The iconography of Avalokiteśvara in Java
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**The iconography of Avalokiteśvara
in Java**

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Chapter 1

Introduction

> All the hundred thousands of myriads of kolis of creatures... who in this world are suffering troubles will, if they hear the name of the Bodhisattva Mahâsattva Avalokiteśvara, be released from that mass of troubles.
> (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Chapter 24, ed. Kern 1884: 406)

1.1 Avalokiteśvara in Java

The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara has inspired Buddhists throughout Asia as the primary representation of compassion from ancient times onwards. Today, Java is a part of Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim-majority country. However, it was once the origin of extraordinary Buddhist art, including a great number of Avalokiteśvara images, in stone, bronze and other metals. These representations of the Bodhisattva date from between the seventh and the thirteenth century CE. They form the subject of this study.

The earliest Avalokiteśvara images from Java are likely from Batujaya in West Java. These are found on clay tablets showing a triad with the Buddha seated in *bhadrāsana*, displaying the *vitarka-mudrā* with his right hand, and two *bodhisattvas* standing on either side. Considering Avalokiteśvara's role within Buddhist triads, it is probable that the clay tablets show the Bodhisattva as standing on the Buddha's right-hand side.[1] Unfortunately, the figures are too small and worn with age to clearly identify them. Little is known about the Buddhism of the early Buddhist site of Batujaya, which appears to have been a large and active site. Based on the archaeological context and a comparison with similar tablets found in Thailand, Pierre-Yves Manguin and Agustijanto Indradjaya (2006: 250) date the Batujaya tablets to the seventh century CE. No further Avalokiteśvara images are known to have been found in West Java.[2]

Most of the Javanese Avalokiteśvara images are thought to come from Central Java and date from a slightly later period, between the eighth to the early tenth century. Among these are narrative reliefs carved in stone on Borobudur, stone sculptures at Candi Mendut and the Plaosan Lor complex and many small bronze statuettes. Central Java was the centre of power during this period with Hindu and Buddhist kings. The Buddhist Śailendra dynasty played an important role in the development of Buddhist art and culture. From around 900 CE the Central Javanese kings shifted their attention to East Java. As a result, the

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[1] These tablets were excavated at Batujaya during the National Research and Development Centre of Archaeology and the École française d'Extrême-Orient's excavations between 2002 and 2007.

[2] According to Véronique Degroot a shoulder and upper arm of a statue was found which has an armband, indicating that the statue represented a Bodhisattva (Personal correspondence 18-07-2015).

centre of power eventually moved to East Java in the first half of the tenth century CE.[3] Once this occurred, there appears to have been a sharp decline in the production of Avalokiteśvara images. The last depictions of Avalokiteśvara produced in Java are linked to Candi Jago, near Malang in East Java, a temple thought to date from the second half of the thirteenth century (Krom 1923, vol. II: 95).[4]

No comprehensive research has been carried out on these bronze and stone images so far. Taken as a whole, they show great iconographic and stylistic variety and also allow for contextual analysis, as a few of the stone images remain *in situ*. Moreover, a few of the bronze statuettes exist in the context of triads. Whenever relevant to the discussion of the Javanese images, I will refer to other Insular Southeast Asian images (found on the Thai-Malay Peninsula, Bali, Sulawesi and in Sumatra and West Kalimantan), to images from Mainland Southeast Asia, South Asia and at times also East Asia.

Depictions of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara can often be easily identified through the presence of the small figure of the Buddha Amitābha[5] seated in meditation at the front of his *jaṭāmukuṭa*. This characteristic can also be seen on Avalokiteśvara images found in Java and it is even mentioned in an inscription from Java.

> Pay homage to that Lokeśa, the lord of the worlds, who
> illuminates all regions, who is Lokeśvara, daring to bear on
> (his) forehead[6] Amitābha, the ruler of the worlds!
> (Sarkar 1971-72, I: 44, verse 2)[7]

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[3] The last inscription from the Central Javanese period is dated to Śaka 850, viz. 928 CE (Sarkar 1971-72: 255). Different reasons have been suggested for the shift of the centre of power from Central Java to East Java. Among these are economic motives (Barrett Jones 1984: 6-7), as well as eruptions of the Merapi volcano (Newhall et al. 2000: 46).

[4] King Viṣṇuvardhana, to whom the temple was dedicated, died in 1268; Krom suggested that the building of the temple began slightly earlier and ended 12 years later in 1280, when a memorial ceremony was likely held (Krom 1923, vol. II: 95). However, there are no documents that describe such a ceremony.

[5] This Buddha figure has been identified through Buddhist texts as representing the Buddha Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara's spiritual father (Studholme 2002: 130).

[6] The original wording, *mūrdhan*, has a broader meaning than 'forehead' as used by Sarkar in the translation of this inscription (1971-72, I: 44, verse 2). It also means head or skull in general, as well as the top, thus the term head would be more accurate, especially considering the depictions available to us from Java.

[7] This is one of the few inscriptions from Java in stone that clearly refers to Avalokiteśvara, apart from the inscribed stone image of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago. The Nāgarī inscription on either side of the figure states "Bharāla Aryāmoghapāśa Lokeśvara" (Krom 1923 II: 122). Another inscription found at Ratu Boko most likely also refers to Avalokiteśvara, if we consider Kamalapāṇi as a synonym of Padmapāṇi, another name that has been used to describe Avalokiteśvara when he holds a lotus. Padmapāṇi stands for 'the one who holds the lotus in his hand', as in Lokesh Chandra's translation (1979: 3).
Sarkar translates this part of the Ratu Boko inscription as
> Oh Thou! Having lotus-like palm, deign that the roots of sorrows that exist
> in the (three) worlds may be destroyed. Oh Thou with lotus-palms, do away
> with all sufferings of beings and save us from all attachment. (1971-72,
> I: 48v)
Chandra's identification of Kamalapāṇi as Avalokiteśvara is a strong possibility. However, we need to remember that the Buddhist temples in Central Java often have standing figures depicted on the outside that

This inscription was found in the village of Klurak in Central Java and dates to the Śaka year 704, viz., 782 CE (Bosch 1928: 2 and 23, Sarkar 1971-72, I: 41). It refers to the installation of an image of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī for the benefit of the world, and in this context Avalokiteśvara, under the names of Lokeśa and Lokeśvara (Lord of the World), is also invoked for protection (Sarkar 1971-72, I: 44, verses 2-3; verses 8-13).

1.2 Textual references to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

One of the earliest references to Avalokiteśvara is in the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, a text first translated into Chinese in 252 CE[8] by Saṅghavarman (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*, ed. Müller 1894: xxiv), which mentions him together with the Bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta. In that text, the Buddha explains the idea of Pure Land Buddhism[9] and how all *bodhisattva*s in the Buddha Amitābha's land of Sukhāvatī will ultimately attain Buddhahood, all except two *bodhisattva*s:

> who are preaching with the voice of lions, who are girded with the noble armor of the Dharma, and who are devoted to the work of helping all people to attain *parinirvāṇa*. (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*, ed. Müller 1894: 51-52)

Ānanda then asks who these *bodhisattvas* are and the Buddha answers: Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*, ed. Müller 1894: 52). Hence Avalokiteśvara is known for having chosen not to attain Buddhahood until all sentient beings have attained *parinirvāṇa* (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*, ed. Müller 1894: 52).

The popular Mahāyāna text, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (Lotus Sūtra), was translated into Chinese slightly later, in 286 CE. It associates Avalokiteśvara with compassion and rescuing his worshippers from great peril. In its Chapter 25, Akṣayamati asks the Buddha why the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara bears the name Avalokiteśvara.[10] The Buddha then explains how this particular name can be used.

> If there is one who keeps the name of this bodhisattva He Who Observes the Sounds of the World [Avalokiteśvara],[11] even if

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appear to be *bodhisattva*s and hold a lotus. Yet, these figures are not depicted with the Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, making it difficult to identify them as Avalokiteśvara. We should therefore, in a Javanese context, be aware of the possibility of lotus-bearing figures (*kamalapāṇi* or *padmapāṇi*) who are not Avalokiteśvara.

[8] Although there is often no information as to when a *sūtra* was first written down, we do, however, have dates for when they were first translated into Chinese, giving us a general timeline.

[9] Pure Land Buddhism is a form of teaching where the practitioner is taught to focus his meditation on the Buddha in a Pure Land of the Buddhas, such as Buddha Amitābha's kingdom of Sukhāvatī, in order to visit such a land (Williams 2009: 40).

[10] This text is in Chapter 24 of Kern's translation (1884).

[11] In the translation by Hurvitz he utilizes the English translation of the name Guanshiyin, "He Who Observes the Sounds of the World", however, I have included the name Avalokiteśvara within square brackets to avoid any confusion for the reader.

he should fall into a great fire, the fire would be unable to burn him, thanks to the imposing supernatural power of this bodhisattva.

If he should be carried off by a great river and call upon this bodhisattva's name, then straightway he would find a shallow place. (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Hurvitz 2009: 311)

The follower may, so the text continues, be rescued from shipwrecks, murderers, bandits and more (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Hurvitz 2009: 311-312). Additionally, a woman desiring a son, or a daughter, can make offerings to Avalokiteśvara and she will give birth to a child of the desired gender (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Hurvitz 2009: 313).

In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, the Buddha is questioned as to the manner in which Avalokiteśvara preaches the Dharma and what devices the Bodhisattva uses. The Buddha then continues to list the various forms that Avalokiteśvara can assume in order to teach the Dharma.

> The bodhisattva He Who Observes the Sounds of the World [Avalokiteśvara], having achieved such merit as this and by resort to a variety of shapes, travels in the world, conveying the beings to salvation. For this reason you must all single-mindedly make offerings to the bodhisattva He Who Observes the Sounds of the World [Avalokiteśvara] (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Hurvitz 2009: 315).

We will see in Chapter 2, that one text that may have been known during the Hindu-Buddhist period in Java (7th century – 14th century CE) or at least in parts of Southeast Asia, is the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.

The first Mahāyāna text giving a more physical description of Avalokiteśvara is the *Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛtisūtra*, in which Avalokiteśvara is described as wearing a turban.[12] This text was translated into Chinese by Kālayaśas in 424 CE (*Sukhāvatīvyūha*, ed. Müller 1894: vii). In this *sūtra* a shunned queen asks the Buddha for a pure place that she can meditate on and she then wishes to be reborn in Amitābha's realm, Sukhāvatī (*Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛtisūtra*, trans. Takakusu 1965: 166). The Buddha describes Avalokiteśvara as one of the figures to meditate on to reach this heavenly land.

> Perceive that an image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is sitting on the left-hand flowery throne, shooting forth golden rays exactly like those of Buddha... (*Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛtisūtra*, trans. Takakusu 1965: 178-179)

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[12] Images of Avalokiteśvara wearing a turban have been found in Gandhara (De Mallmann 1948a: Pls II c-d, Divakaran 1989: 152, Fussman and Quagliotti 2012).

> …Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, whose height is eight hundred thousands of niyutas of yojanas; the colour of his body is purple gold, his head has a turban (*ushnîshasiraskatâ*) at the back of which there is a halo…
> On the top of his head is a heavenly crown with gems like those that are fastened (on Indra's head) in which crown there is a transformed Buddha standing, twenty-five yojanas high…
> (*Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛtisūtra*, trans. Takakusu 1965: 181-183).

The *sūtra* that focuses especially on Avalokiteśvara is the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* (*Avalokiteśvara-guṇa-kāraṇḍa-vyūha-sūtra*, The Magnificent Array Casket of the Qualities of Avalokiteśvara), believed to have been composed at the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the fifth century in Kashmir (Studholme 2002: 17).[13] The name of the *sūtra* indicates that the text represents a basket or casket filled with information regarding Avalokiteśvara and his qualities (Studholme 2002: 10). In the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra,* as in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Avalokiteśvara's ability to protect his followers from dangers is emphasised. The importance of the Bodhisattva's name is also highlighted, as well as Avalokiteśvara's capacity to adopt different forms in order to teach the Dharma. This is also the text which gives the well-known and powerful *mantra Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*.

We may elicit some iconographic information from this *sūtra* as well, particularly in the speech of Bali, the king of the *asuras*, to Avalokiteśvara, who is described as holding a lotus and wearing the image of the Buddha Amitābha.

> I bow my head to the one who has the image of Amitābha; you who wear a crown of a wish-fulfilling jewel in the middle of your matted locks; you who are adorned with the auspiciousness of a lotus; you who wear a crown of matted locks and you who teach the six perfections.
> (Studholme 2002: 130)

Another description of Avalokiteśvara, in the *sūtra*, highlights his connection with the lotus, an important iconographic attribute for the Bodhisattva in Java.

> Then the deva Maheśvara went and bowed down to the feet of Bodhisattva Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara and said, "I pay homage to Avalokiteśvara, great lord, who holds a lotus, who has a lotus face, who loves the lotus, who has a beautiful lotus in his hand, who has the splendour of lotuses, who travels around, who brings relief to beings, who completely illuminates

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[13] A full translation is now available online at http://read.84000.co/browser/released/U ... 51-004.pdf through the work of Peter Alan Roberts, with the consulting Lama Tulku Yeshi (Accessed 17 December 2019).

the world, and who brings comfort." (*Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, trans. Roberts with Yeshi 2014: 66)

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is another text in which we find further information on Avalokiteśvara. We can surmise that this text was known in Central Java, as we see it depicted on Borobudur. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is known as part of the larger *Avataṃsakasūtra*, an important Mahāyāna Buddhist text (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1). It is also known as a separate text with the *Bhadracarī* appended to it from the eighth century onwards, as in the third Chinese translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and on Borobudur (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 1). There are two previous Chinese translations, the first by Buddhabhadra between 418-420 CE and the second by Amoghavajra (763-779 CE, *Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 2). The *Gaṇḍavyūha* is a tale of pilgrimage in which its protagonist, Sudhana, goes on a journey after having been instructed by Mañjuśrī. Sudhana travels to various spiritual teachers, who each send him on to the next, one step closer to "supreme perfect enlightenment" (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1276). At Borobudur, the visit of Sudhana to Avalokiteśvara is shown as happening twice, in one separate relief and then in a further three in the second gallery of Borobudur. In the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, Sudhana finds Avalokiteśvara seated on a "diamond boulder",[14] the only iconographic information about Avalokiteśvara that can be gleaned from this text (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275). Avalokiteśvara greets Sudhana with the statement:

> Welcome, you who have set out on the incomparable, lofty, inconceivable Great Vehicle, intending to save all beings who are oppressed by various firmly rooted miseries and have no refuge, seeking to directly experience all the teachings of the buddhas, which are beyond all worlds, incomparable, and immeasurable… (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275-76)

Avalokiteśvara continues to tell Sudhana of the practise of "undertaking great compassion without delay" (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1276). In a similar manner to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, the reader of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* is told of all the dangers that Avalokiteśvara can rescue his followers from through his practice of "unhesitating compassion" (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1276-78). The *Gaṇḍavyūha* and its appended text, the *Bhadracarī*, will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 5.

Various *dhāraṇī*s focusing on Avalokiteśvara also exist, including the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra*, which will be discussed further in Chapter 8. It was translated into Chinese in 587 CE by Jñānagupta. A second *dhāraṇī* is the *Mahākaruṇa Dhāraṇīsūtra*, which was translated into Chinese during the Tang period.[15] This *dhāraṇī* is part of a larger text, in

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[14] "On a diamond slope, adorned with jewels,
Sitting on a lion seat in a lotus calyx (pod), the Steadfast,
Surrounded by various creatures and enlightened beings,
Expounds the Teaching to them." (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1277)
[15]https://huntingtonarchive.org/resources/downloads/sutras/05bodhisattvaYana/Great%20Compassion%20Dharani%20Sutra.doc.pdf

which Avalokiteśvara explains the benefits of reciting the *dhāraṇī*.[16] This type of text is considered to have protective properties and can also allow for the elimination of bad deeds.

> Bhagavan, if humans or gods recite and hold the phrases of the Great Compassion *Dhāraṇī*, when they are about to die, all the Buddhas of the ten directions will come to receive them with their hands, and they will be reborn in whichever Buddha-World according to their wishes.[17]

Among other benefits of reciting this *dhāraṇī* is a good death, contrasted with a list of fifteen examples of a bad death. These include dying of starvation or poverty, as well as in battle or of madness. The *dhāraṇī* can also lead to a good birth and a list of fifteen is given for this as well. A few examples of good birth are that the person would always be born in a good country under a good king, he or she would always "meet virtuous friends" and "their possessions will not be plundered".[18] This *dhāraṇī* is part of the *sūtra* connected to Avalokiteśvara's thousand-armed manifestation, a form not seen in Java.

Only a few *dhāraṇī*s connected to Avalokiteśvara have been found in or near Java, and there may be more that have not yet been identified. One such *dhāraṇī* was found on gold foil in the Cirebon-shipwreck.[19] After paying homage to the three jewels, the text continues with paying homage to the noble Avalokiteśvara (*āryyāva(lo)kiteśvarāya*), who is called "the Bodhisattva, the great being, of great compassion" (Griffiths 2014b: 157). The exact origin of the *dhāraṇī* has not been identified, but as the text mentions wind and was found on a ship, Griffiths suspects that the *dhāraṇī* may have been used to ward off the dangers of a sea voyage (Griffiths 2014b: 158).[20] Another inscribed text on a piece of metal foil found at the Plaosan Lor temple complex does not actually mention Avalokiteśvara by name, but can be linked to a *dhāraṇī* that references Avalokiteśvara (Griffiths 2014b: 160). Griffiths identified the inscribed *dhāraṇī* as being a combination of two separate *dhāraṇī*s,

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 (Accessed 17 December 2019). The full title of this *dhāraṇī* is *Thousand-Handed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva's Vast, Perfect, Unimpeded, Great Compassionate Heart Dhāraṇī Sūtra.*

[16] A *dhāraṇī* functions as a protective text that can be both spoken as a prayer or used in written form (Liebert 1976: 74; Cruijsen, Griffiths and Klokke 2012: 73).

[17] https://huntingtonarchive.org/resources/downloads/sutras/05bodhisattvaYana/Great%20Compassion%20 Dharani%20Sutra.doc.pdf p. 5.

[18] https://huntingtonarchive.org/resources/downloads/sutras/05bodhisattvaYana/Great%20Compassion%20 Dharani%20Sutra.doc.pdf p. 6. (Accessed 17 December 2019)

[19] Even though this Avalokiteśvara *dhāraṇī* was not found in Java, I am including it, as it was found on a ship that probably frequented local ports. The wreck was discovered approximately 90 nautical miles outside of Cirebon in the Java Sea. The position in which the wreck was found, and its cargo, indicate that it was bound for Java (Liebner 2014: 6). The cargo from the ship is now at the Musée Royal de Mariemont in Belgium and included glassware from the Middle East and trade ceramics from China, as well as other items (Liebner 2014: 6-7).

[20] "Sūtra of the Great *Dhāraṇī* for Extinguishing the Five Heinous Sins" (Griffiths 2014b: 160).

one unknown and the other the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanadhāraṇī* (2014b: 160).[21] While there are few examples of *dhāraṇī*s that can be directly linked to Avalokiteśvara in Java, Griffiths' work evidences that *dhāraṇī*s were in use in Java, from approximately the sixth century until the ninth or tenth century (2014b: 156, 159).

A later text, the *Sādhanamālā*, from the eleventh century CE, gives iconographic information for various manifestations of Avalokiteśvara in the context of the visualization of deities. It describes the iconography of Avalokiteśvara, but also that of various Buddhas and *bodhisattva*s. Among the Avalokiteśvara manifestations is Khasarpaṇa joined by Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva (Bhattacharyya 1958:128), which will be discussed further in Chapter 8. However, the *Sādhanamālā*, in its entirety, is too late to apply to the majority of the Javanese Avalokiteśvara images.[22] Its earlier elements may still apply. A second text with iconographic descriptions, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, gives a list of *maṇḍala*s. It was originally written by Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta at approximately the same time as the *Sādhanamālā* and describes Avalokiteśvara as the ninth Bodhisattva (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*, ed. Bhattacharyya 1949: 26). Avalokiteśvara is described as displaying the *varada-mudrā* with his right hand and holding a lotus in his left hand (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*, ed. Bhattacharyya 1949: 26).

Only a few Buddhist texts have survived from Java. One of these is the Old Javanese text, *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan,* thought to have been written between 929–947 CE, just after the centre of power had been moved from Central to East Java. It is a Mahāyāna Buddhist text, but it also contains Vajrayāna Buddhist teachings. The text mentions Avalokiteśvara a few times and describes him as representing the Dharma within the *triratna* of Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. The Buddha is described as being in the middle with the Dharma (Avalokiteśvara) on his right side and the Sangha (Vajrapāṇi) on the left (*Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, ed. Kats 1910: a53, b56).[23]

Another Old Javanese text is the *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana*, dating to the fourteenth or fifteenth century CE (Teeuw, Robson and Bernet Kempers 1981: 46). Max Nihom demonstrated that this text shows traces of older Buddhist materials, among which are three *maṇḍala*s: the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana-maṇḍala*, the *Jagadvinaya-maṇḍala* and the *Trailokyavijaya-maṇḍala*, but interestingly not the *Vajradhātu-maṇḍala* (Nihom 1994: 14). More importantly for a study of Avalokiteśvara in Java, Nihom determined that the first part of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* was known in the Indonesian Archipelago, based on a

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[21] Part of the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī* was found inscribed on a gold foil from Pura Pagulingan in Bali (Griffiths 2014b: 184).

[22] The majority of the iconographic forms of Avalokiteśvara described in the *Sādhanamālā* have not been found in Java.

[23] "Er komt eene godheid uit de rechterzijde van het lichaam van den luisterrijken Bh. Sakyamuni, rood van kleur, met de dhyana-mudrā, ontstaande uit hrīh-kāra. Hij wordt de luisterrijken Bodhisattva Lokeśvara geheeten." (*Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, ed. Kats 1910: 108)

"De heilige Śri Śakyamuni heeft in waarheid den heiligen Buddha tot tatwa, Śri Lokeśvara heeft den heiligen dharma tot tatwa, Śri Vajrapani heeft tot tatwa den edelen (eerbiedwaardigen) sanggha." (*Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*, ed. Kats 1910: 111)

comparison of the descriptions of hell in the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* and the *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana* (1994: 136).

1.3 Previous research on Avalokiteśvara's iconography

A number of monographs have been written about Avalokiteśvara in various parts of Asia, but no such study has been done for Java as of yet.

Avalokiteśvara in South Asia

The development of Avalokiteśvara's iconography in South Asia has been explored by Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann in her *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara* (1948a). She particularly examined images found in Gandhara, Sanchi, Maharashtra, Bihar and Bengal. This work continues to function as a reference source for any scholar wishing to study this Bodhisattva. She begins with an exposition of the Buddhist texts that refer to the Bodhisattva and includes extracts from translated texts.[24] The name of Avalokiteśvara has salvatory properties, which de Mallmann discusses in her examination of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (1948a: 29). De Mallmann further examines the possible origins of Avalokiteśvara, a topic which has also been researched by Dayal (1932), Chandra (1988), Studholme (2002) and Boucher (2008), to name a few important scholars. In the fourth part of her book, de Mallmann carries out a chronological study of the Indian images of Avalokiteśvara, before moving on to discussing specific iconographic and stylistic features of the images, such as the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the antelope skin (1948a: 219, 226). De Mallmann notes that a few of the features do not correspond to those described in available Buddhist texts. She also argues that the earliest images of the Bodhisattva do not show him with a Buddha figure in his *jaṭāmukuṭa*,[25] but that this becomes a fixed element by the Gupta period (de Mallmann 1948a: 311).

John C. Holt published a study of Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist traditions of Sri Lanka in 1991. Holt's approach is not art historical; through the historical study of Sri Lankan Buddhism he focuses on the development and transformation of Avalokiteśvara into a local deity named Nātha, who then eventually morphed into the future Buddha, Maitreya (Holt 1991: 19). Images as well as epigraphical evidence show the presence of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in Sri Lanka from the seventh up to and including the tenth century (Holt 1991: 91). Within this context, Holt examines the earliest bronze depictions of Avalokiteśvara in Sri Lanka, which show the Bodhisattva as an independent figure (Holt 1991: 76). These Sri Lankan statuettes date to approximately the eighth century CE, the same time frame in which we begin to see a large number of Central Javanese bronze statuettes (Holt: 1991: Pls 1-7). The iconography began to change when Avalokiteśvara developed into Nātha. Although Avalokiteśvara's characteristic feature, the Amitābha

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[24] These texts include *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (de Mallmann 1948a: 21), *Amitāyurbuddhānusmṛti Sūtra* (1948a: 22*)*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (1948a: 28), *Lokeśvaraśataka* (1948a: 36), *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* (1948a: 39), *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (1948a: 47) and *Sādhanamālā* (1948a: 48).

[25] These early images originate from the Gandhara region.

Buddha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, remains present in images of Nātha, a greater emphasis was placed on royal features (Holt 1991: 87).

Avalokiteśvara in Mainland Southeast Asia

Nandana Chutiwongs made a PhD study of Avalokiteśvara in Mainland Southeast Asia in 1984, which was published in 2002. Her collection of images, along with her analysis, are of great support to anyone interested in the Bodhisattva's role in Mainland Southeast Asian culture. After a general introduction, Chutiwongs focuses on Burma,[26] and then moves to central Thailand (particularly the so-called Dvāravatī period), Cambodia[27] and eventually Campā.

Each of Chutiwongs' chapters begin with an overview of the development of Buddhism in these geographical areas. Chutiwongs then explores the role of Avalokiteśvara within local Buddhism, how he was portrayed and what roles he fulfilled. In the conclusion of the thesis she notes that Avalokiteśvara's role in the Buddhism of Mainland Southeast Asia evolved over time and that he functioned as an assistant to the Buddha, an "anonymous divine worshipper" and an independent deity (Chutiwongs 1984: 489). She performs an iconographic and stylistic analysis of the images of Avalokiteśvara and attempts to place them in a chronological order (Chutiwongs 1984: 484). She traces the earliest Avalokiteśvara images in Mainland Southeast Asia to influence from northern India during the Gupta period. This stimulus did not penetrate to what is now modern Cambodia, but it was evident in Śrī Kṣetra (Burma), Dvāravatī (Thailand), Campā (Central Vietnam) and in the Thai-Malay Peninsula (1984: 485). According to Chutiwongs, the area of origin of influence then switched to Maharashtra during the late Gupta and post-Gupta period (1984: 484). In the Mainland Southeast Asian material, she frequently observes a combination of characteristics that can be associated with the Avalokiteśvara images from Maharashtra, the western Deccan and the eastern Deccan. Relationships with northeastern India can be seen from the eighth century CE, specifically in "Burma and the Malay archipelago" (Chutiwongs 1984: 485). The final effect of Buddhist knowledge from this region on Mainland Southeast Asia came at the end of the twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries CE, probably because monks were fleeing from Buddhist monasteries, for instance Nalanda, to various regions among which was Southeast Asia (Chutiwongs 1984: 485).

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[26] Burma is known for its Theravāda Buddhism, and even though Avalokiteśvara is a figure popular in Mahāyāna forms of Buddhism, the Bodhisattva found some popularity in the area (Chutiwongs 1984: 112). Votive tablets from the eighth century and later show the Bodhisattva in various attitudes (Chutiwongs 1984: Pls 34 - 38). Some of the tablets appear to originate from Northeast India and others were produced locally (1984: 112). These tablets along with metal images of the Bodhisattva indicate that there was a local cult of the Bodhisattva (1984: 112).

[27] In Khmer art Avalokiteśvara often takes on an accompanying role in a triad and is joined by Prajñāpāramitā. He is also present in a slightly more unusual group of four, which consists of Avalokiteśvara, the Buddha, Prajñāpāramitā and Vajrapāṇi (Chutiwongs 1984: 334). The worship of Avalokiteśvara increased during the early tenth century in Cambodia (Chutiwongs 1984: 318). The form of worship changed during the reign of Jayavarman VII, at which point the Bodhisattva had a role within the apotheosis pantheon, which led to Avalokiteśvara eventually being worshipped as a healer of the sick (Chutiwongs 1984: 319).

Avalokiteśvara in China

Chün-Fang Yü's exhaustive work on *The Chinese Transformation of Avalokiteśvara* (2001) deals with the domestication of Avalokiteśvara in China.[28] Yü examines scriptures, miracle tales, iconography, ritual and pilgrimage. The Bodhisattva became domesticated in China through pilgrimage sites and was also absorbed into local legends such as that of the Princess Miao-shan (Yü 2001: 348). Yü's comprehensive method yields a thorough study of how the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara developed over time into a female deity in China. Such a broad approach would also be beneficial for the examination of the cultural significance of Avalokiteśvara in Java. Unfortunately, the lack of written materials and accounts referring to the Bodhisattva in Java makes this avenue unfeasible. An iconographic and stylistic analysis is the best way forward to provide insight into the worship of Avalokiteśvara in Java and is therefore the major focus of my research.

Avalokiteśvara in Insular Southeast Asia

No separate, comprehensive study of Avalokiteśvara exists for Insular Southeast Asia. A number of Avalokiteśvara images have been found on Sumatra and these were included in Nik Hassan Shuhaimi's PhD thesis from 1984, *Art, archaeology and the early kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra: c. 400-1400 A.D.* A group of Buddhist statuettes was also found at Sambas in western Kalimantan in the 1940s, which included four images of Avalokiteśvara (Quaritch Wales 1949: 23-32, Harrisson 1949: 33-110).

A few articles focus on Avalokiteśvara in Java. In a 1994 article Nandana Chutiwongs discussed several of the 'pensive' Avalokiteśvara statuettes from Java. She compares them with other similar images elsewhere, including India and Mainland Southeast Asia. She notes that "the popularity of this type of Avalokiteśvara image seems to have been confined only to the sphere of Indonesian culture in Southeast Asia, and the Far East" (1994: 103). She suggests that these images may have a relationship with the Buddhist teachers Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra, who travelled from India to China via sea and stayed for a period of time in the Indonesian archipelago (Chutiwongs 1994: 103-104). In Chapter 4, I will elaborate on the Javanese images.

In a slightly longer article, Nancy Tingley (2006-07) studied the stone images of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara that have remained *in situ*. Tingley deduced that the artists who made the Avalokiteśvara reliefs on Borobudur must have had a wide-spread knowledge of Avalokiteśvara, as he was depicted in various iconographic forms (2006-07: 70). Tingley concludes that the Javanese sculptors tended to remain faithful to the Buddhist texts when illustrating these on monuments, such as Candi Mendut and Borobudur (2006-07: 77). The artists may have remained faithful to the narrative of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Bhadracarī*; however, there is little iconographic information about Avalokiteśvara available in these two texts, as will be discussed in Chapter 5. Texts

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[28] Yü commented that Avalokiteśvara is associated with royalty in Southeast Asia as well as in Sri Lanka, which Holt also noted for Sri Lanka (2001: 3).

that may have had an impact on the design of Candi Mendut or the Plaosan Lor complex, which have Avalokiteśvara images, are still being debated by scholars and I will return to this issue in Chapter 7.

Tingley did not incorporate the many Avalokiteśvara bronzes from Java in her study, stating that while the majority of available images are bronzes and as "…the context within which bronze images were worshipped [is absent], it is not possible to fully comprehend the individual object's import" (2006-07: 65). She suggests that a focus on Javanese *in situ* stone images is "more useful in furthering our understanding of Javanese Buddhism as it was practised in ninth- through thirteenth century Java" (Tingley 2006-07: 65). Reviewing only one type of image, i.e. those on state temples, informs us about one type of context. While I agree that the full importance of an image without a context may be difficult to understand, we should, however, try and use all available information to get a better idea of Avalokiteśvara's meaning in various contexts in Java. The large number of Avalokiteśvara statuettes in bronze, silver or gold may partly compensate for the loss of their original context.

While Tingley's article focuses only on Javanese images, Chutiwongs, in her 2010 article, gives a brief overview of Avalokiteśvara images from Java as well as other parts of Insular Southeast Asia, including ten illustrations of images from Java. Chutiwongs notes the many stylistic and iconographic varieties of these Avalokiteśvara images, which, according to her, indicate that the Bodhisattva played various roles in Insular Southeast Asia, such as the "personification of Universal Compassion" and as part of triads with Buddha in the centre (2010: 8). As for the origin of stylistic traits, she comments:

> The amazing varieties in style of Avalokiteśvara images made during the period and in areas under Sailendra supremacy, reveal many different types of artistic influences which entered maritime Southeast Asia from various art and cultural centres abroad… (Chutiwongs 2010: 2).

Chutiwongs distinguishes five main sources of "influences" from India that affected the production of Avalokiteśvara images in Insular Southeast Asia (2010:10). These are the Gupta-style, the Buddhist caves at Maharashtra, the Amaravati style of Southeast India, Sri Lanka and medieval Northeast India[29] (2010: 10-11). She also offers an approximate chronology (2010: 3).

The dating of Buddhist temples in Java is by necessity broad. We also only have a few images of the Bodhisattva in bronze that have been excavated in a serious archaeological manner. Therefore, we have very limited chronological information for bronze Avalokiteśvaras. A few known find sites of bronzes exist, such as Klaten and the Prambanan area for two 'pensive' Avalokiteśvaras (Maps 3 and 4, Cat. nos 86 and 111). Further examples of find sites for the two-armed, standing Avalokiteśvara images in

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[29]The area concerned includes Bihar, Bengal and Odisha in Northeast India.

bronze, are two locations in Central Java, Sragen and Desa Karangjambe in Banjarnegara, Banyumas (Map 3, Cat. nos 232 and 248), along with three others that were found in East Java at Puger Wetan and Semarang (Map 4, Cat. nos 249-251). A four-armed, standing Avalokiteśvara in gold was found at Demak in Central Java (Map 3, Cat. no. 255), but this image was unfortunately destroyed in a fire at the Paris Colonial Exhibition in 1931 (Bosch and Le Roux 1931: 663-683). A large Avalokiteśvara image in silver-plated bronze was found at Tekaran, Wonogiri in Central Java and can now be seen in the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta (Map 3, Cat. no. 259). Finally, only one bronze image of the Bodhisattva found on Sumatra carries an inscribed date, Śaka year 961, 1039 CE (Cat. no. 278, Griffiths 2014a: 218). The majority of images made in bronze or other metals are now in various museums, having lost their original contextual information.

Research on Javanese Buddhist imagery

While only a few studies have focused specifically on Avalokiteśvara, several scholars have discussed bronze statuettes of Avalokiteśvara within the context of larger groups of Buddhist and Hindu images found in Java, or elsewhere in Indonesia or Insular Southeast Asia. As part of the Gonda Lecture in 2012, Robert Brown discussed the importance of bronze statuettes in the spread and development of Buddhism in Southeast Asia. According to Brown, Buddhism could flourish outside of monastic institutions due to metal icons (2014: 31). During the sixth and seventh centuries CE, these icons introduced in Southeast Asia "a new source for expressing Buddhist sentiments" in a non-institutional context (Brown 2014: 33).

One of the most important studies, and one I will often refer to, is Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer's attempt to identify stylistic developments among Javanese bronzes (Lunsingh Scheurleer in Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988). Her study was, however, based on a limited number of images, from Dutch collections only. She included Avalokiteśvara images in all her groups, except for Group 5, which consists of images from the Nganjuk *maṇḍala* (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: Pls 51-53).[30]

Lunsingh Scheurleer's first four groups, with images from Java, are the most important for my research. She describes the first phase of Hindu and Buddhist bronze production in Java as reliant on bronze models imported from India and copied by local bronze casters (Groups 1 and 2; Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 24-30). The next step in the development of bronze image production was eventually in what she calls a 'pure Javanese style' dated to the Central Javanese period (Group 3; Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 80-90). In Group 4 she brings together later bronzes that show a third phase of development. These bronzes are believed to originate from both Central and East Java and date from the late Central Javanese to the early East Javanese period (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 91-102).

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[30] Avalokiteśvara is not among the surviving bronzes of the *maṇḍala* (Krom 1913a).

Work has also been done on identifying and discussing Avalokiteśvara's role in the context of iconographic programmes of specific temples (Krom 1927, Bosch 1930 and 1938, Singhal 1991, Bautze-Picron 1997, Long 2009). Krom tried to identify the group of eight *bodhisattva*s in the *Bhadracarī* reliefs on the fourth gallery of Borobudur as well as on the outside of Candi Mendut (1927). Other researchers, such as C. Bautze-Picron and M. Long, have also tried to identify this group of eight *bodhisattva*s (1997, 2009). Singhal (1991) discussed Avalokiteśvara at Candi Mendut in the context of the entire iconographic programme which she believed relates to the *Garbhādhatumaṇḍala*. These iconographic programmes will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 7.

The research on Javanese images of Avalokiteśvara has thus far indicated a variety of iconographical forms, but no work has incorporated all available Avalokiteśvara images and tried to analyse them as a group of related objects. It seems fruitful to carry out a more comprehensive study that includes all Avalokiteśvara images from Java. Such a study needs to focus on all his aspects, not just one. This includes interpreting stone, bronze and other metal sculptures in relationship with each other and discussing not only contexts with important monastic and royal involvement, such as Borobudur, but also contexts in which more popular ideas on Avalokiteśvara functioned.

1.4 Aims and organisation of the thesis

The first aim of the thesis is to collect and make available a comprehensive collection of Javanese Avalokiteśvara images, dating from around the seventh century to the thirteenth century CE. These are now organised in the Catalogue and are ordered after the thesis chapters.[31] However, this collection should not be considered final as more archaeological discoveries may add to it in the future. Secondly, the intention is to analyse this material art historically through iconography and style by creating iconographic groups and discuss stylistic developments within these groups. A categorisation of iconographic and stylistic features can help us place the bronze Avalokiteśvara statuettes in time, establish workshops and developments, identify relationships with images from other Buddhist regions and give further insight into connections between Java and the rest of the Buddhist world. I also hope to gain more information on the function of the images, both in royal foundations and in more popular contexts.

The images of Avalokiteśvara that have been found in Java illustrate a broad stylistic diversity and several different iconographies. In order to organise these images for further study, I have developed groups that either centre on a specific iconographic feature, or on a combination of stylistic and iconographic features. The choice of these groups has been dictated by the images themselves or by their location on a particular temple. The groups are described in a loosely chronological order. Thus, in Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 6, I will examine groups of Avalokiteśvara images that are based on specific iconographic features,

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[31] In order for the Catalogue to be as extensive as possible, I have included examples of Avalokiteśvara images despite their photographs being of poor quality.

sometimes in combination with stylistic characteristics, as in Chapter 6. If there are many images in a group, the group is further divided into stylistic subgroups.

The standing ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara, which is common in Peninsular Thailand, but rare in Java is focused on in Chapter 2. It may be one of the earliest forms of the Bodhisattva in Insular Southeast Asia. In Chapter 3, I examine images in which Avalokiteśvara sits in *lalitāsana*, a popular iconographic stance for these metal Avalokiteśvara images in Java. It is in this group that we may find evidence of images originating from South Asia as well as for the chronological development of a local artistic language. Another iconographic form is studied in Chapter 4, the 'pensive' Avalokiteśvara. I will discuss the history behind the naming of this iconographic form and examine how it may have reached Java and was adopted. It was not a common iconographic depiction in South Asia but became quite popular in China in the form of Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara. In Chapter 6, I focus on an iconographic group of Avalokiteśvara images, unique to Java, seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. These images were most likely produced over a limited period of time, judging from their similarity in style.

Despite their variable iconography, I chose to group the *in situ* stone images, such as those at Borobudur, Candi Mendut and the Plaosan Lor complex, in order to discuss them as part of their shared art historical context in the same iconographic programme (Chapters 5 and 7). In Chapter 5, I examine the reliefs of Avalokiteśvara found on Borobudur, which gives me information I can then use in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7, the remaining *in situ* images in stone of the Bodhisattva in Central Java, at Candi Mendut and the Plaosan Lor complex, are examined and compared with the available, smaller metal Avalokiteśvara statuettes with a similar iconography. This type of comparison is continued in Chapter 8, in which I deal with both stone and bronze images of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara from Java, the Avalokiteśvara form who carries a rope to rescue souls. In these chapters, the art historical context allows for the dating of a group of bronzes in Chapter 6 and a comparison between the types of iconographic forms depicted in stone and those in bronze. Chapter 9 is the conclusion, in which I try to pull together the information gathered in the other chapters to further understand the development of Avalokiteśvara imagery and Avalokiteśvara's cult in Java.

The catalogue for this thesis is structured following the chapters and the final sections focus on the remaining standing Avalokiteśvara bronze images that could not be included with the ascetic Avalokiteśvara (Chapter 2) or the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras (Chapter 8). Among these, is a large number of standing bronze statuettes of the Bodhisattva (Cat. nos 225-278), referenced briefly in Chapter 7. A further group of Avalokiteśvaras, seated in *padmāsana*, will also be included despite not being discussed in the thesis (Cat. nos 279-282), along with a singular Avalokiteśvara head (Cat. no. 283). I have added these in order to be as comprehensive as possible. During my research I found more images, even up to the moment of finalizing this thesis. Those found at the last moment have been placed in an Addendum to the Catalogue (p. 321). Furthermore, I have included the numbers of the images in the National Museum of Indonesia in Jakarta that I did not have access to (p. 319), but which are briefly described by Krom (1913a). While I have attempted to make

the catalogue as comprehensive as possible, I realise I may still have missed images and as noted above, further publications or discoveries may add to the number of Avalokiteśvara images from Java.

After each group of images, I present iconographic features (hand gestures and attributes) in tables as part of the Catalogue. For further reference I have also listed the category numbers of the images that have specific features in common. These features are inscriptions, dot and circle patterns on the lower garment, the use of the tiger skin around the hips and those bronzes that I date to 825-850 CE (p.319).

Plate 2. Two-armed ascetic Avalokiteśvara in the Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet, Paris (Cat. no. 1).

Chapter 2

The ascetic Avalokiteśvara:

the earliest Avalokiteśvara in Java?

> If one happens to fall into the dreadful ocean, the abode of
> Nāgas, marine monsters, and demons, he has but to think of
> Avalokiteśvara, and he shall never sink down in the king of
> waters.
> (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Chapter 24; ed. Kern 1884: 413)

2.1 Introduction

When we think of Javanese images of Avalokiteśvara, we usually picture the richly
bejewelled statues of Candi Mendut or the myriad of Avalokiteśvara bronzes. However, I
will begin by examining an Avalokiteśvara statuette of bronze devoid of any jewellery,
except for a simple diadem around the head, and who also does not wear a *yajñopavīta*
(Cat. no. 1). It was found in Java, but its exact find site is no longer known. It is now in the
Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet (MnaaG) in Paris.

I consider this image related to a type of Avalokiteśvara without any jewellery or
yajñopavīta that I call 'ascetic'. I herein follow Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, who used this
term to describe Avalokiteśvara images in Maharashtra that are, as she noted, similar to an
ascetic Brahmin, who do not wear any ornamentation and only have a simple hairdo or
jaṭāmukuṭa (1948a: 146).[32] The same term was used by Pia Brancaccio for Avalokiteśvaras
lacking jewellery in the Aurangabad caves (2011: 142, 168). Osmund Bopearachchi also
used the term 'ascetic' as well as 'yogi' to describe Sri Lankan Avalokiteśvaras without
jewellery, but with a deer skin over the left shoulder (2014). Because of the sparseness of
jewellery and the absence of a *yajñopavīta*, I consider the Javanese image (Cat. no. 1) also
an ascetic representation of Avalokiteśvara.[33]

It is my theory that this small, bronze, ascetic Avalokiteśvara represents one of Java's
earliest Avalokiteśvara images. After a description of the image, I will substantiate my
theory through a comparison with similar images found in other parts of Southeast Asia,
through a comparison with stone images that lack jewellery and a *yajñopavīta* in the

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[32] "Enfin, tous les Avalokitesvara que nous avons rencontrés dans l'art Gupta et post-Gupta du Maharashtra
nous ont frappée par leur absence presque totale de parures, sauf à l'extreme fin du style, et par le port du
simple jatamukuta sans ornement qui, nous l'avons dit, lui donnent l'aspect d'un ascète brahmanique"
(de Mallmann 1948a: 146).
[33] The asceticism of Avalokiteśvara was initially linked with that of Brahmā as both figures would wear the
same kind of dress and hairdo, as well as hold a lotus, water vessel or rosary (Waddell 1894: 57-59). Later,
the same connection would be made with Śiva (Studholme 2002: 37-59).

Buddhist caves of Maharashtra, Western India, and by means of recent theories on the spread of early Hindu and Buddhist iconographic forms in Southeast Asia.

2.2 The Javanese ascetic Avalokiteśvara statuette: iconography and style

The Avalokiteśvara bronze from the Musée national des arts asiatiques - Guimet stands in a flexed pose with his left hip pushed slightly to the left, on a circular base. The figure wears only a simple diadem and no other jewellery and the *yajñopavīta* is missing as well. He wears a plain lower garment, tied with a simple ribbon at the hips. His *jaṭāmukuṭa* is concealed behind the seated Buddha at the top of his head, but braids of his ascetic hair (*jaṭā*) fall on both shoulders. Around his scalp is a simple tiara, possibly representing natural materials that an ascetic would use to bind up the hair. The figure has a broken right arm, but the left arm remains intact, holding a water vessel. The position of the broken right arm provides no indication as to its possible attribute or hand gesture. However, taking into account common iconography in the region as well as in India, a possible attribute would be a lotus, or the hand could have displayed a *mudrā* such as the *abhaya-mudrā* or the *varada-mudrā*.

This small Javanese bronze was discussed by Le Bonheur (1971). He believed it to be genuine and compared it stylistically with Avalokiteśvara bronze images found at Ak Yum in Cambodia and at Surat Thani in Thailand (Cat. nos 3 and 8, Le Bonheur 1971: 152). While this is the only metal, ascetic Avalokiteśvara known to originate from Java, it is not a lone image when the rest of Southeast Asia is considered (Maps 1 and 2).

2.3 Similar ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in other parts of Southeast Asia

In other parts of Insular Southeast Asia, we find a few more, similar, bronze ascetic Avalokiteśvaras (Cat. nos 2-11, Map 1). All of these images are standing forms; none of them wear any jewellery or a sacred thread, although some carry a simple tiara. Based on their style of clothing I have divided them into two groups.

Group 1: Statuettes of Avalokiteśvara without jewellery and with a plain lower garment (Cat. nos 1-3, Map 1)

Group 1 consists of three images, among which is the Javanese statuette. These wear a plain lower garment (Cat. nos 1-3). The other two statuettes in Group 1 were found in Sumatra and Cambodia.

Group 2: Statuettes of Avalokiteśvara without jewellery and with a lower garment with a herringbone pattern (Cat. nos 4-11, Map 2)

Group 2 is slightly larger. The images wear a different style of dress with the centre part of the lower garment pulled up and over the waist band, creating a herringbone pleat pattern (Cat. nos 4-11). These statuettes are from Sumatra, Peninsular Thailand and Northeast

Thailand. A number of these bronzes have been studied by Chutiwongs in 1984 and 2010 (Cat. nos 5-7) and Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke (1988: Pls 54 and 7, Cat. nos 4 and 15). However, up until now these ascetic Avalokiteśvaras have not been grouped together as a whole, and neither has their spread been mapped.

The majority of ascetic Avalokiteśvara images that have been found in Insular Southeast Asia are damaged in some manner. This makes it difficult to determine what type of hand gesture they may have displayed or which attributes they held. Most of these images have two arms, but one statuette has four arms (Cat. no. 10) with all its attributes still intact. These are a rosary in the upper right hand and a lotus in the lower right hand, along with a book in the upper left hand and a water vessel in the lower left hand. In three of the two-armed Avalokiteśvaras we can identify a water vessel in the left hand (Cat. nos 1, 3 and 11), an attribute often associated with ascetics. The hands of all the other images are now missing.

The original location of a few of these images suggests a seventh century date. Two of these statuettes were found in the neighbourhood of Palembang (Cat. nos 4 and 7). This area is believed to have been the heart of the Śrīvijaya polity, known from the writings of the Chinese Buddhist monk Yijing (Yijing 1896), as well as local, seventh century sources.[34] One image (Cat. no. 3) is documented as having come from Ak Yum, a pre-Angkorian site in Angkor, Cambodia, which would also suggest a seventh or early eighth century date (Higham 2004: 58, Woodward 2010: 91).

Stylistically, we can note various differences among the images, for instance in the facial features and in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*s. The image from Cambodia has a slightly shorter garment than the rest, and the Javanese and Sumatran statuettes have threads of hair lying on their shoulders, while others do not show this feature (Cat. nos 3-11). It may be concluded that these groups are not the result of one workshop, but products of various places. They show an early common Insular Southeast Asian interest in the ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara.

