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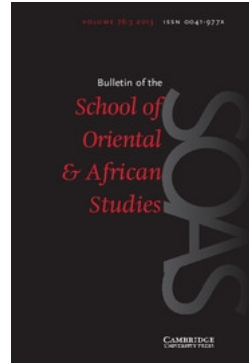
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Written traces of the Buddhist past: *Mantras* and *Dhāraṇīs* in Indonesian inscriptions

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Abstract

This article examines a group of ten Indonesian inscriptions citing a range of *gāthās*, *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*. The texts, contextualized and in some cases read and identified for the first time, underline the pan-Asian character of Buddhism and the integral place the Indonesian archipelago once held in the ancient Buddhist world. The identification of the sources of several of these texts in known Sanskrit scriptures raises the question whether some of these texts, none of which survives as such in the archipelago, were once transmitted there in manuscript form.

Keywords: *Mantra*, *Dhāraṇī*, Indonesia, Sanskrit, Inscription, Ritual deposit, Dharma relic

That Indonesia was a vibrant part of the ancient Buddhist world is well known from foreign (mainly Chinese) written sources, and from the almost unanimously wordless testimony of Buddhist monuments and sculptures, found at many sites in Sumatra, Kalimantan (Borneo), Java and Bali. Of the written (Sanskrit) vectors of Buddhism – revealed texts, doctrinal works, commentaries, ritual manuals – that must once have existed, only an infinitesimally small fraction have been transmitted into the present in the form of very scarce texts, mainly in Old Javanese language, preserved on Bali.¹

Written sources that have hardly been exploited thus far to gain a greater understanding of some aspects of the history of Buddhism in Indonesia exist in the form of Buddhist texts inscribed on stone and metal surfaces, which were better able to withstand the ravages of time than the palm-leaf manuscripts

* Being based in Indonesia, without access to a good library, let alone a library for Buddhist Studies, I have perforce depended heavily for this paper on the help of many kind colleagues. It is a pleasure to express my gratitude, for support by no means limited to bibliographical information, to Véronique Degroot, Rolf Giebel, Don Longuevan, Horst Liebner, Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, Pierre-Yves Manguin, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Jonathan Silk, Iain Sinclair, Ryugen Tanemura, Vincent Tournier, Geoff Wade and Michael Willis.

1 For an excellent concise overview of the textual and archaeological sources for the history of Buddhism in Indonesia, and a detailed listing of the relevant secondary literature, see Hooykaas 1973: 8–14. Nihom (1994) is a fine study concerned only with non-epigraphical textual materials. One relevant paper, dealing with one of the two most important doctrinal texts preserved from ancient Java, the *San̄ Hyān Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, appeared too late for Nihom to be able to take it into account. See Ishii 1992, whose results were partly taken over in Lokesh Chandra 1995.

used by learned Buddhists in ancient times. The contents of these inscriptions are almost invariably taken from scriptural sources, that is, they are (citations from) texts that were considered to have been uttered by the historical Buddha Śākyamuni or other beings holding equal or almost equal authority, such as direct disciples of Śākyamuni, or other Buddhas and even Bodhisattvas. The majority of such inscriptions are constituted, as elsewhere in the Buddhist world, by specimens of the *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā* (i.e. the *ye dharmāḥ* formula).² Other examples of such pithy verses (*gāthās*) are, however, also attested, and some of them are of interest for the history of Buddhist literature.³ There are also, besides these very common and less common *gāthās*, a substantial number of inscriptions belonging to the class of texts to which the names *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* apply.

The existence of these *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* inscriptions in Indonesia has not as yet played any role whatsoever in the study of Indian and pan-Asian Buddhism. One may consult any of the seminal studies on Indian *dhāraṇīs* that appeared in the 1980s and 1990s,⁴ and find plentiful references to *dhāraṇīs* transmitted in various parts of the Buddhist world at greater or smaller remove from the historical heartland of Buddhism in India – Sri Lanka, China, Korea, Japan, Afghanistan, and especially Tibet;⁵ but Indonesia is never mentioned. This seems to be a loss as much for the study of the history of pan-Asian Buddhism, as it is for the study of Indonesian cultural history.

I hope to show in this contribution that the Indonesian *dhāraṇī* inscriptions have much to offer as comparative material for the historian of Indian and pan-Asian Buddhism because the diversity of *dhāraṇī* texts attested in Indonesian inscriptions seems substantial,⁶ because the types of objects bearing these inscriptions often help our understanding of the contexts in which these texts were used, and because the information about archaeological context is in several cases sufficient to shed extra light on the texts and the artefacts on which they are inscribed. Simultaneously I hope to show that engagement

- 2 See Griffiths (2011, items 1, 9 and 12), for specimens from Sumatra. I take this opportunity to correct a few errors in that publication. With regard to item 1, the gold foil engraved with the *ye dharmāḥ* stanza that was excavated in 1928 on the Bukit Seguntang in Palembang has not, as I affirmed in 2011, “fallen through the ~~nest~~ of colonial period Dutch archaeologists”, but has been repeatedly referred to in Krom’s 1938 study that was unknown to me when I published this gold foil inscription. See Krom (1938: 399–400, 411–12, 416). With regard to item 12, I carelessly misidentified the metre of the verse cited in the Pulau Sawah inscription: it is not in *anuṣṭubh*, but in *jagati* meter. I also failed to note another possible source for this verse, namely the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (ed. Skorupski, 146: 4–6, several emendations of the published edition are required). This last omission is particularly poignant in the light of some of the material to be discussed in the present study.
- 3 See Skilling (forthcoming) for a study of a Sanskrit *gāthā* attested in multiple specimens from a wide range of sites in maritime South-East Asia, but not traceable in any known canonical text.
- 4 Especially Schopen 1982, 1985, 1989a and b; and Bentor 1995.
- 5 See Gippert (2004 and forthcoming) for fascinating *dhāraṇī* material from the Maldives.
- 6 Based on the studies of Schopen and those who followed in his footsteps, I am tempted to say that the diversity is greater than it is in India, but since I have not undertaken a systematic search for such inscriptions in India, and the authors mentioned do not claim to have been exhaustive either, this impression may be misleading.

with Buddhist literature which has not been preserved in Indonesia, as well as with the scholarly study of Buddhist texts and artefacts found elsewhere in Asia, cannot be ignored if our aim is to understand the function and meaning of Buddhist artefacts found in Indonesia. This might seem to be a self-evident point, but in Indonesia epigraphy is the preserve of archaeologists, who tend to be sent into the field without serious training in Sanskrit, let alone Buddhist studies. The result is that none of the interesting *dhāraṇī* inscriptions unearthed in recent decades have been properly published,⁷ and that the significance of these artefacts has had very little impact on archaeological and historical research.

There are exceptions, which can usefully be mentioned here by way of introduction to the main study. The late Indonesian scholar Boechari has published transliterations of Buddhist *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* material, frequently with the modest admission that he did not feel competent to interpret the data, and had to defer to specialists in Buddhist studies for that task. The challenge posed by his 1982 publication (reprinted in Boechari 2012: 575–86) of a lengthy *dhāraṇī* inscription engraved on a lead-bronze strip excavated near Borobudur was more recently taken up by Hudaya Kandahjaya, who drew the following conclusions (2009: 2, with table 1 on p. 4):

Given Boechari's readings, it appears that some of the lines in this inscription correspond with verses preserved in a Balinese *stuti* called the *Nava-Kampa*, or "The Nine-Fold Tremble". So far, the origin of the *Nava-Kampa* verses⁸ is unknown. But some lines of this *stuti* can be found in a number of *dhāraṇīs*. Of particular interest, the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*, a text known from the Chinese translation of 726, includes phrases parallel to those at the beginning of the *Nava-Kampa*. Moreover, the *Nava-Kampa* seems to suggest that after recitation there would be brought about perfection in all actions (*sarva-karma-siddhi-karam āvartayiṣyāmi*), which is somewhat in line with the title and purpose of the *Susiddhikara-sūtra*. Thus, it looks that the kind of *dhāraṇīs* represented by the *Nava-Kampa* originated in the cycle or family of this sutra.⁹

7 By this I mean in a published form including a reliable transliteration with an analysis of contents, which in most cases will require an integral translation. The few publications that do exist never satisfy these criteria. What is offered is at most a transliteration, normally without diacritical marks, and no attempt to analyse the meaning of the sequences of syllables that are read.

8 *Sic.* The *Navakampa*, edited by Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971) as *stuti* nr. 510, is actually a prose text.

9 Based on photographs of the Borobudur lead-bronze inscription I have recently obtained, and the textual correspondence brilliantly observed by Hudaya Kandahjaya, I have re-edited the text of the inscription, and can state that the correspondences concern almost the whole of the inscription and the *Navakampa*. The link with the *Susiddhikara*, preserved only in Chinese and Tibetan, cannot be confirmed and I have thus far failed to find any scriptural identification (see Griffiths 2014).

A few years later, Boechari published an article on ritual deposits from Candi Gumpung (1985a = 2012: 453–65), a shrine in the temple complex of Muara Jambi in Sumatra. The names of *maṇḍala* deities inscribed on numerous leaves of gold are not *mantras*, but nevertheless deserve to be mentioned here, for they are evidence of the spread to Indonesia of Mantranaya Buddhism¹⁰ with its focus on rituals involving *maṇḍalas*, of which we will encounter other traces in the present study. The material attracted the attention of Max Nihom (1998), who elucidated it from the perspective of his knowledge of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist literature.

I will not enter here into the issue of a possible distinction between the terms *mantra* and *dhāraṇī*, and will use them with a considerable amount of overlap, as do the original Buddhist texts in which we encounter them. It is important, however, to make clear that together they represent a text type that is quite clearly different, in form and content, from the class here called *gāthā*. Unlike *gāthās*, which use metrical form and no *bīja* syllables, perhaps the clearest marker of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* is the circumposition of *om* ... *svāhā/phaṭ*. It is common in the Indonesian secondary literature for all Buddhist texts cited in inscriptions indiscriminately to be referred to as *mantra*.¹¹ And it must be admitted that the boundaries between these categories were blurred even among ancient Indonesian Buddhists. The common conjunction of the *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā* with texts that are clearly *dhāraṇīs*, and the existence of an abbreviated form of the famous *gāthā* as *om ye te svāhā*,¹² are clear indications of this. As previous scholars have emphasized, this blurring of categories can be explained as resulting from the fact that these different categories of Buddhist literature could be put to use in the same way. It is because of this overlap between *gāthās*, on the one hand, and *dhāraṇīs/mantras* on the other, in the epigraphical record, that both categories are covered in the selection of material presented in this study.

This material comprises inscriptions recovered from Sambas in west Borneo, from a shipwreck on the bottom of the Java sea off the northern coast of Java, from the southern tip of Sumatra, from central Java, and from Bali, thus covering a substantial part of the textual and geographical depth and breadth of ancient Buddhism in the Indonesian archipelago (see map, Figure 1). While most of the material is published here for the first time, some has been published previously but without identification of source texts. Indeed, use of modern computerized text corpora in many cases allows pinpointing of the textual sources of such inscriptions. The proper identification of the source text (or at least of close parallels) is, in turn, often of considerable help in determining accurate readings of these documents, some of which have come to us in very poor physical condition.

The material presented here is the result of rather unsystematic data gathering on this type of inscriptions during the years 2008 to 2012. It does not pretend to offer anything like exhaustive coverage of all of the Indonesian

10 On this term, used here instead of the term Vajrayāna (or Tantrayāna) more familiar to most Indonesian scholars, see Crujisen, Griffiths and Klokke (forthcoming).

11 See e.g. Machi Suhadi 1989.

12 For a discussion of this abbreviated formula, and a list of known cases, see Crujisen et al. forthcoming, n. 50.

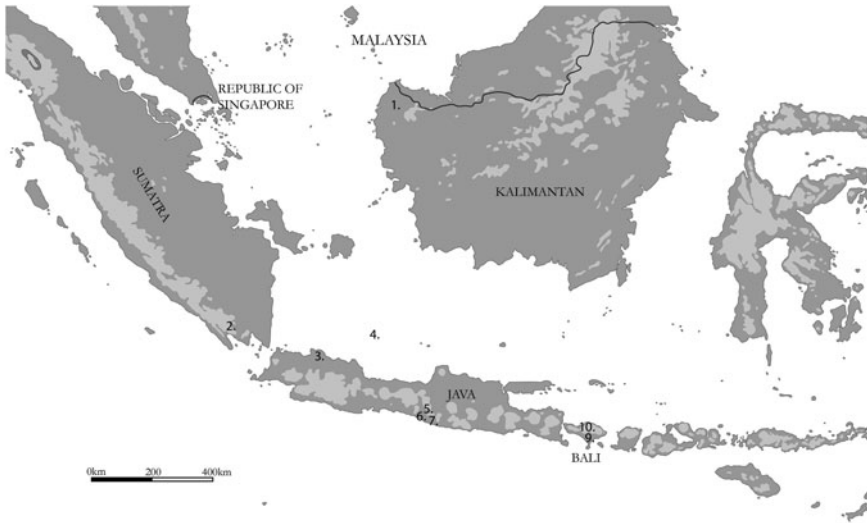


Figure 1. Map by Véronique Degroot. The numbers refer to the sections of this article.

inscriptions whose texts might be classified as Buddhist *mantras* or *dhāraṇīs*. I have omitted cases for which there is no specific reason to assume that they are Buddhist,¹³ cases for which I lack any reliable reading or reproductions allowing me to verify existing readings,¹⁴ and cases which have already been prepared for publication elsewhere.¹⁵

1. Silver foil inscription from Sambas, West Kalimantan

In the annual report of the Archaeological Service in the Dutch East Indies (*Oudheidkundig Verslag, OV*) for the year 1948, in §6 dealing with “Discoveries”, we find an entry on Sambas (West Borneo, now West Kalimantan province), which reads (p. 13):¹⁶

13 E.g. the interesting inscription presenting the Kawi alphabet arranged in small groups of *akṣaras* enclosed within *om* ... *svāhā* (Brandes 1889), devoid of any indication of religious affiliation. [See addition on p. 187.]

14 E.g. the inscribed gold foil from Candi Bogang, which is almost certainly Buddhist but for which only an eye-copy is available (Djoko Dwiyanto 1985: 443 and facsimile on pp. 453–4). The eye-copy is clearly not faithful to the original since only fragments can be understood. Among the readable parts, it seems likely that the inscription ends with *anena cāhaṃ kuśalena karmmaṇā bhaveya buddho na cireṇa loke deśeya dhammaṇ jagato hitāya ||*, i.e. the first three-quarters of the stanza identified in the Pulau Sawah inscription (see n. 2). Another probable *dhāraṇī* inscription is the one captured, not very legibly, on OD photo 17343 (see n. 49 on OD photos). See also n. 149 below for some East Javanese specimens not discussed here.

15 I have in mind the items included in the forthcoming publications by Crujisen, Griffiths and Klokke ([forthcoming](#)); by Griffiths, Revire and Sanyal (2013); and by Griffiths (2014) alone.

16 I have translated into English all citations from Dutch and Indonesian sources made in this article.

In 1939 an earthenware jar was found, standing on a bronze leaf and covered by a bronze discus, in the ground on the bank of the eponymous river.¹⁷ The jar was damaged during excavation and contained 18 small statues, among which 8 in gold, the remaining ones in silver and bronze, of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and a censer in bronze, in the form of a house. Right after the report of the discovery these objects disappeared, but they resurfaced after the war, now in the possession of Mr. Tan Yeok Song, President of the South Seas Society at Singapore, who had bought them and secured them in the Oversea Chinese Bank. At this time only 7 golden and 2 silver statues, besides the censer, remain. Mr. Tan offered a provisional publication, accompanied by photos, of this collection (Preliminary Report on the Discovery of the Hoard of Hindu Religious Objects, near Sambas, West Borneo, Singapore 1948).¹⁸

Subsequently, the September 1949 issue of the *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. 22, pt. 4) was dedicated entirely to the Sambas finds, with papers contributed by Roland Bradell, Nilakanta Sastri, H.G. Quaritch Wales, Tom Harrisson and Tan Yeok Seong. No mention was made in this publication of any inscription as part of these finds. The collection was acquired by the British Museum in 1956, and the technical staff of the Museum then discovered that a rolled-up silver foil had been hidden in the base of the largest sculpture of the Sambas hoard (object 1, plates 1 and 2 in *JMBRAS* 22/4, 1949). At some moment after being unrolled, this foil broke into two fragments, currently kept at the British Museum under registration number 1956,0725.8.b.¹⁹ Putting the two fragments close together, we can determine that the original would have been about 16 cm in length and 2.35 cm in height.

As far as I know, the inscription on this silver foil, covering both sides, has only rarely been mentioned in the scholarly literature and remains unpublished.²⁰ I will first present my reading of this document, then I will analyse its contents and discuss the importance of this artefact for the history of Buddhism and Buddhist art in Indonesia.

Text

The foil is extremely hard to capture in its entirety photographically. After repeated provisional attempts based on different photographs offered by

17 For more details on the provenance of the discoveries that concern us here, see now McKinnon 1994: 23.

18 Note 1: "Journal of the South Seas Society, vol. V, part 1, June 1948, p. 31–42. Also compare O.V. 1939, p. 6".

19 There is unusually detailed information, with photographs made before and after the extraction process, available in the online British Museum database under the registration number 1956,0725.8.a, analysis reference number PR00742 (last accessed 26 July 2012).

20 A newspaper item in the *Evening News*, London, of which a clipping is found among the documents put online by the British Museum, announced a publication by D.E. Barrett and J.G. de Casparis scheduled to appear in the *British Museum Quarterly*. No such publication has ever seen the light of day. The inscription on silver foil is listed in Ricklefs and Voorhoeve (1977: 55), with the information that it "is in Sanskrit, according to Dr. J.G. de Casparis".

