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The Lord of All Virtues

Hudaya Kandahjaya
Numata Center, Berkeley

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. 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-prāśāda 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. 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.

Given Boechari’s readings, it appears that some of the lines in this inscription correspond with verses preserved in a Balinese stūti called the Nava-Kampa, or “The Ninefold Tremble.” So far, the origin of Nava-Kampa verses is unknown. But some lines of this stūti can be found in a number of dhāraṇīs. Of particular interest, the Susiddhikara-sūtra, 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 āvartayisvāmi), 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. 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 Siṇḍok (r. 929–947). 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 Śubhākarsinīha 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. These stūpas are especially praised in the text known as the Aṣṭamahāsthāna-caitya-vandanā-stava. 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 Boecharī’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 Deśawarnana (Negarakṛtagama), a Javanese text dated to the fourteenth century. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Boechari's transcription</th>
<th>Nava-Kampa</th>
<th>Susiddhikara-sūtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puṣṭa-atīja-iteja-e saṇḍaya vilamvita daksināpāthā svāhā</td>
<td>Namo Bhagavate mahā-vajra-dhara svāhā</td>
<td>asimusala-vajra paraśu-pāsā-hastāya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parvvata-sthala tapavini-viṣṭa vāmacarana svāhā</td>
<td>namo Bhagavate mahā-vajra-dhara svāhā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namo bhagavato mahā-vajra [---] sya</td>
<td>namo Bhagavate mahā-vajra-dhara svāhā,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahāmedan namahṛdayaya. parama—ruṇa. sarvavīśita—gṛha. rodakara. traśakara. g—śa. kara. (A.3.) vivādakara. sarvākarmāsiddhikara. siddhikara. avartaya śyami</td>
<td>namo Rudra, namō hṛdayaṁ, parama-dāruṇaṁ, sarva-bhūta-gaṇavinaya karaṁ, roṣāstrāśīvijaśadhaṁ-karaṁ, sarva-karma-siddhi-karaṁ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tadyathāta</td>
<td>tad yathā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 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. 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.

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 Śrāvasti. 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group no.</th>
<th>No. of bodhisattvas</th>
<th>Bodhisattvas’ ending names</th>
<th>Subtotals of no. of bodhisattvas</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-uttarajñānī -buddhī</td>
<td>10 20</td>
<td>supra knowledge, or intelligence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-dhwaja -ketū</td>
<td>10 20</td>
<td>banner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-tejā prabhā</td>
<td>11 20</td>
<td>light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-garbha</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>womb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-netra</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-mukuta -cūḍa</td>
<td>10 20</td>
<td>crown, or crest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-ghoṣa -svara</td>
<td>10 20</td>
<td>voice, or sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-udgata</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>come out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-śrī</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>auspicious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-indrarāja</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 kalyāṇamitra 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 Gañḍavyūha-sūtra and the Lalitavistara have many parallels and are thereby closely correlated (see table 3).

