, 2008, p 185; Skilling, P., "Dharmakirti's *Durbodhaloka* and the literature of Srivijaya", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 85, parts 1 & 2, 1997, pp 187-194. Miksic, John, in *Singapore and the Silk road of the sea 1300-1800*, National University of Singapore Press, Singapore, 2013, p 110, states that Shrivijaya could be Palembang, Jambi, Chaiya or Kedah at different times in the connected maritime Malay world of the peninsula and Sumatra.

9   Wayman, A., "Reflections on the theory of Barabudur as a mandala", in *Barabudur: history and significance of a Buddhist monument,* Gomez, L. O. and Woodward, H. (Eds.), Institute of Buddhist Studies: Berkley, 1981, pp 140-142; Nihom, M., has disputed this in *Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: Junjarakarnadharmakathana and the yogatantra*, De Nobili Institut für Indologie der Universität Wien, Vienna, 1994, p 72, note 192.

10 Klimburg-Salter, D., and Luczanits, C., *Tabo: a lamp for the kingdom,* Skira, Milan, 1997, pp 91, 105.

11 The Nganjuk bronzes, discovered in 1913 and now split between the National Museum Jakarta and other collections and museums around the world belong almost entirely to the *Vajradhatu mandala* described in the eighth century *Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha STTS* and *Sarvadurgatiparishodhana SDPS* as well as in *mandala* nineteen in the later *Nishpannayogavali*. Chandra, Lokesh (in collaboration with Sudarashana Devi Singhal), "Identification of the Nanjuk bronzes" and "The Buddhist bronzes of Surocolo", in *Cultural horizons of India: Studies in Tantra and Buddhism, art and archaeology, language and literature*, International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, Vol. 4, 1995, pp 97-107 and 121-147 respectively; *Nispannayogavali of Mahapandita Abhayakaragupta*, Bhattacharya, B. (Ed.), Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1972**.**

12 The largest concentration of Buddhist sites sprouted in Muara Jambi in eleventh century. See Miksic, J., "The Buddhist-Hindu divide in Premodern Southeast Asia", in *Nalanda-Sriwijaya working paper series no.1*, 2010, p 27. The Gold foil sheets found in ritual deposit boxes in the ruins of Muara Jambi bear the names of five Tathagatas, sixteen Vajrabodhisattvas and sixteen Vajrataras of Vajradhatu *mandala*. Along with the gold sheets, there were *stupika*s found among the ruins of Chandi Gumpung that were placed on the platform in a pentad arrangement of *STTS*. See Boechari, M., "Ritual deposits of Chandi Gumpung (Muara Jambi)", in SPAFA, *Final report: Consultative Workshop on Archaeological and Environmental Studies of Srivijaja*, Appendix 7d, SPAFA, Bangkok, 1985, pp 229-243.

13 *Indian Archaeology : A Review 1999-2000*, ASI, New Delhi, 2005, p 11.

14 *Ibid.,* pp 17, 19.

15 The topmost level has a single chamber in all four cardinal directions, containing an image of Buddha in each chamber (4x1=4). The fourth floor terrace has four chambers facing the four cardinal directions and each chamber has three compartments, thus containing 4x3 = 12 images. The lower three terraces have eight chambers facing the cardinal and sub-cardinal directions. Each chamber has three compartments housing (8x3=) 24 images. The total number of Buddha statues is therefore 88 (4+12+24+24+24).

16 *Indian Archaeology : A Review 2000-01,* ASI, New Delhi, 2006, Plate no. 8.

17 See the four early reports made by Alexander Cunningham in the period 1862–1865, *ASI*, 1871, pp 65- 67 and Plate XXIII.

18 Van Erp was the first person to recognize the significance of the alignment of the three structures, see Van Erp, T., "Eenige mededeelingen betreffende de beelden en fragmenten van Boroboedoer in 1896 geschonken aan Z. M. den Koning van Siam", *BTLV*, 73, 1917, pp 285-310a.