Michael Willis, and a tracing of the letters as observed by his research assistant Beatriz Cifuentes (without knowledge of the script), I was able to determine the reading from the original at the British Museum on 20 June 2012, using a microscope. As we will see on some other specimens of *mantra/dhāraṇī* inscriptions included in this article, the writing is sloppy, so that it often takes some goodwill to read a given *akṣara* in a way that makes sense. I subjoin photos of the original both with and without the mentioned tracing (Figures 2 and 3). While it does not seem necessary to point out all scribal errors, my notes anticipate some of the textual identifications made after the decipherment is presented.²¹

Obverse:

(1) // na[ma] (°ār)yyā(na)[x n]tabhādrā²² // yāvada kāci daśaddiśi loke sarvvatriyādhvaganara narasi(h)hā²³ tāhu(2)tān ahna²⁴ vanda[mi] (sa)rvva °aśeṣām (k)āyatu vācamanena prasannaḥ // yās ca °imaṇ pariṇāmanarā(3) narāda(m·) x tva²⁵ (sa)krj janayed adhimukti (vo)dhivaram anuprārthayamāno °agru viśiṣṭa bha(4)[ve]d i[mu] p[u]ṇya(m·) //²⁶ rakṣoghnā paramā hy eṣā pavitrā pāpanāsaśaṇī śrīka(r)ī dhī-

Reverse:

(1) ²⁷karī cāṭi²⁸ sarvvaguṇavivarddhanī // ye dharmmā hyetoprabhavā hetun teṣā(2)ñ ca yo [n]irodho hy evam·vādī mahāśramanaḥ // ye mām (rū)peṇa °adrākṣu (3) ye mām [gho](ṣe)ṇa °anvayuḥ mathyyāprahānaprasṭā na mā drakṣyanti te

- 21 In this article, I use the following editorial conventions: graphic elements wholly lost or wholly unreadable on the inscribed object but restorable on the basis of philological considerations are placed in [. . .]; graphic elements whose reading is visually uncertain but philologically probable, or vice versa, are placed in (. . .); readings that are merely mechanical renderings of what I think I see on the object are printed in italics; a letter x represents one totally illegible *akṣara*; a capital letter C indicates one illegible consonant; a raised circle ° precedes independent (*akṣara*) vowel signs; a median dot · represents the *virāma* sign.
- 22 (°ār)yyā(na)[x n]tabhādrā: it appears to be impossible to restore here *āryasamantabhadrā*, or any other reading with *samanta*, for the *na* after °āryā is relatively certain, and there seems not to be sufficient space for two *akṣaras sama* between this and [n]tabhādrā. All in all, the opening of the inscription, with an apparent *nama* lacking the expected following oblique case form, remains unclear.
- 23 *narasi(h)hā*: presumably *narasiñhā* is intended, but it seems impossible to read *ñ*.
- 24 The beginning of this line repeats the beginning of the *pāda tān ahu* ... that had been commenced, albeit in corrupt form, at the end of line 1. The *hna* is a mistake for *hu*, caused by misplacement of the top horizontal bar of what should have been a *ja* in line 3.
- 25 There are more *akṣaras* incised at the beginning of this line than one would have expected from comparison with the *Bhadracariprañdhāna*. The *ja* has been miswritten as *da* by misplacement of its top horizontal bar across what should have been *hu* in line 2. It seems that *narā* is again a case of repetition at the transition between lines. The syllable before *tva* should be *śru*, but cannot be recognized as such. I guess that there is *m·* just before this, as the scribe seems to have an inclination to use *m·* rather than *m̐*. See the next line, and verso line 2.
- 26 p[u]ṇya(m·) //: the presence of *m·* between *ṇya* and the punctuation is uncertain. There may not be any sign expressing the expected final consonant.
- 27 There is a sequence scratched out at the start of this line.
- 28 *cāṭi*: this can probably be understood as a misrepresentation of *caiva* in the exemplar.

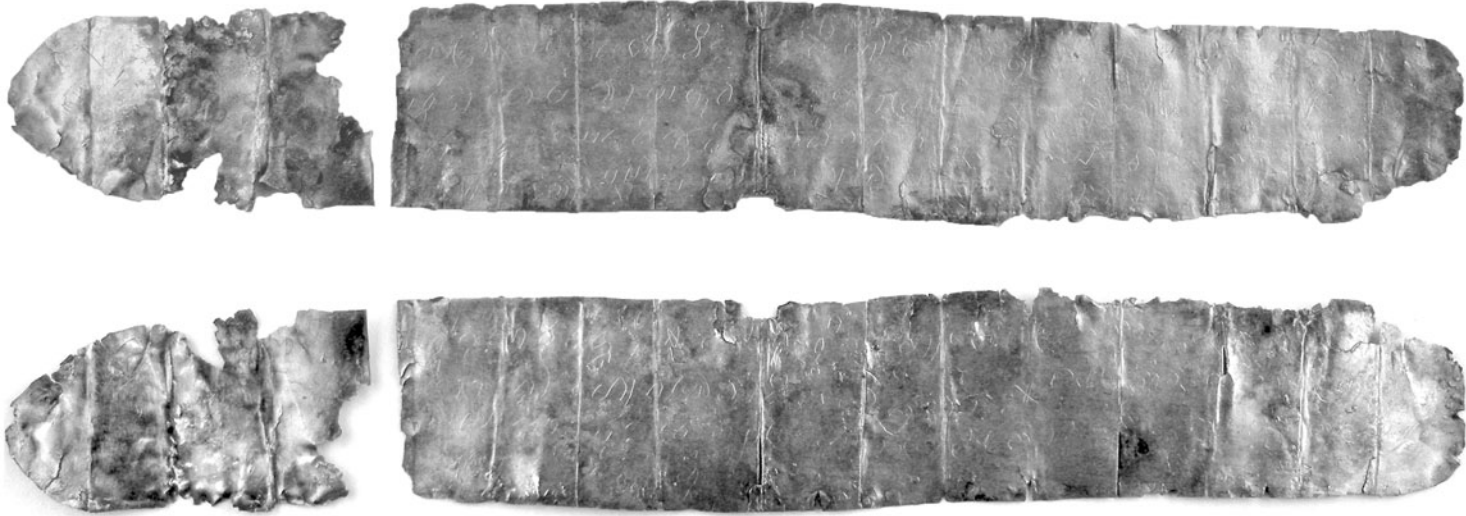


Figure 2. The Sambas foil, obverse and reverse.

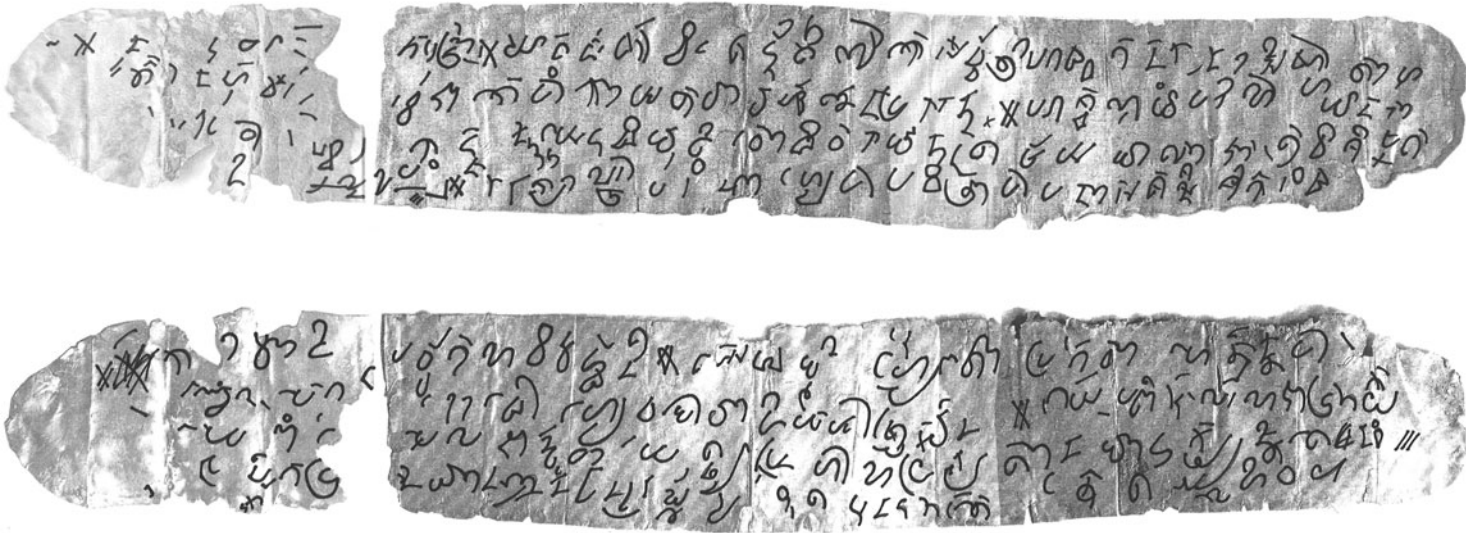


Figure 3. The Sambas foil, obverse and reverse, with tracing of the *akṣaras* by Beatriz Cifuentes.

janāḥ || (4) dra yaṁ bhadra[pra]nidhāna²⁹ °ini candravarmma x (na)ta (p)una °ā
(va)tu CCi x (na)ta(rāṇca) hi x³⁰

Analysis

The text constituting lines 1–3 of the obverse can be identified with the following two disconnected verses in the *Bhadracarī* or *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna*, the famous Bodhisattva vow that once circulated independently but came to be transmitted as the last part of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. I cite the text from the edition of Watanabe (1912):

yāvata keci daśaddiśi loke sarvatriyadhvagatā narasimhāḥ |
tān ahu vandami sarvi aśeṣān kāyatu vācamanena prasannaḥ || 1 ||
yaś ca imaṁ parināmanarājaṁ śrutva sakṛj janayed adhimuktim |
bodhivarām anuprārthayamāno agru viśiṣṭa bhaved imu puṇyam || 48 ||

From the recent integral translation by Osto (2010):

Filled with faith, I honor with my body, speech and mind all the Lions among Men without exception who abide in all three times, in the world with its ten directions.

And whoever has heard this King of Spiritual Maturation, seeking after the blessing of enlightenment, may [that one] at once make the resolution [for enlightenment]. May the merit [from this] be the foremost and most excellent.

After these two verses follows a verse that is known to me elsewhere only in the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī*, albeit with the difference that all the nominal forms are neuter in that version (Hidas 2012: 188 and 248):

rakṣoghaṇaṁ paramaṁ hy etat pavitraṁ pāpanāśanam |
śrīkaraṁ dhīkaraṁ caiva sarvaguṇavivardhanam ||

This is the foremost demon-slayer, the pure one, the destroyer of misdeeds. It brings about prosperity and wisdom, and increases all sorts of virtues.

The feminine forms we see may be explained as implying a word such as *caryā* or *dhāraṇī*, neither of which is actually found in the preserved portion of the text.

Next we read a truncated version of the *ye dharmāḥ* formula. The sequence of scriptural extracts is then terminated by a verse that I have identified in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, §26. In the widely used edition by Conze (1957), the verse runs as follows:³¹

29 There is space for one wide or two thin *akṣaras* between *bhadra* and *nidhāna*. The most suitable restitution would seem to be *[pra]*.

30 Instead of twice (*na*), one could read twice (*ru*) in the problematic final sequence of this line.

31 This verse is not preserved in the Schøyen manuscript, and hence does not appear in the edition of that manuscript recently published by Harrison and Watanabe (2006).

ye mām rūpeṇa cādrākṣur ye mām ghoṣeṇa cānvayuh |
mithyāprahāṇaprasṭā na mām drakṣyanti te janāḥ ||

The same verse is also quoted, without attribution to this specific text, in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* on *Mūlamādhyamikakārikā* 22.16 (de la Vallée Poussin, 1903–13: 448), with the reading *ghoṣeṇa anvayuh* that we also see in our inscription and is confirmed by the Gilgit manuscript edited by Schopen (1989b: 105, folio 10b6). I quote Harrison's translation (2006: 156):³²

Whoever saw me through my physical form, Whoever followed me
through the sound of my voice, Engaged in the wrong endeavours,
Those people will not see me.

Unfortunately it is impossible to decipher all of the last line of the inscription, which comprises a prose portion apparently composed in Old Malay. In the sequence *yam bhadrapranidhāna ini candravarmma* we may recognize the Malay words *yang* and *ini*, which could yield the meaning “this vow to do good of Candravarman”, but one cannot exclude the possibility that *yam* is intended as a Sanskrit word, and so even these readable parts of the line cannot, alas, be translated with certainty. But what seems evident is that this compilation of scriptural verses constitutes the vow (*praṇidhāna*) of a figure named Candravarman.³³

There is no obvious connection between the verses. If the verse that I have identified in the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* is indeed taken from there and not from another, unknown, source, then we have here a further piece of (indirect) evidence concerning the cult of Mahāpratisarā in maritime South-East Asia.³⁴ More importantly, in the light of Schopen's much-cited publication (1989a [2005]: 300) emphasizing the great historical importance of an Indian inscription from Nalanda that cites verse 46 of the *Bhadracarī*, not only because “it contains the only verse of the *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna* known to occur in an Indian epigraph”, but more specifically because “this verse is the only passage from a Mahāyāna text so far known to occur in an Indian inscription” (emphasis Schopen), with the exception of “several specifically identifiable *dhāraṇīs* [...] found at a number of sites”, the fact that we now find two other verses from it cited in this Indonesian inscription, alongside other verses from Mahāyāna scriptures, is certainly remarkable.³⁵ However, Schopen himself also adduced evidence suggesting that “The *Bhadracarī* itself apparently came to be classified

32 The reference to the *Prasannapadā* is to be added to Harrison's list of parallels (n. 114).

33 On the term *praṇidhāna* in connection with Buddhist inscriptions from India and Indonesia, see Cœdès 1930: 43.

34 On this cult, see Cruijsen et al. (forthcoming).

35 The fact that the *Bhadracarī* had been received in ancient Indonesia was thus far only known from the wordless testimony of relief panels at Borobudur (see Bosch 1938). Our inscription yields the first written evidence. More generally on the issue of citation of Mahāyāna-inspired verses occurring in inscriptions, I recall the one or two Indonesian inscriptions citing a verse that is identifiable, among other sources, in the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (see notes 2 and 14 above). See also the epigraphical citation of a passage possibly taken from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* discussed below, p. 183.

as a ‘*dhāraṇī* text’ at some stage”, and that “if the *Bhadracarī* was so classified already in the tenth century, then the verse that occurs in our inscription may have to be considered only another instance of a ‘*dhāraṇī*’ in an Indian inscription” (1989a [2005]: 304 n. 12). The Sambas inscription seems to throw important new light on these problems.

Like the Nalanda inscription, ours lacks circumscribed *om* ... *svāhā*. This seems to be in conformity with the fact that the text appears to characterize itself as a *praṇidhāna*, which is in principle not a category of scripture (*buddhavacana* “Buddha word”), and that it comprises two verses from the famous *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna*, which is a text uttered by the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. The compilation also comprises the *ye dharmāḥ* formula, which is not *buddhavacana* either, for this stanza was uttered by the disciple Aśvajit (see Boucher 1991: 5–6), although it is hard to imagine a stanza that would be more quintessentially scriptural. The text is concluded by a stanza that was explicitly uttered by the Buddha in the first person. The use to which this inscription was put, being inserted into a Buddha image, strongly suggests that this compilation served the same function as the proper *dhāraṇīs* presented in this study, the juxtaposition of its elements being occasioned by their shared sacredness, which makes them suitable as “*dharma* relics”.³⁶

Now we would like to know how to date the inscription. First, the sculpture into whose base it was inserted is stylistically dateable to about the eighth century, and belongs to an iconographic type not entirely foreign to Java, but apparently better represented in Sumatra and the Malay peninsula.³⁷ But since the silver foil must have been inserted into the base at some point after the time of manufacture,³⁸ the probable eighth-century dating and provenance outside of Java are not necessarily applicable to the inscription itself.

From a palaeographic point of view, I would *prima facie* estimate the inscription to date from the ninth century. It is written in Kawi script, and the only dated inscriptions in this form of writing from the eighth century – all from the island of Java – are the Plumpungan (Central Java, 750 CE), Dinaya (East Java, 760 CE) and Mañjuśrīgṛha inscriptions (Central Java, 792 CE), while the

36 Cf. Bendor 1995: 250–52. It is pertinent (if my restitution is correct) that the final prose part uses precisely the term *praṇidhāna*, which is in principle a different textual category, apparently denoting here the compilation as a whole. Unfortunately the damaged state of the text does not allow us to understand with certainty the author’s intent in using the term.

37 Cf. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke (1988: item 55) for a bronze specimen from South Sumatra (cf. item 4, of unknown provenance, assigned to Java). Sastri (1949: 18–19) refers to two stone sculptures from Sumatra. For one of these, and a third Sumatran specimen, see Brinkgreve and Sulistianingsih 2009: figures 5.1, 5.5. For a systematic study of this iconographic type, with numerous examples from peninsular Thailand and Malaysia, see Griswold 1966. Our Buddha, with both hands held up and both shoulders covered, belongs to Griswold’s type “1/c”. For references to Indonesian specimens see p. 65, n. 72 and p. 68, n. 91; for the dating of two comparable Dvāravatī specimens to the eighth century, see p. 69.