Related metal images

Several other bronze images are related to this group of ascetic Avalokiteśvaras. They have ascetic hair and either do not wear any jewellery, like the ascetic images, but do have a *yajñopavīta*, or are lightly adorned but do not have a *yajñopavīta*. The statuettes with a sacred thread have been found in Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan and Thailand. Their iconography varies, as this group includes both standing figures as described above (Cat. nos 14-29) and seated figures (Cat. nos 40-42). The standing figures have either two or four arms. In a few cases the arms have suffered some damage, but there are several four-armed statuettes in which we can determine the attributes and hand gestures (Cat. nos 15-18). There is a bit of variety, but the most common ones are the *varada-mudrā* for the lower right hand, the rosary for the upper right hand, the book for the upper left

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[34] Srivijaya is also mentioned in later sources. However, I believe these bronze ascetic Avalokiteśvaras date to the seventh century CE, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

hand and a lotus in the lower left hand (Table 1-3). These figures also all wear a tiger skin around the hips. The three seated statuettes all have two arms and display the *varada-mudrā* with the right hand, while the left hand holds a lotus in two of the statuettes.

The images that do not have a *yajñopavīta* but do carry a few pieces of jewellery (Cat. nos 30-34) include a statuette that is now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA). It wears simple earrings and a necklace (Cat. no. 30). Another image is much larger and is now in the National Museum in Bangkok (Cat. no. 31). This figure, too, does not wear a *yajñopavīta*, but does have earrings. As in Groups 1 and 2, these statuettes, that are closely related, show various styles. For instance, a number of them carry a tower-shaped hairdo (*jaṭāmukuṭa*) with a flat top (Cat. nos 15-17, 19-21), while others show the more common bun-shaped *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Cat. no. 18). The majority of this large group of sparsely decorated, mostly standing statuettes are in *samapāda*, while thirteen stand with their hip jutting out to the side.[35]

Among these are four silver statuettes (Cat. nos 15-18) that reveal a similarity in both style and iconography. They may have been produced in the same workshop[36] or foundry. One of these statuettes was found on Borobudur and is now in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (Cat. no. 15). The second image is part of the Sambas hoard from Kalimantan, now on display at the British Museum (Cat. no. 17). The stylistic similarities include the shape of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, with hair locks hanging down on either shoulder, the tulip style of the lotus flower and the thinness of the Bodhisattva's arms. The other two silver statuettes do not share this strong similarity, but they could still have been produced at the same workshop.[37]

Related stone images

Apart from these metal depictions showing an iconographic similarity with the ascetic Avalokiteśvara in Groups 1 and 2, there are also a few stone depictions that illustrate a similar connection to these statuettes (Cat. nos 35-39). These stone images show the Bodhisattva wearing either a sacred thread or an animal skin over his left shoulder. One stone statue, which is believed to originate from Phnom Da in the Angkor Borei district, Cambodia (Cat. no. 35), shares the lack of jewellery and the herringbone patterned lower garment.[38] The two Sumatran stone statues (Cat. nos 38-39) each have a tiger skin wrapped around the hips, in a different style from how it is depicted in bronze. Shuhaimi dated the Avalokiteśvara (Cat. no. 39), which he calls 'mitred', to the last quarter of the seventh century and the first half of the eighth century CE, based on both stylistic and

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[35] Cat. nos 14, 16, 19-21, 24, 26-28, 30-34.
[36] The use of the term 'workshop' is for practical reasons, as the bronze statuettes were likely produced in a foundry that also made other objects. The idea of workshops will be discussed further in Chapters 6 and 9.
[37] Another statuette that could be attributed to this workshop is an eight-armed bronze from Central Java (Cat. no. 207).
[38] The statue is currently at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (IS.22-1988).

iconographic comparisons with images from Bangka in Java and Sri Lanka (1976: 123).[39] Shuhaimi also considered the four-armed Avalokiteśvara from Sumatra dateable to the middle of the eighth century CE (1976: 123). While we do not have exact find sites for these five stone statues, they were in the vicinity of a populated area, rather than secluded caves suitable for ascetic living. Despite the similarities in iconography and the length of the lower garment, these statues show varying styles in how the body is formed, in facial features as well as in hair style.

These stone statues indicate that the iconography linked to ascetic Avalokiteśvaras was not limited to small metal statuettes that suggest a personal use, but may have been in use in a monastic or temple setting as well. The statue found 500 metres to the west of Telaga Batu in Sumatra (Cat. no. 39), was discovered near a wall that Shuhaimi theorised had been part of a larger structure that housed the statue (1978: 46-47).[40] It appears that this ascetic iconography remained important in later Khmer art (Chutiwongs 1984: Pls 126-127), whereas in Java a princely form of Avalokiteśvara became dominant, which did, however, retain some elements of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara, such as the water vessel, the tiger skin and the *jaṭāmukuta* (Cat. nos. 218, 236, 263 and 265).

2.4 Iconographic and stylistic comparison with images from India

As far as I am aware, no similar small and metal ascetic Avalokiteśvara images have been found in India. However, a comparable iconography can be found in stone reliefs in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra at Ellora, Ajanta, Aurangabad and Bagh. These ascetic depictions occur primarily in three different iconographic situations: the first showing the Bodhisattva standing as an attendant to the seated Buddha with a second *bodhisattva*; the second showing him as the focus of a triad with two female attendants; and the third presenting him as Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara ("Saviour from Eight Great Perils", also referred to as the Litany of Avalokiteśvara).[41] De Mallmann included these three types of depictions in her monograph on Avalokiteśvara in India (1948a).

She noted that the clothing and *jaṭāmukuṭa*s of Avalokiteśvara remained the same throughout the caves' chronology, but the antelope skin over the left shoulder was a late addition to the cave iconography (1948a: 136). Part of creating the brahmanic iconography for Avalokiteśvara lay in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* design. While most of the *jaṭāmukuṭa* depictions lack a tiara, those who do carry this feature have minimal ornamentation (de Mallmann 1948a: 136).[42]

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[39] Shuhaimi uses the term 'mitred' to describe Avalokiteśvara's hairdo for this particular statue. There is an Avalokiteśvara image from Sri Lanka that has a similar hairdo (Chutiwongs 1984: Pl. 22).

[40] Shuhaimi connects the statue found near Telaga Batu (Cat. no 39), to Avalokiteśvara statues found at Situlpavu monastery in Sri Lanka (1978: 52).

[41] In the Maharashtra caves the ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara exists concurrently with the princely form of the Bodhisattva (Brancaccio 2011: 283).

[42] "Le *jaṭāmukuta* (nous le désignerons désormais sous ce nom) est rarement ceint d'un diadème; lorsqu'il existe, celui-ci est peu ornementé; il contient habituellement une figurine de Buddha, assis à l'indienne, et donc le geste est variable; nous y reviendrons plus loin" (de Mallmann 1948a: 136).

An example of the attendant type can be found in Cave 8 at the Ellora cave complex, where we see Avalokiteśvara standing outside a cella in which the Buddha sits (Malandra 1993: fig. 99). The figure can be identified as Avalokiteśvara through the seated Buddha figure in his *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The Bodhisattva does not wear any jewellery or a *yajñopavīta*. He stands in *samapāda* and displays the *abhaya-mudrā* with his right hand and holds a lotus in his left hand. This is a quite common type of Avalokiteśvara depiction in the Buddhist cave complexes in western India. Other examples are found in Cave 10 at Ellora and Cave 26 at Ajanta, for instance (ArtStor Id. no. 3659 and 11382).

We see the second type of ascetic depiction, without jewellery or a *yajñopavīta*, when Avalokiteśvara sits in *bhadrāsana* and is flanked by two standing female figures (identified as Bhṛkuṭī and Tārā), as in Cave 4 at Ellora (Malandra 1993: 42). In this relief Avalokiteśvara displays the *abhaya-mudrā* with his right hand and holds a lotus in his left. Another example of Avalokiteśvara in the centre of such a triad can be seen in Cave 90 at Kanheri, where he stands in *samapāda* between Bhṛkuṭī and Tārā (Pl. 2A).

The third ascetic type of representation, without jewellery or a *yajñopavīta*, is the Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara, which is found at many of the cave complexes, including Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad and Kanheri (Pl. 2B). One of its earliest examples can be found in Cave 4 at Ajanta (Spink 2005 Vol. 5: 98). The work on Cave 4 is thought to have begun in 464 CE and after a hiatus it was resumed in 474 CE. Its Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara likely dates to the late fifth century CE (Spink 2005 Vol. 1: figs 63-66).

We find the Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara in various other caves at the different complexes, such as in Cave 7 at Aurangabad, dated to 525-575 CE (Brancaccio 2011: 160). There, a standing ascetic Avalokiteśvara is surrounded by eight different depictions of perils (Pl. 2B). The central Avalokiteśvara displays the *abhaya-mudrā* with his right hand and he holds a lotus in his left hand. The reliefs on either side of him show various dangers that the Bodhisattva can rescue his followers from. We find these dangers described in Chapter 24 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, as mentioned in Chapter 1.

From the top right-hand side of Avalokiteśvara these perils are fire, outlaws, imprisonment and shipwrecks.

> If one be thrown into a pit of fire, by a wicked enemy with the
> object of killing him, he has but to think of Avalokiteśvara, and
> the fire shall be quenched as if sprinkled with water...
> Mighty spells, witchcraft, herbs, ghosts, and spectres,
> pernicious to life, revert thither whence they come, when one
> thinks of Avalokiteśvara (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Kern
> 1884: 413-414).

From the top on the left-hand side, the reliefs show that Avalokiteśvara can rescue his followers from lions, snakes, elephants and magic spells. These reliefs probably aimed to

broadly cover the dangers of daily life in Maharashtra, whether faced by sailors, merchants or pilgrims.

When comparing the ascetic Avalokiteśvara statuette from Java (Cat. no. 1) with the ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra, we find a close similarity in dress. Both the Javanese statuette and the images in the Indian caves wear plain, unpatterned wraparound textiles, with a cloth pleat between the legs. The other dress style, the herringbone pleat pattern of Group 2, may be compared to the style with a herringbone pattern seen in images from the sixth century CE in western India for depictions of Śiva (Schastok 1985: Pls 1 and 5). However, as this type of dress is found in various parts of India, for instance South India (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 26), we cannot determine which visual source in India inspired the herringbone dress style of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara images found in Sumatra and Thailand. It is also possible that this type of dress representation developed separately in Southeast Asia.

In Section 2.2 of this chapter, I noted the break in the right arm of the Musée Guimet statuette (Cat. no. 1). For depictions of Avalokiteśvara in Insular Southeast Asia the *varada-mudrā* became a popular gesture. In those cases, the arm is depicted alongside the body and not extending out, lowering the risk of damage to the arm. Other statuettes within the group of ascetic Avalokiteśvaras have evidence of a similar type of damage, possibly caused by the lower arm being extended out from the body (Cat. nos 2, 4 and 8). Some of these still have part of the extended lower arm. This leads me to suspect that the Bodhisattva either held a lotus in this hand (as in Cat. no. 10) or displayed the *abhaya-mudrā*, mirroring the iconography seen for several of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara depictions in the Buddhist caves in India. One example can be seen in Cave 26 at Ajanta, which has been dated to the late fifth century CE (Malandra 1993: 51, Spink 2005 Vol. 3: 226). In the Cave 26 Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara relief, the ascetic Avalokiteśvara extends his right hand in the gesture of fearlessness, with a rosary, and in the left hand he holds the stem of a long lotus as well as a small water vessel.

In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, there is evidence of the Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara using the *abhaya-mudrā* gesture in order to provide safety. In the translation Avalokiteśvara is described as taking the form of "Saha-world Abhayandada (i.e. Giver of Safety)", in which the term '*abhaya*' is included in the name (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Kern 1884: 412). If my theory that the Insular Southeast Asian ascetic Avalokiteśvaras displayed the *abhaya-mudrā* is proven to be incorrect, it is unlikely that they actually represent Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara. It should also be noted that there are no representations of Avalokiteśvara surrounded by the perils he can save a worshipper from in Insular Southeast Asia. If these statuettes did not display the *abhaya-mudrā*, then they likely represented a generic ascetic Avalokiteśvara, who cannot be directly connected to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.

The repeated appearance of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist cave complexes indicates his popularity. This popularity may reflect an attitude of anti-"institutional monasticism", as discussed by Gregory Schopen in his article on the difference between

the supposed development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India and actual evidence for this (2005: 15). Schopen identified a strong "radical asceticism", expressed in early Mahāyāna texts (2005: 15), which was likely of some importance to those who commissioned the carvings in the early Buddhist caves. Although the texts that Schopen examines are dated as early as the third century CE[43] (2005: 15), it is not until the production of the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra that asceticism for *bodhisattva*s is evidenced in Buddhist art.[44]

Unfortunately, we do not find textual evidence for this interest in asceticism in Insular Southeast Asia. However, we do have ascetic Avalokiteśvara images, as well as clay tablets illustrating two ascetic *bodhisattva*s, indicating that the ascetic ideal was appreciated to a certain degree in the area in a Buddhist context (Cat. nos 12-13). While there is a difference in the material used for these stone depictions in India, in comparison to the metal statuettes of Southeast Asia, it is interesting to note that the ascetic Avalokiteśvara was important both in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra as well as in Insular Southeast Asia. However, the popularity of the ascetic iconography waned in both regions and it was replaced by a richly bejewelled, princely form of Avalokiteśvara. The same development did not take place in Mainland Southeast Asia, where there was a continued production of ascetic imagery in the following centuries, up to and including the late Angkor period.

The Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara form in the Buddhist caves shows the Bodhisattva displaying the *abhaya-mudrā*, warding off dangers. Yet, none of the Group 1 and 2 bronzes of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara from Insular Southeast Asia show him with this particular iconographic feature. It is possible, even likely, that this is due to the damage suffered by the majority of these statuettes. As noted above, the breaks in the right arms indicate that the hand was extended outwards, likely in *abhaya-mudrā* or possibly holding a lotus. These statuettes may have been a way of illustrating the powers of the Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara in bronze. Considering the connection between Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, it is possible that these statuettes were used in a protective capacity. However, as we have no statuettes with the *abhaya-mudrā* intact, this has to remain a hypothesis.

Since ascetic iconography is associated with the cave complexes in Maharashtra, we must consider if Southeast Asian imagery was connected to caves local to Insular Southeast Asia. Even though we do not have exact find sites for the various bronze images, it is clear from Maps 1 and 2 that the majority of the images were found in coastal areas and not in caves. Yet, many clay tablets depicting Avalokiteśvara have been found in caves in Perlis in northern Malaysia near the border with Thailand, Gua Berhala and Gua Kurong (Jacq-Hergoualc'h 2001: 332). We need better dating for the Southeast Asian images in order to determine whether there exists a link between the 'radical asceticism' in Maharashtra and the early ascetic Avalokiteśvaras in Southeast Asia.

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[43] The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* text was translated into Chinese in the third century CE.
[44] Inscriptions as part of donations do not explicitly mention Mahāyāna Buddhism until the fifth century CE in India (Schopen 2005: 11).

2.5 Recent theories and the dating of Groups 1 and 2

The similarity between these ascetic Avalokiteśvaras over a larger area, from Java to the upper Thai-Malay Peninsula, is important and suggests a cultural connection between these regions. Various scholars have voiced a theory as to why similar art objects and inscriptions have been found over a large area of Southeast Asia during an early period of 'Indianization'.[45] Dalsheimer and Manguin, elaborating on the work of Dupont, mapped the find sites of similar images. They found that a group of 'mitred' Viṣṇus was actually found along the coast of the Thai-Malay Peninsula, on the island of Bangka to the east of the city of Palembang in South Sumatra, on the northern coast of West Java (Miksic and Goh 2017: fig. 4.7) as well as inland in the Mekong delta (Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998: 88). They spoke of a pan-Southeast Asian 'family' of images that were produced in various coastal locations in Southeast Asia, following an ancient Southeast Asian trading pattern (Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998: 110). The find places of these similar images suggest, so they argued, a pan-Southeast Asian cultural response to external Indian input. Pierre-Yves Manguin further developed this theory in 2008 and 2010, drawing in other 'families' of images as well.

Apart from the 'mitred' Viṣṇus, he called attention to the so-called 'Amaravati' Buddhas, the 'mitred' Avalokiteśvaras[46] and clay tablets depicting the Buddha seated between two standing ascetic *bodhisattvas*, who each hold a water vessel (Manguin 2010: 172-174; see also Cat. nos 12-13). All of these were found in places near the coast, following local trading patterns with prehistoric origins. Thus, the tablets have been found in lower Burma, Central Vietnam, Peninsular Thailand and the north coast of western Java.[47]

Most of these objects are dated between the fifth and the seventh century, the earliest period of Indianization, when religious knowledge of Buddhism and Hinduism spread in Southeast Asia (Manguin 2008). Eventually this pan-regional cultural response to South Asian artistic language evolved into more local styles in the eighth century, such as the plethora of art produced in Central Java (Manguin 2010: 172).

Robert Brown proposed a related theory in 1994. In order to explain how a specific iconographic feature would spread to Southeast Asia, he hypothesised that "South Asian

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[45] Dupont 1934, Le Bonheur 1971, De Casparis 1975, Dalsheimer and Manguin 1998.

[46] The term 'mitred' Avalokiteśvara was coined by Nik Hassan Shuhaimi (1978: 46), but was not used by Manguin to describe the Avalokiteśvara images found at Rạch Gia (Mekong Delta), Vat Kdei Ta Nguoy and Bukit Seguntang in Palembang (Manguin 2010: 174). No 'mitred' Avalokiteśvaras have been found in Java.

[47] Nicolas Revire drew my attention to a stone plaque found at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka, which shows a similar iconography to that seen on the clay tablets mentioned. The Buddha sits in the centre and is flanked by two Bodhisattvas carrying fly-whisks. The Bodhisattva on the Buddha's right is adorned with jewellery, while the one on the left is an ascetic carrying a water vessel in his left hand. Revire considers the stone relief to have been produced in western India and later to have been transported to Sri Lanka, where it was at some point inserted into the relic chamber of the Abhayagiri *stūpa*. The placement of the ascetic Bodhisattva is unusual, as he stands to the Buddha's left, while in the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra we see him on the Buddha's right side, which makes the identification of this Bodhisattva as Avalokiteśvara precarious. Nevertheless, it is an interesting image that requires further study (Personal correspondence, 12-07-2015).

influences" was "filtered through a rather confined number of centres in Southeast Asia, each with a well-developed means of transfer to other areas of Southeast Asia" (1994: 12). Brown utilised the example of the decorative motifs on the large stone wheels (*dharmacakra*s) associated with the Dvāravatī culture. These motifs were not derived directly from South Asia, but had, in Brown's opinion, been filtered through Cambodia in the mid-seventh century CE (1994: 13). In the case of the ascetic Avalokiteśvaras in Groups 1 and 2, these specific centres could have been areas where we have found more than one statuette, i.e. Palembang in Sumatra and Khu Bau in southern Thailand.

Many of the find spots of these Avalokiteśvara images (Maps 1 and 2, pp. 40-41) correspond to the sites where 'mitred' Viṣṇus and standing 'Amaravati' Buddhas have been found, such as the Bangka island of Sumatra and sites in West Java. Another group of ascetic, standing, four-armed Avalokiteśvara statues in stone was included by Chutiwongs in her 1984 thesis (Pls 111-115). These were found in Tra-Vinh province in southern Vietnam (Pls 111-112), at Prakhon Chai (Pls 113, 115) and Buriram (Pl. 114) in central Thailand. These statues could form the core of another group potentially belonging to the pan-Southeast Asian cultural response, even though not all of these images were found near the coast. Many have been dated or may be suggested to date from the seventh century and I propose that the Guimet statuette from Java of Avalokiteśvara, along with the group of ascetic Avalokiteśvara images from Sumatra and the Thai-Malay Peninsula, may be added to the category of early images that support the pan-regional theory of an early period of 'Indianization', along with Brown's theory of cultural filtration through specific centres.

The time period in which these ascetic Avalokiteśvara images were produced in Insular Southeast Asia, including the Guimet statuette, may be determined by comparison with similar images found in the area.[48] These images include those found in Maharashtra, the clay tablets found throughout Insular Southeast Asia and larger stone images from Thailand and Sumatra.

A number of scholars have given possible dates for the clay tablets showing two *bodhisattva*s flanking the seated Buddha. G. Cœdès dated these types of tablets to the seventh and eighth centuries CE (1927: 7). He noted a connection between these tablets and Gupta period art, especially those found in the Buddhist cave temples (1927: 7-8). These images would also belong to Chirapravati's second group of clay tablets, which are inspired by the art of the Central Plain in modern Thailand, as well as art in post-Gupta and Pāla styles (Chirapravati 1994: 194). She dated these tablets to the eighth century. However, she noted that Krairiksh dated the same type of tablets to the second half of the seventh century (Chirapravati 1994: 203, 210).[49] In a 2012 publication, Piriya Krairiksh specified that he dated these types of tablets from the mid-seventh century to the mid-

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[48] The general dating for many of the ascetic images from Insular Southeast Asia would be the seventh to the eighth century CE, based on the work of various scholars (Nik Hassan Shuhaimi 1984: 304, Chutiwongs 1984: 257, Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 106, Gosling 2004: 91).

[49] Unfortunately, P. Krairiksh' text is in Thai, thus I have had to rely on Chirapravati's interpretation (Krairiksh 1988: 83-116).

eighth century, i.e. 650-750 CE (2012: 83). Also, in a later publication (2000), Chirapravati once again reiterated the dating of the seventh to eighth century for the clay tablets in her second group (2000: 178). Yet, the specific tablets showing the Buddha seated in *bhadrāsana* are, according to her, dated to the eighth century due to the roll of fat under the Buddha's stomach (Chirapravati 2000: 178). Unfortunately, the quality of the surviving clay tablets makes it difficult to identify such a roll.

Similar clay tablets illustrating the Buddhist triad were found in a seventh century level, at Batujaya, as part of the first phase of the Blandongan Temple (Manguin 2010: 174). We do not have a fixed date for the temple, but C-14 dating shows that it was not constructed before 400 CE (Manguin and Indradjaya 2006: 249). These clay tablets were found during the first stage of excavation, which showed that the temple had been abandoned after a period of activity (Manguin and Indradjaya 2006: 249). The second stage of excavations showed that after this stage of abandonment, the temple was again used after approximately 800 CE (Manguin and Indradjaya 2006: 249). As these tablets are similar to those found in Thailand, Manguin and Indradjaya used them to further date the temple to the sixth-seventh centuries CE (2011: 116).

Once the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra had been abandoned, the ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara was no longer produced in India.[50] As was noted in Section 2.5, one of the earliest ascetic Avalokiteśvara depictions in India can be dated to the second half of the fifth century CE (Spink 2005 Vol. 5: 98). Some of the later ascetic Avalokiteśvaras can be found at the Ellora caves, where we find ascetic Avalokiteśvaras dated between 600 and 700 CE (Malandra 1993: 25). Thus, the ascetic Avalokiteśvara was only produced during a limited period of time (that of the Maharashtra caves) in India.[51] Perhaps, it was during the time span of c. 450 – 700 CE that the ascetic imagery in India inspired the development of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in Insular Southeast Asia.

The ascetic Avalokiteśvara statuettes illustrate an important cultural connection between Insular Southeast Asia and Maharashtra. They also show that approximately in the seventh century CE, Avalokiteśvara worship in Java and other parts of Insular Southeast Asia included his ascetic form. It was at the end of the seventh century that the Chinese pilgrim Yijing visited Southeast Asia. According to Yijing's writings "Buddhism was chiefly what is called Hīnayāna, represented for the most part by the Mūlasarvāstivāda School. There were two other schools newly introduced, besides the Sammītya. A few Mahāyānists were in Malayu" (Yijing 1896: xli). Therefore, it is possible that there was some worship of *bodhisattva*s at the time, though still limited when compared to the succeeding centuries, when more *bodhisattva* images were produced in the region. It seems that the ascetic Avalokiteśvara images may have played an important part in the early propagation of

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[50] A number of ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in stone, in which he wears a *yajñopavīta*, have been found in Sri Lanka, at Situlpavuva. Metal statuettes from Sri Lanka, with a sacred thread, but no jewellery, have been dated to the late Anurādhapura period, eighth century CE (von Schroeder 1990: Pl. 79).

[51] According to de Mallmann it was in Maharashtra and neighbouring areas that the ascetic Avalokiteśvara form was produced between the sixth and the eighth centuries CE (1948a: 156).

Mahāyāna Buddhism in the region. If so, the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism in Insular Southeast Asia may have had early links with Maharashtra in India. This could have included the radical ascetic forms practised by minorities of monks in India that propagated returning to the forest (Schopen 2005: 16). Such connections early on in the development of Buddhist bronze art in Southeast Asia might explain the finding places of ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in coastal areas of Southeast Asia, where some of these monks passed by to spread their ideas.

I suggest that we see the next stage of development for ascetic Avalokiteśvara images when the sacred thread becomes a permanent part of the iconography in Insular Southeast Asia. According to de Mallmann it was towards the end of the Buddhist cave period in Maharashtra that Avalokiteśvara starts being depicted as wearing an animal skin over the left shoulder in the manner of a *yajñopavīta* (1948a: 136). The use of a sash as a *yajñopavīta* is seen at Aurangabad in Cave 7, where Aṣṭamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara is depicted as rescuing his followers from various perils (Pl. 2B). The large, central figure does not wear a *yajñopavīta*, but in the narrative depictions along the side he is depicted with the sacred thread (Brancaccio 2011: figs 71–75). Yet, the majority of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara images from the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra do not wear a sacred thread, either in the form of an animal skin or a thread. For instance, at the Ellora cave complex only nine Avalokiteśvara depictions, out of 118 images, show him wearing a sacred thread made from a deer hide (*ajina*; Gupte 1964: 72).

Regarding the images in the Buddhist caves, it is clear that there was some development over time in the use of the *yajñopavīta*. De Mallmann noted that, while it is used for a few Buddhist deities in the Maharashtra caves, it is not depicted on Avalokiteśvara in the late Ellora caves or at Aurangabad (1948a: 244, Brancaccio 2011: fig. 94). It is possible that the same type of iconographic development occurred in Southeast Asia. The statuettes depicted with a *yajñopavīta* from Insular Southeast Asia also display a variety in iconography and style, indicating a later production date (Table 1-3). Taking these factors together, the use of the *yajñopavīta* as a later iconographic detail and the variety in style and iconography it is possible that these statuettes were produced after the ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in Java that do not have a *yajñopavīta*.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that one image of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara is among the earliest Javanese depictions of the Bodhisattva. Similar depictions have been found at various sites in Insular Southeast Asia, such as in the Thai-Malay Peninsula and Sumatra. I have divided them into two stylistic groups. Both appear connected with the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra.

The manufacture of ascetic Avalokiteśvara images from Insular Southeast Asia, Groups 1 and 2, without *yajñopavīta* or jewellery, may well have been limited in time.[52] I propose that this group of ascetic statuettes from Insular Southeast Asia belongs to the period when Southeast Asian material culture suggests a pan-regional cultural response to Indian input, as discussed by Manguin (2010), and was affected by the "restricted-centres-diffusion rule" as theorised by Brown (1994: 12). By comparing the bronzes to the timeline for the ascetic Avalokiteśvara image production in the Buddhist caves in western India, and by comparing them to other images that demonstrate a pan-regional cultural response to Indian input along with the clay tablets, we can approximately date these ascetic statuettes to the seventh century CE or maybe even earlier. Even though we do not have a find site of the Javanese Avalokiteśvara in his ascetic form, its date might suggest that it is from West Java, the only known centre of Buddhism in Java at the time.

Besides a relationship in form with the images in the caves of Maharashtra, there might also have been a relationship in function. In the caves there is a clear relationship with the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* that describes the perils from which Avalokiteśvara can save his followers. The available find sites in Insular Southeast Asia, many in coastal areas, could suggest that the small bronze images fulfilled a similar role in protecting travellers. At this early period in the history of Buddhism in Java and given the presumed relationship with the caves in Maharashtra, we may speculate that these travellers were monks, maybe monks propagating radical asceticism. This propagation may have led to a select number of monks taking up ascetic living in caves, such as in Perlis in Malaysia.

While the ascetic form remained the most important iconographic form of Avalokiteśvara in other parts of Insular Southeast Asia, in Java the two or four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara gradually adopted increasingly rich jewellery and many other iconographic forms became adopted and created.

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[52] The earliest inscription found in Java mentioning Avalokiteśvara, as noted in Chapter 1, is dated to the Śaka year 704 viz., 782 CE. The role of Avalokiteśvara in this inscription was one of protection, indicating that his qualities would have been well known by that time in order for them to be included in an inscription. Therefore, Avalokiteśvara must have been known in Java well before 782 CE.

Map 1. Find sites for ascetic Avalokiteśvaras in Group 1, Chapter 2 with Catalogue numbers

Map 2. Find sites for ascetic Avalokiteśvaras in Group 2, Chapter 2 with Catalogue numbers
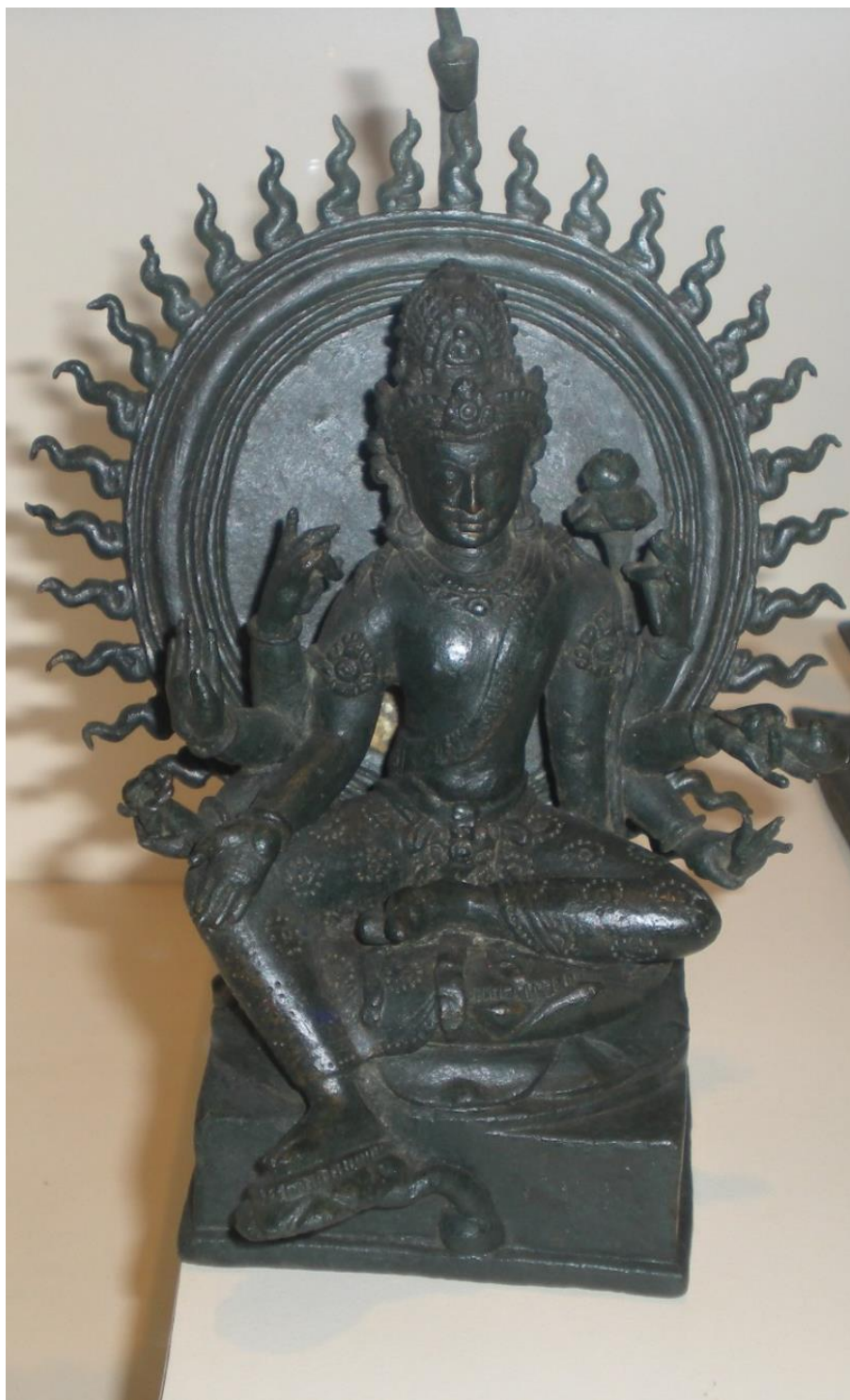
Plate 3. Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*, Museum Nasional
Indonesia Jakarta, Indonesia (Cat. no. 52).

Chapter 3

Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*:

imported or locally produced?

> Beyond the obvious facts that he has at some time done manual
> labour, that he takes snuff, that he is a Freemason, that he has
> been in China, and that he has done a considerable amount of
> writing lately, I can deduce nothing else.
> *The Red Headed League* (Conan Doyle 1991: 32).

3.1 Introduction

Java has yielded a plethora of metal statuettes of Avalokiteśvara, in which he sits in *lalitāsana*, a pose described as the "posture of relaxation" (Liebert 1976: 151). I have found 44 Javanese bronze statuettes showing Avalokiteśvara in this pose (Cat. nos 40-84), a common way of representing Avalokiteśvara in both India and Sri Lanka.

The pose shows the Bodhisattva's right leg pendant, with the foot resting on a lotus blossom emerging from the base.[53] The left leg is folded and rests on the seat. The primary hand gesture associated with this form in Java is the gift-giving gesture or the *varada-mudrā*. Avalokiteśvara displays this gesture with his right hand resting on the pendant leg, while the left hand holds a lotus. De Mallmann described the *lalitāsana* pose as a general pose for all *bodhisattva*s in India (1948a: 254). We see Avalokiteśvara in this stance in the later caves at Ellora and it is a frequent form for Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara in Pāla-Sena art, in which he displays the *varada-mudrā* as well (de Mallmann 1948a: 254). However, the name Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara is first found in the *Sādhanamālā*, an eleventh century text, dating it to after the majority of the Javanese bronzes were produced. In this form Avalokiteśvara is accompanied by Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva. In Java, the *lalitāsana* pose is not associated with a specific iconographic combination illustrating one form of Avalokiteśvara but is used in various depictions of the Bodhisattva. I have created this group based solely on the sitting posture. However, other iconographic variables can be observed within this large group, for instance as concerns the number of arms and the types of attributes carried in the hands.

The Avalokiteśvara statuettes in *lalitāsana* studied in this chapter have been identified as originating from Northeast India, Central Java and East Java. This iconographic group of

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[53] The form of *lalitāsana* in which the left leg is pendant and the right leg rests on the seat is rare in Javanese depictions, but it does occur occasionally in Indian art.

bronzes is the second largest among Avalokiteśvara images in Java.[54] I will specifically examine the features that have led scholars to identify certain *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara statuettes found in Java as 'Indian', and will attempt to determine whether these features are indeed Indian, or rather steps in the local artists' method of developing a Javanese artistic language.

3.2 Javanese metal images of Avalokiteśvara seated in lalitāsana: iconography and style

Various stylistic groups emerge among the *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara statuettes discussed. These can be divided into four groups of images.[55] The iconography of these statuettes is consistent in that all Avalokiteśvara figures are seated in *lalitāsana*. The iconographic differences are limited to the number of arms and the attributes and hand gestures. Among the most common of these are the *varada-mudrā* displayed with the right hand and a lotus held in the left hand. The first group consists of statuettes showing Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* but adorned with a sacred thread only and no jewellery. The images in this group have already been presented in Chapter 2. The second group shows a strong stylistic connection with Indian bronzes. The third group includes statuettes that depart from an Indian style and can be considered to belong to the Central Javanese period. The fourth and final group concerns statuettes that have also been made in a Javanese style but show a further stylistic development that suggests a later time period of production, i.e. the late Central Javanese to the early East Javanese period.

Group 1: Statuettes of Avalokiteśvara without jewellery (Cat. nos 40-42)

Together with a lack of jewellery, all three statuettes are similar in the way they are seated in *lalitāsana* and all display the *varada-mudrā*. We do, however, see different back pieces and bases. Such statuettes of the unadorned Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana* are much rarer than those of the adorned Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana* in the following groups. I have only been able to find three such statuettes from Java. There are no such statuettes from the rest of Southeast Asia, while there are several statuettes of Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana* from Sri Lanka with only a *yajñopavīta*, but no jewellery (von Schroeder 1990: Pls 79A-E).

The first of these Javanese statuettes shows Avalokiteśvara seated on a double lotus with a pointed solid back piece with a plain double rim (Cat. no. 40). This figure's *jaṭāmukuṭa* is unusual for Avalokiteśvara, as the frontal piece is taller than the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, but there is evidence of the Buddha Amitābha in front. The second is a gilded statuette which is now at the Weltmuseum in Vienna (Cat. no. 41). The statuette's gilding allows us to see the beautiful pattern that once adorned the lower garment; unfortunately, this detail is difficult to see from a photograph. The base has a '*ye dharma*' inscription running around the

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[54] The most popular iconographic form shows Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. These statuettes will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[55] Another iconographic form which is occasionally seen seated in *lalitāsana* is the sorrowful/pensive Avalokiteśvara. When the Bodhisattva displays this iconographic stance in Javanese images, he is usually seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*. These objects will be discussed in Chapter 4.

plinth.[56] Avalokiteśvara displays the *varada-mudrā* with his right hand while holding out his left hand, which likely once held a lotus.

The third statuette combines gold and bronze (Cat. no. 42). Its throne shows *makara* figures on either side of Avalokiteśvara and at the base there are two lion figures. As the seated figure is clearly separate from the base, the latter may not have been originally intended for this figure. Avalokiteśvara's right foot does not reach its intended lotus support. Yet, the presence of a lotus foot rest indicates that the occupier of the throne was depicted in *lalitāsana*. This could have been Avalokiteśvara, but other *bodhisattva*s were also depicted in this pose. These three statuettes in Group 1 do not exhibit any Northeast Indian stylistic features, such as those discussed for the next group.

Group 2: Statuettes showing an affinity with Northeast Indian bronzes (Cat. nos 43-56)

Group 2 includes statuettes of Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana* and illustrates stylistic features seen among Buddhist bronzes from the northeastern part of the Indian subcontinent. These features in Indian bronzes include the lotus seat with a pearl rim decorating the pod, a parasol suspended directly over the *prabhāmaṇḍala*, flames, rather than foliage, along the rim of the back piece, Indian facial features[57] and feet supporting the bases.

The first three statuettes in Group 2 illustrate a back piece with the flames creating an interlocking pattern (Cat. nos 43-45). The first image in this group has a back piece similar to that of a Buddha statuette found at Jhewari, near Chittagong in Bangladesh (Bengal; Pl. 3A) with the solid circle surrounded by a plain, flat rim with flames along the outside. This particular style of back piece can be found in both Bengal and Bihar.[58] The second statuette also has a solid back piece, but the third has been given an open-worked back piece, which is more common among bronzes from the northeastern Indian subcontinent (Huntington 1994: 63).

Another bronze shows a Buddhist triad with Avalokiteśvara seated to the Buddha's right (Cat. no. 47). This statuette is currently on display at the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta. The Bodhisattva sits in *lalitāsana*, with his right foot supported by a lotus blossom that has emerged from under his double lotus seat. He displays the *varada-mudrā* with his

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[56] A common inscription found on various Buddhist objects as well as on two gilded Avalokiteśvara statuettes in Java is the 'ye dharma' formula, referring to the Buddha's teachings (Skilling 2003-04: 273). This short text is considered to have been spoken by Aśvajit, one of the first five monks to have been converted by the Buddha, to the ascetic Śāriputra (Skilling 2003-04: 273).

> The Tāthagata has declared the cause and also the cessation
> Of the things (dhammā) that arise from causes:
> Such is the teaching of the Great Samaṇa
> (Skilling 2003-04: 273).

By hearing this text Śāriputra was able to reach the "first stage of realisation" (Skilling 2003-04: 273).

[57] Among these features are often included almond-shaped eyes and a beak-shaped nose. Unfortunately, the facial features are often worn, making these difficult to distinguish.

[58] For further examples, see Bhattacaryya 1979 and Mitra 1982: Pls 29, 57, 89 and 113.

right hand and in his left hand he holds a lotus. We can see the flower, with a book resting on top, by his head.

The back piece is oval with a pearl décor rim, similar to what we see around the lotus seat pod. This type of back piece is seen in several of the statuettes in this group. The top of the back piece has a parasol directly over it. The lotus seat of the Bodhisattva does not rest directly on the base, but is part of a larger plant, emerging from the base with the other two lotus seats. Two examples of this type of seat resting on a stem rather than directly on the base can be seen in Comparative plates 3C-3D.

The other statuettes in this group show a variety of back pieces, and it is primarily this feature which we can compare to bronzes found in Bihar and Bengal in Northeast India and Bangladesh (Pls 3A-G). Four of the last statuettes in this group (Cat. nos 51-54) have a solid back piece with a double-lined frame, which is edged by s-shaped flames.[59] Flames are the décor for back pieces in Northeast India.[60]

Group 3: Statuettes showing a Central Javanese style (Cat. nos 57-80)

A statuette that perfectly exemplifies Central Javanese stylistic elements for the natural physical form can be seen at the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta (Cat. no. 57). This two-armed, bronze Avalokiteśvara wears a necklace, earrings in a bulbous form, armbands and simple bracelets. The *yajñopavīta* is tied with a loop at the left shoulder and crosses the body at the waist. The sacred thread has incised ridges along its edges. The lower garment carries a pattern of small circles with other circles of dots around them. An oval, double lotus functions as the Bodhisattva's seat. It rests on a stepped base with a flat top. Out of the bottom of the base emerges a lotus stem, on which the right foot (now missing) would rest. A hole at the back of the base could have served as a fixture for a back piece.

The Central Javanese stylistic elements exemplified by this statuette are the double lotus seat and the manner in which the physical form is portrayed. In general, other Central Javanese stylistic elements include an oval double lotus seat, a parasol that extends out over the figure, and a limited amount of jewellery, which includes a necklace, one set of armbands and bracelets. Many of the statuettes in this group lack back pieces. In those cases, the statuette has been included in this group based on Avalokiteśvara's physical form. There is a certain softness to the Central Javanese physical form. No attempt has been made by the bronze casters to sculpt muscles or illustrate any specific physical strength. Lunsingh Scheurleer described it as there being no "real attempt to evoke the image of a living being" (1994: 80). The bronze worker would include a navel and nipples by using slight indentations, but no further human physical features.

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[59] Another statuette which will be discussed as part of Group 3, has a halo decorated with flames (Cat. no. 66).
[60] Huntington 1984: figs 164-169, 174-176.

These elements can be seen in most of the statuettes in this group that have two, four, six or eight arms. Although the majority of these images lack back pieces, one of the few bronzes with a back piece is Cat. no. 64. This back piece has a petal shape with foliage along the rim. It is the type of back piece that is specific to Central Java. It is specifically found with the images that are seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. These images form a group that can be defined as purely Javanese in style. This type of back piece will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

One statuette in Group 3 also shows a strong similarity with an *in situ* stone image of Avalokiteśvara at Candi Mendut, where Avalokiteśvara is depicted seated in *lalitāsana* (Cat. no. 66). This statuette, now on display at the British Museum, sits on a royal throne (Bautze-Picron 1992: 22). This type of throne features *vyālakas* standing on elephants, as does the stone throne at Candi Mendut.[61] The statuette's back piece slots into the base. The halo is different from the one depicted in stone. The bronze halo has a rim with flames framing it, on the basis of which this image could have been included in Group 2. However, it is included in Group 3 because of the physical form of Avalokiteśvara and its close resemblance to the statue at Candi Mendut, as well as the presence of an oval lotus seat. It could also be that bronze images, such as this one, inspired the design of Avalokiteśvara inside Candi Mendut.

Group 4: Statuettes showing a late Central Javanese or early East Javanese style (Cat. nos 81-83)

An image that clearly illustrates Group 4 with its late Central Javanese or early East Javanese style is a bronze triad, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Cat. no. 83). In this triad, Avalokiteśvara sits to the Buddha's right in *lalitāsana* on an oval, double lotus base with three smaller petals between each larger, frontal petal. Here we see the elongation of the limbs that characterises the late Central Javanese and early East Javanese style, next to an increase in the amount of jewellery worn (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 33). The Bodhisattva is adorned with two necklaces, two armbands, bracelets and a waist belt. Further characteristics of this later style include the ornate foliage border and the spiky elements on the throne.

The number of statuettes that can be considered to reveal a late Central Javanese or East Javanese style is limited. One is a gilded bronze, which is found at the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta (Cat. no. 82), similar in both body form and seat to a statuette in Group 3 (Cat. 81). The Jakarta statuette illustrates the elongated limbs arms that are

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[61] According to de Mallmann, this type of back piece originates from the Pāla period in South Asia (1948a: Pls XII c,d). However, the throne's origins go further back than the Pāla period (Auboyer 1949: 112-168, Chutiwongs 1984: 136, Revire 2016). The royal throne developed from having a lion figure standing on a *makara* at Nalanda to a lion standing on an elephant (Grünwedel 1901: 53). Grünwedel links the depiction of a lion figure on an elephant to the *Sabbadāṭha-Jātaka* (1901: 54). "On the backs of two elephants stood a lion, and on the lion's back sat Sabbadâtha, the jackal king, along with his consort the she-jackal, and great honour was paid to them" (Grünwedel 1901: 54-55). Even though Grünwedel refers to a lion as part of the throne a closer examination shows it is a horned-lion or *vyālaka*.

characteristic for the East Javanese style and the same style of limbs are present in the triad (Cat. no. 83). The Jakarta statuette was found in East Java, in Puger Wetan (Map 4, p. 167), supporting its inclusion within Group 4, the latest style group.

The last statuette in this chapter (Cat. no. 84) does not fit into any of the four groups. There are a few Indian features indicating it belongs to Group 2, but the supple limbs and general body shape speaks for Group 3.

3.3 Possible cultural origin of iconography and comparison with Southeast Asian and Indian images

In Chapter 2, I was able to find the source of the artistic inspiration for ascetic Avalokiteśvara images in the caves of Maharashtra. I suggested a cultural connection between Maharashtra and the production of early Buddhist art in Insular Southeast Asia. Therefore, the Buddhist cave complexes in western India would also be an appropriate place to look for artistic stimulus for Avalokiteśvara images showing him seated in *lalitāsana*. Rather surprisingly, Avalokiteśvara was rarely depicted in this sitting pose in these Buddhist caves, where he is instead often depicted as standing. One exception is at Ellora's Cave 12 (Pl. 3H), which is dated to the first half of the eighth century and as such represents one of the later caves at Ellora (Malandra 1993: 25). In this cave Avalokiteśvara is shown seated in *lalitāsana* with his right hand displaying the *varada-mudrā*; the left hand rests on his knee, holding a lotus. He is accompanied by two female deities, usually identified as Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī (Malandra 1993: 42). In contrast, the Javanese images in *lalitāsana* are not found in a triad with two female images.

Images of Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* have been found at various Buddhist sites across the Indian subcontinent, making it difficult to determine an exact geographical origin of the iconography seen in these Javanese statuettes. The areas where we find this iconography, apart from Maharashtra, include Odisha, Bihar, Bengal and Bangladesh.

In Odisha, various stone and bronze Avalokiteśvaras have been found seated in *lalitāsana*. One example is located in the Baneśvara Temple in Balasore, which houses a stone relief showing a two-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* (Donaldson 2001 II: fig. 205).[62] He displays the *varada-mudrā* with his right hand and holds a lotus in his left hand. Several bronzes showing Avalokiteśvara with this particular iconography have been found at Nalanda near Patna and Kurkihar close to Bodhgaya in Bihar as well as Jhewari near Chittagong in Bangladesh (Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar 1986: Pls 41, 83, 124). These bronze statuettes have bases with feet and back pieces in a number of different styles. Among the most common are back pieces with an oval shape, a pearl frame and comma-shaped flames along the rim next to *prabhāmaṇḍala*s with a plain frame and flames interspersed along the edge (Pl. 3G). These metal statuettes have a broad range of attributed dates, starting in the ninth century and continuing to the twelfth century CE.

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[62] For further examples see Donaldson 2001 Vol. 1: 195.

The back piece style with a pearl frame and comma-shaped flames can be seen on a statuette found in Java, which is now in the Nelson Atkins Museum (Cat. no. 48). A second example of the back piece is depicted in another Javanese Avalokiteśvara statuette, standing and with four arms (Cat. no. 260). Similar back pieces have been found in Acutrajpur in Odisha, dated to the eighth or ninth century CE, Mainamati in Bengal (ninth to the twelfth century CE) and at Nalanda (eighth to the tenth century CE).[63]

I have focused primarily on the areas of Bihar and Bangladesh when trying to find comparative iconographic and stylistic material, as this is where most of the statuettes of Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* were found. While specific stylistic features of the Javanese images may be connected to the northeastern Indian subcontinent, the iconographic feature of *lalitāsana* in itself cannot be traced to a specific geographical area in India. As de Mallmann noted, Avalokiteśvara is often depicted seated in *lalitāsana* and we see the Bodhisattva in this pose in Maharashtra and Pakistan as well. It should nevertheless be noted that this stance became more popular for the Bodhisattva from the eighth century onwards, corresponding with the earliest *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras found in Java.

