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The cult of the Buddhist *dhāraṇī* deity Mahāpratisarā along the Maritime Silk Route: New epigraphical and iconographic evidence from the Indonesian Archipelago

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Marijke J. Klokke*

1. Introduction

Consultation of standard works on the history of art of the Hindu-Buddhist period in ancient Indonesia, or of scholarly catalogues of the sculpture of this period, or works on the iconography of these sculptures,[1] or of Zoetmulder's *Old Javanese English-Dictionary*, or again of authoritative general publications on the history of Buddhism in ancient Indonesia[2] will yield not a single mention of the name of the protective Buddhist deity Mahāpratisarā. She is the deification of a *dhāraṇī*, a protective spell, and is one of the *Pañcarakṣā* 'Five Protections' that in the course of the history of Indian Buddhism came to form a standard group, united in one sacred Sanskrit text.[3]

* Rolf Giebel, Kuo Liying, Nicolas Revire, Jeff Sundberg and Vincent Tournier have read previous versions of this paper and provided many valuable suggestions which are gratefully incorporated here. We are likewise grateful to Gergely Hidas for all his support to our research.

[1] Krom 1923; Bernet Kempers 1959; Holt 1967; le Bonheur 1971; Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke 1988; Fontein 1990; Tokyo National Museum 1997; Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Jawa Tengah 2009.

[2] There are not many such works. Two important publications are Damais 1959 and Hooykaas 1973.

[3] Cf. Mevissen 1989 for bibliographical references concerning the

It is the merit of Lokesh Chandra to have identified, in a short note published in 1983, a possible textual reference to this deity in an Old Javanese poetic work of Buddhist inspiration, the *Kuñjarakarṇadharmakathana* (composed in the 14th or 15th century CE). And several years later Max Nihom, in his monograph on Tantric Buddhism in Indonesia, saw the connection of a Balinese *dhāraṇī* entitled *Stuti Saṅ Hyaṅ Pratisara* or *Stava Saṅ Hyaṅ Bharālī Pratisāra* with the same.[4] These materials are late and elusive, appearing to stand alone in the history of Buddhism in Indonesia. This, however, is certainly not the case. For Gerd Mevissen, specialist of Indian Hindu and Buddhist iconography, has shown, in an ingenious article published in the *Journal of Bengal Art* in 1999, that several Eastern Indian and Javanese sculptures in stone and bronze, which depict a *female* deity showing fairly consistent iconographic features whose identification was previously considered problematic, having been variously "identified as Cundā, Sitātapatrā, Mahāpratyaṅgirā, Mahāpratisarā, Caṇḍī or Durgā" (Mevissen 1999: 99), can specifically be identified as Mahāpratisarā. The available iconographic (Sanskrit) texts, dating from the 11th century and later, tend to describe Mahāpratisarā as eight-armed, and she is always described as multi-headed. In the absence of any textual description of Mahāpratisarā as the eight-armed and single-headed goddess that we see in these sculptures, all dating from the 8th to the 10th century, and in the *apparent* absence of other non-iconographic evidence that might be relevant for the identification of the Indian and Javanese sculptures in question, Mevissen's argument invoked Central and East Asian images of a *male* deity whose iconographic features, with the principal exception of his gender, agree with those of the Indian and Javanese

Pañcarakṣā, and a thorough study of their iconography. Mahāpratisarā is mentioned as one of the *Pañcarakṣā* in Hariani Santiko's 1992 thesis on Durgā in Indonesia (p. 163), but Mahāpratisarā's presence in Indonesia is not further explored there.

[4] Cf. Nihom 1994: 61f.: "Lokesh Chandra suggests that, at Kuñjarakarṇa 2.1a *bharāli pratisāra labdhe samaya*, the word *pratisāra* is to be regarded as a variant name for the Buddhist goddess Pratisarā, one of the *Pañcarakṣā*." The reference here is to Lokesh Chandra 1983. About the Balinese *dhāraṇī*, see Nihom 1994: 62, n. 149 and 94, n. 252.

female deity, and who is positively identifiable as Mahāpratisara (masculine!) due to the fact that he is depicted at the center of the Sanskrit text of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*.

In this article, we will adduce positive epigraphical evidence to show that the cult of the *dhāraṇī* deity Mahāpratisarā was known in ancient Indonesia not only in its sculptural but also in its textual manifestations, and centuries before the indirect textual evidence identified by Lokesh Chandra and Nihom. We will also adduce a ten-armed iconographic variant of the eight-armed type, which is the basis of Mevissen's identification. Although our focus is on Indonesian artefacts, we feel that these have some interesting implications for the pan-Asian history of Buddhism, and we will return to these at the end of this study. Before moving to a discussion of the new Indonesian evidence, we will first provide a background sketch of the textual and archaeological corpus pertaining to the cult of Mahāpratisarā.

2. The Mahāpratisarā corpus – texts, amulets, images

Mahāpratisarā is in a very material sense a textual deity. The text that she embodies stands in a long tradition of protective texts in Buddhist literature. In the earliest period, at least before the first century BCE,[5] protective texts in the Buddhist tradition were mostly extracted from the body of canonical scriptures, texts such as those which are known in the Pali tradition as *paritta*s (cf. Sanskrit *paritrā* 'to protect'). During the following centuries, these texts used for protective purposes were subjected to considerable modifications and often came to be transmitted inside a narrative framework, intended among other things to illustrate the efficacy of these texts. In the course of time, entirely new protective texts came to be composed, whose cores consisted not of canonical material, but rather of texts that are more commonly associated with certain strands of brahmanical literature, namely mantras and extended forms of incantation which within the Buddhist tradition are known as

[5] See Skilling 1992 for an overview of protective texts in the Buddhist tradition and the archaeological evidence for their early existence.

*dhāraṇī*s.[6] As these newly composed protective texts rose to popularity throughout the Buddhist world, they similarly underwent processes of elaboration and reworking, both in narrative frame and in mantric content. During the second half of the first millennium CE, a new soteriological path developed within the Buddhist tradition, called Mantranaya ('Method of Mantras'), that emphasized the efficacy of mantras and *dhāraṇī*s not just for protection or worldly benefits, but also for quick progress on the path towards Buddhahood.[7] Concomitant with the rise of this movement, these *dhāraṇī*s came to hold a prominent, visual place in Buddhist practice, as many of them came to be personified and worshiped as gods, each acquiring a distinctive iconography of its own in the process.[8]

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[6] We are aware that the meaning of the term *dhāraṇī* is problematic, that it is equally problematic to find a unifying characteristic behind all texts characterized in Buddhist tradition as *dhāraṇī*, and that the same holds for the distinction between the categories of mantra and *dhāraṇī* (cf. Davidson 2009). Our use here however does seem adequate for the mantras and *dhāraṇī*s to be discussed in this article. In the specific case of Mahāpratisarā's mantras and *dhāraṇī*s, we simply follow the nomenclature of the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* (see below).

[7] We avoid the term Tantric Buddhism as this designation is used in various, sometimes inaccurate, ways in the scholarly literature. The term Mantranaya is used within the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition during this period – including in ancient Java (see de Jong 1974) – to distinguish the path of mantras from the longer path called Pāramitānaya, that requires continual cultivation of virtues over countless lives before reaching Buddhahood. The term Vajrayāna is first attested toward the end of the 7th century (Williams & Tribe 2000: 196), and refers to the strand of Mantranayic Buddhism in which the symbol of the *vajra* holds a prominent place, both in its literature as also in the ritual context. The term Mantrayāna does not appear to have come into use before the 11th century (de Jong 1984: 92–93).

[8] It is definitely not the case that after the rise of the Mantranaya movement *dhāraṇī*s and mantras were only used in an esoteric, soteriological context involving ritualistic initiation and meditation practices. They continued to be used for a wide range of purposes, on a fully popular level, one might say, as will also be seen in the materials discussed in this article. See Schopen 1982: 105–107 [2005: 310–311] for the emphatic remark that *dhāraṇī*s were not restricted to their tantric use alone, as is evident from their use as Dharma-relics, put inside *stūpa*s and equivalent in power to Buddha-relics.

It is to this genre of *dhāraṇī* literature that the textual corpus pertaining to Mahāpratisarā belongs. The central and longest text in this corpus is the Sanskrit text known as the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* (MPMVR). This extensive text underwent considerable elaboration during centuries of textual transmission, as can be seen from the variety of manuscripts that have survived of this once highly popular text.[9] The majority of manuscripts that have come down to us belong to textual traditions from Nepal and Eastern India, where they are almost invariably part of a collection of five protective texts called *Pañcarakṣā*, the oldest exemplars dating to the 11th century. However, an earlier version of the MPMVR, independent from the other *Rakṣā* texts, has been preserved in a number of fragmentary manuscripts found at Gilgit, Pakistan, whose *terminus ante quem* has been placed in the first half of the 7th century.[10] Apart from these Sanskrit versions, the MPMVR has also been transmitted in translation and we have at our disposal two versions in Chinese: one translated in 693 by the Indian monk Baosiwei 寶思惟,[11] and one translated around the middle of the 8th century by the famous Vajrayānic master Amoghavajra. Slightly later is the Tibetan translation from around 800 by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye śes sde.[12] There is also a Mongolian translation

[9] Throughout this article, but especially in the following paragraphs, we make grateful use of the recently published study and edition by Gergely Hidas (2012). See Hidas 2012: 7–10 for a full survey of the extant textual sources of the MPMVR.

[10] Cf. von Hinüber 2004: 88–90, followed by Hidas 2012: 7. The possibility has to be kept in mind, however, that the Gilgit manuscripts belong to a strand of textual transmission that was simply at a remove from textual traditions elsewhere, such as those in Nepal and Eastern India, where a *Pañcarakṣā* collection might already have been in place. Hidas further mentions four fragmentary MPMVR-manuscripts from East Turkestan, Central Asia, also still from the first millennium CE, but these have not been published or edited yet.

[11] His Indian name has been reconstructed as *Ratnacinta or *Maṇicintana. For more details on this figure, see Orzech et al. 2011 and Forte 1984 (note the slight error *Manicintana).

[12] Apart from the version contained in the various printings of the Kangyur, which was revised in the 15th century, there are also three fragmentary manuscripts from Dunhuang that contain different parts of the MPMVR, dating

from the 14th century, which is based on a 14th-century Tibetan version and an Uigurian version which is itself lost.

Although these different versions each bear their own marks of textual accretion and elaboration, thus belonging to distinct textual traditions,[13] their overall textual structure is largely the same. The majority of versions consist of two parts (*kalpa*s), both of which have a *dhāraṇī* at their centre.[14] These two parts are bound together by a frame narrative in which Buddha Śākyamuni imparts a new teaching. After the introduction that states the occasion on which the exposition took place (*nidāna*),[15] the first part figures the Buddha

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to about the 10th century (Hidas 2012: 8). Our summary inspection of the one that contains the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* has led us to believe that these manuscripts preserve an earlier, unconflated version of the Tibetan translation of the MPMVR. See note 155 below.

[13] Although not isolated ones, as shown by the high degree of textual contamination revealed by the Sanskrit manuscripts. See Hidas 2012: 88–90 for a brief discussion of the complex textual interrelations of these sources.

[14] Hidas points out (2012: 14) that some versions, such as the first Chinese translation from 693 as also some Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions, consist of only the first part, which suggests that the MPMVR initially may only have comprised a single *kalpa*.

[15] It appears that at some point in the transmission of the text this introductory part was given a Vajrayānic recasting: whereas the first Chinese translation from 693 CE and probably also the Gilgit version have the Buddha teach from Gṛdhrakūṭa to an assembly of disciples (*śrāvaka*s) upon the request of the god Brahmā, all versions dating from the 8th century onwards elaborately recount, with extensive use of the keyword *vajra-*, how the Buddha began to expound the MPMVR of his own accord from Mount Vajrameru to a huge assembly of bodhisattvas, disciples, and deities (cf. Hidas 2012: 14–15). It is unclear when this recasting would have taken place; perhaps it was wrought by the editor(s) who compiled the *Pañcarakṣā* collection, whose *terminus ante quem* is the 8th century (Hidas 2012: n. 16; cf. Hidas 2003: 271–274). We do not follow Hidas (2012: 90) in abstaining from the use of the terms 'recension' or 'version' in acknowledgement of the variegated and highly contaminated textual history of the MPMVR, since in our opinion the Vajrayānic reworking of the introduction clearly marks a watershed in the transmission of the text, giving it a different kind of textual authority, as is perhaps shown by the fact that in several *Pañcarakṣā* manuscripts (though not all) the MPMVR came to be listed first among the other *Pañcarakṣā* texts, whose introductions, like that of the first recension of the MPMVR, follow canoni-

describing the benefits that may be obtained through the use of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, the common denominator of which is either protection from all bad things (e.g. diseases, demons, the results of bad karma) or the fulfillment of any worldly wishes (e.g. prosperity, good rebirth, obtaining a son).[16] Subsequently, the Buddha gives the first *dhāraṇī*.[17] By means of nine narratives he then demonstrates the various ways in which the *dhāraṇī* has proved to be efficacious in the past. In between the seventh and the eighth narrative, four mantras are given that are considered to be the heart of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and that are of the same efficacy.[18] Following these narratives, there is the ritual instruction that concludes the first part of the MPMVR (*prathamakalpa*). Here, the Buddha lays down how one is to make an amulet with the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*.

Although shorter, the second part of the MPMVR (*rakṣāvidhānakalpa*) roughly follows the same order: it begins with a description of the benefits of use of the second *dhāraṇī*, upon which its text is given; then, in the place of the narratives on its efficacy seen

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cal conventions. It should also be pointed out that Hidas' statement (2012: 21) that "it is perhaps not inappropriate to put an expanded Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna label" on the MPMVR only fully applies to the second recension, even when, except for the extensive Vajrayānic introduction, it shares with the first recension most of its occurrences of the word *vajra-* (only about a dozen in the two *dhāraṇī*s and half a dozen in the narrative and ritual sections).

[16] Note that in this first part there is no mention of non-worldly aims, such as the attainment of Final Extinction (*mahāparinirvāṇa*), as stated in the second part of the MPMVR (and only in passing). If the MPMVR originally only consisted of the first part, this indicates that it was not conceived to serve any soteriological purpose.

[17] Which bears the long title: *samantajvālāmālāviśuddhisphuritacintāmaṇimahāmudrāhṛdayāparājitāmahādhāraṇī asyā mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñyāḥ* "the *Dhāraṇī* of the Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells, [called] The Invincible by Reason of the Essence of the Seal of the Wishgranting Jewel that Glitters with the Purity of a Garland of Enveloping Flame" (Hidas 2012: 213).

[18] These mantras are introduced as *catvāry aparājitāmahāmantrapadahṛdayāni* "the four great mantra-essences of the Invincible" (Hidas 2012: 228). As will be seen in our discussion of the Muara Jambi inscription below (§5), in a later period a fifth mantra was added.

in the first part, the benefits of its use are simply described further; and it ends with a ritual section in which a healing ritual is laid down, requiring the recitation of the second *dhāraṇī*. Since the Indonesian inscriptions discussed in this article only contain material pertaining to the first part of the MPMVR, we will below solely focus on that part of the text.

From the narrative and the ritual section, one can discern three ways in which the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and/or the mantras given in the first part can be used. First, they can be employed through recitation, whether silently or in raised voice. Thus in the first narrative it is related how Yaśodharā, while pregnant with Rāhula, was saved during a fire ordeal when her unborn son recited the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, which had been imparted to him by prince Siddhārtha before the latter's departure from the royal palace (Hidas 2012: 213–215). Second, there is the use that is prescribed in the ritual instruction of the first part, namely creating an amulet with the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* by writing it down on a piece of cloth or other material, and wearing it on one's neck or arm by means of a necklace or a bracelet. This use is demonstrated in several of the narratives, among which the sixth narrative, where a childless king has an amulet made for his queen, who by wearing it around her neck becomes pregnant of a son (Hidas 2012: 225–227). Third, there is mention of fixing such a Mahāpratisarā amulet to the top of a flagpole and venerating it: in a passage preceding the sixth narrative, it is stated that the gods will fulfill any wish if one worships the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* by wrapping it up – obviously in written form – in various cloths, mounting it on top of a flagpole on a *caitya*, and circumambulating it (Hidas 2012: 224–225).[19]

It may be noticed from the narratives we have chosen to illustrate the uses of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* that they deal with fertility and pregnancy, and begetting a child appears to be one

[19] Note that *caitya* is not always equivalent to *stūpa*, as is commonly assumed, but that it refers to a larger category of sacred sites or objects, such as shrines, images, or sacred trees (cf. Kern's remarks as quoted in Schopen 1975: 151 [2005: 28]). This passage therefore does not necessarily describe the use of a Mahāpratisarā amulet in conjunction with a *stūpa*.

of the prime purposes mentioned for making an amulet with the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, especially for women. In the section on the benefits this is stated explicitly: "The woman who wears this Great Amulet all the time will have all accomplishments and she will be pregnant with a son every time. Foetuses grow easily, and the expectant woman delivers the baby comfortably" (Hidas 2012: 208). A similar statement occurs in the narrative section to introduce the aforementioned sixth story about the childless king (Hidas 2012: 225). Also the ritual section, which before laying down the instructions makes the statement "so that … women may conceive" (Hidas 2012: 234), has the instruction that one should draw a boy in the centre of the amulet if one desires a son, and Mahākāla and Brahmā if the woman is already pregnant (Hidas 2012: 235–236). It goes so far as to state that by the means of a Mahāpratisarā amulet, even "the impotent and eunuchs will obtain a son" (Hidas 2012: 239). We highlight this emphasis on childbearing in the MPMVR, as it will prove to be important in the interpretation of the Leiden inscription discussed below (§4).[20]

We may ask, then, whether any of the uses of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* described in the MPMVR are reflected in the material record. Although one cannot expect to find any material traces of the first use, it is attested in the Chinese biographical accounts of two famous tantric masters active in China in the 8th century: Vajrabodhi recited the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* in order to appease a storm while travelling to China by sea (Chou 1945: 275, n. 19; Sundberg 2011: 139), and his disciple Amoghavajra did the same on his way from China to Sri Lanka in 742 CE (Chou 1945: 290). As pointed out by Hidas (2012: 222, n. 178 and 224, n. 184), the accounts of these events are similar to the fifth narrative in the MPMVR, in which a merchant called Vimalaśaṅkha saves his ship from a seamonster-induced storm and more specifically from be-

[20] The use of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* for the specific purpose of childbearing is also pointed out by Hidas (2012: 26). As can be seen in our edition of the Leiden inscription below, several of the epithets in the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* in fact explicitly refer to the fertilizing powers of the deity invoked, such as the first epithet *vipulagarbhe* 'whose womb is abundant.'

ing struck by lightning; the main difference is that the merchant writes down the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and fixes the amulet to the top of a flagstaff, which corresponds to the third use that we have mentioned.

The popularity of the second use, of producing an amulet by writing the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* on cloth or any other material and wearing it on one's neck or arm, is evidenced by the fair amount of handwritten and printed sheets with the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* (and often the four mantras) from Central and East Asia, the earliest of which date to the 8th century.[21] In China, several of these sheets were found, folded up, inside metal bracelets and necklaces discovered with human remains in burials and tombs, mainly around Xi'an.[22] Although one cannot know whether they were provided to the dead upon burial or whether they were already worn by the deceased while alive, and left intact after death, it seems certain that the motive behind this practice was to ensure a good rebirth. This purpose for the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* is well illustrated by the fourth narrative in the MPMVR, where a bad monk dies and descends to the Avīci hell, but pacifies all suffering for all beings there because his corpse still has a Mahāpratisarā necklace attached to it: as a result of this he is reborn as a god in Trāyastriṃśa heaven (Hidas 2012: 218–222).