Table 3. Correlations between the Lalitavistara and the Gañḍavyūha-sūtra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Components</th>
<th>Lalitavistara-sūtra</th>
<th>Gañḍavyūha-sūtra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Starting location</td>
<td>Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada Arāma in Śravasti (Srāvastyāṁ viharati sma Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyaṝāme).</td>
<td>Mahāvyūha kūṭāgāra in Jetavana Anāthapiṇḍada Arāma in Śravasti (Srāvastyāṁ viharati sma Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyaṝāme mahāvyūhe kūṭāgāre).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arapacana syllabary</td>
<td>Viśvamitra was unable to teach the youth Siddhārtha, who excelled in arts and sciences. Siddhārtha taught the syllabary to many youths.</td>
<td>Viśvamitra does not teach the youth Sudhana, but lets the youth Śilpābhijña (Advanced Knowledge in Arts and Sciences) teach Sudhana the syllabary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>Siddhārtha exhibited his mathematical knowledge.</td>
<td>The youth Indriyeśvara teaches Sudhana mathematical knowledge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young lady Gopā</td>
<td>Siddhārtha married young lady Gopā.</td>
<td>Young lady Gopā tells Sudhana that she has known Siddhārtha since many aeons ago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earth goddess Sthāvarā</td>
<td>Earth goddess Sthāvarā protected Siddhārtha at the enlightenment site.</td>
<td>Earth goddess Sthāvarā teaches Sudhana the practice of protecting a bodhisattva.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Components</td>
<td>Lalitavistara-sūtra</td>
<td>Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother of Buddha</td>
<td>Lady Māyā was the mother of Siddhārtha.</td>
<td>Lady Māyā tells Sudhana that she is the mother of all buddhas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuṣita</td>
<td>The Bodhisattva expounded the 108 Dharmālokamukha before his last descent to earth in a kūṭāgāra.</td>
<td>Bodhisattva Maitreya tells Sudhana that, like other bodhisattvas in their last birth, he will be in Tuṣita teaching the Mahājñānamukha before descending.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual Instructors</td>
<td>Siddhārtha had two spiritual instructors.</td>
<td>Sudhana has 52 (or 53, 54, 55) spiritual instructors (kalyāṇamitra).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Siddhārtha roamed Madhyadeśa until enlightenment.</td>
<td>Sudhana circumambulates Jambūdvīpa until enlightenment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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 Buddhāvatamsaka 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. Further, Gaṅḍa is the name of the gardener serving Prasenajit, the king of Kauśala. He offered a mango to the Buddha. The mango seed produced the mango tree (Pāli Gāndamba) at the gate of Śravasti, 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-gaṇḍapatrapuspaphala. 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, 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 nānābodi 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).” This meaning of gaṇḍavyūha still shares the miraculous context in which the compound buddhāvatamsaka is found in the Divyāvadāna. Now, it turns out that buddhāvatamsaka may have two meanings, depending on how one interprets this compound. One is “the garland of the Buddha.” The second is “the garland of buddhas.” Of these two meanings, the one most clearly manifested at Borobudur is “garland of buddhas.”

However, as both titles—Gaṇḍavyūha and Buddhāvatamsaka—turn out to arise from the great miracle in Śravasti, 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. 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. But when we scrutinize verse 2 of the Kayumwungan inscription, there is a
statement about sādharma 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). 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. 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, thus like a stūpa it is to be worshiped as such. 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. In addition, like a physical body, a stūpa could produce voice 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 times 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.”

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. It does not match the scheme used by Śubhākarasimha either. But de Visser informs us that Amoghavajra differed fundamentally from Śubhākarasimha by relating Vairocana to the earth element and Akṣobhya to the ākāśa element. 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 Aksobhya 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 Śrīghana, 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.” 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 Śrīghana in the manuscripts of the Lalitavistara being translated, their translations as fo (Buddha, 佛) or shizun (Bhagavat or the Blessed One, 世尊) provide additional indications that this epithet refers to the Buddha. But it is equally imperative to note that translators of the Samādhīrāja-sūtra 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.” Still, on the other hand, gōngdé jù can come not only from Śrī Ghana, but also from the Sanskrit guṇagaṇa (multitude of virtues) and saṃbhāra (usually “assembly of merits and knowledge”). Some passages in the Lalitavistara and the Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra corroborate this identification.