38 According to archaeologists Véronique Degroot and Dominique Soutif, whom I have consulted on this matter, it seems technically impossible that the insertion would have taken place into the earthen core before the silver statue was cast. Nevertheless, the foil itself may of course have been produced at an earlier point in time.

ninth century is much more densely populated by dated inscriptions on that island. Moreover, the remarkable tilted shape of the *akṣara ma* seen in the Sambas foil appears to be a characteristic of some Javanese inscriptions of the mid-ninth century,³⁹ for instance the stone inscription of Wayuku dated 776 *śaka* = 856 CE depicted in pl. 3 of Brandes 1913,⁴⁰ whose script seems identical to that on the Sambas inscription. The same feature is observed in the lead-bronze plate with a *dhāraṇī* inscription from Borobudur, mentioned above, which was dated by Boechari to the mid-ninth century on palaeographic grounds, and it is observed again on the Nan Han-Cirebon gold foil presented below in section 4; by contrast, this feature seems to be absent from the Dinaya inscription. On the other hand, our inscription does seem to show a more archaic shape of the *virāma* (see rev., l. 2 *evam-vādī*), which is written above the consonant that it affects, than the partially turned variant that we see once in the Wayuku inscription.⁴¹

All in all, it must be observed that there is very little difference between the Kawi script observed on the Wayuku inscription and that from Dinaya, which is nearly a hundred years older, and that the existence of three dated inscriptions from the second half of the eighth century makes it almost certain that the script was in use decades earlier. Louis-Charles Damais has attributed a substantial number of undated inscriptions using Kawi script, engraved on metalwork, to the second half of the eighth century, admitting that “pour ce groupe de documents de « 700–750 » Śaka, les marges d’erreur peuvent être assez grandes”, implying the possibility of a dating bracket 650–700 Śaka, which would place them in the second and third quarters of the eighth century CE.⁴² So we cannot rule out that our Sambas foil, despite the features it seems to share with the Wayuku inscription, belongs to the eighth, and perhaps even to the first half of the eighth, century. Is there any reason to favour a dating to the first half of the eighth century and to go against the *prima facie* palaeographic estimate?

The answer may be affirmative, if we choose to identify the Candravarman of our inscription with king Zhandabo 旃達鉢, known from a single Chinese source, the *Xin Tang shu*, which reports his embassy to the Tang court in

39 I do not know any discussion of this feature in the scholarly literature on Javanese palaeography. See Griffiths (2011: 155–6) for my argument defending the methodological permissibility of attempting to date non-Javanese inscriptions by comparison with dated Javanese ones.

40 This publication cites the *millésime* 779, based on an incorrect reading which was subsequently corrected by Damais (1951: 29–31 and 1952: 30–31).

41 In fact we see one archaic *virāma* in l. 3 *sisair*, and one more developed example, at the end of the same line: *manusuk*. It may be noted here that the shape of the *virāma* in the Borobudur lead-bronze plate is totally aberrant, being subscribed in the manner of the Nāgarī *virāma*, a feature that is not known to me from any other early Kawi inscription, although it reappears much later (no doubt based on independent developments) in West Javanese inscriptions and manuscripts from the fifteenth–sixteenth century.

42 See Damais 1970: 43–4; the citation is from n. 8, on p. 43. See also the (very short and somewhat outdated) discussion of the archaic phase of Kawi script in De Casparis’ handbook (1975: 28–30).

669 CE,⁴³ and situates this king, whose name can plausibly be interpreted as a phonetic representation of Candrava(rma), in a country called Boluo 波羅. There has been a long debate about the identification of this country, some authors proposing Borneo, while Wolters (1967: 186) situates it in northern or north-eastern Sumatra.⁴⁴ Admittedly one might argue that the connection with Borneo is immaterial, since Candrarvarman may have originated from elsewhere in the archipelago, and the Sambas hoard as a whole may have been buried in West Borneo after the metalwork had been brought there from across the sea. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence for relatively old Buddhist presence on the western and north-western coasts of Borneo, so a local Candrarvarman in the early eighth century CE would not be unexpected.⁴⁵

Whatever the date and original provenance of these artefacts, the Sambas silver foil is precious not only from a textual point of view, but also as an archaeological artefact. This is probably the only case of an Indonesian inscription engraved on metal foil such as this being found inside a sculpture, photographed in that state, then extracted and unrolled, finally leading to the decipherment of the text. As repeatedly stressed by Yael Bentor (1995), there is ample evidence from various Buddhist texts showing that the insertion of *dharmā*-relics into images was a widespread practice, besides the practice of inserting them into *stūpas*. The examples of such a practice preserved in India are apparently not numerous.⁴⁶ The practice was widespread in Indonesia (and other parts of South-East Asia), but no case is as richly documented as this one.⁴⁷

2. Stone inscription of Batu Bedil in Lampung

Let us move now to that great bastion of Buddhism in Indonesia, the island of Sumatra. In the far south of this island, in the province of Lampung, there is a complex of megalithic sites now known as Batu Bedil (Rifle Stone), after the most eye-catching megalith. It seems to have been the German ethnographer Friedrich W. Funke who first discovered this complex in 1953, and found

43 Bradell (1949) gives a misprint: 699. The year is given as 669 by Luce (1924: 176) and Wolters (1967: 186).

44 Bradell (1949: 4) assumes that this may denote (a part of) Borneo. See also Wolters 1967, n. 94 on p. 326. For a recent exposition of the very tangled web of place names and geographical indications in which the toponym Boluo must be interpreted, see Ptak 1998: 120–26.

45 See McKinnon 1994 and Bambang Budi Utomo 2006.

46 Bentor (1995: 254) cites just two archaeological examples from India.

47 I refer, for visual evidence, to the British Museum website cited in the notes above. For other Indonesian cases, without a systematic survey of the relevant publications, I may here refer at random to *OV* 1948, p. 30 (about Candi Plaosan Lor): “A small bronze statue of a two-armed Bodhisattva, presumably representing Padmapāṇi, was found during the excavation of the floor of the northern cella of the principal shrine on the South, with the folded silver foil with a *dhāraṇī* still visible in the bottom of its base”. Another interesting find is the fragment of silverfoil extracted from the silver Mañjuśrī statue from Ngemplan Semongan, discussed by Bosch 1929: 45. Quite a number of further references to finds of the colonial period are cited in the article by F.J. Domela Nieuwenhuis (1983). For some more recent finds, see also Nugrahani et al. (1998: 18 and photos 27–8); for some cases from Campā, not yet properly published, see John Guy 2011: 318–9.

there a large inscribed stone (Batu Surat) at about 40 m from a field marked by twenty-seven menhirs arranged in a square (originally probably 8×8 stones, arranged regularly over 40×40 m).⁴⁸ In 1958, he published an extensive report of his findings (see especially pp. 20–22), including a ground plan of the field of menhirs in relation to the Batu Surat (pl. I), with a good photo of the inscription (fig. 8 on plate III). He assumed that the position of the inscribed stone in relation to the field of menhirs indicated a significant correlation; he also speculated (p. 21 n. 3) that the text of the inscription would be in Old Sundanese. Both of these speculations were rightly rejected by van der Hoop in a very critical review of Funke's book (v.d. Straaten and v.d. Hoop 1960: 285).

The site was visited again, in 1954, by a team of Indonesian and foreign archaeologists during a voyage of exploration that has become famous thanks to the full reports published by the leader of the team, Soekmono, on two occasions (1955 and 1962), both with the inscription illustrated in the form of the OD photo 19576.⁴⁹ In the 1955 report (pp. 49–50), we find much more reliable information on the inscription:

The measurements of this stone are $1.85 \times 0.72 \times 0.55$ m. Its characters are ± 5 cm in height, and there are 10 lines. Below this inscribed portion there is an attractive lotus flower, resembling the thrones of statues of deities. Although its characters are big, the middle portion of the stone is very worn, so that its decipherment is very difficult. From what it was possible to read on the spot, it is clear that the language that is used for the inscription is Sanskrit (in line 1 we read *namo bhagawate* and in line 10 *svāhā*). There is no year, but the shape of the characters points to the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. *Namo bhagawate* as beginning and *svāhā* as end give reason to suspect that this text is some kind of *mantra*. Only it is difficult to determine whether the religion is Buddhist or Śaiva, most probably Buddhist. If this is the case, then there is hope that it will be possible to read the complete stone, for there are many Buddhist *mantras* (called *dhāraṇīs*) whose expressions are similar.⁵⁰

48 This complex of a field of menhirs and the inscribed stone is in turn about 60 m from the Batu Bedil. A specific relationship with the latter monolith has not been established.

49 A database comprising all of the more than 21,000 of these “OD” photos that arrived in public Dutch collections prior to the late 1950s, before contacts between Indonesian and Dutch institutions finally became too severely weakened after decolonization, is searchable at <https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl> (under the collection “Kern Institute”: use prefix “OD-” with hyphen for searches by OD number). A substantial number of photographs are already available in digital form, including the OD photos cited in this article, and can be viewed through the Leiden website.

50 On p. 35 of the same report, a few more details of the reading were given, so that the following readings can be inferred from pp. 35 and 50 together:

(1) *namo bhagavate*

(2) *aparimitya -*

(3) -- *vini* () *ita -*

(10) ... *svāhā*

The report was carefully summarized in French by Damais 1963: 562. The voyage and

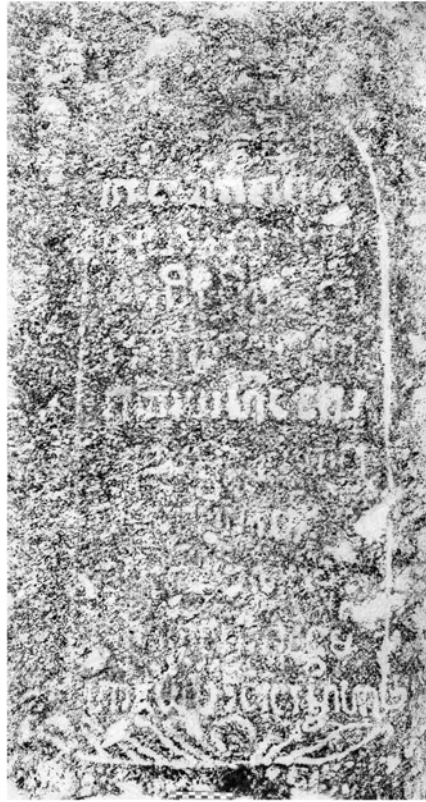


Figure 4. EFEO estampage n. 2043 of the Batu Bedil inscription.

More or less the same facts were mentioned by Damais (1962: 283–4, n. 5), who had himself participated in the voyage. He announced that a publication by J.G. de Casparis was forthcoming, but this has never materialized.⁵¹ I visited the site myself in September 2011, and was able to make the estampage of which a photograph is included here (Figure 4). Although I still find three of the ten lines totally unreadable, I can publish a greater part of the inscription here because I am able to confirm the suspicion voiced by Soekmono that it is a known *dhāraṇī*, and have identified its source: the *Aparimitāyuhṣūtra*. With this source text in hand, I am able to read a number of *akṣaras* (here printed in italic) that it would otherwise probably have been impossible to decipher.

- (1) || namo bhagavate
- (2) °*aparimitāyurjñā-*
- (3) *nasuviniścitate-*

the epigraphic discovery are mentioned only briefly in Soekmono 1962 (pp. 5 and 7; pl. 1 = OD 19576), again translated into French by Damais 1967: 686–7.

51 Thus Boechari (1979: 5 = 1981: 84, n. * = 2012: 565 n. 4) still reported the inscription as unpublished, “owing to its very weathered condition”.

- (4) *forājāya tathā-*
 (5) *gatāyārhatē sa-*
 (6) ...
 (7) ...
 (8) ...
 (9) *svabhāvapariśuddhe ma-*
 (10) *hānayaparivāre svāhā*

These elements are sufficient to exclude the possibility that we are dealing with any other known *dhāraṇī*. We may initially compare the reading with the text of the *dhāraṇī* in the *Aparimitāyuhśūtra*, edited on the basis of Nepalese manuscripts by Konow 1916: 301:

om̐ namo bhagavate aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścitatejorājāya tathāgatāyārhatē
 samyaksambuddhāya | tadyathā, om̐ puṇyamahāpuṇya aparimitāpuṇya
 aparimitāyupuṇya jñānasambhāropacite | om̐ sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha-
 dharmate gagaṇasamudgate svabhāvapariśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā ||

But comparison with the version of the *dhāraṇī* in the Khotanese manuscript (dating to about the middle of the tenth century CE)⁵² that was edited in parallel by Konow, on the facing page of his edition, immediately shows that the Nepalese manuscripts, which are approximately 700 years more recent, give an expanded text:⁵³

namau bhagavate aparamittāyujñānasuviniścitatejaurājāya tathāgataya rhite
 samyatsambuddhāya tadyathā aum sarvasaṃskārapariśuddhadharmate gaga-
 nasamudgate śvabhāvaviśuddhe mahānayaparivare svāhā

That this shorter text is older, and that the Nepalese manuscripts transmit an expanded version, is suggested by the fact that all three versions included in the Taishō edition of the Chinese canon show variants of the same short version.⁵⁴

52 See Duan Qing ([1992]: 12). This dating estimate was confirmed to me by Prods Oktor Skjaervø (email 11/09/2012).

53 See also the synoptic edition provided by Duan Qing ([1992]: 133), indicating clearly that parts are shared by the Khotanese and Nepalese transmission, and that parts are absent in the former.

54 Rolf Giebel (email 3/10/2011) and Iain Sinclair (email 1/10/2011) kindly furnished me the references to and citations of Taishō 936 *Dacheng Wuliangshou jing* 大乘無量壽經 “Mahāyāna Sūtra of Aparimitāyus” (19: 82a–84c, translated by Facheng in the ninth century), T. 937 *Dacheng sheng Wuliangshou jue ding guangming wang rulai tuoluoni jing* 大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經 “Mahāyāna Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Tathāgata Āryāparimitasuviniścitatejorāja” (19: 85b, translated 988) and T. 1389 *Wuliangshou dazhi tuoluoni* 無量壽大智陀羅尼 “Dhāraṇī of the Great Knowledge of Aparimitāyus” (21: 907b, translated 996). T. 936 and 937 are both translations of the *Aparimitāyuhśūtra*, the latter being a shorter version; T. 936 gives the *dhāraṇī* 29 times in all, while T. 937 gives it only once. T. 1389 consists solely of the *dhāraṇī*. All three texts give the *dhāraṇī* in phonetic transcription, each showing nearly the same text, all omitting om̐, with °tejo° being absent in T. 936, and T. 936–7 reading *svabhāvaviśuddhe*, while T. 1389 reads *svabhāvaśuddhe*, to mention the principal variants; the few other variants are not significant for comparison with our inscription.

Although our inscription is totally worn in the middle of the *dhāraṇī*, we may deduce from the fact that the preserved lines show an average of seven *akṣaras* per line that there would certainly not have been enough space for the sequence *tadyathā oṃ punyamahāpunya aparimitāpunya aparimitāyupunya jñānasambhāropacite*.⁵⁵ In other words, our inscription was engraved with a variant of the original shorter version of the *dhāraṇī*, and it must be noted that compared to the Khotanese and Chinese versions, ours may have been even shorter, for the number of syllables on lines 6–8 will have been about 21, whereas the number of syllables required to obtain the text of those other versions is 28. In this connection, it is a striking fact that the *Sūtra* itself repeatedly states that the *dhāraṇī* consists of 108 syllables, which it only does in the longer Nepalese recension. In the present context, I am unable to throw any light on this numerical problem.

In his recent article dedicated to the text, Richard K. Payne has drawn attention to the fact that the *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra* and dependent texts seem to have been among “the most popular bodies of literature in Nepal, in Dunhuang, and elsewhere throughout the Buddhist cosmopolis” (2007: 277).⁵⁶ The entire scripture consists of little more than the advice that one should copy, or have others copy, the *sūtra*, or the *dhāraṇī*, and promises diverse benefits for those who do, using i.a. the phrase (Konow 1916: 315–7):

yasmin pṛthivīpradeśa idam aparimitāyuh-sūtram likhiṣyanti likhāpayiṣyanti,
sa pṛthivīpradeśaḥ caityabhūto vandanīyaś ca bhaviṣyati |⁵⁷

Translation adapted from Silk (2004: 427):

On whatever spot of earth they will write down or will have others write down this *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*, that spot of earth will become a true shrine and worthy of veneration.

One may wonder why none of these facts were mentioned in Payne’s discussion of “differing versions of the *Aparimitāyuh Dhāraṇī*” (2007: 287–8); this discussion indeed entirely neglects the existence of a short and a long recension of the same *dhāraṇī*. In addition, I may mention here that a very close relative of our *dhāraṇī* is found, split in two, in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (Skorupski 1983: 27–30): *oṃ namo bhagavate sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājāya tathāgatāyārhatē samyaksambuddhāya | tadyathā | oṃ śodhane śodhane sarvapāpaviśodhani śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśodhani svāhā | mūlavidyā | oṃ sarvasaṃskārapariśuddhe dharmate gaganasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā* |. We will encounter below a variant of the sequence *oṃ śodhane śodhane . . . sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśodhani svāhā*, that is intrusive here.

55 A variant of this sequence seems to have autonomous status among other *dhāraṇīs* in the silver foil from Candi Plaosan Lor presented below, p. 167.

56 This observation and much else in Payne’s paper is in fact taken over – albeit with acknowledgement – from an unpublished lecture “The most important Buddhist scripture? The *Aparimitāyurjñāna* and medieval Buddhism”, presented by Jonathan Silk in 1999 at the twelfth conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies at Lausanne.

57 On the significance of this phrase *yasmin pṛthivīpradeśa* etc., see Schopen 1976 [2005]: 35, and the recent challenge to Schopen’s position in Drewes 2007.