Thirdly, the practice of fixing a Mahāpratisarā amulet to the top of a flagpole is not attested in any archaeological contexts known to us, most probably due to the fact that such flagpoles and the attached amulets were made of perishable materials such as wood and cloth. It is not clear exactly how the Mahāpratisarā amulet was to be attached; whether, for example, it was placed in a protecting container before being attached at the pinnacle of the flagpole, as

[21] See Drège 1999–2000 and Tsiang 2010 for surveys of these amulets. Some of them are also discussed in terms of their design in Copp 2008. Cf. Hidas 2012: 7.

[22] See Tsiang 2010: 224–238. It is not clear whether the handwritten and printed sheets found in the Dunhuang caves were once worn inside bracelets or necklaces or at least meant to be used in that way. On some of the published sheets one does observe traces of the print having been folded up (see e.g. Tsiang 2010: 219).

suggested by Hidas on the basis of modern Tibetan practice (2012: 25–26). Neither in the narrative about the merchant at sea nor in the following prescription about placing such a flagpole on top of a *caitya* are any specific indications given, except that it is to be "wrapped up with various cloths" (*nānāvastraiḥ pariveṣṭayitvā*; Hidas 2012: 144). In this connection, we may mention here that a painting at a Dunhuang cave has recently been identified as depicting the scene of a monk revering a *dhāraṇī* manuscript in palm-leaf format, placed on a kind of stand on top of a three-tiered parasol, though bare and not wrapped up in anything. In this case, it is difficult to determine whether in reality worship of a *dhāraṇī* would have occurred in such fashion at Dunhuang, or whether it is depicted in this manner for the sake of clarity. Moreover, it might be that the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, due to its primary use as an amulet, was not worshipped in the same way as other *dhāraṇī*s. In China, however, the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* certainly did come to be used for inscription on so-called '*dhāraṇī* pillars' in stone, a practice wide-spread in East Asia for which initially the *Uṣṇīṣavijayadhāraṇī* appears to have been predominantly used, and which probably has its origin in the establishment of flagpoles made of perishable materials, as described in the MPMVR, as well as in other *dhāraṇīsūtra*s.[23]

There are, furthermore, two cases of Mahāpratisarā amulets discovered in undeniable connection with *stūpa*s: in Dali, Yunnan, China, four pieces of bricks inscribed with both *dhāraṇī*s as well as the four mantras, provisionally assigned to the period 9th–11th century, were found inside the wall of a pagoda (i.e. *stūpa*);[24] and in Suzhou, East China, in a reliquary placed underneath the third floor of a pagoda, a handwritten copy and a woodblock print of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and the four mantras, dated to 1001 and 1005 CE, were found together with two copies of the

[23] For the identification of the Dunhuang painting (cave 156) and a discussion of *dhāraṇī* pillars in China, see Kuo (forthc.). This author mentions the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* inscribed on one of the four pillars erected in 1038 at Zhaozhou in Hebei province.

[24] See Liebenthal 1947: 25–29.

Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra and various small *stūpa*s and statues.[25] There are no corresponding prescriptions in the extant Sanskrit versions of the MPMVR, but in the 8th-century Chinese translation of the MPMVR by Amoghavajra, it is prescribed, in lieu of the aforementioned passage on using a flagpole on top of a *caitya*, to place a palm-leaf manuscript with the *dhāraṇī* wrapped in various cloths inside a *tǎ* (塔), which can translate either *stūpa* or *caitya*.[26] Thus this use of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, clearly modeled on the use of other popular *dhāraṇī*s in Buddhist literature which are explicitly prescribed to be placed inside *stūpa*s and images to serve as Dharma-relics and deemed to be as powerful as the Buddha's corporal relics,[27] probably has its basis in Amoghavajra's translation,

[25] See Drège 1999–2000: 30–31 for further details. See Tsiang 2010: 207–208 for a similar case of a printed *dhāraṇī* scroll inside the floor of a pagoda.

[26] Taishō 1153 621c15. We owe these observations to Kuo Liying.

[27] See Bentor 1995 for a helpful overview of the Indian evidence for this practice; also see Bentor 1996. Specific *dhāraṇī*s for this purpose are discussed in Schopen 1982; 1985; and Scherrer-Schaub 1994. It seems, in fact, that in the MPMVR the practice of wearing amulets is propagated by comparing its benefits to those of the *stūpa* cult, in accordance with a common rhetorical strategy in Mahāyāna literature (cf. Schopen 1975 and Drewes 2007). In the narrative about the bad monk, when Yama, the King of Justice, is asked by his hell-servants about the reason why the monk's appearance in hell has taken away all sufferings for all beings there, he explains: "This person has great supernatural power and his former body is great. Just as a stūpa radiates with the multitude of hundreds of relics of the Teacher, so too shines his body with the Amulet fixed around the neck;" when the hell-servants subsequently go to see the dead body of the monk, they find that his burial mound is being worshipped from all sides by all sorts of deities (Hidas 2012: 220–221), much like a *stūpa* in fact. The comparison of a person wearing a Mahāpratisarā amulet to a *stūpa* containing Buddha-relics is made fully explicit in the introductory passage to this fourth narrative, where it is stated that "whoever wears this Great Amulet, Great Queen of Spells around his arm or neck having painted it according to the precept, should be considered to be empowered by all the Tathāgatas, to have a body of all the Tathāgatas, to have a *vajra*-body, to be the relic-receptacle of all the Tathāgatas (*sarvatathāgatadhātugarbha*)…" (Hidas 2012: 218). It is clear, then, that for those who believed in the authenticity of the MPMVR as having been proclaimed by the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), a Mahāpratisarā amulet was as powerful as the relics of the Buddha entombed in a *stūpa*.

even though these concrete cases known to us belong to a slightly later period.

The MPMVR lacks any instruction for the practice of copying of the entire text – as opposed to only the *dhāraṇī*s or the mantras – which is evidenced by the several manuscripts of the entire MPMVR both from South Asia (Gilgit, Nepal, Eastern India) and from Central Asia, where the names of the donors are inserted at the appropriate places in the given *dhāraṇī*s and the mantras. This is to be seen in light of the so-called 'cult of the book,' which led to the copying of entire Buddhist scriptures coming in vogue as a meritorious activity in its own right.[28] Since none of these manuscripts are known with certainty to have been found in the contexts in which they were actually meant to be used,[29] the possibility cannot be excluded that they were used in the ways described in the MPMVR, with the necessary adjustments due to the bulkiness of such manuscripts.[30]

Another practice not mentioned in the MPMVR is that of making statues of Mahāpratisarā, attested by the several Javanese and Eastern Indian statues of Mahāpratisarā identified by Mevissen. Although there is reference to depicting 'a divine form' (*devarūpa*) in the ritual section,[31] it is indicated by the associated prescriptions that the deity is to be chosen in accordance with the particular person for whom the Mahāpratisarā amulet is made. Thus, as men-

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[28] Cf. Hidas 2012: 30–31. See Schopen 1975 on the Buddhist 'cult of the book,' and particularly Drewes 2007: 126–127 on its relative lateness.

[29] See Fussman 2004 and Schopen 2009 for the recent debate on the function of the building where the Gilgit manuscripts were found.

[30] That a book, i.e. a set of palm leaves or a birch bark scroll, could be used as an amulet is seen in a passage from the *Ratnaketuparivarta* (39.11–40.11): "If an anointed kṣatriya king when a battle is imminent would raise on the top of a [flag-]standard a book (*pustaka*) of this, that anointed kṣatriya king will defeat the opposing army" (translation from Schopen 1978: 363–364 as cited in Hidas 2012: 223, n. 183). The aforementioned Dunhuang painting, as identified by Kuo Liying, might be a depiction of such a practice.

[31] Hidas almost consistently speaks of "painting" (cf. 2012: 217, n. 147), but the Sanskrit root in question is *likh*, and the Leiden plate presented in this article argues for a translation that is less specific with regard to the technique of depiction.

tioned above, a pregnant woman is to have images of Mahākāla and Brahmā depicted in the centre of the amulet (Hidas 2012: 237). A little further in the ritual section (Hidas 2012: 238), it is stated rather elusively that if the amulet-wearer is a spell-master (*vidyādhara*), one should depict Vidyādevī, 'goddess of spells,' who might be thought to be the same goddess as Mahāpratisarā, evoked in the title of the MPMVR as *mahāvidyārājñī*, 'great queen of spells.'[32] However, no further details are subsequently given, let alone any elaborate iconography. Hidas is therefore probably right when he states (2012: 238, n. 244) that this Vidyādevī is unlikely to stand for Mahāpratisarā, since at the time the MPMVR – or at least this section of it – was composed, the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* had not yet been personified and deified.[33] It is significant, however, that throughout this ritual section there are instructions for depicting on the amulet various kinds of auspicious symbols and weapons, such as the lotus and the sword, that later came to be part of Mahāpratisarā's iconography as described in the 11th–12th century visualization manuals *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* and attested in the several Javanese and Eastern Indian statues of Mahāpratisarā that have so far been identified.[34]

It is to this corpus of Mahāpratisarā artefacts and manuscripts that three newly identified objects from the Indonesian Archipelago, to which we now turn, are to be added. They will show that textual traditions related to the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* were circulating in this part of the Buddhist world centuries earlier than could hitherto be assumed.

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[32] Note that in one Eastern Indian manuscript (E), most closely related to the Gilgit tradition, this part of the title is simply *vidyārājñī* (Hidas 2012: 194).

[33] It should be noted, however, that among the vocative epithets used in the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* we find *mahāvidyādevi* 'great goddess of spells' (see the table in the appendix, l. 17), already in the Gilgit version. It seems that the process of deification of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, and of *dhāraṇī* texts in general, requires further research before the validity of Hidas' argument can be wholeheartedly accepted.

[34] Also the vocative epithets used in the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* itself seem to contribute to Mahāpratisarā's iconography. Note for instance the epithet *khaḍgini* 'she with the sword' (see the table in the appendix, l. 33). Cf. Hidas 2012: 27, n. 11.

3. A ten-armed form of Mahāpratisarā at Berlin[35]

In 1924, the Dutch scholar of Indonesian archaeology and epigraphy W. F. Stutterheim, who was at the time still a student and had not yet joined the Archaeological Service in the Netherlands-Indies, visited several European museum collections holding Javanese sculptures in bronze. From his report that appeared in the same year, we learn that he saw a small bronze sculpture of a 'ten-armed *śakti*' in what was then the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. He noted that it bore an inscription comprising some mantras and ending with the 'creed' *oṃ ye te svāhā* (Stutterheim 1924: 292, with n. 2).

The same sculpture was mentioned again in an article contributed by the same scholar to the *Archaeological Report* (*Oudheidkundig Verslag*, henceforward OV) for 1927, published in 1928. Here he pointed out that several of the Berlin pieces had been acquired from the notorious Dieduksman collection, but that the notoriety of the source should not, in the cases of the bronze sculptures at Berlin, give rise to suspicion about their authenticity. He subjoined a detailed description of the pieces he had seen and judged to be authentic, including the mentioned ten-armed sculpture, which he again identified as a 'śakti-figure,' while describing the main iconographical features as follows:[36]

akṣamālā | *pustaka*

śaṅkha | *padma*

paraśu | *cakra* (*?*)

khaḍga | *daṇḍa*

dhyānimudrā | *dhyānimudrā*

in the bottom hands lies an open *padma*

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[35] An earlier version of §3 appeared, in German, as Griffiths 2011b.

[36] Stutterheim 1928: 190. The features identified by Stutterheim are rearranged here from top to bottom. Small printing errors have been silently corrected. The proper right hands figure on the left of the diagram, and *vice versa*.

Stutterheim here reports that the inscription, briefly alluded to in his 1924 article, is to be found on the back of the sculpture. He determines its script as 'late central Javanese' (which would chronologically amount to the 9th or 10th century CE), and provides a decipherment whose reliability, as in the case of the Leiden copperplate to be discussed below, is compromised by his unfamiliarity with the type of textual material in question. He concludes his description as follows:

> This mantra, which, however short, is no less important for the Śaiva (?) cult practiced at Caṇḍi Lara Jonggrang, will be further analyzed in my discussion of similar Buddhist mantras found on Bali at Pejeng. The provenance of the statuette is said to be Caṇḍi Lara Jonggrang.[37] It came to Berlin in 1881 and was registered under nr. I*c* 10252. (Stutterheim 1928: 191)[38]

When the same scholar subsequently brought out his monograph on the *Antiquities of Bali* in 1929, he indeed included, for comparison with several Buddhist mantra inscriptions of the island, editions and discussions of precisely the two Javanese inscriptions that are our focus in this section and the next. He does not refer back to his contribution to OV 1927 on the Dieduksman collection, but it is clear that in the intervening years, his understanding of the Berlin statuette had evolved. For while his iconographic description of the image and decipherment of the inscription remain unchanged, he now proposes that although "the representation cannot be identified with certainty," it is possible that we are "dealing with a Cundā" (Stutterheim 1929: 41). More generally, he observes:

> It will be immediately clear that this statuette too may be called an important specimen, for the correction that it allows to our conception of Buddhist Central Java. No devout prayer, but an incantation of the type that we also find everywhere in Tibet, and which in the eyes of

[37] Candi Lara Jonggrang is the famous *Śaiva* complex at Prambanan. There is every reason to be extremely skeptical of the reliability of this information about the provenance of this piece acquired from the collector Dieduksman. For our purposes, we assume the exact provenance of this statuette in Central Java to be unknown.

[38] In this article, citations from Dutch, French, German and Indonesian sources are presented in our own translations.

> those who admire Buddhism lends the religion a degraded character there. (Stutterheim 1929: 42)

The statuette is still preserved in Berlin, where it is presently part of the collection of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (inventory number II 196), and is included in the permanent exhibition of Javanese bronzes (pp. 149, 151, 152, figs. 1, 3, 4).

After the figure had been identified as "Ten-armed Durgā" in two earlier catalogs,[39] the identification as Cundā took root from 1985 onwards, and was retained in three further catalogues published by the museum. Moeller was the first to publish a photo of the front of the statuette, but made no mention and published no photo of the inscription.[40] Ghose (2000: 161–162, nr. 241) again published only a photo of the statuette, but mentioned the inscription and readings done by J.G. de Casparis and Lokesh Chandra, without however providing any references for either one. We may safely presume that J.G. de Casparis has never published anything about this inscription, but that he had furnished a reading to a curator of the museum by letter or in person.[41] Also Lokesh Chandra's reading will have been available to Ghose in the form of an unpublished document, for this scholar's reading was not published before the year 2001, in volume III of his monumental *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography* (Lokesh Chandra 2001: 855–856). Under the entry Cundā nr. 17, we also find there for the first time a publication of a photo of the back of the statuette showing the inscription, and the reading is clearly improved vis-à-vis that published twice by Stutterheim. As regards the list of attributes published by the latter, Lokesh Chandra's identification is slightly different. We

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[39] MIKB 1971: nr. 299 "inscribed on the back" (without photo); MIKB 1976: 86, nr. 299 "inscribed on the back" (without photo).

[40] Moeller 1985: 36–38, fig. 13. See also MIKB 1986: 97, nr. 344 "Ten-armed Cundā … inscribed on the back" (without photo).

[41] This assumption is based not only on the general fact that J.G. de Casparis was frequently consulted by various museums, auction houses and collectors, but also on the availability of direct proof that this had happened in the specific case of the Berlin museum. Cf. Moeller 1985: 53, n. 1.

indicate the differences here in bold face:[42]

akṣamālā | *pustaka*

śaṅkha | *padma*

goad (*i.e.* ***aṅkuśa***) | **mirror**

khaḍga | *daṇḍa*

dhyānamudrā

in the main hands lies a bowl

Despite these differences in the identification of the attributes, Stutterheim's identification of the statuette as Cundā is still maintained. This makes the Berlin statuette the only ten-armed Cundā among the many specimens of Cundā surveyed in Lokesh Chandra's volume. In this connection, it is important to realize that many of the eight-armed 'Cundās' that immediately precede nr. 17 in the *Dictionary* are among those which Gerd Mevissen, in his important 1999 article, has most persuasively re-identified as Mahāpratisarā.[43]

We now propose to identify the ten-armed Javanese statuette kept in Berlin as Mahāpratisarā too. A ten-armed form of Mahāpratisarā is known at least in theory, i.e. in chapter 201 of the visualization manual *Sādhanamālā* (see Mevissen 2010: 726). While our statuette has just one head, this ten-armed Mahāpratisarā

[42] Lokesh Chandra adds after the last item in his list, which is the 'baton' (*daṇḍa*): "as corrected by Pauline Scheurleer in her letter of 6 July 1988." It is not clear to what the correction applies.

[43] Lokesh Chandra 2001, nr. 10 = Mevissen 1999, nr. 1; LC 11 = M 12; LC 12 = M 6; LC 13 = M 9; LC 14 = M 10; LC 15 = M 7; LC 16 = M 8. In a personal communication, Gerd Mevissen refers us further to an eight-armed 'Buddhist goddess' in the Rockefeller collection at the Asia Society, New York, whom he considers to be a Mahāpratisarā. The sculpture was published in the catalogs *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree* (Huntington & Huntington 1990: cat. 70, where it is said to be from Java) and in *Trésors des arts asiatiques* (Musée Cernuschi 2000: cat. 39, where it is said to be from Sumatra). The goddess can be viewed online through http://www.asiasocietymuseum.org/region_object.asp?RegionID=3&CountryID=9&ChapterID=17&ObjectID=589, last visited 18-04-2013.

should have three heads according to the *Sādhanamālā*. But this is also the case with the eight-armed forms prescribed in *sādhana* collections, which all significantly postdate the Eastern Indian and Javanese icons that Mevissen has re-identified as Mahāpratisarā. Mevissen's argument was partly based on the correspondence of attributes with those prescribed in *sādhana*s for the eight-armed three-headed *female* form, and partly on the same correspondence with those observed in Central and East Asian specimens of a *male* Mahāpratisara. Now most of these same attributes are also observed in our ten-armed statuette. We identify the attributes as follows (cf. p. 149, fig. 1):

akṣamālā (rosary) | *pustaka* (book)

śaṅkha (conch) | *padma* (lotus)

paraśu (axe) or *aṅkuśa* (goad) | *cakra* (discus)

khaḍga (sword) | *daṇḍa* (staff)

in the bottom hands, which are folded,
lies a *cintāmaṇi* (magic jewel)[44] or a *pātra* (bowl)[45]
seated in *sattvaparyaṅkāsana*

The identification as Mahāpratisarā may appear arbitrary on its own, but is rendered certain by the inscription. Its text is composed of mantras that are specifically dedicated to Mahāpratisarā and are transmitted in the scripture of this goddess, the *Mahāpratisarā-mahāvidyārājñī* that we have discussed above in §2. It is now time to present our reading of the inscription (cf. p. 150, fig. 2):

[44] This is how Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke (1988: 72, 98) identify the same attribute in the case of other bronzes; it is also observed in some of the stone sculptures from Bumiayu (Sumatra), one of which has been depicted in Brinkgreve & Sulistianingsih 2009: 77.

[45] Cf. n. 49 below.

MIKB II 196 (back of statuette)	***Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī***
(1) // °o[ṃ °a](mṛ)tava-	oṃ amṛtavare
(2) re vara vara pravaraviśu-	vara 2 pravaraviśuddhe
(3) ddhe huṃ huṃ phaṭ· pha(ṭ)· sva-	hūṃ 2 phaṭ 2 svāhā
(4) hā °oṃ (°a)mṛtavil(o)-	oṃ amṛtavilokini
(5) kini garbhasaṃrakṣaṇi	garbhasaṃrakṣaṇi
(6) °akarsaṇi huṃ huṃ	ākarṣaṇi hūṃ 2
(7) phaṭ· phaṭ· svahā //	phaṭ 2 svāhā
(8) °oṃ ye te svahā //[46]	(Hidas 2012: 151–152)

The inscription comprises three mantras in total, each initiated by *oṃ* and concluded with *svahā* (for expected *svāhā*). If we disregard some small orthographic irregularities, the first two are precisely the first two mantras of Mahāpratisarā as they are found in the MPMVR. Moreover, in the MPMVR they are conjointly called *aparājitāhṛdaya*, 'Spell of the Invicible One (i.e. Mahāpratisarā),' which indicates that they are meant to form a single unit.