While there is no direct proof that the Javanese of Borobudur took the meaning of gunagaṇa 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, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tathāgata</th>
<th>Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan</th>
<th>Waddell</th>
<th>Hodgson</th>
<th>Groeneveld</th>
<th>Śubhākarasīṃha</th>
<th>Amoghavajra</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wairocana</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Ākāśa</td>
<td>Ākāśa</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Ākāśa</td>
<td>Earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akiśobhya</td>
<td>Ākāśa</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Ākāśa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ratnasambhawa</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amitābha</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Wind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amoghasiddhi</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>Ākāśa</td>
<td>Wind</td>
<td>Water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, though many scholars vehemently rejected the idea due to its tenuous link. 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*). 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 (*sugata guṇagaṇa* 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 (3³ which is equal to 27) to Amoghavajra’s grid formula for the construction of the *garbhadhātu-manḍala*. 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Layer</th>
<th>Grids/ Side</th>
<th>Grids/ Layer</th>
<th>Borobudur Image</th>
<th>Numerical transformation for no. of grids</th>
<th>Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Layers 3 to 5 = 16 + 24 + 32 = 72</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddhas in levels 9 to 7 = 16 + 24 + 32 = 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td>Layers 6 to 8 = 40 + 48 + 56 = 144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Layers 9 to 14 = 64 + 72 + 80 + 88 + 96 + 104 = 504</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Buddhas in levels 5 to 1 = 64 + 72 + 88 + 104 + 104 = 432</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
<td>Difference = 72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>729</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Odd-number gridwork for numerical series on Buddha images
Table 6. Correspondences between the *Lotus Sutra* and the Kayumwungan inscription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Kern's translation</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 10, “Dharmabīṇaka”: sarvalokāvipratyanikāḥ sarvalokāśradadhaniyāḥ</td>
<td>no acceptance with everybody, to find no belief with everybody</td>
<td>Verse 2:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adhyātmikadhamaraḥāhāṃ tathāgata-balasaṃrakṣitamapratibhinnapūrvamanācakṣitapurvanākhyātāmān</td>
<td>the transcendent spiritual esoteric lore of the law, preserved by the power of the tathāgatas, but never divulged; it is an article (of creed) not yet made known</td>
<td>untold to the people by mundane buddhas, which is unequaled, . . . which cuts off . . .,</td>
<td>lokānāṃ laukyavuddhair agaditam atula . . . chidam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 13, “Sukhāvihāra”: sarvalokāvipratyanikāṃ sarvalokāśraddhe-yamabhāṣitapurvanānirṣṭāpurvanāt</td>
<td>meets opposition in all the world, the unbelief of all the world, never before preached, never before explained</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tathāgatānāṃ paramā dharmaṭeśaṇā</td>
<td>the supreme preaching of the tathāgatas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dharmaguhyaṃ ciraṃrakṣitaṃ sarvadharmaparyāyānāṃ mūrdhasthāyī</td>
<td>reveals this long-kept mystery of the law exceeding all others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter/Citation</td>
<td>Sanskrit</td>
<td>Kern’s translation</td>
<td>Translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 20, “Tathāgata-dhāryabhīṣaṃskāra”</td>
<td>sarvabuddharahasya</td>
<td>rahasayajñānaṃ puruṣottamānāṃ</td>
<td>Verse 2:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 15, “Tathāgata-yuṣpramāṇa”</td>
<td>mahābhaiṣajya</td>
<td>great remedy</td>
<td>the prime medicine for all diseases of existence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chap. 22, “Bhaiṣajyāraṇājapūrvayoga”</td>
<td>sarvavyādhičchedaka sarvasaṁsārabhaya-bandhana-samkāṭapramocaka</td>
<td>extirpates all diseases, releases from the narrow bonds of the mundane whirl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 (ghanā). 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 Šailendras 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 Prāmodavarddhanī, 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 Lagirarde and Paritta Chalermprawat Koonwattana (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 Buddhism at Soka University for the Academic Year 2003*, vol. 7 (March 2004): 147–158.


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.


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 Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana 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.


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).


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.


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 李雲鹏, Pictorial Displays of the 53 Visits of Sudhana, and Sākyamuni (Shanchaitongzi wushisan can shijiashizun yinghua shiji tu 善財童子五十三參釋迦世尊應化示蹟), (n.p., n.d.).


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].”


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 Samantasattvatrāṇojaḥśrī, 214, line 1. However, Chinese witnesses read it as bodhimaṇḍa rather than bodhigaṇḍa. T. 278, 732b3 has 种種道場; 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:
20.

Kegonkyō Nyuḥōkkaibon, 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 nānābodhigaṇḍavyūḥā. 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, Getama 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 harītakī 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 mahāprātihāryam kṛtam, buddhāvataṃsakam yāvadakaniṣṭhabhavanaṃ nirmitaṃ mahan, tatkālaṃ taitraivāhamāsam | mayā tadbuddhavikrīḍitaṃ dṛṣṭamiti |


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: KUFS Publication, 1980), 185, referring to Yutaka Iwamoto’s study (“Lexikalische Nachlesen aus dem Saddharmapuṇḍarika I,” *Asia Asiatica* 9 [September 1965]: 78–82), says that *aṣṭāpada* must have been *aṣṭapaṭṭa*, meaning “eight crossings.”