It seems reasonable to assume that the ancient local Buddhists who were involved in the manufacture of our inscription did so with precisely the motivation of founding a “true shrine”. More specifically, Soekmono’s observation (cited above) that the text is provided with a lotus cushion, just like a Buddha image would be, is an unmistakable expression of the intent behind engraving this text, namely that its presence as *dharmakāya* would be equivalent to the presence of the Buddha, and would sacralize the site.⁵⁸

It should be noted that there is considerable overlap in the terminology used by the *Aparimitāyuhśūtra* to describe, on the one hand, the ways in which the text (or its *dhāraṇī*) can be used as well as the benefits that will result from such use and, on the other, the way we see use and benefits described in other scriptures that will be discussed further on in this article, notably the *Amoghapāśahṛdaya* (section 10).⁵⁹

Finally, regarding the date of our inscription (which Soekmono situated around 900 CE, see above), it should be noted that Damais (1967: 687 n. 1) was inclined to date it about a century older, without specifying the more archaic traits underlying this estimate. The text is in Kawi script that, frankly, seems less archaic to me than the script of the Sambas inscription (section 1).⁶⁰

3. Gold foil from sector Segaran IIA at Batujaya, West Java

During excavations in 2005 at the Buddhist complex of Batujaya, home to the oldest Buddhist monuments identified in Indonesia so far, the team led by Pierre-Yves Manguin discovered in the sector called Segaran IIA a piece of gold foil, folded up into a small squarish lump. When it was unfolded, it turned out to bear an inscription.⁶¹ The existence of this inscription, besides that of other gold foils bearing the *ajñānāc cīyate* formula found at the same site, was mentioned by Hasan Djafar (2010: 93).⁶² But the inscription so far remains

58 In assimilating expressions of the *dharma* (*dharmaparyāya*) to the *dharma* itself, the authors of certain Buddhist texts, on the basis of the canonical adage *yo dhammaṃ passati so bhagavantam passati* “he who sees the *dharma*, sees the Lord”, ended up equating *dharmaparyāya* to Buddha (*bhagavant*). See Schopen 1976 [2005]: 50.

59 Schopen (1976 [2005]: 35) described these two texts as belonging “to that intriguing genre of Buddhist literature in which almost the whole of a given text is given over to describing its own great power and the great practical advantages to be gained by reciting or writing or worshipping it”.

60 Note the shape of *ma* at the end of line 9 and compare my discussion above. With regard to Damais’ remark (1962: 284) “Il s’agit ici encore d’une variété de l’écriture paléo-javanaise et non d’une variété paléo-sumatranaise”, I am once again uncertain how Damais thought he could distinguish palaeo-javanese from palaeo-sumatran script in this period (cf. Griffiths 2011: 155–6). When in an earlier publication Damais introduced these terms (1955b: 376), he did not (yet) argue for an earlier dating: “A Soumatra, l’écriture pallawa s’est développée indépendamment et a donné naissance à un type d’écriture que l’on peut appeler paléosoumatranais car il présente des particularités inconnues ailleurs. Cependant le type d’écriture paléojavanais s’y retrouve aussi, en particulier dans un document découvert récemment, d’inspiration bouddhique et rédigé en sanskrit, non daté, mais qui ne saurait être, croyons-nous, postérieur au x^e siècle E.C.”. The inscription alluded to here is that of Batu Bedil.

61 See Manguin and Agustijanto Indradjaja 2011: 121, fig. 5.6.

62 See Skilling, forthcoming on the *ajñānāc cīyate* formula.

unpublished. Thanks to excellent visual materials furnished by Manguin (Figure 5), I am now able to propose the following reading:

°oṃ °eṭana tan no bhadra(m) pracoda(yā) svāhā

The reading is rather tentative, for the word *eṭana* makes no sense,⁶³ while the reading *yā* is also far from secure. I translate:

Om. Eṭana (?), may you impel to us that which is good! *Svāhā*.

Despite the problem posed by *eṭana*, it is clear enough that the *dhāraṇī* is an adaptation of some of the numerous variants of the final line of the *Gāyatrī mantra*, reading *tan no NOM pracodayāt*, found in brahmanical literature (see



Figure 5. The foil found at Batujaya, Segaran IIA. Photo EFEO/P.-Y. Manguin.

Bloomfield 1906: 50–51). The word taking the place of *NOM* is in each instance the nominative singular case form of the name of a deity. I am unable to trace this formula in any Buddhist source, but the idea that it is Buddhist finds support in the monumental context where the foil was discovered.

The palaeographic appearance of the inscription is inconsistent, and comprises both some archaic features of Southern Brāhmī (i.e. “Pallava”) and some more Kawi-like characteristics. The stratigraphic context in which the artefact was found is somewhat difficult to interpret, the only thing that is certain being that it must date from before 800 CE. There is a greater archaeological likelihood that it belongs to a level dateable to 330–550 than to the subsequent level of 550–700/750.⁶⁴ From the epigraphist’s point of view, however, this early dating bracket seems hard to accept. The other gold foil inscriptions from the same site give a more archaic impression that would more easily be compatible with such an early dating, although I would still be reluctant even in their case to consider a date before the sixth century.

63 The *prima facie* readings would rather be *dhuṭana* or *dhaṭana*. If one accepts °eṭana, this can perhaps be explained as a magical word, comparable to “the enigmatic *eṭaṭa* in the *Ākarṣaṇamantra*” of the *Amoghapāśaḥṛdayadhāraṇī* (cf. Meiszahl 1962: 269 and 322). But such a magical word admittedly does seem rather out of place here.

64 I thank Pierre-Yves Manguin for detailed explanation by email of the stratigraphic situation.

4. Gold foil from the Nan Han period “Cirebon” shipwreck, coast of West Java

A sunken ship was discovered off the coast of West Java near the city of Cirebon in 2003. After the cargo had been salvaged, it could be determined that the shipwreck must date from about the last quarter of the tenth century, or later. Alongside large quantities of ceramics and a substantial number of bronze cult objects, the divers also recovered a piece of gold foil which is inscribed with a *dhāraṇī* of a total of six lines. It is very difficult to produce legible photographs of this small, irregularly shaped artefact (Figure 6), but Horst Liebner, who is writing his doctoral thesis about this shipwreck and has had extensive access to the cargo, has taken considerable effort to document the inscription. He helped me execute the tracing of the *aṣṣaras* that is shown here in Figure 6.⁶⁵

Obverse:

- (1) namo ratnatrayāya nama °āryyāva(lo)-
- (2) kiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahā(sa)-
- (3) tvāya mahākā(r)uṇikāya tadya(thā)
- (4) °oṃ mārutākuha x kāmāvrā x (mālya)

Reverse:

- (1) (prabhā)devī (°ada)lān driyase nam(u)
- (2) (dha)man de(v)ī

Homage to the Triad of Jewels (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha)! Homage to noble Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva, the great being, of great compassion. [The *mantra* is] like this: *Om*, ... of the wind ..., goddess who have the lustre of ..., you bear ...

Despite the fact that the writing is very faint, and that the photographs available do not show all parts of the texts with equal focus, it is possible to read more than half with certainty, due to the fact that the opening (up to the beginning of line 4 on the obverse) is highly formulaic, being found in a number of Buddhist scriptures. But I am unfortunately unable to identify the *mantra* part

65 In an email of 24/08/2012, Liebner provided me with the following information. The shipwreck was “Discovered in 2003, officially, by fishermen, then reported to a number of salvage companies. In 2004 excavation license was issued and field campaign started; finished end 2005. Between early and end 2006 the cargo was virtually locked up; then only selected people were given access. Divided in two halves last year August. November 2011 or so the salvage company’s half was taken to Singapore. I do not know about the fate of the gold foil; it should be among the collection of the Indonesian side. The foil was given no. 148341 in the artefact database, officially surfaced on 10 Sept 2005, registered as having been found somewhere off starboard aft of the ship’s remains. This might be wrong: the photos (from two cameras) I have are all dated on 07 Sept. If this is the case, it should have been found off starboard midships. It was initially only accessible after having been surfaced, and then was stored in a bank safe. November 2006 it was taken out of the bank safe, and the reverse side was photographed”. As for the dating of the shipwreck, “There is a clear terminus post quem: An inscription on a bowl dated CE968”. See Liebner 2011.

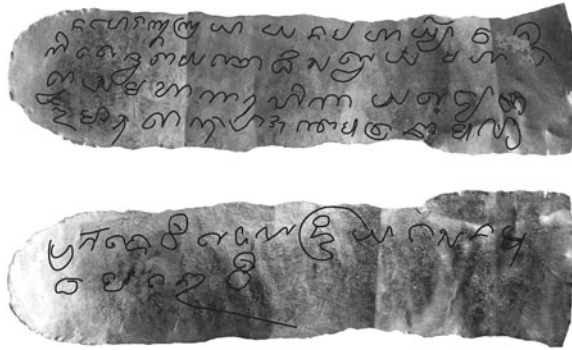


Figure 6. The foil recovered from the “Cirebon” shipwreck, obverse and reverse. Photo Horst Liebner, with tracing of the *akṣaras* by the author.

that begins with *om̐*, and am (therefore) unable to reconstruct the parts that are not formulaic. Since we find here the words *māruta*, meaning “wind” and (if my reading is correct) *driyase*, meaning “you are borne”, it may be suspected that the *dhāraṇī* was intended to protect against the dangers of voyage at high sea, and that the object on which it is inscribed was worn as an amulet, while the text was addressed to the goddess personifying the spell.

For the structure of this *dhāraṇī*, I refer to the *Ekādaśamukha* – a text of the same genre as the *Aparimitāyuhṣūtra* and the *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya* referred to in sections 2 and 10 of this article – of which a copy was found among the Gilgit manuscripts (seventh century). Here we find a sequence of six repetitively structured mantric sequences beginning with *namo ratnatrayāya | namo vairocanaṣya tathāgatāya | nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya | nama atītānāgatapratyutpannebhyaḥ sarvatathāgatebhyo ’rhadbhyaḥ samyaksambuddhebhyaḥ | om̐ diri diri dhuru dhuru | iṭṭe viṭṭe | cale cale | pracale pracale | kusume kusumavare | ili mili cīṭi svāhā* | and ending with *namo ratnatrayāya nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya | tadyathā piṭi piṭi tiṭi tiṭi | viṭi viṭi gaccha gaccha bhagavan āryāvalokiteśvara svabhavanam svabhavanam svāhā* | [...] *āryāvalokiteśvara gaccha svabhavanam* ||.⁶⁶

The *Sādhnamālā* (eleventh century) furthermore contains three citations of a *Simhanādhāraṇī* “Lion’s Roar *dhāraṇī*”, that again shows the same structure (Bhattacharya 1968: 48, 52, 54, 63): *namo ratnatrayāya nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya mahākāruṇikāya tadyathā om̐ akaṭe vikaṭe nikaṭe kaṭamkaṭe karoṭavīrye svāhā*.

On the basis of these comparisons, we expect the word *svāhā* somewhere in the part that I have not been able to decipher. In any case, it is clear that we have here a variation on *dhāraṇī* material of the type seen in the *Ekādaśamukha* and

66 The text was originally edited by N. Dutt 1939: 35–40. I cite the text with emendations proposed by Somadeva Vasudeva in an unpublished edition that he kindly allowed me to use.

the *Sādhanaṃālā*. The palaeographic appearance of the script is consistent with a date in the ninth or tenth century.

5. Gold and silver foils from Candi Plaosan Lor, Central Java

In his *Prasasti Indonesia II* (1956: 170–2), J.G. de Casparis included as item no. V the edition of a “plate of gold leaf” which had been discovered during excavations at Candi Plaosan Lor in 1947. The discovery itself had been the subject of a brief discussion in *OV* 1948 (p. 30), where it was also mentioned that a little silver plate had been found near the plate of gold foil, bearing the same inscription. It seems to be this silver foil inscription that is captured on the photograph OD 17094. Unfortunately, the current whereabouts of neither of the two foil inscriptions appears to be known, and no archaeological photograph seems to have been taken of the gold foil inscription at the time of its discovery.⁶⁷ From their archaeological context, the inscriptions, written in Kawi script, may be assigned to the ninth century. The published reading is as follows:

(1) oṃ namo buddhāya namo dharmāya namaḥ saṃghāya tadyathā śuddhe viśuddhe śodhani viśodhani gaganaviśodhani cittaviśodhani pā(2)< pā >-varaṇaviśodhani karmāvaraṇaviśodhani viśuddhe viśuddhe kṣiṇe sarva-kṣiṇe puṣpe supuṣpe rajoharaṇe sarvapāpa(3)viśodhani hare hare sarvāvaraṇāni daha daha sarvakarmāvaraṇāni paca paca sarvasthānagatāni padme padmākṣi padmaviśā(4)le pha pha pha pha pha svāhā

De Casparis indicated no substantial difficulty in reading the text of the gold foil, and there is no reason to doubt that his decipherment is correct. Indeed, several elements of this reading can also be recognized on the OD 17094 photo of a silver foil inscription. De Casparis correctly identified this text as a *dhāraṇī*, and he translated:

Oṃ! Homage to the Buddha, Homage to the Dharma, Homage to the Saṃgha. Thus (is the text): – Thou who art pure, perfectly pure, a purifier, a perfect purifier, a purifier of the atmosphere, a purifier of the mind, a purifier from the obstructions of Karman – thou, perfectly pure, perfectly pure, lean, perfectly lean, flowerlike, perfectly flowerlike, a remover of passion, a purifier from all evil – take away, take away all obstructions; burn, burn all obstructions of Karman; consume, consume (the impurities)

67 *OV* 1948, p. 30: “During the course of these investigations an excavation was carried out in 1947 between the stūpas II 21 and 22 of the inner circuit north of the main shrines. This led to the discovery of a gold foil, 22 mm wide and 202 mm long, folded in nine parts and containing a Sanskrit inscription in Old-Javanese characters. [...] A silver foil with the same inscription and remnants of similar inscriptions on silver foil were found in between other stūpas near the place where the gold foil was discovered”. See also p. 23 of the same *OV* (dealing with a period marked by hostilities between forces of the Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch colonialist aggressor): “As a consequence of the rise in the price of gold during wartime (because gold was considered as the most secure investment), there were almost no reports of gold finds. This was counteracted to some extent during the republican period by purchasing against black market prices those objects that revealed themselves as being of archaeological value.”

gone into all the organs (?) – thou who art a Lotus, lotus-eyed, powerful in the lotus. Pha pha pha pha pha Svāhā.⁶⁸

This scholar was unable to identify a precise scriptural source for the *dhāraṇī*, but noted its affinity with the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanadhāraṇī*. He knew the latter only from two manuscripts kept at the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, and from the manner that he cites them it seems that he was not aware of the further contents of these manuscripts.⁶⁹ The scriptural source for this *dhāraṇī* is the eponymous Tantra, from which I cite (Skorupski 1983: 127–8):

om̐ namo bhagavate sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājāya tathāgatāyārhate sam-
yaksambuddhāya | tadyathā | om̐ śodhane śodhane sarvapāpaviśodhani
śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśodhani svāhā |

This *mantra* was very widespread in Buddhist Asia, and existed in many variants. A version with only slightly different readings is one of two *dhāraṇīs* included in Taishō 1395 *Baḥi kunan tuoluoni jing* 拔濟苦難陀羅尼經 “Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī for Salvation from Tribulations” (21: 912c), a short *dhāraṇī-sūtra* about which Rolf Giebel (1993) has published an article, where he cited all the versions he had managed to identify at the time (see p. 152 for the Taishō version). Now the Javanese *dhāraṇī* seems to comprise a combination, not known to me at this time from any other Buddhist tradition, of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanadhāraṇī* with another known *dhāraṇī*, pointed out to me by Rolf Giebel.⁷⁰ It appears in another short *dhāraṇī-sūtra*, translated by Faxian in 1001: Taishō 1399 *Miechu wu nizui da tuoluoni jing* 滅除五逆罪大陀羅尼經 “Sūtra of the Great Dhāraṇī for Extinguishing the Five Heinous Sins” (*pañcānantaryāṇī*)” (21: 915c–916a):

namo ratnatrayāya nama āryāvalokiteśvarāya bodhisattvāya mahāsattvāya
mahākāruṇikāya tadyathā om̐ śuddhe viśuddhe suviśuddhe kṣṇe
parikṣṇe puṣpe supuṣpe jaloharaṇe hara hara sarvāvaraṇāni paca paca
sarvāpāyasthānāni padme padmākṣi padmaviśāle phale pha pha pha ha
ha ha ha ha ajñāle ajñāle siddhajale svāhā.

As Giebel points out to me, in this Chinese version *ajñāle* is uncertain, and *jalo-haraṇe* is probably an error for *rajoharaṇe*, as we read on the foils from Candi Plaosan. Although a precise scriptural source for the Javanese *dhāraṇī* may of course still be discovered, it seems adequate to say that it is built substantially on the same text as seen in Taishō 1399, with insertion of elements that are all known from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanadhāraṇī*, except the epithets

68 De Casparis forgets to translate *pāpāvaraṇaviśodhani*: “purifier from the obstructions of evil”.

69 The manuscripts have the call numbers “Sanskrit 59” and “Sanskrit 62, no. 25”. The first is a ms. of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, the second is part of a compilation of *dhāraṇīs*, *stotras* and other types of texts. See the catalogue compiled by Jean Filliozat (1941: 29, and 31, 36).

70 Emails of 5 and 7 July 2012.

*gaganaviśodhani*⁷¹ and *cittaviśodhani*.⁷² It has been reported that the same *dhāraṇī* has also been found engraved on silver and gold foils from Candi Sojiwan, which have not, to my knowledge, ever been published, but which were mentioned by Boechari (1976: 19 = 2012: 172, n. 21).

Subsequent restoration work at the site of Candi Plaosan Lor in 1993 has brought to light other gold, silver and bronze artefacts bearing Buddhist inscriptions of a similar type, but now in Siddhamātrkā script closely resembling that of the Kalasan, Kelurak, Plaosan and Ratu Baka stone inscriptions, so datable to the period between the late eighth and mid-ninth centuries.⁷³ A provisional reading of two gold foils, without diacritics, was included in the report on these restorations (Gutomo and Niken Wirasanti 1998: 54 with photo no. 27 on p. 100) and later reproduced verbatim in Miksic et al. 2001: 323–4. Besides an evident *ye dharmāḥ* formula at the head of the second inscription cited by Miksic et al., it is hard to make any sense of these two inscriptions in this provisional reading. However, the Bureau of Conservation of Archaeological Remains (BPPP) for Central Java province obligingly assented in August 2012 to my request to put photographs of these artefacts at my disposal. Besides the two gold foils, the photos I received from the BPPP also included a third item, that appeared to be in silver, and of which I found no mention in the report by Gutomo and Niken Wirasanti, or the publication by Miksic et al. This third photograph showed an inscription in two long lines of Siddhamātrkā script identical to that on the two gold foils, but the photograph was not sufficiently focused for me to be able to read the whole. I was subsequently allowed to come and inspect the three foils and photograph them myself.⁷⁴ On this basis, I am now able to publish the following readings and source identifications.