Although Lokesh Chandra's reading[47] is significantly more reliable than Stutterheim's, this scholar, who himself has published

[46] We use the raised circle ° to mark independent (*akṣara*) vowels and the median dot · to render *virāma*s. Lokesh Chandra ignores the usual opening sign (//, not very clear in this case, but perfectly clear in the Leiden copperplate, see n. 69 below), normalizes *svāhā* throughout, and reads *sa*[*ṃ*]*karṣaṇi* in line 6. The cases of *phaṭ* in l. 3 and 7 all show an *akṣara* which resembles to varying degrees a *p*·, and this explains the reading of Stutterheim, who also misunderstood all the *pha* signs, so everywhere read *dhap*. But it still seems possible to read the *ṭ*· that context proves we need. In Indonesian epigraphy, such mantra elements have often been misunderstood by previous generations of scholars, who mostly lacked indological training. We may limit ourselves here to mentioning the reading of Museum Nasional D140 published by K.C. Crucq in OV 1929: 274. The text must clearly be read *huṃ phat*· °*oṃ* instead of Crucq's *hung bapā oṃ*.

[47] Leaving aside the differences caused by normalization, mentioned in the preceding footnote, the only significant difference between his reading and ours is that we read *akarsaṇi*, a small error for MPMVR *ākarṣaṇi*, instead of Lokesh Chandra's *sa*[*ṃ*]*karṣaṇi*.

manuscripts of the Mahāpratisarā texts and also pointed out her presence in Indonesia,[48] did not recognize the mantras as being taken from the MPMVR. In his *Dictionary*, Lokesh Chandra proposes several interpretations of the first two mantras, and attempts to make it plausible that they would be pertinent to Cundā. However, he contradicts his own interpretation by concluding his discussion with the casual remark that Cundā's "mantra in all the sources is *Oṁ cale cule cunde svāhā*" (Lokesh Chandra 2001: 856). Since the mantras that we find in the inscription are a perfect match to the mantras of Mahāpratisarā in all transmitted Sanskrit sources for that deity, and since the iconography corresponds closely, although not perfectly, with other contemporary images convincingly identified as Mahāpratisarā, and with the later textual prescriptions for that icon, there can, in our opinion, hardly be any doubt about the identification proposed here. It is likely that the common iconography of Cundā, with bowl (*pātra*) in the lowest pair of her four or more arms, held folded in meditation,[49] has here influenced the iconography of Mahāpratisarā, but this does nothing to alter the identification as the latter.

The third mantra, *oṃ ye te svahā* (read: *svāhā*), is found on a number of other artefacts recovered from Indonesia, always in clearly Buddhist context. Lokesh Chandra, apparently unaware of this fact, proposes the unacceptable idea that *ye* would be "for the dative dev*yai*." But Stutterheim had already cited the entirely convincing idea, first proposed by Brandes (in Groeneveldt 1887: 228), that it is an abbreviation of the well-known *ye dharmāḥ* formula.[50] This formula, which is called the *pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya*

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[48] See Lokesh Chandra 1981 and 1983.

[49] Cf. de Mallmann (1975: 145), who writes about the images of Cundā known to her, that "all have their proper hands in meditation, with the bowl."

[50] We know this abbreviation from a Buddhist statuette from East Java (Groeneveldt 1887: 193, nr. 657a). A *stūpika* from the Borobudur site, showing only the *akṣara*s *ye te svā*, was first reproduced by Boechari et al. 1979 (fig. 18), and recently included in Soekmono & Anom 2005: 153–155 (fig. 6.1.8.2). Further cases are to be found in a forthcoming publication by Titi Surti Nastiti (clay artefacts from Candi Gentong) and in Boechari & Wibowo 1985/86: 192–193, 196, 240 (gold plaques, Museum Nasional inv.

or *-gāthā* in Buddhist literature, enjoyed huge popularity in the Buddhist world from the 6th century onwards, as it was inscribed on a large scale on small clay *stūpa*s and clay tablets, to serve as relics inside *stūpa*s.[51] It was also used to consecrate images, its inscription being equivalent to the relics of the Buddha,[52] and so to find it inscribed here, albeit in abbreviated form, should hardly be surprising.[53] However, the fact that the formula in our inscription is styled as a mantra, with the circumposition of *oṃ … svāhā*, probably indicates a relatively late date in the history of Mahāyāna, as this use of the formula only seems to appear in medieval Indian texts.[54] That it is the concluding mantra in the inscription is in accordance with the general use of the *ye dharmāḥ* formula in Mahāyāna literature, where it is often cited at the end of a text, as is also the case

nrs. 783a and 783b, 1, 1191 and 7994). But the following two cases included in Boechari & Wibowo 1985/86 are most important in this context, for they may be considered to constitute positive proof of the correctness of Brandes' hypothesis, by joining the abbreviation to fuller forms of the formula: p. 217 (gold plaque, inv. nr. 6255b: *oṃ ye te svaha ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣāṃ tathāgato ca yo nirodha* […]) and p. 222f. (gold plaque, inv. nr. 6522: *oṃ ye te svahā ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā oṃ*). The abbreviated form of the *ye dharmāḥ* formula has also been found on moulded clay tablets from Suratthani and Satingpra in what is nowadays Southern Thailand, outside of Indonesia proper but still part of the same cultural zone (Boisselier 1968: 159 – the reference to "un alphabet javanais" here is misleading, for the style of writing in question has been found also on Sumatra and Borneo). According to Peter Skilling (pers. comm.), the abbreviated form of the *ye dharmāḥ* formula is apparently unknown elsewhere in the Buddhist world. Keisho Tsukamoto's monumental work *A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions* (1996–1998) contains no case of *oṃ ye te svāhā*.

[51] See Boucher 1991 for a brief survey and discussion of these materials.

[52] See Boucher 1991: 14–15 and Bentor 1995: 254.

[53] Perhaps the fact that in later tradition the *ye dharmāḥ* formula was deemed to be among the five *dhāraṇī*s that are to serve as 'relics' of the Dharma-body of the Buddha (*dharmakāyaśarīra*; cf. Boucher 1991: 25, n. 70; Bentor 1995: 254) inside *stūpa*s is significant with regard to our inscription: the image would not be considered to be fully consecrated until it was inscribed with this formula.

[54] Such as the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavidhidhāraṇī*. See Davidson 2009: 107.

with several Eastern Indian and Nepalese MPMVR manuscripts.[55] So we should regard the mantras as giving an epitome, the 'heart,' of the MPMVR, terminated by a mantra that fully consecrated the image.

4. A copperplate at Leiden

The starting point of our research, however, was not this Berlin statuette, but the artefact to which we now turn, a rather intensively published copperplate (p. 153, fig. 5), engraved with a female image at the centre of a text.[56] The depiction of the female figure has drawn more scholarly attention than the text. Stutterheim first devoted a separate article to this figure in 1925. In his previously mentioned publication of 1929 this was followed by a presentation of the inscription, the inscribed text, and the textual evidence it appeared to provide for Stutterheim's identification of the figure as Devī Durgā. These two publications about the copperplate were later amalgamated and republished in 1956, posthumously, in English translation. As will be detailed further below, the currently dominant interpretation is due to Lokesh Chandra. In a 1977 article, this scholar presented a new reading of the inscription (with some emendations based on Stutterheim's reading) and argued against the identification as Devī Durgā, pointing out that the inscription bears the stamp of a Buddhist *dhāraṇī*. Lokesh Chandra proposed to identify the central image as Hārītī, the Buddhist protectress of children, with in her arms her youngest and dearest son, Priyaṅkara.

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[55] See e.g. Hidas 2012: 85, n. 28 and 86, n. 32 for such occurrences in the oldest Eastern Indian and the oldest Nepalese manuscript of the MPMVR. See Scherrer-Schaub 1994: 711–713 for an example of the *pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* standing at the end of a series of *dhāraṇī*s.

[56] When we were finalizing this article for publication, we came across the article dedicated to the Leiden plate by Kayato Hardani (2009). This scholar is apparently unfamiliar with many of the relevant facts, comparable artefacts and scholarly publications, and in particular is unaware of the identity of the Sanskrit text inscribed on the plate. We therefore hardly refer to this article in our discussion below.

Our research focusing initially on the text rather than the image engraved on the copperplate has brought to light new evidence that requires us to reconsider this identification. For after our re-examination of Stutterheim's transliteration (on which also Lokesh Chandra's edition is based), we became aware that the inscription can be identified as a part of the first *dhāraṇī* contained in the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī*, a text which is not related to Hārītī. We owe the identification of the *dhāraṇī* as such to a communication received in 2008 by email from Harunaga Isaacson, specialist of Buddhist tantric literature whom we had called upon to elucidate the inscription after we had hit upon the limits of our knowledge, and were unable to advance after our first attempt at a fresh reading of the text engraved on the plate.

It was only after learning with which text we were dealing, that we re-read the inscription a second time, and were able make many significant improvements in reading upon our own previous attempt, and that of Stutterheim (and Lokesh Chandra). Indeed, one of the most important general observations that follow from our work with the epigraphic material presented in this study, is that no appreciation of the historical significance of such 'citation inscriptions' is possible without having access to the range of scriptural texts that could be cited.[57] Combined with our new and improved reading of this copperplate version of a significant part of the first *dhāraṇī*, the availability of the recently published work by Gergely Hidas (2012) comprising a text-historical study of the various manuscript versions of the whole *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* that are known from South Asia, may allow us to narrow down the

[57] We take the term 'citation inscription' from Skilling 1999 (see also Griffiths 2011a: 169–171). Virtually no work on citation inscriptions from Indonesia has been done by scholars with adequate buddhological competence. An admirable exception was J.G. de Casparis, whose great buddhological knowledge is displayed throughout his *Prasasti Indonesia* I & II. We dwell on this issue because of the profound disregard for what epigraphical texts actually say, and hence for the correct decipherment of how they say it, that is visible in many Indonesian publications of recent decades. A particularly egregious example is the volume produced by Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala Yogyakarta in 2007, which coincidentally bears the OD photo 2194 of the Leiden copperplate on its cover.

position of our Indonesian specimen in the history of transmission of this Buddhist scripture in Asia. Let us first introduce the few facts known and hypotheses that are permissible with regard to provenance and date of the copperplate, before we present our new edition and text-historical observations, and finally return to the issue of the identification of the female figure.

History of discovery and provenance

The Leiden plate is among a number of objects given on long-term loan by the Kern Institute to the National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, where it bears the inventory number B79-1. We learn from documents pertaining to the plate held in this museum that the plate was donated to the Kern Institute by a Mrs. Dom in April 1940. Mrs. Dom was presumably the widow of Mr. Dom, formerly residing at Cebongan in the vicinity of Yogyakarta, who owned the plate when it came to the attention of N.J. Krom as head of the Archaeological Service (*Oudheidkundige Dienst*). The museum also holds two letters, respectively of April and May 1914, from Krom to Dom, in connection with the former's request to be allowed to borrow the plate (a request to which the latter consented), and the return of the plate to Dom in Cebongan. Krom reported on the matter in his archaeological report on the second quarter in OV 1914: 60–61:

> From Mr. G. Dom of Cebongan I received for examination a highly curious copperplate, showing in the centre the representation of a female figure carrying a child, the whole being surrounded by 36 lines of Middle-Javanese *kawi*-writing. The inscription is of particular importance for our knowledge of Hindu-Javanese religious ideas, because it evidently contains several formulas in honour of Dewī who is also honoured by many Sanskrit epitheta. (translation from Stutterheim 1956: 147)

No information is preserved about how, when and where Mr. Dom acquired the plate. The mentioned Mr. Dom is no doubt Jan George Dom, born at Surakarta in 1861, and deceased in The Hague in

1937, one time administrator of the sugar factory at Cebongan.[58] And it is this Mr. Dom who reported the discovery of a Śaiva temple at Cebongan to the authorities, as cited in OV 1912: 5.[59] We know therefore that he had an interest in archaeology and is liable to have visited sites in the area surrounding his place of residence. Now Cebongan falls under the *desa* Tlogoadi in *kecamatan* Mlati of *kabupaten* Sleman, *provinsi* Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, while a neighboring *desa*, that of Sendangadi, is home to the site Jongke, which has yielded numerous Buddhist artefacts (small clay *stūpa*s and clay tablets) that probably pertained to some kind of building.[60] We are tempted to speculate that the provenance of our plate is the nearby Buddhist site of Jongke. But it should be remembered that the Dom family, apparently well dispersed in colonial-period Java, also counted other members with an interest in archaeology, one of whom resided near Candi Sewu,[61] so that it cannot be excluded that the plate reached G. Dom from further afield, through a family connection. In any case, it does not seem advisable to follow Fontein 1990 (as well as Kayato Hardani 2009) in associating the

[58] Information taken from a genealogical website: www.get-it.nl/stamboom/index.php.

[59] "According to the message from Mr. G. Dom at *Tjebongan*, mentioned in the previous report, foundations have become visible near the sugar factory of that name." The reference to the preceding report is to *Rapporten van de Oudheidkundige Commissie* (ROC 1911: 30), where no other relevant details are mentioned.

[60] Cf. Bosch & Stutterheim 1938: 17: "Among the investigations undertaken and finds made in 1935 must be mentioned … the investigations in the desa Mulungan […] and those in the desa Jongke, where a great number of clay-stūpas and votive tablets were found (fig. 13–14)." Although the site is not mentioned in the inventory of Degroot (2010), the remains of foundations captured in OD photos 11792 and 11793 show that the site of Jongke was endowed not only with clay *stūpa*s but also with monumental remains.

[61] Cf. ROC 1911: 74: "In the course of investigations of the antiquities in the Prambanan plain my attention was drawn by a very beautiful and remarkable garuda-piece, that was kept in the garden of Mr. Dom, employee of the agricultural enterprise Tjandi Sewu, in front of the former residence of Mr. Kläring, where in his time such an important collection of statues had been assembled from surrounding ruins." See also ROC 1911: 76. The first initial of this Mr. Dom is not known to us.

plate with Cebongan, because no Buddhist remains have ever been found there.[62]

Physical description

The copperplate, engraved on only one side, is of a slightly concave shape. The length of the plate is 36.6 cm; the width is 16.6 cm at the top end, 16 cm in the middle, and 16.9 cm at the bottom end. Besides displaying what appear to be marks of corrosion (black dots), the plate has undergone some damage at the upper right hand of the engraved side, where it even shows a small hole. The 36 lines that make up the inscription almost cover the entire surface (about 36.3 × 16.5 cm). A feature unknown to us from any other Javanese copperplate inscription is the fact that the lines are parallel to the short, rather than the long sides of the plate. The greater part of these lines, 28 in total, are interrupted by the depiction of the female figure, mentioned several times above, along the center of the plate. There are some indications that the plate was cut to its present dimensions after the text and figure had been engraved (see notes 91, 92 and 94 below).

Script and date

The plate is engraved not in a form of Siddhamātṛkā (i.e. Siddham) – which was certainly available for the engraving of a Buddhist *dhāraṇī* inscription in ancient Central Java, and which might have been expected given the importance of this script in the transmission of this specific *dhāraṇī* from South Asia to China (see below, p. 128, n. 175) –, but in the variety of script which de Casparis has

[62] On the problem of the provenance of the plate, in relation to Dom's residence at Cebongan, Fontein (1990: 200) writes: "Not far away is Batang, where a cache of twenty-five Buddhist bronzes was discovered in 1914." From the publications about this cache of bronzes (see the references in ROC 1915: 14 = *Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden*, item 1210), which speak of a *desa* Batang, it is in fact impossible to determine the location of the *desa* in question, and we know of no village of that name near Cebongan. The theoretical possibility that the Batang cache and the Leiden copperplate originate from the same site can neither be confirmed nor excluded.

discussed in chapter II, entitled "Early Kawi Script (c. 750–925)," of his handbook on *Indonesian Palaeography* (1975). The plate contains no date, so we have to rely primarily on palaeographic arguments for any statement about its possible date of manufacture. The palaeographic method can at best allow an hypothesis with regard to a range during which an inscription may have been written, precision greater than a range of 50 years generally being considered unachievable. We intended to apply this method by selecting for comparison a number of copperplate inscriptions of the central Javanese period (732–928 CE) for which good reproductions were at our disposal, and which would represent different points of time within this range of nearly 200 years. Unfortunately, it was impossible to cover the whole Central Javanese period, because the earliest extant copperplate inscription is the Munduan inscription of 807 CE.[63] The latest that we used is the Wintang Mas B inscription of 919 CE (using photo OD 10027).[64] For the intervening period we compared the Bulai C inscription (OD 11589) of 860 CE,[65] and the Pintang Mas inscription (OD 10017) of 878 CE.[66] The sample hence covers a period of only 112 years, and moreover all the selected inscriptions are charters, whereas our inscription contains a *dhāraṇī*. Even among these four selected charters, there are great differences of handwriting that cannot be attributed to chronological development; especially the Pintang Mas inscription seems much more carelessly engraved than the others, including the Leiden plate, which are all more neatly written, and this diminishes its utility for palaeographic comparison. We have in fact not

[63] We thank Dr. Ninie Susanti of Universitas Indonesia for giving us access to photos of these plates made by her student Kunta. We accept the *millésime* 728 Śaka read and published by Nakada (1986).

[64] The text was first edited by Cohen Stuart (1875, nr. XX), which edition was reproduced by Sarkar (1971–72/II: 192–195). See Damais 1952: 54–55 and 1955: 52 about the date.

[65] For this inscription, we dispose of independent readings by Damais (1955: 24–25) and de Casparis (1956: 330–337).

[66] The text was first edited by Poerbatjaraka (1926: 74–76), which edition was reproduced by Sarkar (1971–72/I: 202–207). See Damais 1952: 38–39 and 1955: 173 about the date.

been able to detect any unequivocal trends from the earliest to the latest inscription, along which we could position the Leiden plate.[67] Although we have the impression that its script agrees better with the later than with the earlier samples, we think it would be unwise to base ourselves on such an impression gained from a possibly unrepresentative sample, and therefore propose a rather wide date range, namely between 800 and 925 CE, i.e. roughly between the earliest and the latest dated examples of copperplate inscriptions from the Central Javanese period. If only for the reason that no positive evidence whatsoever exists for the practice of engraving texts on copperplate in Java before the Munduan plate of 807 CE, Stutterheim's casual inclusion of the 8th century in his estimate of the date of manufacture of the plate seems to us unwarranted.[68]

Edition

Bold letters indicate improvements of previously published readings. Other conventions used in our edition and critical notes are the following:

- (...) enclose graphic elements whose identification is uncertain;
- [...] enclose graphic elements which have been damaged and which have been conjecturally restored on the basis of the elements that are still visible;
- [[]] indicate an empty space on the plate;
- a comma stands for the lowest level punctuation mark (figuring at x-height);

[67] This negative result thus confirms the conclusion of J.G. de Casparis: "On the whole, the Early Kawi script shows a remarkable stability from the middle of the ninth century" (1975: 34). We have found in de Casparis' handbook no discussion relevant to the occurrence of two rather strikingly different shapes of the *akṣara va* in our inscription (one a parallelepiped: e.g. lines 2, 16; the other a circle: line 1), and the possible chronological pertinence of this difference.

[68] Stutterheim (1956: 149): "the time of its manufacture […], a time which we may tentatively establish on the basis of its script as the 8th or 9th century."

