

THE BUDDHIST FORUM

VOLUME II Seminar Papers 1988–90

Edited by
Tadeusz Skorupski

THE INSTITUTE OF BUDDHIST STUDIES, TRING, UK
THE INSTITUTE OF BUDDHIST STUDIES, BERKELEY, USA
2012

First published by the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London), 1992
First published in India by Heritage Publishers, 1992

© Online copyright 2012 belongs to:
The Institute of Buddhist Studies, Tring, UK &
The Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, USA

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
The Buddhist forum. Vol. II
1. Buddhism
I. University of London, *School of Oriental and African Studies*
294.3
ISBN 81-7026-179-1

CONTENTS

The online pagination 2012 corresponds to the hard copy pagination 1992

Abbreviations.....	vii
List of Illustrations.....	ix
Introduction.....	xi
T.H. Barrett Devil's Valley of Omega Point: Reflections on the Emergence of a Theme from the <i>Nō</i>	1
T.H. Barrett Buddhism, Taoism and the Rise of the City Gods.....	13
L.S. Cousins The 'Five Points' and the Origins of the Buddhist Schools.....	27
P.T. Denwood Some Formative Influences in Mahāyāna Buddhist Art.....	61
G. Dorje The rNying-ma Interpretation of Commitment and Vow.....	71
Ch.E. Freeman <i>Samvṛti</i> , <i>Vyavahāra</i> and <i>Paramārtha</i> in the <i>Akṣamatīnirdeśa</i> and its Commentary by Vasubandhu.....	97
D.N. Gellner Monk, Householder and Priest: What the Three <i>Yānas</i> Mean to Newar Buddhists.....	115
C. Hallisey Councils as Ideas and Events in the Theravāda.....	133
S. Hookham The Practical Implications of the Doctrine of Buddha-nature.....	149

R. Mayer	
Observations on the Tibetan <i>Phur-ba</i> and the Indian <i>Kīla</i>	163
K.R. Norman	
Theravāda Buddhism and Brahmanical Hinduism: Brahmanical Terms in a Buddhist Guise.....	193
References.....	201

ABBREVIATIONS

A	<i>Āṅguttara-nikāya</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
AM	<i>Asia Major</i>
As	<i>Aṭṭhasālinī</i>
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient</i>
BHSD	F. Edgerton, <i>Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary</i>
BM	<i>Burlington Magazine</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
BSR	<i>Buddhist Studies Review</i>
CIS	<i>Contributions to Indian Sociology</i>
CPD	<i>Critical Pāli Dictionary</i>
CSSH	<i>Comparative Studies in Society and History</i>
CSLCY	<i>Chin-so liu-chu yin</i> , in TC, no. 1015
D	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
Dīp	<i>Dīpavaṃsa</i>
EA	<i>Études Asiatiques</i>
EFEO	<i>École Française d'Extrême Orient</i>
EJS	<i>European Journal of Sociology</i>
EI	<i>Epigraphia Indica</i>
ERE	<i>Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics</i> , edited by James Hastings, Edinburgh, T.&T. Clark, 1911
HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
IASWR	<i>Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions</i>
IBK	<i>Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū</i>
IHQ	<i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i>
IJ	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
IT	<i>Indologica Taurinensia</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>
JHR	<i>Journal of the History of Religions</i>
JIABS	<i>Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies</i>

<i>JNCBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JNRC</i>	<i>Journal of the Nepal Research Centre</i>
<i>JPTS</i>	<i>Journal of the Pali Texts Society</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>JS</i>	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
<i>Kv</i>	<i>Kathāvatthu</i>
<i>Kv-a</i>	<i>Kathāvatthu-aṭṭhakathā</i>
<i>MCB</i>	<i>Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques</i>
<i>M</i>	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
<i>Mhbv</i>	<i>Mahābodhivaṃsa</i>
<i>Mhv</i>	<i>Mahāvāṃsa</i>
<i>Mp</i>	<i>Manoratha-pūranī</i>
<i>MSMS</i>	Monumenta Serica Monograph Series
<i>Paṭis</i>	<i>Paṭisambhidā-magga</i>
<i>PTS</i>	Pali Text Society
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue Historique</i>
<i>RO</i>	<i>Rocznik Orientalistyczny</i>
<i>S</i>	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
<i>SBE</i>	Sacred Books of the East
<i>Saddhamma-s</i>	<i>Saddhamma-saṅgaha</i>
<i>SLJBS</i>	<i>Sri Lanka Journal of Buddhist Studies</i>
<i>Sp</i>	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>
<i>SSAC</i>	<i>Studies in South Asian Culture</i>
<i>T</i>	The Taishō edition of the Buddhist Canon in Chinese (vol. no.)
<i>Th</i>	<i>Theragāthā</i>
<i>TMKFTCC</i>	<i>Tao-men k'o-fa ta-ch'üan-chi</i> , in TC, no. 1215
<i>TP</i>	<i>T'oung Pao</i>
<i>TC</i>	The Taoist Canon, text numbered in accordance with the Harvard-Yenching Index to its titles
<i>TTD</i>	Tibetan Tripiṭaka, sDe-dge Edition
<i>TTP</i>	Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition
<i>UCR</i>	<i>Univeristy of Ceylon Review</i> , Colombo
<i>VBA</i>	<i>Visva-bharati Annals</i>
<i>Vin</i>	<i>Vinaya-piṭaka</i>
<i>Vism</i>	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>
<i>WZKSO</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- (und Ost) asiens</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Between pages 64–65:

- Fig. 1. Plan of martyrium of St Babylas, Antioch-Kausiye.
- Fig. 2. Plan and reconstructed section of cathedral, Bosra.
- Fig. 3. Plan and section of 'Audience Hall of Al-Mundhir', Resafa.
- Fig. 4. Plan of Parthian palace at Assur-Labbana.
- Fig. 5. Plan of Palace at Firuzabad with Audience Hall in centre.
- Fig. 6. Plan of Palace at Sarvistan.
- Fig. 7. Section of the Chahar Qapu at Qasr-i-Shirin.
- Fig. 8. Elevation of model *maṇḍala*-palace made by Tibetans at Dharamsala, India.
- Fig. 9. Reconstructed elevation of cruciform reliquary in the shape of a building, Shaikhan Dheri, Pakistan.
- Fig. 10. Cruciform Hindu Temple at Patan, Kashmir.
- Fig. 11. Section of Char Narayan Temple, Nepal.

Between pages 168–169:

- Fig. 12. Vajrakīla rolls the Mt Meru Phur-ba
- Fig. 13. A standard Tibetan *phur-ba* (*kīla*).

