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Editor's Note

First published in 1925, *Pacific World* was originally envisioned by Yehan Numata as a bi-monthly journal. After a lapse of some decades, the journal was reinitiated in 1982. Both that first issue and the second, 1983, were designated as "Spring." However, it is unclear as to why the season was included, as these were both annual issues. A "new series" was initiated in 1985, and the seasonal designation was retained, though now shifted to "Fall." This remained in place after the "third series" was introduced in 1999. After almost three and a half decades, it seems an appropriate time to simply use the year, and to no longer designate an issue in terms of a season.

Māra Re-Imagined: Stories of the “Evil One” in Changing Contexts¹

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INTRODUCTION

Any scholar of Buddhism who has studied the various narratives of the awakening of Siddhārtha Gautama will also have encountered the figure of Māra, the deity/demon who represents desire and death and attempts to prevent Gautama’s realization. Found in numerous textual permutations—such as the *Buddhacarita*, *Nidāna-kathā*, or *Lalitavistara* to name some of the primary accounts—the story of this confrontation has been a frequent subject for adaptation and reinvention in Buddhist traditions. While previous work on Māra has been done regarding the figure’s symbolism in these Indian traditions and some contemporary festivals in Southeast Asia,² little attention has been focused on appearances of Māra in Western forms, especially popular culture. To do so has two immediately discernible benefits. First, it is instructive as to at least some of the ways an ancient figure such as Māra is perceived in or adapted to a mass media world. Second, it might provide evidence for the broader reception (or even consumption) of Buddhism in the Western world, including the tensions and renegotiations inherent in the process of adapting an older narrative symbol to new times and media.

Several theoretical ideas concerning the ongoing revision and adaptation of religious narratives, especially in the context of popular culture, are helpful as background to what I will explore in this paper. For instance, in their treatment of religious themes in popular culture in America, Bruce David Forbes and Jeffrey Howard Mahan acknowledge the reflective properties of mass media, but emphasize that it “both reflects and shapes us.”³ The two perspectives are, of course, not mutually exclusive, and together provide an explanation for how

religious narratives take on stereotypical guises in popular culture and mass media, yet proceed to engender new forms. Anthropologist Edmund Leach summarizes this way of understanding religious narratives very well, writing that religious narrative (or, to use another term, “myth”) “is a language of argument, not a chorus of harmony.”⁴ Myths may be made, but we would be wrong to think they ever stop being made, or being contested. In defining the term “transvaluation,” James Liszka has argued along these lines also, writing that myth “is a shape, or better, a value-shifter rather than a value producer.”⁵ It is better, therefore, to understand religious narratives as being in a constant state of flux, the concept of “myth” as coextensive with “myth-making,” and religious story-telling as inextricable from socio-political debate and imagination.⁶ Religious narratives exist in an ongoing process of reinterpretation and the affect of popular media as a factor in these transformations cannot be ignored.

In this paper I will analyze and compare two such instances of the reinterpretation, or even recalibration, of Māra in Western popular media and the ways those re-imaginings of the figure reflect, and perhaps even shape, Western contexts. The first is Canadian convert Buddhist Ajahn Punṇadhammo’s work *Letter from Māra*, an explicit Buddhist reworking of the literary classic *The Screwtape Letters* by C.S. Lewis, with Māra providing instructions to his minions for ensnaring humans specific to the contemporary West.⁷ The second is the appearance of Māra in two series (eight episodes) of the British science fiction television series *Doctor Who* in the early 1980s. One, entitled “Kinda,” ran in early February of 1982 and a second, “Snakedance,” in January of 1983. While these manifestations of Māra have different contexts, motivations, and represent very different kinds of media, their symbolism is very telling for the deployment of Māra in Western Buddhism. Indeed, they both grow out of yet constitute different responses to what Buddhist Studies scholars have called “Buddhist modernism.” One of the leading scholars on this topic, David McMahan, has described Buddhist modernism as “forms of Buddhism that have emerged out of an engagement with the dominant cultural and intellectual forces of modernity,” such as nationalist elements and the replacement of traditional mythology with modern science and cosmology.⁸ In reacting to these forces, Buddhist modernists have demonstrated a complicated relationship with the West. As McMahan points out, Buddhist modernists have not carried out a “mere accommodation to [Western

discourses] . . . some of the developments have selectively adopted certain modern Western ideas and practices as tools to critique dominant features of modernity.”⁹ In the following, I will attempt to bring out both these different levels of responses to modernity in *Letter from Māra* and episodes of *Doctor Who*, attend to the effect of the different media involved in their representations, and ultimately consider their potential significance for evolving notions of Buddhist narrative.

LETTER FROM MĀRA

Beginning with *Letter from Māra*, the author Ajahn Puṇṇadhammo, according to biographical information on his website, was born in Toronto in 1955 as Michael Dominsky.¹⁰ Becoming interested in Buddhism as a young man, he traveled to Thailand for thirteen years and ordained as a Theravādin monk. In 1992, he returned to Canada and founded a meditation and retreat center near Thunder Bay, Ontario called the Arrow River Forest Hermitage. This center, in both its physical and digital form on the Web, is dedicated to educating the unfamiliar about Buddhist teachings. According to advertisements, visitors to the center receive access to its library of Buddhist texts and tailored meditation instruction. Visitors to the website can download free Pāli language tutorials, as well as lessons detailing such fundamental Buddhist teachings as the doctrines of karma and rebirth, dependent origination, and the narratives of the life story of the Buddha. Some of these expositions are lengthy text documents a browser can download, while others are pithier and even punchy. For example, as a potent demonstration of impermanence, the page on the website advertising downloadable copies of these discourses also contains an animation of Marilyn Monroe’s face. Underneath her face, a caption beckons, “Mouse over here, baby, to see the real me.” When the user scrolls the mouse cursor over her face as invited, the actress’s face morphs into a leering skull, with a new caption taunting, “Mouse over again to return to your illusions, sucker.”¹¹

Additional links take one to archives of Puṇṇadhammo’s writings, which include blogs detailing Buddhist ruminations on contemporary ethical issues (such as abortion or the 2003 Iraq War) and a column on similar topics published in the *Toronto Star* from 1999–2006. As with the other items housed on the retreat center website, Puṇṇadhammo’s writings as a whole are geared toward communicating basic concepts and principles of the Buddhist path to a largely unfamiliar Western

audience. It is in this context and in this motive that we can approach Puṇṇadhammo's work *Letter from Māra*, a short book available as a pamphlet from the Buddhist Publication Society or as a downloadable file on the Arrow River Forest Hermitage website.¹²

One other piece of background material, though, is necessary to understand Puṇṇadhammo's project with this slim, clever little book: its literary inspiration. *The Screwtape Letters* by C.S. Lewis, which Puṇṇadhammo cites explicitly as the inspiration for his book in its acknowledgements, was originally published in 1942 and is shaped as a series of correspondences from a senior devil named "Screwtape" to his nephew, a more subordinate demon called "Wormwood," who is engaged in trying to tempt and corrupt one particular, unnamed Englishman. Lewis' aim in the book was to demonstrate, from his Christian point of view, the character and intent of malign influences in the world. As the very name "Screwtape" suggests, Lewis puts forth a scenario in which the activity of these demonic beings is the inversion and perversion of the nature of God's creation. The ultimate demonic goal, as Lewis imagines it, is "spiritual cannibalism," by which "devils can, in a spiritual sense, eat one another; and us," subsuming another's mind and emotions into oneself.¹³ Ultimately for Lewis, evil is hunger and void, which the demonic attempts to satisfy by absorbing others through domination. Puṇṇadhammo borrows Lewis' motif to convey his understanding of the role of the figure of Māra in the world, and along the way his interpretation of essential aspects of Buddhist teachings, to a modern Western English-speaking audience.

Puṇṇadhammo structures his book as a series of ten letters from Māra to each of his ten armies who range abroad in the world of death and rebirth, ensuring that beings do not escape. The concept of Māra's ten armies stems from the earliest Buddhist reference to the god, the Pāli *Padhāna-sutta* of the *Suttanipāta*, in which the Buddha-to-be rebukes Māra by naming and declaring powerless his armies of sense desires, boredom, hunger and thirst, craving, sloth, cowardice, uncertainty, malice and obstinacy, honor and notoriety, and finally, self-praise and denigration.¹⁴ Māra himself is described in his heavenly realm, sitting at his office desk, "an elegant figure in a comfortable leather chair." We are told he is "tall and handsome, impeccably dressed and groomed" with a suave, "timeless and fashionable style."¹⁵ Two goddesses serve as his personal assistants, doing his nails and hair as he sits at his desk, dictating his letters to yet another goddess/secretary.

In between, using a mouse made of “rubies and unicorn ivory,” Māra scrolls through computer updates on the realms of his empire, the sensory world, which he oversees in the campaign to limit the influence of “the Adversary”—the Buddha.

In these instructions, Māra suggests to his armies not to be openly confrontational or evident in the lives of humans, but to subtly and through suggestion point them toward certain behaviors and ideas. For instance, he tells the army of sense desires to turn humans’ focus toward ideals of beauty, to heighten fetishes on the physical body, and suggests that the army of boredom be sure to intervene whenever a task at first becomes difficult. He instructs his army of craving to always aim their target’s desire a little bit higher (i.e., it is not enough to get the job but to get a promotion, then a raise, then be the boss, and so on).¹⁶ For Puṇṇadhammo, Māra thus operates at a subliminal level, which is consonant in many ways to prior Buddhist representation of Māra, such as in the *Padhāna-sutta* of the *Suttanipāta* where the ten armies of Māra are not impositions or exploitations of an originally pure nature, but examples or even allegories of the fundamental, baseline inclinations of all beings. In other words, Māra and his armies, in a Buddhist view, are not corrupting human nature, but instead trying to keep it on course, which is oblivion of suffering and discontent.

In other ways, however, Puṇṇadhammo strives openly to update his subject, often veering into social and cultural satire. He has Māra remark, for instance, that “technology itself is largely a product of sensual desire,” and illustrates this by giving the following reason for not creating a webpage to distract human attention and inflame desire: “it would only be redundant.”¹⁷ He also claims to have been behind the creation of the television for the same reason, calling it “Project Vidiot.”¹⁸ Puṇṇadhammo is similarly critical of capitalism and big business, styling Māra as the “CEO of Saṃsāra,” thus merging the realm of death and rebirth in which beings are incarcerated with an economic system. Indeed, business metaphors abound, as Māra scoffs at any need for his forces to “downsize,” scolds his “Research and Development” branch for not developing new ideas to trick humans into believing in immortality, and smiles when his secretary congratulates him with “That’s why you make the big bucks, Māra!”¹⁹ Similarly, Puṇṇadhammo targets the cult of celebrity, having Māra display an image of Elvis Presley at his prime before an adulating crowd, then fast-forward a number of

years to where the singer is “bloated and pasty faced” scrambling for his drugs.²⁰

Puṇṇadhammo thus repackages Māra for the West in such a way as to be critical of Western culture, especially its focus on technology, capitalism, and popular culture. Māra and his forces, however, are revealed in the work to be ultimately self-defeating. In a clever turn, during each chapter Puṇṇadhammo also has Māra and his attendants exhibit the very quality that they intend to inflict on the world. For instance, while dictating his letter to the army of sloth, Māra asks his secretary to look up the word “accidie” (meaning torpor or apathy), to which she replies, “Why bother?”²¹ While composing his letter to the army of malice and obstinacy, the god viciously berates a lowly lieutenant for his inadequate report.²² Later he indulges in a recitation of his own powers and offices during discussion of the army of self-praise, and so on.²³

The ultimate example of self-defeat, though, comes at the very conclusion of the book. Māra, whose exquisite youth and good looks have been emphasized throughout, reaches for his “platinum and tiger bone comb” and is horrified to discover a single gray hair.²⁴ For Lewis, the demonic is self-defeating in the sense that it leads to in-fighting, self-destruction, and self-loathing, as Screwtape and Wormwood demonstrate. Puṇṇadhammo, on the other hand, illustrates that the self-defeating nature of the demonic from the Buddhist point of view is that it is self-deluding: those under Māra’s influence will believe, as he does himself, that they are immune to change, suffering, discontent, and death. As Māra is evidently intended as an extrapolation, in Puṇṇadhammo’s view, of the tendencies and proclivities of the Western world, the text also employs the Evil One as an allegory of the self-defeating, self-deluding nature of that way of life.

MĀRA AND DOCTOR WHO

Now we turn to our second example of a modern reinvention of Māra, this time in the science fiction context, with his appearance in two episodic series of the British television program *Doctor Who*. The writer of both series, Christopher Bailey, has commented that at the time of writing he had been studying Buddhism fairly heavily and the episodes he crafted for *Doctor Who* provided an opportunity “to digest imaginatively” what he had learned.²⁵ As background, the character Doctor Who himself is a time-travelling alien, capable of living multiple lives

through a process of regeneration, who combats evil and injustice across the temporal and physical universe. As a consequence of the character's ability to regenerate, the role has been assumed by numerous actors and is played by Peter Davison in the episodes we will consider. Called simply "the Doctor," his real name is never revealed, not even to the bands of companions who accompany him on his journeys. In the first episodes interesting us, the Doctor and three companions (named Tegan, Adric, and Nyssa) visit a world called "Devaloka." The planet is shown to be entirely forested, with abundant food, consistently temperate climate, and no predatory animals. The native population, called the "Kinda," lives in huts made of thatched branches, has few possessions, and is led by two "wise women" named "Pañña" and "Karuṇā." Māra first enters the episode when Tegan, one of the Doctor's companions, falls asleep under a tree. She dreams of three ghostly white, frightening figures that torment her. Calling themselves "Dukkha," "Anicca," and "Anatta," they agree to relent only if Tegan allows a more powerful force to possess her. At that time, a snake (symbolizing Māra) wriggles into her arm, becoming a tattoo.

Tegan awakens under Māra's control and begins to spread the being's influence around the society, creating chaos, havoc, and conflict. At times, Māra leaves one host for another, always symbolized by the transference of the snake tattoo. The Doctor seeks out the wise women Pañña and Karuṇā, telling them of the recent calamities. They recognize the snake as the mark of "Māra, the evil one," and go on to say, "It is the Māra who now [turns] the wheel, who [dances] to the music of our despair. Our suffering is the Māra's delight, our madness is the Māra's meat and drink." Acting together, the Doctor and wise women devise a plan to trap the Māra in a wall of mirrors, as it "cannot bear the sight of its own reflection." Once a possessed Kinda is trapped in this mirror enclosure, Māra leaves his body and takes on the form of an enormous red snake, growing to ever larger and larger proportions until it bursts into nothing. When asked what has happened to Māra, the Doctor remarks that it has gone back to where it came from, "the dark places of the inside."

With terms such as "Pañña," "Karuṇā," "Dukkha," and so forth, the writer's attempt to insert Buddhist ideas into the story is quite obvious. However, the episodes are not a mere transplantation of Buddhist thought into a new medium by any means, as there is substantial blending with Western thought and symbolism, particularly

Christian. As we recall, the planet Devaloka is entirely forested, and is repeatedly referred to by another group of intergalactic explorers the Doctor encounters as a “paradise,” since it lacks bad weather, disease, predators, hunger, and so forth. The trees are continuously in fruit, which are shown without exception to be apples. Finally, if one takes into account the symbolic shorthand and ultimate physical form of Māra—a giant snake—the allegorical meaning of the story is largely hybrid: a Garden of Eden world employing Buddhist terms is terrorized by a Satanic figure named Māra.

To make a second point about this first set of episodes before we proceed to the next, we should deal with the thematic meaning behind who is responsible for unleashing and fostering Māra’s reign of terror. Previously I mentioned another group of space-travelling explorers the Doctor encounters. This group, hailing from a “galactic federation,” has come to the planet to investigate it for possible colonization. They live in a massive domed structure and explore the planet in a self-propelled mechanical suit, relying on technology for all their needs. This, as well as the group’s rhetoric about the need to appropriate and consume the planet’s resources, sets them in stark contrast to the native, nature-loving, wise, spiritual Kinda. It is, by all appearances, a recurrent (and simplistic) dichotomy: technology versus nature, colonizer versus colonized, spiritual versus soulless, the rational West versus the “mystic East” (to invoke Jane Iwamura’s concept of “virtual orientalism”).²⁶ It is the technology-minded and dependent space explorers who release Māra and then serve as the evil one’s primary hosts, before the knowledge of the Kinda can be summoned to combat it. To follow the allegory, it is then inherent in the Western way to be oblivious of and unleash Māra, while the only salvation rests in taking up Eastern wisdom.

At the beginning of the second series of episodes, also written by Christopher Bailey, it becomes clear that Māra was not defeated: Tegan continues to have nightmares of a “cave of snakes” on another planet named “Manussa” (continuing the appropriation of Pāli language terms).²⁷ The Doctor decides they should visit this world to investigate. Meanwhile, the audience is introduced to the society of Manussa, which is revealed to once have been the home-world of the Māra and is preparing to celebrate the five hundred year anniversary of the evil one’s defeat. The society’s upper-class royalty, primarily a mother (named Taṇhā) and son (Lon), are preparing for the ceremony

but demonstrate that neither they nor anyone else truly take it seriously any longer: Māra is just an ancient superstition. Lon and Taṇhā would rather lounge languidly on opulent couches in their palace, eating grapes and drinking wine. The mother and son deride the much smaller portion of the population who not only believe in the reality of Māra, but the possibility of its imminent return. These people, who are called “Snakedancers,” according to Taṇhā are “frightful, dirty people covered in ash, some of them almost naked, living entirely on roots and berries and things, putting themselves in trances.” The leader of these Snakedancers, who initially led them from society into the desert to prepare for Māra’s return, is called “Dojjen.”

Immediately there are some aspects here that require comment. First, “Taṇhā” and “Dojjen” (which seems a likely play on “Dōgen,” the Zen meditation master) continue the tradition of the use of Buddhist names and terms. Yet, in other ways, the arrangement of representations in the preceding betrays an interesting pastiche of traditions. The description of the Snakedancers seems more fitting for Hindu *aghoris* rather than Buddhist monks (or perhaps a particular Western stereotype of all “mystical Eastern” meditators as “frightful, dirty people”). The notion of those preparing to resist Māra associating with snakes also seems a bit jarring, but this is explained by an interview with the writer, who attributed this detail to a fascination with Pentecostal snake-handling services in the U.S. Appalachians.²⁸ The tapestry of representations thus reaches far and wide, making numerous and, at times, surprising connections. On that point, Catherine Albanese has said the following: “Popular culture always pieces and patches together its universe of meaning, appropriating terms, inflections, and structurations from numerous overlapping contexts and using them as so many *ad hoc* tools to order and express, to connect inner with outer, and to return to inner again.”²⁹ Bailey’s work seems a perfect example of this tendency.

Meanwhile, in the rest of these episodes, the Doctor uncovers evidence of an enormous crystal (called the “Great Mind’s Eye”) that will allow Māra to assume control over Manussa again. Evidently, as is explained later in the episodes, centuries earlier the Māra formed through that crystal as a distillation of the restlessness, greed, and hatred of the Manussans. Māra has by now possessed Tegan and then Lon, who will have the crystal in his keeping during the ceremony in an underground cavern. The Doctor travels to find Dojjen, who emerges

from the desert as an elderly man, completely pacific, and entirely silent (he communicates only via telepathy), barefoot, carrying a staff. He sits cross-legged with the Doctor and instructs him in single-pointed concentration with platitudes such as “find the still point in your heart” and “hold on to the place the winds of fear cannot blow.” The meditatively-trained Doctor arrives at the cave just as Lon has unleashed Māra, once again in the form of a giant snake. The assembled crowd gasps and screams in horror, but the Doctor concentrates on a smaller crystal Dojjen gave him, projecting his calm, unafraid mind onto Māra, which eventually falls over dead, but not before spewing copious amounts of gory, pink slime.

COMPARISON

At this point we can put the two instances into conversation, to look at the similarities and differences in their adaptations of Māra to new cultural circumstances. Here we can also revisit the themes raised in the introduction of the two narratives’ connection to Buddhist modernism, the connection between their respective forms of media and the narratives they employ, and their longstanding significance for Buddhist narrative. As the latter two points are interestingly interconnected, first let us consider the relationship of these two narratives to Buddhist modernism. Immediately we can apprehend that each obviously reacts to Christian symbolism, both explicitly and implicitly. Puṇṇadhammo, for example, brings Buddhist messages forward by deliberately borrowing the method of a Christian apologist, and thus grafting his message about Māra onto a more dualistically-Christian worldview: in *Letter from Māra* one gets the impression of Māra stalking the world, or at least sending his minions to do so, as (perhaps stereotypically) Christians have over ages imagined Satan doing. To an extent this is reminiscent of Stephen Prothero’s observation about the famous convert Henry Steel Olcott’s attempt (in his own mind) to adapt Buddhism to the modern world: Puṇṇadhammo has partly fed a Buddhist lexicon through a Christian grammar, presumably as a means to connect to and communicate with an audience more familiar with that religious language.³⁰

On the other hand, while Puṇṇadhammo acknowledges the appropriated nature of his approach, the *Doctor Who* episodes are more implicitly related to Christian influences. As we have seen, the portrayal of Māra in those episodes owes a great deal to the representation of

Satan in key Christian understandings. The writings of Christopher Bailey's fellow British convert Buddhist, Stephen Batchelor, especially in his work *Living with the Devil*, have relevance here. In that book, Batchelor discusses his personal interpretation of the Buddhist figure Māra, yet uses the Christian terms "Devil" and "Satan" throughout. He explains the reasoning this way: "As a Westerner who has practiced Buddhism for the past thirty years, I am aware of the parallel mythologies within that compete for my attention. I was not raised a Christian, but recognize how I have imbibed the myths and values of Christianity from the post-Christian, liberal humanist environment around me."³¹ To use Batchelor's phrase, it seems that the walls between the parallel mythologies are quite permeable in "Kinda" and "Snakedance." Despite the use of Buddhist terminology, the dominant means for conceiving and portraying Māra is quite Christian.

At the same time both narratives adapt aspects of the dominant culture, they also, as is consistent with many Buddhist modernists, seek to subvert it. In *Letter from Māra*, the Evil One is a boorish, hedonistic capitalist peddling television, the Internet, and other drugs. Puṇṇadhammo locates Māra, and the activities which increase his power, at the heart of Western economics and leisure activities. Indeed, in one boast to his attendants, Māra chortles, "Their culture is one based on delightful lies of our devising, and the ugly realities are hidden away."³² There is no doubt as to which culture Puṇṇadhammo targets when referring to *their* culture. In the *Doctor Who* series, Bailey is not quite so blunt, but it would be difficult to read the imperialist galactic colonists and indolent, self-absorbed Manussans, both of whom spread Māra's influence, as anything less than caricatures of a Western culture blind and even accomplice to the forces of death and desire in their midst. It does not seem to be going too far to suggest that Bailey, and the rest of the production team for that matter, positioned their portrayal of Māra as a satire of Western culture, not unlike Puṇṇadhammo's efforts in *Letter from Māra*.

Yet, there is a certain irony involved in these efforts as both works attempt to make Māra (and Buddhism) more relatable to a Western audience and Buddhism more appealing. In the *Doctor Who* episodes this is done by presenting Buddhism (and Māra) as simultaneously rational, scientific, and psychologically reasonable, as well as mystical and magical. In order to give a faux scientific explanation behind the usage of crystals, the Doctor explains that the effect generated by each rests on

“thought resonances,” which, when powerful enough, can form matter and operate not unlike sound wavelengths. In addition, the description of Māra as emanating from the dark impulses of the Manussans in the distant past, returning now to haunt them, demonstrates shades of the invisible monster from the science fiction classic *Forbidden Planet*, which termed its beasts as (borrowing heavily from Freudian and Jungian psychology) “monsters from the Id.” In both series of episodes (besides being a giant snake), Māra is associated primarily with psychological processes, though stated in generic forms, such as the “dark places of the inside” and “the depths of the human heart.” This allows for the writer to describe Buddhism as scientific enough to speak to the West, but also mystical enough to be the salvation of the West. This fits very closely the motivation David McMahan has identified among many Buddhist modernists who perceive a Western world that has lost its magic and desire its re-enchantment.³³ To carry out this re-enchantment, however, as the *Doctor Who* episodes evidence, the mystic ways of the East must nevertheless be filtered through the psychological and technological understandings of the West.

In *Letter from Māra*, Puṇṇadhammo also strives from the beginning to update the Māra mythology and connect it to American technological and popular culture. The aforementioned references to television, the Internet, and Elvis Presley operate in this vein, as does the animated image of Marilyn Monroe, discussed previously, that Puṇṇadhammo employs on his website for the Arrow River Forest Hermitage. With the same kind of dark, ironic humor, Puṇṇadhammo updates Māra for his new audience. For instance, after signing a declaration as “Māra, Lord of Birth and Death, Devourer of Beings,” and so forth, he instructs for a copy to also be sent to his lawyer.³⁴ Through this kind of often very playful language and characterization, Puṇṇadhammo conveys the same attributes and powers upon Māra as traditional Buddhist myth, but renders him as a world-wise, twenty-first century businessman. In short, he is a Māra with a foot in the old and the new worlds, the East and the West, recognizable to both. Here James Liszka’s “transvaluation,” describing instances in which language “revalues the perceived, imagined, or conceived markedness and rank relations of a referent” in an opposing system, is especially relevant, as the redeployed Māra similarly draws on Western culture, but only in order to critique it.³⁵

In all, that critique is just as deep as what is found in the *Doctor Who* episodes, suggesting that even as Puṇṇadhammo adopts Western terms to describe Māra for that audience, he sees multiple aspects of modernity as inherently flawed. For instance, what seems to please Māra most of all about modern Western society, and consequently serve as a new weapon of enthrallment, is its technological fascination and dependence. In one instance, Māra highlights the effectiveness of television:

Some of you were skeptical when I began Project Vidiot, even citing possible undesirable educational and cultural side-effects, but now that we have whole generations weaned on the tube, we can all see that the results have more than vindicated my enthusiasm.³⁶

In yet another section he calls the television remote the “single greatest advance in the triumph of boredom” for helping to destroy the human attention span.³⁷ No invention or advance of technology, however, Puṇṇadhammo would have us believe, has come to serve Māra more than the Internet, especially for its ability to disseminate pornography, inflaming sense desires, to further erode the ability to focus, and also to expose humans all the more to the products and services they could waste their lives acquiring or pursuing. While Bailey and the makers of *Doctor Who* re-imagined Māra into an extraterrestrial figure allegorical of psychological processes, Puṇṇadhammo has adapted Māra only as a means to argue that, far from making the mythic figure recede into the distance in the face of the grand achievements in the Enlightenment and Scientific Revolution, the culture of the modern West has only made Māra manifestly more powerful and seductive, providing him with more traps and snares for his human prey.

Finally, let us look how these two narratives are connected to their respective media and the significance of these reinterpretations of Māra for understanding Buddhist narratives. First, Puṇṇadhammo’s means of communicating a new myth of Māra are both traditional (a written text) and quite novel (a downloadable file on a website). The extent to which the website is interactive, through its browsable contents and responsive animations, also adds a new wrinkle. The Internet format, even as Puṇṇadhammo ironically derides it, also provides for a potentially enormous audience for his version of the Māra myth, unbounded by borders and, by virtue of being “on the cloud,” free from the confines of physical book form. *Letter from Māra* also possesses

an instructive relationships with prior Buddhist portrayals of Māra. Puṇṇadhammo, as mentioned previously, though borrowing C.S. Lewis' conceit, has spliced it with the concept of Māra's ten armies as found in the *Padhāna-sutta* of the *Suttanipāṭa*. Though in that Pāli text Māra's "armies" are simply enumerated and not described in any great detail, Puṇṇadhammo structures the *Letter from Māra* on that framework and personifies each army and its qualities. He also manages (whether intentionally or not is unclear) to strike another chord with the *Padhāna-sutta*, as well as an additional Pāli text, through the manner in which he concludes *Letter from Māra*. If we recall, after running his opulent tiger-bone comb through his scalp, Māra discovers a gray hair, demonstrating his own susceptibility to the corruption of *saṃsāra* and the self-delusion and ultimate futility of his campaign against the Buddha. In the *Padhāna-sutta*, upon Māra's failure to dissuade Gotama from pursuing awakening, the demon-god is said to disappear, sadly letting his *vīṇā* (a kind of lute) fall to the ground.³⁸ In another seminal text for the early depiction of Māra in Buddhist literature, the *Mārasaṃyutta*, there is a passage that bears a number of similarities to the *Padhāna-sutta*, suggesting overlap between the two texts, or perhaps a common source. In its depiction, the Evil One similarly fails to tempt the Buddha, and in the face of his defeat, rather than drop a musical instrument and vanish, instead he sits down on the ground in silence and dejection, scratching aimlessly in the dirt with a stick.³⁹ In these instances, Māra is confronted with his failure and, the reader gets the impression, for the first time senses the limits of his powers. This calls into question the scope of his status as ruler of *saṃsāra*, deflating a figure who otherwise seems to expand to the limits of the known world and the human psyche. In the Pāli texts, very mundane, concrete, and even potentially comical objects are employed to impart this message: a dropped lute and a stick scratching in the ground. Puṇṇadhammo likewise invites his readers to put this god-demon in his place by imagining him shocked and awed by an ordinary, usually completely insignificant object: a single hair in a comb. Here, across time and space, the two narrative traditions conclude with startlingly similar visions of a pitiable figure committed to a useless struggle.

For the *Doctor Who* episodes, parallels with earlier Pāli or Sanskrit narratives are more difficult to discern as the influence of the medium of television has far more significantly altered the portrayal of Māra. For example, especially in the Snakedance series of episodes, as Māra

possesses one individual after another, he does so first by demanding, in an appropriately distorted and growling voice, that the victim, “Look at me!” The music crescendos, and the poor individual, forced to look at the snake image, succumbs. Clearly, this seems done for dramatic effect, to make the villain more imposing, built to higher elements to make its eventual fall more satisfying. It is of note to those who have studied Māra because in the Buddhist textual sources, at least, when Māra assails an individual, normally he attempts to avoid attention, and in fact in one of the earliest and most sustained texts on Māra (the aforementioned *Mārasamyutta* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*), the standard formula for Māra’s defeat is the recognition of his presence by the Buddha, then a demand that he leave, whereupon Māra grumbles, “the Blessed One knows me,” and vanishes.

This portrayal, then, has been exchanged for dramatic license and seems entirely derivative of its television medium. Another result of this medium is its obvious reliance on the visual nature of the character and here, as we have seen, the choice was made to render Māra as a snake. This has its continuities with Western Christian expressions of symbols of evil, but not necessarily with Buddhist thought, resulting in a representation of Māra very much mediated by the dominant religious cultural context.

CONCLUSION

To summarize what I have attempted to argue in this paper, by looking at adaptations of Māra to Western popular culture narratives, we can appreciate how the figure has been tailored to new media and new audiences. To an extent, comparing the two narratives is a bit like comparing an apple to an orange: they are the result of different motivations and very different processes. Indeed, the writing of a short pamphlet by a single author is quite unlike the production of a television program by a scriptwriter, director, actors, and crew. However, as I have argued, expressing and reacting to their Western contexts is a unifying concern for both of these works, even if they represent different polarities of that response and different media.

In the preceding, I have also been concerned with how these works communicate new concerns and also retain facets reminiscent of older textual representations of the figure of Māra as they work to re-imagine the figure. For *Letter from Māra*, Ajahn Puṇṇadhammo has attempted to update Māra for a new context, in new clothes more

relevant to another time and culture, borrowing the style and form of a literary work from that culture as the vehicle of his reinvention. In the episodes of *Doctor Who*, it seems as if an equally complicated dynamic of appropriation and satire has occurred, with Māra assuming a serpentine and dramatic guise in keeping with Western expectation even as his depiction is heavily critical of the West. One way to phrase or consider the adaptations and cross-currents at work in both re-imaginings of Māra comes by looking metaphorically at the means of Māra's defeat in both series of *Doctor Who*, namely the wall of mirrors in "Kinda" and the crystals in "Snakedance." Both crystals and mirrors are objects known for redirection, refraction, and, what is more, reflection of light. This seems an appropriate metaphor for what is occurring in these new media regarding the Buddhist tropes employed: While Bailey's stated objective was to think through Buddhist ideas imaginatively and Puṇṇadhammo has attempted to reach a new audience, their representations of Māra have, like light through a crystal, come across slightly bent by certain cultural presuppositions, and ultimately reflect long-standing Western notions about Buddhism and the so-called "mystic East" in general. In either case, through these examples of a re-imagined, perhaps reinvigorated Māra, we are witnesses to the ever-shifting, ever-changing nature of Buddhist narrative.

NOTES

1. This article is an adaptation of a paper originally delivered at the Numata Symposium "Narrative in Buddhist Texts, Practice, and Transmission" (Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, CA, April 2014). I would like to thank David Matsumoto and Scott Mitchell for the opportunity to participate in this conference and my fellow panelists Charles Hallisey and Richard Payne for comments and insights that greatly assisted the revisions to the original paper.
2. For instance, see (respectively) James Boyd, *Satan and Māra: Christian and Buddhist Symbol of Evil* (Leipzig: E.J. Brill, 1975); and John Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).
3. Bruce David Forbes and Jeffrey Howard Mahan, "Introduction: Finding Religion in Unexpected Places," in *Religion and Popular Culture in America*, ed. Bruce David Forbes and Jeffrey Howard Mahan, rev. ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 4.

4. Edmund Leach, "Myth as Justification for Faction and Social Change," in *Studies on Mythology*, ed. Robert Georges (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1968), 198.
5. James Liszka, *The Semiotic of Myth: A Critical Study of the Symbol* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 202.
6. Literary theorist Northrop Frye, in *Fables of Identity: Studies in Poetic Mythology* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1963), makes a similar point about myth, which he categorizes as an art, in opposition to the physical sciences: "Like art, and unlike sciences, [myth] deals, not with the world [humans] contemplate, but with the world [humans] create" (31).
7. C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters* (orig. pub. 1942; New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1961).
8. David McMahan, *The Making of Buddhist Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6–7.
9. *Ibid.*, 172–173.
10. For this and other biographical information, see the website for Punṇadhammo's hermitage retreat, www.arrowriver.ca/center.html.
11. <http://www.arrowriver.ca/maraidx.html>, accessed December 15, 2014.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, xi.
14. See the *Padhāna-sutta* of the *Sutta-nipāta*, ed. Dines Anderson and Helmer Smith (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1997), 74–78.
15. Ajahn Punṇadhammo, *Letter from Māra* (Kandy: Buddhist Publication Society, 2006), 2.
16. *Ibid.*, 13, 18, 25.
17. *Ibid.*, 11.
18. *Ibid.*, 32.
19. *Ibid.*, 23, 26, 33.
20. *Ibid.*, 48–49.
21. *Ibid.*, 30.
22. *Ibid.*, 34.
23. *Ibid.*, 58–59.
24. *Ibid.*, 60.
25. "The Making of 'Kinda'" (BBC Home Entertainment, 2011), DVD.

26. Jane Iwamura, *Virtual Orientalism: Asian Religions and American Popular Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8.
27. For all references and quotations from “Snakedance,” see John Nathan-Turner (Producer) and Fiona Turner (Director), *Snakedance* (BBC Television, 1983 [2011]), DVD.
28. “The Making of ‘Snakedance’ ” (BBC Home Entertainment, 2011), DVD.
29. Catherine Albanese, “Religion and Popular Culture: An Introductory Essay,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 4 (Winter 1991): 740.
30. Stephen Prothero, *The White Buddhist: The Asian Odyssey of Henry Steel Olcott* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 69.
31. Stephen Batchelor, *Living with the Devil: A Meditation on Good and Evil* (New York: Riverhead Trade, 2005), 5.
32. *Ibid.*, 36.
33. McMahan, *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*, 12–13.
34. *Ibid.*, 58–59.
35. Liszka *The Semiotic of Myth*, 71.
36. *Ibid.*, 32.
37. *Ibid.*, 16.
38. *Padhāna-sutta*, 78 (III.2.25).
39. *Mārasaṃyutta*, in *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, ed. Leon Feer (Lancaster: Pali Text Society, 2006), 124 (I.4.4.11).

Guṇabhadra to Bodhidharma: *The Laṅkāvatāra-Sūtra* and the Idea of Preaching without Words¹

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One does not establish writing,
Offering a separate transmission, outside of any teaching.
One directly points at the human mind.
Seeing one's nature one becomes a buddha.

<i>Bu li wenzi</i>	不立文字
<i>Jiao wai bie chuan</i>	教外别传
<i>Zhi zhi ren xin</i>	直指人心
<i>Jian xing cheng fo</i>	见性成佛

One may find these words in fascicle seven of the *Wu deng hui yuan* 五灯会元 of 1252 CE,² a text that offers an abstract of the *Five Lanterns* (*Wu deng* 五灯), the five chronicles of the Chan school compiled during the Song dynasty, from 1004 till 1204 CE.³ At that time Chan was well established as a doctrinal school. Bodhidharma was considered to be the first patriarch in China.

Chan is known for its teaching without words. Seeing one's nature means enlightenment. One's true nature is the buddha-nature, *buddhagotra*, a term which is somewhat more recent than the term *tathāgata-embryo* (or -womb), as in *tathāgatagarbha*.⁴

On the other hand, in the preface of Nianchang's 念常 chronicle *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖历代通载 (T. 49, 2036), completed in 1341 CE, one reads that text is a tool to convey the path (*zai dao zhi qi* 载道之器).⁵ These words go back to Cheng Yi 程颐 (1033–1107 CE) and to Zhou Dunyi 周敦颐 (1017–1073 CE), and they may be influenced—so I am told—by Xu Shen 许慎 (58–147 CE), author of the oldest lexicon, *Shuo wen jie zi* 说文解字. Nianchang was a Chan follower during the Yuan 元 dynasty. These words certainly apply to Guṇabhadra, who most likely composed the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*.⁶

Fei Zhangfang's 费长房 catalogue of the Tripiṭaka, *Lidai sanbao ji* 历代三宝记 (T. 49, 2034:84b7 and 24) of 597 CE, erroneously mentions a first, lost translation by Dharmarddhin (Tanwu Chen 昙无讖). The first translation actually was made by Baoyun 宝云, written down by Huiguan 慧观, and attributed to Guṇabhadra.⁷ Fei also attributes Baoyun's translation of the *Buddhacarita* (*Fo suoxing zan* 佛所行讚, T. 4, 192) to Dharmarddhin.⁸ Fei's catalogue is reliable when one restores the original Indian name of a translator.

GUṆABHADRA (394–468 CE)⁹

The actual first translator of the *Laṅkāvatāra* (Descent to Laṅkā) was Baoyun (*Lengqie abaduoluo bao jing* 楞伽阿跋多罗宝经, T. 16, 670). He attributed it to Guṇabhadra. Guṇabhadra, a brahmin from Central India, was converted to Buddhism by Dharmatrāta's *Gandhāra Mīśrakābhīdharmahṛdaya-sāstra* (*Za apitan xin lun* 杂阿毗昙心论, T. 28, 1552) (Chinese translation by Saṅghavarman, Baoyun, and Huiguan in 434–435 CE), a *Sautrāntika sāstra* and commentary on Dharmaśreṣṭhin's *Abhidharmahṛdaya* (*Apitan xin lun* 阿毗昙心论, T. 28, 1550), translated into Chinese by Saṅghadeva in 391 CE. Guṇabhadra sailed along India's eastern coast down to Laṅkā and then crossed over to Guangzhou 广州 (Foshan 佛山). He arrived there in 435 CE. Because Guṇabhadra did not know Chinese, the Liu Song 刘宋 emperor Wen 文 (424–453 CE) had the Chinese monks Huiyan 慧严 and Huiguan 慧观 assist him. But their knowledge of Sanskrit was not sufficient. The one who really knew some Sanskrit was Baoyun. So, Baoyun translated Guṇabhadra's texts to Chinese. He translated the *Samyuktāgama* (*Za ahan jing* 杂阿含经, T. 2, 99), a non-Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivāda version, in 443 CE. The text had been brought to China by his friend Faxian 法显, who had obtained it in Śrī Laṅkā.¹⁰ Baoyun's translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* in four fascicles also appeared in that same year, 443 CE, in the Daochang Temple 道场寺, during the period Yuanjia 元嘉 (424–453 CE) of the Liu Song 刘宋. This text was given to Huike 慧可 by Bodhidharma. It is quite impossible not to use a text in the Chinese cultural environment. Chinese monks usually made a text, eventually based on the verbal or the written instruction of an Indian. Bodhidharma, who did not have any official assistance in China and who did not speak Chinese, gave the Chinese version of this text to his most trusted disciple. This text was the basis for nearly all later commentaries.¹¹ It clearly was the most authoritative text. The Tibetan version was made by the

bilingual Tibetan Chos'grub (Facheng 法成) (active in Dunhuang 敦煌 ca. 832–865 CE, in Mūlasarvāstivāda times) based on the Chinese translation of Guṇabhadra's text. Guṇabhadra's Sanskrit text apparently became successful in Luoyang, as Bodhiruci's translation shows, and it went west along the so-called Silk Route, leading via Hotan 和田 to Bactria. This was the route taken by Songyun 宋云, a native of Dunhuang, for his journey to India. He left Luoyang in 518 CE and returned in 522 CE. It seems we have here an early example of a Sanskrit text composed by an Indian brahmin in China. Because the text knows the *Śrīmālāsīṃhanāda* (*Shengman shizi hou yisheng da fangbian fangguang jing* 胜鬘师子吼一乘大方便方广经, T. 12, 353) and the *Aṅgulimālīya* (*Yangjue Moluo jing* 央掘魔罗经, T. 2, 120), two *tathāgatagarbha* texts “translated” by Guṇabhadra, it was composed by someone who knew these texts, namely Guṇabhadra. The text then found its way to India. Later the brahmin Paramārtha (499–569 CE), whose Buddhism comes from Valabhī, will give more instances of this phenomenon in southern China,¹² even though, as far as I know, his compositions did not travel to India.

Guṇabhadra's text is the basis for Chan's famous wordless teaching. While there are philosophical and religious reasons to expound such view, one must not forget that Guṇabhadra did not know how to speak Chinese. The Sanskrit *Laṅkāvatāra*, as translated by D. T. Suzuki, says that beings such as ants (*kṛmi*, namely *yi* 蚁, ants) and bees (*makṣikā*) “carry on their work without words,” *anabhilāpenaiva svakṛtyaṃ kurvanti*.¹³ *Anabhilāpa* means “without words.” *Abhilāpa* is translated as *yanshuo* 言说, words. Not knowing how to preach in Chinese, as a brahmin he certainly knew how to write Sanskrit. It is not unlikely that, instead of giving verbal instruction, he composed a written Sanskrit text in China, which was translated by Baoyun. The text is an unsystematic collection of notes, a characteristic of many Indian writings. An accurate title might be *Sarvabuddhapravacanahr̥daya* (*Yiqie Fo yu xin* 一切佛语心), *The Heart* (which reminds one of the *Mīśrakābhīdharmahr̥daya*, the text that converted Guṇabhadra) *of the Teaching of the Buddhas*, words that are offered as a Sanskrit title for the text, so it seems.¹⁴ The influence of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of Hindu philosophy is conspicuous. The vegetarian Guṇabhadra added a part about eating meat, called *Māmsabhakṣaṇa*, as the last addition to his text. As any non-Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivādin knows, a text bringing the dharma, Buddha's expositions (*pravacana*), can be called *sūtra*. It offers Buddha's teaching.

It may further be noticed that the non-Vaibhāṣika *abhidharma* text, *Prakaraṇapāda* (*Zhongshi fen apitan lun* 众事分阿毗昙论, T. 26, 1541), also appeared in 443 CE.¹⁵ I would guess that Bodhiyaśas is really responsible for the translation. He seems to have added the name of his master, Guṇabhadra, as co-responsible. Sengyou's 僧祐 *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏记集, T. 55, 2145) of 515–518 CE does not list this text among Guṇabhadra's translations.

The *Laṅkāvatāra* offers *tathāgata*-embryo views and *cittamātra*, thought-only, views. Guṇabhadra is said to be responsible for the translation of some *tathāgatagarbha* texts, and also of the *Saṅghinirmocana* (*Xiangxu jietuo jing* 相续解脱经, T. 16, 678).¹⁶ He apparently was a believer of *ekayāna*, the unique vehicle. When an originally *sthāvirīya* (Sarvāstivāda) idea, such as *tathāgatagarbha*, most likely of Bactrian origin (early third century?), was assimilated by Mahāyāna Mahāsāṅghikas, as seen in, for example, the *Śrīmālāsīmhanāda* (T. 12, 353), the result is called *ekayāna*. Guṇabhadra is said to have translated this text. Tanlin 曇林 (fl. 506–574 CE), Bodhidharma's intellectual disciple, is said to have been a specialist of this text.

BODHIRUCI

The second translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra* was the work of Bodhiruci (Puti Liuzhi 菩提流支) in 513 CE, in ten fascicles (*Ru Lengqie jing* 入楞伽经, T. 16, 671). This version was made in Luoyang 洛阳 during the Northern Wei (386–534 CE). Bodhiruci, said to be from northern India, arrived in Luoyang in 508 CE.¹⁷ Luoyang was the capital of the Northern Wei from 495 CE on. The Wei had conquered Shanshan 鄯善 ca. 445 CE, taking control of the southern route to Hotan 和田 and beyond. The Northern Liang 北凉 (397–439), capital Guzang 姑臧 (Liangzhou 凉州), had been defeated earlier. Many westerners, *huren* 胡人, were arriving from Central Asia, India, and Bactria, the Central Asian part of Jibin 罽宾. It is also known that quite a large number of brahmins had converted to Buddhism. So, many Indian monks who knew Sanskrit arrived in Luoyang. Some undoubtedly came from Bactria, from the Gandhāran cultural area, and further from northern India. In the fifth century Sanskrit had replaced Prakrit as the main Buddhist language.

Bodhiruci's text was much longer than Guṇabhadra's. The "wordless teaching" apparently increased in length. Bodhiruci has a supplementary first part, describing the setting in *Laṅkā*. It is known as *Rāvaṇādhyeṣaṇā* (Rāvaṇa's Ardent Request). Such an addition can

be expected from a brahmin, familiar with the *Rāmāyaṇa*. At the end Bodhiruci adds two parts, known as *Dhāraṇī* (again reminding one of the knowledge of a brahmin) and *Sagāthakam*, offering *gāthās*. Bodhiruci calls this last part *Zong* 总, *Summing Up* (scil. *samāseṇa*, *saṃkṣepeṇa*).¹⁸ It can be seen as an independent part, not necessary at all. In the text itself quite some glosses and explanatory notes are added. The translation by Baoyun apparently needed clarification. Baoyun's level of Sanskrit may have been sufficient for the *Samyuktāgama* and for the *Buddhacarita*, but not for the *Laṅkāvatāra*. He was no philosopher, as his translation of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, chapter 12, shows. There we read about very early Sāṃkhya.¹⁹

Among the many new arrivals in Luoyang from Central Asia and from India, quite a few may have been brahmins, very willing to give their learned explanations, and adding to the text of that other brahmin, Guṇabhadra. Bodhiruci seems to have included their Sanskrit additions in his Chinese version.²⁰ One of those new arrivals in Luoyang was Ratnamati (Lena Moti 勒那摩提) from Central India. He also arrived in 508 CE. He translated the *Ratnagotravibhāga* (*Jiujing yisheng baoxing lun* 究竟一乘 [ekayāna] 宝性 [ratnagotra] 论, T. 31, 1611) in Luoyang in 511 CE.²¹ The Sanskrit text, the work of Sāramati from Central India, may date from the very early fifth century or the late fourth century.²² As pointed out by Lin Li-kouang in 1949, names ending in **mati* may be of Sarvāstivāda affiliation.²³ This may well apply both to Sāramati and to Ratnamati. *Tathāgatagarbha* most likely is a Sarvāstivāda development, but it was rapidly taken up by the Mahāsāṅghika rivals. The result is called *ekayāna*, unique vehicle. Later Paramārtha could not have agreed more.²⁴

The most beautiful temple in Luoyang was the Yongning Si 永宁寺. Many foreign monks, including Bodhiruci, stayed and worked there. It prospered without any doubt from 516 CE till 534 CE, when it was destroyed.²⁵ Bodhiruci and Ratnamati have been linked to this temple, and Bodhidharma visited it ca. 520 CE. Bodhidharma, who believed in the idea of *tathāgatagarbha*, apparently attached greater importance to Guṇabhadra's *Laṅkāvatāra* than to Bodhiruci's new, expanded version of this text in Luoyang. The Yongning Temple seems to have been a center for monks interested in *tathāgatagarbha*. By the way, both Bodhiruci and Ratnamati were interested in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經), a text studied by Guṇabhadra while he was in India. A first Chinese translation, commonly known as the old translation, had been

made by Buddhābhaddra in the south in 418–420/422 CE as the *Da fangguang Fo huayan jing* 大方广佛华严经 (T. 9, 278, in sixty fascicles). The Sanskrit original came from Hotan.

ŚIKṢĀNANDA(652–710 CE)

Śikṣānanda (Shicha Nantuo 实叉难陀), during the Tang 唐 dynasty, was a monk from Hotan. He had brought a new translation of the *Avataṃsaka* in eighty fascicles, the *Da fangguang Fo huayan jing* 大方广佛华严经 (T. 10, 279) in 695–699 CE. Empress Wu Zetian 武则天 then asked him to bring a new version of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The translation was completed in 704 CE, in seven fascicles, as *Dasheng ru Lengqie jing* 大乘入楞伽经 (T. 16, 672). It was revised by the Tokharian Mituo Shan 弥陀山 (Amitābhākara?). He was assisted by the famous patriarch of the Huayan school 华严宗, Fazang 法藏 (643–712 CE).²⁶ So, excellent scholars are responsible for this text, which agrees well with the existing Sanskrit. It also contains the first, introductory part, called *Rāvaṇādhyeṣaṇā* (Rāvaṇa's Ardent Request), and the two final parts, called *Dhāraṇī* and *Gāthā*. The bulk of the text agrees well with the Sanskrit, as one also finds it in the sometimes hard to read “translation” of Guṇabhadra.

By way of conclusion one may say that the brahmin Guṇabhadra taught in China, in Jiankang, the only way he knew how, namely by writing a Sanskrit text for his trusted aide Baoyun to translate. Guṇabhadra did not know enough Chinese. So, besides having valid philosophical and religious reasons to do so, he defended teaching without words out of sheer necessity. Other brahmins, coming from the west, later supplied additions in Luoyang. This resulted in Bodhiruci's long version. Later, during the reign of Empress Wu, Śikṣānanda from Hotan offered a third, faithful version, assisted by Fazang and others. But the original version of Guṇabhadra remained most influential (partially because of the prestige of Bodhidharma?). It was translated to Tibetan.

Bodhidharma, who did not know Chinese, and who did not have the help of Chinese monks who knew Sanskrit, handed Baoyun's translation of Guṇabhadra's text to Huike. Teaching without words was a necessity for him in China. In China a lineage, even Bodhidharma's, is text based.

NOTES

1. This contribution may be seen as a sequel to my contribution about the school affiliation of Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma, “Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma: Remarks about Their School Affiliation,” *Pacific World*, 3rd ser., no. 15 (2013): 33–52. The Buddhism of those two monks is Sautrāntika Sarvāstivāda and *ekayāna*, unique vehicle.
2. For an edition of the twenty fascicles of the *Wu deng hui yuan*, see *Si ku quan shu* 四库全书, Zi bu 子部 13, Shijia lei 释家类. There it is mentioned that the text was compiled by Shi Puji of the Song 宋释普济. The text offers an abstract of the *Five Lanterns* (*Wu deng* 五灯), five chronicles of the Chan school.
3. Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, Vol. I: India and China*, trans. James W. Heisig and Paul Knitter (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2008 [1988]), 7–9.
4. The term *tathāgatadhātu* (*rulajie* 如来界), *tathāgata*-element, occurs in the *Wushang yi jing* 无上依经 (T. 16, 669), chap. 2: *rulajie pin* 如来界品. This *Anuttarāśraya-sūtra* (?) most likely is a text established by Chinese monks accompanying Paramārtha, listening to his teaching loosely based on the *Ratnagotravibhāga*. Paramārtha must have known this text while he was still in India. See Willemen, “Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma,” 47n19. The monks apparently had a problem with the word *tathāgatagarbha* (*tathāgata*-womb or -embryo, *rulai peitai* 如来胚胎). They never used the term womb, *tai* 胎. So, a Chinese inhibition may explain the use of *dhātu* (element, thing). For a translation of Buddhābhaddra’s *Da fangdeng Rulaizang jing* 大方等如来藏经 (T. 16, 666) of 420 CE, the first translation of a *Tathāgatagarbha-sūtra*, see William H. Grosnick, “The *Tathāgatagarbha Sūtra*,” in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. Donald S. Lopez (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998 [1995]), 94–106.
5. The words occur at 477b23, in Nianchang’s preface.
6. Willemen, “Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma,” 38–39.
7. Tanwu Chen, Dharmarddhin: see Charles Willemen, *Buddhacarita. In Praise of Buddha’s Acts* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2009), XV. Fei’s catalogue of 597 CE was completed soon after the suppression of Buddhism in 574 CE, during the reign of Emperor Wu 武 (561–577 CE) of the Northern Zhou 北周. Kyoko Tokuno, “The Evaluation of Indigenous Scriptures in Chinese Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues,” in *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, ed. Robert E. Buswell (Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1992 [1990]), 46, writes: “Fei thought to enhance the credibility of the textual basis of Buddhism . . . polemical considerations may have been behind Fei’s penchant for assigning arbitrary attributions.”
8. Willemen, *Buddhacarita*, XIV–XV.
9. For his life and work, see Willemen, “Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma,” 36–41.

10. For the latest survey of Sarvāstivāda literature, see Charles Willemen, “Remarks about the History of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 67 (2014): 255–268. In Willemen, “Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma,” 50n38, instead of the name of Guṇavarman one should read the name of Faxian; see also p. 37.

11. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2007 [1999, 1st Indian ed.]), 51ff.

12. The brahmin Paramārtha may also have written a Sanskrit text about the different Buddhist schools of the *Dasheng qi xin* (reconstructed as *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*) *lun* 大乘起信论 (T. 32, 1666), attributing it to Aśvaghoṣa, a Sarvāstivādin influenced by Mahāsāṅghika views (Willemen, *Buddhacarita*, XIII). Based on his work, Paramārtha himself most likely was a non-Vaibhāṣika Sarvāstivādin, heavily influenced by Mahāsāṅghika, Mahāyāna ideas.

Did he write a new text, or did he use an earlier text? He attributed the text to Vasumitra, a leader in the Sarvāstivāda synod in Kaśmīra, which had started during the reign of Kaniṣka (155–ca. 179 CE). The text was translated by the Chinese monks accompanying Paramārtha between 557 and 569 CE, *Bu zhi yi lun* 部执异论 (T. 49, 2033; Treatise about the Differences, Held by the Schools [nikāya]). As is so often the case for translations attributed to Paramārtha, Xuanzang brought a new translation, in 662 CE, *Yi bu zong lun lun* 异部宗轮论 (T. 49, 2031; Treatise about the Cycle of the Teachings of the Different Schools). A Sanskrit title has been reconstructed as *Samayabhedoparacanacakra*; see Charles Willemen, “Kumārajīva’s Explanatory Discourse about Abhidharmic Literature,” *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies* 国际佛教学大学院大学研究纪要 12 (2008): 129.

13. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *The Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra. A Mahāyāna Text* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2009 [1932]), 91–92. Suzuki brings the translation of the Sanskrit, as published in 1932 by Nanjō Bunyū. For Chinese, see T. 16, 670: 493a27–b10.

14. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 16.

15. Willemen, “Kumārajīva’s Explanatory Discourse,” 56–57.

16. Willemen, “Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma,” 39.

17. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 6. See also Red Pine (Bill Porter), *The Lankavatara Sutra: Translation and Commentary* (Berkeley: Counterpoint Press, 2012), 2–12 for the traditional information about the translations.

The capital of the Northern Wei 北魏 had been Pingcheng 平城 (Datong 大同). The main cleric was Tanyao 昙曜, who initiated the cave temples in Yungang 云冈 and the compilation of the *Za baozang jing* 杂宝藏经 (T. 4, 203) in 472 CE, a compilation of stories of non-Vaibhāṣika affiliation. There is a link between some stories and some wall-paintings. When the capital was moved

to Luoyang in 494 CE, the cave temples of Longmen 龙门 were constructed; Charles Willemen, “A Chinese *Kṣudrakapiṭaka* (T. IV.203),” in “Études Bouddhiques offerts à Jacques May,” *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 46 (1992): 509ff.

18. T. 16, 671: 565b8. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 16ff.

19. Willemen, *Buddhacarita*, 84ff.

20. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 16ff.

21. See Takasaki Jikidō 高崎直道, in Nakamura Hajime 中村元, Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, and Tamaki Kōshirō 玉城康四郎, *Shin-Butten Kaidai Jiten* 新-佛典解题事典, Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元, rev. ed. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1968 [1966]), 144–145.

22. Ibid. The Chinese tradition mentions Sāramati, but the Tibetan tradition says that Maitreya is responsible for the verses, and Asaṅga for the prose. It may just be reminded that Maitreya has been the inspiration for non-Vaibhāṣika *yogācāra* texts long before Asaṅga. The Tibetan tradition, which is quite late anyway, apparently sees this text as a Vijñānavāda text. Both Vijñānavāda and *tathāgatagarbha* are of non-Vaibhāṣika affiliation.

23. Li-kouang Lin, *Introduction au compendium de la loi: L'Aide-mémoire de la vraie loi* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1949), 178.

24. When non-Vaibhāṣikas adopt Mahāsāṅghika views, the non-Vaibhāṣikas call the result Mahāyāna (e.g., Vijñānavāda). This shows in Paramārtha's work. When Mahāsāṅghikas adopt non-Vaibhāṣika views (e.g., *tathāgatagarbha*), they call the result *ekayāna*, actually meaning Mahāyāna.

25. Yi-t'ung Wang, “The Inner City,” chap. 1 in *A Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Lo-yang*, by Wang Hsüan-chih (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 13ff., esp. 15ff., for the Yongning Si, built in 516 CE. On Bodhidharma's visit, see *ibid.*, 20. Texts and images arriving from the west were all kept in this temple. For the relevant Chinese, see *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛阳伽蓝记 (T. 51, 2092): 999c10ff.

26. Suzuki, *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, 7ff.

The Path from Metaphor to Narrative: Gampopa's *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*¹

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0. INTRODUCTION

We are attempting here to establish three interrelated theses: The first is that “path” functions as an organizing structure for Buddhist thought in general. The second is that the path both unifies Buddhist thought and distinguishes it from other religious systems. The third is that narrative structures, such as the path, condition experience in the senses of providing structure, organization, and meaning.

I. FROM METAPHOR TO NARRATIVE

Path as Metaphor

The image of “path” and its related image of “journey” have served as powerful literary metaphors in several different cultures.² George Lakoff has argued extensively that metaphors are formative for human thought and that some metaphors are foundational—they are at the basis of many other metaphoric constructions. The path is one of those foundational metaphors that structure thought about many areas of human endeavor.³ It is directly related to the metaphor “life is a journey,” found for example at the opening of Dante’s *Inferno*, where the protagonist describes the not uncommon feeling that life is not unfolding as one had expected—“In the middle of life’s journey, I found myself in a dark wood. . . .”⁴ The idea that there is a proper path that one should follow is found in the images of the Tao, and the Ten Oxherding Pictures, as well as Shandao’s “white path,” familiar to those who study the Pure Land tradition. In other words, although the term “path literature” has been used in a narrow sense that corresponds to the Tibetan bibliographic categories of *lam rim* and *bstan rim*,⁵ it can be used with a

broad, inclusive meaning, one that allows us to look for the similarities among a wider range of Buddhist texts.⁶

The path has provided not just a useful literary metaphor for Buddhism generally, but also structures the expression of Buddhist teachings in a variety of ways. Buswell and Gimello contend, for example, that path, *mārga*, “is a theme central to the whole of Buddhism.”⁷ Fundamental to these discourses is the extension of the metaphor of path into the threefold system of ground, path, and goal.⁸ This threefold structure is used to formulate the human condition as given—ground, an ideal form toward which human life can be oriented—goal, and the way by which one can move from the former to the latter—path. Yael Bentor has summarized how Lce-sgom-pa (ca. 1140 or 1150 to 1220 CE⁹) explains the transformative function of initiation using the same metaphoric structure. In her summary, she describes the effects of initiation

in terms of the disciples’ basis, path, and fruit. The basis is the disciples’ body, speech, and mind. In terms of the path, the four initiations endow disciples with the ability to engage in the four practices on the path to enlightenment. . . . The fruit of these practices is an awakened or enlightened being, a buddha endowed with the four bodies.¹⁰

Path as Narrative

What I am suggesting here is that the path has been employed in Buddhist literature not simply as a familiar literary trope. Instead we find that the path provides a narrative structure, in the sense that it is not only found as a topic in much Buddhist literature, but also gives structure for Buddhist thought. In this latter function it is narrative in the sense of organizing events into a meaningful order, an order that is not just orderly in one way or another, but a progressive sequence in which there is a causal relation implicated. “Starting here, you do this, and it gets you to there.”

A Narrative in What Sense?

narrative ≠ fiction

Narrative has been variously defined by different authors, but here I would like to note first that narrative should not be taken to mean fiction. Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg divide narrative into empirical and fictional, and the empirical again into historical and mimetic. In the historical they include such works as Herodotus and Thucydides, who themselves “carefully distinguish their work from Homeric epic.”¹¹

Thus, although many historians seem to be irritated with Hayden White's discussion of the role of narrative in historiography, White's analysis is quite congruent with a perspective on historiography that dates back to Herodotus and Thucydides. Indeed, some recent work on narrative argues that it is fundamental to human thought.¹²

narrative as an analytic concept

Although different analyses of narrative have highlighted different aspects, for our purposes here, I would like to focus on two: plot and authorial voice. This is in keeping with the minimal definition of narrative offered by Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, according to which there are two elements constitutive of narrative. "By narrative we mean all those literary works which are distinguished by two characteristics: the presence of a story and a story-teller."¹³ "Narrative" as an analytic tool, rather than as a rubric for the categorization of works of literature, then would focus minimally on these two—the story and the story-teller.

"the story": plot structure, or progressive sequence

Narrative organizes events into meaningful, that is, causally linked, sequences. However, not only can narrative structure be used to report a causally linked sequence of events, as in historical writing or journalism, but it can also be used to describe a causally linked sequence of events, as in a novel, or to prescribe a causally linked sequence of events. It is this last, prescriptive function of narrative that interests me here. Before turning to the path, however, let us consider as a pleasantly mundane example, a recipe. Now, recipes are not usually categorized as narratives, but I think that it is instructive for our purposes to consider a recipe as a particularly highly formalized kind of narrative. Usually, a recipe will inform us first what the ingredients are, and then give directions that lead us through the steps needed to convert those ingredients into a dish of some kind.

This way of thinking is so basic to human cognition that it seems to me that the narrative structure itself implies causal connections between the events described. If in following a recipe one encounters an unfamiliar step ("refrigerate overnight," for example), one will tend to believe that this instruction is purposeful, that is, that the step is causally significant for attaining the intended goal. Thus, constructing a narrative in itself creates an understanding of the events as a causally linked sequence.

“the story-teller”: author’s voice¹⁴

One of the qualities of Gampopa’s text is that it is written in an informal and almost conversational style, despite which his own voice is not a strong presence. Gampopa does not express himself in the first person, and this would seem to be in keeping with an intention to present an authoritative summary of the stages of the path. In other words, he is not telling us “Gampopa’s version of the path,” but rather sharing his understanding of the path. Thus, the author’s voice in this case is not found in any particularly personal quality nor in the tone of the narrative, but rather in the conversational repetition of the presentation. Like a good public speaker he keeps his readers informed of where they are in the narrative sequence, but does so with the easy tone of intimacy, rather than a highly structured repetition of outline points. To take an example almost at random, at one point he says, “This ends my discussion of the formation of an enlightened attitude.”¹⁵

Perhaps the most “first person expression” is to be found in the opening invocation, which reads:

I prostrate to the noble Manjushri in youthful form.
I pay homage to the Victorious Ones, their followers, the holy Dharma,
and to the lamas who are their foundation.
This noble teaching, which is like a wish-fulfilling jewel,
Will be written for the benefit of myself and others by depending on
the kindness of Mila and the Lord Atisha.¹⁶

The reference to Mañjuśrī places Gampopa’s work in the discourse of wisdom (*prajñā*), while the references to Milarepa and Atiṣa highlight his personal lineage.

Structure of the Path

We can note that the path is built up of a series of semiotic oppositions, ones that are similar to Saussure’s oppositions. Such oppositions are not static, but partially stable, and therefore partially unstable. It is this very instability, one stage opening onto another, that allows for constituting the path as dialectic and progressive, one that ends with the hypostatized absolute of awakening.¹⁷

ground

The term “ground” identifies the starting point of the path. In the case of the path to awakening this is a description of the basic human condition, that of being a common foolish person (*prthagjana*).

path

While in one usage, the term “path” refers to the entire structure including ground and goal, in another it has a more limited referent—the route one follows upon leaving the ground until one reaches the goal. Fortunately, context should keep these two usages clear. The path is not simply a list of activities taken one after another, but rather is a description of an intentional set of behaviors. Because these have a purpose the activities constitute a progressive sequence that should lead one to the goal. To use the philosophic term, the path has a teleology.

goal

Obvious to anyone familiar with Buddhist thought, the goal is identified in a variety of ways—release (*nirvana*) and awakening (*bodhi*) being perhaps the most familiar. One of the specialized areas of Buddhist thought involves attempting to describe what it means to be a buddha and what kinds of actions a buddha performs. An example of such a discussion is the distinction drawn between nirvana with remainder (*sopādhiśeṣanirvāṇa* or *kleśanirvāṇa*) and nirvana without remainder (*anupādhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). Similarly related to the topic of the goal are discussions regarding *tathāgatagarbha* and the relation between this concept and cessation of suffering or cessation of being.¹⁸

II. GAMPOPA AND THE JEWEL ORNAMENT OF LIBERATION

Gampopa

Gampopa (sGam po pa Bsod nams rin chen, 1079–1135) plays a key role in the establishment of the Kagyud (bKa’ brgyud) tradition. W. Blythe Miller describes the Kagyud prior to Gampopa as “initially fairly tolerant of individual expression and unconventional behavior [the result of] a number of factors including geographic isolation, close connections to siddha dōha literature, loose or even antagonistic ties with institutional norms, a soteriology of naturalness (*mahāmudrā*), and a mode of composition called *nmyam gur* (creative songs of experience).”¹⁹ Gampopa trained under the famous Milarepa (Mi la ras pa), from whom he received training in the three of the traditions of practice formative for almost all later Tibetan Buddhism—those of Vajravārāhī, *mahāmudrā*, and the six yogas of Naropa. Vajravārāhī,²⁰ one of whose heads is in the form of a sow’s head, is a female tantric deity of wrathful appearance, the consort of Heruka, and is now popular throughout Tibetan Buddhist practice. The *mahāmudrā* system is said to descend

through the lineage of *mahāsiddhas* from Tilopa, Naropa, Marpa, and Milarepa to Gampopa, and teaches a radical nonduality of ordinary and awakened mind.²¹ The six yogas are a systematization of practices now used as part of the Kagyud three year retreat. The six are inner heat (*gtum mo*), illusory body (*sgyu lus*), dream yoga (*rmi lam*), clear light (*'od gsal*, cf. *prabhāsvara*), intermediate state (*bar do*), and transference (*'pho ba*). Gampopa “synthetically organized this lineage into something resembling a full-fledged religious tradition with a strong monastic bent.”²²

The Jewel Ornament of Liberation

The *Jewel Ornament of Liberation* (*Thar pa rin po che'i rgyan*) is an early instance of path literature; it became a classic text in part because it was written in an accessible style, and because it is presented as a concise overview of the entirety of the Mahāyāna teachings. It is considered to be the union of early Kadampa (bKa' gdams), a monastic system rooted in the sutras, and *mahāmudrā*, which is considered a tantric teaching. According to Dan Martin, it was a disciple of Milarepa, Dwags-po Lharje (1079–1153), “who made the yogic contemplative teachings and practices of his predecessors enter the world of monastic discipline by ‘joining the two streams’ of Bka’-gdams-pa teachings from Atiśa with his spiritual inheritance from Mi-la-ras-pa.”²³ This union makes it controversial in that it presents a form of *mahāmudrā* that does not require tantric initiation first.²⁴

The *Jewel Ornament* is organized into twenty-one chapters, which trace the path of practice from its foundations to its completion in the activities of full buddhahood (see Appendix). These chapters can be grouped in such a fashion as to reveal the underlying organization of the text in terms of ground (chaps. 1–3), path (chaps. 4–19), and goal (chaps. 20–21).

III. FUNCTIONS OF PATH AS NARRATIVE

Scholastic Character of Path Literature

One of the things that characterizes works such as Gampopa's *Jewel Ornament* is a scholastic dimension. That is, the work serves as a means of organizing a very large body of doctrine into a coherent form. In considering similar Pāli texts (*Netti* and *Peṭakopadesa*) George Bond has suggested that the gradual path serves a hermeneutic function as well.

By providing a comprehensive view, from the starting point of someone caught in the round of samsara up to and including the stage of a fully awakened buddha, the gradual path provides everyone—whether lay adherent or monastic or yogi—a location in an overall cosmology.²⁵

Systematic

Bond is working specifically within the description of Indian religious culture proposed by Louis de la Vallée Poussin. This understanding of Indian religious culture presents it as involving two forms—one in service of mundane goals sought by “men in the world” and the other in the service of supramundane goals sought by renunciates.²⁶ In Bond’s interpretation, the gradual path as a hermeneutic provides a means of unifying this dual framework of mundane and supramundane goals.²⁷ “The notion of the gradual path to *nibbāna* allowed [such texts] to subsume mundane goals under the supramundane goal and to explain how the truth of the *dhmma* relates to all people.”²⁸ Bond goes on to discuss how the image of the gradual path functions to unify otherwise diverse teachings. “By superimposing the pattern of the gradual path onto the *dhmma*, these . . . texts find the hierarchy of means and ends necessary to relate the *dhmma* to a variety of people and yet to maintain the belief in one ultimate goal and one ultimate meaning of the *dhmma*.”²⁹

Synthetic

In creating a smooth, comprehensive narrative, part of what a text such as the *Jewel Ornament* is doing is synthetic. That is, Gampopa is drawing together a large number of expositions from many different sources and forming them into a unified presentation. This synthesis gives the reader the impression that there is an overall unity in the understanding of the different aspects of the path. This harmonizing or levelling of differences appears to be a common rhetorical strategy that strengthens a particular viewpoint by presenting it as uncontested. Konchog gives a list of forty different primary sources that Gampopa cites in the course of the *Jewel Ornament*—that are available in English translation. Guenther lists about 125 Sanskrit and Pāli texts, as well as many more Tibetan texts cited in the work. Thus, in creating a single, unified presentation of the path, Gampopa both systematizes and synthesizes a wide variety of teachings as found in many sources.

Polemic Function

Although a text such as Gampopa's gives the impression of a single unified understanding of the path, it is in fact one version of how the path can be conceptualized. Looking at the *Lamp of the Teaching* by Rog Bande Sherab (1166–1244), a similar text from the Nyingma tradition, we find a system of nine “vehicles” being presented. Like other instance of path literature, it lays out a hierarchical categorization of different teachings, in much the same way that the texts discussed by George Bond do, and as the Japanese founder of Shingon esoteric tradition, Kūkai, does in his work (see below). Although Rogban's might be considered a bibliographic work, the progressive levels of texts correspond to higher and higher teachings and attainments. By placing the Nyingma Great Perfection as the highest, we can read this as a polemic intent as well as a scholastic organizational one.

When making such a claim, however, we need not be too cynical about understanding the intent of such organizing systems. The cynical approach is to see the motivation as directed toward putting one's own teachings at the top, while a more charitable interpretation³⁰ is to consider that the author believed the hierarchy of the organization to actually represent the hierarchy of teachings, and that is why the author accepts those teachings. While the arrow of causation goes from sectarian commitment to hierarchical organization in the cynical interpretation, that is reversed to go from hierarchical organization to sectarian commitment in the more generous understanding.

Narrative as Creating Shared Imaginal Space

Kai Mikkonen explicates the relation between narrative and travel, and doing so provides a metaphoric structure for considering issues of time and causality in narrative. “The different stages of travel—departure, voyage, encounters on the road, and return—provide any story with a temporal structure that raises certain expectations of things to happen.”³¹

In addition to temporality and causality, however, the metaphor of travel also suggests that narrative constitutes an imaginal space within which the narrative/travel takes place. Considering narrative in the context of Christian praxis, Michal Dinkler asserts that storytelling “fulfills a performative function, not only mirroring reality, but creating it.”³² Unlike travel, however, narrative does not have to take

a strictly chronological organization, but instead allows one to start in the middle of things (*in media res*).³³

Using Gérard Genette's term "anachronies" Mikkonen points to the tension created by the discrepancy between the "order of telling," that is, the "assumed clarity and concreteness of the temporal (and even physical) order of the story" and the "order of travel experience."³⁴ In other words, where the experiential order of travel follows a strictly chronological sequence, the order in which the story is told may not. The narrative as such may begin in the middle and work back and forth toward the beginning and the end.

Much of the path literature functions in a similar fashion, only it is the subject who locates him/herself in the middle of the narrative. By the time a practitioner picks up a text such as Gampopa's, they probably no longer identify with the description of the starting point (unless they belong to a tradition such as Jōdo Shinshū that considers the status of a foolish ordinary person as the inescapable condition of human existence in this *sāha* world). In the terms used, many practitioners will have already formed the intent of awakening (*bodhicitta*), though may well not presume that it is perfected. In this fashion, the narrative structure of the path literature shapes the self-understanding of practitioners by telling them how to think about the past from which they have come, defining and structuring that personal past as the ground.

To take a related example, Kūkai outlines a ten-part progressive structure in two works: *Ten Stages of the Development of the Mind*, which he then rewrote in a highly abridged version as *Precious Key to the Secret Treasury*.³⁵ This latter work has often been seen as solely polemical, that is as promoting the practice of Shingon as the highest form. While polemics were no doubt part of Kūkai's intent, the ten stages also provide a description of the path.³⁶ This sequence runs from animal to buddha, and anyone engaged in the religio-philosophic practices of his day could locate themselves within his ten-part structure. He starts with the mind of an ordinary person, which is like that of a ram. Next comes the mind of a foolish child, then that of a young fearless child, to the minds of the Vaiśeṣika and Sāṃkhya, to that of *pratyekabuddhas*, to bodhisattvas. The last of the ten minds is "the mind of secret adornment," that is, the stage of understanding the powers of mantra, and the identity of the body, speech, and mind of the practitioner with the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha.

Path as Organizing Principle of Buddhist Thought

Obviously, not all Buddhist systematic thought encompasses the entirety of the path as its object of inquiry. There are many much more specialized discussions across the scope of what Steven Collins has called systematic thought, which he contrasts with narrative thought.³⁷ Despite the specialized nature of systematic works, it is heuristically useful to think of them as located on the path. That is, such works can be understood as discussing some particular aspect or element of the path, whether concerned for example with different kinds of meditation practice or the forms of logic, and the function of such inquiries places them at a particular location on the path. This is being suggested not as a historical matter, but rather as a useful hermeneutic for our own approach to giving an overall, and in its own way scholastic, organization to the textual heritage.

IV.A. NOT THE CHRISTIAN NARRATIVE

Path literature, such as the *Jewel Ornament*, can be seen as telling a story, the story of the individual's progress along a path of development from ordinary foolish person to fully awakened buddha. In a very important sense, these texts are based not simply on a scholastic intent to organize information about practice, but on the model of the life story of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Although the details of the story may vary, perhaps widely, the fundamental developmental trajectory is the same. What makes such stories, in this loose sense, "Buddhist" is the ways in which each of the three basic narrative phases (ground, path, goal) are defined. In other words, these differ from Christian corollaries in which movement can be described as beginning in an unconscious blissful harmony in paradise, followed by the fall and ejection from paradise, and leading finally to redemption/atonement/absolution/sanctification, that is, a return to the harmonious state of paradise.

The Biblical Narrative

The three parts of the Christian narrative structure can be traced in terms of the Biblical structure of religious salvation, a pattern that continues to structure discussions of soteriology in contemporary Christian thought. We should note here, however, that the structure of a harmonious primal state, the loss of that state, and a final re-unification—whether structured specifically in three steps or as a more

general narrative line—is found throughout Western culture, as will be discussed in the following section.

Though the narrative structure can be laid out in more complex form, it can be analyzed as basically comprising three steps: beginning with a condition of unity or perfection or grace, followed by a necessary though painful fall into alienation, followed by redemption or atonement to a state like the original one but encompassing the experience of the intervening fall. The Christian narrative begins with a state of original harmony, an undifferentiated unity between God and His creation. The primal harmony is broken, however, by sinful disobedience, that is, the willful exertion of separate decision-making and independent action. This is the fall, or the expulsion from the paradisaical harmony of creation. Redemption is achieved through atonement of some kind and leads to a return to paradise and harmony. Historically this Biblical narrative originates as a structured religious cosmology. Originally interpreted in terms of societal redemption, in the medieval period the narrative was reinterpreted in terms of individual salvation. Particularly in the late medieval development of Christian mysticism, this cosmic narrative became increasingly read as the narrative of the individual soul's development. In the nineteenth century, the same three part narrative structure was first secularized, that is, its grounding in supernatural events was removed. And, it was then naturalized, that is, interpreted as the very workings of nature itself, providing human and historical processes significance as development or progress. This took two forms. On the one hand it retained its historical function in the work of Hegel and Marx, while on the other as a narrative of the individual it came to inform first Romanticism, and then psychotherapeutic theory. The naturalized version was internalized and became the basic structure for psychotherapies, defining personal redemption in terms of higher levels of reflective self-awareness.³⁸ In contrast to the secularized and naturalized versions, the Biblical mythic history continues to be interpreted by some Christian theologians as teleological in character, and the end of the story is what gives purpose or meaning to all of existence.³⁹

IV.B. ROLE OF CHRISTIAN NARRATIVE IN WESTERN CULTURE

One of the things that struck me in examining the Christian atonement narrative (creation, fall, redemption) was how profoundly it structures so much of Western thought. While I'm suspicious of any claim

regarding a “master key” that explains all of Western thought, I do think that this comes close. It is so deeply rooted in Western culture that it unconsciously molds thought—providing not only a sense of coherence, but establishing a specific expectation of how humanly meaningful events cohere, and making any narrative that matches that pattern acceptable since it appears “natural.”

In much the same way, the threefold structure of ground, path, and goal provides a powerful rhetorical structure for Buddhist thought as well. In a sense it is hardly news that they are found in a text such as the *Jewel Ornament*, since it is itself an instance of the stages of the path literature. However, if we consider the history of Buddhist discourse, all of it may be interpreted as relating to one or another of these three stages.

There are discussions, for example, of the nature of the ground. Is the basic human condition that of ignorance (*avidya*), or is it, as claimed by Gampopa and his tradition, the case that all humans have *tathāgatagarbha* (glossed by Khenpo Konchog Gyaltsen as “buddha-nature”). All of the discussions of practices—meditation, recitation, visualization, ritual, confession, and so on—are located on the path stage. And, finally, discussions about the nature of the goal include such matters as whether all humans are capable of awakening or not, are there three different goals (*arhat*, *pratyekabuddha*, and *buddha*), or just one single kind of awakening, does the buddha have a variety of different bodies, and so on.

V. WHY NARRATIVE STRUCTURE MATTERS

Conception Determines Experience: Shared Imaginal Space

In this imaginal space, the auditor is able to consider alternative ways of being—not so much consciously in the form of explicit consideration of alternatives, but rather by imagining different possibilities for a human existence. Using the language of public and private, Dinkler points out that “public stories shape private experience. The stories one hears in the public realm . . . inevitably inform one’s understanding of individual, subjective experiences.”⁴⁰

Definition without Essence

One of the intellectual issues confronting the study of Buddhism today is the tension between the postmodern emphasis on specificity

and uniqueness, and the (intuitive) sense that there is some unity to Buddhism as an object of study. The postmodern emphasis on specificity and uniqueness matches very well with a Buddhist ontology of emptiness and impermanence, of *anātman* as a rejection of the neo-Platonic metaphysics of essence and accident.

That form of thought, i.e., essence and accident, fell under the weight of the philosophical critiques of Heidegger and Sartre. That strain of post-Husserlian phenomenology and existentialism, together with post-structuralist critiques, demonstrates the absence of universal categories, that is, the groundlessness, the absence of any metaphysics, that so many find disturbing in postmodern thought. Without a metaphysical basis for our categories, however, how do we talk, not only about Buddhism, but about anything?

Some two decades or more ago, I made what I thought was a totally obvious distinction between generalities and generalizations. My interlocutor at the time, another faculty member, i.e., someone with some education, looked totally blank, however, and asked me to explain what the difference was. (This is not a criticism of the unnamed interlocutor, as I've done the same in different circumstances, where something obvious to someone else has been slightly more than opaque to me.)

A generality is an assertion made on the basis of assuming some kind of essential nature. Generalities are rhetorically effective because of the presumption of a neo-Platonic metaphysics, that is, they implicitly claim to identify an essence. They are the basis of clichés and stereotypes, such as the not uncommon assertion that "All Americans are materialistic." In contrast, a generalization is based on an observational or statistical approach, an approach to categories that sees them in what might be called probabilistic terms. It is inductive and sees all thought as necessarily inductive since the universal claims that establish deductive thought must themselves be proven—they cannot depend on essences as the basis for their truth.

So the goal here is to say something true about Buddhism that is based on actual specific instances. Hence the focus on Gampopa's *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*. But the point is not simply to disclose some characteristic of a single Tibetan Buddhist text (or even of several texts⁴¹). Instead the intent is to use that text as an exemplary instance in order to make a generalization about Buddhist thought. If we were

pre-critically naïve, and were content with a generality, it would not be necessary to refer to any source text, but simply make assertions.

What I think is—or should be—clear is that we cannot look to any doctrinal claim as the unifying characteristic for Buddhism. On an intellectual level, there is no doctrinal claim, no matter how fondly embraced, that actually is found as an object of study or as a guide to practice throughout the entirety of Buddhism—unless we take the self-delusional turn of a *petitio principii* strategy by saying that if it doesn't have that doctrinal claim, then it isn't Buddhism. That is the divisive logic of sectarianism—and is evident in claims of behavioral purity, such as celibacy or vegetarianism, or claims for conceptual obedience, such as *anātman* or the nature of the Buddha. The divisive logic of sectarianism plays all too easily into the power relations of authority, purity, authenticity, lineage, and so on. Just as postmodern thought has made the neo-Platonic metaphysics of essences implausible, it should have also sensitized us to the strategies involved in assertions of power and authority.

As a consequence, however, a generalization such as the formative structure of ground, path, and goal for Buddhist thought is simply a heuristic claim. It is not a universal claim regarding all forms of Buddhism, nor a claim about a defining characteristic of Buddhism. As a heuristic, the claim is that it is informative to think about Buddhist teachings as being organized in terms of an underlying narrative structure, that of ground, path, and goal.

CONCLUSION

We have here sought to establish several different but closely interrelated theses. These include that the “path” organizes Buddhist thought in systematic ways. The path serves to unify Buddhist thought, structuring it in a three-part narrative of ground, path, and goal. This narrative structure distinguishes Buddhism from other kinds of religious systems, such as the instance examined here—the Christian three part narrative structure of creation, fall, and redemption. More speculatively, we suggest that narrative structures, such as either the Buddhist narrative structure of ground, path, and goal, or the Christian one of creation, fall, and redemption, condition experience. By structuring and organizing experience, narrative is one of the most important ways that experience is given the meaning that it has for us.

OUTLINE OF THE *JEWEL ORNAMENT*

GROUND

Part 1: The Primary Cause

Chapter 1: Buddha-Nature

Part 2: The Working Basis

Chapter 2: Precious Human Life

Part 3: The Contributory Cause

Chapter 3: Spiritual Master

PATH

Part 4: The Method

Chapter 4: Impermanence

Chapter 5: Samsara as Suffering

Chapter 6: Karma

Chapter 7: Loving-Kindness and Compassion

Chapter 8: Refuge and Precepts

Chapter 9: Cultivation of *Bodhicitta*

Chapter 10: Training in Aspiration *Bodhicitta*

Chapter 11: Training in Action *Bodhicitta*

Chapter 12: Perfection of Generosity

Chapter 13: Perfection of Moral Ethics

Chapter 14: Perfection of Patience

Chapter 15: Perfection of Perseverance

Chapter 16: Perfection of Meditative Concentration

Chapter 17: Perfection of Wisdom

Chapter 18: Five Paths

Chapter 19: Ten Bodhisattva *Bhūmis*

GOAL

Part 5: The Result

Chapter 20: Perfect Buddhahood

Part 6: The Activities

Chapter 21: The Activities of a Buddha

NOTES

1. At the end of an essay written some years ago, one in which I critiqued the application of the threefold Biblical narrative structure of creation/paradise, fall/alienation, and redemption/atonement to Buddhism via psychology, I speculated that a more specifically Buddhist narrative structure could be identified (Richard K. Payne, "Individuation and Awakening: Romantic Narrative and the Psychological Interpretation of Buddhism," in *Buddhism and Psychotherapy across Cultures: Essays on Theories and Practices*, ed. Mark Unno [Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2006], 48). This essay was prepared for the symposium "Narrative in Buddhist Texts, Practice, and Transmission" held at the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, on Friday, 18 April 2014. I would like to thank the organizers of this symposium, David Matsumoto and Scott Mitchell, for giving me an opportunity to continue to explore this topic.

2. An interesting treatment of a literary usage of the image of journey and its critical interpretation in terms of Buddhist teachings is found in Hyangsoon Yi, "The Journey as Meditation: A Buddhist Reading of O Chŏng-hŭi's 'Words of Farewell,'" *Religion and Literature* 34, no. 3 (Autumn 2002).

3. Paths are what Lakoff calls "kinesthetic image-schematic structures," one of "at least two kinds of structure in our preconceptual experiences" (George Lakoff, *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987], 267).

4. From memory. Anthony Esolen translates as "Midway in the journey of our life//I found myself in a dark wilderness//for I had wandered from the straight and true" (*Inferno, Purgatory, Paradise* [New York: Modern Library Classics, 2002], 2).

5. I am using the term "path literature" here in a general sense to include not only "stages of the path" (*lam rim*) and "stages of the doctrine" (*bstan rim*), but other similarly structured literary genres as well. See discussion in Dölpa, Gampopa, and Sakya Paṇḍita, *Stages of the Buddha's Teaching: Three Key Texts*, trans. Ulrike Roesler, Ken Holmes, and David P. Jackson (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2015), 26–27. A finer discrimination between *bstan rim* and *lam rim* is sometimes made on the basis of the role of the "three spiritual capacities" in a text's contents. See Dölpa, Gampopa, and Sakya Paṇḍita, *Stages of the Buddha's Teachings*, 3. On these categories, see David Jackson, "The *bsTan rim* ('Stages of the Doctrine') and Similar Graded Expositions of the Bodhisattva's Path," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. José Ignacio Cabezón and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 1996), 229–243. A prepublication copy of the *Stages of the Buddha's Teachings* was kindly made available to me just after this essay had itself gone to press. I thank the publisher for this, and note that I was able to make some terminological revisions to this essay on its basis. 6. Although more widely used metaphorically, I would like to limit the

discussion here to Buddhism. For wide-ranging cross-cultural comparisons to be meaningful, adequate context is required for each instance.

7. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Robert M. Gimello, "Introduction," in *Paths to Liberation: The Mārga and Its Transformations in Buddhist Thought*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. and Robert M. Gimello, Kuroda Institute Studies in East Asian Buddhism, no. 7 (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 2.

8. The metaphor of path is in this way overlapping with the medical metaphor implicit in the four truths of the noble, which also describes a causal relation that moves the person from one condition (suffering) to another (cessation) via diagnosis (obsessive desire) and prescription (eightfold path).

9. Per K. Sørensen, "The Prolific Ascetic lCe-sgom Śes-rab rdo-rje *alias* lCe-sgom žig-po: Allusive, but Elusive," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 11 (1999): 175.

10. Yael Bentor, "The Tibetan Practice of the Mantra Path according to lCe-sgom-pa," in *Tantra in Practice*, ed. David Gordon White (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 330.

11. Robert Scholes, James Phelan, and Robert Kellogg, *The Nature of Narrative*, 40th anniversary ed., rev. and expanded (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 13. Mimetic they describe as tending toward "plotlessness," perhaps something like "My Dinner with Andre."

12. Brian Boyd, *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

13. Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 4.

14. Ruf draws a distinction between story and narrative, the former being a much broader and more inclusive category, and which he calls a "mixed" literary form (Frederick J. Ruf, "The Consequences of Genre: Narrative, Lyric, and Dramatic Intelligibility," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 62, no. 3 [Autumn 1994]: 801). Ruf's approach to narrative, however, suffers from being an *a priori* one. Acknowledging that his distinctions between narrative, lyric, and drama are neither "Platonic" nor "even empirical," he defends his *a priori* assertions regarding narrative as "roughly accurate (in the current time and in the West) of those genres in the simplified forms that I present them and of the instances that I will cite" (Ruf, "Consequences of Genre," 800.) He then goes on to make the unitary voice of the narrator definitive for narrative, but this results in a circularity—only that which has a unitary voice of the narrator is narrative, and narrative is that which has a unitary voice of the narrator. This limitation is one that finally appears arbitrary—Ruf seems to be clinging to the unitary voice of the narrator because that is what he sees as important for the (religious) formation of the reader. He seems to be struggling desperately to deny any religious validity to other kinds of narrative, such as the "authorial

absence, the disunity of the narrative voice, the general multiplicity of voices, the blurred distinction between inside and outside worlds" (Mark Currie, *Postmodern Narrative Theory* [Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave, 1998], 59) that characterize not only Joyce's *Ulysses*, but also other modern works of fiction such as Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*. The kind of delimitation that Ruf proposes is just exactly what Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, writing just over three decades earlier, had described as the "narrowly conceived views of one major kind of literature" (Scholes, Phelan, and Kellogg, *Nature of Narrative*, 4) and which they sought to overcome.

15. Gampopa, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, trans. Herbert V. Guenther (orig. pub. 1959; Boston and London: Shambhala, 1986), 116.

16. Gampopa, *The Jewel Ornament of Liberation: The Wish-Fulfilling Gem of the Noble Teachings*, trans. Khenpo Konchog Gyaltsen, ed. Ani K. Trinlay Chödrön (Boston and London: Snow Lion, 1998), 44.

17. Mark Currie, *Postmodern Narrative Theory*, 35.

18. See for example, William Grosnick, "Nonorigination and *Nirvāṇa* in the Early *Tathāgatagarbha* Literature," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 4, no. 2 (1981): 33–43.

19. W. Blythe Miller, "The Vagrant Poet and the Reluctant Scholar: A Study of the Balance of Iconoclasm and Civility in the Biographical Accounts of two Founders of the 'Brug pa Bka' Brgyud Lineages," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 28, no. 2 (2005): 370.

20. A form of Vajrayoginī, female tantric deity, probably deriving from the Hindu form Vārāhī, herself a consort of Vārāha, the boar manifestation of Viṣṇu; she may be one of the wrathful *yoginīs* present as protectors in the outer circles of the mandala, but became more central with the *Hevajra tantra*, and then became the primary consort of Heruka in the *Cakrasaṃvara tantra*, an Anuttarayogatantra class text.

21. Though there is debate within the Tibetan schools, *mahāmudrā* is considered by some to have both sutra and *tantra* versions

22. Miller, "The Vagrant Poet and the Reluctant Scholar," 370.

23. Dan Martin, "A Twelfth-Century Classic of Mahāmūdra, *The Path of Ultimate Profundity: The Great Seal Instructions of Zhang*," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 15, no. 2 (1992): 243.

24. This approach was later criticized, particularly by Sakya Pandita.

25. Although the specifics of the categories differ, one of the suggestive parallels between the Pāli texts examined by Bond and the *Jewel Ornament* in providing a sense of cosmos, that is, the universe understood to be a well-ordered whole, is the use of three part schemas to describe different people in terms

of their religious capacities. The system of three degrees of spiritual capacity is a common trope in the Tibetan path literature. See Dölpa, Gampopa, and Sakya Paṇḍita, *Stages of the Buddha's Teachings*, 3–4. Another area of similarity between the Pāli works, which tend to be explicitly hermeneutic in character, and works such as Rob Gande Sherab's text discussed herein is that they focus on texts, such as establishing categories for different kinds of suttas.

26. George Bond, "Gradual Path as a Hermeneutical Approach to the *Dhamma*," in *Buddhist Hermeneutics*, ed. Donald S. Lopez, Jr. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988), 31.

27. The way in which the relation between mundane and supramundane goals is used in Buddhism should not be interpreted as adhering to the division of religion into this-worldly (*innerweltliche*) and other-worldly (*ausserweltliche*). This dualism was introduced into religious studies by Max Weber on the basis of his studies of the Protestant Reformation, and therefore at best only problematically universalized to include Buddhism despite having been largely naturalized in religious studies.

28. Bond, "Gradual Path as a Hermeneutical Approach to the *Dhamma*," 33.

29. *Ibid.*, 33–34.

30. The "principle of charity" is a hermeneutic one employed in philosophy and rhetoric. This requires the interpreter to assume that the author of a text is rational and to engage the strongest version of the author's argument. The principle arises out of a debate tradition and would seem to assure that one is not rebutting a straw man. In the instances discussed here, it is quite easy to dismiss the organizing structure as merely polemic, but that fails to actually engage the systems being presented.

31. Kai Mikkonen, "The 'Narrative Is Travel' Metaphor: Between Spatial Sequence and Open Consequence," *Narrative* 15, no. 3 (Oct. 2007): 286.

32. Michal Beth Dinkler, "Telling Transformation: How We Redeem Narratives and Narratives Redeem Us," *Word & World* 31, no. 3 (Nov. 2011): 289.

33. We may consider that this is in fact where we always find ourselves. It is a criticism of Descartes' method in the *Meditations* that it is impossible to get to the kind of ground he claims for his philosophy.

34. Mikkonen, "The 'Narrative Is Travel' Metaphor," 292.

35. Yoshito S. Hakeda, *Kūkai: Major Works* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 10.

36. In addition to the translation in Hakeda, see also Rolf Giebel, trans., *Shingon Texts* (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2004), 135–215.

37. Steven Collins, *Nirvana and Other Buddhist Felicities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 121–122.

38. Payne, “Individuation and Awakening,” 34–39. See also Suzanne R. Kirschner, *The Religious and Romantic Origins of Psychoanalysis: Individuation and Integration in Post-Freudian Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

39. Indeed, the absence of any cosmic teleology in Buddhism is taken by such theologians as a failing, a characteristic so foreign as to be not simply incomprehensible, but simply wrong and probably bad in that from the underlying assumption of the threefold teleologically informed narrative, a universe that is not teleological is one that is meaningless and purposeless. See Keith Yandell and Harold Netland, *Buddhism: A Christian Exploration and Appraisal* (Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic, InterVarsity Press, 2009).

40. Dinkler, “Telling Transformation,” 290.

41. See, for example, Tsongkhapa’s “Three Principal Aspects of the Path,” in Ruth Sonam, ed. and trans., *The Three Principal Aspects of the Path: An Oral Teaching by Geshe Sonam Rinchen* (Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion, 1999).

The Abhayagirivihāra's *Pāṃśukūlika* Monks in Second Lambakaṇṇa Śrī Laṅkā and Śailendra Java: The Flowering and Fall of a Cardinal Center of Influence in Early Esoteric Buddhism¹

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“Learn the facts, Steed-Asprey used to say, then try on the stories like clothes.” —George Smiley, in John Le Carré's *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*

INTRODUCTION

Alone among the five extant Śailendra foundation inscriptions recovered in Central Java, the one found on the Ratu Baka promontory concerns not the consecration of a temple but rather the advent of a group of foreign monks. Quite specifically, these monks were noted as being Sinhalese of the Abhayagirivihāra, which together with its rival Mahāvihāra stood as one of the two main *vihāras* of medieval Anurādhapura; clearly these Abhayagiri monks were of sufficient saliency in the medieval Buddhist world of ca. 790 CE that they merited an invitation to an important foreign court a thousand miles away. The building associated with the inscription, with two rectangular platforms joined together by a causeway and enclosed by a tall wall, has for several decades now been recognized as a “meditation house,” a *padhānaghara*, which have been found in scattered locations across Śrī Laṅkā and in clusters on the west side of urban Anurādhapura and at extraurban, upland Riṭigala to its south. The sole surviving literary reference to the inhabitants of the double-platformed structures at Riṭigala records them to be “rag-wearers,” *pāṃśukūlikas*, endowed by their royal benefactor, the hard-luck Sena I, with “supplies worthy of royalty,” with many “helpers” and slaves. A similar double-platform structure at Tiriyāy on the east coast of Śrī Laṅkā harbored the largest

cache of esoteric Buddhist and Mahāyānist statues yet found on that island.²

This essay seeks to explicate these archaeological facts and offer a plausible narrative about how the Abhayagiri achieved such prominence during the early years of Laṅkā's Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty, a lineage that commences exactly with the first solid identification of a Laṅkān king who affiliates to esoteric Buddhist precepts, the Mānavarman of Vajrabodhi's biography, who seems to inaugurate an unacknowledged period during which Laṅkā's kings were devoted to the esoteric doctrines cultivated in the Abhayagirivihāra.³ Indeed, the early kings of Second Lambakaṇṇa Laṅkā may have been the first Indic regents to adopt esoteric Buddhism, and their preferred Abhayagiri monks may have been not only adherents of these doctrines but drivers of them. This esoteric Buddhist period can be defined, I believe, from the foundation of the dynasty when Mānavarman (r. 684–718) leveraged the Pallava army to effect his coronation, to approximately 840 CE, the disastrous Pāṇḍya sacking of Anurādhapura under Sena I (r. 834–854). (A companion essay⁴ will examine the situation of the Javanese Abhayagirivāsins in the year 856, at a time when Anurādhapura lay in ruins, the newly consecrated King Sena II [r. 854–889]⁵ had reestablished the primacy of the Mahāvihāra and its Theravāda doctrines and was beginning the process of yoking the Abhayagiri to them, and the royal Śaiva nobleman *pu* Kumbhayoni began erecting Śaiva structures and inscriptions within a meter of the Ratu Baka Abhayagiri's walls.⁶) In the conclusion of the present essay, I will note a generalized loss of momentum for esoteric Buddhism across large swathes of Buddhist Asia within a handful of years of the Laṅkān departure from this course.

I have addressed the topic of the Abhayagiri's presence at the Ratu Baka on two prior occasions. While my first effort to explain the presence of the Abhayagirivāsins in Java and specifically account for the distinctive double-platform structure there relied upon a seemingly credible but secondarily-sourced claim about the presence of the Shingon patriarch Nāgajñā/Nāgabodhi among the forest monks of the Abhayagirivihāra,⁷ this claim was later revealed to be quite unreliably founded.⁸ The second tranche of my efforts to explain the double-platform structure and the Abhayagirivāsins in Java stemmed from a collaborative examination with Rolf Giebel of the previously neglected ca. 760 CE biography of Vajrabodhi.⁹ In it, the astonishing find of esoteric statues at the double-platform of Tiriyāy find was noted, as well the

biography's failure to identify the home monastery of Vajrabodhi's seminal preceptor Nāgajñā (Longzhi 龍智) stimulated the proposal that Nāgajñā was perhaps an itinerant wilderness monks.¹⁰ (The present study takes much greater care than the preliminary exegesis in differentiating the variety of ascetic monks in Laṅkā and no longer lumps them all together as "wilderness monks," an imprecise catch-all term that seems to ignore the widespread presence of the "rag-wearing" *pāṃśukūlika* monks at premier sites within urban Anurādhapura.)

The present essay's novel perspective on the Laṅkā evidence has been informed by an unprecedented avenue of approach, one that pays close attention to external evidentiary sources that have opened up in recent years.¹¹ This includes the contemporary biographies of the Buddhist masters Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra who fed the Yogatantras to the Tang and the archaeological and epigraphical evidence from the Abhayagirivihāra's daughter monastery established in Śailendra Java.¹² Indeed, one might call this approach Abhayagirigenic as opposed to the traditional Mahāvihāragenic narrative, which has until now held primacy in the writing and interpretation of this period of Śrī Laṅkā history. Many of the innovative conclusions of the present essay are due to the subject matter of these external sources, which pertain to the losing, Abhayagiri side in the grand contest between Anurādhapura's rival monasteries, the cosmopolitan Abhayagiri and the conservative Mahāvihāra, the latter generating the extant historical chronicles such as the *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūlavamsa* upon which so much of the modern historical understanding of the island depends. The once-great Abhayagiri was the historical loser in the contest for primacy, with everything about the native history that was allowed to be written and was allowed to survive that is implied by their status as the vanquished. Indeed, the Abhayagiri is known to have maintained its own internal documents, both historical *vamsas* as well as doctrinal records and *vinaya* codes,¹³ but the events of ca. 840 precluded them from reaching modernity.

This essay will use the few extant foreign eighth century sources of evidence in an attempt to explicate the Abhayagiri's significance to Vajrabodhi ca. 715 and ca. 740; the Śailendra king ca. 792; Sena I, one of history's losers, around 840; Sena II, one of history's winners, around 854; and the Javanese Śaiva nobility ca. 856; and to shed light upon Abhayagiri episodes in its own suppressed history of the isle. In doing so, I have necessarily been forced, per the epigraph of this essay, to lay

forth those particulars that can be made out of the Sinhalese ontology in so far as it can be known at the distance of twelve centuries and through the veil of the victorious Mahāvihāra's accounts, and then try to fit a historical narrative to them.

From this perspective, crippled though it might be by the loss and suppression of evidence, we will see that when the Abhayagirivāsins were induced to the Central Javanese realm of the Śailendras, they stood at their zenith, with a great deal of domestic credibility and international repute for their successes.

As a waypoint along the route to an understanding of what brought the Abhayagirivāsins to Java in 792, the present essay takes an extended look at the brotherhood in their own homeland in the century before and the century after their establishment in Java, using both epigraphical sources as well as light scattered back from the novel nature of the Mahāvihāran practices when they supplanted the Abhayagiri in the wake of the Anurādhapura catastrophe. My Abhayagiricentric perspective has led me to one of the research conclusions of the present essay, namely that a (Sanskrit) *pāṃśukūlika* is not a (Pāli) *paṃsukūlika*: those ascetics associated with the heterodox, Sanskrit-facile Abhayagiri were not the same species as the Theravādin monks of the Pāli-reading Mahāvihāra.¹⁴ (I will employ this *pāṃśukūlika/paṃsukūlika* notation throughout this essay).

This *pāṃśukūlika/paṃsukūlika* distinction is pertinent to one of the central theses of the present essay: we do indeed possess domestic references to the preeminent tantric monks of the early Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty, and they are the Abhayagiri's *pāṃśukūlikin* group. The evidence for this distinction between the Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra "rag-wearers" that I adduce and assess in the pages below is, *grosso modo*, that these particular monks were seemingly the group favored by the tantric-leaning kings of the early Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty from Mānavarman to Sena I; despite their nominally common mode of soteriology with their Māhavihāran counterparts, ascetic practices among the Abhayagirins were scarcely compatible with the "efficacious means" and "enlightenment in this lifetime" techniques of the Vajra Path promoted at the Abhayagiri; that these very monks have been proven to harbor esoteric Buddhist statues in at least one of their monasteries; that such monks attracted the royal patronage not only of the esotericist kings of Sinhala but the esotericist king of Java as well; and that when Sinhalese royal religious practice reverted

to the Theravāda in the wake of the ca. 840 military disaster, this Abhayagiri group walked out on the newly-Theravādin King Sena II. Given the cumulative body of evidence, I feel much more comfortable arguing that the *pāṃśukūlikas* are tantrists than I would arguing the converse, though hitherto conventional, view that sees the Abhayagiri “rag-wearers” as a version of the traditional Theravādin species of exemplary ascetics, which I believe they clearly were during the post-sacking period of Mahāvihāran dominance. In keeping with the methodological spirit of the epigraph, the following is the best-effort story that I have draped over the skeleton of pertinent information, but I would very much welcome seeing others’ attempts to accommodate plausible stories to the fact pattern.

To assist the reader in navigating through this extended multi-century, multi-religion, multi-country study, I offer the following précis of its contents. In section I of this essay I describe the Sinhalese antecedents of the Ratu Baka structure, noting in particular how the prior explanations for the distinctive double-platformed *padhānaghara* (“meditation house”) of the *pāṃśukūlikas* (“rag-wearers”) on the Ratu Baka may have inappropriately relied upon Mahāvihāra-sourced information from orthodox Theravāda accounts, primarily the *Cūḷavaṃsa*. These texts deliberately passed over in silence the widespread esoteric Buddhist practices that seemingly thrived in eighth century Laṅkā, as well as any sectarian distinctions between the characters of the era’s “rag-wearers,” who seemed to have formed an élite among Sinhalese monks irrespective of whether the Vajrayāna or the Theravāda prevailed. I then evaluate the remarkable patronage of both esoteric and *pāṃśukūlika* modes of Buddhist activity by such cardinal figures as Mānavarman (r. 684–718), Aggabodhi VI (r. 733–772), and Sena I (r. 834–854), as well as a *tertium quid*, i.e., the restoration of the primacy of the long-neglected Theravāda of the Mahāvihāra by Sena II (r. 854–888), who ascended his throne under Mahāvihāra-centered coronation rites. Particular emphasis is laid on the discrediting of the esoteric sect after the Pāṇḍya sacking of Anurādhapura under Sena I, the last of the Sinhalese kings who sponsored esoteric Buddhism, and the subsequent, and almost inarguably consequent, imposition of a Theravāda orthodoxy by Sena II, whose choice in creeds was quickly validated by his own surprisingly successful reprisal sacking of Pāṇḍyan Madhurai, a triumph that seemingly fixed Śrī Laṅkā on the orthodox course that it has followed for the subsequent millennium and more.

In section II, I inventory the provisions made by Śailendra king for the delegation of Abhayagirivāsins who occupied the same sort of *padhānaghara* structure that harbored the large cache of esoteric Buddhist statues at Tiriyāy, and I draw attention to a few of the curiosities associated with their settlement in Java. As well, I advance a proposal that these particular Abhayagirivāsins were not the first Sinhalese to act in service of the Javanese kings, as there are suggestions that an individual Śailendra *rājaguru* was himself from Laṅkā or knew it well.

In section III, I discuss the likely differences in comportment and monastic expression between the heterodox Abhayagirivāsins and their doctrinally conservative brethren in the Mahāvihāra, and I also discuss the possible difficulty in eradicating the traits of the former during the era of the Abhayagiri's discredit after the looting of Anurādhapura. I conclude by examining the potential relationship between the Abhayagiri *pāṃśukūlika* monks and the Buddhist *siddhas* who were closely associated with the types of antinomian texts listed among the cardinal constituents of the Eighteen Assemblies of Amoghavajra's *Vajroṣṇīṣa*, texts which were definitely sourced from Laṅkā and almost certainly supplied by the Abhayagiri.

In section IV I briefly draw attention to the collapse of royal support for institutional esoteric Buddhism in a number of countries across the Buddhist world around the time of the sacking of Anurādhapura, a stringent setback to this set of doctrines and their adherents in a shockingly short half-decade after 840. To the already acknowledged setbacks in Tibet and Tang China I add the hitherto unperceived reaction against the Abhayagiri's esoteric doctrines by Sena II himself.

I. ANTECEDENTS TO THE ABHAYAGIRI PRESENCE ON THE RATU BAKA

In an earlier essay,¹⁵ Rolf Giebel and I evaluated the information in Lü Xiang's 吕向 ca. 760 CE biography of the Buddhist propagator Vajrabodhi¹⁶ in comprehending the importance of early esoteric Buddhists in Śrī Laṅkā, which not only detained Vajrabodhi but also served as the destination for Vajrabodhi's successor Amoghavajra when he himself ventured overseas to collect authentic editions of the fundamental texts of his creed. As a component of our study of the early Vajrabodhi biographies, Giebel and I scrutinized selected facets of esoteric Buddhist practice in Laṅkā, focusing especially on the role of the ascetic *pāṃśukūlika* or "rag-wearer"—the accuracy of the literal term

will be examined in section Ic below—monks of the Abhayagirivihāra and their seemingly signature architecture, the double-platformed *padhānaghara* structure,¹⁷ at one of which was found the Tiriyāy bundle of esoteric statues. A sufficient number of the filaments of the *pāṃśukūlikas'* history survives to establish and clarify the outlines of an extraordinary series of historical events: the coronation name of either Vajrabodhi's or Amoghavajra's royal Sinhalese patron, which associated him with the *pāṃśukūlikas* at Tiriyāy; the chronic patronage of the Abhayagiri's *pāṃśukūlikas* by multiple kings in the early Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty; some stray and unexpected findings of archaeological material from the double-platform meditation monasteries of the eighth and ninth centuries; and the wisps of later Theravāda invective that ascribed esoteric beliefs to Sena I (r. 834–854), the hapless royal sponsor of the *pāṃśukūlikas* at the *padhānaghara* complex at Riṭigala and the king during whose reign Anurādhapura was comprehensively ruined by foreign invasion. As the prerequisite to the study of the *pāṃśukūlika* brethren who were established at the Abhayagiri monastery in Central Java in 792 CE, it will be useful to rehearse and extend the discussion of this historically consequential brotherhood as it blossomed and withered in Śrī Laṅkā.

