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The Lord of All Virtues¹

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THE NAME ŚRĪ GHANANĀTHA appears on a Javanese stone inscription, known as the Kayumwungan inscription, but today this epithet is so obscure that we can hardly understand its significance or why the poet chose it at all.² Nonetheless, a lead-bronze inscription and small clay votive *stūpas* dug out during the second Borobudur restoration project—which have been hitherto not utilized in analysis of the monument—pave the way to better understanding of this elusive name and of Borobudur Buddhism. They are critical for decoding verses of the Kayumwungan inscription that are otherwise not self-explanatory, and also for decoding mysterious phrases in other evidence, such as the terms *stūpa-prāsāda* in the Old Javanese text the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, and *Bhūmisambhāra* in the Tri Tepusan inscription. A clearer understanding of “Śrī Ghananātha” helps in explaining the architecture, visual symbolism, and textual data embedded in Borobudur. These elements, in turn, help to demonstrate that Śrī Ghananātha likely means the Lord of All Virtues as applied to Borobudur. This is in conformity with supporting passages in the Kayumwungan inscription. The intimate bond between the inscription and Borobudur is fortified, and the Kayumwungan inscription may indeed be considered the consecration manifesto of Borobudur.

I shall limit this report of work in progress to discuss the following three topics, i.e., inception of the Mantranaya in Java; the numinous as seen in the *Kūṭāgāra*, tree, and *stūpa*; and finally the multitude of virtues of Sugata. These topics assist us in grasping the sophisticated link between the idea behind Śrī Ghananātha and the scheme underlying the construction of Borobudur.

INCEPTION OF THE MANTRANAYA IN JAVA

The lead-bronze inscription was excavated in 1974 from the plain less than 100 meters west of Borobudur. A large number of small clay votive *stūpas* were also dug out from the same area. Reports on this discovery were published in 1976 and 1979, respectively.³ Boechari dated the votive *stūpas* to at least the second half of the ninth century and the lead-bronze inscription to a decade or two earlier. Boechari published his transcription of the inscription in 1976. A lot remains to be done to improve his readings, but for the time being I have to be content with his initial attempt.⁴

Given Boechari's readings, it appears that some of the lines in this inscription correspond with verses preserved in a Balinese *stuti* called the *Nava-Kampa*, or "The Ninefold Tremble."⁵ So far, the origin of *Nava-Kampa* verses is unknown. But some lines of this *stuti* can be found in a number of *dhāraṇīs*. Of particular interest, the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*,⁶ a text known from the Chinese translation of 726, includes phrases parallel to those at the beginning of the *Nava-Kampa*. Moreover, the *Nava-Kampa* seems to suggest that after recitation there would be brought about perfection in all actions (*sarva-karma-siddhi-karam āvartayisyāmi*), which is somewhat in line with the title and purpose of the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*. Thus, it looks that the kind of *dhāraṇīs* represented by the *Nava-Kampa* originated in the cycle or family of this sutra (see table 1).

A number of implications follow from these correspondences. First, in terms of dating, agreement between the inscription and the Balinese *Nava-Kampa* indicates that Sanskrit texts from Balinese sources may date from as early as the ninth century. This indication is of great consequence for the study of early Javanese Buddhism, for which there is so little written evidence. But now one can resort to old Balinese sources to look for possible evidence with greater confidence.⁷ This reminds us of Stutterheim's proposal to employ the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*—which comes down to us from the Balinese tradition—for the study of Borobudur. Back then his proposal stood only on top of Goris's conclusion on linguistic grounds, which suggested that the older parts of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* might have already existed before the Javanese King Siṅḍok (r. 929–947).⁸ Today we have a body of archaeological evidence to support the early dating of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and to seriously consider this text as being strongly connected to Borobudur.

Second, the connection with the *Susiddhikara-sūtra* opens up another dimension to this archaeological evidence. While a Sanskrit manuscript of this sutra is yet to be found, the Chinese translation done by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726 is available. This sutra clearly belongs to a school upholding Mantranaya. We read in the chapter of “Selection of the Site” that this sutra considers the Buddha’s eight great *stūpas* as excellent sites for reciting mantras and gaining success.⁹ These *stūpas* are especially praised in the text known as the *Aṣṭamahāsthāna-caitya-vandanā-stava*.¹⁰ The Himalayan living tradition indicates that the ritual involving these eight great *stūpas* leads to the production of *stūpa tsa-tsa*, or votive tablets in the shape of *stūpas*, not unlike those unearthed near Borobudur. In other words, the inscription and the votive *stūpas* turn out to be tightly interrelated archaeological evidence pointing to a Mantranaya environment around the time Borobudur was being constructed. Furthermore, given that one part of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* is titled the “Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantranaya,” the connection between this Javanese compendium and Borobudur is strengthened. Such a connection becomes more significant as the contents of this text seem to be in agreement with Borobudur symbolism.

Third, with the help of the *Nava-Kampa*, one line of Boechari’s readings of the lead-bronze inscription may be construed as *Namo Bhagavate Mahāvajra-dhara svāhā*. As such, it indicates that the Buddhists of Borobudur knew the term *vajradhara*. This information reminds us of a site for the Vajradhara school (*kabajradharan*) named Buḍur in the *Deśawarṇana (Negarakṛtagama)*, a Javanese text dated to the fourteenth century.¹¹ Scholars dispute if Buḍur refers to Borobudur. Those rejecting any link between Borobudur and tantric Buddhism find *kabajradharan* a reason to dissociate the monument and the place name. But now, the evidence indicates that Borobudur is associated with Mantranaya, and therefore it is highly likely associated with a site for the Vajradhara school named Buḍur.

THE NUMINOUS AS SEEN IN THE KŪṬĀGĀRA, TREE, AND STŪPA

The *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya-vandanā-stava* says that by establishing or offering a *stūpa* that commemorates the eight miraculous events that happened in the life of Śākyamuni, one gains a great merit, reward, and praise. This practice even leads one to a heavenly realm after death. A votive *stūpa* with eight smaller *stūpas* attached to its *anda* is a token commemorating those eight great events that anyone could

Table 1. Relationship among the lead-bronze inscription, Nava-Kampa, and Susiddhikara-sūtra