- the sigla S and LC refer respectively to the first edition by Stutterheim (where necessary S[29] and S[56] to distinguish Stutterheim's original 1929 publication from the 1956 English translation) and the second edition by Lokesh Chandra (1977).
- the siglum Gilgit refers to Hidas' edition of the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* on the basis of manuscripts from Gilgit, northern Pakistan; the siglum EIN refers to Hidas' separate edition of the text which is based on a selection of manuscripts from eastern India and Nepal; we refer to the two recensions collectively as the South Asian versions. We refer to Amoghavajra's transliterated version (Taishō 1153) only when the Gilgit manuscripts, as the primary representatives of an early textual tradition of the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī*, are illegible.

(1) //[69] tadyathā °oṃ vipulagarbhe vipulabimale[70] jayagarbhe vajra**jvā**laga-[71]

(2) rbhbhe[72] gatigahane[73] gaganaviśo**dh**ane[74] sarbvapāpaviśo-

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[69] //: a punctuation sign which looks like a double *daṇḍa* with an intersecting flourish (see fig. 2 on p. 150 and n. 46 above). Similar signs are very common in Javanese epigraphy. Its basic form (and presumable palaeographic antecedent), a double *daṇḍa* with horizontal cross-stroke, is seen very clearly e.g. in the Bukateja inscription (OD 14323, edited in Griffiths 2013).

[70] *vipulabimale*: S; *vipulavimale* LC (silent emendation).

[71] *vajrajvāla°*: *vajravāla°* S; *vajrabāla°* LC (silent emendation). Our reading is supported by Gilgit (EIN reads *vajrajvālā°*).

[72] °*rbhbhe*: S; °*rbhe* LC (silent emendation).

[73] *gati°*: S; *gatī°* LC. The plate is slightly worn here so it is difficult to determine whether the superscript circle that forms the vocalization *i* contains the small stroke that would make *ī*. The South Asian versions support S's reading that we also adopt.

[74] °*viśodhane*: °*viśobane* S LC; LC emends this to °*viśodhane*. In our opinion, one can simply read an *akṣara dha* here, written with a closed top, as is consistently the case further on in this inscription (cf. lines 27–28). The

dhane[75] °oṃ gu-

(3) navatī,[76] gaganavicāri**ṇi**[77] giri giri, gamari gamari, gaha gaha, [[]]

(4) rbhbhari garbhbhari, gabhari gabhari[78] gambhari gambhari, gati gati,[79] ga

(5) [[]], nigamare[80] gubha gubha,[81] **gū**bhani **gū**bhani[82] cule bi-

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same word further on in this line, however, shows an *akṣara* with an open top and a small hook at the top right of the *akṣara*, which has been read by S and LC as *dha*. If a difference of *akṣara*s was intended, then the difference must be between one of the signs *ḍ/ḍh/d/dh*, which are hard to distinguish, if not indistinguishable, in certain varieties of Kawi script, rather than between *ba* and *dha*.

[75] *sarbvapāpaviśodhane*: S; *sarvapāpaviśodhane* LC (silent emendation).

[76] *gunavatī*: S; *guṇavati* LC (two silent emendations). Though small and slightly off-centre, the *ī* mark is certain.

[77] °*vicāriṇi*: LC; °*vicārini* S.

[78] [[]]*rbhbhari garbhbhari*, *gabhari gabhari*: (*ga*)*rbhbharigarbhbhari*, *gabharigabhari* S LC. S's use of parentheses here means that he proposes to supply a *ga* in the empty space, and this is evidently necessary. The South Asian versions, unanimously reading *gargāri gargāri* / *gagari gagari*, suggest that the underlying text of our version is *garggāri garggāri*, *gagari gagari*. Several other cases of confusion *g/bh* occur further on in this inscription (e.g. in l. 32).

[79] *gati gati*: S[29]; *gatiga* S[56] LC. The error in the 1956 English publication of S's reading, omitting *ti*, recurs in LC's edition. These mantric syllables are not attested in EIN, which instead record *gahi gahi*; Gilgit is illegible in this place, but would probably have read *gati gati*, as found in Amoghavajra's version.

[80] *ga* [[]], *nigamare*: S; *ga*[*ti*], *nigamare* LC. Comparison with the South Asian versions suggests that the *akṣara ma* has undergone transposition, and that the underlying text of our version is *gamani*, *gare* (with the *ma* restored to the space left open, and adjusted punctuation).

[81] *gubha gubha*: this reading is attested in Gilgit, whereas EIN reads *guha guha*.

[82] *gūbhani gūbhani*: *ibhani ibhani* S LC. Especially the second *gū* is quite clear. Compare the subscript *ū* with that of °*pūjite* in line 25. The subscript *ū* of the first *gū* is less clear and appears to lack its bottom part. Gilgit has here the single word *gubhaṇi*. One of the manuscripts of EIN closest to the Gilgit tradition reads *mumbhani* (E).

male mu-
(6) cəle[83] jaye vijaye,[84] sarvabhayavigate
(7) gambhasambharaṇi siri siri, miri mi-
(8) ri, piri piri, ghiri ghiri[85] samā-
(9) ntākamāṇi[86] savisatraprama(**th**a)ni[87]
(10) rakṣa rakṣa **mā**(**ṃ**) saparivā**r**aṃ (sa)rvasatvaṃ-
(11) ś[88] ca, viri viri, vi(v)idhāvaraṇavinā-

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[83] *cule bimale mucəle*: S; *cule vimale mucəle* LC. Stutterheim (1956: 155) expressed his surprise at the use of the *pepet* sign: "we would not have expected an Indonesian sound between all these Sanskrit sounds." The reasoning is misguided, for there is nothing more natural than a *dhāraṇī* being pronounced according to local habits, as is also the case with Amoghavajra's transliterated version into Chinese, which is accompanied by pronunciation instructions. Gilgit reads *cale muci*[*le*] followed by a lacuna, while several EIN versions read *cale mucale*, so we see a simple case of *ca* being pronounced as /cə/, and this fact being reflected in spelling.

[84] *jaye vijaye*: S[29]; *jaya vijaye* S[56]; *jayavijaya* LC. Our reading is confirmed by EIN.

[85] Both S and LC record a punctuation mark here. Although there is some damage to the plate, it does not to us appear to present a punctuation mark.

[86] °*kamāṇi*: S; °*kamaṇi* LC. EIN reads *samantākarṣaṇi*, and it is clear that this is also the underlying reading of our text, the *mā* being an easily made error for *rṣa*.

[87] *savisatraprama*(*tha*)*ni*: °*pram*(*adha*)*ni* S; °*pram*(*atha*)*ni* LC. In place of S's emendation (1956: 155) *sarvasatvapramathani*, LC proposes to emend *savisatraprama*(*tha*)*ni* to *sarvaśatrupramathani*. This agrees with EIN. The *tha* is sloppily written (cf. the cases in l. 1, *tadyathā*; 20 *anāthān*; 24 °*mathanī*, the last case also being somewhat sloppy), and the internal stroke barely visible, but this reading is definitely more plausible than S's *dha*.

[88] *mā*(*ṃ*) *saparivāraṃ* (*sa*)*rvasatvaṃś*: *ṣasaparivara sarvvasatvaṃś* S; *ṣa sa parivāra sarvasattvāṃś* LC (silent emendation for the last word). Though the first *akṣara* is hard to read on the photographs, consultation of the plate proved to be decisive and revealed a *mā*, the presence of an *anusvāra* remaining doubtful. But the second *anusvāra*, in (*sa*)*parivāraṃ*, was clearly visible. Our reading is internally confirmed by the occurrence of the same phrase, *rakṣa rakṣa māṃ saparivāraṃ*, in lines 17–18 and 19–20. Hidas' edition reads *rakṣa rakṣa māṃ sarvasattvāṃś ca* without intervening *saparivāraṃ*, yet there are several EIN versions that contain the latter element. This supplicatory formula is entirely absent in Gilgit.

(12) śini muri muri, mili mili, ka-
(13) male vimale, jaye vi-
(14) jaye jay**ā**va**he** ja**yā**-
(15) vati[89] bhagavati ratnamaku-
(16) ṭamalādhari,[90] bahuvidhavicitravemadh[**ā**]-
(17) riṇi,[91] bhagavati mahāvidyādevi rakṣa[92]
(18) rakṣa māṃ sapariv(**ā**)raṃ satvaś[93] ca samantāt sarbapā-
(19) pavisodhani[94] huru huru, rakṣa rakṣa mā sa-

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[89] *jayāvahe jayāvati*: *jahevatejahe* (or *jayāvatejahe*) *vati* S; *jahevatejahevati* (emended to *jayavati jayavati*) LC. The consonant that we read as *h* in *jayāvahe* (*jahevate* S LC) shows certain characteristics – a left stroke that slants inward at the top and a squarish bottom part – which are incompatible with a *t* (cf. the *h* in *vahu*°, l. 16). The reading *yā* (2×) instead of *he* (2×) is equally indisputable. The parallels in Gilgit and EIN, reading *jayāvahe jayavati*, prove that LC's emendation is not warranted.

[90] *ratnamakuṭamalādhari*,: S; *ratnamakuṭamālādhari* LC (silent emendation). Both S and LC omit the following punctuation mark. Almost all EIN verions read *ratnakuṭamālādhari*, whereas Gilgit has *ratnakuṭamālādhāriṇi*.

[91] *bahuvidhavicitravemadh*[*ā*]*riṇi*: *bahuvidhavicitravemadhariṇi* S; *bahuvidhavicitravemadhāriṇi* LC (silent emendation). The final *akṣara* at the end of l. 16 may well have borne the stroke making the vocalization *ā*, which accidentally came to be removed when the plate was trimmed to its present shape, after the engraving of the text. Compare the missing upward stroke of *kṣa* at the end of the next line, and the missing downward stroke of the *pā* at the end of line 18. The concave shape of the plate may thus partly be explained by a slightly inattentive process of final trimming. The South Asian versions read *bahuvividhavicitraveṣadhāriṇi*, and this must be the underlying reading of our version too (cf. another case of *m* for *ṣ*, in l. 9).

[92] *rakṣa*: the upward stroke of the subscript *ṣa* is missing, probably due to trimming of the plate. See the preceding note.

[93] *māṃ sapariv*(*ā*)*raṃ satvaś*: *mā*(*ṃ*) *saparivaraṃ ṣatvaś* S; *mā saparivāraṃ sattvāṃś* LC (silent emendation). See note 88 on ll. 10–11. Hidas' edition is again different here (*rakṣa rakṣa māṃ sarvasattvāṃś ca*), though in this case too there are EIN versions where *saparivāraṃ* is included. Gilgit (*rakṣa rakṣa mama Dinaśinasya*) does not contain the word. EIN suggests that LC's emendation is not sufficiently far-reaching, and that the underlying reading is *sarvasattvāṃś* (as in l. 20).

[94] *samantāt sarbapāpavisodhani*: S; *samantāt sarvapāpaviśodhani* LC (silent emendations). Again, the downward stroke of the final *akṣara* of line

(20) parivāraṃ[95] sarvvasatvaś[96] ca °anāthān atrāṇā**n**[97] apa-

(21) **rā**yaṇān[98] aśaraṇān· parimoca**y**a[99] saba-

(22) duḥlebhyaḥ[100] caṇḍi caṇḍi caṇḍini vegavatī[101] sarva-

(23) duṣṭani**v**āraṇī[102] vijayavāhinī,[103] huru huru mu-

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18 (*pā*) appears to be missing. See notes 91 and 92. Comparison with Gilgit and EIN shows that our version has lost *sarvatra* from an original sequence *samantāt sarvatra sarvapāpaviśodhani*, an evident case of eye-skip.

[95] *mā saparivāraṃ*: S LC. It is probably necessary to restore *māṃ* (cf. l. 10 and especially 18). Also in this case *saparivāraṃ* is not attested in Gilgit and in some of the EIN versions.

[96] *sarvvasatvaś*: S; *sarvasattvāṃś* LC (silent emendation). Clearly, LC's emendation, supported also by EIN, is to be adopted (cf. the emendation we have proposed in l. 18, in n. 93).

[97] *atrāṇān*: LC; *atrāṇan* S. Compared to the full-fledged cases of *ṇā* in *aparāyaṇān aśaraṇān* (l. 21), the presence of a long *ā* vocalization is here indeed not evident (cf. S's reading), but since *ṇ* normally does not show a headmark (*kuncir*), we presume that the appendix is indeed intended as *ā*.

[98] *aparāyaṇān*: *apabhayaṇān* S; *apabhayaṇān* LC (silent emendation). Our reading is supported by the South Asian versions.

[99] *parimocaya*: *parimocala* S LC. LC emends to *parimocaya*, but it is not necessary to emend in order to arrive at this reading. The leftmost upward stroke of the roundish *akṣara* identified as *ya* does not touch the top part of its middle stroke; a *la* can therefore be excluded. The South Asian versions support the reading we adopt here.

[100] *sabaduḥlebhyaḥ*: *sa*(*r*)*baduḥlebhyaḥ* S; *sa*(*r*)*vaduḥlebhyaḥ* LC. The notation (*r*) in these readings denotes the addition of an *r* that is not written on the plate. S (1956: 156) proposes to read °*duḥkhebhyaḥ* and, like LC, we adopt this emendation, to yield *sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ* as in the South Asian versions. The consonants *l* and *kh* are easily confused in Kawi script.

[101] *caṇḍi caṇḍi caṇḍini vegavatī*: S[29]; *caṇḍi caṇḍini vegavatī* S[56]; *caṇḍi caṇḍini vegavati* LC (repetition of error from S[56] and silent emendation of final *ī*). Except for the final *ī*, our version here agrees precisely with Gilgit, while EIN reads *caṇḍi 2 caṇḍe 2 caṇḍini 2 vegavati* (with considerable variation in the mss., some, e.g., not containing *caṇḍe 2* which is also absent in Gilgit and our version).

[102] *sarvaduṣṭanivāraṇī*: *sarvaduṣṭaniśāraṇī* S LC. LC emends to °*niḥsaraṇi*. This emendation is unwarranted. The plate clearly reads *vā* and not *śā*, and the South Asian versions read °*nivāraṇi*.

[103] *vijayavāhinī*: *vijayavāhini* S LC.

(24) ru muru, curu curu °ayumpālanī,[104] suravaramathanī[105]
(25) sabadevagaṇa**pūji**te[106] **c**iri **dh**iri,[107] samantāva-
(26) lokite pra**r**e prabhe[108] suprabhaviśuddhe**,**[109] sa-
(27) rbapāpavisodhani[110] dhara dhara dharani
(28) dhare dhare[111] musu musu, sumu sumu

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[104] *curu °ayumpālanī,*: *curu*, *ayumpālanī* S; *curu*, *ayumpālani* LC (silent emendation). Both S and LC insert a punctuation mark before *°ayumpālanī* (where the plate shows none) and omit it after that word (where the plate clearly shows one). In the South Asian versions, the manuscripts read *āyupālani*, *āyuḥpālani* or *āyuṣpālani*. The latter is probably also the underlying reading of our version, for we have noted other errors *m* for *ṣ* in our version (above, l. 9 and 16).

[105] *suravaramathanī*: S; *suravaramathani* LC (silent emendation). Gilgit and one of the EIN manuscripts (N) similarly read *suravaramathani*, whereas all other EIN manuscripts read *suravarapramathani* or *suravararipupramathani*.

[106] *sabadevagaṇapūjite*: *sa*(*r*)*badevagaṇasvadite* S; *sarvadevagaṇasvadite* LC (silent emendation). Though the photographs might have permitted the reading of S and LC, inspection of the plate clearly reveals *°pūjite*, in accordance with the South Asian versions.

[107] *ciri dhiri*: *virivirī* S; *viri viri* LC. The consonants *c* and *v* are not consistently distinguishable (cf. the sequences *vidhavivici* in l. 16, and *curu curu* in l. 24). Since its bottom part is dented, the third *akṣara* in the sequence must be read as *dhi*. Our reading for the entire sequence finds support in the South Asian versions: Gilgit reads *dhiri dhiri*, which is also attested by two EIN manuscripts (N, L), and the majority of the EIN manuscripts have *ciri ciri dhiri dhiri*. There is one EIN manuscript (E), however, which has *viri viri*, and two other, probably later, versions which have *ciri ciri viri viri*.

[108] *prare prabhe*: *pradhaprabhe* S LC; S (1956: 156) was already doubtful about this reading and LC emends to *prabha-prabhe*. The underlying reading is, however, certainly *prabhe prabhe*, as in the South Asian versions. The top and right strokes of the consonant in the first *akṣara bhe* have been drawn too short, with the result that it must be read as *re*. The presence of the *e*-vocalization (*taling*) is evident. There is certainly no *dha* here.

[109] Both S and LC omit this punctuation sign.

[110] *sarbapāpavisodhani*: S; *sarvapāpaviśodhani* LC (silent emendations).

[111] *dharani dhare dhare*: S; *dharaṇi dhare dhare* LC (silent emendation). Gilgit reads *dharaṇivaradhare*, and Hidas' edition of the EIN versions has *dharaṇidhare*. But among the EIN manuscripts there are several variations,

(29) pumu vumu, ruru ruru cale[112]
(30) cālaya duṣṭā**n p**uyāśāṃ[113] śrīvapu-
(31) jayakamale[114] kṣiṇi kṣiṇi vara-
(32) dāṅ**kuś**e[115] °oṃ padmavisuddhe[116] **bh**ara gara,[117] giri giri,[118]

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such as *dharaṇi dharaṇi dhare* / *dhare dhare* (N), so it is not necessary to conclude that our version is closer to Gilgit.

[112] *musu musu*, *sumu sumu pumu vumu*, *ruru ruru cale*: *musumusu*, *sumusumu pumupumu*, *ruru ruru cale* S LC. The *akṣara pu* can easily be an error for *su*, and Gilgit indeed reads *sumu sumu sumu* / *ruru cale*, while EIN reads *sumu sumu* / *sumuru sumuru* / *ruru cale*. None of the South Asian versions thus includes a sequence *pumu pumu*, and the second ostensible *pu* of S and LC can certainly not be read as such. Something seems to have gone askew here in our version, which possibly presupposes an underlying sequence *sumu sumu*, *sumuru sumuru*, *ruru cale*.

[113] *duṣṭān puyāśāṃ*: *duṣṭaṃ ṣuyāśāṃ* S; *duṣṭam suyāśān* LC (silent emendations). The headmark of the *n* in *npu* is remarkably pronounced and is no doubt the result of a misinterpretation of an original *ra* after *npu*. Gilgit reads *cālaya duṣṭān pūraya me āśāṃ*, and EIN *cālaya sarvaduṣṭān* / *pūraya āśāṃ*, so it is evident that our version has lost this syllable. It is noteworthy that three EIN manuscripts (I, L, N), like Gilgit, read only *duṣṭān*, without *sarva*, as in our version.

[114] *śrīvapujayakamale*: S LC. Comparison with the South Asian versions (Gilgit: *śrīvapudhanaṃjayakamale*; EIN: *śrīvapurdhare jayakamale*) suggests that two syllables have been lost before *jayakamale*.

[115] *varadāṅkuśe*: *varadāṅgaje* S LC; S mentions in a note the alternative possibility of reading *varadāṅguje*. Our reading, unmistakable on the plate, is supported by the South Asian versions.

[116] *padmavisuddhe*: S; *padmaviśuddhe* LC (silent emendation). The South Asian versions read *śodhaya śodhaya śuddhe* after this (EIN with repetition of *śuddhe*), and it is clear that this sequence has been lost in our version due to eye-skip.