The manifestation of Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* was clearly a popular form of the Bodhisattva in Java. The same, however, cannot be said for the rest of Southeast Asia. There are only a few such depictions in metal and clay and these have primarily been found in Thailand. On the clay tablets the Bodhisattva displays the *varada-mudrā* with his right hand, while the left hand appears to hold a lotus (Pls 3K and L). Unfortunately, due to their wear, these clay tablets give us limited stylistic information.

3.4 The relationship between lalitāsana Avalokiteśvara in Java and South Asia

The idea of an artistic inspiration from the northeastern Indian subcontinent on Javanese bronzes, and not the other way around, has been an accepted theory since 1933, when A.K. Bernet Kempers published *The bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese art*. This chapter does not challenge this idea, but rather explores how this information was assimilated into the local artistic language in Java. One of the statuettes of Group 2 has been identified as originating from Northeast India (Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1984: Pl. 16). The other thirteen statuettes of this group exhibit stylistic features which have previously been associated with the bronze images from Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh. Knowing where the images were manufactured is important, as it can give us some insight into how the Javanese artists may have adapted artistic information from India and how they developed their own artistic language.

By analysing the various stylistic features exhibited by the metal statuettes in Group 2 and comparing these with characteristics associated with Javanese art, we can attempt to determine where they were produced. We may determine the likelihood of a specific

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[63] Pl. 3G, Bernet Kempers 1933: figs 9 and 13, Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar 1986: figs 39 and 68, Imam 2000: 53, Donaldson 2001: fig. 243.

statuette in Group 2 as either having been made in South Asia and imported to Java, or originating in Java, by considering each statuette and its stylistic features separately. Through the comparison of stylistic features shared between statuettes found in Odisha, Bihar and West Bengal in northeastern India, or Bangladesh, I will argue that many of the images in Group 2 were produced in Java and that they were not exact copies of Indian images.

Buddhist bronze statuettes found in Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and modern day Bangladesh, including those depicting Avalokiteśvara, allow us to isolate several different stylistic features and one iconographic feature that appear to have been quite commonplace during their production period.[64] These include: 1) a lotus seat with a pearl rim; 2) feet on the base; [65] 3) a small parasol suspended directly over the back piece; 4) a pearl border on the back piece; 5) flames along the back piece; 6) ribbons flowing out from behind the head; 7) a lotus plant split into three flowers; 8) a lower garment that ends just below the knee or mid-calf; 9) facial features that include almond eyes and a beaked nose; as well as 10) the number of arms (specifically four).

1) We find the pearl rim on the lotus seat on Cat. nos 43-44, 46-50 and 56, but not in every statuette in Group 2.

2) Feet supporting the base are quite rare in Group 2. We only see them in images catalogued as numbers 45 and 48. The majority of Javanese statuettes still have bases intact and without feet.[66] Thus, the lack of feet evident in Groups 3 and 4, originating from Java, is also evident in Group 2.

3) The parasol directly above the back piece can be seen in Cat. nos 47, 50 and 56 in Group 2. In Groups 3 and 4 the parasol is extended out, which is also the case in a few of Group 2's images (Cat. nos 44 and 52). The parasols of the other images did not survive.

4) The pearl rim around the back piece is a common stylistic feature in Group 2 and we see it in various forms in Cat. nos 44, 47-50 and 54. This style of pearl rim is not seen among the statuettes in Groups 3 and 4.

5) Flames along the outside of the back piece are depicted in various ways in the bronzes from Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh (Pls 3B, 3F and 3G). In some cases, (Pl. 3G) the flames are small and depicted at intervals, while in other images they are close together, forming an interlinking pattern. A flame décor along

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[64] A good source for these images is the Huntington Archive at https://huntingtonarchive.org/ as well as Mitra 1978 and 1982, Huntington 1984.

[65] The bronzes from Bihar and modern-day Bangladesh that still have their bases intact often have feet, however, groups of bronzes found in Bangladesh (Jhewari hoard) lack these feet.

[66] Many of the bronzes found at Jhewari, Bangladesh, do not have base feet either. This needs to be taken into consideration when considering the presence or lack of feet for the base in determining the original area of production.

the back piece can be seen in Cat. nos 43-45, 48, 51-54 and 56. Among the Northeast Indian bronzes I have not been able to identify flames in the style seen in Cat. nos 51-54. Considering that this flame style is not found in Northeast India, it is possible that these four statuettes all originate from Java, although the most common form of rim decoration of a Javanese *prabhāmaṇḍala* is foliage.[67] Other scenarios could be that these four statuettes were the only ones made in this particular style in Northeast India and Bangladesh, and they were all exported to Java, or they may have been produced elsewhere in Southeast Asia. However, considering how uncommon the *lalitāsana* pose was in Insular Southeast Asia, outside of Java, this appears unlikely.

Their Javanese origin is further supported by the design of the lotus seats, which lack pearl rims and feet on their bases. Another statuette (Cat. no. 66), showing this type of flames along a part of the back piece and along the halo behind the seated Bodhisattva's head, is similar in iconography to the stone *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara in Candi Mendut (although the stone image has a different halo décor). Both figures are seated in *lalitāsana*, have two arms and display the *varada-mudrā* with their right hand.

6) Only one bronze in Group 2 (Cat. no. 48) has ribbons flowing out from behind the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. In Odisha, we find bronzes with ribbons behind the head as well as fan-shaped protrusions behind the ears that resemble ribbons (Donaldson 2001: figs 115, 224). In Bihar as well as West Bengal and Bangladesh we find ribbons flowing upwards from behind the *jaṭāmukuṭa* in various stone sculptures.[68]

7) A lotus plant emerging from the base can be traced to Buddhist art produced in Bangladesh. Two stone tablets with an emerging lotus were found at Mainamati in Bangladesh. Asher described the seat as "an elevated pedestal composed of the common rectangular base with a large central lotus stalk" (1980: 99). These two stone pieces have been dated to the seventh century CE and I will discuss one of these further in Chapter 4. In the Jhewari bronze hoard (Chittagong District, Bangladesh), at least three statuettes illustrate a similar, raised lotus seat; one of these is a triad as well (Pls 3C, 3D and 3E).[69] These Jhewari statuettes have been dated to the eleventh century CE. However, other bronzes within the hoard have an earlier date.[70]

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[67] The use of flames along the *prabhāmaṇḍala* occurs more often in stone and can be seen at both Borobudur and at the Plaosan Lor complex for various figures.

[68] Examples can be found at the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (B60S77) and Boston Museum of Art (63.418).

[69] The Jhewari bronze hoard was found in 1927 and included 61 Buddhist statuettes (Huntington 1984: 190).

[70] Buddha bronzes in the Jhewari hoard have been dated to the mid-ninth century CE based on their similarity to other images (Huntington 1984: 191).

The lotus plant can be seen in the only triad in Group 2 (Cat. no. 47). It protrudes from the rectangular base and splits into three flowers that each form a seat for a figure in the triad. This type of base with an emerging plant for the lotus seats can be seen in relief at one of the smaller temples surrounding Candi Sewu in Central Java (Pl. 3I).

8) The lower garment has a shorter style, while the Javanese style of depicting the lower garment reaches the ankle. In the shorter style the lower garment goes above the knee, just below the knee or at most mid-calf. The majority of the Javanese *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras with a number of Indian features show the lower garment going all the way to the ankle or at least the lower calf.

9) The facial features of the almond-shaped eyes and an aquiline nose can be seen in Cat. no. 55. Most of the statuettes in Group 2 show more Javanese facial features, epitomized by the Buddha faces on the statues of Borobudur, which are not as sharp as the Indian features.

10) Images of Avalokiteśvara found in Java show two, four, six or eight arms, while the Avalokiteśvara bronzes from Bihar, West Bengal, Odisha and Bangladesh rarely have more than two arms, especially when seated. One standing, four-armed Avalokiteśvara was depicted in Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar's *Eastern Indian Bronzes* (1986: Pl. 104a).

It should be noted that these nine stylistic features, and one iconographic, are those most commonly seen in Northeast Indian statuettes. Table 15 illustrates that not all of the statuettes in Group 2 show a combination of the nine stylistic features. The same can be said for Buddhist bronzes found in Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh. For example, the emerging lotus plant is limited to a few statuettes only (Pls 3C, 3D and 3E). This has been taken into consideration in this study and I have noted when there is uncertainty regarding the possible origin of a statuette. When taking into account all of the stylistic features associated with Northeast Indian metal images and comparing these with the statuettes in Group 2, we may try to deduce where these Avalokiteśvara statuette found in Java were produced.

The statuette seen in Cat. no. 44 has a Javanese style parasol, but a back piece in a style that originates from Northeast India.[71] Thus, one feature indicates a Javanese production, and one points at an Indian origin. Nevertheless, the parasol, in a form not found in India, would place this statuette's origin in Java. Additionally, this statuette displays a stylistic feature which only occurs in Javanese bronzes. An alternative scenario would be that it was produced in India for the Javanese market, but this does not seem very likely, as no evidence of such a production site has been discovered in India, i.e. no statuettes have been found in India that display this kind of combination of Indian and Javanese stylistic

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[71] A similar method for determining the origin of a bronze found in Java was used by Griffiths et al. (2013: 10).

features. Neither has any of the shipwrecks discovered between South Asia and Southeast Asia shown any evidence of this type of export trade goods.

Cat. no. 48, a four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*, reveals a base with feet, although slightly broader than those usually seen in bronzes from Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh. A pearl rim frames the pod emerging from the lotus seat. The back piece, although damaged, is similar to those found in Acutrajpur, Odisha and Nalanda, Bihar (Pl. 3F). In contrast to these Indian features, the lower garment reaches all the way to the ankle and the image has four arms. The face is slightly damaged, making it difficult to determine the facial features. Overall, this image appears to be more Javanese than Indian in style.

One final feature to be examined is the ribbons on either side of the neck. Ribbons are common in Indian statuettes. In our statuette, the ribbons are drooping, whereas in bronzes from northeastern Indian subcontinent they flow upwards. Perhaps, a Javanese bronze caster given instructions to include ribbons behind the head had not actually seen how this was done in India. In sum, a few stylistic features point to an Indian origin for the statuette, while a few others indicate a Javanese production site, making either production origin a possibility. However, I consider it more likely that this statuette was in fact made in Java.

A third bronze to combine Indian and Javanese features is a four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* (Cat. no. 55). There is no pearl rim around the lotus seat, a feature nearly always present in the Indian bronzes. Yet, the lower garment ends half way down the Bodhisattva's right calf. The base does not have the Indian style feet, but the sharp nose is similar to the facial features seen in Indian bronzes. Once again, we have a four-armed depiction, which for this manifestation of Avalokiteśvara is more common in Java than in Northeast India. I would suggest a Javanese origin for this statuette, especially when the rendering of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the necklace and armbands is taken into consideration as well.

Even when an Avalokiteśvara bronze appears at first glance to have originated from India, this need not necessarily be the case. As many of these statuettes have not been published previously, they have not previously been identified as originating from the Indian subcontinent. The only exception, as noted above, is Cat. no. 56, which was identified by Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw as possibly being imported from India (1984: 52). This specific statuette illustrates several of Group 2's characteristic features (Table 4), including flames along the outside of the back piece and a lotus seat with a pearl-rimmed pod. Due to its wear, no clear facial features can be distinguished. The lack of feet on the base is not enough to classify this statuette as Javanese, and I would concur with Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's assessment.

Many stylistic features of these statuettes in Group 2 point to a Northeast Indian origin, but three specific features call this into question: the style of the lower garment, the number of arms and the lack of feet on the base. Several of the figures in this group wear a long lower garment reaching to the ankles and most of the statuettes are not supported by feet. Thus, it

is likely that rather than being imports, these statuettes were actually produced in Java, even though they closely follow Northeast Indian style.

3.5 Questioning the timeline of development of style in Java

This Javanese group of statuettes showing Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana* likely post-dates the images that show a pan-Southeast Asian style based on Indian input as discussed in the previous chapter. The images share the iconographic feature of *lalitāsana*, a pose barely given to Avalokiteśvara in other parts of Southeast Asia. As this iconographic feature has not spread to the rest of Southeast Asia, it likely arrived after the end of the pan-Southeast Asian cultural response period, i.e. after the seventh century CE, when, in the words of Dalsheimer and Manguin, "national" arts developed (1998: 106). Southeast Asian art forms then became more distinguished from one another and eventually more localised in Southeast Asia, although relationships with the Indian subcontinent continued. One of these art forms showed specific relations to Pāla Northeast India and Bangladesh. The *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara bronzes are among this Pāla-related art.

Lunsingh Scheurleer suggested that there was a period of importing and copying statuettes from Northeast India and Bangladesh in Java, from the eighth to the first half of the ninth century CE (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 27-30). In a later publication she also posited that importation of bronzes from Northeast India continued into her next period, alongside the production of a new purely Javanese style of bronzes, i.e. to the third quarter of the tenth century CE (Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994: 79). I agree with the idea that importation was not limited to a specific period, which is supported by the triad in Group 2 (Cat. no. 47). While it is heavily affected by a Northeast Indian style and could even be an import, it may have a later date than 850 CE since it was found in East Java.

This triad has a base closely linking it to Mainamati and three bronzes found in the Jhewari hoard in Bangladesh (see Section 3.4). Unfortunately, none of these three bronzes carries a date and other pieces in the hoard have been dated to the mid-ninth century (Huntington 1984: 191).[72] Yet, even if the design of the lotus growing into three stalks dates to the mid-ninth century, the Javanese Museum Nasional Indonesia bronze triad could date to the middle of the Central Javanese period (840 CE), thus, near the end of Lunsingh Scheurleer's period of copying.

The perceptions on Southeast Asia's relationship with India have changed over the past century. Scholars saw early on Southeast Asia as having once been colonised by India (Krom 1923 I: 45). Later on, this relationship was classified as "Indianization" (Cœdès 1968, see also De Casparis 1983: 5, Kulke 1990: 11) but the emphasis on Indian cultural input was criticised and scholars began to speak of "localization" (Wolters 1982), of "networks of relationships" between the South and Southeast Asian regions

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[72] The dating of the statuettes in the Jhewari hoard is done by comparing them with dated images from Nalanda. According to Huntington the images within the hoard had a similar style, while "their greatest differences seeming to be quality of craftsmanship along with slight chronological change" (1984: 191).

(De Casparis 1983), of 'cultural convergence' on both sides of the Bay of Bengal (Kulke 1990) and of the 'Sanskrit cosmopolis' (Pollock 1996). The results of my study on Avalokiteśvara statuettes support this idea of "localization" for bronze images, as they show that the Javanese local artists never fully copied images, but always included local stylistic features.

In Chapter 2, I theorised that the earliest Avalokiteśvara depictions in Java and the rest of Insular Southeast Asia were of his ascetic form. Expanding on this theory, the three *lalitāsana* statuettes without jewellery in Group 1 could have been part of the next step in the development of Avalokiteśvara imagery in Java. Did the statuettes in Group 1 coincide with those in Group 2, which show stylistic affinities to Northeast India, or were they produced at separate points in time?

Possibly there was some time overlap between the manufacture of these two groups of images. After the seventh century CE, when the Buddhist caves were no longer active, the source of cultural information moved from Maharashtra to Bihar and Bengal. Yet, the statuettes in Group 2 also indicate that the Javanese bronze casters had at the time of production already developed local stylistic features, e.g. a specific type of lower garment depiction, with the lower border reaching the ankles.

Therefore, I suggest that there was a continuous artistic development with an overlap among the various groups described in Section 3.2. As the images in the catalogue show, the main iconographic features for this type of representation did not change much over time in Java. The *lalitāsana* pose, the *varada-mudrā* and the lotus continue to be present. What does occur is an increase in the number of arms (although the two-armed form continues to be produced), with more jewellery being incorporated. The back pieces also become more elaborate, with the foliage pressed closer together and side wings developing (Cat. no. 83).

With the *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras we see an evolution away from the ascetic form and towards a royal form. There is an increase in the amount of jewellery and a few of the Avalokiteśvaras in *lalitāsana* are seated on lion thrones, with lions as either part of the base or the back piece (Cat. nos 42, 45, 66, 67 and 83).[73] This also occurs in stone images of Avalokiteśvara, which are still *in situ* and will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 7 (Cat. nos 121-123 and 181). In Javanese Buddhist art, the lion throne is used specifically for either the Buddha or Bodhisattvas, such as Avalokiteśvara. However, it is not associated with the ascetic Avalokiteśvaras.

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[73] The connection between the lion throne and royalty was explored recently by N. Revire in his PhD thesis *The enthroned Buddha in majesty: an iconological study* (2016: 21-22, see also Auboyer 1949: 108-112).

3.6 Observations on the Javanese lalitāsana Avalokiteśvara bronzes

While there is iconographic similarity among the *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras found in Java, we see a variety of stylistic choices. An examination of just the lotus flowers held by the Bodhisattva shows nine different types of styles, although many flowers are now missing from the bronzes, with only the stem remaining.
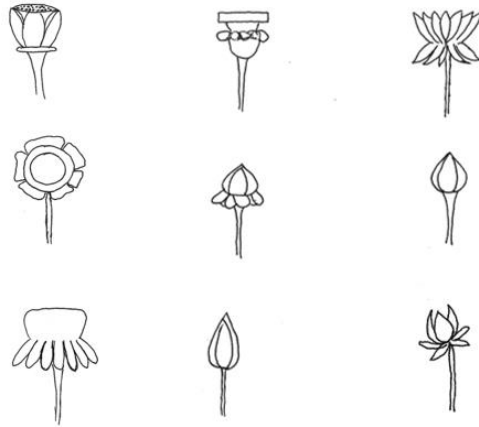
Plate 4. The nine different types of lotus flowers of Javanese *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras

These flowers are shown from the early bud stage, to being in full bloom. At times the artist has focused on the pod inside the flower, and at other times it is absent. They are also placed at various angles, but the flowers are commonly viewed from the side. One of these also supports a book. The variety in style indicates that different bronze casters made the statuettes, although a number of them may have been made by the same workshop. There is no indication that there was one main workshop producing the required bronzes in Java. Instead, it is likely that the workshops were spread out over Central Java. This is supported by the known find sites of the bronze Avalokiteśvaras, which include Yogyakarta, Magelang and Surakarta (Map 3, p. 166).

Three specific statuettes (Cat. nos 52, 66 and 68) show a strong stylistic similarity in their hairdo and tiara, the angle in which the *yajñopavīta* crosses the chest, the laying and pattern of the lower garment, as well as the general physical form of the figures. It is not possible to identify a specific caster as having made each of the statuettes, however, the strong similarity points to a shared artistic language, such as may develop in a workshop. Therefore, I suggest that these three statuettes were produced in the same foundry. If so, the fact that the statuette now in the British Museum in London (Cat. no. 66) was acquired in the district of Kedu, while a second statuette was found in Surakarta (Cat. no. 52), would illustrate the spread of an individual workshop.

3.7 Conclusion

These images of *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara are quite numerous, indicating that this was a preferred iconography. Instead of showing a relationship with the caves of Maharashtra, as the ascetic Avalokiteśvara did, these images are evidence of a cultural connection with Northeast India and Bangladesh. The *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara bronzes illustrate the development of a Javanese style of casting Buddhist bronze images and the same development can be seen in the bronzes discussed in Chapters 4 and 6.

Even though many of the Javanese bronzes of *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara at first glance appear to have originated in India, a close study of their stylistic features shows that many of these, in fact, must have been produced locally. We cannot state with any amount of certainty that any of these images were produced in India and then transported to Java to function as an inspiration for new Avalokiteśvara images.

When a culture is exposed to new artistic information, such as the style of religious icons, the culture may reject it, accept it fully, or adapt it to suit its own needs. In the case of the *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara images, we see the cultural stimulus of South Asia informing the development of the Javanese artistic language for *bodhisattva* imagery, but there was no direct copying. We need to move away from the term 'copying' when discussing this cultural interchange, as we have not come across any actual copies. A preferable characterisation would be inspired, as we see a strong cultural link between *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras in bronze in Group 2 of this chapter, and imagery from Northeast India and Bangladesh. In Group 3 we see that the Javanese bronze workers moved away from producing statuettes following a Northeast Indian style. Instead, they incorporated the new information into their already existing artistic language, to develop a style that we can categorise as a Central Javanese style. By the end of the Central Javanese period, and the beginning of the East Javanese period, the style had further developed to incorporate elongated limbs and more jewellery.
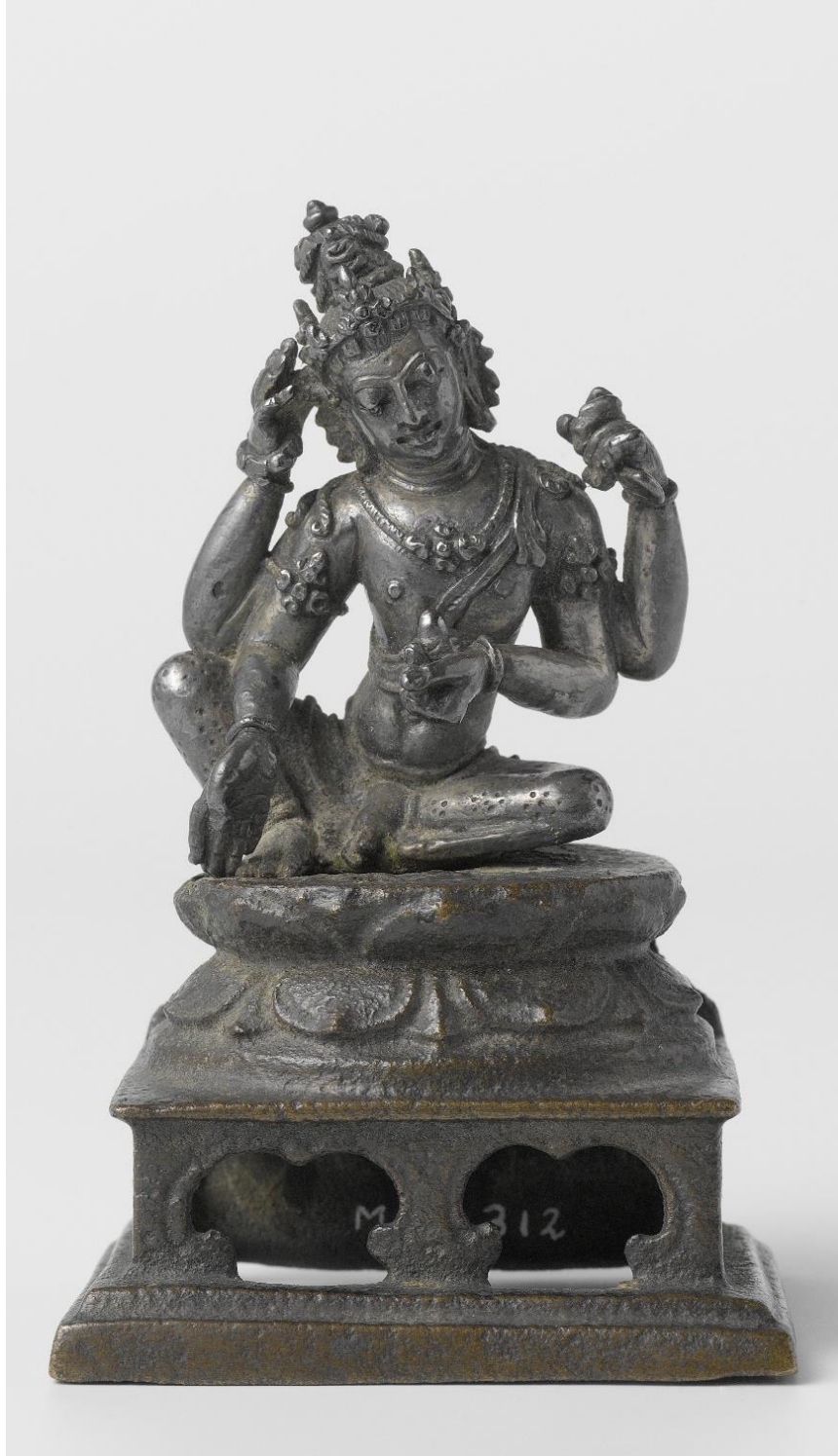
Plate 5. Four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*,
supporting his head with his upper right hand (Cat. no. 95)

Chapter 4

The sorrowful Avalokiteśvara and

Javanese artistic language

He, so compassionate for the world, shall once become a
Buddha, destroying all dangers and sorrows; I humbly bow to
Avalokiteśvara.
Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, Chapter 24 (ed. Kern 1884: 417)

4.1 Introduction

The distinctive feature of the group of images discussed in this chapter is of Avalokiteśvara
leaning his head towards one of his hands. Apart from this key feature they show the
Bodhisattva seated in either *lalitāsana* (Cat. nos 53, 85-86) as discussed in the previous
chapter, or in *mahārājalīlāsana* (Cat. nos 85-115) with various attributes in a variable
number of hands. The seated pose, *mahārājalīlāsana,* shows both feet close to each other
resting on the seat; one foot is pulled in towards the body to lift one knee up. This knee
appears to support the arm the head leans on.

This iconographic form, with the head leaning on one hand, was popular for bronze
statuettes in Java. However, no bronzes illustrating this iconography have, as of yet, been
found in the rest of Southeast Asia. Thus far, I have identified 32 such statuettes, which are
considered to originate from Java. These images have either two, four or six arms.
Although, as we shall see, the majority have been given four arms (Cat. nos 89-111).
A stone relief on Borobudur may also illustrate Avalokiteśvara in this pose. It figures in
one of the *Bhadracarī* reliefs on Borobudur's fourth main wall (Cat. no. 124).
Furthermore, three clay tablets illustrating this iconographic form were found at the site of
Borobudur (Rohyani 1993: Table 1, Indradjaya 2011: Foto 2).

In this chapter, I examine the iconographic and stylistic features of this group of bronze
statuettes and their development (Section 4.2). I try to trace how this iconographic form
was transmitted to Java by comparing the Javanese images with images from South Asia
(Section 4.3) and East Asia (Section 4.4). I also discuss the naming of this iconographic
form, as the form has been given several names, including 'pensive', 'sorrowful',
'Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara', 'Mahākāruna' and 'Mahākāruṇika'. I will refer to these
Javanese statuettes as 'sorrowful' Avalokiteśvaras and explain this choice in Section 4.5.

4.2 The Javanese images: iconography and style

On the basis of the number of arms and whether the head leans to the left or right, three
iconographic groups can be established. The second and largest of these groups, will be
further subdivided into three distinct stylistic sets that indicate a development over time.

A few of these statuettes include back pieces with a variety of silhouettes, but others now lack such supports.[74]

Iconographic Group 1: Bronze statuettes with two arms (Cat. nos 85-88)

In Group 1, four statuettes show Avalokiteśvara with two arms, leaning his head to the left, rather than the more commonly opposite side. Correspondingly, his left hand supports the head. Besides these characteristics, on the basis of which I grouped them together, the statuettes show some differences (Table 16). Two of them have the right hand displaying the *varada-mudrā* (Cat. nos 85-86); in a third image Avalokiteśvara displays the *varada-mudrā* and holds a wish-fulfilling jewel or *cintāmaṇi* in the same hand (Cat. no. 87). In the fourth statuette Avalokiteśvara holds his right hand in front of his body, which usually indicates that the Bodhisattva is holding a *cintāmaṇi* (Cat. no. 88).

Regarding the first statuette in this group (Cat. no 85), the wear of the bronze makes it difficult to identify any Buddha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. This would have allowed us to identify the figure as Avalokiteśvara with certainty. Fortunately, a niche can be made out, indicating that a Buddha figure was once present. The head leans to the left and connects with the left hand. The Bodhisattva sits on a round lotus seat, with his right foot resting on a lotus that extends out from his seat. He wears a pendant necklace, armbands and bracelets. The statuette's solid, round back piece culminates in a floral pattern at the top, where a parasol would be attached. Here, and in the next image in the group (Cat. no. 86), Avalokiteśvara sits in *lalitāsana*. The final two statuettes in this group sit in *mahārājalīlāsana*, the more common pose for Javanese Avalokiteśvaras holding their head in sorrow.

Three statuettes in this group do not have back pieces, while the statuette in the Ronggowarsito Museum in Semarang (Cat. no. 87) has a plain rim halo behind his head. Each of these three figures wears a necklace, bracelets and armbands. The Buddha Amitābha is at the front of the Bodhisattva's *jaṭāmukuṭa*s (Cat. nos 86-88).

The relief from Borobudur, mentioned above, can also be associated with this group (Cat. no. 124).[75] The stone relief shows the two-armed Bodhisattva seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*, supporting his head with his right hand, rather than his left. While the figure holds the stem of a fully blossoming lotus in his left hand, we see no Buddha Amitābha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* in the published photographs (Krom and van Erp 1920-31 II: Series IV, Pl. I, No. 2). However, a closer examination of the relief in question reveals a triangular shape at the front of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, which may have contained a Buddha figure, supporting the identification of this Bodhisattva as Avalokiteśvara. The Bodhisattva sits in the lower tier of the relief, with six Buddhas seated in *padmāsana* in the upper tier. A few Bodhisattvas join the figure in the lower tier, including Samantabhadra, identified by his three-budded flower attribute. The relief is part of the depiction of the *Bhadracarī*,

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[74] Cat. nos 86-88, 91-95, 107-108, 114.
[75] First noted by Nandana Chutiwongs (1994:100).

but this text does not explicitly mention Avalokiteśvara. This relief will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

The consistent features in this group of bronze images include the figure having two arms and leaning the head to the left. The most common hand gesture in this group is the *varada-mudrā*. The otherwise common lotus attribute is not part of the iconography of this group, but two of the statuettes hold a *cintāmaṇi* (Cat. nos 87-88). These four bronze figures are decorated with jewellery and a sacred thread. The three surviving lotus seats show three distinctive styles, in which the lotus petals are depicted as triangles, separate petals or semi-circles. These three succinct styles indicate that these bronzes were made in three separate workshops.

Iconographic Group 2: Bronze statuettes with four arms (Cat. nos 53, 89-111)

The largest group among the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara statuettes shows the Bodhisattva with four arms. Apart from one image, all lean their heads to the right, rather than to the left, as in the images of Group 1. Avalokiteśvara displays various attributes and one hand gesture (Table 17). The lower right hand is often in *varada-mudrā* or is held in front of the chest, with the *cintāmaṇi*. The upper right hand supports the leaning head and frequently holds a rosary. On the left side, we see a greater variety of attributes, but the lotus is a common presence. We can usually see the flower by the shoulder, on a long stem. When the figure displays the *varada-mudrā* in the lower right hand, the lower left hand commonly holds a *cintāmaṇi* in front of the body. Other possible attributes on the left include a book and a bottle. The wish-fulfilling jewel and the gift-giving gesture fit well together and stand in juxtaposition to the sorrowful gesture. These two attributes illustrate Avalokiteśvara's infinite compassion, while the sorrowful gesture expresses his sorrow at not being able to save all sentient beings.

Within Group 2, I distinguish three stylistic sets. The first of these consists of two bronzes. They exhibit stylistic features associated with Northeast India (Cat. nos 89 and 90), discussed in the previous chapter (Section 3.4). Although the first of these statuettes (Cat. no. 89) has suffered some damage, we can still see a pearl rim around its lotus seat. The second statuette (Cat. no. 90) also carries this feature, along with flames decorating the rim of the back piece as well as a parasol directly above. Both statuettes lean the head to the image's right. The first does not wear any jewellery, while the second one is only sparsely bejewelled. One example of a sorrowful Avalokiteśvara with four arms was found in Bangladesh (as we shall see in the next section). However, he leans his head to the left, not to the right as in the images discussed.

To my knowledge, no metal four-armed Avalokiteśvara depictions without jewellery have been found in Northeast India or Bangladesh. Thus, we see in these two statuettes iconographic features that are not found in the northeastern Indian subcontinent. Stylistic features do link these statuettes to Northeast India and Bangladesh though, such as the pearl rim on the lotus seat and the parasol directly above the back piece.

This supports the conclusion in Chapter 3, that Javanese bronze workers produced statuettes with stylistic elements characteristic of Northeast Indian bronzes.

The second of these statuettes (Cat. no. 90), is better preserved. The back piece indicates a Northeast Indian or Bangladeshi origin for this statuette with its pearl-rimmed frame, the s-shaped flames along the edge and the parasol directly above it. However, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3, images that at first glance appear to originate from India or Bangladesh are, on the basis of a more thorough stylistic analysis, likely to have been produced in Java. Since the iconography of this statuette links up with other Javanese images, rather than Indian or Bangladeshi images, this statuette may be a similar case. I suggest that this bronze was also produced in Java, despite showing several Indian stylistic features.

The second stylistic set within this iconographic group comprises of 14 images (Cat. nos 91-105) that show a Central Javanese style. This style includes an oval double lotus seat, a solid back piece decorated with foliage, a parasol extended out over the seated or standing figure and a supple physical form. Some of the statuettes in this set have an oval, double lotus seat, a characteristic of the Central Javanese style (Cat. nos 91-92, 94-105). Two of these statuettes show a similar back piece and manner of body depiction, to the point that they appear to emulate each other (Cat. nos 96 and 97). The gilded bronze (Cat. no. 98) also has a similar back piece, but the foliage leaves around the herringbone rim are depicted separate from one another. There are other statuettes that show a close similarity, which have this type of back piece. I will discuss these in Chapter 6. While not all of the images in this group have a back piece, we see the typical Central Javanese style *prabhāmaṇḍala* in Cat. nos 96-100 and 102-105. A parasol, extending out over the seated figure, can be seen in Cat. nos 96, 99 and 101-104.

The third stylistic group among the Avalokiteśvara statuettes in the Iconographic Group 2 shows a style that seems to result from a further development of the Central Javanese style at a slightly later time, hence the late Central and early East Javanese style (Cat. nos 106-111). Stylistically these statuettes link up with the fourth stylistic group discussed in Chapter 3. In these figures, we see characteristics typical for this late Central and early East Javanese style: elongated limbs, closer and more intricate foliage around the back piece, and an increase in the decoration on the body. Three bronzes clearly illustrate the style of such elongated limbs (Cat. nos 106 and 109). The more intricate foliage can be seen in two of these and in another bronze belonging to this stylistic group (Cat. nos 106, 109 and 111). The increase in adornment is evidenced by a chest belt, besides a hip belt, and the addition of an extra armband (Cat. nos 106, 108, 109, 111). The three stylistic sets within this iconographic group illustrate a similar kind of stylistic development that we saw for Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* (Chapter 3).

Iconographic Group 3: Statuettes with six arms (Cat. nos 112-115)

Group 3 includes only four images. The first statuette is in a private collection (Cat. no. 112) and shows Avalokiteśvara sitting in *mahārājalīlāsana* on an oval lotus seat

that rests on a rectangular base with a back piece similar to that seen in Cat. nos 64, 71, 96-98. He leans slightly to his right. The upper right hand reaches towards the head as if to support it, although apparently, it does not actually touch the head. The middle right hand is broken, and the lower right hand is suspended over the lower left hand, which holds a *cintāmaṇi* in front of the chest. The upper left hand holds a rosary and we see the middle left hand behind the body supporting the body's weight. Avalokiteśvara wears a lower garment with a circle-and-dot pattern as well as a necklace, armbands, bracelets and a *yajñopavīta* (Table 18).

Unfortunately, only a drawing remains of the next statuette (Cat. no. 113, Raffles 1817 Vol. 2: 56), while the following statuette is damaged to such a degree that the attributes cannot be determined (Cat. no. 114). All of these figures lean their head to the right. In the statuette in a private collection (Cat. no. 112) Avalokiteśvara supports his head with the upper right hand, while the statuette in the drawing supports the head with the middle right hand (Cat. no. 113). The last statuette in this group (Cat. no. 115) represents Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara, as the Bodhisattva carries both a jewel and a wheel. This is the only representation of this form of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara that was found in Java. It is an interesting piece, as it links the artistic production in Java to the iconographic development of Avalokiteśvara images in China and Japan, where this form was popular (see Section 4.4).

Of these four images, the statuettes in a private collection and the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara (Cat. nos 112 and 115) relate stylistically to the second stylistic set, in Iconographic Group 2 described above (Cat. nos 91-105). The six-armed Avalokiteśvara that now only exists as a drawing has a back piece decorated with flames and a parasol directly above it, relating it to the first stylistic group in Iconographic Group 2 (Cat. nos 89-90). The fourth statuette (Cat. no. 114) is too worn to distinguish any clear stylistic details.

Clay tablets illustrating the sorrowful iconography found in Java and Insular Southeast Asia (Cat. nos 116-119, 297)

Three clay tablets that may have illustrated the sorrowful gesture were found at Borobudur. There are no images of two tablets. One has been described as showing a figure with its head leaning to the right (Rohyani 1993: Table 1, no. 19). From the description, it is unclear whether this is the viewer's right or the figure's right. The right hand was held by the chest and the left hand displayed the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* (Rohyani 1993: Table 1, no. 19), therefore, none of the hands support the leaning head. Rohyani described a second tablet in which the seated figure leaned his head to the side. He was identified as Samantabhadra rather than Avalokiteśvara (1993: Table 1). In this case one of the Bodhisattva's hands rests in his lap and the other hand rests besides him. Indradjaya has also published a clay tablet found at Borobudur (Cat. no. 297, 2011: Foto 2). The partially damaged clay tablet shows Avalokiteśvara seated in *mahārājalīlāsana*. The Bodhisattva leans his head slightly to his right, just as we have seen in the four-armed Javanese bronzes.

A limited number of clay tablets from other parts of Insular Southeast Asia also show the sorrowful iconographic form (Cat. nos 116-119). I include them here as these are the only images with this iconography from Southeast Asia outside of Java. They come from modern day Myanmar, southern Thailand and Bali. The ones from Thailand, one with a two-armed figure and the other with a four-armed figure, both lean the head to their right (as in the four-armed and six-armed, bronze statuettes from Java); those from lower Myanmar and Bali, both with four arms, lean their head to their left (as in the two-armed Javanese statuettes). The combinations of either two arms with the head leaning to the left or four arms with the head leaning to the right, as in the Javanese bronze examples, was not repeated in clay tablets found in other parts of Southeast Asia.

Two of these tablets show a similar iconography, although both are damaged to a certain extent (Cat. nos 118-119). Despite the damage and wear we can determine a small *stūpa* on the figure's right side in both tablets. Similarly, we see a worshipper by the seat. Other resemblances include the placement of upper and lower right hands. Considering this last-mentioned similarity, these clay tables likely had a related source of inspiration. This may have been the stone tablet found in Bangladesh (Pl. 4A, see Section 4.3). Especially as the Bangladeshi stone figure has his head in an almost 90-degree angle from the neck, similar in the Balinese clay tablet (Cat. no. 118).

4.3 A comparison with South Asian images

In South Asia, we find this sorrowful gesture in Gandhara, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Northeast India and Bangladesh, but not all of the figures can be identified as Avalokiteśvara. The earliest images are from Gandhara, but the gesture itself is believed to originate from Greek and Greco-Roman art (Lee 1993: 31). There appears to be a difference in how this iconographic form is portrayed in Gandhara, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Odisha, compared to Bihar and Bangladesh. In Gandhara there are sorrowful figures who either lean their heads to the right or the left, often depending on the symmetry of the image, such as in the *Buddha with Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī* stone relief (Lee 1993: fig. 5). These stone depictions are commonly dated to the second and third centuries CE (Lee 1993).

In Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh and Odisha show figures leaning their heads to the right. At the Ajanta cave complex in Maharashtra, the sorrowful gesture is used with depictions of the death of the Buddha or *parinirvāṇa*. It shows a monk sitting in *bhadrāsana* and leaning his head in his right hand (Pl. 4C). However, the images from Bihar and Bangladesh show him primarily as leaning his head to his left.[76] The majority of these cases show the Bodhisattva with two arms.

I am aware of one depiction from the northeastern Indian subcontinent which shows the sorrowful gesture for a figure with four arms, such as we often see in Java. This image was found at Kutila Mura in modern-day Bangladesh (Pl. 4A). The image shows the figure

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[76] I have, as of yet, not identified any sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras originating from West Bengal.

leaning his head to the left and dates to the seventh century based on the script of the inscribed Buddhist creed on the back (Imam 2000: 53). This would be earlier than the Javanese images. Several smaller figures surround the central figure, including a dancing figure at the bottom of the lotus seat's stem.

The body shape of the Kutila Mura relief shows little connection with the four-armed Javanese statuettes in Group 2. However, as was noted above, there is similarity in the depiction of the body with two of the Southeast Asian clay tablets (Cat. nos 118-119). The most common Javanese iconographic features for the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara are the *varada-mudrā*, lotus and *cintāmaṇi*. In the Bangladeshi image, we can identify the *cintāmaṇi* and possibly a lotus, but not the *varada-mudrā*.

A bronze image from Nalanda in Bihar (Pl. 4B), shows the figure in the same type of *mahārājalīlāsana* as seen in the two statuettes belonging to Group 2 (Cat. nos 89 and 90) with the non-supporting leg lying on the other foot. The two-armed figure leans his head to the left and cups his cheek in his left hand. His right hand rests on the lotus seat supporting his body. The back piece has suffered some damage, but we can still see a pearl rim and small flames at intervals along the outside. We find this same type of back piece among Javanese bronzes, as detailed in Chapter 3 (Cat. no. 48), but not among the Javanese sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras.

These two images from Bihar and Bangladesh, or similar ones, may have functioned as iconographic inspirations for the Javanese sorrowful Avalokiteśvara.[77] Considering the time difference between the Northeast Indian images (seventh century CE) and the statuettes produced in Java (mid-eighth century to the early tenth century CE) there may have been other sources of iconographic information as well. There is also a clay tablet of a six-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara identified as Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara by C. Bautze-Picron from Nalanda in Bihar (2004: 243, fig. 24).[78] He is named for the two important attributes he carries. This form will be discussed further in Section 4.4.

In Ratnagiri (in Odisha) and Ayodhya (in Uttar Pradesh), we find two stone images of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara depicted in relief (Pls 4D and 4E). The Ratnagiri relief is dated to the tenth century CE and the one in Ayodhya to the late tenth century (Donaldson 2001: figs 207-208). Therefore, they were both created a century later that the Central Javanese period of the first half of the ninth century CE, when most of the Javanese, sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras were made. Both figures have two arms; in the left hand they hold a long-stemmed lotus in full bloom. The heads are bent towards the Bodhisattvas'

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[77] Similar two-armed depictions of Avalokiteśvara, but not limited to these, include a bronze *caitya* dated to the ninth century (Bhattacharya 2002: Pl. 9.3, Indian Museum, Kolkata: No. 6301) and a stone relief from the Bodhgaya region in Bihar (Bhattacharya 2002: Pl. 9.5). For further examples from East India see Bautze-Picron 2004: Appendix 1b.

[78] A further clay tablet from Bihar shows a six-armed seated Avalokiteśvara, displaying the sorrowful gesture and leaning his head to his right. It was found in Bargaon near Nalanda (Bhattacharya 2002: Pl. 9.2), but no *cakra* can be identified among the attributes.

right, unlike in the two-armed images from Java that lean the head to the left. The figures from Ratnagiri and Ayodhya sit in *lalitāsana* and *mahārājalīlāsana* respectively.

In South Asia, the sorrowful gesture is used in connection with a number of other characters, including the Buddha Śākyamuni, other *bodhisattva*s and a monk. The same type of imagery can be found in Java, but there the large majority of the sorrowful images depict Avalokiteśvara. While the origins of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara reside in South Asia, there was a local iconographic development of the four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara leaning his head to the right in Java. There the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara reached higher levels of popularity as we may conclude on the basis of surviving bronze images.

4.4 A comparison with East Asian images

In China, the iconographic form of a seated figure leaning his head in one of his hands, occurs with a variable number of arms and in several different sitting positions. Denise Paltry Leidy described the icon, which was popular during the middle of the sixth century CE in Northeast China, as a figure sitting "on a high stool with his right leg crossed over a pendant left leg; his left hand rests on his left foot while he gently touches his right cheek with one or two fingers of his right hand" (1990: 21).

At times, the statuettes of this iconographic form in China carry an inscription describing the figure as "siwei" (思維) which can be translated as 'dimensional thinking' or thinking that connects dimensions (Qi 2015: 38).[79] Avalokiteśvara travelled outside the human realm in order to save the hungry ghosts or *preta*s. Humans may not be privy to this other dimension, but the Bodhisattva is capable of 'dimensional thinking' beyond the dimensions that limit human beings.

As the term '*siwei*' was inscribed on some of the Chinese images illustrating the sorrowful gesture, it has been used to describe all depictions of this gesture in Chinese art, even those that are uninscribed. Hsu separated the images into groups: one being the "*siwei* statues", carrying the inscription, and the second group with the same iconographic gesture, but without an inscription (2002: 6). Hsu argues that the "pensive images can be interpreted in two different iconographic contexts", one related to the Prince Siddhartha in a narrative iconographic setting and the other to meditational practices, specifically "visualisation meditation" (2002: 6, 9-10). The use and appreciation of this iconography spread to Korea in the late sixth century, while in China the icon disappeared in the Sui (581-618 CE) and Tang (618-907 CE) periods (Leidy 1990: 31).

Altarpieces in bronze from Hebei in northern China, dating to the late fifth century CE, show Avalokiteśvara standing in front, while at the back of the piece sits a *siwei* or sorrowful figure under a tree. One example is 22 cm high and dates to 489 CE

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[79] *Siwei* figures have also been referred to as "pensive figures", the term itself was developed by Chinese translators to denote the verb – to think (Hsu 2002: 5).

(Leidy 1990: fig 2). Leidy interprets this image as illustrating Avalokiteśvara in his paradise, Sukhāvatī (1990: 24). The same type of depiction also exists for Maitreya, which would then be seen as illustrating Tuṣita Heaven. Leidy interprets the 'pensive' figure at the back as a waiting Bodhisattva (1990: 24). In the case of Avalokiteśvara, he would be waiting to descend to the human realm to aid sentient beings.

Another Chinese iconographic form of a six-armed Avalokiteśvara, supporting his head with one of his hands, is called Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara. The iconography of this form is described in the Japanese Buddhist dictionary *Bukkyō Daiji*. The three right hands, from the top, touch the head, hold the *cintāmaṇi* (the wish-fulfilling jewel) and a rosary (Chapin 1932: 38). On the left, the top hand holds a *cakra*, the middle hand a lotus and the lowest hand rests on the seat (Chapin 1932: 39).

Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara can be found in Mogao Cave 148, dated to 776 CE (Wong 2007: 153). In the cave, a niche was reserved for a statue of Avalokiteśvara in this form but this is now missing. The surrounding wall still shows the benefits of worshipping Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara (Wong 2007: 154). In Mogao Cave 384, dated to the late eighth and early ninth centuries CE, Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara is depicted opposite an image of Amoghapāśa (Wong 2007: 154). This depiction could have been made nearer in time to the sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras and the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara from Java (Cat. no. 115) than the Indian images.

Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara also became popular in Japan. According to the *Bukkyō Daiji*, the *Cintāmaṇi-cakra mantra* was introduced between 1069 and 1074 CE (Chapin 1932: 43). The iconography was already known in Japan earlier, from 810 CE onwards, when Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi) brought examples of the *Garbhakośadhātu-maṇḍala*, in which Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara was included (Chapin 1932: 43). Thus, this form became known in Japan in approximately the same period as in Java.

The singular acceptance of the four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara in Java, compared to the rest of Southeast Asia, may be difficult to explain. Nevertheless, it is clear that this form of the Bodhisattva was known in Java before the sole image of the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara was produced (Cat. no. 115). The Javanese worshippers of Avalokiteśvara may have had no need of another Avalokiteśvara sorrowful form by the second quarter of the ninth century CE. This may be why only one image of the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara survives from Java.

Chutiwongs suggested that the popularity of the sorrowful form in Indonesia could be due to two travelling Buddhist teachers, Vajrabodhi (671-741) and Amoghavajra (704-774, 1994: 103). Chutiwongs is not the only scholar to connect Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra to the development of Buddhism in Java (Sundberg and Giebel 2011, Sharrock and Bunker 2016).

Vajrabodhi was originally from South India and studied at Nalanda (Chou 1945: 272, 274). He eventually travelled, via sea, to China. However, the journey took three years and after

Vajrabodhi's temporary stop in Vijaya, there is no record of where Vajrabodhi was during this period (Sundberg and Giebel 2011: 14). There is only a reference to various countries before they became lost at sea and travelled more than 100,000 *li* (Sundberg and Giebel 2011: 14), or approximately 32,000 km.[80] One theory is that he visited the Thai-Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Java during these three years (Sharrock and Bunker 2016: 238).