Acknowledgements: Figures 1, 2 & 3 taken from C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York, 1975; Figures 4, 5, 6 & 7 from A.U. Pope, *A Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford, 1938–39; Figures 12 & 13 were drawn by Cathy Cantwell.

Some Formative Influences in Mahāyāna Buddhist Art

P.T. Denwood

The importance of art in Vajrayāna Buddhism

Religions differ in the importance they place on representational art. Some—such as orthodox Islam, one phase of Zoroastrianism, and some forms of protestant Christianity—have actively discouraged it. Others—catholic and orthodox Christianity and some forms of Hinduism—encourage it but can live happily without it. Vajrayāna Buddhism appears to be a religion in which representational art is essential. The tantras themselves, presented by their adherents as the fundamental documents of their system, place great importance on iconographical descriptions of the deities and of their *maṇḍalas*, which constitute a representational simulacrum of totality, and form the basis of most of the practices of the religion. Although the philosophical argumentation taken for granted by the *tantras* could be said to be equally or perhaps more fundamental, it is hard to see how a Buddhism stripped of iconography could possibly function in the distinctive way which the Vajrayāna does. The investigation of artistic elements and motifs, their meanings, associations and symbolism, origins and historical development is therefore of peculiar importance in the study of Vajrayāna Buddhism, because it touches on the very core of the religious system. In this paper I shall indicate what I think may be some formative influences on the development of the *maṇḍala*, which will necessitate going back to a presumably pre-Vajrayāna phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and further afield into the history of India and of western Asia.

The first few centuries of the first millennium AD saw the rapid spread of the universal religions of Christianity and Buddhism in western and central Asia, territories ruled by the imperial powers of Rome, the Parthians, Kushans and Sasanians, in parts of which Zoroastrianism also flourished. Imperial and universal ideologies contributed to a burgeoning of new iconographic and architectural forms at a time of great cultural interchange between different regions.

Byzantine architecture

The architectonic form of the classical, pre-Christian temple of Greece and Rome is well-known with its axial plan, its inner cella, surrounding columns and gabled

pitched roof. When from the third century AD the Christians of the Roman Empire (then centred on Constantinople) embarked on ambitious church-building programmes, they perhaps deliberately avoided the form of the classical temple, and developed two types of church design. The first, the basilica, is familiar in western Europe as the normal type of axial layout with a nave flanked by aisles and leading up to the apse with its altar. The type was borrowed from an existing type of building used for many secular purposes—meeting halls, lawcourts and markets.¹

The second type, or rather range of types, now more familiar in the lands of orthodox Christianity, has been called the “centralised congregational church”, usually built around or constituting a memorial shrine for a saint or martyr called a “martyrium”.² Although existing in many forms, a common factor of the plan is fourfold symmetry around a central point. (see figs. 1, 2, 3). Thus the plan may be round, square, hexagonal, octagonal or cruciform (or some combination of these). Sometimes there are entrances to the four quarters. (An example of a cruciform ground plan with four such entrances is shown in fig. 2.) The main body of the building is of one storey, though this might be quite tall, while over the central part, supported by columns, walls or piers, is an upper storey in the form of a low tower, spire or dome. This additional storey is not intended for any ‘practical’ use and is not usually separated from the lower storey by any ceiling of the latter. Its purpose is purely symbolic or decorative. I shall leave further discussion of this building type to a later section, mentioning only the fact that somewhat similar architectonic forms are known from certain Roman palace building³ (and in one or two cases, such as the ‘audience hall of al-Mundhir’ at Resafa,⁴ shown in fig. 3, archaeologists have found it hard to decide whether the remains represent a church or a royal audience hall).

Iran

Moving further east to the Iranian sphere, we can also find many buildings displaying fourfold symmetry in a square or cruciform plan, during the Parthian and Sasanian periods (2nd century BC to 7th century AD). Again both religious buildings and royal palaces are in question. The so-called ‘square house’ excavated by the Russians at Nysa seems to be part of the palace complex built by Mithridates I in the second century BC. It consists of a large hall some 20 metres square with a main entrance and other entrances on two of the other sides. Four massive columns supported the roof, though whether they also held up any superstructure is not known. In the upper register of the walls were niches holding

¹ C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, New York, Abrams, 1975, 81.

² C. Mango, *op. cit.*, 87.

³ C. Mango, *op. cit.*, 85ff.

⁴ C. Mango, *op. cit.*, 89.

“huge clay statues, today very fragmentary but probably representing deified ancestors”.⁵ The Parthian palace at Assur/Labbana on the Tigris (1st century AD) incorporates a roughly square space flanked on all four sides by *iwans* or open-fronted rooms facing into the centre. It is thought that the central space was not roofed over, but there was also a four-columned hall nearby similar to the one at Nysa, and roofed with brick barrel vaults⁶ (see fig. 4).

Sasanian palaces also incorporated rectangular or quasi-cruciform audience halls with entrances in the centre of all four sides: for example the palace of Ardashir I (3rd century AD) at Firuzabad (fig. 5); the palace of Shapur I at Bishapur (also 3rd century); the palace at Sarvistan (?4th–6th century) (fig. 6), and the palace built by Khusrau II at Qasr-i-Shirin (6th–7th century). Where the roofing system of these Sasanian audience halls is known, it takes the form of a central dome, set back slightly from the edge of the building to leave a narrow surrounding flat terrace⁷ (fig.7).

Some of the characteristics of these Parthian and Sasanian audience halls are shared with temple buildings of the same periods. Temples possibly as early as Achaemenid date (pre-4th century BC) at Persepolis, Susa and elsewhere; of Parthian date at Hatra; Graeco-Bactrian date at Ai Khanum and Sasanian date at Bishapur and Takht-i Sulaiman and elsewhere show the square plan, sometimes with four internal columns and four entrances, and with another feature shared with several of the palace buildings mentioned above: corridors surrounding the main chamber which might form a circumambulatory passageway.

Much of this Iranian material has been discussed in a useful article by D. Stronach⁸ on the evolution of the early Iranian fire temple. (Many of the buildings have been seen as fire temples by different scholars, though in many cases this identification is open to serious doubt. In some cases the temples are more likely to have housed iconic images.) In his conclusion Stronach points to a “transference, from about 200 BC onwards, of certain architectural concepts from what might be termed the ‘east Iranian world’ to the ‘west Iranian world’, associated with the rise of the Parthian dynasty.”

Many of the same buildings are discussed by A.U. Pope in his *Survey of Persian Art*.⁹ Here again there is sometimes cause for dispute as to whether certain buildings were royal audience halls or fire temples (e.g. the Chahar Qapu at Qasr-i-Shirin¹⁰). Pope also touches on the question of the relationship between

⁵ G. Herrmann, *The Iranian Revival*, Oxford, Elsevier, 1977, 34.