The taller gold foil was found in association with the reliquary in the SE corner below the floor level of the central chamber of the northern main temple at Candi Plaosan Lor.⁷⁵ It measures 5.2–5.8 × 25.5 cm, weighing 7.9 g (Figure 7).

(1) [siddham] namo bhagavate śākyamuṇaye⁷⁶ tathāgatāyārhatē⁷⁷
samyak-samvuddhāya tadyathā °oṃ vodhi vodhi vodhi satvetathāgata(2)
gocare⁷⁸ | dhara dhara hara hara prahara prahara mahāvodhicittadhare |

71 This epithet is known to me only from the first *dhāraṇī* of the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī*. See Hidas (2012: 115) and Cruijssen *et al.* (forthcoming). Most witnesses read *gaganaviśodhane*.

72 This epithet is not known to me from any other *dhāraṇī*.

73 See De Casparis (1956: 176–7), on the palaeography of the Plaosan stone inscription. The *akṣara bha* is almost indistinguishable from *ha* in the script that we are dealing with. This explains the excessive number of *bhs* in the published readings by Kusen.

74 I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dra. Zaimul Azzah, M. Hum., who was at the time the acting head of BPPP Jawa Tengah, as well as her team, for their kind assistance.

75 At the back of his 1995 monograph, Soekmono added to his brief note on these finds some photos showing the context of discovery (1995: 121–2, with plates 7–8), and these help to gain an impression of the condition in which these inscriptions were discovered.

76 *śākyamuṇaye*: read *śākyamuṇaye*.

77 *tathāgatāyārhatē*: correct *tathāgatāyārhatē*.

78 *satvetathāgata°*: correct *sarvatathāgata°*.



Figure 7. Gold foil recovered from the North shrine at Candi Plaosan Lor. Photo Arlo Griffiths.

culu culu śatasahasrarasmisañcodite⁷⁹ (3) sarvvatathāgatabhāṣite | guṇāguṇa-
vati⁸⁰ | vuddhaguṇā °avabhās(e)⁸¹ mili mili gagamatalapraṭiṣṭite⁸² (4) sarvva-
tathāgatathāgatādhiṣṭite⁸³ | mabhastale⁸⁴ | sama sama prasama prasama⁸⁵
sarvvapāpaśamaṇe⁸⁶ | sarvvapāpe (5) viśodhani⁸⁷ | hulu hulu | vodhimā-
rgasamprasthite sarvvatathāgatapraṭiṣṭhite śuddhe śuddhe svāhā || (6) °oṃ
sarvvatathāgatavyalokite⁸⁸ jaya jaya svāhā || °oṃ huru huru jayamukhe
svāhā || : || [fleurons]

This inscription gives the text of the *Bodhigarbhālāṃkāralakṣadhāraṇī*, a text which has drawn quite a bit of attention in Buddhist studies in the last three decades, and which was thus far not known to be attested in Indonesia. I refer for the most recent publication on this *dhāraṇī* to Strauch 2009. Admitting the emendations proposed above, the version from Candi Plaosan Lor may be translated as follows:

Homage to the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, the Arhant who is completely awakened. [The *dhāraṇī* is] like this: OM. Awaken awaken awaken, you (female deity of this *dhāraṇī*) who belong to the domain of all Tathāgatas! Hold hold! Take take! Steal steal, you who hold the thought of great awakening! CULU CULU, you who are impelled by a hundred thousand rays, who have been uttered by all Tathāgatas!⁸⁹ O virtue, O you who possess virtue! You who possess the light of the virtues of a Buddha! MILI MILI, you who are established on the vault of the sky, you who are governed by all Tathāgatas, you sky-surface! Calm, calm! Appease, appease, you who appease all evil, you who purify all evil! HULU HULU, you who have set out on the path to great awakening, you who are established by all Tathāgatas, pure one, pure one, SVĀHĀ! OM. You who are observed by all Tathāgatas, win, win, SVĀHĀ! OM. HURU HURU, you who are the face of victory, SVĀHĀ!

The reason why this *dhāraṇī* was deposited in the foundations of the monument is very clear from the framing Sanskrit text in which it is embedded in several other versions from India and Tibet. Let me quote here only Schopen's translation of the relevant passage (1989a [2005]: 329):

79 °rasmi°: read °raśmi°.

80 guṇāguṇavati: correct guṇa guṇavati.

81 vuddhaguṇā °avabhās(e): emend vuddhaguṇāvabhāse.

82 gagamatalapraṭiṣṭite: correct gaganatalapraṭiṣṭhite°. For another error involving *ma* instead of *na*, see n. 84 below.

83 sarvvatathāgatathāgatādhiṣṭite: correct sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhite.

84 mabhastale: correct nabhastale.

85 sama sama prasama prasama: read śama śama praśama praśama.

86 sarvvapāpaśamaṇe: read sarvapāpa[pra]śamaṇe.

87 sarvvapāpe viśodhani: correct sarvvapāpaviśodhani.

88 °vyalokite: correct °vyavalokite.

89 Since *culu* can mean “a handful of water” in Sanskrit, the reading *sarvatathāgatābhīṣikte* “you who have been anointed by all Tathāgatas”, seen in other versions (Strauch 2009: 45) is more likely to be original.



Figure 8. Gold foil recovered from the North shrine at Candi Plaosan Lor. Photo Arlo Griffiths.

Whatsoever monk or nun or lay man or woman, or whatsoever other devout son or daughter of good family, after having written this Dhāraṇī, after having deposited it inside, will make a *caitya* [shrine, AG], by that single *caitya* being made[,] a hundred thousand *caityas* of the Tathāgata are (in effect) made. And those *caityas* come to be worshipped with articles (of worship), with all perfumes and flowers and incense, aromatic powders, cloths, umbrellas, flags and banners. But it is not merely the *caitya* (that is worshipped) thus: the Jewel of the Buddha, the Jewel of the Dharma, and the Jewel of the Community are (in effect) also worshipped with articles of such kind.

Another rolled piece of gold foil was found west of the SE reliquary. It measures 39 × 3.7–4.0 cm, weighing 15.2 g. Its reading is as follows (Figure 8):

(1) [siddham] ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha °evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ || namaḥ saptānām (2) samyaksambuddhakoṭibhīruktā tadyathā cala cula⁹⁰ cunde svāhā || namo bhagavate ratnaśikhine tathāgatāyārhatē samyaksambuddhāya (3) tadyathā °oṃ ratna ratna ratnasambhave svāhā || namo bhagavate mañjuśrīye kumāra kumāra(bhū)tāya⁹¹ tadyathā amala amala amalame(4)trāya⁹² svā(hā)

We have here the *ye dharmāḥ* formula, followed by a *dhāraṇī* called the *Saptasaptatisamyaksambuddhakoṭibhīruktā* “Proclaimed by seventy-seven crores of completely awakened ones”, and two further *dhāraṇīs* of which the first is attested in transliteration in the Chinese canon (Taishō 1383, 21: 904b),⁹³ while the last remains unidentified. As for the *Saptasaptatisamyaksambuddhakoṭibhīruktā*, I take this title from the single South Asian Sanskrit text where I have found the *dhāraṇī* in this full form: it stands at the start of section 2.7 of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, in the most

90 *cala cula*: correct *cale cule*.

91 *kumāra kumāra(bhū)tāya*: correct *kumārabhūtāya*. The *bhū* is not readable as such, but restored here on the basis of the requirements of context.

92 *amalametrāya*: read *amalamaitrāya*?

93 *Sumingzhi tuoluoni jing* 宿命智陀羅尼經 (“Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of Knowledge of Former Lives”), a short text translated by Faxian in 996. The text there reads, a bit more extensively (but lacking *bhagavate*): *namo ratnaśikhine tathāgatāya arhatē samyaksambuddhāya, tad yathā oṃ ratne ratne suratne ratnodbhavē mahāratnakiraṇe ratnasambhave svāhā*. I owe this information to Rolf Giebel.

commonly used edition, straight after the section where the Buddha's pupil has been taught the famous six-syllabled formula *om maṇi padme hūm* (Vaidya 1961: 301):

atha bhagavān śākyamunis tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhas tam etad
avocat: labdhalābhas tvaṁ kulaputra? sa āha: yathā bhagavān jñānaṁ
sañjānīte | tataḥ saptasaptatiḥ samyaksambuddhakoṭayaḥ saṁnipatitāḥ |
taiś cāpi tathāgatair iyaṁ dhāraṇī bhāṣitum ārabdhā namaḥ saptānāṁ sam-
yaksambuddhakoṭīnām || om cale cule cunde⁹⁴ svāhā || iyaṁ saptasaptati-
samyaksambuddhakoṭibhiruktā⁹⁵ nāma dhāraṇī ||

I have made only the most evidently necessary emendations, in consultation of the facsimile edition of a Nepalese manuscript published by Lokesh Chandra (1981),⁹⁶ but even then, it is hard to escape the impression that the passage is incoherent, and therefore probably corrupt. The following translation makes this clear:

Then the Lord Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, the fully awakened Arhant spoke this to him: "Have you obtained benefit, son of good family?" He answered: "Just as the Lord has perfect knowledge". Thereupon seventy-seven crores of completely awakened ones flocked together, and those Tathāgatas started to pronounce this *dhāraṇī*: "Homage to the seven crores of completely awakened ones. OM. CALE CULE, O Cundā SVĀHĀ!" This is the *dhāraṇī* called *Saptasaptatisamyaksambuddhakoṭibhiruktā*.

The passage is not only hard to understand by itself, but also seems to lack coherence with its context in the text as edited from Nepalese manuscripts. Moreover, it is unattested in the significantly older Gilgit manuscript, and this absence does not seem to be an accident that can be attributed to the very fragmentary condition of this witness (see Mette 1997: 122–3). One may therefore suspect that the passage is an interpolation in the Nepalese tradition of this text, but if this suspicion is justified, it begs the question from which source the passage might have been borrowed. Beyond noting that a variant *dhāraṇī namaḥ* reading *saptānāṁ samyaksambuddhakoṭīnām, namaḥ cale cule cunde namaḥ* is attested in Taishō 1169 (20:678c); that another variant *namaḥ saptānāṁ samyaksambuddhakoṭīnām* [sic], *om cale cule cunde* is attested in the same text (20:686b); that the Javanese version of the *dhāraṇī* is found in precisely the same form among the Sanskrit texts brought to Japan by Kūkai in the early eighth century; and that this same collection of texts also includes a *Cundāstotra* which alludes to the same idea of the *dhāraṇī* being uttered by

94 *cunde* em.; *cunye* ed.

95 *°koṭibhiruktā* em.; *°koṭibhirukkā* ed.

96 This is the codex denoted by siglum N1 in Mette's 1997 edition. I give the corresponding passage in diplomatic transliteration: [152:4] °atha bhagavān śākyamunis tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhas tam etad avocat: || labdhalābhās tvaṁ kulaputra || °evaṁ yathā bhagavan: jñānaṁ sañjānīte || [5] tataḥ saptasaptatiḥ samyaksambuddhakoṭisannipatitāḥ || te cāpi tathāgatā °imāṁ dhāraṇī bhāṣitum ārabdhāḥ || namaḥ saptānāṁ buddhakoṭīnām || tadyathā [153:1] °om cale cule cunde svāhā || °iyaṁ saptasaptatisamyaksambuddhakoṭibhiruktā nāma dhāraṇī ||.

seven (instead of seventy-seven) crores of Buddhas,⁹⁷ I must leave these textual problems open here, and return to the inscription that was my starting point. In the case of this apparently composite second inscription, the reason for its deposit is unfortunately not provided by the identification of the source texts.

Nothing seems be known with certainty about the exact provenance of the third foil, mentioned above, but we may safely assume that it too was found during the restoration process of the same monument. Its dimensions are 56.5 × 3.6 cm, its weight 15.2 g. I read as follows (Figure 9):

(1) [ye dharmmā] hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgato hy avadat teṣān ca yo nirodha °evamvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ || namaḥ saptānām samyaksamvuddhakoṭīnām tadyathā cale cunde svāhā || namo (2) [ta](thāga)tāyārhatē samyaksa(r)ivuddhāya tadyathā °akṣa 2⁹⁸ °akṣa-yapuṇyajñānasambhāropacite svāhā || namo bhagavate ratnaśikhine tathāgatāyārhatē samyaksamvuddhāya (3) [ra](tnameya)ratnasambhave svāhā

Here again we find the *ye dharmāḥ* formula followed by the *Sapta-saptatisamyaksambuddhakoṭībhiruktā*. Then follows a variant of the *mantra* that, as we have seen above, forms part of the expanded recension of the *dhāraṇī* of the *Aparimitāyuhṣūtra*: *tadyathā oṃ puṇyamahāpuṇya aparimitāyuhṣūtra aparimitāyupūṇya jñānasambhāropacite*. I am unable to trace this variant with *akṣa akṣa akṣaya°* in any other text. Then follow the words *namo bhagavate ratnaśikhine tathāgatāyārhatē samyaksamvuddhāya* which we saw previously on the second gold foil, but it is possible that they occur here with a termination that is slightly different from that we saw there (*tadyathā oṃ ratna ratna ratnasambhave svāhā*). The silver foil is unfortunately damaged at the point of possible difference. As noted above (n. 93), a variant of this *dhāraṇī* addressed to the Buddha Ratnaśikhin is attested in the Chinese canon.

6. Two *maṇḍala* stakes (*kīla*) from Central Java

A recent publication from the Bureau of Conservation of Archaeological Remains (BPPP) of the special region of Yogyakarta includes, among numerous other items

97 T. 1169 (*Chimingzang yuqie dajiao Zunna pusa daming chengjiu yigui jing* 持明藏瑜伽大教尊那菩薩大明成就儀軌經, “Sūtra of ritual rules for the accomplishment of the great spell of the Bodhisattva Cundā, a great yoga teaching from the Vidyāharapitaka”) is a manual for rituals associated with Cundā that was translated by Faxian in 994. I once again owe the Taishō references to Rolf Giebel, who has also pointed out to me that in the *Qijuzhi fomu suoshuo Zhunti tuoluoni jing* 七俱胝佛母所說准提陀羅尼經 (T. 1076, “Sūtra of Cundā’s *dhāraṇī* spoken by the Buddha-mother of seven crores”), a ritual manual for Cundā translated by Amoghavajra, it is specifically stated that this *dhāraṇī* was “spoken by seven crores of Buddhas of the past” (20:178c). Regarding the Sanskrit texts preserved in Japan, I refer to Giebel 2012: 201–6, and to Sakai 1991. See on Cundā in East Asia also Gimello 2004.

98 The occurrence of the numeral sign 2 to indicate repetition of *akṣa* furnishes a relatively early instance of this mode of notation, which is not yet encountered e.g. in the Gilgit mss. of the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvīdyārājñī* (Hidas 2012: 46). See also Crujisen et al., forthcoming, n. 176.



Figure 9. (Colour online) Silver foil recovered from the North shrine at Candi Plaosan Lor. Photos Arlo Griffiths.

of interest, an inscribed object in tuff stone, resembling in shape some of the numerous inscribed boundary marking stones whose inscriptions form a distinct category of Javanese epigraphy.⁹⁹ The object is stated to have been found in 1975, but this cannot be correct. The very fact that an excellent set of photographs is preserved at Leiden University proves that the discovery must have taken place earlier, because photographs stopped being supplied to Leiden by 1959. According to the Leiden website (see n. 49), the creation of the prints of these

99 See Herni Pramastuti et al. 2007: 56–7. On inscribed stone boundary markers (*vatū sīma*) from Java, see Titi Surti Nastiti forthcoming.



Figure 10. Photo OD 21151. Courtesy of Leiden University Library.

OD photos 21151–21160 kept in Leiden dates to 1958. The provenance there cited is Kali Tirto, Berbah, Sleman; this disagrees slightly with the information in the recent publication, which states Jragung, Berbah, Sleman.¹⁰⁰ The stone is currently held at the site museum in the Prambanan complex (Taman Wisata

100 This means that we can be relatively sure that the provenance was in *kecamatan* Berbah of *kabupaten* Sleman in the province DIY, but uncertainty remains about the lower administrative divisions. According to current divisions, Jragung is a *dusun* in the *desa* Jogotirto; there is still, today, a *desa* Kalitirto, but it lies on the opposite bank of the Kali Opak. I do not have access to an old map that would allow me to determine whether Jragung fell administratively within the *desa* Kalitirto in the 1950s, but this seems *a priori* unlikely. If there is an error in either the Leiden database or the recent publication, I am unable to determine on which side the error lies.

