

Research Article

Umakanta Mishra*

Stūpa as *śarīra dhātū* to stūpa as *dharma-dhātū* and *maṇḍala*: Continuity and changes in the sacred landscape in the Buddhist site of Udayagiri, Odisha

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Abstract: External forms and internal materiality of stūpas underwent changes over centuries, and how these changes also altered the sacred landscape of a Buddhist site is the subject matter of the paper. Exploring the practices of the worship of the stūpa at the site of Udayagiri in particular and Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri in general in Odisha, the present paper analyses the transformation of material contents and form of stūpas – from that of containing body relics to *pratītyasamutpāda sūtra* and then to various *dhāraṇīs* and finally, in the 8th century CE, a *maṇḍala* stūpa emerged in Udayagiri I area. The emergence of this *maṇḍala* Mahāstūpa also coincided with the construction of a new monastery in the same area which asserted its new identity by issuing a new monastic seal, namely Mādhavapura Mahāvihāra, in addition to the prevailing monastic seal, Simhaprasta Mahāvihāra, which came up in early historical period in Udayagiri II. area.

Keywords: Buddhist diamond triangle sites of Odisha, *maṇḍala* stūpa, sacred landscape, *dhāraṇī*, *Pratītyasamutpāda sūtra*

The present paper explores the continuity and changes in the sacred landscape of the Buddhist site of Udayagiri in Odisha in particular and other sites in the Diamond triangle, such as those of Lalitagiri and Ratnagiri in general by studying one aspect of religious practices, i.e. the worship of the stūpa and changes therein throughout their existence, as well as exploring the underlying religious ideologies which prompted these changes.

Stūpa worship in Udayagiri saw four major phases of developments which brought about many changes in the sacred landscape. Stūpa as containing the corporeal relic of Buddha or Buddhist saints remained an object of worship throughout the history of Buddhism. The sacred stūpa area had spiritual magnetism for carrying the presence the Buddha or the Buddhist saints and reminders of Buddha's physical as well as his *dharma*. The *darshan* (seeing) of the Mahāstūpa and death near it ensured merit and therefore, the mahastūpa area attracted many other Buddhist monks and laymen to construct their own Stūpa and bury their *śarīra-dhātu* in it so that they remain in the orbit of spiritual magnetism of the main Stūpa. In sacred sites of the Candrāditya *vihāra* of Lalitagiri or Mahāstūpa of Udayagiri, the substantive presence of jostling monolithic stūpas are not concentrated in the mahastūpa area but in the *caityagṛha* area, raising questions about its rationale, which is attempted here. The worship of stūpa underwent major ideological changes from 5th century CE with the *Pratītya-samutpāda sūtra* - both its *Gāthā* and *Nidāna* section - finding ways inside stūpas. In the third phase starting with 7th century CE the evolution of stūpa in Udayagiri II area, *dhāraṇīs* in stone slabs or plaques were inserted inside the Stūpas during their consecration. These *dhāraṇī* Stūpas were considered to be highly meritorious; they also contained protective spells which were believed to have bestowed on the donors many merits. These insertions of *dharma cetiya* such as *bodhigarbha* or other *dhāraṇī* such as *Vimaloṣṇisa* can be associated with the practice of burial of the saint and as act of gaining merit. In the fourth and final phase, *maṇḍala* stūpa emerged on a high platform in Udayagiri I area which came up in 8th – 9th century CE. Identified as a *Mahākaruṇāgarbhodbhava-maṇḍala-stūpa*, this stūpa marked the development of *Caryā* and *Yoga tantra* based landscaping of the religious sites of Udayagiri and Lalitagiri. Such *maṇḍala* stūpas first appeared in 7th century in Lalitagiri but became

*Corresponding author: Umakanta Mishra, Department of History, Ravenshaw University, E-mail: umajnu@gmail.com

quite ubiquitous in the Bay of Bengal. The *maṇḍala* stūpa, unlike the *caityagrha* complex of Udayagiri and Lalitagiri area or Mahāstūpa of Ratnagiri and *caityagrha* complex of Lalitagiri, did not see much of structural Stūpa construction activity, suggesting that the area had restricted access to others for construction of structural Stūpas or for donation of the votive Stūpas. The *maṇḍala* stūpa reflect the growing influence of tantricism in the general cultural milieu including in royal court.

Stūpa Worship and ‘burial ad sanctos’ near sacred Stūpa

In the *Śarīra-dhātu-vibhājana* section of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the king Ajātaśattu of Magadha had heard that the Buddha was deceased and concluded that ‘[Since] the Lord was a *khattiya* (Skt. *kṣatriya*), and so am I, I deserve a portion of the Buddha’s relics. I will build Stūpas for them’ (*Dīgha Nikāya* 16: 71-78). Following suit, six groups—namely the Licchavis of Vesālī, the Mallians of Kusinara, the Śākya of Kapilāvasthu, the Bulas of Allakappa, the Koliyans of Ramagāma, and the Mallians of Pāva - came from all over northern India and similarly decided that they also deserved a portion of the Buddha’s relics. The relics were divided into eight parts and Ajātasattu built Droṇa stūpa.

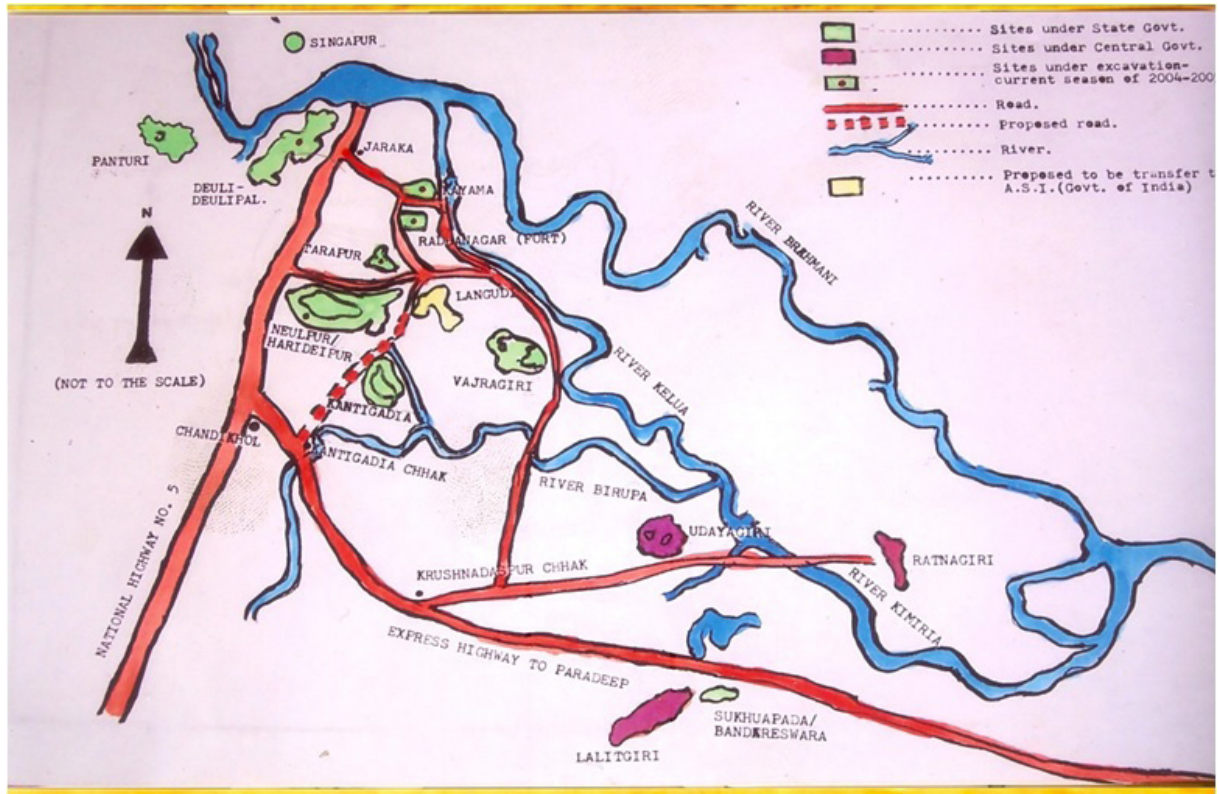
Whether these later accounts refer to an actual historical tradition is not conclusively proved but worship and paying homage to the Buddha’s reminders (*cetiya*s) was prevalent in early Buddhism. They were considered as ‘fields of merit’. The worship and devotion to various *cetiya*s started in Buddha’s time (Schopen 1987: 193-225). One important ritual, the *Confession of Faith*, which refers to taking refuge in the *Buddha*, *Saṃgha* and *Dharma*, is an instance of universalisation and internalisation of an important ritual of paying obedience to the ‘*cetiya*’ associated with the Buddha. The first reference to Confession of Faith is found in the *Khuddaka Pāṭha* of the *Khuddaka Nikāya* (*Khuddaka Pāṭha* 1960). Similarly, in the Sanskrit *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (2nd century CE) Buddha exhorted Ānanda to visit four places associated with his life as a sort of pilgrimage, which is repeated in the Rumindei and Nigali Sagar inscription of Asoka, and is described thus, ‘After I have passed away, monks, those making the pilgrimage to the shrines, honouring the shrines, will come (to those places), they will speak in this way: here the blessed one was born, here the blessed One attained the highest most excellent awakening (*Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* 41.7-41.8).’ The Pāli version uses the term *dassaniyāni* (skt: *darsan*) of these