⁶ G. Herrmann, *op. cit.*, 57.

⁷ G. Herrmann, *ibid.*

⁸ D. Stronach, “On the Evolution of the Early Iranian Fire Temple”, in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1985.

⁹ A.U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art*, Oxford, 1938–9, vol. 2, 533–559.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 552 ff.

Zoroastrian fire temples and early Christian buildings, mentioning the building referred to above at Resafa (here regarded as a ‘mortuary church’; the Praetorium of Musmiya, and the Armenian type of domed church.

The two phases of Buddhist art and architecture

It is useful now to turn to the works of the Austrian scholar G. Franz, who has distinguished two main phases in the art and architecture of Buddhism. The first phase, lasting down to the 1st century AD, was characterised by ‘aniconic’ art forms as cult objects, and by what he calls ‘anarchitectonic’ forms as cult monuments: *stūpas*, tree-shrines, and pillars. Associated building forms were normally circular or partly circular (apsidal) in plan at ground level.¹¹

The second phase began in northern India and the lands to the northwest in the late 1st century AD, and many of its developments came to be shared by Hinduism. It was marked in architecture by the appearance of the rectangular, particularly square (and also, I would add, cruciform) groundplans of buildings designed to house iconic cult images. The rectangular plan was also applied to the base of the stupa at this time. Further architectural features associated with this phase were a circumambulatory passage within the square temple-building, and the tendency to vertical development of both *stūpas* and temples (also, the placing of the building on a substantial rectangular podium or terrace).

Franz is in no doubt about the origins of the new style, which he traces to the 1st century AD in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, where there arose a “combination of Buddhist art with the forms of the Hellenistic-Parthian-Iranian repertoire”. He provides abundant evidence to support this claim, describing many of the buildings I have indicated above, among others.

The maṇḍala-palace

There are various ways of envisaging or representing the *maṇḍala* in two dimensions, but perhaps the commonest, given much prominence in the *tantras* themselves, is with a building—called a palace—shown somewhat diagrammatically in the centre, and housing the main divinity with his/her retinue.

In an article written some years ago and shortly to be published,¹² I argued that the Tibetan and Sanskrit descriptions of the *maṇḍala*-palace to be found in the *tantras* and the related two-dimensional drawings and paintings could profitably be studied alongside the descriptions of Brahmanical temples in the Indian *śilpa-śāstras*, to their mutual benefit. Much of the technical terminology of the two genres seems related, and at bottom a similar or even near-identical concept of an ideal building is shared by both. Further study, helped by personal communications

¹¹ G. Franz, *Von Gandhara bis Pagan*, Akademische Druck, Graz, 1979, 7ff.

¹² By the Percival David Foundation.

from other scholars,¹³ reveals that the Tibetan commentarial, oral and practical ritual traditions can be of great help in delineating the features of the buildings concerned. Furthermore, the palace-building which is envisaged in the Tibetan *maṇḍala* texts as a cubical or quasi-cruciform building with a smaller upper storey (fig. 8).

In another article to be published shortly¹⁴ I have compared the literary and ritual material with actual full-size buildings to be found in Tibet, India and elsewhere, and have argued that the texts and buildings can in some cases be shown to correspond (though of course it is not easy to say which came first).

As a result of these studies I have postulated that in the late Kushan and Gupta eras in many parts of north and northwest India there had been developed a distinctive concept of a religious building (no doubt only one among others). Erected on a square or cruciform ground plan, it essentially comprised a chamber of roughly cubical proportions, housing any images or cult objects. Over it as an upper storey was a second chamber of reduced width and height, and either square or circular in plan. This upper chamber might be shut off from the lower one by its floor, or it might form an upward continuation of the central part of the lower storey. In either case it was not intended to be regularly entered or to have any other function than to mark the building as something special. Practical necessity would commonly require the walls of the upper chamber, set inwards from the edge of the building, to be supported by either columns or walls below, thus dividing the lower chamber to create either side aisles or even a closed circumambulatory passage at ground level.

Once created, the basic schema could be modified in many ways to accommodate different religious, economic and practical considerations. The original idea involved a flat terrace around the edge of the upper storey. This might be practicable in arid regions of low rainfall, or where stone was the sole constructional material to be used. In rainier districts, particularly if brick or wood were to be used, some sort of sloping or curving roof was necessary at this point, as also at the top of the building. The shape and materials of these roofs would depend on local techniques, materials and resources, giving rise to quite a number of variations on the basic theme. Once this principle has been grasped, one can readily see how the schema was elaborated in different parts of 'Greater India', from the stone-built Draviḍa-style temples of central and south India to the tiered-roof temples of Nepal, Kulu, Kerala and related types in Bengal, Tibet and Southeast Asia. The main later development in all these areas was often the multiplication of further stories beyond the original two, but with no radical change of principle in that the upper tiers nearly always continue to diminish in size and do not fulfil any 'practical' function. (see figs. 9, 10, 11).

¹³ Particularly M. Murray and M. Boord.

¹⁴ In *South Asian Studies*, no.6, 1990, 95–104.

I would contend, then, that there arose, perhaps in the eastern parts of the Iranian cultural world during the 1st millennium BC, a type of building exhibiting in plan fourfold symmetry—probably originally square—and often with internal columns, domed or other superstructure over the central part, entrances to the four quarters and circumambulatory passages. This was developed within Iran and exported perhaps to the eastern Roman Empire and certainly to India, in neither of which regions anything like it had previously been known.

Royal cults

My next task is to explore some aspects of the religio-cultural context in which these building types spread. Presumably foreign building styles are not adopted without some rationale over and above mere fashion or desire for change. Since the western end of the ancient world has been on the whole more thoroughly studied than the eastern, I shall start with the Byzantine Empire and refer first of all to Cyril Mango,¹⁵ who in his book on Byzantine architecture puts the question, “where did the inspiration (for the centralised church) come from?” His answer is worth quoting at some length:

“The most likely answer is that it came from the audience halls of palaces, where the earthly monarchs were surrounded by a liturgy in many ways comparable to that of the heavenly King. Indeed, what could have been more natural? Imperial art was older than Christian art, and it is generally accepted that in the realm of triumphal iconography it exerted a decisive influence on the latter. The Byzantine mind imagined God’s habitat as a vastly expanded and more splendid version of the emperor’s Sacred Palace, so that God’s house could logically be cast in the same mould.

There is considerable evidence to suggest this line of derivation. The centralized *triclinium* or reception hall... was a regular feature of Roman palace architecture as far back as Nero’s Domus Aurea (mid 1st century AD).”