    Krom believed that the three temples would have functioned as a part of a single plan, see Krom, N. J., *Archaeological Description of Barabudur*, The Hague, Nijhoff, Vol. 1, 1927; Paul Mus, *Barabudur; esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*, Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, 1935, pp 418-420, talked about the ritual dependency of the three structures that Moens, J.L., "Barabudur, Mendut en Pawon en hun onderlinge samenhang", *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkunkunde, (TBG)*, 86, 1951, pp 326-86, supported. See English translation Mark Long, "Barabudur, Mendut and Pawon and their mutual relationship", in *Tijdschrift voor de Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 2007 pp 7, 8, 67. It was also supported by Chandra, Lokesh, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism", *The Southeast Asian Review*, Vol. 5, no. 1 August 1980, pp 35-36 and Long, Mark, *Borobudur : Pyramid of the Cosmic Buddha*, D.K. Printworld, New Delhi, 2008, pp 98-99.

19 Based on Boechari, M., "Preliminary report on some archaeological finds around the Borobudur temple", *Pelita Borobudur*, CC/5, 1976 (published in 1982) pp 90-95; Miksic, John, in his *Borobudur : Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, Periplus, Singapore, 1991, pp 34-35 argues about the monastic complex placed next to the monument.

20 The structure clearly shows two phases of construction activity – Shunga/Kushana and late Gupta period (late seventh, early eighth century) *Indian Archaeology : A Review -1998-99*, ASI, New Delhi, 2004, p 11. In a telephonic conversation on 16th January 2014, Dr. K.K. Muhammed stated that the slopes are strewn with late Gupta period bricks or may be even later bricks.

21 Both Faxian and Xuanzang record a *stupa* built at a certain distance from Vaishali, which is the exact position of Kesariya. See Watters, T., (1858), *On Yuan Chwang's travels in India, 629-645 A. D.* (English translation of the French edition by Stanlisas Julien) 1905 II, pp 71-72; Reports of Cunningham, ASI, 1871, p 66; for the patronage of Kesariya see Chemburkar, S., "Borobudur's Pala forbear? A field note from Kesariya, Bihar, India", in *Tantric Buddhist Networks Along the Maritime Silk Routes, 7th-13th Centuries CE*, Acri, A. (Ed.), ISEAS Publications, Singapore, in press.

22 Devahuti, D., *The unknown Hsüan-tsang*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001, p 144.

23 Based on the findings during the excavations and the size and the nature of the bricks the ASI has tentatively dated the structure to late Gupta period. *Indian Archaeology : A Review 1998-99*, ASI, New Delhi, 2004, p 11.

24 Chakarabarti, D., *Archaeological Geography of the Ganga Plain. The Lower and the Middle Ganga*, Permanent Black, Delhi, 2001, pp 203.

25 *Ibid.*, p 206.

26 Asher, F., *The Art of Eastern India : 300-800*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1980, p 69.

27 Construction of massive *stupa* sites of Bisa Sagar and Purnadih along with Kesariya await the excavations.

28 Huntington, S.L., and Huntington, J.C., *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree : The Art of Pala India (8th-12th Centuries) and its International Legacy*, Dayton Art Institute, Seattle,

Washington, 1990, pp 90-91. Claudine Bautze-Picron supports this : "As the author emphasizes, a special feature of the architecture was then the niches on the outside walls of the temple. Those niches were occupied by sculptures as we know from temple 2 at Nalanda, still adorned with stone panels, or from the Maniyar matha at Rajgir or the temple at Aphsad where stucco images used to adorn the niches" (p 283). See Bautze-Picron, Claudine, "Crying Leaves : Some Remarks on 'The Art of Pala India (8th-12th centuries)' and its International Legacy", *East and West*, Vol. 43, nos. 1-4, 1993, pp 277-294.

29 Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*, pp 70, 84-85.

30 Samuel, G., *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra : Indic Religions to the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2009, p 225.

31 Snellgrove, D., *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism : Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan successors*, 2 Vols., Serindia, London, 1987, pp 175, 189, 198.

32 Shinichi Tsuda, *Samvarodayatantra : Selected chapters*, PhD. diss. Australian National University, 1970, pp 1, 66, 231.

33 Brajdulal Chattopadhyaya sees these textual developments of the *mandala* in relation to the hierarchical structure of *samanta* feudalism. See, Chattopadhyaya, Brajdulal, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, 1994; see also Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, pp 71-72

34 Huntington and Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree*, pp 70-71.

35 Sen notes that many Indian and Chinese monks such as Kumarjiva, Dharmarakshema, Atigupta, Gunavarman, Punyodaya, Xuangzhang and Yijing known to have travelled carrying texts and objects. Based on the Chinese source Sen mentions a painting of Maitreya drawn by Song Fazhi in India, which was later used as a blueprint for a sculpture at the Jing'ai monastery in Luoyang. See, Sen, Tansen, "In Search of Longevity and Good Karma : Chinese Diplomatic Missions to Middle India in the Seventh century", *Journal of World History*, Vol. 12, no.1, 2001, p 9.