However, even if Vajrabodhi spent time in Java, the entire development of the local Buddhist art cannot be laid at his feet. He was certainly not the only monk to travel from India to Java, despite his modern fame. Once both Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra were in China they translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese, including the *dhāraṇī* for Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara and the *Spell Text of the Great Body of the Bodhisattva Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara*.[81] No images of the thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara have been found in Java and, as of yet, only one Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara has been found (Cat. no. 115).

As noted in the previous section, there is limited evidence of Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara in India, but it is quite common in East Asia, suggesting a cultural link of Java with East Asia rather than South Asia. However, this is only one bronze, indicating that this cultural link could be limited to a single person requesting such an image from a workshop. The stylistic features of this statuette show that it was produced in the Central Javanese period, approximately in the second quarter of the ninth century (Cat. no. 115), past the time of Amoghavajra's possible return to Java in 741 CE (Chou 1945: 290 n. 29). This dating will be further discussed in Chapter 6, in which a group of Avalokiteśvaras in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* is described, all in the same Central Javanese style.

4.5 The naming of an iconographic form of Avalokiteśvara

The iconographic form of Avalokiteśvara depicted as resting his head on one hand or leaning his head to either side has been given a variety of names. One of the earliest descriptions of this form in the West was by A. Grünwedel, translated into English in 1901. He described this iconographic form as "his right hand rests with the elbow on the right knee, and the head is sunk sorrowfully on the hand, the left hand rests carelessly on the left leg which hangs down" (1901: 202). Here, the form was not described as pensive, but sorrowful.

In articles from the 1930s, Chapin stated that Mahākāruṇa is another name for Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara and Bosch described a sorrowful Avalokiteśvara as "Avalokiteśvara as Mahakaruna".[82] Thus, by 1939 the term Mahākāruṇa was used in connection with the figure touching his head. Bosch theorised that this form shows Avalokiteśvara on Mount

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[80] This is based on the Tang definition of *li* and, for reference, the circumference of the earth is approximately 40,000 km.
[81] Orzech 2011: 349, Sundberg and Giebel 2011: 15.
[82] Chapin 1932: 35, Bosch 1939: 9.

Potalaka contemplating the endless suffering of sentient beings that he, in the form of Mahākāruṇika, tries to end (1939: 10).

The Sanskrit term *mahākāruna* means 'very compassionate' and *mahākāruṇika* translates as 'exceedingly compassionate' (Monier Williams 1961: 795). Nevertheless, the term Mahākāruṇa or Mahākāruṇika does not relate to a specific iconographic form, as being compassionate is a general quality of Avalokiteśvara, and occurs in descriptions of his various iconographic forms. No textual evidence corroborates that this form illustrates Avalokiteśvara at his 'most compassionate'.[83] It may be noted that L.A. Waddell therefore thought it fit to describe a four-armed standing image of Avalokiteśvara, not touching his hand to his head, as Mahākāruṇa Avalokiteśvara (1894: 76).[84]

The initiative to call this iconographic form 'pensive' came from F.D.K. Bosch (1939), who examined a bronze statuette believed to originate from Klaten in Central Java (1939: 7, Cat. no. 86). It illustrates Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*, leaning his head to his left. By giving his article the title "Le Penseur in Hindoe-Javaansche gedaante", Bosch connected the form with the well-known statue by Auguste Rodin, *Le Penseur*. This was the first time that a connection between the term 'pensive' and the gesture of touching the head was made. Soon afterwards, it became the most common term to describe this iconography.

However, if we compare the silver Javanese statuette in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Cat. no. 95) with *Le Penseur*, we see differences, not only in the artistic language, but also in what the image tries to convey. *Le Penseur*'s body with its defined musculature indicates contemplation coupled with physical, human capabilities. The sorrowful Avalokiteśvara in the Rijksmuseum shows us something different. As the figure has four arms, instead of two, he clearly is not just a human being. He does not possess a strong physical presence, but rather a lithe and supple body. Avalokiteśvara's brow is not furrowed with trying to understand something or solving a problem. Instead his facial features attempt to portray the Bodhisattva's compassion and openness through partially closed eyes and a soft smile.

Among scholars dealing with this iconographic form, it appears to be standard to use the term 'pensive' and Mahākāruṇa/Mahākāruṇika interchangeably. One such scholar, Anna-Maria Quagliotti, stated that the term 'Mahākāruṇika' was one of convenience and she noted that there was no textual evidence for the use of the Sanskrit term (1989: 338). Yet, in the same article, Quagliotti noted that "there is no doubt that the gesture of raising one's hand to one's head denotes pain" (1989: 339).

Prangopal Paul and Debjani Paul focused on a subset of the sorrowful depiction in which the seated figure touches or cradles his cheek, instead of supporting the head. They created

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[83] The term Mahākāruṇika occurs in Buddhist texts when a list of *bodhisattva*s is given. It also occurs as a form of title for either Avalokiteśvara or the *bodhisattva* form of Śakyamuni (Harle 1979: 128).

[84] Unfortunately, Waddell did not thoroughly reference his source, but a note would indicate that the text he referenced was found at Zhalu Monastery (1894: 76).

a new term for this form, Karunāghana-mūrti (2001: 359).[85] The two authors highlighted the physical form as depicting more sensitivity and a bit less thoughtfulness than the 'pensive' form in which the Bodhisattva supports the head (Paul and Paul 2001: 359). However, the Javanese bronzes primarily show this form, of touching or reaching towards the head.

In the Indian text, *Nāṭyaśāstra*,[86] a treatise on performing arts, we find the pose of resting a head in one's hand as "sitting in sorrow". In the same text, there is a second pose to illustrate when a person sits deep in thought or is pensive (Mehta 1995: 138).

> When a person is to assume (deep) thinking, (from the easy sitting position) he is to stretch slightly one of his feet, and the other foot is to rest on the seat and the head is to bend to one side.
>
> When a person is in (deep) sorrow, (from the easy sitting posture) he is to put up his hands for supporting the chin, or head is to rest on the shoulder, and he is (to look like) one whose mind and the sense-organs are not working (lit. lost) (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, ed. Ghosh 1950-61: xiii, 197-199).

This indicates that in the cultures where this text was in use, the pose that we have seen in the images would have been associated with sorrow.

In his translation of the Sanskrit text, the *Śayanāsanavastu* of the *Mūlasarvastivāda-vinaya*, Schopen noted that in one of the chapters a householder sits "dejected, cheek in hand" as he is having trouble finding a wife for his seventh son (2000: 111). Schopen concluded that this pose is known for expressing sorrow. He also expressed in a footnote that there is a complication if this information is transferred directly onto Buddhist images, such as those discussed in this chapter.

> In the texts the posture is invariably associated with dejection, disconsolateness, despair, anxiety, grief and depression. When the contexts are clear the same holds for the art. Indeed, the posture is prescribed for "sitting in sorrow" in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Mehta 1995: 138 and 140). All of this makes the identification of princely figures sitting in this posture as "celestial"

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[85] Examples of this can be found in Korean Buddhist art (Chung and Smith 1998: 138).
[86] This text does not have a definitive date, but is considered to have been written within 200 years of the third century CE (Mehta 1995: xiii).

Bodhisattvas[87] very problematic, unless we allow that such bodhisattvas spent a lot of time seriously depressed (Schopen 2000: 158-159 fn. 4).

According to Schopen the gesture of leaning the head in one's hand could be interpreted as sitting in sorrow, particularly in a clear textual context. Schopen also wonders how a celestial Bodhisattva, who is advanced on the enlightenment path, could be seated in sorrow.

However, part of Avalokiteśvara's theogeny is his capacity to listen or see the suffering of the world and being able to respond. When he suffers from not being able to help as many sentient beings as he wishes, the Buddha Amitābha proceeds to give Avalokiteśvara 1000 arms and eyes so that he can come to the aid of more sentient beings. Another story tells of Avalokiteśvara visiting hell, liberating the sinners and bringing them to Sukhāvatī paradise. He discovered, on his return, that for each rescued being another took his place in hell. The Bodhisattva's despair then becomes so great that his head split into ten parts (Getty 1914: 64). Thus, Avalokiteśvara is a figure who is sorrowful and despairing, but he comes to a worshipper's aid and does not simply sit on Mount Potalaka pondering. Hence, being filled with sorrow is an essential part of his compassion.

In Java, there are several reliefs that depict the pose of leaning the head in one's hand in a narrative context. These may give us more information about the meaning of this pose in Java. One very clear example can be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs at the Loro Jonggrang temple complex at Prambanan. When Rāma returns to the place where he left Sita, in order to hunt the golden deer, and finds that she is no longer there. His grief is great, and we see him seated leaning his head on his right hand (Pl. 4G).

The same gesture is used on the walls of Borobudur in a few narrative reliefs, besides the panel that likely shows Avalokiteśvara in the context of the *Bhadracarī*. One example from the *Lalitavistara* series shows a ferry man seated with his head in his hand after he demanded a fare from Gautama, who then flew over the river instead (Krom 1926: 125). A second example from the *Lalitavistara* shows Mara seated with his head in his hand (Krom and Van Erp 1920-31: Ia 94). Therefore, the pose of leaning the head in one's hand was clearly associated with unhappiness in Java, as we see in these narrative reliefs in Central Java. As they figure within a narrative known to us, it is beyond doubt that the pose expresses unhappiness.

We have seen that this iconographic pose of supporting the leaning head with a hand has had several names. However, using a term such as 'pensive', based on the resemblance of this iconography to that of a European sculpture, alters our understanding of the intended meaning of the image of the Bodhisattva leaning his head in his hand. An individual deep

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[87] A celestial Bodhisattva is one who is mentioned in the Mahāyāna texts and is advanced on the enlightenment path (Masson 1970: 1). Avalokiteśvara, along with other *bodhisattva*s such as Mañjuśrī, are identified as celestial Bodhisattvas (Harrison 2000: 162).

in thought over a problem is different from someone being sorrowful over the suffering he sees. The true meaning of the image can thus become undermined. Among the Chinese depictions of this pose, there are inscriptions describing Avalokiteśvara's ability for dimensional thinking. In Java, however, the narrative context of the number of images showing this gesture illustrates that it was meant to depict pain as sorrow as described in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Lalitavistara*. Taking the narrative reliefs and the description in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* into account, within the context of the compassionate nature of Avalokiteśvara, the appropriate description of this iconographic form, at least in the Javanese images, is 'sorrowful Avalokiteśvara'.

4.6 Conclusion

During the Central Javanese period, there was a prolific production of bronze statuettes and we have seen that the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara was important enough for a local iconography to develop. This combines the four arms with the head leaning to the right. The images in this chapter include relatively small statuettes as well as part of a relief on Borobudur. The size of the statuettes points to a private, rather than a temple setting for these objects. Avalokiteśvara, in his sorrowful attitude, displays compassion for the world's suffering, an attractive quality to the worshippers of these images. The wish-fulfilling jewel is often part of the iconography of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara. The repetitive use of the *cintāmaṇi* in the Javanese images suggests that this iconographic form had a wish-fulfilling role for the worshippers.

The Javanese two-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras lean their heads to their left. This pose may have been inspired by the sorrowful images produced in Bengal, as we there see a similar iconography. The sorrowful four-armed Avalokiteśvara statuettes could be divided into iconographic groups, which in their turn were separated further into stylistic groups. These stylistic groups connected with Northeast Indian, Central Javanese and late Central Javanese and early East Javanese stylistic features. The specific iconographic and stylistic combination for the four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara (with his head leaning to the right) developed locally in Java. Only one example of this iconographic combination of a sorrowful Avalokiteśvara, having four arms and leaning his head to the right has been found outside of Java: the clay tablet found in Yala in Peninsular Thailand (Cat. no. 117). The other two clay tablets in which the Bodhisattva has four arms show him leaning his head to the left in the manner seen in the Kutila Mura stone image (Cat. nos 118-119). The Javanese iconographic rules dictated that if the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara had two hands, he would lean his head to the left, but if given four or six arms, he would be seen leaning his head to the right. This iconography did not develop further and remained consistent with the head leaning to the right and the other primary attributes of the *varada-mudrā*, the *cintāmaṇi* and a book. By developing a local Buddhist iconography, the Javanese bronze casters illustrated their ability to not just accept external iconographic input, but to take this information and adapt it to their own artistic language.

The sorrowful gesture is also found depicted in China, often used for two-armed Bodhisattvas. In these cases, the Bodhisattva tends to lean his head to the right.

The Bodhisattva is generally not depicted with four arms in East Asia. The specific iconographic form of the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara can be found represented several times in Chinese culture, but only one such image survived in Java (Cat. no. 115). Even so, this one image seems enough to illustrate a cultural link between China and Java during the first half of the ninth century CE. As we will see in Chapter 6, the statuette was produced by a prolific workshop. The one surviving image suggests that this workshop did not produce many of the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara form, but instead focused on the locally developed four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara.

While the iconographic form examined in this chapter has been given a variety of names, the appropriate terminology for the Javanese Avalokiteśvara image leaning his head in his hands should be 'sorrowful Avalokiteśvara'. Based on the reliefs illustrating the sorrowful pose in a narrative context, it is likely that the Javanese worshippers interpreted such sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras as illustrating sorrow born from compassion.

Plate 6. Avalokiteśvara as part of a triad in the depiction of the *Bhadracarī* on the fourth gallery of Borobudur (Cat. no. 130, IV 50)

Chapter 5

Avalokiteśvara's presence in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and *Bhadracarī* reliefs on Borobudur

I know a gate of liberation, the embryo of knowledge
Of clouds of compassion of all buddhas,
Born of my own love and operating everywhere
To protect and care for all beings…

Those who scatter a handful of flowers over me,
Calling my name, go to my refuge of bliss;
Those who give me offerings with a clear mind
Will be worthy of receiving offerings in my Buddha-land.
Gaṇḍavyūha, Sudhana's visit to Avalokiteśvara.
(*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1277-1279)

5.1 Introduction

Avalokiteśvara may be the most popular *bodhisattva* in the Mahāyāna pantheon, but this is not evidenced by the imagery on Borobudur, the largest Buddhist monument in the world. There the Bodhisattva does not appear in the form of a statue and he is only depicted in twelve of the 1460 narrative reliefs present. He is also not included in the hundreds of reliefs showing the Buddha and his attendants. Surprisingly, we encounter Avalokiteśvara only in a mere 0.8 percent of the reliefs. Considering this percentage, we need to question the epithet of the 'most popular *bodhisattva*' for Avalokiteśvara in this Central Javanese context.

The main walls and balustrade walls of Borobudur illustrate the Buddhist texts *Lalitavistara*, *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Bhadracarī*, as well as various *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* texts. We find the few reliefs showing Avalokiteśvara as part of the depictions of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* on the main wall of the second level and the *Bhadracarī* on the main wall of the fourth level. Yet, Avalokiteśvara is only included in one episode of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and is not mentioned at all in the *Bhadracarī*. Thus, finding him in twelve reliefs is somewhat of a surprise as well. In this chapter, I will describe the images and suggest why Avalokiteśvara was depicted more often than he is mentioned in the texts.

The *Gaṇḍavyūha* tells the story of a spiritual pilgrimage and Sudhana's visits to 52 *kalyāṇamitras*, his spiritual teachers (Osto 2008: 2).[88] One of these visits takes Sudhana to Avalokiteśvara. The *Bhadracarī* describes the ten vows of the Bodhisattva

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[88] The *Gaṇḍavyūha* and the *Bhadracarī* are both part of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*.

Samantabhadra.[89] The text describing Sudhana's visit to Avalokiteśvara can be divided into two sections: a prose component and a verse component, the contents of which are the same. They begin with Avalokiteśvara welcoming Sudhana and then explaining to Sudhana his knowledge and his role in guiding sentient beings.

Although the *Gaṇḍavyūha* text describes Sudhana as only visiting the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara once (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275-1280), he is depicted on Borobudur as visiting the Bodhisattva twice. The reliefs indeed tell the story of Sudhana's pilgrimage twice. Besides the visit to Avalokiteśvara, all other visits of Sudhana to *kalyāṇamitras* seem to have been doubled as well.

Avalokiteśvara is depicted only once (Cat. no. 120) in the first round of depictions and as many as three times in the second (Cat. nos 121-123). Why the creators of Borobudur decided to illustrate the *Gaṇḍavyūha* in this manner is somewhat of an enigma. Jan Fontein describes these various attempts in *Entering the dharmadhātu* (2012: 6-7). Two elements have played a role. F.D.K. Bosch noticed that the *Gaṇḍavyūha* itself described Sudhana as visiting 110 towns and this number may have played a role in the design of Sudhana's visits on Borobudur (1938).

Fontein himself added that the traditional number of 53 visits to *kalyāṇamitra*s may actually be seen as 55, as one visit included two *kalyāṇamitra*s along with two separate visits to Mañjuśrī (2012: 6). [90] If these visits are then doubled, as he suggests, one arrives at the number of 110 exactly, the number of visits shown on the main wall of the second level of Borobudur.

A second round of visits is depicted following the first round. The visual narration of the 110 visits covers 128 relief panels on the second gallery (Fontein 2012: 5). A few of the additional panels show Sudhana travelling. The rest of the additional panels are devoted to visits that seem to have been deemed specifically significant. The various versions of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* that have survived do not give us any clue as to why this second round received three depictions of Avalokiteśvara.

The second series of reliefs depicting Avalokiteśvara is on the main wall of the fourth main wall. This series illustrates the *Bhadracarī*. Eight reliefs have been identified as including the Bodhisattva, although Avalokiteśvara is never mentioned in the various versions of the text. The exact textual version of the *Bhadracarī* used for Borobudur remains unknown, but from the available images we can see that the text focused on the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra, while offering repeated references to enlightened Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. Many of the Bodhisattvas are generic *bodhisattva*s, but Avalokiteśvara can clearly be identified by the presence of the Buddha Amitābha in his *jaṭāmukuṭa*

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[89] For further information on these two Mahāyāna texts, see Bosch 1938, Fontein 1967, 2000 and 2012, Osto 2008 and *Bhadracarī* ed. Osto 2010.

[90] Fontein cited 53 visits as this is the traditionally given number in both Japan and China (2012: 6). However, Osto cited 52 visits based on the number narrated in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (2008: 2).

(Cat. nos 126, 129-131). In a few other reliefs Avalokiteśvara can be identified by his attributes, such as a lotus (Cat. nos 124-125 and 127). In these reliefs Avalokiteśvara has a triangular shape in his *jaṭāmukuṭa*, which could indicate that there was once a Buddha figure depicted there.

Most scholars interested in Borobudur have studied the monument as a whole, focusing on its meaning. Or they studied the reliefs on the various galleries using texts.[91] Thus far, the only scholar to have focused solely on Avalokiteśvara on Borobudur is N. Tingley in her study of the *in situ* images of the Bodhisattva at Borobudur, Candi Mendut, the Plaosan complex in Central Java and Candi Jago in East Java (2006-07).

Among the Avalokiteśvara depictions on Borobudur seven images carry the Buddha Amitābha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Cat. nos 120-123, 126, 129-131). Krom identified a further four reliefs as illustrating Avalokiteśvara (1927: 92, Cat. nos 125, 127-129) and, as noted in Chapter 4, Chutiwongs identified yet another Avalokiteśvara relief without the Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, although it may originally have been there (1994: 100, Cat. no. 124). These identifications are based on different factors, such as the attributes in the hands and the narrative context of the reliefs.

5.2 Avalokiteśvara in the Gaṇḍavyūha series on the second main wall: iconography and style

A visitor to Borobudur will first encounter an image of the Bodhisattva in the second gallery where the depiction of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* starts.[92] Avalokiteśvara is one of the many *kalyāṇamitra*s or spiritual guides, to whom Sudhana travels to gain instruction.

Sudhana's first encounter with Avalokiteśvara (II 47, Cat. no. 120)[93]

The first Avalokiteśvara image shows him inside a building seated in an informal way with the right leg placed in front of the left on a throne covered with fabric (Cat. no. 120). The Bodhisattva sits within a palace. He has a tall tower-shaped *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a jewel top and a visible Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* niche. A solid oval halo encircles the Bodhisattva's head. He does not wear a tiara, but wears a necklace, armbands, bracelets and anklets. Avalokiteśvara has a sash *yajñopavīta* crossing the body to just below the waist. His right hand is in *vitarka-mudrā*, his left hand rests on his left knee, apparently holding a stem that emerges from the base. It reaches up to an opening lotus bud by the Bodhisattva's head.

The *vitarka-mudrā* is not one of the conventional *mudrā*s for the Javanese Avalokiteśvaras. His iconography has been adapted in this relief to suit the narrative. He is a *kalyāṇamitra*

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[91] Krom 1927, Bosch 1930 and Fontein 2012.
[92] The first gallery illustrates the *Lalitavistara* and *Jātaka*s.
[93] This numbering is based on the division of plates of the reliefs at Borobudur by Krom and van Erp (1920-31), in which the Roman number refers to the gallery and the serial number to the relief in that gallery.

sitting in a natural, non-conventional posture; his hand, like that of other *kalyāṇamitra*s, is in *vitarka-mudrā* to indicate that he is teaching Sudhana.

According to the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, Sudhana arrives at Mount Potalaka and sees the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara seated on a diamond boulder, surrounded by enlightened beings, listening to the Bodhisattva teaching the doctrine of "light of the medium of great love and compassion" (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275). These enlightened beings surround the Bodhisattva in this relief and the following three reliefs of Avalokiteśvara (Cat. nos 121-123). However, we do not see the depiction of Mount Potalaka in this relief, instead we see him seated within a palace.

Sudhana's second encounter with Avalokiteśvara (II 100-102, Cat. nos 121-123)

The first relief of the second encounter shows Avalokiteśvara with four arms sitting in *padmāsana* on a double lotus resting on a throne supported by lions and human-shaped figures riding on their backs (Cat. no. 121). A triangular cloth hangs down over the throne from below the lotus base. The Bodhisattva sits in a more natural setting than in the previous relief, as is evident from the rock-shaped elements above him, indicating that he sits in a mountain cave or on the side of a mountain. Additionally, various trees and animals surround him. This corresponds to the *Gaṇḍavyūha* text, which describes the Bodhisattva as seated on Mount Potalaka (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275).

> Climbing the mountain, he looked around for Avalokiteshvara
> and saw him on a plateau on the west side of the mountain,
> which was adorned with springs, ponds, and streams, sitting
> wakefully on a diamond boulder in a clearing in a large woods,
> surrounded by a group of enlightening beings seated on various
> jewel rocks… (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275)

In the relief, Avalokiteśvara has a tall, bun-shaped *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the Buddha Amitābha can be seen at the front. Avalokiteśvara is wearing a three-pronged tiara. He also wears a pendant necklace, bracelets and armbands. The Bodhisattva wears a sash *yajñopavīta*, which does not appear to have a fold by the left shoulder, as seen in the previous relief.

In his top right hand, he holds a rosary and the bottom right hand rests in front of the right knee in *varada-mudrā*. His top left hand holds an elephant hook or *aṅkuśa*.[94] The lower left hand is damaged, but a blooming lotus flower can still be seen, and the stem must have been held in the lower left hand.

The next relief (II 101, Cat. no 122) also shows a four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *padmāsana* on a double lotus base. This base rests on a throne draped with fabric that hangs down in two flaps. Lions support the throne at the corners and in the centre. In the relief, there are two bands of clouds; one above the seated Bodhisattva, and a second set alongside

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[94] The elephant hook can be seen in a few Avalokiteśvara forms (Liebert 1976: 18).

him. In Java, it is common that the tops of mountains are covered in clouds and perhaps the artists were trying to emphasise Avalokiteśvara high up on Mount Potalaka by including these clouds.

The Bodhisattva's tower-shaped *jaṭāmukuṭa* does not have a jewel top this time. There is an oval, solid halo behind his head and he wears a three-pronged tiara. Avalokiteśvara wears a sash *yajñopavīta* that crosses the body to the waist and there appears to be a fold in the *yajñopavīta* by the left shoulder. He also wears a necklace and armbands, but due to the damage to the relief no bracelets can be seen.

In his upper right hand Avalokiteśvara appears to be holding a rosary and the lower right hand has suffered some damage. This hand likely displayed the *varada-mudrā*. In his upper left hand, he holds a book and the lower left hand is damaged. A lotus in full bloom by the Bodhisattva's head indicates that this was the attribute held in his lower left hand. This iconography is quite common for Avalokiteśvara statuettes from Java (Cat. nos 254-265). A similar set of attributes is seen for Avalokiteśvara on the rear wall of Candi Mendut, discussed in Chapter 7 (Cat. no. 182).

The final depiction of Avalokiteśvara, as part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, is unique among the representations of the Bodhisattva on Borobudur, as it is the only one with six arms (II 102, Cat. no. 123). The Bodhisattva sits, as in the two other reliefs, in *padmāsana* on a double lotus resting on a throne covered by fabric. Behind Avalokiteśvara's head there is a solid, oval halo. The Buddha Amitābha can be recognised at the front of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, despite the damage to the upper part. The two sets of clouds seen in the previous relief are here reduced to one set above Avalokiteśvara, seen under the flying figures. These cloud depictions could be a way of illustrating the descent of Ananyagamin, the next *kalyāṇamitra* Sudhana will learn from (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1279), who has been identified as standing to Avalokiteśvara's left (Tingley 2006-07: 68). It is possible that the clouds show Avalokiteśvara descending from the top of the mountain, or perhaps the artists wanted to show the Bodhisattva in different environments.

The design of the reliefs may also be an attempt to illustrate Sudhana's spiritual progress with Avalokiteśvara. The first relief shows a mountain setting and the second illustrates a palace in mid-air, with clouds on two levels. The final relief, with Avalokiteśvara in his six-armed form, shows a celestial palace, Sudhana is now depicted with a halo, standing to the Bodhisattva's right.

The Bodhisattva holds a rosary in his upper right hand and the lower right hand displays the *varada-mudrā*. The attribute of the middle right hand cannot be determined. The upper left hand is missing, and the lower left hand holds a bottle. The front left hand holds the stem of a lotus in full bloom, seen to the left of the Bodhisattva's face.

Avalokiteśvara wears bracelets and armbands. Due to relief damage, we cannot see a necklace, but we may assume that the Bodhisattva originally wore a necklace to accompany the jewellery that remains visible. His throne has a back piece composed of a horizontal

beam and is supported by two lions facing outwards. The throne and the Bodhisattva are contained within a structure symbolising a palace.

Tingley endeavours to name the four-armed and six-armed depictions of Avalokiteśvara in the second gallery (2006-07: 69). However, the only certain name we have for Avalokiteśvara in Java is Lokeśvara and possibly Kamalapāṇi/Padmapāṇi during the Central Javanese period, as these are the names found in inscriptions. Tingley identified a four-armed form of Avalokiteśvara as Mahākāruna Avalokiteśvara (2006-07: 69). This name is often associated with the sorrowful form of the Bodhisattva. Unfortunately, Tingley does not explain why she used this name for Avalokiteśvara's four-armed form. Previously, this name, Mahākāruna Avalokiteśvara, was associated with standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara images, based on the identification by Waddell (1894: 76). Tingley identified the six-armed form as Amoghapāśa, but noted that the absence of the noose is unusual (2006-07: 69). Without the presence of the noose, it is very difficult to identify this Avalokiteśvara as representing Amoghapāśa. As we shall see in Chapter 8, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was a known entity during the Central Javanese period, primarily depicted with eight arms at the time. Thus, Tingley's identification may have been slightly imprudent.

Even though there are only four depictions of the Bodhisattva in the second gallery, he is seen in two different types of seated positions (*padmāsana* and with his legs crossed in a conventional sitting pose) and with a variable number of arms (two, four and six). As was demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, the six-armed Avalokiteśvara is uncommon among bronze depictions (Cat. nos 45, 79, 112-115). It is interesting to see this form appear on Borobudur. Another interesting feature is that he sits in *padmāsana* in three of these reliefs, while this seated pose is rare among bronze statuettes of the Bodhisattva. Thus far, I have only found four depictions in bronze of the Bodhisattva seated in this manner (Cat. nos 279-282).

These four second-gallery reliefs, taken together, could be an attempt to show Sudhana's two visits to Avalokiteśvara in three different ways to illustrate the Bodhisattva's ability to take on various personas in order to teach effectively. According to the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, Avalokiteśvara is able to take on the necessary form to teach the law (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1276).

> I also develop sentient beings by appearing in various forms. I gladden and develop them by purity of vision of inconceivable forms radiating auras of light, and I take them according to their mentalities, and by showing conduct according to their inclinations, and by magically producing various forms and teaching them doctrines commensurate with their various interests, and by inspiring them to begin to accumulate good qualities, by showing them projections according to their mentalities, by appearing to them as members of their own

various races and conditions, and by living together with them
(*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1276).

By depicting Avalokiteśvara in various iconographic forms the creators of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* reliefs may have tried to illustrate this ability to adapt. In this manner, Avalokiteśvara is seen with a varying number of arms, attributes and gestures. These reliefs also illustrate Sudhana's spiritual progression while Avalokiteśvara remains seated on the throne as described in the text, a diamond boulder. Three of these reliefs show him seated inside a building, whereas in relief II100 he is encircled by animals and other beings, following the description in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1275). The repeated depiction of Avalokiteśvara is important for our understanding of his role on Borobudur. The three depictions in the second visit are not required by the text. This may indicate that Avalokiteśvara was an important figure for the sculptors creating the reliefs and they took the opportunity in these reliefs to illustrate the variety of iconography known for the Bodhisattva in Java.

5.3 Avalokiteśvara in the Bhadracarī series of the fourth gallery (Series IV): iconography and style

Avalokiteśvara has been identified in eight out of the 72 reliefs depicting the *Bhadracarī* on the fourth gallery of Borobudur. Bosch was the first to identify these reliefs as illustrating this text (1930, 1938).[95] In my discussion of these reliefs I have included two different translations from two versions of the *Bhadracarī*, as we do not know the version that was used to inspire the Borobudur reliefs (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961, *Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010). Asmussen translated a manuscript from Khotan (*Bhadracaryādeśanā*), which he describes as "a rather free rendering of the BSkrt. original, in some cases more a paraphrase than a translation" (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 6). Osto translated the *Bhadracarī* that was a later part of a Sanskrit version of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* found in Nepal as published by Vaidya (*Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, ed. Vaidya 1960a: ix, *Bhadracarī* ed. Osto 2010: 8).

Avalokiteśvara in his sorrowful form (IV 2, Cat. no. 124)

As was noted in Chapter 4, Chutiwongs was the first to identify this depiction as illustrating the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara (1994: Pl. 7, a form commonly depicted in bronze, as we have seen in the previous chapter). The Bodhisattva can be seen in the lower left-hand corner of the Borobudur relief beneath a line of six seated Buddhas that show four different hand gestures. In the lower section, there are a further three *bodhisattva*s sitting in *padmāsana*. In between sit minor figures in a natural, cross-legged position. They do not display any formal hand gestures indicating that they are functioning as attendants (Cat. no. 124).

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[95] The *Bhadracarī* used by Bosch was from Watanabe 1912.

Tingley also identified the sorrowful figure seated in *mahārājalīlāsana* in relief IV 2 as representing Avalokiteśvara and she interpreted the *Bhadracarī* as directly mentioning Avalokiteśvara in the opening section of the text (2006-07: 68).

> Although it is difficult to distinguish a Buddha in the bodhisattva's headdress, the fact he is mentioned in this portion of the text and holds a Padma seems to indicate that this identification may be correct (Tingley 2006-07: 68).

However, in the version of the *Bhadracarī* she examined there is no direct reference to Avalokiteśvara. Buddha-lands and their enlightened beings are mentioned, which Tingley may have interpreted as referring to Avalokiteśvara.

While both Chutiwongs and Tingley have identified this figure as illustrating Avalokiteśvara, it would seem unusual to have the sorrowful form of the Bodhisattva depicted in connection with the opening section of the *Bhadracarī*, a popular Mahāyāna text dealing with the vows of Samantabhadra. The emotion of sorrow does not seem to correspond with this point in the career of a Bodhisattva; the taking of vows is generally considered a joyful event.

Bosch identified this relief as illustrating the second verse of the *Bhadracarī* (1938: 292).[96] This verse was translated by Asmussen from a Khotanese text as:

> I bow down to the Bodhisattva, this Samantabhadra,
> The Buddha-son, the destroyer of all miseries.
> Entirely good to look at, Samantabhadra.
> Perfect he is, with no bases (unbased), unmoved
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961:7).

Osto translates the second verse in another version of the text as:

> Through the strength of my vow for the Good Course,
> With a mind directed toward all Conquerors,[97]
> I prostate with as many bodies as there are
> Atoms in the world to all Conquerors
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 9).

Thus, this verse makes no reference to Avalokiteśvara or any other Bodhisattva apart from Samantabhadra. In Osto's translation, there is no reference to Samantabhadra or other *bodhisattva*s. As the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara is not mentioned in the verse the relief supposedly illustrates, we should question why this iconography was given at this point

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[96] Bosch referred to Watanabe's 1912 and as this text is not in English, I have chosen to work with the two different versions of the text by Asmussen (*Bhadracarī* 1961) and Osto (*Bhadracarī* 2010).
[97] Conquerors refers to Jina Buddhas (*Bhadracarī* ed. Osto 2010: 9 n. 36).

among the reliefs. Looking at Asmussen's translation, Samantabhadra is described as "the destroyer of miseries" (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 7), which may be why Avalokiteśvara is depicted in his sorrowful form in the relief. Possibly, the iconography of leaning the head in one's hand also fitted Bodhisattva imagery in the mind-set of the artists and thence was included in this relief, along with other iconographies for *bodhisattva*s, to create the idea of multiple *bodhisattva*s. Fontein noted that the presence of several Buddhas in the upper level was an appropriate method for illustrating "all Conquerors" (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 9, Fontein 2012: 173).

Avalokiteśvara depicted in a group of Buddhas and bodhisattvas (IV 3, Cat. no. 125)

The next *Bhadracarī* relief in which Avalokiteśvara has been identified depicts a group of eight *bodhisattva*s (IV3, Cat. no. 125) known as the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva. This specific group of bodhisattvas is not mentioned in the text, and neither is Avalokiteśvara. The relief with two rows of seated figures shows two Buddhas surrounded by four *bodhisattva*s in the top tier. Avalokiteśvara is identified in the upper tier based on his lotus attribute as well as the niche in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, even though a Buddha Amitābha figure cannot be ascertained. The presence of the niche alone indicates that the *bodhisattva* is either Maitreya or Avalokiteśvara (Krom 1927: 273). As another *bodhisattva* figure holds a *nāgapuṣpa*, an attribute of Maitreya, the *bodhisattva* with a niche in his *jaṭāmukuṭa* can be identified as Avalokiteśvara (Krom 1927: 273). This identification relies on the assumption that Avalokiteśvara or Maitreya would not be depicted twice in the same relief.

The relief has suffered some wear, but the Bodhisattva is clearly seated in *padmāsana* on a lotus base. His body is flexed slightly towards the Buddha figure beside him. He wears a tiara with two clear prongs above each ear. He has a necklace and armbands, but no bracelets are visible due to the wear of the stone. Behind the Bodhisattva's head is an oval halo. Avalokiteśvara holds his right hand in front of the chest, which would commonly indicate that he is holding the *cintāmaṇi*, this remains unclear from the image. The left hand extends outwards from the body and probably holds the stem of the lotus flower rising upwards from the seat. The flower is depicted as a bud by the Bodhisattva's shoulder. Krom further identified Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī, based on their attributes, in the lower row (1927: 272). He also discussed the identities of the other four *bodhisattvas* in the relief, but did not make a firm identification (1927: 273).

Bosch classified this relief as illustrating the third verse of the *Bhadracarī*:

> All the Buddhas together with the Bodhisattvas,
> May they in fact all now take me under their protection,
> So that I may succeed in hearing the pure Bhadra-caryā,
> Whereby all deeds may become without obstruction
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 8).

In a single atom Buddhas equal in the number of atoms
Are seated in the middle of the Sons of the Buddhas[98].
In this way, I am entirely intent upon
The whole Dharma Realm filled with Conquerors
(*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 10).

Unlike the verses for the previous relief, this verse does mention generic *bodhisattva*s or sons of the Buddhas, in both translations. If, during the time of the construction of Borobudur, the sculptors chose to depict various known *bodhisattva*s, rather than generic *bodhisattva*s, it could explain the presence of Avalokiteśvara in this relief.

Bosch was not as certain about the identification of Avalokiteśvara in this relief as Krom was, for he added a question mark to his description (1938: 257). He identified the figures in the top tier as Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin with a stem with several flowers, Buddha in *vitarka-mudrā*, Avalokiteśvara (?), Buddha in *dharmacakra-mudrā* and Maitreya (?) (1938: 257).[99] However, Bosch did not attempt to identify the four *bodhisattvas* seated in the lower tier together with Sudhana (1938: 257).

Both Long's and Bautze-Picron's identifications agree with those of Krom in terms of the position of Avalokiteśvara (Krom 1927: 102). Bautze-Picron identified the *bodhisattvas* in the top tier as Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin – Samantabhadra – Buddha (*vitarka-mudrā*) – Avalokiteśvara – Buddha (*dharmacakra-mudrā)* – Maitreya (1997: 54). In the lower tier are, from the left, Sudhana, Kṣitigarbha, Ākāśagarbha, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi (Bautze-Picron 1997: 54).

Long revised this identification, as Samantabhadra has consistently been depicted in the lower tier in the Borobudur *Bhadracarī* reliefs (2009: 167). His new identification of the top tier is then Ākāśagarbha or Sarvanivāraṇaviṣkambhin – Kṣitigarbha – Buddha (*vitarka-mudrā*) – Padmapāṇi – Buddha (*dharmacakra-mudrā*) – Maitreya (Long 2009: 166-167). Considering that Samantabhadra has been depicted in the centre of the lower tier in other reliefs, I agree with Long's identification.

The iconography of the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva appears to have developed in Maharashtra, where we find the earliest depiction of this group in Cave 26 at Ajanta (Bautze-Picron 1997: 1). Unlike the ascetic Avalokiteśvara, who does not appear to have travelled in India beyond the Buddhist cave complexes, this group of eight *bodhisattva*s was also adopted in Bihar and Odisha (Chapter 2, Bautze-Picron 1997: 1, Bautze-Picron 2015: Pls 90-97). Like the ascetic Avalokiteśvara, the group of eight *bodhisattva*s also travelled to Southeast Asia, in particular to Java around 800 CE. It also found its way to the Thai-Malay Peninsula, where the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva can be seen on clay tablets thought to date from

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[98] The term 'Sons of the Buddhas' refers to *bodhisattva*s (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010:10).
[99] Bosch made no mention of the *bodhisattva* figure furthest to the left in the upper tier of this relief (1938: 257).

the seventh century CE (Skilling 2011: 377, Pl. 6D). Therefore, we can trace both the ascetic Avalokiteśvara and the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva to the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra, although their manner of transmission to Southeast Asia were likely different.

Avalokiteśvara as part of a triad (IV 8, Cat. no. 126)

In the next relief, believed to show Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva is recognised as the figure in the central triad to the right side of the Buddha (IV 8, Cat. no. 126). In this case, we see the remnants of a Buddha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*.[100] The identification is based on the attributes carried, which match the iconography common for Avalokiteśvara in Java. It is also possible to identify this Bodhisattva as Avalokiteśvara due to his placement within a triad. The second *bodhisattva* holds a blue lily, with what appears to be a *vajra* on top, identifying him as Vajrapāṇi. Neither Vajrapāṇi nor Avalokiteśvara are mentioned in the text, and one wonders once again, why there is a triad and why it included Avalokiteśvara.[101]

The relevant verse is given by Asmussen as:

> As many as there are grains of sands in the fields,
> With so many of those in number thus I go with reverence to all,
> Having faith in having a heart (devoted) to all the Buddhas,
> Manifestly doing honour with the mouth [and] with the mind
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 9).

Whereas Osto gives this verse as:

> I worship those Conquerors with
> The finest flowers, garlands, musical instruments,
> Unguents, parasols, lamps and incense
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 10).

These verses described Buddhas or Conquerors, but no *bodhisattva*s, yet once again the sculptors of Borobudur chose to represent the Buddha as the centre of a triad, flanked by two *bodhisattva*s, including Avalokiteśvara.

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[100] I am grateful for the images taken by Marijke Klokke at Borobudur that evidenced the presence of the Buddha Amitābha.
[101] Bosch included this relief among the three that he designated as illustrating verse 5b of the *Bhadracarī* (1938: 258).

Standing Avalokiteśvara in a triad (IV 12, Cat. no. 127)

Avalokiteśvara stands next to the centrally seated Buddha figure in relief IV 12 (Cat. no. 127). The wear of the stone makes it impossible to determine whether once a Buddha Amitābha figure was shown in the Bodhisattva's *jaṭāmukuṭa*. This is the only relief showing Avalokiteśvara as standing. His right hand may display the *vitarka-mudrā* (or a similar gesture) and his left holds a lotus. Bosch expressed the opinion that this relief, along with relief IV 11, depicts the same verse (1938: 260):

> As upon the point of one atom [there are] endless Buddhas,
> Buddha-sons surrounding, the teacher in the middle,
> These altogether [and] the dharma-world without end,
> All of it in fact filled with Buddhas I am devoted to
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 9).
>
> I worship these Conquerors with the best garments and fragrances,
> With vessels of powder as voluminous as Mount Meru
> And with the best of all excellent arrays
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 10).

In Asmussen's translation, a central Buddha figure is described being surrounded by *bodhisattva*s. This could refer to a triad, or a larger group of *bodhisattva*s, but a similar description is not found in Osto's translation.

Avalokiteśvara may be copying the Buddha's hand gesture with the *vitarka-mudrā*, which we saw in the first Avalokiteśvara relief in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* depiction. While an unusual hand gesture for Avalokiteśvara in Java, the gesture corresponds to the text describing the *bodhisattva*s that surround "the teacher in the middle", since the *vitarka-mudrā* represents teaching (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 9). The use of the same hand gesture as the Buddha is also rare. Another possibility is that Avalokiteśvara displays the *abhaya-mudrā*, which is a common hand gesture for the Bodhisattva, as evidenced by the imagery in the Buddhist cave complexes in western India, for example (See Section 2.4). The second *bodhisattva* appears to be Vajrapāṇi, judging from the *vajra* he holds in his right hand. The combination of Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi occurred earlier in Buddhist cave complexes such as that of Aurangabad, as well as possibly inside Candi Mendut (Chapter 7, Malandra 1993: 99).

Avalokiteśvara in a group of bodhisattvas (IV 16, Cat. no. 128)

Krom identified Avalokiteśvara in relief IV 16 (Cat. no. 128) as part of a group of *bodhisattva*s (1927 II: 105). The Bodhisattva can be seen as the second figure from the left in the top row in the relief. The Bodhisattva sits in *padmāsana* on a lotus seat. He displays the *varada-mudrā* with his right hand and holds a flower in his left. It does not appear to

be generic lotus type seen in other reliefs, but another type of lotus. Due to the absence of a clear Buddha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, as well as the uncertainty about the attribute he carries, we need to consider that this identification of Avalokiteśvara might be incorrect. Nevertheless, a close inspection of the *jaṭāmukuṭa* shows that there may have been a niche within the hairdo, supporting Krom's identification of the figure as Avalokiteśvara.

The verse that Bosch associated with relief IV 16 (1938: 248) has been translated by J.P. Asmussen as:

> The oceans consisting of virtues, imperishable, sounds,
> tones such as [coming from] the shores of the ocean,
> innumerable virtues of these Buddhas, all
> of them I praise, to them I bow down in homage
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 9).

And by Osto as:

> Whatever are supreme, noble offerings,
> I devote them to all the Conquerors.
> Through the strength of my resolution for the Good Course,
> I honor and worship all the Conquerors
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 10-11).

Bosch also gave a translation of the verse in Dutch which states that the speaker places all confidence in the Buddha, the sons of the Jina Buddhas and the Dharma (1938: 257). In the relief, we can identify Samantabhadra in his usual position in the lower part of the relief as well as Maitreya to the far right due to the presence of the *stūpa* in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*.

Avalokiteśvara in triads (IV 20, IV 47 and IV 50, Cat. nos 129-131)

The three final reliefs that include Avalokiteśvara depict him as part of a triad. In relief IV 20, Avalokiteśvara sits to the left of the central Buddha seated in *padmāsana* and the two *bodhisattva*s sit with their legs naturally crossed. In this case, the identification of Avalokiteśvara is definite, as we can see the remains of a Buddha Amitābha figure in his *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Cat. no. 129). The second *bodhisattva* cannot be identified definitely, even though he carries a blue lily, as this is a common attribute for Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi. This triad is seen to the right of the relief's central figure. Bosch identified the relief IV 20 as illustrating the twelfth verse of the *Bhadracarī* (1938: 292), translated below:

> What evil deeds also have been done by me
> Throughout all births under the influence of passion, anger
> [and] stupidness,
> With an imperfect body, tongue, [and] mind,

> Thus in fact I confess every sin and acknowledge [it]
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 12).

> Whatever good I have collected through
> Honoring, worshipping, confession, delighting in,
> Requesting and asking [the Buddhas to teach],
> All of it I direct toward enlightenment
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 11).

Due to the damage to the relief, it is difficult to determine the hand gesture of Avalokiteśvara. As both hands appear to be used in combination, he likely displays the *añjali-mudrā*, a highly unusual gesture for Avalokiteśvara in Javanese art. In this case, it could be explained by the text, which mentions the honouring and worship of the Buddha.

The second relief shows Avalokiteśvara once again in a triad, seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* to the right side of the Buddha (Cat. no. 130). The three figures in the triad sit within their own niches ostentatiously decorated. With his right hand Avalokiteśvara displays the *vitarka-mudrā* in the same fashion as we saw in relief II 47 (Cat. no. 120). He displays the *varada-mudrā* with his left hand. The second *bodhisattva* holds an *utpala*, just as the second *bodhisattva* did in the triad in IV 8 (Cat. no. 126), but he cannot be identified without any other visible attributes. Bosch noted that the second *bodhisattva* may have been Vajrapāṇi, but was not definite in his identification (1938: 274). Asmussen and Osto translate the verse associated with relief IV 8 as follows:

> Being in accordance with the teaching of all the Buddhas,
> In fulfilment of the Good Course (of Life) with self-control
> according to the Law,
> May I, undamaged, without pollution, perpetually faultless,
> Be able to restrain myself with (to practice) a supreme, pure
> restrain (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 17).

> Conforming to the way of beings,
> Perfecting the course to enlightenment,
> Nurturing the Good Course,
> May I traverse all future eons
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 13).

The final relief of Avalokiteśvara on Borobudur shows Avalokiteśvara sitting to the right side of the central Buddha figure (Cat. no. 131). The second *bodhisattva*'s attributes cannot be determined, making him difficult to identify. The Bodhisattva sits in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* on a double lotus, as in the previous relief. Behind the Bodhisattva are a throne back rest and an oval halo. The background of the relief is decorated with garlands and flowers. The Bodhisattva has a high *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the Buddha Amitābha is quite distinct at the front. Hair tresses also fall onto the shoulders.

In this relief Avalokiteśvara does not carry a tiara, but wears a necklace, two armbands on each arm and one set of bracelets. The body in the relief has suffered a bit of damage, but the Bodhisattva clearly has a sash *yajñopavīta* crossing the body to the waist. His right hand rests in front on the right knee in *varada-mudrā*. The left hand is missing, but a large lotus bud faces the Bodhisattva's face, indicating that the left hand held the stem of this flower.

Bosch connects this relief to verse 25 (1938: 276) which is translated by Asmussen as:

> From the klésas, the karmas on Māra's path
> Delivered may I wander in [my] way of life in the world,
> [just as] the pure lotuses in the water that are not at all polluted,
> Or like the sun [and] the moon that are undefiled in the sky
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 18).

> May I see face to face the Conquerors,
> Those Lords surrounded by the Sons of the Buddhas.
> And may I perform great reverence to them,
> Unwearied for all future eons
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 13).

Osto's translation refers to the Buddhas being surrounded by *bodhisattva*s, and this relief has been rendered by the sculptors of Borobudur as one Buddha accompanied by two *bodhisattva*s in a triad. This is like another triad with Avalokiteśvara (Cat. no. 127), in which Asmussen's translation included a terminology similar to the stanza above, to wit "Buddha-sons surrounding" (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Asmussen 1961: 9).

As may have become clear from the above endeavours to connect the *Bhadracarī* to the Borobudur reliefs, this text is extremely difficult to translate into a visual form. It does not contain information that is specific enough for visual story telling. While we do not know the exact version of the *Bhadracarī* used for the Borobudur reliefs, there still appears to be some correlation between the existing text and the individual reliefs as identified by Bosch (1938).

What does become clear, is that the focus of the *Bhadracarī* reliefs is on the honouring of the Jina Buddhas and the *bodhisattva*s who surround them, even though they are not mentioned by name in the text. In the *Bhadracarī*, they are represented as a generic type of *bodhisattva*. In the reliefs, however, the sculptors tried to personalise these *bodhisattva*s whenever they had the opportunity. Possibly these artists integrated the textual information with their own iconographic traditions. This would support the idea that Avalokiteśvara was one of the best-known *bodhisattva*s and that the sculptors knew him in his various iconographic forms.