The context here adverted to is that of the ritual surrounding the king as he receives his subjects in audience. One feature of oriental kingship in many periods from Alexander on was the divinisation of kings who were worshipped as gods. This practice, with its associations of universal sovereignty, was widespread in Hellenistic times in kingdoms with rulers of Greek or Roman origin, and could become conflated with an ancestor cult in which the ruling house and its divine origins were the object of veneration. Perhaps the most remarkable monumental expression of such a cult is the ‘Hierothesion’ built by Antiochus of Commagene at Nimrud Dagh in eastern Anatolia (1st century BC). Here colossal stone images

¹⁵ C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 87ff.

of the king, his family, ancestors and divine beings are arranged in the open air around three sides of a square, and show a unique blend of Iranian and Greek religious ideas. A recently excavated palace of Claudius now submerged in the Bay of Naples (1st century AD) is a Roman equivalent of this ‘ancestral portrait gallery’ with strong religious overtones.

As far as I know the Parthians and Sasanians did not adopt the cult of divinised kings, though the latter certainly had an elaborate court ritual enacted in specially designed buildings. The Parthians at least seem to have had galleries of ancestral statues at Nysa and also Toprak-kala in Soviet Central Asia, and at Shami in Iran. The Kushans, with whom the development of the new styles of Buddhist art and architecture in northwest India is closely associated, seem to have had both ancestor cults and divine kingship. Their royal cult under the new title of *devaputra* and their remarkable ancestral portrait galleries at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan and Mat at Mathura have been ably discussed by J. Rosenfield.¹⁶

It seems possible that this type of royal gallery of statues (which, at least in Parthian Nysa was combined with the ‘centralised’ type of royal audience hall) could have contributed to the idea of the array of carefully positioned divinities around the central figure in the Buddhist *maṇḍala*. Royal associations are certainly not absent from Mahāyāna and early tantric Buddhism, as D.L. Snellgrove clearly showed in an article on the notion of divine kingship in tantric Buddhism.¹⁷ Thus:

“There need be no doubt that a form of royal consecration had been adopted in certain Buddhist circles already by the 7th century AD.”

[Translated from the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*]

“They [those to be consecrated in the *maṇḍala*] should be kshatriyas, those who have been consecrated great kings, or their sons or daughters, those who are unacquainted with the ways of common folk... (Ratnaketu) the great *cakravartin* chief is to be placed in the centre [of the *maṇḍala*]. He has the colour of saffron and is like the rising sun... he is like a great king with his palace and his decorations...”

Snellgrove also drew attention in that article to a possible association between the *maṇḍala* and the Buddhist temples of Nepal, without I think being aware of the antecedents discussed in this paper. U. Wiesner has more recently emphasised the intimate connection between king, temple and national divinity in later Hindu

¹⁶ J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967.

¹⁷ D.L. Snellgrove, “The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism”, in International Congress for the History of Religions, *The Sacral Kingship*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1959, 204–218.

Nepal: thus “For the power of the king to be legitimated, it seems to have been essential for the supreme deity of the country to reside near the seat of the ruler.”¹⁸

Conclusion

The equating of universal Buddhahood with universal sovereignty and its imagery in Mahāyāna Buddhism is well enough known by now. What I have tried to show in this paper is that the notion of the monarch as potentially universal sovereign (and often of divine ancestry) was associated with a particular type of building. This was the centralised audience hall whose features might include fourfold symmetry in plan, entrances to the four quarters, an upper tier of reduced proportions, and circumambulatory passages. Over the whole area from India to Europe the type came to be shared by certain religious buildings, at a time when emperor-cults are known to have formed models for the cults of developing universal religions, with their rapidly growing iconography. Another phenomenon, the royal gallery of ancestral and divine statues, might exist separately or in combination with this type of building. In the case of Buddhist India this complex of ideas and images is clearly in part an import from the Iranian lands to the northwest.

That the complex was readily adopted in India is no doubt partly due to the pre-existence there of related, if differently developed ideas. The *cakravartin* or world-ruler was an ancient concept in India. Already in Vedic times the *maṇḍala*, probably in simple two-dimensional form, existed; thus in the *Grhyasūtras*:¹⁹

“For studying the *Āranyaka* teacher and student go to a ‘circle (*maṇḍala*) in the north-eastern direction... a king who is to be consecrated sits down in a specially prepared ‘circle’ (*maṇḍalam*)”

As a matter of fact, as noted by Snellgrove, the conscious royal imagery evident in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* had already waned in importance even by the time of the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha*:

“Already in the *Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha* the followers of the Buddha were far beyond the stage of conscious adaptation of the symbols of sovereignty, for they had now become an accepted part of the tradition. From now on the central divinity resides in his own right in the

¹⁸ See Wiesner, *Nepalese Temple Architecture*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1978, 3ff. This association is a very ancient one. Compare the following: “The cosmological aspect of the city (in the ancient near east) has its roots in the idea of the city as the abode of the god, the ruler of cosmos and nation, because the temple, as the visible expression of his domain, was, at the same time, the king’s property, the capital was the ruling center of both the god and his vice regent... the king. Therefore, temple and palace should be seen as two aspects of the same phenomenon; together they constituted the essence of the state.” (G.W. Ahlstrom, *Royal Administration and National Religion in Ancient Palestine*, Leiden, 1982, 3ff.)

¹⁹ J. Gonda, *Vedic Ritual: the Non-solemn Rites*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1980, 233, 244.

temple-palace in the centre of the *maṇḍala* and he appears spontaneously wearing full royal regalia.”

Similarly, I suggest, the royal associations of the building type of the *maṇḍala*-palace and the idea of a formal group of royal statues fade into the background of tantric Buddhism in the course of time, though the architectural and statuary forms live on, to be given other layers of symbolism. So it was thousands of miles away in the Christian world, where the royal associations of the centralised church were largely forgotten though the building form lives on to this day. At both extremes, the decay of imperial ideologies, due probably in large part to the very success of the new universal religions and to other historical factors, led to the loss of the architectural and sculptural forms which were the original model.