four places. Moreover, not only pilgrims utter these words ‘here Buddha was born, got enlightenment, etc., it also makes Buddha saying that those who during that time (of pilgrimage) die here with a believing mind in *my presence* (Buddha present in the shrine), all those who have *karma* still to work out, go to heaven. As Gregory Schopen shows in his article, the *śarīra dhātu* is a *cetiya* of the presence of Buddha after his death; it is also the place where lot of other Buddhist monks and laymen preferred to die so that the spiritual field of Buddha also affects their afterlife. Therefore, there are lot of small monolithic stūpas which were found in Bodh Gaya or Ratnagiri’s *mahāstūpas*, which jostled with each other to have the touch of the Mahāstūpa.¹ Further, the place also contains his *dharma* (teaching) and therefore, *dharma cetiys* along with *śarīra dhātu* were inserted into some of the votive stūpas. The living field of the Buddha in his *śarīra* or *dharma dhātu* sanctifies not only the site but also endowed other living saints with his potency. Hence, there were numerous sealings of monks (in Bodhgayā and Ratnagiri), which acted as a sort of spiritual storehouse of Buddha’s power), who by virtue of their own spiritual power and their presence in the sacred site, also developed spiritual power, some of which were encapsulated in their sealings which would protect and energise the carrier. Sealings from Ratnagiri bearing legends such *cintāmaṇi-rakṣita* or of other monks, contained in them the energy of Buddha, Buddhist site and Buddhist monks also.

Stūpa worship in Odisha

Pre-Asokan archaeological evidence of stūpa worship in Odisha has not been found so far in Odisha even though the Buddhist canonical work *Mahāvagga* of *Vinayapiṭaka* and *Anguttara Nikāya* refer to Tappuṣa and Bhallika, two merchants of Ukkala (Utkala) as the first lay disciples of Buddha (*Mahāvagga*, 1st *Khandaka* 1881). They offered honey cake (*madhu piṇḍa*) to Buddha just after Buddha’s enlightenment, took refuge in his teachings and the Buddha, in return, gave them his hair, which they took away to their land and contained this

¹ Debala Mitra, the excavator of Ratnagiri, reports the jostling of many stūpas to ‘find a touch’ with the Mahāstūpa of Ratnagiri. “The sacred deposits within the structural stūpas are both varied and interesting. Some of these stūpas are *śarīrika* in the true sense of the term as they yielded corporeal relics in the form of partially charred bones, probably of monks and dignitaries of the Saṃgha. (stūpa 3, 4, 23, 24, 25, 116 near the Mahāstūpa). The reliquaries are very plain or is in the form of earthen vases as in the stūpa 24, 25 and 115.” (Mitra 1981 I: 28).



Map 1: Map of the Diamond Triangle Buddhist Sites of Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri in Odisha

śārīrika cetiya (physical relic) in a stūpa. There are two brāhmī inscriptions of Asokan character which are found inscribed on a ruined Buddhist hillock sites of Tarapur near Jajpur. One inscription refers to *keśathūpa* and the other refers to *bhekhu tapussa dānam*. Many scholars question the authenticity of the two inscriptions. The absence of partition in them raises strong doubt about the genuineness of the inscription.

The *Aśokāvadāna* and the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzhang refer to the construction of 84000 stūpas by Aśoka throughout his empire. The spread of Buddhism in Odisha by Asoka is attributed by Xuanzhang as well. The relevant section from the *Aśokāvadāna* reads: 'Then King Aśoka, intending to distribute far and wide the bodily relics of the Blessed One, went together with a fourfold army to the Droṇa stūpa that Ajataśatru had built. He broke it open, took out all the relics, and putting back a portion of them, set up a new Stūpa. He did the same with the second Stūpa and so on up to the seventh one, removing the relics from each of them and then setting up new Stūpas as tokens of his devotion.' 'Then Asoka had eighty-four thousand boxes made of gold, silver, cat's eye, and crystal, and in them were placed the relics. Also, eighty-four thousand urns and eighty-four thousand inscription plates were prepared. All of this was given to the yaksas for distribution in the (eighty-four thousand)

dharmarājikas (=stūpas) he ordered built throughout the earth as far as the surrounding ocean, in the small, great and middle-sized towns, wherever there was a (population of) one hundred thousand (persons).²

Xuanzhang refers to this tradition of construction of 84000 Stūpas and states that at least 10 Stūpas in Wu-Cha (Oḍra, Odisha) was constructed by Asoka, one of which named, Puṣpagiri (Pu-se-po-ki-li), made of stone, emitted bright light on fast days (Beal 2008: 204). Dhauli, which contains the elephant and the Major Rock Edicts of Asoka, seems to contain an ancient Stūpa near the edict, which existed as late as 19th century. In the last century, several scholars noticed the remains of a Stūpa (Mitra 1875: 69; ASIAR XIII: 96).

Odisha was an early centre of Buddhism from the early historical period. The diamond triangle Buddhist sites of Lalitagiri, Udayagiri emerged as Buddhist centres from 2nd-1st century BC, even though Ratnagiri belonged to slightly later period and all of them continued for more than millennium. They are located in the Assia group of hills in the undivided Cuttack district (**Map 1**).