Boechari's transcription	Nava-Kampa	Susiddhikara-sūtra
(A.1.) . . . ratnatrayāya sya d ama [---] kvavajrav ā daya [---] yaksasenāpati — namo bhagavate [---] ti mati valaviryya vici- travi [-] ya [---] raśata sahasra sya vra [---] . . . haśaśanakarasya catu [r] guha [--] laṅkuteśā cira sya su [---] meśala paraśu pāsa vajra jvalā gu-a- (A.2.) usalāka su	Namo Ratna-trayāya svāhā, namaś Caṇḍa-vajra- pāṇi svāhā, mahā-yakṣa-senā-pati svāhā, namo Bhagavate 'prati- hata-bala-vīrya-vidhi- trividya-dhara-sahasra svāhā, catur-bhujalākṛti svāhā, asi-musala-paraśu- pāśa-vajrāgni- jvālātibhīṣanaka-rūpa svāhā	Namo Ratna- trayāya, namaś Caṇḍa-vajra- pāṇaye, mahā-yakṣa-senā- pataye, namo asi-musala- vajra paraśu-pāśa- hastāya
puṣṭa-atija-iteja-e saṇḍaya vilamvita dakṣiṇapāthā sya	paśu-pati-jatijada- sañcaya-vilambita- dakṣiṇa-pāda svāhā	
parvvata-sthala tapavini- viṣṭa vāmacarana sya	sarva-niyantaka, tava viniṣṭha-vāma-caraṇa- uṣṇiṣa svāhā,	
namo bhagavato mahāvajra [---] sya	namo Bhagavate mahā- vajra-dhara svāhā,	
mahāmedan namahṛdaya. parama—ruṇa. sarvabhūtagaṇa— aśa kara. rodrakara. traśakara. g- — kara (A.3.) vivādakara. sarvakarmmāsiddhi- kara. siddhikara. avartaya śyami	namo Rudra, namo hṛdayaṃ, parama-dāruṇaṃ, sarva-bhūta-gaṇa- vinaya karaṃ, roṣāstrāśīviṣadhaḥ- karaṃ, sarva-karma-siddhi- karam āvartayiṣyāmi,	
tadyathāta	tad yathā	

produce and donate. Excavators discovered thousands of such votive *stūpas* at Borobudur. This shows that this kind of offering was the practice of the day. In modern Bali, the *Nava-Kampa* is recited in death ritual, as well as in daily ritual. Perhaps it is reminiscent of an older rite performed at Borobudur.

Tracing this practice further back, we can retrieve a substantial number of accounts asserting the significance of miraculous events and how they are likely related to Borobudur. I will elaborate briefly some of the ones more relevant to the planning of Borobudur. First, the *Lalitavistara* narrates at length the life story of Śākyamuni up to his turning of the dharma wheel. The absence of an account of the Buddha's passing away cogently intensifies the force that elevates Śākyamuni to divinity. Somewhat similarly, the title of the text seems to suggest an eternal cosmic play.¹² This is the story that the architects of Borobudur picked to be carved extensively and elegantly on the first gallery wall. The divine birth narrative draws our attention. Here looking at the *Lalitavistara* reliefs of the birth story, Krom rightly noticed the double wall—instead of triple—of the *kūṭāgāra* in which the Bodhisattva dwelled while descending from the Tuṣita and staying in his mother's womb.¹³ Assuming the architects' text was similar to ours today and acknowledging their mastery of texts and details, the discrepancy seems to be intentional rather than accidental. The whole structure of the monument, we can say, represents the absent third wall of the *kūṭāgāra* depicted in the relief. In fact, there are compelling grounds for believing that Borobudur represents the Javanese image of the *kūṭāgāra* of Śākyamuni, which carries with it many unusual properties and also interchangeable terms, such as *garbha* or *śrī garbha*, *ratnavyūha*, and *caitya*.¹⁴

Second, the *Gaṇḍavyūha* reliefs occupy a large portion of the Borobudur walls. This sutra starts with the Buddha staying at the *kūṭāgāra* in the Jeta Grove in the park of Anāthapiṇḍada, in Śrāvastī. Scrutinizing the site and settings at which the whole *Gaṇḍavyūha* narrative took place reveals much precious information. The sutra specifically states the *kūṭāgāra*, not just the Jeta Grove, is the site at which all started. While the initial setting appears historical, the events are increasingly ahistorical and cosmological. When it records the bodhisattvas in attendance, the list systematically arranges 152 names in 15 categories.¹⁵ Most of the categories are in a group of ten, except for the category of eyes (*netra*), which has twelve names. Ten out of fifteen categories create five pairs of categories because each of these pairs has a synonymic category (see table 2).

Table 2. Categories of bodhisattvas' names

Group no.	No. of bodhisattvas	Bodhisattvas' ending names	Subtotals of no. of bodhisattvas		Meaning
1.	10	-uttarajñānī -buddhī	10	20	supra knowledge, or intelligence
2.	10	-dhvaja -ketū	10	20	banner
3.	9	-tejā prabhā	11	20	light
4.	10	-garbha		10	womb
5.	12	-netra		12	eyes
6.	10	-mukuṭa -cūḍa	10	20	crown, or crest
7.	10	-ghoṣa -svara	10	20	voice, or sound
8.	10	-udgata		10	come out
9.	10	-śrī		10	auspicious
10.	10	-indrarāja		10	Lord
Subtotals	101		51	152	Total

The importance of eyes becomes clear in subsequent events when the bodhisattvas alone are able to witness the Buddha's spiritual power manifested in this very *kūṭāgāra*. This seems to be the rationale for the Javanese architects to take this starting part seriously, as the scene is depicted right at the first two panels introducing the series of *Gaṇḍavyūha* reliefs. This is especially notable because other depictions of *Gaṇḍavyūha* elsewhere in Asia jump to the beginning of Sudhana's pilgrimage and dismiss the introductory part altogether.¹⁶

As the narrative shifts to Sudhana's pilgrimage, Qobad Afshar tells us that when he investigated the places visited and identified them with ancient Indian toponyms, he learned that Sudhana's itinerary circled the Indian subcontinent,¹⁷ that is to say, Jambudvīpa. In other words, the sutra seems to provide a circumambulating program for

the pilgrim to proceed south from one *kalyānamitra* to the next, going deeper into the human realm, until stopping at Magadha in the center and entering into Maitreya's *kūṭāgāra*, which at this point is identical to the magnificently adorned abode of Vairocana or the universal cosmos (*vairocanavyūhālaṃkāragarbha mahākūṭāgāra*). The mention of Maitreya's *kūṭāgāra* in the Tuṣita heaven brings to mind the story related to the *kūṭāgāra* of Śākyamuni as told in the *Lalitavistara*. As we compare this and other features, it becomes clear that to some extent the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* and the *Lalitavistara* have many parallels and are thereby closely correlated (see table 3).