[117] *bhara gara*: *garagara* S LC. The South Asian versions read *bhara bhara*. The consonants *bh* and *g* are notoriously hard to distinguish in Kawi script, and it is clear in this context that a whole row of underlying *bh*'s have been misread as *g*'s (and at a subsequent stage *g*'s as *k*'s) in the tradition preceding our version, but the slight nick in the top left corner of the *akṣara* that we read as *bha* seems to indicate that this *akṣara* at least was intended to contain a *bh* and not a *g*. See the following notes.

kuru[118] kuru[119] maṅgalaviśuddhe[120]

(33) pavitramu**kh**i[121] la**d**gani **kh**a**d**gani,[122] lara **kh**ara,[123] jvalitaśi**l**are[124] samantaprasā-

(34) ritāvabhāsitasuddhe[125] jvala jvala,[126] sarbadevaganasamākarpaṇi[127] satyabra-

(35) te[128] tara tara tāraya sarbasatvān **n**ā**ga**vilokite[129] lahu lahu tuhu tuhu

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[118] *giri giri*: S LC. The South Asian versions read *bhiri bhiri*. See the preceding note.

[119] *kuru kuru*: S LC. The South Asian versions read *bhuru bhuru*. See the preceding notes.

[120] *maṅgalaviśuddhe*: the presence of a stroke above the final *akṣara* is unmistakable. However, it is off-centre and to the left of the *akṣara*, and therefore it is probably not intended as *ṃ*. It may be accidental or perhaps it represents a misplaced punctuation sign.

[121] *pavitramukhi*: *pavitramuli* S; *pavitramūli* LC (silent emendation). Our reading, unmistakable on all photos, is also supported by EIN. Gilgit reads *pavitramukhe*.

[122] *ladgani khadgani*: *laṅgani laṅgani* S LC. EIN reads *khaḍgini khaḍgini* (Gilgit: *khagini khagini*), and our plate turns out to present a close variant, clearly showing *dg* rather than *ṅg*. The plate further presents one case of the very simple confusion of *la* and *kha* (see the next notes).

[123] *lara khara*: *laralara* S LC. The South Asian versions read *khara khara*, and this is clearly the underlying text of our version too, despite the occurrence of another case of *la* for *kha* (see the preceding and following notes).

[124] *jvalitaśilare*: *jvalitaśīlare* S LC. Nothing on the plate requires reading a long *ī*. Rather, we have here another case of *la* for *kha* (cf. the preceding notes), for Gilgit reads *jvālitaśikhare* and EIN reads *jvalitaśikhare*.

[125] *samantaprasāritāvabhāsitasuddhe*: S; *samantaprasāritāvabhāsitaśuddhe* LC (silent emendation). Adopting LC's emendation, our version agrees with some of the EIN manuscripts (C, D, H, I, L). Gilgit reads *samantaprasaritāvabhāsitaśuddhe*, which is also attested in some other EIN manuscripts (E, J, K, O). Several EIN manuscripts insert some words in front of this compound.

[126] Both S and LC ignore the punctuation sign here.

[127] *sarvadebaganasamākarpaṇi*: *sarbadevaganasamākarpaṇi* (emended to °*karṣaṇi*) S; *sarvadevagaṇasamākarṣaṇi* LC (silent emendations). The South Asian versions support the emendations proposed by S and LC.

[128] *satyabrate*: S; *satyavrate* LC (silent emendation).

(36) turu turu, ghiri ghiri haṇi haṇi, kṣaṇi kṣaṇi,[130] sarbagraha-rakṣiṇi[131]

Comparison of the text with other versions

The first thing that is striking is that the Leiden version ends abruptly, at about one third of the *dhāraṇī* as it occurs in the other versions.[132] The fact that the *dhāraṇī* is incomplete raises the question whether the inscription stood on its own, or whether the inscription was part of a set of copperplates containing the entire *dhāraṇī*, and perhaps even the four mantras. It is clear that in the execution of the inscription, the image took primacy, as can be seen in the upright position of the copperplate – contrary to the manner in which copperplates are usually inscribed in Indonesia (and also in India) – and the aligned arrangement with the female figure in the centre and the lines of the text interrupted by it.[133] Nevertheless,

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[129] *sarbasatvān nāgavilokite*: *sarbasatvāntā*(*da*)*vilokite* S; *sarvasattvān-tāvalokite* LC (silent emendations). S's parentheses seem here to denote that he proposes to expunge the syllable in question. But his text, which served as the basis for LC's emendation, is far from what the plate actually reads. It is the reading adopted here which is supported by the South Asian versions. They show some mutual variants for these words and their context, and there is quite a bit of variation among the EIN manuscripts, but the support for *nāgavilokite* is practically unanimous.

[130] *lahu lahu tuhu tuhu turu turu*, *ghiri ghiri haṇi haṇi*, *kṣaṇi kṣaṇi*: S LC. Gilgit is less extended and reads *lahu lahu* / *hutu hutu* / *kṣiṇi kṣiṇi*. The EIN manuscripts show substantial variation, and Hidas' edition reads *lahu lahu hulu hulu hutu hutu turu turu kiṇi kiṇi kṣiṇi kṣiṇi hani hani*.

[131] *sarbagraharakṣiṇi*: S; *sarva*° LC (silent emendation). Both S and LC record a punctuation mark after °*rakṣiṇi*, where there is none on the plate. All South Asian manuscripts collated by Hidas read *sarvagrahabhakṣaṇi*, except one (I), which has the minor variant *sarvagrahabhakṣiṇi*.

[132] It does not appear to end at a significant juncture of the text, except that the final epithet is clearly to be taken with the preceding set of mantric imperatives, due to its alliterative *kṣ* and *ṇi* sounds; in most other versions the text continues with a reduplicated epithet, *piṅgali 2*, and a new string of mantric imperatives.

[133] Among the Central and East Asian specimens one finds similar arrangements, such as the Suzhou print mentioned on p. 81–82 (with n. 25), in

it is hard to imagine that those who believed in the efficacy of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and made this inscription (or had it made) would have settled for an incomplete version of the invocation to the *dhāraṇī* deity. Also the fact that there is at least one other instance in Buddhist epigraphical records of a *dhāraṇī* inscription consisting of several pieces[134] makes it probable that the Leiden plate is in fact the only surviving one of a set of inscribed copperplates.

Comparison of the part of the text that is preserved on this plate with other extant versions of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* reveals that textual interrelations are rather complex. The Leiden version does not show direct kinship with any of the other extant versions. The textual tradition to which it belonged clearly was not related to that of the Gilgit version, nor does it show particular affinity with Amoghavajra's version. At several places it appears to be more elaborate than the latter, and it shares many of these variants with the later Nepalese and Eastern versions, especially with the Nepalese version from 1063 CE. Over and against these elaborations and modifications, however, there are instances where it attests to an earlier, less elaborate version of the *dhāraṇī*. Although we must keep in mind that different versions, of varying degrees of elaboration, of a given text may have circulated in different localities in the Buddhist world *at the same time*, our textual comparison thus seems to place the Leiden version in between Amoghavajra's 8th-century version and the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions dating to the 11th century and onwards. This is in agreement with the dating on palaeographical grounds; unfortunately, due to the lack of other witnesses belonging to this period, it is impossible to be more exact than stating that, textually, the Leiden version

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which the text also is arranged horizontally – not concentrically, as in most other Central and East Asian prints – with the image (of Buddha Tejaprabha) at the centre dividing the text.

[134] This is the *dhāraṇī* inscription containing the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānahṛdaya* on six granite tablets (overlapping in some places), found at Abhayagiri, Sri Lanka, that was identified and discussed in Schopen 1982. This *dhāraṇī* inscription was found inside a *stūpa* and thus certainly did not function as an amulet.

belongs to the 9th–10th century.[135]

In order not to interrupt too heavily at this stage our presentation of the Leiden copperplate, we have relegated to an appendix our detailed textual comparison of the edited text with other versions. We now turn here to the iconographic problem posed by the image of a female figure depicted on the plate.

The identification of the female figure

Building on the observations by Krom cited above (OV 1914), Stutterheim devoted in 1925 a first study to the identification of the female figure (pp. 153–154, figs. 5–6) as well as its significance for the history of 'Hindu-Javanese' art. According to Stutterheim, the figure was to be identified as Devī Durgā and the copperplate therefore had to belong to a Śaiva milieu. The essential element in this identification as Devī Durgā was the word *devī*, occurring in the text on the plate (Stutterheim 1925: 248, 1956: 148).[136] As was mentioned above, in 1977 Lokesh Chandra convincingly showed that the text on the plate is, to the contrary, a Buddhist *dhāraṇī*. He therefore rejected the identification as Devī Durgā and suggested instead that the figure is the Buddhist goddess Hārītī, who is a protectress of children and was known as such in Java.[137] However, as we now know, the text is a part of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and

[135] Perhaps a comprehensive textual comparison with the Central and East Asian *dhāraṇī* prints, as well as the 10th-century Tibetan version from Dunhuang, would shed more light on the textual interrelations and allow for more precision in terms of dating.

[136] Kayato Hardani (2009) identifies the figures as Cidyā Dewī, which would be a local 'fertility deity,' and suggests that she played a role within a Vaiṣṇava religious context. This suggestion is based on the wrong reading *bhagavatimah cidyā devi*, which differs from other published readings, and our own: *bhagavati mahāvidyādevi*.

[137] Lokesh Chandra's article was unfortunately overlooked in the catalogue *Divine Bronze* (Lunsingh Scheurleer & Klokke 1988), where the plate was included as item 64 (p. 116), and the description still relied only on Stutterheim 1956. Two years later, in the catalogue *The Sculpture of Indonesia* (Fontein 1990: 200, cat. no. 50, with a splendid photograph on the facing page), Jan Fontein unreservedly accepted Lokesh Chandra's identification.

the goddess of the text is Mahāpratisarā. As a result, we presently have a third possibility, namely that the figure depicted on the plate is Mahāpratisarā and that she is shown in a composition similar to that of East Asian examples, where (a male) Mahāpratisara is depicted centrally and the *Mahāpratisaradhāraṇī* surrounds it (as in Mevissen 1999: figs. 8.9 to 8.12). Let us review all these possibilities and adduce new evidence on the basis of a stylistic and iconographic analysis of the figure.

It is certain that the *devī* in the text does not refer to Devī, the spouse of Śiva who is in certain contexts also known as Durgā, but to the Buddhist Mahāpratisarā. Moreover, the most significant aspect of the iconography of the figure is the baby held in a sling, and this is not a feature characterizing any brahmanical Devī, as Lokesh Chandra has already noted (1977: 466). Thus, neither the text nor the iconography of the figure support the identification of the female figure on the Leiden copperplate as such a Devī.

The identification as Hārītī would fit better, because in the Buddhist context, this is the goddess *par excellence* who is associated with children, because Hārītī was known in insular Southeast Asia, as is evidenced by a number of sculptures from Java and Bali, and because these carry a child, in conformity with the general iconography of Hārītī and specifically with the iconography of the female figure on the copperplate.

In Java and Bali two iconographic types of Hārītī can be distinguished. The first is a sitting type holding a child on the lap, as on Candi Mendut (Bernet Kempers 1959: pl. 56; 1976: 239) and also on Candi Banyunibo, both in Central Java dating to the late 8th or early 9th century, and in two sculptures from Bali, dating to the 10th and late 11th century.[138] The second type is a standing figure most clearly represented in a sculpture from Sikuning (Mount Arjuna, East Java) probably from the 13th century (Fontein 1990: 172–173), and in a terracotta from Trowulan (Agus Aris Munandar & Diding

[138] One from Goa Gajah, presumably dating to the 10th century, and one from Pejeng with a date corresponding to 1091 CE (Stutterheim 1929–1930 I: 76, 85, 130–131, 142; II: figs. 25 and 38; 1935: pl. 9; Bernet Kempers 1978: 124, 130).

Fahrudin 2012: fig. 6). The sitting type can most convincingly be identified as Hārītī: the Central Javanese examples are associated with a male companion, thus conforming to a common iconographic type of Hārītī, and are found in an unmistakably Buddhist context, on Buddhist temples; one of the Balinese examples, that from Goa Gajah, is also found in association with Buddhist material remains. For the standing figure from Sikuning the identification is less certain, because little is known about its original context. However, the fact that this is clearly a deity – she is standing on a lotus pedestal, wears a crown and has a halo around the head – and that she holds another child besides the baby in the sling, might indeed point to Hārītī, who is often represented with more than one child. The same holds true for the terracotta from Trowulan. If, however, an image holding a child is not characterized as a deity, the identification as Hārītī becomes more doubtful, as in the case of the standing terracotta figure from Sungai Mas (Malaysia), which Nik Hasan Shuhaimi identified as Hārītī (1988: 28–29; see also Jacq-Hergoualc'h 1992: 243), and the terracotta sitting figures from Trowulan, East Java, which Edi Triharyantoro identified as Hārītī (see Fontein 1990: 172; Soemantri 1997: 131). Such figures may also relate to an older local tradition of maternity figures, as exemplified in the 'bronze weaver,' a late bronze-age image of a woman sitting in a weaving loom while holding a baby, which was found in Flores and has been dated to the 6th century (Maxwell 2006; 2010: 71–72), a standing bronze maternity figure from East Kalimantan presumably from the same period (Maxwell 2010: 74–75), and more recent wooden maternity figures from various places in insular Southeast Asia (Maxwell 2010: 75–77). Without any further evidence these Malaysian and East Javanese images cannot therefore be identified as Hārītī.[139]

Returning to the figure on the Leiden copperplate and its possible identification as Hārītī, the question arises why one would depict Hārītī in association with a *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*. This could be

[139] A bronze figure from Java held in Vienna has also been identified as Hārītī (Heine-Geldern 1925: 23, pl. 16) but without any iconographic features arguing specifically for this identification, not even a child.

because one of the important aspects of the *dhāraṇī* is its supposed efficacy at the dangerous time of childbirth. Both Mahāpratisarā and Hārītī are thus associated with fertility and childbearing, and may hence become associated with each other. Gerd Mevissen (2006) has drawn our attention to a 19th-century temple complex in Nepal where Mahāpratisarā, as one of the *Pañcarakṣā* deities, was represented on a temple dedicated to Hāratī/Hārītī, which demonstrates that in any case in Nepal at some point this association was actually made and visualized. With respect to the female figure on the copperplate, we may further wonder why she is not characterized as a deity, as Stutterheim already noted (1956: 156). The female figure does not stand on a lotus pedestal, does not have a halo, and is sparsely adorned. She seems to wear a belt to hold her dress and maybe there is a simple necklace, which, however, may also be a piece of the baby sling. She does not wear a crown, earrings, armlets or bracelets, all of which would belong to the normal attire of a goddess. One explanation might be, as suggested by Jan Fontein, that the figure, unlike the usual iconography of Hārītī, shows the demonic origin of the goddess in that the hair is unkempt (Fontein 1990: 200).[140] But is this the case? And if so, would one not expect to find other demonic features as well: bulging eyes, thick curly hair, fangs protruding from the mouth? Thus, while both the Buddhist context, now beyond doubt, and the most significant iconographical feature of the figure (carrying a baby), may point to Hārītī, some doubts as to this identification remain because the figure does not conform to all aspects of Hārītī's usual iconography.

Finally, as concerns the third possible identification, as Mahāpratisarā, it has become clear from the research carried out by Gerd Mevissen that this deity has a clearly defined iconography. In texts she is described as a multi-armed and multi-headed goddess. In images from eastern India and Java, she is represented as an eight or ten-armed and single-headed deity (Mevissen 1999, and §1 above). The figure on the Leiden copperplate does not conform to this iconography. Thus, while the text might point to Mahāpratisarā, the

[140] Stutterheim notes demonic traits on the image from Goa Gajah, Bali, but these are not clear on the photograph (Stutterheim 1929–1930 I: 131).

iconography of the figure is clearly not that of Mahāpratisarā.

So what should we conclude? That the most likely identification is still that of Hārītī as suggested by Lokesh Chandra? Let us reconsider the style and attributes of the figure and see whether this can adduce some new information.

While Stutterheim suggested links with representations of women in murals at Ajanta, to us these are not very clear. Rather, the way in which the face of the baby was drawn and the style of the hairdo to us seem reminiscent of Chinese art. Since other evidence exists for Chinese influence in Central Javanese art during the late 8th or early 9th century (see for instance Woodward 1977 and Klokke 2008: 164–165) and since the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and its deity also connect to China we have begun to search for more information in Chinese art. This has not, however, led to any clear results so far.[141]

We need to consider three further noteworthy features displayed by the figure, besides the baby in the sling. One, already mentioned above, is that the figure is not characterized as a deity. Another is that she wears a specific headdress. Although Stutterheim had already noted this feature, it was neglected in later publications. According to his description the female figure is "crowned with a decoration in eight parts which vaguely evokes a chrysanthemum" (1956: 149); further on he describes her as "wearing on her head a strange-shaped crown of 'chrysanthemum' leaves bending inward" (1956: 156). Let us take a closer look at this peculiar headdress (p. 154, fig. 6). We see that what might at first sight seem to be strands of unkempt hair are in fact elements attached to a headband. Each of these elements has a line in the middle

[141] Interestingly, in Chinese and Japanese art Guanyin and Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) came to be represented in an iconographic form carrying a child. However, we could not find any references to this form of Guanyin/Kannon in the 8th–9th century nor did we find any connections with the woman depicted on the Leiden plate. Moreover, the specialists of East Asian art whom we showed a photograph of the plate did not observe any clear links with East Asian art. Also, it occurred to us that carrying a child in a sling in this specific manner points to a Javanese rather than a Chinese context.

that does not continue up to the top, which suggests that they are feathers.[142] This diadem seems to be a significant element of the iconography of this figure. It reminded us of one of the Rāmāyaṇa reliefs on the Brahmā temple of the Loro Jonggrang temple complex in Prambanan, Central Java (p. 155, fig. 7), that shows Sītā who has just given birth to her son Lava, with a similar diadem consisting of a headband to which upward pointing elements are attached.[143] Bernet Kempers compares this diadem to the European wet nurse's bonnet and accordingly identifies the lady with the diadem as the wet nurse (1976: 239). We think he was here misled by the European custom he is referring to and that the lady wearing the diadem and carrying the child is not the wet nurse but Sītā, who has just delivered, because her jewellery is the richest of all the ladies in the relief, because the two other ladies carry similar beehive-shaped headdresses, suggesting they are similar types (both birth attendants), and because the front one makes the *abhayamudrā* with her right hand, clearly to avert danger for the mother and child sitting in front of her. This seems to be supported by another relief, at Borobudur, that shows a mother just before and just after she has delivered (Krom & van Erp 1920–1931: relief II B 21). On the left of this relief three female birth attendants are helping a pregnant woman; in the next scene we see the woman with a child on her lap; the birth attendants sit in front and behind her with bowls, maybe to clean the child (p. 156, fig. 8). The mother now wears a similar diadem as Sītā in the Loro Jonggrang relief; in the final scene the three female birth attendants walk away; their job is finished. A similar scene can also be observed on a gold pubic cover.[144] Here the mother sits in the centre and caresses with her right hand the head of a baby that is lying on the lap of a birth attendant sitting on her right side; another birth attendant, on her

[142] We are grateful to Sjoerd Didden, wigmaker and director of Atelier Sjoerd Didden (www.sjoerddidden.nl), who suggested this to us and helped us to analyse the hairdo and headdress of the figure.

[143] Unfortunately the relief is a bit damaged so that it is not possible to see what these upward pointing elements represent.

[144] We are grateful to Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer for bringing this piece to our attention.

other side, holds a covered bowl. Although less clear, it seems that the mother in the centre is wearing a similar kind of headband as in the reliefs of Borobudur and Loro Jonggrang (Brinkgreve et al. 2010: 87).[145] Besides the headband with attached elements, in the Loro Jonggrang relief we also clearly see that the mother, Sītā, wears a sling and that the child, who is not held in the sling but in the arms, is tucked up in cloth, and this is a third feature that we also observe on the Leiden copperplate and that seems to be a significant iconographic detail. In no other relief do we see children wrapped up in this manner. Describing the Loro Jonggrang relief, Bernet Kempers notes that "the baby is tightly bound, as was done in Java to shape the arms in the elegant curve 'of a bend-drawn bow'" (1976: 239). Unfortunately he does not mention the source of this information, but the relief does seem to point to a Javanese custom at that time to wrap up a newly born baby in cloth. Indeed tightly wrapping up babies in a so-called *bedong* is still common practice in Indonesia today.