² John Strong has examined the legend of construction of 84000 stupas by Aśoka in Jambudvīpa in Southeast Asia and China, and dealt with the geographical boundary of Jambudvīpa as well in addition to the analysis of the significance of this legend (Strong 2007: 124-147)

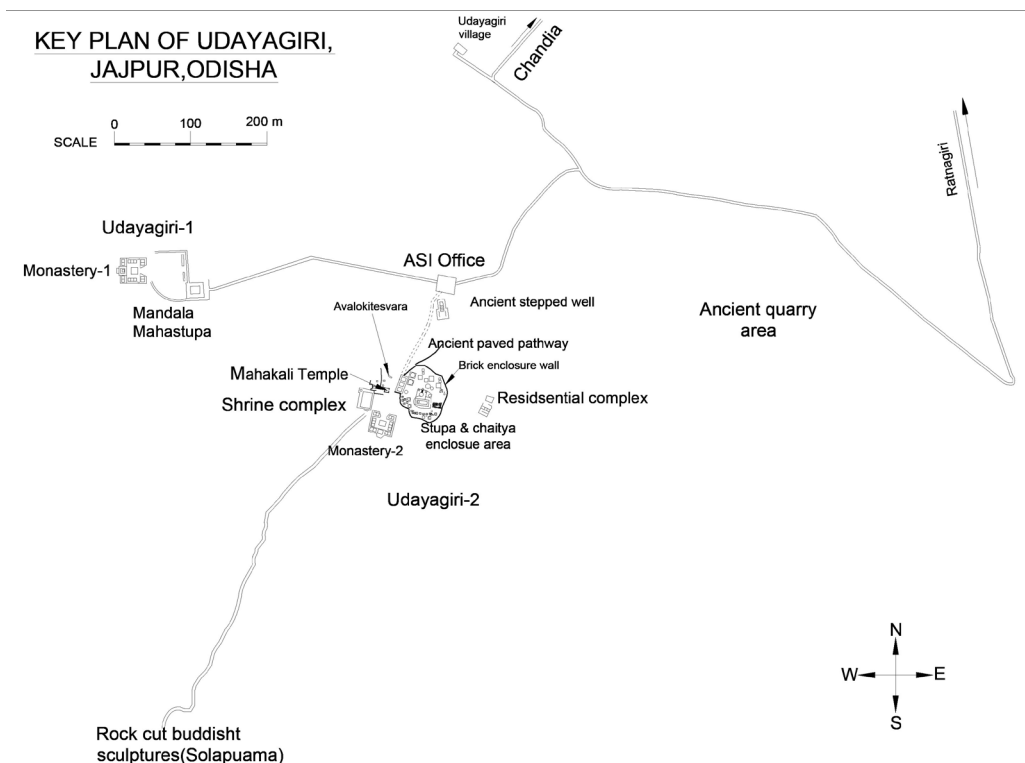
Caityagr̥ha complex as area of attraction in Udayagiri

Udayagiri (20 39 86 16) is the largest Buddhist complex in Odisha. Located on the foot hill of the Assia group of hills (spurs of eastern ghat) in Dharmasala block of undivided Cuttack district of the state, the site is a honeycomb valley spreading over 345 acres of area. This honeycomb site is divided into two sections by almost a natural ridge in north-south direction dividing the complex into two parts. The site overlooks at the vast stretches of alluvial plain watered by the deltaic river system of Birupā in the east (**Map 2**). The north-western part of the Udayagiri complex (Udayagiri I), in the form of Mahāstūpa and Monastery I came up in 8th century CE, while the eastern and southern part of the site came up in the first century BC and saw addition, alteration and expansion thereafter up to the end of the site in 12th century CE. Structurally, the *caityagr̥ha* complex which was enclosed by a brick enclosure wall later in 8th century CE saw prolific construction of stūpas and shrines. It saw a circular *caityagr̥ha* and a stone platform (Structure 60) coming in the first phase. In the second phase, the circular *caityagr̥ha* became apsidal and the original stūpa was shifted to apsidal STR 45 with a brick stūpa. This STR-45 became the centre of spiritual magnetism in the subsequent period (Trivedi 2011: 16-18).

The square stone platform with a masonry stūpa in the middle, named as Structure 60 (STR-60), is the earliest structure of Udayagiri 2 area. At the time of excavation one relic casket and two Puri-Kuṣaṇa coins were recovered near the STR-60. Ten donatives inscriptions in shell character found on the platform as well as on the threshold appear to have been engraved later on around 4th century CE. This stūpa may have changed to circular *Caityagr̥ha* quite early. There are two coeval structure of 1st century BC along with Structure 60 – stūpa 36 and stūpa 5. This stūpa witnessed four phases of construction. From the Stūpa area some feet ahead a soapstone relic casket (Reg. No- 220) along with one Khondalite relic container with lid (Reg. No- 217) inscribed in brāhmī characters of 1st century A.D. Both suggest that the earliest phase of stūpa may be assigned to the first century A.D (**Fig 1**).

Structure 53 (stūpa 5) in the northwest of the stone platform, has a circumambulation pathway. The cardinal *āyaka* projections which have (measuring 1.62m in length and 22cm in width) retaining six to seven course of brick remind the influence of Krishna valley. In the early period or 1st phase only main stūpa was built. That time also the road (Stone paved pathway Str-167) connecting the site from the North-east side toward west and then one turn toward east side to reach the stūpa also came up.

In the 2nd phase (4th century A.D to 7th century A.D.) on the stūpa of structure 60 an apsidal *caityagr̥ha* was



Map 2: Plan of Udayagiri Buddhist Complex



Fig.1: Khondalite relic casket with inscription in brāhmī in one line stating *Kohakoṇasa ja*, 1st century BC, Udayagiri Caityagr̥ha complex

built with the main approach from the east rather than from the earlier north. Other historical importance is that large Standing Avalokiteśvara image with an Inscription on his backside. Stūpa-2 (Str-100), Stūpa No- 3 (Str-104), Stūpa No 4 (Str- 105), Stūpa No 1 (Str-103) Stūpa No- (Str No-38) also came up in the complex.

In the third phase, the brick enclosure was constructed to demarcate this complex from other establishments of Udayagiri. The apsidal caitya complex also saw further modification by adding a rectangular *caityagr̥ha* in about 6th-7th century CE. A shrine chamber also came up to the northwest of the monastery 2 as well (**Fig. 2**). Few stone slabs with *Pratītyasamutpāda Sūtra* are found from inside

of the stūpas. Moreover, a small monastic courtyard was encountered below the courtyard of Monastery II suggesting that the present monastery was built or extended on the base of an earlier one.

In the fourth phase in the Udayagiri complex, we see four major developments Udayagiri. A shrine platform (*adhithāna*), with lions on the pedestal, was built near the south of the rectangular *caityagr̥ha*. A new monastic complex came up in the third phase on the possible ruins of an earlier monastery in the same place. A rectangular shrine chamber also came up to the northwest of the monastery where we see monolithic stūpas with five *āyatanas* indicating affiliation to *panca-skandhas*. Moreover, the Udayagiri, I area came up with the establishment of a *maṇḍala* stūpa (Mahāstūpa) and Monastery I. In the *caityagr̥ha* complex, in addition to Simhaprasta shrine platform with vestiges of huge Tathāgata Buddha, one sees some shrine complex to the south of the original approach to the *caityagr̥ha* complex. Shrine of Bhrukuti, Avalokiteśvara are found. Further, the *caityagr̥ha* complex sees scores of new stūpas in all direction, especially in the south and eastern side of the complex with some of the stūpas were inserted with stone plaques and also of various *dhāraṇīs*, which will be discussed in later sections.

Thus, the *caityagr̥ha* area acted as major area of attraction of dedication of monolithic stūpas and the area saw the evolution of *śārīrika*, *dharma cetiya* and *dhāraṇī stūpas*. Along with this complex an additional shrine chamber in the southwest of Monastery II also served as place for dedication of votive stūpas.