*Ia. Appreciations of Historical Buddhist Traditions
by Early Esoteric Buddhist Monks*

The numerous details thrown up in Lü Xiang's biography of Vajrabodhi cumulatively depict a monk who was profoundly interested in both the novel doctrines of esoteric Buddhism as well as in the relics and traces of the historical Buddha that had been enshrined in various *stūpas* throughout the Buddhist world, of which Laṅkā possessed many. Not least of these Sinhalese relics of the historical Buddha were the Tooth, Eye,¹⁸ and Footprint relics, visits to which Vajrabodhi's biography attests.¹⁹ Vajrabodhi's enthusiasm for relics and *tantras* seems shared by either his Sinhalese admirer King Mānavarman or Amoghavajra's Sinhalese facilitator, the grandson Aggabodhi VI (r. 733–772)²⁰ at the Hair Relic shrine of the Girikaṇḍika/Girihaṇḍucaitya at Tiriyāy on the northeastern coast, where a large cache of esoteric Buddhist votive statuary has been discovered at the double-platform structure.²¹ The fact that the Buddha relics themselves were subject to generic appreciation by all manner of Buddhist sects subsumed under their common devotion to the Buddha compounds the difficulty of distinguishing

those features in the archaeological residue that are remnants of esoteric Buddhism from remnants of the other creeds in the Buddhist family.²²

The evidence from Tiriyāy represents an astonishing nexus of themes and connections that is pertinent to the understanding of the history of esoteric Laṅkā but was quite effectively suppressed in the Theravāda historical record. When read in light of the biographies of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, as well as a few passages from the Theravāda *Cūḷavaṃsa* and *Pūjāvalī* chronicles, the archaeological data from the Ratu Baka instance of the *padhānaghara* from seventy-five years after Mānavarman can be made to speak volumes. These associations encompass the figures of Mānavarman or Aggabodhi VI, who served as Vajrabodhi's and Amoghavajra's royal facilitators, one of whom was designated by the Tiriyāy site's boulder inscription as the Siṃghaleṇdra Śīlāmegha Mahārāja. The use of the Pallava-Grantha script betrays the early Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty's cultural and geopolitical dependence on Kāñcī. The site's evident connections through architecture, style, and script to the powerful Pallava²³ kings who had hosted and sponsored the nucleus of the illustrious dynastic forebear, his royal sons, and grandson who together ruled Laṅkā for nine critical decades;²⁴ the maritime and mercantile links of the ocean-side hilltop on which the Girikaṇḍika constructions were lodged with explicit epigraphical references to the historical merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika,²⁵ who provided the Buddha with the first meal after his enlightenment in the same manner with which eighth century merchant companies may have fed the monks at Tiriyāy's Girikaṇḍika monastery; the Hair Relic²⁶ that was enshrined in the *stūpa*; the *stūpa*'s protective circular *vaṭadāge*²⁷ wall whose prototype likely lay in Nāgapattinam,²⁸ a center of South Indian Buddhism;²⁹ the little auxiliary shrine to the Footprint Relic that points to the Abhayagirivihāra and the Abhayagiri *stūpa*, whose terrace contains a footprint complementary to the one on Adam's Peak;³⁰ the meditation caves of venerable antiquity;³¹ the two double-platformed structures of the Girikaṇḍikavihāra and the implied *paṃsukūlika* monastic inhabitants;³² the esoteric statues in both ascetic and royal depictions found under the paving stones of one of the *padhānaghara*s;³³ the regnal trio of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī invoked in the inscription and the dual modes, both ascetic and royal, characteristic of the site's Avalokiteśvara;³⁴ the urinal with the palace-carving that is commonly found at other *padhānaghara* sites,



Figure 1. The north and west faces of the *prākāra* wall around the 792 CE double-platform structure of the Abhayagirivāsins on the Ratu Baka Plateau. The presence of the portal on the west side is an anomaly, as almost every such structure in Śrī Lankā has a portal on the east. This orientation may harmonize with a plateau-wide orientation to the west, most conspicuous at the magnificent gate that allows access to the site (fig. 10). Image taken from Wikimedia.org.



Figure 2. The double-platform structure at Tiriyāy under the paving stones of which was discovered the largest collection of Vajrayāna and Mahāyāna statuary in Śrī Laṅkā. Image courtesy of Sven Brettfeld.



Figure 3. (Left) The *vatadāge* of the Hair Relic at Tiriyāy, parts of which were built by the friend of esoteric monks, King Śīlamegha, who is identified as either Vajrabodhi's patron Mānavarman or, less likely, his grandson, Amoghavajra's patron Aggabodhi VI. (Right) The path to the two *puḍhānāgharas*, located to the left of the path, which harbored the cache of esoteric statuary. Images courtesy of Sven Bretfeld.



Figure 4. A reconstruction of the *vaṭadāge* of the Collarbone Relic of the Thūpārāma. The roofing (and implicitly the pillars that supported it) was instigated by Mānavarman and consisted of alternate stripes of silver and gold. Such a permeable *stūpa* may have modelled the Iron Stūpa of Amoghavajra's account. Image courtesy of Osmund Bopearachchi.



Figure 5. (Left) The Thūpārāma structure, which is likely the *prāsāda* that Mānavarman built for the *pāṃśukūlikas*. (Right) The Thūpārāma as seen from the structure. Note the *vajras* topping the capitals. Images courtesy of Sven Bretfeld.

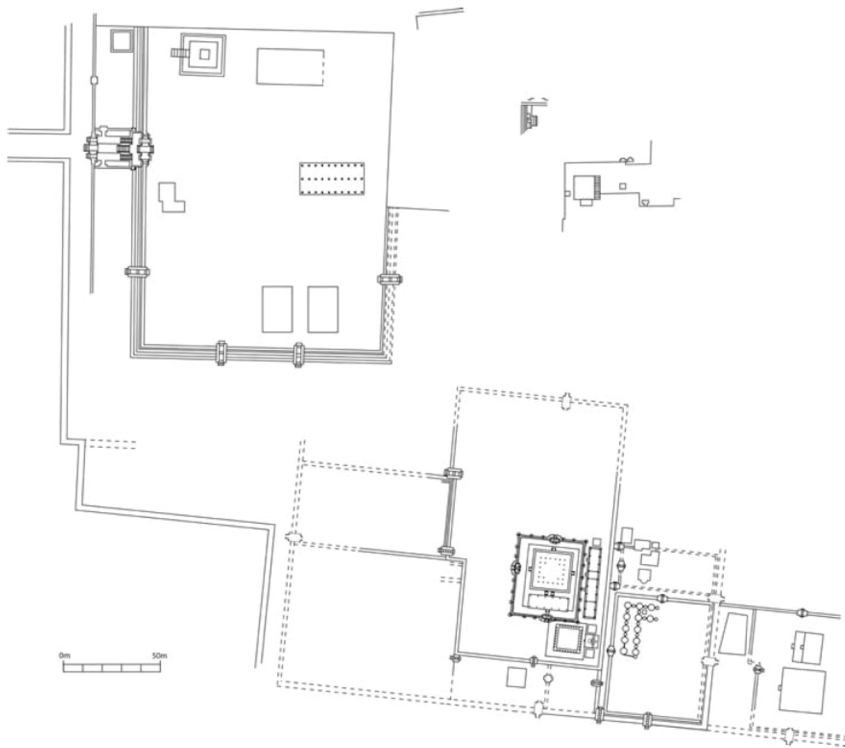


Figure 6. A map of the Ratu Baka Plateau annotated with the features that are likely contemporary with the eighth century instantiation of the Abhayagirivāsins. In the northwest lies the great double gate (fig. 10) and the stairs leading to the bluff, while to the southeast stands the double-platformed *padhānaghara* of the Abhayagirivihāra. The quarried rockface was created as it seemingly furnished the stone for the early-period temple complex of Caṇḍi Sewu. While the Ratu Baka prominence is formed by forbiddingly high and steep bluffs to the north, west, and south, a ridge running off from the east side allows for gentler access from that direction. Map taken from Degroot, “The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko,” and used with the kind permission of the author.



Figure 7. The Abhayagiri inscription of Central Java as composed from photographs of the portions in the National Museum (the proper right of the inscription) and in the Indonesian Archaeological Service in Yogyakarta (the proper left). Missing from this depiction is the arrowheaded fragment in the middle, which de Casparis denoted as “e.” The idiosyncrasies of its Siddham script (fig. 12), used also in the Śaileन्द्रa Kalasan inscription of fourteen years earlier, was standardized in the Buddhist East Asian writing but, as will be discussed in detail in section IIe below, cannot yet be traced to a source in the Indic world.¹⁵²



Figure 8. The original hillside to the immediate west of the *padhānaghara*. It has been refashioned and reformed at great physical cost, the original staircase and wall structure being filled in with a tremendous volume of material in order to expand the plateau. Like the artificial hill that underlies the *stūpa* at Barabudūr, the Ratnabaka Plateau was an immense civil engineering project. The original Avalokiteśvara statue inferred by Lokesh Chandra may lie buried under these millions of tons of rock debris and dirt.



Figure 9. The presence of the precipice and the rocky knob that was transformed into a meditation cave may have been decisive in locating the *padhānaghara* and indeed the entirety of the Ratu Baka complex.



Figure 10. (Left) The west-facing, five-portalled Great Gate of the Ratu Baka Plateau (late eighth century). Immediately in front of it lies a three-portalled analogue. (Right) The gate of the palace-fortress of Yapahuwa. The Ratu Baka installation was fashioned out of stone using timber-building construction techniques. Both buildings may be modelled on an earlier Anurādhapura form derived from the timber gates of its royal Citadel. Yapahuwa image courtesy of Osmund Bopearachchi.

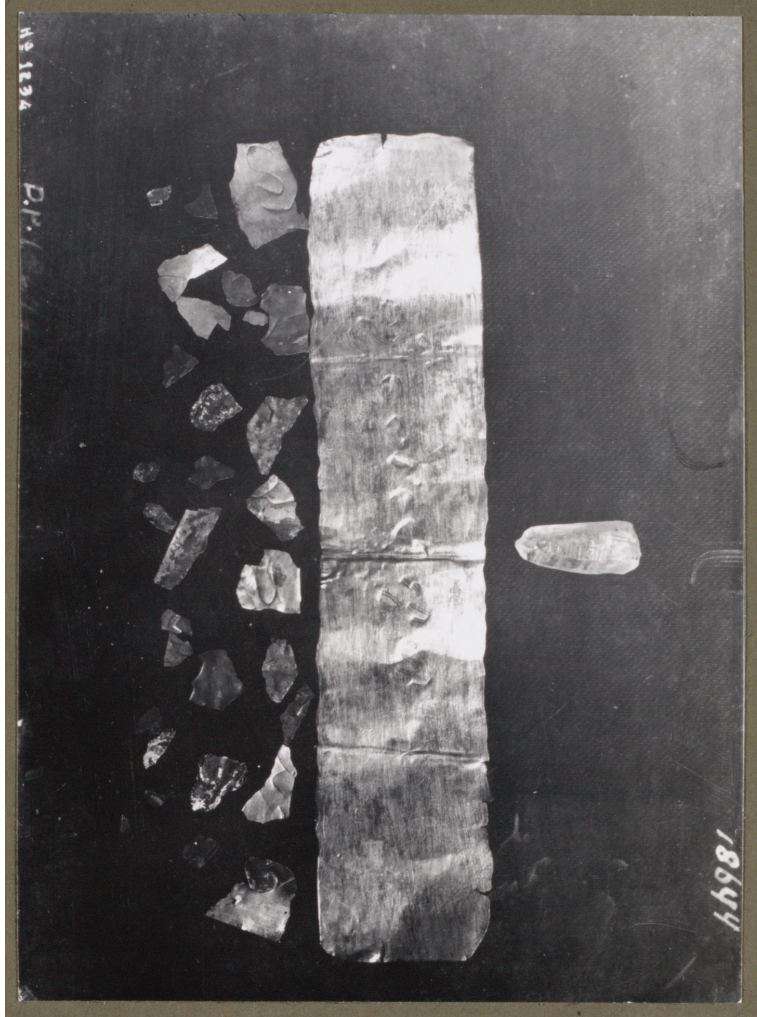


Figure 11. The foundation deposits recovered from an earthen jar to the northeast of the oblong platform that is to the east of the Abhayagiri. I am grateful to Roy Jordaan for obtaining a copy of this photo from the Leiden University repository.

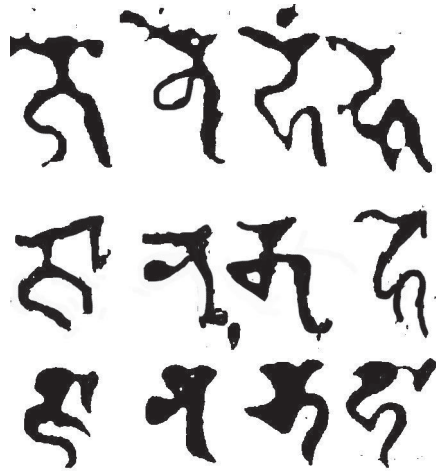


Figure 12. A depiction of four of the morphological variants *ja na bha ha*, which differentiate the mid-ninth century Pāla (top), late eighth century Javanese Kalasan and Abhayagirivihāra inscriptions (middle), and the East Asian (bottom) executions of the Siddham script from extant Indian specimens.

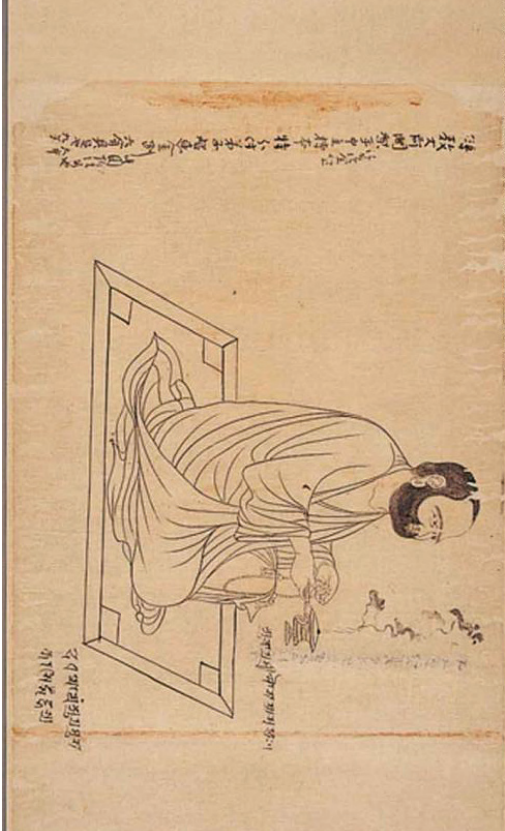


Figure 13. The self-portrait of Śubhākaraśiṃha from the *Gobushinikan* (cf. Lokesh Chandra, “Portraits of Two Kushan Princes and of Śubhākara,” in *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 3 [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1993], 179; Bogel, *With a Single Glance*, 76). Image taken from Wikipedia at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Five_Abhisambodhi_1.jpg.



Figure 14. A decorated urinal stone recovered from the cluster of *padhānaghara* structures to the west of Anurādhapura. No such facility has been recovered from the Central Javanese instance. Image courtesy of the Sri Lankan Department of Archaeology.



Figure 15. The new valence and a new Buddhist ethos: a lithic depiction of the Theravāda monk's anonymizing fan, taken from the Kōngovālla inscription of the twentieth regnal year of His Majesty Sena II, Conqueror of Madhurai. Image taken from Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, plate X.



Figure 16. The author's sketch of a figure crudely engraved on a golden foil recovered from the foundation deposits of the core temple complex at Prambanan, now on display in the Indonesian National Museum. The reader may note the presence of the circular artifact on the figure's cheek, which I think was intentionally inscribed and may be ultimately diagnostic of this figure's identity.

and that seemed to express the token contempt by the ascetic for the aristocratic and the royal;³⁵ and several inscriptions demonstrating the contribution to the building of the monastery by the laity.³⁶ Finally, there is the yet-unpublished inscription recovered from the site, which M. H. Sirisoma³⁷ anticipated was a grant of tax immunities. (If Sirisoma is correct, the extant inscription represents a Theravāda regularization of Tiriyāy's monastery by one of the tenth century kings in much the same manner as the Laṅkān Rājiṇāvihāra site at upland Nālandā,³⁸ another of the Pallava-inspired temples built by Mānavarman or his son.) For the purposes of this essay, all of these leads from Tiriyāy are telling, for no Laṅkān site yields evidence that is more pertinent to the analysis of the Javanese construction some forty years later.

The pattern that surfaced at Tiriyāy was an admixture of an appreciation for both the established texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism as well as the newer texts of esoteric Buddhism, all supported by a substrate respect for the relics. The same pattern is reprised not only in Vajrabodhi's biography but also in several medieval sites across Laṅkā. For example, the "dhāraṇī stones" found at the "dhāraṇīghara"³⁹ of the Abhayagiri comprised both the conventional Mahāyāna text of the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdayaguhyadhātu-sūtra*,⁴⁰ which advocates the placement of itself in a *stūpa*,⁴¹ as well as other *dhāraṇī* elements derived from the highly suggestive Vajralāsyā of a subsidiary *maṇḍala* from the *Sarvatathāgatātattvasaṃgraha*.⁴² Indeed, much of the Laṅkān evidence exemplifies the simultaneous similarities and dichotomies between the Mantrayāna and the Mahāyāna discussed by McBride.⁴³

Given what is recorded in the Vajrabodhi biography and what can be inferred from the archaeological remnants of Laṅkān esoteric Buddhism, we might seek to determine the specific features of the Buddhist ecumene that the eighth century Sinhalese esoteric Buddhist monks inhabited or sought to create. Based on the relevant evidence available to me, I surmise that an impression of the general tenor of this Sinhalese esoteric Buddhism can be formed by studying the lives and works of Vajrabodhi or Kūkai, whose fundamental outlook and soteriology owes to Sinhalese-sourced material: general monastic chastity and a respect for other *vinaya* norms, a regard for the classical sites like the Buddha relic memorabilia, and a corresponding scholarship that is knowledgeably appreciative of antecedent philosophies of Buddhism, even if they are contrary to esoteric tenets.⁴⁴ This said, the transgressive practices and doctrines that are either made explicit or else

merely alluded to in the esoteric texts prepare us to expect intermittently antinomian behaviors⁴⁵ even out of the most nominally chaste of men: the tantric propagator Śubhākarasiṃha serves as an excellent example of this.⁴⁶ With the exception of a few stray pieces of transgressive esotericism preserved here⁴⁷ and there,⁴⁸ there is little in the extant Laṅkā archaeological record that suggests the presence of the transgressive Yoginītantras that found their way into Amoghavajra's Eighteen Assemblies⁴⁹ and that he was so able to accurately summarize upon his return from the island. (As I will suggest below, the nominally ascetic *pāṃśukūlika* rag-wearers may have served as bearers or even originators of Amoghavajra's suite of transgressive *tantras*.)

*Ib. Suppression of Buddhist Esotericism
in Sinhalese Literary and Historical Memory*

The difficulty of achieving an accurate evaluation of the extent of esoteric influences in early Second Lambakaṇṇa Laṅkā does not lie solely or even primarily in the fact that esoteric monks like Vajrabodhi and their royal supporters like Mānavarman favored cultic objects and creeds that were commonly appreciated across a wide range of contemporary Buddhist sects. (Indeed, if nothing were known of the esoteric statues beneath the *padhānaghara*, historians would properly continue to assign quite conventionally Mahāyāna interpretations to Tiriyāy, centered on the worship of the standard triad of Buddha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mañjuśrī.) Nor does the difficulty of our modern ignorance of the eighth century Laṅkā esoteric Buddhist milieu lie in the destruction of the libraries and statuary, although such destruction may have occurred in the many usurpations and several foreign invasions recorded during the medieval period, for substantial quantities of this material has been conserved elsewhere, even if in Tibetan or Chinese rather than the original Sanskrit.⁵⁰

Rather, I am certain, the primary cause for the opacity of Laṅkā's historical practice of esoteric Buddhism lies in the deliberate obliteration of those doctrines as part of the royal campaign to impose a Theravāda orthodoxy on the Sinhalese monasteries: the Vajrayāna was meant to become invisible. It is sufficient to rest this conclusion on the fundamental observation that the primary Theravāda chronicles of the period such as the *Cūḷavaṃsa* generally breathe not a word about Laṅkā experiments with esoteric Buddhism or royal patronage of it, despite its confirmation in those external sources that have come to modern

attention. Despite being highly factually accurate, as Ranawella often notes when discovering confirming details in his epigraphical studies, the *Cūḷavaṃsa* describes esoteric-era Laṅkā as its author wanted it or needed it to be, rather than as it was; it was evidently of crucial importance that the tantric experiment be suppressed by silently and piously consigning it to oblivion, an act no doubt undertaken to prevent “wrong views” from arising among the monks and the populace. The result of this campaign of orthodoxy was the imposition of a historical amnesia that is very difficult for a historian to pierce.

As a useful example of the depth of the Theravāda chronicles' systematic denial of the realities of esoteric practice on the island, we may take the cardinal figure Sena I (r. 834–854), during the middle years of whose reign Anurādhapura was subjected to a vicious and comprehensive sacking by the Pāṇḍyas from across the strait (the first such catastrophe in several centuries).⁵¹ This military disaster permitted later Theravāda moralists to use him as a negative example, and a few lesser chronicles therefore mentioned his doctrinal deviancy. Two state that he converted to the Śaivism of his conquerors,⁵² while the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, in the singular admission that any Sinhalese king was an adherent of esoteric Buddhism, posited the Anurādhapura catastrophe as the inevitable consequence of “Matvala”⁵³ Sena's foolishness based on a mainland-stimulated Vājiriyavāda heresy that had taken hold in the Abhayagiri's Vīraṅkurārāma,⁵⁴ which lay in modern Vessagiriya to the immediate south of Anurādhapura.⁵⁵

The *Cūḷavaṃsa*⁵⁶ provided an entirely different view of the hapless Sena, one that is consonant with its presentation of every king from Mānavarman onward as orthodox Theravādins, even though every external source suggests their participation in the Vajrayāna movement sweeping across the Buddhist world. The *Cūḷavaṃsa* acknowledges the sacking of Anurādhapura (caused as a result of the “discord among the high dignitaries,” which prevented them from acting with military effectiveness⁵⁷) and even documents Sena I's foundation of the Abhayagiri ārāma that the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* says harbored the Vajravāda heresy, but relates that Sena conveyed it not to Vajravādin heretics but rather to the *bhikkhus* belonging to both Mahāsaṃghika and “Theriya” schools.⁵⁸ Indeed, the *Cūḷavaṃsa*'s presentation of Sena I is almost overplayed; its Sena is a decent, pious character “who looked upon all creatures as a dear son. He adhered to the conduct of former kings in accordance to tradition, and he performed also pious actions

before unheard of toward *bhikkhus*, *bhikkhunīs*, his kinsfolk, and other islanders; toward fishes, four-footed beasts, and birds he fulfilled every duty.”⁵⁹

As it stands, there is naught but boilerplate commonplaces on even so easily-tarred a figure as Sena I, whose depiction by the *Cūlavam̐sa* is charming in its presentation of his ichthyophilic earnestness. It is as though the *Cūlavam̐sa*’s author had a list of exemplary royal virtues that he planned to incorporate in a document, which, as the conclusion of each chapter reminds, was composed “for the serene joy and emotion of the pious,” and the author fulfilled his obligation in moral pedagogy by breaking up the list and dealing out these morally virtuous acts among the early Second Lambakaṇṇa kings.⁶⁰ Indeed, one gets the sense that the entire ensemble was peppered with commonplaces, with each and every eighth century king distinguished by some generally benevolent characteristic that was arbitrarily distributed throughout the manuscript. (The distinctions of Aggabodhi VII, for example, were his research into botanical medicines and rooting out unjust judges). In short, I suggest that the *Cūlavam̐sa*’s author was filling in the vacancies in the accounts of these kings that were created by the editorial decision to completely suppress the record of their esoteric predilections, endowments, and activities.

*Ibi. The Abhayagiri in the Years of Esteem:
Laṅkā and the Sourcing of Vajravāda Texts and Teachings*

While the loss of the Abhayagiri’s *vaṃśas* prevents us from knowing the full extent of the Abhayagiri’s triumphs and reach as recorded by the protagonists themselves, a number of elements of that record have come to us through archaeological evidence and foreign sources. Within this restricted data set, with a perspective distorted by the idiosyncrasies of history, there remains grounds for a modern appreciation of what the Abhayagiri had achieved and why the Abhayagiri developed a momentum and an international cachet that by 792 had drawn the attention of the Śailendra king.

The earliest of these traces of Abhayagirin influence may be found in the material describing Vajrabodhi. After having studied a variety of conventional Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna texts during his time as a novice and initiate in the great monastery of Nālandā, Vajrabodhi travelled to South India where he studied for seven years with the preceptor and later Shingon patriarch Nāgajñā, who instructed him in the recondite

knowledge of the esoteric Buddhist doctrines. Vajrabodhi later took up a six month residence at the *Abhayarāja monastery, the last of the Indic monasteries at which he stayed, a curious act for one who had seemingly already been fully inducted into the esoteric literature by Nāgajñā. Whether or not Vajrabodhi received at the Abhayagiri supplemental instruction, or even a fully validated *abhiṣeka* consecration, is unmentioned in Lü Xiang's biography, which presents his residence in the context of his "worship," seemingly of the miraculous Tooth Relic beside the palace. However, it is of note that Vajrabodhi's last recorded interaction with the Indic world also concerns a Sinhalese monk who, necessity dictates, was almost certainly an Abhayagiri monk with whom he had studied under during his residence there. In an important observation,⁶¹ Rolf Giebel notes, in a preface attributed to his collaborator Hyech'o 慧超, the incidental but unique mention of Vajrabodhi's return of an esoteric manuscript borrowed from "his master," the *ācārya* *Ratnabodhi (Baojue 寶覺) in *Simhala*, as late as the last year of Vajrabodhi's life, just before Amoghavajra set out to Laṅkā to expand the repertory of esoteric Buddhist texts.⁶² Such a confidential relationship, which involved both tutelage as well as the trans-oceanic lending of esoteric Buddhist manuscripts to trusted recipients, could only, I infer, develop through sustained personal contact, and if the context of the esoteric text alone did not suggest the Abhayagiri as the domicile of Ratnabodhi, Vajrabodhi's extended residence at that famed monastery almost certainly confirms it to be so.

Despite this access to individual texts within the esoteric Buddhism of the 740s, there was something deeply inadequate about either the body of those texts that were accessible in Chang'an or the interpretability of those texts, and Amoghavajra was compelled to set out for Śrī Laṅkā to complete his mastery of them. No details, as far as I know, explicitly link Amoghavajra to the Abhayagiri in the direct manner that Lü Xiang's biography links Vajrabodhi. However, there are both the circumstances—a royal reception, what must have been royal authorization and assistance to copy the corpus of esoteric Buddhist texts available to the kingdom, the *abhiṣeka* at the hands a Sinhalese master who must indeed have had some standing if he were both named and selected by the well-credentialed Amoghavajra as his ultimate preceptor, and most importantly the master Ratnabodhi,⁶³ whose friendship with Vajrabodhi must have been a residue from their mutual residence at the Abhayagiri in the 710s—as well as the nature of the texts

that associate Amoghavajra with Abhayagiri-sourced teachings and doctrines.

In the years following Amoghavajra's return in 746, Laṅkā Buddhism, almost certainly that of the Abhayagiri, was informing Chinese esoteric Buddhism. It culminated in Amoghavajra's 754 translation of the first section of the *Sarvathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* and the composition of a description of the *Sarvathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*-led Eighteen Assemblies of the Vajroṣṇīśa canon, skillfully translated and annotated by Giebel,⁶⁴ which was at least secondarily sourced, and perhaps even synthesized, by the Abhayagirivāsins. Their imperial patronage of Amoghavajra and his acquaintance with the apotropaic esoteric Buddhist rites and literature, their history shows, brought a great admiration and appreciation by the Tang emperors of the eighth century, especially in the near-calamity of the An Shi rebellion and subsequent invasions that commenced in 755. Orzech summarizes these convictions when he notes that "indeed, the metaphors of sovereignty at the heart of the 'Yoga' [i.e., the Vajroṣṇīśa] and the ritual knowledge to invoke divine protection in the form of the wrathful *vidyārājas* would characterize Amoghavajra's activities under Suzong 肅宗 and his successor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779 CE)."⁶⁵ Geoffrey Goble⁶⁶ supplements Orzech's observations by noting of these *vidyārājas* that "they are specifically deployed to do this by the ritual specialist. With these rites Amoghavajra could putatively bring about the deaths of tens of thousands of human beings and evidence suggests that the Tang emperors believed that he did." Goble concludes that Amoghavajra employed his esoteric Acala rites rather than anything based on the *Humane Kings Scripture* to counteract the enemies,⁶⁷ while Lehnert notes that "In 759, after the rule of the Tang had been restored, Amoghavajra was regarded as a powerful protector of imperial order and assigned to consecrate the emperor Suzong as *cakravartin*."⁶⁸

It should be observed that Laṅkā itself experienced many rebellions by princes and queens, especially by those allotted a power base in southern Rohaṇa, who sought to supplant the Anurādhapura kings on the throne. Although never successful, these challenges were obviously credible else they would not be undertaken, as the consequences for armed treason were often lethal to the rebels, with kings killing their seditious sons and exiling or imprisoning seditious wives. Any success attributed to the Abhayagirivāsins in quelling these insurrections and treasons was recorded only in the Abhayagiri's own

now-lost *vaṃśas*, but it would be surprising if actions similar to those of Amoghavajra were not part of the royal strategy to stabilize the Anurādhapura kingdom against challengers. In doing so, the early Second Lambakaṇṇa kings may not have been looking backward to the precedent of the Tang emperor but rather to the instance of their *vir clarissimus* Mānavarman's own spectacular retrieval of his kingdom, which may have been the paramount validation that subsequent kings—Chinese emperor included—ultimately looked to for confidence in these state-protection doctrines.

It is entirely plausible that the Khmer also followed apotropaic practices associated with the Abhayagirivihāra, for the Sab Bāk and Wat Sithor inscriptions⁶⁹ of 1066 CE recounted the history of the efforts by a *kaṃsteñ* Śrī Satyavarman, “who had supernatural power,” to establish statues of Buddha Lokeśvara on the “Abhayagiri” as part of the 802 CE efforts by Jayavarman II to free his Cambodia from “Javā.”⁷⁰ Conti observes that this Abhayagiri was seemingly located on the Khorat Plateau, and as Sharrock and Bunker document,⁷¹ there are a number of early Buddhist statues from the Khorat Plateau that sustain the notion of esoteric Buddhist influence there, but these individual statues do not betray any indication of the location of the Khmer Abhayagiri.

At a time around 790 CE, on the threshold of the dispatch of the monastic delegation to the Śailendra lands, the elders and the adepts in the Abhayagirivihāra would have reason for deep satisfaction with their order and the esteem with which it was held in the human world. Perhaps perceived as instrumental in the restoration of Mānavarman, who with his descendants and heirs had become solid sectarian supporters, they superintended the premier of the kingdom's palladia, the venerable Tooth Relic, and seemingly had been given custody of other relics of a lesser importance. Whether or not their indirect role was formally acknowledged by the Chinese emperor, Abhayagirins could at least pride themselves in their own minds upon supplying to Amoghavajra some five decades earlier the doctrines that had won him esteem and gratitude for his perceived role in preserving the Tang state in the face of a seemingly insurmountable military challenge. They themselves likely were relied upon for similar services by their own king whenever a coup was attempted. And now came the Śailendra potentate, the *mahārāja* of the Isles, cultivating direct Abhayagiri monastic presence in Java itself. The Abhayagiri reputation may never have

sparkled so brightly in contemporary eyes, and yet appeared so very darkly in the annals of its Mahāvihāra rivals, who would soon be the ultimate victors in the contest for esteem, influence, and regard.

*Ibii. The Mahāvihāra in the Years of Glory:
Sena II's Reversion to the Theravāda*

If the reign of Sena I had been marred by the traumatic sacking of Anurādhapura at the hands of the Pāṇḍya king, the reign of his Theravādin successor Sena II (854–888) abounded with glory, for Sena II took the battle back to the Pāṇḍyas, killing the odious king Śrīmara Śrīvallabha, sacking Madhurai in 862 and recovering the treasures of the Sinhalese kingdom that Sena I lost two decades earlier. In this victory, I believe, lies the reason that Śrī Laṅkā is today a predominantly Theravādin country rather than a Mahāyāna or a Śaiva one, for Sena II had nine years earlier risked the assumption of his throne with novel rites pursued under the auspices of the Mahāvihāra and incorporating sacred earth from within the precincts of that fraternity.⁷² With the destruction of Anurādhapura and the failure of Sena I came the concomitant fall of esoteric Buddhism and the Abhayagiri, almost certainly propelled by the perception by Laṅkān religious and political elites that the Abhayagiri model failed to prevent disaster despite the explicit state-protective promises of its Vajravāda doctrines and rituals. (Indeed, Sena I seems to have staked his defense⁷³ against the Pāṇḍya on the innate power of the Abhayagiri itself, for as Walters notes,⁷⁴ Sena's army's disastrous showdown with the Pāṇḍya was apparently made within the Abhayagiri temple precincts.⁷⁵) With the unexpected 862 CE military triumph of Sena II as well as his re-absorption of Rohaṇa into his Rājaraṭṭha kingdom⁷⁶ came the validation of his resurrection of the long-neglected Theravāda creed and its sponsors in the Mahāvihāra, who formulated his consecration rituals. This "Phoenix-like rise to glory"⁷⁷ of the Mahāvihāra and its carefully husbanded Theravāda doctrines was certified by the equally surprising resurrection of Lambakaṇṇa military fortunes, and the two are indisputably linked in the astounding Laṅkān inscriptional documentation of the creation at the Mahāvihāra of a "Commander of Sena's Army *Pirivena*" by Kuṭṭhā, the general who executed the assault on Madhurai.⁷⁸ Indeed, the momentum of Sena II's celebrated triumphs carried the Theravāda through the subsequent centuries despite such setbacks as the successive invasions by the Cōḷas, which culminated

in a lifespan of direct Cōḷa rule. As I see the matter, the fundamental course of the religious and cultural history of the modern island is due to the lessons inferred by the medieval kings of Rājaraṭṭha from the paired sackings of Anurādhapura and Madhurai in the quarter century between ca. 840 and 862, in which all of the original Sinhalese treasure that had been lost in the first event was recouped with great interest in the second. For those who had spent two decades and more looking at the dreary sight of an utterly despoiled Anurādhapura, the sudden restoration of their riches must have been indelibly edifying.

The process of the Theravādin restoration, which had certainly begun by the time of Sena II's novel Mahāvihāran coronation in 854, has been quite ably and perceptively documented by Walters⁷⁹ on the basis of his path-breaking researches into the late tenth century *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, an important Theravāda commentary on the *Mahāvamsa*. While a sophisticated and temporally nuanced foundation for the study of the period from Sena II onward has been laid in Walters' work, there are new facets for appreciation of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, based on both significant advances in the understanding of esoteric Buddhism as well as the praiseworthy publication of a comprehensive corpus of Sinhalese inscriptions from the period⁸⁰ that have been opened up in the subsequent fifteen years.⁸¹ Both new sources are pertinent to the study of the *padhānaghara* in Central Java insofar as they add context and informative fact to the account of the final years of royally-sponsored esoteric Buddhism there.

One interesting new perspective that augments Walters' foundational observations is enabled by recent scholarship into esoteric Buddhism: a deeper understanding of several religious innovations in Theravāda practice that are first codified in the tenth century *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*. Walters⁸² properly appreciated and documented the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*'s novelties, but in light of current understanding of the contemporary Vajra Vehicle system, it would seem that all of that text's Theravāda innovations documented by Walters were merely appropriations of the most attractive ritual services furnished by the Vajrayāna material that Sena II was supplanting: royal coronation rituals, the state-protection functionalism attributed specifically to the *Mahāparitta* liturgy,⁸³ Theravādicized *dhāraṇī* liturgies akin to the Mantrayāna that immediately preceded it,⁸⁴ along with the novel conception of the Sinhalese king as Buddha-to-be manifestations of the Maitreya Bodhisattva of Mahāvihāran theology.

Some, if not all, of the innovations in Theravāda doctrine and practice that were codified in the tenth century *Vamsatthappakāsini* originated with Sena II (if not perhaps a chastened Sena I himself, traumatized by the catastrophe of the invasion, the sacking, and the humiliation of having had to ransom his realm to the Pāṇḍya king), who was operating with a new but carefully crafted model: Sena II's consecration into kingship, Walters observes, was itself undertaken with unprecedented Mahāvihāra-centric rites. Whereas the early kings of Anurādhapura were consecrated under a Brahman *purohita*⁸⁵ rather than Buddhist monks,⁸⁶ the *Cūḷavaṃsa* records that Sena II was consecrated at the great Hemavāluka *cetiya* (i.e., the Mahāthūpa or Ruvanvāli *stūpa* of the Mahāvihāra).⁸⁷ Sena II's coronation under Theravāda rites was not an innovation on that Brahmanical precedent, but rather, I surmise, a direct substitute for the esoteric Buddhist consecration rites that had been practiced by Sena II's more immediate predecessors. Walters noted that it was Sena II who fashioned the *Abhidhamma* and *paritta* plates from the Mahāvihāra for his own coronation, obviously as a response to a similar set that had been owned by the Abhayagiri⁸⁸ (and, I suggest, employed for the Abhayagirivihāra's own *abhiṣeka* ritual services furnished to Sinhalese kings during the period of their predominance, including the dynast Mānavarman). Little is known about the chronology of the other three points of doctrinal novelty codified in the *Vamsatthappakāsini* and noticed by Walters, but given the imminence of Sena II's glorious revanchist sacking of Madhurai in his ninth regnal year, the second of the adapted Vajravāda traits, that of state protection, would likely not require long before confidently resurfacing into the Mahāvihāran repertoire. In summary, what Walters ably observes about the novelties of the Buddhology advanced in the *Vamsatthappakāsini* and their provenance as Mahāyāna doctrine may be, in the opinion I formed in light of the evidence available to me, a Theravāda appropriation of widespread liturgical and royal functions customary in the heyday of the Vajrayāna practice among the kings of Sinhala, immediately before Sena II's revival.⁸⁹

*Ibiii. Resistance to Sena II's Theravādin Reforms
and the Persistence of the Vajravāda*

Every literary account of Sena II concurs that he set the dharma, the *saṅgha*, and the Rājaraṭṭha state on the right course (although the author of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* could not quite bring himself to say what had

been wrong with it), compelling orthodoxy in the three royal monasteries and establishing a precedent for his successors. Furthermore, this notion of Sena II as a foundation stone is backed up by the inscriptional claims by Sena II's successors, including the near hagiographical references to his activities in several of the inscriptions issued by his son and emulator Kassapa IV.

Indeed, one senses that the control over the activities of the monasteries was customary and unremarkably ordinary, with the Mahāvihāra monks at least welcoming the king's proper performance of his regulatory duties.⁹⁰ The Laṅkā inscriptions assigned to the reign of Sena II⁹¹ largely concern regulation of the various *ārāmas* of the Abhayagiri and serve to further illustrate the correctness of Walters' observation that "the Mahāvihāra simply received gifts; the donations to the Abhayagiri came with strings attached."⁹² (It is of note that Sena II seems to have displayed an almost Caesarian magnanimity toward the newly subordinated Abhayagiri, for the *Cūlavamsa* records that he "restored valuables recovered from the Pāṇḍya without partiality."⁹³ The Abhayagiri's *ratnaprāsāda* was especially important.) The first extant epigraphical mention of the Mahāvihāra during Sena II's reign dates from the thirty-first regnal year and comes not from the king himself, but rather concerns the Mahāvihāra's eponymous "Sen Senevirad *pirivena*" founded by Sena's illustrious army commander Kuṭṭhā.⁹⁴

The mechanisms by which the kings of Laṅkā could control the monks and constrain heresy were many. The various harsh means attested in the literature include exile, branding, and burning,⁹⁵ and the epigraphic record does indeed confirm that Sena II's son Kassapa V wrathfully exiled monks of the Abhayagiri's Kāpārāma to India.⁹⁶ The availability of these methods being noted, a less astringent means of enforcing orthodoxy was allotted to the king via his provision of the foodstuffs in the royal monasteries.⁹⁷ The 972 CE Mihintale slab inscription of Mahinda IV,⁹⁸ to take one example, stipulates that monks of the "Seygiri" (Mihintale) and Abhayagiriya monasteries were to uniformly follow the regulatory code that had earlier been imposed on the Abhayagiri by Udaya IV (946–954) and which promoted facility with Theravāda doctrines: those monks who read the *Vinaya-piṭaka* received five shares of food; those who read the *Sutta-piṭaka* received seven shares; and those who read the *Abhidhamma* received twelve shares,⁹⁹ rich incentives for the cultivation of Theravādin orthodoxy in the rival heterodox monasteries.

One fundamental observation from the Sinhalese inscriptional record seems to mirror the silence on esoteric Buddhism in the Theravāda chronicles, for the inscriptional record abruptly transitions from a great vacuity during the period from Mānavarman onward to Sena I to an abundance of lithic inscriptions from the line of Theravādins that commenced with Sena II. With the exception of the boulder inscription of Śīlamegha at the unceasingly remarkable Girikaṇḍikacaitya at Tiriyāy and the “*dhāraṇī* stones” of the Rāgiṇā and Abhayagiri *vihāras*, almost no lithic inscription in a Sinhalese or South Indian script has surfaced from the period when the Abhayagiri and the Vajrayāna held sway, leading one to suspect that most of the epigraphic record from the esoteric era was subsequently systematically scrubbed by the Theravādins. Indeed, there are many parallels between the situations in Java and in Laṅkā, and the royal administrative record in both countries transitions from absent to dense at about the same time, i.e., with the new kings Sena II (854 CE) and Kayuwaṅgi (855 CE), a topic that will be resumed in section IV.¹⁰⁰

Although it is difficult to discern how quickly Sena II’s royal reforms proceeded,¹⁰¹ there are indications that there was both lay and monastic resistance to them, and furthermore that the reach of the reforms didn’t extend as far as the royal will desired.

Despite the efforts of the Rājaraṭṭha kings from Sena II onward to promote the Theravāda doctrines, it seems as though a substantial amount of publicly accessible material was allowed to survive.¹⁰² The presence of tantrists persisted until at least the time of Jayabāha Devarakkhita Dhammakitti Thero, who in his fourteenth century *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* was able to enumerate their major texts with considerable accuracy,¹⁰³ and also complained that fools still practiced the esoteric rites at the time of his writing.¹⁰⁴

There is significance in the survival of such artifacts as the Siddham-scripted *dhāraṇī* stones maintained in one of the closest buildings to the Abhayagiri *stūpa*, the similarly-scripted¹⁰⁵ monastic regulations at the Abhayagiri’s Kapārārāma that were likely due to Sena I’s efforts,¹⁰⁶ the boulder inscription at Tiriyāy, and the cliff carvings at Buduruvagale with their inclusion of a rather obvious Vajrapāṇi,¹⁰⁷ much less the foundation deposit material that lay buried under tons of lithic Buddhist architecture and therefore defied easy expunction.¹⁰⁸ The endurance of these artifacts leads one to suspect that nothing was destroyed in the Theravāda reform other than an upheaval of the *sīmā*

provisions for the monasteries, the burning of texts in the royal monastic libraries, and the consignment of the royal monasteries' esoteric cultic statuary to the melting pot. (Very possibly, there were few remaining statues, heterodox or not, that needed to be purged after the comprehensive Pāṇḍya sacking. In any case, the Theravādins do not seem to have modified the *lithic* implementations from the Mahāyāna period unless truly necessary, as it was in the amendment of *sīmā* arrangements.) Similarly, we have clear epigraphic evidence of subsequent Theravāda superintendence at sites that were formerly linked to esoteric Buddhism, namely Riṭigala, the Rājiṇāvihāra,¹⁰⁹ and Tiriyaṅ; no Buddhist site, it seems, based on the evidence available to me, was so contaminated by esoteric practice that it needed to be razed, but certainly, as at Anurādhapura, the buildings were repurposed and orthodoxy was imposed on the inhabitants as far as it could be.¹¹⁰ It seems that Sena II's reforms were effectuated not so much on the structures as on the didactic literature and the creed stipulated for the monks of the royal monasteries and the comportment allowed to them.

Why did the esoteric Buddhist material persist when the rulers and their religious counselors did not wish it to persist? Although the royal intention doubtlessly sought the complete eradication of the Vajravādin heresy, it seems as though the esoteric doctrines had gained a substantial momentum that was difficult for even a king of Laṅkā to arrest. There exists sufficient epigraphical and literary context to allow some sense of the mechanisms and limits of royal control, to infer the hold-out resistance to that reformation, and to identify the sources and effectiveness of that resistance.

If the Sinhalese kings had at their disposal the methods of suasion outlined above, there are a number of avenues by which the royal vision for a comprehensive Theravāda orthodoxy was resisted. Although royal imposition of the Theravāda was effected in the royal monasteries, lay dissenters (and there were quite possibly many of them) were seemingly free to provide alternate and independent sponsorship to dissident monks.¹¹¹ It is not out the question, for example, that such esoteric monks continued to derive support from abroad, either through foreign royal, lay, or even monastic channels. In envisioning this possibility, I consider the Sinhalese monk Jayabhadra, third *vajrācārya* at the Pāla monastery of Vikramaśīla and an early commentator on the *Cakrasaṃvara*,¹¹² to be the type of credible esoteric exegete who could

retain lay supporters and serve to sustain the validity of the Vajra path even when it fell into deep royal disfavor.¹¹³

Although there is no epigraphical or literary evidence that any of Sena II's successors deviated from his support of the Theravāda, it is clear that the wealthier members of the laity did not necessarily follow their kings in the adoption of this practice. We seemingly pick up some indication of this possibility of extraregal lay or monastic support in the inscription, dating from Dappula IV's reign (r. 924–935 CE) and found within the Abhayagiri ruins, where a Friar "Bo-sen" donated thirty *kaḷands* (129 grams) of gold to support the rainy season meals of the Dhammaruci¹¹⁴ ("Damrusi") school of teachers. As nearly as I can tell, by singling out this faction under this Dhammaruci rubric Bo-sen is possibly supporting Mahāyāna monks, and the wealth seemingly allowed by his own *vinaya* code may have allowed him access to financial resources, as was true of many other monks of the period (including the Theravādins referenced in n. 99).¹¹⁵ The noteworthy point, though, is that Friar Bo-sen's subvention is specifically designated to apply to the monks "even if they have to go for begging alms due to a dissension,"¹¹⁶ demonstrating that there was not an active suppression of dissident factions, but merely the withholding of royal support, a withdrawn subvention the absence of which may have been compensated by sympathetic laymen.

All of these avenues of independent extraregal support for non-Theravāda Buddhists bear on the *Cūḷavaṃsa*'s quite extraordinary recording of the departure of the Abhayagiri's *pāṃsukūlika-bhikkhus* in the twentieth year of Sena II's reign.¹¹⁷ While the implications of this incident will be discussed in greater detail in sections Ic and III below, it almost certainly represents a response by esoteric adherents to the royal shift of support to the Theravāda of the Mahāvihāra. What is worth noting at the moment is that those dissident ascetic monks of the Abhayagirivihāra must have had some independent means of support, like that offered by Friar Bo-Sen, if they voluntarily departed the royal monastery. In section IV, I will evaluate whether the *pāṃsukūlika-bhikkhus* in Java enjoyed similar mechanisms for support independent of the Śailendra king.

*Ibiv. Theravādin Acknowledgment
of Other, Non-Vajravāda Mahāyāna Heresies*

What is somewhat remarkable about the suppression of information about the Laṅkā experiment with tantrism is that the Sinhalese chronicles of the fifth century were willing to openly acknowledge the existence of the earlier Mahāvihāra-Abhayagiri doctrinal controversy¹¹⁸ over the Vaitulyavāda,¹¹⁹ but for whatever reason the authors of the later chronicles could not acknowledge the Mantrayāna per se, even though the later contest between the Theravāda and the Vajravāda heresy occurred between identical monastic protagonists and again terminated with the Mahāvihāra defeat of the Abhayagiri's position in a manner identical to the suppression of the Vaitulya heresy of four hundred years before. The disappearance of the Abhayagirivāsin's doctrine from Sinhalese literature was total, except, as Walters notes, for a few quotations that had been preserved as records of disputes in ancillary Theravāda literature.¹²⁰

I surmise that there are several reasons for this *damnatio memoriae* of the esoteric texts. One reason may lie in the Theravādin authors' strong condemnation of the radically different soteriology of the Vajravāda, with the deity yogically subordinated to the practitioner, and the often-objectionable means used to achieve this deity-union. Indeed the often-ferocious ninth century Vajravāda must have stood in marked contrast to the genial Mahāyāna heresy of four centuries before. Another plausible reason for the Cūḷavaṃsa's omissions includes the number of slights suffered by the Mahāvihāra during the supremacy of the Abhayagiri. Fundamentally, though, I suspect that the reason lies in the very precariousness of the Mahāvihāran victory, which was subject to commensurate discredit by the multiple defeats at the hands of the Cōḷa during the tenth century¹²¹ and culminated in the lengthy Cōḷa occupation of the eleventh, a fact that must have sustained and even fortified the voices of the hold-out Vajryānists.

Ic. Pāṃśukūlikas and Pāṃsukūlikas of the Second Lambakaṇṇa Dynasty

In the absence of the suppressed Abhayagiri textual material, the only extant evidence in which the Abhayagiri pāṃśukūlikas speak with something of their own voice is the fragments of Sanskrit in the Ratu Baka inscription of 792 CE (section II). Section Ic is devoted to an examination of the specific cast of this hosted delegation of Sinhalese Abhayagirin monks, as well as their correlates the pāṃsukūlikas of the

Mahāvihāra, in an effort to see what sense can be made of them at thirteen centuries' remove.

The Ratu Baka structure and the monastic complex at Tiriyaṅ (fig. 2) are linked by both architecture and also by the patronage of kings, one Śailendra and one Lambakaṇṇa, who appreciated the esoteric Buddhist doctrines that had sprung into existence in the prior century. While the current scholarship on the topic leaves some doubt about the formal name to be assigned to this distinctive double-platformed architecture (*padhānaghara* or "meditation house" is commonly encountered but may be anachronistic),¹²² there is little doubt about the name of this architecture's inhabitants: literary and architectural evidence connected to a third esoteric Buddhist king, the hapless Sena I, serves to associate the score of such identical double-platform structures at Rīṭigala with the *paṃsukūlikas*, or "rag-wearers," which, together with the *ārañṇaka* or forest monks who arose during the Theravāda period, seem to be one of the two types of Buddhist ascetic who can be found in medieval Laṅkā.¹²³

Unfortunately, it is now not easy to distinguish among the varieties of ascetic modes that were operative in ninth and tenth century Laṅkā, even though such distinctions were manifest and comprehensible to the authors of the *Cūḷavaṃsa*. Even the fundamentals of such a study are largely lacking: we do not understand the relationship between archaeo-historical evidence and the institutions that are named in the chronicles, much less of the range of established ascetic modes, the relationships between the various types of ascetic monks, whether there were any meaningful differences in the form of their associated architecture,¹²⁴ the pertinence of *ārāma* distinctions, whether they participated in the *caturmahānikāya* system that was operative in at least the Abhayagirivihāra¹²⁵ or whether *nikāya* associations even mattered to these monks, and, perhaps most importantly, the temporal dynamics of these monastic modes under the changing creeds of the king and other lay benefactors as the kingdom transitioned from the Vajrayāna to the Theravāda of the Mahāvihāra.¹²⁶

A number of species of ascetic monks (generally forest monks¹²⁷ and "rag-wearers," but some varieties not now understood),¹²⁸ spanning many centuries and several epochs of Buddhist thought, receive mention in the extant Laṅkān Theravāda chronicles. This ascetic mode of Buddhist existence is sporadically attested in the chronicles during what is clearly a pre-Mahāyāna phase (where the *paṃsukūlikas*

represented the losing side of a fundamental debate over whether the study or discipline was more important for Buddhist success) and seemingly enjoyed great prominence during the fifth century epoch of the *Visuddhimagga*. This patronage of *pāṃśukūlikas* continued into the turbulent seventh century, when so little is concretely known of the Buddhism of the time that it is impossible to limn whether such kings were motivated by the doctrines of the classical Mahāyāna, an unexpected traditionalist Theravāda minority within the Abhayagirivihāra,¹²⁹ or even the rudiments of the esoteric teachings that were beginning to take shape and gain force. However, as Wijesuriya notes,¹³⁰ the recorded instances of royal patronage of these “rag-wearer” monks reached their peak with the foundation of the Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty by Mānavarman; many, if not all, of these monks presumably followed the esoteric Buddhist doctrines that enjoyed contemporary favor across the Buddhist world. (I remind the reader that it is these monks who I distinguish by the Sanskrit form *pāṃśukūlika* in lieu of the Pāli of the Theravāda chronicles.) The chronicle’s references to ascetic monks culminated in a mention during the reign of Sena II, a period during which Theravādins indisputably enjoyed royal support thanks to Sena II’s decision to place his Rājaraṭṭha polity on a reformed Theravāda religious grounding.

While there are many ruined double-platform structures scattered across the country, with only the Riṭigala and Tiriyāy sites being at present attributable to a specific king, the double-platformed *padhānaghara* structures are not the only architecture that can be associated with the *pāṃśukūlikas*. Mānavarman is recorded in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* as building specifically for this group a *pāsāda*-palace at the seventh century Thūpārāma *vaṭadāge* (fig. 4),¹³¹ the repository of the Right Collarbone Relic¹³² that lay immediately beyond the walls of the Citadel and that was the most ancient of the *stūpas* in Laṅkā. Given the friendliness of Mānavarman with Vajrabodhi and his evident appreciation of the Vajravāda doctrines, it is probable that the *prāsāda* structure in question (only three candidate structures surround the Thūpārāma) is the one with the *vajra*-emblems on the capitals (fig. 5).¹³³ It is of interest that Mānavarman is also recorded as having roofed the Thūpārāma, which implies that the pillaring that converted the *stūpa* into a *vaṭadāge* was accomplished by Vajrabodhi’s sponsor, who may, in light of my proposal (see n. 27) that the South Indian Iron Stūpa of East Asian esoteric Buddhology was in fact a South Indian *vaṭadāge*, may therefore have

converted Laṅkā's oldest *stūpa* into an esoteric ritual center, sustained by *pāṃśukūlikas* in a "palace" endowed with *vajra*-capitals.¹³⁴

Whichever of the scant number of possible Thūpārāma structures was truly furnished by Mānavarman as their residence, the *prāsāda* nomenclature indicates that there is clearly more to *pāṃśukūlika* existence than the perseverant rag-wearing asceticism that their names imply. Despite the general connotations of ascetic Buddhist monastics as the paradigmatic otherworldly-directed figures who are resolved to their enlightenment by a visible renunciation of worldly comforts, all the evidence associated with these *pāṃśukūlika* figures in the early Second Lambakaṇṇa suggests otherwise. Rahula discusses the three traditional gradations of "rag-wearer" asceticism: those who scavenged their cloth from the cemetery, those who happened across cloth discarded by the laity, and those who accepted used clothing, taking garments laid in front of them by the laity, in some instances no less a person than the king.¹³⁵ Rahula, basing himself upon the several mentions in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*,¹³⁶ notes that these Sinhalese *pāṃśukūlikas* seemed to have followed the mildest of these asceticisms: (e.g., *Cūḷavaṃsa* 48.16 in which Mānavarman's son Aggabodhi V gave the fine garments worn by himself to the *pāṃśukūlin bhikkhus*).¹³⁷ Given that there is no enterprise, much less meritorious austerity, on the part of the monk to convene at an appointed time and arranged place to receive the garments worn the king, I have often asked myself whether the medieval *pāṃśukūlika* phenomenon was merely the designation of a brotherhood to whom the kings of Sinhala gave their garments as a nominal token of esteem and respect, rather like being awarded a position in the Order of the Garter, with the "rag-wearer" *pāṃśukūlin* epithet bearing only slightly greater relationship to the "donation wearer" reality than Sir Elton John's knighthood does to that of William Marshal's. (I observe that this interpretation would imply that the *pāṃśukūlin* life was not so much a soteriology-oriented calling adopted by the monk as it was an invitation to induction into the ranks of the selected few, and this view might be consistent with the *Cūḷavaṃsa*'s recording of Sena I's Rīṭigala endowment of "equipment worthy of royalty," helpers, and slaves for the Abhayagiri's *pāṃśukūlikas*. I further observe that unless these *pāṃśukūlikas* systematically bleached and redyed the clothing that they were given, those who received strongly-colored clothing would necessarily conduct their monastic activities wearing something other than the monastic saffron.¹³⁸) No matter how strongly the

hypothesis of *pāṃśukūlika*-as-ceremonial-society convenes with their attested presence superintending such sites as the Collarbone Relic at the Thūpārāma, that most ancient of Sinhalese *stūpas*, and ministering to the Lambakaṇṇa and Śailendra kings, it fails to account for the more rigorous level of austerity implied by the apparently remote wilderness site of Riṭigala, with perhaps latitude for their occasional forays into the third, charnel-ground, grade of monastic endeavor. In casting about for a conceptual model of this species of Abhayagirin monk that is more appropriate and accurate than “rag-wearer,” it seems as though once again the figure of Kūkai might be illuminating: a monk comfortable in urban areas and confident in advising the palace, but with an intermittent presence at pristine wilderness sites like Kongōbuji.