Table 3. Correlations between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*

Components	<i>Lalitavistara-sūtra</i>	<i>Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra</i>
Starting location	Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada Arāma in Śravasti (Śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme).	Mahāvvyūha <i>kūṭāgāra</i> in Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada Arāma in Śravasti (Śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme mahāvvyūhe kūṭāgāre).
Arapacana syllabary	Viśvamisra was unable to teach the youth Siddhārtha, who excelled in arts and sciences. Siddhārtha taught the syllabary to many youths.	Viśvamisra does not teach the youth Sudhana, but lets the youth Śilpābhijña (Advanced Knowledge in Arts and Sciences) teach Sudhana the syllabary.
Mathematics	Siddhārtha exhibited his mathematical knowledge.	The youth Indriyeśvara teaches Sudhana math- ematical knowledge.
Young lady Gopā	Siddhārtha married young lady Gopā.	Young lady Gopā tells Sudhana that she has known Siddhārtha since many aeons ago.
Earth goddess Sthāvarā	Earth goddess Sthāvarā protected Siddhārtha at the enlightenment site.	Earth goddess Sthāvarā teaches Sudhana the practice of protecting a bodhisattva.

Components	<i>Lalitavistara-sūtra</i>	<i>Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra</i>
Mother of Buddha	Lady Māyā was the mother of Siddhārtha.	Lady Māyā tells Sudhana that she is the mother of all buddhas.
Tuṣita	The Bodhisattva expounded the 108 Dharmālokamukha before his last descent to earth in a <i>kūṭāgāra</i> .	Bodhisattva Maitreya tells Sudhana that, like other bodhisattvas in their last birth, he will be in Tuṣita teaching the <i>Mahājñānamukha</i> before descending.
Spiritual Instructors	Siddhārtha had two spiritual instructors.	Sudhana has 52 (or 53, 54, 55) spiritual instructors (<i>kalyāṇamitra</i>).
Location	Siddhārtha roamed Madhyadeśa until enlightenment.	Sudhana circumambulates Jambūdvīpa until enlightenment.
Closing remark	A statement: “Here ends the source of all Bodhisattva’s conduct” (<i>sarvabodhisattvacaryā-prasthāna</i>).	A section: “The Samantabhadra’s Conduct” (“Bhadracarī,” or “Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna”).

These correlations suggest that the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* could be conceived as a generalized *Lalitavistara*, while the *Bhadracarī* is the summary of all. This enforces the idea of an eternal cosmic play, especially when we also take into account the *jātakas* and the *avadānas*, which make up all the texts that the architects of Borobudur selected to be exposed on Borobudur walls. Thus, the conduct of the Bodhisattva or the Buddha as exemplar was probably the rationale underlying the selection process for the depiction on reliefs.¹⁸ The poet of the Kayumwungan inscription picked the phrase “the conduct of the Buddha” (*vuddhacarita*) when he composed verse 4.

Nevertheless, unlike the *Lalitavistara*, the meaning of the title *Gaṇḍavyūha* is far from clear, especially when the Chinese counterparts of *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Buddhāvataṃsaka* are alternative names, not translations. A search for the meaning of *gaṇḍa* exposes two interesting

senses, i.e., stalk (trunk) and goitre, which are interrelated by way of being the interstice between two knots.¹⁹ Further, Gaṇḍa is the name of the gardener serving Prasenajit, the king of Kauśala.²⁰ He offered a mango to the Buddha. The mango seed produced the mango tree (Pāli Gaṇḍamba) at the gate of Śrāvastī, under which Śākyamuni performed the double miracle (Pāli *yamaka-pātihāriya*; Skt. *yamaka-prātihārya*).

The word *gaṇḍa*, meaning “(tree) trunk,” is very well attested to in the *Divyāvadāna*. It appears in compounds, such as *mūla-gaṇḍapatrapuṣpaphala*.²¹ This compound enumerates in an orderly fashion the components of a tree from the bottom to the tip: “root, trunk, leaf, flower, fruit.” As such, when the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* records *nānābodhigaṇḍavyūhān*,²² the word *gaṇḍa* in this compound most likely has the same meaning, so that *nānābodhigaṇḍavyūhān* are “various ornamented trunks of (trees of) enlightenment.” But, given that the compilers did not bother to include *nānābodhi* or *bodhi* in the title, it might just be the case that a broader meaning is intended. The trunks might include other trees under which Buddha’s miraculous events occur; *gaṇḍavyūha* might also mean “detailed explanation or description of (tree) trunk (miraculous events).”²³ This meaning of *gaṇḍavyūha* still shares the miraculous context in which the compound *buddhāvataṃsaka* is found in the *Divyāvadāna*.²⁴ Now, it turns out that *buddhāvataṃsaka* may have two meanings, depending on how one interprets this compound. One is “the garland of the Buddha.”²⁵ The second is “the garland of buddhas.”²⁶ Of these two meanings, the one most clearly manifested at Borobudur is “garland of buddhas.”

However, as both titles—*Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Buddhāvataṃsaka*—turn out to arise from the great miracle in Śrāvastī, the background of this event is equally important for the study of Borobudur. This great miracle occurred due to rivalry between some ascetics and the Buddha. The ascetics felt deprived of provisions after King Bimbisāra offered Veṇuvana—the first royal gift in the year following the enlightenment—and other offerings to the Buddha. The *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra goes even farther claiming that it was the gift of Veṇuvana that caused jealousy among the six *tīrthika* teachers.²⁷ In verse 13 of the Kayumwungan inscription, the poet states that the temple of Jina being built is similar to the famous Veṇuvana.

Third, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (*Lotus Sutra*) has never been thought to have been known to the Javanese of Borobudur.²⁸ But when we scrutinize verse 2 of the Kayumwungan inscription, there is a

statement about *saddharma* that alludes to familiar contexts or phrases found in the *Lotus Sutra* (see table 6 showing the comparison at the end of this paper). As such, it looks like that the poet was familiar with the *Lotus Sutra*. This text emphasizes the divine status of Buddha and says that many bodhisattvas reside in *kūṭāgāra*(s).²⁹ When a buddha travels around through many buddha-fields, a *kūṭāgāra* can operate as a vehicle, one not unlike the conveyance by which the Bodhisattva descends from the Tuṣita heaven to the earth as told in the *Lalitavistara*. This scripture is also famous for its advice to build *caityas* for the Tathāgata. It says that a *caitya* is to be built wherever the *Lotus Sutra* is expounded, preached, written, studied, or recited.³⁰ It also indicates that it is not necessary to depose the relics of the Tathāgata in the *caitya*, since the relics of the Tathāgata are already entirely there. In other words, the *caitya* is identical to the body of Tathāgata,³¹ thus like a *stūpa* it is to be worshiped as such.³² This view is supported by another statement saying that the Great Jewel Stūpa is none other than the whole mass or entire personality of the Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna.³³ In addition, like a physical body, a *stūpa* could produce voice³⁴ and would magically emerge from the earth when the *Lotus Sutra* is expounded.