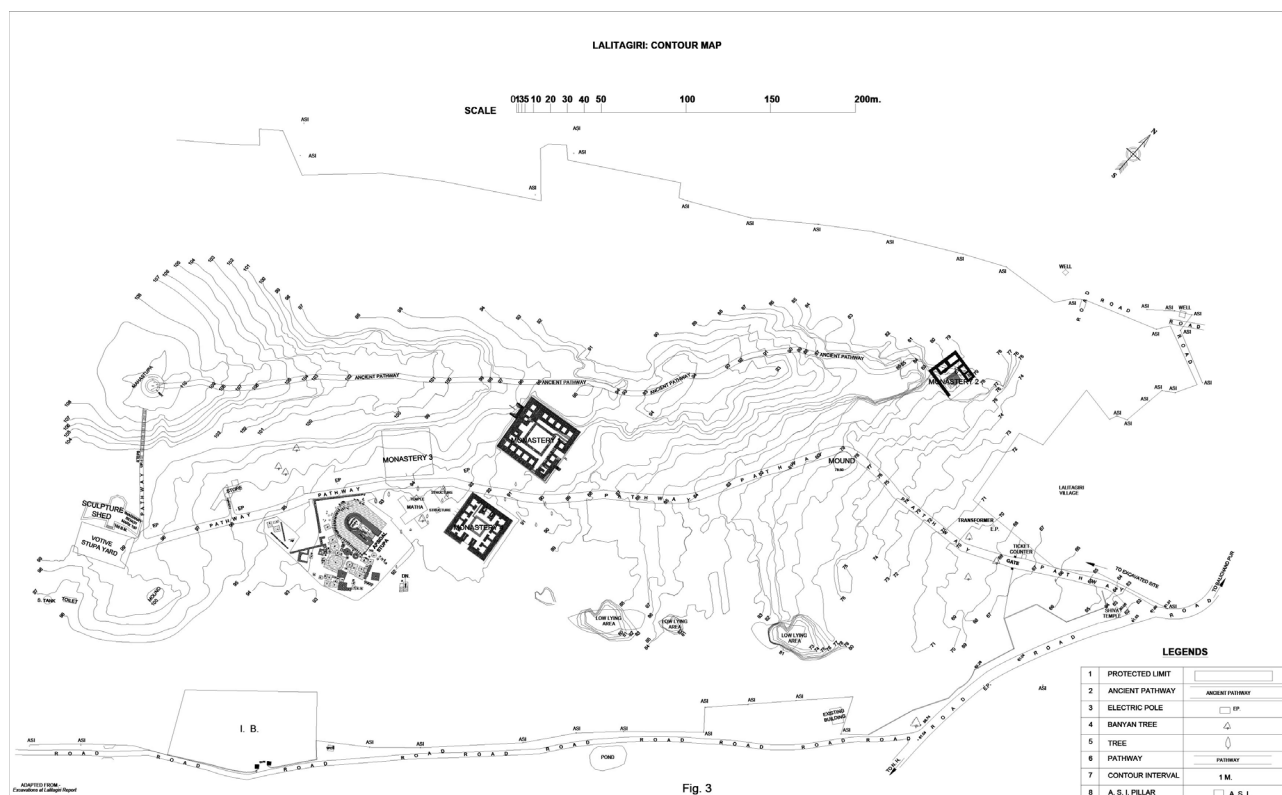
Fig. 2: *Caityagr̥ha* complex: most important spiritual magnetic field of Udayagiri sacred site

Caityagrha rather than Mahāstūpa acting as ‘burial ad sanctos’ in Lalitagiri

Same trend of dedication of monolithic and structural stūpas is also found in the nearby Buddhist establishment of Lalitagiri, which is located seven km south-southwest of Udayagiri. The Buddhist complex of Lalitagiri is largely concentrated in the Nandapahada area. The Stūpa complex is located in the northwest part of the hill in its summit and therefore overlooks the agricultural coastal plain (Map 3). The stūpa is made of masonry stone and consisted of circular *medhi* (platform) and *aṇḍa* (womb). The *hārmika* (rectangular structure above *aṇḍa*) and *chatra* (umbrella) are absent. Given the discovery of three caskets from inside the Stūpa, which has resemblance with Sanci and Nagarjunakonda, the stūpa can be dated early to 1st century BC/CE. As many as three sets of relic casket containers made of khondalite located on the south, east and north directions were found 3.00m above the floor level adjacent to the edge of stūpa. Two contained *śarīra dhātus* and the other was found empty. These relic casket containers have nether (lower) and hopper (lid). The nether exhibits a groove in the centre to accommodate the traditional steatite casket which bears the silver casket and within

the silver was preserved the gold casket containing the sacred relic in the form of a charred bone (Fig.3). This type of arrangement of keeping caskets one within the other is found in two relic containers. The container placed on the southern direction of stūpa did not have any relics and it was found empty (Patnaik 2016: 44-45). The technique of preservation of relic caskets found from Lalitagiri stūpa appears to differ from Vaishali, Sarnath, Piprawah, Nagarjunakonda and Amaravati. Usually the traditional steatite or crystal caskets found from the sites mentioned above were used for containing relic of the great master (Buddha). But at Lalitagiri as many as four caskets forms one set i.e. khondalite, steatite, silver and gold. The arrangement is very similar to the Chinese puzzle box. Similar arrangements of relic caskets were found in Thailand, Tibet and China. It seems that wherever three sets of relics discovered usually they belong to the lord Buddha and his favourite disciples like Śāriputra and Mudgalayāna. Unfortunately, none of these two caskets found from the stūpa of Lalitagiri bears any inscription. But so far as their number is concerned they have striking similarities with those of Sanci. The Sanci counterparts have inscriptions of Buddha, Śāriputra and Mudgalayāna.

There is little archaeological evidence of concentration of smaller structural or votive stūpas in the Mahāstūpa area, even though few of them are to be found on the



Map 3. Key Plan of Lalitagiri

Fig. 3



Fig. 3: Steatite, silver and golden casket within khondalite casket from Mahāstūpa of Lalitagiri, 2nd century BC

base of the summit where mahastūpa is located. Most of the stūpa – both monolithic and structural – was in the caityagrha complex, which is located near monastery 3. Excavations carried out here during 1986-87 and 1987-88 have revealed an apsidal *caityagrha* 22.00m in length and about 11.50m. in breadth. Pertinent to mention here is the fact that the apsidal *caityagrha* was surrounded by brick and masonry stūpas of varied dimensions, including numerous monolithic votive Stūpa all jostled together to find space near the caitya. The available associated structures of stūpas (both structural and votive), epigraphs, style of sculptures as well as the stratigraphy of the site suggest that the apsidal structure was in use right from early Christian era till eighth-ninth century A.D. In fact, the main apsidal *caityagrha* built in bricks emerged later. At the beginning, it was a circular caitya which became apsidal in the second phase, which in turn, was further expanded in 6th-7th century CE. Three main floor levels (working levels) can be distinguished corresponding to the beginning and the end of the activities at the site. In the first phase, a small stūpa was constructed (3.35m in diameter) that enshrined a colossal monolithic head of Buddha (Fig. 4).³ There was a pathway as well for circumambulation of this stūpa. On the southern side of this path-way, a square pedestal (1.40 x 1.40m.) was found containing an inscription in brāhmī script of first-second century CE. The inscription seems to record the ‘completion (*samavita*) of the seat (*āsana*) of Adatamana



Fig. 4: Buddha head from the stūpa of the apsidal *caityagrha*

³ The *uddeśika-cetiya*s, the *Kalingabodhi Jātaka* says, are lacking a foundation (*avatthuka*) by virtue of their being a matter of mind only (*manamāttakena*) (Cowell 1895-1907/1957, 4: 142). The Buddha image found from Lalitagiri *caityagrha* stūpa can be considered as an *uddeśika-cetiya*.

probably jointly by Vinaya, a resident of Baddhamāna, a certain Vinayadhara and his disciple Bodhitini, a resident of Aggotiśīla' (*Indian Archaeology – A Review hence* [IAR] -1987-88: 89-90). Subsequently, a masonry *pradakṣiṇā patha* was added to it along with a projected porch with semi-circular end. In the next phase in around 6th-7th century CE, the stūpa was converted into the apsidal structure by brick work. However, the inner *pradakṣiṇā* continued to be in use. In third phase, the periphery of apsidal structure was given a face lifting with laying out of wide masonry path-way (*pradakṣiṇā patha*).