36 *Ennin's Diary : The record of a pilgrimage to China in search of the law*, translated by Reischauer Edwin, Ronald Press, New York, 1955, p 253.

37 Guy, John, "The Mahabodhi temple : pilgrim souvenirs of Buddhist India", *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII, no. 1059, 1991, pp 362-364.

38 Why else are there so many translations and explanatory texts of *STTS*? All the texts that were translated and transferred in the Buddhist world of India, China, Japan and Indonesia were part of *STTS*. Across the Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan traditions a number of variations of the Vajradhatu *mandala* based on *STTS* and its explanatory texts are known. Chandra, L., "A Comparative Study of the Tibetan, Japanese, Indonesian and Khotanese Mandala of the Tattva-samgraha", in *Amala Prajna : Aspects of Buddhist Studies : Professor P.V. Bapat Felicitation Volume*, Samtani, N.H. and Prasad, H.S. (Eds.), Sri Satguru Publications, New Delhi, 1989, pp 187-200. Although Vajrabodhi had begun translating the *STTS* into Chinese in 723, the continuing importance of the *STTS* at the end of tenth century is signalled in the fact that the entire 26 chapters were translated into Chinese and re-translated in Tibetan. See Linrothe, R., *Ruthless Compassion,* Serindia, London, 1999, p 155.

39 Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, pp 175, 185, 198. Adrian Snodgrass proposes that *stupa*s with five Jina Buddhas are expressions of *Vajradhatumandala*; see Snodgrass, Adrian, *The Symbolism of Stupa*, Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1992, p 135.

40 Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, pp 8, 203.

41 There are two extant Sanskrit manuscripts of *Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha* from Nepal. Giuseppe Tucci obtained a nineteenth century manuscript of the *tantra* and in 1956 David Snellgrove and John Brough discovered an Indian palm leaf manuscript that they identified as a ninth or tenth century work from Bihar, India. David Snellgrove and Lokesh Chandra published a photographic reproduction of this manuscript (Snellgrove, David and Chandra, Lokesh, *Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha*, Motilal Banarsidass, New Delhi, 1981). Based on the Indian, Chinese and Tibetan commentaries on the *STTS* text, Do-Kyun Kwon, "*Sarvatathagatatattvasamgraha :* compendium of all the Tathagatas, A study of its origin, structure and teachings", PhD diss., SOAS, London, 2002, pp 22, 28, 29, and Steven Neal Weinberger, "The Significance o*f Yoga Tantra* and the Compendium of Principles (*Tattvasamgraha Tantra*) within Tantric Buddhism in India and Tibet", PhD diss., University

of Virginia, 2003, pp 47, 61, 62, 72, 73 have described the formation of Vajradhatu *mandala* in the *STTS.*

42 For the detail description of the *mandalas*, see Snodgrass, A., *The Matrix and Diamond World Mandalas in Shingon Buddhism*, 2 Vols. Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, 1988, p 634. For their use in the architecture of Chandi Sewu, Mendut, and Borobudur, see Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism", p 8; Bosch, F.D.K., "Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts, and Their Contribution to Archaeological Research in Java", in his *The Selected Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, (1929), translated into English, The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1961, p 111.

43 For some of the arguments on Borobudur, see Moens, "Barabudur, Mendut en Pawon"; Bosch, "Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts"; Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism"; Klokke, M., "Borobudur : A Mandala? A Contextual Approach to the Function and Meaning of Borobudur", in *International Institute for Asian Studies Yearbook* 1995, van der Velde, P. (Ed.), International Institute for Asian Studies, Leiden, 1996, pp 194-5; Snellgrove, D., "Borobudur : Stupa or a Mandala?", *East and West*, Vol. 46, no. 3-4, 1996, pp 477-483; Woodward, H., "On Borobudur's Upper Terraces", *Oriental* Art, 45, no. 3, 1999, pp 34-43 and "Bianhong, Mastermind of Borobudur?", *Pacific World : Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, No. 11, 2009, pp 25-61; Hudaya Kandahjaya, "A Study on the origin and significance of Borobudur", PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, 2004.