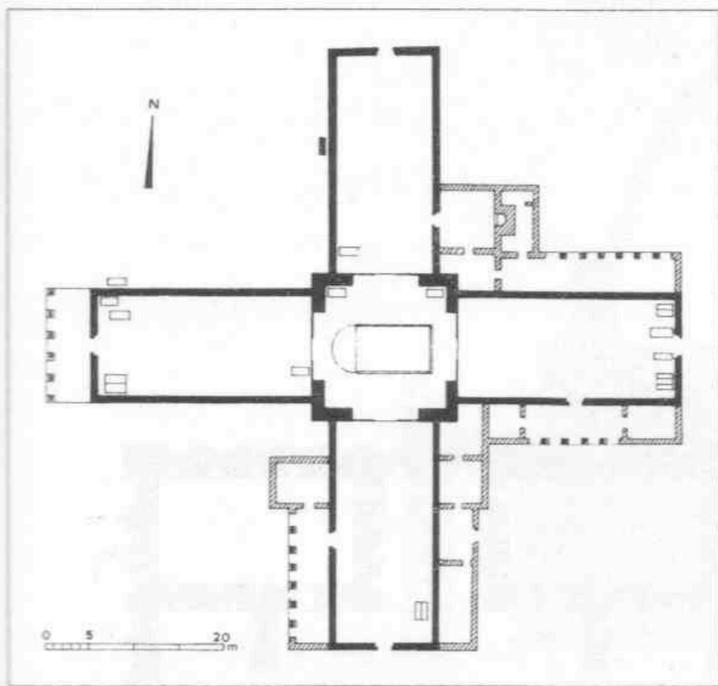


Fig. 1

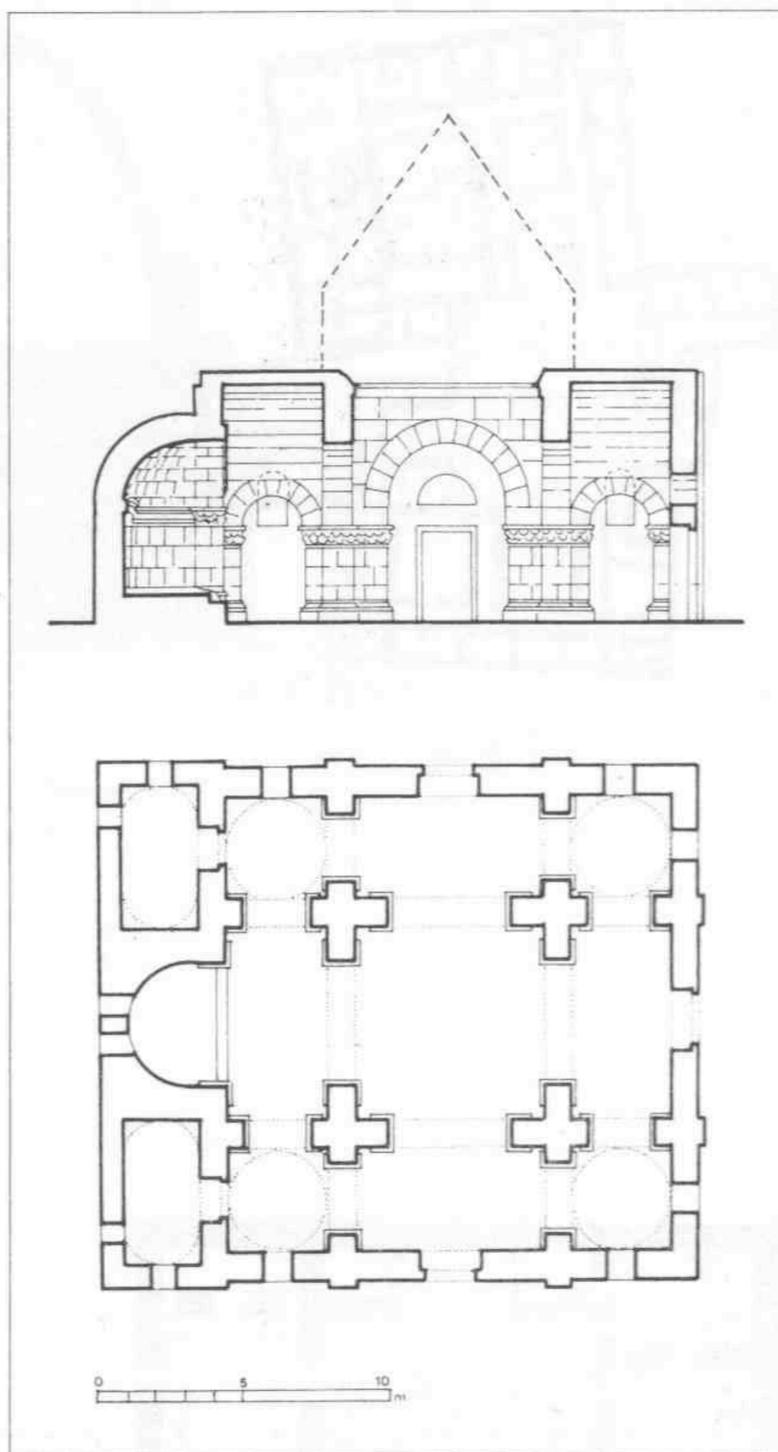


Fig. 3

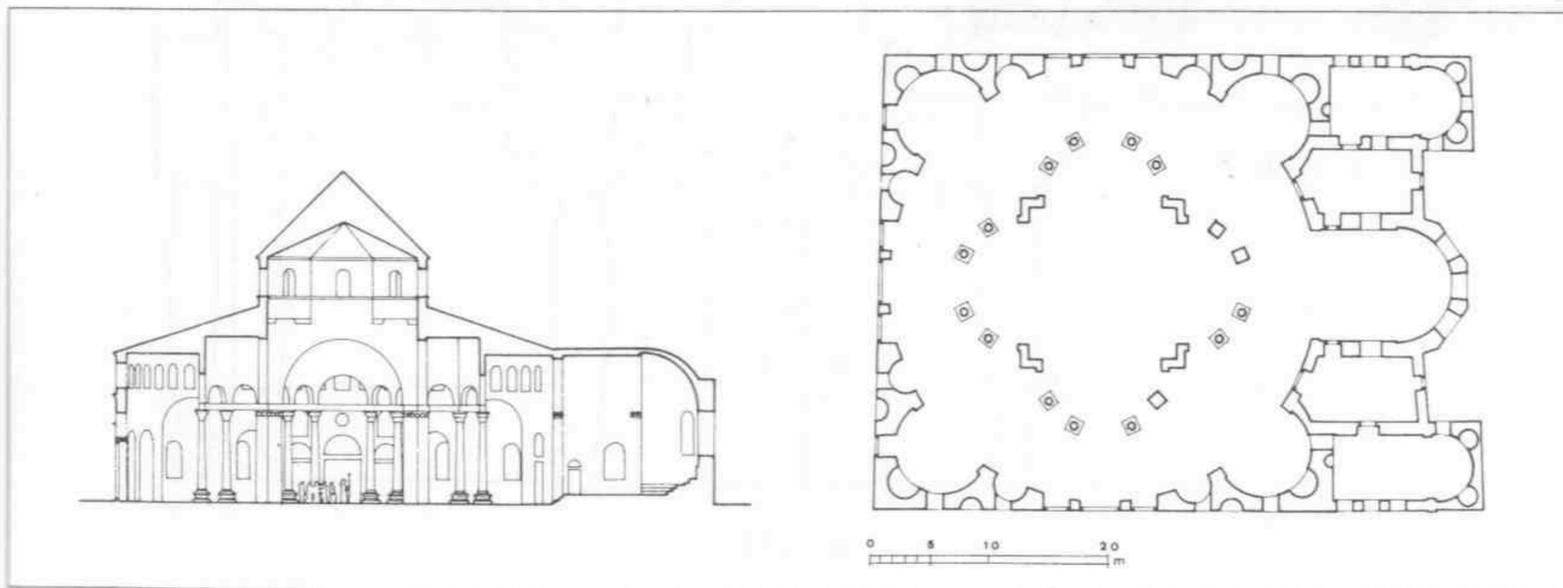


