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The Old Malay Mañjuśrīgrha inscription from Candi Sewu (Java, Indonesia)

Arlo Griffiths

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Buddhist Studies in Honour of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

Series Minor

LXXXIX

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LXXXIX

Archaeologies of the Written: Indian,
Tibetan, and Buddhist Studies in Honour of
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

Edited by
Vincent Tournier, Vincent Eltschinger,
and Marta Sernesi



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Cristina Scherrer-Schaub at the XIIIth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, December 2002.

*The Old Malay Mañjuśrīgrha Inscription
from Candi Sewu (Java, Indonesia)**

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Introduction

The text whose study I offer here to a dear *kalyāṇamitra* is unique in the small corpus of Old Malay inscriptions, as it is largely composed in verse-form; it is also one of only a handful of Old Malay texts recovered from Java.¹ No more than three epigraphical verse-texts composed in a vernacular language are known in all of Indonesian epigraphy, the other two being the Śivagrha inscription of 778 Śaka, probably related to the magnificent Śaiva complex Loro Jonggrang at Prambanan,² and the undated Dawangsari inscription, that must have been composed about the same time as the Śivagrha inscription and was found at a nearby site.³ Both

* I gratefully acknowledge the help and feedback received from Véronique Degroot, Tom Hogervorst, Péter-Dániel Szántó and Vincent Tournier in writing this article.

¹ See Griffiths 2018.

² The inscription was published by de Casparis 1956: 280–330; see, among numerous subsequent publications that refer to it, Hunter 2011 and Sundberg 2016.

³ See Rita Margaretha Setianingsih 1989; Herni Pramastuti et al. 2007: 52–55; Griffiths 2011a.

these latter texts are in Old Javanese. Like the Mañjuśrīgr̥ha inscription, they stem from Central Java (fig. 1), and the Dawangsari inscription shares with the Mañjuśrīgr̥ha text its preference for the *anuṣṭubh* meter.⁴ The Mañjuśrīgr̥ha inscription, dating as it does from 792 CE, yields the oldest evidence of the birth of a tradition of written poetry in a vernacular language of Indonesia, the same tradition that would culminate in the court poetry of the famous Old Javanese *kakavins* of the 9th century and later.⁵ After a beginning in which, for all we know, Malay took the first steps as a literary vernacular, while (epigraphical) Sanskrit poetry was also still being composed on the island of Java, by the 10th century CE the local literary tradition seems to have decided to use Old Javanese to the exclusion both of Sanskrit and Malay.⁶

But perhaps even more so than in its literary form, the importance of the inscription lies in what we learn from it for the history of Buddhism in ancient Indonesia. It records one of only three texts styled as *prañidhāna* in the epigraphy of this part of the Buddhist world, the other two being the Talang Tuwo inscription from Palembang in South Sumatra, and the Sambas foil from western Borneo, both also using Old Malay in whole or in part.⁷ As such, it expresses the aspiration to awakening of a Buddhist in Java in the late 8th century, and does so in a manner that reveals interesting new facets of the relations that connected ancient Java with other parts of the Buddhist world, notably with its heartland in north India.

⁴ For the sake of completeness, I should mention that one further epigraphical *anuṣṭubh* stanza in Old Javanese is known to me: it is the final stanza of the Pereng or Wukiran inscription, which is otherwise formulated in Sanskrit verse and Old Javanese prose. See Griffiths 2011a: 140.

⁵ As an aside, it may be noted that no epigraphic verse texts in vernacular language are known to have been written in any of the cultures that flourished in mainland Southeast Asia simultaneously with the three inscriptions from Java singled out here. The history of Mon, Khmer, Cam, etc., as literary languages starts much later.

⁶ For the benefit of Indonesian readers, who tend no longer to think of their own national language Bahasa Indonesia as Malay (this label having been usurped by the Melayu identity of neighboring Malaysia), I note here that when I write Malay, I mean nothing else than Bahasa Indonesia and its ancestor languages attested in the historical record.

⁷ See Coëdès 1930: 38–44 for the former, and Griffiths 2014: 141–150 for the latter.

In short, we have here a unique document of Indonesian cultural history, for the place of the Buddhist tradition in this history, and simultaneously a valuable document for the history of the Malay language. As a first step towards the exploration of the various perspectives from which this document begs to be investigated, I offer here a critically constituted text, a translation that aims to be literal rather than elegant, along with historical and philological commentary.

Previous Research

The stone on which the inscription is engraved (fig. 2), using the local so-called Kawi script, was discovered in July 1960 by the balustrade of a minor shrine in the western row of the Candi Sewu complex (fig. 3).⁸ It is now preserved at the Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (Cultural Heritage Conservation Office) for Jawa Tengah province, at Prambanan, where it bears inventory number 0002/BP3/AND/08.⁹ In July 2009, the director of this office kindly gave me permission to have an inked estampage made¹⁰ and this has since entered the collection of estampages of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* in Paris under the number n. 1865 (fig. 4).

Two provisional readings of the inscription, prepared respectively by Boechari and Kusen, were included in a poorly distributed government publication that appeared in 1991–1992, and which also included a translation into Indonesian done by Kusen.¹¹ A xerox of Boechari's undated original typescript for his "provisional transcription" was at my disposal when I prepared the publica-

⁸ Damais 1963: 580, translated from the Indonesian-language report published anonymously in *Berita Madjelis Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia* 5 (no. 2), 1961, pp. 60–61.

⁹ This is the number recorded in the Office's database. The number 02 is marked in yellow paint on the stone, which also bears the numbers 1328 (in white), 506 (in white); a fourth number marked in red is no longer legible.

¹⁰ The work was done by Khom Sreymom, an estampage expert from the National Museum of Cambodia. As is clear from fig. 2, Véronique Degroot also lent a helping hand.

¹¹ Anom and Tri Hatmadji 1992. Herein are included Boechari, "Provisional transcription of the inscription of Mañjuśrīgrha," p. 93; Kusen, "Alih aksara dan terjemahan prasasti Mañjuśrīgrha", p. 94a–b. Kusen's translation is also given on p. 56.

tion of his collected papers including as chapter 32 a substantial number of transcriptions—among which the one that concerns us here.¹² This typescript helped to identify a few misprints in the 1991–1992 version.

The inscription is in rather poor state of preservation, having been carved using tiny *akṣaras* into relatively low-grade andesite, so that the readings are difficult to establish already from a strictly physical point of view. The problem of the physical state of preservation and legibility of the lines of text is compounded by the limitations posed on our understanding due to the fact that the Old Malay language is known only from a very small corpus of texts. Comparison with newer forms of Malay is not always helpful to determine the meaning of words in Old Malay, because a great percentage of this language’s vocabulary has been replaced by loanwords from Arabic and other languages in the classical and modern varieties.

These factors, and others, explain that the readings produced by Boechari and Kusen cannot be considered anything more than provisional, while Kusen’s translation corresponds only in a very distant way to the actual contents of the inscription.

Metrical Structure

As noted above, the main part of this inscription is composed in metrical form. It is entirely made up of stanzas of the type known in the Sanskrit tradition as *anuṣṭubh* (often called *śloka*). Boechari does not seem to have taken into account all the requirements of the meter in determining his readings, while it is clear that Kusen’s readings do not heed the metrical structure at all. It turns out that paying close attention to meter leads to several very plausible improvements on the work of these predecessors. In order to allow readers not familiar with meters from the Sanskrit tradition to evaluate the choices that have to be made in determining the proper reading of this text, I refer to the appendix accompanying this article, where I explain in detail how a proper *anuṣṭubh* (*paṭhyā*) is composed and what are the permissible variations (*vipulā*).

¹² Boechari 2012, ch. 32, no. II: “Provisional Transcription of the Mañjuśrī-grha Inscription,” p. 476.

My study of the inscription has revealed that the versification in the Old Malay stanzas of this inscription generally follows the rules of the common Indian metrical canon as we find them applied in *anuṣṭubh* versification throughout South and Southeast Asia, including in the Old Javanese *kakavin* literature.¹³ I have noticed two apparently undeniable transgressions of these rules: the *pādas* Va and VIa; to these a third (Ic) and fourth (IIIc) must be added if the scansions proposed in notes 23 and 28 are judged to be invalid.

Edition

The text presented below was constituted in the following manner. Boechari's edition was first entered into a computer file. His edition was then checked against the estampage to identify problematic readings. The choices of reading were finally determined by a number of philologically relevant factors, not least of which are meter and grammar. With regard to grammar, I have made use of the excellent survey provided in Mahdi 2005 of the Old Malay language as it is found in the 7th-century inscriptions of Śrīvijaya. The metrical regularity of the text often hinges on the choice of a short or long *i/ī*, which the physical evidence available often does not help to determine. I therefore always give our poet the benefit of the doubt in reading *i* or *ī* as required by meter. In my text and apparatus, the symbol \sim stands for a short, $-$ for a long, and \simeq for a free (short or long) syllable. I use parentheses to indicate uncertainty of reading; but I do so only sparingly, generally giving the benefit of the doubt to Boechari's reading unless I have specific reason to suspect it may be incorrect. Variant readings of Boechari have been systematically noted (B), but from the much inferior edition prepared by Kusen (K) I have generally reported variants only if there was a Boechari variant as well. In reporting their readings, I have silently converted their romanization system into mine; differences of word division between my text and theirs are also passed by in silence unless there was ano-

¹³ The same seems to be the case in the above-mentioned Dawangsari inscription, whose text and translation I have already prepared and which I intend to publish one day. For the time being, see my observations in Griffiths 2011a.

ther reason to cite the readings in question. The system for transliteration and normalized transcription used here is the one based on ISO 15919 proposed in Aciri and Griffiths 2014, with the exception, imposed by the editors of this volume, that the *anusvāra* sign is represented here as *ṃ* and not as *ṁ*.

(1) śrī svasti śakavarṣātīta 714 kārttikamāsa caturddaśī śuklapakṣa śukra(2)vāra vās· pon· tatkālaṇḍa daṃ nāyaka di raṇḍa lūravaṃ¹⁴ nāmaṇḍa maṃḍṣṭi¹⁵ diṃ (3) vajrāsana mañjuśrīgṛha nāmāṇaṃ¹⁶ prāsāda tlas· sida¹⁷ maṃḍṣṭi maṇamvaḥ (4) sida di¹⁸ daṃ hyaṃ daśadiśa li(kh)ita¹⁹ yaṃ praṇidhānaṇḍa²⁰ (naras samanta punta rān·)²¹ ||

¹⁴ *lūravaṃ* B ◊ *luvara* K. Sundberg (2006: 108, 127) reads *luraḥpaṃ*, but this reading does not have the advantage of being susceptible to a plausible interpretation. See my commentary below, p. 236.

¹⁵ *maṃḍṣṭi* ◊ *maṃḍḍhi* BK. On this particular problem of reading, see Sundberg 2006: 107f., 125–127. Sundberg reads *maḍṣṭi*. I prefer a verb form with prefix *maṃ-* = /mṁN-/ , both on grammatical grounds (see Mahdi 2005: 197, table 6.6) and because of the fact that the very same verb form occurs in the next line. The *anusvāra* is clearly identifiable on the estampage.

¹⁶ *nāmāṇaṃ* ◊ thus B (misprinted *nāmānān* in the 1991–92 version) and K.

¹⁷ *tlas· sida* ◊ *tlas· sina* B, *tūstina* K. Boechari inserts a note on his reading *sina* (1): “Everywhere in this inscription the reading *sida* instead of *sina* is also to be considered, since the form of the *na* and the *da* in these cases looks very much alike.” We expect the regular Old Malay pronoun *sida* (Mahdi 2005: 193, table 6.5).

¹⁸ *sida di* ◊ *sina di* B, *sadadi* K.

¹⁹ *li(kh)ita* ◊ *vinita* B, *likita* K. Doubt about the reading cannot be removed on the basis of the available physical evidence for the inscription itself, but external evidence strongly supports the reading chosen here. One typically finds indication of the writer with the construction *likhita* NAME at the end of Central Javanese prose inscriptions.

²⁰ *praṇidhānaṇḍa* K ◊ *praṇidhānaṇḍa* B.