The question, again, reverts to the qualities, attributes, or resources possessed by this group which stimulated the admiration and patronage of the contemporary Lambakaṇṇa kings and recommended them to the Śailendras overseas.

Apart from the luxuries accorded to them in various passages of the *Cūlavamsa*¹³⁹ during the period that I believe was characterized by royal esoteric Buddhist patronage, we glimpse these Sinhalese *pāṃśukūlikas* in an astounding variety of locations and roles: at the Thūpārāma in the center of Anurādhapura, at Riṭigala's remote wilderness site, at Tiriyāy administering the Hair Relic *caitya* and elsewhere superintending the Eye Relic *stūpa*, and, I argue, in Java serving the needs of the Śailendra court. The surprisingly wide array of contexts suggests that these monks were truly valued for their knowledge and mastery of doctrine, even though they retained nominal trait-marks of their ascetic roots. We know, for instance, in the only extant description of them in the Javanese Abhayagirivihāra inscription that they were acclaimed as experts in the *vinaya* of the Jinavara, the Foremost among the Conquerer(s) (see section II below). At Tiriyāy, they must have been tasked with the ritual obligations at the Girikaṇḍikacaitya, for the absence of archaeological evidence of other monks allots the role to the *pāṃśukūlikas* there. If the reference to the *tapasvins* in (probably) Sena I's Kapārārāma inscription¹⁴⁰ does signify a category of monks akin to those who went to Java, then we see that some of them are described as learned in the *śāstras*.¹⁴¹

Indeed, taking the *pāṃśukūlika* monks per their conventional depiction as the paradigmatic otherworldly Buddhist strivers is a manifestly inappropriate interpretation for the early Second Lambakaṇṇa period

where they are sponsored by kings who patronized Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra: their abodes, whether *prāsāda* or *padhānaghara*, often established at the type of relic site so appreciated by Vajrabodhi, turn up Vajrayāna statues and were embellished with *vajra* motifs on the architecture, all of which connote the sudden-enlightenment methods taught to those accepted for the esoteric teaching. The simultaneous predilections of the kings of Sinhala for both the expedient-means Mantranaya teachings as well as the wholly uncorrelated (indeed flatly antithetical) soteriology of the rag-wearing monks would be even more problematic since this appreciation for these *pāṃśukūlikabhikṣus* was paralleled by the overseas Śāilendras. If these monks were not in fact the preeminent adepts in esoteric doctrine that I take them to be, then in reaching out to Laṅkā for imported scholarly talent, the Śāilendra concurred with the contemporary Lambakaṇṇa with their inexplicable desire to promote Sinhalese monks whose own soteriology fundamentally contradicted the efficacious methods claimed by the esoteric doctrines valued in contemporary Java as evidenced, for example, in their own deeply esoteric inscription of Kelurak.¹⁴²

A final item of corroboration of the fundamental variance between the habits of these Abhayagiri *pāṃśukūlika* monks who dominated before Sena II's Theravāda renewal and the *pāṃśukūlika* traditionalists of the ascendant Mahāvihāra may be found in the incident in the twentieth regnal year of Sena II¹⁴³ when the delegation of *pāṃśukūlika* monks left the Abhayagiri to form their own special circle (*gaṇāhesum*).¹⁴⁴ It is very clear that some aspect of Sena II's shift to the Mahāvihāra and a more traditional Pāli Buddhism proved to be deeply disagreeable to the Abhayagiri's *pāṃśukūlikas*. While it is not inconceivable that the formal motivation for their departure may have lain in a *vinaya* dispute (Walters notes that "minor differences in the various monastic disciplinary rules often functioned as hood upon which doctrinal disputes were hung"¹⁴⁵), I am confident in proposing that the dissent to Sena II by the Abhayagiri's *pāṃśukūlika* monks be interpreted as part of a principled defense of the discredited Mantranaya doctrines or obstinate defense of Abhayagiri privileges by perhaps their strongest adherents.¹⁴⁶ (From a certain perspective, the medieval Sinhalese ascetics of whichever doctrinal denomination seemed to be the "Storm Troopers" of their respective orders, both Abhayagiri and Mahāvihāra.¹⁴⁷)

Although the evidence for the Abhayagiri *pāṃśukūlikabhikṣu* association with esoteric Buddhism is quite compelling, indeed almost

incontrovertible, these brethren fell onto the side of history's losers, with all that implies about their story being honestly conveyed. In the absence of the Abhayagiri's own histories, the precise role played by this cosmopolitan group and their double-platform monasteries will be forever lacking.¹⁴⁸

II. THE INSTANTIATION OF THE PADHĀNAGHARA ON THE RATU BAKA PLATEAU IN CENTRAL JAVA, 792 CE

Through section I's extended examination of the Śrī Laṅkā context of the Buddhist *pāṃśukūlikas* at the Abhayagirivihāra, we see that the cumulative evidence, not great in quantity but significant in quality, is sufficiently strong to allow certain conclusions about the doctrines this Abhayagiri group conveyed and perhaps even generated. Knowing of the Abhayagiri presence in Java, then, permits certain insights and well-grounded assumptions about what the Javanese Buddhists of the late eighth century, from the king down, were studying and believing. Indeed the foundation of this branch of the Abhayagirivihāra on the top of the Ratu Baka plateau must have been one of the culminating points of a deliberate attempt on the part of the Śailendra kings to couple their court monks into the most current trends of thought and practice of monasteries in the cosmopolitan Buddhist world, likely in order to gird their realm with crisis-averting supernatural power. The texts accessible through this Sinhalese delegation must have included those copied by Amoghavajra in Śrī Laṅkā a half-century before, but almost certainly included texts which had originated since then.¹⁴⁹ More importantly than the Mantranaya texts they could reference, the Abhayagiri monks must have been of tremendous utility to the Śailendra court because they had intimate knowledge of the interpretation and exegesis of those deliberately recondite esoteric works.¹⁵⁰

In any case, in an isolated monastery like the Abhayagiri in Java, where there were no other ancillary support structures as at Anurādhapura, the Śailendra king must have relied on the *padhānaghara* to be autonomous and functionally self-complete, to an even greater degree than the obligations imposed on the *pāṃśukūlika* tasked to the extraurban site at Tiriyāy. The monks who were delegated to Java by the mother monastery must have been considered masters of their calling to be dispatched on such a responsible mission. If the *pāṃśukūlika* monks were specially recognized as an élite within their own *nikāya*, the group selected for the court in Java may have constituted the very

best of this already distinguished lot and may have included an *ācārya* of the stature of Vajrabodhi, Amoghavajra, or Buddhaguhya.

Indeed, it is possible that the experiment in Śailendra Java represented a unique zenith for the mother Abhayagiri monastery: not only did a powerful foreign king or emperor send his court monks to Anurādhapura to consult and learn from them, as had Amoghavajra, but they were invited to take up residence at the foreign court. It is not out of the question, however, given how much of the millennium-old evidence is now inaccessible to archaeologists and historians, that the documented Central Javanese instance was not unique and that there was a parallel Abhayagiri presence in Pāla India or other Buddhist kingdoms.¹⁵¹ Conversely, we do not know of the extent or range of the Śailendra efforts to procure such monastic adepts, for it is unknown how many of the possible documents of the Śailendra's overseas affiliations lacked the good fortune of being lodged on a promontory far above the volcanic lahar flows which drenched many other important remnants of eighth and ninth century Java. Whatever other overseas affiliations the Śailendra sponsored,¹⁵³ the position allotted to the Abhayagirivāsins on the human-levelled Ratu Baka promontory¹⁵⁴ suggests that the Sinhalese monks were among the most prized of the Śailendra recruits.

The particulars of the instantiation of the Central Javanese *padhānaghara* are worth examining in some detail, as the Ratu Baka site presents some noteworthy and indeed idiosyncratic archaeological evidence. Various aspects of the early (eighth century) foundations on the Ratu Baka plateau are referenced in figure 6.

Ila. The Abhayagiri Pāṃśukūlikas in an Unfiltered Voice: The Śailendra Foundation Inscription

Given that this site's foundation inscription (fig. 7) is one of the few extant relics of the *Abhayagiri-pāṃśukūlika* category of monks during the eighth century heyday of esoteric fluorescence of Sinhalese Rājaraṭṭha, it is unfortunate that the stone has not yet been fully published,¹⁵⁵ and I consider it a research imperative that a representation of maximum clarity be presented to the interested public.¹⁵⁶

The Śailendra stone represents one of the few extant instances where the Abhayagiri might be represented in an unfiltered voice, and a modern historian would appreciate a thickly descriptive foundation stone for this *padhānaghara*. However, dismayingly little can be learned

from the inscription. One particular strophe addresses the monks of the structure, informing the reader of their provenance:

*ayam=iha jinasūnoḥ padmapāṇeh' kṛpāloḥ prathita --- - - - - *... pādaiḥ ||*
jinavaravinayoktaiḥ śikṣitānām [ya]tīnām abhayagirivihāraḥ kāritaḥ
siṅhalānām //12//¹⁵⁷

As can be seen, attention is primarily drawn to the expertise of the Abhayagiri monks in the *vinaya* of Jinavara (“the foremost among the conquerors”). Whether the fact that the *vinaya* is qualified as that of Jinavara may be taken as significant: this designation might specify a particular sectarian *vinaya*, thus reflecting the tremendous monastic concern that such orthopraxic issues occupied among contemporary Buddhists.¹⁵⁸ There was a similar mention of the knowledge of the *vinaya* and the Mahāyāna on the part of the monks who staffed the monastery associated with the Tārābhavana at Kālasa from fourteen years earlier, so perhaps there is nothing unusual about the similar mention of the *vinaya* expertise of the Abhayagirivāsins: the qualifier “Jinavara” may have no particular Buddhological significance but rather serves as an addition to suit the requirements of poetic meter, with the half-strophe’s true emphasis on the Buddha’s *vinaya* which these Sinhalese monks were imputed to knew so well.

In any case, de Casparis took note of the inscription’s proclamation of the high standard of *vinaya*-learning of the Sinhalese monks,¹⁵⁹ and indeed this is consonant with the observations of Xuanzang 玄奘 that “the [Abhayagiri] monks, strict and pure in practicing the disciplinary rules, are experts in meditation and have brilliant wisdom. Many of them are masters in conduct and serve as teachers of good behavior.”¹⁶⁰ Precisely what form of the *vinaya* is unclear, and Walters notes that the Abhayagiri monks adhered to a *vinaya* code which differed in now-unknown ways from that held by the Mahāvihāra.¹⁶¹ While it is not out of the question that the Ratu Baka reference is to the compendious and wide-ranging *vinaya* section of the Mahāsarvāstivādins which contained many texts beyond the formal *vinaya*,¹⁶² my impression of the entire inscription is that it suggests an attempt to dispel opposition to these monks, with their knowledge of transgressive rites and texts, by the Śailendra king’s labored endorsement that the monks are indeed learned in the Jinavara-*vinaya*. A similar emphatic certification by fiat may lie in the mention of heretics (*tīrthya*) and the burning of “heresies” (*nānādr̥ṣṭi*¹⁶³); indeed, the inscription’s invocation of this topic shows that the Abhayagiri monks were assistants in some

important campaign of orthodoxy rather than mere orthopraxy.¹⁶⁴ The holders of such heresies and inappropriate views may be inferred to be the Rudra-worshipping Pāśupatas rather than Buddhist rivals, for the Śaivas are more likely candidates for the reference in stanza 2 to the “heretic bulls” (*tīrthyavṛṣa*),¹⁶⁵ a rigid stance which possibly motivated the blueblooded *raka*-lord Kumbhayoni some six decades later, when Java’s Śaivas were finally in a position to respond (see the companion to this essay for an extended discussion of the activities of Kumbhayoni at the Abhayagiri site no more than two years after Sena II’s coronation and a year after the consecration of a new king in Central Java¹⁶⁶). This reference in the inscription may be related to the skeleton of a beheaded cow found in the immediate environs of the Abhayagiri *prākāra*.¹⁶⁷

Despite being composed by an esoterically-minded king to mark the arrival of a seemingly premier group of esoteric adepts, the inscription offers few explicit references to the Vajravāda when compared to the nearby Kelurak inscription of only ten years before. The most suggestive esoteric reference was to *saṃgudhārtha*, “secret meanings,”¹⁶⁸ and indeed the inscription seems to advertise further private encodings within it, just as with the Kalasan inscription, several of whose clever allusions to contemporary royalty were recognized by Bosch as long ago as 1925.¹⁶⁹ The inscription commenced with an extended cosmo-topographical description of Sumeru that consumes several strophes and may expatiate on a theme which is presumably organic to the Sinhalese monks.¹⁷⁰ (As Lokesh Chandra suggests,¹⁷¹ the themes of Sumeru, Fire, and Ocean comprised stages in an esoteric consecration ritual.) Among the *saṃgūdārtha* which lurk within the Abhayagiri text may be a concealed Heruka mantra *hrī haḥ*, represented as the native sound of the Cosmic Ocean.¹⁷² In general though, I believe the Abhayagiri inscription is the textual equivalent of the Barabudur *stūpa*: superficially an expression of conventional Mahāyāna thought but endowed with a deep esoteric undercurrent.¹⁷³

The coronation name of the Śailendra king of the Abhayagiri inscription is a formally unresolved issue. De Casparis initially read “Dharmattuṅgadeva,”¹⁷⁴ but by the time of his subsequent publication of the fragments newly found during the 1954 archaeological campaign, and without explanation or clarification, had thrown forth “Samaratuṅga” as the reading of the regent’s name,¹⁷⁵ supplemented by a claim to a reference to the *raka* of Panangkaran (r. 746–784).

(Although I was graciously provided with informal opportunities to inspect both the Jakarta and Yogyakarta halves of the inscription,¹⁷⁶ I remain uncertain about the Śailendra coronation name provided in the inscription and wish to refrain from publishing my notes pending further observations and, more importantly, definitive visual documentation.) Given the information in *Carita Parahyangan* (Chronicle of the Deified), the only extant Javanese historical narrative treating the Śailendra period,¹⁷⁷ that King Warak (r. 803–827) overthrew his father King Panaraban (r. 784–803) but was opposed by Panaraban's other son, the occurrence of the particular coronation name for the Śailendra king who controlled Central Java in 792, from the middle of Panaraban's formal regnal span, might help diagnose the extent and timing of Warak's rebellion.¹⁷⁸ More precise timing of the rebellion that gained him effective control of Javanese territory prior to his being formally accorded the Javanese crown may have implications for the projection of Archipelagic power in what might have been a vassalized Cambodia.¹⁷⁹ (As well, the *Carita Parahyangan*'s remembrances of Panaraban's fondness for destroying "ascetics" may provide heavy context for the issues of asceticism and heresy at the Abhayagiri *padhānaghara* to be explored in a companion essay.¹⁸⁰)

*Iib. Avalokiteśvara: The Interplay of Royal and Ascetic Motifs
in Eighth Century Laṅkā and Java*

Distinguishing itself from the four other extant Śailendra inscriptions, the foundation inscription of the Abhayagirivihāra seems to be concerned with setting out a cosmological context for a royal Śailendra governance in terms which modern scholarly inquiry is beginning to understand, for a great deal of recent academic inquiry has accrued to the Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara who is referenced in it.¹⁸¹ The regal and royal associations of Avalokiteśvara were identified and explicated by Lokesh Chandra,¹⁸² whose substantial efforts may be amplified by being read in conjunction with the Laṅkācentric study of Holt,¹⁸³ who provides a solid catalogue of pertinent Avalokiteśvara imagery and artifacts in the Laṅkān homeland as well as an exegesis of this bodhisattva's role in the Mahāyāna.

In this regard, we must note Lokesh Chandra's expectation of a statue of Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara somewhere on the Ratu Baka Plateau.¹⁸⁴ Although no such large statue or even the remnant of a suitable stone platform has been found there,¹⁸⁵ it is not out of the question

that such a statue may lie under the mass of debris which seems to have been used for the refashioning and broadening of the terraces (fig. 8), which is the only portion of the plateau which has seemingly not been scoured clean by diligent archaeological inquiry. Nevertheless, one would presume, given both the general importance of this Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as well as the imagery of the four Lokeśvaras¹⁸⁶ invoked in the introductory strophe of the 782 Kelurak inscription, that such an important tutelary statue would have been erected even earlier than the Mañjuśrī statue whose consecration is featured in Kelurak, rather than as late in Śailendra construction history as the 792 instantiation of the Abhayagirivāsins.

It is indeed possible that Śailendra Java featured more than a single cultic Avalokiteśvara statue, for that bodhisattva surfaces in two primary guises, royal and ascetic, with both modes attested in the population of the Tiriyāy bronze cache and in the extant medieval Sinhalese temple architecture. (Interestingly, these dual modes may mirror the situation of royally sponsored *pāṃśukūlikas* like the Ratu Baka monks themselves.) The Sinhalese juxtapositions of royal and ascetic have attracted the research attention of Holt and Bopearachchi,¹⁸⁷ who provide considerable documentation of early medieval Sinhalese representations of Avalokiteśvara in both a regally-dressed and ascetic mode. Apart from the admixture of representations that was recovered from the esoteric cache of figurines at the *padhānaghara* at Tiriyāy, Bopearachchi draws attention to the deliberate juxtaposition of the modes in a number of other contemporary Pallava-themed temples along the east coast of Laṅkā: the Buddha is depicted with flanking Avalokiteśvaras of both ascetic and royal styles at the old Mahāyāna temples at Girikaṇḍacaitya/Girihandusaya at Tiriyāy, at the Mudū/Muhudu Mahāvihāra at Pottuvil and again at the nearby Budupatunna, as well as being found as a matched lithic pair in the image house at the coastal site Situlpahuva, which also boasted a *padhānaghara*.¹⁸⁸ Most interestingly, Bopearachchi reports a recent find in Anurādhapura: a “bronze statuette of Avalokiteśvara dressed both in ascetic attire and in princely garments found accidentally by a fisherman in the Malvatu Oya, inside the old city of Anurādhapura.”¹⁸⁹ Given the conflation of the royal and the ascetic at Tiriyāy and the other Sinhalese sites, on the Ratu Baka, and as reported throughout the *Cūḷavaṃsa*’s history of the period, these statues and bas-reliefs may provide one of the

most satisfying visual expressions of the motivating force behind this phenomenon.¹⁹⁰

IIC. Caves, Precipices, and the Orientation to the West: Positioning the Sinhalese Pāṃśukūlikas in a Hospitable Terrain

One persistent mystery associated with the Ratu Baka *padhānaghara* is its orientation. While the site's association with the Abhayagiri was first reported by de Casparis, the specific identification of the site with the corollary architectural form was not made until a visit by Siran Deraniyagala in the early 1990s. With normative models clearly identified, Miksic was the first to remark on the anomalous orientation of the Ratu Baka structure, with its portals positioned not on the north, east, and south sides like almost all of the other such Sinhalese structures, but rather with its doorways opening to the north, west, and south.¹⁹¹ While I am aware of no particular study of the orientations of Sinhalese religious structures which would assist in helping to interpret the 792 Javanese evidence, such a precedent cannot be ruled out categorically, for at least one such *padhānaghara* at Riṭigala violates the general rule of an eastern orientation.¹⁹²

There are a number of rationales for such a westward orientation of the *padhānaghara*, which shared its westward orientation with many other Javanese religious structures, both Hindu and Buddhist,¹⁹³ and which must have been acceptable to the monastic inhabitants as they would have objected to a malformation of the walls in the same fashion as, we shall see in section IIe, they did to the other structural inadequacies created by the work crews of their Śailendra host. Among these plausible rationales for the westward orientation are the commitments by the monastic inhabitants to practices requiring the circumambulation of ritual objects in a direction opposite to that normally taken (*apradakṣina* or *prasavya*). Heather Stoddard documents a corresponding reversal of the direction of customary circumambulation in the rituals associated with the Yoginī texts of this transgressive branch of Niruttarayoga doctrinal literature.¹⁹⁴ This possibility would be especially credible if, as argued in section Id above, these Abhayagiri *pāṃśukūlika-bhikṣus* were the group most closely associated with the transgressive texts referenced by Amoghavajra that were too disturbing for him to translate. Other rationales for the westward orientation include a hypothetical dedication of the monastery to Akṣobhya, the Buddha of the West whose stone statue was found just outside of one

of the two of the caves on the plateau, or even an orientation that was open to the mother monastery in Śrī Laṅkā, many thousands of kilometers to the west. Finally, the monastery may have been obligated to be aligned with the west-facing Great Gate of the plateau, the other structure that seems to date from the time of the *padhānaghara*¹⁹⁵ and which Long notes is oriented in the direction of a “*pendopo*” terrace, formerly guarded by *dvārapālas*, to the south of the Kalasan temple.¹⁹⁶

With regard to this last possibility, an obligated alignment of the Abhayagiri structure to the Great Gate, considerations of the nature of the coupling are enormously significant for the religious and dynastic history of the island. To properly contextualize this discussion, though, it will be necessary to take a few steps back and discuss two other natural features of the Abhayagiri site: the nearby meditation caves and the precipice on which it was founded.

Apart from the man-made construction of the double-platformed *padhānaghara* and the small nearby *stūpa*, there are some natural features of the Ratu Baka site that must have dictated the decision to settle the Abhayagirivāsins there. These two features are the precipice on which the monastery was situated and the presence of several large geologic protrusions that could be fashioned into rock caves that approximated those frequently encountered near the *padhānaghara*s in Laṅkā.¹⁹⁷ Indeed, the proximity of suitable lithic knobs may have been instrumental in the assignment of the monastery to the steep southern precipice rather than the truly vertiginous northern precipice.¹⁹⁸ Whether or not the succession of broad and purposefully levelled terraces linked by stone-paved walkways which lead from the Great Gate to the monastery are a feature of the 792 period or a later period is unknown, but as is evident in figure 8, the original retaining walls and staircase to the immediate west of the *padhānaghara* have been subsequently refashioned with tremendous effort.

Given that the Ratu Baka site, the northern peak of which must have served as a stone quarry (in its extant form, the quarrying left a vertical wall against the original peak), was originally allocated to the Great Gate, the Abhayagiri, and whatever purposes were served by the demarcated terraces, we must pose the question of which structure was the prime mover in the development of the plateau. Were the west-facing Great Gate and the few other building structures on the northern plateau original to the location, which was subsequently and (quite literally) serendipitously determined to be appropriate for the

placement of the Abhayagiri delegation, or were the Abhayagirivāsins situated first, with the other early structures of the northern plateau then built up, presumably in harmony with the august monastery? A third possibility presents itself: perhaps both the Great Gate and the Abhayagiri monastery were jointly planned as a grand Sinhalese-inspired unity that tied together both royal and sacerdotal purposes of a *kraton* and its court priests. While the resolution to the problem might never be known without much extensive, expensive excavations at the Ratu Baka site to learn more about it, such a grand portal might indicate the function of the terraced plateau as a Śailendra palace,¹⁹⁹ for the Great Gate of the Ratu Baka bears a substantial resemblance to the gate that fronts the late medieval Sinhalese fortress-palace of Yapahuwa (fig. 10).²⁰⁰ Given that the Great Gate possibly represents a lithic implementation of a wooden gate structure,²⁰¹ it is valid to ask whether the precedent for Yapahuwa and the Ratu Baka was also to be found in Laṅkā, specifically in the now-vanished wooden gates of the Anurādhapura Citadel. Whatever its ultimate relationship to Śailendra royalty may have been, it is known that there was some aspect of this gate that was of intense royal concern during the period, as evidenced by the emplacement of a *vajra*-shaped gold foil with an inscribed mantra apparently implicating King Panaraban.²⁰²

IId. Consecration Deposits, Consecrated Platforms, and the Troubled Construction of the Padhānaghara

The construction history of the *padhānaghara* that served the Sinhalese monks is intriguing, as the present building evidences architectural signs of being possibly the second reprise of the *padhānaghara* structure. During the reconstruction of the compound,²⁰³ the archaeological team noticed a very unusual structural feature in the courtyard between the meditation platforms and the surrounding wall: a set of pavement stones formed a large rectangular pattern around the present northern platform and disappeared under the southern. When the pavement was dismantled, it was found that the lower course of stones just outside the rectangle was mortised although the upper layer possessed no matching tenons. The obvious implication is that the initial wall surrounding the single northern platform had been dismantled and replaced by an expanded rectangular wall that accommodated the newly-established southern platform of the double-platformed *vihāra*. This evidence suggests to me that the Javanese prepared the location

for the Sinhalese before they arrived and the original effort at building the prescribed structure may not have been correctly implemented, either because the workmaster who initially directed the construction misunderstood the architectural requirements or else miscommunicated them to the stonemasons, because his commands were garbled from afar, or because his directorial presence was interrupted.²⁰⁴ It seems to me that there is little chance that Sinhalese monks supervised the native work-gang's initial attempt at the construction of a proper *padhānaghara*, but that in the end the structure was amended to the satisfaction of the *pāṃśukūlikas*. One also notes, following Degroot,²⁰⁵ modestly greater architectural embellishments, such as the elaborate portals, or the fundamentally different *makara* drainspouts,²⁰⁶ beyond those provided to typical Sinhalese *padhānaghara*. (One item that seems missing from the Javanese instance is the urinal with a palatial motif, a topic that will be taken up below.)

Apart from the other obviously Buddhist features on the southern end of the plateau such as the nearby *stūpa*, the Abhayagiri compound consisted of at least one companion structure: the mysterious, featureless oblong block that is offset by a meter and aligned with the Abhayagiri's eastern wall, being roughly coterminous with it (see fig. 6). A square tank lies to the immediate north of it and stairs lead up to this platform; it was obviously meant to be mounted by humans. Most importantly, the eastern oblong structure was consecrated to Buddhism: the Siddham foundation inscription is not the only written Buddhist material that can be associated with the Abhayagirivihāra, for the Indonesian Archaeological Service has recovered Buddhist deposit inscriptions from an intact earthen jar on the northeast corner of the oblong platform (fig. 11).

De Casparis provided the only description of the silver inscription, noting that it read *ye te svāhā*, the abbreviation of the Mahāyāna Buddhist creed, and that the characters were formed in a very early form of the Kawi script, similar to the form found at Caṇḍi Menḍut.²⁰⁷ (The plates are unfortunately no longer extant in the repository of its official custodian, but Arlo Griffiths [personal communication] has obtained a legible copy of the documentary photograph. It is hoped that he can piece together additional words from the fragments.) Unfortunately, the location provided by de Casparis for their provenance is not quite correct (they were not found to the immediate northeast of the Abhayagiri double-platform, which de Casparis called

by its Javanese name “*pendopo*,” or its walls), and I am indebted to my fellow Ratu Baka researcher Véronique Degroot for conveying the results of her recent consultation of the pertinent published Annual Report of the Archaeological Service of Indonesia:

From the *Laporan Tahunan* 1951–1952: It turned out that there was indeed such a deposit, but it didn't originate from the *pendopo*. The map (fig.71) shows that the area excavated in 1951–1952 extended from the eastern wall of the *pendopo* to the bathing place on the lower terrace. The legend of fig.24 says: “*kepingan emas bertulisan, ditemukan disebelah Timur batur “pendopo”*”. Thus, found “to the East of the *pendopo*”, without precision.

More important is the text on p.18. It describes the elongated terrace (fig.26), and then goes on saying: “Through excavation was found the remains of two earthen pots. The first was found behind the southernmost stairs at a depth of approximately 30 cm, while the other was found to the northwest of the terrace at a depth of approximately 60 cm, with a silver-plated bronze as well as a gold plate and with an agate stone to the side. Both metal strips were inscribed. [My translation, J.R.S.]”²⁰⁸

The next paragraph describes the squarish water tank to the north of the elongated terrace. From this, it is quite obvious that the inscribed plates were found next to the elongated terrace, and not in direct connection with the *pendopo*.

The use of the Kawi script for the consecration of the extramural platform of the Sinhalese monks offers food for thought and may provide some insight into a facet of their settlement in Java. These cosmopolitan Abhayagiri monks seemed to have had a broad acquaintance with a variety of Indic scripts as well as their own Heḷa, which is not greatly dissimilar to the Grantha-based Kawi permutation recently adopted in Java. Inscriptions, both administrative and religious, at the Abhayagiri's Kapārārāma and again at its “*dhāraṇīghara*” employed the Siddham script, and the monks presumably could read the Śailendra foundation inscription which established their own ārāma in Java. Nevertheless, it is difficult to find a *prima facie* reason for a difference in the script used for the consecration plates and the foundation inscription unless it is taken as evidence of their cultural adaptability.²⁰⁹

What is to be made of this featureless yet seemingly important consecrated Buddhist dais to the immediate east of the Abhayagiris' walls? Clearly, given the paucity of data, we must engage in speculation or conjecture as to its purpose, but I believe that such an exercise will be

worthwhile, for it might lead to a plausible solution given analogous archaeological observations made in other lands. (Although a similar platform lies to the immediate south of the Ratu Boko Abhayagiri, that platform is square and seems not to have thrown forward any inscribed material. Furthermore, I doubt very much that it was part of the Abhayagirin ensemble, as it seems to have blocked their *makara* drainage spouts. I will discuss this topic in more detail in a companion essay that concerns the events in Java in 856.²¹⁰)

Having given the matter some thought, the only role for this structure that seems plausible to me is that of an Abhayagirin consecration platform, either for initiates or for kings. Unfortunately, although such platforms are known to have existed, little is concretely known about the form of such structures²¹¹ other than that an induction requires sufficient space for a *maṇḍala* into which a flower might be thrown, which the narrow Ratu Baka structure seems to have lacked. A royal consecration platform, however, is a different matter, and I consider it not implausible that the Abhayagiri conducted rituals for the royalty in much the same manner, for example, as Amoghavajra when “he introduced sumptuous rituals for a Buddhist liturgy of state and established the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī as official tutelary deity of the empire. He received imperial permission to erect an altar for Tantric consecrations at the Daxingshan monastery (*Daxingshan si* 大兴善寺), where ritual performances for the benefit of the empire took place four times a year.”²¹² Indeed, if the Abhayagirivāsins consecrated the Śailendra kings as *cakravartins* as Amoghavajra did for Suzong, there is circumstantial evidence to be found in the evidentiary pattern on the Ratu Baka Plateau, for the fragments of a ca. 856 Kumbhayoni inscription devoted to four generations of his royal ancestors was probably positioned just outside the eastern platform: one wonders if one or all of the ancestors he mentions was consecrated there.²¹³

Ile. A Hypothesized Lanikādvīparājaguru Who Directed the Śailendra Court

What is safe to conclude about the mysteries associated with the erection of the walls of the Abhayagiri monastery is that there was a controlling presence coordinating the location, orientation, and theme of the Ratu Baka. This knowledgeable director was aware that Sinhalese standards for the *padhānaghara* demanded three openings in the walls, and knew that it was permissible (although in practice exceedingly rare, as no such western-oriented *padhānaghara* has been found) for the

asymmetry to be imposed on the western rather than the eastern wall. This executive may have not diligently and continuously supervised the construction of the *padhānaghara*, but left instructions that proved inadequate to the task of building the required structure, which apparently needed to be amended upon review. Plausible candidates for such an architectural director include a South Indian *guru* who had a passing knowledge of Sinhalese monasteries and their architectural requirements; a Lambakaṇṇa *rājadūta* dispatched to Java; a Javanese with an acquaintance with Laṅkā, either a Śailendra monk who, in much the manner of Bianhong with the Green Dragon monastery (Qinglong-si 青龍寺) in Chang'an, had ventured to Laṅkā and ordained under the Abhayagirivihāra or else a Śailendra *rājadūta* stationed in Laṅkā (possibly communicating construction plans via dispatches); or even a hybrid monastic diplomat, a now-lost Javanese *dharmadūta* analogue of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra.²¹⁴

However, in casting about for the identity of the inferred executive who was intermittently present in Central Java to direct the construction of the *padhānaghara* even before the instantiation of the Abhayagirivāsins, I cannot rule out the author of both the 778 Kalasan and 792 Abhayagiri inscriptions: no less a figure than the primary *rājaguru* of the Śailendras. Nominating as an early *rājaguru* an individual with deep acquaintance with Laṅkā would show that the Śailendra accorded relations with Laṅkā the same priority as Amoghavajra and Vajrabodhi, especially since the South Indian ur-source of the doctrines had been in drastic decline. Indeed, such a privileged appreciation of the Lion Isle may have obtained in Javanese monastic minds from the time of Vajrabodhi, who may have visited Java during his 716–719 Southeast Asian sojourns and, by one biographic account endorsed by Kūkai, may have first encountered his pupil Amoghavajra there. This early *Laṅkādvīparājaguru*²¹⁵ would have acted in conjunction with other foreign *mantrins* attached to the Śailendra court, such as the *rājaguru* from Gauḍīdvīpa who served instrumentally in the creation of the royal Śailendra Mañjuśrī temple documented in the inscription of Kelurak, and whose presence in Java seems to evidence a parallel Śailendra effort to connect to Pāla-sourced Buddhist doctrines.²¹⁶ This inferred *Laṅkādvīparājaguru* who preceded the formal deputation by the Abhayagiri monastery by more than a decade is necessarily historical speculation, but such a thesis is sustained by considerations of circumstance and paleography, and furthermore seems to resolve the

thorny problems associated not only with the consecration, acceptably performed, of a structure which later needed to be amended, but also several other troublesome Javalogical issues.

In suggesting this, I am particularly attracted to the notion that this *Laṅkādvīparājaguru* was an Abhayagiri monk, possibly a conventional monastic, one who had but a nodding acquaintance with the Sinhalese ascetic constructions or else one who had imperfect control over the construction of the *padhānaghara*, consecrated the construction, laid down instructions for its completion, and then was called away, perhaps even by the necessity of travel to accompany the Śailendra court to the remote remnants of the Śrīvijayan Sumatran dominions that seem to have fallen into Javanese hands by that time.

It is not only the logic that the Śailendra would not wait so long into their careers as affluent Buddhists to reach out to the Laṅkān source that had been so prized by Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, but also considerations of early Javanese Buddhist architecture and paleography that piqued my interest in this *Laṅkādvīparājaguru* hypothesis. Indeed, several factors suggest to me that the Sinhalese were there from the beginnings of Javanese efforts at Buddhacization under the Śailendra,²¹⁷ even if a formal delegation of Abhayagirivāsins was not installed until 792.

One of the primary pieces of evidence for an early Laṅkān presence in Java comes from considerations of Javanese Buddhist architecture. The architectural historian Jacques Dumarçay,²¹⁸ for instance, observed that a construction technique, likely of Laṅkān origin, was used in all Buddhist monuments, especially the early (ca. 780) masterpiece²¹⁹ Candi Sewu, suggesting that the Javanese were by then in communication with the Sinhalese. Those who pay attention to temple morphology will note that Sewu's quincunx pattern shares its fundamental form not only with the Pāla Somapura monastery at Paharpūr,²²⁰ which followed Sewu in time, but also the Kapārārāma of the Abhayagiri that preceded it by about a century.²²¹ Indeed, it is not impossible that the great booty from a conquest of Śrīvijaya²²² may have allowed the Śailendra kings the financial wherewithal to implement in Central Java a fundamentally Laṅkān or South Indian religious vision which Sinhalese economics had constrained to a much more modest lithic temple.

While seemingly of marginal importance on first glance, one of the most noteworthy and diagnostic aspects of the Abhayagirivihāra inscription is not its text or its context but rather the idiosyncrasies

of the Siddhamāṭṛka script in which it was engraved (fig. 12). While Bosch was the first to draw attention to a number of morphological and stylistic variants that differentiated the Siddham script used in the Kalasan and Abhayagirivihāra inscriptions²²³ from that of any of the Indic inscriptions then known to him, I observed that such variances were also standard in the execution of the script when used by the contemporary East Asian Buddhists, including Kūkai, demonstrating a common provenance.²²⁴ Subsequent research into the matter has turned up two additional instances of the use of the Siddham script in locales which potentially informed the Javanese and Chinese usage, but seem to be dispositive.

The Pallava king Narasiṃhapotavarman II Rājasimha used the Siddham script as a dual to the Grantha in his early eighth century cave-temple Atiraṇacaṇḍeśvara, and indeed Rājasimha's script does exhibit a very minor variant which approximated one of the Sino-Javanese features²²⁵ but proved not to provide any direct precedents. Even more proximate to the Javanese and East Asian instances is the 757 CE Virūpākṣa temple of the Cālukyas, but the script again fails to provide any toehold into the problem. It may be reasonably concluded that the variant script did not arise independently in both Java and China, but rather originated with a common Buddhist source both known to them and sufficiently prominent in order for it to be so widely adopted. The most plausible such candidate is Laṅkā, which may have conserved an antique form of the Siddham script even as it was evolving in North Indian domains.²²⁶ Its adoption by the Javanese as early as 778 may serve as another indicator of an early Sinhalese directorial presence at the Śailendra court.

III. DOCTRINE AND DISPOSITION:

THE CHARACTER OF ESOTERIC SINHALESE ASCETIC MONKS

The final aspect of section I's consideration of the antecedents to the establishment of the *pāṃśukūlikas* in Śailendra Java is a more refined appreciation of how fundamentally these Abhayagiri monks, labelled as ascetics, differed from paradigmatic Theravāda ascetics. This variance manifested itself not only in doctrine but almost certainly in disposition as well: the discrepancies between the rag-wearers of both orders likely transcended doctrinal and *vinaya* differences and reached into the realm where these esoteric teachings imprinted themselves on the monastic personae. Such an effect would be most strongly felt

not by students of the more conventional esoteric texts such as the *Tattvasaṃgraha*, which merely advocated the possessive states of deity-yoga or even the cultivation of supernatural skills, but rather by those monks with a putative acquaintance with the widely-condemned transgressive *advaya* doctrines often associated with *siddhas*, where celebrants sought to transcend the duality between ritual purity and impurity by deliberately introducing the impure into esoteric ritual.²²⁷

Amoghavajra was indisputably conscious of these transgressive texts, as several of them—such as the *Guhyasamāja* and the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*²²⁸—are unambiguously specified among the constituent Eighteen Assemblies²²⁹ of the great 100,000 stanza *Vajroṣṇīṣa* work, even if Amoghavajra's intentionally inadequate summary of them deliberately mystified their disturbing contents for his Chinese readership.²³⁰ What is most pertinent for the purposes of the present essay, though, is that Amoghavajra must have gained access to his transgressive texts from some source in Laṅkā.²³¹ Given the transgressive character of some of his cardinal texts with their deep associations with *siddhas*, and the demonstrated acquaintance with esoteric deities venerated by *pāṃśukūlika* monks in such sites as Tiriyāy, there is a great probability that these *pāṃśukūlika* monks were the ultimate source for Amoghavajra's Assemblies. Simply stated, there are currently no other plausible, historically visible actors who may have been responsible for Amoghavajra's acquisition of these types of transgressive texts²³² and possessed the authority to certify that they indeed constituted the *Vajroṣṇīṣa* system that Amoghavajra sought.²³³ Conversely, there is little other, as far as I can see, about the repertoire of these esoteric *pāṃśukūlikas* that would merit the patronage of the Lambakaṇṇa and Śailendra kings unless it was their deep acquaintance with the full range of texts that lay at the core of Amoghavajra's Laṅkā-sourced *Vajroṣṇīṣa* corpus. Indeed, it is not inconceivable to me that the *pāṃśukūlikas* were not only the highly literate agents who conveyed these novel eighth century texts, but they or South Indian predecessors may even have been instrumental in their genesis and development.²³⁴

Given the pertinence of Amoghavajra's acquisition of siddhic *advaya* texts in Laṅkā and the candidacy of the *pāṃśukūlika* exegetes in supplying them, these monks who are associated with the *padhānaghara* structures in Laṅkā and Java may also provide the best available explanation for the genesis of the *siddha* mode of Buddhist existence.²³⁵ Davidson provides an arresting synopsis of these seminal Buddhist

siddha figures, and it is difficult not to appreciate how substantially similar to the *pāṃśukūlikas* these *siddhas* may have been:

In the period between their appearance in the early eighth century and their demise some six to seven centuries later, Buddhist *siddhas* captured the imagination of Buddhist communities in North India, Nepal, and elsewhere, even while they were probably few in absolute numbers at any one time. The new ideal arose both from the Buddhist appropriations of elements of the much older *siddha* tradition and from the aggressive intrusion of non-Buddhist elements into the Buddhist milieu. Here, *siddhas* took as their primary goal the acquisition of supernormal powers (*siddhi*) and, ultimately, dominion over both gods and sorcerers (*vidyādhara*). The means to do so involved magical rites in cemeteries or forests in conjunction with persons of authority, especially kings, using their aid to subjugate various kinds of nonhuman beings. Frequenting both cemeteries and the palaces of the new lords of the land, they practiced every form of magic, from love potions to ritual slaughter. With a political awareness as to the perquisites of royal patronage, *siddhas* acted as the kings' agents, engaged in secret signs and elaborate disguises, and provided their royal patrons with sacred entertainment through sophisticated temple song and dance. However, for *siddhas* the early political sphere was but a pale imitation of the ultimate celestial political environment, even though they made provisions for their appropriation of mundane political authority. In fact, *siddhas* desired nothing less than power over the divinities themselves and the underlying forces of reality. They represented the limitations of worldly ethics and morality as applicable only to incompetents, for *siddhas* must be above such concerns.²³⁶

This very identification of wilderness monks as *siddhas* was advanced in Gray,²³⁷ who both proposed a solution to the baffling question of the *siddha* origins by proposing the novel wilderness monk-*siddha* identification,²³⁸ but also envisioned a radically alternate sequence of tantric doctrinal development, reconfiguring the conventionally accepted succession of *kriyā* -> *caryā* -> *yoga* -> *niruttarayoga* development by positing that the transgressive, "nondual" *advaya* doctrines had developed extramonastically, "among select and marginal groups of meditators and *yogins/yoginīs*, and then achieved widespread acceptance only once it became monasticized."²³⁹ Accepting Gray's sequence, an interesting but unresolved (and quite possibly unresolvable) question arises on the relationship between these *pāṃśukūlika* monks and conventional monastics. Depending on their position on the spectrum of Buddhist

behaviors among the Abhayagirivāsin ascetics of the eighth century, these *pāṃśukūlika* monks may have existed in tremendous tension with their more conventional fellow monks, for as Davidson observes, “The new consecratory systems were sufficiently alarming that attempts were made by Buddhist monks—abbots and exegetes—to frame their ritual narrative, deny their necessity, or extract their physicality.”²⁴⁰ Indeed, such tension with conventional monks may have precipitated Sena I’s decision to provide them with distinct facilities like separate kitchens.²⁴¹

From what may be surmised from the extant evidence, however, the conspicuous patronage of the Lambakaṇṇa kings would have provided these *pāṃśukūlikas* with superior positions from which to deal with their more conventional brethren. Possibly these *pāṃśukūlika* monks—just like their *siddha* counterparts—achieved status as near-mythic figures of dread and power, wizards who reputedly possessed arcane knowledge derived from the *Vajroṣṇīsa* texts which could be placed at the disposal of the kings of Laṅkā. Davidson suggests that “*siddha*-like sages (*ṛṣi*), *vidhādharas* and other saintly individuals-become located in both mythic celestial and mundane human realms: in the sky, on mountains, in caves and forests, in cemeteries, and at the margins of civilization.”²⁴² The closest extant representation of the Abhayagiri’s *pāṃśukūlika* monks, I suspect, lies in the self-portrait of Śubhākarasiṃha (fig. 13) in the *Gobushinkan* 五部心觀, the illustrated pantheon of the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. Images of such potent eighth century *siddha* figures, I have argued, are widely preserved in the ruins of Buddhist Java, not least of which as a fundamental motif in the middle-stage embellishment of the shrines of Caṇḍi Sewu and among the levitating attendants at Barabudur, where these bearded figures take their place as counterparts to more conventional minor *devas*.²⁴³ Such imagery may have been catalyzed by the Śailendra invitation to the Abhayagiri’s *pāṃśukūlikas*.

An interesting question then arises: given the evident attractiveness of the *pāṃśukūlika* contribution to the Laṅkān and Javanese kings, why is the phenomenon so muted in East Asia? Why didn’t the ascetic monasteries spread to Tang China and into the Shingon and Tendai schools? The answer to this question may perhaps be seen in an artifact that seems customary in almost all extant Sinhalese *padhānaghara* sites, save for singular exception of the one erected on the Ratu Baka Plateau: a urinal that had been carved with the insignia of the royal

palace.²⁴⁴ Such an artifact, I believe, was necessarily a contemptuous judgment on the relative value of the royalty. Such a device may have been acceptable in Laṅkā: the kings of Sinhala had a long history of titular equality²⁴⁵ and token subordination to the monasteries, while the ascetic monks may have acted with little formal regard for their king. In light of this ubiquitous artefact, the failure of this Buddhist mode to establish itself in Tang China may be evident at a glance: the East Asians preferred a monasticized Buddhism that complimented the dignity of the East Asian states and that was congruent with the East Asian imperial preference for well-regulated and rigidly controlled subjects. If the emperors of China demanded respect and would not look kindly upon this type of repudiation of the worldly hierarchy, the Indianized Śailendra regent would probably be equally unappreciative of a display of the palace-urinal contempt by his sponsored Sinhalese monks. This inability by *pāṃśukūlikas* to comport with the requirements for dignity by foreign kings and emperors may constitute the first level of dissociation of Amoghavajra's corpus of transgressive texts from a proper historical attribution of their source.

Whether or not the *pāṃśukūlika* monks of the Abhayagiri were merely *siddha*-like in nature or were the genuine proto-*siddhas* of history, their acquaintance with the doctrinal literature of esoteric Buddhism would not have failed to leave its mark on the character of the monks. Davidson strikingly observed:

Yet, despite their continued proclamation of ethical purity and condemnation of lapses of morality within the community, monks also became increasingly attracted by the structures of Indian medieval life. The texts themselves introduce to monks the themes of power, personality, eroticism, violence in defense of the Dharma, spells, and the mythology of absolute supremacy.²⁴⁶

Given the pertinence of Davidson's observation to the instance of the Sinhalese ascetic monks of the eighth century, there is a subsequent matter to dwell on: if Davidson is correct in his observation that the *tantras* marked a shift of monastic personality away from anonymity, self-negation, and the passive observance of the transitory world, and the ascetic monks were among those acquainted with the more transgressive of the esoteric materials in Amoghavajra's canon, how could Sena II effect an orthopraxic reform of the monastic orders that eradicated these deep-rooted personae and reverted to a more traditional,

officially-sponsored monastic personality like those associated with the Theravādins?—

The best indications of Theravāda success in both arresting the esoteric momentum and reversing it is not, I believe, to be found in words but in a graphic, for one image speaks directly to Davidson's insightful observation, almost as though in anticipation of it. While the common motifs of the Sinhalese inscriptions after the Theravāda revival are the dog and the crow, serving as negative tokens of karmic consequence,²⁴⁷ there is another intermittent image which, as nearly as surviving documentation allows us to know, first appears in Sena II's Rājamahāvihāraya inscription at Paṇḍuvasnuvara in his sixth regnal year,²⁴⁸ and recurs in the dual inscriptions of Kōngollāva and Iluppakanniya from his twentieth regnal year.²⁴⁹ (This latter pair of inscriptions endows a particular *pirivena* of the Abhayagirivihāra, doubtlessly as part of the regent's effort to bring the aberrant monastery to heel. Perhaps not coincidentally, they date from the very year that the Abhayagiri's *pāṃśukūlikas* walked out of the monastery and struck out on their own.) Beside the karmic reminders of dog and crow, Sena II's inscriptions present the first graphic representations of the monastic fan (*vaṭāpata*, fig. 15), used in *baṇa* preaching to efface the speaker and guarantee the depersonalized anonymity of the paradigmatic Theravāda monk.²⁵⁰ The promotion of this newly valent Laṅkān monastic persona may constitute the ultimate repudiation of the Abhayagiri's medieval experiment with the Vajra Path.

IV. TURMOIL IN THE ESOTERIC BUDDHIST WORLD CA. 840 CE

In the above pages, we have seen the efflorescence and fall of the once celebrated and dominant Abhayagirivihāra. There are very interesting collateral developments in contemporary Buddhist Asia, official backlashes against excesses, disappointments, or shortcomings in its practices or doctrines, that make it clear that Laṅkā was not alone in the esoteric Buddhist world in needing to act against discredited monks about this time, although the imprecision of the dating for the Anurādhapura sacking leaves doubt about the chronological sequence and therefore the possible causality between actions in several different countries. It cannot be doubted, though, that the state of esoteric Buddhism in 845 was markedly weaker across Asia than it had been merely a handful of years before.

There is clear and pertinent evidence of adversity in China, Tibet, and Laṅkā. In China, the stimulus for the anti-Buddhist Huichang 會昌 backlash²⁵¹ seemed largely practical, undertaken for financial motives: so many Chinese had exploited the tax exemptions available for Buddhist monks that the Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846) in 841–845 was forced to purge the monasteries of their monastic tax dodgers. He closed 4,600 monasteries and 40,000 temples and shrines, returning 260,500 monks and nuns to civil life and restoring vast amounts of farmland to the imperial tax registers. According to Li Jie 李節 and the Japanese monk Ennin 圓仁 (793–864), the destruction of both monasteries and statues was executed quite thoroughly in places far from Chang'an 長安. The purge extended beyond merely disrobing the monks: Ennin describes Emperor Wuzong's persecution of monks in 844, saying that all the stone pillars engraved with *dhāraṇī* were destroyed as well as the monasteries,²⁵² thus accounting for the scarcity of these stone pillars today.²⁵³ In 842, the assassination of the Tibetan king by a Buddhist monk set off 150 years of chaos and disorder known as the “dark period,” during which the empire disintegrated and little progress in Buddhist studies was made.²⁵⁴ The cumulative effect of this reaction on the northern periphery of the Buddhist world, as Matsunaga notes, is that “the period from the middle of the ninth century until around the end of the tenth century was a dark age for Buddhism in both China and Tibet. Since there was [sic] hardly any translations of *sūtras* made during this period, it is difficult to know and follow the history of the translations or the development of Buddhism in India at this time.”²⁵⁵ To Matsunaga's account we may now add, of course, the Rājaraṭṭha kingdom of Śrī Laṅkā, where the morning sun revealed on a daily basis Anurādhapura's shattered buildings and despoiled niches, an unceasing censure of both the failed king Sena I and the failed Abhayagiri that sourced his doctrines.

The latent tensions posed by a subordinated soteriology existed in both Laṅkā and in Java, where the Abhayagiri had also taken root. In the former case that group was the Theravādins of the Mahāvihāra, while in Java that group was the Śaivas. Both tolerated the slights and nursed their grievances in their lifetimes out of royal favor, and both proved ready to seize their moment.²⁵⁶ In Laṅkā, as we have seen in the pages above, that moment came no later than the Mahāvihāra's coronation of Sena II in 854. In Java, King Kayuwangi was consecrated in 855, and within a year a blueblooded Śaiva nobleman, Kumbhayoni,

was standing at the gates of the Abhayagiri's *prākāra* with the intention of peppering their site with Śaiva artifacts, a fascinating story that will be told in the companion to the present essay.²⁵⁷

NOTES

1. I am indebted to a number of correspondents who contributed to my present understanding of the curiosities associated with the Sinhalese monks of the Abhayagirivihāra who came to inhabit the *padhānaghara* in Java. Among them are Andrea Acri, David Andolfatto, Stephen Berkwitz, Sven Bretfeld (to whom I am indebted for generously taking the time to explain of a number of terms in epigraphical Sinhalese and other historical issues), Edward Bopearachchi and Osmund Bopearachchi (to both of whom I owe an enormous debt of gratitude for procuring copies of Sirimal Ranawella's essential corpus of medieval Sinhalese inscriptions, and to Osmund for providing highly useful comments on drafts of this essay), Robert Brown, Gudrun Bühnemann, Ven. Rangama Chandawimala Thero, Lokesh Chandra, Véronique Degroot (for spotting errors and providing critical assistance on several issues herein), Emmanuel Francis, Ryosuke Furui, the ever-formidable Rolf Giebel, Susantha Goonatilake and Hema Goonatilake, Nadeesha Gunawardane, Manjushree Gupta, Phyllis Granoff, Guy Halpe, John Holt, my friend and mentor Roy Jordaan, Gerd Mevissen and Corinna Wessels-Mevissen, Kate O'Brien, Gokul Seshadri, Sudharshan Seneviratne, Peter Sharrock (who has both taken the time to offer critical advice on the present essay as well as to brief me on collateral developments in the medieval Khmer lands), Jonathan Walters (to whose perceptive academic work on the Sinhalese restoration of the Theravāda under Sena II this essay serves as prequel), and Hiram Woodward. An essay of this scope and range, however, likely harbors both minor errors in fact and unjustified misinterpretations of trends; they exist despite the best efforts of my correspondents and consultants to suppress them. I am also deeply grateful to Raymond Lichtenhan, Gary Ralston, and Benjamin Sternberg for sustaining motivation during the writing of this essay.

A word of particular appreciation is due to Prof. Sirimal Ranawella, whose industriousness and scholarship in reading through the hundreds of Śrī Laṅkā inscriptions of the period from Sena I and Mahinda V has greatly enriched understanding of this critical period in the island's religious history, and to my yet-unmet collaborator Rolf Giebel for his important, habitually inquisitive, meticulously researched, and persistently perceptive forays into the eighth century esoteric Buddhist literature.

2. There is a half-century of scholarship associated with the double-platform structure on the Ratu Baka Plateau: Johannes de Casparis, "New Evidence on Cultural Relations between Java and Ceylon in Ancient Times," *Artibus Asiae* (1961): 241–248; Selamat Pinardi, "Data Sementara Bangunan Kompleks

Pendapa Kraton Ratu Baka,” *Berkala Arkeologi* 5, no. 2 (1984): 36–50; John Miksic, “Double Meditation Platforms at Anuradhapura and the Pendopo of Ratu Boko,” *Saraswati Esai-Esai Arkeologi Kalpataru Majalah Arkeologi* 10 (1993): 23–31; Haryati Soebadio, “The Archaeological Site of Ratuboko: A Case of Problems of Restoration and Interpretation,” in *Fruits of Inspiration: Studies in Honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis*, ed. Marijke Klokke and Karel van Kooij (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001), 455–474; Jeffrey Sundberg, “The Wilderness Monks of the Abhayagirivihāra and the Origins of Sino-Javanese Esoteric Buddhism,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 160, no. 1 (2004): 95–123; Véronique Degroot, “The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko: From Sri Lankan Buddhism to Hinduism,” *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 98 (2006): 55–74; Jeffrey Sundberg and Rolf Giebel, “The Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi as Chronicled by Lü Xiang (吕向): South Indian and Śrī Laṅkā Antecedents to the Arrival of the Buddhist Vajrayāna in Eighth-Century Java and China,” *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 3rd ser., no. 13 (2011): 129–222.