From the evidence of the reliefs, particularly those on Borobudur and the Brahmā temple at Loro Jonggrang, it appears that a headband with attached elements and a baby wrapped up in cloth point to a moment immediately following child delivery, after the child has been cleaned, when all danger has been averted and it seems that the child will live. Thus, the iconography of the image emphasizes the moment of successful birth and shows that the female figure on the Leiden plate is not a deity, but a human female just after she has safely delivered, holding her child bound in cloth in a baby sling and wearing the headdress associated with this specific moment. This would correspond to one of the important aspects of the *dhāraṇī* on the copperplate, namely that it was considered a powerful means to avert the dangers of childbirth. It may even be a direct interpretation of the instruction in the MPMVR that one should draw a boy in the middle of the amulet if one wants a boy (Hidas 2012: 235–236). In our case the boy (or girl) is depicted in

[145] In all these cases the elements attached to the headband are shorter than the long extensions on the Leiden plate. However, this type of head ornament can be clearly distinguished from tiaras and crowns usually worn by noble females and it only appears in this particular context of giving birth.

the arms of his (or her) mother. Both the text and the image therefore strengthen the impression that the manufacture of the copperplate was in some manner connected with childbirth. Maybe it functioned as an amulet to avert the many dangers surrounding childbirth and maybe the proactive mother even had herself depicted with her baby to be born in line with the aforementioned instruction in the MPMVR.

5. A Mahāpratisarā mantra from Sumatra?[146]

We have thus presented two artefacts that are undeniable evidence to the spread of Mahāpratisarā's textual corpus – and not only her iconography (Mevissen 1999) – to ancient Java. Unmistakable evidence that this spread was not limited, in ancient insular Southeast Asia, to Java comes from the Philippine Agusan amulet, which contains the first two mantras of the MPMVR and which is discussed separately in Rod Orlina's article. Likely additional evidence is available in the form of an inscribed plaque from Candi Gedong I, in the Muara Jambi complex on Sumatra. This unusual case of a plaque comprising two parts of very different color (and presumably metallurgic composition) was found on 24 October 1998, in bricklayer 4 of the north face of Candi Gedong I, a building whose function may have been that of *stūpa*, although the remains do not allow an objective decision in this regard.[147] It is now preserved at the Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala at Jambi, where we were kindly permitted to photograph it in August 2010 (p. 157, fig. 9). It consists of a half that appears to be in gold (**A**) and a half that appears to be in silver (**B**), each bearing one line of writing giving a very different palaeographic impression. The natural suggestion of a very different date may however be misleading, because the difference in the shape of the letters may be explained as due to the difference of writing techniques: the letters have been punched into the gold half, and scratched into the silver half. The form of superscript *i* (i.e. the sign called *wulu* in Java) is the same

[146] This §5 is an elaborated version of the provisional remarks published in Griffiths 2011a: 162–164.

[147] Personal communication, Véronique Degroot, May 2012.

on both halves, and the text is continuous. What we recognize up to and including *ma*(*hāpra*)*tiśare* (for *mahāpratisare*) is the fifth mantra that is found in many Nepalese and Eastern Indian manuscripts of the MPMVR:

Muara Jambi amulet	**Fifth mantra of the MPMVR**
(A) // °oṃ maṇidhāri bajr(i)ṇi	oṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi
ma(hāpra)**(B)**tiśare	mahāpratisare
tamyāśyā śatam vadhiṃ pari	hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā

(Hidas 2012: 152)

The second half of the inscription hardly corresponds to the ending of the fifth mantra as found in most of the Nepalese and Eastern Indian manuscripts, and we have not been able to make any sense of it. It seems, however, that we may have to do here with a personalized version of the mantra, with the name of the wearer inserted after *mahāpratisare*, followed by an expression of the desired intervention from the deity. In the *Mahāpratisarāvidyāvidhi*, a ritual manual of a later date related to the MPMVR, it is explicitly prescribed that such a supplicatory phrase is to be inserted in this mantra after *mahāpratisare*: *oṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisare dhārakasya rakṣāṃ śāntipuṣṭim kuru hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā* ("*Oṃ* O Amulet-holder, O the One with a Vajra, O Great Amulet, provide protection, peace and prosperity for the holder *hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā*!").[148] Also in the oldest Eastern Indian MPMVR manuscript, dated to the 11th century,[149] this fifth mantra has a supplicatory phrase containing the name of the donor: *oṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi mahāpratisare Uḍḍākāyā rakṣāṃ kuru svāhā* (Hidas 2012: 152). In both these instances the name is given in the genitive case, followed by what is desired in the accusative case. Although we do not recognize the words in the second half of the Muara Jambi in-

[148] See Hidas 2010: 476 and 481 for text and translation. Perhaps among the several shorter, ancillary texts to the MPMVR listed by Hidas (2012: 11–12) there are other ritual manuals that might yield more examples.

[149] See p. 125–126 with n. 170.

scription, it seems clear that their case endings are the same as those in the personalized versions of the fifth mantra of the MPMVR: the *tamyāśyā*, which would be a name, with its genitive case-ending (where *-sy-* should be read for *-śy-*; cf. *ś* in the preceding *ma*(*hā-pra*)*tiśare*), and *śatam* ('a hundred'?) and *vadhiṃ* both in accusative case.[150] The last word in the line, *pari*, then appears to be the preverb of a missing imperative that in the other personalized versions is simply *kuru*. If our grammatical interpretation of this second line is correct, this would mean that the mantra in the inscription is incomplete – like the Leiden inscription, though perhaps for other reasons.[151]

The fact that the inscription bears witness to the fifth mantra has implications for its dating. In the majority of Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions of the MPMVR, including the oldest extant Eastern Indian version cited above (dating to the 11th century), the mantra is the last one in a set of five mantras given in the narrative section (cf. Hidas 2012: 152). It is, however, absent in the Gilgit versions, as also in Amoghavajra's 8th-century translation.[152] It is therefore certain that the mantra came to be added to the MPMVR at some later point in its transmission. A short form of this mantra, *oṃ maṇidhari hūṃ phaṭ*, is first attested in a Chinese translation of a *dhāraṇīsūtra* called the *Mahāmaṇivipulavimānaviśvasuprati-ṣṭhitaguhyaparamarahasyakalparāja*, that probably dates to the 6th century.[153] A slightly later attestation of this shorter form without

[150] Another interpretation might be not to take *tamyāśyā* as the genitive form of a proper name, but rather as containing the personal pronouns *tam yasya*, 'him who has [*śatam vadhiṃ*].'

[151] Was there not enough space for the full mantra? Or else, was the mantra perhaps written out in full, but only partly engraved?

[152] Since Amoghavajra's version already represents the second recension of the MPMVR, the insertion of the fifth mantra could not have occurred with the Vajrayānic redaction of the MPMVR, contrary to what Hidas tentatively suggested in 2007: 189–190, n. 21.

[153] Taishō 1007 659b4. This text is said to have been translated during the Liang dynasty by an unknown author. Although Orzech and Sørensen indicate that it may have been produced later than the Liang period, as it is first mentioned only in a catalogue dating to 730 CE, they state that it does not appear to postdate 600 CE. See Orzech et al. 2011: 77, n. 6. We thank Rolf

the important elements *vajriṇi* and *mahāpratisare* is found in a text that was translated into Chinese by the Indian monk Bodhiruci (?–727), and that is somehow related to the MPMVR.[154] In the Tibetan translation of the MPMVR as preserved in a 10th century Dunhuang manuscript,[155] it appears for the first time added to the four mantras, and though expanded with *vajriṇi* it does not yet contain the name of the deity: *oṃ maṇidhari vajriṇi hūṃ phaṭ svāhā*. It is also in this form that it occurs in the oldest Nepalese version (dating to the 11th century), but then at the end of the second *dhāraṇī*, not after the four mantras (cf. Hidas 2012: 182). It appears in the full form in which it came to be incorporated into the Eastern Indian and Nepalese versions of the MPMVR – including the crucial word *mahāpratisare* – in several late Buddhist texts, as pointed out by Hidas, the earliest among them being the 11th/12th-century *Sādhanamālā* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.[156] In these texts it is the sole mantra related to Mahāpratisarā and thus by this time appears to have been considered as the essence of the *dhāraṇī* goddess.[157] Also in the mentioned *Mahāpratisarāvidyāvidhi*, the ritual manual whose witnesses are no earlier than the 12th century,

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Giebel for pointing out this early occurrence to us.

[154] Taishō 920 13c4–5. Hidas (2012: 9) mentions this text as an auxiliary text to the MPMVR. It has not been examined how this text, called *Buddha Heart Sūtra* (*Fóxīn jīng* 佛心經), is related to the MPMVR, but it is significant that it also contains a slightly modified version of the fourth mantra of the MPMVR (Taishō 920 3b4).

[155] IOL Tib J 397 33r. See Dalton & van Schaik 2006: 132 & 126. In order to consult this manuscript, we have made use of the website http://idp.bl.uk/, an excellent resource for Dunhuang materials. This manuscript appears to preserve an older, unrevised version of the Tibetan translation as compared to the version contained in the Peking canon (Q. 179), whose *dhāraṇī* shows clear signs of editing and conflation.

[156] See Hidas 2012: 228 and 2010: 481, n. 72, where he also notes its occurrence in the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* and the *Ādikarmapradīpa*, as well as in the Hindu *Tantrasāra*, where it is derived from Buddhist sources.

[157] Bühnemann in her article on the *Tantrasāra* (2000: 34–35) mentions that in the *Sādhanamālā* this mantra is even called *mantrarāja*, 'the king of mantras,' and in the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* it is identified as the heart mantra of Mahāpratisarā.

the fifth mantra is deemed the most important mantra related to Mahāpratisarā, as it is listed first, with the instruction that it is to be written in the middle of the amulet (Hidas 2010: 481). It may therefore be concluded that the Muara Jambi inscription belongs to a period when the fifth mantra had risen to prominence as epitomising Mahāpratisarā, certainly no earlier than the 10th century CE. Given the general dating of the Muara Jambi monuments, we tentatively assign this amulet to the 12th–13th century.[158]

6. Conclusions

In this article, we have studied three inscriptions on metal artefacts, two of them known to previous scholarship, the other only recently discovered, and identified them as pertaining to the cult of Mahāpratisarā in ancient Indonesia. We have in the process revealed the extent to which previous interpretations have tended to be hampered by the lack of familiarity of the scholars involved with the genre of *dhāraṇī* texts in Buddhist Sanskrit literature. It seems to us that the Buddhist Studies approach to these artefacts, which we have tried to adopt here, is vital for a meaningful interpretation of such documents.

These artefacts show that practices related to the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and its mantras were in place in the Indonesian Archipelago at least from the 9th century onwards, thereby linking this part of the medieval Buddhist world to many other parts where such practices were current during the same period. As the original provenance of two of our pieces of evidence is unknown, it is difficult to determine whether these Indonesian artefacts bear witness to practices described in the MPMVR or attested in the material remains from Central and East Asia, or whether they are the remnants of previously unattested uses of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and its mantras. Thus the Muara Jambi gold-silver plaque, found inside the wall of a building of indeterminate nature, might have

[158] As pointed out by Nihom (1994: 62, n. 149), the *Stuti Saṅ Hyaṅ Pratisarā* preserved on Bali contains a mantra *oṃ maṇivajro hṛdayavajro sarvamārān trāsaya* … that is vaguely reminiscent of the fifth MPMVR mantra.

had a similar function as the Mahāpratisarā sheets found inside the floor of the Suzhou pagoda and the inscribed bricks found inside the pagoda in Yunnan, namely as Dharma-relics, providing protection and benefits of all sorts (worldly and spiritual) to those who worship it.[159] But it is unclear how the Berlin statuette of the goddess Mahāpratisarā would have been used, whether it was meant for general worship for worldly benefits, perhaps being part of a range of statues inside a prayer hall, or whether it was used in a Mantranayic context for specific purposes of ritual and visualization – or both.[160] As for the Leiden copperplate, a Mantranayic purpose can safely be excluded, as the image of the female figure clearly indicates that it was used for fertility and childbearing purposes. But the question remains whether it belonged to a pillar, shrine or a *stūpa* for general worship by women desiring progeny (either inside the structure as Dharma-relic or somehow placed outside it, visible for the devotees), or whether it was produced for personal use, as an amulet, perhaps like the two Gilgit manuscripts that were written on behalf of two queens.[161]

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[159] Although it might be difficult to argue for such a use if the second half of the inscription indeed is to be interpreted as containing a donor name, in which case its primary use might have been that of an amulet. Compare however the gold-foil mantra inscription, found during the excavation of the remains of a wall on the Ratu Baku plateau, Central Java, that apparently contains the name of the late 8th-century Javanese king Panaraban (see Sundberg 2003 and 2004: 116).

[160] A comparison of this statuette with the cache of Buddhist images in bronze, found in fields to the east of Candi Plaosan, Central Java, might yield more insight as to its possible Mantranayic use (cf. Sundberg 2004: 117 and Griffiths, Revire & Sanyal 2013). It is interesting to note that in Japanese Buddhist cult based on the *garbhadhātumaṇḍala*, the male Bodhisattva Mahāpratisara is given a place in the entourage of Vairocana. See Mevissen 1999: 112 for further references on this *maṇḍala*.

[161] The names of these queens are mentioned in the supplicatory passages of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* as contained in these manuscripts. For further details on these manuscripts and the mentioned queens, see Hidas 2012: 37–38 & 40–41. Note, however, that the supplicatory passages in the Leiden inscription do not contain any donor name.

Finally, it should be remarked that none of these Indonesian Mahāpratisarā artefacts appear to bear any direct connection with the influential 8th-century tantric master Amoghavajra or his lineage. It was on Java in 717 CE that Amoghavajra, at the age of 14, met his master Vajrabodhi.[162] The latter knew the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* then, as it is recounted in a biographical account that he subdued a sea-storm with it during his three-year journey from Sri Lanka to China. He probably taught the *dhāraṇī* to Amoghavajra at some point in his training, before he died in 741 CE,[163] as Amoghavajra is said to have used it to appease hazards encountered at sea on his mission from China to Sri Lanka shortly thereafter, thus before he received further instruction on Sri Lanka and before he collected new manuscripts there. Amoghavajra must have spent some time in the Indonesian Archipelago while passing through this region on his journey by sea from China to Sri Lanka in 742 CE and his return trip to China in 746 CE. And after his return to China, having attained a formidable position as state-protector at the Tang court, he exerted considerable influence on state-protecting practices in neighbouring countries, amongst which possibly the Central Javanese kingdom of the Śailendras that flourished towards the end of the 8th century.[164] In addition, it is recorded that one of Amoghavajra's Chinese disciples, Huiguo (746–805 CE), initiated a certain Bianhong, a Javanese monk who had come to China in search of the esoteric teachings of Amoghavajra's lineage.[165] But none of the three inscriptions discussed in this article show any particular affinity with Amoghavajra's version of the MPMVR as contained

[162] According to one of Amoghavajra's biographical accounts. Here we follow the dates as given in Orzech et al. 2011: 351. See also note 173 below.

[163] According to what is probably the most reliable biography of Vajrabodhi, that by the 8th-century Chinese scholar Lü Xiang. See Sundberg 2011 for a translation and discussion of this biographical account.

[164] See Lokesh Chandra 1992 and 1995. For a recent study of Amoghavajra's state-protecting practices and his political involvement in China, see Goble 2012.

[165] See Chou 1945: 329; Iwamoto 1981: 85; and now Sundberg 2011: 130–131. For a recent article on Bianhong's possible connection with the construction of Borobudur, see Woodward 2009.

in the Chinese canon: the Muara Jambi inscription contains the fifth mantra that was not yet part of the MPMVR at Amoghavajra's time, and the Leiden inscription is textually closer to the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, as revealed in detail by the textual comparison in the appendix. This conclusion accords well with the fact that the several Javanese bronzes of Mahāpratisarā, dating to the 8th–10th centuries, to which the Berlin statuette can now be added, are iconographically and stylistically related to contemporary specimens from Eastern India (cf. Mevissen 1999: 117–118). Certainly, since these inscriptions do not date earlier than the 9th century, it cannot be excluded that Amoghavajra, or even his master Vajrabodhi, introduced the practice of using the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and its mantras to the Buddhist communities on Java during sojourns on Java in the first half of the 8th, and that later generations came to acquire and use sources that had undergone modification and elaboration in the meantime.[166] In any event, it is clear that Buddhists in the Indonesian Archipelago were constantly in touch with the latest developments taking place in South Asia, apparently especially in Eastern India, with regard to the use of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* and its mantras at least from the 9th century onwards – apparently not without making adaptations of their own.[167]

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[166] As was also the case in China during the Ming-dynasty period: in the Taishō canon (T. 1153 632–634), the editors have added to Amoghavajra's translation of the MPMVR a more elaborate version of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* that was current during this later period. Another kind of updating can be seen in the Tibetan version of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* as found in the Peking Kangyur, which shows marks of conflation that are most probably to be attributed to the editorial activities that took place in the 15th century. Cf. notes 12 and 155 above.

[167] As this article was going to the press, Jan Fontein suggested to us that maybe the ten-armed figure accompanied by women in one of the Gaṇḍavyūha reliefs of Borobudur (relief IV 39) could also be identified as Mahāpratisarā (cf. Fontein 2012: 184–185).

Appendix: comparison of the Leiden version with other versions of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*

Versions used for textual comparison

The five extant manuscripts of the MPMVR from Gilgit belong to a common textual tradition, as they do not show any significant variants in relation to each other (Hidas 2012: 42). As to their date, on the basis of their script and the mention of royal donors in two of these manuscripts, they have been placed in the first half of the seventh century.[168] For our textual comparison (see the table) we have based ourselves on the edition of the Gilgit manuscripts by Hidas (2012: 48–49). On the basis of estimations of the missing *akṣara*s provided in Hidas' edition, we have taken the liberty to reconstruct the passages for most of these lacunae, using readings found in the Chinese versions and those found in the later EIN manuscripts whenever they were (virtually) unanimous. Wherever the reconstruction is nearly but not entirely certain we have kept the square brackets [] in place; in all other cases we have left out brackets for easier comparison with the other versions. The donor names inserted in two individual Gilgit versions are enclosed between round brackets.

From among the manuscripts originating in Nepal and Eastern India, whose versions vary significantly and appear to represent different textual traditions,[169] we have selected the two oldest manuscripts used by Hidas in his edition based on some fifteen Nepalese and Eastern Indian manuscripts. Both these manuscripts, one from Eastern India and one from Nepal, are dated and belong to the middle of the 11th century CE.[170] The versions contained in these

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[168] See Hidas 2012: 37, n. 3 and the references there to von Hinüber's articles on the Gilgit manuscripts.

[169] Although showing a high degree of contamination, thus making for a complex textual history that cannot properly be disentangled. See Hidas 2012: 88–90.

[170] In Hidas' edition these manuscripts are given the sigla L and N respectively. For references on the exact dating of these manuscripts see Hidas 2012: 85, n. 26 and 86, n. 31. Hidas also makes mention (2012: 75, n. 2) of a

two manuscripts are textually close to the Gilgit tradition,[171] although there are some Eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts that, though of a later date, are closer. We have selected these two for our comparison as they already show some of the more pronounced elaborations that the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* received at a later stage. The textual elements that do not occur in the Gilgit version we have marked in **bold**, and we have indicated with **< >** (in bold) the places where these non-Gilgit versions omit textual elements found in the Gilgit version. We have used < > whenever these omissions appear to be particular to the version in question, rather than to the textual tradition as a whole.