It is pertinent to mention here that the votive stūpas have been found mainly around the largest stone stūpa in the centre of apsidal *caityagṛha*. Besides, a large number of fallen votive stūpas and sculptures of Buddha in various postures retrieved from excavation and re-arranged on its peripheral region (*pradakṣiṇā patha*) in an alignment as per original. These sculptures only of Buddha were so arranged that one can see the apsidal shape in its alignment.

Thus the *caityagṛha* area seems to have been acted as the spiritual magnetism of the sacred site of Lalitagiri and attracted others to construct the stūpas and consecrate images in the complex throughout the historical period. The starting point of the visit to the sacred site started with the arrival at the *caityagṛha* complex as the original paved staircase was from the east, suggesting direct access to the site. The area is abound with votive stūpas, small structural stūpas. The *caityagṛha* area also saw large alignment of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from 5th century CE. There was another ancient pathway which took the pilgrims to the *Mahāstūpa*. There is no evidence of votive stūpas in the summit area but are concentrated near the sculpture shed area, which is at the base of the summit where the *Mahāstūpa* stood.

Phase 2: Evolution of stūpa: From Śarīra dhātu to dharmadhātu (5th century CE onwards)

The most important development in the second phase is the finding of *Pratītyasamutpāda sūtra* inside the stūpas. Both *gāthā* and *nidāna* of *Pratītyasamutpāda Sūtra* began to be inserted inside the stūpas from the 1st century CE at the Kurram casket (*Corpus Inscription Indicarum* II, Part I 1929: 152–55).⁴ From the 5th century CE onwards, the Buddhist diamond triangle sites of Lalitagiri, Udayagiri

and Ratnagiri of Orissa contained terracotta plaques or stone slabs of *gāthā* of the *Samutpāda* inside the stūpas (Mitra 1981I: 29-30). The *Gāthā* section, 'ye dharmā hetu-prabhavā, hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hyāvadat, teṣāṃ ca yo nirodha evaṃ vādī mahāśramaṇa'⁵ occurs in terracotta plaque Sanskrit-brāhmī in Ratnagiri and Lalitagiri from 5th century CE onwards, in stone slab and terracotta plaques in Udayagiri and on the backslab of the of the numerous Buddhist images from 8th century CE onwards in all sites. One notable exception in the placement of *ye dharma* is found in Lalitagiri monolithic Stūpa where the formula occurs on underneath of the base of the stūpa.

However, a fragmentary stone slab inscription found near the *caityagṛha* from Lalitagiri in 15 lines in Siddhamātrkā character of the 6th century CE contains the *nidāna* section as well and ends with the *gāthā*. This stone slab may have been part of a stūpa many of which are to be found in the *caityagṛha* complex (Fig. 5).

The text of the inscription runs thus:

Text

1.pratyaya.....
2.nu(rū)pa- pratyaya [ṛṃ*] shaḍ-āyatanam shaḍ-āya.....
3.vedanā[ṛṃ] pratyaya trṣṇā-pratyam = upādāna[ṛṃ*] upādāna-pratyayo bhāva[h] bhāva.....
4.jāti-pratyaya jarā-maraṇa-śoka-parideva-duhkha-daurmmanasy-opayasah sambhavante(ty)=ev=asya-kevalasya maha[to]
5. [duh]kha-skandhasya samudayo bhavati[/*] bhavati [/*].....ayaṃ=ucyate dharmmānām=achayah..... nirodha....nte....niucyate sa mskāra-ni[rodha]....
6. rodhaḥ vipake nirodhan=nāma-rūpa-nirodhaḥ nāma-rūpa-nirodhāt=shaḍāyatana-[nirodha][h*] [shaḍ-āya-/*]
7. tana-nirodhād=vedanā-nirodhaḥ vedanā-nirodhaḥ=tr ṣṇā-nirodhaḥ trṣṇā-nirodhād=upādāna-nirodha[h*].....
8. parideva-nirodhāt=bhāva-nirodhaḥ bhāva-nirodhād=jāti-nirodha[h*] jāti-nirodhāt=jarā-maraṇa-śoka-[pari]-
9. deva-duhkha-daurmmanasy-opayasa[ṛ*] nirudhyante[/*] Evaṃ=asya kevalasya ma[ha*]to.....
10.nirodho bhavati[/*] Ayaṃ=ucyate.....rūpe ṇa.... opādāna....ra...
11. ta....pari....d-gatya.....
12. ro...dharma...vi....na-katama....atra....Ye dharma hetu prabhava(ā)....he-

⁵ The rough translation of the *Gāthā* of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* is as follows: "Of those phenomena which arise from causes: Those causes have been taught by the Tathāgata (Buddha), and their cessation too - thus proclaims the Great Ascetic."

⁴ For *dhrama dhātus* of Buddhism, including *Pratītyasamutpāda* and *Prajñā-Pāramitā sūtra*, see (Ray 2018: 22–64).

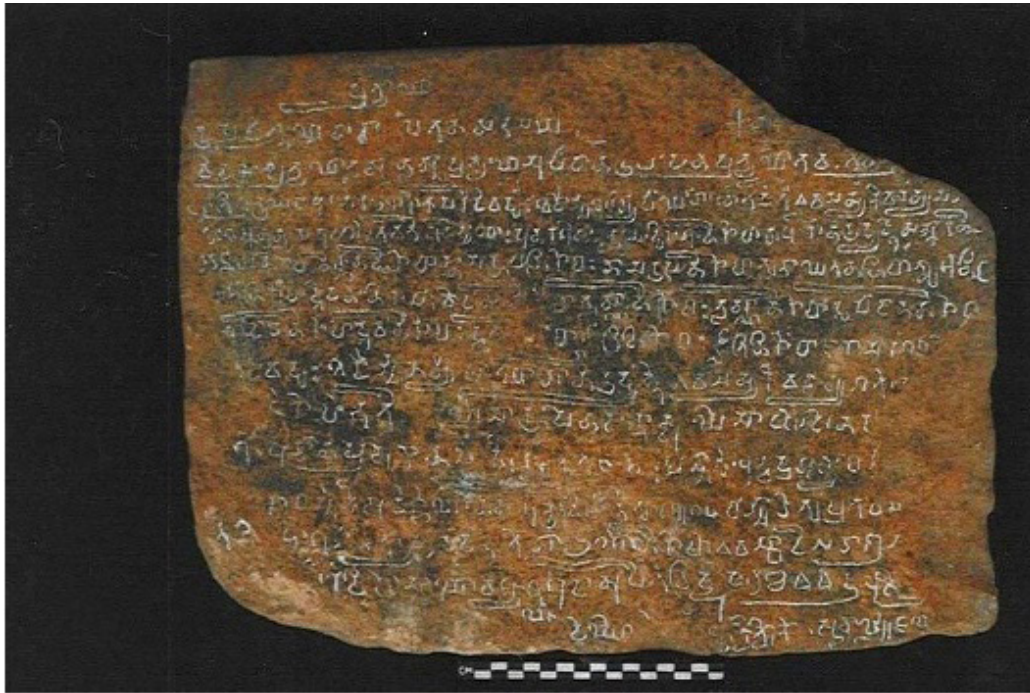


Fig 5: Both the *Gāthā* and *nidāna* of the *Pratītyasamutpāda* inscribed on stone slab from inside a stūpa in Lalitagiri, 6th century CE

13.to *hyāvadat-tesañ=ca yo nirodho evam(ñ)-vāḍi*
Mahāśramaṇa.....
14.ri....*devo*....*tayām-avasya*.....*ma...api....bhavi* ṣya....
tañ=ca.....
15.jaya(?)⁶

Terracotta plaques containing *pratītyasamutpāda* with stūpa on the centre in it, or terracotta stūpa with *pratītyasamutpāda* written on it became quite widespread in the Indian Ocean from Malaya world to the Buddhist sites of Bodh Gaya, Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and elsewhere. In the *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* III, 120, the Buddha states: 'He who sees the dhamma, Vakkajii, sees me; he who sees me, sees the dhamma'. In the 3rd century *Śālistamba Sūtra*, Bodhisattva Maitreya says to Śāriputra: 'He, monks, who sees the *pratītyasamutpāda* sees the dharma; he who sees the dharma sees the Buddha.' Then, he puts this equation as follows:

How does one see the *Pratītyasamutpāda* there (i.e., in this verse)? The Blessed One has spoken on this matter: 'He who sees this *Pratītyasamutpāda*, which is eternal, (lifeless), without the life-essence, as it should be, auspicious, unborn, not become, unmade, uncompounded, unobstructed, unsupported, propitious, fearless, unseizable, undecaying, with unending self-nature—he sees the dharma. And he who likewise sees the dharma, which is eternal, [lifeless], without life-essence...and with unending self-nature, he sees the Buddha, whose body is

the most excellent dharma, by attaining through right knowledge to the direct understanding of the noble dharma (Reat 1993).