Fourth, in addition to the portrayal of *kūṭāgāra* in the *Lalitavistara*, which I consider comparable to the circular terraces of Borobudur, it is worth noting that this text mentions the phrase *kūṭāgāra-prāsāda* at least six times³⁵ in various contexts. Then, if we recall that the *Lalitavistara* interchanges a *caitya* with a *kūṭāgāra*, and the *Lotus Sutra* maintains an identity among *caitya*, relics, and *stūpa*, and even recognizes a *stūpa* as being the whole body of a *tathāgata*, we may come to an understanding through a process of substitution that the phrase *kūṭāgāra-prāsāda* might have eventually been transformed into *stūpa-prāsāda*. The latter is a term that I am thus far not able to find recorded anywhere else except in the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, where it says: “This body—inside and outside—is a *stūpa-prāsāda*.”³⁶

Fifth, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* correlates the five elements with the five *tathāgatas* (see table 4). Scholars have reported this association in different traditions, but Kats found no satisfactory correspondence with those reported by Waddell, Hodgson, or Groeneveld.³⁷ It does not match the scheme used by Śubhākarasiṃha either.³⁸ But de Visser informs us that Amoghavajra differed fundamentally from Śubhākarasiṃha by relating Vairocana to the earth element and Akṣobhya to the *ākāśa* element.³⁹ Comparing all of them,

it can be seen that the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* has two elements that match the Amoghavajra's configuration. This comparison has two important implications. First of all, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* represents a distinct tradition. Secondly, it also shows that it follows a tradition that upholds Akṣobhya being the *ākāśa* element, thus leaning toward the tradition advocated by Amoghavajra.

THE MULTITUDE OF VIRTUES OF SUGATA

Verse 1 in chapter 24, “Trapuṣa-bhallika,” of the *Lalitavistara* mentions Śirighana, or Śrīghana. It is by far the clearest evidence indicating that the architects of Borobudur had access to the epithet Śrī Ghana, since this scripture is carved prominently on the Borobudur walls. The verse is as follows: “I praise the feet of Śrī Ghana, overspread with a thousand-spoke chariot-wheel, which, having the radiance like the glowing countless-petaled lotuses, are continually rubbed by the tiaras of the gods.”⁴⁰ The same verse attests the usage of the word *ara*, being a spoke of a wheel. Śrī Ghana(nātha) and the word *ara* appear in verses 11 and 8 of the Kayumwungan inscription, respectively.

Assuming that the Chinese translators encountered the epithet Śirighana in the manuscripts of the *Lalitavistara* being translated, their translations as *fo* (Buddha, 佛)⁴¹ or *shizun* (Bhagavat or the Blessed One, 世尊)⁴² provide additional indications that this epithet refers to the Buddha. But it is equally imperative to note that translators of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*⁴³ rendered the same term as “the assembly of all merit and virtue” (*gōngdé jù*, 功德聚), that is the Buddha, or “a stūpa as symbol of Buddha.”⁴⁴ Still, on the other hand, *gōngdé jù* 功德聚 can come not only from Śrī Ghana, but also from the Sanskrit *guṇagaṇa*⁴⁵ (multitude of virtues) and *saṃbhāra* (usually “assembly of merits and knowledge”).⁴⁶ Some passages in the *Lalitavistara*⁴⁷ and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*⁴⁸ corroborate this identification.

While there is no direct proof that the Javanese of Borobudur took the meaning of *guṇagaṇa* and *saṃbhāra* in the same way the Chinese translation team did, there is circumstantial evidence—especially with regards to the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*—indicating that both groups of Buddhists were dealing with the same version, and possibly the same personality, Prājña,⁴⁹ and both might have thereby had similar interpretations. In the Javanese context, we also know that the Javanese were not lacking in the notion of an assembly of merits and knowledge.

Table 4. Configuration of the great elements in some tantric traditions

Tathāgata	<i>Sang Hyang Kamahayānikan</i>	Waddell	Hodgson	Groeneveld	Śubhākarasiṃha	Amoghavajra
Wairocana	Earth	Ākāśa	Ākāśa	Earth	Ākāśa	Earth
Akṣobhya	Ākāśa	Wind	Wind	Water	Earth	Ākāśa
Ratnasambhawa	Water	Earth	Fire	Fire	Fire	Fire
Amitābha	Fire	Fire	Water	Wind	Water	Wind
Amoghasiddhi	Wind	Water	Earth	Ākāśa	Wind	Water

In addition to the sutras that are depicted at Borobudur, the knowledge was certainly known to the poet of the Kayumwungan inscription. Verse 3 of this inscription includes the concept *saṃbhāra*. Moreover, the name Bhūmisambhāra—inscribed in the Tri Tepusan inscription dated to 832—led de Casparis to connect this name to Borobudur,⁵⁰ though many scholars vehemently rejected the idea due to its tenuous link.⁵¹ However, if I take into account the way the compound *bhūmisambhāra* is used in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*—from which the poet of the Tri Tepusan inscription might have gotten the idea—the text suggests that this compound is not being used in connection with the word *bhūdhara* but with the grounds of Tathāgata (*tathāgata-bhūmi*).⁵² Therefore, if I put aside certain details of de Casparis’s argument that causes a vulnerable link and instead apply a more comprehensive understanding of the concept of *saṃbhāra* shown above, de Casparis’s intuition, associating the name Bhūmisambhāra with Borobudur, might be right.

In any case, the Sanskrit *guṇagaṇa* is especially remarkable. Verse 15 of the Kayumwungan inscription puts this in a compound together with Sugata to describe the *vihāra* being consecrated. Via the Chinese translations, we are able to recapture the poet’s idea and perceive the profound relationship between the name Śrī Ghananātha (in verse 11) and the multitude of virtues of Sugata (*sugataguṇagaṇa* in verse 15) in the Kayumwungan inscription.

Last but not least, the Sanskrit word *ghana* is obviously in the name Śrī Ghananātha, but what is not obvious is its connection to meaning “the cube of a number.” This meaning does not carry any weight until we introduce the cube of three (3^3 which is equal to 27) to Amoghavajra’s grid formula for the construction of the *garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*.⁵³ Then, it is clearer why the meaning of *ghana* and the selection of a grid of 27x27 do matter to this formula, especially after this study finds some essential yet missing links. The findings of small clay votive *stūpas* with eight smaller *stūpas* attached to the *anda* confirm that the main *stūpa* of Borobudur could be considered as absorbing the concealed eight *stūpas*. By the same token, the numinous as seen in the *kūṭāgāra*, tree, or *stūpa* permits the taking of 216 grids off the grid of 27x27 to reflect the invisible 108 Buddha statues, each for the nadir and zenith of Borobudur. In this way, the architects of Borobudur also represent the name Śrī Ghananātha mathematically and geometrically by entirely applying all the grids created by the *ghana* of three to the assignment of Buddha statues at Borobudur (see table 5).