29. H. Kern, *The Saddharma-Puṇḍarika 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: *idāṃ ca me buddhakṣetraṃ sahāṃ lokadhātuṃ vaiḍūryamayīṃ samaprastarāṃ draksyati suvarṇaṁśūtrāṣṭāpadavinaddhāṃ ratvayṣairvicitrītām| kāṭāgaraparibhogeṣu ca atra bodhisattvān nivasato draksyati|

30. The prescription is in chap. 10, “Dharmabhāṇaka,” 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 punarbhaisajyāraṇā prthivipradaṣe’yaṃ dharmaparyāyo bhāṣyeta vā desyeta vā likhyeta vā svāḥhyāyeta vā saṃgaṇyeta vā, tasmin bhaisajyāraṇā prthivipradaṣe tathāgatacacyayāṃ kārayitavyaṃ mahantaṃ ratnamayaṃ mukccham pragrahitam | na ca tasminnavaṣayāṃ tathāgataśarīrināṃ pratiṣṭhāpayitavyāṃ | tatkasya hetoh? ekaghamaneva tasminsthaṣṭhāgataśarīraṁ mukccham pragrahitam bhavati, yasmin prthivipradaṣe’yaṃ dharmaparyāyo bhāṣyeta vā desyeta vā paṭhyeta vā saṃgaṇyeta vā likhyeta vā likhito vā paṭustakagatāsthītè | tasminśca stūpe satkāro guruśkāro mahīrā mahīrā māṇīrā pūjāna arcanā karaṇīyā sarvapuṣpadhāpakandhamālyavilepanacātācārīva racchatradhvaṇañeṣāvajñatāvajñatatībhīḥ | sarvajñitvādyatāṃtukṣayitaṃvācavivaraṇeṣāṃ | isampbhavāitaiḥ pājā karaniyā |


34. *asmin mahāpratibhāna mahāratnaṃ stūpe tathāgataśyaṃ mukccham pragrahitam bhavati*
ekagahanaḥ | tasyaiṣa stūpāḥ | sa eṣa śabdam 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).


36. J. Kats, Sang Hyang Kamahāyānīkan (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1910), 53. Nihan ta waneh pājara mami ri kita, ikang śarīra i jro i yawa stūpa prāsāda. Kunang ta nagaraya ikang aksara: namaḥ siddhāṃ. a, ā; i, ī; u, ū; . . . śa, ṣa, sa, ha. Nihan lwir ning aksara pinakāntara nikanš 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 Siddhāṃ. 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 Kamahāyānīkan, 186.


41. T. 186, Puyao-jing 常耀經. 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.


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46. The Lalitavistara provides a somewhat detailed and elaborate understanding for the Buddhist concept of sambhāra. As already noted by some lexicographers, the Lalitavistara shows two more sambhāras, i.e., samatha-sambhāra (accumulations of tranquility) and viḍarśanā-sambhāra (accumulations of insight), in addition to the usual punya-sambhāra (accumulations of merits) and jñāna-sambhāra (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 viḍarśanā is a synonym for vipaśyanā. All of these four sambhāras are members of the 108 doors into the light of the dharma (dharmālokamukha). But, the Lalitavistara does not stop there. It also indicates that sambhāra may include other kinds of excellent attributes. In chap. 27, “Nigama,” the compiler lists eight kinds of sambhāras, including the four just mentioned. These eight are: accumulations of charity (dāna-sambhāra), morality (śīla-sambhāra), sacred word (śrūta-sambhāra), tranquility (samatha-sambhāra), insight (viḍarśanā-sambhāra), merits (punya-sambhāra), knowledge (jñāna-sambhāra), and great compassion (mahākaruṇā-sambhāra).

47. At least two passages: (1) in chap. 2, “Samutsāha”: “gunaṇavimalasarasisyūtaka” (the Chinese translation in T. 187, 540b09 is 議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, “Abhinīśrīkramaṇa”: hā mama anantakīrtē satapunyāsamudgatā vimalapunyadharā | hā mama anantarvarṇa gunaṇapraṭimandītī ṛṣigānpratikārā ||130||


49. Earlier I have demonstrated that Prājñā’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 Prājñā’s Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra, or Prājñā himself provided a copy while staying in Java. Before arriving at Canton in 780, Prājñā 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, Benkemmitsu-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.


52. The phrase is found in chap. 15, “Indriye śvara”: tathā gata bhū misaṃ bhā ra- jñā nāni. 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.