As has been noted earlier the Kurram casket contains the first archaeological evidence of *pratītyasamutpāda*. Buddha's spirit is not only exemplified in *śārīrika* presence but in his dharma and therefore many Stūpa practices started incorporating both. The Kurram Casket inscription states this:

Anno, 20, the 20. day of the month Avadunaka, at this instant Śvedavarman, the son of Yasa, deposits a relic of the Adorable Śākyamuni in the relic stūpa (erected by King M...) the property of the Śārvastivāda teachers—as it has been said by the Adorable one: contingent on ignorance (are) the forces, contingent on the forces perception, contingent on perception name and form, contingent on name and form the six senses, contingent on the six senses contact, contingent on contact sensation, contingent on sensation thirst, contingent on thirst grasping, contingent on grasping existence, contingent on existence birth, contingent on birth age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, downcastness and despair. Such is the origin of this entire mass of misery—in honour of all beings. And this contingent origination [*patīcasamupada* (sic) has been written by Mahīphātika in honour of all beings (Konow 1929 II: 152-155; Aiyar 1925-6: 16-20).

Similar finds include the Devnimori relic casket inscriptions, the Kasia copper plate, as well as instances of the *pratītyasamutpāda* formula engraved on the base of miniature Stūpas at Tun-huang, in gold foil inside

⁶ The last two lines cannot be read satisfactorily.

Stūpa or on stone plaque or engraving in maritime southeast Asia and elsewhere (Skilling 2003-4: 273-87; Griffiths 2014: 137-194). Further, clay tablets with this formula is found Kasia, Sarnath, Bodh Gaya, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Nalanda, Valabhi, Gazni, and Mainamati, Thailand and elsewhere. In Odisha, such terracotta clay with *pratīyasamutpāda* is found from Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri and elsewhere. Xuanzhang also talks about the practice in Bodh Gaya (Beal 1958 II: 115). In the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna the concept of *śūnyatā* is identified with *pratīyasamutpāda*. The Mādhyamikakārika identifies *pratīyasamutpāda* with *śūnyatā* thus: That which is the *Pratīyasamutpāda*, we call it emptiness. This (*śūnyatā*) is a provisional term; it is indeed the middle path. In the *trikāyā* system of Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, it is considered to the *dharmakāyā* of Buddha (Poussin 1913: 6).

From Dharmadhātu to *Dharmakāyā*: Buddha image in the Bodhimaṇḍa with *Pratīyasamutpāda* inscribed in it

In the later period starting with 8th century CE, the Buddhist sites of diamond triangle are abound with evidence of *Pratīyasamutpāda* inscribed on the backslab or on the pedestal of Buddha and Buddhist divinities. The dharma formula became the true body (*dharmakāyā*) of Buddha. The early Mahayana Sutra literature refers to *trikāyā* of Buddha – *nirmāṇa kāyā* (emanated body), *sambhoga kāyā* [enjoyment body] and *Dharma-kāyā* (true essence body). The enjoyment body (*sambhoga kāyā*), which was the form of a youthful prince adorned with the 32 major marks and 80 minor marks of a superman. The former include patterns of a wheel on the palms of his hands and the soles of his feet, elongated earlobes, a crown protrusion (*uṣṇiṣa*) on the top of his head, a circle of hair (*urṇā*) between his brows, flat feet, and webbed fingers. The *dharmakāyā* is the Pure Essence body of Buddha.

In Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri, one finds Buddha in *bhūmiṣparśa-mudrā* flanked by two Bodhisattvas with *pratīyasamutpāda-sūtra* inscribed on terracotta plaques or in Lalitagiri, we have astabodhisattvas with inscription of *pratīyasamutpāda-sūtra* written on it (Fig. 6). These images represent *dharmakāyā* of Buddha. Small terracotta plaques of Buddha with two Bodhisattvas flanking the former with *pratīyasamutpāda* being inscribed below the pedestal have been found from Ratnagiri Stūpa indicates that they were deposited in the Stūpas. Tang monk I-tsing in 710 testifies the existence of this practice when he states:



Fig.6: Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas with *pratīyasamutpāda* below the *viswapadma* found from stūpas, indicating its deposit during consecration of stūpa, Ratnagiri, 8th century CE

If men, women, or the five groups of mendicants would build an image of the Buddha; or if those without strength would deposit one as large as a grain of barley; or build a Stūpa—its body the size of a jujube, its mast the size of a needle, its parasol equal to a flake of bran, its relic like a mustard seed, or if someone writes the dharma-verse and installs it inside the Stūpa, it would be like doing homage by offering up a rare jewel. If in accordance with one's own strength and ability one can be truly sincere and respectful, it [the image or Stūpa] would be like my actual body, equal without any difference (Takakusu 1966: 150-151).

Phase III: *Dhāraṇī* inside Stūpas

The third phase starting from 8th century CE was marked by major developments in the religious landscape of Udayagiri. The apsidal & followed by rectangular *caityagrha* area of the phase 2 saw the construction of a lion pedestal south of the main Stūpa. Further the entire area was enclosed by a brick wall. Simultaneously, the Udayagiri I area came up on the northern part of the site during this period. There are number of stūpas in *caityagrha* complex which contained stone slab having *pratīyasamutpāda* or other *dhāraṇī* inscribed and put

inside the stūpas during their consecration. The exact time when the *Gāthā* was used as a *dhāraṇī* in Orissa is not known but both *Gāthā* combined with a *dhāraṇī* began to appear from 7th century CE. *Dhāraṇī* are texts containing mantras, and texts from several Mahayana sūtras prescribe depositing the same inside the stūpa. For example, The *Gūhyadhātu*⁷ states:

Wherever this text (dharmaparyāya) resides, a hundred thousand, ten million, as many as there are sesame seeds, Tathāgatas reside; bodily relics of inexplicable numbers of Tathāgatas reside; the eighty-four thousand heaps of dharma are side.

Thus the *dhāraṇī* is equated with both body relic and dharma relic together. In another place Guhyadhātu states further that this *dhāraṇī* must be put inside a stūpa. The Blessed One said:

Vajrapāṇi, if someone were to write this text and place it inside a stūpa, [that stūpa] would become a stūpa of the relics of the vajra essence of all Tathāgatas. It would become a Stūpa blessed by the secret essence of the *dhāraṇī* of all Tathāgatas. It would become a stūpa of ninety-nine times as many as there are sesame seeds Tathāgatas. It would be blessed as the stūpa of the uṣṇisa and eye of all Tathāgatas. If someone were to insert it into any image or Stūpa of the Buddha, (that) image of the Tathāgatas would be blessed as if it were made of the seven precious substances.