Table 5. Odd-number gridwork for numerical series on Buddha images

Layer	Grids/ Side	Grids/ Layer	Borobudur		Level	
			Image	Numerical transformation for no. of grids		
1	1	1	1	Layers 3 to 5 Buddhas in levels 9 to 7 = 16 + 24 + 32 = 72	10	
2	3	8				
3	5	16	16		9	
4	7	24	24		8	
5	9	32	32		7	
6	11	40		Layers 6 to 8 = 40 + 48 + 56 = 144		
7	13	48				
8	15	56				
9	17	64	64	Layers 9 to 14 = 64 + 72 + 80 + 88 + 96 + 104 = 504	5	
10	19	72	72	Buddhas in levels 5 to 1 = 64 + 72 + 88 + 104 + 104 = 432	4	
11	21	80		Difference = 72		
12	23	88	88			3
13	25	96	104			2
14	27	104	104			1
Total		729				

Table 6. Correspondences between the Lotus Sutra and the Kayumwungan inscription

Saddharma in the Lotus Sutra		Saddharma in the Kayumwungan inscription	
Sanskrit	Kern's translation	Translation	Sanskrit
Chap. 10, "Dharmabhāṣaka": <i>sarvalokavipratyamikaḥ</i> <i>sarvalokāśradadhānīyaḥ</i>	no acceptance with everybody, to find no belief with everybody	Verse 2: untold to the people by mundane buddhas, which is unequaled, . . . which cuts off . . . ,	<i>lokānām laukyavuddhair</i> <i>agaditam atula . . . chidam</i>
<i>ādhātṃmikadharmarāhasyaṃ tathāgata-</i> <i>balasaṃrakṣitam apratibhinnapūrvaman</i> <i>ācakṣitapūrvamanākhyātamidam</i>	the transcendent spiritual esoteric lore of the law, preserved by the power of the <i>tathāgatas</i> , but never divulged; it is an article (of creed) not yet made known		
Chap. 13, "Sukhāvihāra": <i>sarvalokavipratyamikaṃ</i> <i>sarvalokāśradhe-</i> <i>yamabhāṣitapūrvamanir-diṣṭapūrvam</i>	meets opposition in all the world, the unbelief of all the world, never before preached, never before explained		
<i>tathāgatānāṃ paramā dharmadēśanā</i>	the supreme preaching of the <i>tathāgatas</i>		
<i>dharmaguhyam cirānurakṣitam</i> <i>sarvadharmaparyāyānām mūrdhasthāyī</i>	reveals this long-kept mystery of the law exceeding all others		

Table 6 (cont.)

Saddharma in the Lotus Sutra		Saddharma in the Kayumwungan inscription	
Sanskrit	Kern's translation	Translation	Sanskrit
Chap. 20, "Tathāgataddharyabhi- saṃskāra": sarvabuddharahasya			
sarvabuddhagambhīrasthāna			
rahasyañānaṃ puruṣottamānāṃ			
Chap. 15, "Tathāgatāyuspramāṇa": mahābhaiṣajya	great remedy	Verse 2: the prime medicine for all diseases of exis- tence	akhila-bhavavyādhi- bhaiṣajyam agram
Chap. 22, "Bhaiṣajyarājapūrvayoga": sarvavyādhichedaka sarvasaṃsārabhaya-bandhana- saṃkātāpramocaka	extirpates all diseases, releases from the narrow bonds of the mundane whirl		

NOTES

1. This paper was read at the annual conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Atlanta, GA, June 27, 2008. I would like to thank Hiram W. Woodward Jr. and Marion Robertson for giving me constructive comments on a draft of this article. Any remaining errors are mine.

2. J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia I: Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd* (n.p.: Bandung, 1950), 139, 199, took this name as referring to King Dharanindra, whom he identified as Indra, the Hindu god who controls the rains or clouds (*ghana*). He seems to dismiss this idea later. I can find only secondary sources mentioning Casparis's dismissal of this name. One is in M. D. Poesponegoro and N. Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, vol. 2 (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984), 103, which refers back to de Casparis's article, "New Evidence between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times," *Artibus Asiae* 24 (1961): 241–248. But here I cannot find any discussion regarding this dismissal. The second source is in Lokesh Chandra, "The Śailendras of Java," *Cultural Horizons of India* 4 (1995): 219–220. Again, in this article I cannot find the reference for such dismissal. Chandra takes Śrī Ghananātha as the husband of Princess Prāmodavarddhani, who was consecrated together with her father-in-law (this part is rather confusing, because in one place, i.e., p. 228, he says "his father" instead of "her father-in-law" as mentioned in p. 229). For Khmer's occurrences of this epithet, see Claude Jacques, "The Buddhist Sect of Śrīghana in Ancient Khmer Lands," in *Buddhist Legacies in Mainland Southeast Asia: Mentalities, Interpretations and Practices*, ed. François Lagarde and Paritta Chalermpow Koanantakool (Paris and Bangkok: École Française d'Extrême-Orient and Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre, 2006), 71–77. For a recent survey on this epithet, see Peter Skilling, "Random Jottings on Śrīghana: An Epithet of the Buddha," in *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2003*, vol. 7 (March 2004): 147–158.

3. Boechari, "Preliminary Report on Some Archaeological Finds around the Borobudur Temple," in *Seri CC No. 5 Reports and Documents of the Consultative Committee for the Safeguarding of Borobudur*, 5th Meeting, April 1976 (Borobudur: Proyek Pelita Pemugaran Candi Borobudur, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1982). W.D. Boechari and H. Ongkodharma, "Report on Clay Votive Stūpas from the Borobudur Site," in *Seri CC No. 8 Reports and Documents of the Consultative Committee for the Safeguarding of Borobudur*, 8th Meeting, April 1979 (Borobudur: Proyek Pelita Pemugaran Candi Borobudur, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1982).

4. To date I have not had the opportunity to access the actual inscription nor the facsimile. Meanwhile, the table presented in the report does not show the full transcription. The whole thing deserves a full study by itself, which I hope I will be able to do eventually.