Fig. 2

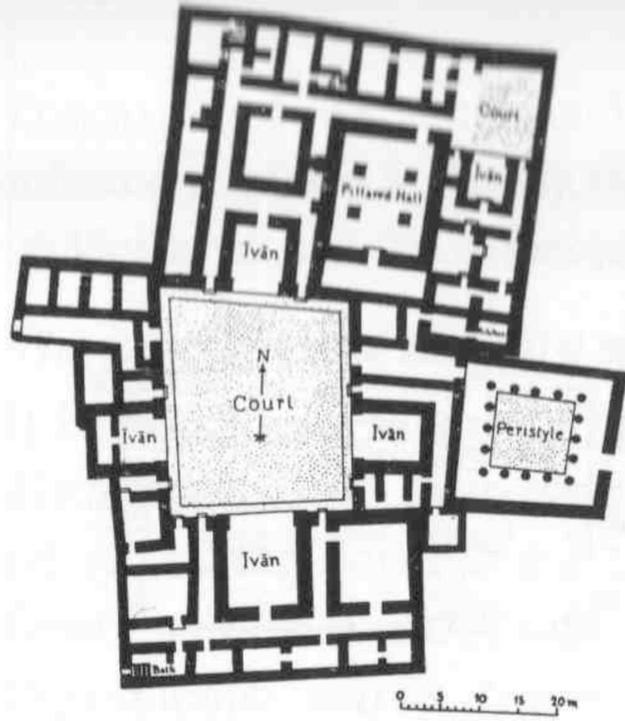


Fig. 4

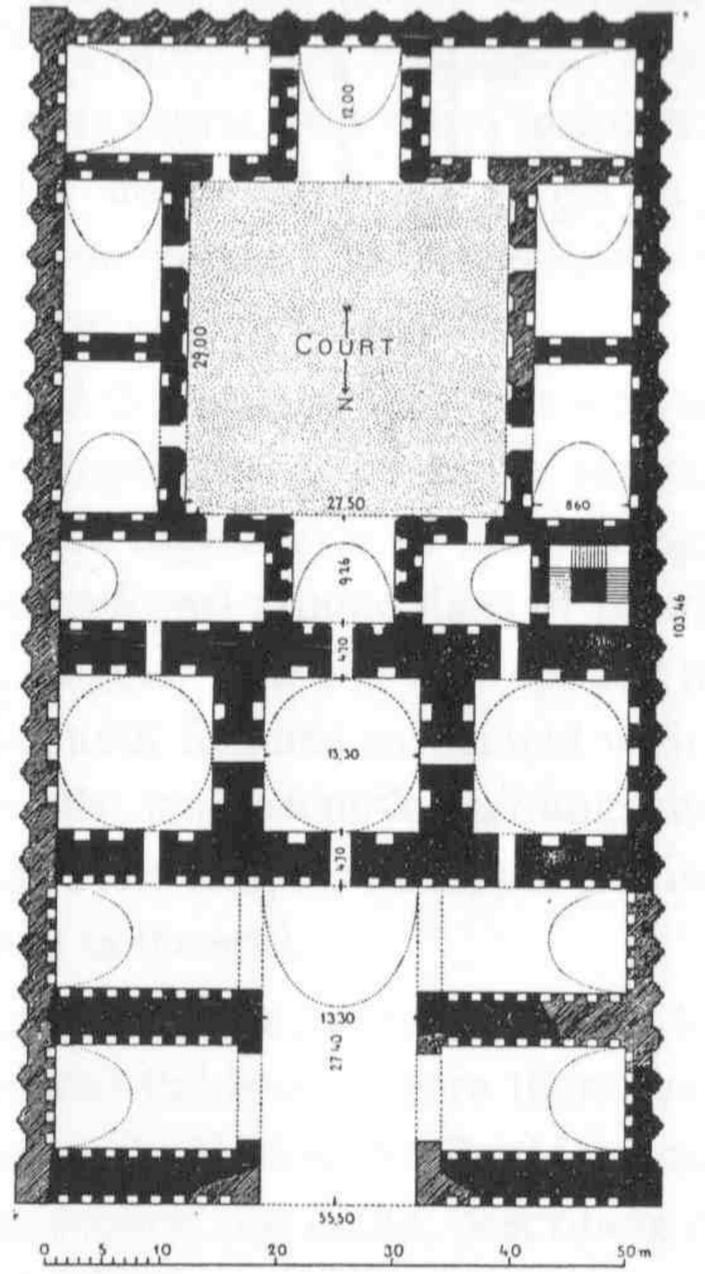


Fig. 5