²¹ (*naras samanta punta rān·*) ◊ *naras samanta (p)untārā-* B, *narassamantapaṅtara kamā sira* K. The reading of the entire sequence after *praṇidhānaṇḍa* is certainly still incorrect in parts; unable to propose significant improvements, I tentatively retain Boechari’s reading. With reference to the syllables *punta rān·*, which he reads *(p)untārā-*, Boechari here inserts a note (2): “The first *aḥsara* can also be read as *wa*, whereas the last one with *wirāma* is not clear.” The final *aḥsara* with *wirāma* sign is in my view most likely to be *n·*, and I think the preceding one can be read as *nta* rather than *ntā*, to yield the common title *punta* (see Coedès 1930: 73–74 and Damais 1970: 952).

- I. pha(5)lāṅku maṃmaṅgap·²² puṇya diṃ janmeni paratra lai kalpavṛkṣa mu°aḥ²³ °āku diṃ (6) jagat· sacarācara (||)²⁴
- II. sarvvasatvopajīvyāku²⁵ sarvvasatvekanāya(7)ka sarvvasatvaparitrātā²⁶ sarvvasatvekavāndhava ||
- III. praṇidh(i)ni²⁷ mahā(8)tyanta śraddhāvegasaṃudgata mañjuśrīgṛha samumbhṛta²⁸ sarvvaśrīśukha(9)(bh)ājana²⁹
- IV. prāsādeni kumaṅgap· ya puṇyāṇḍa śrī nareśvara °ihajanma para(10)trāku³⁰ jaṅan·³¹ sarak· daṅan· sida³² ||

²² *maṃmaṅgap* ◊ *marmāṅgap* B, *mammaṅgap* K. Any reading involving the expected word *umaṅgap* would be metrically incorrect. With *maṃmaṅgap*, we have a properly formed (although *caesura*-less) *ma-viḥpulā*. See my commentary on the verb *umaṅgap* below, pp. 247–251.

²³ *mu°aḥ* BK ◊ The *visarga* sign here seems to make the preceding syllable long by position.

²⁴ *sacarācara* (||) ◊ *sacarācarā* B, *savarācarā* K.

²⁵ *-jīvyāku* ◊ *-jīvyaku* BK. The reading *-jīvyaku* is unmetrical whereas the *ā*-marker is quite clear.

²⁶ *-paritrātā* K ◊ *-paritrāta* B. The final position metrically allows both short and long syllable, but sense requires *ā* (*paritrātā* is a nom. sg. form, borrowed as such, from the word *paritrātr* “protector”). The *ā*-marker is quite clear.

²⁷ *praṇidh(i)ni* ◊ *praṇidhini* BK. The estampage neither imposes nor forbids assuming that a long *ī* was indeed written, but it is required both by the metrical prohibition of the pattern ◡ ◡ ◡ in the first foot, and by the sense (*praṇidhīni* is the result of vowel sandhi for *praṇidhi ini*: cf. Ib *janmeni* and IVa *prāsādeni*).

²⁸ *samumbhṛta* B ◊ *samudgata* K. Boechari here inserts a note (3), which I cite from the typescript, as the 1991–1992 version shows some errors: “We can also consider the reading *samumbhrata*, but *bhṛta* is more likely. Another point is the reading of *umbhṛta*; the *ma* is very clear, but we would rather expect a *da* in this position, because *udbhṛta* makes more sense. Another point is that metrically we have one syllable too much.” This last point is indeed very important, as it is the sole case in this text, a fact that pleads for an emendation to reduce the number of syllables by one. Presuming that Boechari’s reading is correct, I tentatively choose and translate an emended reading *sambhṛta*, which allows the easiest explanation of how the erroneous reading came about (copying of *mu* from the preceding sequence *samu*). In order to obtain correct scansion, we must pronounce *sambhṛta*.

²⁹ *-sukha(bh)ājana* ◊ *-sulavājana* BK. The reading adopted by Boechari and Kusen makes no sense. The estampage definitely permits reading *kha*, and seems to permit reading *bhā*, which yields a Sanskrit compound that suits the context.

³⁰ *paratrāku* ◊ *paratrāṅku* B, *marahyaṅku* K. I see no trace of the *ṅ* that Boechari seems to have seen, unless his *ṅ* is an error for *ṅ* (i.e., *ṅ*), in which case Boechari and Kusen both saw *anusvāra*. It is possible but, in my view, not necessary to read *anusvāra*.

³¹ *jaṅan* ◊ *jāṅan* B, *janān* K. There is no trace of any *ā*-marker.

³² *sida* K ◊ *sina* B.

- V. °ini janma kūmintā³³ ya³⁴ nissāra ka(11)dalī (d)iga³⁵
 °ājñā narendra sārāñā³⁶ (pṛṣṭam)³⁷ ≃ ≃ jagattraya³⁸ ||
- VI. °ājñā(12)ṇḍa kujumjum nitya³⁹ diṃ janmeni paratra lai
 (v)aram⁴⁰ kāryya⁴¹ mahābhāra (13) °āku⁴² mū°ah⁴³ susārathi ||

³³ °ini janma kūmintā ◊ °ini janma kumintā B, saṅgana jada kusika K. Leaving Kusen’s completely wrong reading out of discussion, both mine and Boechari’s are unmetrical, for neither the sequence *kūmintā ya* nor *kumintā ya* corresponds to any acceptable pattern in this position. The reading *kū* seems to receive significantly better sanction from the estampage than does *ku* (cf. the *ū*-marker in *mū°ah*, VIId and VIIIId). The *mi* that is common to our readings is a bit problematic when compared to the estampage, but assumption of a form of the base *mintā* “to request” does seem to get support from the apparent occurrence of *pṛṣṭa* (Skt. “asked”) in the next hemistich. Alternatively, one might think of *kūci-ntā* (*ci* instead of *mi* is permitted by the estampage).

³⁴ *ya* BK ◊ if required for syntactic reasons, one could read *yaṃ* here.

³⁵ *nissāra kadali (d)iga* ◊ *nissāraka dalibiga* B, *nissara kadali siga* K.

³⁶ *sārāñā* ◊ *sārāṇa* BK. I see no clear trace of a *ṇa*, and a reading *sārāṇa* is hard to make sense of—its interpretation as the personal name *Sārāṇa* (Wisseman Christie 2001: 35, 37) is implausible for several reasons, the first being that, contrary to Wisseman Christie’s claim that *Sārāṇa* “appears elsewhere in inscriptions as a personal name,” only variants of the Sanskrit word *śaraṇa* are recorded as proper names by Damais (1970: 478), and the second that the text was read *sārāṇa* and not *sārāṇa* by BK. Clearly, Wisseman Christie’s statements were based on the assumption that graphic distinctions *ś/s* and *a/ā* can be ignored, which should, in my view, only be a solution of last resort. For my part, I presume that the BK reading was a typing error (*ṇ* for *ñ*). In the context, a repetition of the word *sāra*, that was seen in *nissāra* in the preceding *pāda*, would not be surprising. On the issue of the name of the *narendra* in question, see pp. 254–255.

³⁷ (*pṛṣṭam*) ◊ *pṛṣṭam* B, ... K. The reading *pṛṣṭan* attributed to Boechari in the 1991–1992 publication is an error for the *ṇ* (i.e., *ṇ*) seen in his typescript. The reading seems very uncertain to me, but the estampage does not allow me to make a more convincing proposal.

³⁸ ≃ ≃ *jagattraya* ◊ — — — *diṃ jagattraya* B, *jagattaya* K. After the lacuna, Boechari inserts a note (4): “On the stone can be seen traces of three, or at least two *akṣaras*. Metrically we need only one syllable here.” Boechari’s observation is based on the reading *diṃ jagattraya* after this illegible sequence. Kusen does not read *diṃ*, and its presence seems very doubtful to me too. So we may assume that the lacuna was occupied by a bisyllabic word.

³⁹ This *pāda* is unmetrical as it stands. To obtain an admissible *ma-vipulā*, we would have to emend *ku* to *kū*.

⁴⁰ (*v*)aram ◊ *baram* BK. The consonant *b* is not normally used in Old Malay, *v* being used to represent both /b/ and /w/ (Mahdi 2005: 186). There is no certain case of *b* in this inscription. The two signs can become indistinguishable in case a stone has suffered damage, as is the case here, so I prefer to assume *v*.

⁴¹ *kāryya* B ◊ *karyya* K. The *ā*-marker is rather clear.

⁴² *mahābhāra °āku* B ◊ *matāṅga ri māku* K.

⁴³ *mū°ah* BK ◊ The first vowel is written long here (and in VIIIId below) *metri causa*.

- VII. svāmikāryya⁴⁴ (kada)kṣā(ku)⁴⁵ svāmicitta⁴⁶ (14) kuparñaman·
svāmibhakti dṛḍhābhedyā⁴⁷ phalabhukti °anindita⁴⁸ ||
- VIII. (15) phala puṇya kubhukt(ī)ya⁴⁹ dari °ājñ(ā)⁵⁰ nareśvara
diṃ janmaga(16)ticakreni⁵¹ svāmi mū°aḥ parāyaṇa (•)⁵²

Translation

(1–4) Fortune! Hail! Elapsed Śaka year 714, month of Kārttika, fourteenth of the waxing fortnight, Friday, Vās (of the six-day week), Pon (of the five-day week). That was the time that the reverend chief (*dañ nāyaka*) at Raṇḍa, called Lūravañ, had a vision at the Vajrāsana. The temple of which he has a vision was called House of Mañjuśrī. He made obeisance to the venerated ones (*dañ hyañ*) of the ten directions. His resolution (*prañidhāna*) was written by Naras Samanta lord Rān.

⁴⁴ -kāryya ◊ -karyya BK.

⁴⁵ (kada)kṣā(ku) ◊ kadakṣāku BK. I have not found any reading more satisfactory than that proposed by Boechari and Kusen which, except for the *akṣara kṣā*, seems quite uncertain; in any case it is hard to translate. The possibly most fitting alternatives would be to read *kapakṣāku* or *trapakṣāku* corresponding morphologically with Mod. Malay **kepaksa* or *terpaksa* plus *aku*, but with a different meaning for *pakṣa* that is current in Old Javanese. See below, n. 62.

⁴⁶ svāmicitta K ◊ sāmivitta B (typing error for svāmi-).

⁴⁷ dṛḍhābhedyā ◊ dṛḍabhedyā B, dṛḍhabhedyā K. Boechari's and Kusen's readings are unmetrical, whereas the ā-marker is quite clear.

⁴⁸ °anindita K ◊ °ānindita B. Boechari's reading is unmetrical. There is no trace of an ā-marker on the estampage.

⁴⁹ kubhukt(ī)ya ◊ kubhukti ya BK. The estampage neither imposes nor forbids assuming that a long ī was indeed written, but the meter demands that the third syllable of this word be long.

⁵⁰ °ājñ(ā) ◊ °ājña BK. The estampage seems to permit reading this word with long final ā, as in Vc. On the other hand, the form with short final *a* is known in Old Javanese epigraphy, so would not be very problematic either. The position is metrically free.

⁵¹ janmagaticakreni B ◊ janma gati catreni K.

⁵² Both Boechari and Kusen print a full-stop at the end of their text. It is not clear from the estampage whether the text is, or is not, terminated by any kind of dot-like punctuation. See below, p. 245, for the suggestion that the text is in fact incomplete. If this is indeed the case, then one does not expect here any kind of special, terminal, punctuation sign.

- I. My fruit *maṅgaps* as merit in this life as well as (*lai*)⁵³ in the next: may I be (*muah āku*)⁵⁴ a wish-tree in the world with its moving and stationary beings.
- II. (May) I (be) one on whom all beings can depend (*upajīvya*), the sole leader of all beings, the protector of all beings, the sole relative of all beings.
- III. This (*ini*) resolution (*praṇidhī*), great and limitless, has arisen due to the impulse of faith. Assembled (*sambhṛta*, as an equipment of merit),⁵⁵ the House of Mañjuśrī, will yield universal fortune and happiness.
- IV. This temple is *maṅgaped* by me as the merit of the illustrious (*śrī*) lord of men (*nareśvara*).⁵⁶ In life here, as well as yonder, may I not be separated (*sārak*) from him.⁵⁷

⁵³ On the problem of the meaning of *lai*, see de Casparis 1956: 21–24. The meaning “as well as” seems to impose itself in the present context (repeated in VIb below).