44 Griffith, A., "The Greatly ferocious spell (*Maharaudra-Nama-Hrdaya*) : A Dharani Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze foil Unearthed near Borobudur", in *Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-Modern Buddhist World : Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference Held in Vienna*, Tropper, K. (Ed.), Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2014, pp 1-36.

45 Bosch, "Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts", pp 109-35; Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism", pp 7, 8.

46 Dumarçay, J., (1981) *Chandi Sewu dan Arsitektur Bangunan Agama Budha di jawa Tengah* (*Sewu and Buddhist Architecture in Central Java), in Ancient History : Indonesian Heritage Series*, Miksic, J. (Ed. and trans.), KPG, Jakarta, 2007, pp 56-59.

47 Griffith, A., "Written Traces of the Buddhist Past : Mantras and Dharanis in Indonesian Inscriptions", *BSOAS*, 77/1, 2014, pp 137-194.

48 Nalanda inscription of Balaputra and Leiden copper plate inscription dated to 1006 CE. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, no. 34. For the influence on bronzes, see Scheurleer, P. and Klokke, M., *Divine Bronze : Ancient Indonesian bronzes from A.D. 600 to 1600*, E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1988, pp 27-30.

49 Miksic, "The Buddhist-Hindu divide in Premodern Southeast Asia", pp 20, 21.

50 Chandra in collaboration with Sudarshana Devi Singhal, "Identification of the Nanjuk bronzes" and "The Buddhist bronzes of Surocolo", in *Cultural horizons of India*, pp 97-107 and pp 121-147 respectively.

51 The statuary found on this site is possibly from the same period as Atisha or just after his departure from the island. Miksic, "The Buddhist-Hindu divide in Premodern Southeast Asia", p 28.

52 Natasha Kimmet has recently compared the sacred space of Tabo and Borobudur. "Sharing Sacred Space : A Comparative Study of Tabo and Borobudur", in *Connecting Empires and States : selected papers from the 13*th *International Conference of the EurASEA*, Bonatz, D., Reinecke, A. and Tjoa-Bonatz, M-L. (Eds.), National University of Singapore Press, Singapore, Vol. 2, 2012, pp 93-102.

53 Based on the inscription on one side of the cella, known as renovation inscription, the temple was founded in a monkey year [996 CE] and renovated 46 years later [1042 CE] by the great nephew of the king. See Klimburg-Salter, Deborah and Luczanits, Christian, *Tabo : a lamp for the kingdom*, Skira, Milan, 1997, p 18. The inscription has been translated and edited by Helmut Tauscher, "The Admonitory Inscription in the Tabo Du khan", in Petech, L. and Luczanits, C. (Eds.), *Inscriptions from the Tabo Main temple. Texts and Translations*, vol. LXXXIII of Serie Orientale Roma, Istituto Italiano di Studi per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome, 1999, pp 9-28.

54 Snellgrove, D., *Buddhist Himalaya : travels and studies in quest of the origins and nature of Tibetan religion*, B. Cassirer, Oxford, 1957, pp 66-7, 185; Klimburg-Salter and Luczanits, *Tabo : a lamp for the kingdom*,

p 203, Thakur, L.S., *Buddhism in Western Himalaya : A Study of Tabo Monastery*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, pp 98-126, Luczanits, C., *Buddhist Sculpture in Clay: Early Western Himalayan Art, late 10th to early 13th centuries*, Serindia Publications, Chicago, 2004, p 72.

55 Klimburg-Salter and Luczanits, *Tabo : a lamp for the kingdom*, p 108.

56 *Ibid.*, pp 132-133; Klimburg-Salter and Luczanits also note that this viewing experience is similar to viewing narrative *sutra* scrolls in East Asia, although in this case the viewer is stationary but activates the narrative through the unfolding and viewing of the scrolls.

57 Bosch, "Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts", pp 109-118; Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism", pp 24-5.

58 Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism", pp 24-5.

59 *Ibid.*

60 Luczanits, C., "In Search of the Perfection of Wisdom", in *From Turfan to Ajanta : Festschrift for Dieter Schlingloff on the occasion of his eightieth Birthday*, Franco, E. and Zin, M. (Eds.), Lumbini International Research, Rupandehi, Nepal, 2010, p 573.

61 Klimburg-Salter, D., *Tabo Monastery : Art and History*, Vienna, Austria, 2005, p 48; Dumarçay, J., *Borobudur*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, Oxford, New York, 1978.