A few cardinal developments seem to stand out in this scholarship: de Casparis (“New Evidence”) published the strophes of the then-recently found Mahāyānist inscription that indicated the presence of the Abhayagirivāsins; Miksic (“Double Meditation Platforms”) capitalized on the visiting scholar Sirimal Deraniyagala’s visual identification of the Ratu Baka double-platform with similar Śrī Laṅkā structures to document basic correspondences and deviances between them and provide a bit of their history in the homeland; and Sundberg and Giebel (“Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 159–160) noted that the double-platform structure at Tiriyāy on the east coast of Laṅkā furnished the cache of esoteric and Mahāyānist Buddhist statues that were uncovered in 1983, suggesting the relationship between the Ratu Baka structure and esoteric Buddhism rather than any other putative association.

3. Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” many passages.

4. Jeffrey Sundberg, “Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java: Lord Kumbhayoni and the ‘Rag-Wearer’ Pāṃśukūlika Monks of the Abhayagirivihāra,” in *Tantric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, forthcoming).

5. Sirimal Ranawella’s skillful adjustment of Sena II’s accession year (*The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II* [Ratmalana: G.S. Ranawella, 1999], 72; *Inscriptions of Ceylon: Containing Pillar Inscriptions and Slab Inscriptions from 924 AD to 1017*, vol. 5, 3 pts. [Colombo: Department of Archaeology of Sri Lanka, 2001–2005], pt. 2, 118–122) shifts it from the University of Ceylon’s 853 CE (*History of Ceylon* [Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1959]) to 854. While I have mostly retained the traditional dates for the

earlier Second Lambakaṇṇa kings (they are irrelevant for the purposes of this essay), I have made an exception for his predecessor Sena I and his successor Udaya II, whom I also shift by a year in accordance with Ranawella's teaching. Sena I is thus taken as reigning from 834–854 CE. A table of the revised genealogy based on Laṅkān epigraphical findings is presented in Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(2):122.

Scholars unfamiliar with the careful research results of Perera and Paranavitana as reflected in the mammoth University of Ceylon's *History of Ceylon* may find an alternate set of dates associated with the Lambakaṇṇa kings, a set which invalidates the present essay's observations on the tight chronological linkage of the rejection of the Abhayagiri in both Lankā and Java. Despite the widespread use of this alternate set (see, e.g., the present Wikipedia entry), they were generated in the early days of island historical scholarship and are to be considered immature and erroneous.

6. To assist the reader in negotiating the narrative and analysis of unfamiliar Sinhalese religious and political history offered below, I urge him or her to remember the three cardinal regnal figures just mentioned (the dynast Mānavarman and his ill-fated descendent Sena I, who together seem to bookend the period of royal Sinhalese experiment with esoteric Buddhism; and Sena II, whose coronation brought the first Theravādin to the Rājaraṭṭha crown in many centuries), as I have made every effort to orient other kings and key events to these three reigns.

7. Sundberg, "Wilderness Monks," 108–109.

8. Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 207n138. Again, it is to Andrea Aciri that thanks must go for his recognition of the source in the writings of the Theosophists.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 179–180.

11. In writing this essay, I am acutely aware of the fact that, in just the same manner that Poerbatjaraka and other students of the *Carita Parahyangan* could have written my 2011 essay (Jeffrey Sundberg, "The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity, ca. 803 A.D.," in *From beyond the Eastern Horizon: Essays in Honour of Professor Lokesh Chandra*, ed. Manjushree Gupta [New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2011]) if only they had lived long enough to make the epigraphic connections between obscure figures in the *Carita Parahyangan* and the new names attested in the king-list in the copper-plate inscription of Wanua Teṅgaḥ III found in 1983, so too could the formidable Sinhalese scholar R.A.L.H. Gunawardana have gone far down the path of composing the present essay if he had actively participated in the 1983 Tiriyāy excavation, which uncovered the evidence associating the esoteric statuary found there with the *pāṃśukūlikas*, as his

studies paid consistent attention to Sinhalese participants in foreign notices of Buddhist tantrism and attempted to fit them into the Laṅkā historical and epigraphical framework.

12. Some residue of those Laṅkā-sourced or Laṅkā-held texts may exist among the manuscripts of the rNying-ma (Ancient) school in Tibet; Robert Mayer (*A Scripture of the Ancient Tantra Collection: The Phur-pa bcugnyis* [Oxford: Kiscadale, 1996], 12n16) observes that “the rNying-ma-pa tradition holds that many of their earliest scriptures, specifically very early tantric materials, were first revealed in Ceylon, especially at Adam’s Peak.”

The Tibetan notice of profound spiritual qualities to Mount Laṅkā finds some corroboration not only in the importance attached to it by Vajrabodhi (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 170–173) but also from evidence dating to the century before Mānavarman and the esoteric period that I believe he inaugurated: the Sinhalese monk Mahānāman, an ordained member of the royal family, left an extensive Sanskrit inscription at Bodh Gayā. Although Mahānāman’s inscription has been known to historians for more than a century, Vincent Tournier (“Mahākāśyapa, His Lineage, and the Wish for Buddhahood: Reading Anew the Bodh Gayā Inscriptions of Mahānāman,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 57 [2014]: 1–60) has recently directed renewed attention to the Buddhology embodied in the Sanskrit verses. Stanza 3 of Mahānāman’s inscription attests not only the importance of Mount Laṅkā as shared by Vajrabodhi over a century later (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 170–173), but also the royal Sinhalese participation at elite monastic levels as surmised in section Ic of the present essay: “His [i.e., Mahākāśyapa’s] disciples transmitting the Saṃyukta-Āgama, purified of impurities, moved by compassion for beings, once roamed over the immaculate lower slopes of the mountain Laṅkā. From those were born [i.e., were ordained], a hundred times successively, disciples and disciples’ disciples possessed of the qualities of moral conduct, who were the ornaments of a dynasty of prominent kings, in spite of having renounced the splendor of royalty” (Tournier, “Mahākāśyapa, His Lineage, and the Wish for Buddhahood,” 21).

13. Jonathan Walters, “Buddhist History: The Sri Lankan Pāli Vamsas and Their Community,” in *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, ed. Ronald Inden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 128.

14. As far as I know, there is no attestation of the Old Sinhalese rubric by which they knew themselves, but the name employed in the Pāli chronicles of the Theravādin traditionalists centered in the Mahāvihāra is *pāṃśukūlika*. To facilitate the discussion in this essay, I will follow the suggestion of Rahula (Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon: The Anuradhapura Period 3rd Century BC–10th Century AC* [Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1956], 196) and differentiate between the Mahāvihāra’s and the Abhayagirivihāra’s two

nominally and superficially similar strains of “rag-wearing”—the validity of the term will be examined in section 1c below—ascetic monks because, it will be argued, there were substantial differences in deportment and profound differences in doctrine between them. Acknowledging the cosmopolitan Abhayagiri’s widespread acquaintance with Sanskrit texts and inscriptions, including multiple contemporary Sanskrit administrative inscriptions within their domain (e.g., the Kapārārāma inscription likely due to Sena I [R.A.L.H. Gunawardana, “Buddhist Nikāyas in Medieval Ceylon,” *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies* 9, no. 1 (Jan–Jun 1966)] and the Kapārārāma inscription of Mahinda V [Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(2):286–287], not to mention the Buddhanehela pillar inscription of Sena III [ibid., 146–151], whose Old Sinhalese text is flecked with Sanskrit rather than Pāli, or the Olugala Mūkalāna inscription [Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):349–350] of one of the Abhayagiri’s institutional appendages that had originally been founded by a religious teacher named or titled “Vāgīśvarācāryya”), justifies the designation of those Abhayagiri monks of the early Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty that I believe were conveyors of esoteric Buddhist doctrine as *pāṃsukūlikas*, as opposed to the Mahāvihāra’s *pāṃsukūlikas*.

Given the evidence of the Mahinda V inscription, I believe it possible that even after the restoration of the Theravāda the Abhayagirivāsins studied those doctrines in Sanskrit.

15. Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi.”

16. Lü Xiang’s biography accords with the basic biographical details furnished for Vajrabodhi’s funeral *stūpa* in Hunlunweng’s 混倫翁 parallel biography, but differs substantially from the often-cited Song-era variant biography (Yiliang Chou, “Tantrism in China,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8, nos. 3–4 [March 1945]: 251–271; repr. in *Tantric Buddhism in East Asia*, ed. Richard K. Payne [Boston: Wisdom, 2005]: 33–60) composed by Zanning 贊寧 from unknown sources some two hundred years later. Our 2012 paper (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi”) emphasized the benefits of accepting the mutually-corroborating contemporary Tang-era biographies rather than the Zanning’s unsupported one, including a deep understanding of the dynamics of the imperial Tang-Pallava intercourse as well as an understanding of why Laṅkā should be so pertinent to Amoghavajra’s own efforts to obtain the foundation texts of his esoteric Buddhist creed.

17. This key identification of *pāṃsukūlikas* as the primary inhabitants of the double-platform *padhānaghara* architecture derives from the *Cūḷavaṃsa*’s (50:64–65; c.f. Gamini Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries of Ancient Sri Lanka* [Colombo: Department of Archaeology, 1998], 4) record of the reign of Sena I: “For the *pāṃsukūlika bhikkus* he built a monastery on the Arittha mountain, erected as if by magic and endowed it with large revenues. He granted it also an equipment without flaw, worthy of a king, many helpers

of the monastery and slaves as work people.” That Sena I did indeed found the remote Aritthapabbata/Riṭigala site, notable for the scores of double-platformed structures and communicating walkways and terraces, is made explicit in the Kivulēkaḍa inscription which refers to him as *Riṭgal-aram kārū Salamevan Rajpahi* using his throne name Salamevan/Silamegha (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:1–12; cf. Wijesuriya, “*Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*,” 36).

18. The Eye Relic *stūpa* (Foyan ta 佛眼塔, **Buddhanetrastūpa*) mentioned in Vajrabodhi's biography (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 136, 182n37) is now forgotten but was of substantial importance in medieval times as evidenced by the two citations in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* of a similarly named Sinhalese institution. That book records that Mānavarman's successor Aggabodhi V constructed cells at the Mahānettapādika for the Abhayagirivāsins (*Cūḷavaṃsa* 48.2; Wilhelm Geiger, *Cūḷavaṃsa, Being the More Recent Part of the Mahāvamsa, Part I, Translated by Wilhelm Geiger, and from the German into English by Mrs. C. Mabel Rickmers (née Duff)* [London: Luzac for the Pali Text Society, 1929], 110) while the same text has that Sena I, the last of the royal esoteric Buddhist adherents, constructed a special kitchen for the *pāṃsukūlika-bhikkhus* of the Mahānettapabbata (-vihāra) (*Cūḷavaṃsa* 50.75; Geiger, *Cūḷavaṃsa*, 145). The Eye Relic *stūpa* thus enjoyed a special relationship with the *pāṃsukūlikas*. There may be some relationship between this relic and the **Buddhanetradhāraṇī* (佛眼眞言, T. 2056 50:293a14; Raffaello Orlando, “A Study of Chinese Documents Concerning the Life of the Tantric Buddhist Patriarch Amoghavajra [705–774 A.D.]” [PhD diss., Princeton University, 1981], 163; Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 136, 182n37) invoked by Amoghavajra to save his foundering ship.

R. A. L. H. Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough: Monasticism and Economic Interest in Early Medieval Sri Lanka* [Tucson: University of Arizona, 1979], 297) collated some later Sinhalese literary references which suggest that this *stūpa* is to be found in the vicinity of modern Vākirigala in the Kāgalle district.

19. Lü Xiang's biography neglects mention of the Collarbone Relic of the Thūpārāma, even though, as we shall see below, Vajrabodhi's admirer King Mānavarman sponsored *pāṃsukūlika* monks there. Although closer to the Mahāvihāra, it is not out of the question that the Thūpārāma and its relic were transferred into and out of the custody of the Abhayagiri (see n. 132), much as the nearby Tooth Relic was.

20. A short Pallava-Grantha bilinear boulder inscription, located next to the staircase leading up to the Girikaṇḍicaitya, records that the rock had been engraved in the twenty-third regnal year of Siṃhaḷendra Śilāmegha Mahārāja, the coronation name provided for Aggabodhi VI by both the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (48.42; Geiger, *Cūḷavaṃsa*, 114) and the Chinese biographies of Amoghavajra. Senarat Paranavithana, “Tiriyāy Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Aggabodhi VI,”

Epigraphia Zeylanica, vol. 5 [Colombo: Government Press of Ceylon, 1955], 176) expressed little doubt that the dating inscription was carved by the same hand as the main Sanskrit inscription.

No kings of the Second Lambakaṇṇa dynasty other than Mānavarman (r. 684–718) and Aggabodhi VI (r. 733–772) held their crown this long. The association with Aggabodhi VI would therefore seemingly be assured were it not for a supplemental observation by Senarat Paranavitana (“Tiriyāy Rock Inscription,” *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. 4 [London: Oxford University Press, 1943], 152–154) that the paleography best accorded with that of the Pallava regent Paramēśvaravarman I, who reigned ca. 660–680 CE. As the coronation name that was assigned by Lü Xiang’s biography to Mānavarman, Śrī Śīla (Shilishiluo 室哩室囉), was seemingly an abbreviation of Śrī Śīlamegha, it seems likely to me that Tiriyāy was constructed by Mānavarman around 707 rather than by his grandson Aggabodhi in 755. The provisions of the two *padhānaghara* structures at Tiriyāy would not be unexpected for this king: the *Cūlavamsa* (47.66; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 108) records his patronage of the *pāṃsukūlikas* at the relic-hosting Thūpārāma, which he also transformed into a *vaṭadāge*.

21. The Tiriyāy cache, discovered under the paving stones of one of the ruined double-platform structures at the site, yielded 31 statues of the Buddha, 11 of various bodhisattvas, 3 of Tārā, and a casket with a *stūpa* top and 4 buddhas on the circumference (M. H. Sirisoma, *The Vaṭadāgē at Tiriyāya* [Colombo: Department of Archaeology, 1983], 9). Images of the bronzes are presented in Ulrich von Schroeder (*Buddhist Sculptures of Sri Lanka* [Bangkok: Visual Dharma, 1990]). The published collection includes a bodhisattva with a crown containing all five *tathāgatas* (ibid., 232).

22. Relic worship was also of great importance to the Chinese, who treasured what few Buddha-derived relics they possessed, paid close attention to those relics which could be found in India, and even extended the homage to the remains of eminent monks (John Kieschnick, *The Impact of Buddhism on Chinese Material Culture* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003], 29–52). Hunlunweng’s highly literate epitaph for Vajrabodhi’s funeral *stūpa*, for example, is preserved in the Taishō Tripiṭaka (T. 2157, 55.876b39–877a21). Kūkai himself displayed reverence toward the eighty grains of Buddha relics supposedly brought by Vajrabodhi from South India (Cynthia Bogel, *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icon and Early Mikkyō Vision* [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009], 130), while relics were featured in the *Susiddhikara* (Rolf Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras: The Adamantine Pinnacle Sutra, the Susiddhikara Sutra* [Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2001], 111–324) and the *Subāhupariṣṭhā* translated by Śubhākarasiṃha, who seemed to lead a life very similar to that which I envision for the Abhayagiri *pāṃsukūlikas* (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 214n167). For more on the topic of relics, see Charles Orzech and Henrik

Sørensen, “Stūpas and Relics in Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Richard K. Payne, and Henrik H. Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 146–152. I am indebted to Rolf Giebel for the references.

If the Javanese shared a parallel appreciation for relics of the Buddha, that fact is not evident from the handful of extant eighth to ninth century temple consecration inscriptions or the scores of extant mid-ninth to early tenth century administrative inscriptions which are known today. That said, no consecration inscriptions have ever been recovered for such signature showpiece temples as Caṇḍis Barabuḍur and Sewu, and the religious history of Java would no doubt be significantly deepened if such stones are ever found.

23. A number of Pallava-styled structures exist across Laṅkā, one of the most conspicuous being that of the Rājīnāvihāra at “Nālandā” in the central up-country. This site is notable for two small friezes depicting sexual activities involving three hominoids (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 156–157); see below, n. 48 and n. 109.

24. *Cūlavamsa*, chaps. 48–52.

25. See the discussion between Chhabra and Paranavitana: Paranavitana, “Tiriyāy Rock Inscription”; Senarat Paranavitana, “Note by Editor”; and B. Chhabra, “Text of the Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription”; all in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. 4 (London: Oxford University Press, 1943).

26. The *Cūlavamsa* (50.71, Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 144) recorded that Sena I made a reliquary of pure gold for the Hair Relic and further recorded (54.41, 45; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 182) that Mahinda IV had the Hair Relic preserved and placed in a jeweled reliquary. (He also restored the Tooth Temple in the center of the town, which had been burnt in the Pāṇḍya invasion.) This Hair Relic was emplaced at the Mahāvihāra’s Maricavaṭṭi monastery, where Sena I held a festival in its honor (*Cūlavamsa* 54.40–41).

Paranavitana’s observations (“Tiriyāy Rock Inscription,” 156) about the seeming multiplicity of hair relics in Laṅkā are validated and explained by reference to the two undated tenth century pillar inscriptions from Kālaṇiya (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[3]:101–103) that explicitly refer to a Twin Hair Relic. The longer of the inscriptions specifies that the Twin Hair Relic is deposited in the *dāgaba* of what was even then known as the Kālaṇivihāra. The relationships between the Tiriyāy, the Kālaṇiya, and the Maricavaṭṭi relics is unknown.

27. Per the *Rājāratnākara* (Kusuma Karunaratne, *Rājāratnākara: The Gem Mine of Kings* [Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 2008], many passages) circular *vaṭadāges* are explicitly relic shrines. This claim seems confirmed by the Collarbone Relic *stūpa* of the Thūpārāma and Hair Relic *stūpa* at Tiriyāy, as well as the recovered remains of the prior Tooth Relic shrine at Nāgapattinam

(see n. 28). The *vaṭadāge* at Tiriyāy was almost unique in being merely a circular wall (figs. 3 and 4).

Koichi Shinohara (*Spells, Images, and Rituals: Tracing the Evolution of Esoteric Buddhist Rituals* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2014], 93) provides an example of an esoteric Buddhist text (T. 1006), translated by both Bodhiruci and Amoghavajra, that stipulates that it is to be performed at a relic *stūpa*.

Vaṭadāges have been found at the Thūpārāma, Mādigiriya, Laṅkārama, Polonnaruwa, Ambasthale, Tiriyāy, Attanagalla, Rajangana, Mānikdena, and Devundara. The earliest extant *vaṭadāge* is at Mādigiriya, which possesses three circles of stone pillars (Senarat Paranavitana, *Sinhalayo* [Colombo: Lake House Investments, 1967], 27) and dates from the reign of Aggabodhi IV (r. 667–683), from whom Mānavarman wrested the Sinhalese throne. The largest is the Thūpārāma, with four circles of pillars.

These *vaṭadāge* structures also seemed to have attracted the patronage of esoterically-minded kings, not only Mānavarman at the Thūpārāma and at Tiriyāy, but also Sena I at the *vaṭadāge* at Polonnaruwa (Ranawella, *The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, 10–11), although Ranawella's discussion of the finding leaves some substantial doubt about whether Sena I intended for his inscribed stone to be incorporated as an element in the stairwell. Apart from the *vaṭadāges*' associations with esoteric Buddhists at Tiriyāy and the Thūpārāma, it is of interest that a Vajrasattva/Dharmadhātu icon was recovered from Mādigiriya (Nandasena Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments of Ceylon* [Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1967], 62–63). Consultation of the archaeological record may shed further light on its association with the *vaṭadāge* there.

In viewing a reconstruction of a *vaṭadāge* such as the Thūpārāma (fig. 4), I often wonder whether such a permeable structure was the underlying reality of the Iron Stūpa that legendarily sourced the esoteric Buddhist texts (Charles Orzech, “The Legend of the Iron Stūpa,” in *Buddhism in Practice*, ed. Donald Lopez, Jr. [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995], 314–318). If there was another plausible embodiment of an Iron Stūpa available in the eighth century, I don't know what it could be, nor can I imagine another reason for enclosing so many of Śrī Laṅkā's relic *stūpas* at that time.

The *vaṭadāge* phenomenon was not limited to Śrī Laṅkā. As Paranavitana (*Sinhalayo*, 27) notes, *vaṭadāges* are known from bas-reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñci, while rock-cut examples were known in Western and Southern India.

28. The Pallava port city of Nāgapaṭṭinam abounds with Buddhist significance. As Anne Elizabeth Monius (*Imagining a Place for Buddhism: Literary Culture and Religious Community in Tamil-Speaking South India* [London: Oxford University Press, 2001], 6) observes, “the true treasure-trove of later Buddhism in the Tamil region, however, is Nāgapaṭṭinam, mentioned previously as the site where Dhammapāla is said to have composed his commentaries; more than 300 bronzes have been recovered through archaeological excavation.” Some

of the bronzes are documented in T. Ramachandran, "The Nagapattinam and Other Buddhist Bronzes in the Madras Government Museum," *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum* 7, no. 1 (1954).

Nāgapattinam has immediate significance for the story of Śrī Laṅkā Mantranaya Buddhism. For instance, it hosted the "Chinese Pagoda" that is associated with the 719 CE diplomatic interchange between Narasiṃhavarman II Rājasiṃha and Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗, which was seemingly precipitated by Vajrabodhi's mission (Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 143–145). As Gokul Seshadri ("New Perspectives on Nagapattinam," in *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia*, ed. Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijaya Sakhuja [Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2010], 129 and in private communication) emphasizes, the "Chinese Pagoda" was but one element in a complex, the *sanctum sanctorum* whose main *palli* is comparable to a South Indian *vesara* (circular) *vimana*. (Unfortunately, these remains have been discovered under a modern merchant bank and therefore have not been fully explored by archaeologists.)

Nāgapattinam was reputedly the site original to the Tooth Relic that subsequently passed into Sinhalese hands. Seshadri ("New Perspectives on Nagapattinam," 129) notes that the fifteenth century Kalyāṇī inscription (Ko 1893) references Kalyāṇī of Burma and relates the story of monks who went to Nāgapattinam to visit the Padarikārāma and to worship the Buddha in the temple of the king of Cīnadeśa, and furthermore states that "this place marks the exact holy spot where Buddha's Tooth Relic was kept before its transit to Sri Lanka." Monius (*Imagining a Place for Buddhism*, 104) notes that the Bowl Relic too was honored with a shrine in Kāñcī, its original repository.

29. Contemporary South Indian Buddhism seemingly held an importance that is scarcely appreciated today. In furtherance of John Holt's observation (*Buddha in the Crown: Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist Traditions of Sri Lanka* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991], 82) that South India, Śrī Laṅkā, and Java formed a "cultural triangle," Monius' (*Imagining a Place for Buddhism*, 104) readings of the fifth century Tamil Buddhist text *Maṇimekalai* examines the broad geographic scope of its Buddhist vision, which quite particularly includes the Southeast Asian island of "Cāvakaṃ" as the fourth point of a trapezium with Laṅkā, Kāñcī, and Kāvīrippūmpattinam (a.k.a. "Pukār" or "Kāviri") near Nāgapattinam. That this vision extended to Java, "Cāvakaṃ" may reinforce the credibility of the extant reports of Gunavarman's 求那跋摩 (374–ca. 431) conversion of Javanese royalty, ca. 420 CE.

This South Indian Buddhist ecumene envisioned by the *Maṇimekalai* transcended ethnic differences and divisions, as noted by Monius (*Imagining a Place for Buddhism*, 109): "South Indian kingdoms and Sri Lanka, in other words, are quite consistently conceived in literary terms in at least two languages as part of a single Buddhist monastic community or world, a

singularity often at odds with the political landscapes envisioned by various rulers.” This community was not without its troubles, however: K. Indrapala (*The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity: The Tamils in Sri Lanka c. 300 BCE to c. 1200 CE* [Sydney: South Asian Studies Centre, 2005], 220) notes that “South Indian Pallava power coincided with two other phenomena, the rise of the South Indian mercantile communities, and the rise of virulently Śaiva Nāyaṇars, who opposed the Buddhists and the Jains.” As will be argued in the companion to this essay (Sundberg, “Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java”), such tensions spilled over into Central Java, and specifically the Ratu Baka promontory, around the year 856.

While interactions with the Indian mainland are often left with merely generic designations in most Sinhalese chronicles and are therefore useless in determining the specific participants in Buddhist interregional dialogues, Monius (*Imagining a Place for Buddhism*, 109) notes one exception: the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* specifies the town of “Kāviri” (Kāviriṇṇapattinam) as home to a group of Vaitulya monks expelled by the king at the request of the rival Mahāvihāra.

Directly pertinent to the present essay’s concern for the *padhānaghara* structures of Śrī Laṅkā, Wijesuriya (*Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 152) notes an epigraphic attestation of the term *padhānaghara* only in an inscription from Nagarjunikonda by Bodhisiri, a monk with strong ties to the island.

30. The intimate connections between the Abhayagiri and the Footprint are attested by both the testimony of Faxian 法顯 as well as by its own complementary footprint engraved on the terrace of the mammoth *stūpa* (T.G. Kulatunge, *Abhayagirivihāra at Anuradhapura* [Colombo: Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs, 1999], 9–10).

31. The Brāhmī cave inscriptions of great antiquity are documented in Sirisoma (*The Vaṭadāgē at Tiriyāya*, 3). The ascetic monks may have been attractive because their practices hearkened back to the earliest and most venerable Buddhist practices on the Island, where Mahinda himself had chosen to live in the cave (Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 137). The abundance of Brāhmī inscriptions by kings, princes, princesses, ministers, monks, and laymen (Sirisoma, *The Vaṭadāgē at Tiriyāya*, 20) preserved in them confirms their antiquity; the large number of medieval structures erected in proximity to these caves provided evidence of the continuing admiration of them. As discussed below in section III, some early esoteric figures like Śubhākarasiṃha did indeed favor cave retreats.

32. In anticipation of the discussion in section III, it is useful to note that the Tiriyāy evidence of ca. 756 provides the closest dated context for the *padhānaghara* built in 792, not by a Lambakaṇṇa king but by a Śailendra one.

33. In light of the topic of this essay, it is interesting to note the ascetic character of some of the peripheral bodhisattva statues. Two statues of Avalokiteśvara

and one of Maitreya (von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 252, plates 61C–H) are wearing animal-hides tied around their waists and the *yajñopavīta* around their chests, while one statue of, probably, Maitreya (von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures*, 259, plate 64C) is almost unique in showing the bodhisattva wearing a *dhōti*. The Tiriyāya Avalokiteśvaras from plate 64F as well as plate 64C wear arm bands besides having brāhmans' caste cords. Further considerations on the admixture of ascetic and royal characteristics in Avalokiteśvara statuary can be found in section III.

34. The huge Sanskrit rockface inscription, located about 60 meters south of the Tiriyāy shrine and written in Pallava-Grantha script of the eighth century (Paranavitana, "Tiriyāy Rock Inscription"; Paranavitana, "Note by Editor"; B. Chhabra, "Text of the Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription"), mentions both Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuvāg-Mañjuśrī in connection with the foundation by a pair of merchant guilds of the Girikaṇḍicaitya, the *ākāśa-caitya* that forms the core of the circular shrine *vaṭadāge* monument at Tiriyāy and that seems to have enshrined a Hair Relic from the Buddha. For more on Avalokiteśvara in medieval Laṅkā see Holt, *Buddha in the Crown* (especially chap. 3); Bopearachchi, "Sri Lanka and the Maritime Trade: The Impact of the Role of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as the Protector of Mariners," in *Asian Encounters: Exploring Connected Histories*, ed. Parul Dhar and Upinder Singh (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014); and Robert Brown, "The Act of Naming Avalokiteśvara in Ancient Southeast Asia," in *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past*, ed. Elisabeth Bacus (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2008).

35. See the discussion of urinals in n. 244.

36. Two inscriptions recovered from the site document material improvements, including the 246 stone steps offered by laymen (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[3]:156–157).

37. Sirisoma, *The Vaṭadāge at Tiriyāya*, 4.

38. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(3):109–110.

39. Kulatunge (*Abhayagirivihara at Anuradhapura*, 34) describes the *dhāraṇī* house where the *dhāraṇī* stones were found, which lies only about 75 meters to the east-southeast of the Abhayagiri *stūpa*'s enclosure wall and is one of the closest structures to the great *stūpa*. The pavilion was built atop a mound and originally had a tile roof. Kulatunge suggests that the structure dates back to the time of Parakramabāhu the Great (r. 1123–1186), but obviously it is the ninth century texts which are of primary interest.

40. Gregory Schopen, "The Text on the 'Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya': A Minor Contribution to the Study of the Mahāyāna Literature in Ceylon," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 5, no. 1 (1982): 101–102.

41. Schopen (ibid.) inexplicably disregarded the profuse *vajra*-imagery of the companion texts engraved on the stone tablets when offering his conclusions about their genesis in the pure Mahāyāna rather than the Mantranaya. Nevertheless, he observed the translation of his featured text by none other than Amoghavajra. The text's importance to the Sinhalese and to Amoghavajra is reinforced by the results of recent inquiries by Rolf Giebel ("Notes on Some Sanskrit Texts Brought Back to Japan by Kūkai," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 3rd ser., 14 [2012]: 218), who has identified this *dhāraṇī* among the forty-two Siddham manuscripts brought back to Japan in 806 by Kūkai.

42. Ven. Rangama Chandawimala, *Buddhist Heterodoxy of the Abhayagiri Sect: A Study of the School of Abhayagiri in Ancient Sri Lanka* (Saarbrücken: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing, 2013), 128–148.

43. Richard McBride, "Is There Really 'Esoteric' Buddhism?," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, no. 2 (2004): 329–356.

44. In Kūkai's schema, the various textual genres which preceded the Shingon were assigned to a graded hierarchy of doctrine. Kūkai expended a great deal of effort to harmonize the message of the inferior predecessor texts with the favored esoteric texts of the Shingon school (Ryūichi Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1999], 326–327).

While the builder's intentions will never be known without the recovery of its foundation inscription, I have often considered the choice of texts illustrated at Barabudur to have been motivated by a similar hierarchical impulse.

45. Christian Wedemeyer (*Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism: History, Semiology, and Transgression in the Indian Traditions* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2013], 192–198) discusses the irregularity of these transgressive rites.

46. Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 214n167.

47. Although authors beginning with Parānavitana (1928) have devoted monographs to the presence of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna in Śrī Laṅkā, it is oftentimes quite difficult to thresh out the latter from the former as one is a superset of the other, and explicit progress in the study of the Laṅkā Vajrayāna is difficult. That said, I hold well-grounded suspicions that all of the Pallava styled ruins, found especially along the eastern coastline, are likely to pertain to the Vajrayāna impulses in Laṅkā history and would see value in a descriptive monograph devoted to the topic; such a description might stimulate fruitful comparison with other sites known or suspected to be affiliated with early esoteric Buddhism.

48. One of the most interesting sites in Śrī Laṅkā is the Pallava-styled Rājīṇāvihāra site at "Nālandā" in the uplands north of Kandy, whose

identification is allowed by a later tenth century administrative inscription found on location (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[3]:109–110). Regarding the founding of the edifice at Nālandā, it is not entirely certain that the Rājīnāvihāra and its *geḍige* are identical to the “mansion” and Rājīnīdīpika (*vihāra*) that the Kāñcī-born Aggabodhi V gifted to the Abhayagiri *bhikkhus* (*Cūlavamsa* 48.1–2; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 109), but consultations with the Sinhala specialist Sven Bretfeld confirm that the identification is possible. (Although the single surviving terminus of *Cūlavamsa*’s chap. 47, devoted to Aggabodhi’s father Mānavarman, states that it was the father who built the Rājīnīdīpika and gave it to the Abhayagirivāsins, Geiger [*Cūlavamsa*, 108n1] considers this passage an emendation. Whether father or son, the patronage by either candidate would convene with the intense Pallava styling of the Rājīnāvihāra temple.)

Aside from the later administrative pillar inscription translated by Ranawella, one or two more inscriptions were found at the Rājīnāvihāra. Diran Kavork Dohanian (*The Mahāyāna Buddhist Sculpture of Ceylon* [New York: Garland, 1977], 26, 131n27), relying upon the *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report* (Colombo: Ceylon Government Press, 1947, p. 17), conveys the finding of a broken stone inscription similar to the Abhayagiri’s *dharāṇī* stone. Depending on whether one relies on the inconsistent details presented in Dohanian’s main body or his footnote, these Rājīnāvihāra *dharāṇī* are written in either Sinhalese or in Siddham of an eighth to ninth century date. Dohanian reports that the Sanskrit of the inscription is “incorrect.”

Apropos of one of the most striking, if not prominent, features of the Rājīnāvihāra site is a pair of small, heavily weathered panels depicting a trio of individuals engaged in sexual activity. My prior discussion of these friezes (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 52) drew attention to the unusual physiognomy of the foremost character and suggested that it represented a tree dryad, the copulation with which will provide benefits according to the *Susiddhikara* as translated by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726. I am indebted to both Robert Brown and Peter Sharrock for emphasizing to me that my 2012 discussion of these two small erotic panels accorded them an undeserved importance given their size and marginal location on the temple’s façade. Brown (personal communication) observed that “the little relief is at the very bottom of the temple basement, out of sight and not meant to be focused on.”

The valuable and valid correctives and caveats of Brown and Sharrock being noted, there are some fascinating art-historical perspectives that have opened up on the Rājīnāvihāra friezes since my initial 2012 discussion. While my opinion remained unexpressed in my initial discussion, I personally surmised that the central character, obviously male, was simultaneously implicated in a bisexual coupling with the smaller male behind him. Thanks to my chance acquaintance with some sixteenth century Kathmandu-area erotic

images briefly depicted in Michael Palin's engaging travelogue *Himalaya* as well as profitable communication with the Nepal scholar David Andolfatto, I now am convinced that the connections between the Rājīnāvīhāra trio are strictly heterosexual. Among the Nepalese friezes found in the Vishwanath temple in the Durban Square at Patan, there are two that together entirely explain the Rājīnāvīhāra instance from nine centuries earlier and 1,000 miles away. (In one, there are two males, positioned and sized in striking congruity with the Rājīnāvīhāra frieze, who are unambiguously conjoined with a reclining female. In another, the male is positioned behind a standing female who again strikingly bears remarkable resemblance to the foremost figure at the Rājīnāvīhāra, including both the elongated torso and the stubby legs that had initially suggested to me a dwarfish, non-human partner.) Finally, it is worth noting that both the Rājīnāvīhāra and Kathmandu images appear as the pediments of columns, in both Buddhist and Śaiva contexts. Given the arresting similarities between the eighth century Pallava-Śrī Laṅkā and sixteenth century Nepalese imagery, as well as the yet-unpublished lithic *dhārāṇī* stones from the site, the topic is open for more extensive explication.

I observe in passing that the Rājīnāvīhāra and the inscribed *dhārāṇī* stones found nearby may represent one of the closest links to the South Indian esoteric Buddhism practiced by Vajrabodhi's seminal preceptor (and later Shingon patriarch) Nāgajñā/Longzhi. Unfortunately, unlike the Abhayagiri's *dhārāṇīghara* that furnished the *dhārāṇī* stones and may be subjected to a future archaeological investigation that takes it down to the substrate, the extant temple at Nālandā is a transplant to new ground, the original site now being flooded as part of an irrigation plan. I look forward to Andolfatto's forthcoming exegesis of the Vishwanath and other friezes.

49. Rolf W. Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chihkuei*: An Annotated Translation," *Journal of Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies* 18 (1995).

50. Mudiyanse (*Mahāyāna Monuments of Ceylon*, 16–18) and Lokesh Chandra ("Evolution of the Tantras," in *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 3 [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1993], 123ff.) establish identifications of many of the "Vajraparvata" texts recorded in the fourteenth century *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* among the Nepalese and Tibetan material, and it is possible that more elements of the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*'s list will continue to be identified among Buddhist texts conserved in other countries, possibly in the original Sanskrit. For example, Péter-Dániel Szántó ("Selected Chapters from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*" [PhD diss., Oxford University, 2012] presented the Sanskrit text of the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*. Arlo Griffiths has recently identified an extant manuscript of the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, while Francesco Sferra has publicly presented lectures on the Nepalese manuscript of the *Vajrāmṛta-tantra*. While it is uncertain whether the author of the fourteenth century *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* was presenting a list of esoteric

works that were extant and influential in his own time but not in Sena I's, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga* indisputably existed in the century prior to Sena because it was mentioned by Amoghavajra as part of the Eighteen Assemblies that constituted the core of his creed (Giebel, "The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chihkuei*").

51. Although the incident remains unmentioned in any of the Theravāda historical chronicles, a Pallava inscription mentions Narendravarmasimha (r. 636–?) as having conquered Laṅkā (Walters, "Buddhist History," 123n50).

In anticipation of a further discussion of this issue in section IV below, it should be noted that Ranawella (*The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, 4–5) convincingly dates the sacking of Anurādhapura to 839–845 CE. He shows that since the prince Mahinda, who is recorded to have died in the battle against the Pāṇḍya invader Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha, was alive during the fifth regnal year, the sacking of Anurādhapura must have taken place later than that. It also must have taken place before 846, when a Pallava-led coalition fought against Śrīmāra, which would have scarcely allowed him to direct his forces to Laṅkā.

52. Besides the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*'s attribution of Vajravādin beliefs to Sena I, there are similar allegations of his Śaivism in other texts. Both the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* 18 and *Rājaraṭnākaraya* 81–82 maintain that Sena I converted to Śaivism (Indrapala, *The Evolution of an Ethnic Identity*, 217), while Walters ("Buddhist History," 133) notes that the information is consistent with the story of the Śaiva adept Mānikkavāsagār, who conveyed an account of a ninth century Śrī Laṅkā king who went to the Pāṇḍya capital of Madurai, debated the Śaivas, became convinced of their position, and was then initiated into that faith. This account was seconded in the *Rājatarāṅginī* (Walters, "Buddhist History," 133n79; Vasudeva Rao, *Buddhism in the Tamil Country* [Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1979], 230–231). While it may be possible that the allegations of his Śaivism stem from the character of the funeral rites applied to his battle-slain son Mahinda (the *Cūlavamsa* [50.32; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 140] records that the Pāṇḍyas cremated the *yuvarāja* Mahinda's corpse with all the dignities accorded to their one of their own kings), I share with Walters ("Buddhist History," 133) his belief that these mutually corroborating stories are likely true, and that Sena I did adopt the Śaivism of the Pāṇḍya conquerors as a conciliatory tactic and token of his subordination. Although unmentioned in the chronicles, Sena I may indeed have been summoned to Madurai to exhibit his submission to the Pāṇḍya king, and he may have been required to certify his submission by acknowledging Śaiva order through the act of proclaiming a sacred oath under Śaiva regulations. Even if a conversion was enacted under the duress of his attempt to preserve his kingdom rather than being a genuine conviction, such a humiliating act of Sena's submission would not be forgotten by the Theravādin monks who, we shall see, were about to be lifted up along with Laṅkā military prospects under the wildly successful

rule of Sena II. While placing credence in the accounts of both the chronicles which specify him as an esoteric Buddhist as well as those which imply that he submitted as a Śaiva to a Śaiva overlord, I suggest in n. 59 that the historical evidence allows that Sena may have ultimately died a Theravādin, the final religion he professed. A solid historical resolution of Sena I's actions, like all of the prior regents of his lineage, will certainly defy historians for want of reliable inscriptional and historical evidence, but it may well be possible that Sena I experienced among the most religiously interesting and versatile existences ever lived.

53. The precise implication of Sena I's qualifier "*matvala*" provided by the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (repeated in the later, and often erratic, *Rājaratnakaraya*) is not perfectly clear to Sinhala specialists of the twenty-first century. Translated as "mad dog" by at least one knowledgeable person and repeated in the commentary in Sundberg and Giebel ("Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi"), the mysteries of this *matvala* term have been the focus of linguistic inquiry by Ven. Chandawimala Thero, Sven Bretfeld, and Stephen Berkwitz, to all of whom I am grateful for sharing the results of their researches.

Ven. Chandawimala was the first to object to the translation of *matvala* as "mad dog," pointing out, *inter alia*, that there was no attestation of Sinhalese *mat* as "ravid" and that the Sinhalese *baḷa*, "dog," should be spelled with the retroflex "ḷ" rather than the palatal "l". To him, *matvala* perhaps suggested a toponym associated with Sena's residence or birth. Sven Bretfeld, agreeing with Chandawimala that *vala* almost certainly did not literally mean "dog," embarked on subsequent scholarly investigation and determined a number of interesting things. First, Bretfeld was able to find an entry, unique among all the Sinhalese-Sinhalese dictionaries that he consulted, in the *Sri Sumangala Sabdakosa* for *matvala* as a term for "youthful." Bretfeld entertained the notion that the *matvalasen* formulation might therefore somehow mean "Sena I the Younger," but noted that this term was hardly appropriate for a king who both reigned for a long time and was succeeded by his nephew, the orthodox reformer also called Sena. Probing further into the dictionaries, Bretfeld noted that *mat* is clear from the outset and is connected to *madya*, "intoxicant, alcoholic drink." It can also mean "crazy" or "mad." *Vala* can have different meanings and is often used as suffix in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, and as such it does not mean much and might denote a plural, an honorific, or just a person. On the whole, it seems to Bretfeld that "madman" or "boozier" might be the most informative translation of the term *matvala*, and furthermore seems to suit the context of disapproval of Sena's Vajrayāna beliefs. Bretfeld notes that a loose translation into "mad dog" might indeed convey the flavor of the term.

To add depth to the understanding of *matvala* is the attention that both Sven Bretfeld and Stephen Berkwitz have paid to a parallel term, *muṇḡayin*, which prefixes the name of the orthodox Sena II in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (C. M.

Fernando, trans., *The Nikāya Saṅgrahawa: Being a History of Buddhism in India and Ceylon*, rev. and ed. W. F. Gunawardhana [Colombo: H.C. Cottle Gunawardhana, 1908], 18). While the term as presented in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* presents some difficulties in modern understanding, Berkwitz pointed to parallel formulations in the late medieval *Rājaratnakaraya*. There the name is given as “Mugayin Sen” and “Mugalayin Sen.” This means that *mungayin* is nothing else than an Elu (“pure,” non-Sanskritized Sinhala) variant of the well-known name Maudgalyāyana (Pāli: Moggalāna), the famous disciple of Gautama Buddha.

54. The *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* was first translated into English by Fernando as *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa* and was provided with a wrapper of historical commentary when republished by Gunawardhana. In Sundberg and Giebel (“Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 202n132) I provided a translation of the Sena I passage that lightly amended Fernando’s in order to better represent several lexically interesting terms in the original Sinhalese. Most important of my amendments was the striking of Fernando’s characterization of the corrupting Vājīrya monk as an “ascetic.”

55. This otherwise unknown Abhayagiri chapter is referenced in the Vessagiriya inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:9–11), originating not far from the Pallava-styled Isuramuniya ruins on the south side of Anurādhapura. An archival study of the archaeological reports of the Vessagiriya inscription’s finding might shed much more light on which particular ruins are to be associated with the Vīrāṃkurārāma. Given the proximity of the multitude of grand meditation caves near the monastic ruins at Vessagiriya, a relation to ascetic monks is not out of the question.

56. *Cūlavamsa* 50.33–37; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 140–141.

57. *Cūlavamsa* 50.69; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 144.

58. I am indebted to the Sinhala scholar Sven Bretfeld for conveying some substantive observations on these references to the “Mahāsaṃghika and Theriya.” Bretfeld notes that the Pāli is clear that Sena donated the Virāṃkurārama to “*bhikkhus* of Mahasaṃghika and Theriya” and that Geiger’s translation of the “Mahāsaṅgha” is erroneous.

Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 256ff.) devotes considerable scholastic attention to the implications of this mention of the Mahāsaṃghikas at the Abhayagiri’s Vīrāṃkurārāma, probing the possibility that such esoteric figures as Buddhaśrījñāna and Dīpaṅkaraśrījñāna, abbots of the Vikramaśīla monastery, were the types of Mahāsaṃghikas who were referenced by the *Cūlavamsa*. Unfortunately, at twelve centuries’ distance, this important claim of the *Cūlavamsa* is beyond full appreciation or comprehension.

59. *Cūlavamsa* 50.2–3; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 138. Although other chronicles reported him to be either a Vajravādin or a Śaiva, it is possible that the

seemingly intentionally naïve *Cūḷavaṃsa* report of his earnest, presumably Theravādin, religious life may accurately describe the final and amazing stage of Sena's tragic history, for it is not out of the question that he was the first to revert to Theravāda practices and mores after the disaster in Anurādhapura. Given that Sena II was prepared for an elaborate, and indeed seemingly novel, Theravāda-Mahāvihāra consecration upon Sena I's death (Walters, "Buddhist History," 30, 134), one wonders whether he had sustained a discordant and dissident Buddhology throughout the remainder of Sena I's reign or whether Sena I, in disgust at the failures of the apotropaic state-protection rituals of the Vajrayāna, had not only altered his religious allegiances but also encouraged his nephew and heir to follow this new old path. Such a hypothesis accommodates the fact that some of Sena I's inscriptions not only survive but predate the Pāṇḍya catastrophe: the obliteration of the pre-Sena Sinhalese inscriptional record was perhaps undertaken by Sena I rather than his successor (see n. 100), but still represented a Theravāda response to Vajravāda shortcomings and failures. If so, the Kapārārāma inscription plausibly attributed to Sena (Gunawardana, "Buddhist *Nikāyas* in Medieval Ceylon") might be reevaluated as a Sanskrit Theravāda document rather than the Sanskrit Mahāyāna document, as assumed in Sundberg and Giebel ("Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 163–164), and tells an interesting story of the *tapasvin*-scholars being inducted into some sort of monastic formalism. Similarly, Sena's Riṭigala site might represent, in the conceptual terminology coined for this paper, the first of the new Mahāvihāra-style *pāṃsukūlika* sites rather than the last of the Abhayagiri's *pāṃsukūlika* ones.

60. Although no inscriptions from any of the kings from Mānavarman to Sena I that we might reasonably suspect to have been adherents of the Vajrayāna have been recovered so that we might understand their dietary habits, the protection and support of various animals is not out of the question as such provisions are clearly evident in the later, inscription-rich Theravāda period. Sena II's Basavak-Kulama inscription from his nineteenth regnal year, for example, appoints an officer of the Mahāvihāra to enforce the ban on fishing in a particular tank (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:48), while a similar regard for fishes is evident in the Mullegala inscription from his ninth year, the same year avenged Laṅkā honor by sacking Madhurai (ibid., 30–31).

61. Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 192n97.

62. The reader will find in Sundberg and Giebel ("Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 148–151) the argument in support of the view that Amoghavajra's itinerary extended no farther than Laṅkā on his 741–746 text-gathering expedition, as flatly stated by Amoghavajra's monastic disciple Feixi 飛錫 in his 774 CE memorial account. In any case, all his biographies concur that Laṅkā furnished his texts, and that furthermore he underwent a second esoteric consecration at the hands of the Sinhalese monk *Samantabhadra.

63. The attested 741 CE relationship between Vajrabodhi and Ratnabodhi may be the genesis of the early biographical claims that Amoghavajra received tutelage in Laṅkā by Vajrabodhi's old master, the Shingon Patriarch Nāgajñā. Given that such an identity with Nāgajñā was also imputed to Amoghavajra's Sinhalese consecrator Samantabhadra by Kūkai through beliefs held in the Chang'an circle of Huiguo 惠果, it is difficult to tell at thirteen centuries' remove what overlap, if any, existed between the identities of Nāgajñā, Ratnabodhi, and Samantabhadra.

64. Giebel, "The Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch'ieh shih-pa-hui chihkuei."

65. Charles Orzech, "Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang: from Atikūṭa to Amoghavajra [651–780]," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 281.

66. Geoffrey Goble, "The Legendary Siege of Anxi: Myth, History, and Truth in Chinese Buddhism," *Pacific World: Journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies*, 3rd ser., no. 15 (2013): 18.

67. *Ibid.*, 15.

68. Martin Lehnert, "Tantric Threads between India and China," in *The Spread of Buddhism*, ed. Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 262.

69. Chiripat Prapandvidya, "The Sab Bāk Inscription: Evidence of an Early Vajrayāna Buddhist Presence in Thailand," *The Journal of the Siam Society* 78, no. 2 (1990): 11–14; Peter Sharrock, "Kīrtipaṇḍita and the Tantras in 10th Century Cambodia," *Udaya* 10 (2012): 203–237; Pia Conti, "Tantric Buddhism at Prasat Hin Phimai: A New Reading of Its Iconographic Message," in *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, ed. Nicolas Revire and Stephen Murphy (Bangkok: River Books and The Siam Society, 2014), 374–395.

70. In a prior paper (Jeffrey Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from Ratu Baka Plateau: A Preliminary Study of Its Implications for Śailendra-Era Java," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 159, no. 1 [2003]: 178n28), I speculated that the statues mentioned in the Sab Bāk inscription were offered by Satyavarman to Java's Abhayagiri rather than a Cambodia-based one. This possibility was also suggested by Arlo Griffiths ("The Problem of the Ancient Name Java and the Role of Satyavarman in Southeast Asian International Relations around the Turn of the Ninth Century CE," *Archipel* 85 [2013]: 43–81), who refined it by observing that the *-varman* suffix implies that Satyavarman was royal, quite possibly the Cam king who suffered destructive Javanese sea-raids from at least 787. (Griffiths leaves unexplored the implication of a very tight anti-Javanese alliance between the Khmer and the Cam if the Cam king were allowed to perform fundamental rites in the Khmer homeland. I proposed [Sundberg, "The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity," 147] that those raids were only possible

because Java had subordinated Sumatran Śrīvijaya and those same raids ceased when King Warak's coup against his father split the unified kingdom.) However, I am unconvinced by Griffiths' argument that the *-varman* suffix requires Satyavarman to be a king, and cite the counterexample of a Devapāla-era Śrī Nālandā *bhikṣu*, the Sarvāstivādin named Mañjuśrīvarman (Hirinand Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material* [Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1986], 103). (For an articulate argument that the "Javā" in question was not the island of Java but rather a nearby mainland kingdom, see Michel Ferlus, "Localisation, Identité, et Origine du Javā de Jayavarman II," *Aséanie* 2 [2010]: 65–82. While acknowledging the force of Ferlus' arguments, I am still inclined to believe that the subjugation was achieved by the island of Java, as argued most fully by Griffiths, "The Problem of the Ancient Name Java.")

It should be noted that there it seems in light of the research advanced in the present paper that the Javanese Abhayagirivāsins were quite nullified when it came time to refurbish the 802 CE statues, which had fallen into disrepair, and furthermore there was no longer a reason for a Southeast Asian to come to Java to placate an imperium. It now seems certain to me that the 802 Khmer efforts concerned a different Abhayagiri than the one in Java, and I consider my 2003 comments to be ill-founded.

71. Peter Sharrock and Emma Bunker, "Seeds of Vajrabodhi: Buddhist Ritual Bronzes from Java and Khorat," in *Tantric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, in press); Pia Conti, "Tantric Buddhism at Prasat Hin Phimai, A New Reading of Its Iconographic Message," in *Before Siam: Essays in Art and Archaeology*, ed. Nicolas Revire and Stephen Murphy (Bangkok: River Books and the Siam Society), 383–384.

72. Walters, "Buddhist History," 130.

73. Pertinent to Sena I's thinking on the choice of battlefield are Goble's ("The Legendary Siege of Anxi," 18) perceptions of Amoghavajra's military successes: "I suggest that the collective memory of Amoghavajra's service—violent and martial in imagery and in effect—to the Tang court during the An Lushan Rebellion period provides the narrative frame for the Legendary Siege of Anxi. Therein, we have Amoghavajra performing rites in response to and in the context of an imperial military operation. An irresistible force of confederated foreign troops besieges a Tang outpost. The tactical situation appears hopeless, but Amoghavajra is summoned to court where he performs a ritual. As a result, the barbarian enemy is miraculously defeated.

74. Walters, "Buddhist History," 133.

75. I am grateful to Jonathan Walters for explicating the relevant passage of the *Cūḷavaṃsa* passage for me, pointing out linguistic subtleties that are not evident in Geiger's translation. Based on Walters' explanation, I am convinced

that Sena did use the Abhayagiri as his chosen battleground for the showdown with the Pāṇḍya army, with all that implies about his creed.

It is worthy of note that Sena II's cousin and contemporary, the Crown Prince Mahinda, died leading the Sinhalese army in their defense of Anurādhapura. Given Ranawella's (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:119) observations on medieval Sinhalese succession (when "a King ascended the throne, his most senior younger brother or a paternal cousin, or in the absence of such a brother or a cousin, the eldest son of his eldest brother is appointed as his Mahāyā or Yuvarāja. At the death of the reigning King, his Mahayā succeeds him on the throne"), it is not clear to me that Sena II's own succession was not guaranteed by the Pāṇḍya victory. Furthermore, Sena must have been intimately aware of the ritual apotropaic preparations undertaken by the army command before their highest-stakes battle.

76. *Ibid.*, 29.

77. Jonathan Walters, "Mahāyāna Theravāda and the Origins of the Mahāvihāra," *The Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 23, nos. 1–2 (1997): 101.

78. The "Sen Senevirad Pirivena" of the Mahāvihāra is referenced in the Tāmaravāva inscription from Sena II's thirty-first regnal year as well as in the Ramāva inscription of Udaya II, whom he continued to serve as commander-in-chief (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:83). Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:125–126) notes a similar "Vadurā Senevirad Pirivena" established by the general of Kassapa IV and Kassapa V. During the medieval period, several army commanders were recorded as having patronized monastic establishments. General Vajira—the name seems significant in light of the theme of this essay—built a monastery for the *pāṃśukūlikas* during the reign of Sena I's father Dappula II (r. 815–831), while Kassapa IV, Sena II's youngest brother, endowed a hermitage for the Mahāvihāra's forest monks (*Cūḷavaṃsa* 49.80, 52.22). I am indebted to Sven Bretfeld for his elaborations on the designation "Sen Senevirad Pirivena."

79. Walters, "Buddhist History," 125–152.

80. Ranawella, *The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*; Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, vol. 5 (pts. 1–3).

81. Having acquainted myself with the newly-published inscriptions in the modern epigraphic corpus of Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, vol. 5 [pts. 1–3]), I see much fresh opportunity for Walters to expand, solidify, and further detail his prior conclusions, but little need for fundamental amendments to his well-researched thesis. I am grateful to Edward and Osmund Bopearachchi for arranging my access to Ranawella's corpus.

82. Walters, "Buddhist History," 128–130.

83. In stipulating that only monks who had mastered the four sections of the *Paritta* were to be advanced to ordination and given a berth at the Abhayagiri's Kapārārāma (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:331), Sena II's son Kassapa V may have been not only imposing a monastic orthodoxy but also stimulating actions that he believed would serve metaphysically to fundamentally fortify his kingdom.