⁵⁴ On the problem of the meaning of Old Malay *muah*, see Cœdès 1930: 75–76 and de Casparis 1956: 24f., 349. De Casparis’s suggestion that it might correspond to C/IM *buah* is not evidently confirmed by this text, where *muah* occurs three times (see also VI d, VIII d below). The meaning that seems most naturally to fit these three contexts is that of a morpheme adding optative semantics, as was already proposed by Cœdès for Śrīvijayan Old Malay. Cf. pp. 249 and 252.

⁵⁵ I.e., *puṇyasambhāra*. Cf. p. 250 below.

⁵⁶ The syntactic function of the syllable *ya* in this clause, and in Va (and perhaps VIIIa) below, where it follows immediately after an apparently unsuffixed verb-base in a undergoer-voice (“passive”) construction, is not entirely clear to me. It seems unlikely that we have here three cases of a subjunctive (i.e., *irrealis*) marker (*-a*) added to the locative applicative verbal suffix *-i* (Mahdi 2005: 197–198), which would together probably appear as *-ya* when combined. At least such a suffixation sequence has not been recognized, to my knowledge, elsewhere in Old Malay. In slight defiance of the *pāda*-boundaries, I presume here and in Va that it stands as subject at the head of a sentence.

⁵⁷ The construction of *sārak* with the preposition *daṅan* / *dəṅan* / at first sight seems a little surprising, for later Malay usage leads one to expect the preposition (*dari*)*pada* (cf. the attestations of *sarak* retrievable through the Malay Concordance Project at <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/>). But the Talang Tuwo inscription of Śrīvijaya (l. 10, Cœdès 1930: 39–40) attests the same construction: *jānan marsarak dān dam hyam ratnatraya* “may (they) not be separated from the venerated Three Jewels.”

⁵⁸ As it stands (with *ini* before *janma*), the sentence would seem to mean “this is the life requested by me.” But we have seen several cases of noun + *ini* in what precedes, and I therefore suspect that the order *janma ini* has been avoided *metri causa*; *ini janma* can also be seen as a calque on Skt. *ihajanma*.

- V. This life⁵⁸ has been requested by me.⁵⁹ Like⁶⁰ a plantain, it is devoid of a substantial core. The instruction of the lord of men is its substantial core. It is requested ... the three worlds.
- VI. His instruction is always held high⁶¹ by me, in this life as well as yonder. Whenever (his) task is a great burden, may I be (his) trusty charioteer.
- VII. The master's task is my expertise.⁶² The master's thought is put at ease by me. Devotion (from me) to the master is stead-

⁵⁹ This interpretation is doubtful, and the uncertainty is compounded by the fact that the reading *kūmintā* is unmetrical. It is unclear whether the force of *ini* is locational (see *Candragomīprāñidhāna* 6: *mā kudeśeṣu janma* “May I never be born ... in barbaric lands,” Szántó 2017: 230–231) or temporal (see *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3:25: *adya me saphalaṃ janma sulabdho mānuṣo bhavaḥ | adya buddhakule jāto buddhaputro 'smi sāmpratam* || “Today my birth is fruitful. My human life is justified. Today I am born into the family of the Buddha. Now I am the Buddha's son,” transl. Crosby and Skilton 1995).

⁶⁰ The word *diga* does not seem to have been recorded in any form of Malay, but exists in this meaning in Old Sundanese (Noorduyn and Teeuw 2006: 351); the word has survived as *jiga* and *sigā* in Modern Sundanese (Eringa 1984: 337 and 701), although in the middle of the 19th century Rigg (1862: 107) still was able to record *diga*. When compared to the estampage, which, admittedly, seems to display the *bi* that Boechari reads, but that seems to make no sense in Malay or any related language, the reading *di* is not so problematic. Kusen's “translation” of the passage in question (“*gelisah lagi tak berdaya mengerti maksud perintah narendra*”) displays no awareness of the possible interpretability of his reading *sigā* with the meaning this word has in Modern Sundanese, and this might mean his reading, taken directly from the stone, was not inspired by a particular understanding, and hence objective; still, *diga* seems more likely.

⁶¹ Although Vikør (1988: 76) judges it “very improbable that the *anusvara* had any other pronunciation than /ŋ/ and /m/,” it seems at least as probable that the spelling *juṃjuṃ* here must be interpreted phonemically as /juṃjuṃ/ (like in C/IM) as that it would stand for /juṃjuṃ/ (while /juṃjuṃ/ is of course out of the question).

⁶² If the reading *kadaṣṣāku* is correct, then this would apparently have to be a noun with pronominal clitic *-ku* derived from the Skt. adjective *dakṣa* “skilled” by means of prefix *ka-*. No such *ka-* derivation is listed by Mahdi 2005: 198, table 6.7, and so the reading is grammatically improbable while the word *dakṣa* does not seem to suit the context either. If my alternative reading *trapakṣāku* (with *tra-* representing the Mod. Malay prefix /tər-/ , not so far attested in Old Malay, and the spelling perhaps *metri causa*) or—more likely—*kapakṣāku* (with *ka-* prefix in the sense of Mod. Malay *ter-*, see Mahdi 2005: 197, table 6.6) is accepted, it may be possible to obtain a meaningful text, because Zoetmulder (1982: 1238) records for verbal derivatives from *pakṣa* the meanings “to strive by all means to attain (obtain, etc.) st.; to force oneself to.” The translation could then perhaps be “I am totally committed to the master's task.”

fast (and) unbreakable. The enjoyment of fruits is irreproachable.

VIII. The fruit (which is) merit, (following) from (faithfulness to) the instruction of the lord of men, will be enjoyed by me⁶³ in this wheel of birth and departure. May the master be the refuge.⁶⁴

Commentary

1. Date and Protagonist

The date expressed in lines 1–2 corresponds to 2 November 792, and is the oldest attestation of the Javanese cyclical calendar system.⁶⁵

For the sequence *daṃ nāyaka di raṇḍa lūravaṃ*, presented as *daṃ nāyaka diranḍalūrawaṃ* by Boechari (2012: 476), I provisionally adopt the word divisions proposed by Damais (1970: 226, 707), but in fact I am inclined to split *raṇḍa lūr avam*, and to understand this as equivalent to *raṇḍa luhur (h)avam* which would imply either a toponym Raṇḍa Lūr “Upper Raṇḍa” and a proper name Avaṃ or a toponym Raṇḍa and a proper name Lūr Avaṃ. The former option seems most plausible. The main problem with this hypothesis is that one would expect *lūr* to be written as a separate word, with *virāma*.⁶⁶

The title *nāyaka*, of common occurrence in Old Javanese epigraphy, is not normally preceded by *daṃ*, the Javanese cognate of

⁶³ I interpret the sequence *kubhukt(ī)ya* as undergoer-voice construction, with subjunctive/*irrealis* affix, to the base *bhukti*, which here still clearly has the same meaning as it has in the Sanskrit donor language (contrast Mod. Malay *bukti* “evidence”). Cf. *larīya* from *lari* in Śrīvijayan Old Malay (Mahdi 2005: 198).

⁶⁴ Normally in *praṇidhānas*, the speaker himself aspires to become a refuge (*parāyaṇa*), as in the example cited on p. 252. The apparently different meaning expressed here is so surprising that we may have to completely reconsider the interpretation and translate: “O master, may (I) be the refuge!”

⁶⁵ Cf. see Damais 1963: 580 and 582.

⁶⁶ Cf. Damais (1968: 325): “L’indépendance d’esprit des Javanais est révélée par le fait que, d’une façon générale, les mots sentis comme indépendants sont normalement écrits séparément, contrairement à l’usage sanskrit, ce qui a pour résultat un emploi fréquent du *paten* [i.e., of the *virāma* — AG].” It seems that Damais, as also de Casparis whose work he was reviewing, was thinking about cases of /-C C-/ , not /-C V-/. The same spelling tendency applies to the latter situation, but there are certainly exceptions.

Malay *dañ*.⁶⁷ I therefore infer that the presence of the honorific is meaningful here, and assume it indicates a religious dignitary as *dañ* would in Old Javanese.

2. *The Phrase mam̄ḍṣṭi diṃ vajrāsana*⁶⁸

The historically most significant terms in the opening lines of prose, and in the inscription as a whole, are no doubt contained in the short phrase *mam̄ḍṣṭi diṃ vajrāsana*. The verb *mam̄ḍṣṭi* has been discussed by Sundberg (who reads *madṣṣṭi*) in the Appendix to his 2006 article, pointing out that the reading *mavyddhi* proposed by Boechari and Kusen, along with all the conclusions for the architectural history of Java that have been built upon this single word, is untenable. But he has not seen the importance of the term *vajrāsana*. Regarding the latter, which according to the rules of Sanskrit nominal composition and depending on the meaning of the term *āsana*, could theoretically designate an object (“diamond throne”), a person (“the diamond-throned one”), or a posture (“diamond posture”), I should first mention that Kusen, with his translation “*prāsāda yang bernama Wajrāsanamañjuśrīgrha*,” assumed a temple called Wajrāsanamañjuśrīgrha, implying the presence of a statue of Mañjuśrī in *vajra* posture (*vajrāsana*). The reasons which lead me to reject that interpretation, are, in the first place, that *vajrāsana* does not seem to have become commonly used as an iconographic term until several centuries after the date of this inscription and, secondly, that the known names of ancient temples in Java never include such an iconographic attribute.⁶⁹

So what could the term *vajrāsana* mean here? Sources of the first half of the first millennium CE express the idea that the place of the Buddha’s awakening was of adamant nature. Thus, in

⁶⁷ Cf. de Casparis 1956: 19 with n. 16, 37, 227–228, 329, n. 101 (“*Nayaka* and *patih* denote functions frequently mentioned in the Old Javanese edicts, always as executors of orders issued by higher authorities such as the king and dignitaries with *rakai* and *pamēgēt* titles”). Also cf. Damais 1970: 178–179, 967–968.

⁶⁸ In this section of my commentary, and the next, I draw liberally from valuable notes on the opening lines of the inscription shared with me by Vincent Tournier.

⁶⁹ Cf. the Tārābhavana of the Kalasan inscription and the Śivagrha of the eponymous inscription, and see Griffiths 2011a: 148, n. 46.

the *Mahāvastu* we find a list of sixteen attributes of this special Location (*pr̥thivīpradeśa*), among which the following:

ya-m-idaṃ siṃhāsanaṃ ti pr̥thivīmaṇḍalaṃ saṃkhyāto bhavati bhikṣavaḥ
sa pr̥thivīpradeśo | **vajropamo** ca bhikṣavaḥ sa pr̥thivīpradeśo bhavati |⁷⁰

Monks, this circle of earth called the Lion Seat is the Spot of Earth. And, monks, that Spot of Earth is like a diamond (*vajra*).

This may be compared with the *Lalitavistara*:

sa ca pr̥thivīpradeśas trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātuvajreṇābhidiṛḍhaḥ
sāro **’bhedyavajramayaḥ** saṃsthito ’bhūt | yatra bodhisattvo niṣaṇṇo
’bhūd bodhim abhisambodhukāmaḥ || iti hi bhikṣavo bodhisattvena
bodhimaṇḍam upasaṃkramatā tathārūpā kāyāt prabhā muktābhūt ...
(p. 278, ll. 17–21)

And that Spot of Earth, where the Bodhisattva was seated when he desired to awake unto Awakening, was fixed as the quintessence (of Awakening), of the nature of an indestructible diamond, compacted by the diamond of the trichiliomegachiliocosm. Thus, monks, when the Bodhisattva approached the Terrace of Awakening, he emitted such an irradiance from his body ...

Although it does occur occasionally in some early texts,⁷¹ the term *vajrāsana* is not common to designate the place of Awakening in early Buddhist literature, which seems to prefer the designations *pr̥thivīpradeśa* and *bodhimaṇḍa*. The Bodhgaya inscription commemorating a temple dedication by the Sinhalese monk Mahānāman, dated to 587 CE and analyzed in detail by Vincent Tournier, adopts the latter:⁷²

āmradvīpādhivāsī pr̥thukulajaladhis tasya śiṣyo mahiyān·
laṅkādvīpaprasūtaḥ parahitanirataḥ sanmahānāmanāmā |
tenocair **bbodhimaṇḍe** śaśīkaradhavalaḥ sarvato maṇḍapena •

⁷⁰ The larger passage is found in vol. II, 262.9–263.14. The quotation is from 263.8–9, checked against the oldest manuscript of the text, designated as Sa, folio 198b6–199a1. *ya-m-idaṃ*] Sa; *yad idaṃ* Sen. • *pr̥thivīmaṇḍalaṃ*] Sa; *pr̥thivīmaṇḍale* Sen. • *bhavati bhikṣavaḥ*] Sen.; *bhava bhikṣava* Sa. • *pr̥thivīpradeśo*] Sen.; *pr̥thivīpradeśo bhavati* Sa. I owe these readings to Vincent Tournier, to whose 2017 monograph I refer for further information on manuscript Sa and its philological significance.

