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The iconography of Avalokiteśvara in Java

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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

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 *jaṭāmukuta* 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.

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 Mañicintana (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 Mañicintana 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 Śākyaśrībhadrā (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

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 *jaṭāmukuta*, 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 *prajñās*, 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.

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).

Previous studies of Candi Jago in East Java

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 Sugataṣaṇḍarśana 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 *jaṭāmukuta*, 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 *Sāadhanamālā*, 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 Śākyaśrībhadrā 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

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 *Sāadhanamālā* (1994: 160)

iconography did not change for this Avalokiteśvara form over that period. One example is the number of 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 *jaṭāmukuta* 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.

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 *jaṭāmukuta* 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 *varaḍa-mudrā*.

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 (*gr̥hapati*), 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 *jaṭāmukuta*, 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 Coëdès 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 *Sādhana-mālā* 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 Śākyasrībhadrā'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 *dhāraṇīs* (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 *dhāraṇīs* 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

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 *jaṭāmukūṭa*, 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

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 Śākyaśrībhadrā. 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" (*apramāṇa*), 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

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 Śākyaśrībhadrā.

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.