5. S. Lévi, *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1933), 80–81; and in T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava* (Amsterdam and London: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1971), 314–316.
6. Rolf W. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, the Susiddhikara Sutra* (Berkeley: Numata Center, 2001), 148–149, 315.
7. Some scholars have already attempted to take advantage of Balinese data to explain early Javanese Buddhism, especially after Lévi’s discovery of what was published later as *Sanskrit Texts from Bāli* (Baroda, India: Oriental Institute, 1933). Among these is F. D. K. Bosch, “Buddhist Data from Balinese Texts; and Their Contribution to Archaeological Research in Java,” in *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde* 68, ser. b (1929): 43–78; Max Nihom, *Studies in Indian and Indo-Indonesian Tantrism: The Kuñjarakaraṇadharmakathana and the Yogatantra* (Vienna: Publications of the DeNobili Research Library, 1994). For recent discussion related to this subject, see Hiram Woodward, “Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35, no. 2 (June 2004): 329–354. Of interest to this study is Stutterheim’s attempt, which is in the following note.
8. W. F. Stutterheim, “Chaṇḍi Barabuḍur: Name, Form & Meaning,” in *Studies in Indonesian Archaeology*, trans. F. D. K. Bosch, KITLV Translation Series, no. 1 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956), 54.
9. Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*, 143, 216, 273, 306, and 309. T. 893, 606a1: *fobadata* 佛八大塔 or *badalingta* 八大靈塔 occurs several times in the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*. The term *badata* occurs in other texts ascribed to Bukong (T. 897), Huilin (T. 911), and Yixing (*Xuzangjing* 438).
10. See G. P. Malalasekera, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 2 (Colombo: Government of Ceylon, 1971–1977), fasc. 2, 2:243–244 for *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* (T. 1685, *Foshuo-badalingtaminghao-jing* 佛說八大靈塔名號經 by Faxian) and *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaitya-vandanā-stava* (T. 1684, *Badalingta-fanzan* 八大靈塔梵讚 by Faxian). The Chinese translation of T. 1684 was done at the end of the tenth century by Faxian. A translation has been made into English by Dr. Kuyi Shen and posted by Prof. Huntington at his website <http://huntingtonarchive.osu.edu/resources/buddhisticonography.html>. T. 1685 is translated by H. Nakamura, “The *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* and the Chinese and Tibetan Versions of a Text similar to It,” in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme, Mélanges offert à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, vol. 23 of Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut Orientaliste, 1980), 259–265.
11. Verse 77 of the *Deśawarṇana*; see Stuart Robson, *Desawarnana (Nagara-kṛtagama)* by Mpu Prapanca (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995); or, Slametmulyana, *Nagarakṛtagama dan Tafsir Sejarahnya* (Jakarta: Bhratara Karya Aksara, 1979).

12. There are other indications leaning toward theistic connotations. The *Lalitavistara* uses the epithet Svayambhu in referencing to the Buddha; see P. L. Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1958), e.g., 68. The Balinese tradition recognizes Adi-Buddha; see T. Goudriaan and C. Hooykaas, *Stuti and Stava* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Pub. Co., 1971), 412.
13. N. J. Krom, *Barabudur: Archaeological Descriptions* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), 1:112.
14. Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara*, 48; Gwendolyn Bays, *The Voice of the Buddha, the Beauty of Compassion* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1983), 106; Bijoya Goswami, *Lalitavistara* (Kolkata: Asiatic Society, 2001), 84.
15. T. 278 and T. 279 do not have the first ten names ending in *-uttarajñānī*. They thus list only 142 names.
16. E. Steinkellner, *Sudhana's Miraculous Journey in the Temple of Ta Pho* (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1995); Lokesh Chandra, ed., *Sudhana's Way to Enlightenment* (New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975); Yunpeng Li 李雲鵬, *Pictorial Displays of the 53 Visits of Sudhana, and Śākyamuni (Shancaitongzi wushisan can shijiashizun yinghua shiji tu 善財童子五十三參釋迦世尊應化示蹟圖)*, (n.p., n.d.).
17. Q. Afshar, *An Ancient Indian Itinerary: The Geographical Appellatives in the Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra; Tentative Identifications* (Lausanne: Kronasia, 1981).
18. Possibly this was one of the reasons why the *Mahākarmavibhaṅga-sūtra* became out of context and needed to be covered.
19. T. W. Rhys-Davids and William Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary* (repr., Oxford: Pali Text Society, 2004), 241: “*Gaṇḍa* [a variation of *gaṇṭha* (-i), in both meanings of (1) swelling, knot, protuberance, and (2) the interstice between two knots or the whole of the knotty object, i. e. stem, stalk].”
20. See G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (London: Luzac & Co., 1960), 741.
21. P.L. Vaidya, *Divyāvadānam* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1999). This phrase occurs on the following pages: 63 line 14, 68 line 25, 130 line 24, 215 line 9, 413 line 13, and 428 line 22.
22. P.L. Vaidya, *Gaṇḍavyūha Sūtram* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1960). In section 37 of the *Samantasattvatrāṇojahśrī*, 214, line 1. However, Chinese witnesses read it as *bodhimaṇḍa* rather than *bodhigaṇḍa*. T. 278, 732b3 has 種種道場; T. 279, 381c13 has 種種如來菩提場; and T. 293, 752c7 has 種種如來菩提場. Two reasons may explain this reading. First, although we do not exactly know the script being used to record the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, the syllable “ga” in some Indic scripts could be mistakenly read as a “ma” or vice versa, especially when the letter is considered badly written or a typo. Second, *bodhimaṇḍavyūha* is a well-attested compound. Kajiyama, *Satori e no henreki*:

Kegonkyō Nyuhōkkaibon, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chuo Koronsha, 1994), 28, translates the phrase as (その世界には) 様々な菩提道場が整然とあり, clearly taking it as *bodhimaṇḍa*, in spite of the written *bodhigaṇḍa* in the Sanskrit text. Nonetheless, all these by themselves do not necessarily and effectively reject the possibility of still reading it as *nānābodhigaṇḍavyūhān*. This case may demonstrate that the exact meaning of the compound *gaṇḍavyūha*—as also appeared in the title and in the colophon of the Sanskrit text—might already have been not exactly understood by the time the first Chinese translation was executed.

23. Besides the Bodhi tree (H. Nakamura, *Gotama Buddha: A Biography Based on the Most Reliable Texts* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 2000), 186, in Hindi it is known as the *aśvattha* tree, or in Sanskrit the *pippala* tree (botanical name *Ficus religiosa*) or the mango tree; we recall that the Buddha’s life stories record miracles happening under many other trees. Three of the better known ones are (1) the Plakṣa tree, when the baby Bodhisattva was born (the name Plakṣa comes from the *Lalitavistara*; others may call it by a different name; *ibid.*, 59: Aśoka; 62: Sāla); (2) the Jāmbū tree, when the young Bodhisattva first attained his first complete absorption (*jhāna*) (*ibid.*, 91); and (2) the twin Sāla trees, when the Buddha entered into *parinirvāṇa*. The less known trees, but not less important, are (1) trees under which the Buddha spent many days just after the full enlightenment, i.e., the *ajapāla* tree or the Goatherd’s Banyan, the *mucalinda* tree, and the *rājāyatana* tree (*ibid.*, 217); (2) trees associated with the Buddha’s performance of supernormal powers, i.e., the *āmalakī* tree, the *haritakī* tree, and the *pāricchattaka* tree (*ibid.*, 302); (3) many enlightenment trees for different buddhas (Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, 319).