5.4 Avalokiteśvara on Borobudur and a comparison with bronze images from Java

None of the known, Javanese Avalokiteśvara statuettes in bronze can be identified as being an exact copy of one of the Avalokiteśvara reliefs of Borobudur, or vice versa. Nevertheless, there may still have been some cross-stimulus between the two media. There are several statuettes that share iconographic features, such as gestures (*varada-mudrā*) or attributes (lotus) with the stone reliefs of Avalokiteśvara. On Borobudur, we see Avalokiteśvara in iconographic forms that are seldom or never seen in metal. One example is the use of the *vitarka-mudrā* in the first Avalokiteśvara relief for the *Gaṇḍavyūha* narrative scenes (Cat. no. 120). The only possible example of Avalokiteśvara displaying this gesture in bronze that has survived from Java (Cat. no. 234), shows the Bodhisattva displaying the *vitarka-mudrā* with both hands. If we consider the scene the sculptors are trying to depict on Borobudur, the use of the teaching sign makes sense. Thus, the narrative context of this relief asks for this gesture, even if it is an uncommon gesture in Avalokiteśvara iconography.

A second example is when Avalokiteśvara brings his two hands together in a gesture (Cat. no. 129), possibly the *añjali-mudrā*. The Bodhisattva is not depicted with this gesture in bronze in Java, although he is portrayed in triads with a Buddha and a second *bodhisattva*, recreating the context of the Borobudur relief. A third example is that the placement of the lotus is interchangeable between the left and right hand on Borobudur (Cat. nos 126, 128 and 130). Among the bronze images of the Bodhisattva it is clear that the lotus is primarily held in the left hand.

A final example of the differences between bronze and stone Avalokiteśvara imagery is the use of the sitting pose *padmāsana*. We see *padmāsana* used in seven of the twelve depictions of Avalokiteśvara on Borobudur (Cat. nos 121-123, 125-126, 128), but it is a rare sitting pose for the Bodhisattva when he is depicted in bronze (Cat. nos 279-282). In Java, it is usually reserved for the Buddha.[102] In the case of Borobudur, the use of this pose cannot simply be explained by the textual narrative, even though the *Gaṇḍavyūha* describes Avalokiteśvara as seated. The disparity between the percentage of images on Borobudur that used the *padmāsana* pose and that of the bronze Avalokiteśvara Javanese statuettes, or oppositely a standing pose, suggests different types of iconographic traditions that a metal caster and a sculptor would follow for Avalokiteśvara, depending on the material used. Thus, the stone sculptors were not affected by the available bronze images of Avalokiteśvara in their depictions of the Bodhisattva on Borobudur.

5.5 Conclusion

Borobudur stands as the largest Buddhist monument in the world, attracting approximately 2.5 million visitors each year. It remains a testament to the ingenuity and artistic skills of stone workers and architects of the Central Javanese period. This chapter has focused on the few reliefs with Avalokiteśvara found on Borobudur, which only make up a mere 0.8

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[102] These four bronzes can be dated from 750-1000 CE, based on different stylistic features.

percent of the total 1460 of reliefs, making the Bodhisattva a rare sight on the monument. These twelve reliefs depict various manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, illustrating his capability of assuming various forms in order to teach the *dharma* in the most effective manner (Cat. nos 120-131).

A large number of Javanese bronzes depict the Buddha, but we find relatively few of Mañjuśrī or Maitreya, and I am not aware of any bronze depictions of Samantabhadra. However, the creators of Borobudur chose to depict Mahāyāna texts that highlighted Buddhist figures such as the Buddha, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya and Samantabhadra. The differences in the depicted figures in stone on Borobudur and the surviving bronze statuettes in Java may be due to a different focus among those who ordered the images.

Despite the small number of reliefs illustrating the Bodhisattva, the sculptors managed to show him with a variety of iconographic features. These include Avalokiteśvara in his two-armed, four-armed and six-armed form, with the lotus attribute, as well as the sitting poses *padmāsana*, *mahārājalīlāsana*, *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* and as standing with one hip jutting out to the side. There must have been a clear decision to depict Avalokiteśvara with a variety of iconography, despite there being only a few reliefs that include the Bodhisattva. Such a decision, whether conscious or unconscious, reveals the broad knowledge of Avalokiteśvara's iconography among the creators.

We see Avalokiteśvara in eight separate reliefs illustrating the *Bhadracarī* as part of a larger group, such as a triad or the group of eight *bodhisattva*s. However, in bronze he is only occasionally shown as part of a triad to the Buddha's right or in a dyad; he is usually depicted on his own.[103] The four depictions from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* show him with two, four and six arms, whereas in bronze images, six-armed depictions are rare, just as the use of the *padmāsana* pose is rare.

Comparing the stone imagery of Borobudur with the available bronze images, there appears to be a disparity between the two. The differences in sources of influence, such as the Buddhist texts depicted on Borobudur, indicate that the stone workers and bronze casters were not the same people. A stone worker would not work in bronze, and vice versa. This is supported by the differences in iconographic choices when depicting Avalokiteśvara.

Even though Avalokiteśvara did not play an important role on Borobudur, he appears to have been added wherever possible, even when he is not mentioned specifically in the illustrated texts. This could indicate Avalokiteśvara's popularity among a specific part of Javanese society, such as the architects and sculptors of Borobudur. This is opposed to the royalty and monks who likely chose the texts to be depicted in this particular context of a *stūpa*, the construction of which was most probably initiated by Śailendra royalty.

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[103] The known examples can be seen in Cat. nos 20, 47, 67, 83, 139, 144-145, 151, 168, 173, 228, 245, 261 and 278 (A few of these were found in Sumatra).

Plate 7. A two-armed Avalokiteśvara in bronze seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* from the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City (Cat. no. 132).

Chapter 6

A unique group of *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras: evidence for a Central Javanese workshop

> You know my method. It is founded upon the observation of trifles.
>
> *The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes* (Conan Doyle 1991: 71)

6.1 Introduction

Quite a number of bronze images of Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* have been found in Java. In this pose, the right leg rests on top of the left without the two legs crossing. In fact, it is the most common pose for Avalokiteśvara in Javanese imagery (Cat. nos 132-180). Avalokiteśvara has either two or four arms when he is seated in this *āsana*, but the human-form is the most common. No bronze statuettes of the Bodhisattva with six or more arms have been found in this pose. Judging from their various styles, these images appear to have been produced both during the Central Javanese period and in the early East Javanese period.

The *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* pose does occur in India for Avalokiteśvara, but appears not to have been particularly popular, especially when compared to Java. One image of Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* was found at Acutrajpur in Odisha (Donaldson 2001: figs 224, 226). The *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* pose is also uncommon for Avalokiteśvara outside of Java in Southeast Asia.[104] However, the Buddha is often seen depicted in this seated form in Mainland Southeast Asia. In Sri Lanka, this *āsana* was also used for Buddha images in the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa periods (Dabral 2000: Pl. xxxvi; Pal 2004: figs 1, 33, 44-45).

Yet, in Sri Lankan Buddhist art from the later Anuradhapura period (c. 300-1000 CE), we see Avalokiteśvara sitting in *lalitāsana* or *mahārājalīlāsana*, but not in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*.[105] Other Buddhist figures, such as Tārā, are shown in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. These statues are dated from the seventh century to the tenth century CE. We know there was a cultural connection between Sri Lanka and Java, due to an inscription found at Ratu Boko near Yogyakarta. It is dated to 792-793 CE and refers to the construction of a Buddhist monastery named after the famous Abhayagiri Monastery in Sri Lanka, which had a strong Mahāyāna outlook.[106] Perhaps the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* sitting pose became popular in Java through these contacts, but it does not explain why this pose was not used for Avalokiteśvara in Sri Lanka.

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[104] An exception is a gold plaque showing Avalokiteśvara in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* from Thailand (Pal 2004: fig. 86).

[105] For image examples see von Schroeder 1990: Pls 77A-77G and 78A-78E.

[106] De Casparis 1961: 241, Miksic 1993-94: 23-31, Degroot 2006: 63.

Within the collection of these Javanese statuettes, we find an exceptional group of eleven statuettes (Cat. nos 132-142) that share a great commonality in terms of both iconography and style. Unlike the statuettes discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the cohesion within this group of *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras makes it difficult at times to tell the statuettes apart. The combination of the iconographic features, such as the seated position, the *varada-mudrā* hand gesture and the lotus attribute could indicate a specific manifestation of the Bodhisattva. As far as I am aware, this manifestation is not described in Indian Buddhist texts. As noted above, the style of this group of images in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* is quite similar, as, for instance, can be seen in their back pieces (*prabhāmaṇḍala*).

6.2 Description of an example and discussion of variations within this unique group

The examples that I present here, have been attributed to Central Java. Unfortunately, there is little direct evidence that can tie them to a specific time or location. Nevertheless, key stylistic similarities among the images support the idea that they were produced during approximately the same time period and in the same geographical area. The individual statuettes are 11 in number and are currently spread out across the world. In examining these 11 bronze and silver images, three distinct features can be isolated for further study. These are the *prabhāmaṇḍala* or back piece, the Bodhisattva figure, and the base supporting the Bodhisattva.[107]

The prabhāmaṇḍala

The *prabhāmaṇḍala* for these bronzes consists of a petal-shaped back piece decorated with a herringbone rim and s-shaped foliage. The rim often ends in leaf decorations at the bottom of the *prabhāmaṇḍala,* on either side of the Bodhisattva. At the top of the back piece is a three-pronged leaf and in several of the images discussed, a parasol extends out over the seated figure (Cat. nos 132, 136, 138, 140-142). In the case of the other statuettes in the group, there remains evidence of a parasol at the top of the back piece that is now missing.

The Bodhisattva image

In these statuettes, Avalokiteśvara can be identified through the Buddha Amitābha seen at the front of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The *jaṭāmukuṭa* has a bun shape with hair tresses falling down over the shoulders. The figure wears a tiara and jewellery such as a necklace, armbands and bracelets. A sacred thread crosses the torso, taking the form of a sash or a ribbon. At the left shoulder, we see a tie in the *yajñopavīta* creating a fold in the thread hanging down towards the chest. The figure has two arms with the right hand displaying the *varada-mudrā* and the left hand in front of the body holding a long stem of a lotus bud that comes up to the shoulder. The figure sits in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. The lower garment worn by the Bodhisattva figures in this group either have a circular dot pattern or no pattern at all.

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[107] Unfortunately, I was unable to personally view all these statuettes, as a few are in private collections.

The base supporting the Bodhisattva

The figure sits on an oval, double lotus base, showing the details of the lotus pod above the petals. The base rests on what Nandana Chutiwongs has described as a 'stepped base', consisting of a base on a plinth (1990: 22).

Variations within this unique group

These are the main characteristics of this group of bronze images. Examining the individual statuettes, we will see that they share most, if not all, of these features. However, we can still discern a few differences and subdivide them into three groups for further examination. The first subgroup consists of four statuettes that are similar to the extent that it is even difficult to tell them apart (Cat. nos 132-135). In the second subgroup, the images show only minor differences (Cat. nos 136-138). The third subgroup holds images that show greater differences (Cat. nos 139-142), a few of which cast some doubt on their authenticity.

Upon close examination, it is evident that the first image of the first subgroup embodies all the characteristics mentioned above. The statuette (Cat. no. 132), currently at the Nelson Atkins Museum in Kansas City, has a height of 12.5 cm. The petal-shaped back piece, with a rim decorated in a herringbone pattern, has s-shaped foliage along the edges. At the top of the back piece are a three-crowned leaf and a simple parasol that extends out over the seated figure. The *yajñopavīta* takes the form of a sash crossing the body to the waist. Avalokiteśvara's right hand rests by his right knee in *varada-mudrā*, while the left hand is held out in front of the body, holding the stem of a lotus budding at the left shoulder. Avalokiteśvara sits in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* with the right leg resting on the left. His lower garment is decorated with a circular dot pattern. Avalokiteśvara sits on an oval double lotus, with the pod emerging from the petals. The lotus throne rests on a protruding top layer over a square base, which together with a bottom plinth, creates a 'stepped base'.

Although there is a very close similarity between the four images in the first group (Cat. nos 132-135), they do not challenge the idea that these images were produced by the lost wax process. In this process, the sculptor creates a wax model that is then covered by clay to form a mould. Once the bronze has been cast, the clay mould needs to be broken in order to reach the statuette. The mould is thus lost and a new one needs to be made for the next image. Though a labour-intensive process, it allows for fine details in the bronze statuettes. Perhaps parts of the statuettes were created in reusable moulds, for example the back piece. However, closer examination of individual statuettes in this group show that the figure is fused to the back piece at two points and attached to the lotus seat as well, indicating that the statuette was created as a whole and not in separate parts.[108] Apparently, the workshops did indeed use the lost wax process. An example of a difference in the first and second statuettes is the number of leaves on the back piece. Cat. no. 132

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[108] This may be why so many statuettes in this group are well preserved and still include the figure, back piece and pedestal.

has seven individual leaves on the left-hand side of the back piece, whereas Cat. no. 133 has six leaves. A second difference is the slight variations in height, although some of the difference can be explained by the remaining parasol or a slightly different base.

The statuettes in Leiden, Berlin and a presently unknown location (Cat. nos 136-138), form the second subgroup. They exhibit a majority of the stylistic details observed on the first four bronzes. The only differences are that they lack a protruding top layer on the base and an oval moulding below the lotus seat, seen in the first subgroup. These two minor differences and the overwhelming similarity of these first seven images suggest that they were made by the same artist, or at least at the same workshop.

The third subgroup contains the dyad statuette with Avalokiteśvara and a consort, giving us some further iconographic features to examine (Cat. no. 139).[109] Dyads are not a common way of depicting Avalokiteśvara. However, this dyad is included in this subgroup as the Avalokiteśvara bears a striking resemblance to the first seven statuettes discussed. Yet, no stone images of this type of dyad have survived in Java, and there is only one other statuette depicting this pair (Cat. no. 168).[110] We do see a consort alongside a divinity in Hindu art, such as Pārvatī alongside Śiva (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 90, Fontein 1990: 208-209). The Avalokiteśvara dyad may have been an attempt at incorporating Śiva elements into the Bodhisattva's iconography, which is also seen in the use of the tiger skin in some images. In later Buddhist art, the combination of male and female energies through imagery became popular, but not for Avalokiteśvara in Java.

The bronze statuette from the Domela Nieuwenhuis collection (Cat. no. 141), also in this third subgroup, shows a base with elegantly shaped apertures, a feature not seen in any of the other bronzes examined in this study. Apertures on the bases are found in a few other Avalokiteśvara statuettes, including Cat. nos 95, 104-105, 110 and 168. I consider this stylistic feature to be one of the later features of Central Javanese bronzes, dating this statuette slightly after the previous nine statuettes were produced. The shape of the Bodhisattva's necklace is also distinct from that in the other images (Cat. nos 132 140, 142), as it does not lie in a half circle, but in a more rectangular shape.[111] The back piece has a more exaggerated petal shape. The lotus carried by the Bodhisattva is also slightly different in shape in comparison to the other images. The petals of the lotus seat do not resemble the petals of the oval, double lotus seats in the first six bronzes.

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[109] Avalokiteśvara would most commonly be portrayed with his consort Tārā, but she would normally carry a lotus instead of a stalk of cereal. The consort accompanying Avalokiteśvara has also been depicted separately and can be found at Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden (Inv. no. RMV 1403-3007). This statuette shows a similar back piece and a stalk of grain. Fontein identified the consort as likely being Vasudhārā as she carries a stalk of cereal, although she is commonly the consort of Jambhala (1990: 198). Vasudhārā symbolises the same values as Lakṣmī does in Hinduism, such as fertility, abundance and prosperity (Liebert 1976: 149). This makes this Javanese dyad an interesting combination of figures as Avalokiteśvara is not associated with these specific values, but rather with compassion, although he can be prayed to if a family desires a child of a specific gender.

[110] This dyad may be a forgery due to the difference in how the body is portrayed (Jones 1990: 301).

[111] This style of necklace is only seen on two other Avalokiteśvara bronzes from Java, now in Vienna and Oxford (Cat. nos 110 and 115).

The manner in which the left hand holds the lotus is also different from the statuettes described above. In this case, the left hand is held in front of the body, resting directly on the left leg at another angle. Yet, the foliage decorating the back piece appears to be similar to that decorating the other back pieces.

The statuette from Musée Guimet shows the most significant differences (Cat. no. 142). Lunsingh Scheurleer included it in a group of Central Javanese bronzes, which she defined on the basis of stylistic characteristics (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 29). Le Bonheur believed that this image was a forgery (1971: 150). He highlighted the larger *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the unusual appearance of the lotus (with a book on top of it), the dissimilar depiction of the lotus petals on the seat and the foliage along the back piece (Le Bonheur 1971: 150). All of his points are valid. Moreover, there is a lack of foliage decoration at the sides of the back piece such as we saw in the previous images. The flask the Bodhisattva holds is also an attribute not carried by the other bronzes of this group. The water vessel attribute is seen with eight-armed depictions of Avalokiteśvara from Insular Southeast Asia and among the ascetic Avalokiteśvara statuettes discussed in Chapter 2. The herringbone pattern on the back piece is also different, as it points downwards rather than upwards, as seen in the other statuettes with this type of back piece.

The differences observed in the statuettes in the private collection in Amsterdam and at the Musée Guimet may be due to a different time of manufacture or because they were made by another workshop (Cat. nos 140-141). The manner in which the back piece is designed, and the style of the necklace worn by the statuette in a private collection could be due to local variants in the production. The Musée Guimet's statuette's left hand is treated differently in comparison with the other nine statuettes. The unusual iconographic details, such as the bottle attribute, and various stylistic details, for instance that the rim lacks the central line seen on the back pieces of the bronze images described above, may also suggest another place of production. Or the image is indeed a more recent production, as Le Bonheur suggested (1971: 150). However, according to recent technical research, the percentages of copper and tin in the statuette are consistent with other statuettes from the Central Javanese period (Mechling et al. 2018:114). The statuette also has the expected levels of trace elements for the Central Javanese time period, but, more importantly, the statuette had a consecration deposit within it (Mechling et al. 2018: 87). Taking these results as a whole, I suggest the statuette was produced during the Central Javanese time period, but by a different workshop than the first nine statuettes within this group of eleven.

6.3 Other images from Java in sattvaparyaṅkāsana

This group of eleven statuettes, revealing such close similarity in both iconography and style, is unique among Avalokiteśvara images from Java. In all other groups, there is more individual variety. A few more bronzes that could fit in this group, have been excluded because of a lack of a Buddha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* or other differences in iconography and style, such as the left hand being held behind the body (Cat. nos 143-150). However, these bronzes have been included in the catalogue, along with the available information. Two of these (Cat. nos 144 and 145) show a triad with a Buddha in the centre,

Avalokiteśvara on his right-hand side and a second *bodhisattva* on the other side. Two others (Cat. nos 146-147) have four arms. The first carries a water vessel in the lower left hand; the second has a book in the upper left hand. Furthermore, there is a silver image with a bronze pedestal and back piece that is very similar to the group of related bronze images (Cat. no. 148). Another two-armed image has a back piece with a herringbone band and a foliate rim, but in a different, three-lobed style (Cat. no. 149). The final image (Cat. no. 150) also has a back piece of a slightly different form.

Besides these images, characterised by similar back pieces, are other bronzes of Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* that lack this style of back piece (Cat. nos 151-180). Among these are two-armed and four-armed figures. Those with two arms tend to have the same iconographic features as in the group of eleven discussed above, i.e. the *varada-mudrā* and a lotus in the left hand. Among the four-armed seated Avalokiteśvaras are two further attributes, a rosary and a book. For the back pieces we see simple round ring halos, smaller halos with a herringbone rim and s-shaped foliage as well as one triad with a pearl rim in a northeastern Indian style (Cat. no. 151). This great number of images shows the popularity of the *sattvaparyaṅka*-pose. Yet, outside of Java in Southeast Asia, there are only a few depictions of Avalokiteśvara in this pose. Although the iconographic poses *lalitāsana*, *mahārājalīlāsana* and *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* reached Southeast Asia, we only find Avalokiteśvara depicted as seated in these poses on clay tablets found in the Thai-Malay Peninsula (Pls 6D and 6E). He is also depicted in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* in one bronze figure from Thailand (Pl. 6G). The popular mode of depicting Avalokiteśvara in Southeast Asia, outside of Java, is in a standing posture, as we saw for the ascetic Avalokiteśvara discussed in Chapter 2.

Two of these Javanese *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvara statuettes illustrate a further stylistic development of the back piece seen in the unique group of eleven (Cat. nos 175-176). The silhouette of the back piece has evolved to create a halo effect behind the Bodhisattva's head and on either side of him wings of foliage have sprung out. The type of foliage along the edge of the halo has remained the same though. On the basis of the stylistic evolution of the back piece, I would consider these two bronzes later than the group of bronzes discussed earlier in this chapter, including Cat. no 141. I would date the first of these two to 850-875 CE and the second to 900-1000 CE.

6.4 Conjectural paradigm and identifying workshops

The close similarity between the first nine of the eleven statuettes suggests that they shared the same artist or rather a workshop (Cat. nos 132-140). I use the term 'workshop' rather than focusing on individual bronze workers. A bronze statuette likely had several people working on it. For example, one person in a workshop may have worked on the figure, creating it out of wax, while another worked on the back piece. In a foundry workshop focusing on religious imagery, it would be likely that the workers specialised in specific parts of the casting process. However, as part of identifying a workshop, the hand of an individual artist may also be discerned.

Ginzburg and Davin, who reference the work of Giovanni Morelli, show the importance of small details when studying a piece of art (1980). Morelli developed a paradigm for determining which paintings had been wrongly attributed to certain masters. By examining minor details Morelli was able to establish a type of 'fingerprint' for individual artists. These fingerprints did not consist of familiar elements that we have come to associate with individual European artists, but rather of what Sherlock Holmes called "trifles" (Conan Doyle 1991: 71).

Examining these statuettes for trifles rather than for more obvious iconographic details, which easily could have been duplicated, may give us more information on individual workshops, but also their bronze workers. Thus, the textile pattern of the lower garment, the manner in which the left hand is displayed, or a small detail on the back piece, such as the upper, three-pronged leaf design or the half-circle foliage finishing the lower part of the back piece's frame, may all be significant.

An inspection of the lower garments of these figures reveals that several carry a circle-and-dot pattern (Cat. nos 132-136, 139). The same pattern can be seen in other bronzes of *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvara (Cat. nos 144-145, 148-150, 152). Such a pattern would have been relatively simple to add, once the statuette had been cast. Another small feature we can study is the top of the back piece, as to whether or not it shows a three-pronged leaf design. This top leaf can take on a variety of forms: sometimes broad (Cat. nos 134, 136, 138, 141, 144, 147-148) and at other times quite slim (Cat. nos 132-133, 145 and 149).

Another detail, which I consider the most significant, concerns the position of the left hand. In the first nine statuettes, the left hand holds the stem of a lotus at an angle of approximately 45 degrees (seen from the base), and the fore finger and little finger are raised slightly above the two central fingers. We do not see the same depiction of the left hand in the statuette previously in the Domela Nieuwenhuis collection (Cat. no. 141) or the one at the Musée Guimet (Cat. no. 142). We come across the same way of depicting the left hand in other statuettes, including a seated Tārā (Pl. 6A), Śrī or Vasudhārā (Pl. 6B) and a standing Brahmā (Pl. 6C), who carries a water bottle in the same hand.

The specific manner in which the left hand is depicted in the first nine figures of this group confirms my theory that the images were made at the same workshop. The last two statuettes in the group may have been produced by another workshop during the same time period or a few decades later. The slight variations in the foliage on the back piece and the base indicate that these parts were made by various hands, although at times we can identify similar features that could identify a singular artist. One example is the foliage ends in the Nelson Atkins Museum statuette and the Tropenmuseum statuette (Cat. nos 132 and 134).

Examining these nine statuettes together, I suggest that they were produced by the same workshop. There may have been one artist responsible for creating the figures, while others worked on the bases and back pieces. The statuettes should therefore be considered a piece of collaboration within one workshop. Considering the quality of the statuettes, it appears

that the craftspeople were well-practised. Nevertheless, I found it difficult to identify other statuettes that could have originated from this workshop on the basis of the left hand's position. The lotus attribute held in this hand was an iconographic decision, but the manner in which it was held would have been up to the artist to decide. A large number of images, such as Buddha statuettes, could not be compared. They would not reveal the specific manner of depiction for the left hand, as they do not hold an attribute in front of the body.

Morelli used a similar method in attributing works to the correct artist by focusing on a minor detail rather than an obvious characteristic that could easily be imitated (Ginzburg and Davin 1980: 7).[112] Thus, we need to look for a detail that appears to be of little importance for the style of the period and its iconography, which is why I have focused on how the left hand is depicted. Another such detail which could be examined, is the way in which the right hand is shown in *varada-mudrā*, and specifically, how the thumb is placed (Cat. nos 133-135). Unfortunately, due to the wear of the statuettes this detail can be difficult to discern, whereas the angle of the left hand is usually still visible, even in the case of wear.

Focusing on the left hand of statuettes, we can attribute several other bronzes to this workshop and the artist who specialised in figure depiction, such as these in Cat. nos 143-144, 146 and 147, illustrating Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*, as well as in the above mentioned Tārā, seated Śri and standing Brahmā (Pls 6A, 6B and 6C). These three figures also have the dot and circle pattern seen in six of the group of eleven statuettes (Cat. nos 132-136 and 139). I would also include the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara images in Cat. nos 96 and 97 discussed in Chapter 4, as they exhibit a strong similarity, clearly something in which this workshop excelled. In addition, the back piece for Śri has a similarly broad leaf as seen in Cat. nos 134, 136, 138, 141, 144, 147-148. In view of the Brahmā bronze, we see that the workshop did not solely produce Buddhist images, but also made Hindu statuettes.

This workshop and its bronze workers can be considered unique among the workshops in Central Java for a number of reasons. Firstly, we can trace at least thirteen individual statuettes to having been produced, in part, by this workshop and possible touched by one specific artist (Cat. nos 132-140, 144, Pls 6A, 6B and 6C). No other groups of images in the area have, as of yet, been attributed to a specific workshop or person. Secondly, the workshop and its bronze casters kept reproducing a specific image, to minute detail, a process not recognisable for any other surviving images in Java.

6.5 Other statuettes with similar back pieces

Other bronze statuettes have a back piece similar to those seen in the group of eleven images discussed above. One of these is a triad with a Buddha figure in the centre, which is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Cat. no. 144). The figure on the

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[112] One example in Western art of this type of recognisable feature, which a forger would focus on in order to recreate an artist's work, would be the so-called Da Vinci smile (Ginzburg and Davin 1980: 7).

Buddha's right is Avalokiteśvara, based on the presence of the Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. There is a lotus in Avalokiteśvara's left hand, held at a 45-degree angle. The identity of the second *bodhisattva* cannot be determined, as the attribute is missing from his left hand and no *stūpa* can be determined in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The back piece's foliage border is similar to those previously discussed, including the herringbone pattern. There is no foliage piece connecting the separate back pieces, unlike in the dyad at the Asian Museum of Art in San Francisco (Cat. no. 139).

A similar foliage piece connecting three back pieces can be seen in another triad, in which the second bodhisattva could be identified as Maitreya or Mañjuśrī, as he holds a blue lily or *utpala*, a common attribute for both *bodhisattvas* in Javanese art, usually with a second attribute on top of the flower (Cat. no. 145). Their back pieces have a connecting triangular foliage shape that points downwards. The sides of the base are decorated with lions, but apparently the Avalokiteśvara figure does not hold his hand at an angle of 45 degrees. Just as in the Metropolitan Museum of Art triad, the Buddha displays the *varada-mudrā*.

Two images show a four-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* with a similar back piece. One image is currently in the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna and it displays the *varada-mudrā* and the lotus in the frontal right and left hands respectively (Cat. no. 146). In the upper right hand Avalokiteśvara holds a rosary and in the upper left a book. In the second statuette, we again come across a parasol extended out over the seated figure. It has similar iconographic features as the previous image, except that Avalokiteśvara holds a water bottle in his front left hand rather than a lotus (Cat. no. 147). All these images illustrate the popularity of this style of the *prabhāmaṇḍala* in Central Java at a certain point in time.

The same style of back piece is also found among the sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras (Cat. nos 96-98, 103 and 112). For a standing Avalokiteśvara figure, which is now in the Rijksmuseum, we see a slightly different back piece (Cat. no. 230). The *prabhāmaṇḍala* has the familiar herringbone-patterned rim and the s-shaped foliage has been elongated, in order to encompass the standing figure. These are not the only statuettes with such a back piece, as can be seen in the *Divine Bronze* catalogue (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: Pls 30 and 32). The same type of s-shaped foliage is also seen along various types of bronze back pieces (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: Pls 29, 34 and 36). All these statuettes illustrate the popularity of this style of back piece and s-shaped foliage for a time in Central Java. It is possible that there was one workshop in particular that produced this style of back piece.

Other groups of statuettes, such as those examined in Chapters 3 and 4, do not show the same strong similarity within the group. This suggests that their production cannot be linked to a single workshop, but rather to several different ones spread out over Central Java. We only have one find site for one of the statuettes with this type of s-shaped foliage and that is Klaten, near Plaosan (Cat. no. 138). This limited statistical sample does not allow us to assume that the original workshop was located within the region.

However, the possibility remains, considering the number of temples built in the area, but we would need more evidence to make a definitive identification.

I suggest that this style of back piece developed towards tighter foliage along the rim (Cat. nos 83, 109-111 and 175-176), as well as wings on either side of the depicted figure (Cat. nos 175-176). An example of this is Cat. no. 175 with wings on the back piece, in which we see a shift towards the East Javanese style, with pointed lotus petals on the seat. Another bronze statuette, with a find site near Magelang (Cat. no. 176), illustrates the same style of wings and the tighter foliage. Due to this difference in foliage, I consider it a later production than the group of 11 *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvara statuettes.

6.6 Iconographic and chronological relationship with stone images

Bronzes from Insular Southeast Asia often lack inscriptions that could have helped with dating. Lunsingh Scheurleer identified the style of a few images from our group of *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras as a "purely Central Javanese style" (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 30). She defined this style on the basis of a number of stylistic and iconographic characteristics, namely the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* and a back slab high and broad enough to frame the figure, which was cast together with the seat and back slab (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 30). She dated statues that display this style between the second half of the ninth century and the early tenth century.[113] However, this seems too late for the present group of Avalokiteśvara images, in view of links with several stone *in situ* images at Borobudur and the Plaosan complex, the dating of which is more straightforward.

The first stone *in situ* image, with an iconography similar to the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras is the last relief with an Avalokiteśvara on the fourth gallery of Borobudur (Cat. no. 131). This relief is part of the *Bhadracarī* depictions, discussed in Chapter 5. Avalokiteśvara faces the viewer and sits in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. His right hand displays the *varada-mudrā*, but his left hand is missing. There is, however, a large lotus bud facing the Bodhisattva's head, indicating that he held the stem of a lotus in his left hand, as in the group of eleven images. We can clearly see the figure of the Buddha Amitābha at the front of the tall *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Thus, we have an *in situ* stone image of Avalokiteśvara to compare our 11 statuettes to in order to establish their approximate date. Borobudur is generally dated between 775 – 860 CE, taking circa 75 years for its construction (Dumarçay 1991: 5). This broad time period does not give us an exact date for the fourth gallery reliefs, but can place this type of iconography in the middle of the Central Javanese period. In view of its location on the fourth gallery, I would suggest that it was not carved at the beginning of the building process, but rather towards the end in the first half of the ninth century CE.

Two more stone images of Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* can be found at the Plaosan Lor complex outside the temples and a third at the Candi Prambanan Museum, in the Loro Jonggrang complex (Cat. nos 186-187 and 191). These Avalokiteśvaras display

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[113] Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 80-90, Lunsingh Scheurleer 1994: 79.

an iconography reminiscent of that of the relief image at Borobudur. These Plaosan Lor and Prambanan museum statues no longer have heads, but they carry a lotus with a book resting on top, similar in appearance to the lotuses of the Avalokiteśvara statues inside the Plaosan Lor temples (Cat. nos 184 and 185).[114] This helps us identify these headless figures as representations of Avalokiteśvara as well (Pl. 6F).

At least two further stone statues from Central Java show Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. They are no longer *in situ*, but preserved at the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta (Cat. nos 188 and 189). In one of the statues we see Avalokiteśvara's right hand resting on the right knee in *varada-mudrā*, while the left hand lies in front of the body, holding the stem of a lotus bud (Cat. no. 188). This statue shares stylistic features with the Avalokiteśvaras at the Plaosan Lor complex. They each wear two necklaces, a waist belt, a sash *yajñopavīta*, two armbands on each arm and bracelets, suggesting that the Sonobudoyo statue could be from the same period as the Plaosan Lor image (Cat. nos 184 and 185). Even though the *jaṭāmukuṭa* of the Sonobudoyo statue shows slight differences compared to those of the Plaosan Lor Avalokiteśvaras, the stylistic features are similar in terms of the number of armbands and the presence of a chest belt. Each of these chest belts consists of a similar central piece in lozenge shape. The chest belts of Avalokiteśvaras inside the temples at the Plaosan Lor complex have a curl and floral pattern around the centre, while the decoration is framed within a rectangular silhouette. The chest belt worn by the two-armed Avalokiteśvara at the Sonobudoyo Museum has a triangular shape that points upwards and the sides are beaded.

The Avalokiteśvara images inside the temples at the Plaosan Lor complex are seated in *lalitāsana* instead of *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*. While the right hand displays the *varada-mudrā,* as in the bronzes, the lotus held in the left hand is in full bloom rather than bud-shaped as in the bronze statuettes. The Plaosan *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras also show a stylistic link to the statuettes, as they have been given a petal-shaped back piece similar to those of the eleven bronzes. The ornamentation differs, however; the stone *prabhāmaṇḍala*s do not carry the border of s-shaped foliage or the band with the herringbone pattern seen in the statuettes. Instead they are decorated with a border of flames and a band consisting of circles alternating with small flowers.

While trying to date the group of similar bronze images (Cat. nos 132-140), we need to realise that they belong to a period when both Buddhist and Hindu bronzes were produced on a large scale in Central Java. As the power centre shifted from Central Java to East Java there was a rapid decline in the production of bronze statuettes, although bronze ritual objects continued to be produced (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: Pls 64-113). This gives us a limited time frame for the production of Buddhist bronzes in Central Java, from approximately 700–930 CE. On the basis of *in situ* inscriptions, the Plaosan complex has been dated to 825-850 CE (De Casparis 1958: 33), and the temple images likely date from the same period.

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[114] The lotus is a common iconographic feature for Avalokiteśvara, other *bodhisattva*s in Javanese Buddhist art tend to hold a blue lily, with one of their attributes resting on top of the flower.

In contrast to ideas that there is little relationship between bronze and stone Central Javanese imagery, both the bronze Avalokiteśvaras and the stone images discussed in this chapter indicate a similar tendency towards uniformity. Based on the visible links with stone imagery, I date the bronze images earlier than Lunsingh Scheurleer (1994:84). Different factors affect the dating of these bronze statuettes, such as the iconographic and stylistic similarities between the bronze statuettes and the *in situ* stone images at Borobudur and the Plaosan Lor complex. A further factor to take into consideration is that the art of the Plaosan Lor complex appears to date from a period when a uniform ornamental style was developed. Research on the ornamentation of Central Javanese monuments shows that it is particularly during 825-850 CE that a uniform Central Javanese style developed over a large area (Klokke 2008: 159, 161). Taking these factors together, the group of *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvara statuettes, in their uniform style, may be dated to the second quarter of the ninth century.

6.7 Conclusion

A group of eleven statuettes of Avalokiteśvara seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* is unique in displaying close iconographic and stylistic similarities. Despite the lack of information regarding the provenance for most of the individual statuettes, the stylistic features of the extended parasol and the harmoniously proportioned figures indicate that these bronzes originate from Central Java, along with the find place of one of them in Klaten, near Yogyakarta (Cat. no. 138).

They truly represent a specifically Central Javanese idiom in both iconography and style. The resemblance between these eleven images suggests that most of them were produced during the same time period and likely by the same workshop (Cat. nos 132-140). This is the first workshop in Central Java to have been identified based on its image production. This workshop may have employed a specific method of remaking the same style of image, a method not seen elsewhere in Java. The common occurrence of a back piece with a herringbone pattern and foliate rim, as in these eleven statuettes, shows the impact of this workshop, specifically on imagery of Avalokiteśvara in other sitting postures and that of other deities, both Buddhist and Hindu.

The origin of the last two images in this group of eleven similar images (Cat. nos 141 and 142) remains uncertain. They were likely produced by different workshops. However, the apparent attempt to create a similar, petal-shaped back piece indicates that these statuettes were produced in order to emulate the other nine bronzes. The questionable features of the statuette from the Domela Nieuwenhuis collection could be due to a development in style or the hand of a different bronze caster (Cat. no. 141). As for the second statuette (Cat. no. 142), the presence of a water vessel (an unusual feature for Javanese two-armed Avalokiteśvaras, but common for six- or eight-armed Avalokiteśvaras) could support Le Bonheur's theory that it is a forgery (1971: 150). Yet, considering the new technical research, the statuette is likely not a forgery, but was produced at another workshop during the Central Javanese period.

Stylistic, as well as iconographic characteristics, relate the bronzes to a relief in the fourth gallery of Borobudur. The petal-shaped back piece of the bronzes is also found in images at the Plaosan complex, dated to 825-850 CE. These connections can aid us in narrowing down the time of production for the statuettes. Using these stone images as a guide for dating, I suggest that these bronze images were produced in Central Java in the second quarter of the ninth century, thus slightly earlier than suggested by Lunsingh Scheurleer (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 83). Central Javanese art became more uniform in the second quarter of the ninth century, at the time of Plaosan Lor. This unique group of bronze images illustrates this development, and also reveals a stylistic and iconographic connection with Avalokiteśvara in stone as depicted on Borobudur and at the Plaosan Lor complex. Moreover, the only statuette of this type that has a known find site relates to the Klaten region, also the region where the Plaosan Lor complex is located (Cat. no. 138). I suggest that the tenth bronze in this unique group (Cat. no. 141), is a slightly later production, based on the style of the base. Other stylistic signs of a production after 850 CE are a tighter s-shaped foliage, increase in jewellery and wings as part of the back piece.

Plate 8. Two-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* inside Candi Mendut, Central Java (Cat. no. 181).

Chapter 7

Avalokiteśvara at Candi Mendut and

Plaosan Lor in Central Java

> May I see face to face the Conquerors,
> Those Lords surrounded by the Sons of the Buddhas.
> And may I perform great reverence to them,
> Unwearied for all future eons.
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 13)

7.1 Introduction

Stone images of Avalokiteśvara are not just found on Borobudur (Chapter 5) in Central Java, but also at two additional sites, Mendut and Plaosan Lor. Three impressive statues of the Bodhisattva can be seen at Candi Mendut and at the Plaosan complex, each found within the context of a triad.

The sole statue of Avalokiteśvara at Candi Mendut is found inside the temple and is the largest depiction of the Bodhisattva to have survived from Central Java. He sits on the Buddha's right-hand side and faces a second *bodhisattva* on the opposite side of the cella. Two further representations of Avalokiteśvara at Candi Mendut show him on the outside of the temple. These are both standing images in relief, one on the rear of the temple and the other to the right of the entrance as part of the group of eight *bodhisattva*s shown in pairs at each of the temple's corners.

At the twin temples of the Plaosan Lor complex, Avalokiteśvara faces the viewer entering the central temple chamber. He sits on the left at the back of the central chamber, while the second *bodhisattva* sits to the right. Between the two *bodhisattva*s is a pedestal for a now lost image, that must have once been seated, either cross-legged or with one leg resting on the other. It is likely this was a Buddha image, to complete the triad of a Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattva*s, as inside Mendut. At both Candi Mendut and Plaosan Lor, Avalokiteśvara has been given the same iconography: he sits in *lalitāsana*, displays the *varada-mudrā* and holds a lotus in his left hand.

7.2 The three Avalokiteśvara images at Candi Mendut: iconography and style

Avalokiteśvara in lalitāsana inside Candi Mendut

The large Avalokiteśvara statue sits in *lalitāsana* inside Candi Mendut and can easily be identified by the clearly defined Buddha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Cat. no. 181). He is part of a triad that includes a Buddha in the centre. Scholars have used a variety of Buddhist

texts to identify the Buddha and the second *bodhisattva* in the triad. The Buddha has been identified as either the historical Buddha or the cosmic Buddha Vairocana. However, the representation of the *dharmacakra-mudrā* and the presence of a *cakra* between two deer on the pedestal seem more consistent with the former identification of Gautama Buddha. The wheel between the two deer represents Gautama Buddha at Sarnath, the site of the Buddha's first sermon. The figure to the Buddha's left has most often been identified as either Mañjuśrī or Vajrapāṇi.[115]

The Avalokiteśvara statue is more than two metres tall, with a throne of 65 cm (Bernet Kempers 1976: 226). Avalokiteśvara's right leg is supported by a lotus flower that is part of the base and his left leg rests on the throne. His right hand lies on his knee in *varada-mudrā*, while his left hand is held in front of his body, with no clearly visible attribute. Of note is a remnant of a stem attached to his left under-arm, indicating that the Bodhisattva once held a lotus. This attribute identification is consistent with Javanese iconography for the two-armed Avalokiteśvara, who commonly holds a lotus in his left hand.

Avalokiteśvara wears a bun-shaped *jaṭāmukuṭa*. At the front of the hairdo is a niche with the Buddha Amitābha. The Bodhisattva wears a tiara with three prominent prongs and two minor ones. Behind the Bodhisattva's head is a plain, leaf-shaped halo. Avalokiteśvara also wears a necklace, armbands, bracelets and anklets. The *yajñopavīta* is in the form of a sash with a tie by the left shoulder causing a small fold to fall towards his chest. He wears two belts, the belt above has a rectangular clasp, while the belt below has a circular clasp. The Bodhisattva sits on a double lotus, partly covered by fabric that hangs down on the right side, resting on a stepped base. The back of the throne has a horizontal beam ending on either side with a *makara* head. Below the *makara* heads are *vyālaka*s standing on elephants. This throne back piece is similar to the one supporting Avalokiteśvara in the second gallery of Borobudur, with *vyālaka*s facing outwards below a horizontal beam (Krom and van Erp 1920-1931: II 100, Cat. no. 121).

The use of this throne, with the iconographic features of *makaras*, *vyālaka*s and elephants, also occurs twice in the reliefs depicting the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, and once in the *Bhadracarī* reliefs on the fourth level of Borobudur (Krom and van Erp 1920-31: II 1 and 128, IV 50).[116] The first of these reliefs illustrates the Buddha at the beginning of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* narrative and the second Maitreya before the Maitreya narrative on the third level. The last use of the royal throne (Bautze-Picron 1992: 22) occurs towards the end of the *Bhadracarī* narrative reliefs. Most thrones on Borobudur show a figure seated on a throne or seat with a back piece. These back pieces commonly consist of only a horizontal top bar. At times, this is decorated with a *makara* form, either at each end of the bar or on top. The royal throne is also rare among the bronze images of Avalokiteśvara, with known examples being Cat. nos 66 and 176. The first of these is the closest in iconography to the statue found inside Candi Mendut, with the *lalitāsana* pose, the *varada-mudrā*, and the

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[115] Krom 1918, Moens 1921, Chandra 1980, Singhal 1991, Long 2009.
[116] The royal throne is also seen in two reliefs illustrating the *Lalitavistara* (Krom and van Erp 1920-31: I a 100, I a 113).

royal throne.

Standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara at the rear of Candi Mendut

On the outside of Candi Mendut, at the rear, is the second image: a four-armed depiction of Avalokiteśvara (Cat. no. 182). The damaged relief no longer shows Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. Avalokiteśvara stands in a frontal stance on a double lotus base resting on top of a fabric-covered base. On either side of the standing Bodhisattva are seated female figures. From the oval halo behind the Bodhisattva's head grows a tree, ending in a parasol.

Avalokiteśvara holds a rosary in his top right hand and the lower right hand is now missing. In his top left hand, he holds a book and the lower left hand is held in front of the body, holding a lotus. A lotus bud grows up from the base, with a gourd-shaped bottle resting on top. Despite the wear to the image, we see evidence of a fabric fold at the left shoulder indicating that the Bodhisattva was shown wearing a sacred thread. The damage has removed any evidence of a necklace, but armbands, bracelets and anklets are still visible. By comparing this standing figure's attributes to those defined by L.A. Waddell, Brandes identified the standing, four-armed *bodhisattva* at the rear side of Candi Mendut as a form of Avalokiteśvara named 'Mahākāruṇa' or the Great Pitier, described as being white in colour, standing and having four arms (Waddell 1894: 76, Brandes 1902: ccxxii).[117]

The two females sitting on either side of Avalokiteśvara cannot be identified as specific female *bodhisattva*s. One sits in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*, the other in a near cross-legged position. Both have their hands in *añjali-mudrā*, suggesting that they are worshippers. The elaborately decorated thrones with lotus seats on which they are seated, and halos found behind their heads indicate that they are not human worshippers. They may be female *bodhisattva*s or divine beings of a generic type. This type of depiction of Avalokiteśvara with two females at his side can also be found in bronze and silver (Cat. nos 228 and 261). In both cases, the female figures are seated while Avalokiteśvara stands. However, there is a difference between the Candi Mendut relief and the second statuette with respect to the female figures' hand gestures and attributes. This includes the *varada-mudrā*, the lotus and the blue lily, but not the *añjali-mudrā*. It demonstrates that the two females in Cat. no. 261 are specific *bodhisattva*s.

The placement of Avalokiteśvara between two females can also be seen in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra, such as in Cave 90 at Kanheri and in Cave 12 at Ellora. In these instances, when females flank Avalokiteśvara, we do not see the *añjali-mudrā*. The two standing females in the relief at Cave 90 at Kanheri do not display any specific hand gesture. The figure on Avalokiteśvara's right appears to hold the stem of a lotus in her right hand, while her left hand hangs by her side. The female on the left's right hand hangs by her side and her left hand is now missing.

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[117] "The first right hand is in *varada-mudrā* attitude on a lotus, and the second holds a pearl rosary. The first left hand holds a lotus flower, and the second a spyi-blugs (anointing vase)" (Waddell 1894: 76). As was mentioned in Chapter 4, Waddell's sources were not fully given, but he was one of the first scholars to utilise the term 'Mahākāruṇa' when describing Avalokiteśvara's iconography (Waddell 1894: 76).

In Cave 12 at Ellora, both females are seated. The one on Avalokiteśvara's right displays the *varada-mudrā* with her right hand. The attribute in her left hand is now missing. The female on the Bodhisattva's left has her left hand resting downwards near a vessel. Her attribute in her right hand is also missing. While Avalokiteśvara is depicted in a triad on the rear side of Candi Mendut, if viewed in combination with the two figures depicted on the two sides of the temple, we could also see him as a part of another triad. This triad includes the Buddhist deities, first identified as the two Tārās of Avalokiteśvara, Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī-tārā (Brandes 1902; Krom 1923, I: 309), and later identified as Cūnda and Prajñāpāramitā (Woodward 2004: 337). Of note, it has recently been demonstrated that Prajñāpāramitā's companion is not Cūnda, but rather Mahāpratisarā (Mevissen 1999: 107).

Both Prajñāpāramitā and Mahāpratisarā are personifications of texts, the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Heart Sūtra) and the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*. Considering that the connection of a figure, such as Prajñāpāramitā, with a text is symbolised by a book attribute, the four-armed Avalokiteśvara at the rear of the temple may also be connected with a specific text. Although the connecting text cannot be determined at present, there is a possibility that it could be a *dhāraṇī*.

The iconographic form of Avalokiteśvara with a book in his upper left hand can be seen in several bronzes. We find this iconographic form with four arms outside of Java as well, on Borneo, Sumatra and in Peninsular Thailand (Cat. nos 254-265, Table 32).[118] The four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara statuettes from Java show the upper right hand holding a rosary and the lower right hand displaying the *varada-mudrā*. The upper left hand holds a book and the lower left hand holds a lotus. On occasion, the term 'Mahākāruna Avalokiteśvara' is used to describe a standing, four-armed Avalokiteśvara. This is likely due to its introduction provided by Waddell (1894). Nevertheless, as discussed in Chapter 4, the term 'Mahākāruna' is now often used for the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara, but describes Avalokiteśvara's greatest attribute, his compassion, and could apply to all his forms.

Standing Avalokiteśvara as part of the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva

A third image of Avalokiteśvara can possibly be found at one of the outside corners of Candi Mendut. It has been identified as representing either Avalokiteśvara or Gaganagañja (Cat. no. 183). Unfortunately, due to extensive damage blocks, no iconographic information can be determined.[119] The relief is part of a group of eight *bodhisattva*s, paired at each corner of the temple. The group, also known as Aṣṭamahābodhisattva, was previously discussed in Chapter 5 as depicted on Borobudur (Cat. no. 125). At Borobudur, all eight *bodhisattva*s are sitting instead of standing, as they are at Candi Mendut.