As stated above in section 2, apart from the South Asian manuscripts, we also have specimens of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* at our disposal that were found in Central and East Asia. A thorough textual comparison of these amulet specimens, some of which are among the earliest printed texts from China, would be an interesting study in its own right and lies outside the scope of this paper.[172] For our purpose, that is, to determine the place of the Leiden

fragmentary manuscript of the MPMVR that has been discovered through the work of the NGMPP, and has been provisionally assigned to the 9th century, thus possibly forming the earliest extant *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript, but he has informed us (personal correspondence, April 2012) that this fragmentary manuscript, which is actually more likely to date to the 12th century, does not contain the MPMVR, but the *Mahāśītavatī*, another *Pañcarakṣā* text. Note that he also mentions a *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript dated to 899 CE that should be in the collection of the University Library of Cambridge, but this has not been localized yet (Hidas 2012: 8, n. 10).

[171] Hidas 2012: 88. In his discussion on the transmission of the MPMVR, Hidas (2012: 89) points out that the recension preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts may not represent the earliest form of the MPMVR, as there are variants in some of the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions that are shorter than those in the Gilgit recension and there are even some cases where all Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions have shorter readings. Probably one has to assume that after the composition of the text (its first recension), it was taken either to Northwest India or to Eastern India and Nepal, depending on where the text was originally conceived, and that the textual traditions of these two regions then developed fairly independently.

[172] Several of these Mahāpratisarā amulets have been published in Drège 1999–2000 and Tsiang 2010, but most of the photographs are too small for

version within the textual traditions on the basis of other versions that can be more accurately dated, we have decided to use the version as contained in the Chinese translation of the MPMVR by Amoghavajra (704–774 CE) which, according to the details in Amoghavajra's biography, was probably executed around the middle of the 8th century CE.[173] This translation contains a version of the

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the Siddham texts to be read.

[173] No exact date on this translation is available from Amoghavajra's biographical accounts or any of the Chinese catalogues. It cannot be determined whether he translated the MPMVR before or after his journey from China to Sri Lanka in 742 CE. He was already familiar with the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* before he set out for Sri Lanka, since it is recounted that on his oversea journey he recited it (and 'performed its rites') to appease a heavy storm, as well as a whale (Chou 1945: 290). He must have learnt this *dhāraṇī* from his master, Vajrabodhi, as in a biographical account of the latter it is recounted how he, while travelling from Sri Lanka to China during 717–721 CE, also appeased a sea-storm by reciting the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* (Chou 1945: 275, n. 19; Sundberg 2011: 139). It is clear, however, that the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* held a prominent place in Amoghavajra's repertoire when he had acquired his position as state-protector at the court of Tang Emperor Suzong (r. 756–762), as it is stated that in 758 CE he presented a copy of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* to the Emperor Suzong for him to carry with him as an amulet (Chou 1945: 322) and that once in 760–761 CE he successfully cured the emperor by reciting the second *dhāraṇī* seven times (Chou 1945: 295). It might well be that somewhere between 746 CE, when he returned from Sri Lanka, and 758 CE, when he presented a Mahāpratisarā amulet to the Tang emperor, he prepared his translation of the MPMVR on the basis of a manuscript collected during his mission to Sri Lanka. However, in a biographical account of Vajrabodhi it is stated that the latter during his translation activities at the Tang court "noticed that some passages and sentences were lacking in the old translation [executed by *Ratnacinta/Maṇicintana in 693 CE] of the text of the *Pratisarā* and completed it by adding [the missing parts]" (translation adapted from Chou 1945: 282). Depending on whether one should interpret *Pratisarā* as referring to the MPMVR as a whole or simply to the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, it might be that Amoghavajra had access to the MPMVR before his journey to Sri Lanka through his master Vajrabodhi. Vajrabodhi's version is unfortunately not extant, and the fact that *Ratnacinta/Maṇicintana's translation is both incomplete as a whole (lacking, e.g., the second *kalpa*) and lacunose with regard to the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī*, does not allow us to determine whether Vajrabodhi supplemented the entire translation (from a manuscript he had brought with him), or only the transliteration of the *dhāraṇī* (from his memory).

Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī that was transliterated into Chinese characters by Amoghavajra (from his memory or from what was probably an exemplar in Siddhamātṛkā script), and we base our statements about Amoghavajra's text on this transliterated version, as edited in the Taishō edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon,[174] determining its underlying readings with the help of the two Siddhamātṛkā versions of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* that were collated and appended to Amoghavajra's translation by the Taishō editors.[175] As regards this 'Chinese' version, in our table the use of bold face and < > is the same as for the selected Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions.

To facilitate comparison, we have standardized the orthography of the Leiden version by distributing *b*/*v* according to standards of classical Sanskrit and simplifying all double consonants after *r*. Again, in bold we have marked the textual elements that do not occur in the Gilgit versions. However, we have not included elements

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[174] We have relied on the transliteration as supplied within the translation (Taishō 1153 618b4), which is based on the Koryo edition of the Chinese canon, and not on that which was appended to the text by the Taishō editors which is from the Ming-dynasty edition, since the latter clearly belongs to a later stage of textual transmission when the *dhāraṇī* had undergone many elaborations.

[175] Taishō 1153 635b. These reproduced Siddhamātṛkā texts are accompanied by a note stating that one of them is from the Reiunji edition of the *Futsū shingonzō*, and that the other, whose variants are given in the apparatus, is from Takakusu Junjirō's manuscript collection. No indication of their date is given, but Rolf Giebel (personal communication, September 2011) has informed us that the *Futsū shingonzō* is a collection of mantras and *dhāraṇī*s compiled by Jōgon, the founder of Reiunji, which was first published in 1680, and which is believed to be based on the Siddhamātṛkā manuscripts brought to Japan at the beginning of the 9th century by Kūkai, the famous Japanese tantric master who had studied with Huiguo. That there is some ground for this belief can be seen in the fact that this Siddhamātṛkā text (which has been faithfully reproduced in the Taishō edition, judging from a handwritten copy from the *Futsū shingonzō* available in Hase 1976), as also the one from Takakusu's collection, are very close to Amoghavajra's transliterated version, indicating that they belong to the same textual tradition dating back to the 8th century. See Meisezahl 1962 and 1965 for another instance of a Siddhamātṛkā manuscript from the Reiunji collection of a relatively early date, preserving an old version of the *Amoghapāśahṛdayadhāraṇī*.

that are clearly the result of copying errors or idiosyncracies of pronunciation; these are marked with underlining. We have put the line numbers of the Leiden inscription on the left hand of the table, for easy reference.

For the sake of convenience, in all five versions, whenever a word is repeated, this is indicated by *2*, as became custom in the textual transmission of *dhāraṇī* texts at least from the beginning of the second millennium onwards.[176]

Results of textual comparison

When one looks at the text of the Leiden inscription, it is clear that in many cases where it differs from the other versions, this is to be attributed to textual change that is likely to have occurred in the recent history of the text on Java, or even in the transposition itself from the underlying (Indian) text, in all likelihood in Siddhamātṛkā script, to the Kawi script text that we have. One can discern three kinds of aberrations, and we list them in the order in which they would have occurred in the process of copying the text.

First, there are cases of the underlying version having been misread; obvious examples are *vi* (< *rva*) and *mā* (< *ṛṣa*) in line 9, and misreadings of original *ṣ* in lines 16, 24 (> *m*), and line 34 (> *p*). Also the instances of *bh* instead of *g* in line 4, and *g*, *k* (l. 32), and *r* (ll. 26, 36) instead of *bh* probably belong to this category, as do the instances of eye-skip in lines 30 and 32.

Second, there are variants that arose during recitation, obviously due to local pronunciation habits. There are numerous variants involving vowels, the most striking one being the instance of the so-called *pepet*-sign (*ə*) in line 6. There are several cases where shortening or lengthening occurs, such as *i* > *ī* in lines 3, 22, 23, and 24. Other examples are the dentalization of *ṇ* in line 34 and of *ś* in lines 19, 27, 32 and 34. As pointed out by Lokesh Chandra (1977:

[176] This custom is already encountered in the Siddhamātṛkā print of the *Mahāpratisarādhāraṇī* discovered underneath the third floor of a pagoda in Suzhou, in eastern China, that is dated 1005 CE. See Drège 1999–2000: 30–31 and the print published in the same article (fig. 6).

467), this does not necessarily reflect local pronunciation habits, since one also encounters the interchange of sibilants in India.

Thirdly, there are instances of *akṣara*s which have been carelessly, and sometimes even wrongly written, as in the case of *l* instead of *kh* in line 22. Often the *akṣara* is rendered, at least to us, ambiguous, making it difficult to decide on its identity. The most common cases are those of *b* versus *v*, and we have read *v* unless there is a clear dent in the top horizontal bar. It may be observed that *b* figures only in specific words: *bimala* (ll. 1, 5), *brata* (l. 34), and some cases of *sarb*(*v*)*a*. This ambiguity of *b*/*v*, however, is not peculiar to our inscription, as it is frequently met with in Central Javanese epigraphy, and of course it is very common in Indian manuscripts. The rarity of *ba* in our inscription, according to our reading, therefore might be explained as due to an underlying version in an Indian script which does not distinguish between *b* and *v*, and here Siddhamātṛkā script seems to be a likely candidate, as also in the Siddhamātṛkā texts from Central and East Asia only *v* is used. Of a different order is the garbled sequence of *akṣara*s in line 5, which however can easily be fixed if the *ma akṣara* is transposed to the empty space at the beginning of the line. It is possible that we have to suppose another source of error here, namely that due to careless *engraving*: perhaps in the process of engraving the *akṣara*s that had been preliminarily written out on the plate, an *akṣara* could be overlooked. This might also explain the empty space at the end of line 3 where one would expect a *ga*; perhaps the engraver forgot to incise the *akṣara* written here.

It should be noted that in some of the above cases it remains difficult to determine whether the variant is particular to our text, or whether it was already present in the underlying (Indian) version. In line 12, for example, the inscription reads *muri 2 mili 2*, whereas in the Gilgit versions and Amoghavajra's version we read *suri 2 cili 2*, so it could be supposed that in the process of copying the scribe of our inscription misread *su* for *mu*, and *ci* for *mi*. However, if one looks at the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions, one also encounters *muri 2* in place of *suri 2*, and in the Nepalese version one even finds *mili mili* in addition to *cili cili*, which probably indicates that these misreadings occurred in the transmission

of the text prior to our inscription, at least in a textual tradition preserved in these Eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts, and that they consequently became integral to the text and were replicated as such. Another case worth mentioning is *gubha 2 gūbhani 2* in line 5, which might be considered a misreading of an underlying *guru 2 gurune*, as attested in Amoghavajra's version and the Eastern Indian version (whose reading is with retroflex *ṇ*). The latter contains the sequence *guha 2 guruṇi 2* in addition, which by itself is also the reading in the Nepalese version, except for the reduplication of *guruṇi*. However, the only witness from Gilgit for this passage reads *gubha 2 gubhaṇi*, and so it seems that early on in the strand of textual transmission to which Amoghavajra's version and the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions belong, *bha* had been misread for *ru*, while in the strand of textual transmission to which the Leiden version belongs, the earlier reading was preserved.[177]

This brings us to the significant variants in our text, variants that were in all likelihood already present in the underlying version and proper to the textual tradition to which the Leiden version belongs. Although there is the aforementioned reading that it only shares, albeit in slightly modified form, with the Gilgit versions, this is the sole instance where it shows affinity with the textual tradition that was present in Gilgit. There are many instances where it differs from this earlier tradition preserved in the Gilgit manuscripts, showing forms of elaboration found in the later versions. Thus it shares with both Amoghavajra's version as well as the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions the extended epithet *savisatrapramathani* (l. 9), the slightly garbled form of *sarvaśatrupramathani*, with the elements *sarva-* and *pra-* prefixed. Like these non-Gilgit versions, it also has an additional supplicatory formula *rakṣa 2* … (l. 10), an inserted epithet *bhagavati* (l. 15), and the modified epithet *maṅgalaviśuddhe* (l. 33) where the Gilgit versions read *maṅgalaśabde*.

[177] Though the reading of the Nepalese version, which probably reflects an underlying *gubha 2*, is an indication of the complex textual transmission of the MPMVR, which, as noted by Hidas (2012: 88–90), is characterized by a high degree of contamination.

The only variant that it seems to share exclusively with Amoghavajra's version is found in line 6: if one boldly conjectures that *vimale*, inserted between *cule* and *mucəle*, actually reflects an underlying *acale*, a variant only found in Amoghavajra's version, with *a* misread for *vi* and *ca* misread for *ma* (or perhaps changed accordingly due to the occurrence of *-vimale* at the beginning of the *dhāraṇī*), this might explain why *vimale* is not found in any of the other extant versions.

However, it is with the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions that the Leiden version shares most of its variants, not with Amoghavajra's. The most prominent ones are the epithets *gaganavicāriṇi* (l. 3), *ratnamakuṭamālādhari* (l. 16), *sarvadevagaṇapūjite* (l. 25), and *satyavrate* (l. 35) against respectively *gagariṇi*, *ratnamakuṭamalādhāriṇi*, *sarvadevatapūjite*, and *satyavate* in Amoghavajra's version and the Gilgit versions. The Leiden version also begins with *tadyathā*, like almost all the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions.[178] It appears to be somewhat related to the selected Nepalese version, with which it shows a strong affinity in the supplicatory phrase in lines 18–19, as well as in the epithet *vividhāvaraṇavināśini* (l. 11) in place of an omitted *vigatāvaraṇe* found in the other Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions. Still, the variants *vijaye* (l. 14) and *aśaraṇān* (l. 21) are neither found in this Nepalese version nor in the selected Eastern Indian version; in fact, these inserted words are found in Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions that are further removed from the Gilgit tradition and show more elaborations. Also, although it shares some instances of mantric syllables with the selected Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions,

[178] Only in the two versions of the MPMVR most closely related to the Gilgit version is it missing (Hidas 2012: 15; 115). It was the occurrence of this term that led Lokesh Chandra to identify the Leiden inscription as having a Buddhist background (Lokesh Chandra 1977: 466). In Buddhist literature, including the *Pañcarakṣā* tradition, *tadyathā* is commonly used within the narrative of the text to introduce mantras and *dhāraṇī*s (see Skilling 1992: 152). It is therefore quite strange to find that the Leiden version includes this term, since it is meant to be a marker ('namely') after which the *dhāraṇī* proper is given. However, we find similar cases of the term being included with the *dhāraṇī* in a Dunhuang manuscript with the *Uṣṇīṣavimaladhāraṇī* (Scherrer-Schaub 1994: 712).

such as the sequences *muri 2 mili 2* (l. 12), *tuhu 2 turu 2* (l. 36), and *haṇi 2 kṣaṇi 2* (l. 36), the inserted mantric syllables *piri 2* (l. 8) occur in neither of the two, but are similarly found in other, more elaborate versions.[179]

In other passages with mantric syllables, the Leiden version seems to have undergone less elaboration than all the Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions, thus being closer to Amoghavajra's version and the Gilgit tradition, such as in the case of *viri 2* (l. 11). It also contains the mantric syllables *gati* 2 (l. 5) where all Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions have *gahi 2*, as well as the epithets *garbhasaṃbharaṇi* (l. 7) and *suravaramathani* (l. 24) in their non-extended form, present in the earlier versions and preserved in the selected, oldest Nepalese version but not in the other Nepalese and Eastern Indian versions.

[179] One can easily see why it is in the passages with the mantric syllables that the various versions of the *dhāraṇī* differ most strongly, as it is these passages, due to their reduced semantic load, that are most prone to variation and elaboration: as one of the two repeated disyllabic mantric imperatives was misread by one scribe, resulting in two different, single dissyllabic mantric imperatives, the following scribe would 'restore' these mantric imperatives to their expected reduplicated form by repeating each of these mantric imperatives (or, in the later textual traditions, by adding *2*). Thus, for example, the mentioned *piri piri* (l. 8) most certainly came about, at some point in the transmission of the text, through a misreading of the preceding *miri miri* to *miri piri*, consequently turned into *miri miri piri piri*. In this manner these quasi-semantic mantric imperatives proved to be fertile ground for textual elaboration. For the view that these mantric syllables are often to be interpretated as imperatives, see also Meisezahl 1962: 269.

Table: synopsis of five versions of the *Mahāpratisarā-dhāraṇī*

	Gilgit mss. (first half 7th c. CE)	**Amoghavajra's transliteration (mid 8th c. CE)**
1.	oṃ vipulagarbhe vipulavimale	oṃ vipulagarbhe vipulavimale
2.	jayagarbhe vajrajvālagarbhe gatigahane gaganaviśodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane	jayagarbhe vajrajvālagarbhe gatigahane gaganaviśodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane
3.	oṃ guṇavati gagariṇi giri 2 ga[mari 2	oṃ guṇavati gagariṇi giri 2 gamari 2
4.	gaha 2] gargāri 2 gagari 2 gambha[ri 2	gaha 2 gargāri 2 gagari 2 gambhari 2
5.	gati 2 gama]ni gare	gati 2 gamani gare
	gubha 2 gubhaṇi	gu**ru** 2 gu**rune**
6.	cale mucile	cale **acale** muc**a**le
	jaye vijaye sarvabhayavigate	jaye vijaye sarvabhayavigate
7.	garbhasaṃbharaṇi	garbhasaṃbharaṇi
8.	siri 2 miri 2 ghiri 2	siri 2 miri 2 ghiri 2
9.	[samantākarṣaṇi sarvaśa]trumathani	samantākarṣaṇi sarvaśatrū**pra**mathani
10.		**rakṣa 2 mama**
11.		**sarvasattvānāṃ ca**
12.	viri 2 vigatāvaraṇanāśani	viri 2 vigatāvaraṇa**bhaya**nāśani
13.	su[ri 2 cili kamale vimale]	suri 2 cili kamale vimale
14.	jaye jayāvahe jayavati	jaye jayāvahe jayavati

	Leiden inscription (9th/10th c. CE)	**Nepalese ms. (1063 CE)**	**Eastern Indian ms. (ca. 1041 CE)**
	tadyathā oṃ vipulagarbhe vipulavi- male jayagarbhe vajrajvālagarbhe gatigahane gaganaviśodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane	**tadyathā** oṃ vipulagarbhe vipulavi- male **vimalagarbhe vimale** jayagarbhe vajrajvālāgarbhe gatigahane gaganaviśodhane sarvapāpaviśodhane	**tadyathā** oṃ vipulagarbhe vipulavi- male **vimalagarbhe** jayagarbhe vajrajvālāgarbhe gati**r**gahane < >višodhani sarvapāpaviśodhane
	oṃ guṇavatī **gaganavicāriṇi** **< >** giri 2 gamari 2 gaha 2 [[ ]]rbh**a**ri garbh**a**ri gabhari 2 gambhari 2	oṃ guṇavati **gaganavicāriṇi** gagariṇi **2** giri 2 **gambhari 2** gamari 2 gaha 2 gargāri 2 gar**g**ari 2 gambhari 2	oṃ guṇavati **gaganavicāriṇi** **gaganavidāriṇi** (...) **2** giri 2 gamari 2 gaha 2 gargāri 2 **gamari 2** gagari 2 gambhari < > **gaha 2**
	gati 2 [[ ]] nigamare	ga**h**i 2 gamani gare **2**	ga**h**i 2 **gabhi 2** gamani gare
	gubha 2 gūbhaṇi **2**	gu**h**a 2 gu**r**uṇi	gu**h**a 2 gu**r**uṇi **2** **guru 2 guruṇe 2**
	c**u**le **vimale** muc**e**le	cale muc**a**le	**culu 2** cale **2** mucile
	jaye vijaye sarvabhayavigate	jaye vijaye sarvabhayavigate	jaye vijaye sarvabhayavigate
	garbhasaṃbharaṇi siri 2 miri 2 **piri 2** ghiri 2 samantākaṃāṇi savisatra**pra**ma(tha)ni	garbhasaṃbharaṇi siri 2 miri 2 **g**iri 2 samantākarṣaṇi sarvaśatrūpramathani	**sarva**garbhasaṃ**r**a**kṣ**aṇi siri 2 miri 2 **< >** sa**rva**mant**r**ākarṣaṇi sarvaśatrūpramathani
	rakṣa 2 mā(ṃ) saparivāraṃ **(sa)rvasatvaṃś ca**	**rakṣa 2 mama** **sarvasattvāmś ca** **sarvabhayebhyaḥ** **sarvopadravebhyaḥ** **sarvavyādhibhyaḥ**	**rakṣa 2 bhagavati māṃ** **sarva(...)** **sarvabhayebhyaḥ** **sarvopadravebhyaḥ** **sarvavyādhibhyaḥ**
	viri 2 **vi(v)idh**āvaraṇa**vi**nāśini	**c**iri 2 **dhiri 2 diri 2** **vividh**āvaraṇ**i vi**nāśani	**ciri 2 diri 2** viri 2 vigatāvaraṇ**e** āvaraṇavināśani
	muri 2 **m**ili 2 kamale vimale	**m**ur**u** 2 **muni 2** cili 2 **kili 2** **mili 2** kamale vimale	**m**uri 2 **muli 2** cili 2 kamale vimale
	jaye vijaye jayāvahe jayāvati	jaye jayāvahe < >	jaye jayāvahe jayavati