Candi Prambanan) and bears the inventory number BG 37. One of the OD photos is reproduced here as [Figure 10](#). The shape of the *akṣaras* points to a date in the ninth or tenth century. The published reading, virtually without diacritical marks, bears only a vague resemblance to the text that is actually engraved, which I read as follows:

(1) | °o(m̃) vajr(ā)nala hana daha pa(ca) ma(tha) bhañja raṇa hūm̃ (phaṭ·) vajra[n]e[tri bandha]¹⁰¹ (2) sarvvavighnān· svāhā, °om̃ hulu hulu hūm̃ phaṭ·, °om̃ druṃ vandha haṃ h(vana)ḥ (3) bajrapāśe hūm̃,¹⁰² °om̃ vajra-yakṣa hūm̃, °om̃ vajraśi(kha)re ruṭ· (maṭ·), (4) (h)ū(m̃) vajra(ka)mma hūm̃ °om̃ bajrakīla kīlaya hūm̃ phaṭ·, huṃ huṃ huṃ huṃ huṃ huṃ huṃ huṃ (5) huṃ huṃ huṃ, °om̃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvvaduṣṭān· phaṭ· kīlaya (6) kīlaya sarvvapāpān· phaṭ·, huṃ huṃ huṃ bajrakīla bajradha(7)(ro) jñā-payati,¹⁰³ sarvvaduṣṭān· kāyavāk·cittam· (va)jra(8)m· kīlaya hūm̃ phaṭ· //

I have presented the text in two paragraphs, for it appears that it is composed of two parts, identifiable in distinct Sanskrit texts preserved in manuscripts from Nepal. The first paragraph finds a remarkable parallel in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. In the context of the ritual eradication by the tantric adept (*yogin*) of obstructions to his practice, we read a section intermingling ritual instruction with virtually the same *mantras* that we find on the stone. This section must be quoted here in full along with the editor's translation (Skorupski 1983: 134–6; trans.: 12–3).¹⁰⁴ The *mantras* corresponding to those in the first paragraph of our inscription are indicated in bold type:

tato vajrānala mudrāsahitena vighnadahanādikaṃ kuryāt | **om̃ vajrānala hana daha paca matha bhañja raṇa hūm̃ phaṭ** ity udīrayet | abhyantaravajrabandhe 'ṅgulijvālāgarbhe 'ṅguṣṭhavajram utthitam iyaṃ vajrānalamudrā | tad anu | **vajranetri bandha sarvvavighnān** iti | mudrāyuktyā sarvvavighna-bandhaṃ kuryāt | vajrabandhaṃ baddhvāṅguṣṭhadvayaṃ prasārya samāṃ dhārayet | vajranetrīmudrā¹⁰⁵ | prasāritavajrabandhaṃ bhūmyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpyādhobandhaṃ kuryāt | om̃ vajra dṛḍho me bhava rakṣa sarvān **svāhā** | vajrabhairavanetreṇa mudrāsahitenordhvabandhaṃ kuryāt | **om̃ hulu**

101 Only *vajraCe* is legible. The lost syllables can safely be restored on the basis of the textual parallels presented below.

102 One might perhaps expect *hrīḥ vajrapāśe hūm̃* since the parallel adduced below has *hūm̃ vajrapāśe hrīḥ*. Indeed, the presence of the syllable *na* tentatively read here is very doubtful, and it might at least be possible to read *hraḥ* at the start of the sequence. If ever there was an *ī*-vocalization, no trace remains visible on the OD photos.

103 *bajradha(ro) jñāpayati*: damage to the stone prevents absolute certainty as to the intended reading, but it seems unlikely that the expected preverb *ā* (cf. *ājñāpayati* in the parallel texts identified below) was actually written.

104 I have emended Skorupski's *huṃ* to *hūm̃* throughout. This section is taken over nearly verbatim in the eleventh-century ritual manual entitled *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā*, chapter 6 (*Devatāyoga*). See Inui (1988: 103–101 = 1991: 176–174). See also below on the likelihood that this Devatāyoga section has been adapted from an older text, the *Sarvavajrodaya*.

105 *vajranetrīmudrā* em.; *vajranetrīmudrā* ed.

hulu hūm phaṭ | iti | vajramuṣṭidvayaṁ baddhvālātacakaraṁ bhrāmayitvā śira-sopari tarjanyankuśākāreṇa dhārayet | vajrabhairavanetramudrā | tasyā-dhastād vajrayakṣeṇa mudrāsahitena punar bandhaṁ kuryāt | **om vajra-yakṣa hūm** iti | vajrāñjaler aṅguṣṭhadvayaṁ prasāritaṁ tarjanīdvayaṁ daṁṣṭrā | vajrayakṣamudrā | vajroṣṇīṣeṇa mudrāyuktena pūrvāṁ diśaṁ bandhayet | **om drum bandha haṁ** iti | drum iti vā | vajramuṣṭidvayaṁ kanyasāśṅkhālābandhena tarjanīdvayasūcīmukhaṁ parivartoṣṇīṣe sthāpayet | vajroṣṇīṣamudrā | punar vajrapāśena tām eva bandhayet | **hūm vajrapāśe hrīḥ** iti | vajramuṣṭidvayena bāhugranthiṁ kuryāt | vajrapāśā-mudrā¹⁰⁶ | vajrapatākayā paścimāṁ diśaṁ bandhet | om vajrapatāke patamgini raṭeti | vajrabandhe 'ṅguṣṭhasattvaparyāṅkasūcīm kṛtvāgrāsamā-nāmāvidāritāntyapaṭāgṛ | vajrapatākāyāḥ | digvidikṣv adha ūrdhvaṁ ca vi-ghnanikṛntanaṁ kuryāt | vajrakālyottarāṁ diśaṁ bandhet | hrīḥ vajrakālī ruṭ maṭ | iti | vajrayakṣamudrāṁ eva mukhe dṛḍhīkṛtya vajrakālyāḥ | vajra-śikharayā dakṣiṇāṁ diśaṁ bandhet | **om vajraśikhare ruṭ maṭ** | iti | vajra-muṣṭidvayena parvatotkarṣaṇābhinayākāraṁ vajraśikharāyāḥ | vajrakarmaṇā maṇḍalabandhaṁ kṛtvā prākāraṁ dadyāt | **hūm vajrakarmeti** | punar abhyantaraprākāraṁ vajrahūmkāreṇa hūm iti | vajramuṣṭidvayaṁ baddhvā bāhuvajraṁ samādhāya kaniṣṭhāṅkuśabandhitā trilokavijayanāmatarjanīdvayaṁ tarjanī | vajrahūmkārasya | iyaṁ eva madhyāgradvayaṁ vajraṁ vajrakarmaṇaḥ

Next he should burn the obstruction by applying the gesture of *Vajrānala*. He should exclaim: OM *VAJRĀNALA* KILL, BLAZE, CONSUME, CONVULSE, BREAK, BATTLE HŪM PHAṬ. The gesture of *Vajrānala* is the *vajra*-thumb raised in the middle of blazing fingers comprised inside the *vajra*-bond.

Next he says: OM *VAJRANETRĪ* BIND ALL THE OBSTRUCTIONS. He applies the gesture and binds all the obstructions. He makes the *vajra*-bond, stretches the thumbs and holds them evenly. This is the gesture of *Vajranetrī*. Placing the outstretched *vajra*-bond on the ground he should bind beneath. He says: OM *VAJRA* BE FIRM FOR ME, PROTECT ALL SVĀHĀ.

Applying the gesture of *Vajrabhairavanetra* he should bind above. He says: OM HULU HULU HŪM PHAṬ. Binding the *vajra*-fists and waving them like a firebrand he should hold them above the head with the forefingers made into hooks. This is the gesture of *Vajrabhairavanetra*.

Once more by means of the gesture of *Vajrayakṣa* he should make a new bond beneath, saying: OM *VAJRAYAKṢA* HŪM. The gesture of *Vajrayakṣa* is a form of the *vajra-añjali* with the thumbs outstretched and the forefingers projecting like tusks.

With the gesture of *Vajroṣṇīṣa* he should bind the eastern quarter. He says either OM DRUM BIND HAṂ or just DRUM. He should place the *vajra*-fists on the crown of his bowed head with the little fingers linked together like a chain and the forefingers made into a point. This is the gesture of *Vajroṣṇīṣa*.

Once more he should bind the same quarter by applying the gesture of *Vajrapāśa*. He says: HŪM *VAJRAPĀŚA* HRĪḤ. He should make a knot with

the arms by means of the *vajra*-fists. This is the gesture of *Vajrapāśa*.¹⁰⁷ He should bind the western quarter by means of *Vajrapatākā*. He says: OM, FLYING *VAJRAPATĀKĀ* FLUTTER. The gesture of *Vajrapatākā* is the *vajra*-bond in which the thumbs are crossed. The forefingers are put together and then parted, and the little fingers are made like banners.

He should destroy the obstruction below and above, in the quarters and in the intermediate quarters.

He should bind the northern quarter by means of *Vajrakālī*. He says: OM *VAJRAKĀLĪ* RUṬ MAṬ. The gesture of *Vajrakālī* is the gesture of *Vajrayakṣa* firmly placed at the heart.

With *Vajraśikharā* he should bind the southern quarter. He says: OM *VAJRAŚIKHARĀ* RUṬ MAṬ. The gesture of *Vajraśikharā* is made with the *vajra*-fists shaped like an arched hillock. He binds the *maṇḍala* by means of the gesture of *Vajrakarma*. He makes thus the enclosing wall. He says: HUM *VAJRAKARMA*.

The inner enclosure is made by means of *Vajrahūṃkāra*, saying: HUM. He binds the *vajra*-fists and forms a *vajra* with his arms; the little fingers he makes into hooks and raises the forefingers into a point known as *Trilokyavijaya* (Victor over the Threefold World). This is the gesture of *Vajrahūṃkāra*.¹⁰⁸

It should be pointed out that this portion is found only in what Skorupski (1983: xvii) has called “version B” of the Tantra, and finds no correspondent in “version A”. Skorupski considered the Tibetan translation of “version A” to be as old as the eighth century, while the oldest evidence for the existence of “version B” would be a Tibetan translation from the thirteenth century. It is at first sight surprising to see our ninth–tenth-century Javanese inscription agreeing with the ostensibly “later” version, but in his review of Skorupski’s work, van der Kuijp (1992) has pointed out that the very ancient date attached to “version A” cannot be taken at face value, and that the transmission of this version is not at all reliable; conversely, Skorupski has himself pointed out that the parts of “version B” not represented in “version A” “certainly represent very early materials” (p. xxix). That the set of deities involved in this portion had been received in Bali was already known from their occurrence in a Buddhist hymn transmitted on that island in manuscripts.¹⁰⁹ None of these, however, is earlier than the seventeenth century, although the presence of the set of deities must logically precede the oldest manuscript by some amount of time. It seems to me that our inscription now offers fairly strong evidence of the availability to Buddhist priests in ninth–tenth-century Java of a textual/ritual tradition very closely related to that preserved in the thirteenth-century Tibetan translation and still much later Nepalese manuscripts of the

107 The form *vajrapāśe* must be a vocative of the feminine *Vajrapāśā*, rather than Skorupski’s *Vajrapāśa*.

108 I have not adjusted the quotation of Skorupski’s translation in the light of the small emendations proposed in the text.

109 See Nihom (1994: 78) and Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971: 525–9, hymn 896).

Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra.¹¹⁰ It would hence seem that we can confirm with entirely independent evidence the conclusions reached earlier by Nihom, using the Balinese manuscript material, “that a tradition reflecting the form and content of [chapter 1 of “version B” of this Tantra] was available at some time in classical Indonesia”.¹¹¹ I will return to this issue below.

The second paragraph of the inscription is itself composed of three parts. The first runs from *om vajrakīla* to *phaṭ*. Then we find tenfold repetition of *hūm* (i.e. the *bīja* HŪM̐). I will return to these first two parts below. The third part comprises the remainder of the inscription. This last part is found almost verbatim in a number of texts. I have found it in the ritual manuals *Pinḍīkramasādhana*¹¹² and *Sāadhanamālā*,¹¹³ but also in the scripture *Guhyasamājatantra*, at 14.59 (Matsunaga 1978):

atha bhagavān sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittanibandhanavajraṁ nāma samādhim samāpadyedaṁ sarvatraidhātukakāyavākcittakīlanavajraṁ svakāyavākcittavajrebhyo niścārayām āsa | **om̐ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ hūm hūm vajra kīlaya vajradhara ājñāpayati kāyavākcittavajraṁ kīlaya hūm phaṭ |**

Then the Lord entered the meditation called “Binding Vajra of the bodies, speech and minds of all the Tathāgatas” and brought forth from the Vajras which are his own body, speech and mind this Vajra for pinning down the body, speech and mind of all the [Tathāgatas of the] three realms: “OM̐ GHA GHA strike strike all ills PHAṬ! Pin down, pin down all evils PHAṬ! HŪM̐ HŪM̐, Vajra, pin down – the Vajra-master commands the Vajra which is body, speech and mind – pin down HŪM̐ PHAṬ!”.

However, in none of the mentioned texts is this *mantra* combined with *om̐ vajrakīla kīlaya hūm̐ phaṭ*. It is only in another ritual manual, the *Sarvavajrodaya* composed by the ninth-century author Ānandagarbha (and the later *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* which seems to be based on it in this section), that I find this combination. In the edition based on a single eleventh-century

110 The fact that the deities Vajrapatākā and Vajrakālī are part of the Balinese list suggests that their omission from our inscription, that lists only eight *mantras* in the first paragraph, is not intentional.

111 Nihom (1994: 80): “Consequently, on the basis of the existence of these selections of Indo-Indonesian Sanskrit text fragments, it appears that a tradition reflecting the form and content of this chapter 1 of SDP-B was available at some time in classical Indonesia”. And p. 82: “Although the Tibetan translation of SDP-B dates from the thirteenth century and although all originally Indian commentaries on the Sarvadurgatipariśodhana which have survived are on recension A, SDP-B chapter 1 must have existed several centuries earlier than the thirteenth century, most probably before the composition of the Indian commentaries on SDP-A, the earliest of which is perhaps that of Buddhaguhya, that is, from the second half of the eighth century.”

112 De la Vallée Poussin (1896: 2, verses 10–13), plus the *mantra* between stanzas 13 and 14.

113 Bhattacharya 1968, nr. 267 *Bhūtaḍāmarasādhana*, p. 525.

Nepalese manuscript established by a group of young Japanese scholars, we read as paragraph 37:¹¹⁴

tataḥ khadiravajrakīlakāḥ maṇḍalakṇe catuṣṭaye vajrenākotyāḥ |
 oṃ vajrakīla kīlaya sarvavighnaṃ bandha hūṃ phaṭ ||
 ity anena hṛdayenāṣṭottaraśataṃ parijāpya | vāmavajramuṣṭyā vā
 pañcasūcikaṃ vajraṃ ādāya tena hūṃkāraṃ udīrayan maṇḍalakṇe
 catuṣṭaye maṇḍalanābhau ca kīlakapañcakaṃ niṣpādya | dakṣiṇakareṇa
 trisūcika vajrīkṛtenākoṭayed imam udīrayan |
 oṃ gha gha ghātaya ghātaya sarvaduṣṭān phaṭ ||
 kīlaya kīlaya sarvapāpān phaṭ ||
 vajrakīlavajradhara ājñāpayati svāhā¹¹⁵ || iti ||

Then Vajra-stakes of *khadira* wood are to be driven into the four corners of the *maṇḍala* with a Vajra. He mutters around them one hundred and eight times with this heart-*mantra*: “OM Vajra-stake, pin down all obstacles, bind HŪM PHAṬ!” Or else he takes a five-pronged Vajra with the left [hand held in the form of the] Vajra-fist, and while he utters the syllable HŪM should make the five stakes in the four corners of the *maṇḍala* and in its centre with that [Vajra]; with his right hand made into [the shape of] a three-pronged Vajra he should drive [them into the ground] while uttering this [*mantra*]: “OM GHA GHA strike strike all ills PHAṬ! Pin down, pin down all evils PHAṬ! The Vajra-master of the Vajra-stake commands [you], SVĀHĀ!”¹¹⁶

Returning now to the first two parts of the second paragraph of our inscription, I presume that the tenfold repetition of the *bīja* HŪM, for which I do not find a precise textual parallel, indicates destruction of obstacles in the ten directions (the four cardinal and intermediate quarters of space, above and

114 The Sanskrit text of the *Sarvavajrodaya* is known to be preserved only in a single, incomplete, manuscript dated 1059 CE. From this manuscript, the Sanskrit text was edited in two parts by a group of students (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai 1986–87), with a Japanese translation; a supplement was later published by Takahashi 1988, who was a member of the group. Little seems to have been published in English on this text, its author and its date. On its date, see Tanemura (2004: 8 n. 22). On the text, its date and its author, see Sanderson (2009: 125), who speaks of “the ninth-century Indian authority Ānandagarbha” and calls the text “an influential manual that sets out detailed practical guidance for the performance of the initiation ritual taught” in the *Sarvatathāgatataṭtvasaṃgraha*, 236 n. 514 (justification for the dating). See also Isaacson 2009: 95 (the author is called a “celebrated authority on Yogatantra”), 113. For the parts of the *Sarvavajrodaya* not preserved in the single Sanskrit manuscript, we can take recourse to its Tibetan translation (not accessible to me). I thank Ryugen Tanemura for his great help in giving me access to the *Sarvavajrodaya* and interpreting its pertinence to the Javanese inscriptions under discussion in this article.

115 The text of the *Sarvavajrodaya* as edited by the Japanese team here diverges from the text seen in our inscription and in several other transmitted versions of this *mantra*. As the editors note, the manuscript is damaged at this place. Is it possible that more syllables were lost than their decision (based on the Tibetan translation) to terminate the *mantra* with *svāhā* suggests?

116 Cf. *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 6.3.9.

below);¹¹⁷ it may be assumed that the *Sarvavajrodaya*'s instruction *hūmkāram udīrayan* indicates a very similar liturgical element, although the number of the stakes there seems to be only five. As for the first part, a slightly more extensive variant of this occurs in another Javanese inscription of the ninth or tenth century, engraved on a *liṅga*-shaped stone whose precise provenance is unknown, held in the National Museum at Jakarta, under number D. 140.¹¹⁸ This inscription was published first by Crucq (1929: 274), and subsequently drew attention again from other scholars, all misguided by the idea that the language of the inscription was Old Javanese. However, some decades later Boechari (1964: 123 = 2012: 66 n. 5) observed that the text is in Sanskrit and must undoubtedly be read as follows:

vajrakīla kīlaya sarvvavighnān vandha vandha hūm phaṭ oṃ

This is (with just two minor variants: the repetition of *vandha* and the displacement of *oṃ* to the end) identical to the text of the *kīlanahr̥daya* “heart-mantra for placing a stake” found first in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, and hence repeated in several later Buddhist tantric texts, including the *Sarvavajrodaya* and the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*, but not the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. The passage is as follows (Horiuchi 1983/I, p. 526, sections 1264–5):

maṇḍalasya tu madhye vai viddhvā khadirakīlakam |
tatas tu sūtram dviguṇam kṛtvā tena prasūtrayet ||
tatredam kīlakahr̥dayam bhavati:
oṃ vajrakīla kīlaya sarvvavighnān bandha hūm phaṭ ||

He should pierce a stake of *khadira* wood into the centre of the *maṇḍala*. Then he should make a cord of two threads and draw the lines with it. For this purpose, there is the spell for placing the stake: “OM. Vajra-stake, pin down all obstacles, bind [them] HŪM PHAṬ!”