62 Klimburg-Salter and Luczanits, *Tabo : a lamp for the kingdom*, p 105.

63 Thakur, L.S., *Buddhism in the Western Himalayas. A Study of the Tabo Monastery*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2001, p 148; Klimburg-Salter, *Tabo Monastery : Art and History*, p 39; Luczanits, "In Search of the Perfection of Wisdom", p 569.

64 Miksic, *Borobudur : Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, p 127.

65 Steinkeller, E., *A Short Guide to the Sudhana Frieze in the Temple of Ta pho*, Arbeitskreis für Tibetische and Buddhistische Studien, Universitat Wien, Vienna, 1966, p 6, fig. 1.

66 Miksic, *Borobudur : Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, p 127.

67 Luczanits, "In Search of the Perfection of Wisdom", pp 569-70.

68 Tucci, G., *Indo-Tibetica*, *Vol. III, I Templi del Tibet Occidentale e il loro Simbolismo Artistico, Parte I, Spiti e Kunavar; Parte II, Tsaparanag*, Reale Accademia d' Italia : Roma, 1935, p 78; Supporting Tucci's interpretation, Thakur, *Buddhism in the Eastern Himalayas*, p 115, identifies the cella triad as Avalokiteshvara-Amitabha-Mahasthamaprapta along with Kshitigarbha and Akashagarbha.

69 Klimburg-Salter and Luczanits, *Tabo : a lamp for the kingdom*, p 143, identifies the cella triad as Avalokiteshvara-Vairochana-Vajrapani/Vajrasattva based on similar figures from Dunhuang and Ropa.

70 *Ibid.*, p 91.

71 Long, Mark (Eng. Trans. of Moens, "Barabudur, Mendut en Pawon"), "Barabudur, Mendut and Pawon and their mutual relationship", p 22.

72 van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. "The Dhyani Buddhas of Borobudur", *Bijdragen to de Taal-, land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 121, no. 4, 1965, pp 408, 416; Frédéric, L., *Borobudur*, Abbeville Press, New York, 1996, p 184.

73 Reports about the nineteenth century discovery of a damaged and incomplete Akshobhya within the broken and looted main *stupa* led to claims that this was the main image of Borobudur. However, Moens thought this was an unfinished reject statue. This image came to light in 1842 during the excavations by Hartmann. Thomas Raffles, H.C. Cornelius or J. Crawfurd had not seen the image, which suggests the possibility of the statue being placed in the *stupa* by Hartmann or one of his subordinates in good intention. Stutterheim, van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Bernet-Kempers, De Casparis and Soekmono believed its position was authentic. For the summary of all the arguments and counter arguments, see Moens, "Barabudur, Mendut en Pawon en hun onderlinge samenhang", pp 326-86; and Chutiwongs, N., "Pieces of the Borobudur Puzzle Re-Examined", in *Indonesia : the discovery of the past, Exhibition catalogue*, National Museum Jakarta, Jakarta, 2005, pp 40-48.

74 Krom N. J. and Van Erp, T., *Beschrijving van Barabudur*, Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, 1920, pp 652-654. The same publisher published the English translation of the two Dutch volumes entitled, *Barabudur: Archaeological Description*, along with three portfolios of illustrations in 1927.

75 Chandra, "Borobudur as a Monument of Esoteric Buddhism", p 3; Chutiwongs, "Pieces of the Borobudur Puzzle Re-Examined", p 44.

76 Malandra, G., *Unfolding a mandala: the Buddhist cave temples at Ellora*, N.Y. State University of New York Press, Albany, 1993, p 18.

77 Anandagarbha is one of the fundamental commentators on the root *tantra STTS*, Luczanits, in *Tabo*, 1997, pp 108, 193-195.

78 Lim K. W., 'Studies in Later Buddhist Iconography', in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, land-en Volkenkunde,* Vol.120, no. 3, 1964, p 337.

79 Snellgrove (*Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, p 199) recognizes the structural similarities between the *mandala* and political systems. Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, pp 131-144) systematically develops the argument.

80 Jnanamitra's commentary on *Prajnaparamita-Nayasatapancasatika* is found in the imperial catalogue of the Denkar library of c. 810 CE. (Toh. 2647, fols. 272b7-294a5; cf. Davidson 2002, pp 242-244), as quoted in Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, pp 242-244.