	Gilgit mss. (first half 7th c. CE)	**Amoghavajra's transliteration (mid 8th c. CE)**
15.		**bhagavati**
16.	ratnamakuṭamālā[dhāriṇi]	ratnamakuṭamālādhāriṇi
	bahuvividhavicitraveṣadhāriṇi	bahuvividhavicitraveṣa**rūpa**dhā-
17.	bhagavati mahāvidyādevi	riṇi bhagavati mahāvidyādevi
18.	rakṣa 2 mama (Diśinasya)	rakṣa 2 mama
		sarvasattvānāṃ ca
	samantā sarvatra	samantā sarvatra
19.	sarvapāpaviśodhani	sarvapāpaviśodhani
	huru 2	huru 2 **nakṣatramālādhāriṇi**
	rakṣa mama (Maṇikea[sya])	rakṣa **2 māṃ** mama
20.		
	anāthasya atrāṇāparāyaṇasya	anāthasyātrāṇaparāyaṇasya
21.		
22.	parimocaya me sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ	parimocaya me sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ
	caṇḍi 2 caṇḍini	caṇḍi 2 caṇḍini
	vegavati	vegavati
23.	sarvaduṣṭanivāraṇi	sarvaduṣṭanivāraṇi
		śatrupakṣapramathani
	vijayavāhini	vijayavāhini
24.	huru 2 muru 2 curu 2	huru 2 muru 2 curu 2
	āyupālani suravaramathani	āyu**ḥ**pālani suravaramathani
25.	sarvadevatapūjite	sarvadevatāpūjite
	dhiri 2	dhiri 2
26.	samantāvalokite prabhe 2	samantāvalokite prabhe 2
	suprabhaviśuddhe	suprabhaviśuddhe

	Leiden inscription (9th/10th c. CE)	**Nepalese ms. (1063 CE)**	**Eastern Indian ms. (ca. 1041 CE)**
	bhagavati ratnamakuṭama̲lādh**a**ri**< >** bahuvi< >dhavicitrave̲ma- dh[ā]riṇi bhagavati mahāvidyādevi	**balā aparājite viśeṣavati** **bhagavati** ratnamakuṭamālādh**a**ri**< >** bahuvividhavicitraveṣadhā- riṇi bhagavati mahāvidyā- dev**atī**	**bhagavati** ratnamakuṭamālādhār**a**ṇi bahuvividhavicitraveṣa- dhāriṇi bhagavati mahāvidyādevi
	rakṣa 2 **māṃ** **sapariv(ā)raṃ < >satva̲ś ca** samantā**t < >** sarvapāpavi̲sodhani	rakṣa 2 mama **saparivāraṃ sarvasattvāṃś ca** samantāt **< >** sarvapāpaviśodhani	rakṣa 2 **māṃ Uḍḍākāṃ** samantāt sarvatra sarvapāpaviśodhani
	huru 2	huru 2 **muru 2**	huru 2 **curu 2 (?)**
	rakṣa **2 mā** **saparivāraṃ sarvasatva̲ś** **ca** anāthān atrāṇān aparāyaṇān **aśaraṇān**	rakṣa **2** mama sarvasattvāṃś cānāthān aparāyaṇān	rakṣa **2 bhagavati Uḍḍākāṃ** **saparivāraṃ sarvasattvāṃś** cānāthān aparāyaṇān
	parimocaya **< >** sa̲baduḥ̲lebhyaḥ	parimocaya **< >** sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ	parimocaya **< >** sarvaduḥkhebhyaḥ
	caṇḍi 2 caṇḍini	**svaṇḍi 2** caṇḍe 2 caṇḍini 2	caṇḍi 2 caṇḍini **2**
	vegavat̲ī sarvaduṣṭanivāraṇ̲ī vijayavāhin̲ī huru 2 muru 2 curu 2	vegavati **bhagavati** sarvaduṣṭanivāraṇi vijayavāhini huru 2 muru 2 curu 2 **muru 2**	vegavati sarvaduṣṭanivāraṇi vijayavāhini huru 2 muru 2 curu 2 **curu 2**
		oṃ hrīṃ trāṃ	
	a̲yu**m**pālan̲ī suravaramathan̲ī sa< >vadeva**gaṇa**pūjite c̲iri dhiri	āyupālani suravaramathani sarvadeva**gaṇa**pūjite dhiri 2	āyuṣpālani suravara**pra**mathani sarvadeva**gaṇa**pūjite dhiri 2
	samantāvalokite pra̲re prabhe suprabhaviśuddhe	samantāvalokite prabhe 2 **suprabhe** suprabha**va**viśuddhe	samantāvalokite prabhe 2 suprabhaviśuddhe **sādhayaśuddhe**

	Gilgit mss. (first half 7th c. CE)	**Amoghavajra's transliteration (mid 8th c. CE)**
27.	sarvapāpaviśodhani dhara 2	sarvapāpaviśodhani dhara 2
28.	dharaṇi v̲ara dhare	dharaṇi **dh**ara dhare
29.	sumu 2 sumu ruru	sumu 2 **< >** ruru
30.	cale cālaya duṣṭān	cale cālaya duṣṭān
	pūraya me āśāṃ śrīvapudhanaṃ	pūraya me āśāṃ śrīvapudhanaṃ
31. 32.	jayakamale kṣiṇi 2 varadāṅkuśe	jayakamale kṣiṇi 2 **varade** varadāṃkuśe
	oṃ padmaviśuddhe śodhaya 2 śuddhe	oṃ padmaviśuddhe śodhaya 2 śuddhe
33.	bhara 2 bhiri 2 bhuru 2 maṅgalaśabde pavitramukhe	bhara 2 bhiri 2 bhuru 2 maṅgala**viśuddhe** pavitramukh**i**
	khagini 2 khara 2	kha**d**gi**ṇ**i 2 khara 2
34.	jvālitaśikhare samantaprasaritāvabhāsitaśuddhe jvala 2	jv**a**litaśikhare samantāprasaritāvabhāsitaśuddhe jvala 2
35.	sarvadevagaṇasamākarṣaṇi satyavate tara 2 tāraya māṃ	sarvadevagaṇasamākarṣaṇi satyavate tara 2 tāraya māṃ
36.	nāgavilokite lahu 2 hutu 2	nāgavilokite lahu 2 hutu 2
	kṣiṇi 2 sarvagrahabhakṣaṇi	kṣiṇi 2 sarvagrahabhakṣaṇi
	…	…

	Leiden inscription (9th/10th c. CE)	**Nepalese ms. (1063 CE)**	**Eastern Indian ms. (ca. 1041 CE)**
	sarvapāpaviṣodhani dhara 2	sarvapāpaviśodhani dhara 2	sarvapāpaviśodhani dhara 2
	dharani dhare 2	dharaṇi **2 dhare** dhare 2	dharaṇi dhare **< >**
	musu 2 sumu 2 pumu **vumu** ruru **2**	sumu 2 sumu**ru 2** ruru **2**	sumu **2** sumu 2 ruru
	cale cālaya duṣṭān	cale 2 cālaya duṣṭān	cale cālaya duṣṭān
	pu< >y< >āśāṃ śrīvapu< >	pūraya **< >** āśām śrīvapu**rdha**r**e**	pūraya **< >** āśām śrīvapudha**re**
	jayakamale kṣiṇi 2 varadāṅkuśe	jayakamale kṣiṇi 2 **kṣīṇa** varadāṅkuśe	jayakamale kṣiṇi 2 varadāṅkuśe
	oṃ padmaviṣuddhe **< >**	oṃ padmaviśuddhe śodhaya **< >** **vi**śuddhe	oṃ padmaviśuddhe śodhaya 2 śuddhe **2**
	bhara gara giri 2 kuru 2 maṅgala**viśuddhe** pavit- ramukh**i**	bhara 2 bhiri 2 bhuru 2 maṅgala**viśuddhe** pavit- ramukh**i**	bhara 2 bhiri 2 bhuru 2 maṅgala**viśuddhe vic**it- ramukh**i**
	la**d**g**a**ni kha**d**g**a**ni lara khara	kha**ḍ**gini 2 khara 2	kha**ḍ**gini khara 2
	jv**a**litaśilare samantaprasāritāvabhāsita- suddhe jvala 2	jv**a**litaśikhare samantaprasāritāvabhāsi**< >** **vi**śuddhe jvala 2	jv**a**litaśikhare samantaprasāritāvabhāsita- śuddhe jvala 2
	sarvadevaganasamākarpaṇi satyav**r**ate tara 2 tāraya **sarvasatvān**	sarvadevagaṇasamākarṣaṇi satyav**r**ate tara 2 **sari**ya **mama sarvattvāṃś** **ca**	sarvadevagaṇasamākarṣaṇi satyav**r**ate tara 2 tāraya**tu bhagavati** **Uḍḍākāṃ**
	nāgavilokite lahu 2 **tu**h**u** 2 **turu 2 ghiri 2**	nāgavilokite **hulu 2 hulu 2** **hulu 2** hutu 2	nāgavilokite lahu 2 **hulu 2** hutu 2 **turu 2 tuhu 2**
	haṇi 2 kṣ**a**ṇi 2 sarvagraha**r**akṣiṇi	kṣiṇi 2 **kṣaṇi 2** sarvagrahabhakṣaṇi	**kiṇi 2** kṣiṇi 2 **hani 2** sarvagrahabhakṣaṇi
	< >	…	...

General abbreviations

MIKB 1971 – *Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin. Katalog 1971. Ausgestellte Werke*. See Härtel et al. 1971.

MIKB 1976 – *Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin. Katalog 1976. Ausgestellte Werke*. See Härtel et al. 1976.

MIKB 1986 – *Museum für Indische Kunst Berlin. Katalog 1986. Ausgestellte Werke*. See Härtel et al. 1986.

MPMVR – *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī*

OV – *Oudheidkundig Verslag*

ROC – *Rapporten van de Oudheidkundige Commissie*

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Figure 1. Ten-armed Mahāpratisarā, Java ca. 9th–10th century. Berlin, Museum für Asiatische Kunst II 196. Photo: Jürgen Liepe, 2011.

Figure 2. Inscription on the back of the preceding.
Photo: Jürgen Liepe, 2011.

Figure 3. Lateral view of the preceding. Photo: Jürgen Liepe, 2011.

Figure 4. Lateral view of the preceding. Photo: Jürgen Liepe, 2011.

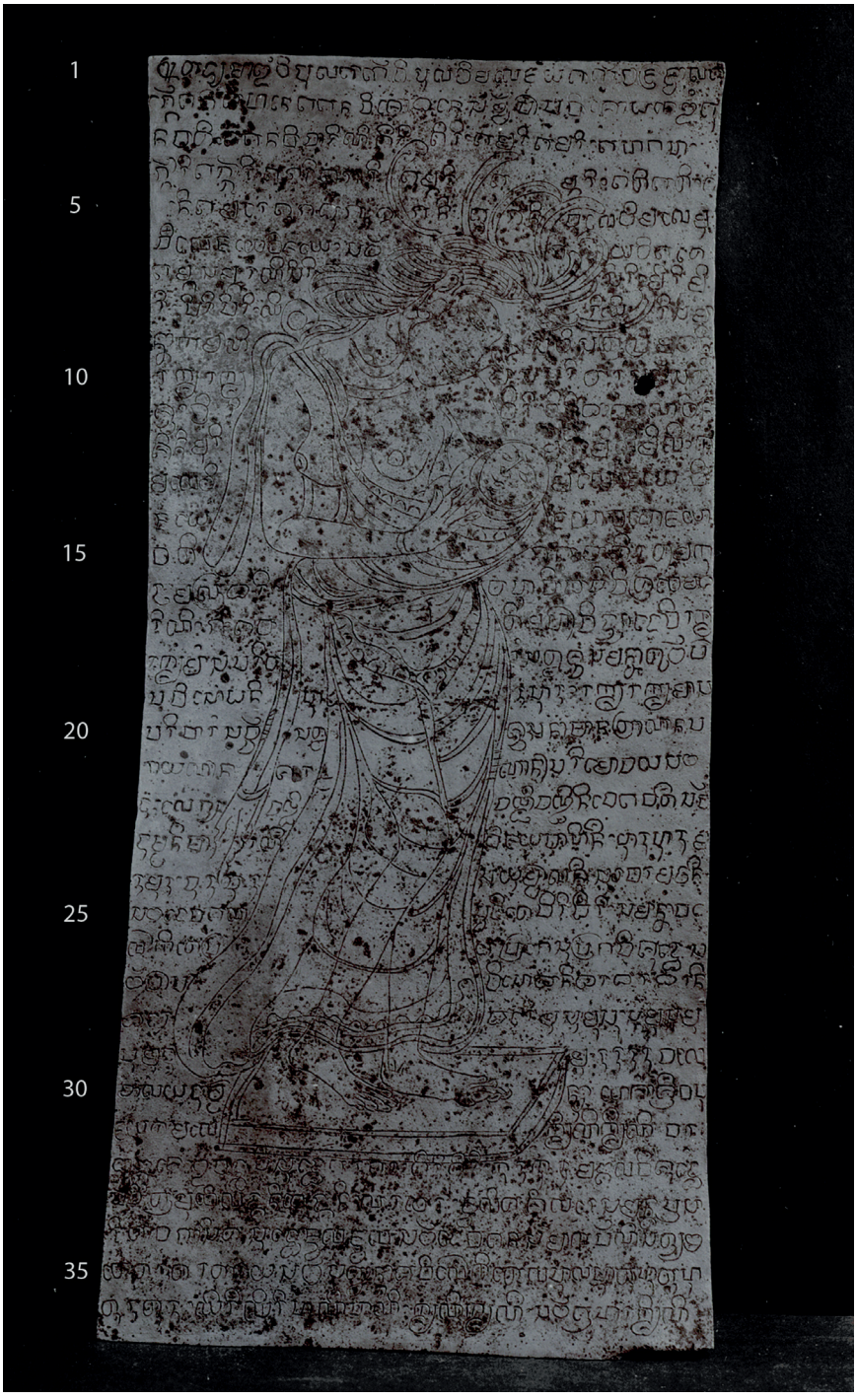

Figure 5. The Leiden copperplate. Photo: OD 2194 (see OV 1915: 73).
Courtesy Kern Institute and University Library, Leiden

Figure 6. The Leiden copperplate, with a line drawing of the female figure. Photo: OD 2195 (see OV 1915: 73). Courtesy Kern Institute and University Library, Leiden. Extra coloring of the headdress by Sjoerd Didden.

Figure 7. Relief showing Sītā with Lava, Brahmā temple, Loro Jonggrang complex, Prambanan.
Photo: OD 11353. Courtesy Kern Institute and University Library, Leiden.

Figure 8. Borobudur, relief (II B 21) showing a woman who has just delivered.
Photo: Marijke J. Klokke, 2009.

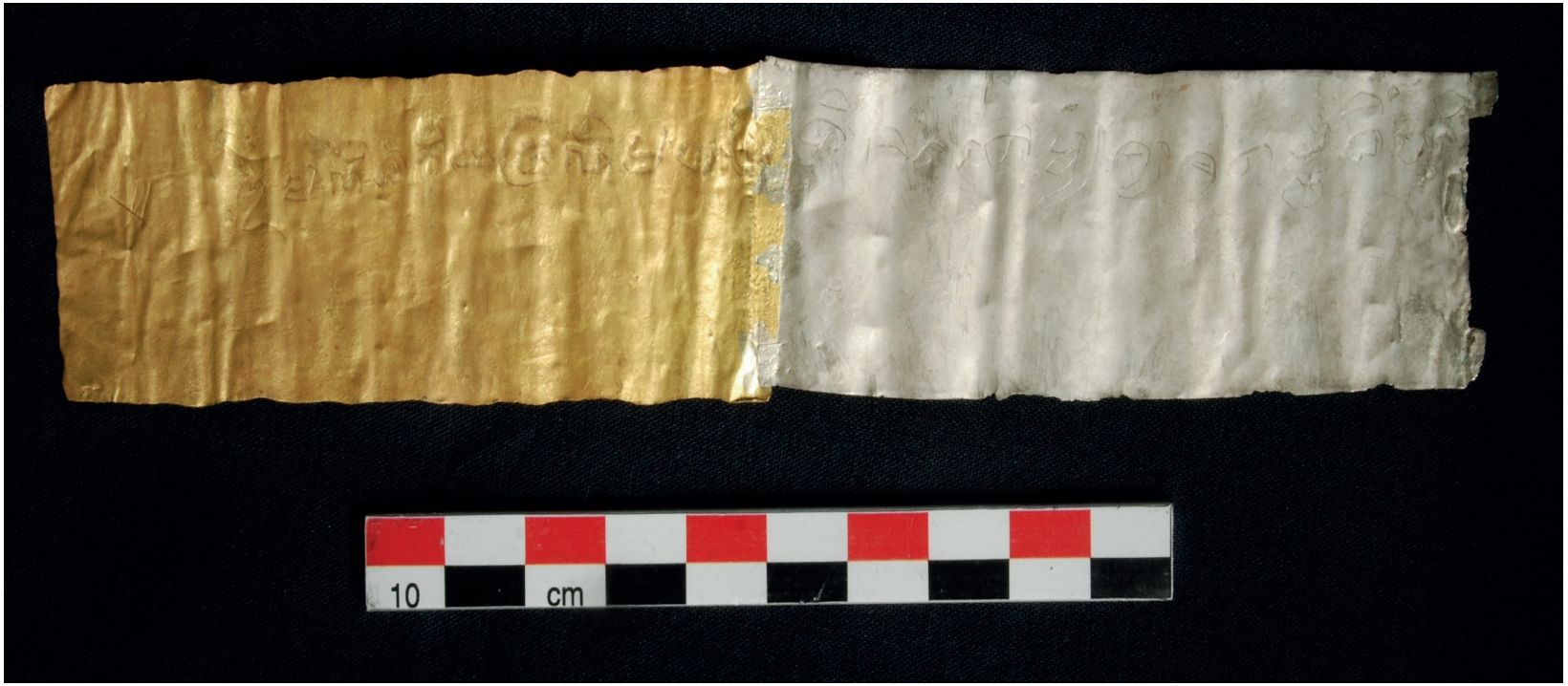

Figure 9. Gold plaque from Candi Gedong I (Muara Jambi), Sumatra, ca. 12th–13th century.
Photo: Pierre-Yves Manguin, 2010.