The *Vimaloṣṇisa* text says:

If someone were to make one hundred and eight Stūpas, write this *vidyāmantra*, insert it in the stūpa(s), and place (them) on top of a *maṇḍala*, it would be as if they had placed inside each stūpa the bodily remains and relics of Tathāgatas as many as there are grains of sand in ninety-nine hundred thousand million billions of Ganges Rivers. It would also become the essence of relics. (Dorjee 2001: 8-9). Another Mahāyāna *dhāraṇī Sūtra*, the *Raśmīvimāla* states the benefit of insertion of *dhāraṇī* inside stūpa during the consecration of the latter,

If any noble son were to write this secret mantra diligently ninety-nine times, were to place it on the four sides of the stūpa-pole (*yaṣṭi*) and were to write, as well, the very book of this ritual and place it within the stūpa-pole; if he were to perform such a ritual it would be as if he has established a stūpa pole for ninety-nine thousand stūpas. Furthermore, it would be as if he has established ninety-nine thousand stūpas containing relics.

The text also invokes the mortuary context of such *dhāraṇī* in a stūpa when it states that if someone were to write this *dhāraṇī* in the name of a deceased and were

to deposit in a stūpa and earnestly worship it, then the deceased, being freed from his unfortunate destiny, would be reborn in heaven. This also occurs in other Tibetan texts such as the *Bodhigarbha*. Many Stūpas in Lalitgiri, Udayagiri, Ratnagiri, Paharpur, Abhayagiri have revealed various *dhāraṇīs*. The epigraphic record from Odisha also attests that merit accrual from depositing these *dhāraṇīs* is almost similar to that have been mentioned in various texts. The merit accrued out of inserting *dhāraṇīs* inside stūpas is mentioned in one *dhāraṇī* stone slab inscription found long ago in Odisha, which is now in the State Museum (OSM) (Ghosh 1941: 171-174). Line 9-17 (which is part II of the stone slab inscription) describes the merit of such action.

Whichever person, (be he) a monk, or a nun or a male lay worshipper or a female lay-worshipper or any son of a noble family or a daughter of a noble family having faith, constructs a caitya after having written this *dhāraṇī* and thrown it inside- by the construction of that single caitya, a lakh of Tathāgata-caitya will have been constructed by him. Those caityas are worshipped with the accessories of all perfumes, flowers, incenses, powders, chowries, umbrellas, flags, banners, etc. Not only a caitya, but the Jewel of Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha are worshipped with such accessories.'

Part 1 (obverse) of the stone slab inscription at OSM is the *dhāraṇī* portion while the second part (reverse) deals with merit accrued from the practice of the insertion of *dhāraṇī* inside the stūpas. The same *dhāraṇī* is found from the stūpa 2 and 253 of Ratnagiri as well as in the form of terracotta plaques and stone slab No. 30 from Udayagiri II (Fig. 7). There are a few fragmentary stone slab inscriptions of the same *dhāraṇī* in Lalitgiri. The five terracotta plaques found inside stūpa 2 of Ratnagiri and four terracotta plaques from stūpa 253 of Ratnagiri and from Udayagiri II Stone slab inscription No 30. (p. CLXII of Udayagiri II in 13 lines, circa 9-10th century CE (Trivedi 2011: 255) contain the same *dhāraṇī* which is in OSM. Schopen has referred to the similar *dhāraṇī* being found from the Abhayagiri monastery of Sri Lanka and identified the *dhāraṇī* as the *Bodhigarbhālankāralakṣadhāraṇī* (*Dhāraṇī of the Hundred Thousand Ornaments of the Essence of Awakening*) (Schopen 2005: 351). He cites the Tibetan version and Sanskrit translation. The same *dhāraṇī* was found from Nalanda, Paharpur and Bodh Gaya as well. Further, it may be mentioned that the text entered China and became known in the *Taishō Tripiṭaka* (1369b) as the *Dhāraṇī Sūtra of the Hundred Thousand Seals*. The text was translated from Sanskrit into Chinese by Sikṣhānanda during the Tang Dynasty.

Three other varieties of *dhāraṇī* have been found from the Buddhist sites of Orissa. One is identified by Tanaka as the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya-guhyā-*

7 The full name of this sutra is *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-hṛdaya-guhyā-dhātu-karaṇḍa-mudrā-nāma-dharaṇī-mahāyānasūtra* (Boucher 1991: 1–18).



Fig.7: Bodhigarbhālankāralakṣa dhāraṇī from Udayagiri II Caityagṛha complex area

dhatū-karaṇḍa-mudrā-nāma-dhāraṇī and other could be identified as *vimalosnīsa dhāraṇī* and possibly Cunda *dhāraṇī* (Tanaka 2014: 151–161; Mishra 2016).

Phase IV: Stūpa as a *Maṇḍala*

A *maṇḍala* stūpa and a monastery came up in 8th-9th century CE on a high platform in Udayagiri I area. The Udayagiri 2 area also saw construction of a shrine chamber to the northwest of Monastery II. Monastery II also further expansion. The brick stūpa in the Udayagiri I area was modelled on garbhadhātu *maṇḍala* of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*. Along with this Stūpa containing four Buddhas flanked by two Bodhisattvas each, another monastery, called Mādhavapura monastery, came up during the third phase of the construction activity. Unlike, the Stūpa (STR60) which saw lot of structural activities throughout history, this Stūpa seems to have restricted access to the public as the area did have very limited evidence of other structural and votive stūpas. The naming of new vihāra within a single sacred complex is quite significant. What prompted the religious ideologues of Udayagiri to distinguish Udayagiri I from the earlier Udayagiri II area. In my view, this new area was moulded on the basis of new ideology of *caryā* and *yoga tantra* based on the

Mahāvairocana Sūtra and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha*. The evidence of *Garbhadhātu maṇḍala* alignment of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in the high platform stūpa, Vairocana image as a universal emperor with *kiriṭī mukuṭa* near the Monastery I *Gandhakuṭī* doorframe, Vairocana *maṇḍala* sculpture all attest to the new ideologies of the ideologues of Udayagiri. Before exploring the possible causes of these new ideologies, it is pertinent to describe the mahāstūpa of Udayagiri and its iconographic programme.

The development of *maṇḍala*⁸ based religious and iconographic programmes constitutes an important element in the Buddhist scape of maritime Asia. Starting from the 7th century CE, esoteric Buddhism in maritime Asia began to develop the iconographic programmes in stūpas based on *maṇḍala* theme in which *Pañca-tathāgatas*, Bodhisattvas and other divinities were shown in particular alignments.⁹ The circulation of esoteric Buddhist practices in the maritime Asia up to

⁸ *Maṇḍala* involves meditative visualization of hosts of supernormal beings in particular geometrical arrangements (Skt. *maṇḍala*) for the purpose of mundane and soteriological goals (Skt. *siddhi*).

⁹ Examples of *Maṇḍala stūpa* are found from Paharpur (Somapura) Mainamati, Vikramaśilā, Udayagiri, Keśariyā in the Indian subcontinent and Borobodur, Candi Mendut, Candi Sewu and from the Tāng period in China.

China and Japan, of which the Buddhist *maṇḍala* was a part, was a defining feature of maritime Asia. Two early important texts which formed the basis of the Buddhist *maṇḍalas* and esoteric Buddhism in India (7-8th century CE), China, and Japan were the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* (MVS) and *Sarvatathāgatatattvasaṃgraha* (STTS). Kūkai (774-835 CE), who founded the Shingon Buddhism in Japan, acknowledges the importance of these twin texts when he writes that the esoteric Shingon doctrine, the secret treasury given in the two *sūtras*, is unfolded by the Dharmakāya Mahāvairocana Buddha for the sake of his own enjoyment (Hakeda 1972: 224). In Kūkai's writing, it is clear that the twin *maṇḍalas* are complementary systems with the same main object of worship i.e. Vairocana (Sinclair 2016: 31). In the MVS, Vairocana is represented as *Abhisambodhi* (just enlightened) whereas in the STTS, Vairocana is considered as *sarvavid* (omniscient). The MVS is a seminal work in the history of Tantric Buddhism, offering one of the first fully developed expositions of this form of Buddhism. In India and Tibet it came to be classified as a *Caryā Tantra*, or 'Practice Tantra,' corresponding to the second category of what was to become in Tibet the standard fourfold classification of Buddhist *tantras*, only to be eventually superseded to a large degree by the STTS in the 8th century CE. It was also a *mūla-tantra* text, composed in the 7th century CE and consolidated over time into a *Yogatantra* text. The STTS does not explain the concepts; rather it is concerned with the manuals of the *maṇḍala* rites: how to draw *maṇḍalas*, initiation into these *maṇḍalas* (*abhiṣeka*) and the powers resulting from the performance of these ritual-actions (Giebel 2005; Todaro 1985; Weinberger 2003).