It is now time to draw conclusions from these data. With regard to the textual correspondences between chapter 1 of “version B” of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, on the one hand, and Balinese Buddhist liturgical materials on the other, adduced by Nihom (1994: 78–80) in favour of his conclusion that this Tantra was disseminated to the Indonesian archipelago, we have to keep in mind that all of the same correspondences can be traced in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*. This text, dating from the eleventh century, would be old enough to have served as the source for the Balinese material, but is too late to have served as source for the two inscriptions under discussion here. However, all

117 Cf. *digvidikṣv adha ūrdhvañ ca vighnanikṛntanam kuryāt* in the long quotation from the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* given above. See Tanemura (2004: 31 n. 70) on what may have been meant by “above” and “below” in the case of a two-dimensional ground plan.

118 See *Notulen van de algemeene en directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 54 (1916), pp. 45, 190. I have not seen the stone myself, and take the information that it is shaped like a *liṅga* from the *Notulen*.

of the relevant textual material is found in the *Devatāyoga* part of the sixth chapter of the text, and this is precisely the part which is considered to have been adapted from the significantly older *Sarvavajrodaya*.¹¹⁹ This last text, possibly composed in the ninth century, would probably be old enough to have served as source for our inscriptions.¹²⁰ Unfortunately, the part corresponding to *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* 6 *Devatāyoga* is not preserved in the sole Sanskrit manuscript known to exist for this text. Because I do not have access myself to the Tibetan version of the *Sarvavajrodaya*, I limit myself to pointing out the correspondences between the elements that drew Nihom's attention in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* and the corresponding parts of the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (see Table 1).

Among these elements, it must first be recalled that items 3 and 4 concern precisely the passages of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (and *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*) which I have cited as a possible source for the first paragraph of the first inscription. If we may assume, then, that these and all the other elements, whose place in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is indicated in the table, do indeed find their correspondent in the (Tibetan version of the) *Sarvavajrodaya*, this means that the first paragraph of our first inscription may have been quoted from that text rather than the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*. If we keep in mind, furthermore, that the Tibetan version of the *Sarvavajrodaya* presumably offers parallels for all the segments of this inscription, and that this text is the only one which does so while also being old enough to have been known in (late) ninth-century Java, whereas the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* does not provide a source for all elements of the first inscription, and does not offer anything corresponding to the part that is also represented in the second inscription, it seems that we must draw the conclusion that it is more likely that the *Sarvavajrodaya* (or a text closely related to it) than that the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* inspired the rituals during which or with a view to whose execution these inscriptions were produced.¹²¹

Although none of the ritual texts cited here prescribes the use of “stakes” (*kīla*) made of stone,¹²² it nevertheless seems clear that these two stones served as stakes – possibly the central ones – during the ritual opening of the ground plan (*maṇḍala*) of Buddhist shrines. In this connection, given the physical resemblance of these stones to the rather numerous wholly or partly *liṅga*-shaped boundary markers preserved from Central Java, called “*sīma* stones” (*vatu sīma*) in contemporary inscriptions (cf. n. 99), it is significant that certain Indian inscriptions use precisely the word *kīlaka* to denote cadastral boundary markers.¹²³ Obviously, the spheres of a ritual demarcation of agricultural land

119 See Tanemura 2004: 8–9.

120 I assume that Sundberg's statement to the contrary (2003: 172 n. 17) was based on contradictory information about the date of the *Sarvavajrodaya*.

121 For the potential pertinence of the *Sarvavajrodaya*, I refer also to Table 2 in Ishii 1992, which shows that of the Sanskrit stanzas in the Javanese *Saṅ Hyān Kamahāyānan Mantranaya*, there is one that this author has been able to identify exclusively in the *Sarvavajrodaya*.

122 I have intentionally chosen the word “stake” to translate *kīla* here, as our Javanese inscriptions seem to imply a rather large object such as the word “stake” denotes. In other contexts, a word like “peg” might be a more suitable translation.

123 For an example of the use of *kīlaka* to denote a cadastral boundary marker in an Indian inscription, see the seventh-century Panchrol (or Egra) copper-plate inscription of the

Table 1. Correspondences between Balinese Buddhist liturgy, *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* “version B” and the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā*

	<i>Liturgical element found in Bali</i>	<i>Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra</i> “version B” (ed. Skorupski)	<i>Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā</i> (ed. Inui 1991)
1	<i>pūjāmegha mantras</i>	140: 14–21	6.2.2.5 (p. 164)
2	“Anuttarā Pūjā” hymn	146: 9–25	6.2.2.7 (pp. 161–160)
3	Divinities of the Balinese <i>Pañcadaśavajradevatāstuti</i>	134: 19–136: 26	6.2.1.6 (pp. 176–174)
4	Vajra Fire <i>mantra</i>	134: 16	6.2.1.6 (p. 176)
5	Self-generation as divinity Vajrajvālānalārka and subsequent meditative procedures	132: 23–27	6.2.1.2–3 (pp. 178–177)

and the ritual demarcation of *maṇḍalas* were felt to be connected in ancient India and Indonesia, as is expressed by the use in these spheres of a partly overlapping set of terminological and material culture.

7. Inscriptions with the *mantra* *ṭaki hūm jaḥ*

Another case where the *Sarvavajrodaya* could be pertinent to Javanese data is furnished by a group of inscriptions containing *mantras* with the sequence *ṭaki/ī hūm jaḥ*. In an important study published in 2003, Jeff Sundberg drew attention to and elucidated a unique gold artefact excavated in the Ratu Baka complex near Prambanan, bearing the text *om ṭakī hūm jaḥ svāhā*. He has done his best to find a scriptural source for this *mantra*. Unable to find a precise match, he pinned much of his argument on the attestation of admittedly very similar, although not identical, *mantras* in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.¹²⁴ However, *om ṭakī hūm jaḥ* is attested as such in the *Guhyasamājatantra* (14.22), which Sundberg does not mention;¹²⁵ perhaps more significantly, it is also found in the *Sarvavajrodaya*, whose ritual system is based on that of the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*.¹²⁶

Sundberg has pointed out that there are a few other, similar and obviously related stone inscriptions from Central Java, but in my opinion he was wrong to maintain, with his predecessors, that these inscriptions read *paki* instead of *ṭaki*, on which basis he concluded that “their mantra is not that of the Ratu Baka gold plate”.¹²⁷ It is safe to assume that *ṭaki* is intended throughout,¹²⁸ and the evidence suggests that the formula *ṭaki hūm jaḥ* at the beginning of three of these four short stone inscriptions recording the erection of boundary

time of Śaśāṅka, from West Bengal (Furui 2011: 124, 127); for another Indian example, again from West Bengal, but from the sixth century, using *kīlaka* next to the term *sīmā*, see the Mallasārul copper-plate inscription of Vijayasena, ll. 14–16 (Sircar 1965: 375–6; Mukherjee and Maity 1967: 89 and 93). I thank Ryosuke Furui for the reference to the Mallasārul inscription.

- 124 This is indeed probably the oldest source (or one of the oldest sources) for *mantras* using the element *ṭakki*. We find in this text the following *mantras* (section numbers after Horiuchi’s edition, which reads *hūm* for *hūm*): *hūm ṭakki jjaḥ* (662), *ṭakki aḥ*, *ṭakki jjaḥ*, *ṭakki hūm* (927), *om ṭakki jjaḥ* (1229). Note that this text everywhere seems to give the *bījas* with *kk* and *jj*.
- 125 The absence of *svāhā* can be considered a trivial difference. Cf. other cases of variation between *mantras* involving the presence or absence of final *svāhā* presented above, n. 115.
- 126 See the list of *mantras* occurring in the *Sarvavajrodaya*, compiled by Takahashi (1988: 96–81) both from the parts preserved in Sanskrit and from those preserved only in Tibetan. The *mantras* *ṭakki hūm jaḥ* and *ṭakki jaḥ hoh*, numbered 116 and 117, are found in a part of the text not preserved in the single Sanskrit manuscript.
- 127 Sundberg 2004: 164 n. 3. The four inscriptions mentioned without further references in that footnote can all be found discussed in Damais (1955a: 29–30 n. 1, 236); see also Stutterheim (1932) on three of the four. Note that the inscription called “Vihāra” by Damais was found in Jragung, one of the two possible provenances indicated for the first inscription in the previous section.
- 128 Other examples of *t/p* misreadings by previous scholars unfamiliar with these kinds of mantric syllables have been pointed out in Cruijssen et al. (forthcoming, n. 46).

markers served the purpose of removing obstacles. For at *Sarvavajrodaya* section 56, we read (Mikkyō Seiten Kenkyūkai 1986–87: 267):

atyantanirvighnam kartukāmena mṛttikayā pracchādanīyāḥ | evam api
yadi vighnam kurvanti | vajrahūmkārayogaṃ kṛtvā ṭakkirājenākṛṣya
vajrāṅkuśādibhir apy ākarṣaṇādikaṃ kṛtvā vajrahūmkāraṃ baddhvā
vāmapādena vighnapratikṛtim ākrāmya HŪM VAM HŪM ityādivivardhanayogāt
pratyālīḍhapādāvasthito 'ntarāntarā ca meghādyabhimukhūm tāṃ mudrāṃ
kṣipet | gagaṇodāraspharaṇādīptajvālākulaprabheṇa vajrahūmkāreṇa
pādaprahārābhighātena meghādikaṃ bhasmīkṛyamāṇaṃ¹²⁹ cintayet |
evam ghātītā bhavanti |

He who wishes to effect complete freedom from obstacles should cover them (i.e. the effigies of the directional deities who might cause trouble, pinned down in section 55) with mud. If in this condition (*evam*) they [still] make trouble, he should immerse himself in [the deity] Vajrahūmkāra and adduct them with the Ṭakkirāja; should also adduct them etc. with the Vajra-goads etc.; should bind the [seal of] Vajrahūmkāra; and should step on the effigy of the obstacle with his left foot. After the practice of [self-]expansion with HŪM VAM HŪM etc., he should stand in *pratyālīḍha* stance, should throw that seal in the direction of the clouds etc., in between each of them, and should visualize that the clouds etc. are being burnt to ashes by Vajrahūmkāra who shines like dense blazing fire expanding high in the sky and strikes [the obstacles] with his foot. In this way they are struck down.¹³⁰

From the evidence of *Guhyasamājatantra* 14.22, where the *mantra om ṭakki hūm jah* is explicitly called *sarvatathāgataṭakkirājamahākrodha* “the great wrath of all Tathāgatas who is [named] Ṭakkirāja”, it seems that *ṭakkirājenākṛṣya* can be interpreted as “having adducted by reciting the *mantra* named Ṭakkirāja”, and that the intended *mantra* is the one that concerns us here.¹³¹ The position of the *mantra* in the three stone inscriptions corresponds precisely to that of the more familiar expression *avighnam astu* “let there be no obstacles!” found in several Javanese inscriptions of the ninth century onwards; one of these even opens more elaborately with *om avighnam astu gaṇapataye namaḥ* “Om, let there be no obstacles! Homage to Gaṇapati (the god who removes obstacles)”.¹³²

129 Understand °*kṛyamāṇaṃ*.

130 The translation proposed here is based on the idea, communicated to me by Ryugen Tanemura (email of 04/10/2012) that *vivardhanayoga* might mean that the practitioner, who is identical with Vajrahūmkāra, becomes gigantic by uttering *hūm vam hūm*, and in this condition is able to remove the obstacles symbolized by the clouds, etc.

131 As Sundberg (2003: 173) has noted, the context of the *mantra hūm ṭakki jah* in the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (Horiuchi 1983: section 662) is likewise that of *ākarṣaṇa* “(violent) adduction”.

132 To mention just some of the oldest inscriptions: Baliṇavan (813 Śaka), Sugih Manek (837 Śaka), Kinarā (849 Śaka); the longer formula is found in the Guluṅ-Guluṅ



Figure 11. Bronze sculpture under inventory number 1987.142.171. Photo courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The fourth stone inscription with *ṭaki jaḥ hūm* comprises only a *mantra*, and has been read *paki hūm jaḥ jaḥ hūm waho paki hūm jaḥ jaḥ hūm waho* (that is, twice *paki hūm jaḥ jaḥ hūm waho*) by Damais, from a plaster cast kept in Leiden, the whereabouts of the original inscription being unknown. In the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* (6.2.9, Inui 1992: 139), in a section on the consecration of the Tantric master, I find *om ṭakki jaḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ*, which is virtually the same *mantra* and allows us to predict how Damais' reading may be improved.¹³³ I have not yet found this in any scriptural source, and alas we have in this case neither context nor original artefact to help us understand the

inscription (851 Śaka). The openings of three of these four inscriptions are conveniently transliterated in Damais (1955a: 39, 53, 104); for Sugih Manek, see Brandes (1913: 37).

- 133 Ryugen Tanemura has written to me in an email of 10/08/2012: "The equivalent part of the *Sarvavajrodaya*, available only in Tibetan, reads *ṭakki dzaḥ ho* (= *ṭakki jaḥ ho*, with *ho* a corruption of *hoḥ*?). The sequence *jaḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ* is a very strong unit in Buddhist tantras. So it is highly likely that *ṭakki jaḥ hoḥ* came to be 'corrected' or 'revised' to *ṭakki jaḥ hūm vaṃ hoḥ*". Unless we presume that the correspondence between the Javanese *mantra* inscription and the *mantra* in the *Kriyāsaṃgrahapañjikā* is coincidental, this "correction" or "revision" must have taken place before the *mantra* came to be used in this form in ninth- or tenth-century Java.

function of this inscription. Finally, I must add to this record the mantric sequence *ṭaki hūm jaḥ dah hūm kiṭa* in the lead-bronze inscription from Borobudur already mentioned a few times above.¹³⁴

8. Bronze image of Vairocana at the Metropolitan Museum of Art

A small bronze image of Vairocana in *vajraparyāṅkāśana* and displaying *bodhyagrīmudrā* is held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, under number 1987.142.171 (Figure 11). To my knowledge, it is so far unpublished,¹³⁵ no doubt because the iconography is very well known from other, better preserved specimens. But the inscription engraved on the figure's base lends it importance from perspectives other than art history. The script is that of Central Java, i.e. Kawi, in the ninth or tenth century. Excellent photos are viewable online through the Museum's website, and allow the following reading:

(1) ○ praṭītya dharma pa(jā)(2)(ya)nte nāsti dharmāḥ (svabhāvata)(3)ḥ | ye [pra] (tyī)tya (pra)jāna(4)te te jānanti dharmatām ○

This is a surprisingly corrupt *anuṣṭubh* stanza, that I hesitantly restore as follows:¹³⁶

praṭītya dharmāḥ prajāyante nāsti dharmāḥ svabhāvataḥ |
ye praṭītya prajānate te te jānanti dharmatām ||

If the emendations are correct, then we may translate as follows:

Entities come into being dependently. There is no entity that derives from an independent existence. Those who understand dependent [origination], they know the true nature of reality.

This is a very basic expression of the core Buddhist doctrine of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*). Although I am unable to trace this verse in any preserved scriptural text, it could very well have been put in the Buddha's mouth in some Buddhist scripture now lost (or no longer available in Sanskrit), for a *gāthā* much like this one, and likewise untraceable in known scriptures, is found attributed to the Buddha in Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* on *kārikā* 4.19 (de la Vallée Poussin 1903–13: 505):

uktaṁ ca bhagavatā |
pratītyadharmān adhigacchate vidū na cāntadṛṣṭīya karoti niśrayam |
sahetu sapratyaya dharma jānati ahetu apratyaya nāsti dharmatā || iti

134 Side B, line 4, published as *paki hūm jaḥ dah hūm hita* by Boechari (1982: 94 = 2012: 586). My reading is based on photographs of the inscription by Sugeng Riyanto, kindly furnished by Titi Surti Nastiti. See now Griffiths 2014.

135 Even though it is part of the stupendous Eilenberg collection, and was donated in 1987, the piece is not included in Lerner and Kossak 1991.

136 Note that *pāda* a is hypermetrical, while c shows substandard *ja-vipulā*.

I quote the translation by Jacques May (1959: 240):

Le Bienheureux dit également: « Le sage pénètre les *dharma* dans leur conditionnalité. Il ne prend pas appui sur la vue fausse des extrêmes. Il sait qu'un *dharma* a des causes, des conditions: l'absence de cause, de condition n'est pas [dans] la nature des *dharma* ».

It seems reasonable to assume that this *gāthā*, engraved on the base of the image of Vairocana, served as *dharma*-relic, just like the stanzas engraved on a silver foil inserted into the base of the Sambas sculpture discussed above (section 1) or the texts on gold foil or clay tablets inserted into relic caskets and *stūpas* (sections 5, 9 and 10). And in this sense, this inscription is comparable to the other material presented in this paper.