⁷¹ In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (4th c.) and *Saṅghabhedavastu* (2nd–5th c.), both related to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin transmission, by contrast with the *Mahāvastu* and *Lalitavistara*.

⁷² Ed. and transl. Tournier 2014: 22–23 and 29.

kā[nta]ḥ prāsāda eṣa smarabalajayinaḥ kārīto lokaśāstuḥ ||
vyapagataviṣayasneho hatatimiradaśaḥ pradīpavad asaṅgaḥ
kuśalenānena jano bodhisukham anuttaraṃ bha[ja]tām· ||

His [i.e., Upasena's] foremost disciple, who resides in Āmradvīpa, the ocean of whose family was vast, who was born on the island of Laṅkā, who delights in the well-being of others, is the well-named Mahānāman. He caused to be erected on the exalted Terrace of Awakening a temple—together with a pavilion—of the conqueror of Smara's army,⁷³ the teacher of the world, which was white like a moonbeam and pleasing from all sides. By this meritorious act may people [or: may this person], having removed the attachment to sense-objects and having destroyed the condition of [mental] darkness, being detached, like lamps [or: like a lamp], *the oil of whose receptacle has gone [consumed] and whose wick was spent and black*, enjoy the ultimate bliss of Awakening.

In the Buddhist heartland in north India, we see the term *vajrāsana* make its first epigraphic appearances in the 7th century. The Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang, who visited Bodhgaya around the year 637, explicitly glosses this term and asserts that it is identical to *bodhimaṇḍa*.⁷⁴ The Nalanda inscription of Yaśovarmadeva, datable to around 730 CE,⁷⁵ designates the Buddha as *vajrāsanaśtha*,⁷⁶ which might here mean “present at the Vajrāsana” or “present on the Diamond Throne,” either way implying a sculptural representation of the defeat of Māra. And an inscription found in the village of Ghosrawan, just a few kilometers from Nalanda, dating from the time of the famous Pāla king Devapāla, i.e., only a few decades after our inscription from Candi Sewu, uses the term *vajrāsana* no less than three times, in stanzas II, VIII and XIII.⁷⁷ Its first occurrence is in the second of two invocatory stanzas:

asyāmadguravo babbhūvur avalāḥ sambhūya harttuṃ manah
kā lajjā yadi kevalo na valavān asmi trilokaprabhau |
ity ālocayateva mānasabhuvā yo dūrato varjitaḥ
śrīmān viśvam aśeṣam etad avatād vodhau sa **vajrāsanaḥ** ||

May the glorious (Buddha), who has his diamond throne by the Bodhi tree, protect this whole universe!—he, from whom the mind-born (Māra)

⁷³ Smara here means Māra: see n. 81.

⁷⁴ See the references cited in Tournier 2014: 31, n. 120.

⁷⁵ Sircar 1957–1958: 108.

⁷⁶ Sastri 1942: 78–82, st. XIV.

⁷⁷ I cite these stanzas in the edition and translation published by Kielhorn (1888). These were reproduced in Sastri 1942: 89–91.

drew far aloof, thinking, as it were, that if his betters had, united, been powerless to captivate the mind of (Buddha), why need *he* blush for failing in strength, single-handed, against the Lord of the three worlds!

For the crucial last *pāda*, alternative translations are imaginable. The word *vodhau* may not indicate the place, but rather the purpose of the Buddha's protection: "May the glorious Diamond-Throned (Buddha) protect this whole universe in (view of) Awakening!". But the context here excludes taking the word *vajrāsana* as indicating the place of Awakening rather than the Buddha himself. The inscription goes on to narrate how the monk Viradeva—a native of Nagarahāra in what is now Afghanistan—came to Bodhgaya:

vajrāsanam vanditum ekadātha śrīmanmahāvodhim upāgato 'sau |
draṣṭum tato 'gāt sahadēśibhikṣūn śrīmadyaśovarmmapuram vihāram ||

To adore the diamond-throne, he then once visited the glorious Mahābodhi. From there he went to see the monks of his native country, to the *vihāra*, the glorious Yaśovarmapura.

It would again be possible to translate "To adore the Diamond-Throned (Buddha)," as in st. II, but the absence of any honorific perhaps supports Kielhorn's translation cited above. The third stanza containing the word *vajrāsana* in this inscription reads as follows:

tenaitad atra kṛtam ātmamanovad uccair
vajrāsanasya bhavanam bhuvanottamasya |
saṃjāyate yad abhivikṣya vimānagānām
kailāsamandaramahīdharaśṛṅgaśāṅkā ||

He erected here for the diamond-throne, the best thing in the world, this mansion, lofty like his own mind, the sight of which causes those moving in celestial cars to suspect it to be a peak of the mountain Kailāsa or of Mandara.

Again it is possible that *vajrāsana* means "Diamond-Throned (Buddha)" rather than "diamond-throne," but regardless of this question, it is important to note that the word *atra* here probably refers to the last place mentioned in the inscription, that is Nalanda. One must assume that there was a temple at Nalanda built by the monk Viradeva which enshrined an image of the Buddha in *bhūmisparśamudrā*, and that this temple or the Buddha occupying it was known as *vajrāsana*.

To sum up, it seems that the term *vajrāsana* initially designated the precise location at Bodhgaya where the Buddha took seat to attain Awakening, but that subsequently any place with a statue representing this throne and the Buddha defeating Māra could become an equivalent to the original Diamond Throne. Anyhow, Buddhists manipulating the term *vajrāsana* did not limit themselves to its use in that meaning: occasionally, although much more rarely, they also used it to designate the Buddha as a Diamond-Throned being, as we have seen in st. II of the Ghosrawan inscription.

Returning now to the Old Malay text, we might thus theoretically interpret the word *vajrāsana* either as the Buddha or the place called Vajrāsana, and, depending on the pragmatic situation that we imagine, we might want to translate *maṃ-dṛṣṭi* (where *maṃ-* stands for the active voice prefix *meN-* of Mod. Malay) either as “viewed” or “had a vision.”⁷⁸ In this case, the strong tendency in ancient languages of Indonesia for honorifics to be applied in front of names for humans and superhuman beings suggests that Vajrāsana in the sequence *di-ṅ vajrāsana*, which lacks any such honorifics, is a toponym rather than an epithet of the Buddha. The combination of the preposition *di* and the definite article *ṅ* may indeed be interpreted as indicating just this, in which case we can translate “saw/visualized the Diamond Throne;”⁷⁹ its *prima facie* interpretation, however, is as indication of the place of the action of the main verb, in which case *maṅ-dṛṣṭi di-ṅ vajrāsana* is most likely to have the meaning assumed in the translation above. The question, then, is whether the Vajrāsana intended here desi-

⁷⁸ Sundberg’s (2006: 127) observations on this verb form reveal that this scholar is treading on philological terrain for which he is not prepared: *dṛṣṭi* is not a “past participle” and there is no “verb stem *dṛṣṭ-*,” *dṛṣṭi* is an action noun derived from the verbal root (not stem) *dṛś-*. And the use of forms from this root to express the idea of visualization is too common to require any comment.

⁷⁹ The Old Malay corpus is too small for the details of usage of the preposition *di* and the definite article *ṅ* to be teased out. But in the case of the cognate morphemes *(r)i* and *ṅ* in Old Javanese, which was probably the local language of the area where Candi Sewu is situated, this combination typically announces toponyms. See Zoetmulder 1983 (1950): 11, citing as example from the Old Javanese *Ādiṅgarva: kuraṅ ṅaranikaṅ tīrtha riṅ Sobhadra, riṅ Poloma, riṅ Karandhama* “And the names of the sacred bathing places were: S., P., and K.” In such contexts, the preposition does not indicate the place where something takes place, but serves only to mark that what follows is a toponym.

gnated the place of the Buddha’s awakening at Bodhgaya, or a namesake in Java.⁸⁰

There is a distinct possibility that the latter was the case, because the Sanskrit inscription of the former village Kelurak, which records a foundation of a temple of Mañjuśrī made in 782 CE, just ten years prior to our inscription, and which all scholars agree must be connected somehow with ours, contains the following stanza:

atra vuddhaś ca dharmmaś ca saṅghaś cāntargataḥ sthitaḥ |
draṣṭavyo dṛṣyaratne smin smarārātinisūdane ||

Here (in this temple) is included, is present, is visible the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha inside this Destroyer of the enemy (named) Smara despite the fact that he has no visible jewels.⁸¹

The stanza is not unproblematic in other ways, but the term *smarārātinisūdana* unmistakably designates an image of the Buddha depicted as Māravijaya,⁸² and this raises the possibility

⁸⁰ Cf. Lamotte 1962: 200, towards the end of n. 105: “Au sens figuré, *bodhi-maṇḍa* signifie simplement la présence toute spirituelle de la loi, ou du *dharmakāya* des Buddha, et ceci indépendamment de toute localisation matérielle. ... Dans cette perspective, Bodh-Gayā, Bénarès et Kuśinagara se confondent.” In this logic, any Buddhist temple in ancient Java could be added to the list.

⁸¹ St. XIV. The inscription has been edited several times. I use here the editions by Bosch (1928), Sarkar (1971–1972, vol. I: 41–48) and Long (2014, chapter III). (b) *-gataḥ sthitaḥ*] B; *-gataḥ sthitaḥ*] S; *-gataḥ sthit<ā>ḥ*] L. Neither Sarkar nor Long comments on the disagreement in number they assume. One is tempted to read or emend *-gataḥ sthitaḥ*. (c) *draṣṭavyo*] *dṛṣṭavyo*] BSL. Neither Bosch nor Sarkar notes that *dṛṣṭavya-* is grammatically impossible; Long (p. 92, n. 34) seems to accept the form as “a variant spelling,” while the published facsimile clearly shows the expected form with initial *dra-*. Sarkar proposes the emendation *-vyā*, which is attractive but requires that we also make the emendation proposed under (b), whereas the published facsimile clearly shows *-vyo*. • *dṛṣyaratne smin*] *dṛṣyaratne ’smin*] BSL. No *avagraha* sign ’ is actually written, but this is unexceptional; in my view, the context seems to impose that we assume not one but two such elided *a-* vowels, and understand *’dṛṣyaratne ’smin*. But it is not impossible also to assume *dṛṣyaratne ’smin*, in which case one could translate “... inside this jewel (i.e., best thing) among things to be seen, the Destroyer of the enemy (named) Smara.”