There is also evidence of presence of possible *garbhadhātū maṇḍala* in the Buddhist sites of Orissa from the 8th century CE. Text from the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, a *Caryā tantra*, appears for the first time in India on the back slab of the khondalite image of the Abhisambodhi Vairocana from Lalitagiri, which reads thus (Fig. 8)

Line 1: *namaḥ samāntabuddhānām a vira*

Line II. *hūṃ kham*.

This *mantra* appears in chapter six of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*.¹⁰ In the next century (circa 8th century CE) numerous images of freestanding Bodhisattvas and standing Buddhas from Lalitagiri, Udayagiri and Ratnagiri were

enshrined in the sacred complexes with two, four or eight Bodhisattvas forming part of a Buddhist *maṇḍala* (Donaldson 2001). One such alignment of *stūpa maṇḍala* is the *mahāstūpa* of Udayagiri.





The other evidence of *garbhadhātū-maṇḍala* comes from the *stūpa* of Udayagiri I area which can be dated to 9th century CE. Excavation of this area in 1986 revealed a *maṇḍala stūpa* with four Buddhas in four cardinal directions flanked by two bodhisattvas each. The Udayagiri Mahāstūpa (dated to 10th century) CE has been identified as a *garbhadhātū-maṇḍalasstūpa* by Donaldson (Donaldson 2001). In the outer niches of the Udayagiri *stūpa* four Tathāgata Buddhas have been represented. They have been identified as Vairocana in the north flanked by Mañjuśrī on the right and Kṣitigarbha on left (he holds a *kalaśa* with a *kalpavṛkṣa* on it), Akṣobhya facing east is flanked by Maitreya in the dexter and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin on the sinister, facing west is Amitābha flanked by Lokeśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left and Ratnasambhava in the south is flanked on two sides by Samantabhadra on the right. This alignment of the Bodhisattvas closely corresponds to the *Garbhadhātumaṇḍala* of the MVS. The Table No 3 represents the iconographic alignments of the Tathāgatas and Bodhisattvas in the Udayagiri Stūpa near Monastery I.

Dhāraṇī and Maṇḍala: Possible connection with royal protection

The association of various *Maṇḍalastūpa*, such as Paharpur (Somapura vihāra) with Dharamapala, Mendut, Sewu and Borodbur with Sailendra also brings to fore the connection between tantricism and royalty. Alexis Sanderson argues that Buddhist tantricism, including mandala rituals was believed to have provided protection to royalty. Like Śaiva *ācāryas* performing rituals for the royalty to avert danger and attain glory, Tibetan monk Lama Tāranātha refers to the performance of such rituals for the protection of the state at Vikramaśilā under the direction of Buddhajñāna during the reign of Dharmapāla (775–812) to ensure the longevity of the Pāla dynasty (Tāranātha 1970: 275-76). Similarly, the *Mañjūsīmūlakalpa* and *Durgatipariśodhana Tantra* refer to the initiation of royalty to *maṇḍala* rituals, which is similar to *maṇḍala* initiation in the Śaiva system (Sanderson 2009: 124-25). The *Mantrayāna* also followed the example of the Śaivas by devising tantric ceremonies for patrons in the public domain, the consecration of temple images, and painting of deities on cloths (*paṭṭah*), manuscripts of sacred texts, monasteries, shrines, *caityas*, reservoirs, gardens and the like. It is pertinent to note that

¹⁰ The section states, "Then the World-honoured One Vairocana further dwelled in the *samādhi* 'Adamantine Play Which Vanquishes the Four Demons' and uttered words of adamant syllables for vanquishing the four demons, liberating the six destinies, and satisfying the knowledge of an omniscient one: *Namaḥ samantabuddhānām, āḥ vira hūṃ kham*" (Homage to all Buddhas! *Āḥ vira hūṃ kham*) (Giebel 2005: 80).

Table 1: Alignment of Buddhas and Bodhisattva in the stūpa of Udayagiri, Odisha 9th-10th century modelled on Garbhadhātu-maṇḍala

Buddhas	Photos
Vairocana Tathāgata is flanked by Mañjuśrī on the right and Kṣitigarbha on the left	
Amitābha Tathāgata is flanked by Avalokiteśvara on the right and Vajrapāṇi on the left	
Ratnasambhava (south) flanked by Samantabhadra and Ākāśagarbha	
Tathāgata Akṣobhya is flanked by Maitreya on the right and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin on the left.	

one *dhāraṇī* from Udayagiri, which has been referred to earlier, refers to Śubhākaradeva, who can be identified with the Bhaumakara king, who was a devout worshipper of Buddhism. Was the *dhāraṇī* insertion during the consecration of the stūpa in the Simhaprasta caityagrha complex attempt by the Bhauma king for protection and gaining merit? Alexis Sanderson's *Śaiva Age* (2009) locates this increasing favour of esoteric masters in royal courts of Bhaumakaras, Pālas, Pallavas, King Aggabodhi and

Sena in Sri Lanka, Śailendra court in Java, Tāng court in China as a result of protection, prosperity, subjugation and pacification rituals that esotericism provided to the kings. Shomu (724-49 CE) commissioned the installation of a gilt image of Vairocana at Todaji temple at Nara whose rays would help save the body polity. Empress Hu (reign period 684-705 CE) commissioned a statue of Vairocana at Feng-xian temple at Longmen in 672 CE. An inscription of the twelfth or thirteenth century from Haryana tells us



Fig. 8: Abhisambodhi Vairocana from the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* on his backslab, Lalitagiri, 7th century CE

that the effect of the initiation of king Surapāla was to give him power beyond that of all his rivals (*Epigraphia Indica* I: 61–66). It adds that if his Guru Murtigāna initiated a brahmin, a king, or his minister, he thereby made them the repository of knowledge, the master of all the earth, and the foremost of men. In the Malkapuram inscription of 1261 CE it is stated that the effect of the initiation given by Viśveśvaraśiva to the Kākaṭiya prince Rudradeva was to make the might of his (right) arm, that is to say his valour in battle, shine more brilliantly (Pantulu 1930, 147–62). Sundberg similarly argues that the Ratu boko mantra *ṭakī hūṃ jaḥ svāhā* aimed at providing power to Panaraban (Sundberg 2003:163-188; Acri 2016: 324-48)

Conclusion

The paper attempted to explain the evolution of stūpas in the Buddhist sites of Lalitagiri and Udayagiri – first as containing corporal relic in 2nd century BC, followed by dharma relic and *Bodhimaṇḍa* (Buddha image) in the 5th century CE onwards. From 7th century CE various *dhāraṇī* s

were inserted inside stūpas and were inscribed on images. In the final phase maṇḍala stūpas emerged. Notwithstanding these evolution and changes in the landscapes of Candrāditya vihāra (Lalitagiri) and Sindhapasta *Mahāvihāra* (Udayagiri Complex), *caityagṛha* complex, rather than Mahāstūpa areas remained as areas of attraction and lots of structural and votive stūpas indicate the spiritual magnetism of the caityagṛha area throughout the historical period.

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