24. P.L. Vaidya, *Divyāvadānam*, 257 line 30, 258 line 14: *yadāpi mahārāja bhagavatā śrāvastyāṃ tīrthyān bijayārthaṃ vijayārthaṃ mahāprātihāryaṃ kṛtam, buddhāvataṃsakam yāvadakaniṣṭhabhavanam nirmitam mahan, tatkalām taitraivāhamāsam | mayā tadbuddhavikrīḍitam dṛṣṭamiti |*

25. Ju-hyung Rhi, *Gandhāran Images of the “Śrāvastī Miracle”: An Iconographic Reassessment* (PhD diss., University of California Berkeley, 1991), 305, takes *buddhāvataṃsaka* as “adornment of the Buddha.”

26. Ōtake Susumu, “On the Origin and Early Development of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka-sūtra*,” in *Reflecting Mirrors: Perspectives on Huayan Buddhism*, ed. Imre Hamar (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 90, interprets *buddhāvataṃsaka* as “legion of buddhas.”

27. P.L. Vaidya, *Avadāna-kalpatā* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1959), chap. 13, “Pratihāryāvadānam.” Deborah Black, *Leaves of the Heaven Tree: the Great Compassion of the Buddha* (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1997), 65, in chap. 14, “Performance of the Miracles,” trans. from Tibetan.

28. There are at least two scholars suggesting that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* was behind the construction of Borobudur. I have earlier rejected the

idea as there is no evidence of its existence in Java. The two scholars are J.J. Boeles, *The Secret of Borobudur* (Bangkok: Jan J. Boeles, 1985) and D. Snellgrove, *Asian Commitment: Travels and Studies in the Indian Sub-Continent and South-East Asia* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2000), 377–378, the latter of whom suggests that the configuration of the main and the surrounding sixteen *stūpas* of Borobudur might have been triggered by this sutra. After this study, their idea can be supported, but only at the most general level. As for the details, it is difficult to maintain that this sutra is the only one providing the architectural prototype for Borobudur. I also feel that Boeles’s primary argument on the perforated *stūpas*, being of checkerboard-like, was based on a mistaken notion of the Sanskrit term *aṣṭāpada*. H. Nakamura, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Biographical Notes* (Hirakata: KUFU Publication, 1980), 185, referring to Yutaka Iwamoto’s study (“Lexikalische Nachlesen aus dem Saddharmapuṇḍarīka I,” *Asia Asiatica* 9 [September 1965]: 78–82), says that *aṣṭāpada* must have been *aṣṭapaṭṭa*, meaning “eight crossings.”

29. H. Kern, *The Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), chap. 16, English translation: “They will behold here my Buddha-field in the Saha-world, consisting of lapis lazuli and forming a level plain; forming a chequered board of eight compartments with gold threads; set off with jewel trees. They will behold the towers that the Bodhisattvas use as their abodes.” Sanskrit text: *idaṃ ca me buddhakṣetraṃ sahāṃ lokadhātuṃ vaiḍūryamayīm samaprarāṣṭāpadavinaddhāṃ ratna-vṛkṣairvicitritām | kūtāgāraparibhoṣeṣu ca atra bodhisattvān nivasato drakṣyati |*

30. The prescription is in chap. 10, “Dharmabhāṅga,” of the *Lotus Sutra*.

31. M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (orig. pub. 1899; Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2005), 376, shows that *ghana* may mean “the body.” This meaning is apparent in the compound *ekaghana*, that according to the context suggests the compound literally means “the same body,” or “identical.”

32. The Sanskrit passage, from which the English summary is derived, is as follows: *yasmin khalu punarbhaiṣajyarāja pṛthivīpradeśe’yaṃ dharmaparyāyo bhāṣyeta vā deśyeta vā likhyeta vā svādhyāyeta vā saṃgāyeta vā, tasmin bhaiṣajyarāja pṛthivīpradeśe tathāgatacaityaṃ kārayitavyaṃ mahantaṃ ratnamayamuccaṃ pra-grhitaṃ | na ca tasminnavaśyaṃ tathāgataśarīrāṇi pratiṣṭhāpayitavyāni | tatkasya hetoḥ? ekaghanameva tasmīnstathāgataśarīramupanikṣiptaṃ bhavati, yasmin pṛthivīpradeśe’yaṃ dharmaparyāyo bhāṣyeta vā deśyeta vā paṭhyeta vā saṃgāyeta vā likhyeta vā likhito vā pustakagatastīṣṭhet | tasmīnśca stūpe satkāro gurukāro mānanā pūjanā arcanā karaṇīyā sarvapuṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacūrṇacīva racchatradhvajapatākāvaijayantībhīḥ | sarvagītavādyanṛtyatūryatālāvacarasaṃgīta isampravāditaiḥ pūjā karaṇīyā |*

33. Chap. 11, “Stūpasamdarśana,” of the *Lotus Sutra*.

34. *asmin mahāpratibhāna mahāratnastūpe tathāgatasyātmabhāvastiṣṭhati*

ekaghanah | tasyaiṣa stūpaḥ | sa eṣa śabdaṃ niścārayati | H. Kern's translation for this passage is: "In this great Stūpa of precious substances, Mahāpratibhāna, the proper body of the Tathāgata is contained condensed; his is the Stūpa; it is he who causes this sound to go out" (Kern, *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka or the Lotus of the True Law*, 228).

35. They are in chap. 2, "Samutsāha"; chap. 3, "Kulapariśuddhi"; chap. 5, "Pracala"; chap. 10, "Lipiśālāsaṃdarśana"; chap. 13, "Saṃcodanā"; and chap. 15, "Abhiniṣkramaṇa."

36. J. Kats, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1910), 53. *Nihan ta waneh pājara mami ri kita, ikang śarīra i jro i yawa stūpa prāsāda. Kunang ta ngaranya ikang akṣara: namaḥ siddhaṃ. a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; . . . śa, ṣa, sa, ha. Nihan lwir ning akṣara pinakāntara nikang śarīra [stūpa]-prāsāda tatwa. . . .* ("Look, more of my teaching for you. This body—inside and outside—is a stūpa-prāsāda. The name of the letters is: the holy Siddhaṃ. a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; . . . śa, ṣa, sa, ha. These letters attached to this body are the essence of [stūpa]-prāsāda. . . .")

37. Kats, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan*, 186.

38. Dale A. Todaro, "The Illuminating Secret Commentary on the Five Cakras and the Nine Syllables by Kakuban," in *Shingon Texts* (Berkeley: Numata Center, 2004), 276.

39. M.W. de Visser, "The Bodhisattva Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzō) in China and Japan," in *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdelingen Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks*, deel XXX, no. 1 (1931): 11–12.