⁸² Cf. the equivalent *smarabalajayin* in the aforementioned Bodhgaya inscription of Mahānāman and the commentary of Tournier (2014: 31–32, n. 123) who points out that *māra*, *kāma* and *smara* are synonyms in the *Amarakośa* and cites another Bodhgaya inscription which uses the term *jītamāra*; closer to Java, stanza VI of the Ligor inscription of 775 CE designates the Buddha as *māranisūdana* (Long 2014: 25).

that the place where it stood was known by the name Vajrāsana.⁸³ It is therefore possible that our protagonist, the *nāyaka* Raṇḍa Lūravaṇ, saw or had a vision at a Vajrāsana on Java. But the hypothesis I favor here is that of a vision experienced while at Bodhgaya for pilgrimage. Elsewhere in the Buddhist world, over the centuries, we find accounts of momentous visions experienced at the (original) Vajrāsana. A 16th-century example that would be quite analogous to our case has been discussed by Vincent Tournier in his recent monograph:⁸⁴

Parmi les nombreux établissement[s] religieux de Patan se trouvent un temple et un *bāhā* voués à Mahābuddha (ou Mahābauddha) et rattachés au Vaṅkulimahāvihāra (new. Uku *bāhā*). Plusieurs sources liées au lignage du Mahābuddha retracent la fondation du temple au séjour effectué par l'*ācārya* Abhayarāja à Bodhgayā, au temps du roi Amaramalla (r. ca. 1529-1560). La *Nepālikabhūpavaṃśāvalī*, qui fut en partie au moins compilée par les descendants d'Abhayarāja, intègre ainsi deux modules textuels qui semblent tout droit tirés d'une chronique familiale. Selon cette chronique, le religieux néwar eut en Inde une expérience visionnaire, qui l'in-

⁸³ On the question with which monument(s) the Kelurak and Mañjuśrīgṛha inscriptions were originally associated, see the important observations of Marijke Klokke (2006: 57): “The inscription of Kelurak was found closest to Candi Lumbung, and also closer to Candi Bubrah than to Candi Sewu, so that the place of discovery would rather suggest a connection with Candi Lumbung or Candi Bubrah. Of course, the inscription could have been moved. It is tempting to connect the inscription of Mañjuśrīgṛha, mentioning a temple for the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, with the inscription of Kelurak, which documents the installation of a statue of the same Bodhisattva. However, although the former was found in the compound of Candi Sewu, it was found far from the centre of the temple complex. In this case, the finding-place may suggest a connection with Candi Sewu, but a connection with the main temple is not self-evident. Furthermore, this inscription could also have been moved. If one does assume a relationship with Candi Sewu as a whole, the inscription would therefore suggest a Mañjuśrī image as the main image of the temple. However, no image has survived in the central cella. Stutterheim suggested a huge seated Buddha image because of the form of the surviving platform and on the basis of a large bronze Buddha haircurl found in the neighbourhood (Stutterheim 1929a [= my Stutterheim 1929 – AG]). A Buddha would seem more likely to me, too, on the basis of the iconographic programmes in other Central Javanese temples. [...] Perhaps the [Mañjuśrīgṛha] inscription refers to one of the larger subsidiary temples (Dumarçay 1981: pl. XLVIII YG 70: nos 78, [79], 80, 81, 82, 83 [84], or 85). Groups of six or eight Bodhisattvas were known in Central Java, and one of these six or eight temples may have been devoted to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. Otherwise Bubrah and Lumbung would seem more probable than the Candi Sewu complex as a whole.”

⁸⁴ Tournier 2017: 384–385.

cita à rentrer dans sa ville d'origine, emportant avec lui une copie de l'image du Vajrāsana, afin de fonder un temple qui lui serait dédié.

A case directly contemporary with ours is that of the tantric master Buddhajñānapāda, whose **Mañjuśrīmukhāgama*, surviving only in Tibetan translation, has recently been studied by Ronald Davidson (2002: 309–316) and critically re-examined by Péter-Dániel Szántó (2015: 540–554). The latter observed (p. 540):

The core of the text is a series of innovative revelations said to have been heard directly from the mouth of Mañjuśrī in a vision, after the author's disappointing spiritual search at the feet of a host of teachers. The work opens with a description of this journey, beginning with studying with Haribhadra and culminating in his vision of the deity.

I am unfortunately unable to read this author's work in Tibetan, but from Davidson's summary of the relevant passage (p. 313) it is clear that this vision was finally experienced in a forest near the Vajrāsana.⁸⁵ Subsequently this master served kings Dharmapāla and Devapāla (Szántó 2015: 538–540). It is tempting to speculate that he would have been an acquaintance of the master mentioned in some partly damaged stanzas of the Kelurak inscription (VII–VIII, XI), who came from Bengal (*gauḍīdvīpaguru*), served the Javanese king as officiant (*rājaguru*) and went by the name Kumāraghoṣa. There would thus be nothing surprising if our *nāyaka* Lūravaṇ really did travel to India, received a vision of a *prāsāda* for Mañjuśrī while he was there, and traveled back to his homeland to build such a temple.

3. *Formulating a praṇidhāna and Making Obeisance to the buddhas of the Ten Directions*

In his commentary on the 7th-century Talang Tuwo inscription from Palembang, the only inscription from ancient Indonesia that is directly comparable with the one from Candi Sewu, George

⁸⁵ According to a personal communication from Peter-Dániel Szántó (email of 13 April 2018), this happened some miles north of Bodhgaya in the grove called *ku ba rtsa* (= **kuvaca*?, contemporary Koch?): "Buddhajñānapāda is very precise about that. But undeniably, *vajrāsana* is the gravitating point for him, his *āśrama* is also described as NE of *vajrāsana/bodhimaṇḍa*."

Cœdès (1930: 43) has cited definitions of the technical term *praṇidhāna* given by several illustrious specialists of Buddhism. But results of buddhological research in the 20th century makes it necessary to update several aspects of the understanding of this term. Summarizing such more recent work, and emphasizing only those aspects which are relevant in the present context, it can be said that the term *praṇidhāna* (or its synonym *praṇidhī*) denotes the aspiration, most often conceived in the first person singular and formulated with optative verb forms in Sanskrit, of one who has entered on the Bodhisattva path to become a *buddha*, and that the fruit of meritorious actions accomplished on the occasion of the expression of this aspiration are dedicated to the realization of the perfect Awakening of the speaker himself (in the interest of living beings), or of a group of people, or of all beings.⁸⁶

Despite the surprising absence of any expression of such an ultimate aim—giving reason to wonder if the inscription, which does not cover the entire prepared surface of the stone, was left incomplete—in our *praṇidhāna* the idea seems to be that the merit from building the temple was dedicated to reaching Awakening. In Buddhist literature on the path of those who have taken *praṇidhāna*, i.e., those who become *bodhisattvas*, we find that the propitiation of the *buddhas* of the ten directions takes an important place. By way of example, I may cite Étienne Lamotte's translation of a passage from the *Dazhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*):⁸⁷

Enfin les Bodhisattva, trois fois le jour et trois fois la nuit, accomplissent régulièrement un triple exercice (*triskandha*) : (1) Le matin, rejetant leur

⁸⁶ See besides Har Dayal (1932: 64–67) also Buswell and Lopez (2014: 662), and especially the elaborate discussion in Konczak 2014, chapter 2.

⁸⁷ T 1509, XXV, 110a2–10; Lamotte 1944–1980, vol. I: 421–422. The ritual framework and several of the terms used in this extract from the treatise, translated into Chinese and reworked by Kumārajīva, may be compared with the following passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (181.16–25): *tato bodhisattvena tathāgatapratimāyāḥ purataḥ svayam eva bodhisattvaśīlasaṃvarasamādānaṃ karaṇīyam | evañ ca punaḥ karaṇīyam | ekāmsam uttarāsaṃgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiśṭhāpya purato vā utkuṭukasthitena idaṃ syād vacanīyam | aham evamnamā dasasu dikṣu sarvāms tathāgatān mahābhūmipravīṣṭāms ca bodhisattvān vijñāpayāmi | teṣāṃ ca purataḥ sarvāni bodhisattvaśīkṣāpadāni sarvaṃ bodhisattvaśīlaṃ samādāde saṃvaraśīlaṃ kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaṃ sattvārthakriyāśīlaṃ ca*. The per-

manteau sur l'épaule (*ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā*) et joignant les mains (*kṛtāñjali*), ils rendent hommage aux Buddha des dix régions en disant : « Moi, un tel, en présence des Buddha actuels des dix régions, je confesse les fautes et les péchés du corps, de la voix et de la pensée que j'ai commis durant d'innombrables Kalpa, dans mes existences présentes et passées. Je fais le vœu de les effacer et de ne plus les commettre ». Pendant la nuit, ils répètent trois fois cette formule. — (2) Ils commémorent les Buddha des dix régions et des trois temps, leurs actions (*carita*), leurs qualités (*guṇa*) ainsi que celles de leurs disciples. Ils les approuvent (*anumodante*) et les exhortent (*samādāpayanti*). — (3) **Ils supplient les Buddha actuels des dix régions de faire tourner la roue de la loi et invitent les Buddha à rester longtemps dans le monde, durant d'innombrables Kalpa, pour sauver tous les êtres. En accomplissant ce triple exercice, les Bodhisattva gagnent des mérites immenses et se rapprochent de l'état de Buddha. C'est pourquoi ils doivent inviter ces derniers.**

A briefer statement of the same ideas is found in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, chapter 3, stanzas 4–6:

sarvāsu dikṣu sambuddhān prārthayāmi kṛtāñjaliḥ |
dharmapradīpaṃ kurvantu mohād duḥkhaprapātinām ||
nirvātukāmāṃś ca jinān yācayāmi kṛtāñjaliḥ |
kalpān anantāṃś tiṣṭhantu mā bhūd andham idaṃ jagat ||
evaṃ sarvam idaṃ kṛtvā yan mayāsāditam śubham |
tena syāṃ sarvasattvānām sarvaduḥkhaprasāntikṛt ||

Holding my hands together in reverence, I beseech the perfect Buddhas in every direction, "Set up the light of the Dharma for those falling into suffering in the darkness of delusion."

Holding my hands together in reverence, I implore the Conquerors who wish to leave cyclic existence, "Remain for endless aeons. Do not let this world become blind!"

With the good acquired by doing all this as described, may I allay all the suffering of every living being. (transl. Crosby and Skilton 1995)

Although I have found no direct association of the taking of a *prañidhāna* with obeisance to the *buddhas* in the ten directions in the

tinence of this passage from the Śīlapāṭala of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* to the present discussion has been brought out by Tournier (2017: 93, n. 367): "Ce passage prescrit comment, en l'absence d'un coreligionnaire (*sahadhārmika*) qualifié, l'impétrant qui a préalablement aspiré à l'éveil (*kṛtaprañidhāna*) doit formellement adopter les *bodhisattvaśīla*, en prenant à témoin les *buddha* et les *bodhisattva* peuplant l'espace." The passage introducing the *bodhisattva* as *kṛtaprañidhāna* begins on p. 152 in Wogihara's edition. On the *triskandha*, see also Python 1981 and Nattier 2003: 117–121.

Buddhist literature that I am able to access in original language,⁸⁸ it is nevertheless clear enough that we must interpret the Old Malay words *dañ hyañ daśadiśa* in the light of the passages quoted above. The grammatical construction is at first surprising, for one would have expected the pair of honorific particles to be followed by a name or a noun parallel to *ratnatraya* in the expression *dañ hyañ ratnatraya*, meaning “the venerable Triple Jewel,” that we twice find in the aforementioned Old Malay inscription of Talang Tuwo,⁸⁹ and to other explicit designations of Buddhist objects of veneration found in Old Javanese sources.⁹⁰ From all this evidence, it is clear that *dañ hyañ daśadiśa* is an elliptic expression designating none other than the *buddhas* of the ten directions. The Old Malay verb form *mañamvah* derives from the base *samvah* (Mod. Malay *sembah*), which means to make obeisance with folded hands, and is hence equivalent to the Chinese 合掌 in the *Dazhidu lun* and the Sanskrit *kṛtāñjali* in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

4. *The Old Malay Verbal Base (u)maṅgaṇ*

In an article published a few years ago (Griffiths 2011b), I edited the fragmentary Śrīvijayan Old Malay inscription of Kambang Purun (in Palembang), of which an estampage is shown here in fig. 5. This text contains the phrase *jāñan· mu°ah kāmumangap· dya*, which I provisionally translated “You should not *umaṅgaṇ* him any longer.” I pointed out in a note that the Bukit Seguntang inscription, another fragmentary text from Palembang (fig. 6), reads in l. 16: *jāñan· mu°ah ya °umaṅga(p·)*, which unmistakably demonstrates that we are dealing in both phrases with a verb *umaṅgaṇ*, as already supposed by de Casparis (1956: 352), so that the sequence

⁸⁸ Vincent Tournier points me to Nattier’s (2003: 118) discussion of a passage from the *Ugraparipṛcchā*, preserved only in Chinese, where one finds an initial homage to the *buddhas* of the ten directions combined with a concluding wish that “by accumulating deep roots of goodness, may my own Buddha-world be thus,” which may be taken as equivalent to the expression of a *prañidhāna*.

⁸⁹ One of the two phrases has been cited above, in n. 57.

⁹⁰ Two Javanese inscriptions indexed by Damais (1970: 968) mention *dañ hyañ guru* and *dañ hyañ guru mahā*. In his dictionary, Zoetmulder (1982: 362) cites from the Buddhist work *Sañ Hyañ Kamahāyanan Mantranaya* the collocations 42.8 *dañ hyañ sarvasiddhi*, 62.1 *dañ hyañ vairocana*, 64.5: *dañ hyañ sī sākyamuni*, 66.4: *dañ hyañ tathāgata*.

kāmumaṅgap in the Kambang Purun inscription must stand for *kāmu umaṅgap*. I further noted that the same verb seemed to be attested twice in the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription, that the translations proposed by de Casparis on the sole basis of his partly erroneous reading of the context of the Bukit Seguntang attestation did not allow for a persuasive interpretation of all four occurrences,⁹¹ and that I hoped to be able on the occasion of my publication of the Mañjuśrīgṛha text to be able to propose a translation suitable in all contexts. The time has now come for me to attempt just this.