9. Clay sealings from Bali

In Machi Suhadi's article on "Buddhist mantras in the ASEAN states", the author's "mantra formula II" (1989: 117), a text originally published by Stutterheim (1929: 38), can be identified with a widespread Buddhist *dhāraṇī*. The text is found stamped in Siddhamātrkā script on small clay sealings found at Pejeng and (not far from Pejeng) at Blahbatuh,¹³⁷ inserted into miniature *stūpas* of unbaked clay. The reading published by Stutterheim was as follows:¹³⁸

namaḥ traya(va) savatathāgata tadapagantaṁ jvalajvaladhamadhā ālasaṁ-
harasaṁhara āyussaṁsādhā āyussaṁsādhā savasatvānāṁ pāpaṁ sarvatathā-
gata samantāśrī(th)a vimalāśuddha svāhā

This text can now be identified as the *Vimaloṣṇīṣadhāraṇī*. The following is the version of that *dhāraṇī* in a Dunhuang manuscript dating to about the ninth/tenth century published by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (1994: 712):

tadyathā oṃ namas traiyadhvikānāṁ sarvatathāgatahṛdayagarbhe jvala
dharmadhātugarbhe | saṁharaṇa āyurṁ saṁśodhaya pāpaṁ | sarvatathā-
gatasamante uṣṇīṣavimalaviśuddhe svāhā ||

There are some differences between this version and the Balinese sealings, but it is in any case clear from Schopen's (1985) study of this text that the transmission of this *dhāraṇī* throughout Buddhist Asia was not very stable.¹³⁹ Moreover, it is only natural that Stutterheim's ignorance of the identity of the text,

137 From Stutterheim's wording in 1929, it is unclear whether he knew only one or more than one specimen. It becomes clear from Stutterheim's 1931 contribution that multiple small *stūpas* have been found containing seals with this text, sometimes together with a seal showing the *ye dharmāḥ* formula.

138 It was repeated verbatim by Machi Suhadi as well as Putu Budiastara and Wayan Widia (1980–81: 56).

139 Several specimens, often with significant variant readings, are found on pp. 332–4 of the 2005 reprint of this study; see p. 339 for addenda mentioning a specimen from Ratnagiri.

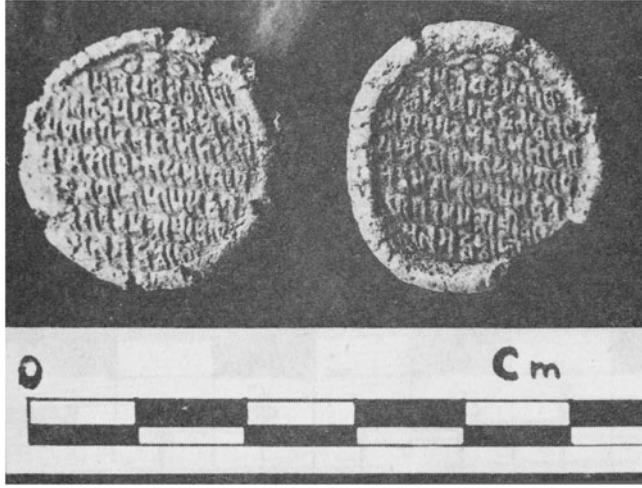


Figure 12. Two sealings from Bali. Reproduced from Putu Budiastara and Wayan Widia 1980–81, photo 9.

combined with the challenges of reading a text stamped in miniature size on this kind of material, has caused several misreadings. Luckily, a fairly good photograph showing two specimens of clay sealings stamped with the same matrix of this text was published by Putu Budiastara and Wayan Widia (1980–81: photo 9), which I reproduce here as Figure 12. On this basis, I am able to propose the following synthetic edition of the text as it was transmitted to Bali:

- (1) nama(s tre)ya(dhva)sarvatathā-
- (2) gatahrdayagarbhe jvala jvala dha-
- (3) rmadhātugarbhe saṁhara saṁhara ā-
- (4) yus sa(r̥)m̐sodha (ā)yus saṁśodha¹⁴⁰
- (5) sarvasatvānāṁ pāpa(r̥)m̐ sarvata-
- (6) thāga(ta)samantoṣṇīṣa(vi)-
- (7) malaś(u)ddhe svāhā¹⁴¹

Finding myself somewhat in disagreement with the way Scherrer-Schaub has translated her reconstituted text for the Dunhuang manuscript (1994: 713), I propose here the following translation, starting from the Balinese text, which is not essentially different:

- 140 All other versions have twice or only once *saṁśodhaya*, and I assume that this word form is intended here twice too, instead of *saṁsodha* and *saṁśodha*.
- 141 An anonymous reviewer has added the observation that this *dhāraṇī* was used as a personal protective spell by the Palola Śāhi Navasurendrātyanandi during the seventh century (cf. von Hinüber 2004: 14 ff.), and that while in Bali it begins by *namas treyadhva*, in Gilgit it begins with *om str̥yadhe*. According to the reviewer, this shows that the first word originally was indeed *namas*, whose -s was preserved in the ligature *str̥r*, when *namas* was replaced by *om*.

Homage! O you [female deity of this *dhāraṇī*] who bear as womb the essence of all Tathāgatas of the three ages (past, present and future): burn, burn the evil of all beings! O you [*dhāraṇī*-deity] who bear as womb the *dharma*-relic: destroy, destroy [the evil]! Purify life, purify life!¹⁴² O [you *dhāraṇī*-deity] who are immaculately pure like all the cranial protuberances of all Tathāgatas! Hail!

It is clear from the rich evidence adduced by Schopen (1985) that the practice of stamping this *dhāraṇī* on clay and installing it in a *stūpa* is precisely in agreement with the way this text was used in other parts of the Buddhist world. The dating of these specimens is very hard to estimate on the basis of palaeography, but a date between 800 and 1000 CE seems likely.

More exceptional is the case of “*mantra* formula III” on the other clay object mentioned by Machi Suhadi (1989: 117–8). It was originally read as follows by Stutterheim (1935: 88):

ity api sa bhagavān arhan samyaksambuddho vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugatāloka vidyanuttaraḥ parusaḍasyumāravigāsuradevamanuṣyāṇāṃ niddho bhagava—

I do not have access to a photo of any sealing bearing this text, so I cannot verify Stutterheim’s decipherment, but the text must be very similar if not identical to one of the many variants of the list of ten epithets of the Buddha.¹⁴³ A particularly close (if not identical) parallel is the phrase *ity api sa bhagavāṃs tathāgato ’rhan samyaksambuddho vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāstā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ buddho bhagavān iti*, found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.7 (Wogihara 1930–36: 93). It means something like this: “Thus also the Lord is [known as] Tathāgata, fully awakened, Arhant, endowed with knowledge and [good] conduct, the Sugata, Supreme knower of the world, Coachman of men who need to be tamed, Teacher of gods and men, the Buddha, the Lord”. This formula is in any case not a *mantra*.

10. A gold foil from Pura Pagulingan on Bali

Finally, the last section of Machi Suhadi’s article (1989: 118–9) was dedicated to a number of inscribed artefacts recovered during the dismantling of the temple Pura Pagulingan in preparation for its reconstruction. It was discovered then that the foundations showed an octagonal groundplan. It was at this level that two pieces of gold foil were discovered, beside a terracotta tablet (bearing the *ye dharmāḥ* formula) and a silver foil bearing a few *akṣaras*.¹⁴⁴ The first gold foil, rectangular in shape, was inscribed with a repeated *ye dharmāḥ* formula. Machi Suhadi also gives the text of the second gold foil, oval in shape, with three lines of writing in circles,

142 I presume that the place of *sarvasatvānāṃ pāpaṃ*, removed from the verbs *jvala jvala* and *saṃhara saṃhara* that govern this object, is due to clumsy expansion of an originally shorter text. This would have to have happened prior to the archetype of all existing versions known to me.

143 On this list, see Lamotte 1944: 115–44.

referring in n. 31 to an unpublished report by Boechari (1985b). Having recently prepared the publication of this report from the author's own typescript (Boechari 2012: 526–8), I am able now to cite the reading precisely as Boechari saw it, without the copying mistakes in Machi Suhadi's publication:

- (1) om̐ hriḥ om̐ jayāta svāhā om̐ śadavitā svāhā om̐ dhū huṁ jaya svāhā namaḥ
- (2) trailokyavijayāmoghapāśāpratihatō hriḥ haḥ hīḥ huṁ
- (3) om̐ phat kriḥ hriḥ svāhā ||

This comprises five *mantras*, each introduced by *om̐*, of which the fourth and most extensive is clearly identifiable as that which is called the *upahṛdayamantra* of the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* in the edition by Kimura (1979: 245 [12]), where this *mantra* does not appear to hold a particularly important position. This edition, however, is based only on late Nepalese manuscripts, and is altogether much less useful for historical research than the two painstaking publications by Meisezahl (1962, 1965), which present witnesses conserving the text in a considerably more archaic state. Several witnesses – a Dunhuang manuscript containing an old Tibetan recension (possibly dating to the ninth century), a twelfth-century Sanskrit manuscript held at Cambridge University Library, and a Siddhamātrkā manuscript preserved in Japan, apparently representing an old transmission of the Sanskrit text independent from that in Nepal – do not show the labels *homamantra*, *hṛdayamantra*, *upahṛdayamantra*, etc., identifying the ritual use of various constituent parts of the *dhāraṇī*. Furthermore, in both the Dunhuang and the Japanese manuscript, we find the *mantra* corresponding to this Balinese inscription precisely at the end of the *dhāraṇī*, without any of the added *mantras* that all (?) other manuscript witnesses show.¹⁴⁵ In other words, in the oldest versions of the text, the *mantra* that we see in Bali was the climax of the *mantra* portion, and hence it is not surprising that it would be chosen to stand for the whole. Also, the various manuscript witnesses show substantial variants among themselves for this sequence of *mantras* at the end of the *dhāraṇī*, so it seems unproblematic that the Balinese version is not identical to any other known version. Anyhow, now that the identity of this *mantra* has been determined, it must be kept in mind that the readings of this gold foil inscription from Bali are liable to be improved if the original could be inspected or good reproductions be made available.

Even though we do not know the precise archaeological context in which this gold foil was found, the function of this artefact may again rather clearly be inferred from the frame text of the *dhāraṇī* (Meisezahl 1962: 313):

- 144 See Soekmono (1995: 119–20) for a brief report on the context of the excavations and finds at Pura Pagulingan, along with plate 5 at the back of the book. Alas, the gold foil that concerns us here is not explicitly mentioned.
- 145 The manner of editing chosen by Meisezahl for the Sanskrit text, taking the old Nepalese manuscript (Cambridge Or. Ms. 152, siglum “P”) as basic text, means that the reader must infer on p. 324 of Meisezahl 1962 that the intrusive *mantras* are indeed found in this witness. Photos kindly supplied by the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, Cambridge, have allowed me to confirm that Meisezahl's edition is reliable in this regard, as indeed it seems to be in general.

yasmimś ca punar bhagavan pṛthivīpradeśe idam amoghapāśaḥṛdayaṁ
 pracaret veditavyaṁ bhagavaṁś tasmim pṛthivīpradeśe
 īśvaramaheśvarabrahmakāyikapramukhāni dvādaśadevaputraśatasahasrāṇi
 rakṣāvaraṇaguptaye sthāsyanti || caityasaṁmato bhagavan sa ca
 pṛthivīpradeśo bhaviṣyati yatredam amoghapāśaḥṛdayaṁ pracariṣyati |

This is the translation given in Schopen (1976 [2005]: 36):

And again, O Blessed One, on which spot of earth this *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya* would circulate, it is to be known that on that spot of earth, O Blessed One, 12 × 100,000 devaputras, headed by Īśvaras, Maheśvaras and the devas belonging to Brahma, will dwell for the purpose of protecting and shielding and guarding it. That spot of earth, O Blessed One, where this *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya* will circulate will become a highly honored sacred place.

We may hence assume that our inscription represents the epitome of the *dhāraṇī*, and its production must have been motivated by a similar intent to the inscription of Batu Bedil presented in section 2. In contrast to the *Aparimitāyuhśūtra*, which was the source text there, it must however be pointed out that there is not, in the *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya*, any emphasis on “writing down” the text.

Conclusion

I have presented a fairly wide range of Indonesian inscriptions citing *gāthās*, *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*, providing rather eloquent *written* testimony to the fact that the Indonesian archipelago was an integral part of the ancient Buddhist world. I hope to have shown that this epigraphical material, thus far very little known outside of Indonesia, deserves the attention of historians of Indian and pan-Asian Buddhism. I have simultaneously tried to contextualize the Indonesian data in the light of Buddhist texts not preserved in the archipelago, hoping to aid Indonesian scholars towards an appreciation of this material. Indeed, the primary source for interpreting why a given citation was produced in the form of an inscription will always be the textual frame from which the citation is extracted.

I have been able positively to identify the source texts for most of the *gāthā*, *mantra* and *dhāraṇī* inscriptions presented in this article. Despite the fact that we are mostly dealing with very short segments of text, there have been several instances where this material has offered readings that are of philological significance for the critical study of the source texts. These are, in Sanskrit alphabetical order (and limiting myself to source texts for which a Sanskrit recension is preserved), the *Aparamitāyuhśūtra*, the *Bodhigarbhālāṁkāralakṣadhāraṇī*, the *Bhadracaripraṇidhāna*, the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, and the *Vimaloṣṇīśadhāraṇī*. More tentative identifications have involved the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvīdyārājī*, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* and the *Sarvavajrodaya*. If we may assume that the citation of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* from such source texts implies the availability of manuscripts of these texts as

such, then I would seem to have made a big leap in determining which were the written Sanskrit vectors of Buddhism in ancient Indonesia. For with the exception of the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvīdyārājñī*, the dissemination of none of these texts had thus far been proven on the basis of written evidence.

But is it really true that we may infer as much? Schopen has repeatedly addressed this question in his work on Indian *dhāraṇī* inscriptions, and has tended to answer in the affirmative. See e.g. Schopen's discussion of inscriptions with the *Vimaloṣṇīśadhāraṇī* (1985 [2005]: 336):

The identification of the *dhāraṇī* on the seals and the “Schutzformel” found at Gilgit proves again that either the *Samantamukhapraveśa* or the *Shes paś thams cad* or both were known and actually used during the sixth to the ninth centuries at Paharpur in Bengal, at Bodhgayā and Nālandā in Bihar, and at Gilgit. It could, of course, be argued that only the *dhāraṇī* itself was known and available in these places. But that is difficult to maintain since a knowledge of the *dhāraṇī* by itself cannot account for the fact that the *dhāraṇī* is found in all four places in exactly the same setting: pressed into lumps of clay or written on birchbark and deposited in a *stūpa*. It is, in fact, only a knowledge of the texts that contain this *dhāraṇī* and explain how it is to be used that can account for this setting.

I am less confident about this matter than Schopen was thirty years ago. For instance, the Balinese version of the *Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya mantra*, engraved in a circle on gold foil, does not conform to any instruction in that text. This means that practice was not bound by text, and I find myself quite easily able to imagine the transmission of *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* by themselves, in specific material and ritual contexts, outside of the frame of larger texts containing instructions on their use. In this connection, it may also be pointed out that none of the Indonesian inscriptions presented here comprises any part of the prose that frames the *mantras* or *dhāraṇīs* in their respective source texts, different from several of the Indian cases published by Schopen. In fact I know of just one Indonesian *mantra* inscription where any of the framing prose is included in the citation; it will be published elsewhere.¹⁴⁶

In whichever way we have to imagine that these *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* reached the Indonesian archipelago, it has become clear that the range of such texts that was used in this part of the Buddhist world must have been quite similar to the texts that were used in other Buddhist countries. As Schopen puts it (1989a [2005]: 336): “It is this group of texts that begins to make sense out of the picture of Buddhism that emerges from our archaeological sources”. Schopen has insisted on one other point, which it is important to repeat in the context of Indonesian studies, where many ideas from the colonial period still linger. There is nothing at all “Tantric” about most of the inscriptions and source texts that have occupied me in this contribution, “if by ‘Tantric’ we mean that

146 It is the gold foil inscription from Aek Sangkilon (North Sumatra), dating to the thirteenth century, to be published in Griffiths forthcoming (§1.2). The source text there is the *Hevajratantra*.

phase of Buddhist doctrinal development which is characterized by an emphasis on the central function of the *guru* as religious preceptor; by sets – usually graded – of specific initiations; by esotericism of doctrine, language and organization; and by a strong emphasis on the realization of the goal through highly structured ritual and meditative techniques” (1982 [2005]: 310). The material I have discussed largely comprises “texts dealing with ritual forms open to all and religious problems common to all – monks, nuns, lay men and women” (1989a [2005]: 337). However, a few of the inscriptions presented here may be labelled “Tantric”, in the sense that their source texts belong to “Tantric” Buddhist (Mantranaya) literature, such as the *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*, the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, and the *Sarvavajrodaya*.¹⁴⁷

With the exception of one relatively restricted area, I have for this paper cast my net all over the Indonesian archipelago.¹⁴⁸ I have not focused on any particular period, but unintentionally the material presented here has turned out all to belong, with a fair degree of certainty, to the period before the turn of the second millennium of our era. Even though we know that Buddhism still thrived during the eleventh to fourteenth centuries in East Java, which was politically dominant in that period, very few inscriptions of the kind presented here have so far come to my attention from that part of the island, and none that could be included here.¹⁴⁹ It seems possible that we see here a reflection of changes in the practice of Buddhism on Java during the “East Javanese period”, but it would be imprudent to draw such a conclusion from the very limited and largely negative evidence available so far. 

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- 147 For a *mantra* inscription of a different type, but also positively “Tantric” in this sense, see Griffiths, Revire and Sanyal (2013).
- 148 Comparable material from Buddhist sites in the northern provinces of Sumatra (Padang Lawas and Muara Takus) will be presented in a separate article dedicated to the epigraphical record of that part of Indonesia (Griffiths forthcoming); the material here can be called “tantric” without any hesitation, for it is dominated by the cult of Hevajra, and it all dates to the first three or four centuries of the second millennium CE.
- 149 There are two rectangular gold foils held in Museum Mpu Tantular in Sidoarjo, of unknown provenance, both of which seem to show the short *mantra om āḥ hūm* at the opening of two more extensive sequences of *mantras*, which I am not yet able to read in full. I await better documentation before attempting to publish these two inscriptions. The same is true for the inscriptions mentioned and deciphered in a booklet by Issatriadi (1976–77: 15), where two round inscribed gold foils are shown in photos at the back of the booklet, but their text is, alas, not verifiable. All in all, my impression is still that East Java may not be rich in *mantra/dhāraṇī* inscriptions.

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