In that same inscription, Kassapa noted that he himself had fashioned golden plates on which was written the *Abhidhamma*. Per Walters' ("Buddhist History," 134) observations on Sena II's Mahāvihāra-centered consecration, it is clear that his son was using these core elements as foundations for a reform of this *ārāma* of the Abhayagirivihāra.

84. In a chapter devoted to the subject, Chandawimala (*Buddhist Heterodoxy of the Abhayagiri Sect*, 151–172) surveys vestiges of tantric ritual that persisted into the Sinhalese culture and Theravāda practice of today. His study supplements that of Holt's (*Buddha in the Crown*) research into the persistence of Mahāyāna and Hindu figures, and parallels the observations of François Bizot and Kate Crosby ("Tantric Theravāda: A Bibliographic Essay on the Writings of François Bizot and Others on the Yogāvacara Tradition," *Contemporary Buddhism* 1, no. 2 [2000]) on the same phenomenon in mainland Southeast Asian Theravāda.

85. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(2):xxvi; cf. Lokesh Chandra, "The Contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka with Indonesia in the Eighth Century," in *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 4 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 12.

86. The new Theravāda rites of the ninth century durably supplanted the royal *purohita* of prior centuries: as Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:xxvii) observed, the *purohita* were nowhere to be found in any of the inscriptions from Sena II onward. Rather, the *Vamsatthappakāsini* (VAP) stipulates that the consecration rites specifically required earth from within the confines of the Mahāvihāra (Walters, "Buddhist History," 130):

[I]n detailing the construction of the vessels from which the shower bath is to be given, the VAP stipulates that the clay must be obtained from several specific sites within the Mahāvihāra where, according to the *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*, the adept Mahinda declared buildings to have existed in the times of previous Buddhas (VAP I:307). The VAP leaves no doubt that undergoing its shower bath into kingship entails enactment of the Mahāvihāran world vision: the clay required for the Okkāka emperor's coronation is to be found where the endlessly reiterated presence of the Buddhas was truly to be found, at the feet of the Mahāvihāran monks.

87. *Cūlavāṃsa* 51.82; Geiger, *Cūlavāṃsa*, 155.

88. Walters, "Buddhist History," 134.

89. If, as suggested above, the course of historical development of Śrī Laṅkā as a predominantly Theravādin country was largely determined by the military events between 840 and 862, the credit for the specific Mahāvihāran cast of that revival must have lain with a small number of highly capable Mahāvihāra monks who worked around the opportunity provided by the Pāṇḍya disaster to concoct the novel procedures and doctrines that served to revive the Mahāvihāra's fortunes and the Theravāda's relevance, and not the least of these would have been the fashioning of the consecration rituals administered to Sena II. Sadly, the mere fact of their innovation within a tradition that sustained itself by its doctrinal conservatism meant that these enterprising monks were necessarily unacknowledged and their names went unrecorded, despite their instrumental role in the resurrection of the status of their long-subordinated creed.

90. As noted by Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 43, 208), when Udaya III (r. 935–938) trespassed on the grounds of the *pāṃśukūlikas'* *tapovana* in search of royal traitors, the army and the populace revolted.

91. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):13–92.

92. Walters, "Buddhist History," 136.

93. *Cūlavamsa* 51.48; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 151.

94. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):83–84.

95. There was seemingly a great deal of zeal associated with the Theravādins of the era. Tārānātha, whether or not he was correct in ascribing the incident to the time of Dharmapāla rather than Devapāla, noted that the Sinhalese monks joined with *śrāvakas*—almost certainly a pejorative term for those following the "Little Vehicle" like that of the Theravāda of Odantapurī in Sindh—to not only debate the Mahāyānists at Bodh Gaya but actually destroy a silver statue of Heruka there, compelling the Pāla king to put them to death (Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, 244–245). If Tārānātha is correct, I think that the Theravāda monks would have been aware of the mortal consequences of their actions in destroying the esoteric statue, and imagine how greatly the anti-Vajrayāna backlash might have been when supported rather than opposed by the king. As suggested below, it is possible that the forces behind the resumption of Theravāda primacy in Laṅkā were contented with the reestablishment of orthodoxy in those arenas directly under royal control.

96. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):336.

97. While Walters ("Buddhist History," 137) suggests that the monks of the Abhayagiri and Jetavana were forced by the kings to slop from the stone canoes found at the two sites, I do think that this interpretation is consistent with the spirit of the inscriptions on them. The texts of the three tenth century inscriptions on the canoes are furnished by Ranawella (*Inscriptions*

of Ceylon, 5[3]:163–164). The third one is most illuminating and reads, “This is the stone canoe caused to be built by Salavaḍunā, who guards the relics at the Dhammasaṅgaṇī House.” I consider Geiger’s surmise (*Cūlavamsa*, 17n5) that the stone canoes were receptacles for gifts of rice to more likely be correct. Walter’s corollary observation, that such a canoe is not known at the Mahāvihāra, suggests to me that either the monastery was provisioned completely by the king from the royal kitchens as a manner of royal honor, unlike the Abhayagiri and Jetavana monks who required supplemental lay donations, or else that the lay donations to the Abhayagiri monks were closely supervised lest they monetize excess donations. It is not impossible, however, that the stone canoes at the Abhayagiri and the Jetavana represented royally mandated adjudications of one of the *vinaya* controversies documented by Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 25) on the use of a stand to accept offerings of food, which the Abhayagiri monks “rejected because it limited physical participation in the act of acceptance.”

98. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(2):272–295.

99. One wonders about the nutrition of the monks if the *abhidhamma* scholars received almost two and a half times the food allotment of those who merely knew their *vinaya*. Such drastic differentials would not be unexpected in the caloric ratios of guards to prisoners-of-war in a camp of one of the harder-pressed combatants in the Second World War (2,400 calories versus 1,000) but are never encountered in normal circumstances.

Given their caloric surplus, I think it almost certain that the better-provisioned *abhidhamma*-reading monks were allowed to monetize their excess rations. That medieval Sinhalese monks possessed money and accumulated wealth is indisputable: the Anurādhapura Slab Inscription of Sena II’s son Kassapa V (r. 914–923), newly published by Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:329–336), lays down regulations for the Kapārārāma of the Abhayagirivihāra. Among these are provisions for fining undisciplined monks as well as provision for the care of monks who had fallen into destitution (cf. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, 81–82).

100. In prior publications (Jeffrey Sundberg, “Considerations on the Dating of the Barabudur Stūpa,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 162, no. 1 [2006]: 124; and Sundberg, “The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity,” 155n30), I noted the absence of Javanese royal administrative inscriptions from the period before King Kayuwangi (r. 855–883) even though royal inaugural and non-royal administrative inscriptions have been recovered. I posited their absence by generalizing the unique information recorded in the Wanua Tengah III inscription that both King Warak (r. 803–827) and King Pikatan (r. 847–855) had withdrawn tax privileges for royal lands allocated to the *vihāra* at Pikatan. The fact that archaeologists have recovered a substantial number of

royal *sīmā* demarcation stones from the later period of Kayuwangi through Wawa but none from the prior period suggests to me that the “wrathful” Warak’s revocation of the *sīmā* status of the fields at Wanua Tengah was not isolated, and indeed may have been a manifestation of a substantial and systemic attempt to consolidate the kingdom’s finances during Warak’s reign. In the case of Java, it seems that the foundation inscriptions were not eliminated but the administrative inscriptions were comprehensively obliterated in accordance with the withdrawn tax privileges. Given my present understanding of the likely cause of their disappearance, I consider it unlikely that Java’s archaeologists will ever find any royal *sīmā* provisions from before Kayuwangi’s reign, as they were all destroyed in enactment of royal commands.

What is surprising when delving into the epigraphical record of contemporary Śrī Laṅkā is that one finds a parallel lack of Sinhalese inscriptions before the 830s, with the inscriptional record not really growing dense until the reign of Sena II. With the arguable exception of the Tiriyāy boulder inscription from whichever of Mānavarman or Aggabodhi VII the “Siṃghaleṇḍra Śīlāmegha Mahārāja” title designates, and the mention of whose twenty-third regnal year may just be a chronological marker for the site’s mercantile sponsors rather than an unambiguous sign of royal Sinhalese sponsorship, seemingly not a single inscription derives from the early Second Lambakaṇṇa-period reigns of Mānavarman, Aggabodhi V, Kassapa III, Mahinda I, Aggabodhi VI, Mahinda II, Dappula II, Mahinda III, Aggabodhi VII, Dappula III, or Aggabodhi IX, and this in spite of the *Cūlavamsa*’s (49:21–22) notice of Udaya I’s honoring of provisions made by prior kings and his safeguarding of those made by his father. (While Ranawella’s 1999 volume [*The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*] commenced with an inscription from the fifth regnal year of Sena I, Ranawella’s [*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):1–3] attribution of the southern-coast Devinuvara inscription of Āpā Kitakbo to the reign of Dappula II [r. 815–831] rather than Udaya II [887–898] was decided by the nasty nature of Udaya’s nephew Kitaggaodhi, who rebelled against his father and killed his own maternal uncle, the governor of Rohaṇa, taking that province as his own domain until he was crushed by an army led by one of Kassapa V’s sons, Mahinda. While I normally automatically defer to Ranawella’s well-reasoned and well-substantiated assignments of inscriptions to rulers, I believe that an exception is in order here, for there seems to be a precedent for the tolerance of at least one other inscription issued by a rebellious Rohaṇa prince: Paranavitana noted the preservation of one of Mahinda’s own inscriptions despite his refusal to acknowledge King Dappula IV [Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):373]. I believe on these grounds that the Sinhalese epigraphical record should indeed start with a few stray finds from the period of Sena I rather than a Rohaṇa singleton from Dappula II.)

From Sena I on to the Cōḷa occupation, the recovered royal inscriptions are densely represented. Sena I has four extant inscriptions (one known only because it was recycled into a paving stone at the *vaṭadāge* at Polonnaruwa [Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):9]) from his twenty year reign, Sena II issued at least twenty-eight over thirty-five years; Udaya II eighteen over twelve years; Kassapa IV thirty-nine out of sixteen years, Kassapa V twenty-five out of nine years, Dappula IV forty-one in eleven years, Udaya III five over three years, Sena III six over eight years, Udaya IV eighteen over eight years, Mahinda IV fifteen over sixteen years, while even the wretched Mahinda V managed at least one before evacuating Anurādhapura and taking up a feeble resistance to the Cōḷa from the upcountry. It should be pointed out that Ranawella's comprehensive catalogue turns up no fewer than ninety-one additional royal inscriptions which lack enough information to confidently assign to the correct king, so the true inscriptional density is double what can be presently assigned to specific regents.

While I know of no scholarly explanation for the lacunae in the Javanese inscriptional record other than the one that I published (sadly, there is no native historical literature from Indonesia's medieval period other than brief accounts in the "Sañjaya Saga," the sixteenth century Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, which by no means furnishes information of such quality as the thirteenth century *Cūḷavaṃsa* and other Sinhalese historical material), there are actually some explanations for the missing *śīmā* boundary markers to be found not only in the Sinhalese epigraphical record but also in the literary record. From the Kirinda Pillar Inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:358–362) of the seventh year of Kassapa V, issued by the prince Mahinda who had just reconquered Rohaṇa after its loss to a rebellious prince under Udaya II, comes information about what he considered necessary to restore the Theravāda there:

He . . . after having seen the decadent state the Buddha-*sāsana*, which had been ruined by the previous ruler of that Province, re-allocated villages and market-towns, made the Four Requisites plentiful, and after having honorably conveyed the Tooth Relic of the left lower jaw of Our Gotama, the Buddha (for veneration during the ceremony), built a large *stūpa* at the very spot where the relics of the Three Former Buddhas had been enshrined.

The same king's earlier Anurādhapura Slab Inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:329–336; cf. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, 66) promises the Abhayagiri and Seygiri monks that "(Even) under the (King's) wrath [the state] shall not confiscate the *pamaṇu* lands, which had been endowed and dedicated in accordance with the teaching of the Buddha by the royal household." These actions to alter monastic *śīmā* provisions are affirmed by records of their destruction in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* (Fernando/Gunawardhana, *Nikāya Saṅgrahawa*, 15): in a counterattack against a sly Indian heretic Sanghamitra,

who had himself gotten the ear of King Mahasen and persuaded him to act against the Mahāvihāra by destroying their temples and ploughing and salting their fields, Mahasen, upon regaining his senses, turned on Sanghamitra, decapitating and impaling him and burning his Vaitulya-genre books. The king Mahasen foolishly relapsed and once again sought to impair the Mahāvihāra by *tearing up their boundary markers*. (Luckily, a Mahāvihāran from the Situlpavu monastery in Rohaṇa was able to transmogrify into a *rākṣasa* and frightened the king into backing off on his anti-Mahāvihāra actions.)

Having seen that the Sinhalese record supports an interpretation of the absence of boundary markers as evidence of a sweeping doctrinal dispute between theological camps, there is some obvious temptation to read the Sinhalese inscriptional situation in light of the sudden reevaluation of the merits of the Vajrayāna in the wake of the Pāṇḍya disaster, but the extant inscriptional evidence seems to fail that thesis by a handful of years: witness the four inscriptions of Sena I noticed by Ranawella, namely Kivulekaḍa (T.B. Karunaratne, "The *Aṣṭamaṅgala* Figure on an *Attāni* Pillar of Sena I from Kivulekaḍa, Sri Lanka," in *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, ed. Leelananda Permatillake, Karthigesu Indrapala, and J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw [Leiden: Brill, 1978]; Ranawella, *The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, 12–13; Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:11–12; Lakshman Perera, *The Institutions of Ancient Ceylon from Inscriptions, Volume II, Part I [from 831 to 1016 AD]: Political Institutions* [Kandy: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2003], 5), a few kilometers from Tiriyāy, and the step-inscription later reused as a paving-stone at the *vaṭadāge* at Polonaruva (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:11–12). Most importantly, Ranawella (*The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, 4–5) demonstrates that an inscription from Sena I dating to his fifth regnal year is the earliest of the recovered Sinhalese inscriptions. This inscription must date to 838–839 CE as it mentions the prince who was killed in the Pāṇḍya invasion. These few preserved inscriptions of Sena I may signal that the reversion to Theravāda might have occurred under the reign of his predecessor Sena I, chastened by the catastrophe of the invasion, the sacking, and the traumatic humiliation of having had to ransom his realm to the Pāṇḍya king. Definitive proof of which of the Senas initiated the reversion will be forever lacking, but the process can be safely dated to the decade of 844–854.

Apart from the discrediting of the Vajrayāna, which I will suggest in the companion to this essay (Sundberg, "Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java") touched the Javanese as strongly as the Sinhalese, there is another factor which may have come into play in the disappearance of the early epigraphical record. As noted above, I have proposed that the financial wherewithal that had funded such early Śāilendra temples as the massive Candi Sewu had vanished with Warak's overthrow of his father Panaraban and the subsequent loss to Java of the

lucrative Sumatra-based Straits traffic. It is possible that the numerous rebellions chronicled in the *Cūlavamsa* had so crippled the kingdom that there was no choice but to remand all tax privileges of the prior kings. (Indeed, it may have been the chronically weakened condition of Rājaraṭṭha that allowed an opportunistic invasion by the Pāṇḍya.) The Laṅkā administrative inscriptions may have been comprehensively administratively withdrawn as a financial necessity, much in the manner of Central Java's.

While a more detailed comparative examination of the *śīmā* provisions of Laṅkā and Java should be conducted, it is worth noting in the present context that the Sinhalese inscriptions lack the extended curses against people who violate the *śīmā* which is characteristic of the contemporary Javanese inscriptions. It is possible that the Sinhalese, with their much older tradition of state support for Buddhism, would not have had any fresh land for the acquisition of donation merit had they not recycled *śīmā* land, and indeed, Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 66) draws attention to a literary passage that implies that royal donations were only valid until the end of that lineage.

101. The *Rājaratnākara* (Karunaratne, *Rājaratnākara*, 55–58) records that Sena II, “Mugain Sen,” suppressed heretical sects and set coastal guards to intercept heretics who sought to enter the island. Which sects were “heretical” is unspecified, but a multitude of sources confirm the Theravādin orthodoxy against which “heresy” would be measured, for it was none other than Sena II who instigated the Theravādin revival.

102. At the time of this writing I have a poor sense of the exact quantity of esoteric material that survived. Both Paranavitana (“Mahāyānism in Ceylon,” *Ceylon Journal of Science*, section G, 2 [1928]: 35–71), and Nandana Mudiyanse (*Mahāyāna Monuments of Ceylon*) provide valuable summaries of the evidence known to them, but their studies were conducted before a deeper scholarly understanding of esoteric Buddhism allowed much context to their observations, as evidenced by Mudiyanse's (ibid., 81) need to sleuth out the possible meanings of so fundamental a term as *abhiṣeka*. The recent study of the Abhayagiri by Chandawimala (*Buddhist Heterodoxy of the Abhayagiri Sect*) transcends the studies of Paranavitana and Mudiyanse and addresses a substantial amount of the evidence that can currently be associated with the Vajravāda practices of that monastery, but was intended to serve as an exegesis rather than a comprehensive catalogue.

103. As noted above, Mudiyanse (*Mahāyāna Monuments of Ceylon*, 16–18) and Chandra (“Evolution of the Tantras,” 123ff.) establish identifications of many of the “Vajraparvata” texts recorded in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*.

104. It is of note that the Sinhalese Sanskrit construction manual *Mañjuśrībhāṣita Citrakarmaśāstra* (E.W. Marasinghe, *Citrakarmaśāstra Ascribed to Mañjuśrī, Being Volume II of the Vāstuvidyāśāstrā* [Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1991]) clearly originated in a Mahāyāna Buddhism that admitted the Five Buddhas and a

set of corresponding consorts as well as other indices of tantrism. Whenever this text was first composed, it persisted to within the shelf-life of the palm leaves, for it was last copied recently enough for it to reach modern attention. Nandisena Mudiyanse (“‘Śilpaśāstra’ works in Sri Lanka,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1 [1978]: 71) references the Sinhalese work by A. H. Appuhamy (*Vastuvidyava Hevat Grhanirmana Iastraya*, 2nd. ed. [Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1969]) that summarizes all of the Sanskrit construction manuals found in temple libraries in Śrī Lankā.

Mark Long (*Caṇḍi Mendut: Womb of the Tathāgata* [New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2009], 90–91; and “Candi Kalasan’s Mahāyāna Buddhist Pantheon: A Comparative Analysis Based on Design Principles Presented in the *Mañjuśrī Vāstuvidyāśāstra*,” in *From Beyond the Eastern Horizon: Essays in Honour of Professor Lokesh Chandra*, ed. Manjushree [New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2011], 1) notes the presence of the word *candida* in the *Citrakarmaśāstra* and proposes that it served as the basis for the common Javanese term for temple, “*caṇḍi*.”

105. It is curious that no inscription from the period of the esoteric heresy seems to have survived other than those in the “foreign” Siddham script of northeast India, that chiseled on the rock at Tiriyāy, and a few from a Tārā monastery in southern Rohaṇa.

106. Gunawardana, “Buddhist *Nikāyas* in Medieval Ceylon”; Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 163–164.

107. Ven. Mahinda Deegalle, “A Search for Mahāyāna in Sri Lanka,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22, no. 2 (1999): 351.

108. As noted by Paranavitana (“Mahāyānism in Ceylon,” 47), based on multiple examples recovered from within the cores of its *stūpas*, Mihintale also served as a prominent site of Sinhalese Mahāyāna/tantric practice.

109. The extant pillar inscription from the Pallava-styled Nālandā *geḍige* (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[3]:109–110) dates not from the period of its construction but rather from the ninth to tenth centuries, and the legible portions suggest that it is largely pedestrian, rather than the “mystic syllables” recorded in the archaeological record for the other inscription recorded from the site (n. 48). It does refer to the four *śīmā* boundaries of the “Rājīnāvihāra.”

110. My statement might need to be amended after further archaeological and archival work on the “*dhāraṇīghara*” that furnished the lithic texts derived from the *Tattvasaṅgraha*. Based on my limited acquaintance with images and plans of this temple, it seems to me that any such archaeological investigation should look for corollary architectures in Sumatra and elsewhere.

111. A total of fifty inscriptions set up by the monks and the gentry are tabulated by Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[3]: vii–viii).

The Polonnaruwa-Topavāva inscription (Ranawella *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:117–119) demonstrates that there were wealthy individuals

who were capable of independently supporting religious institutions, while the Vessagiriya Slab Inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:9–11) records the donation of 310 *kaḷands* (1.3 kg) of gold by a layman on behalf of the Virāṃkurārāma, another of the Abhayagiri affiliates (n. 55). Interestingly, this Virāṃkura is the *ārāma* designated by the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* as the host for the Vajraparvata-heresy which therefore, not unpredictably, was associated with the Abhayagirivihāra.

112. David Gray, “Eating the Heart of the Brahmin: Representations of Alterity and the Formation of Identity in Tantric Buddhist Discourse,” *History of Religions* 45, no. 1 (2005): 62n65; David Gray, *The Cakrasamvara Tantra (The Discourse of Śrī Heruka): A Study and Annotated Translation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 11–12; Péter-Dániel Szántó, “Selected Chapters from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2012), 40–41.

113. The dates assigned to Jayabhadra by various scholars range from the middle third of the ninth to the early tenth century (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 207n137).

The supplemental details noticed by Szántó (“Selected Chapters from the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*,” 40n61) around about the Mahābimbastūpa where Jayabhadra composed his *Cakrasamvarapañjikā*, the earliest extant commentary on the *Herukābhidhāna*, may provide an interesting insight into continued Śrī Laṅkā–West Indian Buddhist interrelationships. Szántó points out that a Mahābimba is likely associated with a Tārāvihāra, which is recorded as being founded “by/for/in memory of Agrabodhi,” recalling the nine separate Sinhalese kings of that name, including Mānavarman’s son and immediate successor, his grandson who welcomed Amoghavajra and his entourage, and three other of Mānavarman’s descendents who ruled before the advent of Sena I.

114. The Abhayagirivāsins were termed “Dhammaruci” because a teacher of that name, a monk of the Vajjiputtaka (Vātsīputriya) school, had come from India and was greatly influential with the Abhayagiri monks.

115. Gregory Schopen, *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997); cf. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, 53–94.

In contrast to this mode, we see evidence from the Theravāda period that the *paṃsukūlika* monks suffered genuine privation, for the general Sena Ilaṅga seemingly distributed rice and clothing on behalf of their mothers (*Cūḷavaṃsa* 52.27; Geiger, *Cūḷavaṃsa*, 164; but note the admonition by Rahula [*History of Buddhism*, 196n2] that the Colombo edition reads “*paṃsukūlikabhikkhūṇam*” where Geiger read “*paṃsukūlikamātūṇam*.” I am indebted to Osmund Bopearachchi for drawing my attention to this), presumably as recompense for the labor lost upon the ordination of their sons. The necessity of Sena Ilaṅga’s benefaction of the impoverished mothers of the *paṃsukūlikas* may reveal an extra dimension, transcending their deep doctrinal differences, to

the rivalry with the Abhayagiri clique that I call the *pāṃśukūlikas*. Wedemeyer (*Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 187–188) suggests that the transgressive *advaya* behaviors attributed to them in section Id are largely a privilege allotted to the socially irreproachable well-born, rather than the bright but hard-scrabble peasantry which the Ilaṅga evidence suggests provided the Mahāvihāra with its own cadre of ascetic monks.

These surmises about the relative differences in social status between the *pāṃśukūlikas* and the *paṃsukūlikas* may be buttressed by Wedemeyer's (ibid.) observations on the likely social stratum of the types of figures who could actually advocate or practice the *siddha*-ish behaviors suggested for the *pāṃśukūlikas* in section Id below:

As Steven Collins has noted, for instance, renunciation is not in general the practice of those with nothing to renounce. Renunciation is not terribly meaningful (nor terribly attractive) to impoverished people with nothing to give up: rather it is the wealthy who find the idea most sensible and appealing. Similarly, despised underclasses vowing to engage in polluting activities is a failed semiosis. . . . Contrariwise, famous, wealthy, or otherwise privileged persons pushing the limits of propriety and transgressing the same boundaries are objects of awe and respect. An esteemed religious leader descending into poverty and crossing over to the side of society's rejects in order to expose divine insight, compassion and selflessness—that signifies. . . . Inversion of social structures only makes the right kind of sense if the person inviting them is already firmly established on the “correct” side of the duality. It is no coincidence that the practitioners for whom the Śaiva Pāśupatavrata was prescribed were pure Brāhmins.

(As Andrea Aciri pointed out to me, similar considerations can be made with respect to the Śaiva Pāśupatas—quintessentially pure Brahmins—and the Javanese *ṛṣi* sect and their scions, the *ṛṣi bhujaṅga* and *senguhu* “peasant priests”—often considered *śūdra* yet displaying a Brāhmanical attire.) Wedemeyer's sociological insight helps an appreciation of how the Abhayagiri ascetic monks may have garnered substantial lay support, which may have come from their own wealthy families.

116. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(3):23–24. Several Sinhalese inscriptions concern themselves with prohibiting monks from refusing the king's alms. In the Anurādhapura Slab Inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:329–336) of Sena II's son Kassapa V (914–923), the king laid down regulations for the Kapārārāma of the Abhayagirivihāra. One senses that his inscription is designed to regulate but also to smooth ruffled feathers at the Kapārārāma, as some concession seems to be made over the monks' rights to refuse the king's alms. In the inscription, there are policies for monks who refuse the king's gruel, and how they will not be compelled to accept it but rather an official

delegation will be sent to reconcile the monks and persuade them to take it. However, if the monks merely go away “disregarding the accepted rules,” they will both be fined a sum of money and compelled to accept the gruel.

117. *Cūḷavaṃsa* 51.52; Geiger, *Cūḷavaṃsa*, 152.

118. Jonathan Walters, “Mahāsenā at the Mahāvihāra: On the Interpretation and Politics of History in Pre-Colonial Sri Lanka,” *Invoking the Past: The Uses of History in South Asia* (1999): 322–366, illuminates the context of the Mahāvihāra doctrinal triumph in their fifth century clash with the Abhayagirivihāra.

119. For a briefing on the Vaitulya/Vaipulya and *Ratnakūṭa* texts, see Ven. Mahinda Deegalle (“Theravada Pre-Understandings in Understanding Mahayana,” in *Three Mountains and Seven Rivers: Prof. Musashi Tachikawa’s Felicitation Volume*, ed. Shoun Hino and Toshihiro Wada [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004], 57n20, 58n32). Although the mention of the Vaitulya/Vaipulya controversy in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* places it in the reign of Silākāla (r. ca. 518–531), these doctrines were still very much alive in Java and China in the eighth century. In Java they are possibly referenced in the sixth strophe of the lacunose Kelurak inscription (F. D. K. Bosch, “De inscriptie van Keloerak,” *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap* 86 [1928]; Himansu Bhusan Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 2 vols. [Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1972], 1:42–48; Mark Long, *Voices from the Mountain: The Śailendra Inscriptions Discovered in Central Java and on the Malay Peninsula* [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 2014], 85–124) in Bosch’s uncertain reading “*vaipulyavipratilakena*,” lit. “by the foremost of the Vaipulya-priests.” The fact that *vipra* usually denotes a *brāhman* is interesting; to Andrea Acri (private communication) this perhaps associates the Vaipulya with a learned *brāhman*/sage rather than a Buddhist monk.

Chandra (“The Contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka,” 18) notes the range of texts that the fourteenth century *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* lumps into the “*vetullapiṭaka*”: early Mahāyāna texts, various named *tantras*, and the *Ratnakūṭa* texts; whether this represents a fourteenth century classification retrospectively imposed on the ninth century or whether the fourteenth century author was conveying a list that had been faithfully passed down from contemporary authors is not easy to determine; yet we know that this Vaipulya-class *Ratnakūṭa Sūtra* with its forty-nine component Mahāyāna sūtras were translated by Bodhiruci between 707 and 713.

The Vaipulya as a scriptural category had its own long history in China. Chandra (“Evolution of the Tantras,” 116–117) draws attention to twenty-two titles by Amoghavajra which indicate an association with Vaipulya in their titles, but Rolf Giebel (private communication) points out that this roster of titles is contained in the 1883 catalogue of Nanjio, which in turn is derived from the *Yuezang zhijin* 閱藏知津, a catalogue by a Chinese monk of the mid-seventeenth century. Giebel properly urges caution in superimposing

seventeenth century Chinese categorizations on ninth century Sinhalese textual categories. The topic of the *Ratnakūṭic* and *Vaipulya* texts seems ripe for scholarly exploitation.

120. Walters, “Buddhist History,” 130. Walters (*ibid.*, 128) points out that the Abhayagiri maintained its own variant *Mahāvamsa*, which is cited repeatedly by the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, “usually after introducing the quotation as ‘not at odds with the [orthodox] tradition.’ The implication is that everything else in the Abhayagiri *Vaṃsa* about the later history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka is at odds with the tradition.” This Abhayagiri material included quotations from the set of alternate *vaṃsa* chronicles, *vinaya*, and *abhidhamma*. (As Gray [“Eating the Heart of the Brahmin,” 49] notes in another context, “this representation does not, naturally, provide us with any reliable information about the other group, as distortion, exaggeration, and outright fabrication are common colors in the polemicist’s palette.”) The extent of the formal penetration of esoteric doctrines into this Abhayagiri canon will forever be unknown, and from a historiographical point of view, the loss of the record of the cosmopolitan Abhayagiri’s contacts with the external Buddhist world is a great loss.

121. The Cōḷas invaded during reign of Udaya IV (946–954; *Cūlavamsa* 53.40–48, Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 176–177), as confirmed by the 947 CE inscription of Parāntaka, and their incursions ultimately led to the period of direct Cōḷa rule in the eleventh century.

122. Wijesuriya (*Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 149–154) devotes a somewhat inconclusive appendix to the topic of Paranavitana’s unsourced employment of the *padhānaghara* term to the double-platform structures, but Kulatunge (*Abhayagirivihāra at Anurādhapura*, 49) seems to offer the soundest justification for it by referring to second century information found at the double-platform structure just to the northwest of the Abhayagiri *stūpa*.

123. As noted above in n. 18, Sena I’s endowment of *pāṃsukūlikas* also took place at the Mahānettapabbata, which may have had a relationship with a now-lost Eye Relic in the same manner that these monks resided at the Hair Relic shrine at Tiriyāy. It will be interesting to see whether future archaeologists note such an isolated *stūpa-padhānaghara* pair, which Vajrabodhi’s biography leads us to expect somewhere between Anurādhapura and Adam’s Peak.

124. As an example of the variety of residence that might be associated with the various species of ascetic monks recognized by the medieval Sinhalese, the *Cūlavamsa* (52:19–22) records the endowments of Kassapa IV’s (r. 898–915) blue-blooded general: for the grove-dwellers (*ārāmika-bhikkhus*), he built huts (*kuṭi*). He allocated *kuṭi* for the ascetics (*tapassins*), who are termed the “masters of the order” (*sāsanassa sāmikāna*) and associated by Geiger (*Cūlavamsa*, 163n6) with the epigraphical term *vat-himyan* (“lords of the earth,” a term also used,

and only used, by the kings of Sinhala). For the *paṃsukūlika-bhikkhus* of the Mahāvihāra he built a *pariveṇa*. Finally, for the *bhikkhus* of the Mahāvihāra who lived in the wilderness (*arañña*) he made dwellings (*vāsa*). As noted above, even the *paṃsukūlikas* seemed to have occupied a variety of dwellings, not all of which seem suited to their nominal asceticism: the *Cūlavamsa* (47:66; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 108) records that Mānavamma (Mahalā-pānō) built a “palace” (*pāsāda*) at the Thūpārāma and turned it over to the *paṃsukūlikas* (figs. 4 and 5).

125. Gunawardana, “Buddhist *Nikāyas* in Medieval Ceylon.”

126. As far as I know, the ruins of no ascetic monastery of the Mahāvihāra have been firmly identified so that a historian could search for distinguishing differences between them and those of the Abhayagiri. Of the substantial number of *padhānaghara* structures found in Laṅkā, at Mullegala, Mānakanda, Veherebāṇḍigala, Sivalukanda, Galbāṇḍivihāre, Māṇikdena, Nuvaragalkanda, at the Abhayagiri compound, at Riṭigala, and at Tiriyāy, only the latter two can be linked to a specific royal Sinhalese figure, and neither is likely to have sheltered any of the Mahāvihārin *paṃsukūlika-bhikkhus* mentioned in the chronicles. There are three such *padhānaghara* sites which are indisputably associated with the Abhayagiri (the one which lies near the eleven meditation caves just a few hundred meters to the northwest of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* [Kulatunge, *Abhayagirivihara at Anuradhapura*, 49], the complex at Riṭigala founded by Sena I, and the one in Java which is explicitly identified as such), while the pair at Tiriyāy were almost certainly so (Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 219). While the “Western Meditation Monasteries” that are grouped a few kilometers to the west of the Thūpārāma and southwest of the Abhayagiri *stūpas* are frequently attributed to the latter *vihāra*, I know of no extant evidence which links them to it rather than the Mahāvihāra.

127. Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 45) also notes that the first mention of the *ārañṇika* forest monks does not occur until Kassapa IV (r. 898–914), whose general and whose queen sponsored forest hermitages for the Mahāvihārin forest monks. There may have been some crossover between the Mahāvihāra’s rag-wearers and their forest monks, as the *Cūlavamsa* records that outraged citizens revolted against Udaya III (r. 935–938) when he violated the sanctuary privileges of the *paṃsukūlika* “*tapovana*” (forest ascetic retreat) that harbored royal rebels. Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 208) notes that Udaya’s Giritale inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:123–125), obviously issued as a response to the event described in the *Cūlavamsa*, upholds *simā* privileges but forbids the sheltering of royal traitors.

128. Geiger (*Cūlavamsa*, 181n3), for instance, noted that the Lābhavāsins must have been some variety of ascetics but could deduce no more about them. Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 80–81) suggests that “Lābhavāsin” denoted

not a category of ascetics but rather a group of monks sustained by the taxes on the fields and lands devoted to a monastery.

129. It should be noted that the Abhayagiri *padhānaghara* inhabitants seem to be clearly ensconced in a Mahāyāna milieu, as evidenced by the inscriptional evidence at both Tiriyāy as well as in Java.

130. Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 143.

131. *Cūlavamsa* (47.66; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 108).

132. One wonders how anomalous this *prāsāda*-palace dwelling might have seemed to the *Cūlavamsa*'s authors as they recorded its possession by the rag-wearers. In any case, the incident passed into the historical account without further comment.

Although the Collarbone Relic lies modestly closer to the primary *stūpa* of the Mahāvihāra than the Abhayagiri, it is unknown under which monastery's trusteeship it lay during the medieval period. However, the specificity of the later medieval Mahāvihāran claim that the Thūpārāma lay within their *sīmā* (Walters, "Mahāsena at the Mahāvihāra," 356–357) indicates to me that it had escaped their control and had passed into the Abhayagiri's custody. (The Tooth Relic, as noted above, is known to have been in Abhayagiri custody during the early medieval period, but, at some time passed unannounced into the hands of the Mahāvihāra, a fact upon which I will speculate in my discussion of the departure of the *pāṃśukūlikas* during Sena II's reign in n. 146.) The Collarbone was clearly a relic of importance, as the encasing Thūpārāma was Śrī Laṅkā's oldest *stūpa*. The *Cūlavamsa* (50.35; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 141) mentions that its *stūpa* had been plated with gold until the Pāṇḍya sacking.

Mānavarman's enthusiasm for the Thūpārāma was shared by his descendants. Aggabodhi VI, the King Śīlāmegha who facilitated Amoghavajra, rearranged the pillars of the Thūpārāma, while Mahinda II, king at the time of the establishment of the Śailendra's *padhānaghara*, encased the *cetiya* of the Thūpārāma in sheets of gold alternating with strips of silver.

It is worth noting that the "Western Meditation Monastery" cluster of *padhānagharas* lay not to the west of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* but rather to the west of the Citadel and the Thūpārāma. The "rag-wearers" of this cluster, whatever their *nikāya*, were proximate to all of Anurādhapura's primary relic shrines, the Mariccavaṭṭi included. Rather interestingly, Jonathan Walters ("Mahāsena at the Mahāvihāra," 358) points out that Anurādhapura's cemetery lay to the west of the city, although I do not know its distance to the *padhānagharas*.

133. Regarding this "*prāsāda*" of Mānavarman, erected for the "rag-wearers" within sight of the genuine royal palace of the ancient kings of Siṃhala, I suggest that an effective understanding of its nature might be gleaned from a description offered by Kūkai in his *Ten Abiding Stages of Mind According to the Secret Mandalas* (*Himitsu mandara jūjūshin ron* 秘密曼荼羅十住心論, *Kōbō*

daishi zenshū 弘法大師全集 1:125–414): each stage is a “palace,” an “abode that shelters beings from dangers and sufferings” (Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 326–327).

134. It is not out of the question that Mānavarman was the primordial Mantranaya Indic king, and even that his ascension was the aboriginal employment of apotropaic Abhayagiri state-protection rites whose credibility only grew when Amoghavajra used them to great effect during the Tang crises of the 750s and 760s. However, if I am correct that the *vaṭadāge* represented an Iron Stūpa to its builders, then the first influence of exoteric Buddhist thought is exhibited during the reign of Aggabodhi IV (r. 667–683), the ethnically Tamil king of Rājaraṭṭha overthrown by Mānavarman and the Pallava army, who the *Cūḷavaṃsa* records as forming the *vaṭadāge* at Mādīgiriya. Whether Aggabodhi IV or Mānavarman, the dates for such an adherence concur strongly with the dates allowed for the development of the novel texts and conceptualizations of the Buddhist Yogatantras, and Mānavarman may have been the first such esoteric Buddhist king to be admired for his regnal achievements, with his acquisition of the Sinhalese throne, the Milvian Bridge of its day. Given the appreciation of the Abhayagiri’s monks during his reign and for more than a century afterward, it is plausible that a coterie of these monks resided with him during his Kāñci exile. Unfortunately, such information would have only survived in the Abhayagiri’s own chronicles and is not available in the extant Mahāvihāran representations.

135. Rahula, *History of Buddhism*, 195–196.

136. *Cūḷavaṃsa* 48.16, 52.27, 53.48, and 54.25.

137. One wonders whether the Śailendra king too benefacted his Abhayagiri delegation with similar royal finery.

138. Deegalle (“Theravada Pre-Understandings,” 54–56) discusses the variety of colors of monastic robes adopted by the various contemporary Indian *nikāyas*.

139. Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, 40.

140. Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 163.

141. I am uncertain about what literature is denoted by the reference to the *śāstras*, but it is noteworthy that Amoghavajra’s biographies also record his interest in that genre of literature. Although Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 54) notes that a reference to a Sinhalese *araññika* forest monk does not occur until the early tenth century, Rahula (*History of Buddhism*, 197n1) observes that in later times these forest monks “took a greater interest in intellectual pursuits, and were even engaged in writing non-religious works. The *Bālāvabodhana*, a Sanskrit grammar, written by *āraṇyavāsī* *Dimbulāgala Mahā-Kāśyapa*, is a good example.”

142. While we might, based on the precedents at three remarkable sites (Tiriyāy, the yet-unidentified Eye Relic site, and the Thūpārāma) hypothesize that the *pāṃśukūlika-bhikṣus* served the early Second Lambakaṇṇa kings as superintendents of relic sites, this explanation is seemingly not operative in Java, for as far as is now known from the handful of temple consecrations available, the Śailendra ruled a land that had no relics of its own. This is not to say that the Śailendras did not appreciate the classical sites of Indian Buddhism; they have named one of their Keḍu institutions the Veṇuvana (Johannes de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia I: Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd* [Bandung: Nix, 1950], 38–41).

I was drawn to some of the *Mahāyāna-bhikṣu tapasvin* vocabulary in the 1036 CE inscription from Sāl Sūñ, near Lavo (Lopburi) in Mon-land or late Dvāravatī under the reign of Suryavarman I (r. 1002–1050) (K. 410 in Georges Coedes' *Recueil d'Inscriptions du Siam II: Inscriptions du Dvāravatī, de Çrīvijaya, et de Lāvo*. [Bangkok, 1929]). Given my lack of access to this volume, I am grateful to Peter Sharrock for briefing me on its fascinating contents. Sharrock writes in a personal communication that

the stone is associated with the triple-tower, monkey-inhabited monument in central Lopburi where the main icon was 4-armed and taken to be Viṣṇu. It implies the Mahāyāna and Sthāvira monks are living beside each other and in proximity to brahmanical ascetics. All three groups are ordered to dedicate the merit of their austerities to the king. Anyone preventing them from their yogic activities is threatened with grave punishment.

Although I have mentally tried to fit this attested mode of Mahāyāna Buddhist ascetic activity to the instance of the *pāṃśukūlikas*, I do not believe that it is valid; among other reasons, it is difficult to see the benefit to the Śailendra kings in enticing such a group of monks from foreign lands when he could just as easily obtain these services from easily-procured local stock.

143. *Cūḷavaṃsa* 51.52; Geiger, *Cūḷavaṃsa*, 152.

144. Given the suspicions that these *pāṃśukūlika* monks are akin to *siddhas*, the lexical choice “*gaṇa*” to describe their collective is indeed thought-provoking.

145. Walters, “Buddhist History,” 150.

146. I point out that the delegation of *pāṃśukūlika* monks who left the Abhayagirivihāra during Sena II's reign did not do so because of their disapproval of Sena II's imposition of a Theravādin orthodoxy, whose soteriology better accorded with whatever ascetic aspects of “rag-wearer” life still remained by the ninth century, and most certainly allotted its conventional *pāṃśukūlika* ascetics the same privileged status that the *pāṃśukūlikas* enjoyed during their heyday under such Vajra-Path kings as Aggabodhi VI, Sena I, and the dynastic founder Mānavarman himself.

Although unsubstantiated by any Sinhalese source, it is not impossible that the departure of the Abhayagiri's *pāṃsukūlikas* is related to the undocumented transfer of the Tooth Relic and Bowl Relic from the Abhayagiri to the Mahāvihāra. It is known that the "rag-wearers" were tasked during the early Second Lambakaṇṇa reigns with superintendence of such sites at the Thūpārāma's Collarbone Relic, Tiriyāy's Hair Relic, the Mahānettapādika/Mahānettapabbata's presumed Eye Relic, and their curatorship of the Tooth Relic palladium of the Rājaraṭṭha kingdom would not be unexpected. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that by no later than the twelfth century reign of Vikramabāhu, both the Tooth Relic and Bowl Relic were under the custody of the Mahāvihāra's *pāṃsukūlikas*, who tried to take them when they departed to Rohaṇa in a dissent to Vikramabāhu's monastic policies (*Cūlavamsa* 61.58–61; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 230). It is therefore not impossible that the departure of the *pāṃsukūlikas* in Sena II's twentieth regnal year was related to the shift of the palladic-relics into the now-favored hands of the Mahāvihāra's *pāṃsukūlikas*.

Finally, it should be noted that Wijesuriya (*Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 146) suggests that the large cluster of double-platform structures in the "Western Monasteries" clustering is the result of the 874 Abhayagiri action. While substantially more archaeological research on this clustering is required to clarify fundamental questions about this cluster's provenance, I am disinclined to believe that the *pāṃsukūlika*'s dissidence was expressed by removing themselves no more than a five minute walk from major architecture within Anurādhapura. Furthermore, I point out that if these Abhayagiri *pāṃsukūlika* monks convened on the Western Monastery cluster, they needed to have vacated an equivalent number of similar structures elsewhere, and I do not think that this notion is supported by the archaeological record as it currently exists.

147. Walters ("Buddhist History," 144) observes, for instance, that, when he ordered the re-ordination of all other orders' monastics under a Mahāvihāran monk, Parākramabāhu I (r. 1153–1186) tasked trusted forest-dwelling monks as overseers of the process. As noted above, the *Cūlavamsa* (61.58–61) records that the *pāṃsukūlikas* walked out to Rohaṇa with both the Tooth Relic and the Alms Bowl Relic in a protest against Vikramabāhu; these Mahāvihāra ascetics clearly superintended the palladia of the Laṅkā kings even into the twelfth century.

148. Woodward ("Review of *Sinhalese Monastic Architecture. The Vihāras of Anurādhapura* by Senake Bandaranayake," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 96, no. 2 [1976]: 329–331) points out the merits of the professional excavation of at least one of Laṅkā's *padhānagharas*. Any subterranean boxes for foundation deposits (Stanley O'Connor, "Ritual Deposit Boxes in Southeast Asian Sanctuaries," *Artibus Asiae* [1966]: 53–60) might be especially revealing.

Excavations at the *padhānaghara* in Java revealed none there, but the oblong building to the east side was consecrated.

149. One of my correspondents, whose opinion I respect and whose conversancy with eighth century esoteric Buddhism cannot be in doubt, wrote to me that this currency with the most recently-produced tantric materiel implies the continuous acquisition of probably hundreds of esoteric Buddhist texts and that there is no evidence of such an occurrence in the archipelago. My correspondent, while acknowledging that the evidence had grown sparse over the many centuries, proposed that any textual transmissions were limited to major texts or even mere extracts from them. While my correspondent's statement strikes me as generally valid for the diffusion of texts via intra-monastic master-pupil channels, I believe that the evidence suggests otherwise when a powerful political figure like the king of Tibet, the king of Java, or the emperor of China instigated the transmission (Indeed, Ronald Davidson notes in his *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement* [New York: Columbia University Press, 2002], 115, that "there appears no exception to the rule that when the Mantrayāna becomes culturally important outside India, it is principally through the agency of official patronage, either aristocratic or imperial.") For example, Amoghavajra arrived in Śrī Laṅkā in 742 CE, seemingly at the head of a delegation of twenty-one monks and with Tang diplomatic credentials in hand, and sailed home five years later convinced that he possessed the cardinal teachings of his creed. Having received his final tantric consecration at the hands of the *ācārya* Samantabhadra in Śrī Laṅkā, he returned to China, his biography claims, with over five hundred texts of esoteric Buddhism. At a time nearly contemporaneous with the Central Javanese interest in obtaining esoteric Buddhist material, the king of Tibet sent out an invitation to so prominent a scholar as Buddhaguhya to join the Tibetan court. Buddhaguhya declined to come, but provided a number of major and minor tantric texts, their associated ritual manuals, as well as his commentaries on them (Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 157). (An Indian monk who did indeed take up an offer to reside in Tibet was Padmasambhava, a major figure in the rNying-Ma school.)

Indeed, it is possible that having a court-affiliated figure, one with sufficient stature to address other acknowledged masters as a peer, permitted access to material from many foreign *viḥāras*: a delegation need not come in person. Hyech'o's mention of Vajrabodhi's return of an esoteric manuscript borrowed from his "master," the *ācārya* *Ratnabodhi in *Siṃhala* (Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 192n97) as late as the last year of his life, indicates that manuscripts could be shared between trusted associates even across the ocean.

The evidence suggests to me that Javanese Buddhists during the eighth century indeed qualify as tightly coupled to the contemporary world of cosmopolitan Buddhism as their kings seemed to intentionally pursue

such vital conjunctions and there is no reason to believe that the Śailendra lacked sufficient stature to induce similar flows of prime texts into their court monasteries. That a wide array of both mainstream and relatively rare esoteric Buddhist texts were known in the archipelago has been suggested by recent epigraphical and textual scholarship, such as Arlo Griffiths' reappraisal of Buddhist inscriptions ("Written Traces of the Buddhist Past: Mantras and Dhāraṇīs in Indonesian Inscriptions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77 [2014]: 137–194; "The 'Greatly Ferocious Spell' [Mahāraudra-nāma-hṛdaya]: A Dhāraṇī Inscribed on a Lead-Bronze Foil Unearthed near Borobudur," in *Epigraphic Evidence in the Pre-Modern Buddhist World: Proceedings of the Eponymous Conference Held in Vienna*, ed. K. Tropper [Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2014], 1–36) from various locales of the Indonesian Archipelago including the *ṭakki huṃ jaḥ* mantra from the Ratu Baka (Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from Ratu Baka Plateau"; see also Acri, "Once More on the 'Ratu Baka Mantra': Magic, Realpolitik, and Bauddha-Śaiva Dynamics in Ancient Nusantara," in *Tantric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri [Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, in press]), as well as Sundberg ("Mid-Ninth Century Adversity"), and the lead foil *dhāraṇī* pioneered by Hudaya Kandahjaya ("The Lord of All Virtues," *Pacific World*, 3rd ser., no. 11 [2011]: 1–25); cf. Hudaya Kandahjaya's own study on the Sanskrit sources of the Sanskrit-Old Javanese *Saṃ Hyaṇ Kamahāyānikan* ("Saṃ Hyaṇ Kamahāyānikan, Borobudur, and the Origins of Esoteric Buddhism in Indonesia," in *Tantric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri [Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, in press]). In the specific instance of Java, we can see a plentitude of such evidence. Apart from the induction of the Abhayagirivāsins, the notes left by Kūkai on his fellow monk Bianhong (Yutaka Iwamoto, "The Śailendra Dynasty and Chandi Borobudur," *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Chandi Borobudur* [Tokyo: Executive Committee for the International Symposium on Chandi Borobudur, 1981], 85; Hudaya Kandahjaya, "A Study on the Origin and Significance of Borobudur" [PhD diss., Graduate Theological Union, 2004], 95; Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 130–131; cf. Iain Sinclair, "Coronation and Liberation According to a Javanese Monk in China: Biānhóng's *Manual on the Abhiṣeka of a Cakravartin* [Taishō 959]," in *Tantric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri [Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, in press]), for example, suggest that he was well-briefed on Amoghavajra's travels across the Indian Ocean to obtain the valued Mantranaya texts.

I am deeply indebted to Peter Sharrock for drawing my attention to a Khmer epigraphic reference to the importation of a large quantity of tantric material in the the ca. 970 Wat Sithor inscription which makes a possibly unique reference to such an import, when a king authorized his Buddhist

guru to pursue the matter (trans. Tadeusz Skorupski in Peter Sharrock, "Kīrtipaṇḍita and the Tantras," *Udaya* 10 [2009]: 233–234):

7–8. lakṣaḡraṇṭham abhiprajñam yo nveṣya pararāṣṭrataḥ
tattvasaṃgrahaṭīkādi-tantrañ cādhyāpayad yamī //

7–8. Having searched in a foreign kingdom for one hundred thousand book(s) of higher wisdom, and the *tattvasaṃgraha-ṭīkā* and the Tantra(s), the self-restrained one [sage] taught (them).

Sharrock further notes that "subsequently (except briefly in Sab Bāk), the Khmers make no mention of texts or flows of material. Yet the presence of numerous bronze and a few sandstone icons (some apparently foreign, then gradually localized) indicates the growing presence of the creed that was nevertheless rising to the likely status of state religion."

150. Gray ("Eating the Heart of the Brahmin," 47n6), for example, comments on the need for initiated guidance in order to understand the esoteric Buddhist texts: "This lack of contextualization is common in esoteric Buddhist literature, which typically describes practice elements in a sufficiently cryptic way to prevent one from putting them into practice on the basis of reading the text alone. The obscurity of the MAT [*Mahāvairocana Abhisambodhi Tantra*] is famous for triggering Kūkai to travel to China in order to gain the instruction that he needed in order to put the text into practice."

151. In n. 70 I discuss the early ninth century instance of a Buddhist "Abhayagiri" in the Khmer domains.

152. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia I*, 11–22.

153. In the 782 CE Kelurak inscription, reference is made to Kumāraghoṣa, a *rājaguru* from Gauḍidvīpa (modern Bengal) who installed an image of Mañjuḡhoṣa at the request of Śailendra king Śrī Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya (Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 1:37–45).

154. Jacques Dumarçay (*Candi dan Arsitektur Bangunan Agama Buda di Jawa Tengah* [Jakarta: Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1986], 44) observes that the stone for the large Candi Sewu complex was extracted from this Ratu Baka source. Sir Colin Mackenzie ("Narrative of a Journey to Examine the Remains of an Ancient City and Temple at Brambana in Java," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 7, no. 1 [1814]: 28) has suggested the same, claiming that "I do not hesitate to aver, that we here found the Quarries, where all the immense materials required for the City and temples of Brambana, and even for other Cities also, might have been found." As I had previously observed (Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from Ratu Baka Plateau," 179n31), the Ratu Baka was reformed with the excavation and redistribution of a minimum of 25,000 cubic meters of limestone, a civil engineering project

that rivalled the levelling of the Dagi Hill for the Barabaður stūpa (Sundberg, "Considerations on the Dating of the Barabaður Stūpa," 99; UNESCO, "The Restoration of Borobudur: Jewel of a Golden Age" [Paris: UNESCO, 2006], 92).

155. As may be seen in figure 7, the inscription has not been completely recovered. Crawford was the first to notice the inscription on his 1814 journey to the Ratu Baka Plateau. Given that the fragments of the inscription have been found in clusters at various times, attempts at transcription and translation have also been sporadic, and the extant fragments have not been completely transcribed. Bosch ("De inscriptie van Keloerak," 63–64) was the first to offer a transcription of the portions then available, and de Casparis (*Prasasti Indonesia I*, 11–22) reread the inscription, including the newly found fragment "e" that has yet to appear on any publicly available photograph, but whose extent can be inferred from the arrow-head space in the middle of figure 7. The proper left half of the inscription was then found in 1954 in the rubble of the eastern *prākāra* walls, and portions were transliterated and translated by de Casparis in 1961 and 1981 ("New Evidence"; and "The Dual Nature of Barabudur," in *Borobudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. Luis O. Gomez and Hiram W. Woodward [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981], 47–83). De Casparis ("New Evidence") focused on the revelation of primary historical importance and the strophes relating to the Sinhalese provenance of the monks, while a transcription and translation of the first three strophes appeared in de Casparis, "The Dual Nature of Barabudur," 73–74. The inscription has yet to be published integrally and with proper supporting documentation, although Long (*Voices from the Mountain*, 142–151) has collated the extant publications. An erudite retranslation and an exegesis that is aware of an exoteric Buddhist context was offered by Chandra ("The Contacts of Abhayagiri"), which I rely on for the treatments of the inscription in this paper.

156. Even when it was fresh, the inscription may not have been optimally legible; like many royal inscriptions of Central Java, it was chiseled on a stone selected because it was flecked with an obdurate quartz which in some instances prevented the lapicide from forming proper *akṣaras*, and the quasi-specular surface and significantly transparent substrate of the quartz may provide challenges to modern documentary techniques. Given the importance of the inscription, documentary techniques with the maximum fidelity should be employed to allow scholarly appreciation of this document, the separate halves of which are conserved in Jakarta and Yogyakarta but are not on public display

157. De Casparis ("New Evidence," 245) translates: "This Abhayagiri Vihāra here of the Sinhalese ascetics (?), trained in the sayings of discipline by the Best of the Jinas, was established." The reader will note that there is no textual justification for de Casparis' translation of "ascetics," and it is not impossible

that de Casparis had already in 1961 divined the relationship between the Ratu Baka structure and the *padhānaghara* that was first publicized in Miksic ("Double Meditation Platforms").