The verb form at issue seems to be one of the key words of our text, because it is used right at the beginning of the poem in stanza I, and then used again in st. IV. The form *kumaṅgap* readable without trouble in st. IX can be interpreted as *ku-maṅgap*, from an otherwise unknown base *maṅgap*, or as *ku-umaṅgap*. While the second interpretation would have the advantage of making it possible to assume that our inscription is using the same word as we have seen in the two from Palembang, it is very difficult to justify a hypothetical reading *°umaṅgap* in st. I, because it is unmetrical and the estampage seems to show twice *ma*: my reading *maṃmaṅgap* and Boechari's *marmaṅgap* are both metrically correct, justifiable in the light of the estampage, and derivable from a base *maṅgap*. The base *umaṅgap*, on the other hand, that is indisputably used in the Palembang inscriptions, can only be explained as a fossilized derivation from a base *aṅgap* with an affix (-)um- that is not otherwise productive in Malay (see Mahdi 2005: 196). I propose that our base *maṅgap* is a variant of the same derivation, because verbal bases with fossilized *m-* instead of *um-* are attested throughout the history of Malay (ibid.). As for the choice between my reading *maṃmaṅgap* and Boechari's *marmaṅgap*, I should first note that an *anusvāra* seems clearly present on the first *akṣara*,

⁹¹ De Casparis (1956: 352) in his glossary under *umaṅgap* states the following: "I translated 'devour, swallow' (p. 4); a better translation might be 'to seize'; cf. *taṅgēp* in Javanese. The word must have existed in Old Javanese, as follows from *sāṅgappan*, 'nine', i.e., one taken off (*viz.* from ten)." For his initial translation, he was probably thinking of Malay *mangap*, i.e., /maṅap/, which seems unlikely to be connected to the base under discussion, since /ŋ/ and /ŋg/ are distinctive in Malay and Javanese.

while the presence of a *repha* on the second is less evident. Furthermore, accepting the form *marmaṅgap* here implies accepting the possibility of usage in Java of the stative prefix *mar-* which is so far not attested outside the 7th-century corpus of Śrīvijayan inscriptions (Mahdi 2005: 183–184; Griffiths 2018)—on Java, in the late 8th century, we really would expect *var-*. The active form *maṅmaṅgap* is also not unproblematic, because one might expect the /mən-/ prefix before a base with initial /m/ to show up as *ma-*, to yield a form *mamaṅgap* (cf. Mahdi 2005: 187, table 6.3A). But *mamaṅgap* would be unmetrical and so one may explain the use of *annusvāra* as motivated, at least in part, by metrical considerations, and as expressing the sound [m] (Mahdi 2005: 188, table 6.4): *maṅ+maṅgap* = [məmmaṅgap]. From a syntactic point of view, in an apparent AGENT VERB PATIENT phrase, an active form (*maṅmaṅgap*) is arguably more suitable than a stative one (*marmaṅgap*), although stative forms with transitive syntactic behavior are not unknown in Old Malay.

Let us thus proceed on the assumption that we are dealing with four manifestations of slightly different but related derivations from what is ultimately the single base, *aṅgap*, and assume also, instead of my earlier translation “any longer” (like Mod. Malay *lagi*), that *muah* adds optative semantics (like Mod. Malay *semoga*):⁹²

- *jānan· mu°ah kāmumangap· dya* (Kambang Purun, Palembang)
“May you not *umaṅgap* him!”
- *jānan· mu°ah ya °umaṅga(p·)* (Bukit Seguntang, Palembang)
“May he not *umaṅgap* ...!”
- *phalāṅku maṅmaṅgap· punya* (Mañjuśrīgīha, st. I)
diṃ janmeni paratra lai
“My fruit *maṅgaps* the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next.”
- *prāsādeni kumaṅgap· ya* (Mañjuśrīgīha, st. IV)
puṅyāṅḍa śrī nareśvara
“This temple is *maṅgaped* by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men.”

We are left now with the task of determining which meaning or meanings this verb had in the 7th and 8th centuries. For Mod. Malay *anggap*, Wilkinson records the following (1959: 31):

⁹² See also p. 19.

- I. Challenging (with a nod); signalling to another to join in or take one's place. Esp. of a dancer calling on another to relieve him in a *pas de deux*. Anggapkan: so to challenge; Bèranggap-anggapan: one after another in turns as challenged.
- II. (Batav.) To look carefully at.
- III. A bird-name; sp. unid.

Although Wilkinson knew the second meaning only in dialectal Malay from Batavia, it seems that this is the basic one from which the first is derived. Indeed, this is roughly the meaning of *anggap* in Bahasa Indonesia today, and Bob Blust's *Austronesian Comparative Dictionary* has the headword "PWMP *a(ŋ)gap think carefully about, consider."⁹³ Anyhow, none of these meanings seems suitable to all our contexts. The contexts of the Palembang inscriptions are too limited to be able to exclude some meaning like "to look at;" but in the Mañjuśrīgṛha text, we need a verb that can take *phala* "fruit" (st. I) as subject and *puṇya* "merit" (st. I) as well as *prāsada* "temple" (st. IV) as object.

Since the inscription is laden with Sanskrit terms giving expression to crucial Buddhist concepts, I am tempted to think that the word *maṅgap* in our context represents some specific Sanskrit technical term. It seems that meanings such as (1) "to assemble, to prepare," which would correspond to the Skt. verb *sambhṛ* (see st. III *sambhṛta*), (2) "to transform, to ripen," corresponding to Skt. *pariṇam*, a term that expresses both the ripening of fruit and the notion of transfer of merit,⁹⁴ or (3) "to pile up" (corresponding to Skt. *cita*),⁹⁵ would all potentially be fitting in this inscription:

- (1) "My fruit **assembles** the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next."
"This temple **is assembled** by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men."
- (2) "My fruit **ripens** as the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next."
"This temple **is transferred** by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men."

⁹³ See <http://www.trussel2.com/acd/>, cognate set no. 11134. At present, attestations are cited in this set from only three languages (Aklanon, Iban and Jakartan Malay). But cognates could be added, i.a., from Sundanese.

⁹⁴ Har Dayal 1932: 188.

⁹⁵ Edgerton 1953: 229: "*cita* (orig. ppp. of Skt. *ci-*), orig. piled up, heaped up; so, thick, dense (of hair), stout, large (of fingers), full, stout (of the space between the shoulders), in cpds."

- (3) “My fruit **piles up** as the meritorious works in this life as well as in the next.”
“This temple **is piled up** by me as the meritorious work of the illustrious lord of men.”

If any one of these hypotheses is correct, it would seem that the base *maṅgap* is only a near-homonym of Mod. Malay *anggap* and possibly has no significant connection with *umaṅgap* in the Palembang inscriptions either. I am unable to make any persuasive identification with known Malay vocabulary, although I wonder whether an etymological connection might exist with the Mod. Malay words *tegap* / *tegak*. In his entry for the former, Wilkinson (1958: 1182) records the meanings I “Compact; sturdy; well-knit (of a man’s build)” and II “Erect; = *tĕgak*.”

5. *The Sanskrit Vocabulary in the praṇidhāna*

Having already pointed out some of the many ways in which our Old Malay inscription reflects the Buddhist culture of its author, I wish to point here briefly to some of the elements typically found in Buddhist discourse about the Bodhisattva path and the aspiration to awakening.

In st. III, the *praṇidhāna* (here designated by the synonymous word *praṇidhi*) is said to be *śraddhā-vega-samudgata*, words found in more than one important Buddhist text.⁹⁶ The idea expressed in st. III–IV that the temple of Mañjuśrī in question was *sambhṛta* as the *puṇya* of the king clearly alludes to the concept of *puṇya-sambhāra* “equipment of merit.”⁹⁷ Sanskrit texts which speak of *praṇidhānas* typically allude to this *puṇyasambhāra* as indispensable requisite of the *bodhisattva*, and the qualification *sarvasattvopajīvyā* is among the most typically used for a *bodhisattva*.⁹⁸ The epithet

⁹⁶ *Lalitavistara* 8.1–7: *bodhisattvasya* [...] *praṇidhānasamudgatasya sarvabuddhadharmasamudāgatabuddheḥ* [...] *aparimitapuṇyasambhāralakṣaṇānūvyañjanasamalaṅkṛtakāyasya* ...; *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (140.10–12): *kiṃtu śraddhāvegaṃ bodhicittavegaṃ sarvotsargavegaṃ ca pramāṇīkṛtyāvicārataḥ pravartitavyam avasyaṃ buddhabodhisattvam ihaiva yatheṣṭasiddhiś ca bhavati* ||.

⁹⁷ Har Dayal 1932: 169–170.

⁹⁸ *Karuṇāpuṇḍarikasūtra* 187.12–13: *puṇyasambhāro bodhisattvānām sarvasattvopajīvyatāyāi samvartate*; *Lalitavistara* 35.12–13: *puṇyasambhāro dharmāloka-mukhaṃ sarvasattvopajīvyatāyāi samvartate*; *Ratnāvalī* 5:97: *sarvadoṣair vinirmukto guṇaih sarvair alaṅkṛtaḥ | sarvasattvopajīvyas ca bhava sarvajña eva ca* ||.

sarvasattvaikabāndhava is found in such contexts too, although it is not exclusive to *bodhisattvas*.⁹⁹

The idea that the *bodhisattva* serves as a wish-tree (*kalpa-vṛkṣa*),¹⁰⁰ which our author introduces right at the beginning of the *praṇidhāna*, is very widespread.¹⁰¹ One passage written by a master as renowned as Śāntideva, whose work may well have been in vogue in the circles and places frequented by our author,¹⁰² deserves more elaborate comment, because it casts light on the lexicographical problem of Old Malay *muah*, which has been translated above as an optative marker. The following lines from *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3:18–19 and 3:21 contains several Sanskrit optative forms:

dīpārthinām ahaṃ dīpaḥ śayyā śayyārthinām aham |
dāsārthinām ahaṃ dāso bhaveyaṃ sarvadehinām ||
cintāmaṇir bhadraghataḥ siddhavidyā mahauśadhiḥ |
bhaveyaṃ kalpavṛkṣas ca kāmadhenuś ca dehinām ||
evam ākāśaniṣṭhasya sattvadhātor anekadhā
bhaveyam upajīvyo 'haṃ yāvat sarve na nirvṛtāḥ ||

May I be a light for those in need of light. May I be a bed for those in need of rest. **May I be a servant for those in need of service, for all embodied beings.**

For embodied beings **may I be** the wish-fulfilling jewel, the pot of plenty, the spell that always works, the potent healing herb, **the magical tree that grants every wish**, and the milch-cow that supplies all wants.

So may I be sustenance of many kinds for the realm of beings throughout space, until all have attained release. (transl. Crosby and Skilton 1995)

⁹⁹ *Ratnāvalī* 1:1: *sarvadoṣavinirmuktaṃ guṇaiḥ sarvair alaṃkṛtam | praṇamya sarvajñam ahaṃ sarvasattvaikabāndhavam* ||. Nearly equivalent *jagadekabāndhava* occurs in *Ratnaketuparivarta* 4:29.

¹⁰⁰ For representations of the wish-tree in Old Javanese literature, generally without any connection to Buddhism, see Aichele 1927 (published also in Dutch translation as Aichele 1928).

¹⁰¹ See, e.g., the expression *kalinavakalpadruma* “new wish-tree of the Kali (age)” in the Kelurak inscription, st. XVII: *da ~ bodhicittamūlah karuṇāskandho mahākṣamāśākhaḥ | abhivāñchitāśrayalavaḥ kalinavakalpadrumo jayati* || • *bodhicittamūlah*] Sarkar Long; (*dhicitta*)*mūlah* Bosch.

¹⁰² See Harrison (2007: 215): “One cannot deny the importance and usefulness of the works of Śāntideva as summary statements of Mahāyāna Buddhism in its fully developed 7th- or 8th-century form. His *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (or *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*) is especially well known, having exerted a strong influence on Tibetan formulations of the *bodhisattva* path, and has remained a favourite source of inspiration and instruction for followers of the Mahāyāna to this day.”