Krom identified the damaged relief at Candi Mendut as illustrating Avalokiteśvara; he also identified four other *bodhisattva*s in the group of eight. Maitreya was identified through

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[118] The bronze, four-armed Avalokiteśvaras usually show the attributes of rosary, book, *varada-mudrā* and lotus.
[119] Cat. no. 183, Krom 1918: 419-437, Long 2009: 149-152.

the *stūpa* in his *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Krom 1918: 428). The three other *bodhisattva*s, were also identified based on their attributes: Vajrapāṇi, who holds a *vajra*; Mañjuśrī, who holds an *utpala* with a book on top; and, Samantabhadra, who carries a flower with three buds and is depicted in several Borobudur reliefs carrying the same flower (Krom 1918: 429). In order to identify the remaining four *bodhisattvas*, Krom turned to the caves at Ellora, where he noted a similar set of eight images, arranged in two groups of four (1918: 430). This group of eight *bodhisattvas* consists of Maitreya, Gaganagañja, Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Mañjuśrī, Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, Kṣitigarbha and Khagarbha (1918: 430-431).

Krom applied the direction and pairing of the *bodhisattva*s given in the *Pañcakrama*[120] to his identification of the remaining four *bodhisattva*s on Candi Mendut, including the damaged relief (1918: 432). Krom identified the *bodhisattva* carrying a stem with three buds as Kṣitigarbha and the bearer of the blossoming lotus with a sword on to as Ākāśagarbha (1918: 432). Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin is designated as the carrier of the lotus with a flaming attribute on top (1918: 434) and finally, the damaged relief was recognised as Avalokiteśvara, the fourth *bodhisattva* in the group (1918: 432).

In 1921, only a few years after Krom's declaration, J.L. Moens published an article, "De Tjandi Mendut". Moens disagreed with Krom's identification of the eight *bodhisattva*s. As the temple faces northwest, Krom had to turn the directional orientation recommended in the *Pañcakrama* by 45 degrees in order to get the directions from the *Pañcakrama* to fit with his identification of the *bodhisattva*s (Moens 1921: 592). Moens noted that, if the same parameters of orienting the direction up to 45 degrees were applied to other Buddhist texts, then other identifications of the *bodhisattva*s would be possible (1921: 592). Moens also criticised Krom's use of the *Pañcakrama* as a source text for Candi Mendut, since there is no evidence that this text was used in the designing of the temple (1921: 592).

Moens employed the work of Brian Hodgson to show Avalokiteśvara's central role in the group comprised of eight other *bodhisattvas* (1874: 95). With Avalokiteśvara in the central position, Gaganagañja fills Avalokiteśvara's role in the group of eight in the damaged relief (Moens 1921: 587).[121] For Moens, evidence of Avalokiteśvara's central role is supported by the image on the rear side of the temple, which shows the four-armed Avalokiteśvara described above (Cat. no. 182).

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[120] Nāgārjuna is considered as the author of the *Pañcakrama*, a tantric yoga commentary (Granoff 1968-69: 93).

[121] Moens explored the idea that the empty niches inside the temple cella once held the images of the Jina Buddhas (Moens 1921: 534). Moens assumed that there must have been nine images inside the temple cella, which means that besides the remaining three large statues, the six empty niches once held images as well (1921: 531). He identified the triad inside the cella as Vairocana, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi by alluding to the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (Moens 1921: 534).

This group of eight *bodhisattva*s is at times referred to as a *maṇḍala* and is described in the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, or the *Sutra of the Mandala of the Eight Great Bodhisattvas*.[122] The *sūtra* describes how *mantra*s and *maṇḍala*s focusing on the group of eight *bodhisattva*s can secure the "fulfilment of one's wishes, absolution from crime, and protections from other ills" (Granoff 1968-69: 92).[123] Clearly, groups of eight *bodhisattva*s exist according to various Buddhist texts, which in turn has led to different identifications of the figures on the outside of Candi Mendut. Nevertheless, four of the *bodhisattva*s on Candi Mendut have been identified based on their iconographic features. Considering that these reliefs illustrate the group of eight *bodhisattva*s, Avalokiteśvara may be expected to have been present.

Like Moens, Lokesh Chandra connected Candi Mendut with a text known to have been present in Indonesia, the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* (1980: 313). He also found that the iconographic programme at Candi Mendut corresponded to the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* (1980: 315). There are corresponding features between the two, such as the presence of a group of eight *bodhisattva*s. Based on the use of the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, Chandra identified its main focus as Vairocana, the large Buddha statue inside the temple, along with the second Bodhisattva in the cella triad as Vajrapāṇi (Chandra 1980: 315). Regarding the damaged *bodhisattva* in the group of eight, Chandra did not identify him as Avalokiteśvara, but referenced Krom's work (Krom 1918: 419-437, Chandra 1980: 315).

Another researcher to connect Candi Mendut to the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* is Sudarshana Devi Singhal. In "Candi Mendut and the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*" she further explored Chandra's approach of applying the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* in order to interpret Candi Mendut. Singhal compared the entire iconographic programme, i.e. the reliefs on the outside and the statues in the cella, with the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* (Singhal 1991: 373). She also identified the Buddha inside the cella as Vairocana and the second Bodhisattva as Vajrapāṇi, just as Moens and Chandra had in their respective publications (Moens 1921: 534, Chandra 1980: 315, Singhal 1991: 378). The identification of the second Bodhisattva is based on the manner in which he holds his right hand, which could have held a *vajra* (Singhal 1991: 379). Once Vajrapāṇi was recognised, Singhal suggests that the Buddha inside the temple can be identified as the cosmic Buddha Vairocana based on the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* (Singhal 1991: 379). Unfortunately, there is no way to determine if the second Bodhisattva once held a *vajra*. Singhal identified Avalokiteśvara at the back of the temple as Mahākāruṇika Avalokiteśvara, just as Brandes did in his 1902 article, based on the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* (Singhal 1991: 378, 380).

Bautze-Picron noted that the iconographic programme of Candi Mendut was similar to those found in Caves 11 and 12 at Ellora, just as Krom had identified (Krom 1918: 430, Bautze-Picron 1997: 29). Inside Candi Mendut, the triad often seen at the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra, is depicted. It shows the Buddha flanked by Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara (Bautze-Picron 1997: 29). Unlike the figures found in the Buddhist caves, all figures in the

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[122] Granoff 1968-69: 88, Lee and Leidy 2013: 167.
[123] This text was translated into Chinese by Amoghavajra between 746-771 CE (Granoff 1968-69: 88).

Candi Mendut triad are seated. The eight *bodhisattva*s are another iconographic group frequently depicted in the Buddhist caves and in Bihar. Bautze-Picron considered the organisation of the eight *bodhisattva*s on the outside of Candi Mendut to follow that of a Buddhist text, close to *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra*, but not the actual text itself (1997: 29). The actual text is yet to be identified. Considering the direction of four of the *bodhisattva*s Maitreya (northeast), Samantabhadra (southeast), Mañjuśrī (southwest) and Avalokiteśvara (northwest), Bautze-Picron finds this feature adheres more closely to the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* (1997: 29).

As noted above, parts of the iconographic programme at Candi Mendut fit with the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, but there are also elements that do not. In the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, the *bodhisattva*s surround the central five figures in two different circles, each *bodhisattva* facing a cardinal direction (Bautze-Picron 1997: 47). At Candi Mendut the *bodhisattva*s are grouped together, with two standing at each corner. Despite the importance of the *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānikan* and its possible dating back to the tenth century, we have no evidence that the text was known at the time of the construction of Candi Mendut, although elements of the text are older.[124] Klokke also pointed out that

1. the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* contains more deities than those depicted at Candi Mendut (among them, the five Tathāgatas at the centre of the *maṇḍala*),
2. the eight *bodhisattva*s are arranged differently in the *maṇḍala*, and
3. there is no evidence existing in Java that this particular *maṇḍala* was known in Java at the time (1993: 130-131). According to the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, Avalokiteśvara would be joined by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī, but at Candi Mendut he is flanked instead by two Buddhist deities who each represent a text, Prajñāpāramitā and Mahāpratisarā.

Considering the above-mentioned factors, it appears that any connection to the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* remains unclear. On the outside of Candi Mendut, we see representations of the *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (Heart Sūtra) and the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, i.e. *sūtra*s and a *dhāraṇī*, rather than a *maṇḍala*. However, the similarities in the iconographic programme at Candi Mendut and the Ellora caves are interesting. Both have been explored by both Krom (1918) and Bautze-Picron (1997), among various scholars.

The images of Candi Mendut show that Avalokiteśvara had become part of a variety of triads, not only in triads in association with Buddha as the focus (inside the temple), but also in triads with Avalokiteśvara as the focus (rear of the temple). Thus far, I have identified two metal statuettes that show Avalokiteśvara at the centre of a triad (Cat. nos

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[124] A more recent scholarly publication on Candi Mendut was published in 2009 by Mark Long. In it Long gives the history of the temple from its (re-)discovery to its renovation, giving the reader a further layer of information regarding the temple's place in history (2009: xxiii-xli). Long also did a great service to other researchers studying Candi Mendut by, at times, translating the work of previous scholars and adding good quality photographs, thus making the previous research more accessible.

228 and 261) and a further eight triads in bronze that show Avalokiteśvara as an attendant (Cat. nos 47, 67, 83, 144-145, 151, 173, 245). No groups of the eight *bodhisattva*s have been found depicted in metal. Although Avalokiteśvara may have been part of the bronze *maṇḍala*s, such as those found in Surocolo in Central Java (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 32) as well as in Nganjuk and Ponorogo in East Java. Unfortunately, no surviving images of Avalokiteśvara can be identified as having belonged to these groups. Considering the identification of Avalokiteśvara in the damaged relief found on the temple exterior at Candi Mendut, surviving images from Central Java certainly indicate that images of Avalokiteśvara were an expected part of either triads or larger groups of *bodhisattva*s. Therefore, it is likely that Avalokiteśvara was also part of the group of eight *bodhisattva*s found on the exterior corners of Candi Mendut. This suggests that Krom's identification was the most plausible.

7.3 Avalokiteśvaras at the Plaosan Lor complex: iconography and style

The Plaosan Lor complex is considered to have been built after Candi Mendut. It has been dated to 825-850 CE based on inscriptions found at the site (De Casparis 1958: 33). Plaosan Lor[125] is located outside the city of Yogyakarta, near Prambanan, 2.5 km northeast of Candi Lara Jonggrang, near the Dengok River. It consists of two twin temple buildings, a platform, and several smaller shrines. [126] Plaosan Kidul is a nearby complex further down the road. The two seem to have formed part of one larger complex. There are no *bodhisattva* images at Plaosan Kidul. At the Plaosan Lor complex, on the other hand, six *bodhisattva*s sit inside each of the twin temple buildings in three separate cellas. There is little difficulty identifying Avalokiteśvara in the southern temple, due to the presence of the Buddha Amitābha in his *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Cat. no. 184). He is the *bodhisattva* seated to the left on the stone platform in the central chamber. As the groupings of the *bodhisattva*s are the same in both temples, the statue in the central cella in the northern temple can also be identified as Avalokiteśvara, despite its missing head (Cat. no. 185).

Avalokiteśvara in the southern temple

The two-armed Avalokiteśvara in the southern temple sits in *lalitāsana* with his right foot resting on a lotus, which is part of the base (Cat. no. 184). Despite the restoration, some residual damage to the statue remains. The general outline of the *jaṭāmukuṭa* is difficult to

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[125] Plaosan Lor and its layout was described by IJzerman in his *Grens der residentie's Soerakarta en Djogdjakarta* (1891). He did not identify the *bodhisattva* figures that reside within the two temples, but compared the images at Plaosan Lor with those found at Ellora, especially the three-storey cave, Tin Thal, where the Buddha displays the *dhyāna-mudrā* with Avalokiteśvara on his right side (1891: 100). He described the statues that were found on the platform between the two temples at the Plaosan complex and there he identified Vajrapāṇi and Avalokiteśvara (1891: 105). In an appendix to the book IJzerman included a table with the visual information regarding the *bodhisattva* images at the Plaosan Lor complex, including where an image was found, how the hands are shown and the figure's pose, as well as the form of the lotus (1891: 125-127).

[126] A number of inscriptions have been found at the complex. These indicate that the smaller shrines were commissioned by dignitaries, while the large temple structures were commissioned by the king (De Casparis 1958: 3 and 18).

determine, but the Buddha Amitābha at the front is clearly visible. The *prabhāmaṇḍala* has a rim decorated with a floral pattern and alongside the rim flames point to the top of the back piece. Avalokiteśvara wears two necklaces. The necklace closer to the neck is simpler than the more elaborate one below. He also wears two sets of armbands and one set of bracelets. The Bodhisattva has two *yajñopavītas*, one in a sash form which crosses the body to the waist. The second is a braided rope falling straight down from the left shoulder to lie over the left leg. Avalokiteśvara wears a floral waist belt on top of the two *yajñopavītas*. Part of Avalokiteśvara's right arm is missing, but the hand is clearly visible and rests on the right leg in *varada-mudrā*. The left hand has broken off, but a stem remains, following the arm to the *prabhāmaṇḍala*, becoming part of the back piece and finishing in a blooming lotus with a book on top.

The Bodhisattva wears a long plain lower garment. Below the braided belt, with a floral clasp, sits a second belt with a floral pattern and sashes lie across the thighs. Avalokiteśvara sits on a double lotus throne resting on a square base.

Avalokiteśvara in the northern temple

In the northern twin temple building, Avalokiteśvara is depicted in the same position (Cat. no. 185). The general iconographic features are the same, such as the mode of sitting, the number of arms, the hand gestures and attributes, but the Bodhisattva's head is no longer in place. There are a few decorative differences between the two Avalokiteśvara statues. The necklaces of the two Avalokiteśvaras are different from each other. The Avalokiteśvara inside the northern temple wears a *yajñopavīta*, but over the chest belt, whereas in the first temple, the chest belt was worn over the sacred thread. In both cases, Avalokiteśvara wears a double sacred thread. In the northern temple sculpture the chest belt is worn over the braided *yajñopavīta*. In the southern temple statue, the braided *yajñopavīta* falls over the left leg, but in the northern image the braided *yajñopavīta* falls over the lap of the Bodhisattva and does not touch the left leg. The lotus carried by each of the two Avalokiteśvaras is similar. The blooming lotus flower supports a book. Thus, a few stylistic differences distinguish the two Avalokiteśvaras at the Plaosan complex, but there is no iconographic variance between them.

Previous studies of Plaosan Lor

Krom described the statues found at the Plaosan complex in his *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst* (1923 II: 7-9). He started with the northern temple and there identified Maitreya through the *stūpa* in his *jaṭāmukuṭa* (1923 II: 9). Next to him sits a *bodhisattva* carrying a flower with three buds. Krom used his previous study on Candi Mendut to identify this figure as either Samantabhadra or possibly Kṣitigarbha (1923 II: 10). He identified Avalokiteśvara in the next central cella because of the Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the lotus attribute (1923 II: 10). Next to him, Krom recognised Vajrapāṇi by the Bodhisattva's connection to Avalokiteśvara, as seen in the Borobudur reliefs, and because of the *vajra* resting on the flower (1923 II: 10). In the third cella, to the right from the entrance, we find a *bodhisattva* carrying an *utpala* with flames on top.

He was identified as Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin, based on a comparison with the iconography at Candi Mendut. Next to him in the cella sits Mañjuśrī, who can be identified by his attribute, an *utpala* with a book on top (Krom 1923 II: 10).

The Plaosan Lor complex has not been as intensively studied as the other two monuments where we can find *in situ* images of Avalokiteśvara, Candi Mendut and Borobudur. J.L. Moens identified eight *bodhisattva*s in each of the twin temples at Plaosan Lor (1921: 584). Moens hypothesised that the six *bodhisattva* statues inside the temples were part of the group of eight *bodhisattva*s, where the missing two would then sit in the antechamber niches (1921: 589-600). These two statues consist of Maitreya and Mañjuśrī. C. Bautze-Picron countered this hypothesis many years later as there cannot be two depictions of the same *bodhisattva* in the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva (1997: 38, footnote 73), or it would necessitate re-identifying two of the *bodhisattva* statues within the temple. Bautze-Picron discussed Candi Plaosan in a section of her article on the group of eight *bodhisattva*s, in which she noted that the iconographic programme of the Plaosan Lor complex fitted well with the iconographic programme at the Ellora cave complex, particularly that of the guardians (Maitreya and Mañjuśrī) in Cave 12 (1997: 30). There are also similarities with the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, although this has eight separate *bodhisattva*s, instead of doubling two (1997: 30).

Like earlier scholars, she identified Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi in the central cella in the northern and southern temple, based on the presence of the Buddha Amitābha in Avalokiteśvara's *jaṭāmukuṭa* and the fact that Vajrapāṇi is often depicted together with Avalokiteśvara (Bautze-Picron 1997: 30). In the cella to the left of the entrance, in both the temples, she identified the *bodhisattva*s the same as Krom, but gave a firm identification of Samantabhadra based on his attribute of a flower with three buds (Bautze-Picron 1997: 30). In the third cella, to the right of the entrance, Bautze-Picron identified Mañjuśrī and Ākāśagarbha. The identification of these *bodhisattva*s was made by comparing Plaosan's iconographic programme with that found at Ellora, as well as on the basis of Mañjuśrī's attribute (Bautze-Picron 1997: 30). Krom, on the other hand, had previously identified Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin (Krom 1923 II: 10).

Aṣṭamahābodhisattva have been depicted in various configurations in Buddhist art. In the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra, we see them divided into two groups of four; shown in a line on either side of the Buddha; in two squares with two *bodhisattva*s above a lower two in each square; in a line of all eight together; and in a square that depicts the eight *bodhisattva*s around a central Buddha. On the Thai-Malay Peninsula, they are stamped into clay in a ring pattern, with the Buddha in the centre, and at Candi Mendut we see two at each corner of the outside of the temple. In all of these cases, there are eight *bodhisattva*s on display. However, at the Plaosan Lor complex there are only six.

If these six *bodhisattva*s are to be interpreted as the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva, there are two missing *bodhisattva*s, namely Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Kṣitigarbha. Bautze-Picron suggests that these two *bodhisattva*s may have played a secondary role within this pantheon locally, as seen in one of the reliefs at Borobudur (1997: 30, Krom and van Erp 1920-

1931: IV 3). Bautze-Picron notes that Plaosan Lor's iconographic programme may combine elements of the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala*, but that the secondary positions of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin and Kṣitigarbha show that they have been pushed outwards from their original place in the *Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala* away from the centre (Bautze-Picron 1997: 30).

Apart from the six *bodhisattva*s that have been identified inside the three cellas inside the northern and southern temples, there were a further two *bodhisattva*s on either side of the entrance porch, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya. While this is an unusual pairing in Javanese Buddhist art, Bautze-Picron identifies the same guardian pair at Cave 12 at Ellora as well as at Ratnagiri (1997: 30). In Java, we see instead the combination of Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara, Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi or Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī. As both Mañjuśrī and Maitreya are found twice within the Plaosan Lor pantheon, it is possible that the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva group was not intended to be represented (Bautze-Picron 1997: 30). However, these porch statues are smaller than those inside the temple cellas, fit well within the niches and were likely intended for that space. However, this may simply be a matter of the stone statues recovered at the site fitting the placement and as more excavations and reconstruction work is performed, the figures in the guardian niches may change.

This grouping of three *bodhisattva* pairs, and the guardian pair at the entrance may have been a local iconographic development. It rather suggests three triads consisting of two *bodhisattva*s and a Buddha each, rather than a group of six *bodhisattva*s. The fact that the Buddhas are now missing may have led to a focus on the six *bodhisattva*s as forming a group.

Miksic et al. did not address the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva group in an article from 2001, but they did address the idea of Plaosan Lor being a *maṇḍala*. According to Miksic et al., the Plaosan complex does not have a concentric layout and can therefore not be a *maṇḍala* although they noted similarities with a *maṇḍala* at the Tôji monastery in Kyoto, Japan (Miksic et al. 2001: 328). There, 21 images were organised into three groups, not in a concentric layout, but rather in a linear east-west orientation (Miksic et al. 2001: 328). The Tôji *maṇḍala* was completed in 839 CE (Miksic et al. 2001: 328), within the same time period as the Plaosan complex was constructed. Even though this *maṇḍala* has three groups of images, this is where the similarity with Plaosan Lor ends, as the Tôji *maṇḍala* has a central image of the Vairocana Buddha surrounded by four deities (Miksic et al 2001: 328).

We need to consider the missing component of each triad in each cella viz., the central figure who was most likely a Buddha. There remains a lotus seat between each *bodhisattva* pair that is slightly higher than the two flanking seats. Taking into account the amount of space between the two *bodhisattva*s, it is possible that the central figure was depicted as seated. Since there are no small lotus pedestals below for the feet, as in the case of a *bhadrāsana* Buddha, the Buddha images were likely seated in *padmāsana* or *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* (although not as common for Buddhas in Java as for Avalokiteśvara). Krom noted that the pattern of the double lotus seat indicated that the Buddha would have

been seated in an "Indian manner", i.e. *padmāsana* (1923 II: 9). Therefore, I suggest that the Plaosan Lor temples illustrate three triads, with the two spaces at the entrance representing guardians.

The idea or symbolism of three is a major tenet of Buddhism, which we see in the Three Jewels and also in triads. The triad of a Buddha in the centre, flanked by two *bodhisattva*s was a repeated feature in Central Java. We saw this repeatedly in Chapter 5 in the examination of the reliefs on the fourth level of Borobudur illustrating the *Bhadracarī*, where the sculptors often depicted the Buddha flanked by two *bodhisattva*s. Yet, the use of triads in three separate cellas only occurs at Plaosan Lor. While we do not have a Buddhist text that we can refer to for an explanation of this triple triad, we have the *Bhadracarī*, with its reference to Buddhas (Conquerors) surrounded by *bodhisattva*s (Sons of the Buddhas).

> May I see face to face the Conquerors,
> Those Lords surrounded by the Sons of the Buddhas.
> And may I perform great reverence to them,
> Unwearied for all future eons
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 13).

Apart from portraying the Buddhas as surrounded by Bodhisattvas the *Bhadracarī* also describes the Buddhas as existing in "all three times" (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 9), i.e. the past, present and future.

> 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
> (*Bhadracarī*, ed. Osto 2010: 9).

By creating three rooms with a Buddha flanked by *bodhisattva*s in each, representing the past, present and future, the architects of the Plaosan complex attempted to illustrate that the Buddha exists continuously in the three times outside our linear time.

7.4 Other statues that may have been within a temple setting

Not all large depictions of Avalokiteśvara have been found in a temple or monument setting. Remnants of large metal Avalokiteśvara statues have been found in Central Java, which were likely used in a temple building. One is a silver-coated, standing Avalokiteśvara, now in the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta (Cat. no. 259). It was found at Tekaran in Wonogiri, an area to the east of Yogyakarta and south of Surakarta. It currently has a height of 98 cm, but the legs are broken at the knees. Two of the figure's arms have been recovered and the silver-coated Avalokiteśvara holds a book in his upper

left hand and displays the *varada-mudrā* with his lower right hand. The statue is decorated with three necklaces, but only has one armband.

The Prambanan complex museum contains three notable free-standing stone statues (Cat. nos 190-192). Two of these statues lack the Buddha Amitābha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, but the first one shows some remnants of him (Cat. no. 190) and the second statue is missing part of its head (Cat. no. 191). I identify the first stone statue as Avalokiteśvara based on his pose, as well as the remains of the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The second statue is identified as Avalokiteśvara by comparing this stone statue to the four stone Avalokiteśvaras found at the Plaosan Lor complex. The Bodhisattva carries a lotus with a book resting on the flower, the attribute carried by Avalokiteśvara in each of the Plaosan Lor statues. The third stone statue at the Prambanan museum can easily be identified as Avalokiteśvara, due to the Buddha figure in his *jaṭāmukuṭa*. In this image, which does not originate from the Prambanan complex, Avalokiteśvara holds a lotus and displays the *varada-mudrā*.

A bronze head of Avalokiteśvara is also on display at the Prambanan complex museum. It has a height of at least 20 cm, indicating that the original statue was probably placed in a temple context (Cat. no. 193). Many of the approximately 200 secondary shrines at Candi Sewu have three pedestals, suggesting that triads were a common depiction. It may have been part of one of the triads at Candi Sewu or its minor chapels. A second head, this one in stone, now at the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, can be identified as Avalokiteśvara based on the Buddha Amitābha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* (Cat. no. 194). The head alone has a height of 39 cm, suggesting that the original statue must have been at least one metre tall, when seated, and certainly large enough to have been displayed in a temple such as Candi Sewu, in the neighbourhood of which it was found.

A smaller statue, with a height of 34 cm, but still large enough to have been displayed in a temple building, is an impressive ten-armed, standing Avalokiteśvara now on display at the Musée national des arts asiatiques - Guimet in Paris (Cat. no. 198). It could have been in a smaller cella, possibly located in one of the additional chapels found around larger temples. A further two large, free-standing, stone Avalokiteśvara statues can be seen at the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta (Cat. nos 188 and 189). Both show the Bodhisattva seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*.

These larger statues show that Avalokiteśvara images were not just placed at Candi Mendut and at the Plaosan complex. They may have been part of other Buddhist temples, such as Candi Sewu, or the smaller shrines. However, even after adding these statues to the known *in situ* images, there is still a clear discrepancy between the large number of smaller images in bronze and the relatively modest number of larger ones, mostly in stone, made for worship in temples.

7.5 The importance of triads

A solitary Avalokiteśvara image speaks to a focus on the individual Bodhisattva, but a bronze triad carries a more extensive narrative. There are at least eight bronze triads found in Java with the Buddha as the central figure flanked by Avalokiteśvara and a second *bodhisattva* (Cat. nos 47, 67, 83, 144-145, 151, 173 and 245). A triad that shows some iconographic similarity with the group of statues inside Candi Mendut, can now be seen at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (Cat. no. 67). Just as inside Candi Mendut, Avalokiteśvara sits in *lalitāsana* and the Buddha in *bhadrāsana*. The second *bodhisattva* sits in a pose without his left leg resting on the seat as in *lalitāsana*. Instead, the *bodhisattva*'s left foot rests on a separate lotus emerging from the base. What makes him similar to the second *bodhisattva* statue inside Candi Mendut is the manner in which he holds his right hand, in front of the chest. Just as in Candi Mendut, however, the likely attribute, a *vajra*, is now missing. Another difference is the Buddha's hand gesture. At Mendut, Buddha displays the *dharmacakra-mudrā*, while in the bronze triad he shows the *vitarka-mudrā*.

A second bronze triad showing some iconographic similarity with the triad inside Candi Mendut, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Cat. no. 83). The main difference between this triad and the in stone is that Avalokiteśvara is depicted with four arms. His attributes and hand gesture are similar to those seen on the rear of Candi Mendut. This bronze Avalokiteśvara holds a rosary in his upper right hand and displays the *varada-mudrā* with his lower right hand. He holds a book in his upper left hand and a lotus in his lower left hand. Both bronze *bodhisattva*s sit in *lalitāsana*. In this triad, we see a marked difference between how Avalokiteśvara and other *bodhisattva*s are depicted. Avalokiteśvara is the only male *bodhisattva* who is seen with four, or more, arms. This iconographic development can be seen in the ascetic Avalokiteśvaras from Insular Southeast Asia and continues to be a feature in Javanese Buddhist art.

Considering that Avalokiteśvara is the only male *bodhisattva* to be shown with four arms (or more), the choice of the number of arms may be a textual or an iconographic development. There is a strong iconographic similarity in how both Śiva and Avalokiteśvara are depicted. In texts, such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Avalokiteśvara is described as being able to take on the form of Śiva or Viṣṇu, both of whom are depicted with four arms.[127] The use of the four arms may have initially illustrated the ability to take on the form of Hindu gods and with time it became part of Avalokiteśvara's iconography.

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[127] "…to those who are to be converted by Īśvara, he preaches the law in the shape of Īśvara" (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Kern 1884: 411). Studholme discusses Avalokiteśvara's role as Īśvara, which has been used to refer to both Viṣṇu and Śiva (2002:37). According to Studholme, the *Kāraṇḍavyūha-sūtra* "presents Avalokiteśvara as an Īśvara in the mould of two *purāṇic* deities, but particularly of Śiva" (2002:59).
"To those who are to be converted by Cakravartin, he shows the law after assuming the shape of a Cakravartin" (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. Kern 1884:411). Kern notes that the term 'Cakravartin' is ambiguous as it may refer to Viṣṇu, but also "an emperor" (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, ed. 1884: 411, note 1).

Two other triads, one in silver and the other in bronze (Cat. nos 228 and 261) illustrate a standing Avalokiteśvara in the centre, with a female figure sitting on either side, just as we saw on the rear wall of Candi Mendut. Both metal statuettes illustrate stylistic features that place them in the Central Javanese period. Specifically, the statuette now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in New York (Cat. no. 261), shows a standing Avalokiteśvara with four arms and the same attributes and hand gesture as on the rear of Candi Mendut. However, the depiction of the two female figures is different. In the triad they each display the *varada-mudrā* and hold a floral attribute, while in the Candi Mendut relief they hold their hands in *añjali-mudrā*. The halo, behind each of the three bronze figures' heads, has s-shaped foliage along the rim, as we saw for the group of eleven *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras in Chapter 6. The halos have a similar silhouette as those behind the heads of the statues inside Candi Mendut.

The iconography of the triads at Plaosan Lor, with the Buddha seated in *padmāsana* and the two *bodhisattva*s in *lalitāsana* is also represented in bronze. A bronze triad, initially found at Kediri in East Java but now shown in the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta, shows the Buddha seated in *padmāsana*, while Avalokiteśvara and Vajrapāṇi sit in *lalitāsana* (Cat. no.47). While the Kediri bronze and the statues inside the central cella of Plaosan Lor are similar iconographically, there are many stylistic differences. This includes the style of the bronze triad's back pieces, which have a pearl-style rim, discussed in Chapter 3, and a parasol directly above the back piece, showing a style relating to the bronze images from Northeast India and Bangladesh. There are no depictions in bronze of the other two triads inside the Plaosan Lor temples, with either Maitreya and Samantabhadra or Mañjuśrī and Ākāśagarbha.

Although these bronze and silver triads show both stylistic and iconographic similarities with the triads depicted in stone at Candi Mendut and Plaosan Lor, I do not consider these triads to be copies of the stone triads. I suggest that they are the result of a Javanese knowledge of iconography and style, shared by those working in stone and bronze.

In a temple, any triad is part of a larger narrative, such as at Candi Mendut where there is the triad inside the temple, as well as a second triad with Avalokiteśvara at the centre as well as the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva. Yet, the bronze triads now appear more singular, without a larger context. Both Plaosan Lor and Candi Sewu have smaller shrines connected with the larger temples, and I propose that this may be where some of the bronze triads were on display. These shrines may have contained images that emulated the imagery on the larger temples. In one of the Candi Sewu shrines (Pl. 3I), evidence of a triad remains in the form of three frames for separate images. Here we see three lotuses grow up out of the base and on them rest three separate palaces, which could have contained smaller bronze figures together forming a triad. Parts of a Buddha statue also remain in another one of the shrines (Pl. 3J). We can see the Buddha sitting in *padmāsana*, with his right hand in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* and his left hand in his lap, similar to the iconography seen in Cat. no. 47.

The same bronze triad shows a similar type of seat growing out of a central stem (Cat. no. 47, Pl. 3I). This bronze image may have been produced in order to emulate the

stone design of three separate seats growing from a lotus and could have been displayed in connection with one of the shrines. The *Amitāyurdhyānasūtra* describes a comparable situation in which Avalokiteśvara sits inside a lotus in Sukhāvatī.

> Under every tree there are also three lotus-flowers. On every
> lotus-flower there is an image, either of Buddha or of a
> Bodhisattva… When this perception has been gained, the
> devotee should hear the excellent Law
> (*Amitāyurdhyānasūtra*, trans. Takakusu 1965: 179).

We must note that there is no textual evidence that this *sūtra* was known in Java during the late eighth and ninth century CE. Yet, considering the evidence of the bronze triad and the three frames for a triad in a shrine at Candi Sewu, this *sūtra*, or a similar text, may have been the sculptors' inspiration to design lotus seats emerging from stems.

Inside this Candi Sewu shrine, there are a further two lotus plants on the side walls, therefore, there would once have been three triads on display inside the small shrine, just as at Plaosan Lor. While the iconographic combination of three triads, with six *bodhisattva*s does not appear to have been used outside of Java, it was likely used more than just at the Plaosan Lor complex.

7.6 Comparison with South Asian iconography

It is difficult to determine the origin of the iconography that we see at Candi Mendut and Plaosan Lor. My comparison with imagery from South Asia is not exhaustive, but rather an attempt to see the possible cultural exchange with Java. By the end of the seventh century CE there was, as suggested in Chapter 2, a cultural connection between Maharashtra and Java. This appears either to have existed until Candi Mendut was built or it was resumed during that time for we also see such connections as concerns the triad inside the temple, in the triad at the rear of the temple as well as in the group of eight *bodhisattva*s, the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva, with the Buddhist cave complexes in Maharashtra, particularly with Ellora Cave 12.

The triad of the Buddha, Avalokiteśvara and a second *bodhisattva* can also be found in Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Bangladesh from the seventh century onwards (Huntington and Bangdel 2003: 27). A triad as seen on the rear of Candi Mendut with the standing Avalokiteśvara at its centre, is not only encountered in Maharashtra, but in Bangladesh as well. However, I did not come across the combination of three triads showing six *bodhisattva*s as found at the Plaosan Lor complex in any other place.

The Aṣṭamahābodhisattva group is not only found in the cave complexes of Maharashtra, but also at Nalanda in Bihar, Mainamati in Bangladesh and Ratnagiri in Odisha (Bautze-Picron 1997: 25-27). This Buddhist iconographic group made its appearance during the eighth century CE and may be a development of generic figures that were depicted as

listening to the Buddha in Gandhara (Bautze-Picron 1997: 31).[128] The group of eight *bodhisattva*s is not depicted in isolation, but rather with a Buddha as the group's focus, as seen in the Ellora caves (Malandra 1993: fig. 4.5). While the eight *bodhisattva*s' directionality has been given in Buddhist texts, such as the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhisūtra* or the *Aṣṭamahābodhisattvamaṇḍalasūtra*, this information does not appear to have been followed specifically in the art depicting the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva but has certainly inspired the depictions (Bautze-Picron 1997: 32).

Peter Skilling, who included the group of eight *bodhisattva*s in his discussion on circulation of ritual, theorised that this iconographic group spread to the Thai-Malay Peninsula from eastern India, before reaching the rest of Southeast Asia, and not directly from Maharashtra (2011: 377). This theory is supported by clay tablets found in the Thai-Malay Peninsula illustrating the group of eight *bodhisattva*s. However, while the knowledge of Aṣṭamahābodhisattva may have travelled over land from Northeast India to the Peninsula, it is possible that the same information reached Java directly from Maharashtra.

The combination of attributes for the standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara on the rear wall of Candi Mendut, specifically the presence of the book in the upper left hand, is not as easily traced back to the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra or elsewhere within the Indian subcontinent. There Avalokiteśvara is most often portrayed with two arms rather than four (one exception is to be found in one of the later caves at Aurangabad). Therefore, during the intervening years between the ascetic Avalokiteśvara and the construction of Candi Mendut, the idea of a multi-armed Avalokiteśvara must have made its way to Java.

We do find examples of a four-armed, standing Avalokiteśvara throughout Insular Southeast Asia. Several of these statuettes may have been the next step in a development starting from the ascetic Avalokiteśvara as discussed in Chapter 2 and later evolving towards the princely form of Avalokiteśvara (Cat nos 15-16, 18, 22). The earliest images of the ascetic Avalokiteśvara can be dated to the 700s. This later iconographic form of the four-armed, standing bejewelled Avalokiteśvara statuettes holding a book in the upper left hand continued to be produced throughout the Central Javanese period (Cat. nos 254-265).

The manner in which the book is depicted can be found in both South Asia and Insular Southeast Asia. While we do not see the book attribute in the reliefs in the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra, there are a few examples of Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi carrying a book as an attribute at Ratnagiri, in Odisha. No images of Avalokiteśvara carrying a book attribute have, however, been found in Odisha.

The only image with the exact same iconography that we see in the standing, four-armed Javanese Avalokiteśvara, is a bronze statuette from Kurkihar in Bihar with the sizeable height of 71 cm (Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar 1986: 42, Pl. 104a).[129] It has been

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[128] This style of generic figures also occurs at Borobudur as well as at Candi Mendut.

[129] A six-armed statuette found at Jhewari appears to hold a book in the upper left hand (Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar 1986: Pl. 231). While the figure has been identified as Avalokiteśvara, there appears to be a

dated to the ninth century CE, based on the bejewelled crown and organic treatment of the ornaments (Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar 1986: 42). The Bodhisattva holds a rosary in his upper right hand and displays the *varada-mudrā* with his lower right hand (Pl. 7B). The primary left hand holds a book and the lower left hand holds the stem of a lotus. In the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, we see the same type of fan protrusions as in the *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara discussed in Chapter 3 (Cat. no. 48), which belongs to the group evidencing a stylistic connection with Northeast India. In the more common iconography for the four-armed Avalokiteśvara in Northeast India, his upper left hand holds a lotus and the lower left hand a water vessel. Of the two hands on the right, the upper right holds a rosary, while the lower right hand displays the *varada-mudrā* (Raya, Khandalavala and Gorakshar 1986: Pls 148a, 260). All in all, the two-armed bronze form of Avalokiteśvara appears to have been more popular in the Indian subcontinent at the time than the four-armed form.

At the Ratnagiri *vihāra*, we do find several depictions of four-armed stone Avalokiteśvaras, attributed to the eighth century CE (Donaldson 2001: 198). The most common attributes in these reliefs are prayer beads in the upper right hand, while the lower right hand displays the *varada-mudrā*. The left hands hold a lotus and a water vessel (these attributes are interchangeable). The attributes correspond partly with those held by Avalokiteśvara at the rear of Candi Mendut, such as the rosary, the lotus and the water vessel gourd. However, the book, as frequently seen in four-armed Avalokiteśvara images from Java, is not represented with the four-armed Avalokiteśvaras from Ratnagiri.

A stone statue of Avalokiteśvara, found on Sumatra, shows him with four arms (Cat. no. 38). The statue has suffered some damage, but we can still determine that the Bodhisattva holds a book in his upper left hand.[130] He does not wear any jewellery, an iconography discussed in Chapter 2. The statue is dated to the seventh or early eighth century by scholars such as Shuhaimi (1984). This would make it one of the earliest four-armed depictions of the Bodhisattva in the area. While this may have been one of the initial four-armed Avalokiteśvaras, the idea of a statue with four arms was not new in the region, as many of the mitred Viṣṇus discussed by Dalsheimer and Manguin (1998) have four arms. Possibly, there was a theological shift that required Avalokiteśvara to be depicted with twice the number of arms, e.g. to give him a rosary and a book. The book could indicate a stronger focus on Avalokiteśvara's textual connections, such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, and the rosary for reciting a *mantra* or *dhāraṇī*.

Insular Southeast Asia may have been the area where the book attribute was first introduced in depictions of Avalokiteśvara in Buddhist art. A few metal statuettes illustrate the four-armed Bodhisattva without jewellery, but wearing a sacred thread and holding a book in his upper left hand. These statuettes, made in silver, were found in Peninsular Thailand,

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skull in the *jaṭāmukuṭa* indicating that the image actually represents Śiva. A stone image of a standing Avalokiteśvara, from Kurkihar, with six arms and a book in the middle left hand, has been described by Sahai (2005: 203).

[130] The Bodhisattva statue has a back inscription, just below the hanging hair, referring to the donor of the statue (Tan 2010: 23).

Sambas on Borneo and at Borobudur (Cat. nos 15-18). The spread of these statuettes shows a link with the pan-Southeast Asian cultural response to external input of the seventh century CE as discussed in Chapter 2. Perhaps the iconography for the four-armed Avalokiteśvara holding a book was developed towards the end of that period, as we do find images with this iconography across Insular Southeast Asia (Cat. nos 15-18, 254-265).

Taking into account the date of the Sumatran, four-armed stone statue (600-750 CE, Cat. no. 38) and the period of popularity for the ascetic Avalokiteśvara statuettes, it is likely that such four-armed, ascetic, silver statuettes holding a book show a further development in the iconography of ascetic Avalokiteśvaras (650-750 CE, Cat. nos 15-18). These may therefore pre-date the production of imagery at Candi Mendut and the other *in situ* images of Avalokiteśvara in Central Java, as well as the standing princely four-armed Avalokiteśvaras in bronze holding a book, many of which have survived from the Central Javanese period (Cat. nos 254-265). Thus, in this case, the sculptors at Candi Mendut may have been inspired by an iconographic tradition that first developed in metal art.

Considering the limited number of metal images of four-armed Avalokiteśvaras with the book attribute from Northeast India, we could speculate that this specific combination of attributes for Avalokiteśvara was developed locally in Insular Southeast Asia. It may be due to the connections with Java and the rest of Insular Southeast Asia that we find it in India. This would show that 'Indianization' is not a one-way process and included iconographic information travelling from Java and Insular Southeast Asia to India.

7.7 Conclusion

The imagery at Candi Mendut suggests a cultural link with the Buddhist caves of Maharashtra, as well as the northeastern Indian subcontinent. This pertains in particular to the triad inside the temple, the triad with Avalokiteśvara and two females at the rear of the temple, as well as the group of eight *bodhisattva*s. The iconography of the four-armed, standing Avalokiteśvara at the back of Candi Mendut can also be seen in a number of Avalokiteśvara statuettes from Insular Southeast Asia. As the four-armed Avalokiteśvaras, with a book in the upper left hand, appear to pre-date the Indian imagery of the same, the book attribute appears to be a local invention in Insular Southeast Asia. The use of the book may indicate a shift locally in the worship of Avalokiteśvara where he needed to be depicted with twice the number of arms in order to carry a book and a rosary. These attributes may illustrate a stronger focus on Avalokiteśvara's textual connection to Buddhist texts. The book could have represented a *sūtra*, such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, and the rosary symbolised the recitation of a *mantra* or *dhāraṇī*.

At the Plaosan Lor complex we see Avalokiteśvara, and a further five *bodhisattva*s, depicted in three separate triads in three rooms, consisting of two *bodhisattva*s and a Buddha. This is an iconographic grouping not seen in either Java or India before. On the basis of the *Bhadracarī* and its depictions on Borobudur, I suggest that the three cellas with a triad each symbolise the Buddha's existence outside of our linear time, in the past, present

and future all at once. The consistency of Avalokiteśvara's iconographic features at the two temple sites implies a limited iconographic development in stone imagery of Avalokiteśvara in terms of pose and attributes from the time of the construction of Candi Mendut, to that of the two temple buildings in the Plaosan Lor complex. Perhaps the construction of the two temples was not far removed in time.

The types of depictions of Avalokiteśvara differ, depending on the material used. In stone, Avalokiteśvara is only depicted on his own in the context of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* reliefs on Borobudur. On the fourth gallery of Borobudur as part of the *Bhadracarī* and at Candi Mendut and Plaosan Lor, he is part of a triad or a six- or eight-fold group. In contrast, he is commonly depicted as a solitary figure in bronze. Only a few statuettes show him as part of a triad. Avalokiteśvara is not depicted in bronze as part of the group of eight *bodhisattva*s at this time, again indicating a difference in the development of the iconography of Avalokiteśvara in the two separate media.

Plate 9. Bronze plaque showing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with retinue, from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Cat. no. 201).

Chapter 8

Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in Java

"He is one-faced, and represented as an eight-armed deity. Two of the four right arms hold a rosary and a lasso. The other two show the Abhayamudrā and the Varadamudrā. In the four left hands are a *tridaṇḍī*, a book, a lotus-stem, and a round ewer.

Amoghapāśa wears a white long Dhoti with a tiger-skin round his waist. An antelope's hide hangs from the left shoulder serving him as sacred thread. His crown of chignon bears the image of Amitābha."
The Amoghapāśa-sādhana (Meisezahl 1967: 479)

8.1 Introduction

Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara is a manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara who carries a *pāśa* or noose to rope in souls and save those who are lost and suffering. We find images of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in Insular and Mainland Southeast Asia, India, Tibet, China and Japan. In Java, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was depicted in both metal and stone. The earliest images are six bronze statuettes dated to the Central Javanese period.[131] Subsequently, there was a gap in the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara image production in Java, in part due to a sharp reduction in bronze image casting. It is only towards the end of the thirteenth century that we once again encounter Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in Java, but not on his own. We now see him in the context of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* at Candi Jago in East Java.

Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara is the central figure at Candi Jago, dated to the second half of the thirteenth century CE (Krom 1923 II: 95). There he formed part of a group of thirteen images, including his four attendants: Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī. The group also included the four Jina Buddhas and their female counterparts. This set of stone images was reproduced on at least five bronze plaques and as a stone stele sent from Java to Sumatra (Cat. nos 200-203 and 205).

As part of her larger study on Buddhist sculpture from East Java (2007), N. Reichle has already published on the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, as well as two of the bronze Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras I will be discussing in this chapter (Cat. nos 195 and 200). My work closely follows hers, but will also add to the discussion of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara iconography in Java and its cultural sources of information. In this discussion, I include several bronzes that show elements of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara iconography

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[131] 750-930 CE, Cat. nos 52, 84, 195-198.

from across Southeast Asia, although they do not all carry the rope.[132] I will also examine how this icon developed from being a solitary figure into having an entourage of twelve figures and becoming the focal point of a temple.

Apart from the presence of the noose, the iconography of the Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras appears quite fluid. There is no standardisation of attributes in specific hands or which hand displays the *varada-mudrā* or the *abhaya-mudrā*. The Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras commonly stand in *samapāda*, but at least two statuettes show Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara seated (Cat. nos 52 and 84). Other shared iconographic features are the rosary in the top right hand and a book in the top left hand. These are regular attributes for most Javanese Avalokiteśvara figures with four arms or more. The iconographic features that can aid in identifying an Avalokiteśvara image as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara are the *pāśa* or noose, but also a *tridaṇḍa* or three-pronged staff, a water vessel and a tiger skin. All of these are frequently seen in the Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images that we can identify with certainty. By utilising these other features, we may be able to identify further statuettes as representing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. A similar overview of the stylistic features of the known Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images from Insular Southeast Asia show that no one specific stylistic characteristic is present in all statuettes.[133] The images show a variety of *jaṭāmukuṭa* silhouettes, jewellery and dress, indicating that the statuettes were produced over a long period or at least by various workshops.

While other Javanese iconographic types of Avalokiteśvara could not be directly linked to a Buddhist text (the narrative reliefs on Borobudur being the exception), the Central Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statuettes illustrate a concrete link to a *dhāraṇī-sūtra.* The first reference to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was in the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra* translated into Chinese by Jñānagupta in 587 CE.[134] It is also in China that we find several of the earliest dated depictions of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara from the seventh and eighth centuries CE (Wong 2007: 151).

The Amoghapāśa *dhāraṇī* (*Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra*) is a highly effective text for improving individual *karma*. It tells of a large gathering at Mount Potalaka, the home of Avalokiteśvara. The latter proceeds to tell the "Victorious One" and all those assembled about an *hṛdaya*, (the heart or core) named Amoghapāśa, which Avalokiteśvara received during the Vilokitā period, from the Tathāgata Lokendrarāja (Meisezahl 1962: 267-268). Simply by hearing the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra* a person gains merit (Meisezahl 1962: 290, 293).

> Whoever shall hear this *Amoghapāśahṛdaya*, will cause the
> roots of merit of many hundreds of thousands x 10,000,000 x
> 100,000,000,000 of Buddhas to be planted.

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[132] Cat. nos 195-198, 200-204, and 207-226.
[133] Cat. nos 52, 84, 195-205.
[134] Meisezahl 1962: 272, Wong 2007: 151.

O Victorious One, if there exists an evil-doer or one who
practices the evil Doctrine… he shall observe vows in future if
he regrets [his deeds]. Already in existence, O Victorious One,
after fasting and reciting [the *Hṛdaya*] only once, his *karman*
shall be cleansed: all sullied actions be exhausted and expelled
(Meisezahl 1962: 290-291).

If a devotee fasts and then recites this text seven times, his or her *karma* will be cleansed
and he or she will receive twenty blessings (Meisezahl 1962: 293). These include that the
person will not fall sick, people will favour him/her, he/she will gain wealth that no thief
can take and he/she will not have to fear any evil being (Meisezahl 1962:293).
These blessings refer to what happens during life, but there are a further eight that apply to
the moment of death (Meisezahl 1962: 294). Among these is that Avalokiteśvara will
appear at the time of death and the dying person will die without questioning his or her
faith (Meisezahl 1962: 294).