40. Vaidya, *Lalita-Vistara*, 269. The Sanskrit verse says: *rathacaraṇanicitacaraṇā daśaśataarajalajakamaladalatejā | suramukutaḡaḡrṣṭacaraṇā vande caraṇau śirighanasya ||1||* The Chinese translation by Divākara (T. 187, *Fanguang-dazhuangyan-jing* 方廣大莊嚴經) has it as follows: 世尊足有千輻輪 猶如蓮華 甚清淨 恒為諸天寶冠接 是故我今稽首禮 (T. 187, 599b27–28).

41. T. 186, *Puyao-jing* 普曜經. T. 186, 525a3–4: 常奉行諸行 悅寂句威力 使魔失徑路 自投稽首佛. Comparing with T. 187 in the previous note, Dharmarakṣa might have had a slightly different recension.

42. See note 39.

43. U. Wogihara, *Sanskrit-Chinese-Japanese Dictionary* (Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1979), 1356. P.L. Vaidya, *Samādhirājasūtra* (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute, 1961), verse 106 in chap. 35, "Supuṣpacandra": *hā suvratā kṣāntitapodhanāḡhyā hā rūpadākṣiṇyagaṇairupetā | hā niṣkuhā śrighana niṣprapañcā kuha prayāto'si vihāya mā tvam || 106 ||* And, verse 2 in chap. 36, "Śilaskandhanirdeśa": *tasmāt samagrā bhavatha aduṣṭacittāḡ sarve ca bhogā satata manāpakārī | dṛṣṭvā ca buddhān śirighana aprameyān bodhiṃ sprṣitvā bhaviṣyatha dharmasvāmī || 2 ||*

44. W.E. Soothill and L. Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (orig.

pub., 1937; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977), 168.

45. A. Hirakawa, *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1997), 200.

46. The *Lalitavistara* provides a somewhat detailed and elaborate understanding for the Buddhist concept of *saṃbhāra*. As already noted by some lexicographers, the *Lalitavistara* shows two more *saṃbhāras*, i.e., *śamatha-saṃbhāra* (accumulations of tranquility) and *vidarśanā-saṃbhāra* (accumulations of insight), in addition to the usual *punya-saṃbhāra* (accumulations of merits) and *jñāna-saṃbhāra* (accumulations of knowledge); see, e.g., Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1179; and F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), 580; on p. 487 Edgerton indicates that *vidarśanā* is a synonym for *vipaśyanā*. All of these four *saṃbhāras* are members of the 108 doors into the light of the dharma (*dharmālokaṃkha*). But, the *Lalitavistara* does not stop there. It also indicates that *saṃbhāra* may include other kinds of excellent attributes. In chap. 27, “Nigama,” the compiler lists eight kinds of *saṃbhāras*, including the four just mentioned. These eight are: accumulations of charity (*dāna-saṃbhāra*), morality (*śīla-saṃbhāra*), sacred word (*śrūta-saṃbhāra*), tranquility (*śamatha-saṃbhāra*), insight (*vidarśanā-saṃbhāra*), merits (*punya-saṃbhāra*), knowledge (*jñāna-saṃbhāra*), and great compassion (*mahākaruṇā-saṃbhāra*).

47. At least two passages: (1) in chap. 2, “Samutsāha”: “*guṇagaṇavimala-sarasisujātasya*” (the Chinese translation in T. 187, 540b09 is 譬如蓮華出於功德廣大池中, a bit different to the expected *gōngdé jù* 功德聚); (2) in chap. 15, “*Abhiniṣkramaṇa*”: *hā mama anantakīrte śatapūnyasamudgatā vimalapūnyadhara | hā mama anantavarṇā guṇagaṇapratimaṇḍitā ṛṣigaṇapṛitīkarā ||130||*

48. There are at least two instances in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* where *saṃbhāra* is translated as *gōngdé jù* 功德聚. Chap. 36, “*Pramuditānayanajagadvirocana*,” verse 92: *tataḥ saṃbhūtaḥ praṇidhimeghaḥ sarvajagatsukhapravaṇagarbhaḥ | saṃbhārasaṃbhava anantā mārgasamudranaya anugataśca ||92||* Then, chap. 42, “*Sutejomaṇḍalaratiṣṛī*,” lines 11–12: *etat pramukhair buddhakṣetraparamāṇurajaḥ samair bodhicittāṅgasambhārair abhiniṣpannaḥ sa bodhisattvo jāto bhavati tathāgatakule.*

49. Earlier I have demonstrated that Prājña’s version of *Bhadracarī* was likely the one depicted at Borobudur, and consequently the same for the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*. Besides, either the Javanese monk Bianhong—whom I considered went back to Java after the demise of his master, Huiguo—brought back a copy of Prājña’s *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*, or Prājña himself provided a copy while staying in Java. Before arriving at Canton in 780, Prājña spent twenty-two years on the islands of the South Seas (W. Pachow, “The Voyage of Buddhist Missions to South-East Asia and the Far East,” *Journal of the Greater India Society* 17 [1958]: 19, says, “traveled extensively in the South Seas.” But, Kenneth R. White, *The*

Role of Bodhicitta in Buddhist Enlightenment including a Translation into English of Bodhicitta-śāstra, Benkemitsu-nikyōron, and Sammaya-kaijo [New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005], 425, says Prājña spent twenty-two years in the South Seas). Thus, Java is not excluded from the possible places where he stayed.

50. J.G. de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia I*, 167.

51. After introducing the word *bhūdhara* to create a hypothetical name “Bhūmisambhāra-bhūdhara,” de Casparis (*ibid.*, 169) reconstructs the meaning of Bhūmisambhāra as: “*De Berg van het verwerven (van vrome verdiensten) (op de tien) stadia (van de ontwikkeling van de Bodhisattva)*,” or the “Mountain of Accumulation of Virtue on the Ten Stages of the Bodhisattva.” The meaning in English is given in p. 202. Two scholars, A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur: Buddhist Mystery in Stone, Decay and Restoration, Mendut and Pawon, Folklife in Ancient Java* (Wassenaar: Servire, 1976), and Soekmono, *Chandi Borobudur: A Monument of Mankind* (Assen: Van Gorcum and Paris: The Unesco Press, 1976), support de Casparis’s suggestion. But, L.C. Damais, and others (see Poesponegoro and Notosusanto, *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia*, 2:122–124) reject his idea altogether.

52. The phrase is found in chap. 15, “Indriyeśvara”: *tathāgatabhūmisambhāra-jñānāni*. Chinese translations are as follows: T. 278, 704c09: 此如來地; T. 279, 350c19: 此人應入一切智地; T. 293, 704b10: 此人應入如來智地.

53. I have demonstrated how this formula might have been the underlying scheme for the placing of Buddha statues at Borobudur. See H. Kandahjaya, *The Master Key for Reading Borobudur Symbolism* (Bandung: Yayasan Penerbit Karaniya, 1995), 28–30, 38–40.