When our author writes *kalpavṛkṣa muah āku* in stanza I and lists several of the above-mentioned epithets in the next stanza, including *sarvasattvopajīvyā*, the hypothesis retained here, viz. that the particle *muah* expresses optative semantics, has as corollary that his choice of words may be a direct paraphrase of Śāntideva's *bhaveyam kalpavṛkṣas ... bhaveyam upajīvyo 'ham*. When, in stanzas VI and VIII, he further writes *mūah susārathi* and *muah parāyaṇa*, this would then seem to represent underlying Sanskrit phrases *bhaveyam susārathiḥ* and *bhaveyam parāyaṇam*, which are attested almost literally elsewhere in Sanskrit literature¹⁰³—and this is why the *prima facie* interpretation of stanza VIII as describing the “master” (*svāmi*), tentatively retained above, is so hard to accept.

By contrast with all these *topoi* of *bodhisattva*-related discourse, the image of the hollowness of the plantain used by our author is not limited to Buddhist literature. The erudite scholar to whom this volume is dedicated has herself written the definitive note on this *topos*, from which I will quote here only a part before bringing this paper to conclusion:

Le stipe du bananier, résultant de la concrétion de ses feuilles, donne de prime abord l'illusion d'un tronc. Cet exemple se trouve dans la séquence des cinq comparaisons appliquées aux cinq agrégats et étant, dans l'ordre, l'écume (*phena* ou *pheṇa*, pāli *pheṇa*), la bulle (*budbuda*), le mirage (*marīci*), le stipe du bananier (*kadalī-skandha*) et le prestige magique (*māyā*). [...] Le *kadalī-skandha* illustre l'insubstantialité des *saṃskāra* [...].¹⁰⁴

Conclusion: The Meaning of the Inscription

The preceding discussion has, I hope, succeeded in bringing out several aspects of the meaning of this text that have so far not

¹⁰³ *Mahāvastu* III.46.14–17: *na taṃ bhaveyam na dadeha dānaṃ aharahaṃ va pūraye tarpaye haṃ | parāyaṇaṃ ahaṃ sa kalpavṛkṣo ... paṃaphalopapeto ||*; in the same text, we find in six different contexts the phrase *aho punar ahaṃ pi anāgatam adhvānaṃ bhaveyam tathāgato araho samyaksambuddho vidyācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāstā devānāṃ ca manuṣyāṇāṃ ca*, which presents a list of buddha-epithets that was certainly known in Indonesia (see Griffiths 2014: 183). For the specific term *susārathi*, see *Āryamañjuśrīnāmāṣṭasāta-ka* 14: *gambhīras cānavadyas ca kalyāṇamitrasaṃpadah | vaidyas tvam śalyahartā ca naradamyasusārathiḥ (naradamyā em., ed. naradamyah) ||*. See Edgerton 1953: 348, s.v. *puruṣadamyasārathi*.

¹⁰⁴ Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 222 n. 400. I leave it to the reader to consult this note with its numerous precious references to primary and secondary sources.

drawn scholarly attention. We are dealing with a devout Buddhist's declaration of his aspiration to Awakening, an aim towards which he apparently intends to dedicate the merit accrued by the construction of a temple (*prāsāda*) called Mañjuśrīgṛha, conceived in the form of a vision on the occasion of a visit to the Vajrāsana, i.e., the place of the Buddha's awakening in India. His declaration, explicitly called *praṇidhāna* and replete with stereotypical expressions known for such texts from Buddhist Sanskrit literature, does not throw any light on the issue of the concrete identification of the Mañjuśrī temple near which the stela was presumably once erected: was it any of the buildings still known today, within or without the perimeter of Candi Sewu?

I have suggested that perhaps the text as we have it is incomplete, more of the surface of the stone having been intended to be engraved. If this was indeed the case, it might help to explain why certain aspects of the meaning of the text remain unclear. One of these is the role of the "lord of men" (*nareśvara*, *narendra*) or "master" (*svāmi*) who figures in a role of human object of dedication that seems untypical for a *praṇidhāna*. Should we imagine that we are dealing with a case of transfer of merit, in other words that the protagonist *nāyaka* is making his foundation in name of his king? Although not within the context of a *praṇidhāna*, a comparable case might be that of an 8th-century vase inscription in Sanskrit from southeastern Bangladesh, dated to the reign of a king Devātideva, where a chief minister (*mantrimukhya*) makes a donation in favor of a monastery in name of (*uddiśya*) the king.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ The passage in question has been provisionally deciphered as follows by Bhattacharya (1996: 243): *sarveṣāṃ asmākaṃ samakṣam eva sukraṇṇa kṛtvā paramabhaṭṭārakaśrīmaddevātidevapādān uddiśya haritakadharmasabhavihāre bhagavadbuddhadharmapurāṣara ... ṇatāryabhikṣusaṅghasya puṇyopabhogāya vihārasya ca jīrṇasīrṇasphuṭitapṛatisaṃskaraṇāya niryātītān*. Bhattacharya does not furnish a translation, and his interpretation of the text as a whole, as transparent from his summary, is probably in need of substantial revision. See Furuu (2017: 47), who summarizes the meaning of the larger context of this passage as follows: "They, namely the members of the *adhikaraṇa*, were ordered by *mahāpradhāna-dauvāri-ka* Saubhāgyakīrti (l. 5). It is said that in front of all of 'us', namely Saubhāgyakīrti and the *adhikaraṇa* members, *mahāpradhāna-mantrimukhya* Nayaparākramagomin purchased twenty-two *pāṭakas* of land consisting of eleven *pāṭaka* land of village Vedagoṅgajavī belonging to Mobhināda-*khaṇḍa* from people accompanied by Saṅja, Oru, Ehiśūri and Ṭihū, and eleven *pāṭaka* land of village

Alas the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription itself contains nothing else, besides repeated forms of the problematic verb *maṅgaḥ* whose meaning remains unsure, that might allow us to confirm such a hypothesis, any more than it contains any element allowing us to determine which king we would be talking about, although the dating to 792 CE would make the inscription fall in the reign of Panaraban alias Panuṅgalan.¹⁰⁶

Indeed, one is left wondering whether perhaps the terms *nareśvara*, *narendra* and *svāmi* do not, or at least not all, refer to a human king.¹⁰⁷ It seems imaginable that the term *svāmi* was actually intended in the meaning of *dharmasvāmin*, a common epithet of the Buddha,¹⁰⁸ in which case it becomes possible to imagine for the words *svāmikārya*, *svāmicitta* and *svāmibhakti* in stanza VII to be read as equivalents to the terms *buddhakārya*, *buddhacitta* and *buddhabhakti*, all of them attested, although only the first commonly, in Sanskrit sources. Since at least the term *buddhakārya* is evidently construed as mirror of the common expression *rājakārya*, a double entendre is quite likely to have been intended.¹⁰⁹ This might then also affect the manner in which the words *ājñā narendra* are to be interpreted, whether as equivalent to *rājasāsana* or to *buddhasāsana*.

Appendix: *anuṣṭubh* Verse

This appendix reproduces, with several slight modifications and expansions, as well as one omission, Anne MacDonald's English translation (MacDonald 2007: 52) of Appendix 4 in Roland

Pitisonḍa from *bhaṭṭa*-Mitra, Vesi, Anukūla, Daddiśūrika and others (ll. 5–6). Then in the name of king Devātideva, he donated it for the enjoyment of merit by the *bhikṣusamṅha* and for repairs of worn, broken and opened part of the *vihāra* at Haritaka-Dharmasabha-vihāra (ll. 6–7)."

¹⁰⁶ Cf. n. 36 above. See also Sundberg 2009: 346–347.

¹⁰⁷ The king is, in the epigraphy of Java in the 9th through 10th centuries, quite consistently designated as *śrīmahārāja*. No other epigraphical attestations of *nareśvara* and *narendra* are recorded by Damais; but there are very rare attestations of synonyms *naranātha*, *nṛpati* and *narapati* (Damais 1970: 170–171), while *nareśvara* is rather common in Old Javanese literary sources (starting from the c. 9th-century *kakavin Rāmāyaṇa*), so it is probably impossible to draw any firm conclusion from the non-use of *śrīmahārāja*.

¹⁰⁸ See, e.g., Lamotte 1944–1980, vol. II: 897, with n. 2.

¹⁰⁹ See Tournier 2017: 239–246 on *buddhakārya*, notably the passage from the *Kāśyapaparivarta* cited in his n. 417.

Steiner's original German article on the *anuṣṭubh* rules as taught by Indian authors on metrics, or *chandaḥśāstra* (Steiner 1996). As above, the symbol ∼ stands for a short, – for a long, and ≃ for a free (short or long) syllable.

One *anuṣṭubh* stanza is composed of four quarters (*pāda*), eight syllables each, and hence comprises a total of thirty-two syllables. The first and third *pādas* are referred to as odd *pādas*, the second and fourth as even *pādas*. For ease of reference, scholars customarily refer to the four quarters (*pāda*) of each stanza as a, b, c and d. The *anuṣṭubh* stanza is not only defined by the number of syllables per unit, but also by rules for the patterning of long and short syllables, a long syllable being constituted either by nature, in the case that its nucleus is formed by a long vowel (*ā, ī, ū, ē, o, ai, au*), or by position, if a short syllable in the nucleus is immediately followed by two or more consonants. The most common pattern is called *pathyā*, while the permitted variations are called *vipulā*. Four general rules apply for *pathyā* and *vipulās*:

1. The 1st and 8th syllables of each quarter are free, i.e., may be either short or long (≃).
2. Syllables 2 and 3 may in none of the quarters both be short; thus, the only three combinations allowed are ∼ –, – ∼ and – –.
3. Syllables 2–4 in *both* of the *even* quarters may not show the pattern – ∼ –.
4. Syllables 5–7 must be patterned ∼ – ∼ in both of the even quarters.

In the *normal form* (*pathyā*), syllables 5–7 must be patterned ∼ – – in both of the odd quarters. This gives the following overall pattern:

$$\begin{array}{c} \simeq \circ \circ \simeq \sim \text{---} \simeq \mid \simeq \circ \circ \circ \sim \text{---} \simeq \mid \\ \simeq \circ \circ \simeq \sim \text{---} \simeq \mid \simeq \circ \circ \circ \sim \text{---} \simeq \mid \end{array}$$

According to general rule 2, syllables 2–3 (○○) in the odd quarters may not be short. In accordance with general rules 2 and 3, syllables 2–4 (○○○) of the even quarters may be patterned neither ∼ ≃ nor – ∼ –.