Apart from being able to cleanse a person's *karma*, this *dhāraṇī* can also treat both
psychological and physical illnesses (Meisezahl 1962: 291). Considering the expressed
power of this *dhāraṇī*, it is only logical that the depiction of this text as an iconic image
would be of importance in Central Java and elsewhere. The *dhāraṇī* is similar to a medical
text, listing remedies for various ailments, as long as the *dhāraṇī* is cited as well.

For all diseases melted butter or sesame oil or water is to be
used whilst reciting over them… Scented water or resinous
water or liquorice-water is to be used for sore eyes. Sesame oil
is to be used for ear-ache (Meisezahl 1962: 298-299).

Different versions of the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra* were translated into Chinese during
the seventh century and onwards (Yü 2001: 50). While these texts refer to Amoghapāśa as
the *hṛdaya*, the effective spell, the figure being worshipped is still named Avalokiteśvara.
These texts led to a rise of the cult of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in China and Japan in the
early eighth century (Wong 2007: 151). One of these versions is the *Amoghapāśa
kalparāja-sūtra*, translated into Chinese in 693 CE by Maṇicintana (Reis-Habito 1999: 39).

Interestingly, the *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra* can be used by a ruler who wishes to
become a *cakravartin*. If a ruler masters the Amoghapāśa *dhāraṇī*, then he will be able to

Rule the world of all countless and numberless living
beings…attain wisdom, intelligence and prudence, have great
dignity, energy and influence, be called a cakravartin… Lord
over all that exists (Reis-Habito 1999: 49).

A text which can give a ruler such power, would of course be of interest to any sovereign.
Reis-Habito noted that this text would have been useful to the Empress Wu Zetian, who
had risen to power in 684 CE in China (1999: 51). However, in Java, it was not until the

reign of Kṛtanagara that there is clear evidence that a ruler utilised Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara imagery, which was likely inspired by the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* discussed below.

Normally, the focus of a *dhāraṇī* text is its protective functions, not iconographic information. Yet, the *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra* is an exception as it gives some iconographic information as to how "the holy Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva" should be portrayed if a picture is to be made of him (Reis-Habito 1999: 51-52). The iconographic instructions include that he has four arms and wears a deer skin over one shoulder (Reis-Habito 1999: 52). He is said to display the *abhaya-mudrā* with his upper right hand and to hold several rosaries in his lower right hand, furthermore he carries a lotus in his upper left hand and a water bottle in his lower left hand (Reis-Habito 1999: 52). This description does not fit with the bronzes we know represent Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara or Avalokiteśvara in Java, but Reis-Habito notes that this description is unique to the Maṇīcintana and Li Wuchan's translations of the text (1999: 52).[135] There are many standing four-armed depictions of Avalokiteśvara from Java, but based on the attributes described in the *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra*, in its 693 CE translation, these images were clearly not influenced by this specific text. In Java, Avalokiteśvara only carries one rosary and this is held in one of the upper hands.

In the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī* there is some visual information, which describes Avalokiteśvara as wearing an antelope skin around the waist, a white sacred cord, a jewelled diadem and having his hair in a bun on top of the head (Meisezahl 1962: 297). These are common attributes for Avalokiteśvara as we saw in Chapter 2.

> The Saint Avalokiteśvara wearing a top-knot like a diadem, a
> [waistband made of] antelope-skin and the *Paśupati*-dress, is to
> be painted with all ornaments (Meisezahl 1962: 300).

Paśupati (Lord of the Animals) is a name for Śiva. Paśupati dress presumably refers to the ascetic dress often worn by Śiva. Both the Amoghapāśa *dhāraṇī* and the *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra* pre-date the bronze icons identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara from Central Java. However, neither text can be directly linked to these images based on iconography alone. Yet, the presence of the bronze icons carrying the infallible noose demonstrate that the local craftsmen knew of the connection of this attribute and Avalokiteśvara, even though a specific text that could have initiated this image production cannot be identified at the moment.

At a later period, another type of text became popular: the *sādhana*. An *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* was written by Śākyaśrībhadra (1127-1225) after he saw a vision of Amoghapāśa and his four-figure retinue consisting of Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī (Schoterman 1994: 158). This original text no longer exists, but two Tibetan versions have survived to the present day (Schoterman 1994: 160). R.O. Meisezahl (1967) translated one

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[135] The text describes a four-armed Avalokiteśvara, without a *pāśa*, as Amoghapāśa, although the depictions of Amoghapāśa in China commonly show him with eight arms (Reis-Habito 1999: 53).

of the *sādhana*s that Schoterman studied and the second *sādhana* studied was the *Sādhanamālā of the Panchen Lama* (*Sādhanamālā of the Panchen Lama*, ed. Chandra 1974).

The *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* describes Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara as an eight-armed deity with one head. On the right side, he holds a rosary and a noose and displays the *abhaya-mudrā* and the *varada-mudrā*. On the left side, he holds a book, a lotus, a *tridaṇḍa* (triple staff) and a water vessel (Meisezahl 1967: 479). This description fits very well with the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (Cat. no. 199), which dates from a slightly later period. Interestingly, the same description fits a number of Central Javanese bronze statuettes, even though this *sādhana* was written after their production.

8.2 Javanese images of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara: iconography and style

Central Javanese bronze statuettes

As noted above, six bronze statuettes from Java can be identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara based on the presence of a *pāśa* (Cat. nos 52, 84, 195-198). The majority of these images have eight arms, but there is also one with ten arms (Cat. no. 198) and one with four arms (Cat. no. 84). Four of these metal images are standing, while two (Cat. nos 52 and 84) are seated in *lalitāsana* as was described in Chapter 3.

One of the better-preserved standing bronze Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras is in the Weltmuseum in Vienna (Cat. no. 197). The figure's principal right hand displays the *abhaya-mudrā* and the principal left hand holds a stem that has broken off. This attribute was likely a lotus. In the top right hand Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara holds a rosary and the middle right hand is damaged. It could have held an *aṅkuśa* or *tridaṇḍa*, as part of a stick remains. The lower right hand displays the *varada-mudrā*. The upper left hand holds a book, the middle left hand is damaged but there is evidence of the lower part of a noose along the wrist, and the lower left hand holds a water bottle. There are two holes on either side of the base, which were probably used to attach a *prabhāmaṇḍala*.

The Bodhisattva has a *jaṭāmukuṭa* with the Buddha Amitābha in a niche at the front. The Bodhisattva wears a three-pronged tiara, necklace, armbands and bracelets. He has a sash *yajñopavīta* that crosses the body to below the waist. There are three lines in the *yajñopavīta*, as well as a slight fold at the shoulder. Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara wears a lower garment with a double line at the bell-shaped hem. The belt clasp has a circular shape and is surrounded by a floral pattern. Below the belt, a sash is tied at the sides, draped over the thighs.

The three other standing statuettes found in Java can also be identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara based on the presence of a *pāśa*. They are now at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet in Paris (Cat. nos 195-196, 198). In the Rijksmuseum statuette, the noose is held in the second lowest right hand (Cat. no. 195). The eight-armed

Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara from the Metropolitan Museum of Art shows the noose as a rope in the shape of an eight held in the second hand from the top on the left side (Cat. no. 196). The Musée Guimet Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (MG 3816) shows the *pāśa* in the second hand from the top on the right side (Cat. no. 198). In Javanese iconography, there does not appear to have been a fixed hand in which the noose should be held. Neither was there a fixed hand to hold the water vessel. The only attribute that appears set is the book in the upper left hand, also seen in the four-armed Javanese Avalokiteśvara statuettes. In these Javanese statuettes, the tiger skin or the deer skin does not appear to have been a required attribute. The deer skin as a *yajñopavīta* was replaced by a sash or a thread and we only see the tiger skin in the statuettes in the Rijksmuseum and the Musée national des arts asiatiques – Guimet (Cat. nos 195 and 198, Tables 26 and 29).

The two seated Avalokiteśvara figures that hold a *pāśa* were included in Chapter 3 (Cat. nos 52 and 84). The statuette in the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta has eight arms, while the one in the Tropenmuseum has four arms. This four-armed statuette is unusual in that he does not carry the other attributes often seen with Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, such as the water vessel or the *tridaṇḍa*. The upper right hand carries a rosary and the lower right hand displays the *varada-mudrā*. He holds a lotus in his upper left hand and a noose in his lower left hand. This statuette lacks a Buddha in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, but there are remnants of a niche at the front, which could further support the identification of this figure as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara.

The *pāśa* is the only attribute with which we can safely identify Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. If we were to take several attributes together, such as a tiger skin, a three-pronged staff and a water vessel, we may be able to identify a few more statuettes as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (Cat. nos 207-212). However, none of these statuettes exhibits all of these features (Table 27). The style of these bronzes, both standing and sitting, indicates that they were produced during the Central Javanese period.

Lunsingh Scheurleer placed the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statuettes in her Group 3, the Central Javanese group dated from the middle of the ninth century until the early tenth century (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: Pl. 35). However, this time span may be further reduced based on the bronzes' specific stylistic features. If Avalokiteśvara's amount of jewellery is limited to a necklace, armbands and bracelets, then the statuette can be dated to the early or mid-Central Javanese period, i.e. 750-875 CE. Among these are Cat. nos 195-197, which we can date to 750-875 CE with some certainty. If we see the addition of elongated limbs and a second armband for an Avalokiteśvara bronze, the statuette has a later date. The inclusion of the chest belt helps us place the date of the statuette to the 800s, when it began being used as a decorative feature for Avalokiteśvara stone images, such as at Candi Plaosan Lor. Thus, the statuette at the Musée national Français d'arts asiatiques – Guimet can be dated to 800-900 CE.

The stone Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago in East Java

In the previously described bronzes from Central Java, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara is a solitary figure, without any companions. At Candi Jago, however, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara is the main deity accompanied by a further twelve figures (Cat. no. 199) and clearly relates to the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana*. Candi Jago is an East Javanese temple, dated to the thirteenth century based on the Old Javanese text, the *Deśavarṇana* (previously known as the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*), written by Prapañca in 1365.[136] This text describes Kṛtanagara's father, Viṣṇuvardhana, as having been deified after his death in 1268 as a Buddhist image at Jajaghu (identified as Candi Jago, Prapañca 1995: 54).

Originally there were thirteen free-standing stone images at Candi Jago, which together formed the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala*. The majority of the remaining twelve images from Candi Jago are now on display in the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta, with one of the *prajñā*s, Māmakī, now in the British Museum, London. Only the large Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statue remains at the Candi Jago site.

The stone statue has a height of 2.15 metres, making it the second tallest Avalokiteśvara statue in Java. The head is missing, but an inscription on either side of the intact halo aids us in identifying the figure. The Nāgarī inscription states "Bharāla Aryāmoghapāśa Lokeśvara" (Krom 1923 II: 122). Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara wears two separate necklaces as well as two armbands, but only one bracelet on each of the eight arms. He also wears a chest belt under the *yajñopavīta* that crosses the body at the thighs. In the upper right hand, he holds a rosary and in the hand below a *pāśa*. The other two right hands are damaged, making it impossible to determine either attributes or hand gestures. The upper left hand holds a book, the second hand from the top carries a triple staff, while the lower left hand holds the stem of a lotus. The front left hand is missing.

On the right thigh, we can see the face of a tiger, illustrating that the Bodhisattva wears a tiger skin. Several belts and sashes tie the lower garment. One sash forms a large rosette with tassels draped towards the knees. The belt has a large diamond-shaped clasp and a floral pattern. On either side of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara grow lotus plants from roots, an East Javanese stylistic feature characteristic of images belonging to the Singhasari period. The under sides of the leaves are shown to the viewer.

A version of the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa, along with his 12-deity retinue, was given to the king of Malāyu in 1286 CE (Cat. no. 205). The combined depiction of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* was also produced on at least five metal plaques, which will be discussed below. These images indicate that this *maṇḍala* was of importance in East Java and specifically of interest to its ruler, Kṛtanagara, who ruled between 1268 and 1292. This is the only form of Avalokiteśvara that reached this level of importance within a royal context in Java and Sumatra.

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[136] The death of the king at Candi Jago is noted in the text *Paraton* as "King Raṅga-wuni ruled the kingdom for 14 years. He died in 1194 (1272 A.D.). He was enshrined at Jajagu" (Phalgunadi 1996:97).

Many scholars have contributed to the discussion on the group of images at Candi Jago, due to their royal temple context. The first was J.L.A. Brandes, who published a monograph on Candi Jago (1904). He connected the group of thirteen statues from Candi Jago to Tibetan art. This research was followed up by N.J. Krom in 1923 as part of *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*. By 1933, the focus was on the remaining twelve statues and their possible connection with Pāla India. A.J. Bernet Kempers noted the stylistic differences between the free-standing statues of Candi Jago and the images depicted in its temple reliefs, which he referred to as done in "wayang-style" (1933a: 174). Bernet Kempers hypothesised that the statues at Candi Jago had been inspired by a 'new wave' of Buddhism, along with Pāla sculptures, that came to Java from South Asia as monks fled under the threat of General Bakhtiyar Khilji and his soldiers (1933a: 174, 176). However, it is important to note that several bronze statuettes of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara pre-date Candi Jago. Thus, the knowledge of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara form itself did not arrive with a new 'wave' of Buddhism; it had already been present in Java for a number of centuries. It was rather the *maṇḍala* that was new along with the inscribed name in the Candi Jago statue. This is the only name for this iconographic form of Avalokiteśvara that we have evidence of as being in use in Java, which is why I have used it for the statuettes of the same form even though they pre-date the inscription by several centuries.

De Mallmann examined the main statue at Candi Jago by comparing the iconography of two separate forms of Avalokiteśvara: Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (1948b). Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara each have a four-figure retinue consisting of Śyāmatārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī. De Mallmann noted that no prototype of the Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara has been discovered in India, but agreed with Bernet Kempers that the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara had an Indian origin (1948b: 188). She focused on the Bengali Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and tried to determine why there were so many iconographic similarities with the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa. The Indian Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara is always depicted with ribbons flowing from his hairdo, also seen on the Candi Jago back piece (de Mallmann 1948b: 182). Thus, the ribbons seen from behind Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's head at Candi Jago may be a stylistic feature that migrated to Java. The Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara images were popular in the later Pāla-Sena period, i.e. the eleventh to twelfth century, before the construction of Candi Jago (de Mallmann 1948b: 181, Bhattacharyya 1958: 128). One example from South Asia, dated to the eleventh century CE, shows Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara with five Jina Buddhas as well as the seven symbols of the *cakravartin* (de Mallmann 1948b: fig. 5).

De Mallmann theorised that this was a result of an iconographic evolution from Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara to eventually Amoghapāśa (1948b: 185). The first step are the images of Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, with the next evolutionary step being provided by the *sādhana* describing Sugatisaṃdarśana Lokeśvara with one head and six arms (de Mallmann 1948b: 185). According to de Mallmann, the Javanese king could not have done better than associating himself with the Bengali Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara, the supreme monarch god, the host of Potalaka, which is why the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara

was depicted with floating bands behind his *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a clear sign of the connection between the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara (1948b: 188).

However, iconographically there are a number of differences between Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara and the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. First, even though each figure has a retinue of four, the Candi Jago has four Jina Buddhas, along with their consorts, while Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara has five Jina Buddhas and no consorts. Secondly, as was noted above, Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara has two arms according to the *Sādhanamālā*, whereas the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara has eight arms (Bhattacharyya 1958: 128). Thirdly, Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara is also described as being seated, at times on a lion-throne or on a lotus seat, while Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara stands.[137]

In 1994 J.A. Schoterman concluded that the twelve stone statues illustrating Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his companions at Candi Jago followed the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana*, which was the result of a vision by Śākyaśrībhadra during an illness in the late twelfth century at Bodh Gaya in Bihar (Schoterman 1994: 158-159). If Schoterman is correct in identifying this *sādhana* as the source for the statues at Candi Jago, then the text must have reached Java within approximately 50 years of its composition. This illustrates how quickly a text could reach Java from India and be adopted into the local material culture. Schoterman also noted that South Asian images of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara tend to have six arms, while the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statue at Candi Jago has eight arms (1994: 156). The statues at Candi Jago do not fully follow the *sādhana* as it has survived in texts, but the variance is very limited. The difference between the *maṇḍala* and the text is an alternate *mudrā* for Tārā, who displays the *dharmacakra-mudrā* while the *sādhana* describes her displaying the *varada-mudrā* or holding a blue lily in her hand (Schoterman 1994: 160-161).[138] Considering the similarity between the retinue depicted at Candi Jago and as described in the text, it is likely that the statues at Candi Jago were indeed based on a version of the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana*. This is also supported by the time period of the text and the available images.

It is, however, important to note that the iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara did not change in the period between the manufacture of the Central Javanese bronze standing statuettes and the later Candi Jago piece in stone. The number of arms (eight) remains the same, but also the choice of hands for specific attributes. Based on the amount of jewellery each of the bronze statuettes carries, I consider all of them as belonging to the Central Javanese period (750-930 CE). Yet, towards the end of the Central Javanese period we see a development towards elongated limbs and additional jewellery, such as a second armband. As these features are not present in any of these statuettes, I would narrow down the dates to 750-900 CE for Cat. nos 195-197. The Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara dates to a later period, i.e. the late thirteenth century CE. Thus, even though there was a pause in the production of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images of approximately 300 years, the

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[137] De Mallmann 1948b: 181-182, Bhattacharyya 1958: 128.
[138] Schoterman used two versions of the *sādhana*, one from the Tibetan canon and the other from the *Sādhanamālā* (1994: 160)

iconography did not change for this Avalokiteśvara form over that period. One example is the number or arms, which differs from the Indian Amoghapāśa images. There is also the water vessel, which is usually carried in the lower left hand for most of the Central Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras, as well as in the stone statue at Candi Jago. Another attribute which persists over several centuries is the book in the upper left hand. It is difficult to understand this continuity of depiction from the eighth and ninth century Central Java to the late thirteenth century East Java. Perhaps the iconographic tradition continued between the tenth and twelfth century, but no images have survived from that period. The form may also have been reinvented after a period of disuse or it could have been in use, but no new images were being made.

Five East Javanese bronze Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara plaques

Until modern times, five bronze plaques illustrating Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his retinue of twelve figures have managed to survive and have circulated in colonial collections. These plaques, 22 cm in height, carry an inscription on the back. The inscription gives the *ye dharma* formula or Buddhist creed and continues to describe King Kṛtanagara as the son and successor of Viṣṇuvardhana and the donor of these plaques in Sanskrit, written in Nāgarī script (Krom 1923 II: 131).[139] The inscriptions on these separate plaques are identical in content. One plaque is now missing, but the other four are now in the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, the Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden, the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Cat. nos 200-203).

The fronts of the plaques, with Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his retinue, were made from one mould, which is why the images are identical. As the metal was poured into the mould, the top layer of the metal became the back piece. The inscription was done individually for each plaque while the metal was solidifying. This explains why the appearance of the text varies slightly from one another, but the content is the same. For this study, it suffices to describe one plaque, now in the Museum Volkenkunde (Cat. no. 200). It shows Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with a bell-shaped *jaṭāmukuṭa* with the Buddha Amitābha at the front. A halo is incised into the back piece and bands are seen flowing out from behind the head, just as in the stone image at Candi Jago. On either side of the Bodhisattva are his four attendants: Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Hayagrīva and Bhṛkuṭī. They are shown in more reduced size than Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, just as in the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara image to be discussed in Section 8.3. The four attendants look up in adoration to the Bodhisattva. The attributes and hand gestures of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara have remained intact. In his top right hand the Bodhisattva holds a rosary and in the hand below, a *pāśa*. The two lower right hands show the *abhaya-mudrā* and the *varada-mudrā*. On the left side from the top he holds a book, a staff, a lotus and a water bottle. A specific feature of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, the tiger skin around the hips, is missing from the bronze plaques but present in the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara.

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[139] Other scholars who have studied the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara plaques include Speyer 1904, De Casparis 1985, Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988 and Reichle 2007.

8.3 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images from other parts of Southeast Asia

An Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara maṇḍala found in Sumatra

The Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara of Candi Jago and his retinue of twelve figures was also recreated as one large stone image. It was likely carved in East Java and delivered to Sumatra (Cat. no. 205). This statue, with a height of 1.63 metres, is now on display at the Museum Nasional Indonesia in Jakarta. It initially consisted of the relief stone and a base. The base's inscription dates the original statue to 1286 CE, during the rule of Kṛtanagara (De Casparis 1985: 249). The base was separated from the image group when there was a rededication of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his retinue. As part of the rededication, the image received a new inscription on the back in 1347 CE by the Sumatran ruler. This was Adityavarman's first known inscription (De Casparis 1985: 246).

The transformation of a group with thirteen figures from Candi Jago into a single stone image illustrates the methodology used by the artist for adapting known imagery into a different form. We see quite a few similarities in the composition of the image if compared to Avalokiteśvara sculptures from India (de Mallmann 1948b: figs 3 and 5). There the companions are similarly seen in reduced size on either side of the central Amoghapāśa and the Buddha figures are depicted around the Bodhisattva's head.

As the Sumatran image no longer has its arms, it is impossible to tell whether the stone worker was iconographically faithful as well, but this seems likely. However, the artist maintained the dress-style, jewellery and belts. The companion figures placed in a reduced fashion alongside Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara were also done in a style similar to that from Candi Jago. The Hayagrīva figure has a similar *jaṭāmukuṭa* and attributes. The companions share two oval lotus bases, while Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara stands on a circular lotus base. Along the edges of the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara we see a comparable type of lotus depicted as at Candi Jago, supporting the dating of the composite statue to the same period.

Behind Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's head is a large halo with a pearl-decorated internal rim. Along the outside of the halo are s-shaped flames. On either side of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's head are bands similar to the ones on the free-standing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara from Candi Jago. We likewise see the same style of jewellery on the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. The Bodhisattva wears two necklaces and two armbands. There are also two *yajñopavītas*, one sash under the chest belt and a rope-style sacred thread that drapes across the chest belt. Just as in the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras, the image found in Sumatra has a tiger skin wrapped around his hips. It has the same style of tiger-head, which is depicted as facing the left leg. Thus far, there is no explanation as to why a few of the Central Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras wear the tiger skin (Cat. nos 195, 198), but it is a feature seen for standing Avalokiteśvaras in different iconographic forms.

There is a depiction of the seven jewels of the *cakravartin*, at the front of the lower part of the relief, consisting of a wheel, an elephant, a horse, a jewel, a queen, a minister and a general (Bénisti 1981: 71-72).[140] The combined appearance of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* with the jewels of the *cakravartin* is unique to this statue and not seen at Candi Jago or on the bronze plaques. In India, however, the combination of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with his retinue of four figures, along with the seven jewels of the *cakravartin*, was noted for the Khasarpaṇa Lokeśvara form instead (de Mallmann 1948b: 183).[141]

As was discussed above, one of the texts that refer to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, the *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra*, could also be used by a ruler who wished to become a *cakravartin* (Reis-Habito 1999: 49). While there is no evidence of this specific text reaching Java, it is possible that the ideas within it had spread, connecting Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with the universal monarch. During Kṛtanagara's rule there was a threat from Kublai Khan in China, and Kṛtanagara had even insulted the Chinese ruler's envoy, making Kṛtanagara's position perilous (De Casparis 1985: 248). The gift of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* was likely an attempt to strengthen the relationship between Java and Sumatra in the face of this outside threat (De Casparis 1985: 248). The Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* with the power of this deity at its centre, along with the seven jewels of the *cakravartin*, would have been a suitable gift when trying to strengthen an alliance.

Balinese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara

Another stone image, identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, was found on Bali. It has suffered some damage, particularly in the facial area and the hands (Cat. no. 206). The statue has a height of 79 cm in its present state and is currently at Pura Puseh in Kutri, central Bali.[142] On the back slab is an incised halo with a pearl rim, similar to the Group 2 bronzes discussed in Chapter 3.2. However, no bands flow out of the headpiece as seen at Candi Jago and with the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. Stylistically there does not appear to be a direct link with the two other Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras. A few of the statue's attributes can still be determined. The upper right hand holds an elephant hook, the next right hand holds a snake and the lowest right hand a rosary. The upper left hand holds a conch and the lowest hand a water vessel. In the front left hand, the Bodhisattva holds the stem of a lotus in full bloom, which can be seen just by the left shoulder. Stutterheim suggested that the snake represents a *nāgapāśa* (a noose constructed with a snake) (1929-30: fig. 30). Furthermore, he suggested the lower right hand had displayed the *varada-mudrā*.

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[140] "Selon la tradition indienne, le Cakravartin, 'le roi à la roue', le monarque universel, dispose – et cela caractérise -, de sept éléments et chacun d'entre eux dans la forme parfait: la roue (*cakra*), l'éléphant (*hasti, nāga*), cheval (*aśva*), le joyau (*maṇi*), la femme (*strī*), le maître de maison, l'intendant, le ministre (*gṛhapati*), le conducteur de char, le conducteur d'armée (*pariṇāyaka*)" (Bénisti 1981: 71-72).
[141] The jewels of the *cakravartin* are also depicted in a relief on Borobudur, (Krom and van Erp 1920-31: O 129), in which alongside the seated central figure are an elephant, a horse, a *cakra* and a jewel. The presence of the queen and a general is more difficult to determine in this relief, but the central figure is joined by two females on the dais, one of whom could well be the queen or a goddess.
[142] Stutterheim 1929-30: fig. 29, Reichle 2007: 111.

A sash is tied in a bow above the belt, whereas the Javanese bronzes tend to have the sashes tied below the belt when both are present. A similar type of bow tying the lower garment can be seen in the eight-armed standing Avalokiteśvara which was found in Mainland Southeast Asia (Cat. no. 223). Unlike the stone statue, the bronze statuette is not decorated with any jewellery, but has a tiger skin tied around his hips. Thus, there is a stylistic connection with a bronze from Mainland Southeast Asia as well as Northeast India.

The Balinese figure wears two sets of bracelets, one at the wrist and one at the middle of the lower arm. The armbands and the chest belt appear to have been made with the same decorative pattern, except that the central part of the chest belt points downwards whereas that of the armbands point upwards. Having two sets of bracelets is rare in Javanese stone Avalokiteśvara imagery, the exception being the statue at the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta (Cat. no. 188)

In order to identify the statue, which lacks the tell-tale sign of a small Buddha figure in the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, Stutterheim compared the image with the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago (1929-30: 129). He also connected the Balinese statue to the eleventh-century Balinese ruler, Dharmawangśa, and identified it as his possible portrait. However, the connection with Candi Jago, as well as the identification of Dharmawangśa have been questioned. Stutterheim identified Dharmawangśa as actually being the East Javanese ruler Airlangga under a different name, while Cœdès saw him as a governor in Airlangga's stead (1968: 145). Reichle remarked that the identification of the statue as a portrait was "highly speculative" and identified Dharmawangśa as the older brother of Airlangga, who came to rule East Java (2007: 110). Indeed, there is no direct evidence that the statue is a form of royal portrait. It may simply be an image of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, especially considering the presence of a noose, and not a combination of a royal personage and the Bodhisattva.

N. Reichle identified the stone image as being older than the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (2007: 110). Unfortunately, there are no other statues of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara nor is there an inscription from Bali to help date the image. Yet, comparing the iconographic features, specifically the conch and the snake, I would consider it possible for the image to pre-date 930 CE. The conch only occurs in two other bronze Avalokiteśvara statuettes, both of which can be dated to the Central Javanese period, based on style (Cat. nos 212 and 266). The first of these statuettes is an eight-armed Avalokiteśvara who holds a conch in his second upper left hand, while the Balinese figure holds the conch in his upper left hand. This bronze figure also has a halo with flames along the rim, a Northeast Indian stylistic feature. The second statuette is in Museum Volkenkunde, in Leiden. This figure only has four arms, but holds the conch in the upper left hand, and not the more common book. Both of these statuettes have a necklace, armbands and bracelets. Thus, they carry less jewellery than the Balinese statue.

Stylistically, the Balinese figure wears multiple bracelets, which could indicate a later date, especially in a direct comparison with Javanese art, after 850 CE. Yet, any comparison

with Javanese imagery can only give us a rough guideline for when the Balinese statue may have been produced. The dress of the Balinese figure also indicates an earlier date. The manner in which the belt and sashes are portrayed is similar in style to that in a bronze from Mainland Southeast Asia (Cat. no. 223). This bronze statuette does not have any jewellery, which could give it an earlier date. Thus, based on iconography, we could date the Balinese statue to the Central Javanese period. The style of the image combines early elements, as seen in the bronze from Mainland Southeast Asia, and later elements, such as multiple bracelets, connected with the late Central Javanese and early East Javanese period. Taking these various elements into consideration, I would date the statue to the late Central Javanese period (850-930 CE), or possibly earlier. I thereby agree with Reichle's comment that this statue is older than the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, but date it even earlier.

Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara bronzes from other parts of Insular Southeast Asia

We find a few bronze depictions of eight-armed Avalokiteśvaras from other parts of Insular Southeast Asia, specifically from the Thai-Malay Peninsula. Only one can be identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara due to the presence of a noose (Cat. no. 204). This statue was found in a tin mine in Perak, Malaysia (Diskul 1980: iii 11). On the right side of the statue we see a rosary in the upper hand and the lower hand displays the *varada-mudrā*. On the left side, we see a twisted rope in the Bodhisattva's upper left hand and the lowermost hand holds a water vessel. The front left hand carries a lotus. The attributes in the other hands are missing. This figure also wears a tiger skin around the hips, as seen in the Javanese standing bronzes and at Candi Jago. Due to the style of the jewellery, as well as the elegant physical form, it is likely that this statue was made in the Thai-Malay Peninsula and not in Java. However, there is a striking similarity in the style of the tiger skin between this statue and a golden Avalokiteśvara from Sumatra (Cat. no. 34). This stylistic similarity is limited to the tiger skin; other elements such as jewellery are in a different style. Unfortunately, it is only one of the few remnants of Buddhism that have survived in Malaysia.

Several other eight-armed Avalokiteśvara statuettes have been identified in the rest of Insular Southeast Asia (Cat. nos 219-225). These do not show the *pāśa* as one of the attributes, not necessarily due to an iconographic choice, but rather through damage and wear. Yet, if we consider other attributes such as a tiger skin, a deer skin over the shoulder, a water vessel and a *tridaṇḍa*, to be common for Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, then we may identify one of these as yet another Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statuette. It concerns the same bronze that was compared to the Balinese stone statue above (Cat. no. 223). This figure does not wear any jewellery, but has a tiger skin wrapped around its hips. It was found in Northeast Thailand and likely has an early date (600-800 CE) as it has stylistic similarities with statuettes discussed in Chapter 2 (Cat. nos 15, 17 and 19).

Apparently the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statuettes originating from other parts of Insular Southeast Asia had a relatively fluid iconography in regard to which hand held which attribute. The placement of certain attributes changes from image to image and a standardisation of the iconography had not yet occurred locally. This could indicate that there were different texts describing the Bodhisattva's iconography available to local artists

during the Central Javanese period or that the texts were written at a later date based on the iconography that had already developed. Clearly, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was an independent deity, depicted without retinue, in Java during the Central Javanese period.

8.4 A comparison with images from South Asia and East Asia

Scholars have theorised that Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara must have originated in India as the texts referring to Amoghapāśa were translated into Chinese in the sixth century CE (de Mallmann 1948b: 176 –188). Yet, the number of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images in India is limited, although stone statues of the Bodhisattva have been found in Bihar and Odisha. J. Leoshko studied the iconographic development of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in the Pāla period in India (1985). She hypothesised that the worship of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was centred around Kurkihar in Bihar, due to the number of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statues that have been found in the area (Leoshko 1985: 132). These statues have six arms, carry a water-vessel, a lotus, a book, a rosary, a three-pronged staff and display the *varada-mudrā* (Leoshko 1985: 129). These stone images are dated to the ninth and tenth centuries CE (Leoshko 1985: 130). Other Amoghapāśa statues from the Nalanda area have twelve-arms rather than six arms and are dated to the tenth century CE (Leoshko 1985: 132, figs. 53-54). Thus, these Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images, like the Central Javanese bronze images, pre-date texts with iconographic information such as the *Sādhanamālā* or the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, but the postdate the Central Javanese images.

At least seven depictions of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, or rather Avalokiteśvara images identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara on the basis of a *pāśa*, have been found at the Ratnagiri complex in Odisha (Hock 1987: 72). They all have four arms and show four attributes, as well as one *mudrā*. The attributes are the noose, water vessel, lotus and rosary along with the *varada-mudrā*, yet this form is not described in any iconographical text (Hock 1987: 72, Pl. 8B). One of these Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras happens to be one of the largest excavated images at the site. It has been dated to the eighth century CE, which partly coincides with the early Central Javanese period (Hock 1987: 64). However, the Javanese statuettes have eight arms. They carry the same attributes with the addition of the three-pronged staff and the book, and they display a second gesture: the *abhaya-mudrā*.

As has been noted earlier, there are no eight-armed Amoghapāśas from India contemporary to the Central Javanese period. It is much later, closer to the production of the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara that there are textual descriptions of an eight-armed form of Amoghapāśa from India (Schoterman 1994:158). The materials we have therefore suggest that the eight-armed form of the Bodhisattva did not develop in India but elsewhere, possibly in Java or the Thai-Malay Peninsula.

Reichle made the argument that there was continuity in the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara iconography in Java, from the Central Javanese period until the construction of Candi Jago (2007: 108). However, as we have no Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara imagery from Java from 930 CE until the end of the thirteenth century CE this may be a simplification. Schoterman's identification of the text that inspired the production of the Amoghapāśa

maṇḍala at Candi Jago appears to be correct. It is possible that the iconography of giving eight arms to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago was based on the iconographic information in Śākyaśrībhadra's text and not by the previous Central Javanese iconography, considering the lack of evidence of any Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images being produced over approximately 300 years. Yet, it remains possible that the iconographic knowledge remained in Java despite images no longer being produced.

One of the earliest depictions of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in China is found in the Mogao Cave, number 148, dated to 776, alongside a Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara image (Wong 2007: 152-153). In the eight arms the top right hand holds a rectangular object, possibly a manuscript, the hand below a rope and the lowermost right hand rests on the knee. The frontal right and left hands each hold a lotus stem. On the left-hand side, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara holds a vessel in the upper left hand, fire in his middle hand and the lowermost hand carries a type of vessel. The images in the Mogao caves show the Bodhisattva Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with four, six or eight arms (Pl. 8C). In Japan, the earliest Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statue has eight arms and is considered to date from 748 CE. In this image, the rope is held in one of the left hands (Pl. 8D, Wong 2007: 153). These early depictions would correspond in time with the bronze Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statuettes from Central Java. The iconographic similarities between Java and Japan for Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images are limited to a lotus and a rope held in one of the left hands, as well as the number of hands – eight.

In China, the texts describing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara likewise contain descriptions of another four manifestations of Avalokiteśvara, namely the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara, the Thousand-handed and Thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara and Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara, all of which are linked to *dhāraṇī*s (Yü 2001: 50). Considering how closely Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was connected to other forms of Avalokiteśvara in the texts, it is remarkable that we do not find these depicted in Insular Southeast Asia, except for one image of Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara that was discussed in Chapter 4.4.[143]

Considering that we see a production of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images during the eighth century CE, which spans across India, China, Japan and Southeast Asia, there would logically be a connection between these images or why they were produced. It may simply be that the Amoghapāśa *dhāraṇī* was considered extremely auspicious, which led to iconic images being made. The soteriology of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, with his capacity of purifying *karma*, may have appealed to the Javanese people. However, allowing for that the other *dhāraṇī*s could be considered just as powerful, it is strange that only one inspired an image production in Java.

While the Indian depictions of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara have four, six or twelve arms, he is shown in China with eight arms (at times four arms), and in Japan with eight arms. This suggests there could have been an iconographic link between Japan, China and Java in terms of the number of arms. However, as in the case if the Chinese images, the Japanese

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[143] A number of Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvaras were produced during the Khmer period in Cambodia.

Amoghapāśa images show different attributes and hand gestures, for instance the two frontal ones usually meet in *añjali-mudrā* (Pl. 8D). Thus, the origin of the Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara iconography is uncertain, with its eight arms and the tiger skin, a combination only found in Mainland Southeast Asia, outside of Insular Southeast Asia.

I suggest that there are further statuettes from the Central Javanese period that could be identified as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. Unfortunately, due to wear and damage the noose cannot be determined, but the statuettes carry other features such as the tiger skin. These statuettes have six or twelve arms, just as the stone images of Amoghapāśa from the Kurkihar region and Nalanda (Cat. nos 213, 215 and 218). Considering the cultural relationship between Bihar and Java it would be logical that this form was also known in Java. It appears that the iconographic variety of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara during the Central Javanese period can be attributed to the popularity of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in large areas of Asia at the time, along with Java's cultural openness to the outside world.

The surviving metal statuettes clearly show a Central Javanese style and not an East Javanese style with its typical elongated limbs and increased decoration. This suggests a pause in the production of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images that may have lasted from the end of the Central Javanese period until the carving of the statue at Candi Jago, from approximately the first half of the tenth century until the second half of the thirteenth century.

Surprisingly, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's iconography did not change. It continued to prescribe the tiger skin, eight arms (specific to Insular Southeast Asia), and of course the noose. This means that the knowledge of the iconography remained intact, despite the lack of image production. Bernet Kempers theorised that the production of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago was the result of South Asian inspiration (1933: 174, 176). However, the iconography available for Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in South Asia does not appear to have had an impact on the Candi Jago statue. Yet, the building of Candi Jago, with its focus on Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his retinue, may have been affected by events in South Asia, as we shall see below.

8.5 The tiger skin and Avalokiteśvara iconography

One of the features we can use to identify Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara among images from Insular Southeast Asia is the tiger skin. However, this iconographic feature is not limited to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, but can be found in many other, standing Avalokiteśvara statuettes from all over Insular Southeast Asia. Although, it cannot be used on its own to identify Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, the presence of the rope remains essential. With a short note in the *Federation Museums Journal* (1964), A. Lamb was the first scholar to address the iconography of a tiger skin for Avalokiteśvara in Southeast Asia. He was aware of images found in Thai-Malay Peninsula, on the west coast of Sumatra and on Borneo, but he had not seen any such images from Central Java (Lamb 1964: 89-90). Based on this he identified the tiger skin as originating from the "political unit comprehended by the term Srivijaya" (Lamb 1964: 90).

While the tiger skin is not worn by Avalokiteśvara images in India or China, it is a common feature for Śiva and the Hindu goddess Cāmuṇḍā in Indian imagery. N. Chutiwongs was the first to draw attention to Avalokiteśvara images in Sri Lanka also wearing the tiger skin (1986: 70). She raised the possibility that the use of the tiger skin originated from the Krishna river valley in India (1986: 71-72). It was in this region that a metal Avalokiteśvara was found that has a similar *yajñopavīta* as the Sri Lankan bronzes where the *yajñopavīta* continued into a hip-wrap with tiger details (Chutiwongs: 1986: 71). Unfortunately, the lower part of this Indian image is missing, thus we have no evidence of the tiger skin being present. However, Chutiwongs compared this image with one found in Thailand, where part of the lower body has remained intact (1986: 71). The Thai hip-wrap has a hatched pattern "with dots and stripes, simulating the marks upon tiger skins" (Chutiwongs 1986: 72). Due to the damage this image has suffered, it is difficult to say with certainty that the figure wore a tiger skin. Thus, we still do not have an Indian example of Avalokiteśvara with a tiger skin. Because of the early standing Avalokiteśvaras from Insular Southeast Asia wearing a tiger skin pre-dating the bronze Avalokiteśvaras found in Sri Lanka, I consider it likely that the tiger skin for Avalokiteśvara originated from Insular Southeast Asia.

A few of Avalokiteśvara's other iconographic features, such as the antelope skin over his left shoulder as well as the ascetic hairdo, are all other features of Śiva who is also at times depicted as an ascetic. These two iconographic features, along with the tiger skin, are demonstrated in the early Avalokiteśvara statuettes from Insular Southeast Asia that were discussed in Chapter 2. The connection between Śiva and Avalokiteśvara has been studied by a number of scholars, such as Shuhaimi (1977), Chandra (1984) and Studholme (2002).

Considering that images of Avalokiteśvara wearing a tiger skin appear to be confined to Insular Southeast Asia and Sri Lanka, it is interesting that this feature is found in Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's iconography in the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana*. It is the earliest known mention of this feature for Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and dates to the 1200s. Yet, we have several Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara statuettes from Insular Southeast Asia with a tiger skin that pre-date this text. Perhaps the tiger skin was added to Avalokiteśvara's iconography in either Insular Southeast Asia or Sri Lanka and this iconography eventually filtered through to the Indian texts describing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara as wearing the tiger skin. N.H. Shuhaimi noted that this could be because the scholar Atīśa, who later contributed to the development of Buddhism in Tibet, studied in Śrīvijaya in the early eleventh century (1977: 25). In this scenario, texts referencing Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara may have travelled from either India or China to affect local Buddhism in Java, while in Sri Lanka, Java or other parts of Insular Southeast Asia, an iconography developed that eventually had an impact on the Amoghapāśa texts and art outside this region.

N.H. Shuhaimi noted that the presence of the tiger skin alone could confirm the identity of Avalokiteśvara as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara (1977: 24). However, we have Avalokiteśvara statuettes in which he carries a rope, but does not wear a tiger skin (Cat. nos 52, 84, 197 and 200-204). There are also several standing Avalokiteśvaras with two to twelve arms

that wear a tiger skin but do not carry a rope.[144] The Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara clearly has a tiger skin around his hips, as does the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, but it is not present in the bronze plaques. Unfortunately, these are the only images of Avalokiteśvara from this time period, making it difficult to draw any firm conclusions why the bronze Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras lack the tiger skin. I suggest that the omission of the tiger skin for the bronze plaques was intentional. Other elements, such as the fall of the *yajñopavīta*, the floating bands behind the *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the style of the halo behind the head and the tassels on the upper legs indicate that the choice not to include the tiger skin was indeed deliberate. Yet, with the sashes crossing the thighs it would have been difficult to discern any tiger skin, even though the text that inspired the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* clearly stated that the Bodhisattva wore a tiger skin.

8.6 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara's royal connection

Candi Jago is the only Javanese temple where a form of Avalokiteśvara stands as its focus. The use of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in this context has been interpreted by various scholars as an attempt to deify Kṛtanagara's father, Viṣṇuvardhana.[145] The temple is mentioned in two Javanese texts, the *Deśavarṇana* and the *Pararaton*, in which it is described as the shrine for Viṣṇuvardhana.

> …Lord Wiṣṇu returned to heaven, having died. He was enshrined at Waleri as a Śaiwa image and a Buddhist on at Jajaghu (*Deśavarṇana* (*Nāgarakṛtāgama*), canto 41, Prapañca 1995).[146]
> King Raṅga-wuni ruled the kingdom for 14 years. He died in 1194 (1272 A.D.). He was enshrined at Jajagu (*Pararaton*, Phalgunadi 1996: 97).[147]

Reichle examined the idea of deification, considering the views of scholars who have referenced the god-king cult in Southeast Asia, such as Ian Mabbett who argued that references to a god-king should be interpreted figuratively rather than literally (1969: 223).[148] Reichle linked the idea of deification to the two Javanese texts that mention Candi Jago, the *Pararaton* and the *Deśavarṇana*, especially the latter text, in which Viṣṇuvardhana is described as being enshrined as a Buddhist image. Reichle concluded

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[144] Cat. nos 215-216, 218, 220-223, 226, 236, 257 and 263.

[145] O'Brien 1988: 1, Kinney, Klokke and Kieven 2003: 98, O'Brien 2016: 278.

[146] This text describes the Majapahit kingdom and is a *kakawin* (narrative poem).

[147] This text tells the mythical history of Ken Arok, the founder of the Singhasari kingdom, as well as the other kings of Singhasari and Majapahit.

[148] "Thus, for example, in a verse where, by trick of ambivalence, the sun-god stands for his namesake Udayādityavarman, what is said about the god must be taken as a statement about the man – that he is great and good. That Udayādityavarman is equivalent to the god is not the statement that the verse exists to make, it is a fact that makes the statement, in its actual form possible" (Mabbett 1969: 221-222).

that no literary evidence shows that a living king or queen could be considered a deity, but that they could be united with a god after death (2007: 117).

While the Javanese texts, the *Pararaton* and the *Deśavarṇana*, speak of deification of kings and queens, they were not contemporary with the production of the East Javanese images of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, but date to at least half a century or more afterwards. While these textual excerpts may describe a local cultural interpretation at the time of their writing, there is no evidence that at the time of Candi Jago's construction the temple functioned in the cult of a deceased royal ancestor, the King Viṣṇuvardhana, Kṛtanagara's father. The inscriptions contemporary to Candi Jago, such as the first inscription on the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara stone statue and on the bronze plaques, do not mention this idea of deification. Instead the bronze plaques include a *ye dharma* inscription, as well as a reference to the traditional gift of merit in terms that are common in the Buddhist world (Krom 1923: 131).

The choice of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara as the focus of a temple might have been related to his role as a saviour of souls, suitable if someone had died. However, it appears more likely that this choice was affected by the presence of the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* to East Java. It is clear that the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* from Candi Jago is remarkably similar to the *maṇḍala* described by Śākyaśrībhadra. We know from this text that Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his twelve attendants are associated with cleansing from both mental and moral defilements (Meisezahl 1967: 478). Such a cleansing could be considered beneficial when taking over the role of king from his father and allowing Kṛtanagara to start afresh with karmic blessings.

> It follows the meditation on the four "infinitudes" (*apramãṇa*),
> and intoning the Mantra… the Yogin realizes in his mind that
> all Dharmas are pure by nature and he too is pure by nature
> (*Amoghapāśa-sādhana*, Meisezahl 1967: 478).

Kṛtanagara may also have desired to create a form of memorial for his father and chose the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* and Candi Jago as a way to highlight his, and his father's, right to rule. While there is no reference to the *cakravartin* in the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana*, the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* was combined with the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* on the stone image of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* for Sumatra. An earlier text, *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra* (a version of the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra*), describes how a ruler can become a *cakravartin* by mastering the *Amoghapāśa dhāraṇī* (Reis-Habito 1999: 49). There is no evidence of the iconography described in this text being incorporated into Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images produced in Java. However, the combination of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* with the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* for one image indicates that this latter element was known in Java during the late thirteenth century CE.

The stone statue of the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* (Cat. no. 205) was given to the people of Sumatra and included an inscription on the base giving the date 1286

(De Casparis 1985: 246). De Casparis has explained the gift of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* to the Sumatran king as a way of commemorating the bond between East Java and Sumatra, as was noted above (1985: 246). The inscription is written in Malay and Reichle interprets it as being "an effort to aid a larger Sumatran community to gain enlightenment, but also to tell that audience who exactly is helping them along that path" (2007: 127).

Kṛtanagara's inscription (Reichle 2007: figs 4.27-4.28), was later removed in Ādityavarman's reconsecration of the statue in 1347 CE and a new inscription was added to the back of the statue.[149] In this inscription he asserted his legitimacy by using the term *mahārājādhirāja*, previously used by Javanese rulers (De Casparis 1985: 246). The reconsecration of an image is one way to assume any political power that the image may hold. Through this ritual, and by adding a new inscription in which he is referred to with exalted titles, Ādityavarman distanced himself from other kings (De Casparis 1985: 246). Thus, this image of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was used twice by two separate rulers: to strengthen the bond between Java and Sumatra in times of peril and show who was the true *cakravartin*, and once more to claim this position at another time by another ruler.

8.7 Conclusion

We find the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara form of Avalokiteśvara in Java during the Central Javanese period, specifically in the ninth century CE, and again several centuries later during the East Javanese Singhasari period. Several eight-armed Central Javanese statuettes can be identified as depicting Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara due to the noose held in one of the hands. At the same time as in the Central Javanese period, the eight-armed form of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was used in both China and Japan. No depictions of this form have been found in India from the same time period. Instead, in Bihar, Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was depicted with either six or twelve arms and in Odisha with four arms. In Java, we also find a number of Avalokiteśvara statuettes with either six or twelve arms and I suggest that these may have depicted Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, even though the noose can no longer be determined as an attribute. This would show that there was more than one type of iconographic form known in Central Java for Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. However, the eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was either developed locally in Insular Southeast Asia, or elsewhere outside of India.

Based on an examination of the available Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images from all of Insular Southeast Asia, the attributes that can aid in his identification include a *pāśa*, a water vessel, a *tridaṇḍa* and a tiger skin garment. Based on this information it is likely that the statuettes in Cat. nos 213 (possible rope in upper right hand), 215 (tiger skin), 216 (tiger skin) and 218 (tiger skin) are other iconographic forms of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, inspired by the iconography in Bihar (Tables 27 and 28). This demonstrates that there was a fluidity in the iconography used to depict Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. There was no fixed

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[149] Kinney, Klokke and Kieven 2003: 124, Reichle 2007: 127, Kozok and van Reijn 2010: 136.

placement of the attributes in Javanese art for the identification of an image as Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. Thus, the noose appears in different hands and not every statuette is given a tiger skin (Cat. nos 196 and 197).