158. There were a surprising variety of operative *vinayas* in play in the eighth century, and some seem specifically tailored for particular doctrines rather than particular *nikāyas*, so it is difficult to discern exactly which *vinaya* the *pāṃśukūlikas* knew so well. Among the plausible candidates, the one possibly most pertinent to the *padhānaghara* in Java is the one that helped distinguish the Abhayagiri from Mahāvihāra, excerpts of which were maintained in Mahāvihāran recordings of the centuries-long disputes with the Abhayagiri (Walters, "Buddhist History," 128), elements of which may have been components in Vajrabodhi's study of both Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna *vinayas* at Nālandā as a young monk (Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 30). However, given the concealment of Laṅkā's esoteric history, it seems as though the fourteenth century's *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*'s remembrance of a *gūḍhavinaya*, a secret code of behavior, which was held specifically by the ninth century Vajraparvatin heretics, may be the one that is designated in the Śailendra inscription. Given the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*'s tantalizing reference, it is likely that the Laṅkān esotericists also maintained a variant *vinaya* code. One candidate for this secret *vinaya* is the "Mahāyāna *vinaya*" known to Kūkai (Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 50–55), which allowed beards and unshaven heads and perhaps originated as a practical code for ascetics and *tapasvins* whose locks grew long in *samādhi* (Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 168, 215n167). In turn, it is not out of the question that the bearded, unshaven proto-*siddha* Śubhākarasiṃha followed this particular Mahāyāna *vinaya*.

Although next to nothing is known of Buddhist monasticism and *vinaya* observation in Śailendra-era Java, these doctrine-based *vinaya* variances existed at the time of the writing of the fourteenth century *Nāgarakṛtāgama*, which distinguished Buddhist lands (*ka-sogata-an*) as either *ka-vinaya-an* or *ka-vajradhara-an*, the latter allowing householders to be ordained (Chandra, "Evolution of the Tantras," 17).

159. De Casparis, "New Evidence."

160. Xuanzang, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, trans. Li Rongxi (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996), 331.

161. Walters, "Mahāsenā at the Mahāvihāra," 353–354.

162. Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 247–254) discusses the various attestations of the Indian *caturmahānikāya* system found in Śrī Laṅkā during the Lambakaṇṇa period. Besides the attestation of the concept in the Siddham inscription from the Abhayagiri's Kapārārāma (Gunawardana, "Buddhist

Nikāyas in Medieval Ceylon”), Gunawardana found specific references to the presence of Mahāsaṃghikas at the Abhayagiri’s Vīrāṃkura cloister (for more on which, see n. 55) and notes that the contemporary abbots of Vikramaśīla were often specified to be of this order. By around 1100, the Mahāsaṃghika *nikāya* was seemingly distinguished from that of the Abhayagiri as both are mentioned jointly at that time (Gunawardana, *Robe and Plough*, 254).

Kūkai and Amoghavajra were both known to have chosen the Sarvāstivādin *nikāya*: presumably Vajrabodhi did as well. Abé (*The Weaving of Mantra*, 54) notes that Kūkai maintained a long list of texts of the *Uburitsu* 有部律, the *vinaya* of the Sarvāstivādins.

163. Chandra, “Evolution of the Tantras,” 15–16.

164. The Javanese king Panaraban (crowned 784; formally succeeded by Warak in 803) was noted in the sixteenth century *Carita Parahyangan*, the only extant literature that addresses the classical Central Javanese period, as a king who liked to destroy ascetic *tapasvins* (*ngarusak nu ditapa*), which make these 792 epigraphical references rather curious. Given that the same text records that his putative father King Sañjaya requested him to change his religion, it is not out of the question that Panaraban’s victims were Śaiva rather than Bauddha, a suggestion that, if accurate, helps explain the severe 856 CE response by the Javanese potentate Kumbhayoni to be discussed in Sundberg, “Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java.” I will examine in n. 177, however, the possibility that the Abhayagiri was founded by Panaraban’s treasonous son Warak.

165. For Pāśupatas and bulls, see Diwakar Acharya (“How to Behave Like a Bull? New Insight into the Origin and Religious Practices of Pāśupatas,” *Indo-Iranian Journal* 56, no. 2 [2013]: 112), where he notes that “the Pāśupatas ritually adopted the bull’s behavior, regarding themselves as the cattle of their Lord, and thus cultivated devotion to Rudra, ‘the Lord of Cattle.’” Singling out Java’s Pāśupatas would be apt, for Alexis Sanderson (“Summary of ‘Tantric Śaivism’: Lectures Delivered at the École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section 5, from April to June 1991,” http://www.alexissanderson.com/uploads/6/2/7/6/6276908/ephe_lectures_long_summary.pdf, 3) observes that the Pāśupatas “considered their tradition to be the highest and most esoteric path within Vedic knowledge, accessible only to a Rudra-inspired élite among regenerate men of the highest caste,” while Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 85) discusses a basis for which the Pāśupatas might be considered rival to the Buddhists. A critique against Pāśupata, and *siddha*-like, antinomian Śaiva groups has been detected by Andrea Aciri (“On Birds, Ascetics, and Kings in Central Java, *Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin*, 24.96–126 and 25,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde / Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 166 [2010]: 475–506; “More On Birds, Ascetics, and Kings in Central Java, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, 24.111–115 and 25.19–22,” in *From*

Laṅkā Eastwards: The Rāmāyaṇa in the Literature and Visual Arts of Indonesia, ed. Andrea Acri, Helen Creese, and Arlo Griffiths [Leiden: KITLV Press, 2011], 53–91) in the allegorical sections of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, which may have depicted political and religious tensions that occurred around the middle of the ninth century in Central Java—quite possibly centered on Ratu Baka itself.

166. Sundberg, “Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java.”

167. Given that a variety of animal bones are commonly found in the consecration boxes of Central Javanese temples (Roy Jordaan and Robert Wessing, “Human Sacrifice at Prambanan,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (1996): 45–73; Robert Wessing and Roy E. Jordaan, “Death at the Building Site: Construction Sacrifice in Southeast Asia,” *History of Religions* 37, no. 2 [1997]: 101–121), the presence of the old skeleton of a young beheaded cow excavated from the immediate environs of the Abhayagiri’s *prākāra* walls are especially noteworthy in light of their foundation inscription’s mention of “heretic bulls.” Although there are Buddhist injunctions against animal sacrifice among the Hārīti texts translated by Amoghavajra (Sree Padma, “Hariti: Village Origins, Buddhist Elaborations, and Saivite Accommodations,” *Asian and African Area Studies* 11, no. 1 [2011]: 11), these animal bones show up in Central Javanese temples of both Buddhist and Śaiva backgrounds. In the case of the human skeleton recovered from the foundation pit of one of the “*vāhana*” temples at Śaiva Prambanan, the skeleton was certainly not interred in the foundation box but rather lay loose. It is uncertain whether the headless Ratu Baka cow skeleton should be generally related to the same doctrinal afflatus that resulted in another set of human remains in the open Prambanan courtyard.

In the instance of Tibet, Jacob Dalton (*The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011], 3) draws attention to both the incidence of sacrificial killing of both humans and animals in Buddhist Mahāyoga texts of the eighth century, but also the presence of possibly confirmatory animal or even human skeletons in excavated burial mounds there.

While not available to me at the time of publication, it is possible that more precise information about the beheaded cow may be found in a short notice by Willem Stutterheim, “Archaeological Work in Netherlands India,” *Annual Bibliography, Indian Archaeology* 13 [1938; pub. 1940]: 27–29, ill. (I am indebted to the ever knowledgeable Roy Jordaan for both drawing my attention to the skeleton as well as the citation to the obscure publication by Stutterheim.)

168. In his emendations of Bosch’s reading of the Kelurak inscription of 782 CE, de Casparis (*Prasasti Indonesia I*, 144) suggests that the term *saṃgudhārtha* recurs in its strophe 7.

169. Frederick Bosch ("Een Oorkonde van het Groote Klooster te Nālandā," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 65 [1925]: 517–521) has noticed that same process in the Kalasan inscription, which was executed in the same script and almost certainly by the same hand as the Abhayagirivihāra inscription. Bosch points out that the known names of the royal Śrīvijayan grandfather and mother of the Śailendra king Bālaputradeva were coded into the language of the Kalasan inscription in a manner that could hardly be happenstance, and furthermore suggests that the Kalasan inscription must commemorate the marriage that brought Bālaputradeva to the Sumatran throne. As Mark Long (personal communication) points out, I invoked Bosch's observation without proper attribution in my essay on King Warak's overthrow of his father Panaraban (Sundberg, "The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity," 145n4). I am indebted to Long for pointing out my error.

170. How compatible is the inscription's opening theme (a description of the Saṃbuddha Sumeru) with the physical details of a really existing topography or else a figurative topography which is provided in extant Buddhist texts? De Casparis ("The Dual Nature of Barabudur") proposes that the Abhayagiri inscription prefigured Barabudur, but this proposal was contested on a number of sound grounds by Lewis Lancaster ("Literary Sources for a Study of Barabudur," in *Borobudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument*, ed. Luis Gomez and Hiram Woodward [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981], 195–205); Sundberg and Giebel ("Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 171–173) suggest that the mountain was Adam's Peak/Mount Laṅkā, noting the strong similarity of the Saṃbuddha Sumeru mountain's features as enumerated by Chandra ("The Contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka with Indonesia," 14) with the description of the mountain in Lü Xiang's biography. There is perhaps another plausible candidate for a physical reference to the Saṃbuddha Sumeru: Mount Potalaka (Rao, *Buddhism in the Tamil Country*, 179ff.; Shu Hikosaka, *Buddhism in Tamilnadu: A New Perspective* [Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1989], 178ff.; Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments of Ceylon*, 47–48; and the biography of Vajrabodhi as found in Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 184n61), palace of the royal *mahābodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara who prominently features in the Abhayagirivihāra inscription. Indeed, Lü Xiang's biography has Vajrabodhi's ascent of Mount Laṅkā explicitly enjoined by a visitation of Avalokiteśvara. A Śrī Laṅkā image of Avalokiteśvara on Mount Potalaka is now to be found in the Nevill Collection of the British Museum (Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments of Ceylon*, 47).

171. Chandra, "The Contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka with Indonesia in the Eighth Century," in *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 4 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 10–21.

172. Stanza III of the Abhayagirivihāra inscription specifies “*hrī hrada*” as the sound made by the Cosmic Ocean. Gray (“Eating the Heart of the Brahmin,” 46, 56) examines the importance of a similar mantra, “*hrī/hri haḥ*,” in the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*; Śubhākarasiṃha’s commentary, which identifies it as a particularly pernicious *ḍākinī* mantra, linked to heretical Śaiva anthropophagic practices but nevertheless efficacious in removing the taint of that heresy when employed by a Buddhist; and the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra*, which approximates Heruka’s *upahr̥daya* or quintessence mantra “*oṃ hrīḥ ha ha hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ*” (Gray, “Eating the Heart of the Brahmin,” 56n42).

David Gray (“*The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra: Its History, Interpretation, and Practice in India and Tibet*,” *Religion Compass* 1, no. 6 [2007]: 705–706) focuses on the sexual aspects of the *Cakrasaṃvara* and how their enactment violated the monastic vows of chastity, but nevertheless must have been actually practiced in order for such masters as Atiśa Dipaṃkaraśrībhadra (982–1054) to admonish against their realization and to develop sublimated symbolic substitutes for them. I know of no art historical evidence from Central Java that suggests the practice of transgressive sexuality, but there is, I think, credible evidence of both the presence of the types of antinomian practitioners as well as the practice of religious ritual violence (Jeffrey Sundberg, *Imagine Saṃvara at Sajiwan: Śrī Kahulunnan and Transgressive Practice at the Temples of Central Java*, unpublished ms.): these practices are consistent with the transgressive Buddhist texts that are known to have been circulating at the time. For a possible reference to promiscuous Śaiva practitioners in the *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin*, see Acri, “More On Birds, Ascetics, and Kings in Central Java,” 83–86; and Andrea Acri, “Once More the ‘Ratu Baka Mantra’: Magic, Realpolitik, and Bauddha-Śaiva Dynamics in Ancient Nusantara,” in *Tantric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, in press). In accordance with the description of *Kāpālīka yogins* (adorned with necklace, crest jewel, earring, choker, the sacred thread, and ash) presented in Abhayākara Gupta’s commentary on the *Cakrasaṃvara-tantra* (Gray, *The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, 45n143), I suggest that a hitherto overlooked figure (fig. 16) depicted on the gold foil foundation deposits found in the central Prambanan temple and now in the National Museum may specifically depict these characters.

173. References to esoteric practice are to be found among the discoveries in the immediate vicinity of the Barabudur and on the monument itself (Willem Stutterheim, “Is Tjæði Baraboedoer een mandala?,” *Djāwā* 13 [1933]: 233–237; Kazuko Ishii, “Borobudur, the Tattvasaṃgraha, and the Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan,” in *The Art and Culture of South-east Asia*, ed. Lokesh Chandra [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1991], 151–164; Hudaya Kandahjaya, *The Master Key for Reading Borobudur Symbolism* [Bandung: Yayasan Penerbit Karaniya, 1995]; Hiram Woodward, “Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia in the Light of Recent Scholarship,”

Journal of Southeast Asian Studies 35, no. 2 [2004]: 342–346; Sundberg, “Considerations on the Dating of the Barabudur Stūpa,” 102–104; Kandahjaya, “The Lord of All Virtues”; Hiram Woodward, “Bianhong: Mastermind of Borobudur?,” *Pacific World*, 3rd ser., 11 [2009]: 25–60; Griffiths, “Written Traces of the Buddhist Past”; and Griffiths, “The ‘Greatly Ferocious’ Spell”). Elsewhere (Sundberg, “The Wilderness Monks of the Abhayagirivihāra,” 118–119) I propose that Barabudur represented the “secret universal palace of the mind” as described by Kūkai in his *Record of the Dharma Transmission* (*Fuhōden* 付法傳), a universal palace in which resided the *dharmakāya* Tathāgata Mahāvairocana accompanied by his attendants, all of whom were none other than *dharmakāya tathāgatas* (Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 221).

174. De Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia I*, 21.

175. De Casparis, “New Evidence,” 245.

176. I wish to thank Ibu Intan of the National Museum of Indonesia and Ibu Rita Setianingsih, then of the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia, for facilitating research access to the inscription.

177. Readers familiar with Central Javanese studies will know of the long debate over the question of whether there was a second “Hindu” dynasty, apart from the Buddhist Śailendras, present in eighth to ninth century Java. Such a thesis once seemed to provide substantial explanatory power for the pattern of early archaeological ruins, which was thought to consist of mammoth and impressive lowland Buddhist monuments and small, upland Hindu ones. The character of that debate changed with the 1983 finding of the Wanua Tengah III inscription, mentioned above in n. 100, which documented the varying stance of the successors of the great Śaiva king Sañjaya (r. 717–746?) toward the tax provisions made on behalf of a Buddhist *vihāra* founded by Sañjaya’s younger sibling by Sañjaya’s seeming successor, the Mahārāja the Raka of Panangkaran (r. 746–783).

In my recent publication (Sundberg, “The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity”) I was able to contribute to that dynastic debate and extend the already-great utility of the Wanua Tengah III inscription by demonstrating that it offered royal names—those of the Raka of Panaraban and his successor the Raka of Warak *dyaḥ* Manara—which extended the coherence of the previously cryptic narrative of the sixteenth century “Sañjaya Saga,” the Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*. Apart from noting the astounding interaction between these two newly-recognized characters (Warak is claimed to have captured his father Panaraban and fought with his loyal brother Banga before taking the throne), I also examined the statement that Panaraban had persecuted ascetics and the claim that Sañjaya had requested his son Panaraban to change religions because his own “scared people.” I observed as well that there is absolutely no hint of another dynasty interfering with Sañjaya and his descendants in

the *Carita Parahyangan's* account, the details of which convene with more general reference to just a single dynasty in several medieval Javanese texts' enumerations of the successive dynasties of Java. (For example, C.C. Berg, "The Javanese Picture of the Past," in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, ed. Kahin, Resink, and Soejatmako [Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1965], 111, points out that the chronicle *Babad Tanah Jawi* mentions the Śailendra king in its introduction and then lists the six kingdoms which ruled after him: Śailendra, Erlangga, Pajajaran, Majapahit, Giri, Demak, and Mataram, thus implicitly subsuming under the Śailendra regency Sañjaya's and his descendants who ruled until Erlangga's 1019 coronation.)

It is thus with no small amount of irritation that I find the recent publication of a self-edited book on Central Javanese history and religion by Mark Long (*Voices from the Mountain*) in which Long purposefully avoids this *Carita Parahyangan* material and my study of it in order to render his dual-dynasty views more palatable to his deliberately underbriefed reader. Despite devoting a section entitled "A Critical Review of the Single-Dynasty and Two-Dynasties Thesis," which announces an explicit agenda of "a more balanced evaluation" of the material than that offered by such implicitly unbalanced single-dynasty advocates such as Louis-Charles Damais, Anton Zakharov, and myself, Long contrives a crippled and infirm representation of his opponents' views; if he finds my explication of the *Carita Parahyangan* material to be "argued in an unconvincing manner" (*ibid.*, 82), it certainly is when presented to his readership, as he must strive, in a fashion almost farcical, to try to rebut specific aspects of my 2011 arguments without allowing his readership to catch on to the issues under discussion. Indeed, given the fact that every native source with an interior understanding of the events of the eighth and ninth centuries is utterly oblivious to the scenario that Long seeks to impose, Long's only strategy is to avoid mention of these awkward facts in order that he might better entertain his readers with his dual-dynasty speculations.

While not the proper venue to fully examine Long's lengthy book and the claims made therein, there are several useful perspectives on Javanese matters which might be gained from an examination of the contemporary Lañkān evidence.

First, it is worth noting that that Śrī Lañkān history would be utterly confusing without a historical narrative like the *Cūḷavaṃsa* to provide perspective and show interrelationships between the events and facts that are thrown forth by the data in the inscriptions. This crucial narrative extends to such salient facts as the sackings of Anurādhapura and Madhurai, about which absolutely nothing could be inferred from the inscriptions beyond a few stray descriptions of Sena II as the conqueror of Jambudvīpa. While the one extant Javanese *vaṃsa*, the *Carita Parahyangan*, is imperfect (it leaves the *Raka* of Panangkaran [r. 746–784] out of the regnal sequence Sanna-Sañjaya-Panangkaran-Panaraban-Warak) and furnishes only a gloss of the historical

ontology, rather than the detail-rich narrative recorded in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, it is perilous to ignore any data in such a data-starved field as the history of the archipelago in the eighth century.

Second, regarding the crucial question from the Kalasan inscription of whether Mahārāja Panangkaran was himself the Śailendra king or merely the subordinate of the otherwise-unnamed Śailendra king, Long's dual-dynasty solution involves the hypothesis that the term *rājasin̄ha* allows his Śailendra king to be the titular superior of the mere *mahārāja*. Accordingly, without comment or justification, Long persistently presents a translation of this thesis-critical term as "lion among kings," rather than "lion-king," "lion-like king," Sarkar's (*Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 1:37) "lion of kings," or Chandra's ("The Śailendras of Java," *Cultural Horizons of India*, 4:215) "mighty king," in order to imply that the Śailendra king stands foremost among other kings, who in the specific instance of Kalasan is the Mahārāja Panangkaran. In response to this, it is necessary to point out the enduring validity of Louis-Charles Damais' ("Bibliographie Indonésienne: XI. Les Publications Épigraphiques du Service Archéologiques de l'Indonésie," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 54 [1968]: 356) observation that the *śrī mahārāja* title was the highest title employed in Central Java, and supplement that with the notice that Panangkaran appears with the highest title of *mahārāja* in both the Śailendra inscription from within his known regnal period as well as ninth century historical retrospectives in the Mantyaśiḥ and Wanua Tengah III inscriptions. (For an instance where a subordinate king requests the right to benefact a Buddhist overlord's *vihāra*, see the inscription from Dharmapāla's twenty-sixth regnal year where the explicitly labelled *mahāsāmanta* Śrī Bhadrāṇāga and his consort, the *rājñikā* Śrī Saṃhāyikā seek their lord Śrī Dharmapāla's assent for their proposed structures at the royal Somapura-mahāvihāra [Ryosuke Furui, "Indian Museum Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapala, Year 26: Tentative Reading and Study," *South Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 (2011): 145–156]). Citations to contemporary royal Lañkān inscriptions only strengthen Damais' observation, for we find that the Rājaraṭṭha kings, indisputably sole masters of their domains and lieges of no other, are invariably described with a Sinhalized variant of the title *mahārāja* such as "*maharad*." (Indeed, of the inscriptions closest in time to the Central Javanese period, Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[1]:xxii, notes that Sena II and Udaya II used the title "great lord," *mapurmukā*, instead of the *maharad* that had been used in prior centuries, which might serve as an explanatory precedent for the anomalous assignment of the title "*ratu*" to the dynast Sañjaya in the list of sacralized royal ancestors in the 907 CE Javanese Mantyaśiḥ inscriptions [Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 2:75]).

Third, in another manifestation of its seemingly incessant relevance to deciphering Javanese data, the Tiriyāy site offers further clarification in the determination of whether there was one or two paramount dynasties

in eighth century Java; i.e., did King Sañjaya's lineage, including Panaraban and Warak, term themselves Śailendra? A phrase in the Tiriyāy and other contemporary Indic inscriptions particularly illuminates the much-contested term *Śailendravaṃśatilaka* that was applied in the 778 Kalasan and 782 Kelurak inscriptions. The controversy centers on whether the *tilaka*-term establishes Śrī Mahārāja Rakai Panangkaran as a mere vassal-jewel embellishing the royal necklace of his powerful Śailendra overlord. Citations to other, unambiguous medieval South Indian epigraphical precedents help to clarify the controversy in the Javanese setting. For example, the boulder inscription at Tiriyāy, dating from a quarter-century before the Kalasan inscription, calls the Sugata "the ornament of the Śākya kings" (*Śākyarājatilaka*; Chhabra, "Text of the Tiriyāy Rock-Inscription," 116). Other examples from medieval epigraphy are found. The royal Giritale-Unagala-Viherea inscription of 934 (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:68–73) from the mountains to the west of Polonnaruwa concerns the Mahārāja Dappula IV (r. 924–935), who is honored in the inscription's prologue by being termed the *tilaka* of the Okkāka/Ikṣvāku dynasty and who proudly proclaims his descent from Sena II. Lakshman Perera ("The Royal Lineage in the Prasastis of the 8th–10th Century Inscriptions," *Ceylon Historical Journal* [1952]: 230–236) rehearses a number of other instances from the prefaces to the inscriptions from the reigns of the late Second Lambakaṇṇa kings, when the introductions to inscriptions began to grow florid, which continue this theme. He notes (*ibid.*, 232, 235) that several more inscriptions qualify the stock phrase *Okavas rad parapuren baṭ* ("descended from the Okkāka/Ikṣvāku/Solar dynasty") with supplemental phrases like *siribar kāt kulaṭ talātik banda* ("like a *tilaka* mark to the illustrious Kṣatriya race") or *oka raj kulaṭ talātik* ("like unto a *tilaka* mark of the Okkāka/Ikṣvāku dynasty"), while Mahinda compared himself to "a *tilaka* mark of the Great Lords of the soil of Laṅkā" (*Lak poḷo mehesanṭ talātik bandū*). Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[3]:xxvii, 141) notes the Rohaṇa prince whose *tilaka* was Jambudvīpa, which is hardly sensible unless it was issued by a Sinhalese who had a claim on the throne of the newly-found Paṇḍyā allies. A slightly later South Indian example of the "dynastic jewel" concept unambiguously confirms this understanding of how the term applies to the dynasty from which one sprang rather than the dynasty which one serves: Daud Ali ("Royal Eulogy as World History: Rethinking Copper-Plate Inscriptions in Cōḷa India," in *Querying the Medieval: Texts and the History of Practices in South Asia*, ed. Ronald Inden [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], 172) notes that Rājendracōḷa deputed his minister Jananatha, himself a former "jewel-crest" of the Cālukya dynasty (*Cālukyacūdāmaṇi*), to govern on his Cōḷan behalf.

178. For the purposes of the present essay, I will point out that decisive clarification of the Śailendra coronation name presented in the Abhayagirivihāra inscription might be combined with the formal genealogy of the Sumatran king Bālaputradeva presented in the Nālandā inscription to

help shed light on whether Warak had seized control of Central Java even while his father Panaraban was still formally recognized as regent. The issue will be examined in greater detail in Jeffrey Sundberg, *Episodes of Contested Succession and Dynastic Discontinuity in Medieval Central Javanese History: A Recontextualization and Examination of Their Consequences for the Renaissance of Power in Sumatra* (unpublished ms.).

179. The persistent mid-eighth century raiding of the Khmer and the Cam by the Javanese (Sundberg, “The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity,” 144–147; Griffiths, “The Problem of the Ancient Name Java”) ceased in the years after 787, as though something had disrupted the naval power that Java could bring to bear. That, I suggest (Sundberg, “The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity,” 144–147), was Warak’s coup that dissipated the unitary and unchallengeable Javanese naval strength allowed by its control over the old Śrīvijayan dominions in Sumatra sometime after their last diplomatic mission to China in 742 CE. I will return to the topic in Sundberg, *Episodes of Contested Succession*.

180. It is very possible that Kumbhayoni, whose ca. 856 Śaivacizing efforts will be examined in Sundberg (“Mid-Ninth Century Adversity”), was responding to the historical enactment of an anti-Śaiva, *krodha-vighnāntaka ṭakki huṃ jaḥ* spirit by Panaraban, whom the *Carita Parahyangan* records as both changing his religion and also liking to destroy ascetics (*ngrusak na ditapa*). While not specifying the religions that he converted from and to, the *Carita Parahyangan* nonetheless specified that Panaraban changed religions on the advice of his putative father Sañjaya, so one supposes that the prior creed was Śaivism and the new religion was Buddhism. It is unclear, unfortunately, which religions’ ascetics Panaraban liked to destroy—it is not impossible that the *Carita Parahyangan* referenced Panaraban’s opposition to the Abhayagiri-vāsin *pamsukūlikas* and their type. For a more detailed discussion of the story see Sundberg, “The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity”; Sundberg, “Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java”; and Sundberg, *Episodes of Contested Succession*.

181. No traces of such a cultic statue have been yet recovered from the site. Degroot (“The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko,” 65) offers an observation that similarly suggests missing cultic material from the plateau. Noting the presence of sculptured columns with figures of the elephant, horse, peacock, *garuḍa*, and lion found on the lower terrace to the east of the *padhānaghara*, Degroot quite properly suggests that these Jina-Buddha symbols may have once marked a hall for Vairocana there. I concur with Degroot’s appraisal of the situation, which might merit a shallow archaeological dig.

182. Chandra, “The Contacts of Abhayagiri of Srilanka with Indonesia.”

183. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown*.

184. Lokesh Chandra, "The Śailendras of Java," in *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 4 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), 219. Degroot ("The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko," 65–66) notes the the pedestals of columns found on the terrace to the immediate southeast of the Abhayagiri are carved with the animal symbols of the Five Buddhas and infers that the terrace there was once a hall featuring a cultic statue of Vairocana.

185. Ratu Baka excavations have furnished a small metal Avalokiteśvara as well as another small statue of a bodhisattva, documented in Oudheidkundig Verslag photographs 20847 and 20849.

186. Deegalle ("A Search for Mahāyāna in Sri Lanka," 346–347) notes a 3.6 meter statue from the eighth to tenth centuries at Vāligama that would be assumed to denote Avalokiteśvara were it not for the four *jinabuddhas* depicted in its headdress. One wonders whether this particular four-buddha depiction of Avalokiteśvara relates to the fourfold evocation of Lokeśvara (Jayalokeśvarasugata, Jayabhadreśvarasugata, Jayaviśveśvarasugata, and one more variant that was illegible to Bosch) in Bosch's ("De inscriptie van Keloerak") reading of the introductory strophe of the Kelurak inscription.

Robert Brown ("The Act of Naming Avalokiteśvara in Ancient Southeast Asia," in *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past*, ed. Elisabeth Bacus [Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2008], 263–272) discusses the assignment of a name to a specific embodiment of Avalokiteśvara, the differentiation of which seemed to be a quintessentially Mahāyāna act that was never practiced in the Theravāda tradition.

187. Holt, *Buddha in the Crown*; Bopearachchi, "Sri Lanka and the Maritime Trade."

188. *Ibid.*

189. *Ibid.*, 7.

190. While living in Indonesia, I had an opportunity to examine a metallic statue of Avalokiteśvara, said by its illicit possessor to originate from a recent unreported find in the vicinity of Yogyakarta and which, sadly, is unlikely to ever enter the catalogue of any Indonesian public museum where it properly belongs. At the time of my observation I lacked the grounding in iconography to note much about it other than the crude identification offered by the buddha in the crest, and my attention was focused on its inscription that linked it with one of the early Javanese Buddhist kings whose accession dates were recorded in the Wanua Tṛgaḥ III inscription. (I leave out the particulars in order that a surrogate not be manufactured by counterfeiters, and I hope that the present owner surrenders the artifact for proper public custody.) I have no idea whether this statue's dress was ascetic or royal.

191. Miksic, "Double Meditation Platforms," 28.

192. Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 60.

The discovery of *padhānagharas* from Tiriyāy, the hinterlands of Anurādhapura (Keir Strickland, "The Jungle Tide: Collapse in Early Mediaeval Sri Lanka" [PhD diss., Durham University, 2011], 266–267), and at the Abhayagiri *stūpa* itself (Kulatunge, *Abhayagirivihara at Anuradhapura*, 49) have rendered Wijesuriya's admirable 1998 summary (Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*) mildly outdated. The *padhānaghara* that is closest to the Abhayagiri *stūpa* is located just to the northwest of it, in a location that Sven Bretfeld (personal communication) reports to be still quite uncleared. The site contains a single platform structure and boasts eleven caves (Kulatunge, *Abhayagirivihara at Anuradhapura*, 49), which suggests that the platform may have hosted more monastic inhabitants than has been previously surmised (Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 62).

The orientations of presently known *padhānaghara* structures have not been comprehensively reported. Unfortunately, at the time of this writing I have no information about the orientations of the *padhānagharas* of either Tiriyāy or the closest instance to the Abhayagiri *stūpa*. The orientation of the *dhāraṇīghara* and the central structure of the Kapārārāma, both of which may be linked to esoteric practice, might be especially indicative in offering a context for the Ratu Baka construction, even if they are not structurally similar to the Ratu Baka construction.

193. See the compendium of archaeological information presented in Véronique Degroot's study (*Candi, Space, and Landscape: A Study on the Distribution, Orientation and Spatial Organization of Central Javanese Temple Remains*, Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde 38 [Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2010]) of the distribution and orientation of Javanese religious structures. Degroot (personal communication) emphasizes that the majority of Central Java's Hindu structures are indeed oriented to the west.

194. Heather Stoddard, "Dynamic Structures in Buddhist Mandalas: *Apradaksina* and Mystic Heat in the Mother Tantra Section of the *Anuttarayoga Tantras*," *Artibus Asiae* 58, nos. 3–4 (1999).

195. There is a repertoire of various picture-like scribings that were found on the east and west wings of the second tier of the Great Gate, as well as on the *padhānaghara* at the Ratu Baka and uncovered in the foundation of Sewu ca. 780. A pictorial inventory of the Sewu scribings is available as an appendix in I. G. N. Anom, ed., *Candi Sewu: Sejarah dan Pemugarannya* (Jakarta: Bagian Proyek Pelestarian, Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala, 1992). A search for comparable features in other Indic sites might prove fruitful, as the Javanese seldom seem to have produced architecture without adhering to some precedent, even if the implemented vision was often as unique and creative as anything on the mainland.

Another indicator of the Great Gate's earliness may be found in the golden *vajra*-plate that seems to date from the era when King Panaraban (r. 784–803) was of significance (Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from Ratu Baka Plateau," 165–166).

196. Long, *Voices from the Mountain*, 274–279. Extending and adding precision to the observations on the Ratu Baka's alignments by Frederich Bosch (*Oudheidkundig Verslag over het Eerste en Tweede Kwartaal 1926*, 8–9), Long (*Voices from the Mountain*, 274–277) notes how the axis formed by the northern and southern portals in the Abhayagiri's *prākāra* walls passes obliquely through the center of the Lumbung compound at some 3 km distance and skirts Sewu and Bubrah as well, a precedent seemingly held to in the creation of a similar alignment of Barabudur, Pawon, Menḍut, and, arguably, Ngawen. Long points out a second axis that follows the rock-hewn staircase on the northern prominence in the Ratu Baka area which extends south to the *stūpa* near the Abhayagiri and north along the third, now largely vanished, compound wall for the Prambanan temple. Finally, Long observes that the portals of the Great Gate project toward the *dvārapāla*-fronted terrace to the south of Caṇḍi Kalasan.

Without wishing to deny the possible importance of Long's observations of alignments that mirror those of Barabudur, it should be pointed out that even on the plain of Prambanan, with the trio of easily aligned temples of Sewu, Bubrah, and Lumbung within sight of each other, alignment and conformity of orientation were not strictly enforced, a fact that argues against a deliberate rather than accidental alignment for the Abhayagiri's *prākāra*. Furthermore, although not depicted in the two separate local maps plotting the alignments on the Ratu Baka and down on the plain amidst the temples, Long's two axes do cross each other between the Ratu Baka and the temple. It is this point of convergence that may be of true interest to the Javanese.

197. One frequent feature that accompanies the double-platform structures found scattered across the Laṅkā landscape is the cave, often equipped with a manufactured drip-ledge and usually of a venerable antiquity as their Brāhmī inscriptions attest. Wijesuriya (*Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 31) catalogues those four *padhānagharas* that lay in proximity to ancient meditation caves: Riṭigala, Mānākanda, Nāgalla, and Arankāle. To his list we must add two more examples of particular relevance to the instance on the Ratu Baka: Tiriyāy, the antiquity of whose meditation caves is confirmed by its Brāhmī inscriptions (Sirisoma, *The Vaṭadāgē at Tiriyāya*, 3); and the double-platform just to the northwest of the Abhayagiri *stūpa* (Kulatunge, *Abhayagirivihara at Anuradhapura*, 49) that boasts eleven caves with drip-ledges and an inscription that suggests the great antiquity of the site.

There might be significance, then, in the Abhayagirivihāra inscription's opening with a mention of the caves (*guha*) of the Sambuddha-Sumeru (de Casparis, "The Dual Nature of Barabudur," 74; Chandra, "The Contacts of

Abhayagiri,"13–14), although it is difficult to see how the remainder of that sacred Sumeru topography accords with that of the Ratu Baka.

198. The extant precipice must have been even more pronounced before the rubble-built broadening of the formerly cultivated west side exhibited in figure 8 above. The northern and western faces of the plateau are both truly vertiginous and also overlook the great Śailendra sites like the Kalasan and Sewu temples.

199. The identification of the Ratu Baka as a palace, which I myself resisted for many years (e.g., Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from Ratu Baka Plateau," 183) until I noted the uncanny similarity with the Yapahuwa gate, was suggested by many, starting with Frederick Bosch ("Inventaris der Hindoe Oudheden op den Grondslag van Dr. R.D.M. Verbeek's *Oudheden van Java. Tweede Deel*," in *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* [Batavia: Albrecht and Co., 1915], 37–38) and including Jacques Dumarçay (*Candi dan Arsitektur Bangunan Agama Buda di Jawa Tengah*, 94), who observed the possibility that the Ratu Baka gate is depicted on Barabudur panels S/1/33b, or S/1/25, both representations of palaces. A recent summary of the variety of scholarly opinion on the role of the Ratu Baka may be found in Haryati Soebadio, "The Archaeological Site of Ratuboko: A Case of Problems of Restoration and Interpretation," in *Fruits of Inspiration: Studies in Honour of Prof. J.G. de Casparis*, ed. Marijke Klokke and Karel van Kooij (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2001), 455–474.

If not for the palace implied by the ornate Great Gate, it seems to me that there is no other motivation for the elaborate leveling and grading of the plateau, involving the transfer of millions of tons of rock, noted in n. 154 above.

If it is indeed the state-protection rituals that primarily recommended the Sinhalese monks to the Śailendra kings, the identification of the Ratu Baka as a/the *kraton* is enhanced: the Sinhalese apotropaic specialists were positioned within a stone's throw of the *kraton*. Likewise the disappointment with them in the face of adversity, either in the Sinhalese homeland or in Java.

Any such late-eighth century emplacement of a Śailendra palace may have been predicated upon the memories that King Sañjaya's (r. 716–746?) "camp" (*tarub*, lit. "tent") lay close to the foot of the Ratu Baka, as evidenced in the inscription of Taji Gunung (Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 2:123–134). Regarding the nature of Sañjaya's "camp," it is instructive to note that the Pāla kings Dharmapāla and Devapāladeva issued at least two inscriptions dating from at least four decades apart from their "victorious camp at Mudgagiri," connoting the impression that this Pāla "camp" was something more than a transient structure of military expediency. (Furui, "Indian Museum Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapala, Year 26," 152 discusses the longevity of the Mudgagiri/Monghyr establishment.)

Crawfurd in 1815 may have noticed the stone residue, now disappeared, of Sañjaya's "camp" (A. J. Bernet-Kempers, "Crawfurd's Beschrijving van Prambanan in 1816," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 83 [1949]: 183):

In a westerly direction from the village of Kabon Dalam, and just behind that of Prambanan, we discover very extensive ruins, but no temples standing. There ruins extend to the west as far as the banks of the Umpah [Opak] a clear and rapid stream which runs in a south west course, till it empties itself into the sea nearly opposite to Yogyacarta. To the south the ruins extend nearly to the bottom of the range of hills. This ground is alleged by the natives to have been the site of a town or city and certainly has that appearance. Here the walls of a great square enclose are still to be traced, particularly to the north and west sides. By measuring these, they are discovered to have been 900 feet to a side. The appearance of the square, is that of a modern Kraton, and tradition relates, that it contained the King's palace, but of that there is no vestige. Toward the eastern side of the enclosure, are however to be found a number of images of a very interesting and determinate character. The ruins of the temples in which these were contained, form as at Kabon Dalam, the materials of the rude dykes which separate the neighboring fields and gardens. Among the most remarkable of the figures here discovered may be mentioned a representation of Sūrya, with his seven headed horse; the driver Arun does not want the legs, as he is more commonly represented.

200. While I was unable to complete a personal inspection of the Yapahuwa site before the publication of this essay, various images and descriptions on the Internet suggest a strong correlation with features that also obtain at the Ratu Baka promontory: the division of the plateau into wards, a series of shallow wells built into the bedrock, a *stūpa*, and a meditation cave whose antiquity is confirmed by a Brāhmi inscription.

A propos of the military aspects of the compound palace-fortress at Yapahuwa, it is pertinent to note that Johannes de Casparis (*Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.* [Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956], 256–267, 294–299) suggests that the Ratu Baka plateau served as an impromptu fortress around the Kumbhayoni period and that, in accordance with his now terribly-outmoded two-dynasty envisioning of Central Javanese history, the last stand of the Śailendra king Bālaputradeva had taken place there. It is here in its role as fortress that an analogy between the Ratu Baka and Yapahuwa breaks down. While Yapahuwa was a comprehensive, elevated, and eminently defensible fortress-palace, the Ratu Baka is not a true plateau and was circumscribed with militarily advantageous precipices only along the northern, western, and southern extents. Any military commander who wished to assault it would do

so via the easy approaches from the east, so that the precipices would serve to define an inescapable slaughter-pen for the plateau's defenders.

It should be noted regarding de Casparis' assertion of the word "*walaputra*" on the Śivagrha stone, which is the basis for his hypothesis of some final showdown between the two dynasties, the Buddhist Śailendras and the Hindu "Sañjayas" that he envisions to have contested for power in Central Java, I have failed to confirm this important claim though my own visual inspection of the stone (Jeffrey Sundberg, "The State of Matarām: A Review of Recent Efforts to Clarify Its History," in *Caṇḍi Menḍut: Womb of the Tathāgata*, ed. Mark Long [New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2009], 310n45).

201. Jacques Dumarçay (*The Temples of Java*, trans. and ed. Michael Smithies [Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986], 51) notes that the western gate was built in stone, including the roofing, but this, instead of resting on stone corbels as in earlier temples, was built on a solid wooden structure. (Those responsible for the twentieth century restoration replaced his with reinforced concrete, and Véronique Degroot, in a personal communication, raises the valid question of whether Dumarçay's comments were based upon hypothesis or on access to the archaeological records, as the interior of the extant structure is now obscured by the concrete used in the reconstruction and she was unable to visually verify Dumarçay's claims.)

In keeping with Jacques Dumarçay's (*Histoire Architecturale du Borobudur [Mémoires Archéologiques XII]* [Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1977], 19) observation on the Sinhalese precedents of some of the stoneworking techniques employed in Central Java, it should be noted that the Pallava-styled *gedige* at Nālandā was almost unique in medieval Sinhalese architectural history in daring to have a solid lithic roof like those of the Pallavas, which must serve as proof of architectural inspiration, if not the direct involvement of Pallava artisans.

202. Sundberg, "A Buddhist Mantra Recovered from Ratu Baka Plateau"; Roy Jordaan and Brian Colless, "The Ratu Boko Mantra and the Sailendras," *Berkala Arkeologi* 24, no. 1 (2004): 56–65; Griffiths, "Written Traces of the Buddhist Past"; Aciri, "Once More on the 'Ratu Baka Mantra'"; Sundberg, "Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java."

203. Selamat Pinardi, "Data Sementara Bangunan Kompleks Pendapa Kraton Ratu Baka"; *Laporan Tahunan Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia* (Jakarta: Dinas Purbakala Republik Indonesia, 1958), 18; Miksic, "Double Meditation Platforms," 24; and Degroot, "The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko."

204. Degroot ("The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko," 62–63), noting that the architectural evidence demonstrates the unsatisfactory outcome of the initial *padhānaghara* construction, observes that the Sinhalese occupied the final stage of three progressively larger configurations of stone within the *prākāra* walls and therefore suggests that a preexisting structure was

repurposed for the Abhayagiri monks. My own perspectives on the matter suggest that this proposed explanation is unlikely to be correct and that the extant building was indeed built with the Abhayagiri monks in mind. I would find it incredible if when the Abhayagirivāsins arrived, the Śailendra king incidentally had on hand on his terraced plateau, in a position on a precipice that would be welcome to them, a vacant, properly oriented rectangular block of exactly the required size for the intended Abhayagiri structure. My own background in engineering suggests to me that this was a project that was executed with what might euphemistically be described as “a want of greater coordination,” in much the manner of the Hubble Space Telescope.

205. Degroot, “The Archaeological Remains of Ratu Boko,” 61.

206. Per communication with Osmund Bopearachchi, the retention of water in the space surrounding the platforms is a design goal of the Laṅkā structures, and water conduits were provided at the cluster of *padhānagharas* on the west side of Anurādhapura to ensure their proper inundation. The Ratu Baka instance seemed to take a wholly opposite view of the desirability of standing water within the compound.

207. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.*, 295.

208. The original report reads, “Dari penggalian ada ditemukan pula sisa-sisa dua buah periuk dari tanah. Jang satu adanja dibelakang tangga paling Selatan sedalam +/- 30 cm, dan jang lain disebelah Timur-laut batur sedalam +/- 60 cm dengan disampingnja sebuah batu akik, sehelai lempengan perunggu berlapis perak dan sehelai lempengan emas. Kedua kepingan logam itu bertulisan.”

209. In the course of researching this essay, I have come to reflect on the colorful variety of Indic scripts and the curiosities of their employment. While most inscriptions are incised in a single language and script, there are instances where one script is used for two languages and vice versa, or where two scripts are used for two languages. Examples of bilingual inscriptions in Java may be found in the small 824 CE Kawi inscription of Kayumwungan, where the Sanskrit verse marked the inauguration of a number of Parakan-area Buddhist structures and the Old Javanese prose registered the support of the local nobleman for their sustenance, and the 863 Pereng inscription of *pu Kumbhayoni*, which employed both Sanskrit and Old Javanese verse. Instances where two scripts are used for one language may be found at both the Pallava temple of Atiraṇaçaṇḍeśvara and the Virūpākṣa temple of the Cālukyas, which are both engraved with the same Sanskrit strophe, once in Siddham and once again in the local script, either Pallava-Grantha or Telugu-Kannada. (I am deeply indebted to Emmanuel Francis for supplying me with images of both sites. The reader is directed to Emmanuel Francis' interesting, unpublished study on North Indian scripts used by South Indian kings, which can be accessed at http://www.academia.edu/5420510/North_Indian_

Scripts_and_South_Indian_Kings). An example of two scripts being used for two languages can be found on both the Javanese Śivagrha inscription (de Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.*, 280–330) that marked King Pikatan's 855 CE death, where the Kawi was employed for the Old Javanese eulogy and a form of Nāgarī was somehow incised on the obverse; or on the Balinese Blanjong inscription, where the Sanskrit was encoded in Kawi and the Old Balinese in Siddham. Perhaps the most unusual encoding of all is to be found in the Laṅkān seaside inscription from Nilāveḷi, found nine miles to the north of Trincomalee (ancient Tirukōṇamalai) and thus not far from the Pallava-styled Buddhist temples of Tiriyāy and Kuchchaveli, which is mostly in Cōḷan-scripted Tamil except for those vocabulary items in Sanskrit, which are engraved in Grantha (S. Gunasingam, "A Tamil Slab-Inscription at Nilāveḷi," *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* 1, no. 1 [1975]: 61; K. Indrapala, "A Tamil Inscription from Nilāveḷi, Trincomalee District," in *The James Thevathasan Rutnam Felicitation Volume: A Volume of Articles Presented by the Jaffna Archaeological Society to Its President James T. Rutnam on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday 13th June 1975* [Jaffna: Jaffna Archaeological Society, 1980], 64–69; cited in Gunasingam).

The Kapārārāma Sanskrit inscription, per Ranawella (*Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:286) the only extant inscription from Mahinda V's tragic reign, is composed in South Indian Grantha of a type found in the Tiruvāḷangāḍu plates of Rājendra Cōḷa, except for the last two lines, which are in the Heḷa script. The motivation for the use of both the Grantha script and the Sanskrit language is puzzling, but may somehow reflect the desperate straits of Mahinda V in the years after the precursor Cōḷa raid but before the formal occupation and incorporation of Laṅkā into the Cōḷa empire.

210. Sundberg, "Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java."

211. Jinhua Chen, "Esoteric Buddhism and Monastic Institutions," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 286–288.

212. Martin Lehnert, "Amoghavajra: His Role in and Influence on the Developments of Buddhism," in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles Orzech, Richard Payne, and Henrik Sørensen (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 356.

213. Sundberg, "Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java."

214. As noted by Gunawardana (*Robe and Plough*, 207), the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (76.23) contains a very interesting reference to the diplomatic skills of the *tapasvin* monks from later centuries: one from Burma served its king as an envoy to Laṅkā.

215. In his deeply informative essay Alexis Sanderson ("The Śaiva Age—The Rise and Dominance of Śaivism during the Early Medieval Period," in *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. S. Einoo [Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, 2009], 108) discusses Nayapāla's Śaiva *Gauḍa-rāja-guru*, which title I combine with the Kelurak inscription's *Gauḍidvipaguru* as the precedent for my hypothesized *Laṅkādvīparājaguru*.

216. One of Davidson's many interpretive innovations was a convincing and abundantly insightful formulation of the conceptual parallels between Indic religious *mantrins* (as "possessors of mantras") and state-ministerial *mantrins* (Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 122). Regarding the concept of the *guru*, Sanderson ("The Śaiva Age," 101) notes that the seventh century *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* equates "*guru*" with "*mantrin*": we thus have a near-contemporary testimony to the type of role that the *Śailendrarājaguru* might have played: not a learned man who offers instruction to his royal patron, but rather Davidson's master of spells, with a substantial armory of effective mantras to deploy.

The 778 CE Kalasan inscription's religious *yogin*-with-spells type of *mantrin* is called the *Śailendrarājaguru*, while the three official court-counselor *mahāmantrin* are termed the *mahāpuruṣas*. This latter term, previously puzzling to Java studies epigraphers, is of interest and worthy of comment in light of recent advances in Pāla epigraphy. Read literally, *mahāpuruṣa* means "big men" and has been glossed as "notables" (Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 1:37). In the Kalasan inscription this term pertains to the three officials (the *pañkur*, *tawān*, and *tīrip*) who are invoked three times in the inscription and who, with their retinues, constructed the Tārābhavana and associated monastery featured in the inscription. (The involvement of these officials is also evident in the Abhayagirivihāra inscription, although Sarkar [*Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java*, 1:48(vi)] has inexplicably taken these titles as proper names). This hitherto puzzling term may be properly deciphered by reference to Stephan Beyer's (*The Cult of Tārā: Magic and Ritual in Tibet* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973], 151) studies of the tantric literature surrounding Tārā, where in the context of the "seven precious gems of sovereignty," *puruṣa* meant "minister." The terms *mahāpuruṣa* and *rājapuruṣa* both appear in a Pāla inscription of Gopāla II (r. ca. 940–960 CE; Ryosuke Furui, "Indian Museum Copper Plate Inscription of Dharmapala, Year 26: Tentative Reading and Study," *South Asian Studies* 27, no. 2 [2011]: 145–156), although their employment in that inscription requires some mild lexical adjustment in order to make sense of the eighth century Javanese usage. In Gopāla's inscription, the *bhikṣu-saṃgha* is jointly taken as "an embodiment of the eight great persons" (ibid., 70), while the inscription's use of *rājapuruṣa* refers to forty-three specified officials who attended the Pāla king. The sense of the eighth century Javanese mention of *mahāpuruṣa*, with its connotation of great ministers, conforms directly to the Tārā literature noticed by Beyer

and clearly correlates to Gopāla's use of *rājapuruṣa*. At variance with the political usages in the Pāla and Śailendra inscriptions, the term *mahāpuruṣa* denotes spiritual attainment in the syncretic Śaiva version of the Old Javanese *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (Lokesh Chandra, "Śaiva Version of Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyānikan," *Cultural Horizons of India*, vol. 5 [New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1997], 19), which is explicitly dated from the early tenth century reign of the Javanese king Siṇḍok.

Besides attending to their regent at both the Kalasan and Abhayagirivihāra foundations, the trio of *tirip*, *tāwan*, and *pañkur* are found four decades later attending King Garung at his *śīmā* rededication of the Wanua Teṅgaḥ fields for King Sañjaya's sibling's *vihāra*, as well as sponsoring shrines at his temple complex at Plaosan.

I interpret the status accorded in the donor's graffiti in the many shrines of the Javanese aristocracy at Plaosan as demonstrating that a great devolution of regnal power had taken place in the period after Warak rebelled against his father and, as I have argued (Sundberg, "The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity") brought about the fissure of the unified Śailendra archipelagic kingdom into constituent Sumatran, Sundanese, and Javanese components. By the erection of the Plaosan temple complex around 835, the various regional *raka* lords had seemingly assumed a power, a status, and a standing that they had not enjoyed during the earlier years when the Śailendra king's power was at its peak and they truly enjoyed the lasting soubriquet "*Mahārājas* of the Isles."

217. See the annex to Sundberg ("Mid-Ninth Century Adversity") for a discussion of the Buddhist activities of Sañjaya's successors in the latter half of the eighth and the first half of the ninth centuries.

218. Jacques Dumarçay, *Histoire de l'Architecture de Java* (*Mémoires Archéologiques* 19) (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1993), 19.

219. Of Candi Sewu, the great Buddhologist David Snellgrove (*Asian Commitment: Travels and Studies in the Indian Sub-Continent and South-East Asia* [Bangkok: Orchid Books: 2000], 379) writes, "There need be no doubt that Candi Sewu was the greatest Buddhist monument erected by these enthusiastic Buddhist rulers, if perfection of design is taken as a major factor. . . . To my knowledge no such stone-built *mandala*-shaped temple, so perfectly ordered and of such enormous dimensions, has ever been built elsewhere. As one of the world's wonders, it would have outmatched Borobudur."

220. Prudence Myer, "Stupas and Stupa-Shrines," *Artibus Asiae* 24, no. 1 (1961): 25–34.

221. The *Cūlavamsa* (45:27–31; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 91) records that Dāṭhopatiṣṣa (r. 659–667) built the Kapārārāma. As Geiger notes, the Kapārārāma was augmented by Aggabodhi IV and Sena I. Dāṭhopatiṣṣa is steeped in anti-

Mahāvihāra controversy, as the *Cūḷavaṃsa* (45:32; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, 91–92) mentions the episode where he built a *vihāra* of the Abhayagiri on their grounds, leading these monks to refuse his alms by inverting their alms bowls to him.

In a reaction to my hypothesis, Véronique Degroot (personal communication) points out that shrines at the Kapārārāma are placed in the corners of the courtyard, not on the axes as at Sewu and Somapura.

222. I summarize the evidence for this in Sundberg, “The Old Sundanese *Carita Parahyangan*, King Warak, and the Fracturing of the Javanese Polity, c. 803 A.D.”

223. Bosch (“De inscriptie van Keloerak,” 13–15) catalogues for Kalasan and Abhayagirivihāra a total of eight such morphological and stylistic variations without Indian precedent. Not only are the script and hand the same, down to the smallest details, but both inscriptions suffered the same flaw in the proportioning of the text. The inscriptions begin with large characters, but by the middle of the inscription the writer was panicked into thinking that his text would not fit within the allotted space and therefore compressed the line spacing until he was certain that the text would fit, whereupon the lines regained their normal size.

Recent discussion of the paleography of the Siddham script by Arlo Griffiths, Nicolas Revire, and Rajyat Sanyal (“An Inscribed Bronze Sculpture of a Buddha in *Bhadrāsana* at Museum Ranggawarsita in Semarang [Central Java, Indonesia],” *Artibus Asiae* 68 [2013]: 3–26) and Long (*Voices from the Mountain*, 59–61, 250) omit mention of the astounding fact that the East Asians not only shared this variant of the script with the Javanese, but standardized on it, a fact that will be of potentially enormous diagnostic value if a prototype is ever found in India. Given the importance of this seemingly overlooked fact, I feel compelled to resurrect it in the present venue even though my observations remain unchanged since my obscure 2004 publication of it Sundberg, “The Wilderness Monks of the Abhayagirivihāra,” 113.

224. Sundberg, “The Wilderness Monks of the Abhayagirivihāra,” 110–113.

225. Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 199n126.

226. As Paranavitana (*Sinhalayo*, 23) notes, Sinhalese coins tell their weight in both Hela and Siddham scripts, but I can detect no evidence of any of the Siddham variants used in both Java and East Asia.

Among the several instances of the Siddham script that was used in Śrī Laṅkā, Paranavitana (“Mahāyānism in Ceylon,” 46) points out a curious Pāli verse from the *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka*.

227. Dalton (*The Taming of the Demons*, 3), whose novel study of a tenth century transgressive ritual manual seems greatly pertinent to the problems of transgressive Buddhism in the prior two centuries as well, notes that “by

the second half of the eighth century the transgressive Mahāyoga tantras were emerging, and their rites of ‘liberation’ quickly became paradigmatic. The Mahāyoga liberation rites took the violence of the earlier tantras to an extreme, as they purported to advocate not only the use of sympathetic magic to exorcise troublesome demons and spirits but the ritual of actual people in its rites.”

228. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chihkuei*,” 112–114.