The rules for *permitted variations* (*vipulā*) concern the structure of syllables 2–7 in at least one *odd* quarter; the other odd quarter can take the form of a *pathyā* or any other *vipulā*. In accordance with general rule 4, *both* of the *even* quarters are always constructed in the normal form. The names of the *vipulās* follow the system

of *gaṇas*, or (syllable) “patterns” retrievable from the mnemotechnic line *ya-mā-tā-rā-ja-bhā-na-sa-la-gā* (which means that, for instance, the symbol **ma** denotes a *gaṇa* ---, **bha** - ∪ ∪, or **la** ∪ -). Some *vipulās* require a *caesura*, or word-break, between particular syllables. This obligatory *caesura* is indicated below by the sign /.

na-vīpulā ≅ ○ ○ - ∪ ∪ ∪ ≅
bha-vīpulā ≅ - ∪ - - ∪ ∪ ≅ or, rarely, ≅ - - - / - ∪ ∪ ≅
ma-vīpulā ≅ - ∪ - - / - - ≅
ra-vīpulā ≅ ○ ○ - / - ∪ - ≅

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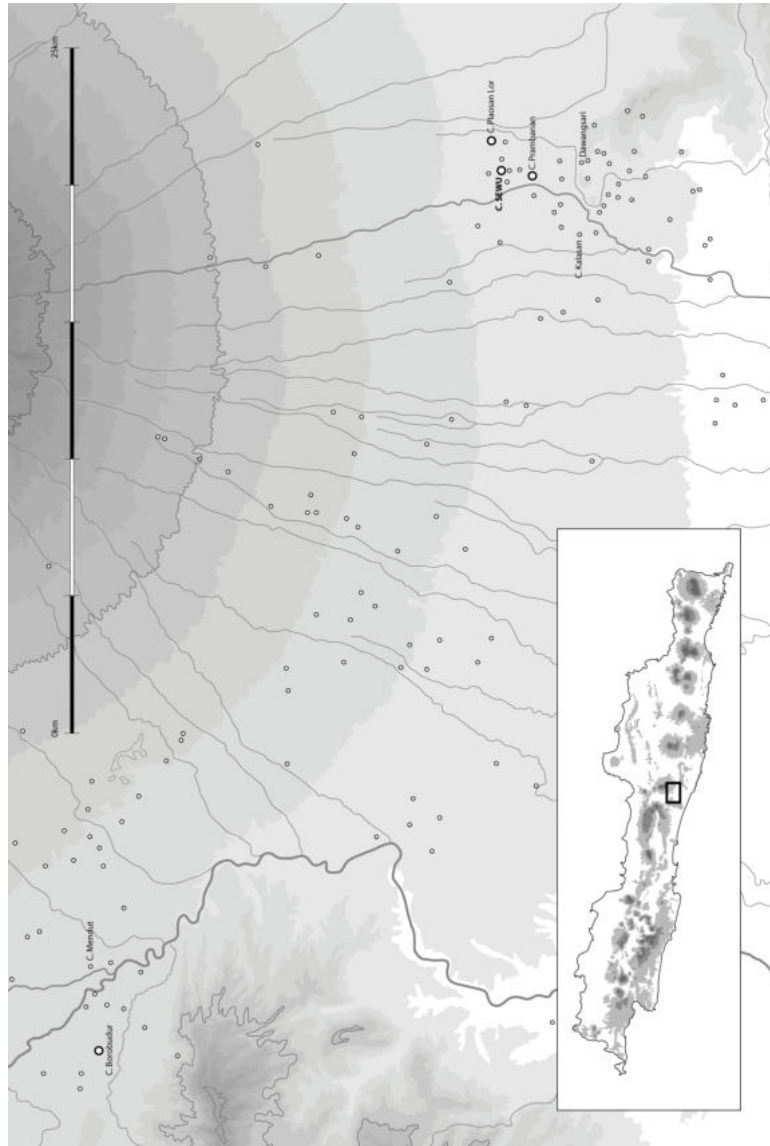


Fig. 1
Map (Véronique Degroot) of the archaeological sites in Central Java mentioned in this article.



Fig. 2
Photograph (Arlo Griffiths) of Khom Sreymom and Véronique Degroot
preparing the estampage of the Manjusriḡha inscription.

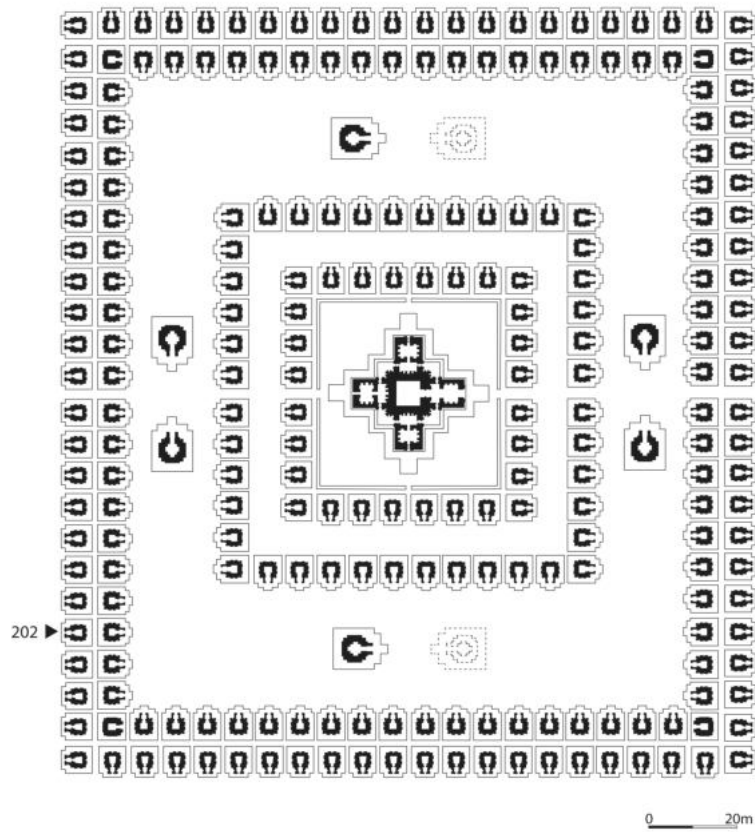
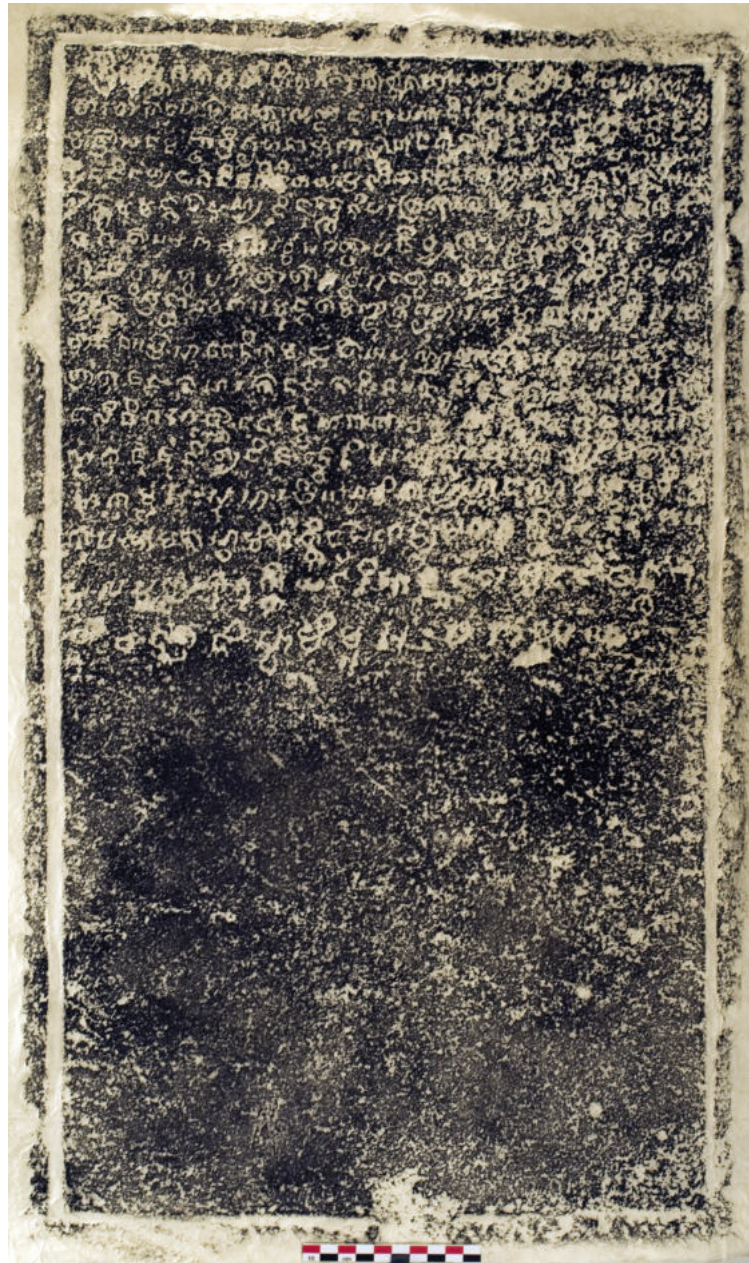


Fig. 3
Groundplan (Véronique Degroot) of the Candi Sewu complex showing shrine 202 by whose side the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription was discovered.



n. 1865 / Mañjuśrīgṛha

Fig. 4

Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 1865 for the Mañjuśrīgṛha inscription.

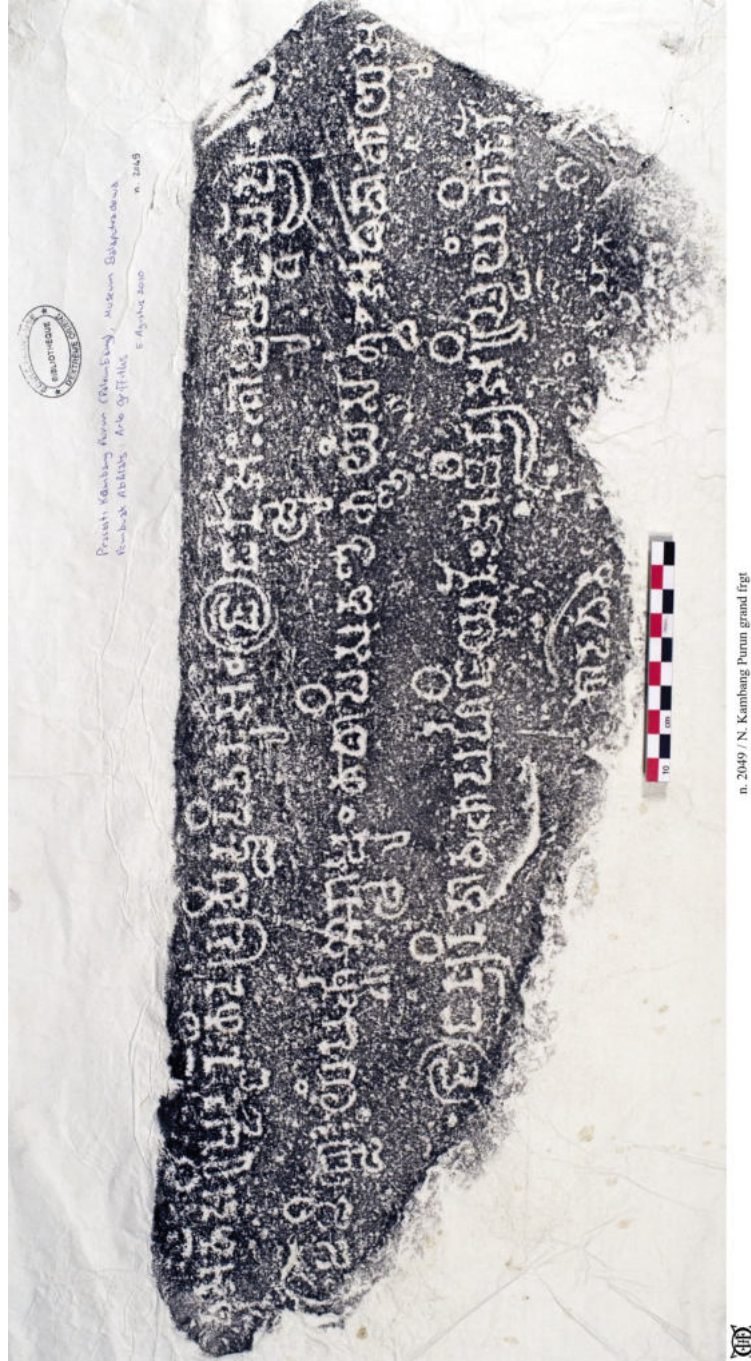


Fig. 5
Photograph of EFEO estampage n. 2049 for the Kambang Purun inscription.

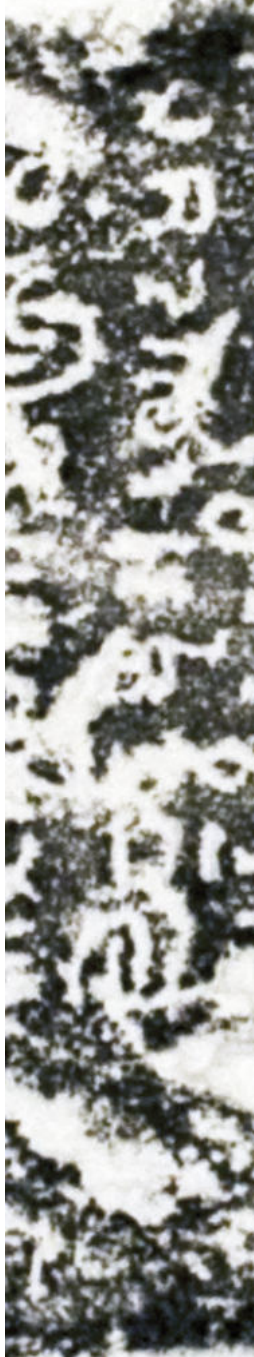


Fig. 6
Extract from a photograph of EFEO estampage n. 2052 for the Bukit Seguntang inscription.