The metal statuettes show that the concept of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was present during the Central Javanese period, at a time when this iconographic form also became popular in China and Japan. This may have been due to the spread of the powerful *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. After the Central Javanese period, a pause in production of Avalokiteśvara images occurred and it was not until the state-sponsored construction of Candi Jago that Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images were once again produced. Interestingly, the iconography of earlier statuettes persisted in the stone statue at Candi Jago, indicating that the familiarity of the iconography for Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara remained within the local knowledge. Among the evidence for this theory is the use of the tiger skin for the Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara. The tiger skin was an Insular Southeast Asian iconographic development, which eventually reached India and Tibet, where it was included in the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* by Śākyaśrībhadra.

It has been hypothesised that the construction of Candi Jago was an attempt to deify Kṛtanagara's father, yet, there are no inscriptions dated to around the construction of the temple that would indicate this purpose. The Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* inspired further images for merit: the bronze plaques and the Sumatran Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara with the seven jewels of the *cakravartin*. The Sumatran stone image was later reconsecrated by Ādityavarman in an attempt to assume the political capital inherent in the image commissioned by Kṛtanagara. These East Javanese Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in both stone and bronze were the final known Avalokiteśvara images from the Hindu-Buddhist period in Java. By this time the Bodhisattva had evolved from a popular religious figure among the people to having royal patronage under Kṛtanagara. The Candi Jago Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* clearly had a political connotation. It seems to have been a part of Kṛtanagara's claim to world rulership in the face of Kublai Khan while making it clear to Sumatra who was the true world ruler.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

Avalokiteśvara had a unique place in Buddhist worship in Java. The surviving images of the Bodhisattva show that he was a popular Buddhist figure, in particular during the Central Javanese period (c. 750-930 CE). As the power centre shifted to East Java in the early tenth century, we see a strong drop in the number of Avalokiteśvara depictions in stone or metal and no more images can be dated with certainty to the eleventh and twelfth century CE. The few bronze statuettes that may be dated up until 1100 CE, have quite a broad dating of approximately 900-1100 CE (Cat. nos 82-83, 106, 109, 111). It is not until the end of the thirteenth century CE that a new, but limited, production began with the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* at Candi Jago and its associated images.

While we have plentiful Avalokiteśvara images as material evidence of ritual worship dedicated to him in Javanese society, there remain few inscriptions and Buddhist texts mentioning the Bodhisattva from Java. The dearth of these sources, as well as the general lack of understanding of the worship of Avalokiteśvara in Java led to the first aim of the thesis: to create a comprehensive corpus of Avalokiteśvara images. Therefore, as many images of Avalokiteśvara as possible were collected and made available. They have been documented in the catalogue, forming an appendix to this thesis. Apart from stone relief images on Borobudur and Candi Mendut, as well as three-dimensional stone statues at Candi Mendut, the Plaosan Lor complex, and Candi Jago, I have also included metal-cast images that were once found in Java, but entered museums and private collections in Indonesia, Europe and the United States.

The second aim of this thesis was to discuss these images art historically in meaningful iconographic groups, in order to gain more insight into the popularity of certain iconographic forms of Avalokiteśvara in Java as well as into the connections between Java and the rest of the Buddhist world. When confronted with the iconographic richness of the imagery, I decided to group the stone and metal images differently. Since the stone images all formed part of religious building projects and most of them are still *in situ*, I took advantage of this circumstance and discussed them within the context of these buildings and their associated stone or metal images.

These buildings are:
- Borobudur, with two-, four- and six-armed standing and seated Avalokiteśvara in narrative reliefs (Chapter 5, Cat. nos 120-131).
- Candi Mendut, with a two-armed *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara as an attendant in a triad, a four-armed standing Avalokiteśvara at the centre of a triad and a two-armed standing Avalokiteśvara as part of the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva (Chapter 7, Cat. nos 181-183).

- The two main temples of Candi Plaosan Lor, each with a two-armed *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara as an attendant in a triad (Chapter 7, Cat. nos 184-194).
- Candi Jago with the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* (Chapter 8, Cat. nos 199-203, 205).

Unlike the stone images, most of the metal images were found as single statuettes that had lost their original context. These were grouped according to their iconographic forms.

- Among the images from Java, I discussed two standing forms: an ascetic form with two arms (Chapter 2, Cat. no. 1); and a six- to twelve-armed form (Chapter 8, Cat. nos 195-198, 207-218) that provides a link with the later Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara images connected with Candi Jago and described in the same chapter.
- Furthermore, I considered three types of seated images: one in *lalitāsana* with two to eight arms (Chapter 3, Cat. nos 40-84); the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara supporting his head with one hand, most often in *mahārājalīlāsana* and with two to six arms (Chapter 4, Cat. nos 85-115); and a uniquely Javanese form in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* with two or four arms (Chapter 6, Cat. nos 132-180).
- A further two groups, a standing princely form with two or four arms (Cat. nos 225-266) and a form seated in *padmāsana* with two or four arms (Cat. nos 279-282) are presented in the catalogue, but not explicitly discussed in the text. They are referenced in Chapter 5 in relationship with the Borobudur reliefs.

Thirdly, it was my aim to understand when and how an iconographic form came into being in Java, and how long it persisted. With this in mind, I tried to date iconographic forms based on stylistic variations within each iconographic group and by making comparisons with other Asian art traditions.

In this final chapter, I intend to pull information from the various chapters together, in order to get a deeper insight into the development of Avalokiteśvara imagery and what this can tell us about the cult of Avalokiteśvara during the Hindu-Buddhist period in Java.

9.2 Avalokiteśvara's popularity in Java

The sheer number of metal Avalokiteśvara images warrants some comments. In Java, more than a thousand bronzes of all kinds of Hindu and Buddhist figures have been found, which sets Java apart from the rest of Southeast Asia. No other area in this region of Asia can boast such a large number of surviving metal statuettes manufactured in such an early period, i.e. mostly before the start of the second millennium. Within this early Javanese metal production, Avalokiteśvara seems to have been one of the most popular figures. No other Bodhisattva was as frequently produced in bronze, and even bronze statuettes of the Buddha Śākyamuni and the Buddha Vairocana do not seem to have been as numerous.

The Catalogue

This catalogue includes 283 Avalokiteśvara images and a further 14 in the addendum. Of these, 189 are metal statuettes, 27 are stone images and one is a clay tablet from Java. Possibly, a further 18 metal statuettes come from Java, which would make a total of at least 235 Javanese images of Avalokiteśvara, of which 207 in metal. The metal statuettes were primarily made in bronze, but a few are in silver and gold.

Apart from the Javanese images, I have also included Avalokiteśvaras from Sumatra (16 bronzes and 3 in stone), Bali (1 clay tablet and one possible Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in stone), Borneo (6 in metal), Sulawesi (1 bronze eight-armed Avalokiteśvara), Thai-Malay Peninsula (15 bronzes and 3 stone images) and a few from Thailand (5 bronzes and 5 clay tablets), Myanmar (1 clay tablet) and Cambodia (2 bronzes and one stone images) as reference material. There are also a further three bronzes that have been broadly ascribed to Insular Southeast Asia (Cat. nos 32, 226 and 276), but may originate from Thailand.

The profuse production of metal Avalokiteśvara during the Central Javanese period is illustrated by the fact that out of 207 statuettes, I suggest that 133 date to the period 750-900. Of these, 24 are *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras, 21 sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras, 12 Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras or six/eight-armed standing Avalokiteśvaras, 36 two/four-armed standing Avalokiteśvaras (not ascetic), and 40 *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras. A further 20 metal statuettes can be dated to 700-800 CE and only 12 bronzes have a date range into the East Javanese period, including the bronze plaques of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala*.

Avalokiteśvara's place at Borobudur

The popularity of Avalokiteśvara in Central Java even filters through at Borobudur, a monument focusing on the Buddha and his manifestation as Vairocana. There the sculptors highlighted Avalokiteśvara whenever possible, even though he was not the main figure. They depicted Avalokiteśvara in three reliefs in the second round of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* relief series, where one would have sufficed. In the *Bhadracarī* reliefs, Avalokiteśvara is shown at least seven times, even though he is not mentioned in the text. This suggests two things: first, that the sculptors, or those who instructed them, were familiar with Avalokiteśvara and secondly, that he appealed to them more than any other *bodhisattva*.

Southeast and South Asia

To highlight the uniqueness of the large number of 207 surviving images of Avalokiteśvara in metal from Java, primarily Central Java, we may look at neighbouring Sumatra, where only 19 images of Avalokiteśvara in total have been found. These also date over a wider range of time than the majority of the Javanese images. In Mainland Southeast Asia, Nandana Chutiwongs found 109 images of Avalokiteśvara in metal and stone, as well as a number of votive tablets in which the Bodhisattva cannot be identified with certainty (1984). However, her corpus included Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam,

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whereas Central Java is a much smaller geographical area. Chutiwongs' dating of the Avalokiteśvara images is also broader.

As discussed in Chapter 3, many Avalokiteśvara bronzes were produced in Northeast India and Bangladesh. However, this occurred over a longer period of time than 150 years and within a larger area than Central Java. Despite the evidence for the production of many images, there appears to have been a difference in Avalokiteśvara's popularity when compared with Central Java. One particular archaeological find appears to illustrate this, by way of an example, viz., the bronze hoard found at Nalanda, first extensively discussed by A.J. Bernet Kempers (1933b). The hoard, of over 200 metal objects, shows a great variety of figures, with Buddhas, *bodhisattva*s and various female deities, but Bernet Kempers only identified ten bronze statuettes of Avalokiteśvara (1933b: 9, 27-29). This limited percentage of c. five percent of Avalokiteśvaras in the hoard, indicates that the Bodhisattva was not as popular in metal imagery in Nalanda at the time that the hoard was buried, as he was in Central Java. Similar results are seen from an overview of the available Pāla bronzes from the Huntington Archive or the Kurkihar hoard of 150 images (Huntington 1984: 141). Thus, the large number of surviving images in bronze of Avalokiteśvara, from before 1000 CE, manufactured over a period of 150 years in a limited area, makes Central Java unique in the Buddhist world of South and Southeast Asia. It should be noted that this is particularly true for metal images and not stone. Stone statues and reliefs of Avalokiteśvara are found in Bangladesh, Bihar and Odisha, as well as in other parts of India.

9.3 Iconographic and stylistic variation

Java not only stands out for its large number of relatively early surviving images of Avalokiteśvara in metal, but also because of the great degree of iconographic and stylistic variety among these images. I did not come across a similar diversity in any other region, either in Southeast Asia or in Northeast India. Not only are there various iconographic groups, there are even further variations within these groups. These include iconographic features such as the number of hands, the hand gestures they form and the attributes they hold (Tables 1-14, 16-33), the amount and style of the jewellery and the styles of hair, garments, *yajñopavīta*s, back pieces, halos, parasols and pedestals.

The example of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara

The sorrowful Avalokiteśvara images (Chapter 4) show him seated in either *mahārājalīlāsana* or in *lalitāsana*; he can have two or four arms and lean his head to either the left or the right. The back piece may have various forms, such as a solid round shape (Cat. nos 85, 90), a solid petal shape (Cat. nos 96-98, 103, 112), a solid rectangular shape (Cat. nos 99), a solid square topped by a circular halo behind the head (Cat. nos 101-102, 111), an open worked round shape (Cat. no. 104) or an open worked pear shape (Cat. no. 110).

These back pieces are decorated with a variety of rims, for example: flames at regular intervals (Cat. nos 90), densely placed flames (Cat. no. 113), simple leaf-like forms (Cat. nos 96-98) and more dense foliage (Cat. no. 111). The figure may be seated on a round or oval lotus seat (Cat. nos 85, 87-88, 91- 93, 108) or on a lotus seat placed on a rectangular moulded pedestal (e.g. Cat. no. 90). The rectangular pedestal may have openings (Cat. nos 95, 104-105, 110) or be decorated with lions (Cat. no. 98).

The figure's garment may be plain or decorated with double lines (Cat. no. 90), rows of dots between double lines (Cat. no. 86), circular dot patterns between lines of dots (Cat. no. 94) or a circular dot pattern (Cat. nos 95, 98-99, 104-105). The *cintāmaṇi* may be held in the palm of the hand displaying the *varada-mudrā* (Cat. nos 87, 94, 101, 115), in front of the body (Cat. nos 88, 91-93, 95-100, 104, 107-108, 112-113) or resting in the palm of a hand in the figure's lap (Cat. nos 102-103, 105-106, 109-111). A few of the figures wear chest-belts (Cat. nos 87, 106, 108, 111), but most of them do not.

The example of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara

Similar kinds of variations are seen among the other iconographic groups. One such remarkable example concerns the images of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, showing the figure seated in *lalitāsana* (Cat. no. 52) or standing (Cat. nos 195-203). Among the bronze statuettes of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara, there appears to have been flexibility in the placement of attributes and gestures. For instance, no specific hand held the rope (*pāśa*) that helps identify this form of Avalokiteśvara. We encounter the rope in the second lowest right hand (Cat. no. 195) or in the middle left hand (Cat. no. 196). The rope itself also takes on different shapes, such as a braided rope (Cat. nos 195, 197-198) or a noose twisted into the shape of an eight (Cat. no. 196). Other attributes such as the water vessel, lotus or three-pronged staff are also shown in different hands.

Iconographic variations between stone and metal Avalokiteśvaras

A major difference between the metal and stone images is that the group with metal works of art has yielded mostly solitary images, while the stone images occur in groups. At Candi Mendut, Avalokiteśvara is depicted in three separate groups: a triad inside the temple where he sits in *lalitāsana* as an attendant of the Buddha in a triad; the group of eight *bodhisattva*s (Aṣṭamahābodhisattva) on the outside of the temple; and a triad on the rear side of Candi Mendut, in which Avalokiteśvara stands as the central deity and is flanked by two sitting female figures.

At the Plaosan Lor complex, he is once again depicted as part of a triad, but now there are three triads in separate cellas with different pairs of *bodhisattva*s who once flanked a central Buddha image (Chapter 7). I suggested that these three cellas represent the Buddha's existence outside our linear time. While the Buddhist worshipper can only exist in the present as part of time ever moving forwards, the Buddha can exist in the past, present and future simultaneously.

There are exceptions in both stone and metal. In the four stone reliefs depicting part of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* at Borobudur, where Avalokiteśvara teaches the pilgrim Sudhana, he is depicted as a solitary figure. There are also a few metal images that show Avalokiteśvara in a group. Thus, he is seen as an attendant to the Buddha in a number of bronze triads (Cat. nos 47, 67, 83, 144, 145, 151, 173, 245). Three metal triads also show Avalokiteśvara as the central figure between two seated female deities. Two of these were made in bronze (Cat. nos 261 and 278), while the third is in silver (Cat. no. 228). One of these statuettes is from Java, whereas the second image originated from Sumatra; it carries a date equivalent to 1039 CE. In two dyads Avalokiteśvara is joined by Vasudhārā (Cat. nos 139 and 168), a combination that is not found outside of Java in Southeast Asia. Such forms add to the iconographic variety that characterises the bronze imagery from Java.

We must keep in mind that a number of Avalokiteśvara bronzes that survived singly could once have been used in a group context together with other statuettes, such as those of the Buddha or Vajrapāṇi. For instance, one of the small shrines around Candi Sewu shows tripartite niches for smaller figures, which could have been used to display bronze images in triads (Pl. 3I). But the sheer volume of Avalokiteśvara statuettes, compared with those of other Buddhist figures in bronze, leads us to conclude that groups were likely limited in number. Thus, the majority of Avalokiteśvaras in metal should be considered as complete in their own right, together displaying a unique iconographic variety.

Iconographic variation in Java compared to Southeast Asia

Iconographic variation appears to have been the maxim among Javanese bronze casters, with the surviving bronze statuettes standing as a testament to it. A similar degree of iconographic diversity did not develop in other regions of Southeast Asia. Outside of Java, the seated poses such as *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*, *mahārājalīlāsana* or *lalitāsana* are not used for Avalokiteśvara imagery. Thus, we do not see examples of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara or the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras, which was so popular between 825-850 CE in Java. Once the ascetic Avalokiteśvara had entered Southeast Asia, it remained the most popular form of representation in Mainland Southeast Asia. There is one notable exception, the so-called Radiant Avalokiteśvara who became popular in Khmer art of the late twelfth to early thirteenth century CE (Chutiwongs 1984: Pls 151-153). While it is difficult to understand why there is such a difference in iconographic choices for Avalokiteśvara between Java and the rest of Southeast Asia, I do consider it evidence of Avalokiteśvara's unique popularity in Java and Java's openness to the outside world. It seems that the bronze casters were well aware of the various iconographic possibilities to represent the Bodhisattva. Apparently, they drew on whatever sources were available to them, from different regions in Southeast Asia, India, Bangladesh and China. Most of this iconography appears to have been in place in Central Java by 800 CE. Eventually, Avalokiteśvara's popularity also led to local developments of iconography.

Previous scholars have not found a strong relationship between the stone and metal imagery from the Central Javanese period. Yet, we sometimes see a cross-over from one medium

to the other, as for instance in the triads discussed in Chapter 7. The metal triads with either the Buddha or Avalokiteśvara as the focus show iconographic and stylistic similarities with the stone triads at Candi Mendut (Cat. nos 181-182) and the Plaosan Lor complex (Cat. nos 184-185). Further examples include solitary bronze statuettes, such as the bronze Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana* on a royal throne (Cat. no. 66) which can be compared to the stone *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara from inside Candi Mendut (Cat. no. 181). While we cannot say that one was copying the other, these examples illustrate that there was some shared knowledge of iconography and style between the craftsmen working in the two media. Both media also share the tendency towards standardisation in the second quarter of the ninth century CE (Chapter 6, p. 102).

9.4 Important periods for the development of Avalokiteśvara imagery in Java

The iconographic study of the Javanese Avalokiteśvara images has allowed us to distinguish between different periods of image development for Avalokiteśvara in Java, that have some overlap.

Introductory period – the ascetic form

The first period of the introduction of Avalokiteśvara imagery is that in his ascetic form; it lasted until the end of the seventh century CE (Chapter 2). One of the attributes developed for Avalokiteśvara in Southeast Asia during this period was the tiger skin, which is part of many of the images discussed in Chapter 2. I suggested that the ascetic Avalokiteśvara demonstrates a cultural connection between the Buddhist caves in Maharashtra and Southeast Asia. This theory disagrees with the idea that the earliest Avalokiteśvara images in Southeast Asia were actually inspired by the Gupta art of North India (Cat. no. 227, Lee 1956, Chutiwongs 1984: 484, 2010: 10). Gupta art did indeed inspire art of other regions and times, such as that in Northeast India during the post-Gupta and Pāla period. The art of the Pāla period, in its turn had an impact on Southeast Asian culture, but at a later time than the introductory period.

The period of ascetic Avalokiteśvara imagery, linking the coastal areas of Mainland and Insular Southeast Asia, ended in the late seventh century CE. At this stage we begin to see different Southeast Asian regions developing their own types of Avalokiteśvara imagery. In Mainland Southeast Asia, we notice a continued production of standing Avalokiteśvaras, with mainly two arms, often with various ascetic features. However, in Java, the development of Avalokiteśvara imagery took a distinct turn away from that of the rest of Southeast Asia. While production of ascetic Avalokiteśvaras continued for a while up to around 800 CE, simultaneously many new iconographic forms were introduced.

Period of new iconographic information

The next period shows a strong influx of new Avalokiteśvara iconography (c. 700-800 CE). During this period, there must have been different cultural connections between Java and South Asia as well as Java and other parts of Southeast Asia. In Java, the ascetic form

continued for a while, but also developed into the standing form with a princely iconography. Also, further new iconographic traits began to be incorporated: new poses such as *lalitāsana*, *mahārājalīlāsana* and *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*, along with the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara form as well as the eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara.

While a specific cultural origin for the use of the *lalitāsana* pose for Avalokiteśvara's image cannot be determined, we clearly notice a stylistic relationship with metal images from Northeast India and Bangladesh, as was also noted by S. Huntington (1994: 66) as well as Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke (1988: 27-30). This relationship is evidenced in the style of the early group of Javanese *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara in bronze (Chapter 3, Group 2, pp. 45-46; Cat. nos 43-56, Table 15). The notable stylistic elements that show a link with Northeast India include a pearl-rimmed back piece, flames along the outside of the back piece and a pearl-rimmed lotus seat.

This group of images is similar to Lunsingh Scheurleer's Group 2 in her study of Javanese bronzes (1994). Her analysis involved a much wider range of imagery, as she examined all Javanese bronzes in Dutch collections, while I focused on Avalokiteśvara. Another important difference between her interpretation and the one offered in this thesis, is that Lunsingh Scheurleer interpreted the influx of iconographic information in this second period as a process of importation and copying. In terms of the Avalokiteśvara bronzes from this period, I suggest that it was not a matter of importation of bronzes, but that these bronzes with new iconographies were produced in Java. That is why they also include local stylistic features.

Despite this strong stylistic similarity between the early *lalitāsana* statuettes found in Java and those from Northeast India and Bangladesh, we have not been able to trace a specific Avalokiteśvara statuette that can be identified with certainty as an image made in South Asia and transported to Java. Each of the statuettes have one or more Javanese stylistic elements, including a longer style of dress, the lack of feet for the base or specific facial features. This brings us to the question of how the stylistic and iconographic information reached Java, if not through imported statuettes. It is possible that the stylistic information was transmitted through drawings, perhaps as part of a palm-leaf manuscript, through verbal instructions or through the travel of bronze casters.

Even though Java was open to new roles for Avalokiteśvara, judging from his new iconographies, there are types that either did not make it to Java or that were not adopted as an accepted part of the iconographic repertoire. Examples include the eleven-headed and thousand-armed forms of Avalokiteśvara, which were popular in the Mogao caves in China, next to Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara.

Period of local development and standardisation

The next important period shows a consolidation of the iconographic forms that had been accepted and applied in imagery manufacture in Java along with new local developments. This period starts towards the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth

century CE. This period shows a consolidation of the earlier iconographic forms with contemporary style. Among the popular iconographic features in the iconographies showing local development are the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* pose (Chapter 6), the four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara leaning his head to his right (Chapter 4) and the use of three triads in one temple building (Chapter 7). The local stylistic elements for the Avalokiteśvara bronzes that stand out are the plain circular halo attached at the shoulders (e.g. Cat. no. 16), the parasol which extends out over the figure, and an oval lotus seat (e.g. Cat. no. 136).

During this period, specifically between 825-850 CE, we may notice a fair degree of standardisation in both the iconography and the style of Avalokiteśvara bronzes, particularly the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvaras discussed in Chapter 6. We see the repeated use of an oval-shaped lotus seat along with the petal-shaped back piece with a herringbone rim.

It is also during the period of 825-850 CE that we have evidence of a cultural connection between China and Java, even though the relationship with China is less evident than that with India regarding Avalokiteśvara imagery. There is, however, one interesting piece of evidence that shows iconographic exchange with China rather than with India. This is the form of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara specific to China that is known as Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara. At least one sorrowful Avalokiteśvara from Java represents this specific iconographic form including the *cakra* besides the *cintāmaṇi*.

Based on the style of the sole surviving statuette of the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara in bronze, the influx of this iconography likely occurred after 800 CE, possibly between 825-850 CE, thus after the period of new iconographic information. There are several sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras that can be dated to this period (Cat. nos 96-98, 103 and 112), but the majority have a broader dating of approximately 750-850 CE. In any case, this specific form of the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara does not appear to have become popular in Java. Instead, it was the locally developed four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara, often with a *cintāmaṇi* but without a *cakra*, that was repeatedly produced. The origin of the sorrowful gesture can be traced to the Indian subcontinent, where it is first found in Gandharan art. It was used in stone imagery depicting Siddhartha, Maitreya and Avalokiteśvara. Thus, we may trace the origins of the Javanese sorrowful Avalokiteśvara to South Asia. Java appears to stand at the crossroads of cultural exchange accepting and adapting iconographic information from both India and China.

From 850 CE onwards, we do not observe any new iconographic forms or combinations, but the style of the bronzes continues to develop towards including ever more details. Further stylistic developments can be noticed on the bases that are now decorated with apertures and the back pieces become more elaborate (i.e. Cat. nos 95, 104-105, 109-111, 141, 168, 175-176). The top of the parasols also has added details (Cat. no. 282). From this point onwards, Avalokiteśvara will wear more jewellery, particularly a second armband (Cat. nos 83, 106, 109, 111 and 282), and his limbs become noticeably more elongated.

These stylistic changes coincide with a reduction in the number of bronzes that were produced.

The period of reduced production of Avalokiteśvara imagery

After approximately 900 CE and perhaps even more so after the move of the power centre from Central Java to East Java in 930 CE, few Avalokiteśvara images were made. The surviving bronzes include two *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvaras, of which one was found in Puger Wetan in the Jember region, East Java (Cat. nos 82-83). Three sorrowful Avalokiteśvaras may also belong to this final period, but one of these was found in Central Java (Cat. nos 106, 109 and 111).

As one of the eight *bodhisattva*s, Avalokiteśvara may have been part of bronze *maṇḍala*s with the Buddha in the centre, such as those found in Surocolo in Central Java (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 32) as well as in Nganjuk and Ponorogo in East Java. Unfortunately, there are no surviving images of Avalokiteśvara from these particular *maṇḍala*s, that can be dated to the late tenth to the eleventh century CE (Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke 1988: 35).

Last period of Avalokiteśvara imagery

It was not until the second half of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century that we notice a short period of renewed interest in Avalokiteśvara images in connection with the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* (Cat. nos 199-203, 205). Here we have the standing eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara from the eighth and ninth centuries CE, but now with the addition of a twelve-figure retinue. It is during this period that the focus of constellations with the Buddha in the centre, as in Central Java, moved to Avalokiteśvara as the central deity in a royal temple context.

9.5 Some notes on South and Southeast Asian connections

Considering how open Java had been to Buddhist cultural input from the Indian subcontinent, it is remarkable that the same cultural information did not reach other parts of Southeast Asia, neither directly nor indirectly via Java. The iconographic forms of Avalokiteśvara that were popular in Java, such as the *lalitāsana* Avalokiteśvara, the sorrowful Avalokiteśvara and the *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* Avalokiteśvara, apparently did not find any response outside of Java in Southeast Asia. Those statuettes that show a Javanese style but that have been found outside of Java, such as the few Avalokiteśvara images in the Sambas hoard (Cat. nos 17, 22, 23 and 277), were probably produced in Java and then transported there. The only exception to such a scenario involves the four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara made in clay, which was found in Yala, southern Thailand (Cat. no. 117). Still, even in this case, the original mould may have been produced in Java.

Southeast Asian iconographic developments

Even though Javanese Avalokiteśvara imagery did not have a recognisable impact on the imagery of the Bodhisattva in the rest of Southeast Asia, some of the Southeast Asian iconographic developments are reflected in Javanese imagery. These developments include for instance the addition of a tiger skin wrapped around the Bodhisattva's hips. This feature is specific to Southeast Asia, as discussed in Chapter 8, and can be traced in various standing Avalokiteśvaras manufactured in Java (Cat. nos 15, 17, 195, 198, 199, 215, 216, 218, 236, 260, 263).

The eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara is first seen in Insular Southeast Asia, where the earliest images date from the middle of the eighth century (Cat. nos 195-196, 223). This form does not appear on the Indian subcontinent until much later, even after the manufacture of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago. Instead, up to that time, the Amoghapāśa images manufactured in India or Nepal have four, six or twelve arms.

Transfer of Southeast Asian iconographic developments to South Asia

The tiger skin as an attribute of Avalokiteśvara and the portrayal of the eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara in Southeast Asia certainly pre-date the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana* written by Śākyaśrībhadra (1127-1225), in which both elements are referenced. Neither the tiger skin, nor the eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara are mentioned in the influential Indian text *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (*Niṣpannayogāvalī*, ed. Bhattacharyya 1949). We can only speculate how the iconography of the tiger skin attribute and the imagery of the eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara travelled from Insular Southeast Asia to South Asia, specifically Sri Lanka for the tiger skin and Northeast India where Śākyaśrībhadra wrote the *Amoghapāśa-sādhana*. Considering that the journeys of monks travelling between China and South Asia passed through Southeast Asia, it is possible that such knowledge spread via travelling monks on their way from east to west. We have Sri Lankan imagery demonstrating this knowledge transfer dating from the 700s, but we do not have any eight-armed Amoghapāśa Lokeśvaras from India, instead we have a text referencing the iconography.

9.6 Workshops

A metal statuette would likely have been costly for anyone outside of the ruling class, yet many were produced by different workshops in Java. While I have demonstrated that variation among Avalokiteśvaras in metal is prominent, with many different hands being involved in their production, we must note that a number of images have strong similarities in terms of style suggesting a specific workshop. One example discussed in Chapter 2 concerns the four silver standing ascetic images, one of which was found in the top *stūpa* of Borobudur and a second was found as part of the Sambas hoard in West Kalimantan (Cat. nos 15-18, see Chapter 2, p. 30). To this group of similar Avalokiteśvara statuettes can be added a triad from Sumatra (Cat. no. 20), along with two eight-armed standing Avalokiteśvaras in metal (Cat. nos 207-208, Chapter 8, p. 134) and a twelve-armed

Avalokiteśvara found in Semarang in Central Java (Cat. no. 218). In total, eight Avalokiteśvara statuettes can be traced to this workshop that tended to work in silver.

The *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* group of Avalokiteśvara in bronze (Chapter 6) forms a special case. They illustrate the same iconography and style, and can all be placed in a relatively brief period (Cat. nos 132-142, 144-145). To these can be added further statuettes based on stylistic traits such as the back piece design (Cat. nos 71, 96-98, 103, 112, 115, 146-149, 230 and Pl. 6B) They belong to a period characterised by standardisation. These bronzes also demonstrate that one workshop produced both Buddhist and Hindu images (Chapter 6). Further examples of stylistic similarities can be seen in Cat. nos 52, 66 and 68 (Chapter 3, p. 54). The similarities between the three bronzes include the style of hairdo, the general physical form of the figures and how the *yajñopavīta* is portrayed.

9.7 Meaning of Avalokiteśvara and his multiple roles in Java

The ascetic Avalokiteśvara, radical asceticism and the maritime routes

In Chapter 2 I suggested, inspired by Gregory Schopen (2005), that the ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara in the caves of western India was possibly connected with a 'radical asceticism' that seems to have developed there. I also noted that the Astamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara manifestation, with the inclusion of the *abhaya-mudrā*, may have specifically appealed to travelling monks. This was a period when monks began to use sea routes passing through Southeast Asia and Buddhist centres started to develop in that region. For the travelling monks, the Astamahābhaya Avalokiteśvara would have been a source of protection from all the dangers they would face during their travels. I argued that the stone and bronze ascetic Avalokiteśvaras from Southeast Asia, which I dated to the seventh century CE, may be connected with such religious developments in the caves of India and the use of the sea road for the transmission of Buddhist ideas by monks. I therefore suggest that monks spread this first type of Avalokiteśvara image in Southeast Asia. While none of the Southeast Asian images show the *abhaya-mudrā*, the breakage of the right arm could in some cases suggest that this was the hand gesture for a few of them (Cat. nos 2, 4, 8 and 11).

Pieces associated to the ascetic Avalokiteśvaras in bronze have been found in the coastal areas of Southeast Asia and date from around the same time. Among these images are the clay tablets depicting a triad with the *bhadrāsana* Buddha in the centre, displaying the *vitarka-mudrā*, and accompanied by two standing ascetic *bodhisattva*s. Some of these have been found in Buddhist caves, supporting the idea that early Buddhist material culture functioned in a monastic and ascetic context.

In Mainland Southeast Asia, the ascetic form of Avalokiteśvara remained the most common form of Avalokiteśvara, also in the later context of royal temple building. In Java, on the other hand, a variety of new iconographic forms were introduced and most of these present the Bodhisattva in a princely form bedecked with jewellery and seated on a throne.

Avalokiteśvara's princely form, the Gaṇḍavyūha and royal temple building

Avalokiteśvara quickly began to be adopted in the context of royal temple building in Java. In particular, he was depicted in a triad consisting of the Buddha and two attendant *bodhisattva*s, one of which is Avalokiteśvara. Examples of these triads can be seen at Candi Mendut (Cat. no 181) and Plaosan Lor (Cat. nos 184 and 185) as well as in most of the *Bhadracarī* reliefs on Borobudur (Cat. nos 126, 127, 129-131). Within this context, Avalokiteśvara takes on the outward characteristics of a prince and his preferred sitting posture is *lalitāsana*. This adoption of the princely form may have been impacted by Mahāyāna texts such as the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, which was of great importance in the depictions at Borobudur. The text describes *bodhisattva*s as covering "their bodies with gold and jewels" along with wearing "crowns of wish-fulfilling gems" (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1141). The triad form may also have been affected by this text, which describes the *bodhisattva*s as attendants to the Buddha, "endowed with the acute ears to hear the ocean of teachings of all the Buddhas" (*Avataṃsakasūtra*, ed. Cleary 1993: 1145).

The iconography of some of the stone images is also reflected in a few metal images. Thus, the Candi Mendut triad with the *bhadrāsana* Buddha showing the *dharmacakra-mudrā* has variants in bronze (Cat. nos 83 and 296), as have the Plaosan Lor ones, which probably showed a Buddha in *padmāsana* (Cat. no. 47). The two-armed Avalokiteśvara seated in *lalitāsana*, now in the British Museum (Cat. no. 66), is also similar to the Candi Mendut Avalokiteśvara statue. A further triad found in bronze shows the Buddha seated in *padmāsana* and the *bodhisattva*s in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* (Cat. nos 144, 145 and 151) as on Borobudur's fourth main wall (Cat. nos 130-131). A few of the bronze images may have been used in a temple setting as well. Among these is the tall, standing four-armed Avalokiteśvara found at Tekaran (Cat. no. 259).

At Candi Mendut, we also see Avalokiteśvara take on a more central role between two female attendants (Cat. no. 182). There are metal examples of this iconography as well (Cat. nos 228, 261). Although these statuettes suggest some interchange between stone sculptors and metal casters, it is not clear how exactly these metal triads were used. Were they placed in temple niches as donations for the accumulation of merit or were they kept in private homes to remind people of such powerful images connected with certain places? They must have been quite costly and therefore presumably not available to all.

Avalokiteśvara as a teacher

Avalokiteśvara also continues to develop as a single important deity. At Borobudur he takes on the role of a *kalyāṇamitra*, one of the 'good friends' that instruct Sudhana on his path towards full enlightenment. As part of one of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* reliefs, Avalokiteśvara is seated with his legs crossed, instructing his pupil Sudhana with one hand in *vitarka-mudrā*, the gesture of teaching (Cat. no. 120). In other reliefs, he sits in *padmāsana* with the focus being on Avalokiteśvara as a spiritual benefactor bestowing his knowledge on Sudhana as indicated by the *varada-mudrā*.

Possibly, such associations with Avalokiteśvara as a teacher bestowing his knowledge are also implied in the stone images in a Plaosan-style (Cat. nos 184-185) and the metal statuettes that show the Bodhisattva in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana* with a book resting on the lotus flower held in the left hand and with the right hand displaying the *varada-mudrā* (Cat. nos 142, 176).

Avalokiteśvara's protective functions

Most of the Javanese bronze statuettes of Avalokiteśvara are less than 15 cm tall. The height of these statuettes could indicate that they were used in a private setting, and possibly as a form of protective talisman or amulet. These bronzes may have been used in a similar way to *dhāraṇī*s, the protective texts, that were sometimes deified in the form of an image (Cruijsen, Griffiths and Klokke 2012). We know from the examination of ascetic Avalokiteśvaras that the Bodhisattva could take on a protective role. Part of this role could also have been his capacity to aid in the case of illness or childbirth. It appears that this role was associated with the display of the *abhaya-mudrā*, or gesture of fearlessness, but most of the Javanese statuettes in metal show Avalokiteśvara displaying the *varada-mudrā*, a gesture indicating the Bodhisattva's compassion and generosity.

Avalokiteśvara is also a part of the Aṣṭamahābodhisattva at both Borobudur and Candi Mendut. The group's protective function is described in *Aṣṭamaṇḍalaka-sūtra*, which can also secure the "fulfilment of one's wishes" (Granoff 1968-69: 92). I argue that the eight *bodhisattva*s have this role on Candi Mendut.

Avalokiteśvara's universal compassion

Although the Bodhisattva is referred to in his protective capacity against perils in Buddhist texts, his powers of compassion and bestowing of boons of prosperity and good fortune are also noted. We know from texts such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* that Avalokiteśvara was petitioned in order to have a male or female child. He could also be petitioned for other things, such as world rulership, in other texts.

The four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara demonstrated the Bodhisattva's compassion for the world's suffering with its incorporation of the *cintāmaṇi* – the wish fulfilling jewel. Two other attributes are often present in this iconographic form: the book and the rosary. The use of the book attribute could be a way of connecting the image to the Buddhist texts, possibly *dhāraṇī*s. The rosary could symbolise the recitation of a *mantra* or *dhāraṇī*. Despite being popular, we have little evidence of specific Avalokiteśvara *dhāraṇī* being known in Java. Yet, the meaning of the four-armed sorrowful Avalokiteśvara may have been affected by the *Padmacintāmaṇidhāraṇīsūtra* or a similar text, which described the Cintāmaṇi-cakra Avalokiteśvara who can give magical power to those who complete his ritual (Chapin 1932: 40).

Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his maṇḍala

After the long pause in Avalokiteśvara image production, the construction of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara at Candi Jago and the associate images show a development in Avalokiteśvara's role in a temple setting. While he had previously been an attendant figure, he was now at the centre of a *maṇḍala*, in a major royal temple. Later Javanese texts have referred to Candi Jago and the use of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* as a way of deifying Kṛtanagara's father, however, this is not supported by the contemporary texts. From the bronze plaques we can see that the production of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and his *maṇḍala* was an attempt at gaining merit, in part for Kṛtanagara's parents.

The Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* was also connected with the seven jewels of a *cakravartin* on the statue sent to Sumatra. Earlier Buddhist texts, such as the *Amoghapāśa-dhāraṇī-sūtra* or *Amoghapāśa kalparāja-sūtra*, show that the worship of Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara was simple and gave easy access to merit, cleansed *karma* and could help one become a *cakravartin*. While there is no evidence of these specific texts being present in Java, the concept of the *cakravartin* and his seven jewels was known in Java, both during the Central Javanese period and during the reign of Kṛtanagara. From the available inscriptions on the bronze versions of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* we know that these images were part of Kṛtanagara's attempt to gain merit for his parents and teachers. The *maṇḍala* was also used as a way of strengthening the political bond between Java and Sumatra. The combination of the Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala* with the seven jewels of the *cakravartin* in the gift for Sumatra indicates that there was a known connection between Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara and the *cakravartin* during this period in East Java. Therefore, the construction of Candi Jago, with its Amoghapāśa Lokeśvara *maṇḍala*, could also have been Kṛtanagara's way of demonstrating his world rulership.

The variety in iconography for the Javanese Avalokiteśvara images seems to reflect a range of roles that he could fulfil for his worshippers. Apart from providing merit in general, he could help with all kinds of daily problems, help to reach higher levels of spiritual development and even help to claim world rulership.

Map 3. Avalokiteśvara statuettes with known find sites in Central Java, with catalogue numbers.
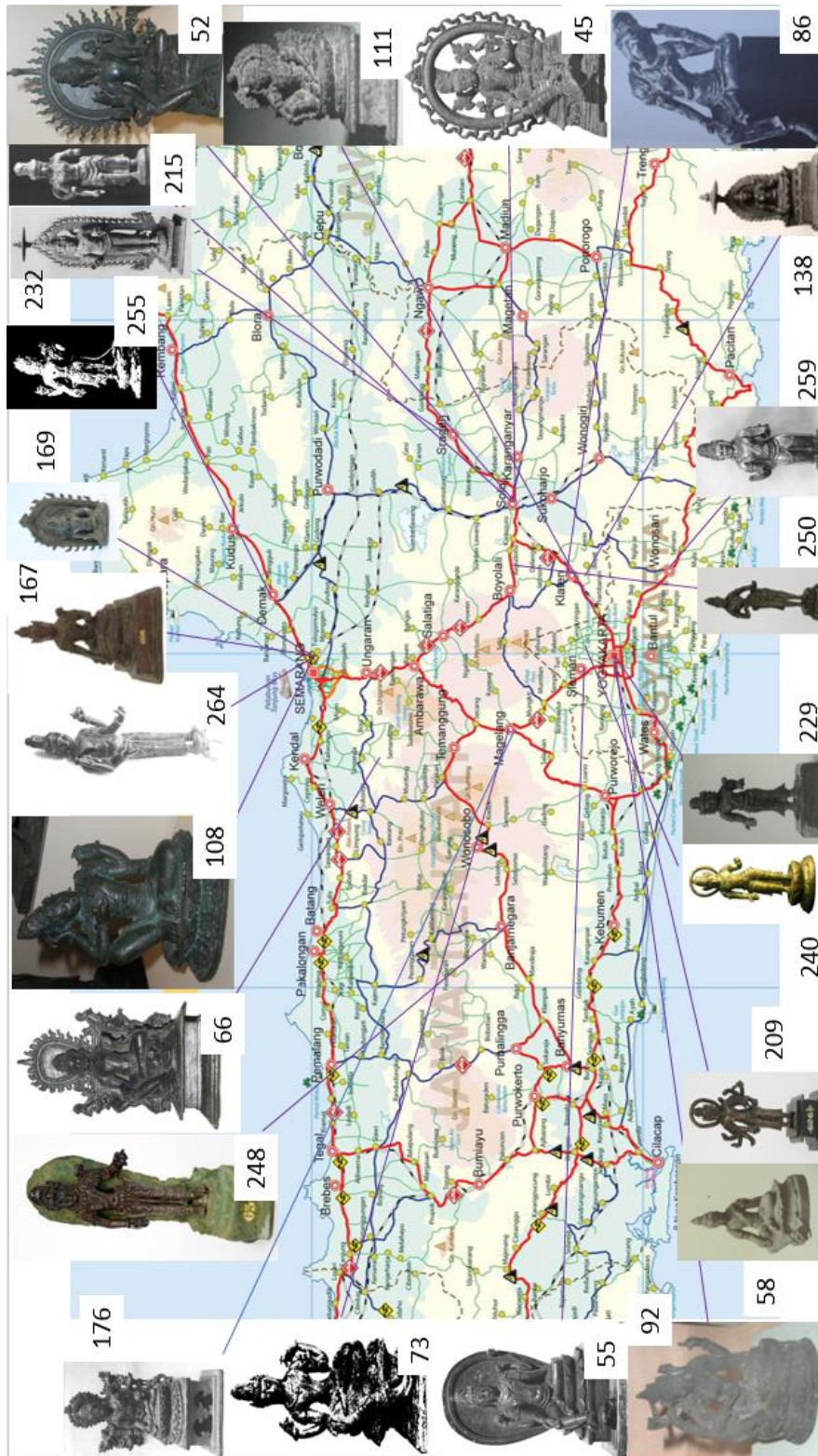
Map 4. Avalokiteśvara images with known find sites in East Java and Bali, with catalogue numbers.
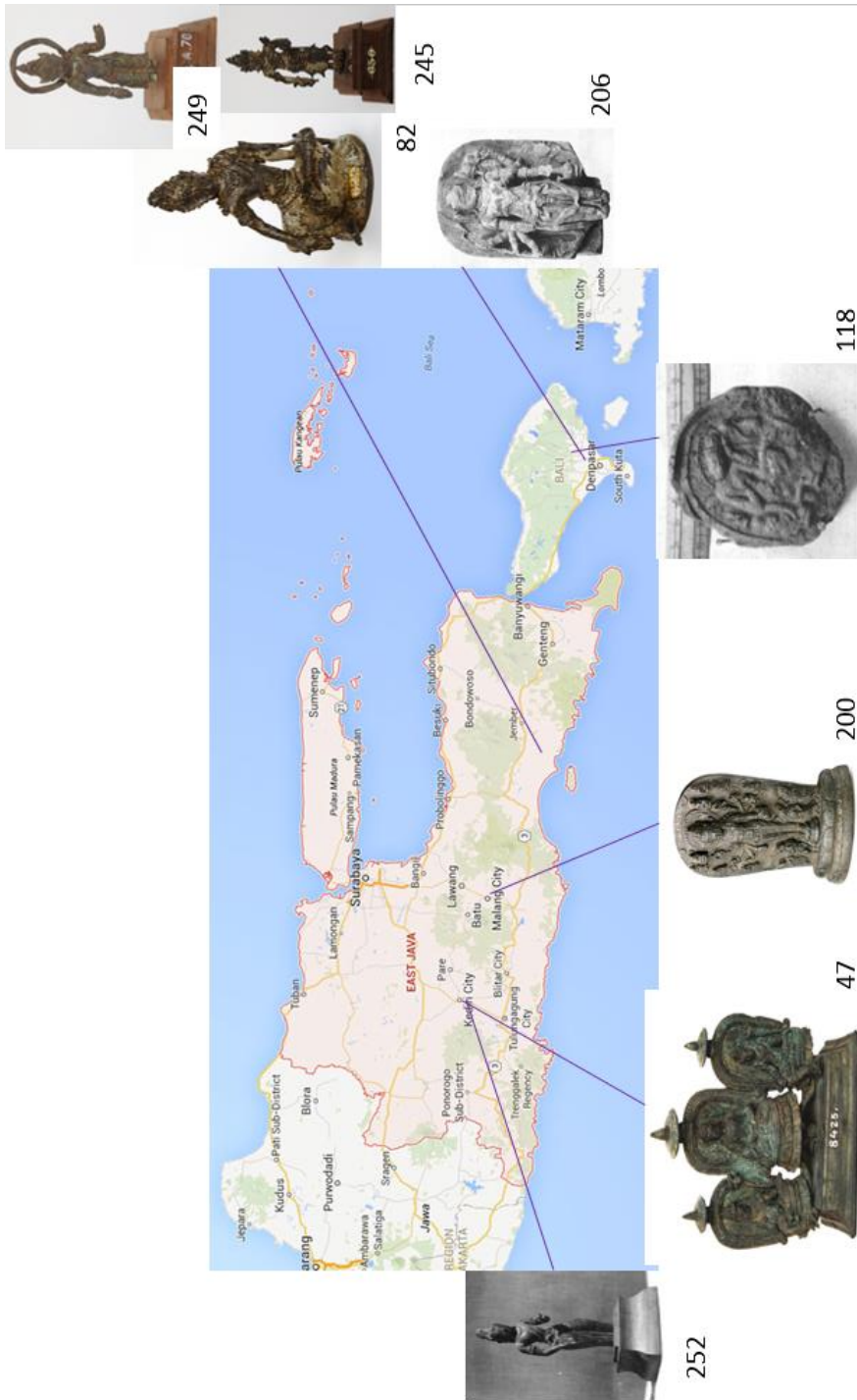
Glossary

Abhaya-mudrā – Gesture of fearlessness in which the full palm is shown to the viewer and the fingers point upwards.

Ajina – An animal skin worn on the body, usually of a deer, elephant or tiger.

Bhadrāsana – A sitting posture with both legs pendant.

Cakravartin – Universal monarch.

Cintāmaṇi – Wish fulfilling jewel.

Dhyāna-mudrā – Gesture of meditation, in which both hands rest in the lap, one on top of the other, palm facing upwards.

Jaṭāmukuṭa – Form of hairdo, with twisted locks of hair bound on the head.

Lalitāsana – A type of seated pose in which the right leg is pendant, with the right foot often resting on a lotus. The left leg is folded to rest on the seat.

Mahārājalīlāsana (*rājalīlāsana*) – A type of seated pose in which both legs are folded and rest on the seat, with the feet close to each other. One knee is raised and the other rests on the seat.

Padma – Lotus.

Padmāsana – A type of seated pose in which the legs are crossed and each foot rests on the opposite leg.

Parinirvāṇa – The end of rebirth cycle after death, which occurs after someone has achieved *nirvāṇa* during his/her lifetime.

Prabhāmaṇḍala – Back piece or halo.

Samapāda – A standing pose in which the figure distributes his or her weight evenly on both feet.

Sattvaparyaṅkāsana – A seated pose in which the legs are crossed and the right foot rests on the left leg. The left foot is under the right leg.

Sukhāvatī – Name of a heaven or paradise in a western region, which is the Pure Land of the Buddha Amitābha.

Tridaṇḍa – A three-pronged staff.

Utpala – Blue lily, used as a pedestal for attributes and often carried by Mañjuśrī or Maitreya.

Varada-mudrā – Giving or wish-granting gesture with the open palm facing the viewer and the fingers pointing downwards.

Yajñopavīta – Sacred thread, worn over the left shoulder.

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