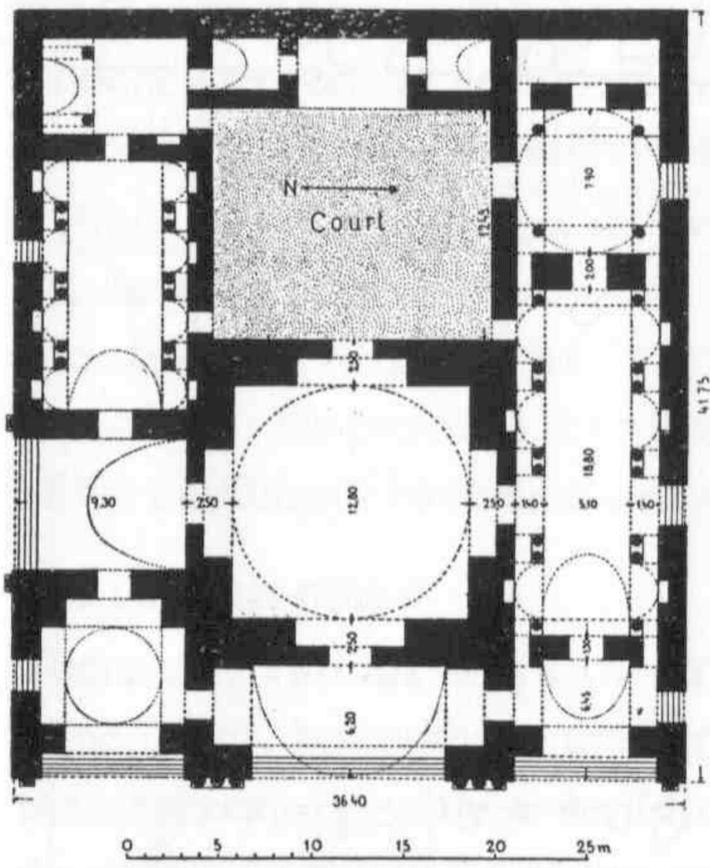


Fig. 6

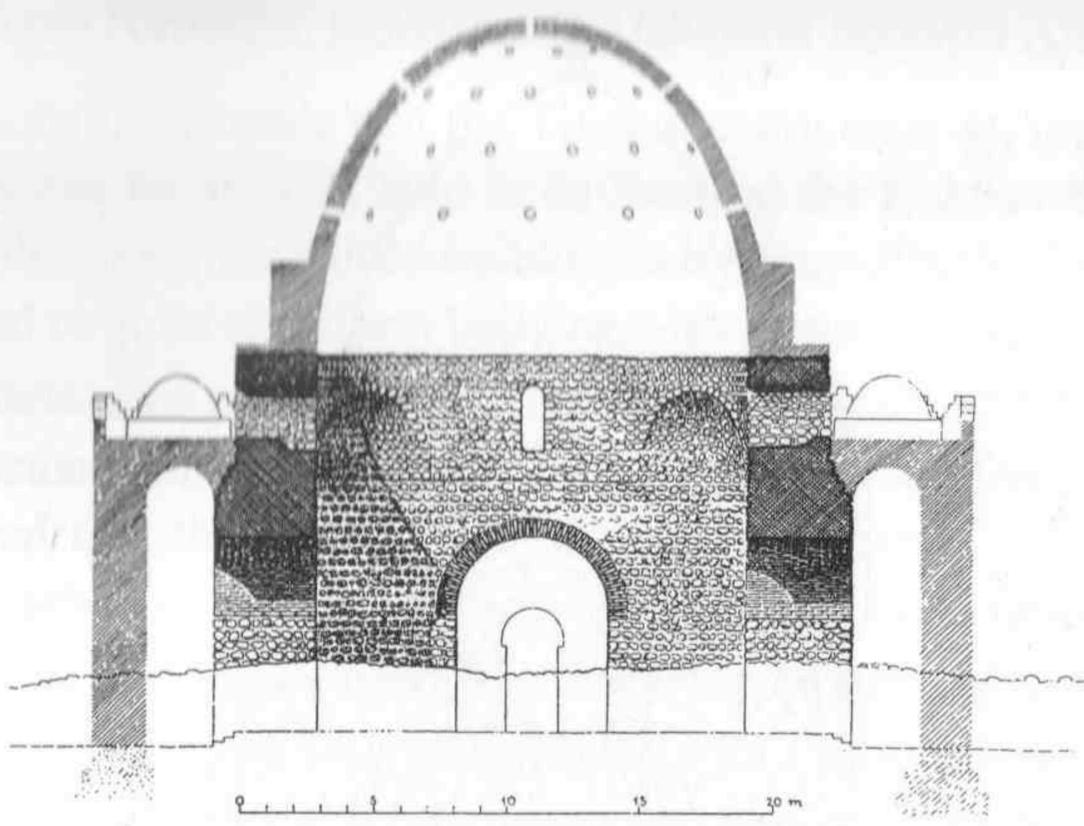


Fig. 7

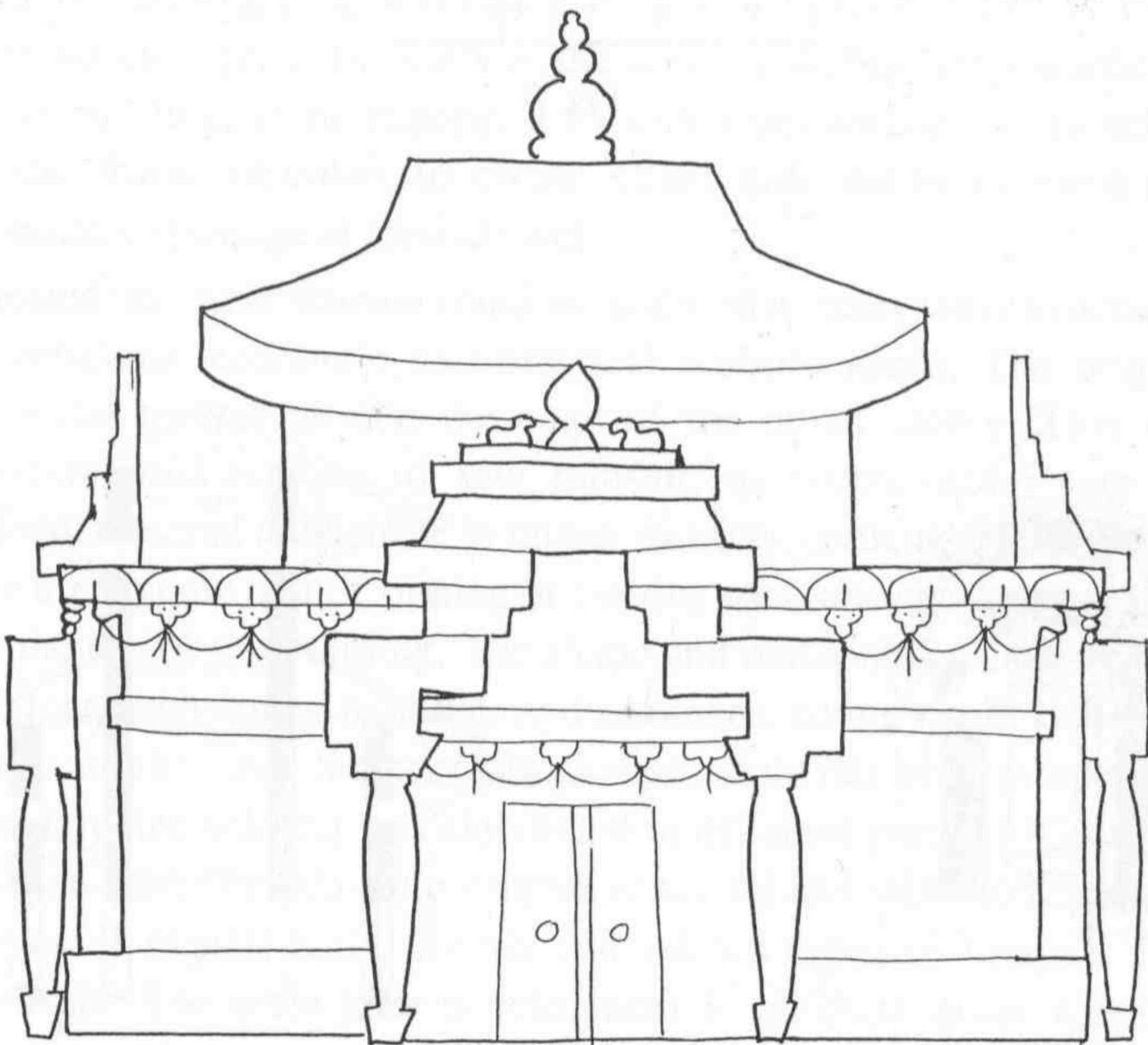