229. It is worth noting that the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* ascribed seventeen *tantras*, eight *kalpas*, and a *vinaya* (the “*Gūḍhavinaya*”) to the Vajraparvata sect that corrupted Sena I (Chandra, “Evolution of the Tantras,” 122–124). It is clear that there is at least partial intersection between this list and that known by Amoghavajra, but an even closer overlap with the Mayājāla-led canon known in the Tibetan rNying-ma-pa (Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chihkuei*,” 111–115; Kenneth Eastman, “The Eighteen Tantras of the Tattvasaṃgraha/Māyājāla,” *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 26 [1981]; Toganō Shōun 桐尾祥雲, *Himitsu Bukkyōshi* 秘密仏教史 [Kōyachō: Kōyasan Daigaku Shuppanbu 高野山大學出版部, 1933]; David Gray, “On the Very Idea of a Tantric Canon: Myth, Politics, and the Formation of the Bka’gyur,” *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 5 [Dec. 2009]). As Gray (“On the Very Idea of a Tantric Canon,” 11; cf. Giebel, “The *Chin-kang-ting ching yü-ch’ieh shih-pa-hui chihkuei*,” 114) points out, the three core texts that were commonly included in Amoghavajra’s, the rNying-ma’s, and Jñānamitra’s lists of eighteen were the *Śrīparamādyā*, the *Sarvabuddhasamāyoga*, and the *Gūhyasamāja*. Gray’s observation still holds true when the fourth enumeration, that of the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, is included.

230. If Amoghavajra, whose Eighteen Assemblies limned an acquaintance with transgressive *advaya* texts as well as demonstrated his need to sanitize it for his audience, was aware of a “liberation” text such as Dalton (*The Taming of the Demons*) discusses, he dared not allow even a peripheral reference to it. Amoghavajra labored under the requirement of minimizing knowledge of their more unchaste aspects. He obscured their doctrines when required to provide a summary, and he did so in a manner which maximized the opacity of the text, by transliterating the objectionable Sanskrit rather than translating it. He certainly never volitionally invoked references to them or sought to translate the Indic material into Chinese, only reluctantly acknowledging this material when trying to describe the Eighteen Assemblies of the *Vajroṣṇīṣa* work that underlay his system.

231. The reader will find in Sundberg and Giebel (“Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 148–151) the argument in support of the view that Amoghavajra’s itinerary extended no farther than Lañkā on his 741–746 text-gathering expedition, as flatly stated by Amoghavajra’s monastic disciple Feixi 飛錫 in his 774 CE memorial account. In any case, all his biographies concur

that Laṅkā furnished his texts, and that furthermore he underwent a second esoteric consecration at the hands of the Sinhalese monk *Samantabhadra. It is noted that Vajrabodhi's last known influence was the Sinhalese *Ratnabodhi from whom he was borrowing texts as late as his last year on earth, just before Amoghavajra set out to expand the repertoire of esoteric Buddhist texts.

232. The archaeological reports from the Pallava-styled Rājīnāvihāra at Laṅkā Nālandā (n. 48) mention the finding of some nearby stones with "mystical" writings akin to the *dhāraṇī* stones of the Abhayagiri. Although I do not have access to the archaeological reports, it seems that there is no evidence of a *padhānaghara* associated with the *vihāra*, and the precise monastic affiliations of the temple are unknown. Further investigation into the Nālandā *dhāraṇī* may indeed conclusively demonstrate the site's association with esoteric Buddhism. Rather frustratingly, no further archaeological investigation of this important site is possible as the present site of the temple is artificial, a location to the side of the irrigation reservoir which now covers the original Rājīnāvihāra.

233. There is another group that is attested in medieval Śrī Laṅkā in the mention of the "Nīlapaṭas" or "Blue-Robes" by the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya*, the *Rājaratnākaraya*, and the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*. The *Cūḷavaṃsa*, the *Nikāya Saṅgrahāya*, the *Rājaratnākaraya* (Karunaratne, *Rājaratnākaraya*, 55–58) and the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* record that Sena II, "Mugain Sen," reformed the sangha and set coastal guards along the perimeter of the island. At this point the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, which studiously avoids mention of esoteric Buddhism, diverges from the other three texts, which specify that the purpose of the guards was to intercept foreign heretics who might try to infiltrate Laṅkā disguised as orthodox monks (Deegalle, "Theravada Pre-Understandings," 51; Deegalle notes that the three other texts corruptly cite the *Cūḷavaṃsa* to make it appear that it agrees that the purpose of Sena's coastal guards was to deter heretics). The three histories then turn their attention to a specific group that was still valent because they were already on the island before the coast guard was set: the blue-robed Nīlapaṭas. The Sinhalese accounts do not provide any but the most scandalous details on the texts valued or the rites undertaken by the Nīlapaṭas, whose blue robes were purportedly adopted in imitation of the disguise assumed by their leader when creeping out of the monastery to the red light district in pursuit of a soteriology based on a dissolute Triple Gem of hookers, booze, and "love" (Deegalle, "Theravada Pre-Understandings," 52, provides transliterations and translations of the Sanskrit *gāthās* purported to be from their *Nīlapaṭadarśana* text and notes that several more *gāthās* are provided by the *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, a text authored by the pupil of the monastic author of the *Rājaratnākaraya*).

In their invocation of this Nīlapaṭa sect, the fourteenth and sixteenth century Sinhalese texts touch upon a group that left independent traces in other, much earlier, Indological and Buddhological sources. For example, as

Davidson (*Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 203) observes, these “notorious” blue-robed Nīlāmbaras are implicated in the earliest example of *siddha* (and Kāpālika) texts known to him, the *Subāhupariṣcchā*, translated by Śubhākarasiṃha in 726 CE, specifically in the rituals for the development of *siddhi* through sexual intercourse with female *yakṣīs*. Davidson further notes that “they are possibly connected to the extremely popular cult of Nīlāmbara-Vajrapāṇi (‘blue-clad Vajrapāṇi’), a system enjoying a plethora of Buddhist texts and ritual manuals.” There are further references to the Nīlapaṭas in Indian history and literature, many listed in Phyllis Granoff (“Tolerance in the Tantras: Its Form and Function,” in “Festschrift for Dr. S.S. Janaki,” special issue, *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras 56–57 [1986]: 297n15), including the *Padma Purāṇa* and the *Gandharavatantra*. (Granoff, in a personal communication, notes that other references have subsequently been found, and the topic seems ripe for scholarly renewal.) Among the texts noted by Granoff were two written by the orthodox Vedicist Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, who in his *Nyāyamañjarī* mentions the suppression of this heresy by his king, Śaṅkaravarman (r. 883–902) at the same time that the Sinhalese works claim the infestation of the blue-robed heretics. In Jayanta’s work, the libidinous Buddhist Nīlāmbaras are represented as singing songs praising eroticism and the sage Nīlāmbaranātha, moving around with both partners sharing a common dark blanket to conceal their sexual activity (Csaba Dezső, *Jayanta Bhatta: Much Ado about Religion*, ed. and transl. Csaba Dezső, Clay Sanskrit Library [New York: New York University Press, 2005], 158).

In the *Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha* (Dezső, *Jayanta Bhatta*, 172n81) there is a reference of particular relevance to the Sinhalese *Saddharmaratnākaraya*’s claims about this group. While the *Nikāya Saṅgrahaya* and the *Rājaratnākaraya* both state that the Nīlapaṭas were persecuted by the righteous king Harṣa (the ruler from 606–647 of Kanauj and Thanesvar, who seemingly converted from Śaivism to Mahāyāna Buddhism), who burned both the Nīlapaṭas and their corrupt texts in a mansion, the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* reports that their persecutor was King Bhoja, who lived in “Śrī Harṣa” of Dambadiva/Jambudvīpa (Deegalle, “Theravada Pre-Understandings,” 62n49). (I am indebted to the erudite Sinhala scholar Sven Bretfeld for pointing out that only one of the two references in the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* indicated Bhoja as the persecutor, the other being the Harṣa of the other two texts.) It is here that the *Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha* and the *Saddharmaratnākaraya* intersect, for the *Purāṇanaprabandhasaṅgraha* also claims that King Bhoja of Dhārā (1018–1060) feigned interest in their libertine Nīlapaṭa soteriology, in which they likened themselves to Ardhanaṛiśvara, then killed all of the men of the forty-nine pairs who wished to introduce him to their practice.

What are we to make of all of this? Are we to accept the claims of the three late medieval Sinhalese texts that these Nīlapaṭas were practicing on the island during Sena II’s day? If so, might there be relationships to the transgressive

texts obtained by Amoghavajra as part of the *Vajroṣṇīṣa* corpus, to the little erotic frieze at the Rājīnāvihāra at Nālandā, or even to the *pāṃśukūlikas* with whom they shared sartorial deviations from the standard monastic saffron? My own inclination is to disbelieve that they were identical to the *pāṃśukūlikas* or even could, as laymen, persuade Amoghavajra and his monastic delegation that they, rather than the monk Samantabhadra who provided his *abhiṣeka*, possessed the true canon of salvific texts.

234. In the early biographical accounts of Vajrabodhi and the mytho-historical accounts of the origins of the *Vajroṣṇīṣa* lie, in so far as I am aware, the best support for the claims that these texts originated in the south of India and that Mānavarman and the Abhayagirivihāra were intimately knowledgeable of that important process.

While I am fully cognizant of the well-documented involvement of northeastern India and specifically Nālandā in the genesis of the *caryā*-tantric *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (Stephen Hodge, "Considerations on the Dating and Geographical Origins of the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sūtra*," in *The Buddhist Forum III*, ed. Tadeusz Skorupski and Ulrich Pagel [New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1995]), it seems to me that this was decidedly not true for the *Vajroṣṇīṣa*, led as it was by the yoga-tantric *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. While the biographical notes prepared by Hunlunweng 混倫翁 (T. 2157, 55.876b29–877a21) as the epitaph for Vajrabodhi's memorial *stūpa* do indeed allude to "esoteric doctrines" learned by Vajrabodhi in his many years at Nālandā (personal communication with Rolf Giebel), there is no hint of esotericism in the representation of Vajrabodhi's Nālandā years in the longer early biography of Lü Xiang (Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 134). Indeed, the sterility of early seventh century Nālandā in the genesis of the Yogatantras may be made explicit in Amoghavajra's comment in his account of the South Indian Iron Stūpa episode that that "in the country of Central India the Buddhist teaching had gradually decayed" (Orzech, "The Legend of the Iron Stūpa," 315).

On the other hand, everything in Vajrabodhi's biography and the recitations of the Iron Stūpa legend point to his acquaintance with—and seemingly fumbled acquisition of—these cardinal *Vajroṣṇīṣa* texts in South India. Indeed, it is undoubtedly this specific corpus that is designated in Hunlunweng's mention that it was from South India that Vajrabodhi procured "a text of the great bodhisattva teachings in 200,000 words and a Sanskrit manuscript of yoga" (Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 199n125; for more on what is meant by this "yoga," see Charles Orzech, "The 'Great Teaching of Yoga,' the Chinese Appropriation of the Tantras, and the Question of Esoteric Buddhism," *Journal of Chinese Religion* 34 [2006]: 29–78). The handoff of pedantic primacy to institutions in Buddhist Laṅkā seems natural in light of Mānavarman's return from his long Kāñcī exile and is reflected in Vajrabodhi's half-year residence at the Abhayagiri and

subsequent lifelong correspondence with his Sinhalese “master” *Ratnabodhi as well as Amoghavajra’s selection of Laṅkā for his critical mission of gathering the canon of essential Mantrayāna texts. In my view of the evidence, the early drivers of Yogatantra doctrine lay in Draviḍian India and in Laṅkā, with Nālandā and the yet-unfounded sister monasteries of the Pāla only adopting these doctrines at a later time, perhaps in the latter two-thirds of the eighth century.

Regarding the relationship between this South Indian phenomenon and the preeminent Buddhist *vihāra* at Nālandā, Peter Sharrock (personal communication) writes:

While fully supporting the *rédressment historique* of the major strategic importance of Kāñcī Vajravāda and Vajrabodhi to Buddhism across Asia, I think we have to assume an intimate, structured, unrecorded alliance with Nālandā, Vikramaśīla and Somapura that underpinned them. I say this because I am thinking about how rapidly southern Vajrayāna declined in the thirteenth century after the Islamic attacks in the Ganges Valley. Within a few decades only the northern branch, boosted by fleeing mahāntas, survived in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, Vietnam. In Cambodia, Thailand and Burma (“forest monks”) the Theravāda slowly and without signs of great energy or resource seeped into a kind of vacuum.

As I myself envision the relationship between the northern and southern poles of Indian esoteric Buddhism, it is rather akin to the modern study of the natural world: physics that were originally formulated and taught in Copenhagen or Heidelberg are now preferentially studied in either of the Cambridges of Massachusetts and the United Kingdom.

235. I have proposed (Sundberg, “Wilderness Monks,” 114–116; Sundberg and Giebel, “Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi,” 165–169) that depictions of *siddhas* were widely engraved on Central Javanese temples, particularly on the panels at Barabudūr and in the roughly contemporary middle phase of Caṇḍi Sewu, where the newly-added porches on the shrines bore bearded figures which were analogous to the figures over the lintels on the circumambulatory pathway at the main temple.

My interpretation of the particular lintel of two *siddhas* with the slanted eyes and long flowing beards, now in the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta, has taken surprising turns. For this latest, and seemingly final, phase of the interpretation of the Sinicity of the figures on the lintel, I am enormously indebted to the ever-alert Roy Jordaan’s discovery of a particular drawing from 1812 in the MacKenzie collection in the British Library (WD 953, f.33) of what seems to be precisely the lintel now in the Sonobudoyo Museum and on the apparent ethnicity of which I have twice commented (Sundberg, “The Wilderness Monks of the Abhayagirivihāra,” 114–116; Sundberg and Giebel,

"Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 214n163), the first time noting the apparent East Asian features of the figures and the second time recording the mitigating observance by a Barabudur tourist of the 1880s that a Chinese laborer was altering archaeological artifacts by Sinifying the features with a chisel. Thanks to MacKenzie, the provenance of the lintel and the ethnicity of the figures are now remarkably clear, as the description of his drawing reads: "Devotees or Tapassees carved on a stone among the ruins at Cande Seevo near Prambanan." The implications of both an original Sinicity of the ninth century lintel characters, as well as their origin at Candi Sewu, are substantial: these characters are assigned an ethnicity and therefore are indeed intended to designate humans (albeit humans with supernatural powers), which further constrains the interpretive possibilities (MacKenzie seemed to have run out the gamut of the ca. 1812 possibilities when he provided the alternative options of "Devotees or Tapassees") and reinforces my identification of them as *siddhas*; the Chinese were not unknown as a Buddhist presence in Java, albeit one that is very much in the background compared to the influence from the Indic world, and at least one of the manufacturers of the Sewu shrines elected to engrave a Sinified variant of the lintel characters, perhaps indicating both that this mode was practiced in East Asia and that this fact was acknowledged by the contemporary Javanese.

236. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 233–234.

237. David Gray, "On Supreme Bliss: A Study of the History and Interpretation of the 'Cakrasamvara Tantra'" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2001), 204ff.; cf. Woodward, "Esoteric Buddhism in Southeast Asia," 353.

238. The converse also seems true: as the evidence concerning *siddhas* continues to develop and critical arguments grow in sophistication, there are fewer and fewer plausible hypotheses about their origins. See Wedemeyer (*Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*) for a good synopsis of these issues, including what seems to be a quite convincing refutation of the "tribal origins" hypothesis.

239. Gray, "On Supreme Bliss," 232. Contrary to Gray's suggestion, Wedemeyer (*Making Sense of Tantric Buddhism*, 197) points out that such cardinal figures as Jayabhadra, the Sinhalese preceptor at Vikramaśīla and early commentator on the *Cakrasamvara*, was demonstrably content with a sexualized somatic interpretation of that text. To Wedemeyer, this served as evidence that "Buddhist Tantric traditions do not uniformly become more conservative in monastic contexts."

240. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 199.

241. See above, n. 18.

242. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 195.

243. See Sundberg and Giebel, "Life of the Tang Court Monk Vajrabodhi," 165–168. I intend to resume the topic in Sundberg (*Imagine Saṃvara at Sajiwan*), where I will argue that transgressive texts and doctrines were allowed to surface during the reign of King Garung (r. 829–847).

244. The palace-decorated urinals (fig. 14) have attracted much scholarly attention and comment. Silva, for instance, wrote of the *paṃsukūlikas* that "their edifices did not contain a single stitch of decoration, but instead showed all extravagances on ornamenting the lavatory and the toilet slabs as if to say, 'not that we are incapable of art or richness, but this is how we treat it'" (Wijesuriya, *Buddhist Meditation Monasteries*, 21). Such urinals, as W.R. McAlpine and David Robson (*A Guide to Ritigala* [Colombo: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1983], 28) note, have been found at every double-platform site in Laṅkā. No such urinal has been found in Central Java.

I am indebted to Robert Brown for pointing out the observation by Johanna van Lohuisen-de Leeuw ("An Aspect of Sinhalese Influence in Thailand," in *Senarat Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, ed. L. Prematilake, K. Indrapala and J.E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978], 137–141) that the only other place the urinal stones appear is in Sukhothai-period Thailand. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw mentions that five have been found, and points to the presence of an important Śrī Laṅkān monk (Mahāsāmi Sangharāja) at Sukhothai in the mid-fourteenth century. Brown notes that the urinal stone must have moved outside its original Abhayagiri context and was used by the Theravādin monks.

245. Ranawella (*The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, xii) notes that in the Laṅkān epigraphical record of the ninth to tenth centuries, the term *Vat Himayan* ("Lord of the Earth") was reserved for use by both the king and the monks.

246. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 153.

247. See, e.g., Udaya II's inscription of Kirigallāva (Ranawella, *The Inscriptions of Āpā Kitagbo and Kings Sena I, Sena II, and Udaya II*, 107).

In the Indic *imaginaire*, dogs and crows are usually associated with tantric practices and practitioners: see Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism*, 243; Acharya, "How to Behave Like a Bull?," 105, 127–128; and Aciri, "Once More on the 'Ratu Baka Mantra.'"

248. Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5(1):24–25.

249. *Ibid.*, 5(1):52–58.

250. Dappula IV's 932 CE Puliyankulama slab inscription (Ranawella, *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, 5[2]:109ff.) from a chapter of the Abhayagirivihāra's Kapārārāma, for instance, opens with both a bombastic statement of the potency of the Rājaraṭṭha kings as well as words of praise for the Triple Gem, both of which are explicable in light of Walters' ("Buddhist History") observations

on the kingdom of the time. Dappula's endowment of twelve monks for this chapter specifies the nature of the monks he sought to promote: "learned and adorned with ornaments of distinctive virtues such as moderation in desires, contentment, and religious austerity."

251. Kenneth Chen, "The Economic Background of the Huichang Suppression of Buddhism," *Harvard Journal of Asian Studies*, 19 (1956): 67–105; Stanley Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 114–136.

252. Chou, "Tantrism in China," 322–323, cf. Jesse Palmer, *Searching for the Law: Ennin's Journal as a Key to the Heian Appropriation of Tang Culture* (PhD diss., University of California, Irvine, 2009), 225ff.

253. Since Ennin makes special mention of these stone pillars, they must have existed in great numbers prior to Suzong's 肅宗 reign. Their loss constitutes an enormous tragedy for the history of esoteric Buddhism. The reader will recall from n. 100 a similar absence of Sinhalese inscriptions from before 839 CE and the parallel absence of royal administrative inscriptions from Java before the time of Kayuwangi (855–883), which was almost certainly the result of revocations of prior kings' *sīmā* allocations like those enacted by Warak and Pikatan for the Pikatan monastery's fields at Wanua Tengah.

254. Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons*, 4–5.

255. Yukei Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja Tantra* (Osaka: Tōhōshuppan, 1978), viii.

256. A study of the multiple royal religious conversions of the Khmer kings, with solid attestations of Śaivism, esoteric Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism, and finally Theravāda Buddhism, would be both interesting by itself but would also serve as a valuable comparative reference for the sparsely-documented kings of Central Java.

I am grateful to Peter Sharrock for a profitable discussion of these kings and the motivations for the doctrinal alternations.

257. See Sundberg, "Mid-Ninth Century Adversity for Sinhalese Esoteric Buddhist Exemplars in Java."

BOOK REVIEWS

***Immigrants to the Pure Land: The Modernization, Acculturation, and Globalization of Shin Buddhism, 1898–1941.* By Michihiro Ama. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011. 311 pages. \$47 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-8248-3438-8.**

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Why do Shin Buddhists in the United States refer to their religious institution as a church? Why does a Shin Buddhist temple resemble an Anglo-Protestant church? Why do Shin Buddhists have Sunday services and boards of trustees that emulate Protestant services and organizational structures? These are the primary questions that guide Michihiro Ama's investigation on the history and development of Shin Buddhism in North America. Ama diverts from long held assumptions about Shin Buddhism's development in North America that argued for the centrality of ethnic solidarity or that contemporary structures and practices are evidence of cultural and institutional assimilation to the host society. Arguing against the one-way process of assimilation that assumes Shin Buddhism's development as a response to and emulation of Christianity in the West, Ama develops a cultural-historical narrative that is multi-site and multi-directional and that does not privilege Christianity. Instead, he defines Shin Buddhist acculturation as "a blending process consisting of the 'Japanization' and 'Americanization' of Jōdo Shinshū" (5).

The processes of Japanization and Americanization, although seemingly contradictory, reveal cultural and political formations between two nation-states. Japanization refers to the development of Shin Buddhism in Japan that focused on its “Japanese character” alongside the formation of Japan as a modern nation-state. The process included a conscious emphasis to deliberately make Shin Buddhism uniquely Japanese and its incorporation as “part of the state apparatus of Japan” (5). Likewise, Americanization refers to Shin immigrants’ adaptation to the host society, as well as a vexing relationship to American national identity. Ama’s interpretation of acculturation advances acculturation discourse that does not privilege the process unfolding on American soil and/or as a response to American cultural and historical forces. He writes, “Acculturation must be perceived as an extension of the modern development of Japanese Buddhism, but this process simultaneously intersects with the activities and concerns of Shin immigrants as well as Euro-American sympathizers, in this way diverging from tradition and emerging as a new form of Buddhism in North America” (189-190). Ama explores religious development at the site of the “religious ‘border’ ” between Japan and the United States, arguing that the acculturation of Shin Buddhism occurred on a “religious frontier,” created in Hawai’i, the mainland United States, and Canada. “Finding themselves in such a geographical position, Shin ministers reinterpreted doctrine, transformed rituals, and reconfigured institutional structures by incorporating some Protestant practices and the concept of democracy” (6). Whereas past studies on Shin Buddhism in North America focused on organizational and ritual developments and transformations, Ama brings attention to hermeneutics, and argues that “evidence shows that organizational and ritual changes preceded doctrinal adjustment” (7). Ama’s study compares Shin Buddhism’s development in Hawai’i, the continental US, and Canada, arguing that demographic distribution, diplomatic relationships, and socio-economic conditions of ethnic Japanese communities were distinctively different, which shaped and informed variations in Shin Buddhist developments. Furthermore, prewar diasporic religious developments occurred within contested and conflicted internal debates.

In chapter 1, Ama provides a backdrop to the entire study by introducing the history of modern Shin Buddhism in Japan. He provides, for the first time in English, material about the internal conflicts between the Higashi Honganji and the new government during the Meiji period.

The historical overview of modern Shin Buddhist history in Japan reveals a tradition's encounter with modernity in the early twentieth century that reflects and parallels conditions and transformations in North America.

The focus of chapter 2 is organizational. Here, Ama provides a historical analysis on the Honganji Mission of Hawaii (HHMH) and the Buddhist Mission of North America (BMNA). Both HHMH and BMNA were established as satellites of the Kyoto headquarters. The HHMH promoted their sectarian teaching to Japanese immigrants first with the secondary aim of introducing it to non-Japanese Euro-Americans. Working in a reverse fashion, the BMNA on the mainland wanted to spread the teachings of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni to Euro-Americans, while addressing the religious needs and demands of the Japanese immigrant communities. Overall, Ama argues that "the transformation of Shin Buddhist organizational structures entailed the processes of Americanization and Japanization" (58). This unfolds among multiple competing conflicts between the Kyoto headquarters and local communities; between clergy and laity; between Japanese language schools and the Buddhist churches over matters of curriculum and what to call their teachers (i.e., *sensei*, *goin-san*, or *jūshoku*, common terms referring to Buddhist priests in Japan); and between Buddhists and Christians.

Ama shifts to human subjects in chapter 3. In this chapter, he compares the developments of Shin Buddhist ministries in Hawaii and the mainland anchored in an analysis between the first (Issei) and second (Nisei) generation Japanese American ministers. Ama argues that the process of acculturation of the organization took place in the development of the Shin ministry. Although the status and position of the ministers in the new American context was weaker than in Japan (60), Shin ministry developed with second-generation Japanese American ministers in addition to Euro-American converts who were confirmed and ordained in rituals that deviated from tradition. Conflict developed with Euro-American ministers who had more affinity with the teachings of Śākyamuni than Shinran. "How well the Euro-Americans ministers understood the Shin Buddhist teaching is also unclear. Brodbeck, who took ordination under Bishop Uchida, made a vow of entrusting himself to Amida Buddha, yet emphasized the importance of keeping the precepts (a more Theravadin approach to praxis)" (75). Ama points out, "reciting Amida's name in gratitude for Buddha's compassion was

one of the orthodox Shin doctrines; however, keeping precepts was not" (75). Related to the development of Nisei and Euro-American ministers was the establishment of an English department in the HHMH and the BMNA that was an indicator of Americanization taking shape. In Hawai'i, Bishop Emyo Imamura provided effective leadership from 1900 to his death in 1932, after which the HHMH became stagnant, while the BMNA expanded under the leadership of Bishop Kenju Masuyama, who readily admitted Nisei and Euro-American converts to the ministry (59). Ama contends that issues of race were highlighted in two ways during this period: first, attempts were made by Euro-American ministers to address racial tensions and animosity toward Japanese communities during the prewar period by demonstrating similarities between Buddhism and Christianity that the Issei clergy may not have supported; second, the Kyoto headquarters and the BMNA office required Euro-American convert ministers to maintain Japanese cultural practices that some ministers found problematic because they were unsure of their Buddhist identity.

In chapter 4, Ama examines transformations in Shin Buddhist rituals, material culture, and architecture. In the arena of ritual and ritual adaption, the debate on whether to promote specifically Shin or general Buddhist teachings became a central issue. The alterations to Shin Buddhist rituals did, to a degree, reflect modeling and adapting to Christian forms, such as the sequence of Sunday service, pews, and church architecture (87). The development of Buddhist songs or hymns, known as *gāthās*, "demonstrates not only a two-way process of acculturation but also the re-importation of the hymnal to the Buddhist community in Japan and the BMNA's borrowing of the hymnal from the HHMH" (87). New rituals were developed for Euro-American convert ministers that emulated Theravādin rituals. Ama illustrates the interplay between ritual adaption and invention *vis-à-vis* Shin Buddhist material culture in North America (e.g., hymnals, robes, and architecture). The adaption of the Christian architecture for Shin Buddhist temples began in the prewar period as nearly half of the institutions on the mainland before WWII were of Western-style architecture (100). Selecting Western-style architecture was one material and physical way for the Japanese-American community to deter anti-Japanese sentiment, thus avoiding negative reaction from Euro-American society. At times, the Western-style architecture was not a conscious decision but rather a reflection of the limits of financial

resources to remodel a Christian church that they purchased to use as their religious sacred site. Shin temple architecture in Hawai'i was not as simple, as evidenced by the multiple types and styles: plantation house style, traditional Japanese temple style, Hawai'ian eclectic style, Indian (Hindu) inspired style, and Western style.

The focus of chapter 5 is competing hermeneutics of Shin Buddhist doctrine, centered on works of three scholar-priests: Dr. Takeichi Takahashi, Reverend Itsuzo Kyogoku, and Bishop Emyo Imamura. Takahashi's work investigates Shinran's teaching through the appropriation of Christian concepts. Ama argues that Takahashi's interpretation represents the Americanization of Shin doctrine in that he links Shinran's teachings to John Dewey's instrumentalism and engages in a methodologically questionable comparative study with Christianity. Kyogoku of the BMNA reinterpreted Shin teaching in California, and developed a practical approach anchored in the quotidian activities of the Issei and Nisei. Kyogoku's interpretation, Ama contends, reflects the process of Japanization as he invoked Manshi Kiyozawa, a Higashi Honganji scholar-priest and Japan's first religious philosopher, to develop a spiritual activism informed by Kiyozawa's concept of "experiment." Imamura of HHMH focused on the social dimension of Jōdo Shinshū and discussed democracy from a Buddhist perspective, where he critiqued the exclusionist discourse on Americanization. These three figures all (re)interpreted Shin doctrine in a new light, albeit, pragmatically (110).

Ama traces the historical development of the Higashi Honganji in America in chapter 6, and illustrates the "simultaneous competition and cooperation between the two branches of the Honganji in North America" (145). The analysis compares communities in Japan, Hawai'i, and the US mainland. The propagation of the Higashi Honganji in America was racked with internal conflicts, legal contests, denominational competition and rapprochement, and personality differences, all of which framed how Higashi Honganji developed in North America. On the mainland, this development was "accidental" but in Hawai'i "intentional."

In chapter 7, Ama focuses on the politics of acculturation at the intersection of Americanization and Japanization. Ama argues that BMNA's acculturation reflects translocal activities, while the HHMH reflects local activities. Both local and translocal activities reveal nationalistic concerns, hence he juxtaposes their activities with

developments in Japan. The development of Shin Issei and Nisei identities is problematized with respects to Japan's colonial expansion and competing secular rules. Issei clergy, Ama argues, developed ambivalence about their identity because they straddled two nation-states, thus reflecting the sense of uncertainty they possessed. Issei clergy negotiated encounters with racial discrimination that conflicted with democratic ideals as well as cultural allegiance to Japan. "The ambiguity of the Issei clergy living between the nation-states of Japan and the United States and the rise of ethnic nationalism were critical factors in the acculturation of Shin Buddhism" (188).

In the conclusion, Ama situates acculturation discourse in the postmodern age of globalization and suggests that Shin Buddhism as a "global religion" might be a source of resistance against global capitalism, secularization, and national interests of a single nation-state. *Immigrants to the Pure Land* advances the discourse on acculturation in significant ways by providing an example of the transnational context by which the process unfolds and reveals that it does not occur in isolation. This reviewer would have liked to see more discussion on the intersection of race and Shin Buddhist development in North America. Overall, Ama provides, in meticulous details and thorough research, a social history of Shin Buddhism in North America. *Immigrants to the Pure Land* is recommended to anyone interested in the history of Buddhism, Japanese-American religiosity in the diaspora, and cultural encounters.

***Luminous Bliss: A Religious History of Pure Land Literature in Tibet.* By Georgios T. Halkias. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013. 368 pages. \$49 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-8248-3590-3.**

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Georgios T. Halkias' *Luminous Bliss: A Religious History of Pure Land Literature in Tibet* is a unique contribution to the often overlooked study of Pure Land Buddhism. Whereas many studies on Pure Land Buddhism are often concentrated in East Asia, Halkias demonstrates how Pure Land is an unmistakable part of Tibetan Buddhism, despite the fact that there has never been a sectarian Pure Land movement in

Tibet. Instead, through his selection and examination of Tibetan texts, both canonical and otherwise, Halkias displays how Pure Land soteriology and Mahāyāna doctrine are interwoven with the mythology and history of Tibet and its people. The book is divided into three sections containing two chapters each, and is a valuable new resource for scholars of Buddhist studies.

The first chapter of the book discusses Mahāyāna developments in India that were foundational to the burgeoning soteriology of Pure Land Buddhism. The development of buddha fields, the Pure Land sutras and their subsequent commentaries, and the genealogies of Amitābha and Sukhāvati are all briefly discussed. Although the majority of the chapter serves as a *de facto* summary of existing scholarship, the structure of the chapter is excellent. Halkias displays the organic development of Pure Land thought within the expanding framework of Mahāyāna Buddhism, which itself originated out of the syncretistic milieu of India and Central Asia. The chapter strengthens considerably once it moves to representations of Amitābha in Tibet. Within this discussion, Halkias identifies two areas in need of future research. First, although the Pure Land sutras use Amitābha and Amitāyus synonymously, they are visually differentiated in the Tibetan and Himalayan traditions (30). More work is necessary to determine whether there is some Indian precursor to this, or if it is unique to the Tibetans. Secondly, Tibetan iconic depictions of Amitābha bear close resemblance to the Indian sun deity, Sūrya. Halkias supplements this note with a brief discussion on the likely role of solar theology in early Amitābha worship. Evidence suggests that Indian Buddhists participated in worshipping the sun god, which may have been appropriated into a cult of Amitābha over some time. The popularity of solar theology and the various deities from several commingling civilizations may have been a catalyst for the spread of Pure Land Buddhism. Halkias closes the chapter by noting that despite the popularity in East Asia of Pure Land commentaries dubiously attributed to Nāgārjuna and Vasubandhu, the texts were largely excluded in Tibet.

The second chapter begins with a discussion of the contentious relationship between the Tibetans and the Tang dynasty (618–907). Tibet's expansion into Central Asia from the seventh to the ninth centuries led to repeated clashes with the Tang. Over this period, the conflicts produced seven treaties between Tibet and the Tang, all of which were violated. Halkias focuses on the important Central Asian civilizations

the Tibetans encountered along the Tarim Basin during their military expansion. Buddhism was often at the center of these encounters, and the simplicity and deities of Pure Land Buddhism were relatively transferable. Halkias attributes the success of Pure Land Buddhism to the “nature of its doctrines,” which allayed the common fear of death (36). The soteriology inherent in Pure Land doctrine was an attractive and welcomed alternative. Five cultural centers of Buddhist activity in Central Asia—Kucha, Turfan, Miran, Khotan, and Dunhuang—are briefly highlighted. It is noted several times that these locations did not receive Buddhism from any one direction, but through a dynamic process that led to the existence of Śrāvakayāna, Mahāyāna, and tantric traditions within these Buddhist hubs. Tibetan Pure Land literature found in Central Tibet and throughout the Tarim Basin demonstrates that the Tibetans were not merely importing Buddhist literature, but producing and exporting it as well.

Halkias then turns his attention to the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet and the patronage of its Buddhist emperors. The first Buddhist emperor of Tibet was Srong-btsam-sgam-po (early seventh century to 649 CE), who began the institutionalization of Buddhism as state religion. Thus, Buddhist temples were constructed, and translations of Buddhist scriptures were encouraged. Srong-btsam-sgam-po was a *cakravartin* seen as an equal to the Pure Land bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara. He was also given the title of Baowang 寶王—a title referring to Amitābha—by the Tang emperor Gaozang (628–683) in 649. His successors, including the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682), were also perceived as incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, and proclaimed it their mission to transform Tibet into the Pure Land of Amitābha (55).

Through these divine connections, the state became woven to Buddhism, and the Pure Land especially. Imperial registers document the production of state-sponsored translations of Buddhist literature. The sheer volume of translations produced indicates a highly organized, efficient, and well-funded leadership. Halkias uses this discussion to segue into an examination of Tibetan Pure Land literature, specifically the *dhāraṇī* genre. Important texts like *The Immeasurable Life and Wisdom Sutra* (*Aparimitāyur-jñāna-sūtra*), though mostly ignored by Western scholars, document the popularity of Pure Land belief in Tibet. The text comes from library cave seventeen in Dunhuang, and records indicate it was reproduced hundreds of times to bless the Tibetan emperor ‘Od-srung’s ascension to the throne during the ninth

century. Halkias suggests “that the *Aparimitāyur-sūtra* was copied in large numbers as part of a nationwide prayer for the birth and longevity of the ‘divine prince,’ or more likely, if copied during the reign of ‘Od-srung, for aiding [his deceased father’s] passage to Sukhāvātī” (69). The ubiquity of the text in both Chinese and Tibetan throughout the Tarim Basin suggests that there were many reasons to copy it, the greatest of which was likely the transference of merit.

The *Aparimitāyur-sūtra* focuses on Aparimitāyus, apparently an alternative designation of Amitāyus. The text is very similar to the style and setting of the shorter *Sukhāvativyūha*. These texts, which claimed practical benefits, almost certainly aided the popularity of Pure Land belief in a mostly illiterate Tibet. Halkias includes a translation of the text from the Tibetan. The chapter ends with another translation of a Tibetan poem aspiring for rebirth in Sukhāvātī that is translated to show how Pure Land beliefs were integrated into established Tibetan beliefs of death and the afterlife.

The second section of the book begins with an English translation of the shorter *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra* from the Derge edition of the Tibetan Kanjur. The eight Kanjurs are discussed before moving to a brief examination of the contents of the short *Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*. Halkias notes that the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions of the sutra “diverge from each other in important ways” (92). Unfortunately, he never mentions exactly what these differences might be. A cursory comparison of his translation from the Tibetan with Gomez’s translation from the Sanskrit (*The Land of Bliss: The Paradise of the Buddha of Measureless Light, Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhāvativyūha Sutras* [Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai’i Press, 1996]) produced little to no significant difference.

The fourth chapter surveys Tibetan Pure Land literature, while setting the stage for the book’s final section. Halkias focuses on a certain type of Tibetan Pure Land literature known as the *bde-smon* (aspirational prayers to Sukhāvātī), which seek rebirth in the Pure Land. Included in the genre are a variety of texts that synthesize meditative praxis with ethical principles as a preliminary for more advanced Vajrayāna practice (103). Although the timeframe is expedited, the goal of these texts remains the same—Sukhāvātī. The remainder of the chapter displays paradigmatic examples from the *bde-smon* genre. Halkias selects examples authored by imminent monks from many of the schools of Tibetan Buddhism including rNying-ma, dGe-lugs-pa, and the Sa-skya. While

some of the selections are fully translated, others are summarized or outlined. Similar to Pure Land commentarial literature from China or Japan, many of the Tibetan texts are concerned with assuring rebirth in Sukhāvātī. The commentary centers around the four causes explicated in Amitābha's nineteenth vow from the long *Sukhāvātīvyūhasūtra*, but often disagree as to their importance. The chapter concludes with perhaps the most interesting example of the genre, a manual for a sleep-meditation on Amitābha. The abridged translation excellently conveys how Pure Land belief was integrated into tantric practices like mind-fusion. The placement of the sleep-meditation is a clever transition into the final section of the book.

The two chapters in the third section concentrate on tantric techniques for encountering Amitābha and experiencing Sukhāvātī. Chapter five revisits the proto-Pure Land deity Aparimitāyus who was synonymous with Amitāyus in Tibet. Tibetan Pure Land *dhāraṇī* literature illustrates the apotropaic nature of faith in Aparimitāyus/Amitāyus, going so far as to protect the faithful from vampiric creatures (142). Another benefit of Amitāyus worship is the hope of extending life, and Halkias indicates that Tibetans practiced longevity rituals dedicated to Amitāyus apart from the soteriology of Pure Land belief (145). However, mortuary rituals were the highest concern, and it is within this category that Pure Land practice and belief are most apparent. These rites play a key role in determining where the deceased will be located in the next life. Halkias focuses on the most popular of these Tibetan postmortem rituals, the transference of consciousness through meditation (*phowa*). This advanced ritual can provide immediate buddhahood, but comes with a high degree of risk. *Phowa* involves a complex series of visualizations and breathing exercises in which one encounters and is absorbed into Amitābha. The deity then reproduces the recently deceased as a divine seed soon to be reborn from a lotus in Sukhāvātī (154). Halkias suggests that the Sukhāvātī *phowa*, which originated around the fourteenth century, could be an exclusive practice of Tibet. The chapter ends with a translation of a revealed treasure text entitled *The Standing Blade of Grass*, which is a foundational text for a popular Tibetan celebration involving *phowa*.

The final chapter surveys a series of texts called Celestial Teachings (*gnam-chos*) that were collected during the seventeenth century. The writings belong to the larger treasure literature genre in Tibet, which imply a revealed origin. The revelation in the Celestial Teachings

is considered “pure vision” since it occurred either in meditation, dreaming, or lucid waking. Treasure literature can appear miraculously, sometimes falling from the sky or literally written in the clouds. The Celestial Treasures originated through meditative encounters with various Buddhist deities. The ritual practices espoused in these texts are specifically focused on realizing Sukhāvātī. A seventeenth-century anthology of these rituals entitled *The Means of Attaining the Sukhāvātī Kṣetra from the Primordial Teaching of the Celestial Dharma: The Cycle of the Profound Whispered Lineage* appears to be the first of its kind in Tibet. Halkias includes translated excerpts involving cremation rituals, *phowa*, *sādhana* prayers, and effigy rituals. The chapter concludes with a translation of *Invoking the Guardians of Sukhāvātī*, an intriguing supplementary text to *The Means of Attaining the Sukhāvātī Kṣetra* that is dedicated to the wrathful dharma protectors of Tibet. These deities offer protection of Pure Land teachings and adherents. The ritual involves visualization and supplication of these terrifyingly powerful beings so that they eliminate anything that could harm one’s path to Sukhāvātī.

Lastly, the epilogue draws some very strong and surprising conclusions. Halkias demonstrates how the mythology of Pure Land belief is incorporated into the mythology of famous Tibetan monks like Padmasambhava (literally translated as “Lotus Born”). Moreover, the land of Tibet itself is recognized as a gateway to Sukhāvātī, if not a direct manifestation of it. The special qualities of Tibet and its people, specifically in a Buddhist context, granted legitimation to the monasteries and justified their power in order to preserve the sacred identity of Tibet. Halkias notes, “In Tibet’s religious-political history, Pure Land themes enjoyed the prestige of an almost ‘atemporal antiquity’ that reemerged in the strategies of integration of secular and monastic powers invested in the institution of the Dalai Lama, the patron saint and living incarnation of Tibet’s ancestral bodhisattva” (192). Thus, a cycle in which the monasteries interpreted the soteriology inherent in Mahāyāna and Pure Land belief was superimposed onto the land and people of Tibet which perpetuated the legitimacy and power of the state.

The epilogue is surprising because Halkias rarely hints toward these conclusions in the earlier portions of the book. Furthermore, the introduction promotes the book as a religious history of Tibetan Pure Land literature, and does not foreshadow the conclusions in the

epilogue. Nevertheless, the epilogue is certainly a highlight that adds a new spin to the entire book to such a degree that, perhaps, its conclusions should have been introduced earlier in the book where more concrete examples could have been offered. As it is, the epilogue seems to indicate the next step for Halkias, and, if so, one that will be highly anticipated.

There is little to criticize about the book. Scholars familiar with Pure Land Buddhism will surely want more details regarding just how much dialogue occurred between Tibet and East Asia. The book is almost entirely devoid of important Pure Land concepts in East Asia such as *nianfo* and *mofa*, and their exclusion begs the question whether they are simply less important in Tibet, or whether Halkias deemphasized them to demarcate Tibetan Pure Land from East Asian Pure Land more clearly. Self-power (*jiriki*) and other-power (*tariki*) are mentioned in the discussion of Mi-pham, a late-nineteenth century Tibetan monk who encouraged a blending of these powers in order to reach the Pure Land (123). The book's inclusion of the Japanese translations of these concepts—Halkias does not mention whether Mi-pham ever used the Japanese—strengthens the desire to know how much dialogue and borrowing occurred between Tibet and East Asia.

As indicated several times above, there are a staggering number of translations, outlines, and summaries included in the book. Buddhist scholars will be thankful for the quantity and quality of these offerings. Additionally, Halkias includes three appendices that provide even more texts for interested readers. Finally, the text is copiously annotated and will reward future scholarship.

Luminous Bliss is a tremendous addition to the neglected field of Tibetan Pure Land Buddhism and Pure Land Buddhism in general. The book displays the malleability of Pure Land Buddhism through its usage in tantric rituals in Tibet. Furthermore, Halkias relays the richness of Tibetan Pure Land literature. The amount of texts discussed, outlined, or translated in the book is wholly admirable and ensures that *Luminous Bliss* will be an important resource for current and future scholars.

***Living Karma: The Religious Practices of Ouyi Zhixu.* By Beverley Foulks McGuire. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014. 240 pages. \$60 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-231-16802-1.**

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Several decades ago it was common in Anglophone studies of Chinese Buddhism of the post-Song Imperial Era to focus on one of the tradition's self-identified "great men." This tendency is not as common as it once was, as approaches to Buddhist studies scholarship rooted in cultural studies have become more common, especially in the West. But the historiography of Chinese Buddhists themselves retains a strong focus on lineages of men (and to a lesser extent women) considered to be exemplars of religious thought and practice. There is thus much that new approaches to studying the lives of great men and women can still reveal about the nature and history of Late Imperial Chinese Buddhism. Beverley Foulks McGuire's book is a clear example of this potential. Rather than simply recount the biography and doctrinal positions of the Ming Buddhist master Ouyi Zhixu 藕益智旭 (1599–1655), Foulks McGuire uses his life to examine the role that karma played as a unifying theme in Chinese Buddhists' subjectivity, and as a narrative frame in which one's whole life as a Buddhist could be structured. This is a concise, coherent, and compelling work that tells us much about the centrality of karma in Ming-era Buddhist ritual and thought.

Asian and Western studies of the great monks of the Ming in general, and of Ouyi in particular, have tended to place their emphasis on doctrinal positions. While she does address these studies, Foulks McGuire's general position is that Ouyi was doctrinally eclectic, and that by trying to pigeonhole him as a Tiantai or Chan master, one misses an issue that was far more important for Ouyi: how to know, affect, and live with one's karma. In studying this issue, Foulks McGuire's book does not simply seek to fill in details about Ouyi's life so that we can have a better sense of who he was as an individual. Rather, she brings to bear sophisticated theoretical tools to tackle much larger issues in the study of Buddhism. Foremost among these is the role that karma plays in the lives and thought of Buddhists. While it is obvious that karma plays some kind of role, as the author notes, most of the scholarship on karma to date has been carried out using the tools of religious ethics,

which have sought to construct systems of ethics to determine the Buddhist views on certain actions. This focus on the objective system of karma, while important, neglects the subjective side: What does it feel like to live in a world influenced by karma? Foulks McGuire's book is aimed at how the belief that he had committed karmic misdeeds affected the entirety of Ouyi's Buddhism. In so doing she takes his seriously his own subjectivity, thus treating her subject with appropriate scholarly respect. She also raises important questions about the extent to which Buddhists have viewed karma as knowable and/or changeable.

In dealing with the primary source material for this study, Foulks McGuire also had to carry out several other theoretical interventions. She applies the concept of genre to her use of autobiography and "votive texts" (*yuanwen* 願文) to frame Ouyi's writings not as statements of fact, but as elements of a larger argument about his own future bodhisattvahood. Her openness to the discourses of Chinese Buddhism also allows her to treat the full range of Ming-era Buddhist religious practice, including ritual repentance, blood-writing, and the central role that bodhisattvas were believed to play in mediating karmic retribution. The devotional, theistic Buddhism she describes is much closer to the everyday Buddhism of even most monastics than one focused on doctrine. This is a hallmark of her theoretical interventions, which are never overbearing: she uses theory as a tool to better treat her material, and not to overwhelm the reader with her intellect. One sees this, for example, in her study of the role played by the body in Ouyi's thought. While it is certainly fashionable in religious studies at the moment to focus on the body, Foulks McGuire's discussions of how Ouyi viewed the body as the locus of enlightenment (both for oneself, and, as a bodhisattva, for others) fit seamlessly into her overall narrative and do not feel forced.

Her treatment of the religious role of the body is but one example of the narrative coherence of this book. At 131 pages of text, plus notes and two appendices, this is a modest book, and a welcome one. It is lucid, clearly focused, and avoids the pitfalls of a first book; it does not read as a retooled thesis. It centers on a clear central theme, that makes only interesting and necessary diversions. The author does not seek to overwhelm the reader with data, but instead provides clarifying examples. There is a lot of signposting in the work, and the book, each chapter, and each section are clearly introduced.

The book is comprised of five chapters, framed by an introduction and a conclusion. In the introduction, Foulks McGuire explains how she will treat Ouyi as a “moral subject” for whom karma served as an ethical guide, a hermeneutic, and a narrative device. For her source material she uses biographical writings, autobiographical writings, and many of Ouyi’s other works. Foulks McGuire is especially interested in ritual and Ouyi’s ideas about ritual efficacy. Rather than interpret Ouyi’s texts using Western ritual theory, she “focuses on the ritual theory implicit in Ouyi’s writings” (6). She highlights the three factors by which Ouyi believed ritual functioned to transform persons and their karma. These are (1) sympathetic resonance (*ganying* 感應); (2) the emotional state of the person during the ritual, with a special emphasis on shame and sincerity; and (3) the necessary interplay of the two factors of “principle” (*li* 理) and “practice” (*shi* 事) within ritual. The importance of the emotions of shame and contrition are especially interesting, given a tendency to see Chinese Buddhist rituals of repentance as somewhat formulaic affairs. In the introduction, Foulks McGuire also discusses the various views obtaining within Chinese Buddhism with regard to the comprehensibility of karma. While some in the Ming viewed karma as a rationalized system and produced ledgers for the tallying of one’s karmic “points,” Foulks McGuire places Ouyi in a tradition that saw the operation of karma as mysterious, and, more importantly, changeable.

After laying the theoretical groundwork for the book in the introduction, Foulks McGuire devotes the first chapter to framing her reading of Ouyi’s autobiography using the idea of genre. She disagrees with the Buddhist historiographic tradition and recent Buddhist studies scholarship in Asia and the West that is intent on categorizing Ouyi doctrinally, most often as a Tiantai partisan. She instead demonstrates Ouyi’s broad commitment to texts and practices from a range of Chinese Buddhist traditions, and even Confucianism and Daoism. More than simply being non-sectarian, Ouyi used dreams and other narrative structures “to ‘imagine a community’ that does not follow established lineages or restrict itself to particular traditions” (28). Throughout his autobiography, karma remains the central theme, and Ouyi’s “karmic activity largely consists of an engagement with texts: reading them, writing commentaries on them, or writing liturgical and philosophical texts based on them” (35). As with her observations about the role of emotions in repentance, the centrality of text for Ouyi’s engagement

with karma brings to light interesting questions about how we think about and present Chinese Buddhist praxis as a whole. What do we privilege, and why? Is it meditation, is it ritual, is it lineage?

Having established the importance of karma in Ouyi's self-narrative and his *oeuvre*, Foulks McGuire devotes one chapter each to questions related to Ouyi's working with karma. In chapter 2, she looks at Ouyi's efforts to understand the nature of his karma through techniques of divination. Contextualizing his practice within the history of Chinese Buddhist divination, she shows that divination was a very common activity for Ouyi, who seems to have been especially concerned with whether or not he was following the Buddhist precepts correctly (38–39). Keeping to her commitment to treat Ouyi as a “moral subject,” she shows that divination can both humble and embolden the Buddhist in their religious practice, in part because it can remove doubts (51).

Ouyi was not a karmic fatalist, and he believed that he could change his karma once he was aware of it. While he employed several means to do this, he favored rites of repentance. In chapter 3, Foulks McGuire once again provides historical context for Ouyi's ideas, especially within the tradition of Tiantai repentance rites. In addition to the role played by a correct emotional state, she highlights the role that bodhisattvas play in mediating karma in rituals of repentance. Ouyi placed particular emphasis on the Bodhisattva Dizang 地藏, whose title as “King of Vows” (Yuan Wang 願王) reflected the power he held through his vows and his *dhāraṇī* to help sentient beings overcome their karma. One particularly interesting observation she makes in this chapter is that Ouyi argued that in order to transform one's karma, one actually has to believe in the truth of *samsara* (69, 75).

She continues in chapter 4 her exploration of the role envisioned for bodhisattvas by Ouyi. There she focuses on bodhisattvas' vows to assume or alter the sentient beings of others. Rather than focus on their *upāya* of teaching and guiding, as is most commonly done, Foulks McGuire points to the Chinese Buddhist belief that bodhisattvas could actually eliminate the karma of other beings, or assume their karmic burdens by “substituting” (*dai shou* 代受) for them. In analyzing his “votive texts,” she shows that Ouyi believed he could activate the karma-quelling powers of bodhisattvas through repentance, or by offering himself as a karmic substitute for others, which would ignite the “sympathetic response” (*ganying*) of bodhisattvas (90–91). This is an interesting understanding of how bodhisattvas operate to limit the

suffering of others, and broadens our picture of the actual function of a bodhisattva in Chinese Buddhism.

In the fifth and final chapter, Foulks McGuire talks about the “somaticity” of Ouyi’s practice. Unified by the notion of the body as the vehicle for karma, she takes up the ideas of the cutting of one’s body for one’s elders, burning parts of one’s body as an offering, copying scriptures with one’s own blood, and even Ouyi’s final wishes for his body. In this chapter she thus brings to a close not only her recounting of Ouyi’s life, but of the cycle of karmic engagement that animated it, from Ouyi’s work to know his karma, to his efforts to change it, to the predictions he made in his votive texts about his own future bodhisattvahood, and the final acts aimed at karmic expiation.

While modest in size, this book puts forth ideas that are important well beyond the field of Chinese Buddhist studies. Foulks McGuire aims to show that Ouyi’s religious and literary life was centered on a belief in karma that was not fatalistic, and that was both highly personal and highly meaningful. She uses an approach that other scholars of Buddhism could apply to their study of both karma and Buddhist lives. Further scholarship on Buddhism, not only in its sinic forms but globally, could focus on karma as a narrative device, as a subjective experience, and a motivating factor. Just as we no longer naively accept that the *Vinaya* is a record of the behavior of Buddhist monks and nuns in India, Foulks McGuire makes the compelling case that we should not accept doctrinal statements on karma as descriptions of what it feels like to live with karma, nor to understand the lives of Buddhists without looking at their own narratives. Most broadly, this book raises interesting notions about subjectivity and the extent to which we deny it among people removed from us by time, culture, or geography. Ouyi’s writings place a great deal of emphasis on subjective affective states, and the sense of individual agency and self-conception that Foulks McGuire describes is downright modern. There is always the chance that this is an artifact of her reading of Ouyi, but, in the end, the evidence she presents in this book is strong and her overall argument well-articulated.

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The *Pacific World*—Its History

Throughout my life, I have sincerely believed that Buddhism is a religion of peace and compassion, a teaching which will bring spiritual tranquillity to the individual, and contribute to the promotion of harmony and peace in society. My efforts to spread the Buddha's teachings began in 1925, while I was a graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. This beginning took the form of publishing the *Pacific World*, on a bi-monthly basis in 1925 and 1926, and then on a monthly basis in 1927 and 1928. Articles in the early issues concerned not only Buddhism, but also other cultural subjects such as art, poetry, and education, and then by 1928, the articles became primarily Buddhistic. Included in the mailing list of the early issues were such addressees as the Cabinet members of the U.S. Government, Chambers of Commerce, political leaders, libraries, publishing houses, labor unions, and foreign cultural institutions.

After four years, we had to cease publication, primarily due to lack of funds. It was then that I vowed to become independently wealthy so that socially beneficial projects could be undertaken without financial dependence on others. After founding the privately held company, Mitutoyo Corporation, I was able to continue my lifelong commitment to disseminate the teachings of Buddha through various means.

As one of the vehicles, the *Pacific World* was again reactivated, this time in 1982, as the annual journal of the Institute of Buddhist Studies. For the opportunity to be able to contribute to the propagation of Buddhism and the betterment of humankind, I am eternally grateful. I also wish to thank the staff of the Institute of Buddhist Studies for helping me to advance my dream to spread the spirit of compassion among the peoples of the world through the publication of the *Pacific World*.

Yehan Numata

Founder, Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai

In Remembrance

In May of 1994, my father, Yehan Numata, aged 97 years, returned to the Pure Land after earnestly serving Buddhism throughout his lifetime. I pay homage to the fact that the *Pacific World* is again being printed and published, for in my father's youth, it was the passion to which he was wholeheartedly devoted.

I, too, share my father's dream of world peace and happiness for all peoples. It is my heartfelt desire that the *Pacific World* helps to promote spiritual culture throughout all humanity, and that the publication of the *Pacific World* be continued.

Toshihide Numata

Chairman, Bukkyo Dendo Kyokai