Fig. 8

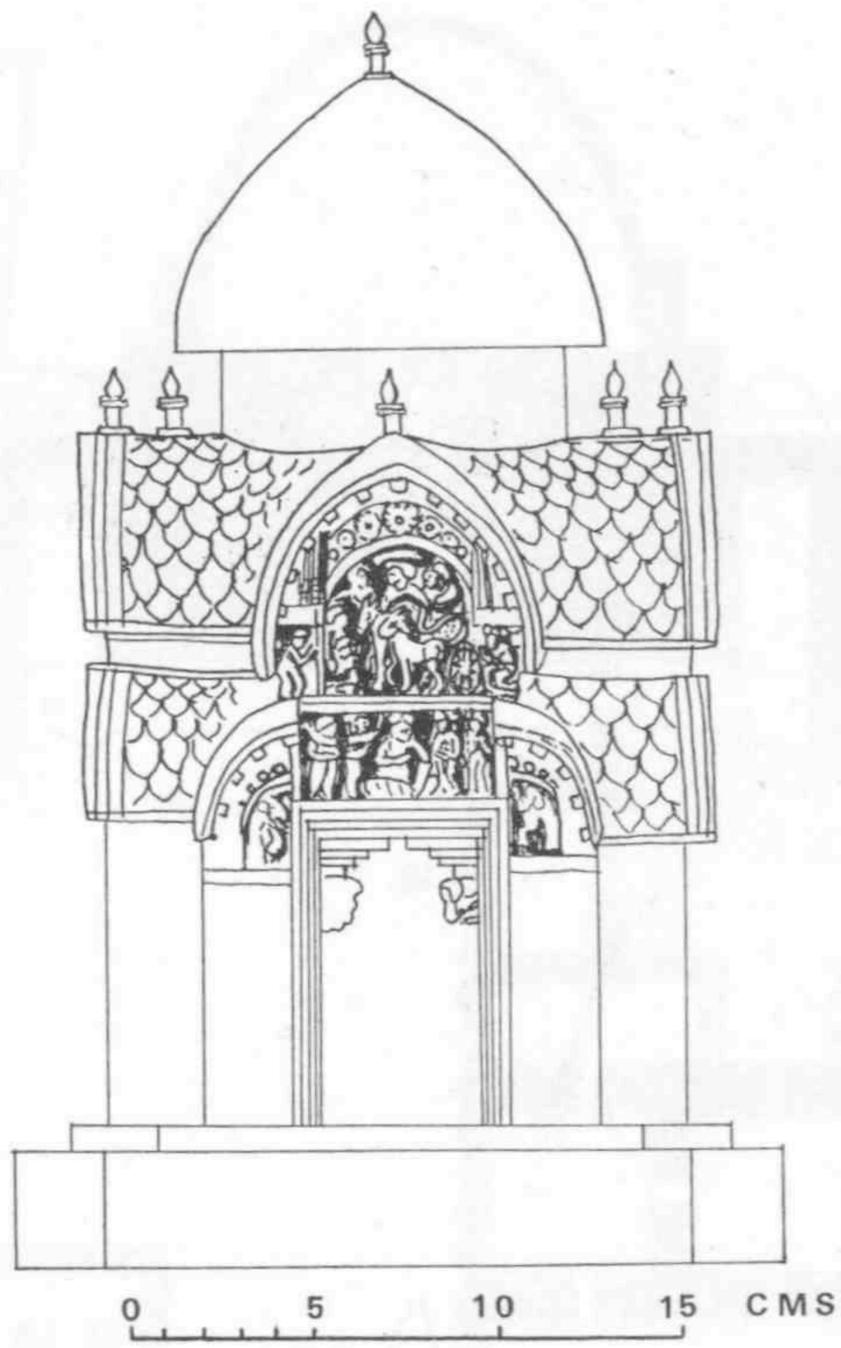


Fig. 9



Fig. 10

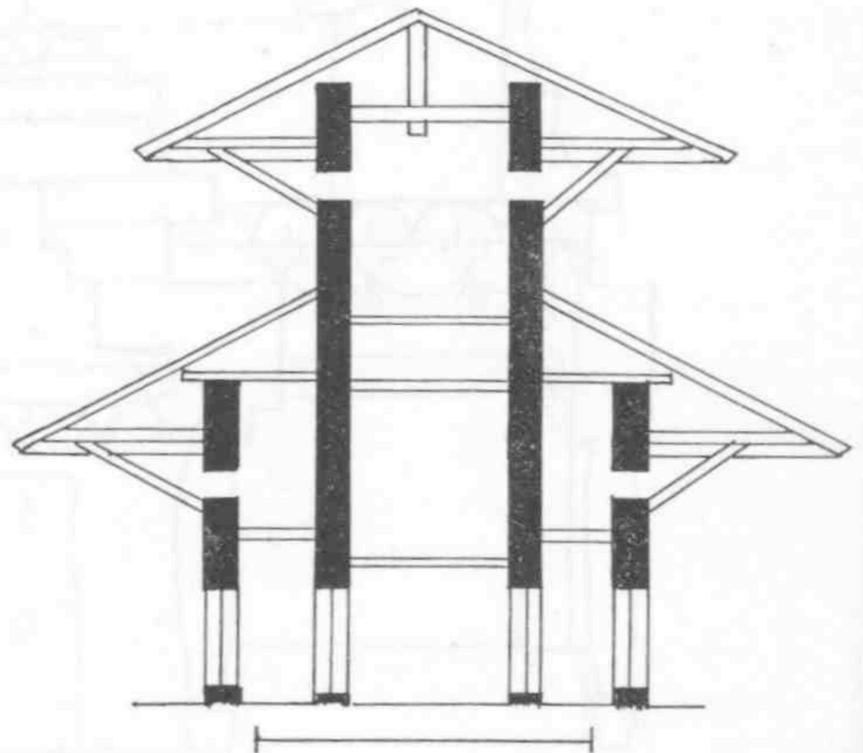


Fig. 11